Title
'In the Bosoms of Abraham': A Christian Epitaph from Nubia in the Brooklyn Museum

Permalink
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Journal
Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies, 0(0)

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Publication Date
2023

DOI
10.5070/D60060887

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Peer reviewed


1. Introduction: From Nubia to Brooklyn

Among the hundreds of artifacts collected by Dr. Henry J. Anderson (1799–1875) on his travels in the eastern Mediterranean in 1847 is a small sandstone grave stele (fig. 1), now in the Brooklyn Museum (37.1827E). The rectangular stone (18.5 cm high × 15 cm wide × 8 cm deep) is inscribed with nine lines of Greek, once rubricated, on a smoothed face, chipped at lower right. The text gives the epitaph of a woman, Timothea.
The findspot is not recorded, but the dating of her death by an Egyptian month (3 Phaophi [1 October]) points towards Egypt, where Anderson is known to have acquired other antiquities, or a nearby region within range of its cultural transmission, as the material and form of the monument and the formulary of the text, discussed in detail below, point to Egypt’s southern neighbor Nubia in the early medieval period.
Comparable stelae are generally assigned to a range between the seventh and ninth centuries CE, and in the absence of an objective date, the same range must be considered for the Brooklyn epitaph.\(^2\)

Anderson, professor of mathematics and astronomy at Columbia College (appointed 1825), had served as geologist to the United States Dead Sea Expedition, the occasion for his eastern travels.\(^3\) Along with nearly 400 other objects, mostly from Egypt—including a mummy, whose public unwrapping was the occasion for lectures delivered by Anderson at the New-York Historical Society in December 1864 (fig. 2), reported in major newspapers at the time—,\(^4\) the stone was donated by Anderson’s sons E. Ellery and Edward H. Anderson to the Society in 1877.\(^5\)

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There the stele received the inventory number O.127An, reflected in a label still attached to its back (fig. 3). It may be among the “Four Stones with Greek inscriptions” mentioned in an unnumbered inventory of the Anderson gift printed in 1915.⁶

Figure 3. Epitaph of Timothea, back side. Photography: the author.
Anderson himself never published an account of how he came into possession of this stele or any other antiquities from Egypt or its vicinity. Other sources, however, firmly establish a visit in late 1847 and early 1848, apparently on the heels of his work for the Dead Sea Expedition. One is epigraphic: a graffito in his name with that date has been recorded in the temple of Amenophis III at Elkab. Another traveler, William Henry Adams Hyett, also recalled meeting an “American boat” carrying Anderson at Qasr Ibrim on 7 January, on whose “bump of destructiveness” he trained a phrenological gaze.

On Friday evening we reached Ibreem. As an American boat was there on return, we stopped and lionized the ruins with its occupants, a Mr. Anderson and son, one of Yankee Doodle’s most respectable scions, an intelligent gentleman of forty-five, or thereabouts, rather of the scientific turn; the bump of destructiveness strongly developed, I should fancy, from the huge hammer his dragoman carried, and with which he mercilessly chopped away at old stones, pillars, cornices, &c.7

The “son,” apparently E. Ellery Anderson (1833–1903), later a prominent lawyer and reformist whose political appointments included New York City School Commissioner, left graffiti of his own on ancient monuments in the same year, establishing that the party visited further Nubian sites at Abu Simbel and the temple of Kumma.8

The probable Nubian provenance of the stele may also be compared to that of the “Skull and piece of a Skull from Nubia” and “Fragments of Temple of Thothmes III. and Aboo Simbel (sic)” in the same inventory.9 The five Greek and Coptic funerary stelae from northern Nubia in the collection of the British antiquarian William John Bankes (1786–1855), acquired during his travels in Egypt and Nubia in 1815–1819, provide both parallels for the monumental form and text of the Brooklyn Museum stele and a general parallel for how the epitaph of Timothea may have reached the United States, though in the case of the new stele, the visit of Anderson was too late for any direct involvement of the diplomat Henry Salt (1780–1827) in the acquisition, as in the case of Bankes,10 and the account of Hyett supports first-hand collecting activity, whether by the dragoman’s hammer or subtler instruments. In 1937 the stele, along with a larger lot, was loaned to the Brooklyn Museum and subsequently purchased outright in 1948.

2. Epigraphic Context

The formula with which this epitaph opens, ἔνθα κατάκειται “Here lies,” can be found in Greek epitaphs across the ancient world. When the focus is narrowed to Egypt and its vicinity, the presence of this opening is generally restricted to northern Nubia, most often Talmis (Kalabsha) or Taphis (Tafa), sites of extensive cemeteries from which antiquities were removed in the nineteenth century.11 No fewer than 56 epitaphs on sandstone stelae (Table 1), not yet systematically collected, can be assigned with certainty or high probability to northern Nubia, with a comparable sequence of formulae beginning in ἔνθα κατάκειται, followed by ὁ μακάριος or ἡ μακαρία “the blessed” and the name of the deceased, a euphemistic verb of death, the date, and a prayer for a divine grant of repose (with ἀναπαύω) in the “bosoms” (ἐν κόλποις and variants) of Abraham and, usually, his successor patriarchs Isaac and Jacob.12
### Talmis

**Epitaph of**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abraam</td>
<td><em>I.Chr. Egypte</em> 623 <em>(SB V 8720; I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno 54)</em> <em>(DBMNT 482)</em></td>
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<td>Akkendarpe</td>
<td><em>I.Chr. Egypte</em> 622 <em>(SB V 8736; I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno 53)</em> <em>(DBMNT 481)</em></td>
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<td>Manna</td>
<td><em>SEG LII</em> 1817 <em>(I.Chr. Egypte 652; SB III 6089; V 8737; I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno 47)</em> <em>(DBMNT 495)</em></td>
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<td>P.thia</td>
<td><em>SB I 1600</em> <em>(I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno 44)</em> <em>(DBMNT 539)</em></td>
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<td>Samsôn</td>
<td><em>I.Chr. Egypte</em> 624 <em>(SB V 8722; I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno 55)</em> <em>(DBMNT 483)</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Thisauria</td>
<td><em>I.Chr. Egypte</em> 625 <em>(SB V 8721; I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno 48)</em> <em>(DBMNT 484)</em></td>
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### Talmis?

**Epitaph of**

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<td>Edra</td>
<td><em>SEG LXV</em> 2010 <em>(DBMNT 3075)</em></td>
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<td>Epephanios</td>
<td><em>SEG XLIX</em> 2348 <em>(LXIII 1712)</em> <em>(DBMNT 566)</em></td>
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<td>Georgios</td>
<td><em>SEG LXVII</em> 1472 <em>(DBMNT 4398)</em></td>
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### Taphis (Ginari)\(^{13}\)

**Epitaph of**

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<td>Aarôn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abraham</td>
<td>Firth 486[b], with Ochała, “Nubica onomastica,” pp. 152–4 <em>(DBMNT 450)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agathe</td>
<td>Firth 841 <em>(DBMNT 440)</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Akousta</td>
<td>Firth 437 <em>(DBMNT 427)(^{14})</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amantôse</td>
<td><em>SEG LIV</em> 1774 <em>(I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno 59; Firth s.n., p. 50)</em> <em>(DBMNT 449)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna</td>
<td>Firth 269 <em>(DBMNT 416)</em></td>
</tr>
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<td>Archippas</td>
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<td>Arôn</td>
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<td>Aroumi(^{15})</td>
<td><em>SEG XLIII</em> 1178 <em>(Firth 807; I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno 49)</em> <em>(DBMNT 436)</em></td>
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<td>Chrisantē(^{16})</td>
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<td>Firth 804 <em>(DBMNT 435)</em></td>
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<td>Christophoros</td>
<td>Firth 246 <em>(DBMNT 412)</em></td>
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<td>Erna</td>
<td>Firth 323 (DBMNT 421)</td>
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<td>Eustephanou</td>
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<td>Gennatios</td>
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<td>Iōannēs</td>
<td>Firth 651 (DBMNT 432)</td>
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<td>Iōseph</td>
<td>Firth 193 (DBMNT 410)</td>
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<td>Marou</td>
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<td>Merchō</td>
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<td>Mp(e)r(e)rhote18</td>
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<td>Staurophania</td>
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<td>[.].nasilei19</td>
<td>Firth 412 (DBMNT 623)</td>
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**Taphis?**

**Epitaph of**

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<td>Protōkia</td>
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Pselchis?

Epitaph of Athanasios

*I.Chr. Egypte* 629 (*I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno* 45) (*DBMNT* 487)

**Northern Nubia (unknown site)**

Epitaph of Anna

*I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno* 50 (*DBMNT* 541)

Aulōse

*I.Chr. Egypte* 654 (*SB* V 8738; *I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno* 52; *I.Egypte Nubie Louvre* 113) (*DBMNT* 401)

Elisabet

*I.Chr. Egypte* 660 (*I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno* 58) (*DBMNT* 498)

Maria

*I.Chr. Egypte* 655 (*SB* V 8739; *I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno* 51; *I.Egypte Nubie Louvre* 111) (*DBMNT* 402)

Petros

*I.Chr. Egypte* 649 (*SB* V 8734; *I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno* 46) (*DBMNT* 493)

Theotōtē

*I.Chr. Egypte* 805 (*I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno* 57) (*DBMNT* 505)

[...]20

Liddel, “Greek Inscriptions,” pp. 97–8 no. B.2

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Table 1. Greek epitaphs from northern Nubia with the same formulary as the Brooklyn Museum stele, by provenance. (Names are presented without normalization.)

The theological implications of this plural expansion of the "bosom" (see further the commentary to line 8 of the edition below) remains to be explained. After the seminal passage of Luke 16, the deceased was imagined--to judge from the famous illuminated manuscript of Gregory of Nazianzus produced for the Byzantine emperor Basil I (fig. 4)--as sitting in Abraham's lap.
The publication of the Brooklyn Museum epitaph, besides encouraging the continued commemoration of Timothea—an activity that the inclusion of a month date in the text was meant to promote—offers a small step towards the reconstitution of a dispersed funerary assemblage of early Christian Nubia. The general cohesion of material and (Greek) textual forms across major northern Nubian sites, substantially unique to this area in turn, casts a sidelight on inextricable nexus of the Greek language and Nubian Christianity, and the negotiation of a distinctive local variety of both, in the early medieval period. The monuments, and the names that they continue to make live, are precious testaments to society in cities like Talmis and Taphis, later ruled from elsewhere (Primis, Pakhoras) but retaining a position as urban centers.

3. Edition

Epitaph of Timothea

18.5 cm (h) × 15 cm (w) × 8 cm (d)

Brooklyn Museum, accession 37.1827E

Seventh–ninth centuries CE

Northern Nubia

Text

```
+ ἔνθα κατάκει-
tai η μακαρία
Τιμοθέα· ἐτε-
λεύτησεν

5 μη(νί) Φαῶφι : γ
ινδ(ικτιώνος) iε : ἀνα-
paύση αύτή(ν)
ὁ θ(εὸ)ς εἰς κόλποις
Ἀβραὰμ

3 τιμ̅ο̅θ̅ε̅α stone || 5 μη stone || 6 ινδ̅/ιε stone || ανα stone || 7 αυτ̅η stone || 8 θϲ̅ stone, which is pitted above the preceding omikron (probably a chance mark, not a diacritic) || κολποιɕ stone; read ἐν κόλποις or εἰς κόλπους

Translation

Here lies the blessed Timothea. She met her end on the 3rd of the month of Phaophi of the 15th indiction. May God give her rest in the bosoms of Abraham, 99 (=amen).```
3 Τιμοθέα (τιμ̅ο̅θε̅α on the stone). Overlining of personal names is occasionally found in epitaphs: Nikea (Νικεα, an apparent nominative in what should be the genitive of a female name) in I.Chr. Egypte 627 from northern Nubia (Talmis), and Deidō (in the genitive Δειδοῦς) in I.Chr. Egypte 525 from southern Egypt (Hermonthis?). Neither of these instances could have been conflated with a *nomen sacrum*, which might otherwise have influenced the scribal practice here (cf. θϲ̅ for θ(εό)ς in 8 below), that is, overlining θΕ̅ as if θ(ε)έ, then extending the overline to the left.

This is the first instance of the name Timothea in published texts from Christian Nubia (so the *DBMNT*). Only three individuals listed under this name in the *Trismegistos Names* database (*TM Nam* 25628) are acceptable parallels: SB I 5854 (Alexandria, undated [early Ptolemaic, to judge from letterforms in ed.pr., fig. 3]); C.Étiq.Mom. 749 (T.Mom.Louvre 322), third or fourth century CE; and P.Flor. I 150 + P.Louvre III 193 i 2, 3, 6, 7, etc. (Κλαυδία Ἑρμητάριον ἥ καὶ Τιμοθέα), 269 CE. (The form in Cruz-Uribe, *Graffiti*, p. 46 no. 67 [Hibis; undated, but probably Hellenistic to judge from the drawing], read Τιμοθηι and rendered “to Timothea,” is probably rather the male name Τιμοθῆς.) Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, p. 318, adds one instance from seventh-century Egypt (*PGot*. 14.10).

3–4 ἐτελεύτησεν. So far nearly all other parallels for this formulary from northern Nubia use either ἐτελε(ι)ώθη or ἐκοιμήθη (cf. Tibiletti Bruno, “Epigrafi funerarie cristiane della Nubia,” p. 513), a coherence that led Junker (“Die christlichen Grabsteine Nubiens,” p. 139) to the conclusion that ἐτελεύτησεν is entirely lacking in Nubia except at Bigeh (for him, not a true exception) and characteristic instead of southern Egypt (see also Tudor, *Christian Funerary Stelae*, Appendix, Table A, III.3.1.5). The situation is complicated by a closer examination, including texts published in the interim. In addition to the epitaph from Bigeh (C. M. Firth ap. Reisner, *Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, p. 104 no. 8, line 6, with an improved text by Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia medioevale*, p. 14, correcting the erroneous attribution to Ginari of the photograph printed in *Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, plate 51, no. 3), ἐτελεύτησεν does appear in some Nubian epitaphs (Adam Łajtar is thanked for the following references): those of no lesser personages than King David (of Alodia/Alwa or a united Nubian kingdom including also Makuria and Nobadia) from Soba (*I.Khartoum Greek* 79, line 19), and Joseph, bishop of Aswan, who died and was buried in Dongola (*SEG* LXI 1543, line 29); as well as that of a woman Tikete (?) from Kalabsha, which was later brought to Cairo (Monneret de Villard, *Nubia medioevale*, p. 41, lines 3–4: read Τικετη ἐτελεύτησεν in place of τικετη ετελεύτης εν); and likely a sandstone funerary cross from Ghazali (*I.Khartoum Greek* 45: [ἐ]τελεύ̣[τησεν] probably to be restored in line 5 with the editor [accepted also in *I.Ghazali* 210]).

Corruptions, in ancient or modern copying, could also be suspected in two cases from Taphis (Ginari): of ἐπη (sic: ἐ〈τελευτ〉ή〈σεν〉?) in the corresponding place in Firth 124, and of the confused sequence ΤΕ[.]ΝΑΝ[.]ΙΔΕΘ in *SEG* LIV 1774, which might conceal an error (probably of copying by the editor rather than execution by the ancient stonecutter) for Ξ〈έ〉τε〈λευτῆςεν〉. The spelling ἐτελευώθη in I.Chr. Egypte 622 (SB V 8736; I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno 53) (Talmis) may represent conflations of the more common ἐτελεύτης with a variant ἐτελεύτησεν.

5–6. For the use of Egyptian months and indictions in Nubia, see Ochała, *Chronological Systems*, pp. 221–4 and 99–124, respectively; writings and attestations of the month Phaœphi are listed at pp. 226 and 256–9, respectively. The presence of an indiction-year in the formulary is an indication of possible provenance
from the Ginari cemetery at Taphis (cf. the following n.), but the substitution of τελευτάω (see 3–4n. above) complicates this assignment.

6–7 ἀναπαύσῃ. The use of the subjunctive rather than imperative (ἀνάπαυσον) could be another sign (cf. the previous n.) of provenance from Taphis (van der Vliet and Worp, “Four North-Nubian Funerary Stelae,” p. 32); for prayer-formulae requesting rest for the deceased, see in general Tudor, Christian Funerary Stelae, pp. 152–6.

8 εἰς κόλποις. References to the figure of the bosom of Abraham (Luke 16:22–3) are collected by Staerk, “Abrahams Schoß”; for interpretative questions, see recently Yoder, “In the Bosom of Abraham,” esp. 17–19, and for the form εἰς κόλποις in place of εἰς κόλπους (or ἐν κόλποις), Tibiletti Bruno, “Epigrafi funerarie cristiane della Nubia,” p. 513 (six instances)

So far only I.Chr. Egypte 622 (SB V 8736; I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno 53) with εἰς κόλπον Ἀβραάμ could be considered a secure parallel for the omission of Isaac and Jacob, but with a singular “bosom” rather than the plural as here; cf. I.Chr. Egypte 627 (SB V 8724; I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno 60), which ends εἰς κόλπον Ἄβρααμ and seems unlikely to have continued with more than ἀμήν or a final cross; Firth 270, in which the stone ends (it is unclear whether due to damage or not) with ἐν κόλποις Ἄβρααμ but the editor restores [κ(α)ι] Ἰσαὰκ κ(α)ὶ Ἰακὼβ] in a following line; and I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno 59, lines 9–10, ἀναπαύσῃ σε ἐν Ἄβρααμιαίος “may (God) give you rest in the (bosoms?) of Abraham.” Perhaps a form of the same derived adjective Ἀβρααμιαῖος “of Abraham” is to be read where Firth copied αναπαυση ο θ(εος) εν ἀβρααμ ια . . . . . . in an unnumbered epitaph from “debris” at Ginari (p. 50); compare the nexus Ἄβραμιοις κόλποις in the grave epigram MAMA VII 587, line 6, and Ἄβραμ[ι]ς ἐ〈ν〉 κόλποις in the epitaph I.Mus. Catania 187, lines 2–3. The substitution of another body part, for a presumably metonymic effect, is also found: ἀπεβίωσεν ὁ μακάριος ἐν βραχύς (for βραχίοσιν) Ἀβρααμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ “the blessed (deceased) departed life in the arms of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob (SB III 6133, Hermonthis?).

Lefebvre (I.Chr. Egypte, p. xxx), considered the expression of hope for the rest of the deceased in the bosoms of the three patriarchs to have been “créeé par les chrétiens d’Égypte,” which should also be understood to include those of northern Nubia. (It is far from limited to inscriptions of the formula-type to which the Brooklyn Museum epitaph belongs: in addition to the texts gathered by Lefebvre, note, e.g., an unpublished epitaph on a “small Coptic stele” in a private house in the modern village of Tafa [ancient Taphis] mentioned by Weigall, Antiquities of Lower Nubia, p. 64, with a drawing in pl. 27, which shows that the text, in fact in Greek, belongs to a distinct formula-type beginning ὑπὲρ {ε}μνήμ̣(ης) (καὶ) ἀναπαύσωσεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἅλιν and eventually calling on God to give the deceased, a woman [Ἐντερεῖ?], rest ἐν κ[όλ]ποις Ἀβρααμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ the appearance of the same motif in Christian prayers for those near death, asking for their repose in Paradise, with a wider late ancient circulation including Syriac (Mateos, “Prières syriennes,” pp. 276–7 no. 5), complicates this thesis of creation. It was also incorporated in the Christian funerary liturgy in the so-called ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων prayer (“God of spirits”), not exclusively in Nubia (contra Brakmann, “Defunctus adhuc loquitur,” pp. 302, 305–10) but reflected particularly in epitaphs there; see in general Ruggieri, “Preghiera funebre.” Reference to Abraham alone in this respect is reflected already in Augustine, Confessions 9.3.6, of a deceased friend: “Now he lives in the bosom of Abraham. Whatever it is that is meant by that bosom, that is where my Nebridius lives” (nunc ille vivit in sinu Abraham. quidquid illud est quod illo significatur sinu, ibi Nebridius meus vivit).
An interchangeability of singular κόλπος and plural κόλποι is established early, with the Gospel background of this motif: in Luke 16:23 Lazarus is seen in the plural “bosoms” (ἐν τοῖς κόλποις) of Abraham, though at the first appearance of Lazarus in the previous verse he is carried “to the bosom” (εἰς τὸν κόλπον) of the patriarch. The plural, in reference to Abraham alone, continued in patristic literature (e.g. Gregory of Nyssa, Funerary Oration on the Bishop Meletios [Spira, Gregory Nysseni opera, p. 452], ὁ μὲν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἀναπαύεται [“He rests in the bosoms of Abraham”]; Epiphanius, Panarion 2:468, τὸν μὲν ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ δεικνὺς ἀναπαύεσθαι [“Showing that he rests in the bosoms of Abraham”]; John Chrysostom, On the Blessed Abraham 3 [PG 50:746], τὸν Ἀβραὰμ μιμήσασθι ἵνα ξενισθῶμεν ἐν τοῖς τουτοῦ κόλποις [“To emulate Abraham, so that we may be received in his bosoms”]). Although, as noted, the plural κόλποι “bosoms” of Abraham alone is so far unique to the Brooklyn Museum stele in funerary epigraphy, the converse, a singular, collective κόλπος “bosom” of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, may be observed in three epitaphs from Taphis (Ginari) (Firth 208, 323, 412).

9 άμήν. The cypher stands by isopsephism, with a form of qoppa resembling Coptic fai, for ἀμήν, which it occasionally replaces as the end of the formula (e.g. Firth 95, 208, 230, where either qoppa or the same fai has been misread as Greek gamma; Liddel, “New Greek Inscriptions,” pp. 97–8 no. B.2 [with 7n.]). Junker, “Die christlichen Grabsteine Nubiens,” p. 128, considered this replacement exclusive to Ginari, but it is now found in three epitaphs from Ghazali (I.Ghazali 78, 120, 153). In SEG LXV 2010, from an unknown site probably in northern Nubia, it appears alongside ἀμήν in the corresponding place.

Bibliography

Abbreviations


I.Chr. Egypte = Gustave Lefebvre, Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d’Égypte. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1907.


SB = Friedrich Preisigke et al., Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten. Various places and publishers, 1915–.

SEG = Jacobus J. E. Hondius et al. (eds.), Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum. Leiden: Brill, 1923–.


References


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1. I thank Katya Barbash and Kathy Zurek-Doule for their help and hospitality during my visit to consult the stone (19 December 2022), Eleanor Gillers for assistance with archival material in the New-York Historical Society, Adam Łajtar for epigraphic and Julia Hamilton for photographic advice, respectively, and an anonymous reader of *Dotawo* for criticisms of this article. All remaining errors are my own. ↩

2. A rare instance of an internally dated inscription of this type (with an expanded formulary) belongs to 699 CE: *I.Chr. Egypte* 661 (*I.Nubia Tibiletti Bruno* 43). (Abbreviations for epigraphic sources follow *GrEpiAbbr*. where relevant.) The letterforms of the Brooklyn epitaph are broadly comparable, as is the lettering of the parallel text (see further below) edited by Van der Vliet and Worp, “Four North-Nubian Funerary Stelae,” pp. 32–3 no. 2 (*SEG* LXV 2010), tentatively assigned to the same century. ↩


5. Information from copies of correspondence related to the donation kept in the Brooklyn Museum archives; Kathy Zurek-Doule is thanked for this reference. ↩

7. Graffito: De Keersmaecker, El kab, p. 20 (with further bibliographical information on Anderson at pp. 21–2); Hyett, Journal, p. 33.

8. See De Keersmaecker, Temples of Abu Simbel, p. 75, and Temples of Semna and Kumma, p. 61 (with further biographical information at pp. 62–6), respectively; the obituary in the New York Times, 25 February 1903, p. 2, also mentions travels in Egypt and Nubia in 1847 and 1848.


10. For the texts, and the proposed connection to Salt, see van der Vliet and Worp, “Four North-Nubian Funerary Stelae,” pp. 27–9, and “Fifth Nubian Funerary Stela.”


13. Not included here is the fragmentary SEG LXV 2009 (DBMNT 1482), an epitaph of a man whose name, or whose patronym, was read as latouros, but the text is very uncertain, and the opening ἔνθα κατάκειται is entirely restored.

14. The request for repose is omitted.

15. The word ara following her name is probably an Egyptian title from “the domain of local law or finance”: van der Vliet, “Gleanings,” pp. 176–8 [SEG LII 1816].

16. Firth read χρισανθη; the overline in a Nubian context would be expected to represent /i/, but a misreading (or misprinting) of χρισανθη (Chrisanthē; cf. Χρυσάνθη) is also possible. An anonymous reader of Dotawo is thanked for these observations.

17. The request for repose is omitted.

18. Ochala, to whom this reading is owed, doubts that the sequence is a name, but, although not precisely paralleled, it fits well as a “hortatory” name (for the category, see, e.g., Fischer, Albion’s Seed, pp. 94–7) in Coptic, “Fear-not,” drawn from the words of the angel to Mary in Luke 1:30 (in the Sahidic version, μηρρῳτε μαρια).

19. The formulary (ἡ μακαρία) indicates that the deceased was a woman.

20. The name is lost, but the formulary (αὐτοῖς for αὐτῆς) indicates that the deceased was a woman. The stone, now in the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, was accessioned in a group that included artifacts from Elephantine and Dakkeh(?). The first editor writes of a “(modern) inscription, lightly incised, ‘KAAB’": could Kal(a)b(sha) (Talmis) have been meant?

21. For this function of the month date, see van der Vliet, “What is Man,”” pp. 195–7. The stelae of the Ginari cemetery were originally affixed to the outer, western end of the tombs, in some cases accompanied by niches for the placement of commemorative lamps: [Firth] p. 40; Łajtar, “Epitaphs,” p. 58.