

Vincent W. J. van Gerwen Oei

AN OLD NUBIAN SALE FROM GEBEL ADDA*

THE SITE OF GEBEL ADDA was excavated by the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) under the direction of Nicholas B. Millet between 1963 and 1966 as part of the salvage archaeological campaign in Nubia, after earlier exploration by Ugo Monneret de Villard and Mustafa el-Amir of the University of Alexandria.¹ Although many of the finds from

* The following sigla and abbreviations are used in the article: Aswan – F. LI. GRIFFITH, ‘Christian documents from Nubia’, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 14 (1928), pp. 18–30; AW – A. ŁAJTAR & V. W. J. VAN GERVEN OEI, ‘Two Old Nubian inscriptions from Akasha West’, *Études et travaux* 32 (2019), pp. 89–97; DBMNT – Database of Medieval Nubian Texts, <<http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl/>> (last accessed 25 November 2022); GAB – V. W. J. VAN GERVEN OEI, A. ŁAJTAR, & M. WOŹNIAK, ‘The Gebel Adda burial shroud from the Royal Ontario Museum’, in preparation; I. *Banganarti* II – A. ŁAJTAR, *A Late Christian Pilgrimage Centre in Nubia: The Evidence of Wall Inscriptions in the Upper Church at Banganarti* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 39], Leuven – Paris – Bristol, Ct. 2020; K. – G. M. BROWNE, *Literary Texts in Old Nubian* [= *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung Beiheft* 5], Vienna – Mödling 1989, pp. 10–15; Nauri – GRIFFITH, ‘Christian documents’, pp. 12–18; OND – G. M. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary* [= *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 556, *Subsidia* 90], Leuven 1996; P. *Qasr Ibrim* III – G. M. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim III* [= *Texts from Excavations* 12], London 1991; P. *Qasr Ibrim* IV – G. R. RUFFINI, *The Bishop, the Eparch and the King: Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim IV* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 22], Warsaw 2014; WN – V. W. J. VAN GERVEN OEI, ‘The Old Nubian memorial for King George’, [in:] A. ŁAJTAR & J. VAN DER VLIET (eds.), *Nubian Voices: Studies in Christian Nubian Culture* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 15], Warsaw 2011, pp. 225–262; WNS – M. M. KHALIL, *Wörterbuch der nubischen Sprache (Fadidja/Mahas-Dialekt)*, Warsaw 1996.

¹ N. B. MILLET, ‘Gebel Adda. Preliminary report for 1963’, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 2 (1963), pp. 147–165, at 147. The author would like to thank Adam

Gebel Adda remain unpublished, Adam Łajtar published a survey of the textual finds in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto,² as well as an overview of the twenty-nine Old Nubian texts held there.³ Recently, he published a fragmentary calendar⁴ and, in collaboration with the present author, a bilingual Old Nubian-Greek lunary,⁵ while an edition of four Old Nubian burial shrouds is currently in preparation.⁶

The present text, an Old Nubian land sale (DBMNT 700), was uncovered during the fourth and last season of the ARCE mission between 26 December 1965 and 26 April 1966. According to the preliminary report of Millet, the sale was found ‘at a considerable distance from the palace’,⁷ part of ‘Late Christian remains’. According to Millet, the palace was likely ‘one of the residences of a king who may well have maintained a movable court, going from town to town in his limited domain’.⁸

The document, describing a land sale from the perspective of a woman called Sewamē, is written in a Nubian-type majuscule in black ink on leather. The dimensions of the text are unknown. The transcription offered below is based on photographs made by Kaori Kobayashi in August 2020,⁹

Łajtar for his helpful comments to a draft of this paper and Grzegorz Ochała for several pertinent onomastical observations during his copyediting and typesetting of this text.

² A. ŁAJTAR, ‘A survey of Christian textual finds from Gebel Adda in the collections of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto’, [in:] J. R. ANDERSON & D. A. WELSBY (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies* [= *British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan* 1], Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2014, pp. 951–959.

³ A. ŁAJTAR, ‘Old Nubian texts from Gebel Adda in the Royal Ontario Museum’, *Dota-wo: A Journal of Nubian Studies* 1 (2014), pp. 185–201.

⁴ A. ŁAJTAR & E. RIZOS, ‘A fragment of a liturgical calendar from Gebel Adda (Egyptian Nubia)’, *Analecta Bollandiana* 138 (2020), pp. 86–92.

⁵ A. ŁAJTAR & V. W. J. VAN GERVEN OEI, ‘An Old Nubian lunary with a Greek addition from Gebel Adda’, *Le Muséon* 133/1–2 (2020), pp. 13–30.

⁶ V. W. J. VAN GERVEN OEI, A. ŁAJTAR, & M. WOŹNIAK, ‘Four Old Nubian burial shrouds from Gebel Adda’, in preparation.

⁷ N. B. MILLET, ‘Gebel Adda preliminary report, 1965–66’, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 6 (1967), pp. 53–63, at 62.

⁸ *Ibidem.*

⁹ To my great frustration, I was unable to locate the document, which previously had been seen by Robin Seignobos, during my own visit to the museum in August 2019. Kobayashi ini-

when the document was on display at the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities in Cairo; the inventory number of the document, as well as its present whereabouts remain unknown.

- † $\overline{\text{πρϜ}}$ εΙΝΙ ΠΑΡΡΕ ΕΙΓΑΚΑ ΕΙΝΙ ΑΝΝΟΥΤΙ
 ὄΑΝΑ ΔΙ ΣΕΤΑΜΗΚΑ ΔΕΝΟ ΔΙΟΝ ΕΙΓΑ
 ΣΕΤΕΚΑ ΕΙΝΙ ΛΙΟ ΝΕΤΑΡΗΚΑ Τ̄ΣΕΛΟ
 4 ΕΝΚΑ ΔΙΕΙΡΑ ΓΑΚΑΡΙΛΟ ΤΟΤΙΛΑ ΔΣΣΙΛΑ
 ΔΙΕΙΡΑ ΓΑΚΑΡΙΛΟ ΤΑΡΜΙΚΑ ὄΑΤΙ ΕΝΝΑ ΚΡ̄
 ΓΟΥΔΚΑ ὄΑΤΙ ΤΟΤΑ ΓΡ̄ ὄΓΑὄΑΓΑ ΚΑΕΙΤΑ ΠΑ-
 ΛΑΜΗ ὄΕΙΤΕΝΛΟ ΓΕΛΛΙΚΑ ΟΡὄΑ ΠΑΛΑΜΗ ὄΟΡΑΜΗ
 8 † ΕΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΤΟΥ $\overline{\text{πρς}}$ Κ ΤΟΥ $\overline{\text{ιγ}}$ Κ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ $\overline{\text{πνα}}$
 ὄΜΗΝ ΠΑΠΙΔΕ ΟΝ ΓΑΔΕ ΟΝ ΣΕΥΓ̄ΔΕΚΕΝ ΤΑΓ-
 ΣΙΛΟ ὄΩὄ ΠΑΡΤΑΚΟΝΑΛΟ ὄΩΗΛ ΟΥΡΟΥὄ ὄΝΙ ὄΣὄΗ
 Γ[Ο]ΗΜΕΝΑ ΕΙΝΙΝ ὄΣΑΚΙ ΦΟΥΓΑ Ε΄ΙΝΙΝ ΚΟΔΔΙ ΣΟΥ-
 12 ΤΟΥΤΕ ΕΙΝΙΝ ΜΟΥΚΟΥΤ ΔΟΚΝΑΩΙΑ ΕΙΝΙΝ [[Δ]] ΑΒΒΑ
 ΜΕΡΚΙ ΠΑΠΑΣΙ ΕΦΡΑΜ ΠΑ΄ΠΑ΄ΣΑ ΕΙΝΙΝ ΕΙΚΙΩΙ ΜΙΚΙ-
 ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΣΟΓΟὄΑ ΕΙΝΙΝ ΔΙ ΣΕΤΑΜΗ ΔΝ ΓΑΚΚΑ
 ΝΕΤΑΡΗΚΑ ΠΑΡΡΕ ΤΑΝΗΚΑ ὄΑΝΟΣΑ ΔΑΠΠΙΡΟ ΔΙΟΝ
 16 ΠΑΡΡΕ ΑΝΗΚΑ ΚΑΣΣΑΚΑ Τ̄ΣΕΛΟ ΓΑΚΙΚ̄ΦΛΟ ΜΑ-
 ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΡΕΚΑ Τ̄ΣΕΛΟ ΕΙΝΙ ΜΑΤΑΡΙΓΟΥΛΟ ὄΒΕΡΤΕΠΑ
 ΚΟΥ΄Ρ΄ΚΕΤΙ ΓΑΩΩΑΛΟ ΦΟΥΔΑΛΟ ΑΜΜΑΦΑΛΟ ΓΑΠΠ-
 ΡΕΛΟ ΤΕΦΦΙΓΑὄὄΙΛΟ ΠΟΛΟΛΟ ΠΑΠΙΝΕΓΑΛΟ ΕΙΣΙΤΟΤΙΛΟ
 20 ΔΕΩΩΙΛΟ ΤΙΔΑΤΑΛΟ ΠΕΤΙΡΙΛΟ ΤΙΜΜΑΚ̄ΣΙΛΟ Φ̄ΛΟ ΟΥΡ-
 ΤΙΓΑὄΑΙ Φ̄ΛΟ ΡΕ . ὄ ΡΑΦΑΗΛ ΓΑΦΙΜΙΛΟ ΜΑΡΤΟΣΓΑ
 ΔΙΑὄΟΝΟ ΠΕΤΑ [4-6] ΤΟΛΟ [3-4] ΤΙΩΑΛΟ . . . ὄΑΛΟ Τ̄ . . ΓΑ
 [3-4] ΡΗ Τ *traces*
 24 [5-6] . . ὄ[Μ]Η ΤΟ . *traces* ΤΟΥΛΑ ΤΕΜΕ . ὄΛΟ
traces ΝΕΛΟ [3-4] Ο . ὄΑ Φ̄ΛΟ ΤΙ
traces ΤΙ . . Κὄ [7-9] ΠΑΕΙΣΕὄ [7-8]
 ΤΟΥΣΚΙ ὄΛΟ . . . ὄ [7-8] Ε ΕΙΜΙΛ . . ὄ ΤΙΝΙ . ὄ

tially shared the photos on Twitter on 8 August 2020 (https://twitter.com/iunu_akorisi/status/1291933952400400386), after which they were tagged as Old Nubian by Sō Miyagawa. After I contacted Kobayashi, they were kind enough to send me high-res photos.

† *First. When you sold your son Annouwi's plot of land to me Sewamē, I sold your other son Lio(s plot of land) to (my son) Newarē. Whoever denies this in his heart, denies in his heart his son and daughter. May he cause his mother to disavow him and his son to exclaim shame, and leave naked and burning hot! May he hastily dress in glowing coals and leave. May he go!*

† *In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen. It was written in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. While Iōēl is king, Iēsousonē is queen mother, Isaki is overseer of the granaries, Koddī is scribe, Moukout is doknaši, Bishop Abba Merki is bishop of Ibrim, Eikiši is eparch of the Nobadians. When I, Sewamē, sold his (sc. Lio's) plot of land to my son Newarē, I sold my own plot of land to Kassa. Without denial I have sold the eastern land.*

These (are the) witnesses: Jertepa Kourketi the ḡašš, Šouda, Ammaña, Napire, Teññigajji, Polo, Papinenga, Eisitoti, Dešši, Tidaṡwa, Petiri, the timmakis, the priest, Ourtigajai the priest, [---] the ḡaṡimi of (the Church of) Raphael, Martosḡa the deacon, [---] I wrote [---] (I received) ı touski bread [---] millet (?) [---].

GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS

1. $\overline{\text{πρϚ}}$: abbreviation for $\overline{\text{πρϚη}}$ *vel sim.* 'first', cf. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 109 r^o, l. 1: $\overline{\text{πρϚη}}$.

ϵINI : second singular personal pronoun genitive/property form ϵINNI (*OND*, p. 74), frequently encountered in documentary texts, for example, *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 72 r^o, ll. 15–16: $\overline{\text{Ϛ}}\text{LIΘI } \overline{\text{I}}\text{C} \overline{\text{AKI}}\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{E}}\text{ANNI } \overline{\text{E}}\text{APL } \overline{\text{F}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{O}}$; 'Of the son of Olithi Isak: 3 gold pieces'. Note that in this case and elsewhere in the text, the genitive pronoun precedes the noun.

$\text{π} \overline{\text{APPE}}$: $\text{π} \overline{\text{APPE}}$, 'plot of land' (*OND*, p. 147). There is no case marking, which suggests that $\overline{\text{E}}\text{I} \overline{\text{E}}\text{AKA}$ belongs to the same noun phrase.

$\overline{\text{E}}\text{I} \overline{\text{E}}\text{AKA}$: $\overline{\text{E}}\text{AP}$, 'son' (*OND*, p. 196), with second singular possessive prefix ϵI - and accusative -KA . $\epsilon\text{INI } \text{π} \overline{\text{APPE}} \overline{\text{E}}\text{I} \overline{\text{E}}\text{AKA}$ is the direct object of $\overline{\text{D}}\text{ANA} \dots \overline{\text{Δ}}\text{ENO}$ in line 2.

ϵINI : see above, ϵINI .

$\overline{\text{Δ}}\text{NNOYḡI}$: proper name Annouwi, cf. *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 109 r^o, l. 1: $\overline{\text{Δ}}\text{NNOYḡI}$. For the construction $\epsilon\text{INI } \text{π} \overline{\text{APPE}} \overline{\text{E}}\text{I} \overline{\text{E}}\text{AKA } \epsilon\text{INI } \overline{\text{Δ}}\text{NNOYḡI}$, see the general commentary below.

2. $\overline{\text{D}}\text{ANA}$: $\overline{\text{D}}\text{AN}$, 'to exchange' (*OND*, p. 187), with predicate marker -A . Converb dependent on $\overline{\text{Δ}}\text{ENO}$. $\overline{\text{D}}\text{ANA } \overline{\text{Δ}}\text{EN}$ means 'to sell' (*OND*, p. 187).

αι: first person singular personal pronoun.

σεῖαμηκα: previously unattested proper name Sewamē with accusative -κα. Indirect object of δανα ... ΔΕΝΟ in line 2. The name σεῖαμη has not been attested elsewhere, but follows the structure of verb root + predicate marker -α and jussive -μη, so literally ‘may he/she inherit’. Cf. similar names such as κοναμη, αφαμη, and σογαμη.¹⁰

ΔΕΝΟ: ΔΕΝ, ‘to give (to me)’, perhaps < ΔΕΝΟΝ with past 1 second/third person singular ending, cf. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 37, l. 17: αικα δανα ΔΕΝΟΝ ‘(she) sold it to me’. For the loss of the final *nu*, cf. l. 4: εακαριλο, and the general commentary.

αιον: first person singular personal pronoun αι with topic marker -ον.

ειγα: ‘your son’ with predicate marker -α in the scope of σεῖεκα in the next line; cf. l. 1: ειγακα.

3. σεῖεκα: σεῖε, ‘other’ (*OND*, p. 158), with accusative -κα. Direct object of τῆσελο.

εινι: see l. 1: εινι.

λιο: previously unattested proper name. Initial *lambda* is exceedingly rare in a proper name, but perhaps should be compared here to another name starting with a liquid, *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 71 r°, l. 8: ριδ. Another option is a variant of the Greek name λωον, with the final *nu* dropped. παρρε is here implied, and made later explicit in line 15: παρρε τανηικα. For the construction ειγα σεῖεκα εινι λιο, see the general commentary below.

νεῖαρηκα: previously unattested proper name Newarē with accusative -κα. Indirect object of τῆσελο.

τῆσελο: τῆ, ‘to give (to s.o. else)’, with past 2 -c, first person singular + predicate marker -ε and focus marker -λο. Implied is δανα, with the meaning of ‘to sell (to s.o. else)’.

4. ενκα: proximal demonstrative pronoun ε(ι)ν (*OND*, p. 70) with accusative -κα. Object of εακαριλο.

αιερα: αιε(ρ), ‘heart’ (*OND*, l. 7), with locative -(λ)α.

εακαριλο: unattested form of εαγτ, ‘to deny’ (*OND*, p. 194). This verb is part of the curse formula, which here ends in line 7 with the jussive verbs παλαμη οδραμη. For further discussion, see the general commentary below.

τοτιλα: τοτ, ‘son, child’ (*OND*, p. 180), with locative -(λ)α.

ασιλα: ας, ‘daughter’ (*OND*, p. 20), with locative -(λ)α. For the geminated *sigma*, cf. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 52, l. 7: ασιλαεκελκα. The two datives τοτιλα ασιλα here appear instead of the otherwise attested comitative -ααλ, ‘against’, cf. *P. Qasr Ibrim* 35, ll. 15–16: τλλλααλ εαγτιραλο, ‘denies against God’, and ll. 17–18: τογσκο εῖσελααλ εαγτιραλο, ‘denies against the Holy Trinity’.

¹⁰ I thank Grzegorz Ochoła for this suggestion.

5. αἰερα: see l. 4: αἰερα.

Γακαριλο: see l. 4: Γακαριλο.

ἄαρμικα: previously unattested noun with accusative -κα. Probably related to the Nobiin *waram*, an interjection meaning ‘no’ (G. W. Murray, *An English–Nubian Comparative Dictionary* [= *Harvard African Studies* 4], London 1923, p. 184). For the epenthetic vowel, cf. ἄαρμ > N. *har(a)m*, ‘heaven’ (WNS, p. 128). Object of δᾶῤ; together ἄαρμικα δᾶῤ must mean something like ‘to publicly say no, disavow’. ἄαρμικα δᾶῤ ἐννα κρᾶ is parallel to γοῦδκα δᾶῤ τοτα γρᾶ in line 6.

δᾶῤ: δᾶῤ, ‘to announce publicly’ (OND, p. 188). The form is perhaps an infinitive in -ι.

ἐννα: ἐν, ‘mother’ (OND, p. 72), with accusative -κα and progressive assimilation ἐνκα > ἐννα.

κρᾶ: causative verb γρ with predicate marker -α, cf. l. 6: γρᾶ. Converb dependent on παλαμν in line 6.

6. γοῦδκα: previously unattested form of γοῦτ-, ‘shame’ (OND, p. 33), with accusative -κα, elsewhere attested as K. 31, ll. 1–2: γοῦτ-τ-, ‘to shame’, and in the complex noun K. 25, l. 5: γρ-τᾶ-εικανε-, ‘shame(fulness)’. Object of δᾶῤ.

δᾶῤ: see l. 5: δᾶῤ.

τοτα: τοτ, ‘son, child’, with accusative -κα, progressive assimilation, and haplography: τοτκα > τοττα (cf. AW 2, l. 3: τοττα) > τοτα.

γρᾶ: causative verb γρ with predicate marker -α. Converb dependent on παλαμν.

δογαδαγα: previously unattested reduplicated verb with predicate marker -α. Related to *jugajug*, ‘to burn completely’,¹¹ from *jug*, ‘brennen; heiß sein’ (WNS, p. 130). Converb dependent on παλαμν. See general commentary.

καειῤα: previously unattested form of καγ(ει), ‘to be naked’ (OND, p. 84), with predicate marker -α. Converb dependent on παλαμν.

παλαμν: παλ, ‘to leave’ (OND, p. 143), with predicate marker -α and singular jussive -μν.

7. δειτενλο: previously unattested compound noun. The first part is no doubt δει, ‘foot’ (OND, p. 123), the second part -τεν is likely related to the Nobiin *tin*, ‘Hast, Eile’ (WNS, p. 106). With locative -λο and an adverbial interpretation, ‘on hasty feet, hastily’.

ελλικα: previously unattested noun, related to the Nobiin *nell*, ‘Glut, glühende Kohle’ (WNS, p. 78). The meaning makes sense in the context of δογαδαγα in line 6. Object of ορδα.

ορδα: previously unattested verb with predicate marker -α. Possibly related to the Nobiin *orj*, ‘to put on as clothing, dress’.¹²

¹¹ Personal communication of Mazin Khalil and Elyas Abdu Khalil Suleman.

¹² Personal communication of Mazin Khalil and Elyas Abdu Khalil Suleman, who told me that Mahas speakers use the verb for any type of clothing, whereas Halfawi only use

παλαμν: see l. 6: παλαμν.

δοραμν: δορ, 'to go' (*OND*, p. 191), with predicate marker -α and singular jussive -μν.

8. εν ονοματι τοῡ π̄ρ̄ς ζ̄ τοῡ ῑϛ̄ ζ̄ τοῡ αγιοῡ π̄ν̄ᾱ δ̄μν: Greek invocation of the Trinity.

9. παπιδε: παπ, 'father' (*OND*, p. 144), with coordinator -δε.

ον: ον, 'and'.

εαδε: εα(ρ), 'son', with coordinator -δε.

σεγε̄δ̄εκεν: abbreviation of σεγᾱρτι ε̄δ̄ς, 'Holy Spirit' (*OND*, pp. 157, 200), with terminal coordinator -δεκε(ρ) and genitive -ν. Dependent on τᾱε̄σιλο.

τᾱε̄σιλο: τᾱε̄ς, 'name' (*OND*, p. 168), with locative -λο

ιο. δω̄δ̄: postposition δω̄δ̄, 'through, by', following locative-marked τᾱε̄σιλο.

παρτακοναλο: πα(ρ), 'to write' (*OND*, p. 145), with passive -τακ, past I second / third person singular -ον, predicate marker -α, and focus marker -λο.

ῑω̄ηλ: proper name Iōēl. See the general commentary.

ογρογ̄δ̄: ογρογ, 'king' (*OND*, p. 140), with predicate marker -δ̄.

ῑνι: probably a form of εῑν, 'to be' (*OND*, p. 69), with phonologically reduced ending, presumably present second / third singular -ιν; cf. l. 11: εῑνιν. Not to be confused with εῑνι in lines 1 and 3.

ῑδ̄ονη: proper name Iēsousonē. See the general commentary.

11. ε̄[ο]η̄νε̄να: ε̄οννε̄ν, 'queen mother' (*OND*, p. 203), with predicate marker -α. The smudge to the left of the second *nu* is probably the first *nu* squished in after the no longer legible *omikron*.

εῑνιν: εῑν, 'to be', with present second / third singular -ιν.

ῑσακι: proper name Isaki. See the general commentary.

ωογ̄εα: ωογ̄εα, 'overseer of the granaries' (*OND*, p. 186), probably related to the Nobiin *šouna*, 'Varratsbehälter aus Lehm, Kornspeicher' (*WNS*, p. 124).¹³

ε̄ϛ̄νιν: see l. 11: εῑνιν.

κοδ̄ᾱι: proper name Koddi, also attested in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 63, l. 5, and *I. Banganarti* II 226.

σογ̄τογ̄ε̄: σογ̄ντογ̄ε̄, 'scribe' (*OND*, p. 162), frequently attested official title, for instance in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 35, l. 7; 36, l. 9; and *I. Banganarti* II 294, l. 2. The spelling without the *nu* was heretofore unattested.

12. εῑνιν: see l. 11: εῑνιν.

μoγ̄κογ̄τ: previously unattested proper name Moukout.

it for shoes. They provided the example *kitig orjaja kajana*, 'wear (pl.) some clothes and come'.

¹³ See also A. OSMAN, 'The post-medieval kingdom of Kokka', [in:] J. M. PLUMLEY (ed.), *Nubian Studies: Proceedings of the Symposium for Nubian Studies, Selwyn College, Cambridge, 1978*, Warminster 1982, pp. 185-197, at 195.

ΔΟΚΝΑΩΙΔ: *doknašī* (official title), also attested elsewhere as *joknaš(š)il*,¹⁴ with predicate marker -α.

ΕΙΝΙΝ: see l. 11: ΕΙΝΙΝ.

ΑΒΒΑ: honorific title *abba* (*OND*, p. 3).¹⁵

13. ΜΕΡΚΙ: proper name Merki, also attested in, for example, *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 63, l. 6, and IV 88 r^o, l. 1. Probably a hypocoristic form of μερκοῦριος.

ΠΑΠΑΣ: παπας, ‘bishop’ (*OND*, p. 145).

ΕΦΡΑΜ: toponym Ibrim, usually spelled without initial *epsilon*, cf. *P. Qasr Ibrim* II 25, l. 11: ΦΡΜ; III 34 ii, l. 11: ΦΡΜ; 36 I, l. 7: ΦΡΜ; but see *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 67, l. 7: ΕΦΡΕΜ. The spelling with the *alpha* was heretofore unattested. Genitive is dropped.

ΠΑΨΑ: παΨα, ‘bishop’, with predicate marker -α.

ΕΙΝΙΝ: see l. 11: ΕΙΝΙΝ.

ΕΙΚΩΙ: either the proper name Eikiši or the official title *eikši*, cf. Aswan, l. 11: ΕΙΚΩΙ.

ΝΙΚΙΤΟΥΓΟΥ: ΝΙΚ, ‘Nobadia’, with nominalizer -Τ and plural marker -ΓΟΥ. Genitive is dropped.

14. ΣΟΓΟΔΑ: ΣΟΓΟΔ, ‘eparch’ (*OND*, p. 160), with predicate marker -α.

ΕΙΝΙΝ: see l. 11: ΕΙΝΙΝ.

ΑΙ: first person singular personal pronoun.

ΣΕΨΑΜΝ: proper name Sewamē; see l. 2: ΣΕΨΑΜΝΑ. ΑΙ ΣΕΨΑΜΝ is the subject of ΔΑΝΟΣΑ ΔΑΠΠΡΟ.

ΑΝ: genitive of the first person singular personal pronoun.

ΓΑΚΚΑ: ΓΑΡ, ‘son’, with accusative -ΚΑ.

15. ΝΕΨΑΡΗΚΑ: proper name Newarē with accusative -ΚΑ; see l. 3: ΝΕΨΑΡΗΚΑ. Indirect object of ΔΑΝΟΣΑ ΔΑΠΠΡΟ.

ΠΑΡΡΕ: παρρε, ‘plot of land’; see l. 1: παρρε.

ΤΑΝΝΙΚΑ: genitive ΤΑΝ of the third person singular personal pronoun with accusative -ΚΑ. ΠΑΡΡΕ ΤΑΝΝΙΚΑ is the direct object of ΔΑΝΟΣΑ ΔΑΠΠΡΟ. It is assumed that ΤΑΝΝΙΚΑ refers back to ΛΙΟ in line 3.

ΔΑΝΟΣΑ: ΔΑΝ, with suffix -ΟC, ‘to sell’ (*OND*, p. 188), and predicate marker -α.

¹⁴ For an overview, see A. ŁAJTAR, ‘A fragmentary wooden icon from the Church of Archangel Raphael (SWN.B.V)’, [in:] W. GODLEWSKI, D. DZIERZBICKA, & A. ŁAJTAR (eds.), *Dongola 2015–2016. Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management* [= *PCMA Excavation Series* 5], Warsaw 2018, pp. 147–154, at 154.

¹⁵ See T. DERDA & E. WIPSZYCKA, ‘L’emploi des titres *abba*, *apa* et *papas* dans l’Égypte byzantine’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 24 (1994), pp. 23–56. For its usage inside Nubia, see T. DERDA & A. ŁAJTAR, ‘Organization of the Church in medieval Nubia in the light of a newly discovered wall inscription in Dongola’, *Jahrbuch des österreichischen Byzantinistik* 69 (2019), pp. 135–154, at 149.

ΔΑΠΠΙΡΟ: originally ΔΑΠΠῚ, ‘to destroy’ (*OND*, p. 37), but here used in a more recent meaning ‘to sell’, cf. *WNS*, p. 39: *daf-ir-*, ‘verkaufen, weggeben’. ΔΑΝΟCΑ ΔΑΠΠΙΡ- is a converb construction meaning ‘to sell’. The verbal ending -ο is unclear, though it must agree somehow with the first person singular subject. Perhaps the interpretation should be past tense, as a back vowel usually characterizes past 1; cf. l. 2, ΔΕΝΟ.

ΔΙΟΝ: first person singular personal pronoun ΔΙ with topic marker -ΟΝ; see l. 2: ΔΙΟΝ.

16. ΠΑΡΡΕ: ΠΑΡΡΕ, ‘plot of land’; see l. 1, ΠΑΡΡΕ.

ΔΗΝΙΚΑ: genitive ΔΗ of the first person singular personal pronoun with accusative -ΚΑ. ΠΑΡΡΕ ΔΗΝΙΚΑ is direct object of ΤῚCΕΛΟ.

ΚΑΣCΑΚΑ: proper name Kassa with accusative -ΚΑ; cf. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 62 i, l. 4: ΚΑΣΑ-. Indirect object of ΤῚCΕΛΟ.

ΤῚCΕΛΟ: see l. 2: ΤῚCΕΛΟ. Also in this case the meaning is ‘to sell to s.o. else’; ΔΑΝΟCΑ is implied.

ΕΑΚΙΚῚΦΛΟ: ΕΑΓΓ, ‘deny’, with negative nominalizer -ΚῚΦ, ‘without’, and locative -ΛΟ. For the spelling, see l. 4: ΕΑΚΑΡΙΛΟ.

ΜΑΤΟΥ: most likely an unattested variant of ΜΑΤΤΟ, ‘eastern’ (*OND*, p. 112).

17. ΠΑΡΡΕΚΑ: ΠΑΡΡΕ, ‘plot of land’, with accusative -ΚΑ. Direct object of ΤῚCΕΛΟ. ΤῚCΕΛΟ: see l. 2: ΤῚCΕΛΟ.

ΕΙΝΙ: proximal demonstrative pronoun ‘this, these’. The final *iota* may be a remnant of plural ΕΙΝῚ, perhaps analogous formation to copula ἴνι in line 10.

ΜΑΤΑΡΙΓΟΥΛΟ: ΜΑΤΑΡ, ‘witness’ (*OND*, p. 112), with plural -ΙΓΟΥ and focus marker -ΛΟ.

ἸΕΡΤΕΡΑ: previously unattested proper name Jertera.

18. ΚΟΥῚΡῚΚΕΤΙ: proper name Kourketi, probably with metathesis from Kourteki.¹⁶

ΕΑΩΦΑΛΟ: official title ΕΑΩΦ, ‘*ḥašš*’ (*OND*, p. 198), with predicate marker -Α and focus marker -ΛΟ. Cf. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 37, l. 5: ΕΑΩ-.

ΦΟΥΔΑΛΟ: proper name Šouda with focus marker -ΛΟ. Multiple attestations from Baganarti as ΦΟΥ(Δ)Δ(Α): *I. Baganarti* II 109, 202, 338, 439, 503, 808, 837.

ΑΜΜΑΦΑΛΟ: previously unattested proper name ‘Ammaña’ with focus marker -ΛΟ.

ΕΑΠΙΡΕΛΟ: proper name Napire with focus marker -ΛΟ. Also attested in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 36 I, l. 35; 37, l. 31; 42, l. 11; 43, l. 5; IV 91 v^o, l. 1.

19. ΤΕΦΙΓΑΔῚΙΛΟ: proper name Teñigajji with focus marker -ΛΟ. Perhaps a composite name of ΤΕΦΙΡΑ (attested in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 67, l. 26) and the verbal root ΓΑῚ, ‘to rejoice’ (*OND*, p. 26) which can also be found in a variety of other proper names.

¹⁶ See G. ΟCΗΑΛΑ, ‘Nubica onomastica miscellanea III: Notes on and corrections to personal names found in Christian Nubian written sources’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 48 (2018), no. 3.

πολολο: proper name Polo with focus marker -λο. Also attested in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 109 r^o, l. 20: πολλο. Perhaps related to *I. Banganarti* II 665: πολε, and 216: πολλη.

παπινεαλο: proper name Papinenga, lit. ‘son of Papine’, with focus marker -λο. The name παπινι has been attested in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 33, l. 15.

εισιτοτιλο: proper name Eisitoti, lit. ‘child of Eisi’, with focus marker -λο. Attested elsewhere, for instance, in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 37, l. 32: ε̄ιστο̄τ̄λο, and 38, l. 21: ῑηστοτι.

20. δεωωιλο: proper name Dešši with focus marker -λο. Also attested twice in the as yet unpublished inscriptions from the church in Sonqi Tino.

τιδααλο: proper name Tidawa with focus marker -λο. Also attested in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 34 ii, l. 14; 40, l. 20; 38 app., l. 3; 47 i, l. 4; 62 ii, l. 7; IV 72 v^o, l. 9.

πετιριλο: proper name Petiri with focus marker -λο. Also attested as πετρι in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 32, l. 21; 33, l. 16; 34 ii, l. 20; 40, l. 21; 41, l. 12; 42, l. 9; IV 72 r^o, l. 5; 73 v^o, l. 5.

τιμμακ̄σιλο: official title *timmakis* with focus marker -λο. Usually written with a single *mu*.

ϣλο: siglum for πρεσβυτερος, ‘priest’, with focus marker -λο.

ογρτιγαδᾱι: proper name Ourtigajai. Perhaps a composite name with a second part based on the verb γαδ̄ (cf. line 19, τεψφιγαδ̄ο̄ιλο). Also attested as ογρτιγαδ̄η in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 63, l. 10, and ογρτιγαδ̄ι on an ostrakon from Gebbel Adda (A. Łajtar, ‘A survey of Christian textual finds from Gebel Adda in the collections of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto’, [in:] Anderson & Welsby [eds.], *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond* [cit. n. 2], p. 953, pl. 5, fr. A). The first part ογρτι- has been attested in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 101 r^o, l. 2: ογρτι; *I. Banganarti* II 281: ογρτια, and as component in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 34 ii, l. 9: ογρτικαωωι.

21. ϣλο: siglum for πρεσβυτερος, ‘priest’, with focus marker -λο.

ρε. α: unknown.

ραφαηλ: proper name Raphaël, probably referring to a church.

εαφιμιλο: perhaps a church title *ḥaḥimi* with focus marker -λο, as suggested by the phrase ραφαηλ εαφιμιλο, ‘*ḥaḥimi* (of the Church of) Raphael’.

μαρτοςεα: proper name ‘Martosḥa’, perhaps a hypocoristic of μαρτυροφορος with εα, ‘son’.

22. Διδ̄γονο: Διδ̄γον, ‘deacon’ (*OND*, p. 44), with focus marker -λο assimilated to final nasal; cf. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 41, l. 11: Διδ̄κ̄νο. For the spelling with *gamma*, see *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 49 i, l. 6: Διδ̄γον.

24. τογλα: τογ, ‘belly’ (*OND*, p. 181), with dative -λα, meaning ‘inside’.

τεμε. αλο: unknown word, perhaps cf. Nauri, l. 5: τεμελο.

26. παεισελο: παρ, ‘to write’ (*OND*, pp. 145–146), with past 2 -ιc, first person singular + predicate marker -ε and focus marker -λο. The presence of this verb here indicates the signature of the scribe.

27. ΤΟΥΚΚΙ: ‘*touski*-bread’ (OND, p. 183).¹⁷

ⲁⲗⲟ: number ‘1’ with focus marker -ⲗⲟ. ΤΟΥΚΚΙ ⲁⲗⲟ is no doubt part of the payment the scribe received for his services.

ⲉⲓⲛⲓⲗ: ‘millet (?)’ (OND, p. 69).

⋯ ⲗⲟ: possibly a number followed by focus marker -ⲗⲟ.

ΤΙⲛⲓ: perhaps ΤΙⲛⲓ, ‘cows’ (OND, p. 173)?

⋯ ⲗⲟ: possibly a number followed by focus marker -ⲗⲟ.

GENERAL COMMENTARY

The Gebel Adda sale can be divided into several distinct sections. The document opens with a description of the sale, namely Sewamē’s sale of Lio’s plot to her son Newarē (ll. 1–3). This description is followed by an extensive curse (ll. 4–7). We then find a cross and the invocation of the Trinity, first in Greek (ll. 8–9) and then in Old Nubian (ll. 9–10), followed by the protocol (ll. 10–14). Then we encounter another description of the same sale, which starts with a repetition of Sewamē’s sale of Lio’s land to her son Newarē, adding the sale of a plot of land to Kassa, which is then described as ‘eastern land’ (ll. 14–17). The document ends with the customary list of witnesses (ll. 17–25?) and the (largely illegible) signature of the scribe, mentioning also his payment (ll. 26–27).

The phenomenon of repetition of the description of land sales is not unattested. For example, the large land sale *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 36 contains several repetitions in the plot description.¹⁸ What is more remarkable, however, is the fact that the first description of the sale precedes the cross and Trinitarian formula. In all other attested Old Nubian land sales, the cross and invocation of the Trinity open the text. Perhaps it is the

¹⁷ See G. OCHAŁA, ‘Old Nubian lists of goods and money: A preliminary presentation’, [in:] ANDERSON & WELSBY (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond* (cit. n. 2), pp. 971–976; A. ŁAJTAR & G. OCHAŁA, ‘Two wall inscriptions from the Faras cathedral with lists of people and goods’, [in:] A. ŁAJTAR, G. OCHAŁA, & J. VAN DER VLIET (eds.), *Nubian Voices II: New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture* [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement* 27] Warsaw 2015, pp. 73–102, at 88–89.

¹⁸ V. W. J. VAN GERVEN OEI, ‘For sale: Geography in Nubian land sales’, *Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies* 6 (2019), pp. 89–111, at 105–106.

case that the sale was initially described more informally, ending with the curse, after which a more proper, legal formulation was added, starting with the cross and the Trinitarian formula and ending with the scribe's signature as customary. This would also explain the shift in authorial perspective. In the first, top version of the sale, the text refers to an unnamed 'you', whereas the second, bottom version of the sale takes the customary approach of describing the transaction from a first-person perspective, 'I, Sewamē'. From the paleography, it appears that both 'versions' of the sale were written by the same scribe, though an interpretation of two subsequent versions of the same sale written on the same document, perhaps at different moments in time, may account for the fact that lines 1–7 curve upwards to the right, whereas lines 8–10 curve downward. This could, however, also be attributed to the curvature of the leather carrier. In any case, the two versions of the sale, the 'informal' and 'formal' one are clearly visually distinct.

The linguistic features of the text indicate an increased influence of spoken language on written conventions. As the orthography of literary Old Nubian remained relatively stable over centuries, it is safe to assume that by the second half of the fifteenth century, there was a considerable distance between these written conventions and the language(s) spoken by the Nubians. We see this in the presence of assimilated spellings such as $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta$ (l. 5) < $\epsilon\eta\kappa\alpha$ and $\tau\omicron\tau\alpha$ (l. 6) < $\tau\omicron\tau\tau\alpha$ < $\tau\omicron\tau\kappa\alpha$, with additional haplography of *tau* also found in $\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\gamma$ (l. 16) and the alternation of velar stops κ and τ , for example in $\epsilon\alpha\kappa$ - (ll. 4 and 16) for the root usually spelled $\epsilon\alpha\tau\tau$, and $\mu\iota\kappa\iota\tau$ - (l. 13) for the usual $\mu\iota\tau\tau$. There is an alternation between $\kappa\bar{\alpha}$ (l. 5) and $\tau\bar{\alpha}$ (l. 6), while in line 22 we find $\Delta\iota\bar{\alpha}\Gamma\omicron\eta\omicron$ for the more frequent $\Delta\iota\bar{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\eta$.

Striking in this text is also the loss of the word-final *nu* in several different forms. In line 2 we find the second/third person singular past 1 form $\Delta\epsilon\eta\omicron$ < $\Delta\epsilon\eta\omicron\eta$, in line 10 the second/third person singular present form $\eta\eta\eta$ < $\epsilon\eta\eta\bar{\eta}$, and in line 17 the plural proximal demonstrative $\epsilon\eta\eta\eta$ < $\epsilon\eta\eta\bar{\eta}$. The verbal forms are a direct precursor to the present-day Nobiin third person singular present and past tense endings, which are *-i* and *-o*, respectively.¹⁹ The phonological reduction of the verbal forms is also reflected in

¹⁹ R. WERNER, *Grammatik des Nobiin*, Hamburg 1987, pp. 147, 149.

the curse formula in lines 4–5: $\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ $\lambda\iota\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha$ $\epsilon\alpha\kappa\alpha\pi\iota\lambda\omicron$ $\tau\omicron\tau\iota\lambda\alpha$ $\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\lambda\alpha$ $\lambda\iota\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha$ $\epsilon\alpha\kappa\alpha\pi\iota\lambda\omicron$, ‘Whoever denies this in his heart, denies in his heart his son and daughter’. A comparable example is *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 31, ll. 15–16: $\epsilon\tilde{\eta}\kappa\alpha$ $\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\tilde{\lambda}\lambda\lambda\alpha\lambda$ $\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\iota\pi\alpha\lambda\omicron$, ‘Whoever will deny this, denies against God’. Whereas the main verb $\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\iota\pi\alpha\lambda\omicron$ is mirrored here by $\epsilon\alpha\kappa\alpha\pi\iota\lambda\omicron$ in line 5, with metathesis of the middle λ and ι , the form $\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ has no obvious parallel in $\epsilon\alpha\kappa\alpha\pi\iota\lambda\omicron$ in line 4, which ought to be a verbal noun, perhaps deriving from $*\epsilon\alpha\kappa\alpha\pi\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ with final loss of the *nu* as in the forms above, already visible in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 35, l. 17: $\epsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron$, in a release of a servant from 31 July 1188. In that case, we are witnessing here the result of a convergence of the verbal noun and the main verb, with morphological deterioration caused by the relatively high frequency with which such cursing formulas were used.²⁰ Also remarkable is the complete absence of the determiner $-\lambda$, except perhaps in the fossilized form $\epsilon\alpha\kappa\alpha\pi\iota\lambda\omicron$ (l. 4). This is an otherwise attested feature of late Old Nubian texts.²¹ Another feature is the disappearance of the initial *lambda* of the dative in $\lambda\iota\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha$ (l. 4); cf. GAB 1.4: $\gamma\alpha\pi\mu\alpha$ $\omicron\upsilon$ $\check{\kappa}\tau\tau\alpha$, ‘in heaven and on earth’, and WN 14: $\sigma\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ $\mu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\delta$ $\mu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\delta$, ‘in either word or deed’.

The sale also features a number of words not previously attested in Old Nubian texts, but whose meaning can be plausibly reconstructed based on present-day Nobiin: $\delta\omicron\gamma\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma$ - (l. 6), cf. N. *jugajug*, ‘to burn completely’; $\delta\epsilon\iota$ - $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon$ - (l. 7), cf. *tin*, ‘Hast, Eile’ (WNS, p. 106); $\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ - (l. 7), cf. N. *nell*, ‘Glut, glühende Kohle’ (WNS, p. 78); $\omicron\pi\delta$ - (l. 7), cf. N. *orj*, ‘to put on as clothing, dress’. We also find an otherwise known root $\lambda\alpha\pi\pi$ - $\iota\pi$ - (l. 15), in literary texts usually translated with ‘to destroy’, but here used in a shifted meaning, namely as ‘to sell’, cf. N. *daf-ir*-, ‘verkaufen, weggeben’ (WNS, p. 39). These types of semantic shifts are not unexpected and have already been proposed elsewhere.²²

²⁰ A comparable effect can be seen in the transformation of *hoc est corpus* into *bocus pocus*.

²¹ See also V. W. J. VAN GERVEN OEI, *A Reference Grammar of Old Nubian* [= *Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta* 299], Leuven 2021, § 16.1.

²² For example, $\pi\epsilon\omega\upsilon$ usually translated with ‘to judge’, but later used in the meaning ‘to seek, ask’. See V. W. J. VAN GERVEN OEI & A. TSAKOS, ‘Apostolic memoirs in Old Nubian’, [in:] I. MIROSHNIKOV (ed.), *Parabiblica Coptica*, forthcoming.

Syntactically remarkable are several of the possessive constructions with proper names that occur in the text, in which it appears that possessive pronouns, sometimes repeated in the same clause, have an emphatic function: $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \text{παρρε} \ \epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha\kappa\alpha \ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \alpha\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau\iota$, ‘your son Annouwi’s land (lit. your land your-son your Annouwi)’ (l. 1); $\epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha \ \sigma\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\kappa\alpha \ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \lambda\iota\omicron$, ‘your other son Lio (lit. your-son other your Lio)’ (ll. 2–3). Both examples have an analogous structure, with an accusative-marked noun phrase, $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \text{παρρε} \ \epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha\kappa\alpha$ and $\epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha \ \sigma\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$, followed by the name of the son, $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \alpha\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau\iota$ and $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \lambda\iota\omicron$ respectively. What complicates the interpretation of both phrases is the absence of $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \text{παρρε}$ in the second example. Once we supplement that together with the necessary converb, the parallel is evident:

$\epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \text{παρρε} \ \epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha\kappa\alpha \ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \alpha\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau\iota \ \delta\alpha\eta\alpha \ \alpha\iota \ \sigma\epsilon\zeta\alpha\mu\eta\kappa\alpha \ \Delta\epsilon\eta\omicron$
 $\alpha\iota\omicron\eta \ \{\epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \text{παρρε}\} \ \epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha \ \sigma\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\kappa\alpha \ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \lambda\iota\omicron \ \{\delta\alpha\eta\alpha\} \ \eta\epsilon\zeta\alpha\eta\eta\kappa\alpha \ \tau\bar{\omicron}\sigma\epsilon\lambda\omicron$

In both cases we are dealing with a direct object consisting of a plot of land preceding the converb, $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \text{παρρε} \ \epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha\kappa\alpha \ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \alpha\eta\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\tau\iota$ and $\{\epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \text{παρρε}\} \ \epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha \ \sigma\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\kappa\alpha \ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \lambda\iota\omicron$ respectively, and an indirect object between the converb and the main verb, $\sigma\epsilon\zeta\alpha\mu\eta\kappa\alpha$ and $\eta\epsilon\zeta\alpha\eta\eta\kappa\alpha$ respectively. That this is the correct interpretation is confirmed by $\alpha\iota \ \sigma\epsilon\zeta\alpha\mu\eta \ \alpha\eta \ \epsilon\alpha\kappa\kappa\alpha \ \eta\epsilon\zeta\alpha\eta\eta\kappa\alpha \ \text{παρρε} \ \tau\alpha\eta\eta\kappa\alpha \ \delta\alpha\eta\omicron\sigma\alpha \ \Delta\alpha\pi\pi\iota\omicron$ (ll. 14–15), where the direct object $\text{παρρε} \ \tau\alpha\eta\eta\kappa\alpha$ refers back to $\{\epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \text{παρρε}\} \ \epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha \ \sigma\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\kappa\alpha \ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota \ \lambda\iota\omicron$, and the recipient $\eta\epsilon\zeta\alpha\eta\eta\kappa\alpha$ is revealed to be the seller Sewamē’s son. Note that in this case the accusative case marker on $\alpha\eta \ \epsilon\alpha\kappa\kappa\alpha$ is repeated on $\eta\epsilon\zeta\alpha\eta\eta\kappa\alpha$, which is rare.

Following the description of the first part of the sale, we find an extensive curse between lines 4 and 7, which features many of the previously unattested words discussed above:

$\epsilon\eta\kappa\alpha \ \alpha\iota\epsilon\iota\omicron\alpha \ \epsilon\alpha\kappa\alpha\eta\iota\omicron \ \tau\omicron\tau\iota\lambda\alpha \ \alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\lambda\alpha \ \alpha\iota\epsilon\iota\omicron\alpha \ \epsilon\alpha\kappa\alpha\eta\iota\omicron \ \zeta\alpha\eta\eta\kappa\alpha \ \delta\alpha\zeta\iota \ \epsilon\eta\eta\alpha \ \kappa\bar{\rho}\alpha$
 $\rho\omicron\gamma\delta\alpha\kappa\alpha \ \delta\alpha\zeta\iota \ \tau\omicron\tau\alpha \ \gamma\bar{\rho}\alpha \ \delta\omicron\gamma\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma\alpha \ \kappa\alpha\epsilon\iota\zeta\alpha \ \text{παλαμη} \ \delta\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\eta\eta\lambda\omicron \ \epsilon\epsilon\lambda\lambda\iota\kappa\alpha \ \omicron\bar{\rho}\delta\alpha$
 $\text{παλαμη} \ \delta\omicron\bar{\rho}\alpha\eta\eta$

Whoever denies this in his heart, denies in his heart his son and daughter. May he cause his mother to disavow him and his son to exclaim shame, and leave naked and burning hot! May he hastily dress in glowing coals and leave. May he go!

We have other curses attested in Old Nubian with a similar pattern, such as the extensive curse toward the end of a royal decree from Qasr Ibrim *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 30, ll. 30–35, a curse in *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 35, ll. 17–18,²³ and a fragment from Faras Cathedral.²⁴ Except for the petrified forms discussed in the grammatical commentary above, the structure of the curse is what we have come to expect. Its imagery invoking the intense heat of burning hot, glowing coals as punishment, however, is stunning and fits with a general tendency of Old Nubian to associate heat with (negative) exposure. In fact, already in the famous triumphal inscription of King Silko at the temple of Kalabsha, we find a reference to the midday heat being used as punishment: ‘(As for) the rulers (*despotes*) of the other peoples who contend with me, I do not allow them to sit in the shade, but in the sun outside.’²⁵ Considering the climate and terrain that the Nubians inhabited, it is indeed unsurprising that such metaphor took root.

We can now turn to the second important aspect of the sale, namely its placement in time. In his excavation report, Millet dates the document to ‘the late fifteenth century’.²⁶ An exact date of 1484 first appears in an article by Stuart Munro-Hay,²⁷ but, frustratingly, without any reference to its origin. The document is also referenced by Adam Łajtar, with a date of 1483,²⁸ again without further argument. Although such a late dating would make the Gebel Adda sale the most recently recorded document in Old

²³ For such curses in the Qasr Ibrim materials, see G. R. RUFFINI, *Medieval Nubia: A Social and Economic History*, Oxford 2012, pp. 138–139.

²⁴ See V. W. J. VAN GERVEN OEL, ‘An Old Nubian curse from the Faras Cathedral’, *Études et travaux* 32 (2013), pp. 81–88.

²⁵ T. EIDE *et alii* (eds.), *Fontes historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD*, III: *From the First to the Sixth Century AD*, Bergen 1998, no. 317.

²⁶ MILLET, ‘Gebel Adda preliminary report, 1965–66’ (cit. n. 7), p. 62.

²⁷ S. C. MUNRO-HAY, ‘Kings and kingdoms of ancient Nubia’, *Rassegna di studi etiopici* 29 (1982–1983), pp. 87–137, at 130, n. 145, and 131; A. ŁAJTAR, ‘New finds of Greek epitaphs at Dongola’, [in:] A. ŁAJTAR & J. VAN DER VLIET (eds.), *Nubian Voices: Studies in Christian Nubian Culture [= The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement 15]*, Warsaw 2011, pp. 37–94, at 50.

²⁸ ŁAJTAR, ‘A survey of Christian textual finds’ (cit. n. 2), p. 951, and the DBMNT.

Nubian,²⁹ there is no obvious sequence of letters in the Gebel Adda sale that could be construed as a date. It is therefore unclear to me how these datings could have been credibly established in the first place. If we, instead focus on the available evidence at hand, a dating around, possibly before 1463 is more likely. Our main evidence here comes from the protocol between lines 10 and 14:³⁰

ἰϝηλ οὔρογᾶ ἰνι
 ἰϙῶνη ϙ[ο]ἰνηνα εἰνιν
 ἰσακι ὠογῆα εὔνιν
 κοῶδι σογτοὔῤε εἰνιν
 μοὔκοὔτ ῥοκῆαῶ εἰνιν
 [[ῥ]] ἄββα μερκι παπασι εφραμ παῖπαῖσα εἰνιν
 εἰκῶι μικίτοὔτοὔ σογοῶ εἰνιν

This protocol features striking parallels with a protocol from *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 63, ll. 3–6, dated 14 November 1463:³¹

ἰϝηλ ῥωταῶον οὔρογᾶ εἰνῖ
 ἰϙῶνη ῥονηνα εἰνῖ
 εἰσαῖη ὠογῆα εἰνῖ
 ῥοὔρερη οὔρεῶα εἰνῖ
 κοῶη ῥῥορη ῥῥεῖρα εἰνῖ
 τεῶῥερε ἰῖῖῖῖῖ σογοῶ εἰνῖ
 μερκε ῥῖνῖ παπασα εἰνῖ

The editors of *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 63 further connect the Gebel Adda sale to the Old Nubian inscriptions from Tamit, published by Sergio Donadoni (DBMNT 723), and Abu Oda, first published by Francis Ll. Griffith (DBMNT 682).³² The inscription from Tamit can be dated to the same

²⁹ Cf. A. ŁAJTAR & G. R. RUFFINI, 'Qasr Ibrim's last land sale, AD 1463 (EA 90225)', [in:] ŁAJTAR & VAN DER VLIET (eds.), *Nubian Voices* (cit. n. 27), pp. 121–131, at 122.

³⁰ In both protocols cited below I have introduced line breaks to elucidate the structure.

³¹ See ŁAJTAR & RUFFINI, 'Qasr Ibrim's last land sale' (cit. n. 29).

³² S. DONADONI, 'Le iscrizioni', [in:] *Tamit* (1964). *Missione archeologica in Egitto dell'Università di Roma*, Rome 1967, pp. 61–74, no. 1; F. Ll. GRIFFITH, *The Nubian Texts of the Chris-*

period as the Gebel Adda and Qasr Ibrim sales, mentioning both ογρογ ἰὼηλαδο, ‘king Iōēl’ (l. 9), and μερκῖ κλῆμῖ παπαζλο, ‘bishop Merki of Ibrim’ (l. 14).³³ The inscription from Abu Oda can unfortunately not be reconstructed from the photographic plates made during the 1908/10 Prussian Expedition to Philae,³⁴ so we have to rely on Griffith’s own transcription, which mentions on line 2 αἰ ἰὼηλ ογρογτῆ Δωταγτων ογρογ, ‘I, Iōēl, king of the kingdom of Dotawo’.

Our main comparative evidence thus derives from *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 63. Besides the fact that in both protocols Iōēl is featured as king, his retinue also largely overlaps. In both texts we find I(ēsou)sonē as queen mother, Isaki/Eisagē as *šouη*, and Merki/Merkē as bishop of Ibrim. In the Gebel Adda sale, Merki is listed above the eparch of Nobadia, while in the Qasr Ibrim sale, he is listed below him. It is unclear what the implications are in this case. Was Merki promoted or demoted in between? Or was Teddēerre more senior when he was eparch than Eikiši? Ruffini’s study of the protocols in the Qasr Ibrim materials ranks the bishop of Ibrim nearly as high as the eparch of Nobadia in terms of number of appearances in legal protocol, so it may very well be that other factors than office alone determined the relative ordering between bishop and eparch in any given protocol.³⁵ Both protocols also feature a certain Koddi/Koddē, who had changed office from scribe in the Gebel Adda sale to great *odjor* in the Qasr Ibrim sale, most likely the same office as that of great *odñor* found elsewhere. In other protocols, the office of scribe is consistently mentioned later than that of the great *odñor* (e.g. *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 35, 36), which suggests that Koddi was promoted between the Gebel Adda and Qasr Ibrim sales. A demotion in the other direction seems less likely, as the existing datable protocols only show evidence of promotions: Papanil promoted from scribe to great scribe between *P. Qasr Ibrim* III 35 and 36.

tian Period, Berlin 1913, pp. 64–65; see LAJTAR & RUFFINI, ‘Qasr Ibrim’s last land sale’ (cit. n. 29), pp. 125–126.

³³ See G. OCHALA, ‘Nubica onomastica miscellanea III’ (cit n. 16), no. 12.

³⁴ Preuß. Expedition nach Philae 1908/1910 Berlin Photo Nr. 748, 749 (Altnubische Inschrift Abu Hoda).

³⁵ G. R. RUFFINI, in *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV, pp. 33–38.

Similarly, Ruffini tentatively suggests a dating of *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 65 after 1286 based on the promotion of Dourerē from *ourtaši* to great *ourtaši*, and perhaps similarly *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 69 should be dated after *P. Qasr Ibrim* IV 67 considering the additional title given to Gourresē, the deputy eparch of Nobadia, who also became *samat* (head of cultivation) in Faras.³⁶

From the evidence found in five protocols from securely dated Qasr Ibrim documents spanning 1155–1199 (*P. Qasr Ibrim* III 30, 35, 36, 38, & 40), we find that the longest stretches in office (apart from king and queen mother) are held by Douddil, who was great *odñor* for twelve years from 1187 to 1199, and Papanil/Papannē, Zak(h)ari, and Perse(l), who were respectively great scribe, *nešš* of the *odñor*, and *nešš* of the city (*dippin*) for eight years between 1190 and 1199 serving under both king Moses George and king Basil. If our assumption is correct that Koddi was indeed promoted from scribe to great *odñor*, thus suggesting that the Gebel Adda sale should be dated before the one from Qasr Ibrim, and we assume that the maximum length of service in most offices was about a decade, the Gebel Adda sale should be dated to the 1450s or early 1460s.

Vincent W. J. van Gerven Oei

Independent scholar

Tirana

ALBANIA

e-mail: vincent@vangervenoiei.com

³⁶ For this interpretation, see V. W. J. VAN GERVEN OEI & G. FERRANDINO, ‘On the possible Meroitic origin of the Old Nubian titles CAMET and CAMETIGO ’, *Orientalia* 91/1 (2022), pp. 118–133.