

Dotawo ▶
Monograph 1

The Old Nubian Texts from Attiri
Edited by Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei,
Vincent Pierre-Michel Laisney,
Giovanni Ruffini, Alexandros Tsakos,
Kerstin Weber-Thum, and
Petra Weschenfelder



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Preface

The Old Nubian Texts from Attiri, the first publication in the *Dotawo* ▶ *Monographs* series, presents the first fruits of a new approach to the study of Old Nubian. The Attiri Collaborative, comprising all the scholars who worked on this publication, was born out of the Old Nubian panel at the Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Conference in Cologne in 2013, and took advantage of the generosity of Alexandros Tsakos, who shared with the group the possibility of editing and translating the Old Nubian texts found at Attiri. This collaboration – electronically in 2014 and 2015, in person in Bergen during a workshop from June 1–6, 2015, and finally at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, July 5, 2016 – demonstrated that the group as a whole, working together, could learn far more from the Attiri texts than any individual scholar working in isolation. This methodology and the results it yielded are a potential model for the editing and translation of any unpublished Old Nubian texts, and present a significant contribution to the study of medieval Nubia.

The Attiri Collaborative would like to thank the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum for granting access to the manuscripts exhibited and stored in its premises so as to procure the photographs with which the work was accomplished and which are published here; David Edwards for supporting Alexandros Tsakos's initial idea for a collective approach to the study of these manuscripts, as well as for material retrieved from A.J. Mills's archive during the process of preparing this publication; the Research Group for Middle Eastern and African Studies at the Institute of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religion at the University of Bergen for funding the workshop that brought the Attiri collaborators together in June 2015; and finally, Angelika Jakobi, El-Shafie El-Guzuuli, and the Linguistics Department of the University of Khartoum for facilitating Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei's visit to Khartoum and the Sudan National Museum in February 2016.

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Abbreviations

Armbruster: ARMBRUSTER, *Dongolese Nubian: A Lexicon*.

AJM: A.J. Mills's Site Notebooks, part of the ASSN

ASSN: Archaeological Survey of Sudanese Nubia

Copt.: Coptic

D: Dongolawi/Andaandi.

K: Kenzi/Kunuz.

K.: Nicene Canons. BROWNE, *Literary Texts in Old Nubian*.

Khalil: KHALIL, *Wörterbuch der nubischen Sprache*.

L.: Lectionary. BROWNE, *Literary Texts in Old Nubian*.

Lepsius: LEPSIUS, *Nubische Grammatik*.

M.: Miracle of Saint Mina. VAN GERVEN OEI & EL-GUZUULI, *The Miracle of Saint Mina*.

N: Nobiin.

Nauri: GRIFFITH, "The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period," 128–30.

ON: Old Nubian.

P. QI 1: BROWNE & PLUMLEY, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim 1*.

P. QI 2: BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim 2*.

P. QI 3: BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim 3*.

P. QI 4: RUFFINI, *The Bishop, the Eparch, and the King*.

OND: BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary*.

ONG: BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*.

Reinisch: REINISCH, *Die Nuba-Sprache. Zweiter Theil: Nubisch-Deutsches und Deutsch-Nubisches Wörterbuch*.

SC: Ps.-Chrysostom, *In venerabilem crucem sermo*. BROWNE, *Literary Texts in Old Nubian*.

SNM: Sudan National Museum

St.: Stauros-Text. BROWNE, *Literary Texts in Old Nubian*.

Editorial Sigla

.	uncertain character
ⲁ	ⲁ is uncertain
ⲁ	ⲁ is written in red ink
ⲁ [^]	ⲁ is written above the line
[ⲁ]	ⲁ is reconstructed
<ⲁ>	ⲁ is added by the editor
{ⲁ}	ⲁ is deleted by the editor
[[ⲁ]]	ⲁ is deleted by the scribe
[- - -]	lacuna of unknown number of characters
[1-2]	lacuna of 1 to 2 characters

General Introduction¹

Attiri is a complex of sites in the Batn el-Hajjar, the rocky area immediately upstream of the Second Cataract, where today the artificial lake created by the Aswan High Dam ends. In the early medieval period, Batn el-Hajjar belonged to the territory of Nobadia, which after the 7th century became the northernmost region of the Makuritan kingdom, the most renowned of the Christian Nubian kingdoms of the Middle Ages. In the end of the medieval era, and, more precisely, from the middle of the 16th century, the region became the southernmost administrative unit of the vast Ottoman Empire.

One of the archeologically more interesting among the sites at Attiri is an island that in the site register of the Sudan Archaeological Map system has the code 16-J-6. Arkell was the first to mention a site on a small island at Attiri back in 1950.² He also published an overview photo from a boat trip possibly passing west from the site, in his *History of Sudan*.³ In both cases he described the mud-brick building on the top of the island as a church, but it is not certain that he made the crossing to the island to verify this observation.

During the Aswan High Dam campaign, Attiri fell under the jurisdiction of the Sudan Antiquities Service and the work was conducted under the direction of A.J. Mills. In his Preliminary Report for 1963–1964, he devoted half a page to listing the principal sites of the locality. Site 16-J-6 was mentioned in Mills’s account of the 1963–1964 reconnaissance survey, identified as a Christian village covering the whole island.⁴ The field records of Mills’s 1964 excavations, however, suggest that the term “village” is hardly applicable to the case of site 16-J-6, the whole known archaeology consisting of about seven buildings.⁵

1 This introduction has profited from input and advice by David Edwards.

2 ARKELL, “Varia Sudanica”, p. 31.

3 ARKELL, *A History of the Sudan from the Earliest Times to 1821*, pl. 21.

4 MILLS, “The Reconnaissance Survey from Gemai to Dal: A Preliminary Report for 1963–64,” pp. 6–7.

5 MILLS, Archaeological Survey of Sudanese Nubia (ASSN) Site Notebook AJM III: pp. 42–43; AJM IX: pp. 56–85.

The records of the excavations are in the largely unpublished archives of the UNESCO–Sudan Antiquities Service survey of the Gemai–Dal region, currently in the partial possession of David Edwards and part of the Archaeological Survey of Sudanese Nubia (ASSN) archive. As for the whole site, W.Y. Adams suggested that “there had been a Late Christian monastic colony on the island,” but on the basis of the architectural remains at the site the main period of activity seems to have been the post-Medieval centuries.⁶

The field notes record the finding of 20 fragments of parchment manuscripts (16-J-6/28), 15 of leather (16-J-6/29), and one of paper (16-J-6/34), all unearthed from site 16-J-6 in House IV, magazine 8 from the fill near the entrance.⁷ These manuscripts were unearthed on Thursday, December 15, 1966, when the excavation of House IV on the island of Attiri was almost finished. This stratigraphic information seems essential to arrive at an understanding of the date of these documents, which may have been part of a collection during the post-medieval period, or come from the lower (medieval) stratigraphic levels. This issue remains currently unsolved.

The finds were moved to the Sudan National Museum (SNM), and the following concordance was noted on the find cards included in the ASSN archive⁸:

- ▶ (16-J-6/28) = SNM 23045
- ▶ (16-J-6/29) = SNM 23047
- ▶ (16-J-6/34) = SNM 23046

Work at SNM in 2006–8 appears to show that some of these manuscripts have either been misplaced or lost. In more detail:

1. Out of 20 fragments of parchment that comprised find 16-J-6/28 only 10 are registered in Khartoum as SNM 23045.
2. Out of 15 fragments of leather that comprised find 16-J-6/29 only 4 are registered in Khartoum as SNM 23047.
3. The paper fragment with find 16-J-6/34 is registered in Khartoum as parchment under SNM 23046.
4. SNM 23049, another leather manuscript, complete this time, has been registered as coming from Attiri and will be presented in this publication, although its provenance from the complex of sites at Batn el-Hajjar cannot be ascertained.⁹

⁶ ADAMS, “Islamic Archaeology in Nubia,” p. 336.

⁷ AJM IX: p. 65. One more manuscript, on paper, was found rolled in House V. It is kept in Khartoum as SNM 23048. Thought to be a *hijab*, it has not been part of the present publication.

⁸ Edwards, p.c.

⁹ It should be noted that not all manuscripts registered in the SNM as coming from Attiri belong in fact to the collection of finds unearthed by Mills in 1966. SNM 23045 also includes

On February 24, 2016, Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei autoptically examined the documents catalogued under SNM 23045, 23046, 23047, and 23049 in the depot and exhibition space on the second floor of the Sudan National Museum. It appeared that one document filed under SNM 23045 (here published as P. Attiri 1) was missing or could not be retrieved at that moment. P. Attiri 4 and 11 were on display on the second floor of the museum and readings of the latter could not be verified owing to the suboptimal lighting conditions.

P. Attiri 1–2: The Attiri Book of Michael

In an earlier discussion of the Old Nubian texts from Attiri, Alexandros Tsakos proposed that the first three texts presented here form part of a single whole.¹⁰ It now appears, however, that the most damaged of these pages, being also without page number, does not contain any reference to Michael and is instead part of a Lectionary (see discussion below). The other two pages of parchment appear to come from a single codex. Tsakos further proposed, comparing marginal numbers in the Attiri texts against marginal numbers in the Old Nubian *Liber Institutionis Michaelis* from Qasr Ibrim, that both codices are evidence for a medieval Nubian “tradition of compiling codices with works related to Michael.”¹¹ We accept these arguments and present P. Attiri 1–2 as fragments of a single collection of works on the Archangel Michael, which we propose to call *The Attiri Book of Michael*.

Modern scholars have long been aware of Michael’s centrality to Nubian Christianity.¹² The most important literary confirmation of this was the discovery of both a Greek from Serra East¹³ and an Old Nubian version from Qasr Ibrim¹⁴ of the central narrative from the so-called *Liber Institutionis Michaelis*, an apocryphal work first identified in two manuscripts from Hamouli in Egypt, one complete in Sahidic and one incomplete in Fayyumic.¹⁵ The two Nubian manuscripts give Nubian and Greek descriptions of Michael’s enthronement as governor of heaven (Gr. ἀρχηστράτηγος; Copt.

the very well-known Serra East codex with the longest text preserved in the Old Nubian language (SC).

10 Tsakos, “The *Liber Institutionis Michaelis* in Medieval Nubia,” pp. 58–60.

11 Ibid., p. 59.

12 Tsakos, “The Cult of the Archangel Michael in Nubia.”

13 Tsakos, “The Textual Record from Serra East.”

14 Browne, “A Revision of the Old Nubian Version of the *Institutio Michaelis*”; Browne, *Literary Texts in Old Nubian*, pp. 60–62; Browne, “An Old Nubian Version of the *Liber Institutiones Michaelis*”; Browne, “Old Nubian Literature,” p. 382; Browne, “Miscellanea Nubiana (11),” pp. 453–54.

15 Müller, *Die Bücher der Einsetzung der Erzengel Michael und Gabriel*. The central narrative of the *Liber Institutionis Michaelis* appears in Section 6 of the Coptic version as published by Müller.

ΑΡΧΗΣΤΡΑΔΙΚΟΣ [only in the Fayyumic version]; ON COΓEOΘ ΔΑΥΡΑ) after the fall of Satan.

Moreover, the importance of the cult of Michael is proven by the frequency of the finding of cryptograms, monograms, and full renderings of his name in numerous medieval sites from Nubia.¹⁶ Michael's importance to Nubian piety has even produced funerary stelae from the region between Faras and Meinarti where the Archangel is asked to protect the bones of the deceased.¹⁷ His name has also been found on objects of everyday use.¹⁸ Several other examples of use in monumental iconography¹⁹ underline the primacy of the cult of Michael in Nubia.

Returning to the literary attestations of this cult, it should be stressed that the Old Nubian *Liber* fits squarely within the textual tradition of its Coptic source text.²⁰ However, the Old Nubian version from Qasr Ibrim seems to be closer to the Greek version from Serra and they should both be considered as creations of the Nubian literary milieu.

Moving to the *Attiri Book of Michael*, we make no systematic attempt to identify the sources of the material in this book. Instead, we prefer to think of it as a set of pervasive and inter-related Michael traditions percolating through medieval Nubia's literary tradition. In part, this is a pragmatic decision: too little of our original codex survives to suppose that we can identify sources with certainty. But as this commentary will show, other factors are at work. The structure of the codex suggests a large number of individual texts, and the structure of the texts suggests that at least one of them may be unique.

One problem complicating the analysis of the *Attiri Book of Michael* is identifying the narrative speaker. The first sentence (1.i.1-3) quotes a speaker addressing Michael directly (signaled by quotation marker -ā on 1.i.3 ταπιπρενιḏā) and describing him as 1.i.2-3 τογσκλλω κῆρα ἄ[κα] ταπιπρενιḏ- "coming to [the Church of] the Three in order to touch me." A Church of the Three is attested in texts from Qasr Ibrim, which, together with the Church of the Children attested at Baganarti, was apparently in honor of the three youths that God saved from a fiery furnace in the Book of Daniel,

16 Perhaps the most characteristic example is the collection of graffiti from the excavations at Soba, see JAKOBIELSKI, "The Inscriptions, Ostraca and Graffiti."

17 VAN DER VLIET, "What Is Man?," p. 198

18 WESCHENFELDER, "Ceramics," 2014, p. 152 and WESCHENFELDER, "Ceramics," 2015, p. 140, discuss different forms in the invocation of Michael on ceramic vessels that were probably applied by their owners by scratching after the firing process.

19 ΛΑΡΤΑΣ, "Archangels as Protectors and Guardians in Nubian Painting."

20 BROWNE, "An Old Nubian Version of the *Liber Institutionis Michaelis*," p. 75. See also BROWNE, "A Revision of the Old Nubian Version of the *Institutio Michaelis*," p. 17.

Dan 3:25(92).²¹ The introductory sentence of the *Attiri Book of Michael* may then be the words of a priest or lector in a similar Church of the Three, calling on Michael to come to him and using in fact an epithet, 1.i.1 ⲱⲕⲁ ⲁⲗⲱ[ⲁ] “Great Ruler,” which in Greek is only used for Michael in the context of the story of the three youths in the furnace.²²

Then, the narrative voice changes. We are no longer in a direct quotation, but are instead in the first-person voice of someone who knows 1.i.3–6 ⲉⲓⲧⲗⲁⲱ ⲓⲧⲧⲁ ⲗⲱⲧⲁⲕⲁⲣ[ⲁ] ⲙⲞⲩⲱⲁⲛⲕⲁ “all that has been made silent for man,” and who appears to describe humanity as 1.i.10 [ⲁⲛⲛⲁ] ⲧⲞⲩⲱⲑⲟⲩⲗⲁⲱ “children of mine.” Are we now hearing the words of Jesus himself being read to the faithful?

In the Qasr Ibrim *Liber Institutionis Michaelis* fragment, a short passage with a third-person narrator introduces the words of Jesus, who thus initiates his disciples to the mysteries that they are eager to learn and ask about. This rhetorical pattern forms a tradition that goes back to the Coptic literary category termed “Diaries of the Apostles” by Joost Hagen.²³ Although it is impossible to ascertain that the present work is such a pseudo-memoir,²⁴ we may nevertheless expect the possibility that parts of the *Attiri Book of Michael* might work the same way, and contain the words of Jesus as well.

Indeed, this seems true of most of the hair side of page 1. Note the nature of the message in this passage: “all that has been made silent” are secrets that reassure the faithful in response to the 1.i.7–8 ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲁⲕⲗⲱ [ⲉ]ⲛ ⲉⲗⲱⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲉⲓⲁⲣⲁⲕⲉⲛ “when this hateful one [sc. the Devil] was rising.” And what follows is Michael’s succor – 1.i.10 ⲉⲟⲩ[ⲣⲟⲩⲣⲁ] “shade” and 1.i.15 ⲁⲣⲟⲩⲗⲗⲱ “rain” – to those faithful. Put another way, Jesus delivers a message in which Michael is a central figure of Christianity.²⁵

Page 1.ii contains some very insightful remarks about dogma in Christian Nubia. In continuation of Michael’s usual presentation as the protector, or 1.ii.5 ⲧⲛⲱⲕⲉⲣ “helper” of the humans awaiting their resurrection while praising God the Father, we read of the Incarnation (1.ii.10 ⲉⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲉⲕⲕⲁ ⲓⲁⲗⲁⲉⲓⲁ[ⲣⲁ] “became flesh for us”), which is presented rather explicitly: God the Father sent His Son, in pity for the humans, to be born in flesh by the Virgin Mother. The Son’s resurrection is the guarantee for the resurrection of the humans, but a prerequisite seems to be a salvation offered by Michael and his God.

21 See P. QI 4.78.6 with note *ad loc.* For an overview of known churches in Nubia, see HAGEN, “Districts, Towns, and Other Locations of Medieval Nubia and Egypt.”

22 TSAKOS, “The Cult of the Archangel Michael in Nubia.”

23 HAGEN, “The Diaries of the Apostles.”

24 A term coined by SUCIU, *Apocryphon Berolinense/Argentoratense*, p. 2.

25 It is perhaps worth noting here that for Jehova’s Witnesses and Seventh-Day Adventists the Archangel Michael can be identified with Jesus Christ, but we are not aware of any similar belief from Late Antiquity or the Middle Ages.

This sort of salvation is an additional level to the theology of the Orthodox church and reminds us of cosmological battles described in works such as the Manichean and Gnostic treatises.

When we turn to page 2, we are in a radically different section of the *Attiri Book of Michael*. Here, the problem of narrative voice appears even more complex than on page 1. A portion of the page (2.i.1-2, 9-20) is in a neutral third-person voice, but the intervening passage is in direct discourse, in the first person, as the speaker remembers 2.i.2-3 ΔΟΡΚΤΚΟΝ ΟΥΦΟΥΡΚΟΥΛΛΑΓΡΔ · ΑΝΚΑΡΑΛΟ “what it was like to be made huffing and puffing in the depth” The speaker is torn, on the one hand inclined to 2.i.4-5 ΚΟΔΟΔΑ ΤΟΚΑΡΡΕ- “forgive” the sea, and on the other determined to 2.i.8 ΠΑΔΑΨΑ ΠΑΔΔΕ- “overcome” it.

We are reminded here of Saint Paul, who was three times shipwrecked and spent a day and a night “in the depth of the sea” (2 Cor. 11:25). Is Saint Paul remembering his experiences and deciding whether or not to forgive the depths for what they have wrought on him? This is a plausible interpretation, and the transition from the direct citation in first-person voice (2.i.5 ΤΟΚΑΡΡΕΔ and 8 ΠΑΔΔΕΔ) to an unnamed “he” in 2.i.9 mirrors the transition after 1.i.3 ΤΑΠΠΙΓΕΝΙΔΔ from direct quotation to an answer of commentary. Perhaps this alternation between direct quotation and explication (in first-person voice on 1.i, in the third-person voice on 2.i) was a guiding narrative strategy in the book, and could possibly indicate that it was supposed to be read by more than one person.

When the first-person voice ends, we read of an unnamed “he” who is 2.i.9 ΚΚΤΧΔΩ`ΕΝ`ΔΕ “neither on earth” 2.i.9-10 Τ[ΟΥ] ΚΚΙΑΚΟΚΑΤΤΛΚΛ Ο[1-2]ΕΝΔΕ “nor up to the Trinity,” and is someone who acted 2.i.12 ΤΙΛΛΑΓΛΛΕ “against God.” This “he” is the Devil, the devil who appears at the end of the passage (2.i.19 ΔΙΔΒΟΛΟΚΚΑ). If the Devil is neither up above nor on earth, then he is in the depths of the sea. There is indeed an apocryphal tradition of that sort. It is preserved in two fragments of Cod. Borg. Copt. 109, fasc. 132 that were identified in 1810 by Zoega as the so-called Acts of Andrew and Paul.²⁶ There, Paul goes on the boat of a sailor named Apollonios to the deep sea and dives to explore the places where the Lord went. After several miracles caused by the coat of Paul, Andrew goes out on the same boat to bring Paul back from the depths. When he achieves, a series of dialogues begin where Paul first appears speaking with Judas, then narrates what Judas was telling to the Savior, then what Judas was saying to the devil, and in the end what Judas was saying to himself. The important point is that in the depths of the sea,

²⁶ ZOEAGA, *Catalogus codicum copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgeano Velitris adversantur*. For an English translation see ALCOCK, “Two fragments of the Acts of Andrew and Paul (Cod. Borg. Copt. 109, fasc. 132).”

Paul meets Judas as the last prisoner of the devil in Amente (the traditional Egyptian term for the underworld) and even brings back a material token from his visit there, namely a part of the gate of Amente. For the Copts, Amente (ἀμῆντε) was the commonest name for hell, although the realm of the dead could also be called τῆ, while the abyss νοῦν.²⁷ The latter was closest related with the sea, but in general the depths of the hell could be situated either under earth or in the bottom of the sea. In any case, the closest parallels to the imagery of the Attiri passage on the troubles at sea seem to situate us firmly in Paulinian traditions.

Paul is the one who reveals the presence of the devil in the depth of the sea, and in this role he debates the decision to forgive the sea for what it has done, and resolves to overcome it. But how can he alone overcome the sea, where the Devil resides? He can do so only with the help of Michael, who 2.i.14–15 εἰ. . κα ἔσκι τὰ κα [[κα]]κακῆ “bears conquered mankind” and 2.i.17–19 τῶν λῆ λ’λα τῶεκτῆς κενκω · ΜΙΧΑΗΛΟ ΔΕΥΣΑ ΓΡΡΑ ΔΙΔΒΟΛΟΚΑ “gave power to God. Michael, excellently casting the Devil.” Page 2.i is therefore a striking literary attempt to draw a connection between a well-known New Testament trial of Saint Paul on the one hand and the redemptive power of the Archangel Michael on the other.

Page 2.ii is perhaps the most exciting part of the *Attiri Book of Michael*. In part, this is for theological reasons. Michael’s central role in God’s creation reaches new heights in these passages. Some of them are obscure. What does it mean to say that Michael 2.ii.1–2 καμπαρα πῆκαττικα “beats pugnacity” or 2.ii.3–4 τοῦ λ’ τοῦρα δελ δαυελοκα “secures the big-hearted inside”? The images are fuzzy and lose something in translation. But some of the passages are quite clear. Michael liberates the enslaved, tramples evil, causes the wise to rule. All of these are deeds that could just as easily be ascribed to Jesus, God Himself, or even Mary, especially in the Catholic tradition.

But perhaps more importantly, these passages seem to suggest a previously unknown literary form, something we may provisionally call a Nubian Alexandrine or dodecasyllable. The first clue comes with the regularity of punctuation and sentence structure. On this page, we have eleven more or less complete sentences and, at the top of the page, the end of a twelfth. All of these sentences share a nearly identical structure: 1) the first word τῶλλο, the third person singular personal pronoun with a focus marker, referring (we assume) to Michael; 2) followed – in most cases immediately – by a third-person preterite or present tense verb with a predicative ending; and 3) an object for that verb, invariably with the directive ending -κα.

27 ALCOCK, “From Egyptian to Coptic: Religious Vocabulary.”

The result is a striking rhythm, with sentence after sentence rolling through the same sounds: ταλλο <verb>-ρ-α <object>-κα. The Metrical Analysis on pp. 54–55 attempts to provide a systematic approach to the syllabification and prosody of this page.

If indeed page 2.ii is metrically rhythmicized, this fact seems to preclude – or at least dramatically reduce – the possibility of a Greek or Coptic source text for this part of the *Attiri Book of Michael*. It is hard to imagine a Nubian scribe finding such a metrical scheme in a Greek or Coptic source text and contorting his translation to keep the scheme. It is even harder to imagine that a scribe chose this syllable scheme more or less at random and tried to force a translation into it. Finally, can we imagine either option producing a translation with such a tidy ταλλο–ρ-α–κα rhythm, which moreover departs from regular Old Nubian SOV structure? On balance, it seems to us most likely that in this portion of the text we have an original Nubian liturgical hymn, dedicated to the Archangel Michael.

In conclusion, the *Attiri Book of Michael* only increases our impression of Michael's importance in medieval Nubia. The two surviving leaves we publish here present at least four different narrative voices, including those of Jesus, Paul, and Michael. Indeed, the rectos and versos of these pages seem to present as many individual and distinct literary texts gathered together to form a whole. If the reconstruction recently presented by Tsakos is correct, then our pages come from a codex perhaps at least 300 pages long.²⁸ This would suggest that the *Attiri Book of Michael* is a collection of dozens of short, almost bite-size, narratives, prayers, doxologies, poems, and other assorted texts devoted to the Archangel Michael. The scribe responsible for the collection must have had considerable resources at his disposal. If our arguments about the metrical scheme of the final section are accepted, then at least some of this material is original Nubian literature, born not from translation or reception but from indigenous literary talent. This would give the *Attiri Book of Michael* a unique position in the history of Nubian literature, achingly suggestive of what has been lost or what may yet be found.

P. Attiri 3–4: Lectionary (containing Mt 6:25–34, 2 Cor 12)

Both P. Attiri 3 and 4 are fragmentary, and an order between the two pages cannot be established. The texts on both pages allow us to establish the recto and the verso side.

The most complete and satisfying concordance can be established between Mt 6:30–33 and 3.ii.1–11. Considering the mention of the Gospel of Matthew in the incipit on 3.i.7 + . εϛ̣ · μαθ, it seems

²⁸ TSAKOS, "The Liber Institutionis Michaelis in Medieval Nubia," 58–59.

logical that 3.ii is the verso side and 3.i.8–14 contains a few verses preceding Mt 6:30. Unfortunately, the recto side is heavily damaged, and our conjecture for starting at Mt 6:25 is based on the fact that this verse starts a new narrative, characterized by the repeated phrase $\mu\eta\ \mu\epsilon\rho\iota\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon/\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}\ \mu\epsilon\rho\iota\mu\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta\tau\epsilon$. We can thus establish the following matching readings:

P. Attiri 3.i.8–ii.11	Mt 6:25–34
i.9 ΓΟΛΑ	25 φάγητε(?)
ii.1 -ΕΙΘΝ	30 καὶ
ii.2 ΚΤΡΕΝΚΕΤΑ[ΛΛΕ	30 ἀμφιέννυσιν
ii.3 ΠῚΤ[ΕΥ	30 (ὀλιγό)πιστοι
ii.4 Η]ΑΚΑΝ ΑΩΦΑΥΚ[ΑΤΑΝΚΕ	31 μὴ οὔν μεριμνήσητε
ii.5 -ΑΡΡΩ	31 (φάγ)ωμεν
ii.5 Μἢ Εῤ-	31 τί πί(ωμεν)
ii.6 ΣΠΠΠΓΟΥΛ	32 ἔθνη
ii.7 -Cἢ	32 γὰρ
ii.7 ΟΥΝἢ-	32 ὑμῶν
ii.8 ΤΟΥΣΚΑΝΤΕΛ[Ο	33 πρῶτον
ii.9 Ο]ΥΡΓΓἰ ΕΚΤΤΑΚΑΡ[ΡΑ	33 προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν
ii.10 ΗΑΚΑΝ ΑΩΦΑΥΚ]ΚΑΤΑΝΚΕ	34 Μὴ οὔν μεριμνήσητε
ii.11 -ὸΔΑΡΡΑCἢ	34 γὰρ ... (μεριμν)ήσει

Table 1. Possible matching readings for P. Attiri 3.i.8–ii.11

A matching reading with Lk 12:28–32 would also have been possible, were it not that the crucial word $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu/\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\kappa\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda[\omicron$ is missing from Lk 12:31. The match between these two passages from Matthew and Luke has been noted from very early in the history of the New Testament. By the fourth century at latest, Eusebius of Caesarea devised a concordance table based on the so-called Ammonian sections that showed the passages that were common between the four canonical Gospels.²⁹ The Ammonian sections have already been identified by Browne in L. 106.4 and appear in P. Attiri 3.i.7, where we reconstruct $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\theta}$ as the 49th Ammonian Section. Indeed, in Eusebian tables, section 49 of Matthew equals section 150 of Luke (alias

29 For the Eusebian tables, see OLIVER, “The Epistle of Eusebius to Carpianus.” For the Ammonian sections, see PARKER, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts*, 315–16. The Eusebian tables have been used in the 28th edition of the Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft. For an online tool, see: <http://www.crosswire.org/study/eusebian.jsp?key=Matthew.6.25>

Mt 6:25–34 equals Lk 12:22–31.) This perfect match allows us to reconstruct without any doubt the reading from Matthew in P. Attiri 3.i–ii as Matthew 6:25–34.

The second page consists of two pieces and is, like P. Attiri 3, heavily damaged on one side. Even though the merging of the two fragments is a major step in the deciphering of the text on the flesh side, it is still too fragmented to provide a definitive clue as to its content. Its character can be quite securely identified as a lectionary based on the reconstruction of lines 4.ii.7 and 4.ii.8, where a reference to a reading from the 4.ii.8 $\tau\lambda\omicron\grave{\tau}\acute{\varsigma}$ “Apostle” is suggested for a 4.ii.7 $\nu\grave{\tau}\acute{\varsigma}$ $\eta\varsigma$. [1-2] $\kappa\gamma\grave{\kappa}\acute{\varsigma}$: . “Sunday of the Lent,” as also seen in the Lectionary from Qasr Ibrim (P. QI 1 i.1.4).

The text on the hair side is very fragmented and it does not seem to allow for a possible interpretation of its content. However, the plausible words “deceit” and “brother” can be matched to a reading from the Pauline Epistles, as suggested by 4.i.12 $\alpha\pi\iota\varsigma$ “Apostle(?)” There is a single reference that seems to offer the correct order and spacing, from the Second Letter to the Corinthians (2 Cor).

Table 2. Possible matching readings for P. Attiri 4.i.13–21

P. Attiri 4.i.13–21	2 Cor 12
19 $\alpha\zeta\omega$ imperative	16 $\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega$ “Be it so”
19 $\kappa\omicron\gamma\pi\alpha\phi\epsilon$ “deceit”	16 $\delta\acute{o}\lambda\omega$ “guile”
21 $\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ - “brother”	18 $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{o}\nu$ “brother”

All attested lectionaries from Nubia preserve the *ordo minor*, which consists of two readings, one from the Epistles from Paul and one from the Gospels, accompanied by a Psalm. However, only one lectionary from Nubia preserves a combination of all three, namely a typikon (i.e., a book containing suggestions for readings for each day of a year or a shorter liturgical period, e.g., Great Lent, giving only the beginning and the ending of the suggested passage) from Qasr Ibrim.³⁰ All the other lectionaries³¹ preserve only the readings from Paul and/or from the Gospels.

But another typikon in Greek, identified among three manuscript fragments found in the church of the island of Sur, displays a different structure. Whereas the joining fragments 9 and 113 preserve only

30 HAGEN & OCHALA, “Saints and Scriptures for Phaophi: Preliminary Edition of and Commentary on a Typikon Fragment from Qasr Ibrim.”

31 Griffith’s lectionary in Berlin: BROWNE, *Griffith’s Old Nubian Lectionary*; three lectionaries from Qasr Ibrim now in London: PLUMLEY & BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim I*, pp. 22–25 (text no. 5), pp. 28–31 (text no. 7), and BROWNE, “An Old Nubian Lectionary Fragment”; and one lectionary from Sunnarti, now in Heidelberg:

suggestions for readings from Paul and the Gospels³² on the flesh side of fragment 5,³³ there can be reconstructed a reading from the Epistle of James and a reading from the Acts of the Apostles. This is thus to date the sole evidence for the use of the *ordo maior* in Nubia.

On the hair side of the same fragment, the text preserved proposes a Gospel preceded by either a reading from Paul (2 Cor 13:13) or from the Acts (1:8, 2:38, 4:30, 4:31, 9:31, 13:4, 16:6) and therefore it is not certain whether both sides consist of the *ordo maior* or a combination of the *ordo maior* (flesh side) and the *ordo minor* (hair side). In any case, the Sur-typikon shows that in Nubia there were typika combining the two orders, perhaps according to the type of feast commemorated.³⁴ An alternative explanation would be that the presentation of the *ordo maior* in the Nubian typika set the readings of the Catholic Epistle and the Acts after those of the Pauline Epistle and the Gospel, which would create a highly original and therefore unlikely liturgical sequence. It should also be noted that the Psalms were not indicated in the Sur typikon, nor in P. Attiri 3. It is probable that special typika were used for the Psalms.³⁵

Moving on in more details about P. Attiri 3, it needs to be stressed that this is not a typikon, but a proper lectionary, giving the entire text of the passage to be read in a given day. Until now a reference to a Pauline Epistle and to a Gospel have been confirmed and in this sense it conforms with the other lectionaries in Old Nubian.

If, however, the text of 4 verso is from the Epistle of James rather than from a Pauline Epistle (both equally unsatisfactory, see overleaf), then perhaps the Attiri lectionary contained originally at least some instance of the *ordo maior*. Unfortunately, the text of 3 recto cannot be identified with either a Pauline Epistle (which preceding the Gospel would assign the typikon to the *ordo minor*) or with a passage from the Acts (in which case the typikon would give another instance of the *ordo maior*). The hypothesis is impossible to prove yet and the question of the order used in the Attiri lectionary should remain open.

On the verso page of P. Attiri 4, the two references that seem to resonate with the few words that are fully legible come from the second chapter of the Epistle of James, but the distance between the words that may be reconstructed is larger than one would expect. Based on a selection of the most certain readings, an alternative, but

32 TSAKOS, *The Greek Manuscripts on Parchment discovered at site SR022.A in the Fourth Cataract region, North Sudan*, pp. 58–60, 112–13.

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 47–48.

34 ATASSANOVA, “Prinzipien und Kriterien für die Erforschung der koptischen liturgischen Typika des Schenuteklosters,” p. 32.

35 Cf. QUECKE, “Zwei Blätter aus koptischen Hermeneia-Typika in der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (P. Vindob. K 9725 und 9734).”

equally unsatisfying reading, may come from the second chapter of the Pauline Epistle to the Colossians:

Table 3. Possible matching readings for P. Attiri 4.ii.9–21

P. Attiri 4.ii.9–21	James 2	Col 2
9 ΔΗΘΥ “to die”		12 νεκρῶν or 13 νεκρούς “the dead”
10 ΠΙΔΕΡ[Ρ]ΡΑΔ- “to beg, pray, be poor”	2 πτωχός “poor man”	
13 ΔΦΟΙΩ “life, Savior”		13 συνεζωοποίησεν “vivify together”
14 ΤΟΚΕΛΛΟ- “forgive, cease, leave, depart, pass over”		13 χαρισάμενος “gracing”
16 ΚΤΤΙ[Κ]ΚΑ “garment, clothing”	3 ἐσθῆτα “clothing”	15 ἀπεκδυσάμενος “despoiling”
20 ΜΕΝΝΑΝΑΛΟ “they don’t”	7 οὐκ αὐτοὶ βλασφημοῦσιν “they don’t blaspheme”	
21 ΜΩΦΑΝΔΕ “and all the”	10 πάντων “all”	

A final unresolved issue is the meaning of 3.i.13 φρωριταν. There are very few Old Nubian words that begin with a *shai*, which suggests the possibility of a loanword, perhaps related to specific Christian feast particular or with special importance to the region.

A possible candidate would be the Ge’ez cardinal number *səssu* “six (feminine)” or *səssā* “sixty” and its ordinal *səssāwi(t)* “sixtieth.”³⁶ The number six is attested in Old Nubian as ρο.δο, whereas sixty is not, making this a plausible option. The root would then be either φρωριτ (cf. κολοτ “seven”) with an adverbial -αν “sixty times” or φρωριτα (cf. οκκοτα “nine”) with a genitive -ν “of sixty.”

From the incipit in 4.ii.7, we may assume that this Lectionary contained a series of readings associated with the feasts around Lent. A possible candidate would be a feast dedicated to the 60th day before Easter, comparable to the Sexagesima in Catholic liturgy. Without an identified reading of the fragmentary text in 3.ii.14–18, any further conjecture, however, seems impossible.

³⁶ Tropper, *Altäthiopisch*, 81, 83, 302.

P. Attiri 5: Unidentified Fragment

The flesh side contains a very fragmented text, where, however, the words might indicate the general nature of the text. If analysed correctly the words 5.i.2 οΥΓΚΡΟ “we/you are hungry,” 5.1.4 τῸδάρρα “will give (them),” and 5.i.5 cḫ[ḫ] τάρο[γ- -] “blessed nation” point to the text’s religious character. The hair side is even more incoherent; not a single word can be determined with any degree of certainty.

P. Attiri 6–7: Fragments

These fragments are too lapidary to make any reasonable conjecture as to their contents or provenance.

P. Attiri 8: The Head

The shape of this dark leather fragment, which appears to contain about 14 lines of writing on one of its sides, seems to have been deliberately shaped in the form of a head by tearing off parts of the manuscript after it had been written. A natural cause for the damage on the edges seems less likely. We are unable to speculate as to the reasons for shaping the document thus. However, other instances of conscious shaping of manuscript fragments in recognizable forms are known from Nubia.³⁷

P. Attiri 9: Sale

The strongest clues about the nature of this fragmentary text are the verbal form B.5 παεισελ[ο “I wrote” and the mentioning of B.6 τΟΥΚΛ *touski* at the end of the text, above the bottom margin. The close proximity of these words strongly suggests that we are dealing here with a legal document of sorts. In all texts in which we have attestations of τΟΥΚ, it either precedes or follows a form of the verb παρ “to write,” in which case it indicates the payment of the scribe. When it precedes a form of the verb παρ “to write,” but follows a list of names, it indicates the payment of the witnesses. We may compare the extant attestations of τΟΥΚ as follows:

³⁷ LAJTAR, “Old Nubian Texts from Gebel Adda in the Royal Ontario Museum,” p. 198, fig. 6.

Table 4.
Comparison of all
legal documents
mentioning τΟΥΚΚ

P. Attiri 9.B	Nauri	P.QI 3 32	P. QI 4 69	P. QI 3 36
4 ΜΟΥΧΗ	8 ΜΑΤΑΡΙ- ΓΟΥΛΛΟΝ ... 9 ΚΑΤΙΠΟΛΟ (± list of 7 names)	17 ΜΑΤΑΡΙ- ΓΛΛΟΝ ... 22 ΚΙΔΚΩΥΛΛΟ (list of 10 names)	14 ΜΑΤΑΡΑ- ΓΟΥΛΟ ... 24 ΙΟΑΝΝΟ (long list of names, partially illegible)	i.33 ΜΑΤΑΡΙ- ΓΟΥΛΛΟΝ ... ii.2 ΡΛΟ (list of 24 names)
			24 ΤΟΥΚΚΗ Ϛ̄	ii.3 ΤΟΥΚΚΛ ΠΑΤΙ ΕΛΟ
5 ΠΑΕΙΣΕΛ[Ο]	9 ΠΑΕΙΣΕ	24 ΠΑΕΙΣΕ	25 ΠΑΕΙΣΕΣΕΛΟ	ii.6 ΠΑΕΙΣΕ
6 ΤΟΥΚΚΛ	11 ΤΟΥΚΙ ΛΛ̄ : ΕΛΟ	26 ΤΟΥΚΚΛ Γ̄ΚΟ		ii.8 ΤΟΥΚΚΛ ΠΑΤΙ ΔΛΟ

All extant documents mentioning τΟΥΚΚ follow a very similar pattern and are all sales of plots of land. Moreover, all these documents have been written on leather, just like P. Attiri 9. It therefore seems plausible that we are dealing here with a land sale, in which the scribe was paid an unknown amount of τΟΥΚΚ and one of the witnesses was called ΜΟΥΧΗ. The mentioning of A.2 ΠΑ[Π]ΙΣΙΟ “bishop” and the (place?) name A.3 -ΛΕΜΙΛΟ may be part of the sequence of dignitaries that usually opens a sale, and it may be possible that the “bishop” is related to the site mentioned in the next line. A.4 ΤΑΠΛΛΟΝ “his father” might refer to either the buyer or one of the adjacent plot owners, although this remains highly speculative.

P. Attiri 10: Unidentified document

The contents of this document, mentioning measures of food and beverages, as well as a priest, points toward a document of a fiscal character, perhaps an account of some sort.

P. Attiri 11: Letter

The opening words of what otherwise seems to be a list of goods suggest a letter. The sender of the list introduces it with the common letter introduction 1 ΔΑΥΚΟΥΜΕΛΩ ΕΙΔΓΡΙΜΛΩ “I pay homage (to you). I inform (you),” but continues with a list of items without transition. The contents of the list – as far as we can understand it – are as follows: several domestic animals and different kinds of wine and bread. Different from other lists and accounts that we have in Old

Nubian, this document deviates substantially from the standard form. The following table offers an overview of the structure of the itemized list in 1-5:

Item	Measure	Number	Case
ΠΟΥΤΟΥ	ΜΑΩΕ ΚΕΟΥΤ		
ΚΙΔΔΙ		Ḥ	
ΣΙΔΛΩ	ΚΕΟΥΤ	Δ	
ΣΥΚΜΙ		Ḗ	ΛΩ
ΣΥΡΚΙ	ΜΟΡ	Δ	
ΟΡΠΟΥ		Ḥ	
ΚΟΠΑṬΟΙ		Δ	
ΕΚΤΟΥ		Ḫ	
ΤΟΛΣΟΥ		Ḫ	
ΜΑΤΙṬΚ ΓΟΥΡΡΟΥ		Ḥ	
ΠΑΚΙ			

Table 5. Structure of the itemized list in P. Attiri 11.1-5

Apart from the haphazard way of listing these items, mostly without the otherwise regularly present -λω, the text shows several other idiosyncrasies:

- ▶ haplography: 1 ΔΑΥΚΟΥΜΕΛΩ; 1 ΕΙΔΓΡΙΜΛΩ; 5 ΚΟΥΛΩ and possibly other instances of -λλ > -λ
- ▶ αγ/ογ substitution: 1 ΔΑΥΚΟΥΜΕΛΩ
- ▶ Δ/τ substitution: 2 ΚΙΔΔΙ; 6 ΑΘΙΤΙ
- ▶ κ/γ substitution: 7 ΔΙΕΙΝΚΟΥΛΑ;
- ▶ ο/ογ substitution: 8 ΚΡΕΝΟΤΟΡΑ(?)
- ▶ phonologically illicit word endings: 2 ΚΕΟΥΤ; 4 ΜΑΤΙṬΚ

Furthermore, lines 5-8 are extraordinarily difficult to reconstruct. Several words, such as 5, 6 ΟΡΠΟΥ “wine”; 7 ΠΕṬΕ “dates”; and 7 ΔΙΕΙΝΚΟΥΛΑ, ΔΙΕΙΝΓΟΥΛ[Δ] forms of “to be many” are readily recognizable, but appear grammatically unanchored. There seems to be a verb at the end of the sentence, 8 ΚΡΕΝΟΤΟΡΑ, which however has no recognizable form. If we take it to mean something like “coming to deposit,” we expect to find a preceding object marked with accusative -κα, for which we find either 6 . κα or 5 ΔΔΔΚΑ. Perhaps 6 . κα marks the entire preceding clause 5-6 ΟΡΠΟΥ · Ḫ · ΠΑΛΛΕΛΑ · ΑΘΙΤΙ · . κα as object, which would possibly explain the aberrant place-

ment of the middot (but cf. 3 $\varsigma\gamma\kappa\mu\iota \cdot \bar{\epsilon} \cdot \lambda\omega$). If we then suppose that 8 $\kappa\iota\pi\iota\kappa\iota\omicron$ “having eaten” is indeed some type of perfect participial form, the two constituents 6–7 $\omicron\rho\pi\omicron\gamma \omicron\kappa\omicron\gamma\Delta\Delta \Delta\iota\epsilon\iota\eta\kappa\omicron\gamma\lambda\alpha$ and 7 $\pi\epsilon\tau\tau\epsilon \cdot \kappa\omicron\gamma\Delta \Delta\iota\epsilon\iota\eta\gamma\omicron\gamma\lambda[\Delta]$ could be interpreted as adverbative to $\kappa\iota\pi\iota\kappa\iota\omicron$. $\Delta\Delta\Delta\kappa\alpha \cdot \kappa\omicron\gamma\lambda\omega$, then, is the location where the two amphorae of wine are supposed to be deposited.

This text appears to be at a remove from the Old Nubian scribal traditions that we are familiar with. This distance may have been caused by a lack of education on the part of the scribe or his physical distance from cultural centers, which could imply dialectal variation. Also, it may be the case that the letter was produced in a period in which Old Nubian was in general decline. Without a clear idea of the diachronic development of Old Nubian or its possible dialects, we are unable to determine whether spatial or temporal distance was the main cause. Non-standard forms such as 6 $\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha$; 8 $\kappa\iota\pi\iota\kappa\iota\omicron$; 8 $\kappa\rho\epsilon\eta\sigma\omicron\tau\omicron\rho\alpha$ seem to indicate a later stage of the language, which is also confirmed by the petrified and simplified opening formula 1 $\Delta\Delta\gamma\kappa\omicron\gamma\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega \epsilon\iota\delta\gamma\rho\iota\mu\lambda\omega$ and other particularities indicated above.

A very important implication of the possible identification as a letter is that this would be the only instance of a letter written on a leather sheet. Another letter on leather is plausibly identified among the manuscript fragments discovered in the church of the island of Sur in the Fourth Cataract region.³⁸ It is extremely rare to find Old Nubian documents on leather other than legal texts. Known exceptions include only P. QI 4.75 (an account). Given the general idea that leather was a precious and prestigious carrier of text,³⁹ it is worth examining whether in this case the scribe simply did not possess any other possible surface for writing (neither papyrus, paper, or parchment, which is of no surprise; nor wood, ceramic, or stone, which is rather peculiar). Can the material nature of the document indicate something about its meaning, the character of the site, or the period in which it was written?

³⁸ TSAKOS, *The Manuscripts discovered at SRO22.A, North Sudan*.

³⁹ OCHAËA, “Multilingualism in Christian Nubia,” pp. 14–15.



Fig. 1. P. Attiri 1.i (SNM 23045). Photo by Alexandros Tsakos.

P. Attiri 1–2

The Attiri Book of Michael

Two folia of a parchment codex with a text written in black and red ink in Old Nubian majuscules by an experienced hand.

P. Attiri 1 (SNM 23045, ±10×15 cm)

i – hair side

- Ⲛⲁ
- ⲉⲓ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲛⲓⲗⲓ ⲟⲩⲕⲁ ⲁⲁⲩⲓⲁ
- 2 ⲧⲞⲩⲤⲕⲗⲗⲟ ⲕⲣⲣⲁ ⲁⲓⲓⲕⲁ
ⲧⲁⲡⲡⲓⲖⲉⲛⲓⲁⲁ ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲛⲣⲓ
- 4 ⲑⲟⲩⲓⲛⲁ ⲉⲓⲗⲁⲛⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟ ⲉⲓ
ⲧⲗⲁⲟ ⲓⲧⲧⲁ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲁ
- 6 ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲛⲕⲁ ⲉⲕⲕⲁ ⲡⲉⲤⲓ
ⲛⲓⲁ ⲕⲥⲤⲉ ⲙⲁⲛⲧⲁⲕⲗⲟ
- 8 ⲉⲓⲛⲓ ⲥⲁⲩⲩⲁⲧⲁ ⲉⲓⲁⲣⲁⲤⲛⲓ ⲙⲓⲓ
ⲓⲭⲁⲛⲓⲗⲓ ⲟⲩⲕⲗ ⲁⲁⲩⲉⲗⲓ ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓ
- 10 ⲁⲛⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲟⲩⲩⲓⲑⲟⲩⲗⲁⲟ ⲉⲟⲩ
ⲣⲟⲩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲛⲓⲑⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣⲓⲁ ⲁⲓⲁ
- 12 ⲁⲗ 1–2ⲓⲧⲟⲛⲧⲁⲕⲗⲓ ⲙⲟⲩⲉⲗⲁⲟⲛⲓ
5–6ⲓⲟ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲛⲓⲗⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲓⲟⲩⲛ
- 14 5–6ⲓⲙⲓⲭⲁⲛⲓⲗⲓ ⲥⲓⲧⲧⲟⲣ ⲧⲓⲧ
2–3ⲓⲕⲓⲛⲓ ⲁⲣⲟⲩⲗⲗⲟ ⲙⲁⲡⲓⲕⲁⲓⲧⲓⲧⲓ
- 16 ⲕⲟⲤⲙⲟⲤⲛⲓ 1–2ⲓⲉⲕⲁⲧⲛⲓ ⲉⲓⲧⲓⲧⲓ
2–3ⲓⲛⲓ ⲧⲁⲩⲩⲟⲩⲕⲗⲟ ⲙⲁⲑⲧⲉⲗⲟⲥⲁ
- 18 ⲙⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲛⲓⲑⲟⲩⲕⲁ ⲧⲓⲛⲓⲑⲁ
ⲣⲁ ⲟⲩⲓⲛⲓⲗⲟⲩⲛⲓ ⲡⲁⲡⲓⲕⲁⲓⲧⲓ

“Oh Michael, Great Ruler, who comes to [the Church of] the Three in order to touch me.”

I came in order to tell you all that has been made silent for man in the completion of times. When this hateful one [sc. the Devil] was rising, Michael the great ruler, who has been [...]ed from me, cast shade upon these children [of mine] because of these things. From one [...] Michael sounds [...] Michael foundation [...] in the rain. [...] the father in the time of the [...] of the [...] of the world, gathering all the angels <while they fight, worshipping> the father of all.

ⲉ̅ⲗ: 64

- 1 ⲉ̅ⲗ: interjection “oh” (OND 55), introducing a vocative.
ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗⲓ ⲱⲕⲁ ⲁⲗⲮ[ⲁ]: ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗⲓ here and in the rest of the text refers to the archangel Michael, ending, as is characteristic for Old Nubian names imported from Greek, in a iota. The vocative -ⲁ is suppressed after names ending in -ⲓ (ONG 3.6.4b). ⲱⲕ¹ (in 9 ⲱⲕ) here means “ruler” (OND 186²) and ⲁⲗⲮ “great” (OND 36). These epithets are the equivalent of the Greek μέγας ἄρχων, which are used for Michael only in the context of (references to) the story of The Three Youths in the Furnace,³ cf. Michael’s epithet in a fragment from the *Liber Institutionis Michaelis Archangeli* P. QI 1 11.1.1 ⲐⲟⲘⲟⲩⲁ ⲁⲗⲮⲣⲁⲘⲁ “great eparch.” The attributive phrase ⲱⲕ-ⲁ ⲁⲗⲮ-[ⲁ] is marked with the predicative suffix -ⲁ, as is expected in a vocative context (ONG §3.6.4b⁴). The entire apostrophe ends in 4 with ⲧⲁⲡⲡⲓⲦⲎⲘⲓⲁⲗ, marked with the final quotation marker -ⲁ (ONG §4.8).
- 2 ⲧⲟⲩⲕⲗⲗⲱ: ⲧⲟⲩⲕ “three” (OND 183), followed by determiner -ⲗ⁵ and locative suffix -ⲗⲱ. The reference is here apparently to the story of three children in Dan 3:25(92), whom, according to the Coptic and Nubian tradition, were rescued by Michael, as depicted in the well-known mural from the Faras cathedral.⁶ Considering the locative suffix, perhaps we are dealing here with a church dedicated to the three children (see the General Introduction, pp 16–17).
 ⲕⲣⲣⲁ: ⲕⲓⲣ “come” (OND 91), with present tense -ⲣ and predicative -ⲁ. The subject is 1 ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗⲓ.
 ⲁⲓ[ⲕⲁ]: ⲁⲓ “I,” first person singular pronoun with reconstructed accusative case ending -ⲕⲁ, as object of the verb 3 ⲧⲁⲡⲡⲓⲦⲎⲘⲓⲁⲗ. Apparently ⲁⲓ[ⲕⲁ] here is coreferential with the second person singular 6 ⲉ̅ⲕⲁ.
- 3 ⲧⲁⲡⲡⲓⲦⲎⲘⲓⲁⲗ: ⲧⲁⲡⲡⲓ-ⲁⲣ “to touch” (OND 165), which should be analyzed as the root ⲁⲗⲁⲡⲡ followed by transitive suffix -ⲁⲣ, cf. N *daff* “berühren” (Khalil 110). Because the only two other attestations of this verb show the vetitive ⲧⲁⲡⲡⲁⲧⲧⲁⲙⲏ, with regressive assimilation of the supposedly final -ⲣ of the transitive suffix, this analysis is not secure. The present form ⲧⲁⲡⲡⲓⲦⲎⲘⲓⲁⲗ

1 We have decided to abandon Browne’s habit in OND of ending all lemmata in a hyphen.

2 Based on the forms found in this text, the lemma for ⲱⲕⲉⲣⲓ- “ruler” in OND 186 should be corrected to ⲱⲕ, pl. ⲱⲕⲉ-ⲣⲓ-. The -ⲣⲓ suffix is attested elsewhere as plural suffix (ONG §3.5.1b). Cf. also P. QI 4 93.4 ⲱⲕⲟⲩ and P. QI 4 108.7 ⲱⲕⲁ.

3 TSAKOS, “The Cult of the Archangel Michael in Nubia.”

4 New analyses for the variable use of the -a ending in Old Nubian are suggested by VAN GERVEN OEI “A Note on the Old Nubian Morpheme -a” and WEBER-THUM & WESCHENFELDER “The Multifunctional -a.”

5 See “A Note on the Grammatical Analysis of the Old Nubian -λ Morpheme,” in VAN GERVEN OEI, “The Old Nubian Memorial for King George,” pp. 256–262.

6 See also the 3D rendering on the Faras 3D website: <http://faras3d.pl/galeria/rekonstrukcja/>

allows for two solutions. 1) The verbal root should be reanalyzed as $\tau\alpha\pi\pi\alpha\gamma/\tau\alpha\pi\pi\alpha\gamma$, which would conform with the previously attested $\tau\alpha\pi\pi\alpha\tau\tau\alpha\mu\eta$. The only other ON bisyllabic verb ending in $-\gamma$, $\phi\omicron\gamma\rho\omicron\gamma$ “to furrow, plough” (OND 185), from *fur* “furrow,” has K cognate *burg*, with a final velar absent in *daff*. 2) $-\gamma$ is a suffix, in which case it can only be an orthographical variant of the habitual $-\kappa$,⁷ and the κ/γ variation has been attested intervocally (ONG §2.2.2). This second analysis seems therefore more likely. The suffix $-\epsilon\eta\iota\alpha$ is a regular third person singular final (ONG §4.7.7d), and is followed by the quotation marker $-\delta$ (ONG §4.8). This verb therefore marks the end of the apostrophe opened by 1 $\epsilon\iota$.

$\delta\iota\omicron[\eta\eta\iota]\gamma\omicron\gamma[.] \eta\alpha$: previously unattested Greek loanword $\delta\iota\omicron$ “eon, time” with reconstructed plural suffix $-\eta\iota$ common after Greek loanwords (ONG §3.5.1b), plural suffix $-\gamma\omicron\gamma$ and genitive $-\eta\alpha$, dependent on 4 $\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\lambda[o]$. There seems to be a letter between $-\gamma\omicron\gamma$ and $-\eta\alpha$ although grammatically speaking none would be allowed. Although $\delta\iota\omicron$ - has not been attested elsewhere (ON usually renders $\alpha\iota\omega\eta$ with $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\eta$ $\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\eta$ *vel sim.*, see ONG 57), considering the paucity of Old Nubian nouns which could start with $\delta\iota\omicron$ - (only certain forms of the first person singular pronoun and abstract compound nouns deriving from $\delta\epsilon\iota\lambda$ “heart”), the semantic context in which $\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon$ is regularly used (see below), and the apocalyptic overtones of the text in general, $\delta\iota\omicron[\eta\eta\iota]\gamma\omicron\gamma[.] \eta\alpha$ seems a plausible reconstruction.

- 4 $\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\lambda[o]$: $\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon$ “completion” (OND 68), with partially reconstructed locative suffix $-\lambda\omicron$. Other attestations of this noun are often preceded by a plural noun in the genitive, denoting a temporal unit, e.g., K. 32.6 $\delta\epsilon\lambda\gamma\omicron\eta\eta\alpha$ $\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron$ “in the completion of the years” and L. 112.6 $\tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma\kappa\gamma\omicron\eta\eta$ $\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\eta\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron$ “in the completion of the times.”

$\epsilon\iota\tau\lambda\alpha\omega$: $\epsilon\iota\tau$ “man” (OND 80), with determiner $-\lambda$ and suffix $-\lambda\omega$ “for, upon.” There may be room for another letter after the iota at the end of 4, but it would be difficult to conjecture what that might be. The usage of $\epsilon\iota\tau$ “man” as synecdoche for mankind in general has been attested, for example in P. QI 1 9.ii.21 $\epsilon\iota\tau\eta$ $\tau\omicron\tau\eta$ “of the son of man” (Rev. 14:14).

- 5 $\gamma\tau\tau\alpha$: $\gamma\tau\tau$ “to be silent”? (OND 32), with predicative $-\alpha$, dependent on 5 $\alpha\gamma\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho[\delta]$. The only other attestation is in K. 25.1 $\gamma\tau\tau\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\pi\epsilon\eta$ “if he eats being silent.” Perhaps here used in the sense of “to be unperceivable, hidden.”

7 Browne insists on the more obscure term “consuetudinal.”

αΥΤΑΚΑΡ[Α]: αΥ “to make” (OND 13), with passive -ΤΑΚ, first preterite -ΑΡ, and reconstructed predicative -Α, which is obligatory before the quantifier 6 ΜῶϞΑΝΚΑ (ONG §3.6.4c).

- 6 ΜῶϞΑΝΚΑ: ΜῶϞΑΝ “all” (OND 118), with accusative suffix -ΚΑ as object of 6 ΠΕϞ[Ι]ΝΙΔ. 5-6 ΓῚΤΑ ΑΥΤΑΚΑΡ[Α] ΜῶϞΑΝΚΑ may be translated as “all that has been made silent.”

ΕΚΚΑ: ΕΙΡ “you (sg.)” with accusative suffix -ΚΑ, indirect object of 6 ΠΕϞ[Ι]ΝΙΔ. Coreferential with 2 Δῖ[ΚΑ]. This implies that the “I” addressing Michael in the first clause is now speaking. It is our conjecture that this person is Jesus himself (see the General Introduction, p. 17).

ΠΕϞ[Ι]ΝΙΔ: ΠΕϞ “to say” (OND 149) with impersonal final suffix -ΝΙΔ, cf. 3 ΤΑΠΠΙΓΕΝΙΔΔ.

- 7 ΚῚϞΕ: ΚΙΡ “to come,” cf. 2 ΚῚΡΑ, with preterite 2 suffix -C and regressive assimilation of the final rho of the root, followed by a first person singular ι + predicative -Α > -Ε. This is the main verb of the clause, subordinating the entire final clause 3-7 ΔῖΟ[ΝΡΙ] ΓΟΥ[.]ΝΑ ... ΠΕϞ[Ι]ΝΙΔ.

ΜΑΝΤΑΚΛΩ: Grammaticalized complex of distal demonstrative pronoun ΜΑΝ, noun ΤΑΚ from ΤΑΥΚ “time” (OND 164), and locative -ΛΩ. The vowel reduction in ΤΑΚ- and the fact that this constituent is written as a single word are indicative of such a grammaticalization process.⁸ Instead of the literal “in that time,” we should possibly read simply “when.”

- 8 [Ε]ῖ: proximal demonstrative pronoun “this.” Considering the noun that it determines, a reading as second person singular genitive pronoun seems unlikely.

ϞΑΥῚΔΤΑ: ϞΑΥῚ “hateful” (OND 156), with nominalizer -ΑΤ (ONG §3.3.2), “hateful one,” followed by the predicative -Α. Reference is made here to the Devil, cf. a fragment from the *Liber Institutionis Michaelis Archangeli* P. QI 1 11.i.16-17 ϞΑΥῚΝ ΘΡΟΝΟ[Ϟ ...] ΜΑϞΤΙΜΑ.

ΓΙΑΡΔῚῚ: ΓΙ “to rise” (OND 200), with preterite 1 -ΑΡ and predicative -Α, followed by emphatic or focus marker -ῚῚ, which suggests leftward movement of the temporal subordinate clause 7-8 ΜΑΝΤΑΚΛΩ ... ΓΙΑΡΔῚῚ.⁹

- 9 ΟΥΚῚ ΔΑΥΕῚ: “great ruler,” cf. 1 ΟΥΚῚ ΔΑΥ[Ὶ] “great ruler.” Both words marked with the determiner -Ὶ. 8-9 Μ[ΙΧ]ῚῚΝῚ ΟΥΚῚ ΔΑΥΕῚ is the subject of 9 ΕῖῚ.

ΕῖῚ: either ΕΙΝ “to be” (OND 69), possibly with a third person singular ending, or the plural form of the proximal demonstrative pronoun ΕΙΝ, cf. 11 ΕΙΝῚῚΓΟΥΝ. The manuscript shows more of a superposition of two *nus*, making the ending unclear. The

⁸ See VAN GERVEN OEI, “Old Nubian Prosody and Assimilation.”

⁹ VAN GERVEN OEI, “Old Nubian Relative Clauses,” p. 40.

first option, i.e., a form of the copula seems less likely here as we would expect a predicative -a on the nominal predicate ωικλ Δαγελ and not a determiner.¹⁰ The second reading seems more plausible, owing to the presence, if reconstructed correctly, of another main verb, 10 ΕΟΥ[ΡΟΥΡΑ]. In that case εἰῃ determines 10 ΤΟΥΦΙΓΟΥΛΔΩ.

- 10 [ΔΗΗΔ]: first person singular possessive pronoun. This seems to be the only logical word before ΤΟΥΦΙΓΟΥΛΔΩ and after the demonstrative εἰῃ, but any adjective could be possible in theory. The conjecture for a first person is based on the verbal form 7 κῶσε.

ΤΟΥΦΙΓΟΥΛΔΩ: ΤΟΤ “child,” pl. ΤΟΥΦ (OND 180), with plural suffix -ιγογ, determiner -λ, and suffix -ΔΩ “for, upon.”

ΕΟΥ[ΡΟΥΡΑ]: ΕΟΥΡ-ΟΥΡ “overshadow” (OND 204), to be analyzed as ΕΟΥΡ- “shade” with a reconstructed transitive suffix -ΟΥΡ, and predicative -α. A reconstruction with the causative, ΕΟΥ[ΡΑΓΡΑ], seems equally possible in terms of space, but has not been attested elsewhere as main verb. This shade may be cast by a branch of the cross (St. 12.1-3), “God of the heaven” (P. QI 2 12.ii.8), or a set of wings (P. QI 2 12.ii.20-1). Perhaps in this case, the wings of Michael.

- 11 εἰηῖγογν δούριᾶ: plural of the proximal demonstrative pronoun εἰη followed by the complex postposition genitive + δούρια (OND 193), “because of these things.”

ἀἰΔ[ΔΔ]: first person singular pronoun, probably with comitative ΔΔΔ “with,” as a reconstruction of ἀἰΔ[Ω] “upon, for me,” with the *omega* after the line break would be very uncommon. Also -Δ[Ω] is less expected with the (unknown) passive verb that follows.

- 12 -ΤΟΥῖΤΑΚΛ: a participial form ending in a passive suffix -ΤΑΚ and the participial marker/determiner -ῖ, forming an attributive relative clause dependent on 8-9 ἡ[ΙΧ]Δῆῖ ωικλ Δαγελ. Another reading may be ΙῖΡῖΤΑΚΛ, although neither reading seems to conform to any previously attested verb form.

ΟΥΕΛΔΟ`Ν': ΟΥΕΛ “one” (OND 132) with suffix -ΔΟ`Ν' “from.” The nu is written as a tilde above the final omikron, cf. M. 9.14 ΔΟΥΚΚΟ`Ν'.

- 13 ΟΥΩΝ[ΟΗ]: ΟΥΩ(ΟΥ)Ν “to sound (a trumpet)” (OND 142), with a conjectured third person singular preterite 1 ending.

- 14 σῖτορ: perhaps a variant of σΟΥΜΠΟΥΤ/σῖΠΠΤ “foundation” and σΟΥΜΠΟΥΤῖ/σῖΠΠΤΑΡ “to found” (OND 162), cf. P. QI 4 93.re.3 σῖΠΠΤ and Ruffini’s note *ad loc*. Its grammatical relation with the preceding 14 ΜΙΧΔῆῖ is not clear.

¹⁰ VAN GERVEN OEI, “A Note on the Old Nubian Morpheme -a,” pp. 315-16.

- 15 $\kappa\bar{\eta}$ ἀροῦλλω: ἀροῦ “rain” (OND 19), with determiner -λ and locative -λω, cf. 3 τοῦσκλλω, with either a preceding genitive or third person singular ending -ῆ. According to Browne’s lemma “rain” is also used metaphorically in the sense of “protection,” and may thus be semantically related to the “overshadowing” in 10.
 παπκα: παπ “father” (OND 144), with accusative -κα. Object of an unknown verb.
- 16 [κοc]μοcῆ [1–2]ερακτῆ ε[- -] [2–3]ῆ ταῦϵκλω: Possibly a series of genitives all dependent on ταῦϵκλω, “in the time,” with the upsilon inserted later by the scribe, cf. 7 μαπτακλω. The reconstruction of 16 [κοc]μοcῆ appears certain, as it is the only attested Greek loan word in Old Nubian ending in -μοc.
- 17 ἀγγελοcα: Greek loanword ἀγγελοc “angel” followed by the predicative suffix -α, as it is in the scope of the universal quantifier 18 [μῶωα]ῆγοῦκα.
- 18 [μῶωα]ῆγοῦκα: “all,” with preceding predicative, cf. 5–6 αῦτακαρ[α] μῶωανκα. Marked with plural suffix and accusative -κα, as object of the verb 18 τῆμιγα[ρα].
 τῆμιγα[ρα]: τῆμ “to assemble” (OND 172) with causative suffix -γαρ, i.e., “to gather,” followed by predicative -α. The subject is supposedly still Michael.
- 19 [δ]ῆῆλγοῦν: δῆῆλ “everyone” (OND 189), with plural -τοῦ and genitive -ν, dependent on 19 παπκ[α].
 παπκ[α]: “father,” cf. 15 παπκα. Object of 1.ii.1 [λ]εραα.

ⲫⲉ: 65

- 1 [ΔΙ]ΓΑΡΑ: ΔΙΓΑΡ “to fight” (OND 46), with predicative -α, in a multi-verb construction with 1 ΔΟΥΚΚΕΡΑΝ.
 ΔΟΥΚΚΕΡΑΝ: ΔΟΥΚ “to worship” (OND 52), with habitual -κ, present tense suffix -εϣ and third person plural -αν, the implied subject being 1.i.17 ΑΓΓΕΛΟϢ [ΜΘΥΑ]ΝΓΟΥΚΑ. The absence of a predicative suffix indicates that this is a subordinate clause, dependent on and contemporaneous with 1.i.18 ΤΥΜΗΓΑ[ΡΑ].¹ The sentence ends uniquely with two middots, suggesting perhaps a change of speaker.
- 2 [ΟΥ]Ν: second person plural genitive pronoun, reconstructed based on 5 ΟΥΔΑΔΔΛ.
 ϢΕΝΚΑ: possibly related to ϢΕΝ “to ask” and ϢΕΝΤ “request” (OND 157), even though the terminal tau of the root seems to be missing before the accusative case. Maybe the same root as 7 ϢΕΝΚΟΛ? Object of 2 ΟΥΤΡ̄ ἔΤΑ.
 ΟΥΤΡ̄: ΟΥΤΡ “to put” (OND 141) with predicative -α.
 ἔΤΑ: ΕΤ(Τ) “to receive” (OND 78) with predicative -α. We are possibly dealing with the aspectual marker -ετ, with uncertain meaning.² Perhaps the meaning here, with the object 2 ϢΕΝΚΑ, is “fully putting,” i.e., “fulfilling.”
- 3 ϫΥΜΛΓΟΥΚΑ: “everyone,” cf. 1.i.19 ϫΥΜΛΓΟΥΝ. Object of 3 ΓΑΕΙ[ϫ] ΕΝΝΟ.
 ΓΑΕΙ[ϫ]ΕΝΝΟ ΚϫΚΛΩ: ΓΑΕΙΡ “to save” (OND 195). However, it seems that the form of this verb root is connected to the noun ΓΑΙΕΡΡ(ε) “resurrection.” Considering the occurrence of 16 ΑΓΛΟϢ- “to save” later on this text, perhaps a better translation of ΓΑΕΙΡ- would be “to resurrect.” The verb is marked with plural suffix -ϫ, referring to the plural object 3 ϫΥΜΛΓΟΥΚΑ, second/third person singular present ending -ΕΝ and locative suffix -ΛΟ as part of the complex postposition -ΛΟ ΚϫΚΛΩ “until.” The subject is coreferential with 4 ΜΙΧΑ[Υ]ΛΙ.
- 5 ΤΗΥΚΕΡ: ΤΗΥΚ(Δ)ΕΡ “help” (OND 173), cf. P. QI 2 12.ii.7 ΤΗΥΚΕΡΑ.
 ΜΑΥ: note that until 17–18 Γ[ΑΕΙ]ϫΕϢϢΝΝΟ [Κϫ]ΚΛΩ there is no other candidate for a main verb or predicate, there only being a series of extraposed clauses under 6 ΔΟΥΚΙϫΑ. The only remaining, and grammatically satisfying, interpretation of ΜΑΥ is as affirmative -μα, or as Browne calls it, “indicative copulative” suffix (ONG §3.9.16b), with the final *upsilon* caused by subsequent

1 An analysis of finite verbal forms according to their use in main and subordinate clauses was recently suggested by WEBER-THUM & WESCHENFELDER, “Reflections on Old Nubian Grammar.” For an interlinear annotated example from Qasr Ibrim see WEBER & WESCHENFELDER, “Orakelpriester” oder ‘patrolmen,” p. 175.

2 Cf. BECHHAUS-GERST, *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*, p. 150. See for a more nuanced and comparative view JAKOBI & EL-GUZZULI, “Semantic Change and Heterosemy of Dongolawi ed.”

ΟΥΔΔΑΛ[Λ]Ο. Note that we do not find the predicative marker -α on 5 ΤΗΥΚΕΡ, which we would otherwise expect.

ΟΥΔΔΑΛ[Λ]Ο: second person plural ΟΥΡ with comitative -ΔΔΑ and focus marker -ΛΟ.

- 6 ΤΑΥΚΑ: ΤΑΥΚ “time,” with predicative -α in the scope of quantifier ΜΩΦΑΝΝΟ.

ΜΩΦΑΝΝΟ: with locative suffix -ΛΟ and progressive assimilation of the *lambda*.

- 7 ΤΑΠΠΑΚΑ: ΤΑΠ(ΠΑ) “his father” (ONG §3.7.3), with the accusative case as the object of 7 ΔΟΥΚΙΔΑ. This form also suggests that *contra* Browne’s emendation ΤΑΠΙΛ- is the correct form in SC 14.8.

ΔΟΥΚΙΔΑ: ΔΟΥΚ “to worship” with pluractional suffix -σ and predicative -α. The subject is still 4 ΜΙΧΑ[ἦ]ΛΙ. The pluractional suffix may refer to a repeated action “for all time,” or (also) refer to the long list of (extraposed) adjuncts, all seemingly dependent on ΤΑΠΠΑΚΑ: 7-11 ΣΕΥΚΟΛ ... ΟΥΝΝΟΥΤΑΚἨ, 11-12 ΘἨ[ΜΟΥ] ΕΣΣΟΥ ΕΚΚΑ ΤΟΥ[ΔΟΛ], 13 ΑΦΘΙΚΟΥΝΝΟΛ, and 13 ΠΑ[ΡΘΕ]ΝΟΣἪ ΕΙΝΔΔΟΥΛ.

ΣΕΥΚΟΛ: a nominal interpretation based on the root ΣΕΝ “to send” seems attractive, ending on the morpheme -κο and the determiner -λ. -κο is attested as functional verbal morpheme in conditional contexts (ONG §4.7.5) and may be related to the innovative perfect tense morpheme -κο in Nobiin. Provisionally we could translate with “the one who has sent” or “sender.” The genitive-marked constituent 8-11 ΚΟΣΜΟΣ ... ΟΥΝΝΟΥΤΑΚἨ is in its entirety dependent on ΣΕΥΚΟΛ.

- 8 ΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΟΥΑΤΤΟΚΑ: ΚΟΣΜΟΣ “world” and ΟΥΑΤΤΟ “entire” (OND 131), with the accusative case as the object of 9 ΔΙΟΔΔΑ.

- 9 ΔΙΟΔΔΑ: cf. SC 13.15 ΔΙΟΔΔ-ΝΙΔ which Browne translates as “in order to pity,” relating it to the noun ΔΙΟΡ-Τ “mercy” (OND 7), with nominalizer -τ. Based on this form and the one encountered here, we may conjecture the verbal root ΔΙΟΔΔ “to pity.”

ΤΑΝ: third person singular pronoun in the genitive case, refers to 7 ΤΑΠΠΑΚΑ.

ΤΟΤΟΥ ΓΑΔΟΥ: ΤΟΤ “child,” and ΓΑΛ “son” (OND 196), antecedents of the attributive relative clause ending in 11 ΟΥΝΝΟΥΤΑΚἨ.

- 10 ΕΚΚΑ: accusative of the first person plural inclusive pronoun, object of 10 ΓΑΔΑΓΑ[ΡΑ] The fact that we find a first person plural pronoun here in contrast with 2 [ΟΥ]Ν and 5 ΟΥΔΔΑΛ- maybe suggests that we again have a shift of discursive perspective.

ΓΑΔΑΓΑ[ΡΑ]: ΓΑΔ “flesh” (OND 24), with inchoative -ΑΓ, preterite 1 -ΑΡ, and predicative -α, cf. SC 9.19 ΓΑΔΑΓΕΣ-. Considering the presence of an object 10 ΕΚΚΑ, we would expect the appearance of an applicative suffix, for which there is however no space in the lacuna.

- 11 οὔννοϋτακῆ: participial form of οὔνν “to bear,” with passive -οὔτακ and genitive -ῆ, marking the end of the relative clause dependent on 7 σεῆκολ, cf. L. 112.8 οὔννοϋτακα.
 οὔ[μοϋ]: an adjectival form of οὔμμλ “all,” cf. 1.i.19 [ῶ]ῆμμλγοῦν. All other attestations of this word place it after the noun, although here it clearly precedes 12 εῦσοϋ. The reconstruction of the ending -οὔ is very tentative, owing to a lack of parallel examples. This reconstruction also assumes that the final -λ of οὔμμλ ought to be analyzed as a determiner in all other attestations, and not as part of the root.
- 12 εῦσοϋ: εῦς “holy” (OND 200), antecedent of a relative clause ending in 12 τοοϋ[ῶολ].
 εκκα: cf. 10 εκκα. Object of 12 τοοϋ[ῶολ].
 τοοϋ[ῶολ]: probably related to τοϋδ “to rule over” (OND 179). The reconstruction is based on a similar construction in P. QI 2 17.i.6-7 ταρ τλλοϋ οὔμ[μλ]κα (or perhaps οὔμ[μλ]κα) τοοϋῶολ.
- 13 αφοῖκοῦννολ: αφο “life” (OND 23) with κοῦν “to have” (OND 97), preterite 1 -ο, and determiner -λ, “that which had life.” Perhaps an epithet for the Holy Spirit, cf. Copt. πετανῆσο “the one which is (making) alive.”
 πα[ρῶε]νοσλ: Greek loanword παρῶενος “virgin” (OND 146), with determiner -λ.
- 14 εἰνῆλοϋλ: possibly consisting of two words, εῆ “mother” (OND 72) with determiner -λ and a participial form of the existential verb λοϋ(λ) “to be, exist” (OND 52) with an assimilated determiner -λ: *λοϋλ-λ > λοϋλ. Attributive to 13 πα[ρῶε]νοσλ.
- 15 εῦσλαε: εῦς “holy” with coordinating particle -λε “and.”
 ταν: third person singular pronoun genitive, referring to 14 ῆ[ιχαηλ].
 τῆλεϋ[ελ]: τῆλ- “God” (OND 171) with coordinating particle -λεκελ “and.” ῆ[ιχαηλ] εῦσλαε ταν τῆλεϋ[ελ] is the subject of 16 αḡλοσιῶαρα.
- 16 εκκα: first person inclusive pronoun accusative, cf. 10, 12 εκκα.
 αḡλοσιῶαρα: αḡ(οḡ)λ “to save,” with the aspectual suffix -oc that often accompanies αḡλ, pluractional -ιῶ, preterite 1 -αρ, and predicative -α. The object is 16 εκκα. The predicative -α appears here in the scope of the universal quantifier 16 ῆῶωαηκα, cf. 6 ταḡκα ῆῶωαηνο.
 ῆῶωαηκα: object of 17 ε[λει]ῶεσῆνο.
- 17 ε[λει]ῶεσῆνο [κῶ]κῆλω: reconstruction based on 3-4 ελει[ῶ]εῆνο κῶκῆλω, but with preterite 2 suffix -εσ which is absent in the latter form. The repetition of this phrase creates a ring composition signaling the end of this meandering sentence, followed by a middot.

- 18 $\text{O}\Delta\text{I}\Delta$: except for the first *omicron* a relatively certain reconstruction, from $\text{O}\Delta(\Delta)$ “to be sick” (OND 122), with predicative $-\Delta$ before universal quantifier $\text{M}\bar{\text{O}}\text{W}[\Delta\text{N}]\text{N}\bar{\text{O}}\text{E}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}$.
 $\text{M}\bar{\text{O}}\text{W}[\Delta\text{N}]\text{N}\bar{\text{O}}\text{E}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}$: “all,” ending in the focus marker $-\lambda\text{O}$ and conjunction $-\text{E}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}$.
- 19 $\text{rENr}\Delta\Delta[\Delta\Delta\text{N}\Delta]$: rEN “to be good” (OND 27), with causative $-\text{r}\Delta\text{P}$ with partial progressive assimilation from the root-final *nu* and regressive assimilation from the reconstructed intentional suffix $-\Delta$.³ Considering the plurality of the subject and the fact that this is most probably the main verb of the sentence, a reconstruction of third person plural present with predicative $-\Delta\text{N}\Delta$ seems suitable.
- 20 $\lambda\text{W}\text{W}\Delta$: probably related to the verb $\lambda\text{W}\text{W}\Delta\text{Y}\text{E}\text{I}$ “to fear” (OND 21). Reconstruction remains uncertain.
- 21 $\text{M}\Delta\text{I}\text{K}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}[\text{r}\text{O}\text{Y}\bar{\text{E}}]$: $\text{M}\Delta\text{I}\text{K}\bar{\text{T}}$ - “affliction” (OND 109). The final epsilon with supralinear stroke suggests a plural predicative $-\bar{\text{E}}\text{r}\text{O}\text{Y}\bar{\text{E}}$ ending. The word is preceded by four dots arranged in a diamond shape, perhaps indicating an insertion in the main text. If this is the case, arrangement before 18 $\text{M}\bar{\text{O}}\text{W}[\Delta\text{N}]\text{N}\bar{\text{O}}\text{E}\text{I}\text{O}\text{N}$ would be the most logical, considering the predicative.

3 Browne refers to this morpheme as the “future tense” (ONG 3.9.7b). Its morphological distribution however suggests that it is a modal marker. See “Remarks toward a Revised Grammar of Old Nubian,” p. 178.

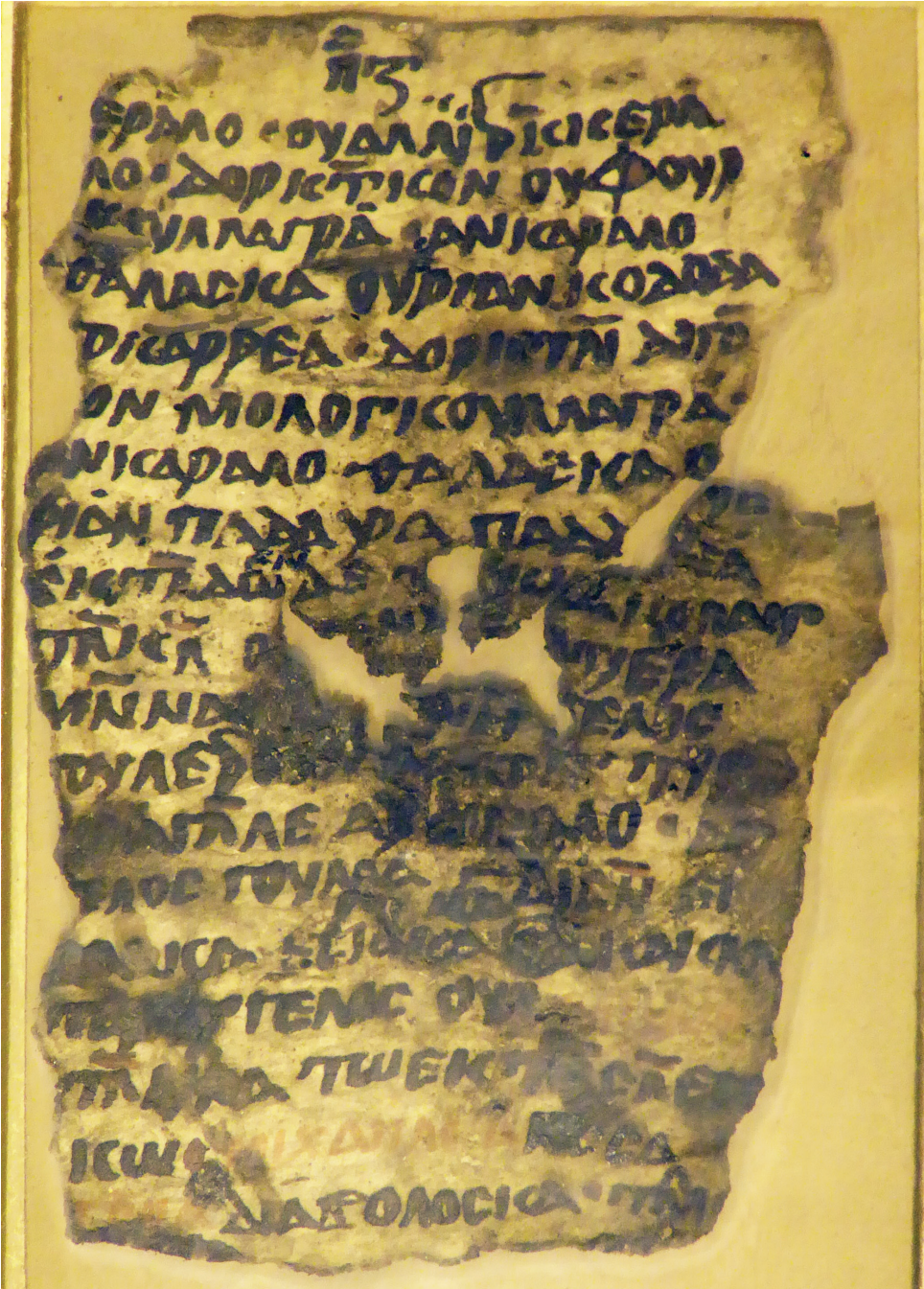


Fig. 3. P. Attiri 2.i (SNM 23045). Photo by Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei.

P. Attiri 2 (SNM 23045, ±10×15 cm)
i – flesh side

- πζ
- εραλο · ογαλλιῶκκερα
 2 λο · Δορκτκον ογφογρ
 ρογλλαγρᾶ · ἀνκαραλο
 4 θαλασκα ογ`ε`ριαν κοδοδα
 τοκαρρεᾶ · Δορκτῆ διγῶ
 6 [κ]ον μολογκογλλαγρᾶ ·
 ἀνκαραλο θαλασκα ογε
 8 ριαν παδαφα παδαφεᾶ
 σκτλδω`εν`δε τ[ογ]σκιδκκατ
 10 τλκλ ο[1-2]εηδε Δογερα
 ηῆναλλ[ο · α]η ἀγγελος
 12 γογλεδῶη ταρογ τιλ
 λλαγλλε αγσιναλο · αγ
 14 γελοςγογλλα εαισῆ ει
 . . κα εσκι`τα`κα [[κα]]κακκα ·
 16 ταρ ἀγγελος ογρ μιχαηλ[ι]
 τλλι`λ`λα τωεκτςλεη
 18 κω · μιχαηλο δεγσα
 γρρα διαβολοσκα · τλ`λ`κ[α]
 20 [- - -]

[...] he keeps throwing them.

“And having remembered what it was like to be made huffing and puffing in the depth, I [sc. Paul] will on the one hand forgive the sea. But having remembered what it is like tossing and turning in the depth of depths, I will on the other overcome the sea.”

He [sc. the devil] is neither upon the earth, nor [...] up to the Trinity. He acted against God concerning my angels.

Who among the angels bears conquered mankind?

Well he, Archangel Michael, who gave power to God. Michael, excellently casting the devil. [...] God [...]

πζ: 87

- 1 -εραλο: the final part of a verb form, ending in present tense -εϣ, predicative -α, and focus marker -λο.

ογαλλιόκκεραλο: ογαλ “to hurl, throw” (OND 130), followed by pluractional -ιό, habitual -κκ, present tense, predicative, and focus marker, cf. 1 -εραλο. The object is plural.

- 2 ΔΟΡΚΤΚΟΝ: ΔΟΡΚΤ “depth” (OND 51), with accusative -κ and conjunction -ΟΝ. It is the object of 2 ΟΥΦΟΥΡΚΟΥΛΛΑΓΡᾶ.

The following two sentences have a similar construction, pivoting around 4 ΟΥἔριαν and 7-8 ΟΥἔριαν, here translated as “on the one hand ... on the other” (cf. Greek μέν ... δέ) in both cases followed by a main verb in the first person singular present tense intentional, preceded by a single verb marked with predicative -α, resp. 4-5 ΚΟΔΟΔΑ ΤΟΚΑΡΡΕ- and 8 ΠΑΔΑΨΑ ΠΑΔ.ΔΕ-. Both parts of the “on the one/on the other” construction are marked at the end with quotation -ᾶ, and contain a subordinate clause ending in respectively 3 ΔΗΚΑΡΑΛΟ and 7 ΔΗΚΑΡΑΛΟ. Note how the construction of starting with a citation followed by a commentary in a different voice is very similar to the rhetorical structure in 1.1.

ΟΥΦΟΥΡΚΟΥΛΛΑΓΡᾶ: a compound verb consisting of ΟΥΦΟΥΡ, a widely attested modern Nubian verb, e.g. Nuf “blasen, hauchen, seufzen, schnaufen (vor Hitze)” (Khalil 88), with transitive suffix -ΟΥΡ and ΚΟΥΛΛ “to be like” (OND 101¹), with causative -ΑΓΡ and predicative -Α. ΔΟΡΚΤΚΟΝ ΟΥΦΟΥΡΚΟΥΛΛΑΓΡᾶ is dependent on ΔΗΚΑΡΑΛΟ and could be translated as “to be caused to be like breathing heavily in the depth,” here liberally rendered as “what it was like to be made huffing and puffing in the depth.”

- 3 ΔΗΚΑΡΑΛΟ: ΔΗΚ “to remember” (OND 12), with preterite 1 -ΑΡ and predicative -Α. The subject “I” is implied (see General Introduction, p. 18).
- 4 ΘΑΛΑΣΚΑ: Greek loanword θαλας “sea” (OND 63), with accusative -ΚΑ, the object of 4-5 ΚΟΔΟΔΑ ΤΟΚΑΡΡΕ-.

ΟΥἔριαν: unattested adverb, related to the root ΟΥΕΛ “one” (OND 133) and adverb ΟΥἔραν “once” (OND 134). Old Nubian adverbs are often marked with the suffix -ΔΗ (ONG §3.12). Because of its double occurrence and the semantic contrast between 4-5 ΚΟΔΟΔΑ ΤΟΚΑΡΡΕ- and 8 ΠΑΔΑΨΑ ΠΑΔ.ΔΕ-, we have chosen to translate here with “on the one hand.”

ΚΟΔΟΔΑ: unattested verb ΚΟΔΟΔ ending in predicative -Α, possibly related to N *kudud* “junge, Kind” and *kudud-a-ng* “klein machen” (Khalil 51) or N *kod-* “wegradieren” (Khalil 50). Con-

1 Brownne’s OND lemma is ΚΟΥΛ, but all the extant forms of the verb point to a verbal root ΚΟΥΛΛ.

sidering the construction of bare verb root with -α preceding the main verb ὅτοκαρρε-, it is supposed that this verb adds to or complements the latter's meaning.

- 5 ὅτοκαρρεᾶ: τοκ- “to forgive” (OND 177), with intentional -αα, and first person singular present with predicative -ρε, followed by quotation -ᾶ.

ΔΟΡΚΤῆ ΔΙΓῶ[κ]ΟΝ: ΔΟΡΚΤ “depth” with genitive -ῆ, cf. 2 ΔΟΡΚΤΚΟΝ, dependent on ΔΙΓῶ[κ]ΟΝ, an unattested noun possibly related to ΔΙΚΙC “depth” (OND 45) and KD *digire* “fallen, herabfallen” (Lepsius 285). With accusative -κ and conjunction -ΟΝ, object of 6 ΜΟΛΟΓΚΟΥΛΛΑΓΡᾶ.

- 6 ΜΟΛΟΓΚΟΥΛΛΑΓΡᾶ: another compound verb consisting of ΜΟΛΟΓ, an unattested verb, possibly related to cf. N *malgad* “sich krümmen, sich drehen, sich wälzen (vor Schmerzen)” (Khalil 70), and ΚΟΥΛΛ “to be like.” Cf. 2 ΟΥΦΟΥΡΚΟΥΛΛΑΓΡᾶ. To highlight the parallel, the free translation “tossing and turning” was chosen.

- 7 ΘΑΛΑΣΚΑ: ΘΑΛΑC “sea,” with accusative -κα, cf. 4 ΘΑΛΑΣΚΑ. It is the object of 8 ΠΑΔΑΦΑ ΠΑΔΔΕ-.

- 8 ΠΑΔΑΦΑ: ΠΑΔΕΙΦ “transgress” (OND 143), with predicative -α.

ΠΑΔΔΕᾶ: ΠΑΛ “to come out” (OND 143), cf. 5 ὅτοκαρρεᾶ. For the combination ΠΑΔΑΦΑ ΠΑΔΔΕᾶ, cf. K. 26.13–27.1 ΤΕΔΟΥΓΟΥΚΑ ΠΑΔΕΙΦΑ ΠΑΔΔΕΙΝΑ- “he will transgress the laws.” Perhaps in this context, a translation “overtake” or “overcome” makes more sense. This is the end of the opening citation starting in 1 ΟΥΑΛΛΙῸῤΚΕΡΑΛΟ, again marked by quotation -ᾶ.

- 9 ḲΚΤḲΔΩ`ΕΝ`ΔΕ: ḲΚΤ “earth” (OND 77) with determiner -Ḳ and -ΔΩ “upon,” followed by conjunction -ΕΝΔΕ “neither,” which corresponds to 10 ΕΝΔΕ “nor.”

ḲΚΤḲΔΩ`ΕΝ`ΔΕ ... ΔΥCΙΝΑΛΟ: The subject, explicit in 12 ΤᾶΡΟΥ, is supposedly the Devil residing in the depths of the sea, where he is visited by Paul (see General Introduction, pp. 18–19). The former is mentioned later explicitly in 19 ΔΙΔΒΟΛΟCΚΑ. As in the previous clause, which was structured around 4 ΟΥ`Ε`ΡΙΑΝ ... 7 ΟΥ`ΕΡΙΑΝ “on the one hand, on the other,” this clause has the repetition 9 -`ΕΝ`ΔΕ ... 10 ΕΝΔΕ “neither, nor.”

Τ[ΟΥ]CΚΙΑΚΟΚΑΤΓḲḲ: unattested abstract noun meaning “Trinity,” composed of ΤΟΥCΚΙΤ “third” (OND 183), the adjective formant -κο, and abstract suffix -καττ, “third-having-ness” followed by determiner -Ḳ and the suffix -κḲ, attested in -κḲḲ “up to,” which is perhaps the same morpheme as directive -τḲ(λε), cf. 12 ΤΙΛḲḲΑΓḲḲΕ.

- 10 ΔΟΥῤΕΡΑ ΜῆΝΑΛ[Ο: ΔΟΥ(λ) “to be, exist” with present tense -ερ and predicative -α, in a periphrastic construction with the negative

verb $\mu\iota\eta$ (OND 114), and third person singular present plus predicative $-na$, followed by focus marker $-\lambda o$.

- 11 $\alpha\eta\eta$: most probably a personal pronoun in the genitive. We have reconstructed here $\alpha\eta$ “my.”
 $\alpha\eta\eta\epsilon\lambda o\varsigma\tau o\gamma\lambda e\delta o\gamma\eta$: $\alpha\eta\eta\epsilon\lambda o\varsigma$ “angel,” with plural $-\tau o\gamma$ and suffix $-\lambda e\delta o\gamma\eta$ “because of, concerning.”
- 12 $\tau\alpha\rho\gamma$: third person personal pronoun.
 $\tau\eta\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\lambda\epsilon$: $\tau\eta\lambda$ “God” with dative $-\lambda a$ and directive $-\gamma\lambda\epsilon$, here translated as “against.”
- 13 $\alpha\gamma\sigma\iota\alpha\lambda o$: $\alpha\gamma$ - “to do” (OND 13) with preterite 2 $-c$, third person singular $-\iota\eta$, predicative $-\alpha$ and focus $-\lambda o$.
 $\alpha\eta\eta\epsilon\lambda o\varsigma\tau o\gamma\lambda\lambda a$: $\alpha\eta\eta\epsilon\lambda o\varsigma$ “angel,” with plural $-\tau o\gamma$, determiner $-\lambda$ and dative $-\lambda a$. Here translated as “among,” or “from,” dependent on the question word $\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\eta$.
- 14 $\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\eta$: $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ - “who?” (OND 195), with emphatic $-\sigma\eta$ signaling the leftward movement of the question word (wh-movement.² The answer is found in 16 $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\eta\eta\epsilon\lambda o\varsigma\tau o\gamma\mu\iota\chi a\eta\eta\lambda[i]$.
 $\epsilon\iota . . \kappa a$: probably a form derived from $\epsilon\iota\tau$ - “man” or $\epsilon\tau\kappa$ - “mankind” (OND 80), with accusative $-\kappa a$, as the object of 15 $\kappa a\kappa\kappa a$.
- 15 $\epsilon\sigma\kappa\iota\tau a\kappa$: $\epsilon\sigma\kappa$ - “to conquer” (OND 61), with passive $-\iota\tau a\kappa$ and predicative $-\alpha$, attributive to 14 $\epsilon\iota . . \kappa a$.
 $[[\kappa a]]\kappa a\kappa\kappa a$: $\kappa a\kappa$ - “to bear” (OND 83), with assimilated present tense $-\rho$ and predicative $-\alpha$. For the erroneously duplicated and erased κa cf. SC 9.1-3 $\gamma a\iota\sigma\eta\Delta o\gamma\rho\tau o\gamma\gamma a\lambda\kappa\bar{\varphi}[\varphi\iota\kappa a]\{\kappa a\}\kappa a\kappa\kappa a\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\eta a$.
- 16 $\tau\alpha\rho$: third person singular pronoun, referring to 16 $\mu\iota\chi a\eta\eta\lambda[i]$
 $\alpha\eta\eta\epsilon\lambda o\varsigma\tau o\gamma\rho$ “archangel” (OND 3).
- 17 $\tau\eta\lambda\lambda\iota\lambda\lambda a$: $\tau\eta\lambda$ “God,” with determiner $-\iota\lambda$ and dative $-\lambda a$. The third lambda is written above the line. Cf. 12 $\tau\eta\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\lambda\epsilon$.
 $\tau\omega\epsilon\kappa\tau\bar{\epsilon}\varsigma\kappa\lambda\epsilon\eta\kappa\omega$: participial form with $\tau\omega\epsilon\kappa$ - “power” (OND 177), with benefactive $-\tau\bar{\rho}$ with regressive assimilation of the *rho* before preterite 2 $-c$, followed by present tense participial marker/determiner $-\lambda$ and conjunction $-\epsilon\eta\kappa\omega$ “but” (OND 58), here translated with “well.” $\tau\eta\lambda\lambda\iota\lambda\lambda a\tau\omega\epsilon\kappa\tau\bar{\epsilon}\varsigma\kappa\lambda$ is an attributive relative clause depending on 16 $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\eta\eta\epsilon\lambda o\varsigma\tau o\gamma\mu\iota\chi a\eta\eta\lambda[i]$.
- 18 $\mu\iota\chi a\eta\eta\lambda o$: with focus marker $-o$ (which loses the initial lambda after proper names and pronouns)
 $\bar{\alpha}\epsilon\tau\varsigma a$: $\alpha\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ “to be excellent” (OND 23), with preterite 2 $-c$ followed by predicative $-\alpha$ (cf. ONG 50 n. 49).
- 19 $\gamma\bar{\rho}\rho a$: $\gamma\bar{\rho}$ - “to cast” (OND 32) with present tense $-\rho$ and predicative $-\alpha$. Cf. 1 $o\gamma a\lambda\lambda\iota\delta\bar{o}\kappa\epsilon\rho a\lambda o$.

² See VAN GERVEN OEI, *A Possible Grammar of Old Nubian*.

ΔΙΔΒΟΛΟΚΔ: ΔΙΔΒΟΛΟC “devil” (OND 44), with accusative, as the object of ἱπῖρα.

τλ`λ'κ[Δ]: τλλ “God,” with accusative case, as the object of an illegible verb on the next line.

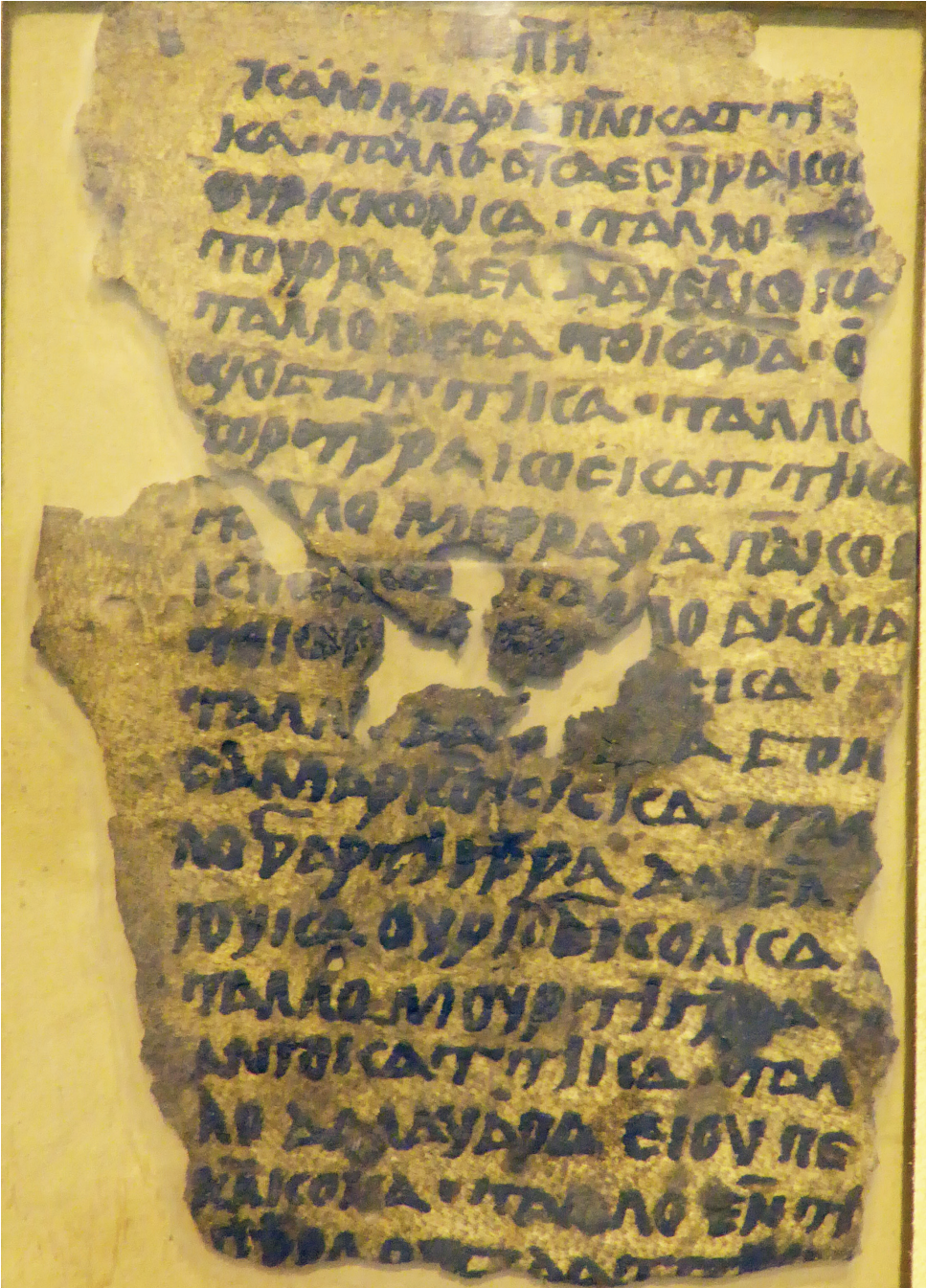


Fig. 4. P. Attiri 2.ii (snm 23045). Photo by Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei.

P. Attiri 2 (SNM 23045, ±10×15 cm)
ii – hair side

- π̄η
- καμναρα π̄ηκαττι
 2 κα · ταλλο κ̄δεσ̄ρα κοε
 ουγκοκκα · ταλλο τ̄ογ̄`λο̄
 4 τογ̄ρα δελ̄ δαγελκοκα ·
 ταλλο δεσα τοκαρα · ̄ο̄
 6 ογοατ̄τικα · ταλλο
 ρορτ̄ρα κοκατ̄τικα[·]
 8 ταλλο μερραρα π̄δκοε
 κ̄ιξ̄ . ρο[κα ·] ταλλο ακμα
 10 τ̄ῑρο̄ [2–3]ε̄ο̄[2–3]ςκα ·
 ταλλ[ο] δ̄α [3–4] δεοκ̄
 12 σαμαρκοκκα · ταλ
 λο ο̄αρτιγ̄ρα δαγελ̄
 14 γογκα ουρ̄κοκκα .
 ταλλο μογ̄τιγ̄ρ̄[ρ]α
 16 αν̄γοκατ̄τικα · ταλ
 λο δαλαγαρα ειογ̄ πε
 18 κ̄λκονα · ταλλο ε̄ντι
 τ̄ρρα οῡε̄ιδ̄ατ̄τικα

l. 18: read κ̄λκοκα

[It is he who] [...] beats pugnacity. It is he who overcomes the power-hungry. It is he who secures the big-hearted inside. It is he who liberated the enslaved. It is he who messes up evil. It is he who cuts off [...]. It is he who [...]. It is he who [...] the drunk. It is he who makes those who hunger for great things swear an oath. It is he who causes thoughtfulness to rule. It is he who has made abundant grain glow. It is he who [...] wisdom. [...]

𐌸𐌹: 88

- 1 **κΑΜΜΑΡΑ:** unattested form of κῆμ/κοῦμ “to beat” (OND 91), with preterite 1 -αρ and predicative -α. Nearly all verbs on this page follow this basic morphological scheme. Considering the syntactical uniformity of the following sequence, it would be safe to assume that the last or penultimate word on the last line of the 2.i is τΑΛΛΟ.

𐌸𐌹ΚΑΤΤΙΚΑ: 𐌸𐌹 “to fight” (OND 152) with nominalizer -αττ, meaning “pugnacity,” and accusative -κα.

- 2 **τΑΛΛΟ:** third person singular personal pronoun ταρ- with focus marker -λο. Also in 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12–13, 15, 16–17, 18. A similar sequence of sentences starting with τΑΛΛΟ appears in SC 18.5, 9, 10, 12, 25; 19.6, where Browne insistently translates with an English cleft sentence construction “It is he...” The referent in SC is the Cross and in P. Attiri 2.ii is Michael.

σΚΔΕΣΡΡΑ: compound verb of εκ “to conquer” (OND 61) and ΔΕΣ “to be free” (OND 43) with present tense -ρ and predicative -α. A possible translation could be “to overcome.”

ΚΟΦΟΥΡΚΚΟΚΑ: complex participial form consisting of κοῆ “power” (OND 96) and the unattested verb ουρκ “to be hungry,” cf. KD *org* “hungern” (Reinisch 134), followed by adjective formant -κο, determiner/present tense -λ, and accusative -κα. A logical translation would be “the power-hungry.” Note that the Stauros text has παψ(ψ) for “to be hungry” (OND 148), related to the N *fañ*. It is unclear whether we are here dealing with synonyms or a dialectal differentiation.

- 3 **τΟΥ`ΛΟΥ`:** τΟΥ “belly” (OND 181) with locative -λο. This form is possibly used adverbially, with the meaning “inside.”
- 4 **ΤΟΥΡΡΑ:** ΤΟΥΔ “to be secure” (OND 182¹) with present tense -ρ and predicative -α.

ΔΕΛ ΔΑΥΕΛΚΟΚΑ: complex adjective consisting of ΔΕΛ “heart” (OND 7) and ΔΑΥΕΛ “great” (OND 37), with adjective formant -κο and accusative -κα: “big-hearted.”

- 5 **ΔΕΣΑ ΤΟΚΑΡΑ:** ΔΕΣ “to be free,” cf. 2 σΚΔΕΣΡΡΑ, followed by ΤΟΚ “to let go,” with preterite 1 -αρ and predicative -α. Note the contrast in formation with 2 σΚΔΕΣΡΡΑ, where the two verbs are fully integrated without intervening -α. Perhaps the reason for this is to be sought in metrical constraints (see Metrical Analysis below). Note also that ΤΟΚΑΡΑ appears to be a preterite form, rather than a present tense.

ῬΟΥΟΓΑΤΤΙΚΑ: ῬΟΥΟ “to enslave” (OND 129) with nominalizer -αττ and accusative -κα.

1 Note that Browne lists ΤΟΥΔ as an intransitive verb even though it here clearly has an object. So perhaps the lemma in OND should be adjusted.

- 7 ζορτῆρα: unknown verb ζορτ, possibly related to N *kurt* “zerkrümeln, zerbröckeln; trampeln” (Khalil 61), D *kürt* “tangle, make tangled” (Armbruster 133), and K *kürt* “umrühren” (Mas-senbach 192), with transitive -ῆ, present tense -ρ and predica-tive -α. Here translated with “to mess up,” which carries all the above overtones.
 ΚΟΚΑΤΤΙΚΑ: ΚΟΚΤῆτ “evil” (OND 100), with accusative -κα.
- 8 μερραρα: unknown verb, perhaps related to N *merre* “abschnei-den, abhauen” (Lepsius 362).
 ΠΔΚΟΞΚΙΚ . ζο[κα]: unknown simple or complex adjective with -κο, with reconstructed accusative -κα in the lacuna.
- 9 ακματῆρολ: perhaps a compound with ακ “to sit, remain” (OND 8).
 -ζκα: ending in accusative -κα.
- 12 σαμαρκοκκα: σαμαρ “intoxication” (OND 156) with verbal root κο, “to have,” participial marker or determiner -λ assimilated before accusative -κα. The triple *kappa* hardly seems a scribal error, as the scribe makes generally no mistakes, and has cor-rected the only one so far, cf. 2.i.15 [[κᾶ]]κακκα. Perhaps the tri-ple kappa indicates the artificial lengthening of a syllable (see Metrical Analysis, overleaf).
- 13 οαρτιῆρα: unknown verb, possibly related to N *jorti* “Schwur, Eid,” (Khalil 133), sim. KD (Reinisch 61), possibly ending in caus-ative -ῆ, with present tense -ρ and predicative -α.
 ΔΔΥΕΛΓΟΥΚΑ: ΔΔΥΕῶ “great,” with plural -ΓΟΥ and -κα. The plu-ractional suffix on ΟΥΡΚῶΚΟΚΑ indicate that this is its object.
- 14 ουρκῶκοκκα: ουρκ “to be hungry,” with pluractional -ῶ, verbal root κο, participial marker or determiner -λ, and accusative -κα. Cf. 2 ΚΟΞΟΥΡΚΟΚΚΑ, which is without pluractional suffix and with an incorporated object.
- 15 μογρτιῆρ[ρ]α: μογρτ “to rule” (OND 121), with causative -ῆρ, present tense -ρ, and predicative -α.
- 16 ἀηροκαττικα: possibly composed of ἀηρο- from ἀηρ “to think, re-member” (OND 12), nominalizer -καττ, and accusative -κα.
- 17 ΔΔΛΑΥΑΡΑ: complex verb consisting of ΔΔΛ “to glow” (OND 34) and ΔΥ “to make,” with preterite 1 -αρ, and predicative -α. Cf. SC 18.7 ΜΑΩΑΚΚΑ ΔΔΛ ΔΥΑ.
 ειογ: ειογ “grain” (OND 82).
 πεκλκονα: read πεκλκκοκα: “to pour in” (OND 148), with deter-miner -λ, verbal root -κο, and accusative -κα. The role of the determiner before -κο is unclear, but -λ has been attested to in-tervene, under as yet unknown circumstances (see ONG §3.9.13), between two verbal roots. Perhaps in this case the motivation is metrical (see Metrical Analysis, overleaf).

- 18 $\epsilon\bar{\eta}\tau\tau\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}$: unknown verb, possibly ending in benefactive $-\tau\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}$, present tense $-\rho$, and predicative $-\alpha$.
- 19 $\omicron\gamma\bar{\tau}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\tau}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}$: unattested noun “wisdom,” possibly a variant of $\omicron\gamma\bar{\eta}\epsilon$ “wisdom” (OND 137), ending in nominalizer $-\Delta\bar{\Delta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\tau}$ and accusative case $-\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}$.

Metrical Analysis

The seemingly regular structure of all the clauses on P. Attiri 2.ii, their more or less equal length (twelve units, i.e., a dodecasyllable or Alexandrine), as well as a few curious orthographical features, suggest that their prosodic structure might have been similar, and thus the possibility that these lines may have been chanted or rhythmically recited.

We know very little about Old Nubian phonology and prosody, but robust comparative evidence from other Nile Nubian languages allows us to assume that ON syllables were (C)V(C), with a differentiation between long and short vowels, which however is not marked in the orthography (cf. ONG §2.1.1). However, ON vowel lengths can, as we will see, often be deduced from comparative evidence.

Let us first organize our material under the assumption that the basic unit is a (C)V(C) syllable, where X symbolizes (part of) an unreconstructed syllable:

Table 6. P. Attiri 2.ii organized based on syllable count

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
<i>a</i>	$\kappa\bar{\alpha}\bar{\eta}$	$\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$	$\rho\bar{\alpha}$	$\pi\bar{\eta}$	$\kappa\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}$	$\tau\bar{\iota}$	$\kappa\bar{\alpha}$							
<i>b</i>	$\tau\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}$	$\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}$	$c\bar{\kappa}$	$\Delta\epsilon$	$c\bar{\rho}$	$\rho\bar{\alpha}$	$\kappa\bar{\omicron}$	ϵ	$\omicron\gamma\bar{\rho}\kappa$	$\kappa\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$	$\kappa\bar{\alpha}$			
<i>c</i>	$\tau\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}$	$\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}$	$\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}$	$\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}$	$\tau\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\rho}$	$\rho\bar{\alpha}$	$\bar{\alpha}$	$\epsilon\bar{\lambda}$	$\Delta\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}$	$\epsilon\bar{\lambda}$	$\kappa\bar{\omicron}$	$\kappa\bar{\alpha}$		
<i>d</i>	$\tau\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}$	$\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}$	$\Delta\epsilon$	$c\bar{\alpha}$	$\tau\bar{\omicron}$	$\kappa\bar{\alpha}$	$\rho\bar{\alpha}$	$\bar{\omicron}$	$\omega\bar{\omicron}$	$\epsilon\bar{\lambda}\bar{\tau}$	$\tau\bar{\iota}$	$\kappa\bar{\alpha}$		
<i>e</i>	$\tau\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}$	$\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}$	$\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\rho}$	$\tau\bar{\rho}$	$\rho\bar{\alpha}$	$\kappa\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}$	$\kappa\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}$	$\tau\bar{\iota}$	$\kappa\bar{\alpha}$					
<i>f</i>	$\tau\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}$	$\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}$	$\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}$	$\rho\bar{\alpha}$	$\rho\bar{\alpha}$	$\pi\bar{\alpha}$	$\kappa\bar{\omicron}$	ϵ	$\kappa\bar{\iota}$	$\bar{\kappa}$	X	$\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}$	$[\kappa\bar{\alpha}]$	
<i>g</i>	$\tau\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}$	$\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}$	$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}$	$\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$	$\tau\bar{\iota}$	$\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$	X	X	$\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\omicron}$	X	X	$\bar{\zeta}$	$\kappa\bar{\alpha}$	
<i>h</i>	$\tau\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}$	$\bar{\lambda}[\bar{\omicron}]$	$\Delta\bar{\alpha}$	X	$X\bar{\alpha}$	$\epsilon\bar{\omicron}\bar{\kappa}$	$c\bar{\alpha}$	$\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}$	$\kappa\bar{\omicron}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\kappa}$	$\kappa\bar{\alpha}$				
<i>i</i>	$\tau\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}$	$\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}$	$\bar{\omicron}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}$	$\tau\bar{\iota}$	$\bar{\gamma}\bar{\rho}$	$\rho\bar{\alpha}$	$\Delta\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}$	$\epsilon\bar{\lambda}$	$\bar{\gamma}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}$	$\kappa\bar{\alpha}$	$\omicron\bar{\gamma}\bar{\rho}$	$\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}$	$\bar{\zeta}$	$\kappa\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$
<i>j</i>	$\tau\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}$	$\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}$	$\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\rho}$	$\tau\bar{\iota}$	$\bar{\gamma}\bar{\rho}$	$[\bar{\rho}]$	$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\eta}$	$\bar{\gamma}\bar{\omicron}$	$\kappa\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}$	$\tau\bar{\iota}$	$\kappa\bar{\alpha}$			
<i>k</i>	$\tau\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}$	$\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}$	$\Delta\bar{\alpha}$	$\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}$	$\bar{\alpha}$	$\rho\bar{\alpha}$	$\epsilon\bar{\iota}$	$\omicron\bar{\gamma}$	$\pi\bar{\epsilon}$	$\bar{\kappa}\bar{\lambda}$	$\kappa\bar{\omicron}$	$\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}$		
<i>l</i>	$\tau\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}$	$\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}$	$\epsilon\bar{\eta}$	$\tau\bar{\iota}$	$\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}$	$\rho\bar{\alpha}$	$\omicron\bar{\gamma}$	$\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}$	$\Delta\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}$	$\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}$	$\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}$			

As we can gather from Table 6, sentences *c*, *d*, *f*, *g*, and *k* have 12 syllables, whereas the others seem to be shorter, with the exception

of *i*, which is 14 syllables long. Once we start reconstructing vowel length, however, it seems the pattern becomes more regular. We then need to assume that the basic prosodic unit for this composition is not a syllable but a foot, and that syllables with heavy codas or long vowel count as two feet.

First this means that *b* ογρκ and *h* κοκκ count for two feet, which gives a metrical explanation for the curious triple *kappa* in 12. We also know that the root *e* κορτ may have a long vowel (cf. KD *kürt*), as do *g* ακ (cf. NKD *āg*) and possibly *h* σαμαρ (cf. D *sāmar*). Although *c* already has the correct length, we know that as a noun τΟΥ has a long vowel (cf. NKD *tū*), although it may here have been shortened because it is used adverbially, cf. the shortening of 1.i.7 ΜΑΝΤΑΚΛΩ.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
<i>a</i>	[ταλ λο]	X	X	X	καμ	μα	ρα	πῆ	κατ	τι	κα			
<i>b</i>	ταλ	λο	κῆ	δε	κῆ	ρα	κο	ε	ογρκ		κολ	κα		
<i>c</i>	ταλ	λο	του	λο	τουρ	ρα	ᾱ	εῖ	δαγ	εῖ	κο	κα		
<i>d</i>	ταλ	λο	δε	σα	το	κα	ρα	ō	ωο	εᾱτ	τι	κα		
<i>e</i>	ταλ	λο	κορ		τῆ	ρα	κοκ	κατ	τι	κα				
<i>f</i>	ταλ	λο	μερ	ρα	ρα	πᾱ	κο	ε	κι	κ	X	κο	[κα]	
<i>g</i>	ταλ	λο	ακ		μα	τι	κολ	X	το	X	κ	κα		
<i>h</i>	ταλ	λ[ο]	δα	X	X	εοκ	σα		μαρ	κοκκ		κα		
<i>i</i>	ταλ	λο	δαρ	τι	τῆ	ρα	δαγ	εῖ	τογ	κα	ογρ	κῶ	κολ	κα
<i>j</i>	ταλ	λο	μογρ	τι	τῆ	[p]α	αν	το	κατ	τι	κα			
<i>k</i>	ταλ	λο	δα	λαγ	α	ρα	ει	ογ	πε	κῶ	κο	μα		
<i>l</i>	ταλ	λο	εῖ	τι	τῆ	ρα	ογ		ε!	δατ	τι	κα		

Table 7. P. Attiri 2.ii organized by feet

Table 7 gives a much more regular pattern, which suggests that vowel length and complex codas were taken into consideration when composing rhythmicized text. It also offers a possible explanation for certain orthographical features of this text, and perhaps accounts for stylistic choices such as the complex verb construction 2 κῆδεκῆρα in contrast with the multiverb construction 5 δεσα τοκαρα. Note also that in *g* feet 9 and 10 can be interchanged, as the lacunae on both sides are 2–3 characters long. Moreover, filling out *a* suggests that there is another word on the previous page, perhaps a verb ending in predicative -α between reconstructed ταλλο and 1 καμμαρα.

What appears is a remarkably even distribution of certain syllables in specific positions throughout all twelve lines. First is the consistent appearance of ταλλο as the first two syllables, but also τι as fourth syllable in *i*, *j*, *l*; -ρ as fifth in *b*, *c*, *e*, *i*, *j*, *l*; -α as sixth in *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *i*, *j*, *k*, *l*; κ- as eleventh in *b*, *c*, *f*, *j*, *k*; and κα as twelfth in *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*,

f, g, h, l. All of this strongly suggests the presence of a specific rhyming scheme, or at least a composition technique that took the sound quality of the text into account.

These results, however, remain speculative until more is understood about both Old Nubian phonology and Nubian traditions of oral delivery.

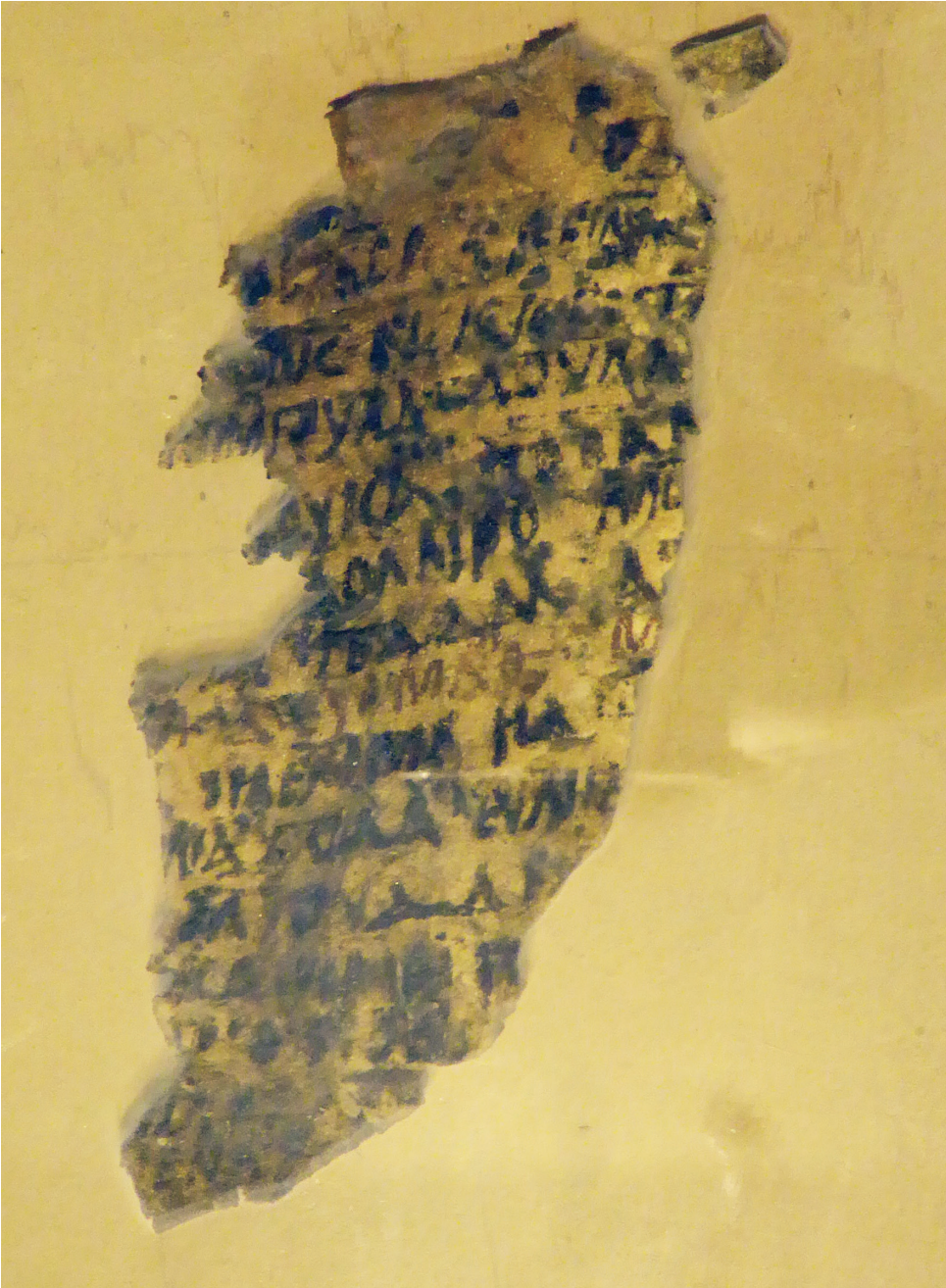


Fig. 5. P. Attiri 3.i (SNM 23045). Photo by Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei.

P. Attiri 3-4 Lectionary

Two folia of a parchment codex with a text written in black and red ink in Old Nubian majuscules.

P. Attiri 3 (SNM 23045, ±5×10 cm)
i - hair side

- ⲟⲩⲥ
- [- - -]ⲓⲈ̅ ⲭⲈ̅ⲗⲁⲉ̅ ⲉⲓⲛ̅ . . [- - -]
- 2 [- - -] . ⲕ̅ ⲛⲁⲕⲁ ⲧ . [- - -]
[- - -] . ⲛ̅ⲒⲐⲐⲓⲗⲁ ⲁⲟⲩⲗⲗ[- - -]
- 4 [- - -] ⲟⲩⲕⲁ ⲧ̅ⲟ̅ⲩ̅ⲁ̅ . [- - -]
[- - -]ⲁⲟⲗⲗⲓⲣⲟ̅ . ⲕ̅[- - -]
- 6 [- - -] . . ⲧⲉ̅ⲁⲁⲁⲗ ⲁⲧ̅[- - -]
[- - -] + . ⲉ̅Ⲯ̅ . ⲙⲁⲑ̅ . ⲙ̅[ⲑ̅ - -]
- 8 [- - -] . . ⲉ̅ⲛ̅ⲙ̅ⲉ̅ ⲙ̅ⲗ[- - -]
[- - -] . ⲣⲁ ⲉⲟⲗⲁ ⲉ̅ⲓⲛ̅ⲛ̅[- - -]
- 10 [- - -]ⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲉ̅[- - -]
[- - -]ⲕⲁ . . . [- - -]
- 12 [- - -] . ⲉ̅ⲗⲟ̅ . [- - -]
[- - -]ⲗ̅ . . [- - -]
- 14 [- - -]ⲉ̅ⲛ̅[- - -]

And Jesus Christ is [...] be in [...] giving to [...] we/you wish [...] with them [...].

Gospel of Matthew, [Ammonian Section] 49 [...]
(Mt. 6:25) [...] gulp/eat [...] and you (pl.) [...]

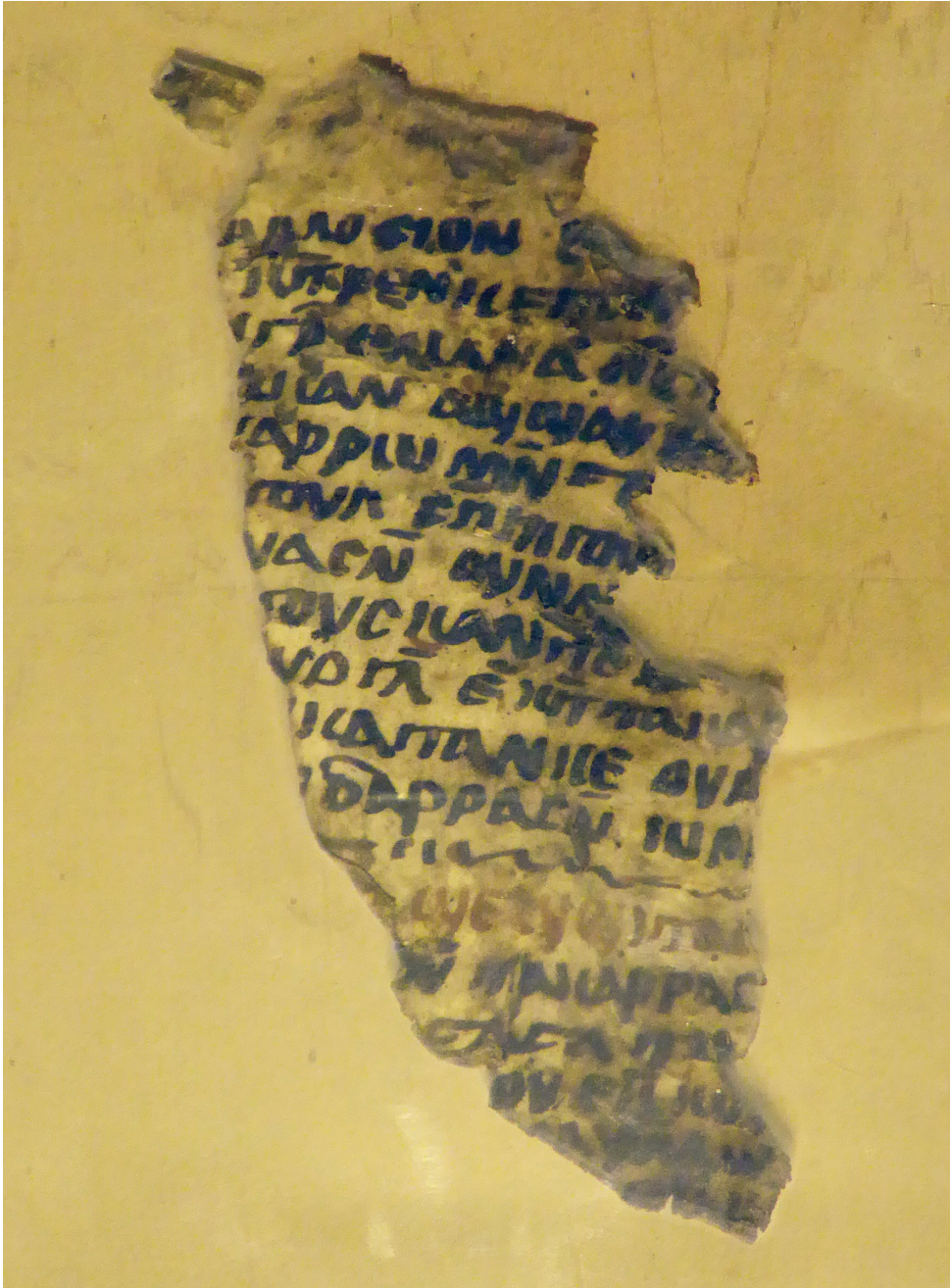


Fig. 6. P. Attiri 3.ii (SNM 23045). Photo by Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei.

P. Attiri 3 (SNM 23045, ±5×10 cm)
ii – flesh side

- [OH]
- [- - -] αλλοειον ε[- - -]
- 2 [- - -] κτρενκετ[αλλε ·]
 [- - -] . ΓΡΕΝΑΝΔ ΠΩΤ[ΕΥ - -]
- 4 [- - Μ] ακαν αωωαγκ[ατανκε - -]
 [- - -] . αρρω μη εε[- - -]
- 6 [- - -] γογλ σπππγογλ[- - -]
 [- - -] ηασν ογνη[- - -]
- 8 [- - -] τΟΥΚΑΝΤΕΛ[Ο - -]
 [- - Ο] ΥΡΓΛ ΕΚΤΓΑΚΑΡ[ΡΑ ·]
- 10 [- - ΜΑΚΑΝ ΑΩΩΑΥ] ΚΑΤΑΝΚΕ ΟΥΔ[- - -]
 [- - -] . ΟΑΡΡΑΣΝ ΩΡ . [- - -]
- 12 //////////////////////////////////////
- [- - -] ΩΕΩΩΙΤΑΝ[- - -]
- 14 [- - -] ἦ τακαρραç[ἦ - -]
 [- - -] ΕΔΓΑ Τ . [- - -]
- 16 [- - -] ΟΥΕΚΚΟ . [- - -]
 [- - -] . ἀψλλω[- - -]
- 18 [- - -]

(Mt 6:30) [...] and [to morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not [much more clothe [you, O ye of little] faith?

(31) Therefore take no thought, [saying, What] shall we [eat? or,] What [shall we] drink? [or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed?]

(32) [(For) after all these things [do] the Gentiles [seek:)] for your [heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.]

(33) [But seek ye] first [the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall] be added unto you.

(34) Take therefore no thought [for the morrow:] for [the morrow] shall take [...]

[...] *Sixty times/of sixty* [...]

[...] that will be covered [...]

[OH]: 78

- 1 -αλλοειον: ending in a locative or focus marker -λο and complementizer -ειον.
- 2 κῑρηνκεῖαλλε: κῑτ “to put on oneself” (OND 94) with transitive suffix -ρ “to dress someone” and third person singular present tense ending -εν suggesting a subordinate clause, followed by the -κεταλλε “also.” Cf. P. QI I 4.ii.11-12 Δῑενκεταλ “even if he dies.”
- 3 -ῑρηανᄁ: either a verbal form with causative -ῑρ or an unknown adverb with -ῑρ meaning “rather” or “much more.”
ῑῑῑ[εγ: Greek loanword ῑῑτεγ(ει) “to believe” (OND 153).
- 4 ῑ]ακαν: ῑακαν “therefore” (OND 109). The only letter attested to appear before the sequence ακαν is *mu*.
αῡῡαγῑ[ατανκε: form of the verb αῡῡαγῑ “to fear, worry” (OND 21), followed by habitual suffix -κ and second person plural vetitive -τανκε. The reconstruction is based on the repetition of the same phrase in 9, in both cases translating the Greek μῑ οὔν μεριμνήσητε (see General Introduction, p. 21). Cf. 1.ii.20 αῡῡα[.
- 5 -αρρω: verb form with the intentional suffix -αΔ followed by first/second person plural present tense with predicative -ρω.
ῑῑ: question word ῑῑ (OND 117).
εῑ:- εῑ(ι) “to drink” (OND 200).
- 6 -ῑογλ: plural suffix -ῑογ followed by determiner -λ. Perhaps to be reconstructed as ῑῡῡαν]ῑογλ or εῑῑῑ]ῑογλ.
εῑῑῑῑογλ:- εῑῑ- “nation” (OND 159) with plural -ῑογ and determiner -λ, here used in the meaning of “Gentile.”
- 7 -ῑαεῑ: noun or verb with emphatic suffix -εῑ.
ογῑῑ:- genitive of a second person plural pronoun, cf. 9 ο]ῑρῑλ.
- 8 ῑογκαντελ[ο: ῑογκानτε(λο) “(at) first” (OND 184).
- 9 ο]ῑρῑλ: second person plural pronoun ογρ- with directive -ῑλ. There is a second red stroke above the *lambda*,
εῑῑῑῑακαρ[ρα]-: εῑ(κ)- “to bring” (OND 66), with transitive -ῑρ and passive -τακ, followed by preterite 1 -αρ and reconstructed intentional -ρ and predicative.
αῡῡαγῑ]κατανκε: reconstructed based on the same phrase in 4, ending in the second person plural vetitive -τανκε.
- 10 -ᄁαρραεῑ: verbal form ending in pluractional -ᄁ, intentional -αΔ, present/neutral tense -ρ, and predicative -α (what Browne calls a “future predicative,” ONG §3.9.6), followed by emphatic marker -εῑ.
- 13 ῡεῡῡῑῑῑῑ: possibly a form of a Ge’ez loanword meaning “sixty” (see General Introduction, p. 24)

- 14 τὰκαρραῖ[ν̄: perhaps a form of τὰκ- “to be covered” (OND 163) with intentional -αα, present/neutral -ρ, predicative -α, followed by emphatic -σ̄ν̄. Cf. 11] . δᾶρρασν̄.
- 15 -εᾶεα: perhaps a verbal form ending in inchoative -αε and predicative -α.
- 16 οὔεῖεε-: perhaps an adjectival form of οὔεᾶ- “second” (OND 134) with κόν “to have” or a verbal form of οὔεεκ “to throw” (OND 132).
- 17 -ᾶψᾶλᾶω: unknown nominal form, perhaps simply ᾶψ “to live” (OND 23), ending in determiner -λ and locative or focus marker -λᾶω.



Fig. 7. P. Attiri 4.i (SNM 23045). Photo by Alexandros Tsakos.

P. Attiri 4 (SNM 23045, ±7×18 cm)
i - hair side

The two fragments with the same find no. are united in the transcription, because the straight cut of the two pieces produces a continuous reading if joined together using the red lines in each as a guide. Further proof of the unity of these two fragments is given by matching smudges in the writing as well as the overall consistency of the writing.

The line of separation is marked with [] in the transcription.

±3 lines

- 4 [- -] . Ν . [- -]
 [- -] ΔΝΝ[] . . [- -]
 6 [- -] Ο]ΥΚ[]Ν̄ ΤΑ[1-2]
 [- -] . . []ΟΥΝΑ .
 8 [- -] . . []C . . ε
 [- -] . . [] . . ΝΙΑ
 10 [- -] . . []ΝΑΛΟ . .

line with decoration

- 12 [- -] . . ΔΠC
 [- -] Ν . [] . . . ΜΔ
 14 [- -] Ν . []

± 2 lines

- [- -] . . ΤΑΚΑ
 18 [- -] . ΑΡΟΥ ΤΑΥΛΛΩ
 [- -] ΔCΩ ΚΟΥΡΑΦΕ
 20 [- -] . ΚΑCΗ ΠΑ ΚΕΝ .
 [- -] . . . Δ' ΕΓΔ . . [2-3]

[...]

[...] *Apostle*(?)

(2 Cor 12) [...] deceit [...] brother [...]

- 12 $\underline{\lambda\pi\zeta}$: perhaps to be read as $\lambda\pi<o>c[\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, cf. 4.ii.8 $\tau\lambda\theta\`{\tau}\zeta$: This reading seems to be confirmed by the fact that the text below can be identified with a section from Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians (see General Introduction, p. 22).
- 18 $\tau\lambda\gamma\lambda\bar{\omega}$: unknown word ending in locative or focus marker $-\lambda\omega$.
- 19 $-\lambda\zeta\omega$: the end of an imperative form, either a second/third person plural or predicative $-\lambda$ followed by $-\omega$.
 $\kappa\omicron\gamma\tau\alpha\phi\epsilon$: $\kappa\omicron\gamma\tau\alpha\phi\epsilon$ "deceit" (OND 102).
- 20 $\bar{\epsilon}\tau\lambda-$: $\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\lambda$ "brother" (OND 62).



Fig. 8. P. Attiri 4.ii (SNM 23045). Photo by Alexandros Tsakos.

P. Attiri 4 (SNM 23045, ±7×18 cm)
ii – flesh side

- [- - -]ελ[- - -]
 2 [- - -]γορ[- - -]
 [- - -]αλε[- - -]
 4 [- - -]οϋρ[- - -]
 ει[]φττ[- - -]
 6 κε[]ταλ[- - -]
 Ν\Τ´ ΗΣ . [1-2]ΚΥ\Κ´ . [- - -]
 8 ΤΛΟ\Τ´ Ϛ[]ακε . [- - -]
 ΔΗΟΥ[]έμ[- - -]
 10 πιδεφ[]ραΔ[- - -]
 εἴνα[]να . [- - -]
 12 αΔΔεν[]οϋ π[- - -]
 αφοίϙ[] . οϋτρ[- - -]
 14 τοκελλο[1-2]οκκα[- - -]
 αροϋλο εν[]ήρο[γ - - -]
 16 τικῆ κττι[]κα[- - -]
 γαγέ ειηλ . τε . [- - -]
 18 Ϛϙ οϋγγλελα[- - -]
 ηϚαλ ογέλα εν . [- - -]
 20 μενναναλο . ε . [- - - α]
 μηϙανδε κοϚ[- - -]
 22 [- - -]

l. 8: alternative reading τλοϚ

[...] commit [...] and also [...].

Fast; Sunday [...] *Apostle(?)* [...]

begging [...] they are [...] and [...] in the Savior/life [...] forgiving [...]
 these [...] garment of [...] are [...] they are not [...] and all [...]

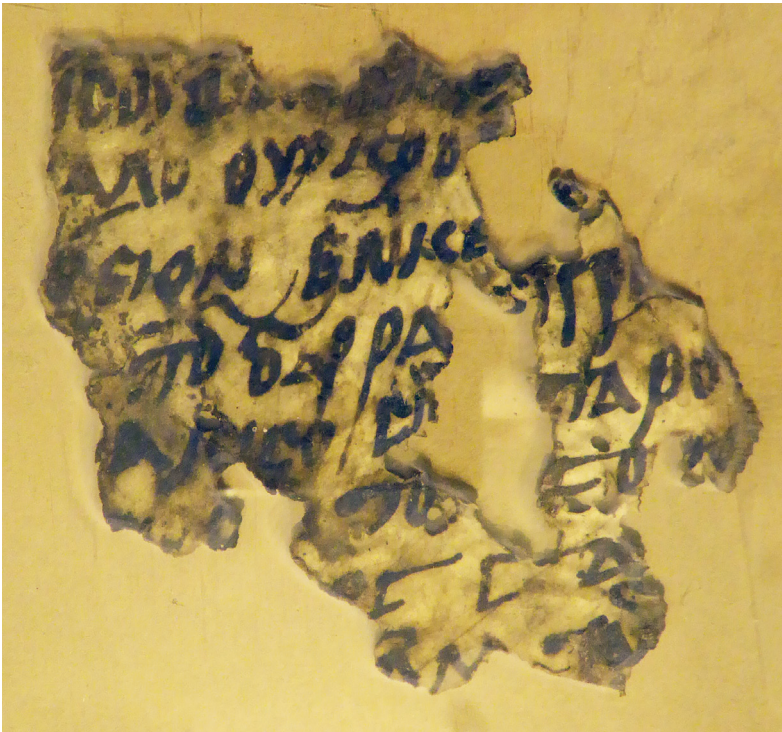


Fig. 9. P. Attiri 5.i (SNM 23045). Photo by Vincent WJ. van Gerven Oei.

P. Attiri 5

Unidentified fragment

An unidentified parchment fragment from the middle of a page. It preserves 8 lines of text that are written with black ink in Nubian majuscules.

P. Attiri 5 (SNM 23045, ±7×7 cm)

i – flesh side

- [- - -] ICOCY . KA [- - -]
 2 [- - -] . ALO OYPKPO . [- - -]
 [- - -] . EION ENKE [1–2] . [- - -]
 4 [- - -] T̄ŌD̄APPA [1] IΓPA [- - -]
 [- - -] AKICO C̄I [Γ] TAPOCY [- - -]
 6 [- - -] TOY [1] EO [Y] N [- - -]
 [- - -] ETEA . [- - -]
 8 [- - -] X̄LA T̄ĀŌ [- - -]

[...] we/you are hungry [...]. And [...] will give (them) [...] we remained(?) blessed nations [...] brother [...]

- 1 -ICOCY: possibly the ending of a Greek loanword.
- 2 -ALO: possibly an ending in predicative -A and focus marker -LO.
OYPKPO: OYK “to be hungry,” cf. 2.ii.2, 14, with present tense first/second plural predicative -PO.
- 3 -EION: complementizer -EION, beginning of a new sentence.
- 4 T̄ŌD̄APPA: full verb form of TP “to give,” with pluractional -Ō, intentional -A, present tense -P, and predicative -A.
-IΓPA-: perhaps a verbal form with causative -IΓP.
- 5 AKICO: if this is an entire verb form, it may be AK “to sit, remain” (OND 8) with preterite 2 -IC and first/second person plural and predicative -O.
C̄I [Γ]: probably C̄IΓ “nation, people,” (OND 159).
TAPOCY-: possibly TAPOCY(OY) “to bless, praise” (OND 167).
- 6 EO [Y] N-: beginning of an unknown word.
- 7 ETEA-: possibly ETEA “brother” (OND 62).
- 8 -X̄LA: possibly a determiner followed by a dative ending in -X̄-LA.
T̄ĀŌ-: if the preceding word ends in a dative then perhaps a form of T̄ĀŌ “to call” (OND 168).



Fig. 10. P. Attiri 5.ii (SNM 23045). Photo by Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei.

P. Attiri 5 (SNM 23045, ±7×7 cm)
ii – hair side

- [- - -]
 2 [- - -]. λ . ἀλλήκ [- - -]
 [- - -] ἐν . . . τῆκιν [- - -]
 4 [- - -] ἀπὸ [- - -]
 [- - -] ἀγὰ [- - -]
 6 [- - -] μεκ [4–5] γλλ [- - -]
 [- - -] ἀτὸς [1–2] κ [- - -]
 8 [- - -] ἐφ . . . ἀ . . . τὰ [- - -]
 [- - -] ἐ [- - -]

- 7 -ἀτὸς: perhaps a part of a Greek loanword.
 8 τὰ -: there are a variety of ON words starting with τὰ -. Owing to a lack of context an educated guess is out of the question.



Fig. 11. P. Attiri 6.i (SNM 23045). Photo by Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei.

Fig. 12. P. Attiri 6.ii (SNM 23045). Photo by Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei.

P. Attiri 6 Fragment

A scrap of parchment with traces of writing in black ink on both sides. There are two distinctive scripts, a smaller one written on the upper margin of the flesh side, which appear to be traces of a scribe trying out his pen,¹ and a larger one both on the flesh and the hair side, which paleographically appears more like a Coptic majuscule than Old Nubian, owing to the absence of a distinctly slanted appearance. Also the suspected presence of a *hori* with a closed upper loop in line 3 suggests Coptic. Apart from the lines of trial characters and lines, we can discern four lines of Coptic/Old Nubian on the flesh side. The hair side has three.

¹ We thank Willem Flinterman for this insight.

P. Attiri 6 (SNM 23045, ±5.5×5 cm) i – flesh side

- [- - -]N[- - -]
 2 [- - σ]ΔΥΟΝ[- - -]
 [- - -] ι [1-2] ζϛ[- - -]
 4 [- - -]

- 2 σ]ΔΥΟΝ: if indeed the text is in Coptic, the only plausible reconstruction seems to be σ]ΔΥΟΝ “servant” (GRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, 835).
 3 ζϛ: if this reading is correct and the text is Coptic then the only combination of these two letters in a single word is the verb ϛαζϛε̅ “to fight” (GRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, 839).

ii – hair side

- ϛ[- - -]
 2 . ϛϛϛ[- - -]
 . [- - -]



Fig. 13. P. Attiri 7.A-B-C, side 1 (SNM 23045). Photo by Alexandros Tsakos.

Fig. 14. P. Attiri 7.B-A-C, side 2 (SNM 23045). Photo by Alexandros Tsakos.

P. Attiri 7 Fragments

Three fragments of parchment: fragment A has a triangular shape, with sides of approx. 2 cm with writing on side one; fragment B has a square shape, with sides of approx. 2 cm with writing on side two; fragment C has a rectangular shape, measuring about 1.5 × 4 cm, containing no discernible writing.

P. Attiri 7 (SNM 23045)

A, side 1 (2×2 cm)

- [- -]εNON[- -]
 2 [- -]δ̄ΟΥδ̄[- -]
 [- -] . . [- -]

- 1 -εNON-: possibly part of a verbal form.
 2 δ̄ΟΥδ̄-: possibly a verbal form of δ̄ΟΥδ̄-ῆ “to go, proceed” (OND 194).

B, side 2 (2×2 cm)

- [- -]α![- -]
 2 [- -] . αΥ[- -]
 [- -] . . ιϚα[- -]



Fig. 15. P. Attiri 8 (SNM 23047). Photo by Alexandros Tsakos.

P. Attiri 8

The Head

SNM 23047

Very dark leather fragment of approx. 13×22.5 cm with a small hole towards the top. No text is immediately visible on Side A, but visible text on Side B suggests the existence of a single line at the top with about one line of white space, followed by thirteen lines of written text. Enhanced photographic techniques would be necessary to bring the contents of this document to light. For a discussion of its shape, see General Introduction, p. 25.



Fig.16. P. Attiri 9.B, 9.A (SNM 23047). Photo by Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei.

P. Attiri 9

Sale

Two fragments of leather inscribed only on the hair side, which at its present state preserves 12–13 lines of text. The fragment on the upper side of the photo preserves the lower margin of the writing surface and so it appears second in the transcription. Both fragments are written in the same hand and apparently belong to the same document.

P. Attiri 9 (SNM 23047)

A, lower fragment (9×10 cm)

- [4-5] ϩ [4-5] . ΟΝ [- - -]
 2 ΛΟ ΠΑ[Π]ϢΙΛΟ Τ[- - -]
 ΛΕΜΙΛΟ ΤΑΝΝ[- - -]
 4 ΤΑΠΛΛΟΝ . [- - -]
 ΤΑΕΣΑΛΟ . [- - -]
 6 ΚΟΑΛΟ ΔΙΟΥ[- - -]
 ϢΕ[Ν]ΤΟΛ[- - -]
 8 ΟΥ . Τ . [- - -]

[...] bishop [...] -lem [...] and his father [...] name [...] I [...] request
 [...]

B, upper fragment (8×5 cm)

- [- - -]Ϣ [1-2] ΛΟ [- - -]
 2 [- - -] . ΣΛΛΟ ΤΡΡ . [- - -]
 [- - -]ΕΝΔΕΙ Μ . [- - -]
 4 [- - -] . ΜΩΥΣΗ . [- - -]
 [- - -]ΟΝ ΠΑΕΙΣΕΛ[Ο - - -]
 6 [- - -]ΤΟΥΚΚΛ . [- - -]

[...] Mōusē [...] I have written [and witnessed] [...] *touski* [...]

A

- 2 πα[π]ϑιλο: possibly παπϑ̄ “bishop, father” (OND 145), with focus marker -λο.
- 3 -λεμιλο: if analyzed as a noun marked with a locative -λο, only βηθλεμ̄η “Bethlehem,” or a previously unattested variant spelling of ἱερουσαλ(η)μη “Jerusalem” would be possible here. Considering that this a land sale in Nubia, these readings seem very unlikely. Alternatively, it may be another personal name with focus marker -λο.
- 4 ταπḷλον: possibly ταπ “his father,” cf. 1.ii.7 τḷππακα, with determiner -ḷ and conjunction -λον.
- 5 τḷϑαλο: τḷϑ̄ “name” (OND 168), with predicative -α and focus marker -λο.
- 6 -ϑαλο: verbal form ending in predicative -α and focus marker -λο.
 αἰϑϑ: first person singular pronoun.
- 7 ϑϑ[η]τολ: probably ϑεντολ, related to ϑεντ “request” (OND 157).

B

- 2 -ϑḷλο: the end of a preterite 2 participial form with -ϑ, determiner -ḷ, and focus or locative marker -λο.
 τḷḷ: perhaps a form of τḷ “to give.”
- 4 μωϑη: proper name “Mōusē/Moses.”
- 5 παειϑελο: παρ “to write” (OND 145) with preterite 2 -ϑ and first person singular followed by predicative -ε and focus marker -λο. Considering the type of text, we would expect a verbal form with noun ηαταρ “witness” (OND 112) (see General Introduction, pp. 25-26).
- 6 τοϑκḷ: possibly τοϑκ “kind of food or beverage” (OND 183) with determiner -ḷ, cf. P. QI 3 32.26 τοϑκḷ ḫ̄κο (with note *ad loc.*); P. QI 4 69.24 τοϑκη ḫ̄; Nauri 11 τοϑι ḷḷ : ελο.¹ This is presumably (part of) the tariff for the witnesses or the scribe.²

1 Browne’s lemma in OND is τοϑκḷ, but the attestation in P. QI 4 of the form τοϑκη shows that the final -ḷ should be interpreted as a determiner and not part of the stem.

2 See RUFFINI, *Medieval Nubia*, pp. 116-19.



Fig. 17. P. Attiri 10 (SNM 23047). Photo by Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei.

P. Attiri 10

Unidentified document

Very dark piece of leather of approx. 8 × 12 cm, with text on flesh side. The leather sheet has been inscribed in two different orientations, with the change noted between lines 4 and 5. There are two large ink blots on line 3 and one on line 4.

P. Attiri 10 (SNM 23047, ±8×12 cm)

In one orientation, tilted upward:

- [- - -]Τ · ϜΤ[- - -]
 2 [- - -]ϱ̄ κκκκ[- - -]
 [- - -] · ϱ̄ · λϜ η[- - -]
 4 [- - -] · ϱ̄ κκκκ[- - -]

In another orientation, tilted downward:

- [- - -]ϱ̄ Ϝε · ϱ̄ · λϜ · [- - -]
 6 [- - -]λϱ̄ ϱ̄ ηη[ο - - -]
 [- - -]Τϱ̄ · ορπεκκ
 8 [- - -]Τ̄η̄ ειογν̄ Ϝ̄ερ
 [- - -] · π̄κρ̄ · η̄λο ·
 10 [- - -]

[...] who has remained [...] 4 [...] 6 measures [...] they -ed [...] wine
 [...] of grain [...] priest 8 [...]

- 2 $\bar{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\kappa$:- perhaps to be reconstructed as $\bar{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\kappa[\kappa\alpha]$, from $\alpha\kappa$ “to sit, remain” (OND 8) with preterite 1 -o, determiner -λ (with regressive assimilation), and accusative -κα. This would suggest a relative clause construction.
- 3 $\bar{\alpha} \cdot \lambda\omicron$: number 4.
- 5 $\mu\lambda\omega\epsilon$: $\mu\lambda\omega\epsilon$ “measure” (OND 113).
- 6 $\varsigma \cdot \lambda\omicron$: number 6.
- 7 $\lambda\iota\alpha\mu\eta\eta\omicron$: probably a verbal form, ending in preterite 2 -ic, third person plural with focus marker -λο.
- 8 $\omicron\rho\pi\epsilon\kappa\alpha$: $\omicron\rho\pi$ - “wine” (OND 128) with accusative -εκα.
- 8 $\epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma$: $\epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma$ - “grain” with genitive -n.
 $\delta\epsilon\rho$ cannot be $\delta\epsilon\rho$ “tribe” (OND 189) within this context. Perhaps a variant of $\kappa\epsilon\rho$, $\gamma\epsilon\rho$ “to gather” (OND 89), cf. in P. QI 4 94.5, meaning some “assembling” as a “sheaf” or a measure as a “bushel.”
- 9 $\bar{\pi}\sigma\bar{\rho}$: Abbreviation for Greek loanword $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\upsilon\gamma\tau\epsilon\rho$ “priest.”
 $\bar{\eta}\lambda\omicron$: number 8.



Fig. 18. P. Attiri 11 (SNM 23049). Photo by Alexandros Tsakos.

P. Attiri 11

Letter

Single leather sheet, folded five times and inscribed on one side with 9 lines of a text written with black ink. Traces of ink on the other side too, but illegible.

P. Attiri 11 (SNM 23049, ±20×15 cm)

- + ΔΑΓΚΟΥΜΕΛΩ ΕΙΔΓΡΙΜΛΩ · ΠΟΥΤΟΥ ΜΑΩΕ
 2 ΚΕΟΥΤ ΚΙΔΔΙ · Η · ΣΙΔΛΩ · ΚΕΟΥΤ · Δ ·
 ΣΥΚΜΙ · Ε · ΛΩ · ΣΥΡΚΙ · ΜΟΡ · Δ · ΟΡΠΟΥ · Η ·
 4 ΚΟΠΑΤΩΙ · Δ · ΕΚΤΟΥ · Θ · ΤΟΛΣΟΥ · Β · ΜΑΤΙΣΚ ·
 ΓΟΥΡΡΟΥ · Η · ΠΑΚΙ · ΔΑΔΚΑ · ΚΟΥΛΩ ΟΡΠΟΥ
 6 · Β · ΠΑΛΛΕΓΕΛΑ · ΑΘΙΤΙ · . ΚΑ ΟΡΠΟΥ ΟΣΚΟΥΔΑ
 ΔΙΕΙΝΚΟΥΛΑ · ΠΕΤΕ · ΚΟΥΔ ΔΙΕΙΝΓΟΥΛ[Δ]
 8 ΚΙΠΙΣΚΟ ΚΡΕΝΟΤΟΡΑ · ΟΡΠΟΥ · Β · ΕΚΤΟΥ · . . .
 ΣΕ · ΓΑΕΙ ΣΑΠΙ ΤΟΡΑ · ΔΡΙΛΩ ΚΙΡΠΑΓΟΥ [1-2]

l. 1: the letter μ in ΜΑΩΕ has been written over a letter π.

l. 2: between τ and κ in ΚΕΟΥΤ ΚΙΔΔΙ there can be seen traces of an η that was possibly written first and then corrected, since it is repeated right after ΚΙΔΔΙ.

I pay homage (to you). I inform (you).

(1) cubit measure of millet; 8 garments; 4 cubits of chaff; 5 round flat loaves; 4 artabs of unmaturred dates; 8 (amphorae of) wine; 4 flat loaves; 9 sheep; 2 *tol*; 8 eastern(?) oxes; (1) goat.

Having consumed wine with many (of the family of) Oskouda and dates with many (of the family of) Kouda he comes and deposits 2 (amphorae) of wine coming out (of) Attiri at the Dadka cave.

The 2 (amphorae of) wine; [...] sheep.

Who enters(?) the tail of the island [...] wages.

- 1 ΔΑΥΚΟΥΜΕΛΩ: “I pay homage (to you).” Standard opening greeting of a letter, cf. P. QI 4 94.r.1 ΔΟΥΚῸΜΕΛΟ. The specific spelling, with stem vowel/diphthong αΥ instead of οΥ and epenthetic vowel οΥ instead of ι (or supralinear stroke) has not been attested elsewhere. Although the latter can be explained as an effect of vowel harmony (otherwise occasionally attested), the variation οΥ/αΥ remains a hapax. Another uncommon feature is the spelling -με for -μμε, a haplography that is otherwise not attested. In short, the first word of this text signals an unfamiliarity with standard ON letter-writing conventions.

ΕΙΔΓΡΗΛΩ: “I inform you.” Another stock phrase of letters, cf. P. QI 4 102.r.1–2 ΕΙΔΡῸΓῸΡῸΜΕΛΟ, P. QI 4 107.r.1–2 ΕΙΔΡῸΓΕΜΜΕΛΟ. Note the shortening of the affirmative suffix -μμε to a single *mu*, cf. P. QI 4 102.r.1 ΔΑΟΥΗΛΟ.

ΠΟΥΤΟΥ: possibly *poutti* “Hirse” (Khalil 93). For an explanation of the structure of the itemized list see the General Introduction, pp. 26–27.

ΜΑΩΕ: ΜΑΩΕ- “measure, bushel” (OND 113).

- 2 ΚΕΟΥΤ: ΚΕΟΥΤ- “cubit” (OND 89), cf. P. QI 4 94.r.7 ΚΕΟΥΤΚΑΚΑ, but with unexplained final *tau*. We would also expect a number to follow, cf. P. QI 3 30.20 ΑΠΣΙΟΝ· ΚΕΟΥΤ· ΖΚΑ· “7 cubit of wormwood.” Perhaps it is better to interpret 1–2 ΠΟΥΤΟΥ ΜΑΩΕ ΚΕΟΥΤ “one cubit measure of millet.”

ΚΙΔΔΙ: probably from ΚῪῪ “garment” (OND 94). Note, however, that the Δ/Ὺ alternation is not well attested in ON (ONG 18). It may be a different word altogether.

Ἰ · ΚΙΔΔΩ: Ἰ “8.” We would expect immediately the focus marker -λω to follow, but find the unexplained morpheme *sid-*. We know from 6 ΟΣΚΟΥΔΔ that the scribe sometimes spelled numbers fully, but there is no known Old Nubian number that would fit this sequence. The other option is that ΚΙΔΔΩ is the substance that there is 2 ΚΕΟΥΤ · Δ “4 cubit” of. In that case, ΚΙΔ may be possibly related to N *sitti* “Spreu” (Reinisch 144) with focus marker -λω, even though comparative data show that the correlation between ON -Δ and NKD -*tt* is not well attested.¹

- 3 ΣΥΚΜΙ: previously unattested noun but perhaps related to D *sug* “round flat loaf” (Armbruster 181)

Ἐ · ΛΩ: Ἐ “5.” Note that in this list, it is the only item for which a -λω follows the number.

ΣΥΡΚΙ: Probably an unattested product measured in 3 ΜΟΡ “artab.” Possibly related to N *širg* “faulen, schlecht werden (Eier); anfangen zu reifen, gelb werden (Dattelernte)” (Khalil 125).

ΜΟΡ: measuring unit “artab” (OND 120).

1 RILLY, *Le méroïtique et sa famille linguistique*, p. 221.

- ορποϋ: Coptic loanword ορπ “wine” (OND 128).
- 4 κoπaтoι: possibly a composite noun, from κaππa “loaf (of bread)” (OND 85) and unattested adjective perhaps related to *tajj* “abgeflacht” (Khalil 111).
- εκτοϋ: unattested, possibly *N eged* “Schaf” (Reinisch 33). Note that SC 1.7 has τικαν for “sheep,” related to D *tigan*; in P. Attiri 3 we found the inverse situation with ογρκ “to be hungry.”
- τολcoϋ: unknown. Between “sheep” and “ox,” it could be another animal.
- ματικ: unattested, possibly related to ματτο “east,” designating the type of 5 γοϋρροϋ.
- 5 γοϋρροϋ: unattested, probably related to *N gur* “Rind” (Reinisch 54).
- πακι: unattested, probably *N fag, faki*, “Ziege” (Reinisch 39).
- ΔaΔka: it is attractive to interpret the -ka as accusative case, but there is no verb it could be an object of. As it seems to be followed by the noun 5 κογλω “cave,” it is perhaps the name of the cave, cf. attested names P. QI 3 34.i.18 ΔaΔcoγλ; P. QI 3 30.11 Δaκκογλ.
- κογλω: perhaps κογλ “cave, mountain” (OND 101) with locative -(λ)ω.
- ορποϋ: ορπ “wine,” cf. 3 ορποϋ.
- 6 παλαγελα: seems like a verbal form with παλ “to come out” (OND 143) and inchoative -αε. The ending -ελα is more difficult to analyse. If present tense + predicative, we would expect -ερα, and a participial form ending in dative -λα would have -ελλα. However, we already have a case of haplography in 1 Δaγκογμελω, so perhaps this is another one. The supposed subject of παλαγελα is the 2 amphora of wine.
- αοιτι: possibly a place name, perhaps a variant of αττιρι > αττιδι (a relatively common orthographical variation), written as αοιτι (following the scribe’s confusion between voiced and voiceless consonants, see General Introduction, p. 27).
- . -κα: perhaps an accusative case attached to the entire preceding noun phrase, object of 8 κρενοτορα
- ορποϋ: ορπ “wine,” cf. 3, 5 ορποϋ.
- οσκογΔa: unknown element oc- with the onomastic element -κογΔa, cf. P. QI 2 24.4 κογΔa. Also cf. 7 κογΔ.
- 7 Διεινκογλα: Διει “to be many” (OND 45), with plural -κογ and dative -λα. The *nu* is probably the same as in P. QI 2 16.vii.4-5 κεμωνηγογκα, and perhaps just the plural morpheme -η(i).
- πετε: πετι “date, date palm” (OND 150).
- κογΔ: name Kouda, cf. 6 οσκογΔa.
- Διειηγογλ[Δ]: cf. 7 Διεινκογλα. We take both 6-7 ορποϋ οσκογΔa.

ΔΙΕΙΝΚΟΥΛΑ and 7 ΠΕΤΕ · ΚΟΥΔ ΔΙΕΙΝΓΟΥΛ[Α] to be dependent on 8 ΚΙΠΙΚΟ.

- 8 ΚΙΠΙΚΟ: appears to be an adjective in -κο with the verb ΚΙΠ “to eat” (OND 84), perhaps with preterite 2 -c. Another option would be to treat this as some type of perfect participle, as -κο forms are known in modern Nubian languages. For -ικ also cf. 4 ΜΑΤΙϞϞ.

ΚΡΕΝΟΤΟΡΑ: perhaps verb κῤ “to come” (OND 91) with present tense second/third person singular ending, and ΟΤΟΡ, from ΟΥΤΟΥΡ “to deposit” (OND 141) with predicative -α: “you/he comes bringing.” An object, however, seems to be completely absent.

ΟΡΠΟΥ · Β: maybe the same two amphorae previously mentioned.

ΕϞΤΟΥ: cf. 4 ΕϞΤΟΥ

- 9 -σε: possibly a preterite 2, first person singular “I have...” If this is a letter, we would expect ΠΑΕΙϞ “I have written” at this point.

ΓΑΕΙ: “who?” (OND 195).

ϞΑΠΙ: perhaps “enclosure” (OND 156), but this meaning is dubious, cf. P. QI 4 110.7 and comm. *ad loc.* According to Rilly, “plutôt ‘partie en aval d’une île’ (nobiin *sáab*, Werner, c.p.)”²

ΤΟΡΑ: possibly *tor* “hineingehen, eintreten” (Khalil 108) with predicative -a.

ΑΡΙΛΩ: perhaps a participial form of αρ “take” with present tense/determiner -ιλ and focus marker -(λ)ω.

ΚΙΡΠΑΓΟΥ: possibly ΚΟΡΠΑ “(wages for?) work” (OND 99³) with plural ending -ουϞ.

² RILLY, *Le méroïtique et sa famille linguistique*, p. 473.

³ See also RUFFINI, *Medieval Nubia*, p. 182.

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