

SAMUEL BIRCH. D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., &c.

PRESIDENT

OF THE

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# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

## SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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VOL. IX.

DECEMBER, 1886.

PART I.

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MEMOIR<sup>1</sup> OF SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D., D.C.L.,  
F.S.A., &c., PRESIDENT.

PART I.—BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE, LIST OF WORKS, &c.

BY E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A.

*Read 2nd March, 1886.*

SAMUEL BIRCH was the grandson of Samuel Birch,<sup>2</sup> Alderman, elected Lord Mayor in the year 1814. This gentleman was well known in his day for his public spiritedness, and took a prominent part in some of the most important political movements of his time. He was to have been made a baronet, but some question of etiquette made it

<sup>1</sup> Biographical notices of Dr. Birch have appeared in *The Times*, December 29th, 1885; *Athenæum*, January 2, 1886; *Journal of the British Archæological Association* for January, 1886; *Le XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, January 11; *Saturday Review*, January 2; *Brighton Daily News*, January 5; *Manchester Guardian*, January 6; *Illustrated London News* for January 2; *Academy*, January 2; and the brilliant and sympathetic eulogy upon Dr. Birch by Monsieur E. Revillout, *Revue Égyptologique*, IV, pp. 187-192. The whole of these notices have been reprinted in book form with portraits and introduction by Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A. London: Trübner and Co.

<sup>2</sup> He was born November 7, 1757, and was the son of Mr. Lucas Birch. He was elected one of the Common Council December 21, 1781, and Alderman of the Candlewick Ward in May, 1807. He supported Pitt's administration, but opposed most vigorously the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. The freedom of the City of Dublin was twice voted him for his advocacy of the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland. In 1811 he was appointed one of the Sheriffs

necessary to offer this dignity to his predecessor in the office of Lord Mayor. Contrary to all expectations, the honour was accepted, and so it was lost to Samuel Birch. As an author he was known for his musical drama in two acts, called "The Adopted Child," which went through several editions (London: 1795, 1815, 1824, 1829, 1864); "The Smugglers,"<sup>1</sup> a musical drama in two acts; London: 1796. 8vo.; "Consilia, or, Thoughts upon Several Subjects"; London. 1786; and "The Speech of Mr. Deputy Birch in the Court of Common Council, March 5, 1805, against the



Roman Catholic Petition before both Houses of Parliament"; London, 1805.<sup>2</sup> The British Museum possesses a copy of a medal with a portrait of Mr. Samuel Birch, a *facsimile* of which is here given. It was struck in the year 1815 to commemorate the course he took on the occasion of a meeting

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of London, and on November 9, 1814, he entered upon the duties of Lord Mayor. He wrote the inscription on the marble statue of George III by Chantrey, which stands in the Guildhall, and he laid the foundation-stone of the London Institution on November 4, 1815. He died December, 1841, aged 84. His portrait, presented by his grand-daughter in 1877, hangs in the Guildhall.— See the article in Leslie Stephens' Biographical Dictionary, Vol. V, signed G. F. R. Barker.

<sup>1</sup> His plays were often given at the Drury Lane and Haymarket Theatres.

<sup>2</sup> This speech was severely criticised in the *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. X, pp. 124-136.

of the Livery in the Common Hall on February 15, 1815, when he opposed the Corn Bill, and made an attack upon the intended prohibition of the free importation of foreign corn.

His son Samuel, the father of the subject of this memoir, matriculated at Cambridge about the year 1799. He was 10th Senior Optime in the Mathematical Tripos, 1802, and took his Bachelor of Arts degree in the same year. In the year following he gained the second Bachelor of Arts Member's Prize for his Latin Essay, and he was soon after elected Fellow of St. John's College. He took the degree of Master of Arts in 1805, and that of Doctor of Divinity in 1828. He was Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, and Vicar of Little Marlow, Bucks; and was the author of several sermons which were preached between the years 1809 and 1834.<sup>1</sup> In the year 1840 he published, "The humble petition of Samuel Birch to the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom, for an investigation of the abuses existing in St. Paul's Cathedral in regard to its patronage and funds, &c."

His eldest son Samuel, afterwards so famous as an Egyptologist, was born on the 3rd of November, 1813. At an early age he attended private schools in Greenwich and Blackheath, and on July 3rd, 1826, he entered the Merchant Taylors' School,<sup>2</sup> where for one year he was the contemporary of his life-long friend and colleague Mr. E. A. Bond, C.B., Principal Librarian of the British Museum. He remained at this school for five years, and left it in the year 1831 at the age of 18. During the next two or three years he devoted himself to the difficult study of Chinese, which he learned under a gentleman who, to use Dr. Birch's own words, was a "most accomplished Chinese scholar"; and to the attentive perusal of the works of Young and Champollion upon the decipherment of the Egyptian language. Schoolmasterships and other like employments were offered to him, but he would have none of them.

In 1834 he entered the service of the Commissioners of Public Records, who were appointed on the 12th of

<sup>1</sup> For the list of them, see British Museum Catalogue, col. 89-93.

<sup>2</sup> See Register of Merchant Taylors' School, by the Rev. C. J. Robinson, M.A., 1882, Vol. II, p. 227.

March, 1831. From the "Report from the Select Committee on Record Commission,"<sup>1</sup> we learn that an application was made by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson to Mr. C. P. Cooper, the Secretary of the Commission, for further assistance in his work. He was requested to ask the late Mr. W. H. Black, F.S.A., Assistant Keeper in the Public Record Office, if any of the gentlemen under him were qualified to assist him at the Tower. In answer to this question, Mr. Black recommended Mr. Birch as being the best qualified for the work which was required; and so to the Tower Mr. Birch came, where he worked side by side with Mr. Bond, whose services were transferred to the Rev. Joseph Stevenson when Mr. Duffus Hardy's operations were suspended.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Birch was employed at the Tower for one year and a few months; and when the Commission came to an end, he was so fortunate as to obtain an Assistantship in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum. He entered the service of the Trustees on January the 18th, 1836, and we understand that his first duty was to arrange the

<sup>1</sup> Report from the Select Committee on Record Commission, London, 1836, p. 340, Nos. 3843-3848.

<sup>2</sup> As the Rev. J. Stevenson's evidence before the Commission in respect of Mr. Birch, will interest the Members of the Society, I transcribe the passages *verbatim* :

3844. Mr. Pusey. Where are the originals of these documents? For the most part in the Tower. Upon one occasion, when one of those young gentlemen was re-transcribing a document which Rymer had copied in a faulty manner from the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, it was pointed out to him that the *Rotuli Scotiæ* had been printed; upon a reference to the printed volume he found the correct reading, and was thus able to remove the difficulty over which he had been puzzling.

3845. The Chairman (Mr. Charles Buller). Do you know how the young man who came to you got the situation under you? When I made an application to Mr. Cooper for further assistance, he requested me to ask Mr. Black whether any of the gentlemen under him might be qualified to assist me at the Tower. Mr. Black recommended Mr. Birch, the gentleman of whom I speak, as being the individual best qualified for the work which I had to carry on.

3848. Was the salary of Mr. Birch augmented on his coming from Mr. Black to you? I regret to say it was not. I suggested to Mr. Cooper that £40 a year was not such a sum as should be given to a gentleman of respectability and considerable attainments; and I requested that as Mr. Birch was employed upon work of a superior nature, he should receive an augmentation of salary. I regret to say that my request was not attended to.

Chinese coins. His Chinese and Egyptian studies had been partially interrupted by his duties at the Tower; but after his appointment at the Museum, he threw himself with all his might into the study of his favourite languages. He often said that he studied Chinese in order to obtain an appointment in China, which one of his influential friends promised to obtain for him; but at the critical moment the friend died, and Dr. Birch remained in England. It was mainly owing to this fact that Dr. Birch directed his energies to the study of Egyptian. He saw too, that this language offered a field of enormous extent in which to work and make discoveries. It was no longer a question of doubt how the hieroglyphs were to be read, or if the system of decipherment were the correct one, for Champollion had worked the whole subject out most thoroughly; and although he had not as yet succeeded in stilling the voice of the ignorant, or removing the doubts of the unbeliever, yet he had attracted to the study of his system Samuel Birch in England, and Richard Lepsius in Germany. Moreover, a sketch of the hieroglyphic system of the Ancient Egyptians<sup>1</sup> had been drawn up, the publication of an Egyptian Grammar was being pressed forward rapidly, and good and accurate copies of texts were being published by the French and Italian Governments.<sup>2</sup> All that was wanted now was new students, who would pick up the threads of the work which the premature death of Champollion had so abruptly scattered. When Champollion died, the enemies of his system of decipherment thought the opportunity had now come to discredit the growing science of Egyptology; and, scarcely had the illustrious Frenchman breathed his last, when the wild theories of Klaproth and Seyfarth were spread abroad with increasing diligence; they had the effect of making those who had not gone closely into the matter, doubtful of the truth of the conclusions already arrived at. At this

<sup>1</sup> "Précis du système hiéroglyphique des anciens Égyptiens." Paris, 1824. The *Grammaire Égyptienne* was published 1836-1841, and the *Dictionnaire Égyptien en écriture hiéroglyphique*, 1842-1844.

<sup>2</sup> Rosellini, I, "Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia," Pisa, 1832-1844; Champollion, "Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie," Paris, 1835-1847.

moment, when the foes of Egyptology were rampant, these two men, Samuel Birch and Richard Lepsius, stood in the breach, and rescued the infant science from the hands of its ruthless and ignorant persecutors. It is a remarkable fact that both these scholars were educated for a purpose other than Egyptian, and had already made serious preparations for their future life when they were both seized with a desire to emulate and follow in the footsteps of Champollion; for Dr. Lepsius had determined to become a classical scholar,<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Birch had determined to go to China. In passing, we may point out that the influence of Dr. Birch's Chinese studies was evident to the very last year of his life; for having begun by puzzling out the complex forms of the hieroglyphs of this language, throughout all his subsequent studies he was peculiarly skilful in finding out the meaning of an inscription in any picture language. He often said during late years, that the reason the attempts to interpret the few Mexican inscriptions which remain have been unsuccessful, is owing to the fact that the investigators did not pay sufficient attention to the picture characters of the writing.

As far as we can make out, Dr. Birch's first published work was upon the "Tâou, or Knife Coin of the Chinese," which was printed in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society* in 1837. Although he must have been working at Egyptian for some years previously, it was not until 1838 that his first communication upon Egyptian matters appeared, called "Explanation of the Hieroglyphics on the Coffin of Mycerinus," folio, London, 1838. Dr. Lepsius appears to have had a few years' start of Dr. Birch in the study of hieroglyphics, for we find that as early as 1835 the Berlin Academy had printed two papers of his on the Egyptian Alphabet and Numbers, and his immortal letter to Rosellini was published in 1837.<sup>2</sup>

During the years 1836-38 Dr. Birch must have given the greater part of his time to the study of Egyptian; for although he found the time to write papers for the journals

<sup>1</sup> See Ebers, *Richard Lepsius, Ein Lebensbild*, Leipzig, 1885.

<sup>2</sup> See *Annali dell' inst. archeol.*, Roma, 1857. Vol. IX. *Archeologica egiziana*. Primo articolo preliminario sull' alfabeto geroglifico, I, pp. 5-100. 1837.

of various learned societies, yet from the list of his works and papers it is manifest that the fascination of the new study had completely carried him away, and that the idea of the wonderful discoveries which he saw it was possible to make in it led him to work incessantly at the picture-language of Ancient Egypt. He had already conceived the idea of making a hieroglyphic dictionary, and in 1838 he actually published a "Sketch" of one. The idea of making a complete Egyptian dictionary, which had been with him from the earliest days, never left him; and many present will remember the little pile of blue-lined white paper slips which he kept before him on his table at the Museum, on one of which he immediately wrote down any new word that he saw upon an antiquity offered to him for purchase, or which he found during the course of his work. In the year 1839 we find his studies taking a wider field; for we find him publishing the native accounts of the various sorts of Chinese monkeys; a paper on the Medals of Caracalla and Geta; and "Remarks on Egyptian Hieroglyphics" in Perring's book on the "Pyramids of Gizeh."

During the next two years coins occupied much of his leisure; and as a result we have six papers on various sorts of coins in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1840, and five in the year 1841. From his earliest years we see that whenever he had a large and important work on hand, his mental activity found vent in writing papers upon other subjects than that upon which he was engaged. In accordance with this custom we find him writing numerous papers upon coins, but at the same time he was preparing for publication the first part of the "Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the British Museum," published by order of the Trustees in 1841, the year in which he also gave to the world his "Analecta Sinensia." This part contained facsimiles of the papyri from the collection of M. Sallier, of Aix, in Provence, which were purchased by the Trustees in the year 1839. Public attention had already been called to these important documents by the accounts which had been given of them by M. Sallier before the Academy of Sciences at Aix, and by Champollion, in his "Lettres écrites d'Égypte

et de Nubie”; and “Grammaire égyptienne.” This latter *savant* recognized the similarity of the third Sallier Papyrus with the inscription upon the wall of a temple of Rameses II at Karnak; and in the year 1835 Salvolini published an account of it under the title, “Campagne de Rhamsés le grand (Sesostris) contre le Scheta et leurs alliés.” Subsequently M. le Vicomte de Rougé gave a complete translation of this papyrus, which contains a copy of the magnificent poem of Pentäur; in later years Lushington and Brugsch have given versions of it, and now the true value of this circumstantial record of the great fight between Rameses II and the Hittite king has been recognized fully. The information gathered from this papyrus, and the text of the treaty between the two belligerent kings, taken together with the evidence collected by Professor Sayce and the Rev. Dr. Wright, have been the means of showing the true position of the Khita or Hittite kingdom among the nations of the world. But apart from the value of the contents of the papyri edited by Dr. Birch, the publication of *facsimile* copies of these documents in the hieratic character was of the utmost importance, for it supplied accurate copies of long texts for the use of students and others interested in the various branches of Egyptian philology and archæology. The second part was published in 1842, and two years later, the third and last part of the first division of this work. The two last parts contained *facsimiles* of nine papyri which formerly belonged to the collection made by Signor Anastasi, the Swedish Consul in Egypt. These were examined at Leghorn in 1838 by Dr. Lepsius, then Professor of Archæology at Berlin, and Director of the Prussian Expedition to Egypt. He communicated a statement of their value to the Trustees of the Museum, and published a notice of them in his general report upon the Egyptian collections of Europe.<sup>1</sup>

Though Dr. Birch was supplying the pressing wants of scholars by the publication of texts, he was not unmindful of the needs of the general public, whose appetites had been

<sup>1</sup> Bericht über die zur Bekanntmachung geeigneten Verhandlungen der königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus dem Jahre 1840, Berlin, p. 29.

keenly whetted by the news of Egyptian discoveries. Great interest had been awakened by the publication of Perring's large work on the Pyramids of Gizeh, and by the explanation of the inscriptions and monuments by Dr. Birch in the Appendix to the Third Volume of Vyse's "Pyramids of Gizeh." Little by little people were beginning to think that there might be some truth in what Egyptologists said; and curiosity once aroused, it was necessary to give it information to feed upon. The translations of the inscriptions upon sarcophagi and other funereal objects given by Dr. Birch in such works as those of Perring and Vyse were greedily devoured, and the curious and learned demanded more.

For some years previous it had been the idea of Mr. Bonomi, the eminent architect, traveller, and Egyptian draughtsman—whose drawings of Egyptian hieroglyphs equalled those of the most skilled scribe of the XVIIIth Dynasty—to publish a selection of the choicest monuments which existed in the rapidly increasing national collection. At that time very few of the monuments had been described, and still fewer depicted. Mr. Bonomi discussed the matter with Mr. Arundale, and having decided upon the plan, scope, and shape of their proposed work, they came to Dr. Birch to ask him to draw up descriptive notices of each monument of the Egyptian collection which they intended to describe. The result of this collaboration between architect, sculptor, and Egyptologist was a quarto volume called "The Gallery of Antiquities," which saw the light in the year 1842. In it Dr. Birch gave tentative translations of the inscriptions upon the monuments, and discussed them from an archæological point of view. The conclusions which he arrived at and laid down in the volumes appear to have been very correct; for if the student will take the trouble to compare them with those given in his Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, he will see how very few of his archæological conclusions he found it necessary to alter.

The year 1842, so prolific in works from Dr. Birch's pen, is remarkable from the fact that in it Dr. Lepsius published a complete copy of the Book of the Dead according to the Turin papyrus. It is a strange fate that prevented Dr. Birch

and Dr. Lepsius from seeing the critical edition of this wonderful Egyptian book by M. Naville, a work in which they took so great an interest.

From the journals of the learned societies of the years 1842-3, we see that Dr. Birch was also occupying himself with Greek vases and unedited Greek coins. On the retirement of Mr. Barnewell, of the British Museum, in 1844, Dr. Birch was appointed Assistant Keeper of the Department of Antiquities, a department which in those days included the whole range of Greek, Roman, British, Oriental, and Egyptian Archæology, as well as ancient and mediæval numismatics and ethnology. During the next few years following his appointment as Assistant Keeper, his Egyptian publications were fewer; and the archæological journals show us that he was busy writing articles upon coins, Greek vases, English and other antiquities. This was to be expected, for he considered it necessary to make himself well acquainted with all branches of learning that were represented in his department. By some means or other, known only to so busy a man, he found time to keep up his Chinese studies; and in 1845 he published a translation from the Chinese entitled, "Friends till Death." Some letters to M. Letronne, which were published in the *Revue Archéologique*, represent his studies in Egyptian during this year. A subject to which he gave great attention about this time was British coins; and he succeeded in reading the name of Tasciovanus upon the mutilated coins of Cunobelin.

In 1846, the Trustees of the British Museum sent Dr. Birch on a mission to Italy to examine and report upon the extensive and valuable collection of Egyptian antiquities which had been gathered together by the late Signor Anastasi, at that time deposited at Leghorn, and to visit the archæological museums of Rome and other cities of the Italian peninsula. In the same year he appears to have turned his attention to the study of Assyrian archæology, for we find him reading a paper before the Society of Antiquaries upon two bas-reliefs from Khorsabad. In some marvellous manner he had found time in which to read up all that had so far been written upon this subject of cuneiform decipherment by

Lassen and others; and in 1847, when Sir Henry Rawlinson's translation of the Behistun inscription, with philological notes, appeared, he was in a measure prepared to accept this wonderful discovery with a scientific and learned belief.

The journals of the various archaeological societies show that in the year 1847 Dr. Birch's energies were directed to the investigation of many kinds of antiquities. We find him discussing the coins of Cunobelin and Greek vases, and writing four or five papers on Egyptian monuments.

In 1848-9 he appears to have rested somewhat from his labours of publication. Whether he was studying some new branch of learning or language, it is impossible to say; but it is certain that we only find two papers for the year 1849, and these were published in the *Classical Museum*.

In 1850, Egyptian again forms the chief subject of study; and the results of the year's work are given in two papers in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*.

In 1851 he assisted Sir Henry Rawlinson in editing the last forty-eight plates of Layard's "Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian monuments; and in the same year his Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan vases in the British Museum appeared. It was probably this work which he had been engaged upon for some years past that caused the comparative dearth of published work in the years 1849-51. During this last year the *Archæologia* and the *Revue Archéologique* were enriched by contributions from him on Egyptian matters. During the next five years, 1852-6, a series of papers, principally on Egyptian matters, contributed to the various antiquarian journals, gave evidence of the scope and extent of his labours. In the year 1854, Dr. Birch varied the monotony of his work by writing a play. It was entitled "Imperial Rome," a Drama, by Samuel Birch, London, 1854, 8vo., and the time of the play was that of the Emperor Nero. This small book was never published, and Dr. Birch knew of two copies only; one owned by himself, and the other by Mr. Rylands; the sheets of the remaining copies were left by Dr. Birch to be eaten by the rats. Mr. Rylands' copy is bound in scarlet cloth, and consists of but little more than 88 pages, and belonged to Julia Gray, whose

name is written in it; the Preface is dated March 6, 1854. In 1856 the celebrated Campana collection of antiquities was offered to the Museum for purchase, and Dr. Birch, together with Mr. C. T. Newton, C.B., were sent to Rome to examine, value, and report upon these magnificent objects; their report on the matter was privately printed in the same year that their mission was undertaken and accomplished.

In 1857 Dr. Birch published a small but very interesting and important work in connection with the late Sir Gardner Wilkinson; we mean the "Introduction to the Study of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics," published in "The Egyptians in the time of the Pharaohs," London, 1857, 8vo. In this work he gave a short account of all the attempts which had been made by the early workers to decipher the Egyptian hieroglyphs, and specimens of the absurd views entertained by learned men on this subject. To these he added a popular version of Champollion's method of interpretation, lists of phonetic and syllabic signs, and specimen passages from hieroglyphic texts with translations. This was the first attempt ever made to give a popular account of the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphics.

In 1858 Dr. Birch published his "History of Ancient Pottery," a second and revised edition of which appeared in 1873. A criticism of this work would be quite out of place here, since it treats of matters which for the most part fall within the province of the Greek archaeologist.

In 1860, his publications deal with Egyptian archaeology and philology absolutely. Of these, the most important was a new part of the "Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character," which contained facsimiles of the Abbott and D'Orbiney papyri. To these Dr. Birch added long prefatory notices of the contents of the papyri, and proved that he had grasped an adequate idea of the great importance of these documents. The first contained an account of the legal process instituted at Thebes against some thieves who had broken into the royal tombs of some of the kings of the XIth, XIIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties, in order to rob and spoil them. The second contains the story now so well-known under the name of "The Tale of the Two Brothers." This story

has attracted much attention, from the fact of its being identical in some particulars with the Bible narrative of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. It is famous also for another reason. In 1862, Sir G. Cornwall Lewis maintained in his "Astronomy of the Ancients," that, practically, the tradition of the Egyptian and Assyrian languages had not been preserved unbroken, either in writing or orally, and since a period had elapsed during which they were entirely forgotten, they could never be restored. Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. Oppert, Dr. Hincks and Mr. Fox Talbot had already made each his independent translation of the famous inscription of Tiglath Pileser I, and by this means they had shown that, as far as Assyrian was concerned, the decipherment had been set upon such a sure base that it could neither be overturned nor disputed with reason. For the Egyptian, Mr. Renouf undertook to fight the battle; and in the "Atlantis," Vol. IV, 1863, pp. 23-57, an exhaustive refutation of all Sir G. C. Lewis' arguments was given by him, as well as a transliteration into English letters of the first six pages of the papyrus containing the "Tale of the Two Brothers." By this masterly article,<sup>1</sup> and the plain and undeniable proof of the scientific accuracy of Egyptian decipherment which it contained, the mouth of the opposition was closed; and no attack of any importance has since been made upon the method of decipherment now current among Egyptologists.

In the year 1861, Dr. Birch was appointed Keeper of the Oriental, British and Mediæval Antiquities; and in the same year he edited Part XI of the "Description of the Ancient Marbles" for the Trustees of the British Museum. The fruits of his Chinese studies, which had been carried on at intervals, again appear in the shape of translations from the Chinese called "The Chinese Widow," and the "Elfin Foxes." They were published during the years 1862-3 respectively. Other important works by Dr. Birch which appeared in this last year were, "Description of the Papyrus of Nas-khem, Priest of Amen-Ra," printed by the express desire of His

<sup>1</sup> "A thoroughly scholar-like answer to the late Sir G. C. Lewis's attacks on Champollion and other decipherers of ancient inscriptions." Max Müller, "Lectures on the Science of Language," p. 3, 2nd series.

Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, for private circulation ; "Inscriptions in the Himyaritic Character," edited with the assistance of Mr. Franks for the Trustees of the British Museum ; and "Facsimiles of Two Papyri found in a Tomb at Thebes," discovered by Rhind.

During the years 1864-6 Dr. Birch limited himself to writing articles on "Sepulchral Figures," and "Formulas relating to the Heart," in the *Zeitschrift für Aeg. Sprache*. And in the year 1865, Mr. Le Page Renouf addressed a letter to Dr. Birch, entitled "Miscellaneous Notes on Egyptian Philology," in which he discussed various points of Egyptian grammar, the negative particles, the chapter on the Heart from the Book of the Dead, &c., &c.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1866 a subdivision was made in Dr. Birch's Department, and the section which fell to his share was henceforth known as the Department of Oriental Antiquities. From this time forward he devoted his time and energy almost exclusively to the study of the Assyrian and Egyptian antiquities, which formed his particular department in the British Museum.

We have hitherto made no mention of the work which Dr. Birch was doing for Baron Bunsen. This gentleman had for many years been investigating the history of Egypt as related by classical and other authors ; and when the English edition of his *Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte* was undertaken, he applied to Dr. Birch for information and assistance to enable him to control their statements by the light of the newly deciphered language of Ancient Egypt. In the first volume of "Egypt's Place in Universal History," Dr. Birch gave a full list of all the hieroglyphs with their phonetic values and meanings ; and to the fifth he supplied an English translation of the Book of the Dead, made from the edition of the text published by Lepsius in 1842 ; a sketch of Egyptian Grammar, with transliterated and translated specimens of texts ; and the first Hieroglyphic Dictionary ever published. The Dictionary contained 9270 words, and about 30,000

<sup>1</sup> "Miscellaneous Notes on Egyptian Philology." A letter to Samuel Birch, Esq., LL.D., of the British Museum. By P. Le Page Renouf, London, 1865, Svo. Williams & Norgate.

references; and together with the Grammar was printed in a fine bold solid type which was cast from drawings made by the late Mr. Bonomi. The work of compiling this dictionary had been carried on for many years amid a variety of other work and duties; and those who are in any way acquainted with the difficulties which beset the printing of such a mass of Egyptian with moveable types will readily understand what an amount of time and labour was swallowed up in the mere reading of the proof sheets of this work, which was published in 1867.<sup>1</sup> In 1869 he edited for the Trustees of the British Museum, "Inscriptions in the Hieratic and Demotic Characters"; and his other contributions to the science of Egyptology which he published in this and the three following years consist for the most part of papers in the *Zeitschrift für Aeg. Sprache*.

Up to the year 1870 the authors of papers on Assyrian and Egyptian matters were thankful to be able to get them published in any learned society that would give them room. About this time Dr. Birch, in common with a few other English scholars, began to feel that the position of Assyrian and Egyptian archaeology and philology in England was very roughly defined, and that public attention was not sufficiently directed to these important studies. The scholars in the older branches of learning were sceptical as to the accuracy and truth of the results which Assyriologists and Egyptologists brought before their notice; while many believed neither in the subjects nor in the men who worked at them. In spite of the want of interest and apathy which was shown by the large mass of the public, the little band of decipherers went on steadily with their work, and waited to see what turn events would take. It must not be imagined that there were no learned or archaeological societies who professed to forward the study of Egyptian and Assyrian; on the contrary, there were many, but they had other aims than the publishing of texts in these languages. Dr. Birch found great difficulty in getting his articles published promptly, in

<sup>1</sup> The *first* part of Brugsch's *Hieroglyphisch-Demotisches Wörterbuch* appeared in this year.

good clear type; in fact, the type, or rather the use of it, was so costly, that whenever he wanted to quote an Egyptian word, it was found more expedient to cut it in wood. He often talked over these difficulties with his good friend the late Mr. Bonomi, and one day the latter said, "Why not establish a new Society, whose only aim and object shall be to publish and explain Egyptian and Assyrian texts. We will print the text in one line and the transliteration and translation beneath it." The Secretaries and the leading members of the Councils of the Syro-Egyptian Society, the Palestine Archæological Association, and the Chronological and Anglo-Biblical Institutes were consulted, and these gentlemen resolved to wind up their Societies on the condition that their leading men were made "life-members" of the proposed new Society. The plans were further discussed and matured by Dr. Birch and Mr. Bonomi at the Soane Museum, and eventually they resolved to invite a few gentlemen who were interested in the antiquities and philology of Egypt, Palestine, and Western Asia, to meet them, and to discuss the matter, and to obtain the opinions of others. This meeting took place in the rooms of Mr. W. Simpson, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on November 18th, 1870, and the decision arrived at was, that the object of the proposed Society should be: "To collect from the fast perishing monuments of the Semitic and cognate races illustrations of their history and peculiarities; to investigate and systematize the antiquities of the ancient and mighty empires and primeval peoples whose records are centred around the venerable pages of the Bible. In other words, an Association to bring into connection the labours of individual scholars, and to utilize the results of private enterprise and national munificence—to accumulate data and to preserve facts—to give a voice to the past, a new life to the future, and assistance, publicity, and permanence to the efforts of all students of Biblical Archæology."

The issue of this conference was, that a public meeting was convened at the rooms of the Society of Literature on the 9th of December following, Dr. Birch in the chair. The resolution there carried decided what the aim of the Society

should be; that its name should be called "The Society of Biblical Archæology";<sup>1</sup> and that its provisional Council should consist of the following gentlemen:—

W. F. Ainsworth, F.S.A., F.R.G.S.	S. Heywood, M.A.
S. Birch, LL.D., F.S.A.	Rev. J. Grigg Hewlett, D.D.
W. R. A. Boyle.	Rev. A. Mozley, M.A., F.R.S.L.
Joseph Bonomi, F.R.S.L.	Rev. J. Mills.
J. W. Bosanquet, F.R.A.S., M.R.G.S.	Rev. J. M. Rodwell, M.A.
Rev. Canon Cook, M.A.	Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S.
J. Christy, jun.	Rev. G. Small, M.A.
E. Deutsch, F.R.S.L.	W. H. Fox-Talbot, D.C.L., F.R.S.
S. M. Drach, F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.	W. R. Cooper ( <i>Secretary</i> ).

The first part of the first volume of the Society's *Transactions* was published in 1872, and the expenses were defrayed by Dr. Birch, Mr. Bosanquet, Mr. Fox Talbot, and Mr. Samuel Sharpe; and at the end of a year or two the Society had attained such a firm footing as has never before been attained by any Society in so short a time. For the first few years of its existence the late Secretary, Mr. R. Cooper, worked most indefatigably; but as the malady which eventually killed him increased and developed, he found it quite impossible to give to the interests of the Society the routine work which, to a growing Society, was so very necessary. Also, unfortunately for the Society, he was possessed of an unbusiness-like turn of mind, and lacked the knowledge of the value of money. A few years before his death he found it absolutely necessary to live at Ventnor, and during his absence, Mr. Arthur Cates, Dr. Birch, and others, attended to the London business of the Society. It was impossible for the Society to exist, let alone to increase and flourish, with its Secretary living more than a hundred miles from London; but in this critical position fortune again smiled upon the Society, and it was fortunate enough to obtain the services of our present Secretary, who, in addition to the numerous qualifications which he possesses, and which make him so valuable an acquisition to us, has a keen aptitude for the business, as well as the learned side of the question, and a zeal for the Society's welfare that has brought it out from its difficulties

<sup>1</sup> This name was proposed by the late S. M. Drach, Esq.

and set it in a successful and flourishing condition. The subsequent history of the Society, founded by Dr. Birch and Mr. Bonomi, is too well known to require repetition here. But to return to Dr. Birch. In the year 1872 he published a translation from the Chinese called the "Casket of Gems," and various papers on Egyptian matters in the transactions of the learned Societies. In 1873 he edited the first volume of the "Records of the Past," which undertaking was the first ever set on foot to give the public any knowledge of the contents of the libraries and monuments of Egypt and Assyria. The idea of the publication was his own entirely; and he felt that the only way to rouse up public interest in these matters was to put forth plain unvarnished translations of the clay tablets and papyri, that every one might judge by their contents what they were worth, without being compelled to wade through time wasting and wearisome discussions about trifles and small details which have been characteristic of many learned journals and books. In the same year he contributed several articles to the *English Cyclopædia*, as well as papers on Egyptian in the *Zeitschrift* and elsewhere.

In 1874 Dr. Birch was appointed President of the Oriental Congress held in London in that year. It was then suggested to him to publish the text written upon the coffin of Amam, which goes back to the XIth or XIIth Dynasty. The work was undertaken by the Trustees of the British Museum, but it was left unfinished when he died. A long series of papers on Egyptian matters is the result of his work for 1874.

In 1875 he wrote his little history of Egypt for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and contributed translations to the fourth volume of the "Records of the Past."

In 1876 the Trustees of the British Museum published his great work containing *facsimiles* of the text, and a translation of the Harris papyrus. This papyrus is 133 feet in length, and contains 79 pages of text, which record and enumerate the gifts of Rameses III to the great temples of Egypt. In this year he gave the Rede Lecture at Cambridge on May 26th, taking for his subject the "Monumental History of Egypt," and brought out his translation of some Cypriote inscriptions which had hitherto remained unread. Mr. George

Smith had as far back as 1871 discovered that the Cyyriote language was Greek, but was unable to make much use of his discovery owing to his ignorance of that tongue. Ever mindful of the needs of students. Dr. Birch seconded Mr. W. R. Cooper's efforts to establish classes to teach Assyrian and Egyptian, and this year he began to give lectures on Egyptian in the rooms of the Society of Biblical Archæology, at 9, Conduit Street, London, W. Mr. Renouf and Professor Naville also lectured on the same language; while the students of Assyrian were fortunate enough to obtain Professor Sayce to lecture on Assyrian grammar and decipherment; subsequently Mr. St. Chad Boscawen took Professor Sayce's place in the lecture room. While these lectures were going on, it was proved beyond all doubt that grammars of these languages and reading books were much needed; Mr. Renouf brought out an Egyptian Grammar, and in 1875<sup>1</sup> Dr. Birch published a book of Egyptian texts; Professor Sayce drew up his Assyrian Grammar, with a full syllabary, and brought out his "Lectures on the Assyrian Language." The lecturers issued exercise sheets to test the progress of those who attended the classes; and it may be said that these lectures did more to promote the study of Egyptian and Assyrian than any other scheme yet set on foot. The two assistants at present in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, were members of these classes.

In the year 1878, Dr. Birch, with the general assistance of his son, Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, brought out a new and revised edition of "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," by Sir Gardner Wilkinson. The succinet and valuable notes which he contributed, and the additions inserted by him in the text, will make it for many years to come an invaluable manual for all students of Egyptology.

In 1880, his most important work was the publication of the "Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle." In this book Dr. Birch translated all the inscriptions found upon the Egyptian objects belonging to

<sup>1</sup> In this year a sketch of the life and works of Dr. Birch, with portrait by W. R. Cooper, appeared in the *Dublin University Magazine*, Vol. XC, pp. 53-60.

the Duke of Northumberland, and most exhaustively discussed the objects themselves from an archæological point of view. His other works for this year are an "Introduction" and "Notes" to Ebers' "Egypt" (the English edition, 4to.), and papers on the monuments of Tirhaka in the *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, &c. His catalogue of the Duke of Northumberland's collection was the last *book* that he wrote, and from this time (1880) until his death he confined himself to writing translations for the "Records of the Past"; an "Introduction" to Cesnola's *Salamina*; papers in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*; and to editing and partly writing the "Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery," 1883. In addition to all these works which we have mentioned, he wrote the articles "Hieroglyphics," and "Chaeremon's Work on Hieroglyphics" for the "Encyclopædia Britannica"; political and other articles in *The Times*, and reviews and letters in the *Athenæum*, *BUILDER*, and other influential papers, &c., &c. This closes our record of his most important works.

As was to be expected, honours had been showered upon Dr. Birch by home and foreign Universities and Societies. In 1839 he was elected Corresponding Member of the Archæological Institute at Rome; in 1851 of the Academy of Berlin; in 1852 of that of Herculaneum; and in 1861, of the "Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres" of the French Institute. The University of Aberdeen conferred the degree of LL.D. upon him in 1862; and the University of Cambridge in 1875; in the same year he was elected an Honorary Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford; and in 1876 the Oxford University gave him the degree of D.C.L. To both Dr. Birch and Mr. Renouf, the late King of Prussia gave a copy of Lepsius' magnificent work, the "Denkmäler," in recognition of their Egyptian researches; and the Emperor of Germany, in 1874, conferred on Dr. Birch the Order of the Crown. He was Officier de l'Instruction Publique de l'Université de Paris, and Knight of the Rose, Brazil.

Notwithstanding the enormous amount of time and labours which he spent in writing the works which he published, he still found leisure to devote to the study of

the subjects and languages with which, in the course of his official duties, it was necessary for him to have some acquaintance. The position which he held in the Museum, and the opportunities arising therefrom, were the factors of his great and wide archæological knowledge. He was for a time in every one of the various departments of antiquities, and during his stay in each, as assistant, assistant keeper, or keeper, he made it his business to study the collections which formed the department. Hence it happened that when an object was offered to him for purchase for the Museum, he was at once enabled to feel and see the weak points of a "modern imitation" of an antique, whether it were coin, cuneiform tablet, Greek bronze or statue, Egyptian, British, or any other object. In the matter of his Egyptian archæological training he was peculiarly fortunate; for his eye was trained on genuine Egyptian antiquities, long before "modern imitations" or forgeries were attempted by the intelligent Arab of to-day.

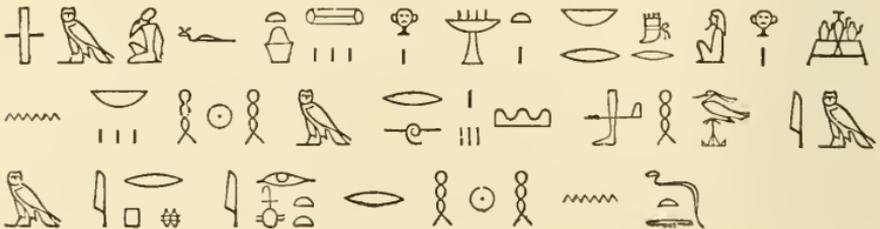
His other attainments were numerous and varied. In his younger days he was a very good mathematician, and studied with great success all the branches of mathematics which formed part of the Merchant Taylors' School in his day. He was a fine Greek and Latin Scholar, and he told me more than once that he had read all the Greek and Latin classics there were to read. More than having read them, he could quote many without an effort, and was particularly well acquainted with all that the classical writers have said about Egypt, its land, people, and gods. He understood well most of the modern languages of Europe, such as French, German, Italian and Dutch, and could speak the three first of these. Among the Semitic languages he had paid most attention to Assyrian, for the Antiquities of Assyria formed a last part of the collections under his charge. The rise, growth and subsequent history of this language and its antiquities were well known to him; for he had watched the discovery of the decipherment by Sir Henry Rawlinson with more than the usual scholarly attention that he gave to such subjects. The works of Norris, Hincks, Oppert, Schrader and Fox Talbot, were perfectly familiar to

him, and though his interest in the results of Assyriology was keen to the day of his fatal attack, he did not study the works of the modern School of England and Germany; for as M. Revillout has said, "M. Birch s'était borné pour l'honorariat aux plus anciens Assyriologues."

Though Dr. Birch took so great an interest in the peoples and lands of antiquity, he took a still greater in those of the present. Very early in life he had studied fortifications, and naval and military tactics. Any development in the Army or Navy of the great Powers of Europe was watched very attentively by him, and in his earlier years frequently called forth a leading article from his pen in one of the daily papers. The great interest which he took in the army of the Chinese nation secured him the lasting friendship of Marquis Tseng, the Chinese Ambassador.

Dr. Birch died after a short illness on the 27th December, 1885, and was buried at Highgate Cemetery.

A criticism of his Egyptian labours has been undertaken by Mr. Renouf, who will discuss their scientific value and importance, and show how much he did to set the science of Egyptology on a firm footing. Also Prof. R. K. Douglas has kindly given me a criticism on Dr. Birch's Chinese works. Finally, his genial and kindly manner, his readiness to help those who sought his help, his care to avoid hurting the feelings of others, the originality of his ideas, &c., all these I must leave to be commented upon by those who are older friends of his than I am, and more competent to do it. All I have tried to do in the preceding pages is to string together the principal facts of his literary life, and to mention the chief works which he wrote. The list of his books, papers, &c., which accompanies this memoir is the fullest which has yet appeared.



CHRONOLOGICAL LIST<sup>1</sup> OF PUBLICATIONS

(Books, Papers contributed to the Journals of the Learned Societies,  
Magazine and Encyclopaedic Articles, &c., &c.).

By SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D., D.C.L., F.S.A.

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1837.

1. On the Taôu, or Knife Coin of the Chinese. *Numis. Soc.* 1837.

1838.

2. Explanation of the Hieroglyphics on the Coffin of Mycerinus. Fol. London. 1838.  
[A French translation of this work was published at Paris in 1839, with a letter by Lepsius.]
3. Sketch of a Hieroglyphical Dictionary. Part 1. 4to. London. 1838.
4. Egyptian Antiquities. In the Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum. 1838.

1839.

5. Remarks on Egyptian Hieroglyphics by Samuel Birch, in the "Pyramids of Gizeh," by J. S. Perring. Folio. London. 1839.
6. On Monkeys known to the Chinese, from the native authorities. 8vo. London. 1839.
7. On Medals of Caracalla and Geta. *Numis. Chron.*
8. On the Coins of Thessalian Larissa. *Numis. Soc.* March 28, 1839.

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<sup>1</sup> In the preparation of this list I have consulted that prepared and sent by Dr. Eisenlohr to Mr. Rylands, and that prepared by Mr. T. Nichols, and published in H.H. Prince Ibrahim Hilmy's "The Literature of Egypt and the Soudan," Vol. I, pp. 70-75.

1840.

9. Inedited Greek Coins. *Numis. Chron.* 1840.
10. On the Deities represented on the Coins of Egyptian Nomes. *Numis. Chron.* 1840.
11. Coin of Magnesia, with the head of Cicero. *Numis. Chron.* 1840.
12. Unedited Coins of Asia. *Numis. Chron.* 1840.
13. On Some Coins connected with the Geography of Galatia. *Numis. Chron.* 1840.
14. Some Remarks on an Unedited Coin of Pergamus. *Numis. Chron.* 1840.

1841.

15. Remarks in Cory's "Hieroglyphics of Horapollo Nilous." London. 1841.
16. *Analecta Sinensia.* 8vo. London. 1841.
17. Unedited Græco-Egyptian Inscriptions. *Gentleman's Mag.* 8vo. 1841.
18. Notes upon a type of Phæstus in Crete. *Numis. Chron.* 1841.
19. Unedited Coins of Demetrius II. *Numis. Chron.* 1841.
20. List of Unedited Greek Coins, with Notes and Illustrations. *Numis. Chron.* 1841.
21. Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character. Part 1. Folio. London. 1841.
22. Yiu Seaou Lou, or the Lost Child.
23. Observations by Mr. Bonomi and Dr. Birch on the Obelisk at Constantinople. *Proc. Soc. Lit.* May, 1842.

1842.

24. Gallery of Antiquities, by Arundale and Bonomi. With descriptions by S. Birch. 4to. London. 1842-43.
25. Description of an Egyptian Tomb now preserved in the British Museum. *Archæologia.* 1842. Read Dec., 1839.
26. Explanation of a Myth upon a Fictile Vase in the British Museum. *Archæologia.* 1842. Read March, 1841.
27. Unedited Greek Coin of Demetrius the Second. *Numis. Chron.* 1842.

28. List of Unedited Greek Coins, with Notes. *Numis. Chron.* 1842.
29. Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character. Part 2. Folio. London. 1842.
30. Observations by S. Birch in the Appendix to the third volume of "The Pyramids of Gizeh," by Vyse. 8vo. London. 1842.

1843.

31. Tablets and other Egyptian Monuments from the Collection of the Earl of Belmore. Folio. London. 1843.
32. Report by Dr. Birch in Nepean's "Account of certain Antiquities in the Island of Sacrificos." 4to. London. 1843. (See *Archæologia.* 1844.)
33. Views on the Nile; from Cairo to the Second Cataract. By Owen Jones and J. Goury. Historical Notice by S. Birch. Folio. London. 1843.
34. The Type of Aegiale and Epidaurus. *Numis. Chron.* 1843.
35. On a Vase representing the Contest of Hercules and the Achelous. *Trans. Soc. Lit.* 1843. Read Jan., 1841.
36. Observations upon the Hieratical Canon of Egyptian Kings at Turin. *Trans. Soc. Lit.* 1843. Read Nov., 1841.

1844.

37. Observations on the Xanthian Marbles recently deposited in the British Museum. *Archæologia.* 1844. Read March, 1843.
38. Observations on a Fictile Vase representing the Contest of Hercules and Juno. *Archæologia.* 1844. Read Dec., 1843.
39. Remarks on a Greek Vase in the British Museum. *Archæologia.* 1844. Read June, 1842.
40. Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character, with Prefatory Remarks by S. Birch. Part 3. Folio. London. 1844.
41. The Coins of Savoy. *Numis. Chron.* 1844.

1845.

42. Friends till Death. Translated from the Chinese by S. Birch. 8vo. London. 1845.
43. Sur diverses representations d'Anacréon. *Revue Arch.* 1845.
44. New Proposed Reading of Certain Coins of Cunobelin. *Numis. Chron.* 1845.
45. Note on some Types of Coins of Tarentum. *Numis. Chron.* 1845.
46. On the Types of the Coins of Terina. *Numis. Chron.* 1845.
47. On some unedited Coins, principally of Asia Minor. *Numis. Chron.* 1845.
48. Note on a Gold Saxon Buckle found in Hampshire. *Jour. R. Arch. Inst.* Vol. I. 1845.
49. The philological parts in Vol. I of Bunsen's "Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte." Hamburg. 1845.

1846.

50. Remarks on Chinese Seals. *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* Vol. I, p. 43. 1846.
51. On an Inscription at Ibrim, copied by Mr. Harris; and a series of Names of Egyptian Towns. *Proc. Soc. Lit.* June, 1846.
52. Discovery of the mention of Babylon. *Proc. Soc. Lit.* 1846.
53. Notice of Celtic Antiquities found in Ireland. *Jour. R. Arch. Inst.* Vol. II. 1846.
54. The Talbotype applied to Hieroglyphics. Tablet at Ibrim, with translation by S. Birch. 4to. London. 1846.
55. On a Vase found at Basingstoke. *Jour. R. Arch. Inst.* Vol. II. 1846.
56. Observations on a Vase found at Sandy, in Bedfordshire. *Archæologia.* 1846. Read Dec., 1844.
57. Observations on the figures of Anacreon and his Dog, as represented on some Fictile Vases in the British Museum. *Archæologia.* 1846. Read Dec., 1844.

58. Note on a Vase with Pelops Plexippus. *Archæologia*. 1846. Read Feb., 1845.
59. Mémoire sur un Vase Grec. *Revue Arch.* 1846.
60. Note on a Gold Saxon Buckle. *Jour. R. Arch. Inst.* 1846.
61. Memoir on a Gold Fibula found at Odiham. *Jour. R. Arch. Inst.* 1846.
62. Notice of an Anglo-Roman Sarcophagus. *Jour. R. Arch. Inst.* Vol. II. 1846.
63. On the Torc of the Celts. See also *Jour. R. Arch. Inst.* Vol. II. 1846; and Vol. III. 1846.
64. Notes on Types of Caulonia. *Numis. Chron.* 1846.
65. Inedited Greek Coins. *Numis. Chron.* 1846.
66. The Youth of Jason renewed by Medeia. *Classical Museum.* 1846.
67. On the Early Relations of Ethiopia under the Egyptian Monarchy. *Proc. Soc. Lit.* Jan., 1846.

1847.

68. On a Letter from Mr. Harris respecting the Rosetta Stone. *Proc. Soc. Lit.* 1847.
69. Description of a Fictile Vase from Kulei. *Archæologia*. 1847. Read Jan., 1846.
70. Observations on Two Bas-Reliefs from Khorsabad. *Archæologia*. 1847. Read April, 1846.
71. Lettre à M. Letronne sur le mot Calasiris. *Revue Arch.* Vol. IV. 1847.
72. Sur la famille de Psammetichus. *Revue Arch.* 1847.
73. On the Reading of the Coins of Cunobelin. *Arch. Journal.* 1847.
74. On the Representation of the Tomb of an Officer at Thebes. *Proc. Soc. Lit.* March, 1847.
75. Observations on the Obelisk of the Atmeidan at Constantinople. *Trans. Soc. Lit.* 1847. Read Jan., 1846.
76. On the Statistical Tablet of Karnak. *Trans. Soc. Lit.* 1847. Read Jan., 1847.
77. Lettre à M. Letronne sur un passage de Choricus de Gaza. *Revue Arch.* Paris. 1847.

78. List of Egyptian Hieroglyphs, with Phonetic Values, Explanations, &c., in Bunsen's "Egypt's Place in Universal History." Vol. I. 8vo. London. 1847.
79. Dr. Birch's Notes on a Journey of Mr. Harris to Upper Egypt. *Proc. Soc. Lit.* June, 1847.

1848.

80. Lettre à M. Letronne sur l'Expression Hiéroglyphique de deux noms propres égyptiens. *Revue Arch.* Vol. V. 1848-49.
81. Examen de l'ouvrage de l'Abbé Lanci. *Revue Arch.* 1848-49.
82. On a Vase representing the Amphorites Agon. *Classical Museum.* 1848.
83. *Facsimile* of Egyptian Papyrus found at Thebes, exhibited by Dr. Birch. Remarks by him. *Proc. Soc. Lit.* Jan., 1848.
84. Remarks on a Cartouche found at Nineveh by Sir A. Layard. *Proc. Soc. Lit.* Jan., 1848.
85. On the Ground Plan of the Tomb of Sethos I. *Proc. Soc. Lit.* Dec., 1848.

1849.

86. On Two Greek Vases in the British Museum. *Classical Museum.* 1849.
87. Victory in the Horse Race. *Classical Museum.* 1849.

1850.

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MEMOIR OF SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D., D.C.L.,  
F.S.A., &c., PRESIDENT.

PART III.—REMARKS AND OBSERVATIONS ON DR. BIRCH'S  
CHINESE LABOURS.

BY PROFESSOR R. K. DOUGLAS.

*Read* March 2nd, 1886.

IN addition to Dr. Birch's especial acquirements as an Egyptologist, he possessed a very considerable knowledge of Chinese. Being more interested in the common life and modes of thought of the people, than in the utterances of their philosophers, Dr. Birch directed his attention to the romantic literature of the country. In common with all other branches of Chinese literature, this one contains a great number of phrases and terms which are peculiar to it, and which bear a purely figurative interpretation. Unfortunately the field of Chinese lexicography is so wide, that dictionary makers have hitherto left this branch of the language practically untouched; and to the elucidation of these obscure references Dr. Birch successfully devoted much of his attention. The result of these researches becomes manifest in his translations of Chinese stories, which possess especial value, both for the correctness of the readings, and the insight they give us into the inner circle of Chinese domestic life.

His first published translations from the Chinese appeared in the *Asiatic Journal* of 1841, and consisted of three tales, which were reprinted in pamphlet form under the title of "Analecta Sinensia." This work was followed in 1845 by a romance entitled, "Friends till Death." Other records of Dr. Birch's labours show that for many years after this date his time was devoted to works on Egyptology, and it was consequently not until 1863 that he was able to return to his Chinese studies. In that year he published a criticism on the legend of the "Elfin Foxes"; and nine years later

he brought out translations of two capital Chinese stories, the "Chinese Widow," and the "Casket of Gems," both of which have been retranslated into several European languages.

Another branch of Chinese learning in which Dr. Birch took a special interest, was the decipherment of the Seal script, and his knowledge of some of the older forms of the characters was considerable. It was due to the knowledge he thus possessed, and to his natural acumen, that he was able to detect a fraud attempted on the Royal Asiatic Society by a Chinese adventurer, who sought to establish a literary reputation by presenting before that Society a forged diploma, to which was attached an imposing looking Seal. When the document was submitted to Dr. Birch and others, they at once detected the forgery, and were able to show that the large square seal was composed of nothing more than a number of impressions of the private seal of the forger.

The knowledge of the Chinese people which Dr. Birch acquired through the medium of their literature, gave him a great and abiding interest in their welfare; and up to the very last he was keenly alive to every question affecting the well-being of the Empire.



NOTES ON THE ANTIQUITIES FROM BUBASTIS  
(TEL BASTA).

IN THE COLLECTION OF

F. G. HILTON PRICE, F.S.A.

*Read 3rd February, 1885.*

THE collection of Egyptian antiquities in my possession, of which I purpose giving you a short description, have been discovered in or about the large mounds which now mark the site of the ancient Busbastis or Bubastus, now known as Tel Basta, the capital of the Bubastite nome in the Delta, situated south-west of Tanis, upon the eastern side of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, near to the modern town or Zagazig. This was Pibast, which is supposed to be the Pibeseth of the Bible. Bubastis was a town of some importance as early as the times of the XVIIIth Dynasty, but it greatly increased in both importance and magnificence under the XXIIInd Dynasty, it then being the seat of government of the kings of that dynasty, and it was probably the most considerable place in the Delta. After the conquest of the city by the Persians, B.C. 352, when its walls were dismantled,<sup>1</sup> it gradually declined in importance, but it was evidently occupied by the Greeks and Romans in their turn, as can be proved by the antiquities discovered there. The city was sacred to the goddess Bast or Sekhet, the Egyptian Diana, who was called Bubastis by the Greeks; she was represented cat-headed, or in the form of Sekhet, lion-headed. All cats were sacred to her, who when dead were mummied and deposited in the tombs connected with the temple of Bast, which, according to Herodotus, was very magnificent, being situated in the centre of the city.

The city was built upon an artificial mound, in order to

<sup>1</sup> Diod., xvi, 51.

protect it from the inundation of the Nile. It is stated by Herodotus<sup>1</sup> that when Sabacon ruled in the Delta, he employed criminals to be constantly at work to increase the mounds round the various cities, including that of Bubastis, whose mounds were greater, and were carried to a greater height than any other city in Egypt. He further states that though other temples may be larger and more costly, yet none is more pleasing to look on than this; he then describes it in the following terms: "Her sacred precinct is thus situated: all except the entrance is an island, for two canals from the Nile extend to it, not mingling with each other, but each reaches as far as the entrance to the precinct; one flowing round it on one side, the other on the other. Each is a hundred feet broad, and shaded with trees. The portico is ten orgyæ in height, and is adorned with figures six cubits high, that are deserving of notice. This precinct, being in the middle of the city, is visible on every side to a person going round it; for as the city has been mounded up to a considerable height, but the temple has not been moved, it is conspicuous as it was originally built. A wall, sculptured with figures, runs round it; and within is a grove of lofty trees, planted round a large temple, in which the image is placed. The width and length of the precinct is a stade each way. Along the entrance is a road paved with stone, about three stades in length, leading through the square eastwards, and in width it is about four plethra = 400 feet; on each side of the road grow trees of enormous height: it leads to the temple of Mercury."

There was an oracle of Bast at Bubastis, and annual processions of a gorgeous description took place in her honour; and I cannot do better than make use of the description given by Herodotus: "They go by water to the city of Bubastis; as they are being conveyed they act as follows—for men and women embark together, and great numbers of both sexes in every barge. Some of the women have castanets, on which they play, and the men play on the flute during the whole voyage; the rest of the women and men sing and clap their hands together at the same time. When

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, ii, 137.

in the course of their passage they come to any town, they lay their barge near to land, and do as follows: Some of the women do as I have described, others shout and scoff at the women of the place, some dance, and others stand up and pull up their clothes; this they do at every town by the river side. When they arrive at Bubastis they celebrate the feast, offering up great sacrifices; and more wine is consumed at this festival than in all the rest of the year. What with men and women, besides the children, they congregate, as the inhabitants say, to the number of 700,000."

Sekhet symbolised the force of the sun's rays, whilst Bast, cat-headed, was a more softened form of the same goddess, who was wife of Ptah, and mother of Nefer-Atmu.

In the opinion of M. P. Pierret, the texts prove that the ancient Egyptians believed in one unique god, without a second, infinite and eternal, and that god manifested himself by the sun. The sun was worshipped in the valley of the Nile as the dispensator of light and life. Champollion stated that the Egyptian religion was a pure monotheism, outwardly manifesting itself as a symbolical polytheism. Chabas states that the unique god existing before everything, who represents the pure and abstract idea of the divinity, is not clearly specialised by one unique personage of the vast Egyptian pantheon. Neither Ptah, Seb, Thoth, Ra, Osiris, nor any god personify him constantly, however one or the other are sometimes invoked in terms in which they closely assimilate to the supreme type; the innumerable gods of Egypt are but the attributes or the different aspects of this unique type.

The sun offers a symbol of the external renewal of the divinity, because he dies every evening, to be re-born every morning. The whole of the Egyptian mythology rests in what may be termed the solar drama; it is composed of various acts: the birth of the sun in the east, his daily course, his disappearance below the horizon in the west, his nocturnal journey into the infernal regions, and his reappearance in the east. In each act the god changes his name, without losing any of his individuality or his power.

Before proceeding to describe the antiquities, I must

mention all that have been found at Bubastis were procured for me by my friend Clarke Bey, C.M.G., of Zagazig, who has been most active and energetic in collecting the various antiquities from this site. I have no hesitation in saying that he knows more about the mound than any one else. He informs me that there are a considerable quantity of ruins of ancient houses, in which he has found many objects of interest. These houses, which were constructed of sun-dried bricks, and many of which are in a fair state of preservation (I regret I have no plan of one to place before you), are constantly being disturbed by the fellaheen, who from time to time dig in these mounds with the object of obtaining the dust, which is in great request as manure for top-dressing the land.

Of the great temple mentioned by Herodotus, little save a few blocks or portions of columns remain.

I am informed there are several wells or pits, having bricked passages leading out of them, in different parts of these mounds, and that they are the haunts of wild beasts; when a stone is thrown in, which is a necessary precaution before getting into one, a general stampede of jackals, owls, &c., ensues. The figures of gods most commonly here met with are, as may be supposed, principally those bearing some relation to the goddess Bast, to whom the city and temple were dedicated. Bast, beloved of Ptah, cat-headed; Sekhet, a form of Bast; Nefertum, the son of Bast; Ptah, Osiris, the universal god, son of Seb and Nut; Bes, &c., &c. Porcelain figures from this site are always of far coarser workmanship than those obtained from the excavations in Upper Egypt, where they are often of such marvellously fine work, owing in a great measure to those from the Delta being of a later period. The following is the order in which I propose to take the antiquities. The Pantheon first, in describing which I have followed the descriptions given by our excellent President, Dr. Birch, in his splendid catalogue of the Egyptian antiquities in the collection at Alnwick Castle; secondly, the animals, followed by the symbolic or mystic eyes, domestic or civil antiquities, the amulets, the sepulchral objects, the terra-cotta figures, lamps,

vases, &c., reserving an account of the Scarabæi, of which I have a great quantity of interesting ones from Tel Basta, for a subsequent paper. At a future time I hope to be able to offer you a description of several rare antiquities in my collection from various parts of Egypt.

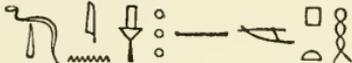
Ptah—the Egyptian Hephaistos, first of the gods of the first order or circle at Memphis, of which he was the presiding local deity—represented wearing a skull-cap, *namms*, his body enveloped in bandages or mummied, bearded, holding in front of him the Kukupha sceptre. Figures of this god do not often occur. I have but one in bronze from this city, and three in pale blue porcelain, one wearing the disk and horns, also a lock of hair on the right side of his head. The porcelain figures have been pierced for suspension.

Ptah-Socharis-Osiris as a naked dwarf, wearing a skull-cap, and occasionally with a scarabæus upon the top of its head, is found in considerable numbers. They are always in blue porcelain, and have a ring on the nape of the neck; some of these figures are double. One small figure, about one inch in height, has a scarab on his head, being supported at the back by Sekhet, wearing a disk and draped. The largest specimen in my collection is about three inches, with the feet broken off, which is usually the case with these figures when of large size.

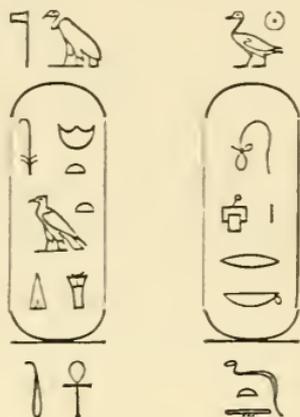
Bast or Sekhet, the Bubastis of the Greeks, was the wife of Ptah, and mother of Nefer-Atmu. She is represented sometimes as a female, cat-headed and lion-headed; formerly her name was read as Pasht, but that is found to be wrong, and she is now generally termed Sekhet; sometimes on the monuments as Sekhet the great Merenptah, and the great Ur-hek or Menhi-Sekhet. Sekhet, as wife of Ptah, formed the second in the Memphite triad.

A large number of figures of this goddess have been found at Bubastis, in bronze and porcelain, occasionally in silver and gold. I will now describe a few in my collection. Bronze figure of Bast or Sekhet, cat-headed, standing upon a pedestal of same material, draped in a long garment, holding in her right hand a sistrum; on her left arm is hung a basket, and in her left hand she holds an ægis of Bast, lion-headed

(Plate I, fig. 2); the ears are perforated for earrings, and round her neck is a collar or ring; another object has been on the pedestal in front, but is now broken off. This figure is 5 inches high. There are others similar, but in the attitude of walking; one with an ægis in her right hand, and a small statue in her left, likewise bronze, height  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches. There is a remarkable little bronze figure of this goddess, represented as a lion walking erect on its hind legs, with its paws hanging down in front of its chest; on the back is a ring, height  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch; this is probably unique. One of the goddess, lion-headed, wearing the long head attire, and the solar disk and uræus, draped in the usual garment, seated upon a throne, hands resting upon her knees—bronze, height  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch. Another, a large-sized one, 10 inches high, in the same attitude, in blue porcelain; the face has been broken off, and replaced in ancient times by a bronze one; upon the sides of the throne processions of deities are depicted, also cats, girdles and serpents. This is in a fine state of preservation, and it is of rare occurrence to meet with a figure of such a large size in porcelain.

Several figures in porcelain, blue and green, of Sekhet, lion-headed, walking with left leg advanced, holding a sceptre in her left hand, right arm pendent, ring on the head or back of the neck, wearing the *namms* or long head attire; occasionally upon the plinth at the back is a perpendicular line of hieroglyphs,  said by Bast, the pupil of Ra, &c. On another is  Said by Sekhet, beloved of Ptah. Some of these porcelain figures wear the solar disk and uræus, others are seated holding a sistrum. These vary in size from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches to less than 1 inch. Another lion-headed, under an ægis, fixed upon the top of a papyrus sceptre column. And Bast, lion-headed, with uræus upon the head, and Nefer-tum, son of Ptah and Bast, bearded, with lotus flower head-dress, both seated side by side upon a throne, with their hands upon their knees. Upon the plinth behind is , this is also in blue porcelain.

One of the most interesting objects that has been found at Bubastis was an ægis of the goddess Sekhet (in gold), lion-headed, with a collar, on which is the goddess Nut, or the celestial waters, and rows of papyrus and lotus flowers; at the sides, heads of hawks; behind are two cartouches, the royal mother, royal wife, Ta-Tā-Bast, ever living, daughter of the Sun, Uasark (an), the names of a queen (unregistered) and king of the XXIIth Dynasty. The cartouches are as follows:—



It is of fine work, and I much regret having parted with it; it is now in the Louvre, Paris. Perrot and Chipiez figure it in the second volume of their work upon "History of Ancient Egyptian Art."

At the same time, the head of Sekhet in silver was found; it is the head of a similar ægis, lion-headed, but minus the shield; it is of good work.  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch in height.

A bronze ægis of Bast, lion-headed, with a large lotus flower in relief beneath the bust; it has been repaired, and all traces of ornamentation are effaced;  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$  6 in. There are others both in bronze and porcelain, the latter being very small.

Nefer-Atmu is one of the inferior gods of the pantheon. He is the son of Ptah and Bast, third person of the Memphian triad, the protector of the world, and apparently a form of Anhor or Onouris, the Egyptian Mars. Figures of this god are very plentiful, and I have several of them in silver, bronze and porcelain. He is represented human-headed, wearing the long head-dress *namms*, upon which is the lily of the

sun, with four hawk's plumes issuing from it, walking, left foot advanced, hands pendent, and has a short tunic round his loins. They have a ring behind for suspension. One in bluish coloured porcelain has a figure of Bast, wearing the pschent upon its back; these figures vary in size from  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches to 1 inch in height.

Ra. Figures of this god are rare, as I only have two, one in bronze, and the other porcelain, which may be described as a form of Horus, hawk-headed, wearing the long head attire *namms*, surmounted by the lotus flower head dress, supported by uræii, upon horns; wears a tunic fluted round the loins, right arm pendent, left hand holds the kouchoupha sceptre, feet gone, ring behind the head for suspension, it is of fine work, about 2 inches high.

S'u or Shu, the Egyptian Herakles, son of the Sun, and brother of Tefnu. Small figures of this deity are plentiful in porcelain, but I have never heard of one in bronze. He is always depicted as a man, wearing the long head attire *namms*, and tunic, kneeling on the right knee, profile to the right, elevating on his head the disk of the sun. The meaning of S'u is solar light. I possess an ægis in bronze of Shu and Tefnut, twin children of Ra, not in good condition. The support at the back is perfect; its height is  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch by  $\frac{3}{4}$  in breadth; these two form the Egyptian Gemini.

Ames, the god of the reproductive powers of nature, and of the harvest; this figure is always represented in a mummified form. I have three bronze figures and one porcelain, but of the latter material they are seldom found here.

Amen-Ra, king of the gods, the principal deity of Thebes; figures in bronze and blue porcelain; these are rare.

Chons or Chonsu, lunar god, son of Amen and Mut, hawk-headed, wearing the long head attire, surmounted with the horns and disk of the moon; wears a tunic; is walking, with left foot advanced, arms pendent; this is in yellow porcelain; height  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inch. Then there are two in bronze, human-headed, with a lock of hair at the right side of the head, wearing lunar disk, and mummified, apparently holding the flail and hoe.

Khnum, the principal deity of Elephantiné, creator of mankind, type of Amen Ra. ram-headed; one in blue porcelain; figures of this god are scarce.

Tahuti or Thoth, the Egyptian Hermes or Mercury, inventor of arts and sciences, lord of hieroglyphs or letters, scribe of the gods; he is connected with Aâh, the moon, having a lunar type, conductor of the souls to Hades. This figure is tolerably plentiful, represented with the head of an ibis. I have one only in bronze, but several in porcelain, and one holding up the left mystic eye with both hands below his beak, but this is not a common type.

Osiris (Asari). the Egyptian Dionysos, the god of the infernal world, the most universal god of the pantheon, the son of Seb and Nut; represented mummied, standing, wearing on his head the crown or *atef*, having a conical crown in the centre, terminating in a knob or rose, and an ostrich plume on each side laid on rams' horns. In his right hand he holds the flail, and in his left the crook. These figures are common, and I have had a large number from Bubastis. some of course in very poor condition; my largest specimen is  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches high, but they are found of all sizes and qualities; some indeed occur there of large dimensions, as may be instanced by the fact of my possessing a plume in bronze from the left-hand side of his cap, 5 inches in height; it has been gilded. The figure to which this belonged could not have been less than 3 feet high. Another I have that is inlaid with blue glass in imitation of lapis lazuli, likewise the flails. One figure has Isis supporting the god at his back—this is uncommon; there are, in fact many variations in the style of the workmanship of these figures.

Isis, or Ast, wife and sister of Osiris; there are figures of this goddess in bronze and porcelain, some having the disk and horns, and others the throne upon her head as a head-dress; occasionally the *pschent*; some of the porcelain figures have a vertical line of hieroglyphs up the plinth at the back. Frequently she is met with seated upon a throne, either wearing the disk and horns or the throne upon her head, nursing Harpaxrat, the young Horus, whom she holds naked in her lap, the prototype of the Virgin and Child; these

figures are frequently met with, both in bronze and porcelain, and some are in good condition. I have a few *ægidæ* in bronze, but they are not common.

Nebthāt, or Nephthys, was the daughter of Seb and Nut, and sister of Osiris and Isis; she was styled "Eye of the Sun," "Regent of the Gods," "Mistress of Heaven, and of Women"; according to some traditions, she is the "Mother of Anubis." She wears upon her head the long head attire, surmounted by the basket and house, hands pendent, standing. I have one figure in bronze,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, but in this metal they are rare; in porcelain they are not uncommon. I have them in blue and green; they are all pierced for suspension.

Haroeris, Harseast or Horus, brother of Osiris, the avenger of his father, hawk-headed, wearing the *namms*, surmounted by the *pschent* or crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, walking, left leg advanced; these I have only in porcelain, one  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches high; and figures in bronze and porcelain of Harpaχrat or Horus the child, naked, seated as though in his mother's lap, wearing the *pschent*, a lock of hair on the right side of his head, and the index finger of his right hand to his mouth; also another form of the same deity, naked, as before, only represented walking, with the disk, horns and *uræus* upon his head, and finger to his mouth; this figure is in bronze, and  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches in height. Harpanebta, another form of Harpokrates, the infant Horus, a small figure in bronze, representing him standing, with his arms pendent, naked, wearing the *atef* or triple conical crown, with feathers upon each side, surmounted by three disks resting upon rams' horns. These figures are uncommon. The next to mention is a beautiful little cippus of Horus in fine green steatite, representing him standing upon two crocodiles, with the head of Bes above him, holding in his hands snakes, scorpions, ibex and lion, a staff of Horus on the right hand, and a staff with plumes in the left; there are hieroglyphics all over the top, bottom, back, and sides, but almost illegible. Height,  $2\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$  inches.

Hes, or Arihesnefer, son of Ra and Bast (*see* "Diz. Mitologia Egizia, Lanzone"), lion-headed god, considered by Dr. Birch

to be a form of Horus, worshipped as *Mau hes*, "the glaring lion," wearing a head-dress composed of three plumes, with uræus in front, a tunic round the loins, walking left foot advanced; in his left hand he carries a sword, his left is pendent. His worship is supposed to have been introduced from Nubia in the XXVth Dynasty. A bronze figure  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches high, with a ring behind; this is rare in bronze, but in porcelain I have a few. Anepu or Anubis, son of Osiris and Isis, the god presiding over embalming and funerals, jackal-headed, walking, with tunic round the loins. Figures are very common in porcelain, and I have seen a great number of them, mostly of coarse workmanship, but a few varieties occur in bronze, notably one small figure  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch high, standing, with his right arm bent, resting upon his hip, and another kneeling upon a pedestal, wearing the disk; in his left hand he holds the crook, and in his right the flail, after the manner of Osiris.

Nahabka or Nahab, goddess represented with human hands (legs broken off), snake-headed, which she is sustaining with her hands, a ring above for suspension; small figure in blue porcelain; I have only seen two of these from Bubastis: they are rare. Figures of Bes, Bessa, sometimes called Typhon or Baal, are of very frequent occurrence, and I have a considerable number in a variety of styles; he is probably of Arabian origin, and is represented as a warrior, and as a deformed person of hideous aspect, in which latter *rôle* he was a favourite with the ladies. He is often found figured upon pillows, vases, and toilet utensils. His worship was introduced into Egypt at an early period, and was very popular during the XXIIInd Dynasty. It is rare in bronze, and I only possess two examples of different types, but in porcelain a considerable quantity in light blue and green.

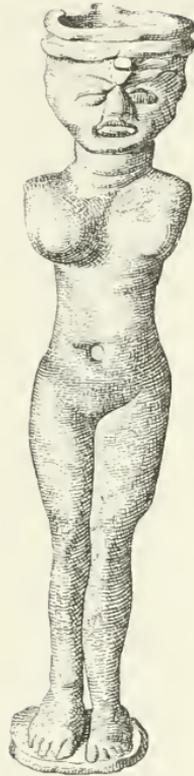
Taur or Thoueris, the wife or mistress of Bes, generally seen on the monuments allied with Bes, walking, with head and body of the hippopotamus, hind-quarters of a lion, tail of a crocodile, hands pendent; these figures in bronze are rare, and I have but one very small one,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch high, in porcelain; they are rather numerous, but rare in fine quality; they mostly are of coarse manufacture, being probably of a



1



2



3



4

ANTIQUITIES FROM TEL BASTA.  
IN THE COLLECTION OF F.G.HILTON PRICE, F.S.A.



late period; in some few of them Taur is represented holding the *crux ansata* between her legs in front.

Apis or Hapi. I have but one figure of this god in porcelain, bull-headed, walking, long head attire, tunic round the loins, and ring at the back of the neck for suspension. Next comes a peculiar figure, and I think unique, of Kat or Katesh, a Hittite form of Venus, standing, naked, arms gone; they were probably movable, as on the right side is a small rivet or pivot hole, showing that the arm fitted on separately; large head, hair tied up behind the head, with uræus on the forehead, surmounted with a crown or cornice, which is flat and hollow, height  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches, in bronze (Plate I, fig. 3). Then a bronze figure of Eros, of late date, and a lion-headed figure in brown porcelain, similar to Ari-hos, but without any head-dress; it is probably of Gnostic origin. Those most frequently met with are: Ptah, Bast, Nefer-atum, Shu, Thoth, Isis, Osiris, Harpocrates, Anubis, Bes, and Taur.

The animals worshipped by the ancient Egyptians at different periods were a great quantity, and they were either sacred to a certain god, goddess, district, or town, or that they were worshipped as emblems of a certain god or goddess. At Bubastis a considerable quantity of figures of animals have been found, made of different materials, such as gold, silver, bronze, porcelain, lapis lazuli, stone. Nearly all the porcelain figures, and most of the smaller bronze ones, are furnished with a ring for the purpose of suspending them to necklaces, placed round the necks of mummies; and I should imagine were likewise used by the living. A large number of these figures, whether of gods or animals, have been found in the ruins of private houses.

I will now proceed to give you a list of the animals in my collection found at this site.

Cynocephalus, or dog-headed baboon (*aāni*), emblem of the lunar deities Chons, son of Amen Ra and Mut, and third person of the Theban triad, and of Tahuti or Thoth, often represented seated upon the ground with his paws resting upon his knees, tail at the right side; some have the lunar disk upon their head; they are generally in porcelain, of a variety of colours; I have one in bronze seated upon a

column, probably the head of a staff. There are other figures representing a monkey, erect, walking, with left foot advanced and arms pendent; and others of a monkey, not the baboon before described, seated upon the ground with his fore paws resting upon his knees; these are all in blue porcelain; and another with his elbows on his knees supporting his chin.

Lion (*mau*), couchant, emblem of Horus, and others seated, one with three whelps between its fore legs, and another of a lioness, recumbent upon its side, exhibiting a row of five teats; these are all of porcelain, and not common.

Cat (*mau*), emblem of the goddess Bast, and of Sekhet, but the latter is always represented lion-headed, whilst Bast has always that of the cat. This animal was worshipped throughout Egypt, and thought to be more sacred than any other; it was death to any person caught killing one, even by accident.

Figures of cats are very numerous at Tel Basta, where they are met with in bronze, larger than life, down to the small ones in porcelain, half an inch high; they have been found in gold, but I do not possess any in that precious metal. My collection contains between seventy and eighty cats or cats' heads, many seated erect, with the tail curled round on the right side, wearing a collar, with a pendant in front, generally of the mystic eye, with a counterpoise behind; glass or crystal eyes; in many of the bronze heads the eye-sockets are hollow, indicating they have had crystal eyes, and in others the eyes have been sunk into recesses. Some of these cats are seated upon bronze pedestals in the form of the hieroglyph for the goddess Bast, the vase . Some of the cats have a scarabæus upon their heads in bronze, others have had them set in glass or crystal, which has perished, leaving a hole for the setting; one of them has the scarab simply engraved upon the head. My largest cat is 11 inches high, hollow, and has probably served for a mummy case for a cat, as many of them no doubt have done. Cats' heads are frequently found in bronze, and of large size; I possess several of them; they do not appear to have formed a part of a cat; they are mostly evenly cut about the middle of the neck or at the shoulder, so that they

can stand well without support. I am of opinion that these heads have formed the lids or coverings of vases or boxes, or even of wooden cat bodies, intended for the reception of the mummies. I have extracted portions of bones and bits of cloth from the interior of these heads, but I have never seen any receptacle that could be said to have been used for these heads to fit on to; they are excellently modelled, with engraved lines in the ears and on the nose to represent the hairs of the cat; the ears are mostly pierced for earrings. One of my heads, of fine workmanship, has gold streaks on the ears and nose to represent the hair, and has small punctures upon the back of the neck inlaid with gold for the same object (Plate I, fig. 1). I have an interesting cat, seated erect upon the vase-shaped stand or pedestal, with a small human figure in front of it kneeling as in the act of worshipping; unfortunately the head of the person is broken off. It has a ring for suspension, and it is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height, too large to carry round one's neck; it was probably used as a votive offering, suspended in a niche in the temple or tomb. There are two cats, well modelled, which have formed handles to vases, and others which have been the heads of hair-pins. The porcelain cats are of different colours, and vary in size from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch to  $\frac{1}{2}$  an inch, and one smaller figure in silver, well made, which was most likely used as an amulet.

Jackal figures are very rare. I have the top of a jackal standard in bronze, height  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch; this animal is emblem of the god Anepu or Anubis, "the opener of the ways." The next I have to refer to is the bull, *ka*, sacred to the god Ptah, of which I have two in bronze. They are seldom found at Tel Basta; they are represented as walking, left leg advanced, wearing the disk and uræus on his head, and trappings upon his back; likewise small figures of the same animal in blue porcelain.

Ram, *ba*, emblem of the god  $\chi$ num or Chnoumis, the demiurgos, lord of water, one of the forms of Amen Ra, represented couchant upon a pedestal, one in bronze which is very rare, and several in bluish porcelain, with a ring upon the back for suspension; these figures are usually of very coarse make, but some that I have are fairly good.

Oryx, couchant, sacred to Ptah-Socharis-Osiris, is one of the rarest animals from this site (Plate I, fig. 4). I have never had more than two, one in blue porcelain, well modelled, with collar round its neck, coloured yellow, as if in imitation of a gold necklace; and another figure in bronze, represented seated, with one horn broken off, but is well executed, about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch high. Another rare animal is the hippopotamus, sacred to Bes and Taur. I have one small figure in white stone, with a ring upon its back for suspension. The sow, *s'au*, is frequently found, and I have several specimens in light blue porcelain; they are standing upon a pedestal, its nose to the ground, and with a ring upon the back. These animals may have been sacred to Set or Bes. The hare, *χaruter*, emblem of Osiris Onnophris, is also rare; a few in blue porcelain, pierced.

Hawk, *bak*, emblem of Horus, Ra or Harpacrat, according to its style of head ornament, are of frequent occurrence, and some splendid figures in bronze, inlaid with gold, have occasionally been met with. My figures are all small, and are either of bronze, steatite, or porcelain. Some are represented wearing the disk upon its head as emblem of Ra, others the *pschent* or crown of Upper and Lower Egypt as emblem of Horus. Some of the figures have no head ornament at all; one has the *atef*, the head dress of Harpocrates; they all have rings at the back for suspension. Then there is a group of two human-headed hawks, emblem of the soul, wearing the *namms* and plumes on their heads, standing on a pedestal, possibly formed the ornament for the top of a sistrum.

Vulture, *maut*; this is a *rara avis* at Tel Basta; it is an emblem of the goddess Mut, the mother goddess, the wife of Amen, wearing the head dress of Osiris; in yellowish porcelain, with a ring behind for suspension; height,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch.

Ibis, *hab*, the messenger, emblem of the god Tahuti or Thoth; this bird was worshipped throughout Egypt; it was the Egyptian Hermes or messenger of the gods. Several figures seated, with its beak resting upon a feather, the emblem of truth; one in a like position swallowing a frog; they are of porcelain, and have a ring for suspension. There

is one head in bronze, about 1 inch high, of good work; these figures are uncommon.

Duck, *tarp*; one small figure in bronze, as in the act of swimming; these birds are not considered to be sacred.

Crocodile, *emsuh*; I have but one of this animal, of rough work, in light blue porcelain; it was emblem of the god Sebak, one of the principal deities of the pantheon as worshipped at Arsinoë or Crocodilopolis, pierced.

Uraeus (serpent), *āra*; there are several of these in bronze and in porcelain; one head in glazed steatite of fine work, wearing the *namms* or large head attire; this head was fitted on to some small standard. Another with a spike upon the top of the head, signification unknown, unless it be intended for the disk to be fitted in to; on the breast are six compartments which have been inlaid; it is of bronze. Another emblem of Mahen, goddess of the hours, wearing the disk and cow horns; upon the breast are six compartments as before, which have been filled up with glass and stone. Another wearing the lower crown, emblem of the goddess Uat or Buto. Another wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, and several in pairs, placed side by side, conjugate emblems of the solar goddesses, with disks upon their heads, and compartments on their breasts, which have been filled in with coloured glasses; these have rings at the back for suspension, and have formed part of the ornamentation of the cap of some large figure of Osiris.

A Frog, emblem of the goddess Hekka or Heqat, wife and companion of Chnoumis, closes my list of the animals from Bubastis.

It will be observed from the before-going, that the animals most commonly met with are, monkeys, cats, rams, and hawks.

Symbolic eyes. Dr. Birch has stated that one of the most common objects of the toilet is the symbolic eye, *uta*, consisting of an eye with two appendages; the one in front  called "the drop," attached to a spiral line resembling a lituus, the two being called *at*. But I shall not now attempt any dissertation upon these eyes, as that might be worked up into a subject of considerable magnitude, but shall merely add a few words relative to those in my collection.

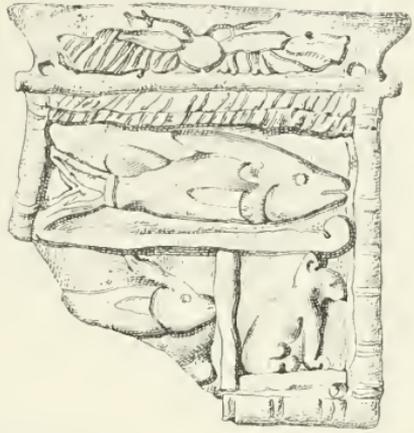
The eye which we are so accustomed to see upon these amulets is supposed to be that of the cow, sacred to Athor. The right eye was the symbol of the sun, and the left of the moon. These objects were used for various purposes, generally for ornaments, such as pendants to necklaces, bracelets or finger rings; nearly all of them are either pierced or supplied with a ring for attachment; many of the coarser or more flimsy specimens were doubtless employed for the outer network of mummies.

I find that the majority of the eyes are right eyes; that is to say, out of ninety-two, forty-three of them are right eyes, or emblems of the sun; thirty-four are double or reversible eyes, possibly emblems of both sun and moon; five only are left eyes, or symbols of the moon; whereas ten are combinations of two pairs of eyes, emblematical of the four points of the compass. The greater number of these symbolic eyes are composed of blue porcelain, some of granite, lapis lazuli, and carnelian.

The most remarkable in the collection is a rectangular plate of blue porcelain, with a right eye (Plate II, fig. 1); in the centre of the pupil is a figure of Ptah-Socharis-Osiris, as the pigmy dwarf; on the right side of the pupil in the tunic of the eye are two hawks; and on the left hand side of it some object too indistinct to make out; upon the drop of the eye is an ibis in the attitude of walking upwards; the eye-brow is well marked; this plate is imperforate, and has probably been inlaid in some precious metal. There is another plate with a right eye upon it, and on the right hand side of the drop. Beneath the eye itself is a figure of Ptah-Socharis-Osiris; this is pierced through the centre, and is of blue porcelain; another, of similar style to the last, has a figure of Sekhet standing, lion-headed, wearing the disk of the sun, arms pendent; another, similar, with the exception that it has the basket of Nephthys beneath the drop of the eye in addition to the figure of Sekhet on the right hand side. There are some others on rectangular and rounded plates with crenulated edges, with simply the right eye in the centre; some of these plates have some hieroglyphs upon the backs; but with the exception of one with  $\chi$ eper, 



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ANTIQUITIES FROM TEL BASTA.  
IN THE COLLECTION OF F.G.HILTON PRICE, F.S.A.



and another with Nebthat,  the others are illegible. Some specimens are pierced, and a few have a ring above.

Some of the double eyes are rather elaborately cut out in open work; the left eyes are plain; the combinations of four symbolic eyes upon one plate, joined inversely, facing outwards, are interesting, as Dr. Birch states that these were the four eyes, according to the Ritual, chapter cxlviii, each assigned to one of four paddles of the south, north, west, and east. On one of these plates between the pairs of eyes are two papyrus sceptres, the heads pointing inwards.

It may be inferred from this that the people of Bubastis placed greater reliance in the symbolism of the right eye than in the left.

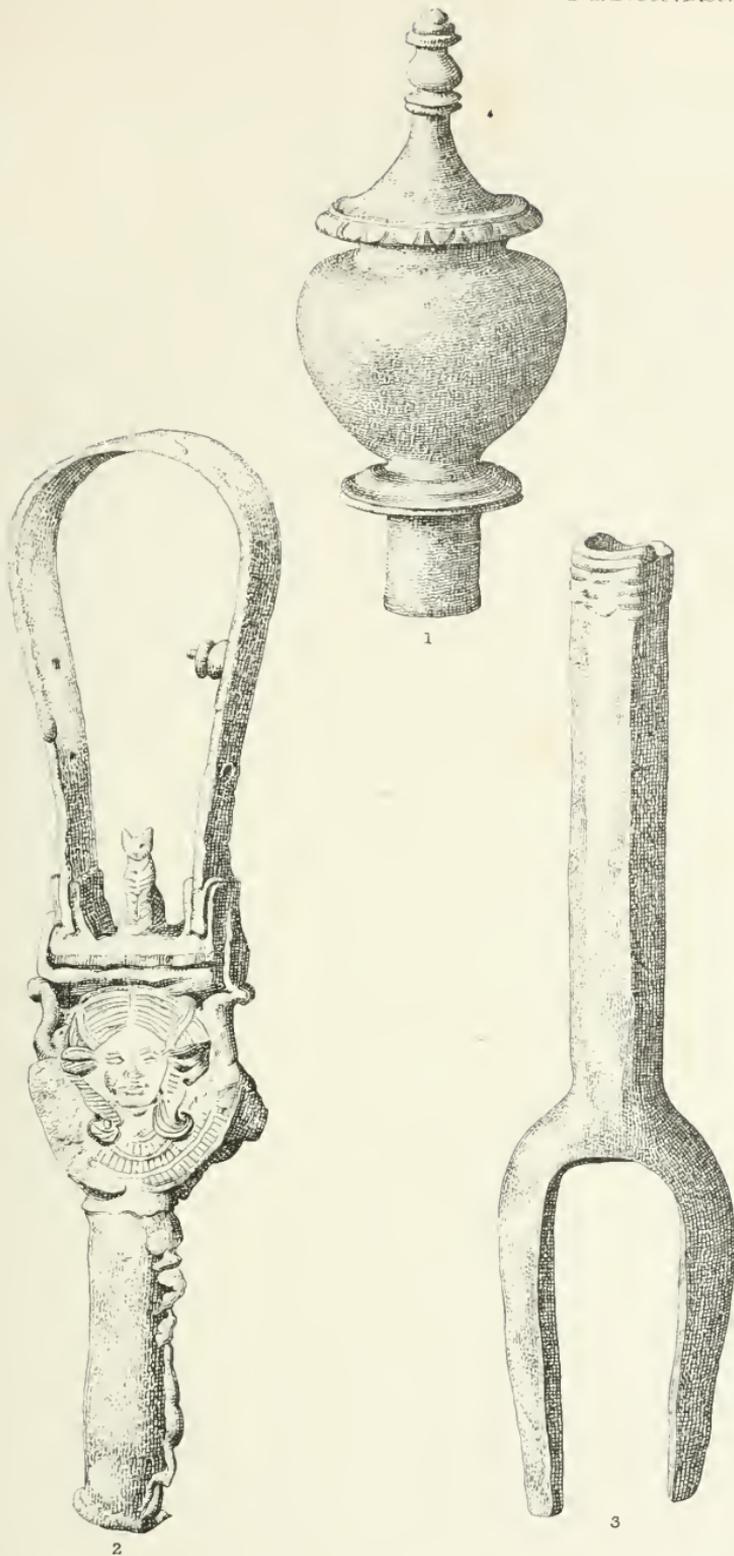
Continuing the civil section, I will proceed with the objects of the toilet, but this will not occupy much time; for although I have a fairly large collection of such objects, still comparatively few of them were found at Tel Basta. To begin with the beads, I cannot say they are necklaces, but we will call them strings of beads, which consist of beads of green, blue, and iridescent glass, porcelain of various shapes and sizes, including some of the blue fluted ones which are so frequently met with in Roman and Saxon interments in this country, strings of carnelian, agate, onyx, chalcedony, green felspar, beryl, amethyst, amber, &c., mixed, and several strings of small porcelain beads of various colours, such as brown, blue, yellow, green, red, &c., and another small string found with the figure of a bronze cat. In addition to these strings, there are several single beads of different shapes; for instance, bugles in blue porcelain, a few in the form of lotus flowers, in carnelian and porcelain; beads in the form of seals, weights, diamonds, squares, buttons, fruit, and pendants of glass, porcelain, carnelian, &c., and a few in silver; one interesting one in form of a portion of the stem of the fossil crinoid *Goniaster*,  $\frac{7}{8}$  of an inch in length. I may remark that Mr. Flinders Petrie found one like it at San, which may be seen in the British Museum. Several scarabæi unengraved, in malachite, green jasper, amethyst, carnelian, &c., also heads of animals, such as cows, lions, cats, &c., pendants, in the form of the head of Bes, in porcelain, and in imitation of

lapis lazuli, are frequently found; the head of Athor, some amulets in the form of squares, with hieroglyphs on one side, and the figure of a deity on the other; also a fine pectoral plate in pale green porcelain, with a winged disk, two fishes and a cat in panels upon it in relief (Plate II, fig. 2).

Finger-rings are occasionally found; I have one composed of a scarabæus, in steatite, set in gold, of fine work, with a large silver ring to it, which however is much oxidized. The hieroglyphics are merely royal attributes such as *tats*, *nefers*, *χeper* and *nub*; the gold round the scarab is a quarter of an inch in depth; finger-ring in bronze of the Greek period, one a key-ring of the Roman period, two small ones in lead, a bronze signet ring with the inscription Pet-sa-Bast upon it, and a few models of finger-rings which were used to be placed upon the wooden hands of mummies; there is a good example of this in the British Museum. The pendant of an ear-ring in gold in the form of a fish, with a piece of green felspar at the tail, and a pearl in the front of its nose—good work, probably Ptolemaïc period. Also a gold bracelet, composed of thick twisted wire; the ends are made with a wider twist, so that it can slide over the narrower part, and so enable the wearer to pass it over the wrist; this was obtained by the Rev. Greville Chester.

Spindle whorls in wood, bone and glass; also a thread-winder in blue porcelain,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter; there is also one in bronze, 1 inch in diameter. Stibium cases in porcelain; one vase or ointment pot in granite, with a circular hole, made probably with a drill; bone cases in the form of pitchers; small glass bottles of the Roman period; also an elegant little bowl in blue porcelain, with a lip for pouring, and a flat rim round the margin, with two lions couchant upon it: this was probably used for mixing some cosmetique or *kohl* for the toilet.

Several draughtsmen of different shapes in porcelain and alabaster, some mushroom-shaped, others with human heads and animals' heads. Pictures of the tombs of the ancient Egyptians depict them playing at this game. Then there is an astragalus in steatite. Sistrum (Plate III, fig. 2): I have a fine specimen in bronze,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height; the handle is sur-



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mounted with the head of the goddess Athor upon an ægis, whose head is supported on either side by two uræi, having plumes upon their heads; the loop above has holes for two bars, only a portion of one remains; upon the base of the loop is a cat seated. Several portions of sistrums have been found in blue porcelain, and a figure of a bronze cat, recumbent, from the top of one. Pallets in steatite and granite for grinding colours, bronze hooks and bronze fish-hooks, also the forked end of a sceptre in bronze, such as we see upon the monuments as carried by the gods or by royalty, 7 inches in length (Plate III, fig. 3). A considerable number of bronze arrow points, javelins, and axes or hoes have also been found; one of the arrow points is of peculiar interest, as having a single barb on the shaft, it being similar to those found in the lake dwellings of Switzerland; a mould was acquired by the British Museum last year for casting a point of this description. I have given a description of these weapons elsewhere (*Anthropological Institute Journal* for August, 1884).

A simpulum in bronze; the length of the handle is  $15\frac{1}{2}$  inches, diameter of the bowl  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches; there are three others, but without any handles. Small bells are sometimes met with. I have three specimens, with a ring upon the top, and upon one side a ram's head. Amongst the rarer objects is the head of a staff in bronze; it is 5 inches high, and in excellent preservation; it is in the shape of a vase, with a conical cover (Plate III, fig. 1).

Situlus, or small bucket in bronze, drop-shaped, elongated, with a stud at the bottom; on it in relief is the figure of the god Khem, standing, facing the right, wearing the two tall hawk feathers upon his head; form mummied, with the three-thonged whip in his right hand; in front of him there are two other figures too indistinct to describe. It has two loops on either side at the top, to which a curved movable handle was probably attached; this specimen is 3 inches high; there are two others, one in bronze and the other in porcelain, likewise supplied with loop handles, but without any ornamentation. The next to remark upon are two stone querns or mortars, one of crystalline limestone, having a diameter of  $8\frac{3}{4}$  inches, with a bruiser  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches in height, made

of a kind of granite; the other is of basalt, 12 inches in diameter, with four ears or handles upon the rim; one of them is of a different form from the other three; this is probably Roman. A fine alabastron in alabaster was one of the most recent acquisitions; it is 12 inches high, vertically banded, with small ring handles on the shoulders; it is rare to obtain such a good specimen from any part.

The ancient Egyptians under the XVIIIth Dynasty had acquired great proficiency in sculpturing, and many of their works, notwithstanding their conventional style, were of great beauty. I have now to bring before your notice a female head of marvellously fine work, carved upon a block of basalt; the size of the block is 6 inches by 4½, one side has been rubbed down, the back is left rough; the sculpture although in relief is slightly below the level of the margin, which extends upon three sides of it, thus protecting the sculpture from injury when placed one upon another, face to face, as they in all probability were; as this specimen only represents the head and neck of a woman (probably a portrait of some queen), it is complete in itself, so could not have formed any portion of a wall sculpture; I imagine it to have been an artist's or sculptor's model (Plate IV, fig. 2). I have another in the same style, smaller, likewise upon basalt, but unfinished; the ear has been traced out with a tool, but never sculptured, the head-dress is likewise unfinished; this specimen may have been spoilt and thrown away.

Several heads of statues and heads of statuettes have been found; the first I shall mention is that of a functionary in basalt, of the Roman period; it is well executed, and the face has been polished; the nose is injured; it is probably a portrait; the hair is represented quite short, with a chaplet or band across it; the point of the nose is broken off; the back is supported by a plinth; height 4 inches. Another head of a functionary of a much earlier period, in granite, part of a large statue; it wears the long head-attire; the nose is injured; upon the back is the upper portion of a vertical line of hieroglyphics, giving a dedication to Horus, with a boat of the sun; height 7 inches. Another of a functionary in basalt, wearing the *namms*, broken off above



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ANTIQUITIES FROM TEL BASTA.

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IN THE COLLECTION OF F. G. HILTON PRICE, F. S. A.

J. P. & W. R. Emslie, lith.



the waist; there are traces of hieroglyphics upon the back, but they appear to have been purposely erased, unless the stone has been used for sharpening tools on; height  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The bust of a queen in basalt, wearing the long head-attire, surmounted by the vulture head-dress and uræus on the forehead; it is broken off below the breasts; she wears a tight-fitting garment; height  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches; it shows signs of having been gilded.

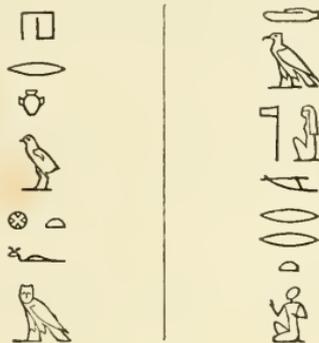
Then there is a head in steatite of either Amen Ra or a king; a small head in stone of a functionary, wearing the short wig of the XXIInd Dynasty; the head of a king of Upper Egypt or Osiris in calcareous stone; also some other heads in stone and porcelain. Of bronze figures belonging to the domestic or civil section I have but a few: the first is that of Venus or Aphrodite, a fairly good figure in bronze, 8 inches high (Plate IV, fig. 1); she wears a floral head-dress, out of which rises the horns with disk and plumes; she has had probably a mirror in her right hand, but that is broken off; this is late Greek work; the next is a figure of a priest of Isis, named Pahasi, a vertical line of hieroglyphs upon its back; he is represented kneeling, with his hands resting upon his knees; height  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch. A figure of a workman, carrying a brick upon his head and pieces of wood, which he supports against his shoulder with his left hand; height  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches. Another figure of the same height, of a man or priest in the kneeling attitude, bearing a square chest, with short feet to it, upon his head; both of these are upon pedestals of bronze. A squatting figure of a man, playing the double pipes, in greenish-blue porcelain; fairly good work. Some interesting pedestals: one in bronze with an inscription to Chonsu; another in fine porcelain to Horus; another in the form of a flight of steps in green porcelain, with a dedication to Bast upon a tablet in front of it; there are likewise some hieroglyphs upon the sides in relief; its length is  $3\frac{5}{8}$  inches by  $1\frac{1}{3}$  inch; it has formed the base of a fine statue of Bast. I have another interesting fragment of a pedestal in greenish porcelain, of a pair of feet well finished; each one is resting upon the head of a negro, faces outwards; this must have been

a splendid figure, probably of a king, making use of his enemies as his footstool; upon one side are a few hieroglyphs in relief. In the British Museum is a small stone statue, representing Sekhet seated upon a throne based upon four captives—the heads of two, one Asiatic, the other African—thus possibly these feet may even belong to a figure of Bast or Sekhet.

#### SEPULCHRAL SECTION.

Comparatively few sepulchral objects have been found here and passed into my possession; but there are some interesting specimens to bring before your notice. Firstly, I shall mention a fine set of canopic vases, which were found near the city. These vases were exhibited before the Society on the 3rd April, 1883, and our President, Dr. Birch, made some interesting and instructive remarks upon them; for full description I shall refer you to the *Proceedings* of the Society under that date. They are fine vases, three in alabaster; the one dedicated to Hapi is of basalt, and all belong to one set, as may be proved by the inscriptions. The small rectangular cases in bronze, which are so familiar to all, do not often occur here; I have but three: they are used as the mummy cases of small animals. One has a lizard in relief upon the top, and is consequently supposed to have contained the remains of that reptile. Another with two small lizards upon it, with two loops for suspension at opposite ends. Another rather smaller, with the same reptile upon the upper side. Recumbent figures of females in terra-cotta or red earthenware rarely occur; I have but three. Two masks from terra-cotta coffins of the Roman period; one has a well executed face, and is in all probability a portrait. Of usabti or sepulchral figures I have but ten from this site, some in stone, but mostly in porcelain. One curious one of a nude female which has been dipped into a red colour, with an unusual head-dress of very late period. Others have vertical lines of hieroglyphs painted upon them, some with horizontal lines incised; the latter have a portion of the sixth chapter of the Ritual of the Dead upon them.

A piece of an alabaster monument inscribed with portion of standard and name of Amenhotep III, of the XVIIIth Dynasty, height  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches. A large slab of calcareous stone which has formed portion of a monument or wall, with a fragment of an inscription upon it in relief in two vertical columns; 13 inches in height by 10 inches in breadth.



A sepulchral tablet in calcareous stone, 13 inches in height by  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches, representing a priest with a jug or vase of libations, "all things good and pure for Menahemi," pouring some fluid upon a small altar, in front of which sits the god Harmachis Horns on the horizon. The figures upon this tablet are in relief.

Another in calcareous stone representing Osiris seated, behind him stands Mentu Ra; to the right is Sekhet standing with the disk of the sun and uræus upon her head; above the figures is a winged disk, and within the disk a cartouche, but of doubtful significance. No inscription. Height 14 inches by 11 inches.

A small oval-topped tablet in calcareous stone with a dedication to Bast roughly incised upon it; the hieroglyphs have been coloured red, height  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches. There are two very fine large sepulchral scarabæi in green basalt, one splendidly made; they both contain portions of the 30th and 64th chapters of the Ritual of the Dead upon them; one states that it was made for Nasnefertum, and the other for Nraunfer; they are probably of the time of the XXIIInd Dynasty.

Several strings of porcelain beads from the outer network of mummies, some few have been gilded. There are a con-

siderable number of amulets and emblems, many probably from the network or from the interior of mummies; they occur in jasper, steatite, and porcelain; they consist of *tats* or emblems of stability, ties or girdles, *crux ansatæ*, plumes, crowns, papyrus sceptres, the amulet known as the Sam, in obsidian, the heart, hand, vases, solar disk on the hill or horizon, &c., and a counterpoise of a collar in blue porcelain, having an inscription incised upon it to the effect that "Bast gives life to its possessor."

A considerable number of figures in terra-cotta are met with at Bubastis, and I have several of them which I will give you an account of; they are chiefly of the Roman period. The greater number consist of those of Harpocrates, son of Osiris and Isis; in one he is represented standing, wearing a large head-dress, a tunic round his loins, with a cornucopia in his left hand, the index finger of his right hand to his lip; the feet are broken off; height  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Another of the same deity seated, wearing a large head-dress, as is usual to Harpocrates, with the index finger of his right hand to his mouth; in his left he holds a vase, the end of which is supported on his thigh. Between his feet upon the pedestal is another vase of globose form. This figure has been covered over with a sort of whitish cement and coloured; but this composition having decayed to a great extent, I have removed it, and so developed the features of the figures, which before were indistinct; this last figure is  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches in height. Another figure of Harpocrates, partially nude, in the attitude of squatting upon the ground. Upon his head are two lotus buds, and the lock of hair on his right side; under his left arm he is holding a goose; whilst with his right hand he holds up a bunch of grapes; height 7 inches. Another figure of Harpocrates, clothed, seated upon the ground, wearing the same curious triple ornament on his head, lock of hair on his right shoulder; he holds a globose shaped vase under his left arm; the fingers of his right hand are placed to his lips; height 6 inches. Harpocrates, standing, naked, resting his left arm upon a pillar to support the cornucopia which he holds, wearing a large head-dress, with the triple ornament upon the top of it; curly hair; the index finger of

his right hand to his lip; on his right hand side appears to be a basket upon the ground; height 8 inches. Another figure of Harpokrates, naked, wearing the triple ornament upon his head; represented on horseback trotting; interesting specimen; height  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches. I have some other figures of Harpokrates, and several heads of this god. Figures of Bes, or Bessa; these in terra-cotta are of frequent occurrence from Tel Basta, sometimes represented as a warrior, and sometimes as a simple nude figure. When as a warrior, he wears the cornice and plumes upon his head, a large shield upon his left arm, and a sword in his right, which he holds up above his head; figures in this form are sometimes of large size. Several figures of Bes, wearing the head-dress and plumes, naked, with his hands resting upon his knees, obverse and reverse alike, have been found, and others with only one side.

Figures of Aphrodite Anadyomene, one kneeling down, and the other standing up. Eros, standing, playing upon the guitar; a figure of a female, draped, playing on the lyre. Busts of Jupiter Serapis, figure of a soldier, with a fillet on his head, a palm branch in his left hand, legs wide apart, as though he had been intended to sit on horseback; other men on horseback; grotesque faces; a charming figure of a negro slave coiled up asleep, his head resting against a vase; upon the side of his head is a ring which forms the handle; upon the top is the orifice to a small vase; it is of good work, Greek period. Figure of Athene, seated in a bath up to her breasts; upon the left side of the bath is an orifice; this was probably a lamp. Another object of similar use in the form of a female crouching, embracing a large monolith or pillar (?), perforated at the top for suspension; 8 inches high. Another like object, with a domestic cock seated upon the top, several interesting female heads of the Greek period, a spirited figure of a dwarf carrying two pitchers, a small temple or Naos, 4 inches high, with the four vestal virgins supporting the roof, one on each side of the entrance; it was probably a small lantern or niche for a lamp; then a few animals, such as a bull, with plumes and disk on his head, a pair of very Greek looking horses, a camel bearing water jars, which is

rare, and several birds, one 6 inches in length, well modelled, and some much smaller; these birds are decidedly rare.

It is a matter of fact that all the lamps found in Egypt are either of the Greek or Roman period; none of the terra-cotta lamps are earlier than these times, and a great many of them belong to the Christian era. The Egyptians certainly used lamps, but as to the form they adopted we are unable to form any idea. They are found at Bubastis of various forms; some of the later Ptolemaic period, of red terra-cotta, have tall leaf-shaped or circular bowls, and with one or more elongated nozzles; some of this latter class have a hole perforated beneath the handle, apparently for the purpose of attaching it by a chain or cord to a stand or candelabra. Bronze lamps from Bubastis are rare, and I have but three specimens, one of the Greek period, with a tall handle, in the form of an open flower, with a circular hole in the centre for pouring in the oil; the body of the lamp is in the form of a pomegranate or apple with a long cylindrical nozzle; beneath the foot is a hole, indicating it has been fixed upon a candelabra or stand; it is 8 inches in length, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches high.

Another smaller one, but plainer in design, in but poor condition. The third lamp consists of a large circular central feeder, with three spreading burners, each of which are 5 inches in length from the centre of the lamp; it is in good condition, and of the Coptic period. There are several in red terra-cotta, plain, with a piece turned up at the side, in which a small hole has been perforated; this form of lamp usually has a circular foot; the central hole or feeder is often rather sunken. The commonest type of lamp is that of the shoe shape, badly baked, and of coarse work; they are often known as toad lamps, from the fact of a figure of a toad in relief being placed upon them, which is supposed by some people to typify the resurrection. These were probably made in Egypt, cast in moulds; upon the base of them is usually seen either a palm branch or the Greek letter *A*, the initial letter for Alexandria. It is interesting to place a series of these lamps upon the table, and to observe how from the well-formed toad upon some of them, the makers

after a time had lost all idea of the original design, and produced the four legs of the toad with a scroll or perhaps a palm branch instead of a head; then four disjointed legs only will appear; then simply the hind legs of the toad, the rest being a sort of chequer pattern; then simple pieces of palm branches, arranged round the feeder, with bosses instead of feet; then five knobs or pellets to indicate the feet and head; lastly they develop into a confused design, but evidently indicating a survival from the original. On some a human face is depicted, which may likewise be a development from the toad; the nozzles of most of these lamps are blackened, showing them to have been used.

There are several moulds, chiefly made of terra-cotta and a coarse material much like brick, for casting figures of gods and other objects. The following is a list of them: Some for casting the scarabæus, moulds for casting small porcelain figures of Bast about 1 inch in height; for casting porcelain figures of Bes, one  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch, and the other 2 inches in height; a mould for casting in porcelain an ægis of Isis; one for casting porcelain figures of Nefer-tum; height  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches; a mould for casting a figure of a man on horseback of the Roman period; two square moulds for casting figures of a female standing in a niche, with a winged scarabæus over the portal, 7 inches in height; moulds for casting symbolic eyes, one very interesting one with the figure of Bast to the right, and the hieroglyphic *nub*  beneath it. One of the most interesting objects in the collection is a large terra-cotta stamp, with a straight handle behind, all made in one mould; the centre is occupied by a head of Pan, surrounded by a floral scroll and moulding; it is 8 inches in diameter. It has been supposed to be the seal of the city, but it is most probably a cake stamp (Plate II, fig. 3).

Terra-cotta moulds for casting third brass coins of the Lower Empire are occasionally found.

There are a considerable number of vases chiefly of terra-cotta, unglazed, some few of red glazed ware, whilst others are of a very coarse material. I have one small vase in bronze, 3 inches high; at present it is uncleaned, so I am unable to say whether or not there are hieroglyphics or any

ornamentation upon it; two small cups or vases, one in porcelain, painted in black in imitation of leaves, and the other in green basalt, both are a little over 2 inches in height; they probably belong to the toilet, and I should have mentioned them under that heading. There are several lekythos-shaped jugs, of different sizes; some of the more globose form have been decorated with circles, &c., others of Alabastros and Aryballos forms, some quite small. The vessels of the red polished ware are much heavier than any other forms; some have three loop-shaped handles round the neck for suspension; they give one much the idea of the costrel; many of the vases have globular bases which necessitates their being kept upon rings of stone. Several vases of red terra-cotta are ornamented with concentric grooves. Some of the unguentariæ are of elegant forms; there is a child's feeding bottle in light coloured terra-cotta, two vases of peculiar form, with small tube-shaped neck with loop-handles to them; they are both deeply grooved with concentric furrows, the wheel marks, and have rather globular bodies, one of them has the appearance of being fixed into a bowl which has four small handles round it; this has been painted white, and is probably late Roman. There is a flat flask, disk-shaped, in red glazed terra-cotta, with a tube neck and two small ears; its diameter is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Pateræ or basins in red terra-cotta in various sizes are numerous; one fine specimen has two loop handles upon each side with a recurved rim; height 3 inches, with a diameter of  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches; then another without handles, of nearly the same size, in black glazed terra-cotta; some much smaller, one with a flat rim; others of a very coarse kind of terra-cotta. A curious vase in red terra-cotta with concentric groovings and a handle across the top; two other basins or pateræ, with globular bases, and a handle across the top in form of a small basket, one is ornamented with a star beneath in relief, and the other has the star incuse; there is another vase, globular, with a large mouth, very similar in form to those usually seen beneath the arm of the terra-cotta figures of Harpocrates. The next are of a more ornamental character, one an amphora-shaped vase, decorated with a wreath and

festoons in red terra-cotta ; one of the same pattern in black terra-cotta, both of the Roman period, and one in the form of the club of Herakles, decorated with a wreath ; it is 7 inches high, and of red terra-cotta ; then there are a few very small pateræ and vases, one in the form of a cow's horn ; these were probably children's toys.

Bronze coins of the Ptolemies of different sizes, some silvered ; small brass of the Roman Empire, and tetradrachms and drachms of Athens are amongst the antiquities from Bubastis, also a considerable number of phallic objects.

I have now ended my task, and only regret that the time for preparing these notes has been so short that it has quite precluded me from writing for further information upon several important points which I should have liked to have said more about. Yet notwithstanding the meagreness of this communication, I trust it has given you a fair idea of the kind of antiquities that have been found at Bubastis, which in a general way may be considered to be typical. Large monuments, finer figures and objects in gold have been found there, and may be seen in many of the European museums.

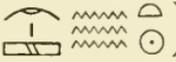


## THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAAC OF TIPHRE.

By E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A.

*Read 3rd March, 1885.*

THE vellum manuscript from which the text of this Martyrdom is taken is in the possession of Lord Zouche; it is written in a large, regular hand, and belongs to the XIIth century. Some of the capitals which begin the paragraphs are illuminated, and on the tops of the pages are the short ejaculatory prayers  $\Phi\text{†}\ \text{καὶ}\ \text{καὶ}\ \text{καὶ}$  "God have mercy upon us";  $\Phi\text{†}\ \text{ἀριθνήθ}\ \text{ἐρον}$  "God help us";  $\Phi\text{†}\ \text{καὶ}\ \text{ζωῶν}\ \text{ἐτ}$  "God save me";  $\Phi\text{†}\ \text{σωτῆρ}\ \text{ἐρο}$  "God hear me," and the like. In ancient days the manuscript was presented to the library of the Holy Church of Elijah the prophet by one Father Stauros, a monk in the monastery of Father John. The MS. is dated in the 115th year of the era of the martyrs. Since the era of the Martyrs is reckoned from the 29th of August, A.D. 284, its 915th year will be equivalent to A.D. 1199. The Martyrdom was written by Christopher, a kinsman of Isaac the Martyr, and towards the end of it he says that he was with the holy man throughout all his tortures and sufferings from the beginning to the end, and that he was also an eye witness of his death. I have not been able to find out the exact year in which the martyrdom was consummated, nor the year in which it was first written down. It will be remembered that Diocletian ascended the throne A.D. 284, and that the first eighteen years of his reign were marked by a spirit of mild religious toleration. Christianity spread to such an extent as to alarm the polytheists and pagans, and Galerius while passing the winter at Nicomedia with

Diocletian, represented to him that he could not consider his work of the deliverance of the empire perfect if he allowed an independent people like the Christians to subsist and multiply in the heart of the provinces.<sup>1</sup> Whatever may have been Diocletian's secret reasons for persecuting the Christians, it is certain that a merciless and cruel attack upon them began with the destruction of the church of Nicomedia, February the 23rd, A.D. 303. The following day the general edict of persecution followed; but it attacked the churches and the property of the Christians rather than their lives, for Diocletian was averse to the effusion of blood. Shortly after, the edict was torn down from its conspicuous position by the hands of a Christian, and Diocletian was filled with fury, hatred, and jealousy. Edict after edict appeared, each more severe than the last, and eventually every one in the Imperial service had power to persecute the unhappy Christians as much as they pleased.<sup>2</sup> It is very probable that Isaac suffered death in the year A.D. 304, the year in which Diocletian issued the edict<sup>3</sup> that commanded the magistrates to employ every severity to make the Christians give up their superstition and to return to "the religion of nature, of Rome, and of their ancestors." His self-sought martyrdom was consummated at Taubah<sup>4</sup> on the 6th day of Pashons (παχών, ΠΑΧΩΝ; ΠΑΨΩΝΣ = Hier. ) the first month of the season of the inundation, and corresponding to the last few days of our April and a large portion of May. Christopher's account of it would be written down very soon after this, and would be current among the Egyptian Christians during the IVth century.

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," London, 1854, Vol. II, pp. 264-273.

<sup>2</sup> See Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," Vol. II, pp. 264-273; Mosheim "Ecclesiastical History," Vol. I, p. 213, *et seq.*; Eusebius, "De Vita Constantini," Vol. II, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> The first edict was published February 23, A.D. 303, and the fourth A.D. 304. See Mosheim, p. 938.

<sup>4</sup> Eusebius mentions that in the Thebaïd ten to one hundred persons suffered martyrdom in one day. See the fifth chapter of his eighth book, and Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," p. 430.

The Augustinian monk F. A. A. Georgi in the last century published in his "De Miraculis Sancti Coluthi"<sup>1</sup> some extracts from the Vatican MS. No. 66,<sup>2</sup> which contained the history of the Martyr Isaac, and added a Latin version; and in 1810 Zoega's Catalogue of Coptic MSS. in the Borgian Museum<sup>3</sup> appeared, containing two important extracts from the same source. So far as I know, however, neither a complete copy of the text has hitherto been given, nor a translation of the whole of it. The text contained in Lord Zouche's MS. is on the whole very perfect, a few clerical errors and the omission of a word here<sup>4</sup> and there comprising nearly all its faults. I offer my thanks to him for his kindness in allowing me to copy this martyrdom.

TRANSLATION.

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152. The martyrdom of the holy martyr of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father Isaac of Tiphre,<sup>5</sup> in the nome of Panau,<sup>6</sup> which was consummated on the sixth day of the month Pashons<sup>7</sup> in the peace of God, Amen.

The emperor Diocletian in his days did things  
153. which it was unlawful for him to do, for he made<sup>8</sup> idols and worshipped them, and forsook the God of

<sup>1</sup> "De Miraculis Sancti Coluthi et reliquiis actorum Sancti Panesiv Martyrum," F. A. A. Georgii, eremitæ Augustiniani. 4to., Rome; pp. 33, 36, 88, 101, 144, 146.

<sup>2</sup> Dated in the year of the Martyrs 641 = A. D. 925.

<sup>3</sup> "Catalogus Codicum Coptiorum Manuscriptorum." G. Zoega; Rome, 1810.

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Henri Hyvernat of Rome for some of the corrections of the text printed in notes at the foot of my translation. He intends to publish the text of this martyrdom, according to the Vatican MS., in his magnificent work, "Les Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte."

<sup>5</sup> Tiphre, or Dephri, a village in the province of Garbiah, in the Busirite nome, in the Delta. See Quatremère, "Mémoires," Vol. I, p. 107. Champollion, "L'Égypte sous les Pharaons," Vol. II, p. 183.

<sup>6</sup> The name of a town and a nome in the Delta; called also Bana, the Benha of Niebuhr ("Voyage in Arabia," Vol. I, p. 64). See Quatremère, "Mémoires," Vol. I, pp. 105-107; Champ., "L'Égypte sous les Pharaons," Vol. II, pp. 181-183.

<sup>7</sup> Παχών = Hier   . This month began on the 26th of April.

<sup>8</sup> Read ⲁϥⲑⲁⲗⲓⲟ̅.

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heaven.<sup>1</sup> Besides this he wrote an edict<sup>2</sup> saying, "I, the Emperor Diocletian, command that the whole world shall offer sacrifice to the gods; whosoever shall not obey this decree, him shall they torture with horrible pains, and afterwards they shall spoil his house, and carry away all that he hath." And he gave the order to Culcianus the general, who carried it to Alexandria, where he made the multitude to offer sacrifice; and journeying on again he came towards the south to  
154. Egypt, and entering into Taubah<sup>3</sup> he landed at the harbour.<sup>4</sup>

Now there was in the village of Tiphre, in the nome of Panau, a prudent young man whose name was Isaac; he was twenty-five years of age, and was very beautiful, and he served God by day and by night. And an angel of the Lord appeared unto him while he was asleep in the field behind his hut<sup>5</sup> (or 'the reapers'?) and woke him up, saying, Hail, Father Isaac, the God-bearing (or God-borne) man,<sup>6</sup> why sleepest thou when the contest is spreading?

<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere we are told that he made seventy golden images, thirty-five male and thirty-five female, and called them gods, beginning with Apollo, Zens, and Diana. Zoega, "Cat. Copt. MSS.," p. 32; Vatican MS., p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> This was probably his second edict against the Christians, given in the year A.D. 303.

<sup>3</sup> **ΤΑΥΒΩ**, **ΤΑΥΒΑ**, or Taba, a city near **ΘΑΠΟΥΣ**, south of Alexandria, in Lower Egypt, the **ΤΑΟΥΑ** of Ptolemy, and **Ταυα** of Stephen of Byzantium. In the Itinerary of Antoninus it is placed between Cyno and Andro, being thirty miles from the first, and twelve from the second. Its prefect or governor at the time of Isaac was Culcianus. See Quatremère, "Mémoires," Vol. I, p. 350. Champ., "L'Égypte sous les Pharaons," Vol. II, p. 175. Anton. Itin. Wessel., p. 153.

<sup>4</sup> Read **εἰσαπερω**. Zoega, "Cat. Copt. MSS.," p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Lord Zouche's MS. reads **βλιος**. Georgi ("Præfat. De Miraculis S. Coluthi," etc., p. 36) divides the words differently, reading **ππεϋβλιος** **δαϋπερζι** **μελοϋ**, and considers the word to be a corruption of **συμφέλιον**. Parthey and Tattam seem to have overlooked this misprint, for both give **βλιος** in their lexicons without any remark.

<sup>6</sup> **θεόφορος** or **θεοφόρος**.



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- The soldier replied, What is thy business with the governor? And the holy man answered, I am a Christian. Dionysius says to him, What hast thou to do with this matter? dost thou wish to die a horrible death? The blessed man answered, The death of this world is not death to me, but life in the world to come. Now while he was speaking with Dionysius, the governor
160. came out from the bath; and when the noble Father Isaac saw him, he cried out,<sup>1</sup> saying, I am a Christian. Then Culcianus the governor looked at him, and said, Knowest thou what a Christian is? The holy man answered, I know that I am a servant of the Lord Jesus Christ. And the governor spake to him, saying, If thou listenest to me, thou shalt live; but if thou dost not listen to me, thou shalt die<sup>2</sup> a horrible death. The
161. holy Father Isaac answered, saying, It is written in<sup>3</sup> the Holy Gospel, "fear not them that are able to kill your body, but are not able to kill your soul; but fear rather Him that is able to destroy the soul and the body in the Gehenna of fire."<sup>4</sup> Says the governor to him, Where are these things written? And the holy man made answer to him, "They are written in the Gospels." And again the governor spake to him,
162. Art thou the reader? Says the holy man, No. Then the governor asked him, Whence comest thou? The holy man replied, I am a man of Tiphre, in the nome of Panau. And the governor said to Dionysius, See if thou canst persuade him while I go to Taniati<sup>5</sup> and return; and having gone up into a ship, he came to Taniati.

<sup>1</sup> Read εϕϰω ελλοϰ.

<sup>2</sup> Read CCϪHOVT ϪEN.

<sup>3</sup> Read ΧΝΔΕΛΟΥ.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. x, 28.

<sup>5</sup> TANIAT = TAEIAT *i.e.*, Damietta. Zoega, "Cat. Copt. MSS.," p. 20, has TAEIAT. Champollion thought that TAEIAT might possibly be TAEIAG. Champ., "L'Égypte sous les Pharaons," Vol. II, p. 322. See also Le Quien, "Oriens Christianus," Vol. II, p. 590.

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Then Dionysius took the holy man into his house, and  
 163. said to him, Listen to me, offer sacrifice to the gods; I  
 have one only child, a daughter, and her will I give  
 to thee to wife. I will also cause the governor to  
 give thee a post in the army, and thou wilt receive  
 honour. What hast thou to do with this name of  
 Jesus? Says the holy man to him, By the prayers  
 of the Saints, if thou wert to give me the empire  
 of Diocletian, I would not deny my Lord Jesus  
 Christ, the Son of the living God. So when Diony-  
 sius knew that he would not listen to him, he left off  
 speaking to him, and put him under restraint; and he  
 164. gave him bread and water for his daily food.

And it came to pass that the holy man came out  
 one day, and behold there was a blind man sitting  
 begging. Dionysius says to him, Go and entreat the  
 man of God, to lay his hand upon thine eyes and thou  
 shalt see; and he straightway cried out, saying, O man  
 of God, help me that I may see. Then the blessed one  
 said to him, Our Lord Jesus did not say to any<sup>1</sup>  
 165. man, See? but according to thy faith, so shall it be to  
 thee. And laying his hands upon his eyes, he said, In  
 the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, See. And he saw  
 immediately, and cried out, saying, One is the God of  
 the Christians, the God of Father Isaac. And behold a  
 woman cried out, Lord have mercy, and help me, for I  
 and my son are poor. The blessed man says to her,  
 Which gods<sup>2</sup> do ye serve? and she answered, I serve  
 166. Zeus and Hermes; and the holy man said, Thou art  
 poor, and thy gods also are poor. If thou listenest to  
 me, the blessing of God shall be with thee: go, serve  
 Christ, and His blessing also shall be with thee.

Now the blessed Isaac stayed in the house of  
 Dionysius the soldier until the governor returned to  
 the south. And when he had come, he asked Dionysius,

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<sup>1</sup> Read ελι.

<sup>2</sup> Reading ερεγγεγγι ηδω η πορτ

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Has the Christian persuaded himself to offer sacrifice?  
 167. He answered, Mayest thou be burnt, and thy polluted idols with thee; for from now and henceforth I will serve the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, and the Holy Spirit. Upon this the governor said, With thee I have nothing to do, but I will send thee to thy tribune. Then Dionysius said to him, As the God of Father Isaac liveth, thou shalt neither eat nor drink<sup>1</sup> until thou hast pronounced my sentence, so that I may receive the crown of Christ in His kingdom.

168. Now when the governor had risen to go to his house, his chariot was delayed, and he was unable to go to his dinner. And he said to Dionysius, Now, show your sorcery to-day! He replied, I am no sorcerer, but a servant of Jesus Christ. Then the governor wrote his sentence, which ran after this manner: "I command that the head of Dionysius, a soldier disobedient to the

169. commands of the emperors, be severed [from his body] by the edge of the sword." And when they had carried him to the west of the city to the place of the theatre, they took off his head: and he consummated his martyrdom on the 5th day of Pashons, in the peace of God, Amen.

Then says the governor to Father Isaac, Behold, through thee the soldier is dead; and I will take thee to Peshati<sup>2</sup> that I may try thee in the same manner; so he took him with him on board the ship, and brought him to Peshati. And on the morrow, when the governor sat  
 170. upon the throne, he commanded them to bring the

<sup>1</sup> Georgi ("Præfat. de Miraculis," p. xxxvii) renders "non comedam, neque bibam, donec extremam sententiam," etc.

<sup>2</sup> Πυα† or Ψα†, or Πικιεϋς. Gr. ΠΙΚΙΟΥ, ΠΙΚΙΟΣ, ΠΙΚΙΕΥς, ΠΙΚΕΥς, and ΠΙΚΙΟΥς: the Latin Niein, the metropolis of the Prosopites, nome, situated on the right bank of the west arm of the Nile, towards Rosetta. Two of its bishops, Sarapamen and Macrobius, were martyred under Diocletian. See Quatremère, "Mémoires," Vol. I, p. 420; Vol. II, p. 162; Le Quien, "Oriens Christianus," Vol. II, p. 523; Champ., "L'Égypte sous les Pharaons," Vol. II, p. 162.

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- blessed Father Isaac before him. When they had brought him, he said to him, Hearken unto me, and offer sacrifice to the gods, that thou mayest escape a multitude of sufferings, for I am exceedingly grieved for thee. Says the holy man to him, If thou didst sorrow for me yesterday, do not pity me to-day; but the governor commanded them to hang him upon the wooden horse and to torture him. Then the holy man made the sign of the cross, saying, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, help me, O
171. good Saviour; and straightway the wooden horse broke in two in the middle. When the company of soldiers saw the marvel which had taken place, they cried out, The God of the Christians is the only ONE, the God of Father Isaac. Then the governor commanded to lay him upon the iron bed,<sup>1</sup> and to heat it until he was entirely consumed, and to pour sulphur and pitch in his throat. And at the same time the governor<sup>2</sup>
172. said to Isaac, Hearken unto me, and die not by such a horrible death. Says the blessed man to him, Through the strength of Christ I can endure every<sup>3</sup> torture thou wishest to inflict upon me. Says the governor, Carry him away to prison until I consider what I shall do with him: so they took him and carried him away to prison. And on the morrow, while he sat upon the judgment seat, behold Arianus the general landed at the city, and they greeted one another.<sup>4</sup> Then Culcianus
173. said to Arianus, There is a Christian here whom I am unable to compel to offer sacrifice to the imperial gods. Says Arianus to him, Show him to me. When they had brought the holy man, Arianus said to him, Art thou

<sup>1</sup> ὁ λος ἄβενπι πῆχρωε, "the burning fiery bed." Oil was often poured upon the fire under the bed to increase the torture of the victim. See "Prefat. de Miraculis," pp. xlviïi-lxix.

<sup>2</sup> Read ΠΙΖΗΓΕΛΛΩΝ.

<sup>3</sup> Supplying ΠΙΒΕΝ after ΒΑΣΙΛΟΣ.

<sup>4</sup> Read ἡποῦερηοῦ.

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the sorcerer from Tiphre, who despisest the imperial gods? The blessed man says to him, I am not a sorcerer; nay, but I belong to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Says Arianus to Culcianus, Send him to me, and I will teach<sup>1</sup> him. Then Culcianus

174. says to the holy<sup>2</sup> Father Isaac, Since thou hast not listened to me, behold, I banish you; and he sent him away with Arianus, who sailed to the south.<sup>3</sup>

And they threw the blessed man into the hold of the ship; and behold the Saviour appeared to him there. When the blessed man saw Him he threw himself down before Him, and did reverence, saying, Be mindful of me, O Lord, and sustain me until I finish  
175. my course. Then the Lord said to him, Fear not, I will never forsake thee, nor any like unto thee, until ye inherit the kingdom; and having said these things, He gave him the salutation of peace, and went up<sup>4</sup> into heaven. And the blessed Father Isaac prayed to God, saying, O God, Who didst form me from my mother's womb, help me in every place whithersoever I shall go; and be not far from me, lest the heathen say, Where is their God?

176. Now while he was saying<sup>5</sup> these things, the sailors of the ship listened to him, and said to one another, This is a man of God. And when one of the sailors opened the door of the hold of the ship<sup>6</sup> and said to him, Hail! the blessed man replied, my Lord, hail, good brother; do me a charity and give me a little water. So he brought a vessel to the holy man, and he drank, and said to the sailor, May God show mercy unto thee in the day of the great judgment. And the sailor took the vessel, and there was a little water left in it, and,

<sup>1</sup> Read παιδεύω for πείθω, note 1, page 99.

<sup>2</sup> Read ἐπιδικιος.

<sup>3</sup> Read ἐρης.

<sup>4</sup> Read εἶπε παρ.

<sup>5</sup> Read εἶπα ἐλεως.

<sup>6</sup> Read οὐραν ἐπινοεντ ἵτε πιχοι.

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177. in sport, he poured it upon one of the sailors who had a diseased eye, and immediately the eye was opened and became as if it had never been diseased.<sup>1</sup> Then the sailor to whom this had happened glorified God, Who alone doeth great and wonderful things. At another time they brought him bread to eat; but the blessed man said to them, May my God bless you, but I will not eat until I have finished my course, when I shall eat bread in the kingdom of heaven with my Lord Jesus Christ.
178. And at the end of the sixteenth day he landed at the port, and they brought the blessed man into the city, which was exceedingly hospitable:<sup>2</sup> and finding Philoxenus and Father Surine in prison,<sup>3</sup> he greeted them. They said to him, Be of good cheer, beloved brother, we have received grace through greeting thee; and the blessed Father Surine said, May the Lord God give us power that we may stand firm in
179. His Holy Name until we finish our contest. And the blessed Father Isaac said, Remember, O Fathers, that I am but a child, and I know nothing; Philoxenus replied, Be of good cheer, brother, the governor will hear thee before us, and thou wilt receive the crown of thy martyrdom; and do thou be mindful of us [when thou art] in the house of God.

And at midnight the holy man prayed: and Father Isaac opened his mouth and blessed God, saying, “I  
180. bless Thee, O God, in life, and I will praise Thee while I have my being; may my prayers come up before Thee as sweet incense: keep me under the shadow of Thy wings, and deliver me by Thy Holy Name, for Thine is the glory for ever.” On the morrow Arianus the governor sat upon the judgment seat, and he com-

<sup>1</sup> Read *ἐπεσφύωντι*.<sup>2</sup> MS. *ἐπιπαισθησάντων*.<sup>3</sup> In the martyrdom of Saint Apater and H̄rai, it is said that Saint Isaac of Tiphre was in prison at Antinōou with Saints Paphnouthi, Tshmaoul, Simeon of Tapsho, Sissinnios, Theodoros, Moses of Philotheos, Macarius, Maximus, and many others. See Hyvernat, *Les Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte*, p. 100.

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manded, saying, Bring hither to me the sorcerer from Tiphre. So the executioners went to the prison [to bring him]. Then the blessed Father Isaac says to  
181. the saints, Entreat God that He may give strength to me. They answered and said, My God Whom we serve day and night will give strength to thee until thou has finished thy course.

And when he had been brought before the governor, he said to him through an interpreter, Hast thou not yet persuaded thyself to offer sacrifice to the glorious gods, concerning whom the emperors have made proclamations, that thou mayest escape from torture? The holy  
182. Father Isaac says, I have already told thee not once nor twice that I will not offer sacrifice to thy gods; and I have already told thee that the whole world shall go to destruction, but the glory of my God shall endure for ever. When the governor heard these things he became exceedingly wroth, and he caused his mouth to be beaten with a rod of iron until his teeth were knocked out. Then the holy man suffered agonies through tortures such as these: they made gashes in various parts of the body of the holy man with iron knives; they poured vinegar and acid upon his wounds; they  
183. dug out the nails of his hands and feet, one by one; they laid hot ashes upon the places thereof; they brought iron borers red hot from the fire, and they thrust them through his ears until the fire entered his brain; but the holy man endured all these things with fortitude.<sup>1</sup> Then the whole multitude and the governor himself marvelled. Arianus the governor turned to Father Isaac, the brave man, and said to  
184. him, Verily thou hast shown thy sorcery this day. Says the holy man, Dost thou not see, O fool, that my Lord Jesus has come time after time to deliver me from thy wiles and tortures? Arianus said to him, Verily, nothing could deliver thee from all these

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<sup>1</sup> For a list of the horrors endured by the martyrs, see "Præfat. De Miraculis," pp. lxiii-lxxxviii.

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- things except the sorcery which thou doest in the name of Jesus in whom thou believest. But by the life<sup>1</sup> of the gods, by Apollo and Artemis, the mother of the gods, I will hack thee limb from limb until
185. I find (know) that thy sorcery can deliver thee out of my hands. The governor says to him, What is thy name? The holy man answered, The name which my parents gave to me in the flesh according to the [custom of] the world is Isaac, but the name by which I live as a free man is Christian. Then the governor said to him, Isaac, thy words of madness will avail thee nothing: hearken unto me, and offer sacrifice to the gods. Says the holy man, I am wise and not mad; but were I to hearken unto thee I should indeed become mad.
186. So the governor commanded to carry him to the wooden horse and to torture him until all his bowels flowed away. Says the governor to him, Offer sacrifice that I may set thee free. The blessed man answered, It is in thy power to inflict all [manner of] tortures upon my body,<sup>2</sup> but over the soul and the spirit thou hast no power. Then the governor commanded, saying, Bring hither oil and wax and sulphur, and throw them into
187. a cauldron and make fire under them until they boil; first of all pour some down his throat, and then over all his body; and they did so. When the holy man saw the cauldron, he said, O Lord Jesus Christ, help me, and as Thou didst send Thy angel and didst deliver the three holy ones out of the fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar the king, even so deliver me, O Lord Jesus Christ, that the governor may not say, Where is his God? And when he had said these things, he made
188. the sign of the Cross three times, saying, In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Then he went into the cauldron, and prayed, saying, Come to me, O Lord Jesus Christ, and be not far from

<sup>1</sup> Read  $\psi\epsilon\ \rho\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota$ .<sup>2</sup> Read  $\pi\alpha\sigma\omega\mu\mu\alpha\ \lambda\lambda\epsilon\tau\ \kappa\epsilon\rho\psi\upsilon\psi\upsilon$ .

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me. And behold, the archangel Michael came immediately from heaven and cooled the cauldron, making it like cold water.

189. Now when the [people of the] city had seen what had taken place, they wished to stone the governor, and cried out, saying, Either<sup>1</sup> release him, or pronounce sentence upon him. Then the governor commanded to carry him on board ship, and to carry him to Taubah; and in passing sentence upon him he wrote thus, Since it is the wish of this man Isaac of Tiphre, in the nome of Panau, to die for the name of Jesus, I command that his head be taken off by the edge of the sword; and thus [saying] he closed up the paper and rose up from the judgment seat.

190. When the servants of iniquity had come, they dragged away the holy man with a gag in his mouth. Now when they had brought him to Taubah, the whole city came out to him, and they marvelled at his comeliness and the glory that surrounded him. And when they had seized him in order to take off his head, the holy Father Isaac said to the soldiers who were holding him, Long life to you, my brethren, and have patience with me a little time that I may pray to my God before ye slay me. So the executioners withdrew from the blessed Father Isaac, and turning his  
191. face towards the East, he opened his mouth and prayed, saying:—

O ye Angels of light, stand by me this day;

O ye Archangels of light, stand by me this day;

O ye Seraphim of light, stand by me this day;

O ye ministers<sup>2</sup> of light, stand by me this day.

Come to me<sup>3</sup> this day, O Lord Jesus Christ, and give me strength; may I be worthy to hear Thy voice before I die, that my heart may be consoled by ask-

<sup>1</sup> Read ΙΕ.

<sup>2</sup> Read λειτουργος and strike out Note 4 on p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Read ΙΗΙ.

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192. ing from Thee the petition which is in it. While the holy Father Isaac was saying these things, behold the Lord Jesus Christ, riding upon a chariot of light, came from heaven, with thousands of angels praising Him. And stopping the chariot above the place where the holy man was, the Lord cried out with a loud voice, saying, Come up to Me, O beloved Isaac, and I will
193. give unto thee the wages of the recompense for the sufferings which thou hast endured for My Name. Every petition thou desirest to make I will grant to thee, for My Father is a joyful giver. Now when the holy Father Isaac heard the Saviour saying<sup>1</sup> these things to him, his heart took courage, and he spoke to Him, saying, thus: Hear me,<sup>2</sup> O Lord God, and make my heart glad [by granting] that which I shall ask from Thy hand, Thou knowest, O God, that my city is little, and lest an enemy rise up against it, send the archangel Michael to help them and to give
194. them strength to destroy them. If a sinful man shall come to my body, and shall pray to Thee, do Thou forgive his sin before the sun goes down on that day. Then the Lord spoke to him, O beloved one, as thou wishest so shall it be. And the holy Father Isaac said to Him, I entreat Thee also on behalf of him that shall lay my body in a sarcophagus, that in the hour of his necessity thou wilt clothe his body that it be not naked; I ask too that Thou wilt write the name of him that shall write down [the history of] my martyrdom,
195. and publish me abroad, in the book of Life; that Thou wilt make the heart of him that shall voluntarily call his son by my name, happy with joy; and that Thou wilt give part of the endless offering to him that shall make an offering at my tomb. When the holy Father Isaac had said these things, the Saviour answered in a gentle voice,<sup>3</sup> saying, Verily, I say unto thee,

<sup>1</sup> Read  $\chi\omega \ \delta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\omega\sigma\tau$ .<sup>2</sup> Read  $\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon\epsilon\lambda$ .<sup>3</sup> Read  $\delta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\tau\pi\epsilon\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\gamma\epsilon\ \epsilon\gamma\chi\omega \ \delta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ .

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whatsoever thou hast asked in My name, that will I grant unto thee, and the things which thou hast not made mention of, will I also grant unto thee. And behold I will appoint Michael the chief archangel to the place where thy body shall be laid to serve thee in  
 196. every demand of healing the people which they ask thee for. And after these things the blessed Father Isaac turned to the executioners, and said to them, Come, fulfil that which has been commanded you. So they came and put the gag in his mouth, and having placed his head upon a great stone, they stretched out his neck, and cut off his holy head by the sword. Then the place where they cut off his head rocked hither and  
 197. thither three times; and there was fear and trepidation in the city. And there came forth blood and milk from the body of the blessed man; and many people having heard of it came forth to see the wonder which had taken place. Now when the blind, and the lame, and the deaf, and the dumb had taken of that same blood and milk which came forth from the body of the blessed man, and laid it upon their diseased members, behold they were healed immediately: The blind saw, the lame  
 198. walked, the deaf heard, and the dumb spake. This is how the holy Father Isaac consummated his martyrdom, on the 6th day of the month Pashons; and departed to Him whom he loved, our Lord Jesus Christ, and received his incorruptible crown in the kingdom of heaven.

After these things the chief citizen of the city brought a byssus cloth and wrapped the head of [the martyr] in it; and again he brought a fine linen garment, and buried the body of the blessed Father Isaac in it. I, Christopher, a sinner and kinsman of the holy man,  
 199. was with him, and remained with him from the beginning, and have written his memoirs.<sup>1</sup> I have

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<sup>1</sup> Read Πνεϋζποσεινηει οϋδε. For another instance of the use of the word ζποσεινηει see Hyverat, *Les Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte*, p. 106, line 6.

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added nothing thereto, neither have I taken anything therefrom. When I saw that there was no one with me there to carry away [the body], I asked the chief citizen and he gave me a four-wheeled carriage and his ten servants. Then I laid<sup>1</sup> the body upon it and brought it to the port of his village, but I found no boat to carry it across the river. And God commanded the horses (?) and they walked upon the waters as upon dry land.<sup>2</sup> Now when the people of the city heard of this, they all came out small and  
200. great, to meet the body, and they carried it to the Church with honour and glory, and they rejoiced and praised God, Who alone doeth wonderful things.

After these things, I, Christopher, destroyed his house at the north of the Church towards the close of the eighth month, and I built an oratory to the saint, and laid its crown for it. Then we sent and brought the Bishop, and he consecrated it on the sixth day of the month Tybi; and mighty deeds and wonderful things took place in it,<sup>3</sup> and they praised our Lord Jesus  
201. Christ and all His saints: for Whom with the Father and the vivifying and consubstantial Spirit, all glory<sup>4</sup> and majesty and adoration is meet, now and evermore for all eternity. Amen.

The Colophon reads:—

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, the perfect consubstantial Trinity in one Godhead: this is our God, and we Christians praise Him and glorify Him. O Thou Who didst accept the gift of Abel the just man, the sacrifice of our father Noah, the offering of our father Abraham, the two

<sup>1</sup> Read  $\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron$ .

<sup>2</sup> Georgi renders, "Quumque navem non invenissem, qua illud flumine trajicerem, Deus jumenta rexisse visus est; quippe quæ de ponderis honore veluti læta, et gloriabunda cursum juxta aquas mira alacritate tenuerint." "De Miraculis Sancti Coluthi," Præf., p. cxlvii.

<sup>3</sup> Read  $\tilde{\iota}\zeta\eta\tau\upsilon$ .

<sup>4</sup> Read  $\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron$ .

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mites of the widow and the alms of Cornelius, do Thou receive the offering from Thy servant my father, Father Stauros, a monk in the monastery of our righteous and great father, Father John, the son of Timanshopi-Pehoout. He took very great pains<sup>1</sup> about this holy book, and gave it to the holy Church of Elijah the mighty Prophet, that he, and those who came after him, might read therein. I pray everyone who reads in it to say, May the Lord Jesus Christ show mercy unto him with all the things of this world;<sup>2</sup> and, when he departs from the body, may he recline in the bosom of our patriarch Abraham, with Isaac, and Jacob, and Elijah the prophet, in the kingdom of heaven. Who-soever shall say Amen, may he be blessed. Amen, Amen, ninety-nine times.<sup>3</sup>

The 915th<sup>4</sup> year of the era of the Martyrs (*i.e.*, A.D. 1199) under our Father the Patriarch, Abba John, Archbishop of Alexandria.<sup>5</sup> Our Lord Jesus Christ being King over us. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> Read ΠΕΤΔΨΥ ΡΩΟΥΨ.

<sup>2</sup> Read ΠΑΙΚΟΚΛΕΟΣ.

<sup>3</sup> Nearly two years ago I translated  $\overline{\psi\theta}$  by "ninety-nine times," not seeing what else these letters could mean. In the last number of the "Aeg. Zeitschrift" (Aug., 1886, p. 73), Dr. Stern has written a short article on them, and points out that the Archbishop Bsciai has discovered that they refer to Matt. xviii, 12; Luke xv, 4. The scribe compares himself to the lost sheep, and entreats the ninety and nine righteous to pray for him.

<sup>4</sup> Read  $\overline{\rho\iota\epsilon}$  for  $\overline{\rho\iota\epsilon}$ .

<sup>5</sup> Strike out note 1 on page 111.

†εεαρτυρῑᾱ<sup>1</sup> ἥτε πιαγιος<sup>2</sup> εεεαρτυρος<sup>3</sup> ἥτε  
 πεπο̄σ̄ ἰη̄ς π̄χ̄ς ἄπα<sup>4</sup> ἰσαακ πηρεε†φρε ἤεν  
 π̄οῡ παπατ̄ ετασχοκς ἐβολ ἤεν σοτ̄ ε̄πι-  
 ἄβοτ̄ πασ̄οῡς ἤεν οτ̄ζιρηκη<sup>5</sup> ἥτε †ε̄εκηπ̄.

5 ἤρηι δε ἤεν πιεζοοτ̄ ἥτε διοκλητῑᾱπος  
 ποτρο. εψ̄ιρι π̄ραηρβνοτ̄ ἥσ̄επαίτοτ̄ απ  
 εψ̄εε̄ῑο̄ π̄ραη̄ῑᾱωλοη<sup>6</sup> εψ̄οτ̄ωψ̄τ̄ π̄ωοτ̄. εψ̄χω  
 ἥσ̄ωψ̄ ε̄ε†† ἥτε τφε̄. Δψ̄εἤαι π̄οτ̄ᾱῑᾱτα-  
 γεεε<sup>7</sup> Page 153. ε̄επαίρη† εψ̄χωεεεος. κε ἄποκ  
 10 πε διοκλητῑᾱπος ποτρο, †ερκελετιη<sup>8</sup> ε̄ορε  
 †οικοτεεεη<sup>9</sup> τ̄η̄ς ερ̄οτ̄σῑᾱ<sup>10</sup> ἥπαποτ̄†. φ̄νεεπα-  
 ερατ̄σ̄ωτεεε ἥσα παπροσταγεεε<sup>11</sup> ε̄τεερ[β̄α]  
 σαηιζιη<sup>12</sup> ε̄εεοψ̄ ἤεν ε̄αηβασαπος ετ̄ἤοσι.  
 εεεεεσ̄ω̄ς ε̄τ̄ε̄ζ̄ωλεεε ε̄επεψ̄ηῑ ηεεε πετεπταψ̄  
 15 τ̄η̄ψ̄. Παίρη† εψ̄† ε̄επιπροσταγεεε ἥκοτ̄λ-  
 κιᾱπος π̄ιζητεεεωη.<sup>13</sup> εψ̄εηψ̄ ε̄ἤοηη ε̄ρακο†.  
 εψ̄ορε π̄ιεηψ̄ ερ̄οτ̄σῑᾱ. παλιη<sup>14</sup> οη εψ̄ι ε̄ρης ἤεν  
 χ̄ηεει. εψ̄ι ε̄ρηῑ ε̄τατ̄β̄αε̄ Page 154. εψ̄εεεοη  
 ε†επεηρω̄. ἤε οτοη οτ̄κοτ̄χι δε ἥδ̄λοτ̄  
 20 ἥσαβε ε̄ηεσ̄ωψ̄ ε̄εεεψ̄ω εψ̄ωη ἤεν οτ̄†εει

<sup>1</sup> Gr. μαρτυρία. <sup>2</sup> ἅγιος. <sup>3</sup> μάρτυρος. θεός. Ἰησους. Χριστος.

<sup>4</sup> Heb. אָפּ. Ch. אָפּפּ. <sup>5</sup> εἰρήνη. <sup>6</sup> εἶδωλον. <sup>7</sup> διάταγμα.

<sup>8</sup> √κελεύω. <sup>9</sup> οἰκουμένη. <sup>10</sup> θυσία. <sup>11</sup> πρόσταγμα.

<sup>12</sup> √βασανίζω. The scribe has omitted the two letters in brackets  
 Compare Rev. xi. 10; xiv. 10.

<sup>13</sup> ἡγεμών.

<sup>14</sup> πάλιν.

xe †φρε. Ηεν π̄οῡ ε̄επαπατ. ἐπεφραπ  
 πε ἰσακ. εφ Ηεν κ̄ε̄ π̄ροεπι φαι δε  
 παφφεεεφφί ε̄εφ† ε̄επῑε̄ροοῡ πεεε πῑε̄χωρζε-  
 Οταγγελοσ<sup>1</sup> π̄τε π̄ο̄ε̄ ε̄φοτοηρζ ε̄ροφ εφενκοτ  
 Ηεν τκοι σαφδζοῡ π̄πεφσδαιοςΗ<sup>2</sup>. εφπερζσι 5  
 ε̄εεοφ πεχαφ παφ xe χερε<sup>3</sup> ἀπα ἰσακ  
 π̄ρωεε ετερφοριπ<sup>4</sup> ε̄εφ†. ε̄θεοῡ ε̄κενκοτ ε̄ρεπι-  
 ἀτωπ<sup>5</sup> σηρ ε̄βολ. εφταεεοφ Page 155. ε̄οῡχλοεε  
 πεχαφ παφ. xe χεενοεε† παιχλοεε φωκ πε  
 ε̄επερερεεεεεεεεε<sup>6</sup> πεκοτχαιε- Τωπκ εεεφεπακ 10  
 ε̄τατβδζ ερατφ ε̄επιρηνεεεωπ. π̄τεκ ερ̄οεεο-  
 λοτιπ<sup>7</sup> ε̄επ̄χ̄ε̄ π̄τεκεεοῡ ερ̄ηι ε̄χεπ πεφραπ  
 ε̄θοῡαβ ζηπα π̄τεκφωπι Ηεν τεφεεετοτρο  
 π̄ηπερζ (sic) παι δε ε̄ταφχοτοτ παφ π̄χε πῑαγγελοσ  
 εφφφαπαφ ε̄βολζαροφε- Ετα πιοῡωπι δε σωρ 15  
 ε̄βολ εφτωπφ π̄χε ἀπα ἰσακ εφί ε̄Ηρηι ε̄πεφνη  
 εφερασπαζεσε<sup>8</sup> ε̄επεφιωτ Page 156. πεεε τεφ-  
 εεετ πεχαφ πωοῡ xe †φπ̄ιπ̄ι ερωτεπ παιο†.  
 πεχωοῡ παφ xe ε̄κφεπακ ε̄θωπε- Πεχαφ πωοῡ  
 xe ειρ̄ηα<sup>9</sup> ε̄ρατφ ε̄επιρηνεεεωπ ζηπα π̄ταπ̄εοῡ 20  
 (sic) ερ̄ηι ε̄χεπ φραπ ε̄επᾱο̄ε̄ ἰη̄ε̄ π̄ῑχ̄ε̄ φαι  
 ε̄τατερστατρωπ̄ιπ̄<sup>10</sup> ε̄εεοφ παρρεπ ποπτιοσ  
 πιλατοσε- Ηανεσ π̄ηι π̄ταεοῡ Ηεν παικοσ-  
 εεοσ<sup>11</sup> π̄ταωπ̄η Ηεν †εεετοτρο π̄τε φ†.  
 ε̄ταεεοπ̄ι ε̄εεοφ xe τεπ̄παχ̄ακ ε̄βολ ω̄ πεπ- 25  
 ε̄επ̄ριτ π̄φ̄ηρι ε̄εοῡ Ηεν παιεοῡ ε̄τρωοῡε-

<sup>1</sup> ἄγγελος.

<sup>2</sup> So in the Manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> χεῖρε.

<sup>4</sup> √ φορέω.

<sup>5</sup> ἀγών.

<sup>6</sup> √ ἀμελέω.

<sup>7</sup> √ ὁμολογέω.

<sup>8</sup> √ ἀσπάζομαι.

<sup>9</sup> Read εἰρηλ̄.

<sup>10</sup> √ σταυρόω.

<sup>11</sup> κόσμος.

Page 157. Ἦεν τφδωι δε ε̄επιεχωρζ αφοτοηρζ  
 ε̄ροζ π̄χε πιαγγελοσ π̄τε πο̄σ. ἀπινι τηρζ ερο-  
 τωπι ε̄εεδω. πεχε πιαγγελοσ παζ. κε χερε  
 ἀπα ἰσαακ πο̄σ πεεεακ:- Πεχε πιαεακαριοσ <sup>1</sup>  
 5 παζ κε πεκρζεοτ ε̄εφωπι π̄νι. παρη† αφενζ  
 εαβολ ε̄επεφ† ε̄ι πεεε πεφ̄νι. πεχαζ παζ κε.  
 εριζεποεεεπ <sup>2</sup> π̄τεκβι ε̄επιχλοεε π̄αττακο.  
 †χω ταρ ε̄εελοσ πακ κε πεκχλοεε πεεε πεκ-  
 εροποσ <sup>3</sup> Ἦεν πιφνοτι. ε̄επερερζο† †ωοπ πεεεακ  
 10 ωατεκκωκ εβολ Page 158. π̄τεκ εεαρττριά. χπα-  
 ωωπι π̄ραππω† π̄ηιςι ε̄οβε φραπ ε̄επ̄χ̄σ. ελλα  
 κεεποε† †πνοτ ωαροκ π̄τα†χοεε πακ:- Ναι  
 ε̄ταφχοτοτ παζ π̄χε πιαγγελοσ αφζωλ ε̄πωωι  
 ε̄πιφνοτι:- Πιαεακαριοσ δε ἀπα ἰσαακ αφτωπζ  
 15 Ἦεν †χοεε π̄τε π̄χ̄σ αφελοωι π̄πεφβαλατχ  
 αφζωλ ετατβεζ αφχιεε ε̄επιζηνεεωπ Ἦεν  
 †σιωοπ̄νι αφ̄οζι ερατζ ζιρεπ π̄ρο:- Ζηππε αφ̄ι  
 εβολ π̄χε οσ̄εατοι επεφραπ πε δῑο̄ε̄νσιοσ <sup>4</sup> πεχαζ  
 παζ κε οτ πε ε̄τεκερεπ̄χ̄ρῑα <sup>5</sup> Page 159. ε̄εελοφ:-  
 20 Πεχε πιτεππεοσ παζ κε ειερεπ̄χ̄ρῑα ε̄επιζη-  
 νεεωπ:- πεχε πιαεατοι παζ κε οτ πε πεκρζωβ  
 πεεε πιζηνεεωπ. πεχε πιᾱντιοσ παζ κε ἀποκ  
 οτχρηστῑαποσ:- <sup>6</sup> Πεχε δῑο̄η̄νσιοσ παζ κε  
 ε̄η̄οκ π̄θοκ πεεε πᾱισαχι π̄νεκοτωω ε̄ελοσ  
 25 π̄κακωσ:- <sup>7</sup> πεχε πιαεακαριοσ παζ κε φελοσ  
 ε̄επᾱικοεελοσ οσ̄εατ απ πε ελλα <sup>8</sup> οτωπ̄η πε

<sup>1</sup> μακάριος.<sup>2</sup> ὑπομένω.<sup>3</sup> θρόνος.<sup>4</sup> χρεία.<sup>5</sup> Read ΔΙΟ̄Η̄ΝΣΙΟΣ.<sup>6</sup> χριστιανός.<sup>7</sup> κακός.<sup>8</sup> ἀλλά.

Ηεν π̄επερ εοηνοτ̄- Ζως δε εφ̄σαχι πεε  
 Δῑοησιος αφ̄ι εβολ̄ηεν †σιωοηι Page 160. π̄χε  
 πιηνεεωη. ε̄τααηατ̄ δε ε̄ροφ̄ π̄χε πιεηπεος<sup>1</sup>  
 δ̄πα ῑσαακ αφ̄ωφ̄ ε̄βολ̄ εφ̄χοεεεος χε δ̄ποκ  
 οτ̄χηρ̄ησῑαποσ̄- Ροτ̄λκῑαποσ̄ δε πιηνεεωη 5  
 πααφοτ̄τ̄ ε̄ροφ̄ πε πεααφ̄ παφ̄ χε κωοηη χε  
 οτ̄ πε χρησῑαποσ̄- πεααφ̄ παφ̄ π̄χε πᾱγιος  
 χε †σιωοηι δ̄ποκ οτ̄δωκ π̄τε πᾱο̄ς ῑη̄ς π̄χ̄ς̄-  
 Πεχε πιηνεεωη παφ̄ χε ακ̄αηαηωτεε π̄σω  
 χηαωηη. εφ̄ωη π̄τεκ̄τ̄εεεωτεε π̄σω χηα- 10  
 π̄οτ̄<sup>2</sup> π̄κ̄ακ̄ωσ̄- Page 161. π̄χε πᾱγιος δ̄πα ῑσαακ  
 παφ̄ χε σ̄ηνοτ̄ ηεν πεααηεελιον<sup>3</sup> ε̄θοοαβ̄-  
 χε ε̄περηρηο† ηατ̄ηη ε̄φ̄ηεοηαηωτεβ̄  
 ε̄πετεησωεε. τετεηψ̄τ̄χη<sup>4</sup> δε ε̄εεον ψ̄χοε  
 ε̄εεωοτ̄ ε̄ηοεβ̄εσ. αφ̄ι ρο† δε π̄θοφ̄ ηατ̄ηη 15  
 ε̄φ̄ηετεοτοηψ̄χοε ε̄εεοφ̄ ε†ψ̄τ̄χη πεε  
 πεεεε ε̄τακ̄ωοτ̄ ηεν †τεεηηα<sup>5</sup> π̄τε πιχ̄-  
 ρωεε- Πεχε πιηνεεωη παφ̄ χε ερε πᾱ  
 σ̄ηνοτ̄ ηεωηη- πεχε π̄ᾱγιος παφ̄ χε ετ̄σ̄ηνοτ̄  
 ηεν πεααηεελιον- πεχε πιηνεεωη παφ̄ οη 20  
 Page 162. χε π̄θοκ οτ̄ρηφ̄ωφ̄- πεχε π̄ᾱγιος χε  
 ε̄εεον- πααψ̄ηηι ε̄εεοφ̄ πε π̄χε πιηνεεωη  
 χε π̄θοκ οτ̄ρηεεωηη- Πεχε π̄ᾱγιος παφ̄ χε  
 δ̄ποκ οτ̄ρηεε†φ̄ρε ηεν ηεοφ̄ παηατ̄- Πεχε  
 πιηνεεωη π̄ᾱῑοησιος. χε αηατ̄ χε χηαψ̄οωτ̄. 25  
 ε̄πεφ̄ηηη ψ̄α †ψ̄εηηη ε̄ταηηα† π̄τατασ̄οι-

<sup>1</sup> γενναίος. (?)

<sup>2</sup> Read χηαεεοτ̄.

<sup>3</sup> ε̄αγγέλιον.

<sup>4</sup> σ̄ωμα. ψυχή.

<sup>5</sup> Heb. עֲבִירָא, Greek γέννα. See Matthew x. 23.



Ήεν †οτνοτ αφπατ̄ εεβολ̄ αφωψ̄ ε̄βολ̄ εφχω  
 εεεοc̄ χε οταῑ πε φ† π̄πυχρηcтiᾱποc̄ φ† π̄απα  
 ισαακ:- Ήηπε ιc̄ οτcγiεεῑ αφωψ̄ ε̄βολ̄ εcχω  
 εεεοc̄ χε πᾱοc̄ εεαρε̄ πεκπαῑ ταροῑ χε ἀποκ  
 οτχοβῑ πεεε̄ παψηρι:- Πεχε̄ π̄εεακαριοc̄ παc̄ 5  
 χε ερεψεεεψ̄ῑ π̄πιοτ†. πεχαc̄ παψ̄ χε ειψεεεψ̄ῑ  
 Page 166. εεπιζεεεc̄ πεεε̄ περεεεc̄.<sup>1</sup> πεχε̄ π̄ῑᾱντιοc̄  
 παc̄ χε π̄θō οτρηкӣ οτορ̄ πεκεποτ† ραηρηкӣ  
 πε:- Εψωπ̄ π̄τεcωτεεε̄ π̄cωῑ πεεοτ̄ εεπ̄οc̄  
 παψωπῑ πεεεε̄ εεαψε̄ πε̄τεψεεεψ̄ῑ εεπ̄χc̄ 10  
 πεψεεοτ̄ παψωπῑ πεεεε:- Ναψωπ̄ πε̄ π̄χε̄  
 π̄εεακαριοc̄ Ήεν̄ π̄ηῑ π̄ᾱῑο̄π̄ηcиoс̄ π̄εεατοῑ ψατε̄  
 π̄ιρηγεεεωπ̄ ταcθoψ̄ ε̄ρηc̄. εταψ̄ῑ δε̄ παψωπῑ  
 π̄ᾱῑο̄π̄ηcиoс̄ πε̄ χε̄ αφθωτ̄ π̄ρηт̄ π̄χε̄ π̄υχρηc-  
 тiᾱποc̄ ε̄ερ̄ ψοτψωοτψ̄ῑ. πεχε̄ ᾱῑο̄π̄ηcиoс̄ παψ̄ 15  
 Page 167. χε̄ ετ̄ερωκρ̄ εεεοκ̄ πεεε̄ πεκ̄ῑᾱωλοп̄  
 εтcоψ̄. ρηηπε̄ ταρ<sup>2</sup> ιcχηп̄ †ηοτ̄ ειψεεεψ̄ῑ εεπᾱοc̄  
 ιηc̄ π̄χc̄ ψωηρῑ εεφ† ε̄τοп̄ε̄ πεεε̄ π̄ηπ̄ᾱ ε̄θoτ̄αβ:-  
 Πεχε̄ π̄ιρηγεεεωп̄ παψ̄ χε̄ εεεοп̄ ρωβ̄ π̄τηῑ  
 πεεεακ̄ απ̄. αλλᾱ †ηαοτορηк̄ εεπεκερηβoтпoc̄:- 20  
 Πεχε̄ ᾱῑο̄π̄ηcиoс̄ παψ̄ χε̄ φοп̄ε̄ π̄χε̄ φ† π̄απα  
 ισαακ. χε̄ χ̄ηαοτωεε̄ απ̄ οτδε<sup>3</sup> χ̄ηαcω̄ απ̄ ψα  
 тек† π̄τᾱᾱποφαcиc̄<sup>4</sup> ρηηᾱ π̄ταβ̄ῑ εεπιχλοεε̄  
 π̄τε̄ π̄χc̄ π̄ρηηῑ Ήεν̄ τεψεεετοτρη:- Εταψ̄τωп̄ψ̄  
 δε̄ π̄χε̄ Page 168. π̄ιρηγεεεωп̄ χε̄ εφπαψεπαψ̄ 25  
 ε̄πεψηῑ αφψωψ̄т̄ π̄χε̄ πεψρ̄αρεεε<sup>5</sup> εεπεψψχεεε-  
 χοεε̄ π̄ρωλ̄ ε̄π̄ῑᾱριcтoп̄:-<sup>6</sup> Πεχαψ̄ π̄ᾱῑο̄π̄ηcиoс̄

<sup>1</sup> Ζεύς, Ἑρμῆς. MS. ερηηc̄.

<sup>2</sup> γάρ,

<sup>3</sup> οὐδέ.

<sup>4</sup> ἀπόφασιc̄.

<sup>5</sup> ἄρμα.

<sup>6</sup> ἄριστον.

xe ατοωπη εβολ εεφοοτ ἦχε πεκεανιᾶ.<sup>1</sup>  
 ἦθοϋ δε πεχαϋ παϋ xe ἄποκ οτεεατος<sup>2</sup> απ  
 ελλα ἄποκ οτβακ ἦτε ἦνς πχς\*- Τοτε πιγη-  
 τεεεων παϋςδαι ἦτεϋ ἄποφασις εοτον ἦτας  
 5 εεεετ ἦοττυπος<sup>3</sup> εεπαρη†\*- Χε διῶησιος  
 πιεατοι αϋερ ατσωτεε ἦσα †κελεϋσις ἦτε  
 πιουρω. †ερκελεϋτη Page 169. εοροτῶλι ἦτεϋαφε  
 ἤερως ἦτση†\*- Ετατολυ δε σα πεεεπτ  
 ἦ†βακι εφεεα εεπιθεατρον.<sup>4</sup> ατῶλι ἦτεϋαφε.  
 10 αϋχωκ εβολ ἦτεϋεαρττριᾶ ἦσονε εεπαϋοης  
 ἤεν οτθρηνη ἦτε †† εεηη†\*- Πεχε πιγητε-  
 εων ἦαπα ἰσακ xe θηηπε ις πιεατοι αϋεοτ  
 ἦτεκλωχι. †παολκ δε επϋα† ἦταερδοκιεεαζην<sup>5</sup>  
 εεεοκ παρη† αϋταλοϋ πεεεαϋ επιχοι αϋεηϋ  
 15 επϋα†\*- Επεϋραστ δε αϋθρεεσι θι πιβηεεα<sup>6</sup>  
 ἦχε πιγητεεων αϋχος Page 170. εοροτῆμι παϋ  
 εεπιεεακαριος ἄπα ἰσακ. ετατεηϋ δε πεχαϋ  
 παϋ xe σωτεε ἦσωι ερι οτσιᾶ ἦηηποτ† θηπα  
 ἦτεκερ εβολ εηαιεηϋ ἦδισι ††ασο εροκ  
 20 εεεεϋω\*- Πεχε πιᾶτιος παϋ xe ιςχε ακ†ασο  
 εροι ἦσαϋ εεφοοτ θωϋ εεπερ†ασο εροι απ.  
 τοτε<sup>7</sup> αϋχος εοροταϋϋ επιερεεεταριοη ἦσε-  
 θωκι εεεοϋ\*- Πιατιος δε αϋερσφραγιζην<sup>8</sup>  
 εεεοϋ εϋχω εεεος xe ἤεν φραη εεφιωτ  
 25 πεε πϋηρι πεε πιηᾶ εοοταβ εριβοῆοηη  
 Page 171. εροι πασωτηρ ἦατθεος\*-<sup>9</sup> ἤεν †οτποτ  
 ε περεεηταριοη κωϋ αϋερβ ἤεν τεϋεη†.

<sup>1</sup> μαγεία, magia.<sup>2</sup> Μάγος, Magus.<sup>3</sup> τύπος.<sup>4</sup> θέατρον.<sup>5</sup> ἄδοκιμάζω.<sup>6</sup> βήμα.<sup>7</sup> τότε.<sup>8</sup> ἄσφραγίζω.<sup>9</sup> σωτήρ, ἀγαθός.

ε̄ταυπαυ δε π̄χε πα†ταζις ε†ψφ̄νηρι ε†αδωπι  
 αωωυ ε̄βολ χε ο̄ται πε φ† π̄νηχρηστῑανος φ†  
 π̄επα ῑσακ:- Δυχοσ π̄χε πιγνηεεωπ̄ ε̄ταλοϋ  
 ε̄χεπ̄ ο̄σ̄λοχ π̄βενπι. π̄σεσαρ† Η̄αροϋ ψα  
 τεϋελοϋπ̄κ̄ ε̄π̄τηρϋ. ο̄τοϋ εϋφοϋϋχεϋ ο̄νη π̄εε 5  
 λ̄εεχαπ̄τ̄ ε̄θ̄ρη̄ ε̄τεϋψ̄βωβ̄ι παϋχω ε̄εεεοσ παϋ  
 πε π̄χε πιγνηεεωπ̄ χε σωτεεε Page 172. π̄σω  
 ε̄επερεοϋ π̄κακωσ:- Πεχε π̄εεακαριος παϋ χε  
 β̄ασαπ̄οσ ε̄τεγ̄νακ̄ ε̄ριτοϋ π̄νη†παϋαι θ̄αρωοϋ  
 Η̄εν†χοεε π̄τε π̄χ̄σ:- Πεχε πιγνηεεωπ̄ χε 10  
 ε̄λιτϋ ε̄πιϋτεκο ψα†σοβ̄πι χε ο̄τ̄ πε ε†παϋαι  
 παϋ παρη† ᾱσ̄β̄ιτϋ ε̄πιϋτεκο:- Επεϋρασ†  
 δε εϋϋεεεσι ϋι π̄β̄ηεε ε̄ηπ̄πε ῑσ̄ ε̄ρῑανος  
 πιγνηεεωπ̄ εϋε̄εεοπ̄ι ε̄†β̄ακι ε̄τερ̄ασ̄παζεσ̄ε  
 η̄ποϋε̄ρηοϋ:- Πεχε κοϋλ̄κῑανος π̄ᾱρῑανος. χε 15  
 ο̄τοπ̄ Page 173. ο̄τ̄χρηστῑανος ε̄επᾱιεεε ε̄επιϋχε-  
 εεχοεε ε̄ροϋ ε̄ορεϋεϋεϋεσ̄ιᾱ π̄η̄ποϋ† π̄τεποϋρο:-  
 Πεχε ε̄ρῑανος παϋ χε ε̄εαταεεοι ε̄ροϋ ε̄ταϋ̄ιπ̄ι  
 παϋ ε̄επῑαν̄οσ. πεχε ε̄ρῑανος παϋ χε π̄θ̄οκ̄ πε  
 π̄εεαγ̄οσ π̄ρεε†φ̄ρε εκ†ψ̄ωωυ π̄η̄ποϋ† π̄τε 20  
 π̄ιοϋρωοϋ:- Πεχε π̄εεακαριος παϋ χε ε̄ποκ̄  
 ο̄τεεαγ̄οσ ε̄η̄ ε̄λλα ε̄ιη̄π̄ ε̄φ̄ιωτ̄ π̄εε π̄ϋη̄ρι π̄εε  
 π̄ῑπ̄ιᾱ ε̄θ̄οϋαβ̄:- Πεχε ε̄ρῑανος π̄κοϋλ̄κῑανος  
 χε ο̄τορ̄πϋ π̄νη̄ ε̄ποκ̄†η̄αερ̄πετεϋη̄π̄<sup>1</sup> ε̄εεεοϋ:-  
 Πεχε κοϋλ̄κῑανος Page 174. ε̄επᾱε̄ν̄οσ ε̄πα 25  
 ῑσακ̄ χε ε̄πῑ ε̄η̄<sup>2</sup> ε̄επεκ̄ωτεεε π̄σω ε̄η̄π̄πε  
 †η̄αερ̄ε̄ζ̄ωριζ̄η̄π̄<sup>3</sup> ε̄εεεοκ̄. τοτε εϋφοϋορ̄πϋ π̄εε

<sup>1</sup> √ πείθω.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπί δέ

<sup>3</sup> √ ἐφορίζω.

ⲁ̀ⲣⲓⲁ̀ⲡⲟⲥ ⲁ̀ϥⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉ̀ϥⲏⲥ. ⲡⲓⲉⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲁ̀ϥⲟⲩⲧⲥⲥ  
 ⲉⲡⲓⲟⲩⲉⲡⲧ ⲡⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϥⲟⲓⲥ. Ⲓⲏⲡⲓⲉ ⲁ̀ϥⲟⲩⲟⲡⲟⲩⲥⲥ ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲥ  
 ⲟⲩⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲉⲡⲧ ⲡⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϥⲟⲓ ⲡⲓϥⲉ ⲡⲓϥⲱⲧⲏⲣ. ⲉⲧⲁϥⲡⲁⲧ  
 ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲓϥⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁ̀ϥⲟⲩⲧⲥⲥ ⲉ̀ϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲁ̀ϥⲟⲩⲱⲩⲱⲧ  
 5 ⲉ̀ⲉⲉⲟⲥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲉ̀ⲉⲉⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁ̀ⲣⲓ ⲡⲁⲉⲉⲉⲧⲓ ⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲧⲉⲕⲧ  
 ϫⲟⲉⲉ ⲡⲏⲓ ϩⲱⲁ †ϫⲱⲕ ⲉ̀ⲉⲡⲁⲧⲣⲟⲉⲉⲟⲥ<sup>1</sup> ⲉ̀ⲃⲟⲗⲥ. ⲡⲉϫⲉ  
 ⲡⲟⲥ ⲡⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲉ̀ⲉⲡⲉⲣⲉⲣⲉⲣⲟⲩⲧ †ⲡⲁϫⲁⲕ Page 175. ⲡⲥⲱⲓ  
 ⲁ̀ⲡ ⲡⲉⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲉⲉ ⲡⲏⲉⲧⲟⲡⲓ ⲉ̀ⲉⲉⲟⲕ ϩⲱⲁ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲡⲉⲣ-  
 ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲡⲟⲉⲓⲡ<sup>2</sup> ⲡⲧⲉⲉⲧⲟⲧⲣⲟⲥ. ⲏⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲉϥϫⲱ  
 10 ⲉ̀ⲉⲉⲟⲩ ⲡⲁϥ ⲁϥ† ⲡⲁϥ ⲡⲧⲧⲟⲩⲣⲏⲏⲏ ⲁϥϩⲉ ⲉ̀ⲡϩⲱⲓ  
 ⲉ̀ⲡⲓⲧⲏⲟⲩⲓ. ⲡⲓⲉⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲁ̀ⲡⲁ̀ ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ ⲁϥⲧⲱⲃⲟ  
 ⲉ̀ⲡϩⲱⲓ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲥ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲉ̀ⲉⲉⲟⲥ. ϫⲉ ⲡⲧⲉ ⲡⲏⲉ-  
 ⲧⲁϥⲉⲣⲡⲁⲟⲩⲓ<sup>3</sup> ⲉ̀ⲉⲉⲟⲓ ⲓϫⲉⲡ ⲉⲓ Ⲓⲉⲡ ⲟⲡⲉϫⲓ ⲡⲧⲉ  
 ⲧⲁⲉⲁⲧ. ⲁ̀ⲣⲓⲃⲟⲏⲟⲓⲡ ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲓ Ⲓⲉⲡ ⲉⲉⲓ ⲡⲓⲃⲉⲡ ⲉ̀†ⲡⲁ-  
 15 ⲟⲩⲱⲗ ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲥ. ⲉ̀ⲉⲡⲉⲣⲟⲩⲱⲉⲓ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲉ̀ⲉⲉⲟⲓ ⲉ̀ⲉⲏⲡⲟⲧⲉ  
 ⲡⲧⲟⲩϫⲟⲥ ⲡⲓϥⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲟⲡⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁ̀ϥⲟⲩⲱⲡ ⲡⲟⲩⲡⲟⲩⲧⲥ. <sup>4</sup>  
 ⲏⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲉ̀ⲉⲉⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϥⲱⲧⲉⲉⲉ ⲉ̀ⲣⲟⲥ Page 176. ⲡⲓϥⲉ  
 ⲡⲓⲡⲉϥ ⲡⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϥⲟⲓ ⲡⲉϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲡⲓⲡⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ  
 ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲉⲓ ⲡⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲥ. ⲉⲧⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡⲉϥ  
 20 ⲟⲩⲱⲡ ⲡⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϥⲟⲓ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲡⲁϥ ϫⲉ ϫⲉⲣⲉ. ⲁ̀ϥⲉ-  
 ⲣⲟⲩⲱ̀ ⲡⲓϥⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲕⲧⲣⲓ ϫⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲟⲡ  
 ⲉ̀ⲟⲡⲉⲉⲉⲁϥ<sup>5</sup> (sic) ⲁ̀ⲣⲓ †ⲁ̀ⲧⲁⲡⲉ<sup>6</sup> ⲡⲧⲉⲕ[ⲧ]ⲥⲟⲓ ⲡⲟⲩ-  
 ⲕⲟⲩϫⲓ ⲉ̀ⲉⲉⲟⲩ. ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏⲧ †ⲁϥⲓⲏⲓ ⲡⲁϥ ⲉ̀ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲧⲟⲩⲥ<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> δρόμος.<sup>2</sup> √ κληρονομέω.<sup>3</sup> √ πλάσσω.

<sup>4</sup> This prayer is composed of the three following passages:—  
 Isaiah xliv. 2; Psalm xxii. 2 (Coptic Ps. xxi. 11, 12), and Ps. lxxix. 10  
 (Coptic, lxxviii. 9).

<sup>5</sup> Read ⲉ̀ⲟⲡⲁⲡⲉϥ. *De miraculis sancti Coluthi*, Praef., p. lxxxix,  
 note a.

<sup>6</sup> ἀγάπη.<sup>7</sup> κάδος, cadus.

αϥωϥ- Πεχαϥ ἄπιπεϥ χε ἔρε πῶς ερπιπαι  
 πελακ Ἦεν πῆροοϥ ἦτε πιπικϥ† ἦραπϥ- Πιπεϥ  
 δε αϥβῖ ἄπικατοϥ ἔρε οὔκοϥχι ἄλλωοϥ σοχπ  
 ἦϥἦτϥ αϥφοϥρϥ Page 177. ἔχεν οὔαι ἦτε πιπεϥ  
 ρωϥ εϥωβῖ. πιπεϥ δε ετελλελαϥ οὔβαλ 5  
 ἦοϥωτ πε ἔτε ἄλλωϥ Ἦεν †οὔποϥ αϥοὔωπ  
 ἄφρη† χε ἄπεϥϥωπῖ ἔπερ. πιπεϥ δε εταϥπαϥ  
 ἔφἦἔταϥωπῖ αὔ†ωοϥ ἄφ† φἦἔτιρι ἦπιπικϥ†  
 ἦϥφἦρι ἄλλεαὔαὔϥϥ-<sup>1</sup> Ἀὔἦπῖ παϥ οἡ ἦραπωικ  
 χε ἦτεϥοὔωλε πεχε πιλακαριϥ πωοϥ χε 10  
 παποὔ† ἔϥεσεοὔ ερωτεπ εἡ†παοὔωλε ἀπ  
 ϥαπχωκ ἄπαρροεοϥ ἔβολ ἦταοὔωλε ἦοὔωικ  
 Ἦεν ἄεετοὔρο ἦπιφἦοὔἦ πελε παῶς ἦἡϥ πχϥϥ-  
 Page 178. Ἦεν πχωκ ἦἰζ ἦῆροοϥ αϥἄλλωοπῖ ἔπιρρο-  
 εεϥ αὔἦπῖ ἄπιπελακαριϥ ἔρἦἦ ἔ†πολιϥ<sup>2</sup> πε 15  
 ραππελαϥεεεεεο πε ἔλλεϥω. εταϥχιεεἰ ἄπι-  
 πελακαριϥ φἡλοϥεοϥ πελε ἀπα ϥῳριπἦ Ἦεν  
 πῳὔτεκο αϥεραϥπαρϥεϥε ἄλλωοϥϥ- Πεχωοϥ  
 παϥ χε χεεποεε† πεπεεεπριτ ἦσοἡ ἀπιρρεοὔ  
 ταρἡἡ ἔταπεραϥπαρϥεϥε ἄλλωοκϥ- Πιπελακαριϥ 20  
 δε ἀπα ϥῳριπἦ πεχαϥ χε ἔρε πῶς φ† † χοεε  
 παπ ἦτεπταρἡἡ ἔρατεπ Ἦεν πεϥραπ ἔθοὔαβ  
 ϥα τεπχωκ εβολ ἄπεπἄὔωπϥ- Page 179. Πιπελα-  
 καριϥ δε ἀπα ἰσακ παϥχω ἄλλωοϥ πωοϥ πε  
 χε ἄριπἄεεἔἦ παἡοὔ† χε ἀποκ οὔκοϥχι ἦἄλοϥ 25  
 †ωοὔἡ ἦρἡἡ ἀπϥ- Πεχε ἀπα φἡλοϥεοϥ παϥ  
 χε χεεποεε† πασοἡ πἡρἡεεωπ<sup>3</sup> παϥωτεε

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxxxvi. 4 (Coptic Ps. cxxxv. 4).

<sup>2</sup> πόλις.

<sup>3</sup> MS. πἡρἡεεωπ.



αφωπαφ επτακο πρωτ δε̄ π̄θοφ̄ ε̄επαποτ†  
 φπαεοτη̄ ε̄βολ̄ ψᾱ ε̄περζ̄- Εταφωτεε̄ δε̄  
 ε̄πᾱῑ π̄χε̄ πιρνητεεωη̄ αφωπητ̄ ε̄εεαψ̄ αφοροτ̄  
 †κοτεεφoc̄ †εν̄ ρωφ̄ ψᾱτοτκωρη̄ π̄πεφπαχρη̄-  
 Πιδ̄τιoc̄ δε̄ αφερατωπιζεcοε<sup>1</sup> †εν̄ πᾱῑ τηροτ̄. 5  
 ῑτᾱ οη̄ αφοροτ̄ῑρῑ ε̄επcωεε̄ ε̄επιδ̄τιoc̄ π̄cωρη̄  
 cωρη̄ †εν̄ οτ̄οc̄ ε̄εβενπῑ ατ̄φωη̄ π̄οτ̄ρ̄εεε̄  
 πεε̄ οτ̄ρ̄εοτ̄ ε̄χεπ̄ πεφ̄ ψᾱψ̄ αφοροτ̄ φωρη̄  
 Page 183. π̄πεφτ̄εβ̄ π̄οτᾱῑ οτᾱῑ πᾱπεφχιχ̄ πεε̄  
 πᾱπεφβ̄αλατ̄χ̄ αφοροτ̄ φωη̄ ε̄χωωτ̄ π̄οτ̄κοπιδ̄<sup>2</sup> 10  
 π̄ατ̄ωψ̄εε̄- Αφοροτ̄ῑπῑ π̄ρ̄αηcαρ̄ ε̄εβενπῑε.  
 ετ̄λοβ̄ψ̄ π̄χρωε̄ ατ̄τηητοτ̄ ε̄†οτη̄ επεφρεεαψ̄χ̄  
 ατ̄†ι†̄ ε̄εεωωτ̄ π̄†ηητοτ̄ ψᾱτε̄ πιψαρ̄ περ̄cī  
 †εν̄ πεφ̄αηκεφ̄αλοc̄. 3 π̄ιδ̄τιoc̄ δε̄ αφτ̄ωοτη̄  
 †ᾱ πᾱῑ τηροτ̄ †εν̄ οτ̄εετ̄χωρη̄- 15

Πιεν̄ψ̄ τηρη̄ πεε̄ πιρνητεεωη̄ πᾱτερψ̄φ̄ηρη̄  
 πε. ε̄ριδ̄ποc̄ δε̄ πιρνητεεωη̄ αφκοτ̄ψ̄ ε̄επᾱ ῑσαακ  
 πιχαρ̄ρηητ̄ πεχαφ̄ παφ̄ Page 184. χε̄ ε̄ληθωc̄<sup>4</sup>  
 ε̄ ηεκεεατ̄ιδ̄ οτωηρ̄ ε̄βολ̄ ε̄εφοοτ̄- Πεχε̄  
 π̄ιδ̄τιoc̄ παφ̄ χε̄ χ̄ηατ̄ π̄θoc̄ αη̄ ω̄ π̄ιατ̄ρηητ̄ χε̄ 20  
 ε̄ πᾱοc̄ ῑηc̄ ῑ π̄οτηρ̄ π̄cοη̄ αφπορ̄εεε̄ ε̄εεοῑ  
 †εν̄ ηεκεπιβ̄οτ̄λη<sup>5</sup> πεε̄ ηεκβ̄αcαποc̄- Πεχε̄  
 ε̄ριδ̄ποc̄ παφ̄ χε̄ ε̄ληθωc̄ ε̄επερ̄λῑ παρ̄εεεκ̄  
 ε̄πᾱῑτηροτ̄ ῑεηητ̄ῑ<sup>6</sup> ε̄ηεκεεατ̄ιδ̄ ε̄τεκε̄ῑρῑ ε̄εεωωτ̄  
 †εν̄ πᾱῑραη̄ χε̄ ῑηc̄ φ̄η̄ π̄θoc̄ ε̄τεκ̄ηαρ̄†̄ ε̄ροφ̄- 25  
 Αλλᾱ ψ̄επ̄ οτ̄χᾱῑ π̄πιποτ̄†̄ π̄ιδ̄πολλωη̄ πεε̄

<sup>1</sup> ἄγωνιάω      <sup>2</sup> κόνιc.  
<sup>3</sup> κεφαλή.      <sup>4</sup> ἀληθῶc.  
<sup>5</sup> ἐπιβουλή.      <sup>6</sup> Οτ̄ ῑεηητ̄ῑ.



†ερω π̄χρωε π̄τε παβουχοσοποσορ ποτρο<sup>1</sup>  
 παρη† ἐκεαδρεετ πασ̄ ἰη̄ς π̄χ̄ς κε π̄περιζη-  
 νεεωπ χος κε αψωπ πεψπο†:- Ναι δε εταα-  
 χοτοα αψερσφρατιζην εεεοϋ π̄ π̄σοπ εψω  
 εεεοσ Page 188. κε δεπ φραν εεφιωτ πεεε π̄ψηρι 5  
 πεεε πιπ̄ᾱ ε̄θοταβ:- Τοτε αψζωλ ε̄ρηι  
 επιχαλκιοπ αψτωβζ εψω εεεοσ κε πασ̄ ἰη̄ς  
 π̄χ̄ς εεοσ ψαροι εεπεροτει σαβολ εεεοι:-  
 δεπ †οτηοτ ἰς εηνχανλ παρχηαγτελοσ αψι  
 επεσητ εβολδεπ τφε αψωψεε εεπιχαλκιοπ 10  
 αψορεψωπι εεφρη† ποτεωοσ εψκηβ:- πα†-  
 πολις δε ε̄τααπατ ε̄φνη̄ετααψωπι πατωψ εβολ  
 πε ετοτωψ εζιω̄πι ε̄χεπ πιζηνεεωπ κε  
 ἰς π̄τεκχαα εβολ ἰε Page 189. π̄τεκ† π̄τεα  
 ἀποφασις:- Τοτε πιζηνεεωπ αψοταδσαζμι 15  
 π̄σεταλοϋ επιχοι π̄σεολϋ ε̄τααβαζ δεπ πι-  
 πορεψ† π̄τεααποφασις αψσδαι εεπαρη†:- κε  
 ἰσαακ πιρεε†φρε δεπ π̄οωπ παπατ επιζη  
 πεψοτωψ πε φαι εεοσ εχεπ φραν π̄η̄ς ἀποκ  
 †ερκελετηπ ε̄ωλι π̄τεααφε δεπ ρωσ π̄τσηψι:- 20  
 Παρη† αψσεκ πιβηλλα<sup>2</sup> αψτωπη εβολ ζιχεπ  
 πιβηεε. ε̄ταᾱ π̄χε πιζυπερετης<sup>3</sup> π̄τε †απο-  
 εε̄ᾱ ατσωκ εεπῑᾱτιοσ ερε πιχαεεωσ<sup>4</sup> Page 190. τοι  
 ε̄ρωψ:- εταατηϋ δε ετααβαζ ε̄†βακι τηρς ἰ  
 εβολ ζιτζη εεεοϋ ατερψφηρη εεπεψσαι πεεε 25  
 πιωοτ ετκω† ε̄ροψ:- εταατολϋ δε κε εσπαω̄λι  
 π̄τεααφε πεχε πῑᾱτιοσ ἀπα ἰσαακ π̄πιζυπερετης

<sup>1</sup> Daniel iii. 19-30.

<sup>2</sup> βίλλος, schedula.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπερέτης.

<sup>4</sup> χαμωσ = χαμός = χαβός, later form of κημός.

εταλλοπῑ ε̄εεοϋ̄ χε̄ πετεποτχαῑ ἔρωτεπ̄ πασπνοϋ̄  
 ωοϋ̄ π̄ρητ̄ πεεε̄νῑ ποτκοτχῑ π̄ταϷληλ̄ ἔρη̄νῑ ρα  
 παποτ†. ε̄επατετεπ̄ Ϸωτεβ̄ ε̄εεοῑ:- Νικοστωπ-  
 αριος̄ (sic) δε̄ ατσοκοϋ̄ σαβολ̄ ε̄εεοϋ̄ πιεεκαριος̄  
 5 δε̄ ἀπᾱ ἰσαακ̄ αϷκω† ε̄επεϷρο̄ επ̄σᾱ π̄†απατολη̄<sup>1</sup>  
 αϷοτω̄νῑ π̄ρωϷ̄ Page 191. αϷϷληλ̄ εϷχω̄ ε̄εεοϋ̄  
 ε̄επαρη†:- Χε̄ παγγελοϋ̄ π̄τε̄ φοτω̄νῑ ὄρῑ  
 ἔρατεπ̄θη̄νοϋ̄ πεεε̄νῑ ε̄εφοοϋ̄:- Η̄ιαρχ̄ναγγελοϋ̄<sup>2</sup>  
 π̄τε̄ φοτω̄νῑ ὄρῑ ἔρατεπ̄θη̄νοϋ̄ πεεε̄νῑ ε̄εφοοϋ̄:-  
 10 Η̄ισεραφιε̄<sup>3</sup> π̄τε̄φοτω̄νῑ ὄρῑ ἔρατεπ̄θη̄νοϋ̄ πεεε̄νῑ  
 ε̄εφοοϋ̄:- Η̄ιαττοττορτοϋ̄<sup>4</sup> π̄τε̄ φοτω̄νῑ ὄρῑ ἔρα-  
 τεπ̄θη̄νοϋ̄ πεεε̄νῑ ε̄εφοοϋ̄:- ΛεοϷ̄ Ϸαροῑ ε̄εφοοϋ̄  
 πᾱο̄ς̄ ἰη̄ς̄ π̄χ̄ς̄ π̄τεκ†χοε̄ η̄νῑ ε̄εαρ̄ιε̄ρπεεε̄πϷα  
 π̄σωτεε̄ ε̄τεκεε̄η̄ Ϸατρη̄ν̄ ε̄επα†εεοϷ̄ ρη̄α  
 15 π̄τε̄ παρη̄τ̄ ὅωτ̄ π̄ρη̄νῑ π̄ρη̄τ̄ π̄ταε̄ρετιπ̄  
 Page 192. ε̄εεοκ̄ ε̄επαε̄τ̄η̄εεᾱ ε̄τϷεπ̄ παρη̄τ̄:-  
 ϷωϷ<sup>5</sup> δε̄ ε̄ρε̄ παγγιοϋ̄ ἀπᾱ ἰσαακ̄ χω̄ π̄παῑ ἰς̄  
 πο̄ς̄ ἰη̄ς̄ π̄χ̄ς̄ αϷῑ ε̄βολϷεπ̄ τφε̄ εϷταλ̄νοϷ̄τ̄  
 ε̄οϷρᾱεεᾱ π̄οτω̄νῑ ε̄ρε̄ ραπαϷω̄ π̄αγγελοϋ̄  
 20 ε̄ρρ̄εεποϋ̄<sup>6</sup> ἔροϷ̄ αϷταρ̄πο̄ ε̄επιρ̄ᾱεεᾱ σαπϷω̄  
 ε̄επ̄εεᾱ ἔρε̄ παγγιοϋ̄ ε̄εεοϷ̄:- Ἀ̄ πο̄ς̄ ωϷ̄ ε̄βολ  
 Ϸεπ̄ ο̄τηϷ† π̄σε̄η̄ χε̄ ε̄εεοϷ̄ επ̄Ϸω̄ ραροῑ  
 παεε̄ε̄ριτ̄ ἰσαακ̄ †πα†πακ̄ ε̄επεκβε̄χε̄ π̄τϷεβ̄ιω̄  
 π̄π̄ιϷ̄ῑ ε̄τακϷοποϷ̄ ἔχεπ̄ πᾱραπ̄. Ε̄τ̄η̄εεᾱ  
 25 πιβ̄επ̄ ε̄τεκε̄ρε̄π̄ῑο̄ε̄ε̄η̄<sup>7</sup> ε̄ρωϷ̄ †πᾱερ̄χᾱριζε̄ς̄ε̄ε̄  
 Page 193. ε̄εεεωϷ̄ πακ̄ χε̄ ο̄τρεϷ†εϷραϷ̄ῑ πε  
 παιω̄τ̄:- Η̄αῑ δε̄ ε̄τᾱ παγγιοϋ̄ ἀπᾱ ἰσαακ̄ σο̄ε̄εοϷ̄

<sup>1</sup> ἀνατολή.<sup>2</sup> ἀρχή + ἄγγελος.<sup>3</sup> ἰσραήλ.<sup>4</sup> αὐτουργός.<sup>5</sup> ὡς.<sup>6</sup> √ ὑμνέω.<sup>7</sup> √ ἐπιθυμέω.

ερε̄ π̄σωτηρ̄ χω̄ ε̄εεο̄σ̄ πᾱς̄ ἀπε̄ρ̄η̄ντ̄ τᾱχρο̄  
 ᾱς̄ᾱχῑ ε̄ε̄π̄σωτηρ̄ ε̄ς̄χω̄ ε̄εεο̄σ̄. Χε̄ σο̄τε̄ε̄  
 ε̄ροῑ πᾱο̄ς̄ π̄τε̄κ̄ω̄τ̄ ε̄ε̄πᾱρ̄η̄ντ̄ †ε̄ν̄ φ̄νε̄†ε̄ρε̄τῑπ̄<sup>1</sup>  
 ε̄εεο̄ς̄ π̄το̄τ̄κ̄ κ̄σω̄τη̄π̄ ω̄ πᾱο̄ς̄ χε̄ ο̄τ̄κο̄τ̄χῑ π̄†ε̄ῑ  
 πε̄ πᾱ†ε̄ῑ ε̄ε̄ν̄πο̄τε̄ π̄τε̄ ο̄τ̄ᾱχῑ τ̄ω̄π̄ς̄ ε̄ρ̄η̄νῑ<sup>5</sup>  
 ε̄ς̄χω̄. ε̄κε̄ο̄τ̄ω̄ρ̄π̄ ε̄ε̄ε̄ν̄χ̄ᾱν̄λ̄ π̄αρ̄χ̄η̄ᾱγ̄γε̄λο̄ς̄  
 π̄τε̄ς̄ερ̄βο̄η̄ο̄ῑπ̄ ε̄ρω̄ο̄ς̄ π̄τε̄ς̄†χ̄ο̄ε̄ π̄ω̄ο̄ς̄ π̄τε̄κ̄-  
 τᾱκο̄ π̄π̄ο̄τ̄ᾱχῑ:- Page 194. Ᾱρ̄ε̄ς̄ᾱπ̄ ο̄τ̄ρω̄ε̄ῑ  
 ε̄ρ̄πο̄βῑ π̄τε̄ς̄† ε̄ε̄ν̄ πᾱς̄ω̄ε̄ε̄ π̄τε̄ς̄†ω̄β̄ρ̄ ε̄εεο̄κ̄  
 ε̄κε̄χ̄ω̄ πᾱς̄ ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ π̄π̄ε̄ς̄πο̄βῑ ε̄ε̄πᾱτε̄ φ̄ρη̄<sup>10</sup>  
 ρ̄ω̄τ̄π̄ ε̄ε̄π̄ῑε̄ρ̄ο̄ο̄ς̄ ε̄τε̄ε̄ε̄ε̄ᾱτ̄. πε̄χε̄ π̄ο̄ς̄ πᾱς̄ χε̄  
 ε̄ς̄ε̄ς̄ω̄π̄ῑ ε̄ε̄πᾱῑρη̄† ω̄ πᾱε̄ε̄π̄ρη̄τ̄:- Πε̄χε̄ π̄ᾱν̄τῑο̄ς̄  
 ἀπᾱ ἰσαακ̄ πᾱς̄ χε̄ ε̄†ε̄ρε̄τῑπ̄ ε̄εεο̄κ̄ ε̄ο̄β̄ε̄ φ̄νε̄†-  
 κ̄ω̄ς̄ ε̄ε̄πᾱς̄ω̄ε̄ε̄ †ε̄ν̄ ο̄τ̄κ̄ᾱῑς̄ ε̄κε̄ρ̄ω̄β̄ς̄ ε̄ε̄πε̄ς̄-  
 σω̄ε̄ε̄ †ε̄ν̄ π̄π̄ᾱτ̄ π̄τε̄ τ̄ε̄ς̄ᾱπ̄ᾱγ̄κ̄η̄<sup>2</sup> π̄π̄ε̄ς̄ω̄π̄ῑ<sup>15</sup>  
 ε̄ς̄β̄η̄ς̄. φ̄νε̄ο̄π̄ᾱς̄†ᾱῑ π̄τᾱε̄ε̄αρ̄τ̄τ̄ρη̄ᾱ π̄τ̄ε̄ς̄ο̄το̄η̄ρ̄η̄τ̄  
 ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄ ε̄κε̄ς̄†ᾱῑ ε̄ε̄πε̄ς̄ρᾱπ̄ ε̄π̄χ̄ω̄ε̄ ε̄ε̄π̄ω̄π̄η̄†.  
 φ̄νε̄ο̄π̄ᾱ† ε̄ε̄πᾱρᾱπ̄ ε̄ο̄τ̄ω̄η̄ρη̄ π̄τᾱς̄ †ε̄ν̄ ο̄τ̄ω̄ς̄  
 Page 195. π̄ρ̄η̄ντ̄ ε̄κε̄ο̄ω̄τ̄ π̄†η̄ντ̄ †ε̄ν̄ ο̄το̄ο̄πο̄ς̄  
 φ̄νε̄ο̄π̄ᾱ† π̄ο̄τ̄π̄ρο̄ς̄φο̄ρᾱ<sup>3</sup> ε̄πᾱτο̄πο̄ς̄<sup>4</sup> ε̄κε̄† πᾱς̄<sup>20</sup>  
 ε̄β̄ο̄λ̄†ε̄ν̄ †π̄ρο̄ς̄φο̄ρᾱ π̄ᾱπ̄ε̄ρᾱτο̄η̄ς̄:-<sup>5</sup> †ε̄ν̄ π̄χ̄η̄π̄  
 π̄ᾱν̄τῑο̄ς̄ ἀπᾱ ἰσαακ̄ χε̄ πᾱῑ ἀπ̄ῑσω̄τηρ̄ ο̄τ̄ω̄ρ̄ε̄ε̄  
 πᾱς̄ †ε̄ν̄ ο̄τ̄ᾱε̄η̄ ε̄ε̄ε̄ε̄τ̄ρε̄ε̄ρᾱτ̄ω̄ς̄ ε̄ς̄χω̄ ε̄εεο̄ς̄  
 χε̄ ε̄ε̄η̄π̄<sup>6</sup> †χ̄ω̄ ε̄εεο̄ς̄ πᾱκ̄ χε̄ ρ̄ω̄β̄ π̄ῑβ̄ε̄π̄  
 ε̄τᾱκ̄ε̄ρ̄ε̄†η̄π̄ ε̄ε̄ε̄ω̄ο̄ς̄ †ε̄ν̄ π̄ᾱρᾱπ̄ †πᾱτ̄η̄ῑτο̄ο̄<sup>25</sup>  
 πᾱκ̄ π̄ικ̄ε̄χ̄ω̄ο̄π̄ῑ ε̄τε̄ ε̄ε̄π̄ε̄κε̄ρ̄πο̄τ̄ε̄ε̄ε̄†η̄ †πᾱε̄ρ̄χ̄-  
 ᾱρῑς̄ε̄ς̄ο̄ε̄ ε̄ε̄ε̄ω̄ο̄ς̄ πᾱκ̄:- Ῑς̄ ε̄ε̄ῑχ̄ᾱν̄λ̄<sup>7</sup> π̄η̄π̄ω̄ς̄†

<sup>1</sup> √ ἐρωτία.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνάγκη.

<sup>3</sup> προσφορά.

<sup>4</sup> τόπος.

<sup>5</sup> ἀπέρατος.

<sup>6</sup> ἡμῶν.

<sup>7</sup> ἡμῶν.

π̄αρχηγευτος̄ εὐαγγ̄ ε̄πεκτοπος̄ φη̄ετο̄-  
 παχω̄ ε̄πεκωλεε̄ π̄δ̄ητη̄ π̄τεψερδιᾱκομη<sup>1</sup>  
 Page 196.<sup>2</sup> ε̄ροκ̄ ε̄εν̄ ε̄τεεεε<sup>3</sup> πιβεν̄ π̄ταλβο̄  
 π̄τε̄ πιρωε̄ῑ π̄η̄ετο̄υερετιν̄ ε̄εεωοῡ π̄τοτκ̄-  
 5 Ο̄επενεᾱ καῑ ε̄ πιεεκαριος̄ ἀπᾱ ἰσαακ̄ κοτη̄  
 επικεστοπαριος̄ πεχᾱῡ πωοῡ κε̄ ε̄εωιπ̄ῑ χωκ̄  
 ε̄βολ̄ ε̄φ̄η̄ετᾱτο̄τᾱρ̄σᾱρ̄μη̄ ε̄εεοῡ πωτεπ̄-  
 Παρη̄η̄† ε̄τῑ π̄χε̄ πικεστοπαριος̄ ε̄η̄† ε̄επιχα-  
 εεωε̄ ερω̄ῡ ε̄τη̄χω̄ π̄τεψ̄ε̄φε̄ ε̄χεν̄ ο̄τη̄ψ̄η̄† π̄ω̄π̄ι  
 10 ε̄ε̄ω̄λκ̄ ε̄εψ̄εεοῡτ̄ ε̄βολ̄ ε̄τη̄ω̄λῑ π̄τεψ̄ε̄φε̄  
 ε̄θοῡτᾱβ̄ π̄τ̄ση̄ῑ ε̄η̄† ε̄βολ̄ε̄εν̄ πεψ̄ωεεε̄ π̄χε̄  
 ο̄τ̄ση̄οῡ π̄εε̄ ο̄ε̄ρω̄η̄†- Π̄ιεε̄ ε̄τᾱτη̄ω̄λῑ π̄τεψ̄-  
 ε̄φε̄ ε̄εεοῡ ε̄η̄κ̄ιεε̄ ε̄πᾱῑσᾱ π̄εε̄ φ̄αῑ π̄†  
 Page 197. π̄σοπ̄ ε̄ ο̄ε̄ρο̄η̄† π̄εε̄ ο̄ε̄σ̄ε̄ρ̄τε̄ρ̄ ψ̄ω̄π̄ι  
 15 ε̄εν̄ †πολις̄ Δ̄ ο̄ῡε̄νη̄ψ̄ π̄ρωε̄ῑ σω̄τεε̄ ε̄τῑ  
 ε̄πᾱε̄ ε̄η̄ψ̄φ̄η̄ρῑ ε̄τᾱε̄ψ̄ω̄π̄ῑ ε̄ρε̄ π̄ῑση̄οῡ π̄εε̄  
 π̄ῑε̄ρω̄η̄† σωκ̄ ε̄βολ̄ε̄εν̄ π̄ωεεε̄ ε̄επιεεκαριος̄  
 ἀπᾱ ἰσαακ̄- ρ̄ωε̄ δε̄ πιβελλ̄ε̄ε̄ π̄εε̄ πιβ̄ε̄λε̄ε̄  
 π̄εε̄ π̄ικοῡη̄ π̄εε̄ π̄ῑε̄βο̄ ε̄ψ̄ᾱε̄ε̄σῑ ε̄βολ̄ε̄εν̄  
 20 π̄ῑση̄οῡ π̄εε̄ π̄ῑε̄ρω̄η̄† ε̄θη̄νη̄οῡ ε̄βολ̄ε̄εν̄ π̄ωεεε̄  
 ε̄επιεεκαριος̄ ψ̄ᾱη̄† ε̄χεν̄ πο̄εεε̄λο̄ς̄ ε̄εεεοκ̄ρ̄  
 ψ̄ᾱτο̄η̄χ̄αῑ σᾱτο̄το̄ῡ. Π̄ιβελλ̄ε̄ε̄ πᾱη̄πᾱε̄ ε̄εβολ̄  
 πε̄ πιβ̄ε̄λε̄ε̄ πᾱη̄ε̄ω̄ψ̄ῑ πε̄ π̄ικοῡη̄ π̄ᾱη̄σω̄τεε̄  
 π̄ῑε̄βο̄ πᾱη̄σᾱη̄ῑ πε̄-  
 25 Page 198.<sup>4</sup> Φ̄αῑ πε̄ π̄ιρη̄η̄† ε̄τᾱε̄ψ̄χωκ̄ π̄τεψ̄  
 ε̄αρ̄τη̄ρη̄ιᾱ ε̄βολ̄ π̄χε̄ π̄ιᾱν̄τιος̄ ἀπᾱ ἰσαακ̄ π̄σο̄η̄†  
 ε̄επιε̄βο̄η̄οῡ πᾱψ̄οῡη̄ς̄ ε̄ψ̄η̄ε̄ ψ̄ᾱ φ̄η̄ε̄τᾱψ̄ε̄ε̄η̄ρη̄ῑτη̄

<sup>1</sup> √ διακονίω.<sup>2</sup> MS. ρπε. (sic).<sup>3</sup> αίτημα.<sup>4</sup> MS. ρπη (sic).

πεπο̄σ̄ ἰη̄ς π̄χ̄ς ᾱψ̄β̄ῑ ε̄πιχ̄λοε̄ πᾱττᾱκο̄ π̄ρρη̄  
 Δεπ̄ θεετο̄τρο̄ π̄νη̄φνο̄σῑ:- Πενε̄σᾱ παῑ ᾱψ̄ῑ  
 π̄χε̄ π̄προτοπολῑτης<sup>1</sup> π̄τε̄ †πολῑς ᾱψ̄ῑνῑ π̄οτ-  
 λεν̄τιον<sup>2</sup> π̄ψεν̄ς ᾱψ̄τη̄νῑ ε̄τε̄ψ̄ᾱφε̄ ᾱψ̄ῑνῑ δε̄ οπ̄  
 π̄ρ̄ᾱνη̄σ̄η̄δο̄νῑον<sup>3</sup> ᾱψ̄κω̄ς ε̄ε̄ψ̄ω̄ε̄ ε̄ε̄πῑε̄ε̄κᾱρ̄ιος̄ 5  
 ἀπᾱ ἰσαακ̄:-

Αποκ̄ Δ̄ε̄ π̄ρε̄ψ̄ερ̄νο̄βῑ χ̄ριστο̄φο̄ρος̄ ἀποκ̄  
 ο̄τ̄ε̄π̄ν̄εν̄ης<sup>4</sup> ε̄ε̄πᾱιδ̄ν̄ιος̄ ἰσ̄χεν̄ Page 199. †ᾱρχ̄η̄  
 ᾱῑψ̄ω̄πῑ ε̄ῑε̄η̄ν̄ ε̄ρο̄ψ̄ ᾱῑσ̄Δ̄αῑ π̄νε̄ψ̄ρ̄ῡπο̄ε̄η̄ν<sup>5</sup> (sic)  
 ε̄ε̄δο̄τ̄ χε̄ ε̄ε̄πῑτο̄τ̄ρο̄ ε̄ρω̄τ̄ ο̄τ̄δε̄ ε̄ε̄πῑω̄λῑ 10  
 ε̄βολ̄ π̄δ̄η̄το̄τ̄:- ε̄τᾱῑπᾱτ̄ χε̄ ε̄ε̄ε̄ο̄π̄ ρ̄ω̄ε̄ῑ  
 π̄τη̄νῑ ε̄ε̄ε̄ᾱτ̄ ᾱῑτ̄ρο̄ ε̄π̄ῑπροτοπολῑτης̄ ᾱψ̄† π̄η̄  
 π̄ο̄τ̄κᾱρο̄τ̄κ̄ιον<sup>6</sup> π̄ε̄ε̄ ἰ̄ π̄β̄ω̄κ̄ π̄τᾱψ̄ ᾱῑτᾱλο̄ε̄  
 ε̄ε̄πῑσ̄ω̄ε̄ε̄ ᾱῑεν̄ψ̄ ψ̄ᾱ †ᾱπ̄ε̄ε̄ρω̄ π̄τε̄ πε̄ψ̄τ̄ε̄ῑ  
 ε̄ε̄πῑχε̄ε̄ χο̄ῑ π̄τᾱε̄ρ̄χῑπ̄ιο̄ρ̄ ε̄ε̄ε̄ο̄ψ̄. ἀ̄ ψ̄† ο̄τ̄ᾱρ̄- 15  
 σᾱρ̄η̄νῑ π̄π̄ῑτε̄β̄η̄ω̄σῑ ᾱτ̄ε̄ε̄ο̄ψ̄ῑ ε̄χεν̄ π̄ῑε̄ω̄τ̄  
 ε̄ε̄φ̄ρη̄τ̄ ε̄ε̄πε̄τ̄ψ̄ο̄τ̄ω̄τ̄:- ε̄τᾱ π̄ῑρ̄ω̄ε̄ῑ π̄τε̄  
 π̄ῑτ̄ε̄ῑ σω̄τε̄ε̄ ᾱτ̄ῑ ε̄βολ̄ Δ̄ᾱχ̄ω̄ψ̄ τ̄η̄ρο̄τ̄ π̄ῑκο̄τ̄χῑ  
 π̄ε̄ε̄ π̄ῑψ̄ψ̄† ᾱτο̄λο̄ψ̄ ε̄τε̄κ̄κ̄λη̄σῑᾱ<sup>7</sup> Page 200.<sup>8</sup> Δ̄επ̄  
 ο̄τ̄ω̄τ̄ π̄ε̄ε̄ ο̄τ̄ᾱῑο̄ ε̄τ̄ρᾱψ̄ῑ ε̄τ̄ψ̄ω̄τ̄ ε̄ε̄ψ̄† 20  
 φ̄η̄ε̄τ̄ῑρῑ π̄π̄ῑψ̄φ̄η̄ρῑ ε̄ε̄ε̄ᾱτ̄ᾱτ̄ψ̄:- Πενε̄σᾱ παῑ  
 ἀποκ̄ πε̄ χ̄ριστο̄φο̄ρος̄ ᾱῑψ̄ο̄ρ̄ψ̄ερ̄ ε̄ε̄πε̄ψ̄η̄νῑ σᾱδ̄η̄τ̄  
 π̄†ε̄κ̄κ̄λη̄σῑᾱ Δ̄επ̄ π̄ᾱω̄κ̄ π̄η̄ π̄ᾱβ̄ο̄τ̄ ᾱικ̄ω̄τ̄ π̄ο̄τε̄τ̄-  
 κ̄τη̄ριο̄ν<sup>9</sup> ε̄ε̄πῑδ̄ν̄ιος̄ ᾱῑτ̄ ε̄ε̄πε̄ψ̄ε̄στε̄φ̄ᾱνο̄τ̄:-<sup>10</sup>  
 Απο̄τ̄ω̄ρ̄π̄ ᾱη̄η̄νῑ ε̄ε̄πῑε̄πῑσκο̄πος̄<sup>11</sup> ᾱψ̄ερ̄δ̄ν̄ιᾱζ̄η̄ν<sup>12</sup> 25

<sup>1</sup> πρωτο-πολίτης.

<sup>2</sup> λέντιον, *linteum*.

<sup>3</sup> σινδών.

<sup>4</sup> συγγενής.

<sup>5</sup> ὑπομονή.

<sup>6</sup> καρῶχα, *carrūca*.

<sup>7</sup> ἐκκλησία.

<sup>8</sup> MS. ρψ (*sic*).

<sup>9</sup> εὐκτήριον.

<sup>10</sup> στέφανος.

<sup>11</sup> ἐπίσκοπος.

<sup>12</sup> ἀγιάζω.

εεεου πσοτ ε̄ εεπιδβοτ τωβι ατσωπι  
 ππῆντϥ πχε ρανχοεε νεεε ρανψφνηρι. ετωοτ  
 εεπεποσ̄ ἰης π̄χς νεεε πηεοτδβ τηροτ  
 πταϥ:- Φαι ε̄τε ε̄βολριτοτϥ ε̄ρε ωοτ πιβεν

5 Page 201. νεεε πταιο πιβεν νεεε προσκϣνησις<sup>1</sup>  
 πιβεν ερπρεπι<sup>2</sup> εεφιωτ νεεεαϥ νεεε πιππα  
 πρεϥτανδo οτορ ποεοοτςιοσ<sup>3</sup> νεεεαϥ:- †ποτ  
 νεεε πсноτ πιβεν νεεε ψα ε̄περ πτε πιεπερ  
 τηροτ δεεηπ:- ... — ... — ... — ... — ... :-

10 ε̄ς Ἡεν φραπ εεφιωτ νεεε πψνηρι νεεε πιππα  
 ε̄οοτδβ †ττριας<sup>4</sup> ποεοοτςιοσ ετχνηκ ε̄βολ ε̄ςδεν  
 οτεεεποτ† ποτωτ. φαι ταρ πε πεηποτ† ἀποη  
 δα πιχρηστιδποσ τεποτωϥτ εεεοσ τεη†ω-  
 οτ πας. φηε̄ταϥσωπ ε̄ροϥ ππιδωροη<sup>5</sup> πτε δβελ

15 πιεεηι νεεε πιψοτψωοτψι πτε πεηιωτ πωε̄  
 Page 202. νεεε †οτςιδ πτε πεηιωτ δβραεε νεεε

†τεβι σποτ† πτε †χνηρ νεεε πιεεεοηαντ  
 πτε κορνηλιο[ς] εκεϥωπ ε̄ροκ πτπροζερεσις<sup>6</sup>  
 εεπεκδωκ παιωτ παπα στατροσ πιεοηαχοσ<sup>7</sup>

20 πτε ολατρα<sup>8</sup> εεπεηιωτ πδικεοσ πιηϥ† δβδα  
 ἰω πψνηρι π†εεαηϥωπι περζωοττ χε πθοϥ ατϥι  
 ρωοτϥ εεπαιδτιο[ς] π̄χωεε. αϥτηνϥ π†ατιδ  
 πεκκλκσιδ πτε πιδτιοσ ἡλιας πιηϥ† εεπρο-  
 φητης ε̄ροττερδποσθητιζην<sup>9</sup> πδῆντϥ νεεε

25 πηε̄οηκοτ εεεπεησωϥ:-

<sup>1</sup> προσκϣνησις.

<sup>2</sup> πρέπει.

<sup>3</sup> ὁμοούσιος.

<sup>4</sup> τριάς.

<sup>5</sup> δῶρον.

<sup>6</sup> √προαιρέω

<sup>7</sup> μοναχός.

<sup>8</sup> λαίρα.

<sup>9</sup> ἀποστηθίζω.



## THE KARIAN LANGUAGE AND INSCRIPTIONS.

By Professor A. H. SAYCE.

*Read 3rd February, 1885.*

IN 1872 I wrote a Paper on "The Karian Inscriptions," which was subsequently published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* (Vol. X, pt. 3, N.S.), and in which I collected all the known inscriptions as well as the words ascribed to the Karian language by Greek and Latin authors. Unfortunately absence from England prevented me from correcting the proofs of my Paper, which consequently abounds with misprints.

One of its chief objects was the decipherment of the Karian alphabet and texts. At the time the Paper was written the Kypriote syllabary was still an unsolved riddle; so that, though Mr. George Smith's successful solution was published before it was printed, or indeed read before the Royal Society of Literature, a certain amount of confidence may be placed in the soundness of my method of decipherment which resulted in maintaining that  $\underline{\text{M}}$  (the Kypriote *mī*) had the value of *m*, and in comparing some of the Karian characters with Lykian letters which we now know to have once belonged to the Asianic or Kypriote syllabary. Since the publication of my Paper, however, new and important materials have accumulated for the interpretation of the Karian texts. Prof. C. T. Newton has published the long Greek inscription of Halikarnassos discovered by Mr. Alfred Biliotti, in which a large number of Karian names occur as well as Karian numerals, and these names he has at the same time classified, and, so far as is possible, analysed ("Essays on Art and Archæology," Appendix, 1880). I have myself collected

a considerable number of new inscriptions; indeed, during my visit to Abydos in Upper Egypt in the winter of 1883, I copied no less than thirty-seven, more than double the whole number of inscriptions previously known, while a Karian inscription I found on a scarab now in the possession of Mr. R. P. Greg, clears up the origin of a peculiar style of art met with in Lower Egypt, and throws light on the primitive art of Karia itself. I have, moreover, succeeded in personally examining or procuring casts of nearly all the inscriptions published in my Paper, and have thus been enabled to correct several mistakes made by those from whose copies they were taken. Finally, the progress made in the decipherment of the Kypriote inscriptions, and in our knowledge of the early script of Asia Minor, has thrown much light on the origin and character of the Karian alphabet. In an Appendix to Dr. Schliemann's "Ilios," I have shown that the Kypriote syllabary is but a branch of a system of writing, which I have proposed to call the Asianic syllabary, once in use in Western and Southern Asia Minor, and which was probably derived from the Hittite hieroglyphics—a view which is now accepted by Dr. Deecke. When this syllabary was superseded by the simpler Phoeniko-Greek alphabet, particular characters belonging to it were retained in the local alphabets of Mysia, Lydia, Lykia, Karia, Pamphylia, and Kilikia, in order to denote sounds not represented in the Hellenic alphabet. These local alphabets had doubtless been preceded by local forms or branches of the Asianic syllabary. (See Isaac Taylor: "The Alphabet," Vol. II, pp. 108–23.)

Dr. Lepsius first suggested that the four or five inscriptions in unknown letters which he and his colleagues copied at Abu-Simbel were of Karian origin. At Abu-Simbel they are found in company with Greek *graffiti*, engraved by the mercenaries who accompanied Psammetikhos in his campaign against Ethiopia, and since, according to Hêrodotos, the mercenaries consisted partly of Ionian and partly of Karian soldiers, it was reasonable to suppose that the Karians were the authors of the non-Hellenic texts. This conjecture has been confirmed by subsequent discoveries. Similar texts have been found on the site of Memphis, where there was a Karian "camp" or settlement (Hdt., II, 154), and a bronze

Apis in the Bulak Museum bears an inscription in hieroglyphics and what we may now call Karian characters, the hieroglyphic portion of which describes its dedicator as a dragoman. Now in the period after the rise of the XXVIth dynasty the corps of dragomen seems to have consisted of Karians (Hdt., II, 154).

In the Paper to which I have alluded above, I had supposed that a further confirmation of the theory which sees in these inscriptions relics of the Karian language and alphabet was to be found in an inscription discovered in the Gulf of Skopi or Skopæa, and published by Messrs. Forbes and Hoskyns in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (Vol. XII, p. 158, 1843). But I have since come across another and earlier copy of the inscription in Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall's "Topographische Ansichten gesammelt auf einer Reise in die Levante" (1811), p. 189, which differs very considerably from that made by the English explorers. It is true that von Hammer's copies of the Lykian and Kypriote inscriptions show that his eye was not to be trusted when he attempted to reproduce characters which were unknown to him; nevertheless the form of one of the characters he gives,  $\nabla$ , is certainly more correct than that given by Forbes and Hoskyns, and it is a character which belongs to the Pamphylian rather than to the Karian alphabet.

The country known as Karia was shared between the Karians proper and the Kaunians. The latter were a wilder people than their neighbours, and inhabited the district between Karia and Lykia, their capital, Kaunos, being upon a small stream, the Koigez, and including Cyclopean walls. They were not considered to be of the same blood as the Karians, and were accordingly excluded from the ancient temple of the Karian Zeus at Mylasa, which was open and common to the Karians, Lydians, and Mysians, although they spoke the Karian language. Hérodotos, whose birth at Halikarnassos makes his evidence particularly valuable, regards the Kaunians as aborigines, in spite of their own claim to be Kretan colonists. He rests his view chiefly on the fact that their customs differed not only from those of the Karians, but also from those of all other men (Hdt., I, 172), and

explains the resemblance of the Kaunian and Karian dialects by the supposition that either the Kaunians had assimilated their language to that of the Karians, or the Karians to that of the Kaunians. However that may be, the fact that the temple of Zeus Osogôa at Mylasa was confined to the Karians, Lydians, and Mysians, bears out the assertion of Hêrodotos (I, 172) that these three peoples considered themselves to be brethren. We need have no scruple in rejecting the Kretai legend, reported by Hêrodotos, which identified the Karians with the mythical Leleges, and stated that they had been driven from the islands of the Ægean to the continent by the Dorians and Ionians. The legend was based on the fact that tribes akin to the Karians, and possibly bearing the same name, had once made sea voyages over the Ægean, and inhabited the Kyklades and other neighbouring islands. When Dêlos was purified by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War and its ancient tombs destroyed, Thucydides (I, 8) tells us that more than half the bodies buried in it were found to be those of Karians, as was proved by their armour and mode of burial, and Mr. Theodore Bent seems to have recently discovered primitive tombs of the same people in Antiparos.

In Homer the Karians are distinguished from the Leleges (Il. X, 428-9), and appear among the Asiatic allies of the Trojans, under the command of Nastês and Amphimakhos, with the epithet *βαρβαρόφωνοι* attached to them (Il. II, 867). The epithet gave needless trouble to the commentators. Apollodôros held that it was used by the Ionians by way of contempt, and Strabo that it was due to some defect in pronunciation which was specially noticed by the Greeks in the case of a people with whom they were brought into close relation. Philip of Theangela, who wrote a history of the Karians and Leleges, controverted the notion that the epithet was due to the peculiarly harsh and uncouth character of the Karian language. Of course it merely meant a language which was unintelligible to the Greeks, the same word being applied to the Persians in the Oracles quoted by Hêrodotos (VIII, 20, IX, 43). In the time of Xerxes, at all events, a Karian was not understood by a Greek (Hdt., VIII, 135).

According to Stephanos of Byzantium, Epaphroditos stated

that Karia had once been called Khrysaôris. This statement was no doubt connected with the fact that the Zeus of Labranda was surnamed Khrysaôreus, and that Mylasa, now Melassa, was said to have been founded by Mylassos, son of Khrysaôr. Karios, on the other hand, was made a son of Zeus and Torrhêbia by Xanthos, the Lydian historian, and was worshipped, according to Stephanos of Byzantium, in the Lydian district of Torrhêbia.

The nett result of the information derived from classical antiquity is that the Karians were allied in blood and language to the Lydians and Mysians; indeed, the very fact that all three peoples joined in a common worship in the temple of Mylasa shows that the languages they spoke could not have differed very materially one from another. With this agrees the further fact that more than one word is given as at once Karian and Lydian. Hardly any remains of the Mysian language have been preserved; a considerable number of Lydian words, however, has been handed down to us, and these seem to have an Indo-European complexion. We may therefore assume, at all events provisionally, that the Karian language belonged to the Aryan family of speech.

The following is a list of the Karian words which may be extracted from the works of classical writers: the greater part has been collected by Prof. de Lagarde (Böttcher) in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*.

1. \**Αλα* "a horse." Steph. Byz. explains the name of the town Alabanda to mean "horse-victory"; from *ala*, "horse," and *banda*, "victory." This is borne out by the name *Ἰππολύαλα*, which the same writer says is "the horse of Hyllos," as well as by a passage in Pliny (N. H. V, 29), where the gloss "seu Hippini" ("or the horseman") is attached to the word Ali(n)dienses or Halydienses, the inhabitants of the city of Alinda. In *Hali-karnassos* and *Hali-kakabos* the word *ala* has been assimilated to the Greek *άλι-* (from *ἄλος*). (See under *Κακκάβη*). Blau compares the Kretan *Φάλαννα* (for *Φάλανδα*), which is explained by Steph. Byz. as *Ἰππία*.<sup>1</sup> From the

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the river-names Alandros and Halys, and the Lydian Aly-attés, may be connected with *ala*. With Alandros compare Skamandros.

compounds Ala-banda and Hyllu-ala we learn that the defining word in Karian preceded the word it defined, as in the Aryan languages. Alinda seems to have signified "horsy," whence we may infer that the termination *-nda* formed derivative adjectives. The termination was a very common one; thus we find it in the local names Piginda, Kalynda, Mæandros, Telandros, and Telandria, Kadyanda, and Labranda, so called from the Lydian word *λάβρυς*, "a double-headed axe" (Plut. *Quest. Gr.*, VII, p. 204), which was common to both Lydian and Karian.

2. *Βάνδα*, "victory." See under 1. If *-nda* is a suffix, *ba* ought to denote "conquest," or something similar.

3. *Γέλα*, "king." Stephanos asserts that the city of Souagela, which claimed to possess the tomb of Kar, the brother of Lydos and Mysos, was so called from *σοῦα*, "a tomb," and *γέλα*, "king." The same word is also found in the name of the town Theangela. It is possibly connected with the Lydian *κοαλαδεῖν*, which meant "king" according to Hêsykhios. Another Lydian word with the same signification was *πάλμυς*, which is usually compared with the Phrygian *βαλήν*, "king." The latter word is found by M. Six and Dr. Deecke in one of the Kypriote *grafiti* I copied at Abydos. If, however, *gela* and *koaladein* are connected, *balên* would probably have to be grouped with them, *gwal* being the root to which they should all be referred.

4. *Γίσσα*, "a stone." This word is not certain, as it comes from the explanation given by Stephanos of the name of the city Monogissa, and unfortunately there is a lacuna in the text immediately before it. On the other hand, that *gissa* was the full form of the word is supported by the statement Stephanos goes on to make, that the Greeks called soft flat stones *γίσσα*, which he seems to imply was borrowed from Karian. At the same time *-ssa* or *-ssos* is a common termination of the names of places in Karian. Thus we find Tymnissos, Themissos, Tnyssos, Dedmasa, Harpasa, Kandasa, Kynbasa, Mylasa, Pedasa, Narkasos, Peigelasos, Halikarnassos, Hygassos, Iassos, Kryassos, Kybassos, Prinassos, and Sindêssos. Kryassos occurs by the side of Krya, which Pliny

(N. H. V, 28) qualifies with the epithet "fugitivorum," and Τυμνέσσοι by the side of Τυμνος.<sup>1</sup> According to Stephanos τυμνισσός signified "a rod," since the people of Xanthos called a rod τυμνία. In Peigelasos we may have the word *gela*.

5. Γλοῦς, "a robber." This is one of the words which is given as common to Karian and Lydian.

6. Ἰμβραμος (so resolved by Legarde from the Ἰμβρακος and Ἰμβραμος of the MSS.), the Karian Hermês. This is given by Stephanos under the name Imbros, and suggests a connection between the Karians and the island of Imbros. In Lydian Adramys is interpreted Hermôn, while *kan-daulês* "dog-choker" (Tzetzes in Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.*, 3, 351) was a title of the Lydian Hermês.

7. Κακκάβη, "a (horse's) head." The Karian origin of this word was first pointed out by Blau, *Z. D. M. G.*, XXVII, 4, p. 530 (1873). He compares the name of the town Ἀλι-κάκαβος and the Krêtan Φάλαννα. See above under 1.

8. Καπίθη, a Karian and Lydian measure, containing nearly two quarts (Xenophon, *Anab.*, I, 5, 6).

9. Κολαβρισμός, "a Thrakian and Karian dance in full armour." The word, however, need not have been of Karian origin; indeed it could hardly have been both Thrakian and Karian.

10. Κύβδα, a Karian weight (Makhôn in Athenæos, XIII, p. 580 D).

11. Κῶς (κῶν), "a sheep" (Tzetzes *Lykoph.*, 644), written κῶος in Eustathios (*Hom.*, 318). Hence the Greek κῶας and κῶδιον.

12. Λάβρυς, "a (double-headed) axe." The word is said to be Lydian, but since Labranda, where the Asianic Zeus was worshipped with the double-headed axe in his hand, was a Karian town, it must also have been Karian.

13. Μάσαρις, with the variant reading Μάρσαρις, the Karian Dionysos. Lagarde compares Μάσταυρα, the name

<sup>1</sup> The form Kryassos is supported not only by Plutarch and Stephanos, but also by epigraphic evidence.

of a Lydian city, which was said to have been derived from Mâ who followed Rhea and nursed Dionysos; but Marsyas, the Lydian and Phrygian deity, perhaps makes the form Marsaris preferable.

14. *Νάρασος*, a surname of the Karian Zeus. For the termination see under 4.

15. *Ὀσογῶα*, a title of Zeus Stratios, worshipped at Mylasa, and according to Professor Newton the equivalent of *Ζηνοποσοειδών*. Strabo (XIV, p. 659) gives the word as Osogô, Pausanias (*Arkad.*, 10) as Ogôa; but inscriptions found at Mylasa show that its real form was Osogôa, and that the worship of this particular Zeus was entrusted to the tribe of *Ὀτορκωνδεῖς*. The Greek rendering of the title would indicate that it meant "belonging to the army." For the final *-a* compare *ala*, *gela*, and *soua*.

16. *Πάναμαρος* and *Πανημέριος*, a surname of the Karian Zeus.

17. *Ῥεμβήνοδος*, a title of Zeus.

18. *Σοῦα*, "a tomb." See under 3. I believe I have found the word in the inscriptions (Nos. II, 2, 4), where it is written *sava*.

19. *Τάβα*, "a rock." This word was apparently also Lydian, since Stephanos states that there were two cities called Tabæ: one in Lydia and the other in Karia; the first of which was founded by Marsyas, the brother of Kibyras, who named it from its situation on a rock. The two cities, however, may have been identical, since the Karian town is said by Strabo to have had a mixed population of Phrygians, Pisidians, and other nations. With Tabæ we may compare the names of Atabyros, the highest mountain in Rhodes, and the Kilikian Thêbê.

20. *Τουσσύλοι*, "dwarfs." This is a Karian word by which Stephanos explains Kattouza, "a Thracian town in which the dwarfs used to live." Ellis compares the Ossetic *tyüsül*, "little, Armenian *doyn*. The termination is one that meets us in several Karian proper names, such as Motylos, Mausôlos, Bargyilia, Samyilia, as well as in the Lydian Myrsilos, "the son of Myrsos."

21. *Τυμισσός*, "a rod." Hence, according to Stephanos, the name of the city *Τυμνήσος*, "for the Xanthians call a rod *τυμνία*." Xanthos, however, was a Lykian city, and *τυμνία* seems to be a Greek word connected with *τύπτω*. That Xanthos had a Greek population settled in it seems evident from its name, since the native name which appears on its coins was *Arina*. The coins also have *Koprllē*, which may have been the name of the district in which *Arina* stood. Xanthos was primarily the Greek name of the river on which the town was built, and which was called *Sirbê* or *Sirbês* by the natives (Strabo, XIV, p. 951; Steph. Byz. s. v. *Τρεμίλη*; Eustath. ad Il., XII, 907-30).

I can find no other explanations of Karian words in Greek writers with the possible exception of *Κανήβιον*, afterwards called *Κύον* or "Dog's Town" by the Greeks (Steph. Byz. s. v.), with which the Lydian *καν*, "a dog," in *Κανδαύλης* may be compared. Most of them, it will be observed, can be checked by the proper names which they are called upon to explain, and we may therefore place some confidence in the accuracy of the transcription of them which has come down to us. Those given by Stephanos have probably been derived for the most part from the lost work of Philip of Theangela, who may be presumed to have known something of the language of his country.

The list of words can be supplemented by the proper names, whether personal or local, which belonged to Karia, a large number of which has been furnished by the inscription of Halikarnassos already alluded to. Professor Newton has drawn attention to the importance of this list for a knowledge of the Karian language, and his classification of the names according to their terminations must form the basis of any enquiry into its character.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Essays on Art and Archæology" (1880), pp. 445-9.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF PROPER NAMES.

Ἄκταύασσις	Ἰμίμας	Πάρπις
Ἄκταυσσώλωσ	Ἰσεμένδαρος	Πέδωλδοσ
* Ἀλγανίς	Κάκρας	Πελδήκωσ
Ἄλκιδίσις	Καλάβωτης	Περβίλις
Ἄνδάρης	Κάσβωλλίς	Πίρωμις (comp. Perâm)
Ἀράϊσις	Κάσησις	Πισίνδηλις, Suidas
* Ἀρβησις	Κβονδίασις	Πιτάκολοσ (?)
Ἀρδύβεροσ	Κβώδησ	Πολύδοσ or Πολύιλοσ
* Ἀρδυ(σσ)ίς	Κέλδνασις	Πονύσσωλοσ
Ἀρίδωλις, Hdt., VII, 195	Κέμπτυς	Σάμασις
Ἀρλίσις	Κοιδώλοσ	Σαμώνοσ
Ἀρλίωμοσ	Κονδμάλις	Σαρύσσωλοσ
* Ἀρῤῥάνοσ (?)	Κόρρις	Σάσκωσ
* Ἀρσηλις	Κο*ωλδοσ <sup>2</sup>	Σάσσωμοσ
Ἀρτέμοσ	Κούλδοῖσ (?)	Σέσκων
Ἀρτήμοσ (?)	Κτάβασσις	Σεσώλησ
Ἀρτύασσις	Κτούβολδοσ	Σιδύλημις
Ἀρύασσις	Κυάρδησ, Steph.	Σπαρεύδιτοσ
Ἀφύασσις	Κυάτρης	Συδύλημις
Βοίωμοσ	Κύπτις	Σύσκοσ
Βόσθων	Κυτρέλημις	Σχινόσιτοσ
Βρύασσις	Κώγλοσ (?)	Τάσθαλοσ
Βρώλωσ	Λατάρης	Ταύσασ
Γύγοσ (Lydian Gygês)	Λύγδαμις	Τένδεσσις
Δ*δάγυγοσ (?) ; comp.	Μάτις	Τοῦνοβοσ (?)
Ἰδάγυγοσ	Μαύσσωλοσ	Τρωάλησ
* Ἐσβωλις	Μικίννωσ	Τύμνησ (cp. Tymnêssos)
Θεκυιλάνησ	Μόηνηνοσ	Ἐσκήρεροσ
Θύσσωλοσ	ἽΟσεασ	Ἐθέσμασ, (Olymos)
Θύσσοσ	Πανάβλημις	Ἐσσελδωμοσ
Ἰβάνωλις, Hdt., v, 37	Παναμύησ	Ἐσσις
Ἰδά-γυγοσ	{ Πανύασσις	Ἐσσωίησ
Ἰδύβασ (?)	{ Πανύατις	{ Ἐσσωλδοσ
Ἰλύξησ	{ Παράσκωσ	{ Ἐσσωλδωσ
Ἰμβάρηλδοσ	Παραύδιποσ	{ Ἐσσωλλοσ
* Ἰμβρασις	Παράύσιποσ	
* Ἰμβαρσις	Παράύσσωλοσ	

Names ending in -ωλοσ.

Ἄκταυσσώλωσ	Μαύσσωλοσ	Πονύσσωλοσ
Βρώλωσ	{ Παραύσσωλλοσ	Σαρύσσωλοσ
Θύσσωλοσ (cp. Θύσσοσ)	{ Παραύσιποσ	Ἐσσωλλοσ
Κοιδώλωσ		

*Names ending in -ωμος.*

Αρλιώμος	Βοίωμος	Σάσσωμος	Ύσσελδωμος
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*Names ending in -σις, -σιδος.*

Ίμβρασσις and Ίμβαρσις	Σάμασσις
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*Names ending in -σις, -σιος.*

Ακταάσσις (cp. Ἀκταουσώλωσ)	Ἀρλισσις Ἀρτύασσις	Ίμβρασσις and Ίμβαρσις
Ἀρβησσις and Ἀρβησις	Ἀρίασσις	Σάμασσις
Ἀρδυσσις	Ἀφύασσις	

*Names ending in -ημις (-ιος).*

Κυτρέλημις	Πανάβλημις	Σιδύλημις	Συδύλημις
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*Names ending in -λις.*

Αρίδωλις	Εσβωλις	Κάσβωλλις
Ἀρσηλις	Ἰβάνωλις	Πισίνδηλις

To these names may be added that of the Queen Ada, and the three names Ægyptios, Hermapis, and Pirômis, found in the Budrum inscription, and evidently imported from Egypt. Professor Newton further suggests that the following names may also be Karian: Hermakotas, Hermendadis, Hermoundis, Ossybas, Pixodaros, Pormatis, Pybialês, Pylimatis, Serisalos, and Sesamas.

*Local Names in the Bedrum Inscription.*

Ἄργος	Κότοι	Σράνσος
Δίδη	Κυπρισσις or	Τέρμεροι
Θυασσός (?)	Κυπρισσις	Ἐνζωσσάσος
Κασαίος	Λυρισσός (cp. Lariss )	Ἐσπράοννος
Κεύαρος	Πουνομοῦοι	

Professor Newton compares the names of tribes and demes at Olymos, such as Σοαωνεῖς (cp. *soua*, "a tomb"), Κοδούωκα, Κορμοσκωνεύς, Παρεμβωρδεύς, to which we may add Μαννίτης, Ὀγουνδεύς, Μωσσεῖς, and Τέρρηρα.

According to inscriptions found at Mylasa, Zeus Osogôa was worshipped by the tribe of Ὀτωρκονδεῖς. This name reminds us of the Trokondas of Pisidian inscriptions, as well as of the Tarkondimotos and Tarkondêmos of Kilikia, which is written Tarkudimê in cuneiform.

The majority of the inscriptions of which copies are given in this Paper are now published for the first time. Indeed, a considerable number of them are *graffiti* which I copied at Abydos, in Upper Egypt, in the winter of 1883-4. In the Paper read before the Royal Society of Literature in 1873 I was able to collect only twelve Karian texts in all; now I have got together fifty-four. Moreover, several of those published in 1873 were taken from faulty or imperfect copies, so that in many cases even the forms of the characters occurring in them were uncertain. The increase of our materials is consequently so great as to justify another attempt at solving the problem of their decipherment.

I. The first Karian inscriptions made known to European scholars were, as I have already said, those published by Lepsius in the *Denkmäler aus Aegypten*, Vol. XII, and engraved on the legs of the colossi of Abu-Simbel in Nubia, along with the *graffiti* of the Phœnician and Greek mercenaries who accompanied Psammetikhos in his campaign against Ethiopia. According to Hêrodotos this would have been Psammetikhos I; but the fact that it is Psammetikhos II and not Psammetikhos I who has left records of his expedition into Nubia, has led Egyptologists to assign to the reign of this king both the Ethiopian campaign and the memorials of the mercenaries at Abu-Simbel. The date of their inscriptions, accordingly, would be B.C. 590.

I visited Abu-Simbel in 1879, and spent some time in examining the Karian *graffiti* with a binocular glass. As I had no ladder or scaffolding with me I was unable to approach very near to them, and there were one or two which I could not read, even in the light of the morning sun. In the case of the others, I satisfied myself of the extreme accuracy of Lepsius's copies. There are seven of them in all; two of these I thought formed only a single inscription when I wrote my Paper for the Royal Society of Literature (in which accordingly I have grouped them together as No. 9), while I omitted two others as too indistinct and fragmentary, one of which I now see to be a repetition of the first part of my No. 9. A photograph of No. 5 is given in the

*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, I, 2, tab. xx. My copy of it agreed exactly with that of Lepsius.

The persons mentioned in the Phœnician *graffiti* are Abd-Ptah, son of Yagor-Eshmun, Amasis (אמסיס), Ptahi, Abdas, Abd-Šakon, son of Pet-yekhav, Ger-hêkal, son of Khallum, Cushî ("the Ethiopian"), son of Abd-Paam, and Eshmun-yaton, who states that he ascended the river to the city of Šoharu (סחרר). The Greek inscriptions are as follows:—(1). "Elesibios the Teian"; (2). "Téléphos the Ialysian wrote me"; (3). "Pythôn the son of Amœbikhos"; (4). "Pabis the Kolophonian along with Psammatikhos"; (5). "Agesermos"; (5). "Pasidon the son of Hippo . . ."; (6). "Krithis wrote"; (7). "To Homgusob (Ὁμγυσόβ); when the king led the army for the first time here, (I came) with Psamatikhos"; (8). "When King Psamatikhos came to Elephantinê, those who sailed with Psammatikhos the son of Theoklês wrote this. Now they came above Kerkis where the river was rising. And Potasimto commanded the foreigners (ἀλλογλώσσους. see Hdt. II, 154), and Amasis the Egyptians. And Arkhôn the son of Amœbikhos, and Peleqos the son of Eudamos, wrote us." The two last *graffiti* are in the Dorian dialect, and the translation given of the last is that of Blass, excepting only that he reads "Potas son of Imtos," instead of Potasimto. Krall suggests that Potasimto is an Egyptian name, Pota-Sem-tai. It is curious that the only place in Greek literature in which the word ἀλλόγλωσσοι occurs is Hdt. II, 154, where it is used of the Karian mercenaries of Egypt.

II. Four Karian inscriptions have come from Memphis. One of these is on a stêlê presented to the Museum of Lausanne by M. Arnold Morel-Fatio, which was first published by M. Lenormant in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1870, pp. 151-2. Through the kindness of Professor Gautier a cast of it has been sent to me, so that I am now able to republish it in facsimile. The name of the person mentioned on it is the same as one which occurs twice at Abu-Simbel. The Karian text is engraved below a sculpture of the three gods Isis, Nephthys, and Anubis, and a somewhat defaced hieroglyphic

inscription, which M. Naville reads, "Said by Osiris the great lord of Roser; let there be given a good burial to the beloved Psantik . . . Neith, the son of Apries . . ." The Karian text has apparently nothing to do with the rest of the stêlê, which, like the two next to be mentioned, seems to have been appropriated by the foreigners.

A second stêlê, with a Karian inscription, was in the possession of Sir Charles Nicholson, and was given by him to the Museum at Sydney. When I was preparing my Paper, however, for the Royal Society of Literature, he kindly gave me a squeeze of the tablet, and I accordingly published the text, which was unfortunately spoilt by the engraver. It is now, therefore, given accurately for the first time. The text is written below the sculptured portion of the stêlê, which represents a worshipper standing before a table of offerings, and a seated Osiris, behind whom stands Isis. Above the worshipper is his name Pet-Ast or Petisis, written in hieroglyphics; above Osiris the words, "Said by Osiris the lord of . . ."; and above Isis, "Isis mistress of heaven." Below the sculpture are three lines of hieroglyphics, which Dr. Birch translates as follows: "Act of homage to Osiris who dwells in the West, the Good Being, who has given sepulchral meals of bread and beer, oxen, geese, incense, linen, all things to the worthy Osirian Pet-Asi (Petisis), born of Tat-Osar (Taosiris)."

A third stêlê is in the Bûlak Museum. Professor Maspero was good enough to send me a squeeze of it, as well as his copy of the Karian legend upon it, and I have also spent nearly an hour in the Bûlak Museum examining the doubtful characters on the original stone. Unlike what is the case in the other two tablets, the Karian text runs round the left side and top of this one, and as the hieroglyphics do not record the name of any private person, it would appear that it was made expressly for the Karians to whom it belonged. The tablet is a small one; on the right is the figure of Ptah, on the left that of the defunct, in Egyptian costume, while between them is a table of offerings. Above this are two cartouches containing the names of Ra-hââ-ab Uah-ab-Ra or Apries; over them we have "king of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of the sun, like eternity, while underneath

comes, "Ptah giver of life to thee." Perhaps the name of the deceased was compounded with that of Ptah.

The Bûlak Museum also contains a small bronze Apis in the form of a bull, round three sides of the base of which runs a bilingual inscription in Karian and hieroglyphics. The characters are clearly cut, and my copy of them has been compared with the original by Professor Maspero. The hieroglyphics read: "(To) Apis giver of life P'râm the dragoman." M. Maspero tells me that P'râm is not an Egyptian name, though it may be compared with the *Πίρωμις* of the Budrum inscription; at all events it is interesting to find a Karian here describing himself as a dragoman. It bears out the assertion of Hêrodotos (II. 154) quoted above, and proves that the Karians performed the same office in ancient Egypt that the Maltese do to-day.

III. Zagazig—or rather the neighbouring mounds of Bubastis—has produced one Karian inscription, now in the possession of M. de Saint-Ferréol at the Chateau of Uriage (Isère). This was published by M. Lenormant in the "Revue Archéologique," and republished by me in my former Paper. I have not been able to verify M. Lenormant's copy, but it seems accurate.

IV. Much the larger portion of the inscriptions which are now published for the first time come from Abydos in Upper Egypt. I spent some time there last winter copying the *graffiti*—Greek, Phœnician, Kypriote, and Karian—on the temples of Rameses II, and more especially Seti I. It would appear from the scrawls of the Greek visitors that the temple of Seti had been reduced to the same state of semi-ruin and desolation as it is in at present before the age of the XXVth dynasty, and that at a later period an oracle was established in one of the chambers built by Meneptah. This oracle was worked for the foreigners who had settled in Egypt, and in the Ptolemaic age was supposed to be inspired by Sarapis (as the name is spelt in one of the Greek scrawls). The god revealed the future by means of dreams to those who slept a night in the consecrated room or on the steps of the great staircase that adjoined it. The walls on either side of this staircase are literally covered with *graffiti*, a

large part of which are engraved just on a level with the head of a person who was lying on the steps. Similar *graffiti* are to be found in other parts of the temple, though more sparingly. It is possible that one of the names met with among them, that of Mizaü, belonged to one of the mercenaries who calls himself Mizaü at Abu-Simbel; in this case some of the *graffiti* may be as old as the Abu-Simbel period. Most of them, however, belong to a later date, and are probably in great measure the records of the dragomen who accompanied the Greeks and possibly the Phœnician travellers in Egypt up the Nile.<sup>1</sup>

V. Two other Karian inscriptions on objects brought from Egypt probably come from Memphis and its neighbourhood. One of these is on a scarab now in the possession of Mr. R. P. Greg. This, as I have said in the Preface to Schliemann's "Troja" (p. xxv), explains the origin of a peculiar class of scarabs met with in Northern Egypt, on which certain curious figures are cut in the rudest possible way, reminding us of nothing so much as the figures on some of the Hissarlik "whorls." The art, if art it can be called, is quite different from that of the "Hittite" cylinders of Cyprus or of the excessively rude seals that are found on the coast of Syria, and even as far west as the Lydian stratum of Sardes. I found the second inscription on the bronze chaton of a ring now in the British Museum. The locality from which it came is unknown.

VI. The inscription copied first by von Hammer-Purgstall, and afterwards by Forbes and Hoskyns in the Gulf of Skopi has already been alluded to. It is found on a tomb in the neighbourhood of a ruined city supposed to be Krya or Kryassos. It will be seen that the alphabet used in it is not quite the same as that of the Karian inscriptions of Egypt, and that it resembles the Pamphylian and Pisidian in its employment of the two characters  $\nabla$  (*vu*) and  $\Omega$ , the first of

<sup>1</sup> In the royal tombs at Thebes there is no trace of Karian characters, though I looked carefully for them; and since none of the Greek *graffiti* in these tombs are older than the Ptolemaic period, it would appear that the tombs were not open to visitors before the age of Alexander, and that by that time the Karians had given up their peculiar mode of writing.

which occurs in the Pisidian inscription of Sillyon, and both on coins of Sidê. As a Greek inscription found by Hoskyns fixes the site of the city of Kaunos at the head of the Bay of Koi-gez to the west of the Gulf of Skopi, Krya would have been within the boundaries of the Kaunians who, according to Hérodotos, spoke the same language as the Karians, but were not of the same race. The alphabet also may therefore have been somewhat different. At any rate the inscription of Skopi must be regarded as Kaunian rather than as Karian.

Before attempting to decipher the inscriptions, we have first to determine the values of the characters with which they are written. It is clear at first sight that the main part of the letters is derived from the Phœnico-Greek alphabet, but that, as in the case of the Lykian alphabet, certain other characters have been added to express sounds which were unrepresented in the Greek. Now Dr. Deecke, Dr. Isaac Taylor and myself have pointed out that these additional characters have in the case of Lykian been taken from the old Asianic syllabary, a local form of which continued to be used in Cyprus down to a late date.<sup>1</sup> A probability therefore arises that the additional characters in the Karian inscriptions also come from the same source.

One of these is  $\underline{\text{M}}$ , which in my former Paper I already determined must have the value of *m*, and which is actually identical in form with the Kypriote  $\underline{\text{M}}$  *mi*. We may therefore assume that, like other populations in Asia Minor, the Karians once used the Asianic syllabary, but that they afterwards discarded it for the simpler Greek alphabet, retaining only those characters which were needed to denote sounds for which the Greeks had no symbols, or as in the case of the *m(i)*, which served to distinguish the form of one character from that of another.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See my Appendix (III) to Schliemann's "Ilios," p. 699, and Isaac Taylor's "Alphabet," II, pp. 108 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> The difference of form between  $\text{M}$  *s* and  $\text{M}$  was not sufficiently great, and accordingly one of the characters which represented a syllable beginning with *m* in the old syllabary was retained, probably on account of its resemblance in shape to the Phœnico-Greek *m*.

The Greek alphabet which we should naturally suppose would have been borrowed would be the Ionic. This is the alphabet which was adopted, as Mr. Ramsay has shown, by the Phrygians and Kappadokians, probably through the channel of the Milesian colony of Sinôpê, at a time when it still possessed the digamma. The Phrygian alphabet contains only two non-Phœnician letters Υ, and the equivalent of the Greek φ, which has the two forms ϕ and ϕ̄, both used with the value of *w* after a guttural.

But the alphabet which was borrowed by the Karians and Lykians alike was not the Ionic. The form of the *g* is that which we find only in the alphabets of Korkyra (and Korinth), Megara, Selinus, the Ozolian Lokrians, Arkadia, Elis, and, in a slightly modified shape, Pamphylia, though we also have a rounded *g* (C) in Lakonia and the Khalkidic colonies. The Karian *s*, moreover, is the *sigma* of Thêra, Mêlos, Krete, Argos, Korinth, Korkyra, Phôkis, and the Akhæan colonies, though the Lykian here parts company from it, and was the form found in the Ionic of Abu-Simbel, Naxos, and Athens, and the Doric of Lakonia and Elis, as well as in Arkadian.<sup>1</sup> The *bêta* of Karian, finally, which is also met with in the older Lykian inscriptions, is a modified form of the Korinthian and Korkyræan letter, and the form itself has been observed on Doric vases. The Hellenic portions of the alphabets of Karia and Lykia must therefore have come from the Dorian colonists in Rhodes and the neighbouring towns on the mainland. In Rhodes, however, as well as in Halikarnassos and the other towns in the vicinity, the Ionic alphabet was in use not only in the age of Hérodotos, but as early as the beginning of the sixth century B.C. The Doric inscriptions at Abu-Simbel are written in it. Consequently, as we cannot suppose that the Karians and Lykians crossed over to the Peloponnêsos in order to borrow an alphabet, we must conclude that they exchanged their old syllabary for the new letters before 600 B.C., the approximate date of the Abu-Simbel texts.

<sup>1</sup> If we can trust the transcription of No. I, 3, the Karian alphabet also made use of the Ionic *sigma*, though this may have been due in the solitary instance in which it occurs to the influence of the Ionic scribes at Abu-Simbel.

Now among the letters found in the Karian inscriptions there is one of constant occurrence, which, from its position between consonants, must have the value of a vowel. This is **ϑ**, to which in my former Paper I assigned the value of the Greek *epsilon*. This determination has since been confirmed in two ways. First of all we find the beginning of the same word written *mi-s* at Memphis (II, 4), and *mi-ϑ-s* at Abu-Simbel (I, 1), showing that the character had a sound approaching that of the short *i*. In the second place, M. Six has drawn my attention to a coin, published (but imperfectly) by Fellowes ("Lycian Coins," pl. VII, 5, of which he has taken a cast at Munich. On this there seems to be a bilingual inscription in Lykian and Karian, the Lykian reading the name of the dynast Erbbina **↑PBBENA**, while in the field are the letters **ϑϑ** *Er*. At Abydos (IV, 2 and 3) **ϑ** interchanges with *a*. The determination is verified by a fact brought to light by me last winter at Abydos. In the alphabets of Korkyra and Anaktorion **β** and **β** actually have the value of *e*, and in the mother-alphabet of Korinth **β**, **β**, and **⊗** appear by the side of **E**. In some of the Lykian inscriptions, moreover, we find **B** taking the place of the ordinary **E**. In my former Paper I had concluded that the Karian **ϑ** was the same character as the Dorian and Lykian **β** or **β**, and this conclusion has now been confirmed by an early Ionic inscription I discovered at Abydos, in which the *E* is written **ϑ** and **ϑ**. It is therefore clear that both the Ionic and the Doric alphabets once possessed a form of *E*, from which the Karian **ϑ** and the Lykian **β** are derived.

The determination of **ϑ** enables us to determine the value of **ϑ**, another Karian character, which, from its position between consonants, would seem to represent a vowel. In several of the Abydos inscriptions it interchanges with *e* (IV, 16, 17, 18, 19; 24, 25). Like *e*, moreover, it also interchanges with *a* (IV, 2, 3). We must therefore assign to **ϑ** a value nearly related to *e*, such as *ä*. In form the character is the Phœnician *koph*, which was retained in the alphabets of Kolophôn (at Abu-Simbel), Thêra, Paros, ancient Athens, Argos, Korinth, Syracuse, Arkadia, Ozolian Lokris, and the

Khalkidic and Akhæan colonies, and which is also sometimes found in Lykian inscriptions with the values of *k* and *v*. But I suspect that the Karian letter has another origin, and only accidentally resembles *koph*.

As  $\text{Ϝ}$  exists by the side of  $\text{Ϙ}$ , both denoting vowels, as we shall see, so I believe  $\text{ϙ}$  was formed out of  $\text{Ϙ}$ , the latter letter being modified like the Argive and Parian  $\text{Ϙ}$  *ó* by the side of  $\text{Ϙ}$ . It is possible, however, that the Karian  $\text{ϙ}$  is really *koph*, with the guttural sound dropped, and the vowel inherent in it alone preserved, just as in the modern dialect of Cairo *koph* is pronounced as a vowel. However this may be, the symbol was used in Karian to express a vocalic sound.

Another vowel was denoted by  $\text{Ϛ}$ , which in No. II, 3, interchanges with *a*. It is plainly the Greek  $\eta$ , but is of very rare occurrence.

Two other vowel-sounds are represented by  $\text{ϛ}$  and  $\text{Ϝ}$ . This is proved by their position between consonants, as well as at the end of a word after a consonant (*e.g.*, No. II. 4), and in IV, 33, 34,  $\text{ϛ}$  apparently interchanges with a character which, as we shall see, has the value of *ü*. But I have no clue to their exact powers, and assign to them only conjecturally the values respectively of *á* and *ai*. I fancy that  $\text{ϛ}$  and  $\text{Ϝ}$  are variant forms of  $\text{ϙ}$ , and  $\text{ϛ}$  and possibly  $\text{ϛ}$  and  $\text{ϛ}$  of  $\text{ϛ}$  or  $\text{ϛ}$ . At all events  $\text{ϛ}$  exchanges with  $\text{ϙ}$  in I, 1 and IV, 4. In a Korkyrean inscription  $\text{Ϙ}$  is written  $\text{ϛ}$ .

It is easier to assign a value to  $\text{ϙ}$  or  $\text{Ϙ}$ . This occurs between consonants, and at the end of a word after a vowel, and is also reduplicated. In form it is identical with the Greek  $\Phi$ , which is found in all the Greek alphabets, except those of Thêra, Mélos, and Krete, with the value of *ph*. As we have seen, it is also met with in the Phrygian alphabet, where it has two forms, and the value of *w*. On the other hand, the Lykian character corresponding to it is  $\text{ϙ}$ , which, as Schmidt has proved, has the two values of *ü* and *w*, and which is sometimes reduplicated like the Karian  $\text{ϙ}$ . When reduplicated it expresses the sound of *üw*, as is shown by the Lykian equivalent of the Greek name  $\text{Πυβιάλης}$ . In IV, 11, 20, 24, 25, it apparently interchanges with *o*.

There is no difficulty in connecting the form of the Lykian character with the second form of the Phrygian one ( $\text{)}\text{)}\text{(}$  or  $\text{)}\text{)}\text{K} = \text{)}\text{)}\text{K}$ ), while the two Phrygian forms show how the form found in Karian and Greek must have originated ( $\text{)}\text{)}\text{K} = \text{)}\text{)}\text{K}^1$  or  $\text{)}\text{)}\text{K}$ ). Now Dr. Isaac Taylor<sup>2</sup> has pointed out that the Lykian  $\text{)}\text{)}\text{K}$  is derived from the Kypriote, or rather Asianic  $\text{)}\text{)}\text{K}$  *va.* This, then, is the source from which the non-Phœnician  $\text{)}\text{)}\text{K}$  of the Greek alphabet has come, the missing links being supplied by the alphabets of Lykia and Phrygia. The Lykian alphabet will have been borrowed from the Greek before the change of form in the character had been completed, whereas the Karian must have been borrowed at a later time. It is not difficult to understand how a symbol which had originally expressed the sound of *w* should have become the representative of *ph*, when we remember that the Greek  $\sigma\phi\epsilon$  stands for  $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ , and that  $\text{)}\text{)}\text{K}$  has become  $\text{)}\text{)}\text{K}$ .

Besides  $\text{)}\text{)}\text{K}$ , Kirchhoff calls three other Greek letters,  $\xi$ ,  $\chi$  and  $\psi$ , "non-Phœnician." They are none of them found in the primitive alphabets of Thêra, Mêlos, and Krête, and as  $\phi$  has turned out to be of Asianic origin, it seems probable that the others will do so too. One of them,  $\text{)}\text{)}\text{K}$  or  $\text{)}\text{)}\text{K}$  is of frequent occurrence in the Karian texts. It is also met with in Lykian, where it has the value of *kh*. It has the same value in the alphabets of Eubœa, the Khalkidic colonies, Bœôtia, Phôkis, and Lokris, Thessaly, Lakônia, Arkadia, Elis, and the Akhæan colonies. On the other hand, it represents *ps* in the alphabets of Ionia, Megara, Selinus, and probably Korinth. The value in Phrygian is unfortunately unknown, but is probably *ps*. In the alphabets in which  $\text{)}\text{)}\text{K}$  is *ps*,  $\text{X}$  or  $\text{+}$  is *kh*, and  $\text{K}$  is *x*; where, on the contrary, it is *kh*,  $\text{X}$  is *x*. In Pamphylian, however, *x* is  $\text{X}$ , while  $\text{+}$  is *kh*, and  $\text{)}\text{)}\text{K}$  does not exist.

It is commonly accepted by palæographers that the representation of *ps* by a single symbol was a late invention, and that  $\text{)}\text{)}\text{K}$  with the value of *ps* was the last new letter

<sup>1</sup> The form  $\text{)}\text{)}\text{K}$  actually occurs in the Bœotian alphabet. Comp. also at Abydos IV, 8.

<sup>2</sup> "The Alphabet," II, p. 116.

to be added to the Greek alphabet. With this agrees the fact that it has the value of *kh* in Lykian, which, as we have seen, represents the Greek alphabet in an early stage of development. Now in Lykian  $\text{⊕}$  has the value of a strong aspirate, *h*, as Schmidt has made clear. This implies that like  $\text{Ϛ}$  it once represented a sound closely allied to *kh* (or *hh*). In Lykian it was adopted to denote the aspirate, being thus clearly distinguished from  $\text{Ϛ}$  *kh*; in the Greek alphabets, on the other hand, which had no strong aspirate to express, it continued to express the value of *kh*. The result of this was twofold. In some cases  $\text{Ϛ}$  changed its value, and became the symbol of the double consonant *ps*; in others it was  $\text{⊕}$  that changed and became the symbol of the double consonant *ks*. How it came to do so is not difficult to understand. In Lykian the sound of *x* or *ks* is rendered by *kh + s*, and *kh + zz*, not by *k* or *g*; while in a Naxian inscription (Roehl, 407) *x* is represented by *h + s*. It is quite in accordance with the history of writing that a compound sound should come to be denoted by its first element. Why the character was made to represent *p + s* is not so easy to explain. Probably it was confused with  $\phi$  in one of its earlier forms, and as *p + s* would be written *ph + s* (like *kh + s* for *k + s*), the initial element was employed for the whole.

The conclusion to be drawn from these foregoing somewhat complicated facts is this. In the Greek alphabet both  $\text{Ϛ}$  and  $\text{⊗}$  once represented *kh*, but were subsequently differentiated,  $\text{Ϛ}$  remaining *kh* and  $\text{⊗}$  becoming the symbol of *k(s)*, or *h* in Lykian, in one branch, while  $\text{⊗}$  remained *kh*, and  $\text{Ϛ}$  took the value of *ps* in another branch. It seems probable, moreover, that the use of  $\text{⊗}$  to denote *ks* was subsequent to the development of the Lykian alphabet, where  $\text{⊕}$  *h* is distinguished from  $\text{⊗}$  (Kypriote  $\text{⊗}$ ) *a(n)*.

Now comes the question: to which branch are we to assign the Karian alphabet? What are the values of  $\text{Ϛ}$  and  $\text{⊗}$  or  $\text{⊗}$  in Karian? Are they *ps* and *kh*, or *kh* and *x ξ (h)*? On the one hand we find no *ps* in Karian proper names, while the close agreement of the Karian and Lykian

alphabet makes it difficult for us to separate them from one another. On the other hand there is an almost equally close agreement between the alphabets of Karia and old Korinth, while *x* is absent in Karian proper names, and the first word of one of the Abu-Simbel inscriptions (No. I, 7), if read Ps-a-th-kh-e-kh would bear a remarkable resemblance to the Egyptian Psamtik, the Greek Psammetikhos, when we remember that the Karian alphabet does not seem to possess a symbol for *t*, and that a nasal before a consonant (more especially a dental) is not written in Pamphylian, Lykian, and Kypriote. On the whole, however, I find it difficult to resist the force of the general agreement between the Karian and Lykian alphabets, and since neither *ps* nor *x* are found in Karian proper names, I assign to **Υ** and **Χ** the values of *kh* and *h*. The position in which **Χ** is sometimes found (*e.g.*, No. II, 2) shows that it cannot represent *x*, while a comparison between IV, 16, and IV, 18, goes to show that as in Lykian it had the value of *h*. The *h* was no doubt a much stronger one than that heard at any time in Greek.

Dr. Isaac Taylor has endeavoured to trace the Lykian **+** to the Kypriote **ϣ** *ku*, though it bears a closer resemblance to the Kypriote *ko* (**Ϟ** at Paphos and on coins). Whether or not this is correct, it is clear that **Υ**, which also appears at Abydos and Abu-Simbel as **Υ**, is the Kypriote *khe* (*kh* at the end of words), which has the form **Υ** at Paphos, Soli, and Khytri, **ϣ** on coins and at Kition, and **ϣ** and **ϣ** at Golgi. I have found **Χ** in a Kypriote *graffito* at Abydos, where it seems to represent a numeral, but its phonetic value is at present unknown.

The resemblance of the Kypriote character which denotes *khe* to that which denotes *se* (**ϣ** and **Υ**) may have influenced the selection of **Υ** to represent *ps*.

The Kypriote **ϣ**, however, is not the parent of the Greek, Lykian, and Karian **Υ**, as Dr. Deecke and myself have supposed. The Kypriote character is represented by another letter in Karian which appears as **ϣ**, **ϣ** and **ϣ** at Abydos, and **ϣ** at Memphis. It is the **ϣ** *ss* of the coins of Mesymbria in Thrake (5th to 2nd century B.C.), the **ϣ** of the Pamphylian coins of Pergê and Aspendos, and, as pointed

out by Ramsay, the  $\sigma\sigma$  ( $\Upsilon$ ) of the Greek inscription of Lygdamis published by Professor Newton, were it occurs in the two Karian names  $\theta\theta\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\iota\sigma$  and  $\Pi\alpha\nu\acute{\nu}\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\iota\sigma$ . As Dr. Taylor has observed, the Mesymbrian  $\Upsilon$  is plainly the Greek *sampi*, which is  $\Omega$  in a MS. of the 2nd century B.C., and was added at the end of the Greek alphabet in order to denote the numeral 900. The Karian *ss* and *s* interchange in several *graffiti* (e.g., I, 3, and IV, 1; IV, 2, and IV, 3).

But the Karian forms of the letter found at Abydos further throw light on the origin of the Greek  $\xi$ , which takes the place of the Phœnician *samech* in the order of the alphabet, and appears as  $\boxplus$  in an abecedarium discovered at Formello near Veii, and as  $\boxplus$  at Argos. It is clearly due to a confusion between the Phœnician *samech*  $\boxplus$  and the Asianic  $\boxplus$  *ss*.<sup>1</sup>

Now that the value of  $\boxplus$  has been settled as *ss*, it only remains to examine five more Karian letters which do not

<sup>1</sup> The problem presented by the Greek sibilants is still unsolved. From the Phrygian and Kappadokian alphabets we learn that the primitive Ionic alphabet possessed two symbols, each of which had the same value of *s*. These symbols were  $\xi$  or  $\zeta$ , and  $\lambda$  or  $\varsigma$ , which appear at Abu-Simbel as  $\xi$  and  $\lambda$  or  $\varsigma$ . Both forms, according to Hêrodotos, were called *sigma*, i.e., *samech*. On the other hand *s* was called *san*, i.e., *shin*, by the Dorians, a name which seems to have come to them through the Ionic dialect, where it would have been *sên*, since in no other way can we explain the change of original *é* into *á*. The Doric forms of *san* are  $\mathbb{M}$  and  $\Sigma$ , the latter not occurring in the earlier inscriptions. These are the only forms met with in Thêra, Mêlos, and Krête. With the help of the Italian abecedaria, Dr. Taylor has traced  $\mathbb{M}$  to the Semitic *tsadê*, but the origin of the Ionic form remains a mystery. I can only suggest that  $\xi$ , also written  $\zeta$ , developed out of  $\boxplus$ , just as the Sidonian and Jewish  $\xi$  developed out of  $\boxplus$ , and as the later Greek cursive  $\xi$  developed out of  $\Xi$ , while  $\lambda$  is an abbreviated form of  $\Sigma$  ( $\Sigma$ ). The latter character could never have come into existence in those alphabets which like the Theraean, Kretan, and Korinthian, preserved the old Phœnician *yod* (*i*) under exactly the same shape. When the Ionian *i* became I,  $\Sigma$  could be modified into Z. If  $\xi$  was originally  $\boxplus$  or *samech*, we should have an explanation of the fact that *sigma* in Ionic took the place of *san*, for which it was used. *Samech* must have been preserved in the alphabets of Thêra, Mêlos, and Krête as a numeral, but was not needed as a letter, as the Greeks had but one *s*. *Samech*, however, is found in a late Melian inscription, but used with the later value of *x*. *Tsadê*,  $\mathbb{M}$ , and *shin*, W, must have been confused together at the time the Phœnician alphabet was borrowed by the Greeks, and as there was no sound in Greek corresponding to the Semitic *tsadê*,  $\mathbb{M}$  became the recognized symbol for *s*.

belong to the Phoeniko-Greek system. About the first of these,  $\text{Λ}$ , there can be little question; it is the Kypriote (or Asianic) *re*. The character  $\text{)(}$ , again, occurs in Lykian, where Schmidt assigns to it the value of *th*. As we have the ordinary Greek symbol for *th* in Karian, we may give to  $\text{)(}$  the value of *dh*. A character of rare occurrence is  $\Theta$ , to the value of which I have no clue, and which seems to be a vowel. Another character of rare occurrence is  $\text{X}$ , which resembles in shape the Kypriote *le*. As the Karian retains the Asianic *re*, it may also have preserved the Asianic *le*. In Pamphylian the character has the value of  $\xi$ , in Keltiberian of *go*, in Korinthian it is one of the forms of  $\epsilon$ , and it is found in a Lakonian inscription (Röhl, 56) with an unknown power, which may be either  $\xi$  or  $\chi$ . Another Karian character of rare use is  $\uparrow$ , which may be the Lykian  $\uparrow$ , *é*, or the Kypriote  $\uparrow$ , *ti*. A comparison of I, 5, and IV, 6, however, goes to show that it is a vowel, probably *i*, as it follows *ä*. The Lykian character has been traced by Dr. Taylor to the Asianic  $\text{X}$ , *a*. It must, however, be remembered that in Phrygian  $\uparrow$  is *w*, and in Karian also it may be only another form of  $\Phi$ . The character is also found on the Pamphylian coins of Sidê.

It is doubtful whether  $\text{)(}$  (No. IV 26) is a variant form of  $\text{)(}$ , or whether it ought to be compared with the Kypriote  $\text{)(}$  *no*. In Nos. IV, 33, 34,  $\text{)(}$  appears to be a variant of  $\text{)(}$  *f*, but elsewhere (I, 3, II, 3) it is the Greek  $\epsilon$ . As I have already noticed,  $\nabla$  or  $\nabla$  may be a variant of  $\nabla$ . In this case  $\nabla$  (No. IV, 36) will be  $\Phi$ .

In what we may term the Kaunian text of Kryassos we find three additional letters, two of which are not known to the Karian alphabet of Egypt. One of these is  $\text{V}$ , *vu*, also met with at Abydos (IV, 24, 25, VI, 1), and in Pamphylian, which is borrowed from the Asianic character of the same form and value. The other is  $\text{O}$ , which is merely an open form of  $\text{O}$ , though it resembles the Karian *ü* of VI, 2. The third is  $\text{Ω}$ , which has a curious resemblance to the Ionic *omega*, but is really the  $\text{Ω}$  or  $\text{Ω}$  of the Pamphylian coins of Sidê. It is possibly the Kypriote *ko*.

The Karian alphabet offers several peculiarities. While on the one hand it possesses a great number of different vocalic symbols, it yet has no character representing *i*, unless this be  $\uparrow$ . For *m*, again, it has to use *mi*, which indifferently represents both *mi* or *me* and *m*. A comparison of the inscriptions, moreover, will show that the other labials also, *v* and *l*, besides *n*, can be sounded with an inherent short vowel. Thus the same name is written *Me-s-n-b-â* at Memphis, and *M(i)-e-s-n-a-b-ai* at Abu-Simbel. Like Greek and Lykian the Karian alphabet contains aspirated letters. But the strangest thing about it is the general absence of a symbol for *t*. We find the Greek symbol for *th*, and we find also the Lykian symbol for *th*. I have sometimes fancied that this might have represented *t*. But I have been forced to abandon this opinion for two reasons: (1) there was no ground for not adopting the Phœniko-Greek symbol for *t*, if such a sound actually existed in the language, and (2) the Phœniko-Greek symbol is once met with (IV, 29). It is possible that  $\Theta$  was pronounced simply *t* as in Theræan; but since we find *Thêbé* by the side of *taba*, "a rock," while the Lydian name *Tylôn* is also written *Thylôn*, it is probable that *t* was generally aspirated.

The divisions between words are usually indicated in Karian by upright lines, points, or short lines above or below the letters. It is rare for these to be omitted as is done in the inscription of Kryassos. The analogy of Kypriote and Pamphylian would lead to the inference that a nasal might be omitted in writing in Karian, especially when followed by a dental.

The period when the Karians abandoned the Asianic syllabary and adopted their later alphabet can be determined only approximately. But the endeavour to do so throws light on the history of the Greek alphabet itself. We have seen that certain letters belonging to the latter,  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ ,  $\psi$ , and *sampi*, which Kirchhoff was content to call non-Phœnician, and to which we may add  $\Theta$  or  $\mathfrak{B}$ , are of Asianic origin. They did not exist in the Phœnician alphabet when it was first handed on to the Greeks, but must have been borrowed subsequently by the latter from the nations of Asia Minor.

Hence the Greek alphabets, as we know them, must, with three exceptions, have been formed on the coast of Asia Minor. The three exceptions are the alphabets of Thêra, Mêlos, and Krête. Now Thêra and Mêlos were old Phœnician settlements, and the conviction has long been growing upon palæographers that certain of the Greek inscriptions of Thêra are the oldest yet discovered. At any rate, the alphabet of the earlier inscriptions of Thêra and Mêlos so closely resembles that of the Moabite Stone, as to make it difficult not to believe that it was adopted by the Greeks about the time when the forms of the characters found on the stone were prevalent in Phœnician lands. If so, the Greek alphabet would have been borrowed from the Phœnicians in the 9th century B.C. From the Dorians of Thêra and Mêlos it was carried to the Dorians of Krête, unless the latter had independently borrowed it from the Phœnicians in that island, as well as to the Greek settlements on the coast of Asia Minor. Here it adopted the four Asianic characters which it found in use among the natives. The improved alphabet was possibly created in Rhodes, which was occupied by Dorian colonists.<sup>1</sup>

In Asia Minor the new alphabet divided into two branches, which for the sake of distinction we will term the Eubœan and Ionic. The parent-alphabet was carried into Eubœa and the Khalkidïan colonies, and from thence to northern Greece and the Peloponnesos. It dropped  $\beta$ , and retained the value of  $kh$  for  $\Psi$ , but changed  $\chi$  into  $x$ , though, like the Ionic, it

<sup>1</sup> The Phœnician alphabet had been adapted to Greek uses by modifying the values of some of the characters, by disusing certain of the sibilants, and by differentiating two coexistent forms of the *waw*, one of which was used to represent the digamma, while the other was relegated to the end of the alphabet, with the value of *u*. *Upsilon* could not have been borrowed from the Asianic syllabary, (1) because it was already in use in Thêra and Krête from the earliest times, and (2) because in the Karian and Pamphylian alphabets *u* is distinguished both in form and in value from the Asianic *vu*. As for the legend which made Thebes the disseminator of the alphabet, it was due to the tradition which made Thebes the seat of a Phœnician colony, and since it was known that the letters of the alphabet were derived from Kadmos, "the eastern," it was natural to connect them with the Kadmeians of Thebes. Dr. Schliemann's exhaustive excavations at Mykenæ, Tiryns, and Orkhomenos, have now proved—hard as it is to prove a negative—that the Greeks of the pre-historic period were unacquainted with any system of writing.





substituted **S** for **M**. The change of **X** into *x* involved the loss of *sampi* or *samech*. Before the migration of the alphabet to Eubœa, however, it had already been carried across the Ægean to Korinth, and had spread from thence among the Korinthian colonies. But whether it was the Ionic alphabet which was carried across, or the still undivided parent-alphabet of both Ionic and Eubœan, depends upon the discovery of **Y** in an early Korinthian or Korkyraean inscription with the value of *ps*. Hitherto this letter has been found only on a Korinthian vase from Campaia, and in one inscription from Korinth itself (Röhl, 20), where it may easily owe its existence to Ionic influence; while in two Korinthian inscriptions (Röhl, 98*a* and 36*a* Add.) it is represented by  $\phi\sigma$ . I am inclined to believe that the original Korinthian alphabet discarded the letter altogether as expressing the same sound as **X**.

For the same reason the Ionic alphabet used it to express *ps*, and rejected *san* (**M**), which was not needed by the side of *sigma*. Before the differentiation of **X** and **Y**, but after the rejection of *san*, the Ionic alphabet passed to Naxos, Paros, Siphnos, Keos, and Athens. Besides being imported into Phrygia and Kappadokia through Sinôpê, at a time when the *digamma* was still preserved in it, the Ionic alphabet passed to Selinus and other Greek colonies in the south of Sicily. Selinus was a colony of Megara which itself used the Ionic alphabet. The other colonies of Sicily, together with those of Italy, employed the Eubœan. When this was introduced into the West **H** still represented *h* and not yet *ê*, while the abecedaria of Formello and Cære show that the *san* as well as the *sigma* was still known. The same fact is also proved by the inscriptions of Phôkis and the Akhæan colonies. In these abecedaria *san* occupies the place of the Phœnician *tsadê*, and *sampi*—probably employed only with a numerical value—occupies that of *samech*. In form it is a compound of the Phœnician *samech* and the Asianic  $\sigma\sigma$ .

To sum up, the Greeks borrowed their alphabet from the Phœnicians in Thêra and Mêlos, probably in the 9th century B.C. It migrated from thence to the Greeks of Asia Minor,

and, perhaps in Rhodes, was enriched with the addition of four (or five) new letters. From Asia Minor it was then carried to Korinth, and probably subsequently to Eubœa and the Khalkidic cities. In Asia Minor itself it branched off into two divisions, one Ionic and the other Doric, the latter being practically the same as the old parent-alphabet such as it was before its migration to Korinth. The Doric alphabet was superseded by the Ionic, at all events before the 5th century B.C., but it had previously been borrowed and modified, first by the Karians and then by the Lykians.

In what precedes I have assumed that it was the Greeks who enriched their alphabet with the spoils of the Asianic syllabary. But it is more probable that this was the work of the Karians. When we consider the large number of non-Phœnician letters possessed by the Karian, and the fact that in Karian probably, and in Lykian certainly, the two characters **X** and **Y** represent two distinct aspirated gutturals, *hh* and *kh*, it seems likely that the Karians had adopted the alphabet their Greek neighbours had brought from Thêra or Krête, retaining only those characters of their old syllabary which were needed to express sounds unrepresented in the new alphabet. The Greeks would in their turn have subsequently borrowed from the Karians the four letters *sampi*,  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$ , and  $\psi$ , as well as **B** by the side of **E**. *Milêtos*, it must be remembered, is still Karian in the *Iliad* (II, 868).

However this may be, I cannot leave the question of the alphabet without recurring to a curious fact which I noticed in my former Paper. The so-called Keltiberian alphabet of early Spain is strangely like that of Karia. The same remarkable forms occur in both, while others are found which throw light on Karian and Lykian letters. Thus **N** or **Π**, *z*, explains the Lykian **Ξ**, and **↑**, *vo*, is clearly the Kypriote *vo*, and possibly the Lykian (and Karian) *é*. Can it be also the Phrygian *w*? In **Ω**, *ko*, we have the Kypriote *ko*, and the **Ω** of Pamphylian (and the inscription of Kryassos), while **Υ** or **Φ**, *z*, is evidently the Karian *ss*. In **Σ**, *go*, we may have the explanation of the Karian character of similar form, and **X**, *kh*,

supports Dr. Taylor's derivation of the Lykian  $\dagger$ . In the Turdetanian branch of the Keltiberian alphabet *b* has the Korinthian form  $\mathfrak{Z}$ , and *m*  $\mathfrak{M}$  is remarkably like the Karian *mi*. Unfortunately the decipherment of the Keltiberian alphabet is still open to question on several points; but so far as it has gone it has shown that some connection must exist between the ancient alphabets of Spain and those of south-western Asia Minor.

In my former Paper I suggested that the Karian alphabet had been carried by Ionian merchants to Tartessos in Spain, which had been first discovered by the Samians in B.C. 630 according to Hêrodotos (IV, 152), though he had previously asserted (I, 163) that the discovery was made a century later by the Phôkæans. The Keltiberian alphabet was not identical with the Karian, and I should therefore rather suppose now that an alphabet allied to the Karian—that of the Lydians perhaps—was introduced into Spain by sailors from Asia Minor who sailed in Ionian ships. We know that Ionian and Karian mercenaries were sent together to Egypt by Gyges of Lydia, and there is no reason why the Ionians should not have made other distant expeditions in similar company. Some of the characters in the Keltiberian alphabet have been made syllabic by a slight modification of form,  $\Delta$  *d*, for instance, being modified into  $\triangle$ , *du*, and it seems probable that these syllabic characters were suggested by the existence of syllabic characters like *mi* and *re* in the alphabet which was brought to them. The Karian inscriptions read usually from left to right, but occasionally from right to left.

I must now pass on to the little that can be said about the grammatical forms found in the Karian inscriptions. The nominative of nouns might end either in a vowel or in a consonant, though the vocalic ending seems to be the more common.<sup>1</sup> The regular termination of the genitive is *ü* (or,

<sup>1</sup> The consonantal ending is probably due to the loss of a final vowel. Thus the full form of Thovl (III), *Thovlo*, reappears in the genitive *Thuvlo-ü* (IV, 7), and the nominative *Meunaidh* (IV, 7) becomes *Meunaido-v-ü* in the genitive (IV, 13). So by the side of the nominative *Ävnose* and *Ävnos* we have the genitive *Ävnose-ü* (IV, 18).

after a preceding *ū*, *w*): e.g., *Evavseū* or *Āvavssaū*, *Madsū*, *Miquleū*, *Thuvloū*, *Hekhuāū*, *Aigethū*. As in Greek this genitive might follow another proper name in the sense of "son of"; thus we have *Mizaā Madsū*, "Mizaā son of Madis," *Ernos Uākhūū*, or *Ernos Uākhūā*, and *Ārnose Ekhuūū* as well as *Hekhuā Ārnose*, where the final *-ū* of *Ārnose-ū* has been dropped. That the genitive could precede as well as follow its governing noun is clear from such examples as *Rarmāu Māur* (IV, 35), *Āāvaiāthū Umā*, "Umā son of Ā." (II, 2), as well as *Hyllou-ala* and *Ala-banda* by the side of *Soua-gela*.

In place of the simple construction *Mizaā Madsū*, "Mizaā son of Madis," we sometimes find the word *ra* inserted before the name of the father. It therefore must denote "son." Thus we have *Lereūdānsa ra Lāwoz ra Aigethū*, and *Mesnabai ra Sskhā* at Abu-Simbel by the side of *Mesnabā Sskhā-eā-ū* at Memphis. It will be noticed that after *ra* the usual genitival suffix might be omitted.

Perhaps we may see a dative in *slmodo* (II, 3), which may be the Karian name of the Egyptian Apis. Other datives seem to be *Ūzākhoe* (VI, 2) and *Yūlavuhssoi* (VI, 1). We probably have accusatives in *safa* (II, 4), *khā* (I, 7), and *kha* (II, 4).

In I, 7 we find a termination *-ān* which appears to denote a gentile adjective, *Lairān* and *Naithupān* meaning respectively "of Laira" and "of Naithupa." Possibly Laira is the Greek Leros.

Another adjectival termination, which is not infrequent, is *-he*. This probably is tribal in signification, but it seems also to denote any class to which a person belongs, since in the bilingual inscription (II, 3) *avnokh-he* appears to correspond to the word "dragoman" in the Egyptian text. In II, 1, *Marnaūw-h(e)* and *Ovuz-he* are coupled together by the word *aid*, which may therefore be the copulative conjunction. *Marnaūw* may be compared with the Karian tribal name *Mavvú-της*. We also find *Sraaiū-he* or *Sraaiw-he* (I, 5), *Esor\*-he* (III), and *khuo:ū-he* (II, 2). The termination is not found in the *grafiti* of Abydos.

It will be seen from the examples just quoted that the adjective followed its substantive.

As Professor Newton has pointed out, Karian numerals appear in the Greek inscription of Budrum (Halikarnassos), where the form  $\text{Ϝ}$  takes the place probably of  $\text{Ϛ}$ . Professor Newton gives the following list of them<sup>1</sup>:—

A	B	E	KA	NE	Ϝ
A□	B□	E□	KΔI	ψ	ϜA
AIII	B□I	EIII	KHΞ	□	ϜB
AIIII	BI	(HΔI?)	Λ	□I=	ϜC□III
AIIII	Δ		ΛΛ□	□II	
AIIII≡	ΔI=C	IZ□	ΛA:IIII=	□III-	E
			ΛIIII	IIII:≡	C□IIII=

Perpendicular lines evidently denoted the numerals from 1 to 5; □ seems to have represented 6; and the horizontal lines probably express fractions, though it must be remembered that in Lykian II— is 12. Professor Newton suggests that □ may be the half of □; but it may be also a form of *g*, though we have this in its ordinary form after the fraction (?) in ΔI=C. Perhaps A is 10 (or 20), and B 20 (or 30). I question whether we should not read KHΞ instead of KHΞ.

It is possible that *no* or *nü* in I, 7 is a demonstrative pronoun.

In I, 7, it is highly probable that *mesaira-ekethon* is the third person plural of a verb, and it is also probable that a word which ends in *-eth* in II, 4, is the third person singular. Apparently these are the only two verbal forms which occur in the inscriptions; but compare No. III.

As I have noticed above, *aid* (II. 1) seems to be the copulative conjunction.

<sup>1</sup> "Essays on Art and Archæology," pp. 438-9.

## THE INSCRIPTIONS EXPLAINED.

The Abu-Simbel inscriptions are taken from Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, XII, 98, 99, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 3, 2, 1), corrected by my own copies and the photograph in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (I, 2, XX).

I. 1. Me-e-s-n-a-b-ai r-a Ss-kh-â ss-ai-kh-s-ṅ-s-o-s. "Mesnabai the son of Skhâ . . ." We have the funereal record of this mercenary in No. II, 4, where his name is written Me-s-n-b-â Ss-kh-â. The form of the second letter is due to my copy: that it must be *e* and not *o* is plain both from its form and from its unlikeness to *o* in the last word of the inscription. No. II, 4 shows that after *kh* we must restore |□. The combination *kh-s* is a proof that a single symbol for *x* was unknown to the Karians. With the name Mesnabai compare *Μέσανδρος*, the name of a Karian on a coin (Mionnet, VI, 539), as well as the name of the town *Μέσσαβα*. Compare also Meseve or Messeve (I, 3, IV, 1) and Mesnair (I, 7). *Ra* must mean "son," as pointed out above (p. 142), and may be the same as *Ἄρ*, which occurs at the beginning of so many Karian names at Budrum.

I, 2. A-na-go (?) -r-e, "Anagore" (?) If this reading is right, we may regard the name as the Greek *Ἀνάγυρος*.

I, 3. Me-ss-ě-v-e h-r Re-â . . s (?) r-h-r-u-s, "Messève . . ." The *r* here seems intended for *a*, and I should be inclined to read the whole *graffito* "Messève Harea . . s aheus." But the latter part of it is very faint and difficult of decipherment in the original. The name is shown to be Messève by IV, 1, where it is written *M-e-s-e-v-e*, which, by the way, settles the values of **Ð** and **Λ**. See the next *graffito*. For the termination *-eve* we may compare *Κυνίβιον*, "belonging to a dog" (above), and *Μέσσαβα*.

I, 4. Me-s-n-a-(b-ai). This is the name we have had in No. 1. The *a* here is written like *r*, which goes to show that the reading proposed for the last *graffito* is probably correct.

I, 5. Mi-z-a-ä-î (?) S-r-a-ai-ü-h-e, "Mizaäi the Srâiian." Mizaäi is written *Mi-z-a-ä* in IV, 6, 9, and 10, from which we may infer that  $\uparrow$  had, as in Lykian, a vocalic value. With Mizaäi compare the Lykian name Mi(n)zo, and for the combination *sr* see the local name  $\Sigma\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  in the Budrum inscription. A photograph of the greater part of the *graffito* will be found in the "Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum," I, 2, Tab. XX.

I, 6. This inscription is too mutilated to be legible.

I, 7. Kh-a-dh-h-e-h L-ai-r-â-n A-go(?) -re-o-ai(?) -r  
 N-e-th-u-p-â-n M-e-s-n(?) -a-ü-r L-e-l-e-kh- $\begin{matrix} \ddot{a} \\ a \end{matrix}$  n- $\begin{matrix} o \\ \ddot{u} \end{matrix}$  } kh-â  
 me-e-s-ai-r-a e-k-e-th-o-n, "Khadhheh the Lerian (?), Agoresair (?) the Nethupân, (and) Mesnaür the Lelegian, have written this inscription (?)." The parallelism between the terminations of Lairân and Nethupân seems to imply that they are both gentilic adjectives, and Lairân irresistibly reminds us of the island of Leros. Lelekhä appears to be certainly "Lelegian." In Lykian we find  $\nabla$  corresponding to a Greek  $\gamma$  in the name of Harpagos. The Leleges were an old Karian population (II. X, 429, XXI, 86-7), whom Hêrodotos (I, 171) identified with the Karians themselves (see Paus. VII, 2, 8). Milôtos accordingly was called "Lelegian" (Steph. Byz. s. v. *Μίλητος*), and the Karian city of Ninoê, "the city of the Lelegians" (Steph. Byz.). We find *kha* in II, 4, and the sense seems to require a word like "inscription." *Mesaira-ekethon*, which is probably a compound word, must be a verb. The obliterated letters underneath the inscription belong to another *graffito*, since they do not begin at the same place as the name of Khadhheh. For Mesnaür, see IV, 28.

II, 1.—On a stêlê from Memphis, obtained by Sir Charles Nicholson (copied from a squeeze).

For the sake of convenience I have copied the inscription from the under surface of the squeeze. It ought to be read, however, in the inverse direction, from left to right. Ä-v-e-th-o M-a-v-n-a-ü-w-h.(e) ai-d O-v-u-z-h-e, "Avetho the Maunaüwian and Ovuzian." *Mavnaüw* reminds us of the tribe

of *Μαύννιται* at Olymos. It is difficult to see what meaning *aid* can have except that of "and," since it couples two adjectives in *-he* together, and is divided from the second of them by only one point instead of two.

II, 2.—*On a stélé from Memphis, now in the Bûlak Museum (copied from the original and a squeeze).*

Ä-â-v-ai-â(?)-dh-ü U-m-a Kh-u-o-z-ü-h-e? s-a-v-n.  
v-o-z-h-e-ä, "Äâvaiâdhüs son Umâ the Khuozüian . . ." The termination in *-ü* so usually marks the genitive case, that I think the first word, and not the second, here represents the name of the father. It may be a variant form of the name "Ävetho" in the preceding inscription. With the termination of *Khuoz* we may compare *Lâvoz* (IV, 22), and *Uvoz* (IV, 37). If what I have marked with a query is not a letter, the following word, *savn*, may be the same as *sava* or *sard*, "a tomb," in II, 4. Compare the name of the tribe *Σοαωνεῖς* at Olymos. It may, however, be a misshapen *â*, like the second *â* in the first word of the inscription. The point between *n* and *v* seems to be merely a flaw in the stone.

II, 3.—*Bilingual inscription on the base of a bronze bull from Memphis, now in the Bûlak Museum (copied from the original).*

M-a-v-a-â-e-n a-v-n-o-kh-h-e; M-a-v-ê-â-e-n  
S-l-m-o-d-o, "Mavaâen the dragoman; Mavêâen to Apis(?)" Such seems from the hieroglyphic text to be the interpretation of the words. As in the case of other foreigners in Egypt, this particular dragoman bore two names, a Karian one Mavaâen and an Egyptian one Prâm. *Μόνηνος* is a Karian name at Budrum. *Shmodo* would be the Karian equivalent of the god Hapi or Apis. Comp. VII.

II, 4.—*On a stélé now in the Lausanne Museum (copied from a cast).*

Me-s-n-b-a-i Ss-kh-â-e-ä-ü u-e kh-a v-e-<sup>a</sup><sub>d</sub> } \*  
\* -u-ko (?) -z-e-th s-a-v-<sup>a</sup><sub>d</sub> } "Mesn(a)bai the son of  
Sskhâ, this inscription making, has built the tomb (?)" For





Mesnabai the son of Sskhâ; see above, I, 1. As *ra* is not inserted here, the father's name is provided with the usual genitival ending *û*, connected with the final vowel of Sskhâ by the vowels *eä*. The adventitious nature of this suffix seems to be indicated by the space between it and the name to which it is affixed. It is clear that in this inscription  $\Delta$  must denote *a* and not *d*, at all events after *kh*, and I should identify the word *kha* with the *khâ* of I, 7. The last word but one is probably a verb in the third person, since *sava* seems almost certainly to be  $\sigma\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ , "a tomb." Cf. *savn-vozheü* in II, 2. Ought we to read here *vu-u-ô-z-e-th*?

III.—From a copy of *M. Fr. Lenormant*.

Th-o-v-l E-so-v-\*-he W-u-go(?) -z-e-ü, "Thovl the Esovian, the son of Wugo(?)ze(?)." Thovl would probably have been written  $\Theta\hat{\omega}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\Theta\hat{\omega}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  in Greek; at all events it affords an example of the termination  $\lambda$ -( $\omicron\varsigma$ ). Thylon or Tylon was the name of a Lydian according to Pliny, N. H. XXV, 5. The same name is found at Abydos (IV, 7).<sup>1</sup>

IV, 1.—From *Seti's temple, right side of the Couloir des Rois*.

M-e-s-e-v-e, "Meseve." See I, 1.

IV, 2.—*Couloir des Rois, right side*.

M-a-kh-â-ss Ä-v-a-v-ss-a-ü, "Makhas son of Avavssa." Makhas seems to be the Greek name  $M\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\varsigma$ , or possibly  $M\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$ . It is written M-ü-kh-â(?) -ss in the next inscription, where Ävavssau is written E-v-a-v-s-e-ü. The latter name may represent  $\text{Ἰασσός}$ .

IV, 3.—*Couloir des Rois, right side*.

M-ä-kh-â(?) -ss E-v-a-v-s-e-ü. See preceding inscription. The second name in this *graffito* was copied by Lenormant.

<sup>1</sup> I suspect that the last word is miscopied for the verbal *vu (?) - u - go (?) - z - e - th* of the preceding inscription. If so, the translation would run "Thovl (o) the Esovian made (this)." Esov may be either Assos or  $\text{Ἄσσιος}$ . In the latter case Thovlo would have come from the Kayster.

IV, 4.—*Couloir des Rois, right side.*

R-a (?) - s . . . . u . . . . a (?) - v - u - e . . ě (?) . . ü. A comparison with IV, 24, seems to show that the second character is meant for *a*.

IV, 5.—*Couloir des Rois, right side.*

E - r - v - ü - o - z    A i - v - s - l - â    M e - g - u - l - e - ü, “Ervüoz Aivslâ the son of Migule.” The second character may be intended for *a*, though *r* seems more probable. Compare the name Ἀρύασσις at Budrum, as well as Lâwoz (IV, 22), Uwoz (IV, 37), and Khuoz (II, 2). Megule may be the Greek name Μέγυλλος or perhaps Μίκυλος.

IV, 6.—*Couloir des Rois, left side.*

Mi - z - a - ü    M - a - d - s - ü, “Mizaü son of Madsü.” See IV, 9, and IV, 10. The name Mizaü occurs at Abu-Simbel (No. I, 5).

IV, 7.—*Couloir des Rois, left side.*

M - e - u - n - a i - d h    T h - u - v - l - o - ü, “Meunaidh son of Thuvlo.” The fourth letter of the first name looks like *l* in the *graffito*, but No. IV, 13, shows that it must be *n*. Thuvlo is evidently the Thovl of Zagazig (No. III).

IV, 8.—*Couloir des Rois, left side.*

. . . l - e - ä.

IV, 9.—*On the Pylon.*

Mi - z - a - ü    M - a - d - s - ü. See No. IV, 6.

IV, 10.—*Chapel of Meneptah I.*

Mi - z - a - ä    M - a - d - s - ü. See No. IV, 6. Above the Greek inscription is written the Hellenised Egyptian name ΠΟΤΑΜΩ(N); there is no other *graffito* near. The face is drawn in the Greek style, with straight nose and distorted eye.

IV, 11.—*Chapel of Meneptah.*

U - k h - o - v e    U - a - k h - ä - v - m i - g. The proper division of the names is made clear by No. IV, 20, which see. The second *u* may be *h*.





Ὶγασσός was the name of a Karian city, and compare Nos. IV, 15, and IV, 16. Can *mig* = "I am"?

IV, 12.—*Chapel of Meneptah.*

A-l-v-th-h-(e?) "Alvthh(e)." The name is perhaps a compound of *ala*, "horse."

IV, 13.—*Great staircase adjoining the chapel of Meneptah, left side.*

M-e-u-n-ai-dh-o-v-ü, "Of Meunaidhov." See No. IV, 7. Before the suffix of the genitive *-o(v)* appears after the final consonant of the name as in Thuvlöü (IV, 7) by the side of Thovl (III).

IV, 14.—*On a line with the preceding.*

Kh-mi-v-o-<sup>mi</sup><sub>s</sub> } -kh-ü. "Of Khmivoskh," or "Khmivomikh." For the combination *kh-mi* compare No. IV, 38.

IV, 15.—*Below the preceding.*

M-a-\* E-kh-u(?)ü-ü, "Ma.. son of Ekhuä." The father's name appears to be the same as that found in the next inscription.

IV, 16.—*Staircase, left side.*

Ä-v-n-o-s-e E-kh-u-ä-ü, "Avnos, son of Ekhuä." For the father's name see the preceding inscription, as well as IV, 11. The names of Ävnos and his father are written four times at Abydos (Nos. 16, 17, 18, and 19), and an interchange of *e* and *ä* has taken place in them.

IV, 17.—*Staircase, right side.*

Ä-v-n-o-s U-ä-kh-u-ä-(ü). The writer has been uncertain whether to use *e* or *ä* in the first syllable of his name, so has written both. He has dropped the final *e* of his own name, and has made a curious attempt to combine *ä* and *ü* together at the end of his father's. I think the *u* at the beginning of the second name must be intended for *h*, as in No. IV, 18. Ä-o (?) above the *graffito* is the commencement of a name or word which is more fully written in IV, 19.

IV, 18.—*Staircase, right side.*

H-e-kh-u-ä A-v-n-o-s-e-ü, "Hekhua, son of Ävnos." Before the genitive suffix the final *e* of Ävnos(e) reappears. The initial *h* of the son's name is interesting (see IV, 17). The son of Ävnos bore the same name as his grandfather.

IV, 19.—*Above the staircase, right side.*

Ä-o(?) . . . . a(?) . . . z  $\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{Ä} \\ \text{E} \end{array} \right\} \text{-v-n-o-s (H)-ä-kh-u-ä.}$

Nos. 17 and 18 show that the doubtful character is *h*. For the first word or name see No. 17. The genitival ending has been dropped in the father's name.

IV, 20.—*Staircase, right side.*

U-kh-ü-v-e U-a-kh-ä-v-mi-(g) u(?) -th. The character which follows *mi* is shown by No. IV, 11 to be *g*. *Uth* (?) seems, from its termination, to be a verb. In the first name *ü* replaces the *o* of IV, 11.

IV, 21.—*Staircase, right side.*

. . u-kh-ü-d-a-u. . A comparison of this name with Ukhüve makes me doubt whether any letter is lost at the beginning of it, while the upright line at the end seems to denote a full stop.

IV, 22.—*Staircase, left side.*

L-â-ü-o-z, "Lâwoz." With the termination of this name compare Uwoz (IV, 37), Ervüoz (IV, 5), and Khuoz (IV, 2). Lâwoz occurs again in IV, 32. Lêzûe is a name found in a Lykian inscription.

IV, 23.—*Staircase, left side.*

. . a-v-a-e-e. The last character may be intended for  $\Theta$ .

## IV, 24.

R-a-v(u)-ü-ss-d-e-a-v-e \*kh. "Ravussdeave." The last character is a Phœnician *m*, the beginning of an unfinished Phœnician *graffito*, and the final *kh* seems to have nothing to





do with the name. For the *vu* see above, p. 136. In the next inscription *o* takes the place of *ü* (as in IV, 11 and 20), and *e* and *ä* interchange as usual. The initial *ra* appears to be the word "son"; cf. the Karian names at Budrum beginning with 'Aρ-.

IV, 25.—*At the head of the staircase.*

R-a-v(u)-o-ss-d-ä-a-v-e.. See the last inscription.

IV, 26.—*Staircase, left side.*

Ä-ä-u-l-a-dh(?) -e Â (?) -a-ss-ä-ai-v-e-ü, "Ääuladhe son of Âassâaive." The sixth letter is probably a variant form of *dh*, and the eighth letter of *ä*.

IV, 27.—*Staircase, right side.*

.. mi-v-e M-ä-kh-u-th<sup>o</sup> } -r. "... mive Mäkhuo(?)r."  
   ü }

Immediately above is a Greek *graffito* containing the name of **MENOKΛΕΣ ΑΜΑΧΕΤΑΟ**. The final letter of the second Karian name may be intended for *a*.

IV, 28.—*Staircase, right side.*

R(?) -e-s-n-ä-ü-o-r.., "R(?)esnäwor." If there is no other character at the end of the word, we should here have another name terminating in *r*. It is possible that we should read "Mesnäwor," as in I, 7.

IV, 29.

T-o-s-u-v-th S-v-ä-o-kh.....u-go(?), "Tosuvth (son of) Sväokh." The last three characters of the first line belong to an alphabet which is quite unknown to me. With the first name compare τουσσύλοι, "dwarfs," above (p. 119).

IV, 30.—*Outside the staircase.*

... e(?) -n-ä... o-e. ΤΥΧ(Η) belongs to a Greek *graffito*.

IV, 31.—*On the 6th column of the façade.*

..... v... ä-kh-e-ä. Compare Häkhuä, IV, 1.

IV, 32.—*In the recess of the central shrine.*

L-e-re-ü-d-â-n-s-a r-a L-(â)-ü-o-z r-a Ai-g-e-th-ü  
 . . . . a-d-z-e-a l-s-e-s, "Lereüdânsa son of Lâwoz, son  
 of Aigeth . . . ." It is possible that the first letter of the last  
 word is intended for *a*; if so we should have *ases* or "Isis,"  
 Egyptian As(t). For Lâwoz see No. IV, 22. This *graffito*  
 was copied, but very imperfectly, by Lenormant.

IV, 33.—*Same place.*

H-a-e-ä, "Haeâ." I fancy that the scribe has made a  
 mistake here and written *ě* instead of *v*. In this case the  
 name would be the same as that in the next inscription.

IV, 34.—*Same place.*

H-a-v-ü. "Havu." I satisfied myself by repeated  
 inspection that there is no lost letter like an *e* between *v* and  
*ü*, but only an accidental flaw in the wall. The *v* has been  
 written twice by mistake. See the preceding inscription.

IV, 35.—*Temple of Ramses II; left wall of the entrance.*

R-a-v-m-ä-ü M-ü-u-r(?), "Ravmä's son Müur(?)." Here the genitive apparently precedes the nominative.

IV, 36.—*Temple of Ramses II; left of the great court.*

N(?) -â(?) -kh-vu-v-ai(?) -l-g. The last letter, however,  
 may be merely the indication of a full stop. This *graffito* is  
 written in a variety of the Karian alphabet, possibly Lydian,  
 and the values of some of the characters are consequently  
 doubtful.

## IV, 37.

This inscription was copied by Lenormant, but I was  
 unable to find it. It has been either destroyed or covered  
 up.—U-ü-o-z N-e-h-ü-th-u-re-.-s-e-ü, "Uwoz the son  
 of Nehüthure . . se." For Uwoz see IV, 22. The missing  
 letter after *re* may be *ü*; see IV, 32.

IV, 38.—*Left of the inner court.*

Kh-mi-h-(e?) . . . , “Khmih . . .” No. IV, 14, makes it clear that the *graffito* must commence with *kh*. The last four characters seem to belong to another inscription.

V. The three characters here given are scratched on a piece of pottery found by Mr. Flinders Petrie at Tel en-Nebîreh, the site of Naukratis, a copy of which he has been kind enough to send me. They seem to read *ě-m-ü*, “of Emys,” though the last character may be a new one. Mys is the name of a Karian in Hdt. VIII, 135.

VI, 1.—*A scarabæoid in the possession of Mr. R. P. Greg.*

I (?) -ü-l-â-vu-h-ss-o-i(?), “Belonging to Yülâvuhssoi.” The termination is the same as in Mizaäi instead of Mizaü at Abu Simbel (I, 5), and the parallelism with the next inscription shows that it must have been pronounced much like *e*.

The fifth letter must be *vu* rather than *u*. The direction in which the letters are to be read is shown by the final character, for which there was no room in its proper line. *H + ss* was probably pronounced *x*, like *kh + s*.

VI, 2.—*A bronze chaton of a ring in the British Museum.*

Û-z-â-kh-o-e, “Belonging to Ûzâkho.” Can this be the Karian form of *᾽Οσογῶα*?

VII.—*On a rock tomb near the supposed ruins of Kryassos.*

The irregularity of the lines on the right shows that it must be read from left to right.

1. Th-o-ko(?) -o-v(u)-u-s re-th-s
2. a kh \* ko(?) o re u l v \*
3. s-l vu kh o \* â kh \* f
4. kh o f th l a vu s<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here is a comparative transliteration of the two copies:—

Purgstall:—

Forbes:—

1. th o ko(?) o vu u s re th s
2. a kh \* ko(?) o re u l f \*
3. s l vu kh o \* â (?) u o f
- 4 kh o l th l a vu s

1. \* o ko(?) o n u s re \* . .
2. . . kh \* ko(?) o re u l f \*
3. s l n kh o \* d kh \* f
4. kh o f \* d a n s

In my transcription I have followed the copy which gives the fullest forms of the characters, except in the last line, where I have preferred Hammer-Purgstall's *l* to Forbes and Hoskyns' *d*. Purgstall's copy is evidently the most correct, and may be accepted without scruple in the first two lines. The word *sl* we have already met with in the (compound?) *sl-modo*, II, 3. The forms of the characters as a whole remind us of those found in No. IV, 36, but the character I have transcribed *ko* (?) does not occur in Karian, though we find it in the Pamphylian legends on the coins of Sidê. A coin now in the British Museum, and weighing 180 grains, which has probably come from either Pamphylia or Kilikia, bears the legend: ΓΜΞΙΜΓC. This reads apparently G-l-s I(n)-s-l, where the *i*(*n*) has the same form as the Lykian character with that value. A similar coin has been published by De Luynes ("Cypriote Coins," pl. II, 14), who erroneously assigns it to Temesa in Kypros. His copy of the legend is: ΓΜΤΙΜΙC. Von Prokesch-Osten has also published a coin (in the *Numismat. Zft.*, 1870, p. 264) which has on the obverse the front half of a lion couchant, and on the reverse a crowned head of Apollo with the symbol  $\Psi$ <sup>1</sup> on one side and on the other the legend ζΓΜΙΞΜΤ.

*A*, *b* and *c* are three *grafiti* in unknown characters which I copied at Abydos, the first two on the left wall, and the third on the right wall of the great staircase.

<sup>1</sup> The symbol, which is well known to numismatists, seems to be derived from one of the symbols held in the hands of the Hittite divinities at Boghaz Keui. The caduceus of the Greek Hermès has the same origin.

In the Pamphylian (?) legends the sides of the *s* should be sloped. M. Six believes it to be *m*. He informs me that there are three copies of the legend, one in the British Museum, one at Berlin, and one at Vienna, the last of which is probably the oldest. It is the one given by von Prokesch-Osten. The copy of De Luynes is incorrect.

In Bezenberger's *Beiträge*, x, pp. 147-202 (1885), Georg Meyer has an article on the Karians, in which he collects all the Karian geographical names that are known.

## THE WEASEL AND THE CAT IN ANCIENT TIMES.

BY THE REV. DR. PLACZEK, *in Brünn (Moravia).*

Translated by the Rev. A. Löwy.

*Read 3rd March, 1885.*

IN early days the weasel (*mustela* or *putorius vulgaris*) was tamed and domesticated, with the object of clearing human habitations of noxious vermin.

In this respect the weasel was a predecessor of the cat; and it still enjoys a preference in some English farms, on account of its delicately shaped limbs, it being more slender and nimble than the cat. With its serpent-like agility, and its tiny head, it enters easily the almost impenetrable hiding-places of the mice and their congeners. The weasel is admitted into the barns, where its unpleasant properties—ill-odour, uncleanliness and thievish greed for eggs and young poultry—prove less troublesome. The period when the weasel was displaced by the cat cannot be stated with precision. But we shall be able to show that some nations, keeping in view the habits and services of the weasel, transferred its name to animals endowed with similar characteristics. This transfer of a name applied with especial prominence to the cat, and has led to etymological puzzles, whereby the identification of the weasel has now and then been obscured. On the other hand, we shall adduce facts showing that the weasel and the cat were synchronously employed as domestic animals.

The Egyptians, keenly alive to the good and evil services of various animals, and guided in their idolatry by appreciation or dread, appear in early ages to have discarded the

weasel, and to have given the preference to the cat,<sup>1</sup> on account of its superior size and strength. Plutarch (*Isis*, 74) says that the weasel was revered as the symbol for the *origin of speech*, because it conceives through the ear and gives birth through its mouth.<sup>2</sup> But Plutarch does not find the actual ground for reverence in the utility of the weasel as the destroyer of vermin; whilst the cat in life, and after death, did receive divine honour and adoration on account of its valuable domestic services.<sup>3</sup> Relics of this veneration exist in the numerous mummies of cats in Thebes, and more particularly at Bubastis in the Delta, where Bast, the chief local goddess, was depicted in the form of a cat.<sup>4</sup> The worship of the cat<sup>5</sup> was considerably more ardent than that of the weasel, and all this carries us to the inference that in the days of remote antiquity the weasel gave up in favour of the cat its part as "familiar spirit." We can look back to B.C. 2500, and notice the cat on the monuments of Beni-hassan. In other symbolical effigies the head of the cat replaces that of the lioness.

There were additional reasons for rejecting the weasel and adopting the cat. The former could never become so domesticated as to remain attached to the human habitation,

<sup>1</sup> The cat, in Egyptian *mau*, in Coptic *shau*, was probably a descendant of the still indigenous Egyptian *felis maniculata*.

<sup>2</sup> This myth seems to owe its origin to the circumstance that the weasel carries its litter about in the mouth.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, II, 66; Strabo, 812; Cicero, *De natura Deorum*, I, 36; Aelianus, IV, 44. Compare Wilkinson, "Manners and Customs," II, 117, 167; III, 42.

<sup>4</sup> Brugsech, in his "History of Egypt," derives *bast* from the Arabic *bas* or *bes*, a cat.

<sup>5</sup> Diodorus Siculus, I, 83, states that anyone in Egypt who by mischance, or wilfully, killed an ibis or a cat was put to death, these being held sacred, because the land could otherwise not have withstood the snakes and mice. The populace at once flocked together, and even without awaiting the decision of a judge, killed the detested culprit. At the time when Rome terrorised the world, and Egypt in particular, when in fact Egypt courted the friendship of the Romans, and when the Egyptian king Auletes was styled the ally of Rome, it happened that a Roman killed a cat. The people immediately mobbed together, and could be pacified neither by persuasion of the king, nor by the general fear of the Romans. The murder of the cat could not remain unavenged. The Roman was slain, though his deed had been undesigned.

and to be exempt from relapsing into its untamed condition. But the cat grew so inured to the human abode, as to become for the Egyptians the first object of careful protection if a conflagration happened in their domiciles. The cat, further, appeared to be a miniature of the lioness which had been worshipped by the Egyptians. Moreover, the cat was better able than the weasel to cope with larger poisonous snakes, which occasionally infest Egyptian dwellings; this is borne out by pictorial illustration in "the Book of the Dead," also on Meternich's stele, and in other representations. Even in the present day it is noticed, according to Rengger's minute descriptions, that the cat triumphs in its chase after the rattlesnake. Indeed the cat is capable of serving instead of the dog in the chase after aquatic birds.<sup>1</sup>

The ancient Egyptians, great adepts in the improved breed of domestic animals, succeeded also in similar efforts with the cat, which probably was imported by them from Nubia. The care and adoration which the Egyptians gave to the cat, prevented them from disposing of the animal by way of traffic. This accounts for the lateness of the period in which the cat came to Semitic nations, and from them to the Greeks and the Romans.

The Semitic nations knew and employed the weasel long before the cat. In Lev. xi, 29, we meet with *choled* (Targum of Onkelos, *chulda*), which, according to traditional interpretation, is the weasel. The paraphrase of Jonathan ben Uzziel renders the Hebrew by *kerkushta*; the Septuagint has *γαλῆ*, and Rashi *mustela*. Luther, Buxtorff, Fürst, and others accept the same rendering. Both in the Aramaic and in the Arabic languages *chalad* means "to be enduring." In Hebrew especially, in concurrence with Psalms xlix, 20; and xvii, 14, *choled* signifies "the earth," as a terrestrial body. In Syriac, and also in the dialect of Talmud, it means "ditch." The rabbins use *chaludah* with reference to a clumsy use of the knife for the slaughter of animals. The knife gets lodged or burrows in the throat instead of making a smooth gash across the throat. In connection with the meaning of this

<sup>1</sup> See "Kosmos," Series VII, p. 114, *et seq.*

vocable, the weasel would be called *choled* or *chulda*, because it burrows and lodges in a cavity of the earth. In the Aramaic idioms *chalad* signifies "rust," or the colour of rust; this term might be well applied to the fur on the back of the weasel. The name of the prophetess *Hulda* (2 Kings xxii, 14; 2 Chron. xxxiv, 22) shows that the little quadruped was familiarly known in the houses of the ancient Hebrews. The following Talmudical and Midrashic passages describe the zoological presentment and character of this animal, and show how the allusions to the weasel were close at hand in domestic matters, in ritual observances, and also in ethical and proverbial sayings. The weasel was not solely called *chulda*, but also *kerkushta*, which name too was applied to the prophetess (*Sanhedrin*, fol. 102, 105; and *Baba Mezia*, 85a).

*Kerkushta* was probably derived from the Greek *Kerkos*, where it signifies "tail." *Kerkushta* in relation to the weasel may therefore serve to point out the peculiar obtuseness of its tail, or its screechy and chirping notes, which it varies with its different states of excitement.

It lives, according to Tamudical data, in caves, pits, hollow walls, and in cracked woodwork (*Niddah*, 16a; *Pessachim*, 8b; *Succah*, 20b, 118b; *ibid.*, *Rashi*). It attacks and overpowers larger creatures, and carries its prey off in the mouth (*Taharoth IV*, 3). It is prone to commit havoc in the poultry yard (*Chullin*, 52b; *Sabb.*, 146b). Hens scraping the dung-hill have not to fear its attacks (*Pessachim*, 8b). Its sharp curved teeth penetrate the cranium of the various creatures which it attacks (*Chullin*, 56a; and *Rashi*, or *Deut.* xxxii, 5). It does not even spare the dead bodies of man (*Sabb.*, 151b). It sips up its drink, and prefers flesh to bread; of the former it consumes every shred (*Parah*, 9, 3; *Pess.* 9a). The Talmud mentions also a peculiar species of weasel, the *Chuldoth Senaim*. The passage in *Baba Kama*, 80a, runs as follows: "One may rear, *inter alia*, cats and *Chuldoth Senaim*, because they keep the house clean (of mice and other vermin)." The Talmudical querist asks what is the meaning of *Chuldoth Senaim*. R. Judah answered: "They are *Sherza Charza*, trailing creatures, which delve and live in pit-holes." Other authors read these texts *Sherza Charsa*, which denote

weasels with short thigh bones. These creatures have their haunts in rose bushes. Differing from existing interpretations, I consider that "Charsa" is equal to the Greek *χερσος*,<sup>1</sup> desert or barren. Possibly, however, the Talmud here had in view the ermine, which differs from the weasel in being of a larger size, and of a fiercer disposition. The garments of Adam and Eve, according to the legend in *Midrash Bereshith rabba* (24*b*), were made of the skin of the weasel.

Rabbi Jehudah Hanassi, who flourished in the second century, ordered his servant to leave unharmed the nest of a weasel which was found in his house (*Baba Mezia*, 85*a*). In the third or fourth century arose the saying (*Sanhedrin*, 105*a*), "the weasel and the cat," usually in hostility with each other, enjoy a tranquil day when they feast upon a fat repast. This implies that the fiercest enemies become temporarily reconciled by common interests. This quotation, and another which we have already cited on the rearing of cats and weasels, and which is traced back to R. Ishmael, who lived in the first half of the second century, marks the period when cats and weasels were kept simultaneously together as domestic animals. At this time the weasel may have been supplanted by its superior rival the cat. The same fact is also confirmed by the mythical allusions to the weasel which at a subsequent age played a part in popular fables and legends. According to *Sanhedrin*, 60*a*, the weasel figured in the folk-lore current among the ancient Jews. A girl once fell into a well. A youth passing by heard her cry for help. He offered to save her from death if she would promise to become his wife. After he had drawn her up from the well, they swore eternal love to each other, and as witnesses to their vows they named the *well*, and also a *weasel* which was just running by. They then parted; the maiden remained true to her oath, but the youth soon afterwards espoused another bride. The first son born of this union was bitten to death by a weasel. The second son was drowned by falling into a well. The bereaved mother asked her husband what was the cause of these calamities. He

<sup>1</sup> *Gala xenon*, or according to another reading, *gala kteinon*, which may be taken as equal to *γαλή ξενος*.

remembering his broken vow and the appeal to the two witnesses, related to his wife all that happened. Terrified by these mysterious judgments, the woman now declared her willingness to be divorced from her husband. He then returned to the maiden he had forsaken, and fulfilled his former promise (*Taanith*, 8 a, *Tossefoth*).

There is another legend:—

Once upon a time a king ordered that all receivers of stolen goods should be put to death, and he allowed the thieves to go free. Being derided for this decree, he summoned his subjects to a public meeting. He then caused weasels to be brought, and scattered coins before them. These creatures seized the pieces of money and carried them into their holes. On the following day he reassembled his men, and again let the weasels and the coins be brought; but this time he had the holes stopped up. The weasels took hold of the coins, and wanted to hide them away, but finding the inlet closed, they brought the treasure back again (*Wayikra rabba*, 171 d). With this legend is related a story which Bochart has derived from the Arabic writer Abdullalif. A man having caught a weasel, shut it up in a cage in such a way that its mother could see it. Forthwith she fetched a coin from her hiding place, and put it down so as to ransom her captured young one. But this offer remained ineffectual; she repeated her course five times. As the young weasel still remained captive, she drew along an empty rag, as much as to hint to the captor that her means were exhausted. The young weasel being still kept in *durance vile*, its mother was going to take back the proffered denars. Thereupon the man gave the young weasel its liberty (*Hieroz.*, p. i; *lib.* iii, cap. 35). Here is another fable of this kind: When the Creator gave away the world and the fulness thereof, the Spirit of the Sea demanded to obtain a larger portion of subjects, whom he would undertake to support. His desire being granted, he seized one pair of each class of terrestrial animals, and cast them into the sea. The weasel alone escaped, through a stratagem. Standing on the seashore, it pointed to its image in the water, and said to the Spirit of the Sea, "Behold, thou hast also my

congener in the sea." Hence it came that all land animals have homonymous relatives in the sea, the weasel alone forming an exception. On this account the weasel has received the name of "land-animal" or *Choled* (*Tossefta Kilayim*, 5; *Jerusalem Sabbath*, 14).

The foregoing saying about the cat and the weasel, and a passage from *Baba Kama*, 80 *a* and *b*, on the domestication of these animals, prove that in the second century both kinds of animals lived side by side, perhaps in feud with each other, until the services of the weasel were given over to the cat. The passages in the English version of the Hebrew Scriptures, viz., Isaiah xiii, 22; xxxiv, 14; Jer. l, 39, and Hosea ix, 6, have been wrongly connected with the cat. Its later names in Hebrew are חתול *Chatul*, and שונרא *Shunra*. The former name is probably derived from the verb *katal* "to twist, or wriggle the tail."<sup>1</sup>

Of a similar signification seem to be the Persian *pūshak*, the Turkish and Afghan *pischik*, the Irish *pūs* (English *puss*), and the Arian *pusag*. These terms Pictet reduces to the Sanscrit root *puchha* or *pitsha*, "tail."

In the enormous tract of the Malayan Archipelago, in Siam, Papua and Burmah, the cats have truncated tails which are only of half the ordinary length (Crawford, *Descr. Dictionary of the Ind. Islands*, p. 255). The origin of the Aramaic *Shunra* cannot be traced. *Shinra* may be derivable from *Shen-rā*, i.e., "an evil tooth, a dangerous tooth," as an allusion to the dangerous and venomous bite of a cat (see *Chullin*, 52 *b*; *Baba Kama*, 80 *b*; *Kelim*, 26, 5; *Berach.*, 56 *b*). These passages may possibly refer to the wild cat. The accounts which have come down from the second to the sixth century, concerning the habits and the disposition of the domestic cat, suggest that the (house) cat was not then so domesticated as in the present day, and that it often relapsed into its wild condition. According to the various accounts, it destroyed mice and rats, also snakes, against whose poison it was proof, but it left untouched the *teeth* of the latter,

<sup>1</sup> A parallel instance occurs in the Greek name of the cat, αἰλουρος, from αἰάλλω and οὐρά, "to move, or twist, the tail."

which when trodden upon produced fatal injuries. Occasionally it would attack poultry, lambs, kids, and even infants (see *Chullin*, 52 b, 53 a; *Baba Kama*, 80 a; *Pessach.*, 112 b; *Sabb.*, 128 b; *Ketuboth*, 41 b; *Kelim* 26, 5). Sometimes when struggling with the rat, it gets the worst of the fight (*Baba Meia*, 97 a). Its skin was highly valued (*Baba Kama*, 80 b). The placenta of a first-born and dark cat was used for magic purposes (see *Berachoth*, 6 a). The forgetfulness of the cat is said to arise from its feeding upon mice (*Horaioth*, 13 a). It does not quit the house, and therefore need not be watched (*Sabbath*, 51 b). It hides away its excreta, and is regarded as a symbol of chaste modesty, for it pursues some of its rovings under the veil of profound darkness (*Erubin*, 100 b). Its propensity for hiding its excreta is due, according to Pliny (*H. N.*, X, 73, 94), to the object of remaining undiscovered by the mice when it is in chase after them.

One of the Talmudical books contains the advice that, "persons should never walk about in the dark in a house where there is no cat, on account of the possible presence of poisonous snakes" (*Pessachim*, 112 b).

There is the following important reference to Abba Areka (who flourished at the end of the second century). Having found that a cat had bitten off the hand of an infant, he permitted the killing, and interdicted the keeping of such an animal. By this rule he set aside the ancient opinion of Simon ben Eleazar, who allowed the rearing of cats. The bright skinned or white cats, and also their dark skinned offspring, were held to be dangerous, yet the dark cats as a species were held to be innocuous. According to *Baba Kama*, only the dark variety was reared; the white furred cats with blue eyes display the remarkable phenomenon of being deaf, and such cats proving useless, and remaining uncared for, reverted to their wild habits. The bright skinned, or wild cats, representing a tendency to return to an untamed condition, seem to be connected with the Egyptian cat (*felis maniculata*), which, according to Hartmann, is still found in the Nile regions as a domestic animal. It is there treated kindly, in consideration of Mahommed's affection for

this class of animals. This species is similar to the ancient Egyptian cat. Its form has not changed from the time when its ancestors were mummified, or depicted in monumental outlines.

The domestic cats of Yemen and of the western coast of the Red Sea resemble the Egyptian (*felis maniculata*). The fur of this animal, and also of the cat in the Pampas has the colour of the sand of the desert (Wallace, "Natural Selection," p. 65, adduces this colour as a proof of the mimicry of nature). The upper part of its body is of a yellowish-grey, and the lower part of a whitish tint. The cheeks and the front of the throat have two white stripes; on the head and on the neck appear eight curved streaks. These are black, as is also the streak along the back, and the pad of the foot. The slender tail is of a tawny colour, the top of the tail is black. The colours of other cats of this species vary, and may be black and white; as a rule, these animals are more timid than their European congeners. They easily relapse into a wild condition, and cross with wild cats. They share with human beings the characteristic that they degenerate when they suddenly emerge from severe discipline to unchecked liberty. This may be the reason why the Egyptian domestic cat, after enjoining an unrestricted range over the house of the Semites, is prone to revert to its former savage state. The dark cat, on the other hand, was probably the product of a crossing with the native wild cat.

It appears that the domestic cat among the ancient Hebrews was represented by two varieties, which may be regarded as differentiations of the Nubian fawn-coloured cat and the domesticated cat. Of these two there were numerous cross breeds. *En passant* it may be noticed that the Spanish cat has among all its European congeners the greatest resemblance to the *felis maniculata*, which was most likely imported by the Arabs, and yielded no cross breeds with the European wild cats. The time of gestation of a cat in ancient Palestine is stated (in *Bechoroth*, 8a) to last fifty-two days; with our domestic cat it extends to fifty-five days, and with the wild cat to sixty-three days.

In the second Aramaic paraphrase of the Book of

Esther i, 2, we meet with a legendary description of King Solomon's marvellous throne, which is stated to have ultimately passed into the possession of King Ahasuerus. The throne had six steps. On the opposite corners of the first step were placed a lion and a bull; on the second, a bear and a sheep; on the third, a leopard and an ass; on the fourth, an eagle and a peacock; on the fifth, a *cat* and a cock; on the sixth and last step were a sparrow-hawk and a dove. When a false witness presented himself to the king, these several animals and birds raised their peculiar cries. The voice of the cat is there characterised by the verb *teissin*. This verb corresponds to the Greek *Θώσσω*, "to scream."

Among the Greeks and Romans, as also among the German nations, the weasel preceded the cat in keeping the household clear of different kinds of vermin. In modern Greek it bears the name *νυμφιτξι*, which really means "bride." As a pet name it may have come down from remote ages, for we find that in a fable of Esop, which is noticed by Babrius, the weasel (in Greek *γαλη*) is transformed by Aphrodite into a bride (*νύμφη*). In a legend cited above, the weasel is represented in the character of the avenger of a deserted bride. In the Jerusalem Talmud, *Moëd Katon*, 1, 4, and referring to Psalm lviii, 9, the weasel is termed *ishuth*, "little woman." In Spain it is represented as *comabria*, "god-mother." In the Basque language it is called *andreigerra*, "lady"; in Italian *donnola*, "little lady." In German dialects it appears as *Jungferchen*, "little miss," or *Schönthierchen*, "pretty little animal," etc.

In old high German the weasel was called *wisula*, *wisila* or *wisala*, *wisela*, which means "being wise." In the Slavonic languages it is named *lasice*, the "love" or "darling." All these terms, designating fondness and endearment, were suggested by the long-continued usefulness of this creature, as a serviceable inmate of households (see *Ausland*, 1879, No. 24, p. 472, *et seq.*). In most European countries the weasel and the cat were concurrently reared for identical purposes, until the weasel was supplanted by the cat. Many naturalists agree that the domestic cat traces its pedigree

back to the species first tamed in ancient Egypt. The neat and slender Nubian tawny cat crossing with the *f. caliculato*, *bubastes* and *chaus*, may have imported into Europe this tendency to variations. In Europe it allied itself with the native wild cat. This observation equally applies to all climes. In India it may find, *inter alia*, its partner in the *f. ornata*; in South Africa in the *felis oaffra*; in Algeria in the *f. lybica*; in Paraguay, according to Azara, in two kinds of wild cats. This explains the frequency of the numerous sub-varieties. But the house-cat cannot be regarded as the lineal descendant of the wild cat, considering that its skeleton and body differ materially from the latter, independently of the fact that the wild cat is, according to Brehm, "History of the Animal Kingdom," I, 298, of such a savage disposition that it does not shrink from making attacks upon adults. According to laws of Wales, as collected by Howell Dha, it was first noticed in Northern Europe during the tenth century. It was then held in great estimation; if killed or ill-treated, a heavy fine was inflicted on the offender.

The origin of the word *cat* deserves an inquiry, even on account of the wide-spread occurrence of this name. In the German, Romanesque, Celtic, and neo-Latin languages, we meet with the same term. In Anglo-Saxon it is called *cat*, in the Celtic *cath*, in Italian *gatto*, in Catalonian *cat*, in French *chat*. The Latin *cattus* or *catus* appears, for the first time in the fourth century, as the common designation of the domestic cat. It is first mentioned by Pallidius, who recommends that as a mouser the cat should be kept in the house instead of the weasel.

In the book of Church historians, Evagrius Scholasticus (at the end of the sixth century), we meet with the term "catta." The descent of the tame cat from an African ancestry is notably proven by the circumstance that in no European language can the name of the cat be referred to an archaic Arian stem. The Zend word *gadhva*, which was supposed to mean "cat," is more correctly rendered "dog." The Asiatic terms for the designation of cat are not of Semitic origin. The word is developed from a Nubian idiom.

We now have the stages at which this domestic animal

passed from nation to nation. It migrated from Nubia into the Nile regions, came to the Semites, and then through the Romans to those European nations which were under Roman domination. Neither on Assyrian, or Babylonian, nor on Greek or Roman monuments can any representations of the domestic cat be found. Any seeming likenesses relate to the wild cat. Nor have any skeletons of the cat been discovered amongst the excavations of Pompei.

When the cat first came under notice in the second century, it received the name of the weasel (*γαλῆ*), whose functions it then assumed. The Byzantine authors of the middle ages still retained this word, while the Romans designated by the term *fēles* the various animals which were kept to destroy mice, and this term *fēlis* was ultimately transferred to the cat.



## LE CHAM ET L'ADAM ÉGYPTIENS,

PAR E. LEFÉBURE.

*Read 2nd March, 1886.*

## I.

LE dixième chapitre de la Genèse a été si souvent étudié, qu'on hésite à revenir sur les questions ethnographiques qu'il soulève. Néanmoins, le sujet n'est pas épuisé, et l'Égyptologie contribuera peut-être, pour sa part, à montrer dans quelle mesure les grands ancêtres désignés par ce chapitre étaient connus des races dont l'origine leur est attribuée. La question, à vrai dire, n'existe que pour Cham et Japhet, Sem appartenant aux propres traditions du peuple à qui l'on doit la Genèse.

En ce qui concerne Japhet, il est bien vraisemblable que ce personnage correspond au Iapet des traditions grecques, mentionné comme un Titan par Homère, et par Hésiode comme un Titan époux d'Asie, de qui il eut Prométhée,<sup>1</sup> l'auteur<sup>2</sup> et le protecteur<sup>3</sup> de l'humanité, *audax Iapeti genus*. On a reconnu depuis longtemps que le rôle ethnographique du vieux Titan remonte aux premiers temps de la Grèce,<sup>4</sup> de sorte que le renseignement qui le concerne dans la Genèse semble presque entièrement confirmé dès maintenant.

Mais l'identification de Cham est plus obscure, et on n'a encore rien proposé de satisfaisant sur ce point : sera-t-il possible de l'éclaircir à l'aide des documents hiéroglyphiques ?

Les Égyptiens avaient une division des races analogue à celle de la Genèse, avec cette seule différence qu'ils dédoublaient les Chamites. Dans cette classification, qu'on rencontre pour la première fois à la XVIII<sup>e</sup> Dynastie,<sup>5</sup> mais qui peut être bien plus ancienne, les Am-u correspondent aux fils de Sem, les Temeh-u aux fils de Japhet, et les Égyptiens

<sup>1</sup> "Iliade," viii, 479 ; "Théogonie."<sup>2</sup> Apollodore, i, 1, 3 et 22.<sup>3</sup> Eschyle, "Prométhée enchaîné."<sup>4</sup> Voelker, "Die Mythologie des Japetischen Geschlechtes."<sup>5</sup> Denkmäler, II, 97, d.

avec les Nègres aux fils de Cham. Ce n'est pas que les Égyptiens aient admis qu'ils descendaient de Cham ; au contraire, ils attribuaient cette filiation aux Nègres seuls, et ils pensaient eux former une race à part, celles des hommes par excellence, les *ret-u*, illusion commune à bien des peuples.

D'après le texte qui accompagne leur tableau des races dans un livre consacré à la description de l'enfer, les habitants de l'Égypte et du désert égyptien étaient une larme de l'œil d'Horus, c'est-à-dire, une émanation de la lumière. Le texte, discours adressé par Horus aux âmes qu'il conduit à la psychostasie, est ainsi conçu, avec un jeu de mots sur chaque nom de race, comme l'a montré M. Lieblein :<sup>1</sup>

“Horus dit à ces troupeaux de Ra, qui sont dans l'enfer de l'Égypte et du désert :

“Honneur à vous, troupeaux de Ra, qui êtes dans l'enfer de l'Égypte et du désert ! Souffles à vos narines, et arrachement à vos bandelettes ! Vous êtes le pleur (*remit*) de mon œil, sous votre nom d'hommes (*ret-u*).

“Vous êtes grands (*aa*, ) , parce que je vous ai créés sous votre nom d'Am-u. Sekhet les a créés : c'est elle qui protège leurs âmes.

“Vous, je me suis masturbé (*nenehu*)<sup>2</sup> pour vous, et je me suis soulagé par une multitude sortie de moi sous votre nom de Nehes-u. Horus les a créés : c'est lui qui protège leurs âmes.

“J'ai cherché (*heh*) mon œil,<sup>3</sup> et je vous ai créés sous votre nom de Temeh-u. Sekhet les a créés : c'est elle qui protège leurs âmes.”<sup>4</sup>

Sekhet et l'Œil étant des formes bien connues de la lumière (*l'œil d'Horus, c'est Sekhet*<sup>5</sup>), il s'en suit que la création des Égyptiens par l'œil et des Am-u comme des Tameh-u par Sekhet, n'est pas autre chose que leur création

<sup>1</sup> “Actes du 6<sup>e</sup> congrès international des Orientalistes,” pp. 71-5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brugsch, Dictionnaire, p. 782.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mariette, “Abydos,” Vol. I, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Sharpe et Bonomi, “Sarcophagus of Oimeneptia ;” pl. 7, 6, D ; Champollion, “Notices,” t. i, pp. 770 et 771 ; et Denkmäler, III, 136.

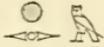
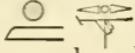
<sup>5</sup> Brugsch, “Matériaux pour le Calendrier,” xi, S, c.

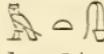
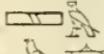
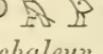
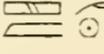


de ces divinités complexes qui symbolisent la résurrection sous ses différentes formes, depuis les phases de la lune jusqu'à celles de la végétation. Bien qu'il fût le dieu local de Coptos et de Panopolis, il recevait aussi un culte dans les principaux sanctuaires du pays, comme on vient de le voir, mais était-il néanmoins d'origine égyptienne ?

C'est là une question à laquelle les Égyptiens répondaient par la négative, car ils disaient Khem *venu des pays étrangers*,<sup>1</sup> et plus précisément de Neter-ta, ou de Punt,<sup>2</sup> les bords de la Mer rouge. La croyance égyptienne à ce sujet se perpétuait dans un rite significatif, celui d'après lequel un Nègre de Punt était chargé de réciter des hymnes à la fête du taureau de Khem, et ce n'était pas là une particularité locale : le même prêtre se retrouve ailleurs qu'à Thèbes.

Ainsi, les Nègres passaient pour les fils et les adorateurs de Khem, dieu d'apparence étrangère, dans le sacerdoce duquel figurait en Égypte un prêtre noir du même pays que le dieu.

Ce Khem à la fois égyptien et couchite ne serait-il pas le Cham biblique ? La forme du nom est la même des deux côtés ; les lettres du mot  correspondent exactement aux lettres du mot , prononcé par les Grecs Khemmis, pour le nom de ville ,<sup>3</sup> ce qui montre, par parenthèse, qu'il ne faut pas chercher le nom de Cham dans celui de l'Égypte. Kem-t (la noire), mot dont l'articulation initiale Δ s'éloigne sensiblement de l'aspiration gutturale du η.

De plus, la racine à laquelle on rattache le nom de Cham, c'est-à-dire , *incaluit, caluit cupidine, libidine, etc.*, d'où le mot , *calor, æstus*, a aussi un correspondant égyptien : c'est le mot , *jeu*, forme adoucie , *chaleur, avoir chaud*,<sup>4</sup> d'où sans doute , *le Khamsin*, et , *le temps de la chaleur, l'été, la moisson*.

<sup>1</sup> Chabas, "Études sur l'antiquité historique," 2<sup>e</sup> éd., p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, "Histoire d'Égypte," 2<sup>e</sup> éd. française, p. 125 ; papyrus de Boulaq, No. 17, p. 2, l. 4 ; et Pierret, "Études égyptologiques," 8<sup>e</sup> livraison, p. 60, stèle c. 30 du Louvre.

<sup>3</sup> De Rougé, "Mélanges d'archéologie," etc., 3<sup>e</sup> fascicule, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> Pierret, "Vocabulaire hiéroglyphique," pp. 425 et 584.

Il est fort possible que le parallélisme entre Khem et Cham se continue dans le sens de leurs noms, et que le Khem d'Égypte soit le dieu de la chaleur, puisqu'il était celui de la fertilité. Au temps d'Hérodote, deux des colosses du temple de Ptah étaient passés à l'état d'idoles, à peu près comme aujourd'hui les statues de Memnon que les Arabes nomment l'une Tama, l'autre Chama, ou, d'une manière générale, Sanamat, les idoles; à Memphis, "les Égyptiens," dit Hérodote, "appellent Été celle qui est placée au nord, Hiver, celle du midi; ils adorent la statue de l'Été, et lui rendent des honneurs; ils font le contraire à l'autre."<sup>1</sup> Le culte d'un dieu de l'Été n'aurait donc rien eu que de vraisemblable: c'est en effet à la néoménie du 1<sup>er</sup> mois de l'été qu'on célébrait la grande fête du taureau et de la moisson, en l'honneur de Khem.<sup>2</sup>

On peut ajouter que la racine égyptienne avait dû passer, comme la racine hébraïque, du sens littéral au sens métaphorique, et de l'idée de chaleur à celle de luxure; du moins, le nom du phallus avait été, à une époque très reculée, *Khem*, puisque cette valeur *Khem* est restée au phallus employé comme syllabique<sup>3</sup>; aux temps pharaoniques, un des noms du phallus était encore *She*, , ce qui semble bien une forme de *Khem*, avec chute de la finale *m* (cf. *she* et *shem*, ,  , "marcher").

En égyptien comme en hébreu, il y avait donc une racine identique désignant la chaleur au physique, et au moral la luxure ou quelque chose d'approchant; on rattache à cette racine le nom de Cham, qui fut le père des méridionaux et le censeur licencieux de son père, et il se peut bien qu'il faille y rattacher le nom de Khem, qui fut le dieu des moissons et le créateur obscène des Nègres.

Quoiqu'il en soit, il reste certain que, si les enfants de Cham sont Cousch, Misraïm, Put, et Chanaan, les enfants de Khem, adoré par Misraïm, sont au moins les Nègres en

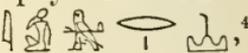
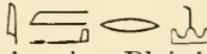
<sup>1</sup> II, 121.

<sup>2</sup> De Rougé, "Mélanges d'archéologie," etc., 4<sup>e</sup> fascicule, p. 137; cf. Calendrier Sallier, 1<sup>er</sup> Pachons.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sharpe et Bonomi, "Sarcophagus of Oimeneptia," pl. 2.

général, et en particulier les habitants noirs de Punt; en d'autres termes, les fils de Cousch et de Put, si Put doit être assimilé à Punt, suivant l'hypothèse entrêmemment vraisemblable de M. de Rougé.<sup>1</sup>

Le pays de Punt ou Neter-ta, avait d'ailleurs des limites fort élastiques; d'accord avec un texte historique du temps de Ramsès III,<sup>2</sup> qui les place au nord, un texte religieux du tombeau de Ramsès VI les fait remonter jusqu'à la Méditerranée; il y est dit des Esprits du Nord: *Shepu-baba est leur nom. Aumar, le lieu dont c'est le nom dans Neter-ta du Nord, c'est leur patrie; Keft-herau (aussi). Ils naissent aux îles d'en haut dans la Méditerranée: c'est leur contrée du nord. C'est leur pays, l'horizon du nord.*<sup>3</sup>

Qu'il faille voir ou non dans Aumâr le pays Chananéen des Amorrhéens, ordinairement appelé Amâr ,<sup>4</sup> ou ,<sup>5</sup> et dans Keft-herau le pays des Caphthorim, les Phéniciens,<sup>6</sup> il est clair que le Neter-ta ou Punt touche ici à la Méditerranée, et englobe le pays de Chanaan.

Ainsi Punt, le pays de Khem, comprenait en définitive presque toute l'aire géographique des Chamites, c'est-à-dire, Put, Chanaan et Cousch: seuls, les Égyptiens se mettaient en dehors, et n'acceptaient aucune parenté avec la race que la Genèse représente comme mandite par Noé dans la personne de Chanaan. Ils avaient assurément pour cette race le même mépris que les Hébreux, car ils lui donnaient une origine inférieure à celle des autres races, qui naissaient de la lumière céleste; ils faisaient d'elle le produit obscène d'un dieu nocturne (*noir comme le mystère*<sup>7</sup>), allusion probable à la couleur noire comme à la licence grossière des Nègres. C'étaient les fils de la Nuit opposés aux fils du Jour.

Une telle opinion du Nègre ne prouverait nullement que le fond de la race égyptienne ne fût pas Chamitique. Certains

<sup>1</sup> "Recherches sur les six premières dynasties," pp. 4 et 5.

<sup>2</sup> Chabas, "Études sur l'antiquité historique," 2<sup>e</sup> éd., p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Champollion, "Notices," t. ii, p. 658.

<sup>4</sup> Chabas, "Études sur l'antiquité historique," 2<sup>e</sup> éd., p. 260.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, p. 266.

<sup>6</sup> Brugsch, "Histoire d'Égypte," 2<sup>e</sup> éd., française, p. 148.

<sup>7</sup> Champollion, "Monuments," iii, p. 212.

caractères extérieurs, comme les cheveux crépus, le teint foncé, et les grosses lèvres, déjà remarqués par les Grecs,<sup>1</sup> ainsi que certaines particularités anatomiques, indiquent au contraire qu'il faudrait voir dans l'Égyptien, non un blanc pur, mais le produit du mélange d'une race blanche et d'une race noire.

L'adoration par les Égyptiens d'un dieu des noirs vient à l'appui de cette considération. Il est vraisemblable que, dès les époques les plus reculées, une aristocratie blanche asservit aux bords du Nil une population noire (sans doute des Anti),<sup>2</sup> parente des ces nègres Anti de Nubie, à la langue desquels le Livre des Morts emprunte quelques formules.<sup>3</sup> La fusion des vaincus et des vainqueurs aura produit le type égyptien, et l'orgueil des conquérants aura maintenu dans les classes supérieures, malgré ce mélange, la tradition d'une origine noble, opposée à la basse origine des noirs.

D'où vinrent les conquérants, si conquérants il y eut? Le renseignement le plus précieux que l'on possède sur ce point consiste dans le fait, admis par tous les égyptologues, que la grammaire et le dictionnaire égyptiens sont en partie sémitiques. S'il fallait tirer de là une conclusion, on serait tenté d'admettre une invasion en quelque sorte préhistorique de l'Égypte par ses voisins sémitiques, invasion plus importante que celle des Pasteurs sous le moyen empire, et presque aussi importante que celle des Arabes sous les premiers successeurs de Mahomet.

Cette conjecture peut paraître hasardée, comme plusieurs de celles qui précèdent, car le sujet n'est pas de ceux qui comportent actuellement une solution définitive; mais il ressort bien, toutefois, de l'ensemble des documents étudiés, que les Égyptiens comme les Hébreux faisaient des Couschites les fils d'un personnage nommé Khem par les uns et Cham par les autres. Il n'est pas besoin d'une grande hardiesse pour identifier ce Khem et ce Cham, assimilation qui donne à celle du Japhet hébraïque et du Iapet grec ce qu'elle en reçoit, c'est-à-dire une valeur plus grande.

<sup>1</sup> Hérodote, II, 104; Eschyle "Les Suppliantes," *passim*; et Lucien, "Le Navire," 2; cf. Ammien Marcellin, xxii, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lepsius, "Zeitschrift," 1870, p. 92; Diodore, iii, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Todtenbuch, ch. 164, l. 5 et 6.

## II.

Les Égyptiens avaient donc une tradition analogue à celle des Hébreux sur l'origine de la race Couschite, de même qu'ils avaient en commun avec les Hébreux, non seulement des mots et des formes grammaticales, mais encore des sentiments et des rites religieux, comme l'horreur du porceau et la pratique de la circoncision.

Ceci admis, on peut partir de là pour rechercher si une nouvelle coïncidence ne se présenterait pas, dans les croyances des deux peuples, au sujet de l'ancêtre non plus d'une race mais de toutes les races, c'est-à-dire au sujet du premier homme.

Le dieu héliopolitain Atum, ou Tum, dont le rôle habituel était de représenter le soleil couchant dans la Trinité solaire, le vieux Tum,<sup>1</sup> toujours figuré avec la tête humaine, par une sorte d'exception, était considéré particulièrement comme le père des hommes. Le célèbre début du ch. 17 au Livre des Morts, roule sur cette attribution : *Voici ce que dit l'homme,*<sup>2</sup> *ou le seigneur Tum,*<sup>3</sup> *ou le seigneur des hommes*<sup>4</sup> (suivant les textes) : *Je suis Tum, qui existais seul dans le Nun* (l. 1) ; et : *Je viens de la terre, je viens de ma patrie. Qu'est-ce ? C'est l'horizon de mon père Tum* (l. 14) ; et : *Je connais la tête du bassin* (cf. le latin *caput*, "source") *de Ma-ti. C'est Abydos, ou : c'est le chemin par lequel passe mon père Tum quand il se dirige vers la campagne d'Aahu pour arriver à la terre de l'horizon* (l. 19, 20). (Le bassin de justice, produit par la justice des hommes pieux, remplaçait pour eux les libations funéraires, et on en supposait la tête à Abydos, sorte de commencement de l'enfer, parce que la chaîne libyque s'ouvre là comme une porte de sortie à l'Occident, vers l'Oasis appelée aujourd'hui El Khargeh, c'est-à-dire "de la sortie").

Le défunt prend donc le rôle de son père Tum, appelé parfois aussi le père Tum,<sup>5</sup> pour s'en aller vers l'Occident.

Or, un des noms de l'homme était Tum, en Copte ⲧⲓⲙⲉ, et c'est ce nom qu'on employait quand on rattachait l'homme,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugsch, "Zeitschrift," 1867, p. 25.      <sup>2</sup> Todtenbuch, 17, titre.

<sup>3</sup> Lepsius, "Aelteste Texte," p. 27.      <sup>4</sup> Papyrus de Soutimès, 11, 4.

<sup>5</sup> De Rougé, "Études sur le Rituel," pp. 46-49 ; cf. "Recueil," v, p. 197.

comme fils, au dieu Tum ou Atum, et quand il s'agissait, dans les légendes, des hommes montés au ciel dans les parages du soleil<sup>1</sup> et de la lune.<sup>2</sup>

Y a-t-il là un jeu de mots amené par une coïncidence fortuite? On pourrait le croire, et chercher ailleurs l'étymologie du nom d'Atum, avec M. M. de Rougé,<sup>3</sup> Brugsch,<sup>4</sup> etc., si les croyances relatives aux ancêtres de l'humanité, chez beaucoup de races, ne suggéraient invinciblement l'opinion qu'il n'y a là ni jeu de mots, ni coïncidence fortuite.

Ces peuples admettent généralement un premier homme divinisé,<sup>5</sup> qui se confond d'ordinaire à sa mort avec le soleil disparaissant à l'Occident. Tylor, dans sa "Civilisation Primitive," cite plusieurs exemples du fait.<sup>6</sup> Le premier homme est parfois appelé le vieux,<sup>7</sup> ou le grand père;<sup>8</sup> il est aussi appelé l'homme par excellence, et c'est ainsi qu'on explique, quant aux traditions indo-européennes, le rôle du Manou indien, du Manès lydien,<sup>9</sup> et du Mannus german,<sup>10</sup> sans parler du Minos grec, législateur des hommes et juge des morts; en vertu du même principe, les différents peuples grecs se pour ancêtre un héros éponyme. "L'Adam polynésien," dit donnaient chacun Tylor, "s'appelait Taati, c'est-à-dire, homme, et c'est lui qui est l'ancêtre de la race humaine."<sup>11</sup>

Dé même, le père égyptien de l'humanité, Tum, assimilé au soleil couchant à Héliopolis, et adoré à Memphis sous la forme renaissante de Nefer-Tum<sup>12</sup> (*Tum-est-jeune*), avait pour surnoms celui d'ancien, comme dans le nom de son temple à Héliopolis, le palais princier de l'Ancien,<sup>13</sup> et celui de père,

<sup>1</sup> Naville, "La Destruction des Hommes," l. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Todtenbuch, ch. 2, l. 2.

<sup>3</sup> "Études sur le Rituel," pp. 41, 69, 76.

<sup>4</sup> "Religion et Mythologie de l'Égypte," pp. 191, 231.

<sup>5</sup> H. Spencer, "Principes de Sociologie," traduction française, t. i, pp. 395-400.

<sup>6</sup> T. i, pp. 403-408.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, p. 405.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*, p. 404.

<sup>9</sup> Hérodote, I, 94, et IV, 45.

<sup>10</sup> Tacite, "Mœurs des Germains," 2.

<sup>11</sup> "Civilisation primitive," traduction française, t. i, p. 405.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Brugsch, "Zeitschrift," 1867, p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> *Id.*, 1872, p. 67.

comme dans les exemples cités plus haut. Était-il aussi l'homme par excellence? Il serait difficile d'en douter, puisque son nom veut dire homme. L' *à* initial a disparu du nom de l'homme, de même qu'il tendait à disparaître du nom du dieu, et du mot *tef* ou *âtef*, "père."

Mais si Tum ou Atum est l'homme par excellence, comment ne pas l'identifier avec l'Adam biblique, dont le nom désigne le premier homme ainsi que l'homme en général (au moins pour les Hébreux, car les Babyloniens reconnaissaient deux races, dont l'une était celle des Adamu)?<sup>1</sup>

Les articulations du mot Atum, ou Atem,  $\text{Q} \begin{array}{c} \text{a} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{u} \end{array}$ , correspondent bien à celles du mot אָדָם: à la vérité  $\text{a}$  pour  $\text{a}$  est plus rare que pour  $\text{a}$  et  $\text{a}$ , mais il est usité aussi dans ce rôle, comme l'a remarqué M. de Rougé,<sup>2</sup> et une nuance aussi légère, qui s'efface d'ailleurs à la basse époque, ne saurait empêcher l'assimilation. Aujourd'hui, on nomme Meïdoun l'ancienne ville de Mei-Tum  $\text{---} \begin{array}{c} \text{a} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{u} \end{array} \otimes$ .

On ne saurait non plus objecter que la racine étudiée n'a en égyptien qu'un des sens de l'hébreu qui signifiait "rougir, homme, sang, meutre et terre." D'une part, la perte de quelqu'un des sens d'une racine commune à deux langues est un fait trop fréquent pour qu'on s'y arrête; d'autre part, il se pourrait bien que les mots égyptiens *at*, *aat*, etc., "argile, fléau, couleurs brillantes, émanation et filiation," fussent apparentés à la racine *atem*, car la chute de l'*m* est fréquente à la fin des mots égyptiens; c'est ainsi qu'on trouve, pour le nom du dieu Atum, la forme archaïque *at*,  $\text{Q} \begin{array}{c} \text{a} \\ \text{---} \\ \text{u} \end{array}$ , au tombeau de Séti I, et, dans les transcriptions grecques, Thou et Thoum pour le nom de la ville d'Atum.<sup>3</sup> *At* pour *atem*, dans les sens indiqués, n'aurait donc rien d'irrégulier.

Faudrait-il ici faire un pas de plus, et voir quelque chose de semblable à l'histoire d'Adam au paradis terrestre, dans une scène du monde infernal représentée sur un cercueil saïte

<sup>1</sup> George Smith, "Récit Chaldéen de la Genèse," p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> De Rougé, "Chrestomathie," fascicule i, p. 34; cf. Naville, "The Store-City of Pithom," p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Naville, "The Store-City of Pithom," pp. 5 et 30.

du Louvre, celui de Penpii? Là, un personnage nu et ithyphallique, appelé le Maître des aliments, ou Neb t'efa, se tient debout devant un serpent à deux jambes et à deux bras, qui lui offre un fruit rouge, ou tout au moins un petit objet rond peint en rouge. Cette scène se retrouve en partie au tombeau de Ramsès VI,<sup>1</sup> où le Neb-t'efa est assimilé au pharaon : sur les hypocéphales, elle a pour analogue la présentation, par le serpent, d'un œil sacré à un personnage qui ressuscite<sup>2</sup> (soit que l'œil sacré symbolise là la lumière, soit qu'il y figure l'idée d'offrande, toute offrande pouvant recevoir le nom général d'œil d'Horus, sans doute à cause du pouvoir réconfortant de certains aliments, qu'on croyait dû au feu).<sup>3</sup> Sur une statue panthée, c'est-à-dire relativement récente, du Musée de Turin, c'est à Tum que le serpent apporte l'objet rond.<sup>4</sup>

Le serpent à deux jambes personnifie d'habitude soit l'antique<sup>5</sup> déesse Rennu-t,<sup>6</sup> soit, comme on le pense généralement,<sup>7</sup> le dieu Naheb-ka ou Naheb-ka-u, une des formes du monde infernal,<sup>8</sup> qui avait un sanctuaire à Héracléopolis,<sup>9</sup> et dont la fête du 1<sup>er</sup> Toby,<sup>10</sup> en rapport avec le couronnement des pharaons,<sup>11</sup> et le culte des ancêtres,<sup>12</sup> était aussi recommandée pour *manger dans les champs, avec des fruits dans les deux mains*.<sup>13</sup> Sur les hypocéphales le serpent est très-visiblement mâle ; au sarcophage saïte, il a les bras peints

<sup>1</sup> Champollion, "Notices," t. ii, p. 23 ; cf. "Recueil," v, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. de Horrack, "Revue archéologique," 1862, p. 133 ; Birch, "Proceedings," 1884-5, *passim* ; et Leemans, actes du 6<sup>e</sup> congrès international des Orientalistes, pp. 121-3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Platon, "Timée," et Le Page Renouf, "Transactions," t. viii, 2, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> Champollion, "Notices manuscrites," t. i, Panthéon, p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> Escalier du Musée égyptien au Louvre, B, 49 b.

<sup>6</sup> Papyrus magique Harris, B, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 149, l. 42, et vignette ; ch. 74, et ch. 163, vignettes.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Champollion, "Notices," t. i, p. 766, et t. ii, p. 505.

<sup>9</sup> Pierret, "Études égyptologiques," fascicule ii, p. 16.

<sup>10</sup> Dümichen, "Zeitschrift," 1867, p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> De Rougé, "Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne," fascicule 4, p. 139.

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*, p. 135.

<sup>13</sup> Chabas, "Le Calendrier Sallier," p. 64 ; cf. Lane, "The Modern Egyptians," ch. 26.



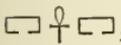
arbre de science, aux fruits savoureux, dans une forme du dieu des lettres et des lettrés, Thoth, qu'un texte du papyrus Sallier I, traduit par M. Goodwin, appelle "grand palmier de soixante coudées sur lequel il y a des cocos, avec des amandes dans les cocos et du lait dans les amandes."<sup>1</sup> Ce palmier est figuré sur quelques scarabées.

Les idées de vie et de science sont rattachées à celle de l'arbre sacré dans un chapitre du Livre des Morts qui remonte au moins à la XII<sup>e</sup> Dynastie :<sup>2</sup>

"Chapitre pour que soit avantagé de la connaissance divine, et pour que ne mange point d'impuretés, le parfait Sebak-aa-pen.

Il dit : O mangeur impur de l'impureté de (son) corps, tremble devant moi ! Je suis le mâle des mâles, qui régit ses demeures. Je vole en épervier, je glousse en oie dans mes actes. Je me pose sur le beau sycomore qui est au milieu de la demenre du double sycomore<sup>3</sup> humide. Sorti, je me pose sur lui, dont on ne se détourne pas ; quiconque est sous lui est un dieu. C'est mon abomination, l'impureté, que je n'en mange pas, que cela n'entre pas dans mon ventre."

Quant aux fruits du Paradis qui donnaient la science ou la divinité, on les retrouve en Égypte dans ceux de l'arbre divin, cèdre, perséa, ou sycomore. Les fruits de cet arbre contenaient les cœurs des mânes ou des dieux, et l'on voit assez souvent, dans les scènes religieuses, les dieux écrivant les noms des rois sur les fruits cordiformes de l'asht, ou perséa.<sup>4</sup> Un roi du moyen Empire s'appellait en conséquence *celui dont le*

*cœur est inscrit*, , expression développée dans un texte de la XXVI<sup>e</sup> Dynastie.<sup>5</sup> Là, l'élu est dans la demeure de la dame du sycomore, dans la demeure de vie, , et on lit, après une courte lacune :

<sup>1</sup> Chabas, "Seconds mélanges," pp. 239, 240.

<sup>2</sup> Aelteste Texte, pl. 41, 42, ll. 39-48 ; pl. 8, ll. 66-71 ; et pl. 29, ll. 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 109, vignette.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Champollion, "Notices," t. I, pp. 123, 250, 580, 596, t. II, p. 588, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Pierret, "Études égyptologiques," fascicule i, p. 45.

“. . . Sorti de Nu-t. O ta mère, ta mère! O grande, grande! O cœur peint sorti d'elle   
 ! ô nourrice, bonne et infatigable! ô bonne berceuse!

Entre en elle, en qui tout le monde entre journellement.” Les cœurs inscrits sont encore cités au ch. 125 du Todtenbuch (l. 46), et Plutarque rapporte qu'on offrait de préférence à Harpocrate le perséa, parce que son fruit a la forme d'un cœur.<sup>1</sup> Baïta, sorte d'Adam à qui les dieux font une femme dans le paradis de la Vallée du Cèdre pour qu'il ne reste pas seul, et dont la légende rappelle parfois celle d'Osiris,<sup>2</sup> avait mis son cœur dans le fruit du cèdre, forme de l'arbre divin qui semble empruntée à la Phénicie. Un papyrus de la bonne époque, celui de Tura dit Neferubnef, représente le soleil sur l'arbre,<sup>3</sup> sorte de buisson ardent, et c'est là une illustration des paroles que prêtait à la déesse-mère la célèbre inscription de Saïs, *ὄν ἐγὼ καρπὸν ἔτεκον, ἥλιος ἐγένετο, le fruit que j'ai enfanté est le Soleil.*<sup>4</sup> A Edfou, il est dit d'Harkhuti assis dans l'arbre que *son nom vit dans les fruits de l'arbre sacré,*



Manger ou prendre un cœur, c'était s'approprier la vie ou l'âme qu'on croyait contenues dans le cœur.<sup>6</sup> Baïta, pour ressusciter, boit donc l'eau dans laquelle infuse son cœur tombé du cèdre,<sup>7</sup> et quand Isis, d'après un autre conte de la même époque, ravit par ruse la divinité contenue dans le nom du vieux roi soleil, *habitant du cèdre*, elle lui enlève son cœur,<sup>8</sup> comme une Ève triomphante.

Que la scène du Neb-t'éfa puisse ou non être rattachée à l'histoire d'Adam, on voit dans tous les cas que le plus grand nombre des particularités de cette histoire existaient

<sup>1</sup> “D'Isis et d'Osiris,” 68.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. Lenormant, “Les Premières Civilisations,” t. i, le Roman des deux Frères.

<sup>3</sup> P. Guieysse, “Le ch. 64 du Rituel,” pl. IV.

<sup>4</sup> “Proclus in Tim.,” i, 30, cité par de Rougé, “Statuette naophore,” p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Naville, “Textes relatifs au mythe d'Horus,” pl. XX.

<sup>6</sup> Horapollon, I, 7; cf. Porphyre, “de Abstinencia,” II, 48.

<sup>7</sup> Papyrus d'Orbiney, pp. 13 et 14.

<sup>8</sup> Pleyte et Rossi, “Les Papyrus de Turin,” pl. cxxxii, 6; et cxxxiii, 13.

en Égypte : l'arbre de vie et de science, le serpent du paradis, l'Eve songeant à s'approprier la divinité, et enfin, Adam lui-même.

Autant qu'on peut se montrer affirmatif dans des matières aussi délicates, deux faits, en résumé, semblent bien vraisemblables. Le premier est l'identité de Cham et de Khem, pères des Chamites et personnages obscènes portant des noms semblables apparentés à des racines semblables. Le second est l'identité d'Atum, l'homme, père des hommes, avec Adam, l'homme, père des hommes. Les ressemblances bien connues qui existent dans les coutumes et la langue entre les civilisations égyptienne et hébraïque, suffisent largement pour expliquer les deux analogies signalées ici.



## ANCIENT TRADITIONS OF SUPERNATURAL VOICES (BATH-KOL).

BY DR. S. LOUIS.

*Read 6th April, 1886.*

The subject of the Paper which I am about to lay before you, the consideration of supernatural voices, belongs to the chapter of ancient folk-lore or popular belief which prevailed in Judæa in the centuries immediately preceding, and those immediately following, the birth of Christ.

If it were possible accurately to fix the measure of credence bestowed upon these recorded manifestations, an interesting light would be thrown on the state of mental and psychological development of the people and the age under review. But the materials for such an inquiry are scanty, and the statements too vague and indefinite.

In the Talmudical writings, the main source of the information upon which my observations are based, the belief in supernatural voices (designated *Bath-Kol*) is never called into question, yet indications are to be found that these voices were not treated by all with the same degree of reverence; it becomes therefore extremely difficult to form general conclusions. In the absence of an accurate *Pistometer*, I shall confine myself to enumerating passages where supernatural voices are mentioned, and drawing such inferences as the respective occasions may suggest.

By way of introduction let me premise a few remarks on the signification of the words "Bath-Kol," in itself a mystical name. Bath-Kol is mostly rendered "the daughter of voice," which is the literal translation, but as the Talmudists have left us no explanation of the term, it is, at this distance of time, all but impossible to ascertain, what meaning they attached to the expression, or why it was so called.

Some writers have explained Bath-Kol to mean "an

echo." This opinion is based on the passage in the Mishnah<sup>1</sup> where it is stated that, if a voice be heard proclaiming that so and so is dead, the authorities may allow the wife to re-marry. I do not see how an echo can be referred to in this passage. An ancient Commentator<sup>2</sup> explains that though no person may have been seen, it is supposed that someone must have been there to speak the words, and that consequently there was a personal witness to the fact. This certainly does not constitute an echo.

Another opinion is that the feminine noun **בת** (daughter) being joined to the word **קול** (voice), points to a soft feeble voice, and that it was so called, because it was looked upon as a supernatural declaration, secondary and inferior in degree to the spirit of prophecy which inspired the men of the biblical canon. This view of Bath-Kol<sup>3</sup> is confirmed by a passage of the Talmud where it is stated<sup>4</sup>: "Since the death of the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, the Holy Spirit has been withdrawn from Israel, and has been replaced by the Bath-Kol." Although this passage shows the light in which the Bath-Kol was regarded by the ancients, it does not offer any definition of the term, the meaning of which remains unexplained. As a mere suggestion I would remark that possibly Bath-Kol only conveyed the vague idea of "something possessed of voice," the word **בת** being used in this connexion in the same sense as in the phrase: **תיבה בת שתי אותיות** "a word possessed of (*i.e.*, consisting of) two letters." and other similar expressions. Considering the very great variety of subjects to which these voices relate, it is impossible to think that the term Bath-Kol could have conveyed the same idea to all, and in all times.

In the two Redactions of the Talmud (the Babylonian and that of Jerusalem) there occur eighty-six passages where the term Bath-Kol is used; nineteen of these are mere repetitions, so that only sixty-seven have to be considered.

Though they differ very much in the degree of importance assigned to them by their respective authors, it cannot be

<sup>1</sup> Jebamoth XVI, 6.

<sup>2</sup> תוספות יום טוב *ad locum*.

<sup>3</sup> Throughout this Paper I have used Bath-Kol as a compound noun.

<sup>4</sup> Sotah 48, b.

maintained that any of them led to a particular course of action, or produced a practical result, differing in that respect materially from the utterances of the Greek oracles.

I have divided the several passages, according to their import, into six groups, as this will be a convenient way of classification.

The Bath-Kol most frequently referred to in the Talmudical writings is that which relates to the disputations of the rival colleges of Hillel and Shamai; the passage runs thus:<sup>1</sup> "For three years the colleges of Hillel and Shamai had been engaged in disputations, each party contending that their decisions should become the rule, when a Bath-Kol went forth announcing: 'Both opinions are the words of the living God, but the opinions of the college of Hillel are to be carried into practice.'"

In order that the bearing of this declaration may be fully understood, a few words of explanation will not be superfluous.

No two names are more familiar to the readers of the Talmud than those of the colleges of Hillel and Shamai. Hillel and Shamai were two celebrated teachers who flourished about the beginning of the Christian era; they were both prominent members of the Sanhedrin (ecclesiastical tribunal), and each had a numerous following of disciples. Hillel entertained liberal views, and endeavoured to introduce modifications of the law in accordance with the exigencies of the age; whilst Shamai followed an austere conservatism, strictly adhering to the letter of the law. Hence arose differences of opinion; and although the points in dispute were not numerous, yet the decision whose opinions were to become normal, was of sufficient importance, as the two parties respectively represented the principles of progress and of stagnation.

Apparently the dictum of the Bath-Kol carried great weight; it is stated:<sup>2</sup> "Since the Bath-Kol has gone forth, the tenets of the school of Hillel must be considered as law, and he who transgresses, deserves death." Although this severe expression is no doubt hyperbolical, yet it is certain that the decision ascribed to the Bath-Kol was

<sup>1</sup> Erubin 13, b.

<sup>2</sup> Jerus. Berachoth VI. a.

universally adopted. We find, however, that it was not in reality the Bath-Kol which is supposed to have decided between the disputants; for under the presidency of Gamaliel II (about 80 to 118 A.D.), the question was submitted to the votes of the ecclesiastical tribunal, and the majority voted in favour of Hillel; the preference given to his teachings was therefore established in the regular way, and independently of the Bath-Kol.

It was also felt in early times<sup>1</sup> that the words of which the message consisted, contained a contradiction in themselves; seeing that the opinions of the two parties were, in several instances, diametrically opposed to each other, they could not both be held to be the words of the living God.

There is another passage in which the Bath-Kol is recorded to have declared in favour of a special opinion. Elieser ben Hyrkanos was a noted sage who lived in the first century after Christ; on several points he held opinions differing from those of the majority of his colleagues, especially in regard to the laws concerning the defilement by contact. One day<sup>2</sup> Elieser was persistently defending his opinions against those of his colleagues, without being able to convince them; at last he said, "If I am right, may this carob-tree bear testimony"; immediately the carob-tree moved from its place for a distance of 100 cubits; but the colleagues said: "We cannot accept proof from a carob-tree." Again Elieser said: "If I am right, may this brook bear testimony"; hereupon the brook turned its course backwards; but the colleagues said: "the brook cannot be accepted as evidence." Again Elieser said: "If I am right, may the walls of this house of study bear witness." Then the walls began to totter, and were about to fall, when R. Joshua, one of the colleagues, reproved them, saying: "If the sages dispute in matters of the law, what concern is it of yours"? Upon this, the walls, in obedience to R. Joshua, did not fall, and to mark the honour due to R. Elieser, they did not return to their erect position, but remained standing in a slanting direction. Once more Elieser said: "If I am right, may heaven bear witness." Then there came forth a Bath-

<sup>1</sup> Jerus. Tosefoth.

<sup>2</sup> Baba Metzia 59, b.

Kol saying: "Why are you contending against R. Elieser, whose opinion is to be normal in all instances." Hereupon R. Joshua rose, and quoting the words of Deuter. (xxx, 12), exclaimed: "The law is not in the heavens . . . . . we take no heed of the Bath-Kol, for the law commands us to be guided by the majority."

Here the decision of the Bath-Kol was not accepted as final, and R. Elieser, refusing to yield to his colleagues, was excommunicated.

These are the only two instances in which the Bath-Kol decides between learned disputants and, to adopt an idea of Gfroerer's,<sup>1</sup> undertakes the same function as was attributed to the Holy Ghost in the Councils of the Catholic Church, when heresies were being judged.

I may here remark that these voices very frequently occur in couples, that is to say, that two passages are found very similar in character and import, with some slight variation; it is worthy of notice that the same voice occurs twice in the New Testament on different occasions, namely, Matthew iii, 17; and xvii, 5.

I will next refer to two voices, stated to have proceeded from the Holy of Holies, and to have been heard respectively by the High Priest for the time being. It is related<sup>2</sup> that Simon the Just (who was High Priest about 220 B.C.) heard a voice proceeding from the Holy of Holies, and saying: "The host is annihilated which the enemy thought of leading against the Sanctuary, Gaskalgas is slain, and his decrees are frustrated"; they noted the time and found it correct. Gaskalgas is supposed to mean Seleucus, one of the kings of Syria, but it is not very clear to what particular event the Bath-Kol referred.

It is further related,<sup>3</sup> that Jochanan, who held the office of High Priest about 130 B.C., heard a voice proceeding from the Holy of Holies, and saying: "The youth who have gone to war to Antiochia, have been victorious." This is said to have happened on the day of Atonement, whilst the High Priest was performing his functions in the Sanctuary, and to have

<sup>1</sup> Gfroerer, "Jahrhundert des Heils," page 175.

<sup>2</sup> Sotah 33, a.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

reference to an expedition against Samaria, in which the two sons of the High Priest were then engaged, and which they brought to a successful issue.

These voices are the only two which, in the wording of the original, have the ring of oracular utterances about them. It is likewise to be observed that, whilst the phrase generally runs: "a Bath-Kol came forth," in these two instances the expression used is: "he *heard* a Bath-Kol." There are very few other passages, where a person is stated to have *heard* a voice; there is one<sup>1</sup> where a sage enters one of the ruins at Jerusalem, and hears a plaintive voice bewailing the fate of Israel, and there is another<sup>2</sup> where a slave is encouraged to revolt by a Bath-Kol which he hears.

In all these cases the Bath-Kol reflects the thoughts which occupied the minds of the individuals in moments of intense agitation, and is thus capable of a psychological explanation.

As a linguistic peculiarity it may be noted that in the two passages recording the voices heard by the High Priests, *בת קול*, "the daughter of voice," is treated as a *masculine* noun, the pronoun and verb in agreement with it being *שהוא אומר*.

The next group of passages in which Bath-Kol occurs, refers to men who became martyrs to their faith. In all countries and in all ages, the life and death of martyrs have been associated with supernatural phenomena, and the records of Jewish martyrs make no exception to this rule.

In the first century after Christ, we meet with Chanina ben Tradjon,<sup>3</sup> who paid with his life for his devotion to the ancient faith. He was condemned to be burnt alive, and flakes of wool soaked in water were placed upon the region of the heart with the object of prolonging his tortures. The chief executioner addressed him saying: "If I make the flames fiercer and remove the flakes of wool, wilt thou assure me that I shall participate in the bliss of the future life"? Chanina answered in the affirmative. Hereupon the chief executioner increased the flames and removed the wool; forthwith the martyr expired; the executioner himself

<sup>1</sup> Bérachoth 3, a.

<sup>2</sup> Baba Bathra 3, b.

<sup>3</sup> Abodah Sarah 18, a.

stumbled and fell into the fire; and there came forth a Bath-Kol declaring: "Chanina ben Tradjon and the executioner are destined to participate in the bliss of the future life."

Another Bath-Kol<sup>1</sup> refers to the death of the famous R. Akiba (in the first century A.C.) who was put to a cruel death under the governorship of T. Annius Rufus. In his last agonies Akiba uttered the doxological verse:<sup>2</sup> "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God the Lord is *One*," and he dwelt on the concluding word "one" until life was extinct. Then a Bath-Kol came forth, exclaiming: "Happy art thou, Akiba, whose soul took flight with the word **אֶחָד** (one)," that is while the confession of his faith in the unity of God was upon his lips.

Another Bath-Kol declared: "Happy art thou, Akiba. Thou art destined to participate in the bliss of the future life."

This phrase, "destined to participate in the bliss of the future life" is adopted as a standard phrase in Bath-Kols; it is applied not only to martyrs, but also to other personages, and forms the text of ten passages in the Talmud.

Another Bath-Kol<sup>3</sup> connected with martyrdom relates to the mother, whose seven sons were put to death for refusing to worship idols. After the execution of her sons, the mother threw herself from a house-top, and died. A Bath-Kol hereupon came forth, declaring in the words of Ps. cxiii, 9: "The mother of the sons is joyful."

In these legends, the Bath-Kol serves the double purpose of expressing a high sense of admiration for the constancy of faith displayed by the sufferers, and of furnishing a pathetic ending to a tragic narrative.

Somewhat similar in character to the voices just mentioned are those which refer to eminent personages; in these instances the Bath-Kol represents the *emphatic* expression of a current opinion. The following may serve as specimens:—

One day<sup>4</sup> the sages were assembled in the upper chamber of the house of Gorla in Jericho, when a Bath-Kol came forth from heaven, declaring: "There is one among you who deserves that the divine spirit should descend upon him, but his generation is unworthy of such a grace." The eyes of all were at once fixed on Hillel the Elder.

<sup>1</sup> Berachoth 61, b.

<sup>2</sup> Deuter. vi, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Gittin 57, b.

<sup>4</sup> Sotah 48, b.

An identical announcement at another time drew the attention of the assembly on Samuel the Younger.

These Bath-Kols illustrate the high estimation in which these individuals were held by their contemporaries.

Another Bath-Kol applies to Jonathan ben Usiel, the noted paraphrast of some portions of the Scriptures; the passage runs thus:<sup>1</sup> "The paraphrase of the prophets is the work of Jonathan ben Usiel . . . . . a Bath-Kol went forth saying: 'Who is he that has laid open my secrets unto the children of men?' Jonathan ben Usiel rose and said: 'I am he that has laid open thy secrets unto the children of men. It is well known unto Thee that I have not worked for my own glory, nor for the glory of my kindred, but I have worked for Thy glory, in order that differences may not be multiplied in Israel.'" He further wished to prepare a similar paraphrase of the Hagiographa, but a Bath-Kol went forth saying unto him: "Thou hast done enough."

It appears to me that this legend, in affixing the stamp of a high authority to the paraphrase in question, at the same time establishes two opinions. In the first place it proclaims the great value attached to this paraphrase, as it furnished intelligible explanations of many passages which were obscure or ambiguous; and secondly, it expresses the belief that *only* the paraphrase of the prophets was the work of Jonathan ben Usiel, and that paraphrases of other portions of the Scriptures, though they bore his name, were not considered to be the productions of that author.

There are in all fourteen passages where the Bath-Kol glorifies an individual; some of them<sup>2</sup> relate to the funeral of Rabbi Jehudah the prince or the Saint (who died towards the end of the second century of the present era); one Bath-Kol<sup>3</sup> proclaims the piety and frugal habits of Chanina ben Dosa; and several refer to King David and King Solomon.

There is one Bath-Kol which illustrates a popular idea. Every day, it is maintained,<sup>4</sup> a Bath-Kol goes forth and proclaims: "the daughter of so-and-so is destined for so-and-so." This appears to be the equivalent of the proverbial saying that marriages are made in heaven.

<sup>1</sup> Megillah 3, *a*.

<sup>2</sup> Ketuboth 103, *b*.

<sup>3</sup> Taanith 24, *b*.

<sup>4</sup> Meed Katan 18,

Another group of Bath-Kols consists of narratives which have the character of parables or legends.

It is related<sup>1</sup> of Titus Vespasianus, the Roman general who accomplished the conquest of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple, that he took the holy vessels and wrapt them up in the Curtain of the Sanctuary (which had always been an object of special veneration to the Jews), and took them on board his ship, to exhibit them in Rome as the trophies of his victory. During the voyage a storm rose and nearly wrecked the vessel; then Titus said: It seems to me, the God of this people has only power on the water; Pharaoh oppressed the Israelites, he was drowned in the sea; Sisera was sent against them, his host was swept away by the river; and now He rises against me to precipitate me into the sea; if He is really mighty, let Him come on dry land and do battle with me. Hereupon a Bath-Kol addressed him saying: "Thou wicked man, within My universe there is a small creature called a gnat, come on dry land, and do battle with it." When Titus landed, a gnat crept into his nostril, reached the brain, and tormented him for seven years.

This legend probably alludes to the circumstance, that Titus is said to have suffered from an affection of the brain during the latter part of his life; to the Jews it exemplified a visitation of Providence as a punishment for blasphemous language.

Another legend relates:<sup>2</sup> Resh Lakesh was one day marking the tombs of various learned men; when he approached the spot where R. Chija had been buried, the grave vanished from his sight. Resh Lakesh, being troubled in his mind, said: "O Lord of the Universe, I have not studied the law as thoroughly as he did." A Bath-Kol then came forth saying unto him: "Thou hast studied just as profoundly as he did, but thou has not, like him, spread the knowledge of the law."

This legend illustrates the maxim, that the diffusion of knowledge is more meritorious than unproductive research, or as we would express it, that practice is better than theory

<sup>1</sup> Gittin 56, b.

<sup>2</sup> Baba Metzia 85, b.

In like manner we meet with several passages, where a Bath-Kol is employed to emphasize a moral maxim, or to furnish confirmation of an established truism.

I now come to the last group of Bath-Kols, rather a numerous section (there are fourteen of them), but a group which in my opinion could never have been regarded with the same reverence as those which I have already mentioned, I allude to Bath-Kols which served as more or less ingenious expositions of biblical verses for homiletic purposes. These could never have been objects of popular belief, nor could it reasonably have been intended by the speakers that they should be believed; but they formed a species of metaphor often employed by public orators, and probably relished by the audiences. I will cite two specimens, so that my hearers may be able to form an idea of the character of these Bath-Kols.

It is related:<sup>1</sup> When Nebuchadnezzar arrived in the inferior regions, all the inhabitants of the lower world quaked with fear, lest he should tyrannise over them as he had tyrannised on earth. But a Bath-Kol went forth, quoting Ezekiel xxxii, 19:—"Whom dost thou surpass in excellence? go thou, and be thou laid with the uncircumcised."

Another Bath-Kol, similar in purport, is found in the Midrash<sup>2</sup> (an ancient exposition of the Pentateuch): When Abraham returned from Mount Moriah, whither he had gone to offer his son as a sacrifice, he thought over the events of the day, and was troubled in his mind, fearing that his son had been found unacceptable as a sacrifice. A Bath-Kol then came forth, quoting Ecclesiastes ix, 7: "Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart; for God accepteth thy works." As a story, this is a sad anachronism, but the application is ingenious.

These are the principal voices recorded in the Talmud. There are, as you will have observed, very few among them which have a prophetic or oracular tendency; one particular feature which distinguishes them from the oracles of the Greeks is this, that whilst the declarations of the oracles were mostly called forth by questions submitted to the presiding deity, these Bath-Kols of the Talmud were all

<sup>1</sup> Sabbath 149, *b*.

<sup>2</sup> Vayikra rabbah, 20.

spontaneous, with the one exception where Elieser is said to have appealed to heaven for a decision.

The belief in such supernatural voices was, however, not confined to the Jews; the Greek poets also make allusion to them; Sophocles<sup>1</sup> speaks of *φήμαι μαντικαί*, "prophetic voices," and Homer refers to them in several passages. But the most remarkable instance of a supernatural voice recorded in Greek literature is that related by Plutarch, which proclaimed the death of Pan. As the details are rather interesting, I will transcribe the passage.

Plutarch relates:<sup>2</sup> "Once upon a time Episthenes (a teacher of grammar) made a voyage to Italy, and embarked on board a ship conveying merchandise and several passengers. When it was evening, off the Echinad Islands, the wind dropped, and the ship carried by the current was come near Paxi; most of the passengers were awake, and many were still drinking, after having had supper. All of a sudden a voice was heard from the Isle of Paxi of someone calling 'Thamus' with so loud a cry as to fill them with amazement. This Thamus was an Egyptian pilot known by name to many of those on board. Called twice he kept silence; but on the third summons he replied to the caller, and the latter raising yet higher his voice, said: 'When thou comest over against Palodes, announce that the great Pan is dead.' All upon hearing this were filled with consternation, and debated with themselves, whether it were better to do as ordered, or not to make themselves too busy, and to let it alone. So Thamus decided that if there should be a wind, he would sail past and hold his tongue; but should there fall a calm and smooth sea off the island, he would proclaim what he had heard. When therefore they were come over against Palodes, there being neither wind nor swell of sea, Thamus looking out from the stern, called out to the land what he had heard, namely, that the great Pan is dead; and hardly had he finished speaking, when there was a mighty cry not of one but of many voices mingled together in wondrous manner. And inasmuch as many persons were then present,

<sup>1</sup> *Oedipus Rex*, 723.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, on the cessation of Oracles, translated by C. W. King.

the story got spread about in Rome, and Thamus was sent for by Tiberius Cæsar; and Tiberius gave so much credence to the tale, that he made inquiry and research concerning this Pan, and the learned men about him, who were numerous, conjectured he was the one that was born from Hermes and Penelope."

As this event is related to have happened in the reign of Tiberius, it would be about contemporary with most of the voices recounted in the Jewish writings.

In forming an estimate of the amount of credence given to these narratives by the people of Judæa, we ought altogether to leave out of consideration those Bath-Kols which, as has been pointed out, owed their origin to the peculiar style of homiletic discourses then in vogue. That this style *was* in vogue, may perhaps be taken as proof that the standard of mental culture among the populace was not a very high one; but we are not justified in assuming it to have been so low as to accept these legends or metaphors for real facts. Many of the other recorded voices were most probably believed by the people, so that the Bath-Kol was recognized as a supernatural manifestation, a phenomenon for which it was not necessary to account.

But as regards the educated classes, we may accept as the key-note to their opinion the words used by R. Joshua: "We take no heed of the Bath-Kol." It has been observed above, that although the decision in favour of the college of Hillel is frequently referred to, it was in fact arrived at by a regular majority of votes; and as to the other decision in favour of R. Elieser, it was entirely set aside by the ecclesiastical authorities then in power. It is therefore evident that the authorities at least did not acknowledge the guidance of the Bath-Kol, and certainly did not claim for it a *divine* origin. There were even scruples raised, whether to hearken to such voices was not a transgression of the Mosaic prohibition:<sup>1</sup> "Ye shall not use enchantments."

We must, however, not forget that the time of which we are speaking was a thaumaturgical age, still haunted by the lingering echoes of the oracles of Greece, which had only

<sup>1</sup> Levit. xix, 26.

just been hushed into silence ; that the locality was Palestine, the country where the atmosphere was heavily charged with mystic sounds, the cradle land of visions and prophetic dreams ; that the Jews were a people proudly clinging to the ancient traditions of their race, imbued with the belief that their ancestors had been favoured by a direct intercourse with their Heavenly Father, and loth to accept the bitter reflection that the Divine Presence had departed from amidst them. No wonder then that they were disposed to lend a willing ear to legends and parables, and that the belief in supernatural agencies formed a comforting element in the dark days of captivity, and the severe trials of persecution.

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APPENDIX.

The following is a complete list of the passages in the Talmud in which Bath-Kol occurs :—

A. Babylonian Talmud :—Berachoth 3, *a* ; 17, *b* ; 52, *a* ; 61, *b* (twice). Sabbath 14, *b* ; 33, *b* ; 56, *b* (twice) ; 88, *a* ; 149, *b*. Erubin 7, *a* ; 13, *b* ; 21, *b* ; 54, *b*. Pesachim 114, *a*. Chagigah 13, *a* ; 14, *b* ; 15, *a*. Moed Katan 9, *a* ; 16, *b* ; 18, *b*. Rosh Hashanah 21, *b*. Joma 9, *b*. Taanith 21, *b* ; 24, *b* ; 25, *b* ; 29, *a*. Megillah 3, *a* (twice) ; 12, *a* ; 29, *a* ; 32, *a*. Jebamoth 14, *a* ; 122, *a*. Ketuboth 77, *b* ; 103, *b* ; 104, *a*. Gittin 56, *b* ; 57, *b*. Sotah 2, *a* ; 10, *b* (twice) ; 13, *b* ; 21, *a* ; 33, *a* (twice) ; 48, *b* (three times). Baba Metzia 59, *b* ; 85, *a* ; 85, *b* ; 86, *a*. Baba Bathra 3, *b* ; 58, *a* ; 73, *b* ; 74, *a*. Abodah Sarah 10, *b* ; 17, *a* ; 18, *a* ; Sanhedrin 11, *a* (twice) ; 22, *a* ; 39, *b* ; 94, *a* ; 96, *b* (twice) ; 99, *b* ; 102, *a* ; 104, *b* (twice). Makoth 23, *b* (three times). Horioth 12, *a* ; Chulin 44, *a* ; 86, *a* ; 87, *a* ; Kerithoth 5, *b*.

B. Jerusalem Talmud :—Berachoth I, 7. Peah I, 5. Kelaim IX, 4. Shebiith IX, 1. Sabbath VI, 9. Chagigah II, 1. Moed Katan III, 1. Taanith IV, 8. Jebamoth I, 6. Ketuboth XII, 3. Kidushin I, 1. Sotah III, 3 ; VII, 5 ; IX, 12 ; IX, 17. Abodah Sarah III, 1. Sanhedrin X, 2. Horioth III, end.



## THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM.

*From the Roumanian Text, Discovered and Translated*

By DR. M. GASTER.

*Read 2nd February, 1886.*

At the moment when the power of prophecy ceased, its place was taken by the mysterious metaphysical and emblematical *vision*, in which the future was likewise prognosticated, but in an allegorical and fantastical form.

There grew up the *apocalyptic* literature, especially in the period of time which elapsed between the Book of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John, and in the following two or three centuries.

Almost at as remote a period as it first arose, the *apocalyptic*, or rather the *apocryphal* literature, was seized upon by all who were desirous of exercising an influence on the masses. In the first instance, the heretical sects of Christianity utilized it. The populace, as a rule, understands nothing of the subtle and higher questions of dogmatism, and it is most easily approached by those who speak its accustomed language, by those who enter into its views, who use its word-pictures and metaphors. What could serve better to popularise creeds which branched off from the straight road of orthodoxy, than to present them in the guise of a religious story, of a biblical allegory, of an apocalyptic vision? Special books of religious and prophetic tendency were therefore ascribed to all the patriarchs from Adam onwards. Each sect had a special predilection for a different personage, and various books were written, or in some cases ancient ones were altered to suit the requirements of the sects, and thus these works increased in number.

Contest with the ruling Church began at the same early period. *Indices* of these heretical books were drawn up, in which their destruction was urged as a sacred duty.

Strange to say, *almost all* the forbidden *Apocryphas* have nevertheless been preserved to us. To the explorer in the territory of folk-lore opportunities frequently present themselves of recognizing the ancient apocryphal stories amongst the popular literature of the middle ages. *All*, however, have not been preserved from destruction. Amongst others there has been missing until now an apocryphal story concerning the *death of Abraham*. It is referred to by *Epiphanius* (adv. hæresos, 39, 5), and also by *Athanasius* (Synopsis). Nikephorus (Stichometria, No. 6) also speaks of an apocryphon of about 300 verses, with reference to Abraham.<sup>1</sup>

This apocryphal story, of which until now nothing certain has been known, has been preserved in the old Slavonian and in the old Roumanian language. In the former, as far as I know, it is only in two MSS. (of which one is a fragment), and in Roumanian it is in *four* MSS., of which one is the translation of the Slavonic fragment. The complete text, discovered by myself, in three MSS., which are all in my possession, I propose to give now in a literal translation.

Before I proceed, I should wish to say a few words concerning this text, the more ancient of the two fragments, and especially regarding the connection of *this* text with that of the Slavonic one of the sixteenth century.

The first incomplete text, which, as I have before stated,<sup>2</sup> entirely agrees with that of the contemporaneous Slavonic, is only distinguished from the more complete text by greater brevity, and some features which are wanting in the latter.

The complete Slavonic text<sup>3</sup> is distinguished from our present one only by some unimportant features, and therefore points to a common and more ancient source. That the source of the Slavonic text (and hence of the Roumanian)

<sup>1</sup> E. Schürer, "Geschichte des jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Christi," II, p. 688, Leipzig, 1886.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Prof. B. P. Hăşdeu, Cuvente den ătrâni. II, Bucuresti 1880, pp. 189-194.

<sup>3</sup> *Tihonracov*, Pamjatniki otrechennoj russkoj literatury. I, St. Petersburg, 1863, pp. 79-90.

is Greek, is beyond all doubt. The fathers of the Church, already quoted, expressly say so. But besides this we have historical and linguistic proofs, which necessarily point to a Greek origin.

Of the linguistic proofs I will only adduce one here. The name of the place—as we will see—where the angel first meets Abraham is called *Drūa the Black*, which was taken from the falsely rendered *Αρὺα τῆς Μαύβρη*, the translation of the Hebrew *Elonē Mamre*. *Drūa* was considered as a proper name, and *Mamre*, changed into *Mavri*, was rendered by the Slavic translator as *black*. Thus arose this otherwise inexplicable name.

Of the historical proofs, the most incontestible lies in the fact that all theological literature, in the widest sense of the word, reached the Slavic through the medium of the Greek, and that even a Greek MS. of it seems to be preserved in the library of Vienna.<sup>1</sup>

The stories, however, came originally from the poetical East, with its fantastic imagery, and amidst the influences of similar pictures of olden times. The fathers of the Church, who have preserved for us the name of this apocrypha, have also recorded the name of the sect in whose midst it first arose, namely, the sect of the *Sethians*, who beheld in Seth the son of Adam the true Christ and Redeemer from hereditary sin.

It would carry me too far afield were I to be more explicit as to this, and especially were I to dilate on the heretical agitation in Asia Minor, and to follow out in these texts traces which have been almost obliterated by time. In reference to this I wish to point out the “*threefold Judgment*” mentioned here, of which the orthodox church knows nothing.

At every step we meet parallels to the various incidents of this legendary story, both in the corresponding Jewish literature, and in the *apocalyptic* which has developed out of it.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Fabricius*, Codex pseudepigraphicus Vet. Test. I, pp. 417–418, and, *M. Gaster*, Literatura populară română, București, 1883, pp. 311–317.

I will reserve to myself for some future work the investigation of these parallels. For the present it will suffice if I merely refer to the principal sources, or rather the most striking parallels.

As an example present to the mind of the authors of this legend, I would cite the Apocalypse of the Apostle Paul,<sup>2</sup> especially the Oriental version, which has also been published in English from a Syriac original. In this legend the Apostle, who has been carried up to heaven, beholds a very similar spectacle of the Judgment after death.

The second part of the legend of Abraham, that relating to his death, shows a decided leaning towards the widely spread legends (of Jewish literature) relating to the death of Moses.

That some features have been altered, whilst others have been superadded, will excite no surprise in those who are even but partially acquainted with this very luxuriant literature.

In conclusion, I would here set at rest an objection which is contained in the question, as to whether this text is actually the ancient and hitherto undiscovered apocalypse?

The road usually taken by such apocrypha precludes any possible doubt. Brought from the East, they were in an early period translated from the Greek into the Slavonic, and thence they became also by translation part of Roumanian literature. Similarly to these manuscript stories, the "Lists" of heretical books were translated into the Slavonic, and here we find our text incontestibly figuring amongst the forbidden books.

*Origen*, in quoting this text, appears to labour under a slight misconception. The Angel of Good and the Angel of Evil do not dispute with regard to the salvation of Abraham *himself*, but in Abraham's presence the angels dispute concerning that of another soul. This is meant by the story related in the text, when the soul was placed in the mid-way until it was released by the prayer of Abraham.

Out of the three MSS. in my possession I have reconstructed the critical Roumanian text, which is published here

<sup>2</sup> Ed. *Tischendorf*, *Apocalypses Apocryphæ*, p. 34, *seq.*

for the first time. As a basis I took the MS. of *c.* 1750, which although fragmentary at the beginning and end, nevertheless represents the best version. In ( ) I included the corrections I considered necessary, and in [ ] the additions taken either from MS. *b* (1818), or MS. *c* (1777), or from both. The transcription is strictly phonetical, following the ordinary manner used in publishing Roumanian texts. It is as follows: letters have the Italian value, ț = tz; ș = sh; â, ă, î = e (Lepsius); ȳ = y. Every Cyrillian letter, in which the texts are originally written, is reproduced by a Latin letter; and I went so far as to preserve even the dialectical forms, for the MSS. bear a *Moldavian* character. The translation is of the reconstructed text, which has been divided by me in chapters.



*The Life and Death of our Father Abraham the Just, written according to the Apocalypse in nice words. Introduction.*

1. Our father Abraham lived more than 175 years. In his lifetime he was vigorous, very gentle, compassionate and just towards all, and very hospitable. He dwelt not far from the place called *Dria the Black*, at the cross-road by which all strangers had to pass. He received the wayfarers and entertained them. Rich and poor, kings and princes, boyards and voyevods, all neighbours, the weak and the sick, all were treated with the greatest kindness, for Abraham was good and just, and loving all men, till he attained to extreme old age, and the time and the hour drew nigh when he was to taste the cup of death.

2. Then the Lord called the archangel *Mihail*, and said unto him: Go down, *Mihail*, to my friend Abraham, and remind him of death, for I have promised him to increase his

*Vieața și moartea părintelui nostru cel drept Avraam, scrisă după Apocalipsi cu cuvinte frumoase foarte. Cuvânt înainte.*

1. Trăit-au părintele nostru Avraam, întru vieața lui peste tot 175 de ani; și într' acești ani cu mare putere și cu multă blândețe, și cu milostiviri și cu dreptate asupra tuturor; și era foarte iubitoriu de oaspeți. Și lăcuința lui era lângă *Dia* (c. Dria) cea neagră, întru răpaosul ce venia drumurile, de să petrecea streinii; și priimiea călătorii, și-i ospăta, bogații, bolnavii, împărații, domnii, boerii, voevozii, vecinii, slabi, pre toți îi cinstiea, că era bun, drept și pre toți îi iubiea, până ajunse la bătrânețe și venea vremea și ciasul să guste din paharul morții.

2. Atuncea Domnul Dumnezeu chieamă pre Arhanghelul Mihail, și-i zise: pogoară-te, Mihaile! la prietenul meu Avraam, și-i pomenește de moartea lui; că m'am făgăduit săi-

property and to multiply his descendants like the stars of heaven and like the sand of the sea. And I have blessed him. Therefore he is now richer and more just than all in his goodness and hospitality which he displays until his end.

3. And the archangel *Mihail*, who sat before the Lord, went out of His presence and descended to Abraham in *Dria the Black*. And he found our father Abraham near the village with his servants and also other young men. And the archangel approached him. Abraham seeing him, thought he was a soldier, being so modest and fair in his appearance.

4. Then the aged Abraham arose in order to meet the archangel. And the archangel said, "Rejoice, venerable father, the chosen one of the Lord, righteous soul, friend of the Ruler of heaven." And Abraham said to the angel, "Rejoice, oh chief of the hosts (Arhistratig)! Thou, who art greater than any of the children of men, be welcome on my return home. Kindly relate me, oh young man, whence thou comest, and whence it is that thou art so beautiful?"

înmulțese averea lui și sămănța lui ca stelele cerului și ca nisipul mării, și l'am blagoslovit; pentru că (l.c. aceea) iaste mai avut și mai drept decât toți întru toată bunătatea lui, iubitoriu de oaspeți până în sfârșit iaste.

3. Iară Arhanghelul Mihail eșă de la fața lui Dumnezeu, și merse și să pogorâ cătră Avraam la Diea cea neagră. Și află pre părintele Avraam aproape de satu cu oamenii lui și cu alți voinici adunați; și merse Arhanghelul cătră dânsul. Iară Avraam deaca-l văzu, îi păru că iaste ostaș, că era curat și cuvios cu frumusețe.

4. Deci să sculă bătrânul Avraam de-l întâmpină pre Arhanghelul. Iară Arhanghelul zise: bucură-te, cinstite părinte, alesul lui Dumnezeu, drepte suflete, prietinul lui Dumnezeu ai susului. Adică și Avraam zăsă cătră înger: bucură-te, stratilate! mai multu decât toți fiii oamenilor; bine ai vinit la a noastră plecare. Cu a ta voi, spune-mi-o de unde ai venit, tănărul? Spune-mi (de unde) a ta frumsăță?

5. And the Arhistratig replied, "Oh, just man! I come from the Great City, and I am sent by the Great Ruler, to say to His chosen friend, that he should be prepared, because the Ruler calls him." And Abraham replied, "Well! Let us go back to the village." And the Arhistratig said, "Let us go!"

6. And they went to the nearest village, and sat down to rest. And Abraham said to his servants, "Go to the field, where the horses are, and fetch two that are fit for riding, and get them ready, so that I may mount one, and the stranger the other one." But the Arhistratig said to Abraham, "Let them not bring the horses, because I do not ride on a beast with four legs. Oh, thou righteous soul, let us go on foot to thy pure abode." And Abraham replied, "Let it be so." And they walked from that village to his house.

7. On the way there grew a lofty and mighty cypress. And the tree exclaimed, by the will of God, with a loud voice of man: "Holy one! Holy one! Holy one! The

5. Iar Arhistratigul zăasă: eu, drepte omule, de la cetate cè mare viu, și sânt trimes de la împăratul cel mare, ca si zăcu prietinelui celui măi ales, ca să să gătească, că împăratul îl cheamă cătră el!—Și zăasă Avraam: alei dar, domnul meu! să mergimu până la sat!—Iară Arhistratigul zăasă: să mergim dar!

6. Și marsără în sat strein, și șazură de odihni(ră). Și zăasă Avraam ficiorilor lui: păsați în oborul cailor și aduceț doi cai blânzi, învățați, și îi gătiț, să încalec eu pre unul și streinul pre altul. Iar Arhistratig(ul) zăasă cătră Avraam: Să nu aducă cai, că eu mă fereseu ca să nu șaz pre vită cu patru picioare; ce blem, drepte suflete, pedestri la casa ta cè cinstită. Și zăasă (Avraam): adevărat să fie! Și veniră de la acel sat până la casa lui.

7. Și pre cale unde vinè era un chiparos înmalt și des; din voe lui Dumnezeu striga copaciul cu glas mare de om, și zăasă: Sfinte! Sfinte! Sfinte! Domnul Dumnezeu te

Lord God calls thee!" And Abraham held his peace, and replied not, for he thought the Arhistratig had not heard the voice of the tree.

8. Then they approached the courtyard, and sat down. Isaac, the son of Abraham, saw the face of the angel, and said to his mother Sarah, "Look at the man who is sitting with my father, he does not appear to me to be born from a human being." And Isaac ran to the angel, and bowed down before him. And the angel blessed him, and said, "May God give thee what he has given to thy father and thy mother!"

9. And Abraham said to Isaac, "Take the basin and pour in some water, so that we may wash the feet of this stranger, who comes from afar to us, and who is weary." And Isaac ran to the well and poured water into the basin and brought it. And Abraham went to wash the feet of the angel, and Abraham sighed and wept on account of this stranger. And Isaac seeing his father weep, wept also, and his tears ran down. And the angel seeing them both weeping, wept with

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chiamă! Iară Avraam tăcu și nu vru să zăcă nimică, că-i păru că nu aude Arhistratigul glasul copaciului.

8. Decî dacă să apropiere de curte șazuură; și văzu Isac fiul lui Avraam fața îngerului și zăsă cătră Sara maica-sa; ia caută de vezi, ce om este acesta ce șade cu tatăl meu! că nu este cunoscut (l. născut) de om de pre pământ. Și alergă Isac spre înger, de-i să închină lui. Și-l blagoslovi îngerul și zăsă: să-ți dăruiască Dumnezeu ce au dăruit tătâne-tău și maicii tale!

9. Zăsă Avraam lui Isac: Ia lighianul și toarnă apă într'ansul, să spălăm picioarele acestui streinu, că (de) departe vine la noi și este ostenit. Și alergă Isac la puț și turnă apă în lighian și adusă. Și marsă Avraam de-i spălă picioarele îngerului, și suspină Avraam și lăcrămă pentru acestu streinu. Și văsu (l. văzu) Isac pre tatăl său plângând, și plănsă și el și lăcrămă. Și văzu îngerul pre amândoi că plăngu, și

them, and his tears fell down into the basin. And these tears turned into precious stones. And when Abraham beheld this miracle, he took away the jewels and hid the secret in his heart.

10. And Abraham said to his beloved son, "Go into the room and get ready two beds, one for me and the other for the stranger, because he is a wayfarer; and prepare everything well and carefully, and put candles in the candlesticks, and prepare the table, and light the incense-burner, and bring sweet smelling herbs of the paradise and put them on the floor, so that they may scent the place, and light seven candles, and we will sit down and rejoice with the stranger, who is greater than any human being on the earth, and mightier than kings." And Isaac prepared everything carefully, according to the directions of his father. And Abraham went with the angel in the room, where the beds were ready, and they both sat down, one on one bed and one on the other, and between them stood the table with food.

plănsă și el și lacrimă; și-i picară lacrimăle în lighian și să făcură pietri scumpe fără-de-preț. Deci văzând Avraam minune ca aciasta pre pământ priimi [b.c. piatrile] întru furiș de ascunsă taîna întru inima lui.

10. Iar Avraam zăsă cătră fiul său cel iubit: pas fiul mîeu în cămară, de rădică doă paturî și așterni; întru unul să mă culcu eu, iară în cela-l-ant streinul, că este călătoriu; și grijaști foarte bine și frumos, și pune lumănări în sfeșnice și masa cè bună, și tîmaiază cu tîmăe de cè cînstită, și iarbă de cè mirositoare din raîu să aduci, să pui în casi să mirosască; și aprinde șapte candelî, să șădem și să ne vesălim cu acest strein astăz; că acesta este [mai] proslăvit decăt toță oamenii de pre pământ, și decăt împăratul! Și găti Isac foarte bine după graiul tătăne-său. Și luă Avraam pre înger și marse unde era paturile așternute, și șezură amăndoî, unul pre un pat și altul pre alt pat și între ei era masă plină de bucate.

11. And the Arhistratig arose and went out to take the air, and he ascended to heaven, and came before the Lord, and said to the Lord God, "Lord! Lord! know that Abraham is very powerful, so that I cannot mention to him of death, for I have never seen a man like unto him on the earth, just, compassionate, and avoiding all evil."

12. And the Lord spake to the Arhistratig, "Go to my friend Abraham, and eat of all that which will be put on the table; and I will send My Spirit unto his son Isaac, and I will show him the approach of his father's death, so that he may see all in a dream."

13. And the Arhistratig said, "The incorporeal beings of heaven do not eat, neither do they drink, and he has spread for me a table with all the good things of the earth; and now, O Lord, what shall I do? How can I become different, as we shall be all at one table?"

11. Și să sculă Arhistratigul de își afară pentru primblare, și să sui în ceriu și stătu înaintè lui Dumnezeu, și zăsi cătră Domnul Dumnezeu: Doamne! Doamne! Să știți că mare putere are Avraam, că eu de moarte nu-î pocîu pomeni, că bărbat ca acesta eu n'am mai văzut pre pământ; drept, milostiv, și ferindu-să de tot răul; ce să știți că eu de moarte nu-î pocîu pomeni!

12. Zăsă Dumnezeu Arhistratigului: pas la prietinel meu Avraam, și ce va pune pre masă să mănănci și tu cu el; că eu voiu trimete duhul meu spre fiul meu Isaac, și voiu arăta aducere-aminte de moarte în inima lui ca să vază în vis toate.

13. Și zăsă Arhistratigul: toate ale ceriului ce sânt fără de trup, nici mănăncă, nici beu, și mie mi-au pus masă bună și cu de ale pământului bucate. și acum ce voiu să fac? mă voiu schimba? că șidem tot la o masă!

14. And the Lord answered him, "Go to My friend Abraham, and do not trouble thyself, for I will send spirits, who shall cause the food to disappear from thy hands and from thy mouth; all that is on the table shall disappear. And rejoice thou with him. But thou shalt interpret Isaac's dreams unto him, so that Abraham may know the hour of his death. For he has numberless properties and lands and houses, because I have blessed him, and I have increased his possessions like the sands of the sea and like the stars in heaven."

15. Thereon the Artistratig descended to Abraham's table, and they sat down. And Isaac had provided the supper. And Abraham said his prayer, as it was his custom. And after the meal they arose, said a prayer, and sat down each one on his bed.

16. And Isaac said to his father, "I should like to sleep here also, because I love with all my heart to listen to the words of this stranger." But Abraham replied to his son,

14. Iară Domnulu zăsă cătră el: pas la prietenul mîeu Avraam, iară de acele nu griji, ce șazi și cu el; că eu voi trimete duhuri mângăitoare (*b.c.* mîncătoare) și le vor topi din mîinile tale de lângă gura ta, de toate câte vor fi pe masi și te vezălești (*l.* vesălești) cu el întru toate; numai visăle să i le dizlegi, ca să știe Avraam cîasul morții lui; că are avere multă fără de samă și moșii și casi cu ispravă; că el (*b.* eu) l'am blagoslovit pre el și averè lui [ca să să înmulțească] ca nășipul mării și ca stelile ceriului.

15. Atunce s'au pogorăt Arhistratigul la masa lui Avraam și au șazut [*b.* la masă]. Și marsă Isac de griji de cină. Și făcu Avraam [*b.* molitvă] după cum le era obiceiul. Și după cină să sculară [*b.* și iarăși făcură rugăciune, și șezură] cineși în patul său.

16. Și zăsă Isac cătră tatăl său: și eu să mă culcu cu voi, că mi-i drag să ascult cuvintele omului strein cu tot sufletul mîeu! Iară Avraam zăsă cătră fiul său: ba, fătul mîeu!

“ No, my son! go thou to thy bed and rest, so that we may not inconvenience this stranger.” Then Isaac received his father’s blessing, and went to his bed to rest.

17. And the Lord showed Isaac in a dream the approaching death of his father. And after the third hour of the night Isaac awoke from his sleep, and arose from his bed, and ran quickly to his father, where he slept with the Arhistratig, and called aloud, “ My father Abraham, open the door quickly, so that I may enter and cling to thy neck, and kiss thee before they take thee away from me.”

18. And Abraham got up and opened the door. And Isaac entered, and he embraced his father, and wept aloud; and Abraham wept also; and the Arhistratig seeing this, wept with them. And Abraham said to Isaac, “ My dear child, tell me truly what has appeared to thee, so that thou camest so frightened to me?”

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ce pas la patul tău de te odihnești, ca să nu cădem greu acestui strein. Atunce Isac priimi blagoslovenie tătâni-său și s’au dus la patul lui di s’au odihnit.

17. Și au aruncat (l. arătat) Dumnezeu spre Isac aducere-aminte de moartè tătâne-său într’un vis. Și după al triile cîas să deșteptă Isacu din somnu, și să seculă din pat și marsă tare la tatăl său unde dormie cu Arhistratigul, și strigă tare: tătă Avraame! deșchide-mă curând ușa să întru, ca să mă spânzuru de grumază tăă și să te sărut până nu te eu de la mine!

18. Și să seculă [Avraam] de-i deșchisă ușa și întră Esac, și să apucă de grumază tătâne-său și începu a plînge tare cu glas; și plîngè și Avraam; și văzu și Arhistratigul Mihail și plînsă și el cu ei. Decî zăsă Avraam lui Isacu: fiul meu eel drag! Spune-mă cu adevărat, ce ți s’au părut și ai venit la noi așa înspăimăntat?

19. And Isaac wept, and said to his father, "I beheld the sun and the moon, with luminous and far-stretching rays, resting on my head, and seeing this I was glad; when suddenly the heaven opened and a luminous man descended from heaven. And he was brilliant. And he removed the sun from my head and ascended to heaven. And shortly afterwards, while I was still sad, I saw the luminous man again descending from heaven, and he removed the moon from my head. And I wept, and I said to him, "do not take from me my pride, but have pity on me and listen to me, for thou hast taken the sun from me. Do not also take away the moon!" And he replied, 'Let them go, because the Lord of heaven wishes that I should bring them to him.' And they left their rays upon me."

20. And the Arhistratig said to them, "Listen to me, oh Abraham the just! Thou art the sun, seen by thy son Isaac his father; and the luminous man, descending from heaven, will take away thy soul. And know, oh just Abraham! that

19. Și începu a plânge Isac și a spune tătăne-său : Eu am văzut soarele di-asupra mea și lumina (l. luna) cu razăle reșchirate și luminate; iară eu unde le videm mă vesălem. Și văzuîu ceriul că să deșchisă și un bărbat prè-luminat să pogorăe din ceriul și era strălucit; și-mi luă soarele din cap și să sui în ceriul. Și după puțină vremi—încă eram jălnic—și iară văzuîu pre acel bărbat luminat pogorându-să din ceriul și-m luă luna din cap; și am plânsu mult și m'am rugat : să nu-m ei și slava mea dela mine, ce mă miluești și ascultă, de mi-ai luat soarele, nu-m lua și luna. Iară el mi-au zăs : "Lasă tu să margă, că va împăratul de sus să-i ducă pre dănșu acolo." Și razăle [l. lor le lăsară] pre mini.

20. Iară Arhistratigul zăsă cătră ei : ascultă, drepte Avraami! soarele care au văzut fiul tău, ești [tu] tatăl lui; iară bărbatul luminat ce s'au pogorăt din ceriul, aciăla va să-ți iai sufletul. Și să știi părinte, cinstite Avraami, în

thou wilt soon leave this world to go to the Lord." And Abraham replied, "Oh wonderful! I fear thou art the man who will take away my soul!" And the Arhistratig said to Abraham, "I am the angel *Mihail*, the greatest of the angels standing before the Lord; and I announce to thee the news of thy death. And thou wilt come to Him, according to thy covenant." And Abraham replied, "Now I understand that thou art he who will receive my soul—but I will not yield to thee!"

21. After these words of Abraham, the Arhistratig disappeared; for he went up to heaven and stood before the Lord, and related to him all that he had seen and heard in the house of Abraham, and how Abraham had said, "I will not yield to thee."

22. And the Lord replied to his Arhistratig, "Go to my friend Abraham, and say to him as follows: I am the Lord his God, who brought him out and led him to the Promised Land; and I have blessed him, so that his descendants shall become as numerous as the sands of the sea, and as the stars in the heaven. And say to him, How hast thou dared

vreme aciasta vei să părăsăști lumè [aciasta] și spre Domnul vei mergi. Zăsă Avraam: O minune mare! că (l. eu) mă tem că tu ești cela ce vei să-m eî sufletul de la mine. Zăsă Arhistratigul cătră Avraam: eu sânt Mihail îngerul, măi marile îngerilor ce stau înnaintè Domnului și spuîu adevărat veste mortîi, și să mergi spre el cum te-i făgăduit lui. Și zăsă Avraam: acum mă pricep că tu ești cela ce-mî vrei să-m priimești sufletul. Că nu-ți voîu muri (l. c. prestăni!).

21. Iară Arhistratigul după cuvântul lui Avraam numai de căt nu să măi văzu, că să sui în cerîu și stătu înnaintè Domnului, și-i spusă toate [ce] văzută și auzăsa în casa lui Avraam: că mîie mi-au zăs că nu-m va prestăni!

22. Zăsă Domnul cătră Arhistratigul său: pas la prietinul mîieu Avraam și-i spune așa: că eu sântu Domnul Dumnezăul lui, cîala ce l'am scos de l'am dus în pămăntul cel poroncît și l'am blagoslovit pre el să să îmmulțască sămănta lui ca stelile cerîului și ca năsăpul mării! Și-i ză: căce ai înfrintat

to oppose my Arhistratig Mihail, by saying that thou wouldst not follow him? “Does he not know that from the time of Adam and Eve all have died? That neither the kings, nor the forefathers have escaped death? because no one is immortal; but all have died and have gone down into hell. But to him I did not send either death, or sickness, or the scythe of death, which should mow him down; but I sent to him my Arhistratig, with a request, so that he might know my decision and put his house and lands in order. But why did he oppose my Arhistratig Mihail, saying that he would not follow? Does he not know, that I will send the angel of death, whose presence he could not endure?”

23. After receiving the command of the Lord, the Arhistratig descended to Abraham, fell at his feet, and repeated to him all that he had heard from the Lord. And Abraham the just said amidst many tears, “I entreat thee, Arhistratig of the heavenly powers, because thou had honoured me, a sinner, grant me one request. For the Lord God has always

pre Arhistratigul meu Mihail [b. și ai zis, că nu vei pristăni]? Dar [nu] știe, că dela Adam și dela Eva toți au murit și nimine din împărați sau din părinți n’au fugit de moarte, și nu este nimeni fără de moarte; ce toți au murit și toți în iad s’au schimbat (l. scoborât)! Iară la el n’am trimis moarte sau boală, nici n’am trimis coasa morții să-l întimpine, ce cu rugăciune al meu Arhistratig l’am trimis, ca să să priedă cum iaste a lui stare, să-și facă casă bună și moșilor tocmală. Dar căci au înfruntat pre Arhistratigul meu de au zăș, că nu-i va prestăni? Dar nu știe că voiu trimete pre moarti de nu o va putè răbda?

23. Adică priimi Arhistratigul poronca Susului și s’au pogorât la Avraam, și marsă de-i căzu la picioare și-i spusă toate ci-au auzăt de la Domnul. Atunci îi zășă dreptul Avraam cu multe lacrimi: rogu-te Arhistratije al puterilor celor de sus; însă de vreme ce pre mine m’ăi învrednicit, pre mine păcătosul, rogu-te să-mi poslușești de un cuvânt; că la Domnul Dumnezeu ce am cerut întru tot lucru mi-au

given me the things for which I have prayed, and has always fulfilled my wishes. And I know that I shall not escape death, but I shall certainly die. Know, therefore, that I expect that thou wilt fulfil this my request: I should like to see now, whilst still in the flesh, all the peoples and their deeds; then I will yield myself entirely.”

24. And the Arhistratig ascended once more to heaven, and placed himself before the Lord, and told him all about Abraham. And the Lord replied to the Arhistratig, “Place Abraham the just in the chariot of the cherubim, and carry him to heaven.” And the Arhistratig descended and took the just Abraham into the clouds and surrounded him with sixty angels.

25. And Abraham walked on the clouds, and he beheld another chariot behind him, and also some who walked (?). And in another part he saw people who were suffering, and much wrong-doing. And he said, “Oh Lord! command that the earth may open and swallow them.” And in another

dat, și toată pofta mi-au împlinit; și eu știu că fără de moarte nu voi să fiu ce tot voi să moriu; ce să știu ce voi să-ți poruncescu, mă ascultă Doamne: oare întru aceste vremi de acum eu trupul va să mă vază (l. b. putea voi să văz) norodul și faptele mele (l. lor)? Decî atunci mă voi pune (l. supune) întru avere (mea).

24. Și iară să sui Arhistratigul în ceriu și stătu înaintea Domnului, și-i spusă atunci (l. aceste toate b.) de Avraam. Iară Dumnezeu zăse Arhistratigului: prîmești pre dreptul Avraam în carul Heruvimilor și-l înalță în ceriu pre el. Și să pogoră Arhistratigul; și luară pre dreptul Avraam întru noorî cu 60 de îngerî.

25. Și mergè Avraam pre di-asupra noriloru, și văzu și alt caru într'altă parte umblând pre di-asupra, și pedestri; și văzu într'altă parte șazând alții (oameni) muncindu-să. Și au văzut multă fără de cale făcându-să, și zăse: Doamne, Doamne! poroncești să să disfacă pământul și să între acie!

direction he saw people plundering and stealing, and despoiling the stranger. And he exclaimed, "Oh Lord! command that fire shall come down from heaven and destroy them." And fire came from heaven and consumed them.

26. And instantly there a voice came from heaven to the angels, and a thunder-clap reached the Arhistratig and he heard the words: "Turn round the chariot and depart with Abraham so that he may not see the people any more; for if he sees them living in sin he will destroy them all to the very last," because Abraham could not endure those who did evil. And the Lord continued: "I have created the world, and I do not wish that any human being shall be destroyed, for I do not desire the death of the wicked, but that he should repent and live. Lead the just Abraham to the first gate of heaven, so that he may see the last judgment, and that he also may repent even more than the sinners."

27. And the Arhistratig turned round Abraham's chariot, and brought him to the first gate of heaven. And Abraham

Și văzu și într'altă parte bărbați jăfuind și furând din casă și răpind pre streini, și zăsă: Doamne, Doamne! poroncești să vie foc din ceriu ca să arză pre acie! Și numai decât [b. veni foc din ceriu, și-i arse pre toți.

26. Și făcându-se aciasta, numai decât] veni glas [din ceriu] cătră Arhistratigul său, de-i zăsă: întoarce carul de du pre Avraam, ca să nu mai vază norodul tot, că-i va vidè pre toți în păcate chinuindu-să și-i va pierdi pre toți până în sfârșit. Adică Avraam pre cei ce-i vidè greșind nu-i suferè. Și zăsă Dumnezeu: Eu am făcut lumè și nu voiu nicî unul dintr'ânșii să nu piară; și nu voiu moartè păcătosului, ce ca să să întoarcă și să fie viu. Ce scoate pre dreptul Avraam pre ușa ceriului cè dintăi, ca să vază judecata cè de apoi, ca să să căiască mai mult decât păcătoșii.

27. Intors-au Arhistratigul carul cu Avraam, de l'au dus la poarta cè dintăi a ceriului; și văzu Avraam doâ căi: una

beheld two paths, one narrow and difficult to pursue, and the other wide and extended. And on the narrow path he saw a man sitting on a golden chair, and his face was terrible like unto God. And he saw many souls pursued by angels on the broad way, and but few souls conducted by the angels on the narrow path. And the marvellous man, when he saw all the wounded and sick souls on the wide way, tore out the hair of his head and of his beard, and he cast himself from his golden chair unto the ground and wept. But when he saw many souls in the narrow path, he rose and sat on his golden chair in joy.

28. And Abraham asked the Arhistratig: "Lord! who is this marvellous man in such splendour? Sometimes he weeps, and sometimes he rejoices." The Arhistratig answered: "This is Adam, who was the first man created to adorn the world, for all are descended from him. And when he sees many souls traversing the narrow path he rejoices, because that is the entrance to heaven, by which the just go to

strămtă și cu anevoi a umbla pre dănsa și alta lată și întinsă. Și despre calè cè strămtă văzu un bărbat șazănd pre un scaun poliit și fața lui înfricoșată. [b. Și văzu multe suflete rănite (l. gonite) de îngerî despre calea cea largă, și văzu alte suflete mai puține aducându-le îngerî pre calea cea strimtă] fără grigî. Dar acel cîdat bărbat [b. când] vidè multe suflete rănite și betegi pre calè cè largă, iară el să apucă de păr și de barbă cu mâinile de să zmulgè și să trântîe pre pămănt din giulgiul (l. jețul b.) cel poliit plângănd; și când vidè suflete multe venind pre calè cè strimtă, să scula și șădè în jălțul cu multă vesălie și bucurie.

28. Și întrebă Avraam pre Arhistratigul: Doamne! cine este acestu bărbat pre cîdat, întru atăta slăvire? Că uni-ori plănge, iară alte ori să vesălești? Zăsă Arhistratigul: acista este Adam, cel întâi zădit întru slava lumî; că toți din el s'au născut; ce când vede multe suflete întrănd pre calè ce strămtă, atunce să bucură si să vesălești, că aceia este ușa cerîlului

paradise. And when he sees many souls going on the wide way he weeps and tears his hair, because that is the path of the sinners, by which they go to hell. In seven thousand years only one soul will be saved."

29. And while they were speaking, two angels brought innumerable souls, and struck them with a whip of fire; and one poor soul was supported by their hands and led on the narrow way.

30. And he beheld again at the doorway a golden chair, shining like fire; and on it there sat a man in the form of the Son of God. And in front of him stood a table of precious stones and pearls; and upon the table there lay a Bible, that is a big book of twelve yards in length, and eight yards in width. And there were two angels holding paper, ink, and pens. And at the head of the table there sat a luminous angel holding a scale in his hand; and at his left hand stood an angel of fire, who held in his hand a paper, and on it were inscribed the temptations and sins. And that man who sat

[în] care întră dreptii și întră în raiu. Și când vede multe suflete întrând și mergând pre calè cè largă, el plânge și să smulge de păr; că aceea este calè păcătoșilor, care mergi în iad. În cele șapte mii de ani numai un suflet să va spăsi!

29. Și grăind ei, iată doi îngerî aducè bătând suflete multe fără de samă cu biciul [b. de foc], și pre un suflet, cu milă îl ține între mâinile lor, și'l îndrepta spre calè cè strămtă.

30. Și au stătit de au văzut în mijlocul ușii era un înger (l. jeț) înfricoșat de strălucie ca focul, și șidè un bărbat în chipul fiului lui Dumnezeu, și sta înaintè lui [o] masă de pietre scumpe și de mărgăritariuri, și pre masă o blibie, adică o carte groasă de doisprezăci coți de lungă, de optu coți de lată; și sta două îngerî și ține hărtie și cerneală și condeiu. Și în capul mesăi șidè un înger prè-luminat și avè în mâna lui cumpănă; și di-a-stănga lui stan (l. sta un înger) de foc fără milă, și în mâna lui ține o hărtie de carte, și întrănsa era ispitele păcatelor. Și un bărbat șidè de (l. c. Și bărbatul cel

there condemned or liberated the souls. And of the two angels who stood to the right and left, the one on the right wrote the virtues, and the one on the left hand wrote down the sins; and the one at the head of the table weighed the souls; and the angel of fire examined the souls.

31. And Abraham asked the Arhistratig: "What is it that I see?" And the angel replied, "That, which thou seest, oh just Abraham, is the judgment in the other world." And he saw the soul of a man brought before the judge by an angel. And the angel said to the judge, "Open the book and see the record of his sins and of his virtues . . . and erase them, for he is neither to be condemned nor to be saved; therefore place him in the middle."

32. And Abraham said, "My lord! who are these judges, and these luminous angels?" And the Arhistratig replied, "Listen, oh just Abraham! He who sits in the chair and judges, is *Abel*, the son of Adam. He judges the righteous and the sinners. For the Lord hath said, that He will not

ce ședea în jeț) gîndeca și lăsa sufletele; și cei doi îngeri ce era unul di a stînga și altulu de dreapta, [cel de a dreapta] scrie bunătățile, iar cel di a stînga scrie păcatile; iară cel ce șidè în capul mesăi cumpăniè sufletile; [iară] îngerul cel de foc ispitie sufletile.

31. Și întrebă Avraam pre Arhistratigul: [*b.* ce sînt acestea ce văzuu]? Iară îngerul zăsa: aceste ce vezi drepte Avraami, aciasta iaste gîndecata lumii cè de apoi. [*b.* Și văzu] adică un înger [*ce*] ținè un suflet de om în mîna lui, și-l adusă înaintè gîndecătorîului. Și zăsa gîndecătorîul: deșchide cartè, de-i află păcatele și dreptele, de-i le rade, că nu-i nici de păcat nici de mîntuire, ce-l pune în mijloc!

32. Și zăsa Avraam: Domnul mîeu, Arhistratiji! cine este acest gîndecători? și acești îngeri ce luminează? Și zăsa Arhistratigul: Auzi, drepte Avraami! acesta ce șăde în iălțul de judecă este Avel, fiul lui Adam, carile judecă drepti și păcătoși. Că au zăș Domnul că el nu va judeca

judge mankind, but that they shall judge each other. And to him (Abel) he has given the power to judge men, till the last judgment. Then the Son of God will judge perfectly and finally and for ever; and no other will be able to judge. Because men are descended from Adam, they must be first judged by a son of Adam; but at the second resurrection they will all be judged by the twelve Apostles; but at the third resurrection, our Lord and Saviour will judge them. For at the third time, at that terrible judgment, all will be ended. As it is written, 'By three witnesses shall the judgment be fulfilled.' And of the two angels the angel on the left records the evil deeds, and the angel on the right records the good actions; and he shines like the sun."

33. And Abraham asked his Arhistratig Mihail. "My lord! what is to be done with the soul which the angel brought in his hand, and which was placed in the middle?" The angel answered, "The judge has found that his good and his bad deeds shall be erased, and he is neither condemned nor saved, until the Lord, the Judge, shall come."

pre oameni, ce oameni să judece; și au dat lui putere ca să judece până la vremè de apoi. Decî atunci va judeca fiul lui Dumnezeu, Hs., desăvârșit și de isprăvit și de veci; decî (l. căci) nu va pute judeca nimine. Că toți oamenii din Adam s'au născut, pentru aceea fiul lui Adam judecă întâi; iară la adouă învieri să va judeca de doisprăzăci apostoli, tot norodul; iară a trie oară va judeca stăpănul Hs. și mântuitorul nostru Dumnezeu. Decî tocma atunci a trie oară la acè înfricoșată judecată să va sfârși, cum închipuești: de trii marturi să astupă judecata. Iară cei doi îngeri: cel di-a stînga scrie păcatele [iar cel de-a dreapta scrie] dreptățile și luminează ca soarele.

33. Și iară zăsa Avraam cătră Arhistratigul său Mihail: Domnul mîeu! sufletul cel ce l'au adus [b. îngerul] în mîna lui, cum să judecă, de-l pus(ără) în mijloc? Zăsa îngerul, că așa au aflat giudecătorîul păcatele lui și dreptatè lui, să le șteargă, că nu l'au dat nici la muncă nici la drepti, până va veni judecătorîul Dumnezeu.

34. And Abraham asked, "What is wanting to this soul that it should be saved?" The angel answered, "If he had performed one more good deed, he would had been saved." And Abraham said, "We will say a prayer for this soul perhaps God will save it!" And the Arhistratig said "Amen! so shall it be!" And they both prayed, and God listened to them and saved this soul. And Abraham said "I pray thee, Arhistratig, tell me where is the soul?" And the angel answered, "It hath been saved, in answer to the prayer of thy holiness!"

35. And Abraham said, "Oh, Arhistratig, let us entreat God for the sins of those whom I cursed before!" And the Arhistratig listened to him, and they prayed for a long time, until there came a voice from heaven, saying, "Abraham! I have heard thy prayer for those whom it appeared to thee that I destroyed. But I have saved them, and have preserved them alive. At the last judgment I will separate them. For, even if I destroy some on earth, I do not deliver any one entirely to death; I wish that they may repent and live."

34. Zăsa iară Avraam: dară ce-i mai trebuiești sufletului acestue, să să măntuiască? Zăsa îngerul: numai o dreptate de ar mai face să-i prisosască mai mult decât păcatele, să va măntui. Zăsa Avraam: ian să facem o molitfă sufletului acestuè, sa videm, măntui-l-va Dumnezeu? Și zăsa Arhistratigul: amin! așa să fie! Și făcură molitfa; și ascultă Dumnezeu, și-l măntui pre suflet(ul) aciăla. Și zăsa Avraam: rogu-mă, Arhistratiji, unde-i sufletul aciăla? Îngerul zăsa: s'au măntuit pentru a sfinției tale molitvă.

35. Și zăsa Avraam: rogu-mă Arhistratiji, ian să ne rugăm lui Dumnezeu pentru greșalile celora ce i-am blăstămat! Și ascultă Arhistratigul, și făcură rugăciuni înaintè lui Dumnezeu mult eias, până veni glas din ceru, zăcând: Avraami! auzătu-s'au rugăciunè ta, că ț'au părut că i-am pierdut pre acie, ce i-am scos [și] la viață i-am pus. Că la giudecata cè de apoi le voiu alege. Că eu căți i-am pierdut pre pământ vii, ce întru toate (l. c. moarte) nu-i voiu lăsa [voesc să să întoarcă și să fie vii].

36. And the Lord said to the Arhistratig, "My servant! Turn the chariot, and take him back to his dwelling, for the end of his life is approaching, and he must put his house in order." And the Arhistratig turned the chariot of clouds and brought him back to his house. And Abraham went and sat on his bed.

37. And Sarah, the wife of Abraham, came and knelt at the angel's feet, and kissed them, and wept and thanked him, saying, "I thank thee, that thou hast brought back my lord, for it seemed to me, that he had withdrawn himself from our midst." And Isaac came and embraced his father; the servants also came and surrounded Abraham, thanking and blessing God.

38. And the Arhistratig said to Abraham, "Set thy house in order, and settle all with thy servants which concerns them; for thy last day draws near, when thy soul will depart from thy body; because the Lord has ordered it so, and He is just." And Abraham replied to the Arhistratig, "I will not obey thee!"

36. Zăasă Domnul Arhistratigului: slujitorii! întoarce carul de-l du [la casa lui], că să apropie sfârșitul vieții lui, ce să și tocmască toate ale lui. Și întoarsă Arhistratigul carul cu noori și l'au dus la casa lui; și au mersu [Avraam] de au șazut în patul lui.

37. Și vini Sara, muerea lui, și căzu la picioarele îngerului, de i le sărută, și plângè și mulțamè zăcând: mulțimescu-ți că încă me-i adus pre domnul m'eu, că mi-au părut că s'au mutat de la noi. Și Isac veni de apucă de grumazi pre tatăl său; așijdire și roabile sta înpregiurul lui Avraam de-i (l. de) mulțimiè și slăvè pre Dumnezeu.

38. Și zăasă Arhistratigul cătră Avraam: fă-ți tocmală feciorilor și fetilor tale de cele ce le trebuescu, că s'au apropiet vreme zălii cei de apoi, aceea ce va să să disparti sufletul de trup. Că așa au zăs stăpănul; drept este! Și zăasă Avraam cătră Arhistratigul: că nu voiu prestăni!

39. When the Arhistratig heard these words, he ascended at once to heaven, stood before the Lord, and said, "Lord! Sustainer of all! I fulfilled Thy will, and Thy friend Abraham has seen all the earth and the heaven, and whilst still living he beheld the Judgment from the chariot of clouds, and yet he says that he will not obey me. I would willingly give him time, because he has done so much good on the earth that no man is like unto him; he is like an immortal king, and he is worthy of immortality. Oh Lord! what dost Thou command?"

40. And the Lord said, "Call Death hither!" And the Arhistratig Mihail went to Death, and said, "Go, for the Immortal King calls thee." When Death heard this, he trembled and ground his teeth, and went to the Mighty Lord, and stood before Him with much fear and trembling.

41. And the Lord said unto Death, "Go and disguise thy fearful face and thy countenance, and clothe thyself with gentleness and beauty and splendour; and go to My friend

39. Iară dacă auzi Arhistratigul, îndată să sui în ceru și stătu înaintè Domnului și zăsă: Doamne a-tot-șietoriule! voè ta toată am plinit, și prietinel tău Avraam cerul și pământul au văzut, judecata în noor cu carul viu au văzut-o și iară zăsă, că nu mi-a prestăni. Eu îi dau vremi, că multe bunătăți au făcut pre pământu, cât nu este lă om asămine pre pământ; ce-i ca un făr-de-moarte împărat. Ce vei să fac ?

40. Atunce au zăs Domnul: chemați pre moarte încoace! Și marsă Arhistratigul Mihail, și zăsă cătră moarte: pas, că te chăamă împăratul cel fără de moarte! Iară moartè auzi și să cutremură, și scărșini cu dinții și marsă înaintè împăratului celui pre puternic și stătu înaintè lui cu multă frică și cutremuru.

41. Și zăsă Domnul: pas moarte de-ți ascunde frica (l. fața) ta cè groznică și cu răcoriala, și cu (l. b. c. și-ți ea) blăndețele și frumusețile și slava toată, și pas la prietinel meu

Abraham and receive his soul and bring it to Me; and thou shalt not frighten him, but take it away in all tenderness." When Death heard this, he went away from the presence of the Lord, and changed his fearful countenance, and became gentle and luminous, and of great beauty.

42. And Abraham sat under a sweet smelling tree, resting his hand on his knees, awaiting hopefully the return of the Arhistratig Mihail. And he noticed the approach of a worthy and fine-looking man, and it appeared to him that it was the Arhistratig. And the angel beheld him, and bowed to him, and said, "Rejoice, venerable Abraham, just soul, friend of the Lord, like unto the angels!" And Abraham replied, "Rejoice, shining light, luminous man! From whence has this resplendent man come?"

43. And Death answered, "I tell thee the truth. I am the poison of death!" And Abraham said, "Art thou the cup which poisonest? And art thou he who takest away the life of man and the beauty of woman? Art thou the poison

Avraam, și primești sufletul lui, și-l adă încoace la mine; și să nu-l sparii pre el, ce cu mângăere să-l primești. Aceste auzând moartè, s'au dus de la fața Domnului și ș'au schimbat fața cè groznică și s'au făcut cuvioasă și luminoasă și cu multă frumsătă. Și s'au pogorât la Avraam.

42. Iară Avraam șidè supt un copaciū [b. și acel] pom [b. era] mirosătoriu, și și pusă mâinile pre genunchi și aștepta nedejdè Arhistratigului Mihail. Și vini miros de om cătră el cu multă rugăciune și ghizdăvie, că-i părè că este Arhistratigul. Și-l văzu pre el, și să închină și zasă: bucură-te, cinstite Avraami! drepte suflete, prietin ales a lui Dumnezeu și într'un chip cu îngerii! Și zasă Avraam: bucură-te frumsăța soarelui! luminoase bărbat! De unde ai (l. a) venit la noi acestu bărbat proslăvit?

43. Zasă moartè cătră Avraam: să-ți spuū cu adevărat. Eu sânt toapsecul morții! Zasă Avraam: tu ești [b. c. potiriul ce otrăvești, și ei] viața oamenilor și frumsăța ghizdavilor? Tu ești otrava morții? Iară zasă moartè: eu

of death?" And Death replied, "I am the poisoned cup of death; and I speak unto thee the truth, for thus has the Lord commanded me."

44. And Abraham said, "Why hast thou come hither?" Death replied, "I have come for thy righteous soul." And Abraham said, "I understand! But, I do not wish to die!" And Death was silent, for he would not give any further answer.

45. And Abraham arose and went in and seated himself on his bed. And Death seated himself also on the bed, at the feet of Abraham. And Abraham said, "Depart from me, for I would rest." And Death replied, "I shall not depart from thee until I have taken thy soul." And Abraham said, "Fulfil my wish: show me the bitterness of thy poison when thou takest the souls of mankind." And Death replied, "Thou could'st not in any case bear to see my fearful countenance." And Abraham said, "I will see it; in the Name of the Lord, for He is with me."

46. Then Death cast off all his beauty, and he assumed a fierce and murderous and all-consuming expression, like unto

sânt cu adevărat [*b. păhăriul cu otrava morții*]; că așa mi-au porocit Dumnezeu.

44. Zăasă Avraam: cum, în ce chip ai venit aici? Iară moartē zăasă: pentru dreptul sufletul tău am venit. Zăasă Avraam: înțăleg ce zăci; ce nu-ți voiu muri! Iară moartē tăcu și n'au măi vrut să măi răspunză nimică.

45. Iară Avraam să sculă [*și*]marsă de să sui în patul lui. Și să sui și moartē cu el în pat, și șăzu despre picioarele lui Avraam. Și zăasă Avraam: du-te de la mine, că voiu să mă odihnesc. Zăasă moartē: nu mă voiu dizlipi de tine până nu ți voiu priimi sufletul. Iar Avraam zăasă: rogu-mă să mă ascult de ce te voiu întreba: arată-mi amarul otrăvilor tale când ei sufletele oamenilor! Și zăasă moartē: că nu vei putē răbda nici într'un chip groaza mē. Iar Avraam zăasă: putē voiu răbda, cu numile lui Dumnezeu, că cu mine este!

46. Atunce moartē ș'au lepădat frumsăța sa și să făcu cu podoabă tălhăriască, groznică și cu fața sorbitoare și cu de

the wild beasts; and (he assumed) a dragon's head with seven faces, and his countenance was as seventeen fiery faces; and he became like unto a fierce and dreadful lion and like a poisonous snake, and he had a mane like a lion, and he was like a thunderbolt, and like the waves of the sea, and like the stream of a rapid torrent, and like a very wild dragon with three wings. And from the fear of Death, seven thousand boys and girls died, and even Abraham the just was in danger of his life.

47. All this Abraham saw, and he said to Death, "I pray thee, poisonous Death, hide thy fearful countenance, and appear in thy former beauty." And Death resumed his former beauty. And Abraham said, "What hast thou done to kill so many souls? Hast thou been sent to kill them also?" And Death replied, "No, my lord! I was sent only on thy account."

48. Abraham said, "Indeed? How could'st thou kill them when the Lord did not command thee to do it?"

toate necurăție și ca de toate jiganiile sălbatece: cu capul ca de leu (l. c. zmeu) în șapte chipuri și fața în șaptesprezăce feță de foc; și ca de leu viclean și grozav, și [ca] aspide iuți și ca de leu la coadă (l. c. coamă) și ca o armă de foc cu tunet, și ca un val de mare și ca o vale de apă ce vine rapide și ca un zmau cu trii aripi ci este foarte sălbatec. Deci atunci au murit de groaza morții feți și fete 7 mii; și dreptul Avraam au venit în cumpăna morții.

47. Acăsta au văzut dreptul Avraam și au zăș cătră moarte: rogu-mă moarte otrăvitoare! ascunde-ți toată groaza ta, și-ți ivești frumsățile tale. Și și au luat[moarte] frumsățile cele dintăi. Și au zăș Avraam cătră moarte: ce ai făcut de ai omorātu atâte suflete? au doară ti-au trimes să-i omori pre aceștie? Zășă iar moartè: ba, domnul mîeu! ce pentru tine m'au trimes aice.

48. Și au zăș Avraam: adevărat! cum i-ai ucis pre acești de i-ai omorăt și nu ț'au zăș Domnul! Și zășă moarte:

And Death answered, "Believe me, my lord, it is a wonder thou did'st not die with them. But I swear to thee in very truth, that I have in this hour the power of killing thee, and thy strength will not avail thee. Therefore put in order all that thou wishest to arrange."

49. And Abraham said, "I acknowledge now that the weakness of death is upon me, and my soul grows faint. But, I pray thee, oh poisonous Death to tell me, why hast thou killed so many boys and girls? Let us now both entreat the Lord to restore these boys and girls to life, and perchance He may listen to us." And Death said, "Amen! so may it be." And Abraham arose and threw himself on the ground on his face, and Death also cast himself on the ground; and they both prayed to God for a long time. And God sent the spirit of life unto the dead, and they were restored to life again.

50. And Abraham returned thanks unto God, and went to his bed. Death also went to the bed. And Abraham said to Death, "Depart from me; I would rest, for soon thou wilt take away my soul." And Death replied, "I will not leave

să mă crezi doamne, că mare minune este că nu te-i răpit și tu cu ei. Și eu îți zăc cu giurământ cu adevărat, că dreapta morții cu mine este într'acel cîas, și nu-ți va folosă averè aciasta; ce-ți tocești ce ai a tocmi.

49. Iară dreptul Avraam zăcă: cunosc acuma că ai (l. c am) venit în ameta la morții până am leșan sufletul meu; ce mă rog, toapsecul morții, cum făcuși de omorăș atăța feți și fete? ce vină să ne rugăm amândoi lui Dumnezeu, doară ne va asculta de vor înviè acești feți și fete? Și zăcă moartè: amin să fie! Și să seculă Avraam și căzu cu fața la pământ; și căzu și moartè cu față la pământ, și să rugă mult spre Dumnezeu. Și trimisă Dumnezeu duhul vieții spre cii morți și au învîet.

50. Atunce dreptul Avraam au datu slavă lui Dumnezeu. Și s'au suit Avraam iarăși în pat de au șăzut; și au șăzut și moartè cu el. Și zăcă Avraam cătră moartè: du-te de la mine, că voiu să mă odihnesc, si curând vra să-mi ei sufletul

thee, until I shall have taken thy soul." And the patriarch Abraham became cross with him, and spoke angry words, and said unto Death, "Who has sent thee to me? Dost thou really believe that I will die?" And Abraham repeated again, "I will not follow thee."

51. And Death said, "Listen to me, oh, just Abraham! In seven epochs I shall destroy the whole world, and I shall cause all human beings and kings to go down into the earth, and to descend into hell; the kings, princes, rich and poor, old and young. Therefore I have shown thee the seven heads of a lion and the fiery faces, so that thou mayest arrange thy property and leave everything in order."

52. And Abraham said, "Depart from me, for I will see, if having the favour of God, I must still die, as thou doest demand of me!" And Death said, "I tell thee the truth, by God, there are seventy-two kinds of death, and I mow whomsoever I like; put therefore away thy doubts, oh just Abraham, and obey me, according to the will of the Universal Judge!" And Abraham said, "Depart from me for a while,

de la mine. Zăasă moartè: că nu mă voiu dispărți de tine până nu-ț voiu lua sufletul. Și părintele Avraam l'au înfruntat cu mânie și cu cuvinte posomorâte, și zăasă cătră moarte: O cine ți-au trimes la mine? au doară zăci, că voiu muri? Și iarăși zăasă Avraam: că nu-ți voiu prestăni!

51. Și zăasă moarte: ascultă drepte Avraami! în șapte veacuri voiu să potopăsc toată lume, și pre toți oamenii, și pre toți împărații, și pre toți în pământ voiu să i puin și să i pogor, împărații, domni, bogați și săraci, bătrânii și tinerii. Pentru aciasta ți-am arătat șapte capete de zmau și obrazi de foc. Pentru [aceea] să-ți tocmești averè ta să o laș cu ispravă, ca să-ți tocmești casa și bucatile.

52. Și zăasă Avraam: du-te de la mine și mă lasă: cu darul lui Dumnezeu vom vidè oare a morții sănt? [c. Zise (moartè) lui: amin zicu-ți, cu adevărul lui Dumnezeu șapte-zăci și doao morți sănt, toate căte voiu vrea săcer] iată că-ți zăcu drepte Avraamè, lasă-ți toate cugitile tale și vin-o de prestănești, precum este voè judecătorului tuturor. Zăasă Avraam: pas

so that I may rest for a time on my bed; for I have lost all strength since mine eyes have beheld thee; all parts of my body are weak, my head is heavy as lead, and my spirit is trembling within me, so that I can no longer see thy face."

53. And Isaac came and cried bitterly; and all the servants gathered him and cried bitterly. And Abraham arose and set free all his servants and his maids. And he called his beloved son Isaac, and kissed him tenderly, and blessed him with the father's blessing. And he blessed his wife Sarah, and he took leave of her and of all.

54. And the hour of his death approached; and Death said to Abraham, "Come and kiss my right hand, so that thou mayest revive for a while." And Abraham was deceived, and kissed the hand of Death. But Death, when he gave him his hand, gave him also the cup with the poison of death. And at the same moment the Arhistratig Mihail, and numberless angels came and received in their holy hands the pure and holy soul, and brought into the holy hands of the Lord's.

de la mine puținel, doară aș odihni ceva în patul mîeu, că am săcat decînd ti-am văzut cu ochii mei; vîrtutè mi-au săcat în (1. din) toate părțile trupului mîeu, capul mi s'au îngreuet ca plumbul și duhul mîeu să bată în pieptul (mîeu), căci nu pocîu să-ți văz fața ta.

53. Și vini Isac, fiul lui Avraam, vîtîndu-să cu amar, și toți au venit și roabile împregiur lui plîngînd cu amar. Și să sculă de-și ertă robii (*b* și roabele) să fie slobozie. Și chiemă pre fiul său Isaac cel drag de-l sărută dulce și-l blagoslovi cu blagoslovenie părintească. Și pre Sara soțîea lui așîderea o blagoslovi și o ertă, și de la toți își luă ertăciune.

54. Și să apropîe cîasul de moarte. Și zise moartea lui Avraam: vin-o de-mî sărută mîna cea dreaptă, și-ți va mai veni suflet și vieată! Și să înșălă Avraam de merse de-i sărută mîna morții. Iară moartea cînd întinse mîna de-i sărută Avraam, întinse și pîharul cu otrava morții. Și numai decît stătu Arhanghelul Mihail cu mulțime de îngerî, și apucară cînstitul și prea sfîntul suflet în mîinile lor cele sfînte și-l duseră în sfîntele mîini ale lui Dumnezeu.

55. But the body was enveloped in clean and pure linen, and they sprinkled him with heavenly perfumes, and buried him with many heavenly songs. And all wept and lamented greatly. Isaac his beloved son, and Sarah, the mother of Isaac, and his servants, and his maids, and all his neighbours lamented for him, because they had lost their good and blessed father Abraham.

56. And they buried him in "Dria the black," with many hymns and with great honour. And they heard the voice of the Lord saying from heaven, "Take My friend Abraham and lead him into the paradise of joy, the abode of all the righteous; and to the eternal life, which is everlasting and without end."

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There follows here a short "moralizatio," which has no bearing on the text itself, and which I therefore omit.

55. Iar trupul l'au învălit cu cărșafuri frumoase și curate l'au gătit; și cu multe mirosenii dumnezezești l'au tămădat, și cu multe cântări dumnezezești l'au îngropat [c. în Driea cea neagră], toți plângându-l cu multi jale, Isaac fiul său cel iubit, și Sara muma lui Isaac, și toți robii și roabele, și toți vecinii foarte cu jale l'au plâns, căci să lipsise de bunul și blagoslovitul părinte Avraam.

56. Și cu multe glasuri de cântări Dumnezezești și cu mare cinste l'au îngropat la Diea cea neagră. Și auziră glas din cer zicând Domnul Dumnezeu: luați prietenul meu Avraam, de-l duceți în raul desfătării, unde sânt toți dreptii, în viața de veci, că netrecută și fără sfârșit.

\* \* \* \* \*

Deci și noi iubiților miei dragi și pravoslavnicilor creștini! vecinii, părinții noștri să cinștim, călătorii streini să-i primim în casele noastre și să-i ospătam cu toată dragoste, bolnavii să-i căutăm, pre cei goi să-i înbrăcăm, celor flămânzi să le dăm de mâncare, pre setoși să-i adăpăm, și să urmăim întru toate faptele cele bune: ca să ne învrednicească Domnul Dumnezeu să dobândim și noi viața veacului ce va să fie, și să slăvim pre tatăl și pre fiul și pre sfântul duh Dumnezeu. Că a lui iaste împărăția și puterea în vecii vecilor. Amin.

# TRANSACTIONS

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### ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF NORTHERN SYRIA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE KARNAK LISTS OF THOTHMES III.

BY THE REV HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS.

*Read 2nd June, 1885.*

IN the *Proceedings* of our Society for January, 1883, is contained a communication on the "Ancient Geography of Northern Syria." In continuance of this subject I now beg to lay before the Council and Members the second Karnak list of tributary places.

Mr. Rylands has had prepared, with great accuracy, *fac-simile* plates reproduced from Mariette's "Karnak," including not only the northern list but also that of Palestine. On the latter I hope to offer some notes hereafter, but in the present paper must restrict myself to that which Mariette described as "a supplemental list of 240 names of localities in the north added to one of the copies of the first list." "As to the 240 names," he adds, "the title belonging to them, if it ever existed, has disappeared with the demolished part of the pylon. One can therefore say nothing with certainty on the position of the country whither they carry us, except that we are to the north of Egypt, and in a land whither, in all likelihood, we arrive after having passed through the Upper Ruten." ("Karnak," page 53.)

It is now clear that the distinguished Egyptologist was right.

In the endeavour to throw some light on these names I have neglected nothing within my reach.

1. I have given the corrections of M. Golenischeff (*Zeit. f. Aeg. Spr.*, 1882, p. 145, etc.), and have made chief use of—
2. Brugsch, "Geog. Inschr.," Vol. II.
3. Brugsch, "Histoire d'Égypte," 1875; "Egypt under the Pharaohs." 1879.
4. Maspero, "Hist. Ancienne des peuples de l'Orient." 3rd ed. 1878.
5. Maspero, *Zeit.*, etc., *passim*.
6. Lenormant, "Hist. Anc." 9th ed.
7. Lenormant, "Les Origines de l'Histoire."
8. Sayce, *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, "Herodotus." etc.
9. Conder, "Heth and Moab." *Pal. Ex. F. Qt. St.*
10. Boscawen, *Pal. Ex. F. Qt. St.*, 1881. 224.
11. Fried. Delitzsch, "Wo lag das Paradies?"
12. Schrader, "Die Keilinschriften," etc. 2nd ed. 1883.
13. Porter, "Syria and Palestine" (Murray, 1875), cited as "Porter."
14. Burton and Drake, "Unexplored Syria," 1872, and map.
15. Rey, "Mém. sur le Nord de la Syrie," Soc. de Géog., Avril, 1873.
16. Rey, "Carte de la Mont. des Ansariés."
17. Arrowsmith, Map of Syria. 1823.
18. Spruner, Atlas Antiquus. Gotha. 1865.
19. Cyclopædian Atlas. Stanford. 1866.
20. Carte du Liban, of the French War Office. 1862.

I have given references when needed, to the maps that I have used.

Since the end of 1882, when I made my previous communication on this subject, I have met with nothing so important as the last studies of M. Lenormant, to which I have above referred, cut short by his lamented death on the 9th December, 1883.

The results of his labours I have duly acknowledged.

M. Lenormant cannot have seen the corrected readings given by M. Golenischeff, and this affects some of his suggested identifications. He considers that only 20 names, which he specifies, can be recognized as positively Semitic, viz.: "125. Tel-manna; 137. Uurt [*corr.* Tsen-rt, *Gol.*]; 151. Aubillin; 186. Khaduma; 189. Nireb; 190. Theleb; 198. Abatha; 206. Abirnath [*corr.* Abilteth, *Gol.*]; 208. Aurma; 217. Tul-Benta; 222. Qarta-Merut; 231. Athrum; 233. Abeth; 282. Maschana; 287. Abellenu; 306. Aibel ou Aiber; 316. Puroth; 320. Puqiu; 333. Iurima; 348. Retep (Reçeph)."

May we not venture to add to the list several more, such as: 130. Tsarb; 136. Tsekar; 139. Erets-kna; 141. Bursu; 157. Kharres; 161. Tseker-el; 197. L'tseker; 201. Natub; 202. Tsetar-set; 205. Tuaub; 216. Tsetar-seta; 249. Keta-sha; 252. Sûr; 292. Talkh; 318. Ari-penekha; 322. Thinnûr?

If this be so, still, omitting about 72 erased or defective names, there will remain more than four-fifths of the entire list of names in this region to be classed as "non-Semitic."

Leaving to philologists the origin and affinities of these names, I have tried to gain some light on their geographical position, so as, if possible, roughly to reconstruct the map of Northern Syria, as known to the "intelligence department" of Thothmes III, the "little corporal" of Pharaonic Egypt, and thus both to help and to stimulate the labours of the traveller and the student.

"Northern Syria," writes M. Rey, "only embraces, properly speaking, one great basin, that of the Orontes, to which those of the Kara-Su and the Afrîn attach themselves, these latter two mingling their waters in the lake of Antioch, which is itself tributary to the Orontes. To the north-east the Sajûr and the Kersin belong to the basin of the Euphrates, whose course forms the eastern boundary of Syria."

Now taking the results of whatever inquiry I have been able to make, and including all degrees of likelihood, I think that, deducting 72 names as erased or defective, out of the remaining 168, more than 50 places will be found to belong to the Orontes basin, and nearly 40 to that of the Euphrates, with a few outlying. These results agree very well with the course of the campaigns of Thothmes in Syria, and the districts laid by him under tribute.

I hope I am not rash in thinking that these inquiries are leading us towards some light in the topography of the Hittite land.

It seems to me that while on the one hand we miss the Biblical record of the names, which has been so great a stimulus and help in Palestine (since at the most there are only fourteen Biblical places in this list), and have instead to turn to the Assyrian annals; on the other hand the existing local names in their Syriac rather than Arabic forms are less disguised than those of the Southern list.

We have a land comparatively unknown, unsurveyed, unexplored, to deal with; but I trust the learned scholars and accomplished travellers of our Society will allow me to bespeak their "favourable censure" of my humble contributions towards Hittite topography.

In this paper I have kept within the Northern Syrian list. But I have collected some material bearing on other places, besides the better known list of Palestine, which I hope to submit on some future occasion to the Society.

I need not say how very grateful I shall be for corrections, additional information, or any suggestions from gentlemen who know far more about this subject.

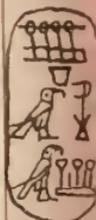
At any rate, I trust that the list as now brought forward may be found useful to travellers and students who, like myself, have to do most of their work at a distance from the great libraries and museums, and who have not the luxury at their command of "discoursing with a learned Theban" when their own learning threatens to run dry.

As to the order of the names of places, I do not think we must be led by any *à priori* light of our own to require a regular succession, or even too systematic a grouping, of these names of tributary places. For we know not on what scheme the scribe drew up his list. I would therefore plead against the rejection of very probable identifications on such considerations.

We may also have found the *name* in some cases, although the *place* may be still to seek, since many names are repeated and some common enough.



131.



158



185.



212.

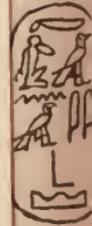
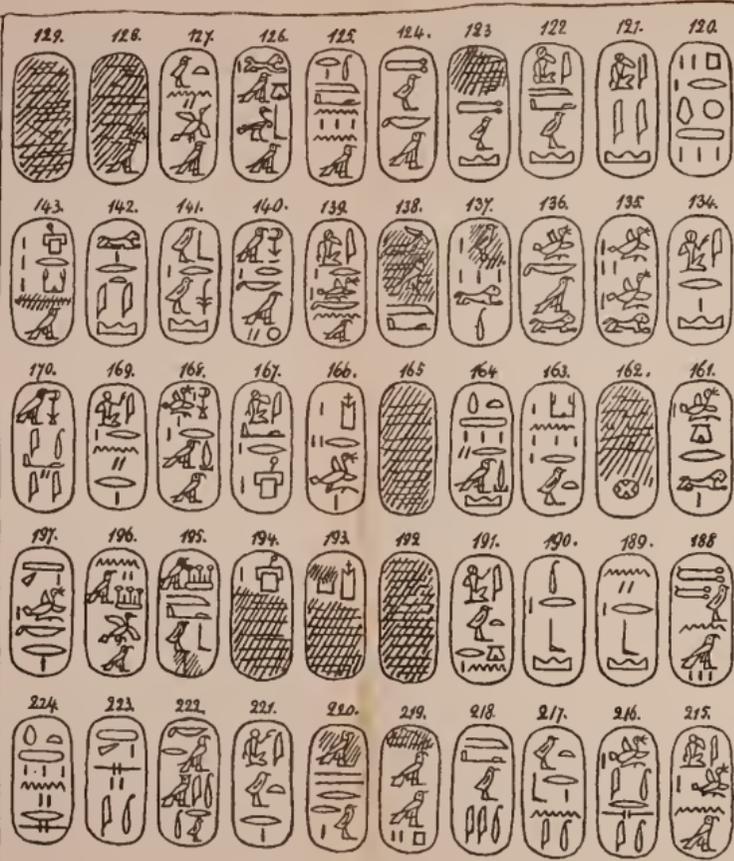


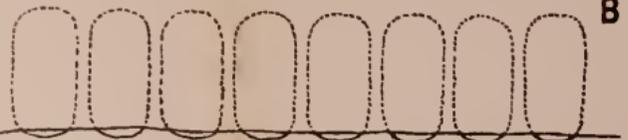
PLATE III. GEOGRAPHICAL LIST OF PLACES IN SYRIA

CAPTURED BY THOTHMES III. FROM THE GREAT TEMPLE AT KARNAK

MIRIETTE, PLATES, 19 20 21



A. B. Museo del



B

B C



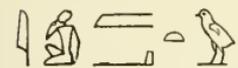
For such reasons I have very freely set down suggestions for the careful examination of others, or of myself on further knowledge.

The numbers follow on from the Palestine List, which begins with 1, and ends with 119.

NOTE.—In the Palestine List references are given to the sheets and guide-letters of the great map, the pages of the volume of Name Lists, and the volumes and pages of the Memoirs, of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

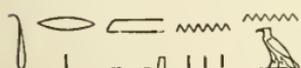
120.\* *Corr.* . *Gol. and Maspero.* Pilta-u (*pl.*); perhaps Paltos, on coast near Tartûs, modern Baldeh, or perhaps Birtu on Euphrates, Birtha. (*Spruner, Map XVI.*)

121.  Ai. (?) Kefr Aya, south of Homs.  
? , "coast," &c. Lenormant writes: "a town otherwise known as situated on the banks of the Euphrates," citing Wiedemann, "XVIIIth Dynasty," p. 49. ("Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 323.)

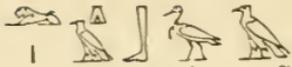
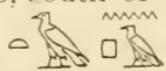
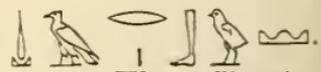
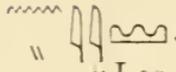
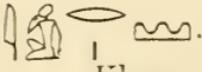
122. *Corr.* . *Gol. and Maspero.* Assyrian Amātu. Hamath. See Schrader, Gen. x, 18. on the two forms. Or possibly Amadia, south of Aleppo. (*Rey, Syria.*)

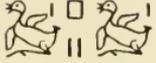
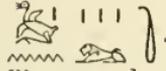
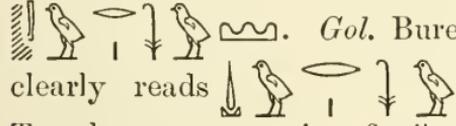
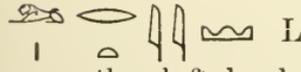
123. *Corr.* , *Gol. and Maspero.* [A]rethu. on Nesruna. Cf. 166. *Brugsch Geog. Ins. II, 35, Pl. XIX, 106.*

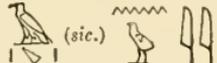
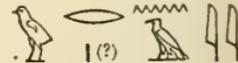
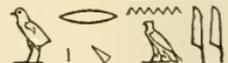
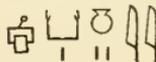
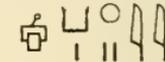
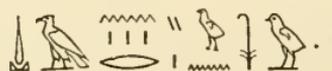
124. . Thuka, Tokat, east of Turmanin. 125.

125. . Termâmma, (?) Turmanin, north-east of Dana. Cf. Tarmana-zi in Patin (*Sayce T. S. B. A. VII, 292.* ? The same place.

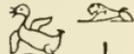
\* See Plate III.

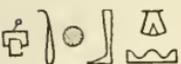
126.  . Regaba, perhaps Rehab, near Turmanin. Cf. Riha = Rugia, south of Edlip. (*Rey. Syria.*)
127.  . Tunipa. This important strategic point is Tennib, south of Ezzaz. *Nöldeke. Zeit.*, 1876, 10. Cf.  on pillars at Soleb. *Leps. D. III, Bl. 88.* A town of the Ruten, with lords called *Marina* מרין, but a town of the Kheta, with a Sutekh in the treaty of Râmeses II. The Dunip of the Tel el-Amarna tablets.
128. Erased except , *ā*, at the end.
129. Erased.
130. *Corr.*  . *Gol.*  . *Maspero.* Tsarebu. Zerbi, near Khan Tumân, south-west of Aleppo. (See "Unexplored Syria," Vol. II, p. 192.) Perhaps Assyrian Sarbûa. ("Wo lag das Paradies?" p. 277.)  
Semitic צרב, "to be dry or rough." *Gesenius; cf. Anazarba.*
131. *Corr.*  . *Gol.* Shepkasha.  *Maspero.* Perhaps es-Sâbbakha (salt lake), with suffix. Cf. 143, 270. Or es-Sâfikh (see *Sachau*, 102).
132.  . Nii. *Ninus vetus*, on Euphrates. (See "Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, pp. 316, &c.) See Amenhotep II. *Zeit.* 1879, 58. In Babelon's Map Ni is marked north of Biredjik.
133. Erased.
134.  . Ar. Assyrian *Arâ*, mentioned with Khasu. ("Wo lag das Paradies?" p. 277.) Tell 'Âra near the district of el-Khâss (see *Sachau*, 454.)

135. *Corr.*  . *Gol. and Maspero.* I fancy the second  is an error, and that we have perhaps this name in Safirieh, south-east of Tell 'Âra.
136. *Corr.*  . *Gol. and Maspero.* See 197, 271. Perhaps Zoukera. East of Homs. (*Rey.*)
137. *Corr.*  . *Gol. and Maspero.* Tse-ret. Cf. צררת, Tsererath. Jud. vii, 22. Perhaps Ziaret Keui, north-west of Aleppo (*Rey.*)
138.  . *Maspero.* Anam'â. Perhaps Ghanama on Sajûr (*Rey. Syria.*) See *Sachau*, 159.
139.  Arets-kna.? ארץ כנה, district of כנה of Ezek. xxvii, 23 (Caneh, A.V.), mentioned with Kharran and ערן, the neighbourhood of Bîrejîk on Euphrates. Cf. Ichuâ on Belikh. (*Spruner.*) LXX. Xavaâ. Vulg., Chene.
140.  Khal-kakhi, perhaps Khalkis, modern Kanasîr, on the Khalus. Cf. Khal, Egyptian name of North Syria. Possibly Khalkitis, east of Euphrates.
141. *Corr.*  . *Gol.* Buresu. But Maspero clearly reads  Tsursu. Cf. Tsurshu, a mountain of silver. ("Wo lag das Paradies?" p. 102.)
142.  Lelti. Probably the La'la'ti on the left bank of Euphrates, in the district of Bit-Adini. ("Wo lag das Paradies?" p. 264.) Cf. Lallid. *Schr.* 1 Kings xvi, 29, = Tell Lelid, south of Killis.

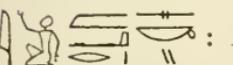
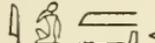
143. *Corr.*  *Gol. and Maspero.*  
 Sarqasha. *Cf.* 234, also ,  
 and Assyrian Sarbûa. Assyrian Sirki, *Circesium*  
 on Euphrates, Kerkisîeh. *Cf.* the terminal *sh* in  
 Gar-gami-sh and Gar-imeri-sh. (Hommel, "Vor-  
 Semitischen Kult.," p. 178.) "*Shina* or *Shi*, which  
 now forms the locative in Georgian, is the old  
 word for house." *Sayce. Insc. of Van*, 411.
144. Erased.
145. *Corr.*  *Gol. Unai.*   
*Maspero*, Urnai, but read , perhaps  
 el-'Awêne, with a *tell*, north-east of Kerkesîeh, on  
 the Khabûr. Or el Aouani, south of Kala'at em  
 Medik. (*Rey.*)
146.  Aunfl. Anfil, west of Ma'aret en Na'aman.
147.  Itakhab. Tell Dahab, south-west of  
 Hamah.
148. *Corr.*  *Gol. Auniuqa.* For  *cf.*  
 153, 349. Annucas in Mesopotamia (Procopius),  
 which seems to be the Anaugas taken by Tho-  
 mes III: "beyond Kirkesion," says Procopius.  
 It is, I think, 'Anka, where there are ruins, west  
 of Euphrates.
149. *Corr.*  *Gol. and Maspero . . . tsna.*
150. *Corr.*  *Gol. Saqani.*  *Maspero.*  
 Saqahi.
151.  Auberrina.
152.  *Maspero.* Tsariunsu, or Tsaliunsu.  
*Cf.* Tsariunu in Babylonia. Perhaps et Terimsy,  
 north of Hamah.

153.  Suqa. Lenormant thinks it the Sukkia of Sargon, to be sought towards Nairi. ("Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 325). Cf. 150.

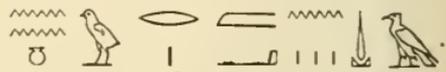
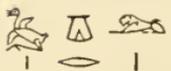
154. *Corr.*  . Gol. Pa-Tseru. Cf. 135, and  , Tsar, or Tsaru, in the Delta. I think the key to this name is *tséru*, "plain," or "desert." (Schrader, "Keilinschriften," etc., p. 514; "Wo lag das Paradies?" p. 144.) "The official name of Dêr on Euphrates, with its large district, is still Zôr." *Sachau*, 263.

155.  . Satekh-beg. Three or four years ago I noted: "is it Sutekh-beg = Ba'al-bek?" I now find Lenormant writing: "La ville de Satekh, ou Sutekh" ("Les Origines de l'Histoire, Vol. III, p. 287). The name is spelt variously (Meyer, "Set-Typhon"),  ,  ,  ; and I know not why the scribe should not have written  for Sutekh. Sayce and Lenormant compare Suki-beki (259); and the latter also the Da-bigû of Shalmaneser II, and Ma-bog = the town of Ma, apparently (he thinks) the Hittite name of the goddess called by the Semitic Aramæans 'Athar-'athê = Targata ("Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 287). Sayce reads the name of a town conquered by Shalmaneser II, Sikhisatak (Rec., Vol. V, p. 35). Is there a Sutekh here?

Professor Sayce tells me that Sikhisatak was a town in the Kurdish mountains, east of Euphrates.

156.  : *Maspero*. Amâr-seki. Here is the name of the Amorite, read elsewhere  ,  . For termination, cf. Tell Haour-

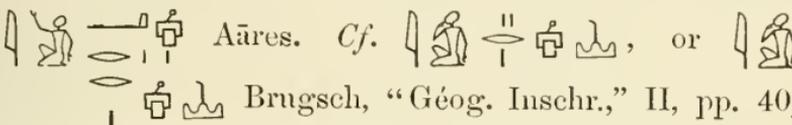
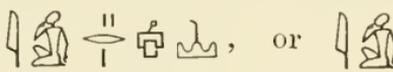
sak, east of Killis (*Rey, Syria*). and a "rock fort called Kara Saki," east of Tunuz. (*Ainsworth, Asia Minor*, I, 239.)

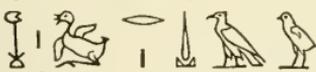
157. . Kharres, ? Kharis, south-west of 'Aintab: perhaps *חררס*, from "Sun-worship" (as in Isaiah xiv, 18. Scarcely Killis. (*Conder. Pal. Exp. F. Qt. St.*, 1884, p. 19.) Possibly Khalessa, west of Membij. (*Rey.*)
158. *Corr.* . *Gol.*  
Nenuren-ānatsa. .  
*Maspero.* Nenu-rem'ān-tsa. *Cf.* 294, this seems to involve the name of the god Rammānu, the god of Aleppo. *Cf.* Bel-remoun, near Aleppo. For the suffix *-za cf.* Mardib and Mardib-za.
159. . Shaiuren-tha. *Cf.* Sûrunu (*Delitsch, "Wo lag das Paradies?"* p. 264). Perhaps Saourana, east of Ezzaz. (*Rey, Syria.*)
160. . *Maspero.* Mäirrekhnas. Lenormant writes: "Perhaps the same as the Urrakhinash of the prism of Tiglath Pileasar I, in the land of Qurkhi or Qurtse, near Qummukh." ("Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 325.) But Sayce notes that Murrûkhe is the name given by the king of Mitanni to his kingdom in his letter to the Egyptian king.
161. . Tseger-el. *Cf.* 197. A-tseker, 271. A variant of the Degar-el mentioned by the Mohar on his way to Hamath. Degar would be Aramaic.
162. Erased, except determinative ☉.
163. . Qaretu or Qaletu. Possibly Karat near Ezzaz.

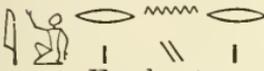
164.  Tarizā. Perhaps Teridja, north of Ezzaz. (*Rey, Syria.*)

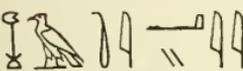
165. *Erased.*

166.  Arits. Perhaps Ertezi, south of Ezzaz.

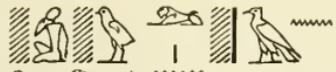
167.  Aāres. Cf. , or   
 Brugsch, "Géog. Inschr.," II, pp. 40, 41). Probably," says Lenormant, "the *Urusu* of the prism of Tiglath Pileser I, a mountainous district of the land of Kharia, near Khurkhi." ("Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 325.) Probably, I think, Arshia, south-west of Ezzaz. (*Arrowsmith.*)

168. *Corr.*  *Gol.* Khetslezau, perhaps Kiliza, modern Killiz, var. of Khauretsa. (Lenormant, "Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 326.) Cf. 173 for the termination.

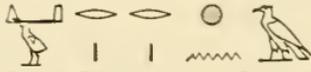
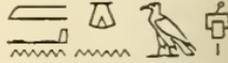
169.  Arnir. Arimara, or Arinara, on Euphrates (Lenormant, "Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 326). (Spruner, Map XXVII.)

170.  Khatāāi. Cf. Khātiā or Khatēa. ("Wo lag das Paradies?" Khata, "Hittite," see 185. *Sayce.*)

171. *Erased.*

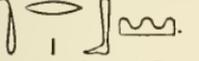
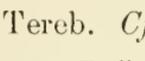
172. *Corr.*  *Gol.* Aur\*an.   
 *Maspero.* A\*urtsna.

173. *Corr.*  *Gol. and Maspero.*  
 "This," says Maspero, "seems identical with the  of the inscription of Amon-emheb" (*Zeit.*, 1879, p. 58). See No. 280. (Cf. Chabas, "Mélanges Eg.," 3 Série, Vol. II, p. 294.)

174. *Corr.*  . *Gol.* Kakha.  *Maspero.*
175. Imperfect. Ar \* \* \* .
176. *Corr.*  . *Gol. and Maspero.* Khaza \* \* .  
Perhaps Khatsatsu. Assyrian Khazazu or Khazazi, modern Ezzaz in North Syria. ("Wo lag das Paradies?" p. 274.) ? Semitic. *cf.* חֲזַז, "gravel." *Gesenius.*
177. *Corr.*  . *Gol.* Murrekhna  .  
&c. *Maspero.* *Cf.* 160. Perhaps Mourkan, north-east of Ezzaz. (*Rey, Syria.*)
178.  . *Maspero.*
179. *Corr.*  . Tul \* \* \* . *Gol.*  *Maspero.*
180. *Corr.*  . Tseri \* \* \* . *Gol. and Maspero.*
181. *Corr.*  . S \* \* \* \* . *Gol.*
184.  . Anaubenu, *pl.* Lenormant compares the second element with 226. Athebena ("Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 288). For the former, *cf.* Anau-gas, Anau-tasenu, Anaurepā.
185.  . Khatuma. This name occurs in the travels of the Mohar ("Pap Anast.," I). Perhaps Katma, north of Menesie. (*Rey, Syria.*)
186. *Corr.*  . *Gol.* Magnasa.  *Maspero.* Mangnes. A Magnesia. The *g* may be lost as in Magnesia ad Sipylum, now Manisia. Perhaps Menesie, north of Tennib.
187. *Corr.*  . *Gol.* Tepkenna. Perhaps Doukenna near Ezzaz.

188.  Thuthna-u. *pl.* Tutun, east of Killis.  
(*Rey, Syria.*)

189.  Nireb. Nerab, south-east of Aleppo  
(*Rey*). "Nirba is mentioned in the Vannic texts  
as being in the Hittite neighbourhood." (*Sayce.*)

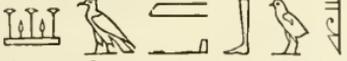
190.  Tereb. *Cf.*  of Rameses III  
III (*Ros. "M. R.," pl. exxiii*). Tereb, south-west  
of Aleppo (*Rey*). Maspero adopts Nerab and  
Tereb for the last and this. (*Zeit. f. Aeg. Spr.*  
1885, p. 6.)

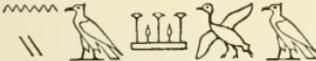
191.  Atugeren. Possibly Dukarnoun,  
north-east of Aleppo (*Rey*). "Atu, perhaps Ate  
or Attys." *Cf.* "Dabigu = Adabigu." *Sayce.*  
אתאכרניס. *Cf.* Ball, *Proc. S.B.A.*, 1887, 68.

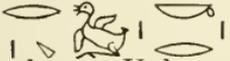
192. *Corr.*  *Gol. and Maspero.*

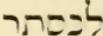
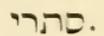
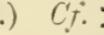
193. *Corr.*  *Gol.*  *Maspero.*

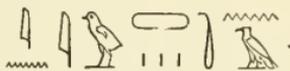
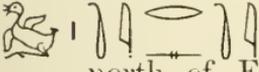
194. *Corr.*  *Gol.*

195. *Corr.*  *Gol. and Maspero.*  
Shām'ābu (*cf.* 159. Shaiurentha; 207. Shairnakai;  
211. Shaia nauregna). Shām'ābu must be a plant-  
name (*see det.*), as M. Maspero writes to me.

196.  Niāshepa. Perhaps Nisaf,  
south-west of Hamah. (*Rey, Syria.*)

197. *Corr.*  *Gol.* Atseker. *Cf.* 271, Tsat-  
seker. Hebrew זכר. *See* Sha-imêri-zikâri-shu  
("Wo lag das Paradies?" p. 280). Assyrian *zikaru*,  
"image, signe commémoratif." (*Lenormant*,  
"Syllabaires," 107). Perhaps Zoukera, east of  
Homs (*Rey.*)

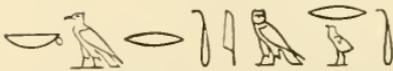
198.  Abatha. Cf. 232. Perhaps Kefr Abid, north-east of Homs.
199.  Tsires. Perhaps Zerraa, south of Homs.  
(*Rey.*)
200.  Autil. (?) Aoudjel, west of Aleppo.  
(*Rey.*)
201.  Natuba.
202.  Tsetar-seth. Cf. 216. Tsetar-seta : 223. Ta-sita ; also cf. , Esther i. 10, and Satarna. . prince of Naharina (*Zeit.*, 1880-82). A seal at Aleppo bore the Phoenician prince's name  (G. Smith, "Assyrian Discoveries." p. 426). Cf. Biblical names . סתרי. With the prince's name I would compare Sathourin, south-east of Latakieh (*Rey.*). If  be the god Set, it is noticeable that he is not yet banished, witness Deir Seta, north of Edlip.
203.  Aithua. Perhaps this name and the next may be referred to the Itu'a and Sukkia mentioned by Sargon in his Khorsabad inscription.
204.  Sukāuā. Cf. 153, 259.
205.  Tuaub. Kefr Tōb. "ancient town," north of Hamah. ("Porter." p. 582.) Cf. . *G. du Talmud*, 398. Kafar-Tab. *Mukaddasi*, 10, 94.
206. *Corr.* . *Gol.* and *Maspero*. Abel-teth. Possibly meadow, or irrigated land, of Tat, at mouth of Wād̄y Tat, on the way from Aleppo to Kinnesrīn: "ruins" there. (See "Unexplored Syria," Vol. II, p. 183.)

207.  Shairnakai. Cf. 159, 195, 211.  
Sarnuca, east of Euphrates, opposite to Barbalissus. (*Spruner.*)
208.  Aurma, identical with 313. *Ἰουρμα γύγαντος*. Maspero, *Zeit.*, 1879, 55. Ouroum, west of Euphrates.
209. Imperfect. . Maspero. \* \* thnai. Perhaps Batnæ between Kharran and Euphrates; Padan. Apparently the name lingers at Tell Feddân.
210. *Corr.* . *Gol.* \*a [or m] ta. . Maspero. \* \* natha.
211. *Corr.* . *Gol. and Maspero.* Shaianauregna. Cf. 207, 214.
212.  Kainâb. Cannaba, between Edessa and Euphrates. (*Spruner.*) Cf. the Kinabu of Assurnazirpal.
213.  Als. Cf. 236,  (See Brugsch, "Geog. Inschr.," Vol. II, p. 40, plate xiii; Chabas, "Études," &c., 260).
214. *Corr.* . *Gol.* . Maspero. Anautena, Anadôn, north-west of Aleppo.
215.  Atsena. Perhaps (*Rey*) ed-Djineh, west-south-west of Aleppo.
216.  Tsetarsetha. Cf. 202. Deir Seta, north of Edlip, not far from Deir el Benât, 217, and west of ed-Djineh, 215.
217.  Tulbenta "Tul-bentha (Semitic, 'mound of the daughter')." Sayce, *Trans. Soc.*

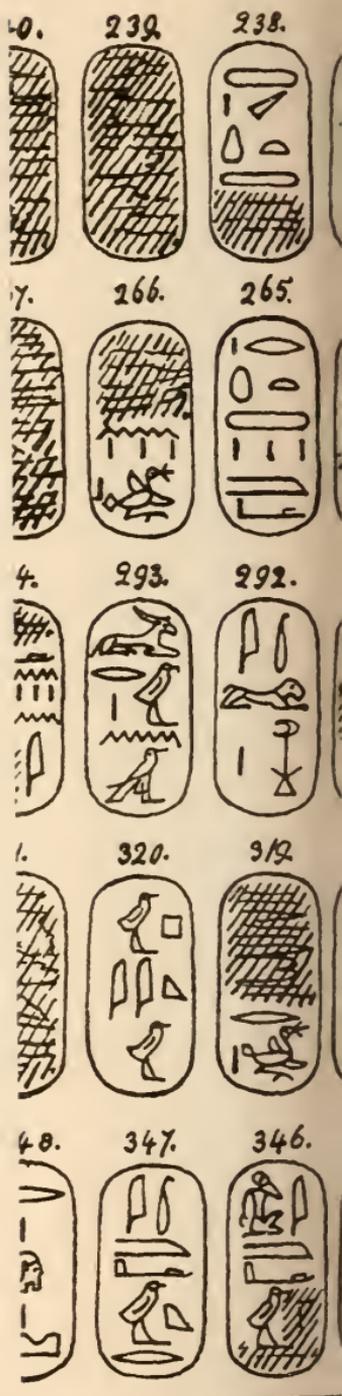
*Bib. Arch.*, Vol. VII, p. 290. Cf. Dur-ummubanit, built in Babylonia by Khammuragas ("Wo lag das Paradies"? p. 191). Also cf. Kar-banta, *ibid.*, p. 190; and Kar-baniti in the Delta of Egypt (see Oppert, "Rapports," etc., pp. 84, 98; Schrader, "Die Keilinschriften," p. 175, n).

M. Maspero (*Zeit. f. Aeg. Spr.*, 1885, p. 5) proposes to read "Dour-Binti," and identifies this place with the fortified village of Deir el-Banat, the *Castrum Puellarum* of Eastern Latin Chronicles, nearly midway between Aleppo and Antioch. I am inclined to read Dûr- instead of Tûl- after reading M. Maspero's remarks, and to accept his identification.

Professor Sayce suggests to me, "perhaps 'mound of the creatress (goddess) [*baniti*].'" Evidently the טורבנת of *Geog. du Talmud*, 418.

218.  Māuti. Perhaps the Yari-muta of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, now (I think) Armûthia, south of Killis. Cf. 318.
219. *Corr.*  *Gol.* and *Maspero.* Naapi. Perhaps Nappi-gi (=Ki, suffix), near Mût-kinu. This may be Nabagath marked by Spruner as identical with Khabura, east of Euphrates, south of Khabûr (Map XXVII).
220. *Corr.*  *Gol.* and *Maspero.* Perhaps to be read Akhmaul, and now Akhmil, east of Tennib.
221.  Atur. "The country of Ya'turu of Assyrian texts, one of the districts of Patiu." ("Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 328; "Wo lag das Paradies?" p. 274.)
222.  Kartameruth. I used to take this for קרית מרת, Marathus. מרת on its coins. But this should begin with  $\Delta$  like 11 on









the list of Palestine, not with  (see, however, 270). And perhaps we have a clue in North Syria, for in Rey's Map I find west of Ezzaz a Karat, and about six miles south-south-west of Karat, Marat. These two names seem to give the materials of Karta-merut. For Marat, cf. Shitâ mrat. See 216, also 234. Marata, west of Tennib. (*Rey, Syria.*)

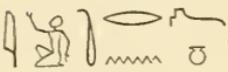
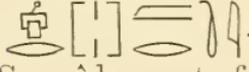
Professor Sayce notes " = ק in Kadesh." M. Maspero (*Zeit. f. Aeg. Spr.*, 1885, p. 6) reads this name "Gart-Amrouti," making the former element a dialectic variant of  , but not explaining the latter, nor identifying the place. My "Marat" may agree with this.

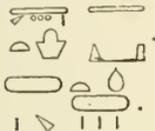
223.                         . A-sita, cf. 216, 202. Lenormant reads :  
"Asita, the Asati of the stela of Shamsi-rammân ;  
one of the districts of Nâiri." ("Les Origines de  
l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 328.)

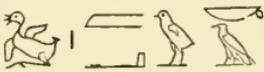
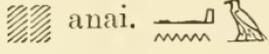
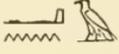
224.                         . Ta-nires.

225.\* *Corr.*                        . *Gol.* But Maspero reads             

the men of Khamath (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. VII. p. 270). Lenormant gives, "Asimu of the cuneiform documents, on the west bank of Euphrates." ("Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III. p. 328.) Yasimah. *see Geog. du Talmud*, 393.

228. . Athakar. Cf. 226, 286. "Atha-kar (?) "city of the goddess Athe." (Sayce, *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. VII, p. 289.) Idicara, on west bank of Euphrates. (*Spruner*.) For Kar, cf. 264, Kar-shaua. (*See Rev. C. J. Ball. Proceedings of S. B. A.*, 1887, 67.)
229. . Ta-tset. Perhaps Zaitha on the west bank of Euphrates.
230. . Athernu. Cf. 260.
231. *Corr.* . Gol. Thaākmr \* \* \*. Cf. 261. Perhaps Kefr Sedjimir, south-west of Ma'aret en No'aman. (*Rey, Syria*.)
232. . Abta, cf. 198. Obtin, south of Sarmada, 234.
233. Defective, Ar \* \* \* .
234. *Corr.* . Gol. S \* rmeret \*.  
. *Maspero*. Sarmāda, cf. 143.  
 Sarmēda, west of Aleppo.
235. . Antsakāb. *See Rev. C. J. Ball, Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1887, 67.
236. . Alsa. *See the same name after Arthu, Rameses III (Chabas, "Études. etc.*, 260). Now known to be the Alashiya of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. *See 298*.

237.  Alta. Lenormant reads Arotha = Arudis, on Euphrates. ("Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 238.) North of Birejîk, on the west bank. Rather Alatis near Sura, west of Euphrates.
238. *Corr.*  *Gol.* Ta-tatu. Maspero reads Atâu, *pl.*, perhaps Athis, west of Alatis.
- 239 to 243. Erased, except 240.  *Gol.* and *Maspero.*
244. Defective  *Gol.*
245. Erased.
246. *Corr.*  *Gol.* Lebu.  *Maspero.* Khalebu, east of the river. (?) Accadian, "glory." (*Sayce, Hibbert Lectures.*) Khelebi on Euphrates. Bit-Khalupe, "Khilibu." Χαλυβων of Ptolemy (V. 15. 17). See description in Sachau, 256.
247. *Corr.*  *Gol. and Maspero.* Fariua. Paripa, west of Euphrates. *Lenormant*, "Les Origines de l'Histoire." Vol. III, p. 328. "Wo lag das Paradies?" p. 264.
248. *Sesben.*  *Zeit.* 1880, 47. Nos. 67, 74. "Paripa was a little south of the Sajûr. Sazabê was not far distant." *Sayce.* Sazabiê ("Wo lag das Paradies"? p. 268), fortified town of kings of Karkemish, on west bank of Euphrates. Now, I think, Tell Ksubbe. *Sachau*, 256.
249. *Corr.*  *Gol.*  *Maspero.* Ketâshâ. The name seems preserved at Gabr Abu 'Atish, a little above Tell Ksubbe, but on the east bank. *Sachau*, 256. (*Sayce.*)
- 250, 251. Erased.

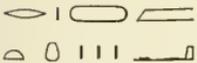
252.  Sur. Sûr on Euphrates (Suriyeh), capital of the Shukhites ("Wo lag das Paradies"? p. 279). (See *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 9th January, 1883.) Lenormant adopts this. "Suru in Bit-Khalupe." See 246.
253.  Pāpāa. Cf. 296. Lenormant writes: "Pappa, associated in the inscriptions of Sargon with Sukkia." ("Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 328.) See 153.
254.  Nutsena. Lenormant says: "the Nazama of Ptolemy, in the country of Apamea." ("Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 329.)
255.  Tsemauka. Es-Semmûga, south-east of Aleppo. (Sachau, 114.)
256. Defective  anai. .
257.  Gan-askhu. Perhaps Khan Shêkhûn, north of Hamah.
258. Erased.
259.  Sukibaki. For-baki, cf. 155, Satekh-beg, and Ba'albek. For Suki, cf. Sukkia ("Wo lag das Paradies"? p. 294), and 153, 204. (See "Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 287.)
260. *Corr.*  Gol. Tarnu. Perhaps Kefr Torin, west of Hamah. (*Rey.*)
261. *Corr.*  Gol. Kamru. Prof. Maspero suggests to me that the determinative shows Kamru to be a Hittite word for "house" or "fortress," perhaps "temple."

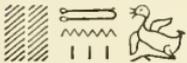
There is a place Kammâra south-west of Aleppo. (Sachau.)

262. *Corr.*  Gol. Atuba. Perhaps Hatab, north-west of Hamah. (*Rey. Syria.*)

263.  Athini. Atini ("Wo lag das Paradies?" p. 277). Atin, west-south-west of Ma'arat en No'aman ("Unexplored Syria," Vol. II, p. 208). Lenormant says: "*Athini*, which the Assyrian documents call *Adenu*, a town depending on Khalvanu = Aleppo." ("*Les Origines de l'Histoire*," Vol. III, p. 329.)

264.  Kar shāuā, *cf.* 228. 282. In *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1883, p. 59, I have given my reasons for thinking that Shāuā refers to the Shaua (or Shasu) Bedawîn. In Kiepert's map of north Syria we find a hill-country of Schawa west of Membidj.

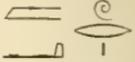
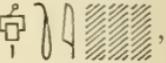
265.  Letā-mā. "Leta region" (*Sayce.*) Tell Lata, north of Ma'arat en No'aman.

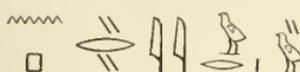
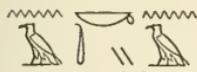
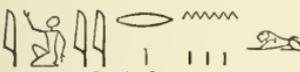
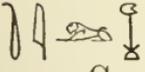
266. *Corr.*  Gol. and Maspero \*\* thents. Teftanaz, north-east of Kefr Lata, seems likely.

267 to 269. Erased.

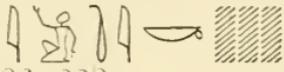
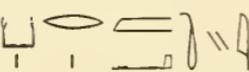
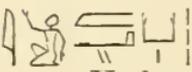
270. *Corr.*  Gol. Karkamāsha. M. Golenischeff was so happy as to read distinctly this great name on the wall at Karnak. In the inscription of Amen-em-heb it is spelt  Qariqamiāsha (*Zeit.*, 1880, p. 85), and the great bend of the Euphrates mentioned, which washed two sides of the city Jerablūs. Maspero corrects here .

271.  Tsatseqā. *Cf.* 136, 161, 197.

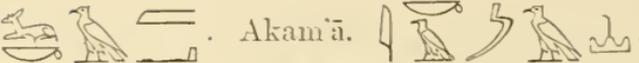
272.  Māurmār. Māur = Amāur  
(Sayce). Cf. Hittite personal name   
. Maursar. There is a Murmur east-  
north-east of Dead Sea (Warren's "Reconn." 1867. *Pal. Expl. F. Quart. Stat.*) Cf. also Mar-  
marica and the Mauri in North Africa, and the  
Libyan king Marmain.
273. Defective. Set \* \* \*. . Corr. ,  
Maspero. Setha \* \* \*.
- 274 to 278. Erased.
279.  Khāitu. Cf. Hāit, north of Riblah.
280.  Pederi. Pethor (Brugsch), the Pitru of  
Assyrian records; a Hittite name. says Shalman-  
neser II; the same name as Pteria, now Boghaz-  
keui, a great Hittite capital in Cappadocia.
281.  Atliten-u (pl.). Suggests Tultân.  
north-east of Aleppo. (*Rey. Syria.*) But it must  
be Thilati Comum, east of Euphrates, and not far  
from Ledjah.
282.  Mashaua. Cf. 264, see   
 in Pap. Anast. I ("The Mohar's  
Travels"). ? Land of Shaua, as Magog, land of  
Gog. It is interesting to find   
reappear to the west of Egypt (Brugsch,  
"Geog. Inschr.," Vol. III, pp. 79, 80) in the  
Maxyans. Lenormant makes Māshaua the  
mountain range of Masius. ("Les Origines de  
l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 329.) But I cannot agree.  
We find Schawa, a mountain district west of Mem-  
bidj, in Kiepert's map *Nord-Syrien*.

283. *Corr.*  *Gol. and Maspero.* *Allega:*  
Alligü of the Assyrians; clearly Tell el Alaidjeh  
(south of Jerablûs) in Rey's map. (*See Sachau,*  
170.)
284.  *Nepiriuriu.* Some fortress on  
Euphrates called by Thothmes III Neferu-râ after  
his favourite daughter. *See Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.,*  
XI, 78.
285.  *Nakdina, Assyrian Nuqudina,* mentioned  
with Khazu (Ḥass), and Arâ (Tel Arâ). *See*  
No. 134.
286.  *Atama.* *Cf.* 226, 228, 297.  
*Cf. Adamim in the Mohar's Travels.*
287.  *Abrennu.* ?Afrîn River. Assyrian  
*Aprië.* But perhaps Aboron below Anatho on  
Euphrates.
288.  *Aïrenel.* ?Aïran, north of Birejik.
289.  *Aïrenel* (identical name with 288).  
?Aïlan, north-east of Aleppo, or *vice versâ.*
290.  *Annâui* (*read* ). *Tell Annazi,*  
*Sachau,* 144: *cf.* Tharg-annas in the poem of  
*Pentaür.*
291.  *Maspero.* *Thaknu.* Perhaps Tell Tokan,  
south of el Matkh. ("Unexplored Syria," Vol. II,  
p. 80.) *Cf.* Tukhan of Tiglath-pileser II.
292.  *Talekh.* M. Maspero proposes *Δολίχη* in  
Commagene (north of 'Aintab). (*Zeit.,* 1879, p.  
55.) *Doulouk.* (*Rey, Syria.*) *Cf.* תלה (man's  
name) 1 Chron. vii, 25. There was a Talâkh on  
the Eulæus. ("Wo lag das Paradies?" p. 327.)

But we may read Darkha, and it may be Tell Abu-Derihā near the salt-lake es-Sábakha (*Sachau*, 113).

293.  Aurna. Cf. Assyrian Arna (Sayce); so Lenormant, "near Euphrates." Tell Aran south-east of Aleppo?
294.  Maspero. Remānāi. This seems to involve Rammānu (Rimmon). Possibly Bel-Ramûn, south-east of Aleppo. Rimmon was the god of Aleppo.
295. Erased.
296. Defective. *Corr.* . *Gol.* Papa \* . (Perhaps Paphara; Ptolemy, V, 15. 13.)
297. Defective.  Maspero. Attak \* \* . Cf. 286, 228.
298. Defective. Arsha\*.  Maspero. Perhaps Arshia, south-west of Ezzaz. (*Arrow-smith*). See 236.
299.  Maspero. Mari \* \* . Perhaps Mariana, very near Ezzaz.
306.  Aibre. Cf. 287, and the name of the river Afrin, and town of same name (*Baedeker*).
307.  Qarmātia. Karamata. on the descent from the Beilân pass to the Umk plain. See map in "Lares and Penates," "ruins of a great town of antiquity," near (*Sachau*, 464).
308.  Amāiku (pl.). "Perhaps the present Umk plain preserves the name. near Antioch" (*Conder*). Clearly so. "The corn-store of all Syria" (*Sachau*). Cf. Ameuk Keui, south-east of the Lake of Antioch. (*Rey, Syria*.)

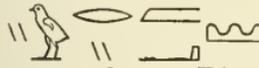


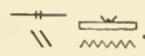
315.  Akamä.  (Brugsch. "Geog. Insc.," II, 44.) Akma Dagħ. north of Pieria. Cf. אַמְמָא. ("Géo. du Talmud." p. 368.) Cf. , proper name of a man. (Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. VI, pp. 288, 404.)
316.  Pureth. Hebrew ברת. Assyrian Burattu. Euphrates. El Burât. east of Euphrates. south of Jerablûs. (Rey, Syria.) There was in later times a district of Euphratesia.
317.  Maspéro. Sarresu. Cf. "Sutekh of the city of Saresu," in the Hittite treaty (Brugsch, "Hist.," Vol. II, p. 72; "Rec. of Past," Vol. IV, p. 31.) Cf. Sirasu, king of the Shingurial. (Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. III, p. 293.) Srêsât, west of Euphrates, opposite to el-Bûrat with ruins. (Sachau.)
318.  Aripenekha. Lenormant thinks Aripenekha. "perhaps a variant of Arrapkha. in the neighbourhood of the Kheta-u. ("Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, pp. 278, 330.)
319.  Maspéro, Arits. Cf. 139, 166. Perhaps to be read with the following name.
320.  Puquiu.
321. Erased, except  Maspéro.
322.  Thinnur. Cf. 'Ain et Tannûr, south of lake of Homs. (See Conder, "Heth and Moab, p. 36, &c.) There are Tannûrins north of Afka. Perhaps Thannurium in Mesopotamia. (Procopius, p. 57.) On or near the river Khabûr.

323.  Tsernas. "Perhaps Surunu of the cuneiform texts, on the right bank of the Euphrates." ("Les Origines de l'Histoire, Vol. III, p. 339.) Rather Tsaûran, east of Ezzaz. (*Rey, Syria.*)

324.  *Maspero.* Nurenas. Kefr Nuran, south-west of Aleppo. (*Rey.*)

325 to 332. Erased.

333.  Iurimā. Urima, west of Euphrates, above Birejik, now Urúm. ("Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 331.) Rather Urim, south-west of Aleppo." There are three Urims in this ancient district.

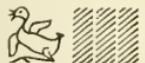
334. Defective. *Corr.* . . *Gol. and Maspero.*

336. Defective. . *Maspero.*

337. . Defective. Shārr \* \* \*. Perhaps Sharrah, west of Aleppo. "Unexplored Syria," Vol. II, p. 200.

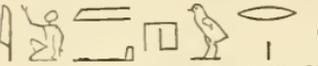
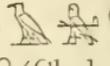
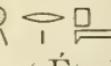
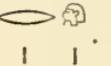
338. . *Maspero.* Thithup. Têtif, east of Aleppo.

339. Defective. A \* \* \* \*.

340. 341. . *Maspero.* Ts\* \* \* \*.

342. Defective. . *Maspero.* Tserkhu.\* Perhaps Zarka, on the way from Aleppo to Palmyra.

343. . Shuserenu. *Maspero.* (*Cf.* Sisaurana at the head of the Khabûr in Babelon's map), Possibly Shaizar, now called Kala'at-Sedjar).

344. . *Maspero*. Atsānniu. Atshan, south-east of Ma'aret en Noa'mon. ("Unexplored Syria," Vol. II, pp. 201, 205.)
345. . *Maspero*. Abshatna.
346.  or perhaps . *Maspero*. Cf. 122. ? Tell Amouryn, south of Apamea. (*Arrowsmith*.)
347. . Thamāqur. Cf.  and  (Chabas, "Études," 2 ed., p. 216; XIX, dny., p. 110). This word of varied form seems to signify "heaven" (*see* determinative.) Cf. Mazmakhôr, south of 'Aintab. (*Rey, Syria*.)
348. . Retep. (𐤒 Aram. = 𐤒), רֶזֶף, Hebrew, "applied to a long stony valley." (*P. E. F. Name List*, p. 345. Rezeph. on the way to Euphrates from Palmyra. (2 Kings, xix, 12; Is. xxxvii, 12.) Assyrian Ratsâpa ("Wo lag das Paradies?" p. 297). modern Resâfeh. ("Les Origines de l'Histoire," Vol. III, p. 330.)
349. . Māuriqa. Modern Mûrik. "Two tells, one conspicuous." ("Unexplored Syria," Vol. II, p. 170.) North-north-east of Hamah.
350. Defective. . A \* \* \* \*. All after this erased to the end.



THE KARNAK LISTS OF THOTHMES III, RELATING  
TO NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN SYRIA.

BY THE REV. HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS.

*Introductory Remarks.*

THESE very interesting Tribute-lists have been kept back till the present volume of Transactions for further study. I have thus been enabled to profit by the corrections of the text given by Prof. Maspero, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, and his studies on the Palestine lists published and forthcoming in the Transactions of the Victoria Institute.

The important travels of Prof. Sachau (*Reise in Syria und Mesopotamien, Leipzig, 1883*); and the new Map of Northern Syria, by Rey and Thuillier (*Paris, Hachette, 1885*), have been of the greatest use; and of course in preparing the list of Palestine I have constantly used the maps and volumes of the Palestine Exploration Fund. I have not willingly neglected any means of information within my reach, and my thanks are due to the constant kindness of Professors Sayce and Maspero and other scholars.

In appealing to Assyriologists, I little imagined that Upper Egypt itself would bring forth such surprising records as the cuneiform tablets of Tell el-Amarna, which promise so much light for our researches, and have already yielded not a little.

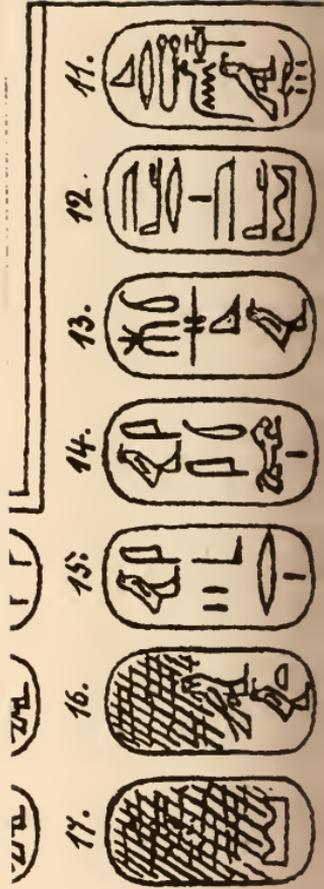
These despatches and reports in Babylonian cuneiform to Pharaohs of the XVIIIth dynasty shew us how completely the tide of conquest had swung back, how natural it was that the great fortified posts and emporia of the Euphrates should be garrisoned by Egypt; and moreover entirely account for the various Semitic forms in which we find many topographical names recorded. Take for instance

No. 122. Amātu, which I have held to be the name of Hamath as it stands in Assyrian annals. Many tributary returns may have been sent to Egypt in cuneiform, and transliterated into hieroglyphic for the mural inscriptions. Babylonian scribes as well as Egyptians were employed in such service, and doubtless Syrians, and the like.

This accounts for many interesting variants, and doubtless the reading and translation of these tablets will enlighten our eyes still more as time goes on.

Certain other studies of mine bearing on these Karnak Lists may be found in the volumes of Transactions of the British Association for Manchester (1887, Sect. H), and Bath (1888, Sect. E). These appear in more detailed treatment in the *Transactions of the Anthropological Institute* (Feb., 1889), and in the *Biblical and Oriental Record* (Vol. III, No. I and No. V), including a comparison of results drawn from Assyrian sources.





**B**

B

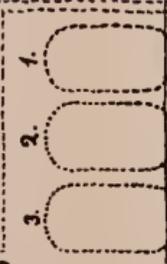


PLATE II.

GEOGRAPHICAL LIST OF PLACES IN SYRIA,

CAPTURED BY THOTHMES III.

FROM THE GREAT TEMPLE AT KARNAK.

MARIETTE PLATES, 19 20 21

Trans. See Bibl. Arab. Vol. VII

B

C



C

A

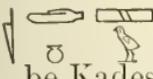


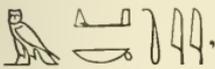
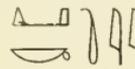
TRIBUTE-LISTS OF THOTHMES III,  
SOUTHERN SYRIA.

BY THE REV. HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS.

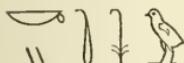
(PLATES I AND II.)

N.B.—An introductory paper on the Campaign of Thothmes against Megiddo is included among the "Proceedings," May 3, 1887.

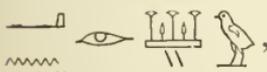
1. . *Qedeshu*. The history shows that this must be Kadesh on Orontes, as Professor Maspero holds.

2.  , . *Magedi*. Megiddo, where the allies were assembled in full force. "Take Megiddo," said Thothmes, "and we take a thousand towns." The name remains at Khürbet el Müjedd'a. *LX Pl., Mem. II, 90.*

3. . *Khāūi*. Corrected by Prof. Sayce and Mr. Wilbour . "Khazi of the Tel el-Amarna Tablets, an important city in the hill-country south of Megiddo. It seems to be the Gaza of 1 Chr., vii, 28, near Shechem." *Sayce.*

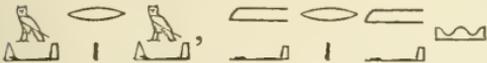
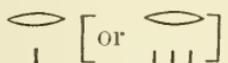
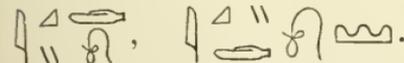
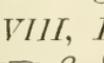
4.  ;  , . Maspero. *Kithsunā, Kithsun, Kitsunā*. "The Kuddasuna or Quddasuna of the Tell el-Amarna Tablets." *Sayce.* Perhaps Tell Keisân, *V, Lg. N. L., 117; Mem. I, 352.* The , , , may have dropped, as in Bethshan = Beisân, of which the modern name is the same, save the initial, as Keisân. Maspero adopts Jett, *XI, Km, N. L., 183. Mem. II, 94; after Conder. Cf. 37.*

There is a Khürbet Keisân west of Hûleh water, *IV, Pe, Mem. I, 240.*

5.  , . 'Anshiu, 'Anshu. (*Cf. 31, Lius, Lus.*). Perhaps 'Ain es Sîh. *V, Jh, N. L., 106; Mem. I, 268,* a great spring, west of Carmel, with gardens round it.



175.) But there was the Kariyat al 'Uyûn of Mukadasi (95), now Tell Dibbîn, between Upper Jordan and Litâny, on the way to Damascus. It is the Biblical 'Iyôn, עיין.

12.  מרומ, Merom, Meirôn. *IV, Oe, Mem. I, 198*; "Géog. du Talmud," 228. This is generally agreed. See a man of Merom, bearded, with long garment and girdle, in Brugsch, "Geog. Inschr.," II, taf. VI.
13. . Demesqu. דמיסק, Assyr. Dimâsqi, Dimasqa, &c. Damascus. Merom is on one route from Egypt to Damascus; and next, I think, we have several places to secure the great eastern road across Jordan to Damascus which Mūjedda and Bethshan (Beisân) would guard on the western side of the river. See No. 27.
14. . Atar. Cf. Heb. אטר, "to shut, or enclose." &c. Perhaps et Tîreh, 2 miles east-south-east of Tell 'Ashterah. "Across the Jordan," 220.
15.  [or ]. Aubil, אוביל, so the word is fully spelt in the Talmuds, meaning "stream." It may be taken in connection with the next name.
16. . Hemtu. Perhaps the fine ruin-strewn site Khūrbet Hamâteh, about 12 miles east of Gerasa, with "a stream of excellent water." ("Across the Jordan," II, 51, 74.) But generally taken as Hammath of Galilee at Tiberias, and this may be right.
17. . Maspero. Aqidu. I fear that the places in Sheets VIII, IX, called 'Aqid or 'Aqûd, throw no light on our Aqidu. There is, however 'Aqqâdech, VIII, Lk. But I would compare  with the  allies of Kadesh and Megiddo who were taken captive by Thothmes, and trace the name

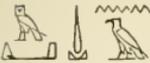
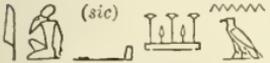
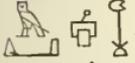
in Beit Qâd, six miles west of Kh. Mũjedd'a, IX. *Ol.* and perhaps in Kefr Qâd 7 miles further west, VIII. *Ml.*

Inlaid seats from Qadi, and also beer, were imported into Egypt (*Chabas, Ml.* 1862, 15). If the  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{O} \\ \text{V} \\ \text{W} \end{smallmatrix}$  allies against Rameses II were the same (I would compare Kati King of Quê, and the female slave  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{O} \\ \text{V} \\ \text{W} \end{smallmatrix}$  of Aradus, of the papyrus of Bek-amen, *T.S.B.A.* VII, 415, and the horses from the  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{O} \\ \text{V} \\ \text{W} \end{smallmatrix}$  land); then it seems to me quite parallel with the doings of the Kheta that the Qadi also should be traced by outposts in Southern Syria, although Cilicia may have been their seat; and they may have been the Homeric Κήτριοι as well. *Les Origines*, III, 68, &c. At all events I think we may connect Beit Qâd with the Qadu, and probably with Aqidu.

18.   or  , *Shemna-u. Gol.*

   . Maspero. *Cf.* 35. I think we must understand this as שִׁמְנִים, "fat places" or fertile lands. There is a Tell es Semen, 1 mile south-east of Tireh (No. 14), and nearer to the great Hajj road from Arabia to Damascus, and to the upper stream of the Yarmûk. Dr. Merrill says of this district. "The natural wealth of the soil here is a constant surprise to me \* \* \*. The finest wheat in all Syria comes from these lava beds." "East of the Jordan." 333. A Tell es Semn is also found in Galilee. *V. Kh, Mem. I.* 353. It is possible that שִׁמְעֵן is intended, and that we have here Simeon the son of Jacob. Perhaps in that case our locality is not Tell es Semn, but the שִׁמְרֹן of Jos. xix, 15, which should be read probably שִׁמְעֵן, as the LXX give Συμσών, and the place is the Σιμωνιας of Josephus and שִׁמְוִיָּה of the Talmud, the Semûnieh of the map, *V. Mi, N.L.* 115; *Mem. I.* 339.

19.   . *Bartu, or Baltu.* Some בִּארְתָּ, possibly Khûrbet el Bîr, *V. Li.* Or ruins at 'Ain el Barideh, two miles from Tiberias (Conder).

20.  . *Matsna*. I think with Captain Conder that this is Khūrbet Madīn. *VI, Pj.* West of the Sea of Galilee. *Mem. I, 403.* 𐤀 Aram. = 𐤁 Canaanite. Schrader, "Die Keil.," 110. Madon. Josh. xi, 1. (Mariette.)
21.  . *Sarna*. Sarôna. *VI, Pi.* West of Sea of Galilee, 6 miles south of Khūrbet Madīn.
22.  . *Tubi*. Taiyibeh. *IX, Pi.* 7 miles south of Sarôna; Conder and Maspero.
23.  . *Batsna*. Probably Khūrbet Bessum. *VI, Pi,* a little north of Sarôna. *בצדה*. Conder.
24.  (sic)  . *Gol.* and *Masp. I.*  . *Mar., II and III.* *A'ūshma* or *Amashua*.
25.  . *Mesekh*. Meskhah, *VI, Pi.* "The place of unction." *N. L., 131; Mem. I, 361.* 3½ miles south-west of Sarôna.
26.  ,  . *Qāanau, Qānu*. "The *Qanu* of the Tell el-Amarna Tablets" (*IV, iii, 133*), *Sayce*. Perhaps not so likely to be Khūrbet Kāna, *V, Nh, Mem. I, 313*, which is 11 miles north-north-west of Meskhah, as Khūrbet Qa'aûn, 4 miles south of Khūrbet Mujedd'a. *Mem. II, 83, 227*, as Conder has suggested. It would thus be vitally connected in the campaign with the next place.
27.  . 'Arnā, or 'Alnā. See  Shishak. Brugsch, "Geog. Ins." II, 63. Taf. xxiv, 32; *Zeit. 1880, 45.* A very important point in this campaign against the allied forces at Megiddo. See *Mem. II, 90, 122.* for the argument of Conder in favour of Khūrbet Mūjedd'a as Megiddo, and for M. Maspero's views see *Rec. de Travaux, II, 52. et seqq.* and 139 *et seqq.* for the narrative; and *Trans. Vict. Inst., 1886.* on the topography; and a very interesting paper in

the *Leemans Album*. I think Conder right as to Megiddo, and Maspero as to the proximate situation of 'Arnā, near Umm el Fahm, for I believe the "defile of 'Arnā" was Wady 'Arriân, about 1 mile south of Umm el Fahm. See my paper on this campaign in the *Proceedings*, 1887.

Wady 'Arriân is found in *VIII. Lk, N. L.*, 155, and seems a narrow and dangerous defile such as is described in the narrative of the campaign.

28.  'Astertu. Tell 'Ashtarrah. Schumacher. "Across the Jordan," 209. Merrill, "East of the Jordan," 329. "Astaroth Karnaim."

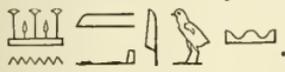
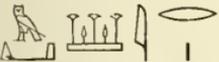
29.  . Anaurepā. "Raphôn, Raphana, Arpha of the Decapolis, the present Er-râfeh" (Maspero). Cf. Gen. xiv, 5. "The Rephaïm in Ashtaroth Karnaim."

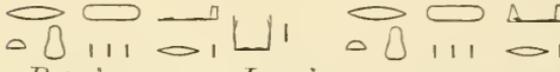
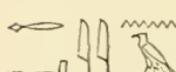
30.  , *Maqāta, Maquta*. "Μαχεδ (Vulg. Mageth) of I Book of Maccabees, the present Moukatta" (Maspero). Mükütta, 5 miles north of Abil. See "Unexp. Syria." Map.

31.  . *Lius, Lus*, ליש, לוש, now Tell el Kady. *II, Rc. Mem. I*, 139. Many names fluctuate between י and ל. The Egyptian scribe has here written both.

32.  , *Hazar*. הַצֹּר. The name occurs in the Mohar's expedition. Hazzûr, *IV, Nd, Mem. I*, 223. The stronghold of Jabin, the Canaanite king. "Khazura in the Tell el-Amarna Tablets." *Sayce*.

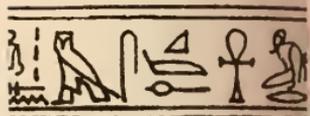
33.  . *Pahl*, פַּחַל. Cf. Seti I, 15.  . (16 is Bethshar and 17 Inu'ā.) Pella, "Géog. du Talmud," 274. Tûbakât Fabil. "East of the Jordan," 442. "Across the Jordan," 273. Brugsch. "Geog. Inschr.," II, 40. The same name occurs in conquests of Rameses II. It seems to me that it must denote Pella.

34.  *Kennārtu, Kenātu.*  
 If we read the former, it seems to be the כנרת, כנרות, of the Old Testament at or near the later Tiberias. "Géog. du Talmud." 207. If the latter, perhaps Kenath, Kūnawât. "East of Jordan," 36.
35.  *Shemna.* Cf. 18. If we are here on the east of Jordan, this may be the Tell es Semen there mentioned. (Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 221.)
36.  *Ademem.* Cf. 51. Perhaps Khūrbet Admah, IX, Qj, *Mem. II*, 89, south-west of the Sea of Galilee. אדמה, Jos. xix, 36. (Mariette.)
37.  *Qāsunā.* This name occurs at Khūrbet Qeisu near Huleh, IV, Qe, *Mem. I*, 240. The place seems to be קישון. Is it perhaps Khūrbet Kūsieh? VIII, Kl, *Mem. II*, 61; *N.L.*, 148, on the route of Thothmes.
38.  *Shenām.* Shunem, 'Sôlam, north of Jezreël, IX, Nj, *Mem. II*, 87 (Conder). Shishak 15, .
39.  *Maspero. Mashar.* Conder proposes Misheal = Maisleh, which Maspero is inclined to accept, suggesting also Misilieh, XI, *N.M.*, South of Jenîn. This is best; משל.
40.  *Aksap.* I hardly know how to accept Conder's identification of Tell-Yasîf, III, north-east of Acre, which seems too remote.
41.  *Maspero. Geb'asu'an, Geb'asumen.* Probably the Γαβὰ πολις ἰππέων of Josephus, identified "without doubt" as Jebâ, VIII, Jj, *Mem. II*, 42.

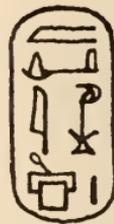
42.  Cf. Shishak 14.   
Tā'anuk. תַּעֲנֹךְ, a Canaanite royal city. T'aanûk. VIII.  
*Mk, N. L.*, 153, *Mem. II*, 46, 68, about 19 miles south-  
east of Jebâ, No. 41.
43.  *Iabl'amu.* Ibleam, יַבְלֵעַם, in Wâdy  
Bel'ameh. VIII, *NI*, *Mem. II*, 51.
44.  Maspero. *Gen-  
tu-asua.* גִּתוֹת. gardens. Asna being, as pointed out by  
M. Maspero, a man's proper name (as in *Ezra ii*, 50).  
Jenîn, VIII, *Nk, N. L.*, 147, *Mem. II*, 44. En-gannin,  
*Josh. xix.* 21. Ginæa of Josephus. North of 43.
45.  Maspero.  
*Reta-'arqa,* or *Leta-'arqa,* or *-marqa.* After a hint of  
Conder (*Special Papers, P.E.F.*), M. Maspero first pro-  
posed el 'Arrâqeh, VIII, *MI*, but has since suggested, in  
view of the former element of the name. Ludd, VIII, *Mj*.  
I am much inclined to the former, 6 miles west of Jenîn.
46.  'Aina. 'Anîn, VIII, *Lk, N. L.*, 143, *Mem.*  
*II.* "appears to be the Beto-ænea of the Onomasticon  
(s.v. 'Aveip, Aniel), perhaps the Biblical Anem of  
Manasseh, 1 *Chron. vi*, 73." עֵינִים. Three miles north-  
west of el 'Arrâqeh, 45. Khûrbet 'Anîn is still nearer.
47.  'Aâk, or 'Aâg. With regard to 47, 48,  
49, I confess the great attractiveness of Akko, Khaifa,  
and Calamon, as proposed by Maspero (*Zeit.*, 1879, 44).  
But I would draw attention to some places nearer to  
the rest of this group.

If we take  = א we have עַיָּ, which may be found in  
'Ajjeh XI, *Mm, Mem. II*, 153, about 4 miles south-west  
of Dothan; between 9 and 10 miles south of 'Anîn, 46.  
Conder, who writes that 'Ajjeh is "a remarkable site  
on an isolated hill."





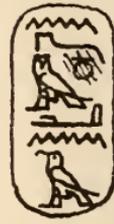
61.



62.



83.



84.



106.



107.



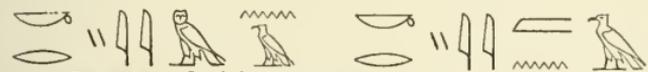
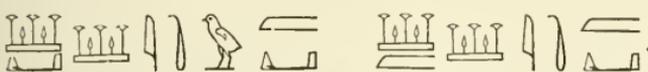
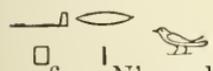
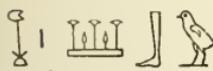
PLATE I. GEOGRAPHICAL LIST OF PLACES IN SYRIA, CAPTURED BY THOTHMES III. FROM THE GREAT TEMPLE AT KARNAK, MARIETTE PLATES, 19 20 21

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A. B. Marcou, del.

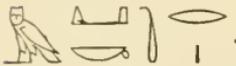
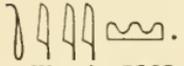
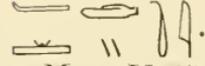
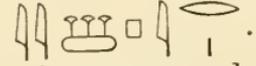


48. . *Resh Kedesh*. In Gen. viii, 5, ראש is used as hill-top. I do not think it need be a promontory here. We find a ruin-mound called Khürbet Beit Râs, VIII, Lj; and another ruinous place on a spur of hill-country called Tell Abu Kūdeis, VIII, Mk, five miles north-east of 'Anîn, and 2 or 3 miles north of Ta'anūk, perhaps Kedesh in Issachar, 1 Chron. vi. 72, as Conder suggests. But, on the whole, I think Prof. Maspero right.
49. . *Kelîmna, Gelîmna*. I think this may be Jelâmeh, IX, Nk, N. L., 161, Mem. II, 84, as suggested by Conder.
50. . *Bûr, Bâb, באר*. Perhaps Khürbet el Biâr, VIII, Lk, Mem. II, 58. Six miles south-west from Tell Abu Kūdeis.
51. . *Shemesh-Aduma, Shemesh-Adma*. Cf. 36. Perhaps Khürbet Shemsîn, VIII Ki, Mem. II, 62. Seven miles south-west of Khürbet el Biâr. The name occurs in the warfare of Amenhotep II, Zeitschr., 1879, 56, 58. Or perhaps Khürbet Admah IX, Qj, 8 miles east of 52. ["Rather Beth-Shemesh, which belonged to Issachar, like Anaharath, Josh. xix, 22."] Sayce.
52. . *Anukhertu, אנהרת*. Anakherath, Josh. xix, 19. en N'aûrah IX. Oj. Mem. II. 85. Conder.
53. . 'Apel. עפל. el Fûleh, 5 miles west of en N'aurah. IX. Nj, N.L. 142, Mem. II, 82. Conder.
54. . Identical with 53. el 'Afûleh. One mile west of el Fûleh. VIII, Nj. Conder.
55. . *Kheshbu*. "The Khasabu of the Tell el-Amarna Tablets." Sayce. Possibly Khürbet el Qûsab, VIII, Lk. The Samaritans confused ה and ק.



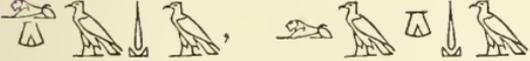


(Conder), or the great gardens near Mejdél. Prof. Sayce proposes Gath (גת = גנת), a very good suggestion.

71. . *Megdel*. between Beit Jibrîn and Khûrbet Jenneta is Khûrbet el Mejdéleh, possibly the right place (Conder). But is it not rather Mejdél, XVI. *Eu?*
72. . *Aptheu*. I think this is Khûrbet el Fatûneh, XVI, *Gs. N. L.*, 269. *Mem.* II, 424.
73. . *Shebtumâ*. Shebtîn, XIV, *Kr*, *Mem.* II, 298, 355.
74. . *Tuï*. This seems to me to be Jebel et Teyi, XV, *Op.*, *N. L.*, 255.
75. . *Nûn*. The determinative, a door, seems to mark some enclosed place, perhaps sanctuary. The name Nûn haunts the district north and west of Jebel et Teyi. Within 3 or 4 miles are Jefa Nûn, Neby Nûn, a sacred place to the east of Yanûn, XV, *Op*, *Mem.* II, 387; and 12 miles further west is the celebrated place where Nûn the father of Joshua is said to be buried, near his illustrious son in the outskirts of Kefr Kharis, *Mem.* II, 285.
- The name Nûn seems to have been already dwelling in this district when Thothmes subjugated the country.
76. . *Haditha*. Hadîtheh, XIV, *Jr*, *N. L.*, 229; *Mem.* II, 297, 322, 5 miles west of Khûrbet Shebtîn, 73.
77. . *Har*, i.e., הר אפרים. The mountain district between the Jordan-valley and Hadîtheh, where it descends to the plain.
78. . *Iashepal*. ישפאל. The name should be compared with אליסף, of the tribe of Gad. Num. i, 14; ii, 14, and another of Levi, Num. iii, 24.

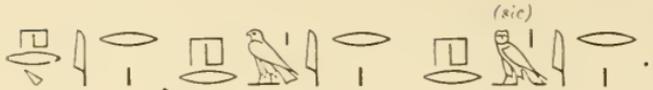
Also *cf.* יוספיה, Ezra, viii, 10, and Ba'alyashupu, בעליספה, Schrader, *Gen.* x, 18, the name of an Arvadite prince. The local name of the valley of יפתחאל, Josh. xix, 27; Porter, 366 (*cf.* Yeftakli-Allah, *N. L.*, 203), may show how such terms are attached to places. We find also יפתח (*Josh.* xv, 43), as in Assyrian Ishma' was shortened from Ishma'el. (Groff, *Rev. Eg.*, 1887, p. 87.)

Mr. Groff's very interesting paper (*Rev. Eg.*, 1885, 95) deserves careful study (also 1886, 146). If we take Joseph and Jacob (102) as ethnic names, it does not follow that they were not locally rooted, and may not be found surviving in the land. If Har (77) denotes, as Professor Sayce agrees with me in thinking, the mountain-district of Ephraim, then our Joseph-el may linger in Yasûf, *XIV, Mp, Mem. II*, 287, anciently called Yusepneh, and known as Yasûf in the Samaritan "Book of Joshua." Neubauer, "Géog. du Talmud," 90. Yasûf, with its wady, is not 5 miles east of Kefr Hâris and Neby Nûn. Yusepneh may have been softened into Yusepneh, as Ekrebel (*Judith* vii, 18) into 'Akrabelh "Handbook of the Bible," 290); and Irpeel into Râfat (*ibid.*, Index, 415); and Jabneel into Yebnah. See my *Life and Times of Joseph*, chap. x.

79.  . *Legâtsa, Lâgtsa.*

If we suppose the dropping of the first consonant as in Lasharon = Sarona, this place may be found in Khûrbet Beit Jâza, *XVII, Lt, N. L.*, 301; *Mem. III*, 108. (Perhaps the *L* may have been taken for the article, and so lost.) It is 5 miles north-west of Jerusalem, about 22 miles south-south-west of Yâsuf, 78. Possibly לקיטייא (*Geog. d. Talm.*, 115).

80.  . *Gerer.* Perhaps this may be Dâr Jerir, *XIV, Nr, Mem. II*, 291. Nine-and-a-half miles south-south-east of Yasûf, 79.

81.  Maspero.

*Har-el.* **הר-אל**. The former element must be **הר**, mountain (*cf.* 77), or, if we take  **הרים**, plate I. Mariette gives the bird as the Horus-hawk; Golenisheff represents it as injured on the left side of the head (or the beak). Maspero gives it as the owl. If the scribe intended the Semitic plural, no difference would result as to local significance. Professor Sayce writes (*Athenæum*, Oct. 9, 1886): "I have long suspected that the town of Har-el in Southern Palestine, mentioned in the Karnak lists of Thothmes III, is the Jebusite city captured by David, and called simply Jebus in the Old Testament; at all events the famous passage in Gen. xxii, 14, plainly points to Jerusalem, and as Dr. Neubauer showed some years ago, properly reads, "in the mount of the Lord [for 'the mount of God, Har-el'] is Yireh." Professor Sayce has since kindly communicated his opinion to me as follows:—"Har-el is, as Brugsch perceived, 'Mount of God.' With this I would connect what we may gather from Isaiah xxix, 1, 2, was the old name of Jerusalem, Ariel. Dr. Neubauer has pointed out that the **אראלם** of Isaiah xxxiii, 7, are the "Jerusalemites," and he has further made it pretty clear that **אריאל** and **אריה** (in certain passages) are variant forms of the same word, the covenant-name of the God of Israel being substituted for *-el*. The second word has been confounded with *'aryeh*, "a lion," just as the first has been with *avel*, "an altar," which occurs not only in Ezek. xliii. 15. **הראל** takes the place of **אריאל** (v. 15. 16), from which we may infer either that **הר** and **ארי** are variant forms of the same word, or that a confusion has arisen between **הראל**, "mount of God," and **אראל**, "altar," producing the hybrid **אריאל**. In any case **אריאל**, the old name of Jerusalem, when compared with **הראל**, throws light on Gen. xxii, 14: "In the mount of the

Lord (*i.e.*, הרייה) is Yireh," or Yeru, in which Dr. Neubauer sees the first element of the name Jeru-salem.

My theory, therefore, is that the primitive name of Jebus "the Jebusite" city, was Har-el "the mount of God," which has been modified into Ariel in Isaiah, and that after the building of the temple Har-el became Har-yah "the mount of Yahveh."

The change of Har-el into Ariel is parallel to the change of מראה or מרה (*cf.* Gen. xii, 6) into מריה, which was a country according to Gen. xxii, 2. When the temple was built on one of the mountains of Moreh, it was natural to see the Divine Name in the latter part of the word. I believe that Dr. Neubauer has made a happy suggestion in following the Septuagint, and proposing to see the name of the Amorite in המריה, where ה would not be the article but the representative of א.'

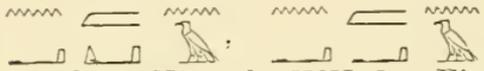
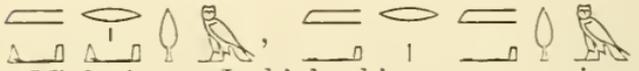
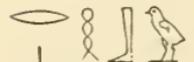
It has struck me on studying Professor Sayce's explanation that my notion of Beth-Yah (No. 97) being Beth-el, will agree with the equivalence of El and Yah, and carry it back to early times, as also has been noted above in Joseph-el and Joseph-yah.

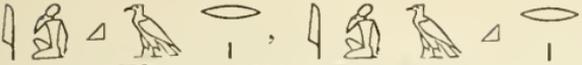
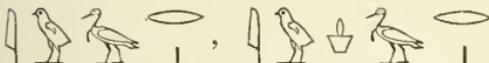
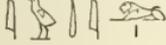
Jerusalem is 13 miles south-south-west of Dâr Jerîr, No. 80, *XVII, Mt.*

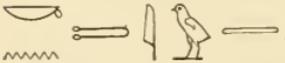
I must confess that I have been haunted by 'Arâra, *XIV, Kp, Mem. II*, 289, 303, an elevated place of ancient ruins, "having five sacred places on its west side." I think this may be the abode of the "Hararite" or "Ararite" mentioned in 2 Sam. xxiii, 33; 1 Chron. xi, 34, 35, among David's champions, "Shammah the Hararite [ההררי]" and "Akhiam the son of Sharar the Ararite [האררי]." A variant reading is ההררי in each case. I am the more disposed to this opinion because we find in verse 27 (1 Chr. xi) ההרורי, and not far from 'Arâra we have 'Arûra, *XIV, Lq.*, about six miles east-south-east distant. Therefore Ararites and Arurites might have been recruited within easy reach of Jerusalem, and I know not why הרר or ארר

may not be the present 'Arâra, if we remember the interchange of *Āin* with *Alif* in Arabic names of which Prof. Palmer speaks in his preface to the Name Lists.

I would therefore suggest that the  of our list may be found at 'Arâra, and may have given name to the Biblical Hararites or Ararites, as I think 'Arûra did to the Harurites. But I give this with all reserve.

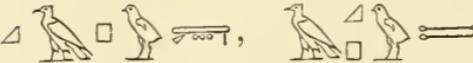
82. . *Rebau*. Perhaps Khûrbet Rab'a, XVII, Kt, 11 miles west of Jerusalem.
83. , *Nemanâ*, *Nâm'anâ* (Maspero). Some place of the worship of Tammuz, probably Deir Na'aman, XVI, It. N. L. 267. "Caves, foundations, and stones." 10 miles west of Khûrbet Rab'a. 82.
84. , *N'amenâ*, *N'am'ana*. Perhaps Nâ'aneh, XVI, Is. Eight miles north of Deir Na'aman, identified by Captain Warren with Na'ama, Josh. xv, 41. *Mem. II*, 408. Or this and 83 may be better taken *vice versâ*. See 85.
85. . *Melemem* *M'alem'am*. I think this name survives in Khûrbet Umm el Hemâm. XVI, Lu, *Mem. II*, 426. N. L., 271, rather than in Umm er Rummâmîn, as proposed by Captain Conder. Melem'am would easily pass into Umm el Hemâm for the sake of a good meaning in Arabic. It is about a mile south of Deir Na'aman.
86. . *'Ani*, אֲנִי. Perhaps Khûrbet Kefr 'Âna. XVI, It. 4½ miles south-east of 'Aqîr, 88.
87. . *Rehebu*, or *Lehebu*. Perhaps Khûrbet Rahab, near Kh. el Hai, XVII, Ns., *Mem. III*, 142.

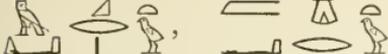
88. . *Aqār, Aāqr.*  
'Aqār, Ekron. XVI, *Is. Mem. II*, 406, 408, or 'Aqūr.  
XVII, *Kt. Mem. III*, 22.
89. . *Higrim, or*  
*Higlin, הגרים.* I think this must be the name of the  
tribe of Hagar, הגרים, Hagarites. We are expressly told  
that our list includes "all the unknown peoples of the  
frontiers of the Sati." What more likely than that among  
the allies taken at Megiddo a leading tribe of Shasu  
bore the name of Higrim? In Shishak's list we have  
 several times in composite names (Maspero,  
*Zeit.*, 1880, 40. &c.) and Em. de Rongé treats the word  
as equivalent to הגרים. In this case so many tribes of  
Arabs (Ishmaelites) would be intended. To my mind  
 is a most interesting name, not only  
as expressing vocally the Semitic plural, but as the  
one distinct Shasu-name which we can identify in  
this list. Cf. 'Ain el Hejeri, south-west of Hebron.
90. . *Abel, cf. 15, 92,*  
151. An 'Abel,' perhaps, Abel-Shittim, near Jericho,  
but perhaps to be taken with the next.
91. . *Atur'a.* Maspero suggests *Atur*  
(*Atour*) *the great* (). Is this to distinguish it from  
No. 14 ()? Perhaps Khūrbet Attārah,  
XVII, *Ns.*, 4½ miles north-east of Jerusalem, or Attāra,  
XVII, *Ms.* It is curious that 15,  follows  
, as here also.
92. . *Abel.* Here again an 'Abel,' with the  
determinative , indicating a district, such as that which  
received the name Abel-mizraim, the threshing-floor of  
Atad, Gen. i. 11. This is identified by Jerome with Beth-  
hogla between the Jordan and Jericho, now 'Ain Hajla,

- with a stream, XVIII, Qt, which the Pilgrim Road passes on its way from the great ford Makhadet Hajla, *Mem. III*, 179-173, 189.
93. . I had taken this as גְּנוֹת, with Maspero. It has a determinative which, as de Rougé says, denotes a plain. The great garden-land about Jericho occurred to my mind. But the last name may be coupled with this.
94. . *Maqerput*. I hold with Maspero that this is מְגַרְפּוֹת, "clods," or (I suppose) dug-up ground. The word for "spade" in Syriac is = מְגַרְפָּה; Arabic = مِغْرَفَة. In Egyptian we have Karkamasha spelt indifferently with Δ = q, and ∞ = כ or ג. The name Maqerput is found, I believe, in the present Wady Makarfet el Qattâm XVIII, Pt, N. L., 354, which is crossed by the Pilgrim Road on the way from the great ford of Hajla to Jerusalem. See 92; and cf. P. E. F. Quarterly. 1884, 182.
95. . 'Aina. See *Géog. du Talmud*, 157. Josephus places 'Aina above Jericho. I think this may be our 'Aina, and identical with 'Ain es Sultân, the celebrated site supposed to mark the first Jericho. Cf. the name 46.
96. . *Qarman*, or *Qalman*, cf. 49. The "Southern Carmel, as settled by the Tell el-Amarna Tablets (says Prof. Sayce), which mention Guti-Kirmil, i.e., Gath-Carmel. This explains No. 93."
97. . *Beth-iâ*. In 1881 I suggested that the divine name Yah is involved in this local name (*Trans. Vict. Inst.*, "Biblical Proper Names"), and with this M. Maspero agrees (*Zeit.*, 1881, 129. pub. March, 1882). Cf. , 97 in Shishak's list (see Maspero, *Zeit.*, 1880, 48). May Beth-iâ be found in the present Beitûnia, XVII, Ls, N. L., 287, regarding



stands in the second copy of the List (Col. 2 of Mariette, *Listes*, &c.) seems erroneous, as in No. 81 in the third. See the discussion of this name and 78 by Mr. Groff, who quotes the question of M. de Rougé: "Is it allowable to suppose that this local name preserves a memorial of the establishments of Jacob in Palestine?" But for his own part he seems persuaded that these two very interesting names are simply tribal, and not to be found attached to any places. For 78 I have already suggested Yâsuf as a "local habitation," and it seems to me possible that Faqbâl may be found in Khûrbet Iqbâla, *XVII, Lt; N. L.*, 307; *Mem. III*, 163, 165; *P. E. F. Quarterly*, 1884, 184. 242; 1886, 57. The  $\gamma$  may have been changed for *alif* (*N. L., Introd.*), and whether we regard the name as personal or tribal, it is evident that it may have been attached to a place, and found there by Thothmes, and enrolled for tribute. Iqbâla is 6 miles west of Jerusalem, a little way south of the road to Jaffa, "at a spring in the valley," and 6 miles south of Beit 'Ûr el Foka (Upper Beth Khoron).

103.  *Golenischeff. Qaputa*. I think this may possibly be Khûrbet el Kabbûsh, *XVII, Ls, Mem. III*, 116.  $\eta = \psi$ , as Thilth for Shalisha, etc., *Mem., Introd.* Three miles north of 102. Qeibûta *XIII, Ip, N.L.*, 215, may be too remote.
104.  *Qûsir*. Hebrew קציר, 'harvest;' perhaps Khûrbet el Qûseir, *XVII, Lu*. Seven miles west-south-west of Jerusalem, on the way to Hebron.
105.  *Rebetu*. Perhaps Khûrbet Rûbba (Conder), *XXI, Jr, N. L.* 401, *Mem. III*, 314. Eleven and a half miles south-west of 104. רבה, Rabbah. *Jos. xv*, 60. Or can it be Khûrbet Râbûd, or Khûrbet er Rabîyeh, *Kx*, both near each other, 8 miles S.S.W. of Hebron? Maspero proposes Gezer.

106.  (Golenischeff). *Magretu*, *Māgretu* (or *l vice r*). This is a perplexing name, the more so as we have a variant  $\Delta$  for  $\Delta$ , of which M. Maspero takes no account in his recent corrections. He had previously suggested *מקלט*, 'asylum' (*Zeit.*, 1881, 129), and this name has struck me in connexion with Hebron, especially as it is applied as if a familiar name of Hebron in a marginal gloss (1 Chron. vi, 57; Heb. 42). Or may the place be *מערת* (Jos. xv, 59), which has been tentatively identified with Beit Ummar, XXI, *Lv*, 8 miles south-east of Khūrbet Rubba, towards Hebron, *Mem.*, III, 303?

Yet one word has occurred to me; *מעגלות*, "tracks" or "ways," or pl. of *מעגלה*, "a wagon camp" (or "zereba," to use a sadly familiar term), as in 1 Sam. xvii, 20. Such a field-defence was constructed by Thothmes himself before Megiddo; Brugsch, *Hist.*, *Eng. ed.*, I, 325.

107. . 'Amequ. *עמק*, i.e., *עמק הברון*, the vale of Hebron, Gen. xxxvii, 14.

108. . *Sertha*. *Sîret el Bellâ'a*, XXI, *Lv*, *Mem.* III, 379. "Square foundations and a large cave."  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles north of Hebron. From the distance, 20 stadia from Hebron, given by Josephus, *Antiqq.*, VII, I, 5, I think this the site of the *הסרה בור*, 2 Sam. iii, 26, rather than 'Ain Sâreh, *Mem.* III, 314, which is only 8 stadia distant, and *בור* would be a cave rather than a spring.

109. . *Bartu*, *בארות*. The name Wady el Biâr occurs twice to the north of Hebron. 1st, *Kv* with el Biâr in the Wady, on the road from Hebron to Beersheba, *Mem.* III, 316. 2nd, *Lv* on the northern road.

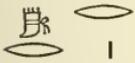
110. . *Beth-shar*. The same name occurs on a Sphinx at Gûnch,



חלקת, as in Josh. xxi, 31, 2 Sam. ii, 16. We have such a name modernized in Huleikât, *N.L.* 367, *XX, Fe*, but this is too remote, and I venture to propose for our Helkath one of two places in the Hebron district called Khürbet el Qatt, *XXI, Lv*, respectively 5 miles and 9 miles north of Hebron. That the ח may be dropped is shown in Hakila, el Kôlah, and in Selahammakhleqôth, Wady Malâki (*Mem, III, 313, 314*). The former Khürbet el Katt is 10 miles north-east of Beit el Bân, and 3 miles north-north-east of Khürbet Beit 'Ainûn. Maspero has suggested the חלקת הצרים.

113. . 'Ān-qu'ā. 'Ain el Qana, *XXI, Lv.*, *N.L.*, 386. *Mem. III, 307, 321, and plan*, p. 352. "Spring of the aqueduct," 1 mile north-west of Hebron, and formerly supplying it with water. The spring is in the Wâdy el Ka nah (see the plan).

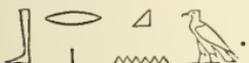
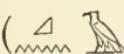
114. . Qel'āu. גבעה. *Jeb'a, XVII, Ku*, 10 miles north of Hebron; "possibly Gibeah of Judah," *Mem. III, 25*.

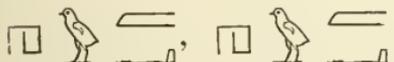
115. . Tserre, or Tselle. Probably, says Maspero, the צררה of Jud. vii, 22, mentioned in the history of Gideon; but I think this too far north.

I have thought of Khürbet Sirreh, *XXI, Jw, Mem., III, 367*, or perhaps Beit Süllüh, *XXI, Kv, Mem., III, 324*; the latter 3 miles south-west of Jeb'a, 114.

116.  Maspero. Tsāfthā.

Perhaps it is, as Mariette conjectured, זיף, Tell ez Zif, *XXI, Lx.*, or, more likely, Khürbet es Süfa, 5 miles N.W. of Hebron.

117. . Berqnā. Khürbet Bîrein, *XXI, Lv*, close to Khürbet Yūkîn (, דוקין, *Jos. xv, 57*).

118.  Maspero. *Hum.* I am at fault in this name. The nearest I know is Jebel



## THE MYTH OF OSIRIS UNNEFER.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

*Read 6th April, 1886.*

A PURELY philological enquiry into the primitive meanings of the auxiliary verbs of the Egyptian language has led me to results which throw fresh light upon an interesting question of comparative mythology.

Those who have read Dr. Brinton's interesting volume, on the '*Myths of the New World*,' will remember how—

“From the remotest wilds of the North-West to the coast of the Atlantic, from the southern boundaries of Carolina to the cheerless swamps of Hudson Bay, the Algonkins were never tired of gathering round the winter fire and repeating the story of Manibogho or Micabo, ‘the Great Hare;’” whom Dr. Brinton describes as ‘the impersonation of Light, a hero of the Dawn,’ and the highest deity of these tribes, who attributed to him the foundation of their religion and all the elements of their civilization.

But why should Light or the Sun be personified by a Hare? Is this a case of “Totemism”? and if so, why should Totemism take this form? Or is it a fact that savages look upon the sun with quite different eyes from other people—that they think it is a man, or a beast, or a bird?

Or, as another set of philosophers would suppose, was there in olden times an energetic personage of the name of Hare, who rendered great services either in peace or in war to his fellow savages, and was in process of time deified by them, and whose exploits were perhaps confounded with those performed by other remarkable persons whose names were identical with his, or have been lost in the course of ages.

Theories like these may be pardonable enough in men of the past; at the present day they can only be saved from

actual contempt by the names of some of their partisans, who, whatever be their merits or demerits as anthropologists, deserve the highest esteem for their eminence in other branches of knowledge. It is now universally acknowledged that the very best classical scholars were till lately utterly mistaken in their etymologies of the languages they knew best. And a man may be a very eminent lawyer or theologian, or a most accomplished Chinese, Sanskrit, or Semitic scholar, without being better qualified to interpret mythologies than the shallowest and most frivolous of journalists.

No attempt will be made here at a direct refutation of such explanations as I have alluded to. It will, however, be shown that the ancient Egyptians had myths very similar to that of the Michabo of the Algonkins, and that our knowledge of the Egyptian language enables us not only to see clearly into the origin of these myths, but also to see how utterly futile all speculation on the subject must be in the absence of such data as the Egyptian language alone can supply.

Osiris<sup>1</sup> is one of the chief gods of Egyptian mythology. At the earliest date to which it is possible to refer any Egyptian monuments his worship already appears as of immemorial antiquity, whether under the name of Osiris, of *Chent-Amenta*, the Prince of the Unseen World, of *Ap-uat*, the 'opener or divider of the ways' of light, or simply *nutâr āa*, 'the great god.'

That his was one and the same divinity with that of Rā the Sun, is no mere inference of modern scholars; the identity is asserted in a vast number of authoritative texts. Osiris

<sup>1</sup> The name of Osiris,  , has hitherto baffled all etymological attempts, though the component parts of it are simple enough. I am strongly tempted to revert to an etymology which I put forth many years ago.  *ari* is a common synonym of   *mes*. Cf. for instance *Todt*. i, 14, 'Aufānχ born of, &c.,' with the same name in the title of the chapter. May not then   mean 'Isis born,' *ἰσιγενής*; an ancient form of name afterwards entirely superseded by such forms as Thothmes, Amon-mes, Suti-mes? The only name which I can remember formed like Osiris is  *Sebak-ari* (Birch, *Antiquities at Alwrick Castle*, p. 46), the analogy of which tends to show that the  in   is the goddess, and not the noun signifying 'seat or place.'

is the Soul of Rā and Rā the soul of Osiris, according to Egyptian orthodoxy. "As Rā was the most popular personification of the diurnal Sun, so was Osiris the most popular personification of the Nocturnal Sun."<sup>1</sup> Or, rather, as the ancient gloss on the text "I am Yesterday, and I know the Morrow," explains it, "Yesterday is Osiris (of which) the Morrow is Rā." And accordingly Osiris may be considered mythologically either as the father or the son of Rā; the son proceeding from the father, or the father proceeding from the son.<sup>2</sup> The god has twin souls which meet at the heavenly Tattu and are united into one personality.

The names of Rā and Osiris are united in prayers addressed to one divinity.

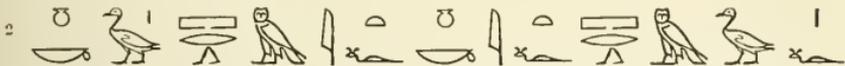
"Hail to thee, Osiris, thou who art the first-born Son of Seb, the eldest of the five gods who proceed from Nut, the mighty first-born of his father; Rā, the father of the fathers, who are subject to him, the eternal king, the everlasting lord; I come to thee,<sup>3</sup> Osiris," etc.

"Rā, Osiris Unnefer, the triumphant, the king of the gods, the mighty Disk whose rays give light."<sup>4</sup> He showers down light upon the earth at his rising."<sup>5</sup>

In the Papyrus of Nebseni Horus comes to see his father Osiris, and "sees him Rā, as Unneferu the Lord of Tasert."

He is very frequently called "the king in heaven, the great one upon earth, the mighty sovereign in the nether world."

<sup>1</sup> Pierret, *Mythologie Égyptienne*, p. 63.



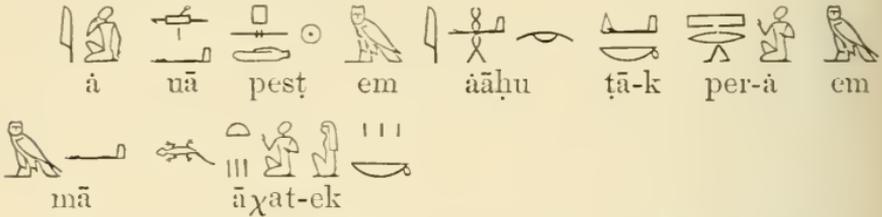
Bonomi, *Sarcoph.*, pl. 4, D. 12. M. Pierret rightly says, "La généalogie se renverse, les ascendants deviennent des descendants suivant le point de vue où l'on s'est placé pour animer les phases solaires, suivant qu'on veut désigner le soleil diurne succédant au soleil nocturne ou le soleil nocturne succédant au soleil diurne." Compare some excellent observations of E. Meyer in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr.*, 1877, p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> Mariette, *Mon. divers*, pl. 28, d.

<sup>4</sup> Brugsch. *Geogr.*, Taf. xvii.

<sup>5</sup> Mariette, *Dend.* III, 65.

Among the many names given to him from the earliest times are  *uā* "the One," or  *neb uā*, "Only Lord," and under the first of these he is invoked in the second chapter of the Book of the Dead.



"Oh thou Only One! shining from the moon, grant that I may come forth at the head of thy train."<sup>1</sup>

This is a remarkable proof, though not the only one to which I have already called attention,<sup>2</sup> that at a very early date the Egyptians already knew that the moon derived its light from the sun. The best illustration of this ancient text is the picture at Karnak of all the principal gods in adoration of Osiris, who is represented as standing in the moondisk with the sceptre in his hand, and the royal crown upon his head. Over him is written his kingly name Unnefer.<sup>3</sup>

The benefits conferred upon the earth and upon mankind are sung in hymns, many of which are still extant, and the euhemerizing Greeks, as we see in Plutarch or Diodoros, derived from them the tales which recent writers on mythology call culture myths. But in the original Egyptian texts it is distinctly to Osiris as the sun, and not to a deified king, that all the benefits are ascribed. Herodotos never spoke more truly than when he wrote—*νομίζουσι δ' ὧν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' ἦρωσι οὐδέι.*<sup>4</sup>

Osiris was worshipped under many names, and forms corresponding to these names. The Book of the Dead contains a chapter, the 142nd, which gives a list of some of

<sup>1</sup>   *āchat* as a noun signifies a 'multitude, crowd, throng.' Here it refers to the ὄχλος ἄστρον, the gods who follow in the train of Osiris.

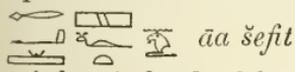
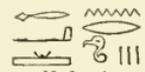
<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings*, Vol. VI, p. 131; "*The Bow in the Egyptian Sky.*"

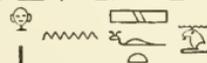
<sup>3</sup> *Denkm.* IV, pl. 31, a.

<sup>4</sup> II, c. 51.

them, two of which I shall now discuss. The first will not detain us long, but it will enable us to see our way towards the interpretation of the second.

In some of the most ancient localities of Egypt, such as Tattu (the Mendes of the Greeks) and Suten-ḥenen (Heracleopolis Magna), Osiris was represented by his worshippers under the symbol of a Ram, or Ram-headed personage, οὔτι τοιοῦτον νομιζόντες εἶναι μιν, as Herodotos very justly observes. He was called the "Lord of Tattu," "the Ram Lord of Tattu," "Her-Šefit, the Ram, Lord of Tattu," "Rā, Heršefit, Lord of Tattu," Her-Šefit, the King of the Universe, the Sovereign of the earth, the god of all the gods who are in Suten-ḥenen." He is the god in the Oasis whom the Greeks called Zeus Ammon. Amon is in fact the same god as Osiris. Amon-Rā is the king of gods and men, and Amon the god "who hides himself,"<sup>1</sup> does this when the sun sets below the horizon. His two feathers are insignia of the same kind of symbolism as the horns of the bull or the ram. But why should the Egyptians represent Osiris, or the Sun, under the symbol of a ram, when, as the Greek historian says, they never thought that he was anything of the kind?

On examining the hymns written in honour of Osiris certain epithets will be found in constant association with him. He is  *āa šefit*  *neb sent*  *āa nerau*, 'most mighty,' 'lord of fear,' and 'most terrible.'

The first of these epithets is the most interesting for us, for the first meaning of  *šefit* is 'force, power, might,' and it has also the derivative meaning of 'ram,' namely, 'the powerful one.' Thus  *ret ent šefit*, signifies 'men of might,' but  *hra en šefit* is the 'face of a ram' in the 165th chapter of the Book of the Dead, illustrated by its vignette; and the 

<sup>1</sup> There is no ground for the assertion that this is a higher development of religious thought than the primitive Egyptian belief. The concealment of Amon is purely physical.

 *hrau šefiu em nub*<sup>1</sup> with which the Ammon-bark of Ramesis III was adorned, were 'ram's heads of gold.'

It is a constant fact in the history of language that the name of an object is derived from *one* of its attributes,<sup>2</sup> and the reason why this fact is not more generally recognized is that the languages which we speak have undergone many changes since the time when the names first came into use. The meanings of 'red-breast,' 'fly,' 'lap-wing,' are obvious; not so those of the French *mouche*, the Latin *musca*, the Greek *μῦα*, which have to be sought with some trouble. Our word *mouse*, the Latin *mus*, the Greek *μῦς*, the Slavonic *myši*, convey no notion in their languages of the original sense "thief," which is preserved in the Sanskrit *mūshikas* (from the root *mush*) which signifies both 'mouse' and 'thief.' No man, however well educated, can, at the present day, without special enquiry, tell the original meaning of the commonest words in the language which he speaks. It was not so at the time when the names were first adopted. When the Egyptians gave the name *šefit* to the ram, they thought of that powerful action exercised by his head, which has led more modern nations to give the name of *ram* to instruments of powerful energy. And it is an instructive fact that the proper name *Her-Šefit*, 'Ram-faced' (the *αἰγοπρόσωπος* of Herodotos) which is found in the later copies of the Book of the Dead, does not occur in the older copies; the ancient reading is  *āa šefit*, "most powerful one."

The explanation of the Ram-headed god will enable us more readily to understand the symbolism of another form of Osiris.

A Hare-headed divinity is seen in the temple of Dendera, seated upon an invisible throne, wrapped in mummy clothing, and with the two arms and hands in the position for holding

<sup>1</sup> Great Harris Papyrus, VII, 6.

<sup>2</sup> This is why the same name may be given to many different objects (homonymy), and also why one object may have many different names (polyonymy).

the crook and flail, characteristic of Osiris. The temple of Dendera itself is of recent date, but not so the Hare-headed divinity who appears in the usual vignettes of certain chapters of the Book of the Dead, though here the throne is generally visible, and the hands hold knives.

There is also a Hare-headed goddess in the picture at Dendera, whose name is "*Unnut*, the mistress of the city Unnut and of Dendera." The city Unnut was the metropolis of the 15th nome of Upper Egypt, that of the Hare  *Un*, called by the Greeks Hermopolites, on account of their worship of Thoth, but other chief divinities were worshipped here, especially Osiris. The male divinity would be called *Un* or *Unnu* even when the final vowel is omitted in writing.

Such a divinity is mentioned at the opening of the 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead.

"I am Tmu as *Unn*  ; I am One and only; I am Rā in his first risings."

And in the glosses upon this opening passage it is spoken of "the sovereignty which Rā exercised as *Unn*" when as yet there was no firmament.

The opening of the 17th chapter has long been recognized as corrupt. I believe the corruption to have arisen in great part from the frequent absence of determinatives in the early texts. Both the Turin Papyrus, published by Lepsius, and the Cadet Papyrus write   *Unn*, with the determinative of a god. They are borne out in this by one of the texts of the early period, the first Mentuhotep Sarcophagus. Other texts of the oldest period omit the determinative or use the sign , whence the 'Rituals' of the XVIIIth Dynasty have derived a text which does not admit of translation if we give the meaning of *being* to *unn*. The translations which have hitherto been offered of this opening cannot possibly be justified grammatically. But if   be the name of a god, the whole passage is not only easy in grammatical construction, but perfectly intelligible, and it reminds one forcibly of a well known line of a Latin poet.

What, however, it may be asked do we know of such a god? My answer is that Unnefer, or rather Unnu-neferu, as a proper name, bears the same relation to Unnu, that Rā-neferu, Tmu-neferu, Ḥor-neferu, Ptaḥ-neferu, Amon-neferu, Sebak-neferu, Amsu-neferu bear to Rā, Tmu, Horus, Ptaḥ, Amon, Sebak and Amsu. Unnu is the real name, of which Unnu-neferu is a compound.

The usual interpretation "the good being" of the name Unnefer, which has been current since the time of Champollion, is manifestly erroneous. There is no such noun in Egyptian as *Un* or *Umm* 'a being.' Mythology does not deal with such names as "good being." "Being" is much too metaphysical, and "good" much too ethical, a notion for names of this kind. A physical sense is the only one admissible.  *nefer*, primarily means *young, fair, beautiful*, and only secondarily *good*. It is used exactly like the Latin *juvencus, juvenca*, in the sense of a youth, a maiden, a foal, a young cow, , ,  ,  . Dr. Birch has quoted a text in which the sepulchral formula about transmitting offices to one's children has    *neferu* instead of the usual    *χρεtu*.<sup>1</sup> We also read of the     *neferu* in the sense of a youthful troop of men.

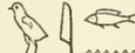
The sense of beautiful is equally certain.   *nefer hra* is a well known phrase for 'of beautiful face.'<sup>2</sup>    *neferu* signifies 'beautiful raiment, bravery.' The wicked wife of the younger brother in the D'Orbiney Papyrus was       *nefert em hāu-set*, 'beautiful in all her limbs.'   *neferu* is the usual Egyptian word expressing the graces, the beauty, the brightness, the glory of a god. It is said of a goddess in a text quoted by Champollion    

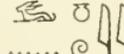
<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschr.*, 1872, p. 120.

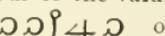
<sup>2</sup> The god 'of the beautiful face' is Ptaḥ, Amon, or Osiris; *πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφή μία*.

 — mek pet ta em neferu-s, “Heaven and earth are full of her glory”; and it would be easy to quote many expressions of the kind.

Unnu-neferu signifies the ‘young, splendid or glorious Hare.’ This at least is a signification which in the abstract admits of no contradiction. The question is what is meant by Hare when applied to Osiris or the Sun, and it is a question which can only be solved by an enquiry into the original sense of the Egyptian word signifying Hare.

As the question has sometimes been raised, it is right to insist upon it that the sign  has the value of *un*, and that it has no other value. It was only in the infancy of Egyptology that  could have been considered evidence in favour of the reading *ān*. And Dr. Birch’s conjecture of the identity of  and  is philologically untenable. The true phonetic variants of  and its equivalent  are , , *un* and  *uān*,<sup>1</sup> whence the Coptic ουν, ορον, ουν.

Now there is a variety of Egyptian words of which the syllable  *un*, sometimes written , is the essential part; and one and the same concept underlies the signification of them all, though one of them means a *hare*, another an *hour*  *unnut*, another a *calf*  *unnui*, another *open* , another *transgress, overleap*  *un*, and the most frequent of all is the very colourless auxiliary verb which we translate ‘being.’

<sup>1</sup> See Brugsch’s *Dictionary*, V, p. 301 and 315. The Bremner Papyrus (B.M. 10188) gives abundant evidence in favour of this. And long ago Salvolini (*Campagne de Ramsès*, p. 104, cf. pl. II, 75, 76), arguing in favour of the value *neb* of , quoted the Demotic form alphabetically written  of  Nebunen from a bilingual document. The Greek transcription of *ta hat en Nebunen* is θυναβούνον.

The fundamental notion is *up, rise, spring up, start up*.  
*un ā*, 'up with the hand,' expresses the act of the hand rising suddenly, either in adoration of a god, or in the assault of an enemy.

"Herbs and trees spring up ( *her unun*) at thy presence," sings the poet of the Disk-worshippers.

*un ne ānχ em qa*,  
 'there springeth up life to us out of nought.'<sup>1</sup>

In the following passage describing sun-rise it is said of the divine cynocephali<sup>2</sup>

χā-sen-nef	em χet	χeperā-f	unn-sen
"They rise up to him when he is born, they spring up			
em ātertā en	nutār	pen	
on both sides of this god."			

In this passage, as in others which might be quoted,  
 is in parallelism with <sup>3</sup> 'to rise.'

If too heavy a weight be placed in one of the scales of a balance, the other, as Milton says, "quick up-flies and kicks the beam." This 'up-flying' is expressed in Egyptian by the word *un*, in a well-known phrase of the Book of the Dead, *un en māχait*, the upflying or levity in the balance, when Law is placed in one of the scales and the heart or conscience in the other.

<sup>1</sup> Pap. B.M. 10188.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 411.

<sup>3</sup> Strong as are the arguments in favour of χā as the phonetic value of , it should not be forgotten that the only actual variants known are in favour of hā. The titles of Thothmes III give = . Those of Amenophis IV speak of Hor-Chuta and (generally) .

The connections between the notion of springing up an  *un* 'open,' will be obvious to everyone who knows that our English word 'open' is only the verbal form of 'up,' or who compares the German 'auf' and 'auf-machen.'

As herbs and trees *her unun*, 'spring up,' a flower is called among other names  *un*. The name of Unnefer in the later texts presents the following variants:  ,  ,  , or (as in a rebus) a flower (*un*) in the hand of an ape (*nefer*).<sup>1</sup>

The calf has several names, one of them    *ab* is evidently derived from its leaping propensities (   *ab*): another name of the young bull is     *unui*, and is also characteristic.

*Unnu*, then, as the appellative of the 'hare' signifies a 'springer,' 'leaper,' like the Sanskrit *ṣaṣa*, which has its origin in the root *ṣaṣ*, implying motion by springing, our own word *hare*, and the Anglo-Saxon *hara*. The Greek *λαγῶς*, which is referred by Pott and other etymologists to the same root as the Sanskrit *laigh* 'leap,' has much the same meaning.   *unut*, 'an hour or moment,' is identical with the word signifying 'she-hare,' and like it signifies 'leaper.' Our own poets speak of the fleeting hours—"hora agilis, præceps, fugitiva." In Shelley's Prometheus, "The Hours were hounds, which chased the day like a wounded deer." The name of the Egyptian bird called   *unun* conveys the same notion, and might be applied to the partridge or other birds which start up suddenly or move by starts.

But what shall we say of the auxiliary verb *un*? Is not Being a conception prior to all others? It may be so in some systems of Metaphysics, but it is certainly not so in the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the Greek *ἄνθος* with *ἀνήνοθεν αἶμα*, 'the blood spirted up,' *Iliad* II, 266, and *κνίση μὲν ἀνήνοθεν*, 'the savour sprung up,' *Od.* 17, 270.

history of Language. The fact that  is an auxiliary verb in the sense of 'being' is the very reason why we should look out for the physical sense originally attached to it. All auxiliary verbs in Egyptian, as well as in other languages had originally a physical meaning. We know that *am, is, was, be, werden.* were originally verbs of breathing, dwelling, growing and turning, and that when we say 'I have lost,' 'I shall abscond,' 'il va s'arrêter,' 'estaba el rey durmiendo,' 'iza kunt ady-lak hāga' (= if I give you something), the verbs 'have,' 'shall,' 'va' 'estaba,' and *kāna* have been divested of almost all the meaning which they once possessed. The case is quite the same in Egyptian. I believe that  *āu* and  *iū* are two forms of the same word *ā*, which signifies *go*;  *χeper*, which we generally translate 'become,' meant 'turn' or 'roll,' and  *āhā*, 'stand' is used as an auxiliary exactly like 'stare' in Italian or Spanish.

The language now spoken by the inhabitants of Egypt, the Arabic, has a verb  which is used very much in the same way as the old Egyptian *ui*. The old Egyptian said, *Un ān suten her t'etu-nef*, 'the King said to him'; the modern fellah would say, *qām el malik qal-loh*, literally 'the king rose (and) said to him.' It is not intended to imply any actual rising on the part of the subject of the verb; *qām qa'ad* means 'he sat down;' *qāmet el' bint nāmet*, 'the girl lay down,' literally 'rose and sat,' 'rose and lay down.' 'He thought to himself,' is translated by 'he rose and said in his soul.' The Arabic Tales in the Egyptian dialect published by Spitta-Bey will furnish innumerable instances of the kind. M. Dulac, in a note to one of the Tales published by him, says "Remarquez cet emploi du verb . Il a là à peu près complètement perdu son sens propre. On peut dire que, parfois il relève le sens du verbe principal et indique qu'on attaque l'action exprimée par ce dernier avec une certaine vivacité et une certaine énergie. Mais le plus souvent, il sert simplement de transition et tient le place d'un . . . ; ou d'un .

The same kind of idiom is traceable in Hebrew and other Semitic languages. The word 'rise' is perpetually used in the Old Testament without an intentional reference to the acting of getting up: 'rise and go down,' 'rise and cry,' 'rise and eat,' 'rise and sit.'

And like the Egyptian *un* the Semitic verb acquires the derivative meanings of 'being, existing, persisting.'

It is now, I trust, clear enough why *Unn* or *Unnu* should be an appropriate appellative of the rising Sun, who springs forth in glory and triumph. The opening of the seventeenth chapter of the Book of the Dead is no longer obscure, "I am Tmu as Unnu." Tmu the Closer is the name given to the setting Sun. Unnu is the title of the rising Sun, one of whose names is also  Tmu-neferu, "the young Tmu" who comes forth from the Lotus of Dawn.<sup>1</sup> *Un*, whether signifying 'rising up,' or 'opening,' is exactly the opposite to *tmu*. But the text proceeds  *nā-ku-ā*, 'I am One and one only.'  *Rā em χāu-f' htepu*, "I am Rā in his first risings." Tmu and Unnu, though names of opposite import, are one and the same divinity, which is Rā. This god, who is identical with Tmu, when called *Unn* is Rā when he first rises;

modo namque Patulcius idem,  
Et modo sacrificio Clusius ore vocor.<sup>2</sup>

The more usual name, Unneferu, as applied to Osiris, is distinctly a kingly one, and in the great temples of Dendera and Edfu is commonly surrounded with the royal ring. It is also commonly followed by the word *maāχeru*, which it is a mistake to translate 'the departed' or 'le véridique.'<sup>3</sup> It is applied to 'the departed' because they are identified with Osiris, but in the case of Osiris the word does not apply

<sup>1</sup> Pyramid of Unas, line 395. "Unas riseth up, like Tmu Nefer, from the Lotus, to the nostrils of Rā, coming forth from the horizon daily."

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, l. 129, 130. This passage was quoted in illustration by the Rev. J. Marshall, when this paper was read.

<sup>3</sup> See *Proceedings*, Vol. VI, p. 192, note.

to his death, which is   in *māχeru*, his 'failure,' but to his triumphant resurrection.

In the British Museum a large number of porcelain figures may be seen (Egyptian Room, No. 1721 and following) representing the Hare, "emblem of Osiris Onnophris." as Dr. Birch calls it in his Catalogue. M. Maspero's Guide to the Museum at Bulaq mentions eighteen of these figures of the Saitic period as kept in the Vitrine AK. M. Maspero says—  
 "Le lièvre figure souvent au nombre des amulettes préservateurs, soit qu'il fut destiné à rendre les génies-portiers favorables au mort, soit qu'il rappelât une des incarnations d'Osiris." Dr. Leemans in his description of the monuments at Leyden specifies No. 197 and 205, "Le Lièvre, comme un des emblèmes d'Osiris."

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[In his work on Egyptian Religion and Mythology, Brugsch Pasha raises a friendly objection to my interpretation of *Todt.*, 17, 1, from the variant   in the Papyrus of Nebsemi. But surely there can be no doubt that this absolutely unsupported variant is erroneous. Why should we attach more importance to it than to the variant (immediately preceding it) of the divine name Tmu; which is here absurdly written with the plural sign | ?

I can meet the objection most directly by pointing out that the divine name   in *Todt.*, 124, 3, is written  in the beautiful papyrus *Pa*, to which M. de Rougé assigned so high a value.]



ON SOME RELIGIOUS TEXTS OF THE EARLY  
EGYPTIAN PERIOD,

*Preserved in Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum.*

BY P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

*Read 4th November, 1884.*

Egyptian texts are sometimes accompanied by a statement that the original document of the copy now given was found in ancient times under circumstances more or less remarkable. The 64th chapter of the Book of the Dead is a well known instance. It is said to have been discovered in the time of King Menkarā by the royal prince Hor-tātāf during a tour of his inspection of the temples. The 130th chapter is also said to have been found in the wall of a temple in the time of King Septi of the 2nd dynasty. A record of the foundation of the original temple of Denderah, written in archaic characters on skins of leather in the earliest ages, is said to have been discovered in the time of Merinā, and rediscovered in the time of Thothmes III. This time the ancient writings are said to be of the time of King Chufu.

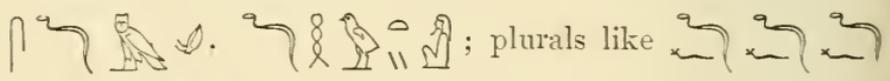
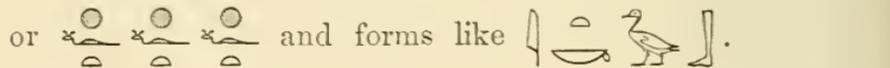
Statements of this kind are not lightly to be accepted as actually true; to critical enquirers they naturally give rise to the suspicion of their being pious frauds; attempts to give the sanction and authority of antiquity to modern compositions. That such is not necessarily always the case will, I trust, be made apparent by the present paper.

Some years ago Dr. Birch, in an article "On some leather Rolls," drew attention to a recently purchased papyrus, written in a very neat hieratic hand, later than the 26th dynasty, and probably of the Ptolemaic period. He described it as a religious work, the subject turning on the usual ideas

connected with Osiris and Horus, and professing, according to a couple of rubrics, to be a copy of texts, one of which was found on rolls of leather in the library of Osiris in the reign of Maeris  $\beta \odot \}$  or Amenemhat III, and the other found in the same library at Abydos in the time of Amenophis III  $\left( \odot \cup \beta \right)$ .

I did not myself see this papyrus until the present year (1884), but, upon examining it carefully, I was able to identify the texts it contained, and I found other MSS. in the British Museum collection containing the same texts. These texts are undoubtedly very much older than either Amenophis III or even Amenemhat III. The rubrics therefore which ascribe their origin to ancient documents discovered in the reigns of those kings do not attribute to the compositions an antiquity which they do not really possess.

The first thing which attracted my attention on glancing over the Malcolm Papyrus (B.M. 10081), was the archaic orthography of many words; such as,

  
  
 or  and forms like .

But upon reading a few lines, I at once came upon phrases and entire passages which were familiar to me, as portions of texts recently published by Brugsch and Maspero from the inscriptions of the 'Pyramids' of the kings Unas, Pepi, and Teta.

Whilst studying the Malcolm Papyrus I found another MS., Salt 137-153 (B.M. 10319), containing the same chapters, in the same order, and with the rubrics mentioning their discovery. Further search among the papyri added new materials towards the recovery of these ancient texts. All the papyri are unfortunately incomplete, and have suffered much mutilation.

Papyrus 10081 is pasted upon six sheets, but the texts upon them do not run continuously. There are considerable gaps between the different fragments, and sometimes not a single line in a whole column is complete. It is impossible to make out the title at the beginning, because more than half of each line in the first column is missing. The first rubric (which Dr. Birch calls the second) occurs in the last column of the first sheet, as follows:—



“Found on another roll in the time of Thothmes III, [or] in the time of Amenophis III, in the Library of Osiris in Abydos.”

The last words before this note are, “Thou goest round the domains of Horus, thou goest round the domains of Sut. Shu and Tefnut come and direct thee as thou comest forth from Heliopolis.”

The whole of this long text is composed of invocations, either to the deceased or to Osiris, identical with sentences in the inscriptions on the Pyramids of Unas and the other kings. But the *order* in which these invocations follow each other is not the same as in any of the Pyramid inscriptions, each of which follows an order of its own.

The second long text in this papyrus begins at the end of the 12th line of the last column of the first sheet, and ends at the 19th line of the first column of the second sheet, but there is evidently a gap between the first and second sheet.

The second rubric is as follows:—



“Found on a roll of leather in the Library of the House of Osiris in the time of King *Maât-Râ*.” This royal name is evidently imperfect. The first part of the ring, containing

the sign , has been omitted. The full and true name is  , *Neb-maāt-Rā*, the official name of Amenophis III.

A third long text follows, which ends with the next page, and      is added as a "Finis."

The next eight columns (between some of which gaps are evident) are occupied by a composition, apparently of much more recent origin, consisting of short sentences, each written in a separate line, such as;—

Thou art triumphant over all that is done against thee.

Osiris coming forth renovated.

Thy son Horus is on thy throne.

How great is he above every god!

There were seven chapters,    of such hymns, with the usual      at the end.

The two last columns of the third sheet, and the whole of the fourth and fifth sheets are taken from the Pyramid Texts. The fragments on the sixth sheet do not appear to have had the same origin, though they all refer to the triumph of Osiris, the services of Horus, Isis, and Nephthys, and the discomfiture of Sut, the Samiu, the Sebiu, and other enemies.

One of the documents on this last sheet consists of a litany, all the petitions beginning with the word    *chetem*, close, shut, seal up; "Let the heaven be closed, let the earth be closed, let the mouths, the lips, the ears, &c., be closed," and so on.

Papyrus 10319 was originally a splendid manuscript, but its present condition is deplorable. It is beautifully written, though of late date. Its breadth was about  $14\frac{1}{2}$  inches, containing on an average 36 lines in each page. The length of it is uncertain, for much of it is lost, but the fragments, if put side by side, would measure upwards of 17 feet. It has been mercilessly torn throughout its entire length, without regard to the destruction of the text, and it has also been torn over and over again through the text in a

perpendicular direction. It is quite illegible in many parts from exposure to damp or to other deleterious influences. It is now pasted on eleven sheets in as many portfolios. The person for whom it was written was named

 Pacharsherechonsu, Son of Neschonsu.

The first long text in Papyrus 10081 has its duplicate at the second column or page of the fifth sheet of Papyrus 10319. It follows a long text of the same nature which ends with *iuf pu* on the page preceding. The rubric about the discovery in the time of Thothmes III, or of Amenophis III, is found at the end of the text in the second page of the eighth sheet. The second long text follows with the corresponding rubric about its discovery at the time of Amenophis III, after which we have the same third long text as in the first papyrus. The texts on the two last sheets are very much defaced, but the context enables us sometimes to identify them.

A third Papyrus (10255) is a mere collection of fragments, some of them exceedingly small. The larger fragments however exhibit the same texts as the two papyri already described, and they contain the same rubrics. They are manifestly copies of one and the same original text—the most striking proof of this being the imperfect cartouche (*Muāt Rā*) of Amenophis III, which occurs in all three. They form a recension characterised by the order in which the sentences follow one another.

The name which is given to each section of these texts is

, *sexa*, a word of which the meaning is as yet somewhat doubtful. It occurs in the title of the 17th

chapter of the Book of the Dead, and on collating the different copies it will be seen that another group 

is a very common variant. That there is phonetic equivalence between the two groups is quite certain, but whether the two groups represent the same *word* or not is not so clear. I believe it, however, to be most probable that they



Only the first five sheets of Salt 561 (now numbered 10252) seem to me to belong to the same papyrus. Not only is the handwriting different on the remaining sheets, but the colour and texture of the papyrus appear to be different. And the beginning of the work is apparently on the sheet which has been numbered 5:—



“Commemorations made in the temple of Osiris by the Cher-heb in chief in this house.” The rubric adds that the commemoration is to be made at the beginning of each season, at the beginning of each month, on the Feast of the fifteenth day and on every Festival of Amenti.

The first words of the text are, “Osiris Chent-Amenta saith, ‘The Son cometh who hath avenged his father;’ the gods say, and their hearts are delighted, ‘Horus cometh, who hath avenged his father Osiris,’ the company of the gods speak, and their hearts turn to him for that which he hath done to his father Osiris, he hath annihilated every thing injurious before his feet.”

The next *Sexa* begins, “The Great One waketh, the Great One riseth; Horus raiseth Osiris upon his feet.” This corresponds to Pap. 10081, col. 4, l. 6, but it also corresponds to the text of another MS., viz., Pap. 10317; and on examination it turns out that the *Sexaiu* in this papyrus follow in the same order as those in Papyrus 10252. These two papyri therefore belong to a second recension of the “Pyramid Texts” in the British Museum collection.

Papyrus 10252 is rudely torn in its whole length, so as only to contain about 25 lines at the utmost, and the damage is even much greater than this in many parts. We are able by the help of a second MS. to estimate the extent of the loss.

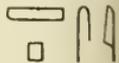
Papyrus 10317, which consists of six sheets, has suffered less from mutilation than from damp, which has obliterated many portions of it. It belonged to a  “sacred father” of the name of  *T'et-hru*, son of Neschonsu.

The five hieratic Papyri which I have described are not the only ones which contain portions of these primitive texts. I have identified certain portions of Papyrus 10209 with parts of Papyrus 10319; and Papyrus 10332 has probably the same origin, though its present condition renders the fact difficult of proof.

It would be desirable to ascertain the contents of the "Textes étrangers au Todtenbuch," which are to be found in the Papyri numbered 3129 and 3135 of the Louvre.

One important section of these early texts is found on a hieroglyphic Papyrus (10010), where it is entitled "the Chapter of letting the Chu come forth from the great gate in heaven." I shall quote one or two instances to show the value of these manuscript checks upon texts first copied from the rudely written inscriptions in the galleries of the Pyramids, and then printed in handsome but fixed and conventional type, which cannot be changed to suit each of the original characters.

At line 391 of the Pyramid of Unas M. Maspero reads  "la route du soleil." This if correct would be a very rare instance of the word *heret* with  as its determinative. But our Papyrus 10010 gives the true reading .

At the next line (392)  is utterly unintelligible, but the mystery is at once cleared up by the  of Papyrus 10010.

Another passage, line 275 in the Pyramid of Teta, which is manifestly faulty, has to be corrected by our hieratic papyri: "Isis and Nephthys guard thee in Saut [Sais], they recognize in thee their Lord,  *sau-sen neb-sen àm-ek.*"

The following is an instance of other advantages besides a correct text which may be derived from a collation of these authorities:—

The ideogram  which represents the name of the goddess of books and libraries, has never yet been deciphered. Some Egyptologists still continue to call the goddess "Safekh" or "Sefχ," but this is an error founded upon her epithet

  *sefχet ābu*, "She who draws in her horns."<sup>1</sup> Her true name is revealed by the following variants: "Nephthys," it is said, "hath joined together all thy limbs in her name of

    Papyrus 10081.

      Pyramid of Teta, line 268.

*Sešeta nebt āket* Sesheta, mistress of building."<sup>2</sup>

The title "mistress of building" (ΚΟΤ=οἰκοδομεῖν), that is "architect," was already known from another text, in which the goddess is called

"She who draws in her horns, mistress of writings, *mistress of building*, the Lady of libraries."<sup>2</sup>

Mention is made in the Book of the Dead (57, 4)<sup>3</sup> of the house which this goddess built for Osiris in Heliopolis

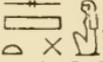
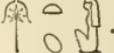
      

The epithet *sefχet ābu*, "who draws in her horns," that is *rays of light*, is an excellent one for a goddess like Nephthys, who personifies the Twilight and is the spouse of Darkness, Sut. Her connection with letters has till now been chiefly known through the fact, that when Sut ceased to be honoured

<sup>1</sup> Literally *sefχ* is 'loose, unfasten, put off.' The title of the goddess is, as Brugsch observes, opposed to     *sept ābu*, 'armed with horns.' The god whose horns are drawn back is   *ānen ābu*, of whom a picture is found, *Denkm.* III, 26±.

<sup>2</sup> *Denkm.* III, 148 a.

<sup>3</sup> Referred to in an inscription in the temple of Seti I at Abydos (*Mariette*, I, 40 a).

as a god, Thoth was put in his place by the side of Nephthys.<sup>1</sup> The name *Sešeta*, written phonetically , was only known till now through a couple of lines copied by Brugsch from the great hall of the temple of Amon at Karnak. The name is given to the goddess accompanying Thoth, in a scene where Chnum, Amon and Thoth spread a net for fishes and birds.<sup>2</sup> But in a scene of exactly the same nature at Esneh,<sup>3</sup> the name of the goddess is written .

[The name of the goddess is phonetically written on the diorite statuette in the Louvre (A. 97) of a personage described as , 'prophet of the goddess Sesheta.']

It is almost superfluous for me to say that a considerable amount of illustration may be expected from monuments that have not as yet been published; such for instance as the tombs of Rech-mâ-Râ and Patâ-Amenâpt. Much has already been utilized by M. Maspero.

The rubrics which speak of certain portions of these texts as discovered upon rolls of leather in the time of the 18th dynasty are sufficiently vindicated from the charge of pious fraud. The discovery on rolls of leather of such texts in the ancient library of the temple of Osiris at Abydos has nothing in itself improbable. It is a curious fact that these texts came in vogue in the time of Thothmes III; witness the tombs of Rech-mâ-Râ and of Queen Hâtshepsit, but the discovery is not asserted of all the Pyramid texts, but only of certain portions, and it is not said that the texts had been previously lost. It is only asserted that the original MSS. from which the hieratic texts were derived were discovered under the circumstances mentioned.

By his speedy publication of the Pyramid Texts and his admirable translations, M. Maspero has rendered splendid

<sup>1</sup> A picture at Medinet Habu (*Denkm.* IV, 31 *e*) of Nephthys calls her . *Sešeta* is elsewhere identified with *Isis*, *Hathor*, *Nexebit*, *Uat'it*, *Renenet*, and other goddesses of dawn or twilight.

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch. *Dict. Geograph.*, p. 1125.

<sup>3</sup> *Denkm.* IV, pl. 89 and 90.

service to scholars.<sup>1</sup> It is most devoutly to be hoped that speculative dilettanti, ridiculously calling themselves anthropologists, may not seize upon these translations before scholars have dealt with the problems which this newly discovered Ritual offers to us. The mythology of it is mostly identical with that of the Book of the Dead, but there are undoubtedly many myths which are not alluded to there. There is however but one true method of interpretation. Those who see in all mythology a survival of ideas and practices of savages, and think it a clever thing to explain by the habits of cannibals the myth of the god who swallows all his children, without troubling themselves with that portion of the myth which gives the key to all the rest,—how the children come to life again<sup>2</sup>—will no doubt find a good deal to encourage them in the ruder and coarser matter contained in this early Ritual. Even some of our best scholars have been seriously, but I think unnecessarily, shocked by some of the details. All mythology must be shocking to those who do not understand its language. What can be more horrible morally than the incest of a hero with his own mother? But when that hero is the Sun (Amen-Rā) and the mother is the Sky, moral indignation is altogether out of place.

There is a strange and at first sight incomprehensible jumble of ideas in this Ritual of the Pyramids, of the belief, on the one hand, that man's life after death was of the same kind as before it, and, on the other hand, of the notion of absorption into divinity, and of all things by the divinity. The Pantheistic tendency of Egyptian thought is far more strongly brought out by this early Ritual than we should have expected, and if it be true that mythology corrupts religion, it is no less true that religion corrupts mythology in its turn, for language cannot describe the spiritual otherwise than by means of a material relation. But when Unas,

<sup>1</sup> Since this paper was read M. Maspero has added very largely to the stock of materials known in 1884.

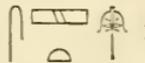
<sup>2</sup> The Sun, in an Egyptian myth, is the Egg laid by Seb, the Earth. According to the new theory this myth should be a survival from the time when ganders laid eggs, or when savages thought they did.

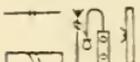
or Teta, or any of the heroes of this Ritual, being himself a god, is said to absorb (literally, to devour) all the other gods. there is no fundamental idea of divine cannibalism. Anubis swallowing his father Osiris means nothing more than that the Sun disappeared in the Dusk.<sup>1</sup> The divine hero is said to carry off the wives of men; we say that God has taken them to Himself. And the paragraphs which to us appear the most offensively worded, not merely admit but require an interpretation in which all that seems offensive disappears.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The triumph of Night over Day is also expressed by the devouring of the Phallus of Rā, or the Head of Osiris (*Todt.* 99. 3. Cf. 32, 3), or the Eye or Arms of Horus. The stars which set (the gods *āymiu ureṭu*) are said to be devoured by the Crocodile of the West. According to the classical metaphor the Sun puts the stars to flight ('fugato astra'); Egyptian mythology would say that he *devoured* them. In his light and brightness theirs are swallowed up.

<sup>2</sup> M. Maspero's remarks upon Teta, l. 286, remind me of a notorious poem of Catullus, and of the judicious note of the French editor (Naudet). "Errat Doeringius, si putat Catullum Aurelio et Fario minari fore ut eos, &c. Formula hæc est procaciter aliquem eludendi ut qui gallice contemptum alicui significare volunt, sæpissime inhonesto et impudico verbo utuntur." Or as a still later commentator expresses it: "Ces mots . . . n'avaient qu'un sens vague de menace et d'insulte comme les F . . . et les B . . . dont chez nous les gens du peuple sont si prodigues dans leur disputes."

[This paper was read on Nov. 4, 1884. I can no longer identify the two groups  and , which as variants only occur in the title of Chapter 17 of the "Book of the Dead." The latter group signifies 'remember, commemorate,' but the former is a causative form of  'glory,' and signifies 'glorify.' I have spoken at greater length on the subject in the notes to the translation of the first chapter of the "Book of the Dead."

The name of the goddess  is evidently not *Sesheta* but *Seshait*, and signifies *the scribe* (feminine), from

 —P. le P. R.]

## THE TOWER OF BABEL, AND THE BIRS NIMROUD.

*Suggestions as to the origin of Mesopotamian Tower-Temples.*

BY WILLIAM SIMPSON, R.I., M.R.A.S.

The Tower of Babel is now assumed to have been the same as the Zikḡuratus,<sup>1</sup> or terraced towers of Mesopotamia. Although this is a very probable assumption, yet it is a point we cannot be perfectly certain upon. The terraced towers are very ancient, and as we know of no other remains of monuments in the region, whose character agrees so nearly with the tower so very slightly described in the eleventh chapter of Genesis, we may take it for granted that they were similar structures. Still, supposing the identification should be rejected, the remarks I have to make may still be of some interest as applying to the Zikḡuratus. So far as I have read as yet, no suggestion has appeared regarding the origin of these tower-temples of the Mesopotamian plain.

The great temple at Borsippa was old in the time of Nebuchadnezzar; he is said to have finished, or repaired it. An inscription by that king says that, "to astonish mankind, I reconstructed and renewed the wonder of Borsippa, the temple of the seven spheres of the world." This celebrated tower is understood to have had seven terraces, each dedicated to one of the planets, and is supposed to be the general type of these monuments; still, it is thought that some of these towers had a fewer number of terraces. The reference to the seven planets of the Borsippa tower has been discussed by some writers, but I would suggest that this piece of symbolism does not touch the origin of these peculiar temples. The inscriptions mention the names of many

<sup>1</sup> This word has been generally given as Ziggurat; the orthography here is adopted on the authority of Mr. Pinches.

temples, and the objects they were dedicated to, but in no other case is there mention of the seven planets. In the inscription of Nabonidus, *Records of the Past*, Vol. V, p. 145, there is an account of the raising anew from its foundations, in the city of Ur, of "the Tower of the Temple of the Great Tree." Here at least is one tower-temple which was devoted to tree worship; some of the other temples mentioned in the inscriptions were no doubt of the terraced pyramid form, and yet the object of worship, which is stated, seems to have been different in each. If there were temples of this kind with less than the seven terraces, they could not represent the planets. It will thus be seen that although the seven terraces of the Borsippa tower may be explained as signifying that number of planets, still the pyramidal form common to all these Zikḡuratus is unexplained, and its origin yet remains to be discovered.

I will begin by saying that I propose to identify the terraced tower or pyramid of the Mesopotamian plains, with an ancient class of structure of which remains are still to be found over nearly the whole of the old world; these are the grave mounds and their developments. From Egypt to China such monuments exist in which I can trace a similarity of origin. I shall be able to speak of these remains of the past with some confidence, having visited and made drawings of them. Seeing and sketching monuments, although valuable in relation to a knowledge of detail in each case, does not necessarily imply a soundness in any theory of connection or of origin regarding them all. I can guarantee the most of the data to be presented here, but in the speculative portion of this paper each must judge for himself, and accept or reject according to the evidence produced.

The first monument to be brought forward is one with which everyone is familiar, and will not require much description—that is the pyramid of Egypt. If we take the great pyramid of Gizeh, and compare it with the Borsippa tower in its restored form, the general resemblance is undoubtedly enough to attract the mind of anyone. This resemblance is still more striking when the older pyramids are considered,

such as that of Sakkarah, which had "seven steps like the Babylonian towers" (*Egypt from the Earliest Times*, by Dr. Birch, p. 25), or that of Meidoum, with its three steps, standing "on what appears to be a vast cone of quarry rubbish" (*Nile Gleanings*, by Villiers Stuart, p. 28); the last feature recalls the mounds on which the Mesopotamian towers were supposed to be erected. This very close conformity of parts would lead to the conclusion that there had been a near intimacy of origin, were it not for one difference in structure, which, though small, implies a considerable variation of purpose. The Borsippa tower had a shrine or temple on the top; this required stairs to ascend, and led to placing each terrace with a larger space in front than behind. So far as we know no religious ceremony was performed on the summit or outer surface of the Egyptian pyramid—at least this would be the conclusion regarding such pyramids as those of Gizeh. The pyramids of Meroé have a small structure on one side, at their base, which may have been a chapel in which rites were performed. The ancient Egyptians had a very elaborate system of ceremonies in connection with tombs, but whether these were, in the case of the pyramids, performed in the open air, or if some structure existed for such rites, is a point I have not seen alluded to in any account of the pyramids. I should be inclined to think that a chapel or shrine of some kind would be required for this object. We have representations of tombs in Egypt, and it may be worth remarking that they are surmounted, or roofed, with a pyramid.<sup>1</sup>

The sepulchral character of all these monuments will be better understood further on; at present it will be sufficient to state that there is no doubt that the Egyptian pyramid was a tomb. This may be put as the primal intention of these monuments. In the great pyramid of Gizeh it is understood that there were some astronomical references in

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written, Dr. Birch has informed me that a chapel, or Mastabah, existed at each pyramid where the necessary services were performed. The earlier pyramids having steps, suggests the possibility that at some period ceremonial rites may have been performed on the summit; and that these rites had been afterwards changed to the *Mastabah* at the base. This would explain why the step-form of the pyramid ceased, and the plain surface took its place in later times.

its construction; if such were the case, it is worth calling attention to here, because, as suggested regarding the planetary symbolism of the Borsippa tower, it does not belong to the first origin and purpose of the pyramid. I understand that no reference has yet been found among Egyptian inscriptions regarding the origin of the pyramid; it must have been developed into its present known form at a very early date, and like the Zikḡuratu its genesis has been lost in the far distance of antiquity.

Egypt is on the west of the great plain of Shinar. I must now pass eastward to another great series of monuments, which I propose to connect with our subject. They belong to India, and are known as Stupas, Topes, Dagobas, and Chaityas; these names depending principally on the different localities to which they belong. They were erected by the Buddhists, and from Afghanistan all the way south through India and into Ceylon the remains of them still exist. Asoka, who lived about 250 B.C., is said to have erected 84,000 stupas; this number, like the "thousand and one" of the Arabs, has to be discounted; still, according to the account given by Hiouen-Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, who was in India early in the seventh century—the number of these monuments must have been immense. He speaks of the quantities of them in each town he visits; the word "centaines" is often mentioned, and at times he writes "On compte par centaines et par milliers" (*Julien's Trans.*, Vol. I. pp. 201, 317). The last quotation refers to Kapilavastu, the birthplace of Buddha, which would no doubt be a very holy spot. In size these stupas varied from clay models about an inch in diameter to that of the grand Stupa at Peshawer, the ancient Purushapura, which is described as being 400 feet high. The stupa was to the Buddhist a temple, a shrine to worship at; but at the same time we know that it was a development from a tomb. This development is acknowledged, so far as I know, by all our recognized authorities on Indian archæology. The genesis of the stupa is, I believe, a process which will yet be looked upon as bearing on many of the oldest forms of temples and early architecture but this will be better understood as we proceed. To

begin with its first growth we have to go back to the primitive grave mound. For kings, chiefs, or persons of importance the earth was heaped up to a considerable size; this marked the place of the grave, and became a monument. In addition it was also a temple; the rites connected with the dead were performed at it. In the old Greek dramatists many references will be found to such mounds, and to the ceremonies. Homer describes the heaping up of the tomb of Patroclus; altars were placed on the mounds, and sacrifices offered on them. Herodotus describes the great Tumulus of Alyattes, near Sardis, where there is still to be seen a large group of mounds. I visited the spot a few years ago, and by stepping round the largest one, which is said to be that of Alyattes, I made it about 800 yards in circumference; but this must be taken as a very rough estimate. Herodotus describes it as having stones round its base, and in his day it had five termini on the summit. The stones round the base of a mound were in early times only a circle of rude stone; at times they were standing stones. At a later date the stones were built to form a retaining wall round the base. The termini on the top were altars, or could be used for that purpose if the ceremonies required them. Here we have a feature which in progress of time completely changed the mound, and it ultimately became a temple built of stone. We have also to remember that almost coeval with the mound the cairn of stones was piled over early graves. When a boy I have thrown a stone on a cairn in Scotland, marking the spot where a man had been killed; and during the last Afghan war I threw a stone on a cairn in the Khyber Pass, which also marked where an Afghan had met with his fate. There is a wide geographical space between the two localities, but what is here related becomes valuable evidence, showing how universal the custom has been of heaping up a cairn as a monument. It is scarcely necessary to point out that the characters of the soil and the supply of stones in any particular locality, would determine in early times whether a mound or a cairn would be heaped up. From ancient custom the mound seems to have been continued long after a highly developed style of masonry had been reached.

The tombs at Kertch, in the Crimea, and more particularly the splendid tomb at Mycenæ, known as the Treasury of Atreus, may be given as illustrations on this head. In these cases we find magnificently constructed interiors, where stone, marble, and even bronze were used, and yet over all a rude mound of earth has been heaped up. Still it is equally clear that as the use of stone in masonry advanced, the mound began to be covered with regularly built construction as already stated. We have remains of walls round the lower part of tumuli—the imperial tombs near Peking may be cited as an example—and at last the whole mound became a solid structure from top to bottom. The same process no doubt took place with the cairn; instead of being a heap, the stones would in due course of time be built in a regular manner.

Such is the recognized origin of the Buddhist stupa. The primitive mound, or cairn, through the course of ages, became a solid stone or brick monument. This is a process which had been gone through, and which produced the Egyptian pyramid at some early period. The same may be said of the Zik̄kuratu of Mesopotamia; both of these monuments are square, which being exceptional, and in steps on their sides, some connection at an early period is probable. There are other monuments which were developed in the same way. In Italy there is the tomb of Cocumella at Vulci, which is a tumulus of earth with a retaining wall round the base; there is also the Regolini Galeassi tomb, which is of the same character. We have the development of these tombs into a solid structure in the tomb of Trajan at Rome, now the Castle of St. Angelo. In Algeria we have the so-called “Christian’s Tomb,” all of solid stone; near Smyrna is the so-called tomb of Tantalus, built of later cyclopean masonry. The form of this is almost the same as the Algerian example; they are wholly of stone, and are both in form repetitions of the early Etruscan earth mound, with its retaining wall of stone. They are all round, but at Hali-carnassus we have the Mausoleum of Mausoleus, which is a square erection surmounted by a pyramid in steps. It is just possible that the style of monument, such as the so called

Tomb of St. Luke at Ephesus, which I had the honour of calling the attention of this Society to some years ago, may be a still further development of the old grave mound. This tomb was circular at its base, but instead of a cone it had columns all round, which may have supported a pyramid or dome. This very slight enumeration will convey some idea of the great importance belonging to the subject, as it involves the consideration of a widely extended class of the most ancient monuments to be found all the way from the Maes-howe in the Orkneys to the imperial tombs in China, including Algeria, Egypt, the dagobas of Ceylon, and the pagodas of Burmah. The origin of the pagodas of China have long been a puzzle, and they have now been traced back to the stupas of India,<sup>1</sup> thus connecting them also with the question under consideration.

The stupa, as already stated, was a temple; but it was also a tomb; or, to be more exact, it had been originally a tomb. From the Rig Veda (*Rig Veda*, M.X., ii, 18) we know that the body was buried in the earth: "I heap up earth above thee, and placing this clod of earth, may I not hurt thee. May the Manes protect this thy monument, and Yama ever grant thee here an abode." Burning the body was a later custom, at least it was so with the Aryans after they arrived in India. We know the stupa only as having a small cell sufficient to contain the ashes or relic of some holy person. In some cases small vases were placed in the cell to contain the relic or ashes. Gems, gold ornaments, and coins are found, as if they had been placed in the cell as offerings. When at Jelalabad, during the late Afghan war, I opened a stupa, and found the cell, which was a cube of about 15 inches. In it was a quantity of black dust, which I supposed to be ashes. The cell also contained a gold relic holder 4 inches long; in this was a small object, no doubt a relic of some kind. Mixed with the ashes were twenty gold coins; as the coins were scattered among the ashes, I came to the conclusion that they had been dropped in as offerings

<sup>1</sup> See a Paper on this subject, entitled, "A Sculptural Tope on an Old Stone at Dras, Ladak," by William Simpson, in *Journal of Roy. As. Soc.*, Jan., 1882.

at the ceremony of closing up the cell. Over this very small receptacle there had been built a dome about 80 feet in diameter, and the monument may have been perhaps about 100 feet high. Although we only know the stupa as a Buddhist shrine, yet there is a reference in the Maha-Parinibbana-Sutta, or Book of the Great Decease, which indicates that such structures existed previous to the time of Buddha. This opens up an important point. The Aryans who entered India are understood not to have been a building people. The pre-Aryan population, it is now believed, were Turanians. They were a building race, and there are passages in the Rig Veda which would imply that the Aryans utilized their services in this way, and adopted their architecture. This would make it not at all improbable that the stupa was Turanian in its origin, and this becomes all the more likely as they have always been great tomb builders. The Zikḡurātus no doubt date back to a high antiquity; and if so they would belong to the Akkadian period, and would thus also be Turanian in their source. It cannot be put as a certain deduction, but I submit that the evidence tends strongly towards this conclusion; and if so the point is of some ethnic value.

The stupa was a dome in form, on its top was a member called a "tee," and over this were a number of umbrellas, these being royal emblems. The round form of the stupa was preserved most probably because one of the rites consisted in making a pradakshina or circumambulation of the shrine. I have seen a Hindu perform this round the sacred tulsi plant; and it was a proper mark of respect on meeting a holy man to walk three times round him. Hence it was a high act of devotion toward the relics of the holy person enclosed in the stupa to go round them a number of times, muttering *mantras* or prayers. Although the stupas from the Indus to Ceylon are all round, yet it is now a well ascertained fact that as soon as the Indus is crossed, a marked change occurs, and we find the dome part of the stupa stands on a high square base. This base has two terraces, with stairs to ascend, and from this the Afghanistan stupas might be described as a two-terraced square tower,

surmounted by a dome. After entering the Khyber Pass from India, I do not believe that a round based stupa will be met with in that direction. The extensive groups of stupas in the Jelalabad Valley were all square, and I believe they would be found to be of the same form in other parts of the country. This remarkable change, it will be noticed, takes place as we leave India and move towards the region of the Zikḡuratus. In the present state of our knowledge it would not be safe to assume that there must have been a connection so far as this square form is concerned, but I submit this point as a valuable link in the chain of circumstantial evidence. There are a few forms in the early architecture of India which were either derived from Persia, or were common to both countries; these features I found in all the Buddhist remains of the Jellalabad Valley. The square-terraced base of the Afghanistan stupas is a form which is thus quite within the range of being derived, or connected, with the Zikḡuratu. It may be worth mentioning that Hiouen-Thsang affirms the existence at his time of several Buddhist monasteries in Persia; and that the alms dish of Buddha was then in the palace of the king of that country.<sup>1</sup> This object may be described as the Sangrael of the Buddhists, and is of course very mythical; still the statement is of value, as showing how far to the north-west the outer fringe of Buddhism had extended; but it went beyond this, for there are Buddhists at the present day on the north-west of the Caspian. In Moscow last year I sketched a Lama who had come from that region to attend the ceremonies of the Emperor of Russia's coronation. These details will show that the stupa or tope and the Zikḡuratus were geographically near enough to account for an architectural influence extending between them.

The Chinese pilgrims often describe stupas as being

<sup>1</sup> The so-called Begging Bowl of Buddha is now at Kandahar; and this may probably be the place alluded to by the Chinese Pilgrim; but we should not call Kandahar Persia in the present day. The limit to which Buddhism reached in the direction of Persia is as yet not exactly known. When with the late Afghan Boundary Commission, in 1884-5, we came upon caves on the Murghab, and the Heri Rud, which there is every reason to believe were Buddhist. This is the latest knowledge bearing on this subject.

composed of "the seven precious substances." According to Professor Beal these substances were gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, cornelian, coral, and ruby. (*Travels of Fah-Hian*, p. 41.) Some of these, so far as metal and colour goes, are the same as in the temple of the Seven Spheres; and again we have the symbolism of the numbers seven as a feature which is perfectly independent of the real character of the stupa. In the *Saddharma-Pundarika*, one of the lately published volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East*, there is a description of the apparition of a stupa which bears a curious resemblance in one point at least to the Tower of Babel. The stupa was of course composed of "the seven precious substances," and, "its row of umbrellas rose so far on high as to touch the abodes of the four guardians of the horizon and the gods," p. 221.

There is a curious passage in the *Satapatha Brahmana*, xiii, 8, i, 5 (Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, vol. ii, p. 485), which may be worth giving here, as it refers to the practice of constructing round and square graves: "Four-cornered. The Gods and Asuras, both the offspring of Prajapati, contended in the regions" (conceived apparently as square or angular). "They being regionless, were overcome. Hence the people who are divine construct their graves four-cornered; whilst the eastern people, who are akin to the Asuras, construct them round. For the gods drove the Asuras from the regions." The Aryans as they entered India called the aborigines Asuras; in this passage they are declared to be "akin to the Asuras." When the *Satapatha Brahmana* was written the Aryans are supposed to have reached the region somewhere to the north of Delhi, and the people to the east constructed their graves round, while they, the divine people, coming from the north-west, made them square. The inference would be that they brought this form with them across the Indus. If this deduction should hold good, it will prove that the square form of the Afghanistan stupas has its origin thrown back to a very ancient date.

I have still another place of worship to describe which bears upon our subject: this is the "Temple of Heaven"

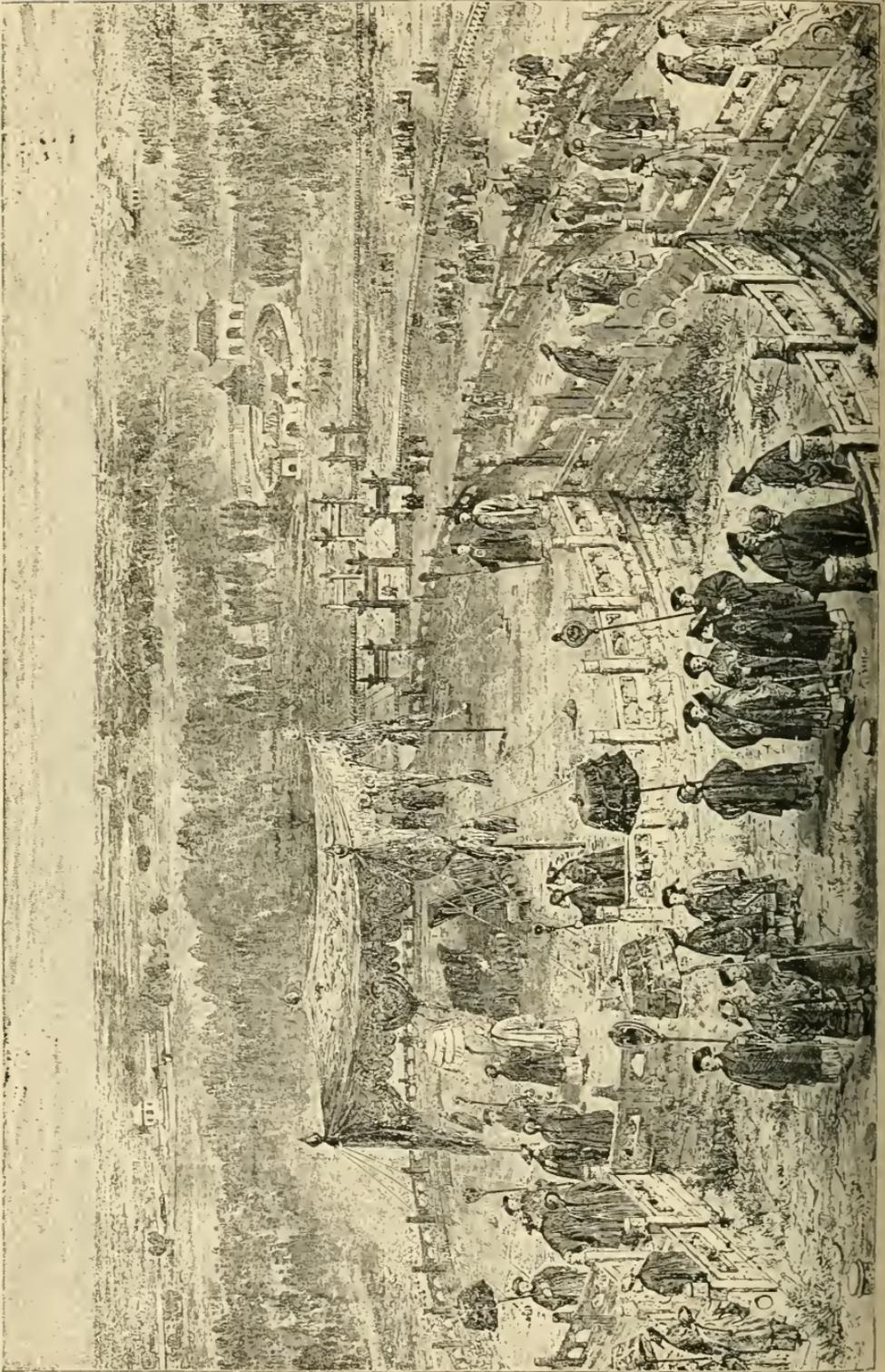
in Peking. In 1872 I visited this place, and was able to make sketches, as well as a rough plan of it. It will be necessary to state that at Peking there are a number of rites which are performed only by the emperor, who appears in the character of high priest; the ceremonies of this imperial *culte* seem to be separate and distinct in their character from that of the other religions of the people of China. For these rites there are several temples in Peking, and some of them, although not of sufficient height to justify the name of towers, are composed of a series of terraces, the Temple of Heaven being constructed in this way. In the case of this temple there is a large enclosure walled in which may be roughly described as about the size of the Regent's Park; within this are the necessary buildings connected with the services. It should be stated that the Chinese do not apply any word in their language which means "temple" to these places of worship; the use of this word is wholly European. According to the Chinese there are two altars, one called the south, and the other the north. Most of the travellers who have visited the place describe only the north altar, because it has a large and imposing house upon it. The south altar, which is really the most important of the two, but being less imposing, is generally overlooked. It is here that the emperor celebrates at the winter solstice, and I understand that this is the most solemn of all the religious rites he has to perform. Anyone coming upon the altar by accident, and trying to guess its purpose, would say it was most probably erected for a band of music to perform upon. It is of marble, circular in form, and composed of three terraces; the terraces are successively 220 feet, 105 feet, and 59 feet in diameter; the height of the whole is 25 feet 2 inches.<sup>1</sup> There are stairs on four sides, facing each of the cardinal points. When the emperor celebrates, a canopy is erected over the centre of the circular space on the top. There are five small moveable altars; they look like diminutive pillars, and forcibly bring to mind the five termini on the tomb of Alyattes. On a tablet in front of the emperor when he officiates is the name "Hwang-tien Shang-te," which contains the much-disputed

<sup>1</sup> The details here given are on the authority of Dr. Edkins, of Peking.

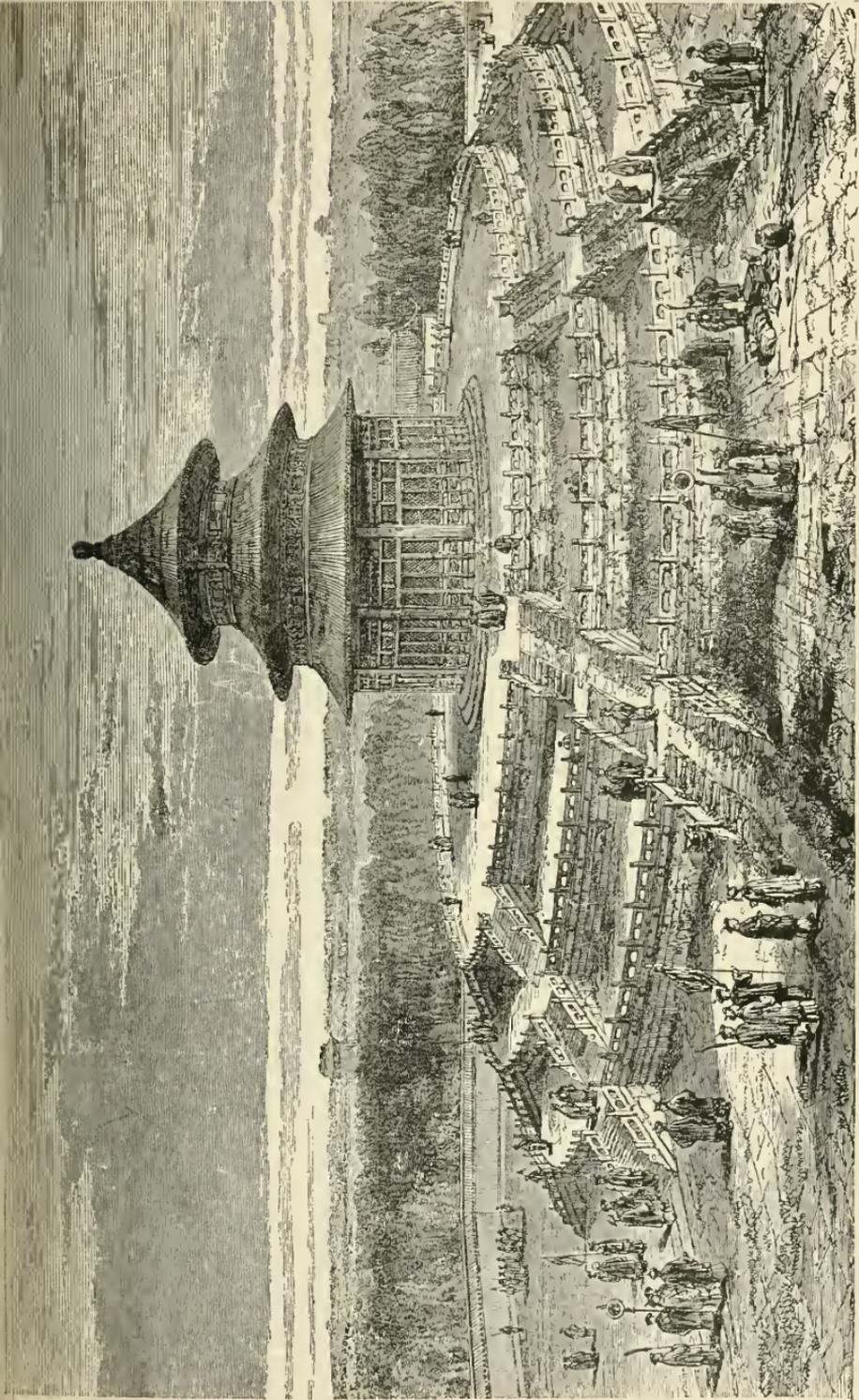
name of God among the Chinese. "Heaven's Lord." I suppose, may be given as a free translation. On each side are the names of the emperor's ancestors. Here sacrifices and offerings are made, and this I think shows that the place is essentially a temple. As already stated, the Chinese do not apply this name to the structure. It is called Tien-tan, or "Heaven's Altar;" but it is also called by a name which is important as bearing on the purpose of this paper, that is Yuen-Kew, or "Round Hillock." Dr. Edkins also translates one of its names as "South Mound." These words, if we can trust their significance, become a very strong evidence that we have here a type of monument which had been formerly a heap of earth, but which in course of time has been changed into a stone structure, and formed in terraces. It is a repetition of the history of the stupa, and it gives, I think, very strong support to the theory that the Zikkuratu has resulted from a similar transformation.

So far as I am acquainted with this peculiar temple, I know of no traditional reputation to indicate its having been a tomb, or that it has been derived from one. Still I should think that the chances are very strong that such was its origin. This was the conclusion formed at the time of my visit, and I have seen no reason to change my opinion since. In favour of this theory it ought to be remembered that the Turanian race are celebrated for their devotion to the dead. Ancestral worship is at the bottom of a Chinaman's religious, political, and social ideas, and this worship, which has come down from a high antiquity, remains among them as strong as ever. Repeatedly during the short time I was in China I saw the ceremonies at tombs. Chinamen are not always buried when they die, but the rites are performed at the coffin wherever it may chance to be placed. The form of the ordinary grave, at least in the north of China, is still a hillock of earth. I chanced to see one newly made, before the weather had destroyed the form. The base is formed of a square platform, about 8 feet on each side, and about 2 feet high: upon this is placed a conical mound about 5 or 6 feet in height. The square form symbolises the earth, and the round form of the mound represents heaven. Chwang-tze, a celebrated com-





From a drawing by Wm. Simpson.



From a drawing by Wm. Simpson.

TEMPLE OF HEAVEN, PEKING. THE NORTH ALTAR.



mentator on Laou-tze, the founder of Taouism, when speaking of his funeral, said: "I will have heaven and earth for my sarcophagus, the sun and moon shall be the insignia when I lie in state, and all creation shall be mourners at my funeral." *Confucianism*, by Prof. R. K. Douglas, p. 234. It will thus be seen that the conical mound of the Chinese grave represents heaven, and this renders it all but probable that the "Round Hillock" of the Temple of Heaven is derived from it.

The north altar is formed of three circular terraces, but it has a large round temple with a triple roof standing on the centre of the upper terrace. Instead of the four stairs to each cardinal point, as in the south altar, there are eight stairs: this is founded on the Pah-Kwah, a curious symbolical figure of eight sides, about which Sinologues have a discussion as to its meaning at present going on. The temple on the north altar is called Tien Kung, or Heaven's Palace; it is also called Che-nien-tien, "temple of prayers for (a fruitful) year." Should a drought occur prayers are said at it.

It will be as well to state that there is an elaborate arrangement of the parts of the south altar based on the number nine. The paving of the platform on the top, the balustrades, and the steps of the stairs, are all nine, or multiples of that number. Odd numbers are sacred to heaven, or Yang. I expressed the opinion that the symbolism of the spheres or planets in the Borsippa Zikḡuratu was only secondary in regard to its origin, and this symbolism of numbers in the Temple of Heaven evidently stands in a similar relationship. It would have been natural to conclude that the shape of such structures—that is their being square or round—might imply some great difference in origin, but from what has already been said, it begins to be evident that the form resulted from the ceremonies or the symbolism of the religion that they belonged to. The imperial temples of Peking present us with a very good illustration of this. One of them is called the "Temple of Earth;" the square form expresses earth, or Yin, and this temple is of that form in two terraces. The lower terrace is 106 feet, and the upper is 60 feet. These terraces are each about 6 feet high. Even numbers are sacred to the earth,

hence the steps and balustrades are even ; the number of the various things which are offered at the ceremonies is also even. The Temple of Agriculture, as it refers to the earth, is also square, with two terraces.

In discussing the architectural peculiarities of temples, it is of the first importance to become acquainted with the religious notions of the persons who constructed them. Without knowledge of this kind we cannot form correct ideas, and we are apt to be led astray at every turn. I have a good example of this in Peking. There are no burial grounds in China, China itself is the burial ground ; at least in the north, the grave-mounds, such as I have described, are scattered about in every direction. I have seen the sacrifices at these round hillocks. I saw huge dinners which required about a score of men to carry, offered to a coffin stowed away in a house. The Emperor of China goes in great state once a year to the tombs of his ancestors, to offer prayers and sacrifice. Now among the Imperial Temples at Peking is the Temple of Ancestors. Anyone knowing the Chinese, would naturally say this must be a mound ; but no ! according to Dr. Edkins, "it is called *Tai-Meaon*, the 'great temple,' and is divided into three principal *Fien*, or halls, and several smaller." It is thus a temple in the form of a house. Dr. Edkins gives us no explanation why this form was here adopted instead of following the shape of a sepulchral heap. If we only knew of this temple in China as the Temple of Ancestors, it might be concluded that grave-mounds, or ceremonies at them, had never existed in that country. At the same time I must point out that this also applies to the whole purpose of this paper, and calls up the words "be cautious," and remember that we are only speculating as to the origin of one temple from the character of others which exist.

I did not visit the tombs of the present dynasty, they are a considerable distance away on the north-west of Peking. I visited the Ming Tombs, where the previous dynasty are buried ; they are perhaps about twenty miles to the north of Peking. The principal tomb is that of the Emperor Yung-Lo ; there is a large mound about 600 or 700 feet in diameter, which contains the body ; it has a high retaining wall of brick,

crenelated all round, but the top of the mound of earth, planted with trees, is visible above the wall; this has already been referred to in this paper. In front is a series of structures, of halls, temples, altars, &c., for the necessary funereal rites to be performed in; they are surrounded by a wall, which is connected with the wall round the mound. The great hall in this enclosure was the finest specimen I saw of Chinese wooden architecture, and the whole arrangement, which covered a large space of ground, perhaps about 1,200 feet long, by 500 feet wide, forms a magnificent temple of ancestral worship. Descriptions of this place are scarce, I have not seen one, and the few details here given may be of value to those who are interested in the subject. At Nanking I saw the tomb of the first of the Mings; he was the only one of that dynasty buried there, owing to the change of capital to Peking. The main features of this tomb were similar to those just described; the mound was larger, and is said to be a mile in circumference.

I have already referred to the tumuli of Kertch, Mycenæ, the Bin Tepe, near Sardis, and the Troiad. They are all worthy of consideration in connection with the subject, and I should recommend those who are interested to compare the drawings of them; but with a due respect for the space allowed for a paper of this kind, I had better refrain from further remarks regarding them. They are all well known, and descriptions are easily found in books; I would specially call attention to Mr. Newton's restoration of the Mausoleum of Mausoleus, and compare it with the Borsippa Ziğğuratu.

My travels have not included the Euphrates Valley, hence I am not so familiar with its remains as with those of India. My reading has also been limited, so I speak with diffidence about the literature of the subject. There may be references to the Ziğğuratu in the Assyrian texts which might throw light on their origin, but I have not chanced to see them. They have not, so far as I know, been classed as tombs, or been supposed to have a sepulchral origin. I know of no text which may be quoted to throw light on this. Perhaps texts may turn up bearing on the subject; and the gentlemen

who are constantly reading cuneiform in the British Museum may now have their attention directed to the value of anything which will assist in the investigation. The main force of my argument has been in the comparison of monuments: comparative monumentology it might be called. This is a new science, but it is one that will yet have much to say on questions of this kind.

I am not altogether without documentary evidence. Strabo, B. xvi. c. i. § 5, mentions the tomb of Belus, and, luckily, describes it. In the account of Babylon, he says, "The tomb also of Belus is there. At present it is in ruins, having been demolished, as it is said, by Xerxes. It was a quadrangular pyramid of baked brick, a stadium in height, and each of the sides a stadium in length." This tomb being a "*quadrangular pyramid*," we may without hesitation assume that it was a Zikḡuratu. Arrian calls it the temple of Belus. Alexander ordered the restoration of the monument, hence its identity need not be questioned. We have only to do with Strabo's statement that it was the tomb of Belus. All I can say is that Strabo describes a Zikḡuratu, and ascribes to it the character of a tomb—I presume it was only the traditional tomb; we cannot claim this as completely proving the case, but so far as it goes it may be regarded as a substantial piece of support. As the Zikḡuratu had long ceased to be known as a tomb, a traditional reputation is all that can be expected regarding it.

Here ought to be introduced a piece of evidence which, to my mind, is of far heavier weight than the statement of Strabo. It brings us back again to comparative monumentology. At Passargadæ, near Persepolis, there is a monument recognized by archæologists as the tomb of Cyrus.<sup>1</sup> It is of stone or marble, and is at its base over 40 feet square; it rises in seven steps to a height of 18 feet. On its summit is a chapel, or stone box, with a cell 10 feet 6 inches by 7 feet. Here at one time was supposed to have rested the golden coffin of Cyrus. This monument is such a perfect miniature of the Borsippa Zikḡuratu, it will be hard to avoid

<sup>1</sup> The late Mr. Vaux told me that there were doubts now as to the connection with Cyrus, but I understood that its character as a tomb was still recognized.

the conclusion that it was a copy from what we may assume to have been the older examples. Persepolis is near enough to the Tigris and Euphrates to have been under the direct influence of these places in matters of art. In this case we have the Zikḡuratu at least copied as a tomb.

In what is called the "Legend of the Tower of Babel" there is a reference to a "mound," and the words "King of the holy Mound" occur; a foot note in the "Records of the Past" states that this was a title of Anu. If we could be sure that this inscription referred to the Tower of Babel, it would almost settle the whole question. It would imply that the mound on which a Zikḡuratu was constructed was a very different thing from the embankments on which palaces stood. The words "holy mound" certainly imply the existence of such places, as well as their having a sanctity attached to them. That it does refer to a mound with a Zikḡuratu we have a strong proof in a bas-relief from Kouyunjik, where the Zikḡuratu stands on a round formed base exactly like a tumulus. This base is not flat on the top, but is decidedly curved in form; and the assumption here would be that, had the base been merely a platform to raise the base of the Zikḡuratu above the plain, it would have been straight on the upper surface. If the interpretation here given to the bas-relief should be accepted, it would show that this particular kind of monument had never altogether ceased to be a mound, and that the terraced tower had been a development of the altar on the summit. We should also have a sufficient explanation of the use of the words "holy mound" quoted above from the legend. In support of this it might be asked, "What other mound could these words refer to?" This interrogation is of course negative evidence only, but till another kind of mound can be shown to have existed, it must be claimed in support of the theory propounded in this paper.

The next aspect of the subject now to be brought forward, is one that I feel will be difficult to make as clear to others as it seems to myself, for it rests on a great many details, some of them so indefinite in themselves, that even if space allowed, I should hesitate about bringing them forward.

The subject is intimately related to a conclusion I have long held, that almost all temples had their origin in connexion with worship at tombs: "Worship of Ancestors," it is generally called, but I prefer to describe it as "The Worship of Death." The word Babel, Mr. Pinches, tells me is Bab-ili, or the "Gate of Ili:" I understand that Assyrian scholars accept this as the rendering of the word. Mr. George Smith translates it as "The Gate of God"<sup>1</sup> ("Records of the Past," Vol. V, p. 69). Now there is an idea, which is very old, and it is yet often expressed in the present day, that is, that we came from God, and that in death we return to God. The slightest consideration of these words will lead to the conclusion that death, or the grave, is the portal leading to God or to Heaven. "Death is the Gate of Life," is an old phrase, and should be borne in mind in relation to this subject. "Whose top may reach unto heaven," is the description of the Tower of Babel; and similar words are common in the cuneiform inscriptions in reference to Zikḡuratus. The old masters, and even more modern artists, have always in their pictures of the Tower of Babel represented a very high building, whose summit seemed to be in contact with the sky; but the Zikḡuratu was not a lofty erection. Even the Borsippa Tower was not particularly elevated; according to Layard it was when complete only 235 feet in height, and in the clear atmosphere of the region it never could have had the appearance of touching the sky. Their reaching unto heaven finds a simple explanation in the supposition that it is a tradition they owe to their tomb origin. This view of the case can be supported by a very interesting illustration which may be given of Oriental ideas still also to be found in our own day. It is common among Mohammedans when a man reputed for sanctity dies, to build a small tomb over him with a dome—these places are called *Makâms*, or *Welis*, and become noted places of prayer—one of the numerous combinations to be found of the tomb and the temple in one. Many of these shrines are rich from offerings, and become elaborate buildings, covered with decorations and inscriptions.

<sup>1</sup> Ca-dimirra, is the Akkadian equivalent to Bab-ili (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. I, p. 298).

Among the inscriptions it is not uncommon to find, "This is the Gate of the Gardens of Paradise;" here we have words expressing the "Gate of Heaven," or the "Gate of God." I was much struck with this sentence when I heard it for the first time; and it occurred to me that it explained the legend that Mohammed's coffin hangs between heaven and earth. By rendering these words literally, an idea has been formed that the coffin is dangling somehow in the air, between this and the upper world, just as the tower of Babel was supposed to reach very high in the sky, so that it touched heaven. Mohammed's tomb is to a Musselman the most holy of all Makâms, being such, the "Gate of Paradise" might be written over it; and on the theory that the coffin is the gate or passage, it necessarily stands between this world and the next.<sup>1</sup>

There is another aspect of this subject which ought to be noticed. In Vol. I of the *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, p. 300, Professor Sayce says of Babylon: "The name itself, *Ca-dimirra*, or 'Gate of God,' reminds us of the statement that it was here that God came down to see the children of men." In Vol. III, p. 151, of the same *Transactions*, there is a still fuller statement: "The Accadai, or 'Highlanders,' who had founded their creed on the mountains of Elam, believed that the Gods only came down to the highest parts of the earth, and therefore raised artificial eminences, like the Tower of Babel, for their worship in the plains of Babylonia. The Gods were supposed to have their seat on the 'Mountain of the East,' the 'Mountain of the World,' like the Greek Olympus, or the Hindu Meru (*see* Isa. xiv, 13); and in the account of the Deluge, Sisuthrus is made to build his altar, after leaving his ark, on the *Siggurat Sadi*, or 'Peak of the Mountain.'" This might seem to imply a theory in opposition to what has been suggested in this paper; but there is no need to consider it in that light. There is no doubt but it was a feature common to most ancient religions to believe

<sup>1</sup> In Afghanistan the word Makâm is not used. - The tomb of a saint is called *Ziaret*. I do not know the origin of the word, but it has a curious resemblance to *Ziḡḡuratu*. Mr. Löwy has since told me that the words have no connection.

that the Divine Presence came down into sacred temples and holy places. In this Professor Sayce is perfectly correct, and instead of being antagonistic, it should be looked upon as rather confirmatory; for to the ancient mind it would seem all the more probable that if divine beings could come down at a sacred spot, the spirits or souls of men could pass upwards at the same place. We have an illustration of this in the Mohammedan tradition of the "Night Journey." This is said to have taken place from the Sakrah, the Sacred Rock, on the supposed site of the temple at Jerusalem. The Mohammedans call this now "the Gate of Heaven," and make it the scene of Jacob's dream, where he saw the angels of God ascending and descending. The Sacred Rock, in this case, is also believed "to be suspended miraculously between heaven and earth."

The second quotation from Professor Sayce is valuable as introducing another feature of importance. He states that the Accadians had a sacred mountain like the Olympus of the Greeks, or Mount Meru of the Hindus, this was the "Mountain of the World," in imitation of which they raised artificial eminences, "like the Tower of Babel." I presume that this statement, coming from so good an authority on such matters, is correct; and it might be put forward as almost proving that part of my theory, regarding the mound origin of the Zikkuratus; but I shall only ask to have it placed as one of the links in the chain of circumstantial evidence. Luckily I have a further description of this mountain of the world, it is derived from the "Academy" of December 4th, 1875, in which Mr. Boscawen gives a translation of "The Hymn to the Mountain of the World." From this another very valuable point in the chain of evidence is found, for it would appear that Hades, the land of "No return," was in the interior of this mountain.<sup>1</sup> Hades was a region regarding which each religion gives a different account, but

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for the following note to Mr. Pinches.—"One of the renderings of the character for 'mound' in the syllabaries is, *sukku sa tili êlli apsi*—'the booth [shrine] of the Glorious Mound of the Abyss.' The word Glorious Mound [*tili êlli*] being written with the same character as those used for the word *Tisri*." I may be mistaken, but I should suppose that the "abyss"

the primary idea connected with it is that of the Grave. Now it was this sacred mountain, with Hades in its centre, which was represented by the Zik̄k̄uratus, such as the Tower of Babel. I am inclined to believe that the Buddhist stupa was a representation of Mount Meru, and I have seen statements to that effect, but cannot affirm it as a settled point among Indian Archæologists. Colonel Wilford, who is unfortunately not a reliable authority, for he allowed himself to be imposed upon by his Pundits, states that the stupas, "in which the sacred relics are deposited, be their shape what it will, are in imitation of the worldly temple of the Supreme Being, and which is really the tomb of the first of His embodied powers." I see no reason to doubt these words. Man is a divine personage, made in the likeness of God. The death of each man represents the death of all; the grave of one becomes thus the grave of all; in this idea we have the profound sanctity of the Holy Sepulchre. The tomb, as the link between this world and the next, where man at last goes to await the re-birth, which will restore him back to where he originally came from, becomes thus of supreme importance. It did so appear to the ancient people of the world, and they raised around their belief a vast structure of symbolism. One of the many forms which this led to was that of symbolical tombs; the mountain of the world with Hades in it, is somewhat ideal or legendary to us. Still such a mountain, or mound, may be considered as a symbolical tomb. The Buddhist stupa, with its relics, as a tomb, was more symbolical than real. The Zik̄k̄uratu, I conclude, had become almost wholly symbolical, and at the historical period, of which we are now receiving so much light from the cuneiform inscriptions—almost all trace of its having been a tomb seems to have been lost—hence it is only by bringing forward a connected series of what must be called circumstantial evidence, that its character and origin can be little by little built up.

here mentioned is the same as Hades. The connection between the mound and Tisri is very easily explained; if the mound was a tomb, then Tisri was the month of the autumnal equinox; and the ceremonies in almost every part of the world at that period of the year, as nearly every one knows who has studied the subject, were connected with death.

As palaces and temples were all constructed on mounds on the plains of Assyria and Chaldea, it is not quite clear from the inscriptions whether the mounds on which the Zikḡuratus stood were different from the others in their character. In the legend of the Tower of Babel, there is a special reference to the "Mound," as if it had been a distinct feature of the structure. It says:—

". . . . Babylon corruptly to sin went, and  
Small and great mingled on the mound."

This would imply that either the whole tower was called a mound, or at least some important portion of it was distinguished by this term. The same legend has also the sentence, "The king of the holy mound" ("Records of the Past," Vol. VII, p. 131). A foot note states that this was a title of Anu; the point here is the special reference to a mound, and that the mound was "holy." I submit that these references establish that at least the elevated mass on which the Zikḡuratu stood was recognized as a portion of the structure, and in this case it had an importance sufficient to give it the title of sanctity. The value of this in relation to my theory need scarcely be pointed out; all I require to say is that here there is a trace left of the origin I ascribe to the Zikḡuratu.

Luckily among the very few sculptures in which representations of Zikḡuratus are found, there is one which shows a round-topped mound as the base on which the structure stands. This fragment is a bas-relief from Koyoundjick, and had it been meant to represent the ordinary mounds such as palaces were built upon, it would have been flat on the top; on the contrary, the mound form is distinctly given through the whole outline. This bas-relief seems to confirm the words of the quotation just given. A "holy mound" is mentioned: it matters little to the argument whether it refers to the Tower of Babel or not, and here is an illustration of a terraced tower placed on such a mound. This part of the case is, I submit, thus made very complete, for it shows that the mound origin of these monuments had not been lost; and that too after they had ceased to be real mounds, for the one in the bas-relief is evidently a built structure. A door is represented

on it, and a stair or path on each side leads up to the tower; they enter the building, showing that the stairs were in the inside, and not on the outside as so generally given in restorations; but it must be remembered that this sculpture is from Koyoundjick, and may only represent the northern or Assyrian form, which may have retained this feature, which the southern or Chaldean seems to have lost. Such is the case, at least, so far as is known, for the remains of the base of towers have been found in the south, and this feature is wanting in them. The building of the mound, in the sculpture just referred to, shows that the same process had been gone through which has been described in the Buddhist stupa, and in other monuments with a similar origin. In the Mesopotamian case it would seem that the altar which we may suppose stood on the top of the mound had been slowly developed, and ultimately became the terraced tower. Hence the Zikḡuratu is not the mound proper, but an architectural evolution upon it. This view of the case would go a long way to confirm a suggestion of Mr. Fergusson's, that the Tee on the summit of the Buddhist stupa was originally most probably the sepulchral receptacle, or perhaps an altar. Ever since Buddhist times, so far as we know, it has been only an architectural form serving no purpose.

Having given the evidence, which I would venture to say strongly corroborates the theory that these monuments were originally mounds, we come now to the question as to whether there is any evidence of their character of tombs. The curious thing regarding the archæology of this part of the world is that almost nothing is known of the tombs of Chaldea and Assyria. The knowledge on this head is almost entirely a blank. Fortunately for my view of the case there are some historical references, which I shall here give. Strabo has been already referred to, who states that the tomb of Belus was at Babylon, and that it was a quadrangular pyramid. The tomb of Belus must of course be perfectly mythical, but this does not affect the argument; all that can be done here is to show that these places had the reputation associated with them of being tombs. Lenormant, "Ancient Hist. of the East," Vol. I, p. 480, says regarding "The Pyramid

of Babylon," that "half way up was the sepulchral chamber of Bel Merodach, where they consulted his oracle." I have not been able to find out the authority for this statement, but should suppose that a *savant* with the reputation of this author would not make the assertion without some data upon which to base it. Another equally mythical tomb is that of Ninus. According to Diodorus. II. 7, 1-2. "Semiramis buried Ninus within the boundary walls of the palace; she raised a mound of extraordinary size over his tomb." Here again the description points most probably to a Zikḡuratu. Diodorus quotes Ctesias as to its dimensions, which he gives as nine stades high and ten wide. These figures may be doubted, but as Ctesias lived in Babylon, his authority may be accepted that a mound there had the tradition of being an ancient tomb. The tomb of Cyrus has already been mentioned, and it may be considered as a better evidence even than the historians, for it was evidently constructed after the model of the Zikḡuratus. At least it presents us with monumental proof confirmatory of the references we have from Strabo, Diodorus, and Ctesias.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To the above may be added an extract from Diodorus Siculus regarding the tomb of Sardanapalus. Arbaces, who took and destroyed Nineveh, had made a vow to Belus, "that when Sardanapalus was conquered, and the palace consumed, he would carry the ashes to Babylon, and there raise a mound near to his temple, which should be an eternal monument to all that sailed through the Euphrates in memory of him that overturned the Assyrian Empire." B. II, c. 2. Amynthus states that the tomb of Sardanapalus was at one of the gates of Nineveh, and that it was a high artificial terrace or tumulus. This author states also that at the taking of Nineveh the engines of war were placed on the top of the tomb. Of course this shows that it could not have been the tomb of Sardanapalus. The only value of the above references consists in their showing that in early times tombs, in the form of mounds, were known in Mesopotamia.

Layard states that: "According to some, the tomb of Ninus was in Babylon, where, it will be remembered, Ovid places the 'Busta Nini'; according to others at Nineveh. Ctesias relates that when her husband died, Semiramis buried his body in the palace, and raised over it a huge tumulus or pyramid of earth, which was visible from afar, and was still standing after the destruction of the city and the fall of the empire." *Nineveh and its Remains*, Vol. II, p. 476. See also *Diod. Sic.*, B. II, c. 1. Layard also refers to the tomb of Sardanapalus, which, "according to Amynthus, at the gate of the Assyrian capital was a high artificial terrace or tumulus, which was the tomb of the Monarch, and bore an inscription to that effect in Chaldean letters." *Nineveh and its Remains*, Vol. II, p. 477.

This paper must now close. It has been shown that there are over the length and breadth of the ancient world a class of monuments, which grew in the course of time out of the primal grave mound or cairn, and that the Zikḡuratu bears a very close resemblance to them. These old monuments vary in each country, and the Zikḡuratu varies no more from either of them than they do from each other; or to put it in other words, it bears a strong family likeness to the other structures whose origin there is no doubt upon. Having thus surrounded the Zikḡuratu with sufficient evidence to raise a suspicion as to its original character, evidence has been given from the inscriptions, and from a fragment of sculpture, that their mound character was not unknown; to this has just been added some historical references which are enough to show that, although mythical, some of them at least had a traditional repute of being tombs. There are other features of the case which tell on my mind, but have not been referred to, as they belong to peculiar ideas of my own. The paper contains at least a good deal of information bearing on the subject, and it will now be brought under the consideration of those who are interested in Assyrian archæology. This may lead to further light on the subject from the students of Assyriology, particularly those who are deciphering the tablets in the British Museum; they may come upon words which will clear up the matter with more certainty, and this paper will have served its purpose if it leads to this result.

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NOTE.—There is one point which I overlooked in this paper, and it is to my own mind one of so much importance that I add it here.

The Zikḡuratu, the Pyramid, and the Stupa are all solid structures. In the case of the Stupa we know that it owes its solid form to its having been developed from what had been at first a solid mound of earth. It is not at all likely that the Pyramid of Egypt is a development from a house-form—meaning by that term a hollow structure with walls.

The solid character of the Zikḡuratu indicates a similar genesis. To this I may add the final remark, that I know of no other primitive form of ancient times to which I could possibly ascribe the origin of the Mesopotamian Tower Temples.

Since the above was in print I have met with the following passage in *The Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen*. By H. Villiers Stuart, p. 59: "The so-called Brick Pyramids are not Pyramids at all, but gigantic Mastabahs. Close inspection reveals conclusive evidence that, when perfect, they rose in steps like that at Meidoun."

The writer also adds that these crude brick Pyramids are older than those of stone. Being older and in steps, it suggests a connecting link with the Terrace Towers; but if Villiers Stuart is correct, that they were Mastabas, the connection is brought closer still.



## NOTES UPON SOME EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES IN MY COLLECTION.

By F. G. HILTON PRICE, F.S.A.

*Read 1st June, 1886.*

IN the course of the year 1885 some very interesting excavations and discoveries were made at a place now called Ehmîn or Ahmîm, situated upon the right bank of the Nile, in the Thebaïd, opposite to Sûhâg. This town occupies the site of a very ancient city called Chemmis (?), and written in hieroglyphics and <sup>1</sup> Âput; it was sacred to the god Âmes, it was the chief city of the Panopolite nome, and in later times its name was changed to Panopolis.

Judging from the antiquities therein discovered, we learn that the place must have been occupied as a city from a very early date, probably about the XIth dynasty, throughout the later Empire, the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. A few interesting antiquities, mostly of Ptolemaic and Roman times, have found their way recently to London.

The most interesting objects sent me from this site are two sepulchral boxes of sycamore wood. They are shaped much in the form of a pylon, being 18 inches high, 17 inches wide at the base, 14½ inches wide at the top, and 10½ inches deep from back to front.

There is a cornice decorated with vertical lines of black, red, black, and yellow, several times repeated in that order, painted on a white ground, beneath which, upon three sides of the chest, is a narrow line of five-rayed stars, followed by a row of three figures , then Anubis seated upon his hill, five times repeated; then another row of five-rayed

<sup>1</sup> See Brugsch, "Dict. Géog.," p. 19.

stars, beneath which is a row of tats and girdles placed alternately, with a row of five-rayed stars below them.

The principal space on the box is occupied by a figure of the deceased person, represented of a red colour, therefore an Egyptian, wearing a blue cap on his head, a blue collar round his neck, and his tunic is composed of two shades of blue; he likewise wears an armlet on his right arm above the elbow. This figure is represented kneeling upon his left knee, holding up his left arm, with his thumb upraised, and his right hand placed upon his stomach. In front of him are two blank cartouches, and behind him are three jackal-headed genii, all kneeling in the same attitude; their flesh is represented of a yellow colour, wearing blue cloths upon their heads, with red and blue tunics, with blank spaces in front of them upon the ground, and two above each of their heads, coloured red for an inscription. Upon the opposite side of the box the deceased is seen kneeling on his right knee, with three hawk-headed genii kneeling behind him, with all the same attributes as those just described. These genii<sup>1</sup> or spirits are mentioned in the 112th chapter of the Book of the Dead, called "Chapter of knowing the spirits of Tu"—the jackal-headed genius was called Tūaumutef, and the hawk-headed one, Qebḥsenf.

Lanzone figures these spirits in his "Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia," plate xxvi, and describes them on pp. 56 and 57 of that work, as *Āmmu* . Those having hawk-heads are the "spirits of Buto,"  | , and were sons of Horus; *Āmset* and *Hāpi*, the jackal-headed deities, were the "Spirits of Meni,"  | , Tūaumutef and Qebḥsenf, sons of Horus.

Beneath this picture of the "*Āmmu*" are three broad lines of black paint, with a sort of key pattern below it in red and black. This box or stand, which never appears to have been furnished with a lid, is perforated on the lines

<sup>1</sup> There is a bronze figure of each class of these spirits in the British Museum, Nos. 11497, 11498.

just below the genii with four rectangular holes which are the same on each side; in one of them is a piece of cord still remaining, but for what these holes could have been intended is difficult now to conjecture.

Having described the fronts, it now remains for me to do like office for the ends. The cornice on the left hand side is decorated with the winged disk supported by two uræi, painted on vertical lines of blue and red; beneath the cornice on the end of the box are eight uræi painted blue with red disks upon their heads on each side of  $\frac{\circ}{\uparrow}$   $\text{an}\chi$ , which occupies the centre of the line, then a winged disk as before upon a red ground, below it is another row of uræi, then a line occupied by the winged disk also painted on a red ground.

The principal space is occupied by the figure of a hawk, standing upon a pedestal, with an altar in front of it with offerings placed thereon. Over the hawk's head is a uræus and disk. Upon either side of this pedestal are depicted Thoth and Horus standing with upraised arms pouring a libation over the hawk.

Upon the opposite end the decoration is the same as on the sides, and below is a figure of a hawk with outspread wings, wearing a disk and uræus upon his head, holding in each of his claws a sceptre with a plume in it; upon each side of the hawk's head is a blank cartouche.

The decoration of the second box is rather different, inasmuch as the figures are much larger. The first line beneath the cornice, on three sides of it, is represented the three figures  $\frac{\circ}{\uparrow}$   $\frac{\circ}{\uparrow}$   $\frac{\circ}{\uparrow}$ , then the figure of Anubis lying couchant upon a bier, with two vases beneath it, four times repeated, then a row of tats and girdles. The deceased person here is decidedly a king, with red skin, blue head-dress with uræus in front, wearing a blue collar and armlets, a yellow tunic with black stripes and a blue apron, kneeling on his right knee, with right arm held up with thumb upraised—a cartouche is in front of him. The genii on the one side are hawk-headed, and on the other jackal-headed, and are

represented as having yellow flesh; they wear blue head-dresses, a red collar, a light purple tunic with a blue apron, the ends contain the hawk with outspread wings, and with the same attributes as on the other box, and the opposite end has the hawk on the pedestal with the gods Thoth and Horus pouring libations over his head. In the front of this box or stand the holes are circular instead of being rectangular as in the first described box.

When these two stands first arrived they were unique, and were shown to the late Dr. Birch, who had never seen anything of the kind before, and he was greatly interested in them; he did not know their use, but since then we are informed from Egypt that they are considered to be coffin stands, which appears to be a feasible idea. General Grenfell, C.B., who has seen many of them of various sizes at Ahmim and Thebes, informs me that they were used as coffins or receptacles for animals' mummies; he has one which had three divisions inside, in each of which was a mummy of a cat. Within the last few weeks, Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge has sent you a description of one of these boxes belonging to Mr. L. W. Engelbach, C.B., which is in every way similar to the first one described, excepting that it is a size larger, being 26 inches high, against mine of 18 inches, and it is further asserted that General Sir Evelyn Wood possesses another of similar form, both from Ahmim. In addition to these boxes there must have been another of much larger dimensions, judging from a plank in my collection, which measures 3 feet 6 inches high, 10 inches wide at the base, tapering up to rather less than 7 inches at the top. The box to which this belonged must have been at least 3 feet 8 inches high and  $2\frac{1}{3}$  feet wide. It bears similar decoration to each of the ends which have the figures of Thoth and Horus upon them in the smaller boxes already described, but rather more like the first one on account of the several rows of five-rayed stars occurring at rectangular intervals between the lines of uræi and the winged disk.

The figure of Thoth on this plank is 13 inches high; he is standing with left leg advanced, both hands raised in the attitude of pouring a libation. His head is gilded, he wears



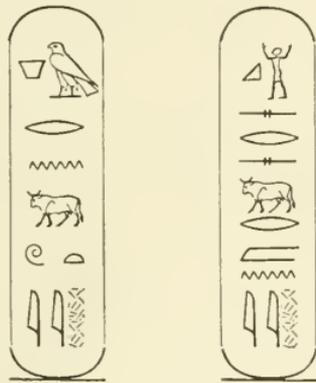
BOARD FROM A SEPULCHRAL BOX, WITH FIGURE OF THOTH AND INSCRIPTION CONTAINING NAME OF AN UNIDENTIFIED KING.

In the Collection of F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A.



a large yellow head-dress with black stripes; around his loins he wears an ornamental brown tunic, and above that as far as his breast he wears a close-fitting garment bearing a resemblance to scale armour; this is likewise gilded.

Along the margin of this plank on the top and side are hieroglyphics. On the side it bears the name of an unknown king, who was probably one of the later Roman kings who reigned over Egypt for a short time, or perhaps only over the upper country, and was buried in the tomb at Aḥmîm. There is no doubt but that the plank and the three boxes, and probably the fourth, all came from the same place.



A pedestal of a figure of Ptah-Socharis-Osiris from Aḥmîm is worthy of being placed upon record, inasmuch as it is an object of interest and beauty. The figure itself was not sent over.

The pedestal is  $17 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$  inches high, and  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches thick. In front of the socket-hole in which the figure was fixed is represented Anubis, couchant, upon a bier, beneath which are six vases, placed in two rows one above the other; four are painted black, and the two central ones red. Upon each side of Anubis are four human-headed souls, each wearing a red disk, with their hands upraised in the attitude of adoration; behind each of these is the figure of the shade (similar to those described by the late Dr. Birch, *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. VIII, p. 386). This vignette is represented on a yellow ground; beneath this are seven vertical lines of hieroglyphics, coloured green, yellow, and orange, the central column being green; below this again are three more columns

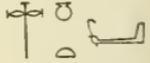
of hieroglyphics, painted in black on orange, with green stripes on each side, with a kneeling figure of Nephthys on the right hand, and a similar one of Isis on the left.

The ornament on the sides and ends is composed of  $\frac{\circ}{\dagger}$   $\text{ān}\chi$ , coloured orange, and  $\int$ , or kukufa sceptres, painted white, placed back to back, with the space between them coloured red. The ground upon which these decorations are painted is of a deep blue colour; beneath this is a peculiar and effective style of decoration, like the lower end of a circle, filled in with lines and cross-lines, the spaces filled in with red paint.

The following is a transcript of the inscription, with the transliteration:—

1.      
 Suten hetep ta en Āsar xenti Āmenti  
*Royal oblation give Osiris xenti Amenti*

      
 nutār āa neb Ābtu Seker  
*god great lord of Abydos Socharis*

2.          
 Āsar nutār āa her āb āt Ḥeru net'  
*Osiris god great within the coffin Horus the avenger of*

        
 tef - f Āst urt nutār mut her āb  
*father his, Isis the great lady divine mother in the*

3.       
 tūat Nebthet nutār sen[t] Ānpu  
*underworld, Nephthys divine sister, Anubis*

     4.   
 xent sehtu nutār āa neb Tasertet  
*xent - seh god great lord of Tasertet*

Âmset	Hâpi	Tūaumut f	Qebhsen f
<i>Amset</i>	<i>Hâpi</i>	<i>Tuaumut,</i>	<i>Qebhsenf,</i>

5. nutâru gods  
 nutârit goddesses  
 nebu  
 âmu  
 Âpu  
*all who are in Panopolis*

ta - sen	per xeru	âhu	âpt	ârp
<i>may grant they</i>	{ <i>sepulchral meals</i> }	<i>oxen,</i>	<i>ducks,</i>	<i>wine,</i>
	( <i>viz.</i> ),			

	6.			
ârt	nutâr sentrâ	merḥ	ḥebs	qebḥ
<i>milk,</i>	<i>incense</i>	<i>wax,</i>	<i>linen bandages,</i>	<i>libations,</i>

xet	neb	nefer	âb	net'em	bener	ta	pet
<i>things</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>beautiful,</i>	<i>pure,</i>	<i>pleasant,</i>	<i>sweet,</i>	<i>may give</i>	<i>heaven</i>

tennu	en	ka	en	Âsar
<i>how many</i>	<i>to the</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>Osiris</i>

Tat - er - petet	mât xeru	t'etta
<i>Taterpetet</i>	<i>triumphant</i>	<i>for ever.</i>

1. t'eta  
 en  
 Nebt-het  
 nutâr  
 sent  
 menx  
*said by Nephthys, divine sister beneficent (to)*

2. Âsar  
 âri  
 sa  
 en  
 Âsar  
 Taterpetet  
*Osiris making protection for Osiris Taterpetet*

		3.						
mātχeru	t'etta		t'eta	en	Āst		urt	
triumphant	for ever.		Said	by	Isis		the great lady	

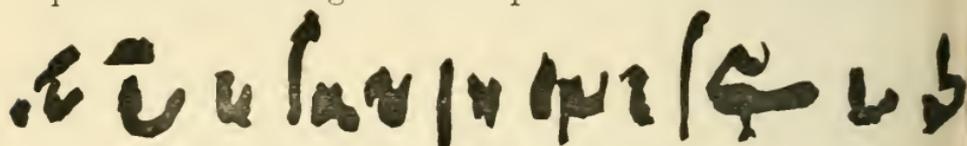
								
nutār	nebt	pet		tuāt		hent	nutāru	
divine	lady of	heaven		the netherworld,		mistress of	the gods,	

nutārit

the goddesses.

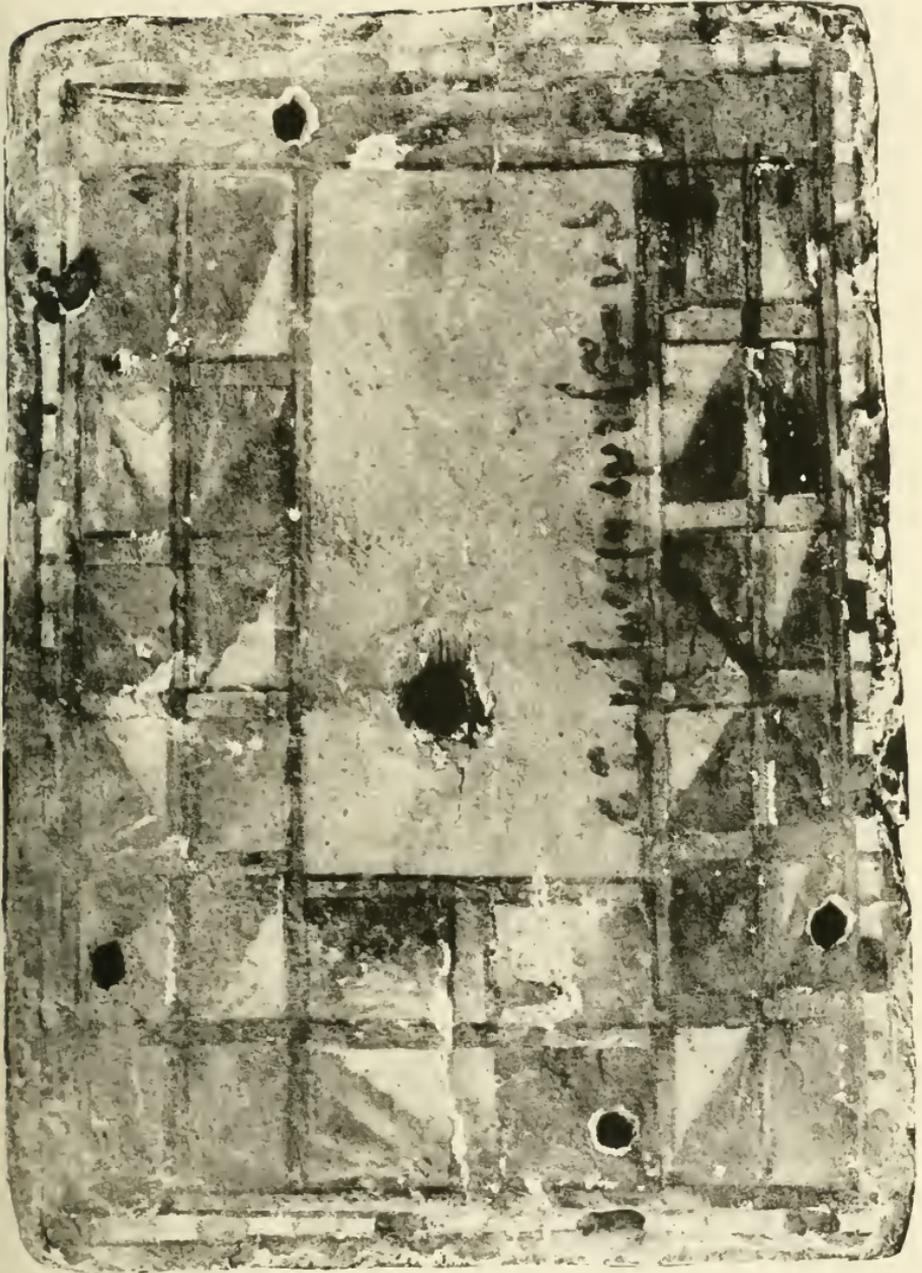
Upon the lid or cover of a funereal box, in sycamore wood, ornamented with an arrangement of small squares painted in colours. on three sides of a large space coloured pink. is the following short inscription in demotic characters:—



“Ta-poer, the wife of Pet-tum.”<sup>1</sup>

Some masks from mummy cases have been sent to me, one in wood of a female with the face coloured yellow, and a peculiar high head-dress of about the XXth dynasty; another of a child of about the same period. The most remarkable one that has come into my collection from Ahmîm, and which is probably unique, is composed of cartonage, in fact, its composition is not unlike papier mâché. It is the whole head and part of the head end of the inner case of the mummy. It is coloured red, representing a man of middle age, in all likelihood a portrait, with a close-cut black beard and moustache, which latter is shaven immediately under the nose. He wears a fillet on his head, beneath which upon his brow is a band composed of uræi in relief, painted yellow to represent gold. At the back of his ears is a head of Horus, wearing plumes; round the neck or back part upon a white ground are figures of Anubis on each

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Monsieur E. Revillout for the translation of this inscription.



LID OF A BOX INSCRIBED IN DEMOTIC WITH THE NAME OF TA-POER, THE WIFE  
OF PET-TUM.

In the Collection of F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A.



side, with Thoth, Osiris, and Horus between them; height. 15 inches. This is of the Ptolemaic period, the deceased being probably a Greek.

Another mask from a mummy case, made of plaster covered with linen or coarse cloth, upon which is laid gold leaf; the eyes are inlaid, and the tunics are made of hippopotamus ivory, the pupils being stained black, the eye-lids and eyebrows are of greyish coloured glass; beneath the chin the hieroglyphs  *Rā* *χeper*, are written in black upon red ground.

Two or three small wooden hawks and a perfect figure of Ptah-Socharis-Osiris upon a pedestal with the model of a coffin in front of it, also came from the same place.

The only bronze figure that I have as yet had from Aḥmîm is a remarkably fine head of Helios in excellent preservation, it represents him wearing the sun and rays as a head-dress; the head is  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches in height. The late Dr. Birch expressed an opinion that it might possibly have been intended to represent Alexander the Great.

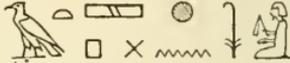
Having now sketched out some account of objects from Aḥmîm, I will proceed to describe some antiquities from other parts of Egypt, now in my collection.

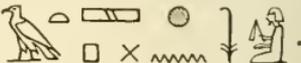
A mummy and coffin of Ta-séps-pen-χonsu, lately received from Egypt, its locality is at present uncertain, but it was probably from Aḥmîm. The coffin is 5 feet 10 inches in height, and 18 inches across the shoulders, has a female head, the face coloured pink, with eyes composed of alabaster, the eyelids and eyebrows are made of a composition to represent bronze. It has a large striped head-dress, with vulture wings displayed upon the sides, with a figure of Nebta kneeling on the crown of the head, with a dedication to that goddess. Upon the breast is a deep ornamental collar, composed of several rows of beads of various kinds, the sides terminating in a hawk's head upon the shoulders. Beneath this necklace is the figure of Nut, with outspread wings and extended arms, kneeling upon a figure of  *Nub*. Upon the head of Nut is a large disk with her name upon it . Below it, down the centre of the coffin, is a

curious figure, with plumes and disk of the sun, the meaning of which I cannot explain.



Immediately beneath it is a vignette representing the deceased lying upon the bier, being visited by its soul *Ba*, in the form of the human-headed hawk. Upon the sides of the coffin are figures of the four genii of the Amenti, thus: upon the left-hand side are *Hâpi*, two separate figures of *Tūaumtef*, *Qebhsenf*, and *Âmset*, with prayers for protection by the deceased; on the opposite sides are in the following order: *Âmset*, *Qebhsenf*, *Tūaumtef*, *Qebhsenf*, and *Âmset*, all standing with their left legs advanced, wearing tunics round their loins, and holding palm branches and some sceptres in their hands. In addition to these are horizontal bands of hieroglyphics upon the sides of the breast, and at certain intervals down the front are horizontal lines containing the usual formulæ to various deities; likewise down the front are vertical lines of prayers. Upon the foot part of the coffin are represented two large eyes, thus: .

The name of the deceased  *Ta-séps-pen-χonsu*, occurs a great many times.

The underneath part of the coffin is covered with prayers arranged in horizontal lines, coloured yellow, white, and drab, alternately. The centre is occupied by a large *Tat* with four vertical lines of hieroglyphics containing prayers or dedications for protection to *Osiris*, *Horus*, *Âtmu*, and *Ptah-Sekar-Osiris* in the name of the deceased .

Upon the foot-board is a figure of the *Apis* bull, bearing away the mummied form of *Osiris* to *Amenti*.

Both parts of the coffin are of solid wood, hollowed out, and the whole of it covered with cartonage or canvas painted over; the inside is covered in the same manner, only painted white.

The mummy itself is only 5 feet in height, and, as usual, is tightly rolled in linen, it has a movable mask of cartonage

upon its head, with a large scarabæus painted on its crown, the face is gilded, upon the breast and down the whole of the front are long strips of cartonage painted with figures; on the breast is the soul with outspread wings, beneath which is a sort of ægis, with the emblem the tie of the girdle. Then the figure of Māt, treated like Nut, in the attitude of kneeling, with expanded wings, several figures of the assessors of the dead and other genii, the mummy laid out on the bier, and other varieties of ornamentation.

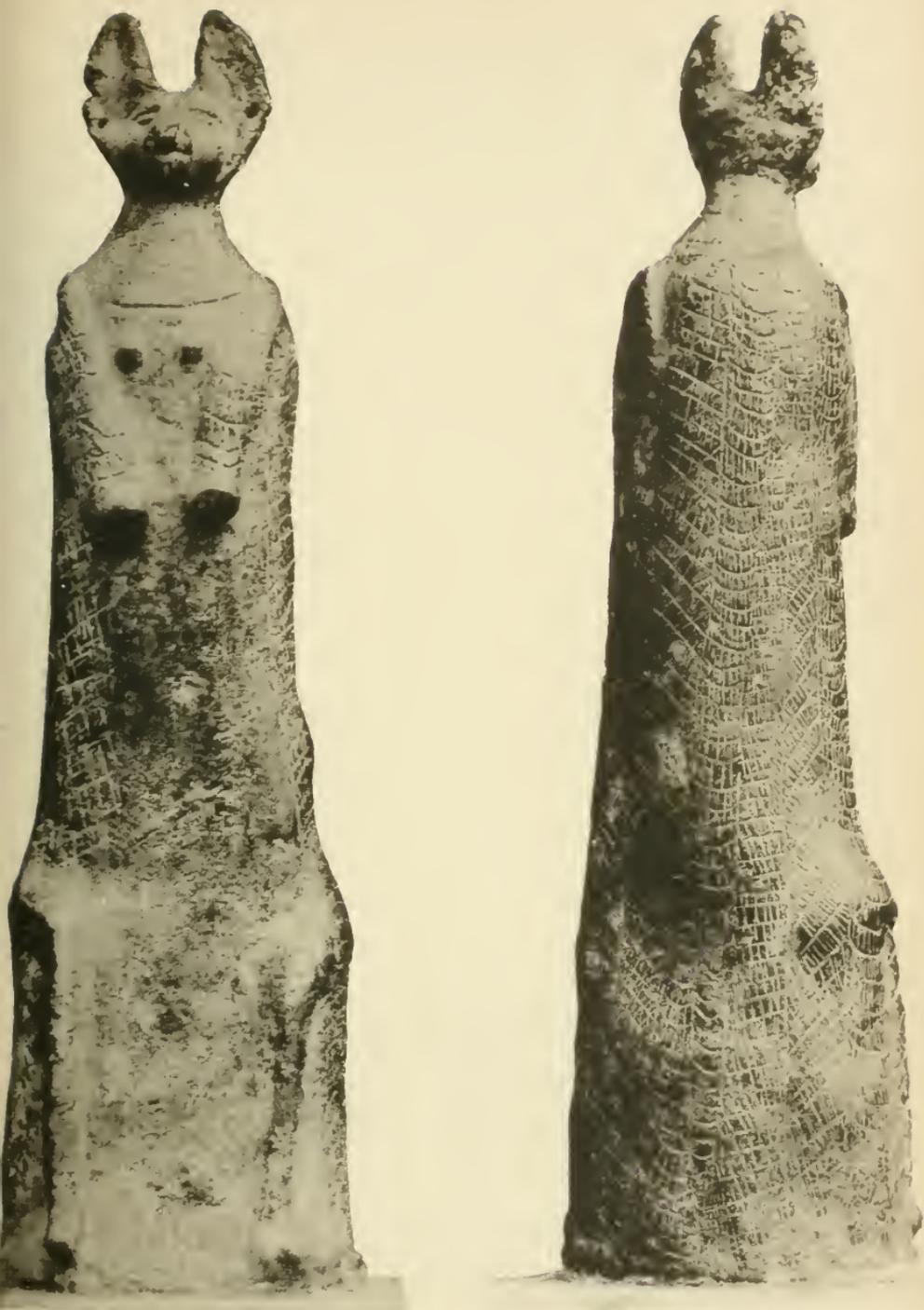
Inside the coffin were twenty-one *usabtiu* of a coarse blue porcelain, varying in size from  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches to 2 inches in height, all quite plain.

This mummy is very late, being of the Ptolemaic period, probably *circa* B.C. 150.

A stone tablet which has been supported by a kneeling figure now lost, contains the following general hymn to the sun. The first few lines contain the ordinary expressions found in such compositions, but the last three lines are obscure. The name of the deceased is partly broken away.

1. [ \* | figure | circle | figure ] | figure | sun-disk | scarab
2. scarab | figure | figure | figure | figure | figure | figure | scarab
3. scarab | figure | figure
4. scarab | figure | figure | sun-disk | figure | figure | figure | figure | figure
5. figure | figure
6. figure | figure
7. figure | figure
8. figure | figure
9. scarab | figure | figure | figure | figure | figure | figure | figure





BRONZE BAT. FROM BENHA

in the Collection of J. G. HILTON PRICE, F. S. A.



another in stone, painted white, bearing the name of Takarii, both of these were found at Thebes. A *usabti* in porcelain of rich turquoise blue, with an inscription in three horizontal bands bearing the name of Âst-em-heb, the queen of Menchepera, of the XXIst Dynasty, from the great find of royal mummies at Deir-el-Bahari a few years ago; another much smaller of the same colour, bearing the royal cartouche of Âmen-mer-pâ = Pinet'em, a king of the XXIst Dynasty, about B.C. 1030, which likewise came from the same tomb. Two other *usabtiu* of the XXIst Dynasty, of a rich blue coloured porcelain from Sakkarah, bearing the name of the chief of the scribes, Amenhetep. One rather unusual in blue porcelain, with six horizontal lines of Demotic on the front; it was found at Sakkarah, and belongs to the XXVIth Dynasty. The Rev. Greville Chester, who brought this to England, has this year obtained another from the same place, which has been acquired by the British Museum. A few specimens of the XXVIth Dynasty, with incuse inscription in horizontal lines of the sixth chapter of the Book of the Dead. Likewise a few smaller specimens of the same period, unincised, brought to England by Captain Irby in 1853, found by him at the Great Pyramid. There is one other that should be mentioned before passing on to another group, it is of a *usabti* of whitish green-porcelain, wearing a short curly wig down to the shoulders, with the right arm crossed upon the breast, and the left arm pendent. It belongs to an early period.

A very fine *usabti* in hard wood, and in perfect preservation, 16 inches in length, the eyes and eyebrows are of glass, and look quite life-like; he wears a beard and a long head-dress. It has a coffin and cover in the same material. It bears the name of Sotemâsh, and beneath it, in two vertical lines, portion of the sixth chapter of the Ritual of the Dead. This figure belongs to a very early period, possibly VIth Dynasty, at any rate prior to the XIIth Dynasty, as the name of Osiris does not appear at all in the inscription, which was not introduced before the XIIth Dynasty.

The earthenware objects commonly known as sepulchral cones are only met with in and about Thebes; it is very

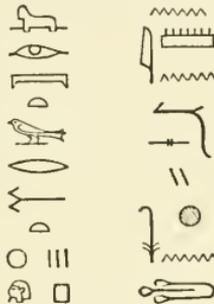




A sun-dried mud brick, bearing the stamp of Thothmes III, ruler of Thebes,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches, from Thebes.

It will be in the recollection of all present, the grand discovery of royal mummies in the hidden tombs at Deir-el-Bahari in the year 1881, and how Messrs. Maspero and Brugsch carried the spoil to Cairo to enrich the Bulaq Museum. A large quantity of interesting vases composed of fine blue turquoise porcelain and marbled glass were found, some evidently had been previously extracted, as I have recently acquired a very beautiful example,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height, of rich colour, bearing the name of Nessichonsu, a royal princess of the XXth Dynasty.

M. Maspero calls the cups libation vases ; some are figured in "La Trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari," and there is a similar one in the British Museum. The following is the inscription :—



One of the most interesting objects in my collection is the model of a boat in wood, 23 inches in length. The prow is in the form of a duck's head, the stern ornamented with a human head, facing inside. The boat contains four rowers, seated in the position of having given a long stroke, wearing black wigs, and white tunics round their loins; the captain is standing in the prow, looking a-head, in the centre was a canopy raised upon four uprights, painted green, one of these is lost, as is also the canopy, beneath which two men are seated upon chairs, clad in white cloaks, in front of them two men, probably sailors, are standing, and two others in the after part of the boat, whose duties were most likely to attend to the sails, which I am inclined to think once obtained, as there are two holes in the vessel, evidently

intended to insert the masts. There was also a cabin behind the canopy. On each side of the prow the right symbolic eye is painted, after the manner of Chinese boats at the present day. The boat is in good preservation, and the colouring very fresh. It is supposed to have been found at Thebes.

A fine specimen of a human-headed hawk or soul, from Thebes, 5 inches in height, represented wearing the head-dress. These figures are symbolical of the disembodied soul of the deceased, and were placed upon the top of wooden sepulchral tablets, in common with the hawks, of which I have several. These figures of the soul or *ba* are probably of the XXVIth Dynasty.

A wooden tablet, with rounded top, *hutu*, with winged disk, painted in colours, dedicated to Rā, Horus of the double horizon, Tum, lord of the two countries, by Pa-nit-qanen. On the left is represented Rā, hawk-headed, seated upon his throne, wearing the disk and the flail and crook, the emblems of Osiris, in front of him is an altar furnished with sepulchral offerings, such as cakes, honey, fruit, geese, flowers, &c.; standing in an attitude of adoration to the right of the altar, and facing the god, is the Osirian lady, wearing a long black wig, with a chaplet and lotus flowers upon her head, a deep collar round her neck; she wears the usual long transparent female garment, which reaches to her ankles. Height, 13 inches by 9; from Thebes.

Wooden tablet with rounded top, *hutu*, above is the winged disk, dedicated to Ptah-Sekar-Osiris, by a person named . . . . . ānχ-χonsu, whose mother was called Nes-neb-ašer. The deceased is standing in the attitude of adoration before the god Ptah-Sekar-Osiris, who is standing, hawk-headed, wearing the crown of Osiris, and in his hand holding the flail, crook and kukufa sceptre, the emblems of Osiris; his lower part is as a mummy; behind him stand Māt and Horus, each holding the emblem of truth in their hands. Two lines of dedication follow, but too much rubbed to make any use of. Height, 11 inches by 7. Thebes.

Sepulchral tablets in calcareous stone were made use of and placed in the tombs from the earliest times. At first they were square, and subsequently had rounded tops called

*utu*. Dr. Birch has stated that after the XVIIIth and during the XIXth dynasties, deities principally of the cycle of Osiris were represented upon them, previously to that the figures of deities did not appear. These stone tablets continued to be used until the XXth Dynasty, after which they become rare, and were superseded by wooden ones.

Sepulchral tablet, in calcareous stone, with rounded top *utu*, dedicated to the goddess Merseker, mistress of all the gods, seated upon a throne, wearing the disk and horns, with an altar placed in front of her, kneeling on the other side of the altar upon which offerings are placed, is the royal scribe and artist Mersekhet; upon the compartment below, are represented his sister Neferi, his sons the scribes, Neferhetep, Pasheta, Maaanechtf, all kneeling, and his daughter Aui, standing holding a bird, their flesh coloured red. It was found at Thebes, is of the XIXth Dynasty, and measures 13 inches by  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches.

Sepulchral tablet in calcareous stone, with the rounded top *utu* in two divisions. Above are the two symbolic eyes and the signet. Dedicated to a deity whose name is erased, for Mut-se and his wife Rau, his son Rere; they are both seated upon a chair or couch, which has feet in the shape of lions' claws; it is placed upon a *daïs*. He wears a collar round his neck, and holds in his hand a lotus flower, his wife, who has her left hand upon his shoulder, has likewise a flower in her hand, and wears a long wig. In front of them is an altar, at which a priest is officiating, clad in leopard skin. In the second division are three members of his family kneeling, one a male friend, a female, Mut Nefert, and another Nai. The following inscription is beneath:—

							
suten	ta	hetep	Âsar	heq	t'etta	tâf	per xeru
<i>Royal give oblation Osiris, ruler eternal, may he give</i>							{ <i>sepulchral meats of</i>

							
âh	âpt	en	ka	en	Se - mut.		
<i>oxen and geese to the ka of Se - mut.</i>							

There is a variation in the spelling of this latter name, as above it is written Mut-se. XIIIth Dynasty. Thebes.

Amongst other objects of a sepulchral nature, I may mention the small porcelain figures of the four genii of the Amenti, mostly fine, and in blue porcelain, perforated with small holes for fixing them on to the covering of mummies; those in my collection are from Thebes. The wax figures of the same genii, of which I have some from Drag Abou Neggeh, were used as a substitute for the canopic vases which contained the viscera of the deceased. In cases where the vases were not employed, mostly it is supposed on account of expense, the intestines were removed in the usual manner through a slit in the left side, then cleaned and replaced through the same hole; that done, wax figures of these genii were then passed through the cavity, they being supposed to exercise protection over the intestines.

Then there are winged scarabæi, a large quantity of strings of sepulchral beads, and portions of the bead network from mummies, baskets which were placed in the tombs with offerings of fruit, such as pomegranates, doum palms, nuts, &c.; these baskets are in excellent preservation. It is a remarkable fact that in Upper Egypt at the present day, they manufacture baskets of the same shapes and patterns as the ancient Egyptians did from 1,500 to 2,000 years ago.

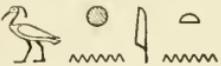
A counterpoise of a collar in greyish coloured porcelain,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, bearing the cartouche of Psammetichus, of the city of An-t, afterwards Caenopolis, now Geneh, beloved of Hathor; it has the same inscription upon the reverse; this is of unusual size. XXVIth Dynasty.

#### MODELS OF RINGS.

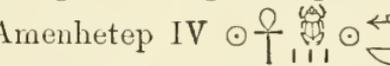
Porcelain rings were made for sepulchral purposes during the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, but not later. They were evidently made to represent rings of gold and more costly materials, and were placed upon the wooden hands, which are seen upon the coffins or mummies of that period. The following rings were brought from Tel el Amarna:—

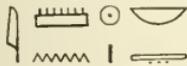
One in blue porcelain with a rectangular bezel, on it is

 *suten hemt Tai*, the royal wife or Queen Tai, wife of Amen-hetep III, of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

One likewise in blue porcelain, with an oval bezel, bearing the cartouche of Khuenaten, the heretic king of the XVIIIth Dynasty, who gave up the worship of Amen Rā for that of the Disk . Another bezel of a ring in fine green glazed porcelain bearing the name  *Māt-neb-Rā*, prenomen of Amenhetep III, of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

Another in purple porcelain, bearing the oval of  *χeperu-neb-Rā*, the prenomen of Tut Ānχ-Āmen, husband of the third daughter of Khuenaten XVIIIth Dynasty; another in blue porcelain has the name of the same king .

A bezel of a ring in red glazed porcelain bearing the throne name of Amenhetep IV  *Ānχ Kheperu Rā uā neb Ra*, who was the successor of Khuenaten.

A square plaque in white porcelain, being the bezel of a ring bearing the name of  = *āa-kheperu-Rā*. Amenhetep II of XVIIIth Dynasty. A ring in blue porcelain, inscribed with the name of  *Āmen-rā*, king of the gods; and another bearing the title of the same god  *Āmen Rā*, lord of the earth. One ring in blue porcelain, rather smaller in size, bears the throne name of Rameses II  *Rā-user-māt-sotep-en-Rā*.

Finger ring in blue porcelain bearing the name of Ser-χeperu-Rā-sotep-en-Ra, from Thebes.

Other rings from the same place bear devices, such as mystic eyes, uræi, figures of a bull, Māt, fish, scarabæi, flowers, &c.

Some of the cloth is in excellent condition, having

comparatively but slightly suffered from its long entombment. Some of the pieces are embroidered in colours with a coarser kind of material. Some pieces have fringes; one fragment brought from Thebes by Mr. Chester is of a yellow woollen cloth, with a deep fringe in the same colour and material. I have one large piece of linen cloth which does not appear to have been used; it is fringed and has a mark upon it; it is 10 feet 6 inches in length by 3 feet 5 inches, this was quite possibly a piece of the stock in trade of an undertaker.

Besides the small bronze cases which contained the embalmed remains of lizards and snakes, with figures of those reptiles upon the top of them, is a small mummy of a bird from Thebes, only 3 inches in length, which I unwrapped; it has been identified as a crag-martin or crag-swallow, *cotile obsoleta*. Embalmed swallows have been met with before at Thebes, M. Passalacqua discovered sixteen together there many years ago. A wooden tessera or ticket which has been attached to a Greek mummy bearing his name, Πατελλων εβιωσεν λε ετων. N. Patellons lived thirty-five years. On the reverse is a figure of Anubis seated, as a dog.

A set of beautiful measures in a greenish-blue porcelain from Luxor have recently come into my possession. Three of them are formed like cups with handles, whereas the fourth is of a somewhat oblong shape, rather like what is often termed a situla. Such a set as this is of great rarity, for matters of convenience I have appended numbers to each, No. 1 being the largest and No. 4 the smallest. They are of very fine and exact workmanship, the rims are perfectly flat and even, and when filled with millet seed the strike can be used with the same amount of accuracy as it can when applied to the metal measures of the present day.

Mr. H. J. Chaney, chief of the Standard's Office, Board of Trade, took a great deal of trouble in testing the capacity of these measures, which he has reduced to cubic centimetres, and their equivalents in cubic inches.

Measure No. 1 is 3 inches in height, with a diameter of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches; this cup is well glazed and has a handle in the

form of a ring sufficiently large to insert the forefinger in ; its capacity in cubic centimetres is 357·34, and in cubic inches 21·8074.

Measure No. 2 is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches in height, with a diameter of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, capacity in cubic centimetres 122·16, and in cubic inches 7·4551.

Measure No. 3 is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in diameter, its capacity in cubic centimetres is 68·976, and in cubic inches 4·2094.

Measure No. 4 is an oblong in fine blue porcelain, 2 inches in height, with a straight channeled lip, the handle is broken off, its capacity in cubic centimetres is 14·294 and ·8723 in cubic inches.

These measures were more than probable standard measures ; and M. Chaney is of opinion that they belong to the period of the Ptolemies, but I think they are possibly much earlier. It is a difficult matter to assimilate these measures to the ancient Egyptian ones ; but as they are known to have differed at different periods and in different parts of the country, these measures may be some that have not been recorded before.

Mr. Chabas,<sup>1</sup> wrote an elaborate paper on the Egyptian weights and measures, in which he records the following :—

Hin	 	= 46 centilitres.
Hibn	  	= 11½ „
Cup		= 15½ „
Apet	  	= 18 lit. 40 „
Large or grand measure	 	= 73·60 „

which latter contains 4 apets.

<sup>1</sup> “Recherches sur Les Poids, Mesures et Monnaies des Anciens Egyptiens.”  
Par M. F. Chabas, Paris, 1876.

The most common and usual measure was the *han* or *hin*, which served for the measurement of liquids, milk, honey, certain grains, dried raisins, &c.

Trustworthy and well authenticated accounts show that the *hin* equals in weight 5 outens of water or 7 outens 5 kats of wine, or  $7\frac{1}{2}$  outens of honey. The capacity of the *hin* was 0·445 lit., which is in round numbers 46 centilitres. The *hin* had a multiple, but no subdivisions; the least contents or smallest capacity was always expressed in fractions of the *hin*, the fraction of the *hin* existed even up to the 360th. There existed however two instruments of measurements exactly divisional, the *hibn*, which served for incense and other kinds of precious perfumes, its value or equals  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the ordinary *hin*, that is to say,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  centilitres. Of the second divisional measure no phonetic expression exists, it is constantly represented by the hieroglyph representing a cup pouring out its contents . Chabas calls it La Tasse; it is contained three times in the *hin*, and consequently equals  $15\frac{1}{2}$  centilitres. It appears to have served solely for services in the temples, and can hardly figure amongst the ordinary measures of capacity. The *apet* was much used, as was also the grand measure. The latter Chabas records as being mentioned in the "Tale of Two Brothers." When the wife of the elder brother asked the younger, who had come home to fetch seed corn, how much he had in the jar upon his shoulder, he replied, five large measures  $\text{Q}$ , which caused her to admire his strength.

Having now given you a short description of the most important sepulchral objects, and a few others in my collection, it only remains for me to express my thanks to Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge for having so kindly assisted me in deciphering the hieroglyphics, and to all present for their patient attention.

ON THE FRAGMENTS OF A COPTIC VERSION OF  
AN ENCOMIUM ON ELIJAH THE TISHBITE,  
ATTRIBUTED TO SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.<sup>1</sup>

By E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A.

*Read 4th May, 1886.*

The manuscript from which the text of this encomium is taken is in the possession of Lord Zouche, who has most kindly given me permission to copy and publish it. It consists of 79 leaves, 10 in. by 7 in.; and is dated in the 915th year of the era of the Martyrs, *i.e.*, A.D. 1199.<sup>2</sup> Some of the leaves are wrongly paged, and there are three lacunæ in the manuscript of 36, 6, and 2 pages respectively. The headings of the different works contained in it are written in red, and surrounded by an ornamental border painted in red, green, and yellow; the outer margin of such leaves being illuminated in graceful designs of flowers and birds. The contents of the manuscript are:—

I. The encomium which S. John Chrysostom,<sup>3</sup> Bishop of Constantinople, composed upon Saint Elijah the Tishbite, who was taken up to heaven in chariots of fire on the sixth day of the month Tybi,<sup>4</sup> in the peace of God, Amen.

<sup>1</sup> An encomium or homily on Elijah the Tishbite was printed by Montfaucon in his edition of Chrysostom's works, Paris, 1724, vol. vi, pp. 600—603; but it has little in common with the Coptic version here given.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Professor Hyvernat for pointing out to me that the date is written  $\overline{\rho\iota\epsilon}$  and not  $\overline{\rho\iota\bar{\epsilon}}$ ; hence in *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, May, 1886, p. 133, line 7, and *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. IX, Pt. i, p. 74, line 15, we must read 915 instead of 115, and 1199 instead of 399.

<sup>3</sup> In the Coptic Church his day is celebrated on the 12th of Pachons, or July 7.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, January 1. The Arabs, Greeks, and Latins celebrate his day on July 20, and in the Ethiopic calendar it is December 1. See the *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. xxxii, p. 4; and Ludolf, *Comment. in Hist. Ethiop.*, p. 389, *sq.*

II. The discourse of Saint Ephraim on the Transfiguration of our Lord Jesus Christ upon Mount Tabor, in which He appeared to His disciples with Saint Elijah the Prophet.<sup>1</sup>

III. The martyrdom of the holy martyr Isaac of Tiphre.<sup>2</sup>

The original home of the manuscript was in the library of a church dedicated to Elijah the Tishbite, to which it was presented by Father Stauros, a monk in the monastery of Father John. The donor made his gift acceptable by causing to be written in it the life and deeds of Elijah the great ascetic, and an account of the transfiguration of our Lord in which He appeared with Elijah and Moses; but it is most improbable that Chrysostom ever wrote any part of this encomium on Elijah. The account of the deeds of Elijah given in this encomium appears to have been translated direct from the Septuagint, or copied from a Coptic version of the Books of the Kings made from it. The writer as a rule quotes carefully, and every here and there moralizes at some length upon what has been said before. It is probable that there was a Greek original of this encomium, and that the fragments of the Coptic version which are printed here were made from it. I have not attempted to treat the legend of Elijah from a folk-lore point of view, for my object has been to reproduce the Coptic text, and to give a fairly literal translation which may be useful to those interested in Biblical matters and Coptic literature.

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<sup>1</sup> For the text and translation of this discourse, see *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, June, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> For the text and translation of this martyrdom, see *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. IX, Pt. 1, pp. 74—111, 1887.

οὐτεκωλειον ἐ ἀφτατοου ἵχε πιδνιος ιωαηνης ᾱ  
 πιχρησοστολλος οτοζ επαφχη ἐπισκοπος  
 ἴτε πκωσταπτινοσπολις ἐ πιπικυτ *ε̄* προ-  
 φητης πιδτος ἡλιας πῆσβυτης φη ἐτατολγ  
 5 ἐ πσυωι ἐ τφε *δ*εν ζαπζαρεα ἵχρωε ἵ  
 σοτ *ε̄* *ε̄* πιδβοτ τωδι *δ*εν οσζιρηνη ἴτε  
 φτ *ε̄*εην.

οτ πε τπαχογ ιε οτ πε τπασαχι *ε̄*εεογ ω̄  
 παε[e]πρατ οτοζ πασπνοσ τερ ζοτ οτοζ β̄  
 10 τσερτερ *ε̄*εεαψω ἐτ *ε̄* παοτοι ἐ παιπικυτ ἵ  
 κεφαλεον ἐ τερετιπ *ε̄*εεογ οτ πε τπασιγ  
 ἵτ̄εει απ σε *ε̄*εοπι *ε̄*εεοι ἵχε π̄σλ (?) β̄ τ̄ ερ  
 ζοτ *ε̄*επ ταρ *δ*ατζη *ε̄* φη ἐ[τ̄ε]ρετιπ *ε̄*εεογ  
 ειρετιπ ταρ οτοζ ειβ̄ψυωοσ ε ερ εκωλειδζην  
 15 *ε̄* πιπικυτ *ε̄* φωστηρ ἐτ ερ οτωπι φη ἐταφ̄τσι  
 σα πσυωι ἵ τοικουεεπη τηрс πιδνιος ἡλιας  
 πῆσβυτης ἐθ οταβ.

[Thirty-six pages wanting.]

ποτ̄π̄ᾱ ἵ αθ οτωεε οτοζ παρηντ ἵτεσψενζητ ᾱ  
 φη ἐθ οταβ δε ἡλιας αφ̄ι ε σερεπτα ἴτε τ̄σ-  
 20 ζωπιδ̄ οτοζ αφ̄χιεει ἵτ̄χηρα π σζιεει εσσωκι  
 ἵζαπροκζ *δ*ατεπ τ̄π̄λη ἴτε τ̄βακι πεχαφ  
 παс χε ακβερο ἵθο ω̄ τ̄σζιεει *ε̄*πιοτι π̄ηι ποτ̄-



αφενη επеснт αφτηνη е τεφееау еφхω εεεοο  
 хе бї пе εε пешнри гнппе φонδ ηθος δε  
 ασριτс επеснт δαρατοу η πεφβαλαух ασου- εεθ  
 ωут εεεοу есхω εεεοο хе ελнθωс ηθок пе  
 5 φρωεи εε φт δен ουεεεθεиηи οτοг писахи εθ  
 ηноу εβολδεν рωк ψαφψωпи εεεεεθεиηи οτοг  
 ασψωпи ес т ωου εε φт ηεεε πιλτιος ηλιας  
 πιθесβιτнс ψα πιεгооу η τε πεεεου εεηенсα  
 παι δε εταφпау ηхе φт хе ε φη εθ οταβ  
 10 еретин εεεοу δен πεφгнт тнрφ еθρεφїηи εε  
 пиεου η гωου гїхен пкагї οτοг αφсахи π  
 ηεεεαφ еφхω εεεοο хе тωпк εεαψе пак  
 οτοηгк ε ποηρο εхаб οτοг εпок τар παїηи  
 εε пиεου η гωου гїхен пкагї тнрφ οτοг  
 15 αφεεουт ηхе εхаб ε εβδιου πεφпцт η  
 οικοποεεοο εε ψηχηкоο πεхаαφ паφ хе тωουη  
 εпок ηεεεακ гїпа ηтенφωу εε пкагї εхωп  
 ηтенψе пап εδουη ε пψαφеу ηεεε ппагψуηи  
 ηεεε пиεου η сωρεε тнроу εрноу тennaхее πδ  
 20 гαпкоухи η βοтапη еθροу ωпδ εрωου ηхе  
 ηεптеβнωουι οτοг ηтоуψтеεεφωт εβол εрноу  
 тенхиεи η ηλιαс πιθесβιτнс<sup>1</sup> ηтентгò εροу  
 гопωс ηтеφїηи εε пиεου η гωου гїхен пкагї  
 тоте аψωу εε пкагї гїхωου εε пспау εхаб  
 25 δε αφεεоуи гї ουεεωїт εεεεαταтφ гї пψαφе  
 εβδιου δε αφεεоуи гї ке εεωїт εεεεαταтφ  
 οτοг αφεεоуи δε гωφ ηхе ηλιαс еθρεφοτοηг

<sup>1</sup> MS. πιθβιτнс.

π̄β̄ ε̄ ε̄χαβ̄ ις̄ ρηππε εφραπαπταπ̄ πε εβδιου ρι  
 π̄ιωιτ̄ οτορ̄ ε̄ταφ̄θωπ̄τ̄ η̄χε εβδιοῡ ε̄ φη̄ ε̄θ̄  
 οταβ̄ η̄λιας̄ εφχωλεε̄ ε̄εεοφ̄ εφφαθ̄τ̄ϋ ριχεν  
 πικαρῑ εφουωϋτ̄ ε̄ε̄ π̄ᾱν̄τιος̄ η̄λιας̄ εφχω̄ ε̄εεος̄  
 χε̄ η̄θουκ̄ πε̄ πᾱο̄ς̄ η̄λιας̄ η̄θουφ̄ χε̄ πεχαφ̄ παφ̄ χε̄ 5  
 ερ̄ᾱ ε̄ποκ̄ πε̄ εεαϋε̄ πακ̄ ε̄χος̄ η̄ ε̄χαβ̄ χε̄  
 ρηππε̄ ις̄ η̄λιας̄ εφριεῑ δε̄ η̄χε εβδιοῡ εφχω̄  
 ε̄εεος̄ χε̄ πᾱο̄ς̄ η̄ ιωτ̄ ε̄θ̄ οταβ̄ οτ̄ πε̄ π̄κοβ̄ι  
 ε̄τ̄ διαιφ̄ εκπατηιτ̄ ε̄τοτ̄ϋ η̄ ε̄χαβ̄ οτορ̄  
 π̄γ̄ η̄τεφθωτεβ̄ ε̄εεοῑ φουθ̄ η̄χε̄ π̄ο̄ς̄ πᾱο̄ς̄ η̄ ιωτ̄ 10  
 οτορ̄ σοη̄θ̄ η̄χε̄ τεκψ̄τ̄χη̄ χε̄ ε̄ε̄ πε̄ ε̄χαβ̄ χᾱ  
 οτεθ̄πος̄ οταε̄ οτεεετοτρο̄ ε̄βολ̄ ε̄τε̄ ε̄ε̄πε̄ φου  
 τωρ̄π̄ η̄τεφκωτ̄ η̄σωκ̄ η̄θ̄η̄τοτ̄ οτορ̄ ε̄τε̄ ε̄ε̄πε̄  
 φχεε̄ε̄κ̄ εφρῑ χρωε̄ ε̄ ε̄απεινϋ̄ τ̄ποτ̄ χε̄ πᾱο̄ς̄  
 κχω̄ ε̄εεος̄ π̄η̄ῑ χε̄ εεαϋε̄ πακ̄ ε̄χος̄ η̄ ε̄χαβ̄ 15  
 χε̄ ρηππε̄ ις̄ η̄λιας̄ εφραπαπταπ̄ οση̄ ε̄θ̄ρῑ ϋε̄  
 π̄η̄ῑ η̄ταχος̄ παφ̄ οτορ̄ η̄τεφουκ̄ η̄χε̄ οη̄π̄ᾱ η̄τε  
 π̄δ̄ π̄ο̄ς̄ ε̄ οτκαρῑ η̄ τ̄σωοτη̄ ε̄εεοφ̄ απ̄ παλιπ̄  
 η̄ταχος̄ η̄ ε̄χαβ̄ χε̄ ε̄ε̄ π̄ιχεε̄ε̄κ̄ φπαθωτεβ̄  
 ε̄εεοῑ τ̄ποτ̄ χε̄ πᾱο̄ς̄ εεαρεφ̄ῑ η̄χε̄ παπαῑ 20  
 ε̄ε̄πεκε̄ε̄θο̄ ε̄ε̄φοοτ̄ η̄θουκ̄ πᾱο̄ς̄ ε̄τ̄ σωοτη̄ ε̄ε̄ φη̄  
 ε̄τ̄διαιφ̄ η̄ π̄ιπροφητης̄ ερε̄ ιεζαβελ̄ σοχῑ η̄σωοτ̄  
 χε̄ αιωλῑ η̄ ρ̄ ε̄βολ̄ η̄θ̄η̄τοτ̄ αιχοποτ̄ θ̄εν̄  
 σπ̄τ̄λεον̄ β̄ αιϋαποτϋον̄ θ̄εν̄ οτωικ̄ πεε̄ π̄ιωοτ̄  
 η̄θουκ̄ ε̄τ̄ σωοτη̄ πᾱο̄ς̄ χε̄ ις̄χεν̄ ταεεετ̄ε̄λοτ̄ 25  
 πε̄ ε̄ποκ̄ πε̄ πεκβωκ̄ τ̄οῑ ε̄ε̄ βωκ̄<sup>1</sup> ε̄ε̄ π̄ο̄ς̄ οτορ̄  
 τ̄ποτ̄ χπατηιτ̄ ε̄τοτ̄ϋ η̄ ε̄χαβ̄ ε̄ορεφθωτεβ̄

<sup>1</sup> MS. ε̄ε̄ε̄βωκ̄.

ἔ̅ε̅ε̅ο̅ι̅ ἔ̅ε̅φ̅ω̅ρ̅ πα̅σ̅ε̅ς̅ ἑ̅ε̅ρ̅ε̅σ̅π̅ο̅ζ̅ε̅ε̅ ἡ̅χε̅ τ̅α̅ψ̅ι̅τ̅ι̅χ̅η̅  
 ἔ̅ε̅π̅ε̅ε̅ε̅θ̅ο̅ ἡ̅ πε̅κ̅β̅α̅λ̅ ἐ̅β̅ο̅λ̅ φ̅η̅ ἐ̅θ̅ ο̅τ̅α̅β̅ δε̅ ἡ̅λ̅ι̅α̅ς̅  
 α̅ψ̅υ̅ε̅ν̅θ̅η̅τ̅ ἑ̅α̅τ̅ε̅ψ̅ χ̅ι̅π̅ε̅α̅χ̅ι̅ πε̅χα̅ψ̅ πα̅ψ̅ χ̅ε̅ ἑ̅ε̅α̅ψ̅ε̅  
 πα̅κ̅ ἔ̅ε̅π̅ε̅ρ̅ε̅ρ̅ ρ̅ο̅τ̅ ρ̅ο̅π̅ε̅ ἡ̅χε̅ π̅ο̅ς̅ φ̅τ̅ φ̅η̅ ἐ̅  
 5 τ̅ο̅ζ̅ι̅ ἐ̅ρα̅τ̅ ἔ̅ε̅π̅ε̅ψ̅ε̅ε̅θ̅ο̅ ἐ̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ἔ̅ε̅φ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ χ̅ε̅ ἡ̅θ̅ρ̅η̅  
 ἑ̅ε̅π̅ πα̅ι̅ ἐ̅ρ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ τ̅π̅ε̅ο̅τ̅ο̅π̅ο̅ζ̅τ̅ ε̅λ̅χ̅α̅β̅<sup>1</sup> πο̅τ̅ρο̅  
 α̅ψ̅υ̅ε̅ πα̅ψ̅ δε̅ ἡ̅χε̅ α̅β̅α̅ι̅ο̅τ̅ α̅ψ̅τ̅α̅ε̅ε̅ ἐ̅χ̅α̅β̅ χ̅ε̅  
 ρ̅η̅π̅π̅ε̅ ι̅ς̅ ἡ̅λ̅ι̅α̅ς̅ π̅ῶ̅ε̅ς̅β̅ι̅τ̅η̅ς̅ α̅ψ̅χ̅ω̅λ̅ε̅ε̅ ἔ̅ε̅ε̅ο̅ψ̅ π̅ε̅  
 ἡ̅χε̅ ἐ̅χ̅α̅β̅ ἐ̅ ε̅ρ̅ε̅π̅α̅π̅τ̅α̅π̅ ἐ̅ ἡ̅λ̅ι̅α̅ς̅ ο̅τ̅ο̅ζ̅ ἐ̅τ̅α̅ψ̅-  
 10 πα̅τ̅ ἐ̅ρο̅ψ̅ πε̅χα̅ψ̅ πα̅ψ̅ χ̅ε̅ ἡ̅θ̅ο̅κ̅ πε̅ φ̅η̅ ἐ̅τ̅α̅ψ̅ ε̅ρ̅  
 κα̅τ̅α̅σ̅τ̅ρ̅ε̅φ̅ι̅π̅ ἔ̅ε̅ π̅ι̅ς̅λ̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅ψ̅ πε̅χε̅ φ̅η̅ ἐ̅θ̅ ο̅τ̅α̅β̅  
 ἡ̅λ̅ι̅α̅ς̅ πα̅ψ̅ χ̅ε̅ ἀ̅π̅ο̅κ̅ ἀ̅π̅ πε̅ ἐ̅τ̅α̅ψ̅ ε̅ρ̅ κα̅τ̅α̅σ̅τ̅ρ̅ε̅φ̅ι̅π̅  
 ἔ̅ε̅ π̅ι̅ς̅λ̅ ἀ̅λλ̅α̅ ἡ̅θ̅ο̅κ̅ πε̅ πε̅ε̅ π̅η̅ι̅ ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ πε̅κ̅ι̅ω̅τ̅  
 ἀ̅ρ̅ε̅τ̅ε̅π̅ χ̅α̅ φ̅τ̅ ἡ̅ς̅α̅ ἠ̅η̅π̅ο̅τ̅ ἀ̅ρ̅ε̅τ̅ε̅π̅ ἑ̅ω̅τ̅ε̅β̅ ἡ̅  
 15 π̅ι̅π̅ρ̅ο̅φ̅η̅τ̅η̅ς̅ ἀ̅ρ̅ε̅τ̅ε̅π̅ ψ̅ε̅ε̅ε̅ψ̅ι̅ ἡ̅ τ̅β̅α̅α̅λ̅ ρ̅ω̅ς̅ πο̅τ̅τ̅  
 ἀ̅λλ̅α̅ ἐ̅ψ̅ω̅π̅ χ̅ο̅τ̅ω̅ψ̅ ε̅θ̅ε̅ρ̅ε̅ψ̅ρ̅ε̅ρ̅ι̅ ἡ̅χε̅ π̅χ̅ω̅π̅τ̅ ἔ̅ε̅  
 φ̅τ̅ ο̅τ̅ω̅ρ̅π̅ ἠ̅ω̅ο̅τ̅τ̅ ρ̅α̅ρ̅ο̅ι̅ ἔ̅ε̅ π̅ι̅ς̅λ̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅ψ̅ ἀ̅π̅ιο̅τ̅ι̅ π̅ε̅  
 ἡ̅ π̅ι̅π̅ρ̅ο̅φ̅η̅τ̅η̅ς̅ ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ τ̅β̅α̅α̅λ̅ πε̅ε̅ π̅ιο̅τ̅η̅β̅ ἡ̅τ̅ε̅  
 π̅ψ̅ι̅π̅ι̅ πα̅ι̅ ἐ̅θ̅ ο̅τ̅ω̅ε̅ ρ̅ι̅ τ̅τ̅ρ̅α̅π̅ε̅ζ̅α̅ ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ ε̅ζ̅α̅β̅ε̅λ̅  
 20 ο̅τ̅ο̅ζ̅ ἀ̅π̅ι̅τ̅ο̅τ̅ ἐ̅ π̅ψ̅ω̅ι̅ ρ̅ι̅χ̅ε̅π̅ π̅ι̅τ̅ω̅ο̅τ̅ ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ π̅ικ̅α̅ρ̅-  
 ε̅η̅λ̅λ̅ο̅ς̅ πο̅τ̅ρο̅ δε̅ α̅ψ̅ο̅τ̅ω̅ρ̅π̅ α̅ψ̅ῶ̅ο̅τ̅τ̅ ἔ̅ε̅ π̅ι̅ς̅λ̅  
 τ̅η̅ρ̅ψ̅ πε̅ε̅ π̅ι̅π̅ρ̅ο̅φ̅η̅τ̅η̅ς̅ ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ π̅ψ̅ι̅π̅ι̅ π̅η̅ ἐ̅θ̅ ο̅τ̅ω̅ε̅  
 ρ̅ι̅ τ̅τ̅ρ̅α̅π̅ε̅ζ̅α̅ ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ ι̅ε̅ζ̅α̅β̅ε̅λ̅ α̅ψ̅ε̅πο̅τ̅ ἐ̅π̅ψ̅ω̅ι̅ ρ̅ι̅χ̅ε̅π̅  
 π̅ι̅τ̅ω̅ο̅τ̅ ἡ̅τ̅ε̅ π̅ικ̅α̅ρ̅ε̅η̅λ̅λ̅ο̅ς̅ π̅ι̅ἄ̅τ̅ι̅ο̅ς̅ δε̅ ἡ̅λ̅ι̅α̅ς̅  
 25 α̅ψ̅ο̅ζ̅ι̅ ἐ̅ρα̅τ̅ψ̅ ρ̅ι̅χ̅ε̅π̅ πε̅ψ̅β̅α̅λ̅α̅τ̅χ̅ ο̅τ̅ο̅ζ̅ πε̅χα̅ψ̅ π̅η̅  
 ἔ̅ε̅π̅ι̅λ̅α̅ο̅ς̅ τ̅η̅ρ̅ψ̅ χ̅ε̅ ι̅ς̅χε̅ τ̅ε̅τ̅ε̅π̅ε̅̅ε̅ι̅ χ̅ε̅ φ̅τ̅ ψ̅ο̅π̅  
 ε̅ῶ̅β̅ε̅ ο̅τ̅ τ̅ε̅τ̅ε̅π̅ τ̅ χ̅ω̅π̅τ̅ πα̅ψ̅ ο̅τ̅ο̅ζ̅ ἔ̅ε̅π̅ε̅ ρ̅ι̅λ̅ι̅

<sup>1</sup> MS. ε̅λ̅ἐ̅χ̅α̅β̅.







πεφρο δεη θειη η πεφκελι αφτωβρ εε ποσ  
 φτ οτορ πεχαφ εε πεφελουτ κε τωπκ ητεκ-  
 χοτστ ε πα εε φιοεε εταφχοτστ[τ] δε οτορ  
 πεχαφ κε ρηπε φπατ ε ρλι απ παλιη πεχε  
 5 πιλτιος ηλιας παφ χοτστ ψα ζ η σοη οτορ ξη  
 εετιςθε εε πεφρο ασψωπι δε εεεεεεεε πιζ η  
 σοη εταφχοτστ πεχαφ κε ρηπε φπατ ε  
 οτκοτχι η βηπι εε πεεοτ η οτψεντατςι η  
 ρωει ε ασεν ε[ω]οτ η ρωοτ επψωι τοτε  
 10 πεχε φη εθ οταβ ηλιας εε πεφελουτ κε εεεε  
 πακ εχοσ η εχαβ κε τωπκ δωκ εε πεφραρεε  
 εεεε πακ ρηπα ητεψτεεε πιε[ω]οτ η ρωοτ  
 ταροκ ετι οηπ ερε εχαβ δωκ εεπαι ραρεε  
 η οτροτ δεη οτροτ αφψωπι ηχε οηψητ η ξθ  
 15 χακ δεη τφε οτορ αφψωπι ηχε πιηψητ  
 εεε[ω]οτ η ρωοτ εφοψ εεεεψω ρωσ τε ητεφ  
 ερ κηπδιπεηη ηχε εχαβ οτορ ητεφριει φη  
 εθ οταβ δε ηλιας ριτεη φχοεε ητε φτ ετ  
 χη πεεεεφ οτορ αφεορφ ριχεν τεφτιηι οτορ  
 20 αφβοχι ριτρη η εχαβ ψατεφι εθρη η τσα-  
 εεριε εταφψε παφ δε ηχε εχαβ εθονη ε  
 πεφνη αφταεεε ιεζαβελ τεφςρμει ε ρωβ πιβεν  
 εταψωπι εβολριτεη πιλτιος ηλιας πεεε πιρητ ο  
 εταφδωτεβ η πιονηβ ητε φβααλ ιεζαβελ δε  
 25 ετασσωτεε ε παι σαχι η τοτφ η εχαβ  
 ασχωπτ εεεεψω ασλγβι εε φρητ η οτλαβοι  
 εσλοβι οτορ ασοτωρη ψα πιλτιος ηλιας εσχω  
 εεεεοσ κε ηθοκ πε ηλιας εποκ πε ιεζαβελ κε

παι πατ ἢ ραστ ἐιε [τπαχω] ἡτεκψυχῆ ἐ φρητ  
 ἢ οται ἡπιπροφητης παι ετακδοθου πᾶντιος  
 δε ἡλιας ἀφ ἐρ ἀπαχωριπ παφ ἐβολρα προ ἡ  
 οἶα ιεζαβελ ἀκωαπσωτεε ω πλεεπριτ κε ἀφωτ  
 ἡχε πᾶντιος ἡλιας ἐπ ἐρεετι δε ἀφωτ 5  
 δε τρη ἐ φλεοτ ἐ παι κοσελοσ ἐεεον εη  
 γενετοπ ἡπесωπι ἀλλὰ παφ ἐρ ἐπιθεειπ πε  
 ἐ ἰ ἐβολδεπ φλεοτ ἐ παι κοσελοσ εορεφεετοп  
 ἐεεοφ δεπ πιδταθοп ἡ ἀτ сахи ἐεεωот ἀλλὰ  
 φ ἐρ ροτ ἡθοφ κε εηпωс εεεεпса πωφτ 10  
 ἐβολ ἐταφепφ ριχеп πирωει ριτεп πρβωп  
 пее πιχρωει ἐταφепφ ἐβολδεп тφε пее  
 οἶβ пспоφ ἡ πипрофητης ἡτε τβαал ἐταφопφ  
 ἐβολ εεεεпса ἐτα πιλасοс ἡατ ἐ πωφηри οτορ  
 ἀπαρτ ἐ φτ πληп ἡтесωотωот ἐεεοс ἡχε 15  
 ιεζαβελ κε ἀсδωтеб ἐ πῶсδоттис οτορ  
 ἡсесωтее тηροτ ἡχε πиепш ἐτατκοτοτ ρα  
 ποс κε εεεεпса [па]ι χοει тηροτ пее παι  
 ψφηри ἐтаφαιтоτ ἡχε πᾶντιος ἡλιας ἀ ιεζαβελ  
 σρο ἐροφ ἀсδωтеб ἐεεοφ οτορ ἡсе ἐρ ροτ 20  
 δεχωс οτορ ἡсетасθωот ἐδотп ἐ теет-  
 шееше ἰαωλοп ἡ ке соп οτορ ἡτε тееθρωει  
 тηрс тако δεп пхиθороτ χα ποс ἡсωот θαι  
 τε τροτ ἐтаφ ἐρ ροτ δεχωс ἡχε πᾶντιος  
 ἡλιας οτορ ἀφωт ἀφше παφ δε ἡχε πᾶντιος 25  
 ἡλιας ριχеп πитωот<sup>1</sup> ἀφρееси δεтеп οтшшпп  
 ἐφοи пее каρ ἡ ρнт ἐρпн ἐχеп птако ἡ  
 тееθρωει ρппе ἀ сахи ἐ ποс шωпи ρароφ

<sup>1</sup> MS. тηροτ.

εφχω εεεος χε ω ηλιας πασωτη εοβε ου κοι  
 ηψλαε η ηητ εε παι ρητ εφερ ουω ηχε  
 πιανιος ηλιας εφχω εεεος χε ποε πεκπροφνητης οα  
 ετθοθου πεκ εε η ερ ψωουψι ετοτοχπου  
 5 εποκ εεεετατ ειωχη ηηπε σεκωτ ησα  
 ταψτηχη ετακος ελλα ισχε χηαιρι πεεηη ω  
 παεε η ουπαι ιε επιουι η ταψτηχη εβολ εεεοι  
 χε τσοτη εποκ εη εροτε παιοτ ετατεου  
 παπεε ταρ ηηη ω παεε εθηεου εροτε η ταπαε  
 10 ε τβαεε εεεε ωου η κε σοη εοβε χε ετηακ  
 ηεωου ετοτωψτ εεεος εωε ποητ τοτε οε  
 εταφεεη ηχε ποε χε ε ερ εεεηη εε πιανιος  
 εε πακο εε πιλαο ουοε εφτ ποεητ παε ηχε  
 ποε εφχω εεεος χε ω ηλιας επερερ εε κεε  
 15 η ηητ εε πακο εε πιλαο ουοη κε ε η ηω η  
 ρωεη σωχη παι ετε εε ποεκελχ κεηι εε πιλαο  
 βαεε ελλα ηεε πετκωτ ησα τεκψτηχη ε  
 τακος θαε ε τπαερεε εροε ηεηηκ ψα τθαηη  
 ητε παι κοεεοε εηη εποκ εη πετ ειωτεεε  
 20 εροκ εεη ουεεεταεεεωου ουοε εεεεεεεεεεεε  
 ταεεεωου ουχηρωεε παληη ουεεου η εωου οε  
 εφεωρεεε ηεε εε πε τε εκ ερ εοτ εε τεφρη  
 ιεεεεεεεεεεεε εεπερερ εοτ ουη εε τεερη ελλα  
 τωηκ εεεεεεεεεεεε ουοε ουοε<sup>1</sup> η  
 25 εεεηη η ουοε ε τεεεεεεε ουοε εκεεωεε η ιουε ηηηη  
 ηεεεεεεεεεεεε η ουοε εχεη ηεεε ηεεεεεεε η εχεεε  
 ηεεε ιεεεεεεε εη ετ εεεεεε εηηηεεεεεε

<sup>1</sup> MS. ουοεεεεεεεεεεεε.      <sup>2</sup> MS. ηεεεεεεεεεεεε.

ἐβρηι ἐχωοτ ἢ οὔτακο πεε οὔεετψαργι  
 ὀζ πεε οὔψωτ ἐβολ ἢθοκ δε βωκ ἐπιδη ἀπλοο  
 ἐβολ ἢχε πῆεροοτ εταιοαψοτ πακ εορε κ αιτοτ  
 βεν πικοσεοο τῆοτ χε τωπκ εεαψε πακ θωρς  
 ἢ ελισεοο πψηρι ἢ σαφατ εἰ προφητις πηι ἢτεκ 5  
 ψεβιῶ οτοο ἀποκ ασραπηι εορι ἰρι πακ ἢ οὔβ-  
 εοοτ φη ἐτε εἰπ[α]ιαιφ ἐπεε πεε οὔρωει ἐτα  
 παχιχ θαεειοφ ἰσχεπ ἀδαεε πψορπ ἢ ρωει ψα  
 τβαιη ἢτε πικοσεοο ἰεηντ ἐ ἐπωχ πῆραεε-  
 εεατεετς ἢ τῆαχακ απ ἐπατ ἐ φεοοτ ἐτι ἐρε 10  
 ὀθ οὔρωει ἢ θεεηι χη βεν παι κοσεοο ἀλλα  
 τῆαοοτωρπ πακ ἐβολ βεν τφε ἢ βανβρεεε  
 ἢ χρωεε πεε βανβωρ ἢχρωεε ἢτεκἀληι  
 ἐρωοτ χε βῆα ἢταοлк επβίσι βαιοι οτοο  
 ἢταχακ εἰπροστατης εἰπτεποο τῆρφ ἢτε 15  
 πῆρωει εκψοπ βεν πῆωεεε εψωπ αιψαποτωψ  
 εἰπἢ ἢ οὔχωπτ ἐχεπ πῆρωει οτοο ἢθοκ εκετβδ  
 ἐροι ψα τχω πωοτ ἐβολ χε ἀποκ οὔἀναθοο  
 οτοο τεεε εἰ πβωβ ἢτε παχιχ τῆαχακ  
 εκψοπ βεν πῆωεεε βεν οὔεεεταττακο χε 20  
 ὀθ φαι πε παοτωψ ἢ πεκ χεετιπἢ εἰ φεοοτ οὔδε  
 ἢπε πεκβαλ πατ ἐβοτ ἢταφ ψα τσῆπτελιε  
 ἢτε παι κοσεοο τῆα ερε πεκραπ βί ὠοτ  
 βῆχεπ πικαβι οτοο ἢτε βανπῆψτ ἢχοεε ψωπἢ  
 ἐβολβῆτεπ πεκραπ πη ἐθ παβωψ βεν φιοεε ἰε 25  
 βεν πῆἀρωοτ ἢ[c]εωψ ἐπψωι βαιοι βεν πεκραπ  
 τῆασωτεεε ἐρωοτ οτοο ἢτα ερ βεεε εἰεεωοτ  
 ἢταεποτ ἐβουπ ἐ πῆβρεηη ἢτε πῆοτχαι οτοο

πιβεν ετ δεν ροχρεχ πιβεν ιτε δεν δεπс-  
 πα[γ]ρ ιτε δεν ραπυτεκωοι ιτε δεν ουεζω- π̄  
 ριστια η σεωυ επυωι ραροι δεν πεκραп  
 ειесωτεε ερωοι δεν ουταχн οτορ επαπαρ-  
 5 εοοι οτοп πιβεν εт цωпн δεн χιπцωпн πιβεν  
 ιε пн εт ουροχρεч εεεωοι ηχε πιπ̄α η  
 ακαθαρτοп ατцαпн εδουη ε πεκτοпос φαι  
 ετοппакот ч пак ριχεν πικαρι οτορ ηсетωδρ  
 εεεοι δεн πεκραп ειесωτεε ερωοι η χωλεε  
 10 οτορ ηта ер ρεοт πωοι εε πιταλбо ρηεи  
 πιβεν εθ παθисι εεπιεисι ατцαппцυ επυωι π̄α  
 ραροι δεн πεκραп ειесωτεε ερωτεп ερωοι η  
 χωλεε ψψηчн εθ πακωт пак η ουεκτηριоп  
 ριχεν πικαρι есецωпн δεн ῑη̄εε ητε тφε  
 15 ητες ер κληροпоеиη η πιδναθон етаисεβτω-  
 тог η пн εθ ουαβ ηтнн φн εθ πασιρωοцυ η  
 ουχωε η ωцυ ηтеψсδнтч δεн πεκραп ηтеψ-  
 тннч εδουη епектопос ειесθαι εε πεсрαп ρι  
 πхωε εε πωпθ ηта θρε ч κληροпоеиη η  
 20 πιδναθон ηте θεεετοгро ηте пифногн φн εθ π̄β  
 παт η ουκοгχι η περ ιе ουεθοι η ουψι ε πεκ-  
 топос тпа ер φεεεгн εε πεсрαп δεн παскгпн  
 η епег тпог хе тωпк εεαщε пак θωгс ηпог  
 пщнги η[п]εεεсси η οгро η тщεβӣω η εχав  
 25 οτορ θωгс η ελгсеос εε профнтнс ηтек щεβӣω  
 асгтωпч δε ηχε πιδνιος ηλιαс асггн кага φρηт  
 εта ποс ουαρсаρпн παс асχιεи η елгсеос  
 пщнги η сафат еψсχαι η ῑβ η ρεβн η ερε

π̄ αψχωλεε εεεοφ ἦχε πιδνιος ἠλιας αψῶλι  
 ἦτεφ εεελωτη αψατς ἐχεπ τὰφε ἦελισεος ζεν  
 τσοποτ αψχα πιζεβι ἦσωφ οτορ αψβοχι ἦσα  
 πιδνιος ἠλιας εψχω εεεος χε τσωψ παιωτ  
 εεεοψι ἦσωκ αψεροτῶ ἦχε φη ἐθ οταβ ἠλιας 5  
 πεχαφ παφ χε εεαψε πακ παψηρι χε ἔ π̄σ̄ ἦρι  
 ἦ οτπαι πεεακ αψτασσο δε ἦχε ἐλισεος αψψωτ  
 εε πι β̄ εε εεασι οτορ αψφασοτ αψτηιτοτ ἦ  
 π̄α πιεηψ ατοτοεοτ αψψε παφ αψεοψι ἦσα  
 πιδνιος ἠλιας οτορ αψψωπι παφ εε εεαθητης 10  
 οτοπ πεταψωπι εεεεεσα παι σωτεε πε οτοπ  
 οτἰαζαλολι πεχαφ ἦτε παβοτθε πιεραἠλιτης  
 κατα φρητ̄ ἐτεψχω εεεος ἦχε πιεζαι ἐθ  
 οταβ οτορ φαι παφζεντ̄ ἐ πηι ἦ ἐχαβ οτορ  
 αψααχι ἦχε ἐχαβ πεεε παβοτθε εψχω εεεος 15  
 χε εοι πηι εε πεκἰαζαλοι χε φζεντ̄ ἐ πανι  
 ἦταειφ ἦοτσωε ἦ παιοτ̄ οτορ ἐποκ τ̄πα τ̄  
 πακ ἦ κε ἰαζαλολι εψσοτπ ἐροτ̄[ε] ἐροφ ἰσχε  
 π̄ε χοτωψ οπ τ̄πατ̄ πακ ἦοτζατ̄ εψεεπψα εεεοφ  
 αψ ερ οτῶ ἦχε παβοτθε εψχω εεεος χε ἦπεσ- 20  
 ψωπι εεεοι εθρι τ̄ ἦ τκληροποεεἰδ̄ ἦτε παιοτ̄  
 πακ οτοπτακ εεεεατ̄ ἦ ζαπειηψ ἦδταθον πα  
 εεροτρωψι εεεοκ οτορ αψψε παφ δε ἦχε  
 ἐχαβ ἐζοτπ̄ ἐ πεψηι αψενκοτ̄ ζιχεν πεψσλοχ  
 αψρωβς εε πεψρο εεπε ψοτωε οταε εεπε ψω 25  
 παψψεερωρ ταρ πε εεεαψω ασι δε ἐζοτπ̄  
 ψα ροφ ἦχε ιεζαβελ τεψςζιει οτορ πεχας παφ  
 χε εθβε οτ̄ κψολορ ἦρητ̄ εε παι ρητ̄ οτορ

χουωω απ ουτε η κω απ εεφοου αφ ερ ουω  
 ηχε εχαβ πεχαφ πας κε εθε ου πιεραλολι  
 ητε παβοθε πιεραηλιτης πεχε ιεραβελ παφ  
 κε ηθοκ ρωκ ηθοκ ουουρο τωηκ ουη φπου  
 5 ουωω ουου ου πακ εηοκ εθ παωλι πακ εε  
 πιεραλολι ητε παβοθε πιεραηλιτης τοτε  
 εσβι πας η ουχωω εσσηητηφ θεη φραη η  
 εχαβ ουου εστοβφ θεη πεφφβουη εσ θρου πζ  
 ωλι η παβοθε ησεωηι εχωφ ουου ησεθωτεβ  
 10 εελοφ ουου ετασεει κε εθθωτεβ εελοφ  
 εσι εθουη εσβουι εσταεε ποουρο εχαβ κε  
 τωηκ κε φπου κ ερι κληροποειη πα εε πιερα-  
 λολι ητε παβοθε πιεραηλιτης κε ουηι ταρ  
 εφελου εχαβ εφτωηφ εφι εθρηι ε πιεραλολι  
 15 ητε παβοθε πιεραηλιτης αφ ερ κληροποειη  
 εελοφ θεη φουουου εφτωηφ ηχε πιδτιος ηλιας  
 θεη φχοω ητε πιππα εθ ουαβ ετ ερε η ερηη πη  
 ηθηηφ εφφε παφ εθουη ε πιεραλολι ητε πη  
 παβοθε πιεραηλιτης ουου εφχιει η εχαβ  
 20 εφρεεισι η θηη φ πεχε πιδτιος ηλιας παφ κε  
 ω εχαβ σωτεε εροι ητασαχι πεεεακ παι πε  
 ηη ετ εφχω εεεωου ηχε ποε φφ κε εε φρηφ  
 ετακθωτεβ η παβοθε πιεραηλιτης ουου  
 ακωλι ητεφκληροποειε ουου εσεφωηι εε πιεε  
 25 ετα ποουρωρι πεεε πεφφατ λωχρ εε πεουφ  
 η παβοθε εελοφ ερε ποουρωρ λωχρ εε πεκ- πθ  
 ουφ εεεετ ρωκ ουου ητε ηιπορηη χωκεε  
 θεη πεκπουφ κε εθε ουεεετεφληου ακτηκ



†εεθρωει τακο ἡ κε σοπ †εν †εετϋαεεϋε  
 ἰωλον επιαν ἔ ρωσ θωε οτοζ ἔ περζητ  
 βωλ ἐβολ †εν πχιπθρεσσωτεε ἐπεπσαχι εε  
 πιλτιος ἡλιας ὦ ιεζαβελ †θνηριον ἡλτιριον ἐτ  
 5 ρωοτ ας θωπ †ποτ τε †πιϋ† ἡ χοεε θαι ἐρε ϋ̄  
 ερθαρπ εεεοσ ὦ ιεζαβελ θη ἐτ λοβι αϋ θωπ  
 †ποτ πε[†]πιϋ† ἡ λτιβι πεεε πιβερβερ ἡτε  
 περζητ ἐ†οπ ἐ πιλτιος ἡλιας πιθεςβιτθης αϋ  
 θωπ πε [πι]πιϋ† ἡλιας ἡ ϋοτϋατϋ ἐβολ †αι  
 10 ἐταϋσαχι †εν οτεετβασιζητ πεεε οτλτιβι  
 ἡτε πιλιδβολοσ ερε οτωρπ ἡ ραπσαχι †ε  
 πιλτιος ἡλιας ετ σα πϋωι ἡ πεεετροπ κε ἡθοκ  
 πε ἡλιας ἔποκ πε ιεζαβελ ὦ †ατρζητ οτοζ εε  
 παραποεοσ οτ πε παισαχι ερε χω εεεωοτ εε ϋ̄  
 15 πιπροφνητθης ἐθ οταβ ἡλιας †† ταρ χω εεεοσ  
 παϋ κε †παδρεζ ἐ τεκψιτχη ἡ†ρηι ἡ†ητκ ϋα  
 πιεζοοτ ἡ †αιε ἡτε πικοεοσ ἡθο ρωι τε χω  
 εεεοσ παϋ κε παμπατ ἡ ρασ† †παχω ἡτεκ  
 ψιτχη εε φρη† ἡ οται ἡ πιφροφνητθης ἡτακ-  
 20 †ωτεβ εεεωοτ εθβε οτ †ποτ τε χωκ ἐβολ  
 απ εε φη ἐτ αρε χοϋ ρωσ τε εθρε †ωτεβ εε  
 πιθεςβιτθης εθβε οτ αρε χωπ† †εν πχιπθρε-  
 σωτεεε κε αϋ†ωτεβ ἡ πιπροφνητθης ἡτε πϋπι ϋ̄  
 οτοζ αρε χοσ κε †πα†οθβεϋ ρωϋ πωσ κε  
 25 †ποτ εϋρζιωϋ πεεε οτεοοτ εϋρζωοτ παρα ρωει  
 πιβεν ἡθο πεεε πεκερζαι ετσοπ †εν οτϋω†  
 ἐβολ πεεε οττακο αϋθωπ ἡχε ρω εεπε ϋχεε-  
 χοεε ἡχω ρλι ἡ σαχι επτηρϋ εθβε κε ἔ πε[α]χι

ἐφτ̄ γε ἐδουπ ἐ πελαυχ ἐβολδεν ρωφ ἐ  
 πεφπροφνητης ἐθ οταβ πιὰτιος ἡλιας πιθεςβιτης  
 φ̄ε̄ τ̄ ποτ̄ γε ὠ πασπνοτ̄ μερε φαι ψωπι εφοτοφ  
 πωτεπ ἐβολ δεν οτταχρο γε ρωει πιβεν ἦ  
 ραλλὰδ̄ ἐτ̄ χη δεν οτ̄εξοτ̄σιὰ ἦτε παι κοσεος 5  
 ἐοτοπτωοτ̄ ἦ γαργιδεε ετρωοτ̄ ἐ φρητ̄ ἦ  
 ιεζαβελ ἦν ἐτ̄ βαδεε οτοφ ἦτοτ̄ ερ ἀπα-  
 χεσθε πωοτ̄ ἐ φρητ̄ ἦ ἀχαβ ψαπτοτ̄ ερ πετ  
 ρωοτ̄ ἦ πιρνηκι παι οπ̄ ἐ παι ρητ̄ σεπα ερ  
 πεεπψ[α] ἦπαι σαροτ̄ι παι ἐτα πιὰτιος ἡλιας 10  
 πιθεςβιτης χοτοτ̄ ἐχεν ἀχαβ πεε ιεζαβελ  
 φ̄ε̄ τεφσγρειι πεε ποττακο πεε ποτφωτ̄ ἐβολ  
 οτοφ ἦτεψτεε ερ φεετ̄ι ἦτωοτ̄ γε ψα ἐπερ  
 οτοφ σγρειι πιβεν ἐθ παψωπι ἐ παραποεος ἐ  
 φρητ̄ ἦ ιεζαβελ ἦν ἐτ̄ βαδεε ἦν ἐτασχερχερ 15  
 ἦσα π̄ο̄ οτοφ ερε ρθης χη ε τεσεετραλλὰδ̄  
 εσοι ἦ βασιρ̄ητ̄ εσψοτ̄ψοτ̄ ἐεεος δεν πεσποπ-  
 ἦριὰ ἐτ̄ ρωοτ̄ πεε πιβλοδεε ἦτε πεσσωεα ἦ  
 ακαθαρτοσ ἐτ̄ σοφ οτοφ εσοπδ̄ δεν φποβι οτοφ  
 εσψοτ̄ψοτ̄ ἐεεος δεν πεσαποειὰ [οτοφ] δεν 20  
 φ̄η̄ δαπκοσεενσις ἦ ποτ̄β πεε ρητ̄ εσοτ̄ωε εσσω  
 δεν οτ̄βι ἦ χοπς εσοι ἦ ροπλοπ ἐ πεαταπας  
 εσψωψ ἦ πιρνηκι εσοι ἦ ἀθ παι ἐδουπ ἐρωοτ̄  
 παι ἐτ̄ ερε π̄ο̄ εει ἐεεωοτ̄ ἦθος δε ρωσ  
 εσψοπ δεν οτ̄ψωψ πεε οτ̄ψιπι οτοφ ερε 25  
 πεσσοιθωπ εροφ εει πιβεν σγρειι πιβεν  
 εθεεοψι δεν παι ἐ παι ρητ̄ γαπχαχι ἦτε φτ̄  
 πε πεε πιφροφνητης ἐθ οταβ ἡλιας οτοφ

σεπιδι ἴττοι πελλ φρος ἡ ἱεζαβελ τοῦσωπι  
 οτορ οὔεωπι (sic) Δεν πικαροῦτὶ ἐτα πιὰντιος  
 ἡλίας χοφ ἔχεν ἱεζαβελ πελλ πιτακο πελλ πιφωτ ϕ̄  
 ἐβολ πορπος πιβεν πελλ πορπη πιβεν φτ πελλ  
 5 πεφπροφνητης ἐθ οὔαδ πιὰντιος ἡλίας ελοστ  
 ἐλλεωτ ρεφβτ ἡ χοπε πιβεν ἴτε ρζιει ἴτε  
 ζωοτ ραπχαχι ἡτε φτ πελλ πιὰντιος ἡλίας  
 πιθεςβττης βαςι ρητ πιβεν ἴτε ζωοτ ἴτε  
 ρζιει ραπχαχι ἡτε φτ πελλ πιὰντιος ἡλίας  
 10 εθε πιβτ ἡ χοπε ταρ πελλ πιποβι ἡτε παι  
 οτοπ ἐε παι ρητ ἀ φτ χω ἐε πιπροφνητης ἐθ ρ̄  
 οὔαδ ἡλίας Δεν πικωλλε ἐφοι ἐε προστατης ἡ  
 φεεεθρεωι τηρς κε ρηα πη ἐθ πακοτορ ρα π̄  
 ἡτορ ἐρ εεταποπ ἐρρη ἔχεν πορποβι ἡτε  
 15 πιὰντιος ἡλίας ρωφ βτ ρεοτ ἐρρη ἔχωτ πε  
 δε ζωοτ ἐθ παδρζι Δεν ἡ οὔπετρωοτ φτ ἐε  
 πιὰντιος ἡλίας παιπι ἔχωτ ἡ οὔχωπτ πελλ  
 οὔτακο πελλ οὔφωτ ἐβολ πελλ οὔκολασις ἡ  
 ατ χελλ πεσφπι ψα ἐπερ πιὰντιος ἡλίας ἐε  
 20 πικνοτ ἐτελλεατ ἡθοφ ἐε παικνοτ φαι οπ πε ρ̄  
 φποτ ἐεπε φ ελοτ οὔαε ἐεπε φ βωλ ἐβολ ἀλλα  
 αφωπ Δεν πικωλλε φποτ οτορ αφπατ ἐ πιποβι  
 ἡτε πιοται πιοται ἐελοπ οτορ πεφσαχι ταχ  
 ρηοττ οτορ φφωτ ἐβολ ἐροτε σηφι πιβεν ἡ  
 25 ρο σπατ σωτεε οπ ἐ ται κε πιφτ ἡ φφρηι  
 ἐτα φτ αικ ἐβολρζι τοτ φ ἐε πιὰντιος ἡλίας  
 πιθεςβττης αςφωπι δε εεπενσα ελοτ ἡ ἀχαδ  
 οτορ αφ ἐρ οτρο ἐ πεφλλε ἡχε ὀχοζιας Δεν

τσαλλια ἀσϋωπι δε ρεν οται ἢ πιέροον  
 ρβ ἀφρει ἐπεσντ ἐβολρι τταρλει ἐτ σα πϋωι  
 ἢτε πεϋνι ἢχε ὀχοζιας οτοϋ παϋϋτηνοϋτ πε  
 ριχεν πεϋβλοχ εϋϋωπι ἀφοτωρη ἢχε ὀχοζιας  
 ἢ ραπϋαϋιπι ἢταϋ εϋϋω ἔλλοος πωοϋ κε  
 ελαϋε πωτεπ ϋπι δεπ τβαλλιαε πποϋτ ἢ  
 ἀκκαρωπ κε απ τπατωπτ ἐβολδεπ παι ϋωπι  
 ε παι σοπ ετελοϋι δε ἀϋι ἐβολ ἐρραϋ ἢχε  
 πιάνιος ἡλιας ἐβολδεπ πιτωοϋ πεχαϋ πωοϋ κε  
 ρτ ελατασθε ἠνοϋ δε ὀχοζιας ποτρο οτοϋ ἀχοϋ 10  
 παϋ κε παι πε πη ἐτεϋϋω ἔλλωοϋ πακ ἢχε  
 πσϋ κε πιβλοχ ἐτεκεκοτ ριϋωϋ ἢπε κτωπκ  
 ἐβολ ριϋωϋ κε δεπ οτελοϋ χπαλοϋ ἀττασθε  
 δε ἢχε πιϋαϋιπι δε ὀχοζιας ἀττω ἐροϋ ἢ  
 πιαϋι ἢτε πιάνιος ἡλιας ὀχοζιας δε πεχαϋ 15  
 πωοϋ κε ἀϋ ἢ ρητ πε πιρωει εταϋ ερ ἀπαπ-  
 ταπ ἐρωτεπ ἢθωοϋ δε ἀτταλοϋ κε οτρωει  
 πε εϋρητ ἢ ϋωι τρηϋ εϋεληρ ἢ οτελοϋδεπ ἢ ϋαρ  
 ρβ ριχεν τεϋτπι ἢθωοϋ δε πεχαϋ κε ἡλιας πε φαι  
 φη ἐθ οταβ δε ἡλιας ἀϋε παϋ ἐπϋωι ριχεν 20  
 πιτωοϋ ὀχοζιας δε ἀφοτωρη ἢ οϋπεπτηκοπ-  
 ταρχοϋ πεε π εὖ ελατοι κε ριπα ἢτοτεπϋ  
 ραροϋ ἐταϋδεπτ δε ἐροϋ ἢχε πιπεπτηκοπ-  
 ταρχοϋ οτοϋ πεχαϋ παϋ κε φρωει εὖ φτ  
 ϋελοϋτ ἐροκ ἢχε ὀχοζιας ποτρο οτοϋ τωπκ 25  
 ελοϋ ϋαροϋ ἀϋ ερ οτω ἢχε φη ἐθ οταβ ἡλιας  
 πεχαϋ παϋ κε ισχε ἀποκ πε φρωει εὖ φτ ερε  
 ρε οϋχρωει ἰ ἐβολδεπ τφε ἢτεϋοτοεκ πεε

πεκ π̄ ε̄ εατοι οτοζ δεπ̄ φοτηποτ̄ ε̄ πιχρωε  
 ῑ εβολδεπ̄ τφε̄ λοτ̄ο̄εον̄ παλιπ̄ ε̄ ποτρο̄ οτωρπ̄  
 η̄ κε̄ πεπτηκοπταρχος̄ ε̄ εαζ̄ β̄ πεεε̄ πεφ̄ π̄  
 ε̄ εατοῑ ε̄ταφ̄δωπ̄τ̄ οπ̄ πεχαφ̄ παφ̄ χε̄  
 5 φρωεε̄ ε̄ φ̄τ̄ ε̄εον̄ ε̄πεσπ̄τ̄ χε̄ ποτρο̄ ε̄εον̄τ̄  
 ε̄ροκ̄ πεχε̄ παντιος̄ η̄λιας̄ παφ̄ χε̄ ῑσχε̄ ε̄ποκ̄ πε  
 φρωεε̄ ε̄ φ̄τ̄ ε̄ρε̄ οτ̄χρωεε̄ ῑ εβολδεπ̄ τφε̄  
 η̄τεφ̄οτ̄ωεε̄ ε̄εεοκ̄ πεεε̄ πεκ̄ κε̄ π̄ ε̄ εατοῑ  
 σατοτ̄φ̄ δε̄ οπ̄ ε̄ πιχρωεε̄ [ῑ] εβολδεπ̄ τφε̄ ρ̄ε̄  
 10 εφ̄οτοεεφ̄ πεεε̄ πεφ̄ κε̄ η̄ ε̄ εατοῑ παλιπ̄  
 εφ̄οταζ̄τοτ̄φ̄ η̄χε̄ ο̄χοζιας̄ ποτρο̄ εφ̄οτωρπ̄ η̄  
 κε̄ πεπτηκοπ[τ̄]αρχος̄ ε̄ εαζ̄ γ̄ πεεε̄ πεφ̄ η̄  
 ε̄ εατοῑ ε̄ταφ̄ε̄εε̄ δε̄ η̄χε̄ η̄πεπτηκοπταρχος̄  
 ε̄τεεεεεεε̄τ̄ ῑσχε̄ πεφ̄ ζ̄ῑ φοτεῑ εφ̄χ̄ωλε[εε̄]  
 15 ε̄εεεοφ̄ οτοζ̄ εφ̄ζ̄ιτ̄φ̄ ζ̄ῑχεπ̄ πεφ̄ζ̄ο̄ εφ̄οτ̄ωπ̄τ̄  
 ε̄ παντιος̄ η̄λιας̄ εφ̄χ̄ω̄ ε̄εεο̄ χε̄ πᾱο̄τ̄ ε̄ερεφ̄ῑ  
 η̄χε̄ πᾱτ̄ζ̄ο̄ ε̄ πεκ̄ε̄θε̄ ῑσ̄ ζ̄η̄π̄πε̄ ω̄ πᾱο̄τ̄ ε̄κιπ̄ῑ ρ̄ζ̄  
 ε̄ πιχρωεε̄ εβολδεπ̄ τφε̄ εφ̄οτ̄ωεε̄ ε̄ η̄πεπ-  
 τηκοπταρχος̄ η̄τε̄ σ̄ωρπ̄ πεεε̄ π̄η̄ ε̄θ̄ πεεεω̄τ̄  
 20 τ̄ποτ̄. δε̄ χε̄ ε̄ερε̄ τ̄ψ̄ῑχ̄η̄ ε̄ πεκ̄β̄ωκ̄ σ̄ωπ̄ῑ  
 ε̄στᾱινο̄τ̄ πᾱζ̄ρεπ̄ πεκ̄β̄ε̄λ̄ πεεε̄ τ̄ψ̄ῑχ̄η̄ η̄τε̄  
 πεκ̄ε̄β̄ιᾱικ̄ ε̄τ̄ χ̄η̄ ε̄πεκ̄ε̄θε̄ οτοζ̄ δεπ̄̄ φοτηποτ̄  
 ε̄ πᾱχῑ ε̄ πᾱο̄τ̄ σ̄ωπ̄ῑ ζ̄αροφ̄ εφ̄χ̄ω̄ ε̄εεο̄ χε̄  
 τ̄ωπ̄κ̄ ε̄εᾱφε̄ πᾱκ̄ σ̄υᾱ ο̄χοζιας̄ ποτρο̄ εφ̄τ̄ωπ̄φ̄  
 25 δε̄ η̄χε̄ παντιος̄ η̄λιας̄ εφ̄εεο̄σ̄ῡῑ πεεεεφ̄ οτοζ̄  
 εφ̄σ̄υε̄ παφ̄ σ̄υᾱ ο̄χοζιας̄ ποτρο̄ πεχαφ̄ παφ̄ χε̄ ρ̄η̄  
 πᾱῑ πε̄ π̄η̄ ε̄τ̄ εφ̄χ̄ω̄ ε̄εεεω̄τ̄ η̄χε̄ πᾱο̄τ̄ οτοζ̄ πᾱῑ  
 πε̄ π̄η̄ ε̄τ̄ πᾱᾱῑτο̄τ̄ πᾱκ̄ χε̄ ε̄ φ̄εεᾱ χε̄ ε̄κο̄τωρπ̄

ακυνηι δεπ φβαλλιεε φνοϋφ η ακκαρων  
 ακχα ποσ πεκνοϋφ ησωκ εε παι ρηφ απ αλλα  
 πιβλοχ ετεκενκοτ ριχωϋ [ηπε κτωπκ εβολ  
 ριχωϋ] κε δεπ ουεοτ χπαεοτ παι δε  
 εταφχοτοτ ηχε πιαντιοσ ηλιασ δεπ φοτοποτ 5  
 αφτ εε πιππα ηχε οχοζιασ ποτρο παντωσ  
 οτοπ οται παχοσ δεπ θηποτ κε εθε οτ  
 ρθ η ρωβ ε πιαντιοσ ηλιασ ορε πιχρωε οτωεε  
 εε πιπεπτηκοπταρχοσ ε πεεε ποτκε ρ εε  
 εεατοι κεπερ εποτ κε ρλι η σαχι εφρωοτ 10  
 παϋ οταε εε ποτϋοϋϋ αλλα εοϋφ εροκ ηχε  
 ποτρο σωτεεε εροι εποκ φπαταεεοκ επσεταϋ-  
 φϋωϋ πε εε πιαντιοσ ηλιασ πε παϋαι<sup>1</sup> εροϋ  
 πε επε εταϋ ερ επατακαζιπ εεεοϋ πε εθρεϋ-  
 ραπαϋ ϋα ποτρο παϋπαεεοϋ πεεεωοτ πε 15  
 ηϋ ερ ροφ απ πε δετρη εε ποτρο ητε παι  
 ρι κοεεοσ αλλα εθε φαι ρω αφχοσ ηχε πιαντιοσ  
 ηλιασ εθε κε ατχοσ παϋ ρωσ δεπ οϋϋερϋι  
 κε φρωεε εε φφ εϋχω εεεοσ κε ισχε τετεπεεε  
 κε φφ ϋοπ ιε εθε οτ τετεκ παρφ εροϋ απ 20  
 οτορ ισχε φβαλ ετοι η ποτφ πωτεπ ιε εθε  
 οτ ρολωσ ερετεπ ερ τολεεαπ εχε φραπ εε  
 παποϋφ εβολδεπ πετεπ ρωϋ ετ βαδεεε ισχε  
 εποκ πε φρωεε εε φφ ιε πετεπ παρφ ηθωτεπ  
 εροϋ απ ερε οϋχρωεε ι εβολδεπ τφε ριχεπ 25  
 ρια παποϋφ οτορ εϋεοτοεε θηποτ ω ται πιϋφ η  
 ϋφηρι ω παεεεραφ παι ρεεε η καρι εταϋβιςι

<sup>1</sup> MS. παϋπαϋαι.

ἐ παι ρητ̄ ἐρε πεφλας ψωτ̄ ἐβολ̄ ἐροτε σηφι  
 πιβεν ἡ πο σπατ̄ ις ρηππε αιχω ἐρωτεπ ἡ  
 ραποκοχι ἐβολ̄θεν πιχολλ̄ πελλ̄ πιψφηρι ετα  
 φτ̄ αιτοῡ ἐβολ̄ρι τοτ̄ ς̄ ἐ πιάντιος ἡλίας  
 5 πῶσβυτ̄ης αιτις ἡταχω ἐρωτεπ ἡ ται κε πιψτ̄  
 ἡ ψφηρι πιβεν θαι ετ̄ σοσι ε ψφηρι ἡτε πιωοῡ  
 πελλ̄ πιταϊὸ ἡ ατ̄ σαχι ἐλλοοϕ̄ φαι ἐτε ἐ  
 πιωτ̄ελλ̄ ἐπερ̄ κε ἀ ρλι ἡ ρωλλ̄ ψαψ̄νι ἐροϕ̄ ρ̄ιβ̄  
 ἰσχηπ̄ ἀλλ̄ε πιψορπ̄ ἡ ρωλλ̄ ψα ἐθ̄ουπ̄ ἐφοοῡ  
 10 ἀληθ̄ως τ̄αρ̄ οτ̄ροτ̄ πε ἐχοϕ̄ οτορ̄ οτ̄σθ̄ερτερ  
 πε εσοθ̄εεϕ̄ αςψ̄ωπι δε πεχαϕ̄ ἐτασραπαϕ̄ ἐ  
 φτ̄ ἐ ὦλι ἐ πιάντιος ἡλίας ἐψ̄ωι ε τ̄φε αιτ̄  
 ρωοῡ ἡχε πιπροφητ̄ης τ̄ηροϑ̄ ἐτ̄ θ̄εν̄ ιεριχω  
 αιθ̄ωοῡτ̄ ἐποτ̄ερ̄ηροϑ̄ ετ̄ιρι ἡ π̄ ἐ προφητ̄ης  
 15 οτορ̄ αιτ̄ ψα ἐλ̄ισεος πεχωοῡ παϕ̄ κε ραρα  
 ακ̄ελλ̄ ρωκ̄ κε π̄ο̄ παωλι ἐ πεκ̄ο̄ ἡλίας ἐψ̄ωι  
 ἐ τ̄φε ἐβολ̄ ραροκ̄ πεχε ἐλ̄ισεος πωοῡ κε αῑελλ̄ ρ̄ιτ̄  
 ρω ἡθ̄ωτεπ̄ δε χα ρωτεπ̄ οτορ̄ ἀποκ̄ τ̄πα  
 ελοϑ̄ι πελλ̄αϕ̄ ἐ ελλ̄ι πιβεν̄ ἐταϕ̄ελλ̄ οπ̄ ἡχε  
 20 πιάντιος ἡλίας κε σεπαοῡοθ̄βεϕ̄ ἐβολ̄θεν̄ πα  
 κολλ̄ος παϕ̄ελοϑ̄ι πελλ̄αϕ̄ πε ἡχε ἐλ̄ισεος ψατεϕ̄ι  
 ἐθ̄ρηι ἐ β̄εθ̄ηλ̄ αϕ̄ ερ̄ οτ̄ὼ ἡχε πιάντιος ἡλίας  
 πεχαϕ̄ ἡ ἐλ̄ισεος πεϕ̄ελλ̄αθ̄ητ̄ης κε ἐλ̄ισεος παψ̄ηρι  
 κε ρεεεσῑ πακ̄ ἐ παῑ ελλ̄α κε οτ̄ηι τ̄αρ̄ αϕ̄οτ̄ωρπ̄  
 25 ἐλλ̄οι ἡχε π̄ο̄ φτ̄ ἐιεριχω̄ ἐ οτ̄ρ̄ωβ̄ ἡ απ̄ατ̄  
 κεοπ̄ τ̄ποϑ̄ κε παψ̄ηρι ρεεεσῑ πακ̄ ἐ παῑ ελλ̄α ρ̄ιτ̄  
 ψα τ̄[π]ατασθ̄ο ραροκ̄ ἐταϕ̄ελλ̄α δε ἡχε ἐλ̄ισεος  
 πε πεχαϕ̄ παϕ̄ κε ϕ̄οηθ̄ ἡχε π̄ο̄ παιωτ̄ οτορ̄

ςοηϑ ἵχε τεκψυχη κε τῆαωωπ ἵσωκ απ οτορ  
 ἀφλοωυ ἵσωφ ἵχε ἔλιςεος ψατοτῖ ἐδρηι ἐ  
 ιεριχω οτορ πατελοωυ ἵσωφ πε ρι φοτει ἵχε  
 π π̄ ἐ προφητης κε ρηα ἵτοπατ ἐ φη ἐθ  
 παωωπι ἐεωωτ παλιπ ἀτῖ ρα ἔλιςεος πεχωωτ 5  
 παφ κε ραρα ἀκῆει ρωκ κε π̄οτ̄ παῶλι ἐ  
 ρ̄ιῆ πεκοτ̄ ἡλιας ἐπωωι ἐ τφε ἐβολ ραροκ πεχε  
 ἔλιςεος πωωτ κε ἀρη χα ρωτεπ ἀποκ τῆαεωωυ  
 πεεαφ ἐ εει πιβεν ἐτεφπαωε παφ ἐροφ παλιπ  
 ἀ πιδνιος ἡλιας ςαχι πεε ἔλιςεος εφχω ἐεεος 10  
 κε παωηρι ἔλιςεος ρεεσι πακ ἐε παι εεα κε ἀ  
 π̄οτ̄ οτωρπ ἐεεοι ψα πιορδαηης εφ ερ εεεκαρ  
 δε ἐεεαωω ἵχε ἔλιςεος οτορ πεχαφ ἐε πιδνιος  
 ἡλιας κε ςοηϑ ἵχε π̄οτ̄ οτορ ςοηϑ ἵχε τεψυχη  
 πᾱοτ̄ ἵ ιωτ ἐθ οταβ κε τῆαωωπ ἵσωκ απ ἐ 15  
 ρ̄ιῆ φεεα ετεκωε πακ ἐροφ οτορ παρητ ἀφλοωυ  
 πεεαφ ἵχε ἔλιςεος ψατοτῖ ἐρηι ἐχεν πιορ-  
 δαηης οτορ πατελοωυ ἵσωφ πε ρι φοτει ἵχε πι  
 π̄ ἐ προφητης ετοωωυ ἐπατ ἐ φη ἐθ παωωπι  
 ἐε πιδνιος ἡλιας οτορ παρε ἔλιςεος ὀρι ἐρατφ 20  
 πεεαφ ριχεν πιορδαηης τοτε φη ἐθ οταβ  
 ἡλιας ἀφβορβερ ἵτεφεελωτη οτορ ἀφτ ἵ  
 οτωαωυ ϑεν πιεωωτ οτορ ϑεν τωποτ ἐ  
 πιεωωτ φωρρ ἐ παι ςα πεε φαι οτορ πεχε  
 ρ̄ιῆ πιδνιος ἡλιας ἵ ελιςεος κε ρεεσι πακ ἐε παι 25  
 εεα παωηρι κε οτηι ἀ π̄οτ̄ οταρδαηι πηι εθρι  
 ερ σῖπιορ ἐε πιορδαηης ἔλιςεος δε ἀφφῆϑτφ  
 ριχεν πεφρῶ ἀφῆεοπι ἵπενβῆλατρ ἐε πιδνιος

ηλιας δεπ ουσθηρτερ ουοζ αφ ερ εεεληκ  
 εδουπ ερωο ουοζ παφουωψτ εεεωοτ πε ερε  
 πεφ ερ εεωοτι ψουοττ επεσнт εχωοτ εφχω εεεοσ  
 κε ουοι πνι παιωτ εκπαψε πακ ιττεκ χα κ  
 5 εεεεατατ εεφωρ παιωτ εθ ουαβ επερσωψτ  
 εεεεατατ ετατ ερ βιπιουρ δε εε πιουρδαπнс r̄iñ  
 πεχε πιαντιος ηλιας ιι ελισεοσ κε αριε[ρι]τιπ  
 εεεοι ιι ουζωβ ιιτααιφ πακ ελισεοσ δε αφριει  
 εφχω εεεοσ κε παιωτ εθ ουαβ ισχε φαι πε  
 10 πεκοτωψ ιε εερε πεκπ̄πᾱ κωβ εχωι πεχε πιαντιος  
 ηλιας παφ κε εψωπ ιιτεκπατ εροι ετωλι εεεοι  
 επψωι ε τφε εσεψωπι πακ εε παι ρητ̄ τοτε  
 πιαντιος ηλιας αφ ερ ζητс ιι τωβζ ουοζ εχω  
 ιι ουπροσετ̄χη саτοτφ δε ιι ουζοφ̄ δεп ουζοφ̄  
 15 αφψωπι ιιχε ουπψφ̄ εε εεοπεεεπ̄ ε̄ πκαζι κιεε r̄iθ̄  
 ψα πεφсент̄ ουοζ αφψωπι ιι χρεεεтс πεεε  
 ουтпофос πεεε ουсара θноτ̄ πεεε ζαпδарабай  
 πεεε ζαпсетеβρηх ζωс те κε ερε πκαζι παсω  
 δεп εδ̄рни ζηппе ιс ζαпζαρεεε ιι χρωεε πεεε  
 20 ζαпζοωр ιι χρωεε ατῑ εβολ̄δεп τφε πιαντιος  
 ηλιας αφε̄λνι ερωοτ̄ ουοζ атсак δαροφ̄ ψα  
 ιιτοτολφ̄ επψωι ε τφε ελισεοσ δε αφφωδ̄ ιι  
 πεφζβωс αφωψ̄ εβολ̄ δεп ουпψφ̄ ιι δ̄ρωοτ̄ r̄k̄.  
 εφχω εεεοσ κε παιωτ παιωτ πζαρεεε εε πιε̄λ̄  
 25 πεεε πεφζтπεтс ιсχε χπ̄εζωλι ιιτεκχατ̄ ιε  
 εερε πεк п̄па̄ κωβ εδ̄рни εχωι πιαντιος δε ηλιας  
 αφβωλ̄ εβολ̄ ιιτεφ̄εεελωтн εθ̄ εεп̄ εεεοφ̄  
 ουοζ αφсатс̄ επεснт̄ ζιχеп̄ τ̄εφε ιι ελισεοσ

οτοφ ἀφελωσι εφριει εθε πεφωτ ἡλιας ψατεφί  
 ἔχεπ πιορδανης ἔταφφοφ δε ἐ πιεα ἔτα  
 πιάντιος ἡλιας φορξφ ἀφί ἔεηνρ οτοφ ἔταφφ  
 ῥκ̄ᾱ ἔπεφονοι ἔχεπ πιπελδτοσ ἵτε πιορδανης  
 ἀφριει εφχω ἔεελοσ κε οτοι πηι οτοι πηι 5  
 ἀφθωπ φποφ παιωτ ἡλιας ἔταφφορε πιεωοφ  
 φωρξ ψατεφί ἔεηνρ οτοφ ἀφφαι ἵπεφβελ ἔ πψωι  
 ἐ τφε πεχαφ κε φφζο ἐροκ φφ ἔ παιωτ ἡλιας  
 ἔψωπ ζεπ οτεεθεενη ἔ πιπ̄π̄ᾱ ἵτε παιωτ κωβ  
 ἔχωι ἱε ἀψαπφ ἵοφψαψ ζεπ παιεωοφ ζεπ 10  
 τεφεεελωτη φπαφωρξ πηι ζω οτοφ ἵταδῖἵτορ  
 ἔεηνρ τοτε ἀφβί ἵ φεεελωτη ἵτε πιάντιος  
 ῥκ̄β̄ ἡλιας ἀφφ ἵ οφψαψ ζεπ πιεωοφ εφχω ἔεελοσ  
 κε ζεπ φραπ ἔ φφ ἔ παιωτ ἡλιας εφεφωρξ  
 ἵχε πιεωοφ οτοφ ἀφί ἔεηνρ ἵχε ἐλισεοσ πε σοφ 15  
 ῥ̄ ἵ τωβι πε πιέζοοφ ἔτεεεεεεεεε ἔταφωλι ἔ  
 πιάντιος ἡλιας ἐψωι ἐ τφε οτοφ εταφί ἔεηνρ  
 ἵχε πιάντιος ἐλισεοσ ἀφχιει ἵ πιπροφητησ τηροφ  
 εφχοφψτ ἐβολ ζαχωφ πε ἀφβωλ ταρ ἐβολ  
 ζωοφ πε ζιτεπ φζοφ πεεε πιεοπεεεπ ἔταφ- 20  
 ῥκ̄τ̄ ψωπι ψαπτοφωλι ἔ πιάντιος ἡλιας ἐ πψωι ἐ τφε  
 οτοφ παφφποεφ ἵ ἐλισεοσ εφχω ἔεελοσ ἵ οτοπ  
 πιβεν κε ἔ πιπ̄π̄ᾱ ἵτε ἡλιας κωβ ἔχεπ ἐλισεοσ  
 πιεοφπ ζεπ πιρωει ἐθ παψ ερ ψφηρι απ οτοφ  
 ἵτεφφτωετ εφσωτεεε κε ἔ οφρεε ἵ κερζι 25  
 εεεπψα ἔ παι πιψφ ἵ ωοφ ἵθo (sic) παι ταῖo ἔ  
 παι ρηφ φποφ κε ὠ πασπνοφ ζωο ἵ ἐεει κε ἔ  
 φφ μενρε πιάντιος ἡλιας ἐἀφφ παφ ἔ παι πιψφ

ἡ ταιὸ ἐ ἀφολγ ἐ τφε ζεν ζαπζαρεα ἡ χρωε  
 εφζεν πικωεα τ ποτ ζεν πιφνοτὶ ψα πχωκ ρκα  
 ἐβολ ε πικωεος εφψοπ ε προστατης ε  
 πτεπος τηργ ἡ πικωεε εαρεπχδγ παπ ζωπ  
 5 ε προστατης ἐ ἀπχω ἡσων ἡ πιεπιθηεα ἐτ  
 ζωτ ἡτε παι βιος ἡ εφληνοτ τ πορπιδ πικωγ  
 πικωζεν πικιοτὶ πικωστ πικαταλαλια πιάνπασ  
 ἡ ποτχ πεε πη ἐτ οπι ἡ παι παι ἐτ ερε φτ  
 πεε πιάντιος ἡλιας εοστ εεεωτ εαρεπ ἡρι ρκε  
 10 ζωπ ἡ πιζβνοτὶ πα ἐτ ερε φτ πεε πιάντιος  
 ἡλιας εει εεεωτ ἐτε παι πε πιτοτβο ἡ  
 ψορπ φη ἐτε ἀκποτγ εεεοπ ζλι παπατ ἐ  
 φτ ἐβολζιτεπ πιτοτβο ἐτ εφ ερ φοριπ εεεογ  
 ἡχε πιάντιος ἡλιας ἀψυ χεε χοεε ἡ ἄλνι  
 15 ἐζρηι ἐχεν ζαπζαρεα ἡ χρωε ψαπτοτολογ  
 ἐ πψωι ἐ τφε ζα φτ εθε φαι παεεπρατ  
εαρεπ ἀρεζ ἐτεπψοτχπ πεε πεπσωεα εφτοτ-  
 βνοττ ἐβολζα θωλεβ πιβεν πεε σωζεε  
 πιβεν παι ἐτε φτ ελκψαι ἡσων εαρε τἀταππ ρκε  
 20 ψωπι ἡζητεπ ἐζοτπ ἐπεπέρνοτ χε τἀταππ  
 ψαεζωβς ἐχεν οττεεψυ ἡ ποβι εαρεπ ψωπι  
 ζεν οτθεβιδ ἡ ζητ πεε οττεεθπαζητ χε οτνι  
 τ ἡ οτβασιζητ πεε τεεττεαιζατ πε ἡποτπι  
ε πετ ζωτ πιβεν πε εαρεπ ἀρεζ ἐ τκριπικ<sup>1</sup>  
 25 ἡτε πιπαζτ ἐτ σοττων χε φαι εεεατατγ  
 πετεπ ζελπικ ζιπα δε ε ἀποτβο ἡ πεπψοτχπ  
 πεε πεπσωεα πεε πεπεσθεεεε εαρεπ τ ε

<sup>1</sup> Read τκριπικ?

ῥκζ πεποτοι ἴτεπ χωκ ἐβολ ἐ πικυεεϋι ἐθ οταβ  
 ἴτεπβί ἐβολζεν πικυεετηριον ἐθ οταβ πικω-  
 εεα πεεε πικποφ ετ ταινοτ ἴτε πεπποτ  
 εεαρεπ † ἴ οτεεεπαζητ ἴ πικηκι ἐφοον ζεν  
 φραπ ἐ φ† πεεε πιδνιος ἐλιας πιοτα πιοτα 5  
 κατα τεφχοεε κε χας ἴ πε ερ πεεεπυα ἐ  
 πικελοτ ἐτα πιδνιος ἠλιας χοφ ἐ †χηρα ἴτε  
 σερεπτα θη ἐτασ† ἴτεσ προζερεσις τηρε ζιτεπ  
 οτχιχ ἴπωιτ πεεε οτκοτχι ἴ πεε εεβε φαι  
 ῥκη ἀσϋαϋπι ἐ παι πικυ† ἴ σελοτ ἴ ἀτκοπ κε χας 10  
 ἐφεβί ζεεοτ ἐζρη ἐχωπ ἴχε πιδνιος ἠλιας  
 εορεπχιεε ἴ οτπαι πεεε οτπαρρησιὰ παερεπ  
 πιδνεεα ἐτοι ἴ ζο† ἴτε πεπ̄ οτοζ πεπποτ  
 πεπσωτηρ ιη̄ς π̄χ̄ς φαι ἐτε ἐβολεζι τοτ φ ερε  
 πιωτ ερ περεπ ἴ φιωτ πεεεαφ πεεε πιπ̄α ἐθ 15  
 οταβ ἴ ρεφταμζο †ποτ πεεε ἴ σνοτ πιβεν ϋα  
 ἐπεεζ ἴτε πιεπεεζ τηροτ ἀεεηη.

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πεελοτ ἐ πιδνιος ἠλιας ϋωπι πεεεαπ τηροτ  
 ϋα ἐπεεζ ἀεεηη.

## TRANSLATION.

[&] The Encomium<sup>1</sup> which Saint John Chrysostom pronounced when he was Bishop of Constantinople, on the mighty prophet Saint Elijah the Tishbite, who was taken up to heaven in chariots of fire on the sixth day of the month Tôbi; in the peace of God, Amen.

How shall I speak of him, or how shall I describe him, [Ⲗ] O beloved brethren? I am afraid and am greatly perturbed in undertaking the important matter which I seek after. How I shall do it I know not . . . . . for I am afraid of that which I desire. I desire and wish to make an encomium upon the great luminary which shone and gave light, and who was exalted above the whole world, Saint Elijah the holy Tishbite. [λϥ]

[36 pages wanting.]

1 Kings xvii, 10. their unrepentant spirit, and hence his mercy. So Elijah the holy man came to Sarepta (a city) of Sidonia, and he found a widow woman gathering firewood by the gate of the city. And he said to her, 'Art thou kindling a fire, O woman?

<sup>1</sup> Encomiums upon Elijah appear to have been much sought after and esteemed among the Copts, and there can be no doubt but that several existed in the convents of Upper and Lower Egypt. Elijah in the Old, and John the Baptist in the New Testament were the chief saints and ascetics whose example was blindly followed, and whose lives were closely imitated by the hosts of monks, recluses, and solitaries which filled the Thebaïd and the deserts on each side of the Nile as far up as Aswân. In the account of the journey of the Coptic monk Paphnûti into the desert recently published by M. E. Amélineau (*Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égypt. et Assyr.*, vol. vi, p. 175), a fellow monk called Benofer, in telling the story of his life, says, *inter alia*, 'I was formerly in a convent in the nome of Shmûn in Upper Egypt, beyond Ehrît; we were fifty men at one with each other, and we ate at one table; the peace of God was among us, and we lived apart and in purity. Now I was young, and I learned divine things from the God-loving and perfect old men who were like unto the angels of God, and I heard them discourse about Elijah the Tishbite, saying that he was more powerful in God when he was in the desert than at any other time.'

- 1 Kings xvii, 11. Bring me a little water that I may drink.' When she had gone to bring the water to him, he called after her again, saying, 'Bring with thee a little
- „ 12. corner of bread for me in thy hand.' [ⲉⲉ] The woman answered and said to him, 'As God liveth, there is nothing at all left in my house except a little flour in the barrel, and a little oil in the vessel; and as thou seest I am gathering these sticks that my children may go in and prepare it for themselves to eat that they may not die.'<sup>1</sup>
- „ 13. When Saint Elijah had heard these things from the woman, he had compassion (upon her . . . . . [ⲉⲉⲗ])
- [6 pages wanting.]
- „ 18. (Art thou come) into my house to call to remembrance my evil deeds to slay my son?' 'The
- „ 19. holy man Elijah said to her, 'Bring hither thy son to me,' and she brought him to him, and he took the little boy from his mother's bosom, and carried him into the upper chamber in which Saint Elijah lived, and laid him upon the bed
- „ 20. dead. Then Saint Elijah lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, 'O God, [ⲉⲉⲎ] slay not the child of the widow with whom I sojourn,' and he
- „ 21. breathed upon his face three times, saying, 'O God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, make Thou the soul of this child to return again,'
- „ 23. and straightway the little boy lived. And the holy man Elijah carried him down and gave him
- „ 24. to his mother, saying, 'Take thy child, behold he liveth,' and she [ⲉⲉⲐ] threw herself down at his feet, and cried out, saying, 'Verily thou art a man of God, and the word which goeth forth from thy mouth cometh to pass in very truth'; and she glorified God and Saint Elijah the Tishbite until the day of her death.

<sup>1</sup> Gr. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ συλλέξω δύο ξυλάρια, καὶ εἰσελεύσομαι καὶ ποιήσω αὐτὸ ἑμαυτῇ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις μου, καὶ φαγόμεθα, καὶ ἀποθανούμεθα.

- After these things, when God saw that the holy man Elijah entreated Him with all his heart
- 1 Kings xviii, 1. to bring rain upon the earth, [11] He spake with him, saying, 'Arise, go and appear to king Ahab, for I am going to bring rain upon the whole
- „ 2. earth.' And Ahab called Obadiah the chief steward of his worldly possessions,<sup>1</sup> and said to
- „ 5. him, 'Let us arise and divide the land between us, and go into the deserts and woods and to the running streams, peradventure we shall find a little grass to keep alive [11Δ] our cattle that they perish not entirely; perhaps we may find Elijah the Tishbite, and ask him to bring rain
- „ 6. upon the earth.' So they divided the land between them, Ahab went his road by himself into the desert, and Obadiah went on his road by himself. And Elijah was going to appear before Ahab, and behold he met [11Δ] Obadiah
- „ 7. on the road. When Obadiah drew near to Saint Elijah, he hastened and bowed himself down to the ground, and made obeisance to him,
- „ 8. saying, 'Art thou my lord Elijah?' he said to him, 'I am, go and say unto Ahab, Behold,
- „ 9. Elijah (is here).' And Obadiah wept, and said, 'O my lord, my holy father, what sin have I committed that thou wouldst give me into the
- „ 10. hand of Ahab [11Υ] for him to slay me? As the Lord God of my father liveth, and as thy soul liveth, there is not a nation or kingdom into which Ahab has omitted to send to seek for thee, and when he found thee not, he set fire to them
- „ 11. all,<sup>2</sup> and thou sayest to me, Go, say unto Ahab, 'Behold, Elijah.' Moreover, it shall come to pass that when I am gone to tell him, the Spirit
- „ 12. of God [11Δ] shall take thee to a place which I know not, and when I have told him, and he

<sup>1</sup> Gr. τὸν οἰκονόμον.

<sup>2</sup> Gr. καὶ ἐνεπύρησι τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὰς χώρας αὐτῆς.



and gathered together all Israel, together with the prophets of shame who ate at the table of Jezebel, and brought them up to Mount Carmel.

1 Kings xviii, 21.

Then Saint Elijah stood up on [ⲓⲏ] his feet, and said to all the people, 'If ye know that God exists, why do ye provoke Him to anger'?

And there was no one able among the people to answer him a word.<sup>1</sup> And again Elijah said to

all the people, 'Behold, I am left by myself in this place, as ye see, while the prophets of Baal are four hundred and fifty, and the priests of

shame are four hundred. Bring hither two bullocks, and let them take one of them [ⲓⲐ] and divide him, and hack him limb from limb, let them lay wood upon the altar, and the flesh upon the wood, but let them kindle no fire (beneath); and behold, I also will do likewise.

But let them take their ox first, for they are many, and let them call upon their god; and he who shall answer by fire from heaven is the true God.' And all the people cried out, saying,

[Ⲃ] 'The word which thou hast said is good.'

Then all the priests of Baal took the ox and slew him, and hacked him limb from limb, and they laid him upon the wood upon the altar, and they called upon Baal, saying, 'Hear us, O Baal, hear (us)'; but there was no answer to them at all.

And again they cried out the more from the first hour of the day until noon; but there was no

answer to them at all. [Ⲃⲁ] And Saint Elijah cried out to them mockingly, saying, 'Cry out with a louder voice, peradventure your god is asleep, or perhaps he is dreaming, and ye must

wake him up.' Then they cried out the more, and leaped upon the altar, that perhaps something might happen through this, and this they did until the hour of evening; and when they

<sup>1</sup> The sense of the Greek is quite lost in this verse.

- saw nothing they were greatly ashamed. When the holy [ⲉⲔ] Tishbite Elijah knew that the hour of sacrifice had come, he straightway arose in the strength of God in which he lived, and said to
- 1 Kings xviii, 30. 31. the people, 'Bring me twelve stones'; and they
- .. 32. brought them. When he saw that the hour had come, he built an altar in the name of God, and surrounded it with a trench, and laid the wood upon the altar, and placed the flesh upon the wood. And he said to them, 'Take these water vessels and fill them with water. [ⲉⲩ] and empty them out upon them' (*i.e.* the pieces of flesh and wood); and they did so. He said to them again, 'Fill, and pour out upon them,' and they did so; and he said once more to them, 'Fill, and pour
- .. 34. out upon them.' Now there were four water vessels which they filled and poured out upon the flesh and the wood three times. And he filled
- .. 35. the trench and the altar so that the water rose above the altar, and this he did that the miracles of God might be made manifest. [ⲉⲔ] Then the holy Elijah lifted his eyes up to heaven, and said,
- .. 36. 'O God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, answer me by fire this day, that all this multitude may know that Thou alone art God; for Thy sake have I done all these things, and Thine is the glory for ever, Amen.' And straight-
- .. 38. way fire came down out of heaven, and devoured the sacrifice, and ate up the wood and the water, and even the stones of which the altar was built, and the [ⲉⲩ] altar and the earth which was round about it. Now the fire ate into the ground to a depth of seventy cubits.<sup>1</sup> Beloved, what a great and incredible miracle was this! what mighty dread and terror came upon all the people on that day! for they were afraid of all the burning fire!
- .. 39. And all the people worshipped Elijah, saying, 'Verily thy God is in truth God, [ⲉⲩ] and there

<sup>1</sup> There is no authority for this sentence in the LXX.

- 1 Kings xviii, 40. is no other God besides Him.' Then Elijah said to all the people, 'Lay hold on all these hypocrites,<sup>1</sup> and let not one of them escape'; and he commanded that they should be brought to him to the brook (Kishon), and he slew them all there.
- „ 41. And the holy man Elijah answered and said to Ahab, 'Arise now, eat and drink, for the anger of the Lord has been appeased,<sup>2</sup> and, behold, I hear the footsteps of the [ΞΖ] coming rain.' And Ahab
- „ 42. arose, and ate and drank, and the holy man Elijah went up to Mount Carmel, and bended his knee before God, and he bowed his face between his knees, and prayed to the Lord God. Then he
- „ 43. said to his servant, 'Arise and look towards the sea,' and when he had looked, he said, 'Behold, I see nothing at all.' Saint Elijah said to him again, 'Look even until seven times, [ΞΗ] and
- „ 44. search with thy vision.'<sup>3</sup> And it came to pass when he had looked seven times, he said, 'Behold, I see a little cloud in the form of a man's foot (or footstep) bringing up rain.' Then the holy man Elijah said to his servant, 'Go and say unto Ahab, Yoke thy chariot and depart, that the rain
- „ 45. stop thee not. And while Ahab was yoking his chariot, there was suddenly [ΞΘ] a great blackness in heaven, and an exceedingly mighty rain-storm, so much so that Ahab was in danger, and
- „ 46. wept. Then the holy man Elijah girded up his loins in the strength of God which was with him, and ran before Ahab until he came into Samaria.<sup>4</sup>
- 1 Kings xix, 1. When Ahab had gone into his house, he told his wife Jezebel everything that had happened [Ο] through the holy man Elijah, and how he had slain the priests of Baal. When she heard these things from Ahab she was greatly angered, and

<sup>1</sup> The Greek has λάβετε τοὺς προφήτας τοῦ Βααλ.

<sup>2</sup> There is no authority for this clause in the LXX

<sup>3</sup> Gr. καὶ σὺ ἐπιστρέψον ἐπτάκις.

<sup>4</sup> Gr. εἰς Ἱεζράελ.

1 Kings xix, 2. became mad like an infuriated bear, and sent to Saint Elijah, saying, 'Thou art Elijah and I am Jezebel, by this time to-morrow I will make thy soul like that of one of the prophets whom thou hast slain;' and Saint Elijah removed himself from the presence of Jezebel. [O&] When ye hear, beloved, that Saint Elijah fled, do not imagine that he fled from the death of this world, nay, God forbid, for he wished to depart by the death of this world, and to delight himself with the unutterably good things (of heaven); but he feared lest after the destruction which he had brought upon men, that is the famine and the fire which he had brought down from heaven, and the blood of the prophets of Baal [O&] which he had shed, which wonders the people having seen believed upon God, that Jezebel, having persecuted and slain him, should boast that she had slain the Tishbite, and that all the multitude who had turned to God after all the mighty deeds and wonders which Saint Elijah had wrought, would return to the worship of idols, and that all mankind would perish [Ov] through forsaking God. This is the fear with which he was afraid.<sup>1</sup>

4. And Saint Elijah fled and went up a mountain, and sat under a tree, and he was sorrowful by reason of the corruption of mankind. And behold, the word of the Lord came unto him, saying, 'O Elijah, My chosen one, why art thou thus sad?' Saint Elijah answered [O&] and said, 'O God, they have slain Thy prophets and have destroyed Thy altars, and I only am left, and behold they seek after my life to destroy it. If Thou, O God, wilt show mercy unto me, take away my life from me, for I am no better than my fathers who are dead; O God, it is better for me to die than to see Baal glorified again, for

<sup>1</sup> The Coptic translator omits verse 4 of this chapter, beginning *kai i φοβήθη* or *'Ηλιού*, to which words he refers here.

they have forsaken Thee, and have worshipped him as God.' [OE] When God knew that the Saint was grieved at the corruption of the people, He comforted him, saying, 'Elijah, be not grieved at the corruption of the people, for I have seven thousand men left who have not bowed the knee with the people of Baal. And now, who shall seek after thy soul to destroy it? I will preserve it in thee until the end of this world. Did not I answer thee by the [O&] drought, and after the drought by fire, and again by the floods of (rain)? Who then shall make thee afraid before the face of Jezebel? Fear thou her not then, but arise and go quickly and anoint Hazael to be king over Syria, and thou shalt anoint Jehu the son of Nimshi to be king over Israel in the place of Ahab and Jezebel the defiled; for, behold, I will bring destruction and shortness of life and desolation upon them. And now, since the days [OZ] which I have appointed for thee to fulfil in this world have come to an end, arise, and go, and anoint Elisha the son of Shaphat to be a prophet to Me in thy stead. And it pleases Me to do an act of grace to thee, the like of which I have never done to any man whom My hands have made from the first man Adam until the end of the world, except Enoch, the scribe. I will not let thee see death while there is a man of truth in this world, [OH] but I will send thee to heaven in chariots of fire and horses of fire, and thou shalt ascend by them that I may take thee up to Myself; and I will make thee a champion<sup>1</sup> for the whole race of man while thou art in the body.

1 Kings xix, 16.

<sup>1</sup> For the opinions of the Jewish Rabbis on Elijah, see Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Vol. I, pp. 212, 213, 304, 314, 361, 375, 401-407, 696-697, 725, 805, 851; Vol. II, 12, 15, 23, 433, 685, and 686. See also a very able article on Elijah the Tishbite in the *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, July and August, 1863, vol. 12, p. 241 ff; and the authorities quoted by the writer of the article on Elijah in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

If I desire to bring wrath upon men, thou shalt pray unto Me until I forgive them, for I am the Good, and I love the work of My hands. While thou art in the body I will set thee in indestructibility, [OΘ] for it is My wish that thou shalt not taste death, nor thy eye see it to fear it until the end of the world. I will make thy name to be praised upon earth, and mighty deeds shall be done through it. Whosoever shall be in danger by sea or by water, if they cry out to Me in thy name I will hear them, and will take care of them, and will bring them into the haven of safety. Whosoever shall be in any affliction, or distress, [Π] or bondage, or banishment, and shall cry out to Me in thy name, I will hear them speedily, and will deliver them. Whosoever shall be in sickness of any kind, or whomsoever unclean spirits shall afflict, if they go into thy shrine which shall be built for thee upon earth, and shall pray to Me in thy name, I will hear them speedily, and will bless them with healing. If women suffering [Π&] in childbirth cry out to Me in thy name, I will hear them speedily. The soul that shall build a house of prayer for thee upon earth shall live in the heavenly Jerusalem, and inherit the good things which I have prepared for My holy saints. Whosoever shall take the pains to have a book made and written in thy name, and shall dedicate it to thy shrine, I will write his name in the book of life, and will make him to inherit the good things [Π&] of the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever shall dedicate a little oil or incense to thy shrine, I will remember his name in the tabernacles of eternity. Arise now, get thee hence, and anoint Jehu the son of Nimshi to be king in the room of Ahab, and anoint Elisha to be prophet in thy stead.'

Then Saint Elijah arose and did as God had commanded him. And he found Elisha the son of

- 1 Kings xix, 19. Shaphat ploughing with twelve yoke of oxen, and [ΠΥ] Saint Elijah hastened to him and took his mantle and laid it upon the head of Elisha, who
- „ 20. straightway forsook the yokes and ran after the Saint Elijah, saying, ‘I desire, O father, to follow thee.’ The holy man Elijah said to him, ‘Go, my son, God has shown merey unto thee.’<sup>1</sup> And Elisha returned and slew two oxen and cooked them<sup>2</sup> and gave them to the multitude, and they did eat; and he went after the holy Elijah, [ΠΔ] and became a disciple unto him.

But listen to what happened after these things.

- 1 Kings xx, 1. There was a vineyard, he says, of Naboth the Israelite, as Holy Scripture saith, and this was near to the house of Ahab. And Ahab spake to
- „ 2. Naboth, saying, ‘Give me thy vineyard which is near my house that I may make a vegetable garden, and I will give thee another vineyard better than this, or if [ΠΕ] thou wishest I will give thee its worth in silver.’ Naboth answered
- „ 3. and said, ‘Far be it from me to sell the inheritance of my fathers to thee, thou hast a multitude of good things, let these be sufficient for thee.’
- „ 4. So Ahab went into his house, and laid himself down upon his bed, and he covered his face,
- „ 5. and would neither eat nor drink, for he was greatly disturbed. And Jezebel his wife [ΠϞ] came in and said to him, ‘Why art thou thus so sad of spirit, and dost neither eat nor drink to-day?’
- „ 6. Ahab answered and said unto her, ‘Because of the vineyard of Naboth the Israelite.’ Jezebel said to
- „ 7. him, ‘Art thou thyself the king? arise then, eat and drink, and I will obtain for thee the vineyard of
- „ 8. Naboth the Israelite.’ Then she took paper, and wrote on it in the name of Ahab, [ΠΖ] and sealed
- „ 9. it with his seal; and she caused them to bring Naboth and to stone him and to slay him. When

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this verse has been misunderstood by the Coptic translator.

- 1 Kings xx, 15. she knew that they had slain him, she came in and ran to tell Ahab the king, saying, ' Arise now and inherit the vineyard of Naboth the Israelite,
- „ 16. for he is dead.' And Ahab arose and came into the vineyard of Naboth the Israelite, and inherited it.
- „ 18. And straightway Saint Elijah arose [ΠΗ] in the strength of the Holy Spirit which worked in
- „ 19. him, and went into the vineyard of Naboth the Israelite, and found Ahab sitting in it. Saint Elijah said to him, ' O Ahab, listen to me, and I will speak with thee. Thus saith the Lord God, " As thou hast slain Naboth the Israelite, and hast taken away his inheritance, it shall come to pass that in the place where the dogs and the swine have licked up the blood of [ΠΘ] Naboth, there shall the dogs lick up thine own blood, and the swine shall wallow in thy blood, for thou hast without cause made evil to be wrought before God, and
- „ 21. hast provoked Him to anger." Thus also saith the Lord God, " Behold I will bring evil upon thee, and I will wipe thee out from Israel, I will make thy house like that of Jeroboam, the son of
- „ 22. Nebat, the dogs shall devour thy wife [Ϛ] at the
- „ 23. gate of the city, and I will bring death and destruction and extermination upon thee, because ye have angered the Lord and provoked Him to anger, and have troubled His spirit." ' And it
- „ 27. came to pass that when Ahab heard these words from the mouth of the holy prophet Elijah, he rent his clothes, and great fear and terror entered into him; and Saint Elijah departed from him. And straightway [Ϛ&] Ahab went to Jezebel his wife, and showed her all the things which he had heard from the holy prophet Elijah the Tishbite. When Jezebel heard these things, her heart melted, and she was not able to open her mouth to say one evil word against Saint Elijah, but the Lord smote Ahab and Jezebel, and they disappeared speedily according to the word of Saint Elijah.

Let now those who said that the holy Elijah was afraid, [ϣϠ] and fled away from Jezebel, be confounded, for (if he was) how was it that he was not afraid to stay and to curse Ahab and Jezebel in this manner? Nay, but as I have already said, he was afraid lest all the people should corrupt itself a second time with the service of idols, and hence Jezebel was speechless, and her heart melted when she heard those words from Saint Elijah. [ϣϣ] Where now, O Jezebel, wild and evil beast, is the mighty power which made thee confident? O Jezebel, the infuriated, where is now the great madness and wrath of thy heart against Saint Elijah the Tishbite? Where is now thy mighty and injurious tongue which spake with devilish pride and madness, and uttered words beyond measure against Saint Elijah, saying, 'Thou art Elijah, and I am Jezebel?' What, O senseless and [ϣϡ] lawless woman, are the words which thou didst say to the holy prophet Elijah? God said to him, 'I will preserve thy soul within thee until the last day of the world,' and yet thou didst say to him, 'To-morrow at this time I will make thy soul like that of one of the prophets whom thou hast slain.' Why now hast thou not fulfilled thy word to slay the Tishbite? and why wast thou angry when thou didst hear [ϣϣ] that he had slain the priests of shame, and didst say, 'I will slay him also'? And while he was announcing to every one an evil death for thyself and thy husband, and extermination and destruction, how and why was it that thy mouth was unable to utter a single word? Because the word of God entered into thy ears from the mouth of His holy prophet Saint Elijah the Tishbite. And now, brethren, [ϣϣ] let this be manifest to you in very truth. All rich men possessing authority in this world, and having wicked wives like Jezebel the unchaste, who

urge them on, like Ahab, until they do evil to the poor, these men will merit the curses which Saint Elijah the Tishbite pronounced against Ahab and Jezebel his wife, together with destruction [ϥϩ] and extermination, and blotting out of remembrance for ever. Every woman who shall be lawless like Jezebel the unchaste and lascivious before God, who delighted in her riches, who was proud, who boasted of her wicked whoredoms and the impurities of her unclean and defiled body, who lived in sin and gloried in her iniquity and in her ornaments of gold and silver. [ϥⱱ] who ate and drank in violence, who was clothed with the armour of Satan, who despised the poor, who was merciless to those whom God loved, who shall be in shame and degradation, and whose odour shall fill every place; every woman who shall walk in these things in this manner is an enemy of God and of His holy prophet Elijah, and shall receive the part and portion of Jezebel her sister, and shall remain under the curses of destruction and extermination which Saint Elijah spake [ϥ⊖] against Jezebel. Every whoremonger and every harlot do God and His holy prophet Saint Elijah hate. Every unjust person, whether male or female, is an enemy of God and of Saint Elijah the Tishbite. Every proud person, whether male or female, is an enemy of God and of Saint Elijah. It is for the sake of the unjust and their sins that God has thus kept the [ρ] holy prophet Elijah in the body to be a champion for all mankind, that upon those who turn to God and repent of their sins Saint Elijah will have compassion, but upon those who persist in their wickedness the God of Saint Elijah will bring wrath and destruction and extermination and interminable punishment for ever. As Saint Elijah was at that time, so is he [ρ&] also now, he is not dead nor gone to corrup-

tion, but remains now in the body, and sees the sins of each one of us, and his word is sharper than a two-edged sword.

- 2 Kings i, 2. Listen also to this great miracle which God wrought by the hand of Saint Elijah the Tishbite. And it came to pass after the death of Alab, and Ahaziah had become king in Samaria in his room, that one day Ahaziah fell down [pδ] from the upper chamber of his house, and he lay sick upon his bed. And he sent messengers, saying, 'Go ye and inquire of Baal the god of Ekron if I shall rise from my sickness this time.' And while they were going, Saint Elijah came out from them to the mountain, and said to them, 'Return ye to Ahaziah [pυ] the king, and say to him, Thus saith the Lord, "Thou shalt not rise up from the bed on which thou liest, but shalt surely die."' So the messengers returned to Ahaziah, and told him the words of Saint Elijah. And Ahaziah said to them, 'What manner of man was he that met you?' And they told him, 'A man covered entirely with hair, and girt about the loins [pα] with a girdle of leather.' And Ahaziah said, 'It is Elijah.' Then Saint Elijah went up on a mountain, and Ahaziah sent a captain of fifty and fifty soldiers with him to bring him to him. When the captain of fifty had drawn near to him, he said to him, 'O man of God, Ahaziah the king calleth thee; arise and come to him.' The holy man Elijah answered and said unto him, 'If I be a man of God, let fire [pε] come out of heaven, and devour thee and thy fifty soldiers'; and straightway fire came out from heaven and devoured them. And the king sent a second captain of fifty with his fifty soldiers; and when the captain had drawn near he said to him, 'O man of God, come down, for the king calleth thee.' And Saint Elijah said to him, 'If I be a man of God, let fire come out of heaven and

- devour thee with thy fifty soldiers.' [πε~] And  
 2 Kings i, 13. again the fire came out straightway from heaven,  
 ,, 14. and devoured him with his fifty soldiers. And  
 again Ahaziah the king sent a third captain of  
 fifty with his fifty soldiers. And when that  
 captain of fifty knew (him) while he was yet  
 afar off, he hastened and threw himself upon his  
 face, and worshipped Saint Elijah, saying, 'Let  
 now, my lord, my prayer come before thee, for  
 behold, [πεζ] thou hast brought fire out of heaven  
 which devoured the first captains of fifty and  
 those that were with them, but now let the soul  
 of thy servant and the souls of thy servants be  
 ,, 15. precious in thy sight.' And straightway the word  
 of the Lord came to him, saying, 'Arise, get thee  
 to Ahaziah the king.' So Saint Elijah arose and  
 went with him and came to Ahaziah [πεκ] the  
 ,, 16. king, and said to him, 'Thus saith the Lord, I  
 will do thus unto thee because thou hast sent to  
 inquire of Baal the god of Ekron, and hast thus  
 set God behind thy back; therefore thou shalt  
 not rise up again from the bed on which thou  
 ,, 17. liest, but shalt surely die.' And when Saint  
 Elijah had said these things, straightway Ahaziah  
 the king yielded up the ghost. But perhaps some  
 one among you will say, Why did [πεθ] Saint  
 Elijah cause fire to devour two captains of fifty  
 and a hundred soldiers, since they had neither  
 said any evil thing to him, nor had despised him,  
 except 'The king calls thee'? Hearken unto me,  
 and I will show thee how they despised Saint  
 Elijah, and how he rose up against those who  
 would compel him to make himself submissive to  
 the king, and to go with them. He was not afraid  
 of a king of this world, but because they said to  
 him mockingly, 'O man of God,' [πει] Saint Elijah  
 spake, saying, 'If ye know that God exists, why  
 do ye not believe in Him? And if Baal is your  
 god, why do you then at all dare to utter the

name of my God in your polluted mouth? If I be a man of God in whom ye believe not, let fire come out of heaven from my God and [ⲡⲓⲗ] devour you.' Oh, what a mighty miracle was this, beloved, that this earthly being was thus exalted, and his tongue was sharper than a two-edged sword. And beloved, now I have told you of a few of the mighty deeds and miracles which God wrought by the hand of Saint Elijah the Tishbite, and now I will further tell you of this mightiest of all miracles, this most unspeakably glorious, exalted and honourable miracle, which [ⲡⲓⲘ] no man has ever been heard to attain unto from [the time of] Adam, the first man, until now, for verily it is terrible to utter and disturbing to hear. And it came to pass, he says,<sup>1</sup> that when it had pleased God to take Saint Elijah up to heaven, all the prophets which were in Jericho, which were fifty, gathered together and came to Elisha, and said to him, 'Dost thou know that God will take thy master Elijah from thee up to heaven'? [ⲡⲓⲡ] Elisha said to them, 'I know it, but hold your peace, and I will go with him everywhere.' Now when Saint Elijah knew that he should pass out of this world, Elisha went with him until he came to Bethel. And Saint Elijah answered and said to Elisha his disciple, 'My

2 Kings ii, 2, 3.

4. son, sit thou here, [ⲡⲓⲗ] for the Lord God hath sent me to Jericho on a matter of necessity, but do thou, my son, sit here until I return to thee.' And when Elisha knew [this], he said to him, 'As the God of my father liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee.' And Elisha went after him until he came into Jericho; and the

5. fifty prophets followed him at a distance that they might see what happened unto them. And again they came to Elisha and said unto him, 'Dost thou know that God will take thy master

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, Holy Scripture.

- Elijah from thee up to heaven'? [πΙΕ] And Elisha said unto them, 'I know it; hold ye your peace, and I will go with him everywhere whithersoever he goeth.' And again Saint Elijah spake
- 2 Kings ii, 6. to Elisha, saying, 'My son Elisha, sit thou here, for God has sent me to the Jordan.' And Elisha was very sorrowful, and said to Elijah, 'As God liveth, and as the soul of my lord, my holy father, liveth, I will not leave thee in the place
- „ 7. [πΙΕ~] where thou goest'; so Elisha went with him until they came to the Jordan. And the fifty prophets followed him at a distance, wishing to see what would happen to Saint Elijah, and
- „ 8. Elisha stood by his side at the Jordan. Then the holy man Elijah threw off his mantle, and smote the waters (with it), and straightway the waters divided on this side and on that. And
- „ 9. [πΙΖ] Saint Elijah said to Elisha, 'Sit thou here, my son, for God has commanded me to pass over the Jordan.' Then Elisha threw himself upon his face, and tremblingly took hold of the feet of Saint Elijah, and embraced them, and kissed them, and he shed tears upon them, saying, 'Woe is me, my father! wilt thou depart and leave me by myself? O my father, leave me not alone.'
- [πΙΗ] When they had crossed over the Jordan, Saint Elijah said to Elisha, 'Ask something that I may do it for thee.' And Elisha wept, saying, 'O my holy father, if it be thy wish, let thy spirit be upon me twofold.' Saint Elijah said to him,
- „ 10. 'If thou seest me when they take me up to heaven, thus shall it be.' Then Saint Elijah began to pray and to supplicate, and straightway [πΙΘ] there was a great earthquake, and the earth shook to its foundations, and there was smoke and blackness and whirlwind and thunders and lightnings,
- „ 11. so that the earth was rent asunder. And behold, there came from heaven chariots of fire and horses of fire, and Saint Elijah went up in them, and

- they took him and carried him up to heaven.
- 2 Kings ii, 12. Then Elisha rent his garments, and cried out with a loud [pκ] cry, saying, 'My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen! if thou wilt go away and leave me, let thy spirit be double upon me.' And Saint Elijah took off the mantle with which he was girded, and cast it down upon the head of Elisha, and he went along
- „ 13. weeping for his father Elijah until he came to the Jordan. When he had come to the place where Saint Elijah had divided it, he went beyond and cast his glance [pκλ] upon the flood of Jordan, and he wept, saying, 'Woe is me, woe is me, where is now my father Elijah who divided the waters that he might cross over?' And he lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, 'I pray Thee, O God of my father Elijah, that if the spirit of my father Elijah has been doubled upon me, when I smite the waters with his mantle, it may divide
- „ 14. them for me to cross over.' Then he took the mantle of Saint Elijah, and [pκδ] smote the waters, saying, 'In the name of the God of my father Elijah'; and the waters divided, and Elisha crossed over. Now the day on which Saint Elijah was taken up to heaven was the sixth day
- „ 15. of Tôbi. When Saint Elisha had crossed over, he found all the prophets looking out for him, for they were all brought to nought by reason of the terror and the earthquake which took place when Saint Elijah was taken [pκϵ] up to heaven. And they comforted Elisha, and each one said, 'The spirit of Elijah rests upon Elisha twofold'; and let the . . . . among men who shall not marvel be silent when he hears that a human being was worthy of so great glory and honour. And now, O brethren, that we may know that God loved Saint Elijah, and gave him the great honour to take him up to heaven in chariots of fire, he is now in the body [pκζ] in heaven, and is the

champion of the whole race of men. Let us then make him our champion, and let us forsake the evil desires of this vain life, fornication, impurity, uncleanness, thefts, hatred, slander, false swearing, and the like, which things God and Saint Elijah hate. And let us do those works which God and Saint [ρκε] Elijah love, which are these: first of all—prayer, without which no one shall see God, for by the prayer which supported him Saint Elijah was able to ascend in the chariots of fire until they took him up to heaven to God. Let us, therefore, beloved, keep our souls and our bodies pure from every spot and impurity at which God mocks, [ρκε~] and let there be love in us towards each other, for love covers a multitude of sins. Let us be humble and charitable, for pride and the love for money are the root of all evil. Let us keep the judgment of upright faith which is alone our hope for cleansing our souls, our bodies, and our feelings. Let us each endeavour [ρκζ] to fulfil the holy ministration that we may partake of the holy mystery of the body and precious blood of our God. Let us give alms to the poor to-day, each one according to his ability, in the name of God and of Saint Elijah, that we may make ourselves worthy of the blessing which Saint Elijah spake to the widow of Sarepta, who gave her offering of flour and a little oil willingly, on account of which she obtained a great and imperishable blessing, [ρκη] and that Saint Elijah may be gracious unto us, and that we may find grace and freedom of speech before the terrible throne of our Lord and God our Saviour Jesus Christ, to Whom with the Father and the Holy and Vivifying Spirit be all honour which is meet, now and for evermore. Amen.

The Blessing of Saint Elijah be with us for evermore. Amen.

THE SAHIDIC TRANSLATION OF THE  
BOOK OF JOB.

By PROFESSOR E. AMÉLINEAU.

*Read 1st March, 1887.*

Parmi les livres de l'Ancien Testament nul n'a été plus étudié et plus admiré, à juste titre, que le *Livre de Job*. L'Égypte chrétienne semble avoir partagé notre admiration et notre prédilection modernes pour cette œuvre sublime du génie hébreu. De très-bonne heure, Job était devenu un personnage très-populaire dans la vallée du Nil et dans la Haute-Égypte. Les moines aimaient à se le proposer comme l'exemple de la patience et de la résignation. En outre, le merveilleux qui entoure l'action du poème, au commencement et à la fin, convenait particulièrement au génie égypto-chrétien. Je croirais même volontiers que les longs discours de Job et de ses amis faisaient peu d'impression sur les moines ou les simples fidèles d'Égypte; on ne trouve que très-rarement dans les œuvres coptes des citations textuelles du Livre de Job. A part quelques passages célèbres, comme les versets 23 et 24 du chapitre xix. si remarquables par la vigueur de l'expression,<sup>1</sup> les Coptes se sont peu préoccupés du texte; ils ne se sont jamais doutés que les deux versets qui suivent le passage que je viens d'indiquer devaient servir d'occasion et d'armes pour l'une des plus vigoureuses luttes de la science contemporaine. En revanche, ils prisait fort les dialogues de Satan avec Dieu, les récits de la maladie de Job et de la mort de ses enfants, surtout l'apparition du Seigneur sur un nuage pour terminer le débat toujours pendant. Rien ne montre mieux la popularité de Job parmi les moines d'Égypte

<sup>1</sup> Le passage en question est cité dans l'abrégé memphitique de la vie de Théodore, disciple de Pakhôme. Il sert à montrer aux Cénobites récalcitrants qu'on peut et qu'on doit écrire la vie des serviteurs de Dieu.

que le fait suivant. Tout le monde sait quel amour les anciens Égyptiens avaient pour l'art de l'écriture; leurs descendants chrétiens ont conservé et conservent encore cet amour à eux légué de génération en génération par leurs pères, depuis longtemps endormis dans la montagne ou sous leurs pyramides. Les scribes chrétiens ont soigné leurs écrits de telle manière qu'aujourd'hui encore ils font l'admiration de ceux qui les voient. Ces heureux scribes avaient leurs personnages de prédilection, et ils prouvaient cette prédilection en mettant le portrait de leurs préférés en tête ou à la fin de leur copie. C'est ce qui est arrivé pour Job, et la manière dont on a peint le patriarche de Hus montre bien qu'on était intimement persuadé n'avoir pas affaire avec un personnage vulgaire.

Dans l'un des manuscrits qui sert à cette publication, le *juste Job*, comme ne manquent jamais de le dire les écrivains coptes, est représenté entouré de ses filles. Il porte une courte tunique, une cuirasse et un manteau militaire agrafé sur l'épaule droite. Sa tête est coiffée d'un diadème orné de pierres précieuses; son menton est entouré d'une barbe longue et soyeuse; toute la figure est ceinte d'un nimbe lumineux. De la main droite, il tient une lance; de la gauche, un globe, symbole de la puissance. On voit que ce devait être en son temps un roi fort puissant. Les filles ne sont ni moins belles, ni moins richement ornées que leur père; ce sont princesses royales ou impériales, telles qu'on les représentait chez les Coptes, élèves des peintres Byzantins.

Il est malheureux qu'aucun des manuscrits qui nous ont conservé la version thébaine du Livre de Job ne porte de date. D'après le type des lettres et des ornements, je serais assez porté à croire que les manuscrits en question ont dû être écrits au sixième, sinon au septième siècle, en pleine période de la domination Byzantine en Égypte. Ces manuscrits, j'ai hâte de le dire, sont au nombre de trois, dont deux se trouvent à Rome au musée de la *Propagande*, et l'autre à la bibliothèque du musée *San-Ferdinando* à Naples. Ils sont complètement inédits. Par un hasard heureux ou malencontreux, comme l'on voudra, ils se suivent les uns les autres, quoiqu'ils ne soient pas de la même main. Ils n'offrent aucun

passage, aucun verset qui se rencontre dans deux manuscrits. Cependant quelques versets nous ont été conservés dans le *Cod.* XCIX du Musée Borgia,<sup>1</sup> comme faisant partie de l'office de la Pâque. Le texte de ce manuscrit présente quelques variantes, mais de peu d'importance; d'ailleurs on ne peut y attacher quelque valeur, parce que le dit manuscrit est criblé de fautes, comme il est facile de le constater pour les Évangiles et les Épîtres, sans parler de l'Ancien Testament.

Avec de pareils éléments, il est donc impossible de faire une édition critique vraiment digne de ce nom; si je l'entreprenais, je m'exposerais à donner quelque fois pour la version antique, une version qui serait simplement mienne. Peut-être sera-t-il toujours impossible de faire une pareille édition, à moins que quelque heureux hasard ne fasse mettre la main sur de nouveaux manuscrits. Telle que j'ai l'honneur, cependant, de la présenter au public savant, la version thébaine de *Livre de Job* est à peu près complète. Il n'y a qu'une seule lacune, lacune importante, il est vrai, mais relativement petite, puisqu'elle commence au verset 8 du chapitre xxxix, pour finir au verset 8 du chapitre xl, soit 34 versets, en s'en rapportant au texte des Septante. Quoique ce soit encore pour moi une question indécise de savoir si l'Ancien Testament a été en entier traduit par les Coptes sur les Septante, et quoique je sois assez porté à croire qu'il y a en tout au moins plusieurs traductions faites sur la traduction des Septante, il n'y a toutefois aucun doute à entretenir sur la traduction de *Livre de Job*; elle a bien été faite d'après la traduction grecque connue sous le nom des Septante. Le dernier verset du livre, verset qui ne se trouve ni dans le texte hébreu tel que nous l'avons aujourd'hui, ni dans la Vulgate, mais qui se trouve dans la traduction thébaine, en est une preuve convaincante, je crois. Je dois faire observer aussi qu'un certain nombre de versets manquent dans la version thébaine, sans qu'il y ait lacune du manuscrit; en outre dans les passages qui se retrouvent dans le *Cod.* XCIX du Musée Borgia, ces mêmes versets sont absents, sans que

<sup>1</sup> Voici ces passages: xxiii, 2—xxiv, 29; xxvii, 16—xxviii, 1; xxix, 21—xxx, 29.

je puisse me rendre compte de cette absence, autrement que par l'étourderie ou l'inattention des scribes, ce qui ne me paraît guère satisfaisant.

Quoiqu'il en soit je présente au public savant, à tous ceux qui recherchent avidement tous les vestiges laissés dans les œuvres de l'esprit humain, en quelque pays que ce soit, par des livres regardés comme sacrés et éminemment respectables, je présente, dis-je, la version thébaine du *Livre de Job*, telle que je l'ai rencontrée. Les uns y trouveront matière à leur admiration religieuse, les autres matière à leurs recherches scientifiques et linguistiques, tous lumière et profit. Au point de vue de la seule langue, la version thébaine du *Livre de Job* sera, j'ose le croire, d'une grande utilité, à cause de la multiplicité des sujets traités par l'auteur de ce livre merveilleux, qui semble à distance un résumé encyclopédique de toutes les connaissances que l'auteur avait, ou qu'on avait à l'époque de l'auteur, en fait de philosophie et d'histoire naturelle. Le dictionnaire de la langue copte sera enrichi de mots nouveaux, et surtout d'une foule de formes nouvelles. Afin de ne rien laisser au hasard des corrections ou des restitutions, j'ai reproduit les manuscrits tels quels, et je me suis contenté de souligner d'un mot les fautes par trop évidentes.

Pour toutes ces raisons, j'ai cru que nulle Société ne pouvait entreprendre cette publication à plus juste titre que la *Société d'Archéologie Biblique*, qui a rendu et rend tant de services aux études scientifiques, religieuses et chrétiennes.

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πχωωεε πωβ παικαιοσ.

CHAPIRE I.

1. πετη οτρωεε εη οτχωρα κε τατσιτησ  
επεφραη πε ιωβ ατω οτρεε εεεε πε πρωεε  
ετееεεατ πωτηη παικαιοσ πρεφωεεωε εηποητε  
εφσαεηη εβολ ηρωβ ηεε ετσοοτ.

2. ατχο δε ηαφ ηαωφ ηωηηε εηη ωοεηητ  
ηωεερε.

3. ατω ηερε ηεφτηηποοτε εηρε ηαωφ ηωο  
ησοοτ ατω ωοεηητ ηωο ηβ εεοηλ φοτ ηωε ησο-  
εηω ηερε ατω φοτ ηωε ηηα εηεεε ηρεφεοοηε  
οηηοβ ηεηηηηεσια εηη εηη ηοβ ηεβηηε εηετ-  
ωοοη ηαφ εηεεε ηκαε ατω ηε οτρεεεεδο πε  
πρωεε ετееεεατ εβολεηη ηετρεη ηεεεα ηωα  
εηηηη.

4. ηεωαρε ηεφωηηε δε βωκ εηη ηετεηηη εη οτ-  
σοη ηεσω εεηηηε εηηη ηεεεεατ ητεηκεωο-  
εηητ ηωηηε ετοηωεε ατω εησω ηεεεεατ.

5. ατω ερωαη ηεσοοτ εηησω χωκ εβολ ωαρε  
ιωβ χοοτ ηετηβηοοτ ωαφτωοηη εητοοτε ηετη-  
λο εηραι ηεηη οησια εαροοτ καηα ηεηηηε ατω  
οηεεεε εα ηοβε εηεε ηεηψηηηη ηερερε (*sic*)  
ιωβ ηαρ χω εεεοσ κε εεωακ α ηαωηηε εεεεε  
εηεε ηεθοοτ εηε ηετρεηητ εηποητε. ηαι βε  
τε θε εηερε ιωβ εηρε εεεοσ ηηεσοοτ τηροτ.

6. αωωηηε δε εηεηεσοοτ α ηαηηελοσ εεεηποη-  
τε (*sic*) εη αηαερεατοτ εηεεετο εβολ εηηχο-  
εησ ατω α ηαιαβολοσ εη εηεηεηηηε αφκητε ηκαε  
εφεεοοωε ηεηηηφ.

7. πεχε πχοεις δε επδιαβολος χε πτακει τωπ.  
 ε παιβολος οτωψυ (sic) πεχαψ χε διεεψτ πεκαρ  
 ατω διεοοψε ρα τπε †επειεεα.

8. πεχε πχοεις δε παψ χε ακ† ρητκ ρεε πεκ-  
 ρητ επαρρερδαλ ιωβ χε εεεπ ρωεε τπτωπ  
 εροψ ριχεε πεκαρ πωτπ πρεε εεεε πρεψψεψε  
 εεπποττε εψαρρητ εβολ εεπεθοοτ πιεε.

9. ε παιβολος οτωψυβ εεπεετο εβολ εεπχοεις  
 εψχω εεεοσ χε εεν ερε ιωβ ψεεψε εεπχοεις  
 πχπχπ.

10. εεν πτοκ απ πε πτακταψε πα πεψβολ εεπ  
 πα προππ εεπεψηι ατω πετεεβολ πκα πιεε  
 ετψοοπ παψ εεπεψκωτε ακεεοτ επεψρβητε τη-  
 ροτ ατω ακταψε πψτβποοτε ριχεε πεκαρ

11. αλλα εεαχοοτ πσχωρ επκα πιεε ετπταψ  
 εψχε ψπαεεοτ εεπεκεετο εβολ

12. τοτε πεχε πχοεις επδιαβολος χε ειςρη-  
 ητε †† πακ πκα πιεε ετψοοπ παψ ρα πεκβιχ  
 αλλα εεπρχωρ εροψ. ατω ε παιβολος ει εβολ-  
 ριτεε πχοεις.

13. εσψωπε δε εεπειροοτ ερε πψηρε πιωβ εεπ  
 πεψψεερε σω ποτηρπ ρεε πηι εεπετσοπ ποβ.

14. ατω ειςρηητε εις οτβαι ψηπε αψει πεχαψ  
 πιωβ χε περε πσοειψ περε σκαι ατω ετεεοοπε  
 ππεια ρηεε ριτοτωοτ

15. ε πεταιχρεελωτιζε ει ατψιτοτ διοτχαι  
 εεατατ διει εταεεοκ.

16. ετει ερε παι ψαχε ε κεβαι ψηπε ει πεχαψ  
 πιωβ χε ακωρτ (sic) ει εβολρηπ τπε αφρωκρ  
 ππεσοοτ ατω εψοτωεε πκεψοοσ διοτχαι εε-  
 τατ διει εταεεοκ.

17. ετει ερε παι ψαχε ε κεβαι (sic) ψηπε ει  
 πεχαψ πιωβ χε ε περτωωρ ρ ψεεπτ πταεεεα

εροοτ ακωτε επσδεοτλ αταιχεελωτιζε  
 εεεοοτ ατω ατρωτβ ηηρηεεαλ ρη ησηε  
 διοτχαλ εεατατ αιει εταεοκ.

18. ετει ερε παι ψαχε α κεβαλ ψηπε ει πεχαϋ  
 ηωβ χε ερε πεκψηρε εηη πεκψηεερε οτωεε ατω  
 ετω ρεε ηηη εεπετση ηοβ

19. ρη οτσηπε αηποβ (sic) ηρηατητ ει εβολ  
 ρη ηαειη ατω αψηωρ (sic) επεψτοοτ ηκοορ  
 εηηη ατω α ηηη ρε εηη πεκψηρε ατεοτ διοτχαλ  
 εεατατ αιει εταεοκ

20. ρεε παι α ιωβ τωοτη αψηωρ ηηεψροητε  
 ατω αψηωψ (sic) εηηβω ητεψαπε αψηορτψ (sic)  
 δε εχεε ηκαρ αψηωψτ εψηω εεεο

21. χε ηταiei εβολρη ρηητς ηταεεατ εικη κα-  
 ρηη επαδωκ οη εικη καρηηη ηχοεις πε ηταψτατ  
 ηχοεις πε ηταψητοτ θε ετεραηαϋ εηχοεις τε  
 ητασψηπε ερε ηραη εηχοεις ψηπε εψεεα-  
 εεατ.

22. ρη παι τηροτ ητατει ερραλ εχωψ εηπε  
 ιωβ ρ ηοβε λαατ εηπειτο εβολ εηχοεις ατω  
 εηεψτ ηοηεηηταθητ εηηποττε.

CHA PITRE II.

1. ασψηπε δε εηπειροοτ α ηαητελοσ εηηποττε  
 ει αταρρατοτ εηπειτο εβολ εηχοεις ατω α  
 ηαηβολοσ ει ετετεηητε.

2. ηεχε ηχοεις δε εηηαηβολοσ χε εκηηη τωη  
 ητοκ. ηεχε ηαηβολοσ εηπειτο εβολ εηχοεις  
 χε αιεεψτ ηκαρ ατω αιεεοψε ρεε εεα ηεε  
 †εηπειεε.

3. ηεχε ηχοεις δε ηαϋ χε ηεακ† ρηηκ βε επα-  
 ρεεεαλ ιωβ χε εηη ηωεε ηηητωη εροϋ ρηεε  
 ηκαρ ηβαλ ρηη ηρεε εεεε ησωτη ηρεε ηποττε

εφσαρνη εβολ λεπεθοοτ πιε ετει δε εφρη τεφ-  
 επτβαλ ρητ πτοκ δε ακχοοσ ετακε πεφρτπαρ-  
 χωπητα (sic) επχηχι (sic).

4. ε παιαβολοσ οτωψβ πεχαφ επχοεισ κε  
 οτωπαρ ρα οτωπαρ πκα πιε ετε οηπτασφφ  
 (sic) επρωεε ψαφταατ ρα τεφψτχην.

5. εεεοπ δε εεαχοοτ πτεκβιχ πσχωρ επεφκεεσ  
 επ πεφσαρξ εψχε φηασεοοτ επεκεετο εβολ.

6. πεχε πχοεισ δε εππαιαβολοσ ειςρηητε ††  
 εεεοφ ετοοτκ εεοποη ραρερ ετεφψτχην.

7. ε παιαβολοσ δε ει εβολρητεε πχοεισ αφ-  
 ψααρ ειωβ ρη οτσαψ εφροοτ χηη πεφοτερηητε ψα  
 τεφαπε.

8. ατω αφφι ποβλχε (sic) εφερωκε πτεφειααρε  
 αφρλεοοσ ρη τκοπρια πβολ ητπολις.

9. ητερε οηποσ ποηοειψ οτειηε πεχε τεσρηεε  
 παφ κε ψα τπατ κηαφει εκχω εεεοσ κε ειςρη-  
 ηητε †ηαβω ηκεκοηι ποηοειψ ειβωψτ εβο (sic)  
 εβολρηητς ηεελπισ επαοηχαι ειςρηηητε ταρ ε  
 πεκρ πεεεηε τακο ρηχεε πκαρ πψηρε επ ηψηερε  
 ηπααακε ηρηη επ ηαρησε ηαι ηταιψηη ρησε  
 εροοτ επχηχη ρη ρη ελοκρς. πτοκ δε εκρλεοοσ  
 ρη ρηη βηητ ετρηοοτ εκω (sic) ποηηη ηροεισ ρη  
 τειωηε. ακοκ δε εικωηε ειη ηρηεραλ ειηηη  
 εβολρηη οηεε εηεεε (sic) ατω ρη οηηι εοηηι  
 ειβωψτ εβολρηηηφ επρη κε εφηαρωηηη τπατ  
 κε ειαεητοη (sic) εεεοι ρη ηαρησε επ ηαεεοκρς  
 ετψοοη εεεοι ηεποτ αλλα κε οτωπαχε επχοεισ  
 ηηεοτ.

10. ητοφ δε αφβωψτ εροηη εροσ πεχαφ ηαε κε  
 ηεε ποηει ηπειαθηη ησρηεε αρψαχε εψχε ηα-  
 ταθοη ακηητοτ εβολρηη τβιχ επχοεισ ηηηαφη  
 απ ρα επεθοοτ. ρη ηαι ηηροτ ητοηει ερηαι

εχπ ειωβ (sic) εεπε ιωβ ρ ποβε λαατ επ πεφσπο-  
 του εεπεετο εβολ εεπχοεις.

11. ε πεφσσεεπτ δε πψβηρ σωτσε εεπεεθοοτ  
 τηροτ πτατει εζραι εχωτ ε ποτα ποτα ει ψαροτ  
 εβολεπ τεφχωρα ελιφασ πρρο ππεθαεεεπωπ  
 δελλεε πττραπποσ ππεατχαιοσ σωφαρ πρρο  
 ππεεπαιοσ (sic) ετει ψαροτ ει οτσοπ εσλωλγ ετω  
 εβεε πεφψηπε.

12. ετπατ δε εροτ εεποτε εεποτσοτωπη ετχι  
 ψκακ εβολ επ οτποβ πσεη ετριεε ε ποτα ποτα  
 πωε πτεφστολη ετω ετψεψ ειτηη εχπ τεταπε

13. ετρεεοοσ εε εητητ πεαψτ περοοτ εεπ σα-  
 ψφε ποτση ετω εεπε λαατ εεεεετ ψαχε πετπατ  
 ταρ ετεπλητη εσπαψτ ετω εσαψε\* εεεετε.

CHAPITRE III.

1. εεππεα παι δε ε ιωβ οτωη πρωτ εφεεροοτ  
 πεφεροοτ

2. εφχω εεεεοσ

3. κε ερε πεεροοτ εε εβολ πτατχοι πεητητ  
 ετω τετσηη πτατοοσ κε οτψρ εροοτ πε.

4. ερε τετσηη ετεεεεετ ρ κακε ππε πχοεις ψηπε  
 πσωε επ τπε ππε οτοειη ει εζραι εροσ

5. ερε πκακε χιτς εεπ θαιβεσ εεπεεοτ ερε οτ-  
 βοσε ει εχωε πεεροοτ ετεεεεετ εεροοτ

6. εεπ τετσηη ετεεεεετ ερε πκακε χιτη ππεφ-  
 ψωπε εεροοτ (sic) προεπε ππετοπη εεροοτ πεβοτ.

7. ελλα ερε τετσηη ετεεεεετ ψωπε εεεεοεε  
 ππε οτποτ ει εροσ οτδε ρεψε.

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\* Une main récente a corrigé ce mot en εσσεεψ, ce qui ne paraît donner aucun sens.

8. ἀλλὰ ἐφπασροῦωρσ πβί πετπασροῦρ περοοῦ  
ετλλλλλτ πετπαστακε πποβ πκητος

9. ερε πσιου πτεψη ετλλλλλτ ρ κκε δτω  
ππετροπολλπε ππετει εποτοειπ ππеспаτ εпсот  
προτοοτε εφπασα.

10. χε λπεсψταλλ εрп λππλп πρптс пта-  
λλλτ пспатаλбε πειρiсе τар πпаρраи пе.

11. ετβε οτ τар λπειλλοῦ ρп θп πтерειεи  
εβολρп θп λπειτακο πτεψпоτ.

12. ετβε οτ δε δ παπατ χωс ετβε οτ δε διχι  
εкиде.

13. πειπασωβψ πε πταλλτοп.\*

14.† λп πерωот πβουλпηттс (sic) λпκкаρ пдп  
птаτχiсе λλλоот εχп πετспкε.

15. η λп παρχωп етере пεψпоτв оψ пдп  
птаτλλερ пεψпг пρат.

16. пθε πορροῦρε εφппτ εβολρптоτψ πтеψ-  
λλλτ η пθε πпешпре ψпλλ εте λпоτпаτ епоτ-  
оειп.

17. пта пдсебнс тλλре пβωпт птеψоргп λ-  
λλλτ пта пετρосе ρλλ пετсωλλ λтоп λλλо-  
от λλλλτ.

18. пψа епез δε ρп отсоп ελλпоτсоῦтоῦ (sic)  
εсωтλλ етеселп πρεψχп ψωλλ

19. ερε пθει (sic pro πκοτει) λп πпоб λλλλτ  
δτω πρλλεραλ етр ρоте ρптψ λпешχοеис

20. ετβε οτ τар δτ† ποτοειп πпетρп ρеп ρiсе  
δτω пωпρ ппеш ψтχп ппетρп λλλоκρс

21. пдп етотеш пелот λпоτρε ероψ етψике  
псωψ пθε пρеп δρωρ

\* Il manque la moitié du verset.

† La première partie du verset manque.



12. επε πταψαχε δε εεεε ψωπε ρη πεκψαχε  
πεεεπ λδατ ππεπεθοοτ πατωεπτ εροκ εη  
παεεααχε πασωττε αν ερεπ εβολρητοοτϑ.

13. εοτρηοτε εη οτρηοοτ πβωρη ερε θοτε  
ρητ εκη πρωεε.

14. ανπερ ψλϑ δε τωεπτ εροι εη οττωτ  
ατω αφποειη ππακεεε εεεατε.

15. ανπ̄α (sic) ει ερηι (sic) ρι παρο α παβω  
δε περ ψλϑ εη πασαρη.

16. αιτωοτη επειπατ αιβωψτ επειβη εεοτ  
επαετο εβολ αλλα πε οτειπε τε ατω πετ-  
σωττε εοτσειη.

17. εψαρε οτ ταρ ψωπε εη οτη ρωεε πατββο  
επεετο εβολ επχοειε η πρωεε παψωπε πατ-  
ποβε ρη πεφρηητε.

18. εψχε εεψταρηοτϑ ρω εη πεφρηεραλ  
αψηεετε δε ετβωωεε (sic) επεφαττελοε.

19. ειε πετοτηρη ρω ρη πεκηι ποεε εαν ρεπ  
εβολ ρωηη ρεε πειοεε ποτωτ ατσειοτ δε  
πχοολεε τακοοτ.

20. ατω πεψοοη αν χηη ρτοοτε ψα ροτρη  
αττακο δε χε εη βοεε εεεοοτ εβονθει εροοτ.

21. ανπιβε ταρ εροοτ ατω ατψοοτε αττακο  
δε χε εηπατ τσοφια.

#### CHAPIRE V.

1. εοττε πηπατ χε οτη πετπασωττε εροκ  
η χε πηπαπατ ελαατ παττελοε εψοτααβ.

2. και ταρ ψαρε τορηη τακε παθητ ψαρε  
πκωρ δε εεετ πετσορεε.

3. αποκ δε αιπατ επαθητ εππεχ ποτπε εβολ  
αλλα πτεηποτ ατωχη ρεε πετεεα.

4. ερε πετυνηρε οτε εεποτχαι ετγιοτε δε εροοτ  
γιτη προ ηπετθβδιντ εροοτ ατω πεττεωωπε  
πβι πετποτγεε εεεοοτ.

5. πεπτα και γαρ σοτγροοτ εζοτη πδικαιος  
πετπαιοτοεοοτ ητοοτ δε ηπετοτχαι επεθοοτ  
ερε τετβοε ωχη.

6. εερε γισε γαρ ει εβολγεε πκαγ οτδε εερε  
εοκρς † οτω γι τοοτ.

7. αλλα ετχπο εεπρωεε επγισε ερε εεεαε  
δε ηποτρε γηλ γη πετχοσε.

8. εεεοη δε αποκ γω † ηασεπς πχοεις † ηαωω  
δε εγραι επχοεις πετγιχη οτοη ηεε.

9. πεπταφταεεε ηειπςβ εη αταρηχηποτ πετ-  
ταιντ ατω ηειτυνηρε ετε εηπτοτ ηπε.

10. πετ† εεπροοτ εχεε πκαγ πεττηηποοτ  
ποτεεοοτ γα τπε.

11. πετχισε ηπετθβδιντ πεττοτποτς ηπετ-  
τακο.

12. πετψιβε εεψωοχη ηπρεε ηρητ ατω ηπε  
πετβιχ ρ λαατ εεεε.

13. πετταγο ηπεισοφοε γη πετεεπταβε αφ-  
πωωε δε εεψωοχη ηπειεα ηκοτς.

14. πκακε ηατοεηπτ εροοτ εεπεροοτ σεη-  
βοεεβεε δε εηπατ εεεεερε ηθε ητετυχη.

15. ετετακο δε γη οηπολτεεοε ερε οτβωβ δε  
ρ εβολ ετβιχ εεπχωωρε εροφ

16. ερε οτγελπιε δε ψωπε εεπατβοεε ερε  
τταπρο δε εεπρεφχι ηβοηε τωεε

17. ηαιατφ δε εεπρωεε ητα πχοεις χπιοφ  
εεπρκω δε ησωκ ητεςβω εηπαητωκρατωρ (sic).

18. ητοφ γαρ ηε ψαφεοκροτ ατω ηφταροοτ  
ερατοτ επεεεε ατω ψαφψααρ ητε τεφβιχ οη  
ταλβο.

19. ϣπατοϣοκ ησοοϣ ησοη ρη ηεκαηαγκη ατω  
ηηε ηεθοοϣ ϣωρ εροκ ρεε ηεεε ραϣϣ.

20. ϣπαηαρρεεκ επεοϣ ρεε ηρεβωωη ϣπα-  
τοϣοκ δε ρη οηποληεεο ετοοτϣ εηηηηηε.

21. ϣπαροηκ ετοϣωϣε (sic) ηλας ατω ηηεκρ  
ροτε ρητοϣ ηρεη ηεθοοϣ εηηηε.

22. κηαωβε ηα ηρεϣη ηβοης εηη ηαηοεεο  
ηηεκρ ροτε ρητοϣ ηηεθρηοη ηηακρηοη.

23. ηεθρηοη γαρ ηαγρηοη ηηααωτее (sic) ηακ.

24. ειτα κηειεε ρε ηεκηη ηααωτее ηακ ατω  
ηηε ηεε ηϣωηε ητεσκηηη ρ ηοβε.

25. κηειεε δε ρε ηαϣε η (sic) ηεκπερηεε  
ατω ηεκϣηρε ηαϣωηε ηεε ηηρωτ τηροϣ  
ητσαϣε.

26. κηηε δε επταφος ηεε ηοησοτο ρεε ηεϣδε  
(sic) εατορϣ ρεε ηεϣοηοειϣ η ηεε ηοηατее  
ηηηοοϣ εαηηηε εροηη ητεσοηποϣ.

27. ειρρηητε αηρετρητ ηαι ηηρη ατω ηαι ηε  
ηταησοηεοϣ ητοκ δε ειεε ηρηηκ ρε ητακρ  
οϣ.

#### CHAPIRE VI.

1. α ιωβ δε οηωϣη εϣω εεεος.

2. ρε επε οηη οηα γαρ ηαϣη ρη οηϣη ρη  
ηαορη ηερεϣαωλκ δε ηηαρηε ρη οηεεϣε ρη  
οησοη.

3. κε γαρ σεηαρηοϣ εροτο ηϣω ηηεκρωοϣ  
ηεαλαςα ελλα εϣηε ηαϣαρε σοϣϣ.

4. ηοτε γαρ εηηηοεης ρεε ηααωεε ηαι ερε  
ηεβωηητ σωηη εηηαηοϣ ειη ειηαϣαρε ϣαη-  
τωβς εεεοι.



20. πετπατ δε οτη ψυπε παρ εροου και ετκω  
 ηζητησ επειχρησα ειπ πεπολις.

21. εεεον δε ατετητωσπη εζραι εχωι ζωτ-  
 τητητη εζραι εχωι ηπ οτεεπτατηα ζωσδε (sic)  
 ατετηπατ επασαψ αρι ζωτε.

22. εψαρε ου γαρ ψυπε εεντει (sic) διαγει  
 εεεωτη πλαατ η εκψαατ πετηποε.

23. ζωσδε ετοσχοι επασαχε η επεζεετ  
 ετβιχ ηπρεψχι χπαρ.

24. εατσαβοι αποκ δε τπακα ρωι εαταεοι  
 επενταπλανα ηζητηψ.

25. αλλα ηψαχε εεπρεε εεεε σοψψ ηπειαιγει  
 γαρ απ ποσβοε πετητητη.

26. ατω ηεχπιο ηπετηψαχε ηαταλβοι απ  
 ουδε γαρ ητπααπειχε απ εποτωψψ επετη-  
 ψαχε.

27. πληη ρω τετητωσπη εχεε πορφαπος  
 τετηδωβε εχη πετηψδηρ.

28. τεποτ δε ειεβωψτ εζοτη ηπ πετηρο  
 τατεεχι βολ.

29. ζεεοοσ δε πετετεε χι ηβοησ ψυπε ατω οη  
 πετηησωσζ ετεεητεε.

30. εηπ χι ηβοησ γαρ ζεε παλασ η ερε ταψου-  
 ωδε εεελετα απ ποτεεητσαβε.

#### CHA PITRE VII.

1. εηη ποτεεα ηχωηητ απ ηε παζε εεπρωεε  
 ηιχεε ηκαζ ατω ηεψαζε ηθε ποτχαη βεκη (sic)  
 εεεηηηε.

2. η ηθε ποτζεεζαλ εψρ ζωτε ηητηψ εηεψ-  
 χοεησ ατω εαψζε ετζοιδεσ η ηθε απ ηε ποτχαη  
 βεκη εψβεετ επεψβεκε.



18. η γε κλαβει πεψυνηε ερτοοτε η γε εκεκρινε  
 εελοφ ετεετοη.

19. ψα τπατ επτπακαατ αν αυω πτπαβωψ  
 παι αν ψαητωεκ πταπαβσε ρη οτωσ ρηητ.

20. εψχε αποκ ειρ ποβε ειπαψρ οτ πακ πετσο-  
 οτη εερηητ ηπρωεε ετβε οτ εψκαατ (*sic*)  
 οτβηκ τω (*sic*) δε ποτετπω πακ.

21. ετβε οτ εεπεκρ πωβψ πταανοεια αυω  
 πττββο εεπαποβε τεποτ δε ειπαβωκ επκαρ  
 αυω τπαστοι αν εψορητ.

#### CHAPIRE VIII.

1. ε βαλδαα οτωψβ πατχιτησ πεχαφ.

2. γε ψα τπατ κπαχε παι οτππα ρεαρ ψψαχε  
 πετρη (*sic*) ρωκ.

3. εη ηχοεις παχι πβονσ η εψκρινε η πεπταφ-  
 ταειε πτηρηψ παψτρτρ παικαιος.

4. εψχε πεκψηρε πε πτατρ ποβε εεπεεετο  
 εβολ εψχοοτσοτ ρη τβιχ πτεταποεια.

5. ητοκ δε σοπс (*sic*) επχοεις ππαντωκρατωρ  
 εκσοпс.

6. εψχε κοτααβ αυω πтк οτεε ψωτее επек-  
 сопс ψπαεεине δε πακ ποτεεε ψψωπε παικαιο-  
 стпн.

7. πεκψορη παψωπε εтсоβт πεκρδεετ δε псе-  
 паψψαχε ероот ан.

8. εεζηне τψορη δε ητεπεε ροτρητ δε κατє  
 тенос ηπειοτε.

9. πτατхпон ταρ παφ αυω πтпсоотп ан οτ-  
 ραιβεс ταρ пе πεпаρε ριχεε κκαρ.

10. εη ηпαι ан ηετпаτсаβок псетεεοκ αυω  
 ηсеп ρеп ψαχε εβολρηε περηηт.

11. **ⲙⲏ ⲩⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲟⲩϥ ⲛ ⲟⲩⲱ ⲉϭⲉⲉ (sic) ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲏ**  
**ⲩⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲦⲣ ⲃⲁⲉⲛ ϫⲓϭⲉ ⲉϭⲉⲉ ⲙⲟⲟⲩ.**

12. **ϭⲁ (sic) ⲧⲉϥⲡⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲉⲧⲉⲉϭⲥ ⲡⲧⲏⲃ ⲡⲓⲉ**  
**ⲙⲉⲡⲉϥϭⲱ ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲙⲉϥϩⲟⲟⲩⲉ.**

13. **ⲧⲁⲓ ⲃⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲉ ⲡⲑⲁⲏ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲡⲓⲉ ⲉⲦⲣ ⲡⲱⲃⲱ**  
**ⲙⲉⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓ ⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲧⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲑⲉⲗⲡⲓϭ ⲙⲉⲡⲁϭⲉⲃⲏϭ.**

14. **ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ ⲧⲁⲣ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲱϥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉϥⲙⲉⲁ ⲡϩⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲣ**  
**ϭⲁⲗⲗⲟⲩⲥ.**

15. **ⲉϩⲱⲡⲉ ⲉϥϩⲁⲏⲧⲁϭⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲏⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲡⲡⲉϥσⲱ**  
**ⲉϥϩⲁⲡⲁⲙⲉⲁϭⲧⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩϥ ⲡⲡⲉϥϭⲓⲡⲟⲙⲓⲏⲏ.**

16. **ⲡϥⲡⲟϭⲉ ⲧⲁⲣ ⲁⲏ ϭⲓⲧⲉⲉ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉϥϭ-**  
**ⲣⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲏⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϭⲉ ⲡⲉϥⲧⲁⲕⲟ.**

17. **ⲉϥⲏⲁⲏⲕⲟⲧⲕ ϭⲓ ⲟⲩϭⲟⲟⲩⲉϭⲥ ⲡⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡϥⲱⲡϭ**  
**ϭⲏ ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲉ ⲡϭⲉⲏ ϫⲁⲗⲓϭ.**

18. **ⲉⲣϩⲁⲏ ⲡⲉⲉⲁ ⲟⲙⲉⲕϥ ⲡϥⲏⲁϫⲓ ⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲁⲏ**  
**ⲙⲉⲡⲉⲕⲡⲁⲩ ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲡⲧϭⲉ.**

19. **ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲡⲧⲣ ⲩⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲁⲏ ⲉϫⲏ ⲡⲉⲧϫⲱ (sic)**  
**ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲓⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡϩⲟⲣϩⲱⲣ ⲡⲡⲁϭⲉⲃⲏϭ ϥⲏⲁⲧ**  
**ⲟⲩⲱ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϭⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϭ.**

20. **ⲡⲡⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓ ⲧⲁⲣ ⲕⲱ ⲡϭⲱϥ ⲙⲉⲡⲃⲁⲗ ϭⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ**  
**ⲡⲡⲉϥϫⲓ ⲁⲱⲣⲟⲛ ⲡⲓⲉ ⲡⲧⲏ ⲡⲁϭⲉⲃⲏϭ.**

21. **ⲉϥⲙⲉⲉϭ ⲧⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲡⲣⲉⲉ ⲙⲙⲙⲉ ⲡϭⲱⲃⲉ**  
**ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲧϭⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲡϭⲉⲟⲩ.**

22. **ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲕϫⲁⲁϫⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲧ ⲭⲓⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲡϩⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲉϥ-**  
**ϩⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲃⲓ ⲡⲉⲉⲁ ⲡϩⲱⲡⲉ ⲡⲡⲁϭⲉⲃⲏϭ.**

CHAPTER IX.

1. **ⲁ ⲓⲱⲃ ⲁⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲩⲃ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ.**

2. **ϫⲉ ϭⲏ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲉ ⲧϭⲟⲟⲩⲏ ϫⲉ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲉ ⲉⲦϭⲉⲟⲛⲧ**  
**ⲡⲁϩ ⲧⲁⲣ ⲡϭⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉⲉ ⲡⲁϩⲱⲣ ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟϭ ⲙⲉⲡⲉⲉⲧⲟ**  
**ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲉⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓ.**



18. πηπακω απ ελλοι εανψτην εφελεζτ γαρ  
ππαβσε.

19. χε φελεεζτε γαρ ζη ταβοεε μεε βε  
πετπαψτ ουβε πεφζαπ.

20. εψωπε γαρ απν ουδικαιος ταταπρο ρ  
ποβε εψωπ δε απν ουσωτη φηνη εβολ ειβοοεε.

21. εψχε ειρ ποβε γαρ ηφσοοτη απ ζεε παζηη  
πληη σεφι εεπαωηζ.

22. ετβε παι λιχοοο χε ψρε τορτη τακε  
πποβ εεπ πατηπαστης.

23. χε πεκροφ παεοο ποτεοο πψπηρε αλλα  
σεσωβε ησα ηδικαιος.

24. ετταδτ γαρ ετοοτφ εεπασεβης.\*

25. παδζε γαρ εσωοο ετρεφπωτ ετπωτ ετω  
εεποτηατ.

26. εεη οτη ταβσε ηζηη ηχοι η παζωεε εφζηηλ  
εφψηηε ησα τεφζρε.

27. ειψαηχοοο (sic) γαρ ηφηαρ πωβψ ειψαχε  
ειπεζ (sic) χωι ηταδψ εζοεε.

28. σεποειη δε ελλοι ηπαεελοο τηροο φσοοτη  
γαρ ηηπακδδτ απ ειουαδβ.

29. εβολ δε χε απν ουασεβης ετβε οτ εεπει-  
εοο.

30. ειψαηχοκεετ γαρ ζη ουχιωη ητατββο  
ζη ζεη βιχ ετοαδβ.

31. ακχοβτ εεεατε ζεε πτωλεε ε ταστολη  
βοττ.

32. ητκ ουρωεε γαρ απ ηταζε χε ειεχι ζαπ  
οτβηκ χεκαο επεει επζαπ ζι οτσοπ.

33. ετη οτεεεεετης ητεπεεετε (sic) εφωτεε  
εφχηπο εεεοη ζι οτσοπ.

\* Il manque une partie du verset.



13. εοϋπτκ παι πρηντ †σοοϋπ χε οϋπ βοεε  
 εεεοκ ερωβ πιεε εεπ λαατ ο πακ πατβοεε.

14. ειϋανρ ποβε ταρ κπα† ρτηκ εροι εεπεκτβ-  
 βοι δε επααποεεα.

15. οτοι ταρ παι πε ειϋανρ ποβε εϋωπε οπ αντ  
 οτδικαιος εεπ ϋβοεε εεεοι εϋει χωι ερραι  
 †εεερ ταρ ησωϋ.

16. σεβορβ ταρ εροι πθε ππειεοτι ετπαρς  
 ατω οπ ακκοτκ ακτακοι εεεατε.

17. ακειρε πτασνηϋε πβρρε εροι ακχρω δε παι  
 ρπ οτποβ πορτη ακειπε δε ερραι εχωι ηρεπ  
 εεα ησοοπε.

18. ετβε οτ δε ακητ εβολρπ εν εεπειεοτ  
 πεεπ βαλ δε πατ εροι πε.

19. ατω ηεηαρ θε εεπετε ηϋϋοοπ αν ετβε  
 οτ ταρ ητερεει εβολρπ εν εεπειεοτ.

20. εεη οτκοτι αν πε πεοτοεϋ εεπαρρε καατ  
 ταεετοη εεεοι ποτκοτι.

21. εεπα†βωκ επεεα ητεεσοττ ετκαρ (sic)  
 ηκακε ρι βοεε τα.

22. οτκαρ ηκακε ϋα επερ πεεα ετεεεπ οτοειη  
 ηρητηϋ οταε πατ εβ† ηωρρ ηρωεε.

CHA PITRE XI.

1. α σωφαρ δε ηεηηηαιος οτωϋβ εϋχω εεεοι

2. χε πετο ηραρ ηϋαχε ϋαϋσετεε πετορρε  
 η ερε ηρεϋαχε εεεετε χε οτδικαιος πε ηαιατϋ  
 εεηρωεε ηϋαρ αρε.

3. εεηραϋαι ρπ ηεϋαχε εεη πετχι ραν ταρ  
 οτβηκ.

4. εεηροοο χε †οτααβ ταρ ρπ ηαρβηητε ατω  
 †σοτπ εεηεετο εβολ

5. ἀλλὰ ἐρε πχοεῖς παψαχε πειπεικ παψε ηρε.\*

6. εἶτα ψπαχω πακ πτβοει πτσοφια θε ψπα-  
ψωπε εψκηβ επετεπε εειοκ τοτε κηειειε θε  
πετκειψα ειοοτ πεπτατει εχωκ ριτει πχοεῖς  
ηποβε πτακτατ.

7. εη κηβη ρατψ επχοεῖς η κηαψταρε  
αρηκποτ ηπεπτα πηπτωκρατωρ ταειιοοτ.

8. τπε χοσε κηαρ οτ οτ δε πετψοκρ εειπτε  
εκοοτη ηειιοψ.

9. η πετψοι επψι εηκκρ η ππωστ πθαλασσα.

10. εψαηπτατοοτ τηροτ ερραι ηει πετπα-  
χοοσ παψ θε πτακρ οτ.

11. ψσοοτη γαρ πτοψ ηπερβητε ηηαποειοσ  
εαψατ δε επερβητε ετεειεψψε ψηαδοβψψ απ.

12. ἀλλὰ εψχε ἐρε πρωειε ηηηβε ρη πεψβιχ  
ἐρε πρωειε δε ηχπο ηερμειε οη οτειε πτοοτ ρι  
πχαηε

13. επε πτοκ δε ακτββε πεκρητ πεκηαχεστ  
πεκβιχ ερραι εροψ πε.

14. εψχε οτη ποβε λαατ ρη πεκβιχ εειρεψοτε  
ειιοκ εηπρτρε ρι ηβοησ ψωπε ρει πεκειε  
ποτωρ.

15. ται γαρ τε θε ετερε πεκρθ ηδοτοη ηε  
ποηειοοτ εψσοτψ κηακκκ δε κερητ εηπτωλει  
ηττερ ροτε.

16. ατω κηαρ πωβψ ηηεκρμειε ηε ποτροειειε  
αψαατκ ατω ηττειψτορτρ.

17. ητε πεκψληλ ψωπε ηε εηποτ ηετοοτε  
ητε πωηρ ψα πακ εηπατ εειειερε.

18. κηακρ ρτηκ πε θε οηπτακ εειεατ ποτρελ-  
πιε εβολχε ρη πεκλερ εη πεκροοτψ τρηηη  
ηδοτωηρ πακ εβολ.

\* Il manque la moitié du verset.

19. κπαζροκ γαρ πγτμεωυπε ηβί πεττ ουδнк  
 οτι γαζ δε πακτοογ ησεσρωπκ.

20. ποτχαγ δε παβωκ ηγκαατ τεγζελπισ γαρ  
 πε πτακο ηβαλ δε ηπασεβηс παβωλ εβολ.

CHAPIRE XII.

1. α ιωβ δε οτωυβ εφχω μεεοс

2. χε ειτα πтетп ζεν ρωμεε μεη ερε τσοφια  
 παεογ ηεεεηтп.

3. οτι ζηт ζω μεεοι πтетпζε.

4. α οτδικαιοс γαρ ηρωμεε ατω ηωтп ωυπε  
 ηωβε.

5. ατсβтωтγ γαρ ετοεκγ (sic) εφтηкγ εζε  
 ζитп ζен κοοге εтρεтγωλ ηпечηи ζитп ηαηο-  
 εοс μεεοп δε μεптρε λαατ μεηοηерос (sic)  
 μεεεге ер εβολ.

6. ηαι εтт ποτсс μεηχοεис μεη ητεηκεζε-  
 тасис ηαωυπε αη.

7. αλλα μεαηне ηтβηοοге εтγαηχοос ηακ  
 ηζαλαте ηтπε εтγαηтαεοк.

8. αηис δε μεηκαζ εтγαηποτωυβ ηακ.

9. deest.

10. μεη ερε тештχηη ηпетоηζ тηηоγ αη ηто-  
 отγ ατω ηепηα ηρωμεε ηηε.

11. ηζηт μεη γαρ εтγαφεεεут ηγαχε тешоγ-  
 ωβε δε ωαстеη ηβί ποτωε.

12. ερε τσοφια ζп οтпоб ποτοεкγ ατω тесβω  
 ζп οтпоб ηαζε.

13. ερε τσοφια ζαζтηкγ μεη тбоεη ηωγ πε  
 ηωοηне μεη теептρεη ηζηт.

14. етγαηтγαηтγорγ (sic) ηηεη ηетпακωт (sic)  
 етγαηтγтαεη ерен ηρωμεε ηηεη ηетпαωоγωηη  
 ηρωγ.

15. ερψαπτεεπ πελοοτ υπατρε πκαρ ψοοτε  
 ατω εψαπκααυ ριχωυ αψτακου η αψψρωρωυ.

16. ερε τβοεε ραρτηυ εεπ τποεετε τωυ τε  
 τεσβω εεπ τεεπτσαβε.

17. πετχοοτ ηπειβοτλεττηε παιχεεαλωτοε  
 αψπωυε δε ηπρεψ† ραπ εεπκαρ.

18. πετθεεεο ηπερρωοτ εχη πετθεροποε.\*

19. πετχοοτ ηποτηηβ παιχεεαλωτοε αψωορ-  
 ψρ δε ηπατπαστηε εεπκαρ.

20. πετψιβε ηπεεποτοοτ (sic) ηεεπιστοε αψει-  
 εε δε εεεπτσαβε ηηρελλο.

21. αψταλβο δε ηπεθεβηηη.†

22. πετβωλπ εβολ ηπετηηκ εεπκακε αψειεε  
 δε εποτοεη ηηραηβεε ηπετπλαηα.‡

23. deest.

24. πετψιβε ηηρηη ηηαρχωη εεπκαρ αψσορ-  
 εοοτ δε ρη οτρηη ηεεσοοτη ηεεεοε απ.

25. ετεβοεεβε δε ρεε πκακε ρεε ποτοεη απ  
 ετεεωρεε δε ηθε ηπετταρε.

#### CHA PITRE XIII.

1. ειρρηητε α παβαλ πατ επαη ατω α παεε-  
 αχε σοτεοοτ.

2. ατω †σοοτη ηπετετηεσοοτη ηεεεοοτ ατω  
 απτ οταθηη απ ηροτο ερωτη.

3. ηεεεοη δε αλλα †παψαχε εεπ ηχοεεε †ηα-  
 χπιο δε εεπεψεετο εβολ εψωπε ερηαυ.

4. ητωτη δε ητετη ρεη σαεη ηρεψχι ηε οηε  
 ατω ηρεψταλβο ηπεθοοτ τηροτ.

\* Il manque la moitié du verset.

† Il manque la seconde moitié du verset.

‡ L'omission du verset 23 vient sans doute de ce que le mot *πλαηα* devait se trouver à la fin d'une ligne au verset 22 et à la fin du verset 23.

5. εσεϣωπε δε πτετηκκα ροϣτη (*sic*) ησωπ ερω-  
τη εϣοφια (*sic*).

6. σωτεε επεχπιο ηρωι † ετητη δε επραη  
ηηασποτοϣ.

7. εη ετετηηϣαχε ηη επεετο εβολ εηηοειϣ  
ατω ετετηηω ποϣαχε εηεπεετο εβολ.

8. η εηεον τετηηαϣρωη ητωτη δε † εραη.

9. ηαποϣ εαρ εϣαηηεεϣτ τητη ηε τετη-  
ειρε εαρ ηηαι τηροϣ τετηητωβε εηεωτη εροϣ.

10. ειη ηϣηαηηε τετητη (*sic*) ηη εϣχε τετηηι  
εο δε εηε ηρωη.

11. εη ηετηηϣτ ητοοτϣ ηαϣτρτρ τητη  
ηη οοτε δε ηερε εχωτη εβολεητοοτϣ.

12. ηετηηοϣοϣοϣ δε ηαρ θε ηητη ηοηκερεεϣ  
ατω ηετηηωεεη ηκαε.

13. κα ρωτη ταϣαχε ταοτεε ηαι εηαδβωητ.

14. ταεεε ρωι ηηασαρε τακα ταψηχη εη  
ηαβηχ.

15. ερωηη ηχωρε δε τακοι εβολχε εϣαρχει  
η εηεον †ηαϣαχε ταηπιο εηεπεετο εβολ.

16. ατω ηαι ηαϣωπε ηαι ηοηαηι εηη κροϣ εαρ  
ηαδωκ εροηη εηεπεετο εβολ

17. σωτεε σωτεε επαϣαχε †ηαϣαχε εαρ ετε-  
τηηωττεε.

18. ειεεηητε †εηη εροηη επραη †σοοηη δε-  
χε †ηαοηωηε εβολ ηαηκαηοϣ

19. ηηε εαρ ηετηηαηι (*sic*) εραη ηηεεεηι.\*

20. ϣηαειρε δε ηαι ηηαη.†

21. εερε τεκβηχ εβολ εηεοι ατω εηηρτρε  
τεεεοτε ϣτρτωρητ.

\* Il manque la seconde moitié du verset.

† Même remarque.







20. παρε τηρς επασεβης εη εην ποουω εην  
ροεπε δε ετηη πεττο ποταστηστης.

21. τεφροτε δε ψοοη εη πεφελαχε εοταν  
δε εψαηπεεετε κε λιεηπε (sic) τοτε φηατακο  
ψα βολ.

22. εηπρτεφταηροτς κε φηαρ βολ επκακε  
ατοτω γαρ ετρωη εελοφ ετοοτς πτησφ.

23. ατω οηταψφ ηρε ηηποηρε φσοοηη δε  
ηρηηφ κε εφκη ετρωτοη οηη οηροοτ δε ηκακε  
ηαψτρτωρφ.

24. οηη οηαηαγκη εηη οηθλιψις ηαταροφ ηθε  
ποηηηηηηε εαφρε εαθη ποηελαε.

25. κε αφχεστ τοοτφ εηεητο εβολ εηχοεις  
ατω αφηεε εακε εηεητο εβολ εηχοεις ηηηη-  
τωκρατωρ.

26. αφωη δε εηεφεητο εβολ εη οηωψ.\*

27. deest.

28. εφοτωε δε εη εην ηολις εηψηφ εφεβωκ  
δε εροηη ερεη ηι εηκη εβολ ηεπηα ηη δε εβτω-  
τοε εην κοοτε ηετηαχιτοε.

29. οηδε ηηεφρ ρεεελο οηδε ηηε ηεφεηπαρ-  
χωητα (sic) βω ηηεφρ εαηβεε εχεη ηκαε.

30. οηδε ηηεφρ βολ επκακε ερε ητηε εησβ  
(sic) ηεφτ οτω ερε ηεφερηε εροφρεφ.

31. εηπρτεφταηροτς κε φηαεοηη εβολ  
εην ηετψοηεητ γαρ ηετηαψωηε εελοφ.

32. ερε ηεφχωλεε τακο εαθη ητεφοηποε ατω  
ηηε ηεφταρ ρ εαηβεε.

33. εηεχοολεφ δε ηθε ποηελελ εεε εαθη  
ητεφοηποε εφεροφρεφ δε ηθε ποερηε ηχοεητ.

\* Il manque la plus grande partie du verset.

34. πειπτε γαρ επασεβης πε πειου πκωζτ  
δε παρωκζ ππνι πρεφχι ζωροπ.

35. εφπαχι δε πρεπ ελοκρς πρηντγ ρεπ πετ-  
φουρετ δε πε πετπαφωπε ελλουγ ρηντγ δε πα-  
φωγ ρε ογκροφ.

CHAPIRE XVI.

1. ε ιωβ δε οφωφβ εφχω ελλουο

2. κε διωττε εραρ πτπειπε (*sic*) πρεφκολ-  
σελ ππεθοου τηρου.

3. εφγρε ου γαρ φωπε εη ουταξις πφδε  
επενπα.\*

4. εποκ ειεφδε πτετηρε επερε τετηψυχη ο  
επειλ πτωι.

5. πεπαδωβε πε εχωτπ ρη ρεπ φδε †πα-  
κιε πταδπε εχωτπ.

6. ερε ουβοε δε φωπε ρη ρωι ππειφσο δε  
επκιε ππασποτου.

7. ειφδπφδε γαρ ππειεκαρ επασαφ ετω οπ  
ειφδπκα ρωι ππαιτοπ ηροτο.

8. τεπου δε εφρασητ εφρατ πσοβ εφλεφ-  
λωβτ †

9. deest.

10. εφχωρω πτεφοργη εφτατοι εραρι εφροχ-  
ρη ππεφοβρε εραρι χωι (*sic*) εφρωζτ δε ελλουι  
ρη πσοτε ππεφειλ πσοπε.

11. εφφωβε εχωι ρεε ποφοειπ ππεφβαλ εφ-  
ραζτ εχη παπατ εφπωτ δε εραρι εχωι ρι οφ-  
σοπ.

12. ε πχοεις γαρ τατ ετοοτγ επρεφχι π-  
βοης εφποχτ δε ππασεβης.

\* Il manque la dernière partie du verset.

† Quelques mots manquent.

13. αψχοορτ εβολ ειςελοπτ αφαλλεαζτε εεπαδω αφβοστ αφταροι ερατ ποε ποτσκοπος.

14. ατκωτε εροι εεπ πλοτχην ετποτχε εεελοοτ επαδλοοτε εεεπ† σο ατπερτ πασιψε επκαζ.

15. αττατοι εζραι ποτρτοπ εχη οτρτοπ ατπωτ εζοτη εροι ετχοορ.

16. ατ† ζιωωτ ποτβοοτηε α ταβοεε δε ωχη ζεε πκαζ.

17. α παρτη ρωκζ εβολζεε πριεε ατω οτ ζαιβεσ τετρη παβοτρε.

18. πεεπ λαατ δε ηχι πβοπε ζη παβιχ παψληλ δε οτααδ.

19. πκαζ εεπρωδσ εβολ εχεε πεσποψ ητασαρζ ατω ηπε εε ψωπε εεπααψ κακ.

20. τεποτ ειςζηητε ερε παεεπτρε ζη εεπηε ατω ερε πετσοοτη εεεοι ζη πετχοσε.

21. ερε πασοπε πωζ επχοεισ ατω ερε παβαλ † ρεην εεπεψετο εβολ.

22. ερε οτχηπο δε παψωπε εεπρωεε εεπεετο εβολ εεπχοεισ. . . .\*

23. α παροεεπε δε ετηη εροι επαδωκ δε ετεζηη η†πακοττ ηρητσ αν.

CHAÏTRE XVII.

1. †πατακο ερε οτπ̄α ψι εεεοι †ψαατ δε εεπετπακοοτ ατω εεπειβητψ.

2. †σοπε ειψεν ζισε εζε ηταιρ οτ ζωωψ α ζην ψεεεο ζεβτ ηαζηπαρχωητα.

3. et 4. deest.

5. α παβαλ βωλ εβολ εχη παψηρε.†

6. ατκαατ δε ηψαχε ζη ηρεθποσ αψωπε ηατ πωβε.

\* Il manque une partie du verset.

† Manquent les premiers mots de ce verset.



7. ερε πελαχιςτος βωρβ επεφικα πτε πεφ-  
ψοχπε πωρς.

8. τεφοτερητε δε ηντ επασψ ατω ετεσνηρσ-  
ρψ (sic) ρη οτψηη.

9. ερε ρεν βορβς ει εχωψ.\*

10. deest.

11. επεφκωτε πτε ρεν ψς ηρητ τακοψ ερε  
ρδρ δε κωτε ερατψ.

12. ρη οτρκο εφρερωχ ατσοβτε παψ πορρ-  
τοη πψηηρε.

13. ετεοτωεε πεεερε ηρατψ ερε πεοτ 'δε  
οτεεε πεψα.

14. ερε ποτχαι δε λο ρεε πεφεεα πψωπε ερε  
οταπαγκη δε ταροψ εηη οτλα ηρρο.

15. et 16. deest.

17. ερε πεφρ πεεεετε τακο εβολρεε ηκαρ.†

18. ετεητψ εβολρεε ποτοειη επκακε.

19. ατω ηπερσοτωηψ ρεε πεφλαος οτδε ηπε  
πεφνη οτχαι ρα τπε.

20. αλλα ερε ρεν κοοτε ωηρ ρη πεφικα α  
ηρδεεετε αψ αροεε εχωψ α πψορη δε ρ ψηηρε.

21. ηαι ηε ηηη ηηρεφχι ηβονς ηαι δε ηε ηεεα  
ηηετηεεσοοτηη αη εηηχοεις.

#### CHAPIRE XIX.

1. α ιωβ δε οτωψβ ηεχαψ

2. χε ψα τπατ ετετηη† ριςε ηταψηχη ατω  
ετετηψορψρ εεεοι ρη ρεν ψαχε.

3. τετηψαχε ησωι ητετηψηηε ρηητ αη ετε-  
τηρι χωι.

\* Manque la seconde moitié du verset.

† La commencement du verset manque.

4. ερε πτοοτη διπλανα παλλε ετω ερε παπ-  
λαπος θατην εχω ποτψαχε ελεεψψε παψαχε δε  
πλανα ετω πευτη επε.

5. κας δε κε τετητωνη εχωι τετηψαβε  
δε εχωι θη οηποβπεβ.

6. ειλλε δε κε ηχοεις πε ηταψψτρτρτωρτ εψχιε  
επεψταχρο εχωι.

7. ειςθνητε τωθε θη οηποβπεβ ετω ηπα-  
ψαχε τπαχι ψκακ εβολ ετω εεην θαν ησα  
λαατ ησα.

8. ετκωτε εροι ετω ηπασαατοε εψκω ποτ-  
κακε θηρε παρο.

9. εψκαατ δε κερνη εεπαεοοε εψφι δε εεπακ-  
λοε θηηη ταηπε (*sic*).

10. εψτακοι δε εεπακωτε ετω ειωχη εψψωωτ  
δε ηταθελπισ ηθε ποτψηη.

11. εψχω δε ηαι θη οηποβ πορη εψοητ δε  
θωε χαχε.

12. ε πεψεε ησοοηε δε ει εχωι θη οησοη θη  
παθιοοηε ε ηρεψ κροψ κωτε εροι.

13. ε ηασηηε οηηε εελοι ετσοηη θηη ψεεεο  
εροηε εροι ε παψβεερ δε ροθα θη θηη.

14. ετω επε ηεθθιτοηωι ρ ποψρε ηαι ε ηετ-  
σοοηη εεπαρηη ρ παωβψ.

15. εηρ ψεεεο εεπεετο εβολ ηπαρηε ραηε  
εηη παθεεθελ.

16. εμεοητε επαθεεθελ εεπεψωηεε εροι  
ηερε ταταηρο σοηε.

17. ετω ηεκωρη εταεθιεε ηεηεοη δε ει-  
κωρη επψηηε ηπαπαλλακη.

18. ητοοε δε ετκαατ ησωοε ψα επεθ ειψαη-  
τωνη ψατψαχε ησωι.

19. ε ηετσοοηη εελοι βοοτ ετω ε ηετθεε  
εελοοε τωηη εχωι.

20. α πασαρξ λοϋλεϥ ρεε παϣααρ ατω πακεεσ  
ϣοοπ ρα ρεν πααχε.

21. πα και πα και ω παϣβεερ τβix ναρ  
εεϫοεισ τε ητασχωρ εροι.

22. ετβε οτ δε τετηπητ ησωι ηθε εεϫοεισ  
ατω ητετησει απ ηπασαρξ.

23. ηεε ναρ πετπα† ηπαϣαχε εσραισοτ ησε-  
καατ ρη οτχωωεε ηϣα επερ.

24. η ησεϣτϣωτοτ ρι οτ πετρα.\*

25. †σοοτη ναρ χε οτϣα επερ ηε πετπαβολτ  
εβολ ριχεε ηκαρ.

26. ετοηηεσ παϣααρ ετωτρ και ηηαι ητα  
και ναρ ει εχωι εβολ ριττε ηχοεισ

27. και αποκ ε†σοοτη εεεοοτ ηεντα ηαβαλ  
ναρ ηατ εροοτ ηκεοτα απ ατχωκ τηροτ και  
εβολρ η κοηητ.

28. εϣχε τετηηαχοοσ δε χε ηηαχε (sic) οτ  
εεπερετο εβολ.†

29. αρι ροτε ρωωττηηηηη εβολρεε ηπεθηη  
ηβωηητ καρ (sic) ηηη εχη ηαηοεοσ ατω τοτε  
σεηαειεε χε ερε τετρηνλη (sic) τωη.

CHAPITRE XX.

1. α σωφαρ δε ηειηηαιοσ οτωϣβ ηεχαϥ

2. χε ηειεεεετ εη ηε χε κηαχε και ατω ητε-  
τησοοτη απ ηροτε εροι.

3. †σωττε ετεσβω εεπαχηιο ατω οτη οτηηα  
εεηητρεε ηρηητ ηαοτωϣβ και.

4. εη ακσοτη και χηητατκα (sic) ρωεε ριχεε  
ηκαρ.

5. ποτποϥ ναρ ηηασεβησ ηε οτρτοη ηϣηηρε  
ηραϣε δε ηεηαρηαηοεοσ ηε ητακο.

\* Manque la première partie du verset.

† La fin du verset manque.

6. ερψαπ πεψαωρον βωκ εζραι ετπε ατω πτε  
τεψθρσια πωρ ψα πεκλοολε.

7. ζοταν εψψαπλεεετε χε αιταχρο τοτε  
ψπατακο ψα βολ πετσοοτη δε εεεου σεναχοοο  
χε ψτων.

8. ατω πεψαζερατψ ηθε πρασοτ εασοτεπε  
αψπωτ δε ηπεψατποοροτ ητεψηη.

9. deest.

10. ερε ηεθββηητ εροψ τακε πεψηηρε ατω πεψ-  
βιχ τεεζε ζεν σψηε ηηητ.

11, 12 et 13. desunt.

14. ατω ηπεψβεεβοε ε βοεθι (*sic*) εροψ.\*

15. ψπακα εβολ ητεηητρεεεελο ηταψσοοτρε  
ηηητψ ηη οτχι ηβονε ερε οταητελοο σοκψ εβολ-  
ζεε πεψηη.

16. ερε οτλαο ηζοψ εεοοητψ.†

17. ηπεψπατ ηζωρ ηπεψοζε οτδε πεεα επεψ-  
βιω επεαηρε (*sic*).

18. αψζισε εζεν χι ηχη εηη ζεν πετψοτεητ  
ετεηητρεεεεελο εηψοηωε ηηητς απ ηθε ποτχηω  
εεεεεψοτ εβοηωβψ οτδε εεεεεψοεεκψ.

19. αψτακο ταρ ηζεζ ηηη ηβωβ αψτωρη δε  
ποηεεα ηψωπε ατω επεψταζοψ ερατψ.

20. εηη οτχαι δε ηαψωπε ηπεψζεπαρχωηητα.‡

21. ετβε παη πεψατθεοηη ηηα†οηω απ.§

22. εψψαπλεεεετε χε αιχωκ εβολ ψπαθλιβε  
απατκε (*sic*) δε ηηε ηητ εχωψ.

23. ετεεηηποοτ εχωψ εηβωηητ ητεψορηη ετε-  
εηπε δε εχωψ ηζεν ψς ηηητ.||

\* Manque une partie de ce verset.

† La seconde moitié partie de ce verset manque.

‡ Manque la première partie du verset.

§ Manque la dernière partie du verset.

|| Manque encore la première partie de ce verset.

24. ατω ππεϋρ βολ ετοοτϋ πτσηϋε ερε οτσοτε  
 χετ πεϋσαλλε.\*

25. ηπε πσιου ελοοϋε ρεε πεϋνη.†

26. ερε δε κακε ηεε ψωπε παϋ ερε οτκωρτ  
 δε οτοεεϋ εεεεϋωϋεε ερε οτϋεεεεο δε εεεερ  
 πεϋνη.

27. ερε τπε δε βωλπ εβολ ππεϋαποεεα ερε  
 πκαρ δε τωοπ εχωϋ.

28. ερε πτακο δε βλ πεϋνη εβολ ψα βολ ερε  
 οτρσοοτ πορτη ηητ εχωϋ.

29. ται τε τεεερεε εεπρωεε πασεβηε εβολ-  
 ριτεε πχοεε ατω πεϋπιο ππεϋρτπαρχωπτα  
 εβολριτεε πικοποε.

CHAPITRE XXI.

1. α ιωβ δε οτωϋβ εϋχω εεεεοε.

2. χε σωτεε εροι σωτεε επεϋαχε χεκαε ππε  
 παι ψωπε παι πσολεε πτετηητη.

3. ϋει ερωτη αποκ δε πταϋαχε ατω ππετη-  
 σωβε πωι.

4. εϋαρε οτ γαρ ψωπε εεη παϋπιο πα οτρωεε  
 πε η ετβε οτ πτπαβωπτ αν.

5. ετετηβωϋτ εροτη ερραι πτετηρ ψηηρε  
 πτετητ τετηβιχ ερη ρωτη.

6. ειϋανρ πεεεεε γαρ ψαϋτορτρ εεεεοε  
 δε ψοοπ ρη παεαρ.

7. ετβε οτ πασεβηε οηρ ατωεε δε ρη τεεεεε-  
 ρεεεεεο.

8. πεϋπιο ηητ εβολρεε πεϋρητ ατω πεϋψηρε  
 επεεεετο εβολ.

9. πεϋνη οτοολε εεη ροτε πσα λαατ πσα εεη  
 εεεεεεε ριτεε πχοεε ριχωοε.

\* Manque la seconde moitié du verset.

† Même remarque que pour le verset précédent.

10. *ⲙⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲉⲗⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲛⲧⲥ ⲁⲥⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲥⲉⲈⲧ  
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲩⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ.*

11. *ⲥⲉⲩⲟⲟⲡ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲗⲉⲛ ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲩⲱⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲗ ⲛⲉⲩ-  
ⲩⲛⲣⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲧⲛⲗⲛⲗ (*sic*).*

12. *ⲉⲩⲭⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲁⲗⲧⲛⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡ ⲟⲩⲕⲓⲟⲁⲣⲁ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲩ-  
ⲩⲣⲁⲛⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲩⲁⲗⲗⲉⲟⲥ.*

13. *ⲁⲩⲭⲉⲕ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲉⲗⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲩⲁⲑⲟⲛ  
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲧⲟⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲁⲙⲡⲧⲉ.*

14. *ⲩⲭⲱ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲙⲉⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲥⲁⲉⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ  
ⲙⲙⲉⲟⲓ ⲛⲓⲑⲟⲩⲉⲩⲱ ⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲕⲉⲗⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ.*

15. *deest.*

16. *ⲛⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲩⲁⲣ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲩⲃⲱⲩⲧ  
ⲁⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲗⲃⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲥⲉⲃⲛⲥ.*

17. *ⲙⲙⲉⲟⲛ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲗⲛⲃⲥ ⲛⲛⲁⲥⲉⲃⲛⲥ ⲛⲁⲭⲉⲛⲁ  
ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲛⲩ ⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲁⲁⲕⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲁⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ  
ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲉⲛ ⲧⲟⲣⲩⲛ.*

18. *ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲩⲱⲛⲡⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲗⲉⲛ ⲧⲱⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲉⲣⲉⲛ  
ⲟⲩⲧⲛⲧⲩ ⲛ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲩⲟⲉⲓⲩⲱ ⲉⲁⲩⲉⲗⲁⲧⲛⲩ (*sic*) ⲩⲓⲧⲩ.*

19. *ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲕⲁ ⲁⲉ ⲱⲭⲛ ⲛⲧⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲩⲛⲣⲉ.\**

20. *ⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲕⲱⲛⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ  
ⲉⲓⲧⲙⲙ ⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ.*

21. *deest.*

22. *ⲙⲡ ⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲓ ⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲧⲣⲉⲙ ⲛⲗⲛⲧ  
ⲙⲡ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲧⲥⲁⲃⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲗⲱⲧⲃ.*

23. *deest.*

24. *ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲁ ⲛⲗⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲉⲉⲗ ⲛⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲗⲧ ⲕⲁⲥ (*sic*)  
ⲛⲛⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.*

25. *ⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲩⲛⲁⲙⲉⲟⲩ ⲉⲓⲧⲙⲙ ⲛⲓⲩⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲩⲩⲭⲛ  
ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲙⲙ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲑⲟⲛ.*

26. *ⲥⲉⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲙⲙ ⲛⲕⲁⲉⲗ ⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲟ  
ⲉⲟⲃⲥⲟⲩ.*

27. *ⲉⲱⲥ ⲁⲉ (*sic*) ⲓⲑⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲛ-  
ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲭⲱⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲗⲉⲛ.*

\* Il manque une partie du verset.

28, 29, 30, 31, 32 et 33. desunt.

34. πᾶς δὲ πρὸς τέτρσπες ἔλεοι ἐπι πῆν  
 οὐλαδῶ δὲ πε ἐτρακα ρωι θάρωτη.

CHAPIRE XXII.

1. ἁ ἐλισαφ δὲ οὐωψβ πεθαιεεαπιτῆς πεχαφ.

2. χε ἔη πχοεῖς ἀπ πετ† σβω ποτεεπτρεε  
 πρητ ἔη οὐεεπτσαβε.

3. οὐ γάρ πε προουψ ἔηπχοεῖς εψωπε πτκ  
 οὐσωτπ θπ πεκρβῆτε ἢ ψπαχπιοκ εψφει ἔηπεκ-  
 ρουψ.

4. ἢ ψπῆτ πεεεεακ εροῦπ ἐγθαπ (*sic*).

5. ἔη πτεκκακιδ οψ ἀπ θεν ἀτηπε δὲ πεκ-  
 ποβε.

6. ἀχιτπ (*sic*) εοῶω ππεκσπῆτ ἐπι πῆν ἀκψι  
 δὲ πῶβω ππετκῆ καρῆτ.

7. οὐδε ἔηπεκτσε πετοβε ποτεεοοῦ ἀλλὰ  
 ἀκψεβ πετθκαεῖτ ἔηπετοεῖκ.

8. ἀχι προ προπε ἀκπωωπε εβολ ππετθιχεε  
 πκαθ.

9. ἀχοοῦ δὲ ππεχῆρη εψψοτεῖτ ἀτεεοτκθ  
 δὲ ππορφανος.

10. ἐτβε παῖ ἁ πῶορβς κωτε εροκ ἀῶ ἀπο-  
 λτεεος (*sic*) ψψπρη ψτρτωρκ.

11. ἁ πεκοῦοειπ ρ κακε εροκ πτερεκπκοτκ δὲ  
 ἀτεεοοῦ (*sic*) θοβσκ.

12. ἔη ἔηπετβωψτ ἀπ ἐπετχοσε (*sic*) πᾶτ  
 ἀψῶβθιο δὲ ππρεψωψ.

13, 14, 15 et 16. desunt.

17. πετχω ἔεεος χε ερε πχοεῖς παρ οὐ παπ  
 ἢ ερε ππαπτωκρατωρ ππεπ οὐ εχωπ.

18. πτοψ δὲ ἀψεεεθ πεῆνι πακαθοπ (*sic*) ψψο-  
 χπε δὲ ππασεβῆς οῆτ ἔεεοψ.

19. ε ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΠΑΥ ΑΥΩΒΕ ε ΠΩΤΠ ΔΕ ΚΟΛΛ-  
 υΟΥ.

20. deest.

21. υωπε δε εκπαυτ εκυαηζυπολληνη ειτα  
 πτε πεκκαρπος υωπε ζη ζεν αυαθον.

22. χι πουσολελ εβολζηη ρωυ αυω ηνχι επευ-  
 υοχηηη ζεε πεκζηηη.

23. ευωπε δε εκυαηκοτκ ηνθβδιοκ επεετο  
 εβολ εεχοεις ακτρε ηχι ηβονοο οτε επεκηη.

24. deest.

25. ηπαητωκρατωρ βε ηαυωπε ηακ ηβονθοο  
 εβολζηη πεκχαχε υπαταακ δε ετοτααδ ηθε που-  
 ζατ εφποσε.

26. ειτα κηαπαρρηζιαζε εεεοκ επεετο εβολ  
 εεχοεις ηνβωυτ ετπε ζη οτοτροτ.

27. εκυαηυληλ δε ερου υπαωτεε εροκ υπα-  
 τααο δε ηακ εφ ηπεκυληλ.

28. υπαεεηηηε δε ηακ ποτεεα ηυωπε ηδικαιο-  
 οτηη ητε οτοειη υωπε ζη πεκζιοοτε.

29 et 30. desunt.

#### CHA PITRE XXIII.

1. ε ιωβ δε οτωυβ εφχω εεεοο

2. χε ησοοτηη ζω χε ερε ηαχηιο ζη ηαβιχ αυω  
 ε τευβιχ ζρου εχεε ηααυ εζοεε.

3. ηεε ναρ ηετσοοτηη χε ηηαζε ερου αυω  
 ηηηυ υα βολ.

4. ηφχω δε ηαι εεπαζαη εεεεζ ταταπρο  
 ηχηιο.

5. ταεεεε επταλβο ετεφπαχοοτ ηαι ειεοθαηη  
 (sic) δε χε υπαχε οτ ηαι.

6. αυω εφηαει εχωη ζη οηποβ ηβοεε ειτα  
 ηπεφχρω ηηαι ζη οταηιηη.

7. ερε τειε γαρ ειη πετχιου πτοοτγ εφεεινε  
 δε ειπαζαπ ψα βολ.

8. ειγανπωζ γαρ ψα κωορνι πταττειψωπε  
 οτδε πετσοοτην ιλλοογ ζη ηζαερε.

9. deest.

10. γσοοτην γαρ χην τεποτ πταζην αφζοκιλλαζε  
 ιλλοοῑ ηθε ειπποτθ.

11. †ηνηε δε εβολ ζη πεφοτεζαζηνε αιζαρεζ  
 γαρ επεφζιοοτε ατω ηηααατοτ.

12. ατω ηηακω ησωι ηπεφοτεζαζηνε αιζωπ  
 δε ηπεφψαχε ζη κοηητ.

13. εψχε ητογ δε πε ηταφκρηνε ιλλοι ζη ηαι  
 ηιιι πετηποτωζηι ηαφ πεηταφοτωψγ γαρ πε  
 ηταφααφ.

14. ετθε ηαι αηπωτ ερατγ εφ† εβω δε ηαι  
 αηρ ζοτε ζηητγ.

15. deest.

16. α ηχοεις δε οτετ παζηητ α ηηαητωκρα-  
 τωρ ψτηηρτωρτ (sic).

17. ηεισοοτην γαρ αη χε ηκακε ηηη (sic) εχωι  
 ατβοοιι (sic) δε ζεβς παζο.

CHA PITRE XXIV.

1. ετθε οτ δε α ηεοτοειψ ζωπ επχοεις.

2. α ηαεβης δε ρ ηβολ ιηπτοψ αττωρη ποτ  
 οζε ειη πεφψως.

3. ατφει ηειω ιηπορφανος ατχι τεζε ητε  
 χηρα ηεοτω.

4. ατκτη ηβωβ εβολ ζη τεζην ηταικαιουση.\*

5. ατψωπε δε ηθε ηζην εια ητοοτ ζη τσωψε  
 εατει εβολ ζαροι ιηπετζωβ.†

\* Manque la seconde moitié du verset.

† Même remarque.

6. ἀνωγς ποτσωϣε πτωοτ ἀπ τε ζαθν εεπεσ-  
τη ἀ πβωβ ρ ρωβ εεεε πελοολε ππασεβνε  
εχπ (sic) βεκε ρι ρρε.

7. ἀγχο ποτεενηϣε ετκη κερητ εχπ ροιτε  
αγχει δε πθβσω ππετψτηχη.

8. παρα εεπτοτ ραιβες εεεετ πτατβοολον  
πεπρα.

9. ἀττωρη ποτορφαπος εβολ ρη τεφεκιβε  
ατθββιο δε εεπενταγρε.

10. ἀγχο ππετκη κερητ ρη ογχι πβονς αγ-  
χει δε εεποεικ ππετρκαιτ.

11. ἀττωρβ ρη ογχι πβονς ερεπ εε ετρεχ-  
ρωχ εεποτσοτη τερην δε εεεε.

12. ἀπνεχ ροιπε εβολρη πετπολις εεπ πετη  
εεεεπ εεεεοοτ ψτηχη δε ππκοτι αϣ εροε  
εεεετε πτοϣ δε ετθε οτ εεπεφβε πϣιπε ππαι.

13. ετϣοοπ γαρ ριχεε πκαρ ατω εεποτειεε  
πετσοοτη δε ἀπ πε πτερην πταικαιοστηη οτδε  
εεποτβωκ ρη πεσεεε εεεεοοϣε.

14. εαφειεε δε επερβητε εαφπαρραδιδοτ εε-  
εοοτ επκακε.\*

15, 16 et 17. desunt.

18. τετεεeric ρροτορτ ριχεε πκαρ ερε πετϣηη  
δε οτωπη εβολ.†

19. ετϣοττωοτ ριχεε πκαρ αττωρη δε γαρ  
πτεβλω ππορφαπος ειδα (sic) ατρ πλεεετε  
εεπεφποβε εεπεφϣωπε δε πθε ποτπηϣε πειωτε.

20. ετεττωαβε παϣ ππενταγδατ ερε ρεϣι  
πβονς δε πιε τακο πθε ποτϣε εϣροοτ.

21. εεπεφρ πετηαποτϣ γαρ ποταβρηη ατω  
εεπεφπα εεπετεεπτηϣ ροιεε.

\* Manque une partie du verset.

† Manque la première partie du verset.



4. πτακχε πεκψαχε δε επιε τεππον δε ππιε τε πτασει εβολ ηρητηκ.

5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 et 11. desunt.

12. εψειπ θαλασσα ηη τεψβοε εψπερψυ πκντος (sic) δε ηη τεψδω.

13. ε εεεε πωρχ δε ηηπε ρ ηοτε ηητη ηε πεψοτεγσαημε δε εψεοτοουτ επεδρακωη πα- ποστατης.

14. τβοε δε επεψηροηδδαι ηε πετσοουη εεεεο χε ψπαδδς τηατ.\*

#### CHA PITRE XXVII.

1. ε ιωδ δε οη οτωη ετοουτη πεχαψ ηε πε- προηοεηοη (sic).

2. δε πχοεης οηη πεπταψκρηε εεεοη ηη ηαι ατω ηπαητωχρατωρ (sic) πεπταψνεβς τα- ψηχη.

3. χε ετει παρα ηηβε ηηηη ατω ερε πεππα ετοουαδδ ηη παδδψα.

4. ηηε πασποτου χε ποβε ουδε ηηε ταψηχη εεεετα ηηεη χη ηβοης.

5. ηηεσψωπε ετραχοοο χε ηηετη ηηη δικαιοο επεηεοη ηηαψει γαρ ηηαεηηηβαλ ηηη.

6. εικω δε ηητηη εηδικαιοοτηη ηηαηε εβολ ησοουη αη γαρ εεεοη εαιρ ηωδ εεεεψψε.

7. εεεοη δε ερε ηαχαχε ρ θε εηψωρψη ηηα- σεβης ατω ηεητωουη δε εχωη ηθε εηηηακο ηε- παραποεοο.

8. εψ γαρ τε τηελπης (sic) εηασεβης χε ψκω ηητηη εψηαητε εηχοεης εηη ψπαοηχαη.

9. η εψηασωτεε επεψσοης η ερψαη οηαηαηκε (sic) εη εχωψ.

\* La première partie de ce verset manque.

10. εην ονπτϥ παρρησια εεεεετ επεφεετο  
εβολ η εφϣαπωϥ ερρι ονβηϥ φηαωττε εροϥ.

11. ελλα ειςρηντε †παταεωτη κε ον πετρην  
(sic) τβιχ εεπχοεις ετω π†χι βολ αν εμετητο-  
οτϥ εεπαντωκρατωρ.

12. ειςρηντε τηρτη τετησοονη κε ρεν πετ-  
ϣοτετ πετηνη εχη πετϣοτετ.

13. ται τε τεεeric εεπρωεε πασεβηε εβολ-  
γιτεε πχοεις πετχηο δε ηπρεφχι πκαρ ηνη  
ερρι εχωι ητη ηπαντωκρατωρ.

14. εϣωπε ερϣαν πεφϣηρε εϣαι ετηεϣωπε  
επκοπσοτ εϣωπε δε οη εϣανβεεβοεε ετηε-  
τωβρ.

15. πετϣοοη δε ηαϥ ηκοοτε ηαεοτ ρη οτεοτ  
εεη λαετ δε ηα ηπετχηρη.

16. εϣωπε εφϣανσετρ ρετ ερονη ηεε ποτκαρ  
ετω ηεφβτε ποτβ ηεε ποτεοοτ.

17. ηαι γαρ τηροτ ηδικαιοε πετηαχитоτ ετω  
ηεε εεεε πετηαρ χοεις επεφχηηεε.

18. ερε πεφνη δε ηαρ χοολε ετω ηεε ποτρδαλ  
λοτс (sic).

19. ε ηεεεεεο ηκοτκ ηεηαοτορεεεϥ αν.\*

20. ε εεεεοκρс ηεεητ εροϥ ηεε ποτεοοτ.†

21. ε ηβοεε δε φιτϥ ητεϣηη.†

22 et 23. desunt.

### CHAPIRE XXVIII.

1. ηεεε γαρ εεηρετ ϣοοη εϣατταειοϥ  
ηρητϥ ετω ηεεε εεηποτβ εϣατοτρϥ (sic)  
εεεεετ.

2. εϣατταειε ηπεηηε γαρ εβολρεε ηκαρ  
εϣαϣετ ηροεητ δε ηεε ηωηε.

\* Manque la seconde partie du verset.

† Même remarque.



CHAPIRE XXIX.

1. ετει δε ιωβ οταρζεεφ πεχαφ ρεε πεφ-  
προροειοη (sic).

2. χε πιε πετπακαατ κατα πεβατε ηφωρη  
ηπεροοτ ερε ηποττε ραρερ εροι.

3. επερε πεφρβς εεοτρ ραχωι ηπεροοτ ειελο-  
οφε ρεε πεφτοοειη ρεε ηκακε ηπεροοτ.

4. ειτεεττε ρι ηαριοοτε ηπεροοτ ερε ηχοεις  
βεε ηψηηε εεπαηη.

5. ηπεροοτ ειοψ εεεατε ερε ηαψηρε εεπα-  
κωτε.

6. ηπεροοτ ερε ηαριοοτε ρατε ηαηρε ατω  
ερε ηατοοτε σωκ εεπερωτε.

7. ηπεροοτ εψαηε εβολ ειψωρη ρη ταπολις  
επετκω εεπατοβς ρη ηεπλατια.

8. ητε ηρεψηρε (sic) ηατ εροι ησεροποτ ητε  
ηρλλο δε τηροτ αρερατοτ.

9. ητε ηχωαρε κα ρωοτ ετψαχε ησεκα πεττη-  
ηβε ρηρη ρωοτ.

10. ηετσωττε δε ατεεακαριζε εεεοι.\*

11. ερψαη οαβαλ δε ηατ εροι ψαφρακτφ  
εβολ.†

12. αητοτχο ταρ εεπηηκε ετβιχ εεπερφχι  
χηαρ ατω αηβηθεη επορφαηοσ ετεεηητεφ  
βηηοσ.

13. α τταπρο ητε χηρα σεοτ εροι.‡

14. αη† δε ριωωτ ηταικαηοσπηη αη† ηραη  
δε ριωωτ ηε ηοταηπλοτς.

15. ηειο ηβαλ ηηβλλε οτηητε ηηβαλε.

16. αποκ ηε ηω ηωτ (sic) ηηβωβ αηροτρετ  
ησα ηραη εηησοοτη (sic) εεεοφ αη.

\* Manque la seconde partie du verset.

† La première partie du verset manque.

‡ La première moitié du verset manque.

17. αιοτωϣδ δε ππαχρε ππρεϣχι πβοπς αι-  
τωρπ δε εεπτωρπ εβολρη περπαχρε.

18. αικοος δε χε ταβοτ παρ ρελλο †παρ ου-  
ποσ δε ποτοειϣ πθε ποτϣλρ πβηπε.

19 et 20. desunt.

21. ατσωτεε εροι ατ† ρτηντ ατκα ρωοτ δε  
εχεε παϣοχπε.\*

22. ατω εεποτορρεοτ εχεε παϣαχε ϣατραϣε  
δε ειϣαπϣαχε πεεεεατ.

23. πθε ποτκαρ εφοβε εϣβωϣτ εβολρητϣ  
εερρωοτ ται τε θε ππαι ρητϣ εεϣαχε.

24. ειϣαπσωβε πεεεεατ ππετρηροττς.†

25. deest

#### CHA PITRE XXX.

1. τεποτ δε ατσωβε πσωι ρεν ελαχιςτοσ  
τεποτ πε† σβω παι ρη οταεεροσ παι ετεεει-  
οποτ χε σεεπϣα ππετρηοορ ππαορε.

2 et 3. desunt.‡

4. παι ερεπ πτησ πε πετρηρητε ετσκϣ ατω  
ετσοϣϣ ετρ βρορ πατταθον ππε παι επετοτοσ-  
οτησ ππποτπε πϣηη ρα πποσ πρκο.

5. αττωοτηπ εροι πβι ρεν ρεϣχι οτε.

6. παι ερεπ ϣκολ εεπετρα πε πετηη.

7. παι ετϣοοπ ρα ρεν πτησ πακρηοπ (sic).§

8. πϣηρε ππαθνητ εεπ πετσκϣ πα πραπ εεπ  
πα πεοοτ ετοϣεε ριχεε πκαρ.

9. τεποτ δε †ϣοοπ πατ πκιθαρα ατω αποκ  
πετϣοοπ πατ πϣαχε.

\* M. Erman a publié ce verset et les suivants (xxix, 21—xxx, 8); mais la version présente offre tant de différences que je la publie intégralement.

† Manque la seconde partie du verset qui se trouve dans Erman ainsi que le verset suivant.

‡ Ces versets se trouvent dans Erman.

§ La première partie de ce verset manque.

10. ⲁⲩⲃⲟⲟⲩⲧⲧ ⲉⲁⲩⲟⲩⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲧⲥⲟ ⲁⲉ  
 ⲉⲡⲉϫ ⲡⲁⲃⲥⲉ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲙ ⲡⲁϩⲟ.

11. ⲁϩⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϩⲣⲁⲁⲧ (sic) ⲛⲕⲁ ⲥⲟⲩⲉ  
 ⲁϩⲙⲟⲕϩⲧ.\*

12. deest.

13. ⲁϩⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲧⲁⲣ ⲕⲁϩⲛⲧ ⲡⲧⲁⲥⲧⲟⲗⲛ.†

14. ⲁϩⲕⲱⲛⲥⲕ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϩⲣⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁϩⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ  
 ⲡⲟⲉ ⲉⲧⲉϩⲟⲩⲁϩⲥ ⲧⲟⲩⲙⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲓⲥⲉ ⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲟⲕϩⲥ  
 ⲁⲉ ⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ.

15. ⲁ ⲧⲁϩⲣⲉⲗⲡⲓⲥ ⲉⲱⲗ ⲡⲟⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲛⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲁⲟⲩ-  
 ϫⲁⲓ ⲡⲟⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ.

16. ⲧⲟⲩⲟⲡ ⲁⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲉ.‡

17. ⲁ ⲡⲁⲕⲉⲉⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲃⲱⲃ ⲡⲧⲉⲩⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁ ⲡⲁⲙⲟⲩⲧ  
 ⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.

18. ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃ ⲛⲃⲟⲙⲉ ⲁϩⲁⲙⲉⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲥⲧⲟⲗⲛ.§

19. ⲁⲧⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲟⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲥ ⲉⲛ  
 ⲟⲩⲕⲁϩ ⲙⲡ ⲟⲩⲕⲣⲙⲉⲥ.

20. ⲁⲓϫⲓ ⲱⲕⲁⲕ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ  
 ⲁⲧⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ.

21. ⲁⲕⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲧⲁⲧⲛⲁ ⲁⲕⲙⲉⲁⲥⲧⲓⲛⲟⲩ  
 ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲃⲓϫ ⲉⲥϫⲟⲟⲣ.

22. ⲁⲕⲕⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲉⲓⲥⲉ ⲁⲕⲡⲟϫⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ  
 ⲙⲡⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ.

23. ⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲧⲁⲣ ϫⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲟⲩⲟⲩϩⲧ ⲡⲛⲓ  
 ⲧⲁⲣ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲕⲁϩ.

24. ⲉⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲧⲁⲣ ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲃⲙⲉⲃⲟⲙⲉ ⲉⲛ ⲙⲡⲁ-  
 ⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛ ⲉⲥⲉⲡⲥ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲉϥ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲁⲓ.

25. ⲁⲡⲟⲕ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲓⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉϫⲛ ⲃⲱⲃ ⲡⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲓⲁϩ  
 ⲁϩⲟⲙⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲡⲧⲉⲣⲓⲡⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲣⲱⲙⲉⲙ (sic) ⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϩⲁⲡⲁ-  
 ⲧⲕⲉ (sic).

\* Manque la seconde moitié du verset.

† Manque la première partie du verset.

‡ Manque la première moitié.

§ La seconde moitié du verset manque.

26. ειχσοοπ γαρ ειν παδγαθοοπ ειςζηντε δε  
 αυτωεπιτ εροι εροτε εροοτ πβι ζεν ζοοτ  
 εεπεθοοτ.

27. deest.

28. αιελοοψε ειδψ εροε εχπ κα ρωι διαζε  
 δε ερατ (*sic*) ειν οτεενηκψε ειωψ εβολ.

29. ειρ σοπ ηερηποσ αυω πψβηρ επεστροτοθοσ.

30. ε παψαρ (*sic*) δε κελοε εεεατε αυω πα-  
 κεεσ εβολζεε πκατεεε.

31. ε τακτοεαρα ψωπε παι ετζηβε αυω πα-  
 ψαλεοσ ετριεε παι.

CHA PITRE XXXI.

1, 2, 3 et 4. desunt.

5. ειη ηεπτατελοοψε ζω πε εεπ ζεν ρεψωβε  
 η επε πτα ταοτερητε βεπη εκροψ (*sic*).

6. διαζε δε ερατ ειν οτψι εεεε πχοεισ σοοτη  
 πταεπιτβαλ ζητ.

7. εψχε ε ταοτερητε ρικε εβολζην τεψζηη  
 εψχε ε παζηητ οταζψ ησα παβαλ εψχε αιχωζ  
 δε εζωροπ ζην παβιχ.

8. ειεχο ητωοτη πε ητε ηκοοτε οτοελοτ ητα-  
 τεεχε ποτη επκαζ.

9. εψχε ε παζηητ οταζψ ησα οτςζιεε εοτηητς  
 ζαι εψχε αιζελοοσ ζιρεε ηεσρο.

10. ερε ταςζιεε ερ εηαψ ηκεοτα ητε ηαψηρε  
 εββιο.

11. οτβωητ γαρ εεεεεεψαεεεεζτε (*sic*) εε-  
 ελοψ πε σεψ τεσζιεε ποτρωεε.

12. οτκωζτ γαρ πε εψελοτζ ησα σα ηιεε  
 ηεεε ετεψηηε εχωψ ψαψτακοψ χηη τεψποτη.

13. εψχε αιτακε ηζαη ηταζεεζαλ η πα-  
 ζεεζαλ ετεχι ζαη οτβηη.





3. ἀφρονῶς δὲ ἐλάτε ἐπεσκευόσιντ πῦδνρ  
 χε ἑποτεῦβ εἰσὸσ εἰσῆγεῖ πῦαχε ἐρηα† οὔβε  
 ἰωβ ἀτω ἀφκαδῆ χε οὔασεινς πε.

4. ἀ ἐλιούς δὲ ὅω ἐφοῦαῦβ οὔβε ἰωβ.\*

5. deest.

6. ἀ ἐλιούς δὲ οὔαῦβ πῦνρε πδαραχινλ πω-  
 βιγῆς πεχαῆ χε ἀποκ ἑεπ ἀπτ οὔκοσι ζεε πετ-  
 οειῦ πτωπῆ δὲ πτεπῆ ζελιζελλο εὔβε πα  
 ἀικα ρωι ἀρ ζοτε ἐχωπῆ πτασῶδε.

7. ἀίχοος χε ἑπε οὔοειῦ ἀπ πετῦαχε πετῖπ  
 οὔεηνῦε ἀπ προεπε ἀπ πε (sic) πετσοῦπ  
 πτσοφία.

8. ἀλλὰ ἀππᾶ πετῖπ πρῶεε τεππον δὲ  
 ἑππαπτωκρατωρ τετ† σῶω (sic).

9. ππὰ πειποῶ ἀπ ἐπαζε πε πσοφός οὔδε  
 πζλλο ἀπ πετσοῦπ ἑπζαπ.

10. εὔβε πα ἀίχοος χε σῶτεε ἐροι ταχῶ  
 πῆπῆ ππετσοῦπ (sic) ἑεεοῦ χι σέην ἐπαῦαχε.

11. †παῦαχε γάρ πτεπῆσῶτεε χεκάς ἐτετ-  
 παῶαζ ἐτοῦπῆπῆπῆ ἐχοος.†

12. deest.

13. χε ἀπζε ἐτσοφία ἑπχοεις.†

14. ἀ τεπῆκα ρῶεε δὲ ἐχε ζεπ ῦαχε  
 π†εἰπε.

15 et 16. desunt.

17. ἀ ἐλιούς δὲ οὔαῦβ πεχαῆ χε †παῦαχε οπ.

18. †εεεζ γάρ πῦαχε πεπᾶ γάρ πζπῆ  
 ῦτορτρ ἑεεοι.

19. ἐρε ζπῆ ο πῶε ποτασκῶς (sic) ἐφῆεζ (sic)  
 πεερισ ἐρε ρῶῆ ἑπρ ἠ πῶε νοῦζῶτ πζεεκελλε  
 ἐαῆπῶζ.

\* La plus grande partie de ce verset manque.

† Il manque une partie du verset.

‡ Le commencement du verset manque.

20. †παψαχε χε ειαιετοπ (*sic*) διοτων ππασ-  
πατοϑ (*sic*).

21. πεψυπε απ ρητϑ πρωεε αλλα οπ ειπακ-  
τοι ρι ρψυρε.

22. π†σοοτη ναρ απ πχι ρο εψχε σε δε ερε  
πχοολε οτοεετ.

CHAPIRE XXXIII.

1. εεεον δε αλλα σωτεε επαψαχε ιωβ χι  
σεη εταβι ψαχε.

2. ειρρητε ναρ διοτηπ (*sic*) πρωι ατω εεπα-  
λας (*sic*) ψαχε.

3. παρητ οτααβ ρη ρην βι ψαχε ερε τεε-  
πτρεε πρητ ππασποτοϑ παποει πππετθβδηντ.

4. οηππ̄α εφοτααβ πε πταψταεειοι τεππον δε  
εεππαπτωκρατωρ τετ† σδω παι.

5. εψχε οτη ψβοεε εεεοκ εοτωψβτ ρηπο-  
εηνη (*sic*) ππαρραι αρερατκ οτβηι ατω αποκ  
οτβηκ.

6. πτατταεειοκ ναρ εβολρη οτοεεε ποτωτ  
πταρε ρω πτατταεειον εβολρηε πειοεε  
ποτωτ.

7. πταροτε ναρ παψτρτωρκ απ ατω πτα-  
βιχ παροψ απ εχωκ.

8. αιωτεε επροοϑ ππεκψαχε.\*

9. †οτααβ επειρ ποβε ατω απτ οτσωτη  
επειρ αποεεα.

10. επεψβη αρικε δε εροι αψκαατ δε πθε  
επετ† οτβηκ.

11. αψκα ταοτερητε δε ρεε πψε αψγαρερ  
ναρ επαρδιοοτε τηροϑ.

\* La première partie du verset manque.

12. πειν γαρ ηγε κω ελεος γε απτ ουδικαιος  
επεφωτее εροι ουψα επεγ γαρ πε πετρηχη  
πρωεε.

13. κω ελεος γαρ γε ετθε ου επεφωτее  
επαρδπ ηη ψαχε πие.

14. ηε πtre πχοεис γαρ ψαχε ποτσοп επ-  
εεγ соп снат.

15. ουρασου δε η ουεηληητα (sic) πβωρη πθε  
εтере ουροτε εспαψт παρε ερραι εχη ου-  
ρωεε.\*

16. ηη ουεηε ηροτε αφψтртωροу π† ηε.†

17. екте πρωεε εβοληε πεψхи πβонс афтоу-  
хо γαρ επεφωεε εοηροп.

18. аψ† со δε етеψψтχη επεεου етеетреφге  
ηη ουποληεос.

19. παληη οη αφχηпоу ηε πλοχλх επψηπε  
επεφееε πκοτк.‡

20. εεπβοεε εεεоу εоτееε ηре пие.§

21. ψапте πεφсарξ λοβλεφ афотепг πεφкеес  
εβολ εтψоуегт.

22. а тεψψтχη ηωп εгоуп επеεоу аτω πεφ-  
ωпг εεεпте.

23. еψηп оуψо павтелос преφееооут ψηπε  
ппе ота εеεооут копсφ еψηппои δε ηε πεφ-  
ηηт екотφ епхоеис пψхω δε εепρωеεε επеφд-  
rike пфотωпг εβολ птеφеептаоηт.

24. ψηаψопφ ероφ етеεге επеεоу пφр πεφс-  
εεа пβрре пθε ποухо есхηг ψηεεоуг δε ппес-  
кеес палткас.

25. пψtre πεφсарξ βпон пθε ппа пекоти  
ψηахакφ δε εβολ еψтнк ηη πρωеε.

\* Il manque quelques mots à la fin de ce verset.

† Quelques mots manquent au commencement de ce verset.

‡ Manque la dernière partie du verset.

§ Manque le commencement du verset.

26. εφπαυληλ δε επχοεις φπαχιτϥ πτοοτϥ  
φπαδωκ δε ερονη ποτρω εφροοττ εη οτσολσλ  
φπα† δε πταδικαιοστην ηπρωεε.

27. τοτε πρωεε παβη ερικε εροϥ οταεϥ  
εϥχω εεεοσ χε ηθε ηπενταιαετ ηε παι ετω  
επεϥρωτταζε (*sic*) εεεοι ηπαποβε.

28. ελλα εϥτοτχο ταψτηχην εβολρωε εεποτ.\*

29. deest.

30. χεκασ ερε παωνηρ σεοσ εροϥ ρεε ποτοειη.†

31. χι σεη ιωβ ητρωττε εροι.‡

32 et 33. desunt.

#### CHAPITRE XXXIV.

1. ε ελιοτσ δε οτωϥϥ (*sic*) πεχαϥ

2. χε σωττε εροι ησοφοσ.§

3. ηετσοοτην ηχι σεη ηππετπαποτϥ.§

4. deest.

5. χε ε ιωβ χοοσ χε εητ οταδικαιοσ ε παχοεις  
δε κω ηρωϥ εεπαρδπ.

6. εϥχι σολ χε επακριεεε.‡

7. deest.

8. επειρ ποβε ετω επειρ ψαϥτε επεικοι-  
πωηει ετερην εη ηετειρε ηηπαποεοη ετραδωκ  
εη ηασεβησ.

9. εεπρωοσ ταρ χε εη σεε ηϥηηε ψοοη ε-  
πρωεε ετω σεε ηϥηηε εβολρωιτεε πεϥχοεις.

10. ετε παι ησοφοσ ρεε πετρηητ σωττε εροι  
ηηεσϥωπε ετραρ ποβε εεπετο εβολ εεπχοεις  
ετω εϥτορτρ ητεηητεε εεπετο εβολ εεπ-  
παητωκρατωρ.

\* Manque la plus grande partie du verset.

† Le commencement du verset manque.

‡ La plus grande partie du verset manque.

§ Même remarque.

11. ἀλλὰ ἐστὶ πρῶτον κατὰ θεοῦ ἕτερο ποῦα ποῦα εἶρε ἕλεος.\*

12. ἐκείθεν δὲ καὶ εἶρε πρὸς παρὰ πετελλεσσηε ἢ δὲ ππαντοκρατωρ παστρητρ πρᾶπ πεπτασφ-  
ταλλεε τπε ἕπ πκαρ.

13. πῆε πε πτασφταλλεεε τπε ἕπ πκαρ ἕπ πετρηνητφ τηροῦ.

14. ἐσφῆσποσσηε γὰρ ἕλεεζετε (sic) ἀπὸ ἐκα πεππᾶ ραρητηφ.

15. σαρξ πῆε πᾶλον ρι οἰσπ ρῶλε δὲ πῆε πακτοφ ἐπκαρ πῆε πτασπλασσε ἕλεοφ ηρητηφ.

16. ἔσχε πτηναχι σβῶ ἀπ ἐσωτῆε ἐκαλι χι σῆν ἐπερροῦ ηρηπ σφαχε.

17. ἔσχε πτοκ κρ σφαφτε ἐπετελοστε ἕπποβε ἀπὸ πεττακο πῆεποπεροσ (sic) ἐσφα ἐπερ πε πδικαῖοσ.

18. πετχω ἕλεοσ ποῦρο καὶ ἐκπαρπολλεε.

19. παῖ ἐτελλεσσηε ηρητηφ ἕπρῶ ἕπετταλητ ἀπὸ ηρσοοηπ ἀπ ητταῖο ηηχωρε ἐρ σπηρε ηπερῶ.

20. ρεπ πετσηοῦετ γὰρ πε πετσηοπ ἕλεοοτ ρῆε πτηρηχι σφακ ἐβὸλ ἀπὸ ἐτεβρ ρῶλε ἀρ ρωβ γὰρ παρὰ ππολλοσ ρῆε ηροχη ηπσῶβ.

21. φησ γὰρ πτοφ ἐπερβητε ηπρῶτε ἕπ λαδὸν οβση ἐροφ ηπετοῦερε ἕλεοοτ.

22. ἀπὸ ἕπ ἕε πσηπε ἐτρε ηρεφρ ποβε ροποῦ.

23. deest.

24. πρὸς γὰρ παῦ εοῦοπ πῆε πετταρῶ ηπει-  
αταρηηποῦ πετρᾶ εοοῦ ἀπὸ ηπεισπηρε ἐτελλε-  
τοῦ ηπε.

25. πετελλε ἐπερβητε τηροῦ.†

\* La seconde partie du verset manque.

† Manque la seconde moitié du verset.

26. αϕωϣεε δε ηπασεβης σεουονε δε εβολ  
επεφεετο εβολ.

27. κε ατρακτοϑ εβολ εεποεεοε εεποϑτε  
ατω εεποϑσοϑη ηεϕδικαιωεε.

28, 29, 30, 31, 32 et 33, desunt.

34. ετθε παι ησαβε εε πεϑρητ ηαχε παι  
ατρωεε (*sic*) ησοφοε ωττε επαϣαχε.

35. εεπε ιωβ δε ϣαχε εη οτεεπτρεε ηρητ  
ατω ηεϕϣαχε εη οτεεπτσαβε απ.

36. εεεον δε αλλα εεεε ιωβ εεπροτωϣβ δε  
ηθε ηπειδοντ.

37. κε ηπενοτωε εχη ηεηποβε ηϕωη ερον  
εηποβε (*sic*) εηρ εεε ηϣαχε εεεετο εβολ  
εεηχοεεε.

CHAPIRE XXXV.

1. α ελιουε δε οτωϣβ ηεαϕ

2. κε οϑ ηε παι ητακροηϕ εη οεεαη ητκ  
ηεε κε ακχοοκ κε απτ οταικαιοε εεεετο εβολ  
εεηχοεεε.

3. η εκηαχοοε κε οϑ ηε ηαποβε ηταεαϕ.

4. αποκ δε †ηαοϣβεκ εεη ηεκκεϣοεετ (*sic*)  
ηϣβηρ.

5. εωϣτ εεραε ετπε ηηηατ † ετηκ δε εηεκ-  
λοολε ηθε ετοϣχοεε εροκ.

6. εϣχε ακερ ηοβε εκηαρ οϑ εϣχε ακρ εεε  
ηαηοεεεα εκηαρ εϣ ηεε.

7. επειδη ητκ εηαικαιοε απ εκηα† οϑ ηαϕ.\*

8 et 9. desunt.

10. ηεηταϕτωϣ ηποϑηρηη ηεωρη.†

11. ηεηταϕ ηορητ εβολ ηητηηποοτε εεηκαε  
ατω εη ηεελατε ηηηε.

\* Manque la seconde partie de ce verset.

† Manque la première partie du verset.

12. *εεπ πσωϋ πεεποπηρος.\**

13. *πχοεις ταρ οτρεϋ πατ επ εζωδ εεεϋϋε πτοϋ ταρ ππαπτωκρατωρ.*

14. *οτρεϋβωϋτ πε εχπ πετειρε ππαποεεον ετω ϋπτοϋχοι χι εεπ εεπεϋεετο εβολ πτηπατ χε κπαϋεεοϋ εροϋ πθε ετεϋο εεεο.*

15 et 16. *desunt.*

CHAPELRE XXXVI.

1. *ε ελιουτ δε οτωε ετοοτϋ πεχαϋ*

2. *χε βω εροι πκεκοϋ χε ειετσαδοκ ετει ταρ οτη ϋαχε πρητ.*

3. *εε χι εβω εεποτε επ παεβητε δε*

4. *†παχω ππαδικαιον επ οτεε ετω ππεκεεεετε επ ερεπ ϋαχε πχι πβονε επ οτχι πβονε.*

5. *εεεε δε χε ππε πχοεις κω πσωϋ εεπβαλ- ερητ.†*

6, 7, 8 et 9. *deest.*

10. *ελλα ϋπαεωτεε επδικαιοε.‡*

11. *deest.*

12. *ϋπαταερο επ ππαεεβηε ετβε χε πεοϋ- ϋϋ επ εοοτη πχοεις ετω πετ† εβω πατ πετο παττωτεε πε.*

13. *deest.*

14. *ερε τεϋψυχη πτοοτη εοϋ επ οτεεπ- κοϋ εεπατακε πετωηε εβολ ειτη παγγελοε.*

15. *εβολ χε ετθλιβε ποτβωδ εεπ οτατβοε ϋπαεεεπε δε εεεραπ πρεε πραϋ.*

16. *deest.*

17. *εραπ δε παωχη επ επδικαιοε.*

18. *οτη οτβωπτ δε πηε εχπ παεεβηε ετβε τεεπτωεϋτε ππαωρον πταϋχιτοϋ ποτχι πβονε.*

\* Manque la première partie du verset.

† Manque la seconde partie du verset.

‡ Manque la première partie du verset.



13. deest.

14. ιωβ σωτ<sup>εε</sup> επαι εζερατκ χι σβω ετβω<sup>εε</sup>  
εεπχοεις.

15. τησοοτη κε ε πχοεις κα πεφρβητε εφτα-  
εειε ποτοειν εβολζεε πκακε.

16. φσοοτη δε πτεειπε ππεκλοολε ζεν ψηηρε  
πε πετζτοπ πλεποηρος.

17. τεστολη ζηεε σβ<sup>εε</sup>ετ ζιχ<sup>εε</sup> πκαζ.

18. deest.

19. ετβε οτ δε εεαταεοι κε ειχε οτ παφ  
ταρπλο επο ηζαζ ηψαχε.

20. εεν οηχωεε η οηκραεεεατετς (*sic*)  
πεταζερατφ εροι κε ειεαζερατ τατρε οτ-  
ρωεε κα ρωφ.

21. εεν οηοη πηε παπατ εη εποτοειν πθε  
εεπετζιχη πεκλοολε εβολζιτοοτφ.

22. πεκλοολε εεπεεζιτ εττρεψρωψ εηη παι  
τηροτ οηποβ τε ττιεη εηη πεοοτ εεππαητω-  
κρατωρ.

23. ετω ητηηαβη κεοτα εη εφειπε ητεφβ<sup>οεε</sup>  
πετκρ<sup>ηε</sup> ζη οηεε ηεεεετε εη κε εφσωτ<sup>εε</sup>  
επηηρφ.

24. πετερε ηρωεε ρ ζοτε ζητφ σεηαρ ζοτε  
δε ζητφ ηβι ηκεσοφοζ ζεε πετζηητ.

CHA PITRE XXXVIII.

1. εεηησατρε ελιοτς δε οτω ητεφψαχε πεχε  
πχοεις δε ηειωβ ζιτη οηζατηη εηη οηκλοολε.

2. κε ηηε πε παι ετζωη εροι ηποηψοηπε ετα-  
εεαζτε ηζεν ψαχε ζεε πεφζηητ εφεεετε κε  
εφζωη εροι ηοηψοηπε.

3. εοτη ητεκτ<sup>ηε</sup> πθε ηοηρωεε †ηαχποηκ  
ητοκ δε οηωψβ παι.



19. ερε ποτοειπ δε ρη αυ ηκαρ αυ δε πε πεα ηκακε.

20. επεκεψχιτεπ εττοψ (sic) η εκσοοτη ηπετ- ριοοτε.

21. †σοοτη ητοοτη κε ηταχποκ ηπατ παψε ταπς δε ηπεκροεπε.

22. ακει δε εχη ηαρωαρ ητε χιωη ηαρωαρ ητε χαλαζα ακπατ.

23. σκη δε ηακ ερραι ετετηποτ ηηαχε ετσοοτ (sic) επολτελοσ εποτεεψε

24. ερε ηααψ δε ηητ εβολτωη η ητοτηης ετηποψ εβολ εχε ηκαρ.

25. ηεε πε ηταψσοβτε ποτσοοτ εψοψ εψοτο τερη ητε ηπεψτορτρ.

26 et 27. desunt.

28. ηεε πε ηειωτ εποτρεπε ηεε δε πε ητααχη ηηλτιλε ητωτε.

29. ερε ηεκρησταλλοσ δε ηητ εβολρη ηεε ηεε δε πε ητααχη ηααψ ετηη ηπε.

30. ηαι εψααει ερραι ηεε ποτελοοτ εψοτο ηεε δε πε ητααψτρτρ ηρο επασεβης.

31. ακειεε δε ετεερε ητβι εεεοτ ακοτωη επεκτο επεσοτ ηαρ.

32. deest.

33. κσοοτη δε ηπεκτο ητηε η ηεπηταψωπε ρι οτσοη ριχε ηκαρ.

34. κπαεοττε δε εηεκλοολε ρη οτρηοοτ ησε- σωτεε ησωκ ρη οττωτ εεεοτ εψοψ.

35. κπαχοοτ δε ηρεη κεραηποσ ησεβωκ σεπα- χοοσ δε ηακ κε οηπετσοοπ.

36. ηεε πε ητααψ σοφια επεωρε ηπερηεε η τεσβω ητεηηηποικιλτης.

37. ηεε πε ητααωη ηπεκλοολε ρη τεψσοφια ααρηκε δε ητηε επκαρ.

38. σπαρτ δε εβολ πθε ποτκαρ εκκοπια (*sic*)  
ατω αιταβς πθε ποτωπε πωβε.

39. κπαβωρβ δε ποτρε μεεονι κπατσιο δε  
ππεψυχη ππεδρακωπ.

40. ser εοτε γαρ εη πετεεε πκοτκ σεεεοοσ  
εη εεη ετηλν ετβορβ.

41. πμε δε πε πταψβτε τεερε μεαβωκ ερε  
πεμεεεσ γαρ εψ κικ εεραι επχοεισ εκωτε ε-  
ψιπε πσα τεεερε.

CHA PITRE XXXIX.

1. ακεερεε δε ππακε ππεεονλ.

2. ακωπ δε ππετεβετε μεεεεε ακβωλ δε  
εβολ ππεεπακε.

3. ακ σαλψ ππεεψηρε δε εχη εοτε.\*

4. deest.

5. πμε πε πταψκα οτειε ηροοττ πρεεε η  
πμε πε πταψβλ πεμεερε.

6. ακω μεμεεεε ηψωπε περμεεοσ.†

7. εψωβε πσα πεινηψε ποτπολιε επεψωτεε  
αη εερικε πρεψι ψωεε ψηαψ δε πβι οτεεονι  
πατριον (*sic*).

8. deest.

9. η οτεεοποκτρωσ (*sic*) ερ εεεεελ πακ.....  
cetera desunt.

CHA PITRE XL.

8. ....πτεεεεε πεεεο ψιπε.

9. παεεεεοοοοι (*sic*) κε οτη βοεε πτεκοεπμε  
πταεεο.

10. ελλα εισ οεθριοη εετηκ εφοτεεε χορτοσ  
πθε ποτεεεεε.

11. ειεεηητε τεεεεε εη τεεεεηη ατω ερε  
τεεεεεεε εηχη θεεπε ηεηεψ.

\* Manque la seconde moitié du verset.

† Même remarque.



## CHAPIRE XLI.

1. οὐδε πῆρ ὄστε ἀπ χε εἴσβτωτ παῖ πῖε  
 τὰρ πε πταϋ† οὐβῆνι.

2. ἢ πῖε πε πταϋαζερατϥ εροι ἀϥζῶποεῖπε  
 πκαζ τῆρϥ πωῖ πε.

3. deest.

4. πῖε πε πταϋβωλπ εβολ εεπρῶ πτεϥζβσω  
 πῖε δε πε πταϋβωκ εζοῦπ ἐκββε εεπεϥζωκ.

5. πῖε πετῆαοῦωπ (*sic*) εεπῆλῆ εεπεϥζο οὐ-  
 ὄστε δε πε πκωτε ππεϥοβζε.

6. ζῆν σβϣε πρῶεπτ πε πετ πεϥζοῦπ ἐρε  
 τεϥεερε δε ο πῶε ποῦωπε πσεηνρίτῆς.

7. πῖε οὐπῆ̄α δε σαατϥ.\*

8. deest.

9. ψαρε οὐοῦοεῖπ δε ϣωβε ζεε πεϥαπταϣ ἐρε  
 πεϥβδλ δε ο πῶε εεπῖε εεπσοῦ πτοοῦε.†

10. ζεπ λαεπας εἴχερο πετῆπῆ εβολ ζῆν ρωϥ  
 αἰω εἴζῆπ ζῆν ζεπ εσχαρα πκωζτ.

11. οὐκαπποσ πρῶ εσεεοῦζ ζῆν ζεπ χββες  
 πσατε πετῆπῆ εβολζῆν πϥββϣα.

12. ζεπ χββες πε τεϥψῆχῆ οὐψαζ δε πετῆπῆ  
 εβολζῆν ρωϥ.

13. ἐρε οὐβῶεε δε ψοοπ ζεε πεϥεεακζ ἐρε  
 πτακο πῆτ εεπεϥεετο εβολ.

14. ἐρε πσαρξ εεπεϥσωεεα χῆς.†

15. ἀ πεϥζῆπτ χρο πῶε ποῦωπε ἀϥαζε δε  
 ἐρατϥ πῶε ποῦεεπϣ εεεϥκῖεε.

16. εϥψαπκοτϥ δε ψαρε οὐζοῦτε ταζε πῶην-  
 ριοπ εεπ πτβποοῦε εἴϣωβε ζῖεε πκαζ.

17. ἐρψαπ ζεπ λοῦχῆ τωεπτ ἐροϥ ππεῖρ  
 λαατ παϥ.

18. ἐρε ππεῖπε ἢπ πτοοῦτ πῶε εεπτωζ πρῶ-  
 επτ δε πῶε ποῦϣε εϥοῦοϣϥ.

\* Manque le commencement du verset.

† Manque la fin du verset.

19. ππε ουκοτε εεπενπε χοτϥ ερε πδακωπε  
 ηπ πτοτϥ πθε ποτχορτος.

20. ψαψωβε δε πσα οτκεετο πκωστ.\*

21. ζεν ζοπολικκος εττηε πε πεψρηψυ ερε  
 πποτβ τηρϥ πθαλασσα ζαροϥ πθε ποτοεε εϥου.

22. ψαψτρε πποτη βρβρ πθε ποτχαλκιοπ  
 εϥεν θαλασσα πθε ποτειαλ.

23. ετω ψυικ εεπποτη πθε ποταιχεελωτος.†

24. εεπ λαατ δε ζικεε πκαζ εϥεπε εεεοϥ  
 εϥταεειητ εσωβε εεεοϥ εβολζιτη πεψαγγελος.

25. ψπατ δε επετχοσε τηροτ πτοϥ πε προ  
 ππετζη εεεοοτ.

CHAPITRE XLII.

1. ε ιωβ δε οτωψβ πεχαϥ εεπχοεic.

2. χε †σοοτη χε οτη βοε εεεοκ εζωβ πιε  
 εεπ λαατ δε ο πακ πατβοε.

3. πιε ταρ πετζηπ εροκ ποτψοχηε εϥ† σο  
 εζεν ψαχε εϥεεεετε χε εϥζωβ εροκ πιε ταρ  
 πετχω παι ππετεπ†σοοτ εεεοοτ εη πηοβ εεπ  
 πψπηρε ετεπ†εεε εροοτ εη.

4. σωτεε ζω εροι πχοεic χε ειεψαχε ετω  
 πταχποτκ πτοκ δε εεετσαβοi.

5. πεicωτεε εεπ εροκ πτωορη ζη οτσεη  
 εεεεεεχε τεποτ δε ε παβδλ πατ εροκ.

6. ετβε παι εicoψϥτ ετω ειβωλ εβολ ειοπτ  
 δε χε εητ οτκαζ εεπ οτκρεεc.

7. εσωπε δε εεππσα τρε ιωβ οτω ππεψαχε  
 τηροτ πεχε πχοεic πελιcαψ (sic) πεθεεεεπτηc  
 χε ακρ ποβε πτοκ εεπ πεκψβηρ cπατ εεπετηχι  
 (sic) λαατ ταρ εεεε εεπαεετο εβολ πθε εεπα-  
 ζεεζαλ ιωβ.

\* La première partie du verset manque.

† La fin du verset manque.



πταραβια εεεπτη οτραπ δε πωορη κε ιωβαβ  
αφχι δε ποτςζιεε πρεε ταραβια αφχη οτσηρε  
επεφραπ πε αιωνη πε πεφειωτ εεη ζαραπ πσηρε  
ππσηρε πησατ τεφεεεεατ δε τε βοσorra ζωστε  
πεφρ εεεζ τση χηπ αβραεεε ατω παι πε περ-  
ρωοτ επτατρ ρρο εη εεεε τεχωρα ζωωφ  
επταφειρε εχωσ πωορη πε βαλακ πσηρε πβαιωρ  
ατω πραπ πτεφπολις πε εεηπαβα. εεηπσα βα-  
λακ ιωβαβ πετοεεεοττε εροφ κε ιωβ εεηπσα  
παι εσοεεπεν εφο πρηεεεων εβολεη τεχωρα  
πτατςιτης εεηπσα παι εεεε πσηρε πβαραε  
πενταφβοχβχ εεεεεεεε εη τσωφε εεεεαβ  
ατω πραπ πτεφπολις πε γεεεε πεφψβεερ δε  
επτατει ψαροφ πε παι ελιφας πεβολεη πσηρε  
πησατ προ πηεθαεεεαπων βαλαεεε πτηραπποσ  
πησατχαιος σωφαρ προ πεεεεηπαιος.



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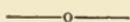
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