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## The Old Nubian 'Eparchal Archive' from Qasr Ibrim reconsidered

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Bartosz Wojciechowski

### **THE OLD NUBIAN ‘EPARCHAL ARCHIVE’ FROM QASR IBRIM RECONSIDERED\***

THE SO-CALLED ‘EPARCHAL ARCHIVE’ FROM QASR IBRIM was discovered in the 1974 season of excavations carried out by members of an archeological mission of the Egypt Exploration Society working in Ibrim under the direction of J. Martin Plumley. Seventeen years later the archive was published by Gerald M. Browne in the third volume of *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim*.<sup>1</sup> It is a set of 33 manuscripts written exclusively in Old Nubian, on paper or tanned leather.<sup>2</sup> Among them one finds both official documents (first of all contracts of land purchase/land sale or land lease), and semi-official correspondence between local clerks. A part of them are private letters. The texts were sealed in a vessel and hidden close

\* I would like to thank Dorota DZIERZBICKA for correcting my English.

<sup>1</sup> G. M. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim*, III, London 1991.

<sup>2</sup> In this article, we will consistently use BROWNE’s numeration of the respective documents. The so-called ‘Appendix’ to no. 38, written on a separate piece of paper, will be treated as a separate document (labelled ‘38 App.’). Thus, the number of documents in the archive according to my reckoning amounts to 33 and not 32, as stated in Browne’s publication. As a side note one should add that no. 34, although written on one piece of leather, concerns in fact two different transactions, drawn up on dates separated by a considerable interval of time and containing two different lists of witnesses. Because of that, even though it actually is one parchment, it will be treated as two separate documents (‘34i’ and ‘34ii’ respectively) for the purposes of this analysis.

to the foundation of one of the walls of House 177, which is sometimes called the 'Eparch's Residence'. This collection as a whole did not receive any commentary besides a philological one, nor any comprehensive attempt of interpretation was made until now. In this paper, I will try to provide basic and, as it seems, the most important conclusions drawn from an analysis of prosopographical data obtained from the manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> I believe that these conclusions allow to determine the true character of the archive in question much more accurately than ever before.

### CONTEXT OF DISCOVERY

House 177, located in the very centre of the town, about 20 metres southeast of the cathedral (see Fig. 1), belongs to a bigger complex of buildings, which also includes Houses 184, 185, and Building 172. The earliest among them, erected soon after Ibrim had been raided and pillaged by the troops of Shams ed-Dawla Tūrānshāh in AD 1172/3, were Houses 185 and 177, the first of which was most probably House 185. Originally there was no other structure alongside it. House 177 had no upper floor, or vaulted chambers, but it is one of two houses in all of late medieval Ibrim to have some kind of a bathroom/toilet space. In its interior there were six rooms in total, of which only Rooms 1 and 2, adjacent to one another, were domestic spaces (Fig. 2). Their walls were carefully mud-plastered and whitewashed, and under the floors a few large mud vessels were buried. It is at the base of the west wall of Room 2 that an imported Egyptian amphora containing the above-mentioned group of texts was found.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This research was conducted as a part of my doctoral project entitled: 'State, society and economy. Kingdom of Makuria in the 12th century in the light of the Old Nubian documentary texts from Qasr Ibrim', under preparation at the Faculty of History of the University of Warsaw.

<sup>4</sup> W. Y. ADAMS, *Qasr Ibrim. The Late Mediaeval Period*, London 1996, pp. 48–50. It should be added that a considerable number of texts (among them some written in Arabic) and scattered fragments were discovered on the opposite side of Room 2, in the fill beneath the flagstone step situated right behind the original entrance to the house. We can suppose that they too had once been stored in a sealed jar, which, however, was crushed *ibi-*

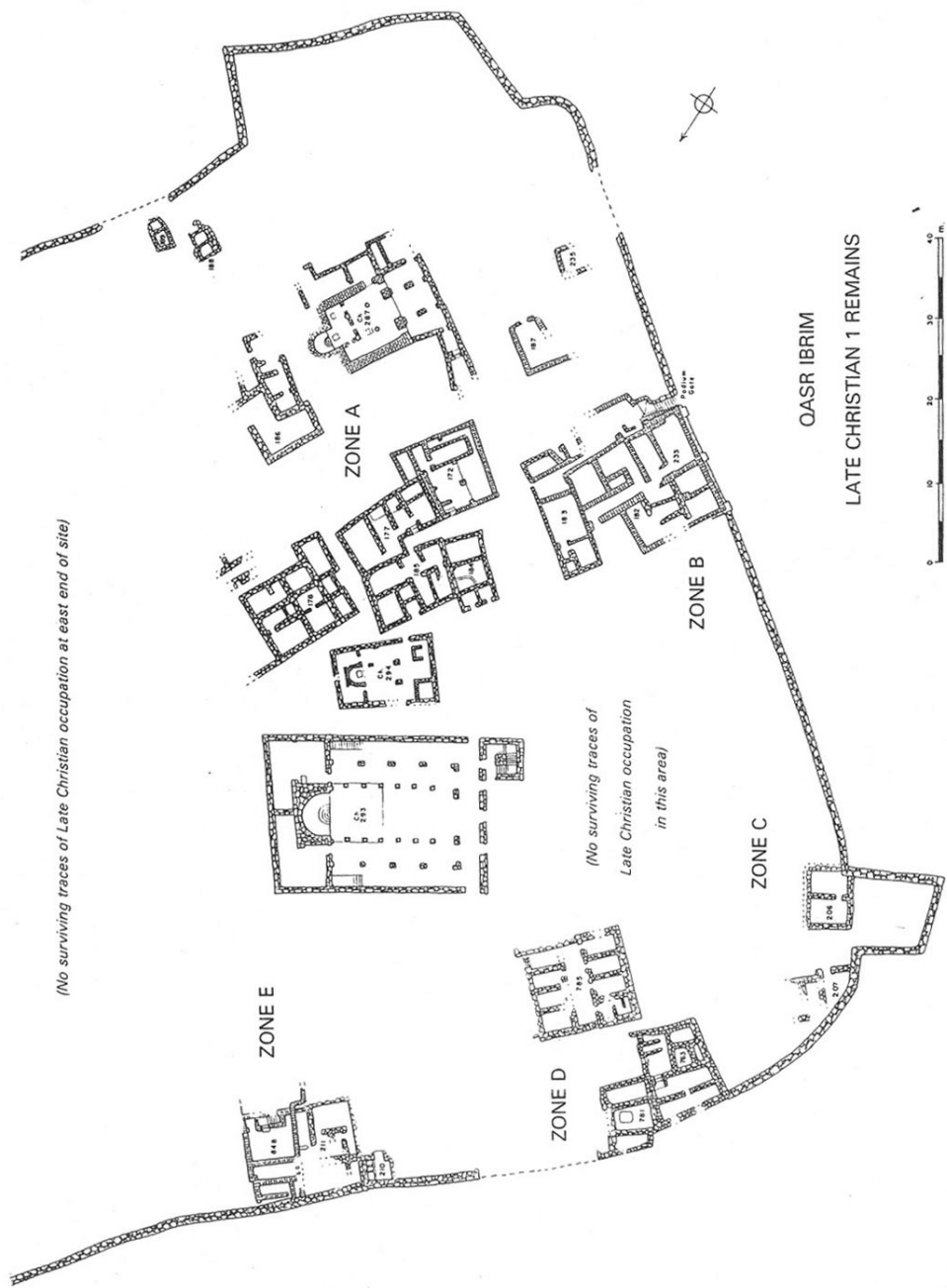


Fig. 1. Citadel in Qasr Ibrim: architectural remains from the Late Mediaeval Period

At some point between the end of the 12th and the middle of the 13th century, Building 172 was erected abutting the walls of House 177. As an exception in Ibrim, it was built entirely of mud bricks. It was a one-storey structure, equal in size to the neighbouring one.<sup>5</sup> While in all likelihood we can assume that it fulfilled public functions (which is indicated in particular by its interior layout), it is not clear at all if its erection was in any way associated with the gathering of the 33 documents in question and with their hiding in the house next door.

The chronological span of the documents covers the second half of the 12th century, with the majority of them written most probably in the 1180s and 1190s, during the last years of the rule of King Moses George and later, during the reign of his successor, King Basil. The vessel from House 177 undoubtedly contained copies and original documents alike.<sup>6</sup> Still, this fact does not make it easier to determine whether it was a dossier collected by private persons or a part of a bigger official archive. Nonetheless, the analyzed group of texts is frequently called an ‘eparchal archive’ by nubbiologists, following the hypothesis proposed by William Y. Adams, who associated the manuscripts with the figure of a certain Adama, eparch of Nobadia, a man mentioned in twelve of them.<sup>7</sup>

*dem*, p. 214). Old Nubian texts from that cache were published by G. M. BROWNE in the volume *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim*, II, London 1989; the majority are slightly earlier than the texts from the amphora hidden by the west wall.

<sup>5</sup> ADAMS, *Qasr Ibrim* (cit. n. 4), pp. 50–52.

<sup>6</sup> I presume that all the texts that are not official documents (nos. 46–62) are originals. As for the others: in his edition, Browne published only the photographs of six of them (33, 39, 41, 42, 44, 45), what makes the study of their hands very difficult, as we are largely dependent on his own observations. According to the latter, only nos. 39 and 40 were written by two different persons, while the rest represents a constant style of writing in all lines of text. The archive also includes copies. This is, for instance, indicated by no. 35, in which all the witnesses claim to have signed in their own hands, or no. 36, in which at least two of the signatures were supposedly written by the witnesses themselves (in both documents the mentioned individuals used the same formula: ‘I, so-and-so, wrote and witnessed’, which clearly indicates that their signatures should be written in different hands). However, no. 35 and no. 36 alike were written in one hand – which means, in my opinion, that they are copies.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. ADAMS, *Qasr Ibrim* (cit. n. 4), p. 50: ‘It seems very probable, therefore, that Adam was at least one of the eparchal residents of this house [House 177]’; *ibidem*, p. 52: ‘In the



However, after a detailed analysis of the prosopographical data stemming from the texts, this hypothesis seems doubtful: Adama is obviously not the central figure connecting the particular documents. It should be pointed out that the identification of individuals appearing in the texts and the reconstruction of the links connecting them is not an easy task. Attempts to define the degree of kinship or familiarity are often complicated by such basic problems as uncertainty in determining a person's sex (which results in most cases from the lack of grammatical gender in Old Nubian<sup>8</sup>), variability of forms of the same names (some of them have three or even four different abbreviated or expanded versions), the occasional use of the mother's name instead of that of the father's in the filiation, not to mention our imperfect knowledge of Old Nubian and ignorance of the context. Despite these difficulties, I managed to identify, with a high degree of probability, a group of a dozen people – relatives and friends – to whom the vast majority of the texts from the archive in question relates.

#### HOW TO DISTINGUISH INDIVIDUALS APPEARING IN THE DOCUMENTS?

Before I introduce the circle of the main characters, I would like to briefly explain the method I used in my attempt to answer the question of 'who is who?' in the manuscripts and to determine the actual number of persons appearing in the set. The first step was to catalogue (in the form of a comprehensive table; there is no need or space to publish it here) the names that appear at least twice.<sup>9</sup> Next, it was necessary to look at each of these cases, analyzing whether or not we are dealing with two or more bearers of the same name. Below in Table 1 I present three examples – the

last years of the 12th century it [House 177] served as the residence of the eparch Adam, who undertook a series of modifications in the house and also built House 172 alongside to serve as his audience chamber.'

<sup>8</sup> It means, *inter alia*, that the same names could be borne by both men and women.

<sup>9</sup> Names that appear only once do not pose a problem in this context because it is obvious that each of them corresponded to one individual.

easiest one, more difficult, and finally the most difficult – which illustrate how I distinguished the individuals.

As one can see, the method adopted by me is to combine different mentions of the same name according to the likelihood that they refer to the same person, each time keeping in mind the context in which the name appears. By 'context' I mean the offices held by the person, titles, filiation, chronology of the documents, relations with other people from the archive, etc. It should be emphasised that the results of the analysis remain largely hypothetical. Nevertheless, I think that in this specific case there is simply no other way to proceed, and, simultaneously, that the proposed reconstruction offers a high degree of probability, sufficient to make some further considerations.

#### RELATIVES AND FRIENDS

Let us therefore return to the heart of the matter. I already expressed the opinion that Adama is not the main character linking the documents from the archive. This is clearly demonstrated by the frequency of appearance of individual persons in the texts. The list of most frequently mentioned individuals is presented in Table 2. The table is divided into five columns. In the first column, one can find the names of ten individuals appearing in the largest number of manuscripts (together with titles and names of offices they held). The number of manuscripts is provided in the next column. The third column shows how many times a person was included in the lists of protocolar officials (protocols were attached to some of the documents, see nos. 30-40), while the fourth column shows how many times he or she was registered on the list of witnesses (such lists could be found in nos. 31-45). Finally, the last column presents the number of mentions in the rest of the contexts, most often playing the role of one of the parties validating a contract/transaction, as an addressee/sender of a letter or someone mentioned in the text. From our point of view, the most important are definitely the first and the fifth column. On the basis of this table one can easily notice that although eparch Adama appears in twelve manuscripts altogether, he is mentioned only three times outside



Table 1.

## Individuals as represented in the archive

The number of the document is marked in bold, while the figure after a period indicates the line in which the name was written (numbering after Browne, *Old Nubian Texts* [cit. n. 1]). Roman numerals in brackets appearing in the column 'Persons' are numbers assigned by me during analysis in order to distinguish one individual from another. It needs emphasis that they are internal indications referring only to the characters appearing in the archive from House 177. Note also that the majority of Old Nubian /Makurian offices and titles occurring in the texts remain unidentified.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Documents and context in which the name appears</i>	<i>Persons</i>
Loukasi/Doukasi	<b>36.ii.4</b> : witness, son of Zôsima, scribe, as Loukasi <b>37.34</b> : witness, <i>gouš</i> of Tharmouši, scribe, as Doukasi <b>38.ii.11, 20</b> : protocolar official – <i>gouš</i> of Tharmouši (11), witness (20), in both lines as Loukasi <b>43.7</b> : witness, scribe, as Doukasi	Loukasi/Doukasi, son of Zôsima, <i>gouš</i> of Tharmouši, scribe, witness in four documents
David (Dauti, Dadti, or abbreviated as Dad)	<b>30.4</b> : uncle of the king, a former king, abbreviated as Dad <b>32.6, 7, 8, 22</b> : protocolar official – Great Scribe (6), protocolar official – Epistolary Scribe (7), protocolar official – <i>oekonomus</i> (8), David of Mosmosi, in the retinue of the Priest of King George, scribe (22), in line 7 as Dadti, in the remaining lines as Dauti <b>34i.36</b> : representative of Sonoja, son of Ouatta, witness, as Dauti <b>34ii.17</b> : witness, priest, abbreviated as Dad <b>35.7</b> : protocolar official – Epistolary Scribe, abbr. as Dad <b>36.i.10</b> : son of Ennoua, protocolar official – <i>nešš</i> (of Nobadia?), abbreviated as Dad <b>37.7</b> : protocolar official – Epistolary Scribe, as Dauti <b>54.i.5</b> : priest, abbreviated as Dad	David (D), Great Scribe, Epistolary Scribe, <i>oekonomus</i> : <b>32.6, 7, 8, 35.7; 37.7</b> David (II), priest, son of Ouatta, representative of Sonoja, witness in two documents: <b>34i.36, 34ii.17; 54.i.5</b> David (III), uncle of the king Moses George, also a king: <b>30.4</b> David (IV), <i>nešš</i> (of Nobadia?): <b>36.i.10</b> David (V), native of Mosmosi, in the retinue of the Priest of King George, scribe; perhaps identical with David (III): <b>32.22</b>

Name	Documents and context in which the name appears	Persons
Darne	<p>30.8: protocolar official – eparch of Nobadia, <i>domesticus</i> of Faras</p> <p>31.6: son of Michaëlin-Asi, protocol official – <i>nešš</i> of the <i>domesticus</i></p> <p>33.i.6, 14, 18, 19: son of Michaëlin-Asi, protocolar official – <i>meizoterus</i> (of Ibrim?, 6), <i>timakkis</i>, witness (14), son of Marieto, witness [18], Great Priest, scribe (19)</p> <p>34i.17: protocolar official – <i>nešš</i> of the <i>domesticus</i></p> <p>34ii.12, 13 priest, <i>ouataphil</i>, witness (12), <i>timakkis</i>, witness (13)</p> <p>35-18, 19: <i>timakkis</i>, witness (18), <i>tricliniaris</i> of the bishop, Great Priest, witness (19, as Darmel)</p> <p>36.i.6, 34, 35: son of the Great Priest, protocolar official – <i>domesticus</i> elect (i.6), <i>makhil</i>, witness (i.34), <i>ouataphil</i>, witness (i.35)</p> <p>37-21: bishop of Kourte, witness</p> <p>38.17: <i>timakkis</i>, as a middleman in the transaction</p> <p>40.18: priest, <i>timakkis</i>, witness</p> <p>41.10: <i>timakkis</i>, witness</p> <p>42.12: <i>ouataphil</i>, witness</p> <p>44-18: <i>ouataphil</i>, witness</p> <p>45-5, 13: <i>timakkis</i>, witness (5), son of Ougga, witness (13)</p> <p>49.i.5: priest, witness</p> <p>55-ii.5: sends greetings to Eionnoka</p> <p>61.2, 8: from Gettin Gappitti</p>	<p>Darne (I), eparch of Nobadia, <i>domesticus</i> of Faras: 30.8</p> <p>Darne (II), son of Michaëlin-Asi, son of the Great Priest, <i>nešš</i> of the <i>domesticus</i>, <i>meizoterus</i> (of Ibrim?), <i>domesticus</i> elect: 31.6; 33.i.6; 34i.17; 36.i.6</p> <p>Darne (III), Great Priest, <i>tricliniaris</i> of the bishop, priest: 33.i.19; 35.19; 36.i.36</p> <p>Darne (IV), priest, <i>timakkis</i>, <i>makhil</i>: 33.i.14; 34ii.13; 35.18; 36.i.34; 38.17; 40.18; 41.10; 45.5; 49.i.5?; 55-ii.5?; 61.2, 8?</p> <p>Darne (V), priest, <i>ouataphil</i>, father of Zachari: 34ii.12; 36.i.35; 42.12; 44.18</p> <p>Darne (VI), bishop of Kourte: 37.21</p> <p>Darne (VII), son of Ougga: 45.13</p> <p>Darne (VIII), son of Marieto: 33.i.18</p>

the official context, while, due to his rank, he was included in the protocols as many as eight times (essentially the protocols never have any direct relation to the actual content of the documents). Inversely, a certain Maššouda (IV), who is almost absent from the official context, appears fourteen times outside the protocols and outside the lists of witnesses, including five times as a buyer of new plots of land and five times as an addressee of letters; it is worth noting that the total number of documents in which he appears also exceeds the number of documents mentioning Adama. Initially I thought that Maššouda (IV) was the main link connecting the texts instead of the eparch, but during later research I came to a conclusion that such links are more numerous, and the archive focuses primarily on the various affairs of a certain family, to which Maššouda (IV) was probably closely related.

We will call this family the family of Eionñoka (I), because among its members this woman has the most extensive network of social contacts and relationships occurring in the archive (comparable even to the one that could be reconstructed for Maššouda [IV]). The genealogy of this family is presented in Fig. 3. As one can see, representatives of as many as four successive generations can be distinguished. I also managed to recognize numerous relatives cognate with them in varying degrees, as well as many friends and acquaintances (genealogical patterns of three other families who were relatively close with the family of Eionñoka [I] are presented on Fig. 4). Below, I will briefly introduce each member of the family, some of their kin, as well as close friends. For more precise characteristics of the best-known individuals and the sources of information about them, see tables appended at the end of the article.

#### Family and close relatives of Eionñoka (I)

**Eionñoka (I).** Daughter of Chaél-Soñoja and Papisinen (II), wife of Mêna (III), and mother of at least two children: Nonnen (I) and Iêsou (II).<sup>10</sup> Probably a stepsister of Kapopi. Of all persons known from the

<sup>10</sup> On the basis of the texts from the archive from House 177, one can state only that Eionñoka (I) and Iêsou (II) were close relatives, but the degree of this kinship cannot be determined. In this case, our knowledge is complemented by a document outside the described set. It is the so-called *Griffith's Sale*, first published in 1913 (F. LL. GRIFFITH, *The*

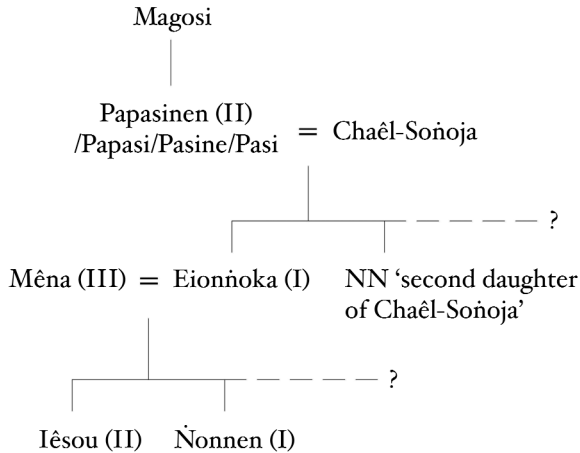


Fig. 3. Genealogical pattern of Eionnoka's (I) family

archive she had by far the most extensive network of social connections and contacts in the local community except for Maššouda (IV). In no. 34i she buys a plot of land together with Mêna (III). Eionnoka (I) is also the addressee of two private letters, in which a number of her friends and relatives are mentioned. She is a witness in four documents.

*Nubian Texts of the Christian Period* [= *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 8], Berlin 1913, pp. 53–55). Its most recent, improved reading was proposed in 1992 by G. M. BROWNE ('Griffith's Old Nubian sale', *Orientalia* 61 [1992], pp. 454–458). The manuscript is now part of the papyrological collection of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. It is a contract of land sale between a certain Eionnoka and her son, Iêsou, individuals whom I identify as the persons described in this article. An additional argument linking *Griffith's Sale* with documents belonging to the archive from House 177 is the fact that the former and the latter share at least one or perhaps as many as three witnesses. Moreover, the scribe of *Griffith's Sale* also appears as a scribe in one of the documents from the archive found in House 177. The place where *Griffith's Sale* was discovered remains unknown, but if linking it with the texts from the Qasr Ibrim House 177 archive is correct, we can assume that it originated from Ibrim. The document does not bear any date, but the moment of its drafting can be placed during the reign of Moses George (line containing the name of the king is corrupted, reading is uncertain), surely before year 1187 (due to the change of person exercising the office of the eparch of Nobadia in comparison to no. 35 from the archive, dated to the year 1187), and most probably – considering the estimated age of Eionnoka (I) – in the late 1170s or in the 1180s.

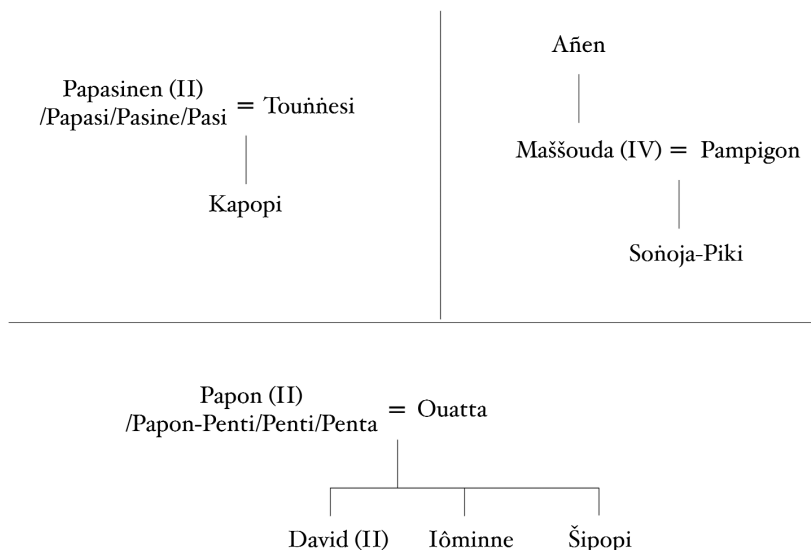


Fig. 4. Genealogical patterns of three families closely related to the family of Eionñoka (I)

**Magosi.** Maternal grandfather/grandmother of Eionñoka (I). His/her name appears only once, in the filiation of Papasinen (II) recorded in no. 37.

**Papasinen (II)/Papasi/Pasine/Pasi.** Mother of Eionñoka (I), probably also mother of Kapopi. She was married at least twice: to Chaël-Soñoja and to Touñnesi (the latter was the father of Kapopi). In no. 37, Maššouda (IV) and Pampigon, his wife, purchase a plot of land from a certain Eñnaeil – a plot which he bought earlier from Papasinen (II). In no. 35, Mêna (III) or Mêna (II), bishop of Ibrim, hypothetically hands over his servant to her. Papasinen (II) is a witness in two documents.

**Chaël-Soñoja.** Father of Eionñoka (I), mentioned in her filiations in nos. 37 and 38. He held the office of *neššigaweikkol* of Nal (no. 44), he is also described as the author of the ‘great survey’ of land plots (no. 39), he appears twice as a witness.

**Touñnesi.** Probably a stepfather of Eionñoka (I), his name appears only once, in the filiation of Kapopi in no. 36.

**Kapopi.** Presumably a stepsister of Eionñoka (I), a daughter of Papasinen (II) and Touñnesi. In no. 36, she sells property inherited from her mother to Neuesi, a daughter of the eparch Adama, while in no. 33 she frees a slave, perhaps the one mentioned as a part of the payment in no. 36. She is a contracting party also in no. 44.

**NN second daughter of Chaêl-Soñoja.** Not mentioned by name, she appears on the list of witnesses in no. 34ii. She is therefore a sister of Eionñoka (I), but we are not certain whether she was her sister from both parents or her stepsister.

**Mêna (III).** Father of Nonnen (I). Most probably a husband of Eionñoka (I); in no. 34i, they buy a plot of land together, in no. 35 maybe he is the one who releases a servant and hands him over to Papasinen (II). Perhaps he is identical with Mêna (IV), bishop of Ibrim, mentioned in seven documents (34ii, 37, 38, 38 App., 39, 40, and 42).

**Iêsou (II).** Son of Eionñoka (I) and Mêna (III), brother of Nonnen (I). Priest, asti of the bishop, perhaps loosely associated with a chancellery functioning in Ibrim.<sup>11</sup> It cannot be excluded that he reached the position of the bishop of Sai at some point in his career. In no. 49 he acts as an agent/representative of the eparch Adama, in the same texts he is also described as one of 'the best men of Ibrim'. He is the sender of a letter (no. 55) to Eionñoka (I) and a witness in three documents.

**Nonnen (I).** Daughter of Eionñoka (I) and Mêna (III), who are mentioned in her filiations in nos. 34ii and 38. Nonnen (I) appears in three documents: in two of them she completes land sale transactions, in the third one she is a witness.

<sup>11</sup> On the basis of data obtained from the sources discussed above, one can risk a hypothesis that a kind of organizational unit which nowadays we would call a chancellery existed in Ibrim at that time. In my opinion, its character and some of the rules of its functioning can be reconstructed and a part of staff can be identified. I intend to prepare a separate article on that subject in the future. Here, I would only like to say that a few people associated with the chancellery can also be recognized among the relatives and friends of Eionñoka (I).

Remaining relatives (more distant affines),  
friends, close neighbours

**Maššouda (IV).** Husband of Pampigon, father of Soñoja-Piki. An official of the local administration: *choiak-eikšil*, Elder, maybe also *nešš* of Koudketi. Without a doubt he is a person appearing by far the most frequently of all in the texts from the archive and as such he has also a very extensive network of social connections. Unfortunately there is no direct reference or information that would prove beyond doubt that he was a member of Eionñoka's (I) family. Still, it seems more than probable that he was a relative or one of the family's closest friends (possibly also a close neighbour). Undoubtedly he was connected with Iêsou (II), son of Eionñoka (I), with Papon (II) and David (II), son of Papon; he concluded land purchase contracts *inter alia* with Eionñoka (I) and Nonnen (I); because of his duties and to offices he held he is also the addressee of several letters from other officials. A witness in three documents; in no. 36 he signed with his own hand, adding that 'he has the George-Church of the West'.<sup>12</sup>

**Papon (II)/Papon-Penti/Penti/Penta.** Probably a husband of Ouatta and father of her three children: David (II), Iôminne and Šipopi. Local official: chief, Chief of the King, *tot* of Ibrim, Great *Kis*, as well as a priest from Derr and an employee of the chancellery. He is mentioned in a few letters addressed to Eionñoka (I), and to Maššouda (IV) as well. On the basis of this evidence he appears to be a relative or close friend, or someone like a trusted servant and/or representative, certainly someone more important than a good neighbour. He is a witness in four documents.

**David (II).** Son of Ouatta and Papon (II), brother of Iôminne and Šipopi, nephew of Orôsel; priest. In one of the documents, he appears on the list of witnesses as a representative of a certain Soñoja (I), son of a bishop of Ibrim. In no. 54, a short note sent to Maššouda (IV), David (II) together with Iêsou (II) is greeted by Koudin-Pesa, the sender. It is not

<sup>12</sup> It most likely refers to Ibrim West. We can suppose that such patronage was considered not only as a sign of piety of the person who 'owned' the church, but also a sign of his/her high social status and wealth. For more on this phenomenon, see A. ŁAJTAR & J. VAN DER VLIET, 'Rich ladies of Meinarti and their churches', *JfurP* 28 (1998), pp. 35-53.

Table 2. The individuals that appear most frequently in the documents from the archive from House 177

<i>Person</i>	<i>Number of documents in which he/she appears – in total</i>	<i>Number of documents in which he/she appears in the protocol</i>	<i>Number of documents in which he/she appears as a witness</i>	<i>Number of documents in which he/she appears in another role</i>
<b>Adama</b> , eparch of Nobadia, <i>domesticus</i> of Faras, <i>eikšil</i> of Douksi	12	8	2	3 (twice as a sender of letters, once as a seller of land)
<b>Ajola</b> , deacon, scribe	8	—	7	1
<b>Darme (IV)</b> , priest, <i>timakkis</i> , <i>makibil</i>	11	—	8	3
<b>Douddil (I)</b> , <i>architriclinus</i>	9	8	—	1 (addressee of a letter)
<b>Eionñoka (I)</b>	9	—	4	5 (twice as an addressee of letters, once as a buyer of land)
<b>Iésou (II)</b> , priest, <i>asti</i> of the bishop, perhaps also the bishop of Sai	7 (hypothetically 8)	—	3	5 (once as a sender of a letter, once as an addressee)
<b>Maššouda (IV)</b> , <i>choiak-eikšil</i> , deacon, Elder, perhaps also the <i>neš</i> of Koudketi	15 (hypothetically 17)	—	1 (hypothetically 3)	14 (5 times as a buyer of land, 5 times as an addressee of letters, once as a sender)
<b>Ornourta</b> , priest, deacon, <i>ouataphil</i>	10	—	8	2
<b>Papon (II)</b> , chief, <i>tot</i> of Ibrim, Great <i>Kis</i> , scribe	8	—	3	5
<b>Tapara (II)</b> , priest, Great Priest, <i>tot</i> of Ibrim	9	—	6	3 (once as a sender of a letter)



to be excluded that David (II) is the same person as David (V), who appears in no. 32 as a scribe of the document and a member of 'the retinue of the Priest of King George'.

**Ajola.** Deacon and scribe of the chancellery. In no. 55, which is a letter of Iêsou (II) to his mother Eionñoka (I), he is greeted by the sender and by Darne (IV); one should surmise that he was a person known to all three. Probably a distant relative or friend, alternatively someone like a trusted servant. He wrote three documents of the archive, in three others he acts as a witness.

**Darne (IV).** Priest, *timakkis*, *makibil*, employee of the chancellery. In no. 55 he sends greetings to the addressee, Eionñoka (I), and possibly also to her family, through Iêsou (II). In no. 49 he is mentioned, *inter alia* together with Iêsou (II), on a list of witnesses as one of 'the best men in Ibrim'. Rather a good friend than relative. Witness in six documents.

**Tapara (II).** Sender of the letter (no. 56) to Eionñoka (I), in which he greets 'all her people' (family and other members of the household?). In this letter, also Papon (II) is mentioned as an agent or kind of envoy, apparently known both to the sender and the addressee. Tapara (II) held the office of Great Priest and *tot* of Ibrim. He is a witness in four documents. A good friend rather than a relative, he probably belonged to a circle of friends/colleagues from the chancellery.

**Poñita.** In no. 34ii Poñita, her daughter Persi, and Nonnen (I) sell a plot of land to Maššouda (IV). In no. 38 App., the meaning of which is unclear, Poñita and Persi either buy land from Nonnen (I) or act in the name of Maššouda (IV). Poñita appears to be a friend of the family of Eionñoka (I) or her distant relative. She is a witness in four documents.

**Koudin-Pesa**<sup>13</sup>/**Pesa/Koudi.** Father of Touskonkouda and Mogodikoña. Sender of a short note (no. 54) concerning distribution of grain, addressed most probably to Maššouda (IV), in which he greets Iêsou (II) and David (II). In a letter (no. 56) from Tapara (II) to Eionñoka (I) he

<sup>13</sup>As a side note: perhaps it is one of the versions of the name Kudanbes, borne, *inter alia*, by one of the last Makurian kings in the beginnings of the 14th century (see G. VANTINI, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*, Heidelberg – Warsaw 1975, pp. 561–562 [an account of Ibn Khaldun] and pp. 691–693 [an account of Maqrizi]).

appears as an agent of the sender. Perhaps he was a friend of someone from Eionñoka's (I) family or a good neighbour.

**Oeilan-Ñal/Oeila** and his wife **Mariamê**. Oeilan-Ñal most probably belongs to a family that buys land in no. 45 (Poñita 'gave the gold to the hand' of the purchaser; among the witnesses we find Eionñoka [I] herself and six of her 'friends and relatives'). Presumably Oeilan-Ñal is a husband of Mariamê in no. 41 (the meaning of the text is somewhat obscure, hypothetically it concerns the division of this couple's property); he is also a witness in nos. 37 and 43. On the other hand, Mariamê is a central character for the people from no. 44, who are referred to there as 'her children', probably only in the legal sense (among them we find Kapopi and Titta [I]). In sum: contacts between Oeilan-Ñal and Mariamê (even after their presumed divorce) and friends/relatives of Eionñoka (I) are apparent and fairly close, and may be due to the fact that they were neighbours.

**Titta (I)**. Daughter of a certain Mallen-Ñal and Ñaei, she is a witness in four documents. In no. 61, she is paired with Temsi (she was probably his wife, alternatively his sister or another close relative). Moreover, in no. 44 she is one of the 'children' of Mariamê. We could regard her as a friend of Eionñoka's (I) family. Temsi, in turn, is an official who acts as a superior of Maššouda (IV) in no. 46.

\*

It is worth adding that aside from relatives and friends at least two other circles can be distinguished among the people who knew members of Eionñoka's (I) family: the circle of associates, persons connected with them by means of official contacts, and the circle representing loose and unspecified links, for example individuals especially frequently registered on the lists of witnesses, owners of adjacent plots, co-owners of parcels.

It should be assumed that the family of Eionñoka (I) occupied a high position among the inhabitants of Ibrim. Its members had an extensive network of social connections, they could boast of acquaintance with some important state officials, such as the eparch of Nobadia; being owners of land and other property, they undoubtedly were relatively wealthy people. Men belonging to the family held ecclesiastical offices (in the case

of Mêna [III] and Iêsou [II] perhaps even the office of bishop), or state offices of the middling and lower ranks in the local hierarchy, or both.

To summarise the presented material: a total of about 300 individuals could be recognized in the texts from the archive found in House 177. 160–180 of them are mentioned only once, 120–130 at least twice. The total number of relatives, friends and other acquaintances of Eionñoka (I) and members of her family equals 60–70 individuals. It should be emphasized here once again that a large part of the presented reconstruction is purely hypothetical, but from my point of view it is plausible enough to draw substantial conclusions concerning the character of the archive in question. Despite the fact that we are not certain whether it was collected by private individuals for private purposes, or it formed part of bigger official/state archives, we can say that the vast majority of documents relates to the affairs and interests of one particular family and people connected with this family by various ties. According to this key, 30 of 33 texts belonging to the set analyzed above could be linked to one another.<sup>14</sup> Simultaneously, the conclusions drawn from analysis of the texts prescribe to reconsider the hypothesis that House 177 was an eparch's residence at the time when the archive was collected. Neither is this idea supported by the archaeological evidence – a structure designed without an upper storey still appears to be slightly too modest to be the seat of the highest official in the province (even taking into account the poor condition of the state in that period).

To make the next step in our deliberations, I would like to say that in my opinion House 177 was more probably a home of one of the families described above, perhaps Eionñoka's (I) family or the family of one of her

<sup>14</sup> There are three exceptions:

No. 30: royal proclamation/decree, by which the Epimachus Church of Ibrim West is released from the obligation of paying an annual tribute to the bishop of Ibrim. The reason for adding the document to the archive can, however, be explained by the fact that possibly someone from Eionñoka's (I) family was somehow connected with this church.

No. 60: list of plots in possession of the Jesus Church of Touggili; the explanation for its appearance in the dossier may be similar as in the case of no. 30

No. 32: land sale contract concluded between persons not belonging to the group of relatives and friends of Eionñoka's (I) family. This is basically the only text that does not match the rest; perhaps the sold plot was later passed on to someone from Eionñoka's (I) family.

relatives. It cannot be excluded that the adjacent Houses 184 and 185 were inhabited by other families referred to in the documents, for example the family of Maššouda (IV), Papon (II), or Poñita. From that point of view, rather than the eparch's 'audience hall', Building 172 can be identified as the 'writing office' mentioned in no. 34i.<sup>15</sup> It is possible that the main room (Fig. 2, Room 1) was the place where the contracting parties, as well as at least some of the witnesses, consumed food products listed in the document.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, a fireplace surrounded by stone slabs was discovered inside this chamber, while storage rooms (Fig. 2, Rooms 2 and 3), and an isolated latrine (Fig. 2, Rooms 4–6) occupied the remaining space in the building.<sup>17</sup> An additional argument in favour of identifying Building 172 with 'the writing office' may well be the fact that among the closest relatives and friends of Eionnoka (I) – and thus potential residents of the described cluster of houses – there are five persons associated with the chancellery, including at least two scribes.

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<sup>15</sup> BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts* (cit. n. 1), no. 34i, l. 26.

<sup>16</sup> 'What they ate and drank within the writing office is: [here goes a list of products]', no. 34i, ll. 26–31, translation by BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts* (cit. n. 1), p. 45. To be precise it should be noted, however, that the meaning of the word translated as 'writing office' is uncertain (p. 85, see commentary to line 26). A matter that also remains unclear in many aspects are the traditional meals/feasting during business transactions in Makuria. A similar list of products can be found in nos. 32 (ll. 25–28) and 36 (ll. ii.2–4).

<sup>17</sup> ADAMS, *Qasr Ibrim* (cit. n. 4), p. 51.

## APPENDIX

Connections between the closest relatives and friends of Eionñoka's (I) family  
(figures in bold are the numbers of the documents from the archive from House 177;  
numeration by Browne, *Old Nubian Texts* [cit. n. 1])

### Eionñoka (I)

<i>Family ties</i>	<i>Business/official relations</i>	<i>Other connections/relations</i>
<p>33: probably a daughter of Papasinen (II)</p> <p>34i: in a close relationship with Mèna (III), probably his wife</p> <p>34ii: sister of NN second daughter of Chaël-Soñoja</p> <p>37, 38: daughter of Chaël-Soñoja</p> <p>44: possibly a stepsister of Kapopi (because of Papasinen [II]), possibly a mother of Nonnen (I) (because of Mèna [III], father of Nonnen)</p> <p><i>Griffith's Sale</i>: mother of Ièsou (II)</p>	<p>34i: Eionñoka and Mèna buy a plot of land from Mouna and Mañi, Soueti remitted the gold, Papon (II) is a scribe of the document</p> <p>witness in 33, 37, 38, 45</p>	<p>34ii: Eionñoka and Mèna have connections with a family of Mašankisse and with Poñita (they share land)</p> <p>55: private letter from Ièsou (II) to Eionñoka, connected with a letter 56, written in the same hand as 56 (hand of Ièsou [II], Tapara [II] or an unknown scribe). Ièsou and Eionñoka are in a close relationship. There appears also Papon-Penti, someone known to Ièsou and Eionñoka alike; Ièsou greets 'all his people', Ajola in particular, and beside him 'the Fathers in the town' (i.e. other priests? members of the assembly of the Elders?); Darne (IV) greets Eionñoka</p> <p>56: private letter from Tapara (II) to Eionñoka, in the same hand as 55. Papon-Penti/Penti appears as a person known both to Tapara and Eionñoka, perhaps a servant and/or representative. Tapara greets 'all people' of Eionñoka</p>

## Papasin (II)/Papasi/Pasine/Pasi

<i>Family ties</i>	<i>Business/official relations</i>	<i>Other connections/relations</i>
<p><b>33:</b> possibly a mother of Eionñoka (I), perhaps a wife of Chaël-Soñoja (because of Eionñoka [I]), perhaps a grandmother of Nonnen (I) and Iêsou (II)</p>	<p><b>37:</b> Maššouda (IV) and his wife Pampigon purchase a plot from Eññaecil (which he had bought earlier from Papasin [II])</p> <p><b>43:</b> Papasin gives a donation to Eññaecil and his wife</p> <p>witness in <b>31, 33</b></p>	<p><b>33:</b> Meskel is a servant of Papasin (II)</p> <p><b>61:</b> Papasi appears in one line of the list with Isou-Aggikouda (probably it is the same person as Iêsou [II], Papasi is his grandmother)</p>

Perhaps Papasin (II) appears also in **44** (mother of Kapopi, which is ‘from the children of Enomariamê’), **32** (owner of the plot of land) and **35** (Mêna [III] or Mêna [II], bishop of Ibrim, hypothetically hands over his servant Gaweson to Papasin).

## Kapopi of Ibrim

<i>Family ties</i>	<i>Business/official relations</i>	<i>Other connections/relations</i>
<p><b>36:</b> daughter of Touñnesi</p>	<p><b>33:</b> Kapopi releases slave Apa</p> <p><b>36:</b> Kapopi sells all the property ‘inherited from her mother’ (Papasin [II]) to Neuesi, daughter of Adama and Anenikoli</p> <p><b>40:</b> Adama sells land ‘which is under his control’ to the Church (the same plots belonged previously to Kapopi and were bought by Neuesi in <b>36</b>)</p>	<p>—</p>

Perhaps Kapopi appears also in **44** (‘being from the children’ of Enomariamê, she is described simultaneously as a daughter of Papasin [II]; if so, she is a stepsister of Eionñoka [I]).

## Mêna (III)

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<i>Family ties</i>	<i>Business/official relations</i>	<i>Other connections/relations</i>
<p><b>34i:</b> in close relationship with Eionñoka (I) (husband?)</p> <p><b>34ii, 38:</b> father of Ñnonnen (I), perhaps a father of Iêsou (II) (because of relationship with Eionñoka [I])</p>	<p><b>34i:</b> Mêna and Eionñoka buy a plot from Mouna and Mañi, Soueti remitted the gold, Papon (II) is a scribe of the document</p> <p><b>35:</b> Mêna ‘releases the servant to Papsi’ (perhaps ‘Papsi’ stands for Papisinen [II])</p> <p><b>38:</b> Ñnonnen (I) sells a plot inherited from her father to Maššouda (IV). Dar-me (IV) remitted the gold to his hand</p>	<p><b>34ii:</b> Mêna and Eionñoka are connected somehow with the family of Mašankisse and Poñita (they share land)</p>

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Perhaps Mêna (III) is the same person as Mêna (IV), bishop of Ibrim (successor of bishop Thôma) in **34ii, 37-40** and **42**.

## Ñnonnen (I)

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<i>Family ties</i>	<i>Business/official relations</i>	<i>Other connections/relations</i>
<p><b>34ii, 38:</b> daughter of Mêna (III) daughter of Eionñoka? (because of Mêna [III]), perhaps a granddaughter of Papisinen (II), perhaps a sister of Iêsou (II)</p>	<p><b>34ii:</b> Ñnonnen, Poñita and Persi sell a plot to Maššouda (IV). Soñoja-Piki (daughter of Maššouda) and Soundin-Ñal remitted the gold</p> <p><b>38:</b> Ñnonnen, through Persi and Poñita, sells a plot to Maššouda (IV). Dar-me (IV) remitted the gold to his hand witness in <b>40</b></p>	<p><b>34ii, 38:</b> Ñnonnen is a friend of Poñita and Persi</p>

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## Iêsou (II). Priest, *asti* of the bishop, loosely connected with the chancellery, perhaps also a bishop of Sai

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<i>Family ties</i>	<i>Business/official relations</i>	<i>Other connections/relations</i>
<i>Griffith's Sale</i> : son of Eionnioka (I), presumably a brother of Nonnen (I) and a grandson of Papisinen (II)	42: representative of Parin-Ogia witness in <b>38 App.</b> , <b>42</b> , <b>49</b>	<p>49: letter from the eparch Adama to the vice-eparch Soueti. It contains orders concerning a distribution of goods, it is related directly with <b>50</b>. Adama, Mogodikoña and Iêsê made a deposit of grain in Ibrim. Witnesses of that are, <i>inter alia</i>, Iêsou (II), Darne (IV) and Ourourta. Adama calls them 'the best men of Ibrim'. Iêsou (II) is also Adama's agent/envoy to Soueti</p> <p>54: short note from Pesa/Koudin-Pesa to Maššouda (IV), informing that one should release grain to Soñoja (IV), with acknowledgment. Pesa greets Iêsou (II) and David (II)</p> <p>55: private letter from Iêsou (II) to Eionnioka (I), connected with a letter <b>56</b>, written in the same hand as <b>56</b> (hand of Iêsou [II], Tapara [II] or an unknown scribe). Iêsou and Eionnioka are in a close relationship. There also appears Papon-Penti, someone known to Iêsou and Eionnioka alike; Iêsou greets 'all his people', Ajola in particular, and beside him 'the Fathers in the town' (i.e. other priests? members of the assembly of the elders?); Darne (IV) sends greetings to Eionnioka</p> <p>57: private letter from Arôn, bishop of Faras, to Iêsou, bishop of Sai. Its meaning is unclear. A certain Penti (or perhaps his whole family/clan) is mentioned in the text, he is known to both bishops</p>

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**Maššouda (IV). *Choiak-eikšil*, deacon, Elder, Elder of the *domesticus*,  
maybe also the *nešš* of Koudketi**

<i>Purchase/sale/cession of land</i>	<i>Contacts related to the held offices</i>	<i>Transaction intermediaries, agents</i>	<i>Family ties</i>	<i>Other connections /relations</i>
<p><b>34ii:</b> he buys from Poñita, Persi and Nonnen (I). The plot is from the land of Ména (III), Poñita and Eionñoka (I)</p> <p><b>36:</b> ‘he had’ the George Church in Ibrim West</p> <p><b>37:</b> he buys from Eñnaeil (which Eñnaeil bought earlier from Papasinen)</p> <p><b>38:</b> he buys from Nonnen (I)</p> <p><b>39:</b> he buys from Aggestotil</p> <p><b>42:</b> he rents a parcel from Mouhoumeti and Teulote</p>	<p><b>36:</b> he ‘sits in assembly with his Elders’ (most probably being an Elder himself)</p> <p><b>42:</b> order from the eparch Tamsi concerning a sale of grain, addressed to Maššouda, Elder</p> <p><b>47:</b> as a <i>choiak-eikšil</i> Maššouda acts as a intermediate in the distribution of grain</p> <p><b>48:</b> letter of a certain Nad( ), probably a representative of the eparch, to Maššouda, concerning distribution of grain</p> <p><b>52:</b> Maššouda and Soñoja (IV) are connected by official duties related to the distribution of goods?</p>	<p><b>34ii:</b> Soñoja-Piki (daughter of Maššouda) and Soundin-Nal remitted the gold</p> <p><b>38:</b> Darne (IV) remitted the gold</p> <p><b>39:</b> Marieio (I), father of Darne (IV), remitted the gold</p>	<p><b>31:</b> son of Añen</p> <p><b>34.ii:</b> father of Soñoja-Piki</p> <p><b>37:</b> husband of Pam-pigon</p>	<p><b>52:</b> letter from certain Ammetti to Maššouda. Ammetti asks for mediation in the exchange of goods with Soñoja (IV). Ammetti greets Papon (II) and his NN daughter, they are known both to Ametti and Maššouda</p> <p><b>53:</b> ambiguous letter from Maššouda to Marigaji. Perhaps these are the instructions on how Marigaji should host Maššouda during his visit at Marigaji’s place. Text also refers to the transfer (as a gift?) of some goods to the Epimachus-Church and to a certain Anna ‘the Bishop’ (?)</p> <p><b>54:</b> short note from Pesa/Koudin-Pesa to Maššouda, informing that one should release grain to Soñoja (IV), with acknowledgment written by certain Oliti. Oliti could be the keeper of the granary and subordinate of Maššouda. Pesa greets Iésou (II) and David (II)</p> <p><b>59:</b> letter from the priest Alpha to Maššouda. There also appear other persons known from the documents: Eionñoka (I), Oliti, Argate (mother of a certain Douddil, protocolar official [31–37, 40], she is also mentioned in 51)</p>

Maššouda (IV) is a witness in **31, 33, 36** (in **36** he signed in his own hand).

## Papon (II)/Papon-Penti/Penti/Penta.

Priest from Derr, chief, Chief of the King, Great *Kis*, *tot* of Ibrim, employee of the chancellery

<i>Family ties</i>	<i>Business/official relations</i>	<i>Other connections/relations</i>
<p>31: husband of Ouatta (in 34i Ouatta is the mother of David [II], Iôminne and Šipopi; therefore Papon is the father of those children) 52: NN daughter of Penti appears</p>	<p>34i: Mêna and Eionnoka buy a plot from Mouna and Mañi, Soueti remitted the gold, Papon (II) is the scribe of the document witness in 31, 33, 34ii, 41</p>	<p>47: order for release of the goods. Receiver of the grain is, <i>inter alia</i>, Papon (II), through Tidawa, <i>choiak-ekšil</i>; 52: letter from a certain Ammetti to Maššouda. Ammetti greets Papon (II) and his NN daughter 55: private letter from Iêsou (II) to Eionnoka (I), connected with letter 56. Papon-Penti seems to be someone known both to Iêsou and Eionnoka, maybe he is a trusted servant of the latter 56: private letter from Tapara (II) to Eionnoka (I). Papon-Penti/Penti appears as a person known both to Tapara and Eionnoka, perhaps a servant and/or representative 57: private letter from Arôn, bishop of Faras, to Iêsou, bishop of Sai. Penti (or perhaps his whole family/clan) is mentioned in the text, he is known to both bishops</p>

## David (II). Priest, perhaps an employee of the chancellery

<i>Family ties</i>	<i>Business/official relations</i>	<i>Other connections/relations</i>
<p>34i: son of Ouatta (therefore also a son of Papon [II]), brother of Iôminne and Šipopi, nephew of Orôsel</p>	<p>34i: David is a representative of Soñoja (I), who is a son of Thôma, bishop of Ibrim</p>	<p>54: short note from Pesa to Maššouda (IV), informing that one should release grain to Soñoja (IV). Pesa greets Iêsou (II) and David</p>

It is possible that David (II) is the same person as David (V), who appears in 32 (as a scribe, ‘in the retinue of the Priest of the King George’).

## Ajola. Deacon, scribe of the chancellery, perhaps also Scribe of the Eparch

<i>Family ties</i>	<i>Business/official relations</i>	<i>Other connections/relations</i>
—	<p><b>31:</b> a certain Tiri releases Eigali from a payment obligation; Ajola is a scribe of the document ‘on behalf of Adama’</p> <p><b>39:</b> Aggestotil sells a plot to Maššouda (IV), Ajola is a scribe of the document;</p> <p><b>42:</b> Mouhoumeti rents a parcel to Maššouda (IV), Ajola is a scribe of the document</p> <p>witness in <b>33, 34ii, 41</b></p>	<p><b>55:</b> private letter from Iêsou (II) to Eionnôka (I), connected with letter <b>56</b>, written in the same hand as <b>56</b>. Iêsou greets ‘all his people’, Ajola in particular, and beside him ‘the Fathers in the town’ (i.e. other priests? members of the assembly of the Elders?); Darne (IV) sends greetings to Eionnôka (indirectly also to Ajola?)</p>

## Darne (IV), from Gettin Gappitti. Priest, *timakkis*, *makihil*, employee of the chancellery

<i>Family ties</i>	<i>Business/official relations</i>	<i>Other connections/relations</i>
<p><b>33:</b> perhaps a son of Marieio (I). In <b>39</b> Marieio (I) remitted the gold on behalf of Maššouda (IV)</p>	<p><b>38:</b> Darne remitted the gold (on behalf of Maššouda [IV] or Poñita and Persi), Nonnen (I) sells a plot to Maššouda</p> <p>witness in <b>33, 34i, 35, 36, 40, 49</b></p>	<p><b>49:</b> Adama, eparch of Nobadia, writes about Darne that he is one of ‘the best men of Ibrim’; Darne is witnessing that Adama, Mogodikoña and Iêsê made a deposit of grain in Ibrim</p> <p><b>55:</b> private letter from Iêsou (II) to Eionnôka (I), Darne sends greetings to Eionnôka, maybe also to Ajola</p>

## Tapara (II). Priest, Great Priest, *tot* of Ibrim, perhaps an employee of the chancellery

<i>Family ties</i>	<i>Business/official relations</i>	<i>Other connections/relations</i>
—	witness in 33, 36, 37, 45	56: private letter from Tapara (II) to Eionñoka (I), in the same hand as 55. Papon-Penti/Penti appears as a person known both to Tapara and Eionñoka, perhaps a servant and/or representative, maybe a relative of the latter. Tapara greets 'all people' of Eionñoka

Tapara (II) possibly appears also in 41 (witness, chief) and 44 (witness, chief), as well as in the document 23 published in the volume *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim II* (cit. n. 4; as Tapara, the[ ] of Kaki West).

## Poñita

<i>Family ties</i>	<i>Business/official relations</i>	<i>Other connections/relations</i>
34, 38, 40: mother of Persi	34ii: Poñita, Persi and Nönnen (I) sell a plot (from land shared by families of Poñita, Eionñoka [I] and Mašankisse) to Maššouda (IV). Soñoja-Piki and Soundin-Ñal remitted the gold 45: Apa Pan sells two parcels to Agara, to his mother, and also to Oeilan-Ñal, Amse and Eisto; Poñita remitted the gold witness in 38, 40, 42, 45	38 App.: Poñita and Persi bought a church / a plot with a church from Nönnen (I), on behalf of Maššouda (IV). The exact meaning of the document is unclear

## Koudin-Pesa/Pesa/Koudi

<i>Family ties</i>	<i>Business/official relations</i>	<i>Other connections/relations</i>
<b>36:</b> father of Touskonkouda <b>49:</b> father of Mogodikoña	<b>54:</b> sender of the letter to Maššouda (IV), the letter concerns distribution of grain <b>56:</b> he is an agent/envoy of Tapara (II) to Eionnioka (I)	<b>54:</b> he greets Iêsou (II) and David (II) <b>56:</b> he is known both to Tapara (II) and Eionnioka (I). As a friend, trusted servant, or a good neighbour?

## Oeilan-Ñal

<i>Family ties</i>	<i>Business/official relations</i>	<i>Other connections/relations</i>
<b>41:</b> probably a husband of Mariamê <b>45:</b> probably a relative of Amse, Agara and Eisto/Istotil	<b>41:</b> Oeilan-Ñal sells 'that which is from the children' (meaning of the text is enigmatic) <b>45:</b> together with Amse, Agara and Istotil, he buys a land in Tamit. Poñita remitted the gold witness in <b>37, 43</b>	<b>41:</b> related somehow with Maia (Maia is his relative? Son/daughter? Someone of the legal category of 'children?') <b>45:</b> all of the witnesses in the first part of the list are friends and relatives of Eionnioka (I)

## Mariamê

<i>Family ties</i>	<i>Business/official relations</i>	<i>Other connections/relations</i>
<b>41:</b> probably a wife of Oeilan-Ñal <b>44:</b> daughter of Pella; moreover she seems to hold patronage over a group of people named 'her children' (most probably it is only a legal formula)	<b>41:</b> Maia sells his/her own property and the property of Mariamê (content of the text is enigmatic) <b>45:</b> Mariamê acts as an heiress of rights to the percentage of profits from the palm grove	<b>41:</b> related somehow to Maia (Maia is her relative? Son/daughter? Someone of the legal category of 'children'? Second husband?)