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**NEW DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI  
FROM THE POLISH EXCAVATIONS  
AT DEIR EL-NAQLUN (P. NAQLUN 35–38)**

THE FOUR DOCUMENTARY PAPYRI published in the present article were discovered during the excavation campaign carried out in 2011 by a Polish team under the direction of Włodzimierz Godlewski on the plateau at the monastic site of Deir el-Naqlun in the Fayum. The excavated area covered central complex on the plateau (monastic buildings) and the so-called site B where a vast refuse dump was located.<sup>1</sup>

Out of the total number of forty-one textual finds of the season 2011, twenty-one were Greek (all of them, except for one ostrakon and one text inscribed on limestone, were written on papyrus); other texts were Coptic (10), Arabic (9), or Coptic and Arabic (1); one fragment of papyrus bore no inscription.

The state of preservation of the Greek material in most of the cases does not allow for its publication and commentary. The texts fit for publication, few though they are, have some interesting features and contain information important for the painstaking task of reconstructing the history of everyday life in the monastery in late antiquity.

<sup>1</sup> See W. GODLEWSKI, with appendix by Barbara CZAJA, 'Naqlun (Nekloni). Excavations in 2010–2011', *PAM* 23/1, *Research* 2011 (2014), pp. 173–191, and Dorota DZIERZBIČKA, with appendix by Barbara CZAJA, 'Refuse dump in sector B in Naqlun: Excavation report 2011', *PAM* 23/1, *Research* 2011 (2014), pp. 192–203.

Two of the presented fragments belonged to letters addressed to people whom we are unable to identify in a precise manner; however, the titles used by the writers in these texts point to the monastic affiliation of their addressees. Two better preserved documents – Nd. 11.255 (*P. Naqlun* 35) and Nd. 11.375 (*P. Naqlun* 36) deserve our particular attention. The former almost certainly constitutes another testimony to the presence of Bishop Nikolaos in the Naqlun monastery (see commentary), while the latter contains a very interesting list of rare names. All the fragments were found in the refuse dump in sector B, dated to the first period of functioning of the monastery, namely the fifth–ninth centuries.<sup>2</sup>

The excavation strategy followed by Polish archaeologists during the last few years of excavations at Deir el-Naqlun<sup>3</sup> results in the relative scarcity of Greek textual finds suitable for publication in the form of coherent volumes, similar to *P. Naqlun* I and II; hence the decision to publish the most interesting new finds in a series of articles. However, for the sake of clarity and continuity, we shall follow the numeration established in the major editions.

### *P. Naqlun* 35

Nd. 11.255

3.0 × 33.0 cm

6th century

Plateau, sector B (refuse dump)

A complete papyrus strip found wrapped several times.

Upright majuscule script with some ligatures and several abbreviations, marked with abbreviation signs, supralinear strokes (l. 1), or slanting strokes after the last written letter of the abbreviated word (l. 2). The hand betrays a trained and educated scribe, and the orthography of the address is flawless.

<sup>2</sup> See T. DERDA & DOROTA DZIERZBICKA, 'Refuse dump in sector B in Naqlun: Excavation report 2008–2009' *PAM* 21, *Research* 2009 (2012), pp. 212–221, at 212.

<sup>3</sup> See the annual reports published in the consecutive volumes of the *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* (*PAM*).

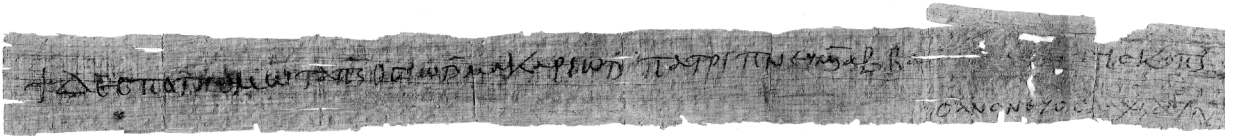


Fig. 1. Nd. 11.255

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- 1 † δεσπότη ἐμῶ τὰ πά(ντα) ὀσιωτά(τω) μακαριωτά(τω) πατρι  
πνευμα(τικῶ) ἄββα Νικ[ολάω?] ἐπισκόπ(ω)
- 2 Σανσνεὺς ἐλάχι(στος) δοῦλο(ς)

*To my lord, in all respects most holy and most blessed spiritual father, abba Nikolaos (?), bishop.  
Sansneus, the most humble servant.*

1. The restitution of the name in line 1 suggested above depends on three letters (out of which two, *iota* and *kappa*, are barely visible) and the word ἐπισκόπ(ω). In the documents from Naqlun known to us no other bishop except for Nikolaos is ever mentioned. The phrase τὰ πά(ντα) ὀσιωτά(τω) μακαριωτά(τω) πατρι (in variants with other adjectives referring to various spiritual qualities) appears in several documents from the Byzantine period addressed to bishops and monastic superiors (*P. Fouad* 88 v<sup>o</sup>, l. 1 [6th c., Aphrodito]: † δεσπ<sup>ο</sup>(τη) ἐμῶ ὡς ἀληθ(ῶς) τὰ πάντα θεοφιλε(στάτω) (καὶ) ἀγνωτ(άτω) πατρι π(νευματι)κῶ ἄββᾶ Γεωργίω, προεστ(ῶτι) Μετ(ανοίας); *SB XII* 10809, l. 1 [6th c., Hermopolis]: † ἡ ἀγία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησί(α) ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν τὰ π(άντα) ὀσιώ(τατον) ἐπίσκο(πον) Οὐλπιανόν; *SB XX* 14118 v<sup>o</sup>, l. 15 [6th–7th c., provenance unknown]: † τῶ ἐμῶ δεσπότη(η) τ<sup>ο</sup> ἀ(ντα) θεοσεβεστάτω καὶ ὀσιωτά(τω) πατρι, χμγ.

2. The sender is a certain Sansneus, perhaps a monk or clergyman, as indicated by the adjective ἐλάχι(στος), commonly used by members of both groups to refer to themselves in texts addressed to their superiors. For ἐλάχι(στος) δοῦλο(ς) cf. a letter from a monk to a superior *P. Fouad* 89 [6th c., Aphrodito], address on the verso: τῶ ἐμῶ ἀγαθῶ δεσπότη(η), μετὰ τ(ὸν) Θ(εόν), προεστ(ῶτι), † Ψοῖος,

ἐλάχ(ιστος) δοῦλος; but see also *P. Iand.* II 22 [7th c., Oxyrhynchos], address on the recto: Ⲭ δεσπότη ἐμῶ τὰ πάν[τα μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτω)] Σερήνος{ς} Ἡσαίας ἐλάχιστος δοῦλός σου, where the context appears secular (the addressee is styled *μεγαλοπρεπέστατος*, which is unusual for ecclesiastical authorities). Sansneus is a popular name with numerous attestations in the documents from the first century AD onwards (430 occurrences in various forms – *Σανσνεύς*, *Σανσνώς*, etc. – listed in the Trismegistos database); the majority of attestations of the form *Σανσνεύς* come from various locations in the *merides* of Herakleides and Polemon in the Arsinoite nome.

As far as we can guess from the shape of the strip, the fact that it bears traces of no other text than the addressing formula, and the layout of the text (had the address been followed by further lines, the scribe would have probably started writing his own name from the left-hand margin instead of aligning it to the right-hand side), our papyrus most probably served as a label attached to a parcel delivered to the Naqlun monastery. The parcel could have been additionally accompanied by a letter or a note describing its content.<sup>4</sup> The recipient of the parcel was most probably the bishop Nikolaos, known from three fragmentarily preserved letters addressed to him (*P. Naqlun* II 32–34), and one letter from him to *comes* Basileios (*P. Naqlun* I 12), probably never sent from the monastery.<sup>5</sup> Our text is almost certainly the fifth attestation of the presence of Nikolaos in Naqlun.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *P. Naqlun* I 10, a list of foodstuffs delivered to a high-ranking monk of the Naqlun monastery (or perhaps even Nikolaos himself; see T. DERDA & Joanna WEGNER, 'Πατέρες τοῦ ἁγίου Νεκλονίου. Functionaries of the Naqlun monastery in the first two centuries of its existence', [in:] A. ŁAJTAR, A. OBLUSKI, & Iwona ZYCH (eds.), *Aegyptus et Nubia Christiana. Jubilee Volume for Włodzimierz Godlewski* [forthcoming]). A series of later, early eighth-century examples of letters accompanying foodstuffs and objects of everyday use sent to the recipient through a messenger is preserved in the Coptic dossier of the hermit Frange (*O. Frange* 248, 250, 253, 257, and others). In all these cases the list of products appears together with greetings and requests for prayer addressed to the recipient.

<sup>5</sup> See the commentary in *P. Naqlun* II, p. 160.

<sup>6</sup> On the phenomenon of episcopal residence in monasteries, see Mariachiara GIORDA, 'Bishops-monks in the monasteries,' *JfJP* 39 (2009), pp. 49–82.

*P. Naqlun 36*

Nd. 11.375  
Plateau, sector B (refuse dump)

14.0 × 14.5 cm

6th century?

Almost completely preserved, roughly square sheet of brown papyrus inscribed by a trained, slightly sloping cursive hand with numerous elements of majuscule script; several abbreviations, marked either with abbreviation signs or raising letters above lines, and ligatures.

A list of names with patronymics and metronymics.

. ( )

[A]νθηα (καὶ) Ἰωάννης (καὶ) Ἀβραάμ τὰ ταύ-  
της πεδία δι(ὰ) Τριβοῦνοῦ βοηθοῦ

- 4 Σάρα Ὀρίωνος (καὶ) Εὐφράντιος  
ἀδελφὸς μητρ(ὸς) Γηροσας

Παπνούθις Σκοῦπα μητρὸς  
Ἡραεῖδος

- 8 Νόννα Ἀκαθῦ ἐκ μητρ(ὸς) Εὐκίας (καὶ) Μαρίας ἀδελφ(ή)  
Φοιβάμμων Ἄντους μητρὸς [..].[ο]ῦ ..

.....

2. παῖδια || 4. Ὀρίωνος || 6. = Σκόπα, see comm. || 7. Ἡραῖδος || 8. Ἀκάθου  
= Ἀγάθου (?), see comm. | Εὐ(δο)κίας (?) || 9. Ἄντῆος (?), see comm.

( )

*Antheia and Ioannes and Abraam, children of the same (woman)  
through Tribounos assistant (boethos)*

*Sara, daughter of Horion, and Euphrantios,  
her brother, of the mother Gerosa (?)*

*Papnouthis son of Skoupas (= Skopas?), of the mother  
Heraïs*

*Nonna, daughter of Agathes (?), of the mother Eukia, and Maria, sister  
Phoibammon son of Antes, of the mother ... ou . e*

.....

1. The crossed letter at the top of the list is similar to what is usually transcribed by the editors as  $\pi(\cdot)$ . The letter *pi* written centrally above a document occurs frequently in the papyri from the Byzantine period and is commonly understood as  $\pi(\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha})$ , even if it is not followed by the name of the alleged author (sender) of the letter or, in the case of documents, the person who issued them; see, *inter alia*, A. Papatomas, *CPR* XXV 8, l. 1 note (with lit.); B. Palme, *CPR* XXIV 22, l. 1 note (with lit.). In letters, the character (sign?) is sometimes found in the place which is usually occupied by either a cross or a Christian symbol  $\chi\mu\gamma$  ( $\rho\theta$ ); some examples, indeed, resemble a cross or a double cross. Therefore, it should perhaps be understood as another Christian marker used in the documents' openings.

In our opinion, the meaning of the letter (symbol?) in question is not clear and therefore we prefer to leave it unsolved in our transcription.

2. Perhaps  $[A]\nu\theta\eta\alpha$  for *Ἀνθεία*? The name is attested only in the tax rolls from Karanis, *P. Mich.* IV 224 and 225 which mention the mother of one of the taxpayers: *Πτολεμ(αῖος) Ὀρσενούφ(εως) τοῦ Ἐρειεύς* (l. *Ἐρειεύς*) *μη(τρὸς) Ἀνθείας*. In two documents of a later date (*BGU* XVII 2728, l. 12 [5th–6th c., Hermopolite nome] and *P. Princ.* II 98 [4th c., provenance unknown]), *Ἐὐανθεία* appears, but this name seems too long to be reconstructed in our document.

3. *Tribounos* represents here the name of a man charged with the well-attested function of *boethos*. *Boethoi* appear in the Byzantine period in various administrative and fiscal contexts; the designation means literally 'helper, assistant', and points to the executive role played by its bearers in villages, offices, and private estates. This rare personal name is attested seven times in several documents dated from the second half of the sixth century to the first half of the eighth century. The documents pertain to three different people: Aurelios *Tribounos* son of Neilos (*SPP* III 384, l. 1 [AD 575–625, Krokodilopolis, Arsinoite nome]; *SB* VI 9596, l. 7 [AD 579, Krokodilopolis, Arsinoite nome]; *SB* I 4748, l. 7 [AD 605, Krokodilopolis, Arsinoite nome]); *Tribounos*, *boethos logisteriou* (*BGU* XVII 2720, ll. 1 and 3 [AD 588–589?, Hermopolite nome]); *Tribounos* (*SB* XXIV 16027, l. 7, and 16028, l. 7 [both AD 643–725, Upper Egypt]). In *SB* VI 9596, Aurelios *Tribounos* is mentioned together with his brother, Aurelios *Palatinos*, which points to a peculiar onomastic practice in the family. Another possibility, namely that the person mentioned in line 3 is an assistant of a tribune (who in the late antique period was an official with joint military and police competences; see the commentary to *P. Oxy.* L 3581), *τριβούνου βοηθός*, is less probable; in this case we

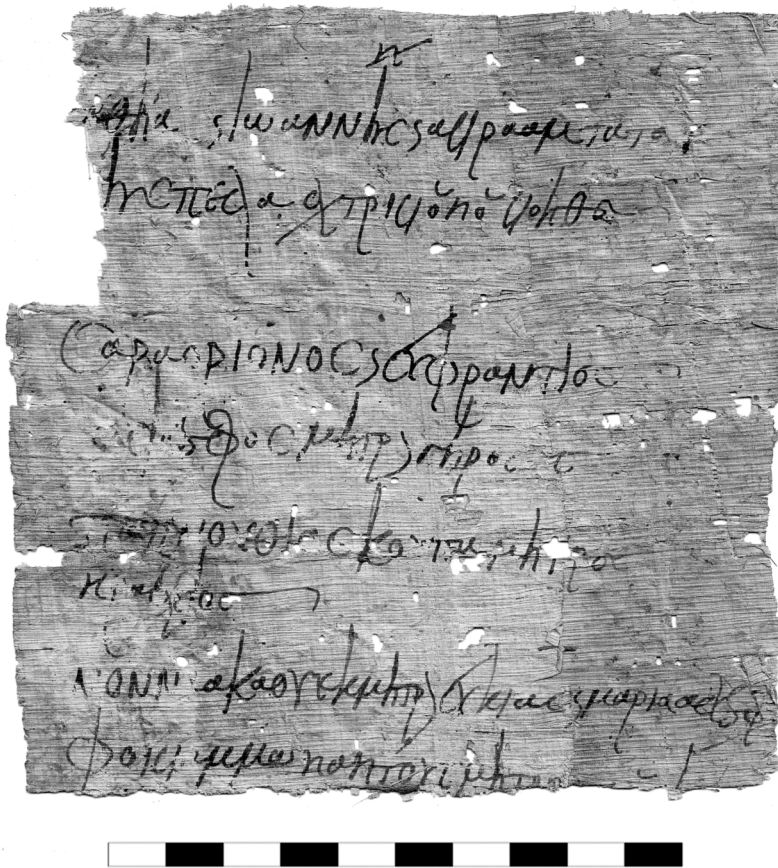


Fig. 2. Nd. II.375

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would rather expect a reversed word order, namely *βοηθός τριβούνου* (as in the numerous cases where the word *βοηθός* is associated with other genitives defining the scope of duties or the affiliation of the official in question. See, e.g. *BGU XVII 2720*, l. 1–2 [AD 588–589?, Hermopolite nome]: *Τριβούνου σὺν θεῶ βοηθός λογι(στηρίου)*; *P. Athen. Xyla. 20* [6th c., Aphrodito], l. 2: *βοη(θῶ) κ(ώμης)*; *P. Cair. Masp. II 67126* [AD 541, Constantinople], l. 73: *Φλ(άσιος) Σῶγος, βοηθ(ός) το(ῦ) θεοφιλεστάτο(υ) κύρο(υ) Μηγᾶ διακ(όνου)*, but cf. the particular instance of *P. Cair. Masp. I 67005* [AD 568, Aphrodito] – a highly rhetoricised petition to the *dux* of

the Thebaid, where the word order is reversed: ὑπὲρ Ἱερρημ[ι]ο(υ) τινος τῆς κώμης βοηθο(ῶ) (l. 15), and finds no parallel in ‘ordinary’ documents. The document which provides the closest analogy to our text is *PSI XIV 1424* [date uncertain, 4th–5th c., provenance unknown], l. 12: ἐγράφη δι’ ἐμοῦ Μαρκελίνου τριβο(ύνου) βοηθ(οῦ) is problematic. The inspection of the original proves the proposition of the editors wrong. The word βοηθ(οῦ), initially omitted by the writer, is subscribed above the genitive τριβο(ύνου), in spite of the fact that enough space is left in the line for it to be simply written after the second genitive. If Markelinos had deemed the word order τριβούνου βοηθοῦ natural, he would not have bothered to subscribe the omitted word.

4. Euphrantios is a rare name; out of its five attestations dated to the late fourth to seventh centuries, four are of Fayumic provenance; cf. especially *SPP X 153*, a sixth-century list of people, where two men named Euphrantios are mentioned in lines 14 and 15; the same document lists also a certain Paulos from Tebetny, a village known to be located not far from the Naqlun monastery (l. 18: Παῦλος ἀπὸ Τεβέτνου [l. Τεβέτνυ]).

5. The name Gerosa is otherwise unattested. It resembles names with participial form, widely attested in various types of textual finds. If we assume that the name is indeed derived from the verb γηράω, ‘to get old’, we need to correct the mistake of the scribe of our text who recorded the name with an *omikron*. Still, one may entertain serious doubts about naming a new-born child ‘an old woman’; there are, however, few attestations of a masculine name Geron – literally ‘old man’ – dated from the second to the seventh century, while the derivative Geronios was popular from the second century AD onwards. Perhaps Γηροσα is a corrupted form of another name, the restitution of which is impossible.

5. Σκοῦπα is most probably a corrupted form of Σκόπα. This genitive of the name Σκόπας is attested in few documents (cf. *O. Bodl.* I 283, l. 15, and *P. Oxy.* VII 1070, l. 34 [both of much earlier date, 2nd and 3rd c. AD respectively]). For the interchange of *o* and *ou*, see Gignac, *Grammar I*, p. 213.

8. For the attestations of the name Nonna in Roman and Byzantine papyri, see *P. Athen. Xyla*, pp. 67–70. As suggested in the apparatus, the patronymic Ἀκαθυ can be a very corrupted form of the genitive Ἀγάθου (nom. Ἀγαθος). For the interchange of *v* and *ou*, see Gignac, *Grammar I*, pp. 214–215; for the intervocalic change of *γ* into *κ*, see *ibidem*, p. 79; cf. *SPP XX 29v* [AD 227, Herakleopolite nome], l. 5: παρὰ Ἀκάθης (Ἀγάθης) Γλυσχ. .ανι[.] μῆ(τρὸς) Θαή[σιο(ς)].

Since the name *Εὐκία* (or other similar name, e.g. *Εὐκεία*) is not attested elsewhere, we may assume that the form we encounter in our document results from a scribal omission. We propose *Εὐ(δο)κία* as the most plausible correction. It is attested seven times in documents dating from the late third to the eighth century: *P. Ross. Georg.* III 1, l. 24 [ca. AD 270, written in Alexandria]: *Εὐδοκεία*; *P. Strasb. Gr.* VII 655, l. 4 [2nd half of the 5th c., Hermopolis]: *Εὐδοκία*; *SB XX*



14091, l. 3 [AD 425–475, Oxyrhynchus]: *Εὐδοκίη*; *SB XVI 12281*, l. 1 [6th c., Arsinoite nome]; *BGU XVII 2684*, l. 12 [AD 555, Hermopolis]; *P. Herm.* 29, l. 18 [AD 586, Hermopolis]: *Εὐδοκία*. The name *Εὐκλεία*, in spite of its similarity to the name recorded in our document, can be excluded on chronological grounds; as far as we know, the name is not attested in the documents after the Ptolemaic period.

9. The patronymic *Ἀντους* is probably a variant of the genitive of the name *Ἀντης*, namely *Ἀντηους*, attested in *P. Tebt.* II 340, ll. 3 and 24 [AD 206].

Unfortunately, we are unable to determine the character and purpose of this list. The presence of an assistant (*boethos*) through whom an action is supposed to be undertaken points to transactions of fiscal nature. The preposition *δι(ᾶ)* in line 3, which occurs frequently in documents pertaining to fiscal matters, may suggest that this is a list of people liable to tax payments, although the document records only names without any sums of money. The list may be a record of the owners of land on which tax liabilities were imposed; this would explain the collective nature of entries, reflecting shared ownership of land acquired through inheritance. Such collective owners liable to tax payments are widely attested in the documents from the period under consideration; often they are not enumerated one by one but listed under a common designation *κληρονόμοι τοῦ δεινός*; the author of our list felt the need to indicate particular people by their names. The list could have been drawn on the basis of legal documents deposited in a local archive – wills, deeds of sale, etc. – which attested to landownership. The careful statement of the names of both parents, normal in legal documents but unusual in Byzantine lists and registers (cf. the Aphrodito tax register and cadastre, or the Hermopolite fiscal register, in which the names of mothers are absent from the entries), may therefore result from copying the names from documents in which indicating both parents' names was a routine practice. Let us compare this situation with the practices of the Roman period, when the statement of family descent was important in claiming fiscal and social privileges.<sup>7</sup> The

<sup>7</sup> See M. DEPAUW, 'Do mothers matter? The emergence of metronymics in early Roman Egypt', [in:] T. V. EVANS & D. OBBINK (eds.), *The Language of the Papyri*, Oxford 2010, pp. 121–139, especially 135–139.

use of metonymics becomes in general rare in the Byzantine period outside legal context.<sup>8</sup>

Our papyrus is but a fragment of a longer list; the entry preceding the preserved part of the text must have begun with the name of the mother of Antheia, Ioannes, and Abraham, who in line 2 are referred to as τὰ ταύτης πεδία (l. παιδία). We can hardly say anything about the original layout of the document, for the sheet seems to have been intentionally cut in order to be reused for some other purpose (filling of a book cover?). The disposition of lines is clear, as the scribe used to leave empty spaces of unequal width between the subsequent entries. Above line 8 there is a horizontal stroke of unknown function, probably serving for additional separation of entries.

The document presents noteworthy onomastic peculiarities. The name Gerosa is either a *hapax*, or a corrupted form of a name we are unable to reconstruct; others, like Skopas or Antes are surprising in such late a context (the latest known attestations of both date to the first half of the third century, AD 212 and 206 respectively). Euphrantios is a rare name, which, in the light of known documentation, save for one example, seems peculiar to the Arsinoite region.

The list cannot be connected in any convincing manner with the monastic community of Naqlun. Documents of administrative nature could find their way to the monastic settlement on the plateau (*P. Naqlun* II 24) and to hermitages in the nearby hills (*P. Naqlun* I 7 and 8), and were reused by monks for different purposes. Great amounts of wastepaper were undoubtedly needed for bookbinding – an activity which was certainly practised in the monastery;<sup>9</sup> our papyrus was most probably supposed to end up as filling of a book cover. The archives of local administrative units, which from time to time must have disposed of old documents, were probably one of the sources of wastepaper.

<sup>8</sup> See A. DELATTRE, 'Éléments de l'identification en Égypte (iv<sup>e</sup>–viii<sup>e</sup> siècles)', [in:] M. DEPAUW & S. COUSSEMENT (eds.), *Identifiers and Identification Methods in the Ancient World* [= *OLA* 229], Leuven 2014, p. 159.

<sup>9</sup> The supposed bookbinding workshop at Naqlun was discussed in an unpublished Master's thesis by Ł. KRUPSKI, *Przyklastorny warsztat introligatorski w Naqlun?* [A Bookbinding Workshop in Naqlun?], Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw, 2009 (dissertation written under the direction of Włodzimierz Godlewski).

*P. Naqlun 37*

Nd. 11.379  
Plateau, sector B (refuse dump)

7.3 × 5.6 cm

6th century?

Damaged fragment of a light-brown papyrus sheet written in upright majuscule hand.

Left-hand side of a letter.

† τοῖς ἐνλ[αβεστ(άτοις)  
καὶ ἄπα Π[  
θεων καὶ π[  
4 [..]υλαριν ε[  
[...]. καὶ εἰδ[  
[...].ται...εἰ.[

verso

]..στατ( ) vac. ἄπα Φοιβά[μμωνι (?)

1. τοῖς ἐνλαβεστάτοις is an element of a beginning of a standard opening formula in letters addressed to monastic and ecclesiastic recipients; the letter had at least two addressees, namely an unknown *apa* whose name begins with Π, and *apa* Phoibammon (?), whose name is partially preserved on the verso. Monks bearing such names have been so far unattested in the published documents from Naqlun (however, see below, commentary to l. 1 in *P. Naqlun 38*).

3. The ending -θεων indicates either a genitive of a word in plural or a nominative of a third-declension noun (a name?) after which another name (?) appears after the conjunction καί. Judging from the position in the document, we would expect here either other names of addressees (in the dative case) or names of the senders (in the nominative or genitive); the latter option is more probable, as apparently in the next line the writer proceeds to the subject of the letter.

4. ]υλαριν is most probably a nominative or accusative form of a diminutive with the ending -αριον (for the reduction of -ιον to -ιν attested in the documents from the first century AD onwards and usual in the Byzantine period, see Gignac, *Grammar II*, pp. 27–28; the reduced forms still function in the modern Greek language; cf. e.g. the modern Greek *μουλάρι*, derived from *μουλάριον*, a diminutive of *μούλη*). LSJ lists nine diminutives ending with -υλαρι(ο)ν, out of which three

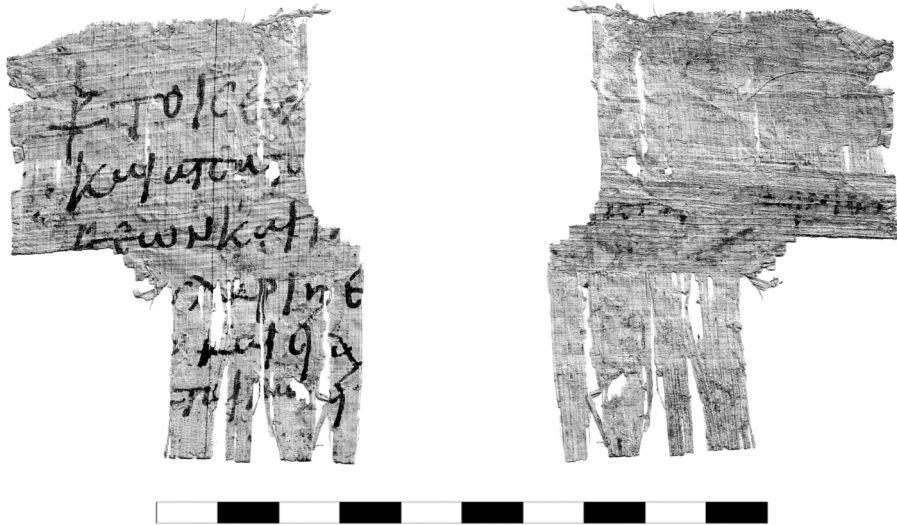


Fig. 3. Nd. II.379

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(*τυλάριον*, *στυλάριον*, and *δουλάριον*) are attested in papyri dated from the second to the fourth century. The state of preservation of our document renders any plausible restoration impossible.

### *P. Naqlun 38*

Nd. II.384

5.6 × 7.8 cm

6th century?

Plateau, secotr B (refuse dump)

Badly damaged fragment of a papyrus sheet, light brown to brown; text written in upright cursive, with several ligatures.

Right-hand side of a document (a letter to *apa* Paulos concerning a loan?).

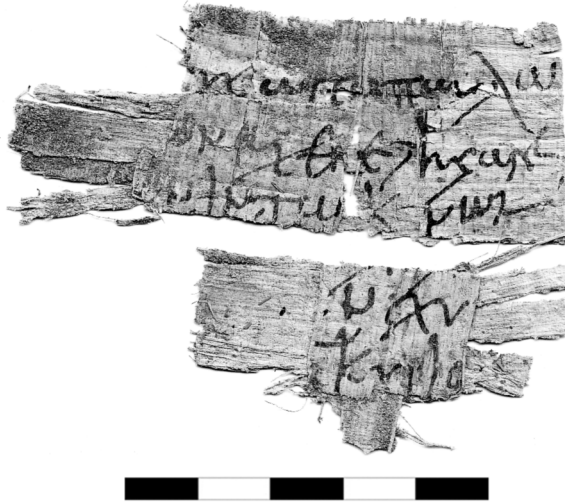


Fig. 4. Nd. 11.384

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] us ἄπα Παύλω  
 εὐλαβ(εστάτω)? μ]ονάζ(οντι). θελήσατε  
 ]ανιν τω[.] κενων  
 ] ἐνεχυρ-  
 τ?]οῦ κυρίο[υ  
 .....

3. καινῶν, see comm.

1. ] us – probably an ending of a third-declension name, cf. Σανσνεύς in *P. Naqlun* 35 above or a noun denoting the occupation of the sender (e.g. χαλκεύς?).

ἄπα Παύλω – a certain *apa* Paulos, a deacon and prominent member of the Naqlun community, appears in a letter from the village community of Tebetny to the monks of Naqlun, which was also discovered at site B on the plateau (*P. Naqlun* 39 in *Mélanges Gascou* [forthcoming]); *P. Naqlun* 37, a letter addressed, among others, to a certain ἄπα Π[ may pertain to the same person, given the common context of both finds.

3. ]ανν (for ]ανειν) could be an infinitive depending on *θελήσατε* in line 2. τῶ[ν] κενῶν (for *καινῶν*) is a probable reading. In our opinion it is possible to reconstruct a *nu* in the space between the *omega* in τῶ and the initial *kappa* of the following word – as the lacuna is wide enough for this letter to fit – even though there is no trace of *nu*'s horizontal stroke at the bottom of the line, where the surface of papyrus is preserved.

4. ἐνέχυρ-: the word ἐνέχυρον which we restore here means ‘pledge as a security for a loan’ (see J. Keenan, J. G. Manning, & U. Yiftach Firanko [eds.], *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest*, Cambridge 2014, pp. 252–253). Usually it was made up of movable objects (domestic utensils, jewellery) or money.

5. κύριος[ν]: if ἐνέχυρον in line 4 is a technical term, as suggested above, the word κύριος can be understood in its legal meaning of a guardian, or as referring to validity of a deed; this proposition, however, is merely conjectural, as the state of preservation does not allow for grasping the meaning of the text. It is also possible that it pertains to a third person, called *kyrios* as a mark of respect.

In this text we are most probably dealing with one of the numerous instances in which monks get entangled in purely secular transactions with their lay correspondents.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, we are unable to reconstruct the details of the situation, except for the fact that it involved credit matters. The involvement of the sixth-century monks from the Naqlun community in financial operations is well-attested in *P. Naqlun II* 21–23 (loan contracts between monks and laypeople).<sup>11</sup>

Both this and the previous document were discovered in the same location and layer; therefore, we have (highly conjecturally) suggested that the name of one of the addressees of *P. Naqlun* 37 may be restored as Paulos – perhaps identical with Paulos the deacon from *P. Naqlun* 39. It

<sup>10</sup> Cf., e.g., the letters from the fourth-century archives of *apa* John (probably the famous ascetic *apa* John of Lykopolis), especially the famous letter *P. Herm.* 7 mentioning the writer's problem with creditor, and the archive of Nepheros.

<sup>11</sup> On the private financial activities of monks as creditors, see T. MARKIEWICZ, ‘The Church, clerics, monks and credit in the papyri’, [in:] Anne BOUD'HORS *et alii* (eds.), *Monastic Estates in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt* [= *ASP* 46], Cincinnati 2009, pp. 178–204; see especially p. 190 for the account of failed attempts of a certain Paul from Alexandria to recover a loan from a monk through his superior, the famous Nepheros, the eponymous figure of the aforementioned archive (*P. Neph.* 1, 2, 4–8).

is possible that a locally influential monk lived at a certain point in the sixth or the seventh century in the Naqlun community. The papyri discovered by the Polish team in season 2011 could have formed a part of his and his colleagues' more extensive correspondence.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> The spatial disposition of the material found in the refuse dump in sector B suggests that the deposit was formed as a result of cleaning of various structures; refuse could have been thrown by basketloads, hence the easily distinguishable clusters of papyri in the excavated layers (see *P. Naqlun* II, p. 8).

