

JÁNOS HARMATTA

# FRAGMENTS OF WULFILA'S GOTHIC TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT FROM HÁCS-BÉNDEKPUSZTA

TO MY DEAR BELOVED WIFE,  
MARGIT PÉKÁRY

## PREFACE

I began to write this study still in 1994 but because of the difficulties of reading, identifying and restoring the fragments, this work lasted long and was interrupted due to the illness of my wife. From the very beginnings, she followed my work with affectionate interest but I could only terminate it when she passed away from among us for ever. Therefore, with the texts of the three ancient prayers, emerging from the shadow of the past, this paper should immortalize our love and honour her dear memory.

## INTRODUCTION

The first information about the excavations at Hács-Bédekpuszta and the finds discovered there was given by Dr. A. Radnóti to the Archaeological Department of the Hungarian National Museum (Budapest) in 1954. Radnóti inspected the excavations and the finds, and according to his report a folded lead plate, inscribed, in his opinion, with Greek letters was discovered in a grave. Accordingly, the folded lead plate was not yet broken to pieces at that time. Afterwards, one could not hear anything of this find for long time as long as the second half of the sixties when Miss A. Salamon called on me and placed the photos of the find at my disposal with the aim of studying and publishing them. The folded lead plate had already been broken to little pieces at that time and they could not be joined, with the exception of a few pieces, because the great part of the lead plate was crumbled and lost in the meantime. According to the information by Salamon, the folded plate or its fragments were kept by Dr. Radnóti up to the time when he left Hungary in 1956. Then the plate was held by the germanist, Mrs. H. Hajdú for long time. Apparently, it was recognized by Radnóti or somebody else in the meantime that the inscription to be observed on the lead scroll was written in Gothic even though the exact character of

the script was not yet identified.<sup>1</sup> Probably, it happened during these years that the lead scroll became broken and its important part scrambled. Obviously, Mrs. Hajdú did not succeed in deciphering and interpreting the little fragments, containing only a few letters and thereupon preparing the finds of the whole cemetery at Hács-Béndekpuszta for publication, Miss Salamon called on me and other scholars as well.

Immediately, after the first look at the photos, I informed Miss Salamon about the fact that the script used on the fragments of the lead scroll represented the Gothic uncial alphabet, moreover that one part of the fragments belonged to the text of the Lord's Prayer (or Our Father) as it can be read in Wulfila's Gothic translation of the New Testament. At that time, however, because of other obligations, I could no more continue the study of the other fragments. Thus, when Miss Salamon published the grave goods of grave 5 of the cemetery at Hács-Béndekpuszta<sup>2</sup> wherefrom the lead scroll came to light, she entrusted the publication of the fragments inscribed with Gothic texts to D. Székely.<sup>3</sup> Székely correctly determined the script, well identified the greater part of the characters and tried to give a partial reading of the fragments. He believed, however, that it was impossible to restore the original text of the lead scroll from the fragments. Accordingly he could not form any idea of its contents.

Later on, in 1989, on the basis of the publication by Székely, E. A. Ebbinghaus again dealt with the Gothic fragments from Hács-Béndekpuszta.<sup>4</sup> He better succeeded in deciphering the fragments, in identifying the letters and he corrected the readings given by Székely in several cases. However, he could not restore the contents of the original text. "The imaginative interpreter will doubtless find much room for speculation" — he remarked resignedly.

Székely did not deal with the 11 smaller fragments, he only attempted the reading of the greater ones. On the other hand, Ebbinghaus published the readings of 7 pieces from among the smaller fragments in the following form: G, ÐX, N, H/, H, I, F, but he did not indicate their numbering because the 11 small fragments were photographed in the distribution 5 + 6 on two photos marked by Salamon with the Roman numerals I and II, bearing the inventory numbers (?) 31.957 and 31.966, respectively. For easier identification we number the 11 small fragments in the following arrangement:

Photo I =	1 2 5		Photo II =	1 2 3
	3 5			4 5 6

Thus, the readings given by Ebbinghaus seem to be identical with the characters inscribed on the fragments I/3 (?), I/4, II/1, II/2, II/3, II/4, II/5.

<sup>1</sup> Á. Salamon still speaks of runic inscription even in 1977: *MittArchInst.* 7 (1977) 37, although I informed her already at that time when she handed over the photos to me that the text of the fragments is written in the Gothic uncial alphabet.

<sup>2</sup> Á. Salamon: Grave 5 from the Cemetery at Hács-Béndekpuszta. *MittArchInst.* 7 (1977) 34–40.

<sup>3</sup> D. Székely: A Lead Tablet with Inscriptions from Hács-Béndekpuszta. *MittArchInst.* 7 (1977) 41–43.

<sup>4</sup> E. A. Ebbinghaus: The Gothic Material from the Cemetery at Hács-Béndekpuszta. *General Linguistics* 29 (1989) 79–83.

For the study of the fragments, I myself used the photos placed at my disposal by Miss Salamon as well as the new prints prepared from the negatives of the photos published by Székely. I received them by the courtesy of Dr. Cs. Bálint, Director of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Both series of photos were prepared from the same negatives but some details of the prints placed at my disposal by Dr. Bálint are clearer. I publish the readings by Székely and by Ebbinghaus as well as those proposed by me in the comparative table below.

### COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE READINGS

Explanation of signs: . = illegible or disappeared character, ' ' = damaged, only partly preserved character, inv. = line, written upside-down according to Ebbinghaus, [ ] = restored character

		Székely	Ebbinghaus	Harmatta
Frg. 1	Line 1	–	–	'A'US'I'
Inv. no. 31.956	2	ATTA	ATTAP	ATTA'W'
	3	MINP	MINPE	MINPE
	4	F (?)	MFP	inv. 'MISEIS'
Frg. 2–3	Line 1	–	. .	'EIH'[A]'F'
Inv. no. 31.961	2	NAM NAMN(?)	NAM'L'	NAM'M'
	3	–	–	'IJ'
Frg. 4	Line 1	–	INM	SIN'POM'
Inv. no. 31.954	2	EIN(?)A	WEIN'P'	WE'I'H'A'
	3	–	–	.NAJ
Frg. 5a	Line 1	–	–	'AU'
Inv. no. 31.962	2	–	WIL	'A'SWAN
Frg. 5b	Line 1	–	–	'TAIIN'
Inv. no. 31.963	2	PAN	PAN	PAN'ZE'
	3	–	–	'NSWA'
Frg. 6a	Line 1	–	PW	'SWA'SWE
Inv. no. 31.952	2	TA[H]N	N . N'P'	'A'NSSAP
	3	–	IL . N	inv. 'A'NP'AR'
Frg. 6b	4	–	. HN .	. . . UN
Inv. no. 31.958				

		<b>Székely</b>	<b>Ebbinghaus</b>	<b>Harmatta</b>
Frg. 6c	5	–	H/ . ɸI	AɪɸIU
Inv. no. 31.951	6	EHAN	.EHAN	JAHAN
	7	–	JAHA inv.	JAHAF
Frg. 7	Line 1	Wɸ [WU] (?)	WII	WIT
Inv. no. 31.960	2	–	MA	MA
	3	–	IN	IN
Frg. 8	Line 1	–	–	SA'RP'
Inv. no. 31.959	2	AIN	AIN	AIN'A'
	3	–	–	'D'IN
Frg. 9	Line 1	AN	AN'W'	AN'W'
Inv. no. 31.964	2	–	–	H/A
Frg. 10	Line 1	–	–	'N'
Inv. no. 31.969	2	ɸAN	ɸ	ɸAI'H'
Frg. 11	Line 1	TH	H	'A'D
Inv. no. 31.968				
Frg. 12	Line 1	IN ([A]IN?)	IG	'N'IM
Inv. no. 31.967	2	–	–	'BAI'
Frg. 13	Line 1	–	–	N
Inv. no. 31.965	2	[N]	'B'N	NS
Frg. I/1	Line 1	–	–	'M'
Inv. no. 31.957	2	–	–	AI
I/2	Line 1	–	–	D
	2	–	–	'D'
I/3	Line 1	–	G	RP
I/4	Line 1	–	H/	'R'H/
I/5	Line 1	–	–	'L'L
Frg. II/1	Line 1	–	ɸX	ɸAI
Inv. no. 31.966	2	–	–	SUN

		Székely	Ebbinghaus	Harmatta
II/2	Line 1	–	U	UN
	2	–	–	'P'A'
II/3	Line 1	–	F	'A'F
II/4	Line 1	–	I	'A'SI
II/5	Line 1	–	–	'AI'
	2	–	H	'L'IP
	3	–	–	'P'
II/6	Line 1	–	–	'UB'N
	2			'B'

### REMARKS ON THE READINGS

Frg. 1. Four lines of script can be seen on it. Contrary to the opinion of Ebbinghaus, inverted lines written upside-down do not occur either on this fragment or on the other ones. In line 1, two letters, U and S can well be identified. The shape of the latter reminds us of the cipher 3 written inversely. Due to damage of the metal surface, of the third letter only 1/3 of its vertical stroke has remained, while at the beginning of the line, the right-hand side slanting stroke of an A can only be seen. In line 2, the reading of the last character is doubtful. Ebbinghaus proposed the reading P, but the shape of the wholly preserved P, legible clearly in line 3, is quite different and the dent, considered by him the vertical stroke of the P, is of different character from the preserved left-hand side stroke of the sign and it could come into being by the crease of the broken rim of the lead plate. On the contrary, one can regard the preserved slanting stroke without any difficulty as the upper left-hand side part of a W. Thus, without doubt the reading W is more probable. The correct reading of line 3 was already found by Ebbinghaus who convincingly read even the first letter of line 4 as M. The following vertical stroke, however, cannot be considered F because there are no traces of the typical right-hand side horizontal strokes of the F. Nor can be the third character P because the preserved part of this letter represents the typical shape of the cursive S. Thereafter, an E, an I and at the very rim again the upper part of a cursive S can clearly be observed.

Frg. 2–3. In line 1 of this fragment, the lower part of an E, an I and the left-hand side part of an H can be seen. The further part of the plate became destroyed but after one space of letter, on the other piece of the fragment, a long vertical stroke, reaching down almost to the letters of line 2, can be observed. Such a vertical stroke, reaching deep down, have the letters P and F. In line 2, the fourth letter represents an



1



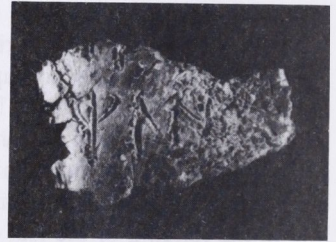
2-3



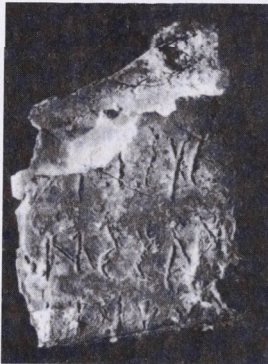
4



5a



5b



6a



6b



6c

Fig. 1. The Fragments of Wulfila's Gothic translation of the New Testament from Hács-Béndekpuszta

M, to be identified clearly, its reading as L is impossible. In line 3, the little upper part of the characters can only be seen, from among them the first can be restored to I, the second one to J.

Frg. 4. This fragment was preserved in the worst state. It was put together from at least four pieces but their joining is inaccurate or even incorrect. The first three letters of line 1 were preserved almost wholly, thus they can be identified reassuringly: SIN. The next three characters, however, only remained partly and the little fragment, containing their upper right-hand side parts, was joined incorrectly. In order to identify these letters, this little piece is to be turned by about 45° to the right (cf. its autography). Thus, the fourth letter can be identified as a P whose upper part was broken down a little above its ramification to three strokes. The fifth character can almost completely be restored. There exists its loop shaped head and its two lower strokes, of which, however, the right-hand side one is much shorter than the left-hand side. In spite of this peculiar form, there cannot be any doubt that we have to do with an O. Lastly, of the sixth letter a vertical stroke only remained which can be restored to I, to N and to M, respectively. The first three letters of line 2 were correctly identified already by Ebbinghaus. The fourth character, however, represents without doubt a H, while the fifth one, written on the damaged part of the plate, can by no means be a P, but it can mostly be considered A. The first two letters of line 3 are clearly to be read NA, the third-one, however, reminding of a semicircle, can be regarded as the upper part of a J.

Frg. 5a. The rest of two lines can be seen on this piece. Of line 1 two letters remained, the first one is an A, the second seems to be a U slightly slanting to the right. In line 2, five characters can be read. At first, the upper part of an A can be observed, followed by a cursive S, then by the letters WAN also written cursorily. The right-hand side stroke of the N is broken down.

Frg. 5b. On this fragment, three lines of script can be observed. Of line 1, it is only the lower end of the strokes of the letters which remained. The first vertical end of the stroke can only be the rest of an I or a T because the space up to the next letter would not be sufficient for P, M, E. Of the second character, somewhat more remained. Thus, it can be regarded as an A with great probability. After this, the very end of three vertical strokes of letters can be seen, the first being farther from the two others than they from one another. Thus, the first letter might have been I or T, while the two other ends of the strokes may be the remains of I and N. In line 2, the first three characters were correctly read by both Székely and Ebbinghaus as PAN. After them, however, the contours of a Z and those of an E are still rather well visible, even though the surface of the plate is damaged. Of line 3, it is the upper part of the letters which only remained. From left to right, at first the upper part of a vertical stroke can be seen which may be the rest of an N or of an I. Then follow the remains of four letters to be identified with rather great probability. The first one is an S whose 2/3 is preserved and its upper part touches the long left-hand side stroke of the A in line 2. The next one represents the ramifying upper part of a W and then the upper top of an A can be observed. Lastly, the fourth rest of letter is the upper semicircular part of an S.

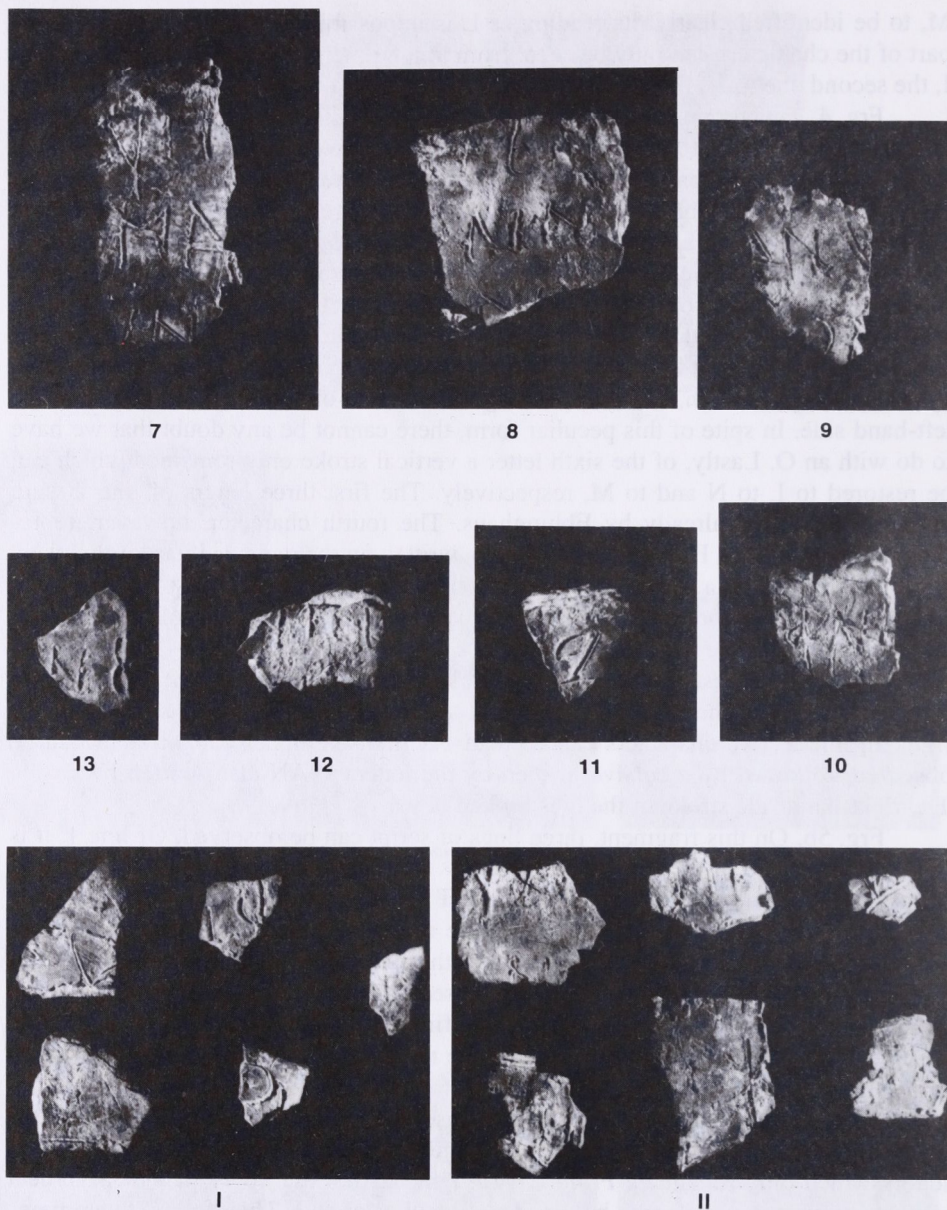


Fig. 2. The fragments of Wulfila's Gothic translation of the New Testament from Hács-Béndekpuszta

Frg. 6a-c. It is the longest coherent fragment of the find which represents a folded plate. On the two outer sides of this plate 3 lines each, on the surface of the bend of the plate 1 line, altogether 7 lines can be read. The importance of this piece is enhanced by the fact that the original rim of the plate at the right-hand side is only



slightly damaged but its greater part has remained. Accordingly, the ends of the lines were preserved on it which makes considerably easier to identify and restore the original text.

Of the first three letters in line 1 of Frg. 6a, it is only their lower ends which were preserved. The first letter begins with a semicircle which continues upwards with a stroke, slightly slanting to the right. This cannot be any other letter than S. Then the lower part of a vertical stroke can be seen which may be the rest of an I or of a W, the space not being sufficient for Þ or T. To the right-hand side stroke of the third character, a bending line joins from the left and makes the impression of an A, even if it is the left-hand side stroke of A which is usually longer. Very likely, the engraver of the text reproduced the shape of the A imprecisely. The reading of the following three letters is clearly SWE. Of these W was correctly read by Ebbinghaus as well. In Line 2, at the left-hand side rim of the plate, the right lower angle of an A can be observed which is followed by the well-legible letters NSSAÐ. From among them the first and the last one was correctly read by Ebbinghaus as well. In the beginning of line 3, the surface of the plate is broken down, accordingly it is only a very little end of stroke which was preserved from the letter engraved there. This may be the top of an A or the upper end of an I or the upper part of the right vertical stroke of an N, respectively. Then come a well-discernible N and a Þ, moreover the upper half of an A. After this letter, the upper layer being separated from the plate, the damaged surface makes the impression of a pointed character, while on the separated surface a vertical stroke can be seen and together with the rim of the separated layer, it forms the upper part of an R.

On fragment 6b, the characters UN can only be read. Before them, the surface of the plate became destroyed, after them again the plate creased so much that one cannot establish what has originally been engraved on it.

Line 1 (= 5) of fragment 6c begins with a well discernible A which is followed by an I, a Þ, then again by an I and an U. The signs ÞI were correctly read by Ebbinghaus, too. Line 2 (= 6) can also be read reassuringly. The first character is a J which is followed by an A. Here, at first, the engraver scratched in an E, then amended it to A. The following three signs, viz. HAN were correctly read by Székely and Ebbinghaus as well. After the N, at the rim of the plate, the long left-hand side stroke and the horizontal cross-line of an A are still discernible. The lower part of the first letters in line 3 (= 7) is broken down but their reading is surely JA. The third and fourth characters can also be identified with certainty as HA. The signs AHA were correctly read already by Ebbinghaus. At the fifth letter the surface of the lead plate is damaged. In spite of this difficulty, however, the contours of an F are clearly discernible.

Frg. 7. On this piece, the remains of 4 lines can be observed. Of line 1 the lower part of one or two letters is preserved. Surely, the first one of them can be regarded as A, while the second one can mostly be read F if the poor state of the metal surface does not deceive us. The three other lines are rather well preserved, it is only the reading of the fourth character in line 2 which is somewhat uncertain. This letter

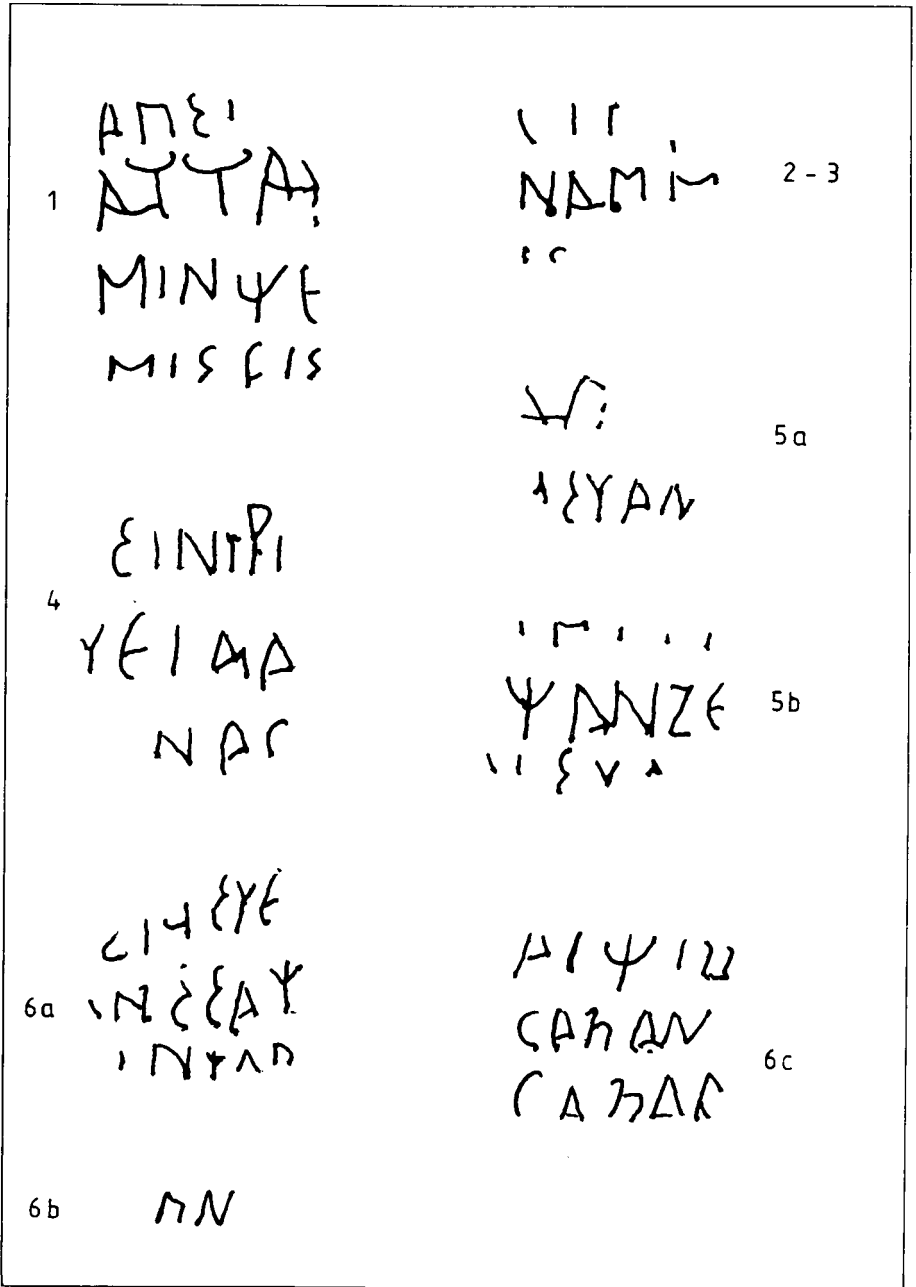


Fig. 3. Autography of the Gothic fragments from Hács-Bédekkpuszta

was read by Ebbinghaus as I. At the upper part of the character, the lead plate is slightly damaged. In spite of this difficulty, however, the cross-line of the T is well discernible. With the exception of this single sign, the reading by Ebbinghaus was correct.

Frg. 8. The remains of three lines can be observed on this fragment. The upper part of the letters reaches exactly up to the break. Even though the surface of the lead plate is slightly damaged at both the left- and the right-hand sides, the reading of the four letters, SARP, can be established reassuringly. Line 2 was correctly read already by both Székely and Ebbinghaus as AIN. After these three signs at the rim of the plate, the left-hand side stroke of an A is still discernible. Of the characters in line 3, it is only their upper part that has remained. These preserved parts of the letters are, however, so much typical that their reading DIN can be established with certainty.

Frg. 9. The remains of two lines can be seen on this fragment. Line 1 has already been read by Ebbinghaus correctly as ANW (Székely proposed the reading AN). The first letter of line 2 is a H/ of which a little part is missing on the left, the second one is an A whose upper part has only been preserved.

Frg. 10. On this piece, one line is only preserved whose first two letters were correctly read by Székely as ÐA, the first one by Ebbinghaus as Ð. Farther, however, an I and the left-hand side part of an H can be observed as well. It is interesting to note that on this piece, traces of an earlier script are also discernible. Thus, above the A, the upper part of an obliquely standing Ð can be seen, unless the two greater pieces of the fragment, put together from three pieces, do not belong together. In this case, we would have to reckon with an additional fragment. The peak of the A extends, however, over the piece containing the oblique Ð and this fact clearly speaks against such an assumption.

Frg. 11. One clearly legible letter and a faint one can be discerned on it. Székely proposed to read them as TH, while Ebbinghaus only identified H. In fact, the clearly visible letter is a D, the faint character, however, can be regarded as the upper part of an A.

Frg. 12. The remains of two lines are visible on it. Line 1 contains the clearly legible letters NIM, of which Székely and Ebbinghaus could correctly identify only I. In line 2, it is only the upper end of strokes which has been preserved from the characters. The first two ends of strokes may be the rest of B or N. After this character, a little stroke of letter can be discerned which can mostly be restored to A. Lastly, the end of a vertical stroke can still be observed which may be the rest of an I.

Frg. 13. Two characters can be seen on it which were read by Ebbinghaus as BN (he read the letters as if they would have been written upside-down, therefore I discuss his reading as if it would be NB). Surely, the reading of the N is correct (the N was read also by Székely), but the reading B cannot be accepted, because the Gothic uncial B is open above, thus its right-hand side part has different shapes above and below. Accordingly, the second sign can only be interpreted as S and the correct reading of the two letters will be NS.

Frg. I/1. The remains of two lines of script can be observed on it. Of line 1, the lower ends of two vertical strokes have only remained. If these belong to one and the

same letter then they may be the rest of N or perhaps of M. In line 2, two characters are visible. The first one may be such an A whose upper part was engraved by continuous scratching on the plate. Therefore, its two strokes do not meet in a peak but form an acute-angled continuous line. The second letter is I.

Frg. I/2. Similarly, the rests of two lines of script can also be seen on this fragment. In line 1, a wholly preserved D, in line 2 the right-hand side straight stroke of a similar D can be observed.

Frg. I/3. The surface of this fragment is damaged. Two letters, viz., R̄P can faintly be discerned on it.

Frg. I/4. An almost wholly preserved H/ can be seen on it which was correctly identified already by Ebbinghaus. Before this sign, a slanting stroke of letter can be discerned which can be restored to an uncial R or K.

Frg. I/5. It is only one clearly legible sign that has remained on this little fragment. This is an L. Before it, a slanting stroke of letter can still be discerned which may be the right-hand side stroke of an L as well.

Frg. II/1. Two lines of script can be seen on it. In line 1, the letters ÐAI can be read. From among them, Ð was already identified by Ebbinghaus correctly. On the other hand, one stroke of the X, read by him after it, is only the burst of the lead plate. Here, it is again the right-hand side stroke of the A which is longer. In line 2, the first letter is a faintly visible S, followed by the upper part of a U on whose left upper part a little loop can be seen. This phenomenon is the result of the continuous scratching which can be observed at other letters, too, thus e.g. at the right-hand side lower end of the N in line 1 of Frg. 9. The rest of the third character can be restored to N or perhaps M.

Frg. II/2. Similarly, the remains of two lines of script can be observed on this fragment. The first letter in line 1 was correctly read already by Ebbinghaus as U. The second character can be identified as an N whose left-hand side vertical stroke and the slanting diagonal one have only been preserved. In line 2, the two strokes of the head of a Ð can be seen and after it — unless it is not a break on the surface — the right-hand side stroke of the head of an A can be observed.

Frg. II/3. The remains of two characters can be discerned on this little piece. On the right-hand side an almost wholly preserved F can be seen which was already identified by Ebbinghaus as well, while on the left-hand side, the slanting stroke, bending slightly to the left and crossed by an almost horizontal stroke, can hardly be interpreted otherwise as the right-hand side lower part of an A.

Frg. II/4. On this fragment, two letters can clearly be discerned: S and I. The latter was correctly identified already by Ebbinghaus as well. Besides, the break-line of the plate, to be seen to the left from the S, has such a shape as if a character A would have been broken down from the rim of the lead plate. Some traces of letters can be discerned even on the damaged part of the plate above the letter S which perhaps may be the rest of an A and an I.

Frg. II/5. The remains of three lines can be observed on this fragment. In line 1, the lower ends of the strokes of letters have only remained. On the basis of their

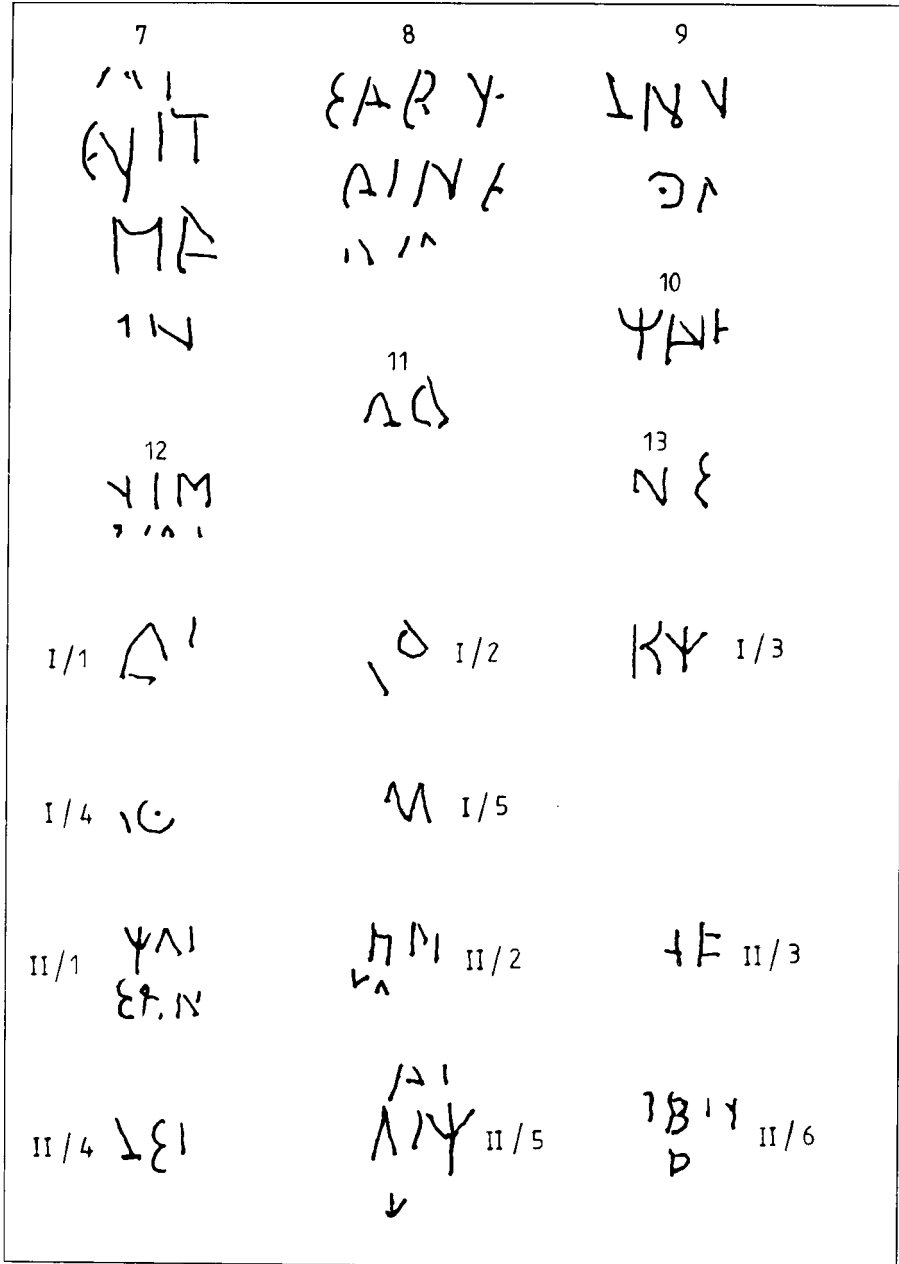


Fig. 4. Autography of the Gothic fragments from Hács-Béndekpuszta

position, they might have been an A and an I or a T. The first character in line 2 was interpreted by Ebbinghaus as H but the two vertical strokes are not connected above so that it is better to read the right-hand side long stroke as an I, while the left-hand side short stroke perhaps may be the upper part of an L. Then a clearly legible P follows while in line 3 the preserved head of a P can again be discerned.

Frg. II/6. On this fragment, some remains of letters can be seen in two lines. At the end of line 1, an N becomes rather clearly distinct. One can guess a faint cursive B before it, while to the left of it, a clearly visible vertical stroke of letter appears whose upper end bends slightly to the left. Surely, this is the rest of a U. In line 2, the upper right-hand side part of a B can be discerned.

## IDENTIFICATION AND RESTORATION OF THE TEXTS OF THE FRAGMENTS

Examining the fragments discussed above, it will be at once striking that two types of script can be observed on them: one is the Gothic uncial script whose letter forms, however, slightly differ from the shapes of the signs used in the Codex Argenteus, the other type again represents the Gothic cursive script whose characters appear in different variants and they also differ in some details from the Gothic cursive letter forms, known so far. It is remarkable that this striking phenomenon has escaped the attention of both Székely and Ebbinghaus. From among the fragments, the followings are written in uncial script: 1, 2–3, 4, 5b, 7, 9, 12, 13, I/1, I/2, I/3, I/4, II/3, and II/5, while the fragments 5a, 6, 8, 10, 11, I/5, II/1, II/2, II/4, II/6 were engraved in cursive script. The importance of this fact is obvious, because there can hardly be any doubt that the fragments written in different script represent preserved pieces of different texts. Accordingly, they offer invaluable help for the identification and restoration of the original texts. This observation is, however, of great importance even from the viewpoint that it testifies to the fact that the uncial and cursive variants of the Gothic script had come into being already at a rather early date and both variants were used parallelly even for the writing of biblical texts. But from the palaeographic viewpoint the greatest surprise is still caused by the fact that the Gothic fragments from Hács-Béndekepuszta, both the pieces written in uncial alphabet and the ones engraved in cursive script, use the same form of the letter S which developed from the Greek sigma and which was only preserved in the later Gothic documents written in the cursive script, while it was replaced in the uncial alphabet by the Latin S after the immigration of the Ostrogoths into Italy.<sup>5</sup> It follows from this fact that the text of the Gothic fragments from Hács-Béndekepuszta had still been written before the march of the Ostrogoths into Italy, *i.e.* before 488 A.D. Accordingly, it is much earlier than the other preserved texts of Wulfila's translation of the Bible.

<sup>5</sup> W. Streitberg: *Gotisches Elementarbuch*. Heidelberg 1920. 42.

The following letters occur in the fragments with uncial script: A D E Z H P I M N R S T W F H/O, while the cursive alphabet is represented on the pieces written in this script by the following characters: *A B D E H P I N J U R S W F*. The early date of these texts is also indicated by the fact that the differences between the uncial and the cursive letter forms are not so great as in the documents of the VIth century A.D. The typical letter forms of the later, Italic cursive script of the VIth century can only be observed in the case of *A B D H P U R S W*, while in that of *S*, the form borrowed from the Latin *S* does not occur in the uncial script of these fragments which still uses the letter form developed from the Greek sigma and preserved in the cursive script even later on.

The identification of the context of the fragments becomes possible by two factors: 1. all letters on the fragments could be identified, 2. some fragments consist of several lines whereby the identification of the context can be restricted in between narrow limits. Let us begin the identification and restoration by fragment 1 whose reading is the following:

- line 1 'A'US'I'  
 2 ATTA'W'  
 3 MINÐE  
 4 'MISEIS'

It is to be noted that the broad empty stripe, to be observed before the readings MINÐE and MISEIS on the left-hand side rim of the fragment, indicates that the fragment preserved the left-hand side rim of the text. Now, if we examine the preserved text of Wulfila's translation of the New Testament, we arrive at the result that the remains of these four lines in this arrangement cannot be put in any other context as in verse 11, chapter XVII of St. John's gospel and at that in the following making up of the lines:

line 1	(11) [NI ÐANASEIÐS IM IN ÐAMMA FA-]	22 letters
2	[IRH/AU; IÐ ÐAI IN ÐAMMA FAIRH/-]	22
3	'A'U S'I'[ND, JAH IK DU ÐUS GAGGA,]	21
4	ATTA 'W'[EIHA, FASTAI INS IN NA-]	22
5	MIN ÐE[INAMMA, ÐANZEI ATGAFT]	23
6	'MIS EI S'[IJAINA AIN SWASWE WIT]	24

Accordingly, there can be no doubt that fragment 1 belongs to the text of Christ's prayer to his Father beginning with verse 1 of chapter XVII in St. John's gospel. Because this fragment was written in the uncial alphabet, it seems to be very likely that all fragments with uncial script belong to the text of the same prayer. Taking into consideration that the four lines of fragment 1 determine the length of the lines with the accuracy of 1 to 2 letters, we can easily check the correctness of the identification of the text by help of the other fragments written in uncial alphabet and consisting of several lines.

The reading of fragment 2–3 runs as follows:

line 1 'EIH'[.]'F'  
 2 NAM'M'  
 3 'IJ'

As one can state at once, the text of fragment 2–3 represents the immediate continuation of fragment 1. Between the two fragments, at the very most, 2–3 millimetres are missing which could have crumbled when the lead scroll was broken. After all, lines 4–6 of verse 11 in chapter XVII of St. John's gospel will be the following:

line 4 ATTA 'WEIH'[A]'F' [ASTAI INS IN NA-]  
 5 MIN ÐE[I]NAM'M'[A, ÐANZEI ATGAFT]  
 6 'MIS EI SIJ'[AINA AIN SWASWE WIT]

Thus, almost half of the lines 4–6 of verse 11 in chapter XVII of St. John's gospel can be restored from fragments 1 and 2–3. Further restoration will be possible by help of fragment 5b whose text runs as follows:

line 1 'TAIIN'  
 2 ÐAN 'ZE'  
 3 'NSWA'

One can state at first sight that this fragment also belongs to the same three lines as the former ones but somewhat more was lost between fragments 2–3 and 5b than between fragments 1 and 2–3 when the scroll was broken. If we also fit this fragment in lines 4–6, then this passage will be the following:

line 4 ATTA 'WEIH'[A]'F' [AS]'TAI IN'[S IN NA-]  
 5 MIN ÐE[I]NAM'M'[A] ÐAN'ZE'[I ATGAFT]  
 6 'MIS EI SIJ'[AINA AI]'N SWA'[SWE WIT]

Now, if we take the other fragments in uncial script, enumerated above, one after the other and try to find their place in Christ's prayer to his Father, then we arrive at the result that one or several fragments are preserved from almost every line up to verse 19 of chapter XVII. If we perform this restoration work, then we obtain the following text. At first, I publish the text of Christ's prayer to his Father restored by fitting together the fragments, then I quote the Greek text in Streitberg's edition,<sup>6</sup> and finally I give the English translation of the Gothic text:

<sup>6</sup> Die gotische Bibel. Hrsg. von W. Streitberg. I. Heidelberg 1906. 76.



	HBU	CA	HBK	NK
A	𐌰 𐌰	𐌰	𐌰𐌰𐌰	𐌰𐌰
B	𐌲	𐌲	𐌲	𐌲𐌲
D	𐌳	𐌳	𐌳	𐌳𐌳
E	𐌴𐌴	𐌴	𐌴	𐌴𐌴
Z	𐌶	𐌶		𐌶
H	𐌸	𐌸	𐌸	𐌸
þ	𐌺	𐌺	𐌺	𐌺 𐌺
I	𐌻	𐌻	𐌻	𐌻𐌻
M	𐌼𐌼	𐌼		𐌼𐌼
N	𐌽𐌽𐌽	𐌽	𐌽	𐌽
J		𐌾	𐌾	𐌾
U		𐌿	𐌿𐌿𐌿	𐌿
R		𐍀	𐍀	𐍀
S	𐍁𐍁	𐍁	𐍁𐍁	𐍁𐍁
T	𐍂	𐍂	𐍂	𐍂𐍂
W	𐍃𐍃	𐍃	𐍃	𐍃𐍃
F	𐍄	𐍄	𐍄	𐍄
W	𐍅	𐍅		
O	𐍆	𐍆		𐍆

Fig. 5. Comparative table of Gothic characters. Abbreviations: HBU = letters used in the fragments with uncial script from Hács-Béndekpuszta, CA = uncial characters used in the Codex Argenteus, HBK = cursive letters used in the fragments from Hács-Béndekpuszta, NK = cursive letters used in the Gothic passage of the documents from Naples (VIth century A.D.)

## St. John's gospel, chapter XVII, verses 11–19

- line 1 (11) [NI ÐANASEIÐS IM IN ÐAMMA FA-]  
 2 [IRH/AU, IÐ ÐAI IN ÐAMMA FAIRH/-]  
 3 'A'U S'TI'ND, JAH IK DU ÐUS GAGGA.]  
 4 ATTA 'WEIH'[A] 'F'[AS]'TAI IN'[S IN NA-]  
 5 MIN ÐE[I]NAM'M'[A] ÐAN'ZE' [I ATGAFT]  
 6 'MIS EI SIJ'[AINA AI]'N SWA'[SWE] WIT  
 7 (12) [Ð]AN 'W'[AS MIÐ I]'M' [IN ÐAM]MA [FAI-]  
 8 [R]H/A[U IK FAST]AI[DA INS] IN [NAMIN]  
 9 [ÐEINAMMA, ÐANZEI ATG]AF[T MIS]  
 10 [GAFASTAIDA, JAH AINSHUN US IM NI]  
 11 [FRAQISTNODA, NIBA SA SJUN[US FRA-]  
 12 [LUST]'AI'[S, EI ÐATA GAMELIDO US-]  
 13 [FUL]'L'IP [WAU]RÐ[I (13) IÐ NU DU ÐUS GAGGA]  
 14 [JAH] 'P'[ATA RODJA IN MANASEDAI, EI]  
 15 [HABAINA FAHED MEINA USFULLIDA]  
 16 [IN SIS (14) IK ATGAF IM WAUR]D [ÐEINATA,]  
 17 [JAH SO MANASEÐS FIJAI]'D'[A I]NS, [UNTE]  
 18 [NI SIND US ÐAMMA FAI]RH/[AU SWASWE]  
 19 [IK US ÐAMMA FAIRH/AU NI IM (15) NI BIDJA]  
 20 [EI US]'N'IM[AIS INS US ÐAMMA FAIRH/AU]  
 21 [AK EI] 'BAI'[RGAIS IM FAURA ÐAMMA]  
 22 [UNSELJIN (16) US ÐAMMA FAIRH/AU]  
 23 [NI SIND, SWASWE IK US ÐAMMA]  
 24 [FAIRH/AU NI IM (17) WEIHAI INS IN]  
 25 [SUNJAI, WAURD ÐEINATA SUNJA]  
 26 [IST (18) SWASWE MIK INSANDIDES]  
 27 [IN MANASEÐ, SWAH IK INSANDI-]  
 28 [DA IN]S IN 'ÐO M'[ANASED (19) JA FRAM]  
 29 [IM IK] WE'T'H'A' [MIK SILBAN, EI S-]  
 30 [JAI] NA J[AH EIS WEIHAI IN SUNJAI.]

## Greek text:

11. Καὶ οὐκέτι εἰμὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἰσὶν, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ ἔρχομαι. Πάτερ ἅγιε, τήρησον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ᾧ δέδωκάς μοι, ἵνα ᾧσιν ἐν καθὼς ἡμεῖς. 12. Ὅτε ἤμην μετ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἐγὼ ἐτήρουν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου, οὗς δέδωκάς μοι ἐφύλαξα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ. 13. Νῦν δὲ πρὸς σὲ ἔρχομαι. Καὶ ταῦτα λαλῶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἵνα ἔχωσιν τὴν χαρὰν τὴν ἐμὴν πεπληρωμένην ἐν αὐτοῖς. 14. Ἐγὼ δέδωκα αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον σου, καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐμίσησεν αὐτοὺς, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, καθὼς ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου. 15. Οὐκ ἔρωτῶ ἵνα ἄρῃς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, ἀλλ' ἵνα τηρήσης

αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ. 16. Ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ εἰσίν, καθὼς ἐγὼ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ εἰμί. 17. Ἀγίασον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου· ὁ λόγος ὁ σὸς ἀλήθειά ἐστιν. 18. Καθὼς ἐμὲ ἀπέστειλας εἰς τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐγὼ ἀπέστειλα αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν κόσμον. 19. Καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ ἀγιάζω ἑμαυτόν, ἵνα ὧσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡγιασμένοι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.

English translation of the Gothic text:

11. I am no more in this world, but these are in this world, and I come to thee, Holy Father, keep in thine name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we two (are one). 12. When I was with them in the world, I kept them in thy name; those that thou gavest me, I have kept, and none of them is lost, unless the son of perdition, that the scripture might be fulfilled. 13. But now I come to thee; and these (things) I tell in the world, that my joy might be fulfilled in them. 14. I have given them thy word and the mankind hath hated them, because they are not of this world, even as I am not of this world. 15. I do not ask that thou shouldest take them out of this world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil. 16. They are not of this world even as I am not of this world. 17. Sanctify them in the truth, thy word is the truth. 18. As thou hast sent me to the mankind, even so have I also sent them to the mankind. 19. And I sanctify myself for them, that they also might be sanctified in the truth.

As we can see, all fragments in uncial script could be fitted into the text of Christ's prayer to his Father, *i.e.* into the verses 11–19 of chapter XVII in St. John's gospel. That the lead plate contained the text of this prayer, is proved, without doubt, by the fragments consisting of several lines which determine the making up of the lines on the one hand, and cannot be fitted into other contexts on the other hand. It should be noted, however, that the fragments only consisting of one line or only containing 1 to 2 letters as AF, UN, RH/, can be fitted even into other passages. Thus AF can also be set in verses 2, 4, 7, 9, 24, UN can be fitted into verses 1, 6, 25, too, and RH/ can be put into verses 5, 6, 24 as well. Nor can one exclude even the possibility that the lead plate originally contained all the 26 verses of Christ's prayer to his Father (in chapter XVII of St. John's gospel). Because, however, any fragments consisting of several lines did not remain only from verses 11 to 19, be this assumption very likely as it may be, cannot be proved factually.

Now, if we make an attempt to identify the context of the fragments written in cursive alphabet, it will be expedient to start again from the fragments consisting of several lines. Such fragments are 5a, 6a, 6b, 6c, 8, II/1, II/2 and II/6. Let us take at first fragment 8 whose text runs in the following way:

line 1 SA'RB¹  
 2 AIN'A¹  
 3 'D'IN

The obvious restoration of this fragment with three lines may be the following:

line 1	[ATTA UN]SA'R Þ'[U IN HIMINAM]	20 letters
2	[WEIHN]AI N'A'[MO ÞEIN. QIM-]	18
3	[AI ÞIU]'D'IN[ASSUS ÞEINS WA-]	20

This is the beginning of the Lord's Prayer in St. Matthew's gospel (VI, 9 foll.). On the basis of this fragment, the length of the lines can be determined with certainty. Thus, we can easily find the places of the fragments 5a, II/1, II/2 and II/6 as well. From among them the first one has its place before the restored part, the three other ones on the other hand after it. One can also fit into this context even fragments II/4 and II/5, but being short (1 to 2, at the most 3 letters) and consisting of only one line, their place can also be imagined to be in other contexts. At first, I publish again the Gothic text, indicating the places of the fragments, then the Greek text of Streitberg's edition<sup>7</sup> and lastly the English translation of the Gothic text.

St. Matthew's gospel VI, 7–13

line 1	(7) [BIDJANDANSUÞ-ÞAN NI FI-]	19 letters
2	[LUWAURDJAIP SWASWE ÞAI]	20
3	[ÞIUÐO. ÞUGKEIÞ IM AUK]	17
4	[EI IN FILUWAURDEIN SE-]	18
5	[INAI ANDHAUSJAINÐAN.] (8)	18
6	[NI GALEIKOÞ NU ÞAIM: WAIT]	20
7	[AUK ATTA IZVAR ÞIZEI JUS]	20
8	[ÞAURBUÞ. F]A 'U' [R ÞIZEI JUS BID-]	22
9	[JAIP IN]'A' (9) SWA N[U BIDJAIP JUS:]	22
10	[ATTA UN]SA'R Þ'[U IN HIMINAM.]	20
11	[WEIHN]AI N'A'[MO ÞEIN. (10) QIM-]	18
12	[AI ÞIU]DIN[ASSUS ÞEINS. WA-]	20
13	[IRÞAI WILJA ÞEIN]N[S, SWE IN HI-]	22
14	[MINA JAH ANA AIR]ÞAI. (11) 'H'[LAIF UN-]	23
15	[SARANA ÞAN]'A' SI[NTEINAN GIF]	22
16	UN[S HIMMA DAGA. (12) JAH AFLET UNS]	23
17	'ÞA'[TEI SKULANS SIJAIMA, SWASWE]	25
18	[JAH WEIS AFLETAM] ÞAI[M SKULAM]	24
19	[UNSAIIM. (13) JAH NI BRIGGAI]S UN[S]	24
20	[IN FRAIST]'UB'N[JAI, AK LAUSEI UNS]	23
21	[AF ÞAMMA U]'B'[ILIN. UNTE ÞEINA]	22
22	[IST ÞIUDANGARDI JAH MAHTS]	22
23	[JAH WULÞUS IN AIWINS. AMEN.]	21

Greek text:

7. Προσευχόμενοι δὲ μὴ βαττολογήσητε ὡς περ οἱ ἔθνη· δοκοῦσι γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθήσονται. 8. Μὴ οὖν ὁμοιωθῆτε αὐτοῖς ·

<sup>7</sup> Die gotische Bibel. Hrsg. von W. Streitberg. I. Heidelberg 1906. 6.



Without doubt, this restoration represents again the text of a Lord's Prayer which cannot be identified, however, with the text of verses 7–13 of chapter VI in St. Matthew's gospel, restored above and fragments 6a, 6b, 6c cannot be fitted into it, for the phrase [AI ÞIU]DIN[ASSUS] falls there on the beginning of the line, here again on the end of it, on the one hand, and because the text of the Gothic Lord's Prayer to be restored from fragments 6a, 6b, 6c, is made up in much longer lines than the variant of St. Matthew's gospel. Therefore, we have to assume that fragments 6a, 6b, 6c belong to the text of that variant of the Lord's Prayer, which is to be found in St. Luke's gospel. In this context, the difficulty arises that this part of Wulfila's Gothic translation of the New Testament is lost. This fact does not cause any insoluble problem because all Gothic phrases, corresponding to the Greek text of the Lord's Prayer in St. Luke's gospel, can be found in the preserved parts of Wulfila's Gothic translation of the New Testament and this fact permits us to restore the lost text of the Lord's Prayer in St. Luke's gospel. If we restore, however, the Gothic translation on the basis of the critical edition by E. Nestle of the Greek New Testament<sup>9</sup> we arrive at the result that the Gothic variant, restored from fragments 6a, 6b, 6c, does not coincide with the Gothic text of the Lord's Prayer translated from the Greek original of St. Luke's gospel.

As a matter of fact, this negative result is not surprising. According to earlier researches,<sup>10</sup> it was the text of the New Testament of koine-type, influenced by the Palestinian recension of Jerusalem, established by Chrysostomus, which furnished the basis for Wulfila's Gothic translation of the gospels. This was, of course, not identical with the archetype, restored by the critical editions. Besides, we have to reckon even with the fact that the shorter variant of the Lord's Prayer in St. Luke's gospel became completed on the basis of the longer text of the Lord's Prayer in St. Matthew's gospel. This completion was performed to the greatest extent in the codex Bezae Cantabrigensis (D) which represents properly a mixture of the Palestinian recension of Jerusalem and of the koine one.<sup>11</sup> Very likely, Wulfila used some forerunner of this codex for his translation, because it is only in this codex that the variant *oi loipoi* occurs instead of the phrase *oi eθνικοi* to be read in the text of the Lord's Prayer in St. Matthew's gospel. In favour of this assumption speaks decisively the fact that the fragment 6a offers the Gothic translation [PAI] ANÞAR[AI] of the Greek phrase *oi loipoi* to be found in the codex Bezae Cantabrigensis. Now, if we make the attempt to restore the Gothic translation of the variant of the Lord's Prayer in the codex Bezae Cantabrigensis, it becomes clear that it will be more detailed than the text to be restored from fragments 6a, 6b, 6c. Consequently, we have to start from the fact that the text, restored from fragment 6b and the first line of fragment 6c, is absolutely certain, wherefrom it follows that this variant of the Lord's Prayer consisted of lines, almost two times longer than the text in St. Matthew's gospel whose verses 8–13 of chapter VI consist of lines containing 18 to 25 letters.

<sup>9</sup> *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine*. Imp. cur. D. Eberhard Nestle, nov. cur. elab. D. Erwin Nestle. 12th edition. 180–181.

<sup>10</sup> *Die gotische Bibel*. Hrsg. von W. Streitberg. I. Heidelberg 1906. XXXVIII K foll.; W. Streitberg: *Gotisches Elementarbuch*. Heidelberg 1920. 29 foll.

<sup>11</sup> *Die gotische Bibel*. Hrsg. von W. Streitberg. I. Heidelberg 1906. XXXIX.

In dependence upon the opinion whether we regard the 37 letters of the line restored with certainty from linguistic viewpoint as minimum or as maximum, instead of 7 we can reckon with a fluctuation of 10 to 14 of the number of letters in this variant consisting of long lines. Because the number of letters in the lines restricts the restorations in between narrow limits, we can make an attempt to restore the Gothic translation of the variant of the Lord's Prayer in St. Luke's gospel by help of the Greek text of the codex Bezae Cantabrigensis as well as on the basis of fragments 6a, 6b, 6c, moreover of fragment I/5 which could not be fitted into the texts of the two former prayers, restored above. Then on the basis of the restored Gothic text, we can reconstruct even the original Greek text, furnishing the basis for the Gothic translation. Therefore, at first I publish the restored text of the lost Gothic translation of the Lord's Prayer in St. Luke's gospel, then the original Greek text, reconstructed on the basis of the Gothic translation and lastly the English translation of the Gothic text.

St. Luke's gospel, chapter XI, 2-4

line1 JAH WARP MIÞ]  
 2 [ÞANEI WAS IS IN STADA SUMAMMA BIDJANS: SWE ÞAHAIDA, QAP]  
 3 [AINS ÞIZE SIPONJE IS: FRAUJA, LAISEI UNS BIDJAN] 'SWA'SWE  
 4 [JAH IOHANNES LAISIDA SIPONJANS SEIN]'A'NS SA Þ-  
 5 [AN QAP DU IM: NI FILUWAURDJAIP SWASWE ÞAI] 'A'NÞ'AR'-  
 6 [AI JAH NI GALEIKOÞ ÞAIM. AK BIDJANDANS QIÞIP: ATTA] UN-  
 7 [SAR, ÞU IN HIMINAM, WEIHNAI NAMO ÞEIN, QIM]AI ÞIU-  
 8 [DINASSUS ÞEINS, WAIRÞAI WILJA ÞEINS SWE IN HIMINAM] JAH ANA  
 9 [AIRÞAI. HLAIF UNSARANA GIF UNS DAGA H/AMMEH] JAH AF-  
 10 [LET UNS FRAWAURHTINS UNSAROS, UNTE WEIS SILBANS]  
 11 [AFLETAM A]'L'L[AIM SKULAM UNSARAIM...]

St. Luke's gospel chapter XI, 1-4 (Greek variant, restored on the basis of the Gothic text):

1. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ προσευχόμενον, ὡς ἐπαύσατο, εἶπεν τις τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν · Κύριε, δίδαξον ἡμᾶς προσεύχεσθαι, καθὼς καὶ Ἰωάννης ἐδίδαξεν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ. 2. Εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς · μὴ βαττολόγετε ὡς οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ μὴ ὁμοιωθῆτε αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ προσευχόμενοι λέγετε · Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου · ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γεννηθῆτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. 3. Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν { τὸν ἐπιούσιον ? } δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν. 4. Καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν.

English translation of the Gothic text:

1. And it happened while he was praying in a certain place, when he ceased, one of his disciples said: Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples. 2.

Then he said unto them: be not loquacious as the others (are), nor be like unto them, but praying say ye: Our Father, thou in heaven, hallowed be thy name, come thy kingdom, be done thy will as in heaven, so in earth, too. 3. Give us our bread every day. 4. And remit us our sins, for we ourselves also remit it to all our debtors.

If we would insert the phrase ÐANA SINTEINAN 'every daily' after the words HLAIF UNSARANA into the restored text of the Lord's Prayer in St. Luke's gospel, then the number of letters in line 9 would be exceptionally high (54!). Therefore, either we can assume that Wulfila had known the interpretation by Chrysostomus of the word ἐπιούσιος in the sense 'ἐφήμερος' and he regarded it as tautology beside the phrase καθ' ἡμέραν used instead of σήμερον in the variant furnishing the basis for his translation and for this reason he left it untranslated or he had known and used such a variant of St. Luke's gospel, from the text of which the phrase τὸν ἐπιούσιον was missing. If we neglect the Gothic translation of this Greek phrase, then the number of letters in the line will be 41 which well represents the average number of letters in the lines. We can still mention that fragment II/4 (ASI) can also be fitted into line 2 of this variant of the Lord's Prayer, while the fragment I/5 (AL or LL) can only be put into line 11 of the prayer.

Accordingly, after all, three important prayers of Wulfila's Gothic New Testament were put into grave 5 of the cemetery at Hács-Béndekpuszta, the inhumation of a probably Ostrogoth noble: Christ's prayer to his Father from St. John's gospel, the text of the Lord's Prayer from St. Matthew's gospel and the other variant of the Lord's Prayer from St. Luke's gospel. The palaeographic analysis of the preserved fragments proved that these texts had still been written before the immigration of the Ostrogoths into Italy and before the borrowing of the Latin letter S into the Gothic uncial alphabet. Thus, these fragments represent the earliest monuments of Wulfila's Gothic translation of the New Testament known so far.

Additional note. In the meantime the finds of the cemetery at Hács-Béndekpuszta were published by A. Kiss: Das germanische Gräberfeld von Hács-Béndekpuszta (Westungarn) aus dem 5.–6. Jahrhundert. *Acta Ant. Hung.* 36 (1995) 275–342. At the request of colleagues reading my manuscript, I supply the restoration of the Gothic texts with the data concerning the size of the lead inscribed with the Lord's Prayers, calculated on the basis of the photos (scale 1:1) : 12 × 24 cm for the Lord's Prayer from St. Matthew's gospel, 12 × 24 cm for the Lord's Prayer from St. Luke's gospel, and 12 × 30 cm for the restored part (about the half) of Christ's Prayer to his Father from St. John's gospel.

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