An Old Nubian Curse from the Faras Cathedral

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Abstract: The present paper analyses an Old Nubian inscription from the Faras Cathedral, containing a curse with a reference to Col 1:13. The publication gives a description of the inscription, a transcription with critical apparatus, and a grammatical and general commentary on the text.

Keywords: Christian Nubia, Faras, wall inscriptions, Old Nubian, curse, Biblical citations

The following text from the Cathedral in Faras (field inv. no. B 34 a.3; National Museum in Warsaw inventory nos 234007 MN; DBMNT 2804) was first published by Stefan Jakobielski as Inscription 53. It was found on the first west pilaster in the North Aisle of the Cathedral, south face (Fig. 1). Only the end of the inscription, which Jakobielski correctly identified as Old Nubian, was preserved, but the ink drops splattered across the text from the first legible line downward suggest that the text extended an unknown number of lines upward. The inscription measures 34 x 46cm, with Nubian-type majuscules of an average height of 4.5cm (Fig. 2). Based on the layer of plaster, Jakobielski dates the text between the beginning of the eleventh and the fifteenth century. The following transcription and translation are based on the photograph, transcription, and analysis provided by Jakobielski and autoptic examination by the author at the National Museum in Warsaw, where the inscription is on display.

1 Jakobielski 1974: 278, 308, Pl. 70.
2 Recently, three other Old Nubian inscriptions from the Faras Cathedral were published. See: Makowski, Van Gerven Oei 2016; Łajtar, Ochala 2017.

DOI: 10.12775/EtudTrav.32.005
1. Plan of the Faras Cathedral with location of the inscription marked with an arrow; latter additions marked with darker shades (Digitising: D. Zielińska; based on: Godlewski 2006: Fig. 5).

[unknown number of lines missing]

1  [3–4] ἀρνά
   [3–4] ἐπὶρκαν
   [ΝΟ] ὑκτὴλ

4  τὰκ ἀβ πιμεν
   ἀνὴ ἀν ἑαν
   ἐκανελα ὑεῖ γ
   ὑρικ ἐλμεν

8  ἀμὴ : ~
If he sends (...), may the earth not make and produce it, may he not find 6 foot to take in the kingdom of his son.

1. ḡarīl Jakobielski || 2. εἱρκας Jakobielski || 5. ḡm tāŋ₃n Jakobielski || 6. ḡw Jakobielski || 8. ḡm Jakobielski

(...)

GRAMMATICAL COMMENTARY

1. ḡm: Jakobielski transcribes ḡarīl. The supralinear stroke over the n is unlikely, as would be expected over the てくれ。A τ or perhaps even a ι seems possible before the  بحي, with the latter giving us the pronomial form τάριξ, which has been attested for example in P.QI II 13.1.4 τάριξ.3

2. εἱρκας[νο]: εἰτρ, ‘to send’.4 The supralinear stroke over the τ is unexpected and phonologically unnecessary (see the General Commentary). The ending -κας may be amended into the conditional ending -κας[νο] continuing on the next line, which has been

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3 Browne 1989: 11.
attested for example in K 20.3 τρενκαννο, ‘if he doesn’t give’. A form ending in -κάν, without the locative suffix but with the same meaning, is also possible, but this would leave an awkward gap at the beginning of line 3, where the subject ćkītǎx clearly marks the beginning of a new clause.

3. ćkītǎx: ćkī, ‘earth’, followed by determiner -x. The geminated spelling with ττ has not been attested before. The two black traces before ćkītǎx appear to be ink splatters, not traces of letters. ćkītǎx is the subject of the verb 4. πινενάνη.

4. τακ: Accusative of the third person singular pronoun, object of 4. πινενάνη.

αβ: There is no attested Old Nubian word with this form, nor does it appear to follow Old Nubian phonological conventions. However, there is one other attested occurrence of the letter b being used to transcribe the semivowel /w/, namely in an unpublished bilingual Greek-Old Nubian version of Psalm 127 found in Old Dongola, where we find the variant γοσεβάκ for γοσεγογάκ, ‘god-fearing’. If we adopt a similar reading here, αβ could be the root α(γ)ογ, ‘to make’, dependent on the verb 4. πινενάνη.

πινενάνη: Jakobielski suggests a relation to the verb ἔμ, ‘to be, lie, remain’, but since it is a transitive verb with an object, a relation to ἐμε, ‘to grow, produce’ or ἐμά, ‘to come out’, seems more likely. Such a meaning seems to be reinforced by the preceding verbal root αβ. The verb itself has a negative suffix -Hen, predicate marker -α, and jussive -ήν.

5. ταν: Genitive of the third person singular pronoun.

εαν: Genitive of εα(α), ‘son’.

6. ῥκανελα: ῥκανε, ‘kingdom’ with dative -λα. The phrase ταν εαν ῥκανελα probably refers to Col 1:13 τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ υἱοῦ, ‘in the kingdom of his son’ (see the General Commentary).

οει ς: Possibly οει, ‘foot’, followed by a stigma, the Copto-Greek number 6, ς. It seems unlikely that the letter should be read as ρ, considering the fact that the scribe wrote this
letter correctly on the previous line. Measurements in feet have been previously attested, e.g. $P.QI$ III 38 \text{τραπεζή} \text{δεί} \text{Ξ} \lambda \alpha, ‘4 feet from the altar’.\textsuperscript{14} \text{δεί} \varsigma is the object of \text{ψρ̣κε}, but the accusative case appears to have been dropped, cf. SC 23.14 \text{ἔκτι} \text{κήπαννα}.\textsuperscript{15} Perhaps ‘6 foot in the kingdom of his son’ here refers metaphorically to the place of man in the Christian world.

7. \text{ψρ̣κε}: Unknown nominal form ending in accusative marker -\kappa, which marks the object of 7. \text{ἐλα̣̣ν'άν}. \text{δεί} \varsigma \text{ψρ̣κε}. The final \kappa is dropped, as usual, before the initial vowel of the subsequent word. As Old Nubian does not allow word-initial \psi, perhaps we should assume a sublinear stroke that was either omitted or lost in the damage above the letter. In that we may be dealing with a verbal root \psị, followed by transitive marker -\rhọ, and present tense -\epsilonλ-\kappa > -\epsilonκ, cf. $P.QI$ I 4.i.26 δορɛκâ.\textsuperscript{16} The verbal root \psị may be related to ψρ̣ ‘to take, suffer’\textsuperscript{17} and Mattokki iny ‘aufheben, fortnehmen, tragen, eine religiöse Pflicht erfüllen’.\textsuperscript{18}

\text{ἐλα̣̣ν'άν}: Correctly identified by Jakobielski\textsuperscript{19} as a form of ελ, ‘to find’.\textsuperscript{20} The form is parallel to 4. \text{πινελ̣άν}. A supralinear stroke over the \kappa may have been lost and is no longer readable. A similar negative jussive is found in $P.QI$ III 30 34 ε' \text{'λα̣̣ν'άν} (see the General Commentary).\textsuperscript{21}

GENERAL COMMENTARY

Although the ink splatters in line 1 suggest that the text extended upward for an unknown number of lines, the end of the text has been nearly fully preserved. It also appears that at least for the last 5 lines, both the left- and right-hand margins have been fully preserved. This state of preservation allows us to arrive at a partial translation.

The general meaning of the text hinges on the interpretation of the two main verbs, 4. \text{πινελ̣άν} and 7. \text{ἐλα̣̣ν'άν}. As both are formulated as negative jussives (‘may not …’), we concur with Jakobielski that it should not be identified as a prayer. However, the same forms also make it difficult to identify the text as an ‘instruction’ or ‘canon’, as Jakobielski suggests, which usually end in either an imperative or vetitive form (‘do …’ or ‘do not …’). However, if our emendation and interpretation of 2. \text{ετ̣ι̣κ̣ά} as a conditional is correct, we do find the syntactic structure ‘if …, may not …’. This does not resemble so much of an instruction or rule, rather the form of a curse.

\textsuperscript{14} Browne 1991: 16.
\textsuperscript{15} Browne 1984: 71.
\textsuperscript{16} Browne 1989: 19.
\textsuperscript{17} Browne 1996: 62.
\textsuperscript{18} von Massenbach 1933: 177.
\textsuperscript{19} Jakobielski 1974: 308.
\textsuperscript{20} Browne 1996: 56.
\textsuperscript{21} Browne 1991: 4.
There is one other attested curse in Old Nubian, at the end of the royal proclamation \textit{P.QI} III 30,\textsuperscript{22} which follows the same structure and indeed contains the same verbal form \textit{ⲉⲗⲙⲉⲛⲁⲙⲏ}, ‘may he not find’.\textsuperscript{23}

\textit{P.QI} III 30–35

30 ἀλεπί αὐ  κακά ὀγκάκα γαγαδάλλο ἐπιμαχοκά ταν ωνίζεροκο τακκα ὁγιδάλλο ὁλό ὀγκόγογ καλάλλο διά ἰν’ Ἰ ἄν Ἕκτ’ ταυ’ ὄγκης ὀγκίσμαμ’ Σλο ἴογά εἰςκαραγουγν ἐπειγορκε σολα δού’ ἢ’ ἐδοδάλλα πιγ’τα εταιμίν ἶλ’ κιτ’ την’λα
34 τακκα’ ειελκα ἐλεματάτ’ Ἰ ἐπιμαχοκά’ ἄνει ν ὀγκό’ πιγ’ δαγούλ ἱαλαλ’ ταράμ’’’

Whoever will speak against and deny my statement, let Epimachus stab him multiple times with his spear; 2. may he die from the king’s curse; 3. may he begin to bear an affliction of the heart inside; 4. may he receive a share with Judas Iscariot,\textsuperscript{24} man-wounder and betrayer; 5. may he not find anyone who knows him among the assembled people; 6. may Epimachus on the Day of Judgment come (in) great battle against him.

The curse in \textit{P.QI} III 30 follows the same construction as the one from the Faras Cathedral, starting with a conditional ἀλεπί … γαγαδάλλο, followed by six jussive forms ending in -がありました．

Elsewhere in the Faras Cathedral, there is another bilingual Greek-Old Nubian inscription mentioning a curse, this time explicitly.\textsuperscript{25} I give here a transcription and translation of the Old Nubian part of the inscription that varies slightly from theirs:

tλλι αίκα ἄρουγκαραμ’ κοκαἰ’\textsuperscript{26} τοῦγα αἴδο κρύγ μεναν’ τάλλο ὀγκα πα[ου]γνα

May God protect me. May the jealous ones not cause a curse to come up on me. May God give me\textsuperscript{27} the book of the inheritance of power. Amen.

\textsuperscript{22} Browne 1991: 4.
\textsuperscript{23} A similar verbal form is found in another curse: \textit{P.QI} III 41.18 ΜΚΤΑΣΑΜΗ (Browne 1991: 22). See: Van Gerven Oei, Tsakos 2018 for discussion.
\textsuperscript{24} Note that the Old Nubian form of Iscariot is εἰςκαραγογ, a genitive plural. This suggests that the Nubian scribe interpreted Iscariot in the tradition that etymologically derives it from the Latin sicarius, ‘dagger man.’
\textsuperscript{25} Łajtar, Ochala 2017: 307–312, no. 2.
\textsuperscript{26} Łajtar and Ochala suggest κοκ’<κοκ’>καἰ’ I do not think the reduplication needs to be introduced to render the same meaning.
\textsuperscript{27} The benefactive verb ἄνει implies a first person recipient.
Interestingly, the prayer from the Faras Cathedral contains the word τογς for ‘curse’, whereas *P.QI* III 30 has the word κάκε. The former is related to Andaandi *tūs*, ‘curse’28 and Mattokki *tūs*, ‘fluchen, verwünschen, hasssen’,29 while the latter is related to Nobii *gar(i)*, ‘schlecht, häßlich, böse, unglücklich’,30 which has perhaps been loaned into Mattokki *garri*, ‘schlecht, häßlich, Unglück bringend’.31 This distinction may represent a dialectal variation that has already been suggested by Adam Łajtar and Grzegorz Ochala.32

Our inscription also contains several interesting variants that may offer us a clue as to its relative dating and use. The spellings found in 1. ṣইⲣකਾਲ[β] and 2. ࠪਾਤਾ, 4. ਪ੍ਰਦੀਲੜੀ, and 7. ਫੇਕ have not been attested as such before. In general, the spelling is atypical and suggests that the scribe may not have been fully familiar with the literary language – because the text is of an unofficial nature, or is produced at a later stage of language development or during a period of decline in literacy. None of these explanations, which are moreover not mutually exclusive, can be preferred with any measure of certainty.

Thus, there seems to be a certain tension between the form and the content of this particular text. On the one hand, the execution in ‘carefully written […] large letters’, which, as Jakobielski remarks, ‘are well visible,’ indeed suggests some type of officially sanctioned text, rather than a private prayer or visitor’s graffito. This seems to be confirmed also by our analysis of the text, which identifies it as a curse. On the other hand, the multiple, previously unattested spelling variants suggest that the scribe was not educated in the tradition that has produced literary texts such as the pseudo-Nicene Canons.33 This would exclude a liturgical aim. Does this text therefore bear witness to a period in which the official use of Old Nubian was already in decline and the Cathedral in Faras past the heyday of the Makuritan state and church?

The curse appears to invoke both a worldly and a religious context. The first element of the curse, which threatens the reader an infertile ࠪਾਤਾ, ‘earth’ that will no longer produce crops is combined with a second element, which refers to τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ υἱοῦ, a reference to Paul’s letter to the Col 1:13 τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ υἱοῦ, a Christian life redeemed of sin and death. The curse therefore appears to be addressed to a reader that is both Christian and familiar with the Scripture, but also part of an agrarian community. In other words, it does not seem to be directed to invading outsiders. This is also confirmed by the language in which the curse is written, Old Nubian. This does not only assume the Old Nubian literacy of the scribe, but also that those who were addressed by the curse were able to read it and understand its meaning.

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29 von Massenbach 1933: 220.
31 von Massenbach 1933: 166.
33 Browne 1983.
The fact that such a curse is written in large letters at a visible location in the church – otherwise a unique phenomenon in the context of Nubian church *graffiti* and *dipinti* – suggests that it may have been placed there after the regular use of the church had ceased. For such a curse would be unnecessary if at that point the church had still been in function, and vandalism or intruders not a reasonable threat. Perhaps the meaning of this inscription should be sought in this direction: a relic from a period, perhaps around the thirteenth century, in which Nubian-speaking Christians came under increased pressure from Muslim incursions from Egypt, and the Cathedral of Faras slowly vanished underneath the desert sand.34

**Acknowledgments**

The author would like to thank Adam Łajtar, Alexandros Tsakos, and two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments on draft versions of this text, and Dobrochna Zielińska for preparing the plan.

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34 Jakobielski 1972: 167.
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XXXII

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