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INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF PAPYROLOGY



UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW
FACULTY OF LAW AND ADMINISTRATION
CHAIR OF ROMAN LAW AND THE LAW OF ANTIQUITY



THE RAPHAEL TAUBENSCHLAG
FOUNDATION

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Keywords: variation, ancient Greek, lineage, Roman Egypt, Late Antique Egypt, parameters of variation.

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Keywords: declaration of birth, *lex Papia Poppaea*, public display of documents, exedra.

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Keywords: Coptic, ostraca, Western Thebes, MMA 1152, administration, taxes, guaranties, accounts.

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Keywords: labour contracts, *παραμοναί*, loans, *προχρεία*, liturgical work, chirographs, copies, *ἀντίγραφον*, *ἴσον*, notaries (High Empire), *ταβελλίων* (Late Antiquity).

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Keywords: Christian Nubia, onomastics, ghost names, Greek, Coptic, Old Nubian.

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Keywords: Syene/Aswan, Elephantine, Deir Anba Hadra, bishops, Late Antiquity, early Islamic period, funerary inscriptions, credit loan, inscribed terracotta lamps, Christian Nubia, Adulis.

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language. It is a *paraphrasis* combining two series of lessons on the Digest, an index, and a *paragraphai* lecture. They are dated between spring of 534 and March of 536 and were taught by an unknown law teacher (in either Beirut or Constantinople). Afterwards, they were used by Stephanus for his *paragraphai* on the digest. The latter seems to have taught between March 536 and a short time after 542. The unknown law teacher was probably one of the eight addressees of Justinian's constitution *Omnem*, who taught at two law schools. Four of those *antecessores* have already been excluded by other authors. The others have left either no or too few texts. Therefore, the attribution to one of these *antecessores* is impossible, perhaps except for Anatolius, who taught in Beirut.

Keywords: Roman law, juristic papyrology, literary papyri, *Digesta Iustiniani*, law teaching in Greek, contract law, *paraphrasis*.

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Abstract: First edition of two funerary stelae from the Monastery on Kom H, Dongola, inscribed in Sahidic Coptic. Both stelae show interesting textual features and bear absolute dates that assign them to the third quarter of the eighth century.

Keywords: Christian Nubia, Dongola, Makuria, Sahidic Coptic, funerary epigraphy, monasticism.

Grzegorz Ochała

NUBICA ONOMASTICA MISCELLANEA III

NOTES ON AND CORRECTIONS TO PERSONAL NAMES FOUND IN CHRISTIAN NUBIAN WRITTEN SOURCES*

THE PRESENT PAPER is the third instalment in a cycle of articles bearing the common title ‘Nubica onomastica miscellanea’ (‘NOM’),

*The article has been prepared within the framework of the project ‘What’s in a name?’ *A Study on the Onomastics of Christian Nubia*, financed by the National Science Centre of the Republic of Poland (no. 2015/17/D/HS3/00372). I would like to thank Adam Łajtar for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper and Giovanni Ruffini for correcting my English.

In addition to the standard papyrological and epigraphic sigla, I use the following abbreviations: BROWNE, *Dictionary* = G. M. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary* [= *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 556, Subsidia 90], Leuven 1996; BROWNE, *Grammar* = G. M. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar* [= *Languages of the World/Materials* 330], Munich 2002; DBMNT = Database of Medieval Nubian Sources (<www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl>); *I. Khartoum Copt.* = J. VAN DER VLIET, *Catalogue of the Coptic Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum* [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 121], Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA 2003; *I. Khartoum Greek* = A. ŁAJTAR, *Catalogue of the Greek Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum* [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 122], Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA 2003; *I. Qasr Ibrim* = A. ŁAJTAR & J. VAN DER VLIET, *Qasr Ibrim. The Greek and Coptic Inscriptions Published on Behalf of the Egypt Exploration Society* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 13], Warsaw 2010; *P. Qasr Ibrim II* = G. M. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim II* [= *Egypt Exploration Society. Texts from Excavations* 10], London 1989; III = IDEM, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim III* [= *Egypt Exploration Society. Texts from Excavations* 12], London 1991; IV = G. R.

where I discuss corrections to the reading of names occurring in Christian Nubian written sources.¹ The corrections have been assembled during my work on the project *‘What’s in a name?’ A Study on the Onomastics of Christian Nubia*, an essential stage of which was the verification of editions of those sources.

The material presented here is organised geographically, from north to south. Where possible, the discussion is supported by relevant illustrations. Note that the corrections are made with reference to the latest edition of the text, but they always take into account previous publications.

For rendering proper names standing outside their actual linguistic context, I use the Coptic font throughout the article, as it reflects in the best possible way the actual graphic form of the word. This should by no means be treated as a marker of the ‘language’ or genealogy of the name. On the other hand, whenever the names are quoted with the surrounding context, the font is adjusted accordingly: Coptic font for Coptic and Nubian linguistic contexts, Greek font for Greek context.

A. NORTHERN NUBIA

In this section, corrections to three Coptic legal documents on leather are presented. All of them were acquired on antiquities market and therefore their exact provenance is unknown. However, the occurrence in them of such toponyms as Ichmindi and Kourte makes their northern Nubian origin highly probable.

RUFFINI, *The Bishop, the Eparch and the King: Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim IV* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 22], Warsaw 2014.

¹ Apart from the present text, the NOM-series includes the following papers: part I: ‘Notes on and corrections to personal names found in inscriptions from Faras’, *Études et travaux* 32 (forthcoming); part II: ‘Notes on and corrections to personal names found in inscriptions from Sakinya’, *Bulletin de la Société de l’archéologie copte* 56 (forthcoming); part IV: ‘Notes on and corrections to personal names found in Old Nubian documents from Qasr Ibrim’ (in preparation); part V: ‘Reedition of two Old Nubian lists of names from Qasr Ibrim’ (in preparation).

1. *P. Lond. Copt. 450 (DBMNT 631): deed of land sale*

The present text belongs to a small dossier of Coptic legal texts on leather bought by Thomas Legh at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Aswan and subsequently donated to the British Museum in London; they are now stored in the British Library. The document is a fragmentarily preserved land sale by one Thekla to Abraham and Menanta, his wife, dated to the time of King Ioannes (9th century). At its end, a list of witnesses to the transaction is recorded (verso, ll. 4–9). The name of one of them, preserved in line 6, is transcribed by Walter Crum in the following manner: † ἀνοκ ιωσνϥ πετι τιομμν[τρϥ, ‘I Ioseu Peti, I am a witness’. The reading ιωσνϥ is problematic. Trismegistos People qualifies the form as a variant of the name Joseph (TM Nam 3467, Namvar 53828), but this is highly uncertain, as it would require the assumption that ϕ and (o)ϣ can interchange, which is phonologically unlikely. It is also uncertain how this name should be connected with the following πετι, a male personal name of unknown origin:² the two could form either a double name Ioseu Peti or the latter could be the name of the father. The latter solution seems preferable, as this is in fact the format applied for other witnesses in this document: Ioakim son of [---] (l. 5), Chael son of M..kouda (l. 7), Makari son of B--- (l. 8), and Pe.. son of Mena (l. 9). In all these cases, however, the patronymic is introduced by the noun ‘son’, the Coptic πωυρ[ε for Ioakim and the Greek υἱός for the remaining three men (twice noted down with the abbreviation ϣ̅ and once with ϣ̅̅).

Taking all of the above into account, an alternative reading can be proposed here, or in fact two alternatives. The doubtful *upsilon* could be taken as either (1) a misread *phi* or, more probably, *fai*, producing the readings ιωσνϥ (TM Namvar 10329 [Greek] and 53829 [Coptic]) and ιωσνϣ

² According to G. HEUSER, *Die Personennamen der Kopten I: Untersuchungen*, Leipzig 1929, p. 26, this is an Egyptian formation with the meaning ‘the one who comes’; note, however, that in Old Nubian the word πετ(τ)- means ‘date, date palm’, which seems quite good for a name (BROWNE, *Dictionary*, p. 150). For the name Peti, cf. J. VAN DER VLIET, ‘Churches in Nubia, old and «new»’, [in:] IDEM, *Christian Epigraphy of Egypt and Nubia*, London – New York 2018, p. 312, with n. 42 (reprinted from *Bulletin de la Société d’archéologie copte* 38 [1999], p. 141, with n. 42).

(TM Namvar 53825) respectively, or (2) the partly preserved abbreviation $\overset{[0]}{\Upsilon}$. While the former solution is palaeographically quite possible, it does not resolve the question of the following $\pi\epsilon\tau\iota$. Therefore, the latter proposition seems more plausible to me, all the more so since it finds confirmation in the use of the abbreviation $\overset{0}{\Upsilon}$ for two other witnesses on the list. The new reading would thus be: $\alpha\nu\omicron\kappa \iota\omega\chi\overset{[0]}{\Upsilon} \pi\epsilon\tau\iota \tau\iota\omicron\mu\mu\mu\eta[\tau\rho\epsilon$, ‘I Iose son of Peti, I am a witness’. $\iota\omega\chi$ is attested thrice in Egyptian sources as a variant of Joseph (TM Namvar 53824).

2. CPR IV 28 (DBMNT 636): deed of land sale

This text was bought by Jakob Krall in 1898 in Luxor and subsequently donated to the Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Bibliothek in Vienna (inv. no. K 2831). This is a sale of land in Coptic by one Mariti.. to Mena and his wife Sion dated to the reign of King Kyriakos (8th century). The text was first published by Krall in 1898³ and then sixty years later by Walter Till as CPR IV 28. Judging by the differences in their transcriptions, the state of preservation of the document must have considerably worsened over decades, especially in the upper part.

Thanks to a quality colour photograph recently published on-line at the website of the Vienna papyrus collection,⁴ it is possible to correct the reading of one of the entries on the list of witnesses accompanying this document. In line 25 the previous editors read $\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\iota\varsigma \pi\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\alpha\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ (Krall) and $\alpha\eta\alpha\eta\iota\varsigma \pi\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\alpha\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ (Till). While the former interpreted his reading as a corrupted form of the Greek $\kappa\rho\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$, ‘butcher’, the latter suggested in the apparatus that this may be a corrupted version of $\gamma\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma$ for $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, but he refrained from translating it in this way. The new photograph brings a solution to this problem (fig. 1). First, it clearly shows that the second letter of the word is indeed a *kappa* as read by Krall, not a *gamma* as transcribed by Till. Second, while the sign after the $\pi\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha$

³ J. KRALL, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Blemyer und Nubier* [= *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie Wien, philosophisch-historische Classe* 46], Vienna 1898, pp. 15–20.

⁴ <<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00001395>>.

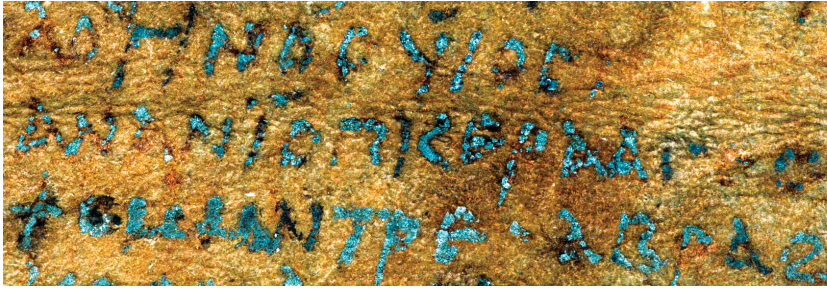


Fig. 1. Detail of *CPR* IV 28
(after <<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ000001395>>)

indeed may be taken to be another *alpha*, it seems more probable to me that this is a somewhat clumsily rendered minuscule *mu*, examples of which can be found throughout the text. Unfortunately, its right part is severely obliterated and the reading cannot be secured. However, should this be the case, the next two letters, although now almost completely invisible, must be *epsilon* and *upsilon*. The proposed new reading would therefore be ἀνανις πικεραμῆϥ, ‘Ananis the potter’. This is all the more probable, since a certain Abraham the potter is mentioned as a witness in lines 27–28 of the same text.

3. *SB Kopt. I 37* (DBMNT 2056): *entagion*

The same Jakob Krall published yet another northern Nubian legal Coptic document on leather.⁵ The text belongs to a lot of six similar documents that were donated to the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria by G. Chini,⁶ but the circumstances of their acquisition are unknown as are their present whereabouts. The text in question is a receipt issued by one

⁵ J. KRALL, ‘Ein neuer nubischer König’, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 14 (1900), pp. 236–242, at 233–236; republished by Monika Hasitzka in *SB Kopt. I 37*.

⁶ KRALL, ‘Ein neuer nubischer König’ (cit. n. 5), p. 234.

Heutora daughter of Anna confirming that she received the agreed price for a piece of land from the buyer, a certain Philotheos son of Kyriakos. The validity of the document is confirmed by six witnesses.

One of those witnesses identifies himself as $\alpha\text{νο}\kappa\ \iota\omega\alpha\text{κο}\upsilon\text{ρ}\tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\ \text{ⲫ}$ ⁷ (ll. 14–15). Krall did not translate the list of witnesses or comment on it and we therefore do not know what his interpretation was of this $\iota\omega\alpha\text{κο}\upsilon\text{ρ}\tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa\epsilon$. And indeed, this designation is bizarre and does not resemble any simple proper name known from either Nubia or Egypt. It, however, bears resemblance to the double name Isi Kourteki occurring in the Old Nubian deed of land sale *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 69 (DBMNT 638), ll. 10 and 11. The latter name belongs to a certain landowner and is mentioned twice in describing borders of a plot of land: in line 10 in the form $\text{ⲓ}\text{ϥ}\ \text{κο}\upsilon\text{ρ}\tau\epsilon\kappa\eta$ and in line 11 as $\text{ⲓ}\text{ϥ}\ \text{κο}\upsilon\text{ρ}\ \text{ⲧ}^{\prime}\text{ⲕ}\eta$. It thus seems that in Krall's document we are dealing with an analogous construction and the whole entry should be transcribed $\alpha\text{νο}\kappa\ \iota\omega\alpha\ \text{κο}\upsilon\text{ρ}\tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\ \text{ⲫ}$. Since $\iota\omega\alpha$ is a well-attested variant of the name Ioannes (TM Nam 3464, Namvar 53783), there can be no doubt that the witness' name was in fact Ioannes Kourtouke. The question still remains, however, how to understand the second element of both names. For Isi Kourteki, Giovanni Ruffini suggested that $\text{κο}\upsilon\text{ρ}\tau\epsilon\kappa\eta$ may be analysed as a toponym $\text{κο}\upsilon\text{ρ}\tau\epsilon$ followed by the postposition $-\kappa\eta < -\kappa\alpha$, the Old Nubian directive.⁸ While identifying $\text{κο}\upsilon\text{ρ}\tau\epsilon$ with the town of Kourte in northern Nubia, the seat of the bishop of Kourte in the Christian period, seems highly probable, taking $-\kappa\eta/-\kappa\epsilon$ as the directive is not convincing at all – what would its grammatical and syntactical function be in connection with a proper name, especially in a Coptic linguistic context? Instead, an alternative interpretation can be put forth, namely that $-\kappa\eta/-\kappa\epsilon$ is just a 'Copticised' version of the Greek ending $-\text{ικος}$ forming gentilicia (as in $\text{Κρήτη} > \text{Κρητικός}$), thus, simply, 'a person from Kourte'.⁹

⁷ Krall transcribed the sign here and with other witnesses as ⲫ , the siglum for πρεσβύτερος , but there can be no doubt that he meant the siglum ⲫ , standing for μαρτυρῶ , 'I am a witness'.

⁸ *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, p. 96.

⁹ I am grateful for this explanation to the anonymous reviewer of my paper.

B. GINARI

The excavation conducted in 1908/9 by Colin M. Firth at cemetery 55 in Ginari, near Tafa, brought to light a group of fifty-one epitaphs, exclusively in Greek, dated to the seventh–ninth centuries. Their very preliminary transcriptions were published by Firth himself already in 1912.¹⁰ Since then, ten of them were republished by various scholars on different occasions,¹¹ but for the rest, the only edition is that of Firth. Studying them is seriously hindered by the fact that a photograph was published for only six objects.¹² Moreover, the present whereabouts of the majority of them are unknown.¹³ Nevertheless, making use of our current knowledge of Nubian epigraphy, in many a case it is possible to correct and improve Firth's transcriptions even without illustrations. Below, I am presenting six such cases pertaining to names found in the Ginari epitaphs.

4. Epitaph of the woman Toub() (DBMNT 408)¹⁴

In Firth's publication, we find the following transcription of the beginning of this epitaph:

¹⁰ C. M. FIRTH, 'Appendix II: Catalogue of the Greek gravestones of the Christian period from Ginari, Cemetery 55', [in:] IDEM, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1908–1909*, vol. I, Cairo 1912, pp. 45–50.

¹¹ For bibliographic details, see n. 13 below and relevant records in the DBMNT.

¹² FIRTH, 'Catalogue of the Greek gravestones' (cit. n. 10), pl. 51a.

¹³ We only know that four epitaphs are now in the Elephantine Museum in Aswan (Maria Grazia TIBILETTI BRUNO, *Iscrizioni nubiane*, Pavia 1964, nos. 18 [DBMNT 431], 49 [DBMNT 436], 56 [DBMNT 542], 59 [DBMNT 449]), three in the Archaeological Museum in Cracow (A. ŁAJTAR, 'Three Greek Christian epitaphs from Lower Nubia in the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Cracow', *Materiały Archeologiczne* 27/2 [1994], pp. 55–61 [DBMNT 406, 407, 420]), one in the Schriftmuseum J. A. Dortmond in Amsterdam (IDEM, 'On the provenance of the four Christian inscriptions: SB X 10515–10516, M. G. Tibiletti Bruno, *Iscrizioni nubiane* 49, 56', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 95 [1993], p. 243 [DBMNT 438]), and one used to be in the Michaelides collection in Cairo, but is now missing (*ibidem*, pp. 241–242 [DBMNT 430]).

¹⁴ FIRTH, 'Catalogue of the Greek gravestones' (cit. n. 10), p. 45, grave 123.

- 1 *υπερ μνημης και α*
- 2 *ναπαυσει θ(εο)ς της μακαρι*
- 3 *ας του β[ιου] εκοιμηθη ...*

Such a reading is obviously nonsensical, especially the combination *αναπαυσει θ(εο)ς*, which can easily be corrected to *ἀναπαύσειος* or even *ἀναπαύσεως*. Also the phrase *της μακαρίας του β[ιου]* is puzzling: it is not attested elsewhere as a funerary formula and does not make sense as such ('the blessed in life?'). Moreover, this reading leaves the epitaph without the name of the deceased, an indispensable element in the commemorative function of a funerary monument.

Unfortunately, no image of the object has ever been published, which makes it impossible to assert any alternative reading. Nevertheless, it is doubtless that what stands between *τῆς μακαρίας* and *ἐκοιμήθη* must be the name of the deceased woman. The name, therefore, starts with *τογβ*, and the rest of it was either lost or abbreviated.¹⁵ However, taking into account the fact that the text appears to be otherwise complete, an abbreviation seems slightly more probable here; we could even imagine that the *beta* was shifted above the *του* in a typically Nubian abbreviating style. Unfortunately, no other Nubian name is known to begin with *τογβ*. A possible candidate is the Egyptian name Toubā (TM Nam 13579), but this seems to be attested only once, and not securely enough, in the Egyptian Coptic document *P. KRU* 67 (Thebes, 6th–8th cent.), l. 76: *αβραζαμ ντογβα*, 'Abraham, (the son) of Toubā'.¹⁶ Alternatively, this may be a variant of the name *τογπελς* (TM Nam 27816) known from the Nubian Coptic document *P. Lond. Copt.* 452 (northern Nubia, 8th–9th cent. [DBMNT 632]), ii, l. 1. Neither option seems convincing enough, however; hence in the proposed new reading the name must remain unresolved:

¹⁵ Firth's use of the round and square brackets is so inconsistent that one never knows whether he means a lacuna or a resolution of an abbreviation; see, e.g., FIRTH, 'Catalogue of the Greek gravestones' (cit. n. 10), p. 45, grave 79, pl. 51a.2 (DBMNT 405), where the *nomen sacrum* *ιϛ̅ χ̅* clearly visible on the photo in line 1 has been transcribed as *ι[ησου]ς χ[ριστο]ς*; and no. 7 below.

¹⁶ A. SCHILLER, *Coptic Wills: Translation and Commentary. The Egyptian Law of Wills in the Eighth Century AD*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California 1926, n. 10 on p. 20, suggests that this may in fact be a variant of the name Tobias.

- 1 ὑπὲρ μνήμης καὶ ἀ-
- 2 ναπαύσειος τῆς μακαρί-
- 3 ας Τουβ() ἐκοιμήθη ...

For the commemoration and rest of the blessed Toub(). She fell asleep ...

5. Epitaph of the man Ichilos (DBMNT 411)¹⁷

Firth transcribed the name of the deceased in lines 3–4 ο μα|καριος ιχι/λος. Without a photograph, it is impossible to assert what the oblique stroke in the middle of the word really means. Taking it literally, it should mark an abbreviation. If so, the transcription should rather have ιχι()λος. This, however, hardly seems likely, because the normal way to abbreviate a personal names in Nubia is to shift one letter, in most cases the last letter before the abbreviation, and place it above the rest of the word. Only one example of employing an oblique stroke in such a context is the Coptic epitaph of one Aleksandros from Sakinya, where the name is recorded as αλεζ/ (l. 5).¹⁸

Another possibility is that the stroke is in fact an *iota*, not entirely properly rendered by the lapicide and hence misinterpreted by Firth. An analogous case can be found in the Greek epitaph of one Protokia, probably from Tafa, where the name is written once as πρωτωκ//α.¹⁹ We would then have to transcribe the name as ιχιυλος. Alternatively, the stroke could be the long right-hand stroke of an *upsilon*, the preceding *iota* forming its short left-hand stroke. The transcription in such a case would be ιχγλος.

It seems, however, that yet another solution is most probable here. Firth used the same sign (/) twice more in the transcription of this text: in line 4 he wrote θω/θ and in line 9 γ/θ. Without a shadow of a doubt, the latter

¹⁷ FIRTH, 'Catalogue of the Greek gravestones' (cit. n. 10), p. 46, grave 208.

¹⁸ T. MINA, *Inscriptions coptes et grecques de Nubie*, Cairo 1942, no. 40 (DBMNT 132).

¹⁹ J. VAN DER VLIET & K. A. Worp, 'Four north-Nubian funerary stelae from the Banks collection', [in:] A. ŁAJTAR, G. OCHALA, & J. VAN DER VLIET, (eds.), *Nubian Voices II: New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 27], Warsaw 2015, pp. 28–43, at 30–32, no. 1 (DBMNT 3074).

is the misrendered numerical cryptogram $\varphi\theta$, 99, denoting the acclamation ‘Amen’. The cryptogram is never noted down in Nubian sources with an oblique stroke in its middle. Instead, as a numeral, it is normally marked with a supralinear stroke ($\overline{\varphi\theta}$).²⁰ Similarly, the name of the month Thoth in its most popular variant $\theta\omega\theta$ is rendered in Nubia on a regular basis with a long supralinear stroke ($\overline{\theta\omega\theta}$).²¹ Nowhere, apart from this text, does it occur with an oblique stroke placed in the middle of the word. It seems, therefore, highly plausible that the oblique stroke was employed in both cases as a substitute for a supralinear stroke, probably for the lack of an appropriate typographic sign used for the production of the volume. If so, the stroke in $\iota\chi\iota/\omicron\varsigma$ should most probably receive the same interpretation and hence the proper transcription of the name should be $\iota\chi\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$, or the like.

A separate question is the nature of the name Ichilos, which is otherwise unattested, but seems to be of Greek origin. We may be dealing here with a variant of the name Aischylos (TM Nam 1839), once attested in the form Ἰσχύλος (TM Namvar 46075; *O. Edfou* I 30, l. 1 [AD 29]). Tempting as it appears, this seems quite unlikely, as the attestations of this name do not go beyond the third century AD. Alternatively, this may be a variant of the names Ischyron (TM Nam 3445) or Ischyron (TM Nam 19174), the latter attested as $\iota\chi\iota\pi\omega\omicron\varsigma$ several times in Kellia in the sixth–seventh centuries.²²

6. Epitaph of the woman Sion (DBMNT 413)²³

In Firth’s transcription of the epitaph, the deceased person is presented in the following manner: $\eta \mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho(\iota\omicron)\varsigma \ddot{\iota}\omega\nu \mid \ddot{\iota}\epsilon/$ (ll. 2–3), which suggests

²⁰ The same is most probably true for two other Ginari epitaphs: FIRTH, ‘Catalogue of the Greek gravestones’ (cit. n. 10), p. 47, grave 323 (DBMNT 421), where we find $\gamma\theta/$ (l. 11), and *ibidem*, p. 48, grave 651 (DBMNT 432), where Firth transcribed γ/θ (l. 7).

²¹ See the list of attestations in G. OCHAŁA, *Chronological Systems of Christian Nubia* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 16], Warsaw 2011, table 35a on p. 225. Note, however, that the present example is listed there in the form taken directly from Firth’s transcript.

²² R. KASSER, *Kellia. Topographie* [= *Recherches suisses d’archéologie copte* 2], Geneva 1972, pp. 85, 86, 116, 118.

²³ FIRTH, ‘Catalogue of the Greek gravestones’ (cit. n. 10), p. 46, grave 249.

that we are dealing here with a man named either Ion, probably the abbreviated form of Ioannes, or Ionie, an otherwise unattested anthroponym. However, the presence of the feminine article ἡ and the feminine pronoun αὐτῆς in line 6 explicitly proves that the commemorated deceased was in fact a woman. If we are to believe Firth, the adjective ‘blessed’ was abbreviated. However, this could not have been an abbreviation by contraction (i.e. by omitting a certain number of characters inside a word), as suggested by Firth’s transcript, because this word was never abbreviated in such a way in Nubia. Rather, we have here an instance of abbreviation by suspension (i.e. by cutting off the ending of a word), where the final letter is usually marked with a special abbreviating sign (e.g. / or ϛ). Thus, what was visible on the stone most probably had the form η μακαρ or the like (cf. no. 7 below), allowing for the resolution ἡ μακάρι(α). Hence, the following *sigma* cannot belong to the preceding word but to the following name, which in this case should be rendered as ciων, a well-known female name attested in both Egyptian and Nubian sources (TM Nam 8652). Ionie is thus a ghost-name and should be struck out from Giovanni Ruffini’s *Nubian Personal Names*.²⁴

For the iε/ transcribed by Firth at the beginning of the next line, without a photograph, it is hard to say what it stands for. This may be an abbreviated word, the numeral ‘15’,²⁵ a misread preposition ἐν, or even something else, but it is doubtless that it cannot form a part of the name of the deceased.

7. Epitaph of Seueros (DBMNT 442)²⁶

Firth transcribed the phrase presenting the deceased in line 2 as ο μακ[αριος] ευηρος, thus suggesting that the adjective ‘blessed’ was partly lost in a lacuna and that the name of the commemorated man was Eueros.

²⁴ Available online at <<http://www.medievalnubia.info/dev/index.php/Names>>.

²⁵ The oblique stroke may represent here the supralinear stroke, as in the epitaph of Ichilos, no. 5 above. It may designate the age of the deceased.

²⁶ FIRTH, ‘Catalogue of the Greek gravestones’ (cit. n. 10), p. 49, grave 907, pl. 51a.6.

Luckily, in this case we have a photograph at our disposal allowing us to verify this reading (fig. 2). The photograph clearly shows that the correct reading is ο μακ σεῦρος, that is ὁ μακ(άριος) Σευήρος, ‘the blessed Seueros’. The name Eueros should therefore be struck out as a ghost-name from Ruffini’s *Nubian Personal Names*.

8. Epitaph of the woman Mprrhote? (DBMNT 445)²⁷

In lines 2–3 of Firth’s transcription, we find the presentation of the deceased person in the following form: η μακαρια | μπρρζοτε. The standard epithet ἡ μακάρια, ‘the blessed (f.)’, shows that the deceased was a woman. What follows it should be the name of the commemorated woman. μπρρζοτε transcribed by Firth looks strange to say the least. Although no photograph exists that would allow for a verification, it can safely be assumed that this is a misrendering of the Coptic phrase μπρρζοτε. It should probably be taken as a typographic error caused by the lack of an appropriate font for producing the volume rather than a mistake made by Firth while transcribing the inscription or by the stonemason while executing it.²⁸

μπρρζοτε is in fact the Coptic negative imperative, ‘Do not be afraid!’ It has not been attested as a personal name thus far and it is doubtful whether it could have ever been used as such, since Coptic does not know names constructed as verbal forms in imperative;²⁹ as far as we can tell, no parallel constructions can be recognised in local Nubian onomastics either. This may, in fact, be a sort of apostrophe addressed to the deceased woman asking her not to fear death. Such apostrophes are not

²⁷ FIRTH, ‘Catalogue of the Greek gravestones’ (cit. n. 10), p. 50, debris. The commentary on this inscription owes much to the insight of Adam Łajtar.

²⁸ An analogous example, where the Coptic *bori* was not rendered at all in Firth’s transcription is the epitaph of Abraham, no. 9 below.

²⁹ See HEUSER, *Die Personennamen der Kopten I* (cit. n. 2), pp. 53–54.

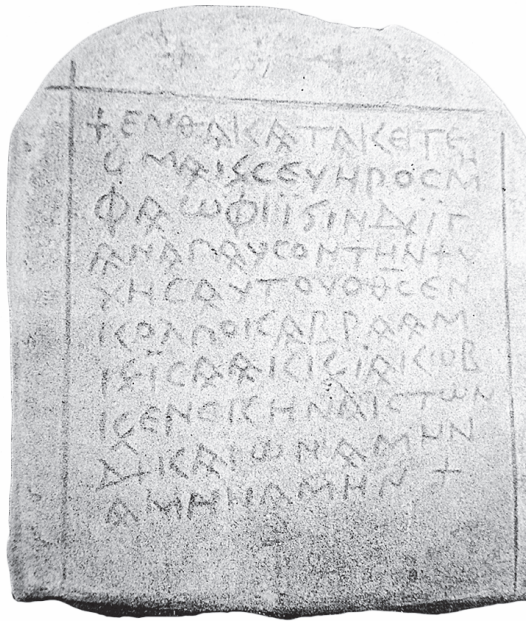


Fig. 2. Epitaph of Seueros
(after Firth, 'Catalogue of the Greek gravestones' [cit. n. 10], pl. 51a.6)

uncommon in Greek, both pagan and Christian, and Coptic epitaphs, in which they usually assume a stereotyped form depending on the period and area. The typical formula used in Greek and Coptic Christian inscriptions from Upper Egypt and Nubia reads: *μη λύπης, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος / ἡπῤῥαπη ηἰάτμου ριζῃ πκαρ*, 'do not grieve, no one is immortal'.³⁰ Provided the above reasoning is correct, we would have here a conflation of Greek and Coptic funerary formulae. However, three arguments put such

³⁰ See J. VAN DER VLIET in *I. Khartoum Copt.*, p. 42 (with rich bibliography in n. 207), and, more recently, Bianca TUDOR, *Christian Funerary Stelae of the Byzantine and Arab Periods from Egypt*, Marburg 2011, pp. 149–150 (Greek), 175–176 (Coptic).

an interpretation into question. First, $\mu\eta\ \varphi\omicron\beta\eta\varsigma$ / $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\zeta}\omicron\tau\epsilon$, ‘do not be afraid’, although perfectly fitting a funerary context, is unknown as a (part of) Christian funerary formula from either Egypt or Nubia. Second, while code-switching is not an uncommon phenomenon in Nubian funerary epigraphy, it normally occurs between distinctive parts of the text, typically between the prayer and the name-date lemma³¹ or between the body of the text and the opening or closing acclamations;³² never is it attested inside a formula. Third, this would be the only example of a Coptic textual intrusion in the whole corpus of Ginari epitaphs, which is entirely in Greek.³³

Also, assuming that $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\zeta}\omicron\tau\epsilon$ functions here as an apostrophe leaves the epitaph without the name of the deceased woman, an essential element from the point of view of the commemorative function of the inscription. Here, however, we may suppose that the omission occurred already during the preparation of the epitaph, because, for example, the name of the deceased was in fact *Μακάρια* and it fell out of the text as a result of haplography. The transcription would then have to be adjusted to $\eta\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\alpha$ $\langle\text{Μακάρια}\rangle$ | $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\zeta}\omicron\tau\epsilon$, ‘the blessed <Makaria>, do not be afraid’. The name Makaria (TM Nam 10474) is common in Christian milieu, but, unlike its male counterpart Makarios (TM Nam 10475), has so far been unattested in Christian Nubia.

Considering all the above arguments, the only certain thing about this fragment is that $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\zeta}\omicron\tau\epsilon$ is a ghost-name and that the reading of the epitaph should be corrected to $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\zeta}\omicron\tau\epsilon$. However, the exact function of the phrase remains a mystery. It could be either an element of the formula (a meaning fit for the funerary context, with a lack of parallel constructions in Egyptian Coptic onomastics) or an anthroponym (a place in the formulary of the epitaph, with a lack of parallels from funerary epigraphy).

³¹ E.g. *SB Kopt.* I 734 (DBMNT 491).

³² E.g. *I. Khartoum Copt.* 19 (DBMNT 46) and *I. Qasr Ibrim* 34 (DBMNT 662).

³³ The only other instance of a ‘Copticism’ in Ginari is the spelling of the name of Abraam with a *hori* in the epitaph discussed under no. 9 below.

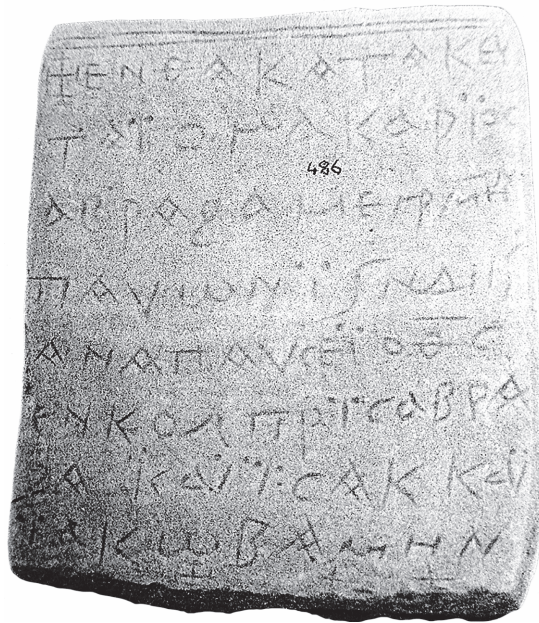


Fig. 3. Epitaph of Abraham
(after Firth, 'Catalogue of the Greek gravestones' [cit. n. 10], pl. 51a.4)

9. Epitaph of Abraham (DBMNT 450)³⁴

Firth transcribed the name of the deceased occurring in line 3 as *αβρααμ* and the name of the Patriarch in lines 6–7 as *αβρα|α(μ)*. However, on the basis of the published photograph (fig. 3), the readings should be corrected to *αβραζαμ* and *αβραζα(μ)*, respectively. The error was most probably due to the lack of an appropriate character in the set of typographic signs used for preparing the volume.³⁵

³⁴ FIRTH, 'Catalogue of the Greek gravestones' (cit. n. 10), p. 48, grave 486?, pl. 51a.4.

³⁵ See nos. 5 and 8 for analogous cases from the same publication.

C. AMADA

**10. Inscription left by Okkeri
mentioning King Kouddapes (DBMNT 1537)³⁶**

The inscription in question is an Old Nubian graffito of at least eleven lines³⁷ incised on the roof of the temple of Amada, which was at some point, probably already during the Christianisation of Nubia in the sixth century, converted into a church.³⁸ The text was documented photographically by the Prussian Expedition to Nubia carried out in the years 1908–1910. On the basis of this photo, the first preliminary transcription was made by Francis Llewelyn Griffith in his 1913 *The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period*. He transcribed the text as follows:

[.]INḐENNA ΔIOKKEPH
 OYPOYKOYΔΔA ΠEC
 [. . .]IO TICCA MI
 4 ΔI[. . .]KA KI TIL[.]N
 MAPIA ΔΦΔMMA
 ΔOYH ΠMA EN
 K̄TΔOIOḐENPA
 8 H[.]AMAN PAPPA
 ΔENON ΔI[.]NAPA
 [.] OYU IC

Based on Griffith transcription, Ernst Zyhlarz transcribed, analysed, and translated almost the entirety of the text in his 1928 grammar of Old

³⁶ F. LI. GRIFFITH, *The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period* [= *Abhandlungen der königl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Jahrgang 1913, Phil.-hist. Classe 8*], Berlin 1913, p. 62, no. 6. I am grateful to Vincent W. J. van Gerven Oei for his insightful comments on my edition of this inscription and a tentative translation.

³⁷ Griffith transcribed only 10 lines, but the photograph of the text (see n. 40 below) shows traces of certainly one more line and possibly another one, but the frame ends here.

³⁸ U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *La Nubia medioevale* I, Cairo 1935, pp. 94–99.

Nubian. However, this cannot be treated as an edition, because various phrases are scattered throughout the volume as examples illustrating particular grammatical phenomena. If we put all of them together, we would receive the following ‘edition’:

[ε]IN ǫēn-na ǣ okkerh oγpoγkoγΔΔΔa pec[. . .]IO ΓICCAMI (...) ΔΟΥΔ̄m̄na
ΔΟΥN ΠMA EN K̄TΔΩ IDENΠAM[1] AMAN ΠAPPAΔENON

In dieser Inschrift (o. ä.) spreche ich, Urukudda, der das Gebet nötig hat, heilig ist (...), dauern wird es, so lange das Denkmal (kopt. ΠMA) dauert auf diesem Fels, bis dass es vergeht wie Nil und Festland (d. h. niemals).³⁹

Luckily, the photograph of the inscription has recently been published by Horst Beinlich together with the rest of the extensive photographic documentation of the Prussian Expedition.⁴⁰ Thanks to this image, the reading and understanding of the text can definitely be improved. Below, I am offering its new transcription along with a tentative translation and commentary.

† [. ?]IN ǫēnna ǣ okkerh
oγpoγ koγΔΔΔapec
ǣ . . IO ΓICCAMI
4 ǣ [. ?] KAKI TINON
MAPIAΔΩ Δ̄m̄na
ΔΟΥMΠ̄lla EN
K̄TΔΩ K . n̄pa
8 M̄H AMAN ΠAPPA
ΔENONAI [. ?]NAΠA
ǣ [.]Δ OYU īC
.. *traces*

³⁹ E. ZYHLARZ, *Grundzüge der nubischen Grammatik im christlichen Frühmittelalter (Altnubisch). Grammatik, Texte, Kommentar und Glossar* [= *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 18], Leipzig 1928, §§ 190 (p. 75), 200 (p. 78), and 253 (p. 95). Zyhlarz omitted line 4 and the beginning of line 5, which he apparently did not understand.

⁴⁰ H. BEINLICH, *Die Photos der Preußischen Expedition 1908–1910 nach Nubien*, II vols., Detelbach 2010–2018; the image of the inscription is found in vol. 4: *Photos 600–799*, p. B0737.

† ... *I, Okkere. May King Kouddapes ... be hallowed. ...* [unknown subject] *take and* [unknown verb] *upon the (Church of) Mary of Kaki West. May he* [unknown verb] *upon this stone. You stirred (?) the water for me (or: Did you stir [?] the water for me?) ...* (trans. V. W. J. van Gerven Oei with my adaptations)

Unfortunately, the text is obliterated in places, with the lowermost lines almost completely illegible, which makes it impossible to grasp its exact sense. Especially problematic are verbal forms, because not all of them can be recognised and translated with certainty. Nevertheless, the formulations that can be understood strongly suggest that we are dealing here with a commemorative text, in a general sense, rather than a visitor's inscription or a prayer. A detailed commentary follows, referring to Zyhlarz's understanding of the text.

1. [. ?]INḏĕṇNA. Zyhlarz interpreted this phrase as [ε]IN ḏĕṇ-NA, 'in dieser Inschrift' (Zyhlarz, *Grundzüge der nubischen Grammatik* [cit. n. 39], § 200). This is indeed quite a tempting interpretation, but the word ḏĕṇ is unattested elsewhere to assert it (Zyhlarz compares it with the Kenzi *žen*, 'gedenken'; cf. Browne, *Dictionary*, p. 190).

ⲁἰ ⲟⲕⲕⲉⲣⲏ. Zyhlarz was right to take ⲁἰ as the first person singular personal pronoun, but he failed to identify the following word. In his reasoning, ⲟⲕⲕⲉⲣⲏ should be analysed as ⲟⲕ-ⲕⲉⲣ-ⲏ, a participle deriving from the verb ⲟⲕ-, 'rufen, nennen', formed with the element -ⲕⲉⲣ-. The whole phrase is supposed to mean 'ich, der das Gebet nötig hat' (Zyhlarz, *Grundzüge der nubischen Grammatik* [cit. n. 39], §§ 154a, 297; cf. Browne, *Dictionary*, p. 124). Such an interpretation, however, seems highly unlikely from the point of view of the current knowledge on both Old Nubian grammar and Nubian epigraphic practices. In the great majority of late Nubian wall inscriptions, the pronoun 'I' is immediately followed by the proper name, identifying the protagonist of the text, either the author himself or the person on whose behalf the inscription is executed.⁴¹ Thus, ⲟⲕⲕⲉⲣⲏ should

⁴¹ For the structure of late Nubian visitor's inscriptions, see A. ŁAJTAR, 'Wall inscriptions in the Banganarti churches: A general note after three seasons of work', *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 33 (2003), pp. 137–159, at 140–141, and G. OCHAŁA, 'Multilingualism in Christian Nubia: Qualitative and quantitative approaches', *Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies* 1 (2014), pp. 1–50, at 8–9.

with all probability be understood as the personal name. Such a name, most probably pronounced /okkeri/, has so far been unattested in Nubian onomastics, but a similar name Okkesi occurs several times in inscriptions from Banganarti: Łajtar, *The Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre at Banganarti: The Evidence of Inscriptions*, forthcoming, nos. 178 (DBMNT 3395), 229 (DBMNT 3444), 267 (DBMNT 3480), and 605 (DBMNT 3797). The etymology of the name Okkeri is unknown; it may derive from the Old Nubian verb okkap-/okkĕp-, ‘to place over, attend’.

2-3. Following Griffith’s transcription, Zyhlarz proposed to interpret the text in these lines as αΙ ... ΟΥΡΟΥΚΟΥΔΔΑ ΠΕC[. . .]ΙΟ, ‘spreche ich, Urukudda’ (Zyhlarz, *Grundzüge der nubischen Grammatik* [cit. n. 39], § 200). Indeed, the name Ouroukoudda, although unattested elsewhere, appears to be formed according to the well-known pattern of Nubian names with the second element -ΚΟΥΔΔΑ, ‘servant’,⁴² and could be understood as ‘servant of the king’. However, based on our current knowledge of Nubian onomastics as well as history, the reading ΟΥΡΟΥΚΟΥΔΔΑΠΕC seems more plausible. If my interpretation is correct, we may have here another attestation of the well-known king Koudanpesa, known to have reigned in Makuria between ca. 1309 and 1324. The king is known mainly through literary sources: Ibn Khaldun (transl. G. Vantini, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*, Heidelberg – Warsaw 1975, pp. 561–563), el-Qalqashandi (transl. *ibidem*, p. 573), and Maqrizi (transl. *ibidem*, pp. 691–693 and 695). His only non-literary occurrence is in the Greek inscription of Archbishop Ioseph (DBMNT 557) preserved on a wall of the church in the monastery Deir Anba Hadra in Aswan, dated to 1322 (F. Ll. Griffith, ‘Christian documents from Nubia’, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 14 [1928], pp. 117–146, at 134–145; a new edition and commentary has been prepared by A. Łajtar, ‘The so-called Koudanbes inscription in Deir Anba Hadra [St. Simeon Monastery] near Aswan: An attempt at a new reading and interpretation’, forthcoming).

Two reservations have to be made here, however. First, the form ΚΟΥΔΔΑΠΕC has not been attested so far in Nubian sources. It, however, fits the set of forms – all of them attested but once – which are all considered variants of the same name: ΚΟΥΔΠΕCΑ (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 49 [DBMNT 1033], l. 49), ΚΟΥΔΝΠΕCΑ (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 36 [DBMNT 584], i, l. 34), ΚΟΥΔΑΠĖ (A. Łajtar, ‘Varia Nubica XII–XIX’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 39 [2009], pp. 83–119, at 89–97 [DBMNT 699], l. 2), with three fragmentary forms ΚΟΥΔΝΠΕ[---] (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 75, l. 25 [DBMNT 2808]),

⁴² For this group of names, see H. SATZINGER, ‘Das altnubische Namselement -ΚΟΥΔΔΑ: “Diener”?’, [in:] Ulrike LUFT (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies Presented to László Kákossy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* [= *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14], Budapest 1992, pp. 519–521. The list of Nubian *kouda*-names has expanded considerably since Satzinger’s article and the phenomenon definitely needs to be reconsidered.

ΚΟΥΔΑΝΠΕ[---], and ΚΟΥΔΑ[---] (both in the Aswan inscription of Archbishop Ioseph, in ll. 9 and 13 respectively; see above). In view of these forms, the basic name-form, traditionally rendered in scholarship as Koudanbes,⁴³ should rather be Koudanpesa. Following Adam Łajtar's interpretation (Łajtar, 'The so-called Koudanbes inscription' [cit. above]), it is most probably to be analysed as a compound formation of Nubian origin consisting of ΚΟΥΔΑ-, 'servant' + -Ν (genitive) + *ΠΕC-, 'brother'⁴⁴ + -Α (predicative), producing the meaning 'the one who is brother of servant'. The variant ΚΟΥΔΑΔΠΕC found in our inscription was formed by geminating the consonant Δ and dropping both the genitive -Ν and the final -Α, all phenomena being commonly attested in Old Nubian onomastics.⁴⁵

Second, the phrase ΔΙ ΟΚΚΕΡΙ | ΟΥΡΟΥ ΚΟΥΔΑΔΠΕC is ambiguous, as the noun ΟΥΡΟΥ, 'king', can refer to both Okkeri and Kouddapes. However, because we do not know any ruler named Okkeri in Makuria and King Koudanpesa is a well-attested personage, the latter solution seems more probable and is therefore accepted here. If then this identification is correct, the inscription should most probably be dated to the reign of King Koudanpesa, between ca. 1309 and 1324. In any case, the form ΟΥΡΟΥΚΟΥΔΑΔ should be considered a ghost-name and struck out from 'The list of personal names' in Browne, *Dictionary*, p. 243, and Ruffini's *Nubian Personal Names*.

3. Δ. . ΙΟ ΓΙCΣΑΜΙ. The form ΓΙCΣΑΜΙ was analysed by Zyhlarz as ΓΙC-Δ-ΜΙ, 'holy' + predicative + copula, to mean 'heilig ist ...' (Zyhlarz, *Grundzüge der nubischen Grammatik* [cit. n. 39], § 190). However, as Vincent van Gerven Oei has informed me, the copula -ΜΙ/-ΜΗ (Browne, *Grammar*, p. 72) does not exist in Old Nubian. Instead, -ΑΜΙ should be considered the third person singular of the present jussive. If so, the word should be translated 'may he/she/it be hallowed'. Since the only possible third person subject in the preceding part of the text is ΟΥΡΟΥ ΚΟΥΔΑΔΠΕC, the translation 'may King Kouddapes be hallowed' is very plausible here. Note, however, that ΓΙC- has not been attested in a verbal function so far.

⁴³ This is owing to the rendering of the king's name as كرنيس (K.R.N.B.S.) by Arabic writers. On the basis of the Aswan inscription, which mentions twice the king's name, rendered ΚΟΥΔΑΝΠΕ[---] and ΚΟΥΔΑ[---], GRIFFITH, 'Christian documents' (cit. above), p. 141, suggested to correct the form found in Arabic manuscripts to كنديس (K.D.N.B.S.) = Koudanbes, which has since become the standard orthography of the name.

⁴⁴ The word does not exist in Old Nubian, but cf. the Nobiin noun ΠΕC-, 'Schwester', M. KHALIL, *Wörterbuch der nubischen Sprache (Fadidja/Mabas-Dialekt)*, Warsaw 1996, p. 93.

⁴⁵ Gemination of the *delta*: e.g. ἸΗΣΟΥΚΟΥΔΑΔ for ἸΗΣΟΥΚΟΥΔΑ (G. M. BROWNE, 'Griffith's Old Nubian graffito 4', *Études et travaux* 17 [1995], pp. 17–21, at 20 [DBMNT 1398], ll. 1–2); dropping of the genitive -Ν: e.g. ΜΙΧΑΗΛΚΟΥΔΑ for ΜΙΧΑΗΛΝΚΟΥΔΑ (I. Khartoum Copt. 23 [DBMNT 48], ll. 8–9); dropping of the final *alpha*: e.g. ΜΑΡΑΚΟΥΔΑ for ΜΑΡΙΑΝΚΟΥΔΑ (MINA, *Inscriptions coptes et grecques* [cit. n. 18], no. 319 [DBMNT 397], ll. 7–8).

It is impossible to establish the reading and meaning of the preceding word.

4-6. αἰ. [. . ?] ΚΑΚΙ ΤΙΝΟΝ | ΜΑΡΙΑΔΩ ΔΜΗΑ | ΔΟΥΜΠΛΛΑ. αἰ at the beginning is most probably the first person singular pronoun 'I', referring to Okkeri. After it, a large hollow is visible on the photo, but it is uncertain whether it had been there before the inscription was incised or occurred after it. In the latter case, the lacuna would have contained two letters, possibly some postposition attached to αἰ, e.g. the accusative -κα.

ΚΑΚΙ ΤΙΝΟΝ | ΜΑΡΙΑΔΩ is most certainly to be translated as 'upon (the Church of) Mary of Kaki West'. The toponym Kaki West has so far been attested in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 37 (DBMNT 585), l. 29: αἰ ΚΑΠΕΝΗ ΚΑΚΤΙΝΕΝ ΣΟΥΝΤΟΥΓΕΛΛΟ, 'I Kapeni, the scribe of Kaki West'. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 36 (DBMNT 584), ii, l. 2, mentions ΕΙΘΔΙΣΙ ΚΑΚῆ ἸΕΣΟΥ ΦΙΛΟ, 'Eiodisi, priest of (the Church of) Jesus of Kaki'. Unfortunately, the location of Kaki and Kaki West is unknown, but judging from its occurrence in the documents from Qasr Ibrim, it should be located in the north, possibly not too far from Qasr Ibrim itself. Note also the occurrence of ΔΑΛΛΕΚΑΚΙ, apparently a toponym too, in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 90 (DBMNT 2232), i, l. 6; however, its connection with Kaki and Kaki West is uncertain. One wonders whether the Church of Mary of Kaki West could be identified with the church in the temple of Amada; note that the temple indeed was located on the west bank of the Nile.

ΔΜΗΑ. Griffith transcribed this fragment ΜΑΡΙΑ ΔΦΔΜΗΑ, which led Zyhlarz to conjecture ΔΟΥΔΜΗΑ and understand the latter as the third person singular of the affirmative future from ΔΟΥ-, 'weilen, bleiben, wohnen', and hence his translation is 'dauern wird es' (Zyhlarz, *Grundzüge der nubischen Grammatik* [cit. n. 39], §§ 170b, 253; cf. Browne, *Dictionary*, p. 53, who retains the original Griffith's ΔΦΔΜΗΑ, however; for the affirmative, see Browne, *Grammar*, § 3.9.10). There can be no doubt, however, that the ΔΦ, not ΔΟΥ, is the postposition belonging to ΜΑΡΙΑ. The remaining form ΔΜΗΑ should therefore be understood as the adjunctive of ΔΟΥΜ(Η)-, 'to take, hand over'.⁴⁶ The adjunctive is not marked for tense, person, or number, which all are encoded in the verbal form following it (V. W. J. van Gerwen Oei, 'A note on the Old Nubian morpheme -α in nominal and verbal predicates', [in:] Łajtar, Ochała, & van der Vliet [eds.], *Nubian Voices* II [cit. n. 19], pp. 313-333, at 327-332). Unfortunately, the verb in the next line is difficult to recognise (see below) and hence the meaning of the whole phrase is blurred.

⁴⁶ In the visitor's graffito left by Iesou son of Reza in Aniba (GRIFFITH, *The Nubian Texts* [cit. n. 36], p. 63, no. 8 [DBMNT 1540]), we find the phrase αἰλο · ΔΜΗΡΑ (l. 4), which ZYHLARZ, *Grundzüge der nubischen Grammatik* (cit. n. 39), p. 173, indexed as ΔΜΗΡ-, 'malen (?)', zeichnen (?)'. BROWNE, *Dictionary*, p. 45, following him, gives ΔΜΗ-, 'to paint, draw?'. This, however, is most likely a ghost-verb, whose meaning Zyhlarz conjectured on the basis of the immediate proximity (l. 3) of the Greek ἔγραψα, 'I wrote'. Adam Łajtar and myself are preparing a re-edition of this text, where we believe that the form derives from ΔΟΥΜΗ-.

ΔΟΥΗΠΛΛΑ. Following Griffith's transcription, Zyhlarz analysed the fragment as ΔΟΥ-Η ΠΗΑ, taking the former to be the third person singular present tense of ΔΟΥ-, 'weilen, bleiben, wohnen', and ΠΗΑ as the Coptic word 'the place', translating 'das Denkmal dauert' (Zyhlarz, *Grundzüge der nubischen Grammatik* [cit. n. 39], § 253; cf. Browne, *Dictionary*, p. 53). This is an obvious impossibility, as no instance of Coptic-Old Nubian code switching has so far been attested and also because of the word order, which in Old Nubian is usually subject – object – verb. We are therefore most certainly dealing here with an Old Nubian word, probably a verbal form. Since the consonantal cluster -ΗΠΗ- is phonologically impossible in Old Nubian, Vincent van Gerven Oei has proposed to read ΔΟΥΗΠΛΛΑ. The word looks like another adjunctive consisting of ΔΟΥΗ- (again) and ΠΛΛ-, 'to shine', but the meaning of the form escapes me.

6–7. ΕΝ | ΚΤΔΩ, 'upon this stone'. Thus also Zyhlarz, *Grundzüge der nubischen Grammatik* [cit. n. 39], §§ 206 and 253. One wonders whether the author means here the stone roof of the temple on which he incised his inscription. This would correspond well with the putative 'this inscription' in line 1. For the inscribed surface labelled as 'rock' in Nubia, see the colophon of inscriptions from the crypt of Archbishop Georgios in Dongola, where the scribe writes: ἰδίῳ χειρῶ (l. ἰδίῳ χειρῶ for ἰδίᾱ χειρὶ) γράφον τοῦδε (l. τήνδε) πέτραν φυλακτήριον μαλακίαν (l. μαλακίας), 'I inscribed this rock with my own hand as a phylactery against infirmity' (A. Łajtar & J. van der Vliet, *Empowering the Dead in Christian Nubia. The Texts from a Medieval Funerary Complex in Dongola* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 32], Warsaw 2017, pp. 69–70, no. 2 [DBMNT 2744]).

7–8. Κ. ΠΠΑ|ΗΗ. Following Griffith's transcription, Zyhlarz understood this fragment as ΙΘΕΠΠΑΜ[Ι], which he analysed as ΙΘ-Ε-Η-ΠΑΜΗ, where ΙΘ-Ε-Η is the third person singular of the present tense from the verb ΙΘ-, 'sich ändern, vergehen' (which he compared with the Kenzi *ijji*, 'ein anderer'; cf. the Dongolawi ḛččel, 'other': C. H. Armbruster, *Dongolese Nubian. A Lexicon*, Cambridge 1965, p. 59; cf. Browne, *Dictionary*, p. 81), and -ΠΑΜΗ the postposition meaning 'bis dass' (compared with the Nobiin *fami-ni*, 'bis'; see Khalil, *Wörterbuch* [cit. n. 44], p. 114: φḁm(-n), 'bis'; cf. Browne, *Dictionary*, p. 143). He thus translated 'bis dass es vergeht', with ΠΗΑ, 'Denkmal', understood as the subject (see the previous commentary).

Setting aside the fact that neither ΙΘ- nor -ΠΑΜΗ are attested elsewhere in the whole corpus of Old Nubian texts, the photograph clearly shows that instead of ΙΘ, one should read the *kappa* plus another letter, perhaps an *eta*. The resulting form Κ. ΠΠΑ|ΗΗ should most probably be analysed as Κ. ΠΠ-ΑΗΗ, where -ΑΗΗ marks the third person singular of the present jussive. Unfortunately, the verb Κ. ΠΠ- cannot be identified.

8–9. ΑΗΑΗ ΠΑΡΡΑ ΔΕΝΟΝΑΙ. Following Griffith's division of words, Zyhlarz, *Grundzüge der nubischen Grammatik* (cit. n. 39), §§ 234, 253, and 259, took ΠΑΡΡΑΔΕΝΟΝ as a single word and analysed it as ΠΑΡΡ-, 'field' + predicative + -ΔΕ, 'and' + -ΝΟΝ, which he

believed to mean 'like' (§ 234). He translated the whole phrase 'wie Nil und Festland' (cf. Browne, *Dictionary*, pp. 11 [ⲁⲙⲁⲛ-] and 147 [ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲉ-]). However, as has been pointed out to me by Vincent van Gerven Oei, a different division of words makes more sense here. According to van Gerven Oei, the following ⲁⲓ, transcribed by Griffith as if it were a beginning of the next word, perhaps the personal pronoun 'I', should be joined with the preceding ⲁⲉⲛⲟⲛ. The resulting ⲁⲉⲛⲟⲛⲁⲓ is the second person singular of the preterite from ⲁⲉⲛ-, 'to give', where -ⲓ is either a question marker (Browne, *Grammar*, § 3.9.21) or the second person singular subject suffix (as suggested by van Gerven Oei). The preceding ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲁ should therefore most probably be understood as adjunctive, perhaps from the verb ⲡⲁⲣⲣ-, 'to whirl, fly'. Finally, as van Gerven Oei notes, the whole phrase ⲡⲁⲣⲣⲁ ⲁⲉⲛⲟⲛⲁⲓ is an applicative construction which adds a first-person singular argument 'for me'. As a result, the whole phrase can be translated 'You stirred the water for me' or 'Did you stir the water for me?'.

9-11. Apart from the *nomen sacrum* ⲓϥ = ⲓ(ⲛϥⲟϥ)ϥ, possibly standing for a Church of Jesus, no other word can be recognised in this fragment.

D. ARMINNA

II. Epitaph of Marianta (DBMNT 523)⁴⁷

The Coptic epitaph dated to AD 920 comes from the excavation at Arminna West conducted by the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt under William Kelly Simpson between 1961 and 1963. It was unearthed in the debris of the apse of a small northern church. Its present whereabouts are unknown, but a good photograph published in reports of the excavation makes a verification of the reading possible.

Simpson, the first editor of the epitaph, transcribed lines 5-7, where the presentation of the deceased person is contained, in the following manner:

- 5 ... ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲁ
6 ⲣⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲛⲡⲧⲟⲟϥ ⲧⲱⲛⲙⲁⲣⲓ
7 ⲁⲙ ...

He translated the phrase as 'the blessed Maria (...), who was the daughter of Ptoou and the daughter of Mariam', but admitted in the commentary

⁴⁷ W. K. SIMPSON, 'The Pennsylvania-Yale expedition to Egypt. Preliminary report for 1963: Toshka and Arminna', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 3 (1964), pp. 15-23, at 21-22, pl. 14, fig. 17 = *SB Kopt.* I 460.

that he failed to understand the syntactical position of NTA , which he took to be the relative past tense marker. Basically the same transcription, with only minor differences in the word division, was presented by Monika Hasitzka in the *Koptisches Sammelbuch*. She, however, did not comment on the mysterious NTA .

On the basis of the photograph of the stela (fig. 4), it is possible to solve this mystery. As a matter of fact, the photo clearly shows that one letter is missing from the transcription: at the beginning of line 7 we can read PIANTATQN instead of PIANTAQN . Moreover, taking into account a space visible after NTA , this element should be connected to the previous word rather than the following one. If so, the reading of the deceased woman's full name should be corrected in the following manner:

5 ... TMAKAPIA MA-
 6 $\text{PIANTA TQN PTQOY TQN MARI-}$
 7 AM ...

... *the blessed Marianta, the daughter of Ptoou and the daughter of Mariam* ...⁴⁸

The name Marianta is typical of Christian Nubia and belongs to a larger group of apparently female names ending with the element *-nta*.⁴⁹ It has so far been attested in four other texts.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Note that the owner of the stela was correctly identified as Marianta by J. VAN DER VLIET in *I. Khartoum Copt.*, p. 82 (see also A. ŁAJTAR & J. VAN DER VLIET, in *I. Qasr Ibrim*, n. 103 on p. 85). He, however, does not present a corrected reading.

⁴⁹ On the probable meaning of those names, see OCHAŁA, 'NOM I' (cit. n. 1), n. 18.

⁵⁰ Dedicatory inscription from Faras by Mariami daughter of Marianta (Božena ROSTKOWSKA, 'Patronage of the arts in Nobadia on the basis of archaeological and written sources', [in:] J. M. PLUMLEY, [ed.], *Nubian Studies: Proceedings of the Symposium for Nubian Studies, Selwyn College, Cambridge, 1978*, Cambridge 1982, pp. 208–214, at 210–211 [DBMNT 1853]), epitaph of Marianta also called Asta from Qasr Ibrim (*I. Qasr Ibrim* 57 [DBMNT 672]), epitaph of Marianta from Qasr Ibrim (*I. Qasr Ibrim* 37 [DBMNT 665]), visitor's inscription from Tamit by Philo son of Marianta (V. W. J. VAN GERVEN OEI & A. TSAKOS, 'The etymology of the toponym «Pourgoundi» [Notes on medieval Nubian toponymy 5]', *Dotawo* 4 [2017], pp. 269–274, at 269–270 [DBMNT 451]).

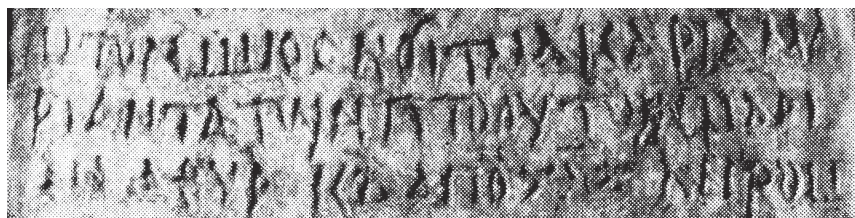


Fig. 4. Epitaph of Marianta, with detail of the name lemma
(after Simpson, 'The Pennsylvania-Yale expedition' [cit. n. 47], pl. 14, fig. 17)

E. TAMIT

12. Inscription mentioning King Ioel and Bishop Merki (DBMNT 723)⁵¹

This is a long text written in black ink on one of the pilasters in the so-called Church of Raphael in Tamit. The church was excavated in 1964 by the Italian archaeological mission headed by Sergio Donadoni, who was also the epigraphist of the mission. The inscription is in Old Nubian and its exact meaning or even character is unknown. However, on the basis of two mentions of King Ioel (ll. 9 and 17) and the occurrence of the word ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲛⲕⲁ, ‘certified document’ (l. 15), we may suppose that this is a kind of legal, or at least official, text, perhaps an act of donation to the church. The king Ioel occurring in the text is most probably the last known ruler of the Kingdom of Dotawo, on the throne in *ca.* 1463–1484.

In line 14 of the inscription, Donadoni transcribed ⲙⲉⲣⲕⲉ ⲙⲉⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲗⲟ ⲉ. In the commentary, he suggested reconstructing ⲛⲁ[γ]ⲗⲟⲥ at the end of the line but did not refer to the words at the beginning. In their publication of a land sale contract from Qasr Ibrim dated to the reign of King Ioel, most probably the same ruler as the one found here, Adam Łajtar and Giovanni Ruffini noted in reference to the present inscription: ‘The plates make confirmation or rejection of this reading impossible, but we would propose reading something like ⲙⲉⲣⲕⲉ ⲥⲗⲙⲛⲓ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲥⲁ’.⁵² However, a closer inspection of the photograph published by Donadoni (fig. 5) allows confirmation of their supposition and improvement of it. First, what Donadoni read as the second *epsilon* in ⲙⲉⲣⲕⲉ is in fact an *iota*, which can be distinguished thanks to a trema above it; what can be seen to the right of it and was interpreted by Donadoni as a part of the letter seems to be

⁵¹ S. DONADONI, ‘Le iscrizioni’, [in:] *Tamit* (1964). *Missione archeologica in Egitto dell’Università di Roma*, Rome 1967, pp. 61–74, at 61–64 (no. 1), pl. 22.

⁵² A. ŁAJTAR & G. R. RUFFINI, ‘Qasr Ibrim’s last land sale, AD 1463 (EA 90225)’, [in:] A. ŁAJTAR & J. VAN DER VLIET (eds.), *Nubian Voices: Studies in Christian Nubian Culture* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 15], Warsaw 2011, pp. 121–131, at 127. The text is republished as *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 63 (DBMNT 644).

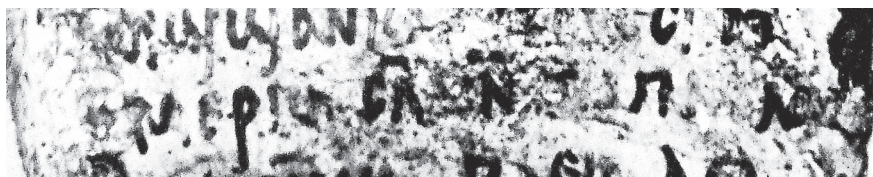
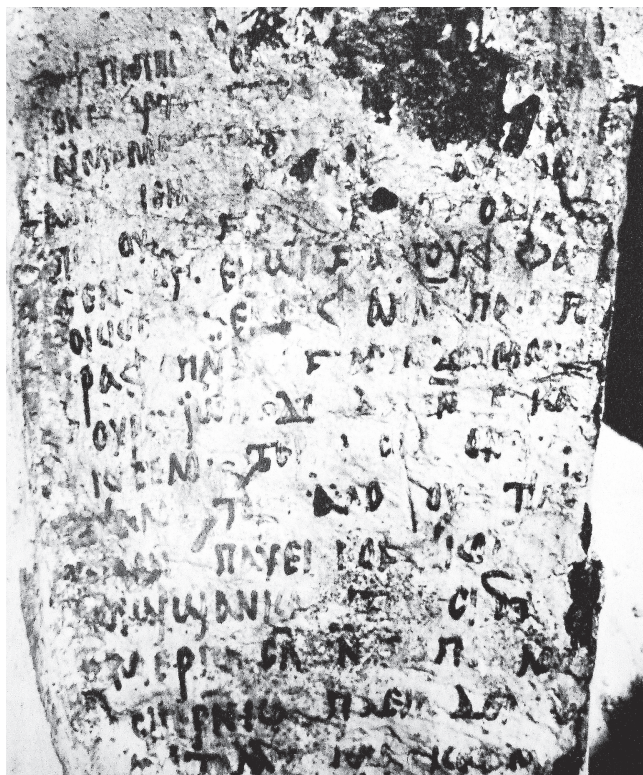


Fig. 5. Upper part of the inscription mentioning King Ioel and Bishop Merki,
with detail of bishop's name lemma
(after Donadoni, 'Le iscrizioni' [cit. n. 51], pl. 22)

merely a darker spot on the surface of the plaster. Second, faint but nevertheless certain traces of a *mu* can be discerned between *c*̄*l* and *n̄*, where Donadoni failed to see any letter. Third, traces of two *alphas* are quite well visible on both sides of Donadoni's *pi*. Fourth, Donadoni's *ε/c* at the end of the line seems to be imaginary.

Taking all of this into account, a new reading of the line can be established: мєркї сѣмѣн ꙗꙗꙗꙗꙗ , ‘Merki, the bishop of Ibrim’, thus eliminating the form мєркє , otherwise unattested in Nubian sources. Merki, attested in Nubia as both мєркї and мєркн , is most probably a hypocoristic of the name Merkourios (TM Nam 10598), well-known from Egypt and Nubia and inspired most probably by the cult of the warrior saint by this name, the slayer of Emperor Julian the Apostate.

F. SAHABA

13. Inscription of Maristi son of Zael (DBMNT 1444)⁵³

During the survey of the east bank of the Nile from Faras to Gamai conducted in the years 1960–1964, the Scandinavian Joint Expedition found a handful of inscribed texts dated to the Christian period. One of those texts was discovered at site no. 232 in the district of Sahaba, some 3 km to the north of Wadi Halfa.⁵⁴ The site is a low sandstone hillock on the top of which, apart from the text discussed here, several other instances of rock art of unknown date were recorded, including three birds, two sandals, and some geometric patterns.

The text in question is a one-line visitor’s graffito stating the name of its author along with the patronymic. The inscription was translated – without transcription – by Pontus Hellström as ‘Maristi, son of Zaēn’. A resulting transcription should thus be мєрїстї ꙗꙗ ꙗꙗн . Both forms have so far been unattested in Christian Nubian onomastics, but – judging by the available illustrations⁵⁵ – one of them, ꙗꙗн , can be corrected to pro-

⁵³ P. HELLSTRÖM, *The Rock Drawings* [= *The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia* 1], Solna 1970, vol. 1.1 (text), p. 235; vol. 1.2 (plates), Corpus Y, no. 232:1 and pl. 157:5.

⁵⁴ For the description of the site, see HELLSTRÖM, *The Rock Drawings* (cit. n. 53), vol. 1.1, pp. 224–225; note that in the description of the location of the site the directions are confused: ‘between the town of Wadi Halfa, 3 km to the south, and Gebel Sahaba, 3.5 km to the north’.

⁵⁵ Two photographs and a drawing are available in print: HELLSTRÖM, *The Rock Drawings* (cit. n. 53), vol. 1.2, Corpus Y, no. 232:1 and pl. 157:5, and J. LECLANT, ‘Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1962–1963’, *Orientalia* 33 (1964), pl. 41, fig. 25.

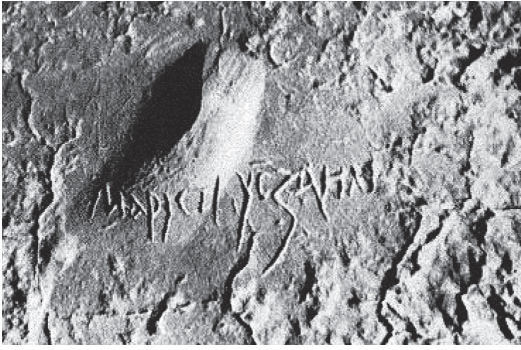


Fig. 6. Inscription of Maristi son of Zael (photo after Leclant, 'Fouilles et travaux' [cit. n. 55], pl. 41, fig. 25; drawing after Hellström, *The Rock Drawings* [cit. n. 53], vol. 1.2, Corpus Y, no. 232:1)

duce a familiar name-form. A closer look at the illustrations, especially the drawing (fig. 6), allows a supposition that the final vertical stroke of the inscription, forming the right part of Hellström's *nu*, is not really connected with the preceding oblique stroke. In fact, it may be a part of the next sign⁵⁶ or just damage to the surface of the rock. This and with the fact that the left-hand vertical stroke of this letter is slightly inclined to the right strongly suggest that the letter in question is in fact a *lambda* not a *nu*. The reading of the name should thus be corrected to *zahn*.⁵⁷ This hypocoristic of the Hebrew name Mishaël (TM Nam 27499), has so far been unattested in Nubia, but is quite well-known from the Theban region in the seventh–eighth centuries (occurring in two variants, *cahl* [TM Namvar 56469] and *zahn* [TM Namvar 56324], the latter being more popular). The name Mishaël is found twice in the Old Testament: a son of Uzziel, cousin of Aaron, Miriam, and Moses, in Exodus 6:22 and Leviticus 10:4, and one of three companions of Daniel miraculously saved from the fiery furnace from Daniel 3:1–30. There can be no doubt that the Nubian attestation

⁵⁶ I can see faint traces of a horizontal stroke and perhaps even another vertical stroke parallel to the first one. If so, one could read a *pi* here, perhaps as a part of the siglum ¶?

⁵⁷ As suggested to me by the anonymous reviewer of my paper, the reading *zahn* may be explained by assuming that the final -n is the Old Nubian genitive postposition which became regressively assimilated with the *λ* of Zael. This would indeed be an interesting case of employing the Old Nubian genitive instead of the Greek one, but since it cannot be ascertained, the easier solution appears preferable here.

of the name – and most probably the Egyptian ones, too – was inspired by this latter character. This is confirmed by the popularity of the motif of Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace in Nubian wall painting,⁵⁸ but also – indirectly – by the extant Nubian attestations of the names Azarias (TM Nam 8348) and Ananias (TM Nam 2005) borne by the companions of Mishael.⁵⁹ Thus, the Zael from Sahaba perfectly supplements the trinity.

G. ABD EL-QADIR

14. Inscription of Masi (DBMNT 1698)⁶⁰

The present inscription belongs to a group of a dozen late (13th–14th century) graffiti recorded by Edwin Freshfield and Leonard Woolley on the walls of a small church at Abd el-Qadir in 1912 in the framework of the Oxford Expedition in Nubia.⁶¹ Only one of them was properly published, a visitor's inscription of a certain Dolo(), *tot* of Ami (DBMNT 1702);⁶² the remaining ones are available only in the form of drawings and, sometimes, photographs. Luckily, some paintings along with inscriptions accompanying them were transferred from the site to the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum.

The inscription in question is among those still preserved in the Khartoum museum, as it was scratched right next to a painting representing the scene of the adoration of the cross. The whole composition was once located in the south aisle, in the east part of the south wall. This is a typical visitor's inscription recording a visit to the church of a certain person. It has

⁵⁸ E.g. S. JAKOBIELSKI *et alii*, *Pachoras/Faras. The Wall Paintings from the Cathedrals of Aetios, Paulos and Petros* [= *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean Monograph* 4], Warsaw 2017, pp. 370–371.

⁵⁹ The former is attested five times in four variants (Ananias, Ananis, Ananiase, and Anani), the latter three times in two variants (Azaria and Azari).

⁶⁰ F. LI. GRIFFITH, 'Oxford excavations in Nubia (LVI–LX)', *University of Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 15 (1928), pls. 30.2, 34.1.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 63.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 68, pls. 30.6, 44; republished in ŁAJTAR, 'Varia Nubica XII–XIX' (cit. no. 10, comm. to ll. 2–3), pp. 103–106. See also below, n. 64.



Fig. 7. Inscription of Masi (photo by D. Zielińska; drawing after Griffith, 'Oxford excavations in Nubia' [cit. n. 60], pl. 30.2)

so far been known only through the drawing published by Griffith (fig. 7), according to which the author presented himself in line 1 as $\alpha\dot{\imath}$ $\mu\alpha\kappa\kappa$, 'I Mask'. Such a name is, however, unattested and also phonetically impossible. Thanks to a photograph taken by Dobrochna Zielińska in Khartoum (fig. 7), an improved reading of the inscription can be established.

† $\alpha\dot{\imath}$ $\mu\alpha\chi\chi$
 OMEN
 TOT

† I, *Masi*, tot of (or: son of) *Ome* (?).

1. In contrast to $\mu\alpha\kappa\kappa$, $\mu\alpha\chi\chi$ – pronounced most probably as /masi/ – is a relatively well known anthroponym in Nubia. Apart from the present graffito, it has fifteen attestations in two variants, $\mu\alpha\chi\chi$ (eight times) and $\mu\alpha\chi\iota$ (seven times),⁶³ including four referring to one person, Masi the eparch of Nobadia, in office some time in the 11th–12th centuries (see G. R. Ruffini, *Medieval Nubia. A Social and Economic History*, Oxford 2012, pp. 246–247). The name Masi most probably

⁶³ Note also the forms $\mu\alpha\chi\bar{\iota}$ and $\mu\alpha\chi$ found in Banganarti: $\mathbb{L}\alpha\mathbb{J}\mathbb{T}\mathbb{A}\mathbb{R}$, *The Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre* (cit. no. 10, comm. to l. 1), nos. 583 (DBMNT 3833) and 641 (DBMNT 3776), which may be its further variants.

derives from the Old Nubian adjectival verb $\mu\alpha\varsigma$ -, ‘(to be) good’, and hence its meaning is ‘the good one’.

2–3. The reading $\mu\epsilon\eta\tau\tau$ offered by Griffith’s drawing is less likely, because the first letter of line 2 seems too short for an *iota*. The sense of the phrase is ambiguous, because of the double meaning of the Old Nubian noun $\tau\tau$ - as both ‘child, son’ and title of official in territorial administration of Makuria (see A. Łajtar, ‘Christian Sai in written records [inscriptions and manuscripts]’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 36 [2006], pp. 91–104, at 94–98). The modifying name $\mu\epsilon$ does not help here, as it has not been attested thus far as either toponym or anthroponym. One wonders, however, whether $\mu\epsilon$ could not be an orthographic variant of $\alpha\mu(i)$, attested as a place name in the inscription of Dolo(), *tot* of Ami ($\Delta\omicron\lambda\text{'}\omega\text{'}\alpha\mu\eta\tau\tau$).⁶⁴ While the interchange of ϵ and i is common in Nubia, the substitution of α for o and vice versa is far less frequently attested (Browne, *Grammar*, § 2.1.2.2). To examples listed by Browne, one can add some instances from Nubian onomastics, for example $\zeta\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ for $\zeta\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$ (Mina, *Inscriptions coptes et grecques* [cit. n. 18], no. 261 [DBMNT 341], l. 3), $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\mu\eta$ for $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\mu\eta$ (*P. Qasr Ibrim* II 27 [DBMNT 1017], ii, l. 1), $\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma\alpha$ for $\iota\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma\alpha$ (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 44 [DBMNT 1028], l. 14), or $\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$ for $\mu\omicron\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$ (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 40 [DBMNT 588], l. 22). Admittedly, however, the interchange has not been attested in Inlaut so far.

Traces of letters drawn by Griffith and still visible on the photograph seem to belong to a different (earlier?) text.

H. KULUBNARTI

15. Perhaps a deed requesting donation (DBMNT 594)⁶⁵

This Old Nubian leather document, dated probably to the second half of the twelfth century, was discovered in 1969 during the excavation carried out in Kulubnarti by the University of Kentucky expedition.⁶⁶ It is now

⁶⁴ See above, n. 62. That this is indeed a toponym is confirmed by the inscription of King Mouses Georgios from the Faras cathedral, where one of the king’s ancestors, Maranya Georgi, is labelled as $\alpha\mu\eta\tau\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\mu\iota\varsigma$, ‘builder of Ami’, and the king himself is designated $\alpha\mu\eta\tau\tau\mu\eta\tau\tau\epsilon\chi\omega\eta$, ‘having (the church of) Mary in Ami’ (ŁAJTAR, ‘Varia Nubica XII–XIX’ [cit. no. 10, comm. to ll. 2–3], pp. 89–97 [DBMNT 699]).

⁶⁵ G. M. BROWNE, ‘An Old Nubian document from Kulubnarti’, *Le Muséon* 113 (2000), pp. 177–184.

⁶⁶ See W. Y. ADAMS & Nettie K. ADAMS, *Kulubnarti II: The Artifactual Remains* [= *Sudan Archaeological Research Society Publication* 2], London 1998, p. 88.

stored in the university's Museum of Anthropology under the inventory number 85.2.749. The poor state of preservation of the text does not allow for a proper understanding of its contents, but the presence of the protocol and the witnesses prove beyond any doubt that we are dealing here with a legal document. Some formulations used in the body of the text have led Gerald Michael Browne, the first editor, to suppose that a deed 'requesting a donation' may be at stake, and that 'the object of donation seems to be an inherited piece of property'.⁶⁷

One of the entries in the list of witnesses (l. 7) reads, according to Browne's transcription $\mu\alpha\varsigma\iota\ \omicron\gamma\rho\omicron\gamma\backslash\eta'\lambda\omicron$, which the editor translates as two separate names 'Masi, Ouroun()'. In the commentary, he suggested that the abbreviation $\omicron\gamma\rho\omicron\gamma\backslash\eta'$ stands for $\omicron\gamma\rho\omicron\gamma\eta\kappa\omicron\gamma\Delta\Delta$, which would be a variant of the name Orinkouda ($\omicron\rho\bar{\eta}\kappa\omicron\gamma\Delta\Delta$), attested once as $\omicron\rho\gamma\eta\kappa\omicron\gamma\Delta\Delta$.⁶⁸ However, as far as can be ascertained, names of all witnesses in this document have the marker $\lambda\omicron$ attached at the end. If so, the absence of the marker after $\mu\alpha\varsigma\iota$ makes it probable that only one person is at stake here. Hence, $\omicron\gamma\rho\omicron\gamma\backslash\eta'$ must represent Masi's second name, nickname, title, or office. Perhaps $\omicron\gamma\rho\omicron\gamma\eta$ is an orthographic variant $\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\eta$, 'chief',⁶⁹ in which the shifted *nu* does not mark the abbreviation but was simply forgotten and added later by the scribe? Note that chiefs are frequent as witnesses in documents from Qasr Ibrim.

I. GHAZALI

The objects discussed under nos. 16–18 below come from the monastery in Ghazali. The site has been a constant source of epigraphic material since the visit of Karl Richard Lepsius in the mid-nineteenth century,

⁶⁷ BROWNE, 'An Old Nubian document' (cit. n. 65), p. 178.

⁶⁸ G. M. BROWNE, 'Griffith's Old Nubian sale', *Orientalia* 61 [1992], pp. 454–458 (DBMNT 596), l. 4. The form $\omicron\gamma\rho\omicron\gamma\kappa\omicron\gamma\Delta\Delta$ adduced by Browne (*ibidem*, p. 181) as a possible parallel is a ghost-name (see no. 10 above).

⁶⁹ Note, however, that the interchange of α and $\omicron\gamma$ has not been attested so far in Old Nubian (see BROWNE, *Grammar*, § 2.1.2.2). Hypothetically, one could imagine a two-stage alternation: $\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\eta > \omicron\gamma\rho\eta > \omicron\gamma\rho\gamma\eta$.

who found two dozen funerary stelae there. Apart from occasional visits to the site by various scholars, the monastery was excavated twice, in the 1950s by the British-Sudanese expedition under Peter Shinnie and Naville Chittick⁷⁰ and in 2012–2018 by the Polish archaeological mission headed by Artur Obłuski.⁷¹ Two major categories of sources coming from Ghazali are epitaphs and inscriptions on pottery and they are both represented here.

16. Epitaph of Epimachos, formerly of Eudokia daughter of Elisabeth (DBMNT 473)⁷²

This Greek epitaph, dated perhaps to the eighth–eleventh century, belongs to those collected by Lepsius during his visit to Ghazali and brought by him to Berlin. Like many other pieces that were once stored in the Ägyptisches Museum, this one too is apparently lost and is now accessible only through Lepsius' drawing and archival photographs.⁷³

⁷⁰ P. L. SHINNIE & H. N. CHITTICK, *Ghazali – A Monastery in the Northern Sudan* [= *Sudan Antiquities Service Occasional Papers* 5], Khartoum 1961.

⁷¹ For preliminary reports, see, e.g., A. OBLUSKI, 'Ghazali Site Presentation Project 2012–2014. Preliminary results', *Der Antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft* 25 (2014), pp. 197–204, A. OBLUSKI & G. OCHAŁA, 'La redécouverte d'un monastère nubien: premiers résultats des fouilles polonaises à Ghazali, Ouadi Abu Dom', [in:] Anne Boud'hors & Cathrine Louis (eds.), *Études coptes XIV. Seizième journée d'études (Genève, 19–21 juin 2013)* [= *Cahiers de la bibliothèque copte* 21], Paris 2016, pp. 63–79, A. OBLUSKI *et alii*, 'Ghazali 2012: preliminary report', *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 24/1: *Research* (2015), pp. 431–442, and A. OBLUSKI *et alii*, 'The winter seasons of 2013 and 2014 in the Ghazali monastery', *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 26/1: *Research* (2017), pp. 367–398.

⁷² K. R. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, Berlin 1849–1859, vol. V (text), p. 292; vol. VI (plates): XII, pl. 99, Gr. 554 & 556; *CIG* IV 9123; G. LEFEBVRE, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte*, Cairo 1907, no. 607 (= *SB* V 8730); H. JUNKER, 'Die christliche Grabsteine Nubiens', *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 60 (1925), pp. 111–148, at 120–121, pl. after p. 112.

⁷³ Of the 22 objects brought to Berlin by Lepsius, only 10 survives. The fate of the remaining ones is unknown; they may have been looted by the Red Army in 1945 and taken to Moscow. I thank Cäcilia Flück from the Skulpturensammlung and Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin, for her kind help in trying to locate Lepsius' monuments from Ghazali.

Three basic editions of this text exist.⁷⁴ In each of them, the first part of the epitaph containing the name-lemma, unfortunately severely damaged, is rendered in a different way. The 1907 edition by Gustave Lefebvre has:

4]οκία
]ταπα
]ντσ
]τ
 π[]αγ
]ε επι μ[η]
 ν(ος) παχ(ων) πεμ[πτη].

Lefebvre's reading was republished by Friedrich Bilabel in the *Sammelbuch* in 1934 with only one small change in line 6, where the latter reads ἐπι μ[η].

For unknown reasons, Bilabel ignored the reedition of the text published by Hermann Junker almost ten years before, in 1925.⁷⁵ Junker, who was the first to work on the photograph of the object (fig. 8), proposed a complete reconstruction of lines 1–7. He transcribed (in the Coptic font):

† εϣΔΟΚΙΑ [ελις
 ἀ[βε]τ απο[σιλα
 ἰ [ετ]φν τρ[ιακο
 4 ντα ΔΥ]ο τε[λι τ̄ βιο \Υ'
 εχ[ρηс]ατ̄ [ιν]Δ[/τ]
 ριτнс επι η[μερ]
 ας παχ πεμ[της]

*† Eudokia (daughter of) Elisabet from Silai, thirty-two years old, accomplished (her) life in the third indiction, on the fifth day of Pachon.*⁷⁶

⁷⁴ A new edition will be included in a corpus of funerary inscriptions from Ghazali which I am currently preparing. The corpus will comprise both the edition of texts discovered by the Polish archaeological mission in Ghazali and the reedition of previously known epitaphs.

⁷⁵ Perhaps because Junker presented it in a Coptic font, not in the Greek one?

⁷⁶ This is my translation; Junker does not provide one with his edition.

There are a number of things that make Junker's reconstruction plainly fantastic. While all of them will be treated in detail in the new edition, here I will only deal with the name of the deceased. According to Junker, the name is contained in lines 1–2 and it is a female name Eudokia, apparently followed by the metronymic Elisabet.⁷⁷ Two things speak against such a reconstruction. First, Nubian epitaphs in general, and those from Ghazali in particular, as a rule do not start with the name of the deceased alone, without any introductory formula. The only exception is the epitaph of a certain Ioannes found in Nuri, where lines 1–2 read Ἰωαννης ὁ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ | δοῦλος ἐκειμήθη, 'Ioannes, the servant of Christ, fell asleep'.⁷⁸ Second, the deceased is referred to in the latter part of the text with the masculine personal pronouns αὐτόν (l. 9) and αὐτοῦ (l. 12). Admittedly, Junker noticed this too, but he assumed that the confusion was caused by the lack of grammatical gender in the native Nubian language, examples of which can be found in Nubian epigraphy quite frequently.⁷⁹ Thus, the reading of line 1 should most probably be corrected to † ἐὺδόκια [τοῦ θεοῦ], 'through the good will of God'.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, for the time being, no alternative reading of lines 1–2 can be proposed, as the traces of letters do not seem to fit any known funerary opening formula. However, the final argument against Junker's reconstruction can be found in line 6, where the true (male) name of the deceased can be identified.

Junker is most probably right to reconstruct in lines 4–5 the phrase τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο, 'he/she accomplished his/her life'.⁸¹ In all known

⁷⁷ Thus in the commentary to line 1 in Junker's edition.

⁷⁸ A. ŁAJTAR, 'Three Christian epitaphs in Greek from Reisner excavations in the area of Gebel Barkal (northern Sudan)', *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 26 (1996), pp. 73–89, at 79–84, no. 2 (DBMNT 550).

⁷⁹ JUNKER, 'Die christliche Grabsteine Nubiens' (cit. n. 72), p. 120 (commentary to l. 1).

⁸⁰ I owe this proposition to Adam Łajtar (personal communication). Such a formula, although, to the best of my knowledge, unattested in either Nubia or Egypt, is most probably equivalent with the formula νεύσει καὶ βουλήσει/κελεύσει τοῦ θεοῦ, 'through the inclination and will/command of God', very characteristic for Nubia (A. ŁAJTAR in *I. Khartoum Greek*, pp. 5–6).

⁸¹ For the formula, see JUNKER, 'Die christliche Grabsteine Nubiens' (cit. n. 72), p. 127, and A. ŁAJTAR in *I. Khartoum Greek*, pp. 6–7.

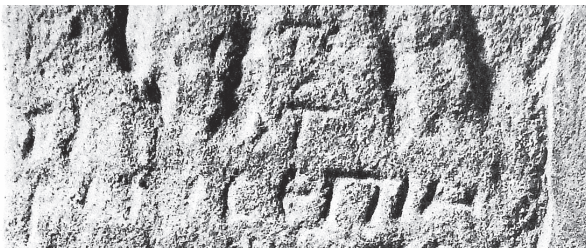


Fig. 8. Epitaph of Epimachos, with detail of the name lemma
(after Junker, 'Die christliche Grabsteine Nubiens' [cit. n. 72], pl. after p. 112)

examples, the formula is followed by the name of the deceased in the nominative, usually preceded by the adjective ‘blessed’, Greek *μακάριος* / *μακάρια*. And indeed, here, the ending ριτης, read quite securely at the beginning of line 6, points to the presence of *μακαρίτης*, a variant of the adjective found on occasion in Nubian epitaphs. A triangular shape at the end of line 5 that Junker thought to be a *delta*, which induced him to reconstruct an indiction date here, must in fact be a part of a *mu* (compare the *mus* in lines 7 and 8). Moreover, before it I can see faint traces of an *omikron*, most probably the masculine article *ὁ*. Provided the above reading is correct, a male name must follow *ὁ μακαρίτης*, thus invalidating Junker’s reading of a strange dating formula ἐπὶ ἡ[μέρ]ας.⁸² As a matter of fact, Junker’s *eta* is most surely a *mu*, almost identical to the *mu* found in line 11, and after it I can discern traces of yet another letter, probably an *alpha*. With such corrections, the name of the deceased can easily be read as ἐπιμα[χος]. Thus, the reading of the whole phrase should be rendered as follows:

4 ... τέ[λει τ(ου) βίου]
 5 ἐχ[ρήσ]ατ(ο) ὁ μ[ακα-]
 6 ρίτης Ἐπίμα[χος]

... *the blessed Epimachos accomplished his life*

The name Epimachos (TM Nam 2970) was most probably inspired by the figure of St Epimachos of Pelusium, martyred in Alexandria *ca.* 181–182, who apparently was a popular saint in Nubia.⁸³ However, in Christian Nubian onomastics, it is attested only once more, in the epitaph of one Epimachos from Sakinya.⁸⁴

⁸² Hence, the attestation should be struck out from OCHAŁA, *Chronological Systems* (cit. n. 21), table 36b on p. 244 (no. 27).

⁸³ The evidence of his cult was collected by A. TSAKOS, ‘Miscellanea epigraphica Nubica III: Epimachos of Attiri: a warrior saint of late Christian Nubia’, *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 9 (2012), pp. 205–223, at 220–222.

⁸⁴ MINA, *Inscriptions coptes et grecques* (cit. n. 18), no. 186 (DBMNT 266).

17. Inscription of Mariane (DBMNT 2505)⁸⁵

The following two names to be discussed here were recorded on ceramic vessels discovered by Peter Shinnie and Naville Chittick. Just like other epigraphic finds from their work, inscriptions on pottery were published by John Barns in the report from the excavations. For this category of finds, however, his edition is limited to provisional transcriptions, without any commentary. Regrettably, for the great majority of texts recorded on pottery only more or less schematic drawings are available, which hinders their proper reading and interpretation.⁸⁶ We do not even know on which types of vessels the texts were recorded, which makes it impossible to establish a more precise dating of these objects. Thus, only the most general dating to the seventh–thirteenth centuries, the period of existence of the monastery, can be given here.⁸⁷ The material can be divided into two major categories: sacred names (e.g. Jesus, Mary, archangels) and owner's inscriptions.⁸⁸ The two inscriptions presented here belong to the latter type.

The first example is a monogram (fig. 9), which Barns suggested resolving as ΓΕΡΜΑΝ[ΟC]. However, such an interpretation seems improbable, as the name Germanos, although well attested in seventh-/eighth-century Thebes and Constantinople (the patriarch Germanos in AD 715–730), does not occur in other Christian Nubian sources. Also, judging by the shape of the monogram, it is doubtful whether any of its elements can be taken as a *gamma*. What Barns must have taken to be the initial Γ is nothing more than the left part of the ϣ. Taking all of this into account, an alternative interpretation can be proposed, namely resolving the monogram as

⁸⁵ SHINNIE & CHITTICK, *Ghazali* (cit. n. 70), gr. 7, fig. 33.7.

⁸⁶ I am currently working on a publication of the complete dossier of inscriptions on pottery from Ghazali, which will include both the edition of pieces excavated by the Polish archaeological mission between 2012–2018 and the reedition of Shinnie and Chittick's finds.

⁸⁷ The pottery from the Polish-Sudanese excavations in Ghazali is studied by Małgorzata Korzeniowska (National Museum in Warsaw), who is working to establish a typology and chronology of vessel forms.

⁸⁸ See, preliminarily, OBLUSKI & OCHAŁA, 'La redécouverte d'un monastère nubien' (cit. n. 71), p. 76, and OBLUSKI *et alii*, 'The winter seasons of 2013 and 2014' (cit. n. 71), pp. 385–387.



Fig. 9. Monogram of Mariane
(after Shinnie & Chittick, *Ghazali* [cit. n. 70], fig. 33.7)

μαριανε, a variant of the name Marianos (TM Nam 7120, Namvar 66081). This is all the more probable, since we find the name Marianos in other inscriptions from Ghazali: two epitaphs⁸⁹ and two wall inscriptions.⁹⁰ The wall inscriptions are particularly important here, as the name seems to read μαριανε in both of them.

18. Inscription of Isou (DBMNT 2543)⁹¹

In the other inscription, the name of the owner of the vessel appears to have been recorded in *scriptio plena* (fig. 10). Barns proposed transcribing ἰσρα[ηλ?]. Indeed, the name Israel (TM Nam 14312) is quite well attested in Christian Nubia, but so far not in Ghazali. The reading, however, appears to be incorrect: the last letter is definitely not an *alpha* but an *upsilon*. If so, the letter before it cannot be anything else but an *omikron*, rendered some-

⁸⁹ LEFEBVRE, *Recueil des inscriptions* (cit. n. 72), no. 612 (DBMNT 476), and unpublished epitaph inv. no. Gh.2016.1.181.

⁹⁰ Inv. nos. GW.22 and GS.03+04, both unpublished. I am working on the edition of all these unpublished texts.

⁹¹ SHINNIE & CHITTICK, *Ghazali* (cit. n. 70), gr. 51, fig. 36.51.

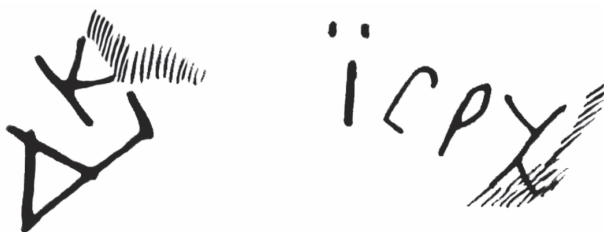


Fig. 10. Inscription of Isou
(after Shinnie & Chittick, *Ghazali* [cit. n. 70], fig. 36.51)

what clumsily by the author of the inscription and misinterpreted by the modern drawer. The correct reading should therefore be $\dot{\text{ic}}\rho\chi$, which finds support in other inscriptions on pottery from Ghazali, where this name is attested almost twenty times, although in different forms, $\dot{\text{ih}}\text{co}\chi$ and $\dot{\text{r}}\chi$.⁹²

J. SOBA

19. Inscription of Mariame (DBMNT 2488)⁹³

During his excavation in Soba, the capital of the Kingdom of Alwa, Peter Shinnie unearthed a dozen inscribed pottery pieces of unknown date. They all were published in his report of the excavation in the form of drawings with an accompanying laconic commentary.⁹⁴ Apart from one piece, all inscriptions are written with relatively big angular letters and appear to invoke holy names. The only exception is a text executed in much smaller characters of apparently different nature (fig. 11). Shinnie transcribed $\mu\omicron\upsilon\iota\lambda\mu\eta?$, but admitted that the writing was ‘so small as to

⁹² $\dot{\text{ih}}\text{co}\chi$ in, e.g., inv. nos. 4141, 9190; $\dot{\text{r}}\chi$ in, e.g., inv. no. 456, 6124; all of them unpublished.

⁹³ P. L. SHINNIE, *Excavations at Soba* [= *Sudan Antiquities Service Occasional Papers* 3], Khartoum 1955, p. 50, no. 8, fig. 27.8.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 50 and fig. 27.



Fig. 11. Inscription of Mariame
(after Shinnie, *Excavations at Soba* [cit. n. 84], fig. 27.8)

be virtually indecipherable'. Of course, in such a form the transcription does not make any sense. However, with some effort of the imagination, the reading can be relatively easily corrected. First, the long vertical stroke at the beginning does not necessarily have to be a letter: it could have been just an accidental stroke or remnants of a cross. Thus, the first letter would be the μ , apparently correctly rendered by the drawer. Second, what looks like α on the drawing is rather an *alpha* with a long oblique stroke touching the vertical stroke of the next letter, an *iota* or, better, a *rho*, whose loop seems to have been omitted by the drawer. Third, Shinnie's *lambda* should in fact be another *alpha* with the lower bar omitted on the drawing. Thus, the new reading can be established with little doubt as $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha\mu\eta$. This variant of the female name Mariam (TM Nam 3963) is attested in both Egypt and Nubia (TM Namvar 11227 [Greek], 54294 [Coptic]). An interesting fact to observe is that this would be the first occurrence of a female name in inscriptions on pottery from Nubia. This could, of course, be a reference to the Virgin Mary, not to a living person, especially given the character of the remaining inscriptions found by Shinnie. Note, however, that the name of Christ's mother has so far been unattested in this form in Christian Nubia.

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APPENDIX
INDEX OF CORRECTED NAMES

<i>Name</i>	<i>New reading</i>	<i>Old reading</i>	<i>NOM no.</i>	<i>DBMNT no.</i>
Abraham	אַΒΡΑָחַם	אַΒΡΑָחַם	9	450
Ananis the potter	אַנאַנִיס πκεραμῆϋς	אַנאַנִיס πκερααγος	2	636
Elisabet – ghost attestation	see Eudokia daughter of Elisabet			
Epimachos	ἐπιμα[χος]	ἐπῖ η[μερ]ας	14	473
Eudokia daughter of Elisabet – ghost attestation (cf. Epimachos)	εὐδοκία [ελις]α[βε]τ	εὐδοκία [τοῦ θεοῦ]	30	473
Eueros – ghost name	see Seueros			
Germanos – ghost attestation	see Mariane			
Ichilos	ἰχίλος	ἰχι/λος	5	411
Isou	ἰσοϋ	ἰσρα[ηλ?]	16	2543
Ioakourtouke – ghost name	see Ioannes Kourtouke			
Ioannes Kourtouke	ἰωα κοῦρτοῦκε	ἰωακοῦρτοῦκε	3	2056
Ionie – ghost name	see Sion			
Ioseph son of Peti	ἰωση ^[o] πῆτι	ἰωσηϋ πῆτι	1	631
Ioseu Peti – ghost name	see Ioseph son of Peti			
Israel – ghost attestation	see Isou			
Kouddapes	οὔροϋ κοῦδαπας	οὔροϋκοῦδαδα πας[. . .]ιο	10	1537
Maria – ghost attestation	see Marianta			
Mariame	μαριαμη	μονιλημη?	17	2488
Mariane	μαριανε (as monogram)	μεριαν[ος]	15	2505
Marianta	μαριαντα τῳη...	μαρια νταῳη...	10	523
Maristi son of Zael (cf. Zael)	μαριστι ῥ̄ς ζαηλ	μαριστι ῥ̄ς ζαηη	12	1444
Masi	μαση	μασκ	13	1698
Mask – ghost name	see Masi			
Merke – ghost name	see Merki			

<i>Name</i>	<i>New reading</i>	<i>Old reading</i>	<i>NOM no.</i>	<i>DBMNT no.</i>
Merki	меркї	мерке	11	723
Mprrhote (?)	мпррзотѣ	мпррзотѣ	8	445
Okkeri	оккерн (as personal name)	оккерн (as verbal form)	10	1537
Ouroukoudda – ghost name	see Kouddapes			
Ouroun() – ghost name	ογροϋ`ν´ (as title, perhaps ογραν, ‘chief’)	ογροϋ`ν´ (as proper name, perhaps ογροϋν(κογδα))	15	594
Peti (cf. Ioseph son of Peti)				
Seueros	μακ(αριος) σεγνρος	μακ[αριος] εγнρος	7	442
Sion	μακαρ(ια) ciωн	μακαρ(ιο)с iωн iε	6	413
Toub()	τοϋβ()	τοϋ β[ioϋ]	4	408
Zael	zανλ	zανн	12	1444
Zaen – ghost name	see Zael			