

**T H E J O U R N A L O F J U R I S T I C P A P Y R O L O G Y**  
Supplement XIII

# **QASR IBRIM**

**THE GREEK AND COPTIC INSCRIPTIONS**



WARSAW UNIVERSITY  
FACULTY OF LAW AND ADMINISTRATION  
CHAIR OF ROMAN AND ANTIQUE LAW



WARSAW UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY  
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# **QASR IBRIM**

## **THE GREEK AND COPTIC INSCRIPTIONS**

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OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

BY

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS FOR EDITIONS of Greek papyri follow J. F. Oates *et alii*, *A Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, 4th ed., Atlanta 1992 [= *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists Supplement* 7], with later supplements (available on-line at <<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>>). In addition, the following are used:

*AE* = R. CAGNAT, A. MERLIN *et alii*, *L'Année épigraphique*, initially published in *Révue archéologique*, later in form of independent volumes.  
'Bull. épigr.' = Jeanne & L. ROBERT *et alii*, 'Bulletin épigraphique', [in:] *Revue des Études Grecques* (see under particular years).

*IG* = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1903 ff.

*IGLSyr* = *Inscriptiones graecae et latinae de la Syrie*, Beyrouth, later Paris 1929 ff.

*MAMA* = *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, Manchester 1928 ff.

*PG* = J.-P. MIGNÉ (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, I-CLXI, Paris 1857–66.

*SEG* = J. E. HONDIUS *et alii*, *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden, later Amsterdam 1923 ff.

## INTRODUCTION

THIS BOOK CONTAINS THE PUBLICATION of the Greek and Coptic inscriptions that were brought to light during archaeological work on the site of Qasr Ibrim (Egyptian Nubia) carried out by the Egypt Exploration Society from 1963 onwards.<sup>1</sup> It does not include earlier epigraphic finds,<sup>2</sup> even though they are constantly referred to. Most of these earlier finds fall into three distinct groups. The first consists of eight or nine inscriptions, which Georg Steindorff obtained in Qasr Ibrim in the spring of 1900, and which subsequently became part of the collection of the Egyptian Museum of Leipzig University. Their publication by Tonio Sebastian Richter is forthcoming.<sup>3</sup> The second group was discovered during the so-called second Nubian campaign in the 1930s, and was included almost entirely in the first volume of Ugo Monneret de Villard's *opus magnum*, *La Nubia medioevale*.<sup>4</sup> The third group consists of six stelae found by

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to give the full bibliography of the excavations here. In addition to some important monographs (ADAMS 1996; ROSE *et alii* 2007) and publications of textual finds (PLUMLEY 1975c; PLUMLEY & BROWNE 1988; BROWNE 1989 and 1991; HINDS & SAKKOUT 1986), the reports that appeared in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* remain indispensable.

<sup>2</sup> With the exception of a single inscription recorded by Richard Lepsius in the 1840s, republished below under no. 2.

<sup>3</sup> To appear as part of the catalogue of the Egyptian Museum of Leipzig University. Preliminarily see RICHTER 1999, and the same in *Catalogue Hamm*: 131, no. 90a–b, and KRAUSPE 1997: 132; see also FELBER *et alii* 2000. It is unknown what happened to the 'Coptic steles' that were found in the medieval cemetery located 'in the bay to the north of the fortress' by D. RANDALL-MACIVER and A. E. P. WEIGALL in 1906 or 1907 (see WEIGALL 1907: 121, n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> MONNERET DE VILLARD 1935–57: 1, 112–15; see additionally MONNERET DE VILLARD 1931: 7–10; VAN DER VLIET 2006: 219–23.

Walter B. Emery during his excavations of mainland cemeteries in autumn 1961. Their publication, by Edmund S. Meltzer, appeared in Anthony J. Mills' 1982 report on Emery's work.<sup>5</sup> An isolated stela that surfaced in commerce in the 1960s was published by Gesa Schenke in 2000.<sup>6</sup> Almost without exception, these earlier finds are funerary stelae inscribed in Coptic. Another category of inscriptions that is not included in the present publication are the graffiti that can be found on various locations in or near Qasr Ibrim, in particular in the Cathedral,<sup>7</sup> in the Church on the Point<sup>8</sup> and on the so-called Gebel Maktub, a hill-top site east of Qasr Ibrim.<sup>9</sup> The historically important graffiti of the latter site will be published separately by the present authors.

A vast majority of the ninety-two inscriptions published below are funerary in nature (nos. 18–92). The heterogeneous group of seventeen non-funerary texts is composed of building or dedication inscriptions (nos. 1 and 2, perhaps also 3 and 4), signatures (nos. 5 and 6), *apotropaica* (nos. 7–9), two legal documents (an ecclesiastical ban and a deed of donation, nos. 10 and 11, respectively), a visitor's inscription (no. 12), fragments (nos. 13–16), and an *instrumentum* (a seal, no. 17). Among the large number of funerary inscriptions, the bishops' epitaphs stand out as a separate group (nos. 18–26) as do the painted inscriptions from the burial vaults of two tombs in the Cathedral area (nos. 91–2).

Except for nos. 40, 46, 51, 64, 66, 69, and 72, which were discovered on the mainland, all remaining inscriptions published below came to light

<sup>5</sup> MILLS 1982: 82–4, pls. LXXV–LXXVI, XCI.

<sup>6</sup> SCHENKE 2000. The provenance of the stela is not indicated but formal criteria clearly place it among the Qasr Ibrim finds (see the commentary to no. 37 below).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. GARTKIEWICZ 1982: 89, with figs. 7 and 8. He mentions several graffiti with the name of Bishop Mielkouda.

<sup>8</sup> For a dipinto of Bishop Mielkouda, most probably the same person who appears in the graffiti from the Cathedral, see KJØLBYE-BIDDLE 1994: 31–2, fig. 12.

<sup>9</sup> One of these graffiti is known in an inadequate copy since the middle of the 19th century (BARTH 1850: 269–70); see JAKOBIELSKI 1972: 104, for an improved reading and extensive discussion. Two further items are shown on the photo published in PLUMLEY & ADAMS 1974: pl. LI.

at different places on the citadel of Qasr Ibrim.<sup>10</sup> Yet only two items, the inscriptions in the two tombs, were found *in situ*. All others were discovered in various secondary contexts. Some of them must originate from the citadel itself, and even from the Cathedral. Above all, the group of bishops' stelae and perhaps also some of the more important funerary monuments of lay-men (nos. 55 and 57, perhaps also 63) probably belonged to the cemetery area near the Cathedral. Also the building inscriptions, the signatures of craftsmen, the *apotropaica*, the visitor's inscription, and the legal documents must have belonged to one or more churches on the citadel. The situation is different, however, for many of the more modest funerary stelae of private persons that were most likely brought up as building material from the cemeteries outside the town in the Ottoman period.

The inscriptions all document the Christian period in Nubia's history, covering a time span roughly from the sixth–seventh centuries to the middle of the fourteenth. Among the earliest are the building inscriptions, and among the latest some of the bishops' epitaphs (nos. 21 and 24) and the visitor's inscription. In general, the non-funerary inscriptions seem to be older than the bulk of the funerary monuments.

Whereas the earlier finds from Qasr Ibrim, mentioned above, were predominantly in Coptic, the material presented here offers a somewhat different picture. A small majority of the inscriptions is in Greek while the remainder is in Sahidic Coptic. Among the more elaborate high-status funerary inscriptions, for example the bishops' epitaphs, Greek prevails, whereas Coptic occurs mainly, though not exclusively, in the modest tombstones of private persons. In this respect, the situation in Qasr Ibrim seems to differ from the circumstances of Faras and Sai, further south, where several bishops left funerary monuments in Coptic.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> For more details, see the register of findspots at the end of the book.

<sup>11</sup> As far as Faras is concerned, the following bishops had epitaphs in Coptic: Thomas, died AD 862 (JAKOBIELSKI 1972: 75–9), Aaron, died AD 972 (VAN DER VLIET 2003: no. 3), Petrou I, died AD 999 (JAKOBIELSKI 1972: 135–9), Petrou II, died AD 1062 (VAN DER VLIET 2003: no. 4), Georgiou, died AD 1097 (VAN DER VLIET 2003: no. 5). In Sai, Coptic was the language of the epitaphs of Kerikos, *floruit c. AD 800* (VAN DER VLIET, in MARTIN *et alii*

But also the two burial vaults near the Cathedral and the two legal documents were inscribed in Coptic. In addition to Greek and Coptic, some of the later Greek epitaphs incorporate words and phrases in Old Nubian (nos. 18, 19, 24, 63, 79, 80).

While the non-funerary documents vary in nature and appearance, the funerary monuments are predominantly stone stelae. Only two pieces are in terracotta (nos. 51 and, presumably, 52). Most of the others are undecorated stone slabs. Among those that bear decoration of some kind, one group stands out clearly. These are characterised by an elaborate sculptured decoration, framing the text, which takes the form of an *aedicula* crowned by a conch or three cupolas surmounted by crosses.<sup>12</sup> To this type belong the majority of the bishops' epitaphs and some other major tombstones, most of them in Greek.<sup>13</sup> Chronologically, they belong to the classical period of Nubian Christianity, in the tenth–twelfth centuries.

As for the texts, the funerary inscriptions can be divided into various classes. To the simplest and probably earliest textual types belong the Greek epitaph with the name of the deceased and a single verb stating his death (no. 27), and another with the formula 'here lie the remains of NN' (no. 28). Also the rather numerous Coptic epitaphs with the formula 'the memorial of NN' or 'for the commemoration of NN' belong to a typologically early group (nos. 29–37). A further development of the Coptic funerary formula is represented by the stelae of the type 'in accordance with the verdict of God' (nos. 38 and 39) and the unique example of the 'Totenklage'-type (no. 40). Greek and Coptic stelae that ascribe the event of death to divine providence (*pronoia*) represent a further typological development and belong chronologically to the classical Christian period (nos. 41–52). Also four of the bishops' epitaphs (nos. 20, 21, 23, 25) are part of this group. Close to these are the Greek epitaphs that mention

2005: no. 115), Iesou, died AD 1054 (VAN DER VLIET 2003: no. 27), and Dioskoros (after AD 1054; unpublished, but see GRIMAL & ADLY 2004: 130–1, pl. xv, fig. 41).

<sup>12</sup> For a discussion of the iconographic and artistic aspects of these stelae, see PLUMLEY 1970.

<sup>13</sup> The stela of the woman Marianta (no. 57) should be mentioned here in the first place. For a list of other tombstones of the same type, see below, n. 53.

God's 'will and inclination' as the cause of death (nos. 53 and 54). The remaining identifiable Greek formulae represent the characteristic Nubian 'God of the spirits' type, which group includes five of the episcopal stelae (nos. 18, 19, 22, 24, 26) and three others (nos. 57–9). The texts of this type that figure in the present corpus can be dated to the same period as those of the *pronoia*-type.

In a general sense, the inscriptions published here reflect the values of the literate upper strata of medieval Nubian society. Otherwise, most of them provide very little information about their owners or patrons. The major exception are the bishops' stelae. Earlier in their lives, three of the bishops were archimandrites, abbots of major monasteries (Georgiou and Marianou of Qasr Ibrim [nos. 20 and 21, respectively], and Marianou of Faras [no. 22]), and two of these began their career as *notarii* of the eparch (Georgiou and Marianou of Qasr Ibrim [nos. 20 and 21, respectively]). Bishop Marianou of Faras acted as an envoy, perhaps of the king of Makuria, to the capital of Egypt (no. 22). Another Marianou, this time of Qasr Ibrim, may have held a position at the royal court (no. 21). Among other clergy, two priests and a monk are represented in the corpus (nos. 27, 28, 39). Also the ecclesiastical ban (no. 10) appears to reflect the world of the clergy.

The important role of ecclesiastical institutions in medieval Nubia is also apparent in the inscriptions recording a donation to an unknown *topos* (no. 11) and, furthermore, in various mentions of church ownership.<sup>14</sup> A woman Marianta owned a church in Tamit (no. 57), while two of the bishops also owned churches, the precise location of which is regrettably unknown (nos. 22 and 23). Another bishop patronised the building of a church, perhaps the Cathedral of Qasr Ibrim itself (no. 2).

Apart from revealing in a general way patterns of commemoration and ideas about death and afterlife, the inscriptions throw yet more light on religion in medieval Nubia. The popularity of the cult of angelic beings can be measured by the churches and monasteries that are named after them: Michael (no. 23), Raphael (no. 57: a church; nos. 20 and 21: a mon-

<sup>14</sup> For 'owning' churches in Christian Nubia, see LAJTAR & VAN DER VLIET 1998, and further below, the commentary to no. 22, ll. 11–12.

astery) and the Four Living Creatures (no. 22). The seven Archangels are invoked, together with the Apostles, in a prayer for protection in one of the inscribed tombs (no. 91 F). The popular cryptogram for Michael, inscribed on a small block of sandstone, may have had an apotropaic use (no. 7). The same is true for the Apostles' names that appear on bricks undoubtedly belonging to a foundation deposit (nos. 8 and 9). The invocation of the God of Makarios in a Greek epitaph (no. 56) is most probably a witness to the cult of Saint Makarios the Great in Qasr Ibrim.

Remaining within the ecclesiastical sphere, the remarkable fact must be noted that at least four of nine bishops' epitaphs commemorate bishops of dioceses other than Qasr Ibrim. Three were bishops of Kourte, to the north of Qasr Ibrim, and one of Faras, to its south, but all apparently died and were buried at Qasr Ibrim. The fact that bishops of other dioceses resided in Qasr Ibrim is confirmed by various Old Nubian documents from the town.<sup>15</sup> For this phenomenon two explanations can be envisaged. Perhaps the bishops visited the court of the eparch of Nobadia, the highest civil authority in the northern part of Makuria, who had his residence in Qasr Ibrim in the twelfth century, and possibly already earlier.<sup>16</sup> Alternatively, their presence at Qasr Ibrim might reflect a form of internal organisation of the Nubian church, with Qasr Ibrim as the seat of a primate who gathered his bishops periodically.

Yet also worldly offices occur in the corpus. A man with the rare title of exarch (no. 43) and another who was *meizoteros* (no. 56) represent the Nubian state apparatus. The signatures of an architect (no. 5) and a family of *latomoi* (no. 6) testify to the building activity in early Christian Qasr Ibrim.

<sup>15</sup> Thus, two Old Nubian documents belonging to the archive buried under the floor of House 177 at Qasr Ibrim (second half of the 12th–first years of the 13th century) show bishops of Kourte acting as witnesses to deeds drawn up in Qasr Ibrim, which presupposes their presence there; cf. BROWNE 1991: nos. 37, ll. 21–2 (Bishop Darne) and 41, ll. 8–9 (Bishop Marianou). The Old Nubian letter of Aron, bishop of Faras, to Isou, bishop of Sai, from the same archive (BROWNE 1991: no. 57), seems to indicate that bishops of Sai also held temporary residence at Qasr Ibrim in this period.

<sup>16</sup> ADAMS 1996: 42–58 and 245–6.

Among the persons commemorated in the funerary stelae, in particular the Coptic ones, there is a remarkable number of women.<sup>17</sup> Possibly this points to the presence of a major women's convent in the neighbourhood of Qasr Ibrim.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps more plausibly, it could be interpreted as further evidence for the high status that women could enjoy in Nubian society. This is clearly illustrated by the case of Marianta, who was the owner of a church and was commemorated by a richly decorated stela inscribed in Greek, much like the bishops' tombstones (no. 57).

In one of his reports on the excavations at Qasr Ibrim, J. Martin Plumley, the first director of the EES mission, observed that 'Ibrim's special contribution [to the recovery of the history of Nubia] is to be found in the extensive and varied written material which favorable climatic conditions and the accidents of history have combined to preserve'.<sup>19</sup> He primarily had texts on parchment and paper in mind, but inscriptions also have their share in this wealth of material, as the present book shows.

<sup>17</sup> The male-female ratio in the non-episcopal funerary monuments is 17 to 10. In thirty-seven cases the sex of the commemorated person is uncertain.

<sup>18</sup> The presence of such a convent is suggested by the epitaph of Kerge, quoted in the commentary to no. 39.

<sup>19</sup> PLUMLEY 1975d: 101.



## NOTE ON THE PRESENT EDITION

THE FOLLOWING EDITION of the Greek and Coptic inscriptions discovered during the archaeological field work of the Egypt Exploration Society at Qasr Ibrim since 1963 is entirely based upon the archives of these excavations, kept at the Faculty of Oriental Studies of Cambridge University till Spring 2008, and presently stored in the British Museum, London, Department of Egyptian and Sudanese Antiquities. All technical information about the inscriptions (excavation numbers, find circumstances, measurements, etc.) derives almost exclusively from this source. Except for very few cases, also the editions of the texts themselves have not been made after the originals, but after the photos and other documentation produced by the excavators during over forty years of diligent work. In order to facilitate the work of future scholars we refer to whatever relevant archival information that we have been able to find at the beginning of each entry. As is hardly astonishing, considering the richness of the finds, the difficult circumstances in the field and the long period of time involved, the documentation may be found incomplete occasionally and photos are lacking for some pieces.

The material consists of a majority of funerary inscriptions and a smaller mixed group of non-funerary inscriptions. The latter group, which includes for example building inscriptions, is presented first (nos. 1–17). Within the funerary material, two groups have been treated separately: the tenth–twelfth-century epitaphs that can with certainty be attributed to bishops are presented as a small corpus before the bulk of the epitaphs

commemorating their flock (nos. **18–26**), and the apotropaic dipinti inscribed on the plastered interior walls of two burial chambers, which by their nature and purpose distinguish themselves from epitaphs proper, are discussed after the other funerary material (nos. **91–2**). The remaining funerary inscriptions are all epitaphs, which as far as possible have been grouped together according to their textual formulary, going from typologically earlier to later (nos. **27–59**; see the ‘Introduction’). A large group of fragmentary epitaphs proved too much damaged to allow classification (nos. **60–90**).

In the inscriptions presented below, two different languages have been used, Greek and Coptic, not counting the occasional Old Nubian, and accordingly two epigraphists have been at work, each with his own background and approach. Yet, since the material is at the same time homogeneous from all other points of view (technically, historically, sociologically, and ideologically), we have endeavored to integrate our work wherever feasible and present the material as one bilingual corpus. We closely cooperated in elaborating our commentaries and tried to reach an acceptable degree of consistency in the presentation of the texts. We have certain individual differences in style and method allowed to remain, however.

In the edition of the inscriptions, Greek text is transcribed wherever possible into Greek minuscules, Coptic and Old Nubian into the Sahidic uncial script of Late Antiquity, as is habitual. The disposition of the texts on the stone and their individual use of punctuation marks have been reproduced as faithfully as possible. The translations are meant to be literal rather than literary. Measurements are always given in the order height x width x thickness.

The text critical signs of the so-called Leiden-system have been adopted. The value of the signs is as follows:

( $\alpha\beta\gamma$ ) ( $\Lambda\text{B}\Gamma$ )	Resolution of abbreviation or symbol
[ $\alpha\beta\gamma$ ] [ $\Lambda\text{B}\Gamma$ ]	Lacuna in the text
< $\alpha\beta\gamma$ > < $\Lambda\text{B}\Gamma$ >	Letters omitted by the writer or evident mistakes of the writer corrected by the editor

{ $\alpha\beta\gamma$ }	{ $\lambda\beta\Gamma$ }	Letters erroneously written by the writer and deleted by the editor
[[ $\alpha\beta\gamma$ ]]	[ $\lambda\beta\Gamma$ ]	Letters written, then deleted, by the writer
$\alpha\beta\gamma$	$\lambda\beta\Gamma$	Letters, the reading of which is uncertain or would be uncertain outside of the context
...		Letters of which part or all remain, but which have not been read
[...]		Letters which are lost but the number of which can be established
---		Letters partly preserved, but the number of which cannot, even approximately, be established
[---]		Letters which are lost and the number of which cannot, even approximately, be established
$\overset{\prime}{\alpha\beta\gamma}$	$\overset{\prime}{\lambda\beta\Gamma}$	Letters inserted by the writer above the line
<i>ABΓ</i>		Letters which are read, but which cannot be arranged into words

Where the spelling of a text differs from the standard forms of Greek and/or Coptic, the latter are given in the critical apparatus. The ‘corrected’ versions of words and names are given only to indicate the editors’ view of their syntactic role or to indicate the usual spelling of a word or a name whenever an actual error and not a legitimate variant is suspected. Errors of case are similarly corrected. For practical reasons alone (relieving the apparatus; rapid identification), the questionable habit of spelling out the normalised form of the Greek loanwords in the translation of the Coptic texts has been retained.



## NON-FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS

### I. Building inscription

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 66/43. Documentation: photo no. 66v7/28.

Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 90878.

The inscription is written on the left-hand side of the stela with the epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Pakhoras (here no. 22), who died AD 1036. The building inscription is three to four centuries older than the epitaph of Marianou, as is indicated by its form (see below). The stela of Marianou was obviously cut from a block which had earlier served other purposes. The block is made of gray sandstone, and currently measures c. 10 x 70 x 40 cm. Originally it was probably much higher and wider, but not necessarily much thicker. It probably served as an architectural element, possibly a lintel, within one of the Qasr Ibrim churches, perhaps even the Cathedral. The letters in l. 1, as far as can be judged from the remnants preserved on the stone, had different shapes than those in l. 2. In l. 1, the letters are wide and short; in l. 2, they are high and narrow. One notes the particular shape of the λ in l. 2: a small triangle at the bottom surmounted with a long vertical stroke.<sup>1</sup> The observable palaeographical differences between ll. 1 and 2 make one wonder whether the two lines belong to the same inscription or not.

Unpublished.

<sup>1</sup> Palaeographically, this line is paralleled by no. 2 which also is a building inscription composed with the formula *τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον ἐγένετο*.

6th–7th century (form of the inscription, palaeography).

✠ [Ι](ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ)ς νικᾷ [---].  
 † τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ [---].

2. ἐγένετο

*Jesus Christ prevails [---]. This excellent building came into existence under [---].*

1. The reading is not entirely certain, but is probable. The acclamation Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ)ς νικᾷ was widespread in the late antique and Byzantine Church.<sup>2</sup> The νικᾷ acclamations are of pagan origin. In the Roman imperial period, they were addressed to both pagan gods and emperors (who also were considered gods), and had a firm place in the agonistics. Adopted by Christians, they began to be connected with Jesus Christ and His Cross; this latter connection is well illustrated by the vision of Constantine before the battle at the Milvian bridge as described by Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, and Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*.<sup>3</sup> As far as inscriptions are concerned, the acclamation Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ)ς νικᾷ occurs in various contexts: in building and dedicatory inscriptions, invocations and prayers (either at the beginning or the end of the text), inscriptions on objects, visitors' graffiti, epitaphs, and as an independent acclamation. Depending on the context, it may have had different meanings: in epitaphs it probably refers to Jesus Christ's victory over death; in inscriptions on buildings and objects it might have had an apotropaic value; in other contexts it could have been interpreted politically. Here, in a building inscription probably originating from the earliest period of Christianity in Nubia, it may refer to the recent victory over pagan beliefs and have an apotropaic value.

2. τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ δεινός (with variants) is a formula frequently used in Greek building or foundation inscriptions of the late antique – early Byzantine periods.<sup>4</sup> It occurs throughout the entire Greek world of that

<sup>2</sup> PETERSON 1926: 152–63; HEINEN 1982: 682–4.

<sup>3</sup> See especially GUARDUCCI 1974: 375–86. At a certain moment, the cross and the inscription Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ)ς νικᾷ were united into a siglum with the text placed between the arms of the cross. This siglum is attested from the seventh century onwards, and was especially widespread on Byzantine bread stamps; cf. FROLOW 1956; GALAVARIS 1970.

<sup>4</sup> For this formula, see ŁAJTAR, in ŁAJTAR & TWARDECKI 2003: 272–3, no. 102, commentary to l. 1.



Building inscription (no. 1)

time, including Cyprus, Syria and Rome. It was especially popular on the island of Philae where extensive (re)building activity took place in the sixth century AD, under the long episcopate of Bishop Theodoros (Bernand 1969: nos. 200, 202, 204; Nautin 1967; Dijkstra 2008: 219–338, especially 221–4 and 305–38). It is also found in Nubia where it was perhaps introduced under the influence of Philae. Nubian attestations of this formula include: 1) the building inscription of the city walls of Ikhmindi, second half of the sixth century AD:<sup>5</sup> *ἐγένετω τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἀγαθὸν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ κτηνῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου καὶ εὐσεβηστάτου ἀγαθοῦ δεσπότητος καὶ φιλοχρηστοῦ βασιλέως Τωκιλτωετον*; 2) the foundation inscription of a church in Tafa, AD 710:<sup>6</sup> *ἐπὶ τοῦ γ' ἔτους τοῦ φιλοχρηστοῦ βασιλέως Μερκυρίου ἐγένετο οὗτω ἔργων ἀγαθόν*; 3) the inscription on a lintel from the Faras Cathedral, beginning of the eighth century:<sup>7</sup> *τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον ἐγένετο ἐπ[ὶ ---] ἄββα Παύλου ἐπισκ[όπου]*; 4) the Coptic foundation inscription found in the Church on the South Slope of the Kom at Faras, AD 930, the text of which was however undoubtedly modelled on an earlier inscription (van der Vliet 2003: no. 2): ΝΤΑ ΠΕΙΩΒ ΝΑΓΛΘΟΝ ΩΦΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ 2[1]ΤΟΟΤῪ ΜΠΕΝΔΟΧΟΤΑΤ(ΟC) ἸΗΣΟΥ ΕΠΑΡ-

<sup>5</sup> DONADONI 1959: 458–65; BINGEN 1961: 431–3; *SEG* XVIII 724; *SB* VIII 10074; DEICHMANN, in DEICHMANN & GROSSMANN 1988: 81–8; cf. VAN DER VLIET 2002: 191–4; 'Bull. épigr.' 2002, 642; *SEG* LII 1818. The stone is kept in the museum on Elephantine, inv. no. 2890.

<sup>6</sup> MASPERO 1910: 17–20; ZUCKER 1912: no. 164; *SB* I 1594; KUBIŃSKA 1974: 18–19; FELLE 2003: 81–5.

<sup>7</sup> KUBIŃSKA 1974: 20, no. 2; ŁAJTAR, in ŁAJTAR & TWARDECKI 2003: no. 102.

ΧΟΣ ΝΤΝΟΒΑΔΙΑ. The inscription studied here corresponds word for word with the inscription on the lintel from the Faras Cathedral (no. 3 in the above list).

*τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον* designates the object of the construction, probably the church in which the inscription was placed. *τὸ ἔργον*, ‘building’, frequently with the adjective *ἀγαθόν*, ‘excellent’, is characteristic of late antique – early Byzantine foundation inscriptions.<sup>8</sup>

## 2. Building inscription

Left-hand part: excavation no. 84.2.23/58; register no. 84/138. Documentation: photo nos. 84F81/26–29.

Right-hand part: excavation no. 76.2.10/8; register no. unknown. Documentation: slip no. 359; photo nos. 76JEBG/7, 76PI/29, 80F22/10D.

The left-hand part was lying behind the Cathedral at the time of Lepsius’ visit to the site. (Note that Lepsius visited Qasr Ibrim in December 1843 and August 1844.) Later the stone got lost and was rediscovered in 1984 at the east end of the site, previously covered by water, near the East Gate. The right-hand part was found in 1976 in Ottoman House B10, in the wall between rooms 142 and 145.

Current location of the fragments unknown.

Two non-joining fragments of an elongated block of sandstone, perhaps a lintel (see below). Dimensions of the left-hand part: 31.5 x 37.3 x 14.5 cm; dimensions of the right-hand part: 30 x 47 x 15 cm. Front smoothed, lower edge flat with tooling marks still visible; upper edge fairly flat, but not dressed, with deep tooling marks; back very rough. Letters c. 5.3 cm high. The shape of the letters (note especially the λ) and the dynamics of the script resemble that of the previous inscription.

The left-hand part published in Lepsius 1913: 132 (copy). After Lepsius, mentioned by Monneret de Villard 1935–57: I 117 (transcript in majuscules). The right-hand part unpublished.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. ROBERT 1937: 87–9 and 349, with n. 1; IDEM, 1938: 47, with n. 2; IDEM, 1948: 12, with n. 1; IDEM, 1966: 61–4; ‘Bull. épigr.’ 1958, no. 285; ‘Bull. épigr.’ 1962, nos. 335 and 362; BERNAND 1969: no. 202 (commentary).



Building inscription (no. 2)

6th–7th century (form of the inscription).

† † †  
 [† τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔ]ργον ἐγέννητο ἐπὶ τ[οῦ ἡ]μῶν ἐπισκ(όπου)  
 ἄββα Ἀγαθ[---].

read ἐγένετο

*This excellent building came into existence under our Bishop Abba Agath[---].*

These two blocks may have belonged to the lintel of a doorway which should be associated either with the Cathedral of Qasr Ibrim, where the left-hand side of the lintel was first seen, or with the Temple Church, near which the right-hand part was found.

The form of the inscription is identical with that occurring in the inscription no. 1. As it was argued in the commentary for the previous text, this form is characteristic of the late antique–early Byzantine period. As far as Nubia is concerned, it is attested mainly for the sixth–seventh century.

According to excavators the name of the bishop was Agathos (Ἀγαθός). This is possible, but other names beginning in Ἀγαθ-, for example, Ἀγάθων, Ἀγαθειῖνος, Ἀγαθοκλήης, Ἀγαθόνικος, etc., also come to mind. The name Ἀγάθων (written Ἀγάθων) occurs in an epitaph from Sakinya (Mina 1942: no. 115). In a funerary inscription from Ginari-Tafa (Firth 1912: 49, right column, second inscription from the top), we come across the name ΑΓΛΘΕ which is a Copticised version of either Ἀγαθός or Ἀγάθων. A bishop of Phrim with the name Agath[---] is otherwise unknown.



Fragment of a building or dedicatory inscription (no. 3)

### 3. Fragment of a building or dedicatory inscription

Excavation no. 74.2.5/8; register no. unknown. Documentation: slip no. 191; photo no. 80F22/12A.

Found in 1974, in Ottoman House B2, room 165, reused in the north wall. Rediscovered in 1980.

Presumably buried on the site.

Fragment of an elongated sandstone slab, perhaps a lintel, 17 x 60 x 37 cm. The lower and the right-hand edges original, the left-hand side broken off, the upper edge chipped off. The inscription is found in the upper part of the stone. The tops of the letters are damaged as a result of the chipping off of the edge. The script becomes tightened towards the end. The letters are narrow and high; palaeographically, they represent upright epigraphic majuscules. Under the inscription there is an ornamental cross made of four petals arranged around a circle. One can suppose that the cross was originally placed in the middle of the inscribed stone. If so, we have more or less the right-hand half of the inscription.

Unpublished.

Date unknown, perhaps 6th–7th century.

[---] . ἈΘϞ!Ἀ! . . . . . Ἀ . . Ἀ! .



Fragment of a block with  
a building or dedicatory inscription (no. 4)

The reading of the inscription poses problems. The letters  $\Theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$  – if correctly identified – may represent the adjective  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ , ‘divine’, in either the nominative or dative singular feminine or the nominative singular neuter. The word  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$  probably occurs in no. 4 below (in an unknown context).

#### 4. Fragment of a block with a building or dedicatory inscription

Excavation no. unknown; register no. unknown. Documentation: photo nos. 63.6/22, 63VI4/20.

Findspot and conditions of discovery not recorded.

Current location unknown.

Type of stone and dimensions not recorded. Lower part of an elongated block. Cut on the left-hand side, broken off on the right-hand side and at the top. Big upright epigraphic majuscules.

Unpublished.

Date unknown, perhaps 6th–7th century.

[---] . . .  $\Sigma\tau\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ . [---]

The shape of the block suggests that it was an architectural element, perhaps an architrave. If so, the inscription might have had a votive or dedicatory character, comparable to that of inscriptions nos. 1–3.

One can tentatively read: [---] . . . C τὰ θεῖα C[---]. The adjective *θεῖος* possibly occurs in no. 3.

### 5. Signature of Petrou, architect

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 64/45. Documentation: photo nos. 64.8/12, 64VI4/7.

Found in the Cathedral, in the north sacristy.

Missing.

Fragment of an elongated block of sandstone, perhaps a lintel, 5.5 x 33 cm (thickness not recorded). Broken off on the right-hand side, the upper edge chipped off. The inscription is framed by horizontal incised lines at the top and the bottom. Round epigraphic majuscules slightly inclined to the right. Big letters, *c.* 3.5–4 cm high.

Unpublished.

6th–7th century (palaeography).

† ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ἀρ(χι)τέκτων [---].

*Petrou, architect* [---].

The inscription is edited as if it were constructed in the nominative with ΠΕΤΡΟΥ being the Nubianised form of Πέτρος.<sup>9</sup> But it is also possible that the text is in the genitive depending upon the understood ‘signature, vow’. In this case, one should read: † Πέτρου ἀρ(χι)τέκτων[ος ---] (= ἀρχιτέκτονος), ‘(Signature/Vow) of Petros, architect’.

As stated above, the inscription is either the signature of an architect,

<sup>9</sup> For Nubian nominal forms in -ΟΥ, extremely popular in Nubian onomastics, see ŁAJ-TAR 2003a: no. 2, commentary to l. A 5.



Signature of Petrou, architect (no. 5)

with the name ΠΕΤΡΟΥ (*Πέτρος*), or his vow; perhaps it has both these functions. The man mentioned in the inscription must have been active in the construction of one of the Qasr Ibrim churches of the early period (sixth–seventh century), probably the Cathedral itself.

Inscriptions of craftsmen involved in construction works of different kinds are known from Early Christian Nobadia. A stone with the Coptic signatures of two *latomoi* is published below, no. 6. An inscription in a very corrupt Greek incised on a parallelepiped block found immured in a secondary use in the southern wall of the Paulos Cathedral at Faras (built AD 707) reads: Παῦλ[ο]ς τέκτω τοῦλο τῶν *CTE*, ‘Paulos, mason, servant of [---]’ (Jakobielski 1972: 182). This inscription is paralleled by six other items (four in Greek, two in Coptic) found immured in the same place in the Paulos Cathedral.<sup>10</sup> As a rule, they indicate the name of a man and optionally add a prayer for him. Though it is probable that these inscriptions also commemorate masons, colleagues of Paulos, who were active during construction works of some kind (perhaps in the Cathedral of Aetios), certainty cannot be achieved. Three craftsmen (*τεχνίται*) are mentioned by name at the end of the building inscription from Ikhmindī, from the second half of the sixth century AD.<sup>11</sup> These were: Isak, Atnesi,

<sup>10</sup> For the presentation of the whole group, see JAKOBIELSKI 1972: 181–6. The Greek items were included in KUBIŃSKA 1974: 126–30, nos. 70–3. The inscription of Hesychias, now in the National Museum Warsaw, was republished by ŁAJTAR, in ŁAJTAR & TWARDĘCKI 2003: no. 103.

<sup>11</sup> See above, n. 5.

and Siknoue. Craftsmen involved in different kinds of construction are mentioned occasionally in contemporary inscriptions from outside Nubia.<sup>12</sup>

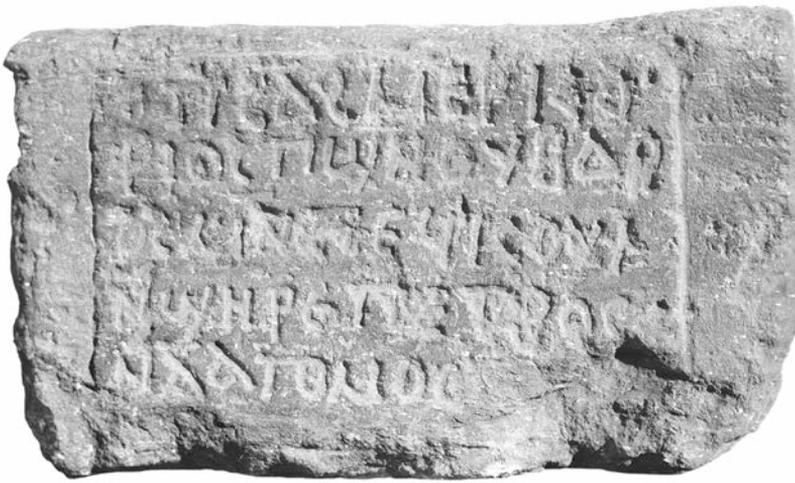
In the word ἀρχιτέκτων, the χ marking the abbreviation was either written above the line and got lost as a result of the damage to the stone, or was not written at all. The term ἀρχιτέκτων is evidenced from the fifth century BC onwards. Etymologically, it is connected with the word τεκτωνσύνη, ‘carpentry’, which shows that the architects initially worked with wood, and only later became involved in working with stone. The range of the architect’s tasks and his social position varied considerably over time.<sup>13</sup> In the Classical period, the architect was essentially a master builder, a person employed by an investor to organise the practical side of the building and to supervise a group of tradesmen involved in it. As such, he must have possessed competency in different crafts including stonework, carpentry, metalwork, painting, and so on. In later times, the profession of the architect developed in the direction of a modern engineer: a technician rather than a craftsman, a specialist in constructions of different types. Interestingly, the term ἀρχιτέκτων seems to disappear in the sixth century AD (the profession being called οἰκοδόμος now). The architect Petrou, known through this inscription, was probably a ‘master builder’ in the antique sense of the word: a chief craftsman who organised and led the work of the entire group of tradesmen employed to build a church.

## 6. Signature of a family of stone-masons

Excavation no. 69.3.4/5; register no. 69/III (formerly 69/126). Documentation: slip no. 309A; photo no. 69.7/34.

<sup>12</sup> For the material from the former Roman provinces of Palaestina and Arabia, see KRETIKAKOU 1990. For Greek signatures of architects from earlier times, see HELLMANN 1994.

<sup>13</sup> For Greek and Roman architects, see GROSS 1975; GROS 1983; BURFORD 1985: 115–28; MÜLLER 1989; for architects in Byzantine times, see DOWNEY 1948; MEEK 1951–2; PETRONOTIS 1984.



Signature of a family of stone-masons (no. 6)

Found on 4 March 1969, in a sub-floor trench in rooms 319 and 320 of Ottoman House B62.

Present location unknown, but presumably transferred to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Lower part of a sandstone block, 35 x 34 x 20 cm, the upper part of which is missing. The epigraphic field is surrounded by incised lines, leaving flat, undecorated outer margins. The left-hand, right-hand and part of the lower margins are preserved; it cannot be estimated how much, if anything, is lost before our I. 1.

The surviving text consists of five lines of Sahidic Coptic, carved in well shaped, thick and round uncials.

Unpublished.

7th–9th century.

ϵΠϢΑϢ ΜΕΡΚΟΥ-  
 ΡΙΟΣ ΠΩΝ ΟΥΒΑΡ-  
 ΟΣ Μ̄Ν ΠΕΡΚΟΥΙ  
 4 ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ  
 Ν̄ΛΑΤΟΜΟΣ *vac?*

I. ΜΕΡΚϞ-

I. ϵ-: or cross? || 5. Ν̄ΛΑΤΟΜΟΣ: I. Π̄ΛΑΤΟΜΟΣ

[--- *protect/help?*] *Master Merkourios, the son of Varos, and his young son Petros, the stonecutters (λατόμος).*

The reading of the initial ε- in our l. 1 is quite uncertain, and it cannot be entirely excluded that this was actually the original opening line of the inscription. It is more likely, however, that some prayer or other formula preceded the present text. If the ε- is read correctly, a verb like ϩΟΕΙC, ‘to protect’, or ΒΟΗΘΕΙ, ‘to help, assist’, or similar, may be supplemented. In that case, the present inscription would belong to a greater class of prayers for artists, craftsmen, and scribes, as can be found among others in book colophons and wall paintings. An example from the White Monastery will be quoted below.

The present inscription acquaints us with a family of stonecutters, mentioning three generations, a ‘Master’ Merkourios, his father and his son. The name of Merkourios’ father in ll. 2–3, spelt ΟΥΒΑΡΟC, looks unfamiliar at first sight. In all likelihood, however, it is a mere orthographic variant of the name Οὐᾶρος, Latin Varus (Preisigke 1922: 246; cf. 71, *s.v.* Βάρουc?). The ‘doubling’ of the initial labio-velar semi-vowel, producing ΟΥΒ- for Β- or ΟΥ-, occurs in several varieties of Coptic, for example, in Sahidic literary manuscripts from the very south of Egypt (Esna–Edfu region, see Worrell 1923: 121). A homonymous Egyptian martyr was venerated particularly in Palestine (Sauget 1969; Meimaris 1986: 136), but his cult is as yet not attested in the Nile Valley.

The word for stonecutter that is used here in l. 5, λατόμος, is rather rare in the Christian epigraphy of the Nile Valley. It occurs on the tombstone of a certain Amonios (Ammonios), probably from Hermonthis (Crum 1902a: no. 8457, pl. XI; Lefebvre 1907: no. 441), whereas an inscription from Mons Claudianus in the Eastern Desert (4th century AD) mentions two ἀρχιλατόμοι as well as ‘other artisans (τεχνίται)’.<sup>14</sup> Its rarity is matched in Coptic documentary texts, where it appears to be absent. The single example quoted by Förster (2002: 465, *s.v.* λατόμος) is a list of Apostles’ names, where it is explained with ϩΕΥΚΕCΚ ΩΝΕ, ‘hewer of

<sup>14</sup> BERNAND 1977: 70–3, no. 28; discussed extensively by ŁAJTAR & WIPSYCKA 1994: 75–82. For further occurrences of λατόμοι, see ROBERT 1960: 32, n. 3.

stone'.<sup>15</sup> By contrast, the term *λαξός* (*λαοξόος*), which is also translated as 'stonecutter', appears to be somewhat more frequently used, both in epigraphic sources and in documents.<sup>16</sup> Whereas the latter is described as 'a special kind of stonecutter, being a dresser and polisher of stone and of a high social rank', the *λατόμος* would seem to be rather more associated with lowly work in the quarries (Herbert 1972: 37, on inscription no. 15). It is doubtful, however, whether such a sharp distinction was still maintained in late antique and early medieval times. Already Fitzler (1910: 68–9) observed that *λατόμοι* could also be themselves entrepreneurs, and a fourth-century papyrus from Oxyrhynchus distinguishes a hybrid class of *λαξολατόμοι* (*P. Oxy.* LXIV 4441, AD 315–16).<sup>17</sup> The Merkourios of our inscription is, moreover, called a *κατ*, 'master' (l. 1), a title that was widely used for a literate class of artisans and officials (Crum 1939: 383b–384a). This qualification invites comparison with a roughly contemporaneous Coptic stonecutter's signature from Egypt, inscribed in the lower margin of a sculptured lintel from the area of the White Monastery near Sohag: *ΑΡΙ ΠΑΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΑΚΑΠΗ ΑΝΟΚ ΖΑ[ΧΑΡΙΑΣ?] ΠΚΑΖ ΝΛΑΞΩC ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ρ ΟΥΝΑ ΝΜΜΑΪ*, 'Remember me with charity (*ἀγάπη*), me, Za[charias?], the master stonemason (*λαξός*), that God may have mercy on me'.<sup>18</sup>

This Zacharias, or whatever his name was, was undoubtedly the sculptor of the lintel thus signed by him. Similarly, Master Merkourios of the present inscription was more likely a qualified artisan than a simple quarry worker. His carefully made inscription, which he may have carved himself, shows that he and his son were executing work in an ecclesiastic or public

<sup>15</sup> BIEDENKOPF-ZIEHNER 2000: I, 304, ll. 8–9; cf. CRUM 1939: 133a, where a similar gloss from a literary text is quoted (BUDGE 1915: 204: ΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΛΑΤΟΜΟC ΗΡῸΚῸΚῸ ΩΝΕ).

<sup>16</sup> See FÖRSTER 2002: 464, *s.v.* *λαξός*; cf. WIETHEGER 1992: 284. NACHTERGÆL 1999: 153–4, quotes a Christian epitaph from Luxor and lists occurrences in Byzantine papyri. See also PAPACONSTANTINOU 2005 and, generally, FITZLER 1910: 67–73.

<sup>17</sup> The word, which the editors translate as 'masons', is otherwise unknown. In the papyrus, these 'masons' appear as a distinct group from *λαξοί*, 'stonecutters', *οικοδόμοι*, 'builders', and *τεκτόνες*, 'carpenters'.

<sup>18</sup> Unpublished; see SCHATEN & VAN DER VLIET 2008: 138–9.

building in Qasr Ibrim. Regrettably, the stone, which judging from the script may be dated rather early (7th–9th century), was not found *in situ*.

Several other signatures of craftsmen are known from Christian Nubia. The inscription of an architect from Qasr Ibrim itself is published here under no. 5. For other examples, from Faras and Ikhmindi, see the commentary there.

### 7. Block with the cryptogram of Michael

Excavation no. 74.I.28/22; register no. 74/230. Documentation: slip no. 53; photo nos. 74VI4/29–30.

Found in Ottoman House BI, level 2.

Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 93938.

A small block of sandstone, 7.6 x 7.6 x 2.5 cm. The front surface of the block resembles an irregular pentagon and its upper edge is rounded. Surface worn, right-hand edge chipped off. Inscription in central position with big upright epigraphic majuscules.

Unpublished.

Date unknown.

$\bar{\chi}\pi\theta$  (= *Μιχαήλ*).

$\chi\pi\theta$  = 689 is the famous numerical cryptogram for Michael (the Archangel):  $\mu$  (= 40) +  $\iota$  (= 10) +  $\chi$  (= 600) +  $\lambda$  (= 1) +  $\eta$  (= 8) +  $\lambda$  (= 30) =  $\chi\pi\theta$  (= 689). Cryptograms of Michael frequently occur inscribed on walls of buildings, both sacral and profane, and on different objects in Christian Nubia.<sup>19</sup> They probably had an apotropaic value. The *Discourse on*

<sup>19</sup> The occurrences are too numerous to present a complete list here. A particularly impressive collection of cryptograms of the Archangel Michael occurs on the table sets of two archimandrites, Stephanos and Lazaros, found in the Northwestern Annex to the monastery on Kom H at Old Dongola; cf. ŁAJTAR & PLUSKOTA 2001. On numerical cryptograms in Nubia, see generally PLUMLEY 1982; MÜLLER 2001.



Block with the cryptogram of Michael (no. 7)

*Saint Michael the Archangel* attributed to Timothy, archbishop of Alexandria, calls the cryptogram of Michael an armour and recommends that it be written, together with other cryptograms, on the walls of buildings for protection against evil forces.<sup>20</sup> The inscription discussed here must have been such an *apotropaion* written on the wall of a building, perhaps one of the Qasr Ibrim churches.

### 8. Inscribed brick

Excavation no. 76.2.26/2; register no. 76/109. Documentation: photo no. 76JEBN/11.

Found on West Plaza, south section, burial 20.

Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 94213.

Red brick, 14 x 30 x 6.5 cm. Completely preserved. Inscription in black paint against a white background placed in the middle of the brick face. Nubian-type majuscules.

Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley *et alii* 1977: 41 (only mentioned).

<sup>20</sup> BUDGE 1915: 519–20 and 1028–9 (translation). Cited by PLUMLEY 1982: 91; see also below, no. 91, part G (with commentary).



Inscribed brick (no. 8)

Date unknown.

*Σίμων.*

For commentary, see next entry.

#### 9. Inscribed brick

Excavation no. 76.2.26/3; register no. 76/110. Documentation: photo no. 76JEBN/12.

Found on West Plaza, south section, burial 20.

Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 94212.

Red brick, 13 x 31 x 6 cm. Surface worn, edges chipped off. Inscription in black paint against a white background placed in the middle of the brick face. Nubian-type majuscules.

Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley *et alii* 1977: 41 (only mentioned).



Inscribed brick (no. 9)

Date unknown.

*Μαθίας.*

The two bricks published here are inscribed with the name of an Apostle each. As for *Σίμων*, we are undoubtedly dealing with the so-called *Σίμων ὁ ζηλωτής* and not *Σίμων ὁ καὶ Πέτρος*. *Μαθίας* (= *Μαθθίας*) is the name of the man who, according to Acts 1:23–6, was attached by lot to the Twelve after the treason and death of Judas.

The bricks were probably part of a foundation deposit (or deposits), perhaps of a church. This is suggested by comparative material originating from various Nubian sites. In the small mudbrick church, recently unearthed by the Humboldt University Nubian Expedition on Us island in the area of the Fourth Cataract, a red brick was found protruding at the surface level from the wall next to the entrance to the building.<sup>21</sup> Its main face bears an inscription painted in black paint

<sup>21</sup> NÄSER, BILLIG, & LANGE 2007: 146, with colour pl. 41.



had an exorcistic and apotropaic value. They drove away evil forces from the building under which they were placed and helped it to withstand every danger. The names of the saints, including those of the Apostles, inscribed on them were considered, just like the names of the Archangels, a mighty *apotropaion* in the Christian tradition. It is worth noting in this context that Heavenly Jerusalem, as described in Rev. 21:14, had walls built on twelve foundations on which the names of the twelve Apostles were inscribed. This apocalyptic vision is probably referred to in an inscription in black ink on the right-hand side of a big representation of Archangel Michael on the eastern wall of room 13 of the Northwestern Annex to the monastery on Kom H at Old Dongola.<sup>28</sup> The text lists the Apostles, divided into four groups of three names each, and calls them guardians of the cardinal sides of a town.

If this object is from a foundation deposit, it is unknown which of Qasr Ibrim's buildings received it. The two inscribed bricks discussed here probably do not constitute the whole deposit, which should have contained at least four bricks, one for each corner of the building. Perhaps there were even twelve bricks, along the model of the twelve foundations in Revelations, each with the name of an apostle, placed in groups of three pieces under each corner of the building.

#### 10. Ecclesiastical ban or prohibition

Excavation no. 82.2.25/72; register no. 82/12. Documentation: slip; transcript and facsimile in clip file under no. C.I. 143; photo nos. 82F87/33, 82F89/4A–5A (negatives lost), and 82S10/30.

Found on 2 February 1982, in the upper fill of room 1 in Late Christian House 849.

Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 97357.

Part of the right-hand margin of a sandstone block, 22 x 22.5 x 6 cm, incomplete on three sides. Back roughly finished; thickness not uniform

<sup>28</sup> The inscription remains unpublished. A good photo showing the painting and the inscription is published in JAKOBIELSKI & SCHOLZ 2001: pl. XLIII.

(tapers towards the right side). Some surface damage; front blackened by soot. Margin flat and undecorated.

Remains of eleven lines of text (beginnings lacking) in Sahidic Coptic; clear and well shaped, though badly ruled uncials, carefully and deeply incised.

Unpublished.

Cf. Adams *et alii* 1983: 55 (on the excavations); Adams 1996: 302 (mentioned as a tombstone). The readings were collated on the stone by Joost L. Hagen in 2007.

Before 10th century (palaeography).

[-----] . . ΝΑ[---]  
 [----- Τ]ΕΥΦΡΑ ΤΟ  
 [ΣΙΦΟ]Υ ΕΡΕ ΝΟΥΗΗΒ  
 4 [ΕΤΜΜΑΥ Ν]ΑΦΩΠΕ ΝΑΝΑ-  
 [ΘΕΜΑ Ε]ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ ΠΩΗΡΕ  
 [ΜΝ ΠΕ]ΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ  
 [ΝΣΕΩ]ΦΠΕ ΕΥΣΖΟΥΟΡΤ  
 8 [ΕΡΕ ΠΣ]ΛΖΟΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ι  
 [ΕΧΦΟ]Υ ΛΥΦ ΣΑΖΟΥ ΝΙΜ  
 [ΝΤΕ Τ]ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΠΑΛΛΙΑ  
 [ΜΝ ΤΚΛΙ]ΝΗ ΕΥ *traces* [---]

6. ΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α: ΠΝΑ

8. 1: Ι. ΕΙ

[---] ... *the scurf* (ψώρα) *covers them* (?), [those] *priests will become anathema* (ἀνάθεμα) [to] *the Father and the Son* [and the] *Holy Spirit* (πνεῦμα) [and they will] *become accursed* [while] *the curse of God comes upon them and every curse* [of] *Scripture* (γραφή), *the Old* (παλαιά) [and the] *New* (καινή), *they* (?) ... [---].

This inscription preserves the remains of a series of curses, pronounced against priests (ΟΥΗΗΒ) who are either affected themselves by



Ecclesiastical ban or prohibition (no. 10)

a certain ‘scurf’ (*ψώρα*) or, alternatively, are lenient towards others affected by it.<sup>29</sup> Owing to the complete loss of context, it cannot be decided what exactly is meant by this ‘scurf’ nor to which precise situation the curses apply. In Coptic usage, the word *ψώρα* may refer to a real physical affliction, but may also designate metaphorically – as an expression of strong disapproval – various moral or legal offences and even heresy.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> In a Christian context, *ΟΥΗΗΒ* is much less common as a word for ‘priest’ than *πρεσβύτερος*, but nevertheless well attested, e.g., at Bawit; cf. DELATTRE 2007: 72.

<sup>30</sup> For *ψώρα* as an illness: TILL 1951: 29–30, nos. 1–6; as a carnal sin: e.g., Horsiesius, *On ‘les amitiés particulières’*, Sahidic, ed. L. Th. LEFORT [= *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 159], p. 77, ll. 18–21; as heresy: e.g., John of Maiuma, *Plerophoriae*, Sahidic, ed. T. ORLANDI [= *MPER* n.s. 9], p. 116, ll. 7–10.

Owing to the incomplete state of the text, it is even conceivable that the ‘scurf’ of l. 2 is already part of the curses. This is less likely, though, since – grammatically – l. 3, from επε onwards, looks very much like the beginning of a new clause (and has been interpreted accordingly here).

Curses and anathemas like those found here are frequently used in Coptic texts of various kinds. Thus they appear as the *sanctio spiritualis* that is joined to the penalty clauses of many Coptic legal documents, a habit continued in Old Nubian documents from Qasr Ibrim.<sup>31</sup> But they are also invoked in magical curses that pretend to be legal complaints (and therefore may style themselves as *libellus*, ‘petition’).<sup>32</sup> In a more general way, they are used to lend force to any strong statement of disapproval or prohibition, for example, in monastic rules<sup>33</sup> and episcopal pamphlets. Thus, in an eleventh- or twelfth-century letter, a bishop Daniel of the Fayyum threatens those who would dare to cast ashes on the dungheaps of the village of Pelqisook with ‘the curses of Judas’ and ‘the curses of the Apocalypse’ (‘Abd el-Masih 1941’).<sup>34</sup> These various documents often use exactly the same formulae as the present inscription, for example, ‘to become anathema to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit’ (*sanctio spiritualis* in a deed of donation, Crum 1902b: no. 135), ‘the curse of God’ (magical curse, Worrell 1935: 14, l. 7), or ‘all the curses of Scripture’ (letter of excommunication, ἀφορισμός, Crum 1902b: no. 78, ll. 5–6).

Most of the curses that occur in Coptic and Old Nubian documents are also attested in Greek epigraphy, in particular funerary epigraphy,

<sup>31</sup> Coptic: SPRINGER 1885: 143–4; BOULARD 1912: 59–60; TILL 1940: 76–9; STEINWENTER 1955: 14; RICHTER 2002: 144–5. Old Nubian documents from Qasr Ibrim, e.g., BROWNE 1991: no. 30, ll. 30–5 (royal proclamation in favour of the Church of St Epimachos in Ibrim-West); no. 35, ll. 17–18 (release of a servant), and others in the same volume.

<sup>32</sup> Typical examples are WORRELL 1935: 3–4, no. 1; ERNŠTEDT 1959: 82–3, no. 34. For their background, see BJÖRCK 1938; VERSNEL 1991.

<sup>33</sup> E.g., in the Canons of Shenoute, see LAYTON 2008: 79.

<sup>34</sup> A similar letter: STEINDORFF 1892: 37–41 (*SBKopt.* II 938); cf. CRUM 1909: 126–7, no. 267; SCHMELZ 2002: 153.

such as the popular ‘curse of Deuteronomy’, or the ‘curse of Judas’.<sup>35</sup> In Coptic epigraphy, by contrast, they are extremely rare. Another example from Qasr Ibrim is possibly found as the *sanctio spiritualis* in a deed of donation, published below as no. 11. A Bohairic inscription that prohibits the unwarranted borrowing or stealing of objects from a hermitage in Kellia, Egypt, threatens the offender with the anathema of the 318 Fathers of Nicaea (quoted below under no. 11). The present text shows no sign of being a juridical or a magical text, or an epitaph. It seems to be aimed against a precise group of people, priests, who are guilty of a precise kind of offence, qualified as a ‘scurf’. As an inscription, moreover, it makes a public statement. It may be best, therefore, to consider this text a kind of ecclesiastical ban or prohibition, comparable to the letter of Bishop Daniel of the Fayyum or the Kellia inscription. As it has not been found *in situ*, its original position is a matter of speculation. Since priests are aimed at specifically, it may have been built into the entrance to the sacristy or the sanctuary of one of Qasr Ibrim’s churches.

## 11. Deed of donation

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 64/44. Documentation: photo no. 64.1/38 (cf. 64.1/27).

Found in February 1964, in the tower of the Cathedral (structure 293, earlier called Church 1), across from the west entrance to the tower (E.O. S-407).

British Museum, London, inv. no. EA 68332, accessioned in 1984 (acc. no. 1984/10-9/2).

Lower part of a text inscribed on a reused block of gray sandstone, 26 x 55 x 13 cm. The *verso* (original *recto*) of the block is margin-dressed in a rather rough way. The present *recto* of the block was secondarily

<sup>35</sup> See, e.g., ROBERT 1978; FEISSEL 1980; VAN DER HORST 1992; STRUBBE 1994. For a general discussion of Christian curses, see SPEYER 1969: 1240–85; for a review of curse formulae on Christian Greek tombstones, see NTANTES 1983 (*non vidimus*; cf. FEISSEL 2006: no. 1201).

smoothed in order to be inscribed; it is not entirely flat, however, but slightly concave. The right-hand side shows a modern (?) saw groove, parallel to the inscribed surface. The epigraphic field takes up the whole width of the stone; the lower part of the stone was left uninscribed. The height of the present epigraphic field is 19 cm, but it cannot be said how much preceded our l. 1, which is unlikely to have been the actual first line of the text. The stone is badly damaged; our l. 1 is broken away and practically illegible; considerable surface wear and pits affect much of the remaining text.

The text consists of the remains of eight lines of Sahidic Coptic, incised in crude and ugly uncials, 1–2 cm high. The script is sprawling and irregular, and apparently this is a copy of a much more cursively written document, cut into stone by an unpracticed hand.

Unpublished.

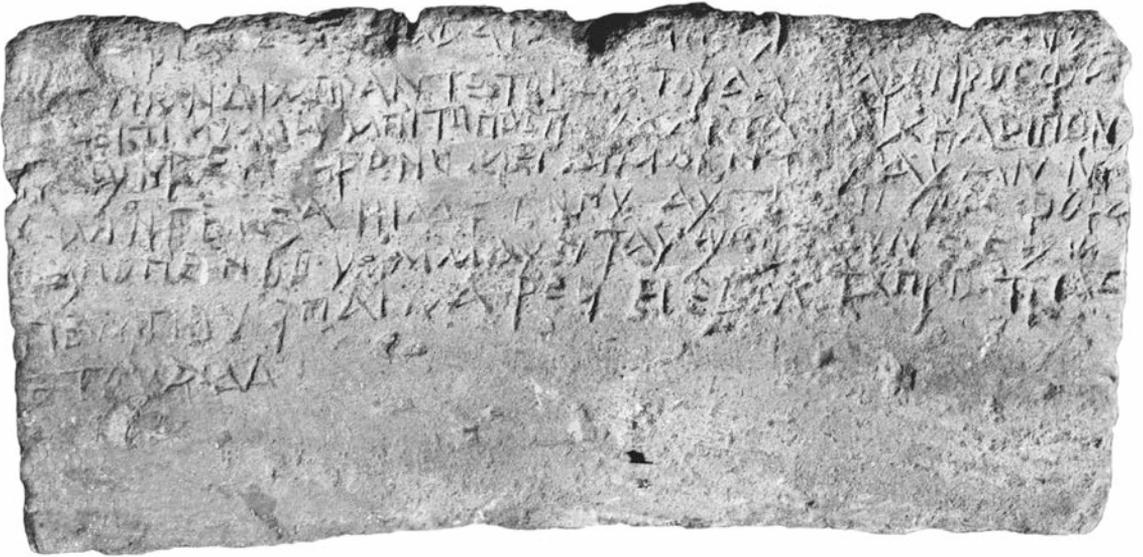
9th–11th century?

[. ΤΕ]ΤΡΙΑΣ Ε[ΤΟΥΛΑ]Β ΑΝ[ . . . . ] ΠΡ.Υ.[ . . . . ] . . Φ .  
[ . . . ] . ΤΙΑ ΝΑΙ ΜΠΡΑΝ (Ν)ΤΕΤΡΙ[ΑΣ] ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ [.]ΑΡΕ ΠΡΟΣΦΟ-  
[ΡΑ] ΕΙΤΙ ΜΜΟΥ ΜΠΙΤΟΠΟΣ (ΣΑ) Π[Ο]ΥΧΑΙ (Ν)ΤΑ[Υ]ΥΧΗ  
ΛΟΙΠΟΝ

- 4 ΝΑΩΗΡΕ Κ(Λ)ΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΤ.ΥΑΥ ΜΝΗΕ-  
ΣΩΙ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΝΗΥ ΑΥΤΙ [Ο]ΥΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ  
ΕΦΩΠΕ ΝΒΟΥΜ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΤΑΥΦΩΠ . . ΥΝΕ ΕΦΩ-  
ΠΕ ΜΠΟΥΥ(Ι) ΠΑΙ ΜΑΡΕΧΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ (ΣΝ Τ)ΤΑΠΡΟ (ΝΤΕ)ΤΡΙΑΣ  
8 ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ

2. ΜΠΡΑΝ: prob. for ΣΜ ΠΡΑΝ || 3. ΤΙ: † || 4. Κ(Λ)ΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ: Κ(Λ)- seemingly Ν plus blank || 4–5. ΜΝΗΕΣΩΙ: I. ΜΝΗΣΩΙ || 5. ΤΙ: †; [Ο]ΥΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ: I. [Ο]ΥΠΡΟΣΦΟΡΑ || 6. ΝΒΟΥΜ ΜΜΑΥ: I. ΟΥΝ ΒΟΜ ΜΜΑΥ?

[---] ... *the Holy Trinity* (τριάς) ... *for me in (?) the name <of> the Holy Trinity* (τριάς) ... *offerings* (προσφορά), *while I give them to this sanctuary* (τόπος) <for> *the salvation <of> my soul* (ψυχή). *Furthermore* (λοιπόν), *my children inherit* (κληρονομέω) *it, who were ... after me; for all generations* (γενεά) *that will come, an offering* (προσφορά) *was given* (?). *When*



Deed of donation (no. 11)

*it is possible (?), they have received it (?); when they have not obtained (?)  
this, may it/he come out <of the> mouth <of the> Holy Trinity (τριάς).*

The text as it is preserved is only the lower part of an inscription that may originally have been much longer. Apart from lacking its opening lines, it suffered extensive surface damage. In combination with the clumsy script and the neglected language, these circumstances made the decipherment of the inscription a difficult task, and, in spite of many efforts, much in the text and translation printed above remains uncertain: *viderunt sapientiores*.<sup>36</sup>

The general character of the text is reasonably clear. It is a juridical document by which an unknown person – the text is written in the first person singular ('I') – donates a pious foundation (a *waqf*) to a sanctuary. The endowment is described as an offering (προσφορά) 'for the salvation

<sup>36</sup> Apart from the photo made by the excavators, two successive transcriptions made by PLUMLEY and a set of digital photos kindly provided by Elisabeth O'CONNELL (British Museum) could be used; it was possible to study the stone itself in December 2005, thanks to the friendly help of the British Museum staff, in particular Marcel MARÉE and John TAYLOR.

of my soul' (ll. 2–3). Following an introductory *λοιπόν* (end of l. 3), the document appears to contain stipulations for the continuation of the endowment after the death of the donor 'for all generations to come' (ll. 3–8). As far as the text can be understood, his children will inherit 'it', but are supposed to perpetuate the offering, which could mean that it consisted, for example, of the usufruct of a piece of land or trees that remained the property of the family. Perhaps the 'offering' in question was more specifically meant to finance the donor's commemorative liturgy (cf. the earlier phrase 'for the salvation of my soul'),<sup>37</sup> although the phrase 'for all generations that will come' (l. 5) suggests a more permanent gift. Owing to the many doubtful readings in ll. 4–6, these details cannot be established, however. The final phrase appears to contain a *sanctio spiritualis* (ll. 6–8).

Similar documents on papyrus are well known from the Theban area (many are assembled in *P. KRU*). This version in stone was undoubtedly meant to be exhibited publicly in or near the endowed sanctuary (cf. l. 3: *πυτοπος*, 'this sanctuary'), perhaps near its entrance. Since the endowment appears to be made 'in the name <of> the Holy Trinity', who is mentioned no less than three times in our eight lines of text, it can be assumed that this particular sanctuary was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. In all likelihood it was identical to the like-named church within the town of Ibrim, also known from a number of Old Nubian documents, in particular Browne 1991: no. 35 (late 12th century), which situates the Church of the Holy Trinity explicitly 'in the town of Ibrim', that is most likely on the citadel (cf. Adams 1996: 252). The stone was found in the tower of the Cathedral, but apparently not *in situ*. Moreover, the Cathedral appears to have been dedicated to the Apostles (van der Vliet 1999: 135–8), not to the Holy Trinity. Since it is very close to the actual findspot of the stone, the so-called South Church (structure 294), immediately to the south of the Cathedral (cf. Adams 1996: 78–9), might be a candidate for identification with the Church of the Holy Trinity.

This legal document on stone confirms the impression that Coptic, not Greek, was the principal documentary language of Christian Qasr

<sup>37</sup> See STEINWENTER 1955: 50–1; examples can be found *passim* in *P. KRU*, both among testaments and deeds of donation; a brief one: *CPR* IV 178 (TILL 1958: 164).

Ibrim before Old Nubian took over (see Hagen forthcoming). The clumsy script is difficult to date, but the faulty orthography and the dubious grammar suggest a rather late date.

2. N for 2N (in ΜΠΡΑΝ) is common enough in Nubian Coptic, but it is conceivable that an entirely different construction (with ΠΡΑΝ as direct or indirect object) was intended. Also, since the preceding group is very uncertain, ΝΑΙ could be the demonstrative pronoun ('these') rather than the indirect object. I am furthermore unable to explain the certain group [.]ΛΡΕ before ΠΡΟC-ΦΟ[ΡΑ]. A jussive (ΜΑΡΕ-) or an optative (ΤΑΡΕ-) would require a following verb, for which little space seems available. One would expect an expression like 'they will become an offering' (cf., e.g., *P. KRU* 112, l. 2, a donation of cattle to the sanctuary of St Phoibammon in Jeme; Crum 1912: 343: ΕΥΝΑΩΩΠΕ ΜΠΡΟCΠΦΟΡΑ).

3. As in l. 7, the scribe omits several prepositions, which does not further our understanding of the text. The word *λοιπόν*, at the end of the line, marks a transition: having stated the nature of his donation, the scribe continues (in l. 4) with a number of stipulations that should safeguard the future of this endowment, as is common practice in similar documents (cf., e.g., *P. KRU* 108, ll. 12–32, a donation of a plot of land to the sanctuary of St Phoibammon; Crum 1912: 338–9).

4. The text is very faulty and I am unable to reconstruct the verbal form (?) after ΜΜΟC in a plausible way. It is difficult to see what happened with the verb ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ, which really seems to be there; the first letter rather looks like a Ν, and appears to be followed by a blank.

5. Here, as well as in ll. 6–7, and perhaps in l. 4, the apparent use of perfect tenses is awkward.

6. The change of ΟΥ for Ο (as I postulate here in ΘΟΥΜ) is very common in Theban Coptic (Winlock & Crum 1926: 240–1), but the entire construction of the phrase remains obscure.

6–8. The phrase following ΕΩΩΠΕ looks like a form of the common *sanctio spiritualis* (see above, no. 10), but again the omission of a number of prepositions does not contribute to a convincing interpretation. ΜΠΟΥC in l. 7 seems to be there but does not give sense. It is taken here as a negative perfect of ΠΙ, a verb that is regularly used in the context of donations for funerary offerings and in testaments,<sup>38</sup> but one wonders what the following masculine demonstrative ΠΑΙ could refer to. Logically, in the context of a *sanctio spiritualis*, one would expect to hear 'out of the mouth of the Holy Trinity' (if that is the correct interpretation)

<sup>38</sup> See RICHTER 2002: 325–6, with various examples from *P. KRU* and related Theban documents.

a formula like ‘he is *anathema*/alien to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit’, which is common enough (see above, no. 10), but which is lacking here.<sup>39</sup> The elliptic phrase ‘out of the mouth of’, introducing a curse, actually appears in similar contexts, for example, in a Bohairic inscription from Kellia (already mentioned above), which threatens: ‘he who will take away any of the objects belonging to this hermitage, out of the mouth (εΚΟΛ ΗΕΝ ΡΩΦ) of the 318 bishops (*scil.* of Nicaea), he is alien to entire Christianity!’.<sup>40</sup>

## 12. Visitor’s inscription

Excavation no. 80.3.8/1; register no. unknown; inv. of inscriptions: C.I. 127. Documentation: photo nos. 80F80/21–22.

Found in Ottoman House B27, room 88c, partition wall.

Current location unknown.

A block of sandstone, 26 x 52.5 x 15 cm. The block must have originally been placed in the wall of a building, probably of a sacral character. The upper right-hand corner of the block is chipped off. Inscription carved in one line at middle height of the block. Height of letters not recorded. Nubian-type majuscules.

Unpublished.

12th–15th century (palaeography, form of inscription).

† ἐμὲ Ἡλίας ἀπκ( ) θεΓ(να) ἐτῦπ(ωσα).

κ γ π  
απ θε ετγ

*I Elias, son of Apk(), formed (this),*  
or: *I Elias, Thegna of Apk(), formed (this).*

<sup>39</sup> Note that the brief form ‘the Holy Trinity’ (ΤΕΤΡΙΑΣ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΑΒ) is interchangeable in these formulae with the longer one mentioning all three Persons of the Trinity; cf. TILL 1940: 77, n. 13.

<sup>40</sup> BRIDEL 1984: 297–8, no. 23, fig. 136, pl. 12.4 (readings corrected by us); cf. STEINDORFF 1892: 40, ll. 19–23 (*SBKopt.* II 938); CRUM 1909: 127, no. 267.



Visitor's inscription (no. 12)

This is an inscription left by a man who visited the building in which this block was originally located. It is unclear whether the inscription is complete. Although arguments can be cited for the text being complete (the logical and understandable form of the text and the cramping of the script near the right-hand edge of the block), these are not necessarily decisive. The cramping, for instance, could be accidental, with the text continuing on a neighbouring block to its right.

The text is constructed according to the rules of Nubian visitors' inscriptions of the late period (12th–15th century): 'I so and so wrote (this)'. Like other inscriptions of this kind, it mixes Greek and Old Nubian elements in a single sentence.<sup>41</sup>

ἐμέ stands for ἐγώ. In late Nubian Greek, the oblique cases of the personal pronoun ἐγώ – (ἐ)μοῦ, (ἐ)μοί, (ἐ)μέ – were used as separate lexemes meaning 'I' and not as secondary formations (Łajtar 2003b: 141).

In the sequence λπκ( ) θεΓ(να), the first element is *rectus* and the second one is *regens*. Constructions of this type are characteristic of late Nubian Greek; their origin should undoubtedly be attributed to the influence of Old Nubian syntax.

The word θεΓνα (occasionally spelled θεκνα) has been attested only in visitors' inscriptions dating from the late period of Christian Nubia (12th–15th cen-

<sup>41</sup> For mixing Greek and Old Nubian within the same sentence in Nubian visitors' inscriptions of the late period, see ŁAJTAR 2003b: 140.

tury) so far. It occurs with particular frequency in inscriptions in the Upper Church at Banganarti, but it has also been evidenced in Naga el-Sheima, Tamit, Faras (twice), Sonqi Tino and Ashkeit (Łajtar 2003b: 153–4; idem 2006: 94–101). ΘΕΓΝΑ always occurs in the presentation of people being connected either with a toponym or with a personal name so as to form a filiation formula according to the model ‘ΝΝ ΘΕΓΝΑ of ΝΝ’. In the first case, ΘΕΓΝΑ must be the name of an office of the territorial administration of the Kingdom of Makuria, in the second one, a common word meaning ‘son’. The material from Banganarti shows that ΘΕΓΝΑ was used interchangeably with ΤΟΤ, an Old Nubian word for ‘son’, which also designated ‘a village/town official’. The comparison with ΤΟΤ allows us to establish the etymology of the word ΘΕΓΝΑ, which is otherwise unclear. It probably is a Graeco-Nubian formation composed of the Greek stem *τεκν-*, ‘child’, with the substitution of Θ for Τ, to which the Old Nubian nominal formant -Ν (originally perhaps predicative) was added. The two words – ΤΟΤ and ΘΕΓΝΑ < *τέκνον* – probably were just two language variants – a Nubian and a Greek one – for the same notion, encompassing both the family relationship and the control of an administrative unit.<sup>42</sup> This double meaning of the word ΘΕΓΝΑ seriously impedes the understanding of our inscription, which can be translated both as: ‘I Elias, son of Apk( ), formed (this)’ and: ‘I Elias, Theгна of Apk( ), formed (this)’, with Apk( ) being either a personal name or a toponym. The personal name Apko probably occurs in an inscription on the southern wall of chapel 13 of the Upper Church at Banganarti, which reads: † Αἰ Κεῖτου Ἀπκω Παππῆ | ΤΟΤ Παῖσελο, ‘I Keitou, son of (his) father Apko, wrote (this)’.<sup>43</sup> As far as can be ascertained, Apk( ) is not attested as a toponym so far, but similar place-names do appear in modern Nubian toponomastics.<sup>44</sup> Under these circumstances we have to content ourselves with a *non liquet*.

As far as we can determine, *τυπώω*, as a verb designating the process of leaving a visitor’s inscription, occurs only here in Christian Nubia. As a rule, we have *γράφω*; sometimes *τάττω* and *χαράσσω* also appear.

<sup>42</sup> How the meaning of the word ‘son, child’ could be enlarged to include also that of ‘village/town official’ is another question which does not need to bother us here.

<sup>43</sup> Unpublished. Its publication is being prepared by Adam ŁAJTAR. Note that the filiation formula is made redundant by the addition of the word ‘father’ (ΠΑΠ-) to the usual expression ‘son of ΝΝ’. The addition may be due to the ambiguity of the word ΤΟΤ-. Conceivably, ΑΠΚΩ was both a proper name and a toponym. This forced Keitou to add the word ‘father’ to indicate clearly that he is the ‘son of Apko’ and not ‘Tot of Apko’.

<sup>44</sup> Compare, for example, the place-name Abkur for a village on the right bank of the Nile, some 20 km east of Debba, with important Christian remains.

13. Fragment of a block with inscriptions  
(perhaps visitors' graffiti)

Excavation no. 66.2.22/12; register no. unknown. Documentation: photo nos. 66v6/29–30.

Found on the Cathedral cemetery terrace, west of the South Church (structure 294), in fill of Christian date.

Current location unknown.

Fragment of a block of sandstone. No dimensions recorded. Inscriptions on two faces. It is impossible to state which face is the original one. The designations (a) and (b) adopted below are purely arbitrary. The inscription on face (a) is deeply carved. The hand is well-trained though not very careful while writing on this occasion. The letters are epigraphic majuscules slightly inclined to the right. Note the square ε at the beginning. The inscription on face (b) is very informal, resembling a graffito. The text consists of two parts as is indicated by the dynamics of the script and the shape of the letters. Part one equals l. 1, part two encompasses ll. 2–3. Both parts were evidently done by different hands. The inscription of face (a) is the work of yet another hand. The inscribed block discussed here may have originated from a building, perhaps of a sacral character, which was frequented by visitors who left inscriptions on its walls.

Unpublished.

Date unknown.

Face (a):

ΕΙΡΗΝΑ . [---].

Face (b):

[---] . Θ . ΚΑ

[---] ---

[---]ΝΑ . . . IC

Face (a).

This is probably a personal name built on the word *εἰρήνη* like *Εἰρηναῖος* or *Εἰρήναρχος*. The character of the inscription is unknown. It is probably the signature of an individual, perhaps left while visiting a cult place at Qasr Ibrim.



Face (a)



Face (b)

Fragment of a block with inscriptions (no. 13)

Face (b).

1. The reading is difficult to establish due to the fragmentary state of the inscription. The informal character of the script (cf. above) suggests that it might be a visitor's graffito.

2. This line might have contained a monogram. One tentatively identifies the letters  $\rho$  and  $\omicron$ .

3. At the end of the line, one tentatively reads  $\bar{X}IC$ ,  $\bar{X}(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma) I(\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon)\varsigma$ , perhaps preceded by a cross.

14. Fragment of a block with inscription

Excavation no. 99.999/A2; register no. unknown. Documentation: photo nos. 92FCS13/23-24 (top left), 92F68/16, 92F89/3-4, 92F99/5 (left; back of the stone).



Fragment of a block with inscription (no. 14)

Found near the steps of the Cathedral in a loose, unstratified context.  
Current location unknown.

Fragment from the face of a sandstone block, 9.5 x 10.5 x 2 cm. Broken on the back and at the edges. Remains of three lines of inscription with the left-hand margin are preserved. Letters incised quite deeply, though not very carefully. Upright epigraphic majuscules. Crude, deeply incised lines are visible in the left-hand side of the surface, partly affecting the script. They may belong to a representation, the date of which is later than that of the inscription.

Unpublished.

Date unknown. Probably before the 10th century (palaeography).

[.] λφλ [---]

PHMI [-----]

MEC [-----]

This fragment may be part of the same inscription as the next item.  
The fragmentary state of the inscription makes any attempt at reading

impossible. The physical appearance of the stone suggests that it is a casual text left by an individual on the wall of a building, rather than an epitaph or any other monumental inscription.

3. The fourth letter may be  $\omega$ .

### 15. Fragment of a block with inscription

The fragment consists of two parts. Lower part: excavation no. 89.12.26/5; register no. 90/685/a. Documentation: photo nos. 90FI32/17-18 (bottom). Upper part: excavation no. 89.12.27/7; register no. 90/685/b. Documentation: photo nos. 90FI32/17-18 (top).

Both parts were found in the Cathedral, in the fill of a pit cutting 11.116 + 11.118.

Current location unknown.

Sandstone, 14.5 (connected fragments) x 5 x 1.3 cm. Fragment from the face of a stone block. Broken on all sides and also on the back. Traces of five lines of inscription visible. Letters deeply but rather inaccurately incised. Upright epigraphic majuscules. The surface is affected by crude lines which perhaps belong to a representation. The date of the representation is later than that of the inscription.

Unpublished.

Date unknown. Perhaps the same as in no. 14.

[---]ΛΗϞ[---]  
 [---]. . . [---]  
 [---]ΥϞ[---]  
 4 [---]. . [---]  
 [---]. [---]

This fragment may belong together with the previous one (see the commentary there).



Fragment of a block with inscription (no. 15)

#### 16. Fragment of a block with inscription

Excavation no. 89.12.27/8; register no. 90/685/c. Documentation: photo no. 90F133/1.

Found in the construction trench of the north wall of the Cathedral.  
Current location unknown.

Fragment from the face of a sandstone block, 9.6 x 12.2 x 2.8 cm. The back and the edges show breaks. Chisel marks across the bottom edge indicate that the breaks are intentional. The inscriptions, in two incomplete lines, differ considerably from each other in the size of the letters and the technique of execution. The letters in l. 1 are small (c. 1.2 cm) and consist of narrow, deeply incised strokes; the letters in l. 2 are much bigger (2.5–3.3 cm) and the carving is wide and shallow. The apices are marked as deep points. Note the λ with a bow in the middle.

Unpublished.



Fragment of a block with inscription (no. 16)

Date unknown. Probably not late (7th–8th century) in view of the palaeography.

[---]ΥΑΗ[---]

[----]ΑΤ[---]

The differences in the size of the letters and the technique of execution speak strongly in favour of each of the two lines being a separate inscription. The character of the inscriptions is difficult to ascertain from the surviving remnants. They could have been casual texts written on the wall of a building (a church?).

#### 17. Inscription on a seal

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 64/82. Documentation: photo no. 64.11/33.

Found in February 1964 in Late Christian House LC2-1 (House 168),



Inscription on a seal (no. 17)

situated in the area of the so-called Podium, on floor 3 among 'overlying chippings in foundation trench of podium' (Frend 1974: 52).

Transferred to the British Museum, London, in 1989, inv. no. EA 72099, register no. 1990.0127.276, permanent location: MI/H/22.

Terracotta. Pale grey fabric with an orange/brown surface, 6.45 x 4.30 x 2.5 cm. Rectangular stamp, probably with a loop handle on the back; the points of attachment are all that now remains. A three-line inscription incised before firing is found on the front face. Height of letters c. 0.9 cm. Upright epigraphic majuscules.

Frend 1974: 52, no. 46.

Cf. Adams 1996: 194, with fig. 30.9 (line drawing) and pl. 58 b (photo).

Date unknown, perhaps Late Christian.

ΑΡΙC  
ΠΡΩΜΟC  
ΗΛΙΑC

Each line contains a masculine personal name. In view of the fact that the first name is probably of Nubian origin (see below), one has to assume that the names refer to individuals living in Nubia in Christian times. As we do not know who these individuals were, we are unable to state why their names were connected with one another in an inscription on a seal and, consequently, in what circumstances this seal was used. Frend (1974: 52)

suggested that this is a bread stamp, a suggestion which is rather unlikely in view of the small dimensions of the object.

1. The personal name ἄΡΙC has been attested several times in Banganarti inscriptions dating from the end of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>45</sup> It is also on record in two Old Nubian inscriptions of the twelfth–fourteenth century, painted on the walls of room 31 of the Northwestern Annexe to the monastery on Kom H at Old Dongola. Both inscriptions probably refer to the same man.<sup>46</sup> ἄΡΙC was the name of the epistolary scribe of King Siti, as is indicated in the protocol of an Old Nubian document of AD 1333 found in Qasr Ibrim:<sup>47</sup> ἄΡΙC ἐ(ΠΙC)ΓΟΛᾶΝ CΟΥΝΤΟΥἘ ΕΙΝᾶ, ‘Aris being epistolary scribe’. ἄΡΙC is probably a Nubian name, but its etymology is unknown.<sup>48</sup>

2. The personal name ΠΡΩΜΟC seems not to have been attested before, either in Nubia or elsewhere. In Egyptian papyri of the Byzantine – early Islamic periods (6th–early 8th century), we encounter similar names ΠΡΩΜΑΟ, ΠΡΩΜΑ, ΠΡΩΜΑΩC, ΠΡΩΜΟΟΥ, ΠΡΩΜΟΥ, and ΠΡΩΜΟ.<sup>49</sup> All of these names are probably by-forms, or variants, of a name of Egyptian (Coptic) origin derived from ΡΜΜΑΟ, ‘rich’. The form ΠΡΩΜΟC in the inscription discussed here, may be another by-form of the same name, thus testifying to Egyptian influences in Qasr Ibrim.<sup>50</sup> Note that the final c is not certain. It may also be a flake and the name may therefore be ΠΡΩΜΟ as in the Egyptian papyri.

3. ΗΛΙΑC was used in Christian Nubia as a personal name without being popular. It was, among others, the name of one of the Faras bishops who was in office between AD 926 and 952.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Unpublished. Their publication is being prepared by Adam ŁAJTAR.

<sup>46</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>47</sup> Unpublished; Adam ŁAJTAR’s reading from the photo.

<sup>48</sup> The Greek language knows the word ἄριC, ‘bow-drill’. Procopius, *Aed.* 2.3, uses this word to designate a shrine (as a counterpart of φράκτηC, ‘sluice with gates’), while some other sources (Dioscurides II 167; Galen XIX 85 [Kühn]; *P. Mag. Par.* 1.2308) attest its usage in the meaning δρακοντία μικρά, ‘*Arum Dioscoridis*’. According to Pliny, *Historia naturalis* XXIV 151, ἄριC is another term for ἀρίCαρον ‘hooded arum, *Arisarum vulgare*’. It is rather unlikely that the Greek ἄριC was at the roots of the personal name ἄΡΙC used in Christian Nubia.

<sup>49</sup> For references, see PREISIGKE 1922: s.vv.; HEUSER 1929: 25; HASITZKA 2007: s.vv.

<sup>50</sup> It is very unlikely that ΠΡΩΜΟC could be of Greek origin. Although Greek knows the word πρῶμωC (Attic for πρῶμιωC, ‘early, precocious’), this word is hardly expected in Christian Nubia. A proper name ΠρῶμιωC has not been attested in Greek so far.

<sup>51</sup> For Bishop Elias, see JAKOBIELSKI 1972: 107–15.



## FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS

### 18–26. BISHOPS' EPITAPHS

Under this heading a collection of nine epitaphs is brought together which commemorate bishops. The high ecclesiastic status of the owners is the main, though not the only, organising criterion for this group of funerary inscriptions, whereas other groups of inscriptions are organised according to the formal criteria of the texts.

Among the nine bishops' epitaphs, six (nos. 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, and 24) were found in the fill of Tomb T2 (structure 296). This tomb belongs to a small cemetery consisting of six large chamber tombs (structures 295–300) which are cut into the cliff rocks of the Cathedral terrace, south of the Cathedral and west of the so-called South Church (or Small Church or Church 2; structure 294). Originally, these tombs may have contained the bodies of the six bishops of the tenth–twelfth century who are commemorated by the epitaphs in question. At a certain moment, perhaps during the raid of Shams el-Dawla in AD 1172–3, the tombs were plundered, and the inscribed tombstones were overturned (but obviously not too badly ruined). After the end of the disaster, they were redeposited in Tomb T2 during the clearing of the area.<sup>52</sup> Three other epitaphs were

<sup>52</sup> Cf. PLUMLEY 1966: 10–11; ADAMS 1996: 82–3. In addition to tombstones of bishops, the fill of the tomb yielded also the Coptic funerary stela of a woman Martha (below, no. 29), a fragment of a funerary stela with an inscription in Greek (below, no. 79), and a number

discovered also in close connection with the Cathedral. Two (nos. 22 and 26) were found in the Christian fill covering the Cathedral cemetery terrace west of the South Church, and one (no. 25) in the fill of Tomb 19 (structure 365), the northernmost of the line of tombs cut horizontally in the *gebel* face, partly underlying the Cathedral tower.

Four out of the nine bishops' epitaphs are dated exactly, according to the Era of the Martyrs. The dates, as converted to the Dionysian era, are as follows: AD 1036 (no. 22), AD 1110 (no. 19), AD 1132 (no. 21), AD 1154 (no. 24). Inscription no. 18 also contains a date, but its reading gives rise to some doubts: it may be calculated either as AD 992/3 or, less likely, AD 1072/3. The remaining epitaphs should probably be dated to the period delimited by the dated inscriptions on account of the archaeological context (see above), the stylistic and iconographic criteria of the tombstones, and the formal criteria of the texts (see below).

The bishops' epitaphs are inscribed on richly decorated tombstones, a fact that clearly distinguishes them from other Qasr Ibrim funerary inscriptions that, as a rule, are written on simple rectangular plaques or slabs.<sup>53</sup> The decoration is primarily incised or sculptured; some elements were also vividly painted. The system of decoration is essentially the same in all cases except for no. 22, which has a simple raised border.<sup>54</sup> The front surface of the tombstones is intended to imitate the front of a (cult) building (an *aedicula*). The side supports carry an architrave on which rests either a large semicircle with an internal decoration in the form of a conch, a half-rossette, or sun-rays (?) (nos. 19, 20, 23), or three mountain-like elements surmounted by crosses and identified by Plumley (1970: 131) as cupolas or

of loose pages from religious manuscripts, probably from books that belonged originally to the library of the Cathedral.

<sup>53</sup> Conspicuously decorated tombstones are also attested outside of the group of bishops' epitaphs; thus below nos. 42 (epitaph of Io[---]), 45 (of a man Mariakyto), 54 (of an unknown person), 55 (of an unknown man), 57 (of a woman Marianta), 59 (of a woman [?] Iesusiko), 73 (of an unknown person). They were apparently produced under the influence of the tombstones of high ecclesiastics, and probably by the same stonemasons' workshops.

<sup>54</sup> Note that no. 26 has preserved only its central undecorated part.

domes (nos. 18, 21, 24, 25; note that no. 18 has two side cupolas and a rosette in the middle). If the variant with the semicircle is attested for a wider group of Nubian Christian tombstones from central Nobadia (Qasr Ibrim – Faras area) dating from the second half of the tenth to the first half of the twelfth century,<sup>55</sup> the variant with cupolas has been evidenced only in Qasr Ibrim so far. It probably should be considered an original contribution of the Qasr Ibrim masons to the funerary art of Christian Nubia.

An interesting phenomenon in the bishops' epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim is that all of them are in Greek. This is astonishing because, in Nobadia, Greek alternates with Coptic without apparent rules, functioning as the language of the epitaphs for several of the highest ecclesiastics in Faras, which neighbours the Qasr Ibrim bishopric to the south. In Sai, which lies still farther to the south, Coptic apparently prevailed over Greek for this purpose. Moreover, Coptic was well established in Qasr Ibrim as the language of literature and documents, and was also extensively used in epitaphs, which the present catalogue, along with earlier finds, clearly demonstrates. An explanation for the absolute predominance of Greek in the bishops' epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim may be that we have only a short series of epitaphs from a rather limited period covering *c.* 150 years between the second half of the tenth and the first half of the twelfth century (see above). Bishops who officiated in Qasr Ibrim in other periods may well have been buried under tombstones with Coptic inscriptions. Nonetheless, the use of Greek for the epitaphs of Qasr Ibrim bishops testifies to the attraction held by this language in one of the main centres of Nobadia, which always stood under the strong influence of Coptic culture.

Regarding their form, the bishops' epitaphs represent two types: 1) epitaphs with a bipartite composition in which the first part is introduced by the formula *θεία προνοία* (nos. 20, 21, 23, 25); 2) epitaphs with the prayer 'God of the spirits and of all flesh' (nos. 18, 19, 22, 24, 26).<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> For this group of tombstones, see VAN DER VLIET 2003: 25–6, commentary to no. 3 (funerary stela of Aaron, bishop of Faras, who died AD 972).

<sup>56</sup> For the classification of Nubian Christian epitaphs in Greek according to their text form, see ŁAJTAR 2003a: XXI–XXIV.

There are no rules apparent in the choice of either of the two types, either with respect to time or to the form of the tombstone. Thus, epitaphs nos. 20 and 21, belonging to the same type and commemorating bishops that probably succeeded each other, are inscribed on tombstones with a different decoration. On the other hand, epitaphs with the prayer ‘God of the spirits and of all flesh’ are dispersed over the whole period covered by the group in question, and alternate with epitaphs with a bipartite composition and the *θεία προνοία*-formula. Textually, the epitaphs, in particular those with a bipartite composition and the *θεία προνοία*-formula, show remarkable similarities (for more details, see the commentaries in the individual entries of the catalogue). They evidently share a family relationship. Either the redactors of younger epitaphs copied from older ones, or they made use of model texts of epitaphs that may have been kept in the Cathedral library or in the bishop’s residence.

Among the ecclesiastics commemorated by the epitaphs, three were bishops of Phrim [= Qasr Ibrim] (nos. 19, 20, 21), three were bishops of Kourte (nos. 23, 24, 25), and one was a bishop of Pakhoras [= Faras] (no. 22). In one case (no. 18), the see of the dead bishop is not named (this was probably Phrim; see the commentary below for the inscription in question), and in another one (no. 26), the information about the see is not preserved. The high percentage of foreign bishops in the group discussed here (four out of nine) is remarkable. It probably testifies to the fact that bishops of the dioceses immediately neighbouring Qasr Ibrim in the north (Kourte) and the south (Faras) temporarily resided at Qasr Ibrim in the eleventh–twelfth century. For a possible interpretation of this phenomenon, see above, ‘Introduction’, p. 8.

18. Epitaph of Marianou,  
bishop (of Phrim?)

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 66/105. Documentation: photo nos. 66V15/21, 66VC6/1, 66P3/33.

Found in the fill of Tomb 12, on the Cathedral cemetery terrace, west

of the South Church (see the introductory remarks about this group of inscriptions).

Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 90882.

A roughly rectangular sandstone slab with a recessed field, 44 x 17.5 x 10 cm. The slab is completely preserved except for some damage in the lower part of the left-hand edge. The recessed field is divided into two uneven parts. The smaller upper part, which occupies one fifth of the field, carries a sculptural decoration. It shows two arch-like elements, one on each side, surmounted by a Maltese cross. A rosette with eight petals is seen in between the arch-like elements. The petals of the rosette were painted alternately red and white. Two small Maltese crosses are placed in the triangles formed by the rosette and the arch-like elements. The decoration in the upper part rests on a horizontal line which is provided, at the bottom, with small squares resembling the *denticulifrie* of Ionic architecture. The bigger, lower part of the field is occupied by the inscription. The text is incised without ruling; the script is neither nice nor careful. The letters in the lower part are much bigger than in the upper part. Palaeographically, the letters represent Nubian-type majuscules.

Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley 1970: 131, fig. 103 (photo of the upper part of the stela).

Perhaps AD 992/3 (see commentary).

- † ὁ θεός τῶν πνευμάτων  
 (καὶ) πάσις σαρκός, ὁ τὸ θάνατον  
 καταργήσας (καὶ) τὸν Ἄδην)  
 4 καταβατήσας (καὶ) ζω-  
 ῆν <τ>ῶ κόσμῳ χαρι-  
 ζάμενος, ἀνά-  
 παυσον τὸν δοῦλον)  
 8 ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπισκοπὸς ἐν  
 κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ  
 (καὶ) Ἰσαὰκ (καὶ) Ἰακώβ, ἐν τώ-  
 πῳ φ<ω>τι<ν>ῶν, ἐν τώ-

- 12    πω ἀναψ(ύ)ξεως, ἐν  
       ἡμέρα : ΠΕ.ΧΟΟΥ  
       ΕΥΤΟΟΥ ἀ(ν)άπαυσον  
       ἀπὸ μαρτ(ύρων)
- 16    ΓΕΜΙ γέ-  
       Ψ    π̄ ν-  
       Θ    η-    Θ̄  
       το, ἀμῆ(ν).

1. ο̄θ̄ς | π̄π̄λ̄τ̄ω̄ || 2. ς | ότο || 3. ς || 4. ς || 8. ε̄π̄ο̄ς || 10. ς̄ῑσ̄ᾱλ̄κ̄ς̄ῑλ̄κ̄ω̄ς̄ ||  
 11. φ̄τ̄ῑλ̄ῑω̄ν || 14. second λ in ἀ(ν)άπαυσον written below the line || 15. Μ̄ᾹΡ

2. πάσης | τὸν || 4. καταπατήσας || 5-6. χαρισάμενος || 8. ἐπίσκοπον || 10-11. τόπω  
 φωτεινῷ || 11-12. τόπω || 13. ΠΕ.ΧΟΟΥ (?) || 16-19. γένοιτο

*God of the spirits and of all flesh, You who have defeated death and trodden down Hades and given life to the world, rest (Your) servant Marianou, a bishop, in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in a shining place, in a place of refreshment, in (...). (He died on) day 4 (Wednesday), (in the year) from the Martyrs 709. (His) years (were) 89. So be it, amen.*

The epitaph of Bishop Marianou is composed in the same way as other epitaphs with the prayer ‘God of the spirits and of all flesh’. However, the prayer appears in a highly abbreviated form, reduced to only an invocation of God and some initial requests for rest of the soul of the dead. An identically abbreviated prayer is found in the undated epitaph of Georgios, a deacon, from Wadi el-Ghazali (Łajtar 2003a: no. 33). It is difficult to say whether the similarity between these two epitaphs testifies to the existence of a firmly established text tradition, or is just the accidental outcome of the editorial work of the redactors of the inscriptions. The large distance separating Qasr Ibrim from Wadi el-Ghazali, and the mechanical character of the work, favours the second option.

The Bishop Marianou, commemorated by this epitaph, was probably a bishop of Phrim (Qasr Ibrim), even though the text omits the name of his diocese. This omission is understandable only if we assume that Marianou died and was buried in his own diocese where everybody knew his



Epitaph of Marianou, bishop (of Phrim?) (no. 18)

name and his achievements. Similarly, the name of the see was omitted from several epitaphs of the bishops of Faras,<sup>57</sup> and also from the epitaph of Georgios, archbishop of Dongola (Łajtar 2002).

An Old Nubian document from Qasr Ibrim mentions a bishop with the name ΜΑΡΙΑΝΕ.<sup>58</sup> The see of this Mariane is not specified. Judging by the findspot of the document, we may suppose that he was a bishop of Qasr Ibrim. The document should probably be dated to a much later period, however, perhaps the twelfth century, which precludes the identification of Mariane with the Marianou commemorated by this epitaph.

An interesting element of Marianou's epitaph is that the text, which essentially is composed in Greek, also contains phrases and expressions in Coptic and Old Nubian. Although the switching from Greek to Old Nubian and/or Coptic is not rare in Nubian epitaphs, the use of all three languages in a single text is exceptional. It is also attested in another, fragmentarily preserved epitaph from Qasr Ibrim (below, no. 63).

2. The word *θάνατον* has been omitted, probably inadvertently, by the stonemason who was not very careful in his work.

4. *καταβατήσας* (instead of *καταπατήσας*) is found in another epitaph from Qasr Ibrim commemorating a certain Men[---] (below, no. 58, ll. 3–4). Perhaps these two inscriptions have a connection. The change of π for κ (and inversely) is otherwise attested in Christian Nubia without being frequent.<sup>59</sup>

5. The τ in the article τῷ has only its horizontal dash. This is either a mistake by the stonemason or his attempt to put the τ in ligature with the following ω.

5–6. The spelling *χαριζόμενος* is attested in several other Nubian epitaphs with the prayer 'God of the spirits and of all flesh'.<sup>60</sup> It is rooted in the pronun-

<sup>57</sup> Thus in the epitaphs of the following bishops: Maththaios (ŁAJTAR & TWARDECKI 2003: no. 105), Ignatios (ŁAJTAR & TWARDECKI 2003: no. 106), Kollouthos (ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 1), and Stephanos (ŁAJTAR & TWARDECKI 2003: no. 107).

<sup>58</sup> The document has never been published properly. A preliminary reading, based on PLUMLEY's transcript, is given in BROWNE 1991: VII–VIII.

<sup>59</sup> Cf., e.g., ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 8, ll. 12 (*δλύβη*) and 25 (*Νοπαδίας*); STEINDORFF 1941: 204–7 (πρ[ο]κατῶρ). Generally, for the change of π for κ (and inversely) in later Greek, see GIGNAC 1976: 83–6.

<sup>60</sup> The list of attestations is as follows: the epitaph of a woman Neomeni, Ginari, exact

ciation of the sibilants /s/ and /dz/, which became almost undistinguishable in Post-Classic Greek (Gignac 1976: 120–4). Change of c for z (and inversely) is otherwise attested in Nubia for other words (cf. Łajtar 2003a: 256, index).

8. In the word ἐπ(ίσκοπ)ος, the π seems to have been corrected from a κ. Perhaps the stonemason (or the redactor of the inscription) wanted to write this word in the form ἐ(πίσ)κ(οπ)ος, but then changed his mind. Both ἐπ(ίσκοπ)ος and ἐ(πίσ)κ(οπ)ος are unusual abbreviations, as the word in question was normally abbreviated by suspension, as ἐπίσκ(οπος), and not by contraction. ἐπ(ίσκοπ)ος stands for ἐπ(ίσκοπ)ον here, probably through the automatic insertion of the nominal formulary into the form of the prayer. Another possibility is to assume a phonetic notation: loss of /n/ in the final position with the simultaneous appearance of /s/.

12. ἐν at the end of the line is either a remnant of another request, which has not been completed on the stone for some reason, or part of the dating formula, syntactically connected with the following ἡμέρα, i.e. ἐν ἡμέρα. Since ἐν is rather unusual in the latter context in Nubian Greek epitaphs, it is the first possibility that has been chosen here.

13–14. The expression ἡμέρα πε.χου εϥτοου poses difficulties. One assumes that πε.χου stands for πε.ου, ‘day’, hence ἡμέρα πε.χου (= πε.ου) εϥτοου, ‘day four (i.e. Wednesday)’ with the repetition of the word ‘day’, which is given first in Greek, then in Coptic. The problem with this reading is that χου for ου is phonetically very unlikely, so we have to assume a stonemason’s mistake here. Another strange phenomenon is that the redactor of the inscription indicated the weekday of Marianou’s death but not the day of the month. Plumley (ms.) was of the opinion that ἡμέρα πε.χου εϥτοου means ‘day 24’ or ‘on day 24’ (of a month). This is hardly possible as the 24th of a month should be something like ου χουτλαϥε in Sahidic Coptic.

15–18. This part of the inscription containing, among others, the date of Marianou’s death is difficult to be read owing to the unclear formulation of the text and its complicated disposition on the stone. The large ϣ in the lower left-hand corner is undoubtedly the first element of a year date according to the Era of the Martyrs. The problem concerns the continuation of the numeral. This may be

date unknown, probably 9th–10th century (FIRTH 1912: 46, right column, first inscription from the bottom); the epitaph of an unknown person, Qasr Ibrim, date unknown (below, no. 58, l. 5); the epitaph of Ioannes, eparch of Nobadia, provenance unknown, probably the Second Cataract area, AD 1006 (LEFEBVRE 1907: no. 665; TIBILETTI BRUNO 1964: no. 6; KUBIŃSKA 1974: 49–50, no. 1); the epitaph of a woman Eikkir, Meinarti (?), 11th/12th century (ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 7, l. 6); the epitaph of a deacon Georgios, Wadi el-Ghazali, date unknown (ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 33, l. 7).

either the letters  $\bar{\pi}\bar{\theta}$  standing vertically to the right of  $\Psi$  in the same lower left-hand corner, or the large letter  $\bar{\theta}$  in the lower right-hand corner. In the first case, the year of Marianou's death would be  $\text{AM } 789 = \text{AD } 1072/3$ , in the second one,  $\text{AM } 709 = \text{AD } 992/3$ . In his preliminary elaboration of Greek epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim, Plumley (ms.) opted for the first solution. The second possibility seems to be more probable, however. It is suggested by the shared large dimensions of the letters  $\Psi\bar{\theta}$  against those of  $\bar{\pi}\bar{\theta}$ , which are much smaller. If the year of Marianou's death was really  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}\ \mu\alpha\rho\tau(\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\nu)\ \Psi\bar{\theta}$ , the number  $\bar{\pi}\bar{\theta} = 89$  would probably represent the age of the deceased Marianou. The Old Nubian word  $\Gamma\text{EM}\text{I}$  stands for  $\Gamma\text{EM}\text{I}\lambda\text{I}(\Gamma\text{OY})$ , 'years', through haplography:  $\Gamma\text{EM}\text{I}(\lambda\text{I})$ , and the loss of the plural formant ( $\Gamma\text{OY}$ ). It refers either to the year of the Era of the Martyrs:  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}\ \mu\alpha\rho\tau(\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\nu)\ \Gamma\text{EM}\text{I}\ \Psi\bar{\theta}$  or to the years of Marianou's life:  $\Gamma\text{EM}\text{I}\ \bar{\pi}\bar{\theta}$ .

19. Epitaph of Iesou,  
bishop of Phrim

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 66/103. Documentation: photo nos. 66P3/36, 66V15/23, 66VC6/3.

Found in the fill of Tomb 12, in the Cathedral cemetery terrace, west of the South Church (see the introductory remarks about this group of inscriptions).

Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 90881.

A rectangular slab of sandstone, 57 x 37 x 9 cm. The slab is completely preserved except for some damage at the edges and the corners. The front of the slab shows a decoration in relief that imitates the front of a building. At both sides of the slab, there are simple supports without bases and capitals. Each of them is decorated with two pairs of horizontal strokes in its upper part. The supports carry a semicircular tympanum with a large rosette (?) inside. The petals of the rosette are arranged in two zones around a central element. Above the rosette there are two crosses with equal arms, one in each corner (the one on the left-hand side is severely damaged). The inscription is contained within a recessed field and is carefully executed. The letters are regular and form even lines. Palaeographically, they represent Nubian-type majuscules. The front of the slab was richly painted. The central element of the rosette was painted white, the

petals of the first zone of the rosette were painted alternately red and green, and those of the second zone were probably red and white. The inscription was painted in a rather sophisticated way that may be described as a cross within a square.<sup>61</sup> The painting affected only this part of the text, which forms a square-like block (ll. 1–20). The square (white) was formed by ll. 1–2 (upper edge), 19–20 (lower edge), and by vertical bands consisting of the three first and three last letters of each line, near the left-hand and the right-hand edges. The internal cross (green) was formed by ll. 10–11 (horizontal bar) and by a band of three letters in the middle of each line (vertical bar). Smaller squares within were painted red.

Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley 1970: 131, fig. 104 (photo of the upper part of the stela).

6 May AD 1110.

† ὁ θεός τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός,  
 ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας καὶ τὸν Ἄ-  
 δην καταπατήσας καὶ ζωὴν τῷ κόσ-  
 4 μῳ χαρισάμενος, ἀνάπαυσον τὸν δοῦ-  
 λὸν σου ἄβ(βα) ι(ησο)υ ὀρθόδοξος ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡΙΜ  
 ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ,  
 ἐν τῷ(πῶ) φωτινῶ, ἐν τῷπῶ χλόης, ἐν τῷ-  
 8 πῶ ἀναψύξεως, ἐνθα ἀπέδρα δδύνη καὶ  
 λύπη καὶ στεναγμός • πᾶν ἀμάρτημα  
 παρ' αὐτοῦς • πραχθ(ἐ)ν λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ (ἦ) κα-  
 τὰ δοιάνηαν, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάν(θρωπ)ος,

<sup>61</sup> Several other examples of painting on the front surface of gravestones are known from Christian Nubia. Two epitaphs of bishops of Faras, Kollouthos, died AD 923 (ΛΑΥΤΑΡ 2003a: no. 1), and Stephanos, died AD 926 (ΛΑΥΤΑΡ & ΤΩΡΔΕΚΚΙ 2003: no. 107), have the letters in the four corners painted red so as to form a cross out of the unpainted letters in the middle. The reverse can be observed in the epitaph of Georgios, archbishop of Dongola, died AD 1113 (ΛΑΥΤΑΡ 2002). There the letters in the middle are painted red both vertically and horizontally so as to form a large Greek cross. In the epitaph of Iesou, bishop of Faras, who died most probably AD 1169 (ΛΑΥΤΑΡ 2003a: no. 3), the lines of the text and the elements of the decoration are painted alternately red and black.

- 12 συγχώρησον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄν(θρωπ)ος ὃς ζήσε-  
ται καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσῃ· σὺ γὰρ μόνος πά-  
σης ἁμαρτίας ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχεις (καὶ) ἡ δικαιο-  
σύνης σου δ(ι)κ(αι)οσύνη εἰς τῶν αἰῶνα, κ(ύρι)ε,  
16 καὶ ὁ λόγος σου ἀλήθεια· σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἡ ἀνάπαυ-  
σις καὶ <ἡ> ἀ(νά)στασις πάντων τῶν χρισ-  
τιανῶν. • ἔτη δὲ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ  
ᾠα, • θρόνου ἐκάθησεν ἔτη θ̄, • ΠΑΧΩΝΝΑ  
20 ἰα • ἀπέθανεν • καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀνα-  
πέμπωμεν τῷ π(ατ)ρί  
καὶ τῷ υ(ἰ)ῷ  
ἀπὸ μαρτ(ύρων) καὶ τῷ ἁ- ᾠκ̄ς  
24 γίω πν(εύματο)ς  
ἁ-  
Λ μ- Ω  
ἡ-  
28 ν.

1. ᾠ̄ς | ΠΠΑΤΩΝ || 2-3. ΛΑΗΝ || 4. ΛΝΑΠΑΥΣΟΝ || 5. ΛΒ ΙΥ || 6. ΛΒΡΑΛΜ |  
ΙΛΚΩΒ || 7. ΧΛΘΗC || 8. ΛΝΑΨΥΞΕΩC | ΑΠΕΔΡΑ ΟΛΥΗΝ || 9. ΣΤΕΝΑΓΜΟC |  
ΛΜΑΡΤΗΜΑ || 10. ΠΑΡ' ΑΥΤΟΥC ΠΡΑΧΘΟΝ | ΗΕΡΓΩ || 11. ΔΟΙΛΗΝΗΝ |  
ΛΓΛΘΟC | ΦΙΛΛΗΠ̄C || 12. ΟΤΙ | ΛΝ̄C || 13. ΛΜΑΡΤΗΣΕΙ || 14. ΛΜΑΡΤΙΑC |  
ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙC || 15. ΑΚ-ΟCΥΗΝ | Κ̄Ε || 16. ΟΛΟΓΟC | ΛΛΗΘΕΙΑ || 16-17. ΗΛΝΑ-  
ΠΑΥCΙC || 17. ΠΑCΙCΤΑCΙC || 19. ΕΤΗ || 21. ΠΡΙ || 22. ῩΩ || 23-4. ΛΓΙΩ ΠΠ̄C ||  
23. ΛΠΟ ΜΑΡ || 25-8. ΛΜΗΝ

5. ὀρθόδοξον ἐπίσκοπον || 7. τόπω φωτεινῷ | τόπω || 7-8. τόπω || 10. αὐτοῦ ||  
11. διάνοιαν || 14-15. δικαιοσύνη || 15. τὸν || 19. ἐκάθισεν || 20-1. ἀναπέμπομεν ||  
24. πνεύματι

*God of the spirits and of all flesh, You who have defeated death and trodden down Hades and given life to the world, rest Your servant Abba Iesou, orthodox bishop of Phrim, in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in a shining place, in a place of verdure, in a place of refreshment, whence pain and grief and lamentation have fled away. As a good God and loving mankind forgive every sin committed by him in word or in deed or in thought, for there is not a man who would live and would not sin. For You alone are outside sin, Your justice is justice forever, O Lord, and Your word*



Epitaph of Iesou, bishop of Phrim (no. 19)

*is truth. For You are the rest and the resurrection of all Christians. And all the years of his life (were) 71. He sat on the throne 9 years. He died on the 11th (day of) Pakhon, (in the year) from the Martyrs 826. And to You we bring glory, to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen. Alpha Omega.*

A bishop of Phrim named Iesou is the author of a letter in Old Nubian addressed to Israel, *domestikos* of Faras (Browne 1989: no. 25, address on the *verso*). The letter, found in 1982 at Qasr Ibrim, has no internal date.<sup>62</sup> It is possible that it comes from the first years of the twelfth century and its author was the man commemorated by the epitaph discussed here. A bishop of Phrim named Iesou is also mentioned in a graffito on the rocks of the so-called Gebel Maktub, a hill-top situated to the east of the Qasr Ibrim fortress. This graffito neighbours another one that is dated to Thoth 10, year 712 of the Era of Diocletian, that is 8 September AD 995.<sup>63</sup> If the two graffiti are contemporary (which seems likely), the Iesou of Gebel Maktub must be a different person than the owner of the epitaph discussed here and the author of the letter to *Domestikos* Israel.

7. The spelling  $\epsilon\eta\tau\omega\phi\omega\tau\iota\eta\omega$  is also found in no. 24, l. 11. It occurs in several other epitaphs of north Nubian (Nobadian) provenance, dating from the eleventh–thirteenth century.<sup>64</sup> It can be explained by the assimilation of  $\eta$  with  $\phi$  in  $\tau\acute{o}\pi\omega$  and subsequent haplography.

9. The point over the initial  $\varsigma$  in  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  represents the prothetic /i/ produced by Nubian speakers in front of the consonant cluster /st/. The phenomenon is well attested in Nubian literacy in Greek and also for the word  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ .<sup>65</sup>

10. The point between  $\rho$  and  $\lambda$  in  $\pi\alpha\rho' \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  probably marks the elision.

<sup>62</sup> It is certainly not to be connected with the cache of documents from the second half of the twelfth century, discovered in 1974 in a large sealed jar buried under the floor of House 177; for the description of this find, see PLUMLEY 1978; ADAMS 1996: 214. These documents make up the entire volume of BROWNE'S 1991 publication.

<sup>63</sup> The graffiti remain unpublished. They are shown on the photo in PLUMLEY & ADAMS 1974: pl. LI.

<sup>64</sup> For a collection of the evidence and discussion, see ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 81, commentary to l. 7.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 9, commentary to l. 10.

ΠΡΑΧΘΟΝ (for *πραχθέν*) is undoubtedly a *lapsus* of the stonemason rooted in the visual similarity of the letters ε and ο.

17. The spelling ΠΑΣΙΣΤΑΣΙΣ (for *ἡ ἀνάστασις*) is strange and not easy to explain. The writing of Π for Η at the beginning may be a mere *lapsus* of the stonemason originating in the visual similarity of both letters. The same factor might have played a role in the writing of CΙ for Ν, such that the following Λ would simply have been omitted. But it is also possible that ΠΑΣΙΣ, being the first part of the conglomerate of letters ΠΑΣΙΣΤΑΣΙΣ, was mistakenly shaped in this manner under the influence of the second part of this conglomerate, i.e. ΤΑΣΙΣ. The declension of the adjective *πάσ*, which occurs farther on in this line, could also have intervened.

17–18. The addition *πάντων τῶν χριστιανῶν* after *ἡ ἀνάστασις* occurs in two other epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim composed with the prayer ‘God of the spirits and of all flesh’. These are: the epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Kourte, died AD 1154 (below, no. 24, ll. 24–5), and the epitaph of an unknown bishop, probably of the eleventh–twelfth century (below, no. 26, ll. 8–9). This addition is not attested elsewhere in Nubian epitaphs of the same type, which seems to suggest that it was in vogue only in Qasr Ibrim and perhaps only in bishops’ epitaphs. The origins of the addition are difficult to ascertain. It seems to be a liturgical or literary borrowing. The attribute *πάντων τῶν χριστιανῶν* occurs as part of *epitheta ornantia* of various persons, especially of Mary, Mother of Jesus, in Patristic literature; cf., e.g., Ephraem Syrus, *Precationes ad dei matrem*, prayer 5:<sup>66</sup> *σὲ γὰρ μακαριούσι πάσαι αἱ γενεαί, παρθένε δέσποινά θεοτόκε, ἡ ἐλπίς πάντων τῶν χριστιανῶν*, and John Damascene, *Sermo in annuntiationem Mariae* (PG xcvi, col. 660): *χαίρε, κεχαριτωμένη, χαίρε, ἡ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς κοινὴ σωτηρία, καὶ πάντων τῶν χριστιανῶν χριστιανικὴ προστασία*.

18. *ὁμοῦ* occurs in exactly the same position in the epitaph of a woman Kel from Old Dongola, died AD 785 (Łajtar 2003a: no. 20, ll. 19–20): *τὰ δὲ ἔτη τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ (= αὐτῆς) ὁμοῦ πς’*. It should probably also be assumed in the epitaph of Kollouthos, bishop of Faras, died AD 923, where we come across the siglum Θ:<sup>67</sup> *ἔτη δὲ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτ(ο)ῦ ἀπὸ τῆς γεννήσεως αὐτ(ο)ῦ ἕως λαβεῖν ἀρχιερατικὴν τάξιν ἔτη μβ’, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς κ(αὶ) ἕως τῆς τελευτῆς αὐτ(ο)ῦ ἔτη κ’ Θ (= ὁμοῦ) ξβ’*. The meaning of the word *ὁμοῦ* in the Kollouthos’ epitaph is ‘altogether’; here, and in the epitaph of Kel, the meaning ‘all’ is more appropriate.

19. The genitive *θρόνου* (without a pronoun) is somewhat strange in connection with *ἐκάθισεν*. We would rather expect *ἐπὶ θρόνου ἐκάθισεν*, as in the epitaph of an unknown bishop found in Qasr Ibrim and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum

<sup>66</sup> Ed. K. G. PHRANTZOLES, *Ὅσιον Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα* VI, Thessalonica 1995, p. 373.

<sup>67</sup> ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 1, ll. 11–15 (with commentary).

in Cambridge (below, no. 26, ll. 11–13): ἐπὶ το[ῦ θρόνου α]ὔτου καθήσ[ας]. The word *θρόνος* occurs without a pronoun in the indication of the length of the episcopacy of two Qasr Ibrim bishops, Georgiou (no. 20) and Marianou (no. 21) in the phrase ΘΡΟΝΟΙ ΚΛΘΗΟΙ; we are probably dealing with a dative there.

ΠΑΧΩΝΝΑ = ΠΑΧΩΝ-ΛΑ, ‘in the month of Pakhon’.

## 20. Epitaph of Georgiou, bishop of Phrim

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 66/104. Documentation: photo nos. 66P3/34, 66V15/24, 66VC6/4.

Found in the fill of Tomb 12, in the Cathedral cemetery terrace, west of the South Church (see the introductory remarks about this group of inscriptions).

University College London, Petrie Museum, UC 2373.

A rectangular slab of sandstone, 57 x 37 x 4.5 cm. Upper edge slightly rising from left to right, lower edge convex. The front of the slab bears a decoration that imitates the front of a building. Raised narrow fillets run along side edges. They are decorated with a carved ornament consisting of x-shaped elements, eight on each fillet, separated by double strokes. The fillets support a semicircular tympanum, which is executed only in carving. The tympanum is bordered by a wide band with floral ornaments inside. Within the tympanum, there is a conch or a half-rossette with twelve elements. Each element has a dot at the top. Above the tympanum, two crosses are visible, one in each corner. The inscription is contained within the recessed field. It is carved without guidelines, the carving is quite careful, and the letters form even lines, although the lines have a tendency to slope in the lower part of the inscription. Palaeographically, the letters represent Nubian-type majuscules. The surface of the slab was painted red and green. The system of painting is impossible to ascertain due to the disappearance of the paint.

Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley 1966: II, pl. IV 5 (report on the discovery); Plumley 1970: 131, fig. 105 (photo of the upper part of the stela). A photo of the entire stela is



Epitaph of Georgiou, bishop of Phrim (no. 20)

found on the Internet at the addresses: <www.touregypt.net/featurestories/qasribrim.htm> and <www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/qasr/uc2373.html>.

Most probably AD 1125 (on account of reckoning the dates of episcopacy of Iesou, Georgiou, and Marianou; see below).

†    Ω    †    Α    †    Ω    †  
 ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς (καὶ) τοῦ υ(ἰο)ῦ (καὶ) τοῦ ἁγί-  
 ου π(εύ)ματος· : θεί(α) προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζον-  
 4    τους θε(ο)ῦ τέλει τοῦ πίου ἐχρήσα-  
 το ὁ ΜΑΚΚΑΡΙΟΥ : ἄββα ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ  
 ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡΜ, θρόν(ω) καθή-  
 σ(ας) ἔτη : ιε̅ : καὶ ὁ ζῶν ἡμέρα  
 8    ἔτη πβ̅ ἀπέθανεν : Ἰαθῶρ : ιε̅ :  
 ἀνάπαυσον· : (καὶ) ἐξουσία οἱ ἔρχου  
 τοῦ ἐπάρχ(ου) νοτ(άριος) (καὶ) ἀρχ(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) Ῥαφαήλ  
 (καὶ) ἀρχ(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) ΠΑΩΩΕ. : Χ(ριστ)ε̅ ὁ θε(ε)ός,  
 12    ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν  
 αὐτοῦ ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ  
 (καὶ) Ἰσαὰκ (καὶ) Ἰακώβ, ἔνθ' ἀπέδρ-  
 α ὀδύνη (καὶ) λύπη (καὶ) στεναγ-  
 16    μοίς, • ἐν τῇ λαμπρότιτι  
 τῶν ἁγίων σου, ἐν παραδεί-  
 σῳ τῆς τρυφῆς, : ἀμήν. :

2. ΠΡ̅C CΥΥ C || 3. ΠΝ̅C || 4. ΘΥ̅ || 6-7. ΘΡΟΝΟΙ ΚΛΘΗCΟΙ || 7. ΕΤΗ | ΚΛΙ̅ΟΖΩΝ |  
 ΗΜΕΡΑ || 8. ΕΤΗ | Λ̅ΘΥΡ̅ || 9. ΛΝΑΠΑΥCΟΝ | C̅ΕΞΟΥCΙΑ || 10. ΕΠΛ̅ΡΝΟ C̅ΑΡΜΑΝ̅ ||  
 11. C̅ΑΡΜΑΝ̅ | Π̅Ε ΟΘ̅C || 12. ΛΝΑΠΑΥCΟΝ || 13. ΛΒΡΑΑΜ || 14. C̅ΙCΑΑΚC̅ΙΑΚΩC̅ ||  
 15. ΟΑΥΝΗC | C̅ || 16. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΙΤΗ || 18. ΤΡΥΦΗC

3-4. δεσπόζοντος || 4. βίου || 6-7. καθίσας || 9. ἐξουσία αἰ (for ὦν) ἤρχου ||  
 15-16. στεναγμοί (?) || 16. λαμπρότιτι

*Omega Alpha Omega. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Through the divine providence of God who is Lord the blessed Abba Georgiou, bishop of Phrim, accomplished (his) life. He sat on the throne 15 years. And the days he lived (were) 82 years. He died on Hathyr 15. (O God),*

*rest (his soul). And the offices you (sic) held (were): notary of the eparch and archimandrite of (the monastery of) Raphael, and archimandrite (of the monastery of) Pashshe. O Christ God, rest his soul in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, whence pain and grief and lamentations have fled away, in the splendour of Your saints, in the paradise of joy, amen.*

The epitaph of Bishop Georgiou studied here is closely connected with the epitaph of another bishop of Phrim, that of Marianou (no. 21 below). The similarities are as follows:

1) Both epitaphs start with the trinitarian formula ἐν ὀνόματι, which is otherwise not very common in Qasr Ibrim epitaphs.

2) They are composed with the formula θεία προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θεοῦ τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο. Interestingly, the word θεία lacks the final α in both cases, and the epithet of God is spelled δεσπόζοντους.

3) The epithet qualifying the deceased has the form ὁ μακαριου.

4) The length of the episcopacy of the two men is expressed with help of the formula θρόν(ω) καθήσ(α)ς (= καθίσας), written ΘΡΟΝΟΙ ΚΑΘΗΟΙ.

5) The length of the life of both Georgiou and Marianou is introduced by the formula ὁ ζῶν ἡμέρα ἔτη with the strange ὁ ζῶν standing instead of ζῆσας.

6) The descriptions of the careers of the two men are introduced by a very similar formula using the word ἐξουσία (in singular) in the meaning 'offices' (in plural). Thus, in the epitaph of Georgiou we have: (καὶ) ἐξουσία οἱ ἔρχου, and in the epitaph of Marianou: ἰδὲ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ οἱτοί εἶδον. What is still more important, the two men followed a more or less similar *cursus honorum*. Both of them started their careers as men of letters: Georgiou was first the notary of an eparch, and Marianou, the chief notary of an eparch. Later on they were nominated archimandrites of the monastery of Raphael, and it is nearly certain that it is the same monastery which is at issue in both cases. Additionally, Georgiou was also archimandrite of the monastery at Pashshe before he was appointed to the see of Phrim, and Marianou held a (priestly?) function at the side of a queen.

7) The prayer for the dead in the epitaph of Georgiou is identical with the first part of the prayer for the dead in the epitaph of Marianou.

The observable similarities between the epitaphs of Bishops Georgiou

and Marianou are important enough to suggest a close relationship. One gets the impression that they have their origin in the same milieu and, perhaps, were even composed by the same people who either used one of the epitaphs as a model for the other one or based these epitaphs on another bishop's epitaph, now lost. The close similarity of the careers of Georgiou and Marianou seems to suggest that one of these two men followed in the steps of the other. Georgiou was most probably the predecessor of Marianou, as the length of his episcopacy (fifteen years) fits exactly the gap between the death of Iesou (AD 1110) and the beginning of the episcopacy of Marianou (AD 1125), reckoned from the data in his epitaph (for this remark we would like to thank Giovanni Ruffini).

3-4. The opening formula *θεία προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θεοῦ* is attested in this position in several epitaphs of north Nubian (Nobadian) provenance dating to the last three centuries of the first millenium.<sup>68</sup> It seems to be particularly characteristic of Qasr Ibrim. In addition to this inscription, it also occurs in the following epitaphs: the epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Phrim (below, no. 21, ll. 2-3), the epitaph of Petrou, bishop of Kourte (below, no. 23, ll. 5-7), the epitaph of an unknown bishop of Kourte (below, no. 25, ll. 3-4), the epitaph of Arent[.]ia (below, no. 41, ll. 2-3), the epitaph of Io[---] (below, no. 42, ll. 2-3), the epitaph of Petros, an exarch (below, no. 43, ll. 1-3), and perhaps in another fragmentarily preserved epitaph (below, no. 44, ll. 3-4). It is interesting to observe that all four bishops' epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim displaying this formula lack the final *λ* in *θεία*. Evidently, all these epitaphs are related to one another in this respect. Either one of them served as a model for the others or, more likely, they all depend upon a common source. One should note that the spelling *θεί(α) προνοία* is found likewise in the epitaph of Iesusinkouda, eparch of Nobadia (?), *domestikos* of Pakhoras, and *nauarkbes* of the Nobades, died AD 1102, which probably originates from the Second Cataract area (Łajtar 2003a: no. 5, l. 2). This supposed source must have influenced epitaphs that came into existence in the southern part of Nobadia, from Qasr Ibrim to the Second Cataract area.

*τοῦ δεσπόζοντους θε(ο)ῦ* stands for *τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θε(ο)ῦ*. The form *δεσπόζοντους* is probably due to phonetic phenomena: interchange of /o/ and /u/ in the pronunciation followed by the writing of OY for o in script. This alternation is attested in Post-Classic Greek without being common (Gignac 1976: 211-14).

<sup>68</sup> For this formula, see ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 5, commentary to ll. 2-4; for its Coptic form, see the commentary to no. 45 below.

4–5. *τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο*, literally ‘took the end of life’, is a euphemism for ‘died’. The expression is attested only in a Christian milieu, in both literary texts and inscriptions. It is often used in Nubian epitaphs in Greek.<sup>69</sup>

5. *ὁ μακαρίου* is also found in the epitaph of Bishop Marianou (below, no. 21, l. 4), the epitaph of an unknown bishop of Kourte (below, no. 25, l. 5), the epitaph of Arent[ . lia (below, no. 41, l. 4)<sup>70</sup> – all three found in Qasr Ibrim – and the epitaph of Iesusinkouda, eparch of Nobadia (?), *domestikos* of Pakhoras, and *nauarkhes* of the Nobades, died AD 1102, originating from the Second Cataract area (Šajtar 2003a: no. 5). It can be explained by the influence of Old Nubian in which -ΟΥ is a very productive nominal ending.<sup>71</sup>

6–7. The word *ἑρῶνοι* found on the stone is probably not to be read *θρόνοι* but *θρόν(ω)*. The presence of a *iota* adscript is impossible at this time and place. The final *οι* is rather a mistake for *ω* caused by the visual similarity of the signs.

The form *καθησοι*, which occurs here and in the epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Phrim (below, no. 21, l. 6), is strange and difficult to explain. Here we expect either the third person singular of the aorist active of *καθίζω* (*ἐκάθισεν*) or the masculine participle of the aorist active of the same verb (*καθίσας*). As the form occurring on the stone obviously lacks the augment, one is inclined to choose the second of the aforementioned possibilities. Another possibility is that *καθησοι* stands for *καθίζει* under the change of *ι* for *η*, *ζ* for *ς*, and *ει* for *οι*. *ὁ ζῶν* instead of *ὁ ζήσας* in l. 7 shows that aorist was occasionally replaced by present in the language of the inscription’s redactor. The same holds true for the inscription no. 21.

7. *ὁ ζῶν* in the biographical lemma is characteristic of the Greek epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim. In addition to this inscription, it is also found in the epitaph of Bishop Marianou of Phrim (below, no. 21, l. 7), the epitaph of an unknown bishop of Kourte (below, no. 25, l. 7), and the epitaph of Arent[ . lia (below, no. 41, l. 5). The masculine participle of the present active *ὁ ζῶν*, ‘the one who lives’, is out of place here with reference to a person who is already dead. One would expect *ὁ ζήσας*, ‘the one who lived’. Introducing the age of the deceased with a participle of the verb *ζῆν* is very antique in style. Nubian epitaphs normally have no introductory formula at all in this place.

*ἡμέρα* means ‘time span’ here. This peculiar usage of the word *ἡμέρα* is characteristic of Nubian literacy in Greek.<sup>72</sup> It also is attested for the Coptic 200Υ.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>69</sup> For the list of attestations, see ŠAJTAR 1998: 77.

<sup>70</sup> Note that the stone has *ὁ μαιεροῦ* in this place.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. ŠAJTAR 2003a: no. 5, commentary to l. A 5.

<sup>72</sup> For a collection of the evidence and an attempt at explanation, see HÄGG 1982: 59.

<sup>73</sup> Cf., e.g., VAN DER VLIET 2003: no. 3, l. 13 and *passim*.

9. ἐΞΟΥΧΙΑ stands for ἐξουσία.<sup>74</sup> This is either a stonemason's mistake or a phonetic notation. Change of short λι for λ in final position is attested in Post-Classic Greek without being frequent (Gignac 1976: 194–5). ἐξουσία, originally 'power, authority', means 'office, magistracy' here.

The second person singular imperfect middle (ἔρχου = ἤρχου) is somewhat strange in an epitaph displaying an objective narration in the third person singular. Here we expect ἤρχετο or, still better, ἤρξατο. In connection with ἄρχω, the relative pronoun should stand in the genitive plural (ῶν). The οἱ extant on the stone is probably just a *lapsus* of the stonemason for λι (= αἱ) caused by the visual similarity of the letters ο and λ. If so, the relative pronoun was put incorrectly in the nominative instead of the genitive. Another possibility is that οἱ represents ῶν, with a shift of ω for ο, and an erroneous notation of ν. In this case we should edit: ἐξουσία δ(ν) ἔρχου.

10. The office of νοτάριος is attested several times in Christian Nubia, but the attestations are mainly from unpublished texts. Below, all known Nubian *notarii* are listed in chronological order. 1) One of the Coptic letters found in Qasr Ibrim, together with the Arabic letter from the governor of Egypt to the king of Makuria dated to AD 758, shows that a certain Petros, a notary, was a messenger of the king of Makuria to the governor of Egypt.<sup>75</sup> 2) The epitaph of Istephanou (Stephanos) from Old Dongola, who died AD 797, describes the career of the deceased in the following way: πρε(σβύτερος), χαλτ(ουλάριος), νοτ(άριος), ἀρχ(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) Μαρία ΤΙΜΑΙΕ, ΧΟΙΑΚΩΩΛ, ΔΟΚΝΑΩΩΛ, 'priest, *kbartularios*, *notarios*, archimandrite of (the Monastery of) Mary at Timaeie, *kboiakishsbil*, *joknaishsbil*'.<sup>76</sup> 3) A Coptic legal document kept in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (northern Nubia, beginning of the ninth century) lists among witnesses a certain Philotheos *notarios*.<sup>77</sup> 4) A Coptic legal document from northern Nubia and now in the British Museum was drawn up by a certain ΙΑΤΡΟΣ ΠΝΟΤΑΡ(Ι)Ο(С).<sup>78</sup> 5) The epitaph of Merki, palaeographically dated to the

<sup>74</sup> Similarly in the epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Phrim, below no. 21, ll. 10–11.

<sup>75</sup> The entire dossier deals with a series of diplomatic and military incidents involving both countries, and must have been part of the archive of the eparch of Nobadia; for this dossier, see PLUMLEY 1975b, who also cites the names of the two messengers of the Nubian king, Iakobos and Petros; for the Arabic letter, see HINDS & SAKKOUT 1981. The Coptic letters are being studied by Joost L. HAGEN.

<sup>76</sup> The most recent publication of this epitaph is by ŁAJTAR, in ŁAJTAR & TWARDECKI 2003: no. 110.

<sup>77</sup> The document has never been published properly. A short description is found in KRALL 1900: 236–8 (especially 237).

<sup>78</sup> CRUM 1905: no. 452. The document has no internal date. Like the other legal docu-

eighth–tenth century and found by the Canadian Mission at Hambukol, shows that the deceased fulfilled the following offices: χαρτ(ου)λάριος) ΣΑΗ, ἔξαρχ(ος) ΤΙΜΙΚΛΕΩΣ ὑψη(λῆ)ς γῆ(ς), νοτ(άριος), μιζώτ(ερος), πρωτ(ο)δομίστικος, ‘*kbartularios* of Sai, *exarkhos* ΤΙΜΙΚΛΕΟΣ (?) the Lofty Land, *notarios*, *meizoteros*, *protodomestikos*’.<sup>79</sup> 6) An unpublished letter from Qasr Ibrim, probably of the twelfth–thirteenth century, has in the address: ΠΑΠΑΣΑ νοτ(άριος) (καὶ) ΔΟΚΝΑΨΟΥ ΠῆΡ πρε(σβύτερος) (καὶ) νοτ(άριος), ‘Papasa, *notarios* and *joknashou* to PER (?), priest and *notarios*’.<sup>80</sup> 7) An unpublished inscription in the western portico of the Upper Church at Banganarti, probably from the thirteenth century, mentions a certain Phourou (?) who was: πρε(σβύτερος) Μη(τηρ) Βασ(ιλέως), ἐπιστ(ολογράφος), νοτ(άριος) ζητῶν, (...) πόλιν ΘΕΚΝΑ, ‘priest of (the Church) of the Mother of the King, epistolary scribe, *notarios* of those who are seeking justice (?), (...) *Theгна* of the Town’.<sup>81</sup> The same man is probably referred to in a neighbouring inscription which was left [ὑπὲρ] ἀναψύξεως νοτ(αρίου) με(γάλου).<sup>82</sup> 8) An inscription in debased Greek on a wall of Deir Anba Hadra (St Simeon Monastery) at Aswan dating from AD 1322 in which, among other persons, is mentioned [---]γη πάντων νοτ(άριος).<sup>83</sup> Finally, one should add the epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Phrim, which contains the information that the deceased was a chief *notarios* (ἀρχινοτάριος) of the eparch (below, no. 21, ll. 11–12). The Greek νοτάριος transcribes the Latin *notarius*. In the times of the Roman Empire, *notarii*, often recruited from among the imperial freedmen, were primarily stenographers who recorded the minutes of important meetings (cf. Teitler 1985). Later, in the time of the Eastern Roman Empire, they were known as scribes and secretaries serving in various government departments like the

ments in Coptic bought in Aswan for the British Museum but of northern Nubian provenance (CRUM 1905: nos. 447–54), it should probably be dated to the beginning of the ninth century.

<sup>79</sup> The inscription will be published by Adam ŁAJTAR. It should be observed that the sequence of offices is not clear as the last three titles were added on the right-hand margin.

<sup>80</sup> Readings by Adam ŁAJTAR from the photo of the document kept in the Qasr Ibrim archive, Faculty of Oriental Studies, Cambridge; transferred to the British Museum, London, in 2008.

<sup>81</sup> The inscription will be published by Adam ŁAJTAR. Note that the description of Phourou’s career, though perfectly readable on the wall, may be subject to different interpretations due to its unclear syntax and corrupt orthography. It is, e.g., unclear what the expression νοτ(άριος) ζητῶν means exactly. One can suppose that ζητῶν = ζητῶν and stands for ζητευόντων here; ζητεούντες might then be ‘those who appear in court to seek justice’.

<sup>82</sup> To be published by Adam ŁAJTAR.

<sup>83</sup> GRIFFITH 1928: 137, l. 8. Note that ]γη is probably the end of the name of this man.

*genikon, vestiaron, dromos*, etc. It is undoubtedly in this later meaning that the term *νοτάριος* was used in Christian Nubia.<sup>84</sup> Thus, our Georgiou and Marianou from the next inscription, future bishops of Phrim, started their careers as employees in the office of an eparch. This eparch was most probably the eparch of Nobadia, one of the most important officials of the Kingdom of Makuria, who, as we know, resided in Qasr Ibrim in the twelfth–thirteenth century and perhaps also earlier.<sup>85</sup>

In addition to this inscription, the monastery of Raphael is also mentioned in the epitaph of Bishop Marianou, who was its archimandrite (below, no. 21, ll. 12–13). It is nearly certain that both mentions, here and in the epitaph of Marianou, refer to the same monastery. The location of the monastery is unknown. We probably have to look for it in Qasr Ibrim or its vicinity.

11. The monastery of Pashshe is only known so far through this single attestation. ΠΑΩΩΕ must be a toponym referring to the village where the monastery, of which Georgiou was the archimandrite, was located. It was transferred onto the monastery because this was the only, or the main, element of the village's cultural and religious landscape.<sup>86</sup> The location of the village of Pashshe with its monastery is unknown. ΠΑΩΩΕ is undoubtedly a Nubian toponym, perhaps derived from the Old Nubian ΠΑΩ(Ω)-, 'to separate'.<sup>87</sup>

11–18. The prayer for the dead occurring in these lines is paralleled by the prayer for the dead in several other Greek epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim. The list includes: the epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Phrim (below, no. 21, ll. 13–19), the epitaph of an unknown bishop of Kourte (below, no. 25, ll. 8–14), the epitaph of a man Arent[ . ]ia (below, no. 41, ll. 8–15), the epitaph of an unknown person (below, no. 60, ll. 2–10), and another epitaph of an unknown person (below, no. 61, ll. 1–9). It is also found outside Qasr Ibrim, in the epitaphs of two bishops of Faras, Maththaios and Kollouthos.<sup>88</sup> A very similar prayer is attested in Coptic epi-

<sup>84</sup> This is particularly clear in the case of Iatros the *notarios*, whose subscription of the Coptic legal document in the British Museum qualifies him as the scribe.

<sup>85</sup> ADAMS 1996: 42–58 and 245–6.

<sup>86</sup> Examples of transferring place-names to cult places, including monasteries, are numerous in both ancient and recent times. Thus, the oldest Benedictine monastery in Poland, in the vicinity of Cracow, is always referred to as Tyniec, and the famous Pauline monastery in Częstochowa, with the painting of the Black Madonna, is known as Jasna Góra.

<sup>87</sup> For the meaning, see BROWNE 1996: 147, *s.v.* ΠΑΩ(Ω)-. One can hypothesise that the village was situated at a place where the River Nile divided into smaller currents or where a basin was separated from the Nile Valley.

<sup>88</sup> For Maththaios, see ŁAJTAR, in ŁAJTAR & TWARDĘCKI 2003: no. 105, ll. 7–14; for Kollouthos, see ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 1, ll. 6–11. Note that the two Faras epitaphs lack the request for rest *ἐν παραδείσῳ τῆς τρυφῆς*.

taphs from Egypt and Nubia.<sup>89</sup> The prayer is definitely of liturgical origin. It may have been modelled on the prayer for the dead from the diptychs of the Liturgy of St Basil which reads:<sup>90</sup> *καταξίωσον ἐν κόλποις τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ· ἔκτρεψον, σύναψον εἰς τόπον χλόης, ἐπὶ ὕδατος ἀναπαύσεως, ἐν παραδείσῳ τρυφῆς, ἔνθα ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός, ἐν τῇ λαμπρότητι τῶν ἁγίων σου.*

15–16. The form *στεναγμοῖς* is attested in other Nubian epitaphs.<sup>91</sup> It is probably to be understood as the nominative plural *στεναγμοί* with a *c* added in the final position. It is possible, however, that *CTENAΓΜΟΙC* is a mere *lapsus* for *CTENAΓΜΩC*, rooted in the visual similarity of *Ω* and *ΟΙ*. The spelling *CTENAΓΜΩC* is attested without being common.

## 21. Epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Phrim

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 66/101. Documentation: photo nos. 66P3/35, 66V15/25, 66VC6/5.

Found in the fill of Tomb 12, in the Cathedral cemetery terrace, west of the South Church (see the introductory remarks to this group of inscriptions).

Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 90880.

A rectangular slab of sandstone, 56 x 27 x 12.5 cm. The lower left-hand corner of the slab is broken off, edges chipped away. Along the edges runs a raised border. The space within the border is divided into two uneven parts by a fillet connected with the border, but slightly wider than it. The border and the fillet carry an incised ornamental decoration. The decoration of the side borders consists of zigzags with dots inside, and that of the upper and the lower borders, as well as the fillet, of x-shaped patterns with

<sup>89</sup> Egypt: e.g., the epitaph of a priest Stephanos from Esna, SAUNERON & COQUIN 1980: 259–60, no. 57; Nubia: e.g., the epitaph of a deacon Petrou from Debeira-West, VAN DER VLIET 2003: no. 17 (with commentary).

<sup>90</sup> BUDDE 2004: 190. Similarly in the prayer for the dead from the diptychs of the Liturgy of St Gregory (GERHARDS 1984: 46–7) and St Mark, as contained in the so-called Kacmarcik Codex (MACOMBER 1979: 56). For the anaphoral prayers for the dead according to the earliest liturgical sources from Egypt, see generally HENNER 2009.

<sup>91</sup> For a list of attestations and interpretation, see ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 17, commentary to l. 9, and add nos. 20, ll. 15–16, 21, l. 17, 57, l. 13, and 60, ll. 7–8, from the present catalogue.

a dot inside each quarter, separated by double strokes.<sup>92</sup> On the lower margin of the slab, below the border, one sees a circle in the centre divided by four intersecting lines into eight even parts having dots inside, and on the right-hand side a circle with an eight-petalled rosette. An identical rosette was probably placed on the left-hand side, which is now damaged. The upper, smaller part of the space delimited by the border carries a sculptured decoration showing three mountain-like elements, each surmounted by a cross. The central element is higher than the lateral ones. It has a round top and is decorated with four vertical patterns resembling petals. The lateral elements have the form of a half of an oval; their interior is intersected by lines, three on each element, running parallel to the top of the elements. The lower, bigger part of the space delimited by the border is occupied by the inscription. The text has been incised without ruling, but very carefully and nicely. The letters are regular and form even lines. Palaeographically, they represent Nubian-type majuscules. Note the extensive use of double points to separate the words and to mark the numerals. Traces of green colouring are visible on the surface of the slab.

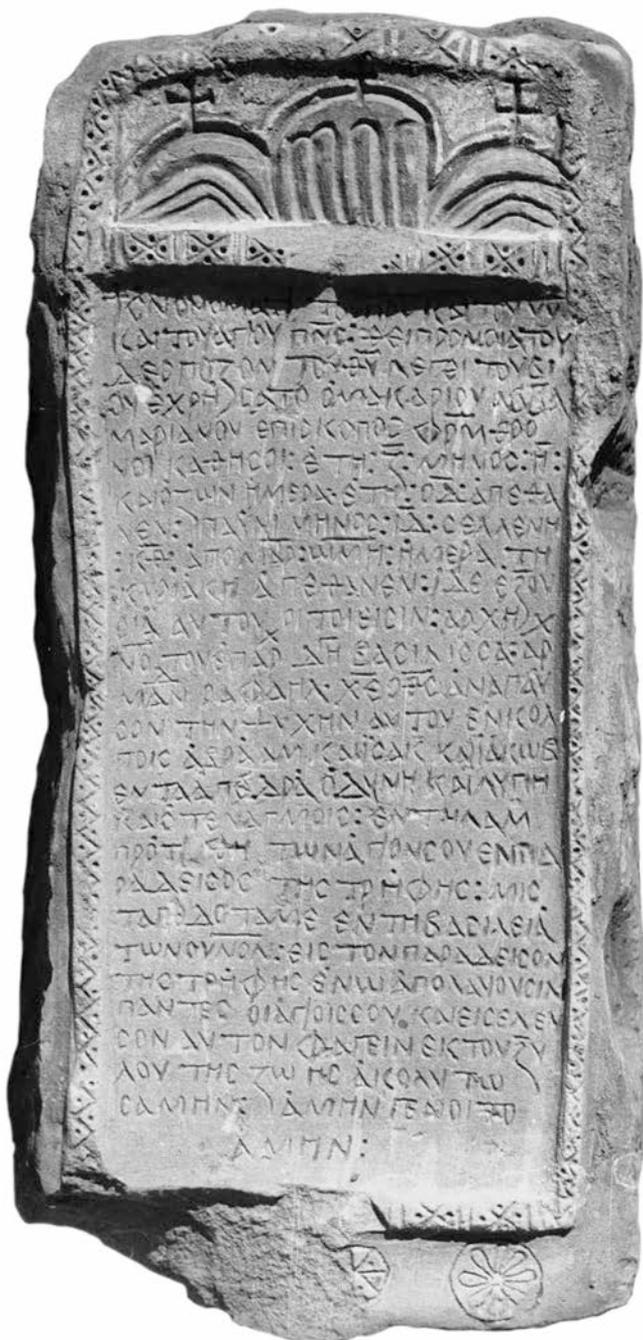
Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley 1966: 11 (report on the discovery); Plumley 1970: 131, fig. 106 (photo of the upper part of the stela).

8 June AD 1132.

† ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς καὶ τοῦ υ(ἰο)ῦ  
καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· θεί(α) προνοία τοῦ  
δεσπόζοντος θ(εο)ῦ λέγει τοῦ βί-  
4 ου ἐχρήσατο ὁ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ἄββα  
ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡΜ, θρό-  
ν(ω) καθήσ(α)ς : ἔτη : ζ̄ : μηνὸς : η̄ :  
καὶ ὁ ζῶν ἡμέρα • ἔτη : οδ̄, • ἀπέθα-  
8 νεν : Παῦνι μηνὸς : ιδ̄ : σελλένη

<sup>92</sup> This somewhat resembles the segmented frieze of classical architecture. There were probably seven such segments on the dividing fillet and six on the upper and the lower borders.



Epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Phrim (no. 21)

- : κθ̄ : ἀπὸ μαρτ(ύρων) : ω̄μη̄ : ἡμέρα τῆ  
 κυριακῆ ἀπέθανεν. : ἰδὲ ἐξου-  
 σία αὐτοῦ οἰτοῖ εἰσιν : ἀρχη-  
 12 νοτ(άριος) τοῦ ἐπάρχ(ου), δηγ( ) βασιλίσσα, : ἀρχ(ι)-  
 μανδ(ρίτης) Ῥαφαήλ. • Χ(ριστ)ἔ ὁ θ(εό)ς, ἀνάπαυ-  
 σον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν κόλ-  
 ποῖς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ,  
 16 ἔντα ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη  
 καὶ στεναγμοῖς, : ἐν τῇ λαμ-  
 πρότιθη τῶν ἁγίων σου, ἐν πα-  
 ραδείσος τῆς τρηφῆς, : μισ-  
 20 ταποδότα με ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ  
 τῶν οὐ(ρα)νῶν, : εἰς τὸν παράδεισον  
 τῆς τρηφῆς, ἐν ᾧ ἀπολαύουσιν  
 πάντες οἱ ἅγιοίς σου, καὶ εἰσέλευ-  
 24 σον αὐτὸν φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύ-  
 λου τῆς ζωῆς ἀκολύτω-  
 σ· ἀμήν, : ἀμήν, γένοιτο,  
 ἀμήν. :

1. ΠΡ̄C | ΓῩ || 2. ΠΠ̄C || 3. ΘῩ || 4. ΕΧΡΗΣΑΤΟ ΟΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ || 5-6. ΘΡΟΝΟΙ ΚΑΘΗ-  
 COI || 6. ΕΤΗ || 7. ΟΖΩΝΗΜΕΡΛΕΤΗ || 7-8. ΑΠΕΘΑΝΕΝ || 8. ΠΛΥΝΤΗ || 9. ΑΠΟΜΑΡ  
 ΗΜΕΡΑ || 10. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ ΑΠΕΘΑΝΕΝ || 10-11. ΙΔΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ || 12. ΝΟ | ΕΠΑΡ ΔΗ ||  
 12-13. ΑΡΜΑΝ || 13. ΧΕ ΟΘC || 13-14. ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΟΝ || 15. ΑΒΡΑΑΜ | ΙΣΑΚ | ΙΑΚΩΒ ||  
 16. ΑΠΕΔΡΑΔΥΝΗΚΑΙ || 17. ΣΤΕΝΑΓΜΟΙC || 17-18. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΙΘΗ || 18. ΑΓΙΟΝ ||  
 19. ΤΡΗΦΗC || 21. ΟΥΡΑΝΩΝ || 22. ΤΡΗΦΗC | ΕΝΩΑΠΟΛΑΥΟΥCΙΝ || 23. ΑΓΙΟΙC ||  
 25-6. ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΩCΑΜΗΝ || 26. ΑΜΗΝ || 27. ΑΜΗΝ

3. δεσπόζοντος | either τέλει οἱ λήξει (see commentary) || 6. καθίσας || 8. σελήνη ||  
 10-11. ἐξουσίαι || 11. αὐταί || 11-12. ἀρχινοτάριος || 12. βασιλίσης || 15. Ἰσαὰκ ||  
 16. ἔνθα || 17. στεναγμοί (?) || 17-18. λαμπρότητι | ἁγίων || 18-19. παραδείσω ||  
 19. τρηφῆς || 19-20. either μισθαποδότα μου οἱ μισθαποδότησόν με (see commen-  
 tary) || 21. οὐρανῶν || 22. τρηφῆς || 23. ἅγιοι || 23-4. most probably εἰσέλασον (see  
 commentary) || 25-6. ἀκολούθως

*In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Through the  
 divine providence of God who is Lord, the blessed Abba Marianou, bishop  
 of Phrim, accomplished (his) life. He sat on the throne 7 years (and)  
 8 months. And the time span he lived through (was) 74 years. He died on*

*(day) 14 of the month of Pauni, on (day) 29 of the lunar month, (in the year) from the Martyrs 848, on Sunday. And his offices were (as follows): chief notary of the eparch, [---] of the queen, archimandrite of (the monastery of) Raphael. O Christ God, rest his soul in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, whence pain and grief and lamentations have fled away, in the brilliancy of Your saints, in the paradise of joy, recompense me (sic) (with a place) in the Kingdom of Heavens, in the paradise of joy, where all Your saints rejoice, and bring him to eat from the Tree of Life unimpeded, amen, amen, so be it, amen.*

3. δεσποζόντου is paralleled by δεσποζόντους occurring in the epitaph of Georgiou, bishop of Phrim (above, no. 20, ll. 3–4 with commentary). c was omitted at the end of the word, as is frequently the case in Nubian Greek.

λέγει is strange as there is no word formed in this manner (nom. λέγεις or λέγος, dat. λέγει). Here we expect τέλει. Perhaps the redactor of this inscription or the stonemason who was responsible for its final form, performed a metathesis (λετει instead of τελει) and then changed τ for γ owing to the visual similarity of the two letters. Another possibility is that the author of the inscription had λήξει in mind. The change of η for ε is attested without being frequent (cf. Gignac 1976: 242–4); that of γ for ζ is possible. Provided that the second hypothesis is correct, the meaning is: ‘abba Marianou, bishop of Phrim, took his lot’.

6. μηνός is out of place in the indication of the length of Makariou’s episcopacy. One expects μῆνας here. The mistake can be understood differently. It may be due to a weak sense of the Greek declension system among Nubian speakers, whose native tongue did not have declension of nouns. Another possibility is that μηνός was used here under the influence of the indication of the month date, which normally assumes the form: μηνός + a month name + a number.<sup>93</sup> Or, perhaps it is just a *lapsus* of the stonemason rooted in the visual similarity of the letters λ and ο in Nubian-type majuscules.

10. ἰδέ at the beginning of the sentence looks sophisticated. Obviously, the redactor was a man of letters.

11. ΟΙΤΟΙ extant on the stone is difficult to explain. Perhaps the redactor of the epitaph incorrectly used the masculine directive pronoun in the nominative plural (οἶτοι) instead of the feminine (αὐται). Another possibility is a *lapsus* of the stonemason rooted in the visual similarity of letters λ and ο in Nubian-type majuscules. ι instead of γ on the second position is probably a simple stonemason’s mistake.

<sup>93</sup> Such an expression occurs two lines lower, where we have Παῦνι μηνός : ἰδ̄.

11–12. ἀρχινοτάριος τοῦ ἐπάρχου is paralleled by νοτάριος τοῦ ἐπάρχου, the office held by Georgiou, future bishop of Phrim (above, no. 20, l. 10 with commentary). As was argued in the commentary to the epitaph of Georgiou, under ἐπαρχος we probably have to understand the eparch of Nobadia. It is well known that the eparch of Nobadia exercised control over the northernmost part of the Kingdom of Makuria, neighbouring Islamic Egypt. Consequently, he was responsible for the multifaceted contacts with the powerful northern neighbour, including the realisation of the *baqt*. He was also the agent of the king of Makuria in the Red Sea trade. The finds from Qasr Ibrim show that the eparch of Nobadia carried on a large-scale correspondence in Coptic, Greek, Old Nubian and Arabic, which presupposes the existence of an extensive chancery. The employees of this chancery, or at least some of them, were called νοτάριοι, ‘notaries’, and its head functioned under the designation ἀρχινοτάριος, ‘chief notary’.

12. The position of the expression δηγ( ) βασιλίσσα, in between the names of two offices held by the deceased Marianou during his lifetime, indicates that this must also be the name of an office. It probably assumes the form of an attributive expression, in which the first element is *regens* and the second one is *rectus*. If so, we should have βασιλίσσης. βασιλίσσα extant on the stone may be explained twofold: 1) It is due to the weak sense of the Greek declension system on the part of the inscription’s redactor, who incorrectly used the nominative instead of the genitive; 2) The word ‘queen’ was declined βασιλίσσα, βασιλίσσας in the language of the inscription’s redactor, who dropped *c* in the final position. The meaning of the first element of the name of the office and, consequently, the way of resolving the abbreviation, are not clear. No suitable word beginning with δηγ- (δειγ-, διγ-, διογ-, δυγ-) is attested in the dictionaries of the Greek language. It is not to be excluded that the abbreviation ΔΗ occurring in this inscription transcribes the word διάκονος under the change of *ι* for *η* and *κ* for *ρ*. The word διάκονος was normally abbreviated ΔΚ in Greek inscriptions of the Christian world, including Nubia, but the abbreviations Κι and Ρι sporadically occur in the Banganarti inscriptions.<sup>94</sup> Provided that ΔΗ really stands for διάκονος, the reading of Marianou’s second office should be: δη(ά)γ(ονος) βασιλίσσα (i.e. διάκονος βασιλίσσης), ‘deacon of the Queen’. The word βασιλίσσα probably refers to a royal woman, perhaps the wife of the king of Makuria. It is quite understandable that members of the royal Makurian family, especially king and queen, had their private clergymen who assured their spiritual guidance and fulfilled sacramental services for them. Such a private priest of King Moüses Georgiou is probably mentioned in one of the Old Nubian documents from Qasr Ibrim (Browne 1991: no. 32, ll. 22–4): ‘I, David, being of Mosmosi, in the retinue of the Priest of King George, wrote and witnessed’. Being the deacon of the

<sup>94</sup> Unpublished material studied by Adam ŁAJTAR.

queen, Marianou must have spent some time on the royal court in Dongola or, inversely, the queen sojourned for a period in the north and a local clergyman Marianou was asked to fulfill the function of her private deacon. Another possibility is that βασιλίσσα refers to Mary, Mother of Jesus who, after her death, was taken to Heaven and crowned Queen by her Son.<sup>95</sup> Provided so, it must be the name of the church in which our Marianou fulfilled the function of the deacon. Or, perhaps ΛΗ stands for δη(οι)γ(ητής), i.e. δι(οι)κ(ητής). διοικητής βασιλίσσης could have been a person who took care of the private property of the queen.

13–27. The prayer for the dead contained in these lines clearly consists of two parts; part I encompasses ll. 13–19, part II, ll. 19–26. Part I repeats the stereotypical prayer for the dead as it occurs in several Qasr Ibrim epitaphs.<sup>96</sup> Part II is a unique composition, perhaps shaped on a liturgical or literary model. Its authorship is difficult to ascertain. It was rather not the work of the redactor of the inscription but an older composition used by him. The two parts were combined rather automatically. As a result, the request for rest in the paradise of joy was repeated twice, once in part I (ll. 18–19) and once in part II (ll. 21–2).

18–19. ἐν παραδείσος (for ἐν παραδείσῳ) is also found in no. 41, ll. 14–15. It probably has nothing to do with syntax (nominative instead of dative) but is purely phonetic: change of ω for ο, addition of σ in final position.

19–20. ΜΙΣΤΑΠΟΔΟΤΑ looks like the vocative of μισθαποδότης with a change of θ for τ. But the vocative μισθαποδότα is out of place in connection with με, which requires a verb either in the indicative or, better still, in the imperative. We should have either μισθαποδότα μου, ‘O my recompenser’ or μισθαποδοτήσόν με, ‘recompense me’.<sup>97</sup> Or, perhaps, ΜΙΣΤΑΠΟΔΟΤΑ is the second person singular imperative of present active (μισθαποδοτά) or the third person singular indicative of present active (μισθαποδοτά). With this reading, however, one has to admit the change of final vowel of the root (μισθαποδοτάω instead of μισθαποδοτέω). μισθαποδοτέω is used to describe the action of God towards the soul of the deceased in an epitaph from Wadi el-Ghazali:<sup>98</sup> ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν κόλποις τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων Ἀβραάμ Ἰσ[αὰκ Ἰα]κώβ, μισθαπο[δοτήσων ---]. On the basis of this inscription, the verb μισθαποδοτέω was conjectured by Gustave

<sup>95</sup> The use of βασιλίσσα without a complement as a Marian title is attested without being frequent; cf. LAMPE 1961: s.v. βασιλίσσα.

<sup>96</sup> For this prayer, see above, no. 20, commentary to ll. 11–18.

<sup>97</sup> Perhaps these two expressions were conflated, thus producing the incorrect μισταποδότα με.

<sup>98</sup> LEFEBVRE 1907: no. 608. This inscription may be the same as ΛΑΥΤΑΡ 2003a: no. 41 (see the commentary there). LEFEBVRE (followed by ΛΑΥΤΑΡ) read μισθαπο[δοτήσας], but μισθαπο[δοτήσων] is better in the given context.

Lefebvre in another inscription from Wadi el-Ghazali (Lefebvre 1907: no. 611). God is designated as *μισθαποδότης* (recompenser) in a fourth-century inscription from Philippopolis in Thracia, modern Plovdiv in Bulgaria (Beševliev 1964: no. 207, ll. 5–7): ἦς (= εἰς) χάριν ἀντάξι[ω]ν μισθὸν δώσε(ι) κ(ύρι)ος μισθ[α]ποδότης, and in *P. Gen.* I 14, l. 27 (4th–6th century): τῷ μισθ(α)ποδότῃ θεῷ. The use of *μισθαποδοτέω* and *μισθαποδότης* with relation to God in inscriptions and papyri probably goes back to Heb. 11:6: πιστεῦσαι γὰρ δεῖ τὸν προσερχόμενον τῷ θεῷ ὅτι ἔστιν καὶ τοῖς ἐκζητοῦσιν αὐτὸν μισθαποδότης γίνεται; see also Matt. 20:8: κάλεσον τοὺς ἔργατας καὶ ἀπόδος αὐτοῖς τὸν μίσθον ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἕως τῶν πρώτων (about the vineyard's owner).

Note that the redactor of the inscription changed the object of the request from the third person (αὐτόν) to the first person (με).

21–3. The request for rest in the paradise of joy where all God's saints rejoice lacks a verb in the imperative (or, alternatively, in the subjunctive) and a pronoun. One tentatively supplements: <εἰσέλασον αὐτὸν> εἰς τὸν παράδεισον τῆς τρυφῆς, ἐν ᾧ ἀπολαύουσιν πάντες οἱ ἅγιοί σου. Alternatively, the request under consideration depends on *μισθαποδότα με* (= *μισθαποδοτήσόν με*) in the previous request, but unlike the latter which has ἐν + dative, the former has been constructed with the use of εἰς + accusative. Provided the second supposition is correct, we have a sign of the wavering between dative and accusative resulting from the gradual disappearance of the dative in Post-Classic Greek (cf. Humbert 1930).

The addition of ἐν ᾧ ἀπολαύουσιν πάντες οἱ ἅγιοί σου to the common designation *παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς* occurs only here among Greek epitaphs from Nubia.<sup>99</sup> It gives the impression of a liturgical or literary borrowing. The exact source of this borrowing is unknown, the picture of saints rejoicing in God's companionship being common to the Early Christian imagery; cf., e.g., Callinicus, *Vita sancti Hypatii* 26.5:<sup>100</sup> ἀληθῶς γὰρ οἱ ἅγιοι λαμπρῶν σιτίων μετέχουσιν ἀπολαύοντες τῆς θείας καὶ πνευματικῆς τραπέζης; Ephraem Syrus, *Encomium in gloriosos martyres, qui in toto mundo martyrium sunt passi*:<sup>101</sup> τρισμακάριοι εἰσιν ἅπαντες οἱ ἅγιοι, ὁποίας κληρονομίας μέλλουσιν ἀπολαύειν, καὶ τῆς μετὰ Χριστοῦ αἰεὶ συνδιατριβῆς, τοῦ ὑπεραστράπτοντος τὸ φῶς τὸ ὑπέρλαμπρον; Eusebius, *De ecclesiastica theologia* 111.14.3:<sup>102</sup> οὐκοῦν οἱ ἅγιοι πάντοτε συνεσόμενοι αὐτῷ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἀπολαύουσιν ἐν τῇ κατηγγελμένῃ τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείᾳ.

<sup>99</sup> But see the Coptic stela of Bishop Thomas of Faras, died AD 862, ll. 20–1: 'in Heavenly Jerusalem, where the saints have found rest' (JAKOBIELSKI 1972: 77); for ΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟϚ = ἀπολαύω, see CRUM 1939: 194b.

<sup>100</sup> Ed. G. J. M. BARTELINK, *Callinicos. Vie d'Hypatios*, Paris 1971 [= *Sources chrétiennes* 177].

<sup>101</sup> Ed. K. G. PHRANTZOLES, *Ἰστοῦν Ἐφραῖμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα* VII, Thessalonica 1998, p. 167.

<sup>102</sup> Ed. G. C. HANSEN, E. KLOSTERMANN, *Eusebius Werke*, IV. *Gegen Marcell. Über die kirch-*

23–5. *εἰσέλευσον* must stand for *εἰσελάσον*. The mistake probably came into existence through the conflation of two verbs: *εἰσελαύνω* and *εἰσελεύσομαι*. In addition to this inscription, the request for the soul of the dead to be fed from the Tree of Life occurs in the epitaph of one Thecla, originating from the Fayyum (Lefebvre 1907: no. 107), and the epitaph of Ioannes, a deacon, said to come from Old Cairo (Lefebvre 1907: no. 67), both having *ψώμισον αὐτῆς (αὐτοῦ) ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς*. It is also found in Coptic epitaphs from Egypt and Nubia.<sup>103</sup> The Tree of Life is the tree that grew in the primeval paradise and produced fruits giving immortality. The fruits were tasted by Adam as described in Gen. 3:22: *καὶ νῦν μήποτε ἐκτείνῃ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ λάβῃ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς καὶ φάγῃ καὶ ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*. His sinful action cut off man from paradise, but God promised new access to the Tree of Life to those who follow the way of righteousness; cf. Rev. 2:7: *τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ θεοῦ*. The request, occurring in the epitaph discussed here and in the epitaphs of Thecla and Ioannes, refers to this divine promise.

25–6. The disposition of the text on the stone suggests the transcript *ΑΚΟΛΟΥΤΩΣΑΜΗΝ*. This looks like the first person plural of the aorist active of the verb *ἀκολουθέω* under the loss of augment and the change of *η* for *ω*: *ἠκολουθήσαμεν*, ‘we have followed’. This is completely out of place here. Obviously the initial idea was to have *ἀκολουτῶς* (for *ἀκολουθῶς*): *ἀμήν* (so in the printed text above). This was misunderstood by the stonemason who made one word out of two. Or, perhaps this mistake initially occurred in the text prepared by the redactor?

*liche Theologie. Die Fragmente Marcells*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1972 [= *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 14].

<sup>103</sup> The examples from Nubia are: 1) the epitaph of Eleutheria Tasia from Naga el-Sheima (SATZINGER, in BIETAK & SCHWARZ 1987: 170; *SBKopt.* II 1068); 2) the epitaph of Theognosta, probably from Qasr Ibrim (SCHENKE 2000: 177, ll. 8–9); 3) the epitaph of Keudonia from Sakinya (MINA 1942: no. 308, ll. 6–8; *SBKopt.* II 1209). A similar request is found in the prayer for the donor in the Coptic colophon VAN LANTSCHOOT 1929: no. LXXXIV, ll. 25–7 (ms. British Library Or. 6781, Upper Egypt, AD 983, containing the encomium on St Michael the Archangel attributed to Theodosius, archbishop of Alexandria). The Tree of Life is mentioned, furthermore, in slightly different wording in several other Coptic epitaphs from Nubia. These are: 1) the epitaph of Marianta from Arminna (*SBKopt.* I 460, ll. 11–13); 2) the epitaph of an unknown person from Sakinya (MINA 1942: no. 82, ll. 2–3); 3) the epitaph of Petrosinta from Sakinya (MINA 1942: no. 320, l. 14); 4) the epitaph of Ioannou from Sakinya (MINA 1942: no. 321, l. 10).

22. Epitaph of Marianou,  
bishop of Pakhoras

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 66/43. Documentation: photo nos. 66v7/24, 66v7/29.

Found in the Cathedral cemetery terrace, west of the South Church, in loose fill of Christian date (see the introductory remarks to this group of inscriptions).

Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 90878.

Round topped stela of gray sandstone, 70 x 40 x 10 cm. The stela was cut out of an elongated block, perhaps a lintel, which served as the support for inscription no. 1 (placed on the left-hand face of the stela). Preserved almost completely; surface slightly weathered, edges chipped off. The epigraphic field is surrounded by a raised border, c. 4 cm wide. On the sides and at the top the border runs along the edges; at the bottom it leaves an unsmoothed space, c. 6–7 cm wide, probably designed to keep the stone in an upright position. The first three lines of the inscription are separated from the main body of the text by an incised horizontal line. The final cross is placed on the lower border. The inscription is carved without guidelines, but quite nicely and carefully. The letters are regular and form even lines. They become bigger and more widely spaced towards the end of the inscription in order to fill in the space the stonemason had at his disposal. The letters are generally Nubian-type majuscules, however  $\lambda$  in l. 1 is the so-called ‘*alpha à barre brisée*’, characteristic of epigraphic majuscules. Strokes are frequently provided with dots at the endings, an endeavour which resembles, to a degree, the apices of the classical monumental script.

From the stone, Plumley 1971: 77–84. From the photo and the publication of Plumley, Kubińska 1974: 38–40, no. 8, fig. 9.

Cf. Plumley 1966: 11 (report on the find); Plumley 1970: 131, fig. 102 (photo of the upper part of the stela); Jakobielski 1972: 144 with n. 18 (on Bishop Marianou); Łajtar 1992: 120 (on the function of archimandrite); Łajtar 1996: 105, no. 4 (basic metric and bibliographic data); Łajtar & van der Vliet 1998: 44–5 (on the expression ‘having the Four Living Creatures of the Island of Teme’).



Epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Pakhoras (no. 22)

11 November AD 1036.

- $\overline{Α}$  †  $\overline{Ω}$   
 φῶς ζωῆς  
 † ἀπὸ μαρτ(ύρων) : ψ̄νγ :
- 
- 4 ὁ θ(εὸ)ς τῶν πν(ευμ)άτων καὶ πάσης  
 σαρκός, ὁ τῶν θάνατον καταρ-  
 γήσας κ(αὶ) τὸν Ἄδην καταπατήσας  
 κ(αὶ) ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος,
- 8 ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τὸν δούλό-  
 ν σου ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(οδόξου) ἐπισκ(όπου) ΠΑΧΩΡΑΣ  
 κ(αὶ) ἀρχημανδρίτης ΠΟΥΚΩ • κ(αὶ) ἀπόστολος τοῦ  
 Βαβυλῶν • κ(αὶ) ἔχων Τέσσαρα Ζῶα νήσος
- 12 ΤΗΜΕ • ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ κ(αὶ) Ἰσαὰκ κ(αὶ) Ἰακώ(β),  
 ἐν τόπῳ φωτειῷ, ἐν τόπῳ χλόη, • ἐν τόπῳ ἀνα-  
 ψύξαιως, ἔντ' ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη κ(αὶ) λύπη κ(αὶ) σ-  
 τεναγμῶς· πᾶν ἀμάρτημα παρ' αὐτοῦ παρεχ-
- 16 θὲν λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν,  
 ὡς μόνος ἀγαθὸς κ(αὶ) φιλάν(θρωπ)ος, ὡς ζήσαι-  
 ται κ(αὶ) οὐχ ἀμαρτήσης· σὺ γὰρ μόνος, θ(εὸ)ς, πά-  
 σης ἀμαρ[τίας] ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχεις κ(αὶ) ἡ δικ(αι)ο-
- 20 σὴν ἐῖς τῶν αἰῶνα, κ(ύρι)ε, ὁ λόγος σου ἀ-  
 λήθεια : σὺ γὰρ ἡ ἀνάπαυσης κ(αὶ) ἀνάστα-  
 σης τὸν σὼν δούλόν σου ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ  
 ὀρθ(ό)δοξον ἐπίσκ(οπον) ΠΑΧ(ΩΡΑΣ) κ(αὶ) σοὶ τὴν δόξα. :
- 24 ἔτη καθ(ίσας) ἐπὶ θρόν(ω) : λ̄γ :  
 ἔτη ἡμέρα τῆς ζω-  
 ῆς αὐτοῦ : ξ̄θ : Ἀθῦρ : ιε̄.
- †

3. ἀπό ΜΑΡ<sup>Τ</sup> || 5. ὀΤΩΝ || 6. κ· || 7. κ· || 9. ᾱβ̄ || 9. ὀΡ̄ ἐπίς<sup>Κ</sup> || 10. κ· | κ· | τοῦδ̄ ||  
 11. κ· || 12. κ· Ἰσακκ· Ἰακωκ̄ || 14. κ· | κ· || 17. κ· Φιλλῶς || 18. κ· | ὀκ̄ || 19. κ· ||  
 19–20. Δικ· ὀσγνη || 20. κ̄ε̄ || 21. κ· || 22. ᾱβ̄ || 23. ὀΡ̄ Δοξονεπίς π̄λ κ· ||  
 24. ἔτη κ̄λ | ὀρονοι || 25. ἔτηῆμερα

5. τὸν || 8–9. τοῦ δούλου || 10. ἀρχιμανδρίτου | ἀποστόλου || 11. ἔχοντος | νήσου ||  
 13. τόπῳ φωτειῷ | τόπῳ χλόης || 13–14. τόπῳ ἀναψύξεως || 14. ἔνθ' || 14–15. στε-

ναγμός || 15–16. πραχθὲν || 16. λόγω || 17–18. ὅς ζήσεται || 18. ἀμαρτήσῃ || 20. τὸν ||  
 21. ἀνάπανσις || 21–2. ἀνάστασις || 22. τὸν σὸν δούλον (for τοῦ σοῦ δούλου) || 23. ὀρθο-  
 δόξου ἐπισκόπου | δόξαν

*Alpha Omega. Light of Life. (In the year) from the Martyrs 753. God of the spirits and of all flesh, You who have defeated death and trodden down Hades and given life to the world, rest the soul of Your servant Abba Marianou, orthodox bishop of Pakhoras and archimandrite of Pouko and envoy to Babylon (= Cairo) and having (the Church of) the Four Living Creatures of the Island of Teme, in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in a shining place, in a place of verdure, in a place of refreshment, whence pain and grief and lamentation have fled away. As the only good one and loving mankind, (forgive) every sin committed by him in word or in deed or in thought, (for) there is not a man who would live and would not sin. For only You, O God, are outside sin and Your justice (is justice) forever, and Your word is truth. For You are the rest and the resurrection of Your servant Abba Marianou, orthodox bishop of Pakhoras, and to You (we sing) glory. The years he sat on the throne (were) 33, his days were 69 years, (he died) on Hathyr 15.*

Bishop Marianou of Pakhoras, commemorated by this epitaph, is also known from several other sources, all of them originating from the Faras Cathedral. He was represented in paint under the protection of Christ and Mary with the Child on the south wall of the baptistery of the Faras Cathedral.<sup>104</sup> The painting was accompanied by two similarly reading inscriptions: † ἄββα Μαρριανου ἐπισκόπου ΠΑΧΩΡΑΣ ὀρθόδοξος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη υ(ιδ)ς ἄββα Ἰω(άννου) ἐπισκ(όπου) ΠΑΧΩΡΑΣ (Kubińska 1974: 92–3, no. 17; Jakobielski, in Michałowski 1974: 292, inscr. no. 19). Another inscription mentioning him was in the south aisle of the Cathedral and read: † ἄβ(βα) Μαρριανου ὀρθ(οδόξου) ἐπισκ(όπου) ΑΠΑΧΩΡΑΣ εὐσεβέστατος πολλὰ [τὰ ἔτη] (Kubińska 1974: 93–4, no. 18). It is known that Marianou was preceded on the episcopal throne of Faras by Ioannes, who can reasonably be identified as his father. He was followed

<sup>104</sup> The painting is kept in the National Museum in Warsaw, inv. 234036; for the painting, see MICHAŁOWSKI 1974: 208–19, cat. no. 45; *Catalogue Wien* 2002: 86–7, cat. no. 19 (with further bibliography). For Marianou (Marianos), see JAKOBIELSKI 1972: 143–7.

by Merkurios, who, in the famous list of bishops of Faras preserved in the form of an ink inscription on the wall of the baptistry of the Faras Cathedral, is also designated as a son of Bishop Ioannes (Jakobielski 1972: 194, l. 24). Jakobielski (1972: 147) expressed the opinion that Marianou and Merkurios were spiritual sons of Ioannes, but Krause (1978: 153–64) demonstrated that they were biological sons of this man. Stefan Jakobielski (and before him Kazimierz Michałowski) thought Ioannes, Marianou and Merkurios were Melkites who temporarily occupied the otherwise Monophysite see of Faras. This opinion was also rejected by Martin Krause who was able to show that Ioannes and his two sons were all Monophysites. Interestingly, the name of Marianou is missing in the above mentioned list of the bishops of Faras, which has a free space instead. Obviously, the death of Marianou outside his diocese caused a lacuna in the bishops' archive at Faras, which was never supplemented afterwards.

2.  $\phi\omega\varsigma$   $\zeta\omega\eta$  is one of the most widespread Early Christian acclamations.<sup>105</sup> It goes back to John 1:4:  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$   $\zeta\omega\eta$   $\eta\eta\nu$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\eta$   $\zeta\omega\eta$   $\eta\eta\nu$   $\tau\acute{o}$   $\phi\omega\varsigma$   $\tau\acute{o}\nu$   $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\nu$ , and 8:12:  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$   $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$   $\acute{\omicron}$   $\text{I}\eta\sigma\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$   $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\nu$ :  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$   $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\iota$   $\tau\acute{o}$   $\phi\omega\varsigma$   $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$   $\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$ .  $\acute{\omicron}$   $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota$   $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$   $\mu\eta$   $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\tau\eta$   $\sigma\kappa\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda$ '  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\iota$   $\tau\acute{o}$   $\phi\omega\varsigma$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\zeta\omega\eta\varsigma$ , and refers to Jesus Christ. The acclamation  $\phi\omega\varsigma$   $\zeta\omega\eta$  seems not to have appeared before the sixth century. It was frequently recorded in the form of a cross with  $\phi\omega\varsigma$  as the vertical bar,  $\zeta\omega\eta$  as the horizontal one, and  $\omega$  as the crossing point. As far as Nubia is concerned, the acclamation  $\phi\omega\varsigma$   $\zeta\omega\eta$  is not common in epitaphs. In addition to this inscription, it occurs in the heading of the epitaph of a woman named Marianta, from Qasr Ibrim (below, no. 57), and in three Coptic epitaphs from the area of the Second Nile Cataract (Debeira-West and Meinarti) dating from the first half of the eleventh century (van der Vliet 2003: nos. 17, 18, and 19). It is also found at the end of the epitaph of Iesou, a deacon and *arkhista blites* (died AD 1257), found in Old Dongola (unpublished).  $\zeta\omega\eta$  (without  $\phi\omega\varsigma$ ) appears at the top of the epitaph of Marianos, archimandrite of the Monastery of Jesus at Tillarti, originating from Old Dongola (van der Vliet, in Martin *et alii* 2005: 156, no. 110). We also know of funerary crosses solely with the

<sup>105</sup> On this acclamation, see LECLERCQ 1939: 756–8; HORSLEY 1981: 98–9, no. 59: ‘«Light and Life» in Christian epitaphs’.

acclamation *φῶς ζωή*. An example comes from the work of the Southern Dongola Reach Survey in Bangarti (unpublished); another one was found by the same expedition in Bakhit (cf. Żurawski 2001: 290, drawing). Interestingly, Nubian attestations of the acclamation *φῶς ζωή* frequently have *ζΩΗC* instead of *ζΩΗ* (so here). This is probably a variant of the standard acclamation, directly modelled on John 8:12. It also occurs outside Nubia.<sup>106</sup>

10. The designation *ἀρχιμανδρίτης ΠΟΥΚΩ* occurs only here, but inscriptions on vessels discovered by the Polish Mission at Old Dongola (12th–13th century) exhibit *ἀρχιμανδρίτης ΠΟΥΚ( )*, an abbreviation which can quite plausibly be expanded as *ΠΟΥΚΩ*.<sup>107</sup> Interestingly, the inscriptions from Old Dongola also refer to a man with the name Marianos, who, however, cannot be identified with our Marianou owing to the different time periods. *ΠΟΥΚΩ* must be the name of a place where the monastery of which Marianou was the archimandrite was situated. Since the monastery is referred to only by the place-name and not by its generic name, we may suppose that *ΠΟΥΚΩ* was a small village with the monastery as the main, or the only, element of its cultural and religious landscape. The location of this *ΠΟΥΚΩ* is unknown. The toponym *ΠΟΥΚΩ* may be connected with the Old Nubian root *ΠΟΥΚ-* (Nobiin *fouk*) meaning ‘to whistle’ (Łajtar & Pluskota 2001: 340).

10–11. In the expressions *ἀπόστολος τοῦ Βαβυλῶν*, *τοῦ Βαβυλῶν* is either *genetivus subiectivus*: ‘ambassador of Babylon’, or *genetivus obiectivus*: ‘ambassador to Babylon’. The second possibility requires more consideration. *Βαβυλῶν* originally designated the Coptic town within the Roman fortress of Babylon situated on the right bank of the Nile, some 50 km south of the opening of the Delta.<sup>108</sup> It was the seat of the Alexandrian patriarchate from the middle of the eleventh century. It is assumed that the first patriarch who officially moved his residence to Babylon was Christodoulos (AD 1047–77), but several of his predecessors of the ninth–tenth century had already used to reside there, alternately with the villages of Mahallat Danyal and Damru in the Delta and Wadi el-Natrun.<sup>109</sup> In later times, the name *Βαβυλῶν* was also used by the Copts in relation to Muslim foundations in the immediate neighbourhood of

<sup>106</sup> LEFEBVRE 1907: no. 762 (from Thebes); GRÉGOIRE 1922: no. 216 (from the island of Tenos); AE 1929: no. 116 (from Thessaly); BRIDEL 1989: 98, no. 39 (from Kellia).

<sup>107</sup> For these inscriptions, see ŁAJTAR & PLUSKOTA 2001: 335–55, especially 339–40.

<sup>108</sup> For Babylon, see AMÉLINEAU 1893: 75–9.

<sup>109</sup> For the complicated question of the seat of the Alexandrian patriarchate in the ninth–eleventh century, see COQUIN 1991; DEN HEIJER 2002.

the Coptic town, namely, Fustat, the first capital of the Arab invaders of Egypt, lying to the east of Babylon, and el-Qahira, the new capital of Egypt founded in the second half of the tenth century by the Fatimids to the north-east of Babylon.<sup>110</sup> Regrettably, we do not know who the addressee of Marianou's mission was: the Coptic patriarch in Babylon itself or the Muslim authorities in Fustat. We are also unable to state whether his mission had the character of a relatively short trip, aiming at the settlement of an affair, or a longer stay in Babylon as a representative of the Makurian king. It would be interesting to know in which period of his life Marianou was sent to Babylon. If his visit was only a short one, he could have gone there at any moment of his career, and also as either an archimandrite or a bishop. If it was a longer stay, it could have taken place before Marianou ascended to the episcopal throne of Faras. Perhaps he was ordained a bishop in Babylon by the patriarch himself.

11–12. The participle  $\epsilon\chi\omega\nu$  (alternatively, its Coptic or Old Nubian counterpart) + the name of a church or a toponym is attested about twenty times in sources originating from Christian Nubia as a qualification of different persons.<sup>111</sup> It indicates that the persons in question were legal owners of these

<sup>110</sup> CASANOVA 1900: *passim* and especially 149–50, where we find the following conclusion: 'le terme de Babylone . . . s'est étendu à l'ensemble de la capitale musulmane en la suivant dans tous ses développements'. Babylon designated Fustat in, e.g., KAHLE 1954: no. 187, l. 6 (7th–8th century), and perhaps even the Cairo citadel in the thirteenth-century Bohairic *Martyrdom of John of Phanijoit*, ed. J. R. ZABOROWSKI, Leiden – Boston 2005, pp. 64–6.

<sup>111</sup> For the list of attestations and discussion, see ŁAJTAR & VAN DER VLIET 1998: 35–53, where this inscription is also cited on pp. 44–5, no. 2. The list compiled there may be supplemented with several new items. These are: 1) Iesou, deacon and *arkhistablites*, 'having (the Church of) Emeo (?)' (unpublished epitaph dating from AD 1257 found by the Polish Mission on Kom H at Old Dongola); 2) Joseph, son of Nob(), a cleric, 'having (the Church) of Raphael at Talt(?)' (unpublished graffito on the northern wall of room 14 in the Northwestern Annex to the monastery on Kom H at Old Dongola, 12th century; see the photo in ŁAJTAR & PLUSKOTA 2001: 348); 3) an unnamed man, son of Irti, 'having (the Church of) the Mother (of Jesus)' (unpublished inscription in chapel 3 of the Upper Church at Banganarti, end of the 13th–first half of the 14th century); 4) Teeita 'having (the Church of) Jesus of Moukdakko and (the Church of) Michael of the West and (the Church of) Gabriel of Edi' (inscription on the first layer of plaster on the eastern wall of chapel 19 of the Upper Church at Banganarti, probably AD 1280; ŁAJTAR 2008: 327–8); 5) Adelph(), 'having (the Church of) [. . .] Ion' (unpublished inscription in the western portico of the Upper Church at Banganarti); 6) [---]ngaue, 'having (the Church of) Mary' (unpublished inscription on the eastern wall of room 35 of the Northwestern Annex to the monastery on Kom H at Dongola); 7) Petrou, bishop of Kourte, 'having (the Church of) Michael of Da[ . ] Id()' (epi-

churches. Our Marianou was the owner of the Church of the Four Leaving Creatures of the Island of Teme.

The island with the name ΤΗΜΕ (perhaps a graphic variant of ΤΙΜΕ) is otherwise unattested and its location is unknown. A church of the Four Living Creatures is attested three times elsewhere in sources pertaining to Christian Nubia: 1) in a wall inscription in the Faras Cathedral, also in connection with ἔχων;<sup>112</sup> 2) in a Coptic epitaph of a priest Marianou from Faras, dated AD 955;<sup>113</sup> 3) in a wall inscription in the church at Sonqi Tino.<sup>114</sup> It is unknown whether these attestations, including the one from the inscription discussed here, refer to the same church or not.

15–16. ΠΑΡΕΧΘΕΝ for παραχθέν is strange. It may be compared to πα(ρ)αχθέν, occurring in the epitaph of a woman Eikkir (Meinarti, between AD 1095 and 1183; Łajtar 2003a: no. 7, l. 13), and παραχθέν on record in the epitaph of Joasse, son of Sentiko(l), eparch of Nobadia and *kboiakishshil* (Meinarti, AD 1161; Łajtar 2003a: no. 33). The latter two instances suggest that the particular form ΠΑΡΕΧΘΕΝ came into existence through the metathesis of /a/ and /r/ with the concomitant development of /e/ in place of /a/. All of this probably occurred in order to avoid the consonant clusters /pr/ and /rkh/, which were impossible to pronounce for Nubian speakers.

24. ΘΡΟΝΟΙ extant on the stone is a stonemason's mistake either for θρόνω (as in the edition above) or for θρόνου. The former of these mistakes was possible because of the visual similarity of the letter Θ and the group of letters ΟΙ in Nubian-type majuscules; the latter mistake could have resulted from leaving the letter γ unfinished.

taph found in Qasr Ibrim, probably second half of the 11th–first half of the 12th century; below, no. 23); 8) a woman Marianta, 'having (the Church of) Raphael of Tamti' (epitaph found in Qasr Ibrim, dating from AD 1051; below, no. 57); 9) Joseph, cleric, 'having (the Church of) Petros' (unpublished graffito on the rocks of Gebel Maktub, east of the Qasr Ibrim citadel); 10) Petrou, 'having (the Church of) Raphael of Tamti' (unpublished graffito on the rocks of Gebel Maktub, east of the Qasr Ibrim citadel).

<sup>112</sup> The inscription remains unpublished. Preliminarily, see ŁAJTAR & VAN DER VLIET 1998: 46–7.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. VAN DER VLIET 1999: 141–2.

<sup>114</sup> Unpublished; preliminarily, see DONADONI 1975: 35. We are in the possession of a photograph of this inscription taken in the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum by Ms. Dobrochna ZIELIŃSKA.

23. Epitaph of Petrou,  
bishop of Kourte

Part 1 (two upper fragments): excavation no. unknown; register no. 66/102. Documentation: photo nos. 66VI4/31, 66VI4/34, 66VI4/36, 66VC5/36, 66P3/28.

Part 2 (lower fragment): excavation no. unknown; register no. 66/41. Documentation: photo nos. 66V6/32, 66VI4/36.

Part 1 was found in the fill of Tomb T2 (see the introductory remarks to this group of inscriptions), and part 2 in the loose fill of Christian date, in the Cathedral cemetery terrace, west of the South Church.

Birmingham City Museum, Egyptian Gallery, inv. no. 556.69.

Upper part of a round-topped stela made of medium-grained pale orange sandstone with darker striations, glued from three fragments, 44.5 x 29 x 7.5 cm. The front surface of the stela bears a decoration, in relief, which imitates the front of a building. Columns with simple capitals carry a semicircular tympanum. The columns slightly converge towards the middle of the stela, following its edges. The base of the tympanum protrudes behind the columns towards the edges of the stela. A semi-rosette with seven petals placed around the centrally positioned semi-circle is seen within the tympanum. The petals of the rosette have been painted so that their borders are green (or blue-green) and their interiors red (or pink-red). Traces of painting are also seen elsewhere on the front surface of the stela. Above the round top, there is the inscription  $\delta \omega \nu$  running from right to left. The invocation  $\dagger \Upsilon(\eta \sigma \omega \upsilon) \varsigma \delta \chi(\rho \iota \sigma \tau \acute{o}) \varsigma$  is written on the base of the tympanum; the rest of the text is in the field between the columns. There is no ruling but the script is quite careful and nice. The script is slightly tightened and the letters become smaller in ll. 9–10. The last letters of both these lines are written on the right column of the sculptured decoration. A large space is seen between ll. 10 and 11.<sup>115</sup> The letters represent Nubian-type majuscules. The average height of the let-

<sup>115</sup> Perhaps its function is to separate the two principal parts of the inscription: the introductory formula with the information about the dead (ll. 3–10) and the prayer for his soul (from l. 11 until the end of the text).



Epitaph of Petrou, bishop of Kourte (no. 23)

ters is c. 1.5 cm, with the tallest at 2 cm and the shortest at 0.8 cm. Traces of red paint are found in some of the letters.

Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley 1970: 131, fig. 107 (photo; note that the person commemorated by this epitaph is mistakenly designated as a bishop of Ibrim in the caption to the photo).

Date unknown, probably second half of the 11th–first half of the 12th century (through comparison with other bishops' epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim).

- ὁ ὦν.
- † Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ὁ Χ(ριστός)ς.  
 [ † εἶ]ν ὀνόματι τοῦ  
 4 [π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς καὶ] τοῦ υἱ(ο)ῦ (καὶ) τοῦ  
 [ἁγίου πν(εύματος)]ς· θεί(α) προ-  
 [νοία τοῦ δ]εσπόζον-  
 [τος θε(ο)ῦ τε]λει τοῦ βί-  
 8 [ου ἐχρήσ]ατο ὁ μακά-  
 [ριος ἄβ(βα)] ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ἐπίσκ(οπος) ΚΟΥΡΤ(ε),  
 [ c. 5–6 ] ΦΡΜ, ὁ ἔχ(ων) ΧΠΘ (= Μιχαήλ) ΛΛ . Δ( )  
 [-----] . [.] . . . . .

3. ὀΝΟΜΑΤΙ || 4. ΥΥ ς || 8–9. ὀΜΑΚΑ[ΡΙΟΣ || 9. ΠΕΤΡΘ ἐπίσκ ΚΟΥΡ | εἶ | ΛΛ .

*He who is. Jesus the Christ. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Through the divine providence of God who is Lord, the blessed Abba Petrou, bishop of Kourte, [---] Phrim, who is having (the Church of) Michael of Da[.]d(), accomplished (his) life [---].*

1. The expression ὁ ὦν goes back to Rev. 1:8 where it refers to God: ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ, λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὦν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ παντοκράτωρ; cf. also Rev. 4:8: ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. In later Christian tradition it was especially connected with Jesus Christ and was frequently inscribed in His nimbus in painted representations.<sup>116</sup>

10. ΦΡΜ must be either part of the name of another office held by the deceased Petrou or a designation referring to him. He could have been, for example, the owner of a church in Phrim.

ΛΛ . Δ( ) is undoubtedly a toponym referring to the place where the church

<sup>116</sup> For ὁ ὦν, see in general BAUCKHAM 1993: 23–54; NICCACCI 2006; for its use in the iconography of Christ, see DINKLER 1975: 24.

of Michael, owned by our Petrou, was located. The exact reading and the identification of this toponym are unknown.

24. Epitaph of Marianou,  
bishop of Kourte

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 66/106. Documentation: photo nos. 66P3/37, 66P15/22, 66VC6/1.

Found in the fill of Tomb 12, in the Cathedral cemetery terrace, west of the South Church (see the introductory remarks to this group of inscriptions).

Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 90883.

An elongated rectangular slab of sandstone, 61.5 x 23 x 12 cm. The upper and the lower edges of the object are chipped away. The front surface of the slab is framed by a raised border, which widens at the bottom forming a kind of base. The side borders are decorated with incised wavy lines. It is possible that these lines connected with each other on the upper edge, thus forming a single line surrounding the surface of the slab on three sides, except for the bottom. The surface within the frame is divided in two uneven fields by a fillet that has the same shape as the raised border and is connected with it. The upper, small field carries an incised decoration consisting of three mountain-like elements, each surmounted by a cross. The lower, big field is fully occupied by the inscription, which continues on the base with its last three lines (33–5), containing the dating lemma. The text is incised without ruling. The stonemason poorly planned the space at his disposal and was forced to tighten the script towards the end of the text. Notwithstanding, the script is quite careful, especially judging by the standards of late Nubian epitaphs. Palaeographically, the letters represent Nubian-type majuscules. Traces of lime mortar, splashing from the top towards the bottom, are seen on the front surface of the slab, especially in the middle of its upper part. These splashings must have come into existence before the edges of the stone were chipped away. Perhaps they resulted from the white-washing of the wall of a grave or a chapel in which the slab was originally inserted.

Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley 1970: 131, fig. 108 (photo of the upper part of the stela).

20 December AD 1154.

- † ὁ θεός τῶν πνευμάτων  
καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ  
τῶν θάνατων κα-
- 4 ταργήσας (καὶ) τῶν Ἄδην  
καταπατήσας (καὶ) ζῶην  
τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμε-  
νος, ἀνάπαυσον τὸν
- 8 δοῦλόν σου ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑ-  
ΝΟΥ ὀρθ(όδοξον) ἐπίσκ(οπον) ΚΟΥΡΤΕ ἐν  
κόλπις Ἀβράμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ  
καὶ ᾿Ιακώβ, ἐν τῷ(πῶ) φωτιῶ,
- 12 ἐν τῷ(πῶ) χλόει, ἐν τῷ(πῶ) ἀνα-  
ψέξεως, ἔντ' ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη  
(καὶ) λύ(υ)α.πη (καὶ) στεναγμός. πᾶν ἀμάρ-  
τημα παρ' αὐτοῦ πραχθέν λόγῳ
- 16 ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν, ὡς ἀγαθὸς  
(καὶ) φιλάν(θρωπ)ος, συγχόρησον ὅτι οὐκ  
ἐστὶν ἀν(θρωπ)ος ὃς ζήσεται (καὶ) οὐκ  
ἀμαρ(τή)σι. σὺ γὰρ μόνος πάσης ἀμαρ-  
τίας ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχεις (καὶ) δικαιοσύ-
- 20 νης σου δι(και)οσύνη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,  
κύριε, (καὶ) ὁ λόγος σοι ἀλήθεια. σὺ γὰρ ἡ ἀ-  
νάστασις ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπισκ(όπου) ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε)
- 24 (καὶ) ἡ ἀνάστασις πάντων τῶν  
χριστιανῶν (καὶ) σοὶ τήν·  
τὸν δοῦλόν σου ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ  
ἐπίσκ(οπον) ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε). ΔΕΜΟΥ ΛΟΙ-
- 28 ΣΝΔΕ : Ρ ΛΟ : ΘΡ(ΟΝ)ΟСΛΔΟ-  
ΛΟΝ ΔΕΜΟΥ : ΜΒ ΛΟ  
ΛΟΝΑ. ΤΛΛΛΑΟΝ ΤΑΚΚΑ  
ΕΙΣΣΙΓΡΑΜΗ, ΑΜΗΝ ΑΥΤΑ-



Epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Kourte (no. 24)

32

ΚΑΜΗ.

[ἄ]πὼ [μαρ]τ(ύρων) ωσα εἰνῆ  
 . . . [------] . : Χωίεκ  
 : κδ̄ [- - - ἀπέ]θανε. :

1. ὉΘ̄C | Π̄ΝΑΤΩΝ || 4. Ϛ || 5. Ϛ || 9. Ὁ<sup>Θ</sup>Ρ̄ ΕΠ̄ΙC<sup>Κ</sup> || 11. ΡΑΚΩΒ || 14. Ϛ | Ϛ ||  
 17. ϚΦΙΛΑΝΘ̄C<sup>Α</sup> || 18. ΑΝΘ̄C<sup>Α</sup> || 20. Ϛ<sup>Κ</sup> || 22. Κ̄Ε Ϛ || 23. ΑΒ̄ | ΕΠ̄ΙC<sup>Κ</sup> ΚΟΥΡ̄<sup>Τ</sup> || 24. Ϛ ||  
 25. Ϛ || 26. ΤΟΝ | ΑΒ̄ || 27. ΕΠ̄ΙC<sup>Κ</sup> ΚΟΥΡ̄<sup>Τ</sup> || 34. ΧΩΚ

3. τὸν θάνατον || 4. τὸν || 10. κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ || 11. τόπω φωτεινῶ || 12. τόπω χλόης ||  
 12-13. τόπω ἀναψύξεως || 13. ἐνθ' || 17. συγχώρησον || 18-19. οὐχ ἀμαρτήσῃ || 20-1.  
 δικαιοσύνη || 22. σου || 33. ἀπὸ || 34. Χωίακ

*God of the spirits and of all flesh, You who have defeated death and trodden down Hades and given life to the world, rest Your servant Abba Marianou, orthodox bishop of Kourte, in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in a shining place, in a place of verdure, in a place of refreshment, whence pain and grief and lamentation have fled away. Being good and loving mankind forgive every sin committed by him in word or in deed or in thought, for there is not a man who would live and would not sin. For You alone are without every sin and Your justice is justice forever and Your word is truth. For You are the resurrection of Abba Marianou, bishop of Kourte, and the resurrection of all Christians, and to You (we sing glory to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen). (Rest) Your servant Abba Marianou, bishop of Kourte. And the years of (his) life (were) 100, and on the throne he sat years 42. Let God hallow him. Amen, so be it. He died when it was (year) 871 from the Martyrs, [---], (day) 24 (of the month of) Khoiak [---].*

A bishop of Kourte with the name Marianou (ΠΑΠΠΟ ΜΑΡΙἈΝΟΥ) is mentioned as a witness in an Old Nubian document of sale from Qasr Ibrim (Browne 1991: no. 41, ll. 8-9). The document has no internal date, but can quite securely be dated to the second half of the twelfth century on prosopographical grounds.<sup>117</sup> The document under consideration was

<sup>117</sup> Timakkis Darne and the deacon Ajola, who also were witnesses to this sale, occur in other Old Nubian documents from Qasr Ibrim, dated to the times of King Moüses Georgiou, who ruled Makuria in the second half of the twelfth century.

surely drafted in Qasr Ibrim, which means that Bishop Marianou of Kourte, who witnessed it, resided, at least temporarily, in this very town. Perhaps Bishop Marianou, who was a witness to the above-mentioned document of sale, and the man commemorated by the present epitaph are one and the same person. This hypothesis, though very probable, cannot be taken for granted because the name Marianou (Marianos) was common in Christian Nubia, and is attested with a particular frequency among ecclesiastics.

An interesting element of Marianou's epitaph is the code-switching from Greek into Nubian and back into Greek. The first of these two languages was used for the long prayer for the dead (ll. 1–27), and for the dating formula (ll. 33–5), which, however, also shows Nubian intercalations; the second is the language of information about the deceased (ll. 27–30) and a short prayer followed by an acclamation (ll. 30–2). Similar code-switches are attested in several other Nubian epitaphs. The list includes: the epitaph of Ngissinga son of Milaña, died AD 1157, from northern Nubia, exact provenance unknown (Kortenbeutel 1938; *SB* v 8763; Tibiletti Bruno 1964: no. 10); the epitaph of Papisine, daughter of Tossine, died AD 1243, from northern Nubia, exact provenance unknown (Lefebvre 1907: no. 664; Robert 1936: no. 81; Tibiletti Bruno 1964: no. 12; cf. Łajtar 1993a; Bagnall & Łajtar 1994); the epitaph of a woman Marieo, died AD 1032, found in Arminna (Oates 1963); the epitaph of Bishop Martyrophoros, died AD 1159, found in Debeira (Łajtar 2003a: no. 6); the epitaph of a woman Eikkir, died between AD 1095 and 1183, originating from the area of Wadi Halfa (Łajtar 2003a: no. 7); the epitaph of Abba Jacob, from Wadi el-Ghazali, exact date unknown, but apparently not before the eleventh century (Łajtar 2003a: no. 31); see also above, no. 18, and below, nos. 79 and 80. It is important to observe that all the epitaphs listed above, including the epitaph of Marianou of Kourte studied here, are composed with the long prayer for the deceased's soul starting with the words 'God of the spirits and of all flesh', and are dated to the period between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. In all of these epitaphs, Greek is the language of the prayer and Nubian is primarily used to give various pieces of information about the dead, including, especially, the length of his/her life and the month day of his/her death. This pattern of

code-switching obviously reflects the sociolinguistic situation prevailing in Nubia of the Classical and Late Christian periods, where Greek was the language of the Church and of a literary production which relied on fixed, age-old models, and (Old) Nubian was the language of everyday communication, more suitable for transmitting individual pieces of information.

12–13. The spelling ΑΝΑΨΕΞΕΩC (for ἀναψύξεως) is also on record in the epitaph of Papasine, daughter of Tossine (provenance unknown, AD 1243).<sup>118</sup> The first ε is probably due to the influence of the next syllable, which also contains an ε.

21. The omission of ΚΑΙ in δικαιοσύνη (hence δι(και)οσύνη) is probably explainable through the decision of the redactor of the text (or the stonemason) to use the abbreviation sign Ϛ for καί, which fell out for some reason in the final version of the epitaph. The use of the abbreviations sign Ϛ (= καί) within the word δικαιοσύνη is well attested in Nubian epitaphs.

22. COI clearly stands on the stone in the place where we expect σου. Since /(o)i/ does not exchange with /ou/, we cannot count it as a phonetic mistake. Or, perhaps, this is a syntactic mistake: dative for genitive. We are probably dealing with a simple *lapsus* of the stonemason who forgot to cut an oblique stroke, which would make γ out of ι.

25. The final doxology is similarly abbreviated to the first three words καὶ σοὶ τῆν in the epitaph of Georgios, archbishop of Dongola, who died AD 1113.<sup>119</sup>

26. The accusative τὸν δ(οῦλον) must depend on the understood ἀνάπαυσον (ἀναπαύση).

28. A hundred years was also the age at death of a certain monk Georgios whose epitaph was found in Wadi el-Ghazali (Łajtar 2003a: no. 33). It is too high and too round to be true. It probably means that Marianou died as a very old man.

31–2. A similar expression occurs in the Old Nubian translation of Ps.-Chrysostom, *In venerabilem crucem sermo* 25.15:<sup>120</sup> ἄΜΗΝ ΑΥΤΑΚΑΜΗ ἄΜΗΝ. This

<sup>118</sup> LEFEBVRE 1907: no. 664; ROBERT 1936: no. 81; TIBILETTI BRUNO 1964: no. 12. For the nomenclature of the dead, see ŁAJTAR 1993a: 104; BAGNALL & ŁAJTAR 1994: 11–12.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. ŁAJTAR 2002: 165, l. 14 (with commentary), where similarly abbreviated forms of the doxology are cited. Two Qasr Ibrim epitaphs can be added to the collection of evidence: no. 22, l. 23: κ(αί) σοὶ τῆν δόξα, and no. 26, l. 10: (καί) σοὶ [τῆν δόξα]ν.

<sup>120</sup> For the edition of the text, after a codex discovered by the mission of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in Serra East, see BROWNE 1984.

is an Old Nubian counterpart of the Greek ἀμήν γένοιτο ἀμήν and the Coptic ⲪⲀⲘⲘⲎⲚ ⲈⲢⲈⲘⲠⲠⲈ ⲪⲀⲘⲘⲎⲚ.<sup>121</sup>

33. The first element of the number of years according to the Era of the Martyrs is preserved only in its upper part. It displays three parallel vertical strokes, which can only belong to Ⲡ. ⲡ, which is the only other possibility, appears to be excluded since the external strokes should be oblique and not vertical in this case.

34. Here, between the year according to the Era of the Martyrs and the month day, we expect another chronological indication. This could only be the day of a lunar month or a weekday, as other chronological indications were not given in Nubian epitaphs from the tenth century onwards. One can supplement, e.g., ⲪⲈⲗ[ήνη number ⲈⲒⲚ]Ⲛ̅ or ⲪⲈ[λήνη number ⲈⲒⲚ]Ⲛ̅. The word ⲪⲈⲗήνη could have been recorded in an abbreviated form.

34–5. Perhaps, on the model of the indication of the year, one should supplement ⲪⲱίⲈⲕ : ⲕⲔ̅ [ⲈⲒⲚⲚ̅].

## 25. Epitaph of a bishop of Kourte

Excavation no. 78.I.23/16; register no. 78/177; inv. of inscriptions: G.I. 2.  
Documentation: photo no. 78A52/9.

Found in Tomb τ9 (Cathedral area).

Transferred to Cairo.

Upper right-hand corner of a sandstone stela or slab, 33 x 31 x 9 cm. Edges chipped away, surface worn. The epigraphic field is surrounded by a raised border which leaves a narrow margin on the right-hand side and a wider space at the top. The side border is decorated with a plait ornament in carving. In the upper space three mountain-like elements (cupolas?) were represented in low relief reposing on the upper border (only the right-hand cupola and a fragment of the central one have been preserved). The right-hand cupola has seven elongated petal-like elements inside. A dot is placed between the top of each element and in the corners of the cupola. The cupola is surmounted with a Greek cross. The first line of the inscription, with the acclamation of Jesus Christ and the letters *A Ω A*, is inscribed on the upper border; the rest is in the epi-

<sup>121</sup> For this expression as the conclusion of the prayers in Nubian epitaphs, see ⲪⲀⲘⲘⲎⲚ 2003a: no. 1, commentary to l. 11, and see further below, p. 224, with n. 271.





Epitaph of a bishop of Kourte (no. 25)

*soul in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, whence pain and grief and lamentation have fled away, in the brilliancy of Your saints, in the paradise of joy [---].*

2. The insertion of  $\theta(\epsilon\omicron)\upsilon$  before  $\pi(\alpha\tau\rho\acute{o})\varsigma$  in the trinitarian formula is singular. It is probably simply a redactor's whim, remembering that the persons of the Holy Trinity are called as a rule (but not in the  $\epsilon\nu\ \delta\nu\acute{o}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$  formula): God the Father, God's Son, and the Holy Spirit.

7. The reading  $\delta\ ]\ \zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}(\rho\alpha)\ \rho\acute{\theta}$  is not entirely certain and we have to assume an abbreviated notation and a graphic mistake in the word  $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ .

## 26. Epitaph of a bishop

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 66/37. Documentation: photo no. 66v4/12.

According to the register slip, the stone was found on the Cathedral cemetery terrace, west of the South Church, in the fill of Christian date. A list of Greek inscripational material discovered in the 1966 season indicates House 296 as the findspot.

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Acc. No. E.53.1984, donated in 1984 by the Egypt Exploration Society.

Fragment of the right-hand part of a limestone stela, 20 x 20.9 x 7.6 cm (with frame 8.8 cm). Part of a decorated oval-topped frame is preserved on the right-hand side, roughly incised with a representation of binding. Inscription carved without guidelines; the carving is deep. Nubian-type majuscules. Ends of letters thickened into a point. Letters and binding on the frame painted red-brown.

From the stone, van der Vliet, in Martin *et alii* 2005: 162–3, no. 112.

Date unknown, probably 11th–12th century (through comparison with other bishops' epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim).

- [-----].  
 [---ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄν(θρωπ)ος] ὃς  
 [ζήσεται κ(αὶ) οὐχ ἁμαρτήσε]· σὺ γὰρ  
 4 [μόνος, ὁ θεός, πάσης ἁμαρτί]ας ἐκ-  
 [τὸς ὑπάρχεις κ(αὶ) ἡ δι](και)οσύνη σ-  
 [ου δι(και)οσύνη εἰς τὸ]ν αἰῶνα, κ(ύρι)ε,  
 [κ(αὶ) ὁ λόγος σου ἀλ]ήθεια· σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἡ  
 8 [ἀνάπαυσις κ(αὶ)] ἡ ἀνάστασις πά-  
 [ντων τῶ]ν χριστιανῶν : (καὶ) σοὶ  
 [τὴν δόξ]αν : ἡμέρα : ἔτη δέ  
 [τῆς ζωῆς] αὐτοῦ : πς : ἐπὶ το-  
 12 [ὑ θρόνου α]ῦτοῦ : καθήσ-  
 [ας---] . . [ . . . ] τ ( ) [ . ] . . . . .



Epitaph of a bishop (no. 26)

5. ΔΙΣΌCΥNH || 6. ΛΙΘΝΑ ΚΕ || 7. ΑΛ]ΗΘΕΪΑ || 7-8. Η|ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΙC || 8. ΗΑΝΑC-  
ΤΑCΙC || 9. C || 10. ΕΤΗ

12-13. καθίσας

[---] *for there is not a man who would live and would not sin. For only You, O God, are without every sin and Your justice is justice forever, O Lord, and Your word is truth. For You are the rest and the resurrection of all Christians and to You (we bring) glory. His days were 86 years, on his throne he sat [---].*

11-13. The expression ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ : καθίσας shows that the person commemorated by this epitaph was a bishop.

13. The raised letter Τ surely marks an abbreviation. As we are within the chronological lemma, we can hypothesise the reading ἀπ[ὸ] μ[αρ]τ(ύρων).

The penultimate letter is either Λ or λ. The ultimate could have been ε or, less likely, ο. Perhaps we are dealing with the particle δέ.

## 27–90. OTHER EPITAPHS

## 27. Epitaph of the type ‘So-and-so died’

## 27. Epitaph of Paulou, a priest

Excavation no. unknown; register no. unknown. Documentation: photo nos. 64VI4/4–5.

Findspot and conditions of discovery not recorded.

Current location unknown.

Kind of stone and dimensions not recorded. Elongated block. The inscription is in the upper part. The script is careless; it resembles a graffito rather than a monumental inscription. Upright majuscules.

Unpublished.

Date unknown. The inscription appears to be early (see below).

† †  
 † ΠΑΥΛΟΥ πρ(εσβύτερος)  
 ἐκημήθη[η].

2. ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΠΡ

3. ἐκομήθη

*Paulou, a priest, fell asleep.*

The inscription has a very simple form: ‘So-and-so died’. Such a form is unusual for Nubian epitaphs, which were composed in a more elaborate manner with the use of stereotyped formulae. The simplicity of the form speaks in favour of an early date, perhaps still in the sixth–seventh century.

1. ΠΑΥΛΟΥ is a Nubianised form of the name Παῦλος with the Nubian ending -ΟΥ added to the originally Latin root *Paul-*.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>122</sup> For Nubian names ending in -ΟΥ, see above, p. 22, n. 9.



Epitaph of Paulou, a priest (no. 27)

The reading *πρ(εσβύτερος)* is not entirely certain. The letter following *π* may also be *ο*, and the dash above may be part of the letter *θ*: *πϞθ( )*. Furthermore, the word *πρεσβύτερος* was rarely abbreviated by putting a horizontal dash over the letters *πρ*.

**28. Epitaph of the type  
'here lie the remains'**

28. Epitaph of Kosmas, a priest

Excavation no. 76.I.28/19; register no. unknown. Documentation: slip no. 112; photo nos. 76JEBc/30, 76JEB2/25–26.

Found in Ottoman House B8, room 115, fill below floor 1.

Current location unknown.

Sandstone, 21 x 19 x 6 cm. Upper part of a rectangular plaque. The upper right-hand corner is chipped away and the lower part is missing completely. In the middle of the front surface a big hole, probably for setting a door-post; surface weathered. Inscription carved without guidelines. The script is neither nice nor careful. Letters of uneven height, forming uneven lines. Round epigraphic majuscules.

Unpublished.

7th–8th century (form of the inscription, palaeography).

† ἔνθα κοῖτε λείψα[να]  
 τοῦ μακαρίου Κοσ-  
 μᾶ πρ(εσβυτέρου) . [ c. 7 ]  
 4 ΔΕ vac. . . [ c. 8–9 ].  
 Χ(ριστ)ε̅ [ ὁ θε(ε)ς, ἀνάπαυ]-  
 σων [ τὴν ψυ]χὴν  
 αὐτοῦ [ ὕ]ψ[ος] κ[α]ὶ  
 8 [ ποισ Ἀβρα]ὰμ  
 [-----]

1. κείται λείψανα || 5–6. ἀνάπαυσον

*Here lie the remains of the blessed Kosmas, a priest [---]. O Christ God, rest his soul in the bosom of Abraham [---].*

1. The opening formula ἔνθα κείται (κατάκειται) τὰ λείψανα (τὸ λείψανον) τοῦ



Epitaph of Kosmas, a priest (no. 28)

δεινος is very rare in Nubian epitaphs in Greek. Only two parallels have been found so far. One is the epitaph of Joseph, former bishop of Aswan, who died in Dongola AD 668 (or AD 670) and was buried in the monastery church on Kom H.<sup>123</sup> The epitaph is largely composed in Coptic but the introductory formula εἴθθα κείται τὸ λείψανον is in Greek. The other parallel is the Coptic epitaph

<sup>123</sup> JAKOBIELSKI & VAN DER VLIET forthcoming. For the conditions of the discovery and a general description of the find, see GAZDA 2005: 292–3, with fig. 13; *Catalogue Warsaw* 2006: 55–6, no. 14.

of a priest Patarmoute from Qasr Ibrim, in which the term ‘remains’ is the Greek loan-word *λείψανον*.<sup>124</sup> The formula *ἐνθα κείται τὰ λείψανα (τὸ λείψανον) τοῦ δεινός* is well attested in epitaphs from outside Nubia, both pagan and Christian,<sup>125</sup> mainly in inscriptions with a literary overtone.<sup>126</sup> *λείψανον* occurs already in Greek tragic poetry to designate the mortal remains of man; cf., e.g., Sophocles, *Electra* 1113–14, where the term refers to the supposed ashes of Orestes. It is also found in Plato, *Phaedon* 86c, where *τὰ λείψανα τοῦ σώματος* are contrasted with the human soul. The opposition soul–body may have also played a role in Christian epitaphs with the formula *ἐνθα κείται (κατάκειται) τὰ λείψανα (τὸ λείψανον) τοῦ δεινός*, including those from Nubia.

3–4. After the introductory formula indicating the name of the deceased, we expect the date of his demise. The round letter after *πρ(εσβυτέρου)* in l. 3 may begin a verb stating his death, e.g., *ἐ[κοιμήθη]* or, less likely, *ἐ[τελεύτησεν]*. *ΔΕ* at the beginning of l. 4, could have been the copulative particle *δέ*, and the following letters, of which the first one is round and the second has a vertical stroke at the left-hand side, could be the pronoun *ἐν* introducing a month day. Tentative reading: *ἐ[κοιμήθη] | δέ ἐν [μηνί + name of month + number]*, ‘and he died in the month of + name + number’. This reading, though very probable, cannot be taken for granted.

7–8. The reading *ἐ]ν κὸλ[ποις]* is not entirely certain from the palaeographic point of view, but is assured by the context. After *Ἀβρα]άμ*, we expect the names of Isaac and Jacob.

<sup>124</sup> VAN DER VLIET 2006a: 219, with the commentary on p. 222, where a Coptic example from Egypt is also quoted (from AD 742).

<sup>125</sup> In a Christian setting, the term *τὰ λείψανα* designated specifically the relics of a saint; cf. LAMPE 1961: s.v. *λείψανον*.

<sup>126</sup> Cf., e.g., *IG XIV 2521* (from Burdigala [Bordeaux], Roman Imperial period): *λείψανον Λουκίλλης διδυματόκου ἐνθάδε κείτε;* *SEG xxviii 1037* (Nikomedia, not later than the 3rd century AD): *Εἰμοίριος Πάπος Ἀράδιος ξυλογλύφος κίμε λείψανον ἐνθάδε;* *MAMA vii 587*, l. 4 (from Koli Kisa in Eastern Phrygia, c. AD 375–425): *οὐ δὴ λείψανα κίτε ὑπὸ χθόνα;* *SEG viii 270* (from Gaza, AD 449/50): *ἐνθα κείται τὸ λείψανον τοῦ τρισμακαρίου καὶ ἐν ἀγίοις;* BEŠEVLIJEV 1964: no. 213 (from Philippopolis [Plovdiv], 13th–14th century): *λείψανον κῆται τελ(ειωθ)ἐν ἐνταῦ[θα] Ἐπιφανίου θυγατρὸς Ἀλυαάτου τοῦ κ(αί) κτήτορος τοῦ θείου ναοῦ τούτ(ου).*

**29–37. Epitaphs of the type**  
 ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ/ΣΛ ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ

29. Epitaph of a woman Martha

Excavation no. 66.3.17/9; register no. 66A/107. Documentation: slip no. 447; photo nos. 66v16/5–6; Plumley archive, folder ‘Funerary stelae’.

The stela was discovered on 17 March 1966, in Tomb T2, the second of the rock cut ‘bishop’s tombs’, to the south of the Cathedral and to the west of the South Church.

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (National Museum of Antiquities), Leiden, inv. no. F 1985/4.2; donated by the Egypt Exploration Society in 1985.

The stela is a small block of reddish sandstone, crudely hewn in an irregular trapezoid form, narrower towards the bottom. Its largest measurements are 22 x 22 x 6.5 cm. The backside is of irregular shape, whereas the sides are roughly dressed. The object is essentially complete, in spite of some marginal chips that cause minor loss of text in l. 1; some surface wear owing to secondary use as a tile or a quern has affected the text in the middle of ll. 3–7.

The stone is inscribed with seven lines of text in Sahidic Coptic, written in irregular incised uncials and badly ruled. The script is characterised by a low three-stroke M, a left looking λ and regularly placed supralinear strokes. The letters have preserved remains of plaster coating and dark paint. Decoration consists of simple crosses (l. 7). The margins are flat and undecorated; the lower part of the stone is uninscribed.

*Editio princeps* (from the stone): van der Vliet 2006a: 217–19.

Cf. Schneider 1985: 261 (merely mentioned). Literature on the archaeological context is quoted below.

8th century.

[ † ] ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤΜΑΚΑ-  
 ΡΙΑ ΜΑΡΘΑ <ΠΕΣΟΟΥ> ΝΤΑΣΜ-  
 ΤΟΝ ΜΜ[ΟC] ΝΣΗΤϪ  
 4    CΟΥ ΜΗΤ [ΝΘ]ΦΘ ΣΝ

ΟΥΕΙΡΙΝΗ ΝΤΕ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤ[Ε] ΛΛ-  
 ΜΗΝ † † †

1. † : no room for 2Λ

1. -ΜΕΥΕ: 1. -ΜΕΕΥΕ || 6-7. ΛΛ|ΜΗΝ: 1. 2ΛΜΗΝ or ΛΜΗΝ

† *The memorial of the blessed (μακαρία) Martha.*  
*<The day> on which she went to rest: the tenth of Thoth.*  
*In the peace (εἰρήνη) of God. Amen. † † †*

The stela of Martha and the eight tombstones published below belong to the same class. All nine are rather unpretentious monuments that share an opening formula characterised by the phrase ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ (alternatively, 2Λ ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ) Ν-/Μ-, introducing the name of the deceased (here ll. 1-2); a formula introducing the date of decease (here ll. 2-4), and optionally a brief prayer (absent here). The opening formula with the noun ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ as its main component connects them with a far greater group of Coptic funerary stelae from the First Cataract area (Aswan) and Nobadia, more in particular, as it appears, what might be called 'Central Nobadia' (Qasr Ibrim, Toshka, Arminna).<sup>127</sup> In addition to the nine stelae published here, some eight (probably, nine) more of the same type are known to have been found in Qasr Ibrim, apparently all with a common provenance in the South Cemetery (cf. Richter 1999: 300). Among these, the stela of a man named Stephanos bears a text that is nearly identical to the present one (Monneret de Villard 1931: 10; idem 1935-57: 1, 112-15). Further examples include the stelae of Eiktoume (where the present formula follows the acclamation ΟΥΛ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΚΟΗΘΟΣ: Monneret de Villard 1935-57: 1, 115), Hellene (Mills 1982: 83, no. 3), another Hellene (Leipzig inv. no. 682; *Catalogue Hamm* 1996: no. 90b), and a Parthe

<sup>127</sup> Aswan: MUNIER 1930-1: *passim* (the inscriptions reprinted in *SBKopt.* 1 498-675); Toshka-West (Sakinya): MINA 1942: *passim* (cf. KRAUSE 1975: 76-82, especially 78-9; PERNIGOTTI 1975: 27); Arminna: JUNKER 1925b: 151-2 (cf. JUNKER 1925a: 131). One single example is known from Faras: VAN DER VLIET 2003: no. 10 (see also n. 131 below).



Epitaph of a woman Martha (no. 29)

(Leipzig inv. no. 681; *Catalogue Hamm* 1996: no. 90a), as well as three unpublished pieces in Leipzig.<sup>128</sup> With great probability, the stela of a woman Theognosta (Schenke 2000; *SBKopt.* III 1644) can be joined to these (see below, no. 37). Curiously, apart from the stela of Stephanos and that of Petros, published as no. 31 below, all known examples from Qasr Ibrim commemorate women.

The distinctive noun  $\pi\rho\pi\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ , ‘remembrance, commemoration’ (l. 1), in the opening formula must correspond to  $\mu\eta\acute{\nu}\mu\eta$ ,  $\mu\eta\eta\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota\varsigma$  or even  $\mu\eta\eta\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  in similar Greek formulae. Such Greek formulae occur frequently in Egypt and also in Nubia, in particular in Sakinya (Toshka-

<sup>128</sup> Nos. 683–5, edition forthcoming by T. S. RICHTER; cf. JUNKER 1925a: 131; RICHTER 1999: 301, n. 29.

West),<sup>129</sup> but have not yet been found in Qasr Ibrim. Both Coptic forms of the formula, with and without the preposition  $\Sigma\lambda$ , are used without apparent distinction. Nevertheless, as with the various usages of Greek  $\mu\eta\eta\mu\eta$ , a certain difference can be observed.<sup>130</sup> The nominal group  $\Pi\text{P}\Pi\text{-}\text{M}\text{E}\text{E}\text{Y}\text{E}$  N- NN (equivalent to Greek  $\mu\eta\eta\mu\eta$  τοῦ NN) appears to refer to the monument itself, or at least to the text inscribed on the monument, which is confirmed by the variant  $\Pi\text{A}\text{I}$   $\Pi\text{E}$   $\Pi\text{E}\text{P}\Pi\text{M}\text{E}\text{Y}\text{E}$  (l. - $\text{M}\text{E}\text{E}\text{Y}\text{E}$ )  $\text{N}\text{T}\text{A}$  (l.  $\text{N}\text{T}\text{E}$ )  $\Pi\text{M}\text{A}\text{K}\text{A}\text{P}\text{I}\text{O}\text{C}$  NN, ‘this is the memorial of NN’ (Mina 1942: no. 76). The group is accordingly rendered as ‘the memorial of NN’ here. The phrase  $\Sigma\lambda$   $\Pi\text{P}\Pi\text{M}\text{E}\text{E}\text{Y}\text{E}$  N-/M- (equivalent to Greek  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$   $\mu\eta\eta\mu\eta\varsigma$  τοῦ NN), on the other hand, refers more specifically to the function of the monument: ‘(a monument erected) for the commemoration of NN’.<sup>131</sup> In both cases, however, the texts are focused on the date of the owner’s death, information indispensable for his or her periodical commemoration. This is even more clearly visible in variants like  $(\Sigma\lambda)$   $\Pi\text{E}\Sigma\text{O}\text{O}\text{Y}$   $\text{M}\Pi\text{P}\Pi\text{-}\text{M}\text{E}\text{E}\text{Y}\text{E}$  N-/M- NN, ‘(for) the day of the commemoration of NN’, that are frequently found in Aswan, Sakinya, and elsewhere.<sup>132</sup> Also in the present inscription, as in the eight stelae below, this date follows immediately (ll. 2–4).

As is habitual in Nubian epitaphs, the name of the deceased is preceded in ll. 1–2 by the conventional epithet  $\text{M}\text{A}\text{K}\text{A}\text{P}\text{I}\text{A}/\text{M}\text{A}\text{K}\text{A}\text{P}\text{I}\text{O}\text{C}$ , ‘blessed’.<sup>133</sup> To describe the event of death itself, the verb  $\text{M}\text{T}\text{O}\text{N}$   $\text{M}\text{M}\text{O}\text{-}$ ,

<sup>129</sup> See KRAUSE 1975: 78 and 80; PERNIGOTTI 1975: 26–7; cf. JUNKER 1925a: 127 and 131.

<sup>130</sup> On  $\mu\eta\eta\mu\eta$  in the Christian Greek epigraphy of Egypt, see LEFEBVRE 1905: 189–90;  $\text{X}\text{A}\text{J}\text{T}\text{A}\text{R}$ , in  $\text{X}\text{A}\text{J}\text{T}\text{A}\text{R}$  &  $\text{T}\text{W}\text{A}\text{R}\text{D}\text{E}\text{C}\text{K}\text{I}$  2003: no. 99, *ad* l. 1; on  $\mu\eta\eta\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\text{o}\nu$ , also PETERSON 1926: 60–1.

<sup>131</sup> Compare the Faras stela of the monk Dios, which bears the formula:  $\epsilon\text{T}\text{W}\text{E}$   $\Pi\text{P}\Pi\text{-}\text{M}\text{E}\text{E}\text{Y}\text{E}$   $\text{M}\text{N}$   $\text{T}\text{A}\text{N}\text{A}\text{P}\text{A}\text{Y}\text{A}\text{C}\text{I}\text{C}$   $\text{M}\Pi\text{M}\text{A}\text{K}\text{A}\text{P}\text{I}\text{O}\text{C}$  NN, ‘for the commemoration and the rest of the blessed NN’, the Coptic version of Greek  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$   $\mu\eta\eta\mu\eta\varsigma$  καὶ ἀναπαύσεως τοῦ μακαρίου NN (VAN DER VLIET 2003: no. 10).

<sup>132</sup> See JUNKER 1925a: 131; MUNIER 1930–1: 259; CRAMER 1957: 31–3; KRAUSE 1975: 78–9; PERNIGOTTI 1975: 27, n. 35.

<sup>133</sup> In spite of its clearly devaluated meaning (which makes it the factual equivalent of the English ‘late, deceased’ before a name), it is always translated literally here; see further the references in VAN DER VLIET 2003: 30, n. 157.

‘to go to rest, to find rest’, is used (ll. 2–3), which is likewise standard in Nubian funerary inscriptions. Indeed, the concept of ‘rest’ is central to the Christian view of individual eschatology in general,<sup>134</sup> and to that of Coptic Nubian epitaphs in particular.<sup>135</sup> In fuller versions of the text, as, for example, in the stelae below, a sometimes quite brief prayer follows, which most often develops the central idea of eschatological rest in formulae commonly borrowed from liturgical models (see the commentary to these various prayers below). Such a prayer is absent here, and the text concludes in ll. 4–7 with a mere *pax*-formula and a following Amen. A *pax*-formula in this position is also found in stelae nos. 30, 33, and 35 below and in quite a number of similar brief epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim.<sup>136</sup> One or more Amens, alternating with Greek *γένοιτο* or its Coptic equivalent *εϥεϩϩϩϩ*, are the normal conclusion of Nubian Christian epitaphs.<sup>137</sup> The crosses in ll. 1 (one) and 7 (three) likewise belong to the standard repertoire of Nubian epigraphy, where usually one or more crosses of various shapes mark the beginning and the end of the text.<sup>138</sup>

The language of the present stela shows hardly any irregularities; -*μεγε* for -*μεεγε* (l. 1) is occasionally found elsewhere in Lower Nubia and Upper Egypt, and twice below in similar stelae from Qasr Ibrim (nos. 31 and 36).<sup>139</sup> The rare form *λαμην* (ll. 6–7), if not a scribal error, may plausibly be explained as an instance of word-initial vowel-doubling, for which many other examples from Nubia are known (see van der Vliet

<sup>134</sup> See HELDERMAN 1984: 47–70; for the Christian conception of the tomb, PFOHL 1983: 495–6.

<sup>135</sup> See VAN DER VLIET 2003: 27–8, with further references.

<sup>136</sup> The stelae of Stephanos (MONNERET DE VILLARD 1931: 10; IDEM 1935–57: 1, 112–15), NN (fragment in MONNERET DE VILLARD 1931: 10), Eiktoume (MONNERET DE VILLARD 1935–57: 1, 115), Taroueposhsha (MILLS 1982: 83, no. 1), Kerge (MILLS 1982: 82–3, no. 2), Hellene (MILLS 1982: 83, no. 3); see further WIETHEGER 1992: 153.

<sup>137</sup> See JUNKER 1925a: 128 and 133; general background: STUIBER 2001.

<sup>138</sup> See JUNKER 1925a: 128 and 133; for Egyptian epigraphy, LEFEBVRE 1907: XXXIII–XXXIV; WIETHEGER 1992: 207–8.

<sup>139</sup> See furthermore: MINA 1942: nos. 70–2, 76, and 182 (all from Sakinya); KAHLE 1954: 67, *sub f* (Upper Egypt).

2003: 23, n. 113). The omission of the word  $\pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\omicron\gamma$ , 'the day', in l. 2, which is nevertheless demanded by the following relative clause, is undoubtedly a real scribal error.

Epitaphs of this type usually do not bear an absolute date. In Martin Krause's classification, based upon the material from Sakinya, the present text would correspond to formulary no. 1, in its second redaction (Krause 1975: 78–9). Accordingly, the stela may be dated tentatively to the eighth century (cf. Krause 1975: 79–80).

The monument was discovered in one of the rock cut tombs in the area to the south of the Cathedral tower, apparently in association with tenth–twelfth-century episcopal epitaphs.<sup>140</sup> Little is known about its precise find circumstances within this tomb; the entire context seemed much disturbed.<sup>141</sup> In any case, the modest character of the stela and its relatively early date as well as traces of secondary use make it unlikely that this was its original context. Like the bulk of similar stelae from Qasr Ibrim, it must originally have adorned a free-standing tomb that was situated not in the citadel, but in one of the extensive Christian cemeteries on the outskirts of the town, presumably the South Cemetery.<sup>142</sup> In fact, the textually nearly identical stela of Stephanos was found by Ugo Monneret de Villard among the ruins of a cruciform tomb precisely in this cemetery (Monneret de Villard 1931: 9–10; idem 1935–57: I, 112–15). Just like the following pieces, it must have been brought up for re-use in building works on the citadel at some later time, perhaps in Ottoman times only.

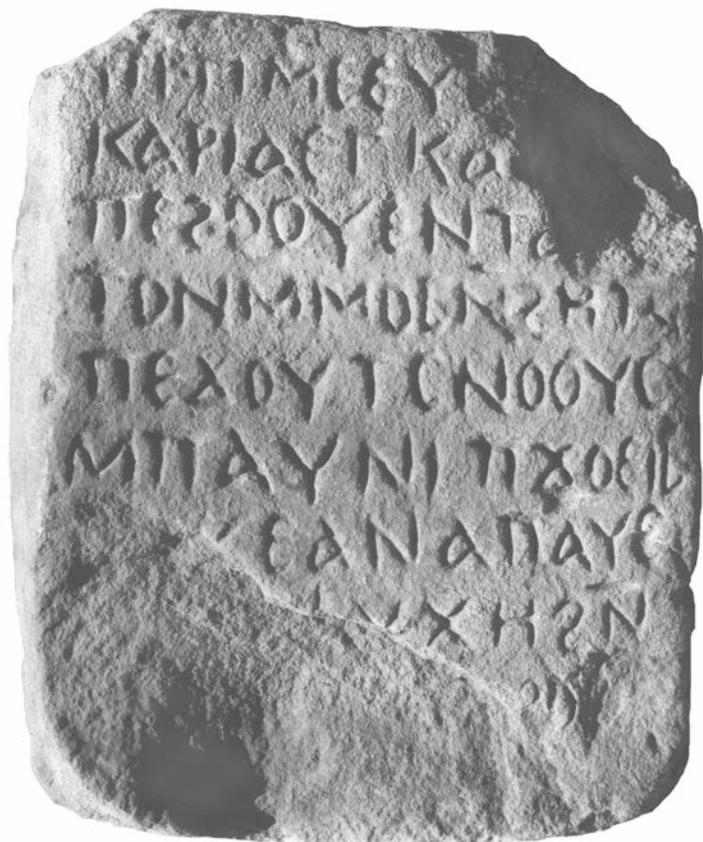
### 30. Epitaph of a woman Enkael (?)

Excavation no. 66.2.1/1; register no. 66/1. Documentation: slip no. 3 (with a copy of the text); photo nos. 66V1/1–2.

<sup>140</sup> For this find complex, see above, pp. 53–6.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. PLUMLEY 1983: 163. For the archaeological context, see further PLUMLEY 1966: II, with pl. v, 2 (the tomb in question is the second from the left), and ADAMS 1996: 82–3.

<sup>142</sup> For Nubian tomb types, see MONNERET DE VILLARD 1935–57: III, 63–78, and, more recently, ADAMS 1998.



Epitaph of a woman Enkael (?) (no. 30)

Found on 1 February 1966, in room 280 of Ottoman House B58, built into the east wall.

Donated to the Manchester University Museum in 1984, accession no. 11601.

A sandstone stela, 23 x 18.5 x 6.5 cm, undecorated. The text is surrounded by narrow, flat margins. All corners are damaged, with considerable loss of text in the upper right-hand and the lower left-hand corners.

The text comprised probably ten lines of Sahidic Coptic, of which nine survive, in part or entirely. Clear and well shaped upright uncials.

Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley 1966: 9 (archaeological context).

8th–9th century.

ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ [ΝΤΜΑ]-  
 ΚΑΡΙΑ ΕΓΚΑΕ[Λ]  
 ΠΕΞΟΥ ΕΝΤΑ[ΣΜ]-  
 4 ΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΣ ΝΞΗΤϢ  
 ΠΕ ΧΟΥΤΣΝΟΟΥΣ  
 ΜΠΑΥΝΙ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ  
 [Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ Ε]ΚΕΑΝΑΠΑΥΕ  
 8 [ΝΤΕΣ]ΥΥΧΗ ΞΝ  
 [ΤΕΚΜΝΤΕ]ΡΟ [ΞΛ]-  
 [ΜΗΝ ΕΦΕΦΩΠΕ † ]

*The memorial of the blessed (μακαρία) Enkae[!].*

*The day on which she went to rest is twenty-two of Pauni.*

*O Lord [Jesus], may You grant rest (ἀναπαύω) to [her] soul (ψυχή) in Your kingdom.*

*[Amen. So be it. †]*

This stela presents essentially the same formula as the preceding one. It is expanded, however, by a prayer for the soul of the deceased (ll. 6–9), and thus represents formulary no. 1 in its third redaction, according to the classification of Krause (1975: 78–9). In the Coptic epigraphy of Nubia, these prayers habitually follow the central name-date information. Formally, they open by invoking the Godhead as ‘Lord Jesus’ (here ll. 6–7), ‘Jesus Christ’, ‘Lord God’, or similarly, while often expanding these invocations with conventional epithets.<sup>143</sup> In most cases, the ensuing prayers develop in a variety of ways the idea of ‘rest’ (ἀνάπαυσις; ΜΤΟΝ), as announced by the verb ΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟϢ that is used to refer to the event of

<sup>143</sup> As, e.g., here in no. 36, ll. 5–6: ‘God, the merciful and compassionate’; see JUNKER 1925a: 128–9; VAN DER VLIET 2003: 28, with further references.

death (here ll. 3–4).<sup>144</sup> The present prayer asks for rest (the verb *ἀναπαύω* is used) for the soul of the deceased in God's 'kingdom', a formula with clear New Testament echoes, most notably of Luke 23:42, 'Jesus, remember me when You come in Your kingdom', which is frequently quoted in graffiti, including in Nubia.<sup>145</sup> The primary source for this prayer, and most other funerary prayers on Nubian stelae, must be liturgical, however.<sup>146</sup> With slight variations, among which the prayer for rest in 'the Kingdom of Heavens' is undoubtedly the most popular, the present formula is common throughout Nubia, and also found in nos. 31–3, 40 and various others below, and in Qasr Ibrim stelae from earlier finds.<sup>147</sup> The final Amens in ll. 9–10 are reconstructed *exempli gratia* after nos. 31 and 34 below.

The name of the deceased, reconstructed here as Enkael, is apparently Nubian. It can be plausibly analysed as a Copticised rendering of the name  $\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\lambda(\epsilon\lambda)$ -, attested in later Old Nubian documents from Qasr Ibrim (Browne 1996: 238, *s.v.*  $\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\lambda(\epsilon\lambda)$ -), with the combination - $\Gamma\kappa$ - /ngk/ representing the double Nubian  $\epsilon$  /ng/. Note, however, that in the Old Nubian sale in BROWNE 1991: no. 43, l. 2, the name belongs to a male person. Also the lacuna at the end of l. 2 forbids to be categorical about the precise form of the name here.

<sup>144</sup> See ŁAJTAR 2003a: XXIII–XXIV (Greek); VAN DER VLIET 2003: 28 (Coptic).

<sup>145</sup> E.g., in the graffiti on a desert hill-top, east of Qasr Ibrim, known as Gebel Maktub (for this site see above, 'Introduction', p. 4, with n. 9); at Aswan, Deir Anba Hadra (Monastery of St Simeon): DE MORGAN *et alii* 1894: 136, no. 3; 140, nos. 7 and 10.

<sup>146</sup> See, e.g., the prayer that concludes the commemoration of the dead in the Egyptian Liturgy of St Basil, BUDDÉ 2004: 200–1, 523–5; also in the anonymous Sahidic anaphora in LANNE 1958: 38 (320), ll. 12–13: 'that we receive the Kingdom that You promised us'; cf. ŁAJTAR 2003a: 99. For the 'Kingdom of Heavens', see also below, no. 57, commentary to ll. 27–8.

<sup>147</sup> Such as the stela of Marianou (perhaps from Faras, however; RICHTER 1999: 298, ll. 12–13; *SBKopt.* III 1603) and the stela of Eisousiko (RICHTER 1999: 302, ll. 20–1; *SBKopt.* III 1604); cf. JUNKER 1925a: 129.

## 31. Epitaph of a man Petros

Excavation no. 74.I.27/8; register no. 74/5. Documentation: slip no. 30; photo no. 74v7/33.

Found on 27 January 1974, among the loose fill in room 157 of Ottoman House B2.

Current location unknown, but presumably transferred to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

A sandstone stela, 31 x 18.5 x 7 cm, undecorated apart from a double headline of simple crosses and monograms; broad, flat margins.

The body of the text consists of fourteen lines of Sahidic Coptic, written in rather coarse incised uncials, badly ruled. Almost throughout, supralinear dots are used instead of strokes. The text is essentially complete, but for some surface damage.

Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley 1975a: 13 (mentioned).

8th–9th century.

	†	†	†
	Υ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς		
	† ΠΡΠΜΕΥΕ Μ-		
	ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ		
	ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΠΕ-		
4	ΣΟΟΥ ΝΤΑϞ-		
	ΜΤΟΝ (ΜΜΟϞ) ΝΣΝ-		
	ΤḄ ΠΕ ΣΟΥ		
	ΜΝΤΩΛΜΕΤ		
8	ΜΠΑΧΩΝ {Π}		
	ΠΧΘΕΙΣ Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ		
	ΕΚΕΤΕΙ ΜΤΟΝ		
	ΝΤΕϞΨΥΧΗ		
12	ΣΝ ΤΕΚΜΝΤΕ-		
	ΡΟ ΣΑΜΗΝ Ε-		
	ϞΕΩΩΠΕ †		



Epitaph of a man Petros (no. 31)

Top. Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ)ς: ic χς || 1. cross in left margin || 9. ι(ησοῦ)ς πεχ(ριστο)ς:  
ic πεχς; final -c in right margin

1. -μεγε: 1. -meeγε || 5-6. ἡζητη: 1. ἡζητη || 7. -φамет: Sahidic -φомте ||  
10. -τε: 1. -†

† † †

*Jesus Christ.*

† *The memorial of the blessed (μακάριος) Petros.*

*The day on which he went to rest is the thirteenth of Pakhon.  
O Lord, Jesus Christ, may You grant rest to his soul (ψυχή) in Your kingdom.  
Amen, so be it. †*

In the present series of stelae characterised by the (2λ) ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ- formula, this is the only one for a man (see above, the commentary to no. 29). It presents a text that is largely similar to the preceding one. Notable differences are the decorative headlines with crosses and the name of Jesus Christ, and the use of † ΜΤΟΝ, instead of ἀναπαύω, in l. 10. Furthermore, some informality in the orthography can be observed: most notably ϠΑΜΕΤ (l. 7), an 'Akhmimic' form, for normal Sahidic ϠΟΜΤΕ.<sup>148</sup> In l. 1 the scribe writes ΜΕΥΕ, for correct ΜΕΕΥΕ, as in nos. 29 and 36, and in l. 10, ΤΕΙ, for standard †. In addition, the text shows some stone-cutter's errors: the omission of a word plus a wrong spelling in l. 5, and an instance of dittography in l. 8. Finally, it may be noted that supralinear dots are used instead of strokes to mark the abbreviated *nomina sacra* in the top line and l. 9.

### 32. Epitaph of a woman Athanasia

Excavation no. 66.2.2/5; register no. 66/5. Documentation: slip no. 9 (with a copy of the text); photo no. 66VI/18.

Found on 2 February 1966, in the wall of room 308 in Ottoman House B68.

Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 90877.

Sandstone stela, 34 x 12 x 8 cm, undecorated apart from simple crosses that mark the beginning and the end of the text.

The text, enclosed in flat outer margins, comprises thirteen lines in Sahidic Coptic, badly ruled and carelessly written. The stela is virtually complete, apart from some surface damage.

Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley 1966: 9 (archaeological context).

<sup>148</sup> For the /a/-/o/ interchange, common in the Theban area, see WINLOCK & CRUM 1926: 237; KAHLE 1954: 80-1; in the Aswan region: SATZINGER 1980: 85-7; CLACKSON 1995: 104.



Epitaph of a woman Athanasia (no. 32)

8th–9th century.

† 2Α ΠΡΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ  
ΝΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ  
ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑ ΠΕ-  
4 200Υ ΝΤΑΣΜΤΟΝ  
ΜΜΟΣ ΝΖΕΙΤ̄C  
ΠΕ ΣΟΥ ΣΝΑΥ ΝΧΑΙ-  
ΑΚ ΠΧΘΕΙC Ι(ΗCΟΥ)C ΕΚΕ-  
8 ΑΝΑΥΠΑΥΕ ΝΤΕC-  
ΨΥΧΗ ΖΡΑΙ ΖΝ

ΤΕΚΜΝΤΕΡΟ  
 2Ν ΟΥΓΕΙΡΗΜΠ  
 12 2ΑΜΗΝ † [†] †  
*vac.* ΧΟΙΑΚ 8 †

7. ι(ΗCOY)C: IC || 9. †-: written as †-

5. Ν2ΕΙΤC: I. Ν2ΗΤ9 || 6-7. ΧΑΙΙΑΚ: I. ΧΟΙΑΚ (cf. I. 13) || 8. ΑΝΑΥΠΑΥΕ: I. ΑΝΑΠΑΥΕ ||  
 II. ΟΥΓΕΙΡΗΜΠ: I. ΟΥΓΕΙΡΗΗΗ

† *For the commemoration of the blessed (μακαρία) Athanasia.  
 The day on which she went to rest is the second of Khaiiak.  
 O Lord Jesus, may You grant rest (ἀναπαύω) to her soul (ψυχή) in Your  
 kingdom.  
 In peace (εἰρήνη). Amen. † † †  
 Khoiak 2. †*

This stela shows a common variant of the ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ-formula, with the preceding preposition 2Λ, discussed in the commentary to no. 29 above. Otherwise, the text closely resembles that of no. 30 above, apart from the addition of a *pax*-formula in l. 11 (for which see no. 29 above). Another difference consists in the repetition of the date of death, as the text's most important single piece of information in addition to the deceased's name, at the lower end of the stela (l. 13), a procedure of which several more examples can be found in Nubia, also at Qasr Ibrim itself.<sup>149</sup>

The spelling tends to be careless, with a double error in l. 5 (wrong gender selection for the resumptive pronoun, probably under the influence of preceding ΜΜΟC,<sup>150</sup> and ΕΙ for Η),<sup>151</sup> and a bizarre misspelling of the *pax*-for-

<sup>149</sup> MONNERET DE VILLARD 1931: 10, lower part of a Coptic stela from the South Cemetery; see further VAN DER VLIET, in MARTIN *et alii* 2005: no. 120, and OCHAΛA forthcoming; compare also no. 34 below.

<sup>150</sup> The same in no. 34, ll. 4-5, and in the stela of Hellene from the South Cemetery (MILLS 1982: 83, no. 3).

<sup>151</sup> For this interchange, see CRUM 1939: 70a (as an Akhmimic feature); KAHLE 1954: 75, *sub* 35; GIGNAC 1976: 239-40.

mula in l. 11. The month name Khoiak is written differently in ll. 6–7 (ΧΛΙΑΚ, with a non-Sahidic /a/ for /o/, for which see n. 148 above) and in l. 13. The spelling ΑΝΑΥΠΑΥΕ (for ΑΝΑΠΑΥΕ) can be explained by vowel assimilation and occurs more often in Nubia, in both Greek and Coptic texts.<sup>152</sup>

### 33. Epitaph of a woman Eoneille

Excavation no. 66.2.2/1; register no. 66/2. Documentation: slip no. 5 (with a hand-copy of the text); photo no. 66VI/6.

Found on 2 February 1966, in the wall fill of room 308 in Ottoman House B68.

Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 90875.

A sandstone slab, 29 x 25 x 8 cm, made out of a re-used architectural element (see below). The text is partly contained within a crudely incised frame that may either represent the remains of earlier ornamentation (thus the excavators on the documentation slip) or an unfinished *aedicula*-decor. Most of the text remains within this frame, apart from the end of l. 3, which seems to continue vertically in the ‘column’ on the right hand side of the text. The left hand margin is flat and undecorated; the upper part of the stone remained empty. The *verso* consists of a fragment of a handsomely sculptured frieze with alternating crosses and rosettes, one border decorated with a continuous ‘Flechtmuster’-type scroll. It resembles but is not identical to the fragment shown in Plumley 1970: fig. 95.

The text consists of ten lines of Sahidic Coptic, written in clear but somewhat irregular uncials that seem more regular and better shaped from l. 7 onwards. Curiously, ll. 1–2 show a left looking λ, ll. 6–10 a broken bar, symmetrical A. Some traces of punctuation can be observed (in ll. 4 and 9). The entire surface is much abraded and chipped, which affects in particular ll. 3–6; a considerable part of the last three lines is broken away.

Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley 1966: 9 (archaeological context).

<sup>152</sup> Greek: VAN DER VLIET, in MARTIN *et alii* 2005: no. III, ll. 24 and 25; Coptic: MINA 1942: no. 76, ll. 8–9.

8th–9th century.

† 2A ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤ-  
 ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΕΩΝΕΙΛ-  
 ΛΕ ΠΕ20ΟΥ [ΝΤΑΣ]ΜΤΟΝ Μ̄Μ[ΟC]  
 4 Ν2ΗΤϞ ΠΕ : [CΟΥ ΜΝ]Τ[Α]Ϟ-  
 ΤΕ ΜΠ . . [ . . . ]Τ[---]  
 ΙΝΔ(ΙΚΤΙΩΝΟC) ΙΑ [: ΠΧΟΕΙC] Ι(ΗCΟΥ)C  
 ΕΚΕΛΑΝΑΠΑΥΕ ΝΤΕC-  
 8 ΥΥΧΗ [2̄Ν ΤΕΚ]Μ̄ΝΤ-  
 ΡΡΟ · 2̄Ν [ΟΥΕΙΡΗ]ΝΗ  
 2ΑΜ[ΗΝ † ]

3. Μ̄Μ[ΟC]: if so, written vertically on the frame, with the second Μ below the first ||  
 6. ΙΝΔ(ΙΚΤΙΩΝΟC) ΙΑ: ῙΝΔ ΙΑ; Ι(ΗCΟΥ)C: IC

† *For the commemoration of the blessed (μακαρία) Eoneille.*  
*The day on which she went to rest is the fourteenth (?) of [...], (year) of the*  
*indiction (ἰνδικτίωνος) II.*  
*[O Lord (?)] Jesus, may You grant rest (ἀναπαύω) to her soul (ψυχή) in*  
*Your kingdom.*  
*In peace (εἰρήνη). Amen. [ † ]*

The text follows the pattern observed in the preceding stela. Owing to the quite considerable surface damage, several readings remain doubtful, however. In particular the dating lemma (ll. 3–6) cannot be fully restored: the number in ll. 6–7 is highly uncertain and the month name (l. 5) cannot be reconstructed anymore, since the traces permit various readings. Indiction dates, as in l. 6, appear to occur rather rarely in the surviving epigraphic record of Qasr Ibrim (in the present corpus only here and in nos. 34 and 42 below).<sup>153</sup> They went out of use in the first half of the tenth century (see Łajtar 2003a: xxv and 144).

<sup>153</sup> Otherwise only in the stela of a woman Reumata (?) from the North Cemetery (MILLS 1982: 83–4, no. 5, l. 8). Also in the Greek stela of Epephanios (Leipzig inv. no. 680; RICHTER 1999: 297, l. 5; *SBKopt.* III 1602), which is almost certainly not from Qasr Ibrim, however.



Epitaph of a woman Eoneille (no. 33)

The beginning of the name of the owner also remains slightly uncertain. It is apparently a Nubian name, which may perhaps be compared to the various names beginning with  $\epsilon\iota\omicron\text{N-}/\epsilon\iota\omicron\text{N-}$  found in later Old Nubian documents from Qasr Ibrim (Browne 1996: 239). Alternatively, it could be analysed as a formation with  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\text{n}$  and a Latin ending *-illa*, but such is not attested elsewhere.

## 34. Epitaph of a woman Theodosia

Excavation no. 66.2.2/2; register no. 66/3. Documentation: slip no. 6 (with a copy of the text); photo no. 66VI/5.

Found on 2 February 1966, in room 308 of Ottoman House 668, in the fill of a wall.

Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 90876.

Sandstone stela, 29,5 x 25 x 6 cm; a broad raised rim, undecorated where preserved, surrounds the epigraphic field. All four outer corners are damaged.

The text consists of eleven lines of Sahidic Coptic plus a Greek acclamation (l. 12), written in clear and regular incised uncials. The text is essentially complete, but for some surface wear and pits (mainly in ll. 2–5).

Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley 1966: 9 (archaeological context).

8th–9th century.

- 2A ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ Ν-  
 ΤΜΑΚΑ[Ρ]ΙΑ ΘΕΟΔ-  
 ΩΣΙ[Α ΠΕΞ]ΡΟΥ ΝΤ-  
 4 ΛΣΜ[ΤΟΝ Μ]ΜΟΣ ΝΞΗ-  
 ΤΣ ΠΕ [ΣΟΥ ΧΟΥ]ΤΑΥΤΕ  
 ΝΠΑΩΟΝΣ ΜΠΑΧΩΝ  
 ΚΑ ΙΝΔΙΚ(ΤΙΩΝΟΣ) . . ΠΧΟ-  
 8 ΕΙΣ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΚΕΑΝΑ-  
 ΠΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΣΨΥΧΗ ΞΝ  
 ΝΕΣΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΞΑΜΗΝ ΕΦΕΦΩΠΕ  
 12 Ψ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ)ς νικᾷ, ἀμήν.

7. ΙΝΔΙΚ(ΤΙΩΝΟΣ): ΙΝΔΙΚ/ || 9. Ψ:-: written as Ψ- || 12. Ψ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ)ς: ΙΣ ΧΣ

4–5. ΝΞΗΤΣ: Ι. ΝΞΗΤΨ || 6. ΝΠΑΩΟΝΣ: Ι. Μ- || 8–9. ΑΝΑΠΕΥΕ: Ι. ΑΝΑΠΑΥΕ



Epitaph of a woman Theodosia (no. 34)

*For the commemoration of the blessed (μακαρία) Theodosia.*

*The day on which she went to rest is the twenty-fourth of Pasbons, on Pasbon 24, (year) of the indiction (ἰνδικτίωνος) [..].*

*O Lord God, may You grant to her soul (ψυχή) rest (ἀναπαύω) from all her anxieties (ἀνάγκη). Amen, so be it.*

*Jesus Christ prevails. Amen.*

The text of this stela shows an interesting variant in the prayer section (ll. 7–10). Instead of evoking eschatological bliss, for example, in the Kingdom of Heavens, it focuses on the fateful moment of passing away. The Greek loan-word  $\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha\rho\kappa\eta$  in l. 10 could at first sight be taken to have a general interpretation. Yet its primary connotations in Coptic literature and epigraphy show that it specifically denotes the ‘anxieties’ of the hour of death and its terrors.<sup>154</sup> In Lower Nubia, the present prayer has close parallels in Coptic stelae from Sakinya (Mina 1942: no. 61, ll. 7–11) and Faras (van der Vliet 2003: no. 7, ll. 7–8). In Egypt, it is particularly the epitaphs of the ‘Totenklage’-type (late 7th–9th century; see the commentary to no. 40 below) that like to expand on the theme of the terrors of death (see for a striking example Cramer 1942: no. 5, of AD 799; *SBKopt.* III 783). The Nubian  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\eta$ -prayers, which date from roughly the same period, may reflect the influence of the ‘Totenklage’-genre and its remarkably negative perception of death. Prayers with  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\eta$  are conspicuously lacking in the Greek language epitaphs from Nubia.

Some further peculiarities can be noted. In the dating lemma (ll. 3–7), the resumptive pronoun (in l. 5) has the wrong gender, exactly as in no. 32 above. In ll. 5–7, the month date is repeated. The first time, the month name has the standard Sahidic form and the numeral spelled out; in the second instance, the Greek form is used with a number. This double statement of the date within the body of the text cannot have been meant to highlight the date, as was supposed for no. 32 above and similar cases, and seems rather pointless. Perhaps it can be connected with the habit of giving dates both in words and in numbers, to avoid misunderstanding.<sup>155</sup> The writing  $\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha\pi\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$  (for  $\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha\pi\alpha\upsilon\epsilon$ ), in ll. 8–9, is frequent in both Egyptian and Nubian Coptic,<sup>156</sup> and occurs also in other epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>154</sup> See the small dossier assembled in VAN DER VLIET 2003: 42–3.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. ŁAJTAR, in ŁAJTAR & TWARDĘCKI 2003: no. 40, commentary to ll. 5–6.

<sup>156</sup> See VAN DER VLIET 2003: no. 46, ll. 7–8; FÖRSTER 2002: 52, s.v.  $\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha\pi\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ ; cf. GIGNAC 1976: 233–4.

<sup>157</sup> The stelae of Hellene (MILLS 1982: 83, no. 3) and of another Hellene (*Catalogue Hamm* 1996: no. 90b).

The text ends with the famous *vikê*-acclamation (l. 12), which is more frequently found at the top of inscriptions. In Qasr Ibrim, it occurs in a building inscription (above, no. 1, with extensive commentary; cf. also below, no. 91, B) and, apparently, at the top of two other Coptic funerary stelae.<sup>158</sup> In exactly the same position and form as the present l. 12, it is found in a woman's epitaph from the nearby cemetery of Kokmar, Masmas (east bank, south of Qasr Ibrim; Almagro *et alii* 1964: 83, pl. xv).

### 35. Epitaph of a woman

Excavation no. 80.3.13/1B; register no. 80/478. Documentation: clip file under no. C.I. 127 (slip and facsimile); photo nos. 80F78/17-18.

Found on 13 March 1980, in the fill of a wall, room 270, Ottoman House B57.

Transferred to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

The lower part of a stela of pink sandstone, 15.2 x 19 x 4.4 cm, undecorated but for final crosses; flat outer margins.

Remains of eight lines of Sahidic Coptic survive from an original text of probably nine lines. Carelessly incised uncials, slightly sloping and badly ruled.

Unpublished.

Cf. Adams *et alii* 1983: 43-6 (archaeological context).

8th-9th century.

[† 2λ π̄ρπμ̄εεεϵ]  
 [NΤM]ΑϞΑ[ΡΙΑ---]  
 [Π]ϵ̄200Υ N̄T[ΛCM]-  
 4 [TO]N <MMOC> N2HTϣ ΠΕ [COY]

<sup>158</sup> The stela of the priest Patarmoute and a much destroyed similar one (for discussion, see VAN DER VLIET 2006a: 220-1). An example from Mushu (northern Makuria): VAN DER VLIET 2003: no. 31.

ΜΗΤΣΑΩϞ ΝΘ[ΘΘ]  
 ΠΧΘΕΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΕΚΕΡ ΟΥΝ[Λ] ΝΤΕC-  
 8 ΨΥΧΗ ΣΝ ΟΥΗΡΗ-  
 ΝΗ ΣΑΜΗΝ † † †

4. -Ϟ much inclined || 8. Ψ-: written as †-

7. η̄ for Μ̄

[† *For the commemoration of the*] *blessed* (μακαρία) [NN].  
*The day on which she went to rest is the seventeenth of Thoth.*  
*O Lord God, may You have mercy on her soul* (ψυχή).  
*In peace* (εἰρήνη). *Amen.* † † †

The missing opening lines have been reconstructed after no. 32 and other stelae from this series. It cannot be excluded that some other elements preceded, for example, an invocation, as in no. 37 below, or a decorative topline, as in no. 31 above. Neither can it be excluded that the doubtful traces of l. 2, here interpreted as part of the word ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ, already belong to the name of the deceased instead.

The prayer of ll. 6–8 again shows some variation. It consists of a prayer to show ‘mercy’ (ΝΛ) on the soul of the deceased that was extremely popular in Egypt, but occurs less frequently in Nubia.<sup>159</sup> Another example from Qasr Ibrim is found in the prayer of the much later stela of Eisousiko, daughter of Bishop Markos (AD 1034, Leipzig inv. no. 687; Richter 1999: 302, ll. 17–18; *SBKopt.* III 1604). Outside of Qasr Ibrim, instances are known from Sakinya (Mina 1942: nos. 25, 26, 28, and *passim*) and Mushu (van der Vliet 2003: no. 28).

The use of the preposition η̄ for Μ̄ (in l. 7) is common in Nubia (see van der Vliet 2003: no. 3, l. 1, n. 108), as is the spelling ΗΡΗΝΗ in the following *pax*-formula (in ll. 8–9; see Förster 2002: 232, quoting several examples from Sakinya).

<sup>159</sup> See JUNKER 1925a: 130 (under d) and 143; WIETHEGER 1992: 147; VAN DER VLIET 2003: 28, n. 144 (liturgical background).



Epitaph of a woman (no. 35)

### 36. Epitaph of a woman Espohe

Excavation no. 66.2.27/I; register no. 66/51 (66A/51). Documentation: photo no. 66v8/24.

Found on 27 February 1966, in Ottoman House B63, room 250.

Donated to the Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan, in 1984.

Upper part of a sandstone stela, 18 x 15 x 4.5 cm, undecorated as far as preserved; flat and narrow margins. Surface wear has obliterated the greater part of the inscription.

Seven lines survive from a text in Sahidic Coptic; from l. 3 onwards only beginnings and ends. Stiff upright uncials, quite unelegant in shape. Note in particular the ugly  $\times$  in l. 4 and the broad  $\mathfrak{M}$  with a low saddle.

Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley 1966: 9 (archaeological context).

8th–9th century.

† 2A Π̄ΡΠΜΕΥΕ Ν̄ΤΜΑ-  
 ΚΑΡΙΑ ΕΣΠΟΞΗ Ν̄ΤΑΣ-  
 ΜΤΟΝ Μ̄[ΜΟΣ] Ξ̄Ν ΣΟΥ  
 4 ΧΟΥ[Τ . . . . . ] Ν̄Μ-  
 ΞΙΡ [ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ ΠΝ]Α-  
 ΗΤ [ΛΥΩ ΠΩΛΝΣΤΗϞ]  
 ΕΚΕ† [ΜΤΟΝ---]

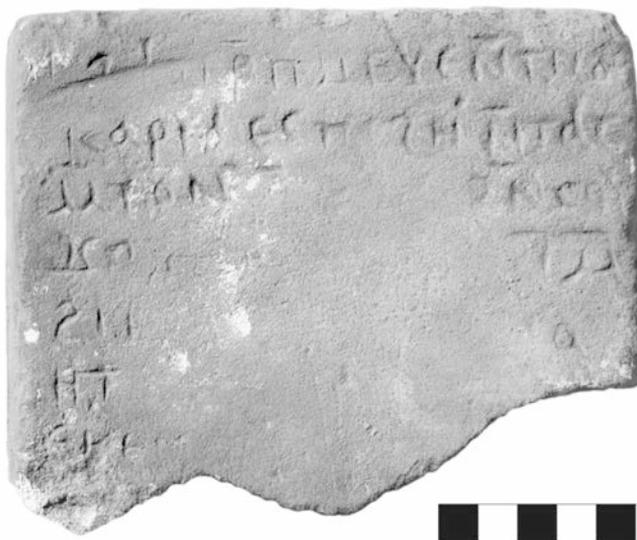
1. -μευε: 1. -μεευε

† *For the commemoration of the blessed (μακαρία) Espohe.*  
*She went to rest on the twenty-[...]th of Mbir.*  
*O God, the merciful [and compassionate], may You grant [rest ...].*

The text of this much damaged stela is slightly different than the preceding items in that it lacks the introduction of the dating lemma (ll. 2–5) with ΠΕΞΟΥ. Also, in the prayer section, which is largely lost, the standard invocation of Godhead is expanded by two conventional epithets (ll. 5–6), here reconstructed after the stelae of Marianta (no. 37, ll. 2–3) and Theognosta (Schenke 2000: 177, ll. 4–5; *SBKopt.* III 1644), both also from Qasr Ibrim (see below). Both ΠΝΑΗΤ and ΠΩΛΝΣΤΗϞ can occur isolated in this same position as apparently interchangeable epithets of God.<sup>160</sup> Combined, as they are here, they recall the Arabic *bismillah*, the Coptic rendering of which is indeed found in the opening lines of the stela of Marianta (see below, no. 37).

In l. 1 the scribe writes μευε, as in nos. 29 and 31 above. The spelling Μ̄ΞΙΡ (for Μ̄ΩΙΡ or ΜΕΧΕΙΡ), in ll. 4–5, occurs also in Mina 1942: no. 65, l. 6 (from Sakinya, Toshka-West). The Nubian name of the deceased, Espohe (in l. 2), must be a variant spelling of ΕΙΣΠΑΞΕ, Eispahē, attested in a woman's stela from Sakinya (Mina 1942: no. 34, l. 6).

<sup>160</sup> Thus, e.g., in VAN DER VLIET 2003: no. 28, ll. 7–8 (ΠΝΑΗΤ), and no. 125, ll. 6–7 (ΠΩΛΝΣΤΗϞ).



Epitaph of a woman Espohe (no. 36)

### 37. Epitaph of a woman Marianta

Excavation no. 90.2.8/5; register no. 90/683. Documentation: photo nos. 90FI29/9–12, 14–16.

Found on 8 February 1990, in unit 12259, the collapse of the girdle wall, west side and south-west corner.

Current location unknown.

A flat sandstone stela, 26.3 x 18.7 x 9.6 cm. The stone is undecorated apart from the lower margin, which shows a row of three (originally four) *croix pattées*; a similar cross precedes the text in l. 1. The stone is essentially complete, although considerable surface damage seriously affects the legibility of the inscription. The roughly dressed backside shows traces of re-use as a door-socket.

The stone bears an essentially complete text of fourteen lines in Sahidic Coptic. The text consists of clumsily drawn semi-uncials, which show the influence of a more cursive, sloping documentary script. Note in particular the squarish Ⲫ and the inconsistent forms of Ⲙ and Ⲛ. Irregularly, supralinear strokes are placed over groups, dots and strokes over individual consonants.

Unpublished.

8th–9th century.

† ⲪⲘ ⲡ[ⲢⲀⲚ Ⲙ]ⲡⲚⲠⲮⲤⲈ  
 ⲡⲚⲀⲘⲦ ⲗⲮⲰ ⲡⲤⲀⲚⲈ-  
 ⲪⲦⲘⲦ ⲪⲀ ⲡⲢⲡⲘⲈⲈⲮⲈ ⲚⲦⲘⲀ-  
 4 ⲘⲢⲢⲀ ⲘⲢⲢⲀⲚⲦⲀ ⲡⲈⲪⲠⲠ[Ⲯ]  
 ⲘⲈ ⲚⲦⲀⲪⲘ̄[Ⲧ]ⲠⲠⲠ Ⲙ[ⲘⲠⲠ]  
 ⲚⲪⲚⲦⲦⲦ ⲡⲈ Ⲫ[Ⲡ]Ⲯ Ⲫ ⲘⲡⲈⲪⲠⲠ  
 ⲦⲠⲠⲠⲠⲈ {ⲡⲈ} ⲡⲚⲠⲮⲤⲈ ⲘⲈ Ⲛ̄-  
 8 [ⲗ]ⲪⲢⲀⲪⲀⲘ ⲘⲚ Ⲡ[Ⲫ]ⲗⲗⲘ ⲘⲚ ⲠⲀⲘⲠⲠ  
 † ⲘⲦⲠⲠ ⲚⲦⲈⲪⲦⲦⲦⲦ ⲪⲚ ⲘⲠⲮⲚ̄Ⲧ  
 ⲚⲚⲈⲚⲈⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠ ⲈⲦⲠⲮⲮⲗⲗⲪ ⲚⲦⲗ-  
 [Ⲛ]ⲦⲗⲮⲈ ⲚⲈⲮⲢⲢⲀⲚ ⲗⲪⲢⲀⲪⲀⲘ  
 12 ⲘⲚ̄ ⲠⲪⲗⲗⲘ ⲘⲚ ⲠⲀⲘⲠⲠⲠ ⲈⲦⲈ-  
 ⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠ ⲈⲦⲈⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠ  
 ⲪⲀⲘⲘⲘⲘ  
 † † † [ † ]

† *In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate.*

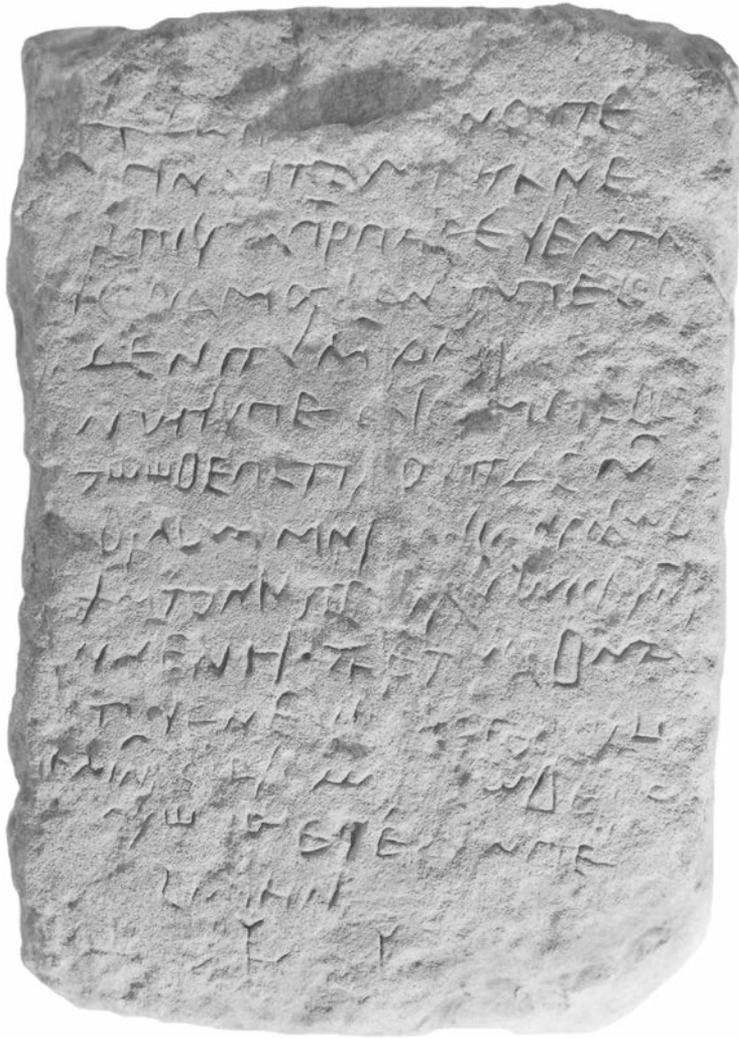
*For the commemoration of the blessed (μακαρία) Marianta.*

*The day (+ δέ) on which she went to rest is the sixth (?) of the month Toobe.*

*O God (+ δέ) of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, grant rest to her soul (ψυχή) in the bosom of our Holy Fathers, whose names [we] gave, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.*

*So be it, so be it. Amen.*

† † † [ † ]



Epitaph of a woman Marianta (no. 37)

Both its formal features (size, decoration, script) and its textual formula connect this stela with that of a woman Theognosta, now in a German private collection, which was published by Gesa Schenke (2000; *SBKopt.* III 1644). Both stelae undoubtedly come from one and the same workshop. Thus the monument of Theognosta, which appeared on

the market at the time of the building of the Aswan High Dam, in the 1960s, can be safely attributed to Qasr Ibrim. The date proposed by Schenke on the basis of a woman's stela from Tamit can be accepted as a general indication, also for the present piece.<sup>161</sup>

The opening formula  $\Sigma\Lambda$  ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ is here preceded by the Coptic rendering of the Arabic *bismillah* (ll. 1–3), which is occasionally found in post-conquest inscriptions from Egypt as well.<sup>162</sup> Although it is true that the divine epithets ‘merciful and compassionate’, or in Greek, ἐλεήμων καὶ εὐσπλαγχνος, or the like, can be found coupled already in Patristic literature<sup>163</sup> or even in Holy Scripture,<sup>164</sup> their use and position here clearly betray the influence of Muslim scribal habits.

Also other invocations may precede the usual opening formulae. The Greek stela of a woman Elisabeth, probably from the ancient Dodekaskoinos (northernmost Nubia), bears the acclamation θεὸς ἐλεήμων, ‘merciful God’, in its top (Koerner 1966). Similarly, in the Qasr Ibrim stela of a woman Eiktoume from the South Cemetery, the Coptic version of the εἰς θεός-acclamation precedes the habitual formula with ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ (Monneret de Villard 1935–57: I, 115). Examples with the νικᾶ-acclamation have been cited in the commentary to no. 34, l. 12, above.

The prayer section of the present stela opens with the invocation of ‘the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob’ (ll. 7–8), a formula that was renowned for its potency already in second–third-century Alexandria.<sup>165</sup> As the opening invocation of funerary prayers it is attested in both Egyptian and Nubian epitaphs.<sup>166</sup> In this position, it usually appears to

<sup>161</sup> MINA 1942: no. 80, pl. III, I, of AD 755. He erroneously indicates the provenance of the stone as Gindinari. The correct provenance is found in MONNERET DE VILLARD 1935: 166.

<sup>162</sup> E.g., in the Coptic stela of a woman Semne, DONADONI 2003: 17–20, ll. 1–2 (*SBKopt.* III 1647; AD 863, Middle Egypt). It is far more frequent in documents, cf. KRALL 1895: 3.

<sup>163</sup> As was observed by ŁAJTAR 1995: 89–90, commenting on the Greek stela of Sergia, Middle Egypt, AD 800.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. ŁAJTAR 2003a: 88 (*ad* no. 18, l. 2).

<sup>165</sup> See Origen's famous discussion of ‘magical’ formulae in *Contra Celsum* I 22; IV 33–4; V 45; for general background, see R1ST 1938.

<sup>166</sup> For a Coptic example from Wadi el-Ghazali (Makuria), see VAN DER VLIET 2003: no. 6;

oust the prayer for rest ‘in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob’ from the ensuing prayer.<sup>167</sup> Here both are found, perhaps by inadvertence, so that the prayer in ll. 9–11 immediately follows the invocation. This obliged the scribe to a rather awkward repetition of the series of names in ll. 11–12. In order to make the prayer sound somewhat less unelegant, he then inserted the inhabitual phrase ‘of our Holy Fathers, whose names [we] gave’ (ll. 10–11), before repeating the three names of the Patriarchs.

The prayer formula of ll. 9–12, asking for the soul’s rest ‘in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob’ (cf. Luke 16:22; Matt. 8:11), is certainly the most common of all Nubian funerary prayers, Greek and Coptic alike.<sup>168</sup> In Qasr Ibrim it occurs, in various forms and often expanded by similar prayers, in several stelae from the South Cemetery,<sup>169</sup> as well as in quite a number of the epitaphs published in the present volume, for example, in the Coptic nos. 39, 40, and 45 below. It owes its popularity to its conspicuous position in the prayer commemorating the dead, the *memento*, of the Alexandrian liturgy.<sup>170</sup> The designation of the Patriarchs as ‘our Holy Fathers’, which often lacks in the epitaphs (and also in the stela of Theognosta),<sup>171</sup> may have been borrowed directly from the liturgical prototype (as given in Budde 2004: 190–1).

Although closely related, the epitaph of Theognosta (Schenke 2000; *SBKopt.* III 1644) also shows some remarkable differences. Thus, the text starts out immediately with ΠΡΗΜΕΕΥΕ, whereas the divine epithets ‘the merciful and compassionate’ (here ll. 2–3) occur only in the beginning of

for Greek examples from the Fayyum and northern Nubia, see the references in the next note.

<sup>167</sup> DERDA & VAN DER VLIET 2006: 26, n. 16, but see the Nubian stela TIBILLETI BRUNO 1964: no. 43 (AD 699; LEFEBVRE 1907: no. 661), where the two sets of names are not immediately juxtaposed, however.

<sup>168</sup> See ŁAJTAR 2003a: XXIV; VAN DER VLIET 2003: 28, with further references.

<sup>169</sup> The stelae of Hellene (*Catalogue Hamm* 1996: no. 90b), another Hellene (MILLS 1982: 83, no. 3), Andreas (MILLS 1982: 83, no. 2), Petrone (Leipzig inv. no. 688, see JUNKER 1925a: 129), and Eisousiko (RICHTER 1999: 302; *SBKopt.* III 1604).

<sup>170</sup> See BUDDE 2004: 190–1, 509–11; BRAKMANN 2006: 301–2, 309–10.

<sup>171</sup> For some exceptions, see ŁAJTAR 2003a: 149–50, *ad* no. 41, ll. 4–5.

the prayer section (ll. 4–5). Furthermore, the epitaph of Theognosta has a much expanded, tripartite prayer section that inserts two other brief prayers before ending with the request for making the deceased's soul recline 'in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob' (ll. 9–11). These subtle variations and the insertion of ll. 10–11 in the text of Marianta's prayer show that even the texts of modest monuments such as this one were not copied mechanically after a single, unalterable model, but rather were adapted with considerable freedom from a small corpus of suitable liturgical prayers and formulae.

The name of the owner of the stela, Marianta (in l. 4), occurs also in the Greek part of the present corpus (no. 57, ll. 7–8, of AD 1051). Further instances are given in the commentary to ll. 7–8 of the latter epitaph. Other Nubian names of this type, composed with the name of a saint and an ending -NTA/-INTA, are likewise discussed below.

### 38–39. Epitaphs of the type

ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΠΟΦΑΣΙΣ

#### 38. Epitaph of a man Kyriakos

Excavation no. 78.1.31/28; register no. 78/5. Documentation: slip no. 612; clip file under no. C.I. 15; photo no. 78A52/6.

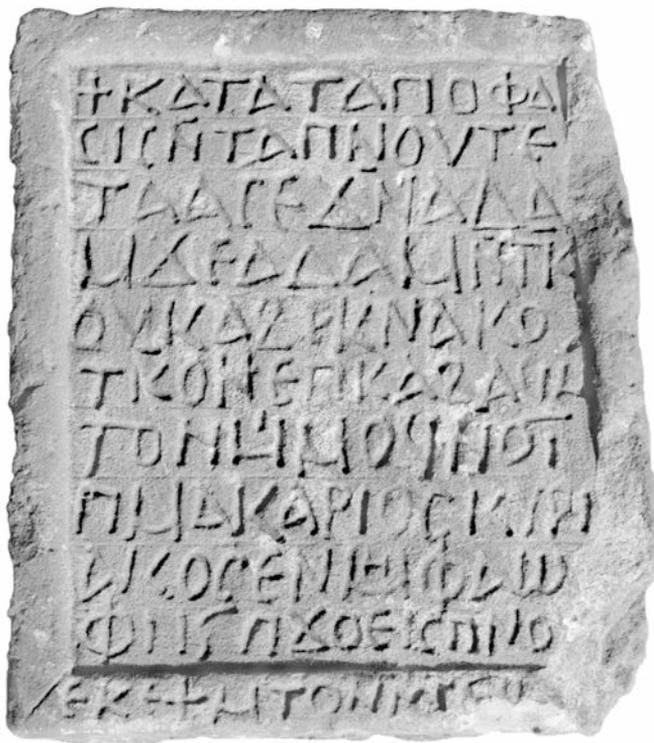
Found on 31 January 1978, in the wall of room 115 in Ottoman House B18. Transferred to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

A virtually complete sandstone stela, 33.5 x 27.5 x 10 cm. The lower right corner is broken with some loss of text; part of the upper right hand margin is damaged.

The epigraphic field is contained on all four sides within an embossed frame. The text comprises 11 lines of text in Sahidic Coptic; l. 11 is written on the lower border. Clear and big upright incised uncials; a delicately incised ruling pattern is still visible.

Unpublished.

Cf. Anderson *et alii* 1979: 35–6 and 40 (archaeological context).



Epitaph of a man Kyriakos (no. 38)

8th–9th century.

† ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΠΟΦΛ-  
ΣΙΣ ἸΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
ΤΑΑΣ ΕΧ̄Ν ΑΔΑ-  
4 Μ ΧΕ ΑΔΑΜ ἸΤΚ  
ΟΥΚΑΣ ΕΚΝΑΚΟ-  
ΤΚ̄ ΟΝ ΕΠΚΑΣ ΑΥΜ-  
ΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΥ Ν61  
8 ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΙ-  
ΛΑΚΟΣ ΕΝ ΜΗ(ΝΙ) ΦΛΩ-  
ΦΙ ΙΣ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΝΟ[ΥΤΕ]  
ΕΚΕ† ΜΤΟΝ ΝΤΕϵ[ΨΥΧΗ]

9. ΜΗ(ΝΙ): Ἡ

† *In accordance with (κατά) the verdict (ἀπόφασις) which God gave over Adam, saying: 'Adam, earth you are, to the earth again you shall return', the blessed (μακάριος) Kyriakos went to rest in the month of (ἐν μηνί) Phaophi, (day) 16.*

*O Lord God, may you grant rest to his [soul].*

The modest monument for a man Kyriakos bears an entirely different kind of text than the preceding group of epitaphs, which are focused on the 'commemoration' of the deceased. This and the following stela of a monk (no. 39) are characterised by the opening phrase ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΠΟΦΑ-  
 CΙC, 'according to the verdict ...', which serves to introduce the famous quote from Gen. 3:19 ('earth you are ...', here ll. 4–6). In a funerary context, the noun ἀπόφασις, 'decree, verdict', and the related verb ἀποφαίνω, 'to proclaim, ordain', are technical terms, referring to the divine decree that destines all human beings to death.<sup>172</sup> The opening phrases of the epitaph thus connect the event of the individual's death, here reported in ll. 6–10, directly with the prototypical events related in the early chapters of the biblical book Genesis. Death is not an accident, but the result of the fall of primeval man, and the actualisation of God's original verdict over Adam. This conception of death is articulated very explicitly in several lengthier epitaphs from the Nile Valley, apparently in imitation of liturgical models. Striking examples are the stelae of Kosmas (in Coptic, from Qau near Assiut, Egypt, AD 799; Cramer 1941: no. 5; *SBKopt.* 1 783) and Mariankouda, tetrarch of Makuria (in Greek, from Hambukol, Nubia, AD 887; Łajtar 2003a: no. 18, with commentary), which both recount the Genesis story *in extenso*. In a much more succinct way, the same conception underlies the stelae of the present type, as well as many of the epitaphs of the popular ΣΙΤΝ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ-type, which became predominant in the tenth–eleventh centuries (see below, under no. 45). Actually, this etiology of death strongly shaped the entire Coptic funerary epigraphy of Nubia in the period from the eighth to the eleventh centuries. It appears to have had far less impact on the Greek funerary epig-

<sup>172</sup> For discussion, see JUNKER 1925a: 141; PERNIGOTTI 1975: 28–9; VAN DER VLIET 2003: 27, n. 139; IDEM 2006b: 138–40; further examples: FÖRSTER 2002: 92, *s.v.* ἀπόφασις.

raphy of Nubia,<sup>173</sup> where also the quote from Gen. 3:19 occurs only rarely.<sup>174</sup>

The origin of the present formulary is certainly to be sought in Egypt. The idea of death as a result of God's ἀπόφασις is articulated in a very similar way in some of the epitaphs of the 'Totenklage'-type (for which, see no. 40 below), dating from the period between the late seventh and the middle of the ninth centuries,<sup>175</sup> and in eighth-century Coptic juridical documents from the Theban area.<sup>176</sup> In all these cases, the ultimate source of inspiration must be liturgical (thus already Junker 1925a: 141; cf. Cramer 1941: 44–5, 68, and 70–1). The Coptic marble stela of a woman Trosis (Drosis), of unknown provenance but now in the British Museum, resembles the Nubian epitaphs of the present type very closely and is dated to AD 741.<sup>177</sup> Also the opening phrases of the Leiden 'Totenklage'-stela of Eulogia (probably from Antinoe, AD 759; Schneider 1969: 4, ll. 1–4) are unmistakably akin to the Nubian formula. These Egyptian analogies suggest that from the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century onwards a new conception of the epitaph spread southward into Nubia. The innovation may be linked to a general trend towards longer, liturgically inspired texts, which can be observed in Egypt in about the same period.<sup>178</sup> From a simple memorial, preserving a name and a date, the Nubian Coptic epitaph developed into a theological statement that reflected not merely on the person of the deceased but also on the living who recited the text and were forcefully reminded of the Christian meaning of death.

Textually the present epitaph is practically identical to another Qasr Ibrim stela, that of a woman Reumata (?) from the North Cemetery (Mills

<sup>173</sup> See ŁAJTAR 1991: 161, n. 4.

<sup>174</sup> ŁAJTAR 2003c: 167–8, notes only three instances, one of which is the stela of the Tetrarch Mariankouda, quoted above, and the second one the stela from Faras, quoted below; for the third example, from Baganarti, see now ŁAJTAR 2007: 135–7.

<sup>175</sup> Cf., e.g., CRAMER 1941: nos. 9, ll. 1–3 (*SBKopt.* I 465); 11, ll. 17–19 (Antinoe; *SBKopt.* I, no. 785); 12, ll. 4–7 (Assiut; *SBKopt.* I 698); 14, ll. 5–7 (Aswan; *SBKopt.* I 675).

<sup>176</sup> See CRAMER 1941: 47–8; further examples: FÖRSTER 2002: 91–2, *s.v.* ἀποφάινω / ἀπόφασις; cf. RICHTER 2002: 143.

<sup>177</sup> HALL 1905: 6, no. 1, pl. 7 [no. 1208]; cf. VON LEMM 1972: 112–14.

<sup>178</sup> VAN DER VLIET 2005: 81; the phenomenon deserves further investigation.

1982: 83–4, no. 5). Examples from elsewhere in Nobadia show some variation in the introductory formula. Thus, two epitaphs from Sakinya (Toshka-West) have  $\Sigma\text{I}\text{T}\text{N}\ \text{T}\text{A}\text{Π}\text{O}\text{Φ}\text{A}\text{C}\text{I}\text{C}$ , ‘through the verdict’;<sup>179</sup> another one from Arminna opens with  $\text{K}\text{A}\text{T}\text{A}\ \text{Π}\text{O}\text{Λ}\text{X}\text{E}\ \text{N}\text{T}\{\text{A}\}\ \text{A}\text{Π}\text{O}\text{Φ}\text{A}\text{C}\text{I}\text{C}$  (etc.), ‘in accordance with the word of the verdict (etc.)’ (stela of a woman Marianta, AD 920; *SBKopt.* I 460). A rare Greek example from Faras opens with a more elaborate phrase:  $\text{K}\text{A}\text{T}\text{A}\ \tau\eta\acute{\nu}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\text{n}\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\phi\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ , ‘in accordance with the immutable verdict of the almighty God’, preceding the quote of Gen. 3:19 (JUNKER 1925a: 118, ll. 1–3).<sup>180</sup> Also in the verb used in the following relative clause (here ll. 2–3) some variation can be observed. In the present epitaph, it is a form of  $\dagger$ , ‘to give’ ( $\text{T}\text{A}\text{A}\text{A}\text{Z}$ ), as in the near-identical Qasr Ibrim stela of Reumata (?). The Arminna stela, on the other hand, has  $\text{X}\text{O}$ , ‘to say’, and in the following piece (no. 39 below) the Greek loanword  $\delta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ , ‘to ordain’, is used. In Egyptian examples also  $\text{T}\text{A}\text{Y}\text{O}$ , ‘to utter, proclaim’, is found.<sup>181</sup>

The opening formula and the Genesis-quote directly introduce the statement of death (with  $\text{M}\text{T}\text{O}\text{N}\ \text{M}\text{M}\text{O}\text{Z}$ ) and the lemmata containing the name of the deceased and the date of his death (ll. 6–10). The following prayer has the briefest possible form, asking simply for ‘rest’ for the deceased’s soul (ll. 10–11). The name of the deceased, Kyriakos (ll. 8–9), was extremely popular in southern Egypt, in particular the Theban region,<sup>182</sup> and common in Nubia, too. In addition to the various homonymous saints,<sup>183</sup> also the famous eight-century king Kyriakos of Makuria may have contributed to its popularity.<sup>184</sup>

<sup>179</sup> MINA 1942: nos. 284 (PERNIGOTTI 1975: no. 18) and 316.

<sup>180</sup> For  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ , compare the Egyptian ‘Totenklage’-stela CRAMER 1941: no. 9, ll. 1–3 (*SBKopt.* I 465):  $\text{O}\ \text{A}\text{Π}\text{O}\text{Φ}\text{A}\text{C}\text{I}\text{C}\ \text{N}\text{A}\text{T}\text{I}\text{P}\text{A}\text{R}\text{A}\text{I}\text{T}\text{E}\text{I}\ \text{M}\text{M}\text{O}\text{C}\ \text{A}\text{Y}\text{O}\ \text{N}\text{A}\text{T}\text{E}\text{W}\text{A}\ \text{E}\text{B}\text{O}\text{A}$ : ‘o inexorable and indissoluble verdict!’.

<sup>181</sup> E.g., in the stela of Trosis in the British Museum, quoted above.

<sup>182</sup> See, e.g., TILL 1962: 127–31; PAPAConstantinou 2001: 133.

<sup>183</sup> See PAPAConstantinou 2001: 132–4. A Coptic fragment of the popular Martyrdom of Kyriakos and Julitta was actually discovered in Qasr Ibrim (cf. PLUMLEY 1966: pl. VI, 2; edition forthcoming by Joost L. HAGEN).

<sup>184</sup> For the king, see MONNERET DE VILLARD 1938: 97–9; cf. CUOQ 1986: 18–19.

## 39. Epitaph of a monk

This stela is reconstructed from two fragments (A and B) that do not join but quite probably belong together.

(A) Excavation no. 74.3.3/19; register no. 74/195. Documentation: slip no. 895; transcript in clip file under no. C.I. 3; photo nos. 74V7/25, 78A30/9.

Found on 3 March 1974, in the street between Ottoman Houses 30 and 35. Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 93894.

Upper left corner of a sandstone stela, 13.5 x 18 x 7 cm, much worn and broken on all sides; no original margins remain. Remains of seven lines of text (beginnings) in Sahidic Coptic.

(B) Excavation no. 78.2.21/5; register no. unknown. Documentation: transcript in clip file under no. C.I. 63; photo no. 80F27/5.

Found on 21 February 1978, outside the south face of unit C2, the south bastion, in the fill of girdle wall GWC-4.

Reburied on the site.

Part of the right-hand margin from the lower half of a sandstone stela, 19 x 19 x 7 cm. Small part of an embossed border survives. Remains of seven lines of text (ends) in Sahidic Coptic.

Both fragments are inscribed with competently incised upright uncials in an identical hand; the lines are ruled throughout. A broken-bar, symmetrical λ is used throughout; only once (in l. 9, second λ) it has a different, left-looking shape. The letters of fragment B have preserved remains of the original paint.

Unpublished.

Cf. Anderson *et alii* 1979: 33–5 (general archaeological context of fragment B); Adams 1996: 302 (fragment B mentioned).

8th–10th century.

[ † ΚΑ ]ΤΑ [ΤΑΠΟΦΛ]-  
 [CΙ]Ϛ ΝΤΑ [ΠΝΟΥΤΕ]  
 ΣΟΡΙΖΕ ΜΜ[ΟC ΕΧΝ]  
 4 ΑΔΑΜ ΧΕ Ν[ΤΚ ΟΥ]-  
 ΚΑΣ ΕΚΝΑΚΟΤ[Κ ΟΝ]

ΕΠΚΑΞ ΝΤΕΙΞ[Ε ΛΕ]  
 Α[ΦΜΤ]ΟΝ [ΜΜΟΦ ΝΒΙ]  
 8 [ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ . . . . ]  
 [ . . . ΞΝ ΣΟ]Υ ΪΑ . [ . ]  
 [ . . ΕΦΟ ΜΜΟ]ΝΑΧ(Ο)Σ ΑΠΑ  
 [ . . . . . ] ΠΧΘΕΙΣ Π-  
 12 [ΝΟΥΤΕ Ε]ΚΕΑΝΑΠΑ-  
 [ΥΕ ΝΤΕΦ]ΨΥΧΗ ΞΝ Κ-  
 [ΟΥΝΦ Ν]ΑΒΡΑΜ ΜΝ [Ϊ]-  
 [ΣΑΚ ΜΝ] ΪΑΚΩΒ [---]

10. -ΜΟ]ΝΑΧ(Ο)Σ: -ΜΟ]ΝΑΧ̅

[†] *In accordance with (κατά) the verdict (ἀπόφασις) which [God] ordained (ὀρίζω) [over] Adam, saying: 'Earth you are, to the earth [again] you shall return', thus went to rest || [the blessed NN, on] the 11th [of ..., while being] monk (μοναχός) (in the monastery of) Apa [NN]. O Lord [God], may you grant rest (ἀναπαύω) to [his] soul (ψυχή) in the bosom of Abraham and [Isaac and] Jacob. [...]*

Although discovered in different seasons and different spots, strong similarities in layout and script suggest that the two fragments brought together here belong to one and the same stela. Since one of them (B) is not available anymore, this hypothesis cannot be proven. In the reconstruction proposed above, the presumably lost l. 8 is supposed to have contained the name of the deceased, whereas the very uncertain remains in l. 9 are interpreted as the remains of the date of his death. This interpretation has the disadvantage of separating the office of the deceased, which seems to be mentioned in l. 10, from his name, which precedes the dating lemma. This is not unparalleled, however.<sup>185</sup>

The text of this epitaph, as far as it can be reconstructed, is a slightly expanded version of the type represented by the preceding number. In

<sup>185</sup> Compare the commemorative dipinto for a monk Petro (Aswan, AD 962; DIJKSTRA & VAN DER VLIET 2003: 33).



Epitaph of a monk (no. 39)

the opening formula (in l. 3), the verb  $\delta\rho\iota\zeta\omega$ , ‘to ordain’, is used, which is a typical element in this context, well attested both in the Egyptian funerary stelae of the ‘Totenklage’-type and in Coptic juridical documents from the Theban area.<sup>186</sup> Thus, a passage from the elaborate testa-

<sup>186</sup> Cf. FÖRSTER 2002: 587–8, *s.v.*  $\delta\rho\iota\zeta\omega$ . In Greek epitaphs from Nubia the same verb is used occasionally, but in a different context; see, e.g., the epitaph of Markos from Dongola (VAN DER VLIET, in MARTIN *et alii* 2005: no. 116, l. 5) and the epitaph of a woman from Faras (JUNKER 1925a: 118, l. 16).

ment of a woman Sousanne, from the first half of the eighth century, corresponds almost word for word to the opening lines of the present epitaph (*P. KRU* 66; Crum 1912: 202, l. 25; *SBKopt.* II 953). Likewise, in an undated stela of the ‘Totenkloge’-type from Aswan, it is stated that ‘all flesh’ must die ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΠΟΦΑΣΙΣ ΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΟΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΣ ΕΧΜ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΔΑΜ ΧΕ ΝΤΚ (ΟΥ)ΚΑΣ ΝΚΝΑΚΟΤΚ (l. ΕΚΝΑΚΟΤΚ) ΕΠΚΑΣ, ‘in accordance with the verdict which God ordained over our father Adam, saying: «Earth you are, to the earth you shall return»’ (Cramer 1941: no. 14, ll. 5–7; *SBKopt.* I 675). In Qasr Ibrim itself, the verb occurs again in the epitaph of a woman Eisousiko, dated to AD 1034: ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ | ΝΤΑ ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΑΓΑΘΟΣ | ΖΟΡΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΣ Μ̄ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΝΦΟΡΠ ΑΔΑΜ ..., ‘in the same way as our good Lord ordained to our first father Adam ...’ (Leipzig inv. no. 687; Richter 1999: 302, ll. 10–13; *SBKopt.* III 1604).

Compared to the preceding number, the prayer of ll. 11–15 is somewhat fuller, asking for the soul’s rest ‘in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob’, the most commonplace of all Nubian funerary prayers. Our l. 15 may not have been the last line of the inscription, as one would expect some more formal conclusion (with Amen, for example).

If our reconstruction of l. 10 can be accepted, it would appear that the owner of the stone was a monk in one of the local monasteries, the name of which is unfortunately lost. Monastic titles appear only rarely in the epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim, except for those that are enumerated in the *cursus honorum* of the bishops of Ibrim commemorated by nos. 20 and 21 above. In addition to the present stela, a Coptic epitaph from the South Cemetery must be mentioned (Mills 1982: 82–3, no. 2). The name of the deceased in l. 6 of this incomplete stela should most probably be read: ΚΕΡΓΕ Τ̄Μ̄ΜΑ[ΛΥ], for ΤΕΝΜΑΛΥ, ‘Kerge, our Mother’, which makes Kerge, perhaps a form of Kyriake, a nun.<sup>187</sup> Both stelae confirm the existence of monasteries in Ibrim, even though it is unlikely that any of these were ever to be found on the Citadel.<sup>188</sup>

<sup>187</sup> For the title ΜΑΛΥ, see VAN DER VLIET 2003: no. 7 (stela of a nun from Faras); for the name Kerge, compare perhaps Kerike in MINA 1942: 102, l. 5 (Sakinya).

<sup>188</sup> Pace ADAMS 1996: 81.

### 40. Epitaph of the 'Totenkloge'-type

#### 40. Epitaph of a woman

This incomplete monument survives in many fragments, some of which join, and which are registered under three different numbers.

Excavation no. 88.I.I/20 (A–D plus F–G, J, and K). Found on 1 January 1988, on the mainland in context 9958, plan-sheet 5 of 8. These eight fragments were found together with fragment no. 88.I.I/20 (H), no. 72, below, which belongs to a different stela, however, and the Greek fragment no. 88.I.I/20 (E), here no. 64, below. Documentation: slip; photo-series nos. 88F29/25–34, 88F31/12A–14A. Measurements: 11.9 x 16.5 x 3.2 cm (A); 9.1 x 9.4 x 2.5 cm (B); 8.4 x 8 x 2.3 cm (C); 6.8 x 6.9 x 2.2 cm (D); 10.3 x 13.6 x 3.4 cm (E); 6.3 x 4.9 x 6.7 cm (G); 14.7 x 14 x 7.2 cm (J); 8 x 3.1 x 2.5 cm (K).

Excavation no. 99.999/A11 (top right corner) was found on 5 February 1992, on the mainland in structure 9790. Documentation: photo nos. 92FCS13/23–24 (top right), 92F68/17, 92F89/6, 92F99/11 (right: back). Measurements: 7.7 x 7.2 x 2.5 cm.

Excavation no. 99.999/A13 (central piece without margins) was found on 24 January 1992, on the mainland in structure 9790. Documentation: photo nos. 92FCS13/23–24 (bottom left), 92F89/1, 92F99/7 (right: back). Measurements: 17.5 x 15.5 x 7 cm.

Stored in Kom Ombo.

Ten fragments of one stela of, according to the excavators, fairly soft pink sandstone. The original height of the stela may have been over 40 cm, its original width about 30 cm. The surviving fragments belong to the upper right-hand corner and the right-hand margin (nos. 88.I.I/20 [A–D] plus 99.999/A11), to the center of the stone (no. 99.999/A13) and to its bottom part (no. 88.I.I/20 [F–G, J]). Fragment K shows only two letters and cannot be joined to any of the others. The pieces that belong to the upper and center part of the stela all join in some way, as do pieces no. 88.I.I/20 (F and G), which make up the lower left-hand corner. The place of the isolated pieces no. 88.I.I/20 (D and J), from the lower right margin and the lower right corner, respectively, can be ascertained thanks to the text.

The fragments leave a gap between our ll. 11 and 12 that cannot be filled in. Apart from being broken, the surface of the stela is disfigured by a deep gouge that runs from the center of the upper half down to the lower left corner of the stone; it must predate the destruction of the stela, but is later than the text, which it affects seriously.

The epigraphic field is framed by a continuous incised line that leaves flat outer margins of *c.* 2–2.5 cm width. The upper and lower margins bear crosses, symbolic lettering and simple line decoration (only partly preserved). Of the main text, remains of (probably) seventeen lines of text in Sahidic Coptic are preserved. Clear and well drawn incised uncials, some with slightly thickened ends. The shapes of, in particular, the left looking λ, ε, κ and η are characteristic.

Unpublished.

8th–9th century.

	[ †   Ω   ] †            A            †
	[-----]ΠΑΡΑΓΕ ΝΒΟΛ
	[-----]ϣ[ΜΟ]ΥΝ ΝΜΖΛΛ-
	[Υ-----] ΝΖ ΟΥΑΤΝΟΥ
4	[-----]ΦΛ[. . ] ΖΗ ΤΠΕ ΕΠΕ
	[. . . ΠΕΧ]ΠΟ [ΓΛ]Ρ ΝCΖΙΜΕ
	[ΟΥΦΑΡΑ]Ζ[Ε Π]Ε ΛΟΙΠΟΝ
	[ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΑϣ]ΧΟΟΣ ΕΝ Λ-
8	[ΔΑΜ ΧΕ ΝΤ]Κ [ΟΥ]ΚΑΖ ΕΚΝΑ-
	[ΚΟΤΚ ΟΝ ΕΠ]Κ[Λ]Ζ ΝΤΕΙΖΕ ΛC-
	[ΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟC] Ν[ΘΙ] ΤΜΑΚΑ[ΡΙΑ]
	[-----] . . . Ρ . [----]
12	[-----] ΕΡΕ
	[ΠΧΘΕΙC ΙC ΠΕΧC † ΜΤΟΝ] ΝΑC
	Ζ[Ν] ΤΞϣΜΝΤΞ[ΡΟ ΝΤΠΕ ΛΥΩ] Εϣ-
	Ε[Ν]ΟΧϣ ΝΚΟΥΝ[ϣ ΝΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΜΝ]
16	ΙCΑΚ ΜΝ ΙΑΚΩ[Β ΕϣΕΦΩΠΕ]
	[ΖΛ]ΜΗΝ
	†     Ω [   †            A            ] †



Epitaph of a woman; fragments A–D, F–G, J, 99.999/ΑΙΙ, and 99.999/ΑΙ3 (no. 40)

Fragment 88.Ι.Ι/20 (κ):

[---]λ[---]

[---]Ϸ[---]

Top. linear motif in corner || 13. ΝΛC: c cramped and partly in margin || 17. sic prob., since l. 16 slopes upward || Bottom. first sign, uncertain whether star or staurogram

7. εN: l. ḡ-. || 11. ϣ *vel* Ϸ || 15. ε[N]οχϣ: sic prob., l. ε[N]οχc | ΝΚΟΥΝ[ϣ: l. ϷΝ ΚΟΥΝ[ϣ

{† *Omega*} † *Alpha* †

[...] *pass* (παράγω) *away* [...] *remain*. *The tombs* [...] *is without* [...] *in heaven* [...]. *For* (γάρ) *what is born of a woman, is short-lived*.

*Therefore* (λοιπόν), [*in accordance with what He*] *said to Adam*: ‘*Earth you are, to the earth* [*again*] *you shall* [*return*]’, *thus* [*went to rest*] *the blessed* (μακαρία) [*NN on ...*].

*May* [*the Lord Jesus-Christ grant rest*] *to her in His Kingdom* [*in Heaven and*] *may He make him* (sic) *recline in the bosom* [*of Abraham and*] *Isaac and Jacob*.

[*So be it.*] *Amen*.

† *Omega* {† *Alpha*} †

Due to the very fragmentary state of the stone, which was not found on the citadel but on the mainland, a complete reconstruction of the epitaph is impossible, and not even the name of its owner can be read anymore. Nevertheless, sufficient elements survive to connect this stela convincingly with the distinctive Egyptian group of epitaphs of the so-called ‘Totenklage’-type.<sup>189</sup> The epitaphs of this class are remarkable for sometimes quite lengthy poetic compositions, for a great individual variety, and for rather pessimistic and sometimes even harshly realistic reflections on life and death. They usually bear dates that situate them in the period between the late seventh and the middle of the ninth centuries, and clearly address a sophisticated audience that was able to appreciate the high-flown literary images and the scriptural and liturgical allusions of the texts. Yet the exact conditions that prompted the development of this very distinctive class of epitaphs remain largely unknown. The ‘Totenklage’-type appears to have had its center in Middle Egypt, in particular in the region of Antinoe, where in recent years several more examples have come to light, not only in Sahidic Coptic but also in Greek (mostly unpublished).<sup>190</sup> Already one epitaph of this kind was known to have been found in Aswan (Cramer 1941: no. 14; *SBKopt.* 1 675), and sim-

<sup>189</sup> Studied by CRAMER 1941; SCHNEIDER 1969.

<sup>190</sup> But see now A. DELATTRE, in PINTAUDI 2008: 147–9 (*editio princeps* of a Coptic ‘Totenklage’-stela found in Antinoe in 1993).

ilarities in phrasing and spirit have been observed in other Nubian epitaphs.<sup>191</sup> The present stela may be considered the first full-fledged representative of this genre with a certain Nubian provenance. It most likely dates from the same period as most Egyptian stelae of the group (8th to mid-9th century).<sup>192</sup>

1–5. This must have been the most distinctive part of the epitaph, concluded by the Job-quote of ll. 5–6. But since the ‘Totenklage’-corpus is characterised by great individual diversity and the present text is very fragmentary, we are unable to propose a satisfactory reconstruction of these lines. The verb ΠΑΡΑΓΕ, ‘to pass’ occurs several times in the published corpus of the ‘Totenklage’-stelae in images referring to human life in general or the life of the owner of the stela in particular that ‘passes away’.<sup>193</sup> The use of the adverb ΝΚΟΛ suggests the same context here. Alternatively, one could think of an ‘appel aux vivants’, addressing the living who ‘pass by’ (ΠΑΡΑΓΕ) the tomb (thus, for example, *SBKopt.* III 1633, ll. 11–14). In spite of the certain reading ΜΖΛΛ[Υ], ‘tomb’, in ll. 2–3, the scanty remains that precede are open to various interpretations. They could contain the verb ΜΟΥΝ, ‘to remain’, as the antonym of ΠΑΡΑΓΕ, ‘to pass’ in l. 1 (the solution adopted in the text printed above). But they could also be interpreted as: -[ΜΟ]Υ ΝΝΜΖΛΛ[Υ], referring to a person or persons who ‘died’ (ΜΟΥ) and is/are now ‘in the tombs’ (on the supposition that the first Ν- stands for ΖΝ, as is not uncommon in Nubian epitaphs). In any case, the ‘Totenklage’-corpus contains frequent references to the deceased’s present sojourn in the tomb, although normally the Greek word *τάφος* is used instead of ΜΖΛΛΥ. Furthermore, both the readings and the interpretation of ll. 3–5 remain uncertain, even if the supposed group ΖΝ ΤΠΕ, ‘in heaven’, is reminiscent of the vivid way in which the fate of the body and the soul are contrasted in several stelae from the same group and in the liturgical texts that inspired them (see Cramer 1941: 71).

5–6. This quote from Job 14:1 (LXX; in the Sahidic version in Ciasca 1885–9: ΠΡΩΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΝΧΠΟ ΣΙΜΕ ΟΥΩΡΑΖΕ ΠΕ, ‘for man, born of a woman, is short-lived’), is not found in the published corpus of Egyptian ‘Totenklage’-stelae,

<sup>191</sup> See VAN DER VLIET 2003: 131–2 (stelae from Wadi el-Ghazali); VAN DER VLIET 2006a: 222 (stela of Patarmoute from Qasr Ibrim), and the remarks above about the stelae of the ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΠΟΦΑΣΙC-type.

<sup>192</sup> In spite of its extreme concision, the brief bilingual epitaph MINA 1942: no. 88 (AD 858), from Sakinya (Toshka-West), should also be reckoned to the ‘Totenklage’-group.

<sup>193</sup> See CRAMER 1941: no. 10, l. 4 (*SBKopt.* I 754); no. 11, ll. 3–4 (*SBKopt.* I 785); *SBKopt.* I 791, l. 4.

although other verses from Job 14 are (see Cramer 1941: 101). It does occur, however, in another funerary stela from Qasr Ibrim, that of the priest Patarmoute (van der Vliet 2006a: 219, ll. 7–8). In each of these cases the inspiration is clearly liturgical (see van der Vliet 2006a: 222). Also in the stela of Patarmoute (ll. 8–9), the Job-quote is followed by  $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\iota$ , litt. ‘further’ (here in l. 6), as a transition to the lemma introducing the death event and the name of the deceased. The present epitaph shows a similar sequence, and both texts apparently share a common source. Outside of Qasr Ibrim, the quote from Job 14:1 is also found in a late ninth-century Ethiopic epitaph in a clearly liturgically inspired context. Interestingly, this epitaph shows definite Nubian influence in various respects (discussed in Kropp 1999).

7–10. In order to introduce the death event and the name and date lemmata, the scribe chose to use the standard etiological quote of Gen. 3:19, which is strangely lacking in the stela of the priest Patarmoute, where a different formula is intercalated (see van der Vliet 2006a: 221–2).

10–12. Here the name of the deceased and the date of her demise would have been given. Regrettably, these are completely lost. Although the fragments of the stone do not join here, it is hardly likely that more lines are missing.

12–17. Different than the opening lines of the epitaph, the prayer section that begins in l. 12 seems fairly standard. As far as can be reconstructed, it consists of a double prayer for rest ( $\mu\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ , reconstructed) in Christ’s heavenly Kingdom (ll. 13–14; see no. 30 above) and for ‘making her (stone: him) recline’ ( $\text{NO}\chi\epsilon$ ) in the bosom of the three Patriarchs (ll. 14–16; cf. no. 37 above). In the Qasr Ibrim Coptic material, this combination of prayers is also found, in reverse order, in nos. 45 and 68 (very fragmentary) below, and in the stelae of Eisousiko (Leipzig inv. no. 687; Richter 1999: 302, ll. 18–21, with a prayer for ‘mercy’ preceding, ll. 17–18; *SBKopt.* III 1604) and Theognosta (Schenke 2000: 177, ll. 4–11, in the same order as here but with a third prayer inserted in ll. 8–9; *SBKopt.* III 1644).<sup>194</sup> Instead of an expression for ‘giving rest’ ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\alpha\upsilon\omega$  or  $\dagger \mu\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ), the second prayer, mentioning the bosom of the Patriarchs, uses a form of the verb  $\text{NO}\chi\epsilon$ , literally ‘to throw, to cast’, which is a peculiarity of Coptic prayers of this type, also found in Egypt.<sup>195</sup> The Coptic verb translates Greek  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ , ‘to cause to recline’, which occurs in the same position in Greek epitaphs from Egypt, but not in those from

<sup>194</sup> For further Nubian examples, see VAN DER VLIET 2003: 210–11.

<sup>195</sup> See JUNKER 1925a: 129 and 141 (the ‘Totengebet’ to which Junker refers is a prayer in the colophon VAN LANTSCHOOT 1929: no. LXI, Fayyum, AD 1002–3; it occurs also in VAN LANTSCHOOT 1929: no. CXVIII, Esna, AD 1003). In Qasr Ibrim, the verb is also used in the stelae of Theognosta (SCHENKE 2000: 177, l. 9; *SBKopt.* III 1644) and Eisousiko (RICHTER 1999: 302, l. 18; *SBKopt.* III 1604).

Nubia nor in the liturgical prayers represented by the Anaphora of St Basil and similar texts (Junker 1925a: 137–8). It is undoubtedly a scriptural echo (cf. Matt. 8:11). The wrong gender of the pronominal object (ΝΟΧΗ for ΝΟΧΗ, l. 15) is a frequent error in Nubian epitaphs, occurring also, for example, in the stela of Eisousiko (quoted above, l. 18).

The decoration of the top and bottom margins is reconstructed *exempli gratia*, following similar arrangements that often adorn the frames of Nubian epitaphs (see van der Vliet 2003: 25–6).

### 41–52. Epitaphs of the *pronoia*-type in Greek and Coptic

#### 41. Epitaph of a man Arent[.Jia

Excavation no. 72.11.2/1; register no. 72/70. Documentation: slip no. 72/301; photo nos. 72V4/34–35.

Found on the south edge of the excavated area, according to the register slip. Note that the Mission excavated the area of the Taharqa Temple-church in 1972.

Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 92263.

Rectangular slab of sandstone, 27 x 23 x 6 cm. Lower right-hand corner broken off. Inscription carved without guidelines. The script is irregular. Round epigraphic majuscules with elements of cursive script.

Unpublished.

20 October AD 1016 or 20 October AD 1019 (cf. commentary).

	†	Α	†	Ω	†
	θεία προνεία τοῡ δεσπί-				
	ζοντος θ(εο)ῡ τέλει τοῡ βί-				
4	ου χρήσατο ὁ ΜΑΙΕΡΟΥ				
	ΑΡΕΝΤ[.]ΙΑ ὁ ζῶν ἡμ-				
	έρα ἔτη ξ', ἀπέθανε-				
	ν Φαῶφι κγ', ἀπὸ μα[ρ(τύρων)]				
8	ψλγ'. Χ(ριστ)ε̄ ὁ θ(εο)ς, ἀνάπαν[σ]-				

12   ον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτο[ῦ ἐν]  
       κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ κ(αὶ) Ἰσα[ὰκ κ(αὶ)]  
       Ἰακώβ, ἐν<θ' ἀ>πέδρ[α ὁδύν]-  
       η κ(αὶ) λύπη κ(αὶ) στ[εναγμός],  
       ἐν τῇ λαμπ[ρότητι τῶν]  
       ἀγίων σου, [ἐν παραδείσ]-  
       ος τῆς [τρυφῆς, ἀμῆν].

3. ΘΥ

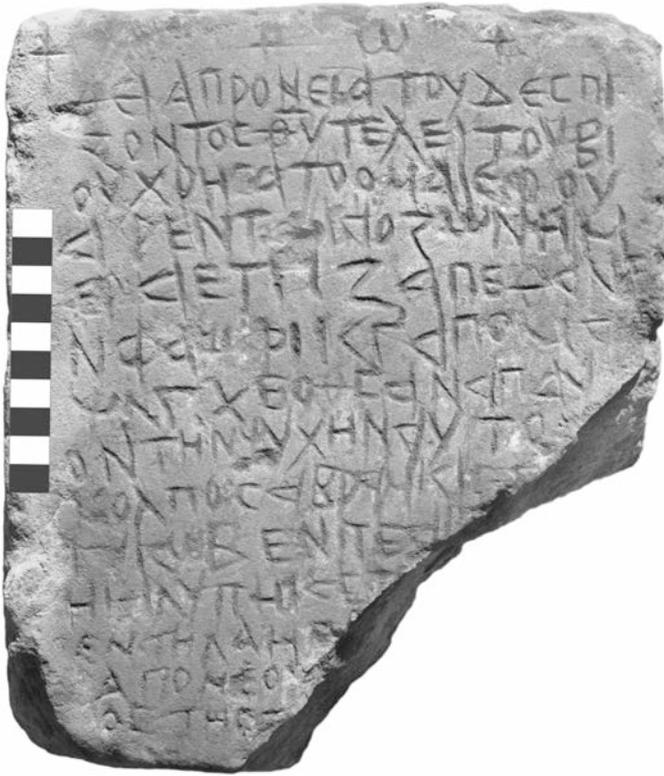
2. προνοία || 2-3. δεσπόζοντος || 4. ἐχρήσατο || 10. Ἀβραὰμ || 14. ἀγίων || 14-15. παραδείσῳ

*Alpha Omega. Through the divine providence of God who is Lord the blessed Arent[. ]ia accomplished his life. The days he lived (were) 60 years. He died on Phaophi 23, (in the year) from the Martyrs 733. O Christ God, rest his soul in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, whence pain and grief and lamentation have fled away, in the brilliancy of Your saints, in the paradise of joy, amen.*

4. *χρήσατο* is the third person singular aorist middle of the verb *χράομαι*, in which the syllabic augment was omitted. The omission was facilitated by the fact that the preceding word ends with a vowel. The omission of the syllabic augment is a phenomenon well attested in the language of the Egyptian papyri from the Roman and Byzantine periods (Gignac 1981: 225).

ΜΑΙΕΡΟΥ must be a variant or a corrupted notation of the term *μακάριος*, being a standard epithet of the dead in Christian epitaphs from the Nile Valley (see above, p. 116, n. 133). The final -ΟΥ is explicable through the influence of Old Nubian in which -ΟΥ is a frequent nominal ending. The omission of ι in the ending is probably rooted in the pronunciation: the loss of the accentuated /i/ before a back vowel was a phenomenon which occurred very frequently in *koine*, especially after nasals and liquids (Gignac 1976: 302-4), as is the case here. More difficult to explain is the transition from -ΚΑΡ- to -ΙΕΡ-; perhaps we are dealing with a mere *lapsus* which was subsequently established as a norm. Interestingly, ΜΑΙΕΡΟΥ is probably attested in a wall inscription in the Faras Cathedral as a personal name (= *Μακάριος*).<sup>196</sup> This suggests that ΜΑΙΕΡΟΥ was used in the Qasr

<sup>196</sup> Unpublished; Adam ŁAJTAR's reading from a transcription made by Stefan JAKOBIELSKI.



Epitaph of a man Arent[.Jia (no. 41)

Ibrim – Faras area as a form of *μακάριος* (be it a common adjective or a personal name).

5. The name of the dead is difficult to read except for the beginning. It is probably of Nubian origin. No Nubian name beginning in *ΑΡΕΝΤ-* has been attested so far, however.

7–8. The date of the epitaph is not entirely certain. The third element of the numeral is probably ρ: year  $\Psi\lambda\rho = 733$  of the Era of the Martyrs which, taking into regard the month day (Phaophi 23), gives 20 October AD 1016. It is also possible that the third element of the numeral is ς: year  $\Psi\lambda\varsigma = 736$  of the Era of the Martyrs, which would correspond to 20 October AD 1019.

14–15. The reading [*ἐν παραδείσῳ*]os, though largely reconstructed, seems to be certain. It is corroborated by the certain *ἐν παραδείσῳ* in no. 21, ll. 18–19 (see the commentary there).

## 42. Epitaph of Io[---]

Excavation no. 78.2.16/3; register no. 78/177; inv. of inscriptions: G.I. 15.  
Documentation: photo no. 78A52/7.

Found in the Ottoman unit during wall clearing.

Transferred to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

A roughly rectangular stela of sandstone, slightly narrowing towards the top, 36 x 26 x 10 cm. Back very rough and irregular, edges smoothed but not well. Top right and top left corners broken off, front surface chipped away, especially in the middle. The upper part of the stone is occupied by the representation of a rosette with six petals. The epigraphic field is surrounded by a raised border. Inscription cut without ruling, but quite carefully. Letters form even lines. Round epigraphic majuscules, slightly inclined to the right. The letters in the last two lines are slightly bigger than in the remaining part of the inscription.

Unpublished.

8th–10th century (palaeography, form of the inscription).

†

θεία προνοία τοῦ δεσ[πό]-  
ζο[v]τ[ος θ](εο)ῦ τέ[λει τοῦ]  
4 βίο[v ἐχρήσατο ὁ μακάριος]  
Ἰω[-----].  
...[-----].  
X(ριστ)ἔ [ὁ θε(ε)ς ἡμῶν, ἀνάπαυσον τῆ]ν  
8 ψυχὴν [αὐτοῦ ἐν κόλπο]ις  
Ἀβραὰμ [(καὶ) Ἰσαὰκ (καὶ)] Ἰακώβ, ἐν-  
θ' ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη (καὶ) λύπη  
(καὶ) στεναγμός, ἐν τῇ λαμ-  
12 πρότητι τῶν ἀγίω(v),  
ἀμήν. : —



Epitaph of Io[---] (no. 42)

*Through the divine providence of God who is Lord, the blessed Io[---] accomplished his life. O Christ our God, rest his soul in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, whence pain, grief and lamentation have fled away, in the brilliancy of the saints, amen.*

5. Probably Ἰω[άννης], but one cannot exclude other names beginning with Ἰω-, such as, for example, Ἰωσήφ. After the name of the deceased, one expects information about his social or occupational status and/or the date of his demise.

6. The first letter of the line was a triangular one.





Epitaph of Petros, an exarch (no. 43)

its conversion into a Christian church.<sup>197</sup> The text reports that this event was carried into effect on the double order of King Eirpanome, and Joseph, exarch of Talmis (= Kalabsha). The second inscription was found by the Italian Mission in Ikhmindi.<sup>198</sup> It is a Greek text commemorating the erection of the city walls, undoubtedly those of Ikhmindi, an event that took place during the reign of King Tokiltoeton, when Iosephios was the exarch of Talmis. The person of the second exarch is much less known. A Coptic epitaph found in Sakinya (Toshka-West) commemorates Noudre πεκζαρχος.<sup>199</sup> The fact of his being interred in Sakinya, a locality on the west bank of Nile to the south of Qasr Ibrim, indicates that he probably fulfilled his office in this part of Nubia. The third exarch is mentioned as a witness to a legal document in Coptic, dated to the reign of King Merkurios (perhaps the famous Merkurios of the turn of the seventh to the eighth century).<sup>200</sup> The name of this exarch is not given, nor is his office described in

<sup>197</sup> For this inscription, see most recently RICHTER 2002: 165–71 (with earlier bibliography); DIJKSTRA 2008: 300–2.

<sup>198</sup> See above, n. 5 on p. 17.

<sup>199</sup> MINA 1942: no. 305. The proper name Noudre is otherwise unattested.

<sup>200</sup> CRUM 1905: no. 447 *recto*, last line but one; see also CRUM 1899: 224.

more details. We can only suppose that he was active in Nobadia as the document must have originated from this very part of Nubia. *ἑξάρχου* occur in documents found in different parts of Nubia that are not published yet. An epitaph discovered by the Canadian Mission in Hambukol, c. 5 km north of Old Dongola, commemorates a certain Merki who, among different offices, also held the office of *ἑξάρχου* ΤΙΜΙΚΛΕΩC ὑψηλῆς γῆς, 'Exarch [---] of the Lofty Land'.<sup>201</sup> Several *ἑξάρχου* active at the same time are mentioned in Coptic documents from Qasr Ibrim.<sup>202</sup> It is known that *ἑξάρχου* was the term for military commanders of high rank in the army of the Late Roman Empire.<sup>203</sup> Later on, it started to designate commanders of a military expedition. In the second half of the sixth century, i.e. more or less at the time of the Christianisation of Nubia, this term was especially used to designate governors of two recently conquered external districts (exarchates) of the Byzantine state, those of Ravenna and Carthage. The exarchs of Ravenna and Carthage had a rank equal to that of *magister militum* and were equipped with both military and civilian authority. It is probably this latter meaning that is applicable in the case of Nubian *ἑξάρχου*. We may suppose that Ioseph(ios), Merki, Noudre, the unnamed exarch from the time of King Merkurios, the exarchs from the Qasr Ibrim Coptic documents, and Petros from this inscription were governors exercising military and civilian authority over districts important for the Kingdom of Nobadia and, later, for the Kingdom of Makuria, also including Nobadia. Some scholars suggested that Nubian *ἑξάρχου* could have been ecclesiastics of lower rank.<sup>204</sup> The epitaph of Merki, whose career was purely civilian,<sup>205</sup> clearly shows that this was not the case. Also,

<sup>201</sup> The epitaph will be published by Adam ŁAJTAR. Note that the meaning of the word ΤΙΜΙΚΛΕΩC is unknown. It is either an epithet qualifying the office of the exarch or a toponym.

<sup>202</sup> To be published by Joost L. HAGEN.

<sup>203</sup> On the office of *ἑξάρχου*, see generally BENJAMIN 1909: 1552–3; for its occurrence in Nubia, see HÄGG 1990: 159–61; HENDRICKX 2005: 334–5.

<sup>204</sup> So MINA 1942: no. 305, commentary, who writes: 'ΠΕΚΖΑΡΧΟΣ veut dire «celui qui donne le signal» pour commencer un chant, une danse, une lamentation, etc. Dans un couvent, c'est le «réglementaire», dans un village l'«appariteur»'. He was followed, though not without hesitation, by HÄGG 1991: 160, as well as by FÖRSTER 2002: 286. HÄGG called attention to the fact that the title of Noudre and the man who was witness to the Coptic contract of sale lacks a geographical specification which is less likely if they were commanders of territorial units. We find this argument weak. In local societies, where everyone knew who was meant, there was no need to describe the office of the exarch in all details.

<sup>205</sup> In addition to his office of exarch of the Lofty Land, he was also *notarios*, *kbartoulios*



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 44)

Ioseph(ios) must have been a civilian officer on account of his title *εὐγενέστατος* (*nobilissimus*), as was rightly pointed out by Donadoni (1959: 461–2). The same must also be true for our Petros, whose epitaph does not make any hint at his being an ecclesiastic. The lacuna at the beginning of l. 6 should have contained a word (a toponym) that would have designated the office of Petros more precisely.

#### 44. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. 74.I.25/I; register no. unknown. Documentation: photo nos. 74PI/3, 74V7/34.

Found in Ottoman House VI.

Current location unknown, probably reburied on the site.

Upper left-hand corner of a sandstone stela, 14 x 14.5 x 6.5 cm. Raised border of a considerable width, with a groove in the middle. No ruling, although the inscription seems to have been executed quite carefully. Nubian-type majuscules.

Unpublished.

of Sai, *meizoteros*, and *protodomestikos*. Note that the sequence in which he fulfilled these offices is uncertain.

Date unknown.

† [ἐν δνόματι τοῦ]  
 π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς κ(αί) [τοῦ υ(ίο)ῦ κ(αί) τοῦ]  
 ἁγίου [πν(εύματο)ς. θεία προ]-  
 4 νοί[α-----]  
 2. ΠΡϸ ϰ

*In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Through the divine providence [---].*

3. The length of the lines, which can be estimated as having *c.* thirteen–fifteen letters, excludes the possibility of ἀμήν standing at the end of the trinitarian formula.

3–4. Probably θεία προ]νοί[α τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θεοῦ, as in other Qasr Ibrim epitaphs, but this cannot be taken for granted. After the trinitarian formula in Greek, the inscription could have continued in Coptic (ⲪⲓⲦⲛ ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲟ]ⲛⲟⲓ[ⲗ ⲙⲡⲛⲟϤⲧⲉ), as in van der Vliet 2003: no. 16.

#### 45. Epitaph of a man Mariakyto

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 64/17. Documentation: photo nos. 64.6/35, 64.11/6.

Found in January 1964, in the fill of the Podium.

British Museum, London, inv. no. EA 68331, as a gift from the Egypt Exploration Society; transferred on 16 June 1982, accessioned in 1984 (acc. no. 1984/10-9/1).

An originally rectangular slab of dark red sandstone, now 43 x 29 x 10 cm. The upper corners and a considerable part of the sculptured top are broken away. Considerable surface damage affects both the text and the decoration.

The epigraphic field is comprised within an embossed frame that takes the form of a sculptured niche or doorway (*aedicula*), crowned by a conch contained within an arch-like rim. The upper rim, which carries



Epitaph of a man Mariakyto (no. 45)

the conch, bears a decoration of conventional symbols. A Greek cross precedes the body of the text, which consists of fifteen lines of Sahidic Coptic and is rather carelessly composed (see commentary). It is written in quite irregular upright incised uncials; in addition to diaereses, both supralinear strokes and dots are used, the latter over syllabic vowels and consonants. Numbers and dates are marked by colons (ll. 8, 10, and 14–15); a filler stroke closes the text (l. 15).

Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley ms.: no. 2 (text and commentary, after the stone). Collated with the original in December 2005.

28 (?) May AD 1059.

†     Α     Ω     Α     †  
 † ΖΗΤῆΝ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΙΑ ΔΕ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΠΑ(ΗΜ)ΙΟΥΡ(ΓΟΣ)  
 ΜΠΤΗΡῆ • ΠΕΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥ-  
 4 ΔΕ ΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΔΑΜ <ΧΕ> ΝΤΕΚ  
 ΟΥΚΑΣ ἸΚΝΑΝΚΟῦΚ Ν-  
 <ΟΥ>ΚΑΣ • ΜΜ[Α]Κ[ΑΡ]ΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΙΑ-  
 ΚΥΤΟ • ΛΥΜ[ΤΟΝ] ἸΜΟϸ  
 8 ΠΑΨΝΗ : Γ : [ΠΕΧΡΟ]ΝΟΣ ΝΑΙ-  
 ΡΟΜΠΕ [ΝΤΑΧΑΛΥ 2]ΙΧΜ Π-  
 ΚΑΣ : ΕΤ[Η] : [ . . : Π]ΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΔΕ <ΝΟΧ> ΝΚ[ΟΥΝ]ϸ ἸΑΒΡΑΜ ΜΝ  
 12 ἸΣΑΚ ΜΝ ἸΑΚΩΒ ἸΤΜῆΝ-  
 ΤΕΡΟ ΝΜΠΗΥΕ ΕΦΕΩΦ-  
 ΠΕ ΛΜΗΝ : ΑΠΟ ΜΑΡΤ(ΥΡΩΝ)  
*vac.*     †ϸΟΕ : -

Top. last cross uncertain || 1. cross in margin || 2. ΠΑ(ΗΜ)ΙΟΥΡ(ΓΟΣ): ΠΑΙΟΥΡ, Plumley ΠΑΟΥΡ || 14. ΜΑΡΤ(ΥΡΩΝ): ΜΑΡ

1. ΤΕΠΡΟΝΙΑ: Plumley ΤΠΡΟΝΙΑ || 3-4. ΠΕΝΤΑ ΠΝΟΥΔΕ ΧΟΟΣ: 1. ΠΕΝΤΑΧΟΟΣ; ΠΝΟΥΔΕ: 1. ΠΝΟΥΤΕ || 5-6. ἸΚΝΑΝΚΟῦΚ Ν(ΟΥ)ΚΑΣ: 1. ΕΚΝΑΚΟῦΚ ΕΠΚΑΣ / ΕΟΥΚΑΣ || 6. ΜΜ[Α]Κ[ΑΡ]ΙΟΣ: 1. ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ || 8. ΠΑΨΝΗ: Plumley ΠΑΨΝΗ; ΝΑΙ-: Plumley ΛΑΙ; 1. ΝΗ- || 9. 2]ΙΧΜ: Plumley ]ΧΜ || 11. <ΝΟΧ> supplemented *exempli gratia*; ΝΚ[ΟΥΝ]ϸ: 1. 2Ν Κ[ΟΥΝ]ϸ || 12-13. ἸΤΜῆΝ(ΤΕΡΟ): 1. 2Ν ΤΜῆΝ(ΤΕΡΟ)

† *Alpha Omega Alpha* †

† *Through the providence (πρόνοια + δέ) of God almighty (παντοκράτωρ), the creator (δημιουργός) of the universe, He who God (sic) said to Adam: 'Earth you are, in earth you shall sleep' (sic), the blessed (μακάριος) Mariakyto went to rest (in) Paüne, (day) 3 (?).*



the date of his demise, which is followed by a prayer.<sup>208</sup> The long opening phrase  $\Sigma\text{Τ}\text{Ν}\ \text{Τ}\text{Ε}\text{Π}\text{Ρ}\text{Ο}\text{Ν}\text{Ο}\text{Ι}\text{Α}$  (etc.), which describes the event of the individual's death as the consequence of divine providence (ll. 1–3), is perhaps the most popular of all Nubian Coptic funerary formularies.<sup>209</sup> It is found as far south as el-Koro, between the Fourth and the Fifth Cataract,<sup>210</sup> and is particularly predominant during the final phase of Coptic epigraphy in Nubia, in the tenth–eleventh century. Its use goes back, however, to the early ninth century at the latest, when it appears in the funerary monument of Bishop Kerikos of Sai (van der Vliet, in Martin *et alii* 2005: no. 115). Remarkably, the Coptic form of the formula is typical for Nubia.<sup>211</sup> It is not found among published Coptic epitaphs from Egypt, not even in the First Cataract area (Aswan), nor was it common in other contexts.<sup>212</sup> Its Greek equivalent ( $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \pi\rho\nu\omicron\iota\acute{\alpha}$ ) is represented in the present corpus by nos. 20–1, 23, 25, and 41–4. It is less frequent in Nubian funerary epigraphy than its Coptic counterpart, but seems to have made its appearance earlier.<sup>213</sup> The Greek formula, moreover, was widespread in Egypt long before it was introduced into Nubian funerary inscriptions.<sup>214</sup> Therefore, it would appear that the rise and diffusion of its Coptic form was a fairly late development, internal to Nubia, for which Greek language examples were followed. In Coptic, then, it became far more popular than it had ever been in Greek, at least in Nubia.

Within the present formulary, two basic textual types can be distinguished: with and without the etiological quote containing God's verdict over Adam (Gen. 3:19). Comparison with its Greek version, where the

<sup>208</sup> For a fuller description of the textual type, see VAN DER VLIET 2003: 26–9.

<sup>209</sup> Cf. JUNKER 1925a: 131; KRAUSE 1975: 78, no. 6.

<sup>210</sup> See the examples listed in VAN DER VLIET 2003: 210, *s.v.* ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ.

<sup>211</sup> Thus already JUNKER 1925a: 140: 'nubisches Eigengut'.

<sup>212</sup> See FÖRSTER 2002: 684, *s.v.* ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ, where all epigraphic examples are from Nubia, apart from a very late Sahidic dipinto in Esna (COQUIN 1975: 269–70, no. H, pl. XLVIII; *SBKopt.* 1 342, probably 12th–14th century).

<sup>213</sup> See ŁAJTAR 2003a: 33–4, for a list, to which the examples from Qasr Ibrim can now be added; see above, no. 20, commentary to ll. 3–4.

<sup>214</sup> See the extensive commentary in ŁAJTAR 2003a: 33–5.

lemma with the name of the deceased always follows immediately, suggests that the former type (with the quote) is a secondary development, presumably under the influence of the formulae of the ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΠΟΦΛΑCΙC-type with their theological bias (see nos. 38 and 39 above). A similar inspiration becomes apparent when, instead of the verb ἄω, ‘to say’ (here l. 4), the Genesis-quote is introduced by the verb ἀποφαίνω, ‘to proclaim, ordain’ (see the commentary to no. 38 above).<sup>215</sup> Another characteristic of the formula, both in Greek and in Coptic, is the tendency to expand the word for God with one or more standard epithets, underlining, for example, his omnipotence or his authority over life and death, as here in ll. 2–3, where God is called ‘almighty, the creator of the universe’.<sup>216</sup>

In the present corpus seven tombstones opening with a wholly or partly preserved ΣΙΤΝ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ-formula are published (nos. 45–52). Six of them appear to include the quote from Gen. 3:19, the seventh being too fragmentary to know. In addition to these, the formula is attested in six other stelae from Qasr Ibrim. Twice without the Genesis-quote: the eleventh-century stela of Petrone, daughter of a woman Kettiote (Leipzig inv. no. 688; unpublished; cf. Richter 1999: 301, n. 29), and the undated stela of Andreas (Mills 1982: 83, no. 4), and three times with this insertion: the lost stela of a priest Patarmoute (van der Vliet 2006a: 219–23); the epitaph of a bishop’s daughter Eisousiko (Leipzig inv. no. 687, AD 1034; Richter 1999: 302; *SBKopt.* III 1604), and the stela of the Eparch Marianou (Leipzig inv. no. 686, AD 1093, perhaps from Faras, though; Richter 1999: 298; *SBKopt.* III 1603). In the sixth case, the text was published incompletely (Monneret de Villard 1935–57: I, 115; cf. van der Vliet 2006a: 220–1). As can be noted, all dated examples belong to the eleventh century. Although somewhat less frequent than the older ΠΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ-

<sup>215</sup> Here reconstructed in no. 50, but for other Nubian examples, see JAKOBIELSKI 1972: 136–7, l. 2 (stela of Bishop Petros I, Faras, AD 999); VAN DER VLIET 2003: no. 3, ll. 3–4 (stela of Bishop Aaron, Faras, AD 972); no. 6, ll. 4–5 (stela of a priest Philotheos, Faras, undated). See also the curious hybrid formula that opens the epitaph of Michaelkouda from Ukma (10th century; VAN DER VLIET 2003: no. 28; *SBKopt.* III 1646).

<sup>216</sup> Cf. JUNKER 1925a: 127 and 131; VAN DER VLIET 2003: 26–7; VAN DER VLIET, in MARTIN *et alii* 2005: 169–72.

type of epitaphs, the eleven examples now known show that the formula was apparently as popular in Qasr Ibrim as elsewhere in Nubia around the turn of the millennium.

Following the opening formula and the lemma stating the deceased's name and the date of his death (here ll. 6–8), Mariakyto's age at death is also given (in ll. 8–10). In medieval Nubia, similar statements are frequent only in the funerary monuments of bishops, dignitaries and others who could afford more extensive epitaphs.<sup>217</sup> Among the other Coptic epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim, they occur in the fragmentary stela no. 51 below (last line; owner unknown), in the stela of a woman Petrone (Leipzig inv. no. 688; unpublished; see Junker 1925a: 132–3), and in the Leipzig stela of the Eparch Marianou (perhaps from Faras; Richter 1999: 298, ll. 18–20; *SBKopt.* III 1603).

The concluding double prayer of ll. 10–13 is a fairly standard one, asking for the deceased's soul to be received in the bosom of the Patriarchs (for which see no. 37 above) and in the Kingdom of Heavens (see no. 30 above; for the combination, see the commentary to no. 40 above). The verb that was omitted from l. 11 is reconstructed here after the prayer of the stela of Eisousiko, AD 1034, also from Qasr Ibrim (Leipzig inv. no. 687; Richter 1999: 302, ll. 18–21; *SBKopt.* III 1604; see also no. 40 above).

In spite of reproducing a standard text, the inscription shows blatant anomalies and errors of phrasing, grammar and spelling. Some of these occur in other contemporaneous Nubian stelae as well. In particular the bizarre form of the quote from Genesis (here ll. 4–6) is characteristic of a small group of Nubian stelae from the second half of the eleventh century. Its present form, with the verb -NKOT̄K (‘to fall asleep, sleep’, instead of reflexive -KOT̄z, ‘to return’) and the preposition N- (instead of e-) introducing the following word for ‘earth’, K̄λz, is also found in the stelae of Bishop Georgiou of Faras (AD 1097; van der Vliet 2003: no. 5), Bishop Dioskoros of Sai (after AD 1054; unpublished),<sup>218</sup> and Eparch Marianou, either from Qasr Ibrim or from Faras (AD 1093; Leipzig inv. no.

<sup>217</sup> See JUNKER 1925a: 128 (Greek), 132–3 (Coptic); WIETHEGER 1992: 155, no. 455; VAN DER VLIET 2003: 29.

<sup>218</sup> Cf. GRIMAL & ADLY 2004: 130–1, pl. xv, fig. 41.

686; Richter 1999: 298; *SBKopt.* III 1603).<sup>219</sup> The textual relationship between these four epitaphs from three different sites appears to attest parallel developments in the transmission of the Nubian formulary, rather than merely the general decline of Sahidic Coptic in the eleventh century (*pace* van der Vliet 2003: 36). Perhaps the nature of these developments can be better specified when also the Sai stela is available for study.

Some of the text's peculiarities can be explained along phonological lines. The reduction of word-initial *n*-, for instance, and the concomitant phenomena of redundant *n*-doubling and *n*-/*ε*- interchange are a widespread characteristic of later informal Sahidic, not limited to Nubia. They most easily explain the spellings *ḿκνα*- for *εκνα*-, in l. 5 of the present text, and *ḿκαα* (probably to be read as *n(ογ)καα* for *ε(ογ)καα*)<sup>220</sup> in ll. 5–6. Whether the nonsensical *ḿμακαριος* for *πμακαριος* (in l. 6) can be explained as a form of regressive assimilation that appears to have been possible in Old Nubian (Browne 2002: 20, § 2.4) must remain an open question. Finally, the spellings *προνια* for *προνια* (l. 1) and *n* for *ḿ* (ll. 11 and 12) are common features of Nubian epitaphs in general.<sup>221</sup>

Most of the other anomalies seem to be rather the errors of an individual scribe than to reflect broader tendencies. Thus, the ungrammatical clause *πενταπνογλαε χοος ḿλααμ*, in ll. 3–4, is probably a mere error for *πενταχχοος ḿλααμ*, 'He who said to Adam ...', as found, for example, in the stela of the deacon Peter from Debeira-West (AD 1029; van der Vliet 2003: no. 17, ll. 2–3) and partly reconstructed in no. 46 below, ll. 3–4. The scribe allowed the noun 'God' to slip in for the corresponding pronoun, perhaps under the influence of the *κατα ταπο-*

<sup>219</sup> Like the present stela, those of Georgiou and Marianou also omit the introductory conjunction *ⲛⲉ*. For other textual features of these and similar late stelae, see the discussions by Richter 1999: 297–9, and van der Vliet 2003: 32, n. 164, 33, and 36. Their conclusions should be modified, however, in the light of the present text and the unpublished stela from Sai.

<sup>220</sup> The stelae of Bishop Georgiou and Eparch Marianou, quoted above, both have *νογκαα* here.

<sup>221</sup> See Förster 2002: 684, *s.v.* *προνια*; also in Nubian Greek: Tibiletti Bruno 1963: 518 (*προνια*); van der Vliet 2003: 23, n. 112 (*n* for *ḿ*).

ΦΑΚΙC-formula, where the noun is actually demanded as the subject of the relative clause introducing the Genesis-quote (see nos. 38 and 39 above). Also in various other instances the scribe seems uncertain of his text. The strange spelling ΠΝΟΥ|Δ.Ε (in ll. 3–4) may have been influenced by the group ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Δ.Ε, which frequently opens the prayer section, for example, in the present stela in ll. 10–11. The writing ΝΛΙ- for ΝΝ- (in l. 8) is a typical copyist's error, more specifically a reading error, caused by the formal similarity of both groups.<sup>222</sup> Less easily explained are the unparalleled abbreviation for ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ, in l. 2,<sup>223</sup> and the omission of an entire verb plus direct object, in l. 11.

#### 46. Epitaph of a man

Excavation no. 89.12.29/1; register no. 90/66. Documentation: photo nos. 90F21/2 and 4.

Found on 29 December 1989, in structure 9651 (the Church on the Point), level 001, among loose stones around G 8500 (probably thrown down by workmen).

Current location unknown.

The much damaged upper half of a substantial sandstone stela, 25.7 x 27 x 6.9 cm, preserving small parts of the left and right margins. From the disposition of the text it can be seen that the stela must have been round-topped originally. Nothing survives of a possible decoration in the top of the stela. The epigraphic field is framed by an engraved borderline leaving narrow flat outer margins.

The surviving text consists of the remains of nine lines of text, none of which is completely preserved. The fragment is inscribed with unelegant, unevenly incised upright uncials; in particular the first lines seem to slope upward. Supralinear strokes are used. The language is Sahidic Coptic.

Unpublished.

Cf. Anonymous 1990: VII1 (archaeological context; note that 'structure

<sup>222</sup> A similar case, e.g., in *P. Naqlun* II 20 *recto*, l. 10: ΝΝ- for ΝΛΙ-.

<sup>223</sup> Perhaps a mere misspelling, like ΔΙΜΟΥΡΓΟΣ in *MINA* 1942: no. 321, l. 2.



Epitaph of a man (no. 46)

965Γ' is better known as the Church on the Point, for which see Kjøllbye-Biddle 1994).

10th–11th century.

          ΖΙΤῆ ΤΕΠΡΦΝΙΑ Δ[Ε]  
          ΜΠ[ΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΛΗ]ΜΙ-  
          [Ο]ΥΡΓ[ΟΣ ΠΕΝΤΑΦ-  
4    ΧΟΟΣ Ν[ΑΔΑΜ] ΠΕΝΠ-  
          ΡΦΠΑΤ[ΦΡ] ΑΔΑΜ ΧΕ  
          ΝΤΚ ΟΥΚ[ΛΣ Ε]ΚΝΑΚ[Ο]-  
          ΤΚ ΟΝ ΕΠ[ΚΑ]Σ ΝΤ[ΕΙΣΕ]  
8    [ΔΕ Α]ΦΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟ[Φ ΝΒΙ]  
          ΠΜΑΚ]ΑΡΙΟΣ Κ[---]

1. ΤΕ: added above line

5. ΑΔΑΜ ΧΕ: 1. ΧΕ ΑΔΑΜ

*Through the providence (πρόνοια + δέ) of God, the creator (δημιουργός), [He who] said to Adam, our forefather (προπάτωρ): 'Adam, earth*

*you are, to the [earth] again you shall return', [thus] went to rest the blessed (μακάριος) K[...].*

Another typical, but much damaged example of a high-status stela, opening with the  $\Sigma\text{ITN } \tau\epsilon\pi\pi\rho\nu\omicron\nu\iota\alpha$ -formula including the quotation of Gen. 3:19. 'Our forefather ( $\pi\rho\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rho$ )' (in ll. 4–5) is a not uncommon epithet of Adam in this context (for some further Nubian examples, see van der Vliet 2003: 90, n. 392); in a Coptic translation ( $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \nu\omega\theta\omicron\rho\pi\iota$ ) it occurs in another stela from Qasr Ibrim (of Eisousiko, AD 1034; Leipzig inv. no. 687; Richter 1999: 302, ll. 12–13; *SBKopt.* III 1604).<sup>224</sup> The intercalation of this epithet may have caused the repetition of the name Adam before the quote, in l. 5.

The name of the owner is lost but for its (uncertain) first letter.

#### 47. Epitaph of a man

Two fragments (upper left and upper right corner, not joining) of one stela. For a possible third fragment, see no. 48 below.

(A) Excavation no. unknown; register no. 64/68. Documentation: photo nos. 64.II/3, 64.VI4/22.

Found in February 1964, in the fill near the mouth of Tomb  $\tau\text{I}3$ , under the tower of the Cathedral (structure 293, earlier called Church 1).

Reported as missing.

Upper left corner of a sandstone stela, 15 x 14 cm (thickness not recorded), preserving part of a flat decorated upper margin with a decorative inscription, an embossed frame surrounding the epigraphic field, and remains of four lines of text (beginnings).

(B) Excavation no. 78.I.23/18; register no. unknown. Documentation: slip no. 269; transcript in clip file under no. C.I. 1; photo no. 80F27/3.

Found on 23 January 1978, in Tomb  $\tau9$ , south of the Cathedral tower.

Reburied on the site.

<sup>224</sup> Similarly, the Egyptian 'Totenkloge'-stela CRAMER 1941: no. 12, ll. 5–6 (*SBKopt.* I 698):  $\pi\epsilon\pi\omega\theta\omicron\rho\pi\iota\ \nu\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\mu$ .



Epitaph of a man (no. 47)

Upper right corner of a sandstone stela, 12 x 15 x 6 cm, preserving part of an embossed frame surrounding the epigraphic field, and remains of six lines of text (ends). Frame and outer margins are much worn and broken. Within the letters, remains of polychromy are visible.

Both fragments are inscribed with unelegant, deeply incised upright uncials in an identical hand. Dots (instead of supralinear strokes) and diaereses are used. The flat top margin exhibits conventional symbols; the text proper opens with a St Andrew's cross (Ⲓ. ⲓ). The language is Sahidic Coptic. Unpublished.

10th–11th century.

ⲗ ⲱ † [---]  
 † ⲉⲓⲧⲏ ⲧⲉⲡ[ⲣⲐⲛⲟⲓⲁ] ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ  
 ⲡⲁⲓⲙⲓⲟⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ [ⲙⲡⲧ]ⲏⲣⲥ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ  
 ⲑⲉ ⲏⲧⲁⲩⲭⲟ[ⲟⲥ ⲛⲁ]ⲁⲗⲙ ⲭⲉ ⲛ-  
 4 [ⲧ]ⲕ ⲟⲩ[ⲕⲁⲛ ⲉⲕⲛⲁ]ⲕⲟⲟⲧⲕ ⲟⲛ  
 [ⲉⲡⲕⲁⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲗ]ⲥⲙⲧⲟⲛ  
 [ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ] *traces*

Top. cross uncertain

4. -ⲕⲟⲟⲧⲕ: I. -ⲕⲟⲧⲕ

*Alpha Omega* † [---]

† *Through the providence (πρόνοια) of God, the creator (δημιουργός) of the universe, in accordance with (κατό) what He said to Adam: [Earth] you are, [to the earth] again you shall return', [thus] went to rest [the blessed NN ...].*

Again a typical example of a high-status stela, opening with the  $\Sigma\Gamma\Lambda\text{TE}\Pi\text{P}\text{R}\text{O}\text{N}\text{O}\text{I}\text{A}$ -formula including the quotation of Gen. 3:19. The writing  $-\text{K}\text{O}\text{O}\text{T}\text{=}$  (l. 4, for  $-\text{K}\text{O}\text{T}\text{=}$ ) is remarkable. It may reflect the preference for vowel-doubling that is often found in southernmost Upper Egypt (Crum 1939: 253a; Winlock & Crum 1926: 242; Kahle 1954: 82–3, *sub* 54). For a hypothetical supplement of ll. 4–7, see the following entry (no. 48).

The findspot of fragment B and no. 48, which may be part of the same stela, could suggest a relation with Tomb T9 in the area south of the Cathedral tower (for the cemetery in this area, see Adams 1996: 82–3). Regrettably, the report about the 1978 season refers summarily to ‘stelae in Greek and Coptic, more or less damaged’ (Anderson *et alii* 1979: 40), but does not seem to mention this tomb.

#### 48. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. 78.I.23/17; register no. unknown. Documentation: slip no. 268; transcript in clip file under no. C.I. 2; no photo.

Found on 23 January 1978, in Tomb T9, south of the Cathedral tower. Reburied on the site.

Fragment from the left-hand margin of a sandstone stela, 10.5 x 12 x 5.5 cm. Remains (beginnings) of five lines of incised text, probably in Sahidic Coptic. Slip: ‘sunken area with raised border to the left ... all other faces rough’. According to clip file: ‘possibly originally forming part of C.I/1 [= here no. 47, fragment B]’; slip: ‘similar to [no. 47, fragment B] ... [but] a different stela’.

Unpublished. The text below is made after the transcript in the clip file.

10th–11th century?

ι[-----]  
 τ[-----]  
 ΕΠΚ[ΛΣ ΝΤΕΙΣΕ ΔΕ ΛΥΜΤΟΝ]  
 4 ΜΜΟC [ΝΒΙ ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC-----]  
 ΤΟC Ν[COY-----]

3. ΕΠΚ[: transcript ΕΠΛ[ || 4. ΜΜΟC according to transcript, but rather read ΜΜΟΑ (see commentary)

[---‘*Earth you are,*] *to the earth* [*again you shall return*’, *thus went to rest the blessed ...*]τος, on [*day?*---].

As no photo of this fragment is available, the reconstruction of the text proposed here is extremely uncertain. If it would prove correct, the fragment could have belonged to a stela like no. 47 above, and preserve parts of the Gen. 3:19 quote and the lemma containing the name of the deceased. In fact, one of the notes in the excavations archives (quoted above) suggests that it may actually be a fragment of stela no. 47, part of which (fragment Β) was found on the same spot and on the same day. In that case, it would supply the beginnings of ll. 4–7 of the latter stela. In l. 4, the transcript has ΜΜΟC, with a feminine pronoun, which would contradict this hypothesis. However, this reading can hardly be correct, since the ending [---]ΤΟC, in l. 5, must be part of the apparently masculine name of the deceased. It remains possible, therefore, that the present fragment belongs to the same epitaph, which might have some relation to Tomb τ9 (see above, about no. 47).

#### 49. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. 78.2.16/2; register no. unknown. Documentation: slip no. 1283; (inexpert) transcript in clip file, under no. C.I. 45; photo no. 78A30/7.

Found on 16 February 1978, during the clearing of an Ottoman wall.  
Reburied on the site.

The upper half of a sandstone stela, 18 x 21 x 5 cm; the lower half is entirely lost. The epigraphic field is surrounded by roughly incised lines, leaving flat undecorated margins on the left- and right-hand sides. The top margin is for the greater part destroyed, but parts of the left and right margins survive. The stone is much damaged and worn, which results in a considerable loss of text.

Remains of the first nine lines of an epitaph in Sahidic Coptic are preserved. Sprawling incised uncials, inclined to the right; a simple cross precedes the body of the text. Script and text show a generally careless execution.

Unpublished. Some readings from the transcript kept in the Qasr Ibrim archives are quoted in the apparatus as ‘transcr.’

10th century.

† 21[ΤΝ ΤΕΠΡΟΝ]ΙΑ ΔΕ  
Μ[ΠΝΟΥΤΕ] ΠΑΙΜΙΟΥ-  
ΡΓΟΣ ΜΠΤΗΡΩ ΚΑ-  
4 ΤΑ ΘΕ ΝΤΛΩΧ[Ο]ΟΣ  
ΝΗΛΛΛ[Μ] ΧΕ ΕΤ-  
Κ ΟΥΚΛΩ [Ε]ΚΝΑ ΟΝ Ν-  
Τ *traces*  
8 *traces*  
*traces*

4. -Χ[Ο]ΟΣ: transcr. -ΧΩ (improbable) || 5. ΝΗΛΛΛ[Μ]: transcr. ΝΜ-, I. ΝΑΛΛΑΜ ||  
5-6. ΕΤΚ, I. ΝΤΚ || 6. perhaps suppl. [Ε]ΚΝΑ(ΚΟΤΚ) ΟΝ (ΕΠΚΛΩ) || 6-7. transcr.  
c. . . Τ . . Ν, I. Ν|ΤΕΙΩ? || 9. transcr. ΧΕ

† *Through the providence (πρόνοια) of [God], the creator (δημιουργός) of the universe, in accordance with (κατά) what He said to Adam: ‘Earth you are, <to the earth> again you shall <return>’, thus (?) [went to rest ...].*



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 49)

Owing to the mediocre quality of the photo, most readings are rather doubtful. The remains of the characteristic opening-formula with  $\Sigma\text{I}\text{N}$   $\text{TE}\text{P}\text{P}\text{O}\text{N}\text{O}\text{I}\alpha$  and the following Genesis-quote can be recognised (ll. 1–6), but the traces of the following lemma with the name of the owner and the date of demise (ll. 7–9) cannot be deciphered. In ll. 5–6, the quote from Gen. 3:19 appears to be given only partly, either by oversight or for lack of space. If the readings proposed above are correct, this brief fragment would show instances of both the reduction (ll. 5–6:  $\epsilon\tau\kappa$ ) and the redundant doubling of word-initial N- (l. 5:  $\text{NN}$ ), a phenomenon that was common in later informal Sahidic throughout the Nile Valley.

#### 50. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. 80.1.27/18; register no. 80/480. Documentation: unnumbered slip; facsimile in clip file, under no. C.I. 116; photo no. 80F17/7.

Found on 27 January 1980, in room 325a of Ottoman House B27, in the upper fill at 3.

Transferred to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Part of the upper left corner of a sandstone stela, 13 x 11.5 cm (thickness not recorded). Part of the decorated top and the left-hand margin survive; the actual corner is lost. The epigraphic field is contained within incised lines, leaving a narrow rounded outer margin (partly preserved at the left). The surviving part of the top shows a decorative composition of incised small and big crosses over a zig-zag border.

Remains (beginnings) of the first six lines of an epitaph in Sahidic Coptic are preserved. Stiff and upright incised uncials; once a supralinear stroke is used (l. 3).

Unpublished.

Cf. Adams *et alii* 1983: 43–6 (generally about the archaeological context).

10th–11th century.

[2]ΙΤΝ ΤΕΠΡΟ[ΝΟΙΑ ΜΠΗ]-  
 [Ο]ΥΤΕ ΔΕ [ΠΑΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΜΠ]-  
 ΤΗΡḲ ΠḲ[ΝΤΑΦΑΠΟΦΑΝΕ]  
 4 ΕΧΝ ΛΔ[ΑΜ ΧΕ ΛΔΔΑΜ Ν]  
 ΤΚ ΟΥΚ[Λ2 ΕΚΝΑΚΟΤΚ ΟΝ  
 ΕΠΚ[Λ2-----]

[†] *Through the providence (πρόνοια) of God (+ δέ), [the creator of the] universe, He [who proclaimed] over Adam: [‘Adam, earth] you are, to the earth [again you shall return’ ---].*

Plausible reconstruction of the remains of a characteristic opening formula with  $\text{ϺΙΤΝ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ}$  including the quote of Gen. 3:19. Note that according to the almost certain reconstruction of ll. 3–4, instead of, for example, simple  $\text{ΧΘ}$ , ‘to say’, the characteristic verb  $\text{ἀποφαίνω}$ , ‘to proclaim, ordain’, is used here (see the commentary to nos. 38 and 45 above).



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 50)

### 51. Epitaph of a man

Four fragments, partly joining, of one terracotta stela.

Excavation nos. 89.12.25/10 (found on 25 December 1989, in structure 9651 [Church on the Point], trench 51 [robbing of G 8500], level 005, F8004); 90.1.3/6 (found on 3 January 1990, in structure 9651, trench 51, 089, in broken mud); 90.1.10/3 (found on 10 January 1990, in structure 9651, trench 51, 092, F8040, among large stones in loose sandy marl). These three fragments (all from the right hand margin) bear register nos. 90/351/a-c. Documentation: photo nos. 90F17/30-31, 90F53/1, and 3-6.

Excavation no. 99.998/A17 (a fragment from the lower rim) was found on 5 January 2000, in unit 99.998, as a surface find on the mainland,

beside the track heading south-west from the Church on the Point (structure 9651), at c. 10.5 m from the church. Register no. unknown. Documentation: photo nos. 2000FI8/32–35.

Current location unknown.

Four fragments from the right-hand and lower margins of a single terracotta stela. Fragment 90/351/a: 12.7 x 10.6 x 3 cm; fragment b: 13.4 x 8.9 x 4 cm; fragment c: 8.1 x 5.1 x 2.7 cm; fragment 99.998/A17: 9 x 15.7 x 3.9 cm. Three fragments, making up the lower right corner of the stela, join; the fourth (90/351/a), from the upper right shoulder, does not, leaving a lacuna of an unknown number of lines. The stela was made of red siltware with a thick gray core and plentiful organic inclusions. The back is approximately flat but uneven. The stela was originally round-topped, with a tapering arch-like top (the right-hand shoulder of the stela is preserved). The epigraphic field is framed by a modelled rim in raised relief, leaving narrow flat outer margins (interrupted at the shoulder below the narrower arch-like top, where the raised rim is made to slope outward, perhaps in imitation of acroteria).

The inscription, incised before firing, consists of the remains (ends only) of fourteen lines of text in Sahidic Coptic. The text is inscribed in sloping uncials by a swift and practiced hand. Supralinear dots (over single letters) and strokes (over groups) are used; twice a high point survives (in ll. 1 and 12). The number in l. 14 is marked off by colons; filler strokes in the same line mark the end of the text.

Unpublished.

Cf. Anonymous 1990: VIII (archaeological context).

10th–11th century.

[-----] . •  
 [-----ΛϞΧΟ]ΟϞ Ḳ-  
 [ΛΔΔΜ ΧΕ ΝΤΚ Ο]ΥΚΑ2  
 4 [ΕΚΝΑΚΟΤΚ ΕΠΚΑ]2 ḲΤΕΙ-  
 [2Ε ΔΕ ΛϞΜΤΟΝ Μ]ΜΟϞ  
 [Ν6Ι ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟϞ] *traces*  
 -----



Epitaph of a man (no. 51)

- [-----] *traces*  
 8 [-----] . . . . .  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$   
 [† ΜΤΟΝ ΠΑΘ ΞΝ ΚΟ]Υ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\eta}$ ΑΒΡΑ-  
 [ΣΑΜ ΜΝ ΙΣΑΚ ΜΝ ΙΑ]ΚΩΒ ΛΥΩ  
 [ΣΑΣΤΗ ΝΕΦΠΕ]ΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 12 [ΣΑΜΗΝ ΓΕ]ΝΟΙΤΟ • ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΝΕΦ-  
 [ΡΟΜΠ]Ε  $\bar{\eta}$ ΤΑΦΑΛΥ ΞΙΧ $\bar{\mu}$   
 [Π]ΚΑΣ : Ο : ε -

[--- He] said to [Adam: 'Adam,] earth [you are, to the] earth [you shall return'], thus went to rest [the blessed ---].

[---] and may He [grant rest to him] in the bosom of Abraham [and Isaac and] Jacob, and [near unto] all [His] saints. Amen. So be it (γένοιτο).

*These are his years that he spent upon earth: 70.*

Terracotta funerary stelae, which are found frequently farther to the south, for example, in great quantities in Wadi el-Ghazali, are less common in the north of Nubia.<sup>225</sup> The present fragmentary stela and perhaps the fragment published as no. 52 below are the first and only examples known from Qasr Ibrim. All four surviving fragments of the stela were found in the vicinity of 'structure 9651', a building better known as the Church on the Point, for which see Kjølbye-Biddle 1994.

The text of the opening formula cannot be reconstructed with full certainty, but was most likely of the ΖΙΤΗ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ-type. Part of the classic quotation of Gen. 3:19 survives, here restored *exempli gratia* (ll. 3–4). Since an unknown number of lines is lost between our ll. 6 and 7, the following lemmata with the name of the deceased and the date of his demise are lacking again, as is the opening of the prayer section.

Of the composite prayer section itself only two parts survive incompletely: a prayer for 'rest' in the bosom of the Patriarchs and in the company of all God's saints (ll. 8–11). The latter formula, which is frequently part of composite prayer sections, is as a rule constructed with either † ΜΤΟΝ / † ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ ('grant rest') or † ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ ('make inherit'; for further details and parallels, see van der Vliet 2003: 67–8, 115, n. 444, and 127, n. 453). For reasons of space, the first possibility has been chosen here, but the preposition inserted in l. 11 is quite hypothetical. In Qasr Ibrim, a similar simple form of this prayer ('give him rest ... with all Your saints'), is found in the stela of Eparch Marianou (Leipzig inv. no. 686, which may be from Faras, however; Richter 1999: 298, ll. 12–14; *SBKopt.* 111 1603) and in the fragment published below as no. 69. A fuller form, 'in the light of all Your saints', is reconstructed in no. 71 below, also following the prayer for rest in the bosom of the Patriarchs, and may perhaps

<sup>225</sup> For a survey of the material, see TSAKOS forthcoming; cf. ŁAJTAR 2001: 327, n. 3.

be recognised in the obliterated text of no. 66 below.<sup>226</sup> Both the brief and the fuller forms derive from the prayer for the dead in Alexandrian liturgy.<sup>227</sup>

Following the conventional conclusion of the prayer section (l. 12), additional biographical information is given (the age of the deceased: in ll. 12–14), also found in the stela of Mariakyto (above, no. 45, ll. 8–10).

### 52. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. 78.I.25/6; register no. 78/784. Documentation: slip no. 358; notes in clip file, under no. GC.I. 3; photo no. 78AII6/20.

Found on 25 January 1978, below floor 1 of room 115A, in street B.

Transferred to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Small fragment from the upper margin of a well-made round-topped stela, 7 x 5 x 3 cm. The material is stated to be sandstone in the excavators' notes but, judging from the photo, it is more likely to be terracotta. Only a small part of the upper margin, a decorative headline and a first text line survive. A deeply incised borderline surrounds the epigraphic field, leaving a broad outer margin. Of the decorative headline only one cross remains. Well shaped upright incised uncials. The language may be either Greek or Coptic.

Unpublished.

9th–10th century.

[-----] † [-----]  
[† ΣΙΤΗ ΤΕ]ΠΡΟ[ΝΟΙΑ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ]

[† *Through the*] *providence* (πρόνοια) [*of God* ---].

<sup>226</sup> For this prayer, which quotes Ps. 109:3 (LXX), see further JUNKER 1925a: 140–1 (Coptic); ŁAJTAR 2003a: 9–10 (Greek), and above, no. 20, commentary to ll. 11–18.

<sup>227</sup> See, e.g., BUDDE 2004: 190–1, § 167, and 193, § 169.



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 52)

Opening line of an epitaph with the  $\Sigma\Gamma\Lambda\text{N } \tau\epsilon\pi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$ -formula, here reconstructed *exempli gratia* in its Coptic form. Similar fragments have been found in sites all over Makuria, to a lesser degree in Nobadia, and with a particular density in Wadi el-Ghazali (see no. 51 above).

### 53–54. Greek epitaphs with the formula

*νεύσει καὶ βουλήσει (κελεύσει)*

#### 53. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. unknown; register no. unknown; inv. of inscriptions: G.I. 6. Documentation: photo no. 78A31/I.

Findspot and conditions of discovery not recorded.

Current location unknown.

Type of stone and dimensions unknown. Upper left-hand part of a round-topped stela or plaque. The text is framed by a raised border. Ruling is clearly indicated between ll. 1 and 2, more delicately between ll. 2 and 3. Round epigraphic majuscules.

Unpublished.



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 53)

8th–10th century (form of the inscription).

νεύσ[ει καὶ βου]-  
 λήσει [-----]  
 ΘΑΝΗ [-----]

*Through the inclination and will* [---].

This, and probably the next inscription as well, are composed with the formula *νεύσει καὶ βουλήσει τοῦ θεοῦ* / *νεύσει καὶ κελεύσει τοῦ θεοῦ*, which also occurs in several further Nubian epitaphs in Greek, all dating from the eighth–tenth century.<sup>228</sup> Together with the inscriptions with the *θεία προνοία* formula, they form a larger group of epitaphs that attribute the death of a human being to God's inclination and will/order (or provi-

<sup>228</sup> For the characteristics of these epitaphs, see ŁAJTAR 2003a: nos. 1, ll. 1–2 (commentary), and 23, l. 1 (commentary).

dence) which are His as the creator of mankind. Like *θεία προνοία, νεύσει καὶ βουλήσει τοῦ θεοῦ / νεύσει καὶ κελεύσει τοῦ θεοῦ* always appears at the beginning of the epitaph introducing the naming and dating lemmata. The formula *νεύσει καὶ βουλήσει τοῦ θεοῦ / νεύσει καὶ κελεύσει τοῦ θεοῦ* has its counterpart in the Coptic *ⲒⲐⲚ ⲦⲚⲘⲎⲤⲒⲤ ⲘⲒⲠⲚⲟⲩⲦⲚ*, which is however not represented in the material published in this book.

1–2. *νεύ[σει καὶ βου]λήσει* requires God as a complement, but the exact wording remains uncertain (however, see below).

3. We are apparently dealing with a word of the root *θαν-*. Perhaps one should read *ἀπέ||θανηγ* (for *ἀπέθανεν*), ‘he/she died’, but it is dangerous to assert a scribal mistake in the vicinity of a lacuna. Providing the reading *ἀπέ||θανηγ* is correct, *νεύσει καὶ βουλήσει* was followed by a bare *τοῦ θεοῦ*, as there is no place for further designations of God.

#### 54. Fragment of an epitaph

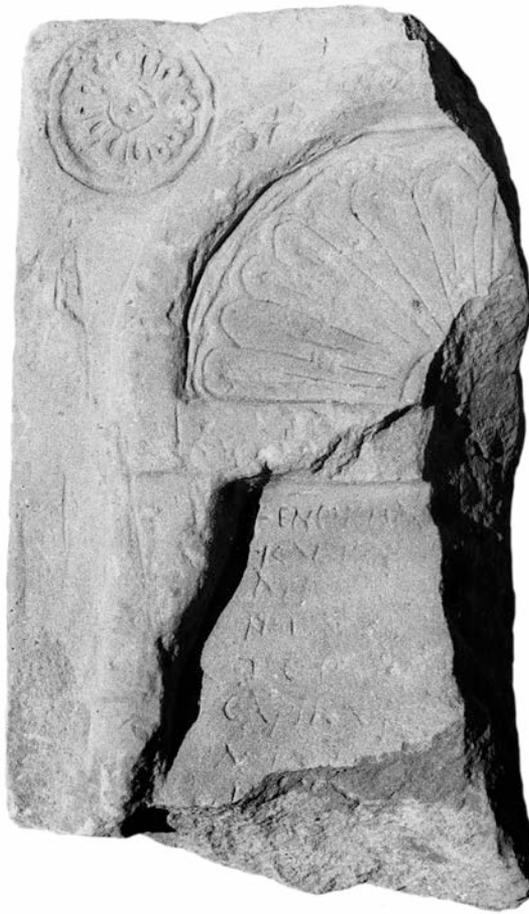
Excavation no. unknown; register no. 69/126. Documentation: photo no. 69.2/26 (object on the right-hand side).

Found on the Podium, street, west end, north side.

Qasr Ibrim archive, Faculty of Oriental Studies, Cambridge; transferred to the British Museum, London, in 2008.

Upper left-hand corner of a rectangular stela of pink sandstone, 36.5 x 21 x 8.5 cm (9.5 cm with border). Surface worn. The stela carries a representation of an *aedicula* in relief. Along the edge runs a raised border, which widens towards the top giving the epigraphic field the form of a trapezium. It supports a conch in a semicircular frame done in carving. A rosette within a circle is placed in the corner to the left of the conch. The letters *A* [*Ω*] are on the upper border; the main body of the text is in the field. The inscription was carved without guidelines, but the carving seems to have been quite nice and careful, with letters forming even lines. *A*, and presumably *Ω*, represent upright epigraphic majuscules; the rest is written in Nubian-type majuscules.

Unpublished.



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 54)

Date unknown; perhaps 10th–11th century (form of the stela, which resembles the bishops' gravestones from Qasr Ibrim).

*A*     [Ω]  
 † ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς  
 καὶ τοῦ υ(ἰο)ῦ [καὶ τοῦ]  
 4 ἀγί[ου πνεύματος, ἀμήν].  
*N* . . [-----]  
 τέλει τοῦ βίου]  
 ἐχρήσατ[ο-----]  
 8 *A* . . [-----]  
 .. [-----]

*Alpha Omega. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen. [---] accomplished (his/her) life [---].*

5. Probably νεύ[σει καὶ βουλήσει τοῦ θεοῦ or νεύ[σει καὶ κελεύσει τοῦ θεοῦ.

6. This line, as supplemented above, seems to be a little bit too short in comparison with the securely supplemented ll. 1–3, even more so as l. 6 was longer than ll. 1–3 due to the widening of the epigraphic field towards the bottom. Perhaps τοῦ βίου was provided with an attribute here, e.g., τέλ[ει τοῦ βίου τούτου], though such an attribute is lacking in other Nubian epitaphs displaying the expression τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο.

### 55–56. Greek epitaphs of uncertain types

#### 55. Epitaph of an unknown man

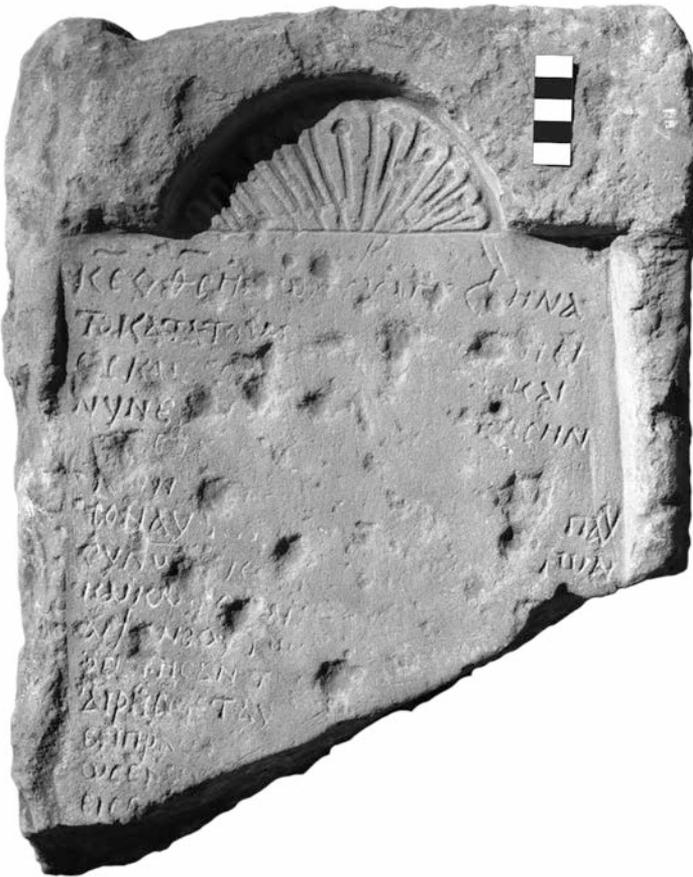
Excavation no. unknown; register no. 66/46. Documentation: photo no. 66v7/30.

Found on the Cathedral cemetery terrace west of the South Church, fill of Christian date.

Transferred to British Museum, London, in 1989, inv. no. EA 72373.

Upper part of a rectangular sandstone stela or slab, 41 x 36 x 17 cm. The left-hand edge greatly chipped away, surface worn, especially in the upper left-hand corner and, vertically, through the middle of the epigraphic field. Along the edges runs a very high border, which at the top is *circa* three times as wide as at the sides. In the middle of the upper border a conch (?) with eleven ribs is executed in sunken relief. Each rib is provided with a centrally positioned stroke ending in a dot. The conch is separated from the epigraphic field by an incised line. The inscription is carved without guidelines; the carving appears to have been quite nice and careful. The script is sloping from left to right. Nubian-type majuscules inclined to the right. γ at the end of l. 6 is shifted and squeezed between λ and the border.

Unpublished.



Epitaph of an unknown man (no. 55)

Date unknown, perhaps 9th–11th century (form of the inscription, palaeography).

κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θε(ε)ς ἡμῶν ..... ΦΗΝΑ  
 ΤΟ κατὰ ΤΟΥ . [-----] ...  
 .[.]. Κ ..... [-----]. καὶ  
 4 νῦν Ε[-----]ησεν  
 [...].C.. [-----]

- . [ . . ] N [----- ἀνά] παυ-  
 σον ἀπὸ τῶν [ἐν βασιλείᾳ] τῶν  
 8 οὐ(ρα)νῶν [ν] κα[ὶ δὸς ἀπὸ τῶν μερίδα]  
 καὶ κληρο[ν] μ[ετὰ πάντων τῶν]  
 ἀγίων σου τῶν [ν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐα]-  
 ρε[σ]τησάντ[ων σοι-----]  
 12 ΑΙΡΗC μετὰ Υ[-----]  
 . . ΠΡΑ . [-----]  
 ΩCΕ . . . [-----]  
 ΕΙC . [-----]

Ι. ΚΕ ὁ ΘC ΗΜΩΝ

*O Lord our God [---] by (or: according to) [---] and now [---] rest him in the Kingdom of Heavens and grant him a portion and allotment together with all Your saints who pleased You from everlasting [---] with [---].*

1–2. Except for the initial invocation, the reading is uncertain. Quite tentatively one can suggest reading ἀπεφήνα|το. The verb ἀποφαίνω is frequently used as a Greek loan-word in Coptic epitaphs from Nubia to introduce the words God pronounced to man, especially the famous Genesis-quote ‘earth you are and to earth you shall return’ spoken to Adam (cf. above, commentary to no. 38). What stands between this hypothetical ἀπεφήνα|το and the invocation κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸ)ς ἡμῶν is difficult to read. Traces of two letters resembling ογ are visible, but no satisfactory solution can be found for them. In l. 2, both the readings κατὰ τοῦ and κατὰ τὸ Υ are possible.

4. ]ησεν looks like the third person singular aorist active. It can refer either to God (in the context of a description of His creative or soteriological works) or to the deceased (introducing information about him including the date of his demise). In the latter case we can supplement, e.g., ἐτελεύτη]ησεν.

8–11. The request for the soul of the dead to be granted a portion and allotment together with God’s saints who have pleased Him from everlasting the ages is attested only here in Greek epitaphs from Nubia. It occurs in a slightly modified form in the epitaph of Dorotheos, a thief-catcher, found in Hermoupolis Magna in Middle Egypt and to be dated probably to the sixth century.<sup>229</sup> καὶ δὸς

<sup>229</sup> LAJTA 1996: 143, with commentary on pp. 145–6; BERNAND 1999: no. 21bis.

αὐτῷ μερίδα καὶ κλῆρον μετὰ τῶν εὐαρεστησάντων σοῦ. It is undoubtedly shaped on liturgical models. The closest parallel is the epiclesis of the Liturgy of St Basil which has: καὶ καταξιώσον ἡμᾶς, δέσποτα, μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἀγίων σου μυστηρίων, εἰς ἀγιασμόν ψυχῆς, καὶ σώματος, καὶ πνεύματος, ἵνα γενώμεθα ἐν σώμα καὶ ἐν πνεῦμα, καὶ εὐρωμεν μέρος καὶ κλῆρον ἔχει μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι (Budde 2004: 164, § 98, with commentary on pp. 419–21). Textually, the request combines two initially independent phrases: 1) δὸς μερίδα καὶ κλῆρον; 2) μετὰ τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι. The first of these phrases occurs in various liturgical prayers, e.g., in the prayer for the dead of the anaphora of St Mark, the most widespread anaphora of the Egyptian church, where one reads:<sup>230</sup> καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν μερίδα καὶ κλῆρον ἔχει μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων σου. It borrows, for its part, from various New Testament and Patristic sources including Acts 8:21: οὐκ ἔστι σοι μερὶς οὐδὲ κλῆρος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ; Acts 26:18: τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ κλῆρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμέ; Col. 1:12: εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἱκανώσαντι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου τῶν ἀγίων ἐν τῷ φωτί; and Origen, *Homiliae in Jeremiam*, 14.14 (PG XIII, 421A): πολλάκις ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς λέγομεν· θεὸς παντόκρατορ, τὴν μερίδα ἡμῶν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν δός· τὴν μερίδα ἡμῶν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου δός. The second phrase is also of liturgical origin. It is to be found, e.g., in the prayer for the dead of the Liturgy of St Mark, as contained in the Kacmarcik Codex (Macomber 1979: 84): καὶ πάλιν μνησθεῖς, κύριε, πάντων τῶν ἀγίων προπατόρων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι; in the memento of the Liturgy of St Basil (Budde 2004: 178, § 143, with commentary on pp. 480–3): ἔτι μνησθῆναι καταξιώσον, κ(ύρι)ε, καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι; and in the prayer for the dead of the anaphora of the Apostolic Constitutions (VIII 41.2):<sup>231</sup> κατατάξῃ εἰς χώραν εὐσεβῶν ἀνειμένων εἰς κόλπους Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων καὶ ποιησάντων τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ. It goes back on Ps. 114:9: εὐαρεστήσω ἐναντίον κυρίου ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων. One should observe that the reading in ll. 10–11 may be both τῶ[ν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐα]ρε[σ]τησάντ[ων σοι] (as in the text printed above) and τῶ[ν ἀπ' αἰῶνός σοι εὐα]ρε[σ]τησάντ[ων].

<sup>230</sup> CUMING 1990: 30; his edition is based on Vat. Gr. 2281, which was copied in Egypt or the Sinai in AD 1209. An identical request is found in the prayer for the dead of the anaphora of St Mark as contained in the so-called Kacmarcik Codex (Egypt, 14th century); cf. MACOMBER 1979: 87. The anaphora of St Mark from the Kacmarcik Codex has a similar request, also in the *oratio post diptycha*; cf. MACOMBER 1979: 86: καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν μερίδα καὶ κλῆρον ἔχει σὺν αὐτοῖς πᾶσιν.

<sup>231</sup> Edited by B. M. METZGER, *Les constitutions apostoliques*, vol. III [= Sources chrétiennes 336], Paris 1987, p. 256.

## 56. Epitaph of Ang()phorou

Excavation no. 72.10.11/11; register no. 72/69. Documentation: photo nos. 72VI/23–24.

Found in Ottoman House B62, room 319, east wall, fill.

Left on the site.

Lower part of a sandstone stela, 32.5 x 28 x 7.5 cm. The whole upper part with a large portion of the upper left-hand corner is lost; surface obliterated, edges and the raised border chipped away. The text is inscribed within a field delimited by a raised border that leaves a narrow margin on both sides and at the bottom. There is no ruling within the field. Letters become bigger and more widely spaced towards the end of the inscription. Nubian-type majuscules, but more angular than normal. Note the extensive use of colons to separate words.

Unpublished.

Date unknown.

[-----] :•  
 [-----]  
 [---] . . [---] . . [----]  
 4 [-----] ΑΠ . Α . .  
 [-----] . . . . ΙΑΝΟ . .  
 [ c. 5 ] . [-----] . . . [ . . ] . . Δ .  
 [ c. 4 ] . [-----] : i : ἀναπα-  
 8 [ υσ ] . . ἡμέρα : λη' [ . . ] Α . ΟCΙΑ : -  
 [ σε ] λλένη . . [ . . ] Φαμενὸθ : i:β  
 [ . . ] ΑΗ[----] . . . . ΝΝΟ :  
 [ . . ] ΜΟΥ[ c. 6 ] . . : μηζότερος  
 12 [ c. 4 ] . . . [ c. 3 ] . . : ΠΑΧΩΡΑΣ :  
 [ c. 4 ] . . [ c. 5 ] : ΙΗ : ΠΑΤΙΛΟΤΕ  
 [ c. 5 ] . [ c. 4 ] : ΟΛCΩΙ . ΙΝ[ . . ] .  
 [ c. 6 ] . . [---] . [ . . ] . . . ΤC ΙΑ  
 16 [ . . . ] ΑΟ : ὁ θ(εὸ)ς Μακαρίου , : ἀνα-  
 παύσι , : ἀμήν , : γένοιτο , : ἀμήν ,



Epitaph of Ang( )phorou (no. 56)

τὸν δούλόν σου : ΑΓΓ( )-  
ΦΟΡΟΥ.

8. ἡμέρα || 16. ὀθ̄

9. σελήνη | Φαμενώθ || 11. μειζότερος || 16-17. ἀναπαύση

[---] (*his*) *days (were)* 38 [*years* ---]. *He died (?)* [---] *moon* [---] *on Phamenoth* 12 [---] *meizoteros* [---] *Pakhoras* [---]. *God of Makarios, may You rest Your servant Ang( )phorou, amen, so be it, amen.*

7. : ἰ : must represent the numeral '10'. As the dating lemma begins only in the next line, the numeral must belong to the biographical lemma. It could designate, for example, the length of an office held by the deceased Ang( )phorou.

7–8. ἀναπα[[υσ is either a form of the verb ἀναπαύω or the substantive ἀνάπαυσις. Provided the first hypothesis is correct, the verb occurred either in the imperative or the subjunctive of the aorist active, referring to God or, in the third person of the indicative of the aorist middle with the augment omitted, and referred to the deceased. As the syntax of the inscription is not clear, it is difficult to choose between these possibilities.

8. After ἡμέρα and the colon, the numeral λη' = 38 can be distinguished. This can only be the age at death of the person commemorated by this epitaph. One should observe that he was relatively young considering the important state office he held (see below). His case may be compared with that of Iesusinkouda, eparch of Nobadia (?), *domestikos* of Pakhoras, and *nauarkhes* of Nobades, who died AD 1102 at the age of 36.<sup>232</sup> Both of them probably originated from the highest echelons of the Makurian society, a fact that allowed them to make a rapid and brilliant career.

11. μειζότερος must be the name of the office held by the deceased. As far as Christian Nubia is concerned, we know several persons designated as μειζότεροι or, alternatively, μείζονες, and πρωτομειζότεροι (πρωτομείζονες).<sup>233</sup> The evidence comes from the protocols of Coptic legal documents of the eighth–tenth century originating from Nobadia, and from epitaphs. We also know the Old Nubian counterpart of the μειζότερος/μείζων, that is ΛΛΥ(ΟΥ)ΚΑΤΤ- (from ΛΛΥ(ΟΥ)-, 'to be great'), attested several times in the protocols of Old Nubian documents from Qasr Ibrim from the twelfth–thirteenth century (cf. BROWNE 1991: xii). The position of the μειζότερος (μείζων)/ΛΛΥ(ΟΥ)ΚΑΤΤ- in the court and administrative system of the Kingdom of Makuria and his sphere of competence are unknown to us. One can suppose that Nubian μειζότεροι (μείζονες), like their Byzantine counterparts, were stewards, perhaps attached to the king himself and the most important officials of the kingdom.

12. ΠΑΧΩΡΑΣ is probably a part of the name of another office fulfilled by Ang( )phorou. He could have been, for example, the *domestikos* of Pakhoras.<sup>234</sup>

14. There might have been a letter above ΩΙ.

15–16. This part of the inscription might have been in Old Nubian as is suggested by the dash above the letters ΤC and the ending -ΛΟ.

<sup>232</sup> For his epitaph, now kept in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum, see ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 5; it probably originates from the Second Cataract area.

<sup>233</sup> For a collection of the evidence and discussion, see ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 21, commentary to ll. 12–13.

<sup>234</sup> For this office, see ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 5, commentary to ll. 8–9.

16. The reading  $\delta\ \theta(\epsilon\delta)\varsigma\ \text{Μακαρίου}$  seems to be certain. Expressions of the type ‘God of so-and-so’ are well attested in early Christian texts. The figures referred to in these expressions were saints venerated in the very place where the given expression was coined and used. For Makarios from our inscription, we probably have to understand Makarios the Great, the famous Egyptian ascetic of the first half of the fourth century.<sup>235</sup> The inscription indicates that he was venerated in Qasr Ibrim and that his cult was somehow connected with the commemoration of the deceased Ang( )phorou. Perhaps he was buried in a cemetery that surrounded the church of St Makarios at Qasr Ibrim. St Makarios is otherwise attested in Christian Nubia; he was represented in the company of the apostles in the apse of the church at Naga el-Oqba<sup>236</sup> and is also mentioned in a fragment of a calendar found in Gebel Adda, now in the Royal Ontario Museum.<sup>237</sup>

17.  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\eta}\nu, \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron, \acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$  is out of place here; it should be placed at the very end of the text, after the name Ang( )phorou. Perhaps the redactor of the inscription or, less likely, the stonemason initially wanted to finish with  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\eta}\nu, \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron, \acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ , but then added  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \lambda\Gamma\Gamma(\ )\Phi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon$ .

18–19. What follows  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$  must be the name of the deceased. The name  $\lambda\Gamma\Gamma\Phi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon$  has not been attested so far and seems to be impossible from the point of view of morphology and phonetics. Under these circumstances, we have to assume that we are dealing with either a mistake or an abbreviated notation. As  $\Phi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon$  is perfectly understandable, the mistake (or the abbreviation) should precede  $\Phi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon$ . Perhaps one should read  $\lambda\Gamma\Gamma(\text{ΙΜΟΥ})\Phi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon$ ; the personal name  $\lambda\Gamma\Gamma\text{ΙΜΟΥ}\Phi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon$  is on record in a visitor’s inscription on the southern pillar of the entrance to chapel 4 of the Upper Church at Banganarti.<sup>238</sup> Morphologically, the name  $\lambda\Gamma\Gamma\text{ΙΜΟΥ}\Phi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon$  appears to be a Graeco-Nubian compound name with the Greek  $-\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$  as the second element, provided, however, with the Old Nubian ending  $-\omicron\upsilon$ .<sup>239</sup> The first element,  $\lambda\Gamma\Gamma\text{ΙΜΟΥ}-$ , is diffi-

<sup>235</sup> See, e.g., GUILLAUMONT 1991.

<sup>236</sup> FIRTH 1927: 235. Note that the decoration of the church at Naga el-Oqba shows considerable Egyptian influence.

<sup>237</sup> Unpublished. Its publication is being prepared by Adam ŁAJTAR.

<sup>238</sup> Unpublished. Its publication is being prepared by Adam ŁAJTAR.

<sup>239</sup> For Nubian names with the ending  $-\omicron\upsilon$ , see above, n. 9 on p. 22. Names with  $-\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$  ( $-\Phi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon$ ) as the second element are well attested in Christian Nubia. They include, in the first place, the name  $\text{Μαρτυροφόρος}$  ( $\text{ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΦΟΡΟΥ}$ ), for which see ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 6 (commentary to ll. 6–7), and, furthermore, the names  $\text{Γαβρηλοφόρος}$  ( $\text{ΓΑΒΡΗΛΟΦΟΡΟΥ}$ ) and  $\text{Ραφαηλοφόρος}$  ( $\text{ΡΑΦΑΗΛΟΦΟΡΟΥ}$ ), attested in visitors’ inscriptions in the Upper Church at Banganarti (unpublished; publication is being prepared by Adam ŁAJTAR), and  $\text{Χριστοφόρος}$  ( $\text{ΧΡΙΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΥ}$ ), occurring in graffiti on vessels found in Old Dongola (unpublished).

cult to explain; it is possibly of Old Nubian origin.<sup>240</sup> One notes the spelling  $\lambda\Gamma\Gamma$ - (probably for /angg/) occurring both here and in the Banganarti inscription. Or, perhaps, one should read  $\lambda\Gamma\Gamma(\epsilon\lambda\omicron)\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ ; the personal name  $\lambda\Gamma\Gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma$  (= *Ἀγγελοφόρος*) has not been attested so far, however.

### 57–59. Greek epitaphs with the prayer ‘God of the spirits’

#### 57. Epitaph of a woman Marianta also called Asta

The main body of the stela: excavation no. 78.2.11/34; register no. 78/1; inv. of inscriptions: G.I. 12. Documentation: photo no. 78A52/8. Lower left-hand corner of the stela: excavation no. unknown; register no. 64/12. Documentation: photo nos. 64.6/36, 64.11/3.

The main body of the stela was found in the north sacristy of the Cathedral, on the pavement, against the west wall at the bottom of the fill. The lower left-hand corner was found in the debris in the area of the Cathedral’s south sacristy.

The main body of the stela was transferred to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. The lower left-hand corner should be in the Gulbenkian Collection, Durham, but is missing.

Rectangular stela of sandstone, c. 65–70 x 35 x 9.5 cm. Preserved in two large fragments partly connecting with each other. The lower right-hand corner with a portion of the epigraphic field is missing. The stela carries an elaborated decoration in relief resembling the front of a building (*aedicula*). The epigraphic field is surrounded by a raised border that leaves a margin c. 3–4 cm wide. The side borders are prolonged towards the top and end in trapezoidal enlargements resembling capitals. The ‘capital’ on

<sup>240</sup> One may compare the word  $\lambda\Gamma\Gamma\iota\tau$ -, ‘memory, thought’ (BROWNE 1996: 12, s.v.  $\lambda\eta\kappa\iota\tau$ -) and the name  $\iota\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \lambda\Gamma\Gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda$  in BROWNE 1991: no. 61, l. 3.

the left-hand side is underlined by a double incised line. An 'x' is seen on the right-hand 'capital' (perhaps an ornament), while on the left-hand one there is an oblique incised line. A conch is placed on the upper border, between the 'capitals'. It consists of eleven ribs surrounding two concentric semicircles. It is framed by a raised border decorated with plait in relief. The inscription is divided into several parts placed on different elements of the stela. The acclamation † φῶς ζωή † is inscribed on the upper border, the main body of the text (ll. 1–21) in the epigraphic field, l. 22 on the lower border, l. 23 on the lower margin, the additional prayer (ll. 24–8) on the side margins and side borders. The main body of the inscription is incised without ruling, but quite carefully. The letters become slightly bigger and slightly more widely spaced towards the end of the inscription. In l. 25, (καὶ) ἦ at the beginning of the line is carved horizontally, the rest of the line vertically along the border. Palaeographically, the letters represent Nubian-type majuscules. Note a particular sign —< at the beginning of l. 21. It probably is a 'Platzfüller' in front of ἀμήν. It was possibly paralleled by a similar sign at the end of the same line.

Unpublished.

13 May or 12 June AD 1051.

Φ  
† Ζ Ω Η †  
C

† ὁ θεός τῶν πνευμάτων (καὶ) πάσις  
σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνατον κα-  
ταργήσας (καὶ) τὸν Ἄδην σκυ-  
4 λεύσας (καὶ) ζωὴν τῷ κόσ-  
μῳ χαρισάμενος, ἀνά-  
παυσον, κύριε, τὴν ψυχὴν  
τὴν δούλην σου ΜΑΡΙΑΝ-  
8 ΤΑ ἔχω Παφα[ῆ]λ ΤΑΜΤΗ  
ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ (καὶ) Ἴσα-  
ὰκ (καὶ) Ἰακώβ, ἐν τόπῳ φω-

- τιγῶ, ἐν τόπῳ ἀναψύ-  
 12 ξεως, ἔντα ἀπέδρα ὀδύ-  
 νη (καὶ) λύπη (καὶ) στεναγμοῖς  
 ὡς μόν[os] ὡς ἀγαθός (καὶ) φιλ-  
 16 ἄν(θρωπος). : τὰ δὲ ἔτη τῆς ζω-  
 ῆς αὐτῆς [·]ζ̄. : {τε}τελίω-  
 σης δὲ ἡμ[έρα] αὐτῆς τῶ  
 μηνεὶ Πα[ c. 2-3 ]. ἰῆ : ἀπὸ μ(αρτύρων)  
 ψξξ̄ : διὰ τ[ὴν κ]έλευσιν  
 20 τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ δ[ημιου]ργός.  
 —< : ἀμή[v----].  
 † ΑΒ(ΒΛ) ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟ[С---]  
 ΧСГ ΑΚΚΗCIC Ω[---]

On the left-hand margin:

- 24 † ἀναπαύσει σοι Χ(ριστ)έ ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντα· ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤ(Α) ὁ  
 λεγ(όμενος) ΑCΤΑ

On the raised border on the left-hand side:

- 25 † (καὶ) ἡ ψυχὴ σου ἐν ἀγα[θοῖς] αὐλιστήσεται· ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤ(Α) ὁ  
 καλ(όμενος) ΑCΤΑ.

On the raised border on the right-hand side:

- 26 † ὀδηγήσει σοι κ(ύριο)ς ἐπὶ ὑδάτων τῆς ζωῆς, ΑCΤΑ

On the right-hand margin:

- 27 † τὸ πν(εῦμ)ά σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὀδηγήσει σε ἐν [χ]ώρᾳ ζόν[των---]  
 28 ἀγίων σου εἰς τῆ(ν) <β>ασι(λείαν) τὸν οὐ(ρα)ν[ών---].

1. ΘC | Π̄Π̄ΑΤΩΝ C || 3. C || 3-4. CΚΥΛΕΥCΑC || 4. C || 6. ΚC || 8. ΕΧΩ ||  
 9-10. C̄CΑΑΚC̄C̄ΑΚΩC || 13. C | C || 14-15. CΦΙΛΛΠ̄OC || 17. ΗΜ[ΕΡΑ] || 18. ΑΠ̄O ||  
 20. ΘΥ || 22. ΑΒ || 24. ΧC | ΜΑΡΙΑΝ ὈΛC || 25. C | ΜΑΡΙΑΝ ὈΚΛ̄ || 26. ΟΔΗΓΗ-  
 CΕΙ | ΚC || 27. Π̄Π̄Α || 28. ΟῩΝ[ΩΝ]

1. πάσης || 7. τῆς δούλης || 8. ἔχων || 10-11. φωτεινῶ || 12. ἔνθα || 13. στεναγμοί(?) ||  
 16-17. τελείωσις || 18. μηνί || 20. δημιουργοῦ || 24. either ἀναπαύση (ἀναπαύσει) σε  
 Χριστός or ἀναπαύσης αὐτήν, Χριστέ (see commentary) | ζώντων || 25. αὐλισθήσε-  
 ται || 26. σε || 27. ὀδηγήσει | ζώντων || 28. τῶν



*Light of Life. God of the spirits and of all flesh, You who have defeated death and despoiled Hades and given life to the world, rest, O Lord, the soul of Your servant Marianta, having (the Church of) Raphael of Tamti, in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in a shining place, in a place of refreshment, whence pain and grief and lamentations have fled away, as You are the only good one and love mankind. And the years of her life (were) [..]7. The day of her death was in the month of Pa[---] 18, (in the year) from the Martyrs 767, according to the order of God the creator, amen. Abba Makarios, [---] ascetic feats [---]. May Christ rest you in the land of the living ones, Marianta also called Asta, and your soul shall dwell among the good ones, Marianta also called Asta. Lord shall guide you onto the waters of life, Asta, Your (that is God's) good Spirit shall guide you in the land of the living ones, [---] of Your saints, into the Kingdom of Heavens.*

This conspicuously decorated stela very much resembles the bishops' epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim. Also, its dating (AD 1051) falls within the chronological frame of the bishops' epitaphs (AD 993/4–1154). One can suppose that Marianta's stela was a product of the same stonemason workshop that produced tombstones for the higher ecclesiastics of Qasr Ibrim. The stela testifies to the high social and economic status of its owner, a fact that is also corroborated by the text of the epitaph (cf. below, commentary to ll. 7–8).

3–4. The point over the initial  $\sigma$  in  $\sigma\kappa\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  (cf. the photo and the palaeographic apparatus) most probably denotes the prothetic /i/ added by Nubian speakers in front of the consonant cluster /sk/. The custom is well attested in Nubian literacy in Greek with relation to the consonant cluster /st/.<sup>241</sup> The present inscription shows that the prothetic /i/ also intervened with other consonant clusters that had /s/ as the first element.

The expression  $\acute{\omicron}\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\nu\ \sigma\kappa\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  instead of  $\acute{\omicron}\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  has been attested only here thus far in Greek epitaphs from Nubia containing the prayer 'God of the spirits and of all flesh'.  $\sigma\kappa\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$  (like  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega$ ) is a key-

<sup>241</sup> LAJTAR 2003a: no. 3, commentary to l. 8, and no. 9, commentary to l. 10.

word (even a *terminus technicus*) in the context of the Harrowing of Hell, as the works of Church Fathers clearly demonstrate; cf., e.g., John Chrysostom, *In Martham, Mariam et Lazarum* (PG LXI, p. 703): *ὡς τὴν Ἄδην σκυλεύσας, ὡς τὸν Λάζαρον τῆς ἀναστάσεως γεύσας, ὡς μυρίας εὐεργεσίας τὸν κόσμον ἐμπλήσας*, and Photius, *Fragmenta in epistulam II ad Corinthios (in catenis)*:<sup>242</sup> *δι' ἧς καὶ αὐτὸς θάνατον πατήσας καὶ Ἄδην σκυλεύσας καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ ζῆ*. The expression *ὁ τὸν Ἄδην (θάνατον) σκυλεύσας* occurs in liturgical prayers, e.g., in the Liturgy of St Mark, characteristic of the Egyptian church, which, in the prayer of the inclination, has: *τῷ σῶ κράτει τὸν Ἄδην σκυλεύσας καὶ τὸν θάνατον πατήσας καὶ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δεσμεύσας καὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ ἐκ τάφου ἀναστήσας* (Brightman 1896: 142), and in the Liturgy of St Gregory, where we read: *πατήσας τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὸν Ἄδην σκυλεύσας, συντρίψας πύλας χαλκᾶς καὶ μοχλοὺς σιδηροὺς συνθλάσας* (PG xxxvi, col. 724). It is also found in prayers preserved in Egyptian papyri, be they liturgical or private; cf., e.g., P. Gen. ined. 157 (Bouvier & Wehrli 1975): *ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν τριήμερος ὡς θεὸς δυνατὸς σκυλεύσας τὸν θάνατον*; O. Bodl. II 2166: *ἐσκυλεύσας τὸν Ἄδην μὴ πειρασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*; P. Köln 173: *τὸν Ἄδην ἐσκύλευσεν ὁ ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν*. The redactor of Marianta's epitaph was undoubtedly influenced by this technical usage of the verb *σκυλεύω*.

6. *κύριε* occurs in this place in neither the Byzantine nor the Nubian version of the prayer 'God of the spirits and of all flesh'.

7–8. For the name of the stela's owner – Marianta – see commentary to no. 37 (at the end). The gender of the person buried under this stela is not certain. The feminine forms *τὴν δούλην* (l. 7) and *αὐτῆς* (l. 16 and 17) suggest a woman, but the two expressions *ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤ(Α) ὁ λεγ(όμενος) ΑΣΤΑ* (l. 24) and *ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤ(Α) ὁ καλ(ούμενος) ΑΣΤΑ* (l. 25) speak in favour of a man. One is inclined to think that the first possibility is correct. The use of masculine forms *ὁ λεγ(όμενος)* and *ὁ καλ(ούμενος)* is probably due to the weak sense of what is masculine and feminine with Nubian speakers, whose native tongue did not have grammatical gender, and the predominance of masculine forms in epitaphs.

8. *ἔχω* (= *ἔχων*) *Ῥαφα[ῆ]λ ΤΑΜΤΗ* indicates that Marianta was the owner of the Church of Raphael at Tamti.<sup>243</sup> She must have been a rich lady who

<sup>242</sup> Ed. by K. STAAB, *Pauluskommentar aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt*, Münster 1933, p. 603.

<sup>243</sup> For the private ownership of churches in Christian Nubia, see ŁAJTAR & VAN DER VLIET 1998, and above, n. III. It is interesting to observe that the participle expressing Marianta's ownership of the church is masculine, although the person to whom it refers was most probably a woman; we would expect *ἔχουσα* or, still better, *ἐχούσης*, as the syntax requires the genitive. Apparently, *ἔχων* in the expression 'having the church of so-and-so' was a linguistic fossil in Christian Nubia.

turned out a part of her property for a pious foundation, aiding in the upkeep of the church in question. Her case is comparable to that of the women Iesusiko and Michaeliko, both known through their epitaphs found in Meinarti, who owned the Church of Philotheos and the Church of Michael at Argine, respectively.<sup>244</sup>

ΤΑΜΤΗ is a graphic variant of ΤΑΜΤΙ. The toponym ΤΑΜ(Ι)ΤΙ occurs several times in Old Nubian documents from Qasr Ibrim.<sup>245</sup> It should probably be identified with modern Tamit, a locality with important Christian remains situated halfway between Qasr Ibrim and Faras. The site was excavated by the Italian Mission during the Nubian campaign of 1960s.<sup>246</sup> The excavations demonstrated that the Christian village boasted no less than eight churches. One of these churches was identified as the Church of Raphael on the basis of a key-stone with the monogram of this saint.<sup>247</sup> Perhaps the church owned by Marianta should be identified with this very structure.

14–15. Starting with the words *πᾶν ἁμάρτημα παρ' αὐτοῦ (αὐτῆς) πραχθέν*, the prayer for the dead has been cut off almost entirely. What was left of it is only God's designation *ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος*, which is probably connected syntactically with *ἀνάπαυσον* from ll. 5–6.<sup>248</sup> Interestingly, this designation reads *ὡς μόνος ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος* here. The same reading is found in the epitaph of Staurophoros, *meizon, nauarkhes* of the Nobades, and *naukrates* (?) of the Seven Lands (died AD 1069), and the epitaph of Martyrophoros, a bishop of an unknown see (died AD 1159), both found in Komangana (Debeira) in the area of the Second Cataract.<sup>249</sup> Several epitaphs of Nobadian provenance, all of them dating from the first half of the eleventh century, have *ὡς μόνος ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος*. The list includes:<sup>250</sup> the epitaph of Ioannes,

<sup>244</sup> Cf. ŁAJTAR & VAN DER VLIET 1998: 40–1. The edition of these two epitaphs is now available in VAN DER VLIET 2003: nos. 18 and 19.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. BROWNE 1989: no. 23, l. 11; IDEM 1991: no. 37, l. 33; no. 38, l. 21; no. 45, ll. 1 and 7; no. 54, ii, l. 2; no. 60, ll. 2, 3, and 4.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. BOSTICCO *et alii* 1967.

<sup>247</sup> BOSTICCO *et alii* 1967: 18 and pl. 2.

<sup>248</sup> Another possibility is that it stands, in defiance of grammar, unconnected with the text of the inscription, as a mere remnant of the original text.

<sup>249</sup> HÄGG 1982: 56–9 (epitaph of Staurophoros) and 59–62 (epitaph of Martyrophoros). The epitaph of Martyrophoros was reedited in ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 6.

<sup>250</sup> The epitaph of a woman Droses, died AD 699, has not been included here, as it contains a highly abbreviated form of the prayer 'God of the spirits and of all flesh'. For this

bishop of Faras (died AD 1005),<sup>251</sup> the epitaph of Ioannes, eparch of Nobadia (died AD 1006), found in Faras,<sup>252</sup> the epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Faras (died AD 1036), found in Qasr Ibrim (above, no. 22, l. 17), and the epitaph of a woman Marieo (died AD 1032) found in Arminna (Oates 1963). On the basis of the material gathered above, we can hypothesise that the designation discussed here underwent a three-stage development in Nubian epitaphs with the prayer ‘God of the spirits and of all flesh’. It led from *ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος* through *ὡς μόνος ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος* to *ὡς μόνος ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος*. The transition from the first stage to the second probably occurred under the influence of an expression in which God was qualified as the only good one (*μόνος ἀγαθός*). Expressions of this kind are common in Biblical and Patristic sources; cf., e.g., Jth. 11:8: *ὅτι σὺ μόνος ἀγαθὸς ἐν πάσῃ βασιλείᾳ*; John Chrysostom, *De patientia (sermo 1)* (PG LX, col. 724): *ὅπου ὁ μόνος αἰώνιος καὶ μόνος ἀθάνατος, ὅπου ὁ μόνος ἀγαθὸς καὶ μόνος φιλόανθρωπος, ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων*; Ephraem Syrus, *Capita centum* 95: *δόξα σοι ὁ θεός, ὁ μόνος ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος*;<sup>253</sup> Romanus Melodus, *Hymn* 3, refrain: *ὅτι μόνος ἀγαθὸς ὁ σωτὴρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν*.<sup>254</sup> An additional role may have been played by invocations like *σὺ γὰρ μόνος πάσης ἀμαρτίας ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχεις*, which occurs further on in the prayer ‘God of the spirits and of all flesh’. More difficult to explain is the passage from the second to the third stage. In his edition of the Staurophoros epitaph, Hägg (1982: 58) suggested that we are dealing ‘either with a dittography at some previous stage (*MONOCOC*) or conflation of the two main readings (*ὡς ἀγαθός + ὡς μόνος ἀγαθός*)’.

16–17. ΤΕΤΕΛΙΩΘΗΣ (for τελείωσις) may be judged twofold: 1) This is a dittography committed either by the redactor of the inscription or, more likely, by the stonemason; 2) We are dealing here with a conflation of two words from the root τελ-: the substantive τελείωσις and a form of the perfect of the verb τελειόω. It should be observed that the substantive τελείωσις is attested here for the first time in Greek epitaphs from Nubia. Also, the verb τελειόω does not occur in Nubian epitaphs in Greek to describe the demise of a person

epitaph, most probably of Nobadian provenance, see LEFEBVRE 1907: no. 661; TIBILETTI BRUNO 1964: no. 43.

<sup>251</sup> LAJTA 2003a: no. 2, l. A 9.

<sup>252</sup> LEFEBVRE 1907: no. 665; TIBILETTI BRUNO 1964: no. 6; KUBIŃSKA 1974: 49, no. 1, l. 12.

<sup>253</sup> Ed. by K. G. PHRANTZOLES, *Ὁσίου Ἐφραίμου τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα* II, Thessalonica 1989, pp. 280–362.

<sup>254</sup> Ed. by J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes* I, Paris 1964 [= *Sources chrétiennes* 99].

(although it is attested elsewhere in the Christian world in this function). Some Nubian epitaphs in Coptic have ⲠⲬⲔ ⲉⲔⲠ, which is the Coptic counterpart of *τελειόω*.<sup>255</sup>

17. The reading ἡμ[έρα] is not certain, but very probable. Provided it is correct, the word *τελειώσις* should have occurred in the genitive: *τελειώσεως δὲ ἡμ[έρα] αὐτῆς*. The nominative extant on the stone is probably due to the weak sense of the Greek declension system with Nubian speakers, whose native tongue did not have the declension of nouns. The same holds true for δ[ημιου]ργός in l. 20 (it should be: *διὰ τ[ὴν κ]ἐλευσιν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ δ[ημιου]ργοῦ*).

18. Both Πα[χώ]ν and Πα[ύν]ι are possible readings here. This does not alter the date substantially, as the months Pakhon and Pauni neighbour each other in the Egyptian calendar.

19. Divine order (*κέλευσις*) is frequently referred to as the cause of human death in Nubian epitaphs in Greek.<sup>256</sup> These references normally assume the form of a stereotypical formula: *νεύσει καὶ κελεύσει τοῦ θεοῦ*, always standing at the beginning of an inscription and introducing the name and the date of demise of the commemorated person. Once, we have *κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ θεοῦ* instead of *νεύσει καὶ κελεύσει*.<sup>257</sup> In our inscription, *κέλευσις* occurs towards the end of the text, after the prayer, but it has the same function as in the epitaphs with the *νεύσει καὶ κελεύσει (κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ θεοῦ)* formula.<sup>258</sup> *διὰ τὴν κέλευσιν* is a little bit strange as the preposition *διὰ*, in the meaning ‘through’, was connected with the genitive in everyday speech. *διὰ*, followed by the accusative, looks rather sophisticated, with literary overtones.

22–3. These lines written on the lower border and the lower margin, with letters slightly bigger than in the rest of the inscription, seem to be connected directly with each other. The text, starting with a cross, is likely to have contained an additional invocation or prayer. The language of the text was Coptic as is suggested by the undeclined ⲠⲬⲬⲚⲒⲐ followed by a Ⲡ. The prayer was addressed to Abba Makarios. Under this designation we probably have to under-

<sup>255</sup> The list includes the epitaphs of Bishop Joseph from Old Dongola (JAKOBIELSKI & VAN DER VLIET forthcoming), of Bishop Kerikos from Sai (VAN DER VLIET, in MARTIN *et alii* 2005: no. 115, l. 10), and of a nun (?) Kerge from Qasr Ibrim (MILLS 1982: pl. XCI, no. 1, ll. 4–5).

<sup>256</sup> Cf., e.g., ⲬⲀⲢⲢⲀⲢ 2003a: no. 23, commentary to l. 1. See also above, nos. 53–4.

<sup>257</sup> ⲬⲀⲢⲢⲀⲢ 2003a: no. 26, ll. 2–3. The inscription is from Old Dongola.

<sup>258</sup> A parallel is perhaps offered by the Coptic epitaph of Iesou, bishop of Sai, who died AD 1054, where ⲠⲢⲢⲚ ⲢⲉⲑⲕⲉⲗⲉⲅⲥⲒⲐ is added after the extensive opening formula as if by afterthought; cf. VAN DER VLIET 2003: no. 27, l. 7.

stand Makarios the Great, the holy ascetic of the first half of the fourth century, the founder of the monastic community of Scetis, one of the most venerated holy monks of the Egyptian Church. The epitaph of Ang( )phorou, which contains an invocation of the God of Makarios, seems to indicate a cult of St Makarios also in Qasr Ibrim (see above, no. 56 with commentary). The prayer can tentatively be reconstructed: † ΑΒ(ΒΑ) ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟ[Σ ΜΑΡΕ ΝΕΚ] ΑΣΚΗΤΙΣ Ω[ΩΠΕ ΝΜΜΑΝ/ΝΜΜΑΣ], ‘Abba Makarios, may your ascetic feats be with us/her’, on the basis of more normal expressions, such as ΜΑΡΕ ΠΕΚΣΜΟΥ/ΝΕΚΩΛΗΛ ΩΩΠΕ ΝΜΜΑΝ, ‘May your (or his/her) prayers/blessing be with us’. The introduction of the sophisticated ‘ascetic feats’ into the prayer form was apparently dictated by the fact that the addressee of the prayer was a famous ascetic.

ΧCΓ carved delicately and with smaller letters to the left of line 23 certainly do not belong to the main text. It looks like an acronym, perhaps similar to the famous ΧΜΓ, for which see *P. Naqlun* 1: 179–87, and Llewelyn 1998: 156–68, but we do not know how it should be expanded.

24–8. This part of the inscription, written vertically on the margins and raised borders, contains an additional prayer. Additional prayers occur several times in Nubian epitaphs with the prayer ‘God of the spirits and of all flesh’.<sup>259</sup> They have a similar wording from epitaph to epitaph, composed of stereotypical expressions of eschatological bias borrowed from different literary and subliterate (liturgical) sources. The same also holds true for the additional prayer in the epitaph discussed here.

The additional prayer in the epitaph of Marianta has a rather specific disposition on the stone. It consists of four parts, each placed in a different spot. Each part contains one request. Parts 1–3 end with information about the deceased, which is rather weakly connected syntactically with the preceding request. In parts 1–2, this information has the form ‘Marianta also called Asta’; in part 3 only the name Asta is given. It is possible that part 4 also ended with a similar statement about the deceased, but the stone is damaged in this place. Taking into consideration that the missing portion of the stone is not very big, this supposed information must have contained, like in part 3, only the name Asta.

It is interesting to observe that the additional prayer gives the deceased woman two names – Marianta and Asta – while only one name – Marianta – is given in the main body of the epitaph. Of these two names, Asta was obviously the second name of the deceased, as is indicated by the expressions *ὁ λεγ(όμενος)* (l. 24) and *ὁ καλ(ούμενος)* (l. 25), both meaning ‘also called’. *ὁ λεγόμενος* and *ὁ καλούμενος* are attested as expressions introducing the second name of a per-

<sup>259</sup> For a collection of the evidence and discussion, see ЁАЈТАР 2003a: no. 20, commentary (at the end).

son already in texts of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.<sup>260</sup> It is assumed for these periods that the second name was the name by which a person was identified or addressed in some records or by some speakers. This probably holds true also for Christian Nubia.

As far as can be ascertained, the personal name  $\lambda\sigma\tau\alpha$  has not been attested so far, though similar names like  $\lambda\sigma\tau\iota$  and  $\lambda\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota$  occur in Old Nubian documents from Qasr Ibrim.<sup>261</sup> The name  $\lambda\sigma\tau\alpha$  (and also  $\lambda\sigma\tau\iota$  and  $\lambda\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota$ ) is probably derived from the Old Nubian word  $\lambda\sigma$ - (with the by-form  $\lambda\sigma\tau$ -), 'daughter'. The same word was also used to designate an office in the territorial administration of the Kingdom of Makuria. The  $-\lambda$  at the end is predicative.

24–5. The same requests occur in the additional prayer for the soul of the dead in the epitaph of the monk Prokhoros from Wadi el-Ghazali (Łajtar 2003a: no. 32, ll. 16–20): *ἀναπαύσεις σε* (it should be *αὐτόν*), *Χ(ριστ)έ, ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων, ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ἀλλοσθύσ(ετ)αι* (read *ἀλλισθήσεται*). The first request is found alone or in combination with other expressions in several Nubian epitaphs as either a part of the main prayer for the dead or as an additional prayer, supplementing the prayer 'God of the spirits and of all flesh'. It frequently recurs in liturgical prayers of various Oriental Churches.<sup>262</sup> It probably goes back to Ps. 114:9: *εὐαρεστήσω ἐναντίον κυρίου ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων*. The second request is a word for word quotation from Ps. 24:13: *ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ἀλλισθήσεται, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ κληρονομήσει γῆν*.

One has to observe that the grammar of the first request is somewhat entangled. The verb form does not agree grammatically with the addressee of the request, and the personal pronoun referring to the object of the request also stands in a wrong form. The correct form of the request should read either *ἀναπαύσῃ (ἀναπαύσει) σε Χριστός* or *ἀναπαύσῃς αὐτήν, Χριστέ*. Interestingly, mistakes of the same kind occur in other Nubian epitaphs with additional prayers. To the epitaph of Prokhoros from Wadi el-Ghazali, cited above, we can add the epitaph of Archbishop Georgios from Old Dongola which has: *ἀναπαύσεις σε* (it should be *αὐτόν*), *Χ(ριστ)έ, ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων (καὶ) εἰσήγαγεν σε* (it should be *εἰσηγάγησ αὐτόν*) *εἰς τὸν παράδεισον τῆς τρυφῆς τοῦ* (it should be *τῶν*) *προτοτόκω(ν), Ἰε(ρουσα)λήμ ἐπου(ρά)νιον, μετὰ πάντ(ων) τῶν ἀγίων σου* (Łajtar 2002). One can also compare *ὀδηγήσει σοι κ(ύριο)ς* occurring in l. 26 of the present epitaph. Perhaps the requests of which the additional prayers were composed functioned in the same corrupted form in the entire Nubian territory.

<sup>260</sup> See, e.g., CALDERINI 1941: 235–7 and 239–40; HOBSON 1989: 169–71.

<sup>261</sup> Cf. BROWNE 1991: nos. 36 i, l. 19 ( $\lambda\sigma\tau\iota$ ), 32, l. 5, and 35, l. 6 ( $\lambda\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota$ ).

<sup>262</sup> Cf., e.g., GOAR 1730: 429, 430, 456, 463, 470, and 472.

ΖΩΝΤΑ stands for ζώντων. The peculiar form ΖΩΝΤΑ probably came into existence under the influence of χώρα.

26. This is a slightly modified quotation from Rev. 7:17: ὅτι τὸ ἄρνιον τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς, καὶ ὁδηγήσει αὐτούς ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγᾶς ὑδάτων. It is attested here for the first time in Greek epitaphs from Nubia.

27–8. The first part of the request contained in these lines is a quotation from Ps. 142:10: τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὁδηγήσει με ἐν γῆ εὐθείᾳ, in which the personal pronoun of the first person singular με was changed to the personal pronoun of the second person singular σε in order to adapt it to the syntax of the request. The expression ἐν γῆ εὐθείᾳ was replaced by ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων, characteristic of Nubian prayers for the dead (see the commentary to ll. 24–5 above). In the lacuna between ζόν[των ---] and ἀγίων σου we expect the mention of another place of eternal bliss to which ἀγίων σου is an attribute, e.g., [ἐν τῇ λαμπρότητι τῶν] ἀγίων σου.<sup>263</sup> The reading εἰς τῆ(ν) <β>ασι(λείαν) τὸν οὐ(ραν)ῶν at the end of the request is not entirely certain but is assured by the context. The request to rest the soul of the dead in the Kingdom of Heavens occurs frequently in Nubian funerary prayers near the request for rest in the land of the living ones.<sup>264</sup> The stonemason apparently made a mistake in the word βασιλείαν, omitting the initial κ. It is not excluded that he abbreviated the word in question by putting λ over ι; the reading would be <β>ασι[λ](είαν) in this case.

### 58. Fragmentary epitaph of Men[---]

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 64/39. Documentation: photo no. unknown.

Found on the Podium (southwestern part of the Qasr Ibrim citadel, to the south of the Cathedral).

Qasr Ibrim archive, Faculty of Oriental Studies, Cambridge; transferred to the British Museum, London, in 2008.

Small fragment of a stela or a slab of pink sandstone, 9.7 x 9.7 x 5.6 cm. The stone is broken off on all sides, but the portion lost on the left-hand side cannot be substantial as the supplements of ll. 6–7 show. The inscrip-

<sup>263</sup> For this request, see ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 1, commentary to ll. 7–10. It occurs several times in the present corpus, both in Greek and in Coptic.

<sup>264</sup> For a collection of attestations and discussion, see ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 20 (commentary).

tion is carved without ruling; the carving is neither nice nor careful. The height of letters varies between 0.5 cm (o) and 1 cm (p). Palaeographically, letters stand halfway between round epigraphic majuscules and Nubian-type majuscules.

Unpublished.

Date unknown.

- [----] . [-----]  
 [σαρ]κός, ὁ τὸ[ν θάνατον]  
 καταργήσας [κ(αὶ) τὸν Ἄδην κατα]-  
 4 βατήσας κ(αὶ) ζῶ[ῃν τῶ]  
 κόσμῳ χαριζάμε[νος, ἀνά]-  
 [π]αυσον τὸν [δ(ούλον)] Μην[--- ἐν]  
 [κ]όλοις Ἀβραὰμ κ[αὶ]  
 8 Ἰσαὰκ κ(αὶ) Ἰακώ[β, ἐν τό]-  
 [πω] ἀναψύξε[ως, εἴθ']  
 [ἀπέδ]ρα ὀδύνη [κ(αὶ) λύπη κ(αὶ)]  
 [στενα]γμός· . [---]  
 12 [-----] . [----]

4. κ· || 8. κ·

3-4. καταπατήσας || 5. χαρισάμενος || 7. Ἀβραὰμ || 8. Ἰσαὰκ

*[God of the spirits and of all] flesh, You who have defeated death and trodden down Hades and given life to the world, rest Your servant Men[---] in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in a place of refreshment, whence pain and grief and lamentation have fled away. [---]*

1-2. One should supplement ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρ]κός, but the disposition of the text in the lines remains uncertain.

6. The name of the deceased could have read Μηνᾶς or ΜΗΝΑ. This name, borne by one of the most venerated Egyptian saints, a martyr of the great persecutions of the beginning of the fourth century, enjoyed a great popularity among the Christian inhabitants of the Nile Valley. Another possibility is that we are dealing here with a compound name with ΜΗΝΑ as the first element, e.g.,



Fragmentary epitaph of Men[---] (no. 58)

ΜΗΝΑΚΟΥΔΑ. However, one cannot totally exclude other names beginning with *Μην-*.

8. Of three places of rest that God should grant to the soul of the dead, according to the Nubian version of the prayer 'God of the spirits and of all flesh' (*ἐν τόπῳ φωτεινῷ, ἐν τόπῳ χλόης, ἐν τόπῳ ἀναιψύξεως*), the first two are omitted here. A similar omission occurs in the epitaph of an unknown person kept in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum,<sup>265</sup> and in the epitaph of a woman Droses.<sup>266</sup>

II. If the inscription continued with the prayer 'God of the spirits and of all flesh', one could supplement: *π[ᾶν ἀμάρτημα*.

<sup>265</sup> LAJTA 2003a: no. 82, l. 8 (with commentary). The provenance of this inscription is unknown.

<sup>266</sup> LEFEBVRE 1907: no. 661; TIBILETTI BRUNO 1964: no 43. The exact provenance of this inscription is unknown, but on account of its form it must come from Nubia, and most probably from Nobadia.

## 59. Epitaph of a woman (?) I(e)sousiko

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 64/16. Documentation: photo nos. 64.6/38, 66.11/4.

Found on the Podium.

Missing.

Slab of sandstone, 33 x 20 x 8 cm. The upper edge of the slab is falling from left to right and the lower one rising in the same direction. Thus, the slab resembles a trapezium in which the left-hand side is the base and the right-hand one the top of the trapezium. Edges chipped out, surface much worn, especially in the lower part of the slab. In the upper part of the slab, a crude representation of three triangles is visible (a rather unsophisticated imitation of the sculptured decoration of the bishops' epitaphs). Inscription in the recessed field. The script is neither nice nor careful, while the letters are of uneven height. Palaeographically, letters stand midway between epigraphic majuscules and Nubian-type majuscules.

Unpublished.

10th–11th century (form of medium, palaeography).

† ὁ θεός τῶν πνευματικῶν  
καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ ἀθάνα-  
4 τος καταργή-  
σας καταπα-  
τήσας καὶ ζω-  
ῆν τοῦ κόσμου  
8 χαρισάμενος, ἀνά-  
παυσον τὸν δοῦλ-  
ὸν σου ΙСОУСΙΚΟ  
ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ).

7. τῶ κόσμῳ || 11. κόλποις



Epitaph of a woman (?) I(e)sousiko (no. 59)

*God of the spirits and of all flesh, the immortal one, You who have defeated (death and) trodden down (Hades) and given life to the world, rest the soul of Your servant I(e)sousiko in the bosom of Abraham.*

3-4.  $\delta$  ἀθάνατος (instead of  $\delta$  τὸν θάνατον) is unparalleled. It looks like an individual invention of the redactor of the inscription, perhaps influenced by a liturgical or literary model. ἀθάνατος is one of three epithets ascribed to God in the

Trisagion (*ἅγιος, ἰσχυρός, ἀθάνατος*); it is also frequently used with reference to God in literary language,<sup>267</sup> while it is very rarely attested as such in documentary texts. The change of *ὁ τὸν θάνατον* to *ὁ ἀθάνατος* deprived *καταργήσας* of the object. Note that the object (*Ἄδην*) is also absent before *καταπατήσας*.

9–10. The reading is putative rather than really found on the stone, as the beginning of l. 10 is almost completely obliterated. One can also take into consideration the possibility of reading *τὸν δοῦλ(όν) | σου ΙCOYCIKO*.

ICOYCIKO (= IHCOYCIKO) belongs to the group of Nubian names ending in -KO, 'to have'; its meaning is 'Having Jesus'. The name is well attested without being popular. The following bearers of this name are known: 1) the daughter of Markos, a bishop (probably of Qasr Ibrim), commemorated by the Coptic epitaph of AD 1035, once in the possession of the Egyptological Institute of the University of Leipzig (Richter 1999: 301–3; *SBKopt.* III 1604; note that the name reads EICOYCIKO); 2) the woman for whom the funerary stela of AD 1046 was prepared, found in Meinarti and now in the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum (van der Vliet 2003: no. 19); 3) a King's Mother (EONNEN) mentioned in the protocols of three Old Nubian documents from Qasr Ibrim from the end of the twelfth century (Browne 1991: nos. 35, l. 5; 38, l. 3; 40, l. 3). One should observe that all persons listed above were women. This is all the more interesting since Nubian names of the type discussed here could, in principal, have been borne by both men and women. Apparently, the name I(H)COYCIKO was restricted to women in naming practices of Christian Nubians. The same may also hold true for other names ending with -KO, like AΓΓΕΛΟΣΚΟ, ΜΙΧΑΗΛ(Ι)ΚΟ, ΜΑΡΙΑΚΟ, etc., as their bearers seem to have been mainly women. This reasoning suggests that the person buried under this stone was a woman. Meanwhile, we have the masculine form *τὸν δοῦλόν σου* referring to the deceased in ll. 9–10. This contradiction may be explained through the weak sense of grammatical gender among Nubian speakers, whose native tongue did not differentiate between masculine and feminine, and the predominance of masculine forms in epitaphs. The masculine forms *αὐτοῦ, τοῦ δούλου, τὸν δοῦλον* are often found in Greek Nubian epitaphs commemorating women.<sup>268</sup>

11. The request for rest in the bosom of the Patriarchs has been recorded in an abbreviated form for lack of space on the stone. For the same reason the inscription lacks information about the date of I(e)sousiko's demise.

<sup>267</sup> See the references in LAMPE 1961: *s.v.* ἀθάνατος.

<sup>268</sup> Cf., e.g., the epitaph of Kel daughter of Osk[---] from Old Dongola (ΛΑΪΤΑΡ 2003a: no. 20, ll. 12 and 19–20); the epitaph of Angelosko from Sheikh Arab Hag (*SB* IV 7429; TIBILETTI BRUNO 1964: no. 2, l. 17); the epitaph of Marianta (?) from el-Arak (*SB* V 8235; TIBILETTI BRUNO 1964: no. 4, l. 9).



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 60)

### 60–90. Fragmentary epitaphs

#### 60. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 66/7. Documentation: photo no. 66v2/4.

Found in Ottoman House B64, room 298, wall fill.

Initially in Birmingham, sent to the British Museum, London, on 16 June 1982, inv. no. unknown.

Lower part of a sandstone stela or slab, 20 x 20 x 11 cm. Left-hand edge and a small portion of the right-hand one at the bottom preserved. Inscription cut without guidelines. The script is careless and unsophisticated. Letters are of uneven height and irregular shapes. Generally, letters represent round epigraphic majuscules. One notes the particular shape of  $\kappa$ , resembling  $\delta$  or  $\sigma$  of Greek minuscules: an oval with a stroke or a bow attached at the top from the right.

Unpublished.

10th–11th century (palaeography, form of the inscription).

[ . . . . . ] . . [ . ] . ΕΦ [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . ] . . ΕΝ Θ(εό)ς, ἀνά[πau]-  
 σον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτ[οῦ]  
 4 ἐν κόλποις Ἀβρα[ὰμ]  
 καὶ Ἰσαὰκ (καὶ) Ἰακώβ,  
 ἔνθ' ἀπέδρα ὀδύ-  
 νοιη (καὶ) λύπη (καὶ) στενα-  
 8 γμοίς, ἐν τῇ λαμπρότη-  
 τη τῶ ἀγίον σου, ἐν πα[ρα]-  
 δείσῳ τοῖς τρυφῆς, ἀ[μήν, γέ]-  
 να. νητο.

5. ΣΪΑΚΩΒ || 7. ς | ς

3. ψυχὴν || 5. Ἰσαὰκ || 6–7. ὀδύνη || 7–8. στεναγμοί (?) || 8–9. λαμπρότητι || 9. τῶν ἀγίων || 10. τῆς || 10–11. γένοιτο

[---] *God, rest his/her soul in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, whence pain and grief and lamentations have fled away, in the brilliancy of Your saints, in the paradise of joy, amen, so be it.*

What is preserved from the epitaph is the prayer for the dead's soul with the form characteristic for Qasr Ibrim inscriptions (see above, no. 20, commentary to ll. 11–18). The lost part must have contained the naming and dating lemmata introduced by a formula like *θεία προνοία, νεύσει καὶ βουλήσει, vel sim.* The same holds true for the next inscription (no. 61), which shows a striking similarity with the present text, both in wording and in the state of preservation.

3. The reading αὐτ[ῆς] is also possible.

6–7. The spelling ΟΛΥΝΟΙΗ for ὀδύνη is strange and is difficult to explain with certainty. Perhaps we are dealing with the gemination of Η (ΟΛΥΝΗΗ) with a concomitant change of the first Η into ΟΙ.



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 61)

### 61. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. 80.1.26/22; register no. unknown; inv. of inscriptions: c.i. 115. Documentation: photo no. 80F17/6.

Found in Ottoman House B39, wall.

Current location unknown.

Lower left-hand corner of a stela of pink sandstone, 17 x 16 x 5 cm. Portions of the left and the bottom faces preserved. Back rough. Small traces of a raised border to the left and below. No ruling. Letters rather roughly incised, 0.6–0.8 cm high. Nubian-type majuscules.

Unpublished.

10th–11th century (form of the inscription, palaeography).

- [-----]  
 ὁ θεός, [ἀνάπαυσον τήν]  
 ψυχ[ήν αὐτοῦ ἐν κόλ]-  
 ποῖς [Ἀβραὰμ κ(αὶ) Ἰσαὰκ]  
 4 κ(αὶ) Ἰακ[ώβ, ἐνθ' ἀπέδρα]  
 ὀδύνη [κ(αὶ) λύπη κ(αὶ) στει]-  
 ναγμός, ἐν [τῇ λαμ]-  
 πρότιτη τῶν [ἀγίων σου],  
 8 [ἐν] παραδεί[σῳ τῆς τρυ]-  
 [φ]ῆς, ἀμήν [---].

6–7. λαμπρότητι

[---] *God, rest his/her soul in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, whence pain and grief and lamentation have fled away, in the brilliancy of Your saints, in the paradise of joy, amen [---].*

1–2. The reading ἀνάπαυσον τήν | ψυχ[ήν αὐτῆς] is also possible.

9. To complete the lacuna on the right-hand side one can hypothesise the reading ἀμήν, [γένειτο, ἀμήν].

## 62. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. 78.1.24/2; register no. unknown; inv. of inscriptions: G.I. 3. Documentation: photo no. 78A30/10.

Found in Ottoman House B23, room 100, wall block.

Reburied on the site.

Lower right-hand corner of a sandstone stela, 17 x 19 x 4.5 cm. All faces but one are rough. The inscription is contained in a sunken field framed by a raised border. The border on the right has a small base at the bottom suggesting that it was shaped like a column. Perhaps the stela carried a decoration in relief imitating an *aedicula* on the front side. Inscription



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 62)

carved without ruling. Round epigraphic majuscules, mostly upright but partly also inclined. The script neither nice nor careful, with letters of irregular shape and height. Note that the stonemason mistakenly cut ΛΑΜΠΡΟΓΗΤΙ for λαμπρότητι (l. 6) and ΛΗΘΩΝ for ἀγίων (l. 7). These mistakes are rooted in the visual similarity of the letters Γ and Τ and ΓΙ and Η, respectively.

Unpublished.

9th–10th century (palaeography, form of the inscription).

- [ c. 4–5 ] . . . [ c. 4–5 ]  
 [ c. 4–5 ] τὴν ψυχὴ[ν]  
 [αὐτοῦ ἐ]ν κόλποις τῶ-  
 4 [ν ἀ]γίων Ἀβραὰμ  
 [κ(αὶ) Ἰσα]ὰκ κα(ὶ) Ἰακώβ,  
 [ἐν τῇ λ]αμπρό(τ)ητι  
 [πάντ]ων ἀ(γ)ίων σου,  
 8 [γένει]το, ἀμήν.  
 [ † ] † †

[--- rest] *his/her soul in the bosom of saints Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in the brilliancy of all Your saints, so be it, amen.*

2-3. The supplement τῆν ψυχῆ[ν] | [αὐτῆς is also possible. It looks as if l. 3 with αὐτοῦ/αὐτῆς written in full was too long in comparison with ll. 5-8, where the supplements are entirely certain. Perhaps the word αὐτοῦ/αὐτῆς was recorded in an abbreviated form: αὐτ(οῦ)/αὐτ(ῆς).

3-4. The supplement τῶ|[ν ἄ]γίων seems to be too short with its two letters in comparison with the supplements of ll. 5-8 which have four or five letters. Perhaps one should read τῶ|[ν σὼν ἄ]γίων, but this is unparalleled in Nubian epitaphs in Greek.

7. The supplement [τ]ῶν ἄγιων σου would be too short. On the other hand, [πάντων τ]ῶν ἄγιων σου is definitely too long for the lacuna, the length of which may be estimated at c. 4-5 letters.

### 63. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 64/26. Documentation: photo nos. 64.6/37, 64.11/3.

Found in February 1964, in the south crypt of the Cathedral, in a loose occupation deposit.

Missing.

Lower right-hand corner of a sandstone stela, 19 x 20 x 7 cm. The epigraphic field is surrounded by a raised border that leaves a narrow outer margin. The border carries an incised decoration showing an •X• placed between three vertical strokes (preserved only in the lower part of the border). Letters carved without guidelines, but quite carefully and nicely. Nubian-type majuscules, but Α Ω Α in l. 6 are round epigraphic majuscules (note especially the *alpha* with broken bar). Some strokes are provided with apices in the form of dots. With respect to the external appearance of the stone and the shape of the letters, this stela resembles the bishops' epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim. The fragment very much resembles no. 78 below; they certainly belong to the same workshop and the same period.

Unpublished.



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 63)

Date unknown, probably 11th–first half of the 12th century (through comparison with the bishops' epitaphs).

[----- ἐν] παρα[δεί]-  
 [σω τῆς τρυφ]ῆς : ΦΑΦΙΑ :  
 [-----], ἀμῆν, γένη-  
 4 [το, ἀμῆν, ἐν] τῇ βασιλείᾳ  
 [τῶν οὐ(ρα)]γῶν : ΛΧΕΜΤΟ(Ν ΜΜΟϞ)  
 [---] Α Ω Α : ΛΩ

5. ΟΥ|ΠΩΝ | the stone has ΛΧΕΜΤΟC or, less probably, ΛΧΕΜΤΟC

3-4. γένουτο || 4. τῇ

[---] in the paradise of joy, he went to rest in (the month of) Phaophi[---],  
 amen, so be it, amen, in the Kingdom of Heavens. Alpha Omega Alpha.

Only the final part of the prayer for the deceased's soul and the date of his demise are preserved. The text is badly corrupted, probably through the inadvertence of the redactor of the inscription or the stonemason. The information about the date of death and the concluding acclamation ἀμήν, γένοιτο, ἀμήν were slipped between two elements of the prayer; the verb for 'died' stands unwoven into the syntax at the very end of the inscription. The correct reading should be: [--- ἐν] παραδείσῳ τῆς τρυφῆς, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν,<sup>269</sup> ἀμήν, γένοιτο, ἀμήν. ΛΗΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΘ ΦΑΦΙΑ [---]. Interestingly, the text of the inscription contains elements from three languages used in written communication in Christian Nubia, namely, Greek, Coptic, and Old Nubian, a phenomenon which is otherwise attested in Qasr Ibrim epitaphs (cf. above, no. 18).

2-3. ΦΑΦΙΑ is probably Old Nubian and should be analysed as ΦΑΦΙ-ΛΑ > ΦΑΦΙΑ, 'in (the month of) Phaophi'.<sup>270</sup> The reading Φᾶφι ᾿, 'Phaophi ᾿', seems less probable, as the numeral would then not have been marked in any appropriate way. The spelling ΦΑΦΙ for Phaophi is attested in Nubian sources without being common. After ΦΑΦΙΑ, in the lacuna at the beginning of l. 3, we expect the day number and, since there is still some space before ἀμήν, another indication of a date, perhaps the year according to the Era of the Martyrs.

3-4. That γένοιτο was followed by another ἀμήν is suggested by the width of the lacuna at the beginning of l. 4 which can be estimated at c. 8-9 letters on the basis of the secure supplement in l. 2. ἀμήν, γένοιτο, ἀμήν is the full form of the concluding acclamation as occurring in Greek epitaphs from Nubia.<sup>271</sup> It was sometimes reduced to ἀμήν, γένοιτο, or even to the sole γένοιτο.

<sup>269</sup> The sequence ἐν παραδείσῳ τῆς τρυφῆς, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν is found in the epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Phrim, above, no. 21, ll. 18-21. Before the request for rest ἐν παραδείσῳ τῆς τρυφῆς, the Qasr Ibrim epitaphs, as a rule, ask for rest ἐν τῇ λαμπρότητι τῶν ἁγίων. Perhaps this expression should be supplemented also here.

<sup>270</sup> The name of a month + -ΛΑ (frequently reduced to -Λ) is a normal type of expression in Old Nubian dating lemmata. It is occasionally found also in Greek sources from Nubia; see, e.g., ΛΑΥΤΑΡ 2003a: no. 6, l. 22: ΜΕΧΕΙΡΑ ΛΟ; no. 7, ll. 25-6: ΜΕΘΟΡΕΑ ἸΓ ΛΟ; no. 11, l. 5: ΜΕΘΟΥΡΕΑ; JAKOBIELSKI 1972: 194, ll. [27]: ΠΑΧΩΝΗΛΑ • ἰ • ΛΟ, and [28]: ΠΑΥΝΗΛΑ • ἰ • ΛΟ (both attestations are from the list of the bishops of Faras); SB v 8763 = ΤΙΒΙΛΕΤΤΙ BRUNO 1964: no 10, l. 21: ΜΕΘΟΥΡΕΑ ἡμέρα β ΛΟ.

<sup>271</sup> For this acclamation, see ΛΑΥΤΑΡ 2003a: no. 1, l. 11 (commentary), and above, p. 103, with n. 121.



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 64)

5.  $\lambda\varphi\epsilon\mu\tau\omicron\varsigma$  must be a mistake for  $\lambda\varphi\epsilon\mu\tau\omicron\eta$ .  $\mu\mu\omicron\varphi$ , which was reconstructed as if omitted, could have also been placed at the beginning of l. 6.

#### 64. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. 88.I.1/20 (E); register no. unknown. Documentation: photo nos. 88F29/25-34, 88F31/12A-14A.

Found in the mainland outside the citadel together with nine Coptic fragments (nos. 40 and 72). All fragments occurred on the surface within an area of *c.* 20 m.

Current location unknown; perhaps stored in Kom Ombo.

Fragment of a stela or slab made of fairly soft pink sandstone, 17.2 x 18 x 5 cm. A portion of the right-hand edge with a border preserved. Inscrip-

tion carved without ruling. Round epigraphic majuscules slightly inclined to the right.

Unpublished.

10 October AD 834.

[-----] κ(υρί)ω  
 [----Φαῶ]φι ις'  
 [-----ἄ]πὸ Διοκ-  
 4 [λητιανού] ἔτη φ̄να  
 [-----]ων ἀνά-  
 [παυσον-----]

ι. κϞ

[---] to the Lord [---. He/she died on] *Phaophi 16* [---], (in the year) from *Diocletian 551* [---]. Rest [---].

The fragment preserves portions of the dating lemma including the day of month and year according to the Era of Diocletian. In the lacuna between these two pieces of information (beginning of l. 3), one expects another chronological indication, for example, an indiction or a lunar day. ἀνά[παυσον in ll. 5–6 shows that we are already within the prayer for the dead's soul. It probably started at the beginning of l. 5 with the invocation κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, *vel sim.* κ(υρί)ω in l. 1 must be part of an introductory formula.

### 65. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 66/83. Documentation: photo no. 66V12/36.

Found in the Cathedral cemetery terrace, west of the South Church, in fill of Christian date.

Initially in the British Museum, now in the Egyptology Department of the University of Liverpool.



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 65)

Lower right-hand corner of a sandstone stela, 27 x 20 x 7 cm. Text inscribed within a recessed field, between guidelines. Date on the border. Upright epigraphic majuscules.  
 Unpublished.

AD 984/5.

[-----] . κ(αι)  
 [-----ἀνάπ]αυσον  
 [τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτ]οῦ μετ-  
 4 [ἀ τῶν ἐπισ]κόπων  
 [-----]των.  
 [ἀπὸ μαρτύρων] ψα΄.

[---] and [---] rest his soul with the bishops [---]. (He died in the year) from the Martyrs 701.

What is preserved from the inscription is the prayer for the dead man's soul with only one, very unusual request (see below), and the date of his demise added on the lower border.

1–2. Before ἀνάπ]αυσσον, we expect an invocation of God, e.g., κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸ)ς ἡμῶν, *vel sim.* This completely fills the lacuna at the beginning of l. 2 and leaves κ(αί) at the end of l. 1 unexplained. Perhaps this κ(αί) belonged to a more elaborate invocation that had already started at the beginning of l. 1. A possible reading would be: [κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸ)ς, εὐσπλαγχν]ε κ(αί) | [πολυέλεε, ἀνάπ]αυσσον.

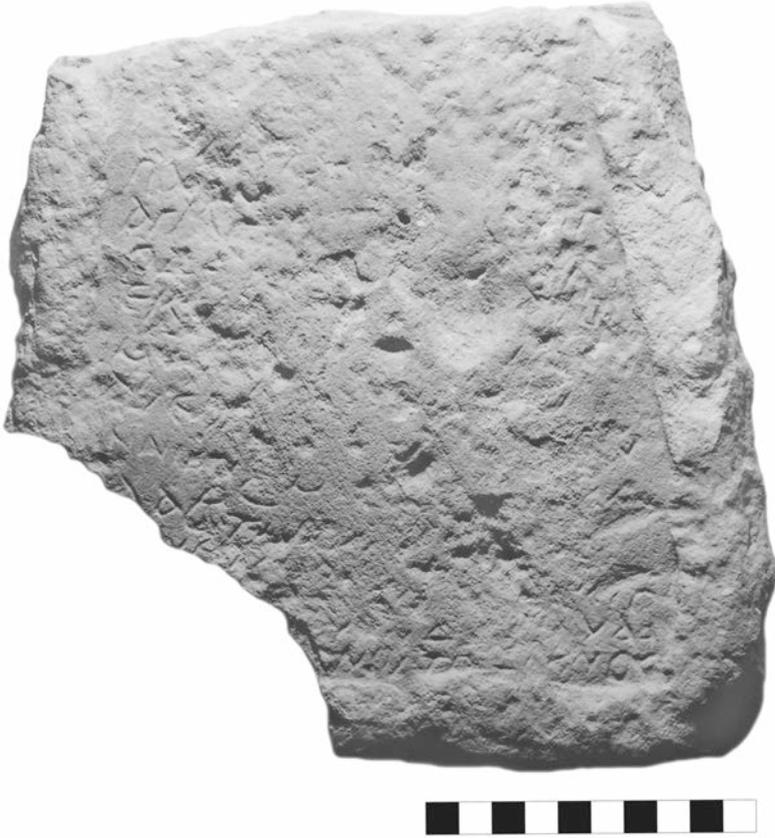
3–5. The supplement μετ[ὰ τῶν ἐπισ]κόπων is a little bit too short in comparison with the certain supplement of l. 3. Perhaps we should read: μετ[ὰ πάντων ἐπισ]κόπων. The request to rest the soul of the dead with the bishops occurs only here and is rather strange. Perhaps the man commemorated by this inscription was a bishop, a fact that prompted the redactor of the inscription to ask God to grant him rest with his departed predecessors. Alternatively, he could have been someone whose hope it was to associate with high ecclesiastics in the other world. Judging from the place of discovery of his tombstone, he was buried in the bishops' cemetery. [---]των is probably the end of a participle or a verbal adjective in genitive plural referring to ἐπισ]κόπων.

6. Theoretically, the reading [ἀπὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ] ψα' is also possible, but one should note that the designation 'Era of Diocletian', for the era with the starting point on 29 September AD 284, was gradually replaced by the name 'Era of the Martyrs' in the tenth century (cf. Bagnall & Worp 2004: 63–87). As far as the epigraphical material from Qasr Ibrim is concerned, the designation 'Era of Diocletian' is attested in connection with the year 551 (AD 834/5) and the name 'Era of the Martyrs' with the years 733 (AD 1016/7), 753 (AD 1036/7), 775 (AD 1058/9), 777 (AD 1060/1), 826 (AD 1109/10), 848 (AD 1131/2), and 871 (AD 1154/5).

## 66. Obliterated epitaph

Excavation no. 52.099/ΑΙ; register no. unknown. Documentation: slip no. 589; photo nos. 92F89/1–12; back: 92F99/6 (right).

Found on 25 January 1992, in structure 9501 (structure 9776), trench 52, level 099 (sherding).



Obliterated epitaph (no. 66)

Current location unknown.

Sandstone stela of a tapering form, now measuring 23.5 x 23 x 5 cm; original width: 19 (top) x c. 26 cm (bottom, reconstructed). The epigraphic field is surrounded by a raised rim of c. 2.5 cm wide and 2 mm high. The lower left-hand corner and the upper rim are lost. The back is only roughly dressed.

The stela bears the remains of an estimated fourteen lines of Coptic text, much abraded and now nearly totally illegible. Merely some letters near the rims are preserved. Rather unelegant sloping uncials, carelessly incised, no ruling. Characteristic low-saddle  $\mu$ . The lines are progres-

sively sloping downward towards the end, and the ends of the final lines are therefore squeezed into the lower right corner.

Unpublished.

10th century.

[ †----- ] .  
*lost*  
 [-----]ΙΝ  
 4 ΠΧ[-----]  
 ΑΓΙΑ[-----]ΙΓ  
 ΠΧ. [-----]ΕΝ  
 ΕΚΕ[-----] .  
 8 Μ[-----]  
 ΝΤΕ. [-----] .  
 ΝΝΜ ΞΜ [ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝΝΕΤΟΥ]-  
 ΑΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ [ΝΤΑΚ---]Π  
 12 [ .. ]ΚΕΝ . . . . [ . . . . ] . ΥΑΑ  
 [-----] . . . Χ . . . . ΝΟΥ  
 [-----Γ]ΕΝΟΙΤΟ †

4-5. ]ΑΓΙΑ: I, e.g., πελ]ΑΓΙΑ? || 6. ΠΧ.: I. ΠΧΟ[εΙC? || 7. ΕΚΕ: I. ΕΚΕ[† ΜΤΟΝ *vel sim.*?

[ † ... ] *O Lord (?) ... , may you [grant her (?) rest (?)] ... in [the light of] all [your] saints [...].*

*So be it (γένοιτο)! †*

On account of the general destruction of the text and the excessive sloping of the lower lines, the reconstruction of the text's arrangement that is offered above must remain hypothetical. For the tapering form of the stone, compare the Greek stela of a woman from Faras (Berlin; Lefebvre 1907: no. 634; cf. Junker 1925a: 117-18) and the Coptic stela of a woman Zetose of unknown Nubian provenance (London, British Museum; Hall 1905: 8, no. 607; cf. Bierbrier 1994: 66, pl. XII.d).



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 67)

The opening formula cannot be identified anymore, and also the naming and dating lemmata (ll. 1–5) are largely lost. If the beginning of l. 5 is read correctly, it could be part of a name like ΠΕΛΛΑΓΙΑ, twice attested in nearby Sakinya (Toshka-West, Mina 1942: no. 23 [ΠΑΛΛΑΓΙ] and no. 306; *SBKopt.* II 1200 [ΠΑΛΛΑΓΙΑ]).

The extensive prayer section starts perhaps already in l. 6. Among what follows, only the remains of a well known prayer for rest ‘in [the light] of all saints’ of God (ll. 10–11) can be reconstructed in a rather hypothetical way (for the prayer itself, see the commentary to no. 51 above).

### 67. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. 80.3.13/1A; register no. 80/477. Documentation: unnumbered slip; notes in clip file, under no. C.I. 127; photo no. 80F78/16.

Found on 13 March 1980, in the wall fill of room 270 in Ottoman House B57.

Transferred to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Lower part of a funerary stela of pink sandstone, 11.5 x 20.5 x 6.3 cm. Remains of the four last lines of an epitaph in Sahidic Coptic. The epi-

graphic field is surrounded by a raised, embossed border, now much damaged. Carelessly incised and badly ruled uncials. A simple Greek cross marks the end of the text.

Unpublished.

10th century.

[ΠΧΘΕ]ΙϚ ΕΚΕΑΝΑ[ΠΑΥΕ Ν]-  
 [ΤΕϚ]ϣΥΧΗ ΝΚΟΥΝϚ ΝΑ[ΒΡΑ]-  
 ΣΑΜ ΜΝ ΙΣΑΚ ΜΝ ΙΑΚΩΒ  
 4 ΣΝ ΟΥΗΡΗΝΗ ΣΑΜΗΝ †

2. ΤΕϚ]ϣΥΧΗ: or ΤΕϚ]ϣΥΧΗ | Ν-: for ΣΝ

[... O] Lord (?), may you grant rest (ἀναπαύω) to [his/her] soul (ψυχή) in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in peace (εἰρήνη). Amen. †

Remains of the ubiquitous prayer for rest in the bosom of the Patriarchs, here constructed with ἀναπαύω, followed by a *pax*-formula.

#### 68. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation nos. 76.2.2/1 and 82.3.6/4; register no. 82/178. Documentation: slip no. 180 (with note: 'copied in RDA I, 16'; plus dummy card for 1982); photo nos. 76JEB/8 and C/36; 82FI13/15A.

Found on 2 February 1976, in a deposit below the floor of Ottoman House B8, room 155. Registered on 6 March 1982.

Transferred to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Lower right-hand corner of a sandstone funerary stela, 11 x 11 x 4 cm. Ends of the four last lines of an epitaph in Sahidic Coptic. Plain outer margins. Round incised uncials.

Unpublished.



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 68)

Uncertain date.

[--- ΜΝ ΙΑΑ]ΑΚ  
 [ΜΝ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΞΝ] ΤΜΝ-  
 [ΤΕΡΟ ΝΜΠ]ΗΥΕ  
 4 [ΣΑΜΗΝ ΕΦ]ΕΦΟΠΕ  
 4. -φ<sup>Π</sup>ο<sup>ε</sup>  
 4. -φ<sup>Π</sup>ο<sup>Π</sup>ε: l. -φ<sup>Π</sup>ο<sup>Π</sup>ε

*[... in the bosom of Abraham and] Isaac [and Jacob, in] the Kingdom of Heavens.*

*Amen, so be it.*

Hypothetical reconstruction of a composite funerary prayer for rest in the bosom of the Patriarchs and in the Kingdom of Heavens, a frequent combination, discussed under no. 40 above.

## 69. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. 99.999/Α12; register no. unknown. Documentation: photo nos. 92F68/18, 92F89/5; back: 92F99/7 (left).

Found on 24 January 1992, in structure 9790 on the mainland.

Current location unknown.

Fragment from the lower edge of a sandstone stela, 15 x 12 x 7 cm. The back is only roughly dressed. The front surface is much damaged.

Remains of five lines of Coptic text and part of a broad, flat bottom margin, undecorated, survive. Rather tall, carefully drawn uncials, delicately incised.

Unpublished.

7th–9th century (palaeography).

[----] . ε . [-----]  
 [-----] ρϛϣ [-----]  
 [ . . . . . ] ΝΑϣ [ΜΝ ΝϞϣΠϞ]-  
 4 [ΤΟΥΛΛΒ Τ]Η[Ρ]ΟΥ ϛ[ΛΜΗΝ]  
 [ϞϣϞϣϣΠ]ε • ϞϣϞϣ[ϣ]Π[Ϟ]†

[... *may God grant (?)*] *him* [*rest/inheritance (?) with*] *all* [*His saints*].  
*Amen. So be it, so be it.* [†]

Largely hypothetical reconstruction of the end of the prayer section, with a prayer for receiving rest or inheritance with all God's saints (for which see above, no. 51).

## 70. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. 66.2.21/10; register no. 66/39. Documentation: slip no. 157; photo no. 66v6/9.

Found on 21 February 1966, on the cemetery terrace, near the Cathedral, to the west of the South Church, fill of Christian date.



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 69)

Donated to the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, in 1984.

Lower right-hand corner of a sandstone funerary stela, 15 x 25 x 9.5 cm. Ends of the final lines of an epitaph in Sahidic Coptic. The epigraphic field is surrounded by a raised, embossed border, and a plain outer margin of 1–2 cm. Sloping late uncials, widely spaced; dots above syllabic vowels.

Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley 1966; Adams 1996: 82–3 (general archaeological context).



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 70)

10th–11th century.

[-----] *traces*

[---2]Ν ΤΜΕΝΤΕ-

[ΡΟ ΝΜ]ΠΗΓΕ ΕΦΕ-

4 [ΩΩΠ]Ε ΛΜΗΝ ΑΠΟ Δ(ΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΥ)

[...] *vac.*

4. λ<sup>Α</sup>ΠΟ

[... *in*] *the Kingdom of Heavens. So be it. Amen.*  
 (*Year*) *from Diocletian* (ἀπὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ) [...].

End of a funerary prayer for rest in the Kingdom of Heavens. The year date must have followed in our l. 5. The script makes a tenth–eleventh-century date nearly certain.



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 71)

### 71. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation and register nos. unknown. Documentation: photo nos. 63.6/14, 64VI4/14.

Found in 1963, in unknown conditions.

Current location unknown.

Fragment from the lower left-hand margin of a sandstone funerary stela, c. 28 x 22 cm (thickness not recorded), much worn and broken. Beginnings of four lines of an epitaph in Coptic. The epigraphic field is framed by a raised, embossed border. Upright, deeply incised uncials.

Unpublished.

Uncertain date.

† Τ . . [-----]  
 ΑΒΡ[ΑΖΑΜ ΜΝ ΙΣΑΑΚ ΜΝ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΣΜ]

ΠΟΥ[ΟΕΙΝ ΝΝΕΚΠΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ]  
 4 † [-----]

1. cross in margin || 4. † : less likely †

† [... *in the bosom of*] *Abraham* [*and Isaac and Jacob, in*] *the light* [*of all Your saints ...*].

The remains of the final lines of a composite funerary prayer, reconstructed here *exempli gratia*, for rest in the bosom of the Patriarchs and ‘in the light’ of all God’s saints. For this last prayer, see the commentary to no. 51 above. Judging from the cross, l. 4 might be the last line of the text (consisting, for example, of Amens and crosses), but then much space was left below.

#### 72. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. 88.1.1/20 (H). Documentation: slip; photo-series nos. 88F29/25–34, 88F31/12A–14A.

Found on 1 January 1988, on the mainland in context 9958, plan-sheet 5 of 8. The fragment was found together with no. 88.1.1/20 (A–D, F–G, and J–K), here no. 40, and the Greek fragment no. 88.1.1/20 (E), here no. 64, but does not belong to either piece.

Stored in Kom Ombo.

Small fragment from the bottom margin of a sandstone stela, 12.5 x 6.8 x 7.4 cm. The epigraphic field is surrounded by an incised line, leaving a plain outer margin of c. 1.4 cm.

Remains of the last two lines of a presumably Coptic epitaph. Incised round uncials, apparently cramped in the last line.

Unpublished.

Uncertain date.

[ΙΑΚΩ]ϩ ϩ[Ν ΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ]  
 [ΝΜΠ]ΗΥΕ [ΣΑΜΗΝ † †]



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 72)

[... and] *Jacob* (?), in the [Kingdom of] Heavens. [Amen † †]

Tentative reconstruction of the end of a funerary prayer for rest in the bosom of the three Patriarchs and in the Heavenly Kingdom.

### 73. Fragment of a funerary stela

Excavation no. 78.I.28/15; register no. unknown. Documentation: photo no. 78A31/2.

Found in Ottoman houses west of the Cathedral, during the clearing of a wall.

Reburied on the site.

Upper right-hand corner of a sandstone stela, 24.5 x 21 x 2.5 cm. Edges chipped away, surface worn, traces of plaster or mortar on the back. The stela originally carried a decoration in relief imitating an *aedicula*, similar to the decoration of the bishops' epitaphs. The preserved fragment shows the right-hand half of a conch reposing on a fillet, which probably bordered the epigraphic field at the top. The conch was framed by a wide



Fragment of a funerary stela (no. 73)

semicircular fillet. It probably had thirteen ribs inside (only eight are preserved), arranged around two concentric circles. Dots are placed between the tops of the ribs. The inscription is found in the corner to the right of the conch. Its beginning (now lost) was probably placed in the corner to the left of the conch. The very fragmentary state of preservation of the inscription makes any evaluation of the script impossible. Under the inscription and to the right of it, there was possibly a painted cross formed by four diamonds.

Unpublished.

Middle of 10th–middle of 12th century (through comparison with the bishops' epitaphs from Qasr Ibrim; but see commentary).

[---]	$\bar{X}$ ..
[---]	.Y[---]

The language of the inscription is uncertain, perhaps it is Greek. The fragmentary state of preservation of the inscription makes any attempt at reading a risky procedure. The only certain letter in l. 1 is a  $\chi$ , above which a horizontal dash is visible. It apparently was not followed by  $\varsigma$  but by two signs (neither is round), which excludes the *nomen sacrum*  $X(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o})\varsigma$ . Perhaps we are dealing here with a date according to the Era of the Martyrs with  $\chi = 600$  as the first element.<sup>272</sup> If so, the present stela should be dated to the period between 29 August AD 894 and 28 August AD 983.<sup>273</sup> The second line started with a letter that had an oblique stroke running from the left top to the bottom right (either  $\lambda$  or  $\Lambda$ ). The line probably did not finish with  $\gamma$ .

#### 74. Fragment of a funerary stela

Excavation no. 78.3.22/1; register no. 78/672; inv. of inscriptions: G.I. 40. Documentation: photo no. 78A100/14.

Found in 1978 on the previous season's dump, according to the inventory slip. Note that the Mission excavated the south part of the Qasr Ibrim citadel in the previous (1976) season.

Current location unknown.

Top right-hand corner of a sandstone stela or slab, 12.8 x 7.9 x 4.2 cm. Rough back. The front has a raised border 2–2.5 cm wide. On the upper border, in its right-hand part, a cross; traces of another cross towards the middle. On the side border a triangle in relief with the top directed towards the epigraphic field. The inscription in the recessed field is lightly incised and painted red. The two first lines were apparently underlined by a painted line. To the right of the text there is a flower with four petals arranged in the form of a cross and placed above a V-shaped stalk.

Unpublished.

<sup>272</sup> For a similarly placed date, see the epitaph of Marianou, bishop of Faras, no. 22 above.

<sup>273</sup> As the numeral must have counted three digits, the lowest possible date is *Anno Martyrum* 611 (X1A) and the highest 699 (XϞΘ).



Fragment of a funerary stela (no. 74)

Date unknown. The lettering seems not to be very early; perhaps 10th–12th century.

[ † ] † †  
 [-----] . Y  
 [-----] HN

75. Fragment of an epitaph (?)

Excavation no. 80.I.19/42; register no. 80/481; inv. of inscriptions: C.I. 110. Documentation: photo no. 80F17/9.

Found in Ottoman House B31, room 83, north wall fill.

Current location unknown.

Top right corner of a sandstone stela, 20.5 x 17.5 x 5 cm. Along the edges runs a raised border, 2 cm wide, c. 0.5 cm high, but very damaged, especially at the top. The text is inscribed between register lines, width of reg-



Fragment of an epitaph (?) (no. 75)

istors varies between 2.5 and 3 cm. Palaeographically, letters stand midway between round epigraphic majuscules and Nubian-type majuscules.

Unpublished.

Date unknown.

- [-----] . ΟΙ . ΟΥΛ . [ c. 2-3 ]  
 [-----] . ΝΑΗΝΠΛΑ  
 [----τ] ἦν ἐξουσίαν  
 4 [---]ραντω . Ν . ΚΑΡ  
 [---?Ε]πιφανίου ΕΙΚΗΘ

The inscription is puzzling. Except for some foundation inscriptions, Nubian inscriptions on stone are epitaphs, thus suggesting that this inscription is also of a funerary character. However, the letters preserved on the stone do not suit any known formula of Nubian epitaphs in Greek. Near the beginning of the text there should be a formula stating the death of the commemorated person.

1. It is possible to read *οἱ δοῦλο[ι]*, but the plural is difficult to explain: was there more than one person buried under this stone?

3. The word *ἐξουσία* is used in Nubian epitaphs in Greek to describe the power of God over life and death. This normally assumes the form of a stereotyped formula *ὁς ἔχεις ἐξουσίαν ζωῆς τε καὶ θανάτου*.<sup>274</sup> Perhaps God's sovereignty over life and death was also referred to here, but the exact reading remains impossible to establish.

4. Perhaps *ἀχ[ρ]άντω. ἄχραντος* is a standard epithet of God, especially God the Father, in Christian vocabulary.

5. If the inscription is funerary, *Ἐπιφάνιος* may be the name of the deceased. The reading *EIKHÇ* is also possible.

#### 76. Fragment of an epitaph (?)

Excavation no. 80.I.29/3; register no. 80/479; inv. of inscriptions: C.I. 117. Documentation: photo no. 80F17/8.

Built into SW pier of the Cathedral.

Fragment of a sandstone stela or slab, 17 x 11.6 x 4.2 cm. Broken on all sides. Text inscribed within guidelines, letters bear traces of red paint in the incisions. Round epigraphic majuscules.

Unpublished.

Date unknown.

<sup>274</sup> For this formula, see ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 26, commentary to ll. 3–5.



Fragment of an epitaph (?) (no. 76)

[-----]ΕΝΟΙÇ[-----]  
 [---]NEACACE H.[---]  
 [---]ΟΔΑΑ( ) ε̣παρ[---]  
 4 [---]ΟΥΙΔ [-----]  
 [---]. [-----]

3.  $\overset{\wedge}{\lambda}$

1. This looks like a substantive or adjective or participle, in either the nominative plural ([---]ενοι Ç[---]) or the dative plural ([---]ενοις [---]).

2. The reading depends on the identification of the eighth letter, which is either  $\zeta$  or  $\xi$ . If the letter were  $\zeta$ , one can read ]NEACAC ε̣ζησ[εν, were it  $\xi$ , one can take into consideration the possibility of reading ]NEACAC ε̣ξ Η.[.

3. Perhaps ε̣παρ[χος (or a *casus obliquus*).

4. Perhaps Δα]ουίδ. This could be the name of the deceased.

## 77. Fragment of an epitaph (?)

Excavation no. 78.2.1/9; register no. unknown; inv. of inscriptions: G.I. 9.  
Documentation: photo no. 78A30/8.

Found on the west plaza, pit 78/III, fill.

Reburied on the site.

Fragment of a stela or plaque made of sandstone, 26 x 20 x 9 cm. No original edge preserved. Back very rough, front flat and smooth. In the lower part, a roughly incised inscription. The upper part is blank, suggesting that the present l. 1 was the first line of the original text. Delicate guidelines visible above and below the inscription. Epigraphic majuscules of apparently early date.

Unpublished.

Cf. Adams 1996: 302 (in a list of tombstones).

6th–8th century (palaeography).

[---] Ἀμμωνι . [---]  
[---]. ΩΝΙΑ . [---]

The character of the inscription is not quite clear. As the text was inscribed on a stela or slab, we have to eliminate the possibility of a visitor's graffito. Perhaps this is a funerary inscription comparable to that occurring in no. 27.

1. This is probably the personal name Ἀμμώνιος either in the nominative (Ἀμμώνιος[ς]) or in a *casus obliquus* (Ἀμμωνί[ο]ν, Ἀμμωνί[ω], Ἀμμώνιο[ν]).

2. One is tempted to recognise the personal name Ἀμμωνιανός either in the nominative (Ἀμ]μωνιαν[ός]) or in a *casus obliquus* (Ἀμ]μωνιαν[ο]ύ, Ἀμ]μωνιαν[ῶ], Ἀμ]μωνιαν[όν]). This is either the patronymic of Ammonios mentioned in l. 1 or the name of another man. If the former possibility is true, we have to assume that the father gave his son a name alluding to his own name.<sup>275</sup> The originally pagan

<sup>275</sup> Such plays with names were widespread in classical antiquity. For some examples and discussion, see, e.g., ŁAJTAR & TWARDCKI 2003: commentary to no. 1 (with further bibliography).



Fragment of an epitaph (?) (no. 77)

theophoric names built on the name of the Egyptian god Amun were widespread among the Christian inhabitants of the Nile Valley because of the cult of Apa Ammone, an ascetic of Middle Egyptian origin, also venerated in Nubia.<sup>276</sup>

### 78. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 66/100. Documentation: photo no. 66VI4/28.

Found in the fill of Tomb T2 (see the introductory lemma to no. 18).

Qasr Ibrim archive, Faculty of Oriental Studies, Cambridge; transferred to the British Museum, London, in 2008.

Lower left-hand corner of a sandstone stela, 17 x 16 x 4.5 cm. The text is inscribed within a field surrounded by a raised border. On the left-hand side, the border runs along the edge; at the bottom it leaves a margin,

<sup>276</sup> This saint was represented in a wall painting in the Faras Cathedral; see MICHAŁOWSKI 1974: 113–16, no. 13; for the inscription accompanying the painting, see KUBIŃSKA 1974: 145–6, no. 90. For other saints called Ammonios, see PAPAConstantinou 2001: 47–8.



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 78)

c. 4 cm wide. The border on the left-hand side was decorated with oblique incised lines. Inscription carved without ruling; the carving is expertly done. Height of letters: 1–1.6 cm. Nubian-type majuscules, but the big letter  $\lambda$  in l. 4 is of the type called ‘*alpha* with broken bar’ characteristic of epigraphic majuscules. Straight strokes end with dots resembling, to a degree, the apices of the classical letter cutting. The fragment very much resembles no. 63 above; they certainly belong to the same workshop and the same period.

Unpublished.

Date unknown, probably 11th–first half of the 12th century.

$\epsilon$  . [-----]  
 νου : [-----]  
 ἀπὸ . [-----ἀμ]-  
 4 ἡν :• λ[-----].  
 3. λπο

[---]. (*He/she died in the year*) from [---], amen [---].

The place of discovery of this fragment suggests that it may come from a bishop's epitaph.

2–3. ΝΟΥ at the beginning of l. 2 may belong to the indication of the year according to the Era of Diocletian: ἀπὸ Διοκλητητῶν|νοῦ [number. If so, ἀπὸ . [ in l. 3 must introduce the year according to another dating system, e.g., the era from the birth of Christ. In this case the reading would be: ἀπὸ Χ[(ριστο)ῦ.

4. The big letter λ may be the beginning of another ἀμήν or may belong to the symbol ΑΩ, but this symbol is normally placed at the head of an inscription and not at its end.

### 79. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. unknown; register no. 66/33. Documentation: photo no. 66v4/9.

Found in the Cathedral cemetery terrace, west of the South Church, in fill of Christian date.

Institute of Arts, Detroit.

Lower part of a sandstone stela or slab with a portion of the lower edge preserved. Dimensions not recorded. The epigraphic field is surrounded by a raised border that leaves a margin c. 2 cm wide. The right-hand margin was decorated with an incised wavy line. Inscription carved without guidelines. The carving is deep, but the script is neither nice nor careful. Epigraphic majuscules slightly inclined to the right. Note that the letter ε, especially that in l. 3, is almost square.

Unpublished.

Date unknown. Palaeography and the use of Old Nubian suggest a 10th–12th-century date.

[-----] . .  
 [-----] . . : ΠΟΥΘ Χ ΕΙ-  
 [NÑ---]ON : Ἀδὰμ Ἐῶα :

[---] *when it was the first (day) of the week (= Sunday)* [---]. *Adam, Eve.*



Fragment of an epitaph (no. 79)

2. The Old Nubian word  $\pi\omicron\gamma\omega$  has been attested several times in the sources available so far.<sup>277</sup> It was apparently used to designate both ‘week’ and different weekdays. Here only the meaning ‘week’ is possible in connection with the numeral  $\lambda = 1$ . The expression ‘first (day) of the week’ also occurs in the epitaph of Istephanou (Stephanos), who died AD 797, found in Old Dongola,<sup>278</sup> and a graffito on the western wall of room 3 of the Northwestern Annex to the monastery on Kom H at Old Dongola, probably dating from the thirteenth century.<sup>279</sup> It apparently designates Sunday, which was normally called *Κυριακή* in the Christian world, including Nubia.<sup>280</sup>

3. ‘Adam, Eve’ probably is a kind of acclamation referring to the first couple. Its occurrence in a funerary inscription is explicable through the role Adam and Eve played in the eschatological thought of the Church. As the firstborn they were initially immortal but, having sinned, they became subject to death, a pecu-

<sup>277</sup> For a list of attestations and discussion, see ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 63, commentary to l. 5. To this list one should probably add an inscription painted on a wall of Deir Anba Hadra (Monastery of St Simeon) in Aswan, which contains the following dating clause: *ἀπὸ μαρτύρον ,αλη΄, ἡμέρα ὕογ(ω)΄, Φαρμ(οῦθι) ἔμηνος΄ ιβ΄, σελλ(ήνη) κα΄*. This corresponds to 7 April AD 1322, which fell on Wednesday. For the Aswan inscription, see GRIFFITH 1928: 137, l. 18.

<sup>278</sup> ŁAJTAR & TWARDECKI 2003: no. 110, l. 19 (with commentary).

<sup>279</sup> Unpublished; briefly mentioned in ŁAJTAR 2003a: no. 63, commentary to l. 5 (4).

<sup>280</sup> For weekdays in Christian documentary sources, see WORP 1991.

liarity which has been inherited by their descendants until the end of the world, including the person commemorated by this epitaph. But the sin of Adam and Eve, which cut them off from the Tree of Life, contained at the same time the announcement of salvation which was accomplished by Jesus, who was, by flesh, a descendant of Adam. In figural representations of Jesus' descent into Hell,<sup>281</sup> Adam and Eve are shown as the ones who were saved on that occasion. Thus, the mention of their names in an epitaph is at the same time an admonition of man's sin and a promise of his salvation. Adam and Eve occur frequently in the acclamations of Coptic epitaphs of the 'litany-type' from Middle Egypt.<sup>282</sup>

### 80. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. 78.3.26/2; register no. 78/6; inv. of inscriptions: C.I. 103. Documentation: photo no. 78A100/12 (not available).

Found in 1978 on the previous season's dump (see the introductory lemma to no. 74).

Transferred to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Fragment of a sandstone slab or stela, 8.7 x 5.7 x 1.5 cm. Broken on all sides, and not surviving in its original thickness. Smoothed face, convex curved. Inscription carved boldly, but not inexpertly, in letters c. 1 cm high.

Unpublished.

Exact date unknown. The use of Old Nubian in the dating lemma suggests a date not before the 11th century.

[-----] • . [---]

[----] • εΙΝΝ̄<sup>κ</sup> [---]

[---] εΙΝΝ̄ • ἀπ[ὸ---]

[---] *when it was* [---], *when it was* [---], (*in the year*) *from* [---].

<sup>281</sup> A good example of such a scene is the painting recently discovered in the Lower Church at Baganarti; see ŻURAWSKI 2007: 313–18. The theme is also found in the Faras Cathedral; see MICHAŁOWSKI 1967: 134–7, pls. 54–5.

<sup>282</sup> WIETHEGER 1992: 210–42; PAPAConstantinou 2001: 22 and 387–402.

What is preserved from the inscription is a fragment of a dating clause. It consisted of at least three elements. Two of them were constructed in Old Nubian with the use of  $\epsilon\iota\text{N}\bar{\text{N}}$ , ‘when it was’, the third, in Greek. The Greek element of the dating clause undoubtedly indicated the year according to an era, as is demonstrated by the preposition  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$ . It is nearly certain that the era under consideration was the Era of the Martyrs (Diocletian), actually the only means of indicating an annual date remaining in use in Christian Nubia from the eleventh century onwards. The Old Nubian elements of the dating clause might have indicated the day of a month and a lunar day.

### 81. Fragment of an epitaph

Excavation no. 82.2.14/84; register no. 82/11. Documentation: slip; clip file under no. C.I. 136 (with facsimile); photo nos. 82F60/2A–3A (lost).

Found on 14 February 1982, in room 260 of Ottoman House B60, below floor 3.

Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 97356.

Lower right-hand corner of a sandstone funerary stela, 11 x 9.5 x 4.1 cm, much bumped and worn. Remains of the ends of – presumably – the four final lines of an epitaph in Coptic. Incised uncials, originally filled with red paint.

Unpublished. Published here after the facsimile.

Uncertain date.

[-----] *traces*

[-----] *traces*

[-----]N

4 [ . . . ]  $\bar{\text{N}}$   $\text{OY}\epsilon\text{I}\text{P}\text{H}$ ]NH  $\bar{\text{Z}}$ AMHN

[... *in*] *peace* ( $\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\eta}\nu\eta$ ). *Amen*.

Remains of a *pax*-formula.



Fragment of an epitaph (?) (no. 82)

### 82. Fragment of an epitaph (?)

Excavation no. 74.2.8/2; register no. unknown. Documentation: photo no. 74v7/32.

Found on February 1974, in Ottoman House B2, room 161, reused in the wall.

Current location unknown.

Lower right-hand corner of a sandstone stela, 10.5 x 21 x 4.5 cm. The epigraphic field is surrounded by a flat fillet making a curve in the corner. Inscription carved without guidelines. The script of the penultimate line (the only line with completely preserved letters) follows the curve of the fillet. Big letters, probably representing round epigraphic majuscules.

Unpublished.

Date unknown, probably not late (before the 10th century) because of the use of epigraphic majuscules.

[----] . [ c. 1-2 ]

[---] . ΩΝ

[---] .



Fragment of an epitaph (?) (no. 83)

2. It would probably be too far-fetched to suggest the reading οὐ(ρα)]γῶν, belonging to the expression ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν, which is attested in the final part of prayers for the dead's soul in Nubian epitaphs.

3. Faint traces near the break suggest a letter with two vertical strokes, perhaps N, which suggests the reading ἀμῆ]ν.

### 83. Fragment of an epitaph (?)

Excavation no. 66.3.6/4; register no. 66/64. Documentation: photo no. 66VI2/4.

Found in 1966 in Late Christian House LCI-4 (House 184), fill.

Initially in the British Museum, London, since 1984 in the Egyptology Department of the University of Liverpool.

Fragment of a sandstone slab or stela, 5 x 5 cm (thickness not recorded). Broken on all sides. No ruling. Nubian-type majuscules.

Unpublished.

Date unknown, perhaps 10–12th century (palaeography).

[---]NCOY[---]  
[---] . IЄ O[---]

The language of the inscription is uncertain; it could be either Greek or Coptic (cf. commentary to l. 1).

1. If the inscription is an epitaph we can take into consideration the possibility of reading: τὸν δοῦλό]ν σου. It could also be Coptic ]NCOY[ introducing a month day.

2. Perhaps κύ]ριε ὁ [θ(εό)ς, but such a reading would be strange, as the word κύριος was normally recorded as a *nomen sacrum*.

#### 84. Fragment of an epitaph (?)

Excavation no. 78.3.19/19; register no. 78/720; inv. of inscriptions: G.I.

36. Documentation: photo no. unknown.

Found in the Late Christian House LCI-20 (House 197), room 7, low rubble fill.

Current location unknown.

Fragment of a sandstone stela or slab, 6 x 6 x 8 cm. Broken on all sides.

Ruling.

Unpublished.

Date unknown.

[---]M . [---]  
[---]YZH . [---]  
[---]Y . [---]

The inscription looks Greek but no coherent text can be reconstructed.

## 85. Fragment of an epitaph (?)

Excavation no. 74.2.6/20; register no. unknown. Documentation: slip no. 232; photo no. 74V4/30 (object on the left-hand side).

Found below Ottoman House B1, disturbed fill.

Current location unknown.

Fragment from the left-hand side of a marble stela or slab, 8 x 6.5 x 3 cm. Portion of the left-hand edge preserved. Ruling.

Unpublished.

Date unknown.

ΤΟΥ[---]

No coherent text can be reconstructed. The language could be Greek or Coptic.

## 86. Fragment of an epitaph (?)

Excavation no. 74.1.30/3; register no. unknown. Documentation: slip no. 84; photo no. unknown.

Found in Ottoman House B3, room 147, reused in a wall.

Current location unknown.

Fragment of a sandstone stela or slab, 6.5 x 11 x 6 cm. Portion of the left-hand edge preserved. Raised border.

Unpublished.

Date unknown.

Ν[---]

. [----]

No coherent text can be reconstructed. The language could be Greek or Coptic.



Fragment of an epitaph (?) (no. 87)

### 87. Fragment of an epitaph (?)

Excavation no. 80.I.23/24; register no. 80/836. Documentation: slip; clip file under no. C.I. 112; photo no. 80F15/6.

Found on 23 January 1980, in a dump on the north-west bastion.

Qasr Ibrim archive, Faculty of Oriental Studies, Cambridge; transferred to the British Museum, London, in 2008.

Fragment without margins, probably of a funerary stela; reddish sandstone, 6 x 5 x 2 cm. Back broken away. Remains of two lines of text in Coptic. Round incised uncials.

Unpublished.

Uncertain date.

[---]ⲁⲡⲓⲐ[-----]

[---]ⲡⲁⲟⲈ[ⲓⲐ---]

If this is a fragment of a funerary stela, it could possibly be part of the dating lemma (perhaps recording a year 'from' [ⲁⲡⲓ] Diocletian or the Martyrs?) and the opening of the prayer section ('O Lord').



Fragment of an epitaph (?) (no. 88)

88. Fragment of an epitaph (?)

Excavation no. 78.3.18/1; register no. 78/789. Documentation: slip no. 2569; clip file under no. C.I. 89; photo no. 78F1/26.

Found on 18 March 1978, in Late Christian House LCI-25 (House 202), room 4, built into a stair.

Transferred to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Fragment without margins of an inscription in marble, 8.5 x 5.7 cm (thickness not recorded). Remains of two lines of ruled Coptic text. Carefully incised uncials.

Unpublished.

8th–9th century?

[---]CK . [---]

[---] . NC . [---]

No coherent text can be reconstructed.



Fragment of an epitaph (?) (no. 89)

### 89. Fragment of an epitaph (?)

Excavation and register nos. unknown. Documentation: photo no. 68AV9/35; photo-log for 1966 where the entry for v9/35 ('inscribed stone') is crossed and '64' added in red, presumably incorrectly. No further documentation available.

Found in 1966 'W(est) of vR 2'.

Current location unknown.

Highly worn fragment, apparently without margins, of a sandstone stela (?), measurements unknown. Traces of two lines of text; language uncertain. Incised uncials.

Unpublished.

Uncertain date.

*traces*

[---]Υ.[---]

No coherent text can be reconstructed.



**91–92. INSCRIBED TOMBS**91. Inscriptions from a tomb  
near the Cathedral tower

Tomb no. 366 (T12), discovered in 1964, now destroyed. Documentation: photo nos. 64P9/6–13; Plumley's notebook 1964 season.

This tomb is the northernmost of two tombs that were uncovered in 1964 to the west of the Cathedral, at the foot of the western outer wall of its so-called tower. The tomb was built in mudbrick and consisted of a vaulted burial chamber, preceded from the west by a small antechamber. It contained three bodies, two of which may have been secondary burials. As the prayer text reproduced below under F shows, the tomb must originally have been destined for a single male dead. The plastered and whitewashed walls of the burial chamber were inscribed in black ink with an ensemble of texts and symbols. These dipinti are written in slightly sloping late uncials that can be dated to the tenth–twelfth century. They are on the whole carefully written in a swift and practiced hand. An impression of irregularity is merely caused by the uneven surface of the walls and the uneven inking of the individual letters. The language is Sahidic Coptic and (in text B below) Greek. The texts were poorly preserved as much of the plaster had fallen down, in addition to being frequently disfigured by holes and fissures in the plaster, and on account of the fading of the ink.

The edition below is made after the photos, which are regrettably few in number and of mediocre quality. In addition, Plumley's fieldnotes have been consulted, which record pieces of plaster that had fallen down before the photos were taken. Wherever necessary, these are quoted as 'Plumley copy'. For the biblical texts, the *textus receptus* of George Horner's edition of the Sahidic New Testament (Horner 1911–24) has been used for comparison and for filling in the lacunae (designated as 'Horner' in the apparatus).

Plumley 1982 (rather cursory *editio princeps* of all texts, with an extensive discussion of the numerical cryptograms [below G]).

Cf. Plumley 1964: 4; Adams 1996: 82–3 (archaeological context).

11th–12th century?

A. East wall: Matt. 1:1–7.

Remains of eleven lines of Coptic text. Measurements: 25 x 59 cm.

Plumley 1982: 97 (*ed. pr.*).

† πϣ[ΩΩΜΕ ΜΠΕΧΠΟ ΝΙ(ΗCOY)C ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤO)C ΠΩΗΡΕ  
ΝΑΛΥΕΙΑ]  
 ϣ[Ω]Η[ΡΕ] Ν[ΑΒ]ΡΑ[ΣΑΜ ΑΒΡΑΣΑΜ ΑϢΧΠΟ ΝΙCΑΑΚ ΙCΑΑΚ ΔΕ]  
 ΑϢΧΠΟ Ν[ΙΑ]Ϣ[ΩΒ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΔΕ ΑϢΧΠΟ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΣ ΜΝ ΝΕϢCΝΗΥ  
ΙΟΥΔΑΣ ΔΕ]  
 4 ΑϢΧΗΟ ΜΦΑΡ[Ε]C ΜΝ [ΖΑΡΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΘΑΜΑΡ ΦΑΡΕC ΔΕ]  
 ΑϢΧΠΟ ΝΕCΑΡΩΜ ΕCΑΡΦ[Μ] Δ[Ε ΑϢΧΠΟ ΝΑΡΑ]Μ ΑΡ[ΑΜ]  
 ΔΕ ΑϢΧΠΟ ΝΑΜΙΝΑΔΔΒ [ΑΜΙΝΑ]ΔΔΒ Δ[Ε] ΑϢΧΠΟ [Ν]-  
 ΝΑCСΩΝ ΝΑCСΩΝ ΔΕ ΑϢΧΠΟ ΝCΑΛΜΩΝ CΑΛΜΩΝ ΔΕ  
 8 ΑϢΧΠΟ ΝΒΟΕC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΡΑΧΑΒ ΒΟΕC ΔΕ ΑϢΧΠΟ ΝΙΩΒΗΔ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΖΡΟΥΘ ΙΩΒΗΔ [ΔΕ] ΑϢΧΠΟ ΝΙΕCСΑΙ ΙΕCСΑΙ ΔΕ  
 ΑϢΧΠΟ ΝΑΛΥΕΙΑ ΠΡΡΟ Δ[ΑΥΕ]ΙΑ ΔΕ ΑϢΧ[ΠΟ] ΝCΩΛΩΜΩΝ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΘΙΜΕ ΝΟΥΡΙΑC [CΩΛΩΜ]ΩΝ ΔΕ ΑϢΧΠΕ ΖΡΟΒΟΑΜ

1. ΝΙ(ΗCOY)C ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤO)C: ἰϥ πεϣ̄

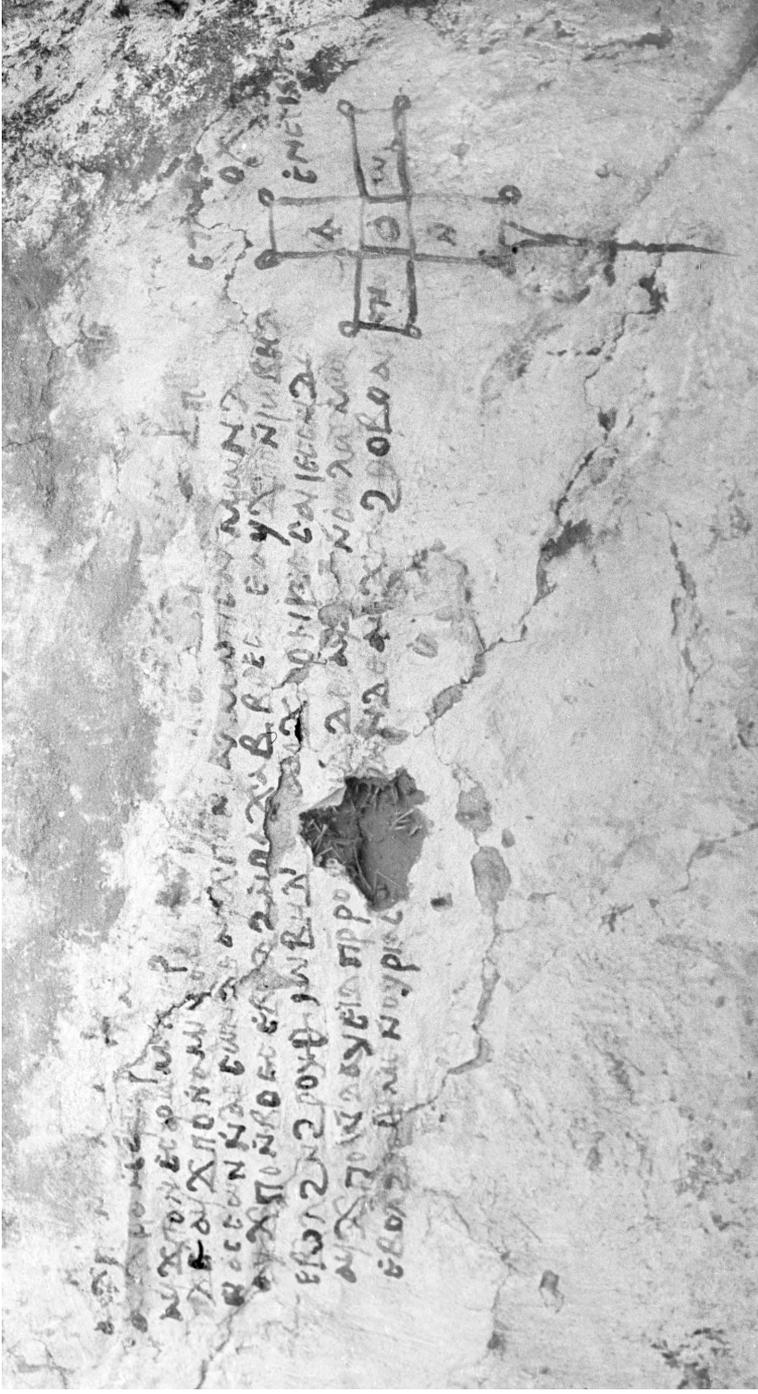
1. cross in margin || 1–2. absent in *ed. pr.*, reconstruction uncertain || 3. [ΙΑ]Ϣ[ΩΒ]: *ed. pr.* [ΙΟΥ]Δ[Α]C, but traces inconclusive || 4. ΑϢΧΗΟ: 1. ΑϢΧΠΟ || 5. ΕCΑΡΦ[Μ]: *ed. pr.* ΕCΡΗΜ, Horner ΕCΑΡΩΜ || 6. ΑΜΙΝΑΔΔΒ [ΑΜΙΝΑ]ΔΔΒ: *ed. pr.* ΟΝΟΜΙΝΑΔΔΒ ΟΜΙΝΟ[Δ]ΔΒ, Horner ΑΜΕΙΝΑΔΔΒ (*bis*) || 7. ΝΑCСΩΝ: Horner ΝΑCСΩΝ || 8. ΡΑΧΑΒ: Horner ΖΡΑΧΑΒ || 9. ΙΕCСΑΙ: *ed. pr.* ΙΕCΑΙ (*bis*) || 10–11. CΩΛΩΜΩΝ: Horner CΟΛΟΜΩΝ (*bis*) || 11. ΑϢΧΠΕ-: Horner ΑϢΧΠΟ Ν-

As far as the dipinto is preserved, it presents a fairly standard Sahidic text of Matt. 1:1–7a.

B. East wall: inscribed cross, to the right of text A.

An inscribed Greek cross on a standard, 28 x 13 cm. Above and to the right of the cross, the remains of three lines of Greek text.

Plumley 1982: 97 (*ed. pr.*).



Inscribed tomb near the Cathedral tower: east wall (no. 91 A-B)

σταυρό[ς].  
 ὁ Χ(ριστὸ)ς  
 ἐνείκησ[εν].

2. ο  $\overline{\alpha\zeta}$ , *ed. pr.* ο  $\times$ ]

3. ἐνείκησεν: 1. ἐνίκησεν

(The) Cross. Christ prevailed!

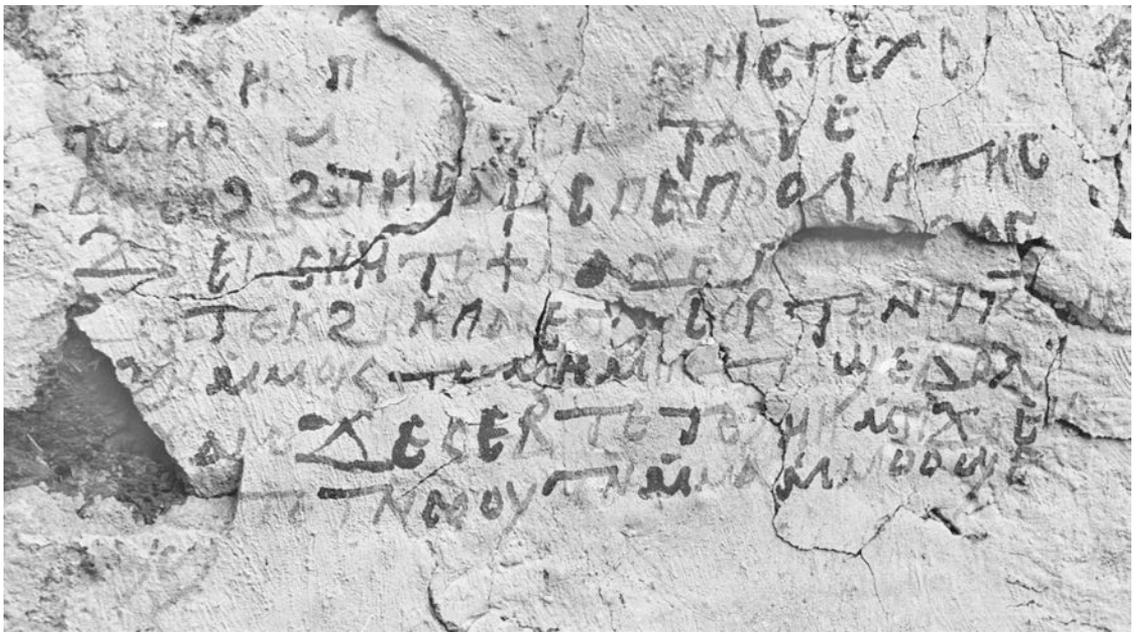
With ὁ σταυρός as its subject, the aorist-form of νικάω (l. 3) is also found in a well known sixth-century inscription on Philae: ὁ σταυρὸς ἐνίκησεν, ἀεὶ νικᾷ (Bernand 1969: 256–9, no. 201). Bernand (1969: 158) follows Nautin (1967: 15–16) in taking the aorist of the Philae inscription to refer to the specific historical event of the conversion of the Philae temple into a church. In the present case, in a tomb, the interpretation of Peterson (1926: 154, n. 1, cf. 157–8), who takes the aorist to refer to the ‘sempiternal’ character of the intended victory, is perhaps more plausible. In either case, the text clearly offers a variant of the famous νικᾷ-acclamation, for which see the commentary to no. 1 above.

Within the compartments of the cross:

Α  
 Η Ὄ Ω  
 Ν

*H: ed. pr. N*

If read correctly, this cryptogram can be deciphered as: Α – Ω, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν, ‘Alpha (and) Omega, He who is (and) He who was’. The dot over the central *O* undoubtedly marks the *spiritus*. This combination of divine predicates derives from Rev. 1:8, quoted in full in the commentary to no. 23 above. In a more complete form, supplying the lacking member ὁ ἐρχόμενος, they are also found, following the name of Jesus Christ, on a late-antique basalt lintel from Syria (*IGLSyr* iv 1716). Cruciform arrangements of names and acclamations were popular throughout the



Inscribed tomb near the Cathedral tower: south wall (no. 91 c)

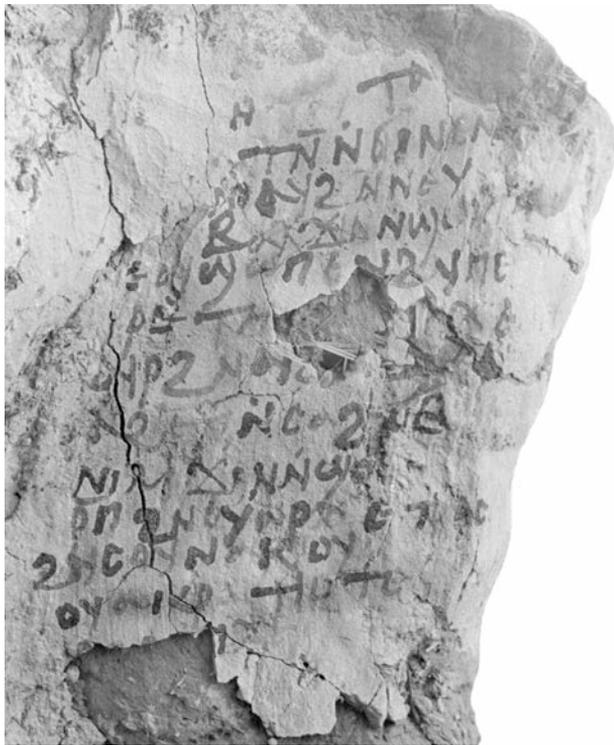
Christian world, and also in Nubia. The acclamation  $\phi\omega\varsigma \zeta\omega\eta$ , for which see nos. 22 and 57 above, is a well known example but certainly not unique.<sup>283</sup> A close parallel for the present arrangement is found in Kellia, Egypt: a Greek cross with the groups  $\delta$  |  $\omega\nu$  |  $\nu$  |  $\kappa\alpha$  written between its branches (Bridel 1999: 423, no. 177).<sup>284</sup> The message is the same in both instances: Christ is victorious through the Holy Cross in which His divinity is manifested. The cross itself is here represented on a standard. Also in Kellia, crosses on standards, often surrounded by text, are a frequent element in the decoration of the hermitages.<sup>285</sup>

<sup>283</sup> Cf., e.g., the somewhat more intricate combination  $\text{Ἰησοῦ σῶσον}$ , found in Kellia, Egypt (BRIDEL 1999: 406–7, nos. 170–2). For cruciform arrangements of the name of St Michael in Nubia, see LAJTAR 1993b: 246–7; of normal proper names in the Sinai (Deir Rumhan), OVADIAH, in FINKELSTEIN 1985: 77–9 (cf. FEISSEL 2006: no. 824).

<sup>284</sup> Compare the cruciform monogram on an amphora from Histria (Scythia Minor) that is probably to be read as  $\delta \omega\nu$  (BERNEA 1994: 23–4, no. 3; SEG XLIV 622). Crosses combined with  $A - \Omega$  alone are very frequent; see, e.g., CABROL 1907.

<sup>285</sup> See RASSART-DEBERGH 1986, and EADEM, in BRIDEL 1999: 613; the author calls them ‘croix de procession’. A military interpretation (*vexilla regis*) seems more appropriate, however.





Inscribed tomb near the Cathedral tower: west wall (no. 91 D)

Ν[ΖΗΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ]  
 ΝΤΑΥΤΑ[ΑΣ ΕΤΟΟ]-  
 Τῆ ἡδὶ ΝΕΝ[ΤΑΥ]-  
 4 ΝΑΥ ἔῆ ΝΕΥ-  
 ΒΑΛ ΧΙΝ ἡΦΟΡΠ  
 ΕΛΥΦΩΠΕ ΝΖΥΠΕ-  
 ΡΕΤΗ[Σ ΜΠΩΛ]ΧΕ  
 8 ΛΙΡ ΖΝΑΙ Ζ[Ω ΕΛΙΟΥ]-  
 ΛΣΤ ἡΣΑ ΖΩΚ  
 ΝΙΜ ΧΙΝ ἡΦΟ-  
 ΡῆΠ ΖΝ ΟΥΦΡΧ ΕΤΡΑΣ-  
 12 ΖΑΙΣΟΥ ΝΑΚ ΟΥΑ  
 ΟΥΑ ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΕ  
 [ΘΕΟΦ]ΙΛΕ

2. ἡΤΑΥ-: Homer ἐνΤΑΥ-

A standard text of Luke 1:1(end)–3 in Sahidic Coptic. Owing to the vulnerable position of the inscription, v. 1 is almost entirely lost.

E. North wall, left: John 1:1–5.

Remains of seven lines of Coptic text; two or three lines are lost at the beginning. Lines 4–7 are in smaller script than the lines before. Measurements: 16 x 48 cm.

Plumley 1982: 96 (*ed. pr.*); the beginnings of ll. 1–5 cannot be seen on the photo anymore, hence Plumley's handcopy is followed here.

ΝΟ[ΥΤΕ ΛΥΘ ΝΕΥΝ]ΟΥ[ΤΕ ΠΕ]  
 ΠΦ[Λ]ΧΕ Π[ΛΙ] Ξ[Ν ΤΕΞ]ΟΥΕΙ[ΤΕ ΝΕΦΩΟΟΠ ΞΑΤΜ]  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΑ ΠΤΗΡΦ Ω[ΦΠ]Ε ΕΒΟΛ ΞΙΤΟΟΤΦ  
 4 ΛΥΘ ΛΧΝΤ̄Φ ΜΠΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΦΩΠΕ ΠΕΤΑΦΩΠΕ  
 ΞΡΑΙ ΝΞΗΤ̄Φ ΠΕ Π[ΦΝ]Ξ ΛΥΘ ΠΩΝΞ [Π]Ε ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ  
 Ν̄Π̄ΡΦΜΕ ΛΥΘ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΦ̄ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ Ξ̄Μ ΠΚΑΚΕ  
 ΛΥΘ ΜΠ(Ε Π)ΚΑΚΕ ΤΑΞΟΦ

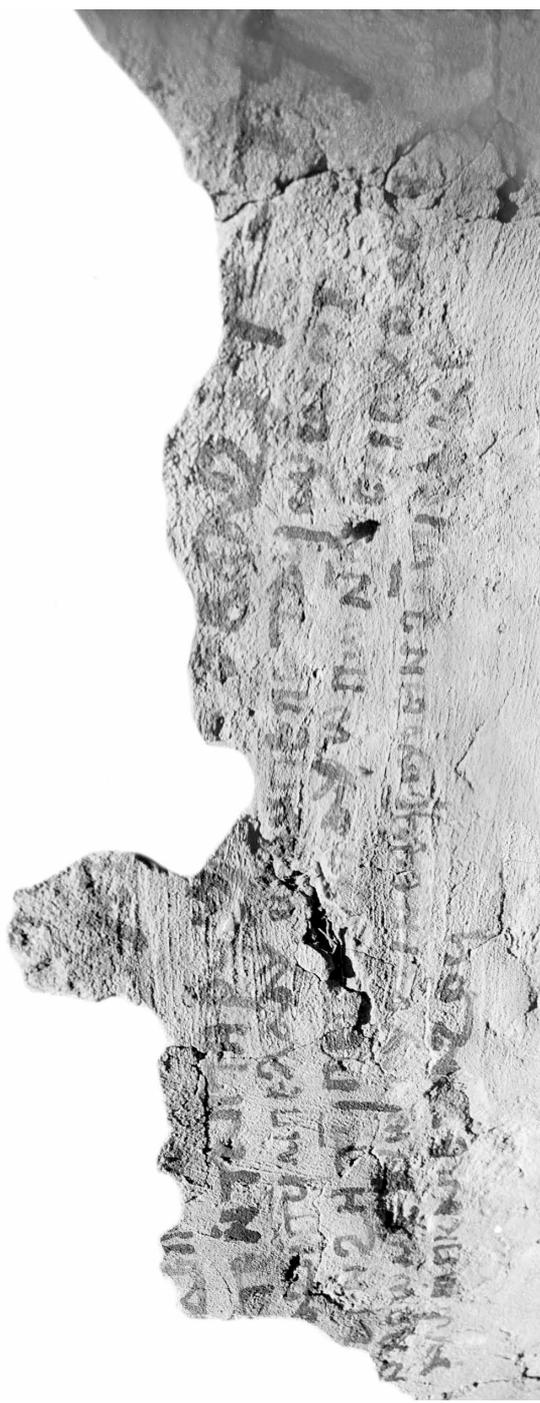
1–2. Plumley's copy ΝΕΥΝΟΥ]ΤΕ | ΠΕ [ΠΦΛ]ΧΕ || 3. ΝΤΑ ΠΤΗΡΦ Ω[ΦΠ]Ε: Horner  
 Ν̄ΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΛΥΦΩΠΕ || 4. ΠΕΤΑΦΩΠΕ, Horner ΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ || 5. ΞΡΑΙ: *ed. pr.*  
 ε]ΞΡΑΙ | [Π]Ε ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ: *ed. pr.* ΕΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ || 6. ΠΚΑΚΕ: *ed. pr.* ΠΚΑΚΚΕ

Again a fairly standard version of the opening verses of the Gospel of John (1:1[end]–5) in Sahidic Coptic, with most of v. 1 lacking and a minor scribal error in l. 7. The variant in v. 3 (ΝΤΑ ΠΤΗΡΦ ΩΦΠΕ) is well attested and occurs also in no. 92 D, below. In l. 4, the relative perfect lacks the Ν, for which see Kahle 1954: 159, *sub* 132.

F. North wall, middle: prayer for the protection of the deceased.

To the right of a pentagram (pentalpha), the remains of six lines of Sahidic Coptic. Measurements, comprising the following cryptograms (G): 35 x 70 cm.

Plumley 1982: 93 (*ed. pr.*); ll. 1–2 have been reconstructed after Plumley's handcopy.



Inscribed tomb near the Cathedral tower: north wall, left (no. 91E)

† Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ὁ Χ(ριστὸ)ς Ἐμμανο[υ] ἡλ ροειϛ ερ[οα ----]  
 Μῆ ἡἀποστολος ροειϛ ερο[α] (ΜΙΧΑΗΛ)  
 ΓΑΒΡΙΗ[Λ ΡΑ]ΦΑΗΛ ΟΥΡΟΥΗΛ Ρ[ΟΕΙϛ ΕΡΟΑ ΙΑΗΛ ΑΝΑΗΛ]  
 4 ΖΕΔΕΚ[ΙΗΛ] ΡΟΕΙϛ ΕΡΟΑ  
 ΤΗΠΙϢΤΕΥΕ <Ε>ΤΕΤΡΙΑϢ  
 ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ Ε<Τ>ΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ

1. Ἰ̅ ἡ̅ ὠ̅ ἡ̅ ὠ̅ ὠ̅ || 2. ΜΙΧΑΗΛ: ΧΠΘ

1-2. After Plumley's copy || 1. cross in margin || 3. Ρ[ΟΕΙϛ: not in *ed. pr.* || 4. ΖΕ-  
 ΔΕΚ[ΙΗΛ]: *ed. pr.* ΖΕΔΕΚ

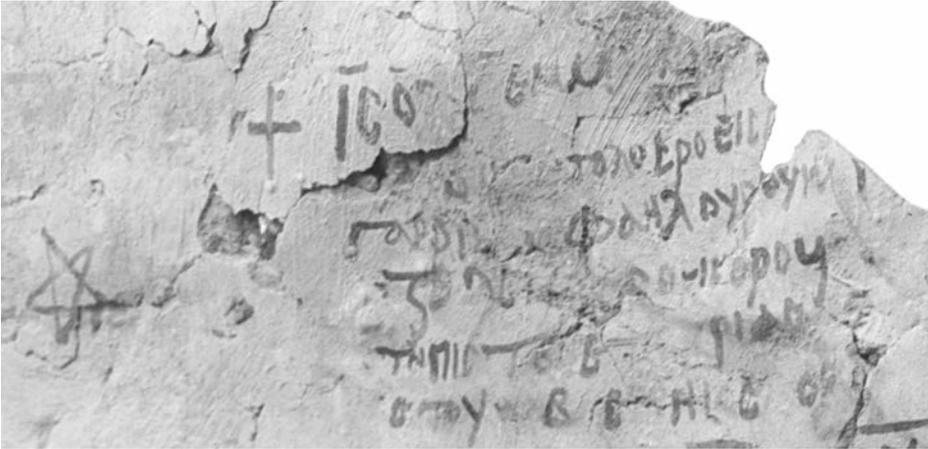
† *Jesus Christ Emmanuel, protect him.*  
 [*Holy Mary?*] *and the Apostles (ἀπόστολος), protect him.*  
*Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Ourouel, protect him.*  
 [*Iael, Anael*], *Zedekiel, protect him.*  
*We believe (πιστεύω) in the holy, perfect Trinity (τριάς).*

This litany-like prayer invokes the protection of Jesus himself, then perhaps of the Virgin Mary (whose name is in a lacuna, however), the Apostles, who were the patrons of the Cathedral (van der Vliet 1999: 135-8), and the seven Archangels. Plumley (1982: 95) considered reading '[Melki]zedek' in ll. 3-4, but in the Egyptian tradition Zedekiel is well attested as a name for one of the three 'uncanonical' archangels.<sup>286</sup> In the standard list of the archangels' names that was current in Nubia, Zedekiel always occupies the last position, following Iael and Anael.<sup>287</sup> It appears certain therefore that a complete series of seven names was intended and that the two missing names were given in the lacuna at the end of l. 3, as in the reconstruction given above.

The prayer concludes with a profession of belief in the Holy Trinity, characterised as a creedal formula by the typical phrase ΤΗΠΙϢΤΕΥΕ (*πιστεύομεν*). The epithet 'perfect' (ΕΤΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ, *τέλειος*) for the Trinity is

<sup>286</sup> See MÜLLER 1959: 58-61; cf. also 285, n. 1317 (for Zedekiel).

<sup>287</sup> See ŁAJTAR forthcoming.



Inscribed tomb near the Cathedral tower: north wall, middle (no. 91 F)

not very frequent, but well attested in the work of St Athanasius.<sup>288</sup> For a Coptic example from a Theban documentary text, see *P. CLT* 5, ll. 128–9: ΤΕΤΡΙΑΣ Ι ΕΤΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΕ ΜΝ ΠΩΡΧ ΝΖΗΤΣ, ‘the perfect Trinity that holds no division’ (Schiller 1932: 50).

G. North wall, right: numerical cryptograms.

Below and to the right of the prayer (F), the remains of four lines of presumably 27 cryptograms, between two crosses. Measurements, comprising the preceding prayer (F): 35 x 70 cm.

Plumley 1982: 95 (*ed. pr.*), with a full discussion. For the following reconstruction of the text, Plumley’s handcopy proved more reliable than his *ed. pr.* Lacunae have been filled in with the help of parallel documents and ‘impossible’ numbers have been rectified in the apparatus, likewise after one of these parallels, in most cases Wallis Budge’s text of Pseudo-Timothy’s *Discourse on Saint Michael* (see below).<sup>289</sup> No attempt has been made to establish a ‘correct’ text (see the remarks below).

<sup>288</sup> See LAMPE 1961: 1379b–1380a, s.v. τέλειος, B.6.

<sup>289</sup> Referred to as ‘Budge’ in the apparatus; ‘Dongola’ refers to the parallel version in the tomb of Archbishop Georgios (Old Dongola), ‘amulet’ to that in a paper amulet from Qasr Ibrim itself (see below).

†  $\overline{\Omega\Xi\zeta}$  :  $\overline{\Omega\overline{M\epsilon}}$  :  $\overline{\lambda[1]\Gamma}$  [ $\overline{\Upsilon}\overline{\eta}[\Gamma]$ ]  $\overline{\chi\pi\theta}$   $\overline{\rho\eta\alpha}$   $\overline{\chi\overline{M}}$  †  
 $\overline{\lambda\overline{\Omega\eta}}$   $\overline{\Phi\overline{\beta\Gamma}}$   $\overline{\beta\gamma\lambda\theta}$  [ $\overline{\lambda\zeta\lambda\epsilon}$ ]  $\overline{\psi\lambda\lambda}$   $\overline{\lambda\overline{Z}}$   
 $\overline{\chi\overline{M}\lambda}$   $\overline{\rho[1]\Gamma}$   $\overline{\lambda\psi\kappa\lambda}$   $\overline{\xi}$   $\overline{\lambda\psi\kappa\beta}$  :  $\overline{\Upsilon\pi}$   
 4  $\overline{\lambda\lambda\psi}$   $\overline{\varphi\overline{Z}}$   $\overline{\gamma\lambda\beta}$   $\overline{\Upsilon\pi}$   $\overline{\lambda\psi\lambda}$   $\overline{\lambda\chi\beta}$   $\overline{\rho\lambda\epsilon}$   $\overline{\lambda\overline{\Omega}}$

1. crosses in margin next to ll. 1–2 | [ $\overline{\Upsilon}\overline{\eta}[\Gamma]$ ]: *ed. pr.* [ $\overline{\Upsilon\overline{\eta\zeta}}$ ] |  $\overline{\rho\eta\alpha}$ : 1.  $\overline{\rho\eta\lambda}$  (Dongola, amulet) || 2.  $\overline{\lambda\overline{\Omega\eta}}$ : 1.  $\overline{\lambda\overline{\Omega\eta}}$  (Budge, Dongola, amulet) |  $\overline{\Phi\overline{\beta\Gamma}}$ : 1.  $\overline{\Phi\overline{\beta\Gamma}}$  (Budge) |  $\overline{\psi\lambda\lambda}$ : 1.  $\overline{\psi\kappa\lambda}$  (Budge) || 3.  $\overline{\rho[1]\Gamma}$ : *ed. pr.* [ $\overline{\varphi\kappa}\Gamma$ ] |  $\overline{\lambda\psi\kappa\lambda}$   $\overline{\xi}$   $\overline{\lambda\psi\kappa\beta}$ : Budge  $\overline{\lambda\psi\kappa\lambda}$   $\overline{\beta\lambda}$   $\overline{\psi\kappa\beta}$  (apparently a corruption; Dongola and amulet have only  $\overline{\lambda\psi\kappa\lambda\beta}$ ) || 3–4.  $\overline{\Upsilon\pi}$  |  $\overline{\lambda\lambda\psi}$   $\overline{\varphi\overline{Z}}$ : 1.  $\overline{\Upsilon\pi|\lambda}$   $\overline{\lambda\psi\overline{\varphi\overline{Z}}}$  (Budge) || 4.  $\overline{\lambda\psi\lambda}$ : *ed. pr.* [ $\overline{\lambda\psi\lambda\lambda}$ ];  $\overline{\lambda\overline{\Omega}}$  (with Plumley's copy): *ed. pr.*  $\overline{\lambda\overline{\Omega}}$

† 866 (*Adonai*) – 845 (*Eloi*) – 1013 (*Sabaoth*) – 453 – 689 (*Michael*) – 151 (*read 154: Gabriel*) – 640 (*Raphael*) – 1078 (*corrected; Ourouel*) – 523 (*corrected*) – 2439 – [1235: *Meliton?*] – 724 (*corrected*) – 1007 – 641 – 113 – 1721 – 2000? – 1722 – 484 (*corrected*) – 1797 (*corrected*) – 432 – 480 – 1704 – 1602 – 135 – 1070 †

The ciphers that make up this inscription represent a set of sacred names. Some of the ciphers are well known, like  $\overline{\chi\pi\theta} = 689$  for Michael (l. 1), which was extremely popular in Nubia and occurs, for example, in no. 7 above, where a full commentary is given, and here in prayer F, l. 2. Others are less current and most defy interpretation. A partly successful attempt at the decipherment of the present series has been made by Plumley (1982) in his *editio princeps* of the text (cf. Müller 2001). In the ‘translation’ given above, the ciphers are transcribed into Arabic numbers, following, wherever necessary, the rectified form given in the apparatus. The decipherments are those of Plumley, but we did not follow him in every detail.

The series of ciphers as given here is known, in varying degrees of distortion, from a number of other documents. The most famous of these is a *Discourse on Saint Michael the Archangel*, (falsely) attributed to Archbishop Timothy of Alexandria and preserved in a late tenth-century Sahidic Coptic manuscript from Esna, in southernmost Egypt (ed. Budge 1915: 512–23, 1021–32; on the manuscript, Layton 1987: no. 163). It is worthwhile



Inscribed tomb near the Cathedral tower: north wall, right (no. 91 G)

to quote part of this homily (as indeed already Plumley 1982, did), which recommends the cryptograms in the following terms:

‘When a man writes these glorious words [ ... ] upon the [gates? walls?] of his house: (here the series of numerical cryptograms is given), no < snares > of the Adversary (i.e. the Devil) will get at that house nor will plots of evil men be able to prevail over it’ (BUDGE 1915: 519–20).<sup>290</sup>

Written on the wall of a tomb, as here, the series should likewise protect its inhabitant against both demonic and human attacks. For the same reason, undoubtedly, it was inscribed on the western interior wall of the burial vault of Archbishop Georgios in Old Dongola (died AD 1113; see, provisionally, Müller 2001). But also in Nubia, its use was not limited to the funerary sphere. Thus, it is found in a more or less contemporaneous paper amulet from Qasr Ibrim itself (published by Plumley 1982: 92) and on a late Christian ostrakon from Old Dongola that may have been an amulet as well (unpublished). Even in modern Egypt, a much corrupted version of the same set of cryptograms was used for apotropaic purposes

<sup>290</sup> The manuscript is slightly damaged at this point, with some loss of text, but not in the series of numerical cryptograms.

until quite recently.<sup>291</sup> These parallels clearly show that the cryptograms circulated as a set, independently from the homily on Michael, in which they may actually have been interpolated, in various degrees of corruption.

Ideally, the set may have consisted of four lines of six groups, as in the Qasr Ibrim amulet, or of six lines of four ciphers, as – with a minor irregularity – in the tomb of Georgios. Here, there appear to be 27 groups divided over four lines, or more likely (after a minor correction in ll. 3–4) 26 groups. This is the same number as found in Pseudo-Timothy's *Discourse on Saint Michael*, which is also textually closest to our inscription. In general, the various witnesses appear to be more or less identical in the beginning and tend to diverge afterwards. The considerable amount of variation, or rather textual corruption, suggests that, apart from, for example, the well known cipher for Michael, most of the cryptograms were not understood by the copyists either. For this reason no reconstruction of the original series has been attempted here.

Not only the numerical cryptograms, but the entire ensemble of texts and symbols that decorate this burial chamber betrays a clear apotropaic interest. Different from the epitaphs analysed above, these inscriptions provide no information whatever about the person for whom the tomb was destined, not even the date of his death. Judging from the tomb's situation, in the shadow of the Cathedral, and its similarity to the Old Dongola tomb of Archbishop Georgios (see below), the deceased must have been a high-ranking ecclesiastic, perhaps even a bishop. Yet the decoration of his burial chamber only reveals how uncertain medieval Nubians must have felt about obtaining the desired 'rest' for which they asked in their funerary prayers. Both the texts and the iconographic elements were exclusively designed to ward off evil, either human or demonic in nature. The elements that convey this apotropaic power are, apart from the series of numerical cryptograms (here G): the initial verses of the four Gospels (above A, C, D, and E), the image of the victorious Cross of Christ with

<sup>291</sup> Quoted in VIAUD 1978: 130. A version in a Copto-Arabic manuscript in Gotha (ms. orient. A 2877, f. 199b), mentioned by MÜLLER 2001: 323, n. 12, is reproduced in *Catalogue Gotha* 1997: 217 (description by J. ASSFALG and E.-M. WAGNER).

a cryptographic rendering of divine epithets (here Β), a prayer for protection, confessing the Holy Trinity (here Ϝ), and the pentagram, on the north wall between Ε and Ϝ. A similar, although far more extensive program underlies the decoration of the burial chamber of Archbishop Georgios in Old Dongola, who died AD 1113.<sup>292</sup> The more modest Qasr Ibrim tomb may date, like no. 92 below, from more or less the same period.

The elements of the decoration are mostly well known for their apotropaic use also outside the present funerary context. For acclamations involving the verb *νικάω* (here Β), see the commentary to no. 1 above and the literature cited there. The pentagram, which here separates inscriptions Ε and Ϝ, is a common apotropaic symbol, found in various contexts in the entire Byzantine world, and also in Nubia.<sup>293</sup> The numerical cryptograms of Γ are found – as we saw – not only in tombs and in roughly contemporaneous amulets from Nubia itself, but still in modern books of ‘magic’. The incipits of the Gospels (and often also their final verses, as in no. 92 below) occur in a wide variety of amulets and ‘magical’ handbooks from the Nile Valley, both in Greek and in Coptic.<sup>294</sup> Their apotropaic use on walls is illustrated by various other examples from medieval Nubia. In a similar way as here, the opening and final verses of the four Gospels are inscribed in Greek on the four walls of the burial chamber of Archbishop Georgios in Old Dongola, together with other ‘amuletic’ and apotropaic texts (cf. Jakobielski 2001: 164–5). In Faras, the beginnings of the four Gospels in Sahidic Coptic are written on the walls of the eighth-century ‘anchorite’s grotto’, again associated with ‘amuletic’ texts,<sup>295</sup> and in Old Dongola, the first and last verses of the Gospel of St

<sup>292</sup> The texts are unpublished, but see provisionally JAKOBIELSKI 2001: 164–5; MÜLLER 2001; for the bishop himself and his other monuments, see ŁAJTAR 2002.

<sup>293</sup> General: PERDRIZET 1922: 32–8; Nubia: MONNERET DE VILLARD 1938: 184; KUBIŃSKA 1974: 180–1; VAN DER VLIET 2003: 136, n. 480.

<sup>294</sup> The literature about the amuletic and apotropaic use of Holy Scripture is immense; see, for example, JUDGE 1987, and for the mixed appreciation of the phenomenon in Patristic literature, ROUKEMA 2007: 371–3.

<sup>295</sup> GRIFFITH 1927: 83, cf. 88–9, pls. LXIV, LXIX.

John in Greek are inscribed in a tondo above a painting of Christ trampling reptiles, illustrating Ps. 90:13, LXX (see Łaptaś 1999).

Perhaps the most remarkable individual features of the present ensemble are the inscribed cross B and the litany-like prayer F. The former can be usefully compared to the many crosses painted on the walls of the late-antique, early-medieval hermitages of Kellia (see above). For the latter, again 'amuletic' texts appear to provide the best parallels. In fact, invocations with ϩⲟⲓϥ ⲉ-, 'to protect, watch over', occur not only in donor inscriptions, colophons, and artist signatures (cf. above, no. 6), but also on dress, where they unmistakably have an apotropaic function (van der Vliet 2006c: 36–7). For the litany-like structure of the Qasr Ibrim prayer, one may compare the protective amulet *P. BKU III 387*, which comprises a threefold invocation of the nine angelic 'guardians' that protect (ϩⲟⲓϥ ⲉ-) the three persons of the Holy Trinity (Satzinger 1968: 387, ll. 43–52; probably 10th–11th century). The creed-like formula in the end of the prayer (ll. 5–6) recalls the not uncommon use of (parts of) the Nicene creed in Egyptian amulets.<sup>296</sup>

#### 92. Inscriptions from a tomb in front of the South Church

Tomb no. 369, discovered in 1966, now destroyed. Documentation: slips nos. 172–3, which give rather inexpert handcopies of the texts in two different hands, neither of them Plumley's; lecture given by Plumley after the 1966 season (unpublished typescript). Apparently, no photos exist that document the state of the inscriptions at the time of their discovery.

This tomb was one of a small series of tombs built in burnt red brick in front of the South Church (structure 294, also called Small Church), to the south of the Cathedral. Plumley dated it tentatively to the eleventh or twelfth century. The inscriptions, in Sahidic Coptic, were inscribed in

<sup>296</sup> E.g., VAN HAELST 1976: nos. 386, 720, and 938; DANIEL & MALTOMINI 1990–2: nos. 23, 31, and 35. The Nicene creed in Sahidic Coptic is also found among the inscriptions on the walls of the 'anchorite's grotto' in Faras; see GRIFFITH 1927: 84–6.

dark ink on the plastered and whitewashed interior walls of the burial chamber. Originally, there must have been at least four sets of inscriptions, each on one wall, of which three survived, one only very partial. From the available documentation, the exact disposition of the texts on the walls cannot be reconstructed with certainty. Also no measurements seem to have been taken.

Three of the texts (C, D, and E below) have been preserved by transferring them onto a textile basis. These inscriptions still survive, much damaged, in the form of framed panels. According to Plumley (typescript), the texts were ‘poorly written but still legible’ at the time of their discovery. Since, considerable parts have faded and become entirely illegible. The writing, as far as can be judged from what remains, is rather careless and uneven, but the inscriptions were clearly made by a practiced hand, not much different from the one that wrote no. 91 above, which suggests a similar date (10th–12th century). The ink is dark-brown now, but may have been black originally.

The text of these three fragments as given by the excavators’ handcopies was collated in November 2008 with the originals in Cairo by Joost L. Hagen, who also took measurements and made a set of working photos that were used for the final collation. Those parts of the text of C, D, and E that cannot be read anymore are rendered in italics below. The *textus receptus* of Horner’s edition of the Sahidic New Testament (Horner 1911–24) has been used for comparison and for filling in the lacunae (designated as ‘Horner’ in the apparatus). Due to the defective documentation and the very bad state of the surviving originals, the text given below should be used with caution.

Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Temporary Register nos. 4/2/67/8 (C), 4/2/67/9 (E), 4/2/67/10 (D); position in the Museum: R. 45–6 bas. B appears to be lost.  
Unpublished.

Cf. Plumley 1966: 10–11; idem 1982: 93 (brief descriptions of the find); Adams 1996: 78–9, 82 (archaeological context).

11th–12th century?

A. East wall: found destroyed.

## b. South wall: Mark 16:19b

Only one word survived; the remainder of the text ‘faded completely (Plumley, typescript). No measurements known.

After the transcription on slip no. 173 *verso*.

[---] ΛΦΖΜΟΟC [---]

Just enough of the end of v. 19 (ΛΥΧΙΤΓ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΕΤΠΕ ΛΦΖΜΟΟC ΝCΑ ΟΥΝΑΜ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ) survives to show that the *Vorlage* of the scribe must have contained the ‘long’ end (16:9–20) of the Gospel of St Mark (cf. Kahle 1951).

## c. West wall: Luke 1:1–4; 24:51–3.

Twelve lines of text; measurements: c. 65 x 68 cm. The transition from Luke 1 to Luke 24 in l. 8 is marked by a decorative device.

After the transcription on slip no. 173 *recto*, collated by Joost L. Hagen, November 2008.

† ΕΠΕΙΔΗΠΕΡ Α ΖΑΖ ΖΙ ΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΕCΖΑΙ ΝΝΩ[Α]-  
 ΧΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΝΤΑΥΤΩΤ <ΝΖΗΤ ΖΡΑΙ> ΝΖΗΤΝ ΚΑΤΑ  
 ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΑΣ ΕΤΟΟΤΝ ΝΒΙ ΝΕΝΤΑΥΝΑΥ ΖΝ ΝΕΥΒΑΛ  
 4 ΧΙΝ ΝΦΟΡΠ ΕΑΥΦΩΠΕ ΝΖΥΠΕΡΕΤΗΣ ΜΠΩΑΧΕ [ΑΙΡ]  
 ΖΝΑΙ ΖΩΦΤ ΕΑΙΟΥΑΖΤ ΝCΑ ΖΦΒ ΝΙΜ ΧΙΝ ΝΦΟΡΠ Ν-  
 ΟΥΦΡΧ ΕΤΡΑΣΖΑΙCΟΥ <ΝΑΚ> ΟΥΑ ΟΥΑ ΚΡΑΤΙCΤΕ [ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕ]  
 ΧΕΚΑC ΕΚΕΒΙΜΕ ΕΠΩΡΧ ΝΝΩΑΧΕ ΝΤΑΥ[ΚΑ]-  
 8 ΘΗΚΗ ΜΜΟΚ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ----- ΑCΦΩΠΕ ΔΕ  
 ΖΜ ΠΤΡΕCΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΑΦΟΥΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΥΦ ΑΦΒΦΚ ΕΞΡΑΙ  
 ΕΤΠΕ ΑΥΟΥΦΩΤ ΖΦΟΥ ΜΜΟΦ ΑΥΚΟΤΟΥ ΕΘ[Ι(ΕΡΟΥCΑ)ΛΗΜ  
 ΖΝ ΟΥΝΟC ΝΡΑΦΕ ΑΥΦ ΝΕΥΦΟΟΠ ΠΕ ΖΜ ΠΡΠΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ  
 12 *vac.* [ΝΙ]Μ ΕΥCΜΟΥ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΕ

2. ΝΤΑΥ-: Horner ΕΝΤΑΥ- || 5. ΖΦΩΤ: Horner ΖΦ || 5–6. ΜΠΟΥΦΡΧ: Horner ΖΠ  
 ΟΥΦΡΧ || 7. ΝΤΑΥ-: Horner ΕΝΤΑΥ- || 7–8. [ΚΑ]ΘΗΚΗ: Horner ΚΑΘΗΓΕΙ ||  
 Π. ΠΡΠΕ: Horner ΠΡΠΕ

Neither of both passages from Luke show important variants. Note

that here Luke 1:4 is included, which lacks in no. 91 D, above. Otherwise, the text of Luke 1:1–3 seems basically identical, as far as can be ascertained.

D. North wall, right: John 1:1–5.

Nine lines of text; measurements: *c.* 31.5 x 57 cm.

After the transcription on slip no. 172 *verso*, collated by Joost L. Hagen, November 2008.

[†] 2̄N̄ ΤΕΖΟΥΕΙΤΕ Ν̄Φ̄ΩΟΟΠ̄ Ν̄ΒΙ ΠΩΛΧΕ ΑΥΩ  
 ΠΩΛΧΕ Ν̄Φ̄ΩΟΟΠ̄ Ν̄ΝΑΖΡΜ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ  
 ΝΕ ΟΥΝ[ΟΥ]ΤΕ ΠΕ ΠΩΛΧΕ ΠΑΙ ΖΝ ΤΕΖΟΥΕΙ-  
 4 ΤΕ Ν̄Φ̄ΩΟΟΠ̄ ΖΑΖΤ̄Μ̄ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ Ν̄ΤΑ ΠΤΗΡ̄  
 ΦΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄ΙΤΟΟΤ̄Φ̄ ΑΥΩ ΑΧΕΝ̄Τ̄Φ̄  
 Μ̄ΠΕ ΛΑΛΥ ΦΩ[Π]Ε • ΠΕΝΤΑΦΩΠΕ  
 ΖΡΑ[Ι] Ν̄ΖΗΤ̄Φ̄ ΠΕ ΠΩΝ̄Ξ̄ ΑΥΩ Π̄Φ̄Ν̄Ξ̄ Π̄Ε  
 8 ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ Ν̄Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ Ε̄Φ̄Ρ̄  
 ΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΖΜ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΑΥΩ Μ̄ΠΕ Π̄ΚΑΚΕ ΤΑΖΦ[Φ]

1. Ν̄Φ̄-: Horner ΝΕΦ- || 2. Ν̄Φ̄-: Horner ΝΕΦ- || 3. ΝΕ ΟΥΝ[ΟΥ]ΤΕ: Horner ΝΕΥΝΟΥΤΕ ||  
 4. Ν̄Φ̄-: Horner ΝΕΦ- | ΖΑΖΤ̄Μ̄: Horner ΖΑΤ̄Μ̄ || 4–5. Ν̄ΤΑ ΠΤΗΡ̄ | ΦΩΠΕ: Horner  
 Ν̄ΚΑ ΝΙΜ ΑΥΩΠΕ || 5. ΑΧΕΝ̄Τ̄Φ̄: Horner ΑΧ̄Ν̄Τ̄Φ̄

The text selection is the same as in no. 91 E, above. Both texts have the same well-attested variant in v. 3 (here ll. 4–5); other variants are orthographic only.

E. North wall, left: John 21:22–5.

Thirteen lines of text; measurements: *c.* 51 x 65 cm.

After the transcription on slip no. 172 *recto*, collated by Joost L. Hagen, November 2008.

† ΠΕΧΕ Ι(ΗCOY)C ΝΑΦ ΧΕ ΕΙΦΑΝΟΥΦΩ ΕΤΡΕΦΩ  
 ΦΑΝΤΕΙΒΙ Ν̄ΤΚ ΝΙΜ ΝΤΟΚ ΟΥΛΑΞ̄Κ̄ Ν̄CΦΙ ΝΤΟΚ  
 Α ΠΕΙΩΛΧΕ ΔΕ ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΦ̄ΝΗΥ  
 4 Χ̄Ε [Π]ΜΑΘ̄ΕΤΗΣ (ΕΤΜΜΑΥ) ΝΑΜΟΥ ΑΝ Ν̄ΤΑΦΧ̄ΟΟC ΔΕ ΝΑΦ ΑΝ



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## INDICES

ALL REFERENCES are to the numbers of inscriptions and lines. Entries in brackets are for a considerable part in a lacuna. A question mark denotes uncertainty in reading or identifying a word.

### 1. PERSONAL NAMES

- Agath[---] – Ἀγαθ[---] 2 2  
Ammoni[---] – Ἀμμωνι . [---] 77 1  
Ang( )phorou – ΑΓΓ( )ΦΟΡΟΥ 56 18–19  
Ark( ) – ΑΡΚ( ) 12 (uncertain whether a personal name or a place-name)  
Arent[ . ]ia – ΑΡΕΝΤ[ . ]ΙΑ 41 5  
Aris – ΑΡΙΣ 17 1  
Asta – ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤ(Α) ὁ λεγ(όμενος) ΑΣΤΑ 57 24; ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤ(Α) ὁ καλ(ούμενος) ΑΣΤΑ 57 25; ΑΣΤΑ 57 26  
Athanasia – ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑ 32 3  
Eirena[---] – ΕΙΡΗΝΑ . [---] 13a  
Elias – Ἠλίας 12; ΗΛΙΑΣ 17 3  
Enkael – ΕΓΚΑΕ[Λ] 30 2  
Eoneille – ΕΩΝΕΙΛΛΕ 33 2–3  
Epiphanius – Ἐπιφανίου 75 5  
Espohe – ΕΣΠΩΣΕ 36 2  
Georgiou – ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ 20 5  
Iesou – Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Υ 19 5  
Io[---] – Ἰω[---] 42 5  
Isousiko – ΙΣΟΥΣΙΚΟ 59 10  
K[---] – κ[---] 46 9  
Kosmas – Κοσμά 28 2–3  
Kyriakos – ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ 38 8–9  
Makarios – ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟ[Σ] 57 22 (saint)  
Mariakyto – ΜΑΡΙΑΚΥΤΟ 45 6–7  
Marianou – ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ 18 8; ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ 21 5; ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ 22 9; ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ 22 22; ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ 24 8–9; ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ 24 23; ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ 24 26  
Marianta – ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤΑ 37 4; ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤΑ 57 7–8; ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤ(Α) ὁ λεγ(όμενος) ΑΣΤΑ 57 24; ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤ(Α) ὁ καλ(ούμενος) ΑΣΤΑ 57 25  
Martha – ΜΑΡΘΑ 29 2  
Men[---] – Μηγ[---] 58 6  
Merkourios – ΜΕΡΚΟΥΡΙΟΣ 6 1–2 (Master, stonemason, father of Petros)  
Paulou – ΠΑΥΛΟΥ 27 2  
Pelagia – [ΠΕΛ]ΑΓΙΑ 66 4–5  
Petros (with variants) – ΠΕΤΡΟΥ 5; ΠΕΤΡΟΣ 6 4 (stonemason, son of Merkourios); ΠΕΤΡΟΥ 23 9; ΠΕΤΡΟΣ 31 3; Πέτρος 43 5  
Promos – ΠΡΩΜΟΣ 17 2  
Theodosia – ΘΕΟΔΩΣΙΑ[Σ] 34 2–3  
Varus – ΟΥΒΑΡΟΣ 6 2–3 (father of Merkourios)  
[---]tos – [---]ΤΟΣ 48 4–5

2. BIBLICAL/HISTORICAL NAMES,  
DIVINITY

- Abraham (this name occurs mostly in the prayer for rest in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in both Greek and Coptic epitaphs) – Ἀβραὰμ 18 9; Ἀβραὰμ 19 6; Ἀβραὰμ 20 13; Ἀβραὰμ 21 15; Ἀβραὰμ 22 12; Ἀβραὰμ 24 10; [Ἀβραὰμ] 25 10; Ἀβρα[ὰμ] 28 8; ΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΔΕ Π[Λ]ΒΡΑΖΑΜ 37 8; ΑΒΡΑΞΑΜ 37 11; ΑΒΡΑΜ 39 14; [ΑΒΡΑΑΜ] 40 15; Αβραὰμ 41 10; Ἀβραὰμ 42 9; ΑΒΡΑΜ 45 11; ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ 51 9–10; Ἀβραὰμ 57 9; Ἀβραὰμ 58 7; Ἀβ(ραάμ) 59 11; Ἀβρα[ὰμ] 60 4; [Ἀβραὰμ] 61 3; Ἀβραὰμ 62 4; Α[ΒΡΑΖΑΜ] 67 2–3; ΑΒΡ[ΑΖΑΜ] 71 2; Π[Ω]Η[ΡΕ] Π[ΑΒ]ΡΑ[ΖΑΜ] 91 Α 2; ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΑΧΧΠΟ ΝΙΣΑΑΚ 91 Α 2
- Adam (this name occurs mostly in Coptic epitaphs quoting Gen. 3:19) – ΑΑΑΜ 38 3–4; ΑΑΑΜ 38 4; ΑΑΑΜ 39 4; Α[ΑΑΜ] 40 7–8; ΑΑΑΜ 45 4; [ΑΑΑΜ] 46 4; ΑΑ[ΑΜ] 46 5; Α[ΑΑΜ] 47 3; ΑΑ[Α]Μ] 49 5; ΑΑ[ΑΜ] ΧΕ ΑΑΑΜ 50 4; [ΑΑΑΜ] 51 3; Ἀδὰμ Ἐῦα 79 3
- Aminadab – ΑΡ[ΑΜ] ΔΕ ΑΧΧΠΟ ΝΑΜΙΝΑΔΑΒ [ΑΜΙΝΑ]ΔΑΒ Δ[Ε] ΑΧΧΠΟ [Ν]ΝΑССΩΝ 91 Α 6
- Anael – [ΑΝΑΗΛ] 91 F 3
- Boaz – ΣΑΛΜΩΝ ΔΕ ΑΧΧΠΟ ΝΒΟΕΣ ΕΚΩΛ ΞΝ ΡΑΧΑΒ ΒΟΕΣ ΔΕ ΑΧΧΠΟ ΝΙΩΒΗΔΑ ΕΚΩΛ ΞΝ ΞΡΟΥΘ 91 Α 8
- Christ – [Ι](ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς νικᾷ Ι 1; Χ(ριστ)ῆ ὁ θ(εὸ)ς 20 11; Χ(ριστ)ῆ ὁ θ(εὸ)ς 21 13; Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ὁ Χ(ριστὸ)ς 23 2; [Α Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς] Ω Χ(ριστὸ)ς Α 25 1; Χ(ριστ)ῆ ὁ θ(εὸ)ς 25 8; Χ(ριστ)ῆ [ὁ θ(εὸ)ς] 28 5; ΠΧΟΕΙΣ Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ 31 9; Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς νικᾷ 34 12; [ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ] 40 13; Χ(ριστ)ῆ ὁ θ(εὸ)ς 41 8; Χ(ριστ)ῆ [ὁ θ(εὸ)ς ἡμῶν] 42 7; ἀναπαύσῃ σοι Χ(ριστ)ῆ 57 24; [ΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΑΛΥΕΙΑ] 91 Α 1; Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ ΠΕ-
- Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ 91 C 1; Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ὁ Χ(ριστὸ)ς Ἐμμανο[υ]ῆλ 91 F 1
- David – [ΙΣ ΠΕΧΣ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΑΛΥΕΙΑ] 91 Α 1; ΙΕССΑΙ ΔΕ ΑΧΧΠΟ ΝΑΛΥΕΙΑ ΠΡΡΟ Δ[ΑΥΕ]ΙΑ ΔΕ ΑΧΧ[ΠΟ] ΝΣΩΛΩΜΩΝ 91 Α 10
- Eloï – ΩΜΕ 91 G 1
- Emmanouel – Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ὁ Χ(ριστὸ)ς Ἐμμανο[υ]ῆλ 91 F 1
- Eve – Ἀδὰμ Ἐῦα 79 3
- Gabriel – ΓΑΒΡΙΗ[Λ] 91 F 3; ΠΝΑ (for ΠΝΑ) 91 G 1
- Hezron – ΕΣΑΡΩΜ 91 Α 5 (two times)
- Iael – [ΙΑΗΛ] 91 F 3
- Isaac (this name occurs mostly in the prayer for rest in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in both Greek and Coptic epitaphs) – Ἰσαὰκ 18 10; Ἰσαὰκ 19 6; Ἰσαὰκ 20 14; Ἰσὰκ 21 15; Ἰσαὰκ 22 12; Ἰσαὰκ 24 10; Ἰσὰκ 25 10; ΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΔΕ Π[Λ]ΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΜΝ Ι[Σ]ΑΑΚ ΜΝ ΙΑΚΩΒ 37 8; ΙΣΑΑΚ 37 12; [ΙΣΑΚ] 39 14–15; ΙΣΑΚ 40 16; Ἰσα[ὰκ] 41 10; [Ἰσαὰκ] 42 9; ἸΣΑΚ 45 12; [ΙΣΑΑΚ] 51 10; Ἰσαὰκ 57 9–10; Ἰσὰκ 58 8; Ἰσὰκ 60 5; [Ἰσαὰκ] 61 3; Ἰσα[ὰκ] 62 5; ἸΣΑΚ 67 3; ΙΣΑ[ΑΚ] 68 1; [ΙΣΑΑΚ] 71 2; ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΑΧΧΠΟ ΝΙΣΑΑΚ ΙΣΑΑΚ ΔΕ ΑΧΧΠΟ Π[Ι]Α[Κ]ΩΒ 91 Α 2
- Isaias – ΗΣΑΪΑΣ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ 91 C 3
- Jacob (this name occurs mostly in the prayer for rest in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in both Greek and Coptic epitaphs) – Ἰακώβ 18 10; Ἰακώβ 19 6; Ἰακώβ 20 14; Ἰακώβ 21 15; Ἰακώβ(β) 22 12; (Ἰ)ακώβ 24 11; Ἰακώβ 25 10; ΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΔΕ Π[Λ]ΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΜΝ Ι[Σ]ΑΑΚ ΜΝ ΙΑΚΩΒ 37 8; ΙΑΚΩΒ 37 12; ἸΑΚΩΒ 39 14–15; ΙΑΚΩ[Β] 40 16; Ἰακώβ 41 11; Ἰακώβ 42 9; ἸΑΚΩΒ 45 12; ΙΑ[ΚΩΒ] 51 10; Ἰακώβ 57 10; Ἰακώβ[β] 58 8; Ἰακώβ 60 5; Ἰακ[ώβ]

- 61 4; Ἰακώβ 62 5; ἸΑΚΩΒ 67 3; [ΙΑΚΩΒ] 68 2; [ΙΑΚΩΒ] 71 2; ΙΑΚΩ]ξ 72 1; ἸΣΑΑΚ ΔΕ ΑΦΧΠΘ Ἰ[ΙΑ]Κ[ΩΒ ΙΑΚΩΒ ΔΕ ΑΦΧΠΘ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΣ 91 Α 3
- Jesse – ἸΕΣΣΑΙ 91 Α 9 (two times)
- Jesus – [Ἰ](ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς νικᾷ 1 1; Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ὁ Χ(ριστὸ)ς 23 2; [Α Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς] Ω Χ(ριστὸ)ς Α 25 1; [Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)C] 30 7; Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς 31 1; ΠΧΘΕΙC Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)C ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C 31 9; Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)C 32 7; Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)C 33 6; Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς νικᾷ 34 12; [ΠΧΘΕΙC ἸC ΠΕΧC] 40 13; [ἸC ΠΕΧC ΠΩΗΡΕ ΝΑΛΥΕΙΑ] 91 Α 1; Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)C ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C 91 C 1; Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ὁ Χ(ριστὸ)ς Ἐμμανο[υ]ήλ 91 F 1; Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)C 92 E 1; Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)C 92 E 5; Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)C 92 E 10
- Judah – ΙΟΥΔΑΣ 91 Α 3 (two times)
- Makarios – ὁ θ(εὸ)ς Μακαρίου 56 16; ΑΒ(ΒΑ) ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC 57 22 (saint)
- Maththias – Μαθθίας 8
- Michael – ΜΠΘ 7; ὁ ἔχ(ων) ΜΠΘ ΔΑ Δ( ) 23 10; ΧΠΘ 91 F 3; ΜΠΘ 91 G 1
- Nashshon – ΝΑCΣΩΝ 91 Α 7 (two times)
- Obed – ΙΩΒΗΛ 91 Α 8, 9
- Ourouel – ΟΥΡΟΥΗΛ 91 F 3; ΛΟἸ (for ΛΟἪ) 91 G 2
- Perez – ΦΑΡ[Ε]C 91 Α 4; [ΦΑΡΕC] 91 Α 4
- Rahab – ΡΑΧΑΒ 91 Α 8
- Ram – ΝΑΡΑ]Μ 91 Α 5; ΑΡ[ΑΜ 91 Α 5
- Raphael – ἀρχ(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) Ῥαφαήλ 20 10; ἀρχ(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) Ῥαφαήλ 21 13; ἔχω Ῥαφα[ή]λ ΤΑΜΤΗ 57 8; ΡΑ]ΦΑΗΛ 91 F 3; Μ 91 G 1
- Rehoboam – [ΣΡΟΚΟΑΜ] 91 Α 11
- Ruth – ΣΡΟΥΘ 91 Α 9
- Sabaoth – Σ[Ι]Γ 91 G 1
- Salmon – CΑΛΜΩΝ 91 Α 7 (two times)
- Simon – Σίμων 8
- Solomon – CΦΛΩΜΩΝ 91 Α 10; [CΦ-ΛΩΜ]ΩΝ 91 Α 11
- Tamar – [ΘΑΜΑΡ] 91 Α 4
- Theophilus – ΘΕΟΦ]ΙΛΕ 91 D 14; [ΘΕΟ-ΦΙΛΕ] 92 C 6
- Uriah – ΟΥΡΙΑC 91 Α 11
- Zara – [ΖΑΡΑ] 91 Α 4
- Zedekiel – ΖΕΔΕΚ[ΙΗΛ] 91 F 4

### 3. RULERS

- Diocletian, Roman Emperor (only in dating clauses according to the Era of Diocletian) – ἀ]πὸ Διοκ[λητιανοῦ] ἔτη φ̄να 64, 3-4; ἄΠΟ Δ(ΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΥ) 70 4

### 4. BISHOPS

- Agath[---], bishop of Phrim in the 6th/7th century – ἐπὶ τ[οῦ ἡ]μῶν ἐπισκ(όπου) ἄββα Ἄγαθ[---] 2 2
- Georgiou, bishop of Phrim, died probably AD 1125 – ὁ μακαρίου : ἄββα Γεωργίου ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡΜ 20 5-6
- Iesou, bishop of Phrim, died 6 May AD 1110 – ἄβ(βα) Ι(ΗΣΟΥ) ὀρθόδοξος ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡΜ 19 5
- Marianou, bishop of Kourte, died 20 December AD 1154 – ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(όδοξον) ἐπίσκ(οπον) ΚΟΥΡΤΕ 24 8-9; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπίσκ(όπου) ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 24 23; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπίσκ(οπον) ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 24 26-7
- Marianou, bishop of Pakhoras, died 11 November AD 1036 – ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(οδόξου) ἐπίσκ(όπου) ΠΑΧΩΡΑΣ 22 9; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(όδοξον) ἐπίσκ(οπον) ΠΑΧ(ΩΡΑΣ) 22 22-3

Marianou, bishop of Phrim (?), died probably AD 993/4 – ἀνάπαυσον τὸν δοῦ(λον) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπίσκοπος 18 6–8  
 Marianou, bishop of Phrim, died 8 June AD 1132 – ὁ μακάριος ἄββα ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡῪΜ 21 4–5

Petrou, bishop of Kourte, 11th/12th century – ὁ μακά[ριος ἄβ(βα)] ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ἐπίσκοπος ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 23 8–9  
 Unknown bishop of Kourte, mid 10th–mid 12th century – ὁ μακάριος [--- ἐπι]σκοποι ὀρθ(ό)δοξον ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 25 5–6

## 5. PROFESSIONS, OFFICES, AND TITLES

archimandrite – ἀρχ(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) Ῥαφαήλ (καὶ) ἀρχ(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) ΠΑΩΦΕ 20 10–11 (Georgiou); ἀρχ(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) Ῥαφαήλ 21 12–13 (Marianou); ἀρχημανδρίτης ΠΟΥΚΩ 22 10 (Marianou)  
 archinotarios – ἀρχηνοτ(άριος) τοῦ ἐπάρχ(ου) 21 11–12 (Marianou)  
 architect – ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ἀρχ(ι)τέκτων 5 1  
 bishop – ἐπισκ(όπου) ἄββα Ἄγαθ[---] 2 1; ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπίσκοπος 18 8; ἄβ(βα) ΙΗΣΟΥ ὀρθόδοξος ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡῪΜ 19 5; ὁ μακάριος : ἄββα ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡῪΜ 20 5–6; ὁ μακάριος ἄββα ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡῪΜ 21 4–5; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(όδοξου) ἐπισκ(όπου) ΠΑΧΩΡΑΣ 22 9; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(όδοξον) ἐπίσκοπον ΠΑΧΩΡΑΣ 22 22–3; ὁ μακά[ριος ἄβ(βα)] ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ἐπίσκοπος ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 23 8–9; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(όδοξον) ἐπίσκοπον ΚΟΥΡΤΕ 24 8–9; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπισκ(όπου) ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 24 23;

ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπίσκοπον ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 24 26–7; ὁ μακάριος [--- ἐπι]σκοποι ὀρθ(ό)δοξον ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 25 5–6 (name lost); μετ[ὰ τῶν ἐπισ]κόπων 65 3–4 (unspecified)  
 deg() – δηγ( ) βασιλίσσα 21 12 (Marianou)  
 eparch – τοῦ ἐπάρχ(ου) νοτ(άριος) 20 10 (unspecified); ἀρχηνοτ(άριος) τοῦ ἐπάρχ(ου) 21 11–12 (unspecified)  
 exarch – ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος ἔξαρχ(ος) 43 4–5  
 master – ΚΑΣ 6 1 (Merkourios)  
 meizoteros – μηζότερος 56 11 (Ang( )phorou)  
 monk – ΜΟ]ΝΑΧ(Ο)C ΛΠΑ [---] 39 10 (name lost)  
 notary – τοῦ ἐπάρχ(ου) νοτ(άριος) 20 10 (Georgiou)  
 priest – ΝΟΥΝΗΣ 10 3 (unspecified); ΠΑΥΛΟΥ πρ(εσβύτερος) 27 1; τοῦ μακαρίου Κοσμᾶ πρ(εσβυτέρου) 28 2–3  
 queen – δηγ( ) βασιλίσσα 21 12 (unspecified)  
 stonemason – ΝΛΑΤΟΜΟΣ 6 5 (Merkourios, Petros)

## 6. PLACE NAMES

Ark( ) – ΑΡΚ( ) 12 (uncertain whether a personal name or a place-name)  
 Babylon (= Old Cairo) – ἀπόστολος τοῦ Βαβυλῶν 22 11  
 Da[. ]d( ) – ὁ ἔχων (Μιχαήλ) ΔΑ. Δ( ) 23 10  
 Jerusalem – ΕΘ[Ι(ΕΡΟΥCΑ)ΛΗΜ 92 C 10  
 Kourte – ὁ μακά[ριος ἄβ(βα)] ΠΕΤΡΟΥ

ἐπίσκοπος ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 23 9; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(όδοξον) ἐπίσκοπον ΚΟΥΡΤΕ 24 9; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπισκ(όπου) ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 24 23; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπίσκοπον ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 24 27; ὁ μακάριος [--- ἐπι]σκοποι ὀρθ(ό)δοξον ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 25 6

<p>Pakhoras (= Faras) – ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(οδόξου) ἐπισκ(όπου) ΠΑΧΩΡΑΣ 22 9; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(ό)δοξον ἐπίσκ(οπον) ΠΑΧ(ΩΡΑΣ) 22 23; ΠΑΧΩΡΑΣ 56 12</p> <p>Pashshe – ἀρχ(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) ΠΑΩΩΕ 20 11</p> <p>Phrim (= Ibrim, Qasr Ibrim) – ἄβ(βα) Ι(ΗΣΟΥ) ὀρθόδοξος ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡΙΜ 19 5;</p>	<p>ὁ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ : ἄββα ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡΜ̄ 20 6; ὁ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ἄββα ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡΜ̄ 21 5; [ c. 5–6 ] ΦΡΜ̄ 23 10</p> <p>Rouko – ἀρχημανδρίτης ΠΟΥΚΩ 22 10</p> <p>Tamit – ἔχω Παφα[ῆ]λ ΤΑΜΤΗ 57 8</p> <p>Teme (an island) – ἔχων Τέσσαρα Ζῶα νήσος ΤΗΜΕ 22 11–12</p>
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## 7. NAMES OF CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES

<p>Monastery of Ara [---] – ΜΟ]ΝΑΧ(Ο)C ΛΠΑ [---] 39 10–11</p> <p>Church of the Four Living Creatures of the Island of Teme – ἔχων Τέσσαρα Ζῶα νήσος ΤΗΜΕ 22 11–12</p> <p>Church of Michael at Da[ ]d( ) – ὁ ἔχ(ων) (Μιχαήλ) ΔΑ Δ( ) 23 10</p> <p>Church of Raphael at Tamit – ἔχω Παφα[ῆ]λ ΤΑΜΤΗ 57 8</p>	<p>Monastery at Pashshe – ἀρχ(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) ΠΑΩΩΕ 20 11</p> <p>Monastery of Rouko – ἀρχ(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) ΠΟΥΚΩ 22 10</p> <p>Monastery of Raphael – ἀρχ(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) Παφαῆλ 20 10; ἀρχ(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) Παφαῆλ 21 12–13</p>
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## 8. ELEMENTS OF DATING

<p>Weekdays</p> <p>Wednesday – ἡμέρα : ΠΕΧΟΥΟΥ ΕΥΤΟΥΟΥ 18 13–14 (uncertain)</p> <p>Sunday – ἡμέρα τῆ κυριακῆ ἀπέθανεν 21 9–10; ΠΟΥΩ Ξ̄ ΕΙ[ΝΠ̄ 79 2–3</p> <p>Months</p> <p>Thoth – COY ΜΗΤ [ΝΘ]ΦΘ 29 4; [COY] ΜΝΤCΛΩΥ ΝΘ[ΦΘ 35 5</p> <p>Phaophi – ΕΝ ΜΗ(ΝΙ) ΦΛΩΦΙ ΙC 38 9–10; ἀπέθανεν Φαῶφι κγ' 41 7; ΦΑΦΙΑ : [---] 63 2–3; Φαῶ]φι ις' 64 2</p> <p>Hathyr – Ἀθὺρ : ιε̄ 20 8; Ἀθὺρ : ιε̄ 22 26</p> <p>Khoiak – Χωίεκ : κδ̄ 24 34–5; COY CΝΛΥ ΝΧΛΙΑΚ 32 6–7; ΧΟΙΑΚ Β 32 13</p> <p>Tybi – ς[Ο]Υ ς ΜΠΕΒΟΤ ΤΩΦΩΕ 37 6–7</p>	<p>Mekheir – COY ΧΟΥ[Τ . . . . .] Π̄ΜΞΙΡ 36 4–5</p> <p>Phamenoth – Φαμενόθ : ιβ̄ 56 9</p> <p>Pakhon – ΠΑΧΩΝΝΑ ιᾱ 19 19–20; COY Μ̄ΝΤΩΛΜΕΤ ΜΠΑΧΩΝ 31 6–8; COY ΧΟΥ]ΤΛΥΤΕ ΝΠΑΩΟΝC ΜΠΑΧΩΝ ΚΑ 34 5–7</p> <p>Rauni – ἀπέθανεν : Παῦνι μηνός : ιδ̄ : 21 8; ΧΟΥΤCΝΟΥC ΜΠΑΥΝΙ 30 5–6; ΠΑῩΝΗ : Γ : 45 8</p> <p>Pa[---] (either Pakhon or Rauni) – {τε}τελίωσης δὲ ἡμ[έρα] αὐτῆς τῶ μηνεὶ Πα[ c. 2–3 ], ιη̄ 57 17</p> <p>Month lost – [COY ΜΝ]Τ[Α]ΥΤΕ ΜΠ . [ . . . ]Τ[---] 33 4–5; COY ἴλ . [ . ] 39 9</p>
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## Lunar days

29 – σελλένη : κθ̄ : 2I 8–9

## Indictions

II – ΙΝΔ(ΙΚΤΙΩΝΟΣ) ΙΑ 33 6

Number not preserved – ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) . 43  
6; ΙΝΔΪΚ(ΤΙΩΝΟΣ) . . 34 7Years according to the Era of Diocletian  
(Martyrs)

55I – ἀ]πὸ Διοκ[λητιανοῦ] ἔτη φνᾱ 64 3–4

70I – [ἀπὸ Διοκ(λητιανοῦ)] ψα' 65 6

706 – ψ'Θ 18 at the end

733 – ἀπὸ μα[ρ(τύρων)] ψλγ' 4I 7–8

753 – ἀπὸ μαρτ(ύρων) : ψνγ : 22 3

767 – ἀπὸ μαρ(τύρων) ψξζ 57 18–19

775 – ἀπὸ ΜΑΡΤ(ΥΡΩΝ) Ψ'ΘΕ 45 14–15

826 – ἀπὸ μαρτ(ύρων) ωκς 19 23

848 – ἀπὸ μαρτ(ύρων) : ωμ̄η : 2I 9

87I – [ἀ]πὼ [μαρ]τ(ύρων) ωοα εΙΝῆ 24 33

number not preserved – ἀπὸ μαρτ(ύρων)  
[---] 25 7; λΠΟ `Δ'(ΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΥ) 70 4

## 9. GREEK WORDS

ἄββα – ἐπὶ τ[οῦ ἡ]μῶν ἐπισκ(όπου) ἄββα  
Ἄγαθ[---] 2 2; ἄβ(βα) Ι(ΗCO)Υ ὀρθόδοξος  
ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡIM 19 5; ὁ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ :  
ἄββα ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡῪ 20 5; ὁ  
ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ἄββα ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπίσκοπος  
ΦΡῪ 2I 4; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(οδόξου)  
ἐπισκ(όπου) ΠΛΧΩΡΑΣ 22 9; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡ-  
ΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(όδοξον) ἐπίσκ(οπον) ΠΛ-  
Χ(ΩΡΑΣ) 22 22; ὁ μακά[ριος ἄβ(βα)]  
ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ἐπίσκ(οπος) ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 23 9;  
ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(όδοξον) ἐπί-  
σκ(οπον) ΚΟΥΡΤΕ 24 8; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡ-  
ΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπισκ(όπου) ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 24 23;  
ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπίσκ(οπον) ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε)  
24 26; ΑΒ(ΒΑ) ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟ[C 57 22

ἀγαθός – τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον I, 2; τοῦτο  
τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον 2 2; ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φι-  
λάν(θρωπος) 19 1I; ὡς μόνος ἀγαθὸς κ(αὶ)  
φιλάν(θρωπος) 22 17; ὡς ἀγαθὸς (καὶ)  
φιλάν(θρωπος) 24 16; ὡς μόν[ος] ὡς  
ἀγαθὸς (καὶ) φιλάν(θρωπος) 57 14; ἡ ψυχὴ  
σου ἐν ἀγα[θοῖς] ἀλλιστήσεται 57 25; τὸ  
πν(εύμ)ά σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν 57 27

ἄγγελος – Π[ΛΑΓΓΕ]ΛΟΣ 9I C 4

ἄγιος (as predicate of the Holy Spirit) – τῷ  
π(ατ)ρὶ καὶ τῷ υ(ἰ)ῷ καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ  
πν(εύματος) 19 23–4; ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ  
π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) (καὶ) τοῦ υ(ἰ)οῦ (καὶ) τοῦ ἀγίου

πν(εύματος) 20 2–3; ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ  
π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) καὶ τοῦ υ(ἰ)οῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου  
πν(εύματος) 2I 2; ἐ]ν ὀνόματι τοῦ  
[π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) κα]ὶ τοῦ υ(ἰ)οῦ (καὶ) τοῦ [ἀγίου  
πν(εύματος)] 23 4–5; ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ  
π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) (καὶ) τοῦ υ(ἰ)οῦ (καὶ) τοῦ ἀγίου  
πν(εύματος) 25 3; [ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ]  
π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) κ(αὶ) [τοῦ υ(ἰ)οῦ κ(αὶ) τοῦ]  
ἀγίου [πν(εύματος) 44 2–3; ἐν ὀνόματ[ι  
τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸς)] καὶ τῷ υ(ἰ)οῦ [καὶ τοῦ]  
ἀγ[ι]ου πν(εύματος) 54 4

ἄγιος (as designation of a saint) – ἐν τῇ λαμ-  
πρότιτῃ τῶν ἀγίων σου 20 17; ἐν τῇ λαμ-  
πρότιτῃ τῶν ἀγίων σου 2I 18; ἐν ᾧ ἀπο-  
λαύουσιν πάντες οἱ ἄγιοι σου 2I 23; ἐν τῇ  
λαμπ[ρότιτῃ] [τῶν ἀγίων σου 25 13; ἐν τῇ  
λαμπ[ρότιτῃ] τῶν ἀγίω(ν) 42 12; μ[ετὰ  
πάντων τῶν] ἀγίων σου 55 9–10; ἀγίων  
σου 57 28; ἐν τῇ λαμπρότιτῃ τῶ ἀγίων σου  
60 9; ἐν [τῇ λαμ]πρότιτῃ τῶν [ἀγίων  
σου] 6I 7; ἐ]ν κόλποις τῶ[ν ἀ]γίων  
Ἀβραάμ [κ(αὶ) Ἰσα]ὰκ κα(ὶ) Ἰακώβ 62  
3–4; [ἐν τῇ λ]αμπρό(τ)ητι [πάντ]ων  
ἀ(γί)ων σου 62 7

Ἄδης (all occurrences of this word are in  
the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the  
expression τὸν Ἄδην καταπατήσας) – τὸν

Ἄ(δην) 18 3; τὸν Ἄδην 19 2-3; τὸν Ἄδην 22 6; τὼν Ἄδην 24 4; τὸν Ἄδην 57 3; τὸν Ἄδην 58 3

ἀθάνατος – ὁ ἀθάνατος 59 3-4

αἰὼν – εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα 19 15; εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα 22 19-20; εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα 24 21; εἰς τὸ]ν αἰῶνα 26 6; τῶ]ν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐα]ρε[σ]τη-σάντ[ων σοι 55 10

ἀκόλουθος – ἀκολούτως 21 25-6

ἀλήθεια (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression ὁ λόγος σου ἀλήθεια) – ἀλήθεια 19 16; ἀλήθεια 22 20-1; ἀλήθεια 24 22; ἀ]λήθεια 26 7

ἀμαρτάνω (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression οὐχ ἀμαρτήσει) – ἀμαρτήσει 19 13; ἀμαρ(τή)σι 24 19

ἀμάρτημα (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression πᾶν ἀμάρτημα παρ' αὐτοῦ πραχθὲν) – ἀμάρτημα 19 9; ἀμάρτημα 22 15; ἀμάρτημα 24 14-15

ἀμαρτία (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression πάσης ἀμαρτίας ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχεις) – ἀμαρτίας 19 14; ἀμαρ[τίας] 22 19; ἀμαρτίας 24 19-20; ἀμαρ[τί]ας 26 4

ἀμῆν – γένητο, ἀμῆ(ν) 18 19; 19 25-8; 20 18; ἀμῆν, : ἀμῆν, γένοιτο, ἀμῆν 21 26-7; 25 3; [ἀμῆν] 41 15; 42 13; ἀμῆν, : γένοιτο, : ἀμῆν 56 17; 57 21; ἀ[μῆν, γέ]νητο 60 10; 61 9; [γένει]το, ἀμῆν 62 9; ἀμῆν, γένη[το, ἀμῆν 63 3-4; 78 3-4

ἀνάγκη – ἀΝΑΓΚΗ 34 10

ἀνάθεμα – ἀΝΑ[ΘΕΜΑ 10 4-5

ἀνάπαυσις (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις) – ἡ ἀνάπαυσις 19 16-17; ἡ ἀνάπαυσις 22 21; ἡ [ἀνάπαυσις] 26 7-8

ἀναπαύω – ἀνάπαυσον τὸν δοῦ(λον) 18 6-7; ἀ(ν)άπαυσον 18 14; ἀνάπαυσον τὸν δοῦλόν σου 19 4; ἀνάπαυσον 20 9; ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ 20 12; ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν

αὐτοῦ 21 13-14; ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τὸν δοῦλόν σου 22 8; ἀνάπαυσον τὸν δοῦλόν σου 24 7; [ἀνάπαυσον τὴν] ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ 25 9; ἀνάπαυ]σων [τὴν ψυ]χὴν 28 5-6; ἀΝΑΠΑΥΕ 30 7; ἀΝΑΥΠΑΥΕ 32 8; ἀΝΑΠΑΥΕ 33 7; ἀΝΑΠΕΥΕ 34 8-9; ἀΝΑΠ[ΑΥΕ 39 12-13; ἀνάπαυ[σ]ον τὴν ψυχὴν 41 8-9; ἀνάπαυσον τῆ]ν ψυχὴν 42 7; ἀν[ά]παυσον αὐτὸν 55 6-7; ἀναπα[υσ] . . ἡμέρα : λη' 56 7-8; ἀναπαύσι 56 16-17; ἀνάπαυσον, κ(ύρι)ε, τὴν ψυχὴν 57 5-6; ἀναπαύσι σοι Χ(ριστ)έ 57 24; ἀνάπ]αυσον τὸν [δ(οῦλον)] 58 5-6; ἀνάπαυσον τὸν δοῦλόν σου 59 8-9; ἀν[ά]παυ]σον τὴν ψυχὴ αὐτ[οῦ] 60 2; [ἀνάπαυσον τὴν] ψυχ[ὴ]ν αὐτοῦ 61 1; ἀν[ά]παυσον 64 5-6; ἀν[άπ]αυσον [τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτ]οῦ 65 2; ἀΝΑ[ΠΑΥΕ 67 1

ἀναπέμπω – καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμψωμεν 19 20-1

ἀνάστασις (most occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις) – (ἡ) ἀ(ν)άστασις 19 17; ἀνάστασις 22 21-2; ἡ ἀνάστασις 24 22-3; ἡ ἀνάστασις πάντων τῶν χριστιανῶν 24 24; ἡ ἀνάστασις 26 8

ἀναψύξις (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression ἐν τῷπῳ ἀναψύξεως) – ἀναψ(ύ)ξεως 18 11-12; ἀναψύξεως 19 8; ἀναψύξαιως 22 13-14; ἀναψέξεως 24 12-13; ἀναψύξεως 57 12-13; ἀναψύξε[ως 58 9

ἄνθρωπος (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν ἄν(θρωπος)ος ὃς ζήσεται) – ἄν(θρωπος)ος 19 12; ἄν(θρωπος)ος 24 18

ἀπό – 19 23; 21 9; 22 3; 24 33; 25 7; 41 7; 45 14; 55 10; 57 18; 64 3; 65 6; ἀΠΟ 70 4; 78 3; 80 3

ἀποδιδράσκω (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression ἔνθα ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός) – ἀπέδρα 19 8; ἀπέδρα 20 14-15; ἀπέδρα 21 16; ἀπέδρα 22

- 14; ἀπέδρα 24 13; [ἀπέδρα] 25 11; <ἀ>πέδρα 41 11; ἀπέδρα 42 10; ἀπέδρα 57 12; ἀπέδρα 58 10; ἀπέδρα 60 6; [ἀπέδρα] 60 4
- ἀποθνήσκω – ἀπέθανεν 19 20; ἀπέθανεν : Ἄθῆναι : ἰε 20 8; ἀπέθανεν : Παῦνι μνηνός : ἰδ̄ : 21 7–8; ἡμέρα τῆ κυριακῆ ἀπέθανεν 21 10; ἀπέθανε 24 35; ἀπέθανεν 25 8; ἀπέθανεν Φαῶφι κγ' 41 6–7
- ἀπολαύω – ἐν ᾧ ἀπολαύουσιν πάντες οἱ ἄγγιαι σου 21 22
- ἀπόστολος – ἀπόστολος τοῦ Βαβυλῶν 22 10; ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ 91 F 2
- ἀποφαίνω – ΠΕ[ΝΤΑΧΑΠΟΦΑΝΕ] Ε.ΧΗ ΛΑ[ΛΜ 50 3
- ἀπόφασις – ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΠΟΦΑΣΙΣ 38 1–2; [ΚΑ]ΤΑ [ΤΑΠΟΦΑΣΙ]Σ 39 1–2
- ἀρχή – ΤΑΡΧΗ ΜΠΕ[ΥΑΓΓΕ]ΛΙΟΝ ΝΙ(Η-ΣΟΥ)Σ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ 91 C 1
- ἀρχιμανδρίτης – ἀρχι(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) Ῥαφαήλ 20 10; ἀρχι(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) ΠΛΩΦΕ 20 11; ἀρχι(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) Ῥαφαήλ 21 12–13; ἀρχι-μανδρίτης ΠΟΥΚΩ 22 10
- ἀρχινοτάριος – ἀρχινοτ(άριος) τοῦ ἐπάρ-χου(ι) 21 11–12
- ἀρχιτέκτων – ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ἀρχιτέκτων 5
- ἄρχω – ἐξουσία οἱ ἔρχου 20 9
- ἄσκησις – ΑΣΚΗΣΙΣ Ω[---] 57 23
- αὐλιζομαι – ἡ ψυχὴ σου ἐν ἀγα[θοῖς] αὐ-λιστήσεται 57 25
- αὐτός – παρ' αὐτοῦς 19 10; ἔτη δὲ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ 19 18; τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ 20 13; ἰδὲ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ οἱτοί εἰσιν 21 11; τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ 21 14; εἰσέλευσον αὐτὸν φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς 21 24; πᾶν ἀμάρτημα παρ' αὐτοῦ παρεχθὲν 22 15; ἔτη ἡμέρα τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ : ξ̄θ̄ : 22 25; πᾶν ἀμάρτημα παρ' αὐτοῦ πραχθὲν 24 15; τὴν] ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ 25 9; ἡμέρα : ἔτη δὲ [τῆς ζωῆς] αὐτοῦ : πς : 26 11; ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου α]υτοῦ : καθήσ[ας 26 12; [τὴν ψυ]χὴν αὐτοῦ 28 7; τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ 41 9; τῆ]ν ψυχὴν [αὐτοῦ 42 8; ἀνά]παυσον αὐτὸν 55 7; δὸς αὐτῷ μερίδα] καὶ κληρο[v] 55 8; τὰ δὲ ἔτη τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς [.]ξ̄ 57 16; {τε}τελίωσῃς δὲ ἡμ[έρα] αὐτῆς τῷ μνηεῖ Πα[ c. 2–3 ] . ἡ 57 17; τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ 60 3; τὴν] ψυχ[ὴν αὐτοῦ 61 2; τὴν ψυχὴ]ν αὐτοῦ 62 3; [τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτ]οῦ 65 4
- βασιλεία – ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐ(ρα)νῶν 21 20; [ἐν βασιλείᾳ] τῶν οὐ(ρα)νώ[v] 55 7; εἰς τῆ(ν) <β>ασι(λείαν) τῶν οὐ(ρα)νώ[v] 57 28; ἐν] τῇ βασιλείᾳ [τῶν οὐ(ρα)]νῶν 63 4
- βασιλισσα – δηγ( ) βασιλισσα 21 12
- βίος – τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο 20 4; λέγει (= τέλει) τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο 21 3–4; τέ]λει τοῦ βί[ου ἐχρήσ]ατο 23 7–8; τέλει [το]ῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο 25 5; τέλει τοῦ βίου χρήσατο 41 3–4; τέ]λει τοῦ βί[ου ἐχρήσ]ατο 42 3–4; τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο 43 3; τέλ]ει τοῦ βί[ου] ἐχρήσατ[ο 54 6
- βούλησις – νεύσ[ει καὶ βου]λήσει 53 1–2
- γάρ – 19, 13, 16; 22, 18, 21; 24, 19, 22; 26, 3, 7
- γενεά – ΓΕΝΕΑ 11 5
- γίνομαι – τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον ἐγένετο 1 2; τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον ἐγέννητο 2 2; γένητο, ἀμή(ν) 18 16–19; 2ΑΜΗΝ ΓΕ]ΝΟΙ-ΤΟ 51 12; ἀμήν, : γένοιτο, : ἀμήν 56 17; ἀ[μήν, γέ]νητο 60 10–11; [γένοι]το, ἀμήν 62 9; ἀμήν, γένη[το, ἀμήν 63 3–4; Γ]ΕΝΟΙΤΟ 66 14
- γραφή – Τ]ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΠΑΛΛΙΑ [Μῆ ΤΚΑΙ]ΝΗ 10 10
- δέ – 19, 18; 26, 10; 57, 15, 17
- δεσπόζω – θεί(α) προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θε(ο)ῦ 20 3–4; θεί(α) προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θε(ο)ῦ 21 3; θεί(α) προ[νοία] τοῦ δεσπόζον[τος θε(ο)ῦ] 23 6; θεί(α) προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θε(ο)ῦ 25 4; θεία προνοία τοῦ δεσπ[ίζοντος θε(ο)ῦ] 41 2–3; θεία προνοία τοῦ δεσ[π[ό]ζ[ο]ν[τ]ο[ς θε(ο)ῦ] 42 2–3; θεία προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θε(ο)ῦ 43 2
- δηγ( ) – δηγ( ) βασιλισσα 21 12
- δημιουργός – ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΠΑ(ΗΜ)ΙΟΥΡ(ΓΟΣ) ΜΠΗΡ̄ 45 2; Π[ΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΗ]ΜΙ[Ο]ΥΡ[Γ]Ο[Σ 46 2–3; ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΙΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ [ΜΠ]ΗΡ̄ 47 2;

[ΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ] ΠΑΙΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΜΠΗΡΗ 49  
2-3; ΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΔΕ [ΠΑΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ  
ΜΠ]ΤΗΡΗ 50 2; διὰ τ[ὴν κ]έλευσιν τοῦ  
θ(εο)ῦ τοῦ δ[ημιου]ργός 57 20

διά - 57 19

διάνοια (all occurrences of this word are in  
the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the  
expression λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν)  
- κατὰ διοάνηαν 19 11; κατὰ διάνοιαν 22  
16; κατὰ διάνοιαν 24 16

δίδομι - δὸς αὐτῷ μερίδα] καὶ κλήρο[ν] 55 8  
δικαιοσύνη (all occurrences of this word are  
in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the  
expression ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου δικαιοσύνη εἰς  
τῶν αἰῶνα) - ἡ δικαιοσύνης (...) δ(ι)κ(αι)ο-  
σύνη 19 14-15; ἡ δικ(αι)οσύνη 22 19-20;  
δικαιοσύνης (...) δι(κ)αιοσύνη 24 20-1;  
ἡ δι(κ)αιοσύνη (...) δι(κ)αιοσύνη 26 5-6

δόξα (all occurrences of this word are in the  
prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expres-  
sion καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπωμεν) -  
τὴν δόξαν 19 20; τὴν δόξα 22 23; [τὴν  
δόξ]αν 26 10

δούλη - τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν δούλην σου 57 7

δούλος - ἀνάπαυσον τὸν δοῦ(λοι) 18 7; ἀνά-  
παυσον τὸν δοῦλόν σου 19 4-5; ἀνάπαυσον  
τὴν ψυχὴν τὸν δοῦλόν σου 22 8-9; τὸν σὼν  
δοῦλόν σου 22 22; ἀνάπαυσον τὸν δοῦλόν  
σου 24 7-8; τὸν δ(οῦλόν) σου 24 26; τὸν  
δοῦλόν σου 56 18; ἀνάπ]αυσον τὸν  
[δ(οῦλον)] 58 6; ἀνάπαυσον τὸν δοῦλόν  
σου 59 9-10

ἐγώ - ἐμέ 'Ηλίας 12; μισταποδότα με 21 20  
εἰμί - οὐκ ἔστιν ἀν(θρῶπος) 19 12; σὺ γὰρ εἶ  
ἢ ἀνάπαυσις 19 16; ἰδὲ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ  
οἱτοί εἰσιν 21 11; ὁ ὢν 23 1; οὐκ ἔστιν  
ἀν(θρῶπος) 24 18; [οὐκ ἔστιν ἀν(θρῶπος)]  
26 2; σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἢ [ἀνάπαυσις 26 7; ὁ ἦν,  
ὁ ὢν 91 B (cross)

εἰρήνη - 21 ΟΥΓΕΙΡΗΗ ΗΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΓΤ[Ε] 29 5;  
21 ΟΥΓΕΙΡΗΜΠ 32 11; 21 [ΟΥΓΕΙΡΗ]ΗΗ 33  
9; 21 ΟΥΓΗΡΗΗΗ 35 8-9; 21 ΟΥΓΗΡΗΗΗ 67  
4; 21 ΟΥΓΕΙΡΗ]ΗΗ 81 4

εἰς - 19, 15; 21, 21; 22, 20; 24, 21; 26, 6; 57, 28

εἰσελεύω - εἰσέλευσον αὐτὸν φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ  
ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς 21 23-4 (note that εἰσε-  
λεύω is confused with εἰσελεύσομαι  
here)

ἐκ - 21 24

ἐκτός (all occurrences of this word are in the  
prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expres-  
sion πάσης ἀμαρτίας ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχεις) -  
ἀμαρτίας ἐκτὸς 19 14; ἀμαρ[τίας] ἐκτὸς  
22 19; ἀμαρτίας ἐκτὸς 24 20; ἀμαρτί]ας  
ἐκ[τὸς 26 4-5

ἐν - 18 8, 10, 11, 12; 19 6, 7 (three times); 20  
2, 13, 16, 17; 21 1, 14, 17, 18, 20, 22; 22 12, 13  
(three times); 23 3; 24 9, 11, 12 (two  
times); 25 2, 10, 12, 13; 28 7; 41 9, 13, 14;  
42 8, 11; 44 1; 54 2; 55 7, 9, 10, 11, 24, 25,  
27; 58 6, 8; 59 11; 60 4, 8, 9; 61 2, 6, 8; 62  
3, 6; 63 1, 4

ἐνθα (this word occurs mainly in the prayer  
'God of the spirits', in the expression ἐνθα  
ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός) -  
ἐνθα 19 8; ἐνθ' 20 14; ἐντα 21 16; ἐντ' 22 14;  
ἐντ' 24 13; [ἐνθ'] 25 11; ἐνθα κοῖτε λάβα[να]  
28 1; ἐν(θ') 41 11; ἐνθ' 42 9-10; ἐντα 57 12;  
ἐνθ' 58 9; ἐνθ' 60 6, 4

ἐξάρχος - ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος ἐξάρχ(ος) 43 5  
ἐξουσία - ἐξουσία οἱ ἔρχου 20 9; ἰδὲ ἐξουσία  
αὐτοῦ οἱτοί εἰσιν 21 10-11; τ]ὴν ἐξουσίαν  
75 3

ἐπαρ[---] - 76 3

ἐπαρχος - τοῦ ἐπάρχ(ου) νοτ(άριος) 20 10;  
ἀρχηνοτ(άριος) τοῦ ἐπάρχ(ου) 21 12

ἐπειδήπερ - ΕΠΕΙΔΗΠΕΡ 92 C 1

ἐπί - 1 2; 2 2; 22 24; 26 11; 57 26

ἐπίσκοπος - ἐπὶ τ[οῦ ἡ]μῶν ἐπισκ(όπου) 2 2;  
ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπ(ίσκοπος) 18 8; ἄβ(βα)  
Ι(ΗCO)Υ ὀρθόδοξος ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡΙΜ 19 5;  
ὁ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ : ἄββα ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ἐπίσκοπος  
ΦΡῪ 20 6; ὁ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ ἄββα ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ  
ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡῪ 21 5; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ  
ὀρθ(όδοξου) ἐπισκ(όπου) ΠΑΧΩΡΑΣ 22 9;  
ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(ό)δοξον ἐπίσκ(οπου)  
ΠΑΧ(ΩΡΑΣ) 22 23; ὁ μακά[ριος ἄβ(βα)]  
ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ἐπίσκ(οπος) ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 23 9;  
ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(όδοξου) ἐπίσκ(οπου)

ΚΟΥΡΤΕ 24 9; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπισκ(όπου) ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 24 23; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπίσκ(οπου) ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 24 27; μετ[ά τῶν ἐπισκ]όπων 65 4

ἔργον – τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον 1 2; τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον 2 2; λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ (ἢ) κατὰ διάνησαν 19 10; λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν 22 16; λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν 24 16

ἔτος – ἔτη δὲ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ 19 18; θρόνου ἐκάθησεν ἔτη θ 19 19; θρόν(ω) καθήσ(ας) ἔτη : ιε 20 7; ὁ ζῶν ἡμέρα ἔτη πβ 20 8; θρόν(ω) καθήσ(ας) : ἔτη : ζ : μηνός : η̄ : 21 6; ὁ ζῶν ἡμέρα • ἔτη : οδ • 21 7; ἔτη καθ(ίσας) ἐπὶ θρόν(ω) : λγ : 22 24; ἔτη ἡμέρα τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ : ξθ : 22 25; ἡμέρα : ἔτη δὲ [τῆς ζωῆς] αὐτοῦ : πς : 26 10; ὁ ζῶν ἡμέρα ἔτη ξ' 41 6; ετ[η] : 45 10; τὰ δὲ ἔτη τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς [ ]ζ 57 15; ἀπὸ Διοκ[λητιανοῦ] ἔτη φνα 64 4

εὐαγγέλιον – ΤΑΡΧΗ ΜΠΕ[ΥΛΓΓΕ]ΛΙΟΝ ΝΙ(ΗΟΥ)Σ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ 91 C I

εὐαρεστέω – τῶ[ν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐ]α[ρ]ε[σ]τ[η]-σάντ[ων σοι] 55 10–11

ἔχω – ἔχων Τέσσαρα Ζῶα νήσος ΤΗΜΕ 22 11; ὁ ἔχ(ων) (Μιχαήλ) ΔΛ . Λ( ) 23 10; ἔχω Ῥαφα[ῆ]λ ΤΑΜΤΗ 57 8

ζῶ – ὅς ζήσεται 19 12–13; ὁ ζῶν ἡμέρα ἔτη πβ 20 7; ὁ ζῶν ἡμέρα • ἔτη : οδ • 21 7; ὡς ζήσεται 22 17–18; ὅς ζήσεται 24 18; ὁ ζῶν ἐμέ(ρα) ρθ 25 7; ὅς [ζήσεται] 26 3; ὁ ζῶν ἡμέρα ἔτη ξ' 41 5; ἐν χώρᾳ ζῶντα 57 24; ἐν [χ]ώρα ζόν[των] 57 27

ζωή – ζωὴν (τ)ῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος 18 4–5; ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος 19 3; ἔτη δὲ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ 19 18; εἰσέλυσον αὐτὸν φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς 21 25; φῶς ζωῆς 22 2; ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος 22–7; ἔτη ἡμέρα τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ : ξθ : 22 25–6; ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος 24 5; ἡμέρα : ἔτη δὲ [τῆς ζωῆς] αὐτοῦ : πς : 26 11; φῶς ζωῆ 57 at the beginning; ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος 57 4; τὰ δὲ ἔτη τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς [ ]ζ 57 15–16; ἐπὶ ὑδάτων τῆς

ζωῆς 57 26; ζῶ[την τῷ] κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος 58 4; ζωὴν τοῦ κόσμου χαρισάμενος 59 6–7

ζῶον – Τέσσαρα Ζῶα 22 11

ἢ – λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ (ἢ) κατὰ διάνησαν 19 10; λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν 22 16; λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν 24 16

ἡμεῖς – ἐπὶ τ[οῦ ἡ]μῶν ἐπισκ(όπου) 2 2; Χ(ριστ)ε̄ [ὁ θε(ο)ς] ἡμῶν 42 7; κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θε(ο)ς ἡμῶν 55 1

ἡμέρα – ἡμέρα : ΠΕΧΟΥ ΕΤΟΥ 18 13; ὁ ζῶν ἡμέρα ἔτη πβ 20 7; ὁ ζῶν ἡμέρα ἔτη : οδ • 21 7; ἡμέρα τῆ κυριακῆ ἀπέθανεν 21 9; ἔτη ἡμέρα τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ : ξθ : 22 25; ὁ ζῶν ἐμέ(ρα) ρθ 25 7; ἡμέρα : ἔτη δὲ [τῆς ζωῆς] αὐτοῦ : πς : 26 10; ὁ ζῶν ἡμέρα ἔτη ξ' 41 5–6; ἀναπα[υσ] . ἡμέρα : λη' 56 8; {τε}τελίωσις δὲ ἡμ[έρα] αὐτῆς τῷ μνηεῖ Πα[ c. 2–3 ] . ιη 57 17

θάνατος (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας) – τὸ (θάνατον) 18 2; τὸν θάνατον 19 2; τῶν θάνατον 22 5; τῶν θάνατων 24 3; τὸν θάνατον 57 2; τῶ[ν θάνατον] 58 2

θεῖος – θεῖ(α) προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θε(ο)ῦ 20 3; θεῖ(α) προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θε(ο)ῦ 21 2; θεῖ(α) προ[νοία] τοῦ δεσπόζου[τος θε(ο)ῦ] 23 5; θεῖ(α) προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θε(ο)ῦ 25 3; θεῖα προνοία τοῦ δεσπίζοντος θε(ο)ῦ 41 2; θεῖα προνοία τοῦ δεσπ[ό]ζο[ν]τ[ος θε(ο)ῦ] 42 2; θεῖα προνοία τοῦ δεσπίζοντος θε(ο)ῦ 43 1; θεῖα προ[νοί]α 44 3–4

θεός – ὁ θε(ο)ς τῶν πν(ευμ)άτων (καὶ) πάσις σαρκός 18 1; ὁ θε(ο)ς τῶν πν(ευμ)άτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός 19 1; θεῖ(α) προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θε(ο)ῦ 20 4; Χ(ριστ)ε̄ ὁ θε(ο)ς 20 11; θεῖ(α) προνοία τοῦ δεσπίζοντος θε(ο)ῦ 21 3; Χ(ριστ)ε̄ ὁ θε(ο)ς 21 13; ὁ θε(ο)ς τῶν πν(ευμ)άτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός 22 4; σὺ γὰρ μόνος, θε(ο)ς 22 18; θεῖ(α) προ[νοία] τοῦ δεσπ[ό]ζου[τος θε(ο)ῦ] 23 6–7;

ὁ θεός) τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός **24** **1**; ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ π(α)ρ(ὸ)ς (καὶ) τοῦ υἱοῦ (καὶ) τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος **25** **2**; θεία προνοία τοῦ δεσπίζοντος θεοῦ **25** **4**; Χ(ριστ)ὲ ὁ θεός) **25** **8**; σὺ γὰρ [μόνος, ὁ θεός) **26** **4**; Χ(ριστ)ὲ [ὁ θεός) **28** **5**; θεία προνοία τοῦ δεσπίζοντος θεοῦ **41** **3**; Χ(ριστ)ὲ ὁ θεός) **41** **8**; θεία προνοία τοῦ δεσ[πό]ζο[ν]τ[ος] θ(εο)ῦ **42** **3**; Χ(ριστ)ὲ [ὁ θεός) ἡμῶν **42** **7**; θεία προνοία τοῦ δεσπίζοντος θεοῦ **43** **2**; κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θεός) ἡμῶν **55** **1**; ὁ θεός) Μακαρίου **56** **16**; ὁ θεός) τῶν πνευμάτων (καὶ) πάσις σαρκός **57** **1**; διὰ τ[ῆ]ν κ[έ]λευσιν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ δ[η]μιου]ργός **57** **20**; ὁ θεός) τῶν πνευμάτων (καὶ) πάσης σαρκός **59** **1**; θεός) **60** **2**; [--] ὁ θεός) **61** **1**

θρόνος – θρόνου ἐκάθησεν ἔτη  $\bar{\theta}$  **19** **19**;  
θρόν(ω) καθήσ(ας) ἔτη :  $\bar{\iota}\epsilon$  **20** **6**; θρόν(ω) καθήσ(ας) : ἔτη :  $\bar{\xi}$  : μηνός :  $\bar{\eta}$  : **21** **5-6**; ἔτη καθ(ί)σας ἐπὶ θρόν(ω) :  $\bar{\lambda}\gamma$  : **22** **24**; ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου α]ὐτοῦ : καθήσ[ας **26** **11-12**

ιδέ – ιδέ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ οἱτοί εἰσιν **21** **10**  
ἰνδικτίων (Lat. *indictio*) – ἸΝΔ(ΙΚΤΙΩΝΟC) **1A** **33** **6**; ἸΝΔ.ἸΚ(ΤΙΩΝΟC) . . **34** **7**; ἰνδ(ικ-τίωνος) . **43** **6**

καθίζω – θρόνου ἐκάθησεν ἔτη  $\bar{\theta}$  **19** **19**;  
θρόν(ω) καθήσ(ας) ἔτη :  $\bar{\iota}\epsilon$  **20** **6-7**;  
θρόν(ω) καθήσ(ας) : ἔτη :  $\bar{\xi}$  : μηνός :  $\bar{\eta}$  : **21** **6**; ἔτη καθ(ί)σας ἐπὶ θρόν(ω) :  $\bar{\lambda}\gamma$  : **22** **24**; καθή[σας **25** **6-7**; ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου α]ὐτοῦ : καθήσ[ας **26** **12-13**

καί – **18** **2, 3, 4, 10** (two times); **19** **2, 3, 6** (two times), **8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20**; **20** **2, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14** (two times), **15** (two times); **21** **1, 2, 7, 15** (two times), **16, 17**; **22** **4, 6, 7, 10** (two times), **11, 12, 17, 19, 21, 23**; **23** **4** (two times); **24** **2, 4, 5, 10, 11, 14** (two times), **17, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25**; **25** **2, 3, 10, 11**; **26** **3, 5, 7, 8, 9**; **41** **10** (two times), **12** (two times); **42** **9** (two times), **10, 11**; **55** **3, 8, 9**; **57** **3, 4, 9, 10, 13, 14, 25**; **58** **3, 4, 7, 8, 10** (two times); **59** **2, 6**; **60** **5**; **61** **3, 4, 5** (two times); **65** **1**

καινός – Τ]ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΠΑΛΛΙΑ [ΜἸ ΤΚΑΙ]ἸΗ **10** **11**

καλέω – ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤ(Λ) ὁ καλ(ούμενος) ΑCΤΑ **57** **25**

κατά – **19** **10-11**; **22** **16**; **24** **16**; **55** **2**

καταπατέω (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer ‘God of the spirits’, in the expression τὸν Ἄδην καταπατήσας) – καταβατήσας **18** **4**; καταπατήσας **19** **3**; καταπατήσας **22** **6**; καταπατήσας **24** **4**; κατα]βατήσας **58** **3-4**; καταπατήσας **59** **5-6**

καταργέω (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer ‘God of the spirits’, in the expression ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας) – καταργήσας **18** **3**; καταργήσας **19** **2**; καταργήσας **22** **5-6**; καταργήσας **24** **3-4**; καταργήσας **57** **2-3**; καταργήσας **58** **3**; καταργήσας **59** **4-5**

κατηχέω – ΝΤΑΥ[ΚΑ]ΘΗΚΗ **92** **C** **7-8**

κείμαι – ἔνθα κοίτε λίψα[να] **28** **1**

κέλευσις – διὰ τ[ῆ]ν κ[έ]λευσιν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ δ[η]μιου]ργός **57** **19**

κληρονομέω – Κ(Λ)ΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ **11** **4**

κλήρος – δὸς αὐτῷ μερίδα] καὶ κλήρο[ν] **55** **9**

κοιμάω – ἐκημήθ[η] **27** **3**

κόλπος (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer ‘God of the spirits’, in the expression ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ) – κόλποις **18** **9**; κόλποις **19** **6**; κόλποις **20** **13**; κόλποις **21** **14-15**; κόλποις **22** **12**; κόλπις **24** **10**; [κόλποις] **25** **10**; κὸλ[ποις **28** **7-8**; κόλποις **41** **10**; κόλπο]ις **42** **8**; κόλποις **57** **9**; κ]ὸλποις **58** **7**; κὸλπις **59** **11**; κόλποις **60** **4**; κὸλ]ποις **61** **2-3**; κόλποις **62** **3**

κόσμος – ζωὴν <τῷ κόσμῳ χαριζάμενος **18** **5**; ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος **19** **3**; ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος **22** **7**; ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος **24** **6**; ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος **57** **5**; ζω[ῆ]ν τῷ] κόσμῳ χαριζάμε[νος **58** **4-5**; ζωὴν τοῦ κόσμου χαρισάμενος **59** **7**; ἸΠΚΟCΜΟC **92** **E** **12**

κράτιστος – ΚΡΑΤΙCΤΕ ΘΕΟΦ]ΙΛΕ **91** **D** **13**;  
ΚΡΑΤΙCΤΕ [ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕ] **92** **C** **6**

κυριακή – ἡμέρα τῆ κυριακῆ ἀπέθανεν **21** 10  
 κύριος – κ(ύρι)ε **19** 15; κ(ύρι)ε **22** 20; κ(ύρι)ε  
**24** 22; κ(ύρι)ε **26** 6; κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸ)ς ἡμῶν  
**55** 1; ἀνάπαυσον, κ(ύρι)ε, τὴν ψυχὴν **57**  
 6; ὀδηγήσει σοι κ(ύρι)ος **57** 26; κ(υρί)ω  
**64** 1

λαμπρότης – ἐν τῇ λαμπρότητι τῶν ἀγίων  
 σου **20** 16; ἐν τῇ λαμπρότητι τῶν ἀγίων  
 σου **21** 17–18; ἐν τῇ λαμπρ[ό]τι [τῶν  
 ἀγίων σου **25** 12; ἐν τῇ λαμπ[ρό]τητι τῶν  
 ἀγίων σου **41** 13; ἐν τῇ λαμπρότητι τῶν  
 ἀγί(ω)ν **42** 11–12; ἐν τῇ λαμπρότητι τῶ  
 ἀγίων σου **60** 8–9; ἐν [τῇ λαμ]πρότητι τῶν  
 [ἀγίων σου] **61** 6–7; [ἐν τῇ λ]αμπρό(τ)ητι  
 [πάντ]ων ἀ(γ)ίων σου **62** 6

λατόμος – ΛΑΤΟΜΟΣ **6** 5  
 λέγω – ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤ(Λ) ὁ λεγ(όμενος) ΛΑΤΑ **57**  
**24**

λείψανον – ἔνθα κοίτε λίψα[να] **28** 1  
 λόγος (all occurrences of this word are in  
 the prayer ‘God of the spirits’, in the  
 expressions λόγω ἢ ἔργω ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν  
 and ὁ λόγος σου ἀλήθεια) – λόγω **19** 10;  
 ὁ λόγος **19** 16; λῶγω **22** 16; ὁ λόγος **22** 20;  
 λόγω **24** 15; ὁ λόγος **24** 22; ὁ λόγος **26** 7

λοιπόν – ΛΟΙΠΟΝ **11** 3; ΛΟΙΠΟΝ **40** 6  
 λύπη (all occurrences of this word are in  
 the prayer ‘God of the spirits’, in the  
 expression ἔνθα ἀπέδρα δδύνη καὶ λύπη  
 καὶ στεναγμός) – λύπη **19** 9; λύπη **20** 15;  
 λύπη **21** 16; λύπη **22** 14; λύπη **24** 14; λύπη  
**25** 11; λύπη **41** 12; λύπη **42** 10; λύπη **57** 13;  
 [λύπη] **58** 10; λύπη **60** 7; λύπη **61** 5

μαθητής – [Π]ΜΑΘΕΤΗΣ **92** Ε 4; ΠΜΑΘΗ-  
 ΤΗΣ **92** Ε 7

μακάριος – ὁ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ : ἄββα ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ  
**20** 5; ὁ μακά[ριος ἄβ(βα)] ΠΕΤΡΟΥ  
 ἐπίσκοπος ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) **23** 8–9; λίψα[να]  
 τοῦ μακαρίου ΚΟΣΜᾶ **28** 2; ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ  
 ΠΕΤΡΟΣ **31** 2; ΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΜΑΡΘΑ **29** 1–2;  
 [ΤΜΑ]ΚΑΡΙΑ ΕΓΚΛΕ[Λ] **30** 1–2; ΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ  
 ΛΘΑΝΑΣΙΑ **32** 2; ΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΕΦΘΕΙΛΛΕ  
**33** 2; ΤΜΑΚΑ[Ρ]ΙΑ ΘΕΟΔΩΣΙ[Α] **34** 2;

ΤΜ]ΑΚΑ[ΡΙΑ] **35** 2; ΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΕΣΠΩΣΗ **36**  
 1–2; ΤΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤΑ **37** 3–4;  
 ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ **38** 8; [ΠΜΑΚΑΡ-  
 ΙΟΣ . . . ] **39** 8; ὁ μακάριος Ἰω[---] **42** 4;  
 ΤΜΑΚΑ[ΡΙΑ] **40** 10; ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος  
 ἔξαρχ(ος) **43** 4–5; Μ[Α]Κ[ΑΡ]ΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΙΛ-  
 ΚΥΤΟ **45** 6; ΠΜΑΚ[Α]ΡΙΟΣ Κ[ ] **46** 9;  
 [ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ] **47** 6; [ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ. . .]ΤΟΣ  
**48** 4; [ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ] **51** 6

μάρτυς (in dating clauses according to the  
 Era of Diocletian/the Martyrs) – ἀπὸ  
 μαρτ(ύρων) ὠκς **19** 23; ἀπὸ μαρτ(ύρων)  
 : ὠμῆ : **21** 9; ἀπὸ μαρτ(ύρων) : ψνγ : **22** 3;  
 [ἀ]πὸ [μαρ]τ(ύρων) ὠσα ΕΙΝῆ **24** 33; ἀπὸ  
 μαρτ(ύρων) [---] **25** 7; ἀπὸ μα[ρ]τ(ύρων)  
 ψλγ’ **41** 7; ΑΠΟ ΜΑΡΤ(ΥΡΩΝ) ὕοε **45** 14;  
 ἀπὸ μαρτύρων) ψξξ **57** 18; [ἀπὸ μαρτύ-  
 ρων] ψα’ **65** 6

μειζότερος – μηζότερος **56** 11  
 μερίς – δὸς αὐτῶ μερίδα] καὶ κληρο[ν] **55** 8  
 μετά – **55** 9; **55** 12; **65** 3–4  
 μῆν – θρόν(ω) καθήσ(ας) : ἔτη : ζ̄ : μῆνος :  
 ἦ : **21** 6; ἀπέθανεν : Παῦνι μῆνος : ιδ̄ : **21** 8;  
 ΕΝ ΜΗ(ΝΙ) ΦΑΩΦΙ **15** **38** 9; {τε}τελίωσης  
 δὲ ἡμ[έ]ρα] αὐτῆς τῶ μῆνεί Πα[ ] c. 2–3 ] .  
 ἡ **57** 17–18

μισθαποδοτέω – μισταποδοτά με **21** 19–20  
 μοναχός – ΜΟ]ΝΑΧ(Ο)C ΑΠΑ **39** 10  
 μόνος (all occurrences of this word are in  
 the prayer ‘God of the spirits’, in the  
 expressions σὺ γὰρ μόνος πάσης  
 ἁμαρτίας ἐκτός ὑπάρχεις and ὡς μόνος  
 ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος) – μόνος **19** 13;  
 μόνος **22** 17; μόνος **22** 18; μόνος **24** 19;  
 [μόνος] **26** 4; μόν[ος] **57** 14

νεύσις – νεύσ[ει καὶ βου]λήσει **53** 1  
 νῆσος – ἔχων Τέσσαρα Ζῶα νῆσος ΤΗΜΕ **22**  
 11  
 νικᾶω – [Ἰ](ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς νικᾶ **1** 1;  
 Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς νικᾶ **34** 12; ὁ Χ(ριστὸ)ς  
 ἐνείκησ[εν] **91** Β 3  
 νοτάριος (Lat. *notarius*) – τοῦ ἐπάρχ(ου)  
 νοτ(άριος) **20** 10  
 νῦν – **55** 4

ξύλον – εἰσέλευσον αὐτὸν φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ  
ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς **21 24–5**

ὁδηγέω – ὁδηγήσει σοι κύριος **57 26**;  
ὁδηγήσείς σε ἐν [χ]ώρα ζών[των] **57 27**

ὁδύνη (all occurrences of this word are in  
the prayer ‘God of the spirits’, in the  
expression ἔνθα ἀπέδρα ὁδύνη καὶ λύπη  
καὶ στεναγμός) – ὁδύνη **19 8**; ὁδύνη **20 15**;  
ὁδύνη **21 16**; ὁδύνη **22 14**; ὁδύνη **24 13**;  
[ὁδύνη] **25 11**; [ὁδύνη] **41 11**; ὁδύνη **42 10**;  
ὁδύνη **57 12–13**; ὁδύνη **58 10**; ὁδύνοιη **60**  
**6–7**; ὁδύνη **61 5**

ὁμοῦ – ἔτη δὲ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ὁ̅α **19 18**  
ὄνομα – ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ π(α)ρ(ὸ)ς (καὶ) τοῦ  
υ(ἰ)οῦ (καὶ) τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος **20 2**; ἐν  
ὀνόματι τοῦ π(α)ρ(ὸ)ς καὶ τοῦ υ(ἰ)οῦ καὶ  
τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος **21 1**; ἐν ὀνόματι  
τοῦ [π(α)ρ(ὸ)ς καὶ] τοῦ υ(ἰ)οῦ (καὶ) τοῦ  
[ἀγίου πνεύματος] **23 3**; ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ  
θ(ε)οῦ π(α)ρ(ὸ)ς (καὶ) τοῦ υ(ἰ)οῦ (καὶ) τοῦ  
ἀγίου πνεύματος **25 2**; [ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ]  
π(α)ρ(ὸ)ς καὶ [τοῦ υ(ἰ)οῦ καὶ] τοῦ  
ἀγίου [πνεύματος] **44 1**; ἐν ὀνόματι [τοῦ  
π(α)ρ(ὸ)ς] καὶ τοῦ υ(ἰ)οῦ [καὶ τοῦ] ἀγίου  
πνεύματος **54 2**

ὀρθόδοξος – ἄβ(βα) Ι(ΗCΘ)Υ ὀρθόδοξος  
ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡΙΜ **19 5**; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ  
ὀρθ(οδόξου) ἐπισκ(όπου) ΠΑΧΩΡΑΣ **22 9**;  
ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(όδοξον) ἐπί-  
σκ(οπον) ΠΑΧ(ΩΡΑΣ) **22 23**; ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙ-  
ΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(όδοξον) ἐπίσκ(οπον) ΚΟΥΡΤΕ  
**24 9**; ὁ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ [--- ΕΠ]ΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ  
ὀρθ(όδοξον) ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) **25 6**

ὀρίζω – ὄριζε **39 3**

ὄς, ἦ, ὄ – ὄς ζήσεται **19 12**; ἐξουσία οἱ ἔρχου  
**20 9**; ἐν ᾧ ἀπολαύουσιν πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι  
σου **21 22**; ὡς ζήσεται **22 17**; ὄς ζήσεται  
**24 18**; ὄς [ζήσεται] **26 2**

ὄτι – **19 12**; **24 17**; **26 2**

οὐκ – οὐκ ἔστιν ἀν(θρ)ωπος **19 12**; οὐχ  
ἀμαρτήσῃ **19 13**; οὐχ ἀμαρτήσῃς **22 18**;  
οὐκ ἔστιν ἀν(θρ)ωπος ὄς ζήσεται **24**  
**17–18**; οὐκ ἀμαρ(τῆ)σι **24 18**; [οὐκ ἔστιν  
ἀν(θρ)ωπος] **26 2**; οὐχ ἀμαρτήσῃ[ι] **26 3**

οὐρανός – ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐ(ρα)νῶν **21**  
**21**; [ἐν βασιλείᾳ] τῶν οὐ(ρα)νῶν **55 8**; εἰς  
τῆ(ν) <β>ασι(λείαν) τῶν οὐ(ρα)νῶν **57 28**;  
ἐν] τῇ βασιλείᾳ [τῶν οὐ(ρα)]νῶν **63 5**

οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτο – τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον  
**1 2**; τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔργον **2 2**; ἰδὲ  
ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ οἱτοὶ εἰσιν **21 11**

παλαιός – Τ]ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΠΑΛΛΙΑ [ΜἸ  
ΤΚΑΙ]ΝΗ **10 10**

παντοκράτωρ – ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΩΡ  
**45 2**

παρά – **19 10**; **22 15**; **24 15**

παράγω – ΠΑΡΑΓΕ **40 1**

παράδεισος – ἐν παραδείσῳ τῆς τρυφῆς **20**  
**17–18**; ἐν παραδείσῳ τῆς τρυφῆς **21 18–19**;  
εἰς τὸν παράδεισον τῆς τρυφῆς **21 14**; ἐν  
παραδεί[σῳ] τῆς τρυφῆς **25 13–14**; [ἐν  
παραδείσῳ] τῆς [τρυφῆς] **41 14–15**; ἐν  
πα[ρα]δείσῳ τοῖς τρυφῆς **60 9–10**; [ἐν]  
παραδεί[σῳ] τῆς τρυφῆς **61 8**; ἐν]  
παρα[δείσῳ] τῆς τρυφῆς **63 1–2**

πάς – ὁ θ(ε)ός τῶν πνευμάτων (καὶ) πάσις  
σαρκός **18 2**; ὁ θ(ε)ός τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ  
πάσης σαρκός **19 1**; πᾶν ἁμάρτημα παρ’  
αὐτοῦ πραχθ(έ)ν **19 9**; πάσης ἁμαρτίας  
**19 13–14**; <ἦ> ἀνάστασις πάντων τῶν  
χριστιανῶν **19 17**; ἐν ᾧ ἀπολαύουσιν πάν-  
τες οἱ ἅγιοι σου **21 23**; ὁ θ(ε)ός τῶν  
πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός **22 4**; πᾶν  
ἁμάρτημα παρ’ αὐτοῦ παρεχθ(έν) **22 15**;  
πάσης ἁμαρ[τίας] ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχεις **22**  
**18–19**; ὁ θ(ε)ός τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης  
σαρκός **24 2**; πᾶν ἁμάρτημα παρ’ αὐτοῦ  
πραχθ(έν) **24 14**; σὺ γὰρ μόνος πάσης  
ἁμαρτίας ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχεις **24 19**; ἡ ἀνά-  
στασις πάντων τῶν χριστιανῶν **24 24**;  
πάσης ἁμαρτί[ας] ἐκ[τὸς] ὑπάρχεις **26 4**;  
ἡ ἀνάστασις πάντων τῶν χριστιανῶν **26**  
**8–9**; μ[ετὰ] πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου **55 9**;  
ὁ θ(ε)ός τῶν πνευμάτων (καὶ) πάσις  
σαρκός **57 1**; ὁ θ(ε)ός τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ  
πάσης σαρκός **59 2**; [ἐν τῇ λ]αμπρό(τ)ητι  
[πάντ]ων ἀ(γί)ων σου **62 6**

πατήρ (God the Father) – τῷ π(α)τρὶ καὶ τῷ

υ(ί)ῳ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματος **19 21**; ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρ(ὸ)ς (καὶ) τοῦ υ(ί)οῦ (καὶ) τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος **20 2**; ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρ(ὸ)ς καὶ τοῦ υ(ί)οῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος **21 1**; εἰς ὄνοματι τοῦ [πατρ(ὸ)ς κα]ὶ τοῦ υ(ί)οῦ (καὶ) τοῦ [ἁγίου πνεύματος] **23 3-4**; ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ θε(ο)ῦ πατρ(ὸ)ς (καὶ) τοῦ υ(ί)οῦ (καὶ) τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος **25 2**; [ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ] πατρ(ὸ)ς κα(ὶ) [τοῦ υ(ί)οῦ κα(ὶ) τοῦ] ἁγίου [πνεύματος] **44 2**; ἐν ὀνόματι [τοῦ πατρ(ὸ)ς] καὶ τοῦ υ(ί)οῦ [καὶ τοῦ] ἁγίου πνεύματος **54 2**

πιστεύω – ΤΗΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ **91 F 5**

πνεῦμα (Holy Spirit) – ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Λ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ **10 6**; τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υ(ί)ῳ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι **19 23-4**; ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρ(ὸ)ς (καὶ) τοῦ υ(ί)οῦ (καὶ) τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος **20 2-3**; ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρ(ὸ)ς καὶ τοῦ υ(ί)οῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος **21 2**; εἰς ὄνοματι τοῦ [πατρ(ὸ)ς κα]ὶ τοῦ υ(ί)οῦ (καὶ) τοῦ [ἁγίου πνεύματος] **23 4-5**; ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ θε(ο)ῦ πατρ(ὸ)ς (καὶ) τοῦ υ(ί)οῦ (καὶ) τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος **25 3**; [ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ] πατρ(ὸ)ς κα(ὶ) [τοῦ υ(ί)οῦ κα(ὶ) τοῦ] ἁγίου [πνεύματος] **44 2-3**; ἐν ὀνόματι [τοῦ πατρ(ὸ)ς] καὶ τοῦ υ(ί)οῦ [καὶ τοῦ] ἁγίου πνεύματος **54 3-4**; τὸ πνεύμα σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν **57 27**

πνεῦμα (spirit; all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός) – τῶν πνευμάτων **18 1**; τῶν πνευμάτων **19 1**; τῶν πνευμάτων **22 4**; τῶν πνευμάτων **24 1**; τῶν πνευμάτων **57 1**; τῶν πνευμάτων **59 1**

πράττω (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression πᾶν ἁμάρτημα παρ' αὐτοῦ πραχθέν) – πραχθ(έν) **19 10**; παρεχθέν **22 15-16**; πραχθέν **24 15**

πρεσβύτερος – ΠΛΥΛΟΥ' πρεσβύτερος **27 2**; Κοσμά πρεσβυτέρου **28 3**

προνοία – θεί(α) προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος

θε(ο)ῦ **20 3**; θεί(α) προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θε(ο)ῦ **21 2**; θεί(α) προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θε(ο)ῦ **23 5-6**; θεί(α) προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θε(ο)ῦ **25 3-4**; θεία προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θε(ο)ῦ **41 2**; θεία προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θε(ο)ῦ **42 2**; θεία προνοία τοῦ δεσπόζοντος θε(ο)ῦ **43 1**; θεία προνοία **44 3-4**; ΖΙΤῆ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΙΑ **45 1**; ΖΙΤῆ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΙΑ **46 1**; ΖΙΤῆ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΙΑ **47 1**; ΖΙΤῆ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΙΑ **49 1**; ΖΙΤῆ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΙΑ **50 1**; ΖΙΤῆ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΙΑ **52 1**

προπάτωρ – ΑΛΛΑΜ ΠΕΠΡΩΠΑΤ[ΩΡ] **46 4-5**

προσφορά – ΠΡΟΣΦΟ[ΡΑ] **11 2-3**; [Ο]ΥΠΡΟΦΟΡΑ **11 5**

προφήτης – ΗΣΙΑΣ ΠΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ **91 C 3**

σάρξ (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός) – σαρκός **18 2**; σαρκός **19 1**; σαρκός **22 5**; σαρκός **24 2**; σαρκός **57 2**; [σαρ]κός **58 2**; σαρκός **59 2-3**

σελένη – σελλένη : κθ : **21 8**; [σε]λλένη **56 9**

σκυλεύω – τὸν Ἄδην σκυλεύσας **57 3-4**

σός – τὸν σὸν δοῦλόν σου **22 22**

σταυρός – σταυρός **91 B 1**

στεναγμός (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression ἔνθα ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός) – στεναγμός **19 9**; στεναγμοίς **20 15-16**; στεναγμοίς **21 17**; στεναγμός **22 14-15**; στεναγμός **24 14**; [στεναγμός] **25 12**; στ[εναγμός] **41 12**; στεναγμός **42 11**; στεναγμοίς **57 13**; στεναγμός **58 11**; στεναγμοίς **60 7-8**; στε[ναγμός] **60 5-6**

σύ – τὸν δοῦλόν σου **19 5**; σύ γὰρ ὁ μόνος **19 13**; ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου **19 14-15**; σύ γὰρ εἶ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις **19 16**; καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπωμεν **19 20**; τῶν ἁγίων σου **20 17**; τῶν ἁγίων σου **21 18**; πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι σου **21 23**; τὸν δοῦλόν σου **22 9**; σύ γὰρ ὁ μόνος, θεός **22 18**; ὁ λόγος σου **22 20**; σύ

γὰρ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις κ(αι) ἀνάστασις 22 21; τὸν σὼν δούλον σου 22 22; κ(αι) σοὶ τὴν δόξα 22 23; τὸν δούλον σου 24 8; σὺ γὰρ μόνος 24 19; δικαιοσύνης σου 24 21; σὺ γὰρ ἡ ἀνάστασις 24 22; (καὶ) σοὶ τὴν 24 25; τὸν δ(οῦλον) σου 24 26; [τῶν ἁγίων σου] 25 13; σὺ γὰρ [μόνος 26 3; ἡ δι(καὶ)οσύνη σ[ου] 26 5–6; ὁ λόγος σου ἀλλ[ήθεια] 26 7; σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἡ [ἀνάπαυσις 26 7; (καὶ) σοὶ [τὴν δόξ]αν 26 9; τῶν] ἁγίων σου 41 14; τῶν] ἁγίων σου 55 10; τῶ[ν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐα]ρ[ε]σ[τ]ησάντ[ων σοι 55 11; τὸν δούλον σου 56 18; τὴν δούλην σου 57 7; ἀναπαύσι σοι Χ(ριστ)έ 57 24; ἡ ψυχὴ σου 57 25; ὁδηγήσει σοι κ(ύρι)ος 57 26; τὸ πν(εύμ)α σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν 57 27; ὁδηγήσεις σε ἐν [χ]ώρᾳ ζόν[των 57 27; ἁγίων σου 57 28; τὸν δούλον σου 59 8–9; τῶ ἁγίου σου 60 9; τῶν [ἁγίων σου] 61 7; [πάντ]ων ἀ[γί]ων σου 62 7  
 συγχωρέω – συγχώρησον 19 12; συγχόρησον 24 17

τελείωσις – {τε}τελίωσις δὲ ἡμ[έρα] αὐτῆς τῷ μῆνι Πα[ c. 2–3 ] . ι̅ 57 16–17  
 τέλος – τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο 20 4; λέγει (= τέλει) τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο 21 3; τέλει τοῦ βί[ου ἐχρή]σατο 23 7; τέλει [τοῦ] βίου ἐχρήσατο 25 4; τέλει τοῦ βίου χρήσατο 41 3; τέλει τοῦ] βί[ου ἐχρή]σατο 42 3; τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο 43 3; τέλ[ει τοῦ βίου] ἐχρήσατ[ο] 54 6

τέσσαρες – Τέσσαρα Ζῶα 22 11

τόπος – ΠΙΤΟΠΟΣ 11 3; ἐν τῷπῳ φ(ω)-τι(ν)ῶν 18 10–11; ἐν τῷπῳ ἀναψ(ύ)ξεως 18 11–12; ἐν τῷ(πῳ) φωτινῷ 19 7; ἐν τῷπῳ χλόης 19 7; ἐν τῷπῳ ἀναψύξεως 19 7–8; ἐν τῷπῳ φωτινῷ, ἐν τῷ(πῳ) χλόη, ἐν τῷπῳ ἀναψύξαις 22 13; ἐν τῷ(πῳ) φωτινῷ, ἐν τῷπῳ χλόει, ἐν τῷπῳ ἀναψέξεως 24 11–13; ἐν τόπῳ φωτινῷ, ἐν τόπῳ ἀναψύξεως 57 10–12; ἐν τόπῳ] ἀναψύξε[ως 58 8–9

τριας (Holy Trinity) – [ τε]ΤΡΙΑΣ ε[Γ-ΟΥΛΑΒ] 11 1; ΤΕΤΡΙ[Α]C ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 11 2;

(ΤΕ)ΤΡΙΑC ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 11 7; ΤΕΤΡΙΑC ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ 91 F 5

τρυφή – ἐν παραδείσῳ τῆς τρυφῆς 20 18; ἐν παραδείσῳ τῆς τρυφῆς 21 19; εἰς τὸν παράδεισον τῆς τρυφῆς 21 22; ἐν παραδ[ε]ί[σῳ] τῆς τρυφῆς 25 14; [ἐν παραδείσῳ] τῆς [τρυφῆς] 41 15; ἐν πα[ρα]δείσῳ τοῖς τρυφῆς 60 10; [ἐν] παραδεί[σῳ] τῆς τρυφ[ῆς] 61 8–9; ἐν παρα[δείσῳ] τῆς τρυφ[ῆς] 63 2  
 τυπόω – ἐτύπ(ωσα) 12

ὑδωρ – ἐπὶ ὑδάτων τῆς ζωῆς 57 26

υἱός (God's Son) – τῷ π(ατ)ρὶ καὶ τῷ υ(ἰ)ῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πν(εύμα)τος 19 22; ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς (καὶ) τοῦ υ(ἰ)οῦ (καὶ) τοῦ ἁγίου πν(εύμα)τος 20 2; ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς καὶ τοῦ υ(ἰ)οῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πν(εύμα)τος 21 1; ἔ]ν ὀνόματι τοῦ [π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς κα]ὶ τοῦ υ(ἰ)οῦ (καὶ) τοῦ [ἁγίου πν(εύμα)τος] 23 4; ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς (καὶ) τοῦ υ(ἰ)οῦ (καὶ) τοῦ ἁγίου πν(εύμα)τος 25 2; [ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ] π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς κ(αι) [τοῦ υ(ἰ)οῦ κ(αι) τοῦ] ἁγίου [πν(εύμα)τος] 44 2; ἐν ὀνόματ[ι τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς] καὶ τοῦ υ(ἰ)οῦ [καὶ τοῦ] ἁγί[ου πν(εύμα)τος] 54 3

ὑπάρχω (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression πάσης ἀμαρτίας ἐκτός ὑπάρχεις) – ὑπάρχεις 19 14; ὑπάρχεις 22 19; ὑπάρχεις 24 20; ὑπάρχεις 26 5

ὑπηρετής – ΖΥΠΕΡΕΤΗC 91 D 6–7; ΖΥΠΕ-ΡΕΤΗC 92 C 4

φάγω – εἰσέλευσον αὐτὸν φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς 21 24

φιλόπρωπος (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression ὡς μόνος ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόπρωπος) – φιλόπ(ρωπος)ος 19 11; φιλόπ(ρωπος)ος 22 17; φιλόπ(ρωπος)ος 24 17; φιλόπ(ρωπος)ος 57 14–15

φῶς – φῶς ζωῆς 22 2; φῶς ζωῆ 57 at the beginning

φωτεινός (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression ἐν τόπω φωτεινῶ) – φ(ω)-τι(ν)ῶν **18** 10–11; φωτινῶ **19** 7; φωτινῶ **22** 13; φωτινῶ **24** 11; φωτινῶ **57** 10–11

χαρίζομαι (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression ζῶν τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος) – χαριζάμενος **18** 5–6; χαρισάμενος **19** 3; χαρισάμενος **22** 7; χαρισάμενος **24** 6–7; χαρισάμενος **57** 5; χαριζάμε[νος] **58** 5; χαρισάμενος **59** 8

χλόη (all occurrences of this word are in the prayer 'God of the spirits', in the expression ἐν τόπω χλόης) – χλόης **19** 7; χλόη **22** 13; χλόει **24** 12

χράω – τέλει τοῦ πίου ἐχρήσατο **20** 4–5; λέγει (= τέλει) τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο **21** 4; τέλει τοῦ βί[ου] ἐχρή[σ]ατο **23** 8; τέλει [το]ῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο **25** 5; τέλει τοῦ βίου χρήσατο **41** 4; τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο **42** 4; τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο **43** 4; τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατ[ο] **54** 7

χριστιανός – (ἡ) ἀνάστασις πάντων τῶν χριστιανῶν **19** 17–18; ἡ ἀνάστασις πάντων τῶν χριστιανῶν **24** 24–25; ἡ ἀνάστασις πάντων τῶν χριστιανῶν **26** 8–9

χρόνος – [ΠΕΧΡΟ]ΝΟΣ ΝΑΙΡΟΜΠΕ [ΝΤΑΦ-ΛΛΥ 2]ΙΧΜ ΠΚΑ2 **45** 8

χώρα – ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντα **57** 24; ὁδηγήσεεῖς σε ἐν [χ]ώρᾳ ζόν[των] **57** 27

ψυχή – (2Λ) Π[Ο]ΥΧΛΙ (Ν)ΤΑ[Ψ]ΥΧΗ **11** 3;

ἀνάπασσον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ **20** 12; ἀνάπασσον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ **21** 14; ἀνάπασσον τὴν ψυχὴν τὸν δοῦλόν σου **22** 8; [ἀνάπασσον τὴν] ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ **25** 9; ἀνάπασσον [τὴν ψυ]χὴν **28** 6; Ε[ΚΕΑΝΑΠΑΥΕ ΝΤΕΣ]ΨΥΧΗ **30** 8; ΕΚΕΤΕΙ ΜΤΟΝ ΝΤΕΦΨΥΧΗ **31** 11; ΕΚΕΑΝΑΥΠΑΥΕ ΝΤΕΣΨΥΧΗ **32** 9; ΕΚΕΑΝΑΠΑΥΕ ΝΤΕΣΨΥΧΗ **33** 8; ΕΚΕΑΝΑΠΕΥΕ ΝΤΕΣΨΥΧΗ **34** 9; ΕΚΕΡ ΟΥΝ[Λ] ΝΤΕΣΨΥΧΗ **35** 8; † ΜΤΟΝ ΝΤΕΣΨΥΧΗ **37** 9; ΕΚΕ† ΜΤΟΝ ΝΤΕΦ[ΨΥΧΗ] **38** 11; Ε[ΚΕΑΝΑΠΑΥΕ ΝΤΕΦ]ΨΥΧΗ **39** 13; ἀνάπασ[σ]ον τὴν ψυχὴν **41** 9; ἀνάπασσον τῆ[ν] ψυχὴν **42** 7–8; ἀνάπασσον, κ(ύρι)ε, τὴν ψυχὴν **57** 6; ἡ ψυχὴ σου ἐν ἀγα[θοῖς] ἀλλιστήσεται **57** 25; ἀνά[πασ]σον τὴν ψυχὴ αὐτ[οῦ] **60** 2–3; [ἀνάπασσον τὴν] ψυχ[ὴν] αὐτοῦ **61** 1–2; τὴν ψυχ[ὴν] αὐτοῦ **62** 2; ἀνάπ[ασ]σον [τὴν] ψυχὴν αὐτ[οῦ] **65** 3; ΕΚΕΑΝΑ[ΠΑΥΕ ΝΤΕΦ]ΨΥΧΗ **67** 2

ψώρα – Τ]ΕΨΩΡΑ **10** 2

ὡς – ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάν(θρωπος) **19** 11; ὡς μόνος ἀγαθὸς κ(αὶ) φιλάν(θρωπος) **22** 17; ὡς ἀγαθὸς (καὶ) φιλάν(θρωπος) **24** 16; ὡς μόν[ος] ὡς ἀγαθὸς (καὶ) φιλάν(θρωπος) **57** 14

EIKHO – 75 5

TOY[---] – 86

[---]ησεν – 55 4

[---]νου – 78 1–2

[---]ραντω – 75 4

[---]των – 65 5

## 10. COPTIC WORDS

ΑΠΑ – 39 10

ΒΩΚ, vb. – 92 C 9

ΒΑΛ – 91 D 5; 92 C 3

(ΒΟΛ) ΝΒΟΛ – 40 I

ΕΒΟΤ – 37 6

ΕΦΩΠΠΕ – 11 6, 6–7

ΕΙ – 10 8 (1); 11 7; 92 E 2, E 3, E 6

ΕΙΜΕ – 92 C 7

(ΕΙΡΕ) [P- in light verb constructions, see under object nominal]

– P-: 35 7; 91 D 8, E 6; 92 (C 4), D 8, E 7

– ΛΛ=: (45 9); 51 I 3; 92 C 3, E 10

- ΕΙΣΖΗΗΤΕ – 91 C 4 (ΕΙΣΖΗΗΤΕ)  
 ΕΙΩΤ, ΕΙΩΤΕ – sing.: 10 5; plur.: 37 10  
 ΚΟΥΙ – 6 3  
 ΚΑΚΕ – 91 E 6, 7; 92 D 9 (two times)  
 ΚΟΥΝ<sup>ε</sup>, ΚΟΥΝ<sup>ϥ</sup> – 37 9; (39 13–14); 40 15; (45 11); 51 9; 67 2  
 (ΚΩΤΕ) ΚΟΤ<sup>ε</sup> – 38 5–6; 39 5; 40 9; 45 5 (ΚΚΟΤ<sup>ε</sup>); (46 6–7); 47 4 (ΚΚΟΤ<sup>ε</sup>); (50 5); (51 4); 92 C 10  
 ΚΛ<sup>ε</sup> – 38 5, 6; 39 5, 6; 40 8, 9; 45 5, 6, 10; (46 6, 7); 47 (4), 5; (48 3); 49 6; (50 5, 6); 51 3, (4), 14  
 ΛΑΛΥ – 91 E 4, D 6  
 (ΜΑ) ΜΑ ΜΜΟΩΦΕ – 91 C 8  
 ΜΕ, nn. – 92 E 9  
 ΜΟΥ, vb. – 92 E 4, 5  
 ΜΜΑΥ – II 6; ΕΤΜΜΑΥ: (10 4)  
 ΜΟΥΝ – (40 2)  
 ΜΠΤΡΕ – 92 E 7 (P-), E 9 (MΠT-)  
 ΜΗΤ – 29 4; ΜΗΤ- 31 7 (-ΦΑΜΕΤ); (33 4–5 (-ΛΥΤΕ)); 35 5 (-CΛΩϥ)  
 ΜΤΟΝ – vb. + ΜΜΟ<sup>ε</sup> – 29 2–3; 30 3–4; (31 5 (ΜΜΟC)); 32 4–5; 33 3; (34 4); (35 3–4 (ΜΜΟC)); 36 3; (37 5); 38 6–7; (39 7); (40 10); 45 7; 46 8; (47 5–6); (48 3–4); (51 5); 63 5 (in Greek linguistic context)  
 – nn.: 31 10 (ΤΕΙ-); (36 7: †-); 37 9 (†-); 38 11 (†-); (40 13: †-); (51 9: †-)  
 (ΜΕΥΕ) ΡΠΜΕΥΕ, nn. – 29 1 (-ΜΕΥΕ); 30 1; 31 1 (-ΜΕΥΕ); 32 1; 33 1; 34 1; (35 1); 36 1 (-ΜΕΥΕ); 37 3  
 ΜΟΩΦΕ – 91 C 8 (ΜΑ ΜΜΟΩΦΕ)  
 ΜΖΑΛΥ – 40 2–3  
 ΝΑ, nn. – 35 7 (P-)  
 ΝΑΗΤ – 36 5–6; 37 2  
 (ΝΟΥ) ΝΗΥ<sup>†</sup> – II 5  
 ΝΙΜ – interrog. pron.: 92 E 2, E 6  
 – adj.: 10 9; II 5; 91 D 10; 92 C 5, C 12  
 ΝΟΥΤΕ – 10 8; 29 6; 34 8; 35 6; (36 5); 37 1, 7; 38 2, (10); (39 2, 12); 45 1, 3–4 (ΝΟΥΔΕ), 10; (46 2); 47 1; (49 2); (50 1–2); (52 1); 91 (C 2), (E 1 [two times]), E 3, C 12, (D 2), D 3, D 4  
 ΝΑΥ, vb. – 91 D 4; 92 C 3  
 ΝΑΩΦ<sup>ε</sup> – 92 E 10  
 (ΝΟΥ<sup>ε</sup>) ΝΟΧ<sup>ε</sup> – 40 15; (45 11?)  
 ΝΟC – 92 C 11  
 ΟΝ – 38 6; (39 5); (40 9); 46 7; 47 4; 49 6; (50 5)  
 ΠΕ, ΠΗΥΕ – sing.: 40 4, (14); 92 C 10; plur.: 45 13; 68 3; 70 3; 72 2  
 ΠΕΧΕ – 92 E 1  
 ΡΟΕΙC ΕΡΟ<sup>ε</sup> – 91 F 1, F 2, (F 3), F 4  
 ΡΩΜΕ – 91 E 6; 92 D 8  
 ΡΟΜΠΕ – 45 9; (51 13)  
 ΡΑΝ – II 2; 37 (1), II  
 ΡΠΕ – 92 D 11  
 ΡΡΟ – 91 A 10  
 ΜΠΤΕΡΟ – (30 9); 31 12–13; 32 10; 40 14; 45 12–13; (68 2–3); (72 1); ΜΕΠΤΕΡΟ: 70 1–2; ΜΠΤΡΡΟ: 33 8–9  
 ΡΑΦΕ – 92 C 11  
 ΡΟΥ – 29 4; 31 6; 32 6; (33 4); (34 5); (35 4); 36 3; 37 6; (39 9); (48 5)  
 ΡΟΥΤΕ – 91 C 5; ΡΟΥΤΕ – 91 C 7  
 ΡΜΗ – 91 C 6  
 ΡΜΟΥ, vb. – 92 C 9, C 12  
 (CON) ΡΝΗΥ – 91 A 3; 92 E 3  
 ΡΝΑΥ – 32 6; -ΡΝΟΥΥC: 30 5  
 ΡΟΥΝ – 92 E 8  
 ΡΟΥΥΤ<sup>†</sup> – 91 C 8  
 (CΛΩϥ) -CΛΩϥ – 35 5  
 ΡΑ<sup>ε</sup> – 6 1  
 ΡΖΑΙ – 92 C 1; ΡΖ<sup>ε</sup>: 92 E 8; ΡΖΑΙ<sup>ε</sup>: 91 D 11–12; 92 C 6; ΡΖ<sup>ε</sup>: 92 E 11 13; ΡΖ<sup>ε</sup>: 91 C 3  
 ΡΖΙΜΕ – 40 5; 91 A 11 (ΖΙΜΕ)  
 ΡΑΖΟΥ – vb. 10 7 (CΖΟΥΡ<sup>†</sup>)  
 – nn. – 10 8, 9  
 † – [†- in light verb constructions, see under object nominal] II 3 (Τ1), 5 (Τ1-); 31 10 (ΤΕΙ-); 36 7; 37 9; 38 11; (40 13); (51 9); 38 3 (ΤΑΛ<sup>ε</sup>); 91 D 2 (ΤΑΛ<sup>ε</sup>); 10 2 (ΤΟ<sup>†</sup>)  
 ΤΑΠΡΟ – II 7  
 ΤΗΡ<sup>ε</sup> – appositional: 34 10; 51 11; 66 11; (69 4); (71 3)  
 – ΤΗΡ<sup>ϥ</sup>, nn. 45 3; 47 2; 49 3; 50 3; 91 E 3; 92 D 4  
 ΤΩΤ (ΝΖΗΤ) – 92 C 2  
 (ΤΑΥΟ) ΤΑΥΕ – 37 11  
 ΤΑΖΟ<sup>ε</sup> – 91 E 7; 92 D 9

- ΟΥΑ ΟΥΛ – 91 D 12–13; 92 C 6, E II  
 ΟΥΕ, vb. – 92 C 9  
 ΟΥΟΕΙΝ – (66 10); (71 3); 91 E 5, E 6, E 6 (P-);  
 92 D 8 (two times), D 9 (P-)  
 (ΟΥΟΠ) ΕΤΟΥΛΛΑΒ – 10 6; 11 (i), 2, 8; 37 10; 91  
 F 6; ΠΕΤ-: (51 II); (69 3–4); (71 3); ΝΕΤ-: (66  
 10–11)  
 ΟΥΗΗΒ – 10 3  
 ΟΥΟΕΙΩ – 92 C II  
 ΟΥΩΩ – 92 E I, E 5  
 ΟΥΩΩΤ – 92 C 10  
 (ΟΥΩΩ) ΟΥΛΛΕ = ΝΑΛ – 91 D 8–9; 92 C 5, E 2  
 ΟΥΧΑΙ – II 3  
 ΩΝΩ, nn. – 91 (E 5), E 5; 92 D 7  
 ΩΡΧ – 91 D II; 92 C 6, C 7  
 ΩΩ – 91 C 6 (+ ΕΒΟΛ)  
 (ΩΟΜΠΤ) -ΩΑΜΕΤ – 31 7  
 ΩΑΝΩΤΗΩ – (36 6); 37 2–3 (ΩΑΝΕΩΤΗΩ)  
 ΩΩΠΕ – 10 4, 7; (30 10); 31 14; 34 II; 37 13  
 (two times); (40 16); 45 13–14; 68 4  
 (ΩΟΠΕ); (69 5 [two times]); (70 4); 91 D  
 6, E 3, E 4 (two times); 92 C 4, C 8, D 5, E  
 6 (two times)  
 – ΩΟΟΠ†: (91 E 2); 92 C II, D I, D 2, D 4  
 ΩΟΠ – II 6?; ΩΠ-: 92 E 12  
 ΩΑΡΑΩΕ – (40 7)  
 ΩΗΡΕ – 6 2 (ΩΠ), 4; 10 5; 11 4; 91 (A 1), (A  
 2), C 2  
 (ΩΟΡΠ) ΠΩΟΡΠ – 91 D 5, D 10–11; 92 C 4, C 5  
 ΩΑΧΕ, nn. – 91 (D 7), E 2; 92 C 1–2, C 4, C 7,  
 D 1, D 2, D 3, E 3  
 (Φι) Φ(ι) – II 7  
 (ΥΤΟΟΥ) ΕΥΤΟΟΥ – 18 14 (in Greek lin-  
 guistic context); -ΛΥΤΕ: 33 4–5; 34 5
- ΩΑΜΗΝ – 29 6–7 (ΑΑΜΗΝ); (30 9–10); 31 13;  
 32 12; 33 10; 34 II, 12 (ΑΜΗΝ); 35 9; 37 14;  
 (40 17); 45 14 (ΑΜΗΝ); (51 12); 67 4; (68  
 4); (69 4); 70 4 (ΑΜΗΝ); (72 2); 82 4  
 ΩΕ, nn. – (39 6); (40 7); 40 9; (46 7); 47 3, (5);  
 (48 x+3); 49 4; (51 5); 91 C 2, (D 1); 92 C 3  
 ΩΗ – 91 C 6, C 5 (ΩΗΗ)  
 ΩΩΩ = – 92 D 8, C 10 (ΩΩ =)  
 ΩΩΒ – 91 D 9; 92 C 5; ΩΩΥΕ: 92 C 2, E 10  
 ΩΗΗ, nn. – 91 C 5 (ΩΗΗ), C 7 (ΩΗΗ)  
 ΩΜΟΟС – 92 B I  
 ΩΝΑ = in P ΩΝΑ = – 91 D 8; 92 C 5  
 ΩΟΟΥ – 18 13 (? – ΧΟΟΥ); 30 3; 31 4; 32 4; 33  
 3; 34 3; 35 3; 37 4  
 ΩΟΥΕΙΤΕ – (91 E 2); 92 D I, D 3–4  
 ΩΑΩ – 92 C I  
 ΩΑΙΕ – 91 C 7  
 ΩΩ – 92 E II; ΧΟΟ =: 40 7; 45 4; 46 4; (47  
 3); 49 4; (51 2); 92 E 4  
 (ΧΩΚ) ΧΗΚ† – 91 F 6 (+ ΕΒΟΛ)  
 ΧΩΩΜΕ – (91 A 1); 92 E 12  
 ΧΠΟ, vb. – 91 (A 2), A 3 (two times), A 4  
 (ΧΗΟ), A 5 (two times), A 6 (two times), A  
 7, A 8 (two times), A 9, A 10 (two times), A  
 11 (ΧΠΕ-) –  
 – nn. 40 5; (91 A 1)  
 ΧΟΕΙС – 30 6; 31 9; 32 7; (33 6); 34 7–8; 35 6;  
 38 10; 39 II; (40 13); (67 1); (88 2); 91 C 7  
 ΧΟΟΥ – 91 C 4 (ΧΕΥ-) –  
 (ΧΟΥΩΤ) ΧΟΥТ- – 30 5 (-СНОΟΥС); 34 5 (-  
 ΛΥΤΕ); 36 4 (ΧΟΥ[Т-])  
 ΩΩ – 92 E I, E 6  
 ΩΟМ – II 6 (ΩΟΥМ)

## 11. NUBIAN WORDS

- АК- ‘to sit, remain, live’ – ΘΡ(ΟΝ)ΟСΛ-  
 ΔΟΛΟΝ ΔΕΜΟΥ: МБ ЛО АКОНА 24 30  
 ΑΜΗΝ ‘amen’ – ΑΜΗΝ ΑΥΤΑΚΑΜΗ 24 31  
 ΑΥ(ΕΙ) ‘to make, do’ – ΑΜΗΝ ΑΥΤΑΚΑΜΗ  
 24 31–2
- ΛӨ- ‘life’ – ΔΕΜΟΥ ΛӨИСΠΛΕ: П ЛО : 24  
 27–8  
 ГЕМ- (see ДЕМ-)  
 -ΛЕ ‘and, but’ – ΔΕΜΟΥ ΛӨИСΠΛЕ: П ЛО :  
 24 27

- ΔΟ 'upon, at, to, for, over' – ΘΡ(ΟΝ)ΟC̄Λ-  
ΔΟΛΟΝ ΔΕΜΟΥ : ΜΒ̄ ΛΟ ΛΚΟΝΑ 24 28  
ΕΝ- 'to be' – [ά]πώ [μαρ]τ(ύρων) ωσα ΕΙΝ̄  
24 33; ΠΟΥΩ [̄] ΕΙ[ΙΝ̄] 79 2-3; ΕΙΝΝ 80 2;  
ΕΙΝ̄ 80 3  
ΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟΥ 'bishop' – ό ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ [-... ΕΠ]ΙCΚΟ-  
ΠΟΥ όρθ(ό)δοξον ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 25 5; ό ΜΑ-  
ΙΕΡΟΥ ΑΡΕΝΤ[.]ΙΑ 41 4  
-ΜΗ imperative – Τ̄ΛΛ̄ΛΟΝ ΤΑΚΚΑ ΕΙC-  
CΙΓΡΑΜΗ 24 31; ΑΜΗΝ ΑΥΤΑΚΑΜΗ 24 31-2  
-ΟΝ 'and' – ΘΡ(ΟΝ)ΟC̄ΛΔΟΛΟΝ ΔΕΜΟΥ :  
ΜΒ̄ ΛΟ ΛΚΟΝΑ 24 20; Τ̄ΛΛ̄ΛΟΝ ΤΑΚΚΑ  
ΕΙCΣΙΓΡΑΜΗ 24 30  
ΠΟΥΩ- 'week' – ΠΟΥΩ [̄] ΕΙ[ΙΝ̄] 79 2  
ΤΑΚ- 'he, she, it' – Τ̄ΛΛ̄ΛΟΝ ΤΑΚΚΑ ΕΙC-  
CΙΓΡΑΜΗ 24 30  
Τ̄ΛΛ- 'God' – Τ̄ΛΛ̄ΛΟΝ ΤΑΚΚΑ ΕΙC-  
CΙΓΡΑΜΗ 24 30  
ΔΕΜ- 'year' – ΓΕΜΙ 18 16; ΔΕΜΟΥ ΑΩΙC̄ΝΔΕ  
: Π̄ ΛΟ : 24 27; ΘΡ(ΟΝ)ΟC̄ΛΔΟΛΟΝ  
ΔΕΜΟΥ : ΜΒ̄ ΛΟ ΛΚΟΝΑ 24 29  
ΕΙCΣΙΓΡ- 'to hallow' – Τ̄ΛΛ̄ΛΟΝ ΤΑΚΚΑ  
ΕΙCΣΙΓΡΑΜΗ 24 31

## 12. WORDS FROM OTHER LANGUAGES

### Aramaic

abba/apa – see Greek words *s.v.* ἄββα and  
Coptic words *s.v.* ΑΠΑ

amen – see Greek words *s.v.* ἀμήν and Copt-  
ic words *s.v.* ΖΑΜΗΝ

### Latin

indictio – see Greek words *s.v.* ἰνδικτίων

## 13. PECULIARITIES OF GRAMMAR AND ORTHOGRAPHY

### GREEK

#### I. Phonetics

##### a) Vowels

/a/

α for αι

ἐξουσία (= ἐξουσία) – 20 9; 21 10-11

/e/

αι for ε

ἀναψύξαιως – 22 13-14

ζήσεται – 22 17-18

ε for αι

κοίτε – 28 I

ε for η

ἐμέ(ρα) – 25 7

έρχου – 20 9

η for ε

ἐγέννητο – 2 2

/i/

ει for η

χλόει – 24 I2

ει for ι

ἐνείκησ[εν] – 9I B 3

μηνεῖ – 57 I8

ει for οι

προεῖα – 4I 2

η for ει

ἀμαρτήσης – 22 I8

μηζότερος – 56 II

η for ι

ἀνάπαυσης – 22 2I

ἀνάστασης – 22 2I–2

ἀρχηνοσ(άριος) – 2I II–I2

ἐκάθησεν – 19 19

κάθησας – 20 6–7; 2I 6; 26 I2–I3

λαμπρότιτη – 20 I6; 2I I7–I8 (λαμπρότιθη);

25 I2; 60 8–9 (λαμπρότητη); 6I 7

{τε}τελίωσης – 57 I6–I7

η for οι

γέννητο – I8 I6–I9; 63 3–4

δοιάνηαν – I9 II

ἐκημήθ[η] – 27 3

ι for ει

λίψα[να] – 28 I

{τε}τελίωσης – 57 I6–I7

φωτινω – I8 II (φ(ω)τι(ν)ών); I9 7; 22 I3; 24

II; 57 IO–II

ι for η

ἀναπαύσι (ἀναπαύση) – 56 I6–I7; 57 24

λαμπρότιτη – 20 I6; 2I I7–I8 (λαμπρότιθη);

25 I2; 6I 6–7

πάσις – I8 2; 57 I

τῆ βασιλεία – 63 4

ι for οι

κόλπις – 24 IO; 59 II

οι for ει

κοίτε – 28 I

οι for η

οδυνοίη – 60 6

τοῖς τρυφῆς – 60 IO

οι for ι

δοιάνηαν – I9 II

/o/

ο for ω

τῶν ἁγίων – 2I I8; 4I I2–I3; 60 9 (τῶ ἁγίων)

ζόν[των] – 57 27

τῶν οὐ(ρα)νῶν – 2I 2I

ἐν παραδείσος – 2I I9; 4I I4–I5

τῶν οὐ(ρα)ν[ῶν] – 57 28

Φαμενὸθ – 56 9

ογ for ο

τοῦ δεσποζόντους – 2I 3–4

ογ for ω

ζωὴν τοῦ κόσμου χαρισάμενος – 59 7

ω for ο

ἀνάπαν]σων – 28 5–6

ἀναπέμπωμεν – I9 I9–20

[ἄ]πῶ – 24 33

λώγω – 22 I6

στεναγμῶς – 22 I4

σὸν – 22 22

τῶν Ἀδην – 24 4

τῶν αἰῶνα – I9 I5; 22 20

τῶν θάνατον – 22 5; 24 3 (τῶν θάνατων)

τῶπω – 18 10–11; 18 11–12; 19 7 (two times); 19 7–8; 22 13 (three times); 24 11; 24 12 (two times)	Ἰσὰκ – 58 8; 60 5
ὦς – 22 17	Gemination of a vowel ὀδηγήσεις – 57 27 ὀδύνοιη – 60 6
/u/ γ for ουγ ἀκολύτως – 21 25–6	Metathesis παρεχθέν – 22 15–16
Simplification of a vowel Ἀβράμ – 24 10; 41 10; 58 7	Vowel development παρεχθέν – 22 15–16

## b) Consonants

κ for π καταβατήσας – 18 4; 58 3–4	Omission of c χλόη (for χλόης) – 22 13; 24 12 (χλόει)
π for κ πίου – 20 4	Addition of c οἱ ἅγιοι σου – 21 23 ἀμαρτήσης (= ἀμαρτήσει) – 22 18 παρ' αὐτοῦς – 19 10 ἡ δικαιοσύνης – 19 14–15; 24 20–1 ὀδηγήσεις – 57 27 ἐν παραδείσος – 21 19; 41 14–15 στεναγμοῖς – 20 15–16; 21 17; 57 13; 60 7–8
τ for θ ἀκολύτως – 21 25–6 αὐλιστήσεται – 57 25 ἔντα – 21 16; 22 14; 24 13; 57 12 μισταποδότα – 21 19–20	Gemination of consonant ἐγέννετο – 1 2; 2 2 (ἐγέννητο) σελλένη – 21 8; 56 9
Omission of n τῶ ἅγιον – 60 9 τὴν δόξα – 22 23 ἔχω (for ἔχων) – 57 8 τὸ <θάνατον> – 18 2	Simplification of consonant Μαθίας – 8
Addition of n φ(ω)τι(ν)ῶν – 18 11	Loss of aspiration in word-junction οὐκ ἀμαρ(τή)σι – 24 18–19
z for c χαριζόμενος – 18 5–6; 58 5	

## II. Morphology

Lack of augment  
χρήσατο – 41 4

## III. Syntax

## Nominative for genitive

δηγ( ) βασιλίσσα 2I 12; ἔξουσία οἱ (= ὦν) ἔρχου 20 9; τὴν ψυχὴν τὸν δούλον σου ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(οδόξου) ἐπισκ(όπου) ΠΑΧΩΡΑΣ κ(αι) ἀρχημανδρίτης ΠΟΥΚΩ κ(αι) ἀπόστολος τοῦ Βαβυλῶν κ(αι) ἔχων Τέσσαρα Ζῶα νῆσος ΤΗΜΕ 22 8-11; διὰ τ[ὴν κ]έλευσιν τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ τοῦ δ[ημιου]ργός 57 19-20; ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤΑ ἔχω (= ἔχων for ἔχοντος) Παφα[ῆ]λ ΤΑΜΤΗ 57 7-8

## Nominative for accusative

ἀνάπαυσον τὸν δού(λον) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ἐπίσκοπος 18 6-8; ἀνάπαυσον τὸν δούλον σου ἄβ(βα) Ι(ΗCO)Υ ὀρθόδοξος ἐπίσκοπος ΦΡΙΜ 19 4-5

## Genitive for dative

τῷ ἀγίῳ πν(εύματο)ς 19 23-4

## Accusative for nominative

τέλει [το]ῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο ὁ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ [- -- ΕΠΙ]ΣΚΟΠΟΥ ὀρθ(ο)δόξου ΚΟΥΡΤ(Ε) 25 4-6

## Accusative for genitive

τὴν ψυχὴν τὸν δούλον σου 22 8-9; σὺ γάρ ἡ ἀνάπαυσης κ(αι) ἀνάστασης τὸν σῶν

δούλον σου ἄβ(βα) ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ ὀρθ(ο)δόξου ἐπίσκ(οπον) ΠΑΧ(ΩΡΑΣ) 22 21-3; ἀνάπαυσον, κ(ύρι)ε, τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν δούλην σου 57 5-7

## Masculine for feminine

ιδὲ ἔξουσία αὐτοῦ οἰτοί (= αὐταί) εἰσιν 2I 11 (the case is uncertain); ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤΑ ἔχω (= ἔχων) Παφα[ῆ]λ ΤΑΜΤΗ (for a woman) 57 7-8; ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤ(Α) ὁ λεγ(όμενος) ΑΣΤΑ (for a woman) 57 24; ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤ(Α) ὁ καλλ(όμενος) ΑΣΤΑ (for a woman) 57 25; ἀνάπαυσον τὸν δούλον σου (for a woman?) 59 8-10

## Object and subject do not agree with each other grammatically

ἀναπαύσει σοι Χ(ριστ)έ 57 24; ὀδηγήσει σοι κ(ύρι)ς 57 26

## Present participle instead of aorist participle

ὁ ζῶν (for a deceased person) 20 7; 2I 7; 25 7; 4I 5

## Second person singular instead of third person singular

(καὶ) ἔξουσία οἱ ἔρχου 20 9

## IV. Other

Conflation of two verbs – 2I 23-4 (εἰσέλευσον)

Nominal form instead of verbal one – 2I 19-20 (μισταποδότα με)

Omission of noun – 18 2; 59 3-5

Omission of a part of prayer – 18 12; 22 17; 58 8-9

Prayer abbreviated – 57

Doxology abbreviated – 22 23; 24 25; 26 9-10

## COPTIC

## (a selection only)

λ for ο – 3I 7; 32 6

λλ for initial λ / 2λ – 29 6-7

ε for εε – 29 1; 3I 1; 36 1 (all μεγε)

ε for η – 9I D 6-7

- ε for η – 3I 7; 49 5–6?  
 ε for ς – II 5  
 ε for *schwa* – II 4–5; 40 7; 45 4  
 η for (ε)ι – 35 8–9; 9I C 5, C 7  
 η for π – 9I A 4  
 ηη for η – 9I C 5  
 (ε)ι for η – 29 5; 32 5; 47 2; 49 2–3  
 ει for ι – 3I 10; 9I B 3  
 η- (gen.) omitted – II 2, 3, 7  
 η- redundant – 45 5 (ΝΚΟΤΚ); 49 5  
 η- for ε- – 45 5, 5–6; 49 6–7  
 η- for κ(λ)- – II 4?  
 η- for μ- – 34 6  
 η- for μῆ – 35 7  
 η- for οὔη – II 6?  
 η- for ρη – 45 II, 12; 67 2; 92 C 5?  
 ΝΟΥΔΕ for ΝΟΥΤΕ – 45 3–4  
 ἸΖΗΤῆ for ΝΖΗΤῆ – 3I 5–6  
 ο for ω – 68 4  
 οο for ο – 47 4  
 πε redundant – 37 7  
 ογ for ο – II 6?  
 ϣ as ϣ – 32 9; 34 9; 35 8  
 ω for ο – 45 2; 46 I, 4–5; 9I A 10  
 ϣ for ϣι – II 7?  
 χ for τ.χ – 9I F 6  
 χ for ς (?) – 18 13  
 ς for ς – 9I C 4  
  
 ‘Akhmimic’ form – 3I 7  
 Article, def.: μ- for π- – 45 6  
 Article, def.: omitted (haplography) – II 7  
 (two times); 45 2  
  
 Article, indef.: omitted – 45 6  
 Colons (double, triple) – 33 4, (6); 45 8, 10,  
 14, 15; 5I 14  
 Diaereses – 39 9, 15; 45 8, 12 (two times); 46  
 1; 47 1, 2 (two times); 67 3 (two times)  
 Dittography – 3I 8  
 Dots over consonants – 30 6; 3I 1, 4, 5 (two  
 times), 10, II; 37 6; 38 4, 7; 45 5, 6, 7, 12,  
 13; 47 1, 3; 5I 2, 4, 9, 13; 9I A 4, A 5, A 6, A  
 7, A 9, A 10, B, C 6, C 8 (two times), D 2, D  
 3, D 5, D 9, D 10, E 3, E 7  
 Dots over syllabic vowels – 45 1, 4, 6; 70 3  
 (two times), 4 (two times); 9I B, C 3  
 Dots for abbrev. strokes – 3I top (two  
 times), 9 (two times)  
 Gender, wrong: pronouns – 32 5; 34 4–5; 40  
 15; 48 x+4  
 Haplography – II 7 (two times); 9I E 7, F 5;  
 92 C 2, E 7  
 Insertion of noun for pronoun – 45 3–4  
 Ligatures – 6 I (OY); 39 10 (XC)  
 Omission of noun – 29 2; 49 6  
 Omission of preposition – II 3 (Ϸλ), 7 (Ϸη);  
 9I F 5 (ε-)  
 Omission of pronoun (refl.) after ΜΤΟΝ –  
 3I 5; 35 4  
 Omission of verb – 45 II; 49 6  
 Perfect tense: awkward use – II 4, 6, 7  
 Perfect tense: ΠΕΤΑϣ- for ΠΕΝΤΑϣ- – 9I E 4  
 Word order, irregular – 46 5

## 14. TEXTUAL FORMULAE

- Age of deceased – 45 8–10; 5I 12–14  
 Apotropaic – 7 (?); 8; 9; 3I top; 34 12; 40  
 top & bottom; 45 top; 47 top; 9I; 92  
*Bismillah*, Coptic – 3I 1–3  
 Creed-like – 9I F 5–6  
 Curses – 10 4–6; 10 7–10; II 7–8?  
 Donation formula – II 2–3  
 Foundation formula – I 2; 2  
  
*Νικῆ*-acclamation – I 1; 34 12; 9I B 1–3  
 Prayer for protection – 6?; 9I F 1–4  
 Signature – 5  
 Trinitarian formulae – 10 5–6 (Coptic); II  
 1–2 (Coptic); II 7–8 (Coptic); 20 2–3  
 (Greek); 21 1–2 (Greek); 23 3–5 (Greek);  
 25 2–3 (Greek); 44 1–3 (Greek); 54 2–3  
 (Greek); 9I F 5–6 (Coptic)  
 Visitor’s inscription – 12

## Elements of funerary formulary: opening formulae

- ἔνθα κείται – 28 I  
 θεία προνοία – 20 3; 2I 2; 23 5-6; 25 3-4; 4I  
 2; 42 2; 43 I; 44 3-4  
 νεύσει καὶ βουλήσει – (53 I-2)  
 ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός  
 κτλ. – 18 I-12; 19 I-18, 20-4; 22 4-23; 23  
 I-25; 26 I-10; 57 I-15; 58 I-II  
 ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΠΟΦΑΣΙΣ – 38 I-2; (39 I-2)
- ΠΡΗΜΕΥΕ Ν- / Μ- – 29 I; 30 I; 3I I  
 2Λ ΠΡΗΜΕΥΕ Ν- / Μ- – 32 I; 33 I; 34 I; (35  
 I); 36 I; 37 3  
 ΣΙΤΗ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ – 45 I; 46 I; 47 I; 49 I; 50  
 I; 52 I  
 ΣΜ ΠΡΑΝ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΝΑΗΤ ΛΥΘ ΠΩΝ-  
 ΣΤΗΘ – 37 I-3

## Death-name-date formulae

- without an introducing verb – 22 24-6  
 ἀνεπαύσατο (with variants) – 18 13-15; 56  
 7-8  
 ἀπέθανεν – 19 19-20; 20 8; 2I 7-8; 24 33-5;  
 25 8; 4I 6-7  
 ἐκοιμήθη – 27 2-3  
 τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο – 20 4-5; 2I 3-4; 23  
 7-8; 25 4-5; 42 3-4; 43 3-4; 54 6-7
- ΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟϛ – 36 2-3; 63 5  
 ΠΕΞΟΥΓ + ΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟϛ (ΠΕ) – 29 2-3; 30  
 3-5; 3I 3-6; 32 3-6; 33 3-4; (34 3-5); (35  
 3-4); 37 4-6  
 Gen. 3:19 (+ ΝΤΕΙΣΕ) + ΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟϛ – 38  
 6-7; (39 7); (40 9-10); 45 7; 46 8; 47 5-6;  
 (48 3-4); (5I 4-5)

## Invocations

- κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν – 55 I  
 Χ(ριστ)ὲ ὁ θ(εός)ς – 20 II; 2I 13; 25 8; 28 5; 4I  
 8; 42 7  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ – 45 IO  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΒΡΑΣΑΜ ΜΝ ΙΣΑΑΚ ΜΝ ΙΑΚΩΒ  
 – 37 7-8  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΝΑΗΤ ΛΥΘ ΠΩΝΣΤΗΘ – (36  
 5-6)
- ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΙC – 32 7; 33 6-7  
 ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΙC ΠΕΧC – 3I 9; 40 13  
 ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ – 34 7-8; 35 6; 38 IO; (39  
 II-12)  
 ΤΧΛΛ – 24 30

## Prayer formulae

- bring + to eat from the tree of life – 2I 23-5  
 grant + a portion and allotment together  
 with all saints – 55 8-II  
 have mercy + soul – 35 7-8  
 <make recline> + with Patriarchs + in King-  
 dom of Heavens – 45 II-13
- recompense + the Kingdom of Heavens +  
 the paradise of joy + where all saints  
 rejoice – 2I 19-23  
 rest – (36 7)  
 rest + him/her + in Kingdom of Heaven +  
 with Patriarchs – (40 13-16)

- rest + him/her + with Patriarchs + with Saints – 51 8–11  
 rest + soul – (38 11)  
 rest + soul + from all anxieties – 34 8–10  
 rest + soul + in Kingdom – 30 7–9; 31 10–13; 32 7–10; 33 7–9  
 rest + soul + the Kingdom of Heavens – 55 7–8  
 rest + soul + the paradise of joy + the Kingdom of Heavens – 63 1–5  
 rest + soul + with Patriarchs – 28 5–8; 37 9–12; (39 12–15); 67 1–3  
 rest + soul + with Patriarchs + the brilliancy of the saints – 62 1–7  
 rest + soul + with Patriarchs + whence pain and grief and lamentation have fled away + the brilliancy of the saints + the paradise of joy – 20 12–18; 21 13–19; 25 9–14; 41 8–15; 42 7–12 (without the paradise of joy); 60 2–10; 61 2–9  
 rest + soul + with the bishops – 65 2–4  
 [-] + with Patriarchs + in Kingdom of Heavens – (68 1–3); (72)
- [-] + with Patriarchs + with Saints – (71 2–3)  
 [-] + with Saints – (66 10–11); (69 3–4)
- pax*-formula – 29 5–6; 32 11; (33 9); 35 8–9; 67 4; (82 4)
- Amen  
 – single ἀμήν (ΑΜΗΝ / ΖΑΜΗΝ) – 19 25–8; 20 18; 29 6–7; 32 12; 33 10; 35 9; (41 15); 42 13; 44 1; 57 21; 61 9; (72); 81 4  
 – ἀμήν (ΑΜΗΝ / ΖΑΜΗΝ) + γένοιτο (ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ) – 18 16–19; (51 12); 60 10–11; (66 14)  
 – ἀμήν repeated several times + γένοιτο – 21 26–7; 56 17–18  
 – ἀμήν (ΑΜΗΝ / ΖΑΜΗΝ) + ΕΘΕΩΘΠΕ – (30 9–10); 31 13–14; 34 11; (68 4)  
 – ΑΜΗΝ ΑΥΤΑΚΑΜΗ – 24 31–2  
 – ΑΜΗΝ / ΖΑΜΗΝ + double ΕΘΕΩΘΠΕ – (69 4–5)  
 – ΕΘΕΩΘΠΕ + ΑΜΗΝ / ΖΑΜΗΝ – (40 16–17); 45 13–14; 70 4  
 – double ΕΘΕΩΘΠΕ + ΑΜΗΝ / ΖΑΜΗΝ – 37 12–14

## 15. DECORATIVE ELEMENTS; SYMBOLS; ICONOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

- A Ω* – 19 bottom; 20 1 († Ω † *A* † Ω †); 22 1 ( $\bar{A}$  † Ω); 40 top ([Ω] *A*), bottom (Ω [*A*]); 41 1 (†  $\bar{A}$  † Ω †); 45 top (*A Ω A*); 47 top; 54 1 (*A* [Ω]); 63 bottom (*A Ω A*); 91 B (cross)
- A Ω* + Ψ(ησοῦ)ς ] Χ(ριστοῦ)ς 25 1  
 Ψ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστοῦ)ς / ΙC ΧC (with or without cross) – 23 2; 31 top  
 ὁ ἦν, ὁ ὤν – 91 B (cross)  
 ὁ ὤν – 23 1
- aedicula*-frame – 18; 19; 20; 21; 23; 24; 25; 26 (?); 33 (?); 45; 54; 55; 57; 59; 62 (?); 73  
 cross form stela – 90 (?)  
 cross, in decoration – 3 (under the inscription); 18; 19; 20; 31 top (three times); 37
- bottom (four times *pattée*); 40 top (three times), bottom (four times); 45 top (two times); 47 top; 52 top  
 cross, in epigraphic field, Greek – 1 2; 2 (reconstructed); 12; 18 1; 19 1; 20 1 (with *A Ω*); 21 1; 22 1 (with *A Ω*), bottom; 23 3 (reconstructed), 1; 27 1; 28 1; 29 7 (three times); 31 1, 14; 32 1, 12 (three times); 32 13; 33 1; 35 9 (three times); 36 1; 37 1; 38 1; 41 1 (with *A Ω*); 42 1; 43 1; 45 1 (in margin); 49 1; 57 (above the inscription, combined with φῶς ζωῆς); 57 1, 22, 24 (on the margin), 25 (on the border), 26 (on the border), 27 (on the margin); 59 1; 62 (under the inscription); 66 14; 67 4; 71 1

- (in margin), 4; 74 I; 91 A I (in margin), F I  
 (in margin), G 1-2 (in left and right margins); 92 C I, (D I), E I, E I3  
 cross, in epigraphic field, *pattée* – 37 I  
 cross, in epigraphic field, St Andrew's – 47 I  
 cross on standard, inscribed – 91 B  
 crosses over a zig-zag border – 50  
 cryptograms – 7; 23 IO; 91 B (cross), F 2, G  
 filler stroke(s) and *sim.* – 22 23; 45 I5; 51 I4;  
 57 2I; 92 C 8  
 materials (other than sandstone)  
 – marble – 89  
 – plaster – 91; 92  
 – brick/terracotta – 8; 9; 17; 51; 52 (?)  
 paint, remains of – 18 (in decoration); 19 (in  
 decoration and in letters); 20; 21; 23; 26;  
 47; 74; 76; 82  
 pentagram (pentalpha) – 91 F

## 16. BIBLICAL QUOTES AND REMINISCENCES

### (A SELECTION ONLY)

- Gen. 3:19 – 38 4-6; 39 4-6; (40 8-9); 45  
 4-6; 46 6-7; 47 3-5; (48 x+3); (49 5-6);  
 (50 4-6); 51 3-4  
 Job 14:1 (LXX) – 40 5-6  
 Ps. 24:13 – 57 25  
 Ps. 109:3 (LXX) – (51 11); (66 10-11); (69 3-4);  
 (71 2-3)  
 Ps. 114:9 – 57 24  
 Ps. 142:10 – 57 27  
 Isa. 40:3 – 91 C 4-8  
 Matt. 1:1-7 – 91 A  
 Matt. 8:11 – 37 9-12; 39 11-15; 40 13-16; 45  
 11-12; 51 9-10; 67 2-3; 68 1-2; (71 2)  
 Mark 1:1-4 – 91 C  
 Mark 16:19 – 92 B  
 Luke 1:1-3 – 91 D  
 Luke 1:1-4 – 92 C  
 Luke 16:22 – 37 9-12; 39 11-15; 40 13-16; 45  
 11-12; 51 9-10; 67 2-3; 68 1-2; (71 2)  
 Luke 23:42 – 30 8-9; 31 12-13; 32 9-10; 33  
 8-9  
 Luke 24:51-53 – 92 C  
 John 1:1-5 – 91 E; 92 D  
 John 21:22-25 – 92 E  
 Rev. 1:8 – 91 B (cross)  
 Rev. 7:17 – 57 26

## CONCORDANCES

### EXCAVATION NUMBERS

52.099/AI	66	78.1.28/15	73
66.2.1/1	30	78.1.31/28	38
66.2.2/1	33	78.2.1/9	77
66.2.2/2	34	78.2.11/34	57 (main body)
66.2.2/5	32	78.2.16/2	49
66.2.21/10	70	78.2.16/3	42
66.2.22/12	13	78.2.21/5	39 (fragment B)
66.2.27/1	36	78.3.18/1	88
66.3.6/4	83	78.3.19/19	84
66.3.17/9	29	78.3.22/1	74
69.3.4/5	6	78.3.26/2	80
72.10.11/11	69	80.1.19/42	75
72.11.2/1	41	80.1.23/24	87
74.1.25/1	44	80.1.26/22	61
74.1.27/8	31	80.1.27/18	50
74.1.28/22	7	80.1.29/3	76
74.1.30/3	86	80.3.8/1	12
74.2.5/8	3	80.3.13/1A	67
74.2.6/20	85	80.3.13/1B	35
74.2.8/2	82	82.2.2/66	90
74.3.3/19	39 (fragment A)	82.2.14/84	81
74.3.14/2	43	82.2.25/72	10
76.1.28/19	28	82.3.6/4	68
76.2.2/1	68	84.2.23/58	2 (left-hand part)
76.2.10/8	2 (right-hand part)	88.1.1/20	40
76.2.26/2	8	(A-D, F-G, J-K)	
76.2.26/3	9	88.1.1/20 (E)	64
78.1.23/16	25	88.1.1/20 (H)	72
78.1.23/17	48	89.12.25/10	51 (fragment from the right-hand margin)
78.1.23/18	47 (fragment B)		
78.1.24/2	62		
78.1.25/6	52	89.12.26/5	15 (lower part)

89.12.27/7	15 (upper part)	99.999/A11	40 (top right corner)
89.12.27/8	16		
89.12.29/1	46	99.999/A12	69
90.1.3/6	51 (fragment from the right-hand margin)	99.999/A13	40 (central piece without margins)
90.1.10/3	51 (fragment from the right-hand margin)	Unknown: 1, 4, 5, 11, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 (upper and lower fragments), 24, 26, 27, 45, 47 (fragment A), 53, 54, 55, 57 (lower left-hand corner), 58, 59, 60, 63, 65, 71, 78, 79, 89	
90.2.8/5	37		
99.998/A17	51 (fragment from the lower rim)		
99.999/A2	14		

## REGISTER NUMBERS

64/12	57 (lower left-hand corner)	66/100	78
		66/101	21
64/16	59	66/102	23 (upper fragments)
64/17	45		
64/26	63	66/103	19
64/39	58	66/104	20
64/44	11	66/105	18
64/45	5	66/106	24
64/68	47 (fragment A)	66A/107	29
64/82	17	69/111	6
66/1	30	69/126	54
66/2	33	72/69	56
66/3	34	72/70	41
66/5	32	74/5	31
66/7	60	74/195	38 (fragment A)
66/33	79	74/230	7
66/37	26	74/247	43
66/39	70	76/109	8
66/41	23 (lower fragment)	76/110	9
		78/1	57 (main body)
66/43	1, 22	78/5	38
66/46	55	78/6	80
66/51	36	78/177	25, 42
66/64	83	78/672	74
66/83	65	78/720	84

78/784	52	90/351/a-c	51 (fragments from the right-hand margin)
78/789	88		
80/477	67		
80/478	35	90/683	37
80/479	76	90/685/a	15 (lower part)
80/480	50	90/685/b	15 (upper part)
80/481	75	90/685/c	16
80/836	87		
82/9	90	Unknown: 2 (right-hand part), 3, 4, 12, 13, 14, 27, 28, 39 (fragment B), 40, 44, 47 (fragment B), 48, 49, 51 (fragment from the lower rim), 53, 61, 62, 64, 66, 69, 71, 73, 77, 82, 85, 86, 89	
82/11	81		
82/12	10		
82/178	68		
84/138	2 (left-hand part)		
90/66	46		

## PHOTO NUMBERS

63.6/14	71	66P3/34	20
63.6/22	4	66P3/35	21
63V14/20	4	66P3/36	19
64.1/38	11	66P3/37	24
64.6/35	45	66V1/1-2	30
64.6/36	57 (lower left-hand corner)	66V1/5	34
		66V1/6	33
64.6/37	63	66V1/18	32
64.6/38	59	66V2/4	60
64.8/12	5	66V4/9	79
64.11/3	47 (fragment A)	66V4/12	26
	57 (lower left-hand corner)	66V6/9	70
	63	66V6/29-30	13
	45	66V6/32	23 (lower fragment)
64.11/6	17	66V7/24	22
64.11/33	91	66V7/28	1
64P9/6-13	27	66V7/29	22
64V14/4-5	5	66V7/30	55
64V14/7	71	66V8/24	36
64V14/15	47 (fragment A)	66V12/4	83
64V14/22	59	66V12/36	65
66.11/4	23 (upper fragments)	66V14/28	78
66P3/28	18	66V14/31	23 (upper fragments)
66P3/33			

66v14/34	23 (upper frag- ments)	78A52/6	38
		78A52/7	42
66v14/36	23 (upper and lower frag- ments)	78A52/8	57 (main body)
		78A52/9	25
		78A100/12	80
66v15/21	18	78A100/14	74
66v15/22	24	78A116/20	52
66v15/23	19	78F1/26	88
66v15/24	20	80F15/6	87
66v15/25	21	80F17/6	61
66v16/5-6	29	80F17/7	50
66vc5/36	23 (upper frag- ments)	80F17/8	76
		80F17/9	75
66vc6/1	18, 24	80F22/10D	2 (right-hand part)
66vc6/3	19	80F22/12A	3
66vc6/4	20	80F27/3	47 (fragment B)
66vc6/5	21	80F27/5	39 (fragment B)
68av9/35	89	82F60/2A-3A	81
69.2/26 (object on the right-hand side)	54	80F78/16	67
		80F78/17-18	35
69.7/34	6	80F80/21-22	12
72v1/23-24	56	82F87/33	10
72v4/34-35	41	82F89/4A-5A	10
74PI/3	44	82F113/15A	68
74v4/30 (object on the left-hand side)	85	82S10/30	10
		82v7/32	90
74v7/25	39 (fragment A)	84F81/26-29	2 (left-hand part)
74v7/32	82	88F29/25-34	40, 64, 72
74v7/33	31	88F31/12A-14A	40, 64, 72
74v7/34	44	90F17/30-31	51 (fragments from the right-hand margin)
74v14/29-30	7		
74v23/21-22	43		
76JEB2/25-26	28	90F21/2	46
76JEBc/8 and c/36	68	90F21/4	46
76JEBc/30	28	90F53/1	51 (fragments from the right-hand margin)
76JEBG/7	2 (right-hand part)		
76JEBN/11	8		
76JEBN/12	9	90F53/3-6	51 (fragments from the right-hand margin)
76PI/29	2 (right-hand part)		
78A30/7	49		
78A30/8	77	90F129/9-12	37
78A30/9	39 (fragment A)	90F129/14-16	37
78A30/10	62	90F132/17-18 (bottom)	15 (lower part)
78A31/1	53	90F132/17-18 (top)	15 (upper part)
78A31/2	73	90F133/1	16

92F68/16	14	92F99/7 (left)	69 (back)
92F68/17	40 (top right corner)	92F99/11 (right)	40 (top right corner)
92F68/18	69	92FCSI3/23-24 (top left)	14
92F89/1	40 (central piece without margins)	92FCSI3/23-24 (top right)	40 (top right corner)
92F89/1-12	66	92FCSI3/23-24 (bottom left)	40 (central piece without margins)
92F89/3-4	14	2000F18/32-35	51 (fragment from the lower rim)
92F89/5	69		
92F89/6	40 (top right corner)		
92F99/5 (left; back of the stone)	14	Unknown (not photographed): 48, 58, 84, 86, 92	
92F99/6 (right)	66 (back)		
92F99/7 (right)	40 (central piece without margins)		

## DOCUMENTATION SLIPS

3	30	269	47 (fragment B)
5	33	270	90
6	34	301	41
9	32	309A	6
30	31	358	52
53	7	359	2 (right-hand part)
84	86	447	29
112	28	589	66
157	70	612	38
180	68	895	39 (fragment A)
191	3	1067	43
232	85	1283	49
268	48	2569	88

## INVENTORY OF INSCRIPTIONS

(numbers refer to facsimiles and notes filed as 'Greek', 'Coptic',  
or 'Greek/Coptic Inscriptions')

C.I. 1	47 (fragment B)	C.I. 15	38
C.I. 2	48	C.I. 45	49
C.I. 3	39 (fragment A)	C.I. 63	39 (fragment B)

C.I. 89	88	C.I. 143	10
C.I. 103	80	G.I. 2	25
C.I. 110	75	G.I. 3	62
C.I. 112	87	G.I. 6	53
C.I. 115	61	G.I. 9	77
C.I. 116	50	G.I. 12	57 (main body)
C.I. 117	76	G.I. 15	42
C.I. 127	12, 35, 67	G.I. 36	84
C.I. 132	90	G.I. 40	74
C.I. 136	81	GC. 13	52

## COLLECTIONS

Birmingham, City Museum, Egyptian Gallery 556.69	23	Presumably at	52, 57 (the main body), 60, 67, 68, 80, 88 6, 31
Cairo, Egyptian Museum		Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum	
JdE 90875	33	Acc. No. E.53.1984	26
JdE 90876	34		
JdE 90877	32	Detroit, Institute of Arts	
JdE 90878	1, 22	Number unknown	36, 79
JdE 90880	21		
JdE 90881	19	Leiden, Rijksmuseum	
JdE 90882	18	van Oudheden	
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