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**NUBICA ONOMASTICA MISCELLANEA V**  
**REEDITION OF TWO OLD NUBIAN LISTS OF NAMES**  
**FROM QASR IBRIM\***

THE PRESENT PAPER IS THE LAST ONE in a series of articles in which I have offered corrections to the reading and interpretation of anthroponyms found in Christian Nubian written sources.<sup>1</sup> This article differs from the previous ones in that it does not merely offer improvements in the reading of single names or phrases that include names taken from larger texts, but instead offers (1) the fragmentary reedition (witnesses' list) of the Old Nubian legal document *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 65 and (2) the

\* I would like to thank Adam Łajtar and the anonymous reviewer for their remarks on earlier versions of this paper. I am also grateful to Giovanni Ruffini for correcting my English and his comments.

<sup>1</sup> The following articles have been published in the 'Nubica onomastica miscellanea' series, hereafter NOM: 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 personal 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 IV: 'Notes on and corrections to personal names found in Old Nubian documents from Qasr Ibrim', *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 48 (2018), pp. 143–251. The material for all these papers was collected during the research project 'What's in a name?' *A study on the onomastics of Christian Nubia* financed by the National Science Centre of the Republic of Poland grant (no. 2015/17/D/HS3/00372).

complete reedition of the account *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 80. Both documents were first published by Giovanni Ruffini with good photographs.<sup>2</sup> Thanks to them, it is now possible to propose a significant improvement to Ruffini's original edition. Because this is a reedition of the texts, all their aspects will be discussed here, but – of course – special attention will be given to personal names.

In transliterating Nubian names, I assume a slightly different system than that employed by Ruffini, in which all vowels representing the sound /i/ (ι, ει, η, γ, and ε + consonant with supralinear stroke) are rendered as 'i'.<sup>3</sup> Ruffini's translations occurring throughout the paper are therefore adjusted to this system. For the reader's convenience, the indices of proper nouns, including ghost-attestations, ghost-variants, and ghost-names,<sup>4</sup> and other words occurring in these documents are appended at the end of the paper.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> 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, no. 65, fig. 3, and no. 80, fig. 22.

<sup>3</sup> The only exceptions are names with well-established spelling, here Michaelasi (ⲙⲓⲕⲁⲏⲗⲁⲥⲓ), and the diphthongs εγ, αγ, and ογ, where γ is always rendered as 'u'.

<sup>4</sup> The term 'ghost' is used here to designate words and phrases that were misread and/or misinterpreted as anthroponyms (ghost-names), otherwise unattested forms of known names (ghost-variants), and occurrences of known variants of known anthroponyms (ghost-attestations).

<sup>5</sup> I use the following abbreviations throughout the paper: BROWNE, *Dictionary* = G. M. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary* [= *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 556, *Subsidia* 90], Leuven 1996; BROWNE, *Grammar* = G. M. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar* [= *Languages of the World / Materials* 330], Munich 2002; DBMNT = Database of Medieval Nubian Texts, available at <www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl>; *P. Qasr Ibrim* III = G. M. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim* III [= *Egypt Exploration Society. Texts from Excavations* 12], London 1991. The meaning of Old Nubian words is taken from BROWNE, *Dictionary*, and modern Nubian words from H. ALMKVIST, *Nubische Studien im Sudān 1877–78*, Uppsala – Leipzig 1911; C. H. ARMBRUSTER, *Dongolese Nubian. A Lexicon*, Cambridge 1965; M. KHALIL, *Wörterbuch der nubischen Sprache (Fadidja/Mabas-Dialekt)*, Warsaw 1996; and G. W. MURRAY, *An English-Nubian Comparative Dictionary*, London 1923.

1. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 65 (DBMNT 640), ll. 15–19:  
The list of witnesses in a land-sale deed

In his edition of this deed of land sale from a certain Ishkil<sup>6</sup> to Gourresi, Ruffini transcribes the final part of the document containing the list of witnesses and the scribe’s signature, but he refrains from translating, interpreting, and commenting on the contents of the list. In the translation he adds a note: ‘Much of what follows is fragmentary or doubtfully read. Only a Thoma appears with certainty’.<sup>7</sup> However, a closer look at the photograph (fig. 1) reveals that the text is not as cryptic as Ruffini thought. A new reading can be established, in which some known names can be recognised, also in new variants. Moreover, Ruffini’s transcription is inaccurate in that he failed to notice that the lower right-hand fragment of the sheet containing the ending of lines 16–19 was torn off and slightly shifted upwards. This shift gives a false impression that the actual ending of line 16 is an addition above the line, as printed in Ruffini’s edition. Although the shifted lines, coincidentally, seem to produce a continuous reading, moving them one line down gives a better sense of the whole fragment. This break in the sheet is marked here with the | sign.

15 (...) ΜΑΤΑΡΙΓΟΥΛΟΝ ΠΡΩΨΤ΄ ΔΟΛΑΪ . . . . . ΟΒ. ΛΟ΄ ΔΟΥΡΙ-  
16 ΓΟΛΟ ΠΑΛΙΜΟΝΑΛΛΟ΄ ΚΑΣΑΛΑΛΟ ΕΔ[Π]Ν̄ ΑΤΑΛΟ ΜΟΤΟΥΛΟ΄ ΓΟΥΣΜΗ ΟΥ. [ . . ]ΑΝΛΟ ΟΥΡΤΙΓΑΛΛΟ  
ΟΡΝ. -  
17 ΛΟ ΚΕΡΚΙΓΑΛΟ ΜΑΜΕΛΟ ΕΨΣΙΚΟΛΟ ΜΑΡΙΑΓΟΚΑΛΟ ΙΩΤΕΕΪΣΙΛΟ΄ ΟΕΛΛΟ Δ[ . . ]ΔΣ. ΡΟΛΟ ΜΑΡΙΚΕΛΛΟ΄  
18 Γ . . . . . ΜΙΧΑΗΛΑΣΝ̄ ΤΟΤΛΛΟ΄ ΘΩΜΑ ΔΔΩΝ ΤΟΤΛΛΟ ΕΚΚΤΑΛΟ΄ ΔΔ[Δ]||ΣΟΥΛΟ΄ ΟΥΡΤΙΓΟΝΝΑΛΟ  
19 ΛΟ΄ *vac.* ΔΪ ΜΕΡ΄Κ΄ΚΟΥ΄Δ΄ΔΔ ΠΑΡΑΣΝ̄ ΠΑΠΑΣΛ̄ ΠΑΪΣΕ ΜΑΨΤ΄(Δ)ΡΑΓΙΣΕΙΛΟ΄

(...) *The witnesses: first, Dolai ...; Dourigo; Palimonal; Kasala; Ngapimata; Motou; Gousbmi ...; Ourtingal; Orn.; Kerkinga; Mame; Issiko; Mariangoka; Ioteejisi; Oil; D.as.ro; Marikel; G....., son (?) of Michaelasi; Thoma, tot of Ado; Ikkita; Dadsou; Ourtingonna. I, Merk()koudda, bishop of Paboras, wrote and witnessed (this).*

<sup>6</sup> Ruffini’s original reading of the name (εΙΟΥΚΣ) was corrected in ΟΧΑΕΛΑ, ‘NOM IV’ (cit. n. 1), no. 18a.  
<sup>7</sup> *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, p. 70.

15. ΔΟΛΛᾰἰ . . . . . ΟΒ ΛΟ: Ruffini transcribed . . . ᾰἰ . . εἰςβ ἦο and left the phrase untranslated. The reading ΔΟΛΛᾰἰ can be proposed on the basis of similarity of traces with the otherwise attested name Dollai (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 38 [DBMNT 586], l. 9: ΔΟΛΛαι; III 38 app. [DBMNT 1000], l. 5: ΔΟΛΛαι; III 40 [DBMNT 588], l. 7: ΔΟΛΛαι). The name derives from the Old Nubian ΔΟΛΛ-, ‘to wish’, and perhaps means ‘wisher’. While ΔΟΛΛᾰἰ seems quite certain, what follows it is much less clear. The two letters immediately following could be taken as the marker -λο, as is expected, separating each entry in the list, but the putative *omikron* looks suspicious. If this indeed is the marker -λο, the following word is another name in the list; if not, however, the word should be an additional designation of Dolai, his second name, sobriquet, or title. The next letter seems to be a *gamma*, but what comes between it and the next *omikron* is impossible to tell. ΟΒ seems certain, but I fail to find any word that would fit here: ΝΟΒ(ΑΔΙΒ) can be rejected, because we do not expect this Greek variant of the name in the Old Nubian linguistic context, where the name always takes its Nubian form ΜΙΓΙ; otherwise, we could be dealing here with the names Iakob or Iob, but this would require assuming that they were written with *omikron* and such variants of either name have not been attested so far in Nubia.

15–16. ΔΟΥΡΙΓΟΛΟ. Ruffini transcribed ἦοΔΟΥΡΙΓΟΛΟ and left the word untranslated. However, taking into account the structure of the witnesses’ list, the two first letters should rather be considered as the marker -λο ending the previous entry (see the preceding commentary). The name is otherwise attested as ΔΟΥΡΙΚΟ (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 34 i [DBMNT 582], l. 32) and should perhaps be analysed as ΔΟΥΡΙ- < ΔΟΥΛ-, ‘to be, exist, dwell’ + -ΚΟ, ‘having’, in the sense ‘having existence/dwelling’.

16. ΠΑΛΙΜΟΝΑΛΛΟ. Ruffini transcribed ἦαλιμονα ᾰς, but the two final letters definitely form the postposition -λο separating this entry from the next one. The third-to-last sign, which Ruffini believed to be the mid-dot, is doubtful. Since the marker -λο is never separated from the word to which it is attached, by either a space or any interpunction, the sign has to be a letter, and lambda seems to me the most probable choice here. The name Palimonal has not been attested elsewhere and should perhaps be analysed as ΠΑΛ-, ‘to come out’ + ΜΟΝ-, ‘to hate, reject, be reluctant’ + -Α (an onomastic suffix)<sup>8</sup> + -Λ and mean ‘the one who is reluctant to come out’, that is – perhaps – a baby born long after the expected delivery time.

16. ΚΑΦΑΛΑΛΟ. Ruffini read ΚΑ . . ΔΑΛΙ and left the fragment untranslated. However, on the basis of the photo the final letter can easily be corrected to an ο, thus forming the marker -λο. The rest of the name is read here on analogy with the name ΚΑΚΛΑ found in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 63 (DBMNT 644), l. 8. The form ΚΑΚΛᾰἰ

<sup>8</sup> See OCHAŁA, ‘NOM IV’ (cit. n. 1), n. 34.

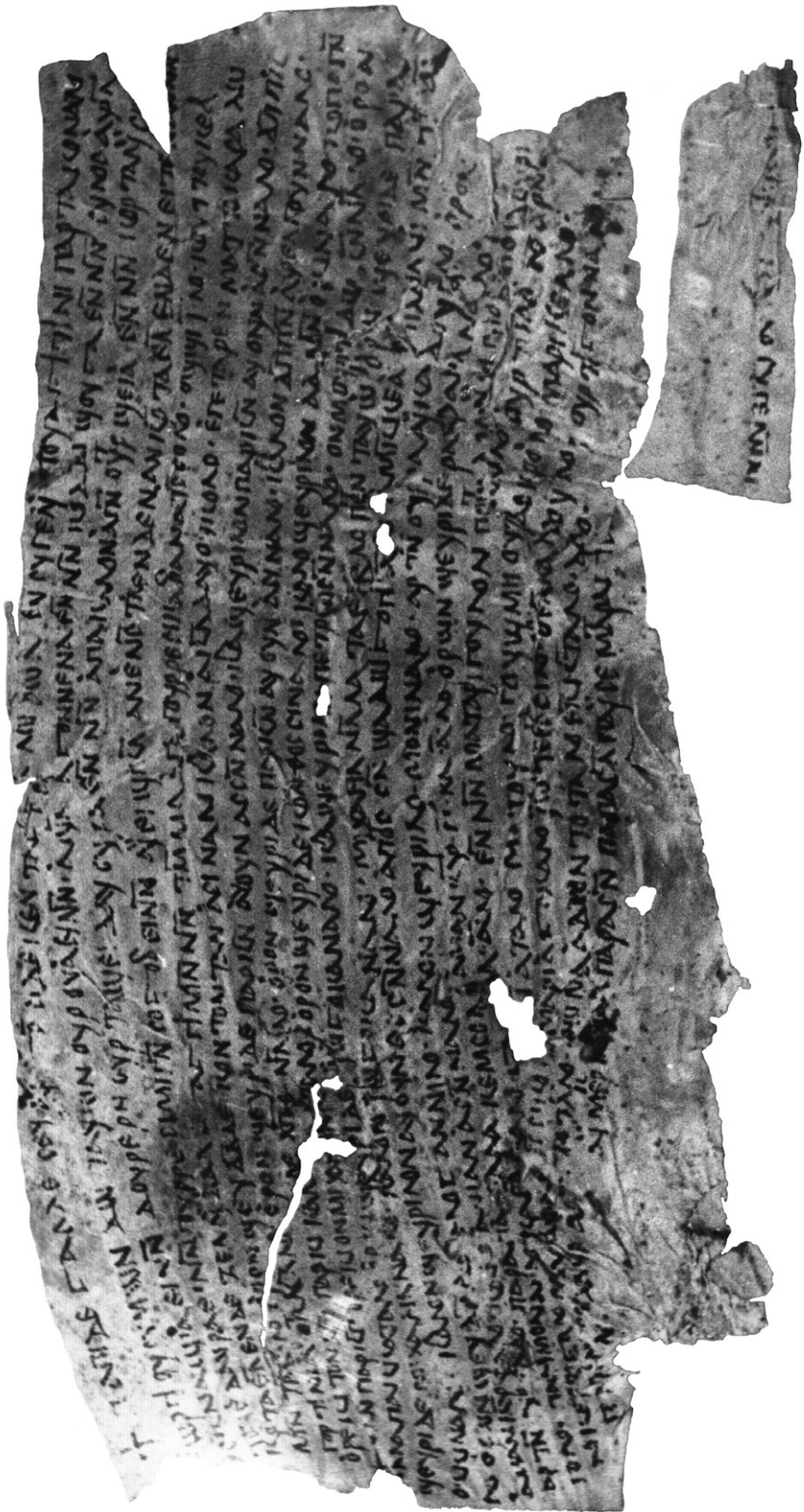


Fig. 1. P. Qasr Ibrim IV 65

from *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 68 (DBMNT 643), l. 12, is undoubtedly another variant of the same name. For the last one, Ruffini observes – most probably rightly – that it may be ‘related to *ghazaala*, Arabic for a “female gazelle”, or *ghazzaala*, Arabic for a “spinning woman”’ (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, p. 91). Whether we are dealing with one person in all three cases cannot be told; also, we have no means of knowing if the person(s) was/were Arabic-speaking foreigner(s), Arabised Nubian(s), or Nubian(s) with an Arabic name.

16. ΕΞ[Π]Ν̄ ΔΤΑΛΟ. Ruffini transcribed Ε[... ]Ν̄ΔΤΑΛΟ and left the fragment untranslated, but the name can easily be reconstructed on analogy with *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 49 (DBMNT 1033), recto, l. 6: ΕΑΠΝ̄ΔΤΑΛΟ. The first element of the name can easily be recognised as ΕΑΠ-, ‘gold’ + the genitive -Ν̄, that is ‘of gold’, but for ΔΤΑ no interpretation can be proposed. As the two documents are separated by a century – *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 49 is dated to AD 1198 and the present text to AD 1280–1295 – there can be no doubt that these were two different individuals.

16. ΜΟΤΟΥΛΟ. Ruffini did not interpret or translate this word, although the postposition -ΛΟ clearly points to its identification as a proper name. The name Motou has not been attested so far and its etymology is unknown to me.

16–17. ΓΟΥΩΜΗ ΟΥ[. . .]ΔΗΛΟ ΟΥΡΤΙΓΑΛΛΟ ΟΡΝ[. ]ΛΟ. Ruffini read ΓΟΥΩΜΗ ΟΥΓΑΥΡΟΛΟ ΜΑΡΙΚΕΛΛΟ· ΟΥΡΤΙΓΑΛΛΟ ΟΡΝ[. ]ΛΟ but he did not notice that the sheet is broken before his ΑΥΡΟΛΟ and the whole right corner is moved more or less one line upward and slightly covers the main part of the sheet. Thus, his suprascribed ΟΥΡΤΙΓΑΛΛΟ ΟΡΝ[. ] is indeed the actual ending of line 16 and ΑΥΡΟΛΟ ΜΑΡΙΚΕΛΛΟ· belongs to the following line (see below).

The fragment in question contains three entries in the witnesses’ list, each marked off by the postposition -ΛΟ. The first one reads ΓΟΥΩΜΗ ΟΥ[. . .]ΔΗΛΟ. The form ΓΟΥΩΜΗ, most probably pronounced /guʃmi/, undoubtedly is a variant of the name ΓΟΥΩΜΗΗ (/guʃʃimi/) found in the list of slaves from Gebel Adda (A. Łajtar, ‘A survey of Christian textual finds from Gebel Adda in the collections of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto’, [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. 951–959, at 956 & 958 [DBMNT 3035], l. 4). The name appears to be Nubian, perhaps cognate with the Nobiin ΓΟΥΩΜ-, ‘to rise; to be angry’. What comes after it, ΟΥ[. . .]ΔΗΛΟ, is hard to read and interpret: this could be either Goushmi’s title or his second name. One is tempted to read the title ΟΥΡΑΝΛΟ, ‘chief’, which is not infrequently found in witnesses’ lists from Qasr Ibrim, but the lacuna is definitely too wide.

The second entry is transcribed by Ruffini as ΟΥΡΤΙΓΑΛΛΟ, but his *gamma* seems improbable, because no Nubian anthroponym ends in -gal. An *engma* is much more probable in this position, although – admittedly – palaeographically worse than a *gamma*, because of the popularity of the Nubian names formed with ΕΑΛ-

‘son’. The name should thus be analysed as ‘son of Ourti’. The name Ourti is otherwise attested in Nubia in an Old Nubian letter from Qasr Ibrim (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 101 [DBMNT 2842], ll. 2 & 6) and in a visitor’s graffito from Banganarti (A. Łajtar, *A Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre in Nubia. The Evidence of Wall Inscriptions in the Upper Church at Banganarti* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 39], Warsaw 2020, no. 942 [DBMNT 4115]). It most probably derives from the Old Nubian  $\text{our}t$ -, ‘possession’.

The name in the last entry,  $\text{orn} \cdot \text{lo}$ , should most probably be supplemented  $\text{orna}$  or  $\text{orno}$ , but the traces are not sufficient to ascertain either reading. Both Orna and Orno appear to be variants of the same anthroponym, deriving most probably from the Old Nubian  $\text{op}$ -, ‘head’. The former appears in an epitaph from Faras (*I. Khartoum Copt.* 11 [DBMNT 40], l. 8), and the latter in a legal deed from Qasr Ibrim (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 68 [DBMNT 643], l. 12).

17.  $\text{kerki}\epsilon\lambda\text{lo}$ . Ruffini transcribed  $\text{ker}\tau\epsilon\lambda\text{lo}$ , but, judging by the photo, his second  $\epsilon$  is surely a  $\text{E}$  – the lower horizontal bar of the putative *epsilon* is just a shadow on the surface of the sheet. We thus obtain the ending  $\text{E}\lambda$  or even  $\text{E}\lambda\lambda$ , under the assimilation of the double *lambda*, which is a perfect ending for an anthroponym (see also above). The letters between  $\text{ke}$  and  $\text{E}\lambda\text{lo}$  are, unfortunately, much harder to read. However, Ruffini’s  $\tau$  and  $\epsilon$  seem improbable from the palaeographical point of view:  $\tau$  never descends below the baseline and  $\epsilon$  resembles the Greek  $\zeta$  (cf.  $\epsilon\lambda$  in l. 5). The reading  $\text{kerki}$  is more or less a guess based on analogy with the well-attested variant  $\text{merki}$  for Merkourios. If such a reading is correct, Kerki would be a variant of Kyriakos; the meaning of the element  $\text{-E}\lambda$  is unknown (see also below, 2, comm. *ad* l. 5). Other readings, however, cannot be excluded, e.g.  $\text{ker}\tau\epsilon\lambda\text{lo}$ .

17.  $\text{ma}\epsilon\lambda\text{lo}$ . Ruffini read  $\text{m}\gamma \cdot \text{m}[\dots]$  and left the fragment untranslated and uninterpreted. The reading  $\text{ma}\epsilon\lambda\text{lo}$  is practically a guess, based on analogy with other attestations of this name: *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 31 (DBMNT 589), l. 13; IV 73 (DBMNT 2806), recto, l. 10; G. M. Browne, ‘An Old Nubian document from Kulubnarti’, *Le Muséon* 113 (2000), pp. 177–184 (DBMNT 594), l. 16; S. Donadoni, ‘Le iscrizioni’, [in:] *Tamit* (1964). *Missione archeologica in Egitto dell’Università di Roma*, Rome 1967, no. 1 (DBMNT 723), l. 3. For the etymology of the name, see Ochała, ‘NOM IV’ (cit. n. 1), no. 2c.

17.  $\text{e}\epsilon\text{c}\text{ik}\text{olo}$ . Ruffini transcribed  $\text{e}\epsilon\text{c}\text{iko}$ , but what he took to be the horizontal stroke from a putative *delta* in his  $\text{ka} \cdot \text{A}\lambda\lambda\text{i}$  in line 16 (see the commentary above) is most probably a long supralinear stroke above  $\text{ec}$ . The postposition  $\text{-lo}$  is practically invisible, but the consistency of the scribe in putting it after every name on the list is enough to assume its presence here as well.  $\text{e}\epsilon\text{c}\text{iko}$  is certainly a variant of the well-known compound Nubian name Iesusiko (‘having Jesus’). This particular variant is attested twice more in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 80 (DBMNT 2810), ll. 5 & 17 (see 2 below).

17. μαριάεοκαλο. Ruffini read μαριάεσκαλο. While his reading appears palaeographically justified, μαριάεοκαλο is preferable, as it provides a better etymology for the name: μαρια, (Virgin) Mary + εοκ-, ‘glory’ + -α = ‘the glory of (the Virgin) Mary’. Also, the form has a close analogy with the well-attested name Ionngoka (for its etymology, see Ochała, ‘NOM IV’ [cit. n. 1], no. 6c).

17. ἰῶτᾶεῖῥῑλο. In Ruffini’s edition, the phrase has the form ἰῶτᾶεῖῥῑλο. However, a δ seems better palaeographically than a β. Such a reading is also better on account of analogy with the name Aigajisi found in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 47 (DBMNT 1031), recto, l. 4 (twice), ⲫ verso, l. 2. Ioteejisi is undoubtedly a Nubian name, but its etymology is unknown to me.

17. οἷλλο ⲁ[ . ]ⲁϥ ρολο μαρικελλο. Ruffini edits the end of the line as οἷκαλ ρογλο ογρτιεοννα, but his ρογλο ογρτιεοννα in fact belongs to line 18, and the actual ending of line 17 is found in Ruffini’s line 16, his ρυρολο μαρικελλο (see above, the introduction and commentary *ad* l. 16). The phrase contains three entries in the list, each marked off with the postposition -λο.

The first entry is οἷλλο, which Ruffini transcribed οἷκα. Judging by the photo, however, what he took to be the upper oblique stroke of the *kappa* and the lower part of the oblique stroke of the *alpha* seem to be only shadows on the sheet’s wrinkled surface. Reading the marker -λο instead is consistent with the remainder of the list. Moreover, the name Oilka has not been attested so far, and the names Oila, known from two instances (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 41 [DBMNT 1025], l. 5: οἷλα; IV 71 [DBMNT 2791], recto, l. 2: οἷλλα), and Oilanga, attested thrice (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 37 [DBMNT 585], l. 33: οἷλανεα; III 43 [DBMNT 1027], l. 6: οἷλαεα; III 45 [DBMNT 1029], ll. 7–8: οἷλαεα), provide good analogy. The name should probably be analysed as οἷε-, ‘to be new’ + -λ in the sense ‘the one who is new’.

By accepting this reading, the final λ in Ruffini’s οἷκαλ is definitely to be ruled out: this has to be the beginning of an anthroponym from the next entry and no word in Old Nubian can begin with the *lambda* with a supralinear stroke. As a matter of fact, what Ruffini took to be a stroke above a *lambda* appears to be just a shadow. Also, the shape of this putative *lambda* does not conform with other *lambdas* throughout the text; it looks more like an *alpha* or, even better, a *delta*, which is preferred here. The ending of the name is not unproblematic either. In his transcription, Ruffini has ρυρολο, but his *upsilon* is highly doubtful on palaeographical grounds: other *upsilons* in this text are exclusively written with a short left-hand stroke and a long right-hand stroke, while here the putative *upsilon* would be written in the opposite order, a very unlikely situation. Instead, the letter could be a *kappa*. Unfortunately, no analogies for a name sounding D.askro have been identified.

The last entry of the fragment is μαρικελλο. The name Marikel is a hapax. It most probably is a compound name and should be analysed as μαρι, (Virgin) Mary + κελ-, ‘limit, fullness’, in the sense ‘the fullness of Mary’.



18. ρ . . . . . ΜΙΧΑΗΛΑÇÏ ΤΟΥΤΛΛΟ. The fragment is very difficult to read, because the surface of the leather is very wrinkled in this place, which must have affected the writing on the one hand and resulted in the loss of ink in many places on the other. In Ruffini's edition we find ΠΙΜΗΝΟΥΛΟΥΡ ΑÇΤΚΤΛΛΟ, which gives hardly any sense and is difficult from a phonological point of view. A closer inspection of the photo allows an improved reading. The entry starts not with a π, as Ruffini believed, but rather with a ρ ligatured with a round letter, an ε or an ο. What comes next cannot be a *mu*, as Ruffini proposed, because the normal *mu* in this text has a different shape (cf., e.g., the *mu* in ΠΑΛΙΜΟΝΑΛΛΟ in l. 16 above); I would prefer to read ΝΤ instead, but this is too uncertain to put in the edition. The following two letters may indeed be Μ, as transcribed by Ruffini, but his second, dotted Ν does not, in my opinion, belong here. The sign is written below, as if at the beginning of the next line. Moreover, it is followed by a mid-dot, hence it must be placed at the end of an entry, not in its middle. If so, it should most probably be interpreted as the marker -λο, even though the *omikron* is not entirely visible, attached to the last entry in the list (see the commentary below). The space after the putative Μ, not taken into account in Ruffini's edition, clearly suggests the word separation here. This would thus be the name of the witness. Unfortunately, no name attested in Nubian sources can be matched with the traces here, and I refrain from proposing any transcription.

As for the remainder of the entry, Ruffini's ΟΥΛΟΥΡ ΑÇΤΚΤΛΛΟ can be amended to produce a satisfactory reading, albeit not entirely certain. First, the *kappa* in Ruffini's ΑÇΤΚΤΛΛΟ is surely a *tau* and an *omikron*, producing the well-known noun ΤΟΥΤΛ, designating either 'child, son' or the title of a lower-ranking official, followed by the postposition -λο marking the end of the entry. Second, if so, what precedes it has to be a proper noun (anthroponym or toponym) in the genitival phrase: name/toponym-ν̄ ΤΟΥΤ, 'son of such-and-such person' or 'tot of such-and-such-place'. And indeed, before ΤΟΥΤΛ, we can discern a horizontal stroke on the photo; Ruffini took it to be the remnant of a *tau*, but – given the context – it is much more probable that this is the supralinear stroke above the – now missing – genitival ν. Third, the reading of a proper noun preceding the genitival ν is difficult; as a matter of fact, apart from one *alpha* towards its end, no letter can be read with certainty. However, a clue to the reading is provided by the sign read as λ in Ruffini's ΟΥΛΟΥΡ. It does not resemble any other *lambda* found throughout the text. Instead, the letter is reminiscent of a *kbi*, as found in the name ΜΙΧΑΗΛ in lines 9 and 11 (twice). And indeed, it turns out that the traces of ink can be matched with the name of the Archangel also here: Ruffini's ΟΥ is much more likely ΜΙ, with the bottom part obliterated, and his ΟΥΡ is λ + η (with the bottom of the left vertical stroke missing) + λ (with right part now invisible). Ruffini is most probably right in transcribing the two last letters as αç and hence we arrive at the reading ΜΙΧΑΗΛΑÇÏ ΤΟΥΤΛ. Michaelasi is most surely a variant of Michaelinasi found in two

identical phrases referring to a single man, Darne son of Michaelinasi, ΔΑΡΜΕ ΜΙΧΑΗΛῆΝ ΔΑΤῆ ΓΑΛ (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 31 [DBMNT 589], l. 6; III 33 [DBMNT 591], l. 6), under the loss of the genitival -ῆ common in Nubian onomastics (cf. ΜΑΡΙΑΝΚΟΥΔΑ vs. ΜΑΡΙΑΚΟΥΔΑ). While the meaning of ΤΟΤ is ambiguous and Michaelasi in our phrase could be either toponym or anthroponym (see above), the use of ΓΑΛ, ‘son’, in reference to Darne makes it clear that we are dealing with a personal name here. The name should most probably be analysed as ΜΙΧΑΗΛ, ‘Michael’ + -ῆ (genitive) + ΔΑΤ-, ‘daughter’ or ‘morning’ + -ῆ to mean ‘daughter of (Archangel) Michael’ or ‘morning of (Archangel) Michael’. The former interpretation seems more probable, as this and other names formed with the nouns ΔΑΤ-/ΔΑΤΙ-, ‘daughter’, would be parallel to the names formed with ΓΑΛ-, ‘son’ (cf. Ochała, ‘NOM IV’ [cit. n. 1], p. 158). Moreover, their meaning suggests that they are female and male names, respectively. If so, our Michaelasi would be G....’s mother.

18. ΘΩΜΑ ΔΔΩΝ ΤΟΤΛΛΟ. Ruffini correctly recognized the name of the witness but misread the second part of the entry; he edited ΘΩΜΑ ΔΔΕCΝ ΤΟΤΔΛΟ. The photograph allows for corrections in two places: first, ΕC in Ruffini’s ΔΔΕCΝ is without a shadow of a doubt an *omega*; second, the Δ in ΤΟΤΔΛΟ cannot be anything else but the λ, as in the previous entry. In contrast to the previous entry, however, ΤΟΤ- must designate here the title of official, not the filiation, because Ado is certainly attested as a toponym in another document. In *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 64 (DBMNT 641), l. 9, we read ΚΑCῆ ΔΔΩΝ ΓΟΥΦΛ, ‘Kasim, *goush* of Ado’, where *goush* is a title of an official, unfortunately unidentified, and is always accompanied by a toponym (see the references in Browne, *Dictionary*, p. 34). The toponym is probably on record also in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 37 (DBMNT 585), ll. 24–25: ἰἄτρῶα | οὐραν ἀλλων τῶτλλο, ‘Iatrosa, chief, *tot* of Addo’. The location of Ado/Addo is unfortunately unknown.

18. Εἰκῆταλο. Ruffini transcribed the name but left it untranslated and uninterpreted. The name Ikkita has not been attested elsewhere. It most probably should be analysed as Εἰκ-, ‘to lead, bring, instruct’ + -ῆτ (substantive suffix) + -α (onomastic suffix) and understood ‘the guidance’ or ‘the guide, teacher’.

18. ΔΔ[Δ]CΟΥΛΟ· ΟΥΡΤΙΕΘΝΑΛΟ. Here, again, Ruffini mismatched the lines and transcribed only ΔΛΟ·, whereas ΛΟ· is actually the ending of the last line of the text (see below); the real ending of line 18 is CΟΥΛΟ· ΟΥΡΤΙΕΘΝΑ found at the end of line 17 of Ruffini’s edition. The name of the witness in the first entry, Dadsoul, is reconstructed on the basis of another attestation of this anthroponym, in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 34 i (DBMNT 582), l. 18: ΔΔΔCΟΥΛ· ΓΟΥΤΤΑΜΕΤΤΑ· ΕΙΝῆ, ‘Dadsoul being the silentary’. The name is apparently Nubian, but its etymology is unknown to me.

As for the other entry in the fragment, the last one in the list, Ruffini transcribed ΟΥΡΤΙΕΘΝΑ. On the photo, however, the marker -ΛΟ· can be discerned at the very end of the line, which indeed is expected here. The letters are recognisable but blotted, which perhaps prompted the scribe to repeat the marker at the beginning of the next line, which would otherwise be completely redundant here.

Note that Ruffini took it as a  $\eta$  and included it in the beginning of line 18 (see above). The name Ourtingonna derives from the Old Nubian  $\text{our}\tau$ -, ‘possession’, but its exact etymology is unknown (cf. above, Ourtinngal).

19.  $\text{m}\epsilon\text{r}\text{k}'\text{k}\text{o}\gamma'\text{d}'\text{d}$ . Ruffini transcribed  $\text{m}\epsilon\text{r}\text{k}([\dots])\text{d}$ , but his lacuna is in fact a blot of ink under which one can recognise the letters  $\text{k}\text{o}\gamma'\text{d}'\text{d}$ . We are, therefore, dealing here with the name Merkourioskouda or similar, attested twice more in Nubian sources, in different variants: in a visitor’s inscription from Banganarti as  $\text{m}\epsilon\text{r}\text{k}\text{i}\text{k}\text{o}\gamma'\text{d}'$  (Łajtar, *A Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre* [cit. above], no. 346 [DBMNT 3555]; and in a dipinto with a list of donors to the church from Sonqi Tino as  $\text{m}\epsilon\text{r}\text{k}\text{o}\gamma'\text{d}'$  (unpublished; under preparation by the Sonqi Tino Collaborative headed by Vincent Laisney). The name belongs to the well-known class of Nubian anthroponyms formed with the element  $\text{-k}\text{o}\gamma'\text{d}$ , ‘servant’, and means ‘servant of (Saint) Merkourios’ (for such names, see H. Satzinger, ‘Das altnubische Namselement  $\text{-k}\text{o}\gamma'\text{d}$ : “Diener”?’ [in:] U. Luft [ed.], *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies Presented to László Kákósy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* [= *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14], Budapest 1992, pp. 519–521). A bishop of Pachoras by this name has not been attested elsewhere and his presence here is a welcome addition to the episcopal fasti.

19.  $\text{m}\text{d}'\text{t}'(\text{d})\text{p}\text{a}\text{r}\text{i}\text{c}\epsilon\lambda\text{o}$ . Ruffini edits the ending of the line  $\text{m}\text{a}\text{r}\text{t}(\text{d})\text{a}\text{r}\text{i}\text{c}\epsilon$ . However, in view of the fact that the basic form of the verb ‘to witness’ in Old Nubian is  $\text{m}\text{a}\text{t}\text{a}\text{p}\text{a}\text{r}\text{e}$ - (lit. ‘to become witness’; see Browne, *Dictionary*, p. 112), the resolution  $\text{m}\text{d}'\text{t}'(\text{d})\text{p}\text{a}\text{r}\text{e}$ - seems preferable; otherwise, one would have to edit  $\text{m}\text{d}\{\text{p}\}\text{t}(\text{d})\text{p}\text{a}\text{r}\text{e}$ -. Also, Ruffini did not notice that the ending of the line ( $\text{lo}$ ) is shifted upwards and he connected it with the previous line (see above).

## 2. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 80 (DBMNT 2810):

### Account of various commodities

In the edition of this text, Ruffini made a similar mistake as in the previous one by mismatching the endings of some lines. In the introduction to his edition, he stated: ‘From line 10 on, the final words on the right hand of the transcription are one line out of step with the alignment shown in the photographs. The paper is damaged at this point, and the author of the transcriptions appears to have set the broken lines next to each other differently than whoever prepared the text for photograph. I follow the photograph to the best of my ability’ (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, p. 153). He noticed that the most serious problem lies in line 14, ‘where the transcription runs the first half of the line into the second half of what the photograph shows

at line 13. Lines 13 and 15 make continuous sense together' (*ibidem*). This sense, however, is only apparent. His edition of the lines in question is as follows (I mark the break in the sheet by the | sign):

- 10 (...) ΠΑΟΥ ΤΙΡΑΜΗ ῥ | ΠΑΡΡΕΓΑΛΟ  
 11 ΚΟΛΛΟ ΣΙΜΔΑΚΙΡΑ ΤΙΡΑ † ΝΑΛ|ΜΙ ΠΑΡΕΞΤΤ†  
 12 ΚΟΔΑΓΙΚΟΥΛΕ ῥΛΟ ΕΙΡΑ ΕΙΟΚΟ Ε|ΠΙΔΑΩΝ  
 13 ῥΛΟ ΔΑΕ ΚΟΥΡΡΙΤ ῥΛΟ ΕΞΠΠ ᾶ|ΡΟΥ ΠΑΚΚΑ-  
 14 ᾶΛ ΚΑΚΑΤΙ ᾶΛΟ ΕΘΕ Τ†ΡΑΜ†  
 15 -ΤΙΝΑΛΟ (...)

‘Ραου: 3 dirhams; from Parrenga (?), who (unknown verb)-s, in the book (?): 10 dirhams; Nalmi: 3 measures of *kodangikoule*; through Eira: 3 *epi-dashin*; (inserted: ... 1 *kakati*; Ngoe: ? dirhams); Dang Kourrit: 1, 1 and a half gold pieces’.

As a matter of fact, a closer inspection of the photograph (fig. 2) indeed shows that the endings of lines 11–14 are misplaced. The lower right corner of the text is evidently torn off between lines 10–14. In the commentary to his line 14, Ruffini rightly observes that there is a fold in the sheet that covers almost entirely the word Τ†ΡΑΜ†. He, however, does not find it strange that the fold would continue until the right edge of the sheet, while on the photo, the surface of the paper appears flat. Thus, in my opinion, line 14 does not end in the middle of the sheet. To the contrary, this fold caused the torn off ending of lines 10–14 to shift more or less one line upwards. This is further confirmed in line 10, where one can discern after ΤΙΡΑΜΗ ῥ traces of ink belonging to the upper part of two letters, the bottoms of which are hidden beneath the piece with ΠΑΡΡΕΓΑΛΟ. Under such a reconstruction, the ending of line 10 is missing in a lacuna.

Apart from this major reconstruction of the text, there are also some smaller and bigger corrections to the reading and interpretation of this document, additionally prompting a completely new edition and translation.

† ΠΡ(Ω)ΤΙ ΑΡΠΑΚΟΚΟ ΑΝΑΠ†Τ† ᾶΡΟΥ ΚΑΠΑ Ι-  
 ῥΛΟ ΜΑΡΤΑΟΓΟ ΚΑΠΑ ῥΛΟ ΜΑΤΤΟ

- αρπιάο καπα ἤκοϋ ᾱλο ειοϋ παργατ-  
 4 τι ᾱλο εοκῶλλοκο πεττι αἶπι ᾱλο  
 εῖ[σι]κο μαριεᾱνα ᾱσιλοκο πεττι μα-  
 ρε ᾱλο οη ε[ο]κῶ[ολ]λοκο ᾱδε τιραμη  
 ᾱλο εοει τιραμη[η] ᾱροϋ πακκαττινα-  
 8 λο κοπαρε τιραμη ᾱροϋ πακκαττινα-  
 λο μαριό τῑττα ᾱ[σι]λο ᾱδεεε κοκρεᾱ[ε]  
 ᾱεᾱεεεε παροϋ τιραμη ᾱ[λο 3-4 ]  
 εολλο σιμακιρα τιρα(μη) ᾱναλο αρρεεαλο-  
 12 κο ᾱεγικοϋλε ᾱλο ειραειόκο ε[ ]μη παργατ  
 ᾱλο ᾱεγκοϋρριτ ᾱλο τᾱππαπιδα ρᾱ-  
 αλ κακατι ᾱλο εῖρε τιραμη ᾱροϋ πακκα-  
 ττιναλο εοκῶλλοκο αττινα ᾱλο εγετι  
 16 καρρε ᾱλο αρπιᾱοκο οκκι αλμοϋτι ᾱνα-  
 εο ᾱλο εῖε[σι]κολλοκο οκκι αλμοϋτι ᾱνα-  
 εο εῖλο ειραειόε[ο] οκκι αλμοϋτι ᾱλο  
 οη ειραειόκο οε[κι] αλμοϋτι ᾱλο  
 20 εγετ[ι] ματαρᾱ ταπαρᾱλο

† *First:*

*With (?) Arpia: one 'anapiti', 12 (loaves of) 'kapa'-bread;*

*With (?) Marta: 40 (loaves of) 'kapa'-bread;*

*To/from (?) Matto (?) Arpia: 33 (loaves of) 'kapa'-bread, 4 'parngatt'-measures of wheat;*

*With (?) Ngojkol: 1 'aiḫi'-measure of dates;*

*With (?) Issiko, daughter of Maringa: 1 bushel of dates;*

*And with (?) Ngojkol: 'ade' (in the worth of) 1 dirham; oil (in the worth) of one dirham and a half; 'kopare' (in the worth) one dirham and a half;*

*To/from (?) Mario, daughter of Titta: 'paou' of 'ade' and 'kokre' and 'ded' (in the worth) of 3 dirhams;*

*From (?) ---sol: a knife from Simd (?) (in the worth) of 3 dirhams;*

*With (?) Arrenga: 3 rock (?) 'dang'-fishes;*

*With (?) Irai: 3 'parngatt'-measures of ..., 1 humpbacked (?) 'dang'-fish;*

*With his father, Shimal: 1 bag (?); oil (in the worth) of one dirham and a half;*

*With (?) Ngojkol: 1 'attina', 1 ewe;*

*With (?) Arpia: 1 'almouti anango'-measure of 'okki';*  
*With (?) Issikol: ... 'almouti anango'-measure of 'okki';*  
*With (?) Irai: 1 'almouti'-measure of 'okki';*  
*And also with (?) Irai: 1 'almouti'-measure of 'okki'.*  
*A sheep to/from (?) Mataril the transporter (?).*

This new edition of *P. Qasr Ibrim IV 80* certainly does not solve all the problems this text poses, but it at least brings us closer to the truth by settling some issues. Already Ruffini observed that this is not a standard representative of the genre of Old Nubian accounts. He paid attention to some details, namely that it is unrelated to church holdings like many other accounts; that it does not record collections by or for Nubian officials; and that it has a higher rate of repeating persons than other accounts.<sup>9</sup> By establishing the new reading, further special features come to light.

First of all, the heading with which Ruffini labelled this text, 'Account of dirhams', does not hold any longer, because – if my interpretation is correct – the document does not mention hard currency, only the value of some commodities expressed in dirhams. This certainly is the most extraordinary feature of this account, to the best of my knowledge unattested elsewhere in the corpus of Old Nubian documents. The purpose of this is unclear, as is the purpose of this account in general, but it contributes to the discussion on the existence of a monetary economy in Christian Nubia.<sup>10</sup> While the text does not prove the physical existence of money as such, the virtual absence of which in archaeological material is the key point in the discussion on the issue, it shows that the value of various goods could be expressed in coins, be they real or only units of account, and that their monetary value was known and used.

Second, the repertoire of commodities mentioned in this document is exceptional. Other published Old Nubian accounts of this type are limited

<sup>9</sup> *P. Qasr Ibrim IV*, pp. 22–23.

<sup>10</sup> The most extensive and exhaustive discussion so far can be found in G. R. RUFFINI, *Medieval Nubia. A Social and Economic History*, Oxford 2012, pp. 171–206, summarised in *P. Qasr Ibrim*, pp. 27–30, and IDEM, 'Monetization across the Nubian border. A hypothetical model', [in:] A. A. EGER, *The Archaeology of Medieval Islamic Frontiers. From the Mediterranean to the Caspian Sea*, Louisville 2019, pp. 105–118.

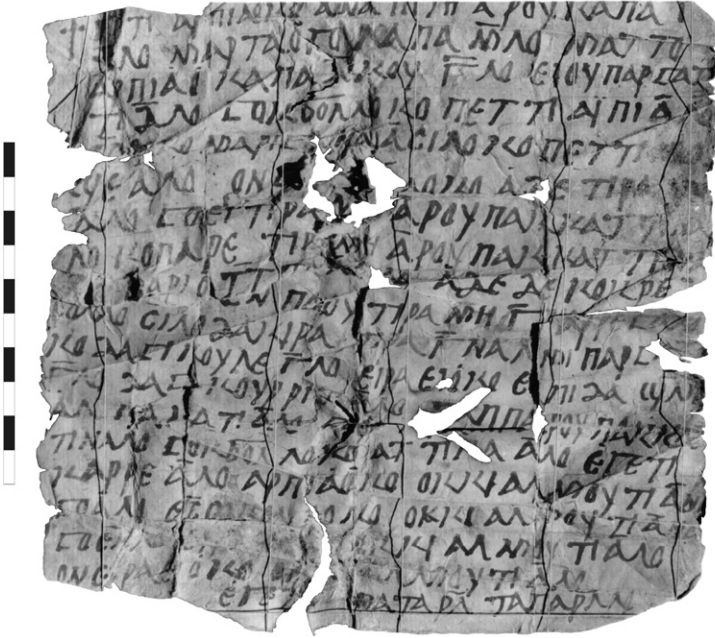


Fig. 2. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 80

to a few types of goods, typically gold, dirhams, wine, and grain. Only on very rare occasions does one find other stuff, like a camel in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 81 (DBMNT 2811), l. 10. Here, on the other hand, we have many different commodities, including – as far as the identifications proposed here are credible – both foodstuffs (grain, bread, oil, dates, fish, and beverages) and everyday life utensils (perhaps pottery vessels and a knife).

Finally, the last entry is definitely one of its kind among Old Nubian accounts. If I am right, the reversed order and setting it apart from the rest of the text signifies a special purpose, probably a kind of subscription. In my opinion, however, this is not the signature of a scribe, as Ruffini imagined,<sup>11</sup> but a note on the payment to the person (Mataril) responsible for arranging the business recorded in the account.

Unfortunately, establishing the purpose of this document vis-à-vis other accounts is extremely difficult, given the fact that the account is devoid

<sup>11</sup> *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, p. 23.

of any heading that would define or at least hint at its goal. The use of the postpositions could be a clue here, but all of them, -λοκο, -λο, and -ΔΔ, are ambiguous. The first means ‘through, by, in’, but in late Old Nubian develops into the instrumental ‘with’,<sup>12</sup> the second ‘(in)to, in, from’, and the last ‘with, against’. I am not even sure whether their use reflects different actions (e.g. delivering vs. receiving) or they overlap in meaning. In any case, their use is another thing that sets this document apart from typical accounts, where the names of the persons are expressed in the genitive,<sup>13</sup> and points to a different kind of operation.<sup>14</sup>

Taking all of this into account, one has the impression that *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 80 was not an official document, in the sense in which the accounts where gold/money was at stake may have been. Instead, I would venture the interpretation that the document was linked to a private person who had some goods delivered to him through some persons with the help of one Mataril responsible for their transport. It would thus be a kind of shopping/delivery list. What purpose all these commodities could have served is regrettably unknown, but one could hypothesise that the goods, especially the food in large quantities, were needed for some kind of social event, like a wedding or – perhaps – the ceremony of signing a land sale deed.<sup>15</sup> Note that the quantities of food mentioned in Nubian land sales as expenses for the ceremony are comparable to the amounts found here.<sup>16</sup> Tempting though it is, the interpretation must remain hypothetical until we find a land-sale document in which exactly the same goods and figures would be mentioned.

Γ-2. ΔΡΠΔΟΚΟ ΔΝΑΠΠΤΗ ΔΡΟΥ ΚΑΡΑ ΙΒΛΟ.

ΔΡΠΔΟΚΟ. The name of the person from this entry in the list recurs thrice in this text, twice in the formation ΔΡΠΔΟΚΟ (here and in l. 13) and once as ΔΡΠΔΟ (l. 3). In all three cases, it is uncertain where the name ends and where the postposition

<sup>12</sup> I thank the anonymous reviewer of the paper for pointing this out to me.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 61 (DBMNT 1045); IV 71 (DBMNT 2791); or IV 76 (DBMNT 2809).

<sup>14</sup> -λο is apparently in use also in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 81 (DBMNT 2811), for which see OCHAŁA, ‘NOM IV’ (cit. n. 1), no. 29, but its use there is equally ambiguous.

<sup>15</sup> For this social practice in Nubia, see RUFFINI, *Medieval Nubia* (cit. n. 10), pp. 90–139.

<sup>16</sup> For a synopsis, see RUFFINI, *Medieval Nubia* (cit. n. 10), table 5.1 at pp. 93–94.



attached to it begins. As Ruffini rightly points out in the commentary to his edition (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, p. 156), we expect -λοκο/-λο, found in other entries in this list, or -λοκο/-λο, both visually similar to -λοκο/-λο. He thus considers -λοκο/-λο abnormal forms of the postpositions and believes that the actual name-form is αρπυ. He, however, fails to notice that two other names occur in this text in analogous formations: μαρταόγο in line 2 and ειραειόκο in lines 12 and 19 (see comm. *ad loc.* below). It seems that in all these cases we are dealing with the deletion of the postvocalic λ (Browne, *Grammar*, § 2.5.6.a), quite consistently applied by the scribe of this document. Thus, the forms αρπυλοκο and αρπυλο should be analysed, respectively, as αρπυα-οκο < αρπυα-λοκο and αρπυα-ο < αρπυα-λο. The name Arpia is unattested elsewhere, and its etymology is unknown.

αναπιπη. The word most probably designates a non-alcoholic beverage; see the discussion in M. Bechhaus-Gerst, 'Anmerkungen zu den altnubischen Texten aus Qasr Ibrim', *Beiträge zur Sudansforschung* 7 (2000), pp. 15–26, at 21, and, more recently, eadem, *The (Hi)story of Nobiin: 1000 Years of Language Change*, Frankfurt am Main 2011, pp. 21 and 239; cf. A. Łajtar & G. Ochała, 'Two wall inscriptions from the Faras cathedral with lists of people and goods', [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. 73–102, at 79 & 89.

αροϋ καπα ιβλο. The supralinear strokes above the *alpha* and *iota* are not visible on the photo published in Ruffini's edition; I repeat them here after Ruffini, who must have seen them on other photos and in the field transcription that he had at his disposal.

καπα. The noun designates a kind of bread, probably the most basic type; see Łajtar & Ochała, 'Two wall inscriptions from the Faras cathedral' (cit. above), pp. 88 & 95.

2. μαρταόγο καπα ιβλο.

μαρταόγο. Ruffini understands this formation as a single word denoting an anthroponym Martaogo. While such a name has been otherwise unattested, parallel formations found in this text, namely αρπυλοκο and ειραειοκο (see comm. *ad ll.* 1–2 and 12–13), point to the fact that we are dealing here with a name and a postposition attached to it. The word should thus be divided μαρτα-όγο, for μαρτα-λοκο, under the deletion of the postvocalic λ (Browne, *Grammar*, § 2.5.6.a) and the interchange of κ for γ, very common in Old Nubian (Browne, *Grammar*, § 2.2.2). The name Marta has not been attested elsewhere; it may be either a Nubian name cognate with the Nobiin μαρτ(ι), 'canal', or an unattested variant of the Aramaic Biblical name Martha (TM Nam 10510) under the interchange of θ and τ occurring elsewhere in Nubia (Browne, *Grammar*, § 1.1.2). Whatever the case, Martaogo is a ghost-name and should be deleted from the index of personal names in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV.

καπα. See comm. *ad ll.* 1–2.

2–4. ΜΑΤΤΟ | ΑΡΠΙΔΩ ΚΑΠΑ ΧΚΟΥ ΓΛΟ ΕΙΟΥ ΠΑΡΕΑΤ|ΤΙ ΔΛΟ.

ΜΑΤΤΟ ΑΡΠΙΔΩ. For ΑΡΠΙΔΩ, most probably denoting the same person, see comm. *ad ll.* 1–2. The occurrence of the word ΜΑΤΤΟ, ‘east(ern)’, before the name is puzzling. Because of that, Ruffini suggests that we may be dealing here with a toponym Arpi-East, not an anthroponym. Such geographical designations, however, seem normally to be placed after the toponym in Old Nubian, not before it, hence we would expect ΑΡΠΙ ΜΑΤΤΟ (cf., e.g., ΔΜΚΚΕ ΜΑΤΤΟ, ‘Amikke-East’: *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 32 [DBMNT 590], ll. 13–14; ΣΛΜΙ ΤΙΝΟ, ‘Ibrim-West’: *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 39 [DBMNT 587], ll. 20–21; ΟΥ ΠΕΝΤΙ ΤΑΥΟ, ‘Lower Pentī’: *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 60 [DBMNT 1044], ll. 6–7); note, however, the opposite order in ΜΑΤΤΟΚΑΚΑ, ‘Kasa-East’: *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 65 (DBMNT 640), l. 6. While in his translation Ruffini treats Matto as an anthroponym belonging to a different person (‘Matto from Arpi’), I would rather consider the whole phrase as a double name Matto Arpia. None of these interpretations is convincing, however.

καπα. See comm. *ad ll.* 1–2.

ΧΚΟΥ ΓΛΟ. The formation undoubtedly designates the numeral ‘33’, which would normally be noted down as ΧΓΛΟ. ΧΚΟΥ must be an analogical formation to ΖΤ- and ΖΛΟΤ- for ΚΟΛΟΤ-, ‘seven’, found in a dipinto from Wadi el-Sebua (G. M. Browne, ‘Griffith’s Old Nubian graffito 4’, *Études et travaux* 17 [1995], pp. 17–21 [DBMNT 1397], ll. 1 & 3). Unfortunately, the full form of the numeral ‘thirty’ has not been attested so far in Old Nubian. However, the element -ΚΟΥ suggests that it might be a form deriving from ΤΟΥΚΟΥ-, ‘three’. Note, however, that the etymology of ‘two’ (ΟΥΟ(Υ)-, ΟΥΤΩΟ-) and ‘twenty’ (ΔΔΩ) is different in Old Nubian.

4. ΕΟΚΔΟΛΛΟΚΟ ΠΕΤΤΙ ΑΪΠΙ ΔΛΟ.

ΕΟΚΔΟΛΛΟΚΟ. This anthroponym, recurring in lines 6 and 16 of this document, is otherwise unattested. It should probably be analysed as ΕΟΚ-, ‘glory’ + ΔΟΛ-, ‘mere, only; pious’, producing the meaning ‘the only glory’.

ΑΪΠΙ. As Ruffini rightly observed in commentary *ad loc.*, *aiipi* must designate a unit of measure somehow different from the more common *mash*.

5–6. ΕḪ[CI]ΚΟ ΜΑΡΙΕḪΑΝΑ ΔΣΙΛΟΚΟ ΠΕΤΤΙ ΜḪ|ΦΕ ΔΛΟ.

ΕḪ[CI]ΚΟ ΜΑΡΙΕḪΑΝΑ ΔΣΙΛΟΚΟ. Ruffini edits ḪḪΟΚΟ ΜΑΡΙΕḪΑΝΑ ΔΣΙΛΟΚΟ and translates ‘and through NN (?), through Maringa’s daughter’. Taking into account the logic behind the construction of this list, we do not expect here a double expression ‘through so-and-so and through so-and-so’, all the more so since there is no coordinative conjunction between the two persons. Rather, the evident use of a patronymic, ‘the daughter of Maringa’ recommends seeing the first word of the phrase as a bare proper name. There are numerous examples of names ending in -*ko(l)* in Nubian onomastics, the only letters securely read in this word. A superlinear stroke above the two first letters suggests a variant of the most popular of them, Iesusikol. This is all the more probable, since we find the same name

in the bottom part of the list, most probably denoting the same person. For the name, see above, I, comm. *ad* l. 17.

ΜΑΡΙΕΞΑΝΑ. Such a name has not been attested apart from this document, but it belongs to a subclass of a group of compound Nubian names formed with the element -ΓΑ. While the whole group includes names formed with both verbal and nominal elements in the first position (verbal: e.g. ΑΦΟΓΑ, from ΑΦ-, ‘to live’; nominal: e.g. ΟΥΩΓΙΕΑ, from ΟΥΩΓ-, ‘slave’), this particular subgroup features religion-related proper or common nouns. Apart from Maringa, obviously referring to Virgin Mary, the following anthroponyms can be classified here: Isounga (from Jesus Christ), Toskonga (from the Old Nubian ΤΟΥΣΚΟ-, ‘three’, undoubtedly referring here to the Holy Trinity); Sionnga (perhaps from Sion, hypocoristic for Jerusalem); Kerkinga (perhaps from St Kyriakos; see above, I, comm. *ad* l. 17); Ngissinga (from the Old Nubian ΓΙΣΣ-, ‘holy’); Kissenga (from the Old Nubian ΚΙΣΣΕ-, ‘church’). The exact meaning/function of the element ΓΑ-, common to all these names, is unknown. Tentatively, it could be interpreted as the inchoative verb (Δ)Γ- + the suffix -Α. If so, the names should perhaps be understood as ‘the one who becomes like Mary / Jesus / the Holy Trinity / etc.’.

6–9. ΟΝ Ε[Ο]ΚΘ[ΟΛ]ΛΟΚΟ ΔΔΕ ΤΙΡΑΜΙ | ΔΛΟ ΕΟΕΙ ΤΙΡΑΜ[Η] ΔΡΟΥ ΠΑΚΚΑΤΤΙΝΑΛΟ  
ΚΟΠΑΡΕ ΤΙΡΑΜΗ ΔΡΟΥ ΠΑΚΚΑΤΤΙΝΑΛΟ.

Ε[Ο]ΚΘ[ΟΛ]ΛΟΚΟ. For the name Ngokjol, probably denoting the same person, see comm. *ad* l. 4.

ΔΔΕ. This word, recurring also in line 9, has to be a designation of a commodity, but the word is otherwise unknown in Old Nubian; for a possible meaning, see comm. *ad* ll. 9–10.

ΕΟΕΙ ΤΙΡΑΜ[Η] ΔΡΟΥ ΠΑΚΚΑΤΤΙΝΑΛΟ ΚΟΠΑΡΕ ΤΙΡΑΜΗ ΔΡΟΥ ΠΑΚΚΑΤΤΙΝΑΛΟ. The fragment consists of two clauses that have an identical construction and differ only in the first words, ΕΟΕΙ (recurring also in line 14 as ΕΘΕ) and ΚΟΠΑΡΕ. Ruffini treated both words as anthroponyms and believed that the phrases formed separate entries. His translation has, accordingly, ‘Ngoi: one and a half dirham; Kopare: one and a half dirham’. Note, however, that the words are devoid of the postpositions -ΛΟ or -ΛΟΚΟ, consistently used by the scribe of this document after all anthroponyms. Most importantly, however, ΕΟΕΙ- means ‘oil’ in Old Nubian, which makes it more than likely that we are dealing here with another commodity ascribed to Ngokjol. In this context, there can be no doubt that ΚΟΠΑΡΕ designates another commodity, but its meaning is, unfortunately, unknown. The word has not been attested elsewhere and does not have any apparent cognates in the modern Nubian languages; the only possibility that I have been able to identify is the Dongolawi *kúbe*, ‘earthenware of the largest size; large jar’, but I do not know how to interpret the final -ΡΕ. Taking all of this into account, Ngoi and Kopare have to be considered ghost-names and struck from the index of personal names in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV.

ΤΙΡΑΜ[Η] ΔΡΟΥ ΠΑΚΚΑΤΤΙΝΑΛΟ *ϕ* ΤΙΡΑΜΗ ΔΡΟΥ ΠΑΚΚΑΤΤΙΝΑΛΟ. Ruffini translated these phrases nominatively, simply ‘one and a half dirham’. However, the -ΝΑ in ΠΑΚΚΑΤΤΙΝΑ is most surely the genitive marker. If so, it cannot be something that the person received, because commodities in this text, or any other text of this type for that matter, are never marked for case. The only way to understand this genitive on the numeral that comes to my mind is that this is an expression of the value of the actual commodity. To the best of my knowledge, such expressions are unattested in other published Old Nubian texts; here, apart from this entry, they recur in lines 10, 11, and 14–15. It cannot be excluded that the phrase ΔΔΕ ΤΙΡΑΜΗ | ΔΛΟ in this entry should be understood in this way, too, although the genitive on the numeral is not written.

9–10. ΜΑΡΙΟ ΤΤΤΑ ΔÇ[Ι]ΛΟ ΔΔΕΔΕ ΚΟΚΡΕΔ[Ε] | ΔΞΑΔΕΞΕΝ ΠΑΟΥ ΤΙΡΑΜΗ ΓΝΔ[ΛΟ].

ΜΑΡΙΟ ΤΤΤΑ ΔÇ[Ι]ΛΟ. Ruffini transcribed ΜΑΡΙ ΟΤΤΤΑ ΔÇΛΟ and translated ‘Mari daughter of Otitta (?)’, but a different word division is more plausible here. First, while the form ΟΤΤΤΑ has not been attested for an anthroponym, we have fifteen instances of the name Titta (ΤΤΤΑ). Second, although the name Mari is very popular in Nubia, we have one other secure attestation of the name Mario in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 31 (DBMNT 589), l. 13. Note also the form Mariio, found in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 33 (DBMNT 591), l. 18 (ΜΑΡΙΕΙΟ); III 34 ii (DBMNT 1001), l. 17 (ΜΑΡΙΕΙΟ); III 39 (DBMNT 587), ll. 16 (ΜΑΡΙΕΙΟ) *ϕ* 28 (ΜΑΡΙΕΙΟ); IV 71 (DBMNT 2791), recto, l. 14 (ΜΑΡΙΕΙΟ); and J. F. Oates, ‘A Christian inscription in Greek from Armenna in Nubia (Pennsylvania-Yale excavations)’, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 49 (1963), pp. 161–171 (DBMNT 512), l. 6 (ΜΑΡΙΗΩ). It cannot be excluded that the two forms are but variants of the same name; for a possible etymology of Mariio as ‘mother Mary’, see Ochała, ‘NOM IV’ (cit. n. 1), no. 6a. Taking this into account, the word division proposed here seems much more reasonable. The name Mario evidently derives from the name of Virgin Mary, but the meaning and/or function of the final -ο escapes me. For the etymology of Titta, ‘gift/grace’, 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; cf. Ochała, ‘NOM IV’ (cit. n. 1), no. 22e. In this way, Otitta becomes a ghost-name and Mari a ghost-attestation of the name; both should be struck from the index of personal names in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV.

ΔΔΕΔΕ ΚΟΚΡΕΔ[Ε] ΔΞΑΔΕΞΕΝ ΠΑΟΥ. The third word of the phrase is invisible on the photograph, hidden under the fold of the paper at the beginning of line 10, and is repeated here on the authority of Ruffini, who copied it from the field transcript of the text. In the commentary *ad loc.*, Ruffini notes that – if correctly read – the word ‘may be a 2nd/3rd person singular present subjunctive verb, perhaps a compound beginning with *der-* (‘to reckon, apply’)’ (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, p. 156). However, a verbal form is not really expected in an account of this kind. Instead, another explanation can be proposed here. The presence of the coordinative conjunction -ΔΕ on ΔΔΕ- and ΚΟΚΡΕ- implies the use of -ΔΕΚΕΛ as the

balancing particle, here in its genitival form -ΔΕΚΕΝ, closing the whole enumeration sequence (Browne, *Grammar*, § 3.10, *sub* -(λ)ΔΕ; for instances of the genitive on -ΔΕΚΕΛ, see Browne, *Dictionary*, *s.v.* -ΔΕ).

If the identification of -ΔΕΚΕΝ is correct, the following word, ΠΑΟΥ, has to be the *verbum regens* governing the use of the genitive, not a personal name starting a new entry, as Ruffini assumed on the basis of comparison with the name Pau-outa (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 45 [DBMNT 1029], l. 10; IV 72 [DBMNT 2792], verso, l. 10; IV 73 [DBMNT 2806], verso, l. 20). His interpretation is, moreover, undermined by the fact that no postposition is attached to this word, which indeed is required after names in this list. Most importantly, however, the numeral that follows apparently stands in the genitive ΓΝΑ[ΛΟ] (see below), which, if ΠΑΟΥ indeed were a name, would not have a reference in the entry. It is much more probable that we have here a situation analogous to ΓΟΕΙ and ΚΟΠΑΡΕ from the previous entry (see the comm. *ad* ll. 6–9). If so, the whole phrase is to be understood ‘*paou* of *ade* and *kokre* and *ded* (?)’. Unfortunately, the meaning of the phrase is far from comprehensible. ΠΑ(Υ)Υ- means ‘power, authority’ in Old Nubian, but such a meaning is out of context here. The remaining words are otherwise unattested in Old Nubian, but for ΚΟΚΡΕ and ΔΕΔ, modern Nobiin cognates may exist: the former may be connected with the modern rōra(p), ‘big unfired pottery vessel used as chicken coop’, and the latter – if correctly read – with ΔΔΔΙ, ‘vessel’, or ΔΙΔΕ, ‘pottery frying pan, casserole’. If this identification is correct, the third item, *ade*, could be a type of pottery vessel, too. Note also that *kopare* from the previous entry may be a kind of pottery vessel as well (see comm. *ad* ll. 6–9). I do not know what *paou* could designate in this context.

ΤΡΑΜΗ ΓΝΑ[ΛΟ]. One expects the marker -ΛΟ immediately after the numeral, as in most entries of this account, but the traces of the ink visible after Γ appear to form three apices, not two, as it would be in the case of -ΛΟ. ΓΝΑ is reconstructed here on analogy with the next entry, where we clearly read ΓΝΑ (see comm. *ad* ll. 10–11).

10–11. [ 3–4 ]|ϞΟΛΛΟ ΣΙΜΔΑΚΙΡΑ ΤΡΑ(ΜΙ) ΓΝΑΛΟ.

[ 3–4 ]|ϞΟΛΛΟ. Ruffini thought that ‘(t)he term *sollo* may be based on the stem *sor-* (‘writing, book’)’ (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, p. 156), which he translated – accordingly – ‘in the book (?)’. The new reading proposed here precludes such an understanding, as – according to the logic of the account – we expect here the name of the next person in the list (Ruffini assumed – falsely, as we will see below – that ΠΑΡΡΕΓΑΛΟ fulfils this function). The final -ΛΟ in [ 3–4 ]|ϞΟΛΛΟ most probably is the postposition ‘(in)to, in, from’, as in the previous entry ΜΑΡΙΟ ΤΤΤΑ ΔϞ[Ι]ΛΟ. Unfortunately, no known Nubian name ends with *-sol*, but note that the *sigma* is highly uncertain. One is tempted to read ϞΟΛΛΟ and reconstruct [ε̄c̄ci]|ϞΟΛΛΟ, ‘from (?) Issikol’, on account of the occurrence of this name in lines 5 and 17, but the traces do not seem to match a *kappa* and there is too little space for this letter when compared with the ΚΟ at the beginning of the next line.

СИМΔΑΚΙΡΑ. In the commentary to his edition, Ruffini noted: ‘The term *sim-dakira* appears to be a verb in the present predicative, but I cannot determine its meaning’ (*P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, p. 156). And indeed, the second element, -ΑΚΙΡΑ or -ΚΙΡΑ, resembles a verbal form and could be analysed, respectively, as ΑΚ-, ‘to sit’ + the causative -P- + the predicative -Α, that is ‘causing to sit’, and ΚΙΡ-, ‘to come’ + the predicative -Α, that is ‘coming’. This, however, seems unlikely, as the construction of the entry requires a substantive here denoting the commodity ascribed to ---sol. The word is otherwise unknown and does not have any obvious cognates in the modern Nubian languages. Nevertheless, an interpretation can be proposed here. The word could be analysed as СИМΔ-Α-ΚΙΡΑ. The first element, СИМΔ-, is reminiscent of the Dongolawi *simid*, denoting the toponym Simit, an island at the head of the Third Cataract (D. Salvoldi & K. Geus, ‘A historical comparative gazetteer for Nubia’, *Dotawo* 4 [2017], ID no. 0475). ΚΙΡΑ, in turn, may be cognate with the Kenzi *kīra*, ‘knife’. The -Α in the middle could thus be taken as the dative postposition -(λ)Α, ‘(in)to, in, from’, and the word would mean ‘a knife from Simit’, suggesting that the island was known for the production of knives. Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about the island in the medieval period. What we know is that Simit was the site of a possible post-Meroitic settlement (D. N. Edwards, *The Nubian Past. An Archaeology of Sudan*, London – New York 2004, p. 201) and was certainly still inhabited (or perhaps only frequented) in the medieval period, to which attests the presence of rock drawings depicting crosses and medieval pottery on the island (D. N. Edwards, ‘Drawings on rocks, the most enduring monuments of Middle Nubia’, *Sudan & Nubia* 10 [2006], pp. 55–63, at 61).

Γ̄ΝΑΛΟ. Due to confusion with the lines (see the introduction), Ruffini edited ἱ ΝΑΛΜΙ, assuming that the numeral ends the previous entry and ΝΑΛΜΙ is the personal name beginning the next one. This, however, leaves the numeral without the marker -ΛΟ, an unexpected situation in this text. Thanks to the new arrangement of the lines, ΝΑΛΜΙ disappears and – as no other attestation of such an anthroponym exists – must be considered a ghost-name and should be eliminated as such from the index of personal names in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV. The *lambda* in ΝΑΛ is thus likely to be part of the marker -ΛΟ. And indeed, the faint and small trace of ink in the upper left corner of the torn-off piece that is the continuation of line 11 matches the *omikron*. The preceding -ΝΑ undoubtedly is the genitive marker in the same function as in ΠΑΚΚΑΓΓΙΝΑΛΟ (see comm. *ad* ll. 6–9). The final correction pertains to the numeral itself: if my reconstruction of ΝΑΛΟ is correct, the postposition appears to be too far from the ἱ read by Ruffini. On analogy with the previous line, the *iota* can quite securely be amended to a *gamma*, with the long, although faint horizontal stroke ligatured with the *nu*.

11–12. ΔΡΡΕΓΑΛΟΚΟ ΔΑΓΕΚΟΥΓΕ Γ̄ΛΟ.

ΔΡΡΕΓΑΛΟΚΟ. At the end of his line 10, Ruffini transcribed ΠΑΡΡΕΓΑΛΟ and assumed, albeit hesitantly, that this was the anthroponym Parrenga followed by

the postposition -λο, ‘from Parrenga (?)’ in his translation. However, the *pi* at the beginning disappears in the new arrangement of the lines, making Parrenga a ghost-name. Moreover, the λο at the end of the line finds continuation with the κο at the beginning of line 12, as is indeed expected from other entries in the account. The name Arrenga has not been attested so far, but it undoubtedly is of Nubian origin and belongs to the larger group of names formed with the element -εα (see comm. *ad ll.* 5–6). While the meaning of -εα is unknown, αρε- means ‘rain’ in Old Nubian.

ΔΔΕΙΚΟΥΛΕ. Ruffini transcribed ΚΟΔΔΕΙΚΟΥΛΕ. He assumed that the word is the name of a commodity with the plural marker (-ΚΟΥΛΕ < -ΓΟΥΛΕ), but he was unable to establish its meaning. By attaching the κο at the beginning of the line to ΑΡΡΕΓΑΛΟ from line 11, we arrive at the form ΔΔΕΙΚΟΥΛΕ, the first element of which has a straightforward cognate in the modern Nobiin ΔΔΕΟ and Kenzi *dango*, denoting a kind of fish, *Cyprinus lepidotus*. The element -ΚΟΥΛΕ is less obvious. If we followed Ruffini in taking it as the plural marker, which is not out of place given the amount that follows, we would have to explain somehow the final -λε, which has not been attested in a combination with the plural -ΓΟΥ so far (Browne, *Grammar*, § 3.5), and its meaning/function is otherwise unknown. More probably, -ΚΟΥΛΕ should be taken as an attribute of ΔΔΕ-, which is suggested by the next entry, where ΔΔΕ- occurs in the combination with -ΚΟΥΡΡΙΤ to probably mean ‘humpbacked *dang*-fish’ (see the comm. *ad ll.* 12–13). If so, the word may derive from the Old Nubian ΚΟΥΛ-, ‘mountain’, cognate with the modern Nobiin ΚΟΥΛΟΥ, ‘stone, pebble, rock’, thus, perhaps, ‘rock *dang*-fish’; this is all the more probable since the modern Nobiin has ΚΟΥΛΟΥ-ΓΟΡΕ, ‘fish’ (identified with *Labeo forskalii* in Khalil’s dictionary and with *Chrysichthys auratus* in Murray’s). Whatever the case, ΚΟΔΔΕ- is definitely just a ghost-word and should be eliminated from the index in *P. Qasr Ibrim IV*.

12–13. ΕΙΡΑΕΙΟΚΟ Ε[ ]ΜΙ ΠΑΡΕΞΤ | ἼΛΟ ΔΔΕΚΟΥΡΡΙΤ ἪΛΟ.

ΕΙΡΑΕΙΟΚΟ. The same word occurs in lines 18 and 19. Ruffini believed that the formation should be analysed as ΕΙΡΑ-ΕΙΟΚΟ and assumed that this was an example of the change of *p/λ* into *ει* after a vowel (*P. Qasr Ibrim IV*, p. 157; cf. Browne, *Grammar*, § 2.5.6). However, the same name occurs in the formation ΕΙΡΑΕΙ-ΛΟ elsewhere, in an Old Nubian document from Nauri (latest edition in E. Zyhlarz, ‘Neue Sprachdenkmäler des Altnubischen’, [in:] *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, London 1932, pp. 187–195, at 187–190 [DBMNT 559], l. 9), which makes it very probable that we should analyse it in the same way here: ΕΙΡΑΕΙ-ΟΚΟ, not ΕΙΡΑ-ΕΙΟΚΟ. We would therefore be dealing here with the deletion of the post-vocalic λ, not with its change (Browne, *Grammar*, § 2.5.6a). We observe the same situation with the words ΑΡΡΙΑΟΚΟ, ΑΡΡΙΑΟ, and ΜΑΡΤΑΟΓΟ in the present text (see comm. *ad ll.* 1–2 & 2). The name ΕΙΡΑΕΙ, most probably pronounced /irai/ seems to be Nubian and to derive from the Old Nubian ΕΙΡ-, ‘to be able to’ + -αι, most

probably an onomastic suffix found in other Nubian names: Dollai (from ΔΟΛΛ-, ‘to wish’) and Denai (from ΔΕΝ-, ‘to give’). Otherwise, it could be a variant of the Greek name Herais (TM Nam 6891), attested in the form ΗΡΑΕΙ (TM Var 53454), pronounced /irai/, also in Nubia (T. Mina, *Inscriptions coptes et grecques de Nubie*, Cairo 1942, no. 249 [DBMNT 329]).

ε[ .]MI ΠΑΡΕΑΤ Ἴλο. Due to confusion with the lines, Ruffini transcribed the commodity ascribed to Irai as ΕΠΙΔΑΦῆ, but he was unable to establish its meaning. Thanks to establishing the correct arrangement, ΕΠΙΔΑΦ can be struck from the index in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV as a ghost-word.

The word ε[ .]MI has to designate the name of the commodity measured in *parngatts*, an unidentified measure of capacity. Since *parngatt* used to measure the quantity of wheat (here, ll. 3–4, and *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 30 [DBMNT 581], l. 24), one could suppose that a kind of grain is at stake here, too. Unfortunately, no word from dictionaries at hand can be matched here.

ΔΔΕΚΟΥΡΡΙΤ ἄλο. Ruffini edited ΔΔΕ ΚΟΥΡΡΙΤ and treated it as a double name Dang Kourrit. This, however, leaves the following numeral without a commodity that it would designate, a highly unlikely situation, given the structure of the account. Ruffini failed to notice the similarity with ΔΔΕΙΚΟΥΛΕ found in the preceding line, which is the name of a commodity there (see comm. *ad* ll. 11–12). In all probability, just as in line 12, ΔΔΕ should be identified here with the Nobiin ΔΔΕΟ, a kind of fish. ΚΟΥΡΡΙΤ, in turn, is possibly cognate with the Nobiin ΚΟΥΡΡ, ‘humped, humpbacked’, thus producing the translation ‘humpbacked *dang*-fish’.

13–15. ΤΑΠΠΑΠΙΔΑ Φῆ|ΑΛ ΚΑΚΑΤΙ ἔλο ΕΦΕ ΤΙΡΑΜΙ ἄροϋ ΠΑΚΚΑ|ΤΙΝΑΛΟ.

ΤΑΠΠΑΠΙΔΑ Φῆ|ΑΛ. The first letter of this entry was transcribed by Ruffini as a Γ in his ΕΑΠΠ ἄροϋ ΠΑΚΚΑ|ΤΙΝΑΛΟ, ‘Γ and a half gold piece’. However, the letter does not seem to have a vertical bar on the left. Instead, the thick left apex of the horizontal stroke reminds of the *tau*, which is regularly written in the Nubian majuscule with such a serif, also in this document. Also, the *mu* in Φῆ|ΑΛ, which Ruffini transcribed as a *nu* in his ΕΠΙΔΑΦῆ, is certain. Hence the new reading ΤΑΠΠΑΠΙΔΑ Φῆ|ΑΛ.

Taking into account the structure of the entries in this account, the beginning should contain the identification of the next person on the list. Surprisingly, there is no postposition -λο/-λοκο found ubiquitously in the document. Instead, we have -ΔΔ(λ), ‘with, against’, but this is not totally unexpected, if we take -λοκο to mean ‘with’ here (see above). ΤΑΠΠΑΠΙΔΑ thus means ‘with his/her father’ (see Browne, *Grammar*, § 3.7.1; note that the 3rd person singular possessive pronoun is gender-neutral and can denote either a man or a woman) and Φῆ|ΑΛ is most probably a personal name. The whole phrase can be understood in two ways:

1) ‘Shimal with his/her father’ – there are two persons, Shimal and his/her unnamed father, recorded in the account who get/provide the goods listed with them; the absence of -λο/-λοκο should be considered a scribal omission;



2) ‘with his/her father Shimal’ – here the third person singular pronoun refers to the person from the previous entry, Irai; Shimal would thus be his/her father; the absence of -λο/-λοκο seems justified here, as the postposition from the previous entry (ειραει-όκο) would serve for this entry, too.

The second possibility seems more likely to me, as it does not assume a scribal omission and has therefore been chosen for the translation above.

As for ωῖαλ, it is unattested elsewhere as an anthroponym or any other word. It does not sound Nubian and may be of Semitic origin; perhaps it is a variant of the Hebrew name Ishmael.

κακατι. Ruffini recognized this word – most probably correctly – as the name of a commodity. As the anonymous reviewer of the paper suggested to me, it could mean a type of bag or container, from κακ-, ‘to bear’ + the nominalising suffix -ατι.

ερε. Ruffini took this word as a personal name Ngoe at the head of a new entry. There can be no doubt, however, that we are dealing here with the common noun meaning ‘oil’, as in the entry in lines 6–9 (see comm. *ad loc.*). Ngoe is thus a ghost-name and should be eliminated from the index of personal names in *P. Qasr Ibrim IV*.

Ἰῖραμῖ ἀροῦ πακκατιναλο. For the meaning of this genitive, see comm. *ad ll.* 6–9, 15–16. ΕΟΚΔΟΛΛΟΚΟ ΑΤΤΙΝΑ ΔΛΟ ΕΓΕΤΙ | καρρε ΔΛΟ.

ΕΟΚΔΟΛΛΟΚΟ. For the name Ngokjol, probably denoting the same person, see comm. *ad l.* 4.

αττινα. Ruffini took this word to be an anthroponym and translated the phrase ‘through Ngokjol, Attina: ι (gold piece?), ι kettle of fish’, suggesting in the commentary that Ngokjol served as a kind of intermediary or representative of Attina. While his interpretation cannot be totally excluded, it seems easier to interpret αττινα as the name of a commodity. The entries in the list always seem to follow the same pattern: name + commodity (+ measure) + numeral, and there is no secure case where the name of the commodity would be missing. If so, Attina should be deemed a ghost-name and struck from the index of personal names in *P. Qasr Ibrim IV*. Unfortunately, the meaning of αττινα is unknown: it has not been attested elsewhere and has no obvious cognates in the modern Nubian languages.

ερετι καρρε. Ruffini translated this phrase ‘kettle of fish’, taking ερετι to mean ‘kettle’ after Browne, *Dictionary*, p. 56 (from the modern Kenzi *egedi*), and comparing καρρε to the modern Dongolawi *kare*, ‘fish’. However, in the commentary to the occurrence of ερετι in another document, *P. Qasr Ibrim IV* 63 (DBMNT 644), l. 13, Ruffini notes: ‘A more likely comparison is *eged-leget-* for “sheep” in Dongolawi and Nobiin respectively’ (p. 62), yet he was apparently too unsure of this proposition to apply it. The present text proves him right, because καρρε is to be connected not with *kare*, ‘fish’, but with *karrē* (Nobiin) / *kárri* (Kenzi and Dongolawi), ‘female (animal)’, attested in the exact combination *éged-kárr(i)*, ‘ewe’ (lit. ‘female sheep’), in Dongolawi. Thus, it is more than likely that in all other

instances of ερετι in the extant corpus of Old Nubian texts, the translation should be corrected from ‘kettle’ to ‘sheep’: *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 36 (DBMNT 584), verso, l. 3; IV 63 (DBMNT 644), l. 13; IV 67 (DBMNT 637), l. 29; IV 69 (DBMNT 638), l. 24; IV 95 (DBMNT 2837), recto, l. 15.

16–17. αρπιδοκο οκκι αλμογτι δνα|εο δλο.

αρπιδοκο. For the construction and the name, probably denoting the same person, see comm. *ad* ll. 1–2.

οκκι αλμογτι δναεο. Ruffini took οκκιαλμογτι, recurring in three other entries in lines 17, 18, and 19 in exactly the same position, after a personal name with -λοκο, as an anthroponym. He translated all these entries according to the pattern ‘through NN, Okkialmouti: commodity’. Thus, in his opinion, Okkialmouti refers to a single person who acted in this account through four other persons, his/her representatives or intermediaries. For δναεο, repeated also in another entry in lines 17–18, Ruffini proposed it to be the name of a commodity, but he was unable to propose any etymology for it.

While such an interpretation cannot be totally excluded, taking into account the whole structure of the text, where all entries are formulated according to the pattern ‘name + commodity (+ measure) + numeral’, another interpretation seems more probable. οκκιαλμογτι is – in my opinion – not a single word, but two separate words, οκκι and αλμογτι, which is suggested by the space between ι and α visible in two instances of the formation, in lines 17 and 18. Of the two words, the latter is relatively easy to recognise, as it most probably is cognate with the Kenzi *almod*, ‘a measure of corn’, a meaning that perfectly fits both the context and the pattern of entries in the list. οκκι thus has to mean a kind of plant, probably a corn plant, but no easily recognisable cognate can be found in the dictionaries. The modern Nobiin οκκι- and Kenzi *okki*, ‘big nail’, is obviously out of context. The word may be related to the Nobiin ογκκι, ‘ear; handle’, but also ‘leaf (of a plant)’. Okkialmouti is thus a ghost-name and should be struck from the index of personal names in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV.

It appears that the *almouti*-measure can occur in two variants, twice it is found on its own (the entries in ll. 18 & 19–20), and twice it is accompanied by the word δναεο (the present entry and the one in ll. 17–18). Taking into account the structure of the entry, δναεο has to be an additional designation of the *almouti*-measure, not the name of a commodity, as Ruffini thought, but I am unable to establish its meaning.

17–18. εϛϛιϛολλοκο οκκι αλμογτι δνα|εο ε̄λο.

εϛϛιϛολλοκο. Ruffini edited εϛϛαϛον λοκο, ‘through Eissak’. While this apparent variant of the name Isaak has been unattested elsewhere, on the basis of the photo, the reading can be corrected to a more familiar name εϛϛιϛολλοκο, ‘with (?) Issikol’. This is all the more probable, since the same name recurs in l. 5, perhaps even denoting the same person (see comm. *ad* ll. 5–6).

OKKI ΔΛΜΟΥΤΙ ΔΝΔΓΟ. For the interpretation of these words, see comm. *ad* ll. 16–17.

ε̄λο. Ruffini edited ἔλλο, on account of the occurrence of the expression ἔλλο/ε̄λο in several Old Nubian legal documents in connection with payment of the price for something (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 34 i [DBMNT 582], ll. 25–25; 34 ii [DBMNT 1001], l. 9; III 38 [DBMNT 586], l. 17; IV 67 [DBMNT 637], ll. 27 & 28). Note that while Browne translates it ‘I received the price ... **from the hand** (of the buyer)’, Ruffini prefers ‘I received the price ... **in hand** (i.e. my hand, the seller’s)’. There, however, the expression is always followed by the price itself. Here, on the other hand, the expression stands in the place of the numeral designating the amount of the listed commodity, and – as far as the photo allows us to judge – no numeral follows. Note that the second letter is not certain at all: it indeed could be a *lambda*, but also a *kappa*, thus ε̄κλο. Unfortunately, neither resembles any known form of Old Nubian numerals and I refrain from translating it.

18. ε̄ραε̄ιόκ[ο] OKKI ΔΛΜΟΥΤΙ ΔΛΟ.

ε̄ραε̄ιόκ[ο]. Ruffini edited ε̄ι . . . [λοκο], but the traces of ink are sufficient to reconstruct ε̄ραε̄ιόκ[ο], partly on analogy with the next entry (l. 19). For the construction and the name, probably denoting the same person, see comm. *ad* ll. 12–13.

OKKI ΔΛΜΟΥΤΙ. For the interpretation of these words, see comm. *ad* ll. 16–17.

19–20. ON ε̄ραε̄ιόκο OKKI ΔΛΜΟΥΤΙ ΔΛΟ.

ε̄ραε̄ιόκο. For the construction and the name, probably denoting the same person, see comm. *ad* ll. 12–13.

OKKI ΔΛΜΟΥΤΙ. For the interpretation of these words, see comm. *ad* ll. 16–17.

20. ε̄ρετ[ι] ΜΑΤΑΡΛ ΤΑΠΑΡΛΛ.

In Ruffini’s translation of the last part of the text, we read ‘and through Ira, Okkialmouti: ι kettle. Tapara the writer (?)’. There are several problems with his understanding of line 20. First, according to him, ε̄ρετ[ι] (which he translated as ‘kettle’, but see above, comm. *ad* ll. 15–16), is connected with the previous entry, and the numeral Δλο from the end of line 19 refers to it, hence his ‘ι kettle’. However, placing the numeral before the name of the commodity that it describes is highly unlikely, unless we assume a scribal error. Moreover, even if it were true, why did the scribe not continue the entry in line 19, where there is just enough space to include ε̄ρετ[ι]? In my opinion, this is sufficient reason to assume that the previous entry, and – effectively – the account ends with line 19, and what is written in line 20 is something else.

The second problem is the reading of the second word. In his edition, Ruffini has ΜΑΤΑΡΛ, which he hesitantly interpreted as ‘writer (?)’. In the commentary *ad loc.*, however, he wrote that a different reading of the first letter could not be excluded, namely ΜΑΤΑΡΛ. In my opinion, this indeed is a better reading when it comes to both palaeography and the meaning: in contrast to ΠΑΤΑΡ-, ΜΑΤΑΡ- is a well-attested word in Old Nubian meaning ‘witness’.

The last problem is the meaning of the phrase  $\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\lambda\ \tau\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\lambda\lambda\omicron$ . Ruffini believed that the second word,  $\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\lambda$ , is the name of the person, which he identified as a variant of the well-known name Tapara, and the first word designates Tapara's function. This, however, stands against the rules of apposition current in Old Nubian, whereby the designation of a person (title, office, function) always follows the name, not precedes it. And indeed, it seems that the phrase can be interpreted in this way, because Matara is attested as an anthroponym elsewhere, in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 71 (DBMNT 2791), recto, l. 4:  $\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\lambda\ \Delta\iota\alpha\kappa'$ , 'Matara the deacon'.  $\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\lambda$  is more difficult to interpret, as no word is known in Old Nubian that would fit the context (we have  $\tau\alpha\pi\bar{\rho}$ -, 'to lose, destroy, escape', and  $\tau\alpha\pi\pi\alpha\rho$ -, 'to touch'). One may tentatively suggest a possible meaning on the basis of the modern Dongolawi verbs: *ta-bár*, 'come and sort', and *ta-bír*, 'come and transport'. If so,  $\tau\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\lambda$  could mean 'the one who comes and sorts/transport'. In the context of the present document, it could designate the person who was responsible for sorting out or transporting all the goods listed in the account and who received a sheep as a salary for his job. This would also explain why this entry was written separately from the rest of the text, as a kind of subscription. The reverse order 'commodity + name' would serve as an additional means to underline a different nature of the entry.

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FOUNDED BY  
RAPHAEL TAUBENSCHLAG

EDITED BY  
TOMASZ DERDA  
ADAM ŁAJTAR  
JAKUB URBANIK

VOL. L (2020)



ΕΥΓΡΑΦΙΟΣΤΤ  
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THE RAPHAEL TAUBENSCHLAG  
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Computer design and DTP by

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Cover design by

**Maryna Wiśniewska**

Warszawa 2020

ISSN 0075–4277

This publication has been published with financial support from the Faculty of Archaeology and Faculty of Law and Administration of the University of Warsaw

Wydanie I (wersja pierwotna)

Nakład: 200 egz.

Druk i oprawa: Sowa Sp. z o.o., ul. Raszyńska 13, 05-500 Piaseczno



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documentation. In this sense, sociolinguistics, and especially social semiotics, prove useful when dealing with visual aspects of language in papyri, as they prevent their functions and meanings from being overlooked.

**Keywords:** notary, social semiotics, digraphia, diglossia, *di emou* signatures

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**Keywords:** *coloni adscripticii*, *enapographoi georgoi*, Apion estate (Oxyrhynchus), tenancy, viticulture in late-antique Egypt

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**Keywords:** Ptolemaic papyri, petitions, letters, oil contraband, tax farming, Arsinoite nome, prisoners of war

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**Keywords:** Monastery of the Metanoia, *anmona civilis*, shipping receipts, Dioscorus archive

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**Keywords:** expertise, Areopagus, Exegetai, Phanodemus, Apollodorus, son of Pasion, *anagrapheis* (inscribers), Lysias *Against Nicomachus*

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**Keywords:** Latin papyri, Roman citizens, Egypt, business, trade, land

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**Keywords:** murder, pre-trial detention, priests, Soknopaiou Nesos

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**Keywords:** Deir el-Bahari, Amenhotep son of Hapu, Greek inscriptions

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**Keywords:** Alexandria, Mark Antony, Cleopatra VII, Antyllus, 'Inimitables'

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**Keywords:** medieval Nubia, Qasr Ibrim, Old Nubian documents, onomastics, ghost-names, account, Nubian economy

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**Keywords:** animal cult, priests, temple personnel, Egyptian temples, Ptolemaic period, Fayum area

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**Abstract:** The main question that the present paper tries to answer is as follows: since two discordant precepts concerning work were to be found in the New Testament, how did monks behave? One precept treated work as a duty, the other recommended not to care about one's maintenance. The monks followed in their behaviour either the first or the second precept. As a result of disputes that took place in the fourth century the opinion prevailed that work was the better choice. It is important for us to find out when and under what circumstances that choice was done by the majority of the monastic movement in the East. It is also important to see what arguments were used by the monks of Late Antiquity in order to settle the conflict between the two discordant precepts. This conflict worried many and caused a renewal of

a dispute that seemed to have been closed. Two ways of reasoning in favour of monastic work were generally used: monks might and should pray and work at the same time, satisfying both precepts; monks ought to work in order to be able to give alms, and this conferred to work a meaning that went beyond immediate usefulness. Praying and working at the same time was not always feasible in actual practice, but this did not bother authors of ascetic treatises.

**Keywords:** voluntary poverty, St. Anthony, Pachomius, Hirsiesee, Basil of Caesarea, Evagrius of Pontus, John Cassian, *melete*, Messalians, 'wandering and begging' monks, Rabbula, Syriac monastic rules, almsgiving