

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE *of* THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION, NO. 11

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EPIPHANIUS' TREATISE ON  
WEIGHTS AND MEASURES  
THE SYRIAC VERSION

*Edited by*  
JAMES ELMER DEAN

*With a Foreword by*  
MARTIN SPREGLING



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE  
*of*  
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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STUDIES IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL  
CIVILIZATION

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## FOREWORD

Just to refresh the memory of some of us who do not come fresh from work upon him, Epiphanius was born about 315 and died A.D. 403. He is thus an older contemporary of a famous pair, Jerome and Rufinus, both born in the neighborhood of 340, the latter dying in 410 while the former lived until 420. During their eastern residence both of these men became acquainted with the old fellow, and both at one period of their lives admired him, Jerome's admiration, as well as his life, outlasting that of Rufinus. Jerome, himself a linguist of parts, was particularly taken with Epiphanius' knowledge of five tongues: Hebrew, Syriac, Egyptian, Greek, and Latin.

Epiphanius was born almost in the very middle of Palestine, perhaps of Jewish parentage or extraction. In his youth he spent a considerable time in Egypt, attracted by and presently drawn into narrowly orthodox, anti-Origenistic, monastic circles. The rest of his life he passed in spreading this type of orthodox monasticism and combating all heresies, tracing them all to Origen and Origenism. This brought him not indeed one of the great bishoprics, nor a patriarchate, but a position not without influence as bishop of Constantia (Salamis) in Cyprus, which chair he occupied for thirty-five years (367-402).

His quarrels and his writings show Epiphanius to have had a crabbed old single-track mind, and the track he covers is usually a sidetrack. He clearly knew too much for his limited understanding. His style is discursive; his thought is poorly organized. Good and bad information, important and unimportant matters, stand side by side and form a rather unsavory mess. Hence the study and editing of his works, a thorny subject at best, has attracted few students and lags behind that of his contemporaries. In the case of his *'Αγκυρωτός*, a summary of what he considered the true faith, that does not matter so much, for it is little used at any time. His *Panarion*, a statement about eighty heresies and the remedies for them, is another matter. Here, after all, there is much information not to be found elsewhere. No work of similar bulk and compass on the same subject was produced by any medieval Christian. Its fame, indeed, exceeds its merit.

Yet, as is often the case in such encyclopedic works, it was the best for want of a better; and so it continued to be used and quoted, especially in the East, throughout the Middle Ages and well into modern times. It should be properly edited and thoroughly studied.

The work with a few elements of which this Foreword deals is usually quoted, in whatever language (Greek, Latin, Syriac, etc.) it may be, as a book or essay on *Weights and Measures*. This title is clearly not the one which Epiphanius gave to it. We do not know what Epiphanius himself called it. From its contents it might be designated as a brief introduction to the Bible. Such general introductions, however, presently grew and multiplied; and in this case Epiphanius' work, not remaining alone in the field, proved clearly not to be the best.

The one feature of this particular work of Epiphanius which did remain unique in the Christian and scriptural field was the extensive statement on biblical weights, measures, and related subjects into which, with his usual discursiveness and lack of organizatory ability, the addleheaded old pedant permitted himself to be drawn. No one else covered this ground to anything like the same extent; and so on this matter Epiphanius remained once more the best, and as such is quoted throughout the Middle Ages, especially by Syriac writers. In editing Barhebraeus (A.D. 1226-72) and in studying the Karkaphensians and their philological statements, one constantly meets quotations from or references to Epiphanius. The anti-Origenic orientation of both major branches of the Syriac church, Nestorian and Monophysite (Jacobite), may have something to do with his popularity in those quarters. In any case, in order to trace the sources of Barhebraeus, Karkaphensian philology, and much else in Syriac literature, it proved necessary to recur time and again to Epiphanius' *Weights and Measures*.

Of this redoubtable work only fragments remain in Greek. The complete work was preserved in Syriac translation only. Of this Syriac translation there are more or less voluminous extracts in every manuscript of Karkaphensian textual studies. The whole work exists, so far as we know, in two manuscripts, both in the British Museum, one from the middle of the 7th, the other from the 9th century.

As we got under way in the Oriental Institute on the Peshitta or



Syriac Bible projects, it soon became evident that the Dindorf-Migne Greek material did not suffice for our needs. This had become manifest likewise to our last predecessor in a similar undertaking, the curious Paul de Lagarde of Göttingen. Lagarde had therefore undertaken an extensive study and a series of editions of this Epiphanius material. In his usual fashion he scattered this work around in a series of odd publications, many of them in small editions. These are not easy to get and, when obtained, generally not easy to use. The Syriac text, for example, he printed in Hebrew letters, because there was no Syriac type in Göttingen. His translation into German is curious. In various notes voicing his disgust and alleging (a thing Lagarde does not often admit) his incompetence, he shows that this was to him no labor of love. Jülicher's statement in Pauly-Wissowa that the text is "sehr schlecht ediert" by Lagarde is, indeed, too harsh a judgment. But a better, more easily accessible, more usable, and in every way more definitive edition than that of Lagarde, dated 1880, was clearly called for.

So we undertook a new edition, with a carefully annotated English translation. The work was given under my supervision to a younger doctor of our department, a diligent and careful southerner, James E. Dean. We soon found that editing any Epiphanius text was no joke, least of all in a Syriac translation for much of which the original Greek is missing. Piecing together the oddments of information and misinformation which he considers knowledge, sorting them, getting at the meaning of his sloppy style of expression, is often much like attempting to create order out of chaos; it demands heavenly patience and superhuman, perhaps superdivine, ingenuity.

Epiphanius' knowledge of Hebrew, or at least of the Hebrew Bible, was not all that Jerome's praise would lead us to believe. Among other things he quotes Ps. 141:1 (in § 6) in a barbarous Hebrew text form not otherwise known. This is clearly not a valuable variant in any sense, nor does he preserve thereby an otherwise unknown ancient text. It is manifest on the face of it that either he or some rabbi spoofing him, as a little later such men spoofed Mohammed, is rendering back into Hebrew perhaps a Greek or Latin translation or at any rate the general sense of the passage. If a Jewish rabbi committed the atrocity, he may have been trying to avoid defiling the *ipsissima verba*

of the sacred text by keeping them out of the hands of the unbelieving goy and fooling him into accepting others. If Epiphanius himself made a mere show of his knowledge of Hebrew, it is unforgivable that he placed something of his own concoction in place of the original, which was easily obtainable and was well known to his pet adversary Origen before him and to his admiring friend Jerome in his own time. This is merely an example of Epiphanius' inaccuracy and sloppiness.

As touching at most points on Greek and Latin and therefore of more general interest, there may here be presented solutions, or attempted solutions, of lexicographical problems found not at all or not in full in lexicons, Syriac, Greek, and Latin, and, at least so far as I know, not taken up or not fully studied previously:

§ 20. "Diocletian ܡܠܚܘܩܝܐ (*oúal tránistas*) ceased to reign." The curious Syriac transliteration belongs in the Syriac lexica, the fully Hellenized verb in the Greek lexica.

§ 21. Syriac: "craft of the oil press." The Greek, *ἐλαιοτρίπτης* (Breslau ms., *ἐλαιοτρήπτης*), is not in Liddell and Scott, though Epiphanius is elsewhere quoted. Here he clearly attests the use of the word in Cyprus in the 4th century.

ܡܘܫܐܘܢܐ, passive of ܐܓܘܠ, "to measure," is not merely "to be measured," "to be defined by measure"; it clearly means here "to be used as a measure" by such and such a people. This meaning is not found in any Syriac lexicon.

§ 24. Epiphanius expatiates on the mystery of the number 22: 22 works of God, 22 generations to Jacob, 22 books of the Bible to Esther, 22 letters of the alphabet, 22 *xestai* in the Hebrew and the Roman *modius*. In Hebrew a child learns to *aleph*, in Greek *ἀλφείν*; the latter, known as from *ἀλφάνω*, 2d aor. inf., is here apparently used in a sense for which we would say "to learn one's ABC's." No lexicon, so far as I know, exhibits this crochet of Epiphanius' learning.

§ 43. In connection with *χοῦς* (6 or 8 *xestai*, *sextarii* [cf. § 55], pints) the Syriac clearly furnishes by transliteration *τριχοῦς*. The word is labored over by Lagarde unsuccessfully. So far as I know no Greek lexicon has the combination. The transliteration belongs in the Syriac lexicon.

§ 46. The word *litra* is said to mean *ἐμοὶ ἔστιν*. The *li*, ܠܝ, ܠ, "to me," fits. For the *tra* we can find nothing that makes good sense,

though in § 54 Epiphanius dogmatically makes the statement that in Hebrew and/or Syriac it means “it is.”

§ 54. In connection with *litra*, where it comes up the second time, Epiphanius mentions its Latin equivalent, *libra*, which, he says, by ܡܠܘܚܘܬܐܐܘܘܢܐ means “equality.” The pointing indicates a foreign, in this case almost certainly Greek, compound term. Seeking for Greek equivalents to the members of the compound, one could see fairly easily that *tajjev*, *metajjev*, “prepare,” was some form of Greek *ἐτοιμος*, that the ending *-ūth* indicated a Greek abstract ending *-ια*, perhaps *ἐτοιμασία*, and that *mell<sup>e</sup>thā* = word = *λόγος*. The abstract ending, in Semitic necessarily placed in the first member of the genitival combination, might, indeed probably would, in Greek be found at the end of the compound.<sup>1</sup> Trying this out, we arrive at *ετοιμολογια*. Since the itacistic equation *οι > υ* fits exactly the time demanded for this Syriac,<sup>2</sup> we arrive at *ἐτυμολογία* as the original Greek, and this fits perfectly into the context. Up to a short time ago I thought that I had been the first to see this; and, as far as our form and context are concerned, this remains true. Then I happened upon a note by the fine old Syriac scholar G. Hoffmann of Kiel. In this note<sup>3</sup> he takes up the vain labors of E. Nestle and Nöldeke over the similar, but clearly more Syriacized, term *ṭujāwā d<sup>e</sup> mell<sup>e</sup> thā* used by the highly learned Jacob of Elessa. For *ṭujāwā* Nestle had arrived only at *κατασκευή*, with which of course he could do nothing; and Nöldeke had suggested that it stood for a Greek technical term, but had not supplied it. Hoffmann tersely states: “ܡܠܘܚܘܬܐܘܘܢܐ = ἔτοιμον = ἔτυμον. ܡܠܘܚܘܬܐܘܘܢܐ = ἔτοιμολογία = ἐτυμολογία, denn οι = υ.” Our work therefore supplies only the first known occurrence of this combination, its older form (later Syriacized further by Jacob), and the greater precision attained by Sturtevant for the equation *οι = υ*.

Syriac usage for “etymology” is interesting.<sup>4</sup> The study of Greek

<sup>1</sup> Semitic has very few actual compounds; it habitually renders such terms by a genitival combination of two words.

<sup>2</sup> See E. H. Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (Chicago, 1920) pp. 143-46, cf. 132-35.

<sup>3</sup> *ZDMG XXXII* (1878) 736.

<sup>4</sup> Incidentally, we must correct three errors of pagination in the index of Brockelmann's *Lexicon* under “etymologia”: read 174*b* for 172*b*; 270*b* for 276*b*; 800*a* for 806*a*.

was continued seriously and intensively in the Syriac world of scholarship to the 8th or 9th century (by translators for the Arabs), and a smattering of it remained to the 13th century (Barhebraeus). So we find the grammarians Severus bar Shakkō, Elias of Sobha, and Barhebraeus (8th/9th–13th century) using ܐܘܢܘܠܘܓܝܐ and derivatives in this simple transliteration. The translators of Aristotle, and following them the lexicographers Bar ʿAlī and Bar Baḥlūl (10th–11th century), transliterate ܐܘܢܘܠܘܓܝܐ, perhaps with the rough breathing of *ἔτοιμολογία*, but possibly simply equating σ(*h*) with ε since the two letters are related in origin. Finally, perhaps following the lead of the Arabs, the late Ebedjesu uses a proper translation, ܐܘܢܘܠܘܓܝܐ (= *deductio, derivatio*).

§ 59. *σαταῖον*, *κορέιον*, and perhaps *καβείον* (or *καβιείον*) are attested by Syriac transliterations. They are measures of the ground areas which can be sown by a *σάτον* or seah, a kor, and a cab respectively of grain. These forms in these meanings do not seem to occur in any Greek or Syriac lexicon.

§ 82. ܐܘܢܘܠܘܓܝܐ is an astronomical term, but not = *ἀστρονομία*. A compound like *ἔτυμολογία* above is indicated. ܐܘܢܘܠܘܓܝܐ = *τίθημι*; ܐܘܢܘܠܘܓܝܐ (or ܐܘܢܘܠܘܓܝܐ) = *θέσις*, better *-θεσία*. The term *ἀστροθεσία*, “placing or configuration of stars,” fits the context perfectly. The constellations Pleiades and Orion as mentioned in Job 9:9 (at least as Epiphanius reads it) are the “configurations of stars” to which the reference applies.

It remains to express our appreciation of the kindness of the British Museum in making available to the Oriental Institute photostatic copies of both its Syriac manuscripts concerned, the older of which we here reproduce in facsimile. Our reproductions are two-thirds of actual size. Where the signs were too faint in the photostats they have been strengthened by Dr. Anis Kh. Frayha.

MARTIN SPRENGLING

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
July 5, 1935

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<sup>1</sup> Only this one heading occurs in the Syriac. The rest of the analysis included in the Table of Contents is added merely for the reader's convenience.

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## ABBREVIATIONS ETC.

Most of the references in the footnotes are written in full, or so nearly so that no special key is needed; but the following abbreviations occur:

- A British Museum Or. Add. 17148, the manuscript used as our text  
 B British Museum Or. Add. 14620, all of whose variants are given in the collation  
 c The symbol employed by Lagarde (*Symmicta* II [Göttingen, 1880] 149–216) for Oporinus' edition of the Greek text and retained here in the footnotes  
 K The Karkaphensian manuscript belonging to Mar Severius, archbishop of Syria and the Lebanon, the variants from which also are given  
 L Lagarde's edition of the Syriac text in his *Veteris Testamenti ab Origine recensiti fragmenta apud Syros servata quinque* (Gottingae, 1880) pp. 1–76; his variations from A are collated

LXX Septuagint

MT Massoretic text

P Peshitta

r The symbol employed by Lagarde for Codex Rehdigeranus

SG Sprengling and Graham, *Barhebraeus' Scholia on the Old Testament. Part I: Genesis–II Samuel* (Chicago, 1931)

The letter  $\omega$  is transliterated with *j* (e.g. in folio 60*d*).

The style of the collation here (pp. 119–33) is similar to that in SG, for which see details *ibid.* page xv.

For other conventions see page 6.





## INTRODUCTION

### THE AUTHOR

Among the Greek Fathers of the Christian church Epiphanius holds an important place. This is not because of his literary ability or his constructive achievements, but rather because of his great and far-reaching influence, in the main reactionary. In literary attainment he takes very low rank, but his influence was much greater. Jülicher says that he converted Jerome from an admirer of Origen to an antagonist, and that it was essentially through his influence that after A.D. 400 the free scientific theology of Origen was outlawed by the church. And, again, "etwas Rätselhaftes behält die Stärke des Einflusses, den dieser überaus beschränkte Mann auf seine Zeitgenossen und die Nachwelt übte."<sup>1</sup>

Epiphanius was born about A.D. 315 near Eleutheropolis in Palestine. He is thought to have been of Jewish parentage. While yet a youth he went to Egypt. The monastic movement was just getting under way, and he became a staunch adherent. At the age of twenty he returned to Palestine, and at this time he met Jerome and Rufinus and the three became firm friends, though the friendship with Rufinus was later lost in the dispute over Origen. Epiphanius founded a monastery and became its head. He was ordained a presbyter and rose to the rank of bishop. He attained fame for his piety and orthodoxy, and it was because of this fame that he was elevated to the bishopric of Constantia (Salamis), the principal city of Cyprus, where he remained from 367 until his death in 403. In Cyprus his two great ambitions were the establishment of monasticism and the uprooting of heresy. He planted monasteries throughout the island, and combated heresy both in personal disputations and in his writings. His first book was the *Ἀγκυρωτός* ("Anchored"), a discourse on the true faith. His second and most famous was *Κατὰ αἰρέσεων* (called also by the Latinized name *Panarion*), in which he undertook to refute eighty heresies, beginning as far back as the pre-Christian Samaritans,

<sup>1</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* VI (Stuttgart, 1909) 194.

Sadducees, and Stoics. In his enthusiastic heresy-hunting he came to believe that Origen was the source of practically all the later heresies, especially of Arianism. He brought Jerome to this view, and one of the last acts of his life was a combat with Chrysostom. The story of his final parting from the Bishop of Constantinople<sup>2</sup> is not to be taken literally, but it reveals something of the spirit of Epiphanius and of his times. Having rebuked Chrysostom for harboring heretics, he expressed the wish that Chrysostom might not die a bishop. The latter is said to have rejoined with a wish that Epiphanius might not live to get home. Both these things actually came to pass. Epiphanius died at sea on his return to Cyprus, in 403.

*Weights and Measures* was composed in 392. Epiphanius also composed a treatise on the twelve stones in the breastplate of Aaron. This latter does not exist in its complete form, but it is most fully preserved in a Latin translation. Two of Epiphanius' letters have been preserved, one to Jerome, the other to John of Jerusalem. In 1915 Sir E. A. Wallis Budge published a Coptic version of a *Discourse on the Holy Virgin* by Epiphanius.<sup>3</sup> There exists also the *'Ανακεφαλαίωσις*, an abridgment of the *Panarion*. But this is little more than a compilation of the various epitomes prefixed by Epiphanius to the various volumes (*τομοι*) of the *Panarion*, and it is the opinion of Karl Holl that the *'Ανακεφαλαίωσις* was put in its present form by someone else.<sup>4</sup> The Migne edition of the Fathers gives other things with which the name of Epiphanius has been associated, but which are evidently not from his hand.

#### THE "WEIGHTS AND MEASURES"

The complete *Weights and Measures* exists in Syriac only. In fact, it is not known what was the original title, if it had one. Not one of the older Greek manuscripts has the title from the hand of the original scribe. The Codex Parisinus Graecus 835 has the title *Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν*, added by a later hand. Codex Vindobonensis suppl. gr.

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., VIII (1878) 482.

<sup>3</sup> *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1915) pp. 120-46.

<sup>4</sup> "Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Epiphanius" (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, hrsg. von Adolf Harnack und Carl Schmidt, Bd. XXXVI, Heft 2 [Leipzig, 1910] pp. 95-98).

91 has some of its material disarranged. *Weights and Measures* is divided into two parts, and there is no title for the first. At the beginning of the second part someone has added the foregoing Greek title in the margin. The text of this part begins: *Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς* *ᾧν(sic) σταθμῶν τε καὶ μέτρων καὶ ἀριθμῶν δηλώσαντες.*<sup>5</sup> The oldest Syriac manuscript has the title: ܩܬܘܒܘܢ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܡܘܨܪܐܝܐ ܕܡܘܨܪܐܝܐ ܕܡܘܨܪܐܝܐ ܕܡܘܨܪܐܝܐ ܕܡܘܨܪܐܝܐ. It is readily apparent that the title is inadequate, for the work is really “die Urform eines Bibellexikons,” as Jülicher well says.<sup>6</sup> Viedebant says: “*Librum enim non ab ipso Epiphanio ita inscriptum esse inde luce clarius apparet, quod mensurae et pondera exigua tantum libelli parte continentur, cum ceteras paginas varia rerum materies expleat.*”<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the work contains much material that has no relation to weights or measures, and it could much more appropriately be called a Bible handbook.

#### THE MANUSCRIPTS

As stated above, the *Weights and Measures* in its complete form exists in only the Syriac version, of which there are two manuscripts, both in the British Museum. The Museum has numbered them Or. Add. 17148 (the older) and Or. Add. 14620. According to the colophon at the end of the older, it was written between A.D. 648 and A.D. 659. The colophon is partly gone and no longer gives the month or the last figure in the year number. But this is certainly the oldest known manuscript of Epiphanius. The other Syriac manuscript is thought to be from the 9th century. Both are on vellum. Hitherto the Syriac text has been published only by Paul de Lagarde.<sup>8</sup> He attempted to reconstruct the original text on the basis of the two manuscripts mentioned, giving his collation in footnotes. But no Syriac type was available at Göttingen, and the result is a most unusual specimen of Syriac printed in Hebrew letters. The Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie* says it is “sehr schlecht ediert.”<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 57.

<sup>6</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* VI 193.

<sup>7</sup> Oscarius Viedebant, *Quaestiones Epiphaniae metrologicae et criticae* (Lipsiae, 1908) p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Veteris Testamenti ab Origene recensiti fragmenta apud Syros servata quinque. Praemittitur Epiphani de mensuris et ponderibus liber nunc primum integer et ipse syriacus* (Göttingae, 1880).

<sup>9</sup> *Loc. cit.*

In the original language *Weights and Measures* is preserved in a mutilated form only, in five principal manuscripts and a number of fragments. Manuscripts important for other works of Epiphanius are not considered here except incidentally. The five major manuscripts are:

1. Codex Jenensis (ms. Bose 1), a bombycine manuscript dated 1304. Holl says this comes from Codex Urbinas 17/18, a manuscript of the 12th or 13th century no longer containing anything about weights and measures. This manuscript came into the possession of Dindorf, who issued his edition of Epiphanius in 1859–62. But as early as 1543 Janus Cornarius had published a Latin translation of the manuscript; Joannes Oporinus published the Greek itself in 1544.

2. Codex Rehdigeranus 240 (Breslau) is a parchment of the 15th century, said by Holl to have been derived from Codex Jenensis.<sup>10</sup> Dindorf says, “ab codice Jenensi non discrepans nisi in rebus levissimis.”<sup>11</sup> Lagarde used this manuscript in his edition of the Greek text.<sup>12</sup>

3. Codex Parisinus Graecus 835, a paper manuscript of the 16th century. Holl says it was derived from Codex Rehdigeranus 240.<sup>13</sup> Dindorf pronounces it to have been copied from a codex very much like (“simillimus”) Codex Jenensis.<sup>14</sup> This manuscript was the basis for *Weights and Measures* in the edition of Epiphanius published by Dionysius Petau, or Petavius, in 1622. Dindorf used the edition of Petavius, and Lagarde used the edition of Oporinus, as one of his main sources.

4. Codex Vindobonensis suppl. gr. 91, a paper manuscript which Dindorf attributes to the 14th century. He adds: “Ipse quoque Jenensi est simillimus, propria vero sibi habet vitia orthographica imperiti librarii diphthongos et vocales pronunciatione similes saepissime confundentis, quod raro commisit antiquior et peritior codicis Jenensis librarius.”<sup>15</sup> Holl calls it a descendant or a twin of Codex Urbinas 17/18,<sup>16</sup> from which Codex Jenensis also is said to have come. Viede-

<sup>10</sup> Holl, *op. cit.* p. 94.

<sup>11</sup> *Epiphaniï episcopi Constantiae opera*, ed. G. Dindorfius, I (Lipsiae, 1859) vi.

<sup>12</sup> *Symmicta* II (Göttingen, 1880) 152–83.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 72 f. and 94.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.* p. v.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* p. vi.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 63.

bantt says of this manuscript: "Lectiones nusquam adnotatae sunt."<sup>17</sup>

5. Codex Laurentianus VI 12, a bombycine codex of the 14th century, of the same ancestry as Codex Jenensis according to Holl.<sup>18</sup> So far as the writer is aware, this last has never been used in any edition. The known Greek manuscripts containing material on weights and measures thus seem to be very closely related.

#### FRAGMENTARY MANUSCRIPTS

In the preface to his fourth volume of the works of Epiphanius, Dindorf quotes two fragments of the first part of *Weights and Measures*. The subjects and sources are as follows:

1. On the LXX translators and τῶν παρερμηνευσάντων. This was first edited by Montfaucon, in his *Prolegomena ad Origenis Hexapla*, from Codex Parisinus Graecus 146 (earlier called Regius 1807) and a certain Codex Vaticanus.<sup>19</sup>

2. On the creation of the world. This was taken by Dindorf from Codex Venetus Marcianus Graecus 125.

The first three Greek manuscripts previously listed<sup>20</sup> deal for the most part with the weights and measures per se in a very fragmentary fashion. Their text is in general agreement with the Syriac version in the discussion of the kor, *lethekeh*, homer, bath, *m<sup>e</sup>nasis*, *medimnos*, seah, and *modius*. But here divergence appears. The Greek material on all the remaining weights and measures is but a small fraction of what the Syriac has preserved. In his *Quaestiones Epiphaniae* Viedebantt lists various fragments containing material on weights and measures which is much the same as the concluding portions of the Greek manuscripts just mentioned. Some of these fragments are to be found in Lagarde's *Symmicta* I (Göttingen, 1877) 210–25. Others are in Fridericus Hultsch, *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae* I (Lipsiae, 1864) 267–76. For his own material and for Hultsch's Lagarde has a convenient index in his *Symmicta* II 184 f. There is an old Latin fragment in Hultsch's second volume (pp. 100–106).

<sup>17</sup> *Quaestiones Epiphaniae*, p. 25.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 80, 87, 94.

<sup>19</sup> Viedebantt, *op. cit.* p. 26.

<sup>20</sup> Nothing is said for the other two, since they are not cited for this part of the work by either Dindorf or Lagarde.

Viedebantt notes also certain Greek fragments perhaps not yet published.<sup>21</sup> Besides the foregoing there is a considerable extract in the Karkaphensian manuscript belonging to Mar Severius, archbishop of Syria and the Lebanon, a photograph of which is owned by the University of Chicago (fol. 397*a*, l. 23—fol. 398*a*, l. 16).<sup>22</sup>

#### THE PRESENT EDITION

This is essentially an edition of the Syriac version of the *Weights and Measures*. Or. Add. 17148 of the British Museum is here reproduced photographically, following our translation. Then comes the collation of Or. Add. 14620, the Lagarde edition of 1880, and the unpublished fragment of Epiphanius in the Karkaphensian manuscript mentioned above. Square brackets in the translation indicate words supplied from the margin of the basic manuscript or from Or. Add. 14620. Parentheses inclose words required by the English idiom. Footnotes indicate the striking Greek variants as gleaned from the editions of Migne, Dindorf, and Lagarde. A single folio of Or. Add. 14620 which could not be conveniently collated appears as Appendix I. The translation of section 21 of the Greek forms Appendix II, and the fragmentary conclusion of the Greek manuscripts has been translated and appears as Appendix III. The weights and measures discussed have been summarized in Appendix IV.

#### SOME PROBLEMS

Anyone making a careful study of the *Weights and Measures* will find himself confronting some very puzzling problems, such as these:

1. How did the introductory three sections of the Syriac version arise?<sup>23</sup> The Greek manuscripts have nothing like them, unless it be their curtailed conclusion dealing specifically with weights and measures. The first of these sections of the Syriac may well be in its original position, for in both the *'Αγκυρωτός* and the *Panarion* an introduction gives the circumstances of the compilation. The two sections that follow here claim to be "a list in brief of the topics found in this treatise," but it is neither a complete nor an orderly list. It might serve as a

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 27 f.

<sup>22</sup> It is hoped that this may be published by Dr. Martin Sprengling.

<sup>23</sup> Section divisions follow Lagarde, but the numbers of these first three sections have been italicized.

summary of most of the latter part of *Weights and Measures*, if the order of the two sections were reversed. Epiphanius prefixed a sort of summary to each volume (*τομος*) of the *Panarion*, and he may well have done the same for the two parts of *Weights and Measures*. If so, the summary of the first part was lost, or nearly so; for the fragment edited by Montfalcon, cited above, is called an epitome by Viedebant.<sup>24</sup> The curtailed portion of the Greek dealing with the weights and measures per se may be from the summary of that part. Just how the portion of the summary preserved in the Syriac found its present place, a part of it in reverse order, may never be determined.

2. How did the long interpolation in section 21 originate? This is a mere catalogue of measures and is unmistakably interpolated in the midst of the discussion of the kor in both the Greek and the Syriac. It must have been inserted by some clumsy scribe, and seems to be part of an index for *Weights and Measures*. In both word order and phrasing it is surprisingly like part of the summary prefixed to the Syriac version, and here Viedebant would find its source.<sup>25</sup>

3. Where did Epiphanius get his data on the Ptolemies and the Roman emperors? Most certainly from the *Chronicle* of Eusebius; for he expressly quotes that work elsewhere, and the reigns of the Roman emperors agree in remarkable fashion. But this is not the whole story. His figures do not exactly agree with any existing version of Eusebius (the original being long since lost), but there is one most interesting agreement with the Bodleian manuscript of Jerome's version. Cleopatra reigned 51-30 B.C., but Epiphanius says thirty-two years. All the versions of Eusebius say twenty-two except this manuscript of Jerome's. It read originally XXII, but someone has inserted another X and thus made it XXXII.<sup>26</sup> Is it possible that this very error misled Epiphanius? He and Jerome were intimate friends, and one of his letters to Jerome is extant. Jerome called Epiphanius the "five-tongued," and Latin was one of the five.

4. Did Epiphanius complete his treatise on weights and measures, or did he leave merely a first draft of an unfinished work? This latter

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 26.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 12-15.

<sup>26</sup> *The Bodleian Manuscript of Jerome's Version of the Chronicle of Eusebius*, reproduced in collotype with an introd. by J. K. Fotheringham (Oxford, 1905) fol. 103b.

is the view of Lagarde, who says: "ausserdem ist mir sicher, dass wir kein herausgegebenes buch vor uns haben, sondern die abschrift einer kladde, in welcher gleichwertige versuche, eine fassung zu gewinnen, gelegentlich nebeneinander standen: diese sind in den verschiedenen abschriften je nach belieben der kopisten gerettet worden."<sup>27</sup> It would surely be strange for such a work as this, written in 392, to remain yet a mere first draft upon the death of the author eleven years later, in 403. When the character of the other works of Epiphanius is taken into consideration, there is no need to regard the original which lies back of the Syriac version as "die abschrift einer kladde." His style was far from elegant and was also repetitious. Moreover, in section 57 he seems to describe his method of procedure in the composition of this work. He says: "No one of those who have met with these weights and measures which have been mentioned by us for the second time can find fault, as though the writing were without purpose, instead of to teach accuracy; for although we spoke of them heretofore somewhat briefly, we have now set down for the sake of accuracy those things also that had been abbreviated." Perhaps there is here a reference to the fact that he wrote his summary first and later the more expanded form, as was the custom with ancient Greek writers. Such considerations lead Viedebant to challenge Lagarde's statement and to conclude: "Quare nihil est causae, cur cum Lagardio non ab ipso Epiphanio librum editum esse sumamus."<sup>28</sup> It ought to be added that, even in those sections for which no corresponding Greek is preserved, the Syriac shows in many places unmistakable evidence of a Greek original. This can be seen in the new translation here presented and in the footnotes.

#### THE "WEIGHTS AND MEASURES" AMONG THE SYRIANS

As early as A.D. 200 Galen, a Greek physician, often made mention of "those writing on weights and measures." Dardanius wrote about weights in the latter part of the 4th century, and Diodorus a little later. That this work by Epiphanius was thus by no means indispensable among the Greeks may account largely for the present state of the Greek text. It seems to have been neglected because not recog-

<sup>27</sup> *Symmicta* II 183.

<sup>28</sup> *Quaestiones Epiphaniae*, p. 23.



nized as of special value. But when translated into Syriac the work filled a larger need and found for itself a much more secure place. As late as 1272 Epiphanius is frequently quoted by Barhebraeus in his *Awṣar ʿRâzê* or scholia on the Sacred Scriptures. The Syriac version of *Weights and Measures* was so highly treasured that an extract from it is even found in the Karkaphensian Massorah manuscript to which we have already referred.



45a

THE TREATISE OF ST. EPIPHANIUS ON  
WEIGHTS AND MEASURES (SYRIAC  
INTRODUCTORY SECTIONS)<sup>1</sup>

1. [Further, it is well that we should know] what occasion induced Saint Epiphanius to compose<sup>2</sup> this treatise on the measures and weights in the divine Scriptures. The occasion arose in the church when Saint Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, was summoned by the God-fearing kings Valentinian,<sup>3</sup> Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, by letter. There was dwelling in Constantinople a certain venerable priest, Bardion by name, a Persian by race, a learned man, eager to learn (whatever is of) value in the divine Scriptures. He found weights and measures in the divine Scriptures; he sought information about them from Saint Epiphanius, the bishop. Then, perceiving the diligence of the one asking, he (the bishop) devoted himself to the task of collecting (information) from all the divine Scriptures and a multitude of histories. And when he had done this, he wrote it out in orderly fashion. And these things were finally composed and written|as follows.

2. A list in brief of the topics found in this treatise.<sup>4</sup> Concerning weights. The talent, of 125 *librae*.<sup>5</sup> The *assarion*,<sup>6</sup> 100 *lepta*, by which (term *lepton*) also the smallest (weight) among the Hebrews is translated. The *nomisma*, 60 *assaria*; the *assarion*, however, consists of 100 *denaria*.<sup>7</sup> The *nomisma* of silver; hence they say also silver (talent) in the Scriptures. The *nomisma*, that is to say, the silver (talent),

<sup>1</sup> The order "Weights and Measures" is based on B.

<sup>2</sup> Lit., "what occasion called and St. Epiphanius made."

<sup>3</sup> I.e., Valentinian II, emperor of the West, is said to have joined with Theodosius, emperor of the East, and the two sons of the latter in summoning Epiphanius to Constantinople.

<sup>4</sup> But it is actually neither an orderly nor a complete list.

<sup>5</sup> We use this Latin term throughout except in a single paragraph; the Greek *litra* seems to be derived from it.

<sup>6</sup> I.e., a synonym for *libra*; weights are under discussion.

<sup>7</sup> Incorrect; see §§ 45 and 54. The Greek *nomisma* usually meant "coin" in general, but was also specifically applied to a coin or coin unit not in circulation.

they divide into 6,000 *lepta*; it is also what accountants call the unit. The *centenarius* of 100 *librae*, which the Romans invented. The *libra*, 12 ounces; but the ounce is 2 staters, and the stater 4 *zūzē*. Two *zūzē*, 1 shekel, which is one-fourth of an ounce. The *kodrantēs*, which also  
 45c has the weight of 1 shekel, that is one-fourth of an ounce.<sup>8</sup> But the *kōdarion* is so named from the fact that it is tied up (in a purse) when it is changed. There was also an obolus which contained one-eighth of an ounce; it was of iron and in the form of an arrow. But there was also another obolus that was coined of silver, one-eightieth of an ounce. The *chalkoi* were found among the Egyptians, who originally made 8 to the ounce, each one of which was a *zūzā*. The Italian mina, of 20 ounces; but the barbarian, which is also the Theban, of 30 ounces. And, finally, they minted other kinds also, sometimes of 2 *librae* and sometimes of 4 *librae*. The *dichryson*<sup>9</sup> was half of the silver (*denarius*), and the silver (*denarius*) was a *zūzā*. And this *dichryson* was also finally called *repudiated*, because of him who had coined it. And there  
 45d is also a silver coin called the *folis*, having the weight of half an ounce. And the *folis*, (so called) because of the roundness of its form, is that which is found among the Hebrews as the  $\text{פֶּלֶס}$ ,<sup>10</sup> which, moreover, is 2 double *zūzē* of silver. But among the Romans there were formerly 125<sup>11</sup> by number in the measure called the *folis*, which is also the bag, that is to say, the purse.<sup>12</sup> Two *lepta*, 1 shekel, which is one-fourth of an ounce. Every *lepton*, an obolus.

3. Concerning the measurement<sup>13</sup> of land and measures (of capacity). The "field"<sup>14</sup> is a land measure and consists of (the land sown by) 5 or 6 seahs. The kor is 30 *modii*. The *lethekh* is 15 *modii*, the same as the great homer.<sup>15</sup> The great homer, 15 *modii*. The bath,<sup>16</sup> other-

<sup>8</sup> SG, pp. 149, 341.

<sup>9</sup> The spelling found in Sophocles' *Lexicon*; cf. § 52.

<sup>10</sup> The *solidus* was  $\frac{1}{2}$  ounce in the Roman system; see Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures* (London, 1926) p. 25. Doubtless the word written here is an error for *sela*, written  $\text{שֶׁלָּא}$  in § 53.

<sup>11</sup> I.e., small silver pieces, called *miliarenses*.

<sup>12</sup> B indicates a major pause here.

<sup>13</sup> B has the plural here.

<sup>14</sup> Margin: *αρουρα*.

<sup>15</sup> The Greek *γομωρ* represents both the omer and the homer; there is only the context to guide in the choice between the two terms.

<sup>16</sup> Margin:  $\text{בַּת}$ ; cf. § 21.

wise the little homer, 50 *xestai*. The seah, an overfull *modius*, that is  
 46a to say, because of its overflow, a *modius* and a quarter. The *modius*,  
 of 22 *xestai*, which is also the sacred measure. The cab, among some  
 one-fourth of a *modius*, among others one-fifth, and among a few one-  
 sixth. The *choenix*, among the Cyprians one-eighth of the *modius*,  
 which (with them) is 17 *xestai*, making  $2\frac{1}{8}$  *xestai*. The *hyfī*<sup>17</sup> of fine  
 flour, being the same as the *choenix*. The handful of meal, what the  
 hand can grasp; and so the measure signifies as much as the hand can  
 hold.<sup>18</sup> The ardeb, 72 *xestai*, which also is found as a sacred measure.  
 Three measures of fine flour, one-tenth, it is said, of an ardeb, that is,  
 $7\frac{1}{2}$  *xestai*, (in) every measure. But each measure holds an omer; and,  
 again, in every measure (are) 3 (little) omers, every one of them 2  
 46b *xestai* and one-third and one-fifteenth. Three measures of fine flour  
 are not a measure but a kind, that is, broken grains of wheat that have  
 been ground and have fallen into baskets.<sup>19</sup> The *nēvel* of wine is a  
 measure of 150 *xestai*, that is to say, 3 liquid seahs; for a liquid seah  
 consists of 50 *xestai*. The *kollathon*, among the Syrians half of a liquid  
 seah, which is 25 *xestai*. The *shāṭīftā*<sup>20</sup> of ointment, a vessel round in  
 form, containing a *libra* by weight, that is to say, half a *xestēs*. The  
*aporryma*, only among the Thebans, which is half a *saitēs*, of 11 *xestai*;  
 for a complete *saitēs* is 22 *xestai*. The *kapsakēs* of water, the great one  
 of 12 *xestai*; but the small one that was provided for Elijah<sup>21</sup> was of 4  
 46c *xestai*. The *kotylē* of oil, one-half a *xestēs*. The *kyathos*, a measure for  
 mixed wine, the *xestēs* being divided sometimes into 6 parts, sometimes  
 into 3. The *metrētēs* of wine; great is the variation in this measure, but  
 according to the sacred measure 72 *xestai*. The *metrētēs* of oil indi-  
 cates the same measure. The *tryblion*, shaped like the *scutella*,<sup>22</sup> but a  
 measure of half a *xestēs*. The *xestēs*; there is great variation in the  
*xestai*, the Pontic being four times the Alexandrian, 8 *librae* in oil, but  
 the Italian 22 ounces, the Alexandrian 2 *librae*, the *castrensis* 2 *librae*

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Lagarde, *Orientalia* II (Göttingen, 1880) 2 f.

<sup>18</sup> Lit.: "indicating a measure that fills the grasp of the hand."

<sup>19</sup> *καλίσκιον*, diminutive of *κάβειον*, a basket of reed or cane, especially a bread basket.

<sup>20</sup> Greek: *ἀλάβαστρον*; cf. Mark 14:3 and Peshitta.

<sup>21</sup> I Kings 19:6.

<sup>22</sup> B has *كسك*, which denotes a dish practically square, about the same as the Latin *scutella*.

and two-thirds and a little (more), the Nicomedian 20 ounces. The amphora, said to be the same measure as the *nēvel*, for the Cyprians call a jar of 150 *xestai* an amphora. The *shāfūthā*, which among those of Ashkelon is of 22 *xestai*, among those of Azotus of 18 *xestai*, among 46d those of Gaza of 14 *xestai*. The hin, the great one, 18 *xestai*, which is one-fourth of a *metrētēs*; but the sacred one is 9 *xestai*. The *chūs*, the complete one, of 8 *xestai*, but the sacred one of 6 *xestai*. The golden *stamnos*,<sup>23</sup> which was of 4 *xestai*, in which was the manna. The *marēs*, among the Pontians 2 jars, each one of 10 *xestai*, which is 20 Alexandrian *xestai*. The *kupros*, among them 2 *modii*. The *congiarium*, of 6 *xestai*. The *mēnasis*, among the Cyprians and others 10 *modii* of wheat or barley. The *medimnos* of the Cyprians varies; for those of Constantia say 5 *modii*, but those of Paphos and the Sicilians say 4½ *modii*. Here ends the (list of) topics.

<sup>23</sup> Heb. 9:4; cf. LXX, Exod. 16:33.

47a (THE TREATISE) OF ST. EPIPHANIUS, BISHOP OF THE  
CITY OF CONSTANTIA IN CYPRUS, ON MEASURES  
AND WEIGHTS AND NUMBERS AND OTHER THINGS  
THAT ARE IN THE DIVINE SCRIPTURES

1. Whoever wishes to have an understanding of the terms<sup>1</sup> most frequently employed in the divine Scriptures—I mean the measures and weights and an understanding of other things<sup>2</sup>—let him take the trouble to read this memorandum. And first of all, it is well for him who is a lover of learning to know how many divisions there are in the prophetic writings.<sup>3</sup> For the prophetic writings are divided into ten classes,<sup>4</sup> as follows:

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. Teachings <sup>5</sup>      | 6. Punishments, <sup>7</sup> wailings <sup>8</sup> |
| 2. Contemplations <sup>4</sup> | 7. Lamentations                                    |
| 3. Exhortations                | 8. Prayers   |
| 4. Rebukes <sup>6</sup>        | 9. Narrations                                      |
| 5. Threatenings                | 10. Predictions                                    |

47b And these signs are employed in the prophetic writings:<sup>9</sup>  $\searrow$  for the rejection of the ancient people;  $\underline{\text{a}}$  for the rejection of the law that is in the flesh;  $\underline{\text{u}}$  for the new covenant;  $\text{f}$  for the calling of the Gentiles;  $\times$  for the Messiah;  $\text{z}$  for the promises to the ancient people;  $\text{z}$  for obscure passages in the Scriptures;  $\square$  for foreknowledge of things going to take place.

<sup>1</sup> Lit., "parts."

<sup>2</sup> "And an understanding of other things" is not in the Greek.

<sup>3</sup> Margin: "in the divine Scriptures."

<sup>4</sup> These two words are the same in Syriac and in Greek, literally, "theories"; in the second case both A and B employ the singular.

<sup>5</sup> Plural in B.

<sup>6</sup> Not in Greek mss. employed by Lagarde and Dindorf; Lagarde supplies  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ .

<sup>7</sup> Not in the Greek; apparently a gloss on "threatenings."

<sup>8</sup> B has this as a marginal gloss on  $\text{z}$ .

<sup>9</sup> Never in general use and of no special value;  $\text{z}$  is in the margin of B as a gloss on "prophetic writings."

2. And inasmuch as some have also supplied the Scriptures with marks of punctuation, these also are employed as marks of punctuation: acute (accent) ´; grave (accent) `; circumflex ^; long (vowel) ¯; short (vowel) ˇ; rough (breathing) ʼ; <sup>10</sup> smooth (breathing) ʻ; <sup>10</sup> apostrophe ´; hyphen -; *hypodiastolē*, . Concerning the asterisk, the obelus, the *lemniscus*, and the *hypolemniscus*, that is, the signs that are in the divine Scriptures.<sup>11</sup> The asterisk is this \*; and wherever used it indicates that the word used occurs in the Hebrew, and occurs in Aquila  
 47c and Symmachus, and rarely also in Theodotian. | But the seventy-two translators passed it by and did not translate it, because such words were repetitious and superfluous. And in elucidation of the things that have been said,<sup>12</sup> let it be said by means of a brief quotation, so that from the one instance you may understand others. There occurs in the first part of Genesis *wʳjʳ ʳdhm slwʳjm snʳ wthsʳ mjwth snʳ*,<sup>13</sup> which is translated, “and Adam lived thirty years and nine hundred years,” as Aquila also agrees. Here the seventy-two translators, being Hebrews and having been carefully instructed from early youth in the language of the Hebrews as well as that of the Greeks, did not merely translate the Hebrew writing into the Greek, but also, translating with insight, they retained the expression that was uttered twice among the Hebrews; but, instead of the word “year” being employed in two places, they used it in but one. What was considered lameness they changed to smoothness when [they said, “And Adam lived] nine hundred and thirty years,” where, moreover, they did not eliminate  
 47d | a single word. But they also handed down accurately<sup>14</sup> a reading which in the Hebrew cannot be expressed as concisely as when the seventy-two say, “Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years.” But it is not thus in the Greek, so that Aquila translated superficially,<sup>15</sup> saying, “Adam lived nine hundred years and thirty years.” For be-

<sup>10</sup> The ancient forms of our ´ and `.

<sup>11</sup> I.e., in the *Hexapla* of Origen or in quotations from that work. Cf. H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge, 1914) pp. 59–76. Greek: “Likewise also concerning the rest of the signs. Concerning the asterisk.”

<sup>12</sup> Preceding part of the sentence not in Greek.

<sup>13</sup> An English transliteration of the Syriac transliteration of the original Greek of Epiphanius, which itself appears to be a blundering attempt to reconstruct in Greek letters the Hebrew of Gen. 5:5 from which the LXX reading came.

<sup>14</sup> Lit., “with clearness.”

<sup>15</sup> Greek: ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς.



hold, O lover of learning,<sup>16</sup> that it does not give smoothness to the sentence, having regard not to clearness of expression but to the exactness of the repetition of the word. Now this seems to some to be an omission made by the seventy-two, while by Aquila and Symmachus and other translators it is translated without any omission. However, there has been no (real) omission by the seventy-two. But, moreover, by the followers of Aquila, with harshness of sound<sup>17</sup> the word is superfluously used in two places instead of one, that is, instead of "years," "year" and "year."<sup>18</sup> Therefore the seventy-two omitted  
 48a the word "year" in one place. | But when the followers of Aquila came later and filled in the things that had been omitted by the seventy-two, they seemed altogether superfluous. And Origen, coming after them, restored the word that was lacking in every place, but placed the asterisk by it. Not that the word was of necessity required in all cases—for it was superfluous—but because he would not permit the Jews and Samaritans to find fault with the divine Scriptures in the holy churches, since there is nothing in the words with asterisks disparaging to the faith; for they are (merely) superfluous and repetitious, as we see by reading in the case of Adam and his life, since even from the shorter sentence you are also able to insert the other words by which the asterisks have been placed. But that you may know also why he  
 48b placed the asterisk | by these words, without malice we have said this also. You know, O reader, that there are stars in the firmament of heaven, even if they are obscured by clouds or the sun. It was with this thought that he acted when he placed the asterisks, that he might show you that the words to which the asterisks are attached are fixed in the Hebrew Scriptures like the stars in the firmament of heaven, but that they have been obscured by the translation of the seventy-two as the stars are obscured by the clouds. This is the significance of the asterisk.

3. As to the story of the obelus, it goes this way. The obelus is that which is made —, for it is written in the form of what is called the line. But according to Attic usage obelus means spear,<sup>19</sup> that is, lance. And

<sup>16</sup> Margin: "(lover of the) good."

<sup>17</sup> Observe the margin: *κακοφωνίας*.

<sup>18</sup> Both Syriac and Greek here use the singular in imitation of the Hebrew idiom employed in Gen. 5:5.

<sup>19</sup> Dindorf's Greek reads: "According to Attic usage it is called the obelus, but by others it is called the spear."

in the divine Scriptures it is placed by those words which are used by the seventy-two translators but do not occur among the followers of Aquila or Symmachus. For the|seventy-two translators added these words of themselves, not uselessly but, rather, helpfully. For where they added words lacking in these (other versions), they gave clearness to the reading, so that we regard them as not disassociated<sup>20</sup> from the Holy Spirit. For they omitted those that had no need of repetition; but where there was a word that was considered ambiguous when translated into the Greek language, there they made an addition. This may be surprising, but we should not be rash to bring censure, but rather praise that it is according to the will of God that what is sacred should be understood. For while they were seventy-two in number and on the Pharian island, but called Anōgē,<sup>21</sup> opposite Alexandria, they were in thirty-six cells, two in each cell. From morning to evening they were shut up, and in the evening they would cross over in thirty-six small boats and go again to the palace of Ptolemy Philadelphus and dine with him.<sup>22</sup>|And each pair slept in (one of) thirty-six bedchambers, so that they might not talk with one another, but might produce an unadulterated translation. Thus they conducted themselves. For, having constructed the thirty-six cells already mentioned, over on the island, and formed them into pairs, Ptolemy shut them up in them two by two, as I have said. And with them he shut up two youths to minister to them in preparing food and (in other) service, and also skilled<sup>23</sup> scribes. Moreover, he had made no opening into these cells through the walls, but in the roof above he opened what are called roof windows. But while thus abiding from morning to evening shut in by locks, they were translating as follows. To every pair one book was given. That is to say, the book of the Genesis of the world to one pair, the Exodus of the Israelites to another pair, that of Leviticus to another, and the next book in order to the next; and thus were translated the twenty-seven|recognized canonical books, but twenty-two when counted according to the letters of the alphabet of the Hebrews.

<sup>20</sup> Greek: *ἐμολπους*.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the *Letter of Aristeas*, ed. H. St. J. Thackeray (London, 1917) §301: "northern district"; also *ibid.* p. 109. A later edition by Raffaele Tramontano, *La lettera di Aristeo a Filocrate* (Napoli, 1931), renders similarly.

<sup>22</sup> Margin adds the word "meal."

<sup>23</sup> Lit., "fast."

4. For the names of the letters are twenty-two. But there are five of them that have a double form, for *k* has a double form, and *m* and *n* and *p* and *ς*.<sup>24</sup> Therefore in this manner the books also are counted as twenty-two; but there are twenty-seven, because five of them are double. For Ruth is joined to Judges, and they are counted among the Hebrews (as) one book. The first (book) of Kingdoms<sup>25</sup> is joined to the second and called one book; the third is joined to the fourth and becomes one book. First Paraleipomena is joined to Second and called one book. The first book of Ezra is joined to the second and becomes one book.<sup>26</sup> So in this way the books are grouped into four “pentateuchs,” and there are two others left over, so that the books  
 49b of the (Old) Testament are as follows: the five of the Law—| Genesis,<sup>27</sup> Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers,<sup>28</sup> Deuteronomy—this is the Pentateuch, otherwise the code of law,<sup>29</sup> and five in verse—the book of Job, then of the Psalms, the Proverbs of Solomon, Koheleth, the Song of Songs. Then another “pentateuch” (of books) which are called the Writings, and by some the Hagiographa, which are as follows: Joshua the (son) of Nun, the book of Judges with Ruth, First and Second Paraleipomena, First and Second Kingdoms, Third and Fourth Kingdoms; and this is a third “pentateuch.” Another “pentateuch” is the books of the prophets—the Twelve Prophets (forming) one<sup>30</sup> book,<sup>30</sup> Isaiah one,<sup>30</sup> Jeremiah one,<sup>30</sup> Ezekiel one,<sup>30</sup> Daniel one<sup>30</sup>—and again the prophetic “pentateuch” is filled up.<sup>31</sup> But there remain two other books, which are (one of them) the two<sup>30</sup> of Ezra that are counted as one, and the other the book of Esther. So twenty-two  
 49c | letters of the Hebrews. For there are two (other) poetical books, that by Solomon called “Most Excellent,”<sup>32</sup> and that by Jesus the son of Sirach and grandson of Jesus—<sup>33</sup>for his grandfather was named Jesus<sup>33</sup> (and was) he who composed Wisdom in Hebrew, which his grandson,

<sup>24</sup> I.e., the writer is thinking of the final and medial forms.

<sup>25</sup> I.e., following the usage of LXX.

<sup>26</sup> This sentence not in the Greek.

<sup>27</sup> Lit., “Creation.”

<sup>28</sup> The margin says this word often has a prefixed ς in Greek.

<sup>29</sup> Greek: νομοθεσία.

<sup>30</sup> Word not in the Greek.

<sup>31</sup> Greek: “and this is the prophetic ‘pentateuch.’”

<sup>32</sup> I.e., the Wisdom of Solomon.

<sup>33-33</sup> Not in the Greek.

translating, wrote in Greek—which also are helpful and useful, but are not included in the number of the recognized; and therefore they were not<sup>34</sup> kept in the chest, that is, in the ark of the covenant.

5. But, further, this also should not escape you, O lover of the good, that the Hebrews have also divided the book of Psalms into five books, so that it is yet another “pentateuch.” For from the first Psalm to the fortieth they reckon one book, and from the forty-first to the seventy-first they reckon a second; from the seventy-second to the eighty-eighth they make the third book; for the eighty-ninth to  
 49d the one hundred fifth they make the fourth; from the one hundred sixth to the one hundred fiftieth they unite into the fifth. For every Psalm that had as its conclusion, “Blessed be the Lord, so be it, so be it,” they thought to be appropriately the end of a book. And this is found in the fortieth and in the seventy-first and in the eighty-eighth and in the one hundred fifth, <sup>35</sup>and (thus) the four books are completed.<sup>35</sup> But the conclusion of the fifth book, instead of the “Blessed be the Lord, so be it, so be it,” is “Let everything that breathes praise the Lord! Hallelujah!” For when they thus reckoned they thereby completed the whole matter.<sup>36</sup> Thus they are twenty-seven; but they are counted as twenty-two, even with the book of Psalms and those by Jeremiah—I mean Lamentations and the epistles of Baruch <sup>35</sup>and of Jeremiah,<sup>35</sup> although the epistles are not in use among the Hebrews, but only Lamentations, which is joined to Jeremiah. In the way we have related they were translated. They  
 50a were given to every pair of translators in rotation, and again from the first pair to the second, and from the second pair to the third; and thus they went, every one going around.<sup>37</sup> And they were translated thirty-six times, as the story goes,<sup>38</sup> both the twenty-two <sup>39</sup>and the seventy-two<sup>39</sup> that are apocryphal.

6. And when they were completed, the king sat on a lofty throne; and thirty-six readers <sup>40</sup>also sat below,<sup>40</sup> holding thirty-six duplicates

<sup>34</sup> Negative omitted by the Greek.

<sup>35-35</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>36</sup> This sentence not in the Greek.

<sup>37</sup> Instead of the appropriate *κυκλεύουσι* the Greek has *κελεύουσα*.

<sup>38</sup> Lit., both Syriac and Greek, “is sung.”

<sup>39-39</sup> Not in the Greek; cf. IV Esdras, chap. iv.

<sup>40-40</sup> Not in the Greek; “below” is justified by the marginal readings of both A and B.

of each book, and one had a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures. Each reader read alone, and the others kept watch. No<sup>41</sup> disagreement was found, but it was such an amazing work of God that it was recognized that these men possessed the gift of the Holy Spirit, because they agreed in translation. And wherever they had added a word all of them had added the same, and where they had made an omission all alike had made the omission. And there was no need for the omitted  
 50b words, but for those they added<sup>42</sup> there|was need. But that what is said may be clear to you, how marvelously, under the guidance of God and in the harmony of the Holy Spirit, they translated harmoniously and were not at variance with one another, in order that thereby knowing and being assured you may agree with our statement, I shall give you a demonstration of these things by means of a brief quotation.<sup>43</sup> In the one hundred fortieth Psalm it is put in the Hebrew thus: *ʾdhonj ʾlkh qrlth, smʾ ʾlj, ʾbhjt ʾqol*,<sup>44</sup> which is, being translated, "O Lord, I have cried unto thee; answer me; consider the voice." But the Hebrew does not have "of my request."<sup>45</sup> Behold, then, how lame it is found to be! So the seventy-two translators, when they added "of my request," made the line unhalting and translated: "O Lord, I have cried unto thee; answer me; consider the voice of my request." And behold in what beautiful style the psalm is (now) chanted! Under-  
 50c stand then, from this very brief statement, the similar things|inserted by these translators everywhere in the additions, for the words are well added in explanation<sup>46</sup> and for the advantage of the peoples about to be called to the faith of God and the obtaining of the inheritance of life from the divine words of the Old Testament and the New.

7. And in the same way also, Origen, doing well in making use of the asterisk, likewise also made use of the obelus as a symbol. Oh that he had done the other things as well! For when he had placed the six translations and the Hebrew writing, in Hebrew letters and words, in one column (each), he placed another column over against the latter,

<sup>41</sup> The Greek omits the negative.

<sup>42</sup> Greek: "those not taken away."

<sup>43</sup> Greek: *διὰ μακροῦ λόγου.*

<sup>44</sup> An English transliteration of the Syriac transliteration of the original Greek of Epiphanius, which seems itself to be a blundering attempt to reconstruct in Greek letters the Hebrew original of Ps. 141:1.

<sup>45</sup> This sentence not in the Greek.

<sup>46</sup> Greek: "as to style" or "as to phraseology."

in Greek letters but in Hebrew words, for the comprehension of those unacquainted with the Hebrew letters, so that by means of the Greek they might know the force of the Hebrew words. And so, in the 50d *Hexapla* or *Octapla*, which is<sup>47</sup> by him, where the two columns|of Hebrew and the six translations he set in order side by side, he has contributed to the lovers of the good a great increment of knowledge. If only in his discourses he had not erred, bringing harm to the world and to himself, when he taught wrongly the things pertaining to the faith and explained most of the Scriptures in an unorthodox manner. But I will take up the account of the obelus again.<sup>48</sup> Now we have said that obelus means lance, but the sword is the destructive one.<sup>49</sup> Where therefore the word is found to be used by the seventy-two but does not occur in the Hebrew, by the sign of the obelus placed beside the word it is known that the word is to be lifted up<sup>49</sup> from the native place, that is to say, from the soil of the Scriptures, as something that is not in the place in the Hebrew Scripture. And I have explained the things pertaining to the asterisk and the obelus.

8. 50Concerning the *lemniscus*.<sup>50</sup> But I must tell the things pertain- 51a ing to the *lemniscus*<sup>51</sup> ÷ and the *hypolemniscus* ∟. |The *lemniscus*, as the sign is here placed, is that which is written ÷. It is a line between two dots, that is to say, points,<sup>52</sup> one being above and one below. And it is found among physicians in physiology, and gets its name from surgery upon the body. When (the flesh) is separated, that is to say, cut apart, by two straight cuts, then in the middle of the two divisions of the cut place, because of the cuttings,<sup>53</sup> each one straight, the figure of the obelus is completed on the body. But when the dressing<sup>54</sup>—which is a piece of linen cut off<sup>55</sup> in a form long and narrow—is applied on one side of the cut and crosses to the other, it is well called by physicians the *lemniscus*, because of the overflowing (pools) when the

<sup>47</sup> Greek: "is said to be."

<sup>48</sup> Cf. § 3.

<sup>49</sup> The Greek here has a wordplay impossible in the Syriac. Just as the sword is "the destructive one," in the sense of killing, so the obelus indicates a word that "is to be lifted up" or destroyed.

<sup>50-50</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>51</sup> Spelled *λεμνισκος* in the Greek text.

<sup>53</sup> Greek: "two cuttings."

<sup>52</sup> Margin: *στιγμων*.

<sup>54</sup> This word not in the Greek.

<sup>55</sup> *ⲙⲉⲗⲗⲉ* is taken as an abbreviated form of *ⲙⲉⲗⲗⲉⲥ*, with Lagarde.

51b dressing is flooded by the discharge from the place.<sup>56</sup> Therefore this kind of sign also they attach to the divine words, that when there is found in rare instances in the translation of the seventy-two a dissonant word, neither subtracted from nor added to words similar to it, you may know, because of the two points placed by it, that this word was translated by one or two pairs. But they were read in two ways or similarly. And that this also may be clear to you and easy to understand, I would also say concerning it: When you find that it is said<sup>57</sup> in Psalm 70, "My mouth proclaims thy righteousness,"<sup>58</sup> instead of "proclaims thy righteousness"<sup>59</sup> is "proclaims thy righteousnesses." And again in Psalm 71 <sup>59</sup>it says,<sup>59</sup> "And their<sup>60</sup> name is honored before him";<sup>61</sup> but instead of this it is put, "And their<sup>60</sup> name is honored in his eyes." And so you may find it in many places, where there is nothing taken away or changed but it is the very same (in meaning), though expressed differently, so that it is not foreign to the others;<sup>62</sup> they are read both ways. And they are so indicated by the *lemniscus* when a word is found thus employed by one or two pairs. Now we have explained sufficiently<sup>63</sup> the things concerning the *lemniscus*. In like manner also we make explanation concerning the *hypolemniscus*, so that if you find the sign written  $\neg$ , which is a simple line having the form of the obelus, with a dot, that is to say, a point, under it, you may know that it is a sign indicating the symbol of the *hypolemniscus*. Where now it is found placed by a word, it is indicated that by one pair of translators the word was omitted <sup>64</sup>in the place,<sup>64</sup> as the single dot indicates, and there is also a double or consonant<sup>65</sup> reading of the word by which it is placed. This is our<sup>66</sup> explanation of the asterisk, the obelus, the *lemniscus*, and the *hypolemniscus*, O lover of the good.

51c

9. And it is well for us also to explain the matter of the translators.<sup>67</sup>  
51d For a knowledge of them will be helpful to you, since by the inclusion

<sup>56</sup> At about this point the margin has: "concerning what is called the *lemniscus*."

<sup>57</sup> Margin: "brought" or "introduced." <sup>61</sup> Ps. 72:14.

<sup>58</sup> Ps. 71:15.

<sup>62</sup> Lit., "without the others."

<sup>59-59</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>63</sup> This word not in the Greek.

<sup>60</sup> Some Greek mss. read "his."

<sup>64-64</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>65</sup> Greek: *συνάδελφον*, "one that has a brother."

<sup>66</sup> This word not in the Greek.

<sup>67</sup> Greek: *ελημμένων*.

of their story it will be seen who and whence<sup>68</sup> and of what race each of them was, and what was the cause of their<sup>69</sup> translating. And the first translators<sup>70</sup> of the divine Scriptures from the Hebrew language into the Greek were seventy-two men in number, those who made the first translation in the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus. They were chosen from the twelve tribes of Israel, six men from each tribe, as Aristeas has transmitted it in his work.<sup>71</sup> And their names are these:<sup>72</sup> first, from the tribe of Reuben, Josephus, Hezekiah, Zechariah, Johanan, Hezekiah, Elisha; second, from the tribe of Simeon, Judah, Simeon, Samuel, Addai, Mattathias, Shalmi (Eschlemias); third, from the tribe of Levi, Nehemiah, Joseph, Theodosius, Bāsē (Basaios),<sup>73</sup> Orniās, Dakis; fourth, from the tribe of Judah, Jonathan, Abraios, Elisha,  
52a Hananiah, Zechariah,<sup>74</sup> Hilkiāh; fifth, from the tribe of Issachar, Isaac, Jacob, Joshua, Sambat (Sabbataios), Simeon, Levi; sixth, from the tribe of Zebulun, Judah, Joseph, Simeon, Zechariah, Samuel, Shalmi (Selemias); seventh, from the tribe of Gad, Sambat (Sabbataios), Zedekiah, Jacob, Isaac, Jesse, Matthew (Natthaios); eighth, from the tribe of Asher, Theodosius, Jason, Joshua, Theodotus, Johanan, Jonathan; ninth, from the tribe of Dan, Theophilus, Abram, Arsamos, Jason, Endemias, Daniel; tenth, from the tribe of Naphtali, Jeremiah, Eliezer, Zechariah, Benaiah, Elisha, Dathaios; eleventh, from the tribe of Joseph, Samuel, Josephus, Judah, Jonathan, Caleb (Chabeu), Dositheus; twelfth, from the tribe of Benjamin, Isaelos, Johanan, Theodosius, Arsamos, Abitos (Abietes), Ezekiel. These are the names, as we have already said, of the seventy-two translators. We have told  
52b about the things concerning the asterisk and obelus above, and in part about the other translators, that is, Aquila and Symmachus and the rest; we will here inform you also of the causes, <sup>75</sup>O lover of the good.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>68</sup> The Greek adds *πότε*, "when."

<sup>69</sup> Greek: "his."

<sup>70</sup> The marginal | is paralleled by a similar numeral for each of the versions.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. that text in Swete, *op. cit.* p. 560. Everything following, to and including "These are the names, as we have already said, of the seventy-two translators," is absent from the Greek.

<sup>72</sup> Such names as are familiar through biblical and classical literature are given in their usual form; others are transliterated from the Greek of Aristeas, following Thackeray in Swete, *op. cit.*

<sup>73</sup> Cf. R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 546.

<sup>74</sup> Thackeray in Swete, *op. cit.*, has *χαβρίας* and omits Hilkiāh.

<sup>75-75</sup> Not in the Greek.



After the first Ptolemy, the second who reigned over Alexandria, the Ptolemy called Philadelphus, as has already been said was a lover of the beautiful and a lover of learning. He established a library in the same city of Alexander,<sup>76</sup> in the (part) called the Bruchion; this is a quarter of the city today lying waste. And he put in charge of the library a certain Demetrius, from Phaleron,<sup>77</sup> commanding him to collect the books that were in every part of the world. And he wrote letters and made request of every king and prince on earth to take the trouble to send <sup>78</sup>those that were in his kingdom or principality<sup>78</sup>—I mean, those by poets and prose writers and orators and philosophers and physicians and professors of medicine and historians and books by  
52c any others. And after the work had progressed | and books had been collected from everywhere, one day the king asked the man who had been placed in charge of the library how many books had already been collected in the library. And he answered the king, saying: “There are already fifty-four thousand eight hundred books, more or less; but we have heard that there is a great multitude in the world, among the Cushites, the Indians, the Persians, the Elamites, the Babylonians, the Assyrians, and the Chaldeans, and among the Romans, the Phoenicians, the Syrians, and the Romans in Greece”—at that time called not Romans but Latins.<sup>78</sup> “But there are also with those in Jerusalem and Judah the divine Scriptures of the prophets, which tell about God and the creation of the world and every other doctrine of general value. If, therefore, it seem good to your majesty, O king, that we <sup>79</sup>send (and) secure<sup>79</sup> them also, write to the teachers in Jerusalem and they will send them to you, that you may place these  
52d books also in this library, your grace.”<sup>80</sup> Thereupon | the king wrote the letter, in these words:

<sup>76</sup> Margin: “Alexandria.”

<sup>77</sup> I.e., the original harbor of Athens. The margin undertakes to explain the word as meaning “bald white head,” confusing the proper name with *φαλαρις*, “coot”; margin adds in Greek letters: *φαλαρηνω*.

<sup>78</sup> Dindorf, following Petavius, omits the word “Romans” where it first occurs and amends in the second instance so as to read, “the Syrians and those in Greece among the Romans, called not yet Romans but Latins.” Most probably the Romaeans are meant in this latter occurrence, a term early applied to the inhabitants of the Eastern Roman Empire.

<sup>79-79</sup> Greek: “send for.”

<sup>80</sup> In common use as a designation of royalty before A.D. 1500.

10. <sup>81</sup>The letter of the king to the teachers of the Jews:<sup>81</sup> "King Ptolemy to the teachers of the Jews in Jerusalem: Much joy. After I had established a library and collected many books from every people and placed them in it, I heard that there are also found among you the books of the prophets which tell about God and the creation of the world. And, desiring that I might give them also a place of honor<sup>82</sup> with the other books, I have written that you may send them to us. For I am honorably desirous of such a thing and devoid of guile or evil intention, but in good faith and kindness toward you I make request for them, since <sup>83</sup>from of old<sup>83</sup> there has been good will from us toward you, as you know when you remember. For perhaps you recall how, when many captives had been taken from your place and brought to our place in Egypt, I let them go. With abundance of provisions and exercising unusual consideration toward them, I sent  
53a them away free.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, those who were sick among them, |after I had healed them, I likewise dismissed, and the naked I clothed. And now a table of gold, embellished with precious stones of great value, a hundred talents in weight, instead of the table that was taken from the holy place (of) Jerusalem, I have sent along, with gifts and valuable things for the priestly place. I have thus given a recital of these things that you may know that I have requested the books because of a vow of piety."<sup>85</sup> And the letter was dispatched and the presents sent likewise.<sup>86</sup> And when they had received and read<sup>86</sup> the letter and <sup>87</sup>saw the things that had been sent,<sup>87</sup> they had great joy and without delay transcribed the books in Hebrew letters of gold. They sent those recounted<sup>88</sup> by me above, the twenty-two of the (Old) Testament and the seventy-two that are apocryphal. But when the king picked them up and looked at them and was unable to read them, because they were written in Hebrew letters and in the Hebrew lan-

<sup>81-81</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>82</sup> Greek: ἀφιερῶσαι, "to consecrate"; the margin explains the Syriac verb to mean "priestly separation."

<sup>83-83</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>84</sup> Margin: "When Antiochus Epiphanes had captured your place and sent many of you as captives to our place, to Egypt, for sale, having purchased them with much gold, giving a sum of dinars for every man (and) redeeming (him), I sent them away."

<sup>85</sup> Greek: "a vow and piety."

<sup>87-87</sup> Greek: "the gifts gladly."

<sup>86</sup> This word not in the Greek.

<sup>88</sup> Margin: "written."

53b guage, it was necessary for them to write a second letter|and request translators who would be able to explain to him in the Greek language the things in the Hebrew.<sup>89</sup> The letter was as follows:<sup>90</sup>

11. <sup>91</sup>The second letter:<sup>91</sup> "King Ptolemy to the teachers of religion in Jerusalem: Much joy. As to the hid treasure and the sealed fountain, what profit is there in either of them?<sup>92</sup> Likewise also is the matter of the books sent to us by you; for since we are unable to read these sent to us by you, such a thing is for us of no use whatever. But consent to send us as translators such of your men as from youth have been specially trained in the language of both the Hebrews and the Greeks." Thereupon the seventy-two translators <sup>93</sup>above mentioned<sup>93</sup> the teachers of the Hebrews chose and sent, according to the example that Moses once set when he went up the mountain at the command of the Lord,<sup>94</sup> having heard: "Take with thee seventy men and go up the mountain."<sup>95</sup> But for the sake of peace among the tribes, that he might not take five men from some and six from others and create discord among the tribes,|he made up his mind rather to take seventy-  
53c two and to add to the number. And in this way, as I have said, they also sent these men who translated the Scriptures on the island called the Pharian (Pharos), as we have already said above, <sup>96</sup>in the way we have described.<sup>96</sup> And so the Scriptures, when they had been transferred to the Greek language, were placed in the first library, which was built in the Bruchion, <sup>96</sup>as I have already said.<sup>96</sup> And there arose in addition to this library a second up in the Serapeum, called its daughter.<sup>97</sup> And the period of the ten Ptolemies and Cleopatra passed away, two hundred fifty-nine years.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Greek: "to explain the books in the Greek language by means of the Hebrew."

<sup>90</sup> The idea of a second letter is as early as Justin *Apology* i. 31, according to Thackeray, *op. cit.* pp. 101-2.

<sup>91-91</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Ecclesiasticus 20:30 and Cant. 4:12 (LXX).

<sup>93-93</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Exod. 24:1.

<sup>94</sup> Margin: "of God."

<sup>96-96</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>97</sup> Greek: "But there was later also another library in the Serapeum, smaller than the first, which was also called its daughter, in which were placed the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and the rest, two hundred and fifty years later."

<sup>98</sup> I.e., from the time of the translation of the LXX; sentence not in the Greek.

12. After the first Ptolemy, he of the Rabbit (Lagos), who reigned forty years,<sup>96</sup> and after the seventh year of the second Ptolemy, who is also (named) Philadelphus, the number of the Ptolemies and of the years is as follows:<sup>96</sup> Ptolemy Philadelphus, thirty-eight years; in his days, in his seventh year more or less, the seventy-two translators above mentioned translated the Scriptures.<sup>99</sup> And after the time of their translation of the Scriptures the years and the kings are as follows:  
 53d Ptolemy Philadelphus, already|mentioned, the rest of his years, thirty-one;<sup>100</sup> Ptolemy the Well-Doer (Euergetes), twenty-four years; Ptolemy Philopator, twenty-one years; Ptolemy Epiphanes, twenty-two years; Ptolemy Philometor,<sup>101</sup> thirty-four years; Ptolemy the Lover of Learning and the Well-Doer (Philologus and Euergetes), twenty-nine years; Ptolemy the Savior (Soter), fifteen years; Ptolemy, who is also Alexas, twelve years; Ptolemy, the brother of Alexas, who was driven out by his mother, eight years; Ptolemy Dionysius, thirty-one years; Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy, thirty-two years.<sup>102</sup> She formed a union with Antoninus (Antony) the king, who is also (called) "Eight Sons."<sup>103</sup> Altogether two hundred fifty-nine years, according to what is set down above.<sup>104</sup> Then ceased the Rabbity (Lagid) kings, the Ptolemies, who were<sup>105</sup> descended from the Rabbit (Lagos), for whom the race course, when built in Alexandria, was called only in the same Alexandria the Rabbity.<sup>106</sup>

13. Afterward the kings of the Romans:<sup>107</sup> Augustus, fifty-six years<sup>108</sup> and six months.<sup>108</sup> In the forty-second year of the days of this

<sup>99</sup> Greek: "the same Ptolemy Philadelphus under whom the seventy-two translators translated reigned thirty-eight years."

<sup>100</sup> Preceding portion of sentence not in the Greek.

<sup>101</sup> Greek: "Philopator."

<sup>102</sup> Cf. J. K. Fotheringham, *The Bodleian Manuscript of Jerome's Version of the Chronicle of Eusebius*, fol. 103b.

<sup>103</sup> Greek: *ε ὀκταβίω; γ ὀκταυίω.*

<sup>104</sup> The fuller Greek text: "Altogether from the first Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, to Cleopatra, three hundred and six years. From the seventh year of Ptolemy Philadelphus, under whom in this year the seventy-two translated, to Cleopatra, is two hundred and forty-nine."

<sup>105</sup> The Greek adds "plainly" or "clearly."

<sup>106</sup> I.e., the Lagid; but the Greek says, "who having built the race course in Alexandria named it the λαῖον."

<sup>107</sup> Cf. the *Chronicle* of Eusebius.

<sup>108-108</sup> Not in the Greek.

Augustus<sup>109</sup> our Lord Jesus Christ was born in the flesh. Tiberius,  
 54a twenty-three years. | And in his eighteenth year Christ was crucified  
<sup>108</sup>of his own free will. And from the crucifixion to the destruction of  
 Jerusalem the years are as follows: the rest of Tiberius, five years;<sup>108</sup>  
 Gaius, three years and nine months and twenty-nine days; Claudius,  
 thirteen years and one month and twenty-eight days; Nero, thirteen  
 years and seven months and twenty-seven days; Galba, seven months  
 and twenty-six days; Otho, three months and five days; Vitellius,  
 eight<sup>110</sup> months and twelve days; Vespasian, nine years and seven  
 months and twelve days; Titus, two years and two months and two  
 days. At this time occurred the destruction of Jerusalem, fifty years  
 after Christ was crucified, lacking three months.<sup>111</sup> Domitian, fifteen  
 years and five months; Nerva, one year and four months; Trajan,  
 nineteen years; Hadrian, twenty-one years.

<sup>112</sup>Concerning Aquila.<sup>112</sup> In the twelfth year of Hadrian Aquila be-  
 came known. And again from Augustine to Hadrian is one hundred  
 eighty years<sup>113</sup> and four months, lacking nine days. So from the time  
 54b of the translation | by the seventy-two translators to the translator  
 Aquila and the twelfth year of Hadrian is altogether four hundred  
 thirty years and four months, <sup>114</sup>lacking nine days;<sup>114</sup> and to the end of  
 the entire (reign) of Hadrian four hundred thirty-nine years and four  
 months, lacking nine days.<sup>115</sup>

14. For this Hadrian, when leprosy<sup>116</sup> appeared in his body and he had  
 summoned the whole multitude of the physicians under his dominion  
 before him, demanded of them healing for his body. And when they  
 had labored much <sup>117</sup>and done many things<sup>117</sup> and availed nothing,  
 they were scorned by him. He<sup>118</sup> wrote an abusive letter concerning

<sup>109</sup> This word not in the Greek.

<sup>110</sup> Greek: "eighteen."

<sup>111</sup> Greek: "sixty-five years . . . and some days"; cf. the long note of  
 Petavius in the edition of Dindorf. Margin adds "some" to "three."

<sup>112-112</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>113</sup> I.e., including the entire reigns of both Augustus and Hadrian.

<sup>114-114</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>115</sup> This last calculation not in the Greek.

<sup>116</sup> Margin: "I.e., he became lionlike," or leprous; Greek: *λωβηθείς*.

<sup>117-117</sup> A mere doublet of the preceding Greek verb.

<sup>118</sup> Instead of *ὁ*; the Greek has *ὡς καὶ* and the infinitive.

them, assailing<sup>119</sup> their art as devoid of knowledge. But as a result of the illness<sup>120</sup> that befell him he went on a journey to the land of Egypt. And, approaching other places<sup>121</sup> in order from that of the Romans, he must inspect them, for he was <sup>122</sup>a man who loved to see places.<sup>122</sup> So he passed through the city of Antioch and passed through [Coele-  
 54c Syria]<sup>123</sup> and Phoenicia and came to Palestine—| which is also called Judea—forty-seven years after the destruction of Jerusalem. And he went up to Jersusalem, the famous and illustrious city which Titus, the son of Vespasian, overthrew in the second year of his reign.<sup>124</sup> And he found the temple of God trodden down and the whole city devastated save for a few houses and the church of God, which was small, where the disciples, when they had returned after the Savior had ascended from the Mount of Olives, went to the upper room. For there it had been built, that is, in that portion of Zion which escaped destruction, together with blocks of houses in the neighborhood of Zion and the seven synagogues which alone remained standing in Zion, like solitary huts, one of which remained until the time of Maximona the bishop and Constantine the king, “like a booth in a vineyard,”<sup>125</sup> as it is written. Therefore Hadrian made up his mind to (re)build the city, but not the temple. And he took the Aquila mentioned above, who was a Greek interpreter, <sup>126</sup>since Hadrian also was  
 54d a Greek<sup>126</sup>—| now Aquila was related to the king by marriage<sup>127</sup> and was from Sinope in Pontus—and he established him there <sup>128</sup>in Jerusalem<sup>128</sup> as overseer of the work of building the city. And he gave to the city that was being built his own name and the appellation of the royal title. For as he was named Aelius Hadrian, so he also named the city Aelia.

15. So Aquila, while he was in Jerusalem, also saw the disciples <sup>129</sup>of the disciples<sup>129</sup> of the apostles flourishing in the faith and working

<sup>119</sup> The margin corrects the spelling.

<sup>120</sup> Greek: “devoid of knowledge, because of the illness . . . .”

<sup>121</sup> Greek: “cities.” <sup>122-122</sup> Greek: φιλοῖστωρ.

<sup>123</sup> So margin and B; the text is lit. “valley.”

<sup>124</sup> I.e., Vespasian’s reign. <sup>125</sup> Isa. 1:8. <sup>126-126</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>127</sup> Greek: πενθερίδης; but some authorities say πενθερός. Cf. Swete, *op. cit.* p. 31.

<sup>128-128</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>129-129</sup> Not in the Greek, according to Dindorf’s text.

great signs, healings, and other miracles. For they were such as had come back from the city of Pella to Jerusalem and were <sup>130</sup>living there and <sup>130</sup>teaching. For when the city was about to be taken <sup>130</sup>and destroyed <sup>130</sup>by the Romans, it was revealed in advance to all the disciples by an angel of God that they should remove from the city, as it was going to be completely destroyed. They sojourned as emigrants  
 55a in Pella, the city above mentioned, | in Transjordania. And this city is said to be of the Decapolis. But after the destruction of Jerusalem, when they had returned <sup>131</sup>to Jerusalem, <sup>131</sup>as I have said, they wrought great signs, <sup>131</sup>as I have already said. <sup>131</sup>So Aquila, after he had been strongly stirred in mind, believed in Christianity, and after a while, when he asked, he received the seal in Christ. <sup>132</sup>But according to his former habit, <sup>133</sup>while yet thinking the things of the heathen, he had been thoroughly trained in vain astronomy, so that also after he became a Christian he never departed from this fault of his, but every day he made calculations on the horoscope <sup>134</sup>of his birth. He was reprov-  
 55b ed by the teachers, and they rebuked him for this <sup>135</sup>every day <sup>135</sup>but did not accomplish anything. But instead of standing rebuked, he became bold in disputation and tried to establish things that have no existence, tales about fate. Hence, as one who proved useless and could not be saved, he was expelled from | the church. But as one who had become embittered in mind over how he had suffered dishonor, he was puffed up with vain jealousy, and having cursed <sup>136</sup>Christianity and renounced his life he became a proselyte <sup>137</sup>and was circumcised as a Jew. And, being painfully ambitious, he dedicated himself to learning the language of the Hebrews and their writings. After he had first been thoroughly trained for it, he made his translation. He was moved not by the right motive, but (by the desire) so to distort certain of the words occurring in the translation of the seventy-two that he might proclaim <sup>138</sup>the things testified to about Christ in the divine Scriptures

<sup>130-130</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>133</sup> Margin merely adds a synonym.

<sup>131-131</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>134</sup> Margin: το θεματιον.

<sup>132</sup> Margin: "in the Lord."

<sup>135-135</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>136</sup> The Greek omits this participle and makes the next one refer to both Christianity and life.

<sup>137</sup> The margin explains this word: "I.e., he became a proselyte to the Jews."

<sup>138</sup>  $\text{ἐκδῶσαι} + \text{ἐκδῶσαι} = \text{ἐκδῶσαι}$ .

to be fulfilled<sup>138</sup> in some other way, on account of a certain shame that he felt (to proffer) a senseless excuse for himself.

16. And this second translation by Aquila<sup>139</sup> came about after such a (long) time as this, the number of the years of which we have written above. But we must say, beloved, the words of it are incorrect<sup>140</sup> and perversely translated,<sup>140</sup> (words) which carry condemnation for him in the very translation which he made. But having explained the differences between them above, we think that that will suffice here also.

55c But after this Aquila and his translation|Antoninus, surnamed Pius—translated, “devout”—succeeded King Hadrian and reigned for a period of twenty-two years. Caracalla,<sup>141</sup> who is also called Geta,<sup>142</sup> also Marcus Aurelius Verus, succeeded him and reigned seven years. In his time Lucius Aurelius Commodus also reigned the same seven years.<sup>143</sup> Pertinax (reigned) six months, Severus eighteen<sup>144</sup> years.

<sup>145</sup>Concerning Symmachus.<sup>145</sup> In the time of Verus<sup>146</sup> there was a certain Symmachus, a Samaritan, of their wise men, but unhonored by his own people. He was afflicted with the lust for power and became angry with his tribe. He approached the Jews, became a proselyte,<sup>147</sup> and was circumcised a second time. Do not be surprised at this, O hearer, for it occurred. For all who fled from the Jews to the Samaritans were likewise<sup>148</sup> circumcised again; likewise also those who came from the Samaritans to the Jews did the same.<sup>149</sup> And, moreover, what is even more difficult than these things, some of the cir-  
55d cumcised became uncircumcised. By a certain operation|of the medical art, by means of a knife called<sup>150</sup> the *spathistaros*, the inner skin of the organ having been cut loose and sewed together and bound in place by adhesive medicaments, they again complete foreskins for them. You have also the testimony of the holy apostle, O great lover

<sup>139</sup> Greek: “this one.”

<sup>140-140</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>141</sup> Incorrect; for the correct sequence of the emperors see § 18.

<sup>142</sup> Geta was really the younger brother of Caracalla.

<sup>143</sup> No; he was joint ruler with Marcus Aurelius Antoninus seven years.

<sup>144</sup> Margin: “eight.”

<sup>145-145</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>146</sup> Greek: “Severus.” Cf. Swete, *op. cit.* p. 50. The margin would perhaps make it read: “of this Verus.”

<sup>147</sup> Margin explains this word again, in the same terms as before.

<sup>148</sup> This word not in the Greek.

<sup>149</sup> The Greek omits “the same.”

<sup>150</sup> Greek: “what is called.”



of the good, speaking in such words as these: "If a circumcised man be called, let him not change to a foreskin; if a man be in uncircumcision, let him not be circumcised."<sup>151</sup> This tradition of a demoniacally wicked notion they say that Esau, the brother of Jacob, invented for the denial of the Godhead and the obliteration of the characteristic mark of his fathers. Therefore they say that God said: "Esau I have hated, but I have loved Jacob."<sup>152</sup> So this Symmachus, translating in order to pervert the translation current among the Samaritans, published the third translation.

17. <sup>153</sup>Concerning Theodotion, who was from Pontus.<sup>153</sup> But after this, in the time immediately following, that is, <sup>154</sup>in the reign of Commodus—I mean, of Commodus | II—there was a certain Theodotion<sup>154</sup> 56a of Pontus, of the doctrine<sup>155</sup> of Marcion, the heresiarch of Sinope. Having become angered<sup>156</sup> with his heresy, he turned aside to Judaism and was circumcised and learned the language of the Hebrews and their writings; he also published (a translation) on his own account. He published many things in agreement with the seventy-two, for he derived many (peculiar) practices from the translational habit(s) of the seventy-two. Now you become the judge, O great lover of the good, of such a matter as this, whether the truth is more likely to be found with these three—I mean Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion—who, moreover, were not together, but were remote from one another in both time and place; and there were not many, but only three, and yet they were unable to agree with one another. Or (was the truth) with the seventy-two, who were the first to translate, were at the same time, and were divided into thirty-six groups, according to the command of the king? And, furthermore, they did not converse 56b with one another, | but by the Holy Spirit they brought out the entire translation in absolute agreement; and where there was need for an addition in explanation of a word, it was the same among them all. Though they did not know what each one by himself was translating,

<sup>151</sup> I Cor. 7:18.

<sup>152</sup> Rom. 9:13; Mal. 1:2-3.

<sup>153-153</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>154-154</sup> Greek: "in the reign of Commodus II, who reigned after the above mentioned Lucius Commodus Aurelius thirteen years, a certain Theodotion."

<sup>155</sup> Greek and margin: "of the succession (or following)."

<sup>156</sup> Margin defines this participle: "i.e., holding anger."

they agreed absolutely with one another, and the translations were identical. And where they cast out words, they translated in agreement with one another.<sup>157</sup> So it is clear to those who through love of the truth seek to investigate that they were not merely translators but also, in part, prophets.<sup>158</sup> For the things for which there was no need they left out of the translation—the things which Origen later inserted in their places, with the asterisks. Likewise also those that had been added he did not take away, knowing rather that there was need of them, but wherever he found one of these words employed he left it with an obelus, merely indicating by the obelus his knowledge about the reading of the passage. And by means of the *lemniscus* and the *hypolemniscus* he likewise indicated such (passages) as were found  
 56c in two ways among some of the seventy-two translators|in a few passages that are not unlike, but similar and having the same significance, as if a man should say “he conversed” instead of “he spoke,” or “he has come” instead of “he came.” And we have written for you the facts concerning the four translators.

18. Concerning the fifth and sixth translations, which were found in wine jars in Jericho after the persecution of Verus, in the time of Antoninus, who is called Caracalla and Geta.<sup>159</sup> But as to the fifth and sixth translations, I have nothing to say as to those who translated them or whence they were, but only that after the persecution of King Verus,<sup>160</sup> in the time of Antoninus,<sup>161</sup> son of Severus, who is called Caracalla, also Geta,<sup>162</sup> the fifth was found in Jericho, hidden in wine jars.<sup>163</sup> For as to the time of those who reigned after Antoninus Pius—  
 56d translated, “devout”—the succession, in order, is:|After Antoninus

<sup>157</sup> Greek: “And again, where there was need of casting out certain words, they cast out alike and translated in unison, just as though they had sat together and translated in consultation with one another.”

<sup>158</sup> Before this sentence the Greek inserts: “It is quite clear that the truth is with the seventy-two.”

<sup>159</sup> The Greek omits this section heading, and the Petavius text reads “Severus” instead of “Verus” in what follows.

<sup>160</sup> Margin: “Severus.”

<sup>161</sup> Margin: “Antonius.”

<sup>162</sup> The sequence of the Roman emperors is here given correctly, but Geta was the younger brother of Caracalla.

<sup>163</sup> For the “fifth” and “sixth” translations, cf. Swete, *op. cit.* pp. 53 ff.

Pius reigned Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, otherwise Verus, nineteen<sup>164</sup> years. And the same man is called Commodus Lucius.<sup>165</sup> In his time, as I have already said, Symmachus the translator became known.<sup>166</sup> After him Commodus II reigned thirteen years. At this time we have learned<sup>167</sup> that Theodotion became known, he who <sup>168</sup>became a Jew, (going) from the Marcionites, and<sup>168</sup> made the fourth translation. And Pertinax succeeded Commodus<sup>169</sup> and reigned six months. Severus<sup>170</sup> succeeded him and reigned with his son Antoninus, otherwise Geta, eighteen years.<sup>171</sup> And when Severus died, his son Antoninus Geta<sup>172</sup> inherited his sovereignty, he that is called Caracalla, and he served seven years. In his days,<sup>173</sup> as I have said above,<sup>174</sup> were found the Scriptures in the fifth translation, hidden in wine jars in Jericho with other Hebrew books and other books.<sup>175</sup> Macrinus succeeded Caracalla and reigned one year.<sup>176</sup> Antoninus II succeeded him,<sup>177</sup> reigning four years. After him reigned Alexander, the son of Mamaea,<sup>178</sup> thirteen years. In the midst of these times the sixth translation was found, also hidden in wine jars, in Nicopolis, near Actium. After him Maximian reigned three years. Gordian succeeded him and reigned six years. After him Philip reigned seven years. Decius succeeded him and reigned one year and three months. In the time of Decius Origen became known, flourishing from the time of Decius through the days of Gallienus<sup>179</sup> and Volusianus and beyond.<sup>180</sup>

<sup>164</sup> At this point begins a series of marginal numbers which merely repeat what is in the text.

<sup>165</sup> Commodus Lucius reigned jointly with Marcus Aurelius during the first seven years of the latter. This sentence is not in the Greek.

<sup>166</sup> This sentence not in the Greek.

<sup>167</sup> Syriac: "heard"; Greek: "said."      <sup>169</sup> The Greek adds: "this."

<sup>168-168</sup> Not in the Greek.      <sup>170</sup> The Greek adds: "another."

<sup>171</sup> Greek: "succeeded him, with his son Antoninus, and they reigned eighteen years." Margin adds: "and (some) months."

<sup>172</sup> The Greek adds: "another."      <sup>173</sup> Greek: "in his heptad."

<sup>174</sup> This parenthetic clause not in the Greek.

<sup>175</sup> Greek: "with other Hebrew and Greek books."

<sup>176</sup> This sentence not in the Greek.      <sup>177</sup> Greek: "Caracalla."

<sup>178</sup> The Syriac word ends in *-os*, as though masculine.

<sup>179</sup> Margin: "Gallus," correctly.

<sup>180</sup> The dates for Origen are placed too late; cf. Swete, *op. cit.* pp. 60 ff.

But in the persecution that took place under Decius, <sup>181</sup>already mentioned, <sup>181</sup>Babylas suffered martyrdom in Antioch, Flavianus in Rome, and Alexander, the bishop of Jerusalem, in Caesarea. <sup>182</sup>In this time of persecution, <sup>182</sup>while Origen himself suffered many things of the  
 57b heathen in Alexandria, | <sup>183</sup>he who is also called Adamantius, <sup>183</sup>he did not attain the goal of martyrdom. But when he had come to Caesarea Stratonitis and had dwelt a little while in Jerusalem, he afterward went to Tyre. Twenty-eight years, as the story goes, he devoted to ascetic practices, and he set forth <sup>184</sup>the Scripture, placing the six columns (of the Greek) and the two columns of the Hebrew side by side, one translation alongside another, calling the books the *Hexapla*, as has already been fully related by me above. <sup>185</sup>

19. But when the fifth and sixth translations of the Scriptures were found in the manner we have related and no one knew who they were who had translated them, according to the time when they were found he (Origen) attached <sup>186</sup>them to the four earlier ones successively in the series. He called one the fifth, writing over it, by means of the fifth letter, the number five and giving it a name. Likewise also to the  
 57c one | after it, writing a letter above it as a symbol, <sup>187</sup>he gave the name of the sixth translation. But, moreover, he did this skilfully, a thing that has escaped some of the lovers of learning. For when people happen upon the *Hexapla* or *Octapla*—for the Greek (columns) are a *tetrapla* when the (translations) of Aquila, Symmachus, the seventy-two, and Theodotion are placed together; but when these four columns are joined to the two Hebrew columns they are called the *Hexapla*, and when the fifth and sixth also are joined successively to these they are called the *Octapla*—I mean, the six translations and the two others, one written in Hebrew characters and in their own words, and the other in Greek characters but with the Hebrew words <sup>188</sup>—when some

<sup>181-181</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>182-182</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>183-183</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>184</sup> Lit., "translated," in both Syriac and Greek.

<sup>185</sup> Swete (*op. cit.* p. 73, n. 1) calls this a confused and inexact account of Origen's labors, for he did not go to Tyre until near the end of his life, but performed his herculean tasks at Caesarea.

<sup>186</sup> Lit., "wove," in both Syriac and Greek.

<sup>187</sup> Greek: "writing the symbol above it."

<sup>188</sup> The words after "*Octapla*" not in the Greek.

57d people, then, as I have said, happen upon these books and find the first two columns| of Hebrew placed together, and after them that by Aquila placed first<sup>189</sup> and after it that by Symmachus, afterward that by the seventy-two and after it that by Theodotion, grouped together, and afterward the fifth and sixth (translations), they conclude that Aquila and Symmachus translated first.<sup>190</sup> But it is not so; but Origen, having learned that the translation of the seventy-two was correct, placed it in the middle so that it might refute the translations on either side. This one thing only Origen did helpfully. Now, that we may not omit to give the succession of the kings of the Romans, which we began, we will proceed to give in order the sequences of the other kings, according as each of them reigned.

58a 20. After Gallienus<sup>191</sup> and Volusianus, already mentioned, who reigned two years and four months, Valerian and Gallienus reigned |twelve years. In the ninth year of their reign Mani came up from Persia, when he disputed with Archelaus, bishop of Kaschara in Mesopotamia, met defeat, (and) fled secretly. For when he came to Diodoris,<sup>192</sup> a town under the authority of Kaschara, and disputed with the holy Tryphon,<sup>193</sup> the priest, he was completely humiliated before him. (And) when the holy Archelaus heard that he had come to Tryphon and had held a disputation with him, he came (and) met him and arranged a debate with Mani, and when he had completely defeated him he put him to shame.<sup>194</sup> Thereupon Mani<sup>195</sup> was about to die by stoning from the people, but, having been saved by Bishop Archelaus, he returned to the country of the Persians. The king of the Persians heard of his coming; and, when he had sent and had him brought, he was ordered flayed by means of a reed.<sup>196</sup> And thus he returned (only) to end his life,<sup>197</sup> because he had committed murder and

<sup>189</sup> This word not in the Greek.

<sup>190</sup> Greek: "before the seventy-two, according to the order of arrangement."

<sup>191</sup> The margin reads "Gallus," correctly.

<sup>192</sup> Cf. Epiphanius, *Adversus haereses* LXVI xi (ed. Migne, Vol. XLII, col. 46); also *Acta Archelai*, ed. Charles Henry Beeson (Leipzig, 1906).

<sup>193</sup> Is this the Turbo of the *Acta Archelai*?

<sup>194</sup> This sentence not in the Greek.

<sup>195</sup> This word not in the Greek.

<sup>196</sup> Greek: "he was skinned with a reed by the command of the king of the Persians."

<sup>197</sup> The rest of the sentence is not in the Greek.

58b was unable to heal the demon-possessed son of the king|as he had promised, so the story has it. And after Valerian and Gallienus, Claudius reigned one year and nine months. Aurelian succeeded him and reigned five years and six<sup>198</sup> months. After him Tacitus reigned six months.<sup>199</sup> After him Probus reigned six years and four months. After him Carus, with his sons Carinus and Numerian, reigned two years. After him Diocletian, with Maximian and Constantine <sup>200</sup>and Maxentius, reigned<sup>200</sup> twenty<sup>201</sup> years, <sup>200</sup>declaring Maxentius his colleague in the kingdom.<sup>200</sup> In their days there was a violent persecution, <sup>202</sup>lasting from the eighth year of Diocletian to his nineteenth year, twelve years taken all together.<sup>202</sup> And after the persecution ceased Diocletian reigned one year more and, <sup>203</sup>having become old,<sup>203</sup>

58c he ceased to reign. |But Maximian fell by a terrible death, with a disease of the eyes and bodily suffering. His eyeballs were automatically torn out by the disease in the very way he had appointed for the martyrs of Christ.<sup>204</sup> And thus he gave up the ghost, leaving Licinius and Constantine as rulers. And from Diocletian onward the years of Maximian, of Licinius, and of the blessed Constantine, who ruled with his sons, were thirty-two years. And he left his three sons as rulers—Constans, Constantine, and Constantius.<sup>205</sup> But after the thirty-two years of Constantine, the years of his sons who succeeded him—Constans, Constantine, and Constantius—(and) of the impious Julian, of Jovian,<sup>206</sup> <sup>207</sup>of Valentinian the Great, of Valens his brother, of Gratian the son of Valentinian,<sup>207</sup> of Valentinian the Younger, son

<sup>198</sup> The marginal  $\sigma$  seems intended to correct this figure.

<sup>199</sup> Margin: "and six months."      <sup>201</sup> Greek: "thirteen."

<sup>200-200</sup> Not in the Greek.      <sup>202-202</sup> Greek: "lasting twelve years in all."

<sup>203-203</sup> Greek: οὐαὶ τραπεῖσας = οὐεραπείσας = 𐤒𐤃𐤂𐤃𐤆𐤂𐤆𐤀𐤃𐤂.

<sup>204</sup> "Of Christ" not in the Greek. As to the death of Maximian, cf. Eusebius, *Church History* IX x.

<sup>205</sup> These two sentences in Greek: "All these having died, the blessed Constantine succeeded, who, dying, left his own sons to rule—Constans, Constantius, and Constantine."

<sup>206</sup> Greek: "After them Julian, Jovian . . ."; nominatives.

<sup>207-207</sup> Omitted in B. "Valens his brother" has a marginal note in A, "he that was burned." The same marginal note is in B, but is not attached to any particular word. Cf. Socrates, *Church History* IV xxxviii; Sozomenus, *Church History* VI xl; *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* . . . , éd. . . . par J. B. Chabot (Paris, 1899-1910) I 295 and IV 153; Barhebraeus, *Chronicum Syriacum* [ed. . . . Bedjan] (Parisii, 1890) p. 66, ll. 10-11.

of Valentinian, brother<sup>208</sup> of Gratian, of Theodosius the God-fearing king, of Arcadius his son, and of Honorius the Illustrious,<sup>209</sup> the son  
 58d |of Theodosius,<sup>210</sup> unto the present<sup>211</sup> second<sup>212</sup> consulship of Arcadius Augustus<sup>211</sup> and Rufinus—the years, <sup>213</sup>as I have said before,<sup>213</sup> are fifty-seven. <sup>214</sup>And in the consulship of Arcadius Augustus and Rufinus<sup>214</sup> Valentinian the Younger died, being found surprisingly hanged in the palace of Tiberius,<sup>215</sup> <sup>216</sup>as the story is told,<sup>216</sup> on the ides of May, on the day before Pentecost, on the Sabbath day; and on the day of Pentecost itself he was borne (to his grave). And so it was, according to the Egyptians, the twenty-first day of the month Pachon, according to the Greeks the twenty-third of ʿIyār,<sup>217</sup> and according to the Romans the seventeenth day before the calends of June.<sup>218</sup>

21. And thus far, O great lover of the good, all these things related by us must suffice; we have given<sup>219</sup> an account of the translators <sup>220</sup>and of those things mentioned before the subject of the translators.<sup>220</sup> Hereafter we give our attention to the rest of the topics which we mentioned before, according to our promise in response to your entreaties,  
 59a O man of God, concerning |the weights and measures and numbers in the divine Scriptures, whence each is named, and why it is so called, and whence it gets the reason for its name, and what is the quality or the weight or the force of every one of them.

<sup>221</sup>Concerning the measures.<sup>221</sup> The kor is a measure. It occurs in the Gospel of Luke, where the Savior commends the sagacious steward who re-wrote<sup>222</sup> for the debtors instead of so many kors in

<sup>208</sup> The Greek has this word in the genitive, in agreement with the one preceding. By error the Syriac has mentioned three Valentinians.

<sup>209</sup> Margin derives this term from ܟܪܝܢܝܢܐ.

<sup>210</sup> Greek: "his brother."

<sup>211</sup> This word not in the Greek.

<sup>212</sup> I.e., A.D. 392. Arcadius had formerly been consul in 385; cf. H. F. Clinton, *Fasti Romani* I (Oxford, 1845) 508, 524.

<sup>213-215</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>214-214</sup> Greek: ἐφ' ὧν.

<sup>216</sup> This word not in the Greek; B reads ܟܪܝܢܝܢܐܐܝܢܐ (sic).

<sup>216-216</sup> Greek: "according to rumor."

<sup>218</sup> Margin: "June, i.e., Ḥazirân."

<sup>217</sup> Greek: Ἀπρηνσιον.

<sup>219</sup> Lit., "made known."

<sup>220-220</sup> Greek: "in all the things said before."

<sup>221-221</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>222</sup> Both Syriac and Greek allow the sense "altered" or "corrected."

their accounts<sup>223</sup> so and so, and instead of so many baths of oil he made it so and so.<sup>224</sup>

*Lethekh*, *saton*,<sup>225</sup> homer, bath, seah, *modius*, cab, *choinix*, *hyfi* of fine flour, handful of meal, ardeb, three measures of fine flour, three baskets<sup>226</sup> of coarse meal, *nēvel* of wine, *kollathon*, *shāḫḫftā* of ointment, *kapsakēs* of water, *kotylē* of oil, *kyathos*, measure of wine, measure of oil, *log*,<sup>227</sup> *xestēs*, amphora, *aporryma*, *sh<sup>o</sup>fūthā*, hin, *chūs*, the golden  
59b pot|in which the manna was placed, *marēs*, *kypros*, *congiarium*.

<sup>228</sup>Concerning the kor.<sup>228</sup> *Kūrā* is taken from the Hebrew language, in which it is called "kor," and there are 30 *modii* (in it). The kor gets its name from the fundamental idea of a heap, inasmuch as a heap is called a *karjā*,<sup>229</sup> for when 30 *modii* are heaped together they make a camel's load.

<sup>230</sup>Concerning the *lethekh*.<sup>230</sup> But as to the *lethekh*, since it is said in the prophet Hosea, "I have hired for myself . . . for a *lethekh* of barley,"<sup>231</sup> in other codices "a homer of barley," they are the same, for they signify 15 *modii*. But the *lethekh* is named according to a word of the Hebrews which means a "lifting up,"<sup>232</sup> from the circumstance that a young man can lift up the measure of 15 *modii* of barley or wheat and place it on an ass. And the same (measure) of 15 *modii* is also called the homer—the large one which is called the homer  
59c among the Hebrews, for|there is<sup>233</sup> also a little homer.

<sup>234</sup>Concerning the bath.<sup>234</sup> The bath, so called, is also from the Hebrew language, the oil press being synonymously called *būth*, for bath is interpreted "oil press."<sup>235</sup> It consists of 50 *xestai*, and is the

<sup>223</sup> Lit., "writings."

<sup>224</sup> Luke 16:6-7.

<sup>225</sup> The Greek form of the word "seah"; hence the Greek has this word not at this point but in the place here held by "seah."

<sup>226</sup> See p. 13, n. 19. Margin: "measures."

<sup>227</sup> The Greek has *tryblion*, and so has the Syriac in § 38.

<sup>228-228</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>229</sup> A Syriac term; hence a Syriac origin rather than a Hebrew one is postulated.

<sup>230-230</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>231</sup> Epiphanius here cites a LXX reading not otherwise known for Hos. 3:2.

<sup>232</sup> But the author fails to cite a Hebrew term here; he seems to give a merely conjectural derivation, based on the homer (ass's load), which is equated with *lethekh*.

<sup>233</sup> The affirmative particle is repeated in A.

<sup>234-234</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>235</sup> The Aramaic ܐܝܢܐ means "oil press."



measure of the craft of the oil press.<sup>236</sup> The *m<sup>e</sup>nasis* and the *medimnos* are taken, I think, from the language of the Romans, for in that language *medium* is interpreted "middle."<sup>237</sup> The *m<sup>e</sup>nasis*, however, is used as a measure<sup>238</sup> among the Cyprians and other peoples; and it is 10<sup>239</sup> *modii* of wheat or barley by the *modius* of 17 *xestai* among the Cyprians. But the *medimnos* varies among the Cyprians; for the people of Salamis, that is to say, of Constantia, have a *medimnos* of 5 *modii*, while those of Paphos and the Sicilians measure it as  $4\frac{1}{2}$  *modii*.

<sup>240</sup>Concerning the seah.<sup>240</sup> It is called "seah," being derived from the  
59d Hebrew, | and it is used as a feminine; but in Greek it is neither feminine nor masculine, that is, neuter,<sup>241</sup> for we say *saton*<sup>242</sup> and not *satos*. It is an overfull *modius*, so that it is a *modius* and a quarter of a *modius* by reason of its overfulness,<sup>243</sup> which is the overflow of the *modius*. But it is called a seah, meaning in this language a "taking up" or "lifting up," from the circumstance that the one measuring takes the measure with some force<sup>244</sup> and lifts it up.

<sup>245</sup>Concerning the *modius*. Next the *modius*.<sup>245</sup> The name of the *modius* was invented by the Hebrews with great exactness.<sup>246</sup> For it consists of 22 *xestai*,<sup>247</sup> not in simple fashion or by chance, but from great exactness. Now I speak of the "just"<sup>248</sup> *modius*, as the Law is accustomed to say, according to the sacred measure. For, O lover of

<sup>236</sup> Greek: "oil-presser." This *ελαιοτριπτης* (in the Breslau ms., *ελαιοτρήπτης*) should be inserted in the next edition of Liddell and Scott.

<sup>237</sup> Surely this remark is meant to apply only to *medimnos*.

<sup>238</sup> This meaning for *ܡܘܕܝܘܨ* should be inserted by Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, 2d ed. (Halis Saxonum, 1928) p. 325, col. 2, line 8.

<sup>239</sup> L strangely makes this read 20 in his Greek text, and cites the Syriac as his authority. Dindorf reads *δεκα*. So also F. Hultsch, *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae* I (Lipsiae, 1864) 261, line 8; 271, line 12; 274, line 1.

<sup>240-240</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>241</sup> The Greek word is transliterated; "neither feminine nor masculine" is not in the Greek.

<sup>242</sup> The Greek term, not in common use among Syriac-speaking people.

<sup>243</sup> The Syriac term is an unusual one, requiring the added gloss.

<sup>244</sup> Syriac: *ܡܘܕܝܘܨ*; Greek: *ἔξει τιπ*.

<sup>245-245</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>246</sup> But in reality Epiphanius' description attributes to the Hebrews the invention of the measure rather than the name.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. F. Hultsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie* (Berlin, 1882) p. 631.

<sup>248</sup> Cf. Deut. 25: 15.

the good, God did twenty-two works between the beginning and the seventh day, which are these:

60a 22. On the first day,<sup>249</sup> (1) the upper heavens, | (2) the earth, (3) the waters—of which consist snow, ice, hail, frost, and dew—and (4) the spirits that minister before him. They are the angels before his face, the angels of glory, the angels of the winds that blow, the angels of the clouds and of the cloud-darknesses, of snow and hail and frost, the angels of sounds, of the thunders and the lightnings, the angels of the cold and of the heat, of winter, fall, spring, and summer, and of all the spirits of his creatures in heaven and on earth. (5) The abysses,<sup>250</sup> both that which is beneath the earth and that of the gulf of darkness that was above the abyss of the waters which were at one time upon the earth,<sup>251</sup> whence (6) the darkness—the evening and the night; (7) the light—of the day and of the morning. These seven great works God did the first day. On the second day, (8) the firmament that is between the waters.<sup>252</sup> On this day the waters were divided; 60b half of them ascended above the firmament, | and half of them remained below the firmament in the midst upon the face of the whole earth. This is the only work that God did on the second day. On the third day, (9) the seas, the rivers, and the fountains and lakes, (10) seed grains and plants, (11) fruit trees and those without fruit, and (12) forests. These four great works God did on the third day. On the fourth day, (13) the sun, (14) the moon, (15) the stars. These three great works God did on the fourth day. On the fifth day, (16) the great whales, (17) the fishes and the other creeping things in the waters, (18) the winged birds. These three great works God did on the fifth day. And on the sixth day, (19) wild beasts, (20) cattle, (21) the creeping things of the earth, (22) man. These four great works God

<sup>249</sup> The days are numbered in the margin. The Greek adds, “he made”; for the preceding sentence there reads: “And the sacred measure is none other than the twenty-two works that God did in the six days of the hebdomad.”

<sup>250</sup> In the Greek there follows: *τὴν τε ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ χάους*. Dindorf in his ed. of Epiphanius (Vol. IV [Lipsiae, 1862] Pars I, p: xv) also cites the following, from Codex Venetus Marcianus: *τὰς τε ἐν ἀβύσσοις, τὴν τε ὑποκάτω τῆς ἀβύσσου τῶν ὑδάτων τῶν τε ἐπάνω τῆς γῆς, ἐξ οὗ ἄπὸρ σκότος ἐστὶ. καὶ σκότος . . . .*

<sup>251</sup> Epiphanius would distinguish between the abyss of Sheol and the abysmal waters that in Gen. 1:2 are said to have covered the entire earth.

<sup>252</sup> The Greek continues: “and the division between the waters above the firmament and the waters below the firmament upon the face . . . .”

did on the sixth day. And everything was twenty-two kinds in the  
 60c |six days.<sup>253</sup> And he completed all his works<sup>254</sup> on the sixth day, every-  
 thing that is in heaven and on earth, in the seas and in the abysses,  
 in the light and in the darkness, and in everything. And God rested  
 from all his works on the seventh day, and he blessed it and hallowed  
 it. And he showed Moses through an angel that there would also  
 be<sup>255</sup> twenty-two heads from Adam to Jacob, <sup>256</sup>otherwise Israel,<sup>256</sup>  
 when he said: "And I will choose for myself from his seed a people  
 more numerous than any other people."<sup>257</sup> And the heads, <sup>258</sup>which  
 are the generations,<sup>258</sup> concerning whom the Lord spoke, are as follows:  
 Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan,<sup>259</sup> Mahalalel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah,  
 Lamech, Noah, Shem, Arpachshad, Shelah, Eber, Peleg, Reu—for the  
 Scripture omits Cainan<sup>260</sup> from the number<sup>261</sup>—Serug, Nahor, Terah,  
 Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, <sup>262</sup>otherwise Israel<sup>262</sup>—altogether, twenty-two  
 60d generations. Therefore there are twenty-two|letters among the He-  
 brews, which are these: *ālef, bēth, gimēl, deleth, hē, waw, zēj, hēth, tēth,*  
*jōth, kāf, lāmedh, mēm, nūn, sāmekh, ʿajin, pē, šādhēn, qōf, rēsh, shīn,*  
*taw.*<sup>263</sup> Therefore also there are twenty-two books of the Old Testa-  
 ment; but they are said among the Hebrews to be counted as twenty-  
 two though they are (really) twenty-seven, because five of their  
 61a letters also|are double—*kāf* has a duplicate form, also *mēm, nūn, pē,*  
 and *šādhē*—for the books also are counted in this manner.

<sup>253</sup> Greek: "And all the works done by God in the six days were twenty-two."

<sup>254</sup> Greek: "And God completed everything."

<sup>255</sup> Verb in margin.

<sup>256-256</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>257</sup> LXX of Exod. 19:5 and Deut. 7:6 and 14:2.

<sup>258-258</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>259</sup> Greek order: . . . Enosh, Enoch, Arpachshad, Shelah, Kenan, Peleg, Mahalalel, Eber, Reu, Jared, Serug, Nahor, Methuselah, Terah, Lamech, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob.

<sup>260</sup> LXX of Gen. 11:12 makes Cainan the son of Arpachshad and father of Shelah, but this is not in the Peshitta. Cf. Luke 3:36.

<sup>261</sup> The parenthetic statement is absent from the Greek.

<sup>262-262</sup> Not in the Greek.

<sup>263</sup> The Greek does not give the names of the letters, but otherwise the section closes practically as above. B is given in App. I. A spells out the names of the letters in both Syriac and Greek, then adds what may well be meant for the Hebrew letters (but *ʾ* is not given; it seems to be spelled out again in Greek, *א*). In A the Greek alphabet follows, interspersed with other characters in part at least Semitic.

23. *b<sup>r</sup>rēshūth*,<sup>264</sup> which is called the Genesis of the world. *elēsīmōth*, which is called the Exodus of the Israelites. *awājeqrā*, which is transferred (into Greek as) Leviticus. *awaddajbēr*, which is transferred (into Greek as) Numbers. *ellē dēvarejm*, which is Deuteronomy. *dīshū*,<sup>265</sup> which is Joshua. *d<sup>r</sup>ijjōv*, which is Job. *dīshōvtejm*, which is Judges. *dēr<sup>c</sup>ūth*, which is Ruth. *s<sup>e</sup>fertelējm*,<sup>266</sup> which is the Psalms. *d<sup>e</sup>varjamān*,<sup>267</sup> which is I Paraleipomena. *d<sup>e</sup>varjamān*, which is II Paraleipomena. [*d<sup>e</sup>*]*shamū<sup>r</sup>ēl*,<sup>268</sup> which is I Kingdoms. *dadūdh*<sup>269</sup> *shamū<sup>r</sup>ēl*,  
61b which is II Kingdoms. *d<sup>e</sup>malakhejm*, which is|III Kingdoms. *d<sup>e</sup>malakhejm*, which is IV Kingdoms. *d<sup>e</sup>me<sup>r</sup>alōth*,<sup>270</sup> which is Proverbs. *d<sup>e</sup>qōheleth*, which is Ecclesiastes.<sup>271</sup> *shīrath shīrīn*,<sup>272</sup> which is the Song of Songs. *dathr<sup>c</sup>ec<sup>r</sup>ar*,<sup>273</sup> which is the Twelve Prophets. *dēshā<sup>c</sup>jā*, which is that of the prophet Isaiah. *dēremjā*, which is that of the prophet Jeremiah. *d<sup>e</sup>hezq<sup>r</sup>ēl*, which is that of the prophet Ezekiel. *d<sup>e</sup>danjēl*, which is that of the prophet Daniel. *d<sup>e</sup>ezrā*, which is I Ezra. *d<sup>e</sup>ezrā*, which is II Ezra. *d<sup>e</sup>estēr*, which is Esther. These twenty-seven books are counted twenty-two according to the number of the letters, because five of the letters also are double, as we have already said above. But there is also another little book called *qīnōth*, which is translated  
61c the Lamentations|of Jeremiah. And it is joined to Jeremiah; it is in

<sup>264</sup> The Syriac consonants are given, vocalized according to the Greek text so far as possible. For the five books of the Pentateuch the Hebrew titles are given fairly accurately, except that in the case of Numbers the first word of the Hebrew text is given rather than the conventional Hebrew title. The various books are numbered in the margin.

<sup>265</sup> The prefixed *d* in the Greek even shows clearly an Aramaic influence here and in most of the other titles.

<sup>266</sup> Another Aramaized form, not used by the Hebrews; cf. Origen's title in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*: Hippolytus I<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig, 1897) 137.

<sup>267</sup> The title used in the Peshitta; therefore the vocalization of the Greek is not allowed above. This is the exact equivalent of the LXX *paraleipomena*.

<sup>268</sup> The initial *d* is present in B.

<sup>269</sup> From the root  $\text{קדש}$ ,  $\text{קדש}$ ; the marginal spelling is inferior. The margin of B,  $\text{קדש}|\text{קדש}$ , evidently applies to Proverbs.

<sup>270</sup> So the Greek. Margin: *d<sup>e</sup>methalōth* (for B margin see last note), which seems to be the Aramaic root plus the Hebrew fem. pl. ending.

<sup>271</sup> In the Syriac lit. "he who collects together."

<sup>272</sup> The exact Syriac translation of the Hebrew title.

<sup>273</sup> The title used in the Peshitta.

excess of the number, being joined to Jeremiah. This number twenty-two, found in all these places but counted in different ways, in the twenty-two works that God did in the six days of the making of the world, in the twenty-two generations from Adam to Israel, in the twenty-two signs of the letters from *âlef* to *taw*, and in the twenty-two books from Genesis to Esther, begets for us a measure of 22 *xestai*, called among the Hebrews a *modē*,<sup>274 275</sup> which the Greeks, translating, call<sup>275</sup> a *modjâ*,<sup>276</sup> and the Egyptians also similarly say 𐤌𐤍𐤁.<sup>277</sup> In the same way also the Syrians and Arabians say *modjâ*,<sup>278</sup> which is pronounced in Hebrew *modē*; but it is translated from the Hebrew into the Greek as *modjâ*, which is the *modē*.<sup>278</sup> For if the *modius* were not filled up, it would not confess<sup>279</sup> that which it holds:<sup>279</sup> "I am  
61d completed."<sup>280</sup> But according| to other interpretations it was named differently, for it is called *gnomon*,<sup>281</sup> that is, measure; it is called *homologia*,<sup>282</sup> also *homologēma*, also *homologos*.<sup>283</sup>

24. For in the number of the twenty-two works of God at the beginning, and of the twenty-two generations up to Jacob, and of the twenty-two books up to Esther, and by reason of the scheme of twenty-two letters in which the Law<sup>284</sup> exists for us and the<sup>285</sup> teaching of God has prefigured everything for us,<sup>285</sup> by this Law<sup>286</sup> and the mysteries in it Jesus Christ is attested to us as one who has come and been revealed, who, coming, by the Gospel fulfilled for us the measure of life by means of the *modē*, that is, confession, to every man who has

<sup>274</sup> Vocalized according to the Greek, for there is no such Hebrew term. It can hardly be related to מִדְּבָר.

<sup>275-276</sup> Greek: "among the Greeks."

<sup>276</sup> The usual form of the word in Epiphanius.

<sup>277</sup> Margin: "The Egyptians call the *modius* 𐤌𐤍𐤁." The Syriac translator did not understand the Greek *μεντοι*, "indeed" or "really."

<sup>278-278</sup> Greek: "which is translated *homologia*," i.e., "agreement."

<sup>279-279</sup> Not in the Greek. <sup>280</sup> The Greek sentence omits the negatives.

<sup>281</sup> Margin: "*Gnomon* is that which is translated: 'and he gave to every man what was due him.'"

<sup>282</sup> Margin: "*Homologia*, confession or acknowledgment; likewise also the other two names."

<sup>283</sup> This sentence not in the Greek.

<sup>284</sup> Greek: "the Law of our God," omitting "for us."

<sup>285-285</sup> Greek: "teaching of God is prefigured."

<sup>286</sup> Greek: "it is shown that from the Law . . . ."

62a confessed him and received life through him. Therefore the sacred measure, the Hebrews say, consists of 22 *xestai*, according to the number given above, which is variously employed.<sup>287</sup> For many of the other peoples either add to or subtract from this measure, which is correctly reckoned<sup>288</sup> among the Hebrews. But also among the Romans it happens that the measure is called by a similar name, *modium*,<sup>289</sup> just as among the Hebrews a child is admonished "to learn *alef*," and among the Greeks it happens to be called "to seek to *alphaize*."<sup>290</sup> Whence it has come to be known that from the Hebrew it<sup>291</sup> has been transferred to the other languages.<sup>292</sup> So the *modē*, as it is found in the Hebrew—it means "to confess," as I have frequently said—is explained by the usage. For if a man does not fill it completely, it does not confess: "I am full." But when one fills the measure and strikes<sup>293</sup> it, <sup>294</sup>he persuades the measure to confess:<sup>294</sup> "I am full." But when the name was transferred to the Greek, as I have said, the *modē* was called the *modjā* for the sake of clearness.<sup>295</sup>

62b 25. Concerning the *cab*. The *cab*, from the same language, is a variable<sup>296</sup> measure. Sometimes it is one-fourth of a *modius*, sometimes one-fifth, and at other times one-sixth. It nevertheless is a measure, but it is called a *cab* because the *modius* is divided into parts; for the Hebrew *qavā*<sup>297</sup> means "he has butchered" or "he has cut up," and when transferred to the Greek it was called *qabā*<sup>298</sup> for the sake of clearness.

26. Concerning the *choenix*. But the *choenix*, also the *hyfī*, is one measure, though called by two names. But it is variously measured

<sup>287</sup> Lit., "said." The Greek has only "according to the above" after "*xestai*."

<sup>288</sup> Reading *مخرب*, with B. <sup>289</sup> Greek: *μόδιον*.

<sup>290</sup> I.e., to learn the alphabet; *ἀλφείν* does not appear even in the *Lexicon* of Sophocles.

<sup>291</sup> Greek: *τὸ ἄλφα*.

<sup>292</sup> Greek: "into Greek."

<sup>293</sup> *ρηγλίσιζω* is found in Sophocles; *مخرب* should have such a meaning assigned it in Brockelmann, *op. cit.*

<sup>294-294</sup> Greek: "it confesses."

<sup>295</sup> This sentence not in the Greek.

<sup>296</sup> Greek: "different." From this point on the Greek is very fragmentary. Cf. App. III.

<sup>297</sup> A purely supposititious root so far as the Hebrew is concerned.

<sup>298</sup> The emphatic form of the Syriac; Greek: *κάβος*.

among different<sup>299</sup> people. And in the Hebrew language it is used<sup>300</sup> as a masculine, but in the Greek as a feminine. But the Cyprians say *choiniqtā*, but among them they indicate by it one-eighth of a *modius*. And the *modius* among them, being measured without shaking down but pressed down, consists of 17 *xestai*, so that the *choinix* is 2 *xestai* and a little more.<sup>301</sup> But it is called the *hyfī* from the Hebrew (term) which is pronounced *ʿofen*,<sup>302</sup> which is a measure of two handfuls.

62c 27. [Concerning] the handful of meal, like | the handful of meal that the widow told Elijah she had in a jar.<sup>303</sup> But this is simple and known to all, for, from the fact that the one measuring grasps<sup>304</sup> with one hand, a handful of one hand is called a handful.

28. [Concerning] the ardeb. This measure was named by the Egyptians, and it consists of 72 *xestai*. And this also is so composed with great exactness, for seventy-two men were building the tower and Babylon at the time when the one language was confounded into seventy-two.<sup>305</sup> Hence also they were called *meropes*<sup>306</sup> because of the divided speech. But the *metrētēs* also has the same capacity according to the sacred measure. For there are also other *metrētai* that are measured variously in different places. In Cyprus, when filled from the wine press, it is 104 *xestai*, the four *xestai* being reckoned as dregs  
62d and the 100 reckoned as pure, because | of the dipping up<sup>307</sup> by means of the *xestēs* of the place. But according to the Alexandrian *xestēs* 88 *xestai* fill the measure, but according to the sacred measure 82 (such) *xestai*. Sometimes they reckon the capacity of the *metrētēs* as 84, sometimes as 88, and sometimes as 96 *xestai*; but according to the

<sup>299</sup> Lit., "all."

<sup>300</sup> Lit., "said."

<sup>301</sup> Cf. SG, p. 315.

<sup>302</sup> The Syriac ܚܘܦܝܢ is doubtless a transliteration of *οφεν*, which would be the Greek representation of ֻּפִּי. Only the dual occurs in MT: Eccles. 4:6; Ezek. 10:2, 7; Exod. 9:8; Lev. 16:12; Prov. 30:4. Cf. Lagarde, *Orientalia* II (Göttingen, 1880) 2 f.

<sup>303</sup> I Kings 17:12.

<sup>304</sup> In the Syriac the verb "grasps" and the noun "handful" are from the same root; this could have been true of the Greek also.

<sup>305</sup> Gen. 11:1-9.

<sup>306</sup> Greek poetic term for men, commonly derived from *meiromai*.

<sup>307</sup> Reading ܚܘܦܝܢ, and considering it an abstract noun from the root ܘܦ; or we might possibly translate: "because there is a diminution in the *xestēs* of the place," reading according to the root ܘܦ. A third possibility would be a transliteration of the Greek *ληνός*, "wine vat."

sacred measure it consists of 72 *xestai*, and the *metrētēs* is for liquids and the ardeb for produce. But that which is called the ardeb is called the *artabā* in the language of the Egyptians, which is interpreted "well composed" or "well constituted." It is *artabā* in the Greek<sup>308</sup> for the sake of clearness. And the Hebrew is abundantly used to this measure because of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, whence they acquired the use of the measure. As it is written in Isaiah: "He that soweth 6 ardebs shall make three measures"<sup>309</sup>—that is, he who, from the great abundance of seed, because of the scantiness of the crop shall gather but a little. For the "three|measures" are a little omer, they are 6 *xestai*, so that they are one-twelfth of the ardeb, but that which (is composed) of 72; and<sup>310</sup> 6 ardebs are found to be 432 *xestai*. And, again, to this point is concerning the ardeb.

29. And since there occurs in juxtaposition in Isaiah, "Where ten yoke of oxen cultivate"—for he says they cultivate the vineyard with a plow, by the use of oxen—(the land) "will yield one jar,"<sup>311</sup> he thus shows that a measure of land such as this, which is plowed by yokes of oxen such as these, because of the scantiness of the crop will produce one jar, that is, a small measure. And so much for that.

30. "Three measures of fine flour," those which Abraham commanded Sarah to prepare for the angels,<sup>312</sup> from which "three measures" he commanded an ash cake<sup>313</sup> to be made. Every one of these 63b measures held 1 omer. The omer, however, is one-tenth|of the great measure, that is, of the ardeb, which makes  $7\frac{1}{5}$  *xestai*.<sup>314</sup> And, again, in the measure of the omer there are three measures, which are  $2\frac{2}{5}$ <sup>314a</sup> *xestai* each. Now the measure has this form, but the measure is also appropriate<sup>315</sup> for the spiritual contemplation of those who are esteemed worthy to understand. For the manna also was given an

<sup>308</sup> Margin: "Greek here, also Hebrew, because the Greek tongue and the Hebrew say (*artaba*)."

<sup>309</sup> LXX of Isa. 5:10; cf. *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus*, ed. A. M. Ceriani (Mediolani, 1874).

<sup>310</sup> A has changed an original  $\eta$  to  $\epsilon$ , "and."

<sup>311</sup> LXX of Isa. 5:10; cf. *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus*.

<sup>312</sup> Gen. 18:6.

<sup>313</sup> Lit., "a hidden (cake) of bread."

<sup>314</sup> Cf. SG, p. 125.

<sup>314a</sup> Lit., "2 and one-third and one-fifteenth."

<sup>315</sup> B reads  $\lambda\lambda\sigma\sigma\lambda$ .



omer by measure, which according to the priesthood is a tithe,<sup>316</sup> but according to the significance of the name—because it is a tenth of the great measure—it signifies *jōdh*,<sup>317</sup> which is the beginning of the name of Jesus, who in this measure, since the “three measures” are summed up in one, showed<sup>318</sup> them the equality of essence in the holy Trinity. And as to our saying that Abraham commanded Sarah, this also is (a matter) for investigation. For the three men were not going to eat such a measure as this; for when the “three measures” are combined  
 63c as one in 1 omer, these | three make a *modius* of 22 *xestai*,<sup>319</sup> that is, the sacred measure. Not at all, therefore, (was it) because they were about to consume all this, but that nothing might be lacking from the name of the Trinity. For in the measure there is a trinity, but in the bread there is one unity and one taste; for there is also in Deity nothing that is changeable. But what he said, “Make an ash cake,”<sup>320</sup> signified that there was always bread, but it was not revealed to all the world. But it was in heaven, God the Word. In the seed of Abraham, however, it was concealed by the Advent that was to be. Now the preparation of the ash cake is in this manner. When the bread has been kneaded and has afterward fermented, it is kneaded again. They bake this bread not in an oven but on a rock. Collecting smooth stones and piling them upon the ground, by means of much brushwood they heat them until they make of the smooth (stones)  
 63d glowing embers. | Then they remove the ashes from them, cover them with dough, and again spread the ashes over all the dough, spreading it out as one loaf; and hence it is called “hidden,” because concealed in the ashes. Moreover, that which was in this symbol was fulfilled.

<sup>316</sup> Lev. 5:11 and 6:20. In Exod. 16:36 the LXX identifies the ephah with the “three measures.”

<sup>317</sup> I.e., the tenth letter of the alphabet. This jumping from the fraction (*dekátē*) to the ordinal (*δέκατος*) would be much easier in the Greek which is the foundation of our Syriac text. I have been unable to consult Lagarde's *Psalterium Hieronymi* xiv, to which he refers in his *Symmicta* II 188.

<sup>318</sup> Lit., “gave.”

<sup>319</sup> Cf. SG, p. 59. The confusion of Epiphanius is a reflection of a similar confusion in LXX, which identifies the ephah with the “three measures” (Exod. 16:36), and again identifies the seah with the ephah (I Sam. 25:18) and with the *metrētēs* (I Kings 18:32). Even the familiar “three measures of meal” of Matt. 13:33 and Luke 13:21 are a rendition of the Greek *σάρα τρία*.

<sup>320</sup> Lit., “bread that is hidden.”

Caleb the son of Jephunneh, after Gūz<sup>e</sup>vā his first wife died,<sup>321</sup> took to wife ʔĀfar<sup>e</sup>thā, who also was a widow. And he received from Joshua the (son) of Nun as a portion the city of K<sup>e</sup>vartā,<sup>322</sup> which is interpreted “doxology,” and he built and joined to the first city the second (city of) ʔĀfar<sup>e</sup>thā,<sup>323</sup> which is interpreted “fruitfulness,” after the name of his wife, ʔĀfar<sup>e</sup>thā. Besides other sons he begat of her a son whose name was Bethlehem,<sup>324</sup> after he had begotten Lammon,<sup>325</sup> Arad,<sup>326</sup> and others. Since he loved the youth, he built a third city and joined it to these two former cities and called it Bethlehem,<sup>327</sup> 64a which is interpreted “house of bread.” And, indeed, the name was in use;<sup>328</sup> but it was not revealed until there came from heaven, being born of Mary in Bethlehem, that is, in the house of bread, he that said: “I am the living bread that came down from heaven.”<sup>329</sup> For the place had been named of yore; but the bread had not been revealed, for it was “hidden.”

31. Three baskets of coarse meal. The Scripture does not use this term, baskets,<sup>330</sup> as a measure, but rather to specify the reed baskets<sup>331</sup> which the people use customarily. But as to the “coarse meal” that is mentioned, which they were accustomed at the time to put in reed baskets, this coarse meal is a kind of wheat cut in two. But fine flour is the heart of the wheat, in fine grains; for from these processes the origin of milling came about.

64b 32. The *nēvel* of wine. The *nēvel* is a measure that is put into two wine skins, (a measure) which consists of 150 *xestai*,<sup>332</sup> which makes 3 liquid seahs, for the seah is 50 *xestai*. Further, this means a “taking

<sup>321</sup> I Chron. 2:18 f.; cf. LXX.

<sup>322</sup> Cf. R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 488.

<sup>323</sup> Cf. Gen. 35:19 and 48:7; R. Payne Smith, *loc. cit.*

<sup>324</sup> B omits Beth. Cf. I Chron. 2:51 and 4:4.

<sup>325</sup> B omits the first letter; cf. LXX of I Chron. 2:51.

<sup>326</sup> I Chron. 2:18.

<sup>328</sup> Lit., “the name was named.”

<sup>327</sup> R. Payne Smith, *loc. cit.*

<sup>329</sup> John 6:51.

<sup>330</sup> The margin gives *κava*, which is found in Gen. 40:16, 17, 18; Exod. 29:3, 23, 32; Lev. 8:2.

<sup>331</sup> Cf. p. 13, n. 19.

<sup>332</sup> Cf. Hultsch, *Gr. und röm. Metrologie*, p. 452, incl. footnote.

up,<sup>333</sup> that which a man, after filling, would draw up by man power from the pit of the wine press, as much as he was able to lift with his two hands from the pit of the wine press. But *nēvel* is interpreted "something to be carried,"<sup>334</sup> which is a load of wine,<sup>335</sup> which is also called a *foreus*, as the Cyprians call the great jar which holds 150 *xestai*, which a young man can carry on his shoulder from one little place to another.<sup>336</sup>

33. [Concerning the *kollathon*.] Among the Syrians the *kollathon* is half of a liquid seah, which is 25 *xestai*.<sup>337</sup>

34. [Concerning the *shâtîftâ*.] The *shâtîftâ* of ointment, as it is written in the Gospel,<sup>338</sup> is a vessel of glass in accordance with the name; but there is in it a *libra* of oil by weight, and in capacity there is half a *xestēs*.<sup>339</sup> But it is called an *alabastron*<sup>340</sup> because of the  
64c great|fragility, which is like salt. For the Scripture says: "And it shall be broken in pieces like an *alabastron*."<sup>341</sup> And it is, as I have said, a vessel round in form.

35. [Concerning the *kapsakēs*.] The *kapsakēs* of water has a capacity of 12 *xestai*, which corresponds to the *cab*,<sup>342</sup> the grain<sup>343</sup> measure that is called the *q<sup>e</sup>vūndā*.<sup>344</sup> This, however, is the great *kapsakēs*,

<sup>333</sup> Cf. נֶוֶל; Marcus Jastrow in his *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (London, 1903) says this is synonymous with the Aramaic כֹּסֶב.

<sup>334</sup> Apparently deriving *nēvel* from the Aramaic root נִבֵּל, which in the hiph'il means "lead, carry, bring."

<sup>335</sup> The Syriac text could be read "ass," but the margin says, "that which is drunk and not that which brays."

<sup>336</sup> I.e., a short distance from place to place, as the original Greek might more exactly express it.

<sup>337</sup> Cf. Hultsch, *op. cit.*, p. 587.

<sup>338</sup> Mark 14:3; Matt. 26:7.

<sup>339</sup> Cf. Hultsch, *op. cit.*, p. 602.

<sup>340</sup> The Greek term employed in the Gospels.

<sup>341</sup> LXX of IV Kings 21:13.

<sup>342</sup> The *kapsakēs* of 4 *xestai* mentioned just below seems a better match for the *cab*.

<sup>343</sup> Brockelmann (*op. cit.*) follows Fränkel in emending ܩܘܢܕܐ to ܩܘܢܕܐ.

<sup>344</sup> Can this be an error for Audo's ܩܘܢܕܐ, a vessel for dipping water (*Dictionnaire de la langue chaldéenne* [Mossoul, 1897] II 393a)? As written in our mss. this is a diminutive.

the one-fourth division of the seah. Some call it the *ḡespadhjūn*,<sup>345</sup> that is, the libation cup.<sup>346</sup> But that which was prepared for Elijah<sup>346</sup> was also a *kapsakēs*, with 4 *xestai* in the measure, but called in the feminine *q\*vūrtā*.<sup>347</sup> And it was equal in capacity to the *stamnos*, in which *stamnos* are 4 Italian or Alexandrian *xestai*. For there were placed in the ark, that is, in the chest, four books: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers. For it was in the thirty-eighth year of the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt that Deuteronomy was commanded to be written  
64d | and placed by the side of the ark and not joined to these four, so that it might not obscure the measure which had been required in conformity with the number. For there are four rivers out of Eden, four quarters of the world, four seasons of the year, four watches in the night, four successive times for prayers in a day and (corresponding) periods,<sup>348</sup> four *xestai* in the *stamnos*<sup>349</sup> measure for the manna, four spiritual creatures which were composed of four faces,<sup>350</sup> which typify the coming of the Messiah. One had the face of a man, because the Messiah was born a man in Bethlehem, as Matthew teaches.<sup>351</sup> One had the face of a lion, as Mark proclaims him coming up from the Jordan,<sup>352</sup> a lion king, as also somewhere it is written: "The Lord has come up as a lion from the Jordan."<sup>353</sup> One had the face of an ox, as Luke proclaims—not he alone, but also the other Evangelists—him  
65a | of the world | was offered up on the cross. One had the face of an eagle, as John proclaims the Word who came from heaven and was made flesh<sup>355</sup> and flew to heaven like an eagle after the resurrection with the Godhead. And these things also I have related concerning the *stamnos*, because in the *stamnos*, which has been handed down as a feminine noun, was placed the manna, which was the heavenly bread but symbolized the Perpetual Virgin Mary, who is indeed gold from the "tried gold"<sup>356</sup> by reason of the evidence of her virginity. But it con-

<sup>345</sup> Merely two spellings of the Greek *σπονδεῖον*.

<sup>346</sup> I Kings 19:6.

<sup>347</sup> Can this be an error for Audo's *قصب*? Cf. n. 344 above.

<sup>348</sup> The word *قصب* may be a mere doublet or gloss of *قصب*.

<sup>349</sup> But MT of Exod. 16:33 says an omer of manna was the quantity.

<sup>350</sup> Ezek. 1:5 ff.

<sup>351</sup> Matt. 2:1.

<sup>352</sup> Cf. Jer. 49:19.

<sup>353</sup> John 1:14.

<sup>354</sup> Mark 1:10.

<sup>355</sup> Luke 23:44.

<sup>356</sup> Cf. Rev. 3:18.

tained the manna which came down from heaven, and because of the little faith of those who saw the manna it received this name. It was called *man*; but this is translated: "What is this?" For when they saw it upon the face of the earth they said: "What is this?"<sup>357</sup> For they were going to say to the Messiah: "Who is this that speaks  
 65b blasphemy?"<sup>358</sup> So the *stamnos* contained the manna, | in which was a measure by reason of the 4 *xestai*, and Mary (contained) the Word that was proclaimed through the four Evangelists. For she herself was the holy ark to which it pointed, of which the ark that was fashioned in the wilderness was a type. Moreover, that was of wood, in which was the Word inscribed on two tablets of stone and in the other books, the four books together and the fifth book which was at the side, that is, Deuteronomy. But although he that uttered the divine Word was in it, yet the ark was also made as a type of her. But, being priceless, it was carried; and the Word that was in it spoke through him that read, since it did not speak of its own volition.<sup>359</sup> But the holy Mary, the living ark, had the living<sup>360</sup> Word borne within her. While she  
 65c had within her | another ark which was also alive, there was in the ark that had been placed in her the living Word. And, further, when David the prophet was bringing the ark up to Zion, he danced before it, singing and rejoicing.<sup>361</sup> And it was not a miracle, but rather a sign by way of prophecy. "For these things happened typically, and they were written as an admonition for us unto whom the ends of the times have come," as the apostolic words teach.<sup>362</sup> But here was a miracle. For when the living ark—I speak of Mary—entered the house of Elizabeth, the child John danced in the womb of his mother, leaping for joy before the ark on account of him whom she was bearing, the living Word, the Messiah.<sup>363</sup> But the living Word also was a living ark in his own living body, who, on account of the sacrifice in lieu of our death, submitted to a three days' sleep. When he was awakened  
 65d by the word of the prophet, he heard the one hundred | thirty-first Psalm: "Arise in thy rest, thou and the ark of thy holy covenant."<sup>364</sup> For they called the Godhead of the only-begotten to arise from the lower parts of the earth with his holy soul, and also at the same time

<sup>357</sup> Exod. 16:15.<sup>361</sup> II Sam. 6:14.<sup>358</sup> Cf. Mark 2:7.<sup>362</sup> I Cor. 10:11.<sup>359</sup> Lit., "being moved of itself."<sup>363</sup> Luke 1:41.<sup>360</sup> B reads "new."<sup>364</sup> Ps. 132:8.

(called) his completely assumed human nature, his body, as they hint and say, "thou and the ark of thy holy covenant," so that they might say his holy body. And these are the things concerning the *stamnos*, which consisted of the 4 *xestai* of manna, from which also we know the significance of the ark in which was the law in the four books before Deuteronomy (was written)<sup>365</sup> and the ark and *stamnos* of Mary which contained in the four Gospels the manna, the heavenly bread, and the ark, in which ark—I mean, in the holy body—the heavenly Word, when he came down, was given to the world. But I mean to those who believed in him, through the four Gospels believed the things that were preached. Up to here is enough concerning the *stam-*  
 66a *nos*,| we think, O lover of the good.

36. [Concerning the *kotylē*.] The *kotylē* is half a *xestēs*, and it is called a *kotylē* because the *xestēs* is cut in two.<sup>366</sup> For they call those who sell wine or oil by the *xestēs kotylistai*, because they divide up what they sell into small measures.

37. [Concerning the *kyathos*.] The *kyathos* is not one measure but various (measures), for it is defined by the mixed drink in the cup, in one place a simple cup which is one-sixth of a *xestēs*, in another a double cup which is one-third of a *xestēs*. But it is a dipper,<sup>367</sup> by the use of which they dip up from a jar by means of the long handle. It has a form like that of a small inkstand, and one lifts it by the handle in order to draw from the depths of the jar that which he is about to take in the cup as a mixed drink. But in translation from the Hebrew language into the Greek, in some books it is called by this name (*kyathos*);<sup>368</sup> but in a few books it is put down according to the Hebrew term, not being translated. When therefore you find in the prepara-  
 66b tion for the setting up of the tabernacle| both the *medekōth*<sup>369</sup> and the *masmarōth*,<sup>370</sup> know that *medekōth* means *kyathoi* and *masmarōth* means

<sup>365</sup> For the unusual construction  $\text{ܨܘܠܐ}$  see Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* (London, 1904) § 308<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>366</sup> This derivation must go back to the Aramaic קטל, "to cut."

<sup>367</sup> Margin: *αντλητηριῶ*; B margin: *αντλητηριον*.

<sup>368</sup> LXX of Exod. 25:28 (=MT 25:29) and 38:12 (=MT 37:16), Num. 4:7, and Jer. 52:19 has *κθαθος* as a translation of the Hebrew מִן־קִיּוֹת.

<sup>369</sup> This Greek marginal transliteration of the Syriac term perhaps results from a misspelling of  $\text{ܡܕܟܘܬܐ}$  of the Syro-Hexaplaric version of Jer. 52:19.

<sup>370</sup> Found thus spelled in LXX, but as  $\text{ܡܫܡܪܘܬܐ}$  in the Syro-Hexaplaric version immediately preceding  $\text{ܡܕܟܘܬܐ}$  in Jer. 52:19.

strainers. But many times when this word is employed it is used for *ēthmoi*; for *ēthmoi* and strainers, on account of one and the same use, are alike called *masmarōth* in the Hebrew.

38. [Concerning the *tryblion*.] The form of the *tryblion* is that of the *scutella*,<sup>371</sup> that is, a dish.<sup>372</sup> But it has a capacity of half a *xestēs*.

39. [Concerning the *xestēs*.] Although the *xestēs* is particularly well known to everybody, yet we speak of it because its standard is variously fixed<sup>373</sup> among many peoples. For there is the Italian, the Alexandrian, the *castrensis*,<sup>374</sup> the Pontic, and the Nicomedian. The Pontic is four times that of Alexandria; this is the *stamnos* already mentioned, when used as a wine measure. But it is otherwise adduced by  
66c weight, for in oil there are 8 *librae*. | For an Alexandrian *xestēs* holds<sup>375</sup> a weight of 2 *librae* in oil, and the Italian *xestēs* holds 22 ounces; the *castrensis* also similarly holds 24 ounces, more or less, and the Nicomedian 20 ounces.

40. [Concerning the *aporryma*.] The *aporryma* is employed as a measure among the Thebans only, for it is half a *saitēs*. And its form is that of a small jar of the type of the *saitēs*. The true *saitēs*, however, consists of 22 *xestai*,<sup>376</sup> so that the *aporryma* consists of 11 *xestai*. For there is another *saitēs* called the Nicaean, a jar of 8 or 10 *xestai*. And it was called the *saitēs* from the city of Saïs, where the measure and the form of the *saitēs* were invented.

41. [Concerning the *shāfithā*.] (As for) the *shāfithā*, this is a Syriac term which occurs as a measure among the people of Gaza and Ashkelon and the rest of the seacoast called the Shefelah. Hence in Gaza | and  
66d Ashkelon<sup>377</sup> they call the jar which is the *shāfithā*<sup>378</sup> the *sapation*, which is translated "the drawing vessel of the wine press,"<sup>379</sup> for with the measure they draw out and carry wine. But among the people of

<sup>371</sup> Cf. p. 13, n. 22.

<sup>372</sup> Greek: *παροψίς*, defined as a dainty side dish or a dish on which such meats are served.

<sup>373</sup> Or, more lit., "it is variously standardized."

<sup>374</sup> Hultsch, *op. cit.*, p. 630, n. 1.

<sup>375</sup> Lit., "brings" or "bears."

<sup>376</sup> Hultsch, *op. cit.* pp. 542 f.

<sup>377</sup> The Syriac construction makes "Gaza" and "Ashkelon" adjectives modifying "jar."

<sup>378</sup> Apparently from the Aramaic root שפח, שפח, "to incline, tilt, pour out slowly."

<sup>379</sup> Greek: *ληνιαῖον ἀντλημα*.

Ashkelon it consists of 22 *xestai*,<sup>380</sup> among those of Azotus 18 *xestai*, and among those of Gaza 14 *xestai*.

42. Concerning the hin. The hin also is mentioned in the divine Scriptures, as are also many of those already discussed. Therefore the Scripture cautions many times and says "by the great measure," "by that of the sanctuary."<sup>381</sup> And the great hin consists of 18 *xestai*, that is, one-fourth of a *metrētēs*. But the sacred hin consists of 9 *xestai*, one-sixth of which the prophet Ezekiel was ordered to drink daily, to whom the Lord said: "And water thou shalt drink by measure, one-sixth of a hin,"<sup>382</sup> that is, 1½ *xestai*.

67a 43. | Concerning the *chūs*. The *chūs* is taken from the Hebrew term that is pronounced *kūzā*.<sup>383</sup> The complete (*chūs*) consists of 8 *xestai*,<sup>384</sup> but the one called "sacred" consists of 6 *xestai*. For compared with the *metrētēs* the great (*chūs*) is one-ninth; but as compared with the *samios*, which is employed among the Cyprians, it is one-sixth, for the *trichūs* is half a *samios*. But the *chūs*, according to the sacred measure, which is the *kūzā*, is one-twelfth of the *metrētēs*, 6 *xestai*.

44. To this point we have discussed such measures as we have mentioned, but hereafter we speak of weights.

45. Discussion concerning the talent. The talent is that measure used in weighing that exceeds every other. And it is called the talent from the circumstance that equal<sup>385</sup> weights fall into the two scale pans of a balance, and by the weight that is equal in counterpoise that  
67b which is in the other scale pan is weighed, that | is, suspended.<sup>386</sup> But the talent is called *תַּלְתַּי*<sup>387</sup> among the Hebrews, that is, the *تالنت*,<sup>388</sup>

<sup>380</sup> Hultsch, *op. cit.* pp. 585 f.

<sup>381</sup> I have been unable to locate either of these phrases; but cf. Exod. 30:25, 31; Lev. 19:35; Deut. 25:13-15.

<sup>382</sup> Ezek. 4:11; cf. LXX and Syro-Hexaplaric version. See Hultsch, *op. cit.* pp. 369, 450, 456.

<sup>383</sup> Clearly Aramaic; cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.*, and Jacob Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (Berlin und Wien, 1924).

<sup>384</sup> Hultsch, *op. cit.* pp. 628, 690.

<sup>385</sup> The two Syriac words here translated "equal" most likely translate some such Greek term as *ισόμοιρος*, *ισομερής*, *ισόμορος*.

<sup>386</sup> The root is *ΠΖ*, and there seems to be a word play on this and *τάλαντον*.

<sup>387</sup> Epiphanius has some idea of a reduplicated biliteral root, such as is cited from the Sabaeen in Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (Leipzig, 1921) under *תַּלְתַּי*.

<sup>388</sup> The usual Syriac word translated "talent" above and elsewhere.



which in *librae* consists of 125 *librae* by weight. But according to the *lepta* of coinage, when cut up<sup>389</sup> into *lepta*, it is divided into 6,000 *lepta*. Accountants call this the unit.<sup>390</sup> It is not the only (unit) for reckoning large sums, for there is also the unit involved in the "10,000 denarii." There are, however, 6,000 *lepta* in 1 talent. The *lepta* are called *assarìa*, concerning which it is said in the Gospel: "Are not two sparrows sold for one *assarion*?"<sup>391</sup> Or, again: "Are not five sparrows sold for two *assarìa*?"<sup>392</sup> But they are called *assarìa* when the smallest (weight) is translated from the Hebrew.<sup>393</sup> Sixty *assarìa*, however, are a *denarion*,<sup>394</sup> and 100 *denaria* are a silver (coin).<sup>395</sup> And they were 2  
67c *denarii* that fell from the widow into the treasury;<sup>396</sup> they have also been called 2 *lepta*, for *assarìa* are the smallest<sup>397</sup> things that can be. And the *argyrūs* was coined as a coin from the beginning; therefore they also say *argyroì*.<sup>398</sup> This came originally from the Assyrians, and they say that Abraham brought this coin<sup>399</sup> to Canaan. The  $\frac{1}{125}$  part of the talent is the *libra*. The *centenarius* was invented among the Romans, for it also bears a Roman name. They say *centum* for 100, and it is a weight of 100 *librae*.

46. [Concerning the *litra*.] The *litra*,<sup>400</sup> however, consists of 12 ounces. As to its name, it also is from the Hebrew, for *λίτρα* means

<sup>389</sup> Most likely a translation of the Greek *κόπτω*, which in such a context would mean "coined."

<sup>390</sup> Observe the Greek margin, *μοναδα*.

<sup>391</sup> Matt. 10:29.

<sup>392</sup> Luke 12:6.

<sup>393</sup> Is Epiphanius trying to derive the term *assarion* from something like the relative of the root *צטר*?

<sup>394</sup> *Denarion* and *denarius* represent the very same Syriac or Greek word; the former is here used when reference is to the mina, for the word is used in two distinct senses. Cf. Oskar Viedebant, *Antike Gewichtsnormen und Münzfüsse* (Berlin, 1923) pp. 80-82.

<sup>395</sup> Margin: "ذئبة", translated, 'of silver'; a man might say it, e.g., of a *zūzd* or anything else like this."

<sup>396</sup> Mark 12:42; Luke 21:2. The Greek has *λεπτα* in both cases.

<sup>397</sup> Cf. the *λεπτεπλεπτα* suggested by Lagarde.

<sup>398</sup> Transliterating, in this sentence, the two adjectives, "silver."

<sup>399</sup> The word is the Greek *τύπος*, anything wrought of metal or stone.

<sup>400</sup> The Greek form of the Latin *libra*.

"It is mine,"<sup>401</sup> which is in every case persuasive and reassuring to him that receives and to him that gives.

47. [Concerning the ounce.] And it is named the ounce, on the one hand according to the height in the measure or by the spaced altitude; on the other hand it is measured in scales<sup>402</sup> for weighing by the heaviness of a (known) weight, and by the knob of the scales it is determined according to the swerving, being estimated and weighed according to  
67d the lines of distance. | And there are in the ounce 2 staters, because of that which was said by our Savior to Peter: "Cast your hook into the sea and take the first fish that comes up, and when you open its mouth you will find a stater"—called in the Hebrew a *zūzā*;<sup>403</sup> "taking this, give for me and yourself."<sup>404</sup> For it was a stater containing half an ounce or 2 double *zūzē*, since the Pharisees said to Peter: "Does not your master pay the double *zūzā*?"<sup>405</sup> For by the census of King Augustus there was to be paid what they called the poll tax,<sup>406</sup> but in the Roman language *capitatio*, for they call the head a *caput*. So the Pharisees said: "Does not your master pay the double *zūzā*?" which is 2 *zūzē*.

48. [Concerning the shekel.] One shekel is that which is transliterated from the Hebrew language *shekel*,<sup>407</sup> meaning inclination, for they say the *shekel* pulls down.<sup>408</sup> There are in it two of what are called  
68a *lepta*, which makes 2 *zūzē*; | but 2 double *zūzē*, which is 2 shekels accord-

<sup>401</sup> This is certainly the simplest and most natural reading of the Syriac text, but the marginal *εμοι τρα* is puzzling. Is it possible for the *τρα* to represent some form of the Aramaic ארר, or ארר, or even ארר, which has the meaning "bring"? Cf. § 54.

<sup>402</sup> The margin identifies these scales with the weighing instrument invented by Archimedes, *χαριστω*.

<sup>403</sup> Someone saw the discrepancy here and tried to mend matters by adding on the margin: "It is the double *zūzā*, the great *zūzā* which weighs 2 *zūzē*."

<sup>404</sup> Matt. 17:27.

<sup>405</sup> Matt. 17:24.

<sup>406</sup> Lit., "head money."

<sup>407</sup> I read the mark by the first letter in B as the Greek *e*, but the word might be taken as a participle with *d* except for this pointing. As a matter of fact, this spelling is much nearer to the English form of the word than the usual Greek writing of the word.

<sup>408</sup> This word, strangely enough, seems pointed as a participle in B; and if the word transliterated *shekel* is also a participle, we have: "for they call *shdkel* a pulling down."

ing to the sacred shekel,<sup>409</sup> make 1 stater. The weight of this stater is the sum of 2 double *zūzē*, the complete measure of two poll taxes, as the Lord said: "Give a stater for me and you." For this is what was ordered by Augustus to be paid for every poll. But the shekel is also called a *kodrantēs*,<sup>410</sup> for there are 2 *zūzē* in it. But when it is changed or divided it is divided into many *lepta*, for the silver (coin) which is called by the Hebrews a mina—that is, a number<sup>411</sup>—contains 100 *denarii*; its fourth is 25 *denarii* when it is changed. So when it is changed, because it is bound up in a bag, it is called a *kodrantēs*, for they call a bag of silver a *kōdarion*.<sup>412</sup> But the shekel, which is one-  
 68b fourth | of an ounce, one-half of a stater, contains 2 *zūzē*; for one-eighth of an ounce is a *zūzā*. And the *zūzā* was also called a *holkē*.<sup>413</sup> By this weight—I mean the shekel—they weighed the hair of Absalom every time he had his hair cut; and it possessed the weight of 125 shekels, which is 31 ounces and 1 shekel, that is,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *librae* and 5 shekels.<sup>414</sup>

49. Concerning the obolus. The obolus also was coined among the silver (coins). The one, however, made not of silver but of iron is one-eighth of an ounce,<sup>415</sup> for this used to be an arrow.<sup>416</sup> For the life of man before the coming of Christ was hemmed in by wars, so that  
 68c things as these they did business, | everyone giving five or ten arrows when purchasing bread or anything else. But this was in weight one-seventh of an ounce; and with our own eyes we have seen this kind, O lover of the good. For on the island of Cyprus many kings and tyrants seized the government in antiquity. And going up for a walk

<sup>409</sup> The Jewish temple tax of half a shekel is here called a shekel, for Epiphanius identifies it with the double *zūzā*, the Greek *didrachmon*, and this is what the LXX calls the shekel in Lev. 27:25.

<sup>410</sup> The Greek form of the Latin *quadrans*.

<sup>411</sup> This is the most obvious meaning of the Syriac; but it might be rendered "numbering," "counting," "sum," or even "part."

<sup>412</sup> *κωδάριον*, diminutive of *κώδιον*, which is in turn a diminutive of *κώας*, a sheep-skin or fleece; *kodrantēs* has a different origin.

<sup>413</sup> A Greek weight equal to the drachma.

<sup>414</sup> This figure does not agree with II Sam. 14:26.

<sup>415</sup> Cf. Hulstsch, *op. cit.* pp. 133, 150, 193.

<sup>416</sup> The Syriac term would apply to any pointed missile for hurling by hand or otherwise; our "missile" is too broad a term, for it can be applied to a mere stone, and a "dart" is usually thought of as thrown by hand.

to one of the ancient castles which had revolted once upon a time, we entered where there had been a palace, where there was stored a portion of the tyrant's pay which was given to the soldiers under him from time to time. And there had been placed in a heap these obeloi,<sup>417</sup> which were fashioned by early man for use as money. But they were also employed in the wars. Moreover, these things concerning the oboloi, such as I have expounded and adduced, I was compelled to say because the divine Scripture says: "The whole world of capital  
68d belongs to the faithful;|not even an obolus belongs to the unfaithful."<sup>418</sup> But there was also another obolus that was coined of silver, which was a very small coin; it is one-eightieth of an ounce.<sup>419</sup> For it is said in Leviticus: "The double *zūzā* shall be 20 oboloi."<sup>420</sup> We have already shown that the double *zūzā* is one-fourth of an ounce.

50. Concerning the *chalkoi*. (As for) the *chalkoi*, the Egyptians invented them. They are silver (coins) that are coined; for this reason the silver coins are called coppers<sup>421</sup> among the Alexandrians. But the *chalkūs* is one-eighth of an ounce by weight, like the *zūzā*.<sup>422</sup>

51. Concerning the mina. Mina is for *manē*.<sup>423</sup> For in the Hebrew the silver (coin) is called the *manē*. But the Italian mina consists of  
69a 40|staters, that is, of 20 ounces—a *libra* and two-thirds. But that which is called the barbarian, the Theban, consists of 60 staters, that is,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *librae*. But they coin other minas, some of 2 *librae*, some of 4, everyone according to his pleasure. And there have been many types of silver (coins) from time to time.

<sup>417</sup> This spelling with an *e* is justified by our present English usage, which comes down to us from the Greeks. The mss. do not of themselves justify a spelling here different from the "obolus" elsewhere. A has the word "obolus" or "obelus" seven times in this paragraph; in the first three instances there is no attempt to represent the medial vowel; in the last four it is indicated by |. In B the vowel is so represented in six cases; only in the second instance is the vowel not represented.

<sup>418</sup> Prov. 17:6 in LXX.

<sup>419</sup> Cf. Hultsch, *op. cit.* p. 210.

<sup>420</sup> Lev. 27:25 in LXX.

<sup>421</sup> This is the transliteration of the Greek adjective corresponding to *chalkūs*, a popular term for silver coins of small value.

<sup>422</sup> Cf. Hultsch, *op. cit.* pp. 133 f.

<sup>423</sup> The Hebrew term מָנָה. Lagarde's use of this term again in the next sentence is abundantly justified by the fragments of Epiphanius in his *Symmicta* I 214, first line 15, and 217, first line 10. The margins of A and B are contradictory.

52. [Concerning the *nummus*.<sup>424</sup>] A certain *nummus* was once called after one Numa who was a king of the Romans, and in accordance with his name the coin was coined. But the ancients called half of the silver (*denarius*) the *dichryson*.<sup>425</sup> And the silver (*denarius*) is what the Romans call the *miliarision*,<sup>426</sup> which is translated "military gift."<sup>427</sup> This *dichryson* also was the silver (coin) that was later called  
69b repudiated. After the king had been killed,|his stamp was still engraved upon the *dichryson*. When his coin came to be repudiated it was called fraudulent, that is, repudiated. But you find this term in the prophet also, O lover of learning, as he says: "Call them repudiated silver."<sup>428</sup> But the Cyprians and other peoples call the *assarion* by the Greek name *zirētia*.<sup>429</sup> And, again, the ancients had silver (coins) that were called *lityra*,<sup>429</sup> also *tyria*;<sup>429</sup> but we do not know how heavy these were as to weight.

53. [Concerning the *follis*.] The *follis* is also called the purse,<sup>430</sup> because it is a multiple; for it is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  silver (coins), which is 250<sup>431</sup> *denarii*. Two *lepta* are a *follis* according to the copper coinage,<sup>432</sup> but not according to the silver coinage. This also was of silver.<sup>433</sup> And, moreover, even at the present time the Romans make use of this

<sup>424</sup> Cf. Hultsch, *op. cit.* pp. 293–97.

<sup>425</sup> Both A and B have marginal Greek spellings in *dia-*, and in the Syriac this *a* is represented in every case save one by  $\dot{\iota}$ . I have followed the *Lexicon* of Sophocles, to avoid confusion with *diachryson*, "interwoven with gold."

<sup>426</sup> So the margin of B. This is the Roman *miliarensis*, named for its value, the one-thousandth of a pound of gold; cf. A. R. Burns, *Money and Monetary Policy in Early Times* (London, 1927) p. 242, n. 5.

<sup>427</sup> Lit.; but the term really means the daily wage of the soldier.

<sup>428</sup> Jer. 6:30; cf. LXX and Syro-Hexaplaric.

<sup>429</sup> Vocalized according to the Greek marginal glosses; not in the lexicons. Let students of Greek antiquities take notice of these terms.

<sup>430</sup> Speaking in Roman terms, Burns (*op. cit.* p. 439) says: "The purse of silver is estimated at 125 *miliarenses* weighing a little under two pounds, and was worth 9 *solidi* or one-eighth of a pound of gold." Cf. Hultsch, *op. cit.* pp. 340–48.

<sup>431</sup> The Greek of Petavius reads "208." Lagarde says the Breslau ms. reads "220." Cf. his *Symmicta* I 213, 217 f., 222, 224; also Hultsch, *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae* I 144 n.; also Burns, *op. cit.* p. 439.

<sup>432</sup> The copper *denarius* became so common that the term *δηναρισμον* was employed to mean copper coinage. Cf. Dindorf's ed. of Epiphanius, IV<sup>1</sup> 138.

<sup>433</sup> Apparently a small silver coin (*follis*) worth 2 *lepta*.

- 69c number, | 125 pieces of silver in number being considered among the Romans as heaped up together to make one purse, because the profusion of the quantity of the silver pieces fills the bag. For as the talent contains 125 *librae* by number, so also in the case of the *folliis* 125 silver (*denarii*) complete<sup>434</sup> the number. But you also find this, O lover of the good, in the book of Kingdoms, when Naaman the Syrian, turning in the chariot, went to meet with Gehazi and he, as if sent by Elisha personally, said, lying: "My lord sent me, saying: 'There have come to me two needy sons of the prophets. But send them two garments and a talent of silver.'" And he said: "Take two talents of silver and two garments that may be changed." And he put the two talents into two bags and placed them upon two young men.<sup>435</sup>
- 69d Now a talent, | we say, consists of 125 *librae*, that is, the great talent; and this was placed in bags because it was in coins. For the number 125 is called a talent because of its great weight. For when we wish to mention what is excessive in weight we say "exceeding the talent," but when (a matter) of simple number, the number 125 is employed.<sup>436</sup> And, again, it is called the *folliis* because of the interpretation "bag"; and in *lepta* it lumps up<sup>437</sup> 125 *lepta* of silver<sup>438</sup> in one coin (name)<sup>439</sup> so as to be called individually a *folliis*, being mentioned by this name "bag." In accordance with another explanation among the Hebrews, the term *salâ*<sup>440</sup> is used; but this coin is entirely of silver, the weight half an ounce. This is what Abraham proposed to give to the sons of

<sup>434</sup> If the writing of A, with a double  $\aleph$ , be correct, then the reference is to what people "say" is the number.

<sup>435</sup> II Kings 5:21-23 in LXX.

<sup>436</sup> Lit., "accepted."

<sup>437</sup> Lit., "swallows."

<sup>438</sup> I.e., the silver *denarius*, just as the copper *lepton* was the copper *denarius*.

<sup>439</sup> I.e., a term in common use for expressing value but never an actual coin, in this respect like the English "mill." That the *folliis* is said in one place to equal 125 pieces of silver, in another place 250, and is even assigned other values in the Greek text, is in exact accord with current usage in Palestine up until the recent World War. The *mejidi* was officially worth 19 piasters in the Turkish telegraph offices, but in current usage was worth 23 piasters in Jerusalem, 24 in Damascus, 26 in Jaffa, and 46 in Gaza. Cf. Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria* (Leipzig, 1912) p. xxiii and the frontispiece.

<sup>440</sup> The word as here spelled means lit. "baskets"; it is no doubt the  $\text{ܩܠܘܢ}$ , which has been transliterated into Greek and then back into Syriac and has thus become obscured.

Shechem as the price of the field because of the double cave, saying, "four hundred double *zūzē* between us,"<sup>441</sup> which were 200 *salīm*.  
 70a |And<sup>442</sup> the *salā* is interpreted as *follis* because of the roundness of form of the coin. The round scales of reptiles are called *folides*.<sup>443</sup> When this is reckoned in talents the number is carried up to 125 *librae*, but when in *folles* they are composed of 125 (*denarii*) of silver. It has the name of bag among the Romans, but among the Hebrews and Greeks that of snake scales.<sup>444</sup> But the Alexandrians, having reduced the talent to the smallest (subdivisions), made it consist of 15 silver (coins) in number, for a silver (coin) was 100 *denarii*. And in a *denarius* there were 4 *lepta*. So all these made up 6,000<sup>445</sup> *lepta* in a talent. To this point, again, as regards the weights and the silver (coins) and the measures and the numbers which we have adduced, we have also made explanation.

54. The names of the measures<sup>446</sup> locally. The *marēs*<sup>447</sup> is a measure  
 70b among the people of Pontus consisting of 2 pots; but the pot |among them consists of 10 *xestai*, so that the *kupros*<sup>448</sup> consists of 20 Alexandrian *xestai*. Among the people of Pontus the *kupros* is a measure of dry produce of 2 *modii*; but it (the *modius*) is said by them to consist of 5 *choinikes*, and the *choinix* of 2 *xestai*, among them, so that the *kupros* would consist of 20 *xestai*. For there is also a great *modius* among them of 24 *xestai*. The *litra* is translated by the Romans as *libra*, which among the Romans etymologically<sup>449</sup> means equality, that is to say, equality by measure. And there is in it 12 ounces. But from what language the name of the ounce has come we do not know with

<sup>441</sup> Gen. 23:16 in LXX.

<sup>442</sup> Margin: "Concerning the *salā*."

<sup>443</sup> Plural of *folis*, a Greek term here confused with *follis*, which latter was applied by the Romans to a small coin as well as to a leathern money bag.

<sup>444</sup> An interpretation of the term *folides*.

<sup>445</sup> B has 6,400 in text, and A adds 400 in the margin; but such a calculation does not fit Epiphanius' terms.

<sup>446</sup> Plural in B. A repeats the title in the margin; on left margin: "Concerning the *marēs*, the *kupros*, and the *choinix*."

<sup>447</sup> Cf. Hultsch, *Gr. und röm. Metrologie*, pp. 480, 574 f., 586.

<sup>448</sup> Evidently an error for *marēs*; but *kupros* occurs in both Syriac mss. and also in the fragmentary Greek given by Lagarde, *Symmicta* I 218 and II 182. So also Hultsch, *Metrologorum scriptorum reliquiae* I 264, line 15, and 269, line 23. But cf. our § 3, where the meaning is clear.

<sup>449</sup> *ἐτυμολογία* is evidently the Greek that lies behind the Syriac ܩܘܪܕܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ.

certainty;<sup>450</sup> but from what we conjecture the ounce is called by a Greek name, being named because of the many parts in the *litra*. However, the *litra* is also said to be perhaps from the Hebrew or  
 70c Syriac language, as we have said above. For the *li* is,|being translated, “to me,” and the *tra* is “it is”; so that it will be: “Full weight belongs to him that receives.” But the *litra* makes 288 grams, and every gram consists of 6 carats. But carats are the seeds that are found in the fruit of the carob tree. And this seed weight, if it is complete, equals the weight of 2 fat barley(corns), so that the *litra* consists of 3,456<sup>451</sup> barleycorns, 1,728 carats, 288 grams,<sup>452</sup> 12 ounces. But the ounce consists of 24 grams. And again, divided differently, the ounce is put<sup>453</sup> in yet other terms. For the Hebrews, dividing the ounce into other parts, called it by other names.<sup>454</sup> For they called half an ounce a stater from the circumstance that when the scale pans  
 70d on both sides are equal in inclination,|if half an ounce is put into each side of the balances and the equipoise of the beam is brought about in accordance with the pointer that is in the middle of the balances, it comes<sup>455</sup> to be called a stater.<sup>456</sup> That is, the half of an ounce which was determined by the equality of inclination they called a stater, that which was called by them the double *zūzā*. And the stater with them is the half-ounce, 2 shekels as they are called in the Hebrew, as we have said above, while according to the etymology of the language they are interpreted through *sekel*<sup>457</sup> as a “taking up”<sup>458</sup> or a “weighing down,”<sup>459</sup> as we say “it weighs down” or “it inclines.” And, again, the shekel, which is half a stater, one-fourth of an ounce, has 2 *lepta*

<sup>450</sup> Lit., “we do not know much.”

<sup>451</sup> Someone has added on the margin “6,912,” and this seems to have provoked the further note: “Rather the barleycorns are doubled, for there it was one-fourth of a carat according to us.”

<sup>452</sup> Margin: “Concerning the gram, the carat, the barleycorn, and the ounce.”

<sup>453</sup> Lit., “falls.”

<sup>454</sup> Margin: “Concerning the shekel, the stater, the *lepta*, and the obolus.”

<sup>455</sup> Lit., “it causes to pass over.”

<sup>456</sup> Is Epiphanius trying to suggest that the root idea in “stater” is akin to the Greek *ιστημι*, “to stand”?

<sup>457</sup> A reproduction of the Greek transliteration of “shekel”; cf. margin.

<sup>458</sup> Corresponding to the Aramaic meaning of the root.

<sup>459</sup> The Syriac root ܣܠܐ is practically equivalent to the Hebrew שקל.



in it. And the *lepton* is a weight which is one-eighth of an ounce, and by some it is also called the obelus.<sup>460</sup> But some divide the ounce into  
 71a 7 obeloi, while some change | the name obelus. Since it is numbered among the weights they call it the obolus, because the ancients, consuming their lives in war, did their business by means of arrows, for the arrow was called the obelus. And a man would give 2 obeloi and get bread or anything else pertaining to food. Therefore in the temple in Jerusalem there sat the money-changers who were called *trapezitai*,<sup>461</sup> whose tables the Lord overturned,<sup>462</sup> which (tables) were for the coinage, which gets its name from this circumstance, that at royal courts by this means men think<sup>463</sup> that the world is controlled. But it was called silver (coinage) because at the time it was made of silver with the image of the king on it. There was a large one, (used) as a symbol and a weight, that was called a silver (talent), as I have  
 71b already said, of 100 *denaria*.<sup>464</sup> But every *denarion* was | 60 *assaria*. The silver (coin), however, that is current is that which is called the mina, according to the Hebrew; therefore it was called the mina according to those things previously determined by me above. But since it was impossible, if the large silver (mina) was carried about, to buy bread or anything else of small value, it was necessary to give the large silver (minas) to the money-changers and to change (them) for small coins, that is to say, to change (the money), that is, to make exchange. Hence those called *trapezitai* are also called money-changers. Therefore also the Lord, overturning their tables there, scattered their silver (minas). For this reason also there came about the name of the obelus, because by means of such little arrows as these the business of the wars of mankind was carried on.

55. Concerning the *xestēs*. But the name of the *xestēs* is from the great measures divided into small parts. Because some have sought

<sup>460</sup> An attempt to reproduce an approximation of the original idea of Epiphanius; our Syriac mss. are not altogether consistent, but our *e* corresponds generally to *e* and our *o* to *o*.

<sup>461</sup> Derived from the Greek word for "table"; cf. our term "bankers," from a Middle English root akin to our "bench."

<sup>462</sup> Matt. 21:12 ff., with parallels in the other three Gospels.

<sup>463</sup> I.e., "coinage" (*νόμισμα*) is derived from the verb *νομίζω*, which Lagarde takes to be the word lying back of the Syriac.

<sup>464</sup> See § 45. This largest silver (coin) was only a term, not an actual coin in use.

71c to learn | whence this measure is derived and have not found out, we have assented with some of the ancients as to whence this derived (term) is taken. Contrariwise it is Greek,<sup>465</sup> from the circumstance that by means of it large measures are reduced<sup>466</sup> to smallness. The Romans, taking over its name, inasmuch as they had a measure of 6 *xestai*, which (number) is pronounced by them in the Roman language *sex*, say therefore not *xestēs* but *sextari*,<sup>467</sup> that is, "six times," a multiple of the *xestēs*.<sup>468</sup> They also call the little *xestēs* the *sexton*,<sup>469</sup> for it is the sixth part of what is called among them the *congiarium*.

56. But the *congiarium*<sup>470</sup> is a liquid measure among the Romans also. For likewise the name is even pronounced in the Roman fashion. For this measure you have the further evidence of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius and the other chroniclers, (relating) that as each of the kings in (his) time (bestowed) gifts upon the Roman populace, they  
71d accordingly bestowed good cheer. | It is to be interpreted "coiled up"<sup>471</sup> or "put together," for the Roman *conge*<sup>472</sup> means "assemble" or "put together."

57. No one of those who have met with these weights and measures which have been mentioned by us for the second time can find fault, as though the writing were without purpose instead of to teach accuracy; for although we spoke of them heretofore somewhat briefly, we have now set down for the sake of accuracy those things also that had been abbreviated. Hereafter we shall tell about land measures and the measurements upon the land, for they also are in the divine Scripture.

<sup>465</sup> Or perhaps: "It is from the Greek usage."

<sup>466</sup> Lit., "scraped down." The Syriac verb doubtless represents the Greek  $\xi\tau\omega$  or  $\xi\beta\omega$ , and from this root Epiphanius would derive the term *xestēs*.

<sup>467</sup> Low Latin may have had some such term as *sexter* for "six times," after the analogy of *ter* and *quater*.

<sup>468</sup> Lit., "the *xestēs* much doubled."

<sup>469</sup> I.e., the Latin *sextum*, "the sixth."

<sup>470</sup> The same measure as the *congius*, but also meaning a gift of a *congius* distributed among the people, hence also in a more general sense a largess in money of undefined amount. Cf. Hultsch, *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae* II 117.

<sup>471</sup> This corresponds to the second Greek term of this pair, *συνεστραμμένον*; and the second Syriac term corresponds to the first of the Greek, *συνημμένον*.

<sup>472</sup> B margin, *κορυγε*, evidently a conflation of the two Latin verbs *cogo* and *congero*.

58. Concerning the field. The field<sup>473</sup> is a land measure. Now roughly and generically the entire earth is called a field. For if we say, "The field offers pasturage," it means that the whole world together is green with vegetation. But again, the field is also a measure of land. And you<sup>474</sup> find in the divine Scripture, O lover of the good, about the field of Abiezer.<sup>475</sup> And it consists of 5 or 6 seahs,<sup>476</sup> so that it is either  
 72a a fifth or a sixth of a *jūgon*. But this is an Egyptian measure, for the Egyptians measure all their land in fields.

59. Concerning the *jugum*.<sup>477</sup> And there are 6 fields in a *jūgon* of land of the second class, but 5 (in land) of the first class. But among the Romans *jugum* means "pair" or "yoke," because it is the plowing of a yoke of oxen for a whole day; for the same reason also (we find) the *decad*<sup>478</sup> in the agriculture of the Palestinians and Arabians. But among the Cyprians they are called *zyga*,<sup>479</sup> and among other peoples *syntesmata*.<sup>480</sup> There is in the field, according to the measure of the measuring rod of  $6\frac{2}{3}$  cubits, called among surveyors the *akaina*, 20 by 20 (rods). For the field consists of 5 *plethra* of land of the first class, but of 6 *plethra* of the second class. [The measure of the field<sup>481</sup>

<sup>473</sup> The margin of B gives the original Greek, ἀρουρα.

<sup>474</sup> Following B; at this point four folios of A are from a second hand and much inferior to most of that ms.

<sup>475</sup> The reference is perhaps to Josh. 17:2 or to Judg. 6:11 and 8:32.

<sup>476</sup> I.e., the land these seahs would sow. B omits the word "seahs," and in the light of the next section we cannot be sure A has the correct form of the word.

<sup>477</sup> Otherwise *jugerum* (plural, *jugera*), called in the fragments in Lagarde, *Symmicta* I 219, *λοβρυρα μικρά*. The Syriac word is the same which was translated *jūgon* just above and which there referred to the *λοῦγον* or *ἐγγεον*, a unit of land used in determining the imperial taxes. Cf. the *Lexicon* of Hesychius; also K. G. Bruns and Ed. Sachau, *Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1880) p. 33, line 19. In most cases the present section refers to the Roman *jugum*, an altogether different thing.

<sup>478</sup> I.e., most obviously, 10 days' plowing; but this was also perhaps the amount of land sown by 10 seahs of grain.

<sup>479</sup> This is the Greek margin of B, meaning primarily "yokes," and used as a synonym for the Roman *jugera*.

<sup>480</sup> This exact form does not occur in the mss.; the Syriac of B is *ܫܢܬܝܫܘܡܝܬܐ* |ܫܢܬܝܫܘܡܝܬܐ|, and the Greek margin is *τελεσματα*. The data of both mss. make it clear that *syntesmata* is the form lying back of the Syriac here, as Lagarde recognized.

<sup>481</sup> The dimensions immediately following and the previous reference to the use of the field as a land measure among the Egyptians make it certain that the field here mentioned is the Egyptian. Cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1927) p. 200.

is not like ours, for it extends 20 (rods) by 20 according to the reckoning of 5 cubits (to the rod).] But the *plethron* is 20<sup>482</sup> by 20 cubits, called the *sataean*<sup>483</sup> among the Palestinians and Arabians. For 30  
72b *sataeans* constitute a *jūgon* of land|of the first class. Therefore, just as the quantity of 30 *modii* like that in the Gospel<sup>484</sup> is called a kor, so also here the 30 *sataeans* are called a *koraeon*. But a *koraeon* of land of the second class has 60 *sataeans* in [the measure. And, again, in measurements upon the land the *sataean* has 6 cabs<sup>485</sup> in] it. But these 30<sup>486</sup> *sataeans* are 13 *jugera*—like the one-fifth of the measure among the Palestinians<sup>487</sup>—that is, 13 yokes. For the Romans say *junge* for “yoke up,” since a yoke of oxen will plow 2 $\frac{1}{3}$  *sataeans* in a day. You inquire as to the measure of the land, is it thus?<sup>488</sup> You inquire as to the measure of the seed, is it thus?<sup>488</sup> For, the structure of the *modius* being enlarged, the overflow, that is, the overfulness of the *modius*, constituted a part<sup>489</sup> of the *modius*. Therefore when the *modius* is small<sup>490</sup> it consists of 5 cabs, but when it is spacious it consists of 6. Therefore also the *sataean* consists of 6 cabs in the measurement of  
72c land, and of 6 cabs (consists) the measure of seed. |And we have told the things concerning the *sataean*, the *plethron*, the yoke, the *jūgon*, the *koraeon*, the field, and the *jugera*.

60. Concerning the cubit. And this also is in the divine Scriptures

<sup>482</sup> This first number must mean rods, since there are 5 *plethra* in a field; if taken as cubits in both cases, there would be 25 *plethra* in a field. Hultsch, *Gr. und röm. Metrologie*, p. 599, now reads 60 by 60 cubits as the meaning of the fragments in Lagarde, *Symmicta* I 218 f.; and this agrees practically with what we have just said about the Syriac text. Bar Bahlul, *Lexicon Syriacum* (ed. R. Duval) col. 1576, line 3, calls the *plethron* a *jugum*. Does he mean in Palestine?

<sup>483</sup> I.e., a land measure corresponding to the seah as a measure of seed; the Syriac and Greek have an adjectival form here. The term *koraeon* below has the same explanation.

<sup>484</sup> The *modius* is mentioned in Matt. 5:15; Mark 4:21; Luke 11:33.

<sup>485</sup> As the square brackets indicate, the word does not occur in A; the Greek of Lagarde's *Symmicta* I 219, *καβίεας*, again indicates such an adjectival form as we have indicated by *sataean* and *koraeon*.

<sup>486</sup> Reading according to B, which the context demands.

<sup>487</sup> § 58 has called the seah or *sataean* one-fifth of the field, and this parenthesis must really belong to that term.

<sup>488</sup> Lit., “has it thus?” or “has it so much?”

<sup>489</sup> Lit., “half”; but it cannot be this in the light of what immediately follows.

<sup>490</sup> Lit., “compressed.”

in many places. For it is said that the specifications of the ark of Noah were given by means of cubits. For it was said: "Thou shalt make it 300 cubits long, 30 cubits high, and 50 cubits wide, and within a cubit thou shalt gather it together above."<sup>491</sup> The cubit then is a measure, but it is taken from the measure of the forearm.<sup>492</sup> For the part from the elbow to the wrist and the palm of the hand is called the cubit, the middle finger of the cubit measure being also extended at the same time and there being added below (it) the span, that is, of the hand, taken all together.<sup>493</sup> This cubit has 24 fingers<sup>494</sup> in the  
 72d measure, if the cubit is a linear measure. If, however, it be *τετραγώνος*, which is measured along two sides, it is of 48 fingers.<sup>495</sup> When employed in measuring a round piece of timber, when doubled four times it is called a solid cubit and is of 192 fingers.<sup>496</sup> But in this usage the finger contains 8 *lepta*. The measure of a piece of timber, however, is taken from the circumference of the timber. For example, if you wind a cord about the piece of timber and it is found that there are in it 72 fingers, or as many as there may be, then you multiply the 72 fingers by 72 again, which makes 5,184 fingers. You divide these again by 12, and there are 432 fingers.<sup>497</sup> You take the length of such a piece of timber, whether its length be 10 or 12, or whatever it may be. If it be 10 cubits, you multiply the 432 *lepta* by these 10, and there are 4,320 *lepta*. Then you divide these by 192, and they make 20  
 73a solid cubits, which are 3,840 *lepta*, that is to say, fingers. And there yet remain 480 *lepta*, of which the  $\frac{1}{12}$  part makes 2 cubits, which is 384 *lepta*, and there remain 96 *lepta*.<sup>498</sup> Then, since it does not have

<sup>491</sup> Gen. 6:15-16; cf. SG, p. 37.

<sup>492</sup> Lit., "hand."

<sup>493</sup> Cf. SG, p. 37. Lagarde translates: ". . . und hinzugefügt wird unterhalb der spanne, das heisst aber welche eine geschlossene faust ausfüllt."

<sup>494</sup> More exactly, "fingerbreadths."

<sup>495</sup> I.e., Epiphanius measures 24 fingers along one side of the quadrangle and 24 fingers along another side, then takes their sum.

<sup>496</sup> Epiphanius seems to think of a cubic block, around which he makes two complete measurements, each of them amounting to 96 fingers.

<sup>497</sup> The significance of this last figure can only be the area of a cross-section of the piece of timber, and that would be 412+ units, if the circumference be 72—not very exact calculation.

<sup>498</sup> The only reason for this second division is that the science of mathematics was not far advanced in the author's day, and he must divide by successive subtractions.

another measure of 192, so that it might be reckoned a solid cubit, we now divide the fingers which remain into *lepta*. Then since a finger contains 8 *lepta*,<sup>499</sup> one-eighth of these 96 *lepta* that remain makes the number 12, which is 12 fingers, making half a cubit.<sup>500</sup> So there are, in a piece of timber that is 72 fingers in circumference and 10 cubits long, 22 solid cubits and 12 fingers, that is,  $22\frac{1}{2}$  (solid) cubits.<sup>501</sup> But the simple cubit of linear measurement contains 3 spans,<sup>502</sup> 6 hands,<sup>503</sup> or 4 palms.<sup>504</sup> And there are 8 fingers in the span and 4 fingers in the  
 73b hand. | But when it is closed it is called the fist. It is, however, often also called the *gronthos*,<sup>505</sup> inasmuch as athletes use this form when engaging in a fight. Therefore the apostle says: "Thus I fight, not as if I beat the air."<sup>506</sup> For what is called the palm is employed as a measure by women in making fabrics for clothing. For they stretch out the fingers from the tip of the nail of the middle finger to the "breast" of the palm of the hand, that is, to the great joint, and there are six fingers in it. This is the account of the cubit, the span, the hand, the finger, and the palm. And to this point is concerning measurements on the earth by means of which land is measured which are employed in the Scriptures. But I have also told about the measurement of round timbers, although it is not employed in the divine Scripture.

<sup>499</sup> I.e., the term *lepta* seems to be preferred when speaking of cubic fingers, but the author is not consistent in his usage.

<sup>500</sup> Only in linear measure; has the author forgotten he is dealing with cubic measure? But it is a fact that the 96 is half of his solid cubit.

<sup>501</sup> A result far from accurate. Since 18 fingers are a cubit, 324 square fingers are a square cubit, and the area of a cross-section of this piece of timber would be, according to a previous calculation,  $412/324$  square cubits. This fraction multiplied by 10 gives as a result  $12\frac{2}{3}$  solid cubits.

<sup>502</sup> Margin: *σπιθαμη*.

<sup>503</sup> More exactly, "handbreadths." Margin: *παλεστη*.

<sup>504</sup> As described below it is a "handlength," and the "palm" is sometimes used in this sense. Margin of both mss. is *ὀρθιαίος*.

<sup>505</sup> The Syriac term is an altogether unusual form, clearly a transliteration of some such Greek word. The margin of B is *γρονθαίος*, but the margin of A is *πυγμα*. The latter copyist evidently took it for a noun rather than an adjective. The fact that the marginal readings are exactly reversed in the case of the preceding "fist" points in the same direction.

<sup>506</sup> I Cor. 9:26.

CONCERNING NAMES OF PLACES, IN PART<sup>507</sup>

61. Ararat is a place in Armenia in which there is a mountain called Lubar.<sup>508</sup> On it the ark of Noah came to rest,<sup>509</sup> and it is situated in the middle of Qardū<sup>510</sup> and in the salt lands of Armenia.<sup>511</sup>

73c 62. [Concerning Aṭaṭ.] Aṭaṭ,<sup>512</sup> in Transjordan, | where they made lamentation for Jacob when he died. It is four miles<sup>513</sup> from Jericho, about two miles from the Jordan. And it is now called Bēth-ḥaglâ,<sup>514</sup> which is interpreted the place of a circuit, because there, making lamentation, they completed a circuit. And there is a fountain of sweet water in the place. At this fountain stands to this day a great thorn bush, which is interpreted *aṭaṭ*.<sup>515</sup> On account of this thorn bush the place also is likewise called the "thorn bush" of the salt lands.

63. [Concerning Abarim.] Abarim,<sup>516</sup> the mountain on which Moses died. It is said, however, to be Mount Nebo, and it is in the territory of Moab, opposite Jericho, overlooking the Jordan, on the summit of Pisgah. And it is visible on the ascent from Libias<sup>517</sup> to Heshbon,<sup>518</sup>

<sup>507</sup> Title repeated in margin of A.

<sup>508</sup> Bk. Jub. 5:28; 7:1; 10:15, in R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O. T.*, Vol. II (Oxford, 1913).

<sup>509</sup> Gen. 8:4.

<sup>510</sup> This term is found in the Peshitta, Gen. 8:4, and the corresponding gentile in Isa. 37:38. The word *Κορδουαλωρ*, quoted by Josephus (*Antiquities* I iii 6), indicates that the word "Qardū" goes back at least as far as Berosus. Cf. Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Klostermann (Leipzig, 1904) pp. 2 f.

<sup>511</sup> This term is found in LXX of Isa. 37:38. The fact was noted by Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 38, line 11.

<sup>512</sup> Atad in MT and LXX, Gen. 50:10 f.

<sup>513</sup> I.e., *σημεία*. B margin adds: "i.e., the pillars or posts set up along the roads."

<sup>514</sup> Josh. 15:6. According to the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* I (London, 1899) 557 Eusebius mistakenly identifies this place with Atad; cf. his *Onomasticon*, ed. Klostermann, p. 8.

<sup>515</sup> I.e., *ἄκτις*, "thorn bush," is equated with *ἄκτι*.

<sup>516</sup> Deut. 32:49. A comparison with Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 16, indicates clearly the source of the statements about Abarim; this is also the source of many of the statements that follow.

<sup>517</sup> Margin of A: *απολι βιαλος*; margin of B: *απο λιβιαδος*.

<sup>518</sup> Cf. map at end of the *Onomasticon* in Klostermann's edition.

which is Ḥeshbū,<sup>519</sup> called by the same names, over against Mount Peor,<sup>520</sup> which also is thus called to this day. So also again the place is still called Pisgah, which is interpreted "hewn stone."<sup>521</sup> It is also  
73d often called a hill. | Therefore it was said to Moses: "Go up on Mount Nebo to the hill of hewn stone,"<sup>522</sup> and he died.

64. [Concerning Azekah.] Azekah is a city of the Canaanites to which Joshua the (son) of Nun pursued the five kings.<sup>523</sup> Moreover, it belonged to the tribe of Dan.<sup>524</sup> But it is now called in Syriac Ḥ<sup>o</sup>wartâ, for the reading Azekah is Hebrew; and it is translated into Greek as "white." It is situated midway between Eleutheropolis and Elia,<sup>525</sup> nine miles from Eleutheropolis, where Goliath died.<sup>526</sup>

65. [Concerning אַחֲרָ.] אַחֲרָ,<sup>527</sup> but also called ʾAilūn,<sup>528</sup> is a valley over which the moon stood still when Joshua prayed, near the village which is still called אַחֲרָ, eastward of Bethel, three miles<sup>529</sup> distant. Geba and Ramah, the city<sup>530</sup> of Saul, however, are situated near it.

66. [Concerning Anathoth.] Anathoth, a city in the portion of Benjamin, set apart for the priests, in the neighborhood of Elia, about  
74a three miles away.<sup>531</sup> Jeremiah the prophet was from here. But | what was formerly a city is now a village.

67. Ḥafrâ,<sup>532</sup> in the portion of Benjamin, still exists. It is a large village of Ephraim five miles<sup>533</sup> east of the city of Bethel, but it was formerly a city. And it is situated near the wilderness of Bethel, as

<sup>519</sup> Lagarde cites his *Armenische Studien*, § 1038, which I have been unable to consult; he also thinks G. Hoffmann in *ZDMG* XXXII 743<sup>m</sup> may be pertinent.

<sup>520</sup> Cf. Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 168, on Num. 23:28.

<sup>521</sup> LXX in Num. 21:19 and 23:14; Deut. 3:27.

<sup>522</sup> The nearest approach to this reading is Deut. 3:27 in LXX.

<sup>523</sup> Josh. 10:10 f.; Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 18.

<sup>524</sup> Josh. 15:35 and Eusebius say Judah.

<sup>525</sup> Margin: "Jerusalem was called Elia of yore."

<sup>526</sup> Cf. I Sam. 17:1; i.e., Goliath is said to have died at Azekah.

<sup>527</sup> Cf. LXX of I Chron. 8:13; J. Payne Smith, *op. cit.* col. 152: אַחֲרָ.

<sup>528</sup> I.e., the Aijalon of Josh. 10:12; cf. Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 18.

<sup>529</sup> I.e., "milia (passuum)," Roman miles.

<sup>530</sup> Eusebius has the plural, "cities." <sup>531</sup> Cf. Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 26.

<sup>532</sup> The biblical Ophrah, Josh. 18:23. Cf. Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 28.

<sup>533</sup> Margin: "σημεία, the pillars or posts set up along the roads."



you go down by way of the Akrabattinē<sup>534</sup> to the Aulōn<sup>535</sup> (valley). Thither the Lord Jesus Christ turned aside when they came to anoint him king.<sup>536</sup> And, going to the wilderness, to the city of Ephraim,<sup>537</sup> he hid himself there, where there is a great miracle to this day. For vipers or other noxious reptiles are not found. But if you compel a viper to go upon the soil of the village, it loses all its strength and is unable to do harm and finally dies; but it makes haste to depart from these borders. The people of the place say that the Lord  
 74b Jesus Christ gave this sign to the village|at the time when he was abiding there, sealing up the place so that a reptile would not come there, or, if it disobeyed in any respect, it would do no harm. But if and when it disobeyed, seeking to remain in the place, it would perish immediately upon entering and be found dead.

68. [Concerning ʔAvīʕāzār.] ʔAvīʕāzār,<sup>538</sup> the stone of my help, the place upon which the ark rested when it returned from the foreign tribes.<sup>539</sup> And it is situated between Elia and Azotus,<sup>540</sup> near Lower Beth-Shemesh, which is fourteen miles distant east and north of Eleutheropolis, in a valley.

69. Concerning the threshing floor of ʔĀrān.<sup>541</sup> This is Jerusalem, that is, only the inclosure of the temple wall, specifically<sup>542</sup> where the altar<sup>543</sup> was built.

70. [Concerning Abel-meholah.] Abel-meholah,<sup>544</sup> a city of one of the princes of Sodom,<sup>545</sup> whence Elisha was. It is now a village in the Aulōn (valley), from Bajshān<sup>546</sup> ten miles distant toward the  
 74c south, that|which is now called Beth-meholah.

<sup>534</sup> Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 14, line 10.

<sup>536</sup> John 6:15.

<sup>535</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 14, 16.

<sup>537</sup> John 11:54.

<sup>538</sup> I judge this to be a confusion with the name Abiezer (Josh. 17:2) and have vocalized according to R. Payne Smith, but the reference is clearly to the Ebenezer of I Sam. 7:12.

<sup>539</sup> The equivalent of the LXX ἀλλόφυλοι, Philistines.

<sup>540</sup> Cf. Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 54, under Βηθσαμές: καὶ ἔστιν εἰς ἔτι νῦν ἀπέχουσα Ἐλευθεροπόλεως σημεῖοις ἰ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μεταξὺ Νικοπόλεως. May we venture to correct his text on the basis of the above reading?

<sup>541</sup> II Sam. 24:16; II Chron. 3:1.

<sup>542</sup> The margins of both A and B read, "correctly."

<sup>543</sup> B: "temple."

<sup>544</sup> I Kings 19:16.

<sup>545</sup> Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 34, reads "Solomon," as in I Kings 4:12.

<sup>546</sup> So found in the Peshitta of II Mac. 12:29; the modern Beisan, biblical Bethshean.

71. Concerning Rekem. Rekem, which is in Kingdoms,<sup>547</sup> but called Rekem<sup>548</sup> in Isaiah.<sup>549</sup> It was, however, a great and famous city that was reckoned to be in Arabia-Palestine, which is also called Edom<sup>550</sup> in the Scripture. But in the Greek language it is called the Rock. You also have this name in Isaiah, who says: "And the Rock shall be desolate," but in (some) codices: "The Rock shall be desolate."<sup>551</sup> For it is not in regard to a rock that the divine Scripture says, "it is desolate," as many mistakenly think, but in regard to that which we have indicated. And it is situated in Mount Seir; often it also is called Seir, for it had these names from Esau, because he built it.

74d For he was named Esau because of ruddiness of countenance, | Seir because of hairiness,<sup>552</sup> Edom because of gluttony and worldliness, because he sold his birthright in exchange for food. But the inhabitant of the (region) round about is called, along with it, Edom.

72. [Concerning ʿĪn-Jawn.] ʿĪn-Jawn,<sup>553</sup> "near Salim," where John

<sup>547</sup> Lagarde cites IV Kings 14:7, but MT has רֶכֶם and LXX *πετρα*. Is it possible that رֶכֶם is an error for رֶכֶם? Cf. Num. 31:8, where we find Rekem or Rokom as the name of one of the kings of Midian, from whom the city of Rekem was named according to Josephus (*Antiquities* IV vii 1). Cf. Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 144.

<sup>548</sup> B makes no distinction in the two spellings of Rekem, but A has a point beneath in the first instance and a point above in the second. This may be intended to indicate the vocalization Rekem in the first place, and Rekom or Rokom in the second, following Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 144, lines 7 f. It is a curious fact that the Lee edition of the Peshitta has this point beneath only in three places where it stands for MT Kadesh (Gen. 14:7; 16:14; 20:1), while there is no hint as to the vocalization elsewhere; the Urmia and Mosul editions uniformly point R<sup>e</sup>kem.

<sup>549</sup> The name Rekem per se does not occur in Isaiah in MT or LXX; so Josh. 13:21 may be meant. Joshua makes Rekem one of the chiefs of Midian, the same mentioned in Num. 31:8. Josh. 18:27 refers to a city of Benjamin which could hardly be confused with Petra. Dalman (*Neue Petra-Forschungen* [Leipzig, 1912] p. 14) suggests that the identification of Sela<sup>c</sup> with Rekem may have arisen through the use of a compound name Sela<sup>c</sup>-Rekem to designate the most conspicuous outpost of the ancient Edomite capital. MT has the name Rekem also in I Chron. 2:43-44 and 7:16; but it occurs in LXX in I Chron. 2:43 and 7:16 only. Cf. also Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 142.

<sup>550</sup> Ps. 60:8 f.; 108:9 f.; cf. Syro-Hexaplaric version.

<sup>551</sup> Isa. 16:1 in LXX; but LXX has *μη* instead of the "and," while Syro-Hex. has رֶכֶם.

<sup>552</sup> Cf. Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 150; Josephus, *Antiquities* I xx 3.

<sup>553</sup> Not a mere transliteration of the Greek, but the form occurring in the Peshitta of John 3:23. B might be read ʿĪn-Nūn, nearer the Greek.

was baptizing in the Gospel of John. And the place, moreover, is to be seen to this day, eight miles south of Bajshân, near Salim and the Jordan.

73. [Concerning Bethel.] Bethel<sup>554</sup> is even today a village, ten miles distant from Elia as you go to Neapolis, on the right hand of the way, (a village) which of old was called בֵּית־עַלְמֵי<sup>555</sup> and Luz. It is also of the tribe of Benjamin, near Bethau<sup>556</sup> and Ai. And Joshua besieged it, killing its king.

74. [Concerning Jerusalem.] (As for) Jerusalem, of it Adonibezek  
75a was king,<sup>557</sup> and afterward the Jebusites, by whom it was called Jebus. When David had driven them out<sup>558</sup> he made it a priestly metropolis of Judah because of the temple that was established in it. Josephus says that this is the Salem of Genesis over which Melchizedek was king.<sup>559</sup> And it was in the portion of the tribe<sup>560</sup> of Benjamin. But others say that the Salem of Melchizedek was opposite Shechem in Samaria, whose grounds are seen (lying) waste. For Eusebius also, who wrote the *Onomasticon*,<sup>561</sup> so testifies, saying: "Salem is the city of Shechem, which is Shechem,<sup>562</sup> as the Scripture says. But there is also another village to this day beside Elia, to the west of it. And there is yet another situated in a plain eight miles from Bajshân (the village), of Salûmia. But Josephus says that this is the Salem over which Melchizedek was king, saying: 'Salem is that which was later  
75b Jerusalem.'"<sup>563</sup> But some say that there is another Salem near Hobah,<sup>564</sup> to the left of Damascus.

<sup>554</sup> Gen. 28:19. Cf. Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 40.

<sup>555</sup> A LXX misreading of the Hebrew בֵּית־עַלְמֵי of Gen. 28:19.

<sup>556</sup> The Beth-aven of MT in Josh. 7:2 and 18:12; the name Bethel has dropped out of LXX in the former passage. Cf. Eusebius, *op. cit.* pp. 50 and 66.

<sup>557</sup> Judg. 1:5; cf. Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 106.

<sup>558</sup> I Chron. 11:4-5.

<sup>559</sup> Gen. 14:18; Josephus, *Antiquities* I x 2.

<sup>560</sup> The order of the two words "portion" and "tribe" is unusual; it has been transposed from that found in Eusebius.

<sup>561</sup> Lagarde is more literal in using the word τοπικα, but this is the work referred to. The margin reads, then: "τοπικα, that is, because of the happenings in the places."

<sup>562</sup> Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 152, has here two Greek names for the place, in the first instance Σικιμων, in the second Συχέμ.

<sup>563</sup> Josephus, *loc. cit.*

<sup>564</sup> Gen. 14:15.

75. [Concerning Jâfō.] Jâfō, which is transferred (into Greek as) Jōpē, is a city of Palestine on the seacoast in the portion of Dan.<sup>565</sup> But today many of its buildings are in ruins. Here Jonah the prophet embarked for Tarshish,<sup>566</sup> which is called Tarsus above.<sup>567</sup> And here they of Judea were accustomed to embark—I mean, from Jōpē—for it was their port.

75c 76. Akko,<sup>568</sup> which is Ptolemais and Thimūna,<sup>569</sup> beside great Carmel, was also the harbor of Jamnia<sup>570</sup> and the port for Betosigon.<sup>571</sup> But it is now laid waste. From here, again, they say Jonah, having been vomited up by the whale, departed on the way to Nineveh, the great city, for forty days. For thus it is in the Hebrew: “Jonah began to enter the city forty days.”<sup>572</sup> But it is not possible that the city could have had a street of forty days’ (length), but it is also impossible that Jonah could have sat by it forty days|until he saw what was going to take place; for so do the followers of Aquila interpret: “Again forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown.”<sup>573</sup> Where then did Jonah tarry, so that he knew that it was not yet overthrown? Or while the sun beat down upon his head with heat, the gourd from which he had shade rising up over his head? And if he waited for forty days while it shaded him from the heat, why did he say: “It sprang up one night and withered another,”<sup>574</sup> if he persevered for forty days looking for what was to take place? So the seventy-two have well translated: “Yet three days and Nineveh shall be overthrown.”<sup>575</sup> For they have explained that what is involved in the

<sup>565</sup> Cf. Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 110.

<sup>566</sup> Jonah 1:3.

<sup>567</sup> Josephus identifies the two places; see Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 100. But Epiphanius has not previously mentioned Tarsus.

<sup>568</sup> The modern Acre; Eusebius, *op. cit.* p. 30.

<sup>569</sup> B: ܐܟܟܘ; B margin: *θιμουνα*. There is a modern ed-Damun southeast of Acre.

<sup>570</sup> Josephus (*Vita*, § 188) mentions a Jamnia in northern Galilee.

<sup>571</sup> Can there be any connection with the *σιγωφ* or *σιγω* of Josephus, *Jewish War* II 573? B margin: *βιροσηγων*.

<sup>572</sup> This is not the reading of MT in Jonah 3:4.

<sup>573</sup> The margin of the Syro-Hexaplaric version reads: “The rest say, forty.” Cf. also Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, on Jonah 3:4.

<sup>574</sup> Jonah 4:10.

<sup>575</sup> LXX of Jonah 3:4; also the Syro-Hexaplaric version.

forty days is said of the journey, as we think. And when they have explained it as the measure of the length of the journey, they have resolved the difficulty of the words and have explained the note about the three days.

75d 77. Concerning Karm<sup>el</sup>ā. Karm<sup>el</sup>ā, | where Nabal was,<sup>576</sup> is a village that is even yet called Karm<sup>el</sup>ā, which is transferred (into Greek as) Karmelos, toward the east from the tenth milestone on the road from Hebron, where there is also situated a fort of the Romans.<sup>577</sup>

78. Concerning another second Karm<sup>el</sup>ā. The other Karm<sup>el</sup>ā is the great mountain that reaches to the sea of Phoenicia and separates Palestine from Phoenicia; (it is) where Elijah sat.<sup>578</sup>

76a 79. [Concerning Karchēdōn.] Karchēdōn,<sup>579</sup> which is Carthage, also Carthagina, the metropolis of Africa. Thither once upon a time Canaanites migrated from Phoenicia. For even until today the Africans speak Canaanitish. And being asked about their language, they reply: "We are Canaanites." But they are called Bizakanoi,<sup>580</sup> which is translated "scattered."<sup>581</sup> But because of their racial relationship to the Phoenicians, Isaiah says to the king of Tyre: "Till thy land, | for the ships of Karchēdōn no longer come to thee."<sup>582</sup> But in the Hebrew Isaiah and Ezekiel call it Tarshish.<sup>583</sup>

80. [As to the quarters (of the heavens) and the stars which are in the divine Scriptures.] Again, O lover of the good, I also prepare you an account of the quarters (of the heavens) and of the stars which are in the divine Scriptures. East, west, north, south, according to the word spoken by the Lord in the Gospel, shall come and lean on the bosom of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob in the kingdom of heaven; but the sons of the kingdom—as we would say, the sons of

<sup>576</sup> I Sam. xxv.

<sup>577</sup> Cf. Eusebius, *op. cit.* pp. 118–19.

<sup>578</sup> Cf. Eusebius, *loc. cit.* Cf. LXX of IV Kings 1:9, where the exact word of Eusebius does not occur, but an excellent synonym. George Adam Smith thinks Mount Carmel is the scene of the story here related (*Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible* I 355b).

<sup>579</sup> Cf. Eusebius, *loc. cit.*

<sup>580</sup> B has two Greek readings in the margin: *Ἰβανῶν* and *βιζκανοί*. Named from the Roman province Byzacium in North Africa.

<sup>581</sup> Based on the widespread Semitic root *בזק*, *בזק*.

<sup>582</sup> Cf. Isa. 23:10 in LXX.

<sup>583</sup> Isa. 23:1, 6, 10; Ezek. 27:12, 25; 38:13.

Israel—shall go out into outer darkness.<sup>584</sup> But some one may say: “You have told us something superfluous in speaking of east and west and north and south, for who does not know these terms and the local significance<sup>585</sup> of them?” But I have called them to mind that I might explain their origin. Now it will occur to you at once, O lover of the good, concerning Job, that “he was a highborn man of those  
76b from the (region of the) rising of the sun.”<sup>586</sup> So the east,<sup>587</sup> where the sun rises, gets its name accordingly. But if the highborn and the lowborn are known by birth,<sup>588</sup> Job was exceedingly highborn. For he was the son of Zerah, and Zerah was the son of Reuel, and Reuel was the son of Esau,<sup>589</sup> Esau was the son of Isaac, Isaac was the son of Abraham, he (Job) being the fifth after Abraham, that is, from Abraham. He (Abraham) was above all nobility of birth,<sup>590</sup> he who was known as the friend of God.<sup>591</sup> For if the friends of kings<sup>592</sup> are known as highborn, how much more highborn was Abraham, who was named “the friend of God”?<sup>593</sup> But from the east also the easterly wind is called *euros*, either because it blows widely<sup>594</sup> or because it is set at the

<sup>584</sup> Cf. Matt. 8:11 f. and Luke 13:29; not an exact quotation.

<sup>585</sup> Rather free translation justified by the context.

<sup>586</sup> Job 1:3 in LXX.

<sup>587</sup> The very same word just translated “rising.”

<sup>588</sup> The word seems to be pointed as a participle, meaning “friends”; but it can equally well mean “by the womb” or “by birth,” and this fits better what immediately follows. The later reference to the “friend of God” may, however, hark back to the meaning “friends.”

<sup>589</sup> Gen. 36:13 and 10.

<sup>590</sup> For the idea of Abraham versus the entire human race, cf. B<sup>o</sup>reshith Rabbah 42:13.

<sup>591</sup> James 2:23; Isa. 41:8; II Chron. 20:7. Cf. Philonis Alexandrini *Opera quae supersunt*, ed. L. et P. Wendland, II (Berlin, 1897) 226 (Mangey ed. [London, 1742] I 401).

<sup>592</sup> R. Payne Smith, *op. cit.* col. 3879, cites III Esd. 8:11, 13, 26 as authority for the statement that the seven nobles nearest to the king of the Persians were called “friends.”

<sup>593</sup> Other instances of this phrase applied to Abraham, but as an epithet rather than a name, are: Zadokite Fragments 4:2; Jub. 19:9; I Clem. 10:1 and 17:2; Jerusalem Targum on Gen. 18:17; Prayer of Azariah 12 (“beloved of God”); Avoth d<sup>e</sup>Rabbi Nathan, version 2, chap. 43 (אָהַבֵּי אֱלֹהִים and אֱלֹהִים), ed. Schechter, p. 61; B<sup>o</sup>midhbar Rabba 16:3 (אֱלֹהִים).

<sup>594</sup> Greek for “widely” is *εὐρέως*.

head<sup>595</sup> of the winds, that is, is found (at the head). Hence, in the Acts of the Apostles also there is found knowledge of the wind  
 76c *euraklydōn* | and *typhonikos*,<sup>596</sup> *typhonikos* because of severity, but  
*euraklydōn*<sup>597</sup> because it blows out of the depths of *euros*.<sup>598</sup> But there  
 is also in the Scripture concerning the *apēliōtēs*.<sup>599</sup> This blows from  
 the other side of *euros*, from the quarter of *notos*<sup>600</sup> over which the sun  
 passes, hence called *apēliōtēs*.<sup>601</sup> And beyond it is *euronotos*, because  
 it is in the middle between *euros* and *notos*, after *apēliōtēs*, as this wind  
 also is called in the divine Scriptures.<sup>602</sup> But *notos* is the wind that  
 blows from the south;<sup>603</sup> and after this there is another wind that is  
 called *libonotos*, for it is in the middle between *notos* and *lips*.<sup>604</sup> The  
 west is also called *hespera*,<sup>605</sup> from which quarter *zephyros* blows. You  
 have this wind also in the Acts.<sup>606</sup> And in the middle between *lips*  
 and *zephyros* blows that which is called the "middle," otherwise  
*chōros*, which is likewise found in the Acts,<sup>607</sup> where the companions of  
 76d Paul sailed for the place Phoenix, | the harbor of which Phoenix looked  
 toward the *chōros*. From this *chōros* blow the annuals<sup>608</sup> that are also  
 called "dogs," but they are called "dogs" because of the perpetual  
 barking of dogs. The north wind, which is called *aparkias*, blows from

<sup>595</sup> An attempt to derive *euros* from  $\text{ⲗⲁⲓ}$ , "head."

<sup>596</sup> Lit., "vehement," "typhonic"; Acts 27:14.

<sup>597</sup> A reads *d* for *r*, a plain error.

<sup>598</sup> I.e., the east.

<sup>599</sup> In LXX of Exod. 27:11; Judith 7:18; Jer. 32:12 (25:26 MT); Ezek. 20:47 (21:3 MT); 21:4 (9 MT); I Macc. 12:37; Aquila, Ezek. 17:10; ἄλλος, Exod. 14:21 and Judg. 1:9.

<sup>600</sup> Margin: "Notos is the wind in the middle between south and east."

<sup>601</sup> From ἀπὸ + ἄφελιος (old form of ἥλιος).

<sup>602</sup> I.e., the author says *euronotos* is called *apēliōtēs* in the Scriptures. The word *euronotos* does not occur in LXX; ἀπηλιώτης occurs as the equivalent of the MT  $\text{ⲗⲁⲓ}$  in Exod. 27:11; Jer. 32:12 LXX (25:26 MT); of  $\text{ⲗⲁⲓ}$  in Ezek. 20:47 (21:3 MT); 21:4 (9 MT); of  $\text{ⲗⲁⲓ}$  in Ezek. 17:10 (Aquila); Exod. 14:21 (ἄλλος).

<sup>603</sup> *Notos* occurs often in LXX. It is the equivalent of  $\text{ⲗⲁⲓ}$  in Exod. 10:13 (twice) and 14:21; of  $\text{ⲗⲁⲓ}$  in Exod. 26:20; of  $\text{ⲗⲁⲓ}$  in Exod. 26:35, etc. A special study of the translation of these terms might be valuable.

<sup>604</sup> Acts 27:12. The term is used in LXX as loosely as *notos*; it stands for  $\text{ⲗⲁⲓ}$  in Deut. 33:23;  $\text{ⲗⲁⲓ}$  in II Chron. 32:30 and 33:14;  $\text{ⲗⲁⲓ}$  in Gen. 13:14; 20:1; 24:62;  $\text{ⲗⲁⲓ}$  in Deut. 3:27; Num. 10:6.

<sup>605</sup> Gen. 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31; Acts 4:3 and 28:23; and many other places.

<sup>606</sup> Where?

<sup>607</sup> Acts 27:12.

<sup>608</sup> Margin: *ετησιοι*.

the depths of the north, whence that which is called the bear<sup>609</sup> turns; therefore it is called *aparktias*.<sup>610</sup> Beyond this is that which is called the *thraskion*,<sup>611</sup> which blows from the region of Thrace. Men give this wind many names, naming them from the places (whence they blow). The *thraskion* and the *euraklydon* are associated with each other. And some of those in the East call the *euraklydon* the *skopelea*,<sup>612</sup> and the *thraskion* the *patrea*.<sup>613</sup> But others call the *thraskion* the *kekian*,<sup>614</sup> while those in Numidia, in Africa, and in Britain call it the *samūrēn*.<sup>615</sup> And these things pertain to the four quarters and their winds and the two (winds) blowing with each one of the winds, situated on the two sides of each.

77a 81. | Mary went up to the hill country to (visit) Elizabeth.<sup>616</sup> And this hill country extends upward from the Aulōn (valley) and Jericho and the Dead Sea, and on the other side of Jericho it extends upward from the Jordan to the neighborhood of parts of Phoenicia. Here, then, are established<sup>617</sup> the boundaries<sup>618</sup> of Israel and (her) possessions,<sup>619</sup> Abilene and the Decapolis, which are on the side of Pella.<sup>620</sup> But they are also situated in the region of Perea.<sup>621</sup> And to them also belong the Ammonite (country) and the Moabite (country) and the

<sup>609</sup> The word is the Greek *αρκτος* transliterated. Margin: "arktos, i.e., the wagon," sometimes called Charles's Wain.

<sup>610</sup> Liddell and Scott treat this as the normal spelling rather than *aparkias*.

<sup>611</sup> Properly *θρασκίας*. Liddell and Scott say this wind was probably named from Thrace, and they cite a form *θρησκίας*. On the ancient names of the winds cf. Theophrastus of Eresus, *On Winds and on Weather Signs*, trans. J. G. Wood (London, 1894).

<sup>612</sup> Skopelos, otherwise Peparēthos, was an island off the coast of Magnesia.

<sup>613</sup> Patrae, the modern Patras, was an ancient city of Achaia, on the promontory of Rhium.

<sup>614</sup> Properly *καικίας*, Greek term for the northeast wind.

<sup>615</sup> Could this term by any possibility be derived from Smyrna?

<sup>616</sup> Luke 1:39 f.

<sup>617</sup> Lit., "separated."

<sup>618</sup> Lagarde correctly regards these two Syriac words as the translation of *δρωθρα*.

<sup>619</sup> Singular in Syriac; Abilene and the Decapolis are thought of as a geographical unit and so are referred to by singular pronouns below where we use a plural.

<sup>620</sup> I.e., on the Pella side of the Jordan; cf. Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. Klostermann, p. 80.

<sup>621</sup> Eusebius, *loc. cit.*



Gileadite (country) above.<sup>622</sup> Now they are eastward across the Jordan, but the hill country is westward of the Jordan, Jerusalem being in the midst of it. But to the west of the east<sup>623</sup> it has the Shephelah. In the Shephelah were the five satrapies of the foreign tribes:<sup>624</sup> (that of) the Gazans, (named) from the city of Gaza; (that of) the Ashkelonians, from the city of Ashkelon; (that of) the Azotans—these were on the sea. But there was also that of the Gathans, whence Goliath  
 77b was; but Gath is now laid waste. | But it extended to Ekron. And there is now a large desolate village not far from Gath, about seven miles. Some think this to be Ekron, but from the positions and from the signs and from (the location of) Mount Carmel we find it to be Caesarea Stratonis.<sup>625</sup> This whole country, however, was called  $\text{פלשתי}$ , and from its name of  $\text{פלשתי}$  the whole eparchy<sup>626</sup> came to be called Palestine. And so much for these things.

82. But there are also in Job these things about the position of the stars,<sup>627</sup> where he says: "He that made the Pleiades and the evening star and the North Star and Orion and the chambers of the south."<sup>628</sup> And the Pleiades, with the seven stars in it, is known to many. But some call it the Cluster<sup>629</sup> because of its resemblance to a cluster (of grapes). And the evening star is the star that is seen in the west at  
 77c evening time, but especially in the autumn season. They call this | the long-haired.<sup>630</sup> Moreover, O lover of the good, you have written in Job concerning this: "For thou callest," he says, "the evening star with the voice, and he answers thee; but thou leadest him, taking hold

<sup>622</sup> These three countries or regions are indicated by feminine adjectives.

<sup>623</sup> "Of the east" seems altogether superfluous and is relegated to a footnote in Lagarde's edition. It can only mean something like "to the west of its eastern part."

<sup>624</sup> Philistines, the  $\text{ἀλλόφουλοι}$  of LXX.

<sup>625</sup> Jerome says, "the tower of Strato, afterward called Caesarea." Cf. Eusebius, *op. cit.* pp. 22, 23.

<sup>626</sup> The Roman *provincia*; our "province" is not sufficiently exact.

<sup>627</sup> Doubtless a translation of the Greek  $\text{ἀστροθεσία}$ .

<sup>628</sup> Job 9:9, in the main following LXX; but I find Orion in Peshitta and MT only. The Peshitta, however, has only one term,  $\text{לַעֲרֵב}$ , in place of "the evening star and the North Star."

<sup>629</sup> Does this represent the Greek  $\text{βότρυς}$ ?

<sup>630</sup> A transliteration of the Greek  $\text{κομήτης}$ .

of his hair."<sup>631</sup> But as to the North Star, some say that it is the foremost star in the pole of Charles's Wain,<sup>632</sup> but others say that it is one of the four (constituting) the wagon itself, that is, the corner one at the wagon end of the pole. But as to Orion, they say that it is the one formed in the likeness of a man's image. And it has four (principal) stars forming a rectangle, and three above like a head, and three like a girdle for the loins, and others that descend in the form of a belt or like a sword. But these are called *mazūrōth*<sup>633</sup> in the divine Scripture; they are, however, interpreted "elements." The (term) "chambers of the south" is used because of the storehouses of snow and of hail and dew. These are not on the earth, but between the heavens and the  
 77d earth, being brought from the inside | of the corners of the heavens; and dew and honey especially are drops that have been thus brought from heaven. For it is not true, as some suppose, that the rain is from heaven. Out of the sea and other places the clouds draw up the rain and pour (it) upon the face of the earth. And you have testimony, O lover of the good, in the prophet,<sup>634</sup> where he says: "He that bringeth up the clouds from the end of the earth," and, again: "He that calleth the waters of the sea and poureth them out upon the face of the earth, the Lord God Almighty is his name."<sup>635</sup> And so much, again, for these things.

83. And, other place and land names occurring to us, we are making mention of them. Mountains and hills. Mountains, indeed, are according to nature; they<sup>636</sup> are elevated places that were formed by God, that were heaped up by means of rocks and stones. And hills  
 78a also are elevated places, but they are of earth<sup>637</sup> | and not heaped up out of stones. And ridges<sup>638</sup> are elevated places, but they are of sand. And

<sup>631</sup> Cf. Job 38:34a and 32b in LXX.

<sup>632</sup> I.e., Ursa Minor; Charles's Wain usually means Ursa Major.

<sup>633</sup> Transliteration of the LXX term, here found on the margin.

<sup>634</sup> The marginal "Hosea" is an error; see Ps. 134:7 in LXX.

<sup>635</sup> Amos 5:8 in LXX; the full title for Deity is found only in the margin of the Syro-Hexaplaric version.

<sup>636</sup> Lit., "which."

<sup>637</sup> Or "dust." It is interesting to observe that the modern "tells," the word here translated "hills," are artificial and composed mainly of dust.

<sup>638</sup> Exactly what particular kind of ridges is meant is not clear; certainly not all ridges are of sand, even in Palestine.

the *raṣīnē*<sup>639</sup> also are said to be of sand—not the *shevaltē*,<sup>640</sup> but the *raṣīnē*. For the *shevaltē* are in the middle parts of streams where the movement of the stream is from both sides toward the middle, being gathered together in the likeness of a spike (of grain), such that because of the force of the turning about they are called whirlpools.

84. Here we arrive at the end of our writing for you, O lover of the good.

The end of the discourse of Saint Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, concerning weights and measures and numbers and certain other explanations (of things) found in the divine Scriptures.

Praise be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and always, forever and forever. Amen.

And from John, the sinner, who has written, be thanksgiving to our Lord and God Jesus Christ forever!

78b | And [this] bo[ok] was completed on the twenty-ninth day of . . . .  
[in the year] nine hundred sixty- . . . . of Alexander, in the da[ys of  
the] God-[fearing] (men), famous for [excellent deportment], the  
abbot Mar Leonti[us] . . . . and the steward and *chorepiscopus* Mar  
. . . . *sīnājā*,<sup>641</sup> in the [holy] monastery of our congregation of *Ḥjn*<sup>642</sup>  
. . . . Mar Philip *ḥft*<sup>643</sup> . . . . of the presbyters, Mar Con[stantine]  
and Mar *T*<sup>o</sup> . . . . , Paul *tj* . . . .<sup>644</sup>

<sup>639</sup> The only meaning given by the lexicons is "rivulets." The marginal Greek readings seem to be confused, and *θίνας*, "sand heaps" or "dunes," seems to belong to this word rather than to *shevaltē*. B does not definitely attach *θίνας* to a particular word of the text.

<sup>640</sup> The primary meaning of this word in the singular is "spike (of grain)," but it seems also to mean "flood" (Ps. 69:3, 16 MT; Isa. 27:12 MT and P). The marginal *θίνας*, "whirlpools" or "eddies," seems to belong to this word.

<sup>641</sup> I am venturing thus to vocalize in accordance with the same consonants in R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 2615.

<sup>642</sup> Cf. *ibid.* col. 1264.

<sup>643</sup> Perhaps an adjective built on the city name Ḥeftūn; cf. R. Payne Smith, *op. cit.* col. 1349.

<sup>644</sup> For the entire colophon cf. W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum II* (London, 1871) 718a. Wright makes out some letters hardly legible in our photograph. B has no corresponding colophon.







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576

אם יתקיימו אצלנו  
 ארבעה דברים  
 ראשון שיהיה  
 לנו מלך אחד  
 שיהיה נאמן  
 על כל ישראל  
 ושני שיהיה  
 לנו שופט אחד  
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 ורביעי שיהיה  
 לנו סגן אחד  
 שיהיה נאמן  
 על כל ישראל

57a

אם יתקיימו אצלנו  
 ארבעה דברים  
 ראשון שיהיה  
 לנו מלך אחד  
 שיהיה נאמן  
 על כל ישראל  
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 לנו סגן אחד  
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 על כל ישראל

56c

אם יתקיימו אצלנו  
 ארבעה דברים  
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 לנו מלך אחד  
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56d

אם יתקיימו אצלנו  
 ארבעה דברים  
 ראשון שיהיה  
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 ורביעי שיהיה  
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62b

ארבעה עשרה יום  
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62a

ארבעה עשר יום  
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61c

ארבעה עשר יום  
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61d

ארבעה עשר יום  
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66b

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30 ואלהיך ואלהיך ואלהיך

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אעממח ממחה ויחטוב...
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אעממח ממחה ויחטוב...
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אעממח ממחה ויחטוב...
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74b

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a manuscript page. The text is arranged in several columns and includes various symbols and markings.

74a

Handwritten text in a cursive script, continuing from the previous page. It features similar script and symbols.

73d

Handwritten text in a cursive script, showing further development of the manuscript's content.

73c

Handwritten text in a cursive script, the final section of the manuscript page shown.











ins. o before  $\aleph$ . | 32:2.—According to Lagarde B has a “28” written, but I hesitate to say it cannot be an “18.” | 35:3.—om. first |.

Folio 46d. 5:2.—| for first  $\omega$ . | 6:3.—om.  $\eta$ . | 10:1.—om.  $\eta$ . | 12:3.—om.  $\eta$ . | 14:3.—om.  $\beta$ . | 15:3-4.—|  $\omega$   $\aleph$ . | 21:1.—| for first  $\omega$ ; Lagarde  $\omega$   $\aleph$ . | 26:1.—ins. o before  $\tau$ . | 30:2.—ins.  $\omega$  before  $\aleph$ .

Folio 47a. 1-7.—B places this just after fol. 45a 4:2. The only variants are: (1) om.  $\omega$  between  $\tau$  and  $\tau$  in “Epiphanius”; (2)  $\omega$   $\aleph$ ; (3)  $\omega$   $\aleph$  for  $\omega$   $\aleph$ . | 8:2.—+  $\omega$ . | 11:3, 12:1.—part.+pron. suf. | 13:2.—om. first |, with L. | 16:3.— $\omega$ , with L. | 17:1.—om. |, with L. | 19:3.—pref.  $\eta$ . | 21:1.—mg. same. | 25:2.—+pl.; om.  $\eta$  with L. | 26:2.—K  $\omega$   $\aleph$ . | 29:2.—K  $\omega$   $\aleph$ . | 30:2, 3.—K om. | 30:3.—ins.  $\omega$  after  $\eta$ . | 30:4.—in mg., attached to  $\omega$ . | 32:2.—+  $\omega$   $\aleph$  | 36:2.—in mg., with L.

Folio 47b. 1-11.—The signs are more carefully placed and displayed in A than in B, and are therefore presumably more carefully made than in B, some two hundred years later in date; therefore it seems fruitless to collate the signs. | 16-25.—L has all the Greek words in footnotes. | 16:2 and 17:2.—om.  $\epsilon$ . | 18:1.—K  $\omega$   $\aleph$ . | 18:2.— $\omega$   $\aleph$ . | 19:1.—K  $\omega$   $\aleph$ . | 20:1.—ins. | after  $\eta$ ; K ins. | before  $\eta$ . | 20:2.—om.  $\epsilon$ . | 21:1.—om. final |, with K. | 21:2.—om.  $\epsilon$ . | 23:1.—K om. middle o. | 24:1.—ins.  $\omega$  after  $\tau$ ; K  $\omega$   $\aleph$ . | 25:1.—| for  $\sigma$ , with K; K om. last o. | 25:2.— $\omega$  for final  $\eta$ . | 26:2.—om. first o, with L. | 27:1.—o for second |; L ins. o before  $\tau$ . | 27:2.— $\omega$  for second o, with L. | 28:1.—L ins. o before  $\tau$ , against A and B. | 31:1.—om. first o, with L. | 32:1.—no asterisk. | 32:2.—pref. o, with L. | 35:3.— $\omega$  for final |. | 36:2.—om.  $\eta$ , with L. | 37:2.—tr.  $\eta$  and o.

Folio 47c. 3:3.—om. | 11:4.—ins.  $\omega$  after  $\eta$ . | 13:2-14:1.— $\omega$   $\aleph$ . | 20:4.—om. | 23:3-24:1.— $\omega$ . | 28:1.—om. pl. | 29:3.—L om. second  $\omega$ . | 35:3.—+  $\omega$   $\aleph$ , with L. | 36:3.—abs. for emph.

Folio 47d. 2:2.— $\omega$   $\aleph$ . | 8:3-9:1.—tr. | 21:3.—om. | 22:1.—+  $\omega$ . | 23:3.— $\omega$  for final |. | 26:1.—ins.  $\omega$  after  $\omega$ .

Folio 48a. 5:1.—om. final o. | 8:1.—om. first  $\omega$ . | 12:1.— $\omega$   $\aleph$ . | L om. first o; no asterisk. | 25:2.—om.  $\eta$ . | 32:1.—om. first o, with L; this and the four lines following do not have a preceding asterisk for each as in A. | 34:1.—pref.  $\eta$ . | 35:1.—om. first and second o; L om. second o.

Folio 48b. 11:3.—om. | 14:1.— $\omega$   $\aleph$ . | 15:1.—ins.  $\omega$  before  $\omega$ , with L. | 17:1.— $\omega$  for  $\eta$ . | 19:2.—om. first o, with L; +  $\omega$   $\aleph$ . | 22:1.—om. first o, with L. | 22:2.—om. the obelus sign. | 27:2.—ins.  $\omega$  before  $\beta$ . | 28:2.—om., with L.

Folio 48c. 13:1.—+  $\omega$ . | 23:3.—L pref.  $\eta$ , against A and B. | 26:2.—mg.  $\phi$   $\alpha$   $\rho$   $\iota$   $\alpha$ . | 27:2.—om. | 27:3.—mg.  $\alpha$   $\nu$   $\sigma$   $\gamma$   $\iota$ . | 33:2.—om.

Folio 48d. 9:1.— $\omega$   $\aleph$ . | 16:2, 3.—tr. | 18:3.—L ins.  $\omega$  before  $\omega$ , against A and B. | 30:2, 3.—tr. | 31:1, 2.—construct+gen.; “Israel” has no |. | 34:1, 2.—tr. | 36:3.— $\omega$   $\aleph$ .



Folio 49a. 8:2.—| $\chi\psi\epsilon\delta$ .| 18:1.— $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ .| 20:3.—+ $\mu\epsilon$ .| 32:2.—+final  $\mu$ .| 33:3.—+ $\mu\epsilon$ .

Folio 49b. 2:1.—om. pl. and mg. | 3:3.—second  $\mu$  inserted below line. | 6:1.—| $\psi\psi\psi\psi$ ; mg. *στιχηρα*. | 12:1.—B has after this word a space that contains meaningless marks somewhat like // // // // . | 12:2.—mg. *γραφια*. | 16:1.—+pl. | 20:3.—om. first |, with L. | 27:4-28:1.—tr. | 30:3, 4.—tr.

Folio 49c. 1-17. L says these lines appear in the Brit. Mus. ms. 12168, but that he has not examined it. | 2:3.—om. first |; +mg. *στιχηρα*. | 4:1.—om. second  $\mu$ . Does A have it? | 17:3.—ins. | after  $\epsilon$ . | 35:2.—L ins.  $\mu$  after  $\psi$ . | 35:2, 3.— $\chi\psi\psi$ .

Folio 49d. 1:1.—L+final |. | 2:3-3:1.— $\mu\epsilon\psi$ . | 4:2.—om. final |, with L. | 7:1.—| $\psi\sigma$ , with L. | 10:3.—L ins. | after  $\epsilon$ . | 15:1.—+ $\sigma$ . | 17:1.—om.  $\epsilon$ , with L. | 19:2.—om.  $\sigma$ . | 21:1, 3.—tr. | 22:3.—om. | 23:3, 24:1.—tr. | 26:1, 2.—part.+pron. suf. | 30:1.— $\delta$ .

Folio 50a. 6:4.—| $\psi\psi$ .| 7:1.—om. final  $\sigma$ . | 14:4.—+mg.  $\delta\delta\delta$ . | 15:4.— $\sigma$ . | 24:2.—+| $\mu\psi$ , with L. | 31:3, 4.—om. | 34:4.— $\chi\psi\psi$ . | 35:1-fol. 50b 1:1.—om.

Folio 50b. 2:2.—+| $\delta\delta$ . | 6:2.— $\delta\delta$ , with L. | 18:1.—+pl. | 24:1, 2.—tr. | 30:1.—om. obelus.

Folio 50c. 1:3.—L tr.  $\psi$ . | 12:1.—om. first  $\mu$ . | 13:1.—pointed as perfect tense. | 13:3, 4.— $\mu\psi$ , preceded by asterisk in mg.; the other asterisks of A are omitted in B. | 14:1.—om. first  $\sigma$ , with L; om. mg. | 15:4.—The obelus appears only above this word and at the beginning of the line. | 16:1.—om. one  $\sigma$ . | 17:1.—text and mg. same. | 27:2-29:2.—om. hom. | 34:3.—ins.  $\mu$  after  $\psi$ , with L.

Folio 50d. 10:1.—om. first  $\epsilon$ . | 13:1.—om.  $\mu$ , with L. | 17:2.—| $\mu\psi$ . | 20:3-21:2.— $\chi\psi$ . | 23:1.—om. one  $\sigma$ . | 33:1, 2.—L om. | 33:2.—ins.  $\mu$  after  $\psi$ ; om. sign above. | 34:1.—om. preceding  $\tau$ . | 34:2.—om. following sign. | 34:3.—ins.  $\mu$  after  $\psi$ ; L has  $\epsilon$  for  $\sigma$ . | 35:1.—preceded by  $\epsilon$ ; ins.  $\mu$  after  $\psi$ ; | for  $\sigma$ .

Folio 51a. 1:1.—om. preceding sign; ins.  $\mu$  after  $\psi$ ; om.  $\mu$  after  $\epsilon$ . | 3:2.—om. one  $\sigma$ . | 7:2.—mg. same. | 10:3.—om. | 11:1.—om. final  $\epsilon$ . | 17:3.—om.  $\mu$ . | 22:3.—om. mg. | 23:2.—om. first |; tr.  $\mu\sigma$ . | 24:2.—ins.  $\mu$  before  $\psi$ . | 25:2.—om. | 28:1.—ins.  $\mu$  after  $\psi$ ; and so in mg. note coming a little farther on, all of which is in the text of B. | 30:2.—vowel on  $\psi$ , not  $\mu$ . | 31:2.—not demonstrative. | 32:1.—om. pl. | 34:1.—ins.  $\mu$  before  $\psi$ . | 34:2.—om. one  $\sigma$ . | 36:3.—om.

Folio 51b. 12:1.—mg. *συναμφοτερα*. | 12:2-13:1.—mg. *η ομοια*. | 16:2, 3.—part.+suf. | 19:1.—mg. om. last  $\mu$ . | 21:1-22:1.—om. hom. | 32:2.—ins.  $\mu$  after  $\psi$ , with L.

Folio 51c. 1:3.—ins.  $\mu$  after  $\psi$ . | 8:1.—om. following sign. | 8:1, 2.—L om. | 8:2.—| for  $\sigma$ . | 10:1.—| for  $\sigma$ . | 12:2.—ins.  $\epsilon$  after  $\mu$ . | 18:2.—L om. point above  $\sigma$ . | 19:2.—| for  $\sigma$ . | 27:2.—om. first  $\sigma$ . | 32:1.—ins.  $\mu$  after  $\psi$ . | 32:2.—| for  $\sigma$ .

Folio 51*d*. 4:1, 2.—tr. | 8:1.—om. letter in mg. | 17:1.—om. | 18:2.—om. | 23:1.—om. The series of mg. numbers from 1 to 12 beginning at this point not in B. | 26:2.—om. | 30:2.—om. | 32:2.—om. second and third o. | 33:2.—tr. 3e. | 34:1.—om.

Folio 52*a*. 1:2.—om. | 4:3.—om. | 8:1.—om. | 11:1.—om. mg. | 11:2.—om. | 15:2.—om. | 18:3.—om. | 22:1.—om. | 24:1.—om. second u. | 26:1.—om.

Folio 52*b*. 3:4.—om. one ʃ. | 9:1.—om. | 14:3.—om. mg. | 20:2.—om. second |; two points over ʒ; mg. of B is φαλαργω. | 23:1.—om. ʒ. | 25:3, 4.—| 27:2.—| 29:2.— for first o, with L. | 29:3—30:1.—part.+suf. | 31:3.—om. u after ʃ. | 32:2.—om. o before ʃ, with L.

Folio 52*c*. 4:1.—om. o and last u. | 5:1.—absolute. | 7:2.—om. ʃ and last u. | 8:4.—om. first ʃ. | 10:3.—| 11:1.—om. | 12:1.—| 18:3.—om. σ. | 21:2.—om. ʒ. | 22:3.—L om. first |. | 28:1.—ins. ʒ after o. | 36:1.—om. ʃ and last u.

Folio 52*d*. 3:1-4:2.—om.; on mg. | 5:2.—om. second o. | 7:2.—pref. ʃ. | 8:3.—om. last u. | 11:1.—L om. o. | 17:2.—mg. same except that of B does not repeat the word to which gloss is attached and inserts before the last word. | 18:1.—| 19:2.—om. | 22:3, 4.—| 29:2.—| 29:3.—om. | 30:2.—om. ʃ, with L. | 30:5.—+mg. | 34:1.—+| 35:4.—L.

Folio 53*a*. 10:3, 11:1.—tr. | 11:3.—| 25:3.—om. o. | 27:2.—mg. same. | 29:1-3.—| 29:4.—om. | 32:1.—om. pl. | 32:3.—+.

Folio 53*b*. 4:3.—+| 5:3-6:1.—in mg., with L. | 6:3.—ins. σ after ʃ. | 13:3.—L | 21:1.—om. | 29:3.—om. mg. | 30:4.—om. pl. | 34:2.—absolute.

Folio 53*c*. 5:1.—om. o. | 5:2, 3.—tr. | 13:1.—om. last u. | 14:2.—ins. o after ʒ. | 16:3.—pointed as fem., with L. | 17:2.—om. last u. | 18:1.—| 20:2.—σ for second o. | 26:4.—| 28:2.—om. | 29:1.—om. first o; ins. σ after ʃ. | 30:1.—om. first o. | 30:2.—om. | 32:2, 3.—tr.

Folio 53*d*. 1:2.—om. | 2:3.—om. first o. | 7:2.—om. first o. | 10:2.—om. | 13:1.—ins. u before final ʃ. | 14:1.—| 15:1.—L om. second |. | 17:1.—om. first o. | 17:2.—om. mg. | 19:1.—+suf. σ, with L. | 19:2.—om. first o and |. | 20:3.—om. mg.; L adopts mg. spelling. | 22:2.—+final u. | 22:4.—+| 24:1.—| 26:2.—+final ʃ. | 27:2.—+| 27:3.—om. ʒ. | 27:4.—om. | 37:2.—om. first u.

Folio 54*a*. 7:3.—om. first u. | 8:3.—I am not at all sure L has read this rightly as having an ʃ instead of an |. | 10:1-11:2.—om. | 13:3.—ins. | after ʃ; om. mg. | 14:4.—ins. o after |, with L; om. mg. | 16:1.—ins. u after ʒ. | 16:3.—| 17:2.—Here B introduces the statement about Claudius omitted in its proper place. Same as A, but ʃ is written for the months,

not |. | 19:3.—om. ۰. | 22:2.—| ۰۰۰۰ | 25:3.—om. mg. | 27:1.—om. second |. | 28:3.—om. first ۰, with L. | 30:2, 3.—L. om. | 30:3.—۰ for |.

Folio 54b. 9:4.—| ۰۰۰۰. | 10:3.—mg. | ۰۰۰ | 15:1, 2.—۰۰۰۰. | 21:1.—om. mg. | 31:3-33:2.—om. hom. | 35:1.—om. ۰. | 36:1.—| ۰۰۰۰ | ۰۰۰۰. | 36:2.—om. mg. | 37:1.—pointed as perfect. | 37:2.—om. ۰ before ۰.

Folio 54c. 4:3.—+۰۰. | 6:3.—om. ۰. | 7:2.—om. |. | 19:3.—+|۰. | 21:2.—۰ for ۰. | 28:1.—ins. ۰ after ۰. | 33:1.—| ۰. | 34:2.—ins. | before ۰, with L. | 34:3.—om. ۰.

Folio 54d. 3:4-4:1.—| ۰۰۰۰. | 8:1.—om. pl. | 8:2.—om. pl. and second ۰. | 22:3.—۰ for ۰. | 25:3.—om. one ۰; mg.  $\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta$ . | 37:2.—L ins. ۰ after ۰.

Folio 55a. 3:3.—om. pl. | 14:2.—om. mg. | 15:2.—mg. | ۰۰. | 18:1.—om. second ۰. | 23:2, 3.—| ۰۰۰۰, with L. | 24:1.—om. mg. | 24:2.—om. ۰. | 27:1.—+۰.

Folio 55b. 3:2.—L ۰۰۰۰. | 6:1.—mg. | ۰۰۰ | 7:1.—+pl. | 22:2.—L om. point. | 30:3.—om. point, with L.

Folio 55c. 1:1.—pointed as perfect. | 3:1.—ins. | after ۰; +mg.  $\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ . | 6:3.—tr. ۰. | 7:3.—| ۰۰۰۰. | 8:1.—+| ۰. | 8:2.—+| ۰. | 9:1.—ins. ۰ after |. | 10:4.—+| ۰. | 14:1.—| ۰۰۰۰; L om. first ۰. | 15:3.—om. mg. | 16:1, 2.—L om.; B+mg. ۰. | 16:3.—mg. same. | 17:1.—tr. ۰. | 21:1.—pref. ۰. | 22:4.—point below ۰. | 23:3.—om. mg. | 25:3.—om. one ۰. | 28:3.—om. | 29:1.—pref. ۰.

Folio 55d. 3:1.—om. |; mg.  $\sigma\theta\alpha\theta\iota\sigma\tau\eta\rho\omicron\nu$ . | 6:2.—point above ۰. | 7:2.—om. | 14:1.—B has two lines preceded by this sign, instead of four. | 18:1.—tr. ۰. | 25:2.—+| ۰. | 26:1.—L pref. ۰. | 27:2.—+| ۰. | 29:1.—۰ for ۰; om. ۰. | 30:1.—mg. same. | 30:2.—ins. ۰ before final |, with L. | 30:3-32:2.—L om. | 31:1.—om. first ۰. | 33:1.—om. ۰ of mg. | 36:1-4.—om.

Folio 56a. 2:1.—om. ۰. | 2:3.—om. mg. | 6:2.—om. mg. | 12:1.—om. | 19:1.—om. ۰, with L. | 21:3, 4.—part.+suf. | 22:2.—| ۰ for conj. ۰; tr. ۰. | 26:1.—L repeats the word.

Folio 56b. 1:2.—om., with L. | 13:3.—| ۰. | 18:3.—۰ for ۰. | 20:3.—There is a ۰ here in mg. | 23:1.—om. first ۰. | 27:2.—| ۰. | 28:3.—om. second |. | 32:1.—om. second |. | 34:1.—+final ۰. | 34:2.—| for ۰; +final ۰.

Folio 56c. 1:1.—pref. ۰. | 1:3.—om. ۰. | 11:1.—+mg. | ۰۰. | 12:1-18:1.—om. with L. | 20:1.—B has same mg. as A, but occurring a little previously. | 25:2.—+pl. | 25:3.—mg. | ۰۰. | 27:1.—om. pl. | 28:1.—+| ۰. | 28:2.—om. mg. | 29:1.—+| ۰. | 30:1.—ins. | after ۰. | 30:3.—om. first |. | 32:1.—om. pl. and ۰.

Folio 56d. 1:3.—ins. | after ۰. | 4:2.—om. second ۰; L | ۰ for ۰. | 4:4.—This and the following numbers repeated in mg. do not appear in mg.

of B. | 13:1.—tr.  $\text{ح}$  | 13:2.—om. first  $\text{ح}$  | 14:2.—om. second  $\text{و}$  | 15:3.—om. pl. | 17:1.—om. first  $\text{}$ , with L. | 19:1.—tr.  $\text{ب}$ ; +mg.  $\pi$ . | 20:3.—om.  $\text{و}$  | 23:2-24:1.—om. | 27:2.—om.  $\text{}$  | 29:1.—tr.  $\text{ذ}$  | 29:2.—pointed as perfect. | 33:1.—pref.  $\text{؟}$ , with L.

Folio 57a. 1:1.—tr.  $\text{ع}$  | 2:1.—tr.  $\text{ص}$  | 8:3.—tr.  $\text{ح}$  | 12:1.—ins.  $\text{}$  before  $\text{و}$  | 14:1.— $\text{}$  for first  $\text{و}$  | 21:3.—tr.  $\text{ع}$  | 22:2.—om. first  $\text{ح}$  | 25:3.—mg. same. | 32:1.—+ $\text{؟}$ , with L. | 32:2.—ins.  $\text{و}$  after  $\text{ح}$ ; om. final  $\text{}$  | 34:2.—ins.  $\text{؟}$  after  $\text{ذ}$ , with L. | 34:3.—om. | 36:1.—+ $\text{ن}$  | 36:2.—pref.  $\text{؟}$ .

Folio 57b. 1:2.—om. first  $\text{ح}$  | 2:1.—om.  $\text{ح}$  | 4:4-5:1.—tr. | 6:1.—om.  $\text{و}$  | 12:2-13:2.—om. hom. | 14:2.—+final  $\text{ح}$ , with L. | 15:1.— $\text{و}$  | 18:1.—tr.  $\text{ح}$  | 18:3.—+final  $\text{ح}$ , with L. | 20:3-21:1.—tr. | 21:4.—om.  $\text{و}$ , with L. | 27:3.—om. | 28:1.—pref.  $\text{؟}$  | 28:2.—+ $\text{ح}$  | 29:1.—om. pl. | 30:1.— $\text{؟}$  for  $\text{ب}$ , no point. | 37:2.—om.

Folio 57c. 12:1.— $\text{و}$  | 14:1.—om. first and second  $\text{و}$  | 16:1.—so mg.; text  $\text{ن}$  | 19:2.—+final  $\text{ح}$ , with L. | 22:3.—om. last  $\text{و}$  | 25:1, 2.—part.+suf. | 35:3.—+ $\text{ح}$ , with L.

Folio 57d. 6:2.—+ $\text{؟}$  | 8:2.—om. first  $\text{و}$  | 13:3, 4.—tr. | 14:3.—om. first  $\text{ح}$  | 22:1.—om. first  $\text{ح}$  | 27:1.—A, B pl., against L. | 31:2.— $\text{ح}$  for second  $\text{و}$  | 33:2.—om.  $\text{ح}$  | 35:1.—om. first  $\text{و}$ , with L.

Folio 58a. 1:1.—om.  $\text{ح}$  | 2:1, 2.— $\text{ح}$  | 5:2.—ins.  $\text{و}$  after  $\text{ح}$  | 11:1.—ins.  $\text{}$  after  $\text{و}$ , with L. | 19:2, 3.—tr. | 25:2.—ins.  $\text{و}$  after  $\text{ح}$  | 25:2, 3.—tr. | 33:3.—+ $\text{ح}$ .

Folio 58b. 4:1.—om.  $\text{}$  | 6:4-7:1.—tr.; + $\text{و}$  | 8:1.—+pl. | 9:3.—om. second  $\text{ح}$  | 10:2.—om. mg. | 13:2-14:1.—om. | 17:1.—ins.  $\text{ح}$  after  $\text{و}$  | 18:1.—ins.  $\text{ح}$  after  $\text{ح}$ ; om. mg. | 22:1.— $\text{ح}$  | 26:1.—+ $\text{ح}$  | 29:3-30:1.—tr. | 31:1.—om. second  $\text{و}$  | 32:1.—om. | 34:1.— $\text{و}$  for  $\text{و}$ ; mg.  $\text{οερανωας}$  | 34:1.—+ $\text{؟}$ .

Folio 58c. 1:1.—ins.  $\text{ح}$  after  $\text{ح}$  | 1:2.—om. | 2:1.—om. first  $\text{و}$  | 9:4.—+ $\text{و}$  | 10:1.—om.  $\text{ح}$  after  $\text{ب}$  | 10:2.—text with mg. | 11:3-12:1.—tr. | 12:1.—ins.  $\text{ح}$  after  $\text{و}$  | 13:2.— $\text{و}$  | 20:2.—pref.  $\text{و}$  | 21:1.—om. | 21:2-22:1.— $\text{ح}$  | 25:2.—om.  $\text{ح}$  | 26:1.—+ $\text{و}$  | 27:1.—om.  $\text{؟}$  | 27:2.— $\text{و}$  | 28:1-30:2.—om. | 31:3.—om. second  $\text{ب}$  | 32:2.—ins.  $\text{و}$  before  $\text{ب}$ ; +mg.  $\text{و}$  | 33:1.—ins.  $\text{و}$  before final  $\text{ح}$  | 34:3.—ins.  $\text{و}$  before final  $\text{ح}$  | 35:1, 2.— $\text{و}$  | 36:3.—mg.  $\text{ح}$ .

Folio 58d. 1:1.—ins.  $\text{و}$  before final  $\text{ح}$  | 6:1.—om. number in mg. | 6:4.—ins.  $\text{و}$  before final  $\text{ح}$  | 8:1.—+ $\text{و}$  | 8:2.— $\text{و}$ ; L.  $\text{و}$  | 9:3.— $\text{و}$ ; L. om.  $\text{}$  | 11:4.— $\text{و}$  (*sic*) | 13:3.—om. mg. | 14:1.— $\text{و}$ ; om. mg. | 18:1.—B, L write  $\text{ح}$  twice. | 20:3.— $\text{و}$ ; om. number in mg. | 21:5, 23:3.—om. number in mg. | 23:4.—pref.  $\text{؟}$ ; om. mg. | 24:1.—om. mg. | 24:2.—om. preceding asterisk. | 27:3.—om.  $\text{ب}$  and pl. | 32:2.—om. pl. | 34:1.—om. one  $\text{و}$  and one  $\text{ح}$ , also pl.

Folio 59a. 10:1, 2.—L om. | 10:2.—om. pl.; | in mg. This is the first of a series of numbers in B that continues to 1 and marks discussions of the kor, the *congiarium*, the *lethehh*, the bath, the seah, the *modius*, the cab, the *choiniz*, the handful of meal, the ardeb, and the *nēvel* of wine. | 14:1.— is written twice, with L. | 16:3.—om. pl. | 21:1.—mg. same. | 21:2.—om. | 22:2.—+  $\sqrt{\text{سك}}$ . | 23:1.—+pl. | 27:2.— for  $\text{س}$ ; mg. same. | 27:3.—ins.  $\text{و}$  before  $\text{؟}$ ; om. pl. | 30:1.—ins. | after  $\text{س}$ . | 35:1.—ins.  $\text{و}$  after first |; + $\pi$  above this  $\text{و}$ ; om. mg. | 36:2.—om. the lone  $\text{ص}$ , with L.

Folio 59b. 5:1, 2.—L om. | 11:3.—first letter pointed with *a*. | 16:1, 2.—L om. | 17:1.—K om. | 23:1.—om. pl. | 25:1.—om.  $\text{و}$ , with L. | 35:4.—om. pl.

Folio 59c. 1:1.—om., with L. | 1:3, 4.—tr. | 2:1, 2.—L om. | 4:3.—om. | 5:3.—om. | 10:3.—om.  $\text{؟}$ . | 14:1.—tr. | } ; om. mg. | 14:2.— for last  $\text{و}$ ; om. mg. | 17:1.—om. | 19:1.—tr. | } . | 22:2.—om. pl. | 23:1.—om.  $\text{س}$ . | 24:2.—K  $\text{سك}$ . | 26:1.—ins.  $\text{و}$  before  $\text{س}$ , with L. | 29:1.—om. first | and  $\text{؟}$ ; L om.  $\text{؟}$ , ins. | after  $\text{س}$ . | 35:1, 2.—L om. | 36:1.—om.  $\text{س}$ . | 36:2.—om.  $\text{؟}$ .

Folio 59d. 4:3.—tr. | } . | 18:1, 2.—L om. | 27:1, 2.—part. +suf. | 30:1.—K pref.  $\text{س؟}$ . | 35:1.—om. | 36:1.—mg. same, and so for all the days of creation. | 36:3.—+pl. | 37:3.— for |, with L.

Folio 60a. 4:1.—om. first |, with L, and om. pl. | 7:2.—pref.  $\text{؟}$ , with L. | 9:2–10:1.—om. hom. | 12:1.—tr. | } , with L. | 12:2.—om. first |, with L, and om. pl. | 13:1.—pref.  $\text{و}$ . | 13:3.—om.  $\text{و}$ . | 14:2.—pref.  $\text{و}$ . | 17:1.—ins.  $\text{؟}$  after  $\text{؟}$ , with L. | 22:2.—+pl. | 26:3.—om.  $\text{؟}$ , with L. | 29:2.—om. pl. | 35:2, 3.— $\text{سكسك}$ .

Folio 60b. 1:1, 2.— $\text{سكسكسك}$ . | 2:3.—om. first |, with L. | 10:2.— for  $\text{؟}$ , with L. | 11:3.—om.  $\text{س}$  after  $\text{و}$ . | 16:2.—om. first |, with L. | 18:1.—om. pl. | 29:1.—+pl.

Folio 60c. 4:3.— $\text{سك؟ سك}$ . | 6:1.— $\text{سك}$  for  $\text{و}$ . | 9:2, 3.—const. +suf. | 13:1.—pref.  $\text{؟}$ , with L. | 14:1.—text with mg., with L. | 16:1.—om. pl. and second |. | 20:3.—om. | 29:1.—+mg.  $\text{سك}$ . | 34:1.—om. both |; the number in mg. before this and the following line not in B.

Folio 60d. 3:1.— $\text{سكسك}$ . | 3:3.— $\text{سكسك}$ ; L reads this as  $\text{سكسك}$  in A. | 4–22 appear in altogether different form in B, where the scribe does not spell out the letters in either Syriac or Greek. But under the general title  $\text{سكسكسك}$   $\text{سكسك}$  he has collected the “Mesopotamian” alphabet, the Tadmorine, and two forms of the Greek alphabet, the uncial and the cursive, together with a list of numerical signs. Along the lower margin there is a series of alphabetic signs without any designation. See App. I. | 26:1.—om. first  $\text{و}$ . | 26:3.—pref.  $\text{؟}$ . | 29:1–3.— $\text{سك؟ سك}$ .

Folio 61a. 6:1.—ins.  $\text{و}$  after  $\text{؟}$ ; B has the same marginal number here and throughout the enumeration of the books of the Bible. | 7:2.—+pl. | 7:3.—this and corresponding letters not in B. | 8:1.—om. second  $\text{و}$ . | 9:3.—construct. | 10:1.—om.  $\text{؟}$  and both |. | 10:2.— $\text{سكسك؟}$ . | 10:3.—om. first and

second } . | 12:1.—om. first } . | 14:2.—om. ۰ . | 15:1.—om. ۰ . | 23:1.—om. } , with L. | 27:2.—om. | 28:2.—om. | 30:2.—om. | 31:1.—pref. ۰ , with L. | 32:2.—om. | 33:1.—om. mg. | 33:2.—+mg. ۰ . | 35:1.—om.

Folio 61b. 1:2.—om. | 3:2.—om. | 4:1.—۰ in text of L. | 8:2.—for } . | 9:2.—om. pl. | 11:1.—om. pl. | 14:1.—om. ۰ . | 16:1.—om. ۰ . | 18:1.—om. ۰ . | 20:1.—L pref. ۰ . | 22:2.—om. | 23:1.—+۰ . | 24:2.—om. | 27:3, 4.—۰ . | 29:3.—om. second ۰ .

Folio 61c. 12:1.—ins. ۰ after ۰ . | 14:2.—pref. ۰ , with L. | 15:1.—om. both } . | 26:2, 3.—tr. | 27:1.—۰ for ۰ . | 27:2.—tr. ۰ , with L. | 30:3.—om. first ۰ , with L.

Folio 61d. 3:3.—+mg. ۰ . | 5:2.—ins. ۰ before ۰ , with L; om. mg. | 6:2.—ins. ۰ after ۰ , with L; L also ins. ۰ after first } ; mg. ۰ . | 7:1.—om. mg.; L ins. ۰ after } . | 13:2.—om. ۰ . | 26:1.—mg. same.

Folio 62a. 3:1.—۰ for ۰ . | 9:4.—mg. ۰ . | 13:4.—om. pl. | 20:2.—om., with L. | 22:2.—om. | 25:3, 26:1.—tr. | 33:1.—K om. } .

Folio 62b. 21:2.—ins. ۰ before ۰ . | 24:1.—۰ for ۰ . | 29:3.—۰ . | 34:3.—+۰ , with L. | 35:1.—om. pl.

Folio 62c. 10:1.—preceded by ۰ , with L. | 13:3.—+۰ . | 16:3-17:2.—۰ . | 22:1.—B repeats this word because the first time it came at the end of a line and it is next to impossible to read the last letters, but it is not spelled correctly the first time. | 22:2.—om. ۰ . | 24:5.—+۰ . | 25:1.—om. } .

Folio 62d. 13:3.—om. } . | 17:2.—ins. } after ۰ . | 18:3.—ins. } after ۰ . | 24:1, 25:1.—+mg. ۰ . | 26:2.—om. first ۰ . | 28:1.—om. first } ; L ins. } after ۰ . | 31:1.—om. ۰ . | 31:3.—om. ۰ . | 32:1.—۰ for ۰ .

Folio 63a. 7:3.—۰; L ۰ . | 8:1.—om. ۰ . | 9:1.—om. | 12:1.—ins. } after ۰ . | 14:2.—ins. ۰ before final } . | 15:3.—om. pl. | 19:1.—+pl. and final ۰ . | 20:3.—ins. ۰ after ۰ . | 22:1.—pref. ۰ , with L. | 32:1.—+mg. ۰ . | 36:4.—+۰ , with L.

Folio 63b. 12:1.—۰ for ۰ . | 20:1.—om. ۰ .

Folio 63c. 7:3.—om.

Folio 63d. 1:2.—om. ۰ . | 2:2.—+۰ . | 2:3.—pref. ۰ . | 12:2.—L om. | 13:1.—tr. ۰ , with L. | 13:2.—emphatic, with L. | 15:4.—om. | 18:1.—om. pl. | 21:1.—om. | 28:1.—om., with L. | 29:2.—om. first ۰ and second } , with L.

Folio 64a. 14:2.—om. pl. | 16:1.—+mg. ۰ . | 16:3.—ins. ۰ after ۰ ; om. pl. | 18:3.—om. mg. | 26:1.—om. pl. | 32:1.—preceded by ۰ . | 33:1.—K ۰ .

Folio 64b. 2:2, 3.—tr. | 10:2.—۰ . | 15:1.—om. mg. | 16:1.—ins. } after ۰ ; mg. same. | 23:2.—om. } and mg.; L mg. in text. | 28:1.—om. mg.; L has mg. in text. | 35:2.—mg. same.

Folio 64c. 6:2.—ins. | after first ܦ and after first ܨ; B om. both mgs.; L Syriac mg. in text. | 8:3.—om. ܘ. | 13:2.—ins. | after first ܘ. | 18:1.—pref. ܘ, with L. | 20:1.—ܘ for ܘ. | 22:3.—ins. | after ܦ; mg. same. | 24:2.—om. mg. | 25:2.—om. first |; +mg. *στραμνος*. | 27:2.—|ܥܣ ܣܡܠܘ|. | 30:2.—+|ܘܚܘܢܐ|. | 31:3.—om. pl. | 34:2.—construct. | 34:3.—om. ܘ and |. | 35:2.—+ܘܢ.

Folio 64d. 2:1.—ins. | after ܦ, with L. | 8:3.—om. ܘ. | 9:1.—om. pl. | 13:1.—om. pl. | 14:2.—om. | 14:3.—om. |. | 21:1.—pref. ܘ, with L. | 34:2.—absolute.

Folio 65a. 11:1.—A and B ܘܢܐ; L says he found no point over ܣ. | 26:2.—om. ܘ, with L. | 27:2.—L+ܘܢܐ. | 27:3.—+|ܥܣ, with L. | 33:2.—ܥܣ ܘܢܐ. | 34:3.—om. pl.

Folio 65b. 2:2.—emphatic. | 5:2.—om. ܘ. | 7:2.—ins. | after ܦ. | 7:3—10:1.—om. hom. | 21:2.—om. ܘ. | 33:2.—ins. | after ܦ, with L. | 33:3.—|ܘܢܐ|. | 34:2.—ܘܢܐ.

Folio 65c. 1:1.—ins. | after ܦ, with L. | 3:2.—om. ܘ, with L. | 3:3.—om. first ܘ, with L. | 10:3.—ܘܢܐ. | 14:2.—om. | 15:1.—L did not observe points in B. | 21:2, 3.—part.+suf. | 23:2.—pointed as perfect. | 30:1.—ins. | after ܦ, with L.

Folio 65d. 1:3.—+ܘܢܐ. | 12:2.—ins. | after ܦ, with L. | 13:1.—so mg.; text |ܘܢܐ|. | 20:1.—om. second ܘ. | 24:1.—L ins. | after ܦ. | 24:2.—om. |. | 25:2.—om. first ܘ. | 27:2.—ins. | after ܦ, with L. | 29:4—30:1.—part.+suf. | 32:2, 3.—part.+suf.

Folio 66a. 3:1.—text with mg. except ܘ for ܘ, as also where A has the word in text; B has *κοτυλη* in mg.; L mg. in text. | 5:1.—om. first ܘ; L om. first |. | 6:2.—om. pl. | 7:1.—om. ܘ, with L. | 9:2.—ins. | after ܦ; om. pl. | 12:1.—text with mg., with L; Syriac Greek mg. *κοαθος*. | 20:2.—L ܘܢܐ. | 21:1.—mg. same; B here previously inserts ܘܢܐ ܘܢܐ. | 23:3.—om. | 25:2.—→ is very poorly written; there is no point. | 26:1.—point below ܘ. | 28:3.—om. ܘ. | 29:3.—point under ܘ. | 30:3.—om. ܘ. | 34:3.—om. ܘ.

Folio 66b. 1:1.—ins. ܘ before ܘ; ܘ for |; mg. same. | 1:2.—ins. | after first ܘ and after ܘ; L reads the Greek word in mg. of B as *μασμαροθ*. I am not sure about the last letters, but the first five are *μασαμ*. | 2:2.—ins. ܘ before ܘ; ܘ for |. | 3:2.—A and B ܘܢܐܘܢܐ; L om. second ܘ. | 3:3.—ins. | after ܘ. | 4:3.—pref. ܘ, with L. | 4:4.—ܘ for |ܘ, with L. | 5:2.—+final ܘ, with L. | 7:1.—om. |; mg. same. | 7:2.—om. |. | 10:1.—om. |, with L. | 12:1.—preceding mg. in text, with L; +ܘܢܐ, with L. | 13:2.—tr. ܘ, with L. | 16:3.—om. point. | 17:1.—mg. in text, with L; pref. ܘ to word in text. | 17:3, 4.—ܘܢܐ. | 18:2, 3.—ܘܢܐܘܢܐ. | 22:1.—? for ܘ. | 24:3.—+ܘܢܐܘܢܐ. | 26:2—27:1.—om. | 28:1.—om. first ܘ; ins. ܘ before ܘ. | 28:2.—L om. first ܘ. | 29:2.—om. pl.

Folio 66c. 9:3.—ins. ܘ before ܘ. | 11:1.—B and L ins. mg. in text; B ins. ܘ both before and after ܘ, in both occurrences of word. The Greek mg. is

omitted. | 13:3.—om. } ; om. mg. | 14:2.—point over σ, with L. | 17:1.—om. Syriac mg.; Greek mg. *σους*. | 20:3.—ins. ο before ς; om. } after ς. | 22:3.—om. } . | 23:2.—om. first ς. | 26:3.—om. first ς, with L. | 27:3—28:3.—om. | 29:2.—+ϣ; om. mg.; L has mg. in text. | 33:3.—om. ς, with L. | 34:1.—om. second } . | 36:2.—tr. ς, with L.

Folio 66d. 1:1.—ins. ο before ϣ. | 2:3.—om. point over σ. | 4:1.—ins. ο before ς. | 6:2.—ϣ for ϣ. | 7:2.—om. point over σ. | 8:1.—ins. ο before ϣ. | 10:3.—om. pl. | 13:1.—om. mg. | 23:1.—om. ς. | 26:1.—om. ϣ. | 27:2.—K ϣ. | 30:2.—om. pl. | 33:1.—pointed as perfect. | 33:3.—ins. ς after ϣ.

Folio 67a. 16:1.—om. } and mg. | 19:3.—om. pl. | 20:1.—om. ο, with L. | 21:3.—+ϣ, with L. | 26:1.—om. | 26:2.—om. ϣ. | 27:2.—om. point over σ. | 29:1.—ϣ for ς. | 30:3.—ϣ. | 32:1.—tr. ϣ.

Folio 67b. 3:2.—om. ς, with L. | 7:2.—om. point over σ. | 12:1.—om. mg. | 14:3.—om. point over σ. | 15:2.—point below. | 18:3.—ϣ for ϣ. | 21:1.—pointed as part. | 22:2.—absolute. | 23:4.—om. | 24:4.—absolute. | 25:3.—om. pl. | 32:1.—ο for ς; mg. *αργυρος* and ϣ.

Folio 67c. 1:2.—ϣ. | 2:3, 3:1.—ϣ for ς, with L. | 4:1.—ο for ς. | 6:2.—ο for first ς, with L. | 13:2.—om. mg. | 13:3.—ϣ, with L. | 19:2.—om. mg.; L mg. in text. | 20:1.—om. ϣ. | 21:1, 22:3.—om. point over σ. | 24:2.—om. mg. | 26:1.—+pl. | 28:1.—om. mg.; L mg. in text. | 30:3.—om. mg. | 33:1.—ins. ς before ϣ. | 33:2.—+mg. ϣ. | 34:1.—om. ς.

Folio 67d. 2:1.—om. mg. | 4:3.—om. first ϣ. | 10:1.—+mg. ϣ. | 16:1.—+ϣ, with L. | 18:2.—om. pl. | 19:2.—+ϣ. | 23:3.—om. one ϣ; mg. *καπιτων*. | 24:1.—ins. } after ς, with L; mg. *καποδ*. | 25:2.—ϣ. | 26:4.—om. | 29:1.—ins. ς after ς; om. mg.; L has mg. in text. | 32:1—33:1.—in mg., attached to 31:1. | 33:3.—point over σ.

Folio 68a. 1:2.—om. pl. | 2:3.—om. ϣ. | 3:1, 2.—tr. | 4:1.—ins. ς after ς. | 6:1.—point over σ, with L. | 9:3.—om. pl. | 12:3.—om. point over σ. | 12:4, 13:1.—tr. | 16:1.—om. mg. | 16:3.—ins. ς before ϣ. | 17:3, 4.—tr. | 17:5.—ϣ. | 18:2.—point over σ. | 19:4.—ϣ for ς. | 20:1.—om. ς. | 21:1.—ins. ς after ϣ, with L. | 25:1.—om. point over σ. | 27:2.—om. ο. | 34:3.—ins. ς before ϣ.

Folio 68b. 3:4.—om. | 4:1.—point over σ. | 9:1, 2.—part.+suf. | 9:3.—om. | 9:4.—ins. ς before ϣ. | 11:2.—L pref. ϣ. | 11:3.—om. } , with L. | 11:4.—om. | 12:2.—pref. ϣ. | 13:1.—ϣ for ο and only one ϣ, but it has a point in it. | 15:2.—ins. ς before ϣ. | 18:4.—absolute. | 20:2.—ins. } before ϣ; om. mg. | 21:4.—om. | 22:1.—ins. ς before ϣ. | 30:2.—om., with L. | 32:1.—pref. ϣ. | 35:2.—pref. ϣ. | 36:2.—om. pl.

Folio 68c. 1:5.—om. | 3:3.—om. ο. | 7:1.—om. one ϣ; dot above ϣ. | 18:2.—om. } and ς, with L. | 20:3.—+ϣ, with L. | 21:2.—+pl. | 26:1.—ins. } after ς. | 26:3.—+pl. | 27:2, 3.—contracted form, om. first } . | 36:2.—followed by point. | 36:3.—om. ϣ.



Folio 68d. 1:1, 2.—tr. | 12:1.— $\text{ص}$  for  $\text{ص}$ . | 17:2, 3.—part. + suf. | 18:1.—om. mg. | 18:2.—+pl. | 24:1.— $\text{و}$  for final  $\text{}$ , with L. | 24:2.—ins.  $\text{و}$  before  $\text{و}$ . | 29:1, 2.—om. mg. | 31:1.—mg.  $\text{μανη}$ . | 31:3.—om.  $\text{و}$ ; mg.  $\text{μνα}$ . | 33:2, 3.—tr.

Folio 69a. 1:1.—om. first  $\text{و}$ . | 1:2.—om. point over  $\text{σ}$ . | 6:2.— $\text{و}$  for  $\text{ϕ}$ . | 10:3.—point over  $\text{ϕ}$ . | 12:3.—om. | 14:2.— $\text{و}$  for first  $\text{و}$ ; L om. first  $\text{و}$ . | 16:3.—om. mg.; L mg. in text. | 21:3.—point over  $\text{ϕ}$ . | 22:2.— $\text{}$  after  $\text{و}$ ; om. mg. | 24:2.—om. both  $\text{و}$  and last  $\text{و}$ ; L om. both  $\text{و}$ . | 25:3.— $\text{و}$  for  $\text{و}$ . | 27:2.—om.  $\text{}$ ; mg.  $\text{μλιαρισιον}$ . | 30:1.—om. first  $\text{و}$ , with L; L om.  $\text{}$  also; +mg.  $\text{διαχρονον}$ . | 33:2.—om. first  $\text{}$  and  $\text{و}$ .

Folio 69b. 2:1.—om. second  $\text{و}$ ; L om.  $\text{و}$ . | 6:3.—+ $\text{و}$ , with L. | 7:1.—pref.  $\text{و}$ . | 13:2.—+mg.  $\text{ζιρητια}$ . | 17:2.—mg.  $\text{λιτορα}$ . | 18:1.—om. first  $\text{}$ , with L; mg. same. | 20:1.—om. one  $\text{ϕ}$ ; point in  $\text{ϕ}$ . | 22:1.—om. mg.; L mg. in text. | 28:2.— $\text{و}$  for  $\text{و}$ ; + $\text{و}$ . | 30:1.—conj.  $\text{و}$ . | 31:1.—ins.  $\text{و}$  before  $\text{}$ , with L. | 35:2.—om. | 35:3.—fol. 69c 1:2.— $\text{و}$ .

Folio 69c. 2:2.—ins.  $\text{و}$  before  $\text{}$ . | 4:1.—om. | 12:2.—+pl. | 14:2.—om.  $\text{و}$ , with L. | 21:2.—pointed as perfect. | 28:1.—pref.  $\text{و}$ .

Folio 69d. 1:2-2:1.— $\text{و}$ . | 3:4.—ins.  $\text{}$  after  $\text{}$ . | 10:2.—+ $\text{و}$ . | 16:2.—om. first  $\text{و}$ . | 17:1.—om. mg. | 19:1.— $\text{و}$  for second  $\text{و}$ ; +pl. | 20:3.— $\text{و}$  for  $\text{و}$ . | 25:3.—+pl. | 29:2.—om.  $\text{ϕ}$ ; point over  $\text{ϕ}$ . | 36:1.—om. final  $\text{}$  and the following point.

Folio 70a. 1:1.—tr.  $\text{ϕ}$ , with L; om. mg., with L. | 4:2.—+pl. | 5:1.— $\text{و}$ . | 6:1.—om. pl. | 6:3.—pref.  $\text{و}$ . | 7:2.—om. pl. | 14:2.—om.  $\text{ϕ}$ . | 14:4.—om.  $\text{σ}$ . | 15:2.—om. dot over  $\text{σ}$ , with L. | 16:1, 2.—tr. | 23:3.—om.  $\text{و}$ . | 24:3.— $\text{و}$  for  $\text{و}$ ; om.  $\text{}$ , with L. | 27:1.—absolute; mg. in text, with L. | 27:2.— $\text{و}$  for  $\text{و}$ . | 30:2.—om. | 32:1-3.—om. mg. | 32:2.—+pl.

Folio 70b. 4:2.—om. | 13:3.—om. conj. | 16:2.—om. mg. | 22:2.—point over  $\text{و}$ . | 35:2.— $\text{و}$ . | 36:2.—om. point over  $\text{σ}$ . | 36:4.—om.

Folio 70c. 8:1.—absolute. | 9:2.—absolute. | 13:2.—tr.  $\text{و}$ . | 15:1.—om. one  $\text{ϕ}$ ; both  $\text{ϕ}$  and  $\text{ϕ}$  pointed with  $\text{α}$ . | 15:2.—om.  $\text{}$ . | 18:2.—+mg.  $\text{و}$ . | 19:1.—absolute. | 21:3-22:2.— $\text{و}$ . | 22:3.—+ $\text{و}$ . | 24:1.—+ $\text{و}$ . | 35:1.— $\text{و}$  for final  $\text{σ}$ . | 37:3.—+ $\text{و}$ .

Folio 70d. 7:2.— $\text{و}$  for  $\text{}$ . | 9:2.—om. pl. | 17:3.—+final  $\text{}$ . | 20:3.—mg. same. | 24:3, 4.—tr. | 28:3.— $\text{و}$  for  $\text{و}$ . | 29:1.— $\text{و}$  for  $\text{و}$ . | 32:2.— $\text{و}$ , L  $\text{و}$ . | 33:3.—om. first  $\text{و}$ . | 36:1.—om. first  $\text{و}$ .

Folios 71-72 are not from the same hand as all the others.

Folio 71a. 1:4.— $\text{}$  for first  $\text{و}$ , with L. | 2:3.—+pl. | 3:2.—om. first  $\text{و}$ . | 8:4.—om. first  $\text{و}$ , with L. | 11:1.—om. first  $\text{و}$ . | 14:1.—om.  $\text{و}$ . | 17:1.—ins.  $\text{و}$  after  $\text{}$ . | 18:2.—om.  $\text{و}$ . | 19:2.—pref.  $\text{ϕ}$ , with L. | 22:2.—pref.  $\text{ϕ}$ . | 23:1.—+ $\text{و}$ , with L. | 28:1.—ins.  $\text{}$  after  $\text{}$ , with L. | 29:3.—pref.  $\text{ϕ}$ , with L.



Folio 73a. 3:1.— for 𐤀. | 7:3.— for 𐤀. | 8:4.— for 𐤀. | 14:1.— for 𐤀. | 16:2.—om. | 18:3.— for 𐤀. | 18:4.—. | 22:1.—+pl. | 35:1.—mg. same. | 35:3.—mg. same. | 36:1.—om. օ; mg. same. | 37:1.—om. | 39:2.—+pl.

Folio 73b. 2:1.—mg. *πυγμα*. | 3:1.—mg. *γρονθαιος*. | 5:3.—ins. օ before 𐤀. | 11:1.—om. օ. | 12:1.—+𐤀𐤃. | 12:2.—+pl. | 15:2.—+pl. | 16:2.—om. 𐤀. | 16:3.—om. ֿ. | 22:3.—om. օ. | 26:2.—? 𐤀𐤃 for conj. օ, with L. | 28:1.—*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ*, with L. | 31-32.—om. mg.; L mg. in text. | 33:1.—mg. *αραρατ*. | 35:3.—mg. *λουβαρ*. | 38:2, 3.—|*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ* |*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ*, with L, except L has |*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ*. | 39:1.—om. mg.; L mg. in text. | 39:2.— for final 𐤀.

Folio 73c. 14:3, 15:1.—tr. | 19:1.—om. second 𐤀 and mg.; L mg. in text. | 25:1.—ins. օ after ֿ. | 25:3.— for final 𐤀. | 26:3.—om. 𐤀 and second ֿ; L tr. 𐤀; +mg. *απο λιβιαδος*. | 32:3.—|*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ*. The gloss in the lower right-hand mg. is absent from B and unnoticed by L.

Folio 73d. 5:1.—om. mg.; L mg. in text. | 11:2, 3.—tr. | 15:3, 17:2.—om. second 𐤀. | 17:1.—+mg. |*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ* |*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ* |*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ*. | 19:1.—om. mg.; L mg. in text. | 19:3.—om. | 20:3.—+𐤀. | 31:1.—om. mg.; L mg. in text. | 33:3.—+mg. |*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ*.

Folio 74a. 4:1.—|*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ*. | 7:2.—om. mg. | 13:2.—mg. *ακραβετινην*. | 17:2.— for օ. | 23:1.—om. | 28:3.—+𐤀. | 34:2, 3.—*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ*.

Folio 74b. 4:1.—+pl. | 9:1.—|*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ*. | 10:1.—om. mg.; L mg. in text. | 13:4.—om. second օ. | 18:2.—om. second 𐤀. | 22:1.—om. | 25:3.—mg. same. | 26:3.—|*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ*. | 27:2, 3.—om. mg.; L mg. in text. | 29:1.—ins. օ after ֿ. | 31:2.—+𐤀. | 33:1.—om. pl. | 34:1.— for 𐤀.

Folio 74c. 3:2.—om. pl. | 4:2.—om. first օ, with L. | 5:1.—om. mg.; L mg. in text. | 5:3.—om. pl. | 17:1.—|*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ*. | 27:1.—om. | 29:2.—om. | 31:1.—om., with L.

Folio 74d. 2:3.— for ֿ; +*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ*. | 3:1.—om. օ. | 3:3.—om. | 4:2.—|*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ*; mg. with text of A. | 5:1.—om. prep. 𐤀; construct+suf. | 6:3, 7:1.—tr. | 8:2.—om. օ, with L. | 9:1, 2.—om. mg.; L mg. in text. | 12:3.—om. | 15:2.—om. pl. | 15:3.— for 𐤀. | 17:2, 3.—om. mg.; L mg. in text. | 21:3.—om. first օ, with L. | 27:3.—tr. օ. | 28:3.— for ֿ. | 31:1.—om. mg.; L mg. in text.

Folio 75a. 3:2.—ins. օ after ֿ. | 7:1.—om second օ. | 18:2.—+mg. |*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ* |*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ*. | 18:3.—om. mg. | 26:1.—om. | 27:2.—L tr. *ܘܡܫܘܬܐ*. | 28:1.—om. pl. | 28:2.— for first 𐤀. | 30:2, 3.—tr. | 32:1.—+final ֿ, with L.

Folio 75b. 1:2.—. | 2:4.—emphatic. | 3:1.—*ܘܡܫܘܬܐ*. | 3:2.—om. 𐤀 and Syriac mg.; L Syriac mg. in text; Greek mg. same. | 4:3.—+mg. *ωππα*. | 8:3.—construct+suf., with L. | 10:4.—om. ֿ. | 14:1-2.—part.+suf. | 15:1.—. | 16:3.—pointed with *a* in first syllable. | 17:2.—ins. օ after ֿ, with L. | 18:1.— for first 𐤀; mg. *θιμουνα*. | 19:3.—mg. *ιδαμνιαις*. | 20:1.—om. first 𐤀; ins. օ after ֿ; mg. *βιτοσηγων*. | 21:2.—+𐤀, with L. | 26:1.— for ֿ. | 33:1.—absolute masc.

Folio 75c. 10:4.—om. | 11:1.—pref. ٴ; ins. ʾ after ʾ, | 13:1.—ins. ʾ after ʾ, construct+suf. | 14:4.—ص for ص. | 18:1.—pointed as perfect. | 25:1.—absolute masc. | 28:2.—passive part. | 30:3.—om. | 34:3—35:1.—om.

Folio 75d. 2:3.—point beneath. | 3:2-3, 4:1.—tr. with ʾ again prefixed to the first word of the three. | 5:2.—ins. ʾ after ʾ, with L; om. mg. | 6:3.—ٴ. | 10:1-11:1.—om. | 13:3.—+pl. | 14:1.—om. ʾ. | 17:1.—om. mg.; L mg. in text. | 19:1.—om. second ʾ, with L. | 19:2.—ins. ʾ after ʾ. | 28:1.—mg. ζιβακανος, صامله, and βιζκανοι; L صامله. | 33:2.—om. ʾ.

Folio 76a. 1:4.—ص for ف; ins. ʾ after second ص. | 5:1.—B has here added the title in mg. of A and also استصا, with L. | 5:2.—+ʾ, with L. | 19:2, 3.—ٴ; 25:5.—+pl. | 26:3.—ٴ. | 34:1.—om. pl.

Folio 76b. 6:1-3.—om. | 10:2.—σολα. | 13:2, 14:2.—+ٴ, with L. | 15:2-18:1.—om. hom. | 21:2.—ٴ; mg. with text of A. | 29:3.—σ. | 31:1.—ins. ʾ after ʾ. | 34:1.—om. second ʾ, with L. | 35:1.—om. | 35:2.—ʾ for second ʾ; mg. ευρακλυδων.

Folio 76c. 1:1.—ins. ʾ after ف; mg. τυφονικον. | 1:2.—ins. ʾ after ف. | 2:1.—ٴ. | 3:1.—ٴ; L ٴ. | 3:2.—om. | 4:1.—inserted below the line. | 4:2.—+pl. | 4:3.—mg. same. | 5:2, 3.—tr. | 6:2.—ʾ for second ʾ; ʾ for ʾ; mg. αφηλωτις; L always ٴ. | 6:3.—+ٴ. | 9:2.—ins. ʾ after ٴ; mg. ٴ. | 11:2.—tr. ٴ; ʾ for last ʾ. | 12:3.—mg. ευρονοτος. | 14:1.—om. second ʾ. | 14:3.—om. second ʾ. | 17:2.—ʾ for ʾ, with L. | 22:1.—+mg. λιβονοτος. | 22:2.—om. ʾ, with L. | 23:1, 2.—mg. same. | 23:3.—+ٴ. | 24:3.—ʾ for second ʾ; mg. εσπαρα. | 26:1.—ٴ for ʾ, ins. ʾ after ʾ; +mg. ζεφίρος. | 28:1.—+pl. | 29:2.—ins. ʾ before ʾ. | 31:3.—mg. same. | 32:1, 2.—tr. | 35:1.—mg. same.

Folio 76d. 2:3, 3:4.—ʾ for ʾ, with L. | 4:2.—ins. ٴ after ف, with L; mg. ετησιος. | 10:1.—mg. απαρκίας. | 12:3.—om. mg. | 14:2.—ٴ. | 16:2.—om. mg. | 17:4.—om. ʾ. | 23:1.—om. first ʾ and second ʾ. | 23:2.—ʾ for third ʾ; ins. ٴ after ٴ. | 25:3.—ins. ٴ after second ٴ. | 26:2.—ins. ʾ before ٴ; mg. same. | 27:1.—om. ʾ; tr. ٴ; +mg. θρασκιδον. | 27:2.—ٴ; mg. πατρια. | 28:3.—ٴ, with L. | 29:1.—ٴ, mg. κεκια; L ٴ. | 30:1.—om. first ʾ; mg. same. | 30:2.—tr. ٴ. | 31:1.—ʾ for first ʾ; mg. βρετανια. | 31:2.—mg. same.

Folio 77a. 12:2.—om. both ʾ. | 13:2.—tr. ٴ and +pl. | 14:1.—om. pl. | 15:3.—mg. same. | 16:4.—ٴ; mg. same. | 19:2.—om. first ٴ. | 26:1.—mg. same. | 28:1.—om. pl. | 31:1.—ٴ for ʾ, with L.

Folio 77b. 1:2.—+ٴ. | 8:2.—+pl. | 14:1.—ʾ for ٴ. | 15:2, 3.—tr. | 18:3.—pref. ٴ. | 19:1.—+ٴ. | 21:1.—om. first ʾ. | 22:4.—pointed as perfect. | 25:4.—om. pl. | 29:3.—+pl.

Folio 77c. 1:1.—om. mg. | 5:1.—ص for first ف, with L. | 6:5.—ins. ʾ

## COLLATION

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after  $\text{ب}$ . | 10:3.—ins.  $\text{ا}$  after  $\text{ب}$ . | 11:2.—+pl. | 16:2.—ins.  $\text{ا}$  after  $\text{ب}$ . |  
 15:3.—ins.  $\text{ا}$  after  $\text{ب}$ . | 18:2.—point over  $\text{ب}$ . | 20:3.—L om. first  $\text{ا}$ . |  
 21:4.—ins.  $\text{ا}$  after  $\text{ب}$ . | 22:4.—+ $\text{و}$   $\text{و}$ . | 23:1.—om.  $\text{و}$ . | 26:2.— $\text{و}$   $\text{و}$ ;  
 mg.  $\text{و}$   $\text{و}$ ,  $\text{μαζουραθ}$ . | 28:1.—+ $\text{و}$   $\text{و}$ . | 33:1.—om.  $\text{و}$ . | 33:2, 34:1.—om.  $\text{و}$ .

Folio 77d. 14:3.—pref.  $\text{و}$ . | 16:1.—mg. same. | 28:2.—pref.  $\text{و}$ .

Folio 78a. 6:1.—mg. same. | 6:3.— $\text{و}$ , om. mg. | 7:2.—+mg.  $\text{θινασι}$   
 $\text{δινας}$ . | 7:3.— $\text{و}$ . | 11:1.—om. | 17:2.— $\text{و}$ , with L. | 21:2.—ins.  $\text{و}$  after  
 $\text{و}$ , with L. | 24:2.—+pl.

APPENDIX I

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document or manuscript. The text is arranged in several columns and includes various symbols and characters, possibly representing a code or a specific dialect. The right side of the page contains a large block of text, while the left side features a vertical list of characters and symbols, including letters like A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z, and various symbols like @, #, \$, %, &, \*, +, =, /, \, |, ^, \_.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document or manuscript. The text is arranged in several columns and includes various symbols and characters, possibly representing a code or a specific dialect. The right side of the page contains a large block of text, while the left side features a vertical list of characters and symbols, including letters like A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z, and various symbols like @, #, \$, %, &, \*, +, =, /, \, |, ^, \_.

## APPENDIX I

## THE ALPHABETS IN SYRIAC MANUSCRIPT B

On the opposite page is a photographic reproduction of folio 13*c-d* of Or. Add. 14620, designated in this work as B. Only the column at left (*d*) and the line of characters across the bottom of both columns are of interest here. The rest is practically the same as A, and the collation is found in its proper place under folio 60*d*.

The caption at the top of B folio 13*d* is: "The alphabet of various scripts."

The words at the foot of the first subcolumn to the right in 13*d* are: "The Greek of the books," that is, the uncials.

At the foot of the second subcolumn: "Of the numbers," that is, the minuscules, used in writing numbers.

At the foot of the third subcolumn: "Tadmorine." To the left of this third subcolumn we read: "The Tadmorine alphabet, that is to say, the Phoenician. Tadmor is Phoenicia of Syria." Since it is well known that the Greek Palmyra was the older Tadmor, the identification of "Phoenicia of Syria" with Emesa, as quoted by R. Payne Smith (*Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 3066), is in direct opposition to our manuscript. For a discussion of the forms of these Tadmorine letters see J. P. N. Land in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* XXII (1868) 549-51.

The word at the foot of the next subcolumn is the Greek *σημειον*, which Lagarde calls "numerorum siglae syriacae veteres" (cf. L, p. 36 n.).

Next toward the left is the Mesopotamian alphabet, without special designation. At the extreme left of the folio are the words, "Additions in<sup>1</sup> the Mesopotamian alphabet are these," referring to the eight characters immediately below, at least some of which are Syriac vowel signs.

Land calls the alphabet-like line of characters across the bottom of the two columns a *Federprobe*, as evidenced by the fourfold writing of C, with the opening in as many directions, and the presence of Greek  $\phi$ .

<sup>1</sup> Lit., "upon" or "to."

## APPENDIX II

## TRANSLATION OF THE GREEK TEXT OF § 21

21. Thus far, O great lover of the good, we have sufficiently treated the subject of the translators in all that precedes. Hereafter, for the rest, as we have promised in response to your entreaties, O man of God, we give attention to the weights and measures and numbers in the divine Scriptures, showing whence each one is named and what is the quality, the weight, and the force of each of them. So the kor is a measure. And it occurs in the Gospel according to Luke, where the Savior commends the sagacious steward who re-wrote so and so instead of so many kors in their accounts, and made (it) so and so instead of so many baths of oil. For the names of the measures are as follows: *lethekh*, homer, bath, seah, *modius*, cab, *choenix*, *hyfē*<sup>1</sup> of fine flour, handful of meal, ardeb, three measures of fine flour, three baskets of coarse meal, *nēvel* of wine, *kollathon*, *alabastron* of ointment, *kapsakēs* of water, *kotylē* of oil, *kyathos*, *metrētēs* of wine, *metrētēs* of oil, *tryblion*, *xestēs*, amphora, *aporryma*, *shāfīthā*,<sup>2</sup> hin, *chūs*, the golden *stamnos* in which the manna was placed, *marēs*, *kupros*, *congiarium*. Moreover, the *koros* is taken from the Hebrew language, where it is called the kor. And it is 30 *modii*. But the kor gets its name from the fundamental idea of a heap, for the heap is called a *charia*. And 30 *modii* heaped together make a camel's load. And (as for) a *lethekh*, since it is said in the prophet Hosea, "I have hired for myself for a *lethekh* of barley," but in other codices, "for a homer of barley," they are the same; for they signify 15 *modii*. But the *lethekh* is named according to a word of the Hebrews which means a "lifting up," from the circumstance that a young man can lift up 15 *modii* and place them on an ass. And this is also called the homer. But there are two homers, a great one and a small one, of which the great one is the same as the *lethekh*, it being also 15 *modii*, but the small one is 12 baths. And this comes from the Hebrew language, the oil press being synonymously called *bīth*. For "bath"<sup>3</sup> is interpreted oil press, but it is 50 *xestai*

<sup>1</sup> Lagarde says both c and r read *δφη*; he has *ολφει* in text.

<sup>2</sup> Lagarde says both c and r read *σαβιθα*; his text reads *σαφιθα*.

<sup>3</sup> Greek: *βαδον*.



and is the measure of the craft of the oil-presser.<sup>4</sup> *M<sup>e</sup>nasis* or<sup>5</sup> *medimnos* are taken, I think, from the Roman language, for in that language *medium* is interpreted as "middle." *M<sup>e</sup>nasis*, moreover, is used as a measure<sup>6</sup> among the Cyprians and other peoples. And it is 10<sup>7</sup> *modii* of wheat or barley by the *modius* of 17 *xestai* among the Cyprians. But the *medimnos* varies among the same Cyprians; for the people of Salamis, that is to say, of Constantia, have a *medimnos* of 5 *modii*, while those of Paphos and the Sicilians measure it as 4½ *modii*. (The seah) is called *satos*,<sup>8</sup> being derived from the same Hebrew and pronounced as a feminine, but in Greek as neuter, for it is called *saton* and not *satos*. And it is an overfull *modius*, so that the *modius* is full and because of the overfulness a quarter of a *modius* (more). But it is called a seah, meaning according to this language a "taking up" or "lifting up," from the circumstance that the one measuring, according to a certain custom, takes the measure and lifts it up. But the name of the *modius* was invented by the Hebrews with great exactness, being 22 *xestai*, not in simple fashion or by chance, but from great exactness. For the "just" *modius*, as the Law is accustomed to say, is measured according to the sacred measure. For the sacred measure is nothing else than the twenty-two works that God did in the six days of the hebdomad.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> This *ἐλαιοπίπτης* should be added to the Greek lexicon.

<sup>5</sup> Greek: ἤ; but *kai* would fit the plural verb better.

<sup>6</sup> This sense of *μετρέω* in the passive is not indicated in the lexicons.

<sup>7</sup> Petavius (see Dindorf's ed. of Epiphanius IV<sup>1</sup> 98) says that the emendation of *δε και* to *δεκα* was made already by Cornarius.

<sup>8</sup> I.e., seah.

<sup>9</sup> I.e., the week (of creation).

APPENDIX III  
 TRANSLATION OF THE FRAGMENTARY CON-  
 CLUSION OF THE GREEK TEXT  
 FOLLOWING § 24

But the *cab*, from the same language, is a different measure, that is to say, the fourth part of a *modius*.

But the *choenix* and *hyfē* are one, though called by a double name. And it is 2 *xestai* and a certain fraction.<sup>1</sup>

The handful of meal. This is simple and clear to all.

The *ardeb*. This measure was named by the Egyptians, and it is 72 *xestai*. And this also is so composed with great exactness. Seventy-two men were building the tower at the time when the one language was confounded into seventy-two. Hence also they are called *meropes*, because of the divided speech. But the *metrētēs* has the same capacity according to the sacred measure.

“Three measures of fine flour,” those which Abraham commanded Sarah to prepare for the angels, from which measures he commanded an ash cake<sup>2</sup> to be made. Every one of these measures held an omer.

The omer,<sup>3</sup> however, was the tenth part of the great measure, that is, of the *ardeb*, which makes  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *xestai*.

Three baskets of coarse meal, where they were at that time accustomed to put the coarse meal. But it is a kind of wheat<sup>4</sup> cut in two.

The *nēvel* of wine, which is a measure of 150 *xestai*.

The *seah* is 56 *xestai*.<sup>5</sup>

The *alabastron*<sup>6</sup> of ointment is a little glass jar containing a *libra* of

<sup>1</sup> Greek: *ποστημορίον*.

<sup>2</sup> Lagarde has the singular; Dindorf uses the plural without any word of explanation. Lagarde's footnote says both *c* and *r* read *αρου*.

<sup>3</sup> Both Lagarde and Dindorf declare that their sources read *γομον*, but Lagarde prints *γομορ* in his text; there can be no doubt as to the meaning.

<sup>4</sup> Both Lagarde and Dindorf read *ἄρου* instead; but in his *Symmicta* I 211 and 215 Lagarde has *σίου* from various fragmentary Greek mss.

<sup>5</sup> But 50 in Syriac § 32.

<sup>6</sup> Originally the name of a mineral (a variety of gypsum or calcite) from which vases and jars were made; but the term came later in careless popular speech to be applied to such objects made of other substances.

oil, and the capacity is half a *xestēs*. But it is called an *alabastron* because of its fragility.

(As for) the *kapsakēs* of water, 12 *xestai* of water is the capacity; but the *kapsakēs* prepared for Elijah is 4 *xestai*.

The *kotylē* is a measure, it is half a *xestēs*. And it is called a *kotylē* because the *xestēs* is cut in two.

The *kyathos* is the sixth part of a *xestēs*. But the Scripture calls the *kyathoi medekōth*. And it calls the strainers *masmarōth*, which we also call *ēthmoi*. But both are called by the same name because they have also the same use.

The *tryblion* is a saucer<sup>7</sup> in form, that is, a dish,<sup>8</sup> but it has the capacity of half a *xestēs*. The Alexandrian *xestēs* holds 2 *librae* of oil by weight.

The *aporryma* is employed as a measure only among the Thebans, for it is half a *saitēs*. The true *saitēs*, however, is 22 *xestai*.

The *sabitha*.<sup>9</sup> This is the Syriac term which is translated "the drawing vessel of the wine press"; among the people of Ashkelon it is 22 *xestai*.

The hin. The great hin is 18 *xestai*; the sacred hin is 9 *xestai*.

The *chūs* is 8 *xestai*. But the one called "sacred" is 6 *xestai*, which is the twelfth part of a *metrētēs*.

The talent is that measure used in weighing that exceeds every other,<sup>10</sup> and in *librae*<sup>10</sup> it is 125 *librae*, 6,000 *lepta* to the talent, which *lepta* are called *assaria*; but the *denarion* is 60 *assaria*, and the silver (talent) is 100 *denaria*.<sup>11</sup>

Now the silver (coin) was coined as a coin from the beginning, but it was coined by the Assyrians.<sup>12</sup> And they say Abraham brought the coin into Canaan.

The  $\frac{1}{125}$  part of the talent is 1 *libra*. But the *libra* is 12 ounces. And the ounce contains 2 staters.

<sup>7</sup> ὀψόβαφον, for the more usual ὀξόβαφον.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 55, n. 372.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. p. 136, n. 2; the Syriac is *shāfithā*.

<sup>10-10</sup> κατὰ δὲ τὸν ληρισμον, emended to λιτρισμὸν by both Lagarde and Dindorf. Lagarde, *op. cit.* I 216, gives this latter word.

<sup>11</sup> Much of this sentence is hopelessly corrupt; cf. Hultsch, *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae* I 143 f. and 265, who gives on pp. 143 f. the emended reading translated above. Cf. also p. 57, n. 394, on *denarion*, *denaria*.

<sup>12</sup> For the emended reading (Ἀσσυρίων rather than ἄσσυρίων) cf. Hultsch, *op. cit.* I 265.

And the stater is half an ounce, being a *didrachmon*.<sup>13</sup>

Concerning the shekel.<sup>14</sup> The shekel, which is also called the *ko-drantēs*, is the fourth part of an ounce, half of the stater, being 2 *drachmae*, for the *drachma* was the eighth<sup>15</sup> part of the ounce.

And the *drachma* was called the *holkē*. By this weight, the shekel,<sup>16</sup> they weighed the hair of Absalom whenever he had his hair cut, the weight being 125 shekels, which is an ounce of 1 shekel, amounting to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *librae*.<sup>17</sup>

Even the obolus was coined among silver (coins). But this was the eighth part<sup>18</sup> of the ounce, the one made not of silver but of iron. But there was also another obolus coined of silver, being a very small coin, the eightieth part of the ounce. For it is said in Leviticus: "The *didrachmon* is 20 oboloi." We have already shown that the *didrachmon* is the fourth part of the ounce.

The *chalkoi*. The Egyptians invented these. There are two silver (coins) coined, and the silver (coins) are called copper among the Alexandrians. But the *chalkūs* is the eighth part of an ounce by weight, like the *drachma*.

The mina, which is called the *manē*<sup>19</sup> in Hebrew. But the Italian mina is 40 staters, which is 20 ounces, a *libra* and two-thirds.

And there have been many types of silver coins from time to time.

The *nummus* was coined by a certain Numa, king of the Romans. But the ancients called half of the silver (*denarius*)<sup>20</sup> the *dichryson*.

<sup>13</sup> Petavius (see the edition of Epiphanius by Dindorf or that by Migne) thinks δ' δραχμάς was originally written and that a scribe copied the numeral mark as ι and thereupon further modified his text, thus giving us an inaccurate statement and a most unusual term, διδραγμα instead of διδραχμον.

<sup>14</sup> According to Lagarde, both c and r read σιμου.

<sup>15</sup> Both Petavius and Hultsch (*op. cit.* I 265) insist that η ("eighth") must be supplied to make sense out of this sentence. Lagarde, *op. cit.* I 216, gives, indeed, ογδοον.

<sup>16</sup> Lagarde, *op. cit.* I 216, adds φημι, corresponding to the Syriac ܦܗܡܝ in § 48, and also uses the finite verb ἐστράθμισον rather than a participle.

<sup>17</sup> Again corrupt. Cf. § 48 and Lagarde, *loc. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> Hultsch, *op. cit.* I 266, emends to this reading, which is found in Lagarde, *op. cit.* I 217.

<sup>19</sup> This spelling is cited by Hultsch, *op. cit.* I 266.

<sup>20</sup> The *Lexicon* of Sophocles identifies this ἀργυρον with the *miliarision*, the equivalent of the *denarius*.

And this silver (*denarius*) is what the Romans call the *miliarision*, which is translated "military gift."

This *dichryson* also was the silver (coin) that was later called repudiated, because after a time the king was killed and his stamp, which had been engraved upon the *dichryson*, was removed from it. For thereafter when one was found bearing the image of the dead king it was accounted repudiated, that is, fraudulent.

The *follis*, which is also called the talent.<sup>21</sup> But it is double, composed of 2 silver (minas), which is 208<sup>22</sup> *denarii*. And the *follis* is 2 *lepta* according to the copper coinage, but not according to the silver coinage.

The *marēs* is a measure of 2 pots among the people of Pontus. But the pot among them is 10 *xestai*, so that the *kupros*<sup>23</sup> is 20 Alexandrian *xestai*.

Among the same people of Pontus the *kupros* is a measure of dry produce of 2 *modii*, which<sup>24</sup> is said by them to be 5 *choinikes*. And the *choinix* among them is 5<sup>25</sup> *xestai*, so that the *kupros* would be 20 *xestai*. For among them the great *modius* is 24 *xestai*.

The *kollathon* among the Syrians is half of a liquid seah, and it is 25 *xestai*.

And the *congiarium* is a liquid measure, and called the same among the Hebrews. This measure is explained in the *Chronicle* of Eusebius and by other chroniclers, (who tell) how each of the kings in (his) time in accordance with (his) ambition made grants to the Roman populace for good cheer.<sup>26</sup> It is to be interpreted "put together" or "coiled up."

<sup>21</sup> Hultsch, *op. cit.* I 267, and Lagarde, *op. cit.* I 217, give the true reading, βαλάντιον, "bag" or "purse"; cf. § 53.

<sup>22</sup> Lagarde says that r reads 220 *denarii*. The Syriac says 2½ silver (minas) and 250 *denarii*; cf. § 53.

<sup>23</sup> Where the word *marēs* might be expected; but *kupros* is the only reading I have been able to find in either Greek or Syriac. Cf. p. 63, n. 448.

<sup>24</sup> "Which" apparently refers to the *kupros*, but should refer to a single *modius*.

<sup>25</sup> Lagarde, *op. cit.* I 218, and Hultsch, *op. cit.* I 270, supply the right number, 2 *xestai*.

<sup>26</sup> One of the meanings of *congiarium* is a gift bestowed upon the populace on some festival occasion.

APPENDIX IV  
SUMMARY OF THE WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Superior figures indicate the section in which any particular equation is found.

MEASURES OF CAPACITY

kor . . . . .	30 <i>modii</i> <sup>21</sup>
<i>lethekh</i> . . . . .	15 <i>modii</i> <sup>21</sup> . . . . . great homer <sup>21</sup>
bath . . . . .	50 <i>xestai</i> <sup>21</sup> . . . . . little homer <sup>5</sup>
<i>m<sup>e</sup>nasis</i> . . . . .	10 <i>modii</i> <sup>21</sup>
<i>modius</i> . . . . .	17 <i>xestai</i> in Cyprus <sup>21</sup> . . . . . 22 <i>xestai</i> usually <sup>21</sup> . . . . . 24 <i>xestai</i> in Pontus <sup>54</sup>
<i>medimnos</i> . . . . .	5 <i>modii</i> in Constantia <sup>21</sup> . . . . . 4½ <i>modii</i> in Paphos and Sicily <sup>21</sup>
seah* . . . . .	1¼ <i>modii</i> <sup>21</sup>
cab . . . . .	¼ or ⅙ or ⅓ <i>modius</i> <sup>25</sup>
<i>choinix</i> . . . . .	⅓ (Cyprian) <i>modius</i> <sup>26</sup> . . . . . 2 <i>xestai</i> <sup>26</sup> . . . . . <i>hyfī</i> <sup>26</sup> . . . . . 2 hand- fuls <sup>26</sup>
ardeb (dry measure) . . . . .	<i>metrētēs</i> (liquid measure) <sup>28</sup>
<i>metrētēs</i> . . . . .	72 <i>xestai</i> usually <sup>28</sup> . . . . . 104 <i>xestai</i> of wine in Cyprus <sup>28</sup> . . . . . also measured as 88 <i>xestai</i> <sup>28</sup> . . . . . 82 <i>xestai</i> <sup>28</sup> . . . . . and 96 <i>xestai</i> <sup>28</sup>
“three measures” . . . . .	little omer <sup>28</sup> . . . . . 6 <i>xestai</i> <sup>28, 30†</sup>
omer . . . . .	⅓ ardeb <sup>30</sup> . . . . . 7½ <i>xestai</i> <sup>30</sup>
<i>nēvel</i> . . . . .	150 <i>xestai</i> <sup>32</sup> . . . . . 3 liquid seahs <sup>32</sup> . . . . . amphora <sup>5</sup> or <i>foreus</i> <sup>32</sup>
liquid seah . . . . .	50 <i>xestai</i> <sup>32</sup>
<i>kollathon</i> . . . . .	½ liquid seah <sup>33</sup> . . . . . 25 <i>xestai</i> <sup>33</sup>
<i>shātīftā</i> . . . . .	<i>alabastron</i> <sup>34</sup> . . . . . ½ <i>xestēs</i> <sup>34</sup> . . . . . libra of oil <sup>34</sup>
great <i>kapsakēs</i> . . . . .	12 <i>xestai</i> <sup>35</sup> . . . . . <i>spondeion</i> <sup>35</sup> . . . . . ¼ liquid seah <sup>35</sup> . . . . . <i>q<sup>e</sup>vūnā(?)</i> <sup>35</sup>

\* Apparently based on the Cyprian *modius* of 17 *xestai*, which would make the seah about the same as the usual *modius* of 22 *xestai*, more exactly 21¼ *xestai*. Peshitta and LXX identify seah and *modius* in Matt. 5:15. The seah is a dry measure.

† But cf. § 3.

small *kapsakēs* . . . . . 4 *xestai*<sup>35</sup> . . . . . *stamnos*<sup>35</sup> . . . . . *q<sup>e</sup>vūrtā(?)*<sup>35</sup>  
*kotylē* . . . . .  $\frac{1}{2}$  *xestēs*<sup>36</sup>  
*kyathos* . . . . .  $\frac{1}{6}$  or  $\frac{1}{3}$  *xestēs*<sup>37</sup>  
*tryblion* . . . . .  $\frac{1}{2}$  *xestēs*<sup>38</sup>  
*xestēs* . . . . . 2 *librae* of oil in Alexandria<sup>39</sup> . . . . . 8 *librae* in Pontus<sup>39</sup>  
     . . . . . 22 ounces in Italy<sup>39</sup> . . . . . 20 ounces in Nicomedia<sup>39</sup>  
     . . . . . 24 ounces in the *xestēs castrensis*<sup>39</sup> . . . . . *sextarius*<sup>55</sup>  
*aporryma* . . . . .  $\frac{1}{2}$  *saītēs*<sup>40</sup> . . . . . 11 *xestai*<sup>40</sup>  
 true *saītēs* . . . . . 22 *xestai*<sup>40</sup>  
 Nicaean *saītēs* . . . . . 8 or 10 *xestai*<sup>40</sup>  
*shāfīhā* . . . . . *sapation*<sup>41</sup> . . . . . 22 *xestai* in Ashkelon<sup>41</sup> . . . . . 18 *xestai*  
     in Azotus<sup>41</sup> . . . . . 14 *xestai* in Gaza<sup>41</sup>  
 great hin . . . . . 18 *xestai*<sup>42</sup>  
 sacred hin . . . . . 9 *xestai*<sup>42</sup>  
 complete *chūs* . . . . . 8 *xestai*<sup>43</sup> . . . . .  $\frac{1}{9}$  *metrētēs*<sup>43</sup> . . . . .  $\frac{1}{6}$  *samios*<sup>43</sup>  
 sacred *chūs* . . . . . 6 *xestai*<sup>43</sup> . . . . .  $\frac{1}{12}$  *metrētēs*<sup>43</sup>  
*marēs* . . . . . 2 pots in Pontus<sup>54</sup> . . . . . 20 Alexandrian *xestai*<sup>54</sup>  
 pot (of the Pontians) . . . . . 10 *xestai*<sup>54</sup>  
*kupros* . . . . . 2 *modii*<sup>54</sup> . . . . . 10 *choinikes*<sup>54</sup> . . . . . 20 *xestai* (dry  
     measure)<sup>54</sup>  
*congiarium* . . . . . 6 *xestai*<sup>55</sup>  
 little *xestēs* . . . . . *sexton*<sup>55</sup>

## MEASURES OF WEIGHT

talent . . . . . 6,000 *lepta* or *assaria*<sup>45</sup> . . . . . 125 *librae*<sup>45</sup>  
*centenarius* . . . . . 100 *librae*<sup>45</sup>  
*libra* . . . . . 12 ounces<sup>46</sup> . . . . . 288 grams<sup>54</sup> . . . . . 1,728 carats<sup>54</sup> . . . . . 3,456  
     barleycorns<sup>54</sup>  
 ounce . . . . . 2 *staters*<sup>47</sup> . . . . . 24 grams<sup>54</sup> . . . . . 4 shekels<sup>54</sup> . . . . . 8 *lepta*<sup>54</sup> . . . . . 7  
     *oboloi*<sup>54</sup>  
 stater . . . . . 2 double *zūzē*<sup>47</sup>  
 gram . . . . . 6 carats<sup>54</sup>  
 shekel . . . . . 2 *lepta*<sup>48</sup> . . . . . 2 *zūzē*<sup>48</sup> . . . . . *kodrantēs*<sup>2</sup>  
 (another) *kodrantēs* . . . . . 25 *denarii*<sup>48</sup>  
*zūzā* . . . . . *lepton*<sup>48</sup> . . . . . *holkē*<sup>48</sup> . . . . .  $\frac{1}{8}$  ounce<sup>48</sup>  
 iron obolus . . . . .  $\frac{1}{8}$  or  $\frac{1}{4}$  ounce<sup>49</sup>  
 silver obolus . . . . .  $\frac{1}{87}$  ounce<sup>49</sup>

Italian mina.....	40 staters <sup>51</sup> .....	20 ounces <sup>51</sup> .....	$1\frac{2}{3}$ <i>librae</i> <sup>51</sup>
Theban mina.....	60 staters <sup>51</sup> .....		$2\frac{1}{2}$ <i>librae</i> <sup>51</sup>
other minae.....			2 or 4 <i>librae</i> <sup>51</sup>
<i>assarion</i> .....	100 <i>lepta</i> <sup>2</sup>		

## MEASURES OF LENGTH AND AREA

field.....	5 or 6 <i>seahs</i> <sup>58</sup> .....	5 <i>plethra</i> of land of the first class or 6 <i>plethra</i> of land of the second class <sup>59</sup>
<i>jūgon</i> .....	5 or 6 fields <sup>58</sup> .....	30 <i>sataeans</i> <sup>59</sup> .....
field.....	20 <i>akainai</i> by 20 <i>akainai</i> <sup>59</sup>	
<i>akaina</i> .....	$6\frac{2}{3}$ cubits <sup>59</sup>	
Egyptian field.....	100 cubits by 100 cubits <sup>59</sup>	
<i>plethron</i> .....	20 ( <i>akainai</i> ) by 20 cubits <sup>59</sup>	
<i>koraeon</i> of second class.....	60 <i>sataeans</i> <sup>59</sup>	
<i>jugum</i> .....	$2\frac{1}{3}$ <i>sataeans</i> <sup>59</sup>	
<i>sataean (modius)</i> .....	5 or 6 cabs <sup>59</sup>	
<i>jugera</i> .....	called <i>zyga</i> in Cyprus, <sup>59</sup> <i>syntelesmata</i> elsewhere <sup>59</sup>	
decad.....	(apparently) 10 days' plowing among the Palestinians, 10 <i>sataeans</i> , about 5 Roman <i>jugera</i> <sup>59</sup>	
cubit.....	length of forearm to tip of middle finger <sup>60</sup>	
cubit.....	24 fingers <sup>60</sup> ....3 spans <sup>60</sup> ....6 hands <sup>60</sup> ....4 palms or hand-lengths <sup>60</sup>	
square cubit.....	48 fingers <sup>60</sup>	
solid cubit.....	192 fingers <sup>60</sup>	
finger.....	8 <i>lepta</i> <sup>60</sup>	
palm (handlength).....	6 fingers <sup>60</sup>	
span.....	8 fingers <sup>60</sup>	
hand.....	4 fingers <sup>60</sup>	

## COINS

<i>denarion</i> .....	60 <i>assaria</i> <sup>45</sup>
silver (talent).....	100 <i>denaria</i> <sup>45</sup> .....6,000 <i>lepta</i> <sup>2</sup> ..... <i>nomisma</i> <sup>2</sup>
stater.....	2 double <i>zūzē</i> <sup>47</sup>
shekel.....	2 <i>lepta</i> <sup>48</sup> .....2 <i>zūzē</i> <sup>48</sup>
silver mina.....	100 <i>denarii</i> <sup>48</sup>
<i>kodrantēs</i> .....	25 <i>denarii</i> <sup>48</sup> ..... <i>kōdarion</i> <sup>3, 48</sup>
iron obolus.....	$\frac{1}{8}$ ounce <sup>49</sup>



silver obolus.....	$\frac{1}{80}$ ounce <sup>49</sup>
double <i>zūzā</i> .....	20 silver oboloi <sup>49</sup>
<i>chalkūs</i> .....	<i>zūzā</i> <sup>50</sup> ..... $\frac{1}{8}$ ounce <sup>50</sup>
<i>nummus</i> .....	<i>dichryson</i> <sup>52</sup> ..... $\frac{1}{2}$ silver ( <i>denarius</i> ) <sup>52</sup>
silver ( <i>denarius</i> ).....	<i>miliarision</i> <sup>52</sup>
<i>lepton</i> .....	<i>assarion</i> <sup>45</sup> ..... <i>zirētia</i> <sup>52</sup> .....obolus <sup>2</sup>
double <i>follis</i> or purse.....	$2\frac{1}{2}$ silver ( <i>minae</i> ) <sup>53</sup> .....250 <i>denarii</i> <sup>53</sup>
<i>follis</i> .....	125 silver ( <i>denarii</i> ) <sup>53</sup>
<i>follis</i> .....	2 <i>lepta</i> according to the copper coinage <sup>53</sup>
<i>folis</i> .....	<i>salā</i> or (better) <i>sela</i> <sup>53</sup> ..... $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce <sup>53</sup>