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A GREEK PAPYRUS IN ARMENIAN SCRIPT

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0 Introduction

This article concerns a papyrus containing Greek in Armenian script which is housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (inventory number BnF Arm 332). Portions of the text and photographs have already been published,² but I present here the first full edition and commentary. My edition differs substantially from previous readings of the text which did not recognise that the text, as mounted, was misaligned.

1 History of the Text

I have discussed the history and possible origin of the text in more detail elsewhere (Clackson *forthcoming a*). The text was originally bought at the end of the last century by the French scholar Auguste Carrière from an Arab dealer, who did not reveal the provenance, but Carrière suspected that it came from the Faiyum. In 1892 Carrière informed the Mechitharist congregations in Venice and Vienna that the text contained Greek in Armenian characters and sent them each a photograph of one side of the text. The text was first mentioned in print in the Armenian journal *Bazmavêp* in 1892 (p. 39) and then discussed in a work concerning Armenian palaeography (Tašean 1898: 93-105, also printed in the Armenian journal *Handês Amsôreay* 11 (1897) 325-331); since the first discussions of the papyrus were written in Armenian, many scholars remained unaware of its existence. In 1937, Georges Cuendet, unable to locate the original, published an edition of one side of the text based on the photograph which Carrière had sent to the Vienna Mechitharists. The photograph from which Cuendet worked also omitted several portions of the text. In 1993 Dickran Kouymjian rediscovered the original text in the Oriental Manuscripts collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.³ Kouymjian also discovered a complete transcription of the papyrus in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which is likely to have been made by Carrière himself.

2 Description of the Text

The papyrus is currently mounted as if it were a single unbroken text, but actually consists of 4 separate fragments. Two small fragments, containing portions of between 4 and 6 lines, are presently mounted upside down and back to front in relation to the two large fragments, which both contain between 27 and 30 lines on each side. I label the 2 large fragments Fragment 1 and Fragment 2. These two fragments are mounted alongside one another and appear to present a single continuous text (see **Images 1 & 2**). However, examination of line-heights, script, papyrus fibres and content show that although the two fragments do join, their present alignment with one another is incorrect and Fragment 1 should be moved up 3 lines in relation to Fragment 2. Fragment 3 is currently mounted at extreme bottom left, alongside the final three lines, upside-down and back to front. This fragment joins at the bottom of Fragment 1, alongside the last three lines of Fragment 2. Fragment 4 is currently mounted at extreme bottom right, alongside the final six lines, upside down and back to front (see **Images 3 & 4** for the realigned text). Traces of letters at the bottom of this fragment fit exactly with the letters on the third line of Fragment 1, and consequently it should be aligned at the top left of the sheet.

The left hand and bottom margins of the text are preserved. The top margin is not preserved. The realigned text is approximately 192 mm high and 224 mm wide. From an identifiable Diogenes chreia preserved on side B it appears that there was space for 20-21 letters (i.e. approximately 80 mm) before

¹ I wish to give especial thank Dickran Kouymjian, Kalle Korhonen and Sarah Clackson for their help in preparing this edition. Many very useful comments were also made by audiences in Cambridge, Florence, London and Paris and unfortunately I do not have space to thank every individual by name.

² See Tašean 1898, Cuendet 1937 and 1938, Leroy 1938, Kouymjian 1996, Clackson *forthcoming a*.

³ The Bibliothèque Nationale has been unable to locate the acquisition details of the text.



Image 1



Image 2

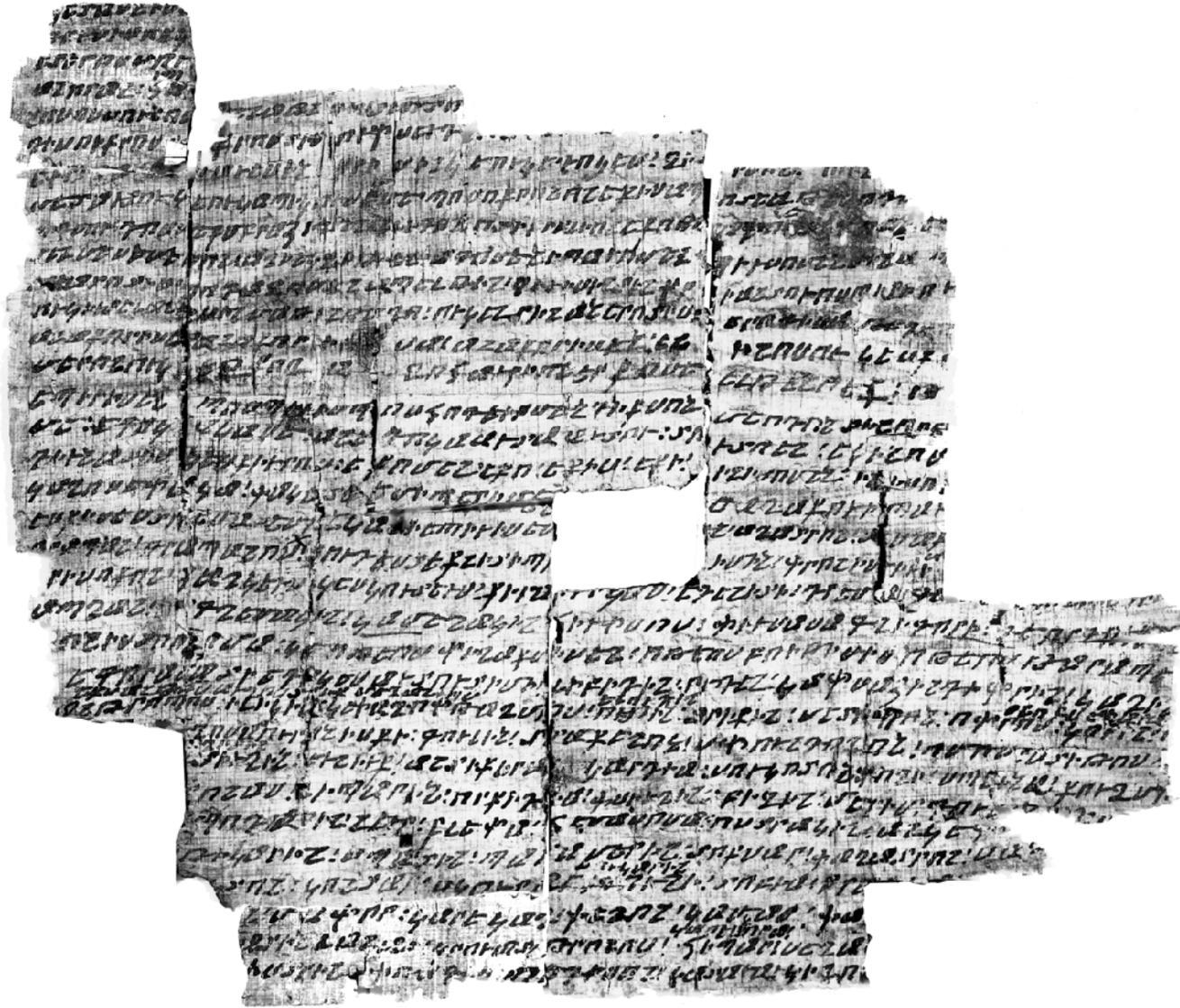


Image 3

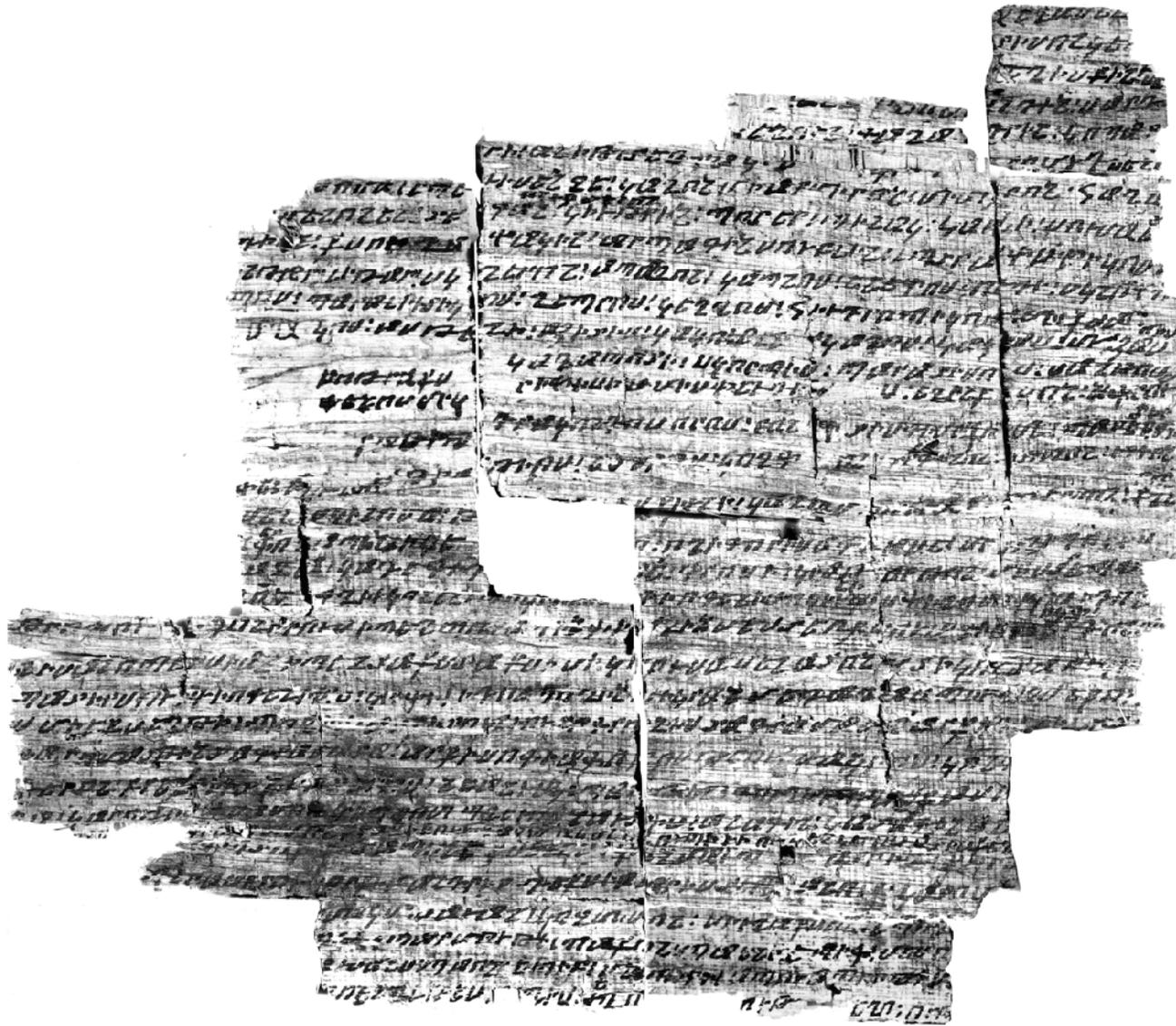


Image 4

the right hand margin of the text at its widest. The space between the right and left hand margins must consequently have been approximately 300 mm.

3 Script and Date

This text is the only surviving example of Armenian script written on papyrus, and the hand is considerably different from those found in the earliest Armenian manuscripts. Dating of the text on palaeographical terms is consequently difficult, if not impossible, and there are no clear contextual or linguistic indications that might aid dating, except that the creation of the Armenian alphabet in c. 400 AD gives a clear *terminus post quem*. The first dating of the text was made by Carrière who tentatively assigned it to the 6-7th century (reported at *Bazmavêp* (1892) p. 39). Later scholars (Tašean, Cuendet and Leroy) followed this dating, thinking that the text was more likely to have been written before the Arab conquest of Egypt. Hengstenberg (1938) thought this reasoning flawed, since Greek was likely to have continued to be spoken in Egypt after the Conquest (c. 641 AD), and he proposed to assign the papyrus to the 7-8th centuries. An earlier date has been put forward by Kouymjian (1996 and *forthcoming*), after an extensive study of the letter-forms which he believes are closest to those found in lapidary inscriptions dated to the 5th century AD. There is evidence from inscriptions and papyri to show that there were Armenians in Egypt before the seventh century AD, and the presence of the Armenians in the Byzantine army and administration is well known (see further Clackson *forthcoming* a). As I shall show more fully below, linguistic analysis of the language and transcription of the text is not incompatible with a 5th-7th century date.

The handwriting is rapid, fluent and easy with many joined up letters, and considerable variation in the formation of individual letters (see **Image 5**). Line-heights are very consistent, and there are generally no spaces left blank. In some places extra written material has been added between two lines of text. Phrases and separate words which form part of a list are normally separated by a colon (in the Armenian script, a colon is the equivalent to a full-stop) but sometimes by a single dot or apostrophe. There are a couple of extra notational devices: a horizontal bar written above the word θεός 'God' in its three attestations in line 23 of side A, and an X written above the end of the second word in line 20 of side A.

4 Synopsis of contents

All the identifiable material on the papyrus is Greek, and there is no evidence for any other language. The text contains 4 different types of material:

- 1) conversational phrases;
- 2) rudimentary verb conjugations;
- 3) word-lists arranged by topic;
- 4) chreiae and sententiae.

All of these categories are also found among 'educational' texts from antiquity, and this text has parallels both with papyrus finds and the bilingual Greek-Latin material gathered under the title of *Hermeneumata* (see further Clackson *forthcoming* a).⁴ For 1) compare the *colloquia* sections of the *Hermeneumata* (see Korhonen 1996), which are also attested on papyrus (P.Prag.Gr. III 237 and P.Berol. inv. 10582, published together at Kramer 1996: 53-4). The conjugations found on this papyrus are never complete, and are sporadically distributed through the text. However, they can be compared to the presence of conjugated material in the *Hermeneumata* and on papyri (note in particular the bilingual text P.Berol. 21246 edited by Brashear (1981) and Kramer (1983 text 1) which contains partial paradigms interspersed with vocabulary items and phrases). The word-lists have clear parallels with the *capitula* glossaries of the *Hermeneumata*, and with papyrus bilingual glossaries (see Kramer 1996: 35) and monolingual word-lists.⁵ Chreiae and sententiae are of course familiar from papyrus texts: the

⁴ I am indebted to Kalle Korhonen for pointing out the full extent of the similarities to the *Hermeneumata* material. See further the commentary on A6.

⁵ For example *P.Tebt.* II 278 (Cribiore 1996 cat. 99) which contains a list of occupations, or *P.Mon.Epiph.* 621 (Cribiore 1996 cat. 123), a list of bird-names.

Ա	Ա Ա Ա Ա Ա Ա Ա Ա Ա Ա Ա Ա
Բ	Բ Բ Բ Բ
Գ	Գ Գ Գ
Դ	Դ Դ Դ Դ Դ Դ
Ե	Ե Ե Ե Ե Ե
Զ	Զ Զ Զ
Է	Է Է Է Է Է Է
Ը	Ը Ը Ը Ը Ը Ը
Թ	Թ Թ Թ Թ Թ Թ
Ն	Ն Ն Ն Ն
Լ	Լ Լ Լ
Կ	Կ Կ Կ Կ Կ Կ
Վ	Վ Վ Վ Վ
Ղ	Ղ Ղ Ղ Ղ Ղ
Ս	Ս Ս Ս Ս Ս Ս
Յ	Յ Յ
Շ	Շ Շ Շ Շ Շ Շ Շ Շ Շ Շ
Ո	Ո Ո Ո Ո Ո
Պ	Պ Պ Պ Պ
Ս	Ս Ս Ս Ս Ս
Տ	Տ Տ Տ Տ Տ Տ Տ Տ
Ր	Ր Ր Ր Ր Ր Ր
Ի	Ի Ի Ի Ի Ի Ի
Դ	Դ Դ Դ Դ Դ Դ Դ Դ
Փ	Փ Փ Փ Փ Փ Փ Փ Փ
Բ	Բ Բ Բ Բ Բ Բ Բ Բ

Image 5

famous *P.Bour.* 1 has Diogenes chreiae followed by maxims, just as found on this text, and the Hermeneumata Leidensia has a section of *Hadriani sententiae* (CGL III 30-7). The Greek used in the papyrus however appears to show a different register to that preserved in other educational material, see further section 7 below.

The order of the material on each side of the papyrus is as follows:

Side A (previously published side, written across the fibres)

1-5 obscure

6-19 Colloquia (with inserted conjugations at 14 and 17)

19-22 Word-lists (19-20 *de ferramentis*, 20-21 *de artificibus*, 21-2 *de pellibus*)

23 Christian blessings

24 Colloquia

24-35 Word-lists (24 *de supellectili*, *de fictilibus*, 25-30 *de membris humanis*, 31-2 *de militia*, 33 *de uestimentibus*, 34-5 horsemanship)

Side B (unpublished side, written along the fibres)

1-2 obscure

3-20 Word-lists (3-5 *de escis* (?), 6 *de holeribus*, 7 *de escis*, 8 *de fictilibus*, 9-10 no clear topic, 10 *de caelo*, 11-2 *de moribus humanis*, 13-5 no clear topic, 15-6 *de cognatione*, 17 no clear topic, 18 conjugations, 19 *de tempestatibus*, 19-20 adjectives)

20-4 Diogenes chreiae

24-5 Sententiae

25-33 Word-lists (?) (largely with no clear topic except 25 *de cognatione* (?), 26 *de nauigatione*, 31 *de linteamine* (?) and 32-3 *menses*)

34 Colloquia

It is not possible to say with certainty which side was written first, but my impression is that Side A precedes Side B. This is partly because of physical factors, (the writing seems neatest at the top of Side A) but mainly because of the content. Unfortunately, a comparison of the contents with the order of sections in the Hermeneumata is little help, since there is no 'standard' order to the surviving texts (the colloquia may precede or follow the word-lists sections and the capitula sections of the word-lists appear in different orders). However, even though the material on this text is very haphazard, and many sections appear to interrupt or run into others, it does seem that the material on side A is better ordered than on Side B. It would be unlikely that the writer of this piece would take down the almost random vocabulary on some lines of B before progressing to the well ordered and extensive lists of body-parts, for example, on side A.

5 Texts

The edition of the text is presented as follows. For each side I present first a transcription of the Armenian text, in which I have attempted to represent the actual position of the writing on the papyrus, and then I give a line-by-line transcription with a separate Greek transliteration, followed by a 'normalised' reading text of the Greek and translation.

The Armenian letters used in the papyrus, their conventional transliteration and the Greek transliteration I employ, are as follows (following their order in the Armenian alphabet):

Ա	Բ	Գ	Դ	Ե	Զ	Ծ	Թ	Խ	Լ	Կ	Ն	Շ	Ո	Չ	Պ	Ս	Ր	Ի	Փ	Ք		
a	b	g	d	e	z	t'	i	l	k	h	†	m	y	n	o	p	s	t	r	w	p'	k'
α	β	γ	δ	ε	ζ	θ	ι	λ	κ	h	λ	μ	ν	ο	π	σ	τ	ρ	υ	φ	χ	

Note that I have used the signs h and y to represent the aspirate and the palatal glide in the Greek transliteration.

BNF332 a (published side) Fibres are vertical.

1	]ԵՏԱՍՆԻՍ[
2	]ԹԵԻՍԻԱՆՆԿ[
3	ԵՏԵՐՈՍՏՈՒ[
4	ԱՆՈՐԱՆ՝Ն՝ ԻՊ՛Ա[
5	ՆՈՍՈՍՏՈՒՆՈ.[..]. ԵՆԱԱՆ.ԻՍՏԱԻՏՈ[
6	ԴԻՍՈՒՔՐՈՍՏ[.] ՔՐՈՍՏԻՍՈՒՓՍԵԻԴ [
7	ԵՔՐԻ . Ա ՆԱԻԵՍԻՆ.ՏԻՍԻՆԿԵՆԻԿԵԴՆԿԵՍ:ՋԻՔ	ԻՍՈՆ:ՊԻՆ[
8	ՄԵՏԱԻՏՈՒԿ ԵՆԻԿԱՊԻԿՈՒՍԵՄԵՊՈՍՈՔՐՈՆՈՆԵՔԻՍԱՊ	ՈՏԵԵԼԹԵՍՈՐԵԴ[
9	.ԻՈՍՈՒ:ԴՈՍՄ ԵՔՍՔՐԱՅԻՆՈՆ.ԻԻԳԻՆՈՏԻԲԲԼԻՈՆԵՔՆ.	ԱՓՈ՛Ե՛...Փ...Ե[
10	ՏԵԻՄԵՍԵՄԵ ԲՈՆ:ԱՂԻԵԿՂԻԹ ԵՆ:ԱԳՈՍԵՆԻՊԱԻՈՄԵՆ	ՊԻՍՈՍԵՆՏԻՆԱՊ[
11	Ե.ԱՐՈՏԻՍ ՊՈՐԱ.ՋՈՄԵՆԱՊԵԼԹԻՆՊԻԻՍԻՆՏԻՆՔՐ	ԻԱՆՏՈՒՈՍՊԻՏԻՈՒ[
12	ՈՒԿԻՏԵԼԱՆ.ՍԻՆՄԱԹԻՆԹԵՂՈՒԿԵԼՏԻՆԱՆԵՐՈՏԻՍ:	ԵՐՈՐԻՍԱ ԹԵՆ..[
13	ԱՆԱՔՐՈՐԻՍԵ :ԱՆԱՔՐՈՐԻ [] ¹ ՍԱ:ԱՆԱՔՐՈՐԻՍԵՆԵԿ	ԻՆՈՍՈՒԿԵՍՔ.[
14	ՄԵՐՈՆՈՒԿ ԵՋՔՐՈՂ Ա ՋՈՆԱԻՐԻՈՆԵՐՔՈՄԵ	ԵԼԹԵՆՈՆԵՔ:Թ[
15	ԵՊԻԻՍԵՆ ՊՈՍՊԻԻՍՊՈՍՆՈՐԵԻՈՍԵՆԴԻՔՍՈՆ	ՄԵՆՈՐՆՏԻՆՊՈ. [
16	ՄԵԵԴՈԿ ԱԿԱՍԵ:ԱՆԵԴՈԿԱԱԻՏԱԱՏՈՒՏՈՆ	ԻՏՈՆԵՆԵԿԻՆՈՍ[
17	ԴԻՆԱՏՈՍ ԿԵՍՔԻՐՈՍ:ԵՔՈՄԵՆԵՔՈ:ԵՔԻՍԵՔԻ:	ԻՋԻՍՈՍԵՆ:ԻՋԻՍՈ.[
18	ԿԱՂՈՍԵՓԱԿԱ:ՓԱԿԵՏԵՄԻՊԵՐԻՄԵՆ. . [5-6 letters	] ԵԱՂԱՔՈՒԿԱԻ[
19	ԵՍՔԻՍԵՏՐԵՄԱ:ԵՄԻՆԿԱ.ԻԵՊԻԻՍԵՍ[7-8 letters	] ՆԱՂԱՏՐՈՆ:ԱՄԱՔ[
20	ԴՐԱՊԱՆ:ԴՐԱՊԱՆՈՍ ² :ՏՈՒԴԵՍԵՔՆԻՏԻՊԻ[7-8 letters	] ԻՄԻՆ:ՓՐՈՆԻՄԻԲԻ՝ Ա՛[
21	] ՐԻՍՈՔՈՆ:ՔԱՂԿԵԻՍ.ԿԵՍԿՈՒՏԵԻՍ:ՔԻՐԱ.:ԻԿ ³ :ՍԵԳԵՆԻՏԻ:ԴՐԵՄԱ:Գ. traces of up to 11 letters ր[
22	ԱՊՂԱՆ: .ԳՂԵՄԱԿԻՆ:ԿԱՄԵՂԱԿԻՆ <ԻՓՈՍՈ:ՓԻՏԱՍԱԳՂԻԳՈՐԻ:ԳԵՆՐԳՈՒ..[
23	] ՈՆԻՍՏՈՆՈՍԱ:ԿԵՆՈՆՓԻՂԱՔՍ ԻՍԵՆ:ՈՐԵՆՈՍԲՈՒՍԻՍ:ՈՐԵՆՈՍԱՐԱՊԵ[
24	]ԵԳՐՈՍԱՍՏԻԵԴՈԿԵՍԱԻՏՈՒՏԻՄԻ: ԼԻԲԻԴԻՆ:ՈՒԴԵՆ:ԿԱՓՍԱՅԻՆԴԻՓՐԻՆ:ԿԱԴԻՆ[
25	ԵՔՍԱՆԹՈՍԱԻՂՈՍՐԻՔՄԵՂԱՆՔՐԻՍ ԵՆՈՒԴԻՆ ԵՆՈՒԼԵՓԱՐԱ[
26	] ԱՆԹՐՈՍՈՍ:ԻԼԻԿԻԱ:ԿԵՓԱՂ:ՈՓԹԱՂՄ ՈՍ:ՈՒՏԻՆ:ՏՐԻՔԻՆՄԵՏՈՐՈՆ:ՈՓՐՈՍ:ԿՐՈՒՆ:[
27	7-9 letters] ԳՂՈՍԱՌԻՐԱՆԻՍՔԻ:ԳՈՒԼԻՆ:Տ ՐԱՔԵՂՈՆ:ՍՓՈՒՆԴՈՂՈՆ:ՈՍՈՍ:ՍՏԻԹՈՍ[
28u	] ԻՂԻՏԻՆ	
28	7-9 letters] ԿՏԻՂԻՆ:ԵԻՆԻՔԱՆՏԻՔԵՐԱ :ԿԱՐԴԻԱ:ՍՈՒԿՈՏՈՆ:ՔՈՂԻՍՊԼԻՆԱ:ՔՈՒՋՄԻ[
29	7-9 letters] ՓՈՆԱՍ:ՂԻՊԱՐԻՆ:ՈՐՔԻԴ ԻԱ:ՓՍԻՂԻՆ:ԲԻՋԻՆ:ՄԵՐԻՍ:ԳՈՒՆԱ...[
30	7-9 letters] :ՊՈՐԱՐԻՆՆԵԻՐ:ԲԼԵՓԱ: <ԵՄԱՍՈՍԱ:ՈՍՏՐԱԿԻՆ:ԱՆԿԵՓ[
31	7-9 letters] ԹԻԿԱՐԻՆ:ՍՊԱՏԻՆ:ՊԱՐ ԱՄԵՐԻՆ:ՏՈՔՍԱՐ:ՓԱՂԱՏՐՈՆ:ՍԱԳ[

32u		ՍՈՒԿԱՐԻՆ
32	8-10 letters]	ՏՈՆԿՈՆՏԱՐՍԿՈՒՏԱ
33	8-10 letters]	ՆՄԱՓՈՐԿԱՐԵԿԱ
34u		ԿԱՊԱՆՆՐԱ
34	8-10 letters]	ԱՏԻՆԼԱՆԱՏԿՈՒՄԻՏ
35	8-10 letters]	ԻՍՏՐԻՆ ՓԹԱԳՈՄ

Notes

1. Smudge, with what looks like] written over. 2. A mark X written above end of word. 3. These letters are reconstructed from the bottom strokes.

- 1]ԵՏԱՍՆԻՍ[
].ετασνισ[
- 2]ԹԵԻՄԻԱՈՆԿ[
]θευσιαονκ[
θυσία ὄγκ[ος]
sacrifice (?) bulk (?)
- 3 ԵՏԵՐՈՍՏԻ[
ετεροστου[
ἕτερος
other
- 4 ԱՆՈՐԱՆՔՆԻՄԱ[
ανοραν:h`ιπ`α[
- 5 ՆՈՍՈՍՏՈՒՆՈ[...]. ԵՆԱՆԻՍՏԱՆՈ[
νοσοστουνο[...].εναν.ισταντο[
νόσος του ένα ταυτό
disease of the (?) one the same
- 6 ԴԻՍՈՒՔՐՈՍ[...]. ՔՐՈՍՏԻՍՈՒՓՍԵԻԴ... . . .[
δισουχροστ[...].χροστισουφσευδ... . . .[
ψεύ]δεις οὐ χρεωστ[ῶ:]χρεωστεις οὐ ψευδ[
[You lie I?] do not owe. You owe [I do?] not lie

- 15 $\epsilon\tau\iota\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\pi\iota\upsilon\sigma\pi\iota\upsilon\sigma\pi\iota\upsilon\sigma\theta\omicron\delta\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\upsilon\delta\iota\chi\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\upsilon\pi\omicron.$ [
 επιυισενποσπιυισποσποσθοδευομενδιχσονμεοδοντινπο. [
 ἐποίησεν. πῶς ποιεῖς πῶς ὀδεύομεν δειξόν μοι ὀδὸν τὴν
 He made. How do you make? Where do we go? Show me the road
- 16 $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\delta\omicron\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha\sigma\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\delta\omicron\kappa\alpha\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon\kappa\iota\upsilon\omicron\sigma\upsilon$ [
 με:εδοκακασε:ανεδοκααυτααυτου:τουτοεν:εκινος[
 ἔδωκα καὶ σοί. ἀνέδωκα αὐτὰ αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο ἦν. ἐκεῖνος
 I gave to you as well. I gave them to him. It was this one. That man
- 17 $\delta\iota\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\tau\omicron\sigma\kappa\epsilon\sigma\chi\iota\upsilon\omicron\sigma\epsilon\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\chi\omicron\epsilon\chi\iota\sigma\epsilon\chi\iota\iota\zeta\iota\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\upsilon\iota\zeta\iota\sigma\omicron.$ [
 δυνατοσκεσχιυροσ:εχομεν:εχο:εχισ:εχι:ιζισομεν:ιζισο.[
 δυνατὸς καὶ ἰσχυρὸς. ἔχομεν. ἔχω. ἔχεις. ἔχει.
 able and strong. We have. I have. You have. He has.
- 18 $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\sigma\epsilon\phi\alpha\kappa\alpha.\phi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon\mu\iota\pi\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\upsilon.$. [5-6 letters] $\epsilon\alpha\lambda\alpha\chi\omicron\upsilon\iota\pi\alpha\upsilon$ [
 καλοσεφακα. φακετεεμιπεριμεν. . [5-6 letters] εαλαχουιπαυ[
 καλῶς ἔφαγα. φάγετε μὴ περιμέν[ετε ἄλλαχου
 I ate well. Eat don't wait elsewhere
- 19 $\epsilon\sigma\chi\iota\sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\epsilon\mu\iota\upsilon\kappa\alpha.\iota\epsilon\pi\iota\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\sigma$ [7-8 letters] $\nu\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau\pi\omicron\nu\alpha\mu\alpha\chi$ [
 εσχισεστρεμα:εμινκα.ι επιυισεσ[7-8 letters] ν:αλατρων:αμαχ[
 ἔσχησε ἐποίησες ἄροτρον. ἅμαξα
 he had you made plough. waggon.
- 20 $\delta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\chi\upsilon\iota\tau\iota\pi\iota$ [7-8 letters] $\mu\iota\upsilon\phi\omicron\upsilon\mu\iota\beta\iota$ ἄ [
 δραπαν:δραπανος:τουδεστεχνιτιπι[7-8 letters] ιμιν:φρονιμιβι ἄ [
 δρέπανον. δρέπανον. τεχνίτης φρόνιμος ἦβη
 sickle. sickle. craftsman intelligent youth
- 21 $\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omicron\chi\omicron\omicron\sigma\omicron.\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\cdot\kappa\epsilon\sigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\cdot\chi\iota\omicron\alpha\cdot\iota\kappa\cdot\sigma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\iota\tau\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\cdot\gamma.$ traces of up to 11 letters ρ [
]ρισοχον:χαλκευσ·κεσκουτευσ:χιρα:ι.κ.σ.εγευιτι:δρεμα:γ. traces of up to 11 letters ρ[
 χρυσοχόος. χαλκεύς· καὶ σκυτεύς. χήρα. δέρμα
 gold-smith. bronze-smith and cobbler. widow. (?) hide.
- 22 $\alpha\pi\lambda\alpha\nu\cdot\gamma\lambda\epsilon\mu\alpha\kappa\iota\nu\cdot\kappa\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\iota\nu\eta\upsilon\phi\omicron\sigma\sigma\phi\iota\upsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\alpha\gamma\lambda\iota\gamma\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\gamma\epsilon\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon.$ [
 απλαν: γλεμακιν:καμελακινηιυφσοσ:φισασααγλιγορι:γεοργου.. [
 ἀπλανής. καμελάκιον ὕψος. φῦσα σάγος λιγουρίον. γεωργου
 fixed. (?) cap height. bellows sack shoe-strap. of a farmer

- 23] ՈՆԻՍՏՈՆՈՄԱ:ԿԵԹԵՍՓԻԼԱՅԻՍԵՆ:ՈԹԵՍԲՈՒԹԻՍԻՏ:ՈԹԵՍԹԱՐԱՔԵ[
] ονιστονομα:κεθεσοφιλαχσισεν:οθεοσβοιθισισ:οθεοσθαραπε[
 τὸ ὄνομα. καὶ ὁ θεὸς φυλάξῃ σε. ὁ θεὸς βοηθήσῃ σ'. ὁ θεὸς θεραπεύσῃ σε
 the name. And God guard you. God help you. God heal [you
- 24] ԵԳՈՐԱՍԱՏԻԵԾՈՔԵՍԱՏՈՒՄԻ:ԼԻԲԻԴԻՆ:ՕՍԴԵՆ:ԿԱՓՍԱՅԻՆԴԻՓՐԻՆ:ԿԱԴԻՆ[
] εγορασατιεδοκεσατουτιμι:λιβιδιν:ουδεν:καφσαγινδιφριν:καδιν[
 ἡγόρασα. τί ἔδωκες αὐτοῦ τιμὴν; λεβητίον. οὐδέν. κάμψα. διφρίον. κάδιον
 I bought. What price did you give him? pot. nothing (?) basket. chair. jug.
 I bought. What price did you give him? pot. nothing (?) basket. chair. jug.
- 25 ԵՔՍԱՆԹՈՍԱՆՈՍՏՐԻՄԵԼԱՆՉՐԻՍ ԵՆՈՍԴԻՆ ԵՆՈՅԼԵՓԱՐԱ[
] εχσανθοσασυλοστριμελανχρισ ενουδιν ενοβλεφαρα[
 ξανθός οὐλότριχος μελαγχρής ἐνώτιον βλέφαρα
 blond curly-haired. swarthy ear-ring eyelids
 blond curly-haired. swarthy ear-ring eyelids
- 26] ԱՆԹՐՈՊՈՍ:ԻԼԻԿԻԱ:ԿԵՓԱԼ:ՕՓԹԱԼՄՈՍ:ՕՍԿԻՆ:ՏՐԻՅԻՆՄԵՏՈՓՈՆ:ՕՓՐՈՍԿՈՐԻՆ:.[
] ανθρωπος:ιλικια:κεφαλ:οφθαλμος:ουτιν:τριχινμετοπον:οφροσ:κοριν:.[
 ἄνθρωπος. ἡλικία. κεφαλή. ὀφθαλμός. ὠτίον. τρίχιον μέτωπον. ὀφρύς. κόρη.
 man. age. head. eye. ear. hair forehead. eyebrow. pupil.
 man. age. head. eye. ear. hair forehead. eyebrow. pupil.
- 27 7-9 letters] ԳՂՈՍԱՆԻՐԱՆԻՍԻՔՈՒՆԻՍՏՐԱՅԻՆ:ՏՐԱՅԵԼՈՆ:ՍՓՈՆԴՈԼՈՆ:ՕՄՈՍՏԻԹՈՍ[
] 7-9 letters] γλωσσα ουρανισχι:γουλιν:τραχελον:σφουνδολον:ομοσ:στιθος[
 γλωσσα· οὐρανίσκος. γουλίων. τράχηλος. σφόνδυλος. ὦμος. στήθος.
 tongue. palate. throat. neck. spine. shoulder. breast.
 tongue. palate. throat. neck. spine. shoulder. breast.
- 28u] ԻՂԻՏԻՆ
] 7-9 letters] ԿՏԻՎԻՆ:ԵՆՆԻՅԱՆՏԻՅԵՐԱ:ՎԱՐԻՆ:ՍԻՆԿՈՍՆ:ՔՈՂԻՍՊԻՆԱ:ՔՈՒՋՄԻ[
] 7-9 letters] κτιυλιν:ευνιυχ:αντιχερα: καρδια:σουκοτον:χολι:σπλινα:χουζμι[
 δάκτυ]λίδιον
 δα]κτύλιον. ὀνύχιον. ἀντίχειρ. καρδία. συκωτόν. χολή. σπλήνα. χυμίον (??)
 finger-ring
 finger. nail. thumb. heart. liver. bile. spleen. humour (??)
 finger. nail. thumb. heart. liver. bile. spleen. humour (??)
- 29 7-9 letters] ՓՆԱՍՂԻՊԱՐԻՆ:ՈՐՔԻԴԻԱ:ՓՍԻՎԻՆ:ԲԻՇԻՆ:ՄԵՐԻՍ:ԳՈՆԱ...[
] 7-9 letters] φονασ:λιπαριν:ορχιδια:φσυλιν:βιζιν:μερισ:γουνα...[
 λιπάριον. ὀρχίδια. ψωλίον. βύζιν. μηρός. γόνατα
 fat. testicles. penis. breast. thigh. knees
 fat. testicles. penis. breast. thigh. knees

BNF332 B (unpublished side) Fibres are horizontal

1				]ԱԵԼԱՍԵՆ[
2				]ՏԻՍՈՆԿԵ[
3				]ԵՂԻՍՔԻՆ:
4				]։ԱՆԱՓԵՐՈՆ։[.]ՆԴԻՆ։ՍԱՐԴ՝ ԻՆ՝
5				]։ԵՂՈՒՆ։ԳԱՂԱ։ [.]ԴԻՌԻՆ։ԿՈՊԱՐ[
6			]ՐԻԱՆԻԹ| ՏԵԹՐԱԿ։ (3-4 letters) .Փ...[.]ՏՈՄԻԴ։ՍԵՆ։[
7	]ՏՈՄԱ։ԵՊԵ		ԻՒՍԵՆՁԵ։ԿԱՂՈՆՄԻԱՐՄԻՐՈՆ։ՄԻԱՐՏՈՆ։<ԱՂԱ[
8u			ՈՆԻՔՄԵՆՈՆ	
8	]ՄԵՆՈՆԵՆ։ՏԵ	ԳԱՆ։ԿԻԹՐԻՆ։ՊՈՏԵՐ։ՊԻՆԱԿ։ԿԱԻ	ԿԻՍՈՒՍԱՍ՝ Տ՝ [
9	]ԴԻՈՆ։ՔՍՈՒՂԱ	։ՓԱԿԻՆ։ԱՐՊԱԳԻՆՍՈՒԲԼԻՆ։ԼՊՏՐԱ	ՓԱ։ՓԻԿՈՄ։[
10	]ԻՆԹԱՐ։ԼԻԹԱՐ։ՍԿ	ՂԵՐՈՆ։ԱՊԱՂՈՆ։ԿԱՊՆՈՍ։ԵՆԵՓՈՍ։Ո	ԻԴԻ։ՍԿՆՈՓՈ[
11	]ՊՈՍ։ՊԱՐԱԼԻԻՏԻԿ	ՈՍ։ՂԵՊՐՈՍ։ԿԵՂՂՈՍ։<ԻԴԻՐՈՊԻԿՈՍ	։ՄԻԻՔՍԱՐ։	
12	]ՏԱԿՈՍ։ԱՍԹԵ	ՆԻԱՅԻՏԻՍ։ԿԱԿՈՒՏԵՆ։ԿԱՂՈՍ։ԿԱԿ	ԱՍ։ՄԻ։ՅԱՍ՝ ՊԻՍ՝	
13	ՍՈԹՐԱՔՍ	ԿԱԼԱՊՈՏԻ։ՍԿՈՐՊԻՍ։ՊԱՐԱՏԻՍՈ	Ա։ՍԱՆԹՈՍ	
14	։ԵՆՈՍՄԻԿ	ՐԻՓԻՍԻՍՄԻՍՓԵԻԴԻ։	ԱԵՂԻՆՔ	ՍՈՆ։ՆԻՓՈՒ՝ Ս՝
15	ԲԱԹԻՒՍ	ԴՐԱԿՈՆԴՆՈՍՈՐՈՍ։ԲԵԼ՝ ԻՆ՝ ԻՏԻՆԳԻՆԵ՝ Ր՝ՔՈ	ՄԵ։ՊԱՏԵՐ։ՄԻ՝ ՏԻՐ՝	
16	]ՓԵ։ԹՈՒ.Տ.։ԹԻԱ	ԹԻՈՍ։ԵՏԵՐՈՍ։ԿՈՂՓ	ՈՆ։ ՏՐ՝ Ա՝ԳԻՆՈՆ։ Ա՝ԳԻՆՈՆ։ԻԴԻՈՆ	
17	]ՄԵՆ ՍԿԻՆՈՄԱ։Թ [	7-9 letters	]ՍՔԻՆԻ։ԿԱՂԱՄ։։ԹԱ։։ԹԵՐՄՈՆ։ՔՂԵ՝ ՐՈՆ՝	
18	]ՈՓ՝ ԵՐ՝ՈՍ։ՊԻՆԻԿԵ[	7-9 letters	]Ո։ՈՂԻԳՈՐԻՍԱԴ։ԱՍԵ։ՄԻ	ՈՂԻԳՈՐԻՍ
19	]ԱՋԱ։ ԿԱԴԵԳԻԴ[	7-9 letters	]Ե։ԴԻՈՍԻ։ԿՐԱԹ ԵԻԹՈՆ։ՄԻՍ՝ Ր՝ԵՊՂ.[
20	]ՈՆ։ԳՂԻԿՈՆԵՆ։ՊԻԿՐՈՆ։[.		]ԴԻՈԳԵՆԻՍՈԿԻ՝ ՆԻ՝ԿՈՍ ՓԻՂՈՍՈՓՈՍԻԴՈՆ։[
21	]ՆԹՐՈՊՈՒ.ՊՈՆԻՐՈՒՍԻՊԵՆՊՈՏԱՊԻՆՓԻ		ԱՂԻՆՄԵՍՏԵՆՔՍՈՒՍ։ԴԻՈԳԵՆ՝ | ՈԿՓ՝ ԻԴՈՆՈՍ..[
22	]ԻՆԻՍԱՆՈՊԵՐՍԻԱՆԻՊԵՆՏԱՔՍՏԱՔՍԻՄԻԿ		ՐՈՒՍԱՍԵՆԱՏՈՆ.ՏԻԿՈՆՏԱՈՒԿ.[
23	]ՊԱՏԻՐՍՈՒ։ԴԻՈԳԵՆԻՍ։ՈԿ։ՓԻԴԻՆՊՈՂԻՆ		ՄԻԿՐԱՆՄԵԳԱՂԱՍՊԻԴՂԱՍԵՔՈՒ.[
24	]ՍՄԻԵՔՍԵՂԹԻՊՈՂԻՍ։ԱՐՔԻՏՈՒԲԻՈՒՏՈՓՐՈ		ՆԻՆՏԱԳՐԱՄԱՏԱ։ԱՐՔԻ.....[
25	]ԱՏՈՄԱԹԻՆՏԱԳՐԱՄԱՏԱ։ԱՐՔԻՍՈՓԻԱՓՈ		ԲՈՍԹԵՈՒ։ՄԱԿՐՈՍ։ԿՈՆԴ.[
26	]ԹԵՐՈՆ։ԲՐԵՋԲԻՏՆԵԱՏԵՐՈՍ։ՆԵԱՆԻՍԿՊԱՐ		ԹԵՆ։ԴՈՂԻ։ԴՈՒՂՈՍԲԱՍԻ[
27	]Ա։ԿԱՐՈՒՔՈՍՓՍԱՄՈՍ։ՏԻՊՐՈՍ։ՊՂԵՒՈՆ։ՆԱԻՏ		ԻՍ։ԱՆԱԳԻՆ։ԿԱՏԱԳԻՆ։Ն[
28	]ԻՆ..Ա ՏՈՆԲՐԱՋԻՔՈՒ. . Ա... ԱԿ ...		ՈՒՊԻԻՈՒԿԵՂԿԵՐՈՍԱՏՐԱՔԵՂ[
29	]..ՊՏՈՔ..ՏԱՊԻՆԻ։ՔՍԵՆՈՍ։Ք		ԱՋՄԱ| Պ ԱՏՐԻ Ա։ ՔՈՐԱ[
30	]։ԴԵՐԱԱԻՏՈՒԱՐՔԻՄԱՆԴԻՏ։ԴԵՔՍԻԱ		ԱՐԻՍՏԵՐԱ։ԱՆՈՒՔ։ԿԱՏՈ.[
31	]ՄԱԿՏԱՄԱՒԱՆ| ԿՈՋՄԻՍ		ՈՆ։ՍԻՆԱՔՍԵԼԱԻՆ։ԹԻՆ[

32	]ոթ:ղւրսոհթհ:ղւ.բո	ն:ղւեւնիեղիփ:սեւո[
33	]հՏԱՆԱ:ՊԱՈՆ:ԵՊԻԲ:ՄԵՍ	ոռի՛հ:ԱՊՈԻԱՊՈՈԹԻՍ[
34	]ոհԿեԼթեՍ:թեՂԻՍԹ՛Ե՛	ՂՈՈԻԹ ԵՂՈՈԻԹ[

1	]ԱԵԼԱՍԵՆ[]αελασεν[
2	]ՏԻՍՈՆԿԵ.[]τισονκε.[
3	]ԵՂԻՍՔԻՆ:]ελισχιν: ὀβ]ελίσκος. skewer.	
4	]ԱՆԱՓԵՐՈՆ:.[.]ՆԴԻՆ:ՍԱՐԴ՝ԻՆ՛]::αναφερον:.[.]νδιν:σαρδ՝ιν՛ ἀναφέρων. [λέ]ντιον. σαρδίνη offering. napkin. sardine	
5	]ԵՂՈՒՆԳԱՂԱ:.[.]ԴՐԻՆ:ԿՈՊԱՐ[]ελουν:γαλα:.[.]δριν:κοπαρ[γάλα. ύδρίον. milk. jug (?)	
6	]ԴԻԱՆԻԹ | ՏԵԹՐԱԿ. (3-4 letters) .փ:.[...]ՏՈՄԻԴ՝ՍԵՆ.[]ρι:ανιθιτεθρακ: (3-4 letters) .φ:.[...]τομιδ՝σεν.[ἀνηθον. θυδράκιον. τoμίδιον. σεννίον dill. lettuce. knife. sieve (?)	
7	]ՏՈՍԱ:ԵՊԵՒԻՍԵՆՇԷ:ԿԱԼՈՆՄԻԱՐՄԻՐՈՆ:ՄԻԱՐՏՈՆ՝ՀԱԼԱ[]τομα:επειυισενζε:καλονμιαρμιρον:μιαρτον՝հαλα[ἐποίησεν <ᾗ>ζει. (?) καλόν μὴ ἀλμυρόν. μὴ ἀρτ<υτ>όν՝άλλα[ς he made he boiled. fine not salty. not seasoned. salt	

- 8u ուհթւե՛նն
- 8]ՄԵՆՆԵ՛Ն:ՏԵԳԱՆ:ԿԻԹՐԻՆ:ՊՈՏԵՐ:ՊԻՆԱԿ:ԿԱՎԿԻՍՈՒՄԱՍ՝ Տ´ [
 ονιχμ̄ενον
]μενονεν:τεγαν:κυθριν:ποτερ:πινாக:καυκισουμασ` τ´ [
 τήγανον. κυθρίον. ποτήριον. πινάκιον. καυκίον.
 pan. jug. cup. plate. cup.
- 9]ԴԻՈՆ:ՉՍՈՒԼԱ:ՓԱԿԻՆ:ԱՐՔԱԳԻՆՍՈՒՅԼԻՆ:ԼՊԵՐԱՓՍ:ՓԻԿՈՄ.[
]διον:χσουλα:φακιν:αρπαγινσουβλιν:λπτραφσ:φικομ.[
 ξύλα. φάκιον. άρπάγη σουβλίον. λεπτοράψις. σφήκωμ[α
 wood. flask. hook awl. fine-stitching. cord
- 10]ԻՆԹԱՐ:ԼԻԹԱՐ:ՏԿԼԵՐՈՆ:ԱՓԱԼՈՆ:ԿԱՊՆՈՍ:ԵՆԵՓՈՍ:ՕՍԴԻ:ՏԿՆՈՓՈ[
]ινθαρ:λιθαρ:σκλερον:απαλον:καπνος:ενεφος:ουδι:σκνοφο[
 πλι]νθάριον. λιθάριον. σκληρόν. άπαλόν. κάπνος. νέφος. εϋδία. γνόφο[ς
 brick. stone. hard. soft. smoke. cloud. clear sky. darkness.
- 11]ՊՈՍ:ՊԱՐԱԼՎԻԿՈՍ:ԼԵՔՐՈՍ:ԿԵԼԼՈՍ:ԻՍԴՐՈՊԻԿՈՍ:ՄՆՉԱՐ:
]πος:παραλυτικος:λεπρος:κελλος:իսδροπικος:μυχσαρ:
 παραλυτικός. λεπρός. κυλλός. ύδρωπικός. μυξάριον.
 paralytic. leper. club-footed. dropsical. snot.
- 12]ՏԱԿՈՍ:ԱՍԹԵՆԻ:ԱՅԻԿՈՍ:ԿԱԿՈՒՆ:ԿԱԿՈՍ:ԿԱԿԱՍ:ՄԻՅԱՍ՝ ՊԻՍ՝
]τακος:ασθενι:αγιτις:κακουτεν:καλος:κακασ:μι:γασ` π̄ισ՝
 άσθενής. άηδής. κακώδης. (?) καλός. κάκας. μ̄ηον. ἴασπις
 weak. unpleasant. bad-smelling. good. bad. baldmoney. jasper
- 13 ՍԹՐԱՔԿԱԼԱՊՈՒ:ՏԿՈՐՔԻՍ:ՔԱՐԱԿՈՍ:ՏԱՆԹՈՍ
 սոθրաքկալապոու:սկորքիս:քարատիս:սանթոս
 սάθραξ̄ քալապόδιον. սկորπίος. քարάδειςος. ξανθός
 louse shoemaker's last. scorpion. garden. blond
- 14 .ԵՆՈՍՄԻԿՐԻՓԻՍԻՄԻՍՓԵՎԻՍ:ԵԼԻՆՉՍՈՆ:ՆԻՓՈՎ՝ Ս՝
 .enoսmikrifisimispevdis:elinchson:niphov`ս՝
 μικρή φύσις μ̄η̄ σπεύδεις. ἔλεγγον. νίψου (?)
 small nature don't hurry. (?) put to the test! wash (?)

6 Commentary

Side A

Transcription Notes

- 6 Traces of the lower parts of further letters run to the end of the fragment.
 7 Letter at end of first fragment must be Ϙ although only the horizontal cross bar remains.
 9 Readings of the middle and the end of the line are very doubtful. There is a smudge after τ which is written above the line, but there seem not to be any letters beneath the smudge.
 13 Only traces of the final τ on this line remain.
 20 The letter before the break could also be Ϛ or ϛ.
 22 ԳՂԵՄԱԿԻՆ (γλεμακιν): Cuendet read ԵԳՂԵՄԱԿԻՆ (յγλετακιν) (1937: 224-5) and Leroy γλεσμακιν (1938: 516); the latter is impossible and the former unlikely. The Ա (α) is formed with a very open downward loop.
 23 A horizontal stroke is written above the letters ϑԵՆԱ in all three cases on this line.
 25 This line is squashed between lines 24 and 26, and must have been written after line 26.
 32 There are traces of the tops of further letters at the end of this line.

Notes

- 1-5 These lines are too short and fragmentary to allow any secure interpretation, and the Greek equivalents and translations given are very tentative. It is not even wholly clear whether this section contained word-lists or phrases. Note that the material on line 4 may be in part paralleled at line A34 and A34u below.
- 6 The alignment of Fragment 4 with the main text shows that we have here the reproduction of two sides of a conversation. Kalle Korhonen (p.c. 15/10/98) suggests that this is parallel to the ‘quarrelling with the money-lender’ section (§26) of the Colloquium Harleianum (*CGL* III 113.72-114.45 = 643). This would consequently represent a significant link between the ‘phrase-book’ sections of the papyrus and the Colloquia. The interpretation of χροστισ as χρεωστεις ‘you owe’ follows Grégoire (in Leroy 1938: 517). Although the contraction of εω to ω is not found in Greek papyri, it does occur in Coptic documents of the sixth century (for example, *KSB* I 024, 025).
- 7 The reading τιμινκεουκεδοκεσ and interpretation τιμὴν καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεσ follow Cuendet 1937: 223. The reading is however uncertain (the τ may be better read as an ρ), and the word order with misplaced καὶ is odd. I can find no Greek word to match αυεσιν or ζιχ- at the line end and beginning.
 εδοκεσ for ἔδωκασ ‘you gave’ shows the Modern Greek form replacement of 2nd person singular -ασ by -εσ, attested elsewhere in the papyri (Gignac II 348f).
- 8 ποσοχρονονεχισαποτεελθεσοδε: the phrase πόσον χρόνον ἔχεις ἀπό can be paralleled in 6th century AD literary texts: cf. Eusebius of Alexandria *Sermones* 4.1 (333A in Migne’s text, PG 86) πόσον χρόνον ἔχει ἀφ’ οὗ ἄσθενεῖ ‘how long has he been sick?’
 οδε is to be interpreted ὧδε which comes to mean ‘here’ and ‘hither’ in Post-Classical Greek (Funk 1961: 56).
- 9 The reading of this line is doubtful, and no secure interpretation can be given.
 δοσμεχσβραγιν: the letters are quite clear (although the σ may be read as an μ) but the interpretation is not. The Armenian letter here transcribed as γ was previously read as τζ as also on A24 below.
- 10 τευμε cannot be securely identified; it most likely represents a form of a verb in -τεύω.
 σεμερον: here Greek η is transcribed as ε when it occurs before a nasal (cf. Gignac I 243, who cites a parallel spelling σέμερον from 599 AD).
 αλιεκλιθεν: there are several possible interpretations, none of them particularly convincing:
 i) ἄλλη ἐκλίθη ‘another was bent’;
 ii) ἄλλη ἐκλείθη ‘another was closed’ (for parallel form ἐκλείθη cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* II text 26, col. II, 2);
 iii) ἄλλη ἐκλήθη ‘another was called’;
 iv) ἄλλη ἔζηληθεν ‘another left’ (compare the metathesis of δρεμα for δέρμα at line 21 below).
- 11 αροτι is here interpreted as ἐρωτεῖ, standing for ἐρωτῶ and showing the confusion of -άω and -έω verbs met with elsewhere in the papyri (cf. Gignac II 364f.). Note the parallel of αρ for ερ at A23 (θαραπε- for θεραπευ-); however, the compound verb (which shows the same confusion of declension), is spelt ανεροτισ at A12.
 σποδαζομεν is here interpreted as σπουδάζομεν (other verbs ending in -δάζω or -δάζομαι in *LSJ* are: αὐδάζομαι, κηδάζω, κλυδάζομαι, κυδάζω, μυδάζομαι, σαρδάζω, σκεδάζω, σφαδάζω). This word shows the only example of Greek ου represented by o in this text, but the substitution of o or ω for ου is not uncommon in papyri (Gignac I 208-212, note the citation of ἐπισποδασμοῦ for ἐπισπουδασμοῦ on 212).
 πυισιντινχιριαντουσπιτιου: the phrasing and meaning are paralleled by e.g. *P.Oxy.* I 138 r. 28 (dated to 610-611 AD) πᾶσαν χρεῖαν τοῦ εἰρημένου στάβλου ποιεῖν ‘perform every service of the stable’. It is not clear whether ὀσπίτιον means ‘house’ or ‘hospital’ in this phrase.
- 12 ουκωτελαν.σινμαθινθελο: if the form ιωτελ- does stand for some form of εὐτελής ‘cheap’ it may show a parallel with the ‘Folium Parisinum’ (P.Louvre Eg. 2329, published at Kramer 1983: 89-95), a bilingual glossary with Greek written in Latin characters, which includes the gloss ‘bile utelo’ (line 20, for *uilis* εὐτελῶς). Note the representation of the

- diphthong *ευ*-in both texts. A reading *συνμαθεῖν θέλω* is unlikely, since the compound *συνμανθάνω* is otherwise unattested, and consequently it is preferable to suppose that an accusative ending in *-σιν* should be read before *μαθεῖν θέλω*, but it is difficult to understand what sense the whole phrase then makes.
- ουκελτιν*: if the interpretation is correct, this is the only time that *ἐλθεῖν* is spelt with an unaspirated *τ* in this text, although the spelling is found in papyri from the 2nd century AD onwards (Gignac I 90 with refs.).
- 13 In this line we have the first examples of attempts to conjugate verbal paradigms. Note that here there appears to be no rationale behind the order in which the forms are cited. The compound verb is written without an augment, a feature found elsewhere in the papyri (Gignac II 223-4).
- 14 In this and in the following lines the phrases become shorter and seem to function as practice for verbal conjugations.
- ουκεζχολαζο*: the reading is tentative, and the use of the voiced *ζ* rather than voiceless *σ* in the initial cluster of *ζχολαζο* is unexpected. If the reading of *ε* at the beginning of the word is accepted, it may be an example of a 'prothetic vowel' before a consonant cluster, comparable to the writing *εχσανθος* for *ξανθος* at A25. Vocalic prothesis of this type is occasionally met with in the papyri (Gignac I 312), but it may reflect the phonotactic rule of Classical Armenian whereby all initial clusters of sibilant + obstruent are pronounced with initial [ə].
- οεχ*: these three letters following *ἦλθεν* resist interpretation. A reading *οὐχ* seems an obvious solution, and it is possible that what is read here as *ϵ* (*ε*) is in fact *ϋ* (*υ*) with a small *U* (*σ*) written beneath it. Note that the form of the following letter is also difficult and it may be overwritten.
- ηαυριον*: the initial unetymological aspiration of *αὔριον* is also attested in papyri cf. Gignac I 137.
- 15 *ηοδευομεν*: the same term may appear in the Greek-Coptic glossary published at MPER xviii 263.4 *νδευοτε* (read by Hasitzka as *δευτε* but perhaps better *(ο)δευοτε*).
- διχσονμεοδον*: *δεῖξόν μοι ὁδόν*, the writing of *με* for dative *μοι* is paralleled elsewhere in the papyri, cf. Gignac I 274 fn, and in this text by *σε* for *σοι* in the following line. The omission of *h* in *οδον* despite the fact that it was written on the derived form *ηοδευομεν* earlier in the line reveals once more that this text reflects the vagaries of the spoken language.
- 16 *ανεδοκααντααντου* shows the replacement of the dative by the genitive, as widespread in later Greek.
- τουτοεν* should perhaps be interpreted as *τοῦτο ἦν* 'it was this one'; an alternative explanation *τοῦτο ἔν* 'this one thing' seems less likely as it is not a complete phrase and consequently unlikely to be written between punctuation marks. Note that in several other places in this text *εν* is apparently meaninglessly added to the end of words: *μενονεν* (B5), *κακουτεν* (B9), *γλυκονεν* (B17).
- 17 After the two adjectives at the start, this line contains two verbal conjugations (in each case the 1st plural is given first). The first verb is obviously *ἔχω*, but the identity of the second, apparently a future tense, is uncertain, ? *ἴζω* (cf. late aor. *ἴζησα* and perf. *ἴζηκα*).
- 18 In the middle of this line the lacuna evident after the correct realignment of the text begins.
- καλοσεφακα:φακετεεμπεριμεν*: the interpretation of *φακ-* as *φαγ-* in this line shows the confusion of voiced and voiceless consonants, widespread in Egyptian Greek as evidenced by the papyri (Gignac I 79). This is the only example in this text of the confusion between voiced and voiceless velars, but there are several cases of *τ* for *δ* and *δ* for *τ*.
- φακετεεμπεριμεν*: the interpretation *φάγετε μὴ περιμένετε* seems satisfactory, but it fails to take account of the double *εε* at the end of *φακετεε*. It is possible that either the second *ε* should be interpreted as *ἦ* or may be a mistake on behalf of the writer.
- εαλαχουιπαυ* appears to contain *ἀλλαχοῦ* 'elsewhere'. The following word may be *εἶπα* 'I said' (with the 1st person ending *-α* in place of *-ον* as frequently in late Greek), in which case the next letter cannot be read as *ϋ* (*υ*) since this letter always stands as the second element in diphthongs in Armenian and in this text, and consequently cannot begin a word.
- 19 *εσχισεστρεμα*: the first word appears to be the aorist *ἔσχησε* from *ἔχω*, formed parallel to future *σχήσω* and perfect *ἔσχηκα*; or it could be *ἔσχισε* from *σχίζω* 'split'. The reading and interpretation of the following word is uncertain; it is perhaps to be identified with *στρέμμα* which has a Byzantine Greek meaning of 'field', and this would fit in with the agricultural terms later in the line. However, the word *στρέμμα* is not found in published Greek papyri.
- εμινκα.επιυισεσ*: the final word is certainly the aorist *ἐποίησες* but the preceding text is difficult to make sense of. One suggestion might be *ἡμῖν καὶ σοί* (then reading *ἐποίησε σ-*) 'he made for us and for you.' However, the word order with initial positioning of the indirect object pronouns seems unusual (cf. Horrocks 1997: 59).
- αλατρον·αμαχ*[: the second word could only be *ἄμαξα* 'wagon' or *ἄμαχος* 'without battle' or a derivative. The first option is supported by the reading of *αλατρον* as *ἄροτρον* which shows dissimilation of *ρ_ρ* and assimilation of vowels paralleled by *φαλατρον* for *φαρέτρα* in A31. Note also the occurrence of both terms in the *de ferramentis* section of the *Hermeneumata Einsidlensia* (CGL III 262.52 and 36); tool-names continue at the beginning of the next line.
- 20 *δραπαν:δραπανοσ*: the second word has a cross written above the ending, the significance of which is uncertain. It is not clear why here alone the author of this text repeats a nominal form. It seems unlikely that he is attempting to decline the word (which in Greek actually takes the form *δρέπανον* or *δρεπάνη*). *τουδεσ* was interpreted by Cuendet (1938: 63 and Leroy 1938: 520) as *οὐδεῖς* 'no one' but there appears to be an extra letter at the beginning of the word, although it is very smudged. Perhaps here we have another tool-name, Greek *διοδούς*, only attested as the gloss of Latin *bidens* 'two-pronged fork' (CGL III 362.60).

τεχνιτιπι almost certainly contains some form of τεχνίτης ‘craftsman’. Since the beginning of the next line contains the names of craftsmen, we might here have the beginnings of a *de artificibus* or *de opificibus* section, parallel to those found in the Hermeneumata. However, the remaining words in this line cannot be matched to Greek terms for craftsmen.

ιμιν:φρονιμιβι`α´: ιμιν may be the end of a word such as τιμήν or an adjective in -ιμος or the verb form ἦμην ‘I was’. The following letters are here interpreted as a truncated form of φρόνιμος ‘intelligent’, followed by ἦβη ‘youth’, with the beginning of another word written above the line. A reading φρονίμη βία ‘intelligent force’ is less likely; note that φρόνιμος usually serves as the masculine and feminine form.

- 21 χιρα: given the theme of professions in the first three words, the interpretation χήρα ‘widow’ seems unlikely and a word relating to handicraft beginning χειρ- would be preferable, but no such word can be read.

.ικεσ read from the lower parts of the letters only, and hence uncertain.

εγενιτι (a less likely reading is εδενιτι): there is no word in *LSJ* ending -ίτης or -ήτης or -είτης which could plausibly fit here. A possible interpretation is οἱ γενέται ‘parents’, or some compound of οἰκο-.

δρεμα was interpreted by Leroy as a form of δραχμή (1938: 520). There are at least two other possibilities: δρ may here stand for τρ as βρ stands for πρ elsewhere in this text, in which case the word may represent Greek τρήμα ‘perforation’; or this could be a metathesised form of δέρμα ‘skin’. I have preferred the last explanation since material in the following line suggests that we have here words from a *de pellibus* section, paralleled in the Hermeneumata (*CGL* III 24, 194, 326, 370).

- 22 απλαν: the reading is secure, and the most obvious interpretation is that given, with Greek ἀπλανής. However, this would then represent one of the few occurrences of the loss of an accented final syllable, and the meaning ‘unwandering’ does not seem to tie in with the rest of the line. A more likely equivalent to fit the context is Greek ὄπλον ‘shield’, included in the *de pellibus* section at e.g. *CGL* III 370, but the representation of the Greek ο by a ι is unparalleled elsewhere in the text.

.γλεμακιν: there is no attested Greek word ending -γλεμάκιον / -η, -γλημάκιον / -η or -γλαμάκιον / -η, nor is there any word ending -γλεμ-, -γλημ- or -γλαμ-, of which this could be a derivative. It is possible that the word shows labdacism, and we have here a variant of the (unattested) word ἀγρεμάκιον, a derivative of the rare ἀγρέμιον ‘game, wild animal’ (attested in a Byzantine papyrus, *SB* I 5301, where it occurs four times), replaced in Mediaeval and Modern Greek by αγριμι.

Although the interpretation of .γλεμακιν suggests that the next word could be read as καμηλάκιον, an otherwise unattested diminutive of κάμηλος ‘camel’, I have preferred to read καμελαύκιον ‘cap’ (attested in a 7th century papyrus, *SB* VIII 9754), as suggested by Leroy (1938: 522f.), since this fits the context better.

The reading ηυφοσος= ὕψος is clear, but this does not fit the context well. Perhaps one should see this as an error for ὕφος ‘web’.

φυσασαγλιγορι: the first six letters were interpreted as a verb form φυσᾶς translated as ‘tu fais le fier’ at Leroy 1938: 520 (suggested by H. Grégoire), but it is better to equate them with the noun φῦσα ‘bellows, bladder’ (cf *CGL* III 24). In what follows, rather than read a dissimilation from some form containing γρηγορ-, it is preferable to divide two other terms which occur in the *de pellibus* sections of the Hermeneumata, cf. *CGL* III 326 and 370. σαγ may stand for σάγος, σάκκος, σάγμα or σαγή. In the papyri σάγος appears to mean ‘cloak’ or ‘cloth’, σάκκος ‘sack’ or ‘sackcloth’ (a meaning that is also given for σάγος at *CGL* III 269.43), and σάγμα and σαγή mean ‘(pack-)saddle’. I take λιγορι to represent a Greek borrowing of Latin *ligula*, diminutive of *lingua*, meaning ‘strap for shoes’ rather than a writing of the Greek word λυγγούριον ‘amber’ which does not fit the context.

- 23 This line contains three Christian formulae of blessing, with a single horizontal stroke written above the word θεός in each of its three occurrences.

.]ονιστοονομα: it is not possible to reconstruct the elements before τὸ ὄνομα; it could be a name, a second person verbal form or a phrase with εἰς.

κεοθεοσφιλαχσισεν: compare *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67005 r 27 θεὸς φυλάξῃ ὑμᾶς *P.Oxy.* LVI 3858.25 ὁ θεὸς φυλάξῃ σε (with parallel papyrus texts given in the note).

οθεοσβοιθισισ: compare the formula, frequent in 5th-7th century texts, θεὸς βοήθησον τὸν δοῦλόν σου.

οθεοσθαραπε[ι: clearly a formula involving the verb θεραπεύω, perhaps with the sense of ‘care for’ rather than ‘heal’. I have been unable to find any comparable formula attested on papyri or in early Christian works.

- 24 This line contains the last phrase to survive on this side of the text, followed by the beginning of a more organised vocabulary which on this line corresponds roughly to the *de supellectili* and *de fictilibus* sections of the Hermeneumata (*CGL* III 20, 24, 92, 193, 196, etc.).

τιεδοκεσαντουτιμι: the interpretation ‘what price did you give him’ (note genitive for dative, as at line A12) relies on construing τί with τιμήν; if this is thought unlikely, the text might be interpreted ‘what did you give him as the price’ (so Leroy 1938: 524) or it may be read with breaks in between phrases (note the lack of punctuation after εγορασα ἠγόρασα ‘I bought’). Hence ‘What did you give him?’ ‘The price’.

λιβιδιν clearly represents λεβητίον ‘cauldron’. The change of ε to ι in the initial syllable is unparalleled elsewhere in this text; it is possible that this represents some form of vowel assimilation, whereby the first vowel is articulated more closely to the second, as seen elsewhere in this text (cf. A28 below). In later Greek the word takes the form λεβετίον.

- οὐδέν most likely stands for οὐδέν ‘nothing’, but it is not clear why this word is included in a list of household objects unless it should be taken as a continuation of the phrases from the first half of the line.
- καφσαγινδιφριν: here two words are written without punctuation before them: the second word is undoubtedly διφρίον ‘chair’ (also listed (as *sifrin*) in the ‘Folium Parisinum’ (Kramer 1983: 94)) and the first clearly contains some form of κά(μ)ψα ‘basket’. The difficulty lies in the reading of the Armenian letter here transcribed as γ. The sign used was previously read as a different letter, τζ (see commentary on line A9 above), which was taken to represent the effects of palatalisation on the suffix -ακιον (the diminutive form κα(μ)ψάκιον is attested elsewhere in papyri). The reading with γ means that a different suffix is used here. Note that the ending -ακιον is not palatalised elsewhere in this text: γλεμακιν, καμελακιν (A22), οστρακιν (A30).
- 25 This line is written after the following line, and squeezed into the available space. The words on this line are related to the words on the line below. The first three words relate to different descriptions of humans and are written above ἄνθρωπος ‘man’ and the following words on the line below. Two of these terms also occur in the *de membris humanis* sections of the *Hermeneumata* (ξανθός *CGL* III 85, οὐλόθριζ *CGL* III 174 and 247) and the other in the *de natura humana* section (e.g. *CGL* III 252-3). The representation of οὐλος as αυλος is noteworthy, as is the form μελαγχρηής which is an attested variant of μελαγχρώς. The word for ‘ear-ring’ ἐνώτιον is written above ὠτίον ‘ear’. The final word can be read as βλέφαρα ‘eyelids’, clearly fitting between the words for ‘brow’ and ‘eye’ on the line below. It is not clear what the three letters before this word represent; the word ὑποβλέφαρα ‘eyelids’ appears as a hapax in the list of body-parts in Dioscorus’ Greek-Coptic glossary (P.Lond. 1821.24 = *MPER* xviii 256.24), and it is possible that we have here a matching form ἀναβλέφαρα, otherwise unattested. Note that Dioscorus’ glossary has many similarities to the *Hermeneumata* lists, see Clackson *forthcoming a*.
- 26 In this and the following lines body parts are listed thematically. It may be significant that the order of elements listed is generally paralleled by the *de membris humanis* word-lists in the *Hermeneumata* (*CGL* III 11-3, 84-6, 174-7, 246-9, 310-2, 349-51, 394-5). ‘Man’ (ἄνθρωπος) is mentioned first, followed by words relating to general attributes and sometimes also descriptive terms (here ἡλικία and the words in the first half of line 25). Body parts ‘proper’ start with the head and then move down to the feet by way of back, belly, arms, with the internal organs interspersed and tacked on to the end of the list. Kalle Korhonen has undertaken a systematic comparison of this list with the synonymous items in the *Hermeneumata* (e-mail 29/5/99), and notes ‘the order of the words in the glossary follows to some extent the *CGL* order. Only in the end of the “Armenian” glossary does the maker of the selection suddenly seem to turn back to near the beginning of the list. I would not call this correlation a coincidence (I do not know if there is a “natural” order in which any given person would list body parts), but rather say that the writer of the word-list had a model comparable to the *Hermeneumata* topical glossaries.’ Korhonen also notes that ‘in the single glosses, the *CGL* glossaries constantly use a different word for “throat”, “spine”, “liver”, “penis” and “skull”.’
- 27 γουλιν: the diminutive is otherwise unattested but the Latin loan-word γούλα ‘throat, gullet’ is found in Classical Greek (*DGE* and Sophocles *Lexicon* s.v. although not listed in *LSJ* or its supplement). The earliest occurrence of this rare word is in the Hippocratic vocabulary compiled by the 1st century AD grammarian Erotian. Leroy (1938: 525) preferred to read γούλιν ‘gum’, a diminutive of οἶλον with ‘irrational’ γ as in Modern Greek γούλι.
- σφουνδολον: note the metathesis of vowels from Greek σφόνδυλος. In Greek the word is written both as σφόνδυλος and σπόνδυλος; the only other occurrence in the papyri is written σφόνδυλος (*SB* XVI 12359 l. 7).
- 28 ευνιυχ is certainly to be identified as ὀνύχιον ‘finger-nail’ (Modern Greek νύχι). There are two possible interpretations for the initial ευν: i) this represents the vowel [ø] which is the outcome of initial ο- with lip rounding anticipating υ [y] in following syllable; ii) the word is actually already νύχι in the spoken language and ευν is in fact the Armenian word for ‘and’ as the speaker switches between Armenian and Greek. Possibility i) seems much more likely than ii).
- αντιχερα:σπλινα: these words (Classical Greek ἀντίχειρ ‘thumb’ and σπλήν ‘spleen’, Modern Greek σπλήνα) should be considered together with βλεφα on line 26 below (metathesis of φλεβα, Classical Greek φλέψ, Modern Greek φλέβα). Both σπλινα and βλεφα appear to show the Modern Greek form, where the words are declined as feminine nouns in -α, but there is little evidence for this change outside the words μήτηρ and θυγάτηρ in papyri (*Gignac* II 46 and 63); the first evidence for a nominative form σπλήνα is much later in the history of Greek. It is perfectly possible that the forms given here are not in fact examples of the Modern Greek nominative singular, but are in fact accusative singular. The author of this papyrus very frequently confuses nominative and accusative (note for example τραχελον: σφουνδολον: on A27 for τράχηλος: σφόνδυλος:), perhaps reflecting the fact that in Armenian there is no morphological difference between nominative and accusative singular in all nominal declensions.
- σουκοτον: the word for ‘liver’ given here, συκωτόν, continues in Modern Greek as the replacement of Classical ἥπαρ. συκωτόν is already attested with the meaning ‘liver’ in Galen. A parallel use of the word to denote the human liver may be found in the gloss ζυωγόν: ἥπαρ in Dioscorus’ glossary (P.Lond. 1821.50 = *MPER* xviii 256.50) which the original editors suggested should be read as ζυωτόν, a variant of συκωτόν.
- χουζμι resists certain explanation. There is no Greek word beginning χουσμ-, χωσμ-, χυσμ- or χοσμ-; given the context, an identification with χυμίον (diminutive of χυμός) ‘bodily fluid, humour’ seems likely, although this term does not appear in the *de membris humanis* sections of the *Hermeneumata*; less likely is some form of κύστις ‘bladder’.
- 29 The reading of the first visible letter of the first word is uncertain. If it is φ then the word might be φωνή ‘voice’.

- λιπαριν the reading of the initial letter is possible, and this reading is the only which would give a suitable body-part term for this word, albeit a rare one: λιπάριον ‘fat’ is not listed in *LSJ*, but occurs in a 6th-7th century papyrus (*Stud.Pal.* XX 250.5), and λίπος occurs in the Hermeneumata word-lists (*CGL* III 248.50).
- φσυλιν was read by Cuendet and Leroy as φτυλι and interpreted as πτυέλιον ‘saliva’; the improved reading makes an identification with Greek ψωλή ‘penis’ more likely (note mentula : ψωλή in the Hermeneumata, *CGL* III 351.44) even though this would be the only example of Greek ω represented as υ on this papyrus.
- βιζιν: identification with Modern Greek βυζίν ‘breast’ was tentatively proposed by Leroy (1938: 537), although he could find no literary attestation of the word before the 12th century. A papyrus parallel has since been published, the 6th century *P.Wash.Univ.* II 108.9 (βυζειν, see commentary for further references to the word from medical authors). Note also that the form is extant in the Hermeneumata bizin : ubera (*CGL* III 13) and βίζια : mamillae (*CGL* III 311) (only the second cited in *LSJ Rev. Suppl.* s.v. βίζιν).
- μερισ is here interpreted as μηρός ‘thigh’, since the collocation of μηρός and γόνατα is common in the Hermeneumata (cf. *CGL* III 13.18-19, 86.26-7 etc.). It is also possible that this represents μερίς ‘part’, no doubt used here as a euphemism for ‘private parts’ (as noted by Leroy 1938: 525).
- 30 βλεφα: the text was misread as βλεφορ and hence this word interpreted as βλέφαρον by Cuendet (1937: 226) and Leroy (1938: 527), although previously it had been correctly read by Tašean (*Handês Amsôreay* 11 (1897) p. 330). Since βλέφαρα is attested on line 21 above, this interpretation is now indefensible. The previous word νεῦρον gives a clue to the correct explanation: βλεφα is a metathesis of φλέβα, accusative of Classical Greek φλέψ ‘vein’ and the form taken by the nominative in Modern Greek. Note that in the Hermeneumata νεῦρον and φλέψ are usually listed next to each other (*CGL* III 11.51-2, 246.62-3, 350.1-2).
- οστρακιν: this word literally means ‘little earthen vessel, potsherd’, and consequently would be out of place in a list of body-parts unless it has taken the same meaning of Latin *testa* which comes to mean ‘skull’ and thence ‘head’, as French *tête* (this explanation was already suggested by Leroy 1938: 526). This meaning is unparalleled for Greek ὀστράκιον or related forms, unless one sees as significant the inclusion of the gloss ‘ostracon : testu’ before words for ‘occiput’ and after words for ‘brain’ in the list of body parts at *CGL* III 174.58.
- 31 In this line the word-list moves on to terms relating to warfare (cf. the section *de militia* in the Hermeneumata, *CGL* III 27-8, 208-9, 298-9, 352-3, 395); note that many of the terms listed do not appear in the Hermeneumata.
- θηκάριν: θηκάριον ‘sheath’, a rare word also attested in a 7th century papyrus (*SB* VI 9140.6).
- σπατιν in this context must represent σπάθιον ‘sword’, although it is the only case in this text where a Greek aspirated consonant is not represented by an Armenian aspirate when in intervocalic position. It is possible that there is here some influence from the homophonous Greek term for a measure of capacity which is written as either σπάτιον or σπάθιον in papyri (cf. Mayerson *ZPE* 121 (1998) 226-8).
- παραμεριν: παραμηρίον ‘dagger’, although rare, is supported by the context; it does not appear in papyri nor in the Hermeneumata.
- 32 σουκαριν is written above the line. The interpretation σουκάριον ‘fig’ seems not to fit the context as well as σωκάριον (*LSJ* and Leroy 1938: 527) / σοκκάριον (*O.Amst.* text 23.3), meaning either ‘lasso’ which fits with the military vocabulary of the line, or ‘sock’ given the presence of words for military clothing at the end of the line.
- τοβια: Leroy’s (1938: 527) interpretation as τουβία ‘leggings’ (Latin *tibialia*) is attractive, although the first occurrence of the word is late (9th century, in the Chronicle of Georgos Monarchos, according to the TLG CD-ROM). The Latin term *tibiales* features in two of the extant *de militia* sections of the Hermeneumata (*CGL* III 208.50 and 299.9), listed near *balteum* ‘sword-belt’ (208.59 and 299.10) which is glossed by Greek ζώνη at *CGL* III 353.18, and *braces* (208.60 glossing *anasfurides*).
- βρα[: I have restored βράκια since this is the term used rather than βράκαι in Greek papyri.
- 33 This line clearly contains vocabulary relating to clothing, parallel to the *de ueste / de uestimentibus* sections in the Hermeneumata (*CGL* III 21-2, 92 etc.) The only match with the vocabulary of the Hermeneumata is φελόνη / φαιλόνη ‘cloak’. This word was loaned into Armenian already by the time of the Bible translation (2 Tim. 4, 13) as *p’ilon* (note the ‘clear’ l used in vicinity of front vowel, the papyrus has the ‘dark’ ł); there is also evidence for a form *p’iñon* in Classical Armenian.
- 34 The remaining text on this side of the papyrus contains vocabulary relating to horses and horsemanship, unparalleled from the thematic lists in the Hermeneumata. Note however the existence of some vocabulary items connected with horses on P.Berol. 21860, a Latin-Greek glossary to be published by Maehler (Maehler *forthcoming*). κρουμιτ, or an alternative reading κρουατ, cannot be matched by any words in Greek or Latin as far as I am aware.
- σελα: Greek σέλλα is loaned from Latin *sella* ‘seat, saddle’. The interpretation ‘saddle’ is supported by the previous word ἱπάριον.
- 34u The word written above *hupar* is difficult to read and its interpretation is uncertain. In line A4 there is a similar collocation *avopar:h`π`α[*. A possible interpretation is that *avopar* represents a metathesised form of ὄντριον ‘ass’. The word before *avopar* could be κάπη ‘manger’.
- 35]ιστριν: of the 6 attested Greek words ending in -ίστριον, καπίστριον ‘bridle’ (attested on papyri: *PSI Congr.* XXI 18 (5th-6th century) and in Modern Greek) would fit the context here best (the other words are ἡρίστριον ‘spring garment’, θερίστριον ‘summer garment’, λείστριον / λίστριον ‘tool for smoothing’ and ὑλίστριον ‘filter’). The next word may well be a derivative of φρύαγμα ‘whinny’ cf. φρυαγματίας ‘hot-tempered’ (of a horse) (Hesychius).

- are no attested Greek words which match them given the usual equivalencies shown elsewhere in this text. It is possible that the final term on the line $\sigma\upsilon\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\rho}\nu$ might be a derivative of $\zeta\omega\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ‘soup’, perhaps $*\zeta\omega\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\nu$ from $\zeta\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\nu$ / $\zeta\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\rho\nu$ ‘soup-ladle’. The reading of the letters in the interline is uncertain but there may be some derivative of $\delta\nu\omicron\zeta$ in its meaning ‘onyx’.
- 9 The words on this line do not correspond to the contents of any single section of the Hermeneumata, but, like much of the vocabulary of this side of the papyrus, the grouping appears much less structured. The word $\phi\alpha\kappa\iota\nu$ probably stands for $\phi\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ a diminutive of $\phi\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ ‘lentil’ or anything shaped like a lentil’ (attested with the probable meaning ‘flask’ at *P.Leid.Inst.* 13.12, 7th-8th century AD). $\alpha\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\iota\nu$ probably stands for $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta$ ‘hook, grappling-iron, rake’ rather than $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\acute{\eta}$ ‘seizure, rape’. However $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta$ is not attested in papyri or Kriaras’ dictionary, and the grammarian Trypho implies it is an archaic word (*Frag.* 2.6.8). It is, however, attested in Modern Greek and Shipp (1979: 98) sees this as a survival of the ancient word.
- $\lambda\pi\tau\rho\alpha\phi\sigma$ the interpretation of this word as a compound meaning ‘fine stitching’ *uel sim.* from $\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$ ‘I sew’ would fit in with the preceding word well, and, although unattested, could be matched by e.g. $\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon\phi\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ ‘fine-spun’. The omission of vowels in this word probably shows the Armenian orthographic convention whereby the unstressed central vowel schwa ([ə]) is not represented in writing. For the pronunciation of unstressed Greek ϵ and \omicron as [ə] see Gignac I 292.
- $\phi\iota\kappa\omicron\mu$ is interpreted here as a representation of the scantily attested Greek word $\sigma\phi\acute{\eta}\kappa\omega\mu\alpha$ ‘cord’ (glossed as *nodus* at *CGL* II 449.30); a reading $\phi\iota\kappa\omicron\sigma$, also possible, gives no satisfactory Greek interpretation.
- 10 The reconstruction of $\pi\lambda\iota\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ ‘brick’ is fairly certain, since there are no other words ending in $-\nu\theta\alpha\rho(\iota\omicron\nu)$ which would be suitable. The first two words on this line could thus be taken from a *de habitatione* section (compare e.g. *CGL* III 312). The words at the end of the line appear to be taken from a *de caelo* or *de tempestatibus* section (cf. *CGL* III 9, and 293-4). Curiously, further terms which are also grouped with terms for ‘cloud’, ‘clear sky’ etc. in the Hermeneumata occur later at B19.
- $\epsilon\nu\epsilon\phi\omicron\varsigma$: the context strongly supports the interpretation of this as $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ ‘cloud’ (following ‘smoke’) but the initial ϵ - is puzzling. A possible explanation is that the writing represents $\acute{\eta}\ \nu\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ showing an otherwise unattested second declension feminine form (on interchange between second and third declension forms see Gignac II 98-101).
- A reading of $\omicron\upsilon\delta\iota$ as $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ‘fair weather, clear sky’ fits the context much better than $\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ‘no one’, but such an interpretation is problematic for two reasons: firstly, although the interchange of $\omicron\upsilon$ and $\epsilon\upsilon$ is sporadically attested in Greek papyri, there it probably reflects orthographic confusion, rather than similar pronunciation of the two diphthongs (Gignac I 216); secondly, nowhere else in this text is there unambiguous evidence for the loss of a final $-\alpha$.
- $\sigma\kappa\nu\omicron\phi\omicron\varsigma$: $\gamma\nu\acute{o}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ is the normal late Greek form. I can find no parallel for $\sigma\kappa\nu\acute{o}\phi\omicron\varsigma$, which may reflect a conflation of the two Greek words for ‘gloom’, $\gamma\nu\acute{o}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ and $\zeta\acute{o}\phi\omicron\varsigma$.
- 11-12 These two lines may have parallels in a fragmentary Greek-Latin glossary on papyrus (P.Vindob L 150, published at Kramer 1988), which has words thematically organised *de moribus humanis* (see also *CGL* III 177, 249 etc. for this section in the Hermeneumata, and note also the *de natura humana* sections, which have many similar terms, at *CGL* III 13, 86 and 328). In the glossary published by Kramer the Latin words [m]ancus and [p]erosus occur on lines 18 and 19 of the verso, for which the Greek terms are missing, but the equivalents in the glossaries are $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\acute{\alpha}\eta\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, which are attested here. The writing of $\acute{\alpha}\eta\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ with an intervocalic y , $\acute{\alpha}\eta\tau\iota\tau\sigma$, is in keeping with the normal Armenian practice in loans from foreign languages: note Greek $\acute{\alpha}\eta\rho$ borrowed as Armenian *ayer* (see also Thumb 1900: 408). Kalle Korhonen (p.c.) suggests to me that $\acute{\alpha}\eta\tau\iota\tau\sigma$ may be a representation of Greek $\acute{\alpha}\eta\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, and notes that in the *de natura humana* list at *CGL* III 328-30 $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ and $\acute{\alpha}\eta\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ all occur.
- 11 The context makes the interpretation of $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\sigma$ as a representation of $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ virtually certain, yet the representation of Greek υ as e and the retention of the geminate is unusual for the language of this papyrus (although Greek υ is represented as Armenian e in a few loanwords, see Thumb 1900: 398-400 for discussion). It is not fanciful to think that the word may be influenced by Arm. $\chi\epsilon\acute{\prime}$ ‘lame’. The word $\mu\upsilon\zeta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ ‘snot’ is rare in Greek, and the reading is not certain, but a transition from ‘dropsy’ to ‘snot’ is not unlikely.
- 12 $\mathfrak{I}\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$: the reading is uncertain, it is possible that the correct reading is $\mathfrak{I}\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ in which case the word $\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$ ‘drug’ is the most likely candidate to fit here. The interpretation of the end of the line is very tentative; I have taken $\mu\iota$ to represent the plant-name $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ since the negative $\mu\acute{\eta}$ does not make good sense followed by the noun ‘jasper’.
- 13 The first word in this and the following two lines is written with a large amount of blank space to the left, and below the line height of the rest of the line. There is also a gap of approximately three letters space before the next word. The word $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\alpha\zeta$ occurs only in Hesychius, glossed as $\phi\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho$ ‘louse’, but there is no other possible equivalent (one might think of $\psi\acute{\upsilon}\delta\rho\alpha\zeta$ ‘pimple’ or $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\alpha\zeta$ ‘coal’ as the closest candidates). In the rest of the line the thematic organisation of words seems to be ignored.
- $\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha\pi\omicron\tau\iota$: this is here interpreted as $\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha\pi\acute{o}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$, the diminutive of $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ‘shoemaker’s last’. The word is not directly attested in Classical Greek (the reference in *LSJ* to Galen 6.364, may be incorrect, Kuehn’s text has $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\iota$, the dative of $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$). Note that $\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha\pi\omicron\delta$ - is found as a loan in Armenian (*kaṭapar*) and Persian with the meaning ‘model’ (Hübschmann 1897: 163). The following terms in this line suggest that the word still has its technical meaning in this passage. The variant spelling $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ is also found in Greek texts, and Thumb (1900: 394) suggested that the Armenian loanword shows medial a by analogy to the Armenian composition vowel; this could also be the explanation for the form found here, but an inner Greek explanation is equally, if not more, likely.

- σανθος most likely stands for ξανθός. There are two objections to this: a) initial ξ- is usually rendered as χσ- in this text (note the same word actually written εχσανθοσ on A21, with prothetic ε); b) the sequence ‘shoemaker’s last, scorpion, garden, blond’ seems particularly bizarre, unless the words are glossing some text now lost. An identification of σανθος as άνθος ‘flower’ makes slightly better thematic sense, although the initial σ- is puzzling.
- 14 As in the above line .ενοσμικ is separated from any preceding text and the following text by large spaces, and is written below the level of the rest of the line. The rest of the line appears to contain imperatives: μη σπεύδε, ἔλεγξον (aor. imperative of ἐλέγχω) and perhaps a form of νίπτομαι ‘wash’.
- 15 After the first word the interpretation becomes difficult. The most likely reading is δράκοντος (or Δράκοντος) ὄρος ‘dragon’s hill’, but this place-name is unattested. The reading βελῖν ἰτινγιν is uncertain (see transcription notes above) and the interpretation remains elusive, perhaps this is also a place-name. The line ends with kinship terms, which appear to continue in the next line, corresponding to the *de cognatione* or *de adfinitate* sections of the Hermeneumata (CGL III 28, 253, 303f).
- 16 ετερος is here interpreted as ἐταῖρος rather than ἕτερος since it fits better in context (note the inclusion of ἐταῖρος in the *de adfinitate* section at CGL III 304). The writing of κόλπος with an aspirate is attested in papyri and elsewhere (Gignac I 90), but the inclusion of the word in this context is a little puzzling. There appear to be two words which contain the root γεν- at the end of this line before ἴδιον. Given the preceding kinship terms, one might expect e.g. Greek πρόγονος ‘forefather’ or ἔγγονος ‘grandson’, both attested in lists of kinship terms in the Hermeneumata, but these cannot be read. The interpretation is complicated by what looks like a large α written above the first letter. The second word may stand for ἀγενής ‘ignoble’.
- 17 The writing of χλιαρόν ‘warm’ as χλερον probably shows loss of unaccented ι and raising of α to ε before ρ (Gignac I 304 and 278). In Pontic Greek the word for warmth is χλέρα, which may continue the Ionic form χληρός (Shipp 1979: 571), but there is no compelling reason to see this as a Pontic form.
- 18 The writing απινικε reflects the spoken form of the aorist of φέρω, which is spelt in many different ways in Greek papyri, see Gignac II 297. Further conjugation of ὀλιγορέω continues at the end of the line, interrupted by another word which is possibly interpreted as ‘he escaped’ (although this assumes loss of a preverb, it is to be preferred to the interpretation ἔδρασε ‘he did’ since the verb δράω did not occur in spoken Greek of this date).
- 19 There are four Greek words which end in -αζα: ἄζα ‘heat’ etc., γάζα ‘treasure’, μάζα ‘barley cake’ and χάλαζα ‘hail’; the last one is almost certainly correct in this context given that καδεγιδ[can be interpreted as καταγιδ[τον ‘squall’. The word after the break may be a form of δρόσος ‘dew’ perhaps preceded by the fem. definite article. The terms χάλαζα and δρόσος are found close together in the *de caelo* section of the Hermeneumata Leidensia (CGL 9.48 and 9.46); note, however that other terms from this section appear in line 7 above. The next word κραθ could be for κράτος ‘power’ or a derivative.
- 20 The first two words on this line certainly mean ‘sweet’ and ‘bitter’, but the interpretation of the formation γλυκονεν is puzzling, see commentary on A16. After this the first Diogenes chreia follows directly. For the Diogenes chreiai on (educational) papyri see also CPF 1** 48 (p 89ff) adding *O. Claud.* II 413. None of the chreiai found here are securely matched on other papyri, my reconstruction rests on the chreia given in Giannantoni 1990 II no. 378: Διογένης· τοὺς εὐειδεῖς καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους ὁμοίους ἔφη εἶναι ἀλαβάστρους ἔχουσιν ὄξος; note also that the phraseology is reminiscent of no. 38 ὁ αὐτὸς (i.e. Alexander) ἰδὼν Διογένην κοιμώμενον ἐν πίθῳ εἶπεν ‘πίθε μεστὲ φρενῶν’. It is possible that this chreia, which also entered the Arabic tradition (see Gutas 1975: 70f.), is also preserved in a ‘school-text’ in a fragmentary condition: CPF 1** 48 9T (T. Würzburg K 1014 2 B [11.2] (6th / 7th cent.)) Διογέν[η][ς] ὁ κ[υ]νικός φιλόσοφος ἰδὼν [+/-11] .σους ἀνθρώπους ε...[+/-10].
- 22 The beginning of this line remains obscure (although perhaps one might read ἀνὰ περσεῖαν ‘up a perseae-tree’) and I have tentatively attempted to reconstruct the *chreia* after Giannantoni 1990 II no. 211: θεασάμενος (scil. Diogenes) υἱὸν ἐταίρας λίθον εἰς ὄχλον βάλλοντα, ‘πρόσεχε,’ ἔφη ‘μὴ τὸν πατέρα πλήξῃς’, (var. ὁ δὲ καὶ Διογένης ἔσκωπεν, εἰς παῖδα λίθους ἐν δήμῳ ρίπτοντα εἰπὼν· ὄρα, νεανίσκε, μὴ ποτε τὸν πατέρα τρώσῃς, ὃν δηλαδὴ οὐκ οἶδας) on the basis of πατήρ σου at the beginning of line 23, but the reconstruction remains very uncertain.
- 23 The reconstruction of this chreia is certain, cf. Giannantoni 1990 II no. 286 (= Gnom. Vat. n. 168): Διογένης θεασάμενος μικρὰν πόλιν μεγάλας πύλας ἔχουσαν ἔφη· ‘κλείσατε τὰς πύλας, μὴ ἡ πόλις ἐξέλθῃ.’ This chreia consequently also gives some idea of the original width of the text.
- 24 As in *P. Bour.* 1, the Diogenes chreiae are followed immediately by sententiae (for sententiae found on papyri see Jaekel 1964 and Criore 1996: 46). The sententiae given here do not however seem to be alphabetically ordered, as in many school-texts. The first sententia appears to be a variant / conflation of ἀρχὴ μεγίστη τοῦ φρονεῖν τὰ γράμματα (a perennial school-text favourite, cf. Criore 1996 cat. 148, 158, 160, 319 line 1 (Jaekel 1964 Pap. XIII.1), 393) with ἀρχὴ καλῶν τῶν ἐν βίῳ τὰ γράμματα (Jaekel 1964 Pap. XIV 8) and ἀρχὴ μεγίστη τοῦ βίου τὰ γράμματα (*SB* III 6218). The next sententia on the papyrus also starts ἀρχή, it is possible that the following word is μεγίστη but only the tops of the letters remain.
- 25 I have not been able to find a sententia which ends τὸ μαθεῖν τὰ γράμματα but cf. Jaekel 1964 Pap. XIV 21 (= mon. 152) γράμματα μαθεῖν δεῖ καὶ μαθόντα νοῦν ἔχειν. The following biblical sententia (Proverbs I 7) is also attested elsewhere on Greek papyri, cf. Jaekel 1964 Pap. XIII 1 etc. The text reverts back to word-lists from sententiae as suddenly as it left them.

- κονδ[is almost certain to represent κονδός ‘short’ (the word is found written both as κοντός and κονδός in Greek papyri).
- 26 Reading of this and the remaining lines is increasingly difficult. This line appears to start with list of descriptions of persons: ἴθερων could represent the end of ἐλεύθερος ‘free man’ or πενθερός ‘father-in-law’, the first seems more likely given the following terms in the line (note the parallel cluster of ελευθερος δουλος δουλη παρθενος at *CGL* III 28.59-29.4, in the *de cognatione* section). βρεζβιτ for πρεσβύτης shows voicing of initial π before ρ and the writing of σ as ζ before a voiced consonant as elsewhere in this text.
 - 27 After καρῶχος and before πλοῖον, the reading φσμοσ: τιπρος: and the assumption that τιπρος (which could also be read τοπρος) is a metathesis of τρόπις are based on the assumption that we have here a section *de nauigatione* (cf *CGL* III 29, 204, 296).
 - 28 The beginning and end of this line are very difficult to read, and I have found no convincing explanation for the legible material in the middle. The line does not have many punctuation marks, and is consequently more likely to be continuous text than a word list.
 - 29 Again, the reading of this line is tentative, but the vocabulary falls into some sort of order: descriptions of humans as the first three words and geographical terms as the last three. I can find no parallel groupings in the *Hermeneumata* or elsewhere.
 - 30 The end of this line clearly deals with directions, but the sense of the beginning is unclear. Note that the form ἄνου for ἄνω is attested in papyrus texts (e.g. *P.Tebt.* II 417.30 (3rd century AD)).
 - 31 σαυαν = σάβανον for the transcription of Greek β as w between two α vowels, compare κατανα for κατάβα in A35. The collocation of μάκτρον and σάβανον raises the possibility that we have a thematic section dealing with different cloths. Note the existence of capitula section headed *de linteamine* in the *Hermeneumata* Celtis (Dionisotti 1982: 93). The interpretation of the following words on the line is tentative, since the thematic organisation appears to break down.
 - 32 In this line there are listed Egyptian month names, a thematic list also attested in the *Hermeneumata* (*CGL* III 243) and in a bilingual papyrus (P.Fay. 135 verso, edited in Kramer 1983: 79-81). Note that monolingual Greek lists of month-names are also found among papyrus school-texts (e.g. Crihiore 1996 cat. 98). As some of the same month names also occur again on line 33 this means they must be written down at least twice.
 - 33 This line presents three Egyptian month names, which are easily identifiable, but the material before and after has no clear interpretation. Since the months are in the middle of the Egyptian year (roughly corresponding to June-July-August), it is not clear why the writer has listed these three months alone. The most likely explanation is that this is a list of seasonal events. A possible, but difficult, reading of the following letters is ητ·απορα (reading ρ not υ) and interpreting η ὀπώρα ‘the harvest’. Even so, I am unable to elucidate the text at the beginning or end of the line.

7 Linguistic Features

7.0 Overview

This text is especially important for the insight it gives into spoken Egyptian Greek of the first Millennium⁶. Unlike all texts involving written Greek, the author does not appear to have had any schooling in writing or spelling Greek, and so his reproduction of Greek sounds does not have to be seen through the filter of an archaic orthographic system. The vocabulary used in the text and the colloquial syntax of some of the phrases is far removed from the standard Koiné. Even so one may wonder how close the register of Greek preserved in this text was to everyday spoken Greek. In some respects the text appears to use forms which we would not expect to have still been in use after the 4th century AD, such as a stop pronunciation of Greek β; and the stop pronunciation of Greek χ (never transcribed by the voiceless Armenian fricative *x*, see below). In other respects however the language confirms the picture of Egyptian Greek phonology which emerges from the papyri (and as presented by Gignac), showing ample evidence, for example, of the retention of a distinction between *v* and *t*; interchange between medial voiced and voiceless stops; and retention of [h-] and loss of distinction between geminates and non-geminates. The papyrus is particularly interesting in showing some sound changes in progress, thus for example there are a couple of instances of *v* represented by Armenian *i*, alongside a far greater number represented by *iw* [y].

As mentioned above, the treatment of the Greek stops is especially noteworthy. Armenian has a rich consonant system: three series of stops (voiceless, voiced and aspirated) as well as a voiced labio-dental

⁶ I deal with the importance of this text for the Armenian language at Clackson *forthcoming* b.

fricative [v] and a voiceless velar fricative [x]. Since the writer of this text nowhere uses the Armenian letter *x* to transcribe Greek χ , nor *v* to transcribe Greek β , it appears that the register of Greek transcribed in this text did not include a fricative pronunciation of these sounds. However, the picture is complicated by the fact that we have two writings of Greek β with Armenian *w* (which probably represented a labial-velar approximant) when between two alphas: *katawa* for $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha$ and *sawan* for $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\nu\nu\omicron\nu$, which suggests that β was not pronounced as a stop in all environments. The transcription of β as a stop may reflect a more conservative pronunciation of Greek, but it could also bear witness to an Armenian convention for writing a sound, such as a bilabial fricative, for which they had no exact equivalent. Note that in Armenian loans from Greek the letter β is not transcribed by Armenian *v* before the 8th century, nor is Greek χ transcribed by Armenian *x* in loans before the 10th century (Thumb 1900: 412f).

Whereas the phonology on the whole seems more conservative than one might have expected, the vocabulary and word endings seem generally more advanced than the majority of Egyptian documents of comparable age. The suffix *-iov* (frequently written *-in* or even *-i*) is extremely common, and the suffixes *-αριον* and *-ακτιον* (generally rare, if not completely absent in the papyri, see Palmer 1946: 89) are also found. It is not quite clear whether the liberality of the use of the suffix *-iov* really does reflect the spoken language or merely results from an unskilled speaker of the language overcompensating for his unfamiliarity with Greek declensions through overuse of a particular and convenient ending (and one which has an Armenian counterpart, since one noun declension in Classical Armenian is formed with final *-i* in the nominative singular).

In a number of cases the ending of the Greek word is dropped altogether, a situation paralleled in Armenian loan-words from Greek, some of which retain the Greek ending and others not (Thumb 1900: 415-428). The loss of word-endings in this text seems to be associated with lack of final accentuation (details are given further below), and this may also reflect interference from a native Armenian speaker since in Armenian all words are accented on their final syllable. An Armenian speaker may consequently reinterpret the accent on a penultimate or antepenultimate syllable in Armenian terms as a marker of the word boundary.

The text contains a number of rare and unusual words, but only a few occur which are not otherwise attested in sub-literary and non-literary papyri. Indeed, as more texts are published, it is likely that the vocabulary of this text will find an increasing number of parallels; as it is, some of the words which Leroy could only find very late parallels for in 1938, such as $\beta\iota\zeta\iota\nu$ 'breast', are now attested much earlier in the papyri (see commentary on A29). There are still some forms for which no parallel can be found: $\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi\iota\varsigma$ 'fine-stitching', $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\rho\nu$ 'upper-eyelid', $\sigma\kappa\nu\acute{\omicron}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ 'darkness' and a number of diminutives in *-iov* not otherwise attested. The vocabulary also includes a number of Greek words which were originally borrowed from Latin, some of which are not otherwise attested on papyri (for example $\tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\beta\iota\alpha$ 'leggings', A32).

As already shown, the language of this text accords well with what is known of Egyptian Greek as represented in the papyri. Of course this may be due to the fact that we have far more evidence for spoken Greek of this period from Egypt than from any other region, but it is significant that there is no specific evidence for any Pontic Greek forms in this text (Pontic Greek being the variety spoken closest to Armenia), which supports the view that this text was taken down by someone learning Greek in Egypt, and not an Armenian who had already learnt to speak Greek in their native land.

7.1 Phonology / Orthography

The Classical Armenian alphabet has 36 letters, but only 24 are used in this text (see above under section 5). These letters are given below in the transcription system normally used (note that these do not necessarily correspond to the IPA value of the symbols):

voiceless stops:	p t k
voiced stops:	b d g
aspirated stops:	p' t' k'
nasals:	m n
sibilants:	s z
aspirate:	h
continuants:	r l ʎ y w
vowels:	a e i o ow (see below)

The letter y is used as a glide between [a] and [i] at B12 and also word initially in the same line (representing Greek ι before α); it is likely that this same letter is written at A9 and A24, although previously read as the Armenian aspirated affricate, c' [tsh]. Note that in three out of four occurrences y is used between [a] and [i].

The letter w is only used following vowels: aw ew iw and ow. In Armenian orthography the digraph ow represents the back vowel [u], and Greek υ is conventionally transliterated by the diphthong iw, which may have been pronounced as a rounded front vowel.

The letters ê ə c j š ž č ċ ʎ x r v c' are nowhere used in this text, although in Armenian loanwords from Greek r̄ is sometimes used to transcribe Greek ρ (see further below).

Geminates are not normally noted e.g. gʎosa = γλωσσα (A27), hipar = ἰπάριον (A34), but keʎos = κυλλός (B12) (note possible influence of Arm. xeʎ 'lame').

Consonants

The following equivalences are found:

Gk π	p p': sp'ewdis = स्पेύδεις (B14) (confusion of aspirates after σ, cf. Gignac I 86), kolp'on = κόλπος (B16) (Gignac I 90 cites the parallel spelling κόλφος from papyri). b: initially before r: brezbiut = πρεσβύτης (B26).
Gk τ	t d: intervocalically: erodisa = ἠρώτησα (A12), kadegid[= καταγιδ- (B19), enowdin = ἐνώτιον (A25), (Gignac I 82f, Gignac notes that ἐνώτιον is the common form in papyri (I 294) and gives parallel examples of ἐνύδι(ο)ν from the 2nd century AD).
Gk κ	k k': owranisk'i = οὐρανίσκος (A27), jeʎisk'in = ὀβελίσκος (B3) (confusion of aspirates after σ, Gignac I 86).
Gk β	b w: katawa = κατάβα (A35), sawan = σαβαν (B31) (development of fricative β, Gignac I 68f.).
Gk δ	d t: intervocalically: jifitin = δακτυλίδιον (A28u), ayitis = ἀηδής (B12), kakouten = κακώδης (B12), kalap'oti = καλαπόδιον (B13), paratisos = παράδεισος (B13).
Gk γ	g k: initially: sknop'os = γνώφος (B10) (Gignac I 77, but initial s- obscure) intervocalically: ep'aka = ἔφαγα (A18) p'akete = φάγετε (A18) (Gignac I 79).
Gk φ	p' (aspirated p).
Gk θ	t' (aspirated t). t: eltin = ἐλθεῖν (A12) (loss of aspiration after liquid, cf. Gignac I 90), spatin = σπάθιον (see also commentary on A31).
Gk χ	k' (aspirated k).

The variation in spelling of Egyptian month names (e.g. epib B32, epip' B33) is paralleled in Greek papyri from all periods.

Gk ξ and ψ always transcribed by k's and p's except B13 where sant'os may represent ξανθός. This transcription is also standardly found in the Greek loanwords in Armenian (Thumb 1900: 414); see further Clackson *forthcoming c*.

Gk σ/ζ are represented by s if unvoiced or z if voiced (i.e. Greek ζ or σ immediately preceding a voiced consonant): e.g. brezbiut = πρεσβύτης (B26), spatın = σπάθιον (A31), k'azma = χάσμα (B29), kozm- = κοσμ- (B31). The only apparent exception is zk'otazo = σχολάζω (A14) where the initial sibilant is written with z although unvoiced; however this reading and interpretation is not secure.

Armenian has two distinct r phonemes, an approximant r and trilled r̄. In Greek loanwords in Armenian both are used to represent Gk ρ, although in the earlier loans there is a marked preference for r over r̄, except in the position before n when r is preferred (see Thumb 1900: 403 for statistics). In this text the trilled r̄ is never used, which lends some support to an early date for this text (note that the combination rn is nowhere found in this text). There are also at least two examples of dissimilation of r_r to ʃ_r: aʃatron = ἄροτρον (A19), p'aʃatron = φάρετρον (A31) (Gignac I 103f), and possibly an example of assimilation of ʃ_r to r_r, in armiron (if for ἄλμυρόν) (B7).

Armenian also has two distinct lateral phonemes: a 'clear' (palatal) l and 'dark' (velar) ʎ. In Greek loanwords of the 5th-7th centuries, ʎ is used to represent λ in 73% of cases and l is used in 27% (figures from Thumb 1900: 404). A similar variation is found in this papyrus, where ʎ is used in 75% of cases to represent Greek λ. Note that in this papyrus the two sounds appear sometimes to be free variation (note eʎt' = ἐλθ- (B24) but elt' = ἐλθ- elsewhere; kalapoti (B13) but kaʎam (B17) and kaʎos (A18); goulin (A27) but douʎi (B26)); although generally the choice between them seems to depend on context, with l showing a preference for word-initial position and in the vicinity of front vowels, as the following table shows:

l	ʎ
18x (?+)	55x (?+)
elt' 5x	eʎt 1x
+labial _ +Vfr 4x	+labial _ +Vfr only pʎewon (B27).
initial 3x	initial 2x

Final -n is omitted in A8 posok'ronon = πόσον χρόνον, A24 timi = τιμήν, and in many diminutive forms in -i = -ιον.

The letter h is written in nine places, hawrion = ἄριον (A14) (ἄριον is also found aspirated in papyri, Gignac I 137), hodewomen = ὀδεύομεν (A15), hiwp'sos = ὕψος (A22), hema = αἷμα (A30), hipar = ἰπάριον (A34 and perhaps A4), haʎa- = ἄλα- (B7), hiwdropikos = ὑδροπικός (B11), and also in B33, where the Greek form has not been identified. In over a dozen places etymological h- is not written, e.g. o = ὀ (A23 and B20f.), odon = ὄδον (A15), ilikia = ἡλικία (A26) etc.

Vowels

The following representations of Greek vowels are found:

Gk ι i

Gk ε e

Gk ε a: most examples are explainable by the vicinity of r (Gignac I 278): t'arape- = θεραπευ- (A23), drapan = δρέπανον (A20), p'aʃatron = φάρετρα (A31); also anker'- = ἐγκέφαλος (A30), and possibly apikouse (A8) if it equates to ἐπήκουσε 'he heard, understood' not ἀπήκουσε from an unattested ἀπακούω.

Gk η i (41+) in all positions.

Gk η e (16+) in the following environments:

i) before or after a liquid: trak'elon τράχηλον (A28), paramerin = παραμήριον (A31), poter = ποτήριον (B8), skʎeron = σκληρόν (B10), pater = πατήρ (B15, but patir B23; note also mitir = μήτηρ B15) (Gignac I 243).

- ii) before a nasal: *semeron* = σήμερον (A10) (Gignac I 243, n.b. parallel σήμερον from 599 AD).
- iii) in final position (accented): *ɲp'e* = ἀδελφὴ (?) (B16), *meste* = μεστή (?) (B21) (Gignac I 244).
- i v) in 5 cases it stands for the temporal augment: *elt'- ἤλθ-* (A8, A14, B34), *erodisa ἠρώτησα* (A12) and *egorasa ἠγόρασα* (A24). This may be a morphological replacement (see Gignac II 233-4). The temporal augment is only represented by *i-* in the compounds *apikousame ἐπηκούσαμεν* (A8) and *apinike= ἀπήνεγκε* (B18).
v) in the word for 'frying pan' *tegan* = τήγανον (B8).
- Gk α a
- Gk α o: only if *sot' rak's* (B13) is correctly interpreted as *σάθραξ*.
- Gk υ iw (14x)
- Gk υ ow (2x): *soukoton* = σύκωτον (A28), *k'souɬa* = ξύλα (B9), and perhaps *t'ou-* if *θυγάτηρ* (B16) and *soukarin if* = σοκάριον (A32u) (Gignac I 215).
- Gk υ i(2x): *k'ɲrisok'on* for χρυσοχόος (A21), *p'ilak'si* = φυλάξι (A23), and possibly *armiron if* for ἀλμυρόν (B7). Another example may be *bizin* = βύζιον (A29), although the word only occurs in late Greek texts and the spelling with υ may be merely orthographic; *βίβλιον* (biblion A9) is normally spelt with ι in papyri (Gignac I 268).
- Gk υ o: *sp'oundoɬon* = σφόνδυλος (A27, possibly actually a metathesis of vowels).
- Gk υ e: *keɬos* = κυλλός (B11) although the interchange between υ and ε in unaccented syllables is recorded in papyri (Gignac I 273f), here the word may be influenced by Arm. *xeɬ* 'lame'.
- Gk ο o
- Gk ο ow: *sp'oundoɬon* = σφόνδυλος (A27, possibly actually a metathesis of vowels); and *soukarin if* = σοκάριον (A32u).
- Gk ο ew: possibly at A28 if *ewniwk'* = ἐνούχιον; this may be the effect of vocalic assimilation.
- Gk ω o
- Gk ω ow: *enowdin* = ἐνώτιον (A25), *owtin* = ὀτίον (A30), *zowni* = ζώνη (A32), *kakouten* = κακώδης (B12) (see Gignac I 208f. for the interchange between ω and ου in papyri and I 294 for the interchange of ω and υ, with parallel examples of ἐνύδι(ο)ν from the 2nd century AD).
- Gk ω iw: *p'siwɬin* = ψωλίον (A29).
- Gk ου ow
- Gk ου o: *spodzomen* = σπουδάζομεν (A11).
- Gk ου aw: *awɬostrik'* = οὐλότριχ- (A25).
- Gk αυ aw
- Gk αυ a: only if *kamelakin* = καμελαύκιον (A22).
- Gk ευ ew (3x)
- Gk ευ iw: only if *iwteɬ* = εὐτέλ- (A12).
- Gk ευ ow: only if *owdi* = εὐδία (B10).
- Gk οι iw (6x)
- Gk οι ew: *pɬewon* = πλοῖον (B 27), *epewisen* = ἐποίησεν (?) (B7).
- Gk αι e
- Gk αι a: *ka* = καί (A 16), for parallel writings of *ká* for *καί* see Gignac I 194.
- Gk ει i
- Gk ει e: *antik'era* = ἀντίχειρ (A28) (interchange of ει and ε before ρ, particularly frequent with *χείρ*, owing to confusion of the allomorphs *χειρ-* and *χερ-*, Gignac I 259).
- Gk ια e: *k'ɬeron* = χλιαρόν (B17).
- Vocalic assimilation: a number of vowel changes represent the effects of 'vowel harmony'
- Gk ε i: *libidin* = λεβητίον (A24) note later Gk *λεβετίον*.

Gk ε a: t'arape- = θεραπευ-(A23), drapan = δρέπαν (A20), p'atatron = φάρετρα (A31) (these examples may reflect the vicinity to r, see above).

Gk o a: atatron = ἄτροτρον (A24)

Gk o ew: ewniwk' = ὀνύχιον (A28), here ew may represent [ø] the outcome of initial o- with lip rounding anticipating [y] in following syllable.

Vowels in combination

a) contraction of [y] and [i]: piwsomen = ποιήσομεν (A10) (elsewhere ποιη- written piwi- or possibly pewi- (B7)).

b) loss of ε in χρωστῶ (k'rostis = χρωστεις (A6)), no examples in Greek papyri, but parallel examples from Coptic papyri of the 6th century (*KSB* I 024 and 025).

Prothetic vowels

An additional e- is written before a consonant cluster in A25 ek'sant'os for ξανθός, and it is possible that the same phenomenon occurs at A14: ezk'otazo for σχολάζω, although the reading is not certain. A prothetic vowel is also added to νέφος in B10 enep'os.

7.2 Morphology and Syntax

Nouns

Many nouns which are listed in word-lists on the papyrus lose their final syllables: this happens in 28 cases out of 114 words, i.e. 24% of the possible cases. It appears that this is associated with word-accent, as suggested above, since there is a tendency for unaccented syllables at the word end to be dropped, as can be seen from the following tables (which imitate those of Thumb 1900: 416f):

	Ending Preserved			Ending lost		
	Accented	Unaccented	%	Accented	Unaccented	%
-α (+ neuters and plurals)	-	15	100	-	-	0
-η and -ης	3	6	64	2	3	46
-ος and -ov	17	23	78	-	11	22
-ι(ο)ς and -ι(ο)v	9	16	68	-	12	32
Total	29	60	76	2	26	24

Final accented syllables are dropped in 6.5% of all occurrences, final unaccented syllables in 30.2% of occurrences. The two accented final syllables which are dropped represent the body part κεφαλή (A26) and perhaps the adjective ἀπλανής, although this form may be differently interpreted (see commentary on A22). It is possible that the writer of this passage actually used the diminutive κεφάλιον (cf. Modern Greek κεφάλι 'head') which would then have lost its final syllable regularly. The above table shows that there is considerable variation between different final syllables: in general final syllables with high vowels (-η and -ι) are more prone to loss than those with mid and low vowels (-ο and -α). This result is in close accord with the results obtained by Thumb (1900: 417) who also noted that -iov was more readily dropped in Armenian loanwords than -ος. Note also that the suffix -iov only appears in the full form -ion three times: βιβλίον (A9, not in a word list), possibly ἴδιον (B16, but the reading is doubtful) and in the adverbial form αὔριον (A14, not in a word-list).

One observable factor which also may govern preservation of an unaccented ending in this text is the number of syllables of a word: very few disyllabic words lose their endings (sag A22 for σάγος, newr A30 for νεῦρον and perhaps mi B12 for μῆον), and it is possible that the writer was reluctant to write monosyllabic forms in the word-lists.

The following **changes of declension** are found:

-υς > -ος: op'ros for ὀφρύς (A26), ewt'on for εὐθύς (B19) and gliwkon for γλυκύς (B20) (*Gignac* II 79).

addition of -α to nom. sing. (?) (or citation of acc. sing.) in splina for σπλῆν and antik'era for ἀντίχειρ (A28) and blep'a for φλέψ (A30). This could be evidence of the transfer of third declension nouns to the first declension which took place in Greek, but there is little evidence for this change outside the words μήτηρ and θυγάτηρ in papyri (Gignac II 46 and 63); and it is possible that the Armenian writer views nominatives and accusatives as interchangeable (the cases are syncretic in all singular declensions in Armenian).

-ος to -η : drosi for δρόσος (B19).

Further interchange between masculine / neuter forms (? nominative / accusative confusion) (Gignac II 42f.):

k'jrisok'on for χρυσοχόος (A21) (for the variant forms of this word in papyri, see Gignac II 35); trak'eion for τράχηλος (A27); koip'on for κόλπος (B16) and many more; note also korin for κόρη (A26) (if not for κόριον) and p'afatron for φαρέτρα (A31).

Adjectives

Adjectives are frequently cited in the neuter singular and sometimes in the masculine, compare the following forms on side B:

σκληρόν, άπαλόν (B10), άηδής (B12), θερρόν, χλιαρόν (B17), μακρός (B25).

Verbs

There are a few noteworthy points about the verbal forms used:

- 1) the temporal augment appears to be omitted in at least 4 verb forms, e.g. elt'- ἤλθ- (A8, A14, B34), and in 5 further forms the augment ἦ-from a verb beginning with α-is represented by e, e.g. egorasa ἠγόρασα (A24) (see above and Gignac II 233-4).
- 2) the augment is omitted in the aorist of the compound ἀναχωρέω (A13) (Gignac II 223-4).
- 3) substitution of aorists in -α for aorist in -ov, ep'aka = ἔφαγα (A18) for ἔφαγον (Gignac II 344).
- 4) substitution of 2nd sing. aorist -εξ for -ας, edokes = ἔδωκες (A7, A24) for ἔδωκας (Gignac II 348f.).
- 5) conjugation of contract verbs: aroti (A11), anerotis (A12) = (ἀν)ερωτῶς (Gignac II 364f.).

Syntax

The nature of the text means that in general there is little evidence for any complex syntactic structures. The longer sententiae and chreiae represent learned sentences and so do not reflect colloquial syntax, which is consequently only represented in the phrases given on side A, not all of which have been satisfactorily interpreted. However, the use of genitive for dative, well known from other texts from Egypt and elsewhere, is clearly attested: anedokaawtaautow = ἀνέδωκα αὐτὰ αὐτοῦ (for αὐτῷ) (A16); tiedokesawtowtimi = τί ἔδωκες αὐτοῦ τιμῆν (A24).

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