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Author(s): Demetrius J. Georgacas

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**GREEK TERMS FOR "FLAX," "LINEN," AND THEIR DERIVATIVES;
and the Problem of Native Egyptian Phonological Influence
on the Greek of Egypt***

DEMETRIUS J. GEORGACAS

I. ANCIENT, KOINE, MEDIEVAL, AND MODERN GREEK TERMS AND NAMES

FLAX and LINEN. The Indo-European peoples knew flax and linen, as is shown by the term **lino-* "flax, linen": Greek λίνον, Slavic **linъ*, Baltic *linaĩ* (all with short *i*), Latin *linum*, Celtic (Irish *lín*), and Germanic (Gothic *lein*, Old English *lín*, etc.) (all with long *i*).¹ The peoples living around the

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Some modern Greek material derives from the Archives of the Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς (Academy of Athens) and of the Μεσαιωνικὸν Ἀρχεῖον (*ibidem*). I am thankful to Dr. John Kalleris, Director of the former institute, for supplying information from the Historical Lexicon, as well as to Mr. Nicholas Kontosopoulos (Historical Lexicon) and to Dr. Phaedon Bouboulidis (Medieval Greek Archives). Further modern Greek material was received from friends in various parts of Greece in answer to two questionnaires sent by me in December 1956 and October 1958, with kind support from the office of Dean R. B. Witmer of the University of North Dakota. The names of these informants appear in another study (*Memorial Volume for Manolis Triandaphyllidis*, Athens, 1960), but I wish to mention here my obligation to Dr. Demetrios Loucatos (Folklore Institute, Athens), Mr. Christodoulos Papa-christodoulou (principal, Venetokleion Gymnasium for Boys, Rhodes, Greece), Mr. Panayotis Bournelos (Carystos), Mr. Panayotis Stamos (Polygyros), and Mr. Constantine Psychogios (Lechaina).

¹ J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern, 1948-58), p. 691;

Mediterranean also cultivated flax² and its processing and products were known as early as the Mycenaean age, as the Mycenaean Greek terms of the fourteenth century B.C. that occur on tablets of Pylos and Knossos adequately attest: *linon* "flax," "linen," "linen thread," etc. (KN 222, PY 184), *lineiai* "female flax workers" (PY) and *lineiaon* (gen. plur., PY 8), a derivative of λινεύς (as βασίλεια fem. "queen" from βασίλευς).³ In Homer λίνον is frequently used and

O. Schrader-A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogerman. Altertumswissenschaft*², 1.323 ff.; A. Ernout-A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*³ (Paris, 1951), p. 643 f.; A. Walde-J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*³ (Heidelberg, 1938-56), 1.810 f.; cf. C. D. Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (Chicago, 1949), p. 400 f.

² Victor Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien*, 8. Aufl., neu herausg. von O. Schrader (Berlin, 1911), p. 192. — For more complete information on flax and linen see Olck, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie der class. Altertumswissenschaft*, s.v. *Flachs*, 6 (1909), cols. 2435-2484; Hugo Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, 1² (Berlin, 1912), pp. 191-199; O. Schrader-A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*², 1 (1917-23), 323b-326b, s. v. *Flachs*; H. Thédénat, in Ch. Daremberg et E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, (Paris), 3.2 (1900), 1260b-1263b, s.v. *linum*. Cf. H. Michell, *The Economics of Ancient Greece*, (New York, 1940), pp. 58 f. (flax), 184 f. (linen and silk), 290 f. (linen); John Kalleris, Αἱ πρῶται ὕλαι τῆς ὑφαντουργίας εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαϊκὴν Αἴγυπτον, (Athens, 1952 = Ἐπετηρὶς Λαογραφικοῦ Ἀρχεῖου of the Academy of Athens, 6 [1950-51]).

³ See Michael Ventris and John Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 131, 159, 296 f., 320, and (Vocabulary) 408 a.

it occurs as "linen garment" through the Hellenic period to the New Testament and through the middle ages. Egypt as well as the Byzantine Empire⁴ produced linen. The cultivation of flax and the linen industry were wide spread in Greece itself, as is shown by terms designating production of flax and manufacture of flaxen articles and linen clothing in all periods of the Greek language and by place-names derived from the terms for "flax" etc. This is made sufficiently clear by the following table of terms. It is worth noting that Egyptian and Greek flax is that known as *linum usitatissimum* L.

1. Ancient Greek

līnon (Mycenaean) and λίνον (Iliad)
līneia "woman flax worker" (Mycenaean)
 λίνεος (Attic λινούς) "of flax, linen" and
 λινέη f. "tape measure"; also λίνειος μέτρος
 (Souda)
 λινεργής, λινεργῶ (-έω)
 λिनογενής
 λινόδεσμος
 λινόδετος
 λινόζωστος
 λινοθήρας m.
 λινοθώραξ (-ρηξ)
 λινοκάρυκες· οἱ τὰ λινὰ πωλοῦντες
 (Hesych.)
 λινόκροκος
 λινόπεπλος
 λινοπόρος
 λινόπτῆς (λινόπτᾶζει Hesych., λινόπτάομαι)
 λινοραφής
 λινοσινής
 λινόστολος
 λινουργός

⁴ For the Roman Empire see *Edictum Diocletiani*, ed. Th. Mommsen (Berlin, 1893 = *CIL*, 3, Supplement), §§ 26–29, pp. 39–48 on λίνον. For Byzantine times cf. Leo Philos., *Τὸ ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον*, ed. J. Nicole, 2.1; 9.1,6 and 7; *Ἀσσίλοι Κύπρου*, C. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* (Venice), 6.489 (linum brought to Byzantine markets from Egypt); Adam Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam* (London, 1937), pp. 458–462; cf. G. Zoras, *Le corporazioni bizantine*; studio sull'ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον dell'imperatore Leone VI (Rome, 1931), pp. 179–182 (on ὀθωνιοπράται [not ὀθωνιοπράται]); Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμὸς*, 2.2 (Athens, 1948), 22f. See also the following note.

λινοφθόρος
 λिनοχίτων (Hesych.)
 ἀμφίλινος
 ἑκκαίδεκάλινος
 ἐννεάλινος
 etc.

2. Koine Greek

λίνον (and Λίνον, name of a place on the Propontis with ethnicon Λινούσιος)
 λιναῖος
 λινάριον and λινάριον
 λινάριος (Lat. *linarius*)
 λινάρμενον
 λινέμπορος
 λινεργής, λινεργῶ (-έω)
 λινεύς
 λινευτής
 λινεύω
 λινέψιον
 λινεψός
 λινική f.
 λίνινος
 λινόδρυς
 λινοεργής
 λινόλευκτος
 λिनοκαλάμη
 λινοκαλαμῖς
 λινοκάλαμον
 λινοκριθή
 λινοξός
 λινόπλεκτος
 λινόπληκτος
 λινοπλήξ
 λινοπλόκος "linen-weaver" (cf. ὀθωνιοπλόκος)
 λινοπλύνας [-πλύντας?]* τριβεύς (Hesych.)
 λινοπλύτης (not λινοπλυτής with *LSJ*)
 λινοποιός (cf. ὀθωνιοποιός)
 λινόπτερος
 λινοπτέρυξ
 λινόπυρος
 λινοπώλης (cf. ὀθωνιακός, ὀθωνιοπράτης, ὀθωνιο-
 πώλης "linen merchant")
 λίνος m. (= λίνον)
 λινός "made of linen" (*P. Masp.* 67006, 1.88 [6th cent.] προσκεφαλεα λινὰ τρία is misaccented as λινὰ by Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, 2.24 instead of λινά); λινόν *Etym. m.* 566.36–38. This adj. is from anc. λινούς, as ἀπλός from ἀπλοῦς, χρυσός from χρυσοῦς, etc.
 λινόσπαρτον
 λινόσπερμα (cf. λίνου σπέρμα)

λινόσπερμον
 λινοσπέρμιον ἔλαιον
 λινουστασία
 λινουστατῶ (-έω)
 λινόστημα (Lat. *linostema*)
 λινουστολία
 λινόστροφος
 λινουτειχίς
 λινουτόμοι
 λινούδιον (see below)
 λινούτιν (see below)
 λινουργεῖον
 λινουργία
 λινουργός
 λινουργῶ (-έω)
 λινούς
 λινοῦφ[αντεία]
 λινοῦφής
 λινοῦφικός
 λινόϋφος
 λινούχος
 λινουφακός
 λινουφάντης (from λινουφάντης)
 λινουφόρος γῆ
 λινόχλαινος
 λινόχορτος, -ον
 λινουφαντάριος (and λευουφαντάριος under the influence perhaps of λέντιον)
 λινουφαντεῖον
 λινουφάντης
 λινουφαντικός
 λινουφάριος
 λινουφεῖον
 λινουφικός
 λίνυφος
 λινωνία
 αἰνόλινος
 ἀκρόλινος
 ἄλιμος θήρα
 ἀπολινῶ (-όω)
 ἀπολινώσις
 διαλινίζω, -ομαι (not διαλινάω, -νώμαι)
 ἐκλινίζω (not ἐκλινάω)
 ἐπιλινεύω
 ἐπιλινευτής
 ἐπιλινῶν· ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τὰ ἐστῶτα λίνα καὶ ἐπιβλέπειν (Hesych.)
 λευκόλινον
 μονόλινον, τετράλινον, τρίλινον
 ὑπόλινον· τὸ ὄρμιον (Hesych.)
 ὠμόλινα· τὰ ἀγρία ὀθόνια (Hesych.)
 ὠμόλινος (synon. στύπινος)
 etc.

3. Medieval Greek

λινον in medieval Greek is a learned (Koine) term;⁵ as is also the plur. τὰ λίνα meaning "white linen" and "hunting net" (Eustathius, Παρεκβολαί, 1452.60; 574.30).
 λινάριον Const. Porphyrog., *De cer.* 658.13, 673.5 and 9; Leo Philos., Τὸ ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον 13.1 (ed. J. Nicole, Geneva, 1893, p. 47); Achmetis *Oneirocr.* 219 (ed. F. Drexl, p. 172, lines 12 and 15) λιναρίου 219 (p. 172, line 14), 210 (p. 165, line 2); in the latter passage χώραν ἐσπαρμένην λιναρίου should be emended to read λινάριν, which mss. rBS actually give; Michael Choniates, 2.365.13 (ed. S. Lambros) ἃ λιναρίου αἵρεσιν ὑποκρίνεται; τὸ δικαίωμαν τοῦ λιναρίου Assises B, σηζ (ed. C. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 6 [1877], p. 489, line 9); the plur. τὰ λινάρια means also "hunting nets" = anc. Greek τὰ λίνα (see the preceding). The spoken medieval form was no doubt λινάριν, which is recorded in this form by Achmet (see above); *Prodr.* 1.96 κάμνω τὸ λινάριν, 2.35 λινάριν καὶ βαμβάκιν; also Steph. Sachlikis in his Ἀφηγήσεις 461, 463 (ed. W. Wagner, p. 95).
 λιναρᾶς m. Du Cange, *Glossarium Graecit.*, s.v.; see the following.
 λιναρπουλητής m. Du Cange, *ibid.*, s.v. = Koine λινέμπορος, λινουπόλης.
 λινέλιν: εἰς κηροστόπιν καὶ σαδί, ἐλάδι καὶ λινέλιν *Prodr.* 2.53 (ed. Hesseling-Pernot). Perhaps for λινέλαιον.
 λινός "made of linen": ἀμόλια λινὰ [not λινᾶ] φιλά διακόσια Theophan. Contin. (ed. Bonn), 318.16; εἴτε λινὰ [not λινᾶ] εἰσιν εἴτε ἐξ ἑρίου ἢ
⁵ λίνου διαφανοῦς ὑφάσματα Gregorii Nyss. *Oratio VII* (A.D. 368/9), Migne, *PG*, 35.773 D; τοῖς ἐκ λίνου καὶ σηρῶν ἀερίοις ὑφάσμασι, *idem*, *Orat. XIV* (A.D. 373), *ibid.*, 877 A; ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ λίνου τὴν χρῆσιν εἰς πλατυτέραν ἀπόλαυσιν Asterii Amaseae episc., *Homiliae* (ca. A.D. 400), Migne, *PG*, 40.165A; εἴτα μεταβαίνουσιν ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπὶ τὰ μικτὰ ἐκ λίνου καὶ ἑρέας ἔχοντα τὴν κατασκευὴν S. Nili, *Liber de monastica exercitatione* (A.D. 450), Migne, *PG*, 79.804B; τὰ ἐκ λίνων ὑφάσματα Leo Philos., Τὸ ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον, 2.1 (ed. J. Nicole, p. 22); ἢ τῶν λεπτῶν λίνων καὶ διαφανῶν κατ' ὄσφιν μὲν συναγωγῇ καὶ συνίλησις Michael Psellos in C. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 5 (1876), p. 73; οὐ δισσὰς ἐνδιδύσκουσα χλαίνας ἐξ ἑρίου καὶ λίνου ἐξυφασμένας Nikolaos Mesarites, *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, ed. A. Heisenberg, (Würzburg, 1907), p. 41, line 36; διαφανῆ ὑφάσματα λίνου καὶ μετάξης ὁμοῦ Demetrios Chrysoloras in S. Lambros, Παλαιολογεία καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, 3 (Athens, 1926), p. 230, 1.5.

ἐτέρας ὕλης Leo Philos., *Tactica*, in Migne, *PG*, 107.724 C; ἀπό τῶν εἰσαγόντων ἔξωθεν τὰ τοιαῦτα λινά; *idem*, Τὸ ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον, 9.1 (ed. J. Nicole, p. 39); Ἐάν . . . εἰσέλθῃ πραγματεία λινῶν ἢ μέλιτος κτλ. *ibid.*, 9.6 (p. 40); Οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐργαζόμενοι λινὰ κτλ. 9.7 (p. 40); ἡ ζούπα ἀπὸ λινοῦ καὶ βάμβακος Achmetis *Oneirocr.* 225 (ed. Drexl, p. 177, line 9); ἀπὸ ἐρίου ἢ ἀπὸ λινοῦ ἢ βάμβακος *ibid.* 229 (p. 180, line 17); εἰ δὲ βαμβάκιον νήσῃ ἢ λινόν *ibid.* 262 (p. 215, line 15); παννὶν λινόν F. Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum* (Naples, 1865), p. 324, text no. 240; οἱ δὲ λινὸν χιτῶνα, οἱ δὲ μαλλωτὸν *Glossae Graecobarb.* (Du Cange, *Glossar. Graecit.*, s.v. μαλλωτὸν, 858).

λινόβάμβακος "made of linen and cotton": λινόβάμβακον ἱμάτιν Prodr. 1.93 (ed. Hesseling-Pernot). Cf. ἀπὸ λινοῦ καὶ (ἢ) βάμβακος in Achmet (see preceding).

λινόβενετον neut. "blue linen cloth": ἔτερα πιλωτὰ λινόβενετα ἔχοντα μαλλὸν κτενιστόν Const. Prophyrog., *De cer.* 465.17; ἔχει πιλωτὰ κεντουκλιεῖνα ἐνδεδυμένα λινόβενετα 487.6.

λινοειδής "like flax": Σουδάρια καὶ σημικίνθια, ἀμφοτέρα νομίω λινοειδῆ εἶναι Ammon. Alexandr., Migne, *PG*, 85.1576 A.

λινόμαλλον: ἐπιτραπέλιον, λινόμαλον mantile *CGL* 3.269.50; lilomallon [for λινόμαλλον] mantile *ibid.* 3.193.13; cf. *CGL* 7.572 s.v. *λινόμαλον et -λλον mantela (mantile).

λινόμαλλωτάριον neut. "linen μαλλωτάριον": λινόμαλλωτάρια Const. Porphyrog., *De cer.*, 469.1; λινόμαλλωτάρια ἑκατόν Theophan. Contin. (ed. Bonn), 318.15. The simplex μαλλωτάριον is Koine and medieval.

λινόπλοκος. linarius, *CGL*, 2.361.19; see Koine λινόπλοκος

λινόπλοκος (learned): καὶ στάλικες ἀγρεύουσι λινόπλοκοι τὰς ἄρκτους Const. Manasses (ed. Bonn), p. 275, line 6477.

λινόφαντος ἐργασία Leo Philos., Τὸ ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον, 3.1 (ed. J. Nicole, p. 39), translated *res lintearia*.

λινόχρυσος "linen interwoven with gold": λινόχρυσα ἱμάτια Malalas, *Chron.*, 457.16, and λινόχρυσον φακίολιν 18; λινόχρυσα ἱμάτια Theophan., *Chronogr.* (ed. de Boor), 244.22, and λινόχρυσον φακίολιν 25.

διαλινίω: glosses διαπερδικίσαι· διαλινίσαι· καὶ διαφυγεῖν *Hesych.* (ed. K. Latte, 1.438) and διελινίσαστο. ἐξέφυγε (1.451); διαπερδικίσαι: διαλινίσαι· διαφυγεῖν *Etym. magnum* 269.37; διελινίσαστο ὁ λαγῶς Eusta-

thius, Παρεκβολαί, 574.30. I suggest the spelling διαλινίσαι, διελινίσαστο, (with -νι-) in place of transmitted διαλινῆσαι, διελινῆσαστο since the derivative verb is possible in -ίω, not in -άω. The word is a Koine verb (Phrynichus, *Praeparatio Sophistica*, ed. I. de Borries [Leipzig, 1911], p. 64B = *Anecdota Bekker*, 36.23, διαλινίσαι, διαφυγεῖν ἐν τοῖς κυνηγεσίσι γεγόμενον, which is also traditionally written διαλινῆσαι). The entry for Koine and med. διαλινάω as well as the medieval ἐκλινάω must be struck out of our lexica.

ἐκλινίω "escape from a hunting net": ἐξελίνισεν ἦτοι διεξέφυγε τὰ λινά Eustathius, Παρεκβολαί, 574.30; ὅτε δὲ ζῶον ἐμπεσὸν αὐτοῖς ἐκφύγη, ἐκλινίσαι φασὶν αὐτό, ῥητορικῶς φράζοντες *ibid.*, 1452.60. Ph. Koukoules⁶ correctly argues for the present ἐκλινίω and against ἐκλινέω or ἐκλινάω. It is obvious that the copyists of mss. created the forms -ῆσαι (ἐκλινῆσαι, ἐξέλινισεν) with -ῆ- which lexicographers have unnecessarily perpetuated. In the thirteenth century Georgius Cyprius, Παροιμίαι, 3.3 (Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, 2.110.15) ἐκπερδικίσαι [καὶ] ἐκλινίσαι· ἐπὶ τῶν διαδιδρασκόντων τοὺς θηρευτάς. It is modern Greek that helps us to understand in this and numerous other cases which form actually existed and which was a ghost word-form. Cf. mod. Gr. ξελινίω (not ξελινῶ) below and the preceding διαλινίω. ἐπιλινεύω: gloss λινόπτάζει· ἐπιλινεύει, περιβλέπει *Hesych.*

Many of the terms listed above in 2 (*Koine*) continued to be used in medieval Greek, even if they do not appear in the texts so far published, and were also, therefore, medieval Greek words. Likewise many of the terms listed in 4 (*modern Greek* below) were already current in medieval Greek. In general, most modern Greek lexical elements have been inherited from medieval Greek, whether or not they are recorded in texts so far published and in our dictionaries. In many cases it is impossible to stamp a word either Koine or medieval, for it may be both.

⁶ Ph. Koukoules, "ΞΕΛΙΝΙΖΩ," Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 4 (1927), 47f.; cf. also his Θεσσαλονίκης Εὐσταθίου Τὰ λαογραφικά, (Athens, 1950), 1.328.

4. *Modern Greek*

ἀπολιναρίδες f. plur. Cythera "the pulpy remnants of flax" (Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς, 2.512a). Synon. λινοξυλίδες.

ἀπόλινος m. Crete (*ibid.*).

ἀπολινώνω Pontic (*ibid.*); see Koine ἀπολινώ.

ἀπολινώμεν neut. Pontic (*ibid.*).

λιναία f. "thin linen rope," "cord" Epirus (Chimara), Pontos (Chaldia, Kerasounda, Liveri), Ἰνέα Epirus (Drymades, etc.), λιναί Epirus (Droviani, Schoriades, Tsamandas, etc.), Corcyra (Argirades), Paxi, Peloponnesus (Achaia, Arcadia, Elis, Olympia, Corinthia), λεινία "thread" Euboea (Avlonari, Kourouni, Kymi), λεινιά "piece of rope" Euboea (Carystos, Ochtonia, Vryses), etc. Some of the more usual meanings are: *a.* thin rope, string (synon. σπάγγος), *b.* strip of cloth, *c.* thread. Another meaning occurs in modern Cretan: λιναία or λιναί f. "odor of burning linen cloth" (synon. λινουδιά, ὁ λινός, τὸ λινόν). Cf. Koine λιναῖος.

λιναραμιά f. "field of flax" Epirus (Kourentochoria, etc.). The suffix -αμιά, earlier -αμαία, was detached from nouns such as καλαμαία, ἀποκαλαμαία, βριζοκαλαμαία, etc. Cf. also the derivatives βριζαμιά (βρίζα), βρομαμιά (βρόμη), κριθαμιά (κριθή), φακαμιά (φακή), etc. The Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς, 1.512a, gives -αμεά as if the latter suffix were -έα; see, however, D. J. Georgacas in *Glotta*, 31 (1951), p. 211 ff.

λιναρῆς m. "flax grower or dealer" common (also in the lexica of da Somavera, Weigel, Brighenti, etc.) from med. λιναρῆς, q.v. In Euboea λιναρῆς is the designation of a bird (=φλώρος?).

λιναρένιος "of flax," "flaxen" Elis, Naxos, Thrace, (Ἰναρέϊνος) etc.

λιναρήθρα f., name of a weed that grows in flax fields, perhaps *delphinium junceum*, in Messenia (Maniaki, Papoulia, etc.), Zacynthus, Constantinople.

λιναρήσιος "of flax" in various places: πρᾶμα λιναρήσιο "linen cloth" Corcyra; τὸ λιναρήσιο as a noun "place in which flax is cultivated" Thrace (Saranda Ekklesies).

λινάρι neut. "flax": (1722) K. Amantos, "Ἡ αἰχμαλωσία τοῦ Νικολάου Λικινίου," Ἑλληνικά, 11 (1939), p. 153; Ἱστορία τῶν κατὰ τὴν Οὐγγροβλαχίαν τελευθέντων παρὰ τοῦ μητροπολίτου Μυρέων κυροῦ Ματθαίου, in Ἐ.

Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, 2.256, line 706; K. Dapontes, Λόγοι πανηγυρικοί, (Venice, 1778), in Ἐ. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, 2.274. The plural λινάρια: Stathis Γ, 1.137 (K. N. Sathas, *Κρητικὸν Θέατρον*, [Venice, 1879], p. 156); (1713) F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, 2 (1887), p. 199.—Today λινάρι is common and dialectal (Bova, Otranto, Kerasounda, Trapezounda), λινάριν (Cyprus, Rhodes, etc.), Ἰνάρ in the northern Greek dialect group, λινέρ and νέρ in Cappadocia (Gurtonos, Aravan), λινάζι in Tsakonia. From Koine and medieval λινάριν (see above med. λινάριον).

λιναριά f. "field of flax" from λιναραία.

λιναρίτης m. "water in which flax is retted" Crete. There is also the noun λιναρίτης m. as the name of a mineral (Eleftheroudakis, Ἑγκυκλοπαιδικὸν Λεξικόν, 8.719a).

λιναροκοπανίζω "beat flax" in Mani, Maniaki in Triphylia and in lexica. Synon. στομπίζω τὸ λινάρι (Cynouria).

λιναροκοπανίστρα f. "woman worker who pounds flax" in Mani and Maniaki.

λιναροκόπανος m. "wooden beater of flax" in Naxos, Mani, Maniaki, Adrianople, and in lexica. Synon. κόπανος.

λιναροκουταλίστρα f. "woman worker who removes the stalk of the flax as it is being pounded" (synon. κουταλίστρα). Cf. the phrase κουταλίζω τὸ λινάρι.

λιναρόλαδο neut. "linseed oil" (Eleftheroudakis Ἑγκυκλοπαιδικὸν Λεξικόν s.v.; etc.). Synon. λινόλαδο.

λιναρομάγγανο neut. "machine [μαγγάνι] by which the stalk of the flax is crushed" in many regions. Synon. μάγγανος (Epirus, Ionian Islands, Peloponnesus, Pontos, etc.), κόφτρα. Cf. μαγγανίζω τὸ λινάρι.

λιναρονέρι neut. "water in which flax is washed" Maniaki in Triphylia.

λιναρόπανο neut. "linen cloth" in Messenia (eparchia of Olympia). Synon. λινόπανο, λινὸ πανί.

λιναρόσκοινο neut. "rope made of flax" Peloponnesus, Crete, Cos, etc. Synon. λιναί, λινόσκοινο, παλαμάρι.

λιναρόσκοιτο neut. "coarse rug of linen" in Messenia (eparchia of Olympia).

λιναρόσπορος m. "flaxseed, linseed" common (Ἰναρόσφυρος in the northern Greek dialect territory). Synon. λινόσπορος.

- λινέλαιο neut. "linseed oil" is from the katharevousa term λινέλαιον (synon. λινάρολαδο), which occurs in a codex of the sixteenth century (K. Amantos, Ἀθηνᾶ, 43.151). But modern λινέλαιον "linoleum" was adapted from Neo-Latin *linoleum* (= Greek κηρωτόν).
- λινένιος "flaxen; linen" in South Italian Greek.
- λινόβαμβας "made of linen and cotton" (a katharevousa term), λινόμπάμπας common mod. Greek (λινόπάμπας dial.), from med. λινόβαμβας (see above). In the dialectal speech of Cyprus λινόπάμπας m.pl. is a nickname for crypto-Christians.
- λινόβρακιν neut. "men's linen drawers" Pontic, λινόβρακί Pontos (Oenoë, Ophis, Trapezounda) and Thrace; plur. λινόβρακια in Prokonnesos.
- λινόβροχειο neut. in Cephallenia, Laconia (Mani), λινόβροχειό Amorgos, Cephallenia, Cythera, Peloponnesus (Chatzi in Pyllia), etc., λινόβρουχειό Aetolia, λινόβραχειό Crete (Viannos) "pit filled with water in which flax is retted" (cf. λινόβριτης, λινόβρονέρι). Cf. βροχιάζω τὸ λινόβρι, λινόβροχιάζω, μούσκεύω τὸ λινόβρι, etc.
- λινόβροχι neut. Aetolia, Athens, Ionian Islands, Peloponnesus (Messenia), *λινόβροχι* Leucas = (1) λινόβροχειό (see above) and (2) "a pit formed by the sinking of the ground" (Cephallenia).
- λινόβροχιάζω "ret flax" in many places. Synon. βροχιάζω τὸ λινόβρι, μούσκεύω τὸ λινόβρι, λινόβροχίζω.
- λινόβροχίζω "ret flax": *λινόβροχίζω* in Leucas.
- λινόγραφία f. "printing on cloth" (a learned creation).
- λινόδετος "bound with linen": βιβλίον -ον (a katharevousa term).
- λινόκαλάμι neut. "flax straw" (from med. *λινόκαλάμιν).
- λινόκαλαμιά f. "flax straw" in Zacynthus (from λίνον and καλαμιά).
- λινόκόκκι neut. "linseed" in Epirus (Chimara, Kourentochoria), Ionian Islands (Zacynthus), Peloponnesus (Laconia, Cynouria, Messenia, Pontos [Sinopi]), *λινόκόκκι* Leucas, *λινόκόκκι* Jannina, *λινόκόκκι* Artaki, etc. From λινόκόκκιν, dimin. of λινόκόκκος.
- λινόκόκκος m. "linseed" in Naxos (Komiaki), etc.
- λινόλαδον neut. "linseed oil" in the early seventeenth century (Agapios Landos, Βιβλίον καλούμενον Γεωπονικόν, [Venice, 1796] p. 186, λινόλαδο common (Ionian Islands, Adrianople, etc.). Synon. λινόβροχιάδο, λινέλαιο, Κοίνο λινόσπέρμιον έλαιον.
- λινόμαλλινος "made of linen and wool" in Triphylia (Siderokastro)
- λινόμαλλος "made of linen and wool" (cf. med. εκ λίνου και έρέας οί εκ έριου και λίνου; see note 5).
- λινόμεταξος "made of linen and silk" common (cf. med. λίνου και μετάξης; see note 5).
- λινόξυλα neut. plur. "the pulpy remnants of flax after it has been beaten" in *Erotokritos* A 282 (ed. S. Xanthoudidis, p. 11); *Erophile* A 134 (ed. S. Xanthoudidis, p. 94); so in Crete, Cythera, Peloponnesus (Dimitzana, Mani), Thrace (*λινόξυλα*), etc. Synon. άπολιναρίδες, λινόξυλίδες.
- λινόξυλίδες f. plur. Cythera, Mani = λινόξυλα q.v.
- λινόπανο neut. "linen cloth" in Macedonia, Rhodes. Synon. λινό πανί, λινόρόπανο, λινόρόσκουτο.
- λινόπιττα f. "cake made of linseed after the oil has been squeezed out" (used as feed for cattle) in some places.
- λινός "made of linen," "linen" common (λινός in Voion, λινός Vithynia, λινός Carystos) (synon. πάνινο): λινό πανί "linen cloth," λινό πουκάμισο "linen shirt," λινό ρούχα "linen clothes" all common; as nouns ó λινός "the smell of burning cloth" in Rhodes and τὸ λινό "idem" in Pontos (Oenoë) (synon. λινό and λινόδι; see above); τὰ λινό "linen clothing, linen suit" common, and "cloth for bed sheets, tablecloth, cloth for towels made of cotton or even silk" in Crete (Prinias of Monofatsi); λινό και ξέλινα Gyparis Δ 21 (ed. E. Kriaras [Athens, 1940], p. 215).
- λινόσακκα f. "sack made of coarse linen" and λινόσακκα "sack for flour" Megara. Synon. καναβάτσο, λινότσο, τσουβάλι.
- λινόσκονο neut. "rope made of coarse linen" Cos. Synon. λινόρόσκονο.
- λινόσπαγγος m. in some places and λινόσπαγγος in Amorgos "string of flax."
- λινόσπορος m. "flaxseed," "linseed" in the early seventeenth century (Agapios Landos [see above, s.v. λινόλαδον], p. 8) and in Crete, Cythera, etc. *λινόσπορο* in Otranto, and λινόσπορον neut. in Pontos (Trapezounda). Synon. λινόρόσπορος.

λινσοτολή f. "linen suit" (a katharevousa term); in military language it means "linen underwear" (for both σκελέα and ύποδύτης). Cf. synon. άσπρόρουχα, έσώρουχα. Cf. also Koine λινσοτολία and anc. Greek λινόστολος. λινούδια neut. plur. "underwear" and especially "petticoats made of linen cloth woven by women" in Crete (see below).

λινουδιά f. and λινουτιά (see below).

λινοφορώ "wear linen clothing": the participle λινοφορεμένος in Thrace (Adrianople) and in lexica (e.g., da Somavera: "vestito di lino"). Cf. Koine λινοφόρος.

λινόχορτο neut., name of the plant *erythraea maritima*, in Corcyra; from Koine λινόχορτον.

μαγγανίζω τὸ λινάρι "work out the flax by means of a machine called μάγγανος" (δουλεύω τὸ λινάρι στὸ μάγγανο): μαγγανισμένο λινάρι (synon. σκουλλίν in Cyprus, σκουλλί in Cos, σκουλλούδι in Crete and Cythera, κορκύδα in Crete); opposite άμαγγάνιστο λινάρι. Cf. λιναρομάγγανο.

ξέλινα; see s. v. λινός.

ξελινίζω "beat the dry flax so that its seeds fall away" in Mani (Kambos of Avia); figuratively "rejoice greatly" in Crete (Imbros of Sfakia), probably with the earlier meaning of "escape from a hunting net" (cf. ξεδιχτύλω: *kxiðixtízuzi* "escape from a net" in the speech of the island of Samos). This word derives from med. έξελινισα aor. of εκλινίζω "to escape from a hunting net [= λίνον]" (see med. εκλινίζω above).

ψιλόλιני neut. "thin flax" in Triphyllia (Gargaliani) from ψιλὸν λίνον.

It should be noted that the sixty-five modern Greek terms given above do not constitute a definitive list since it is impossible to provide an exhaustive list of terms from writings that have been neither excerpted nor completely published, or from unrecorded oral Greek speech which constitutes such a rich source for medieval and modern Greek.

5. Names

Family Names: The family name λιναρᾶς m. occurring in many sections of modern Greece must also have been medieval and post-medieval, and derives from the occupational term λιναρᾶς m. "flax grower" and "flax dealer." Hence the place-name λιναρᾶτικα neut. plur. on the island of Paxi.

The family name λινάρης m. occurs in fewer places and derives from the term λινάρι "flax," given to persons as a nickname.

λιναρίτης m. as a nickname occurs in Rethymno and as a surname in some villages of the eparchia of Mylopotamos, both in Crete.^{6a}

Place Names: Place names derived from the terms for "flax" and from their derivatives are found in great abundance; for example the following:⁷

λιναρᾶκι neut. in Pylia (Kondogoni) and as the name of a village in Evrytania; plur. λιναρᾶκια in Naupaktia, Trichonia, and Pylia.

λιναρᾶς m. name of a locality in Chios (Pyrgi). στοῦ λινάρη, name of a locality in the Peloponnesus (Dirachi).

λινάρι neut. in Aegina, Calymnos, Euboea (Carystos, Platanistos), etc.; the plur. λινάρια in Aetolia (pronounced *lnárja*), Epirus (Konitsa), Calymnos, Symi, and of a village in Argolidocorinthia.

λιναριά f. name of localities in Elis, Aetolia, Rhodes (in five villages), Thessaly (Pertouli), Scyros (harbor and village) and as the name of a place previously called Γκορτζιά in Elis; plur. λιναριές in Thessaly (Pertouli), Triphyllia, Rhodes, λιναρίες in Euboea (Episkopi), etc. Also λιναρῆ f. in Icaria, plur. λιναρῆς in Crete (Siteia), λιναρᾶ in Carpathos and Crete (Viannos). All from the noun λιναριά, λιναρᾶια (see above).

λιναρίδια neut. plur. in Rhodes (Vati).

λιναρίστρα f. in many places; from the noun *λιναρίστρα (cf. βριλίστρα, βρομίστρα etc.). λιναρίτσα f. in Epirus and Evrytania.

λιναρόκαμπος m. in Naupaktia. Cf. λινόκαμπος. λιναροχώραφο neut. in Aetolia.

λινό f.: στή λινό an area in Scyros where flax was cultivated.

λινούδια neut. plur. name of localities in Rhodes (near Lardos).

λινούρα f. in Nisyros.

λινοβροχείον neut., a medieval place-name (M. Goudas, "Βυζαντινά έγγραφα τῆς ἐν Ἄθῳ ἱερᾶς μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου," Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 4 [1927], p. 213, line 21 τοῦ...ρύακος τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου

^{6a} This I learned from Mr. Andreas Stavroulakis, in a letter dated 20 December 1958.

⁷ For some of these names cf. Kalleris, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 188, note 5.

Λινοβροχείου τοῦ Μελισσινοῦ, and p. 214, line 34 τὸν διαληφθέντα ῥύσασκα, τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον Λινοβροχείου τοῦ Μελισσινοῦ) and modern in Volissos of Chios; Λινοβροχείο in Cythera and Mani; Λινοβροχείο in Pylia (Mitioti) and in Triphylia (three times), Cephallenia, Amorgos, Crete, Nisyros, Rhodes (Arnitha: *λινουροσό*); plur. Λινοβροχείαι in Zacynthus, and as the name of a winter stream in Seriphos.

Λινοβρόχι neut. in Elis, Messenia, Carpathos, Acarnania (pronounced *Ἰνωρόχι*), Leucas; plur. Λινοβρόχια in Cephallenia, Ithaca, Nisyros, Acarnania, Aetolia.

Λινόκαμπος m. in Zacynthus. Cf. Λιναρόκαμπος.

Λινοπότης m. name of a pond in Cos.

Λινόροκα f. in Cephallenia.

Λινοτόπι (τῆς Καστορίας, year 1622) and τῆς κόμης Λινοτοπίου (τῆς Καστορίας, year 1617) (E. Poulitsas, "Ἐπιγραφὰι καὶ ἐνθυμήσεις ἐκ τῆς Βορείου Ἡπείρου," Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 5 [1928], pp. 66 and 61); Λινοτόπι is also the name of a locality in Elis, of a place in Macedonia through which the river Aliacmon flows, and of a village in the Koritsa area in North Epirus (South Albania).

Λινόχωμα neut. in Lesbos (pronounced *Ἰνόχυμα*).

etc.

II. ΛΙΝΟΥΔΙΟΝ, ΛΙΝΟΥΤΙΝ, (GHOST-WORD) ΛΙΝΟΥΓΙΟΝ, ETC.;
ΛΙΝΟΥΔΙΑ (FEM.), ΛΙΝΟΥΤΙΑ; ΚΥΛΙΔΙΟΝ, ΕΝΩΔΙΟΝ-ΕΝΟΙΖΙ, ETC.

I. *λινούδιον*

The noun *λινούδιον* is only a late Koine word, being found in papyri of the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries A.D. So *λινούδιον παιδικόν* *P.Oxy.* 1066.10, τιμή *λινουδίων* *P. Stud.* XX 106.1, καὶ σάβανον ἐν καὶ *λινούδια ἐπιχώρια δύο* *P. Masf.* 67006.66 (vol. II, 1913), etc.⁸ Its meaning must have been "an item of linen clothing" or "linen garment" (*P. Oxy.* I 114.8 *λινούδιον ἐμπόρφυρον* [second-third century]) and subsequently "linen shirt."⁹ The same meaning "linen garment," "linen shirt" is carried by the ancient Greek *χιτών* "linen shirt for women," Koine term *λινούς* (or *λινός*) *χιτών* and *χιτωνίσκος*: *camisia* (*CGL*, 3.272.61). The linen shirt became a customary garment; a parallel is Lat. *linea* (actually from *vestis linea*), which was "a woman's shirt" while *camisia* was "a man's shirt."¹⁰ The noun is a

⁸ F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, 2 (Berlin, 1927), p. 24.

⁹ Preisigke, *ibid.*, gives "linenes Hemd" as the only meaning.

¹⁰ On the linen garment worn after baptism (*vestis linea* in Jerome, *Epistula LXIV*, § 19 *tunc induemur veste linea nihil in se mortis habente, sed tota candida, ut de baptismo consurgentes cingamus lumbos in veritate et tota pristinatorum peccatorum turpitudine celetur* [*Corpus Script. Eccles. Latin.*, ed. I. Hilberg, 64 (1910), p. 610], see J. Quasten, "A Pythagorean Idea in Jerome," *American Journal of Philology*, 63

derivative of the noun *λινόν* neut. "anything made of flax," "linen cloth," "linen garment" with the diminutive suffix *-ούδιον*.

This Koine noun has survived in modern Greek: *λινούδια* neut. plur. "linen underwear" is in use in Mesara and Chania on the island of Crete and *λινούδι* "linen petticoat" on Crete.¹¹ This has also yielded the place-name *Λινούδια* neut. plur. in Rhodes and specifically in the area of Lardos.¹² This place-name probably derived from the flax that was cultivated on the island in past times,

(1942), pp. 207-215. Cf. Leo Spitzer, "Additional Note on 'Wool and Linen' in Jerome," *ibid.*, 64 (1943), p. 98f. Also *ἱμάτιον στυππίνιον* *Levit.* 13.47 (ἐν ἱματίῳ ἔρεψ ἢ ἐν ἱματίῳ στυππίνιῳ), *vestis lintea* in the Vulgate.

¹¹ Communicated by Mrs. Evangelia Frangaki (Filothei, Athens); cf. Ms. 663, p. 10, of the Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης, Academy of Athens. Also in a Cretan folksong: "Ἄν εἶναι βγιά καὶ ξεστεριά, ἔλα μὲ τὰ λινά σου, | ἔλα μὲ τὰ λινούδια σου, μὲ τὰ μεταξωτά σου (βγιά=εὐδία 'fine weather'), in which τὰ λινούδια has perhaps the meaning "linen clothes," "linen suit" (this distich was communicated to me by Mr. N. Kontosopoulos).

¹² Ch. I. Papachristodoulou, *Τοπωνυμικὸ τῆς Ρόδου*, (Rhodes, 1951), p. 107. The author spells this name *Ληνούδια* as if it were derived from *ληνούδιον* (from *ληνός* m. "vine press"). However, in response to my inquiry he has informed me (by letter of 2 February 1958) that he, too, had thought of connecting it with *λινούδια*, dimin. of *λίνον* "flax."

and is not Ληνούδια from ληνούδιον "small vine press" (:ληνός m. "vine press"). For, whereas vineyards do not exist in that area, it is likely that flax was cultivated along the banks of a winter stream called Φονιάς which flows near Lardos. The Rhodian place-names Λιναρία f., Λιναρίδια neut. plur. and Λινοβροχειό neut. corroborate this thesis. From similar terms we may infer production of flax also for the islands of Calymnos (Λινάρια), Cos (Λινοπότης), Nisyros (Λινούρα f., Λινοβρόχια neut. plur.), and Carpathos. In any case, though the noun λινούδιον or (without δ) λινούδιον (both suffix variants *-ίδιον* and *-ίτιον* are the rule in the modern Rhodian dialect) is not in use in the speech of Rhodes but λινάριον neut. (with dimin. suff. *-άριον*) is used in its place, yet λινούδιον must have been Rhodian, as the Rhodian place-name indicates.

2. λινούτιον

I should like to show now that in Greek Koine there existed a word λινούδιον (and λινούδιον) and in Egypt a local Coptic form λινούτιον, and spoken λινούτιον, but that the word λινούγιον, which figures in Greek dictionaries and has been used as an example of an alleged consonant change of δι to γι, is in fact a ghost-word form. The following papyrus texts come into discussion: *P. Masph.* 67006, *P. Princ.* AM 8961, and *P. Got.* 14.

3. λινούγια?

In a papyrus document of about A.D. 522, from Theodosiopolis, located near Minieh in Upper Egypt, the word λινούδια is clearly read: *P. Masph.* 67006.66 και σάβανον ἐν και λινούδια ἐπιχώρια δύο, which Maspero explains in a note "Λινούδια: étoffes de lin (?)." ¹³ In the same papyrus, line 85, Maspero read και ἄλλα λινούγια δύο ἐπιχώρια and in the apparatus he tentatively restores the word λινούγια to λινούργια. ¹⁴ Reil gives λινούγια with a question mark. ¹⁵

¹³ Jean Maspero, *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine. Trouvailles de Kôm-Ich-gaou*, in *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, I (1910), p. 28.

¹⁴ Maspero, *ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁵ Theodor Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Dissert. Leipzig (Borna-Leipzig, 1913), p. 118.

The first objection to λινούργια would be its difference in meaning from λινούγια. The second is that a noun λινούργια could be a derivative of a substantivized adjective λινουργής -ές (cf. καινουργής and therefrom καινούργιος on papyri) and, in fact, there are adjectives λινεργής and λινοεργής "flaxen," of linen," ¹⁶ but there is really no basis for a word λινούργιον in Koine or in medieval or modern Greek as there is no basis for λινούγιον. It is, moreover, difficult to restore λινούργια from λινούγια, in which four out of eight letters cannot, according to Maspero, be safely read. But the word is not λινούδια, as Preisigke ¹⁷ implies by listing Maspero's λινούγια under the entry λινούδιον without further comment.

Through the mediation of Professor H. C. Youtie, Dr. Abdullatif A. Aly (Cairo) has kindly read for me the papyrus *P. Masph.* 67006 and reports that the reading in line 85 is λινούγια (ΛΙΝΟΥΨΓΙΑ). ¹⁸ This is in fact the only instance of the word being written λινούγια instead of λινούδια or λινούτια. In line 66 of the same papyrus the word is λινούδια, so it would be reasonable for us to expect the same form λινούδια in line 85. Yet, because the spoken form was perhaps λινούτια with -τ-, the scribe may have intended to write λινούτια in line 85. In either case, λινούγια is a scribal error. This judgment, with which Mr. Youtie concurs, is based on the writing and spelling errors of the text, of which Maspero himself says ¹⁹ that the long fragment of a marriage contract that appears on the verso of papyrus 67006 (pp. 23-33) is written "en un grec barbare défiguré par une abondance insolite des fautes d'orthographe. Ecriture assez soignée, mais maladroite (tout à fait négligée à partir de la ligne 101), sorte d'onciale grossière mêlée de quelques ligatures cursives." Though I was myself unable, without the

¹⁶ On λινοεργής (Oppian) and λινεργής (Lycophron, Dionysius Periegeta) without the stem vowel -ο- cf. nouns in -οεργός and -εργός and adjectives in -οεργής and -εργής such as κηπουργός, χρυσεργός, χρυσεργής, etc.

¹⁷ Preisigke, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 24. L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, I, 1 (London, 1946), pp. 14, 82, 89, lists only λινούδιον, obviously depending for his material on Preisigke.

¹⁸ By letter from Mr. Youtie (May, 1958).

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

reproduction of the original papyrus, to check the eighty-nine examples of the ligature $\upsilon\tau$ and the ten of the ligature $\upsilon\gamma$ in order to ascertain whether the one is confused with the other, which I hope to do in the future, I am for the present reasonably certain that $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ in this papyrus represents $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\delta\iota\alpha$ or $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\alpha$. Professor Youtie reminds me of errors such as $\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha$ for $\epsilon\mu\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha$ and $\epsilon\mu\mu\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\mu\omicron$ for $\epsilon\mu\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\omicron\mu\omicron\mu\omicron$ which corroborate the view that $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ is a miswriting of $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\alpha$.²⁰

4. $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ (non-existent)

In another papyrus from Lycon Polis (or Lycopolis) in Upper Egypt of A.D. 481, the text of a dialysis between Cyrus, Bishop of Lycopolis, and two brothers, first published in 1922 by the late Henry B. Dewing, the editor reads $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ and translates it as "two men's linens,"²¹ whereas it actually means "two men's linen shirts," and further $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\upsilon\delta\omega\tau\alpha$ [accent -τά] $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ $\tau\rho\iota\alpha$, $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\upsilon\delta\omega\tau\omicron\nu$ [accent -τόν] $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ translated by the same editor as "three new . . . linens, one . . . woolen, two other linens mixed (?) with wool,"²² but actually meaning "new linen shirts trimmed on the edges, one woolen towel trimmed on the edges, and two other coarse linen towels." Dewing reproduces in his article a photograph of the part of the papyrus that includes lines 34–52; in his Commentary²³ he makes no remark whatsoever on the reading $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$, as if it raised no difficulty.

²⁰ In his letter cited in note 18.

²¹ Henry B. Dewing, "A Dialysis of the Fifth Century A.D. in the Princeton Collection of Papyri," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 53 (1922), p. 117, line 40. This papyrus was not reedited in *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections*, I, ed. A. C. Johnson and H. B. van Hoesen (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 10, ed. David M. Robinson [Baltimore, 1931]); II, ed. Edmund Harris Kase, Jr. (Princeton University Studies in Papyrology, No. 1, ed. Allan Chester Johnson [Princeton, 1936]); III, ed. A. C. Johnson and S. Pullman Goodrich (*ibid.*, No. 4 [1942]). A revision of lines 1–18 of the text and several new readings of other lines was given by E. H. Kase, Jr., in No. 2 (1936), p. 78f.

²² Dewing, *op. cit.*, 122, lines 43–45.

²³ *Ibid.*, 124, line 7.

This has been the source for all subsequent treatment of the term $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$. Bilabel accepted Dewing's text without raising any question about $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$.²⁴ Ensslin has also reproduced the text and praised Dewing's exemplary transcription.²⁵ He remarks²⁶ that the reading $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ in *P.Cair.Masp.* 67006.85 is now substantiated by the Princeton papyrus, and mentions the entry $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ "linenes Hemd" from Preisigke's lexicon. He then explains $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ as "Männerhemden" and $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\delta\alpha$ ²⁷ $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ as "neue bortenverzierte Leinenhemden," adds that "die $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\tau\acute{\omicron}$ (Z. 44) fügen sich nicht ohne weiteres ein," and suggests that $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\tau\acute{\omicron}$ would be "als *lintea villosa*, 'rauhe linnene Tücher' als Tisch- oder Handtücher erklärt." Paula Wahrmann, in her bibliographical survey of works on the Greek language published in 1926, likewise states that the word $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\alpha$ had been previously known only from *P.Cair.Masp.* 67006.85, and reminds her readers of $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ "linen shirt."²⁸ Finally, Liddell-Scott-Jones have taken over this word from *Sammelbuch* (7033.40), and explain $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$ as equivalent to $\lambda\nu\omicron\upsilon\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ with the meaning "linen shirt." This word is recorded in the reverse indices.²⁹

²⁴ Friedrich Bilabel, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, 3 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926), no. 7033, pp. 190–192.

²⁵ Wilhelm Ensslin, "Ein Prozessvergleich unter Klerikern vom Jahre 481 (Zu Papyrus Princeton 55)," *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F., 75 (1926), pp. 422–446. The text is on pp. 422–426.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 442, note 1.

²⁷ Read: $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\upsilon\delta\omega\tau\acute{\omicron}$ (as it is in the text). This word occurs also in *P.Masp.* 67006.80 (Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 29) $\mu\alpha\phi\omicron\rho\iota\alpha$ $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\iota\alpha$ $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\upsilon\delta\omega\tau\alpha$ | $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ $\tau\rho\iota\alpha$ (Maspero, *ibid.*, unnecessarily comments " $\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho$ $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\alpha\upsilon\delta\omega\delta\eta$ (?)") and 83 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\sigma\tau\iota\chi\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$ $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\upsilon\delta\omega\delta\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\alpha$ | $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon$. The normal spelling of the word was $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\alpha\upsilon\delta\omega\tau\acute{\omicron}$ (pron. *paragaudotá*). On the word $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\alpha\upsilon\delta\eta\varsigma$ (Lat. *paragaudis*, *paragauda*) cf. Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, 2.2.49 (with bibliography); on an Iranian etymology, L. Th. Lefort, "Le copte source auxiliaire du grec," *Mélanges Bidez* (Brussels, 1934), p. 574, note 2. Medieval $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\alpha\upsilon\delta\iota\alpha$ neut. plur.: Const. Porphyrog., ed. A. Vogt, I. R. 142 (p. 132, lines 25–26).

²⁸ P(aula) W(ahrmann), "Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1926," *Glotta*, 17 (1929), p. 219f.

²⁹ Otto Gradenwitz and F. Bilabel, E. Pfeiffer, A. Lauer, *Heidelberger Konträrindex der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 26d and 120c; E. Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch*

Thus the word-form λινούγιον, read by Maspero in one papyrus in 1910 and misread in another by Dewing in 1922, has been perpetuated up to the present and now stands unquestioned.

Ensslin and Bilabel were content to rely on Dewing's reading of this same papyrus, so that no verification of the word λινούγια was made. It was H. Idris Bell who, in a report on papyri published in 1922-23, noted that Dewing's "transcription contains some obvious errors of reading or restoration, and he [Dewing] has been kind enough to give me his opinion of various corrections I proposed, several of which he accepts; but as he is at present unable to refer to the original I prefer not to note them here."³⁰ It is regrettable that we do not have these corrections.

5. λινούτια (fifth century)

Having had some doubt myself about the matter (see above section 2), I checked the reading on the photograph given by Dewing, and became convinced that the reading λινούγια was not correct. The ligature νΓ is exactly the same in the word that Dewing reads λινούγια (lines 40, 43, 44) as in the words τούτοις (line 45) and τούτων (line 47). Having subsequently received from the Princeton University Library a photostat of the entire papyrus,³¹ I was able to study the handwriting of the main text (lines 1-75) in which the word occurs.

My findings are as follows: in thirty-six instances (αυτ-, ουτ-, τουτ-, εαυτ-, ταυτ-, ουδαμουταυτ-, μουτου, ασαλευτου) the ligature for υτ is written in the shape νΓ (that is ν with a crossbar — at the upper right), whereas in two cases it is written VΓ (in παρακαυτωδον, lines 38 and 44). On the other hand, the letter γ (gamma) is written thus: γ γ γ γ, or very nearly so. The ligature for νγ occurs but

der griechischen Sprache (Göttingen, 1944), p. 147; C. D. Buck and W. Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* (Chicago, 1944), p. 64, col. b.

³⁰ H. Idris Bell, "Bibliography: Graeco-Roman Egypt. A. Papyri (1922-23)," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 10 (London, 1924), p. 160.

³¹ Princeton Collection AM 8961 (so given by E. H. Kase, Jr. [see above, note 21] and no longer under no. 55 as given by Dewing, Bilabel, Ensslin, and others).

once in the text and has the shape w (in Αυγουστου, line 1). In this script there is no confusion between the letters γ and τ because no gamma has the shape of tau, although a few taus resemble a lower-case gamma.

Thus, my own reading λινούτια is certain, and the inevitable conclusion is that the word λινούγια which has been perpetuated for the last fifty years is a ghost-word caused mainly by Dewing's misreading, and that it should now be permanently eliminated.³² It should be added that confusion between the letters τ and γ also occurs in manuscripts other than papyri; thus *CGL* 3.430.26 ἀρτύματα (which had been read ἀργύματα), 3.431.24 σύαγρος (previously read σύατρος), 2.31.4 ἀτιθάσειτον (previously read ἀγτιθάσειτον), etc.³³

6. λινούτια (seventh century)

The word λινούτια is also found in a later papyrus and listed in the *Heidelberger Konträrindex* and the *Reverse Index* of Buck and Petersen,³⁴ while Liddell-Scott-Jones have ignored it. The papyrus in question (the end of a private letter), of the seventh century A.D. and of unknown provenience, now located in the collection of the Municipal Library of Göteborg (Sweden), reads as follows: (*P. Got.* 14.4) καὶ τὸ ἐνοίζι καὶ δύο καλὰ λινούτια καὶ κυλίτ[ι]α καὶ...³⁵ "and the

³² On ghost-words (French *mots-fantômes*) see W. W. Skeat, "Report upon 'Ghost-Words', or words which have no real existence," in *Transactions of the Philological Society* (London, 1885-87), pp. 350-374. This study deals with ghost-words and ghost-phrases in English. Examples from Latin and other languages are given by Max Niedermann, "Ghost Words," *Museum Helveticum*, 2 (1945), pp. 123-136. Greek ghost-words from papyri are given by Ph. Koukoules, *Παρατηρήσεις καὶ διορθώσεις εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς παπύρους* (Athens, 1911), p. 14, and "Ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν παπύρων," *Βυζαντίς*, 2 (1912), pp. 485, 487, 495, 502.

³³ See Koukoules, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 20.417 and note 5.

³⁴ O. Gradenwitz et alii, *Heidelberger Konträrindex der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, pp. 34b and 120; Buck-Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, 116a and (s.v. λινούδιον) 64b.

³⁵ Hjalmar Frisk, *Papyrus grecs de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Gothenbourg* (Göteborg, 1929), p. 29 (*Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 35:1). The same word very probably occurs also in line 1 of the same papyrus: λ[ι]ν[ο]ύ[τι]α.

ear-ring and two fine linen shirts and cups [?] and . . .” Professor Frisk, the editor of the papyrus, is, however, dubious concerning the word λινούτια, and only confuses the issue by the following suppositions:

A. He considers the spelling λινούτια as a lapsus for λινούδια, also as κλίτια for κλιδία, Είραίτια for Ειραίδια, and ἐνοίλι for ἐνώδιον; consequently in the apparatus: Frisk says “ 1. [= lire ‘read’] λινούδια,” “1. ἐνώδιον,” “1. κλιδία.” It is probably for this reason that Liddell-Scott-Jones have ignored the word-form λινούτια.

Such corrections are, of course, admissible only when corroborated by, not when contradicted by, additional evidence. Indeed, the incorrect spelling of words in many cases reveals to us their actual pronunciation at the time when the document containing them was written. So the spelling λινούτια does reveal its actual pronunciation in the spoken language of the seventh century A.D. in the region (probably Egypt) where the papyrus was written.

B. Frisk further says in his Commentary³⁶ that ἐνοίλι has ιι for διο and that its final ν has dropped out; in other words, he postulates here not a misspelling due to carelessness, but a word-form reflecting contemporary pronunciation.

Contrary to Frisk’s statement, λινούτια cannot be a casual misspelling because it occurs three times in *P.Princ.* AM 8961 and also in *P.Got.* 14.4. In fact, the occurrence of this word in a papyrus of the seventh century actually corroborates my reading of the Princeton papyrus.

In this connection it should be stressed that in *P.Got.* 14 not every δ is changed into τ, so that the change is not really phonetic. E.g., in the same papyrus the following words with δ are found: 1.4 δύο; 1.6 ἀδελφόν; 1.8 ἀδελφῆν; 1.9 Παλλάδια; 1.10 παιδιά and ἀδελφός. Only specific terms, therefore, show τ for δ, and these must have undergone this change under the influence of the native non-Greek speech.

a. κλίτια: It must be observed that κλίτια is a doubtful reading (κλιτῖ[α]) and that, if it stands for κλιδία, a term found in two papyri of the fourth century,³⁷ it does not

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

³⁷ Bilabel, *Sammelbuch*, no. 1941, κολιδιον; *P. Lond.* 3.1259.38 κλιδιον.

mean “cup,”³⁸ but is equivalent to κολιδιον³⁹ (before A.D. 1000 both οι and υ represented the phonetic value [ü]). Frisk’s explanation of κλιδία and κλίτια as diminutives of κύλιξ (which occurs in *P. Strassb.* 99.11, second century B.C.)⁴⁰ is not likely, for the normal diminutive of κύλιξ f. “cup” would have been κλικία “small cups” and a further diminutive would have been *κλικιδία.

b. ἐνοίλι: Finally, ἐνοίλι was developed from ἐνοιδιον [pronounced *enoidion*], and in fact ἐνοιδία with οι is attested in an inscription of Halicarnassus,⁴¹ in which οι is to be taken as a real diphthong [oi]; the latter is from ἐνώδιον or ἐνώδιον⁴² (cf. ρόδι from ροιδιον). Attic ἐνώδιον in turn is not from Ionic ἐνώτιον but from *ἐνώδιον.⁴³ Parallels of οι from ωι are κοιδιον *P.Cair.Zen.* 20 (third century B.C.) for κώδιον “sheepskin, fleece” and καλοιδιον *P. Zen. Col.* 43 (third century B.C.) and *P.Columb.Inv.* 209 for καλώδιον “cord.” In papyri there also occur such spellings as ἔστωι, ὀκτώι, ὁμολογῶι, ἀποδιστάτωι, γυνῆι, etc. However, the spelling ἐνόδιον, ἐνοδιων is attested in papyri from Tebtynis, for which the editor lists this word in the index as ἐνώδιον.⁴⁴ For ιι from δ [ð] cf. συνομιδήν *P. Hamb.* 62.9 (Fayum, A.D. 123), but

³⁸ Preisigke, *op. cit.*, I, p. 847, ‘Becherchen’ with a question mark. The same author translates κολιδιον as “Bauchfleisch (Speise).”

³⁹ So Liddell-Scott-Jones, 1.967 s.v.

⁴⁰ Frisk, *op. cit.*, 30.

⁴¹ *CIG* 2.2663.6–8 επενδυτοπαλλίων | ζυγος και ενοι|δια και χοιρον κτλ. The editor, August Boeckh, reads ἐν[ώ]δια. The word ενοιδια contains not οι [= ü] but a real diphthong [= oi].

⁴² *IG* 2².1377.16 (*Traditio Cimetiorum Parthenonis*) ἐνωιδιω διαλιθω χρ[υ]σῶ; 2².1388 A 17 κε]φαλή, στεφάνη, ἐνωιδι[ί]ω, ὄρμος, ὑποδερῖς, ἦλω δύο¹⁸ χρ[υ]σῶ (399/8 B.C.); 2².1544.20 (*Tabula curatorum templi Eleusini*, 322/1–329/8) ἕτερα ἄπυρα χρυσία δύο, ἐνώιδια δύο χρ[υ]σῶ²¹ σᾶ συντελασμένα, χρυσία λεπτά; *IG* 11.2.199 B 46 (Delos, 274 B.C.) ἐνώιδια χρυσαῖ Θάσια and B 66 (Delos, 274 B.C.) καὶ δακτύλιοι δύο, ὁ εἰς ἔχων λίθον καὶ ἐνώιδιον καὶ ἄλλα χρυσία παντοδαπά καὶ ἄλλον δακτύλιον κτλ. *P. Petr.* 3, p. 37 (third century B.C.); *P. Ryl.* 124.30 (first century A.D.).

⁴³ On epenthesis of ι (ἐνώιδιον from ἐνώδιον) see E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, I (1906), p. 131, also 73 and 106. For δ from τ see J. Wackernagel, *Philolog. Anzeiger*, 15 (1885), p. 199.

⁴⁴ A. E. R. Boak, *Papyri from Tebtynis, Part I, Michigan Papyri*, II (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1933), pp. 59 and 246a.

συνκομιζῆς *P. Hamb.* 68.27 (Aphrodito, after 550 A.D.).⁴⁵

7. Explanation of the form λινούτιν

What precisely is λινούτιον or λινούτιν, whose plural λινούτια we have encountered?

Since the meaning of λινούτιον in its context is obviously "an item of linen clothing," this word must ultimately be a derivative of λινον n. "anything made of flax," "linen cloth," "linen garment," and related to the adjective λινούς or the late Koine adjective λινός "flaxen," "linen."

One might be inclined to understand λινούτιον as a diminutive of a substantivized λινουτόν neut. of the adjective λινουτός for λινωτός-ή-όν. There is a parallel adjective μαλλωτός⁴⁶ as, e.g. ὀρόνιον μαλλωτόν in *P. Masp* 67006.65 (sixth century), where there is no reason for adopting Maspero's suggestion to read μαλλωτόν ("il faut peut-être lire μαλλωτόν");⁴⁷ Maspero's tentative correction has been accepted as a certainty by Reil,⁴⁸ and the reading ὀρόνιον μαλλωτόν has been reproduced

⁴⁵ *Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek*, ed. Paul M. Meyer, I, Heft 3, Urkunden 57–117 und Indices (Leipzig and Berlin, 1924).

⁴⁶ On the adj. μαλλωτός and the noun derived from it see Liddell-Scott-Jones, s.v; Preisigke, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 49; Sophocles, *Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, s.v.; Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, 858; μαλλωτός villosus: *Corpus glossariorum latinorum* (= CGL) 3.269.40; μαλλωτή abolla, *ibid.*, 3.272.59; malloti bellata 3.197.9; Buck-Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, 526b; K. Amantos. "Μαλλωτόν-μαλλωτάριον," *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 2 (1925), p. 278f. In medieval Greek μαλλωτόν (Prodromos 1.95 καὶ κάμω καὶ τὰ μαλλωτά) and μαλλωτάριον (Theophan. Contin., 617.4 στραγλομαλλωτάρια) "woolen blanket" (synon. mod. Greek βελόντζα, σκουλλάτη μπαντανία); cf. λινομαλλωτάρια (see above, p. 256, a). In modern Greek μαλλωτός (Zacynthus, etc.) and μαλλουτός (Thrace; with the vowel *u* in the northern dialect group for unaccented *o* [here *ω*]), μαλλωτή f. "the amount of wool from a shorn sheep," "one shearing" (Euboea), μαλλωτό neut. "a short summer overcoat" (μικρὴ καλοκαιρινὴ κάπα; journal Νέα Ἑστία, 1 [1927], p. 29), etc. Cf. also the modern Greek dialectal compound ἀμάλλωτος "hairless" ('Ιστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς, 1.498b).

⁴⁷ Maspero, *op. cit.*, (see above, note 13), p. 28

⁴⁸ Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten*, p. 119.

by Ensslin.⁴⁹ Preisigke, on the other hand, correctly adopts μαλλουτός "mit Wollbesatz versehen."⁵⁰ Though the adjectival suffix -ωτός is the normal one in Koine as well as in medieval and modern Greek, the form -ουτός is possible, the -*u*- representing the ancient -*ω*- as in κάρβουνον for κάρβωνον, σίφουνα for σίφωνα, etc.; cf. ancient ἰαρουτός (*IG*, 9.2.461.38). Consequently the papyrus reading μαλλουτόν needs no correction. We find, however, no such form as μαλλουτιν or the like, so that λινούτιν can hardly be explained directly from λινουτόν.

The only satisfactory explanation seems to be that λινούτια represents the Egyptian pronunciation of λινούδια. In fact, in Ptolemaic papyri the letter τ sporadically replaces δ, and the syllable τι is found instead of δι, as in the case of λινούτια.⁵¹ This is so in the papyrus *P. Masp.* 67006⁵² and in many other papyri.⁵³ τ is also found instead of δ in

⁴⁹ Ensslin *op. cit.* (above, note 25), p. 443.

⁵⁰ Preisigke, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 49.

⁵¹ So ὄτ' for ὄδ' (= ὄδε), ἦτε for ἦδε, τοχή for δοχή, δέτωκας for δέδωκας, τωδεκάτου (for δωδε-), τωδεκαμήνου, etc.; αἰγίτι for αἰγίδι, βατίλειν (for βαδίλειν), σεβίτιον (σεβίδιον=πυξίδιον), τιδύμων (διδύμων), etc. (Edwin Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, 1 [Leipzig, 1906], p. 176. Cf. Karl Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zum 10. Jahrh. n. Chr.* [Leipzig, 1898], p. 84); ἐφοτίου for ἐφοδίου (*Ostraca Mich.*, 102.8 and 17; from Karanis, early fourth cent. A.D.).

⁵² I noted the following: line 11 ετνα, 33 ετνον (but cf. 128 εδνα, 112 εδων), 12 ετοξε (but 71, 117, 125 εδοξεν), 39 τοθεντα (=δοθέντα), 77 τοθεντων, 41 and 54 τιμοιρον (but 43 διμοιρον), 45 τιαφορης (=διαφοροίς), 47 σιτυρουν (=σιδηροῦν), 47 υποποτιον (=υποπόδιον), 67 οκτοον (=ὄγδοον), 69 πεδια and πετια (inadvertently repeated), 76/77 αποτοσιν (=ἀπόδοσιν), 86 εβτομηκοντα, 107 and 110 πεντεκατεκατής (=πεντεκαδεκάτης), etc.

⁵³ E.g.: ἀποτώσιν *P. Princ.* III 142.9 (A.D. 23) for ἀποδώσειν διατοχήν *P. Vindob.* I.16 (Fayum, after A.D. 87) for διαδοχήν ἐξώτου *Pap. Tebt.* I (1944), 354.8 (A.D. 52) for ἐξόδου ἦτει *ibid.*, l. 28 (A.D. 52) for ἦδε σφυρίτιν *BGU* 247.3 for σφυρίδιον which occurs in *P. Oxy.* 529.5; *P. Grenf.* 529.6 (second century) = σφυρίδιον *Arch. Pap.* 6.220 (third century B.C.); *The Tebtunis Papyri*, I (1902), 120.77 (first century B.C.).

ὀξίτητου, αειτισωμην *Die Kome-Aphrodito Papyri der Sammlung Lichačev*, bearbeitet von Peter

borrowed words.⁵⁴ Likewise in Greek loan-words in Coptic⁵⁵ τ tenuis [t] stands for Greek δ [d].⁵⁶ The reverse phenomenon, namely δ

Jernstedt (Tiflis, 1927), p. 100f. for δξιδίου, ἀηδιζόμην

τετραπότων *Les papyrus Théodore Reinach*, ed. P. Collart, II (Cairo, 1940), no. 84 for τετραπόδων

εἶπτος *P. Hamb.* 68.47 (Aphrodito, after A.D. 550) for εἶδόςτος

ἰτόδος *PSI* 7.736.13 (A.D. 208) for εἶδόςτος

ἀβοτεύομαι *lustrò CGL* 3.485.23 for ἀφοδεύομαι ← ἀμφοδεύομαι (Ph. Koukoules, *BZ*, 20 [1911], p. 390).

⁵⁴ *P. Princ.* AM 8961.38 λωτίκιον, *P. Cair. Masp.* 2.67139.Va 23 λωτικ=λωτίκια; this is from λωδίκιον which is found in papyri of the second, third, and sixth centuries A.D. (Preisigke, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 44 s. vv. λωδίκιν, λωδίκιον; cf. also C. Wessely, *Wiener Studien*, 24 [1902], p. 137); the form λωδίκιν (second-third centuries A.D.) with -ιν is the genuine spoken form (see below, note 65), a derivative of λῶδιξ (found in papyri of the first and second centuries A.D.; cf. λῶδικες οὐ πολλαί, ἀπλοῖ [probably ἀπλοῖ] τε καὶ ἐντόπιοι, κτλ. *Periplus mar. Erythraei*, chap. 24, ed. H. Frisk [*GHÄ* 33 (1927), 1, p. 8]), borrowed from Lat. *lodicx* "coverlet," "blanket."

⁵⁵ Coptic or New Egyptian comprises two dialects: (1) the Sahidic dialect, i.e. the dialect of Misr in Upper Egypt, or more specifically the one spoken in the North Nile Valley (from Old Cairo to Asyut with Hermoupolis [Antinoë] as its center; Arabic *es-sa'id* "the upper land," i.e. Upper Egypt) recorded from the third century on; and (2) Bohairic or Lower Egyptian spoken in the province of *Bahirah*, i.e. the dialect of Alexandria and its surroundings (Arabic *buhaira* "Western Lower Egypt"), recorded from the ninth century on. The oldest document in Old Coptic is of the second century A.D. See Georg Steindorff, "Bemerkungen über die Anfänge der koptischen Sprache und Literatur," *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (Boston, 1950), pp. 189–213. Loan-words, both of Christian religious content and of everyday use constitute about one eighth of the Coptic vocabulary. Sahidic has more Greek words than Bohairic, over 900 in all (L. Th. Lefort, "Greco-Copte," *Coptic Studies in Honor of W. E. Crum*, 69). Coptic was influenced by Greek pronunciation at various stages of the evolution of the Greek language (W. F. Albright, *Language*, 10 [1934], p. 220). What is more, Egyptian scribes who were ignorant of Greek often wrote Greek words phonetically as they heard them, a procedure that may account for native traits in recorded Greek texts. On the relation of Coptic to Greek cf. E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* (Munich, 1938–53), 1.160f.

⁵⁶ So χοροτιος (A. Van Lantschoot, "A propos du Physiologus," *Coptic Studies in Honor of W. E. Crum*, 348, no. 8) for χαραδριός;

in the place of τ, may be observed in the Egyptian Greek of the second century B.C.⁵⁷ and in later papyri,⁵⁸ including *P. Masp.* 67006,⁵⁹ as well as in Christian inscriptions⁶⁰ and in Coptic.⁶¹ The same phenomenon applies

τολос Bohairic (K. Wessely, *Die griech. Lehnwörter der sahidischen und boheirischen Psalmenversion* [Vienna, 1910 = *Denkschriften d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, philos.-hist. Kl.*, 54], p. 246) for δόλος;

σιθαρотос (*E. W. Budge* 18.22) beside σιθαροδος (*ibid.*, 14.2) for κισαρφδός and Bohairic

ΔΙΑΤΟΧΟΣ for διάδοχος; A. Rahlfs, "Griechische Wörter im Koptischen," *Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 2. Halbband (Berlin, 1912), 1038;

ΤΕΣΠΟΤΑ for δέσποτα (H. P. Blok, "Die griechischen Lehnwörter im Koptischen," *Zeitschr. f. ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 62 [1927], 54);

ΛΥΘΑΤΗC Bohairic for αὐθάδης, Bohairic ΤΑΠΑΝΗ and Δ- for δαπάνη, Bohairic ΚΑΤΑΤΙΚΗ for καταδική, and Bohairic ΠΟΤΗΡΙΟΝ for ποδήρης (A. Böhlig, *Die griechischen Lehnwörter im sahidischen und bohairischen Neuen Testament* [Munich, 1954], 1.106f.).

⁵⁷ So ἀποδισάτωι (ἀποτισάτω), δέκτων (τέκτων), δέλος (τέλος), πέδασος (πέτασος), τόδε (τότε); see E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, 1.175.

⁵⁸ δόκος *P. Princ.* III.141.3 (from Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 23) for τόκος; σκιωδόν *P. Princ.* AM 8961, line 38 (*Papyri in the Princeton University Collections*, II, 82.38) for σκιωτόν; δόμου *P. Grenf.* 2.38.2 for τόμου; γίδωνος for γείτωνος *P. Mich. Tebt.* II 282.4 (C. B. Welles, *American Journal of Philology*, 67 [1946], p. 86); etc.

⁵⁹ So 25 and 38 ετερα as well as 27 ετερα, 49 τεδαρτον (τέαρτον), 60 and 87 δυλαριον (τυλαριον), 94 τουδ εστιν (τουτ' εστιν), 94 εδομιωσ εχειν (έτοιμωσ εχειν), 100 της δελετης (της τελετης), 83 παρακαυδωδα as well as παρακαυδωτα (for παραγαυδωτά).

⁶⁰ So ποδισον (for πότισον) and υδαδος (for υδατος); G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1907), p. 128f., No. 663.

⁶¹ ΔΛΖΙC (for τάξις), ΑΙΜΩΡΙΑ (for τιμωρία), προδεκτωρ as well as προτεκτωρ, δετραγωνον, θεαδρον, αρχιδεκτων, ζηδηςιc, σαδανας (once) as well as σατανας, δομπανον (τύμπανον), χιροδονια (χειροτονία), etc.; see Th. Hopfner, "Über Form und Gebrauch der griechischen Lehnwörter in den koptisch-sa'idischen Apophthegmenversion," *Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, philos.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften*, 62, Abh. 2 (Vienna, 1918), p. 7; Blok, *op. cit.* (above, note 56) 53; Böhlig, *loc. cit.* (above, note 56); Wessely, *op. cit.* (above, note 56) 5b.

to the other stop-consonants κ and γ, π and β, e.g. ἀκαλμα (for ἄγαλμα), ἀρκύριον (for ἀργύριον), πασιλικῆς (for βασιλικῆς), etc.

Considering that Greeks and Egyptians lived together for five hundred years, it is natural that numerous Greek words should have been introduced into the native Egyptian tongue. The Greek elements adopted by Coptic constitute a significant source for the Greek Koine of the papyri,⁶² so that the treatment of sounds in Coptic (e.g., the transformation of γ into κ, and δ into τ) should be considered in conjunction with the same phenomenon in Greek papyrus texts, as P. Kretschmer⁶³ has observed. Such linguistic phenomena evidenced by carefully written papyri which display no obvious barbarisms deserve to be recorded and explained. The form λινούτια is a case in point.

The noun λινούδιον neut. "linen shirt" (*P. Oxy.* 114.8 [second century A.D.]; 1066.10 [third century]; etc.)⁶⁴ became λινούτιν [*linútin*].⁶⁵ Professor Hjalmar Frisk did, to

⁶² Cf. Lefort, *op. cit.*, 70 note 1.

⁶³ *Glotta*, 26 (1938), 42f. H. P. Blok (*loc. cit.* [above, note 56], p. 60) had also stressed that "die griechische Dialekt- und Papyrusforschung wird auf die Dauer des reichen koptischen Materials nicht entbehren können, wenn man einmal zu einem einheitlichen Überblick über ihr ganzes Gebiet gelangen will."

⁶⁴ Preisigke, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 24, s.v. λινούδιον; cf. Liddell-Scott-Jones, s.v. λινούδιον.

⁶⁵ On the termination -ιν see D. J. Georgacas, "On the Nominal Endings -ις -ιν in Later Greek," *Classical Philology*, 43 (1948), p. 243ff. It is certainly true that the written language does not always keep pace with the contemporary form of speech. When, however, colloquial elements appear in papyri, they should not be "corrected" by the editors. Thus, in late Koine texts nouns terminating in -ιν (neut.) should not be corrected into -ιον. E.g. πεπόνιν in an account of unknown provenience of the third century A.D. should not be read πεπόνιον, as Naphtali Lewis ("Ostraca grecs du Musée du Caire," *Etudes de papyrologie*, 3 [1936], p. 106) suggests; κιβώτιν and ἄλυσιδιν in a papyrus of unknown provenience, perhaps of the fourth century, should not be read κιβώτιον and ἄλυσιδιον, as Edmund Harris Kase, Jr. (*Papyri in the Princeton University Collections*, II [1936], nos. 95.15 and 22, p. 87f.) suggests: ἄλυσιδιν and κιβώτιν are well-attested forms like κρημοῦριν in the same papyrus (95.17). Thus also τὸ λυπάδιον (*Ostr.* 5.7/8; fourth or fifth century A.D.) which Herbert C. Youtie reads as λοιπάδιον (*Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 81 [1950], p. 106), should probably

be sure, observe in the papyrus he edited⁶⁶ the occurrence of τ for δ in the words λινούτια, κλιτία, and Εἰρατία, but he seems to have been unaware of the phonological importance of this change.

The transformation of ancient Greek δ [d] or Koine δ [ð] into [t], that is, in the first instance, the devoicing of *d*, resulting in *t*, and, in the second, the substitution of *t* for *ð*, appears to have been a local phenomenon in the Greek of Egypt and never affected the language used in Greece. But even in Egypt this phenomenon was not at all general (note the presence of both δ and τ in the same words: δέτωκας for δέδωκας, τιδύμων for διδύμων, διάτοχος for διάδοχος, etc.),⁶⁷ and must have been due to the influence of native Egyptian on the Greek language of Egypt,⁶⁸ both in the case of the syllable δι and in other combinations.

The Koine term λινούδιον and λινούδιν used by the Greeks of Egypt probably became Coptic *linútin*; then the Greeks, hearing the Copts use it, took it back in its new form λινούτιν, a *Rückwanderer* into Greek speech.

8. There is no Change δι→γι

We need not consider the possibility of an early forerunner of the diminutive suffix -ούγι, found in the modern Greek dialectal speech of Kymi (in Euboea),⁶⁹ or of the transformation of ðj into j before a vowel,⁷⁰

be τὸ λοιπάδιον (pronounced *lupádin*). *P. Oxy.* 1858.5 (sixth-seventh century A.D.) γομάριν should be given under lemma γομάριον, γομάριν and not with Prof. Kiessling (*Wörterbuch der griech. Papyrusurkunden*, 4.437) under γομάριον. The noun ὀθόνην Ἰνδικόν *Peripl. mar. Erythr.*, 31, should not be corrected to ὀθόνιον Ἰνδικόν (so H. Frisk, *Le Périphe de la Mer Erythré* [Göteborg, 1927], p. 10, line 23) but to ὀθόνιν.

⁶⁶ See above, p. 263, bf.

⁶⁷ H. P. Blok (above, note 56) considers such examples to be the result of dissimilation, and others such as δυναδός (for δυνατός), δεσπόδης (for δεσπότης), etc., the result of assimilation.

⁶⁸ Cf. Eduard Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik* (Munich, 1939-53), 1.160f.

⁶⁹ S. Karatzas, Ὑποκοριστικά τοῦ ἰδιώματος Κύμης καὶ περιχώρων (Diss. Athens, 1944, published in 1954: *Collection de l'Institut Français d'Athènes*, 84), p. 21. Cf. my review in *BZ*, 50 (1957), p. 153.

⁷⁰ So D. Vayacacos, Ἀθηναῖα, 60 (1956), 335, following Karatzas.

not because of the gap between Koine Greek in Egypt and Greek speech in Greece, but simply because there is no Koine Greek word *λινούγιον*, but only a ghost-word form by which my distinguished colleagues S. Karatzas⁷¹ and A. Tsopanakis⁷² were led to believe that the change of [ðj] into [j] was an early phenomenon. As far as I know, the substitution of [j] for [ðj] is merely a medieval dialectal phenomenon which came into being after the shrinking of two syllables into one (*synizesis* or *yodization*) entered the structure of the language. Indeed, in some dialects ðj appears as [jj], i.e. as a double consonant that resulted from the assimilation of ð to j. On the other hand, the use of j instead of ðj is familiar to speakers of modern Greek who may observe children pronounce *ájo* for *áðjo* (written ἄδιο), *vója* for *vóðja* (written βόδια), *pejá* for *peðjá* (written παιδιά), etc. Karatzas' statement that the *synizesis* ðjá in the preposition *διά* is found in ancient Greek⁷³ cannot be considered correct, except, of course, that it occurs for metrical reasons.

9. λινουτιά

It is not clear whether Hesychius' gloss *λινουτ.ά* (sic), given in this meaningless form in the Diogenianian part of Hesychius⁷⁴ can possibly be *λινούττια* neut. plur. or *λινουτιά* fem. sing. In any case, the gloss cannot be *λινουτιά*.⁷⁵

I take the noun to be *λινουτιά* f. because the gloss is so accented. Such a noun is not attested as a Greek nominal derivative, yet it is possible, as we shall see below. The word *λινουτιά* or *λινουδιά* would, to be sure, be out of its alphabetical order in Hesychius' lexicon and this, according to Professor K. Latte, the editor of Hesychius,⁷⁶ whom I consulted about this item, is improbable.

⁷¹ Karatzas, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 and 64.

⁷² A. Tsopanakis, *BZ*, 48 (1955), p. 70.

⁷³ Karatzas, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁷⁴ *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, editio (altera) minor, ed. Mauricius Schmidt, (Jena, 1867), col. 686. In a footnote the gloss *λιγνύςκαπνός* is separated from *†λινουτ.ά*.

⁷⁵ The gloss is listed in Liddell-Scott-Jones, s.v., 1051a, and is also included in Buck-Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, p. 165a.

⁷⁶ By letter of 6 November 1956.

Nevertheless it seems to me that the gloss *λινουτιά* is possible.

The lexicon of Hesychius, preserved in a single manuscript of the fifteenth century (*Marcianus Gr. 622*), is not now in the form in which its author wrote it. Whereas the *Marcianus* is completely alphabetized with some displacements and stray entries, the earlier arrangement of Hesychius and Diogenianus applied alphabetical order to only the first three or four letters of each entry. Successive recopyings of Hesychius' lexicon brought about two errors, (1) frequent separation and rearrangement of glosses, and (2) systematic interpolation of the work, especially with glosses drawn from the collection of Cyrillus (an Egyptian Christian of the fifth century).⁷⁷

The order in columns 686–687 is as follows:

λιν
λίνα
†λιναγερτουμένη
†λίναμαι
†λινουτ.ά
λινδέσθαι
λινδιοι
λίνεον
λινεύς
λिनοκάρυκες
λινον
λινω συνάπτειν
λινοπλύ(ν)τας
λινοπτάζει
λινόπ(τ)ης
λινοπλήγες
λινοτόμοι
λινοχίτων
λίξ
etc.

Thus, if the original gloss was *λινουτιά* or *λινουδιά* it may originally have been placed between the glosses *λινοτόμοι* and *λινοχίτων* but, after it had been miscopied as *λινουτ.ά*, it could easily have been transferred in a later manuscript to its present place.

⁷⁷ See the preface of Kurt Latte, *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, vol. 1, A–Δ, (Hauniae, 1953); and John L. Heller's review in *American Journal of Philology*, 76 (1955), pp. 216–218. Cf. also J. L. Heller's review of *The Herbal of Rufinus* by L. Thorndike and F. S. Benjamin, Jr. (Chicago, 1946), in *Classical Journal*, 43 (1948), p. 445.

It may be noted in passing that the gloss λιγνύς·καπνός, which is also out of its alphabetical order and was separated by Musurus, is a repetition of the Cyrillian gloss 976. One may cite hundreds of such glosses transferred from their original place to another place in the lexicon as a result of having been first miscopied and then alphabetized anew by subsequent users and/or scribes. I cite one example: The gloss *γορός·κυρτός, found in Hesychius (as well as in Cyril and Zonaras) is alphabetized between γοτάν and [γόροτος and] *γοῦν; *γορός, however, seems to be a scribal error for γυρός⁷⁸ which was realphabetized by a user and copied in this fashion in a subsequent manuscript.

In the modern dialect of Crete and specifically of Rethymno and its surroundings there exists the noun λινουδιά f. [*linudjá*] "mass of flax processed in a machine called manganos [see λιναρομάγγανο above]."⁷⁹ Admittedly, this word does not explain the form λινουτιά which I am suggesting in place of † λινουτ.ά, but an informant from Arta (Epirus) told Mr. D. Loucatos that she knew the word λινουτιά, "flax processed in a manganos," as a synonym of the expression

⁷⁸ Cf. Liddell-Scott-Jones, s.v.; *Hesychius*, ed. Latte, 1.388, gloss 863.

⁷⁹ There is also λινουδιά [*linudjá*] f. "odor of burning linen cloth" (synon. λινάια or λινάι; see above, p. 257, a) in Asi-Gonia near Rethymno, Crete, as reported by Mr. N. Kontosopoulos (Athens), which is a derivative of λινούδι with the suffix -έα (originally -αία).

μαγγανισμένο λινάρι also used at Arta⁸⁰ (see above p. 259, a).

The form λινουτιά is, in any case, unrelated to Coptic λινούτιν and may have arisen under the influence of an adjective *λινωτός "of linen"; so μαλλωτός "woolen" (synon. μάλλινος; med. τὸ μαλλωτόν), οἰωτός· χιτῶν ἀπὸ ἐρίων (Hesychius), πτιλωτός "winged," "stuffed with feathers," θυσανωτός "tasseled," "fringed," μεταξωτός "of silk" (Herodian, Byzantine and mod. Greek; synonym. mod. Greek μετάξινης), λωρωτός "striped" (of cloth), τριχωτός "furnished with hair," "hairy," etc.

The results obtained in this study, namely the elimination of the ghost-word λινούγιον and the explanation of the form λινούτιν, may appear to be rather minute. It is, however, by means of such detailed investigations that the study of language is gradually built up. In particular, I have attempted to illustrate the importance of medieval and modern Greek for the correct understanding of papyri. By neglecting the later evolution of the Greek language, papyrologists have been induced to commit numerous errors both in the editions of texts and in dictionaries. This deficiency can be remedied only by a thorough acquaintance with Byzantine and modern Greek, which form the direct continuation of the Koine.

⁸⁰ However, Mr. Stephanos Pappas, principal of the Gymnasium for Boys No. 1 at Arta, has kindly made inquiries about the terms λινούδι, λινουδιά, λινουτιά, etc., but without result (as he reported to me in his letter of November 1958).