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## Appendix 1. Excavation Reports

The excavations at Ismant el-Kharab have been published systematically in the *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* (BACE), with reports on the field seasons 1986-88, 1991, 1992, 1995/1996, 1997/1997, 1998/1999, 2000, 2001, 2001/2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, and 2010. Summaries have been published in the proceedings of the International Conferences of the Dakhleh Oasis Project.<sup>1</sup> Exceptions to this pattern of publications, listed separately, are the reports on the field seasons 1986, 1987, 1989/1990 and 1991/1992 that were published in the *Journal of the Society of Egyptian Antiquities* (JSEA). See below for a brief overview. Parallel to the official publications, annual reports for the Supreme Council of Antiquities SCA are available for download on the website of the project on their Monash University website.

### BACE and JSEA publications

Field report	Main sections of the village treated in the specific report
Hope, C. A., D. Jones, L. Falvey, J. Petkov, H. Whitehouse, K. A. Worp, "Report on the 2010 season of excavations at Ismant el-Kharab, Dakhleh Oasis." <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> 21 (2010): 21-54.	Area B, the painted villa
Bowen, G. E., W. Dolling, C. A. Hope and P. Kucera, "Brief Report on the 2007 Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab." <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> 18 (2007): 21-52.	Area B, the painted villa and the dovecote; Area A, nymphaeum
Hope, C. A., G. E. Bowen, W. Dolling, C. Hubschmann, P. Kucera, R. Long and A. Stevens, "Report on the Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab and Mut el-Kharab in 2006." <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> 17 (2006): 23-67.	Area B, the painted villa and the dovecote
Hope, C. A., (with Appendices by H. Whitehouse and A. Warfe), "Report on the Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab and Mut el-Kharab in 2005." <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> 16 (2005): 35-83.	Area C
Hope, C. A., "The Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab and Mut el-Kharab in 2004." <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> 15 (2004): 19-49.	North Tombs
Hope, C. A., (with contributions by O. E. Kaper, H. Whitehouse and K. A. Worp), "Excavations at Mut el-	Main Temple complex

<sup>1</sup> C. A. Hope, "Observations on the dating of the occupation at Ismant el-Kharab," in C. A. Marlow and A. J. Mills, eds, *Oasis Papers 1* (Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2001), 43-59; C. A. Hope (with an Appendix by G. E. Bowen), "Excavations in the Settlement of Ismant el-Kharab in 1995-1999," in C. A. Hope and G. E. Bowen, eds, *Dakhleh Oasis Project: Preliminary Reports on the 1994-1995 to 1998-1999 Field Seasons* (Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2002), 167-208. C. A. Hope (with contributions by O. E. Kaper and H. Whitehouse), "The Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab from 2000 to 2002," in G. E. Bowen and C. A. Hope, eds, *Oasis Papers 3* (Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2003), 207-289. Moreover, short summaries with full colour pictures are published in *Egyptian Archaeology*: C. A. Hope, "Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab in the Dakhleh Oasis." *Egyptian Archaeology* 5 (1994): 17-18; C. A. Hope, "Ismant el-Kharab: An Elite Roman Period Residence." *Egyptian Archaeology* 34 (2009): 20-24.

Kharab and Ismant el-Kharab in 2001-2." <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> 13 (2002): 85-107.	
Hope, C. A., "The Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab and Mut el-Kharab in 2001." <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> 12 (2001): 35-63.	North Tombs; Area C; East Church; Main Temple complex
Hope, C. A., "The Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab in 2000: A Brief Report." <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> 11 (2000): 49-66.	Main Temple complex (including domestic structure); West Tombs; North Tombs; House 5
Hope, C. A., "The excavation at Ismant el-Kharab in 1998/9: a brief report." <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> 10 (1999): 59-66.	Area C; section of Area B building; West Tombs
Hope, C. A. and G. E. Bowen, "The Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab in 1995/6 and 1996/7: A Brief Report." <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> 8 (1997): 49-64.	Large East Church; House 5, Colonnaded Hall (Area B); Area C; Temple complex
Hope, C. A., "The excavations at Ismant el-Kharab in 1995: a brief report." <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> 6 (1995) 51-58.	Temple complex, West Tombs, West Church
Hope, C. A., "A brief report on the excavations at Ismant el-Kharab in 1992-93." <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> 4, 1993, 17-28.	Temenos Main Temple; West Tombs; West Church; House 4
Hope, C. A., O. E. Kaper and G. E. Bowen, "Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab- 1992." <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> 3 (1992): 41-49.	Area A, House 3; Main Temple complex
Hope, C. A., "The 1991 Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab in the Dakhleh Oasis." <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> 2 (1991): 41-50.	Area A, Houses 1-3; Main Temple complex
Hope, C. A., "Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab in the Dakhleh Oasis." <i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> 1 (1990): 43-54.	Area A, Houses 1-3
Hope, C. A., O. E. Kaper, G. E. Bowen and S. F. Patten, "Dakhleh Oasis Project: Ismant el-Kharab 1991-92." <i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i> XIX (1989): 1-26	House 3 (Area A); Main Temple precinct (incl. lists of coins and pottery)
Hope, C. A., "The Dakhleh Oasis Project: Ismant el-Kharab 1988-1990." <i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i> XVII (1987): 157-176.	Area A, House 1, 2 and North Building; Area B
Hope, C. A., "Dakhleh Oasis Project: Report on the 1987 Excavations at Ismant el-Gharab." <i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i> XVI (1986): 74-91.	House 1, North Building
Hope, C. A., "Dakhleh Oasis Project: Report on the 1986 Excavations at Ismant el-Gharab." <i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i> XV (1985): 114-125.	House 1

#### **Additional reports**

Hope, C. A., "Three Seasons of Excavation at Ismant el-Gharab in Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt." <i>Mediterranean Archaeology</i> 1 (1988): 160-178.	
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Hope, C. A., "Ismant el-Kharab (Ancient Kellis) in the Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt." *Mediterranean Archaeology* 8 (1995): 138-143.

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### **Annual reports Monash website**

Mills, A. J., "A short report on the field activities of Dakhleh Oasis project during the 2006-2007 season," <http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/ancient-cultures/files/2013/04/sca-short-report-2006-2007.pdf>

R. S. Bagnall, C. S. Churcher, C. A. Hope, M. R. Kleindienst, F. Leemhuis, M. M. McDonald, A. J. Mills, J. E. Molto, J. R. Smith, U. Thanheiser and many other colleagues identified in the text, "Report to the supreme council of antiquities on the 2005-2006 season activities of the Dakhleh Oasis Project," <http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/ancient-cultures/files/2013/04/dakhleh-report-2005-2006.pdf>

Mills, A. J., "Dakhleh Oasis Project report to the Supreme council of Antiquities on the 2004-2005 field season," <http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/ancient-cultures/files/2013/04/dakhleh-report-2004-2005.pdf>

Mills, A. J., with R. S. Bagnall, C. A. Hope, M. R. Kleindienst and F. Leemhuis, "A report on the field activities of the Dakhleh Oasis Project during the 2003-2004 field season," <http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/ancient-cultures/files/2013/04/dakhleh-report-2003-2004.pdf>

Mills, A. J., with C. S. Churcher, C. A. Hope, M. Kobbuseiwicz, F. Leemhuis, M. M. A. McDonald, and J. R. Smith, "The field activities of the Dakhleh Oasis Project during the 2002-2003 field season," <http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/ancient-cultures/files/2013/04/dakhleh-report-2002-2003.pdf>

Mills, A. J., "Report to the supreme council of antiquities on the 2001-2002 field season of the Dakhleh Oasis project," <http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/ancient-cultures/files/2013/04/dakhleh-report-2001-2002-final.pdf>

Mills, A. J. "Report presented to the supreme council of antiquities, Egypt, on the 2000 season of the Dakhleh Oasis project," <http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/ancient-cultures/files/2013/04/dakhleh-report-2000.pdf>

(All accessed March 2016).

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## Appendix 2. Outline of Published Documents with their Find Location(s) and Modern Edition(s)

The following list includes all published Kellis documents from the Dakhleh Oasis Project. They are listed with their abbreviation, a short designation of the content, the find location, and their materiality. All descriptions strictly follow the modern editions, except for the cases in which later publications have adjusted the interpretation of the document. The purpose of this list is to provide a short overview and offer directions for those interested in finding the transcriptions and translations in the various editions (indicated in the last column).

Several of the descriptions are ambiguous and are included only to give a first impression. The distinction between personal letters and business letters, for example, is not fixed. I have used “Manichaean letter” twice to indicate exceptional Manichaean vocabulary in personal letters. With regard to the material I have followed the editions, sometimes adding noteworthy features. “Papyrus fragments” are those letters which consist of a larger number of fragments, often from multiple deposits.

The documents are sorted according to language groups rather than following the year of publication. This will make it easier for the reader to trace the cited documents in the main text to the publication without having to familiarize oneself in depth with the editors numbering logic. Who would know, based on the abbreviations, that P.Kell.Copt. 55 is classified as a literary text, therefore published in KLT2, while P.Kell.Copt. 57 is the first of the second volume of documentary texts: CDT2? Two ostraka were published among the documentary texts, while the majority was published separately. Ostraka published in the separate volume by Worp are not included in this list for reasons of comprehensibility and due to their limited connections to the material examined in the main text.<sup>1</sup> Also not included are papyri derived from Kellis outside of the official DOP-excavations<sup>2</sup> or unpublished Kellis texts.<sup>3</sup> A more complete list can be found in Trismegistor Geo, which listed 544 texts from Kellis by April 2018.

Abbreviation	Content	Find Location	Material	Modern Publication
0.Kell.Copt. 1	Personal	House 3, room 6, deposit 1	Ostrakon	CDT1

<sup>1</sup> Worp, *Greek Ostraka from Kellis*.

<sup>2</sup> There are several in the collection of the Università Cattolica di Milano, acquired in 1968 (SB 16 12229 and 12754, 24 15903 and 15902?), see K. A. Worp, “'Ἐν σὺστάσει ἔχειν’ = ‘to Take Care Of,’ *Tyche, Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 15 (2000): 189-90. Around the same time documents from the oasis were acquired by the university of Genova (P.Genova 1.20 and 21, republished in P.Genova 2 Appendix) and Duke University: SB XX 14293 published in J. F. Oates, “Sale of a Donkey,” *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 25, no. 1-4 (1988): 129-35. P.Sijp 11a-11e published in J. F. Oates and P. Van Minnen, “Three Duke University Papyri from Kellis,” in *Papyri in Memory of P.J. Sijpesteijn (P.Sijp.)*, ed. A.J.B. Sirks, K. A. Worp, and R. S. Bagnall (New Haven: American Society of Papyrologists, 2007), 54-64. See also SB 26 16705-10.

<sup>3</sup> Among these are the texts that are listed, but not edited, in Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 306.

	letter			
<b>0.Kell.Copt. 2</b>	Jar stopper	House 3, room 6, deposit 4	Ostrakon	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 1</b>	Manichaean psalms	House 3, room 6, levels 3 and 4	Single codex leaf	KLT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 2</b>	Manichaean psalms	House 3, room 7, level 2 and room 7a, level 2, and room 8, level 1, and room 6 level 4	Larger and smaller fragments of papyrus codex	KLT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 3</b>	Manichaean devotional text (?)	House 3, room 11, level 2	Fragment of codex leaf	KLT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 4</b>	Faded, unknown	House 4, room 6, level 4	Codex leaf	KLT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 5</b>	Unknown	House 3, room 6, level 2	Fragments from codex	KLT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 6</b>	Romans 2:6-29	House 3, room 6, level 4	Single leaf from codex	KLT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 7</b>	Sayings (?), amulet (?)	House 3, Room 6, level 2	Fragments from rolled papyrus text	KLT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 8</b>	Manichaean (?) cosmological discourse (?)	House 2, room 5, level 3	Single papyrus leaf	KLT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 9</b>	Hebrews 12:4-13	House 3, room 6, level 4	Central strip of single papyrus codex leaf	KLT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 10</b>	Writing exercise with trace of Syriac	House 1, room 7, floor	Reused wooden board	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 11</b>	Personal letter	House 2, room 7, deposit 3	Reused papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 12</b>	Personal letter	House 2, room 2, deposit 2	Papyrus fragments	CDT1 <sup>4</sup>
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 13</b>	Personal letter	House 2, room 3, deposit 5, 6 and room 4 deposit 3	Papyrus fragments	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 14</b>	Personal letter	North building, room 5, deposit 2	Papyrus fragments	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 15</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus fragments	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 16</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus fragments	CDT1

<sup>4</sup> Discussed in Gardner, "Monastery," 247-57.

<b>P.Kell.Copt. 17</b>	Personal letter	Unknown + House 3, room 11, deposit 2 and 5	Papyrus fragments	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 18</b>	Personal letter with business content	House 3, room 10, deposit 3	Papyrus fragments	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 19</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 4	Papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 20</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 4	Papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 21</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 22</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 4	Papyrus fragments	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 23</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 4	Small papyrus fragment	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 24</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, various deposits and room 3, deposit 3	Papyrus fragments	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 25</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 3	Papyrus (with decoration for the address, in red ink?)	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 26</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 27</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 3 and 4	Papyrus fragments	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 28</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 3 and 4	Papyrus fragments	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 29</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 30</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 1	Papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 31</b>	Letter	House 3, room 11, deposit 1 + room 9, deposit 3 and room 10 deposit 3	Papyrus fragments	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 32</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 1b, deposit 2	Papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 33</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus fragments	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 34</b>	Personal letter	House 3, courtyard <sup>5</sup> , deposit 3 and room 11, deposit 2	Papyrus	CDT1

<sup>5</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT1*, 220 list it as "room 13a2."

<b>P.Kell.Copt. 35</b>	Personal letter and spell	House 3, room 6, deposit 3, 4, 5	Reused papyrus	CDT1 <sup>6</sup>
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 36</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 1b, deposit 2	Papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 37</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 2, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 38</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 8, deposit 3	Reused papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 39</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 8, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 40</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 41</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Reused papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 42</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Wooden board (two parts)	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 43</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 8, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 44</b>	Business account	House 3, room 6, deposit 4	Papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 45</b>	Business account	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Reused wooden board	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 46</b>	Business account	House 3, room 6, deposit 4	Wooden board	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 47</b>	Business account	House 3, room 3, deposit 3	Wooden board	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 48</b>	Business account	House 3, room 6, deposit 3 and room 1a, deposit 1	Wooden board, on the back of P.Kell.Gr 84 (Greek Horoscope)	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 49</b>	Memorandum	House 3, room 6, deposit 4	Scrape of papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 50</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 4	Papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 51</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 1	Fragment papyrus	CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 52</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 4	Fragment papyrus	CDT1

<sup>6</sup> See also the edition in Mirecki, Gardner, and Alcock, "Magical Spell, Manichaean Letter," 1-32; Mirecki, "Scribal Magic," 133-46.

<b>P.Kell.Copt. 53</b>	Mani's <i>Epistles</i>	House 3, principally in room 6 <sup>7</sup>	80+ fragments from a single codex (eleven leaves)	KLT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 54</b>	Mani's <i>Epistles</i> or instruction by other church leader	House 3, room 3, context 1 and 3	Fifteen fragments from a single papyrus codex leaf	KLT2 <sup>8</sup>
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 55</b>	Manichaeian psalm (?)	House 3, room 9, context 3	Small papyrus fragment	KLT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 56</b>	Amulet against snake bite	Temple debris D/8 (mid 4 <sup>th</sup> century domestic structure)	Miniature papyrus codex	KLT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 57</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 11, deposit 3	Wooden board	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 58</b>	Business letter	House 3, room 10, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 59</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 8, deposit 1	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 60</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 61</b>	Manichaeian letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 2	Papyrus fragments	CDT2 <sup>9</sup>
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 62</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 2	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 63</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 7, deposit 1 and room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 64</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 1, deposit 1	Reused papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 65</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 5, deposit 1, 3 and 4 and room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 66</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 3, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 67</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 4	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 68</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 8, deposit 4	Papyrus	CDT2

<sup>7</sup> Details in Gardner, *KLT2*, 14-15; Hope, "The Archaeological Context," 109.

<sup>8</sup> With earlier discussions in I. Gardner, "The Reconstruction of Mani's Epistles from Three Coptic Codices," in *The Light and the Darkness: Studies in Manichaeism and Its World*, ed. J. D. BeDuhn and P. A. Mirecki (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 93-104.

<sup>9</sup> Discussed in Gardner, "Letter from the Teacher," 317-23.

<b>P.Kell.Copt. 69</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 70</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 3; room 3, deposit 3	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 71</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 4	Reused papyrus <sup>10</sup>	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 72</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 5	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 73</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 74</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 75</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 76</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 77</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposits 3 + 4	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 78</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 11, deposits 3 + 4	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 79</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 11, deposit 4	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 80</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 81</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 82</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposits 3 + 4	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 83</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 1	Wooden board	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 84</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 85</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 2, level 1	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 86</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 10, level 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 87</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 1, deposit 1	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 88</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 89</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 3 <sup>11</sup>	Papyrus	CDT2

<sup>10</sup> The verso contained traces of a Greek text with a “contract for the teaching of letters.” Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 76.

<b>P.Kell.Copt. 90</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposits 2 + 3 + 4	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 91</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 92</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 4	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 93</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 11, deposit 4	Parchment	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 94</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 3.	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 95</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 96</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 97</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 98</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus fragment	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 99</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 100</b>	Personal letter ?	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus fragment	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 101</b>	Personal letter ?	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus fragment	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 102</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3.	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 103</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 104</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 105</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 106</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 107</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 108</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, deposit 3	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 109</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 3, deposit 3; room 6, deposits 3 + 4; room 9, deposit 4	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 110</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 8, deposits 3 + 4	Papyrus fragments	CDT2

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<sup>11</sup> But see the notes in Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 153.

<b>P.Kell.Copt. 111</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 8, deposit 4	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 112</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 8, deposits 3 + 4	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 113</b>	Business letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 114</b>	Business letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 3	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 115</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 4	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 116</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 4	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 117</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, deposit 5	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 118</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 4, floor	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 119</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 1, deposit 1	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 120</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 11, deposit 2	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 121</b>	Personal letter ?	House 3, room 14, deposit 3	Papyrus fragment	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 122</b>	Personal letter	House 4, room 1B, deposit 2	Papyrus (folded)	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 123</b>	Personal letter	House 4, room 6, deposit 14	Papyrus	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 124</b>	Personal letter	House 4, room 6, deposit 14; room 4, deposits 1A and 6	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 125</b>	List	House 4, room 1B, deposit 2	Wooden board (part of a codex?)	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 126</b>	Invocation (?)	House 4, room 1, deposit 1 and room 1B, deposit 1	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 127</b>	Personal letter ?	D/8, room 1, deposits 2 + 5 and room 3, deposit 4	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 128</b>	Personal letter	D/8, room 7, deposit 2 and room 8, deposit 3 on 4	Papyrus fragments	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 129</b>	Personal letter (Old Coptic)	Temple area, zone 20, (inner temenos) deposit 12 surface	Ostrakon	CDT2 <sup>12</sup>
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 130</b>	Unclear	Temple area, Shrine I (the	Ostrakon	CDT2

<sup>12</sup> Gardner, "An Old Coptic Ostrakon from Ismant el-Kharab?," 195-200. Interpretation challenged in Bagnall, "Linguistic Change and Religious Change," 11-19.



		mammisi), room 1, deposit 6		
<b>P.Kell.Copt. 131</b>	List?	D/8, room 8, deposit 3	Wooden board	CDT2
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 1</b>	Fragment of official document (293-294 CE?)	North building, room 1	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 2</b>	Declaration on oath (301 CE) <sup>13</sup>	House 1, room 9	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 3</b>	Document concerning irrigation	House 1, room 9 and House 3, room 1, level 1	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 4</b>	Contract (331 CE)	House 2, room 2, level 2	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 5</b>	Personal letter	House 2, room 7 understairs cupboard	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 6</b>	Personal letter	House 2, room 5, level 3 and room 6 level 3	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 7</b>	Personal letter	House 2, room 6, level 3 and level 5	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 8</b>	Sale of a slave (362 CE)	House 2, room 5 (floor) and room 6 level 3	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 9</b>	Private agreement	House 2, room 7	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 10</b>	Order for payment	House 2, room 2	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 11</b>	Order for payment	House 2, room 2	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 12</b>	Fragments of personal letter	House 2, room 2 level 2 and North building, room 1	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 13</b>	Division of property (335 CE)	House 2, room 2	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 14</b>	Fragment of an agreement (356 CE)	House 2, room 7 and room 3	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 15</b>	Declaration to Praeses	House 2, room 3, level 6 and room 5 level 3	Papyrus fragments	GPK1

<sup>13</sup>By two people from Hibis, Kharga Oasis. It is unclear how this text ended up in House 2 in Kellis.

	Thebaidos (357 CE)			
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 16</b>	Business note	House 2, room 2, level 2 and 5	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 17</b>	End of a letter	North Building, room 2, level 2	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 18</b>	Loan of money	North building, room 6, level 1	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 19a</b>	Petition to Praeses Thebaidos	House 3, room 8, level 4	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 19a appendix</b>	Petition to Praeses Thebaidos	House 3, room 8, level 3 and 4	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 19b</b>	Fragment of prefectural hypographe	House 3, room 8, level 3 and 4 (on the back of Gr. 19a appendix)	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 20</b>	Petition to the praeses Thebaidos	House 3, room 8, level 4 and level 3	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 21</b>	Petition to a former magistrate (321 CE)	House 3, room 8 level 3 and 4	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 22</b>	Part of prefectural (?) Hypographe (324 CE)	House 3, room 9, level 3 and room 8, level 4	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 23</b>	Petition to the Praeses Thebaidos (353 CE)	House 3, level 3	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 24</b>	Declaration to office of the Dux (352 CE)	House 3, room 3, level 3 and room 9, level 4 and room 6 level 4	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 25</b>	Official document (address)	House 3, room 10, level 3	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 26</b>	Judicial report	House 3, room 6, level 3, 4, and room 11, level 4	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 27</b>	Official document	House 3, room 6, level 4 and room 1a, level 1 and 2	Papyrus fragments	GPK1

<b>P.Kell.Gr. 28</b>	Administrative account	House 3, room 3, level 1 and room 9, level 3	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 29</b>	Receipt transportation costs (331 CE)	House 3, room 2, level 3 and room 6, level 4	Papyrus fragments	GPK1 <sup>14</sup>
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 30</b>	Exchange of property rights (363 CE)	House 3, room 6, level 3 and room 9, level 3	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 31</b>	Lease of a house (306 CE)	House 3, room 6, level 3 and room 8, level 4	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 32</b>	Lease of a room (364 CE)	House 3, room 6, level 4	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 33</b>	Lease of a Room (369 CE)	House 3, room 10, level 3 and room 6, level 1	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 34</b>	Sale of half of a foal (315 CE)	House 3, room 9, level 3 and room 8, level 4	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 34 appendix</b>	Fragment of a copy of the same sale as Gr. 34?	Unclear	Papyrus fragment	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 35</b>	Sale of a heifer	House 3, room 10, level 3	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 36</b>	Contract of sale (308 CE)	House 3, room 10, level 10 and room 8, level 4	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 37</b>	Sale of part of a house (320 CE)	House 3, room 10, level 3	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 38a</b>	Property gift (333 CE)	House 3, room 9, level 3	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 38b</b>	Property gift (copy)	House 3, room 9, level 3	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 39</b>	Sale of part of an orchard	House 3, room 1a, level 2	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 40</b>	Loan ? (306/7 CE)	House 3, room 9, level 3	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 41</b>	Loan (310 CE)	House 3, room 8, level 4	Papyrus fragments	GPK1

<sup>14</sup> Revisited in R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, "TETPAXYΣON," *Tyche, Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 15 (2000): 3-6.

<b>P.Kell.Gr. 42</b>	Loan (364 CE)	House 3, room 3, level 3 and room 9, level 4	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 43</b>	Loan with mortgage (374 or 387 CE?)	House 3, room 6, level 1 and room 5, level 3	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 44</b>	Loan (382 CE)	House 3, room 6, level 3	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 45</b>	Loan (386 CE)	House 3, room 6, level 3 and 4	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 46</b>	Loan	House 3, room 6, level 3	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 47</b>	Loan	House 3, room 6, level 4	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 48</b>	Manumission of a female slave (355 CE)	House 3, room 9, level 3 and room 8, level 3 and 4	Papyrus fragments (folded extensively)	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 49</b>	Loan (304 CE)	House 3, room 8, level 4	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 50</b>	Receipt	House 3, room 8, level 4 and 3	Papyrus fragments (with faded Coptic letter on the back) <sup>15</sup>	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 51</b>	Receipt transportation (320?)	House 3, room 6, level 2	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 52</b>	Receipt transportation	House 3, room 6, level 1	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 53</b>	List of expenses	House 3, room 10, level 3	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 54</b>	List of expenses	House 3, room 9, level 3	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 55</b>	List	House 3, room 8, level 4	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 56</b>	Subscription of a document (324 CE)	House 3, room 11, level 1	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 57</b>	Fragment of dated subscription (332 CE)	House 3, room 10, level 3	Papyrus	GPK1

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<sup>15</sup> This is P.Kell.Copt. 112

<b>P.Kell.Gr. 58</b>	Fragment of an agreement (337 CE)	House 3, room 1, level 1	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 59</b>	Consular date (328 CE)	House 3, room 6, level 3	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 60</b>	List of names	House 3, room 7a, level 2	Wooden board (no holes)	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 61</b>	List of money arrears	House 3, room 3, level 1	Wooden board	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 62</b>	List of rent payments	House 3, room 8, level 4	Wooden board	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 63</b>	Manichaean letter	House 3, room 6, level 4	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 64</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, level 4	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 65</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 8, level 4	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 66</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 8, level 4	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 67</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 10, level 3	Papyrus fragments	GPK1 <sup>16</sup>
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 68</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 10, level 3	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 69</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, level 3	Papyrus (folded)	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 70</b>	Business letter	House 3, room 6, level 3	Reused papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 71</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 9, level 3	Papyrus (folded)	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 72</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, level 4	Papyrus (folded)	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 73</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, level 4	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 74</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, level 3	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 75</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, level 4	Papyrus (rolled and tied up)	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 76</b>	Personal letter	House 3, room 6, level 4	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 77</b>	Fragment of a letter	House 3, room 7a, level 2 and room 6 level 3 and 4	Papyrus fragments	GPK1

<sup>16</sup> Convincing new reading in Gardner, "P. Kellis I 67 Revisited," 223-28.

<b>P.Kell.Gr. 78</b>	Business letter	House 3, room 10, level 3	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 79</b>	Business letter	House 3, room 6, level 4	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 80</b>	Business letter	House 3, room 6, level 4	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 81</b>	Business letter	House 3, room 11, level 4	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 82</b>	Calendar of good and bad days	House 3, room 1, level 1	Wooden board <sup>17</sup>	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 83</b>	Calendar of good and bad days	House 3, room 11, level 4	Papyrus fragments	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 84</b>	Greek Horoscope (373 CE)	House 3, room 6, level 3 and room 1	Wooden board (three pieces) with Copt. 48 on the other side	GPK1 <sup>18</sup>
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 85ab</b>	Two magical formularies	House 3, room 11, level 4	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 86</b>	Fever amulet	House 3, room 6, level 3	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 87</b>	Fever amulet (copy of Gr. 85b?)	House 3, room 11, level 3	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 88</b>	Christian (?) amulet (or liturgical document?)	House 3, room 8, level 4	Reused wooden board, part of notebook?	GPK1 <sup>19</sup>
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 89</b>	Medical prescription	House 3, room 8, level 4	Papyrus	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 90</b>	School exercise: calculation	House 3, room 6, level 4	Wooden board	GPK1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 91</b>	Greek Manichaeian prayer of praise (amulet?)	Structure 3 <sup>20</sup> , room 1, level 4	Complete papyrus bifolium	KLT1 <sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The last page of a codex? Worp, *GPK1*, 206.

<sup>18</sup> Earlier publication in Worp and de Jong, "A Greek Horoscope," 235-40.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Römer, Daniel, and Worp, "Das Gebet zur Handauflegung," 128-131

<sup>20</sup> It is not entirely clear what this means. As the North-Building was originally called "structure 4," I think structure 3 was the street nearby.

<sup>21</sup> Edition in the appendix of G. Jenkins, "Papyrus 1 from Kellis," 217-30.

<b>P.Kell.Gr. 92</b>	Manichaean hymn of praise	House 3, room 9, level 3	Complete papyrus bifolium <sup>22</sup>	KLT1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 93</b>	Sethian (?) invocation or scripture (?)	House 3, room 1, level 1	Fragmentary part of papyrus codex leaf	KLT1
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 94</b>	Eulogy/amulet (?)	House 3, room 4, level 3	Wooden board <sup>23</sup>	KLT1 <sup>24</sup>
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 95</b>	The Isocrates codex, three orations	House 2, room 9 (kitchen, SE corner) on top of KAB	Wooden codex of nine leaves	Published by Worp and Rijksbaron <sup>25</sup>
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 96 (KAB)</b>	The Kellis Agricultural Account Book	House 2, room 9 (kitchen, SE corner) with Isocrates codex <sup>26</sup>	Wooden codex of eight leaves	Published by Bagnall <sup>27</sup>
<b>P.Kell.Gr. 97</b>	Four texts, one with affinities with <i>Acts of John</i> , another section of a Manichaean psalm	House 1, the North building and House 3 <sup>28</sup>	Papyrus fragments from one codex (?)	KLT2 <sup>29</sup>

<sup>22</sup> In both cases is indicated by the editors that the document is "complete and self-contained," not deriving from a quire or a codex. Gardner, *KLT1*, 132, 37.

<sup>23</sup> Note how the use of the T numbers for wooden boards was no longer used after some time.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Römer and Gonis, "Ein Lobgesang an den Vater der grosse," 299-300.

<sup>25</sup> Worp and Rijksbaron, *The Kellis Isocrates Codex*. Earlier publications on the KAB and Isocrates tablets mainly focusing on the codicology include J. L. Sharpe, "The Dakhleh Tablets and Some Codicological Considerations," in *Les tablettes à écrire de l'antiquité à l'époque moderne*, ed. E. Lalou (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), 127-48; Sharpe, "Dakhleh Oasis Project: The Kellis Codices," 192-97.

<sup>26</sup> Detailed expose on the find location by Colin Hope in Bagnall, *KAB*, 5-16. The photos show a large jar next to the two codices.

<sup>27</sup> Bagnall, *KAB*.

<sup>28</sup> The North Building has been called "structure 4" in earlier publications (including GPK1). The join of fragments is unusual, see below and in Hope, "The Archaeological Context," 108.

<sup>29</sup> Earlier publication in I. Gardner and K. A. Worp, "Leaves from a Manichaean Codex," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 117 (1997): 139-55. A discussion of the context is found in Hope, "The Archaeological Context of the Discovery of Leaves from a Manichaean Codex," 156-61; Jenkins, "Papyrus 1 from Kellis," 197-230.

<b>P.Kell.Gr. 98</b>	The daily prayers ( <i>Prayer of the Emanations</i> )	House 3 (rear courtyard) <sup>30</sup>	Single wooden board	KLT2 <sup>31</sup>
<b>P.Kell.Syr. 1</b>	Syriac fragments	House 3, room 8, level 1 and room 13, and room 1 level 1	Three fragments of papyrus	KLT1, but new edition of the Syriac in CDT1
<b>P.Kell.Syr. 2</b>	Syriac fragments	Temple area, structure D/8, room 1, context 5	Single papyrus fragment	KLT2
<b>P.Kell.Syr./Gr. 1</b>	Syriac and Greek fragments	House 3, room 7, level 1	Fragments of a single codex leaf on parchment.	KLT1, but new edition of the Syriac in CDT1
<b>T.Kell.Copt. 1</b>	Doctrinal text about the father (resembles <i>Keph.</i> )	House 3, room 11, level 4	Wooden board (reuse)	KLT1
<b>T.Kell.Copt. 2</b>	Six (?) Manichaean psalms (only beginning of the line) and a commemoration hymn	House 3, room 4, level 3 (bound with T.Kell.Copt. 3)	Wooden codex with five folios, 1-3 and 5 are scrubbed clean	KLT1 <sup>32</sup>
<b>T.Kell.Copt. 3</b>	Traces	House 3, room 4, level 3 (with T.Kell.Copt. 2)	Wooden codex with seven folios (all deliberately cleaned)	KLT1 (no edition)
<b>T.Kell.Copt. 4</b>	Two Manichaean psalms	House 3, room 6, level 1	Wooden board	KLT1

<sup>30</sup> Hope, Kaper, and Bowen, "Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab – 1992," 41 notes it derived from deposits against the north wall, presumably of the courtyard rather than the north wall of room.

<sup>31</sup> There is a relatively large number of publications on this important text. Earlier editions and discussions are Jenkins, "The Prayer of the Emanations," 243-63. Gardner and Lieu, *MTRE*, 194-6; Khosroyev, "Zu einem manichäischen (?) Gebet." 203-22. Only later it was recognized as containing the daily Manichaean prayers. Gardner, "Manichaean Ritual Practice at Ancient Kellis," 245-62

<sup>32</sup> Earlier published as Gardner, "A Manichaean Liturgical Codex," 30-59; Gardner, "Abbreviated Version," 129-38.



<b>T.Kell.Copt. 5</b>	Manichaean psalm (?)	House 3, room 9, level 3	Small fragment of wooden board	KLT1
<b>T.Kell.Copt. 6</b>	Manichaean Psalm	House 3, Room 8, level 4	Wooden board	KLT1
<b>T.Kell.Copt. 7</b>	Manichaean psalms (with devotional postscript)	House 4, room 1b, level 2	Wooden board	KLT1
<b>T.Kell.Syr./Copt. t. 1</b>	Syriac–Coptic glossary	House 3, room 2, level 3	Part of a wooden board	KLT1, but new edition of the Syriac in CDT1
<b>T.Kell.Syr./Copt. t. 2</b>	Syriac–Coptic glossary	House 3, room 6, level 3	Fragments of wooden board	KLT1, but new edition of the Syriac in CDT1
<b>SB 26 16826 and SB 26 16827</b>	Horoscope	D/8, room 8, deposits 5 and 6	Fragments of wooden board	Edition by De Jong and Worp <sup>33</sup>
<b>SB 26 16828</b>	Horoscope	D/8, room 4, deposit 2	Papyrus fragment	Edition by De Jong and Worp
<b>SB 26 16829</b>	Horoscope	D/8, room 4, deposit 2	Papyrus fragments	Edition by De Jong and Worp
<b>TM 749353</b>	Greek letter of church-official (?)	House 4, room 13, deposit 2	Papyrus	Edition by Worp and Gardner <sup>34</sup>
<b>TM 699684 and 699685</b>	Psalm 9.22-26 (LXX)	D/8, room 8, level 4, group on the left	Papyrus fragment	Edition by Worp <sup>35</sup>
<b>TM 700788</b>	Page of Oracle Book (inv. P96.150)	D/8, room 7, context 7	Papyrus	Edition by Hoogendijk <sup>36</sup>
<b>TM 642081</b>	Demosthenes ' <i>De Corona</i> 82-83	Temple area, D/7 (close to the West Church)	Papyrus	Edition by Worp. <sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Worp and de Jong, "More Greek Horoscopes," 203-14.

<sup>34</sup> Gardner and Worp, "A Most Remarkable Fourth Century Letter," 127-42.

<sup>35</sup> Worp, "Psalm 9.22-26 in a 4th-Century Papyrus," 1-6.

<sup>36</sup> F. A. J. Hoogendijk, "Page of an Oracle Book: Papyrus Kellis 96.150," in *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. T. Derda, A. Lajtar, and J. Urbanik (Warsaw: The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplements, 2016), 595-622.

<sup>37</sup> K. A. Worp, "A New Demosthenes Fragment from Kellis," *Symbolae Osloenses* 89, no. 1 (2015): 148-55.

<b>SB 24 15919</b>	Personal letter (late 3th century)	Temple area, room 3, level 2 and North corridor, level 2	Wooden board	Edition by Worp <sup>38</sup>
<b>TM 60981</b>	Fragment of Homer	Temple area, Shrine III, room 3b	Wooden board	Edition by Worp <sup>39</sup>
<b>TM 91945, 48-50</b>	A parody on Homer & fraction tables (school exercise?)	Temple area, Shrine I, room 2	Four miniature leaves of wooden codex and miniature wooden codex with three leaves	Edition by Worp <sup>40</sup>
<b>P.Bingen 119a and b</b>	Fourth century Greek business account	House 4, room 13, Level 2	Papyrus	Edition by Bagnall and Worp <sup>41</sup>
<b>P.Bingen 120</b>	Fourth century Greek business account	House 4, Room 1b, level 1	Papyrus	Edition by Bagnall and Worp <sup>42</sup>
<b>P.Bingen 116</b>	Greek account on Clay Tablet	Temple area, gateway to second <i>temenos</i>	Clay tablet	Edition by Worp <sup>43</sup>
<b>TM 140729 and 140730</b>	Census declarations (132, 146 CE)	C/2/5, context 4 (roof collapse)	Papyrus	Edition by Bagnall and Worp <sup>44</sup>
<b>TM 140731</b>	Loan of money (138 CE)	C/2/5, context 4 (roof collapse)	Papyrus	Edition by Bagnall and Worp
<b>TM 140732</b>	Repayment of loan (145	C/2/5, context 4 (roof collapse)	Papyrus fragments	Edition by Bagnall

<sup>38</sup> K. A. Worp, "A New Wooden Board from the Temple at Kellis," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*. 3 (1997): 1014-20.

<sup>39</sup> With description of find location by C. Hope Worp and Hope, "A New Fragment of Homer," 206-10.

<sup>40</sup> With description of find location by C. Hope Hope and Worp, "Miniature Codices from Kellis."

<sup>41</sup> With description of find location by C. Hope R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, "Two 4th Century Accounts from Kellis," in *Papyri in Honorem Johannis Bingen Octogenarii*, ed. H. Melaerts. (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 495-509.

<sup>42</sup> With description of find location by C. Hope Bagnall and Worp, "Two 4th Century Accounts from Kellis," 495-509.

<sup>43</sup> With description of find location by C. Hope Worp and Hope, "A Greek Account on a Clay Tablet," 471-85. The excavation reports mention another clay tablet with a Greek account (?) found in the Roman Villa (Area B, 3/1/1). Of this new tablet is said it mentions "Psais the priest." Bowen et al., "Brief Report on the 2007 Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab," 27.

<sup>44</sup> With description of find location by C. Hope, in Bagnall, Worp, and Hope, "Family Papers," 228-53.

	CE)			and Worp
<b>TM 140733</b>	Repayment of loan	C/2/5, context 4 (roof collapse)	Papyrus fragment	Edition by Bagnall and Worp
<b>TM 140734</b>	Contract, rent/sale of a house	C/2/5, context 4 (roof collapse)	Papyrus fragment	Edition by Bagnall and Worp
<b>TM 140735</b>	Tax receipt	C/2/5,	Papyrus fragment	Edition by Bagnall and Worp
-	Mythological story of Kyknos son of Poseidon	West of Shrine II (Area D/3)	Ostrakon	Edition by Worp <sup>45</sup>
-	Order from chief priest to komarch	Main Temple D/1/75.13	Papyrus	Edition by Worp <sup>46</sup>
-	Order from chief priest to komarch	Main Temple D/1/75.13	Papyrus	Edition by Worp
-	Order by Stonios	Main Temple D/1/75.25	Papyrus	Edition by Worp
-	Petition to prefect (289-300)	Main Temple D/1/84.19	Papyrus	Edition by Worp <sup>47</sup>
-	Stonios (?) petition to Prefect	Main Temple D/1/75.4	Papyrus	Edition by Worp
-	List of priest	Main Temple D/1/75.5	Papyrus	Edition by Worp
-	Petition	Main Temple D/1/75.16	Papyrus fragment	Edition by Worp
-	Hypographe (response to petition?)	Main Temple D/1/75.2	Papyrus	Edition by Worp
-	Account	Main Temple D/1/75.2	Papyrus	Edition by Worp
-	Report to <i>strategos</i> (?) about priests	Main Temple D/1/75.16	Papyrus	Edition by Worp

<sup>45</sup> K. A. Worp, "A Mythological Ostrakon from Kellis," in *Oasis Papers* 3, ed. G. E. Bowen and C. A. Hope (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2003), 379-82.

<sup>46</sup> The following twelve texts have been published in Worp, "Short Texts from the Main Temple," 333-49.

<sup>47</sup> Published earlier in Kaper and Worp, "A Bronze Representing Tapsais of Kellis," 116.

-	Regnal formula	Main Temple D/1/75.3	Papyrus	Edition by Worp
-	Regnal formula (5x)	Main Temple D/1/75.1, 19, 20, and from Shrine I (D/2/1 and D/1C/3)	Papyrus	Edition by Worp
<b>P.Gascou 67</b>	Contract for irrigation work (368 CE)	House 4, Room 4, level 2	papyrus	Edition by Worp <sup>48</sup>
<b>P.Gascou 68</b>	Account of wheat and barley	House 4, room 4, level 2	Papyrus (verso of P.Gascou 67)	Edition by Worp
<b>P.Gascou 69</b>	Petition (325-30 CE?)	D/8, room 7	papyrus	Edition by Worp
<b>P.Gascou 70</b>	Receipt (304-24 CE?)	A/10, level 11	papyrus	Edition by Worp
<b>P.Gascou 71</b>	Tax receipt (337 CE)	D/8, East corridor room 4, level 2	Papyrus	Edition by Worp
<b>P.Gascou 72</b>	Order for payment (340-5 CE)	D/8, room 1	Papyrus	Edition by Worp
<b>P.Gascou 73</b>	Receipt for rent	C/1, room 1, level 3b	Papyrus	Edition by Worp
<b>P.Gascou 74</b>	Receipt for rent	C/1, room 4, level 2b	Papyrus	Edition by Worp
<b>P.Gascou 75</b>	Fragment of receipt	C/1, room 4, level 3b	Papyrus	Edition by Worp
<b>P.Gascou 76</b>	Fragment dating (with reference to Britain)	D/8, room 8	Papyrus	Edition by Worp
<b>P.Gascou 77</b>	Dating formula (339 CE)	D/8, East corridor, room 4, level 2	papyrus	Edition by Worp
<b>P.Gascou 78</b>	Dating formula (309 CE)	D/8, South corridor	papyrus	Edition by Worp
<b>P.Gascou 79</b>	Fragment of administrative account	D/8, East corridor, room 4, level 2	Papyrus fragments	Edition by Worp
<b>P.Gascou 80</b>	Personal letter	D/8, room 1	Papyrus	Edition by Worp
<b>P.Gascou 81</b>	Fragment of personal	D/8, room 1	Papyrus	Edition by Worp

<sup>48</sup> P. Gascou 67-88 are published in Worp, "Miscellaneous New Greek Papyri from Kellis," 435-83.

	letter			
P.Gascou 82	Official corresponde nce	D/8, room 8	Papyrus (folded several times)	Edition by Worp
P.Gascou 83	Perfume recipe/ Medical prescription	House 4, room 1b, level 1	Bottom of a small wooden box	Edition by Worp
P.Gascou 84	Amulet	House 4, room 1b, level 2	Papyrus (folded)	Edition by Worp
P.Gascou 85	Amulet	House 2 <sup>49</sup>	Piece of wooden board	Edition by Worp
P.Gascou 86	Amulet	House 2, level 16	Papyrus fragment	Edition by Worp
P.Gascou 87	Amulet	D/8, east corridor, room 4, level 2	Papyrus fragment	Edition by Worp
P.Gascou 88	Enigmatic text (magical?)	A/10/63, level 11	Papyrus	Edition by Worp

### General observations

The majority of the documents, even when comprised of several fragments, derive from a single find location. Only some exceptional cases are joined together from widely dispersed locations. Examples of the latter are the fragments of P.Kell.Gr. 97, the codex leaf with a section of the *Acts of John* and a Manichaean psalm, which was found in House 1, House 3 and the North Building. According to the excavator, the disposal of this document took place over a length of time. The fragments in rooms 2 and 1 of the North Building must have been the primary deposits (last coin in the deposit is from Constant II (347-58 CE)) and the wind could have taken fragments to room 6. Human action probably caused the distribution of the fragments into room 1 of House 3 and under the animal manger in the courtyard of House 1.<sup>50</sup> This indicates the disposal of the codex with the *Acts of John* and the Manichaean Psalm(s) before the last generations of occupants in these houses. Others might have used the dumped material from the North Building while raising the floor levels of House 3 (room 1). Was the original codex discarded off intentionally? Was it a no longer useful to the liturgical practice of the owners? It is unfortunately impossible to answer these questions. It should however, be noted that the KAB and the Isocrates codex were found in similar layers of rubbish in House 2, room 9 (which used to be the kitchen). The mud brick oven was no longer in use during this period and a layer of animal droppings beneath the layer with the wooden boards suggests that the room was used as a stable for some time before the disposal of the wooden codices.

<sup>49</sup> P.Gascou 85 and 86 have inv. No. A/2/134 and A/2 level 16, both are without corresponding number(s) in the editions of Coptic and Greek documents.

<sup>50</sup> Hope, "The Archaeological Context of the Discovery of Leaves from a Manichaean Codex," 160-1.

There are a few other examples of widespread dispersal of fragments of a single document.<sup>51</sup> For most of these joins, simple explanations like the wind may be the most probable, since several rooms (like House 2, room 5 and room 6, or room 3 and 7) were adjacent and not separated by a wall. Harder to explain is the distribution of fragments of Mani's *Epistles*, which fragments were found all over House 3 (room 1, deposit 2; room 3, deposit 3, room 6, deposit 3 and 4; room 8, deposit 4; room 11, deposit 7).<sup>52</sup>

The large number of papyri fragments in House 3, and in particular room 6, is staggering. Over three thousand papyrus fragments have been found in this house alone, with domestic rubbish and an equally staggering amount of ceramics.<sup>53</sup> The location of the papyri fragments and ceramics suggests that the papyri were stored in vessels, as discussed in Chapter 3. While we are still awaiting a final publication of the excavation, we can already see this pattern in House 3, room 8, 9 and 10.<sup>54</sup> According to the initial publications and reports, the following documents derived from large jars, presumably water kegs (see Table 19).<sup>55</sup>

Find locations	Deposit no.	Documents (abbreviated)	Main characters or authors
<b>House 3, Room 8, deposit 3</b>	P61 & P65	G19b, 20, 21a, 31, 41,49,50,65,66,C43 & G20,21a,38b,50,C38,39	Pamour son of Psais (4x) and Philammon (3x), Pamour (?) (2x), Psais son of Pamour, Tehat, Petros (2x)
<b>House 3, Room 8, deposit 4</b>	P63	G20, 21b, Mani's <i>Epistles</i>	
<b>House 3, Room 9, deposit 3</b>	P51 & P52 & P56 & P57	C15, 16, 40 & G30, 38a, 38b & G30, 38b, C41 & G71, C15	Orion, Petros (?), Psais son of Pamour (3x), Pamour & Psais
<b>House 3, Room 10, deposit 3</b>	P17	G33, 37, C18	Pamour son of Psais, Takysis, Orion

Table 19: Overview of the documentary finds at several find locations

From this overview follows that the Petros letters were kept together (P.Kell.Copt. 38 & 39) and at least several letters from Pamour family were kept presumably in the same jar. Some of the Orion letters were kept together in room 9, while one fragment came from room 10. Similarly, Colin Hope has pointed out how the majority of the letters associated with

<sup>51</sup> Worp, *GPK1*, 3-4.

<sup>52</sup> According to Hope, "The Archaeological Context," 120. See Gardner, *KLT2*, 14-22 for a reconstruction.

<sup>53</sup> C. A. Hope et al., "Dakhleh Oasis Project: Ismant el-Kharab 1991-92," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 19 (1989): 4.

<sup>54</sup> Hope, "The Archaeological Context," 104.

<sup>55</sup> Table distilled from Hope, "The Archaeological Context," 120-21.

Makarios derived from Room 6 in House 3, with a single exception found in room 3 (P.Kell.Copt. 24).<sup>56</sup> The location of the various rooms that have been discussed are indicated in Figure 17.



Figure 17: Find locations in Houses 1–3. Courtesy of the Dakhleh Oasis Project (Colin Hope). Modified to indicate the location of the documents.

Finds from House 2 show similar patterns in the deposits, although less directly associated with ceramic jars. One group of documents is associated with Pausanias and

<sup>56</sup> Hope, "The Archaeological Context," 108 and table 4 on page 20.

Gena, while the other group relates to Tithoes and his direct family.<sup>57</sup> The documents in House 2, room 2, deposit 2 were found in the material from roof collapse and could be associated with ceramic jars.<sup>58</sup> Presumably, they were stored together to a family archive.

Find locations	Documents	Main characters
House 2, room 2, deposit 2 (roof collapse)	G4, 10, 11, 12 <sup>59</sup> , C12	Pausanias, Tithoes
House 2, room 5, deposit 3	G6, 8	Pausanias, Tithoes
House 2, room 6, deposit 3 and 5	G6, 7, 8	Pausanias, Tithoes
House 2, room 7 (cupboard under stairs)	G5, 9	Pausanias, Tithoes

Table 20: House 2 deposits and documents.

On the basis of these find locations can be concluded that it is highly improbable that these documents were dispersed by the wind or by other secondary depositions. Although some secondary activity has taken place, like rats using papyri for nestling purposes, the close collocation of these documents suggests that they were kept as family archives.

### Statistics

The statistical analysis of the Coptic texts, including unpublished letters and Syriac texts, shows that Houses 1–3 and the North Building are the most frequent as find location.<sup>60</sup> Adding the Greek papyri to this visualization would only increase this pattern (In this appendix, I include 103 texts, of which 24 letters, from Houses 1–3 and North Building, while only 10 texts derived from House 4 and 35 from the temple area).<sup>61</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Table constructed on the basis of short description by Hope, "The Archaeological Context," 106. Unfortunately, some of the detailed tables at the end of the edition do not include finds from House 2. This table, therefore, only represents the documents related to the characters Pausanias and Tithoes.

<sup>58</sup> Hope, "The Archaeological Context," 105.

<sup>59</sup> But note that one other fragment of this letter was found in the North Building, room 1, north of levels 2 and 4.

<sup>60</sup> Using the statistics of Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 7-8.

<sup>61</sup> This list is, however, far from complete and further publications of Greek papyri are forthcoming.



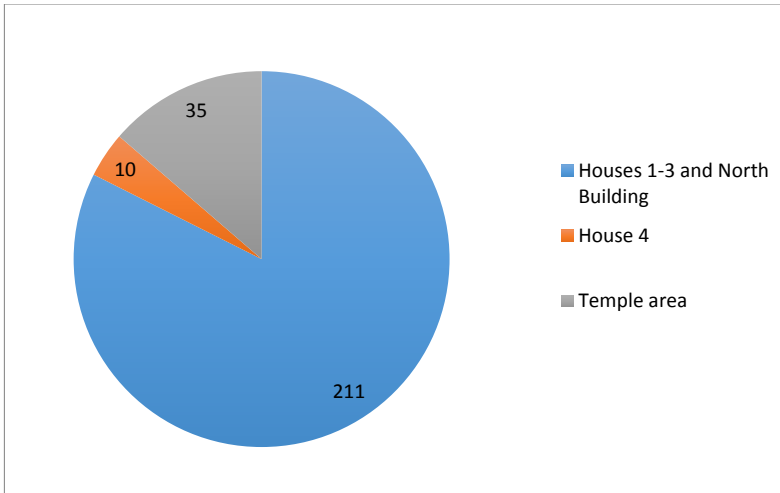


Figure 18: Visualization of the number of texts found at various locations.

If we count the number of texts (both Greek and Coptic) as published thus far and visualize them in relation to their find location in Houses 1–3 and the North Building, we see a similar pattern, in which one location dominates the rest (Figures 18 and 19). Most texts derived from House 3. A similar selection of Manichaean texts, regardless of how these are defined, would show similar prominence of House 3, with few materials in House 1, 2, and the North Building and only a little in House 4.

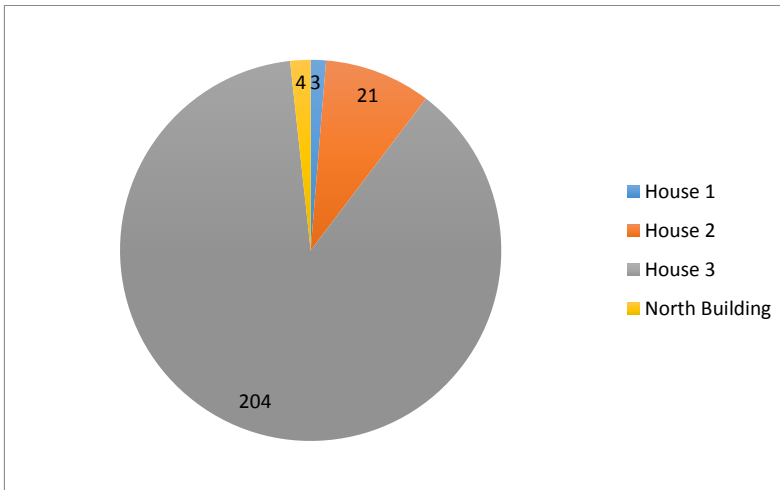


Figure 19: Visualization of the number of texts found in Houses 1–3 and the North Building.

### Appendix 3. Self-Designators in Documentary Papyri

This list is not exhaustive, the references to the Coptic Medinet Madi documents are given as general indications. More references could have been included, but are easily found with the CFM Dictionary of Manichaean Texts (Vol. 1).

(Self-)designators	Documentary papyri	Parallels in the literary texts from Kellis	Parallels in the Manichaean texts from Medinet Madi
Loved one(s)	<p>P.Kell.Copt. 14.4-6 (loved one of my soul, gladness of my spirit: ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲢ̅ⲪⲬⲏ ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲧ ⲛ̅ⲡⲁⲙⲛⲉϥⲙⲁ).</p> <p>P.Kell.Copt. 15.1 (Loved one of my soul and my spirit: ⲡⲛⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲢ̅ⲪⲬⲏ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲡⲁⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ).<sup>1</sup></p> <p>P.Kell.Copt. 16.1-3 (loved one who is precious to my spirit and the beloved of all my limbs: [ⲡⲁⲙ]ⲉⲣⲓⲧ [ⲉ]ⲧⲁⲓ ⲛ̅ⲡⲁⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ ⲁϥⲱ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲙⲉⲓⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟϥ).</p> <p>P.Kell.Copt. 19.1, 61.3 (loved one).</p>	<p>P.Kell.Copt. 53, 11.11; 12.09,17; 42.05; 44.12,20; 52.01; 54.44,55; 62.20; 71.16 (ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ).</p>	<p><i>Often</i>, See for example Hom. 16.8, 1 Keph. 7.18, 9.24, 42.11, 43.26 etc. 2 PsB. 13.26, 29.20, 42.33, 44.27 etc.</p>

<sup>1</sup> A similar construction as the inclusion of soul, spirit and heart in the Manichaean prayer formula is used in greeting formula's. The most elaborate is "Before everything: I write greeting my brother, my loved master who is very precious to me, the beloved of my soul, the gladness of my spirit (and) the joy of my heart" (P.Kell.Copt. 89). But much more generally used is "the beloved of my soul and my spirit" (14 (the gladness of my spirit) 15, 37, 90, 105) sometimes shortened to "precious to my spirit," "precious to me," "loved one," "whom I love with all my heart and soul." This is often combined with the notion of his/her memory being "sealed" in their heart (P.Kell.Copt. 25, 26, 29 all sons addressing Maria, but also used in variations in 17, 19, and 85).

	<p>P.Kell.Copt. 20.1 (loved ones who are honoured of my soul: <math>\text{}\bar{\text{n}}\text{a}\bar{\text{m}}\text{e}\bar{\text{r}}\text{e}\bar{\text{t}}\text{e}</math> [ε]τ̄αἰἄτ̄ητ̄[στ]ϛ ἡ̄ταϣϣη).</p> <p>P.Kell.Copt. 25.30 (our beloved: ἡ̄ν̄ἡ̄με̄ρε̄τε τ̄η̄ροϣ).</p> <p>Often: “beloved brother”</p>		
The brotherhood	<p>P.Kell.Copt. 25.56 (τ̄η̄η̄ἡ̄τ̄σᾱν), 70.23.<sup>2</sup></p>	<p>T.Kell.Syr/Copt 2 139-140 P.Kell.Copt. 53, 72.02 and 54.61 (τ̄η̄η̄ἡ̄τ̄σᾱν).</p>	<p>1 Keph. 147 338.20-340.19 (on five types of brotherhood).</p>
Kinship terminology	<i>Often</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Often</i>
The children of the living race	<p>P.Kell.Copt. 22.5 (ἡ̄ω̄η̄ρε ἡ̄τ̄ρεἶ̄τε ε̄τᾱνῶ).</p> <p>P.Kell.Copt. 30.5 (Our children who are among our (?) race: ἡ̄νε̄ω̄η̄ρε ε̄τ̄ζ[ἡ̄ τ̄η̄]ρεἶ̄τε).</p>	<p>T.Kell.Syr/Copt. 1.35 (your race).</p> <p>T.Kell.Syr/Copt. 2.126-7 (Syriac: sons of their race, Coptic: <math>\text{a}\tau\text{o}\rho\eta\epsilon\bar{\text{t}}\text{e}</math>)</p> <p>P.Kell.Copt. 53, 82.7</p>	<p>1 PsB. 154.15 (and reconstructed in Kellis T.Kell.Copt. 4, B41)<sup>3</sup></p> <p>1 Keph. 180.17, the opposite image is used in 1 Keph. 354.6 and 24, and 363.6.</p> <p>Used in the synaxeis codex and the Šābuhragān.<sup>4</sup></p> <p>“Race” is frequently used</p>

<sup>2</sup> Although not clear if the author is speaking here of “the” brotherhood or about “our” brotherly relation.

<sup>3</sup> Gardner, *KLT1*, 39.

<sup>4</sup>  $\rho\epsilon\bar{\text{r}}\text{e}$  seems to have had a more intimate familial meaning. In Hom 2.4 it is contrasted with  $\rho\epsilon\bar{\text{u}}\text{o}\varsigma$ , and in 1 Keph. 149, 362.2-6 it is used to divide the elect in five families, only three of which are virtuous. The designator “children of the living race” has been used in Mani’s *Epistles* (above) but also in the First discourse of Mani’s Living Gospel, cited in Gardner, *KLT2*, 83. It also features in some of the Syriac fragments from Egypt, see Pedersen and Larsen, *Manichaean Texts in Syriac*, 204-7. The Šābuhragān is cited at A. Adam, ed. *Texte zum Manichäismus* (Berlin: De Gruyter), 7 “Kinder der lebendigen Familie und der Lichtwelt.”

			in Coptic Manichaean texts. Other self-designators include “race of light” (1 Keph. 112, 268.5), “race of faith and truth” (1 Keph. 112 268.21) and “only begotten race” (1 Keph. 119 286.5)
Master(s)	In almost all letters combined with ‘my brother(s)’. (παχλις πασαν, also attested in Greek address with κυριώ and δεσποτιή)	-	“Masters” is often used for supernatural powers, for example in 1 Keph. 145.23.
Child of Righteousness	P.Kell.Copt. 14.5, 15.2, 19.1 (πωηρε ἱτδικαιουσνη), (19.9 “disciple of righteousness” in a quotation).	-	1 Keph. 96.26-27, Hom. 59.21-22.  Righteousness and righteous appears often.
Child, Children	P.Kell.Copt. 31.4-5 (Children of God: ἱωηρε ἱππουτε) P.Kell.Copt. 61.3 (my children: ναωηρε)  Often: children (in supposedly actual families cf. P.Kell.Copt. 107 “my good child” in a letter from father to son).	T.Kell.Copt. 2, B2, 155 (“All thy Children”).  P.Kell.Copt. 53, 32.22, 41.02, 14 (ναωηρε μη ναμαθητης), 20 and 42.03, 44.11, 52.20, 62.19 (ναωηρε).	<i>often</i>
Shona	P.Kell.Copt. 31 (“my shona-daughters” ναωηρε ἱσζονα).	-	-

	P.Kell.Copt. 20.50, 44.14 and 58.21 (ⲥⲟⲛⲁ).		
Daughters of Light Mind	P.Kell.Copt. 31.3-4 (ⲓⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲉ] ⲛ̀ⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̀ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ)  For the Light Mind, see P.Kell.Copt. 15.3-4 (“good limb of the Light Mind”).	The Light Mind is also mentioned in T.Kell.Copt. 2.114.	Both Daughters and Light Mind are relatively common, but never in this combination. See 1 Keph. 37.19 for the “daughters of the Light and truth.”
Elect and catechumen	P.Kell.Copt. 15.28-29, 16.40-41 (ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕ[ⲧ]ⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲛ̀ ⲛ̀ⲕⲁⲟⲛⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ), 17.52 (catechumens only) 22.61 (catechumens only) 32.2 (catechumen of the faith: ⲧⲕⲁⲟⲛⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲛ̀ ⲛ̀ⲓⲛⲛⲁⲗⲧⲉ)	P.Kell.Copt. 2 C1,71-2 and C2,105-6 (parallel in Medinet Madi, Coptic: ⲥⲱⲧⲡⲓ [ⲉⲧⲟⲩ]ⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̀ⲛ̀ ⲛ̀ⲕⲣ[ⲁ]ⲟⲛⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟ[ⲥ]).  P.Kell.Copt. 53, 51.5,9; P.Kell.Copt. 2. 71-2, 106 (ⲛ̀ⲕⲣ[ⲱⲧⲡⲓ] ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ [ⲧⲛⲣⲟⲩ ...] ⲛ̀ⲛ̀ ⲛ̀ⲕⲣⲁⲟⲛⲕⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟ[ⲥ]). <sup>5</sup>	1 PsB. 278.3 (and reconstructed in Kellis, P.Kell.Copt. 2, text C2, 105-6). <sup>6</sup>  Both designators are often used. They are mentioned together, for example, in 2 PsB. 20.2, 21.22, 25.27, 27.14, etc. 1 Keph. 6.22, 10.14, 36.10-11 etc. Hom. 7.2, etc.
They who give rest	P.Kell.Copt. 15.28, 16.41, 17.53, 35.47, 36.14 and 115.40. (ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲧⲓ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲕ, and variations)	Not as self-designator, but rest is an important concept.	Not as self-designator, but rest is an important concept.
Patronage	P.Kell.Copt. 31.16ff (“helpers,” “worthy patrons” and “firm unbending pillars”: ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̀ⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲛ ⲛ̀ⲃⲟⲛⲉⲟⲥ ⲗⲓ	-	1 Keph. 233.24. “Helper” (ⲃⲟⲛⲉⲟⲥ) is used frequently (although often for supernatural beings), for example Hom.

<sup>5</sup> P.Kell.Copt. 51.82 several times speaks about “being chosen” and P.Kell.Copt. 2.Text A, 16 has ⲥⲟⲛⲓ reconstructed in a very fragmentary context.

<sup>6</sup> Gardner, *KLTI*, 71.

	πατρον εφραειν· ειση ετγλος εφταδραϊτ).		17.20, 1 Keph. 11.11, 15.17, 97.33 etc. 2 Keph. 346.8, 350.9
God-loving-souls	P.Kell.Copt. 31.5 (The favoured, blessed, god- loving: ηψ[γ]χαγε ετсмаηат ἡνακαριος ἡναῖνουτε)	-	-
A blessed one	P.Kell.Copt. 35.42 (ετсмаη[α]τ)	Blessed is used as adjective, not as self- designator.	Same sentiment, but not as a self- designator. See 1 Keph. 164.1 etc. “blessed are you...” and 166.11 about the “blessed elect” (εκλεκτος ἡνακαριος). Cf. Hom. 75.
The faithful/believers	-	P.Kell.Gr 91.20 (Make us worthy to be your faithful).  P.Kell.Copt. 53, 34.23 (ἡνεπιστορος), see “Church of the faithful.”	Often, see for example 2 PsB. 28.17, Hom. 25.1, 85.29, 1 Keph. 34.7, 189.19,21,29 etc.
The Pious	P.Kell.Gr. 63 (Soul of the pious: ψυχικων τής ευσεβους)	-	Not as self- designator, but often as “the holy” (ἡπετογαβε, 1 Keph.189.21) or “the holy ones” (1 Keph. 213.2).
The righteous	-	P.Kell.Gr. 98.96 (Prayer of the Emanations; δικαιούς).	2PsB. 50.18 “Blessed and righteous man.” Hom. 14.22, 25.1 (“the righteous and the believers”) 38.15 etc. 1 Keph. 36.25, 80.32 etc.

			Also 2 Keph. 384.6
Tree–Fruit–Blossom (Metaphor)	P.Kell.Copt. 32.4-5 (“good tree whose fruit never withers”: πῶνν ετανιτ ετεμα πῆκαρπος ρωβῆ ἀνηξε) P.Kell.Copt. 22.4-5 (“the good caretakers,” “the fruit of the flourishing tree and the blossoms of love”: ἡκαῖρ[α]γῶ ετανιτ ... ἡκαρπος ἡπῶνν ετραγτ ἡτ ογῶ ἡταγαπν)	T.Kell.Copt. 2, A2, 41 (“Tree of life”).  P.Kell.Copt. 53, 42ff (metaphor of the farmer, growing fruit, giving it to the master).  P.Kell.Copt. 54.30ff (metaphor of growing a vineyard, cultivating, producing fruits).	<i>Often</i> , see for example 1 Keph. 96 on good farmers and bearing fruit. <sup>7</sup>
This Word	P.Kell.Copt. 25.74 (“everyone who wishes our word”: ἀογαν νιν εφογῶῶ πῆῶε.εε)  P.Kell.Copt. 37.19-20 (“Those of this word”: ἀνα πιεε.εε)	Not used as self-designator	“Word(s)” is used often, but not as self-designator.
Member/limb	P.Kell.Copt. 31.2-3 and 32.1-2 (The members of the holy church: ἡἡελος ἡτεκκλησια ετογῶβε).  P.Kell.Copt. 34.1 (Worthy member: ἡελος ετῶεγ)  P.Kell.Copt. 14.5 (joyful limb: πἡελος εττα[ληλ]) P.Kell.Copt. 15.3-4	P.Kell.Copt. 53, 42.8, 11 and 54.7 could have been self-designators, Mani’s limbs)  The Light Mind is also mentioned in T.Kell.Copt. 2.114	Limb is used often, also as form of address, Mani called his disciples brothers, loved ones and “my limbs” (ἡἡελος), 1 Keph. 41.25-30, 144.2, 213.3, 285.21. See also Hom. 85.26 (limbs of the church?)

<sup>7</sup> L. R. V. Arnold-Döben, *Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus* (Bonn: Religionswissenschaftliches Seminar der Universität Bonn, in Kommission bei Brill, Köln, 1978), 40-44.

	<p>(“good limb of the Light &lt;ind&gt;”:  πινελ[ο]ς ετανιτ  ἡπιου̅ς ἡ[ογ]λα̅ινε)  P.Kell.Copt. 16.2-3  (“beloved of my limbs”: πωου̅μειε  ἡναμ̅ελο̅ς τη̅ρογ)</p>		
Kingdom of the saints/holy ones	<p>P.Kell.Copt. 34.14  (τη̅]ἡ̅τ̅ρ̅ο  ἡ̅νε̅το̅γα̅βε̅).</p> <p>Cf. P.Kell.Copt. 29.12 “kingdom” and P.Kell.Copt. 34.9-10 on the “king.”</p>		Kingdom is often used for the supernatural realms (for example 1 Keph. 13.31, 25.6, 36.25 etc.)
Congregation of the holy ones	-	<p>P.Kell.Copt. 53, 31.12  (σα̅γ̅ς ἡ̅νε̅το̅γα̅βε̅)</p>	<p>Congregation (σα̅γ̅ς) is the general term used for the gathering of the Manichaeans (for example 1 Keph. 77.25, 165.26, 167.1 etc.)</p> <p>Hom 15.20-22 combines several designators; “holy ones,” “church,” “my lord’s assemblies”  (ανα̅γα̅ς ἡ̅πα̅χα̅ι̅ς)</p> <p>2 PsB. 99.31 mentions the “virtuous assembly of the righteous”  (τσα̅γ̅ς ἡ̅θε̅γ  ἡ̅ἡ̅Δ̅ικ̅αι̅ο̅ς).</p>





	(greet you and all who are in the house: ἀρακ νῆ νετῆν πῆ τῆροϋ). P.Kell.Copt.21.27 (all those who are with you) 25.69-74, 28.35 (they who are with you: ἀνετῆατητῆ), 29 (from those who are with me) 36.13, 39.4, 40.3, 60.4,66.33, 83.3, 105.75, etc. <sup>12</sup>		the living” or “the kingdom of the household of his people.” (I don’t think this is connected to the phrases in the Kellis letters).
Those of the neighborhood	P.Kell.Copt. 36.40 (ϩινε νῆ τονοϋ ἀνετραοϋη), 39.5 (νατραοϋη), 71.31 (ρη-ρεοϋητοϋ) 77.4 (νῆ τρεοϋη), 85.8 and 96.28 (ϩινε νῆ ατραοϋη).		

<sup>12</sup> Gardner, "Some Comments on Kinship Terms," 136 includes more published and unpublished examples.

## Appendix 4. Prosopography of Makarios's and Pamour's Relatives

In this appendix, the prosopography of a selection of the Kellis letters is laid out. It includes mostly the relatives of Makarios and Pamour III, especially those who are also discussed in the main text. The notes here should be read in the context of the prosopography in CDT1 and the reconstructed family trees in Chapter 4. I have incorporated all material from GPK1 and CDT2. Many of these reconstructions, however, remain tentative and are open to further scrutiny. For most suggestions I am indebted to the editors of the material, to whom I could have referred to every single time. Instead I have included references for the most controversial identifications only, or where I have a different interpretation than the editors. The abbreviations in this Appendix are shortened, G = P.Kell.Gr. + no., C = P.Kell.Copt. + no. Only the **bold** letters were (probably) written by the individual, other letters only mention his/her name. The names are presented in alphabetical order.

### Andreas

C12 (?), C19, C25, C26, C36, C37, C59 (postulated) C65, C71, C73, C79, C84, C86, C88, C92 (?), C96, C105, C107 (?), C111, C115, G71, **P92.1**

Andreas is one of the most enigmatic figures in the corpus, as he is greeted by many but his exact relationship with them is never entirely clear. Pamour greeted Partheni 'and her children by name, especially my son andreas' (C71). In C84 Theognostos wrote to Psais III 'our son Andreas, if he is unoccupied, let him come to us'. Pegosh greets him as 'my son' (C73) and as 'brother' (C79) and he is described as Theognostos' son by Pamour III (G71). His position in the generation below Theognostos and Pamour III is uncontested, but it remains unclear whether he was a child of one of these people.<sup>1</sup>

In C78 another Andreas, son of Tone is greeted, and the Andreas greeted by Timotheos in C92 might also have been someone else. The village scribe in G45 is presumably another Andreas. P92.1 is an unpublished fragment, presumably written by Andreas to Psais.<sup>2</sup> C36 is a letter of Ouales (Vales?) to Psais and Andreas, which has led the editors to reconstruct Andreas and Ouales in the fragmentary C59. In C107 Andreas is addressed by a certain Dorotheos and lacks references to all other familiar names.

### Apa Lysimachos

C21, C24, C29, **C30**, C72, C82, **G67**

Lysimachos, who is often addressed with the honorary 'Apa', was a close contact of Makarios and his sons. He also had connections with Theognostos, Philammon and others who traveled with him (see C72 postscript of 'those of Apa L.'). He is presumably one of the Manichaean elect.

### Charis (Wife of Philammon II)

C19, C20, C24 (unnamed), C25, C26, C64, C66, C67, C70, **C76** (postscript), C102, C105 (?)

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<sup>1</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 135. suggest that if Theognostos was the husband of Partheni, Andreas might have been their son.

<sup>2</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 247.

See notes at Philammon II. In C64 she is greeted by Maria (wife of Pamour III) as ‘mother Chares and her children’. In C76 she adds a postscript to Pegosh’s letter to Partheni, which has led some to suggest she may have been Pegosh’s wife.<sup>3</sup> In several letters she is referred to without her husband (has he passed away?) (C70, C76, C102, C105).

**Horos** (Son of Maria and Pamour III)

G30, G72

**Hor (presumably more than one individual)**

Separating out the different individuals with the name Hor (and variations) is close to impossible, as Hor is a common name in the oasis. However, by making the tentative distinction between various individuals, the proposed connections between letters and clusters of individuals become slightly more clear. Of crucial importance are two identifications, who is the Hor associated with Apa Lysimachos and who are the author and recipient of C15-18? Decisions in these two cases could influence other identifications, like the question of Ploutogenios the recipient of the letter of the Teacher (C61).

**Hor I:** Apa Lysimachos is closely associated with Hor, as he is included in the postscript in C72 and addressed by Apa Lysimachos in C30. Both of these letters mention a ‘brother Psais’, whom I identify with Psais III. Psais III, Pamour III and Pegosh greet Hor in their letters (C70, C76, G72) and so did Philammon II (C80, C81, C82) and Theognostos (C84, see also C111). If we take these passages as referring to the same individual, Hor appears to have been a central figure. G72 reveals the existence of Horos, presumably the son of Pegosh, although the exact phrasing may allow for Pamour III to have a son Horos as well (See notes on Horos).

**Hor II:** ‘father Horos’ addressed by Pegosh in C78-79. Since he is senior to the generation of Pamour III and Pegosh, he is probably not to be identified with the recipient of C30 and C80-82.<sup>4</sup> Whether or not ‘father Hor’ in C43, C94 is the same individual is not clear.

**Hor III:** It is difficult to see whether the Hor associated with Ploutogenes (presumably on the generational level of Psais III and Andreas, see G75, C89) is the same as one of the previous figures. A logical identification would be Hor I, as he was closely associated with the Pamour III’ brothers. This would be acceptable for Hor in G75, C89, C36, C105, but less so in C115 where Hor and Piene are children (presumably the generation below Psais III). If we combine the notes on Ploutogenes III and Hor, it seems most logical to identify a Hor IV in C36 (reconstructed) and C115). The sub deacon Hor in C124 is another individual.

The question remains who is addressed by Horion in C15-17? The recipient of these letters was familiar with Manichaean terminology and was presumably a contemporary of Tehat (contemporary of Horion, C18, C43, C50, C58?). Cross-referencing prosopographical information suggests a date in the 350s, slightly earlier than Hor I, but there is not enough evidence to identify the recipient of C15-17 with the ‘father Hor’ of C78 and C79.

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<sup>3</sup> The option is considered in Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 99. But see also the reconstruction in which she is the wife of Philammon Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT1*, 23, 38-9.

<sup>4</sup> Contra Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 106.

**Jemnoute** (daughter of Maria and Pamour III)

C19 (once ?), C25, C26, C44 (?), G30 (unnamed), C64 (unnamed), C65, C71, C72 (?), G71

Is she to be identified with the J(e)mnoute of C25 and C44? In G71 Pamour III greets ‘mother Maria and the little Tsempnouthes’ and requests the ‘girl’ to be sent, probably as maid, and in C64 Pamour III and Maria repeat their request to send the ‘little girl’ to them. The use of this adjective mirrors Pamour’s ‘little Tsempnouthes’ in G71.<sup>5</sup> In C65 and C71 Maria greets her (unnamed) mother with ‘my daughter Jemnoute’, but in light of Pamour’s greeting in G71 it seems reasonable to identify the older Maria, wife of Makarios, with the mother of Maria, wife of Pamour III.<sup>6</sup> In this reconstruction, Maria is the mother of Maria (wife of Pamour) and Jemnoute stays with her grandmother while Pamour and his wife work in Aphrodite. It is, however, difficult to reconcile this reconstruction with Pamour’s promise to pay her travel money and present wool for a cloak as ‘her hire’ (G71).

The Jnpnoute in the list of people traveling with Apa L. (C72) and the Jemnoute in the economic account (C44) might be distinct but contemporary to Jmnoute. Makarios also greets two individual Tshemnoute’s in C19, only one of which as ‘my daughter’.

**Kapiton** (son of Kapiton)

C65, C70, C72, C75, C76, C77, C81, C92, C86, C108, C109, C116, G45, G71, G76

Kapiton son of Kapiton (Patronym in G45) was married to Tagoshe, the sister of Psais III, Pegosh and Pamour III. As such he was often addressed by the brothers (C65, C72, C77<sup>7</sup>) and he is referred to in business and travel arrangements (C81, C82, C86, C108, C116). In one letter of Pegosh (C75), Kapiton adds his own greetings to Tagoshe. G76 however shows he became estranged from his wife and Pegosh wrote that he no longer knows if Kapiton is alive.<sup>8</sup> Kapiton is presumably the author of a letter to his wife (C109 spelling her name as Tegsogis (?)). The Kapiton in G45, who borrowed money from someone in the hamlet of Thio (386 CE), is presumably his son because Pegosh reports that his former brother-in-law has been living in the Nile valley.<sup>9</sup>

**Kyria** (Wife of Psemnoute)

C12 (?), C19, C20, C21, C22, C25, C44, C66 (unnamed), C68, C82

Kyria has been associated with Psemnoute and they are addressed at least three times together with Maria (C20, C21, C22). Since Matthaïos addresses them as ‘Father Psemnoute and Mother Kyria’ (C25) they were probably married and belong to the generation of Makarios and his wife Maria. Kyria could have been Maria’s sister.<sup>10</sup> The alternative spelling Goure/Gouria (C20 and C19) may indicate that ‘Mother Goure/Gouria’ in C68 and C82 is the

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<sup>5</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 46.

<sup>6</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 52. If so, it is remarkable to see no connection to Makarios, who did greet his daughter Tsempnouthes at least once.

<sup>7</sup> See on the double greeting Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 103.

<sup>8</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 100-1.

<sup>9</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 100.

<sup>10</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT1*, 29.

same woman, probably after the death of her husband.<sup>11</sup> In this latter letter, Philammon II greets 'my mother Gouria and my sister and her husband and her daughter'. If Gouria is indeed Kyria, the wife of Pshempnoute and if she is the sister of Maria, we could have connected both the Kyria-Pshempnoute couple and Philammon to the Makarios archive.<sup>12</sup> There is however no definitive reason to understand Philammon as a biological son of Kyria.

**Maria** (Wife of Makarios, mother of Matthaios and Piene)

C19, C20, C21, C22, C24, C25, C26, C29, C70, C76, G71

Maria is addressed by both her sons and her husband. Pamour III, Pegosh and their wives greeted her as 'mother Maria' (C70, C76), which probably indicates her position in the generation older than them.

**Maria** (Wife of Pamour III)

C25, C26, G71, C64, C65, C66, C71, C77

Maria adds her postscript to a number of letters by Pamour III, most of which are probably sent from Aphrodite. In C25.57 Maria (wife of Makarios) has asked after the name of the (newborn?) daughter of Maria. In C26.46 Matthaios addresses this Maria, in a letter to his mother.

**Makarios**

C19, C20, C21, C22, C24, C25 (postulated)

Makarios is the father of Matthaios and Piene, husband of Maria. His letters often address Maria, Kyria, and Pshempnoute. He is to be distinguished from the Makarios in C43, G10, G46.

**Matthaios** (and variant spellings, son of Makarios)

C19, C20, C21, C25, C26, C27

**Pamour I**

G4(?), G19b, G20, G21, G30, G31, G33, G38ab, G41, G42, G44, G50, G76,

G19b is a prefectoral hypographe in a petition of Pamour son of Psais and Philammon. G20 and G21 (from the first decades of the fourth century) are petitions by Pamour son of Psais. G30, G33, G38ab, G42, G44, G50, G76 is patronym only.

**Pamour II**

G42

Pamour II is the uncle of Pamour III, presumably he was a brother of Psais II as he identifies in a load of money (G42) as the son of Pamour I and Takose/Tekysis.

**Pamour III** (son of Psais, grandson of Pamour)

C22 (?), C24, C25, C26, C64, C65, C66, C67, C68, C69, C70, C71, C72, C77, C80, C82, G24, G33, G71, G72,

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<sup>11</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 131. Although the Gouria (daughter of .... (unnamed)) in C19.73 is not necessarily the same as the Gouria in C19.74 and/or C19.82 (Makarios calls her 'my mother Gouria).

<sup>12</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 118.

Pamour III is the son of Psais ( ) and the brother of Pegosh/Pekysis (greeted as brother in C24, C25, mentioned together in C80). Presumably they had a third brother, Psais III, with whom they corresponded regularly. Pamour III traveled with Philammon II (C82), Pegosh (C77) and maybe with Matthaïos (C26) for business purposes. In G24, Pamour son of Psais is included in a legal petition.

**Partheni** (wife of Pegosh)

C19 (?), C25, C47, C64, C70, C71, C75, C76, C83, C102, G76 (unnamed)

Partheni is presumably the wife of Pegosh, since she is addressed twice in his letters (C75, C76), in the former as 'my lady Parthene'. She is greeted several times by the other brothers (C70 by Pamour III or Pegosh, C64 and C71 by Pamour III, C102 by Psais III). C19, C25 and C47 may refer to the same person, although the texts are generally considered to be earlier and they refer to a 'mother Partheni', which may point to an elderly lady. The Partheni in C19 is, moreover, located in the hamlet Thio. Confusing is also the use of short names, as Partheni might be addressed as 'Henî' in several letters (C76, C83).<sup>13</sup> If that is a correct reconstruction, one might wonder whether the Henî in other letters also refers to this Partheni (C26, C33, C38, C44, C45). A strong connection exists between C83 (Theognostos mentioning 'father Pollon' and 'Sister' Henî) and C45 (with the same names).<sup>14</sup>

**Pegosh** (brother of Pamour III)

C24, C25, C26, C65, C66, C67, C68, C69, C70 (?), C73, C74, C75, C75, C76, C77, C78, C79, C80, C82, C108, C109, C120 (?) G44, G68, G71, G72, G76

Pegosh/Pekysis is the son of Psais, grandson of Pamour (C75 address). He is a brother of Pamour III, they are often addressed together (C24, C25, C80) and correspond regularly. They belong to the generation of Matthaïos, who greets them as brothers. Pegosh seems to live in Antinoopolis (G71) and wrote to his brother about the liturgical duties of his son (G72). In G76 he offers a surety for the tax debt of his former brother-in-law Kapitôn. G44 details a loan of money from April 382 CE, which dates Pegosh's activities into the 380s. The letters C73-C79 are mostly addressed to Psais III (C73, C74) and Partheni (C75, C76). The latter seems to have been his wife (see notes at Partheni). C70 was either written by Pamour III or Pegosh.<sup>15</sup> C120 was written by a Pekos to Pamour, who, despite the variant spelling, may be the same person.<sup>16</sup>

**Piene** (Son of Makarios)

C20, C21, C24, C25 (postulated), C29

**Philammon II** (Husband of Charis)

C19, C24, C25, C64, C65, C66, C73, C77

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<sup>13</sup> On the use of these truncated names see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 39, 60, 71. Reference is made to Bagnall and Ruffini, *Amheida I. Ostraka from Trimithis, Volume 1*, 60.

<sup>14</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT1*, 25. I consider the weaver in C44 someone else and do not recognize Partheni in C38. The (H)enî in C26 and C33 may connect Partheni stronger to the Makarios family, but I am not convinced she is in fact the same person.

<sup>15</sup> See notes on the address at Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 69-70.

<sup>16</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 84.

Philammon II is probably the husband of Charis, as they are greeted together several times (C19, C25). Since Makarios greets them as ‘brother’ and ‘sister’, and Matthaios and Gena opt for the more formal ‘father’ and ‘mother’, Philammon II and Charis belong to the generation of Makarios. It is difficult to distinguish him from Philammon III, who belonged to the generation of Pamour III and Pegosh. They, however, often greet a ‘father Philammon’, whom I identify as this Philammon II (C64, C65, C66, C73, C77).

### **Philammon III**

C78, C79, C80, C81, C82, C88 (?), C89 (?), C108, C114 (?), C122 (?), G64 (?), G71, G72, G79  
In G71 Philammon is mentioned by Pamour III, but without family-designator. In C78 and C79, written by Pegosh to father Horos, Philammon III is the most probable candidate, but no family-designator is used. The same is true for G71 (Pamour III to Psais) and G64 (Valerius to Philammon).<sup>17</sup> G79 reveals Philammon was *dromedarius*, which is often associated with the military but might have been used here as indication of his trade. Other individuals with the name Philammon cannot be ruled out, since we know at least one other individual, Philammon (and Pamour) of Tjkoou, mentioned in C20. An identification with Lammon (C24, C65, C72, C77, C78) has been suggested, but is not likely because this person is addressed as ‘my son’ by Pegosh and Pamour (C77, C72) and he seems to be distinct from Philammon in C24. C122 derives from House 4, which makes it less likely that it is about the same individuals.

### **Philammon I**

G19b, G49, G65

There seems to have been another Philammon in the older generation, as he addresses Tekose the mother of Pamour II (G65).<sup>18</sup> In G19b he is associated with Pamour I and G49 also dates back to the early years of the fourth century.

### **Ploutogenes (presumably more than one individual)**

C36, C61 (?) C80, C85 C86, C87, C88, C89, C90, C91 (?), C94 (?), C105 (?), C106 (?), C115 (?), C118 (?), G58?, G75

Ploutogenes (and variant spellings) appears to be a central figure in the Kellis papyri, but he is difficult to place in terms of kinship relations. He belongs to the generation of Pamour III and his brothers and corresponded with Psais III and Andreas (C36 (?), C85, C86, C88). Two possible identifications are of importance. The first is the identification of the Ploutogenes of C85-C89 with the recipient of the letter of the Teacher (C61 addressing a Ploutogenios). The second is the usage of the short name Piena or Iena for Ploutogenes in C90, which leads us to wonder whether the Piena/Iena in other letters is to be identified as Ploutogenes, author of C85-89. The latter question is made more difficult by the appearance of a Hor and Iena, whom are greeted several times (C91, C118, C36, C115, C105). C106 has been associated with C85 and C86 on the basis of the handwriting.<sup>19</sup>

These considerations amount to at least three different individuals with the name Ploutogenes/Piena:

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<sup>17</sup> Following Worp, *GPK1*, 171.

<sup>18</sup> Worp, *GPK1*, 37.

<sup>19</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 143.



**Ploutogenes I:** called ‘father Iena’ in C90, C105. Probably belonging to the generation of Psais II. Did his name have derive from Ploutogenes in the way as Ploutogenes II became abbreviated as Piena? An identification with the Ploutogenes in G58 would pin the date on the year 337 CE and attest to contact with a catholic priest.

**Ploutogenes II:** Author of C85-C89, who used the abbreviated name Piena (C88, C89).<sup>20</sup> Same generation as Psais III, Andreas and others. His greeting to Plotogenes and Hor (C89.19) indicates the presence of another figure with the same name.<sup>21</sup>

**Ploutogenes III:** On the same generational level as Ploutogenes II (C89.19 as ‘brother’) or in the generation below Psais III and Andreas (C36, C115 ‘little brothers’ of as ‘the children’). Could C91 have been addressed to this Ploutogenes III/Iena and Hor (cf. C105)? In G75 Psais III, Ploutogenes and Hor are greeted as if they belonged to the same generation. Could there have been a Hor in the generation of Ploutogenes II?

### **Psais I**

Psais I does not appear in the Kellis corpus apart from as patronym.

### **Psais II (son of Pamour)**

C25, C64, C65, C66, C70, C71, C72, C73 (unnamed), C77 (?), C82, C105, C108, **C110**, G30, **G32**, G38ab, G44, G50, G75 (?), G76.

Psais II lived for a long time and served as paterfamilias in a large extended family. As such, he is addressed by his sons, their wives, and others as “father Pshai/Psais.” In G75 he may be greeted as ‘my most esteemed brother Psais ‘the great’. The ‘father Shai’ in C77 by Pegosh could also refer to someone else. C110 is presumably written by father Psais II to his sons Pamour III and Pegosh.<sup>22</sup> G32 is a lease contract (from 364 CE). G38ab (333 CE) is a grant of a plot of land. In G30 (363 CE) he represents his son Pamour III and grandson Horos, in a case about land ownership in Aphrodite.

G33, G44, G76 is patronym only.

### **Psais III (brother of Pamour III)**

C19 (?), C30, C64, C65, C67, C70, C71, C72, C73, C77, C78, C79, C80, C84, C109 (?), G67, G71, G72, G75 (?).

Although Psais III is nowhere as explicitly connected to the family as his two brothers, he is consequently addressed as brother by Pamour III and Pegosh. Since Psais is a common name in the oasis, it is difficult to distinguish him from his father, Psais II, and other individuals.<sup>23</sup> The Psais in C19, C30, and C109 could have been another person.

### **Psemnoute**

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<sup>20</sup> In C88 Ploutogenes/Piena greets Kepitou (?) = Kapiton, Philammon and Mother Lo. Which leads me to identify this Ploutogenes with the author of C85-86. Many unfamiliar names feature in C89.

<sup>21</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 143, 153-5.

<sup>22</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 221-4.

<sup>23</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 77 expresses doubt, but also distinguishes the Pshai of C64, G71 and C72 from their father Psais II.

C12, C20, C21, C22, C25, C26, C33 (?), C66, G70 (?)

Psemnoute was presumably the husband of Kyria and a close associate of Makarios, since he is addressed several times. His name in C33 features without the presence of other familiar names and in G70 a Psemnoutes is addressed by Timotheos the carpenter. He may or may not be the same individual. Alternative individuals are probable also named in G23, G24, G74, KAB 575, 1155.

#### **Tagoshe** (wife of Kapiton, sister of Pamour III)

C64, C67, C75, C78, C83 (?), C96, C109 (?), **C115**, C120, C116? G76 (unnamed)

Tagoshe is greeted several times by Pamour and Pegosh (C64, C67, C78, C120). In C83 Theognostos mentions a “mother Tagoshe,” could she be the same?<sup>24</sup> See the notes under Kapiton for her marriage. From G76 follows Kapiton has left her. She is presumably the author of C115, addressing Psais III. The children greeted in this letter could have been her children (especially Maria, who is addressed as ‘my daughter’), but this is less secure for Hor and Piena.

#### **Takose (wife of Pamour I)**

G30, **G37**, G42, G65

Takose/Tekysis is the wife of Pamour I and mother of Psais II and Pamour II, whom included a matronym in some of their documents (G42 Pamour II, G30 Psais II). In G37 (from 320 CE) Aurelia Takysis sells a part of her house. G65 is a letter from Philammon I to “my sister Tekose.”

#### **Tappollos (Mother Lo, wife of Psais II)**

C45, C48, C64, C65, C70 (?), C88, C103, C108, G44, G87

Mother Lo is greeted several times by relatives of Pamour III (C64 by Pamour III, C66 by Maria, C108 by Psais III, C70 by Pamour or Pegosh). The Lo in C70 could be another person since she is addressed as “sister Lo.” An amulet (G87) is made for Lo. In G44 Pegosh refers to his father as well as as grandfather and grandmother: Tapollos. Could Tapollos be the same as the elderly “mother Lo”? The strongest supporting argument for this identification is the way Maria in C64 starts with greetings for the elderly ladies before moving on to more practical errands.<sup>25</sup>

#### **Theognostos**

C65, C71, C72, C73, C80, C81, C82, **C83, C84**, G67, G71

Theognostos is strongly associated with Philammon III, Pamour III and Pegosh. He is moreover, the recipient of a letter by Apa Lysimachos (G67). In various letters (of which only C80, C81, C82 are addressed to him alone) he is included in the addressees (C72, C65). How exactly Theognostos related to Andreas, Hor and Partheni is not clear. One option that has been explored is whether he could have been Partheni’s brother and therefore brother-in-law of Pamour III, Psais III and Pegosh. See also the notes at Andreas.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 180 distinguished between the Tagoshe/Tekysis in C96 and the wife of Pamour I.

<sup>25</sup> Worp, *GPK1*, 54 is carefully suggesting she may be identified with Tapollos. Cf. Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 40, 46, 196, 214.

<sup>26</sup> Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 135, 142.

**The Teacher**

C20, C24, C25, C29, C61

The Teacher is presumably a high-ranking Manichaean elect, working and traveling in Alexandria and the Nile valley. He is often mentioned by Makarios and his sons, one of which travels with The Teacher. The author of C61 self-identifies as The Teacher, following the anonymous style of Mani's *Epistles*, but this may have been another individual (his predecessor/successor?).

**Unnamed (Son of Maria and Pamour III)**

Postulated from G30