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A CHRISTIAN WORD-LIST ON A PAPYRUS OF THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE AT  
BRUSSELS (*MS. BRUX. IV 590*)

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## A CHRISTIAN WORD-LIST ON A PAPYRUS OF THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE AT BRUSSELS (*MS. BRUX. IV 590*)<sup>1</sup>

Tafeln II and III

The two fragments of a papyrus codex of the VIth cent. A.D. edited here are in the possession of the *Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* in Brussels. They were bought in 1969 from H. Tenner, librarian at Heidelberg. According to the auction-catalogue<sup>2</sup> they were found in the neighbourhood of Deir-el Medinet (Luxor).

The fragments have already been described briefly by M. Wittek (1975a: 3-4, with a reproduction of Fr. I ↓ ; and 1975b: 246, with a reproduction of Fr. I ↓ and Fr. II →) and J. Debut included them in her recent list of school papyri (1986: 271, no. 106 bis).

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<sup>1</sup> In this article the following abbreviations will be used:

G. Cavallo (1975) = G. Cavallo, *Γράμματα Ἀλεξανδρῖνα*, in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 24 (1975), pp. 23-54; G. Cavallo - H. Maehler (1987) = G. Cavallo - H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300-800*, London, 1987; J. Debut (1983) = J. Debut, *De l'usage des listes de mots comme fondement de la pédagogie dans l'Antiquité*, in *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 85 (1983), pp. 261-274; J. Debut (1986) = J. Debut, *Les documents scolaires*, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 63 (1986), pp. 251-278; J. Debut (1987) = J. Debut, *L'apprentissage du grec en Égypte ou le changement dans la continuité*, in *Studii Clasice*, 25 (1987), pp. 7-21; A. Deissmann (1905) = A. Deissmann, *Die Septuaginta-Papyri und andere altchristliche Texte aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, Heidelberg, 1905; D. Foraboschi (1971) = D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticum alterum papyrologicum. Supplemento al Namenbuch di Preisigke*, Milan/Varese, 1971; F. T. Gignac (1976) = F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. Vol. I: *Phonology*, Milan, 1976; H. Harrauer - P. J. Sijpesteijn (1985) = H. Harrauer - P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht (Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek)*, Neue Serie, XV. Folge (*MPER XV*), Wien, 1985; E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath = E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)*, I-II & Supplement by H. A. Redpath, Oxford, 1897-1906 [= Graz, 1954]; J. Irigoin (1959) = J. Irigoin, *L'onciale grecque de type copte*, in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 8 (1959), pp. 29-51; J. Kramer (1986) = J. Kramer, *Sprachliche Beobachtungen an Schuldiktaten*, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 64 (1986), pp. 246-252; W. F. Moulton - A. S. Geden = W. F. Moulton - A. S. Geden (eds), *A Concordance to the Greek Testament*. Fifth edition revised by H. K. Moulton, Edinburgh, 1977; W. Pape - G. Benseler = W. Pape - G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, voll. I-II, Braunschweig, 1911<sup>3</sup> [= Graz 1959]; F. Preisigke (1922) = F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, Heidelberg, 1922; R. Seider (1970) = R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*, Bd. II, II. Teil: *Literarische Papyri*, Stuttgart, 1970; E. G. Turner (1977) = E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Pennsylvania, 1977; E. G. Turner (1987) = E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, Second Edition. Revised and Enlarged, Edited by P. J. Parsons, London, 1987; J. Van Haelst (1976) = J. Van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, Paris, 1976; M. Wittek (1975a) = M. Wittek, *Cinq années d'acquisitions 1969-1973. Exposition organisée à la Bibliothèque Royale Albert I<sup>er</sup> du 18 janvier au 1<sup>er</sup> mars 1975*, Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I<sup>er</sup>, 1975; M. Wittek (1975b) = M. Wittek, *Les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert I<sup>er</sup>: Vingt années d'acquisitions (1954-1973)* (Pl. I-II), in *Le Monde Grec. Pensée, littérature, histoire, documents. Hommages à Claire Préaux*, Bruxelles, 1975, pp. 245-253; F. Wutz (1914) = F. Wutz, *Onomastica Sacra: Untersuchungen zum Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum des hl. Hieronymus*, I-II (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 41), Leipzig, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> H. Tenner, *Handschriften, Autographe, Wertvolle Bücher, Auktion 72*, 22.-24. April 1969, Heidelberg, 1969, p. 22 (no. 42).

They were assigned to us for publication by Mr. G. Dogaer, the former Manuscript Keeper of the Bibliothèque Royale.<sup>3</sup>

Fr. I measures 17, 3 cm (br.) by 6 cm (h.) and Fr. II, 16, 7 cm (br.) by 7 cm (h.). Both papyrus fragments show on both sides the remnants of two columns, all broken at the top and at the bottom. On Fr. I ↓ and →, and on Fr. II → a curved vertical line has been drawn between the two columns.

The hand is a rounded, rather large majuscule written with a thick pen in black ink. The script is roughly bilinear with only φ, ρ and υ descending below the line. It shows a clear, though not exaggerated opposition between thick and thin strokes. The horizontal strokes and the diagonals descending from left to right are thin; thus the horizontals in γ, π and τ, the medial tongue of ε and the cross-bar of θ, the lower horizontal of δ and the diagonal of υ. There is also a marked opposition between narrow and broad letters. M, ω and usually ν (less clearly so in end-position) are rather broad. E, θ, ο and σ are circular. M has both the more capital form (M) (see especially the begin letters of Fr. II ↓, col. II) and the more rounded form (Ⓜ). Alpha is usually rather angular and formed in two parts (α), but it occasionally shows a more rounded shape (Ⓜ).<sup>4</sup> The arms of κ are detached from the vertical. The cross-bar of the θ is not extended outside the letter.

Several letters are equipped with ornamental knobs at the beginning or the end of some strokes; thus always the end of the horizontal bar of γ, the beginning of the upper horizontal of ζ, the beginning and the end of the horizontal of τ, sometimes the end of the upper curve of ε, the end of the lower curve of σ, the upper arm of κ and the right curve of υ.

The hand is clearly an example of the "Coptic uncial" (cf. J. Irigoin, 1959), or — if we prefer the terminology of G. Cavallo (1975), also accepted by A. Porro<sup>5</sup> — of the "maiuscola alessandrina". M. Wittek (1975a) indicated, as a possible parallel, the hand of the Septuagint codex *P. Heid.* 1.1<sup>6</sup>, dated by A. Deissmann (1905) "etwa 7. Jahrh. n. Chr.", but put somewhat earlier (Vth - VIth cent. A.D.) by J. Irigoin (1959: 49). The latter is very similar indeed, although the opposition between thick and thin strokes is somewhat less marked in the Septuagint codex, in any case in the letters τ and ε. Furthermore the α and μ have there always the rounded, not the angular form and the π always shows a prolonged bar, which is absent in our papyrus. In general, the hand of *MS. Brux.* IV 590 has a more archaic aspect, we believe, than the one of the Septuagint codex. Comparable with it are also the hands of the Iliad papyrus *P. Berol.* 6794 (assigned to

<sup>3</sup> As mentioned by M. Wittek (1975b: 246, n. 4), Prof. G. Cavallo (Rome) stated years ago his intention to publish the fragments in collaboration with Prof. M. Manfredi (Florence). In a letter of 20/IV/1986 G. Cavallo informed me, however, that he had given up his initial plan. We already announced our edition in A. Wouters, *The Chester Beatty Codex Ac 1499. A Graeco-Latin Lexicon on the Pauline Epistles and a Greek Grammar*, Leuven-Paris, 1988, p. 94, n. 76.

We thank Dr. P. Cockshaw, nowadays Manuscript Keeper in the Bibliothèque Royale, for his practical help while we studied the original.

<sup>4</sup> It may be interesting to mention that recently two papyri with writing exercises in the "biblical majuscule" have been published. In the first, *P. Köln* IV. 175 (Vth cent. A.D.), the alpha and the mu show the more capital form, which is the most frequent in our papyrus. In the second, *P. L. Bat.* 25 (2nd half of the VIth cent./beginning of the VIIth cent. A.D.), the alpha has an almost round left part and a small loop, while the middle of the mu was formed in one stroke. Both forms of both letters have their perfect counterpart in our text.

<sup>5</sup> *Manoscritti in maiuscola alessandrina di contenuto profano. Aspetti grafici codicologici filologici*, in *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 9 (1983), pp. 169-215 + 8 pll.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. J. Van Haelst (1976), no. 290. See the reproduction in R. Seider (1970: no. 67, pl. XXXVII).

the Vth or VIth cent. A.D.)<sup>7</sup> and of the Callimachus papyrus *P. Oxy.* XX. 2258 (assigned to the VIth or VIIth cent. A.D.).<sup>8</sup> Especially in view of the rounded letters ε, θ, ο, ζ, which according to J. Irigoin (1959: 49) point to a rather early phase of this writing style, we are inclined to put the Brussels papyrus no later than the VIth century A.D.<sup>9</sup> In any case its hand is closer to that of the *epistula festivalis* in *P. Grenfell* II. 112 (cf. G. Cavallo 1975, pl. 12) of 577 A.D.<sup>10</sup>, than to that of the similar letter in *BKT* VI 55-109 (*P. Berol.* 10677) (cf. G. Cavallo 1975, pl. 17), dated to the period 713-724 A.D.

Initial iota has always been provided with a diaeresis mark (see Fr. II →, col. II). Occasionally an ᾠνω στίγμα has been added after the word (cf. Fr. I ↓, col. I, ll. 5 and 6, Fr. I →, col. I, l. 7 and col. II, l. 7 and Fr. II ↓, col. II, l. 1(?)).

A few accentuation marks have been put by the first hand. They are used very inconsistently, as is often the case in school papyri.<sup>11</sup> The accented syllable of some words is provided with a sign ' , ^ , ~ or -. Apparently no distinction is made between acutus and circumflexus, e.g. θησαυρός (= θησαυρός), μάγειρος (= μάγειρος), Μαρίνος (= Μαρῖνος). For this accentuation system we have found no parallels in published papyri. As to the mark on ἡλίου, ἡλιος in Fr. I →, col. II, ll. 7-8), it is difficult to determine whether we are dealing with an accent (in which case ἡλίου must be an error for ἡλίου) or a spiritus asper. The second assumption seems more likely, as the stroke on η is somewhat curved downwards (~) and thus slightly different from ^, -, and ~, which are found elsewhere in the text and are certainly accent marks. Note, however, that the preceding word, ἡμερα, shows no trace of a spiritus.

The horizontal stroke with knobs at the beginning and at the end, which was written over the end letter of the word δόρκατῶ in Fr. I ↓, col. II, l. 5, is probably an abbreviation mark.

Two corrections are made by the first hand. In Fr. II →, col. I, l. 7 the upsilon of θαμυρις has been written partly over an epsilon, which is still visible. In Fr. II →, col. II, l. 7 the fourth letter of ἰδιθου has apparently been written over another letter which is no longer legible.

The papyrus *MS. Brux.* IV 590 contains a list of trisyllabic words. Several similar lists of Greek words, grouped according to their number of syllables, are already known from the papyri. Cf. J. Debut (1986: nos. 68-106; for trisyllabics, see nos. 80-85 and 121 bis). See also the synthetic commentary in J. Debut (1983; 1987: 6-7 and 14-18).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Pack<sup>2</sup> 984. See G. Cavallo - H. Maehler (1987: pl. 25a).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Pack<sup>2</sup> 186. See G. Cavallo (1975: pl. 10) and E. G. Turner (1987: no. 47).

<sup>9</sup> We should also mention that the hand of *MS. Brux.* IV 590 has been used as a comparandum by H. Harrauer - P. J. Sijpesteijn (1985: 27) to date the syllabary *P. Vindob. G.* 36016 (= *MPER* XV 6) to the VIth century A.D.

<sup>10</sup> S. Bernardinello, *Cronologia della maiuscola greca di tipo alessandrino. Contributo paleografico*, in *Scriptorium*, 32 (1978), pp. 251-255 has proposed a later date (A.D. 672) for this document, which, however, he recalled in his later article *Nuove prospettive sulla cronologia del Pap. Grenfell II 112*, in *Scriptorium*, 34 (1980), pp. 239-240.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. C. M. Mazzucchi, *Sul sistema di accentazione dei testi greci in età romana e bizantina*, in *Aegyptus*, 59 (1979), pp. 145-167, esp. p. 164: "spiriti e accenti sono tutt'altro che comuni nei papiri scolastici".

<sup>12</sup> For similar Coptic word-lists arranged alphabetically, see now M. R. M. Hasitzka (Hrsg. unter Mitarbeit von H. Harrauer), *Neue Texte zum Koptisch-Unterricht (Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek)*, Neue Serie, XVIII. Folge (*MPER* XVIII), Vienna, 1990, nos. 226-245 and her commentary p. 15 and p. 151. No. 231 contains only trisyllabic words; no. 228 provides a mixture of disyllabics and trisyllabics.

One could add now to her list:

- *P. Berol.* 21293 (first half of the VIth cent. A.D.)<sup>13</sup>, which contains some 5-syllable words;
- *MPER XV* 60 (VIIth cent. A.D.) with tetrasyllabics;
- The tablets *Ashm. Mus. inv.* no. 1982.1119 (544-545 A.D.)<sup>14</sup> with disyllabic (tablet A, coll. I and IV) and trisyllabic (tablet B, coll. I and II) words;
- The tablets *P. Vat. gr.* 54 (VIIth cent. A.D.)<sup>15</sup> with tetrasyllabics (tablets A and B);
- The tablet II of the school book *Louvre MNE* 912 (Vth-VIth cent. A.D.)<sup>16</sup> with five trisyllabic words beginning with  $\pi$ .

It is not clear whether the scribe of our papyrus limited his (complete) list to trisyllabic words only, or provided originally also similar series of monosyllabics, disyllabics, tetrasyllabics and even longer words. Of the most extensive parallels, the famous *Livre d'Écolier* in *P. Guéraud - Jouguet* (IIIrd cent. B.C.) (Pack<sup>2</sup> 2642) lists five groups, from monosyllabics to pentasyllabics; *P. Bour.* 1 (IVth cent. A.D.) (Pack<sup>2</sup> 2613) provides monosyllabics, disyllabics and trisyllabics, and *P. Chester Beatty*<sup>17</sup> (IIIrd-IVth cent. A.D.) shows groups of disyllabics, trisyllabics and tetrasyllabics.

In *MS. Brux.* IV 590 the words are not split up according to their syllables. On the contrary, in *P. Guéraud - Jouguet*, *P. Chester Beatty*, *P. L. Bat.* 25, no. 15 (= J. Debut 1986, no. 82), *P. Berol.* 21293 (at least on the flesh side), *MPER XV* 60, *Ashm. Mus. inv.* no. 1982.1119 and *P. Vat. gr.* 54 the syllables are separated each time by a blank space.<sup>18</sup> In *P. Guéraud - Jouguet* a double dot is added between the (separated) syllables as well.<sup>19</sup>

In the same way as in *P. Bour.* 1, *P. Chester Beatty*, *MPER XV* 60, *Ashm. Mus. inv.* no. 1982.1119, *P. Vat. gr.* 54 and several other lists published earlier<sup>20</sup>, the words in *MS. Brux.* IV 590 are grouped alphabetically, but, as in most of the parallels<sup>21</sup>, the system is limited to the first letter.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Edited by G. Ioannidou, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 72 (1988), pp. 263-266.

<sup>14</sup> Edited by R. Pintaudi - P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Tavolette lignee e cerate da varie collezioni (Papyrologica Florentina, XVIII)*, Firenze, 1989, no. 22.

<sup>15</sup> Edited by R. Pintaudi - P. J. Sijpesteijn, *o. c.*, no. 6.

<sup>16</sup> Description by P. Cauderlier, *Quatre cahiers scolaires (Musée du Louvre): Présentation et problèmes annexes*, in A. Blanchard, *Les débuts du codex. Actes de la journée d'étude organisée à Paris les 3 et 4 juillet 1985 par l'Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne et l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes*, Turnhout, 1989, pp. 43-59; see p. 55.

<sup>17</sup> Edited by W. Clarysse - A. Wouters, *A Schoolboy's Exercise in the Chester Beatty Library*, in *Ancient Society*, 1 (1970), pp. 201-235 + X plates. See now also A. Blanchard, *Sur le milieu d'origine du papyrus Bodmer de Ménandre. L'apport du P. Chester Beatty scolaire et du P. Bouriant 1*, in *Chronique d'Égypte*, 66 (1991), pp. 211-220.

<sup>18</sup> See also the Coptic lists in *MPER XVIII*, nos. 226, 231, 232, 233, 244 and 245.

<sup>19</sup> In *O. Tait* II 2193 (= J. Debut 1986, no. 78) a dot separates the syllables. The same technique was applied in the Coptic word-list *MPER XVIII*, no. 236; a double dot to separate the syllables occurs in *MPER XVIII*, no. 243.

<sup>20</sup> See J. Debut (1986), nos. 73, 74, 75, 78, 79, 81, 82 (= now *P. L. Bat.* 25, no. 15), 103-106 and all the additional texts mentioned above, except *P. Berol.* 21293.

<sup>21</sup> In *O. Edfu* II 307 (= J. Debut 1986, no. 73) the scribe seems to have taken into account also the second letter.

<sup>22</sup> As was the case in most of the ancient lexica and glossaries. Cf. L. W. Daly, *Contributions to a History of Alphabetization in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Brussels, 1967.

As expected, most of the identifiable nouns are cited in the nominative case. There are, however, some exceptions to this rule. Thus, in Fr. I →, col. II, ll. 7-8 the nominative ἥλιος is preceded by ἡλίου, the genitive of the same word (for a possible explanation see the line commentary below). The form θεωνά (Fr. II →, col. I, l. 1) must be the accusative of the personal name Θέων or rather the vocative, genitive or accusative of Θεωνᾶς. As to κόκκινον (Fr. II ↓, col. I, l. 6), this might of course be the accusative masculine sg. of the adjective κόκκινος ('scarlet'), but most likely it is the substantivized neuter κόκκινον ('scarlet cloth'). The word μανασση (Fr. II ↓, col. II, l. 3) looks like the vocative, genitive, dative, or accusative of Μανασσῆς. We may note here that in the Bible this name is very common in the phrases φυλὴ Μανασσῆ, υἱοὶ Μανασσῆ. However, some LXX manuscripts have a nominative Μαν(ν)ασσή (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, *Suppl.*: 107). More difficult to interpret is κεφαλον (Fr. II ↓, col. I, l. 5). This might be an accusative sg. of κέφαλος or a genitive plural of κεφαλὴ (for κεφαλῶν); but we prefer to regard it as the proper name Κεφάλων (see the line commentary).

Most of the above-mentioned parallels provide a mixture of mythological, historical or geographical names on the one hand and, on the other hand, more common words (cf. J. Debut 1983). The Brussels papyrus shares this feature, but it is the first, we believe, to show such an overwhelming majority of biblical names. To be true, biblical names, sometimes the same as in our papyrus<sup>23</sup>, appear also in *MPER* XV 60, *Ashm. Mus. inv.* no. 1982.1119 and *P. Vat. gr.* 54 and they are, of course, predominant in the Coptic word-lists<sup>24</sup>. In our papyrus 54 words can still be read with reasonable certainty. Among these words, proper names make up at least 57% (probably more). Most of these names have been taken from the Old and New Testament.<sup>25</sup> Apart from these biblical names we find several late Greek proper names such as Εὐτύχης, Θεωνᾶς, Μαρίνος, and possibly Βαλσάμων, Εὐγένης, Κεφάλων. Common names and adjectives<sup>26</sup>, which for the most part seem to come from a biblical context as well<sup>27</sup>, amount to at least 27%<sup>28</sup>. A plausible hypothesis, we believe, is that our papyrus contains a writing exercise of a monk<sup>29</sup>, or was in any case written in a Christian milieu.

One or two words, although they are clearly legible, could not be identified: δόρκατῶ (Fr. I ↓, col. II, l. 5; but cf. also our commentary), and the enigmatic ζευγανε<sup>30</sup> (Fr. I →, col. II, l. 3).

<sup>23</sup> We will indicate them in the line commentary below.

In his comments to *P.U.G.* II 53 (= J. Debut 1986, no. 74) J. Bingen, *L'exercice scolaire P.U.G.* II 53, in *Chronique d'Égypte*, 57 (1982), pp. 107-110 has already pointed to the fact that this list shares a lot of names with *P. Guéraud - Jouguet* and with *P. Bour.* 1 and he has stressed "la continuité, du III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C. au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère, de certaines particularités de l'enseignement dispensé aux élèves de la chôra" (p. 110). See also J. Debut (1987: 17).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. M. R. M. Hasitzka, *o.c.*, p. 67.

<sup>25</sup> Only one name, Θάμυρις, seems to belong to a pagan context.

<sup>26</sup> The word καθαρός (Fr. II ↓, col. I, l. 3) is the only certain instance of an adjective in our list.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. such words as Ζελφίτης, ἱερέυς.

<sup>28</sup> In the alphabetical word list *WTBarbara* 2 (VIIth cent. A.D.), edited by B. Rom - H. Harrauer, *Eine Wachstafel mit alphabetisierten Namen*, in *Chronique d'Égypte*, 57 (1982), pp. 303-308, 19 out of the 49 names are from the Old Testament. Thus *P. Vat. gr.* 54 is not isolated in this respect, as already A. Blanchard, *Sur le papyrus Bodmer de Ménandre* (see *supra*, note 17) conjectured.

<sup>29</sup> On bookwriters in monasteries, see L. Koenen, *Ein Mönch als Berufsschreiber*, in *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, Berlin, 1974, pp. 374-354.

<sup>30</sup> A word ζεύγανα occurs in Hesychius' *Lexicon* as the interpretation of γίμβαναι (Γ 564 L). It is, however, corrected to ζεύγλαι by Latte.

Since the practice seems to have existed to use artificial words in comparable word-lists<sup>31</sup>, it cannot be ruled out that the latter word has been invented by our scribe because he could not find a sufficient number of existing trisyllabic Greek words beginning with zeta.<sup>32</sup>

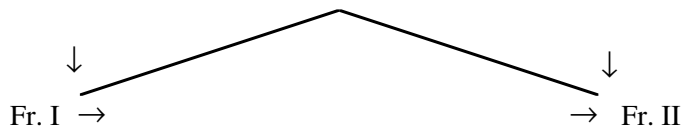
We should also make some observations about the orthographic errors in our papyrus. Possibly, our word list contains some examples of the widespread interchange of omicron and omega, cf. *infra* our commentary on βαλσαμων (Fr. I ↓, col. I, l. 2) and κεφαλον (Fr. II ↓, col. I, l. 5). As F. T. Gignac (1976: 275-277) and J. Kramer (1986: 249) point out, this confusion was total in Egypt and is even found in morphological endings.

Two cases should possibly be explained by the confusion between voiced and voiceless consonants, which was characteristic of the Greek spoken by Egyptians and is very common in the papyri.<sup>33</sup> The word βηδφακη (Fr. I ↓, col. I, l. 3) presumably stands for the biblical place-name Βηθφαγη.<sup>34</sup> Likewise δόρκατō (Fr. I ↓, col. II, l. 5) might stand for δορκαδος (see our commentary below), but this remains somewhat uncertain. Perhaps βεθλεεμ (Fr. I ↓, col. I, l. 4) for the usual Βηθλέεμ also finds its explanation in the characteristics of Egyptian Greek, which shows an occasional interchange of ε and η (for examples, see F. T. Gignac 1976: 242-246; cf. also J. Kramer 1986: 248). But this is by no means sure, as we are dealing with a non-Greek name. We refer to the line commentary below.

An obvious case of inversion of consonants is seen in θεγραμα (Fr. II →, col. I, l. 6) for the biblical name Θεργαμά. In βαιθακα (Fr. I ↓, col. I, l. 1), which is otherwise only known as Βαιθάκαδ or Βαιθάκαθ, the scribe might have forgotten the final consonant. Finally μαριραμ (Fr. II ↓, col. II, l. 2), if this is indeed the correct reading, can hardly be anything else than an error for μαριαμ.

As to the physical characteristics of the codex from which the two fragments originate, we can only formulate some hypotheses. Its original height remains unknown, of course. Its breadth (at least 17 cm) corresponds quite well to the “group 5” (17 to 18 cm br. — 30 cm h.) determined by E. G. Turner (1977: 16-18).

Although we could find no clear fibre continuations between Fr. I and Fr. II<sup>35</sup>, it seems likely from their contents that the two leaves were adjacent in the original codex. On the pages Fr. I ↓, Fr. I → and Fr. II ↓ words with three different initial letters are still visible; on Fr. II → only words with initial theta and initial iota. Because col. II of Fr. I → in its actual state ends with the word ἦλιος and col. I of Fr. II → starts with the word θεωνα, it is totally improbable that one more leaf intervened between the two fragments. Everything points, on the contrary, to the following disposition:



<sup>31</sup> Cf. J. Bingen, *o.c.*, p. 108.

<sup>32</sup> For this possibility, cf. the remarks of M. R. M. Hasitzka, *o.c.*, p. 154 (concerning *MPER XVIII*, no. 228).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. F. T. Gignac (1976: 64 and 76-86) and J. Kramer (1986: 251-252), who point out that Coptic lacked the distinction between *g/k* and *d/t*.

<sup>34</sup> As to the δ instead of θ, this interchange is also known from Egyptian Greek, cf. the examples in F. T. Gignac (1976: 96).

<sup>35</sup> The smuts on the right hand part of Fr. I → and on the left hand part of Fr. II → make a definite conclusion impossible.



The little codex then had apparently been built up by several “uniones”.<sup>36</sup> Cf. E. G. Turner (1977: 61, Table 7). Undoubtedly, before Fr. I ↓ at least one more page (trissyllabic words with α- and β-) was provided and after Fr. II ↓ the rest of the alphabet was worked through for this category of trissyllabics. And, if also other categories of words were included (cf. *supra*), the codex must have been rather extensive.

### Transcript

#### Fr. I ↓

Col. I		Col. II	
	-----		
1	βαιθακα	1	δωρ....
2	βαλσαμων	2	δαμασκος
3	βηδφακιη	3	δεβλαθα
4	βεθλεεμ	4	δανιηλ
5	γενεα·	5	δόρκατō
6	γαλααδ·	6	δανιστης
7	γ.β...	7	δαρειος
	-----	8	.....ς
			-----

#### Fr. I →

Col. I		Col. II	
	-----		
1	...ε...ς	1	[ ]....
2	εργατης	2	ζ..φ...ν
3	ελμωδαδ	3	ζευγανε
4	ελιοϋς	4	ζελφίτης
5	ευγενης	5	ζήτησις
6	ευτύχης	6	ημερα
7	ελιαβ·	7	ηλιου
8	ε.μ.....	8	ηλιος
	-----		-----

#### Fr. II →

Col. I		Col. II	
	-----		
1	θεωνα	1	ιαφεθ
2	θαδδαιος	2	ιαρεθ
3	θησαυρōς	3	ιοθορ
4	θεκουε	4	ιωνας
5	θηριον	5	ιωηλ

<sup>36</sup> We do not know on which basis M. Wittek (1975b : 246) stated: "Ces fragments sont probablement les restes d'un cahier composé de deux doubles feuilles".

6	θεγραμα	6	ἱερεῦς
7	θαμ[ε]υρις	7	ἰδιθουν
8	θαμναθᾱ	8	ἰοπη
	-----		-----

**Fr. II ↓**

Col. I	Col. II
-----	-----
1	1 μαρια <sup>o</sup>
2	2 μαριρα..?
3	3 μανασση
4	4 μακεδωθ
5	5 μᾶγειρος
6	6 μαρίνος
7	7 μωραθι
8	8 μαθθαιος
9	9 μασ.....?
-----	-----

**Commentary****Fr. I ↓****Col. I**

1. 1 βαιθακα: Although apparently no letter followed after α, presumably Βαιθάκαδ or Βαιθάκαθ, the name of a Samaritan village (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, Suppl.: 32; cf. Eusebius, *Onomast.*, 56, 26), was meant.
1. 2 βαλσαμων: A smut covers the two initial letters. A word βαλσαμών ('balsam-garden') occurs in Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, 8, 3, 6. But here we are rather dealing with the late Greek proper name Βαλσάμων or Βαλσαμών (W. Pape - G. Benseler, I: 196; D. Foraboschi 1971: 77). Less probable is a false spelling for βάλσαμον 'balsam', a word which does not occur in the Bible.
1. 3 βηδφακη: Probably for Βηθφαγή (Βηθφαγή) (W. F. Moulton - A. Geden: 146), the name of a village near the Mountain of Olives.
1. 4 βεθλεεμ: Name of the famous Judean town, the birthplace of Jesus. In Greek this place-name normally has the form Βηθλέεμ (Βηθλεέμ) (thus *e.g.* in the New Testament, cf. W. F. Moulton - A. Geden: 146) or Βαιθλέεμ (see E. Hatch - H.A. Redpath, Suppl.: 33). For a possible explanation of the ε by the phonetics of Egyptian Greek, cf. *supra*. But Βεθλέεμ is in the Septuagint an occasional spelling variant of Βαιθλέεμ and the spelling Βεθλεέμ is also known from Amphilochius of Iconium, *In natalitia domini* (oratio 1), 112.
1. 5 γενεα: Frequent both in the Old and the New Testament (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, I: 236-237; W. F. Moulton - A. Geden: 158). Cf. also *MPER* XV 60, l. 14.  
The horizontal stroke above the initial γ could be a very small paragraphos used to mark the transition to a new group of words (with γ-). However, elsewhere in the text, viz. in Fr. I →, col. II, l. 6 and Fr. II ↓, col. I, l. 7, a similar transition remained unmarked.
1. 6 γαλααδ: Geographical name in the Old Testament (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, Suppl.: 44, W. F. Moulton - A. Geden: 184). Cf. also *MPER* XV 60, l. 9.

1. 7 γβ... : As it seems difficult to find a suitable Greek word, one may suppose another biblical name. The geographical name Γαβαάθ, Γαβαώθ, with the variants Γαβαάρ, Γηβαάρ (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, *Suppl.*: 41-42; F. Wutz, 1914: I, 484), would fit in here. Eusebius (*Onomast.*, 70, 22) has the variant Γαβαάς. This author also lists Γαβαάν as the name of a town (*Onomast.*, 70, 26).

**Col. II**

1. 1 δωρ... : Possibly one has to read δωρίτης ('inhabitant of Dora') or some case-form of this word, which is found in Flavius Josephus, *AJ*, 19, 300, 2; 302, 1; 303, 1.
1. 2 δαμασκος: Name of the well-known Syrian town (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, *Suppl.*: 50; W. F. Moulton - A. Geden: 184). Cf. also *MPER XV* 60, 1. 1.
1. 3 δεβλαθα: In the Septuagint name of the place where the king of Juda was judged by the king of Babylon (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, *Suppl.*: 51).
1. 4 δανιηλ: Name of the famous prophet (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, *Suppl.*: 50). Cf. also *MPER XV* 60, 1. 5, *Ashm. Mus. inv. no.* 1982.1119, B, col. I, l. 1 and in the alphabetical word list *WTBarbara*, col. IV, l. 45.
1. 5 δόρκατῶ: The meaning of the mark over the omicron is not clear. Most likely it is an abbreviation mark for end ν or end ζ.  
Nowhere have we found a similar word, neither as a common noun nor as a proper name. If one might read Δορκατος, this could be an error for δορκαδος<sup>37</sup>, i.e. Δορκάδος, genitive of Δορκάς<sup>38</sup>, which is known as a woman's name. In *Act. Ap.*, 9, 36 Δορκάς is given as the Greek translation of Ταβιθά, the woman restored to life by Peter in Joppe. Flavius Josephus, *BJ* 4, 145 mentions a Ἰωάννης Δορκάδος ('son of the Gazelle').<sup>39</sup>
1. 6 δανιστης: Itacistic spelling for δανειστής ('money-lender, creditor' and 'borrower'), a word not occurring in the Septuagint and only once attested in the New Testament (*Ev. Luc.*, 7, 41; cf. W. F. Moulton - A. Geden: 184).
1. 7 δαρειος: Name of several kings of Persia (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, *Suppl.*: 50). Cf. also *MPER XV* 60, 1. 2.

**Fr. I →**

**Col. I**

1. 2 εργατης: Occurs in the Old and New Testament (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, I: 541; W. F. Moulton - A. Geden: 541).  
The word is cited by the grammarian Herodian (*Περὶ ῥηματικῶν ὀνομάτων*, *GG* III, II 2, 898, 5) among the examples illustrating the rule for accenting the nouns in -της. Cf. also *Ashm. Mus. inv. no.* 1982.1119, B, col. II, l. 6.
1. 3 ελμωδαδ: Name of one of the sons of Iektan in the Septuagint (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, *Suppl.*: 59).
1. 4 ελιοῦς: Name of the son of Barachiel in the Book of Job (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, *Suppl.*: 59).

<sup>37</sup> Interchange between voiced and voiceless consonant; cf. *supra* our remarks on orthographic errors.

<sup>38</sup> But cf. the accent on the first syllable of δόρκατῶ.

<sup>39</sup> About Δορκάς and similar names cf. also M. Lambertz, *Zur Ausbreitung des Supernomen oder Signum im römischen Reiche*, in *Glotta*, 4 (1913), pp. 78-143, esp. pp. 114-115 and L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine* I, Paris, 1963, p. 24.

1. 5 ευγενής: For the adjective εὐγενής in the Bible, cf. E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, I: 569 and W. F. Moulton - A. Geden: 398. Possibly the proper name Εὐγένης (W. Pape - G. Benseler, I: 403) was meant; cf. *infra* (l. 6) ευτύχης.
1. 6 ευτύχης: Probably the (unexpected) accent indicates that the proper name Εὐτύχης (W. Pape - G. Benseler, I: 427-428) is meant. Wutz (1914: I, 359; 681 and II, 681) cites an etymological explanation in some biblical onomastica of the name Εὐτυχος, Εὐτυχῆς (sic), Eutyches, as 'ἐξιστάμενος, amens'. Note that the adjective εὐτυχῆς is absent from the Bible.
1. 7 ελιαβ: Name occurring several times in the Old Testament (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, Suppl.: 58).
1. 8 ε μ . . . : Could be completed to ελωδαμ (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, Suppl.: 59), a variant of the name Ἐλωδάδ (cf. *supra*, l. 3), to ελωδαμ (cf. *Ev. Luc.*, 3, 28, 2), or to εμμαους (cf. *Ev. Luc.*, 24, 13, 3).

### Col. II

1. 2 ζ . . φ . . . ν: The second letter after ζ: (lower trace) of a rho?  
One could be inclined to read ζειφαιον. Ζειφάιοι is the name of a people in the Septuagint (cf. E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, Suppl.: 66). However, the space between ζ and φ seems larger than required for ει and the hasta of the second letter after φ descends lower than one would expect for iota. Possibly this letter was a rho.
1. 3 ζευγανε: We could reach no certainty about the meaning of this word. Cf. *supra*, note 30. Perhaps it was an artificial creation of our scribe; cf. *supra*, pp. 145-146.
1. 4 ζελφίτης: This word is not attested elsewhere. Probably it means 'son or descendant of Zelpha', Zelpha being Lea's servant who became the wife of Jacob (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, Suppl.: 66).
- 1.5 ζήτησις: Cf. W. F. Moulton - A. Geden: 421. Not in the Septuagint.
1. 7 ἥλιου, l. 8 ἥλιος: For the mark on the η, cf. *supra* our remarks on the accentuation system.  
These two case forms of the same word are possibly taken from a Bible passage where the nominative followed the genitive within a short interval, e.g. *Ge.*, 15, 12 and 15, 17, *De.*, 24, 13 and 24, 15.

### Fr. II →

#### Col. I

1. 1 θεωνα: Vocative or genitive of Θεωνᾶς or accusative of Θέων (for both names cf. W. Pape - G. Benseler, I: 504). The first name is very common in Christian times, the second is frequently used in philosophical and grammatical works as a typical example for personal names.
1. 2 θαδδαίος: The reason of the marks on the deltas is not clear.  
Name of one of the twelve apostles (*Ev. Matt.* 10, 3, *Ev. Marc.* 3, 18).
1. 3 θησαυρός: Common word in the Bible, see E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, I: 651-652 and W. F. Moulton - A. Geden: 460.
1. 4 θεκουε: Name of a Judean town (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, Suppl.: 71).
1. 5 θηριον: This noun occurs frequently in the Old Testament (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, I: 650-651) as well as in the Apocalypse of John (W. F. Moulton - A. Geden: 459-460).
1. 6 θεγραμα: In all probability a writing error (inversion) for the biblical personal name Θεργαμά (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, Suppl.: 72).
1. 7 θαμ[ε]υρις: After the μ the scribe wrote at first ε. Then he noticed his error and wrote the correct upsilon partly over the epsilon.

In Greek mythology Θάμυρις is a renowned musician. Could this word be taken over from the older tradition of word lists containing many mythological names?<sup>40</sup>

- l. 8 θαμναθᾶ: Name of a Judean town (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, Suppl.: 70); cf. Eusebius, *Onomast.*, 100, 19.

### Col. II

- l. 1 ιαφεθ: Only the lower part of the initial ι is still visible. No doubt it was originally provided with a diaeresis mark. Ἰάφεθ was of one of the three sons of Noah (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, Suppl.: 76).
- ll. 2-4: Behind the words there are some black spots. We have the impression that these are not remnants of an earlier text, but rather soot, or ink which penetrated from the other side of the papyrus.
- l. 2 ἰαρεθ: Very capital alpha. Its right part is not fully closed.  
Name of the son of Maleleel. The spelling Ἰάρεθ occurs in some biblical lexica (cf. F. Wutz, 1914: 197 and 644) and in the II<sup>nd</sup> century author Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolyicum*, 3, 24, 3, but in the Septuagint the name is written Ἰάρεδ and Ἰάρετ (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, Suppl.: 75).
- l. 3 ἰοθορ (or ἰεθερ): The second letter looks more like an omicron than like an epsilon. The last but one letter is written rather low to be an epsilon. Therefore the reading ἰοθορ (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, Suppl.: 85) seems preferable to ἰεθερ (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, Suppl.: 78-79), which, however, cannot be ruled out altogether (cf. *P. Oxy.* XXXVI. 2745 A, l. 5). On the name of the father-in-law of Moses and its variants, cf. also D. Rokeah, in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. XXXVI, London, 1970, p. 5.
- l. 7 ἰδιθουν: The fourth letter, θ, is apparently a correction over another letter. Ἰδιθούν is a biblical personal name (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, Suppl.: 77).
- l. 8 ἰοππη: Name of a Palestinian port town (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, Suppl.: 85; W. F. Moulton - A. Geden: 495).

### Fr. II ↓

#### Col. I

- l. 2 κεφαλῆς: Is found in the Septuagint with the meaning 'capital of a column' and '(book) roll' (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, II: 760-762).
- l. 3 καθαρος: Cf. W. F. Moulton - A. Geden: 509.
- l. 4 [κ] π [ ]ξ: Because of a rupture in the papyrus the word on this line is hardly legible. The begin κ is hidden under dirt. If the final letter was indeed a ξ, it must have been rather small.
- l. 5 κεφαλον: Most probably a spelling error<sup>41</sup> for the personal name Κεφάλων (Κεφαλῶν) (W. Pape - G. Benseler, I: 653; F. Preisigke 1922: 172-173; D. Foraboschi 1971: 163-164). Cf. our commentary on βαλσαμων above (Fr. I ↓, col. I, l. 2). Of course it could also be the accusative of κέφαλος 'a species of mullet (a fish)<sup>42</sup> or stand for κεφαλῶν, genitive plural of κεφαλή 'head'.
- l. 6 κοκκινον: κόκκινον 'scarlet, scarlet cloth' (from κόκκινος 'scarlet, red') is frequent in the Bible (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, II: 775-776; W. F. Moulton - A. Geden: 553).

<sup>40</sup> Note, however, that a Κλαύδιος Θαμῦρις is known from *P. Oxy.* XXVII. 2476, l. 3 (A.D. 289).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *supra* our general remarks on orthographic errors.

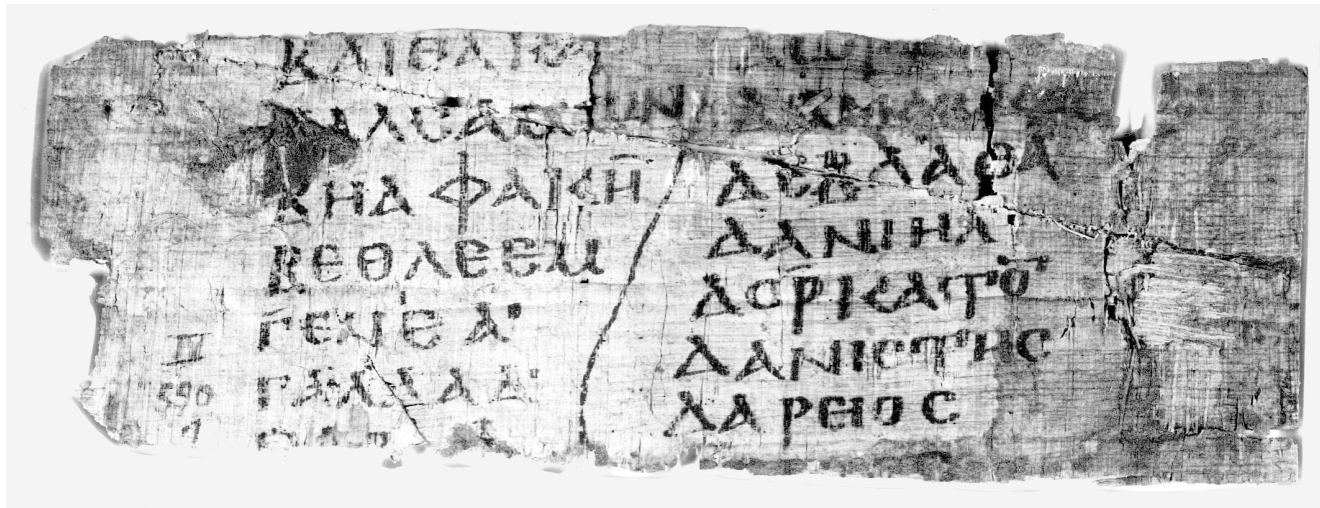
<sup>42</sup> The word κέφαλος is mentioned among other fish-names in the bilingual Greek-Coptic word list *MPER* XVIII, no. 256 (VI<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.), col. 4, l. 424 (cf. M. R. M. Hasitzka, *o.c.*, p. 189). There is also a Greek personal name Κέφαλος, cf. F. Preisigke (1928: 172) and D. Foraboschi (1971: 163).

- l. 7 λούκιος: Although a very common Roman first name, this name also may have been taken from the Bible. A Roman consul Lucius (142 B.C.) is mentioned (in the hellenized form Λεύκιος) in the Septuagint (1 *Ma.* 15, 16). The New Testament mentions Lucius (Λούκιος) of Cyrene (*Act. Ap.*, 13, 1) and another Lucius (Λούκιος) is known from *Ep. Rom.*, 16, 21 (cf. W. F. Moulton - A. Geden: 606).
- l. 8 λυσίας: Perhaps this name too was taken from the Bible. A general of Antiochus IV was called this way (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, *Suppl.*: 102). In *Act. Ap.* Κλαύδιος Λυσίας is the name of a Roman tribune (cf. W. F. Moulton - A. Geden: 607).
- l. 9 λυβ... or λυρ... : As there seem to be almost no Greek words beginning with λυβ-, λυρ is more likely. One might consider λυριστής 'player on the lyre', which is cited by Herodian in his treatment of the accentuation of the nouns in -της (*De prosodia catholica*, *GG* III, I, 78, 7; *Περὶ ῥηματικῶν ὀνομάτων*, *GG* III, II 2, 898, 5). Cf. *supra* about ἐργάτης.

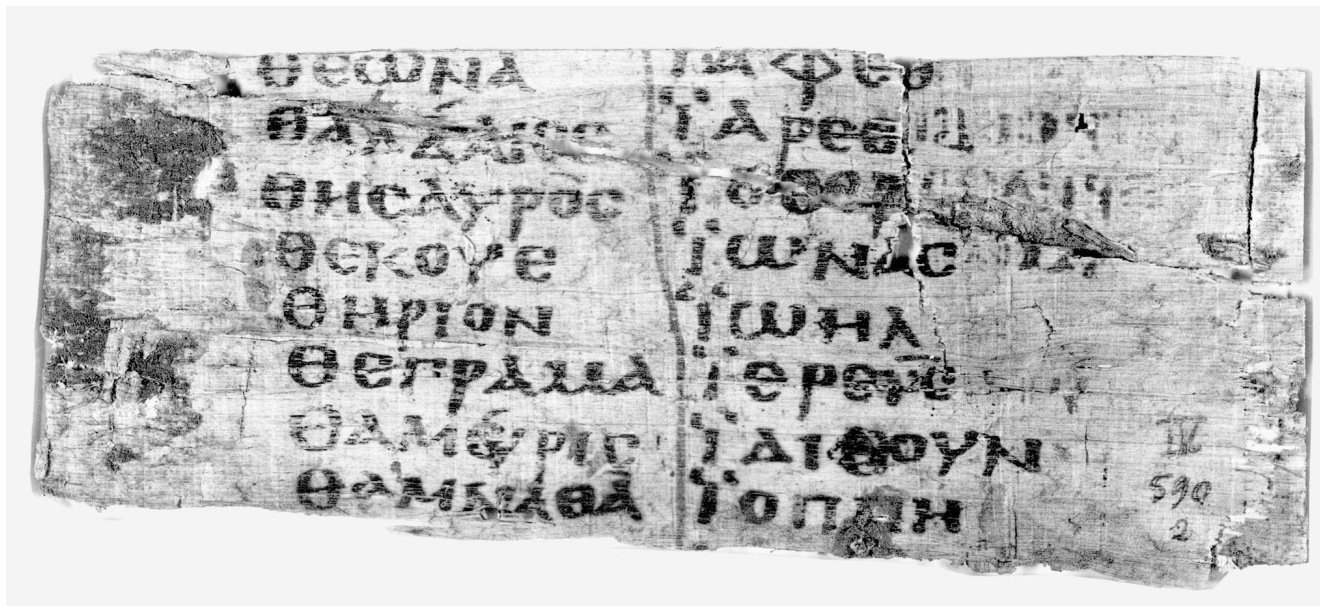
## Col. II

- l. 1 μαρια<sup>o</sup>: The mark after the final alpha looks more like a small circle than like a dot. Was it part of a letter of a previous line?
- l. 2 μαριρα...?: After μαρι the upper part of a rho and a following alpha seem possible. Because of the dirt which covers this part of the papyrus, it is not clear how many letters still followed.  
If μαριραμ is to be read, this could be an error for μαριαμ (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, *Suppl.*: 108) or μαραρ(ε)ιμ (cf. F. Wutz, 1914: I, 412).
- l. 3 μανασση: In the Old Testament this is the name (1) of the first-bon of Joseph, patriarch of one of the tribes of Israel, and (2) of the son of Ezekia, king of the Jews. For the interpretation of the form, cf. *supra*.
- l. 4 μακεδωθ: Biblical name, variant of Μακελώθ (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, *Suppl.*: 105).
- l. 5 μᾶγειρος: Cf. E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, II: 891. Not in the New Testament.
- l. 6 μαρίνος: Μαρίνος (Lat. *Marinus*) was a common personal name in Imperial times (W. Pape - G. Benseler, II: 862; F. Preisigke 1922: 206; D. Foraboschi 1971: 188), especially in the Orient<sup>43</sup>.
- l. 7 μωραθῖ: Biblical name (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, *Suppl.*: 105).
- l. 8 μαθθαίος: Name of an apostle and of one of the evangelists.
- l. 9 μασ...?: It is not clear how many letters followed the (hypothetical) sigma.  
The word cannot be restored with certainty. There are numerous trisyllabic biblical names beginning with Μασ-, e.g. Μασαλάμ, Μασ(σ)ηφά, Μασ(σ)ηφάθ, Μασέκκα(ς), Μασελμώθ, Μασσουρούθ (E. Hatch - H. A. Redpath, *Suppl.*: 108-109).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. H. Solin, *Juden und Syrer im römischen Reich*, in: *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit*: Kolloquium vom 8.-10. April 1974 (hrsg. von Günter Neumann), Cologne/Bonn, 1980, 301-330, esp. p. 311 and Id., *Juden und Syrer in der römischen Welt*, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, 29.2, Berlin/New York, 1983, pp. 587-789, esp. p. 641.

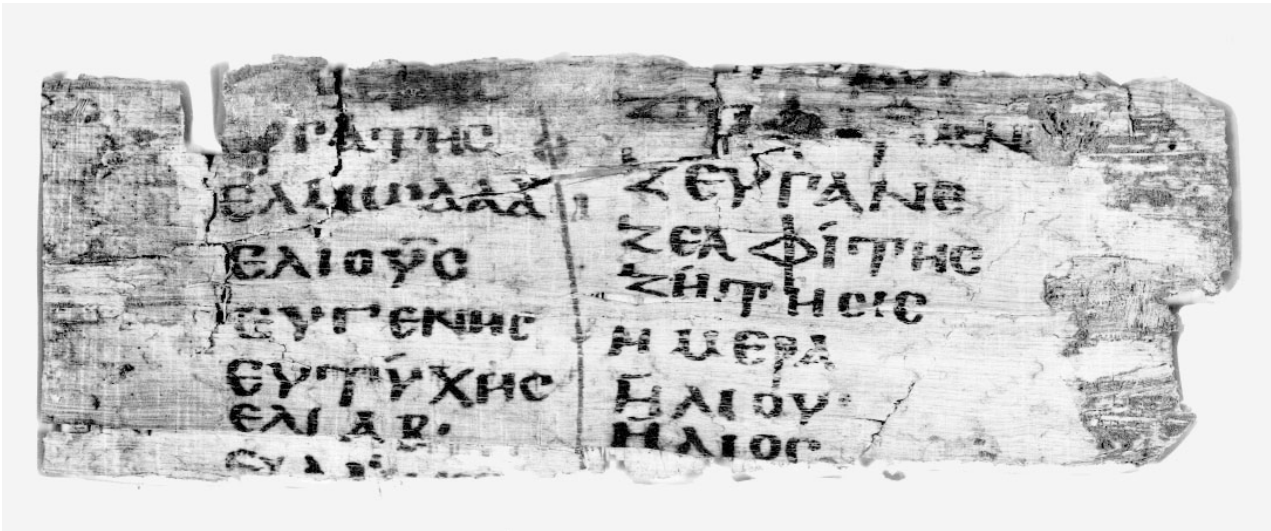


Fr. I ↓

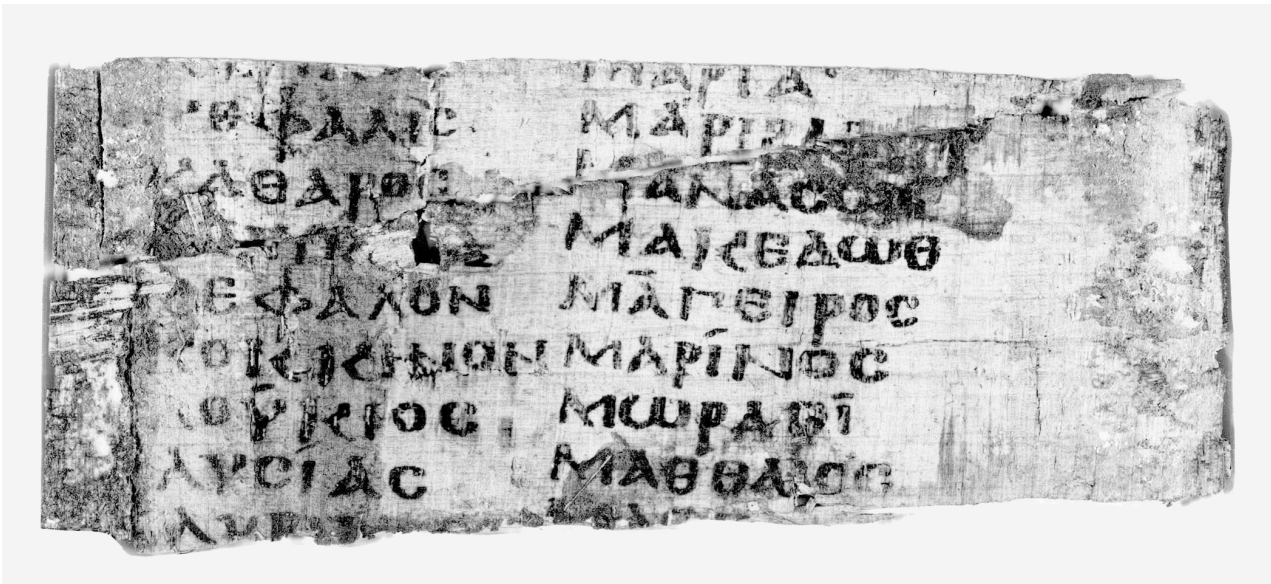


Fr. II →

Christliche Wörterliste (Ms.Brux. IV 590)



Fr. I →



Fr. II ↓

Christliche Wörterliste (Ms.Brux. IV 590)