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COMMENTATIONES

Alara und Taharka:  
zur Geschichte des nubischen Königshauses<sup>1</sup>

Karl JANSEN-WINKELN

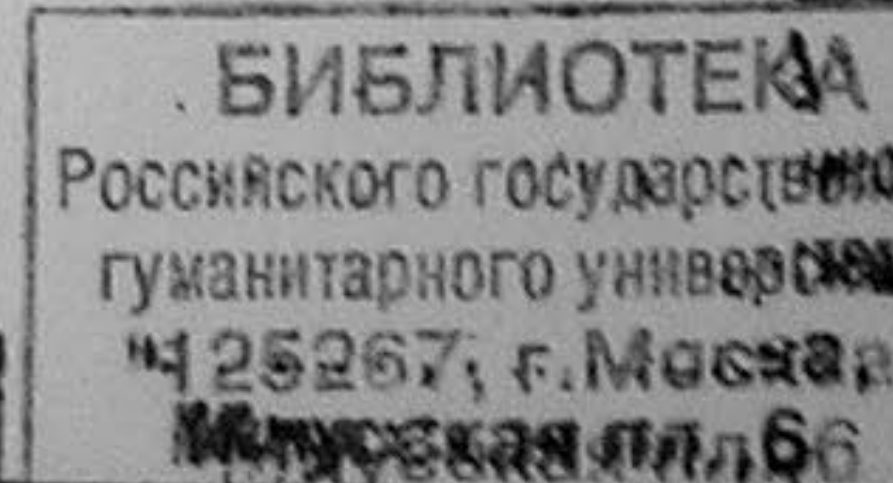
Auf zwei im Tempel von Kawa errichteten Stelen des Taharka aus seinen Jahren 6 („Kawa IV“) und 10 („Kawa VI“) kommt jeweils eine Passage vor, in der Taharka eine Rede seines Großonkels und entfernten Vorgängers Alara<sup>2</sup> an den Gott Amun wörtlich zitiert. Entsprechend ihrer Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Reichs von Napata und für die Vorgeschichte der 25. ägyptischen Dynastie sind diese beiden Abschnitte gerade in jüngerer Zeit öfter übersetzt und besprochen worden<sup>3</sup>. Allerdings haben fast alle diese Arbeiten einige gravierende Mißverständnisse des Erstbearbeiters L. Macadam beibehalten, was um so mehr erstaunt, als die meisten dieser Fehler schon von J. J. Clère in seiner Rezension<sup>4</sup> zur Publikation der Stelen richtiggestellt worden sind. Da dies offenbar nicht beachtet worden ist und auch sonst einiges (sprachlich und historisch) anders zu verstehen ist, möchte ich im Folgenden noch einmal auf diese Passagen eingehen.

<sup>1</sup> Abkürzungen nach *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Bd. 7, S. XIII-XXXVIII. Außerdem: FHN = T. Eide u. a. (edd.), *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, Vol. I: *From the eighth to the mid-fifth century BC* (Bergen 1994); Vol. II: *From the mid-fifth to the first century BC* (Bergen 1996); *Katalog Sudan* = D. Wildung (ed.), *Sudan – Antike Königreiche am Nil* (Ausstellungskatalog München 1996); Lohwasser, *Königliche Frauen* = A. Lohwasser, *Die königlichen Frauen im antiken Reich von Kusch* (Meroitica 19; 2001); Macadam, *Kawa* = M. F. L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa, I. The Inscriptions* (Oxford 1949); Morkot, *Black Pharaohs* = R. G. Morkot, *The Black Pharaohs* (London 2000); *Selbstverständnis und Realität* = R. Gundlach – Ch. Raedler (edd.), *Selbstverständnis und Realität, Akten des Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie in Mainz 15.-17. 6. 1995* (ÄUAT 36,1; 1997); *Studien zum antiken Sudan* = St. Wenig (ed.), *Studien zum antiken Sudan, Akten der 7. Internationalen Tagung für meroitistische Forschungen vom 14. bis 19. September 1992 in Gosen/ bei Berlin* (Meroitica 15; 1999); Török, *Birth* = L. Török, *The Birth of an Ancient African Kingdom* (CRIPEL, Suppl. 4; 1995); Török, *Kingdom of Kush* = L. Török, *The Kingdom of Kush* (HdO I, 31; 1997).

<sup>2</sup> Obwohl nur zwei Generationen älter, muß die Regierungszeit des Alara knapp 100 Jahre vor der des Taharka liegen.

<sup>3</sup> Z. B. K.-H. Priese, *ZÄS* 108 (1981) 52 (IV, Z. 16-19); R. H. Pierce, in: FHN I 135-143; 164-175 (beide Stelen insgesamt); Török, *Birth* 99 (VI, Z. 22-24); id., *Kingdom of Kush* 124-25 (IV, Z. 16-19); 125-26 (VI, Z. 23-24); K. Zibelius-Chen, in: *Selbstverständnis und Realität* 86-7 (VI, Z. 22-4); A. Vinogradov, *RIPEL* 20 (1999) 91 (IV, 16-9; VI, 22-4); E. Y. Kormysheva, in: *Studien zum antiken Sudan* 242 (IV, Z. 16-18; VI, Z. 22-23); Morkot, *Black Pharaohs* 156 (VI, Z. 22-24); Lohwasser, *Königliche Frauen* 35 (IV, Z. 16-19); 38 (VI, Z. 22-25).

<sup>4</sup> *BiOr* 8 (1951) 174-80.





## Common Literary Patterns in Hittite Magical Rituals and Prayers

Grazia TORRE

This article aims at showing how several elements used in Hittite ritual literature were often adopted also in prayer. It is apparent that the redactors of these texts had a huge ensemble of different motifs, perhaps the heritage of a former oral tradition. But the possible oral origin of compositions like rituals and prayers will not be discussed here, inasmuch as at present there are not enough elements to analyse the process that put these texts into a written form for the first time. Nonetheless the hypothesis of V. Haas and I. Wegner must be taken into account, according to which these texts were written by the scribes at the dictation of the magicians.<sup>1</sup> The texts themselves clearly testify how their content was effective only when pronounced aloud, an obvious consideration motivated by the frequent use of expressions like: "And the magician speaks in this way." Spoken words were believed to be an effective way for humans to communicate with the gods, as stated in the ritual CTH 447, KBo XI 10 III 17: "The tongue is a bridge!"<sup>2</sup>

The use of a writing system makes it possible to fix religious (and not only religious) beliefs in a more efficient and rigorous way than the oral tradition would allow: the creation of sets of canonical texts preserves and guarantees their integrity for future generations by being written down, not by the possibly fallacious memory of men.

Magical rituals were written mainly for practical reasons, and they are often the mere description of the sequence of actions that a magician had to perform. For this reason they are usually not considered literary writings. However it seems incorrect and somehow restrictive to think of the rites as non-literary compositions at all. Inside the rites, one can find invocations to the gods, blessings, curses, and myths worked out using different and sometimes sophisticated figures of speech like similes, metaphors and other "poetic" images, as happens in the prayers, generally regarded as literary compositions.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time it is possible to show that the two genres, prayers and rituals, have much in common, not simply because they are the product of the same religion, but especially in so far as they were composed in the framework of the

same scribal tradition. It is the author's opinion that their common features do not only consist of the same "folkloric" pattern included in the magical rituals and later adopted in the prayers. In the period of Hittite libraries, the ritual compositions, just as much as other texts, must be basically considered a product of the scribes and of the religious authority, worked out to protect the life of the king. A few examples will suffice to clarify and justify this point.

In the so-called prayer of Gassuliyawiya to Lehwani (CTH 380) the substitute woman offered by the princess is described in the following way<sup>4</sup>:

KBo IV 6 obv.

13' *pár-ku-i-sa-as a-pa-a-as mi-is-ri-wa-an-za a-pa-a-as har-ki-sa-as*  
*a-pa-a-as*

"She is pure, she is bright (?), she is white."

These three adjectives are used quite often in the presentation of the substitute victim to the gods<sup>5</sup>, but it is remarkable that their sequence is exactly the same as that adopted in the ritual CTH 443 in order to describe the sheep offered by the priest:

KBo XV 10+ obv. II

9 *pár-ku-i-sa-as mi-is-ri-wa-an-za-an har-ki-in* ...

"a pure, bright, white (sheep)"

The above text is a Middle Hittite composition (MH/MS), dating back to the time of the royal couple Tuthaliya and Nikalmati, whose names are mentioned in the development of the ritual practice<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand Gassuliyawiya's prayer is a later composition, the handwriting of which goes back to the XIII century, probably during Muršili's II Reign<sup>7</sup>.

Even if the order in which the words appear in these texts may not be considered noteworthy enough to demonstrate a connection between rituals and prayers, the following example is indubitably much more significant.

In the ritual of Hantizisu, a woman (?) of Hurma, CTH 395, it is possible to find oral rites of various kinds. Analogic spells expressed by similes, invocations to the gods and myths together represent the oral component of this magical perfor-

<sup>1</sup> O. Carruba writes about popular motifs in the prayers as derivations of magical texts. O. Carruba, "Saggio sulla preghiera etea (a proposito di CTH 376)", in: O. Carruba - M. Liverani - C. Zaccagnini, *Studi orientalistici in ricordo di Franco Pinore* (Studia Medaenaria 4; Pavia 1983) 3-27, esp. pp. 15-17. See also I. Singer, "Kantuzili the Priest and the Birth of Hittite Personal Prayer", in: P. Taracha, *Silva Anatolica: Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Warsaw 2002) 301-313, esp. pp. 306-307.

<sup>2</sup> J. Tischler, *Das hethitische Gebet der Gassulijawija: Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 37; Innsbruck 1981) 12.

<sup>3</sup> See CHD L-N 297b.

<sup>4</sup> G. Szabó, *Ein hethitisches Entschuldigungsritual für das Königspaar Tuthaliya und Nikalmati* (Thietz 1; Heidelberg 1971).

<sup>5</sup> About the attribution of the prayer to the period of Hattusili III see J. de Roos, "Who was Kilišhepa?", *JEOL* 29 (1985-86) 74-83; id., review of J. Tischler, *Das hethitische Gebet der Gassulijawija*, *BuOr* 42 (1985) 128-133; I. Singer, "The Title 'Great Princess' in the Hittite Empire", *UF* 23 (1991) 327-338; A. Ural, "Hethitische Hymnen und Gebete", in: *Lieder und Gebete* 2 (TUAT II/6; Göttersloh 1991) 811-813; Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, "The Hittite Dynastic Marriages of the Period between ca. 1258 and 1244 B.C.", *AsF* 23 (1996) 40-75. In any case the ductus of the text belongs to the late Empire period.

<sup>6</sup> V. Haas - I. Wegner, *Die Rituale der Beschwörerinnen* (ChS I/5; Roma 1988) I 1.

<sup>7</sup> G. Beckman, "Proverbs and Proverbial Allusions in Hittite", *JNES* 45 (1986) 19-30; id., "The Tongue is a Bridge: Communication between Humans and Gods in Hittite Anatolia", *ArOr* 67 (1999) 519-534.

<sup>8</sup> N. Veldhuis, "The Poetry of Magic", in: T. Abusch - K. van der Toorn, *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical, and Interpretative Perspectives* (Groningen 1999) 35-48. On the various literary genres see for example A. Archi, "Hittite and Hurrian Literature: an Overview", in: J. M. Sauer, *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East IV* (New York 1995) 2367-2377.



mance. As A. Ünal has already underlined in the framework of the publication of the ritual, it was handed down in several versions, compiled during the whole Hittite history for the benefit of only a few persons<sup>9</sup>.

As regards the similes, it has been already stated that they were not meant to decorate the text but to create a practical effect on the reality<sup>10</sup>. In this respect, similes are very often accompanied in the rituals by the manipulation of objects and materials, although in many other cases they are simply part of curses, unconnected with any kind of manual ceremony.

In the ritual of *Hantitaššu* one of these similes takes the following form:

KBo XI 14 obv. II  
 22 IGI-zi-an GIM-an <sup>GIŠ</sup>hur-ki-in EGIR-zi-iš an-<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup> ú-UL  
 23 ú-e-mi-ya-zi i-da-lu-uš-ša UD.KAM-az  
 24 EN.SISKUR le-e KAR-zi na-at-ta am-me-el [ud-da-a-a]r  
 25 <sup>1</sup>UTU-aš <sup>1</sup>kam-ru-ši-pa-aš-ša ud-da-a-a[r]  
 26 ta-an-du-kiš-na-ša-at DUMU-aš <sup>1</sup>hu-<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>[(uk-ma-a-uš a)-ša-an-du]  
 27 nu ku-u-un <sup>1</sup>hu-u-u[k-m]a-in 7-šú <sup>1</sup>h[(u-u-uk-zi)]

“As the rear wheel cannot find the front wheel, in the same way let also the evil day not find the offerer! They are not my [words]. They are the words of the Sun God and of Kamrušepa. [Let] them [be] the conjurations of mankind.’ / And she repeats this spell seven times.”

We have two parallel versions of this passage in the same ritual, KBo XIII 145 obv. 7'-11' and 2029/g(+), ll. 6'-11'<sup>11</sup>.

It must be observed that the offerer in 2029/g(+) is a person named Attai and not an unidentified EN.SISKUR as in the other manuscripts<sup>12</sup>. The name of this man shows the connection of the ritual with the Middle Hittite period<sup>13</sup>. However this is the only significant discrepancy between the spells of the different ritual versions, but it is important because it demonstrates that this ritual was carried out in different situations and for a number of clients.

In the philological commentary A. Ünal briefly remarks, “the only parallel passage to this contagious magic using wheels as a simile comes so far from (the prayer) KUB XXXVI 91(+) rev. 10'-12' with its dupl. that is published now as as KUB LX 156 rev. 12' ff. ...”<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> A. Ünal, *The Hittite Ritual of Hantitaššu from the City of Hurma against Troublesome Years: Studies in Ancient Anatolian Magical Practices* (Ankara 1996) 1-13. The title in the colophon of KUB XLIII 57+ IV 24'-25': “If years belonging to a person, whether man or woman, have been disturbed (?) ...” can be referred to many diseases of different kinds. See CHD L-N 443a.

<sup>10</sup> D. R. Hillers, “The Effective Simile in Biblical Literature”, *JAOS* 103 (1983) 181-185; D. P. Wright, “Analogy in Biblical and Hittite Ritual”, in: B. Janowski - K. Koch - G. Wilhelm, *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament: Internationales Symposium Hamburg, 17.-21. März 1990* (OBO 129; Fribourg/Göttingen 1993) 473-506.

<sup>11</sup> Ünal, *Hantitaššu* 85. 2029/g(+) KBo XVII 104.

<sup>12</sup> In KUB XLIII 57+ EN.SISKUR is clearly the king.

<sup>13</sup> Attai is a contemporary of Ziplantawiya, and of the royal couple Tuthaliya and Nikalmati. See Ünal, *Hantitaššu* 58-60; M. Hutter, “Bemerkungen zur Verwendung magischer Rituale in mittelhethitischer Zeit”, *AoF* 18 (1991) 32-43, esp. p. 35.

<sup>14</sup> Ünal, *Hantitaššu* 63. This prayer was included by Laroche in CTH 389.

As a matter of fact there is another fragment that was attributed with reasonable certainty to this prayer (pre-NH/NS), specifically 871/z, rev. III 9'-11', as already stated in Otten-Rüster's publication of the fragment<sup>15</sup>.

In the prayer mentioned the simile pertaining to the wheel is joined with another simile concerning a snake<sup>16</sup>:

KUB XXXVI 91 (+) KUB XLIII 68 rev.

8' ... nu MUŠ-aš ma-aḫ-ḫa-an  
 9' ḫa-at-te-eš-šar ú-UL w[a-<sup>17</sup> (i-da-a-lu-ya u)]t-<sup>1</sup>tar<sup>1</sup> EGIR-pa  
 a-pé-e-el-pát iš-ša-aš pa-id-du  
 10' ap-pi-iz-zi-iš-š[(a <sup>GIŠ</sup>hu-u-ur-ki-iš ma-aḫ-ḫa-an)an ḫa-an-te-e]z-zi-in  
<sup>GIŠ</sup>hur-ki-in  
 11' ú-UL ú-e-mi-iz[-zi LUGAL-un MUNUS.LUGAL-an-na i-(da-a-lu-uš ud-  
 da-n)]a-an-za  
 12' <sup>1</sup>le-e<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>[-e-mi-iz-zi (ka-a-ša DINGIR<sup>mes</sup>-aš)] ud-da-a-ar ...

“As a snake doesn't [ ] the hole, (in the same way) let also the evil word go back to his mouths! / As the rear wheel cannot find the front wheel, let also the evil word not find the [king and the queen]<sup>18</sup>! Here are the words of the gods.”

KUB XXXVI 91(+) seems to be a prayer addressed to the Sun God and to the Storm God for the health and the life of the royal couple. The name of the Hittite king, who was supposed to recite this invocation, is lost. The damaged obverse of the text preserves the use of the first person singular of the verbal forms and in the declinations of the personal pronouns, so that it can be stated with a certain confidence that it was a prayer-text.

Unfortunately all the known redactions have a gap in the line describing the action of the snake.

A similar association of similes is present also in the fragmentary ritual text KUB LX 25 rev.:

4' [ -z]i MUŠ-aš [ma-aḫ-ḫa-an  
 5' [ -]x-zi a-pé-e-el-la [   
 6' [ ]-ta-nu-uz-zi  
 7' [IGI-zi-in ḫur-k]i-in EGIR-iz-zi-iš ḫ[ur-ki-iš  
 8' [ <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>]a<sup>1</sup>-am-ma-an-na LUGAL-un [   
 9' [ le-e ú-e-]mi-ya-az-zi nu [

<sup>15</sup> H. Otten - Ch. Rüster, “Textanschlüsse und Duplikate von Boğazköy-Tafeln”, *ZA* 64 (1975) 241-249, at pp. 243-244. Duplicates are Bo 2477 (KUB LX 156) and 871/z.

<sup>16</sup> I. Singer, in: *Fs. Popko* 302-304.

<sup>17</sup> Singer, *ibid.* 303 suggests the restoration *wakkari*, and translates “As a snake does not [miss (?)] its hole”.

<sup>18</sup> The insertion of LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL at line 11' is quite justified because the royal couple is mentioned in the first part of the prayer. See for example KUB XXXVI 91(+) rev. 4'. Instead of the restoration LUGAL-un SAL.LUGAL-an-ma (see Singer, in: *Fs. Popko* 303) I prefer to add the particle -ya (-an-ya > -an-na), typical of the syntactical construction of the similes.



In this passage the analogical spell seems to be uttered against someone or something related with the Amanus Mountain (l. 8'). The text is also too fragmentary to determine whether it is a parallel version of KUB XXXVI 91(+) or not<sup>19</sup>.

Just like in the utterance of the Hantitaššu ritual (ll. 25-26), in the prayer KUB XXXVI 91(+) the analogical invocation also ends with the statement that these are divine words: (12) [(ka-a-ša DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-aš)] ud-da-a-ar.

The simile pertaining to the wheel is attested in another fragment, probably also a ritual, KUB LX 44 obv.:

- 1' [da-ri-ya-an-ta-an la-aš-ke-e-mi wa-ar-ši-an-da-an]  
 2' tu-u-ri-<sup>1</sup>ya<sup>1</sup>-a[n-zi wa-ar-ši-an-da-an]  
 3' tu-u-ri-iš-ki-mi ap-pi-i[z-zi-iš hur-ki-iš]  
 4' GIM-an IGI-<sup>1</sup>zi-in<sup>1</sup> UL <sup>1</sup>ú-e<sup>1</sup>-[mi-ya-zi]  
 5' <sup>2</sup>UTU-šum-ma-an x[ ]x[ -n]a-an x[ ]  
 6' le-e ú-e-mi-iš-<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-zi

"[I am going to release the exhausted one]. They yoke [the rested one (?)<sup>20</sup>], I am going to yoke [the rested one]. As the rear [wheel] cannot find the front [wheel], let [also the evil (?)] not find the [ ] of Our Sun<sup>21</sup>."

In spite of the use of the very same elements in the simile, the above version must be considered as a third textual tradition, not concerning the ritual of Hantitaššu or the prayer text analysed above. Parallel versions of it are two unpublished fragments, Bo 7777 and Bo 6952<sup>22</sup>.

It is very interesting to observe that in this case the simile of the wheel is combined with a particular incantation, here probably uttered by the priest that performs the ritual. He declares that he is going to yoke someone, most likely the enemy of the EN.SISKUR<sup>23</sup>.

A similar magic formula is also present in the Hantitaššu ritual, even though not directly related with the simile already analysed, but with another image regarding a little seed. The simile of the wheel follows immediately after (ll. 22-26):

KBo XI 14 II

- 15 zi-iq-qa <sup>2</sup>UTU-uš i-it nu <sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-ri-in <sup>1</sup>4-in<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>5-in<sup>1</sup> [ ]  
 16 ú-e-<sup>1</sup>el-lu-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>x-x-ya<sup>1</sup> la-a-a da-ri-ya-an-ta-[an]  
 17 tu-ri-ya-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> wa-ar-ši-ya-an-ta-a[n]  
 18 la-a-a <sup>1</sup>da-ri<sup>1</sup>-ya-an-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-an tu-u-ri-ya-ma wa-ar-<sup>1</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>-ya-an-t[a-an]

<sup>19</sup> Another simile concerning a snake is found in the text KUB LX 84 obv.: (11) MUŠ-aš ma-aš-<sup>1</sup>ha-an ha-at-te-eš-šar x[ ] (12) i-da-la-u-e-eš an-tu-uh-še-eš. Line 11 of this very damaged side of the tablet is cited in the introduction of KUB LX (p. VI). Line 12 was collated on the photograph.

<sup>20</sup> The restoration is possible on the basis of the example quoted here below.

<sup>21</sup> About the genitive form <sup>2</sup>UTU-šumman see Neu, *Der Anitta-Text* (StBoT 18; Wiesbaden 1974) 129.

<sup>22</sup> Obverse 7'-12' has another duplicate, Bo 3428 r.col. 1-8. This one and Bo 6952 are quoted in S. Košak, review of H. Klengel, *Texte verschiedenen Inhalts* (KUB 60), ZA 84 (1994) 288-290, at p. 289. Bo 6952 l. 7' would permit the reading *labarnan* in the gap of the line 5', but the autography of KUB LX 44 does not favour this interpretation.

<sup>23</sup> See for example the action in the ritual fragment KBo XXI 14 obv.: (15') [wa-a]r-ši-an-ta-an-ma UDU.A.LUM tu-u-ri-ya-a[n-zi (?)] (16') [na-a]n-kán pa-ra-a pé-en-[na-an-zi] "they yoke a rested he-goat and they carry it out".

19 na-at 3-šú te-ši

20 <sup>NA</sup>ARA<sub>5</sub>-za-kán GIM-an kap-pi-iš iš-pár-ti-i-e-ez-zi

21 EN.SISKUR-kán <sup>1</sup>da-ak-ni KAXU-za QA-TAM-MA iš-<sup>1</sup>pár<sup>1</sup>-ti-id-du

"And you, the Sun God, go! Let [ ] three times, four times, five times [ ] in the grass! Release the exhausted one but yoke the rested one. Release the exhausted one but yoke the rested one.' And you say this three times. / 'As the small seed escapes from the millstone, in the same way let the offerer escape from the mouth of Agni.'"<sup>24</sup>

While in the other example the celebrant uses this symbolic formulation to express his own way of performing the ritual, in this context it seems that the same motif is used as a prayer addressed to the Sun God, asking his personal intervention to rescue the patient and to punish the rival.

The same spell is attested in the Plague Prayer of Muršili II KUB XXIV 3+ obv. II<sup>25</sup>:

- 39 nu-uš-ša-an hi-in-kán ku-ru-ur ga-aš-ta-an i-da-a-lu-un  
 40 ta-pa-aš-ša-an A-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>mi-it-ta-an-ni Û A-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>ar-za-u-wa  
 41 tar-na-at-tén wa-ar-ša-an-da šu-ul-la-an-da KUR.KUR<sup>UJA</sup>  
 42 A-NA KUR <sup>URU</sup>KÜ.BABBAR-ti-ma ta-ri-ya-an KUR-e  
 43 nu ta-ri-ya-an-da-an la-a-at-tén wa-ar-ši-ya-an-da-an-ma  
 44 tu-u-ri-ya-at-tén

"And the plague, rebellion, famine, (and) evil fever send into the land of Mittanni and the land of Arzawa. Rested are the quarrelsome lands, but the land of Hatti is an exhausted land. Release the exhausted but yoke the rested one."<sup>26</sup>

The Plague Prayer has KUB XXIV 4+ as a Middle Hittite antecedent<sup>27</sup>. In fact the passage cited is present also in this text (obv. 21'-24'), and it demonstrates that the topic had been already known since earlier times. Apparently, king Mursili II adopted it later in order to heal the disease of the land with the help of the gods<sup>28</sup>. It is reasonable to assume that at least one version of the ritual of Hantitaššu, the main function of which was to cure the troublesome years, was adapted and copied by the scribes of this king with the same purpose. The common elements mentioned above can justify an analysis in this direction.

It is the author's opinion that the observation of such expressions with similar content (but in some cases almost identical) in different written compositions and contexts offers an interesting field of research. The discovery of analogous spells in both rituals and prayers can indicate that some formulations were believed to be more efficacious than others in given situations, and that they were deeply rooted

<sup>24</sup> Duplicates of these texts are KBo XIII 145 obv. 3'-6' and 2029/g(+), 2'-5'

<sup>25</sup> Text scheme and translation: Ünal, in: TUAT II/6, 803-808.

<sup>26</sup> See O. R. Gurney, "Hittite Prayers of Mursili II", AAA 27 (1940) 99-101; I. Singer, *Hittite Prayers* (WAW 11; Atlanta 2002) 49-54.

<sup>27</sup> Carruba, in: *Studi in onore di Franco Pintore* 4-5; J. Klinger - E. Neu, "War die erste Computer-Analyse des Hethitischen verfehlt?", *Hehitica* 10 (1990) 135-160, at p. 150.

<sup>28</sup> Also similar is KUB XXXVI 83 l. 24-28 (CTH 433).



in the common social thought. Both the observations may be valid and cannot be considered separately. But, most important of all, these considerations allow for a reasonable hypothesis on the concrete way of working of the scribes: the prayers and the rituals, like many other texts, were copied and preserved in the libraries over the years because they corresponded to a significant heritage in the hand of the scribes for the creation of new compositions over and over again during the whole of Hittite history.

Via A. Albricci 4  
I-00194 Roma

## The Alphabet on a Late Babylonian Cuneiform School Tablet

Frank Moore CROSS and John HUEHNERGARD

*William L. Moran in memoriam*

In 1998 I. L. Finkel announced the discovery of a Late Babylonian school tablet in the British Museum in which the first two of the three columns clearly represented the West Semitic (presumably Aramaic) alphabet<sup>1</sup>. A full edition of the tablet has now been published by M. J. Geller as an appendix to an important new study of the famous Aramaic incantation in cuneiform script<sup>2</sup>. With one exception, the two columns are identical, and, again with one exception, the "letters" of the alphabet are rendered in single cuneiform signs<sup>3</sup>. The two columns read as follows:

*a*  
*bi/bé*  
*gi/ge*  
*da*  
*e*  
*ú*  
*za*  
*hi/he*  
*tè* in column 1, *tu* in column 2  
*ia*  
*ka*  
*la*  
*me*  
*nu*  
*sa*  
*a-a-nu*  
*pi/pe*  
*su*  
*qu*  
*ri/re*  
*ši*  
*ta*

<sup>1</sup> Irving J. Finkel, "A Babylonian ABC", *British Museum Magazine* 31 (1998) 20-22. According to M. Geller (see next note), the alphabet was identified by Miguel Civil. We wish to thank W. R. Garr and M. Jursa for a number of helpful comments.

<sup>2</sup> M. J. Geller, "The Aramaic Incantation in Cuneiform Script (AO 6489 = TCL 6,58)", *JEOL* 35-36 (1997-2000) 128-146, esp. 144-146.

<sup>3</sup> The date of the tablet is difficult to ascertain. Finkel (*British Museum Magazine* 31, 20) suggests it was written around the end of the 7th century BCE. Geller (*JEOL* 35-36, 145) notes that the writing system "appears to be the same as that used to write the Louvre Aramaic in-



It will be noted that the sole exception to the writing of a single sign is the writing *a-a-nu* to represent *'ayin*, presumably, as both Finkel and Geller have suggested, because no syllabic sign was felt to reproduce adequately the voiced pharyngeal, which is of course lacking in Akkadian. It will also be noted that the vocalism of the other signs is variable; that is, we do not have simply *a*, *ba*, *ga*, *da*, but rather *a*, *bi*, *gi*, *da*, ... *me*, *nu*, etc. Finkel suggests that the scribe was attempting to represent only the "sounds of the individual consonants", except in the case of *'ayin*, where "he was forced to have recourse to the letter name", and that otherwise the vowel of the signs is "irrelevant". Geller does not comment on the choice of the signs to represent the alphabet, but his transliteration of a number of signs, such as *bé* rather than *bi* and *re* rather than *ri*, suggests that he was thinking of the names of the letters. The burden of the present note is to argue that that was indeed the case.

Finkel recalled the existence of a similar tablet found at Ras Shamra (RS 19.159 = CAT 5.14), unfortunately broken, in which Ugaritic letter forms, in the order of the Ugaritic alphabet, are matched in a parallel column by syllabic cuneiform signs:

<i>'a</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>be</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>ga</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>ha</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>di/de</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>ú</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>wa/wu</i>
<i>z</i>	<i>zi/ze</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>ku</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>tí/té</i>
[ ]	[ ]
...	
[ ]	[ ]
[p]	[p]u
<i>s</i>	<i>ša</i>
<i>q</i>	<i>qu</i>
<i>r</i>	<i>ra</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>ša</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>ha</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>tu</i>
<i>'i</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>'u</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>š</i>	<i>zu</i>

Here, too, the choice of signs seemed at first blush to be random. But in an article published in 1960, F. M. Cross and T. O. Lambdin showed "that the cuneiform re-

cantation"; the latter is also not securely dated, but usually assigned to a considerably later period, the third or second century BCE.

<sup>4</sup> This interpretation is accepted by M. Jursa and M. Weszeli, "Der 'Zahn' des Schreibers: Ein aramäischer Buchstabenname in akkadischer Transkription", *ZA* 90 (2000) 78-84.

presents consonant plus the first vowel of the primitive (*i.e.*, traditional) letter name". Thus, for example, *be* represented the beginning of /bêt-/, *di* the beginning of /dilt-/, *qu* the beginning of /qôp-/, etc.

It is likely that the same principle is at work in the Late Babylonian tablet. We thus reconstruct the letter names as follows.

<i>a</i>	/alp/	
<i>bé</i>	/bêt/	The use of the B1 sign with the value <i>bé</i> is common in Neo- and Late Babylonian <sup>6</sup> . As in Hebrew (and note also the Syriac letter name <i>bet</i> ), the Phoenician form of the letter name, with contraction of the diphthong (from earlier <i>*bayt-</i> ; so also in Ugaritic, with <i>be</i> for /bêt-/), is continued here, as in /mêm/ and in contrast to /zayn/ and /'ayn/ (see below).
<i>gi</i>	/giml/	The <i>i</i> vowel appears of course in Hebrew <i>gîmel</i> (already <i>gimal</i> in Greek transcription in the Septuagint in manuscripts with section headings for Psalm 119 [Septuagint 118]) and is continued in Arabic <i>jîm</i> . In the Ugaritic alphabetic text with the syllabic transcription column we find <i>ga</i> , presumably for /gaml-/; and the <i>a</i> vowel also appears in Greek <i>gamma</i> and the Syriac letter name <i>gāmal</i> . There is a tendency for <i>a</i> and <i>i</i> to alternate in letter names of the <i>qVil</i> type, as in /gaml ~ giml/, <i>dalt ~ dilt</i> /; see also below on <i>s</i> , <i>r</i> , <i>š</i> .
<i>da</i>	/dalt/	With <i>a</i> as in Hebrew <i>dālet</i> (and Syriac <i>dālat</i> ), vs. <i>*dilt-</i> reflected in Ugaritic ( <i>di</i> for /dilt-/), and Greek ( <i>delta</i> ). As with <i>g</i> , here too we see an alternation of <i>qatl</i> and <i>qil</i> forms. If the name of the letter originally meant 'door', of course, the weight of the evidence suggests that the original form was <i>*dalt-</i> (cf. Akkadian <i>daltu</i> in addition to Hebrew presuffixal <i>dalt-</i> ).
<i>e</i>	/hê/	As in Hebrew (and Greek <i>e-pylon</i> < Phoenician /hê/), whereas in Ugaritic we find the <i>ú</i> sign, for /hû/ or /hō/. Cf. the contrast of Ugaritic /pû/ vs. /pê/ or /pî/ in other alphabetic traditions.
<i>ú</i>	/waw/ or /wô/	Hebrew <i>wāw</i> and Greek <i>wau</i> indicate a form /waw/ with the diphthong <i>aw</i> preserved (see further below on /taw/). The syllabic column of the Ugaritic tablet has the <i>ri</i> sign here, perhaps with the value <i>wa</i> , likewise for /waw-/, or perhaps with the value <i>wu</i> for /wô/ (or nominative /wû/ < <i>*wawu</i> ) <sup>7</sup> . Since Neo- and Late Babylonian lacked a specific sign to indicate /w/, scribes resorted to a number of strategies to represent /w/ in foreign words and names, including the use of <i>ú</i> for initial /w/, e.g., in <i>ú-ha-ba-an-na</i> for

<sup>5</sup> F. M. Cross and T. O. Lambdin, "A Ugaritic Abecedary and the Origins of the Proto-Canaanite Alphabet", *BASOR* 160 (1960) 21-26 (reprinted in F. M. Cross, *Leaves from an Epigrapher's Notebook* [HSS 51; Winona Lake, Indiana 2003]). See also W. W. Hallo, "Isaiah 28: 9-13 and the Ugaritic Abecedaries", *JBL* 77 (1958) 324-338; E. A. Speiser, "The Syllabic Transcription of Ugaritic [h] and [h]", *BASOR* 175 (1964) 42-47.

<sup>6</sup> See W. von Soden and W. Röllig, *Das akkadische Syllabar* (AnOr 42; Rome 1991) 26, no. 140; J. M. C. T. de Vann, "Ich bin eine Schwertklinge des Königs": *Die Sprache des Bēl-ibni* (AOAT 242; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1995) 420. In the cuneiform Aramaic incantation text, note *ra-ab-ra-bé-e* in lines 11, 36 (see Geller, *JEOL* 35-36, 132).

<sup>7</sup> Compare the use of syllabic *tu* to correspond to alphabetic *t*; see below. For the *ri* sign with the values *wa* and *wu* at Ugarit, see J. Huehnergard, *The Akkadian of Ugarit* (HSS 34; Atlanta 1989) 392.



North and South Arabian *whbn* and *ú-a-bu-<sup>d</sup>š*, the first part of which also probably reflects the verb *whb*\*; thus, our *ú* may indicate the initial consonant of /waw/. Alternatively it may reflect a pronunciation /wô/.

*za* /zayn/ In Phoenician, as in Hebrew, /z/ reflects the merger of two consonants, \*z and \*ð. The name of this letter, \*zayn-, 'weapon' or 'battle-axe', is that of the etymological \*z. The original graphic shape of \*zayn- is the axe or hour-glass form, which is preserved in Old South Arabian and in the Old Canaanite 'Izbet Šarṭa abecedary; but in Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic, it is the pictograph of the etymological \*ð (parallel lines, in either horizontal or vertical stance, usually joined by one cross bar in Canaanite, or two bars in Old South Arabian) that wins out; the letter name for etymological \*ð that was replaced by \*zayn- in Phoenician/Hebrew is yet to be identified<sup>9</sup>. The name \*zayn- should yield Phoenician /zên-/ as well as Ugaritic /zên-/ (the latter thus indicated syllabically in the Ugaritic abecedary by *ze*). In Hebrew and Aramaic (cf. also Syriac *zayn* or *zay*, but also *zen*), however, the uncontracted form /zayn/ has for some reason reappeared (perhaps as in /'ayn/, q.v., below).

*he* /hêt/ As in Hebrew and Phoenician (cf. Greek *ēta*). In the Ugaritic abecedary, the alphabetic *h* is paired with syllabic *ku*, probably reflecting an attempt by the scribe to denote the voiceless pharyngeal as distinct from the velar *h* and *g*, which are both paired with syllabic *ha*<sup>10</sup>; if so, *ku* represents /hôt-/ which may be compared with Ethiopic *hawt*. The /hêt/ of the Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic traditions is thus the result of rhyming with the following /têt/.

*tè/tu* /têt/ ~ /t/ As in Hebrew and Phoenician (cf. Greek *thēta*). In Ugaritic, *t* is paired with the *hi* sign with the value *tē*<sup>11</sup>. The etymology of this letter name, presumably \*tayt- originally, remains obscure. The alternative indication of this letter with the *tu* sign in the second column, the only instance in which the second column differs from the first, is baffling; we have no explanation for it.

*ia* /yad/? The sign *ia* is not normally used with the value /yu/ in Neo- and Late Babylonian, and so it is unlikely that *ia* here is for /yod/ as in Phoenician and Hebrew (and Syriac *yod*), where the form reflects the late eighth-century Phoenician shift of original short *a* > *o* / *ʿC* #

<sup>9</sup> See Ran Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods: An Onomastic Study* (Jerusalem 1977) 226, 235, 355.

<sup>10</sup> The Old South Arabian *ð* much resembles the two hieroglyphs labeled N 23 and N 36 in A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford 1957) 488, 491 (actually variants of different periods) purporting to signify 'irrigation canal' or 'irrigated land'. In Old South Arabian, 'irrigated land' (or 'alluvial valley') is *ðhb* (vocalization unknown), which perhaps furnished the name of the letter, now lost.

<sup>11</sup> See Speiser, *BASOR* 175, 42-47; F. M. Cross, "The Origin and Early Evolution of the Alphabet", *Eretz-Israel* 8 (1967) 24\* n. 101. An alternative explanation was offered by Cross and Lambdin, *BASOR* 160, 21-26. W. H. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit: Dating and Grammar* (AOAT 40; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1991) 325 n. 152, finds none of the explanations of the use of *ku* for Ugaritic *h* convincing.

<sup>12</sup> See J. Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription* (HSS 32; Atlanta 1987) 214 with n. 56; idem, *Akkadian of Ugarit* 393.

(thus, \*yad > yod). Thus, we propose that the letter name in this "dialect" was /yad/, and suggest either that the name was borrowed from Phoenician before the Phoenician shift, or simply that the Aramaic word for 'hand', \*yad, has replaced the Phoenician, just as the Aramaic and Hebrew form \*'ayn 'eye' replaced the borrowed Phoenician form /'ên/ as the name of that letter.

*ka* /kapp/

*la* /lamd/

*me* /mêm/

As in Hebrew, this form reveals the Phoenician contraction of the diphthong. M. Jursa, *NABU* 2002/13, has now identified a full spelling of this letter name in a writing in another late text: UDU.NITA<sub>2</sub> šá mi-i-mi, which he renders "ein Schaf mit einem 'Mem' (markiert)".

*nu* /nūn/

*sa* /samk/

As in Hebrew *sāmek*; Syriac has *semkat*, with an *i* vowel, so that perhaps here we have another of the *qatl* ~ *qitl* alternations (see above, on /giml/)<sup>12</sup>.

*a-a-nu* /'ayn/

The Phoenician name of this letter was presumably /'ên/. Here, however, as in Hebrew *'āyin*, we have a form with an uncontracted diphthong<sup>13</sup>, the contemporary Hebrew and Aramaic forms for 'eye', \*'ayn, having replaced the Phoenician form, perhaps because, at the period of the borrowing of the alphabet, the shape of the letter was still more or less representative or because the identity of the Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic words for 'eye' was transparent<sup>14</sup>.

*pe* /pê/

Cf. Hebrew and Syriac *pē*. The syllabic column of the Ugaritic abecedary has *pu* for the nominative form /pû/.

*šu* /ʔ/

There Proto-Semitic phonemes, \*š, \*ś, and \*θ (corresponding to Arabic š, ṣ, and ṯ, respectively), merged to š in Phoenician and Hebrew. In Ugaritic the first two have also merged to a single consonant (conventionally transcribed š), while the third remained distinct in part (transcribed ṯ) and in part merged with ḡ; in the Ugaritic abecedary the former is paired with syllabic ša, presumably for /šadû/ corresponding to Hebrew *šādē*, while the latter is unfortunately not preserved. The pictographs of at least two of these consonants were available for use in the Old Canaanite alphabet; alas the earliest linear forms give little or no hint of the original pictographs. It might be suggested that *šu* denotes a name that resulted in this "dialect" from rhyming with the following /qôp/ (compare /hêt/ ~ /têt/, above; Syriac *'ē* ~ *pē*; and the pervasive rhyming of the Arabic alphabet). It should be noted, however,

<sup>12</sup> See Theodor Nöldeke, "Die semitischen Buchstabennamen", in idem, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg 1904) 124-136, esp. 130-134.

<sup>13</sup> The Syriac *'ē* is a rhyming form based on the following *pē*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the Ethiopic name for *r*, *rā's*, which is the common Gə'əz word for 'head'. It seems unlikely that the original form of the letter name was preserved, with its medial *'*, into the Ethiopic alphabet; rather, the name probably reflects the scribes' knowledge that the Aramaic letter name *rēš* was also the Aramaic word for 'head'.



er, that another LB text probably exhibits the full name of the letter, written with the expected *a*-vowel in the first syllable, viz., *ša-du-ú*; see R. Zadok, *NABU* 1997/148 (p. 138); M. Jursa, *NABU* 2002/13.

- qu* /qôp/ As in Hebrew, etc.; cf. already syllabic *qu* at Ugarit for /qôp-/.  
*re* /rēš/ Presumably as in Hebrew and Syriac *rēš*, which are unexpected in view of Phoenician /rōš/ (< \*rās < \*ra's; cf. Greek *rhō*) and Ugaritic *ra* for /ra's-/. The Hebrew and Aramaic form with *ē* either reflects an old Canaanite/Phoenician alternative name based on a bi-form of the word for 'head' with *i*, \*rī's-, or the Phoenician letter name /rōš/ was replaced in the Aramaic alphabet by the Aramaic word for 'head', which in turn was borrowed into Hebrew.<sup>15</sup>
- šī* /šinn/ Cf. Hebrew *šīn*, probably reflecting Phoenician /šinn/ 'tooth'. The earlier form of the letter, however, is that of a composite bow, Northwest Semitic \*θann-, which is reflected in the syllabic column of the Ugaritic abecedar as *ša* corresponding to *θ* and in the old Greek letter name *san*.<sup>16</sup> The alternation of *a* and *i* in these forms may be like that in /gaml/ ~ /giml/ and /dalt/ ~ /dilt/, i.e., phonological in origin; or it may be that the old name \*θann- (> Phoenician \*/šann/) 'bow' was simply replaced by /šinn/ 'tooth' early in Phoenician, reflecting the developing shape of the letter.
- ta* /taw/ As in Phoenician (Greek *tau*), Hebrew (*tāw*), and Syriac (*taw*). As with /waw/ this reflects a form in which the diphthong remained uncontracted, vs. Ugaritic, where the syllabic *tu* apparently denotes /tō/ (or perhaps nominative /tū/ < \*tawu). Both of these words appear to be biconsonantal, to judge from Hebrew forms such as *wā-wīm* (and construct *wāwē*, without expected vowel reduction) 'pegs' and *tāwī* 'my mark'.

Department of Near Eastern  
 Languages and Civilizations  
 Harvard University  
 6 Divinity Avenue  
 Cambridge, Mass. 02138 (USA)

<sup>15</sup> See, e.g., Joseph Naveh, *The Early History of the Alphabet* (Jerusalem 1987) 183.

<sup>16</sup> This Aramaic letter name has recently been discovered in another Late Babylonian text; see Jursa and Wesseli, *ZA* 90 (2000) 78-84.

<sup>17</sup> On the Greek letter names *san* and *sigma* see most recently Roger D. Woodard, *Greek Writing from Knossos to Homer* (New York/Oxford 1997) 175-188; C. J. Ruijgh, "La date de la création de l'alphabet grec et celle de l'épopée homérique", *BiOr* 54 (1997) 553-603, esp. 559; Josef Tropper, "Griechisches und semitisches Alphabet: Buchstabennamen und Sibilantenent-sprechungen", *ZDMG* 150 (2000) 317-321, esp. 319-320. Tropper's derivation of *sigma* < \**sinna* (p. 318 n. 3) is obviously ad hoc. Woodard (p. 186), inter alia, prefers an inner-Greek derivation, from *sizō* < \**sig-yō* 'I hiss', as does P. Kyle McCarter, *The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet and the Early Phoenician Scripts* (HSM 9; Missoula, Montana 1975) 99 n. 85. A connection with Semitic \**samk*-/silk- is ruled out by Woodard (p. 185) on phonological grounds; however, if a metathesis \**silk*- → \**sikm* occurred already in the lending Phoenician dialect (cf. metathetic variants such as Hebrew *šimlā*/šalmā 'cloak' or, to cite forms involving the same final two consonants, Aramaic *d-m-k* 'sleep' and Ethiopic *d-k-m* 'be weary', etc.), the change \**sikm*- > \**sigm*- would be in accord with Greek regressive voicing assimilation.

## Old Nubian -oṛāna

Gerald M. BROWNE

In my recently-published *Old Nubian Grammar* (Lincom Europa: Languages of the World/Materials 330; Munich 2002) §3.9.6.2, I could find only one instance of the Preterite I Indicative 3rd Plural: -oṛāna. The example occurs in IN I 7 i 5<sup>1</sup>, where — as I observe in §3.9.17 — it is found with postpositional -cw (also spelled -co) in a structure that yields a jussive sense: eiāp-oṛāna-cw "let them know" (translating ἐπιγινώσκτω I Cor 14:37<sup>2</sup>; for the [generic] plural in Old Nubian corresponding to an indefinite singular in the Vorlage see §4.1.2f). The paradigm, as illustrated in §3.9.17 (based on the model verb 2o2a-), is as follows:

	Singular	Plural
3	2o2a-onā-cw, -ana-cw	2o2a-oṛāna-cw

The validity of this paradigm as well as — more importantly — that of the entire derivation of the indicative from the subjunctive (§3.9.6.1b) would be considerably strengthened if we had more than one example of -oṛāna. Fortunately, repeated perusal of the corpus has revealed several other instances, previously misinterpreted. These I now list:

SC 25.13-14 κπτι οὔατελτοὔαζαω πεσοṛāna-co "let the people who hear say: ...";

IN I 3 ii 14 πῶσοṛāna-cw θαρμ[ιγοṛā "let the heavens rejoice" (εὐφραίνεσθωσαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ Ps 95:11);

ibid. 14-15 on] αἰγαδοṛāna-cw κτṛ "and let the earth exult" (καὶ ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ γῆ Ps 95:11), a direct continuation of the preceding; presumably because of -oṛāna-cw in the previous line the scribe has here written -oṛāna-cw instead of the expected -ecw: see my *Old Nubian Textual Criticism* (Beiträge zur Sudanforschung Beiheft 8; Vienna 1998) 13;

ibid. 18-19 πῶσοṛāna-cw (?)παρρε[πιγοṛā "let the lands rejoice" (χαρήσεται τὰ πεδία Ps 95:12); cf. line 14 (cited above).

<sup>1</sup> I cite Old Nubian texts in accordance with the sigla used in the *Grammar*; see §0.3; note that henceforth I refer to the *Grammar* by paragraph number alone (e.g. §3.9.17).

<sup>2</sup> For the Greek see my *Bibliorum Sacrorum versio palaeonubiana* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 547, Subsidia 87; Louvain 1994) 38; this edition is also the source of the Greek passages cited below.

<sup>3</sup> For the hypothetical restoration see *B.S.v.p.* (above, n. 2) 75 and also my *Old Nubian Dictionary* (C.S.C.O 556, Subs. 90; Louvain 1996) 147.