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Greek Funerary Inscriptions from Old Dongola: General Note¹

There are 11 Greek funerary inscriptions known from Old Dongola.² Three were discovered accidentally at the beginning of the century; shipped to Great Britain, they are to be found today in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (nos. 5, 7, 10). The remaining eight were excavated by the Polish Archaeological Mission in various points of the mediaeval city. The first four were discovered in the 1965/66 and 1966/67 field campaigns, reused as paving slabs in the floor of the Church of the Granite Columns (nos. 1, 2, 3, 9). The next two came in the 1989 season when they were uncovered in a secondary context in private houses (nos. 6, 11) and the last two in the 1992 and the 1993 seasons in the monastery on kom H, presumably close to the spots in which they were used originally (nos. 4, 8). Polish work in Dongola is progressing, especially on kom H which is particularly rich in epigraphic discoveries. The future should bring new finds which may shed further light on the problem of funerary epitaphs in Old Dongola, opening new issues while providing answers to existing questions. It is because of this that the present paper should not be treated as a final presentation of a specific category of objects, rather as an attempt to summarize a specific stage in the research with the knowledge that many problems may yet find quite different solutions.

The following inscriptions are the subject of the present paper.³

1. Epitaph of Kel, daughter of Osk[], A.D. 785. Text written in the shape of

1 My sincere thanks go to Włodzimierz Godlewski who has unflaggingly promoted my interest in the Greek inscriptions from Nubia and provided the inspiration for the present article.

The following abbreviations have been used (excluding those commonly used): Lefebvre = G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Égypte*, Le Caire 1907; Junker = H. Junker, *Die christlichen Grabsteine Nubiens*, ZÄS 60, 1925, pp. 111-148; T.B. = M. G. Tibiletti Bruno, *Iscrizioni Nubiane*, Pavia 1964; Faras IV = J. Kubińska, *Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes*, Warszawa 1974; Hägg = T. Hägg, *Two Christian Epitaphs in Greek of the "Euchologion Mega" Type* [in:] *The Scandinavian Joint Expedition of Sudanese Nubia VI, Late Nubian Cemeteries*, Solna 1982, pp. 55-62.

2 I have disregarded the few fragments, mainly from Polish excavations, containing different parts of the "Euchologion Mega" type of prayer. The fragmentary nature of these inscriptions makes it difficult to discuss their character in detail; they are useful for statistical purposes but not for drawing conclusions of a more general nature.

3 The appendix contains the texts of the inscriptions, translations and references.

a cross on a rectangular marble stela. Prayer of the Euchologion Mega type. An additional request for the soul to rest in peace between the arms of the cross.

2. Epitaph of Stephanos also called "Rich", who served in important church and secular functions. A.D. 797. Prayer of the Euchologion Mega type together with an extensive presentation of the deceased. The deceased's by-name, some of his titles and dating elements are in Old Nubian.

3. Epitaph of Ioannes, eparch of Gadera (?) and protomeizoteros, A.D. 883. Prayer of the Euchologion Mega type of which only the second part is preserved from the words πάν ἀμάρτημα, ending with a presentation of the deceased.

4. Epitaph of Georgios, archbishop, A.D. 1113. Prayer of the Euchologion Mega type followed by a presentation of the deceased and a list of his virtues held in highly pompous manner. An additional prayer for the soul of the deceased at the end.

5. Epitaph of Marianos, archimandrite, possibly 9th cent. Prayer of the Euchologion Mega type, beginning only preserved.

6. Epitaph of Petros, eparch of Nobadia, A.D. 798. Introduction stating that human death is the will and order of the omnipotent God (νεύσει καὶ κελεύσει formula). Date according to the era of Diocletian and the indictions system. Short prayer of Junker's type γ.

7. Fragment of an epitaph. Date approximately similar to that in inscription no. 6. The only part preserved is a prayer for the dead identical to that in the inscription above.

8. Epitaph of the monk Ioannes written on a terracotta stela. Presumably late 8th or 9th cent. Introduction stating that human death is the consequence of God's design (νεύσει καὶ βουλήσει formula). Junker's type γ prayer.

9. Epitaph of the priest Thomas, A.D. 799. Elaborate introduction stating that human death comes from God's will and order. Presentation of the deceased and date of death recorded in four calendar systems (indiction, after Christ, from the creation of the world, from Diocletian). Prayer for the dead composed of quotations and Biblical transpositions without analogy in Nubian epigraphy.

10. Epitaph of Markos, A.D. 811. End of introduction preserved. It presumably contained the idea that human death follows from God's will (νεύσει καὶ κελεύσει or νεύσει καὶ βουλήσει formula). Date according to the era of Diocletian and indiction system. Prayer for the deceased preserved only in the opening part without analogies in Nubia.

11. Epitaph of the priest Zacharias (?), A.D. 816. Introduction stating the fact of the death unpreserved. Presentation of the deceased together with the date of death recorded in at least two systems: from the creation of the world and from the birth of Christ. Prayer for the dead preserved only in the end parts of particular lines; the prayer seems not to have any direct analogies.

The Greek epitaphs from Old Dongola can be divided into two groups. Group I (nos. 1-5) includes inscriptions containing a developed prayer for the soul of the deceased beginning with the words ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, designated as type α in Junker's classification of funerary prayers.⁴ The prayer is also known from the euchologia of the Greek Orthodox Church, explaining the use of the term "prayer of the Euchologion Mega type" borrowed from T. Hägg. All the other inscriptions (nos. 6-11) constitute Group II.

Epitaphs with prayer of the Euchologion Mega type are the most characteristic feature of Nubian funerary epigraphy in Greek. Outside Nubia the prayer has not been evidenced anywhere on funerary stelae in its full form. At this point about 35 Nubian epitaphs containing this prayer are known.⁵ In formal terms the epitaphs are homogenous. Like the prayer they start with the invocation: ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας καὶ τὸν ἄδην καταπατήσας καὶ ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος. The invocation is followed by a request for the soul of the dead to rest in peace. In this place the deceased is presented for the first time in summary fashion; the standard is for the presentation to contain the name of the deceased, sometimes the name of the father, more rarely the person's titles or functions he served in. The next sequence of the prayer starts with the words ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ and continues up to the words σὺ (namely ὁ θεός) γὰρ εἶ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τοῦ δούλου σου, which introduces the second full presentation of the dead person. A doxology ends the prayer following which there is more information on the life of the deceased, especially age and date of death. The five presently known Dongolese epitaphs containing the prayer of the Euchologion Mega type fit well into this model, although in each case there are differences. In the case of the epitaph of Stephanos (no. 2) the last part of the prayer starting from the words ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος right to the doxology was omitted, leaving the presentation without a syntactic connection with the rest of the text. In the epitaph of the eparch Ioannes (no. 3) the dead person's presentation follows in the last non-prayer part of the inscription where the date of the notable's death is given instead of appearing after the words σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τοῦ δούλου σου. In the epitaph of the archbishop Georgios, the re-

⁴ Junker, p. 124.

⁵ The most extensive and most adequate (although old) discussion of the ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός prayer on Nubian stelae is the article by W. Weissbrodt, *Ein ägyptischer christlicher Grabstein mit Inschrift aus der griechischen Liturgie im Königlichen Lyceum Hosianum zu Braunsberg und ähnliche Denkmäler in auswärtigen Museen*, erster Teil: Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen am Königlichen Lyceum Hosianum zu Braunsberg, Winter-Semester 1905/6, zweiter Teil: Sommer-Semester 1909. Cf. also Faras IV, pp. 69-86; Hägg, p. 55 sq. For this prayer used in the Byzantine church, see V. Bruni, *I funerali di un sacerdote nel rito bizantino secondo gli eucologi manoscritti di lingua greca* (Publicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Collectio Minor 14), Jerusalem 1972, pp. 146-158.

dactor of the inscription⁶ wrote καὶ σοὶ τήν and then omitted the rest of the doxology in favour of an elaborate presentation of the spiritual character of the dead man. This presentation, which describes the evangelical virtues of the archbishop and his traits as the shepherd of the Christian community, has no analogies in Nubia. The inscription is thus absolutely unique. The epitaph ends with an additional prayer for the archbishop's soul to rest in peace. The same sequence of elements can be admitted on the stela of Kel where the additional prayer is placed between the arms of the cross formed by the principal text of the inscription. It is noteworthy that the additional prayers are rare in inscriptions of the discussed type. Apart from the epitaphs of Kel and Georgios, analogous elements appear only in the epitaphs of the eparch of Nobadia Ioannes from Faras dated to 1006,⁷ the epitaph of the meizon Staurophoros, governor of the "Seven Lands", discovered by the Scandinavian Joint Expedition in Debeira and dated to 1069⁸ and in an inscription from Wadi Ghazali where it runs in a somewhat different way.⁹

But it is not the form of the inscriptions nor the presence of additional prayers, nor even the pompousness of the style in which Georgios is presented that makes for the importance of the Dongolese epitaphs containing the prayer of the Euchologion Mega type. What makes them an exception in Nubian conditions and the object of our concentrated attention is their dating. Four of the five inscriptions here contain dates that are certain. In translation to years of our era, Kel's epitaph (no. 1) is dated to 785, Stephanos' (no. 2) to 797, Ioannes' (no. 3) to 883 and Georgios' (no. 4) to 1113. The first three mentioned above are the oldest surely dated inscriptions with the ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός prayer known so far from the territory of Nubia.¹⁰ The next two examples of the group are over a hundred years later and come from the early 11th century; one is an epitaph of Ioannes eparch of Nobadia, already mentioned in this paper,¹¹ the other of Ioannes, bishop of Faras;¹² both date from A. D. 1006 and open a

6 Less likely for it to have been the stonemason.

7 TB 6; Faras IV, p. 49 sq., no. I: σὺ δὲ, κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)[ῆ] πολυέλεε, ἀνάπαυσον αὐτὸν ἐν τ[ῇ] βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐ(ρα)νῶν μετὰ πάντω[ν] τῶν ἁγίων σου.

8 Hägg, p. 57; Χ(ριστ)έ, ἀνάπαυσον εἰς βασιλείαν τῶν οὐ(ρα)νῶν.

9 P. L. Shinnie, H. N. Chittick, *Ghazali – A Monastery in the Northern Sudan* (Sudan Antiquities Service Occasional Papers 5), Khartoum 1961, p. 87, no. 61.

10 An epitaph of one Marcus from Dendur is considered to be the oldest Nubian inscription containing the Euchologion Mega type of prayer; cf. G. Lefebvre [in:] A. M. Blackman, *The Temple of Dendur*, Cairo 1911, p. 60, pl. XCIII (SB I 4949; TB 11). The date in this inscription as read by Lefebvre: ἀπο ἰ [μαρτυρῶν (?) Διοκλητιαν]νο(υ) ? : πδ :, year 470 of the era of Diocletian, A. D. 753/4, raises many doubts, however. A poor photograph of the object in the original publication does not permit the French scholar's reading to be revised. Considering the general appearance of the stela and the paleography, I would lean more toward a date in the 11th–12th century.

11 Cf. supra, note 7.

12 Faras IV, pp. 36–38, no. 7.

large series of Nobadian epitaphs. From A.D. 1015 comes an epitaph of king David found in Soba, the only object of the like from Alodia.¹³ Everything would suggest that the prayer of the Euchologion Mega type appeared in Nubian funerary epigraphy for the first time in Dongola. This fact could not have taken place later than in the middle of the 8th cent. In Nobadia and Alodia the prayer appeared later, perhaps under inspiration from the capital of the united kingdom. It is difficult to define in precise dates the spread of the prayer in the epigraphy of different parts of Nubia. While the list of Nubian inscriptions containing this prayer is telling, it need not be entirely true owing to the state of the finds to our disposal.¹⁴

It is highly probable that the prayer ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός constituted an element of the funerary liturgy in the Nubian Church and was passed on primarily in the written tradition by means of euchologia which served as a source for texts copied on funerary stelae.¹⁵ This would explain the surprising uniformity of the texts which appeared solely on the stelae in the period from 8th to 13th century. The prayer in its Nubian version differs in two places from the version known from euchologia of the Greek Church:¹⁶ 1) in the Nubian version the invocation to the Lord contains the expression τὸν ἄδην καταπατήσας whereas in the Byzantine version there is τὸν διάβολον καταπατήσας;¹⁷ 2) the request for the soul of the dead person to rest in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, which was a constant element of Nubian texts on funerary stelae, is absent from Byzantine euchologia. It is apparently possible to trace the origin of these differences in the developement of the prayer itself. It is assumed that the prayer ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός came into being in Syro-Cappadocian circles; Byzantine tradition ascribes it to

13 S. Jakobielski [in:] D. A. Welsby, C. M. Daniels, *Soba. Archaeological Research at a Medieval Capital on the Blue Nile* (British Institute in Eastern Africa. Memoir 12), London 1991, p. 274 sq.

14 The presence of a version of the prayer in Nobadia earlier than in the 11th century appears to find evidence in Lefebvre's epitaphs nos. 645 (dated to 775), 646 and 647 (A.D. 913). The form of the prayer, however, is strongly abbreviated to just an invocation and request for the soul to rest in the bosom of the patriarchs.

15 The texts could have possibly been copied from some kind of notebooks with models of inscriptions.

16 There is a third difference although not so evident as the first two. Some of the Nubian epitaphs, for example the epitaph of eparch Ioannes, contain the expression ἄνες ἄφες absent from the Byzantine version, following κατὰ διάνοιαν but before συγχώρησον. At present it is difficult to observe any regularities governing the appearance of this expression in funerary inscriptions from Nubia.

17 It should be noted, however, that the expression τὸν διάβολον καταπατήσας was observed in Nubia once, in the funerary inscription of Ignatios, bishop of Faras, who died in 802. The prayer in his epitaph is not of the Euchologion Mega type. It is assumed, however, that Ignatios was not a Nubian and that he came to Faras from Byzantium; cf. S. Jakobielski, *A History of the Bishopric of Pachoras* (Faras III), Warszawa 1972, p. 71.

St. Basil the Great.¹⁸ Discarding an unreliable tradition, it is nevertheless true that a version of the discussed prayer, still very distant from the final Byzantine-Nubian realization, existed in 6th century Antioch to judge by the report of Pseudo-Dionysios.¹⁹ The oldest confirmation of the existence of the prayer in its final form is a papyrus from Nessana in the Negev; it is dated in paleographical terms to the very beginning of the 7th century.²⁰ The papyrus is damaged in the place where the part of the invocation of interest to our discussion appears, but the count of letters suggests it most probably had τὸν ἕδην καταπατήσας at this point.²¹ In the second key place, the expression ἐν τόπῳ φωτινῷ κτλ. appears directly after the request ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου without any mention being made of the patriarch's bosom. These two details of the prayer written down in the papyrus from Nessana suggest the following turn of events. The prayer ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός came to the Valley of the Nile from Syria and Palestine could have constituted one of the stages of the journey. In the invocation the prayer had τὸν ἕδην καταπατήσας and was devoid of the request for the soul of the dead person to rest in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. The request, which was highly specific of the phraseology connected with life after death in the Christian culture of the Nile Valley,²² must have been added to the prayer already in Nubia. For some reason the prayer failed to be adopted in Egypt, while becoming extremely popular in Nubia and reaching even Ethiopia.²³ The only time frame for this process to have taken place is the 7th-8th century and its earliest results are to be observed in the epitaphs from Dongola.²⁴

Group II of epitaphs from Dongola is less uniform than Group I in lexical terms but extremely homogenous as far as the composition is concerned. All the inscriptions follow the same model which is made up of two elements: 1) introduction stating the death of the person to whom the stela belonged and giving the date of this event and other information from the life of the deceased;

18 Bruni, loc.cit.

19 Bruni, loc.cit.

20 P. ColtNessana III 96. The text written down on the papyrus is most probably a private copy from an euchologion, so the prayer must have been known in Nessana earlier, already in the 6th century.

21 διάβολον is definitely too long.

22 Cf. e.g. Lefebvre, Introduction, p. XXX.

23 The Ethiopian version was quoted in Faras IV, p. 84 sq.

24 The prayer followed an analogous route to the north, from Syria to Constantinople and from the capital to all of the Byzantine Church including southern Italy from where the oldest euchologia with its text originate. It is difficult to guess where the change from ἕδην to διάβολον took place. The prayer "God of spirits and of all flesh" is known also in Armenian translation; in similarity to the Byzantine version it has "You who tramples the devil" and is devoid of a request to rest in the bosom of the patriarchs. For the Armenian version cf. Weissbrodt, op.cit., Verzeichnis ... Braunsberg, Winter-Semester 1905/6. p. 11 sq.

2) prayer for the soul of the dead person. The funerary inscription of Zacharias (no. 11) is the only one which differs somewhat from the model because the presentation of the dead person is interrupted by a quotation from the Gospel according to St. John 14, 2. It should be remembered, however, that the inscription has been preserved in fragmentary state making the syntax of the text and consequently the function of this particular quotation uncertain. As far as it can be ascertained, the first of the two constituents of inscriptions of Group II always provides the same information: that a person died of God's will and order, the Lord-Creator of all things and of human race consequently as well as being the only one with the ultimate right to call up a man from this world to the celestial kingdom. In the epitaphs of eparch Petros (no. 6) and the monk Ioannes (no. 8), perhaps also Markos (no. 10), this idea is expressed by the formulae νεύσει καὶ κελεύσει, νεύσει καὶ βουλῇσει, very characteristic of Nubian funerary epigraphy,²⁵ supplemented with additional titles of the Lord and description of his creative acts. In the funerary inscription of priest Thomas the idea of God's omnipotence and the passing of human existence were expressed in the form of developed phrase which finds some analogies in the epitaph of the presbyter Ioannes from Wadi Ghazali.²⁶ The second element of inscriptions of Group II, which is the prayer, shows a greater variety. In two cases – the epitaph of the eparch Petros and an inscription on a fragmentarily preserved stela in the Fitzwilliam Museum (no. 7) – the prayers are identical. Analogous short prayers, which Junker distinguished as his type γ 1,²⁷ are also to be found on funerary stelae from other sites in Nubia, particularly in Nobadia for that matter. It can be assumed that we are dealing with a formula known and used throughout Nubia, modelled perhaps on a prayer from an euchologion. Similarly popular in Nubia was a simple prayer occurring in the epitaph of the monk Ioannes, a prayer which also qualifies as Junker's type γ 1. What distinguishes it from other inscriptions is the fact that the patriarchs are called with the common term πατέρες without giving their particular names, but this was caused by a simple designing mistake which left too little space for the prayer to be written out in full. The prayers in the epitaphs of Markos and Zacharias are damaged too extensively for anything

25 H. Junker did not know these formulae when he wrote the principal work on Nubian inscriptions, thus they are lacking from his 1925 article. Thus, it is useful at this point to list all the available examples from outside Dongola: H. Junker, *Die griechische Grabinschrift von Gebel Barkal*, ZNTW 1938, pp. 281–285 (one Elisabeth); Faras IV, pp. 26–31, no. 4 (bishop Ignatios, died A.D. 801); Faras IV, pp. 32–34, no. 5 (bishop Kollouthos, died A.D. 923); Faras IV, pp. 34–36 (bishop Stephanos, died A.D. 926); in all these cases we are dealing with the νεύσει καὶ βουλῇσει formula. See also D. Dows, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush* II, Boston 1955, pl. LXXIB: Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ δοῦλος ἐκοιμήθη ἐν τῇ κελεύσει Θ(εο)ῦ Κ(υρίο)υ Παντοκράτορος (my reading is based on the photograph).

26 S. Donadoni, *Trois nouvelles stèles de Ghazali* [in:] *Nubische Studien*, Mainz am Rhein 1986, p. 225.

27 Junker, p. 127.

sure to be said about their text. Nevertheless, both the invocation to Christ in the first case and the preserved endings of particular lines in the second appear to indicate that we are dealing with texts without any direct analogy in Nubia. It is not to be excluded that the last part of the prayer in the epitaph of Zacharias is modelled on Ps. 114,9.²⁸ If it is true, the prayer would be similar to a degree with a prayer to be found in one of the epitaphs from Ginari in Nobadia.²⁹ The prayer on stela of Thomas remains completely separate. It is made up of quotations and Biblical transformations testifying to the erudition of the author and there is a good chance that it is a completely individual and unique composition.

Considering all eleven of the Dongolese epitaphs together, it is interesting to note some general problems involved with this group. The first issue is the way in which the date is recorded in the inscriptions. The four epitaphs with the prayer of the Euchologion Mega type use the era of Diocletian (Martyrs) as the only system to give the date in years. The epitaphs of the second group have the years given according to a number of systems: in inscriptions of Marianos and the eparch Petros it is the indiction combined with the era of Diocletian while in the epitaphs of Thomas and Zacharias the above two appear together with the era from the creation of the world and from the birth of Christ. It would seem that the difference in recording dates in the two groups is not all accidental. It is to be observed in a number of other epitaphs from the vicinity of Old Dongola³⁰ and from Faras as well.³¹ I am unable to point to the reason of this phenomenon.

Of much greater importance than just observing differences in recording dates in inscriptions of the two groups is the fact that in two epitaphs of the Euchologion Mega type from Old Dongola, that of Kel (no. 1) and Stephanos (no. 2), the era which started on August 29 in year 284 is called for the first time the era of the Martyrs instead of that of Diocletian. To judge by available sources,³² the new name does not appear again until the middle of the 9th century in Faras and only in the second half of the century in Fayyum and Wadi Natrun. One of

28 εὐαρεστήσω ἀναντίον Κυρίου ἐν χάριτι ζώντων.

29 Cf. A. Łajtar, *A Greek Christian Inscription from Ginari, Lower Nubia*, ZPE 91, 1992, pp. 147-149.

30 For example the epitaph of one Georgios from Nawi (SB 7428; T.B. 5) which belongs to our Group II, contains the dates from the creation of the world, the birth of Christ and from Diocletian.

31 See e.g. the epitaphs of bishops of Faras: Ignatios (Faras IV, p. 26 sq., no. 4), Kollouthos (Faras IV, p. 32, no. 5) and Stephanos (Faras IV, p. 34, no. 6), all belonging to our Group II, where the dates are given according to a number of different systems whereas in epitaphs with the prayer of the Euchologion Mega type the dates are only according to the era of Diocletian (Martyrs). It should be noted, however, that at Faras these differences may result more from chronology: epitaphs of Group II are dated here to the 9th-10th century and those of Group I (with the Euchologion Mega type prayer) to the period starting with the 11th century.

32 A listing of the sources and discussion in: L. S. B. MacCoull, K. A. Worp, *The Era of the Martyrs* [in:] *Miscellanea papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell' edizione della Charta Borgiana* (Papyrologica Florentina XIX), Firenze 1990, pp. 375-408.

the oldest testimonies of its use is also the epitaph of the eparch Ioannes discussed here (no. 3). At the turn of the 9th century the new name came into popular use throughout the Valley of the Nile, in inscriptions as well as manuscripts, replacing with time the older term. The appearance of a new name for the era still commonly used in the Coptic church, in Dongola of all places is so surprising that L. MacCoull and K. A. Worp attempted to explain it with a transferring of an Egyptian custom through Coptic monks fleeing to Nubia from Arab repressions.³³ There is no evidence in the sources to confirm this hypothesis and considering the relative scarceness of Coptic influences in Dongola³⁴ makes it all the more improbable. It is much more natural to assume that the new name came into being in the local Christian community in Dongola³⁵ and spread from there not only throughout Nubia but to Egypt as well. Dongola's history is still little known, thus it is difficult to understand why the new name was created. Perhaps it was the effect of some elusive changes in the spiritual sphere.

The second problem concerning the Dongolese epitaphs is the language issue. It is noteworthy that the Greek used in these inscriptions is relatively correct. Apart from apparent mistakes resulting from a phonetic recording (iotacismus, disappearing of final "ν" and "σ") and mistakes which occur so often that they should be considered as typical of Nubian Greek (accusative τὸν δοῦλον almost always after τὴν ψυχὴν instead of genitive), the language of the inscriptions is not contaminated with any serious spelling or grammar mistakes of the likes which occur in some of the epitaphs from other regions of Nubia. This is partly due to the fact that the Dongolese inscriptions come from a relatively early period (8th/9th century) when Nubian Greek was still relatively pure. It is noteworthy, however, that the epitaph of archbishop Georgios, which is 300 years younger than the rest, does not reveal any glaring deterioration of the language and the spelling is definitely better than in contemporary inscriptions from the Faras-Qasr Ibrim area. What is more, the presentation of the dead man, which in this case is completely innovative in Nubia, indicates that the redactor of the inscription had at least a passive command of Greek. The same cannot be said of the author of the text e.g. on the stela from Arminna who copied the prayer ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων mechanically. It is true that the Nubian author of the list of Georgios' virtues did not think up the list all by himself at the beginning of the 12th century; he only capably adapted available literature, mainly the New Testament. The literary character is, it would seem, one of the most characteristic features of Dongolese funerary epigraphy. It is most clearly apparent in the epitaph of Thomas. Basing on the Holy Scriptures and early Christian literature,

33 Ibid., p. 385 sq.

34 See below.

35 It was not ethnically uniform community, of course. Beside the dominant Nubian element there must have been arrivals from Egypt, Byzantium and presumably also from Syria.

the redactor of the inscription created an unusually complicated introduction characterized by a many-tired structure and rhetorical figures as well as an eclectic prayer for the soul of the dead man. The epitaphs of Markos and Zacharias also owe certain parts to Biblical readings. Finally, it should be mentioned that elaborate, taught elements from the lexical sphere appear in the inscription of the monk Ioannes: βαίνω in the perfect used here to state the fact of death would have been appropriate in a pagan metric epitaph and not in an inscription in prose from Christian Nubia. It is difficult to observe similar features in inscriptions from other regions of Nubia. The great cemeteries of northern Nobadia at Tafa and Sakinya yield quite simple and monotonous epitaphs, copying one or a small number of local models. More interesting examples of Greek funerary inscriptions come from Faras and Wadi Ghazali, but even there they have a more formalized character than at Dongola.

To remain with language questions, in the statistical sense so to speak, it should be emphasized that the eleven Greek inscriptions discussed here and the few fragments mentioned in note 2 constitute a strong majority of the funerary texts known so far from Old Dongola. Only two epitaphs recently discovered by the Polish Mission on kom H³⁶ are in the Coptic and Old Nubian occurs only as intercalations in Greek texts. Whereas the absence of Nubian epitaphs is understandable,³⁷ the scarcity of Coptic texts is surprising. It is in obvious contrast with the situation observed in another great center of Nubian civilization – Faras, where almost half the existing epitaphs is in Coptic, and at Ghazali, one of the Macurian sites, where Coptic epitaphs constitute more than half of the funerary inscriptions. If this state of affairs is not a consequence of the accidentality of our documentation, the statement could be risked that in Dongola the binding cultural models were Greek and not Coptic, and that Greek was the official language of the town elites, the people who could afford to erect expensive funerary stelae. In Faras, which lay closer to Egypt and was open to strong Coptic influence, the situation must have been different as also in the case of Ghazali, an important monastic center, where Coptic could have been spread not just by means of books, but also directly by the Egyptian monks living there. Worth emphasizing is the position of Old Nubian which in Old Dongola is the only source of other language intercalations in Greek texts.³⁸ The observation is

36 The inscriptions are on terracotta stelae and presumably constitute a series with the epitaph of monk Ioannes. The Coptic texts will be published by Dr. Stefan Jakobielski.

37 Hitherto only one epitaph is known in which the language is Old Nubian. It is the funerary inscription of King Georgios from Wadi Natrun, A.D. 1157.

38 The epitaph of Marianos (no. 5) requires comment here. The deceased is presented as ἀρχιμανδ(ρίτης) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ΤΑΛΛΑΡ. Referring to G. Millet, Lefebvre wanted to read in this place: ταλαίπωρων λάτριον and this point of view was accepted by Tibiletti Bruno, at least in part. U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana*, Roma 1938, p. 168, was of the opinion that this part of the inscription is in Coptic; he read ΤΑΛΛΑΡ(ε) and interpreted it as

all the more important because it is in Old Dongola, in a Greek epitaph of Stephanos who died in 797 (no. 2), that we have the first sure evidence from Nubia of the fully developed form of Old Nubian recorded in writing.³⁹ In this context, taking into account the scarcity of Coptic sources, it is viable to suggest that in terms of culture and language Dongola was Nubian-Greek rather than Nubian-Coptic.

Appendix

Greek Funerary Inscriptions Known so far from Old Dongola

1. Epitaph of Kel daughter of Osk[]

Unpublished, mentioned in: S. Jakobielski, A. Ostrasz, *Kush* 15, 1967/68, p. 133(a)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. † ὁ θ(ε)δ[ς] [τῶν] πν(ευμά)τον | |
| 2. καὶ πα[σης σα]ρκός, | |
| 3. ὁ τὸν θά[νατ]ον κα- | |
| † μακάριος | 4. ταργήσα[ς καὶ τ]ὸν ᾗδ- σον ἐν χώρᾳ |
| θ(ε)δ[ς] ἀνάπαυ- | 5. ἣν καταπαθήσας καὶ ζώντον |
| 6. ζῶν τῷ κόσμῳ χαρι- | |
| 7. σάμενος, ἀνάπαυ- | |
| 8. σον τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν δ(οῦλ)ην Κελ θυγ(άτηρ) Ὅσκη[...] ἐν κόλποις | |
| 9. Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ἐν τόπῳ φωτιν- | |
| 10. ῶ, ἐν τόπῳ ἀναψύξεως, ἐνθα ἀπέδρα ὁδύ- | |
| 11. νη κα[ὶ λύ]πη καὶ στεναγμός · πᾶν ἁμάρτημα παρ' | |
| 12. [αὐ]το[ῦ π]ραχθὲν λόγον ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ κατὰ διάνοια ὡς ἀγαθός | |
| 13. [καὶ φιλά]ν(θρῳπο)[ς] συγχώρησον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄν(θρῳπ)ος ὡς ζήσε- | |
| 14. ται κα[ὶ] οὐχ ἁμαρτήσῃ · σὺ γὰρ μόνος πάσης ἁμαρτίας | |
| 15. ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχεις καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου δικαιοσύνη εἰς τὸν αἰ- | |
| 16. ὦνα, κ(ύρι)ε, καὶ ὁ λόγος σου | |
| 17. καὶ ἀλήθεια· σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἡ | |
| 18. ἀνάπαυσις τὴν δ(οῦλ)ην Κελ· | |
| ἐν τ(ῇ) βασι- | 19. τὰ δὲ ἔτη τῆς ζωῆς αὐ- οὐ(ρα)νῶν (καὶ) |
| λέει τῶν | 20. τοῦ ὁμοῦ πᾶ, ἀπὸ μ(α)ρ(τύρων) πρᾶνῶτα- |

"archimandrite of the monastery of Jesus in Illarte". In a previous article (*Aegyptus* 72, 1972, p. 121, no. 9) I tended to agree with Monneret de Villard, but presently I am more inclined to consider this fragment an Old Nubian text rather than a Coptic one: ἀρχ(ι)μ(α)νδ(ρ)ίτης Ἰ(η)σοῦς τῷ λλᾶ – "archimandrite of the monastery of Jesus the God". What follows this definition is some kind of abbreviation which cannot be deciphered without a photograph of the object.

³⁹ Older evidence is probably provided by the Coptic-Old Nubian papyrus published by G. M. Browne, *A Papyrus Document in Coptic and Old Nubian*, JJP 23, 1993, pp. 29-32, but the dating in this case is based on paleographic criteria which give only a broad time frame (7th/8th cent.).

21. φῶς, οὐσης Θῶθ ὄγ- τοῦ
 22. δόη, ἡμέρῳ πέμπτῃ· αὐ-
 23. τῇ ἀναπαύσει.

1. πνευμάτων; 5. καταπατήσας; 9. φωτεινῶ; 10. ἀναψύξεως; 12. αὐτῆς; λόγῳ; διάνοιαν; ὥς;
 17. καί is superfluous in this place; 19-20. αὐτῆς; 22-23. αὐτὴν ἀναπαύσει; rather than αὐτῇ
 ἀναπαύσει; text in the arms of the cross: ζώντων; βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν; πρῶτατος or
 πρᾶτατος

Translation: God of spirits and of all flesh, You who have defeated death and trodden down hell, and given life to the world, rest the soul of Your servant Kel daughter of Osk[] in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in a shining place, in a place of refreshment from which pain and grief and lamentation have fled away. Being good and benevolent forgive every sin committed by her in word or in deed or in thought, because there is not a man who would live and not sin. For You alone are without sin and Your justice is justice for ever, O Lord, and Your word is truth. For You are the rest of Your servant Kel daughter of Osk[]. And the years of her life (were) about 85. (She died in the year) from the Martyrs 502, on the eight day of the month of Thoth, fifth day of the week.

Good Lord, give her rest in the land of the living in the Heavenly Kingdom, and benevolent.

2. Epitaph of Stephanos

A. Łajtar, Aegyptus 72, 1992, pp. 113-129

Cf. S. Jakobielski, A. Ostrasz, Kush 15, 1967/68, p. 133(b) (description of stela with basic data concerning the deceased and the date of his death), pl. XXIV, XXVI

† ⲁ † ⲓ †

1. ὁ θεὸς τῶν πν(ευμ)άτων κ(αὶ) πάσης
2. σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταρ-
3. γήσας (καὶ) τὸν ἄδην καταπαθήσας
4. (καὶ) ζῶν τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμε-
5. νος, ἀνάπαυσον τῇ(ν) ψυχὴν τὸν δ(οῦλον)
6. Στεφάνου, πρε(σβυτέρου), ὁ λεγ(όμενος) εἰψῆτα,
7. υἱὸς μαρᾶ, ἐν κόλπεις Ἀβρα-
8. ἄμ (καὶ) Ἰσαὰκ (καὶ) Ἰακώβ, ἐν τόπῳ
9. φωτινῶ, ἐν τόπῳ ἀναψύξε-
10. ως, ἐνθα ἀπέδρα ὁδύνη (καὶ) λύ-
11. πη (καὶ) στεναγμός· πᾶν ἁμάρτιμα
12. παρ' αὐτῶ πραχθὲν λόγων
13. ἢ ἔργων ἢ κατὰ διάνοια ὥς ἀγα-
14. θὸς κ(αὶ) φιλάν(θρωπος) συνχώρησον·

15. τὸν δ(οὔλον) Στεφάνου, πρε(σβυτέρου), χαλτ(ο)νοτ(αρίου) (καὶ)
ἀρχ(ι)-
16. μανδ(ρίτου) Μαρία Τιμαειε (καὶ) χοιακῳψλ
17. (καὶ) δοκναῳψλ. ἀνάπ(αυσον) ἐν μη(νὶ) Φαρμ(οῦθι)
18. τῷ, ἡμέρῃ πογῳ · ᾱ ·, σελλένῃ τῷ,
19. ἀπὸ μ(αρτύων) φῑγ · τὰ [δὲ ἔ]τη ζωῆς
20. αὐτοῦ [number]

3. καταπατήσας; 6. τοῦ λεγομένου; 7. υἱοῦ; κόλποις; φωτεινῷ; 11. ἀμάρτημα; 12. αὐτοῦ; λόγῳ; 13. ἔργῳ, διάνοιαν; 15. χαρτ(ο)νοτ(άριος); 17. ἀνεπαύσατο or ἀνεπάη; 18. σελήνῃ

Translation: God of spirits and of all flesh, You who have defeted death and trodden down hell and given live to the world, rest the soul of Your servant Stephanos, also called “Rich”, son of Maraña, in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in a shining place, in a place of refreshment, from which pain and grief and lamentation have fled away. Being good and benevolent forgive every sin committed by him in word or in deed or in thought. (For You are the rest of) Your servant Stephanos, presbyter, chartonotarios and archimandrites of (the Monastery of) Maria (in) Timaeie and Choiakishshil and Joknashshil. He went to rest in the month Pharmouthi 19, (in the) first day of the week, (in the) 14th lunar day, (in the year) from the Martyrs 513. And the years of his life (were) [number].

3. Epitaph of Ioannes, eparch

Unpublished; mentioned in: S. Jakobielski, L. Krzyżaniak, *Kush* 15, 1967/68, p. 163; T. Dzierży-kray-Rogalski, S. Jakobielski [in:] *Nubia. Recentes Recherches*, Warsaw 1975, p. 44 sq. (description), p. 48 (drawing); on the titles of Ioannes cf. T. Hägg, *Symbolae Osloenses* 65, 1990, P. 159, 162.

- | | |
|------|--|
| x+1 | πᾶν] ἀμάρτ[ημα παρ' αὐτοῦ πραχθὲν |
| x+2 | λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἄνες |
| x+3 | ἄφες συγχώρησον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄν(θρωπ)ος |
| x+4 | ὃς ζήσεται κ(αὶ) οὐχ ἁμαρτήσῃ· σὺ γὰρ, |
| x+5 | θ(εό)ς, μόνος ἁμαρτίας ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχεις |
| x+6 | κ(αὶ) ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου δικ(αι)οσύνη καὶ |
| x+7 | ὁ λόγος σου ἀλήθεια· σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἀνά- |
| x+8 | παυσις κ(αὶ) ἡ ἀνάστασις τὸν σὸν |
| x+9 | δοῦλον κ(αὶ) σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμ- |
| x+10 | πομεν τῷ π(ατ)ρὶ κ(αὶ) τῷ υἱῷ κ(αὶ) τῷ ἁγίῳ π(ναυμά)τι † |
| x+11 | ἀνεπάη δὲ ὁ μακάριος οὗτος Ἰωάννης |
| x+12 | ἐπαρχος τῶν Γαδῆρων κ(αὶ) πρωτομειζώ- |
| x+13 | τερος υἱ(ὸ)ς δὲ Ζαχαρίου αὐγούστου ἐν μ(η)νὶ |

- x+14 Χοίαχ ιϛ̅, μὲν ἔτου ἀπὸ μαρτύρων · χ̅ · †
 x+15 † τὰ ἔτη δὲ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτ(ο)ῦ ν̅ς. †

12-13. πρωτομειζότερος; 14. ἔτους;

Translation: [being good and benevolent] forgive every sin committed by him in word or in deed or in thought because there is not a man who would live and not sin. For You alone are without sin and Your justice is justice for ever, O Lord, and Your word is truth. For You are the rest and the resurrection of Your servant and we address the glory to You, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. And the blessed Ioannes, eparch of Gadera (?) and protomeizoteros, son of king Zacharias, died in the month Choiak (day) 17, (in the) year from the Martyrs 600. And the years of his life (were) 56.

4. Epitaph of archbishop Georgios

Unpublished

1. † Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς ᾱ ὁ † Χ(ριστός)ς † ᾱ
2. ὁ θ(εὸς) τῶν πν(ευμ)άτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός,
3. ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας καὶ ἄδην
4. καταπατήσας καὶ ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ χαρισάμενος,
5. ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τὸν δ(οῦλον) ἄβ(βα) Γεωργίου
 ἀρχ(ι)επισκ(όπου), ἀρχ(ι)μανδ(ρίτου)
6. ἀντ() μεγ() ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ κ(αὶ) Ἰακώβ,
7. ἐν τόπῳ φωτινῷ, ἐν τόπῳ ἀναψύξεως, ἐν-
8. θα ἀπέδρα ὁδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός· πᾶν ἄ-
9. μάρτημα πραχθὲν ἢ λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν ὡς ἀγαθὸς κ(αὶ)
10. φιλάν(θρωπ)ος συνχώρησον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄν(θρωπ)ος ὅς ζησεται
 κ(αὶ) οὐχ
11. ἁμαρτήσῃ· σὺ γὰρ εἶ μόνος πάσης ἁμαρτία[ς] ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχεις
12. καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη[ς] σου δικαιοσύνη εἰς τῶν αἰῶνα[ς], κ(ύρι)ε, ὁ
 λόγος σου
13. ἡ ἀλήθεια· σὺ γὰρ ἀνάπαυσις τῶν σῶν δούλ(ον) ἄβ(βα) Γεωργ(ίου)
 ἀρχ(ι)στυλ() τριᾶς
14. ἀγίας, ὁ μέγας ἀντ() ἀρχ(ι)μανδ(ρίτης) καὶ σοὶ τ(ῆν) ὁ
 φιλεκκλησίας, ὁ φιλ-
15. ἀν(θρωπ)ος, ὁ φιλόξενος, ὁ φιλόπονος τοῦ μοναστηρίου τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ,
16. ὁ φιλόπτωχος, μᾶλλον δὲ μερμινητῆς τῆς οἴκουμένης,
17. ἱλαροπρόσοπος, πραότατος π(ατ)ῆρ τῶν ὀρφανῶν, ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ
 καλ(ός)
18. τοῦ εὐλ(ο)γημένου ἄβ(βα) Γεωργ(ίου), ἀρχ(ι)στυλ(). ἀνεπάη δὲ
 Ἐπιφή εἰ μην(ός), ἀπὸ

19. μαρτ(ύρων) ὠᾶθ̄, ἡμέρᾱ Κυριακῇ, ὥρᾱ ξ τὸν θεῖον μυστήριον
20. ἐγεύσατο· τὰ δὲ ἔτη τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ πβ̄, ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου κα-
21. θεζομέν(α) ν. ἀναπαύσεις σε, Χ(ριστ)έ, ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων (καὶ)
εἰσήγα-
22. γέν σε εἰς τὸν παράδεισον τῆς τρυφῆς τοῦ προτοτόκω(ν)
23. Ἰε(ρουσα)λὴμ ἐπου(ρᾶ)νιον μετὰ πάντ(ων) τῶν ἁγίων σου, (ἀμήν).
24. † ξ α † ξ ω † ξ

6. Ἀντ(ωνίου) Μεγ(άλου) is very likely; 7. φωτεινῷ, τόπῳ; 12. τόν; 13. τὸν σὸν; 13-14. τριάς ἅγια rather than τριάδος ἁγίας; 14. possibly ὁ Μέγας Ἀντ(ώνιος) – cf. l. 6; φιλεκκλησίος; 17. ὑλοσπορόσωπος, ὀρφανῶν; 18. Ἐπιφί; 21. presumably: ἀναπαύσης αὐτὸν, Χριστέ, ... καὶ εἰσαγάγῃς less likely: ἀναπαύσῃ σε Χριστός ... καὶ εἰσαγάγῃ; 23. 9th stone

Translation: Jesus the Christ. God of spirits and of all flesh, You who have defeated death and trodden down Hell and given life to the world, rest in peace the soul of Your servant abba Georgios, archbishop, archimandrite of (the monastery of) Great Antony in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Iacob, in a shining place, in a place of refreshment, from which pain and grief and lamentation have fled away. Being good and benevolent forgive every sin committed by him in word, or in deed, or in thought, because there is not a man who would live and not sin. For You alone are outside sin, Your justice is for ever, and Your word is truth. You are the rest of Your servant abba Georgios archistyl() of (the church of the) Holy Trinity, archimandrite of (the monastery of) Great Anthony and to You, loving the church, loving mankind, hospitable, who was conscious about the God's monastery, loving the poor, who was mostly anxious about oikoumene, who was of cheerful countenance, the mildest father of orphans, the beautiful shepherd, the blessed abba Georgios, archistyl(). He died on the 5th day of the month Epeiph, in the year from the Martyrs 829, on Sunday, at the 6th hour, after receiving the divine sacrament. And the years of his life were 82, and those on the throne 50. And You, Christe, would give rest to him in the land of living, and introduce him into the paradise of joy of the first-born, into heavenly Jerusalem, with all your saints, amen

5. Epitaph of Marianos, archimandrite

F.C. Burkitt, JThS 5, 1903, p. 586 (a) (Lefebvre 643; TB 3)

Cf. Weissbrodt, Verzeichnis ... Braunsberg, Sommer-Semester 1905, p. 17, no. XI (description of the content without giving the actual text of the inscription); F.H. Heichelheim, JHS 62, 1942, no. X 1.

1. ζωή
2. † ὁ θ(εὸ)ς τῶν πν(ευμ)άτω[ν καὶ πάσης]
3. σαρκός, ὁ τὸν θάνα[τον καταργή]-

4. σας καὶ τὸν ἄδην [καταπατήσας]
5. καὶ ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ [φ' χαρισάμε]-
6. νος, ἀνάπαυσον τὴν [ψυχὴν]
7. τὸν δοῦλον σου Μαρι[ανοῦ] _____ Τ
8. ἀρχι[μ]ανδ[ρι]του Ἰ[η]σοῦς ΤΛΛΑΡ ὃ [ἐν κόλποις]
9. Ἀβραάμ (καὶ) Ἰσαὰκ (καὶ) Ἰακ[ώβ],
10. [ἐν τόπῳ] φωτεινῷ ἐν [τόπῳ - - -]
11. -----

_____ Τ
 ΤΛΛΑΡ ὃ [META] Burkitt; τλ λάρ (καὶ) [ἐν κολποῖς (?) Lefebvre with the suggestion τλ λάρ =
 ταλαίπωρων λάτρων (?) owed to G. Millet; ΤΛ λάτρων(?) καὶ) Tibiletti Bruno; 10. φωτεινῷ

Translation: Life. God of spirits and of all flesh, You who have defeated death and trodden down hell and given life to the world, rest in peace the soul of Your servant Marianos, archimandrite of (the monastery of) Jesus God (?) [...] in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in a shining place, in a [place etc.]

6. Epitaph of Petros, eparch of Nobadia

A. Łajtar, Archéologie du Nil Moyen 5, 1991, pp. 157-159.

1. † Νεύσει καὶ κελεύσει
2. τῷ τὰ πάντα δημι-
3. ουργήσας θ(ε)ῷ ἐκοι-
4. μήθη ὁ μακαρίτης
5. Πέτρος ἔπα[ρ]χος τῆς
6. τῶν Ν[οβ]άδων χώ-
7. ρας μη(νὶ) Τῦβι ιβ', ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ς;
8. ἔτους ἀπὸ Διοκλητ(ιανοῦ) φῑδ̄.
9. Ὁ θ(ε)ὸς τῶν πν(ευμάτ)ων (καὶ) πά-
10. σης σαρκός, ἀνάπαυ-
11. σον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐ-
12. τοῦ ἐν κόλποις Ἀβρα-
13. ἄμ (καὶ) Ἰσαὰκ (καὶ) Ἰακώβ,
14. ἐνθα πάντες οἱ ἅγι[οι]
15. σου π[ρ]οανε[παύ]σαντο].

2-3. τοῦ τὰ πάντα δημιουργήσαντος θεοῦ; 5. ἔπα(ρ)χος Łajtar – printing error; 15.
 Π[ρ]οανε[παύ]ονται Łajtar

Translation: By the will and order of the Lord who created all things the blessed Petros, eparch of the land of the Nobadians fell asleep in the month Tybi (day) 13, in the sixth indiction, in year after Diocletian 514. God of spirits and of all

flesh, rest his soul in the bosom of Abraham, Isaak and Jacob, where all Your saints went to rest before.

7. Part of an epitaph

F. C. Burkitt, JThS 5, 1903, p. 586 (b) (Lefebvre 642; TB 30)

Cf. W. Weissbrodt, Verzeichnis ... Braunsberg, Sommer-Semester 1905, p. 17, no XII (description of content without giving the text of the inscription); F. H. Heichelheim, JHS 62, 1942, no. X 2.

x+1. τῶν πν(ευμάτ)ων (καὶ) πάσης σαρ-

x+2. κός, ἀνάπαυσον τὴν

x+3. ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν κόλ-

x+4. ποῖς Ἀβραὰμ (καὶ) Ἰσαὰκ

x+5. (καὶ) Ἰακώβ, ἔνθα οἱ ἄ[γι]-

x+6. οἱ σου προαναπ[αύονται].

In the part which has not been preserved one should restore ὁ θεός; 5-6. εν[]προανα[Burkitt and Lefebvre after him with the remark: peut-être [εν το]π(ω) ανα[ψυξεωσι]; one should expect aorist here: προανεπαύσαντο

Translation: (God) of spirits and of all flesh, rest the soul of Your servant in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, where all Your saints went to rest before.

8. Epitaph of Ioannes, monk

Unpublished

1. ἰδίῳ χειρὸ πλά-

2. σαντος θε(ο)ῦ νεύ-

3. σει κα(ὶ) βουλήσει

4. βέβακεν ὁ εὐλα-

5. βῆς Ἰωάννης μο-

6. ναχὸς ἐν μην(νὶ) Ἀθύρ τῇ,

7. ἡμ(έρῃ) ξ. ὁ αὐτὸς οὖν θε(εὸς)

8. ὁ οἰκτεῖρων ἀνα-

9. παύσει {αν} τὴν ψυ-

10. χὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν κόλποις π(α)τήρ(ων).

1. χειρὶ; 4. βέβηκεν; 8. οἰκτίρων; 8-9. ἀναπαύσει; 10. πατέρων;

Translation: By the will of God, who formed (man) with his own hand, the pious Ioannes, monk, died in the month Hathyr (day) 13, on Sunday. Let it be that God of Mercy Himself give rest to his soul in the bosom of the fathers.

9. Epitaph of Thomas, presbyter

A. Łajtar, *Aegyptus* 72, 1992, pp. 129-142.

Cf. S. Jakobielski, A. Ostrasz, *Kush* 15, 1967/68, p. 133 (c) (description of stela with basic data concerning the deceased and the date of his death), pl. XXIV, XXVII.

1. [† ca. 10]ς τοῦ παντοδυναμώσαντος θεοῦ
2. [τοῦ διὰ τοῦ] στόματος αὐτοῦ (καὶ) ἀχραντικαῖς χε-
3. [ρσ]ὶν ἰδίαις ἀπὸ γῆς γῆν λαβὼν (καὶ) πλάσαντος
4. τὸν ἄν(θρωπ)ον ἐκ τῆς χοίκοῦ καὶ τούτῳ ἐμφύσαν-
5. τος πν(εῦμ)α ζωῆς κελεύοντος αὐτοῦ θέλοντος
6. ΜΕΤΕΘΗ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα θορύβων Θωμᾶν, τὸν
7. μακαρίτην (καὶ) τίμιον πρεσβύτερον ἐν μ(η)νι Παχὼν δ: ἱερὰ-
8. τεύ[σ]ις μὲν ἔτη 7: ἔτη δ' ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ 91: ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ξ τοῦ
9. ἑξακισχίλια διακόσια 7, ἀπὸ ἐπιδημίας Χ(ριστο)ῦ ψ̅ϙ̅, ἀπὸ
- Διοκλητῆα-
10. [ν]οῦ φῖα: Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θε(ε)ς τῶν πν(ευμ)άτων (καὶ) πάσης σαρκός, ὁ
- π(ατ)ήρ τοῦ κ(υρίου) υἱ ἡμ-
11. ὦν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ, θε(ε)ς πάσης παρακλήσεως, ἀνάπαυσον τὴν
- ψυ-
12. χὴν τοῦ δούλου σου Θωμᾶ πρ(εσ)βυτ(έρου) μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου
- (καὶ) μὴ ἀπο-
13. δοκιμάσης ἐκ παίδων σου ἀλλὰ καταξίωσον αὐτὸν
14. σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἁγίοις σου τοὺς ἐπινικίους ὕμνους ᾄσαι
15. [(καὶ) τὰ ἔπη (?) πῆς] δόξης εἰπεῖν· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος
16. [ἐν ὀνό]ματι Κ(υρίου) υἱ ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις ο. [ca. 9]
17. [ca. 9]ν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων [ν, ἀμήν †].

9. ἐπιδημία; 14. ὕμνοῦσα(σα)ι Łajtar

Translation: [...] Because omnipotent God, who through his lips and taking the earth of the earth into his cleanest hands formed man of dust and breathed life into him, ordered and desired so, the holy and greatly respected presbyter Thomas passed from the worries of this world on the fourth (day of the) month of Pachon, (in the) fiftieth year of (his) priesthood, the years of his life were 91, (in the) 7th indiction, (in the year) 6290 from the creation of the world, (in the year) from Christ's stay (on earth) 890, (in the year) from Diocletian 515. God of spirits and of all flesh, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, God of all comfort, give rest to the soul of Your servant Thomas, the presbyter, together with Your saints and do not repudiate (him) from among Your children, but make him worthy to sing with all your saints the songs of victory and speak the words of glory:

blessed be He who comes in the name of the Lord, hosanna on high [...] for ever and ever, amen.

10. Epitaph of Markos

F. C. Burkitt, JThS 5, 1903, p. 586 (g) (Lefebvre, no. 643)

Cf. Weissbrodt, Verzeichnis ... Braunsberg 1905, p. 17, no. XIII (description of content without giving the text of the inscription); F. H. Heichelheim, JHS 62, 1942, no. X 3.

- x + 1. ΣΠ. ἀνε[πά]η ὁ μακάριος
 x + 2. Μάρκος ΑΡΠ ... ΡΝΗΣ μιν(ι)
 x + 3. Χοίαχ ἄβ, ἀπὸ Διοκλητ(ιανοῦ) ἔτους
 x + 4. φῆη, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ε, τὰ δ' ἔτη αὐτοῦ
 x + 5. ἃ ὁ θ(εὸς) αὐτῷ ὥρισεν ἐπὶ τῆς
 x + 6. γῆς ζῆ. ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν
 x + 7. αἰώνων Χ(ριστό)ς -----
 x + 8. - - - - -

2. αρπι ... ρνεο Burkitt, Lefebvre; μιν(ι)

Translation: [...] the blessed Markos [...] died in the month Choiak, (day) 22, in the year from Diocletian 528, in the fifth indiction, and God gave him 68 (years) on earth. Christ king of eternity ...

11. Epitaph of Zacharias (?)

A. Łajtar, Archéologie du Nil Moyen 5, 1991, p. 159-162

- x + 1. ΣΠ.
 x + 2. [ἐκοιμήθη (?) ὁ] μακαρ[ίτ]ης Ζα-
 x + 3. [χαρίας υ(ιὸς) Ἐν]ῶχ ὁθνῖος ἐν μιν(ι)
 x + 4. [ca. 8 ἄ]πὸ μὲν τῆς γεννῆ-
 x + 5. [σεως αὐτο]ῦ ζήσας ἔτη ῥζ,
 x + 6. [ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐ]ρατίας αὐτοῦ
 x + 7. [ζήσας ἔτη...] ὡς οἶδαμεν· ὁ θ(εὸς)
 x + 8. [αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν] εἰπών, ὅτι <ἐ>ν τῇ
 x + 9. [οἰκίᾳ τοῦ π(ατρὸς) αὐτο]ῦ μοναὶ πολ-
 x + 10. [λαὶ εἰσιν ἀπὸ κο]σμοποιείας ἧς
 x + 11. [ἔτη ζυῖς, ca. 7 ἄπ]ὸ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ὡς
 x + 12. [ca. 16]ες ὅλο-
 x + 13. [ca. 16]ΠΑΡΑΣ
 x + 14. [ca. 16]ν ἐν τῇ

x + 15 [ca. 16]εὐαρεσ-
x + 16 [τ ca. 15]ν, ἀμήν. †

3. ὁθνεῖτος; 6. ἱερατείας; 7.-8. ὁ θ(εδ)ς [δὲ ἀπέφηενεν] εἰπών Lajtar; ἐκάλεσεν only exempli gratia;
8. ΘΝ stone; 10. κοσμοποιίας

Translation: [...] the blessed Zacharias (?), son of Henoch (?), new-comer, [died] in the month [name + numeral]; from the day of his birth he lived 96 years, from the time he was annointed priest [numeral] as we saw; and God [called him up (?)] saying that in the house of His father there are many places to live in, in the year from the creation of the world 6416 [...], from Christ 816 [...]