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DEPARTMENT OF PAPYROLOGY



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CONTENTS

Constantinos BALAMOSHEV <i>SB V 8754: Apostoloi, antapostoloi, and the Ptolemaic grain transport</i>	1
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---

Abstract: This paper offers new annotated readings and corrections to the original edition of P. Berlin inv. 16876 = *SB V 8754* (from the archive of Harchebis, the royal scribe of the Herakleopolite nome), also discussing subsequent corrections proposed by various scholars in the past. Special attention is placed on the *hapax legomenon* technical term *antapostoloi*. The connection of these documents with the term *apostoloi* is investigated as well as their function within the framework of the shipping procedure and the officials involved in their issuance. Finally, appended is a transcription that reflects the current state of the papyrus, together with a translation into English.

Keywords: Ptolemaic, first century BC, grain transport, samples, administration, archives, *naukleros*, *dioiketes*, *sitologos*, *strategos*, *basilikos grammateus*, *apostoloi*, *antapostoloi*, *phylakitai*, ship security guards, shipping, shipowners, corrections.

Tomasz BARAŃSKI <i>The Arabic text of SPP VIII 1198 and its significance</i> <i>for the study of Arabisation of the Egyptian administration</i>	17
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Abstract: The paper offers a reading of remnants of the Arabic text of *SPP VIII 1198*. The Greek part of this bilingual document has been known for a long time, but it could not be dated precisely with the indiction date preserved in the text. The dating formula that can be deciphered in the Arabic part allows the reconstruction of the exact dates for this and another tax receipt, *PERF 573* = *SB XVIII 13771*, issued most probably by the same official.

Different tax quotas indicated in the document are discussed as well. Moreover, an effort is made in the article to understand the identity of the issuing official and the document's place of origin. Although it is almost certain that the tax receipt comes from the Egyptian province, it can be hypothesized that it was written originally in the capital city Al-Fuṣṭāṭ. Finally, some general conclusions about the process of the Arabisation of the Egyptian administration are drawn.

Keywords: Greek, Arabic, bilingual documents, early Islamic Egypt, fiscal administration, tax receipt, Herakleopolis Magna, Iḥnās.

Lajos BERKES & Naïm VANTHIEGHEM

Maṭar and metron in papyri: The Greek origin of an Arabic measure 31

Abstract: Edition of the Arabic account P. Louvre inv. E 6380 originating from the Fayum and dating to the second half of the eighth century. The document strongly suggests that the Arabic measure *maṭar* derives from the Greek *metron*.

Keywords: papyrus, Arabic, metrology, villages, Fayum, administration, lexicography.

Anne BOUD'HORS

The Coptic ostraca of the Theban hermitage MMA 1152.

3. *Exercices (O. Gurna Górecki 97-161)* 41

Abstract: Following the articles published in *JJP* 47 and 48, further sixty-five ostraca discovered by Tomasz Górecki in the Theban hermitage MMA 1152 are published here. They are labelled 'Exercices', a general designation covering different categories, namely extracts of Psalms and other edifying texts, prayers, lists of word, alphabets, and drawings. They are somehow introducing us to the intellectual and spiritual life in the hermitage.

Keywords: Coptic, ostraca, Western Thebes, MMA 1152, exercises, education, piety.

Lucia C. COLELLA

P. Vindob. inv. G 13753 recto e verso:

Due documenti del dossier di Aurelia Demetria alias Ammonia 97

Abstract: In this paper, two documentary texts preserved on P. Vindob. G 13753 are edited. The first one, written on the recto, is a further copy of the

marriage document already known from SB XXVI 16502. The other one, on the verso, is an account of receipts and expenditures. Both texts can be ascribed to the Hermopolitan dossier of Aurelia Demetria *alias* Ammonia.

Keywords: P. Vindob. G 13753, P. Vindob. Boswinkel 5, SB XXVI 16502, marriage document, account, Aurelia Demetria *alias* Ammonia.

KAROL KŁODZIŃSKI

An equestrian procurator's 'unequal colleague'?

Reinterpreting the career of the imperial freedman Ulpius Paeon 125

Abstract: The role of freedman procurators in Roman administration of the principate period is still unclear. While the division into equestrian and freedman procuratorships is well documented and studied (particularly by H.-G. Pflaum and P.R.C. Weaver), neither the explanation behind it nor adopting the criterion of less important (freedman) or more important (equestrian) procuratorships is entirely convincing. Reducing the work of freedman procurators (having the same titles as *equites*) to merely assisting equestrian procurators (under 'unequal collegiality') can be disputed as well. By re-interpreting the career of the imperial freedman Ulpius Paeon and calling upon other careers, the article argues that some imperial freedmen could have held equestrian procuratorships as their superiors.

Keywords: inscriptions, procuratorships, roman government, principate, provincial administration, appointment policy, Roman emperor, imperial freedmen, *equites*.

GRZEGORZ OCHAŁA

Nubica onomastica miscellanea IV. Notes on and corrections to personal names found in Old Nubian documents from Qasr Ibrim

143

Abstract: The fourth instalment of the 'Nubica onomastica miscellanea' series offers a massive batch of corrections to personal names found in Christian Nubian sources. The anthroponyms discussed in this paper come exclusively from Old Nubian documents discovered at Qasr Ibrim and published by Gerald M. Browne and Giovanni Ruffini. The article includes simple re-readings of anthroponyms on the one hand and more elaborate reinterpretations of whole phrases containing them on the other. Identification with known foreign names and etymologies for many local Nubian names are proposed, greatly contributing to our understanding of medieval Nubian naming practices. Last but not least, many ghost-names are identified and their true meaning is explained.

Keywords: Christian Nubia, Qasr Ibrim, Old Nubian, onomastics, ghost names.

Przemysław PIWOWARCZYK

Microtheologies behind the Biblical amulets: Six case studies 253

Abstract: Recent years witnessed an increasing interest in Christian amulets with Biblical texts. Several catalogues and monographic contributions have been published, facilitating the research on historical and religious aspects of these artefacts. The paper offers a methodological framework, founded mainly on the concept of semiophore formulated by Krzysztof Pomian, as well as six case studies, which show how the analysis of material and textual aspects of a scriptural amulet might reveal theological ideas, more or less consciously shared by its producers and users.

Keywords: magic, Biblical amulets, scriptural amulets, texts of ritual power.

Angelina TROIANO

Sul Fragmentum Riccardi e la Lex Aelia Sentia in TH² 89 281

Abstract: In the recent *secunda cura* of the *Tabulae Herculanenses*, Giuseppe Camodeca has completely rebuilt the dossier TH² 8911 about the acquisition of the Roman citizenship by the *Latinus Iunianus* Venidio Ennico. Thanks to this study, it is currently possible to make further considerations about the procedure described in the *Fragmentum Riccardi* and its relationship with the *lex Aelia Sentia*.

Keywords: *Tabulae Herculanenses*, Roman citizenship, *Lex Aelia Sentia*, *Fragmentum Riccardi*, *anniculi causae* probation.

Jakub URBANIK

Józef inter gentes: On status and law between the centre and periphery 289

Abstract: Following the footsteps of Józef Méléze Modrzejewski and reassessing his law-custom theory, the essay explores the principles of law-application under Roman law. Passages from Ps.-Menander's *Epideictic Treatises* and Gregory the Miracle-Worker's *Eulogy of Origen* are confronted with the selected papyrological evidence of apparent 'conflict of laws' faced by the Roman jurisdiction: the petition of Dionysia (*P. Oxy.* II 237), and a text concerning the testamentary freedom of the Egyptians (*P. Oxy.* XLII 3015), and finally with a fragment of a juridical work attributed to Volusius Maecianus (D. XIV 2.9 *pr.*). In conclusions, a new take of the problem is presented. I suggest the principle ordering the choice of competent law be *lex posterior derogat legi priori*. Thus, after the Roman conquest the old norms remained in force until expressively abrogated by a new Roman precept: be it in a form of a judicial decision (in line of the Roman magistrate-law making), or new imperial legislation.

Keywords: *Constitutio Antoniana*, *consuetudo*, usage, *Reichsrecht*, *Volksrecht*, Menander Rhetor, Dionysia, provincial law, conflict of laws.

Marzena WOJTCZAK

'Legal representation' of monastic communities in late antique papyri 347

Abstract: While focusing on the issues such as spirituality, faith, prayer, and discipline, the late antique literary discourse pays little attention to the engagement of monks in the mundane realities of daily life. The symbolic significance of the total withdrawal from the earthly matters have paved its way into common imagination of the monastic existence. One must, however, remain cautious while attempting to translate monastic writings into the reality of day-to-day life of a monk in Egypt. As shown by numerous papyri, social and economic relations between monks and the surrounding world were not sporadic, but an inevitable element of the monastic movement. The picture of Egyptian monasticism depicts a web of contacts with the 'outside world' and an entanglement of religious landscape in the local economy. In this article, I discuss only one aspect of the much broader issue, that is the existence of 'legal capacity' of monastic communities in late antique Egypt. I address the problem of 'legal representation' of monasteries as outlined in the sources of legal practice. For a lawyer, these observations are all the more stimulating as there has been an ongoing debate whether 'legal persons' as such existed at all in Roman law, and whether we could talk about anything approaching our current understanding of 'legal personality'.

Keywords: monks, monasteries, legal capacity, Late Antiquity, papyri, legal representation, *dikaion*, *diakonia*, Roman law, legal practice, Justinian, Egypt.

Grzegorz Ochała

NUBICA ONOMASTICA MISCELLANEA IV
NOTES ON AND CORRECTIONS
TO PERSONAL NAMES FOUND
IN OLD NUBIAN DOCUMENTS FROM QASR IBRIM*

THE PRESENT ARTICLE IS THE FOURTH ISSUE of the ‘Nubica onomastica miscellanea’ (NOM) series, where I have collected numerous corrections to anthroponyms found in Christian Nubian written sources.¹ All these corrections are result of my work on the project ‘*What’s in a name? A study on the onomastics of Christian Nubia*’, which involved a thorough revision of all Christian Nubian sources containing personal names.² In the following pages I offer new readings of and remarks on a large number of personal names occurring in the Old Nubian documents discovered by the Egypt

* I owe thanks to Adam Łajtar for his remarks on an earlier draft of this paper, the anonymous peer-reviewer for his/her remarks, and Giovanni Ruffini for correcting my English.

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 (2019), pp. 181–198; part II: ‘Notes on and corrections to names found in inscriptions from Sakinya’, *Bulletin de la Société de l’archéologie copte* 56 (2017), pp. 127–138; part III: ‘Notes on and corrections to personal names found in Christian Nubian written sources’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 48 (2018), pp. 141–184; part V: ‘Reedition of two Old Nubian lists of names from Qasr Ibrim’ (in preparation).

² The project was financed by the National Science Centre of the Republic of Poland (no. 2015/17/D/HS3/00372).

Exploration Society's archaeological mission at the site of Qasr Ibrim. They were originally published by Gerald Michael Browne and Giovanni Ruffini in volumes *P. Qasr Ibrim* II, III, and IV.³ Many corrections presented here should be treated as mere propositions, more or less credible, because for a number of documents, notably those edited by Browne, no photographs have been published allowing for the verification of new readings. While the improvements proposed here do not bring us much further in understanding the texts themselves, often extremely cryptic,⁴ they are important from the point of view of prosopographic research on the society of Qasr Ibrim in the late period (11th–13th century) by helping in identifying new attestations of persons already known from other texts.

The material is presented in the order of original publication numbers in the *P. Qasr Ibrim* series. In transliterating Nubian names, I assume a slightly different system than those employed by Browne and Ruffini, in which all vowels representing the sound /i/, that is ι, ει, η, γ, and ε + consonant with supralinear stroke, are rendered as 'i'.⁵ Browne's and Ruffini's translations occurring throughout the paper are therefore adjusted to this system.⁶ For the reader's convenience, the index of names treated here, including ghost-attestations, ghost-variants, and ghost-names,⁷ is appended at the end of the paper.⁸

³ G. M. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim* II [= *Egypt Exploration Society. Texts from Excavations* 10], London 1989; IDEM, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim* III [= *Egypt Exploration Society. Texts from Excavations* 12], London 1991; G. R. RUFFINI, *The Bishop, the Eparch and the King: Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim* IV [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 22], Warsaw 2014.

⁴ This especially pertains to the private letters. Our knowledge of Old Nubian is based on the grammar and lexicon of literary texts, which appear to be significantly different for documents.

⁵ The only exceptions are names with well-established spelling, like Chael (χαηλ) or Israel (ισραηλ), and the diphthongs εγ, αγ, and ογ, where γ is always rendered as 'u'.

⁶ I have also unified the rendering of designations of Nubian titles and offices.

⁷ The term 'ghost' is used here to designate words and phrases that were misread and/or misinterpreted as names (ghost-names), otherwise unattested forms of known names (ghost-variants), and occurrences of known variants of known anthroponyms (ghost-attestations).

⁸ Apart from the siglum *P. Qasr Ibrim*, I use the following abbreviations throughout the paper: BROWNE, *Dictionary* = G. M. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary* [= *Corpus Scriptorum*

1. *P. Qasr Ibrim* II 21 (DBMNT 1018)

The document in question is a declaration or petition concerning sale issued by Marimi for Iosephi the great scribe. It was published twice, first by Gerald Browne in 1989 and then re-edited by Petra Weschenfelder in 2015.⁹ At the back side of this sheet of paper, there is a short list of persons who witnessed the deed. In two of those entries some corrections can be made.

a) Verso, line 12: Metolkitol

The entry on line 12 is edited by both Browne and Weschenfelder as follows: μετολκϣ`τ` ματαρλο, ‘Metolkit() is witness’. Such an anthroponym is otherwise unknown, but the abbreviation κϣ`τ` is suggestive of names that end in -kito/-kitol: Ngissikitol (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 34 i [DBMNT 582], l. 38) and Mariakito (*I. Qasr Ibrim* 45 [DBMNT 670], ll. 6–7). If so, the form should be resolved as μετολκϣτολ and analysed as μετολ- + κίτο- + -λ. The word μετολ- has no straightforward etymology, but it may be cognate with the Nobiin μετλοϣτ, ‘cover, cloak’. κίτο-, on the other hand, is a well-known Old Nubian verb meaning ‘to put on oneself’. The name should thus most probably be understood as ‘the one who puts a cloak on him-/herself’, i.e. ‘the one who wears a cloak’.¹⁰

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 Texts, available at <www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl>. Unless stated otherwise, the meaning of Old Nubian, Nobiin, and Dongolawi words are taken from BROWNE, *Dictionary*, and M. KHALIL, *Wörterbuch der nubischen Sprache (Fadidja /Mabas-Dialekt)*, Warsaw 1996, and C. H. ARMBRUSTER, *Dongolese Nubian. A Lexicon*, Cambridge 1965, respectively.

⁹ P. WESCHENFELDER, ‘The *soulou* in medieval Old Nubian documents: A mobile ethnic or professional group?’, [in:] A. ŁAJTAR, G. OCHAŁA, & 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. 279–299.

¹⁰ See *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, p. 267, for the analysis of the analogous name Staurosingkitol.

b) Verso, line 13: Staro the scribe

Browne's original edition of the next entry has σταυροσογ`τ` ματαραλο, 'Staurosout() is witness', but the text was corrected by Weschenfelder to σταροσογ`τ` ματαραλο, 'Starosout() is witness', which is indeed visible on the photograph. However, the space between σταρο and σογ`τ` visible on the photo suggests that we may be dealing here not with a single proper name, but with two different words. If so, σογ`τ` has to be an abbreviated variant of the title σογντογε, σογτογε, 'scribe'. Notably, the form σογτογε is found several lines above in the same text: ιωσηφι σογτογε δαγογλ ματαραλο, 'Iosephi the great scribe is witness' (ve, ll. 9–11). The form σταρο has not been attested as an anthroponym so far, but it doubtlessly is a variant of the name Stauros (TM Nam 27470). Thus, a new edition of the phrase can be proposed: σταρο σογ`τ` ματαραλο, 'Staro the scribe is witness', and the forms Staurosout() and Starosout() should both be deemed ghost-names.

2. *P. Qasr Ibrim III 31* (DBMNT 589)

a) Lines 3–4: Ngissinnal

In the protocol of this document, in lines 3–4, the following phrase can be read: $\text{COCOD\AA E\check{C}C\bar{N} \text{E}\bar{\Delta}N \text{TOT}\bar{\Lambda} \Delta\text{OYTC}\bar{N} \mid \text{O}\Delta\text{FO}\Delta\Delta \text{EIN}\bar{N}$. In Browne's translation, it is rendered 'Songoja, *tot* of Ngissin-Ngal, being *trikliniaris* of Douksi'. However, the meaning of the passage is not as straightforward as Browne presented it. This is because of the ambiguity of the Old Nubian noun TOT- , which can designate both 'child, son' and the title of an official. Thus, if we consider it to be the latter here, $\text{E\check{C}C\bar{N}E}\bar{\Delta}(\lambda)$ has to be a toponym (thus Browne); if, however, the former option is true, $\text{E\check{C}C\bar{N}E}\bar{\Delta}(\lambda)$ is an anthroponym.¹¹ Since there are no certainly attested place-names with the

¹¹ For this ambiguous meaning of TOT- , see, e.g., A. ŁAJTAR, 'Christian Säi in written records (inscriptions and manuscripts)', *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 36 (2006), pp. 91–104, at 94–95; cf. BROWNE, *Dictionary*, pp. 180–181.

element εαλ-,¹² otherwise meaning ‘son’ and hence not really fit for a toponym, I prefer the second interpretation here, all the more so, since we know the name-form εῶσιεα occurring in an epitaph coming probably from Meinarti.¹³ Moreover, the element εῶσ-, ‘holy’, is attested in other Nubian compound names Ngissikane (εῶσκαῖενῶ)¹⁴ and Ngissikitol (εῶσικιτοῶ).¹⁵ The name Ngissinnal would mean literally ‘son of a saint’.

b) Line 12: Ionngal

In the list of witnesses, we find the phrase παπῖειον εαν· τοτῶλλο, which Browne translates ‘and Papi, *tot* of Nga(l)’, where παπῖειον is analysed as the personal name παπῖ- and the conjunction -ειον. A different word division seems more probable, however, namely παπῖ ειονεαν· τοτῶλλο, which, owing to the ambiguity of τοτ- (see above), produces two possible translations: ‘Papi, son of Ionngal’ or ‘Papi, *tot* of Ionngal’. While Ionngal has so far been attested as neither toponym nor anthroponym, the fact that the element ειο-, whose meaning is unfortunately unknown,¹⁶ is fairly frequently found in Nubian onomastics¹⁷ speaks in favour of the former solution.

¹² For identically ambiguous cases, see Ionngal in the same document.

¹³ M. G. TIBILETTI BRUNO, *Iscrizioni Nubiane*, Pavia 1964, no. 10 (DBMNT 533), ll. 6, 18–19.

¹⁴ A large dipinto from the church at Sonqi Tino with a list of offerers (DBMNT 719; unpublished; briefly mentioned in S. DONADONI, ‘Les fouilles à l’église de Sonqi Tino’, [in:] E. DINKLER [ed.], *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlicher Zeit. Ergebnisse und Probleme auf Grund der jüngsten Ausgrabungen*, Recklinghausen 1970, pp. 209–216, at 215, and described in G. OCHALA, ‘Old Nubian lists of goods and money: A preliminary presentation’, [in:] J. R. ANDERSON & D. A. WELSBY (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies [= British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 1]*, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2014, pp. 971–976, *passim*; it is currently being studied for publication within the framework of the Sonqi Tino Collaborative, headed by Vincent Laisney).

¹⁵ *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 34 ve (DBMNT 582), l. 38.

¹⁶ It may be cognate with the Nobiin io-, ‘mother; my mother’.

¹⁷ In such names as Ionngoka (e.g. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 62 [DBMNT 1046], ve, l. 1: ειον-εοκαῖ), Ionkouda (e.g. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 40 [DBMNT 588], l. 8: ειονκογ\`α\`), or Ionminne (e.g. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 38 [DBMNT 586], l. 20: ειονμῖνελο).

The name Ionngal should probably be analysed as ειο- + the genitive -Ν + ελλ-, ‘son’, and mean ‘the son of Io’.

c) Line 13: Mame

Another entry in the witnesses’ list, μαμε εστιπῆ γεωωλλο, is translated by Browne as ‘*ngeshsb* of Mame-Istipi’, where *ngeshsb* is understood as the name of an office and Mame-Istipi as a geographical designation.¹⁸ However, we are dealing here with an entry in the witnesses’ list and such an understanding leaves the witness devoid of the name, a situation that would be highly unusual in a legal context.¹⁹ Note that even such prominent characters as bishops and eparchs are signed by name when they occur as witnesses, although – as we can imagine – everyone would know exactly who they were, if they were mentioned only by title.²⁰ Therefore, μαμε should, with all probability, be taken as a personal name, all the more so, since four other attestations of such an anthroponym are known from Nubia: *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 73 (DBMNT 2806), re, l. 10; an Old Nubian legal document from Kulubnarti;²¹ an Old Nubian wall inscription from Tamit;²² the name may also figure in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 65 (DBMNT 640),

¹⁸ Cf. *ngeshsb* of Nobadia in, e.g., the same document, l. 7: ηιγῆτῆ γογῆ γεωω, or *ngeshsb* of Odjo, e.g. in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 36 (DBMNT 584), re, l. 10–11: οαδδον γεωω.

¹⁹ This is, in turn, perfectly understandable in religious context. For anonymity in Nubia, see, e.g., A. ŁAJTAR, *The Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre at Banganarti: The Evidence of Inscriptions*, Warsaw 2020 (in press), no. 416 (DBMNT 3616), commentary; for the wider Mediterranean, see Ch. ROUECHÉ, ‘Interpreting the signs: Anonymity and concealment in Late Antique inscriptions’ (with an appendix by D. FEISSEL), [in:] H. AMIRAV & B. TER HAAR ROMENY (ed.), *From Rome to Constantinople. Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron* [= *Late Antique History and Religion* 1], Leuven 2007, pp. 221–234.

²⁰ Mena, bishop of Ibrim, occurs as witness in, e.g., *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 39 (DBMNT 587), l. 26, and Adama, eparch of Nobadia in, e.g., *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 44 (DBMNT 1028), l. 19.

²¹ G. M. BROWNE, ‘An Old Nubian document from Kulubnarti’, *Le Muséon* 113 (2000), pp. 177–184 (DBMNT 594), l. 16.

²² S. DONADONI, ‘Le iscrizioni’, [in:] *Tamit* (1964). *Missione archeologica in Egitto dell’Università di Roma*, Rome 1967, pp. 61–64, no. 1 (DBMNT 723), l. 3.

l. 17.²³ The name Mame(l) seems to be cognate with the Nobiin mame , ‘root, basis, fundament’,²⁴ rather than the Old Nubian mame- , ‘sinner’. Moreover, the word read by Browne as $\text{e}\dot{\text{c}}\text{t}\text{i}\text{p}\bar{\text{n}}$ should most probably be corrected to $\text{e}\dot{\text{c}}\text{t}\text{i}\bar{\text{n}}$ or $\text{e}\dot{\text{c}}\text{t}\text{i}\text{g}\bar{\text{i}}$,²⁵ as is proven by the occurrence of the phrase $\text{e}\dot{\text{c}}\text{t}\text{i}\bar{\text{n}} \text{e}\omega\omega\lambda\Delta\epsilon$, ‘ngeshsb of Istigi’, in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 112 (DBMNT 2853), l. 14.²⁶ Thus, the whole phrase should be translated ‘Mame, ngeshsb of Istigi’, and the toponym Mame-Istipi should be struck out as a ghost-name from the ‘List of place names’ in Browne’s *Old Nubian Dictionary*.²⁷

3. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 32 (DBMNT 590)

a) Lines 18–20: Enotannil, Miria, c Aseno Enotannil

In the list of witnesses attached to this document, we find the fragment $\Delta\text{O}\text{L}\text{L}\text{I}\text{T}\text{A}\text{K}\bar{\text{L}} \text{O}\dot{\text{Y}}\text{P}\text{A}\text{N}\text{N}\text{O} \text{E}\dot{\text{N}}\text{O}\text{T}\text{A}\text{N}\text{N}\bar{\text{I}}\text{L}\text{O} \mid \text{T}\text{A}\text{N} \text{E}\text{A}\text{L}\text{L}\text{O} \text{M}\bar{\text{I}}\text{R}\bar{\text{I}}\text{A}\text{L}\text{O} \text{T}\text{A}\text{N} \text{E}\text{A}\text{L}\text{L}\text{O}: \Delta\text{C}\text{E}\text{N}\text{O} \mid \text{E}\dot{\text{N}}\text{O}\text{T}\text{A}\text{N}\text{N}\bar{\text{I}}\text{L}\text{O} \text{T}\text{A}\text{N} \Delta\text{C}\bar{\text{L}}\text{L}\text{O}$, which Browne translates as follows:

‘Dollitakil, chief,
Enotannil, his son,
Miria, his son,
Asenoenotannil, his daughter’.

Browne does not comment on his understanding of the fragment and the relationship between these persons, but at least two interpretations can

²³ Ruffini edits $\text{MY} \text{M}[\dots]$ and leaves the fragment untranslated and uninterpreted, but one wonders whether $\text{mame}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{e}}$ could not be read here.

²⁴ Interestingly, other names with synonymous meaning are known from Nubia: Doulista (see J. VAN DER VLIET, ‘Exit Tamer, bishop of Faras [SB V 8728]’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 37 [2007], pp. 185–191, at 191) and Oursi (see ŁAJTAR, *The Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre* [cit. n. 19], no. 295).

²⁵ Unfortunately, no photograph of the text is available to ascertain this correction.

²⁶ I owe this suggestion to Adam Łajtar.

²⁷ BROWNE, *Dictionary*, p. 248.

be considered based on his translation. First, that Enotannil, Miria, and Asenoenotannil were siblings, whose father was Dollitakil; and second, that we are dealing here with representatives of four generations of one family, with Dollitakil being the father of Enotannil, grandfather of Miria, and great grandfather of Asenoenotannil. Moreover, by interpreting ταν ελλ, ‘his son’, and ταν ἀϰλ, ‘his daughter’, as the appositions, Browne implicitly suggests that Enotannil and Miria were male names and Asenoenotannil a female one.

Note, however, that according to the logic of Old Nubian witnesses’ lists, each listed person should be marked off with the postposition -λο. If so, then, ταν ελλο and ταν ἀϰλλο should be treated as separate entries in the list rather than appositions describing the names preceding them. The translation should therefore assume the following form:

‘Dollitakil, chief;
Enotannil;
her (?) son;
Miria;
his/her son;
Aseno Enotannil;²⁸
her (?) daughter’.

If such an interpretation is valid, apart from Dollitakil, who is labelled as ‘chief’, the gender of the remaining persons is not indicated, because the Old Nubian third person singular possessive pronoun ταν is gender-neutral (it can mean both ‘his’ and ‘her’).²⁹ We can suppose, however, that the names Enotannil and Aseno Enotannil were female on the account of the element Eno-, which seems to mean ‘O mother!’ and thus to explicitly refer to women.³⁰ This is confirmed by the occurrence of female names starting

²⁸ Because Enotannil occurs as a name on its own, I prefer to treat the formation ἀϰενο ἐνοταννιλ as a double name.

²⁹ BROWNE, *Grammar*, § 3.7.1.

³⁰ V. W. J. VAN GERVEN OEI, ‘A dance for a princess: The legends on a painting in room 5 of the Southwest Annex of the Monastery on Kom H in Dongola’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 47 (2017), pp. 117–135, at 123 and n. 17 at p. 128.

with Eno-: Enomariame daughter of Pella³¹ and – probably – Enoionngoka.³² In fact, ενο may not be an integral part of the name, but a title ‘mother’, analogous to παπο, ‘father’,³³ most probably the Old Nubian rendering of αββα attested with names of some Nubian bishops. The meaning of other elements in these names is unknown: ταννῆλ may be somehow cognate with the third person singular possessive pronoun ταν; ἄκενο may contain the same element ενο combined with the Old Nubian ἄκ-, ‘daughter’ or ‘morning’; the meaning of such a combination escapes me, however.

The etymology of the remaining names, Dollitakil and Miria, is more straightforward. They are both local Nubian names. The former can be analysed as ΔΟΛΛ-, ‘to wish’ + the passive morpheme -ΤΑΚ + -λ, meaning ‘the needed one’. The latter consists of the adjective μίρι-, ‘young, new’, plus the suffix -α,³⁴ in the sense ‘the young one’.

4. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 33 (DBMNT 591)

a) Line 14: Darne son of Oukka

According to Browne’s translation, the phrase ΔΑΡΜΕ ΟΥΚΚΑΛΟ found in the list of witnesses to this document pertains to two separate witnesses, Darne and Oukka. However, in view of the lack of the postposition -λο after ΔΑΡΜΕ, it seems more probable that we are dealing here with a single

³¹ *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 44 (DBMNT 1028), l. 1.

³² *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 38 (DBMNT 586), l. 19; 40 (DBMNT 588), l. 20 (perhaps the same person in both texts); IV 72 (DBMNT 2792), re, l. 3; 73 (DBMNT 2806), ve, l. 8 (perhaps the same person in both texts). The gender of these persons is not explicitly stated in the texts, but since we know that the name Ionngoka was certainly female (e.g. Ionngoka daughter of Chael Songoja in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 37 [DBMNT 585], l. 38), we may assume that Enoionngoka was female, too.

³³ Cf. VAN GERVEN OEI, ‘A dance for a princess’ (cit. n. 30), n. 17.

³⁴ It is uncertain how to interpret the suffix -α occurring on many Nubian names discussed here and many other in the corpus. It is indeed reminiscent of the Old Nubian predicative -α, but – as has been pointed out to me by the reviewer of the paper – the latter belongs to the verbal, not the nominal domain, and has not been attested in common noun formation. For the lack of a better solution, it should perhaps be perceived as an onomastic suffix.

entry in the list. The list of witnesses attached to another Old Nubian document from Qasr Ibrim, *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 45 (DBMNT 1029) helps solve this issue. There, in lines 13–14, we find the entry ΔΑΡ`Μ´ | ΟΥΓΓΑΝ ΕΑΛΛΟ, which – in Browne’s translation – means ‘Darme son of Ougga’. It is thus not inconceivable that we are dealing here with the same person,³⁵ but the scribe of *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 33 somehow omitted ΕΑΛ marking the filiation. If so, we should edit ΔΑΡΜΕ ΟΥΚΚΑ<Ν ΕΑΛ>ΛΟ and translate ‘Darme <son of> Oukka’. Or, we are not dealing here with a scribal omission, but with one of the normal ways of presenting filiation in Nubian sources, that is an asyndetic and grammatically unmarked conjoining of two names. Should this be the case, the instances of Nubian double names (like Mouses Georgios, Chael Songoja, etc.) would have to be carefully reconsidered.³⁶

Oukka/Ougga³⁷ is a simple local Nubian name and derives from either ΟΥΓΓ-, ‘to proclaim’ + the predicative -α, producing the meaning ‘the one who proclaims’, or ΟΥΓΓ- < ΟΥΛΓ(ḡ)-, ‘to hear’ + -α with the sense ‘the one who hears’. Apart from the two examples discussed here, it occurs in two further Old Nubian documents: *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 (DBMNT 2792), ve, l. 16, and *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 40 (DBMNT 588), l. 19 (see 10a below). The etymology of the popular Nubian name Darme – attested as many as thirty-five times – is unknown; it may derive from ΔΑΡ-, ΔΑΝ-, ‘to be, exist’.

b) Line 15: Anil & Songoja

In the next line, we find the fragment ΑΝΛΛΟ´ ΟΟΕΟΔΑ ΨΕΛΟ, which Browne understands as ‘Anil-Songoja, priest’. However, the postposition -ΛΟ attached to ΑΝΛ as well as the mid-dot after ΑΝΛΛΟ clearly mark separate

³⁵ He is labelled ‘Darme VII’ in Bartosz Wojciechowski’s attempt at the prosopography of late Qasr Ibrim: B. WOJCIECHOWSKI, ‘The Old Nubian «Eparchal archive» from Qasr Ibrim reconsidered’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 41 (2011), pp. 265–292, at 273.

³⁶ Such an interpretation has been recently suggested for some combinations of personal names found in visitor’s inscriptions at Baganarti (ŁAJTAR, *The Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre* [cit. n. 19], nos. 473 [DBMNT 3670], 491 [DBMNT 3688], 636 [DBMNT 3828]).

³⁷ For the common interchange of Γ and Κ in Old Nubian, see BROWNE, *Grammar*, § 2.2.2.

entries on the list of witnesses. We are thus most surely dealing here not with a double name Anil-Songoja, but with two separate anthroponyms representing two different persons, Anil and Songoja, and the proper translation should be ‘Anil; Songoja, priest’. The form Anil-Songoja should be struck out as a ghost-name from Browne’s ‘List of personal names’ and Ruffini’s *Nubian Personal Names*.³⁸

This is all the more probable, since both words are attested as anthroponyms standing on their own: Anil twice, in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 36 (DBMNT 584), re, l. 36, and *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 45 (DBMNT 1029), l. 6; Songoja twenty times, for example in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 36 (DBMNT 584), re, l. 36, and *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 33 (DBMNT 591), l. 13. The former name appears to be a simple local Nubian name, perhaps deriving from the Old Nubian first person singular possessive pronoun $\Delta\text{N}^{39} + \bar{\lambda}$, producing the meaning ‘that which is mine’. The latter consists of the noun COCOC -, denoting a high official and rendered traditionally as ‘eparch’, and the suffix - α .

c) Line 15: Dauti, lector

The same line contains the phrase $\Delta\Delta\Upsilon\text{TI}\bar{\alpha}\text{NA}$, which Browne takes as one word designating the name of a witness, Dautiana. However, the photograph of the document that has recently been made available at the MedievalNubia.info⁴⁰ allows us to essentially correct Browne’s reading (fig. 1). Above the final *alpha* one can discern the lower part of a suprascribed letter marking the abbreviation, most probably a *gamma*,

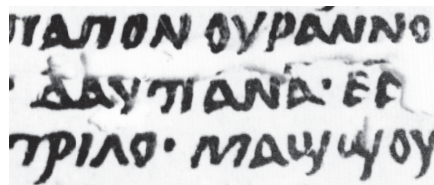


Fig. 1. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 33, detail of l. 15
(see n. 40)

³⁸ BROWNE, *Dictionary*, p. 236, & G. R. RUFFINI, *Nubian Personal Names*, available at <<http://www.medievalnubia.info/dev/index.php/Names>> (accessed 20 June 2019).

³⁹ BROWNE, *Grammar*, § 3.7.1.

⁴⁰ <<http://www.medievalnubia.info/dev/images/PQI3-32-53-59.jpg>> (document at the bottom; accessed 24 May 2019). The photo was not included in the *P. Qasr Ibrim* III volume.

hence the transcription ΔΔΥΤΙΑΝΑ`Γ´ is in place. The final ΔΝΑ`Γ´ undoubtedly is not a part of the name, but the abbreviation for the title *ἀναγνώστης*, ‘lector’. This ecclesiastical function is attested twice more in Nubian sources, in the epitaphs of the lectors Merkourios and Philotheos, both from Sakinya.⁴¹ In addition, we have two attestations of the title ‘great lector’, *ἀναγνώστης μέγας*, found in the inscription of Archbishop Ioseph from Deir Anba Hadra in Aswan⁴² and in a dipinto from the church at Sonqi Tino left by two (?) persons, Petro and Simeon.⁴³ The name of the witness is thus Dauti, which is a well-attested – sixteen times – Nubian variant of the Biblical name Dauid (TM Nam 8931).

The form ΔΔΥΤΙΑΝΑ, ‘Dautiana’, is thus a ghost-name and should be marked as such in Browne’s ‘List of personal names’⁴⁴ and Ruffini’s *Nubian Personal Names*.

d) Line 17: Medjou, *meskel* of Papasi / the bishop

Another entry in the witnesses’ list in this text reads ΜΕΔΔΟΥ ΠΑΠΑCĪ ΜΕCΚΕΛΛΟ, which, according to Browne, means ‘the servant of Papasi, Meskel’. Note, however, that the normal word order of entries in the lists of witnesses in Nubian documents is ‘name of the witness + title / filiation + -λο’. If so, ΜΕΔΔΟΥ, otherwise meaning ‘servant, slave’, should be here a

⁴¹ T. MINA, *Inscriptions coptes et grecques de Nubie*, Cairo 1942, nos. 114 (DBMNT 197) and 144 (DBMNT 225), respectively. For the latter’s name, see OCHAŁA, ‘NOM II’, no. 2.

⁴² F. LI. GRIFFITH, ‘Christian documents from Nubia’, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 14 (1928), pp. 117–146, at 134–145 (DBMNT 557); a new edition and commentary has been prepared by A. ŁAJTAR, ‘The so-called Koudanbes inscription in Der Anba Hadra (St Simeon Monastery) near Aswan: An attempt at a new reading and interpretation’ (forthcoming). The title occurs there twice in lines 6 (ΔΝΑ`Γ´ ΜΕ) and 7 (ΔΝΑ`Γ´ ΜΕ`Γ´).

⁴³ Unpublished (DBMNT 2148); briefly mentioned in S. DONADONI, ‘Les graffiti de l’église de Sonqi Tino’, [in:] K. MICHAŁOWSKI (ed.), *Nubia. Récentes recherches. Actes du colloque nubologique international au Musée National de Varsovie, 19–22 juin 1972*, Warsaw 1975, pp. 31–39, at 34 and 38; it is currently being studied for publication within the framework of the Sonqi Tino Collaborative, headed by Vincent Laisney.

⁴⁴ BROWNE, *Dictionary*, p. 237.

proper name rather than a common noun. This is all the more possible, since the name Medjou is otherwise attested in Nubian sources.⁴⁵ The phrase $\rho\alpha\rho\alpha\varsigma\bar{\eta}$ $\mu\epsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon\lambda$ is, however, difficult to interpret. First, $\rho\alpha\rho\alpha\varsigma\bar{\eta}$ is ambiguous and can be interpreted as the genitive of both the proper name Papasi, that is ‘of Papasi’ (thus Browne) and the common noun ‘bishop’, that is ‘of the bishop’. Second, the meaning of the word $\mu\epsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon\lambda$ is unknown,⁴⁶ but in this context two possible interpretations come to mind: either a title (*meske* of the bishop) or a kinship term (*meske* of Papasi). The word appears to be attested in yet another text, *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 93 (DBMNT 2835), ve, l. 1 (address), where a certain Tilinngoko is labelled $\mu\eta\bar{\eta}$ $\varsigma\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\iota\bar{\eta}$ $\mu\epsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon$, ‘*meske* of the eparch of Nobadia’ (discussed below, under 34b). The latter phrase makes the interpretation of *meske* as a title a little more probable. One has to remember, however, that some Nubian kinship terms ($\tau\omicron\tau$ -, ‘child, son’ [see above, 2a], and $\alpha\tau$ -, ‘daughter’) also functioned as titles of officials. We may thus have an identical situation here, but to solve this issue we would need more comparative material.

Whatever the case here, however, Browne’s original translation of the fragment should be amended to ‘Medjou, *meske* of Papasi/the bishop’. The interpretation is further confirmed by the next entry in the list (l. 18), where we read $[\epsilon\iota]\omicron\eta\eta\omicron\kappa\alpha$ $\rho\alpha\rho\alpha\varsigma\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\varsigma\lambda\lambda\omicron$. Browne translated the fragment ‘Tonngoka, daughter of Papasi’. However, taking into account the above discussion, $\rho\alpha\rho\alpha\varsigma\bar{\eta}$ $\alpha\varsigma\lambda$ could also be understood as ‘daughter of the bishop’. In any case, the proximity of these expressions on the list makes it very

⁴⁵ E.g. in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 (DBMNT 2792), re, l. 6.

⁴⁶ KHALIL, *Wörterbuch* (cit. n. 8), p. 74, lists the Nobiin verb $\mu\epsilon\sigma\kappa$ -, ‘nicht können, unfähig sein; müde, erschöpft sein/werden’, and the substantive $\mu\epsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon$ -, ‘Unfähigkeit; Müdigkeit’, but this is hardly imaginable in the given context. According to Adam Łajtar (personal communication), the word is rather of non-Nubian origin, perhaps Afro-Asiatic. He notes the word *mäsqäl*, ‘cross’, in Ge’ez, which denotes the main religious feast of the Ethiopian Church, commemorating the discovery of the True Cross by Empress Helena. Moreover, as pointed out to me by Giovanni Ruffini, the Ethiopian king contemporary to the discussed document was Gebre Mesqel, ‘Servant of the Cross’, which could hypothetically be rendered in Old Nubian as $\mu\epsilon\sigma\kappa\eta\eta\bar{\eta}$ $\mu\epsilon\lambda\delta\omicron\gamma$ or the like. Although, as Marcin Krawczuk has informed me, *mäsqäl* is not attested as a designation of a person in Ethiopic, it cannot be totally excluded that it was adapted in Nubia in such a function.

probable that in both of them the same person is at stake, be it Papasi or an unnamed bishop, and that Medjou and Ionngoka were somehow connected, by either family or professional bonds.

5. *P. Qasr Ibrim III 34 recto (DBMNT 582)*

a) Lines 10–11: Songoja, great *mounmo* (?)

In the protocol of this document, we read ΠΑΠΑΝΝΙ· ΣΑΜΕΤΙΘΑ· ΕΙΝῆ· ΣΟΓΟΘΑ· ΜΟΥΝΜΟ ΔΑΥΟΥΡΑ ΕΙΝῆ. Browne assumes that the phrase refers to only one person, Papanni, and translates ‘Papanni being *domestikos* elect (?) and great eparch ...’. Concerning the otherwise unattested word ΜΟΥΝΜΟ, he writes in the commentary: ‘perhaps an expansion of *-mon*, «also» or a personal name; if the latter, then it seems misplaced’.⁴⁷ As a matter of fact, the former explanation, which Browne accepted for his edition, also assumes the misplacement of ΜΟΥΝΜΟ, as in normal circumstances we expect it to be attached to the final word of the conjoined phrase, ΣΟΓΟΘΑ ΔΑΥΟΥΡΑ ΜΟΥΝΜΟ in our case. Browne’s latter suggestion is in my opinion closer to the truth, and that because of the double ΕΙΝῆ, a verbal form that normally marks the ending of an entry in the Nubian protocol. In contrast to Browne, however, I am inclined to exclude any disorder in the structure of the entry and understand ΣΟΓΟΘΑ, standing at its head, as the anthroponym and ΜΟΥΝΜΟ ΔΑΥΟΥΡΑ as a designation of an unknown office, ‘great *mounmo*’. It is true that ΣΟΓΟΘΑ looks like a predicate (ΣΟΓΟΘ-, ‘eparch’ + -α) that should be paired with ΔΑΥΟΥΡΑ, but, on the other hand, Songoja is also a well-attested anthroponym (see, e.g., numerous examples in this paper). Unfortunately, the meaning and etymology of ΜΟΥΝΜΟ is unknown.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, an alternative translation of the fragment can be proposed here: ‘Papanni being the *domestikos* elect (?); Songoja being the great *mounmo* (?)’.

⁴⁷ *P. Qasr Ibrim III*, p. 84.

⁴⁸ The Old Nubian verb ΜΟΝ-, ΜΟΥΝ-, ‘to hate, reject, be reluctant’, seems hardly possible as root here.

b) Lines 35–37: Songoja, Dauti, & Ouattalngal

In the list of witnesses to the deed recorded in this document, we find the phrase $\text{CO}\text{CO}\delta\alpha\lambda\text{O} \mid \Delta\Delta\Upsilon\text{T}\text{I}\text{O} \cdot \text{TAN} \text{PEC}\bar{\lambda}\text{O} \cdot \text{O}\Upsilon\text{ATTA}\bar{\lambda}' \mid \text{E}\alpha\lambda\text{O}$. Browne translates it as follows:

‘Songoja,
David, his representative, son of Ouatta’.

He thus implies that only two witnesses are mentioned here, Songoja and Dauti, and that, moreover, there are family bonds between Dauti and Ouatta. However, taking into account the fact that the postposition $\text{-}\lambda\text{O}$ always marks separate entries in Nubian witnesses’ lists, another interpretation seems more plausible here, in which there are altogether four separate witnesses: $\text{CO}\text{CO}\delta\alpha$, $\Delta\Delta\Upsilon\text{T}\text{I}$, $\text{TAN} \text{PEC}\bar{\lambda}$, and $\text{O}\Upsilon\text{ATTA}\bar{\lambda}'\text{E}\alpha\lambda$.

The two first names do not require any commentary, but the two other designations deserve a discussion. As for the former, Browne takes $\text{PEC}\bar{\lambda}$ here as a participle of the verb PEC- , ‘to say, speak’, designating a person ‘speaking’ for someone else, his/her ‘representative’. The same form occurs in four other Old Nubian documents from Qasr Ibrim: *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 40 (DBMNT 588), ll. 19–20: $\text{TAN} \text{PEC}\bar{\lambda} \text{M}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda}\text{KO}\Upsilon\Delta\alpha\lambda\text{O}$; III 41 (DBMNT 1025), ll. 2–3: $\bar{\lambda}\text{CAKH} \text{M}\bar{\lambda}\text{AN} \text{PEC}\bar{\lambda}$; III 42 (DBMNT 1026), l. 13: $\bar{\lambda}\text{CO}\Upsilon \text{TAN} \text{PEC}\bar{\lambda}\text{O}$; and III 45 (DBMNT 1029), ll. 6–7: $\text{TAN} \text{PEC}\bar{\lambda} \text{E}\text{IONGOK}\alpha\lambda\text{O}$. Browne’s interpretation of all these persons as ‘representatives’ is not entirely impossible, but it seems that another, more plausible explanation can be proposed. In Nobiin we find the noun PEC , ‘sister’, and in Midob *pèskà*, ‘younger brother/sister’,⁴⁹ suggesting that the Old Nubian PEC- may designate a familial relation, too. Note that the word is used for both men (Milinkouda, Isaki, and Isou from the above examples) and women (Ionngoka),⁵⁰ hence the word must have a

⁴⁹ R. WERNER, *Tidn-áal: A Study of Midob (Darfur-Nubian)* [= *Sprache und Orientalität in Afrika* 17], Berlin 1993, p. 115. I thank the anonymous reviewer of my paper for pointing this cognate to me.

⁵⁰ The gender is unmarked here, but the name is attested only for women; see 6c below, with n. 59.

gender-neutral meaning, just as the modern Midob cognate. Thus, the translation that can tentatively be proposed for the Old Nubian ꝓεϙ- could be a generic word for ‘sibling’, perhaps even ‘younger sibling’.⁵¹ Such a meaning, moreover, would be consistent with the Nubian custom of familial witnessing of deeds, attested by numerous occurrences of persons together with their sons, daughters, sisters, nephews, and uncles in witnesses’ lists.

The second form, οϣαττα λ’εαλ, is ambiguous and can designate both a complete anthroponym, Ouattalngal, or a filiation, ‘son of Ouattal’ (thus Browne). In the latter case, the actual name of the person remains unknown. However, owing to the popularity in Nubia of name-forms with εαλ-, ‘son’, and αϙ-, αϙτ-, ‘daughter’, it is not inconceivable that the phrases ‘son/daughter of so-and-so’ were not mere expressions of filiation, but indeed functioned as complete anthroponyms. In other words, οϣατταλεαλ would be the name of the person, but it would at the same time describe the real family situation: he was indeed the son of a certain Ouatta.⁵²

The name Ouatta probably derives from the Old Nubian οϣαττο-, ‘whole, all, entire’ + -α, in the sense ‘the whole / complete one’. It reoccurs further in the text, in line 41, but here it indeed appears to be the actual patro-/metronym. The phrase reads ἰῶμῖνε· οϣαττα· αϙλλο, ‘Iominne daughter of Ouatta’. The proximity of these two occurrences suggests that the same person may be at stake in both of them: Ouatta would then be the parent of two children, the son Ouattalngal and the daughter Iominne, both of whom witnessed the deed. The gender of Ouatta is not indicated, but we have some reasons to suppose that this was a man. In *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 31 (DBMNT 589), ll. 13–14, we find the double name Papon Ouata, whose second element is most probably a variant of Ouatta from the present text. The name occurs in the witnesses’ list in the phrase

⁵¹ In view of this analysis, the etymology proposed for the name Kouidinpesa in OCHAŁA, ‘NOM III’, p. 160, as ΚΟΥΔΑ-, ‘servant’ + -N (genitive) + *ꝓεϙ-, ‘brother’ + the suffix -α, ‘the brother of servant’, should be modified to ‘the sibling of the servant’.

⁵² The phenomenon may be compared with the contemporary Icelandic onomastic practice. There, according to the laws passed in 1913 and 1925, family names were obligatorily substituted by patronymics with the use of the elements -son and -dottir (R. F. TOMASSON, ‘The continuity of Icelandic names and naming patterns’, *Names. A Journal of Onomastics* 23 [1975], pp. 281–289). I thank Adam Łajtar for pointing this out to me.

ΠΑΠΟΝ ΟΥΑΤΑ ΕΙΤΕΝ ΤΑΝΝΙ ΠΑΠΑΣΙΝΕΝΝΟ, ‘Papon Ouata, his wife, Papasinen’. At first sight, it is not obvious who is who in this passage, but since the name Papasinen is otherwise attested as a female name (see the discussion under 7a below) and Papon as the male one,⁵³ it seems pretty clear that Papon Ouata was the husband and Papasinen was the wife in this family.⁵⁴ If so, Ouatta in our passage should probably also be considered a man, the father of Ouattalngal and Iominne.

Taking all of the above into consideration, a new interpretation of the discussed fragment can be proposed, involving four witnesses: ‘Songoja; Dauti; his (sc. Dauti’s) sibling (?); Ouattalngal’.

6. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 34 verso (DBMNT 1001)

a) Line 17: Mariio & Inyitta

One of the entries in the list of witnesses in this document reads ΠΑΠΑΡΑΛΟ΄ ΜΑΡΙΕΙΟΛΟ ΤΑΝ ΕΑΛ ΕΨΤΤΑΛΟ. Browne translates the fragment in the following way:

⁵³ Papon Iroti the potentiary (?) of Ngal Ngokko (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 30 [DBMNT 581], l. 10), Papon the chief (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 33 [DBMNT 591], l. 14), and Papon the priest and chief of the king (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 34 re [DBMNT 582], l. 42). The male character of the name is further proven by its meaning, which most probably derives from the Old Nubian vocative παπο, ‘O father!’

⁵⁴ In the same spirit also R. S. BAGNALL & A. ŁAJTAR, ‘Collection Froehner 81 once again’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 24 (1994), pp. 11–12. WOJCIECHOWSKI, ‘The Old Nubian «Eparchal archive»’ (cit. n. 35), pp. 278, 280, and 289, analyses the passage differently and considers Papon and Ouata as two separate anthroponyms, Papon as the male name (husband) and Ouata as the female one (wife); he treats ΠΑΠΑΣΙΝΕΝΝΟ as a separate entry in the list. If he were right, we would expect the particle -λο, marking the end of the entry, after ΤΑΝΝΙ. Here, however, -λο (assimilated to -νο) occurs only after ΠΑΠΑΣΙΝΕΝ, which proves that the whole passage is indeed a single entry, pertaining to one person only. Wojciechowski goes even further in his interpretation: he identifies his woman Ouata with the Ouatta from *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 34 re, and – following Browne’s translation – believes that Dauti was her son and the brother of Iominne. If, however, my interpretation is correct, there is no indication of family bonds between Dauti and Ouatta in the analysed fragment, and hence the whole interpretation of Wojciechowski should be rejected.

‘Tapara,
Mariio, his son,
Inyitta’.

By such a rendering of the passage, he implies that Mariio was a man, the son of Tapara. However, the distribution of the particle -λο in the fragment, after Tapara, Mariio, and Inyitta, makes it clear that ταν εαλ is connected with the following Inyitta rather than the preceding Mariio. Therefore, another translation is in place here, namely:

‘Tapara;
Mariio;
his/her son Inyitta’.

Since the gender of Mariio is not indicated, the translation of the possessive pronoun ταν must remain ambiguous. The name is attested altogether six times, including this one, but only in one attestation is the gender specified, in the epitaph of a man Mariio from Arminna.⁵⁵ This, however, is not enough to assume that this was a male name in all cases. As for its etymology, it seems to be a compound Semito-Nubian formation consisting of the Semitic name μαρια and the Nubian element ειο, which is perhaps cognate with the Nobiin io-, ‘mother; my mother’; If so, the name would perhaps mean ‘mother Mary’.

b) Line 18: Penta, priest of Douri

In the next line, we find the entry that is edited by Browne as ΠΕΝΤΑΔΟΥΡΗ ΠΛΟ, ‘Pentadourin, priest’. However, another word division seems more reasonable here, namely ΠΕΝΤΑ ΔΟΥΡΗ ΠΛΟ, ‘Penta, priest of Douri’. This is all the more probable, since both the anthroponym Penta, also attested in the variant Penti, and the title ‘priest of Douri’ are found

⁵⁵ B. G. TRIGGER, *The Late Nubian Settlement at Arminna West* [= *Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt* 2], New Haven 1967, pp 19–20, no. 41, and 85 (DBMNT 512).

elsewhere in Nubian sources.⁵⁶ The name Penta is most probably of Nubian origin and derives from the Old Nubian πῆτ(τ)ι-, ‘date, date palm’, φῆντ(τ)ι- in Nobiin; -α and -ι appear to be epenthetic vowels here. The expression ‘priest of Douri’ is a brachylogy for ‘priest of the church at Douri’. According to a convincing identification by Griffith, medieval Douri is modern Dirr, a town in Lower Nubia, opposite Amada.⁵⁷ Thus, Pentadourin should be deemed a ghost-name and as such should be eliminated from Browne’s ‘List of personal names’⁵⁸ and Ruffini’s *Nubian Personal Names*.

c) Lines 18–19: Ionngoka ♂ Douriketi

The last doubtful phrase in this text reads εἰφῆτα εαδῶϊν ἰσσικολλο· εἰον-
 σοκαλο· ταν εαλ ΔΟΥΡΙΚΕΤΛΛΟ· ΤΑΝ ΔΕΛΛΟ. Browne translates it:

‘Inyitta, who has the Jesus-Church of the Mountain,
 Ionngoka, his son,
 Douriketil, his daughter’,

by which he implies that Ionngoka is the son of Inyitta and – possibly – that Douriketil is Inyitta’s daughter. However, the distribution of the postpositions -λο makes it clear that the whole fragment should be translated and understood differently, namely:

⁵⁶ Penta/Penti: *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 52 (DBMNT 1036), l. 7 (πῆντα); *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 55 (DBMNT 1039), re, l. 2 (παπον πῆντι); *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 56 (DBMNT 1040), re, l. 1 (παπον πῆντι) and ve, l. 1 (πῆντικ[α]); *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 (DBMNT 2792), ve, l. 2 (πῆντα); *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 75 (DBMNT 2808), l. 11 (πῆντι). Priest of Douri: G. M. BROWNE, ‘Griffith’s Old Nubian sale’, *Orientalia* 61 (1992), pp. 454–458 (DBMNT 596), ll. 14 ♂ 16 (ΔΟΥΡῆ σορτο); and *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 84 (DBMNT 2827), ll. 23–24 (ΔΟΥΡῆ σορτ[ο]); not transcribed by the editor; my reading from the photograph).

⁵⁷ F. L. GRIFFITH, *The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period* [= *Abhandlungen der königl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1913, Phil.-hist. Classe 8*], Berlin 1913, p. 55.

⁵⁸ BROWNE, *Dictionary*, p. 243.

‘Inyitta, who has (the Church of) Jesus of the Mountain;
 Ionngoka;
 her/his son Douriketil;
 her/his daughter’.

In this translation, the family bond between Inyitta and Ionngoka disappears and, more importantly, we eliminate the only possible instance of Ionngoka as a male name.⁵⁹ Instead, another family relation appears, that between Ionngoka and Douriketil, who, in contrast to what Browne implied, was not a woman, the daughter of Inyitta, but a man, the son of Ionngoka. It is uncertain who the parent is of the anonymous daughter from the last entry: it could be both Ionngoka, which would make her the sister of Douriketil, and Douriketil, in which case she would be the granddaughter of Ionngoka.

Douriketil appears to be a Nubian name, perhaps deriving from ΔΟΥΡ- < ΔΟΥΛ-, ‘to be, exist, dwell’ + ΚΕΤ-, ‘care, concern; affliction’ + -λ, and producing the meaning ‘care/affliction for existence (?)’. Ionngoka is, in turn, certainly a Nubian formation. It should probably be analysed as εΙΟ-, perhaps cognate with the Nobiin ΙΟ-, ‘mother; my mother’⁶⁰ + the genitive -Ν + ΓΟΚ-, ‘glory’ + the suffix -α, to mean something like ‘the glory of mother’.

7. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 37 (DBMNT 585),
 38 (DBMNT 586), Ⓞ 40 (DBMNT 588)

a) Papasinen the *ngash*

Among many other officials, the protocols of these three documents mention a certain Papasinen who is designated as a *ngash*:

⁵⁹ The name occurs in as many as sixteen attestations, of which eight are more or less securely identified as female and for the other eight the gender is not specified. Note, however, that all those identifiable cases probably belong to one person, Ionngoka I according to WOJCIECHOWSKI, ‘The Old Nubian «Eparchal archive»’ (cit. n. 35), pp. 274–275, 284.

⁶⁰ See also Ionngal discussed in 2b above.

- *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 37, l. 5: ΠΑΠΑΣΙΝΕΝ ΓΑΩΔ ΕΙΝῆ;
- *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 38, ll. 3–4: ΠΑΠΑΣῆΝ ΓΑΩΔ ΕΙΝῆ;
- *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 40, l. 4: ΠΑΠΑΣῆΝ ΓΑΩΔ ΕΙΝῆ,

Browne translates all cases as ‘Papasinen being the *ngash*’. There can be no doubt that the same person is at stake here, but, unfortunately, the term ΓΑΩ- is unattested elsewhere and its meaning is unknown. Judging by the context, however, we can safely assume that this is an official title. Moreover, based on the name Papasinen and the position of the person within the protocol, one can hypothesise on the meaning of ΓΑΩ-.

First, the name. Apart from the presently discussed cases, this anthroponym occurs in six other instances. In four of them, the persons bearing it are more or less securely identified as women: (1) Papsine alias Doulista, daughter of Titta and a bishop, mother of a bishop of Pachoras, in an epitaph from Faras;⁶¹ (2) Papasine daughter of Tossine in the epitaph coming probably from Meinarti;⁶² (3) Papasinen daughter of Magosi in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 37 (DBMNT 585), l. 16; and (4) Papasinen, most probably wife of Papon Ouata, in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 31 (DBMNT 589), l. 14 (see above, 5b with n. 53). Moreover, the Papasine occurring as the author of *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 43 (DBMNT 1027), l. 1, seems to be identical with Papasine daughter of Magosi listed under (3).⁶³ The only uncertain case is *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 44 (DBMNT 1028), l. 7, where a certain Καροπι daughter of Papasinen is mentioned, without further clues on whether Papasinen was her father or mother.

⁶¹ The tombstone (DBMNT 78) was previously known as belonging to a bishop by the name of Tamer, but VAN DER VLIET, ‘Exit Tamer’ (cit. n. 24), pp. 185–191, has proven that Tamer is a ghost-name and that the epitaph’s owner was indeed Papsine Doulista. A new edition of the text will be published in J. VAN DER VLIET, ‘Exit Bishop Tamer – the sequel. A new edition of the epitaph of Papsine alias Doulista (DBMNT 78)’, *Études et travaux* 32 (2019), pp. 217–235.

⁶² The last edition in TIBILETTI BRUNO, *Iscrizioni Nubiane* (cit. n. 13), no. 12 (DBMNT 502); for a corrected reading of the name, see A. ŁAJTAR, ‘Collection Froehner 81, a Christian epitaph from Nubia: Notes on the reading’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 23 (1993), pp. 101–104, at 104, and BAGNALL & ŁAJTAR, ‘Collection Froehner 81 once again’ (cit. n. 54), pp. 11–12.

⁶³ The reason for this is that in both documents a certain Engngail is mentioned doing business with Papasinen: in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 43 Papasinen acknowledges giving 8 gold pieces to Engngail, in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 37 Engngail sells a plot of land that he once acquired from Papasinen daughter of Magosi.

Second, the context. Papasinen the *ngash* immediately follows in the protocols Queen Mother Mari Iesusiko. The latter is known to have born this title for a long time, between 1155 and 1199, which covers the reign of two kings, Mouses Georgios (between 1155 and 1190–1198) and Basil (between 1190–1198 until ?), but Papasinen occurs only in texts dated to the reign of King Basil (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 37 probably to the years 1190–1198, *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 38 to 1198, and *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 40 to 1199).⁶⁴ While it cannot be excluded that Mouses Georgios and Basil were brothers whose mother was Iesusiko Mari (the former calls her explicitly ‘my mother’ in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 30 [DBMNT 581], l. 5), according to the matrilinear system of succession, known to be in force in this period of Makurian history, Basil should in fact be Mouses Georgios’ nephew, his mother being a sister of Mouses Georgios and a daughter of Mari Iesusiko.

Thus, since the attestations of the name Papasinen are overwhelmingly feminine and no certain masculine example exists, one wonders whether Papasinen the *ngash* could be a woman, too. If such an assumption is correct, we may be dealing here with the actual mother of King Basil, the successor of Mari Iesusiko as the queen mother. The title *ngash* could therefore be understood as ‘queen-mother-elect’ or similar. The fact that Papasinen immediately follows Mari Iesusiko seems to strengthen the assumption. Otherwise, the presence of a woman in the protocol would be hard to explain.

8. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 38 (DBMNT 586)

a) Lines 21–22: Ajjaji

One of the entries in the witnesses’ list in this document is transcribed by Browne αδδ̄αδ̄ιπαΔcλλο. Browne assumes that a single personal name

⁶⁴ The only example dated to the time of Basil with the mention of Mari Iesusiko and without Papasinen the *ngash* is the document from Nauri (GRIFFITH, ‘Christian documents’ [cit. n. 42], pp. 12–18, no. 2 [DBMNT 559]), but there the mention of the queen mother is distorted and no title is provided for her. The name of the queen mother has been identified there by Bartosz Wojciechowski; I thank him for sharing his discovery with me.

is at stake here and translates, accordingly, ‘Ajjajipadsil’. While no photograph of the document is available to verify this reading, it seems fairly possible that the fragment should be understood differently. This is because Ajjaji is a relatively well-documented name⁶⁵ and παΔCλ has not been attested elsewhere as an onomastic element. Therefore, it cannot be excluded that we are dealing here with a name accompanied by a title, thus ‘Ajjaji the *padsil*’. As a title, παΔCλ may come from παρ-, ‘to write’, or παρ-, ‘old’, but its meaning is unknown. As for the name of the person, αδδδδδ is most probably the Nubian rendering of the Arabic name Ḥağğ-ğāğ.⁶⁶ This is all the more probable since in one instance, *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 67 (DBMNT 637), l. 10, a certain Ajjeji (αδδδδδ) occurs as a parent of the woman Chammeti (χαμμετι), which is certainly another Arabic name, Ḥammāda (see 20c below).

9. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 39 (DBMNT 587)

a) Lines 18–19: Ampangal

In the description of the plot of land being the object of this contract, we find the phrase αμπαν | εανηλλο, which, according to Browne, should be rendered ‘the land of Abba Ngal’. In the commentary, Browne explains that the element αμπα is to be understood as a variant of αββα, which in this form indeed occurs in Coptic sources.⁶⁷ Should this be the case, we would have to assume that Ngal was a monk, as the title *abba* is known to be the usual address form of members of monastic communities in both

⁶⁵ Six occurrences: *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 42 (DBMNT 1026), l. 10 (αδδδδδ); III 44 (DBMNT 1028), l. 11 (αδδδδδ); III 49 (DBMNT 1033), ve, ll. 1 (αδδδδδ) and 4 (αδδδδδ); III 50 (DBMNT 1034), l. 9 (αδδδδδ); IV 67 (DBMNT 637), l. 10 (αδδδδδ). In *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 63 (DBMNT 644), l. 6, we find the form αδδδδδ, which may be a further variant of the name, but the person thus designated is a woman, daughter of Ismali, and it cannot be excluded that another name-form is at stake here.

⁶⁶ The identification has been suggested to me by Naïm Vanthieghem.

⁶⁷ See CRUM, *Dictionary*, p. 13a.

Egypt and Nubia.⁶⁸ While this cannot be totally excluded,⁶⁹ another solution can be proposed here. Note that, on the one hand, ἀμπα- is attested elsewhere in Nubia as an onomastic element, notably in the name Am-papa.⁷⁰ On the other hand, nowhere in the Old Nubian corpus is the title *abba* rendered in this way, with the forms in use being ἀββα, ἀππα, or the Nubian translation παπο.⁷¹ It is therefore quite tempting to consider ἀμπα not a title, but an integral part of the name. The name should then be rendered Ampanngal, meaning ‘the son of Ampa’; the etymology of ἀμπα is unfortunately unknown.

b) Lines 30–31: Irota of Toungnil

One of the entries in the list of witnesses attached to this document reads, in Browne’s transcription, εἰροτατογγεῤῥκι | ταν ἀσῤῥο. Browne translates it ‘Irotatoungilki, his daughter’.⁷² However, the form εἰροτατογγεῤῥκι seems strange for a Nubian name and hence another word division could be proposed here, namely εἰροτα τογγεῤῥκι | ταν ἀσῤῥο. εἰροτα is attested as a personal name in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 61 (DBMNT 1045), l. 6. It should perhaps be analysed as εἰρ-, ‘to be able’ + -ο(ς) (completive suffix) + -τ(α) (abstract deverbative suffix) + the suffix -α, in the

⁶⁸ For Egypt, see T. DERDA & E. WIPSZYCKA, ‘L’emploi des titres *abba*, *apa* et *papas* dans l’Égypte byzantine’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 24 (1994), pp. 23–56; for Nubia, see A. ŁAJTAR, ‘Nubian bishops: A study of a group of the Christian Nubian society’ (forthcoming).

⁶⁹ Thus, e.g., A. OBLUSKI, *The Monasteries and Monks of Nubia* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 36], Warsaw 2019, p. 217, who takes Browne’s translation at face-value.

⁷⁰ Attested twice in wall inscriptions at Banganarti: ŁAJTAR, *The Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre* (cit. n. 19), nos. 434 (DBMNT 3633) and 696 (DBMNT 3876).

⁷¹ Browne apparently believed that παπο was a proper name and he rendered the forms παπο θωμα, παπο μαριαν, and παπο μηνα as the double names Papo Thoma, Papo Marian, and Papo Mena. Since, however, the three persons thus designated are all bishops, Adam Łajtar has recently come to the conclusion that παπο, meaning literally ‘O father!’ in Old Nubian, is the Old Nubian translation of *abba* (ŁAJTAR, ‘Nubian bishops’ [cit. n. 68]).

⁷² The phrase ‘his daughter’ refers to the person from the preceding entry, Marinkouda the *atparkitil*. The meaning of *atparkitil* is unfortunately unknown; it has to be a kind of title.

sense ‘the power’. As for ΤΟΥΡΕΛΚΙ, it is plausibly compared with the form ΚΟΥΡΤΕΚΗ/ΚΟΥΡΤΟΥΚΕ, where the ending -ΚΗ/-ΚΕ has recently been identified as ‘a ‘Copticised’ version of the Greek ending -ΙΚΟΣ forming gentilia’.⁷³ If so, the whole phrase should mean ‘Irota of Tounngil, his daughter’. The exact form ΤΟΥΡΕΛ has so far been unattested as a toponym, but it undoubtedly is a variant of ΤΟΥΡΓΛ *et var.*: attested numerous times in Nubian sources, also at Qasr Ibrim, and plausibly identified with Dongola, the capital of Makuria.⁷⁴

10. P. *Qasr Ibrim* III 40 (DBMNT 588)

a) Line 19: Ougga son of Maitta

In the list of witnesses in this document, we find the phrase which Browne edits as ΟΥΓΓΑΜΑΕΤ ΤΑΝ ΕΑΛΛΟ, ‘Ouggamait, his son’. In this interpretation, the possessive pronoun ΤΑΝ, ‘his/her’, refers to Tapara the *meizoteros* from the previous entry. However, the name ΟΥΓΓΑΜΑΕΤ seems generally bizarre. Moreover, the element ΟΥΓΓΑ is attested as an anthroponym standing on its own (see 12c, above). Thus, it cannot be excluded that another word division should be accepted here, namely ΟΥΓΓΑ ΜΑΕΤΤΑΝ ΕΑΛΛΟ. In this form, the phrase should be rendered ‘Ougga son of Maitta’. The name Maitta, although unattested elsewhere, has a good etymology for a Nubian anthroponym: it is analysed as ΜΑΕΤΤ-, ‘joy’ + the suffix -Δ.

b) Line 20: Tidaua, Enoionngoka, 𐩣 Iteisil her (?) daughter

In the following line, Browne transcribes ΤΙΔΑΥΑΛΟ· ΕΝΟΕΙΟΝΓΟΚΑΛΟ· ΤΑΝ ΔΑ· ΕΙΤΕΙΣΙΛΛΟ, which he translates:

⁷³ ΟΧΑΛΑ, ‘NOM III’, no. 3, p. 146.

⁷⁴ A. ŁAJTAR, ‘On the name of the capital of the Nubian Kingdom of Makuria’, *Przegląd humanistyczny* 437 (2013), pp. 127–134, at 133.

‘Tidaua,
Enoionngoka, his daughter,
Iteisil’.

Such a translation implies that Enoionngoka was the daughter of Tidaua and Itesil was unrelated to either. However, the distribution of the marker -λο in this fragment, separating subsequent entries in Nubian witnesses’ lists, clearly suggests that the phrase ταν ας, ‘his/her daughter’, should be associated with the following ειτσειλλο rather than the preceding ενοειονγκαλο. If so, Itesil was in fact the daughter of Enoionngoka not Tidaua. Although the gender of Enoionngoka is not indicated, the meaning of the name (‘mother Ionngoka’)⁷⁵ suggests that a woman is at stake here. Thus, a new translation can be proposed here: ‘Tidaua; Enoionngoka; her (?) daughter, Itesil’.

II. P. *Qasr Ibrim* III 41 (DBMNT 1025)

a) Lines 12–13: Petri and Papinpesa son of Godjo

Lines 12–13 of this document contain the following fragment: πετριλο· παπιν πεσα γοΔ|δον ελλο. Browne translates it ‘Petri, who is Papi’s representative, son of Godjo’, in which πεσα is interpreted as ‘representative’ (see 5b above). In the commentary to the edition he notes, however, that the whole phrase could be a single proper name, Papin Pesa Godjo. We may thus conjecture that his alternative translation would be ‘Petri son of Papin Pesa Godjo’.

However, taking into account the distribution of the postposition -λο in this fragment, it seems justified to treat πετριλο and παπιν πεσα γοΔ|δον ελλο as two separate entries designating two distinct witnesses. If so, interpreting πεσα as an anthroponym seems more probable here, all the more so, since πεσα is attested elsewhere in Nubian onomastics as either a simple name (P. *Qasr Ibrim* III 54 [DBMNT 1038], re, l. 1, and ve, l. 1) or

⁷⁵ Cf. 3a above.

an element of the compound name Koudinpesa.⁷⁶ We are thus most probably dealing here with another compound name of the same type. On analogy with Koudinpesa, Papinpesa should probably be analysed as παπ-, ‘father’ + -N (genitive) + *πες-, ‘sibling’ (?) + -α, in the sense ‘the sibling of the father’.⁷⁷ As for the name Godjo, it apparently derives from the Old Nubian numeral ροΔδο-, ‘six’, and probably refers to the date of birth of the child, like the Latin Sextus. However, while Sextus and other Latin numeral praenomina derive from the names of the Roman months and hence designate the month of birth, such an explanation does not hold for Christian Nubia, where the Egyptian calendar was in use. Instead, the Nubian Godjo may refer to the sixth day of the week, thus Saturday, or the sixth day of the lunar month.⁷⁸ Alternatively, the name may refer to the order of birth and mean ‘the sixth child’. Taking all of the above into consideration, a new translation of the fragment can be proposed, namely ‘Petri; Papinpesa son of Godjo’.

12. *P. Qasr Ibrim III 45* (DBMNT 1029)

a) Lines 1 ⲉ 16: *apa* Pan, Apa Pan, or Apapan?

In line 16 of this document, Browne transcribes one of the names as ἀπαν παννικα, but the photograph published with the text clearly shows that ἀπαπαννικα should be read instead. This is evidently a typo, as in Browne’s translation the form ‘Apa Pan’ can be found. The same person is apparently mentioned in line 1 of the same text, where we read ἀπαπαν.

⁷⁶ See OCHALA, ‘NOM III’, no. 10, p. 160.

⁷⁷ For Koudinpesa, see above, n. 51. The form παππеса found in *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 72* (DBMNT 2792), re, l. 12, and *IV 76* (DBMNT 2809), l. 2, is most probably the variant of Papinpesa in which the genitival -N fell out.

⁷⁸ I thank Adam Łajtar for this suggestion. The same onomastic practice may stand behind the name Taurosa, possibly denoting persons born under the sign of the Bull (see below, 26k). For days of the week and the lunar calendar in Nubia, see G. OCHALA, *Chronological Systems of Christian Nubia* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 16], Warsaw 2011, pp. 327–339.

Browne edits both instances as if the name consisted of two distinct elements, ἀπα and παμ. He, however, does not comment on this and we do not know whether he considered the former the honorific title *apa* known so well from Egypt⁷⁹ or an integral part of the name. The title *apa* was certainly known in Nubia, too, but its use appears to be rather limited: there are only five certain instances, of which one is most probably an import from Egypt.⁸⁰ Although its occurrence here cannot be ruled out completely, it seems more probable to me that ἀπα belongs to the name and, moreover, should not be written separately, and that for two reasons. First, in two other texts, *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 82 (DBMNT 2812), l. 6, and IV 89 (DBMNT 2832), ve, l. 6, apparently the same name appears. According to the editions, the former reads ἀπαπαμ Ϝαααααα, ‘with the son of Απαπα’,⁸¹ and the latter ἀπαπα ΔΗΓΓ’ παραμ μειζ’, ‘Απαπα, deacon of the *meizoteros* of Faras’ or ‘Απαπα, deacon (and) *meizoteros* of Faras’. In all cases, including the ones discussed here, the name is written as one word, without a space between the two elements. Second, ἀπα- occurs as an onomastic element in other personal names, such as Απαји (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 104 [DBMNT 2845], re, l. 9), and perhaps Απατι (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 68 [DBMNT 643], l. 12; see 21c below). It apparently also functions as a name on its own in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 33 (DBMNT 591), l. 8, and III 34 re (DBMNT

⁷⁹ For this title, see DERDA & WIPSYZKA, ‘L’emploi des titres *abba*, *apa* et *papas*’ (cit. n. 68), *passim*.

⁸⁰ These are: epitaph of *apa* Epiphanius from Faras (*I. Khartoum Copt.* 9 [DBMNT 38]), epitaph of *apa* Markos from Ghazali (*I. Khartoum Copt.* 72 [DBMNT 56]; the edition reads μαριος, μαρκος is my reading from the photo), wall inscription of *apa* Chael from Faras (S. JAKOWIELSKI, ‘Coptic graffiti from Faras’, *Études et travaux* 13 [1983], pp. 134–137, at 135–136, no. A.6 [DBMNT 1879]), ostrakon from Qasr Ibrim mentioning *apa* Longinos, bishop (unpublished [DBMNT 2258]; see E. S. MELTZER, ‘The Coptic texts’, [in:] A. J. MILLS, *The Cemeteries of Qasr Ibrim. A Report of the Excavations Conducted by W. B. Emery in 1961* [= *Egypt Exploration Society. Excavation Memoir* 51], London 1982, p. 84, no. 1, pl. 92.i). The Egyptian import is a bronze lamp holder with the inscription mentioning *apa* Mersh found in Soba (H. SCHLUNK, *Kunst der Spätantike im Mittelmeerraum. Spätantike und byzantinische Kleinkunst aus Berliner Besitz*, Berlin 1939, p. 52, no. 147, pl. 45.147 [DBMNT 1457]).

⁸¹ The phrase could also be understood ‘with Απαπαγγελ’, the element Ϝαα- denoting here not the common noun ‘son’, but the onomastic element; see 12a above.

582), l. 12. However, there are two further examples that could point in the opposite direction: Apapapi⁸² and Apakalon (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 65 [DBMNT 640], l. 3). Papi is attested as a personal name on its own as many as eight times, and Kalon, although unattested, could well function as an anthroponym, too.⁸³

Thus, it cannot be excluded that ἀπα, if it is indeed to be derived from the title *apa*, and if we are dealing with the same formation in all of the examples listed above, could have a double use, as the real honorific address and an onomastic element. In the latter case, its use could have been inspired by the name Apakyros (TM Nam 8705), in which the element Apa- is the ‘onomasticised’ title *abba/apa*. The name Apakyros is attested twice in Nubia in an epitaph from Sakinya⁸⁴ and a visitor’s inscription from Faras.⁸⁵

b) Line 10: Pauouta and Imon the *tot* (?)

One of the two lists of witnesses found in this document contains the following fragment: παγοϋταλλο ἕμων τοτλλο, which Browne believed to refer to a single person, ‘Pauouta, *tot* of Imo’. However, because both παγοϋτα and ἕμων τοτλ are supplied with the postposition -λο marking separate entries in Nubian lists of witnesses, it seems much more probable that we are dealing here not with one person, Pauouta who bore the title of *tot* of Imo, but rather with two separate witnesses, Pauouta and another person whose identity is uncertain. The phrase ἕμων τοτλ is ambiguous and can be understood in at least three ways: (1) ‘the *tot* of Imo’, where τοτ designates the function of the person and ἕμων a toponym

⁸² The dipinto from Sonqi Tino with a list of offerers (DBMNT 719); see above, n. 14.

⁸³ It may derive from the Old Nubian καλο-, ‘north(ern)’, or be a variant of the Greek name *Κάλος* (TM Nam 2067).

⁸⁴ MINA, *Inscriptions coptes et grecques* (cit. n. 41), no. 234 (DBMNT 314).

⁸⁵ Unpublished (DBMNT 1591); my reading from the drawing in F. LL. GRIFFITH, ‘Oxford excavations in Nubia’, *University of Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 13 (1926), pl. 65.32.

with the genitival -n (thus Browne); (2) ‘the son of Imo’, where τoτ designates the common noun ‘son’ and ὕμω an anthroponym with the genitival -n; and (3) ‘Imon the *tot*’, where τoτ is the person’s function and ὕμων an anthroponym. Unfortunately, we do not know any other attestations of either ὕμω, ὕμων, or similar forms, which would allow clarifying the phrase. However, because anonymity is not really expected in the legal context, the third solution seems a little more plausible.

The name Pauouta is undoubtedly of Nubian origin. It can be analysed as πα(γο)γ-, ‘power, authority’ + the abstract substantive formant -τ + -α, and its meaning is ‘the power/authority’. The origin and meaning of the name Imon is unknown.

c) Lines 13–14: Dauoungal and the ghost-name Simeron

Another fragment in the same list of witnesses reads ΔΑΥΟΥΝ ΕΑΛΛΟ: CΥΜΕΡΟΝ ΔΑΡ`Μ´ | ΟΥΓΓΑΝ ΕΑΛΛΟ. Browne translates it:

‘The son of Dauoul, Simeron,
Darne son of Ougga’.

Such a translation suggests that Simeron was Dauoul’s son. This, however, would mean that the name of Simeron stands in apposition to his patronymic, a situation that is quite unlikely in Old Nubian. Moreover, the postposition -λο standing after ΔΑΥΟΥΝ ΕΑΛ makes it clear that this must be a separate entry in the list. It is uncertain whether we should transcribe ΔΑΥΟΥΝ ΕΑΛ and treat the phrase as the patronymic, hence the translation ‘the son of Dauou’ (thus Browne), or rather ΔΑΥΟΥΝΕΑΛ and understand it as a composite anthroponym Dauoungal. The former interpretation seems less probable, because it assumes that the witness was anonymous.

Furthermore, because the next marker -λο is found only after ΟΥΓΓΑΝ ΕΑΛ, one can assume that the whole phrase CΥΜΕΡΟΝ ΔΑΡ`Μ´ ΟΥΓΓΑΝ ΕΑΛ refers to a single person. While ΔΑΡ`Μ´ and ΟΥΓΓΑ are well recognised variants of Nubian anthroponyms, the word CΥΜΕΡΟΝ looks suspicious in

such a function. It seems to me more plausible that it should be analysed otherwise, namely as $\sigma\mu\epsilon\rho$ -, ‘message, statement’ + $-\omicron\nu$, ‘and, but’, hence the translation ‘and the statement’. It is unclear what such a phrase would introduce here, a special group of witnesses or people witnessing a different legal action, but it definitely fits the context better than a personal name.

Thus, ‘Simeron’ should most probably be considered a ghost-name and the new edition of the fragment in question can be proposed:

ΔΑΥΟΥΝΓΑΛΛΟ: $\sigma\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ ΔΑΡ\`Η\` ΟΥΓΓΑΝ ΓΑΛΛΟ

‘Dauounngal; and the statement: Darne son of Ougga’.

13. *P. Qasr Ibrim III 59 (DBMNT 1043)*

a) Verso, line 4: Appasi

At the end of this private letter, a list of persons is attached, the purpose of which cannot be determined due to the incompleteness of the text. One of the entries in this list reads $\alpha\pi\pi\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\omicron$, which Browne translates ‘Appa Si (?)’. Although he does not state this explicitly, we can safely assume that he believed $\alpha\pi\pi\alpha$ to be the title *abba*. The occurrence of the name Si in the Old Nubian document from Nauri⁸⁶ seems indeed to confirm this. If so, we would have to assume that Si was a monk, because this title was reserved for members of the monastic order in Nubia (see also 9a above). While this cannot be totally excluded, another interpretation seems more plausible here, namely that $\alpha\pi\pi\alpha\sigma\iota$ should be taken as a single personal name, Appasi. If so, this is most probably a so far unattested variant of the well-known Arabic name ‘Abbās (TM Nam 20959), with the banal alternation of /p/ for /b/ and the addition of a ‘Nubianising’ vowel /i/ at the end.

⁸⁶ GRIFFITH, ‘Christian documents’ (cit. n. 42), pp. 12–18, no. 2 (DBMNT 559), l. 8.

b) Verso, line 5: Tapara, *tot* of Sai (?)

In the following line we find the phrase that Browne edits ταπαρα ταεῖν τοπιλο, ‘Tapara, *tot* of Tai’, where Tai is to be understood as a place name. Unfortunately, the photograph is blurred in this place,⁸⁷ and the reading cannot be verified. However, since such a toponym is unattested elsewhere, one wonders whether one should not read ζαεῖν τοτ, ‘*tot* of Sai’, instead. The title ‘*tot* of Sai’ is relatively well attested in Nubia.⁸⁸

14. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 60 (DBMNT 1044)

a) Lines 5 & 12: ghost-name Silmokki

In lines 5 and 12 of this document, the list of holdings of the Church of Jesus in Touggil (= Dongola), two almost identical phrases can be found, εἰμοκκινᾶλο and εἰμοκκινᾶλο. In both cases, Browne takes εἰμοκκι to be an anthroponym and translates ‘the land of Silmokki’. However, since the element εἰμ strikingly resembles the familiar toponym εἰμι, Ibrim, we are most probably dealing here with a construction analogous to παρας οκκινᾶλο found in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 39 (DBMNT 587), l. 20, which Browne himself translates ‘the land of the inhabitants of Faras’. Thus, both phrases in the present text should be translated ‘the land of the inhabitants of Silmi (= Ibrim),’⁸⁹ and the name Silmokki should be struck from Browne’s ‘List of personal names’⁹⁰ and Ruffini’s *Nubian Personal Names* as a ghost-name.

⁸⁷ It was not published in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III, but is available on-line at <<http://www.medieval-nubia.info/dev/images/PQI3-32-53-59.jpg>> (the two uppermost photos; accessed 3 June 2019).

⁸⁸ See the list in ŁAJTAR, ‘Christian Sai’ (cit. n. 11), pp. 98–101.

⁸⁹ Both phrases are to be analysed as παρας, ‘Faras’ / εἰμι, ‘Ibrim’ + οκκι-, ‘dwellers’ + -ν (genitive) + -λ (subjective) + -λο (focus marker), and understood as the nominalised genitival phrase ‘that which belongs to so-and-so’. In both cases, the context clearly shows that the owned thing is a plot of land.

⁹⁰ BROWNE, *Dictionary*, p. 244.

15. *P. Qasr Ibrim III 61* (DBMNT 1045)

a) Line 3: Iesusinkouda

The name of one of the men listed in this account of persons, gold, and other goods is transcribed ἰσοϥ ἀρ᾽ ῥ᾽ ἰκοϥΔΔ by Browne. The editor takes it to be an otherwise unattested double name Isou-Aggikouda. However, a closer inspection of the photograph reveals that what Browne transcribes as ἀρ᾽ ῥ᾽ ἰ, despite of the lacuna destroying the central part of the letters, can be securely read as ϥῆ, producing the well-known form ἰσοϥϥῆκοϥΔΔ. Isou-Aggikouda should thus be eliminated from the existing name-lists, Browne's 'List of personal names'⁹¹ and Ruffini's *Nubian Personal Names*, as a ghost-name.

16. *P. Qasr Ibrim III 62* (DBMNT 1046)

a) Recto, line 2: the personal name Maria or the Church of Mary?

The expression μαριᾶδε occurring in line 2 of the recto is interpreted by Browne as the name of a church, 'Mary-Church' in his translation. However, it cannot be excluded that an anthroponym is at stake here. Thus, the whole phrase μαριᾶδε | μαργον᾽ ϥημαδεκελ should perhaps be understood as 'Maria and Margo's people'.

b) Recto, lines 3 & 5: ghost-name Kid

Browne understands the phrase κᾶνῆ recurring in lines 3 and 5 of the text as denoting a personal name and translates both instances as 'Kid's'. Although the element *kid* occurs in other Nubian proper names, such as Kiddi (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 64 [DBMNT 641], l. 2; IV 65 [DBMNT 640], l. 2; and IV 66 [DBMNT 642], l. 6) and Kiddonga (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 68

⁹¹ BROWNE, *Dictionary*, p. 239.

[DBMNT 643], l. 6), here we are most surely dealing with the numeral '24' standing for 'Twenty-Four Elders of the Apocalypse', and more precisely for a church dedicated to them. This is all the more probable since a church of Twenty-Four Elders at Ibrim is known from other documents from Qasr Ibrim, *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 78 (DBMNT 1729), l. 3, and IV 79 (DBMNT 1730), re, l. 6. Moreover, in both instances it also is called only by the numeral, this time, however, written in full in Old Nubian, ⲁⲗⲟⲕⲉⲙⲓⲥⲟ and ⲁⲗⲟⲕⲉⲙⲥⲟ respectively. Note also that the same document contains the names of other churches, St Peter's, the Apostles', Archangel Michael's, and – perhaps – Mary's (see above), which further strengthens this interpretation. Kid should thus be struck out from Browne's 'List of personal names'⁹² and Ruffini's *Nubian Personal Names* as a ghost-name.

c) Recto, line 4: One

Browne edits the ending of line 4 as follows: ⲁ[[. .]]ⲟⲛⲉⲛ, 'Aone's (?)'. However, judging by the photograph (fig. 2),⁹³ not only the second and third signs were erased, but also the *alpha* at the beginning. Therefore, the transcription [[ⲁ. .]]ⲟⲛⲉⲛ seems more appropriate here. ⲟⲛⲉ appears to be a variant of the name Oni attested twice in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 (DBMNT 2792), ve, l. 10, and in a visitor's inscription from Abd el-Qadir.⁹⁴ The name derives from the Old Nubian noun ⲟⲛ-, 'love' + the epenthetic vowel -i.

d) Recto, lines 5–6: Sentiko

Another name in this document is transcribed by Browne as ⲥⲉⲧⲧⲓⲗⲕⲟⲛⲗ. The editor notes in the commentary that the first *tau* was corrected. The

⁹² BROWNE, *Dictionary*, p. 240.

⁹³ It was not published in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III, but is available on-line at <http://www.medieval-nubia.info/dev/images/PQL_3-53-62.jpg> (middle and lower photos; accessed 3 June 2019).

⁹⁴ F. LI. GRIFFITH, 'Oxford excavations in Nubia', *University of Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 15 (1928), pls. 30.7, 44.1 (DBMNT 1703).

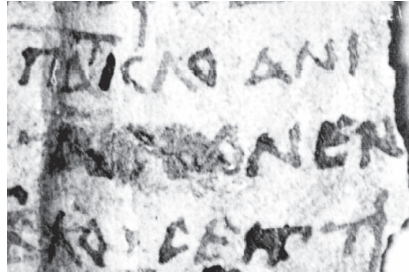


Fig. 2. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 62 re, detail of ll. 3-5
(after <http://www.medievalnubia.info/dev/index.php/File:P.QI_3-53-62.jpg>)

photograph (fig. 2; only the end of line 5 visible) shows that the correction involved the letters *nu* and *tau*, but it cannot be determined with certainty which was written first. However, since the form $\sigma\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\kappa\omicron$ has not been attested elsewhere and $\sigma\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\lambda$ is known as an anthroponym from the epitaph of Joassi son of Sentikol from Meinarti (*I. Kbartoum Greek* 8 [DBMNT 7], ll. 8-9 and 21), the latter has been chosen here as the actual reading.

e) Recto, lines 8-9:
the personal name Gorti or the title 'elder'?

Browne translates the phrase $\gamma\omicron\rho\tau\iota\iota\lambda\tilde{\chi}$ in lines 8-9 of the recto as 'elder's', assuming that the person at stake here was designated only with his/her title. He/she would be a member of the collective body headed by a 'lord of elders', the Nubian $\gamma\omicron\rho\tau\iota\epsilon\omicron\lambda\lambda$ or similar. Note, however, that the text is an account of people and churches receiving or delivering certain amounts of unidentified goods, possibly gold, which by its very nature requires a certain precision of expression; anonymity is not really expected in this context. Moreover, persons identified only with their titles are very rare in our sources. Therefore, it seems more probable that a proper name is at stake here, all the more so since we know the name Korti, occurring in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 (DBMNT 2792), ve, l. 10, of which Gorti

would be a variant, under the interchange of ρ and κ, very common in Old Nubian.⁹⁵ The name would mean ‘the old one’ and is plausibly compared with the Greek *Γέρων* (TM Nam 9090).

f) Verso, line 8: Songoja and Ngojji

The last two lines on the verso are separated from the rest of the text by a wide empty space and it is uncertain whether they belong to the same text or form a separate short note. At the beginning of line 8, Browne edits ϣεϣοδᾶλω εοδᾶλ, ‘Songoja(+lo)-ngojjil (?)’.⁹⁶ It seems reasonable, however, to think that two separate individuals are at stake here and to translate ‘to/from Songoja; Ngojji!’. Moreover, because the context is unclear, it cannot be excluded that ϣεϣοδᾶ designates here not the proper name, but the title ‘eparch’. As for εοδᾶλ, the name most probably derives from the Old Nubian εο(η)δ(ῖ)ρ-, εοδᾶ-, ‘to stand’ + -λ, in the sense ‘the one who stands’.

17. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 64 (DBMNT 64I)

a) Line 6: church of Kollouthos

In line 6 of this land sale deed, the name Kollouthos occurs twice, in two almost identical phrases κολ\λ'θοσσηαλο and κολ\λ'θοσσηαλο (the edition has κολ(ογ)θ(οσ)σηαλο, but the photograph shows that σ is most certainly οσ). Ruffini translates both phrases ‘Kollouthos’s’ and appears to treat Kollouthos as the name of an actual person. Note, however, that the identical phrase κολ\λ'θοσσηαλο occurring in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 65

⁹⁵ BROWNE, *Grammar*, § 2.2.2.

⁹⁶ The photograph of the document available at medievalnubia.info (see n. 93) allows only for the reading [c]o[εo]δᾶλω, with the letters dotted by Browne completely invisible in the lacuna. Perhaps Browne had at his disposal another photograph, on which the text was in a slightly better condition.

(DBMNT 640), l. 9, clearly refers to the name of a church, because many other churches are mentioned in neighbouring lines. Therefore, it is highly probable that the same Church of Kollouthos is meant in the present text, too.

b) Line 9: son of Ori or Orinngal

One of the entries in the witnesses' list appended to this document reads ὀρῆ εἰλ'λο', which Ruffini treats as a patronymic and translates 'the son of Ori'. However, it cannot be excluded that the whole phrase forms the actual name of the witness, Orinngal (see 2a and 2b above, for analogous cases).

c) Lines 9–10: Anos---

Ruffini transcribes the next entry on the list as follows: κασιμ δαδων γογωλ αιανος . Δ . . α|ωεν τοτλλο. He assumes that αιανος . Δ . . α is the name of the witness and translates the whole passage 'Kasim, the *goush* of Ado; Aianos.d.a, the *tot* of She'. However, in such a reading, the preceding person on the list, Kasim, is devoid of the focus marker -λο, which prompts me to read κασιμ δαδων γογωλλο instead of γογωλ αι (fig. 3). This, however, does not solve the problem with the name of the next witness, as neither Aianos- nor Anos- are attested as a beginning of a Nubian name. Its ending is even more problematic, as it is uncertain where the

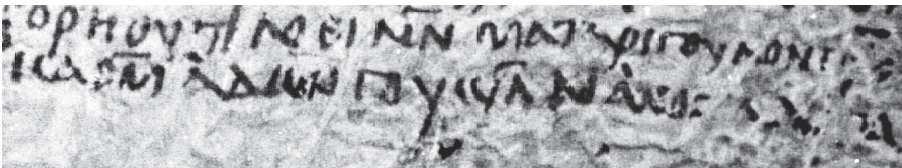


Fig. 3. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 64, detail of l. 9
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 2)

name ends and the following toponym begins belonging to the description of the witness and governed by τῶτλ̄.⁹⁷

18. *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 65 (DBMNT 640)*⁹⁸

a) Line 4: Ishkil

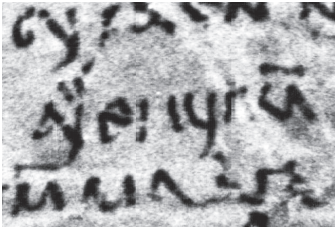


Fig. 4. *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 65*, detail of l. 4
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim IV*, fig. 3)

In line 4 of this land sale deed, we find the name of the main seller of the land in question. Ruffini edits the name as εἰωρκ̄λ̄, 'Ishgkil'. Such a form, however, seems improbable from the phonological viewpoint. A closer inspection of the photograph reveals that what appears as a horizontal stroke of Ruffini's *gamma* is rather but a shadow of the wrinkle on the surface of leather (fig. 4). Thus, Ruffini's ρκ is a single letter, namely a *kappa*, all the more so since in his interpretation, the *kappa* would lack the vertical stroke. Admittedly, the two parts of the *kappa* are set unusually far apart, but this must have been caused by the said wrinkle. Note also that in the same document other *kappas* can be found that are similarly separated (e.g. l. 3, *ad finem*). Thus, the reading should be corrected to εἰωκ̄λ̄ and the form εἰωρκ̄λ̄ should be considered a ghost-name.

The name εἰωκ̄λ̄ is most probably of Nubian origin, but its etymology is unknown. Perhaps we are dealing here with the metathesis of ωκ for κω, with which the original form of the name should be εικωλ̄. However, while the word is known as the title of an official, it has so far been unattested as an anthroponym.

⁹⁷ As also observed by Ruffini in the commentary, *P. Qasr Ibrim IV*, p. 66.

⁹⁸ I am preparing a reedition of the entire final part of this document containing the list of witnesses (ll. 15–19), which will be published in 'NOM V'. Here, I limit myself to two corrections in the remainder of the text.

b) Line 9: Adajinoki

One of the land plots occurring in the description of the land being sold, belonged – according to Ruffini – to a certain Adaja Oki. The editor transcribes the phrase in question $\alpha\alpha\alpha\delta\alpha\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron$. However, the photograph allows correcting the third *alpha* in this phrase to a *nu*: a vertical line is visible on the right stemming directly upwards from the oblique stroke (fig. 5). Moreover, what Ruffini takes to be a long vertical stroke of the preceding δ , extending above the letter in question is rather a supralinear stroke, identical to the one above the *nu* in the preceding line, just above this one. Thus, the correct reading should be $\alpha\alpha\alpha\delta\omicron\eta\omicron\kappa\iota\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron$ and the actual name Adajinoki. Unfortunately, the etymology of the name is unknown. Note, however, that the element $\omicron\kappa\iota$ occurs in the name Okiji in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 102 (DBMNT 2843), re, l. 2.

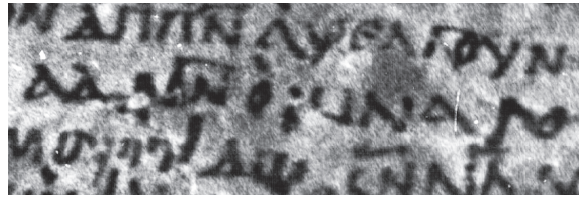


Fig. 5. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 65, detail of l. 9
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 3)

19. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 66 (DBMNT 642)a) Line 8–9: Minte.... the *architriklinios*

Ruffini edits one of the entries in the protocol of this document in the following manner: $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\alpha\gamma\alpha\delta\alpha\rho$ | $\langle\omicron\lambda\psi\omicron\rho\epsilon\iota\rangle$ $\Delta\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha$ $\epsilon\iota\eta\eta$, ‘Minteuouajar (?) being *architriklinios* (?)’. However, a closer look at the photograph (fig. 6) makes it possible to amend his reading. What Ruffini takes to be the ρ at the end of line 8 is most certainly a ψ , with a short oblique stroke stemming from the vertical bar on the left (cf. ψ in $\epsilon\omicron\psi\delta\epsilon\rho\alpha\eta$ in l. 13). With the ψ certainly read, one could attempt to read here the title of the person, which Ruffini believes to be lacking from the protocol. And indeed, the triangular letter before the ψ seems to be a *delta* rather than an *alpha* and Ruffini’s δ is most probably an *omikron*; what he takes to be the curved upper stroke of his δ is but a shadow on the surface of leather. Furthermore,

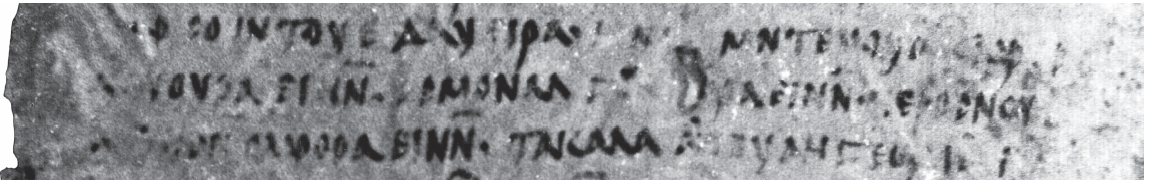


Fig. 6. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 66, ll. 8–10
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 4)

there are traces of ink after the φ at the end of line 8, omitted by Ruffini. These traces can easily be interpreted as an *omikron* and a *rho*. In this way, we obtain the reading $\varrho\Delta\varphi\varrho\varphi$, supplemented at the beginning of the next line by Ruffini. Unfortunately, what stands between $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ and the reconstructed $\varrho\Delta\varphi\varrho\varphi$, altogether four letters, is impossible to read with any degree of certainty: Ruffini's $\gamma\varrho\gamma\alpha$ is a possibility, but other readings are equally probable. Therefore, the proposed new reading of the whole phrase is: $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon \dots \varrho\Delta\varphi\varrho\varphi \mid \Delta\varrho\gamma\varrho\gamma\alpha \epsilon\iota\mu\bar{\nu}$, 'Minte... being *architriklinios*'. The form $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\gamma\varrho\gamma\alpha\delta\alpha\varphi$ should be deemed a ghost-name.

b) Lines 9–10: Erosnou--- (?) the *trikliniaris* of Douksi (?)

Another entry in the protocol of this text reads – according to Ruffini – $\epsilon\rho\varsigma\epsilon\eta\omicron\upsilon\theta() \mid \lambda \dots \varphi \cdot \varrho\lambda\varphi\varrho\alpha \epsilon\iota\mu\bar{\nu}$, 'Ersenouth() (?) being ... *trikliniaris*'. Here, again, the photograph allows correcting the reading (fig. 6). First, the name of the person. Judging by the shape of other *epsilons* in the document, the fourth letter in the name cannot be an *epsilon* but a *sigma*. If so, the letter before it is less likely to be a *sigma* than a vowel, *epsilon* or *omikron*. The latter seems more probable to me and has been chosen here. Furthermore, what Ruffini takes to be a suprascrbed *theta* marking the abbreviation seems to me but a shadow on the surface of the document. It rather seems that the name was written in full, but its ending disappeared in the lacuna at the end of the line.

Second, the title. Ruffini was unable to read the first word of line 10 and transcribed only $\lambda \dots \varphi$. However, since the title evidently consists of

two elements, it seems reasonable to assume that it was constructed according to the patterns ‘*trikliniaris* of so-and-so’. If so, the first element has to be in the genitive. And indeed, the final letter of the first word can be identified as a *nu* instead of Ruffini’s φ . One can even discern traces of a supralinear stroke above it. In the material available to date, the following genitives are attested with the title *trikliniaris*:

1) ΔΟΥΚΣῆ, ‘of Douksi’: *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 30 (DBMNT 581), ll. 9–10; III 31 (DBMNT 589), ll. 3–4; III 32 (DBMNT 590), ll. 5–6; III 34 re (DBMNT 582), l. 9; III 35 (DBMNT 583), l. 6;

2) ΣΟΓΟΘῆ, ‘of the eparch’: *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 36 (DBMNT 584), re, l. 9; III 38 (DBMNT 586), l. 6; III 40 (DBMNT 588), l. 6;

3) ΓΟΝ, ‘of Ngo’: *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 30 (DBMNT 581), l. 7; III 32 (DBMNT 590), l. 5;

4) ΣΑΜΤΙΕΩΝ, ‘of the *domestikos* elect (?)’: *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 30 (DBMNT 581), l. 7;

5) ΠΑΠΣῆ, ‘of the bishop’: *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 35 (DBMNT 583), l. 20.

Of them, only (1) matches the traces of ink in our text, especially the *delta* at the beginning (Ruffini’s *alpha*) and the *sigma* before the genitival $\bar{\eta}$. Therefore, a new reading of the passage can be proposed: ΕΡΟΣΝΟΥ[2–3?] | Δ[ΟΥ]ΚΣῆ ὀλφορα εἰνῆ, ‘Erosnou--- being the *trikliniaris* of Douksi’.

20. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 67 (DBMNT 637)

a) Line 4: Ketitou the granary keeper

According to Ruffini, one of the entries in the protocol of this deed of land sale reads $\bar{\kappa}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\omega\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\alpha$ $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}$, ‘Iketeitou being granary keeper’. However, a closer look at the photograph allows verifying the reading of the name (fig. 7). First, the supralinear stroke above the *kappa* appears to

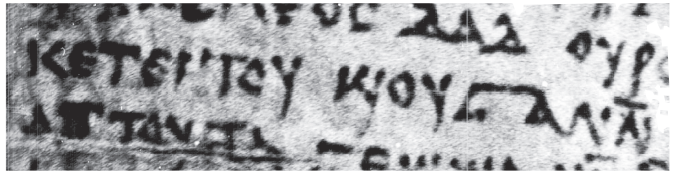


Fig. 7. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 67, detail of l. 3
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 5)

be only a shadow on the document's surface. Second, what Ruffini takes to be the upper fragment of the right-hand vertical bar of the *eta* is just the serif protruding from the horizontal bar of the *tau*, as is common in the Nubian-type majuscule and is indeed found in the remaining *taus* in this text. The actual reading of the name is thus κετειτου, and the form Eiketeētou should be eliminated from the index of personal names in Ruffini's edition as a ghost-name.

Note that the same name, designating certainly the same person, is found in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 69 (DBMNT 638), l. 3, where we read κεττου φουτα νῆ, 'Ket(i)tu being granary keeper'. The name is certainly of Nubian origin and it probably derives from κετ-, 'care, concern' + -ιτ (nominalising suffix) + -ου (epenthetic vowel?), in the sense 'care'.

b) Line 9: ghost-name Kourketi

In another entry of the protocol, Ruffini reads κουργετι εφωα νῆ, 'Kourketi being *ngeshsb*'. However, the word κουργετι is just a variant of the well-attested toponym κουργετι, not a personal name. The variant has been previously attested, although not properly recognised, in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 44 (DBMNT 1028), l. 13, where Browne transcribes κασι κουργετ εφωαλλο. He translates 'Kasmi, *ngeshsb* of Kourk()', but according to Adam Łajtar's interpretation (personal communication), the abbreviation should be resolved κουργετι. Moreover, the toponym has so far been attested only in combination with the title *ngeshsb*, that is '*ngeshsb* of Koudketi'. The lack of name before the office should thus be considered a scribal omission. Alternatively, this office belonged to Oliti mentioned in the preceding entry of the protocol as being the *algou*.⁹⁹ The latter possibility seems quite tempting, because the name of the *ngeshsb* of Koudketi from *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 69 (DBMNT 638), ll. 6–7, ends in -ti (see 22b below). In any case, Kourketi should be considered a ghost-name and as such struck out from the index of personal names in Ruffini's edition.

⁹⁹ The term remains unidentified. Judging by its occurrence in the protocol, it must designate an office.

c) Line 10: Chammeti daughter of Ajeji

In line 10, we find the name of the issuer of the deed. In Ruffini's edition, it reads $\kappa\alpha\mu\mu\epsilon\tau\iota$ $\lambda\delta\delta\epsilon\delta\eta$ $\lambda\sigma\tau\lambda$, 'Kammeti, the *asti* of Ajeji'. However, the photograph (fig. 8) allows

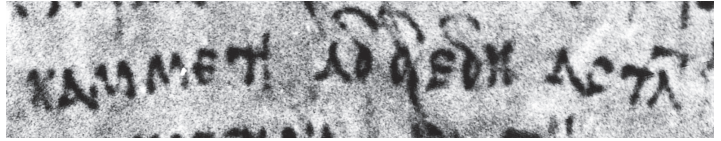


Fig. 8. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 67, detail of l. 10
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 5)

correcting the reading and improving the understanding of the text here. In fact, what Ruffini's *kappa* is definitely a *chi*; compare the shape of the *chi* in $\chi\alpha\iota\eta\lambda$ in line 7, with a characteristic hook protruding from the top left stroke, which can be seen in this place, too. The correct reading should thus be $\chi\alpha\mu\mu\epsilon\tau\iota$ $\lambda\delta\delta\epsilon\delta\eta$ $\lambda\sigma\tau\lambda$. The form $\chi\alpha\mu\mu\epsilon\tau\iota$ is without any doubt the Old Nubian rendering of the Arabic name Ḥammāda. Moreover, the following word $\lambda\delta\delta\epsilon\delta\eta$, interpreted by Ruffini as a toponym, has convincingly been identified with the Arabic personal name Ḥaġġāġ (see 8a above), in which case $\lambda\sigma\tau\lambda$ cannot designate the title of an official, but simply 'daughter'. The whole phrase is thus to be understood as 'Chammeti daughter of Ajeji', which is the Old Nubian transliteration of the Arabic Ḥammāda bint Ḥaġġāġ. The name Kammeti, in turn, should be classified as a ghost-name.

d) Line 17: Auti the *asti* or Auti Asti

The name of one of the landowners mentioned in the description of the sold piece of land reads – according to Ruffini – $\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota$ $\lambda\sigma\tau\iota$, 'Aurti the *asti*'. However, judging by the photograph (fig. 9), what Ruffini takes to be the uppermost fragment of the vertical stroke of the *rho* is just a serif protruding on the left from the horizontal bar of the *tau*, which is also found in other examples of this letter in the

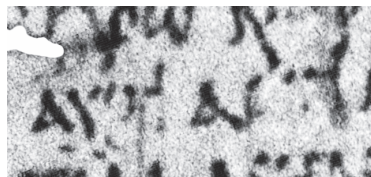


Fig. 9. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 67, detail of l. 17
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 5)

text. The apparent belly of the *rho* seems to be just a shadow on the surface of the document.

The name Auti is certainly a variant of Audi found in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 71 (DBMNT 2791), ve, l. 22. This is most probably a Nubian name, perhaps deriving from αγ-, ‘to make, do’ + -τι (agential suffix?), in the sense ‘maker, doer’. As for ατι, literally ‘sister’ it can indeed be the person’s title, as suggested by Ruffini, but it also can be the second element of the name, analogous to ελλ, ‘son’. This is confirmed by a number of analogous formations (e.g. Parkin Asti, Mousen Asti, or Anion Asti).

e) Line 20: Ouera

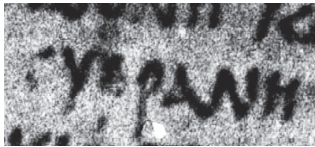


Fig. 10. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 67, detail of l. 20
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 5)

Another landowner is mentioned in the middle of line 20. Ruffini edits his/her name as σϣερανη, ‘(land of) Suera’. However, such a name, most probably pronounced /siera/, is phonologically highly unlikely in Old Nubian. A closer look at

the photograph (fig. 10) reveals that Ruffini’s *sigma* is not certain at all, and another round letter could be at stake here, for example an *omikron*. Indeed, if we transcribe οϣερα, the word gains both a more Nubian look and a probable etymology: οϣερ-, ‘one, single, alone’ or ‘mountain’ + the suffix -α, hence either ‘the one / the single one’, or ‘the mountain’. The former could refer to the fact of being an only child, the other to, for instance, a characteristic feature of physical appearance. Whatever the case, the form ‘Suera’ should be considered a ghost-name.

f) Line 23: Eptassisi Kostatneti

The list of witnesses appended to this document starts with the phrase edited by Ruffini as follows: εἶπ: ἀσεῖσει κοστατνετῖλο, ‘Irip (?), Aseiei,

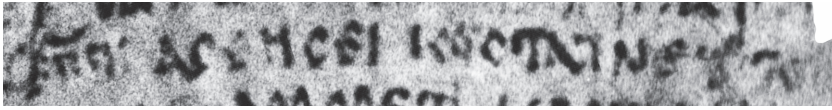


Fig. 11. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 67, detail of l. 23
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 5)

Kostatneti'. He thus assumes that we are dealing here with three different persons. Note, however, that according to the pattern of Old Nubian witnesses' lists, each entry on the list should be furnished with the marker -λo. If so, we have to assume that the passage designates only one person. A closer look at the photograph (fig. 11) allows a crucial correction to Ruffini's reading and hence an improved understanding of the phrase: what Ruffini takes to be π: is in fact a τ with a characteristic serif protruding from the horizontal bar on the left; the upper dot of his colon is the right end of the horizontal stroke, and the lower one just a shadow on the leather's surface; the supralinear stroke above the π must be a part of the crack in the leather visible above and to the left. Also, Ruffini's doubtful ε in αεησει seems more like a c. Considering all of this, the correct reading of the name can be established: επταεσει κοστατνετιλo. επταεσει is most certainly the Old Nubian rendering of the Arabic name 'Abd al-'Azīz; note that the article al- has been assimilated. Unfortunately, we do not know the meaning of κοστατνετι, which recurs in the next line with the name Ammeti = Ḥammād (see 20h): it could be a geographical *nisba* referring to the origin of both men¹⁰⁰ or a designation of their title / function. Whatever the case, the forms Ipip and Aseisi should be deemed ghost-names and eliminated from the indices.

g) Line 24: Aildonga, inhabitant of Ibrim (?), Chael, ♂ Mina

In the next line we find the phrase αελαοεα εληακκι [x]ληλ μιναρo, which Ruffini takes to be a string of proper names belonging to the witnesses of

¹⁰⁰ One may tentatively try to identify it with Constantinople, but I find it quite improbable.

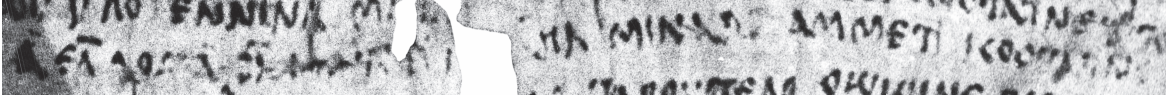


Fig. 12. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 67, detail of l. 24
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 5)

the deed (fig. 12). He translates ‘Aildonga (?), Silmakki (?), Chael, Minaro (?)’. This, however, seems highly doubtful. First, to none of the words is the marker -λο attached, normally separating persons in such lists. Second, the reading is largely hypothetical in many places, most notably in $\epsilon\lambda\mu\alpha\kappa\kappa\iota$. Ruffini based this reading on $\epsilon\lambda\mu\omicron\kappa\kappa\iota$ occurring twice in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 60 (DBMNT 1044). Even if Ruffini’s reading is indeed correct, its interpretation as an anthroponym cannot hold, because, as has been shown above, under 14a, $\epsilon\lambda\mu\omicron\kappa\kappa\iota$ is in fact a ghost-name, whose true meaning is ‘inhabitants of Ibrim’. If we then retain Ruffini’s reading, we may assume that the lacuna following it contained the marker -λο, and the phrase could be reconstructed $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\delta\omicron\epsilon\alpha\ \epsilon\lambda\mu\alpha\kappa\kappa\iota[\lambda\omicron]$, ‘Aildonga, inhabitant of Ibrim’. Note that, while $\epsilon\lambda\mu\omicron\kappa\kappa\iota$ is apparently the collective plural ‘inhabitants, dwellers’, here $\epsilon\lambda\mu\alpha\kappa\kappa\iota$ would have to designate a single person.

Another correction is perhaps due at the end of the phrase. Ruffini’s $\mu\iota\eta\alpha\rho\omicron$ is doubtful as a personal name, as, if this is indeed a list of people, one expects to find the postposition -λο somewhere in the fragment. Therefore, based on the photograph, I would venture to read $\mu\iota\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron$ instead; $\mu\iota\eta\alpha$ would be a variant of the well-known name Menas (TM Nam 4077). This variant, although not attested in Nubia so far, was quite common in Egypt (TM Namvar 54365).

If my assumptions are correct, the fragment would not refer to four persons, as Ruffini believed, but to three or perhaps even two, depending on how we analyse $\chi\lambda\eta\lambda\ \mu\iota\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron$, as one individual bearing the double name Chael Mina, or two separate persons, Chael and Mina. The latter assumes the omission of the marker -λο. A proposed new reading is thus $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\delta\omicron\epsilon\alpha\ \epsilon\lambda\mu\alpha\kappa\kappa\iota[\lambda\omicron]\ \chi\lambda\eta\lambda\ \mu\iota\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron$, which can be translated ‘Aildonga, inhabitant of Ibrim (?); Chael; Mina (or: ‘Chael Mina?’)’

h) Lines 24–25: Ammeti Kostatneti

Ruffini transcribes the next entry as [κ]αμμετι κοστατηνε|τιλο, and interprets it as referring to two different persons, Kammeti and Kostatneti. He supplements a *kappa* in a lacuna at the beginning of the phrase on the basis of the occurrence of apparently the same name in line 10, where it designates the issuer of the document. In the commentary he even suggests that the same person may be at stake in both places. However, the new reading of the name in line 10 (χαμμετι instead of καμμετι, see above under 20c) invalidates this interpretation. Moreover, as the photo clearly shows (fig. 12), it is impossible to fit in any letter before αμμετι. αμμετι seems, therefore, a secure reading. The name is certainly the Old Nubian rendering of the Arabic name Ḥammād, just as χαμμετι above.¹⁰¹ The difference in orthography between the two forms occurring in the same text is not easily explicable: one may tentatively suggest that it results from the different gender of the persons: Chammeti was a woman and Ammeti could have been a man. Unfortunately, none of the attestations of the form αμμετι *et var.* is marked for gender and the hypothesis cannot be asserted. The second element of the description, κοστατηνετι could be a geographical *nisba* or a designation of a title (see above, Eptassisi Kostatneti, under 20f).

21. P. Qsr Ibrim IV 68 (DBMNT 643)

a) Line 7: Koshgil the *meizoteros* (?) of Ibrim

The protocol of this document contains the entry, which Ruffini edits as κοιγᾶ εἰνη̄ ΔΔΥ. . . εἰνη̄, ‘Koiga being *meizoteros* (?) of Ibrim’. His reading of the name is not entirely satisfactory, however. First, if the final letter were to be an *alpha*, the stroke above it would be totally redundant. Leaving

¹⁰¹ Other attestations of these name are: P. Qsr Ibrim III 52 (DBMNT 1036), l. 9 (αμμεττι); IV 63 (DBMNT 644), l. 11 (αμμητη), and IV 109 (DBMNT 2850), ve, l. 28 (αμετλ).

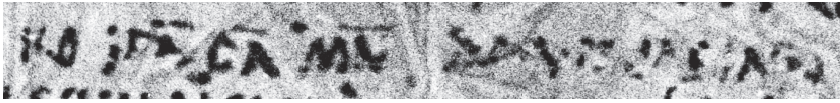


Fig. 13. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 68, detail of l. 7
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 6)

aside the fact that the scribe of this text is consistent in putting dots above vowels and strokes above consonants, a dot/stroke above a vowel is justified only when the vowel forms a syllable on its own,¹⁰² which cannot be the case here. A closer inspection of the photograph (fig. 13) allows correcting the *alpha* into a *lambda*, in which case the stroke is completely justified. Second, Ruffini's ι is highly doubtful. The empty space between the ο and this putative ι seems just too big. Also, my impression is that the shape of this *iota* does not entirely conform with other *iotas* in this text. It rather resembles the right-hand stroke of a *shai* or *upsilon*. Thus, two alternative readings can be proposed: κοϣγλ̄ or κοϣῑλ̄. Given the size of the empty space, I would opt for the former reading. The word κοϣγλ̄ has not been attested in Nubia as either anthroponym or any other formation, but it may be cognate with the modern κοϣοκ(ι), 'thicket, bush' (Nobiin), *kósk-ir*, 'cause or allow to ferment' (Dongolawi), or *koškir*, 'big needle' (Nobiin, Dongolawi, Kenzi).¹⁰³ Whatever the case, Koiga should be deemed a ghost-name and as such struck out from the current name-lists.

b) Lines 10–11: Salastinngal and Naminngal

The list of witnesses appended to this document contains the phrase which Ruffini edits as σαλαστῆ σαλῆαμῆ σαλλο, 'the son of Salasti Nganami'. While his reading and interpretation cannot be entirely excluded, a more satisfactory explanation can be proposed. Judging by the photograph (fig. 14), what Ruffini takes to be σα at the end of line 10 is clumsily written and

¹⁰² BROWNE, *Grammar*, § 1.3.1.

¹⁰³ For the last one, see H. ALMKVIST, *Nubische Studien im Sudan 1877–78*, Uppsala – Leipzig 1911, p. 228.

corrected $\Gamma\lambda\lambda\omicron$; compare the shape of the marker $-\lambda\omicron$ at the end of the next line. If this interpretation is correct, the reading should be amended to: $\mathcal{C}\lambda\lambda\mathcal{C}\tau\bar{\eta}\ \Gamma\lambda\lambda\omicron$ | $\eta\mathcal{A}\mu\bar{\eta}\ \Gamma\lambda\lambda\omicron$. We would thus be dealing here not with a

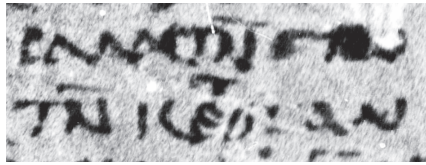


Fig. 14. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 68, detail of ll. 10–11 (after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 6)

single witness, but with two distinct persons. It remains, of course, uncertain whether $\Gamma\lambda\lambda$ in both cases is an integral part of the name, thus Salastinngal and Naminngal, or the common noun ‘son’ indicating the filiation, thus ‘the son of Salasti; the son of Nami’. On account of the context, the list of witnesses, I prefer the former option (see also above, under 2a and 2b). Neither Salasti- nor Nami- are attested elsewhere in Nubian onomastics. The former may derive from the Old Nubian $\mathcal{C}\lambda\lambda$ -, ‘word, speech’, and $\mathcal{A}\mathcal{C}\tau\bar{\eta}$ -, ‘daughter’, but the meaning of such a formation remains cryptic. No etymology can be proposed for Nami-. The form Salasti Nganami postulated by Ruffini should be deemed a ghost-name and as such struck out from the index of personal names in his edition.

c) Line 12: A.kiepi, son of Apati (or son of Apati)

Another entry in the witnesses’ list reads – according to Ruffini – $\delta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\eta\mu\mathcal{A}\tau\bar{\eta}\ \tau\omicron\tau\lambda\omicron$, ‘Jemelimati (?), the *tot*’. In the commentary, Ruffini admits that his reading is unjustifiably influenced by the word $\delta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ found at the end of the previous line. The photograph (fig. 15) allows correcting this reading. First of all, the first letter hardly seems to be a δ , rather a vowel with a dot above, probably an *alpha*, but an *epsilon* cannot be excluded. Second, Ruffini’s first μ seems to me more like two letters $\kappa\iota$. Third, what Ruffini takes to be a *lambda* resembles rather a *pi*. Finally, his second μ is has rather an unusual shape and, moreover, I can see a dot above its left part. This makes it probable that we are dealing here with two letters $\lambda\pi$ rather than a single μ . The dot above the *alpha* could suggest that this is in fact the beginning of another word, the genitive governed by

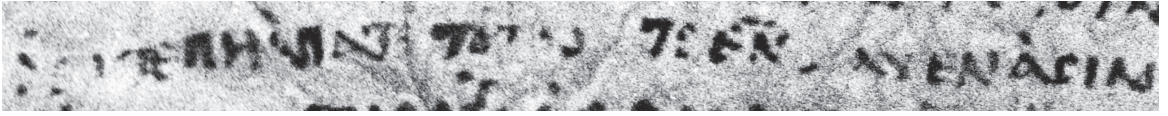


Fig. 15. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 68, detail of l. 12
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 6)

the following $\tau\omicron\tau$, even though there is no genitival $-n$ at the end.¹⁰⁴ Taking all of this into consideration, a new reading can be proposed: $\acute{\alpha}$. $\kappa\iota\epsilon\pi\eta$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\tau\iota$ $\tau\omicron\tau\lambda\omicron$. Depending on how we interpret the word $\tau\omicron\tau$ here, as either ‘son’ or the title of official, the translation would be ‘A.kiepi, son of Apati’, where Apati is an anthroponym, or ‘A.kiepi, *tot* of Apati’, in which Apati is a toponym. Note that the same phrase is most probably found in a visitor’s inscription from Banganarti, where one reads $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\text{'}\epsilon\text{'}\tau\eta$ $\tau\omicron\tau$.¹⁰⁵ However, the phrase is equally ambiguous and does not help us clarify the issue here. In any case, Jemelēmati should be considered a ghost-name and marked as such in the index of personal names in Ruffini’s edition.

22. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 69 (DBMNT 638)

a) Lines 4, 8, 12, & 19: Mart()*kouda*

The document mentions four times the name of an eparch of Nobadia, Mart()*kouda*, once in the protocol and thrice in the body of the text (he is the buyer of a plot of land). In his edition, Ruffini prints the name in the following ways: $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\text{'}(\gamma\rho\omicron)\kappa\omicron\gamma\Delta\Delta\text{'}\acute{\alpha}$ (l. 4), $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\text{'}(\gamma\rho\omicron)\kappa\omicron\gamma\Delta\text{'}\Delta\text{'}\acute{\alpha}$ (l. 8), $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\text{'}(\gamma\rho\omicron)\kappa\omicron\gamma\Delta\Delta\text{'}\acute{\alpha}$ (l. 12), and $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\text{'}(\gamma\rho\omicron)\kappa\omicron[\gamma\Delta\Delta]\text{'}\acute{\alpha}$ (l. 19). However, the photograph of the document (fig. 16) allows a small correction to these readings: the raised letter at the end of the name is certainly a *delta* in each case, not an *alpha*. Thus, the actual readings should be: $\mu\alpha\rho\text{'}\tau\text{'}\kappa\omicron\gamma\text{'}\Delta\text{'}\Delta\Delta$ (l. 4), $\mu\alpha\rho\text{'}\tau\text{'}\kappa\omicron\gamma\text{'}\Delta\text{'}\Delta\Delta$ (l. 8), $\mu\alpha\rho\text{'}\tau\text{'}\kappa\omicron\gamma\text{'}\Delta\text{'}\Delta\Delta$ (l. 12), and $\mu\alpha\rho\text{'}\tau\text{'}\kappa\omicron[\gamma]\text{'}\Delta\text{'}[\Delta\Delta]$

¹⁰⁴ According to BROWNE, *Grammar*, § 3.6.2.c, the genitival $-n$ can sometimes be omitted.

¹⁰⁵ $\xi\alpha\text{J}\tau\alpha\rho$, *The Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre* (cit. n. 19), no. 800 (DBMNT 3975).

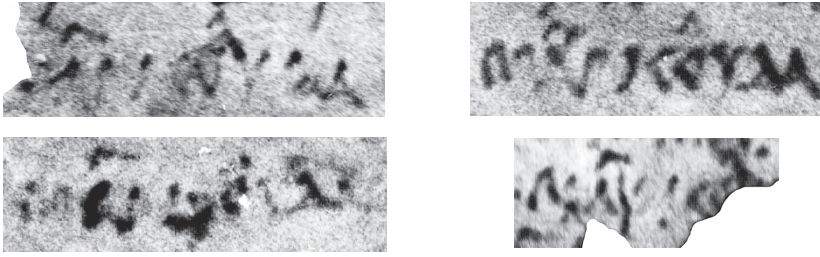


Fig. 16. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 69, detail of ll. 4, 8, 12, & 19
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 7)

(l. 19). It is also uncertain why Ruffini chose to resolve the abbreviation μαρϛτ' as μαρτ(υρο). According to the pattern of the Nubian names formed with the element -κογδα, 'servant', one would expect a form like μαρτυροσῖκογδα¹⁰⁶ or μαρτυρῖκογδα, 'servant of the martyr(s)'. Note, however, that nowhere is the name attested in a non-abbreviated form, hence it remains here unresolved.¹⁰⁷

b) Lines 6–7: Oliti (?) the *ngeshsb* of Kourketi

In the protocol of the document one finds the entry that Ruffini edits .[. .]τῖ κογρκετῖ εἰω[ωα nῖ], '... Kourketi being *ngeshsb*'. However, as has been pointed above, under **20b**, κογρκετῖ is just a variant of the toponym Koudketi, not a personal name, hence κογρκετῖ εἰω[ωα should undoubtedly be understood as the title '*ngeshsb* of Kourketi'. Unfortunately, the name of the bearer of this title is incompletely preserved, .[. .]τῖ.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. σταυροσῖκογδα, 'servant of the cross' (S. JAKOBIELSKI *et alii*, *Pachoras/Faras: The Wall Paintings from the Cathedrals of Aetios, Paulos and Petros* [= *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean Monographs* 4], Warsaw 2017, p. 257 [DBMNT 1857], l. 3), and ἀγγελοςκογδα, 'servant of the angel' (A. ŁAJTAR, 'A survey of Christian textual finds from Gebel Adda in the collections of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto', [in:] ANDERSON & WELSBY [eds.], *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond* (cit. n. 14), pp. 951–959, at 956–958 [DBMNT 2233], re, l. 5).

¹⁰⁷ Thus also A. ŁAJTAR & G. OCHAŁA, 'Ase: A toponym and/or a persona name (Notes on Medieval Nubian Toponymy 3)', *Dotawo* 4 (2017), pp. 241–256, at 247.

One is, however, tempted to reconstruct $\varphi[\lambda]\tau\iota$, because a certain Oliti the *algou* is mentioned in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 67 (DBMNT 637), l. 9, in the entry immediately preceding the otherwise anonymous entry $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\kappa\epsilon\tau\iota$ $\epsilon\omega\upsilon\alpha$ $\eta\tilde{\nu}$, ‘being the *ngeshsb* of Kourketi’ (see **20b** above).

c) Line 8: Ida son of Dari

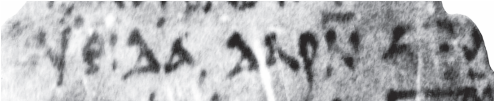


Fig. 17. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 69, detail of l. 8
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 7)

The seller of the land presents himself in the first person in line 8. In Ruffini’s edition the fragment reads $\delta\acute{\iota}$ $\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha$ $\Delta\alpha\rho\tilde{\nu}$ ϵ . . . [---], ‘I, Ida of Dar ...’, whereby Dar is interpreted as a toponym.

However, the traces of ink visible on the photograph (fig. 17) seem to show an *alpha* and a *lambda* after the ϵ , thus allowing the reading $\delta\acute{\iota}$ $\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha$ $\Delta\alpha\rho\tilde{\nu}$ $\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ [---], ‘I, Ida son of Dari’. This is all the more probable, since Dari is attested elsewhere as a personal name (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 71 [DBMNT 2791], re, l. 16) and nowhere as a toponym. The name probably derives from the Old Nubian $\Delta\alpha\rho$ -, $\Delta\alpha\eta$ -, ‘to be, exist’, and is perhaps a variant of the name Dani found thrice in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 85 (DBMNT 2828), re, l. 1, and ve, l. 1, and IV 109 (DBMNT 2850), ve, ll. 15–16. The name $\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha$ also appears to be of Nubian origin. Its etymology is plausibly derived from $\epsilon\iota\lambda$ -, ‘sign’ + the suffix $-\alpha$, in the sense ‘the sign’.

d) Line 9: Ourouminga

The name of one of the land-owners enumerated in the description of the sold land occurs in the phrase that – according to Ruffini – reads $\sigma\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\eta\epsilon\alpha\eta\eta$, ‘Sirouminga’s’. However, the name Sirouminga does not find a good etymology. A closer look at the photograph (fig. 18) reveals that Ruffini’s first *sigma* is not entirely certain and it could be an *omikron* as well. And indeed, if read $\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\eta\epsilon\alpha$, the name becomes more Nubian in

appearance and acquires a probable etymology. ΟΥΡΟΥΜΗΓΑ is most probably cognate with the Nobiin ΟΥΡΟΥΜ, ‘black, dark’, which, as a verb, assumes the inchoative form ΟΥΡΟΥΜ-Α-Ε-, ‘to be/become black, dark’. Thus the name should be understood as ‘the black one’. Such a name most probably referred to the complexion of its bearer. Sirouminga, in turn, should definitely be considered a ghost-name and eliminated from the index of personal names in Ruffini’s edition.



Fig. 18. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 69, detail of l. 9 (after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 7)

e) Line 14: Oushshoura son of Titta

Ruffini transcribes a fragment of line 14 as ΟΥΩΟΥΡΑ ΤΤΤΑΓΑΛ[---], but he translates only ‘Oushshoura ...’. The meaning of the phrase seems clear enough, however: ‘Oushshoura son of Titta’.¹⁰⁸ Both names appear to be of Nubian origin. Oshshoura is perhaps cognate with the Nobiin ΟΥΟΥΡ-, ‘to strike, beat’. Titta, on the other hand, derives from the Old Nubian ΤΤΤ-, ‘gift, grace’ + the suffix -Α, thus ‘the grace’.¹⁰⁹

f) Line 16: Inyitta

One of the entries in the list of witnesses in this document is edited by Ruffini as ΕΦΤΤΑΛΟ, ‘Enyitta’. However, on the photograph (fig. 19), faint traces of one more letter can be seen

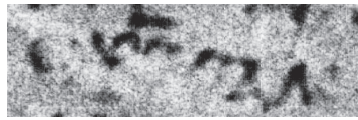


Fig. 19. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 69, detail of l. 16 (after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 7)

¹⁰⁸ For the omission of the genitival -N, see n. 104 above.

¹⁰⁹ As already identified by VAN DER VLIET, ‘Exit Tamer’ (cit. n. 24), p. 191, who compares it with the Greek name *Χάρις*.

between the ε and the ψ. Judging by other attestations of this name, which is always noted down as εψΎτα, the missing letter should be a *iota*, hence the reading εψΎταλο. This Nubian name derives from the Old Nubian εψΎτ-, ‘wealth’ + -α, ‘the wealthy one’.¹¹⁰

g) Line 18: Tourgi

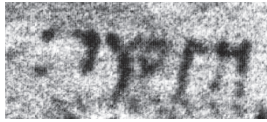


Fig. 20. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 69, detail of l. 18
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 7)

Among the names contained in the lowermost part of the document, unfortunately badly legible, Ruffini reads the form ῤΟΥΡΓΗ, ‘Gourgi’ (fig. 20). However, one can propose an alternative reading ῤΟΥΡΓΙ, which

would be a variant of the name ῤΟΥΡΚΙ, known from *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 44 (DBMNT 1028), l. 6; IV 122 (DBMNT 2868), ve, l. 1; and IV 109 (DBMNT 2850), re, l. 27. ῤΟΥΡΚΙ is most probably the Nubian rendering of the Arabic name *Turkī*.

23. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 70a (DBMNT 639)

a) Lines 3–4: Georgios Simon (?) the king
and Simamon the granary keeper?

The document was first mentioned by Martin Plumley, according to whom it is dated to the reign of a king by the name of Piarl.¹¹¹ This name entered the scholarly literature and became the reason behind the fuss regarding the

¹¹⁰ H. SATZINGER, in: M. BIETAK & M. SCHWARZ, *Nag' el-Scheima. Eine befestigte christliche Siedlung und andere christliche Denkmäler in Sayala – Nubien I* [= *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse Denkschriften* 191], Vienna 1987, p. 130.

¹¹¹ J. M. PLUMLEY, ‘New light on the Kingdom of Dotawo’, [in:] *Études nubiennes. Colloque de Chantilly, 2–6 juillet 1975* [= *Bibliothèque d'étude* 77], Cairo 1978, pp. 231–241, at 235 (table).

throne succession of Makuria and the existence of the petty ‘Kingdom of Dotawo’ in the north. In his 2013 article and again in the 2014 edition of the text, Ruffini questioned Plumley’s reading.¹¹² On the basis of the occurrence in the text of Queen Mother Ashilla and a certain Silos the *any joknashi*, occurring also in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 64 (DBMNT 641) and IV 65 (DBMNT 640), he dated the document to the reign of King Simon, occurring also as Georgios Simon. He even went so far as to identify the name $\Sigma\text{I}\text{M}\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}\text{N}$ from line 4 of the text with the name of the king. However, apart from the apparent similarity of the name to the Arabic version of King Simon’s name, She-mamun or Semamun,¹¹³ this identification is highly doubtful.

Let us consider the whole fragment in question from Ruffini’s edition:

3 (...) $\text{K}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{M}\text{A}[\text{P} \text{M}\text{I}\text{G}\text{N}\text{ } \text{C}\text{O}\text{C}\text{O}\text{D}\text{ } \text{E}\text{I}\text{N}\text{N}\text{ } (?)] \text{E}\text{N}$ (±18 characters) $\text{P}\text{A}\text{R}\text{A}$
 $\Delta\text{O}\text{T}\text{A}\text{T}\text{A}\text{T}\text{O}\text{N} \text{O}\text{Y}\text{P}\text{O}\text{Y}$
 4 ... $\Sigma\text{I}\text{M}\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}\text{N}$... $\Gamma\text{A} \text{E}\text{I}\text{N}\text{N}$ $\Delta\text{O}\text{Y}\text{L}\text{L}\text{A}$ [$\Gamma\text{O}\text{N}\text{N}\text{E}\text{N}$] $\text{E}\text{I}\text{N}\text{N}$ $\Sigma\text{I}\text{L}\text{O}\text{C}$ $\Delta\text{P}\text{L}\text{A}$
 $\Delta\text{O}\text{G}\text{N}\text{N}\text{A}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{I}\text{A} \text{E}\text{I}\text{N}\text{N}$ (...)

‘(...) Kouma[r being the eparch of Nobadia (?)] ... NN the writer;
 Simamon ... being king of Dotawo; Ashilla being queen-mother;
 Silos being *anye joknashi* (...)’

There are three basic problems with this reconstruction of the fragment:

(1) We do not have any other example of the Nubian protocol in which the eparch of Nobadia would be mentioned before the king.

(2) When occurring in the protocol, the phrase $\Delta\text{O}\text{T}\text{A}\text{T}\text{A}\text{T}\text{O}\text{N} \text{O}\text{Y}\text{P}\text{O}\text{Y}$ *et var.*, ‘king of Dotawo’, always follows the name of the king, not precedes

¹¹² G. R. RUFFINI, ‘Newer light on the Kingdom of Dotawo’, [in:] J. VAN DER VLIET & J. L. HAGEN (eds.), *Qasr Ibrim, between Egypt and Africa. Studies in Cultural Exchange (NINO Symposium, Leiden, 11–12 December 2009)* [= *Egyptologische uitgaven* 26], Leuven – Leiden 2013, pp. 179–191, at 184 with n. 30, where he suggests that the word *piarl* may be a variant of the Old Nubian *pa(ei)er*, ‘scribe’.

¹¹³ The king is mentioned by Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir (transl. G. VANTINI, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*, Heidelberg – Warsaw 1975, pp. 425–432), Ibn al-Furāt (*ibidem*, pp. 537, 540–547), Ibn Haldūn (*ibidem*, pp. 559–560), Maqrizi (*ibidem*, pp. 683–690), and al-Nuwayri (*ibidem*, pp. 478–484).

it. A typical expression would therefore be $\sigma\mu\alpha\mu\omega\bar{\nu}\ \omicron\gamma\rho\omicron\gamma\ \delta\omega\tau\alpha\gamma\omega\bar{\nu}\ \omicron\gamma\rho\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$.

(3) Ruffini interprets $\pi\alpha\rho\lambda$ as the participle of the verb $\pi\alpha\rho-$, ‘to write’, hence ‘scribe’ in his translation. Setting aside the fact that the normal term for ‘scribe’ in Old Nubian is $\sigma\gamma\eta\tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon-$, the position and function of such a word within the protocol is hard to explain, especially without the following participle $\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$, ‘being’, closing each entry in the formulary.

Thus, unless we are dealing here with a highly atypical protocol,¹¹⁴ the fragment should most probably be understood in a different way. It seems that the name of the king should be sought for in what precedes the phrase ‘king of Dotawo’. However, Plumley’s suggestion that $\pi\alpha\rho\lambda$ is the king’s name is to be excluded, as is Ruffini’s ‘scribe’; the word should rather be interpreted as an additional designation of the ruler, an epithet or sobriquet, for which the Old Nubian $\pi\alpha\rho-$, ‘old’, is a perfect match.¹¹⁵ Moreover, it seems that the two letters immediately preceding $\pi\alpha\rho\lambda$ are an *omega* and a *nu*, which is suggestive of the name Simon. And indeed, with a little bit of imagination, the traces of letters can be matched to $\rho\epsilon\omega\rho\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \varsigma\gamma\mu\omega\bar{\nu}$. In this situation, at the beginning of line 4 we would expect the participle $\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$, ‘being’.

If the above reconstruction is credible, the name Simamon from line 4 would start the next entry. The barely legible word after the name, certainly designating the title of Simamon, ends in $\epsilon\lambda$, where $-\lambda$ is the Old Nubian predicative (fig. 21). We know only one Nubian office whose name ends in $-\epsilon$, namely $\omega\omicron\gamma\epsilon-$, ‘granary keeper’.

If all the above arguments are correct, the a new edition of the fragment in question can be proposed: $[\rho\epsilon]\omega\rho\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \varsigma\gamma\mu\omega\bar{\nu}\ \pi\alpha\rho\lambda\ \delta\omega\tau\alpha\tau\omega\bar{\nu}\ \omicron\gamma\rho\omicron\gamma\ | \ [\epsilon\iota]\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\ \sigma\mu\alpha\mu\omega\bar{\nu}\ \omega\omicron\gamma\epsilon\lambda\ \epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$, ‘Georgios Simon (?) the Old being king of Dotawo; Simamon being granary keeper’. Not only is such an

¹¹⁴ Admittedly, the document is badly preserved, so one cannot totally exclude such a possibility. The incomprehensible expression $\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\ \bar{\nu}\ \kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\kappa\omicron\gamma\lambda\ \epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ appearing at the end of line 2, unparalleled in other Old Nubian legal texts, seems to speak in favour of such an assumption (see *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 70a, commentary to l. 2).

¹¹⁵ Cf. the unidentified words $\kappa\omicron\gamma\delta\lambda$ and $\pi\alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota$ accompanying the name of King Mouses Georgios in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 31 (DBMNT 589), l. 2, and III 33 (DBMNT 591), l. 2.

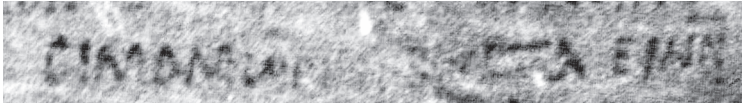


Fig. 21. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 70a, detail of l. 4
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 8)

interpretation much better founded structurally, but also conforms with the well-attested practice of placing the granary keeper before the queen mother (as in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 35, III 38, III 40, and IV 68).

What precedes the name of the king is a mystery to me; the traces are too vague to allow any reconstruction. Tempting though it is, Ruffini's κογμα[ρ], reconstructed on the basis of the occurrence of an eparch Qamar in Arabic sources,¹¹⁶ is simply unprovable. And even if it were true, his name could not belong to the protocol, which surely starts in the latter part of the line with the name of the king, but to another clause.

b) Line 6: Dolli the scribe

At the end of line 6, the beginning of another entry of the protocol is found; its ending is regrettably illegible at the beginning of the next line. In his edition, Ruffini transcribes

ΔΟΛΛΙΣΟΥΝ, but leaves the phrase untranslated or uninterpreted. A closer look at the photograph (fig. 22) allows correcting Ruffini's ρι to an *eta*. The resulting form ΔΟΛΛΗ is otherwise attested as a personal name in a visitor's inscription from Banganarti;¹¹⁷ note also the variant ΔΟΛΛΙ occurring in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 73 (DBMNT 2806), ve, l. 21, and a visitor's inscription from

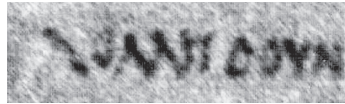


Fig. 22. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 70a, detail of l. 6
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 8)

¹¹⁶ *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, pp. 17–18.

¹¹⁷ ΛΑΥΤΑΡ, *The Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre* (cit. n. 19), no. 442 (DBMNT 3641).

Qasr Ibrim.¹¹⁸ COYH following $\Delta\text{OΛΛH}$ must then be the beginning of $\text{COYHTOY}\epsilon$, ‘scribe’. The whole entry can thus be reconstructed $\Delta\text{OΛΛH COYH}[\text{TOY}\epsilon \text{EIN}\bar{\eta}]$, ‘Dolli being scribe’. The name Dolli is of Nubian origin and derives from $\Delta\text{OΛΛ-}$, ‘to wish’.

24. *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 71* (DBMNT 2791)

This and the next two texts are accounts of persons and goods (gold, dirhems, bushels, and wine). Many names occurring in them were read by Ruffini with lesser or greater uncertainty. He, however, apparently failed to notice that the lists overlap to a degree and that many doubtful readings in one text can be clarified with the help of the other two. All three documents deserve to be studied with this connection in mind, but this goes beyond the scope of the present paper.

a) Recto, l. 3: Ajauī

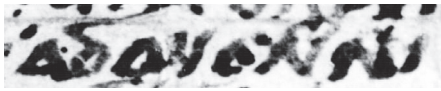


Fig. 23. *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 71* re, detail of l. 3
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim IV*, fig. 10)

One of the names contained in this line is edited by Ruffini as $\alpha\delta\omicron\gamma\epsilon\mu\mu\iota$, ‘Ajouen’s’. However, the photograph allows correcting the *omikron* to an *alpha* (fig. 23). This is, moreover, consistent with *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 72* (DBMNT 2792), ve, l. 8, where we

read without difficulties $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\mu\mu\iota$. Both occurrences undoubtedly pertain to the same person, Ajaouil. The name is of Nubian origin and derives from $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota-$, ‘sweetness’. Note that the word occurs also as an epithet of King Mouses Georgios in a dipinto from the Faras cathedral.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *La Nubia medioevale I*, Cairo 1935, p. 110 (c) (DBMNT 2313). Monneret de Villard’s original reading $\alpha\omicron\lambda\lambda\iota$ is corrected to $\Delta\text{OΛΛ}\iota$ in ŁAJTAR, *The Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre* (cit. n. 19), no. 442, comm.

¹¹⁹ A. ŁAJTAR, ‘Varia Nubica XII–XIX’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 39 (2009), pp. 83–119, at 89–97 (DBMNT 699), l. 1. Note, however, that Łajtar renders $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda \bar{\epsilon}\lambda\bar{\varsigma}$ as ‘der große König’, mistakenly taking $\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda$ as a form of $\Delta\alpha\gamma(\epsilon\iota)-$, ‘to be great’.

b) Recto, line 9: Salasoumeta (?)

At the end of line 9, Ruffini reads ελλαειγ μαρταν, ‘Ealaiu Marta’s (?)’ (fig. 24). However, such a reading of the first part is phonologically impossible in Old Nubian. I would hesitantly propose ϣλλαϣογ

as an alternative, on analogy with Salastinngal from *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 68 (DBMNT 643), l. 10 (see 21b above), but I admit that *epsilon* is palaeographically better than *sigma* at the beginning. On the other hand, the second part of the phrase is certainly misread: what Ruffini takes to be remnants of the vertical stroke of a *rho* is most probably a supralinear dot above the *alpha* in the line below. If so, the sign before the *tau* can without difficulties be identified as an *epsilon*. Hence, the new reading is μετανη[---].¹²⁰ Thus, the whole phrase should be edited ϣλλαϣογματηνη[---], ‘Salasoumeta’s’. Unfortunately, no such form has so far been attested in Nubian onomastics.

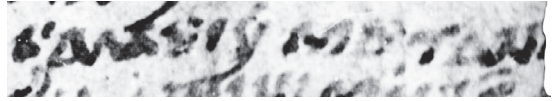


Fig. 24. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 71 re, detail of l. 9 (after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 10)

c) Recto, line 12–13: Parogoja

At the beginning of line 13, Ruffini edits [c]γοοδανι, ‘the eparch’s (?)’. However, no variant of κοροδ-, ‘eparch’, has so far been attested with a ρ instead of a c. Moreover, the document is certainly complete on the left and there is no place for any other letter; the word must have started at the end of the preceding line. On the basis of comparison with *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 and 73, it seems highly probable that [παρ]γοοδανι, ‘Parogoja’s’, should be reconstructed instead, as this name occurs in both of them (72 ve, l. 7; 73 ve, l. 7). We are most probably dealing with the same person in all three cases.

The form παρογοδα is likely a variant of παρῆγοδα from *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 34 ve (DBMNT 1001), l. 14; III 36 (DBMNT 584), re, l. 36 (βαρῆγοδα) III 42 (DBMNT 1026), l. 13. This is surely a Nubian name deriving from παρ-, ‘to write’ + ορδ-, ‘man’ + the suffix -α, in the sense ‘the man of writing’.

¹²⁰ I thank Adam Łajtar for his help in reading this fragment.

d) Recto, line 23: Ogojkemi

At the bottom of the page, Ruffini reads ογοῦκοῦμι, ‘Ogojkoḷ’s’. Unfortunately, the bottom part of the document’s recto is not visible on the photograph, and Ruffini follows the transcript of the text found in the Qasr Ibrim Archive. However, the comparison with *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 recommends a correction. There, in line 5 of the verso, we find the form ογοῦκεμι, which is strikingly close to ογοῦκοῦμι. In fact, palaeographically, the ending οῦμι could have easily been confused with ἐμι. Hence, there is little doubt that the original reading should be corrected to ογοῦκεμι in the present document, too.

The name Ogojkemi is unattested apart from these two instances, but note that the element ‘ogoj/ogij’ is otherwise present in Nubian onomastics, for example in Parogoja (see above), Isiogoja (see below), or Ngopogoji (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 76 [DBMNT 2809], l. 6). The name is certainly of a Nubian origin and it can be analysed as ογοῦ-, ‘man, husband’ + -κε (abstract-substantive suffix) + μι (unknown meaning/function), to mean ‘manhood’.

e) Verso, line 3: Temsi



Fig. 25. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 71 ve, detail of l. 3
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 10)

In line 3 of the verso, Ruffini reads τῆμσοῦμι, ‘Temso’s’. However, judging by the photograph (fig. 25), his doubtful ο can well be a ι, which produces the form τῆμσι, which is known as a personal name from two other examples, *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 61 (DBMNT 1045), ll. 3–4, and III 62 (DBMNT 1046), ve, l. 2. The name derives from the Old Nubian τῆμῥ- < τῆεῖ-, ‘hope’.¹²¹

¹²¹ Note, however, that the examples of τῆμεστᾶκοῦ- and τῆμῥτᾶκοῦ- adduced by BROWNE, *Dictionary*, p. 169, mean ‘forlorn’.

f) Verso, line 7: ---ianyjin Da.a

Ruffini treats the phrase]εἰ̄λ̄φ̄δ̄ ἈΔ . ἈΝΙ found in this line as personal names referring to two different individuals and translates ‘Ianyji’s and Da.a’s (?)’. There is, however, no conjunction between them to substantiate such an interpretation. In fact, the apparent genitive -ῆ at the end of the first element is not a proof here, as many examples are known of compound Nubian names where the first element ends with ‘-in’. I therefore prefer to treat the whole phrase as one compound name. Unfortunately, no parallel formations have so far been found that could allow for the identification of this name.

g) Verso, lines 9 ϕ 13: Isiogoja

Ruffini edits line 9 of the verso as [---] . . ἈϞ̄λ̄· εἰθ̄λα ὄϞ̄αν ἰϞ̄ ὀϞ̄ῑδ̄ῑνι, ‘[---] The daughter (?) of Ithi (untranslated phrase) Okiji’s’. While the beginning of the line is equally puzzling for me, the reading of its ending can easily be amended on the basis of the photograph (fig. 26, upper): instead of ἰϞ̄ ὀϞ̄ῑδ̄ῑνι, one should read here ἰϞ̄ιοϞ̄ῑδ̄ῑνι, ‘Isiogoji’s’. What Ruffini takes as the right part of the *kappa* is in fact the left side of the *omikron*, which in this text tends to be written in quite an angular manner.

The reading is, moreover, confirmed by the occurrence of most probably the same name a few lines below, in line 13 (fig. 26, lower). Ruffini edits the respective fragment as ἰϞ̄ιοϞ̄ο . . . ἵϞ̄αν εἰ̄π̄[---], ‘Isiog...na’s (?): gold pieces [---]’, but the reading appears to be much more uncertain

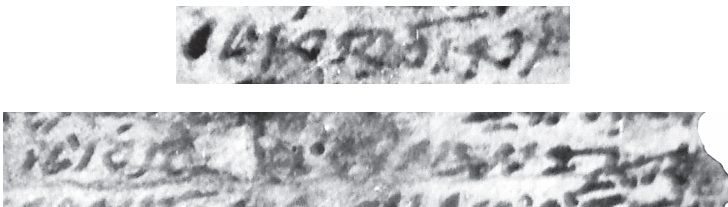


Fig. 26. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 71 ve, detail of ll. 9 and 13
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 10)

than what he transcribes. While I have no counterproposition for the reading of the latter part of the phrase, it seems fairly certain that $\text{icioro}\phi\text{i}$ should be reconstructed here. Finally, the same name, this time read without difficulties, is found in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 73 (DBMNT 2806), ve, l. 1: $\text{icioro}\delta\alpha$. Isiogoja/Isiogoji is certainly a Nubian name, the second element of which derives from $\text{or}\phi$, ‘man’; the meaning of the first part is unknown to me.

h) Verso, line 10: Granpesa (?)



Fig. 27. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 71 ve, detail of l. 10
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 11)

At the end of line 10, Ruffini edits $\text{rpanpe}\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{n}$ and suggests, without much conviction though, that this is a proper name (see the commentary *ad loc.*). However,

judging by the photograph (fig. 27), the ending of the word should rather be read as the genitival $\text{-n}\text{i}$, which conforms with the pattern observable in the whole document and proves that the word is indeed an anthroponym. The ending of the name itself seems to be read differently, too: I would venture to read $\text{-pe}\zeta\alpha\text{-}$ instead of Ruffini’s $\text{-pe}\Delta\Delta\text{-}$. While Granpesa has not been attested as an anthroponym, $\text{pe}\zeta\alpha$ is found as an element of Nubian names, such as Koudinpesa,¹²² Gipesa,¹²³ Papinpesa,¹²⁴ as well as the name on its own.¹²⁵ While the possible meaning of $\text{pe}\zeta\alpha$ is ‘sibling’ (see 5b above), the element rpan- should be interpreted as a genitival phrase $\text{rpa-} + \text{-n}$; rpa- is otherwise unknown, but it may be connected with the Old Nubian verb $\text{r}\bar{\text{p}}$, ‘to cast’.

¹²² *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 36 (DBMNT 584), re, l. 34; III 49 (DBMNT 1033), re, l. 3.

¹²³ *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 94 (DBMNT 2836), re, ll. 6, 7, 13.

¹²⁴ *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 41 (DBMNT 1025), l. 12 (see 11a above); IV 72 (DBMNT 2792), re, l. 12; IV 76 (DBMNT 2809), l. 2.

¹²⁵ *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 54 (DBMNT 1038), re, l. 1, and ve, l. 1.

i) Verso, line 15: Shikortinangal or son of Shikorti

At the beginning of line 15 of the verso, we find the phrase $\varphi\kappa\omicron\rho\tau\iota\eta\lambda\ \varepsilon\lambda\eta\iota$, which Ruffini treats as two separate names in the genitive and translates ‘Shikorti’s and Ngal’s’. However, since there is no conjunction between the words, it seems more probable that a single compound name Shikortinangal is at stake here. Alternatively, we may be dealing here with the filiation ‘the son of Shikorti’, all the more so since the left part of the line is missing. The element $\varphi\kappa\omicron\rho\tau\iota$ may be a derivative of $\varphi\kappa\iota\tilde{\rho}$ -, ‘spear’, but its exact meaning remains unknown.

j) Verso, line 19: Ngal Sedemal

Ruffini treats the phrase $\varepsilon\lambda\ \varepsilon\delta\epsilon\mu\alpha\lambda\eta\iota$ from line 19 of the verso as a filiation and translates it ‘son of Sedemal’s’. However, such an inversion of the regens and the rectum in the genitival phrase is infrequent in Old Nubian and, moreover, unattested so far in filiation expressions. Instead, I prefer to treat the phrase as a double name Ngal Sedemal. Note, however, that no compound Nubian names with Ngal as the first element have been identified so far. While the word $\varepsilon\lambda$ - means ‘son’ in Old Nubian, neither the meaning nor origin of $\varepsilon\delta\epsilon\mu\alpha\lambda$ can be recognised.

k) Verso, line 20: Istatì (?)

At the beginning of the next line, Ruffini transcribes [---] $\varepsilon\tau\alpha\tau\iota\eta\iota$, ‘Tati’s’ (fig. 28). However, the *sigma* with the supra-linear stroke suggests the reading $\varepsilon\tau\alpha\tau\iota\eta\iota$ or [I] $\varepsilon\tau\alpha\tau\iota\eta\iota$.

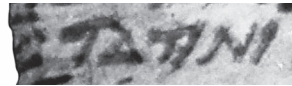


Fig. 28. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 71 ve, detail of l. 20 (after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 11)

Istatì is most probably a variant of the name Istotil. The name should perhaps be analysed as $\iota(\eta\sigma\omicron\gamma)\varepsilon$, ‘Jesus’ + $\tau\omicron\tau$ -, ‘son’, meaning ‘son of Jesus’ (cf. Isiogoja = ‘man of Jesus’ [?], under 24g above).

1) Verso, line 23: Tounng()



Fig. 29. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 71 ve, detail of l. 23
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 11)

Ruffini edits one of the names occurring in the final line of the document as follows: TOYNG()NNI , ‘Tounng()’s’ (fig. 29). However, in Nubian sources, the shifted letter marking the abbreviation is normally the last letter before the abbreviation, not the second to last. It, therefore, seems that the first N should rather go before the C , not after it. The correct reading would thus be TOYNG()NI , ‘Tounng()’s’. It is, unfortunately, impossible to resolve this abbreviation with any certainty. The most obvious solution that comes to mind is $\text{TOYNG(}\Delta\lambda\text{)}$, in favour of which would speak the name Annatounngal occurring once in *P. Qasr Ibrim* II 21 (DBMNT 1018), ve, l. 14: $\Delta\text{NN}\Delta\text{TOYNG}\Delta\lambda$. Note, however, that there are no certain attestations of abbreviating the word $\Delta\lambda$ in this way. Otherwise, we may be dealing here with a variant of the name Tounngesi, attested once in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 36 (DBMNT 584), re, ll. 12–13: $\text{TOYNGEC}\bar{\text{N}}$. Finally, the abbreviation may stand for $\text{TOYNG(}\lambda\text{KI)}$, the gentilicium ‘of Tounngil (= Dongola?)’, as found in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 39 (DBMNT 587), l. 30 (see **9b** above). Note also the abbreviation $\text{TOG}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{C}}$ further in this line, which is identically ambiguous, and may in fact be a variant of the same form.

25. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 (DBMNT 2792)

a) Recto, lines 1–2: Irasi daughter of Agni

Ruffini transcribes one of the entries at the very beginning of this account as follows $\text{H}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{A}}, \text{I}\bar{\text{A}}\text{GNI} \Delta\text{C}\bar{\lambda}$ and translates ‘NN daughter of NN’s’. However, on the basis of the photograph (fig. 30), one can correct his reading of the end of line 1 to $\text{H}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{I}}$. This is, moreover, confirmed by *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 73 (DBMNT 2806), ve, l. 17, where we read the name $\text{H}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{I}}$ with confidence. On the other hand, the form $\text{A}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{I}}$ occurs in *P. Qasr Ibrim*

IV 71 (DBMNT 2791), re, l. 10: ἄΓΝΙΝΙ. The whole phrase should thus be edited ηΡᾶϞ | ἄΓΝΙ ἄϞῪ, ‘Irași, daughter of Agni’.

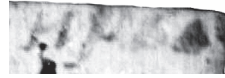


Fig. 30. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 re, detail of l. 1 (after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 12)

Irași is attested only in these two accounts and most probably designates the same person in both of them. Agni, on the other had, has three other attestations in two variants: ἄΓΝΗΛ in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 34 ve (DBMNT 1001), l. 15, and III 40 (DBMNT 588), l. 21; and ἄΚΝΗ in an epitaph from Armina.¹²⁶ Both names appear to be of Nubian origin. Irași may be derived from the Old Nubian ηΡ-, ‘to be able to’, and Agni/Akni from ἄΚ-/ἄΓ-, ‘to sit, live’.

b) Recto, line 3: Ottimal

At the beginning of line 3, Ruffini edits ἄΤΤΙΜΑΝΝΙ, ‘Attimal’s’, but the photograph (fig. 31) allows correcting the first *alpha* to an *omikron*, thus ΟΤΤΙΜΑΝΝΙ, ‘Ottimal’s’. The correction is confirmed by *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 73 (DBMNT 2806), ve, l. 6, where we read ΟΤΤΙ[ΜΑΝΝΙ] (see 26j below). Both occurrences surely pertain to the same person, and the name, unattested elsewhere, should be analysed as ΟΤΤ-, ‘father-in-law’ + ΜΑ-, ‘to rejoice’ + -Λ, meaning ‘joy of the father-in-law’.

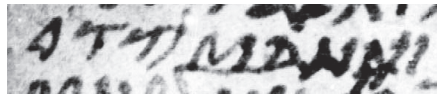


Fig. 31. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 re, detail of l. 3 (after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 12)

c) Recto, lines 3–4: Anasi

Ruffini edits the entry at the turn of lines 3 and 4 ἄΝΑΒ. . | ΝΙ, ‘Anab...’s’. However, the comparison of his *beta* with other *betas* in the text (fig. 32), proves

¹²⁶ H. JUNKER, *Ermenne. Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf den Friedhöfen von Ermenne (Nubien) im Winter 1911/12*, Vienna – Leipzig 1925, p. 152, no. 8 (DBMNT 471).

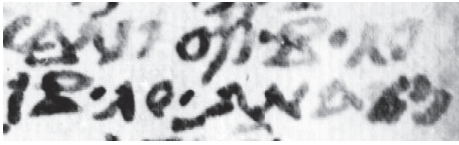


Fig. 32. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 re, detail of ll. 3-4
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 12)

the reading wrong. Instead, we should read ἀνασίη, ‘Anasi’s’, which finds support in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 73 (DBMNT 2806), re, l. 6: ἀνασίη. Since there are no other attestations of this name, both certainly refer to the same person. The name seems to be Nubian and perhaps derives from ἀν-, ‘to say’. Otherwise, it may be a variant of Annisi (ἀννίσι), found once in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 37 (DBMNT 585), l. 28.

d) Recto, line 6: Saite



Fig. 33. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 re, detail of l. 6
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 12)

At the end of line 6, Ruffini reads και τένα, ‘Sai Te’s’ (fig. 33). He thus treats this as two separate words denoting a double name. It is more probable, however, that we have here a single word, καιτένα, where καιτε is undoubtedly a Nubianised variant of the Arabic name Sa‘īd (TM Nam 11990), attested in Egypt as καιετ (*P. Rain. Unterricht Copt.* 165 and *O. Vind. Copt.* 121) and Σαείτ (*SB VIII* 9755).

e) Recto, line 7: Sakkoulle

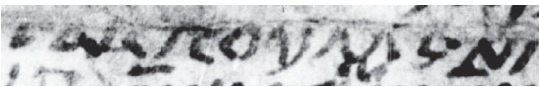


Fig. 34. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 re, detail of l. 7
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 12)

In Ruffini’s edition, the name of this person on the list is transcribed and translated σακκουμένη, ‘Sakkoume’s’. However, judging by the photograph, the doubtful *mu* should rather be corrected to a double *lambda*, thus σακκουλλεμένη (fig. 34). The reading is supported by *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 40

(DBMNT 588), l. 22: $\alpha\alpha\kappa\kappa\omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda\omicron$. Both instances most probably refer to the same person. The name has a Nubian origin and perhaps derives from the Old Nubian $\alpha\lambda$ -, ‘word, speech; to say’, and $\kappa\omicron\gamma\lambda\lambda$ -, ‘to learn’, in the sense ‘the one who learns to speak’.

f) Recto, line 12: Alieuattingal

At the beginning of line 12, Ruffini edits $\delta\lambda\iota\omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\tau\iota$ $\epsilon\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\iota$, ‘Aliouatti Nga’s’, but judging by the photograph, his *omikron* is in fact an *epsilon* (fig. 35). This agrees

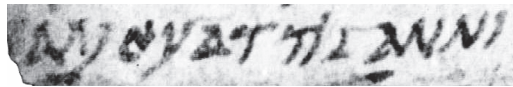


Fig. 35. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 re, detail of l. 12
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 12)

with the form of the name securely read in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 73 (DBMNT 2806), re, l. 16: $\delta\lambda\iota\epsilon\gamma\alpha\tau\tau\iota\epsilon\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\iota$. The two attestations must refer to the same person. The name means ‘son of Alieuatti’, where Alieuatti derives probably from $\alpha\lambda\epsilon$ -, ‘truth’ + $\omicron\gamma\alpha\tau\tau$ -, ‘whole, all, entire’, in the sense ‘the whole truth’.

g) Recto, line 13: Padonnga

The entry in line 13 is edited by Ruffini as $\epsilon\iota\psi\tau\tau\alpha$ $\pi\alpha\delta\omicron\eta\iota\alpha\lambda\eta\alpha\lambda$ $\delta\epsilon\kappa\lambda$, ‘Inyitta daughter of Padonia’. However, the name reading $\pi\alpha\delta\omicron\eta\iota\alpha\lambda\eta\alpha\lambda$ seems improbable from the viewpoint of Nubian phonology. The photograph allows correcting Ruffini’s *iota* to a ϵ , thus $\epsilon\iota\psi\tau\tau\alpha$ $\pi\alpha\delta\omicron\eta\epsilon\alpha\lambda\eta\alpha\lambda$ $\delta\epsilon\kappa\lambda$, ‘Inyitta daughter of Padonnga’ (fig. 36). Note, however, that, while this improvement makes the name appear more Nubian, like Padonia, Padonnga is otherwise unattested

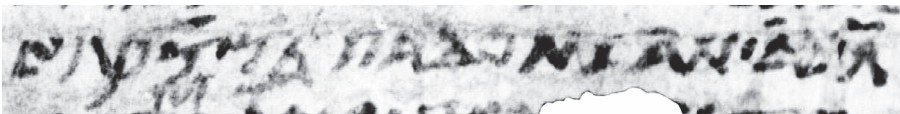


Fig. 36. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 re, detail of l. 13
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 12)

as an anthroponym. The name belongs to the well-known class of local Nubian anthroponyms formed with the noun $\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ -, ‘son’, thus ‘son of Pado’; the element $\pi\Delta\Delta\omicron$ - is perhaps related to the Nobiin $\pi\Delta\Delta$ -, ‘to colour’.

h) Recto, line 14: Ped...ingal



Fig. 37. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 re, detail of l. 14
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 12)

In line 14, Ruffini’s edition has $\pi\epsilon\Delta[\dots]\iota\epsilon\phi\alpha$, ‘Ped...ingo’, which seems hardly a Nubian name. The photograph (fig. 37) shows that his uncertain \omicron is in fact an λ , and his λ cannot be anything else than a λ . The new reading is thus $\pi\epsilon\Delta[\dots]\iota\epsilon\lambda\lambda$, ‘Ped...ingal’, a compound Nubian name formed with the element $\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ -, ‘son’, thus ‘son of Ped...i’.

i) Recto, lines 15: Pissimme

The entry found in this line is edited as follows: $\nu\omicron\varsigma\mu\mu\mu\phi[\dots]\kappa\lambda\omicron$, ‘Nosmmo[---]: 20 (?)’. However, three corrections are due here. First, the reading $\nu\omicron\varsigma\mu\mu\phi$ seems improbable from the point of view of Nubian phonology. Instead, the photograph allows correcting it to $\pi\check{\varsigma}\mu\mu\epsilon$ (fig. 38), partly on analogy with the same name found below in lines 16–17, $\pi\check{\varsigma}\mu\mu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\mu$. Second, what Ruffini transcribes after the lacuna seems rather like $\lambda\grave{\alpha}\cdot\lambda\omicron$ than $\kappa\lambda\omicron$: what he takes as the upper oblique stroke of the *kappa* is just the mid-dot marking the numeral. Third, the lacuna has space for no more than three letters. This can be either the genitival - $\mu\iota$, thus $\pi\check{\varsigma}\mu\mu\epsilon[\mu\iota]\lambda\omicron$, ‘Pissimme’s: i’, or the commodity, gold pieces ($\epsilon\lambda\pi\bar{\lambda}$), dirhems ($\tau\rho\alpha\grave{\lambda}\mu\acute{\chi}$), or wine ($\omicron\rho\pi$), all recurring in the text. Since all entries in the list include the name of the commodity, the former reconstruction seems less probable. If so, the reconstructed commodity can only be $\omicron\rho\pi$ here: $\epsilon\lambda\pi\bar{\lambda}$ is too long for the lacuna and dirhems occur only in even amounts (4, 6, 8, 12, 16, 18, 22, 24, 30). Wine, on the other hand, is mentioned several times in the amount of

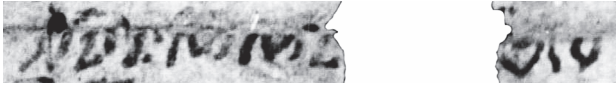


Fig. 38. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 re, detail of l. 15
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 12)

one unit (ll. 4, 11, 17). Considering all of this, the new reading can be proposed: π̄ϛ̄ϛ̄μ̄ϛ̄ [ορ`π´] ἄλο, ‘Pissimme: 1 unit of wine’. The name Pissimme is undoubtedly a Nubian formation. It should most probably be analysed as π̄ϛ̄-, ‘to rejoice’ + -μ̄ϛ̄, 1st person singular of the admirative present,¹²⁷ that is ‘I rejoice’.¹²⁸ If so, this would be one of only two securely identified verbal forms functioning as names in Nubian onomastics, the other one being ἀψ̄αμ̄η (ἀψ-, ‘to live’ + -αμ̄η, 3rd person singular iussive present, ‘let him/her live’) from a Coptic legal text from Qasr Ibrim dated to AD 925.¹²⁹

j) Recto, lines 15–16: Olithi son of Isak

Ruffini edits the entry in these lines as follows: ὀλιθι ἰσακῆ | εἰσάνη, ‘the son of Olithi Isak’s (?)’. However, it seems more logical to interpret it as the name with the patronymic than a double name, that is ‘Olithi son of Isak’s’, just as in other entries of this list: Doulista daughter of Petri (l. 5), Medjou daughter of Sem (l. 6), or Isousinkouda son of Korti (ll. 9–10). Note that the same names occur in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 71 (DBMNT 2791), re, l. 19, where we

¹²⁷ BROWNE, *Grammar*, § 3.9.10.

¹²⁸ I thank the anonymous reviewer for suggesting this analysis.

¹²⁹ Unpublished (DBMNT 615); the text is mentioned in J. L. HAGEN, ‘Districts, towns and other locations of medieval Nubia and Egypt, mentioned in the Coptic and Old Nubian texts from Qasr Ibrim’, *Sudan & Nubia* (2009) 13, pp. 114–119, at 117, and IDEM, ‘A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. Progress report on the Coptic manuscripts from Qasr Ibrim’, [in:] W. GODLEWSKI & A. ŁAJTAR (eds.), *Between the Cataracts. Proceedings of the 11th Conference for Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August – 2 September 2006* II [= *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean Supplement* 2.2], Warsaw 2010, pp. 719–726, at 723. The text of the document is known to me through Martin Plumley’s preliminary transcription circulating among Nubian scholars and a tracing made available to me by Jacques van der Vliet.

read ολιθι ἰσακῆ[---]. Ruffini believes it to be another instance of the same double name, but it is much more probable that the noun ‘son’ should be reconstructed in the lacuna, thus ολιθι ἰσακῆ [εἰσῆμι ---].

The name Olithi, written also as Oliti, is perhaps of a Nubian origin. It may be cognate with the Nobiin ολιΔ-, ‘light; fast, active’. Isak, on the other hand, is a variant of the common Semitic name Isaak.

k) Recto, line 17: Chalipha son of Haian

In Ruffini’s edition, the beginning of line 17 is transcribed and translated χαλιφαζα’ανεαν τοτι, ‘Chaliphaha son of Annga’. However, such an interpretation is highly questionable, as neither name is attested in Nubia. A crucial point here is the mid-dot between χαλιφαζα and ανεαν, which prompted Ruffini’s word division. The photograph (fig. 39) clearly shows that we are dealing here not with a punctuation mark, but with the letter ι, thus the transcription should be corrected to χαλιφαζαιανεαν. This is also confirmed by *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 73 (DBMNT 2806). There, in line 11 of the recto, Ruffini edits . . . ιφαζαιανεαν τοτιν[ι], ‘... of NN tot of Ngal’. There can be no doubt, however, that we have here the same phrase and that the actual reading should be χαλιφαζαιανεαν τοτιν[ι] (see 26c below). Moreover, the latter text has preserved in line 19 of the recto the name χαλιφα, this time with the designation αραπ, which – according to Ruffini – may denote the ethnonym ‘Arab’ (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, p. 118). We are undoubtedly dealing with the same name, or even the same person, in the two other phrases, leaving us with ζαιανεαν as the second element of presentation in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72, re, l. 17 and 73, re, l. 11. Respective transcriptions should thus be adjusted to χαλιφα ζαιανεαν τοτι and χαλιφα ζαιανεαν τοτιν[ι].

Both names are of Arabic origin: χαλιφα is the rendering of Ḥalīfa and ζαιαν most surely stands for Ḥayyān. The remaining question is the use of εαλ- and τοτ-. In combination with ζαιαν, the former is certainly the rendering of the Arabic *ibn*, thus the actual name of the listed person was most probably Ḥalīfa ibn Ḥayyān. As we well know, τοτ- designates both ‘son’ and a title of official. In the latter meaning, it normally occurs with

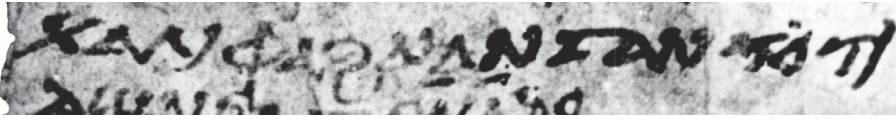


Fig. 39. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 re, detail of line 17
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 12)

a toponym in the genitive, ‘*tot* of such-and-such place’. Here, however, the genitive marker -N is attached to an anthroponym, and the translation ‘son of Haianngal (= ibn Ḥayyān)’ is self-evident. One only wonders why the scribe used the double designation of filiation. An explanation is either non-sufficient acquaintance with Arabic onomastic patterns or, more probably, the application of Nubian patterns in rendering Arabic names: we can imagine that the scribe took ibn Ḥayyān as the full name of Ḥalīfa’s father and chose to render it with the familiar pattern of names formed with $\epsilon\alpha\lambda$ -. He then added the marker of filiation $\tau\omicron\tau$ - to make the whole expression explicit and conforming to Nubian standards.

In view of this new interpretation, the forms Chaliphaha and Annga should definitely be considered ghost-names and struck out from the index in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV. This has also serious consequences for our understanding of an aspect of Nubian onomastic practices. The case of Ḥalīfa ibn Ḥayyān indubitably shows that the element $\epsilon\alpha\lambda$ -, attested in numerous local Nubian names, is not a mere marker of filiation, but an integral part of the anthroponym. Admittedly, this may not apply to every single case, but I would opt for such an interpretation in all instances where a $\epsilon\alpha\lambda$ -name occurs on its own.

1) Recto, line 19: Donel

The final entry of the recto of this text contains, according to Ruffini, the name $\Delta\Omega\aleph$ λ, ‘Don.’. However, the photograph (fig. 40) allows us to

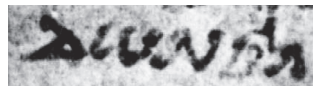


Fig. 40. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 re, detail of l. 17
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 12)

read an *epsilon* securely enough, hence the edition should be amended to ΔΩΝΕΛ. This is all the more probable, since the same name, most probably referring to the same person, is found in line 4 of this text and in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 73 (DBMNT 2806), ve, l. 6. The etymology of the name is uncertain. It may derive from the Old Nubian ΔΩΝ-, ‘to seek, reach’.

m) Verso, line 14: Kasan....

In Ruffini’s edition the entry contained in line 14 of the verso looks as follows: εἰψ̄ττα καζαμ[. . .] αςτλ, ‘Inyitta daughter of Kāgam[...].’ The photograph (fig. 41), however, does not confirm his μ before the lacuna, and his τ seems rather like a c. Moreover, *kang-* is attested as neither an onomastic nor other lexical element in Old Nubian. Therefore, the reading εἰψ̄ττα κασαν[. . .] αςτλ, ‘Inyitta daughter of Kāsan...’, seems more appropriate.



Fig. 41. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 ve, detail of l. 14
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 13)

n) Verso, line 17: Ipa

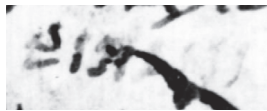


Fig. 42. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 ve, detail of l. 17
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 13)

In the middle of this line Ruffini edits εἰ . . . ἰα, ‘I...’s’, but the reading can definitely be improved. In *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 71 (DBMNT 2791), re, l. 14, we find εἰπαἰ, which, upon a closer inspection of the photograph (fig. 42), appears to be the case here, too. Thus, the new reading can be proposed, namely εἰπαἰ, ‘Ipa’s’. Note that in both cases most probably the same person is at stake. The name Ipa is probably of a Nubian origin, but its etymology is unknown.

o) Verso, lines 17–18: Inyitta

The name found at the turn of lines 17 and 18 has been edited by Ruffini as $\epsilon\kappa\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\tau\alpha\bar{\nu}\iota$, ‘Ekirwa’s’. Such a name seems improbable from the point of view of

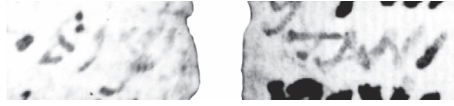


Fig. 43. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 ve, detail of ll. 17–18 (after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 13)

Nubian phonology, but the photograph (fig. 43) allows correcting the reading to a more familiar form. Ruffini’s $\kappa\bar{\rho}$ seems more like $\iota\bar{\rho}$. If so, the supra-linear stroke should belong to the following letter, traces of which are visible on the photograph, but were omitted by the first editor. In such a combination of letters, these traces can only belong to a τ , which produces the form $\epsilon\iota\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\tau\alpha\bar{\nu}\iota$, ‘Inyitta’s’ (for the etymology of the name, see above 22f).

p) Verso, lines 18–19: Milanya

At the turn of lines 18 and 19, Ruffini reads $\mu\iota\bar{\nu}\lambda\bar{\iota}\varphi\alpha\bar{\nu}\iota$ and translates ‘Minlya’s’, undoubtedly a typo for ‘Minlnya’s’. However, such a form is impossible from

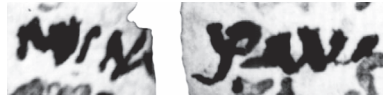


Fig. 44. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 ve, detail of ll. 18–19 (after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 13)

the Nubian phonology’s standpoint. A closer look at the photograph (fig. 44) allows proposing a new, more appropriate reading. What Ruffini takes to be $\bar{\nu}\lambda$ at the end of line 18 is in fact $\lambda\alpha$. We thus achieve the more familiar form $\mu\iota\lambda\alpha\bar{\iota}\varphi\alpha\bar{\nu}\iota$, ‘Milanya’s’. Such a name-form is attested elsewhere in Nubia, in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 41 (DBMNT 1025), l. 12, and in the epitaph of Ngissinga son of Milanya.¹³⁰ The name is most probably a compound Semito-Nubian formation consisting of $\mu\iota\lambda$ -, hypocoristic for or abbreviation of the name $\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda$, the Old Nubian verb $\lambda\varphi$ -, ‘to live’, and the predicative $-\alpha$, producing the meaning ‘living Michael’ or ‘Michael lives’.

¹³⁰ TIBILETTI BRUNO, *Iscrizioni Nubiane* (cit. n. 13), no. 10 (DBMNT 533).

q) Verso, lines 19–20: Kouagaji

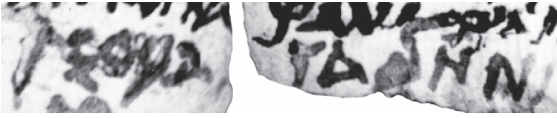


Fig. 45. *P. Qasr Ibrim IV* 72 ve, detail of ll. 19–20
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim IV*, fig. 13)

The penultimate entry in the list reads, according to Ruffini, γεορα|γαδῆνι, ‘Georagaji’s’. Note, however, that in *P. Qasr Ibrim IV* 71 (DBMNT 2791), γε,

l. 17, we read the name κογαγαδι, which, with the help of the photograph (fig. 45), can be read here as well. First, what Ruffini takes to be γε at the beginning seems more like a κ: the lower stroke of Ruffini’s ε is in fact the supralinear stroke marking the numeral in the next line (see below). Second, where Ruffini reads a ρ, an γ seems to be more in place palaeographically. Last but not least, the supralinear stroke visible above the fourth letter in line 20 invalidates its reading as an η; instead, the letter can be but a ν. Thus, the new reading can be proposed: κογα|γαδῆννι, ‘Kouagaji’s’. Both occurrences of the name undoubtedly pertain to the same person. Kouagaji is most probably a compound name of Nubian origin, but its etymology is uncertain. The meaning of element κογα- cannot be established, but it perhaps derives from κο-, ‘to have’; γαδ-, on the other hand, is the Old Nubian noun meaning ‘exultation’.

r) Verso, line 20: Teite

In Ruffini’s edition we find the following transcription of the final entry of the list: τεει|αεν το|α ν|α. In the commentary, the editor suggests that we may be dealing here with ‘an entry of something belonging to or of Teia’ (*P. Qasr Ibrim IV*, p. 120), but refrains from including this in his translation. A closer inspection of the photograph allows improving the edition (fig. 46). First, what Ruffini transcribes as το|α seems rather to read τρα, the abbreviation for ‘dirhems’ found throughout the document; the vertical stroke of the rho and the shifted mu were apparently omitted due to the limited space at the end of the sheet. Second, the signs following



Fig. 46. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 ve, detail of ll. 20
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 13)

τῖα must denote the numeral, which is indicated by the supralinear stroke discernible above it (see also the previous section) and the mid-dot before it, unnoticed by Ruffini. The first two signs became one big blot of ink, but its shape is highly suggestive of ιβ, all the more so, since such an amount of dirhems is found elsewhere in the list (e.g. ll. 1, 2, 4, and 19). The final sign must, therefore, be a *lambda* belonging to the postposition -λο marking the numerals. I cannot, unfortunately, discern an *omikron*, but it may have faded away like the entire ending of line 17 above. Third, the name of the person. The *alpha* in Ruffini's τῖεῖαῖεν is palaeographically difficult and phonologically impossible, because one expects a consonant between /i/ and /e/. Judging by the shape of this short vertical stroke, with the lower end slightly curved to the left, and the dot of ink visible in the upper right corner, I would venture to read this letter as a *tau*, thus τῖεῖτῖεν, partly on analogy with the name τῖεῖτα, mentioned also by Ruffini in the commentary to his edition. This Nubian name, attested in several other Old Nubian texts from Qasr Ibrim, derives from τῖεῖτ-, 'hope', with the suffix -α, meaning 'the hope'. Here, the final *epsilon* is probably the allomorph of the onomastic suffix -α. Taking all of the above into account, the new reading of this fragment can be established as τῖεῖτῖεν τῖα : ιβ λ[ο], 'Teite's: 12 (?) dirhems'.

26. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 73 (DBMNT 2806)

a) Recto, line 2: Pissimme

At the beginning of line 2 of the recto, Ruffini edits πῖσῖμενι, 'Pissimme's'. However, on the basis of comparison with *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72

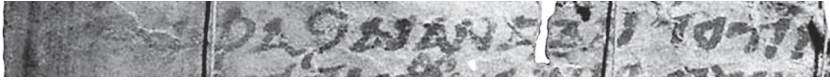


Fig. 49. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 73 re, detail of l. 11
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 14)

d) Recto, line 12: Gele

Ruffini reads ΓΕΜΙΝΙ, ‘Gemi’s’, at the end of line 12. However, a closer look at the photograph shows that his μ is most surely λε, hence the reading ΓΕΛΕΝΙ, ‘Gele’s’ (fig. 50). This is all the more likely, since the same name, perhaps even denoting the same person, is attested in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 71 (DBMNT 2791), re, l. 19. The name Gele is most probably Nubian and derives from ΓΕΛ-, ‘red’.

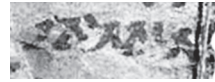


Fig. 50. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 73 re, detail of l. 12
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 14)

e) Recto, line 14: Songoja

In this line we come across the entry $\sigma\epsilon\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\eta\iota\ \tau\rho\alpha\ \mu\prime\ \iota\alpha\lambda\omicron$, which Ruffini translates ‘the eparch’s: 11 dirhems’, assuming that the name of this eparch was lost in the lacuna at the end of the previous line. However, since hardly any title occurs in this text, it seems more probable to assume that this is the well-attested personal name Songoja, itself deriving from the title of official.

f) Recto, line 17: Sagangal

At the beginning of this line, Ruffini edits $\varsigma\alpha\gamma\alpha\varsigma\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota$, ‘Sagasal’s’. While I have no reasonable counterproposition for the beginning of this apparent proper name, the reading of its ending can definitely be amended. In fact, what Ruffini takes to be a second *sigma* is clearly an *engma*, in which way

we achieve a name belonging to the broad class of *ngal*-names. The edition should thus be corrected to $\zeta\alpha\gamma\alpha\epsilon\alpha\eta\eta\iota$, ‘Sagangal’s’, and the form Sagasal should be deemed a ghost-name.

g) Recto, line 20: Soukkou



Fig. 51. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 73 re, detail of l. 20
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 14)

According to Ruffini, the last preserved word on the recto is an anthroponym reading $\lambda\theta\gamma\kappa\kappa\omicron[\gamma---]$, ‘Loukkou[---]’. However, although the two first letters are difficult to discern, the comparison with *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 (DBMNT 2792) allows securing an alternative reading. There, on line 8 of the recto, we read $\sigma\omicron\gamma\kappa\kappa\omicron\gamma\eta\lambda$, which can indeed be matched with the letters visible on the photograph (fig. 51). In both cases, we are undoubtedly dealing with the same person. The name Soukkou is of Nubian origin and can be analysed as $\sigma\omicron\gamma\kappa\kappa-$, ‘to descend’ + $-\omicron\gamma$, which may be a form of a nominalising suffix; the resulting meaning would be ‘descendant’, perfectly fitting for an anthroponym.

h) Verso, line 3: Olithi



Fig. 52. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 73 ve, detail of l. 3
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 15)

Ruffini edits the entry at the end of line 3 of the verso as $\omicron\lambda\eta\eta\iota$, ‘Olii’s’. However, such a name is phonologically improbable. Upon a closer inspection of the photograph (fig. 52), the reading can be corrected to a more familiar form. In fact, what the editor takes to be the horizontal strokes of the double *eta* is a long stroke crossing the *theta*; the two vertical strokes flanking it must be *iotas*. The correct reading is therefore $\omicron\lambda\iota\theta\iota\eta\iota$, ‘Olithi’s’ (see 25j above), and the form Olii should be deemed a ghost-name.

i) Verso, lines 4–5: Koudin--- and Doulista daughter of Petri

At the turn of lines 4 and 5 of the verso, Ruffini edits ΚΟΥΔΝ̄|[π]εϛ · τα ΠΕΤΡΙ ΔΕΙΝΛ̄, ‘Koudinpes ... the daughter of Petri’s’. However, such a reading is impossible, as the



Fig. 53. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 73 ve, detail of l. 5
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 15)

document must have been much broader than one letter reconstructed by Ruffini at the beginning of line 5, which is clear in many places on the recto and verso.¹³² Moreover, Ruffini’s [π]εϛ is palaeographically unjustified (fig. 53) and his · τα simply hangs in the air. Thanks to a comparison with *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 (DBMNT 2792), it is possible to propose another reconstruction of the fragment. There, on line 5 of the recto we read ΔΟΥΛΕΤΑ ΠΕΤΡΙ ΔΕΛ̄, ‘Doulista daughter of Petri’, and there can be no doubt that we are dealing with the same person here, too. Ruffini’s εϛ · τα cannot be anything else than λ̄ετα and the whole fragment should be edited as follows: ΚΟΥΔΝ̄|[--- ΔΟΥ]λ̄ετα ΠΕΤΡΙ ΔΕΙΝΛ̄, ‘Koudin[--- commodity], Doulista daughter of Petri’s’.

j) Verso, line 6: Ottimal

Ruffini reads οττι at the end of line 6 of the verso. He rightly interprets it as the beginning of an anthroponym the ending of which is lost in the lacuna at the beginning of the next line, but refrains from reconstructing it. However, there is only one personal name beginning in this way attested in Nubian sources, namely Ottimal found in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 (DBMNT 2792), re, l. 3 (see above, under 25b). There we read οττιμαννι and hence we can safely reconstruct οττι|[μαννι ---] here, too. We are surely dealing with the same person in both cases.

¹³² E.g., Ruffini himself reconstructs three letters at the beginning of the previous line (τρα`η), and only one here.

k) Verso, line 8: Taurosi

At the beginning of line 8 of the verso, Ruffini reconstructs [c]ταγροσι and translates ‘Of the (church of the?) Cross’. There are, however, two arguments against such an interpretation: first, no other church appears in this list, and second, and more importantly, the name ταγροσα is found in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 (DBMNT 2792), ve, ll. 15–16. Taking this into consideration, I propose to consider ταγροσι an anthroponym, most probably an alternative spelling of Taurosa. Taurosa and Taurosi are certainly Nubianised variants of the Greek name Tauros (TM Nam 6122), from the noun ταῦρος, ‘bull’, to which the Old Nubian onomastic suffixes -α/-ι were attached. The name could refer to Zodiac sign and label persons born under this sign.¹³³

l) Verso, line 8: Enoionngoka



Fig. 54. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 73 ve, detail of l. 8
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 15)

According to Ruffini, the ending of line 8 reads ἐνοε. While he rightly assumes that this is the beginning of an anthroponym, the ending of which is lost in the lacuna at the begin-

ning of the next line, his reading is incomplete, which hinders the reconstruction of the name-form. On the photograph (fig. 54), one can discern one more sign after the second *epsilon*, most likely an *iota*. If so, we should reconstruct ἐνοεῖ[ονεοκα] here, as no other Nubian name is known to begin with such a combination of letters. Moreover, we find this name in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 (DBMNT 2792), re, l. 3, which, in all probability, denotes the same person.

¹³³ Cf. the name Godjo above, under 11a, probably referring to the date of birth. That the Nubians knew and used the Zodiac is attested by a fragment of the horoscope in Old Nubian for the signs of Libra and Scorpio (*P. Qasr Ibrim* II 20 [DBMNT 593]).

27. *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 74* (DBMNT 2807)

a) Verso, l. 12: Ali son of Daplesoggi

In line 12 of the verso of this text, we read $\alpha\lambda\eta\prime \Delta\alpha\pi\lambda\epsilon\sigma\sigma\gamma\iota\epsilon\alpha\lambda\eta$. Ruffini translates it as a double name in the genitive, ‘Ali Daplesogginga’s’ and recognises the first element as the Arabic name ‘Ali. The second element is much harder to identify. $\epsilon\alpha\lambda\eta$ at the end is most probably $\epsilon\alpha\lambda$ -, ‘son’, + the genitive - η , under the regressive assimilation ($\lambda + \eta > \lambda\eta$) and the reduction of the geminates. If $\alpha\lambda\eta$ indeed renders ‘Ali, $\epsilon\alpha\lambda$ - should most probably stand for *ibn* here. The preceding $\Delta\alpha\pi\lambda\epsilon\sigma\sigma\gamma\iota$ must then be the patronymic, but no Arabic name can be recognised here. Instead, the element $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\gamma$ - points to the Nubian origin of the name, as we know the verb $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\gamma$ -, ‘to release’, in Old Nubian. The whole phrase should thus be translated as ‘Ali son of (= ibn?) Daplesoggi’ and Daplesogginga should be deemed a ghost-name.

Thus, if both elements of the name are recognised correctly as Arabic and Nubian respectively, it is very tempting to see in Ali a person who recently converted to Islam, but retained (a part of) his Nubian identity and used the name of his Nubian father. Alternatively, the use of the name Alī may have nothing to do with religion, but reflect the Islamic cultural influence on local Nubian onomastic practices.

28. *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 76* (DBMNT 2809)

a) Line 3: Aera

Ruffini transcribes $\alpha\epsilon\rho\alpha$ [---] at the end of line 3, but leaves it untranslated. Judging by the construction of the document, a list of persons and goods, this is most probably a personal name (or a part thereof), as before it the amount of dirhems is mentioned in connection with one Tapara. This is all the more plausible, since the name Aera occurs elsewhere in Qasr Ibrim, in *P. Qasr Ibrim III 36* (DBMNT 584), ve, l. 4. The name is probably of Nubian origin and may derive from $\alpha\epsilon\iota\lambda$ -, ‘heart’ + $\epsilon\iota\rho$ -, $\bar{\rho}$ -, ‘to be able; power’ + the suffix - α , meaning ‘the powerful heart’.

b) Lines 8 and 11: Teprelli

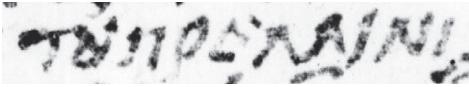


Fig. 55. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 76, detail of l. 11
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 18)

In line 11 of the text, Ruffini edits ταίπρελλιου, 'Taiprelli's'. His αι, however, is not satisfactory palaeographically (fig. 55), especially when compared with αι in the next line and

the combination of α with other letters throughout the text. It seems more probable that this is a somewhat clumsily written ε instead, and that the correct reading should be τεπρελλιου, 'Teprelli's'. -This reading, moreover, seems to be confirmed by line 8 of the same text, where Ruffini reads τεπρε[---], 'Tepre[---]'. Since we do not know any other Nubian name beginning with Tepre-, it is reasonable to assume that this is the same name as Teprelli occurring a few lines below. The name itself seems to be of Nubian origin, but its etymology escapes me.

c) Line 17: Angestoti son of Chael

In Ruffini's edition, line 17 reads [---]αγγελος τοτι χαιε̄ν .δε, '[---] (?) ... and the son of Chael'. However, a closer look at the photograph (fig. 56) allows for two corrections. First, the space between αγγελος and τοτι is only apparent and there can be no doubt that we are dealing here with a single proper name. All the more so, since the name Angestotil is attested elsewhere, in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 33 (DBMNT 591), l. 5, and III 39 (DBMNT 587), l. 10. Note that in all cases we are most probably dealing with different persons. The name itself is perhaps a compound Greco-Nubian formation and should thus be analysed as αγγελος-, perhaps a hypocoristic of ἄγγελος, 'angel', and the Old Nubian τοτ-, 'son', hence 'the son of an angel'.

The second correction is due at the end of the line. On the photograph, Ruffini's .δε, which he takes to be the coordinative conjunction 'and', can be read without difficulty as εαν. It thus perfectly complements the name Chael in the genitive (χαιε̄ν = χαιελ [for χαιηλ] + -ν̄). The whole phrase is therefore to be edited [---] αγγελστοτι χαιε̄ν εαν, 'Angestoti son of Chael's'.



Fig. 56. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 76, detail of l. 17
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 18)

29. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 8I (DBMNT 28II)

This document is an account of the same type as the ones discussed above. Here, however, we come across an interesting linguistic feature: the postposition $-\lambda\omicron$ marking the names on the lists is rendered here as $-(\epsilon)\iota\omicron$. The phenomenon in itself is nothing unusual,¹³⁴ but in view of the omnipresence of $-\lambda\omicron$ in the whole collection and the consistent use of $-(\epsilon)\iota\omicron$ in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 8I, we may be dealing here with trait of the ‘personal language’ of the scribe. More importantly, however, for the present paper, although Ruffini noted in the commentary to his edition that we may be dealing with such a phenomenon in lines 1 and 2,¹³⁵ he did not notice the regularity elsewhere in the text and took the postposition as an integral part of several anthroponyms.

a) Recto, line 1: Kostatino

In Ruffini’s edition, we find $\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\tau\prime\ \text{n}\omicron\epsilon\iota\omicron$ rendered as ‘Kostap Noio’. As the editor rightly observes, such a form is unparalleled in our material, but we may also note that it is hardly possible from a phonological point of view. The document is known only from a tracing, which makes any attempt at correcting it a matter of controversy. In this case, however, a simple and very plausible amendment turns a bizarre form into a well-known name. What the tracing, followed by Ruffini, takes to be a π

¹³⁴ For the replacement of λ by $\epsilon\iota$ in Old Nubian, see BROWNE, *Grammar*, § 2.5.6.a.

¹³⁵ *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, p. 160.

‘Mousi’. ΜΟΥΣΙ is a variant of the name Mouses attested in other documents from Qasr Ibrim: *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 75 (DBMNT 2808), l. 3; IV 97 (DBMNT 2839), ve, l. 1; and IV 109 (DBMNT 2850), re, on margin.

d) Recto, line 5: Kalma (?)

Line 5 contains the name which is edited by Ruffini as ΚΑΛΜΑΕΙΑ, ‘Kalmaia’. However, taking into account the previously discussed cases, it seems quite probable that the tracing misinterprets the final letter, drawing an *alpha* instead of an *omikron*, which would produce the postposition -ΕΙΟ. The new reading would therefore be ΚΑΛΜΑΕΙΟ, ‘Kalma (?)’. ΚΑΛΜΑ is unattested as a personal name, but – if the reading is correct – this may be a Nubian name deriving from ΚΑΛ-, ‘to eat’ and ΜΑ(ΕΙ)-, ‘to rejoice’, in the sense ‘the one who enjoys eating’, or the Arabic female name Kalima.

e) Recto, line 7: Soteri

In Ruffini’s edition, on line 7 of the recto, we find Ⲫⲉⲓⲣⲓⲟ, ‘Isirio’. However, judging, by other examples described above, the ending -ΕΙΟ does not really belong to the name, but is the modified postposition marker -ΛΟ. The phrase should thus be analysed Ⲫⲉⲓⲣⲓ-ΕΙΟ, with Ⲫⲉⲓⲣⲓ representing the name of the person. The long supralinear stroke is a clear marker of abbreviation by contraction found in a wide variety of words in Nubian sources, most notably in *nomina sacra*. And indeed, such a notation is suggestive of the noun Σωτήρ, ‘Saviour’, normally abbreviated to Ⲫⲉⲓⲣⲓ. Analogous forms are found in two wall inscriptions from Baganarti, where we find Ⲫⲉⲓ, interpreted by Adam Łajtar as ϸ(ΩΤΗ)ΡΙ, a Nubianised variant of Σωτήρ and functioning as an anthroponym.¹³⁹ We are therefore most probably dealing with the same notation here, where the final *iota* of Ⲫⲉⲓ was elided because of the following ΕΙΟ: Ⲫⲉⲓⲣⲓⲟ = Ⲫⲉⲓ-ΕΙΟ < Ⲫⲉⲓⲣⲓ-ΕΙΟ, ‘Soteri’. Isireio is thus to be considered a ghost-name.

¹³⁹ ŁAJTAR, *The Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre* (cit. n. 19), nos. 448 (DBMNT 2172) and 842 (DBMNT 4017).

f) Recto, line 10: Kourte (toponym)

Ruffini believes that κοῦρτεὸ found in line 10 of the recto is an otherwise unattested anthroponym Kourteo. While this cannot be totally excluded, it is more probable that the well-known toponym Kourte is meant here and that the formation should be analysed as κοῦρτε-ο < κοῦρτε-λο, with the deletion of λ in the postvocalic position, common in this document.

30. *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 84* (DBMNT 2827)

This legal document is too fragmentary to present a coherent edition. In Ruffini's publication, I offered a partial transcription of the initial protocol listing dignitaries, including King Basil. A closer inspection of the photo allows correcting one name in the protocol and identifying further persons, among them the issuer of the document, three witnesses, and the scribe.

a) Line 3: Mariongal

In my edition of the protocol, I proposed reading μαρκῶεαλ μικι σοεοῶε εἰνη, 'Markongal (or 'the son of Marko') being the eparch of Nobadia'. However, in private communication, Adam Łajtar observed that we should read μαριῶεαλ instead. The same name is attested as μαριῶεα, in *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 109* (DBMNT 2850), re, l. 2, where it undoubtedly refers to the same person, also designated as an eparch. Mariongal is a compound Semito-Nubian formation consisting of the elements μαριῶ and εαλ-, 'son', thus 'son of Mario'. μαριῶ clearly derives from the name Maria, but the meaning and/or function of the final -ο is unknown to me.

b) Lines 9–10: Isou and his wife Isousanya

In line 9, the protocol ends and the body of the document starts with the presentation of the issuer and his wife (fig. 58). The text reads here:



Fig. 58. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 84, ll. 9-10
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 26)

9 (...) · αι[ο]ϣ̄ ἰσοϣ̄ ἀκροϣ̄[. .]ε · αν̄ ε̄ττοϣ̄ ἰ-
10 ϣοϣ̄ϣ̄αφ̄ᾱδε (...)

‘(...) I Isou ... and my wife Isousanya (...)’.

ἀκροϣ̄[. .]ε most probably derives from ακ-, ‘to sit, remain’, but I cannot account for any grammatical form here. The name Isousanya belongs to the class of compound Nubian names formed with the element -αφα, ‘living, the one who lives’ (cf. Milanya above, under 25p). Here it is constructed with ἰσοϣ̄, a variant of the name Jesus, and the meaning is ‘living Jesus’ or ‘Jesus lives’.

c) Lines 16-17: Joasi son of Thomas

In line 14 begins the list of witnesses. Unfortunately, only a couple of names can be read securely. The first of them is found in lines 16-17, where we can read ὄαση ὠ[μαν] | εαλ



Fig. 59. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 84, detail of l. 16
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 26)

[---], ‘Joasi son of Thoma’ (fig. 59). ὄαση is a variant of the name Joassi, a compound Nubian formation that can perhaps be analysed as ὄολ-, ὄωλ-, ‘only, mere; pious’ + ασε-, ‘water’ + -ι in the sense ‘the only water’ or ‘the pious water’.

d) Line 17: Loukas

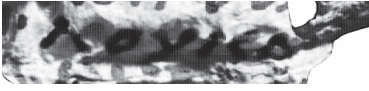


Fig. 60. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 84, detail of l. 17
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 26)

Another witness can be identified at the end of line 17 (fig. 60). The surface of the document is wrinkled there, but the name can be securely read as $\lambda\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha[---]$.

e) Line 20: Iesousanya

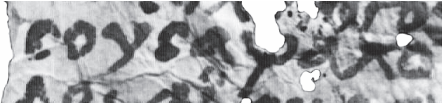


Fig. 61. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 84, detail of l. 20
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 26)

The last identifiable witness is found in line 20, where we read $[1]\mu\sigma\omicron\gamma\alpha\varphi\alpha\lambda\omicron$ (fig. 61). This is most probably a different person than the wife of Isou, the issuer of the document.

f) Lines 23–24: Kourouko, priest of Douri

Finally, in lines 23–24, the scribe of the deed signed himself. The whole phrase mentioning him reads (fig. 62):

$\kappa\omicron\gamma\rho\omicron\gamma\kappa\omega \Delta\omicron\Upsilon\rho\bar{\eta} | \zeta\omicron\rho\tau\tau[0]\delta \Gamma\delta[.] . \pi\alpha\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon \mu\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\Gamma\iota\sigma\epsilon\lambda[0]$

‘Kourouko, priest of Douri ... , I wrote and witnessed’

Unfortunately, I do not know what word and form should be reconstructed after $\zeta\omicron\rho\tau\tau[0]\delta$, but the rest is clear. The name of the scribe, Kourouko, is a hapax. It is most probably a compound anthroponym of a Nubian origin and should be analysed as $\kappa\omicron\gamma\rho-$, ‘to rejoice’ + $-\omicron\gamma$ (nominaliser?) + $\kappa\omega-$ < $\kappa\omicron-$, ‘to have’ = ‘the one who has joy’. For the designation ‘priest of Douri’, see above under 6d.

in the text-finds from the 1966 season, and that the component *souk-* is otherwise not found in any attested Nubian name'.¹⁴⁰ This is, however, not true, as the exact element $\text{co}\gamma\kappa\kappa-$ is found in the name $\text{co}\gamma\kappa\kappa\text{o}\gamma$, attested twice in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 (DBMNT 2792), re, l. 8, and IV 73 (DBMNT 2806), re, l. 20 (see above, under 26g). In those two documents, we are most probably dealing with the same person, but we have no means of knowing whether this is the same man as the parent of Ngapre from the present text.

33. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 92 (DBMNT 2834)

a) Line 11: Pidpi (?)

At the end of line 11 of this private letter, we find the strange expression $\overline{\pi\Delta}\pi$. Ruffini was unable to find a solution and treated it as the anthroponym Pidpi. However, two alternatives can be proposed: this may be either $\Delta\overline{\pi}\pi$, 'town', with the metathesis of Δ and π , or the numeral $\overline{\pi\Delta}$, '84'. The latter is especially tempting in view of the fact that the context seems to involve quantities of unknown commodities: seven in the preceding line and a half in the next one. If so, however, I am unable to account for the meaning and/or function of the following $-\pi$.

34. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 93 (DBMNT 2835)

a) Recto, lines 3 and 12: Sali (?)

In this letter, we find two almost identical phrases, which Ruffini edits:

3 $\Delta\kappa\iota\rho\iota\varsigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\cdot\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron\eta\cdot\varsigma\alpha\lambda\iota\cdot\acute{\alpha}\eta\eta\iota\mu\iota\eta\iota\kappa\kappa\alpha\cdot\acute{\alpha}\iota\Delta\omicron\cdot\omicron\kappa\kappa\iota\kappa\alpha\cdot\Delta\eta\eta\eta\epsilon\cdot\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\eta\cdot\omicron\gamma\kappa\kappa\epsilon\eta\alpha\cdot$

'Do I not always say so? I do not know what Ilon-Sali says to the (town's?) inhabitants for me, but you hear it';

¹⁴⁰ *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, p. 199.

12 ἀκίρισενα· ἔλον· σαλι· εἰηῆκα· ἀἴδο· οκκῖκα ἀννε· εἶρον· οὔκεννα

‘Do I always say so? I do not know what Ilon-Sali says to the (town’s?) inhabitants for me, but you hear it’.

We observe that what Ruffini takes to be the double name Ilon-Sali is noted down differently in both fragments. Upon a closer inspection of the photograph (fig. 63), Ruffini’s *iota* in

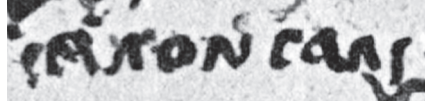


Fig. 63. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 93, detail of l. 3 (after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 35)

εἶλον in line 3 appears to be just a blot of ink. If so, we are dealing in both places with the same form εἶλον. This, instead of being an anthroponym, should be analysed as ελ-, ‘now’ + -ον, ‘and’ = ‘and now’ (Gr. καί νῦν οἱ νῦν δέ).¹⁴¹ This is all the more probable since σαλι occurs without εἶλον in line 4. If Ruffini’s interpretation of ἀκίρισενα as ‘Do I not always say so?’, expressing continual action, is valid, then this meaning of εἶλον perfectly fits the context, introducing the opposition ‘always’ vs. ‘now’. The translation of both fragments should therefore be adjusted to: ‘Do I not always say so? And now I do not know what Sali says to the (town’s?) inhabitants for me, but you hear it’.

A separate question is whether σαλι, a form consisting of the verb σαλ-, ‘to speak’, and the agent suffix -ι, thus ‘speaker’, is indeed an anthroponym. The phrases analysed here concern someone who is speaking to the local community on behalf of the author of the letter, apparently without his authorisation. Thus, the coincidence seems too big to unquestioningly accept σαλι as a personal name; perhaps, we are dealing here with a kind of official title denoting a representative, a ‘speaker’. Whatever the case, Ilon-Sali is definitely to be classified as a ghost-name and to be struck out from the index to *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV.

¹⁴¹ See BROWNE, *Dictionary*, p. 56, for literary examples.

b) Verso, l. 1: Tilinngoko and Koussan

On the back of the letter, we find the address, which Ruffini reads † ΤΙΛΝ̄ ΕΟΚΟ· ΜΙΓΝ̄ `CΟ' ΓΟΘ̄ΙΝ· ΜΕΚΕΚΟΥCΣΑΝ·, ‘† Tilinngoko the eparch of Nobadia to Meskekoussan’. There are two problems with such an interpretation. First, Ruffini does not explain why the title ‘eparch of Nobadia’ stands in the genitive here (`CΟ' ΓΟΘ̄ΙΝ). Second, ΜΕΚΕΚΟΥCΣΑΝ is otherwise unattested in Nubia as an anthroponym. We have, instead, four attestations of the name Koussan, two in Qasr Ibrim and two other in Banganarti.¹⁴² Moreover, in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 33 (DBMNT 591), we find the phrase ΜΕΔΘΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΣ̄Ν̄ ΜΕΚΕΚΛΛΟ, meaning most probably ‘Medjou, *meske* of Papasi/bishop’, where *meske* should be interpreted as a title of official or a designation of kinship (see above, under 4d). In all probability, we are dealing with the same term here, which would explain the genitive after `CΟ' ΓΟΘ̄-, and hence the whole phrase should be transcribed † ΤΙΛΝ̄ΕΟΚΟ· ΜΙΓΝ̄ `CΟ' ΓΟΘ̄ΙΝ· ΜΕΚΕ ΚΟΥCΣΑΝ.

A separate question is who the addressee and who the sender of this letter are. According to the common pattern in Nubian letters, the sender is mentioned first,¹⁴³ and this is also Ruffini’s interpretation, with Tilinngoko being the sender. At the same time, the editor suggests that Tilinngoko from the address is identical with Tilinngoko from the body of the letter, where he is mentioned as the receiver of a letter, presumably this letter: ‘It is not an empty letter I write to Tilingoko (but it comes with) 1 *gide*’ (ll. 13–14). According to Ruffini, we may be dealing here with a mistake on the part of the scribe, who was apparently not the sender himself.¹⁴⁴ This, however, seems to be too sophisticated an explanation. It seems more

¹⁴² Qasr Ibrim: *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 32 (DBMNT 590), l. 16, and III 35 (DBMNT 583), l. 8; Banganarti: ΕΛΑΥΤΑΡ, *The Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre* (cit. n. 19), nos. 455 (DBMNT 3652) and 638 (DBMNT 3830). Note that in both Banganarti inscriptions, the word occurs in the phrase ΚΟΥCΣΑΝ ΘΕΓΝΑ, which can be interpreted as either an expression of filiation (‘son of Koussan’) or designation of office (‘*thegna* of Koussan’).

¹⁴³ This is proven by some examples of addresses rendered in Greek with the use of the masculine article in dative (τῷ) before the second person (e.g. *P. Qasr Ibrim* II 22 [DBMNT 1019], III 48 [DBMNT 1032], and IV 100 [DBMNT 2456]).

¹⁴⁴ *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, p. 25.

probable that we have here a reverse order of the address, whereby Tilinngoko mentioned first is the addressee and Koussan the sender.¹⁴⁵

Taking the above discussion into account, I propose here a different interpretation of the address, namely ‘† (To) Tilinngoko, *meske* of the eparch of Nobadia, Koussan’. Such a translation explains not only the reference to Tilinngoko as the recipient of the letter mentioned above, but also the final sentence of the letter, ‘And you, give your people to yourself and the eparch’ (l. 15). If we accept Ruffini’s original interpretation, with Tilinngoko the eparch of Nobadia being the sender, ‘the eparch’ in this sentence would have to refer to someone else, another, most probably higher-ranking eparch. While this cannot be totally excluded, it is much more probable that Koussan refers here to the eparch of Nobadia whom Tilinngoko serves as a *meske*.

As for the names occurring here, Tilinngoko is a compound Nubian formation and can be analysed as τιλ- < τλλ-, ‘God’ + εοκ-, ‘glory’ + κο-, ‘to have’, in the sense ‘the one who has the glory of God’. Koussan appears to be a Nubian name, too, probably deriving from κοϋς-, ‘to deliver’, but its exact etymology is unknown.

35. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 94 (DBMNT 2836)

a) Recto, line 12: ghost-name Tengengitta

In lines 12–13 of this letter, Ruffini edits τενγεν\`τ\`ττα κοκ\`ττα εαλεν ειρογκοκα εισιριδιρελο, ‘(i)f Tengengitta, who is evil, sees, I will inform Irouko’. However, judging by the photograph (fig. 64), his suprascribed τ in τενγεν\`τ\`ττα is but a supralinear stroke connecting the ρ and τ. Moreover, the space between



Fig. 64. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 94 re, detail of l. 12 (after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 37)

¹⁴⁵ The same situation is most probably at stake in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 85 (DBMNT 2828), a letter from Koke to Dani.

τῆν and γενῖττα suggests that we are dealing with two separate words, hence τῆν γενῖττα is a more appropriate transcription. γενῖτ- is a known Old Nubian word for ‘good thing, blessing’,¹⁴⁶ and τῆν is the third person plural possessive pronoun ‘their’. The -ττα in γενῖττα is most probably the assimilated accusative suffix -κα, which is also found on the following κοκῖττα.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, γενῖττα and κοκῖττα are two objects of the verb εαλεν, ‘if / when I see’.¹⁴⁸ A new translation of the fragment can thus be proposed: ‘When I see their good and (their) evil, I will inform Irouko’.

Such a translation is definitely more correct, but is by no means clear, as is the matter of this letter in general. The pronoun ‘their’ perhaps refers to ‘the people of the village’ (ῤῗῗ ῗῗῗ) mentioned in line 3, who are supposed to exercise a judgement over something or someone closely related to the sender of the letter, the eparch Ourouel (cf. l. 9: αααα αῗῗῗῗ ῗῗῗ τοῗλα, ‘enduring the judgement of the village against me’). ‘Their good and (their) evil’ may thus be a figurative reference to balancing the judgement. Whatever the interpretation, the form Gengitta can no longer be considered an anthroponym.

36. *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 101 (DBMNT 2842)*

a) Recto, line 17: Asan son of Dia

In line 17 of the recto of this letter, we find the phrase ἄσαν·
Δανεαααοῗ[ο], which Ruffini translates ‘through Asa’s Dianngal’. He,

¹⁴⁶ Note that the word can also function as a personal name, as attested in two wall inscriptions from Banganarti: ῗῗῗῗῗ, *The Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre* (cit. n. 19), nos. 8 (DBMNT 3235) and 150 (DBMNT 3372). Here, however, the context seems to exclude such an interpretation.

¹⁴⁷ Pace Ruffini, who analyses κοκῖττ-α, where -α is the predicative. For the assimilation τ + κ > ττ, see BROWNE, *Grammar*, § 2.4.

¹⁴⁸ The lack of a coordinative conjunction connecting them can perhaps be explained on prosodic grounds: the words have almost identical pronunciation and when pronounced together they acquire a certain rhythm, which would be disturbed if anything was added between them, e.g. -αε ... -αεκελ.

however, he does not explain the occurrence of the genitive after $\delta\alpha\alpha$ -, possibly defining the relation between the two persons. It seems that another interpretation can be suggested here. Since $\delta\alpha\alpha\text{N}$ is securely attested elsewhere as an anthroponym (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 38 [DBMNT 586], l. 13), this may well be the case also here. If so, the following $\Delta\text{I}\alpha\text{N}\epsilon\alpha\Delta\Delta\text{O}\kappa[\text{O}]$ should be understood as a patro-/metronymic, ‘son of Dia’ rather than a complete anthroponym. Hence, the new translation ‘through Asan son of Dia’. $\delta\alpha\alpha\text{N}$ is most probably the transliteration of the Arabic name Ḥasan. Dia, in turn, is ambiguous. It may be either the Nubian rendering of the Arabic name Diḥya or a Nubian formation deriving from $\Delta\text{I}\epsilon\text{I}$ -, ‘to be many’ + the predicative $-\alpha$, hence ‘the one who is many’ (cf. the Nobiin $\Delta\text{I}\text{-}\alpha$, ‘enough’). If the former is correct, we could be dealing here with an Arabic-speaking person, Ḥasan ibn Diḥya. If, on the other hand, the latter is the case, Asan could possibly be identified as a recent convert to Islam, who has adopted an Islamic name but kept using the Nubian patronymic. Unfortunately, there are no means to assert this.

b) Verso, line 1: Amkapi

On the verso side of the letter, we find the address. In Ruffini’s edition, the name of the addressee reads $\alpha\mu\pi\alpha\pi\text{I}$, ‘Ampapi’. However, judging by the photograph (fig. 65), his first π is palaeographically



Fig. 65. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 101 ve, detail of l. 1 (after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 44)

weak, as the letter appears to be lacking the horizontal stroke. A κ seems to be more likely instead, especially when compared with $\kappa\rho\alpha\text{ }^{\backslash}\tau\text{ }^{\prime}$ following immediately. The personal name Amkapi is otherwise unattested, but it seems to be of Nubian origin: the element $-\kappa\alpha\pi\text{I}$ most probably derives from $\kappa\alpha\pi$ -, ‘to eat’, and $\alpha\mu$ - at the beginning is found in the name Amkouda from Banganarti.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ $\text{L}\alpha\text{J}\tau\alpha\text{R}$, *The Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre* (cit. n. 19), no. 396 (DBMNT 3596).

37. *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 102* (DBMNT 2843)

a) Verso, line 1: Iesou the eparch of Nobadia

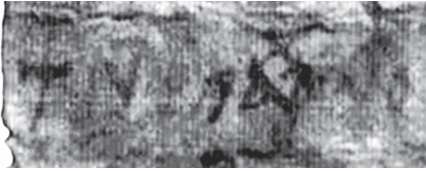


Fig. 66. *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 102* ve, detail of l. 1
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim IV*, fig. 45)

Ruffini edits the first part of the address of this letter as $\bar{n}\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\chi(\text{OC}): \text{NO}\beta(\lambda\lambda\text{I}\alpha\text{C})$ and interprets the strange \bar{n} at the beginning as a Coptic interference.¹⁵⁰ Although the photograph is blurred and the ink faded in this place (fig. 66), it

seems that Ruffini's \bar{n} should rather be transcribed as $\bar{\eta}\bar{\gamma}$, a well-known abbreviation for the name Iesou.

This correction is important in two aspects. First, it allows the identification of the person. An eparch of Nobadia by the name of Iesou is known from a Coptic foundation inscription from Faras (*I. Khartoum Copt. 2* [DBMNT 33]) dated to AD 930. It seems, however, too early for the present document, which is generally dated to the twelfth century. Three other letters from Qasr Ibrim (*P. Qasr Ibrim IV 101* and two unpublished texts¹⁵¹) mention one eparch Iesou, perhaps the same person in all instances, who officiated during the reign of a king Daud. In *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 101*, two other eparchs are mentioned, Asouwil, the eparch of Nobadia, and Amkapi (see 36b above), which suggests that Iesou was at that time a lesser or subordinate eparch. If we agree that Iesou from the present document is the same person, the text should postdate *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 101*, having been written after Iesou had gotten promoted to the rank of eparch of Nobadia.

The second aspect is of linguistic nature. By disposing of the \bar{n} -, we deprive the letter of its unique status as the only instance of Coptic influence on Old Nubian epistolary and – more generally – literary practices.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ *P. Qasr Ibrim IV*, p. 249.

¹⁵¹ P. QI inv. 78.2.12/50 (DBMNT 2814) and P. QI inv. 84.1.31/30 (DBMNT 2815), mentioned in *P. Qasr Ibrim IV*, p. 11.

¹⁵² Notwithstanding some Coptic loanwords in Old Nubian vocabulary.

38. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 108 (DBMNT 2849)

a) Line 10: Okotol

In line 10 of this document, Ruffini edits $\omega\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\lambda \Delta\Delta\Delta \overline{\text{IK}\bar{\Delta}}$ $\epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon\lambda\omicron$, ‘I will take the [lost direct object] to Okotol Dad’. In his interpretation, $\omega\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\lambda \Delta\Delta\Delta$ is a double name, with



Fig. 67. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 108, detail of l. 10
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 51)

Dad being the abbreviated notation for Daud, and $\overline{\text{IK}\bar{\Delta}}$ represents the directive marking the direct object of the verb. This, however, is doubtful. First, in Nubian sources, $\Delta\Delta\Delta$ is always noted down in the form of a *nomen sacrum* with a long supralinear stroke above all three letters. Instead, it is palaeographically well justified to take this element as the postposition $-\Delta\Delta\Delta$, ‘with, against’ (fig. 67). Second, we do not expect the directive to be detached from the noun, especially by such a wide space, and to be marked with a supralinear stroke. These two features indicate without a shadow of a doubt that this element is indeed the numeral ‘10’ marked with the directive as the actual direct object of the sentence. Admittedly, Ruffini considers such a possibility in the commentary, but does not integrate it into his translation.

Taking all of the above into account, the reading of the fragment should be corrected to $\omega\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\lambda\Delta\Delta\Delta \overline{\text{IK}\bar{\Delta}}$ $\epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon\lambda\omicron$, ‘I will take 10 with Okotol’. Unfortunately, we do not know what commodity is at stake here; it must have been named in the previous line, which is heavily damaged.

39. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 109 (DBMNT 2850)

a) Recto, line 26 and verso, line 18: Datti (?)

The document, labelled by Ruffini ‘Anonymous account in prose’, contains two very similar clauses, recto, ll. 25–28 and verso, ll. 17–19, which seem to refer to one person, a certain Datti. However, to notice this requires certain corrections to the edition.

According to Ruffini, the fragments read, respectively (the phrases that interest us here are italicised):

(1) *αμσιτορον· κ̄λ̄λιτα|κᾱ* *κο̄* *Δ̄π̄πα·* *Δ̄αατ̄* *τῑκε̄σι* | *θᾱ·* *σερεπ̄*
τογρκῑΔ̄ο̄ *ειλο̄* | *ο̄σεελο̄*
 ‘having Amsitoro’s prepared, I sit in town (with?) Daat. I released 9
 drinks (?) to Tourki in hand’;

(2) *κο̄* | *Δ̄π̄πα* *Δ̄αατ̄τῑκ̄κον·* *Δ̄ᾱΔ̄* *τῑ|κε̄σι* *θᾱ·* *Δ̄[ιν]̄νε̄σεελο̄*
 ‘having them, after I sit in town (with?) Daattil and Dad, I gave 9’.

While I cannot think of anything more comprehensible for the beginning of both clauses, the analysis and understanding of their middle part can definitely be amended. In the commentary to his edition, Ruffini explains that he takes *τῑκε̄σι* to be a verbal form, variant of *τῑκε̄ρι*, from the verb *τικ-*, ‘to sit’. As for the following numeral (*θ-κα*), in the first phrase, he connects it with *σερεπ̄*, which he believes to mean ‘a drink’ (from the verb *σῑριπ-*, ‘to drink’), and in the other one, he assumes that it stands alone, without any commodity. While numerals standing on their own can indeed be found in Old Nubian lists and catalogues, the fact that a numeral would precede the commodity it describes seems highly unlikely, all the more so since the case marking (*-κα*) is on the numeral. The normal order of any Nubian list, account, or catalogue is ‘commodity’ and/or ‘measure’ and ‘numeral’. And indeed, we achieve this order here as well when a different word division is applied, namely by detaching *τι* from *κε̄σι*. *κε̄σι-* is the variant of *κεογ-*, ‘cubit’, which perfectly fits the context: *κε̄σι θ-κα*, ‘9 cubits’. In (2), one more correction is due: judging by the photograph (fig. 68), Ruffini’s *Δ̄ᾱΔ̄* looks rather like *Δ̄ᾱτ̄*, with *τ* corrected from another letter, a *Δ* or an *α*. We thus achieve two nearly identical phrases, *Δ̄αατ̄τῑ κε̄σι* *θᾱ* (re, ll. 26–27) and *Δ̄ᾱτ̄τῑ κε̄σι* *θᾱ* (ve, ll. 18–19). Last but not least, Ruffini’s reconstruction of the main verb in (2), *Δ̄[ιν]̄νε̄σεελο̄*, cannot be true, because the verb *Δ̄εν-*, *Δ̄ιν-* denotes the action directed towards the speaker, hence the translation would have to be ‘I gave to myself’.¹⁵³ In

¹⁵³ I thank the anonymous reviewer of my paper for drawing my attention to this fact.

(1a) ‘Having Amsitoro’s prepared in town, I released Datti’s 9 cubits ... to Tourki in hand’;¹⁵⁵

(1b) ‘Having Amsitoro’s prepared in town, I released 9 cubits of *datti* ... to Tourki in hand’;

(2a) ‘And having Datti in town, I ... Datti’s 9 cubits’;

(2b) ‘And having *datti* in town, I ... 9 cubits of *datti*’.

While the latter of the pairs seem more probable to me, there are no means to assert it. Whatever the case, however, it remains clear that the forms Daat, Daattil, and Dad should be eliminated from indices as ghost-names.

b) Verso, line 3: Ammiri son of Koulouma

In lines 3–4 of the verso, Ruffini edits ἀμμῖρικουλοῦ μαν· τοτῖλακο, ‘through that Ammirikoulou the *tot*’. However, the use of the demonstrative pronoun μαν seems out of place here, especially that it should precede the name, not follow it.¹⁵⁶ It seems more reasonable to take the clause as a genitival phrase expressing filiation in the pattern ‘name + name-GEN + τοτ’. If so, a different word division should be applied, ἀμμῖρι κοῦλοῦμαν· τοτῖλακο, ‘through Ammiri son of Koulouma’. We are thus most probably dealing here with two further Arabic names in the Qasr Ibrim material. ἀμμῖρι is certainly a variant of Amīr (TM Nam 8474). κοῦλοῦμα, on the other hand, can be plausibly identified with Ġulām. Thus, the actual name of person was Amīr ibn Ġulām and Ammirikoulou is to be considered a ghost-name.

c) Verso, line 5: ghost-name Eketiwekko

In line 5 of the verso, Ruffini transcribes ἐκετῖϖεκκο, which he takes to be a single word denoting a proper name Eketiwekko. This, however, is most

¹⁵⁵ I do not know how to understand *ceperu* in this context.

¹⁵⁶ BROWNE, *Grammar*, § 3.7.4.a.

40. *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 110* (DBMNT 2851)a) Line 12: mother of the *domestikos* of Faras

Ruffini edits the first part of the address of this letter as follows: $\overline{\text{MHP}}$ $\Delta\text{OM}(\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma)$ $\text{Παχ}(\omega\rho\alpha\varsigma)$, ‘Merki (?) the *domestikos* of Faras’. However, interpreting the abbreviated word $\overline{\text{MHP}}$ to stand for $\text{M}\epsilon\rho\kappa\eta$ seems doubtful to say the least, as it would assume a metathesis within the abbreviation. At the same time, Ruffini rightly notes in the commentary that $\overline{\text{MHP}}$ is the normal way of abbreviating the Greek $\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho$, ‘mother’. It is attested first and foremost as a designation of the Virgin Mary, but in Nubian context, it is also found in the title of ‘queen mother’, $\overline{\text{MHP}}$ $\overline{\text{BXC}}$ for $\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho$ $\beta(\alpha\sigma\iota)\lambda(\acute{\epsilon}\omega)\varsigma$. It is therefore tempting to take this word in this meaning also here, as $\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho$ $\delta\omega\mu(\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon)$ $\text{Παχ}(\omega\rho\alpha\varsigma)$, ‘mother of the *domestikos* of Pachoras’. Such an interpretation is likely corroborated by *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 112* (DBMNT 2853), where we find a certain Enakissil designated as $\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\rho\chi(\omicron\upsilon)$, ‘mother of the eparch’ (see 41a below). Here, the supposed mother of *domestikos* is anonymous, which is somewhat strange for a letter, but conforms with the practice of identifying oneself with a patro- or metronymic, observed, for example, in visitor’s inscriptions.¹⁵⁷ After all, everybody in the region must have known who the *domestikos* was at that time, and we may assume that his mother could also have been a recognisable personage.

41. *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 112* (DBMNT 2853)

a) Verso, line 1: Enakissil, mother of the eparch

In Ruffini’s edition, the address of this letter reads $\overline{\text{IH}}\overline{\text{L}}$ $\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\chi(\omicron\varsigma)$ $\text{NOB}(\delta\Delta\text{I}\alpha\varsigma)$ (καὶ) $\Delta\text{OM}(\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma)$ $\lambda\text{Παχ}(\omega\rho\alpha\varsigma)$ $\acute{\epsilon}\text{N}\alpha\kappa\iota\sigma\iota\lambda$ $\overline{\text{MHP}}$ () $\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\chi(\omicron\varsigma)$, ‘Israel the eparch of Nobadia and *domestikos* of Faras. Enakissil Mēr() the eparch’. Thus, just as in the previously discussed case, the editor takes $\overline{\text{MHP}}$ to represent an abbreviated personal name, perhaps Merki or the like. In

¹⁵⁷ See numerous examples in $\text{L}\alpha\text{J}\text{T}\alpha\text{R}$, *The Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre* (cit. n. 19).

the commentary, he also includes another interpretation, suggested by myself, to read this fragment as ἐλια κισσῆ μη(τ)ρ(οπολιτης) ἀπαρχ(ωρας), ‘Elias, the metropolitan of the church at Faras’. However, μηρ seems impossible as an abbreviation of any known name, and such a form of the abbreviation for *metropolitēs* has not been attested either. Instead, as already shown above, μηρ normally stands for μήτηρ, ‘mother’. This, combined with the fact that Enakissi is attested as a feminine name elsewhere in Nubian sources,¹⁵⁸ makes it highly probable that Enakissi was indeed the mother of the eparch, perhaps Israel himself. Since the recipient of the letter is addressed with the term ‘your fathership’ (re, l. ι), it is clear that it could not be Enakissi, although she is mentioned in the second place in the address. This is thus another example of a reverse order of the address (addressee – sender) in Nubian correspondence (see above, under 40a). The new edition of the address can be proposed here:

ἰῆλ ἐπαρχ' νοβ' ς δωμ' ἀπαρχ' ἐνακισσῆ μηρ ἐπαρχ'

Ἰ(σρα)ηλ ἐπάρχ(ω) Νοβ(αδίας) (καὶ) δωμ(εστικῶ) Ἀπαχ(ωρας),
ἐνακισσῆ μή(τη)ρ ἐπάρχ(ου)

‘(To) Israel, eparch of Nobadia and *domestikos* of Faras. Enakissil, mother of the eparch’.

42. P. Qasr Ibrim IV 114 (DBMNT 2855)

a) Recto, line 3: ghost-name Kouskid

In lines 3–4, Ruffini edits ΚΟΥΚΑΔ· ΚΑΔΙΤΙ ἄ·ΚΑΚΙΝ[α?], ‘He is carrying (?) two jars (?) to Kouskid(’)’. However, the photograph (fig. 69) allows correcting

¹⁵⁸ Two unpublished Old Nubian letters sent by one Enakissil daughter of Ounnam(): P. QI inv. 82.2.3/60 B (DBMNT 2819) and P. QI inv. 82.2.3/67 A (DBMNT 2820); they are mentioned in G. R. RUFFINI, *Medieval Nubia. A Social and Economic History*, Oxford 2012, pp. 207–212 (nos. H and I).

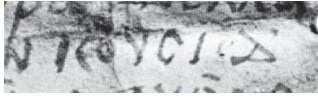


Fig. 69. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 114 re, detail of l. 3
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 58)

his $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\kappa\alpha$ to $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota \cdot \bar{\alpha}$. What Ruffini takes to be the right-hand part of a *kappa* is just a slightly elongated dot marking the numeral, analogous to the one found in the next line ($\cdot \bar{\beta}$). Moreover, a superlinear stroke above the *delta* is visible, although it may be confused with the wrinkle of the paper. $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota$ is most probably the Nobiin $\kappa\omicron\varsigma(\iota)$, ‘palm rod’. In this context, Ruffini’s ‘jar’ for $\kappa\alpha\Delta\iota\tau\iota$ appears less preferable than ‘thorny branch of Nile acacia’ attested for the Nobiin $\kappa\alpha\Delta\iota$. In this way, Kouskid receives the status of a ghost-name, and the whole sentence gains a new and more comprehensible sense: $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota \cdot \bar{\alpha} \cdot \kappa\alpha\Delta\iota\tau\iota \cdot \bar{\beta} \cdot \kappa\alpha\kappa\iota\eta[\alpha?]$, ‘He is carrying (?) 4 palm rods and 2 branches of acacia’.

43. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 116 fr. 1 (DBMNT 2857)

a) Verso, line 1: Masi the eparch

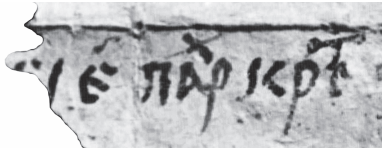


Fig. 70. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 116(i) ve, detail of l. 1
(after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, fig. 60)

On the verso of this letter, we find the address, which, according to Ruffini, reads [---]. $\iota \epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\chi(\omicron\varsigma) \kappa\rho(\alpha)\tau(\eta)\varsigma \tau\omega(\iota) \Delta\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota \theta\epsilon\lambda(\) \kappa\alpha\kappa\tau(\iota\eta\epsilon)$, ‘NN the great eparch to Dauti the *thel*() of Kaktine’.

Ruffini does not reconstruct the name of the person, but the traces visible on the photograph (fig. 70) strongly suggest that the letter before the *iota* is a *sigma*. $[\mu\alpha]\varsigma\iota$, therefore, is a very plausible reconstruction, all the more so since we know the eparch Masi as the sender of three other letters from Qasr Ibrim: *P. Qasr Ibrim* II 24 (DBMNT 1021), IV 107 (DBMNT 2848), and IV 124 (DBMNT 2870). Thus, a new edition of the whole address can be proposed:

[μα]ϛι ἐπαρ`χ` κρ`τ`ς τ`ω` δαγτι θε`λ` κακ`τ`

[μα]ϛι ἔπαρχ(ος) κρ(ά)τ(ιστο)ς τῶ δαγτι θελ() κακτ(ινε)

‘Masi, the most excellent¹⁵⁹ eparch, to Dauti, *thel*() of Kaktine’.

44. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 116 fr. 2 (DBMNT 2858)

a) Recto, line 7: Pasili

In line 7 of the recto of this letter, we read πασιλην. In the commentary to his edition, Ruffini notes that this word ‘is not attested as either a personal name or a place name’ (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, p. 317). It seems, however, that we are dealing here with a variant of the name Basilios with a simple change of π for β.

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¹⁵⁹ Note that the form κρατης used by Ruffini here and elsewhere in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV as the resolution of the abbreviations κρᾶ`τ` and κρ`τ`ς does not exist in Greek. In all these cases the superlative *κράτιστος* is undoubtedly meant. According to Adam Łajtar (personal communication), this cannot be a part of the title ‘great eparch’, but must be a honorific epithet, the Greek counterpart of the Latin *egregius* and *clarissimus*.

APPENDIX
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES DISCUSSED IN 'NOM IV'

- A.kiepi – 21c
 Adaja Oki (ghost-name) – 18b
 Adajinoki – 18b
 Aera – 28a
 Agni – 25a
 Aianos.d..a (ghost-name) – 17c
 Aildonga – 20g
 Ajau – 24a
 Ajjaji – 8a
 Ajjajipadsil (ghost-name) – 8a
 Ajjeji – 20c
 Ajouen (ghost-name) – 24a
 Ali – 27a
 Ali Daplesogginga (ghost-name) – 27a
 Alieuattingal – 25f
 Aliouatti Nga (ghost-name) – 25f
 Amkapi – 36b
 Ammeti Kostatneti – 20h
 Ammiri – 39b
 Ammirikoulou (ghost-name) – 39b
 Ampanggal – 9a
 Ampapi (ghost-name) – 36b
 Anab.. (ghost-name) 25c
 Anasi – 25c
 Angestoti – 28c
 Anil – 4b
 Anil-Songoja (ghost-name) – 4b
 Annga (ghost-name) 25k
 Anos--- – 17c
 Anpes (ghost-name) – 31a
 Aone (ghost-name) – 16c
 Apapan (?) – 12a
 Apati (?) – 21c
 Appasi – 13a
 Asa (ghost-name) – 36a
 Asan – 36a
 Aseno Enotannil – 3a
 Aseisi (ghost-name) – 20f
 Attimal (ghost-name) – 25b
 Aurti (ghost-name) – 20d
 Auti – 20d
 Chalipha – 25k, 26c
 Chaliphaha (ghost-name) – 25k, 26c
 Chammeti – 20c
 Da.a (ghost-name) – 24f
 Daat (ghost-name) – 39
 Daattil (ghost-name) – 39a
 Dad (ghost-name) – 38a, 39a
 Daplesoggi – 27a
 Dari – 22c
 Darne – 4a
 Datti – 39a
 Dauoul (ghost-name) – 12c
 Dauounggal – 12c
 Dauti – 4c, 5b
 Dautiana (ghost-name) – 4c
 Dia – 36a
 Dianggal (ghost-name) – 36a
 Dolli – 23b
 Dollitakil – 3a
 Donel – 25l
 Doulista – 26i
 Douri (toponym) – 6b
 Douriketil – 6c
 Ealau Marta (ghost-name) – 24b
 Eketiwekko (ghost-name) – 39c
 Ekirwa (ghost-name) – 25o
 Enakissil – 41a
 Enoionngoka – 10b, 26l
 Enotannil – 3a
 Enyitta (ghost-variant) – 22f

Eptassisi Kostanteti – 20f
 Erosnou--- (?) – 19b
 Ersenouth() (ghost-name) – 19b

Gele – 26d
 Gemi (ghost-name) – 26d
 Georagaji (ghost-name) – 25q
 Georgios Simon (?) – 23a
 Godjo – 11a
 Gorti – 16e
 Gourgi (ghost-name) – 22g
 Granpeadan (ghost-name) – 24h
 Granpesa (?) – 24h

Haian – 25k, 26c

Ianyji (ghost-name) – 24f
 Ida – 22c
 Iesou – 37a, 30b (Isou)
 Iesou-Aggikouda (ghost-name) – 15a
 Iesusanya – 30e, 30b (Isousanya)
 Iesusinkouda – 15a
 Iketeeitou (ghost-name) – 20a
 Ilon-Sali (ghost-name) – 34a
 Imon – 12b
 Inyitta – 6a, 6c, 22f, 25o
 Ionngal – 2b
 Ionngoka – 6c
 Ipa – 25n
 Ipip (ghost-name) – 20f
 Irasi – 25a
 Irota – 9b
 Irotatoungilki (ghost-name) – 9b
 Isak – 25j
 Ishgkil (ghost-name) – 18a
 Ishkil – 18a
 Isiogoja – 24g
 Isirio (ghost-name) – 29e
 Isou – see Iesou
 Isousanya – see Iesusanya
 Istati (?) – 24k

Istigi (toponym) – 2c
 Iteisil – 10b

Jemelemati (ghost-name) – 21c
 Joasi – 30c

Kalma (?) – 29d
 Kalmaio (ghost-name) – 29d
 Kammeti (ghost-name) – 20c
 Kangam... (ghost-name) – 25m
 Kasan.... – 25m

Kasim – 17c
 Ketitou – 20a
 Kid (ghost-name) – 16b
 Koiga (ghost-name) – 21a
 Koigil – 21a

Kollouthos (ghost-attestation) – 17a
 Kostap Noio (ghost-name) – 29a

Kostatino – 29a
 Kostatneti – 20f, 20h

Kouagaji – 25q
 Koudin--- – 26i
 Koudinpes (ghost-attestation) – 26i
 Koulouma – 39b

Kourketi (ghost-name) – 20b, 22b
 Kourouko – 30f
 Kourteo (ghost-name) – 29f
 Kouskid (ghost-name) – 42a
 Koussan – 34b

Loukas – 30d
 Loukkou--- (ghost-name) – 26g

Maitta – 10a
 Mame – 2c
 Mame-Istipi (ghost-toponym) – 2c
 Maria – 16a
 Mariio – 6a
 Mariongal – 30a
 Markongal (ghost-name) – 30a
 Mart()kouda – 22a

- Marwa – **29b**
 Marwaio (ghost-name) – **29b**
 Masi – **43a**
 Medjou – **4d**
 Merki (ghost-attestation) – **40a**
 Meskel (ghost-name) – **4d**
 Meskekoussan (ghost-name) – **34b**
 Metolkitol – **1a**
 Milanya – **25p**
 Mina – **20g**
 Minaro (ghost-name) – **20g**
 Minlnya (ghost-name) – **25p**
 Minte... – **19a**
 Minteououajar (ghost-name) – **19a**
 Miria – **3a**
 Mousi – **29c**
 Mousio (ghost-name) – **29c**
- Naminngal – **21b**
 Ngal (ghost-attestation) – **9a, 24a**
 Ngal Sedemal – **24j**
 Ngissinngal – **2a**
 Ngojjil – **16f**
 Nosmmo--- (ghost-name) – **25i**
- Ogojkemi – **24d**
 Ogojkol (ghost-name) – **24d**
 Okiji (ghost-attestation) – **24g**
 Okotol – **38a**
 Okotol Dad (ghost-name) – **38a**
 Oliy (ghost-name) – **26h**
 Olithi – **22b (Oliti?), 25j, 26h, 26b**
 (Oliti)
 Olithi Isak (ghost-name) – **25j**
 Oliti – see Olithi
 One – **16c**
 Ori – **17b**
 Orinngal (?) – **17b**
 Ottimal – **25b, 26j**
 Ouattal – **5b**
 Ouattalngal – **5b**
- Ouera – **20e**
 Ougga – **4a (Oukka), 10a**
 Ouggamait (ghost-name) – **10a**
 Oukka – see Ougga
 Ourouminga – **22d**
 Oushshoura – **22e**
- Padonia (ghost-name) – **25g**
 Padonnga – **25g**
 Pan (ghost-name) – **12a**
 Papanni – **5a**
 Papasi – **4d**
 Papasinen – **7a**
 Papi – **2b, 11a (ghost-attestation)**
 Papinpesa – **11a**
 Parogoja – **24c**
 Pasili – **44a**
 Pauouta – **12b**
 Ped...ingal – **25h**
 Ped...ingoa (ghost-name) – **25h**
 Penta – **6b**
 Pentadourin (ghost-name) – **6b**
 Petri – **11a, 26i**
 Pidpi (?) – **33a**
 Pipsimme (ghost-name) – **26a**
 Pissimme – **25i, 26a**
- Saganngal – **26f**
 Sagasal (ghost-name) – **26f**
 Sai (toponym) – **13b**
 Sai Te (ghost-name) – **25d**
 Saite – **25d**
 Sakkouille – **25e**
 Sakkoume (ghost-name) – **25e**
 Salasoumeta (?) – **24b**
 Salasti Nganami (ghost-name) – **21b**
 Salastinngal – **21b**
 Sali (?) – **34a**
 Sedemal – **24j**
 Sentiko – **16d**
 Settiko (ghost-name) – **16d**

- Shikorti – **24a**
 Shikortinangal – **24a**
 Si (ghost-name) – **13a**
 Silmakki (ghost-name) – **20g**
 Silmokki (ghost-name) – **14a**
 Simamon – **23a**
 Simeron (ghost-name) – **12c**
 Sirouminga (ghost-name) – **22d**
 Songoja – **4b, 5a, 5b, 16f, 26e**
 Soteri – **29e**
 Soukkou – **26g, 32a**
 Soukkousapa (ghost-attestation) – **32a**
 Staro – **1b**
 Starosout (ghost-name) – **1b**
 Suera (ghost-name) – **20e**
- Tai (ghost-toponym) – **13b**
 Taiprelli (ghost-name) – **28b**
- Tapara – **6a, 13b**
 Tati (ghost-name) **24k**
 Taurosi – **26k**
 Teia (ghost-name) – **25r**
 Teite – **25r**
 Temsi – **24e**
 Temso (ghost-name) – **24e**
 Tengengitta (ghost-name) – **35a**
 Teprelli – **28b**
 Thomas – **30c**
 Tidaua – **10b**
 Tilingoko – **34b**
 Titta – **22e**
 Tounngil (toponym) – **9b**
 Tounng() – **24l**
 Tourgi – **22g**
- ianyjin Da.a – **24f**