

Limbs of the Light Mind

The social world of a Manichaean community in fourth-century Egypt



Håkon Fiane Teigen

Thesis for the Degree of Philosophiae Doctor (PhD)
University of Bergen, Norway
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Abbreviations for frequently cited sources

Kellis texts

CDT I	<i>Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis</i> , vol. 1 (ed. Gardner, Alcock & Funk 1999)
CDT II	<i>Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis</i> , vol. 2 (ed. Gardner, Alcock & Funk 2014)
KAB	<i>The Kellis Agricultural Account Book</i> (ed. Bagnall 1997)
KLT I	<i>Kellis Literary Texts</i> , vol. 1 (ed. Gardner 1996)
KLT II	<i>Kellis Literary Texts</i> , vol. 2 (ed. Gardner 2007)
Okell.	O. Kellis: numbering for the Kellis ostraca
PKC/Gr./S.	P. Kellis Coptic/Greek/Syriac: numbering for Kellis papyri
TKC/Gr./S.	T. Kellis Coptic/Greek/Syriac: numbering for Kellis tablets

Manichaean texts

1 Ke	<i>Kephalaia</i> vol. 1: The Kephalaia of the Teacher (eds. Polotsky and Böhlig 1940 / Böhlig 1966 / Gardner 1995 / Funk 1999, 2000)
2 Ps	<i>Psalm-Book</i> , part 2 (ed. Allberry 1938)
Hom	<i>Homilies</i> (ed. Pedersen 2006)
Keph	Kephalaion (chapter numbers in 1 Ke)
SGW	<i>The Sermon on the Great War</i> (Hom. 7.8–42.8)
CMC	<i>Cologne Mani Codex</i> (eds. Koenen and Römer 1988)

Writings of Augustine

<i>C. Faust.</i>	<i>Contra Faustum Manichaeum</i> (ed. Teske 2007)
<i>C. Fort.</i>	<i>Contra Fortunatum Manichaeum disputatio</i> (in ed. Teske 2006)
<i>De mor.</i>	<i>De moribus ecclesiae Catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum</i> (in ed. Teske 2006)

Other abbreviations

Crum Crum, Walter E. 1939 (ed. 2000). *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

MP Middle-Persian language

Pa Parthian language

A note on translations

All the English translations of Kellis papyri used in this study, both Coptic (P. Kell. Copt. / pkc.) and Greek (P. Kell. Gr. / pkgr.), are those published in the first editions, unless otherwise stated. For Coptic documentary texts, this means the two volumes of Iain Gardner, Anthony Alcock, and Wolf-Peter Funk (*CDT I–II*), and for the Greek documentary texts, the publications of Klaas A. Worp (*P. Kell. Gr. I*) and of Roger S. Bagnall (*KAB*). For literary texts from Kellis, both in Coptic and Greek, this means the two volumes of Gardner (*KLT I–II*). Longer excerpts from the Kellis papyri are cited together with the Greek or Coptic text as given in the same volumes. Furthermore, all translations of the Berlin *Kephalaia* are taken from the publications of Gardner (1995: for the Coptic text I have consulted Polotsky/Böhlig 1940) and Funk (1999, 2000), unless otherwise stated. Translations of other Medinet Madi texts are drawn from Allberry (for the *Psalms-Book*) and Pedersen (for the *Homilies*). Coptic names are generally given in their Greek forms.

Chapter 1: Introduction

ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲛⲧⲁⲫⲓⲭⲏ ⲛⲏ ⲡⲁⲡⲏⲁ ⲡⲟⲛⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥϣⲏⲛ ⲡⲛⲉⲗ[ⲟ]ⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲓⲧ ⲛⲡⲓⲛⲟϥ ⲛⲓ[ⲟϥ]ⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲡⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲗⲕ
 ϣⲏ ⲣⲟⲓ ⲡⲁⲥⲁⲛ ⲛⲛⲉⲣⲓⲧ ϣⲟⲣ ⲁⲛⲁⲕ ⲟⲣⲓⲟⲛ ϣⲏ ⲡⲁⲭⲁⲓⲥ ⲡⲓⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲭⲁⲓ[ⲣⲉ]ⲓⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲣⲉⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲱⲡⲓ[ⲉ] ⲛⲏⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲣⲓⲭⲓ/
 ⲧⲉⲕⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲛ ⲛⲣⲟϥ[ⲟ ⲛⲣ]ⲟϥⲟ ϣⲉ ϣⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲛⲉⲕⲟϥϣⲉⲓⲧ[ⲉ] ... ⲟⲩ[ⲛ]ⲉ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲧⲣⲛⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲧⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲗⲉⲕ[ⲧ]ⲟⲥ ⲛⲏ
 ⲛⲕⲁⲟⲛⲕⲟϥⲛⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲟϥⲉ ⲡⲟϥⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲉϥⲣⲉⲛ

To my brother, my master; the loved one of my soul and my spirit. The child of righteousness, the good limb of the Light Mind. The name which is sweet in my mouth, my beloved brother Hor. It is I, Horion; in the Lord God, – greetings. There is no measuring the joy that came to me when I received your letter; all the more, for I learned about your health. ... Greet warmly for me they who give you rest, the elect and the catechumens, each one by name.¹

These lines constitute the beginning and end of a letter, written in a dialect of the Coptic (Egyptian) language on papyrus, in the middle of the fourth century CE.² The letter would not have been known today had it not been discovered at Ismant el-Kharab, now a sand-covered ruin in the Western Oasis of Egypt, once a prosperous village called Kellis. The two men, Horion and Horos, were until-recently unknown individuals, and the letter-content is not particularly striking, but concerns a purchase of wheat and oil. Yet Horion's greetings make us pause. What does he mean by 'limb of the Light Mind' and 'child of righteousness'? What does the division between *elect* and *catechumen* entail? How did he come to employ such terms?

The answers to these questions are of considerable importance for our understanding of a lost 'world religion', a movement known as Manichaeism, with which Horion was affiliated. It arrived in Egypt in the late third century, at a time of heightened religious competition. Temples of the Egyptian gods faced the growing influence of Christian groups, one of which would win the backing of Roman emperors from 314 onwards, and the Manichaeans formed another group vying for followers and influence. Scholarly opinion has differed as to the degree of organisation and distinct identity maintained by the people we today label 'Manichaean'. I propose to approach this issue by exploring the social network of Horion and his associates, and religious practice within their network, as gleaned from the papyri. The primary question of this study is: what was 'Manichaeism' to Horion, Horos, and the other 'limbs of the Light Mind'?

¹ P. Kell. Copt. 15, ll.1–30 (abbreviated), trans. Iain Gardner, Anthony Alcock, and Wolf-Peter Funk, eds., *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis vol. 1 (P. Kell. V Copt. 10–52, O. Kell. Copt. 1–2)* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1999).

² Unless specified, all dates in this study are CE.

However, religious activity cannot be seen in isolation from other social activities. Manichaeism hymns and prayers were found at Kellis in a single, probably domestic, housing block known as House 1–3. The finds also consisted of a wide array of mundane documents: petitions to the Roman government, economic accounts and contracts, and private communications, like the letters of Horion. The villagers to whom they belonged were not only – or even primarily – ‘Manichaeans’. They were children and spouses, weavers and traders, patrons and clients, Romans, Egyptians, and/or Kellites. Although the object of investigation is ‘Manichaeism’, the study approaches it from the ground-up perspective of these villagers, and so must make sense of their everyday relations and activities. Only by properly situating religious practices within the nexus of their everyday concerns – their social world – can we begin to apprehend Manichaeism as a social phenomenon within the Roman Empire.

1.1 Mani and his Church

Before turning to previous scholarly appraisals of Manichaeism social organisation a short presentation of the tradition and its canonical organisation is in order. Our understanding is far from complete, despite a growing body of scholarly works,³ but some features of its history and beliefs are well-documented by a variety of sources. These range from polemical depictions by opponents in the Roman, Abbasid, and Tang empires, to the Manichaeans’ own writings found in North Africa and western China.

Manichaeism emerged in Mesopotamia in the mid-third century. Its founder was Mani (ca. 216–277), a Syriac-speaking subject of the Sasanian Empire, who grew up in the Jewish-Christian ‘baptist’ sect of a prophet named Elchasai.⁴ In his 13th year Mani received the first in a series of divine revelations brought by his heavenly Twin; in his 25th year, around 240,

³ For general overviews, see Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the later Roman Empire and Medieval China* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); and Michel Tardieu, *Manichaeism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008)., both originally published in the 1980s. A more recent introduction is found in Nicholas J. Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism: An ancient faith rediscovered* (London: Continuum International Publishing, 2011). For an already somewhat dated survey of work in the field, see Andrew Wearing, ‘Manichaeism in the 21st Century’, in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on the Sacred*, ed. Frances di Lauro (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2006).

⁴ For a dissenting view, maintaining a distinction between the Jewish-Christian ‘baptists’ and Elchasai, cf. Gerard P. Luttikhuisen, ‘The baptists of Mani’s youth and the Elchasaites’, in *Gnostic Revisions of Genesis Stories and Early Jesus Traditions*, ed. Gerard P. Luttikhuisen (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

another revelation caused him to leave the baptists. Two years later he secured a meeting with the Sasanian king, Shapur I and gained permission to preach a new faith.⁵ The next 35 years saw him travelling extensively, preaching and administering to a growing community of followers in the Sasanian Empire and beyond, until 277, when the then-reigning king Bahram II had Mani chained. He died – according to the community’s traditions – after 26 days of imprisonment and torture.⁶ Persecutions followed, but his disciples had spread widely, and Egypt was already established as one of their first centres in the Roman Empire.

Mani’s revelations shaped the movement. His Twin had presented him with a dualistic vision of the world: here raged a war between two opposing ‘substances’ or ‘natures’, also depicted as ‘realms’: Light and Darkness. Later Manichaean discourse often presented this battle in a tripartite mythic scheme referred to as ‘the three times’:⁷

- 1) The original equilibrium between the two realms. God ruled a harmonious realm of Light, the King of Darkness a chaotic realm of demons and Matter.
- 2) The attack by the demons of Darkness on the realm of Light. In defence God emanated divinities resulting in the First Man, who went out to battle the demons and the two substances, Light and Matter, became mixed. The divinities and other minor gods created the world as a vehicle for separating Light from Matter, but surviving demons responded by creating humans and other prisons. The struggle

⁵ The extent of Shapur’s help is unclear, but that some kind of meeting took place is well-documented. See now Paul C. Dilley, ‘Mani’s wisdom at the court of the Persian kings’, in *Mani at the Court of the Persian King: studies on the Chester Beatty Kephalaia Codex*, ed. Jason D. BeDuhn, Iain Gardner, and Paul Dilley (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 39–41.

⁶ Scholarly debate has surrounded the year of his death, which had to be calculated from the date solemnised by the Manichaean church. They claimed to preserve the exact time of death: the eleventh hour, Monday, 4th Adar, for which the year 274 was also a possibility. The year 277 (with a date corresponding to Monday 26th February by our calendar) seems now to be supported by the Dublin *Kephalaia*; see Iain Gardner, ‘Mani’s last days’, in *Mani at the Court of the Persian King: studies on the Chester Beatty Kephalaia Codex*, ed. Iain Gardner, Jason D. BeDuhn, and Paul Dilley (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 203–5.

⁷ See Iris Colditz, ‘The abstract of a religion or: what is Manichaeism?’, in *Mani in Dublin: Selected Papers from the Seventh International Conference of the International Association of Manichaean Studies in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, 8–12 September 2009*, ed. S. G. Richter, C. Horton, and K. Ohlhafer (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015).

continues as Light divinities seek to awaken the souls who have forgotten their origins, separated and bound in the bodies of humans, animals, plants, and soil.⁸

- 3) The struggle will in the end bring decisive victory for the powers of Light: the salvation of the imprisoned Light-souls, a final separation of the two substances, and a final imprisonment of all the creatures of Darkness.

Revelations were not the only source of Mani's religious authority. He and his associates found evidence for this understanding in Christian, Jewish, Mazdayasnan, and Indian (Jain and/or Buddhist) traditions, among others. In the course of his life he presented this evolving body of teachings in books, traditionally numbered seven, containing accounts of his experiences, myths, parables, theological arguments, liturgical and pastoral material, and even paintings.⁹

The community he built had a basic twofold structure: it was divided into an ascetic elite, 'the righteous' or 'the chosen ones' (Elect), and lay-followers, 'catechumens' or 'hearers' (Auditors).¹⁰ The Elect performed 'the work of the religion', committing to rituals and ascetic discipline that enabled them to save Light.¹¹ They were to abstain from eating meat, drinking alcohol, and owning property or more food and clothes than necessary for a day. They should not harm living beings that contain Light (including by tilling soil or picking fruit), indulge in harmful passions such as greed and sexual intercourse, or speak blasphemies or falsehoods. Instead, they were to fast, preach, sing hymns, offer weekly confessions, and read and copy scripture. In this way, their souls separated from Matter, and they became capable of freeing Light. Once a day (except on fast days) they consumed a vegetarian meal through which they purified Light, freeing it from the cycle of rebirth that kept it imprisoned in Matter.¹² A hierarchy of 12 Teachers, 72 bishops, and presbyters, all presided over by a single leader

⁸ It should be emphasized that the Manichaean notion of 'Light-souls' does not correspond to the western, Christian (or Neo-Platonic) notion of invisible souls. Light is a visible, physical substance, found for instance in the divine 'Light-givers', the sun and the moon.

⁹ None have been preserved in their entirety. For current scholarship on the writings of Mani, see Gregor Wurst, 'L'état de la recherche sur le canon manichéen', in *Le canon du Nouveau Testament: regards nouveaux sur l'histoire de sa formation*, ed. Gabriella Aragione, Eric Junod, and Enrico Norelli (Genève: Labor et Fides, 2005).

¹⁰ I here follow BeDuhn's usage of the Latin terms 'Auditor' and 'Elect'. For other terms, see Jason D. BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body: in discipline and ritual* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 25–30.

¹¹ The main rules governing the Elect regime were variously called the 'three seals' or 'five commandments'. For an overview, see Nicholas Sims-Williams, 'The Manichaean commandments: a survey of the sources', in *Papers in honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, ed. A. D. H. Bivar (Leiden: Brill, 1985); BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 33–53.

¹² See in particular BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 163–87.

(*arkhēgos*), the ‘heir’ of Mani, were to manage community affairs. At the same time, they were to travel ceaselessly, and not take up residence at a single place for too long, living a life of ‘blessed poverty’. The majority of adherents, the Auditors, received duties and commandments in accordance with their abilities, and participated in communal rituals. However, their most important task was to assist the Elect with clothes, recruits, and other necessities. In particular, they were to shelter the wandering Elect in their homes and provide them with their daily meal. As a consequence, the Auditors themselves got to take part in the liberation of Light, bringing them closer to their future salvation.

This is what may be termed the canonical, ecclesiastical depiction of the Manichaean organisation or ‘Church’, found in scholarly works and based on details drawn from a wide variety of sources. The degree to which it corresponded to the actual beliefs and practices of concrete groups of adherents, in specific localities and at specific times such as fourth-century Kellis, remains as we shall see a matter of debate.

1.2 Status quaestionis

1.2.1 Social organisation

It seems fair to say that the social dimension of the Manichaean Church has not received much attention, at least not until the last few decades. One reason is that the sources for such an undertaking have long been inadequate. Various writings dealing with the movement by St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430), an erstwhile adherent of Mani and later a merciless critic, were available to early scholars and provided some material for socio-historical investigation, but had to be filtered through his polemical agenda. Manichaean texts with which to compare Augustine’s remarks only appeared in the 20th century. These texts, too, presented problems, as they were for the most part doctrinal or liturgical in character, and only indirectly (or normatively) concerned with social practice. Scholarship has been preoccupied with editing these texts, most of which were badly damaged. When engaged with historical analysis, scholars have been more concerned with Mani and his role in the ‘history of religions’, i.e. his formative influences and impact, or with reconstructing his mythological system, than with the social practices of his later adherents.

One feature that early scholars did stress was its ‘primitiveness’ in terms of social institutions. So, for instance, the German scholar Gustav Flügel stated:

Nun aber hatten die Manichäer nach der allgemeinen Annahme in Übereinstimmung mit den alten Nachrichten keine Tempel, keine Altäre, keine Statuen oder Bilder, brachten keine Opfer dar, deren Stelle das einfache reine Gebet, der Hauptteil ihres Gottesdienstes vertrat, und liessen keinen Weihrauch aufsteigen.¹³

The Elect discipline, entailing an itinerant and ascetic life, was seen as ruling out features such as temples, altars, and organised ritual. However, this also had to be reconciled with known institutionalised features of the Church, such as the hierarchy of officials. With the discovery of Manichaean remains in the Turfan Basin in the early 20th century, scholars were faced with evidence for a state-supported Manichaean organisation, in possession of ‘monasteries’, ritual proscriptions, strict regulations, and steady income.¹⁴

These two aspects of Manichaean social organisation have continued to co-exist side-by-side in the scholarly literature. At times, synthetic presentations have tended to smooth over contradictions or difficulties in the sources. Most scholars, however, agree that western Manichaeism followed a very different trajectory from that of the Church in Turfan. To a certain degree this was seen as deriving from the early Manichaean tradition itself, which had emphasised a more charismatic mode of life than the later Church. It was argued that monasteries, such as those found in Turfan, were features that Manichaeism picked up in a later period, after Mani and the movement’s early spread.¹⁵ Furthermore, in keeping with a view of Manichaeism as a ‘gnostic’ faith that attributed salvation to revealed knowledge

¹³ Gustav Flügel, *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Manichäismus* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1862), 324–25. See also Ferdinand C. Baur, *Das manichäische Religionssystem nach den Quellen neu untersucht und entwickelt* (Tübingen: S. F. Osiander, 1831), 351.

¹⁴ For some presentations of Manichaeism and Manichaean texts based from Central Asia, see Jes P. Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature* (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1975); Takao Moriyasu, *World history reconsidered through the eyes of the Silk Road: Four lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003*, Osaka University: The 21st Century COE Program. Interface Humanities Research Activities 2002–2003 (Osaka: Osaka University, 2003); Takao Moriyasu, *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstrasse*, trans. Christian Steineck (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004); Tardieu, *Manichaeism*, 57–74; Claudia Leurini, *The Manichaean Church: An essay mainly based on the texts from Central Asia* (Rome: Scienze e lettere, 2013).

¹⁵ Flügel, writing before the Turfan finds, took the occurrence of Manichaean ‘churches’ in the seventh century (featured in the account of al-Nadim, see section 1.4) to indicate a Christian influence, and departure from the original teachings of Mani. Flügel, *Mani*, 324–26. Later, Asmussen argued that Buddhism influenced the creation of Manichaean monasteries. Jes P. Asmussen, *Xuāstvánift: Studies in Manichaeism* (Copenhagen: Prostant Apud Munksgaard, 1965), 260 n.14. In contrast, see Henri-Charles Puech, *Sur le manichéisme et autres essais* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979), 255; Guy G. Stroumsa, ‘The Manichaean challenge to Egyptian monasticism’, in *Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, ed. James E. Goehring and Birger A. Pearson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986).

(*gnōsis*), some argued that the Manichaeans put little emphasis on or even rejected ritual practice,¹⁶ making institutional organisation less important. The concept of Gnosticism has been problematised and its relevance for understanding Manichaeism has lessened.¹⁷ However, more attention has been paid to the impact of local diversity on Manichaean groups, which is often contrasted to a high degree of institutional organisation. In particular, it has been argued that Roman Manichaeism was characterised by being weakly institutionalised – even leading to the claim that ‘the Manichaeans [of the west] did not share the view with the Christians that the church should be an institution.’¹⁸ In particular, scholars of Augustine and (Latin) North African Manichaeism came to champion a conception of the Church as a diverse and locally autonomous movement. François Decret have been among the leading authorities to emphasise local diversity. Decret argued that Manichaeans in the Latin west rejected the type of clerical authority that Augustine later came to embrace as a Catholic,¹⁹ and that the Manichaean Church as an organisation was rather distant in North Africa.²⁰ Decret’s views led to a spirited exchange with another prominent French scholar, Michel Tardieu,²¹ but also received much support, and several scholars have since taken diversity as a starting point for investigating North African Manichaeism.²² Among those most concerned with diversity within the movement is Richard Lim. In an article from 1989 he criticised the way scholars uncritically have reproduced ‘a consistent and coherent social entity called “Manichaeism”,

¹⁶ For a strong criticism of this perception, see BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 211–22.

¹⁷ See Michael A. Williams, *Rethinking "Gnosticism": an argument for dismantling a dubious category* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

¹⁸ Samuel N. C. Lieu, ‘A lapsed Manichaean’s correspondence with a Confucian official in the Sung Dynasty (1264)’, in *Manichaeism in Central Asia and Medieval China*, ed. Samuel N. C. Lieu (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1998), 104.

¹⁹ François Decret, *L’Afrique manichéenne: IVe–Ve siècles. Étude historique et doctrinale* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1978), 267–68.

²⁰ François Decret, ‘Le manichéisme présentait-il en Afrique et à Rome des particularismes régionaux distinctifs?’, *Augustinianum* 34, no. 1 (1994): 12ff.

²¹ Michel Tardieu, ‘Vues nouvelles sur le manichéisme africain?’, *Revue d’Etudes Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 25, no. 3–4 (1979); François Decret, ‘Encore le manichéisme’, *Revue d’Etudes Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 26, no. 3–4 (1980). See also the summary provided in J. Kevin Coyle, ‘Characteristics of Manichaeism in Roman Africa’, in *New Light on Manichaeism*, ed. Jason D. BeDuhn (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 149.

²² Daniel McBride, ‘Egyptian Manichaeism’, *Journal for the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 18 (1988); Coyle, ‘Characteristics of Manichaeism’.

together with its attendant system of ideas'.²³ He argued that the Elect disciplinary regime was nonconductive to an effective hierarchy or a church institution, which he maintained could hardly have played an important role in North Africa. The Elect themselves might be better conceived of along the lines of wandering charismatics.²⁴ Instead of assuming a cohesive Manichaean Church, scholars should pay attention to how Manichaean ideas and texts were appropriated by people self-identifying as Christians.²⁵ In a more recent article he has similarly criticised scholars for taking a distinct 'Manichaean' identity for granted, arguing that this self-identification was primarily adopted by philosophically inclined Christians, who took the writings of Mani as an intellectual supplement to their faith.²⁶

The arguments of Lim and other scholars who have warned against taking a 'canonical' Church structure for granted have brought a much-needed call for problematisation and historical sensitivity to the field, in line with other scholarly deconstructions of other heresiological categories as well as the vision of a monolithic early Christian 'Church'.²⁷ However, despite concerns for the Manichaean point of view, the argument is largely based on the writings of Augustine and other polemical sources. Nils A. Pedersen has recently objected that the Manichaean texts themselves give us little reason to think that western Manichaeans were, for instance, philosophically inclined Christians: preserved Manichaean religious material, such as the Medinet Madi codices, are not philosophical treatises, but communal and ritual in character.²⁸ Jason D. BeDuhn's reconstruction of the Elect meal, based on Manichaean sources, has shown a high degree of unity between eastern and western texts,

²³ Richard Lim, 'Unity and diversity among western Manichaeans: A reconsideration of Mani's *sancta ecclesia*', *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 35, no. 2 (1989): 232.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 239.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 243–46.

²⁶ Richard Lim, 'The Nomen Manichaeorum and its uses in Late Antiquity', in *Heresy and Identity in Late Antiquity*, ed. Eduard Iricinschi and Holger M. Zellentin (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 160. See section 1.2.2, below.

²⁷ See, e.g. Keith Hopkins, 'Christian number and its implications', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6, no. 2 (1998): 207; Eduard Iricinschi and Holger M. Zellentin, 'Making selves and marking others: identity and late antique heresiologies', in *Heresy and Identity in Late Antiquity*, ed. Eduard Iricinschi and Holger M. Zellentin (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008); and see the call issued by Éric Rebillard, following the sociologist Rogers Brubaker, to go 'beyond group-ism'; Éric Rebillard, *Christians and their many identities in late antiquity: North Africa, 200–450 CE* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 1–3.

²⁸ Nils A. Pedersen, 'Manichaean exonyms and autonyms (including Augustine's writings)', *Hts Teologiese Studies-Theological Studies* 69, no. 1 (2013), <Go to ISI>://WOS:000318897300034.

in terms of norms and discourses that governed ritual practice.²⁹ Still, these arguments chiefly pertain to the normative discourse of Church authorities. In practice, most lay believers may not have thought of themselves as participating in a distinct religious community, despite attempts of authorities (Manichaeism as well as Christian) to present 'Manichaeism' in this light.

1.2.2 'Manichaeism' and its discontents

In this context the controversial issue of Manichaeism identity, or lack thereof, needs to be reviewed. It has in recent times turned into an issue of scholarly terminology. As Nicholas Baker-Brian has put it, 'arguably the most problematic label in Manichaeism studies continues to be the term "Manichaeism" itself.'³⁰ In one sense, discussion of how to label Manichaeism, and the consequences of labels for how the movement is to be understood, has a long history. It can be traced back to debates such as those between Augustine and the Manichaeism themselves. For Augustine and contemporaneous 'Catholic' Christian leaders, Manichaeism primarily originated as a *haeresis* of their own tradition, a dangerous and novel deviation from the true teachings of the Church, particularly abhorrent for its dualism.³¹ Medieval Christian authorities perpetuated this understanding, employing the term 'Manichaeism' to vilify dualists and other 'heretics' of their time.

Modern scholarly usage of the term is rooted in the religious polemics of early modern Europe. The Huguenot Isaac de Beausobre (1659–1738) is often regarded as the first modern scholar of Manichaeism.³² In his view, Manichaeism and their presumed successors, the

²⁹ BeDuhn, *The Manichaeism body*.

³⁰ Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism*, 23.

³¹ For Roman anti-Manichaeism discourse, see Samuel N. C. Lieu, 'Some themes in later Roman anti-Manichaeism polemics: I', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 68, no. 2 (1986); Samuel N. C. Lieu, 'Some themes in later Roman anti-Manichaeism polemics: II', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 69, no. 1 (1986); Neil Adkin, 'Heretics and Manichees', *Orpheus* 14 (1993); Sarah Stroumsa and Guy G. Stroumsa, 'Aspects of anti-Manichaeism polemics in Late Antiquity and under early Islam', *Harvard Theological Review* 81, no. 01 (1988). For later anti-Manichaeism polemics by Jews and Muslims, see John C. Reeves, 'A Manichaeism "blood libel"?', *ARAM* 16 (2004).

³² Guy G. Stroumsa, 'Isaac de Beausobre revisited: the birth of Manichaeism Studies', in *Studia Manichaica IV. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14–18. Juli 1997*, ed. Roland E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann, and Peter Zieme (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000); see also his *A new science: the discovery of religion in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 113–23.

Cathars and the Valdensians, were ‘heretical’ in a more positive sense: they could in some ways be considered proto-Protestants, groups representing an early strand of Christianity that had been in opposition to – and in turn been vilified by – the authorities of the Catholic Church, much like the French Huguenots themselves.³³ However, with the expansion of the study of religion, more attention was bestowed upon formative influences from other traditions. Baur considered the various sources of the movement, and argued that Iranian and Indian influences were particularly important for Mani.³⁴ The translation of descriptions of Manichaeism by Muslim scholars such as ibn al-Nadim brought his Mesopotamian background to the fore, drawn attention to by for instance Konrad Kessler.³⁵ The discovery of Iranian, Chinese, and Turkic Manichaean texts in the Turfan Basin (in today’s western China) in the early 20th century strengthened the quest for origins outside the Christian sphere, in particular within Iranian traditions. Richard Reitzenstein saw the predominantly Mazdayasnan terminology found in Iranian Manichaean texts as a ‘missing link’, evidence for an Iranian background for the Hellenistic mystery religions, Christianity, and Gnosticism (including Manichaeism).³⁶ Still, the Christian connection was never neglected, as seen in the work of Francis C. Burkitt. He used a newly-recovered Christian polemic by the fourth-century Christian saint, Ephrem of Edessa, to argue a primarily Christian background.³⁷ Ephrem quoted Mani’s writings in his own language, Syriac, making Ephrem’s testimony particularly valuable. Reitzenstein was also criticised by one of his own students, Hans Schaeder. Schaeder drew on a philosophical treatise against the Manichaeans, written by the late-third century philosopher Alexander of Lycopolis, to show the essentially Hellenistic-Christian nature of the movement.³⁸ New Coptic Manichaean texts found at Medinet Madi in Egypt were published in the 1930s, and furnished evidence for a close connection between Manichaeism and

³³ Stroumsa, ‘Isaac de Beausobre’, 604–11.

³⁴ Baur, *Das manichäische Religionsystem*, 416ff; Stroumsa, *A new science*, 123.

³⁵ Konrad Kessler, *Mani. Forschungen über die manichäische Religion* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1976).

³⁶ See Karen L. King, *What is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 84–90; Iain Gardner and Samuel N. C. Lieu, ‘From Narmouthis (Medinet Madi) to Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab): Manichaean documents from Roman Egypt’, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 86 (1996): 147–48.

³⁷ Francis C. Burkitt, *The religion of the Manichees* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925); Gardner and Lieu, ‘From Narmouthis’, 147–48; for Ephrem’s sources, see John C. Reeves, ‘Manichaean citations from the *Prose Refutations of Ephrem*’, in *Emerging from Darkness*, ed. Paul Mirecki and Jason D. BeDuhn (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

³⁸ Gardner and Lieu, ‘From Narmouthis’, 147–48.

Mandaeism.³⁹ The discovery of Christian gnostic texts in Nag Hammadi in 1945 brought insight into the diversity of early Christian traditions, and the Cologne Mani Codex that appeared in 1969 shed new light on Mani's self-conception and life, attesting to his youth among the Jewish-Christian 'Elchasaites'.

In this way, the quest for the origins has been perceived as a window into the nature of Manichaean identity. Today the importance of Christianity to Mani's formative years, as well as to the movement at large, is generally accepted by scholars. It has led to valuable studies of, for instance, Manichaean Bible exegesis, or the treatment of the movement by Christian heresiologists.⁴⁰ It has also led to increased scrutiny of the term 'Manichaeism'. Although Ephrem claimed that Mani had given the movement its name, this is often rejected by scholars.⁴¹ Following up on his analysis of Manichaean organisation, Lim has been one of the most forceful critics of the usage of this term.⁴² He argues that a figure like Secundinius, who used 'Manichaean' as a label of self-identity, is better understood as 'a philosophically inclined Christian who has chosen to follow the superior teachings of Mani'.⁴³ In employing the term 'Manichaean', scholars have been reproducing a label created by Roman church authorities: 'we owe the sense of a distinctive Manichaean identity to the works of catholic/orthodox Christian writers who ... sought to invent the image of an alien Other so as to be able to condemn more efficaciously the specific practices, beliefs and persons.'⁴⁴ By using this label, scholars wrongly construe Manichaeism as a separate religion, obscuring the fact that for most believers it was 'another – indeed more rigorist – way to follow Christ's

³⁹ Geo Widengren, *Mesopotamian elements in Manichaeism* (Uppsala: Lundequistska bokhandeln, 1946). See also Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book: prosody and Mandaean parallels* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri, 1949).

⁴⁰ Nils A. Pedersen, *Demonstrative proof in defence of God: a study of Titus of Bostra's Contra Manichaeos* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004); Jason D. BeDuhn and Paul A. Mirecki, eds., *Frontiers of faith: the Christian encounter with Manichaeism in the Acts of Archelaus* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007); Jacob A. van den Berg, *Biblical Argument in Manichaean Missionary Practice: the case of Adimantus and Augustine* (Boston: Brill, 2009); Alexander Böhlig, Peter Nagel, and Siegfried Richter, *Die Bibel bei den Manichäern und verwandte Studien* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

⁴¹ So for instance J. Kevin Coyle, 'Foreign and insane: labelling Manichaeism in the Roman Empire', *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses* 33, no. 2 (2004): 218.

⁴² Lim, 'Nomen Manichaeorum'.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 147.

teachings.⁴⁵ Similarly, Nicholas Baker-Brian has argued that usage of the term has obscured formative influences (that is, Mani's own Judaeo-Christian background), and perpetuated the 'assumption that Mani's teachings appeared fully formed, systematised and institutionally-implemented from the very earliest days'.⁴⁶

The discontent with 'Manichaeism' as a category has led to recent attempts to discard the term. It is now frequently argued that it is better simply to subsume 'Manichaeism' under the more general category 'Christianity'.⁴⁷ Baker-Brian decided to use the term Manichaeism in his book, but ends his survey of the debate by stating that it might be better thought of as a form of ancient Mesopotamian Christianity.⁴⁸ Alexander Khosroyev has suggested that a description such as 'the high-mythologised syncretistic dualistic Christianity of Mani' might make more sense than 'Manichaeism'.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, there are to my mind good reasons to keep the label 'Manichaean', and to maintain a distinction between the categories 'Christianity' and 'Manichaeism'. I do not, of course, reject the identification of Manichaeans as in some sense Christian, although the history of the term 'Manichaean' is not as clear-cut as it has been made out to be. Heresiologists certainly preferred this label, perhaps to emphasise the foreignness of the movement,⁵⁰ and it is not frequently found, but Manichaeans did not for that reason reject it: it is found as a self-designation in at least two instances,⁵¹ and its usage was promoted by the authors of the Berlin *Kephalaia* in fourth-

⁴⁵ Ibid., 164.

⁴⁶ Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism*, 23.

⁴⁷ See for instance Pedersen, *Demonstrative proof*, 8; Peter van Minnen, review of Grob, Eva Mira, and Andreas Kaplony (eds.), *Documentary Letters from the Middle East: The Evidence in Greek, Coptic, South Arabian, Pehlevi, and Arabic (1st–15th c CE)*, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 46 (2009).

⁴⁸ Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism*, 24.

⁴⁹ 'Also kann man diese religiöse Bewegung als „das hochmythologisiert-synkretistische dualistische Christentum des Mani“ bezeichnen. In solcher Definition scheint mehr Sinn zu sein als im Terminus „Manichäismus“'. Alexander Khosroyev, 'Manichäismus: eine Art persisches Christentum?', in *Inkulturation des Christentums im Sasanidenreich*, ed. Arafa Mustafa, Jürgen Tubach, and G. Sophia Vashalomidze (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2007), 51.

⁵⁰ See for instance Coyle, 'Foreign and insane', 218; Lim, 'Nomen Manichaeorum', 149.

⁵¹ By Augustine's correspondent Secundinius, and on the gravestone of Bassa, found near Salona; for the latter, see Madeleine Scopello, *Femme, gnose et manichéisme: de l'espace mythique au territoire du réel* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005), 293–315. While rare, they cannot for that reason be ignored, especially in light of the evidence of keph. 105 (below), and the likely reconstruction of the term in keph. 115 (1 Ke. 271.15), albeit with a cautionary note (based on the few other instances of the term) of Iain Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: the edited Coptic Manichaean texts in translation with commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 278 n.146. I am not convinced by Lim's attempt to classify such usage of the *nomen Manichaeorum* as designating philosophically

century Egypt, who (in agreement with Ephrem) attributed it to Mani.⁵² Conversely, the term 'Christian' is not widely used among Manichaeans as a self-designation either. As Baker-Brian and Nils A. Pedersen both point out, it is not found in the private letters of Kellis, where the adherents prefer terms such as 'the Holy Church', 'the living race', or even 'limb of the Light Mind'.⁵³

More importantly, I am not convinced that scholarly usage of the term 'Manichaeism' as an etic label causes unreasonable distortion. It does not in itself obscure the formative influence of Christianity on Mani, at least no more or less than the term 'Christian' obscures the Jewish context of early Christianity – which admittedly has led many scholars to replace the term 'Christian' with 'Christ groups' or 'Jesus movement' for the earliest such groups. However, exchanging the term 'Manichaean' for 'Christian' obscures the variety of other influences that contributed to the movement's formation. Mani started out as an enthusiastic 'Christian' (whether 'Elchasaite' or 'Mesopotamian'), and the narratives of Jesus and his disciples, the letters of Paul, Biblical exegesis, and Christian symbols all remained important to his followers. However, by the end of his 30 years of activity his movement had integrated beliefs such as the salvific role of the Elect, the suffering world soul, reincarnation, the periodic incarnation of 'Apostles of Light', and divine roles for the sun and the moon, as well as practices such as daily ritual meals and weekly confession; features consciously adapted from Iranian (Mazdayasnian), Indian (Buddhist, Jain), or other traditions.⁵⁴ I do not think that these

inclined Christians, both for the reason given by Pedersen, and based on arguments from the Kellis evidence, as becomes clear in Chapters 9–11.

⁵² In *keph. 105*, Mani is made to explain why (or in which instances) certain people use the name of 'Christ' to label themselves. Subsequently, he asserts: 'by my good and useful teachings that I have revealed; see, people who love me are called of my name!' (1 Ke. 259.13). A conceptual distinction between 'Christian' and 'Manichaean', and a normative promotion of a label based on Mani's name, is implied, as noted by Alexander Böhlig, 'Christliche Wurzeln in Manichäismus', in *Mysterion und Wahrheit: gesammelte Beiträge zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte*, ed. Alexander Böhlig (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 204–5. Pedersen has rightly cautioned against generalising based on a single passage, but also suggested (in line with recent arguments by Iain Gardner) that the *Kephalaia* may 'represent an attempt to dissociate Manichaeism from Christianity' Pedersen, 'Manichaean exonyms and autonyms (including Augustine's writings)'. 5. If so, this development was clearly taking place already towards the end of the third century, in the Syro-Mesopotamian sphere.

⁵³ Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism*, 17; Pedersen, 'Manichaean exonyms and autonyms (including Augustine's writings)'. See section 9.3.1.

⁵⁴ For the Indian (particularly Jain) background of Manichaean teachings on reincarnation (Gr. *metaggismos*), see Albert Henrichs, "'Thou shalt not kill a tree': Greek, Manichean and Indian tales", *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 16, no. 1–2 (1979): 106; also Iain Gardner, 'Some comments on Mani and Indian religions: according to the Coptic *Kephalaia*', in *Atti, Quinto Congresso Internazionale di Studi sul Manicheismo. Il Manicheismo. Nuove prospettive della ricerca, Napoli, 2-8 Settembre 2001*, ed. A. van Tongerloo and L. Cirillo

were external trappings, as is sometimes argued;⁵⁵ rather, they were part of the movement's core beliefs and practices – elements which, as P. Oktor Skjærvø has formulated it, were 'melted into an alloy in which the constituent elements are no longer separately identifiable.'⁵⁶ Mani's religious authority was an important ingredient in this alloy, and became a contentious issue. Manichaeans in the west had to convince potential Christian converts that their scriptures should be read through the lens of the Manichaean tradition. The virtues of Mani, the authenticity of his revelations, and the validity of his scriptural exegesis played a major role in Christian polemics and (in the case of the latter two) in the debates conducted by Augustine with Manichaean opponents.⁵⁷

However, even if 'Manichaeism' was promoted as a separate religion by Elect authorities, the way it was conceived of among the majority of Auditors, on the level of everyday religious belief and practice, needs closer attention. It is at times argued that the laity did not possess a distinct self-identity, or at least not one strongly linked to a specifically Manichaean identity or belief. Either the Elect withheld parts of Mani's teachings from the laity, or the laity had little interest in them, and so they chiefly considered themselves to be part of one Christian church among others. To put it crudely, while the Elect were 'Manichaeans', the Auditors were 'Christians'. Against this, I argue that the Kellis texts provide evidence for a distinct identity among the laity, and provide insight into how it was sought maintained by way of distinct communal practices. It did not make the Manichaeans in Kellis

(Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); and Max Deeg and Iain Gardner, 'Indian influence on Mani reconsidered: The case of Jainism', *International Journal of Jaina Studies* 5, no. 2 (2009). For Indian roots of the confession ritual, see Jason D. BeDuhn, 'The Manichaean weekly confession ritual', in *Practicing Gnosis: Ritual, magic, theurgy and liturgy in Nag Hammadi, Manichaean and other ancient literature*, ed. April D. DeConick, Gregory Shaw, and John D. Turner (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 274–75; and for the Mazdayasnan affinities of the ritual meal, idem., 'Eucharist or yasna? Antecedents of Manichaean food ritual', in *Studia Manichaica: Proceedings of the IVth International Conference of Manichaean Studies, Berlin 1997*, ed. Ronald E. Emmerick, Werner Sundermann, and Peter Zieme (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000). For shared texts and myths, see Dilley, 'Also schrieb Zarathustra?'; and Jason D. BeDuhn, 'Iranian epic in the Chester Beatty Kephalaia', in *Mani at the Court of the Persian King: studies on the Chester Beatty Kephalaia Codex*, ed. Jason D. BeDuhn, Iain Gardner, and Paul Dilley (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015).

⁵⁵ E.g. Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees*, 14, 41–42, 73–79. Lieu maintained that 'the Zoroastrian and Buddhist elements were acquired in the course of mission and were not fundamental to Manichaeism'. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 53–54.

⁵⁶ Skjærvø, 'Iranian elements in Manichaeism', 264; cited in Timothy Pettipiece, 'A Church to surpass all Churches: Manichaeism as a test case for the Theory of Reception', *La théorie de la réception* 61, no. 2 (2015): 254.

⁵⁷ On the role of religious authority in these debates, see e.g. Eduard Iricinschi, 'Tam pretiosi codices uestri: Hebrew scriptures versus Persian books in Augustine's anti-Manichaean writings', in *Revelation, Literature, and Community in Late Antiquity*, ed. Philippa Townsend and Moulie Vidas (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 168ff.

‘un-Christian’: they embraced Christian terms and texts – as Manichaeans did in other parts of the world. However, I argue that the laity here understood the Christian tradition within parameters established by Mani and his successors.

To return to the issue of terminology, scholars should not adopt heresiological labels without further reflection, or uncritically reify phenomena that their research subjects may not have recognised. However, labels such as ‘Mesopotamian Christianity’ do not capture the complexity of the beliefs, practices, or self-understanding of the movement. Furthermore, using emic labels is not unproblematic. Neither Manichaean categories, such as ‘holy church’ or ‘living race’ (in opposition to ‘sects’ or ‘other churches’), nor heresiological ones, pitting ‘orthodoxy’ against ‘heresy’,⁵⁸ nor modern scholarly ones, dealing in ‘religions’, ‘sects’, and ‘cults’,⁵⁹ are wholly satisfactory to the historian trying to capture these distinctions. A term like ‘Manichaean Christianity’ may be more apt. However, the category of ‘Christianity’ itself should not be taken for granted, and is problematic in the current context. It entails a modern typology that subsumes ‘Manichaeism’ under ‘Christianity’, and in turn contrasts it to, for instance, ‘Buddhism’ or ‘Mazdayanism’. This typology would have been foreign to Mani, who considered his Church just as much heir to the ‘Churches’ of Buddha and Zarathustra as to that of Paul or Christ – and equally opposed to the later incarnations of these groups. As BeDuhn has recently argued, Mani thereby conceptualised his ‘Church’ in a manner that approaches the modern concept of ‘religion’.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ For early Christian developments and the rise of these terms, see Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and heresy in earliest Christianity*, trans. Robert A. Kraft and Gerhard Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971); Alain Le Boullé, *La notion d'hérésie dans la littérature grecque IIe–IIIe siècles* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1985).

⁵⁹ For a recent attempt at delineating these categories (drawing on the tradition of Max Weber), see Rodney Stark and William S. Bainbridge, *The future of religion: secularization, revival, and cult formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 19–33.

⁶⁰ Wilfred C. Smith famously made a landmark contribution to the scholarly deconstruction of an unchanging concept of ‘religion’ with his *The meaning and end of religion. A new approach to the religious traditions of mankind* (New York: Macmillan, 1963). However, he did locate a concept approximating ‘religion’ in Islam, and noted Manichaeism as its likely forerunner (*ibid.*, 98–105.). Similarly, Jonathan Z. Smith noted, in his criticism of the category ‘world religion’, that ‘no typology includes Manichaeism, perhaps the first, self-conscious “world” religion.’ Jonathan Z. Smith, ‘Taxonomies of religion’, *Harvard Theological Review* 89, no. 4 (1996): 396; see also *idem.*, ‘Religion, religions, religious’, in *Critical terms for religious studies*, ed. Mark Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). Brent Nongbri has recently made another important study of the term ‘religion’, see Brent Nongbri, *Before religion: a history of a modern concept* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013). He rejects the case for attributing a notion of ‘religion’ to the Manichaeans, based on the assumption that Mani and his early followers operated with a self-understanding as ‘Christian’ and so fell under the standard category of Christian ‘heresy’, while the later Church changed with the cultural circumstances and so lacked a distinct identity. See *ibid.*, 66–73. Within Manichaean studies, Nils A. Pedersen (*Demonstrative proof*, 8 n.13.) has criticised Hans-

There is, in other words, no contradiction between taking Manichaeans to be strongly Christian, on the one hand, and belonging to a separate entity ('religion') from 'Christianity', on the other. We cannot automatically assume that Mani's dispersed adherents appropriated or maintained such distinctions, or the accompanying beliefs, rituals, and social organisation. However, as I argue in this study, I think this can be shown to be the case for the Kellis community. I have therefore chosen to retain the term 'Manichaeism'.

1.2.3 The study's aim

The aim of the present work is to ascertain to what extent institutionalised Manichaean practices existed among the lay people at Kellis: whether – and if so how – they were part of a Manichaean 'Church'. The papyri from Kellis have generally been taken to show that most lay believers did not consider themselves part of a group with institutions or beliefs very different from those of other Christians. As one recent scholar working with the material wrote, contrasting the Auditors to the Elect, 'The concerns of the mass of believers were necessarily more matter-of-fact, for whom Manichaeism would have been a kind of higher and more effective Christianity.'⁶¹ While the Elect interpreted a specialised literature

Jakob Polotsky for translating *ekklēsia* as 'religion' in the *Kephalaia*, maintaining that since 'religion' is a modern term, 'church' is the only acceptable translation. However, regarding the polymorph nature of Manichaeism emphasised by Nongbri, it must be pointed out that while certain aspects and terms were accommodated to local languages and conceptual frameworks, recent evidence (such as the discovery of the 'daily prayer' at Kellis, see Chapter 10) increasingly points to cross-temporal coherence. The central features remained constant from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Medieval China. Turning to the issue of 'religion', it seems to me that translating *ekklēsia* consistently as 'church', in line with Pedersen's view, is itself problematic, as the Manichaean concept of 'church' does not correspond to the modern one either. 'Church', today, implies a subset of the genus 'Christianity', a family of groups that in turn are contrasted to 'Islam' or 'Buddhism'. This is not how Mani or his disciples saw themselves: they included 'churches' of Zarathustra and Indian sages (like the Buddhas and the Jain kevalins) alongside the 'church' of Jesus, all part of the same family of groups. This has been argued by BeDuhn in his analysis of Manichaean terminology and its relation to the categories employed by their third-century contemporaries. BeDuhn argues that, in presenting his *ekklēsia* as a social group with attendant beliefs and practices, wholly divorced from ideas of the *ethnos*, and while simultaneously contrasting it with (i.e. construing) other *ekklēsiai* on the same model, Mani's categorisational scheme comes close to (one of) the modern usages of the term 'religion'. As such, it constituted the first (known and coherent) attempt at defining the category of 'religion'. See Jason D. BeDuhn, 'Mani and the crystallization of the concept of 'religion' in third century Iran', in *Mani at the Court of the Persian King: Studies on the Chester Beatty Kephalaia Codex*, ed. Iain Gardner, Jason D. BeDuhn, and Paul Dilley (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015); see also Reinhold Gleis and Stefan Reichmuth, 'Religion between Last Judgement, law and faith: Koranic *dīn* and its rendering in Latin translations of the Koran', *Religion* 42, no. 2 (2012): 257–60; and note David Frankfurter, review of *Before religion*, *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 23, no. 4 (2015): 634.

⁶¹ Iain Gardner, *Kellis Literary Texts vol. 1 (P. Kell. II)* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1996), ix–x.

composed by Mani and his followers, lay believers may in general have been unfamiliar with such writings, or conversely read such writings without identifying as part of a distinct group. Furthermore, as Lim and others argued, the Elect may not have been able to combine their itinerant asceticism with the organisation of an effective Church. The traces of Elect–Auditor interaction visible in the Kellis material could be taken to show the workings of a charismatic movement, rather than a Church organisation.

This contribution seeks to challenge this depiction. I argue that the lay Manichaean adherents at Kellis were part of a self-conscious religious community, linked with a Manichaean Church. In order to do so I have sought to engage with the breadth of texts from Kellis, connecting a study of the families in the documentary papyri with one of Manichaean social institutions. A few other studies of Manichaeism have made use of these documentary papyri, but they have not been treated comprehensively on their own terms. Moreover, the last few years have seen the publication of important bodies of text that have added substantially to our knowledge of both social and religious life among people in Kellis. The larger implications of the Kellis papyri for Manichaean social practice have not yet received full treatment, and only limited attention. Only a few years ago Éric Rebillard wrote:

Despite recent attempts (in particular BeDuhn 2000) to reconstruct the practices that identified the Manichaeans, for the historian Manichaeism [sic] remains mainly a body of doctrines, and our sources provide no evidence about the individuals who recognised themselves as members of this sect.⁶²

As I hope to show in this contribution, the Kellis papyri provide abundant evidence for Manichaean individuals and the lives they led, as well as important glimpses into their cultic practice. However, in order for these individuals to speak to us we need to get to know them. The papyri are not only important sources for understanding Manichaeism but provide a wealth of information concerning mundane life in a fourth-century Oasis village in general. The people who used these texts could take much of their implications for granted. The identification of an activity or actor as linked with religious cult is only rarely made explicit. Scholars often have to infer roles such as ‘Elect’ or ‘Auditor’ from the contexts in which they

⁶² Éric Rebillard, ‘Late antique limits of Christianness: North Africa in the age of Augustine’, in *Group identity & religious individuality in late antiquity*, ed. Éric Rebillard and Jörg Rüpke (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2015), 63–64.

occur or their links with other documents, and without a proper appraisal of the general context we run the risk of misinterpreting the implications of the texts.

The first two parts of this study therefore addresses topics not directly related to religious organisation. In the first part I investigate the familial ties and economic life of the owners of the papyri. Through a prosopographic approach and a quantitative analysis drawing on network theory, I seek to identify central actors, their friends, neighbours, business associates, and social superiors, and the relationships that tied these people together in a social network. The second part continues this line of inquiry, tracing the trade activities and social hierarchies within this network. Only in the third and final part do I explore the ties of religion within this network. Building on the first two parts, I look at the size and social composition of the Manichaean laity in Kellis, and the ways they expressed a ‘Manichaean’ self-identity. Finally, I turn to the question of institutionalised Manichaean practice, in particular Elect–Auditor relations. Several questions need to be addressed. How do we identify Elect in the documentary material? How were Auditors expected to provide for the Elect, and what ‘services’ did they receive in return? And can we discern patterns of Elect behaviour? The answers to these questions tell us much about what ‘Manichaeism’ looked like in Kellis – how it was ‘put into practice’, so to speak.

1.3 Theoretical framework

1.3.1 Networks and prosopography

In order to make these different issues manageable I need a set of theoretical tools for apprehending how everyday religious practice is framed by relationships between people, i.e. within social structures. However, social structure is a malleable concept, encompassing various different ways of approaching human interaction. Several intellectual strands of the late 20th century employed the concept of *social networks* in order to escape what they saw as overly rigid structural concepts of earlier thinkers.⁶³ Modern sociology followed this trend,

⁶³ In particular in the philosophical polemic of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. Prominent examples of usage in modern social theory are the actor-network theory (ANT) of Bruno Latour, and the works of Manuel Castell and of Michael Mann.

giving emphasis to the dynamical nature of social networks in how power is asserted or information spreads through inter-personal relations.

An influential sub-field is that of social network theory (SNT).⁶⁴ It provides tools for mapping large quantities of data in terms of networks of interpersonal relations, and for analysing individual authority and positions within these networks. Briefly stated, SNT defines networks as consisting of *nodes* (e.g. people) and *ties* (e.g. friendship), the total number of which forms a network structure.⁶⁵ How resources or information spread ('flow') is analysed in terms of this structure, i.e. the number, directionality, and strength of ties, using concepts such as *density*, *degree*, and *betweenness centrality*. A rough division has emerged between formal and heuristic analysis.⁶⁶ Formal analysis consists in the application of statistical tools to quantify concepts such as density and centrality, providing numerical values that can be used to evaluate the centrality of a given actor within a network, as well as to compare the structures of different networks.⁶⁷ Several studies have applied statistical analysis to historical material.⁶⁸ For the ancient world, Elizabeth A. Clark applied concepts of network density and distance to the literary sources relating to the late-fourth century Origenist controversy, arguing that the social networks of the participants were more important for the outcome than were theological niceties.⁶⁹ More immediately relevant for the present context is Giovanni Ruffini's study of village and city elites in late antique Egypt, based on the documentary papyri from Aphrodito and Oxyrhynchus.⁷⁰ By mapping the relations between people in the documentary papyri from Kellis we gain a sense of the scale of the House 1–3

⁶⁴ This field grew out of the above-mentioned strands of social theory, but also brought together various other intellectual strands, including graph theory, sociometry, anthropology, and micro-sociology. See Stephen P. Borgatti et al., 'Network analysis in the social sciences', *Science* 323, no. 5916 (2009).

⁶⁵ For basic definitions of these and other concepts, see Stanley Wasserman and Katherine Faust, *Social Network Analysis: methods and applications* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 17–21.

⁶⁶ See Håkon F. Teigen and Eivind H. Seland, 'Introduction', in *Sinews of Empire: Networks in the Roman Near East and beyond*, ed. Håkon F. Teigen and Eivind H. Seland (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2017).

⁶⁷ See Wasserman and Faust, *Social Network Analysis*.

⁶⁸ See in particular Christopher K. Ansell and John Padgett's study of the political strategy of the Medicis. Christopher K. Ansell and John Padgett, 'Robust action and the rise of the Medici, 1400–1434', *American Journal of Sociology* 98, no. 6 (1993).

⁶⁹ Elizabeth A. Clark, 'Elite networks and heresy accusations: Towards a social description of the Origenist controversy', *Semeia* 56 (1992).

⁷⁰ Giovanni Ruffini, *Social networks in Byzantine Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

families' network and the various contexts in which we find Manichaeans. The papyri lack consistent information on certain aspects (e.g. occupation) necessary for an attribute analysis. Network analysis gives us tools to analyse the role of groups or individuals in terms of their position within the set of relations instead. Chapters 3 and 4 presents a prosopography of the central familial groups of the House 1–3 material and the ties between them, the results of which are integrated into an analysis of the entire network in Chapter 5.

However, there are also uncertainties involved in this approach. Prosopographic challenges make the results of statistical calculations uncertain: individuals have to be charted across several documents where identification is often made difficult by the recurrence of certain names, frequent absence of patronymics, and the lacunose state of many documents. Furthermore, data pertaining to the Elect is sparse: their organisation cannot be analysed purely in quantitative terms. Mapping village relations provides a starting point for probing the network of the Kellis Manichaeans, but cannot tell us all we want to know about social hierarchies or Elect–Auditor relations. Other sociological tools have to be considered.

The sociology of ancient religious movements has grown vast in the last few decades, especially since the works of Wayne Meeks and others on early Christianity in the 1970s and 80s, providing a large body of models and comparative material for understanding ancient religions as social phenomena.⁷¹ Networks have become a standard part of the repertoire, and researchers often draw on network concepts – such as Mark Granovetter's 'strength of weak ties' – in order to explain patterns in the sources.⁷² Catherine Hezser applied such concepts to the Rabbinic movement in antiquity, arguing the informal nature of the Rabbis' network.⁷³ The sociologist Rodney Stark argued that the primary vehicle for the dissemination of Christianity

⁷¹ E.g. Gerd Theissen, *Sociology of early Palestinian Christianity*, 1st American ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978); Wayne A. Meeks, *The first urban Christians: the social world of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983). See also Philip A. Harland, *Associations, synagogues, and congregations: claiming a place in ancient Mediterranean society* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003); Richard S. Ascough, 'What are they now saying about Christ groups and associations?', *Currents in Biblical Research* 13, no. 2 (2015).

⁷² An argument for the importance of peripheral ('weak') contacts for the flow of information in a network Mark Granovetter, 'The strength of weak ties', *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (1973); Mark Granovetter, 'The strength of weak ties: a network theory revisited', *Sociological Theory* 1 (1983). For surveys of such approaches, see Greg Woolf, 'Only connect? Network analysis and religious change in the Roman World', *Hélade* 2, no. 2 (2016); and Ruffini, *Social networks*, 14–19.

⁷³ Catherine Hezser, *The social structure of the Rabbinic movement in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997).

were ties of friends and family, with conversion consisting primarily in conforming to the beliefs of one's social peers and intimates.⁷⁴ More recently, scholars have drawn on fields such as complexity theory. Irad Malkin has examined the emergence of a shared Greek identity, and Anna Collar the spread of late antique religious movements, both using concepts such as *preferential attachment* and *information cascades* to explain cultural dissemination within ancient social networks.⁷⁵

These frameworks provide heuristic models for group dynamics. However, there is a risk of overestimating the explanatory force of network theoretical concepts. Simply recasting old arguments or hypotheses in network terms does not in itself constitute proof. There is also a stronger criticism: while social networks facilitate and affect the spread of religious ideas and practices, the latter cannot simply be reduced to 'contents' that flow effortlessly through networks. As Greg Woolf has pointed out, in tracing religious change we need to take account of how it in turn affect social relations, such as the 'socialisation into new groups, apprenticeships in worship, the observance of new rules of behaviour, the acquisition of new habits.'⁷⁶ Cultural notions actively influence patterns of behaviour and affect the way religious authority and practice is shaped,⁷⁷ in turn affecting the way networks develop.⁷⁸ Network theory remains a useful tool for mapping how 'religion' flows through everyday social relations, but we also need to examine what characterises these relations, and how groups and individuals adapt or reproduce them for their own ends.

⁷⁴ Rodney Stark, *The rise of Christianity: a sociologist reconsiders history* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

⁷⁵ Irad Malkin, *A small Greek world: networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*, *Greeks overseas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 38–40; Anna Collar, *Religious networks in the Roman Empire: the spread of new ideas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁷⁶ Woolf, 'Only connect?', 54.

⁷⁷ Exemplified by the emergence of 'holy men' in late antiquity. Peter Brown, 'The rise and function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971); Claudia Rapp, *Holy bishops in late antiquity: the nature of Christian leadership in an age of transition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

⁷⁸ Interaction does for instance not only lead to dissemination or homogenisation, but can reinforce or even solidify group boundaries. See Fredrik Barth, 'Ethnic groups and boundaries', in *Ethnic groups and boundaries. The social organization of culture difference*, ed. Fredrik Barth (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969). For a strong critique of this aspect of network theory, see Mustafa Emirbayer and Jeff Goodwin, 'Network analysis, culture, and the problem of agency', *American Journal of Sociology* 99, no. 6 (1994). See also Woolf, 'Only connect?'.

1.3.2 Symbolic interactionism and institutions

This brings me to the other theoretical tradition I draw on in this study, that of symbolic interactionism. This tradition provides concepts that can be used in order to analyse individual identity as well as communal institutions. Networks are processes, not things, and must be reproduced through sustained or repeated interaction between people. Communities – and religious communities in particular – cannot be reduced to the ‘objective’ ties between people, but are characterised by shared social worlds. These, in turn, are constructed by way of certain *symbols* with which adherents come to terms with the world, and through particular *practices* in which they engage in order to sustain it.

The importance of practice has long been stressed in social and communication theories,⁷⁹ as well as in theories of religion and ritual.⁸⁰ Reproduction of practice and symbols is commonly conceptualised in terms of *institutions*, broadly defined as ‘patterns of interaction that govern and constrain the relationships of individuals’.⁸¹ Institutions are thought to do this through the roles that individuals (‘actors’) adopt, the norms that define these roles, the sanctions that reinforce them, and the justifications that describe and explain them.⁸² Institutions allow individuals to form communities, which enshrine the institutions in symbols – narratives, metaphors, sayings, gestures, etc. – forming a symbolic reservoir that its members recognise and that new members learn in the process of adapting to communal

⁷⁹ Drawing on a range of thinkers, from G. H. Mead, J. L. Austin, and J. Searle (formulated as a historical programme by Q. Skinner), G. Lakoff, M. Foucault, and P. Bourdieu. Recent examples include the symbolic convergence theory (SCT) of E. G. Bormann, the cultural pragmatics of J. Alexander, and the identity-network approach of H. White. Ernest G. Bormann, ‘Fantasy and rhetorical vision: the rhetorical criticism of social reality’, *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 58 (1972); Jeffrey Alexander, ‘Cultural pragmatics: social performance between ritual and strategy’, *Sociological Theory* 22, no. 4 (2004); Harrison C. White, *Identity and control: how social formations emerge*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), see esp. 20–62.

⁸⁰ In the field of religion, e.g. J. Goody, C. Bell, R. F. Campany. See the genealogical work of Manuel A. Vásquez, *More than belief: a materialist theory of religion* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁸¹ This definition is drawn from the neo-institutionalism of Douglass C. North, John J. Wallis, and Weingast R. Barry, *Violence and Social Order: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 15.

⁸² See Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The social construction of reality: a treatise in the sociology of knowledge* (New York; London: Penguin, 1968).

practices.⁸³ By naturalising ('reifying') certain roles and patterns of behaviour, institutions (re)produce their own *social worlds* that can follow communities on the move.⁸⁴

Actors are usually members of several social worlds and communities at once: broad speech communities (i.e. speakers of the same language), for instance, as well as communities of those who share an occupation, or political or religious views. Actors can employ symbols strategically and creatively as what I here term *symbolic cues*.⁸⁵ Symbolic cues are invoked to elicit modes of thought and behaviour among the people who share their symbolic repertoire. Especially competent actors can – and political or religious authorities are often obliged to – weave symbolic cues together into elaborate displays (*symbolic performances*). Examples range from sermons to poetry readings to speeches at political rallies.⁸⁶ Creative appropriation of symbols and practices ensure that the institutions do not remain static over time, especially in the context of geographical spread or shifting political or economic conditions.

In the last three decades concepts of symbolic performance have been brought to bear on ancient sources, including late antique religious texts, as part of the linguistic turn in ancient history. Literary texts consist in elaborate symbolic performances, and offer rich material for this approach, which has also been employed by ancient scholars concerned with the development of religious groups (and especially early Christianity) in antiquity.⁸⁷ Letters, in particular, have much to offer here: many of those preserved from antiquity are highly stylised literary products, constituting performative spaces that can be 'manipulated to script

⁸³ In line with Bourdieu, this may be thought of as instilling *habitus*. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a theory of practice* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 72.

⁸⁴ Berger and Luckmann, *Social construction*, 77; Bourdieu, *Outline*, 164–68.

⁸⁵ This term is drawn from Bormann (Ernest G. Bormann, John F. Cragan, and Donald C. Shields, 'Three decades of developing, grounding and using Symbolic Convergence Theory (SCT)', *Annals of the International Communication Association* 25, no. 1 (2001): 283.), by way of Adam Schor (see below).

⁸⁶ While my examples here are confined to verbal ones, symbolic performances can also include elements such as 'scenery', 'stage props', etc. See Alexander, 'Cultural pragmatics', 544–47.

⁸⁷ An important mark was the establishment of the *Journal of Early Christian Studies* in 1993. For an overview, see Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, theory, text: historians and the linguistic turn* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); for such an analysis of Augustine, see Virginia Burrus, "'In the theatre of this life": the performance of orthodoxy in late antiquity', in *The limits of ancient Christianity: essays in late antique thought and culture in honor of R. A. Markus*, ed. W. Kingshern and M. Vessey (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1999).

a textual identity for oneself and for one's correspondent'.⁸⁸ Thus, letters can provide good vantage points from which to examine the construction of religious identities.

In contrast to literary letters, documentary ones rarely feature elaborate symbolic performances; they are as a rule concerned with economic or private matters. The most common symbolic cues belong to the realm of epistolary conventions shared by most literate Romans. The letters that do feature more specialised religious cues (specific terms, or mythical or textual allusions), remain difficult to place with any degree of certainty. Recent scholarship has worked to gather and analyse religious expressions in late antique papyri, and to clarify categories such as 'Christian' or 'pagan' in the papyri.⁸⁹ Still, such identifications are often fraught with uncertainty. Identifying Manichaean cues is particularly challenging, considering that its adherents shared in the Christian symbolic repertoire.⁹⁰ However, there are signs that the Manichaeans at Kellis shared a particularly Manichaean repertoire of symbolic cues. Furthermore, several Kellis letters are not 'merely' documentary, but contain strong literary aspects as well,⁹¹ showcasing such Manichaean cues in order to promote pious behaviour in service of the community. Evaluating the sincerity of sentiment lies beyond the historian's purview, but calling such letters 'Manichaean' does not seem out of place.⁹² These letters might serve as starting points for a more in-depth analysis of how Manichaean authorities constructed a shared identity for their believers. They could also be employed in analysis of how religious authorities sought to invoke this shared identity in order to mobilise believers. Adam Schor has recently conducted such a study of the fifth-century Nestorian controversy; combining the concept of symbolic cues with network theory in order to analyse the attempts

⁸⁸ J.F. Ebbeler (2001, 167–8), cited in Rebillard, 'Late antique limits', 294.

⁸⁹ Malcolm Choat, *Belief and cult in fourth-century papyri* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); Lincoln H. Blumell, *Lettered Christians: Christians, letters, and late antique Oxyrhynchus* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

⁹⁰ And not only Christian ones; as one recent author puts it, 'Mani appears to have made conscious use of the entire symbolic repertoire available to him.' Richard Foltz, *Religions of Iran: from prehistory to present* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2013), 140 (for his usage of this term, see *ibid.* xii–xiii).

⁹¹ For a problematisation of the division 'literary'/'documentary' (which should be understood as a matter of degree rather than kind), see Hans-Josef Klauck and Daniel P. Bailey, *Ancient letters and the New Testament: a guide to context and exegesis* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 68–70.

⁹² As indeed the editors of CDT I and II have done.

of one of the chief actors, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, to coordinate the political and theological manoeuvring of his fellow Syrian bishops through letters and polemics.⁹³

However, while we are reasonably well-informed about the historical and institutional context of late antique Christian bishops, and the events and institutions that framed Theodoret's writings and usage of symbolic cues, far less is known of the specific contexts for Manichaean authorities in Egypt. An important study of Manichaean ritual practice by BeDuhn has helped to clarify certain norms and rites tied to the ritual meal,⁹⁴ but other norms remain unexplored. Furthermore, how this discourse related to actual social practice needs further consideration. Combined with our lack of knowledge of events to which the writers allude, this makes it difficult to assess the specific ways symbolic cues were intended to work, beyond inscribing and invoking shared identity. Still, the documentary texts do offer some evidence for implicit, shared norms and assumptions related to religious practice. This is the subject of Chapters 10–11, which seek to elucidate institutional religious practices from the letters and economic documents, as well as the remains of Manichaean literary texts. The Manichaean literary texts found at Kellis are for the most part of a liturgical, ritual character, and derive from a textual tradition widely shared (although not necessarily homogenous) between different Manichaean groups, deriving from Manichaean Church authorities. I therefore refer to them here as 'ecclesiastical' texts. In addition to the texts found at Kellis, I draw on other Manichaean ecclesiastical texts, primarily those from the Medinet Madi archive, which stem from a contemporary Egyptian context, and discuss the way norms and institutions visible in the ecclesiastical texts intersect with the religious practices visible in the Kellis documentary texts, in order to clarify institutional practices. While scholars of antiquity usually examine how identity is constructed through the literary texts of church authorities, the Kellis evidence in this way provides a glimpse of the opposite process: how lay people appropriated texts and practices in order to construct a distinct communal identity for themselves.

⁹³ Adam Schor, *Theodoret's People: social networks and religious conflict in Late Roman Syria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

⁹⁴ BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*.

1.4 Sources

The modern study of Manichaeism has been reshaped several times in the last century-and-a-half thanks to textual discoveries, as seen above.⁹⁵ Early studies were dependent on the writings of Augustine and other anti-Manichaean polemics. An Arabic text became an early catalyst for change: ibn al-Nadim's *Fihrist*, a work containing a fairly reliable entry on Manichaeism, was brought to scholarly attention in 1862.⁹⁶ The first discoveries of Manichaean texts were made in the Turfan Basin in the early 1900s.⁹⁷ In the west, Manichaean material in Latin were found in a cave outside Tebessa (Algeria) in 1918. Coptic texts found at Medinet Madi and the Greek Cologne Mani Codex (CMC) provided important new material. Most of these texts seem to pertain to what we may term a Manichaean 'ecclesiastical' tradition (see above). They play an important role in Part III of this study, where they serve as a point of comparison for the Kellis evidence. However, the primary body of source material utilised here is the documentary sources from Kellis.

1.4.1 The finds from Kellis

Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab

The Manichaean papyri from Kellis were first unearthed during the Australian excavations at Ismant el-Kharab ('Ismant the ruined') in the Dakhleh Oasis. Excavations in the Oasis are part of a project initiated in the 1970s; until then these remote sites had received much less attention than the other, more spectacular sites in Egypt. European explorers had first reached the Oasis in 1819 and reported on ruins and rock carvings in the area.⁹⁸ Herbert E. Winlock, who visited in 1908, provided the first comprehensive (European) account of Dakhleh. The ruins of Ismant were also located and described at this time.⁹⁹ Interest in the

⁹⁵ See also Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism*, 24–32.

⁹⁶ By Gustav Flügel, published (posthumously) in 1862. Flügel, *Mani*. See Bayard Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadim: a tenth-century survey of Muslim culture*, vol. II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970).

⁹⁷ Especially texts in the Iranian languages Parthian, Middle Persian, and Sogdian, but also Old Turkic, Khotanese, and Chinese. For a survey, see Lieu, 'Manichaean art and texts'.

⁹⁸ Anna L. Boozer, 'Archaeology on Egypt's edge: archaeological research in the Dakhleh Oasis, 1819–1977', *Ancient West & East* 12 (2013): 121.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 139ff.

Oasis was renewed in the mid-20th century by Ahmed Fakhry, one of the first Egyptian-educated archaeologists, and his work prompted western universities to initiate the Dakhleh Oasis Project. A large-scale archaeological survey followed in 1977, and excavations began in the 1980s. A preliminary historical survey was published by Guy Wagner in 1986.¹⁰⁰ Excavation reports and conferences on Oasis archaeology have since been published in the Dakhleh Oasis Project-series and later in the Oasis Papers-series.¹⁰¹

The Roman-era name of Ismant el-Kharab was still unknown when excavations started in 1986/7. The first excavated domestic unit, the housing block labelled House 1–3, also held rich papyrus deposits of documentary and literary papyri. They showed Ismant to be the site of ancient Kellis, a village previously known only from a few, scattered papyri from the Nile Valley. In 1991, a letter found in the same housing block was found to have had Manichaean authorship. It was subsequently realised that the House 1–3 material included many Manichaean literary texts, and constituted an archive that belonged to a group of Manichaeans active in the Oasis in the mid-fourth century, less than a century after Mani's death.¹⁰² The publication of Kellis papyri – Greek and Coptic, documentary and literary, Manichaean and non-Manichaean – has been ongoing since the mid-90s; the last volume of Coptic documentary texts from House 1–3 appeared in 2014, and the finds from Kellis have increasingly begun to receive attention from scholars of Manichaeism.¹⁰³ Still, no monograph based on the Kellis material has yet been devoted to Manichaeism as social practice in Egypt.

¹⁰⁰ Guy Wagner, *Les Oasis d'Égypte: à l'époque grecque, romaine et byzantine d'après les documents grecs* (Paris: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire, 1987).

¹⁰¹ See Charles S. Churcher and Anthony J. Mills, *Reports from the survey of the Dakhleh Oasis, western desert of Egypt, 1977–1987* (Oxford: Oxbow, 1999). More recently, see Roger S. Bagnall et al., *The Oasis papers 6: proceedings of the sixth International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2012).

¹⁰² Gardner and Lieu, 'From Narmouthis'. The nature of this archive, and the link between material and housing block, will be discussed more thoroughly in section 3.1.

¹⁰³ Studies include *ibid.*; Nikolaos Gonis and Cecilia Römer, 'Ein Lobgesang an den Vater der Grösse in P. Kellis II 94', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 120 (1998); Jean-Daniel Dubois, 'Une lettre manichéenne de Kellis (P. Kell. Copt. 18)', in *Early Christian voices: in texts, traditions, and symbols*, ed. David H. Warren, et al. (Boston; Leiden: Brill, 2003); Jason D. BeDuhn, 'The domestic setting of Manichaean cultic associations in Roman late antiquity', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 10 (2008); Iain Gardner, 'Manichaean ritual practice at ancient Kellis: a new understanding of the meaning and function of the so-called Prayer of the Emanations', in *In Search of Truth: Augustine, Manichaeism and other Gnosticism. Studies for Johannes van Oort at sixty*, ed. Jacob A. van den Berg, et al. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011); Majella Franzmann, 'Augustine's view of Manichaean almsgiving and almsgiving by the Manichaean community at Kellis', 69, no. 1 (2013); Mattias Brand, 'Speech patterns as indicators of religious identities: the Manichaean community in late antique Egypt', in *Sinews of empire: Networks in the Roman Near East and beyond*, ed. Eivind H. Seland and Håkon F. Teigen (Oxford: Oxbow, 2017);

The House 1–3 papyri

Almost all the literary texts pertaining to Manichaeans at Kellis stem from the House 1–3 housing block, located centrally in the village. The texts from this block remains the only substantial textual archive(s) so far uncovered at Kellis. The religious and literary material from House 1–3 include texts in Coptic, Greek, and fragments in Syriac. Most of the literary texts have been edited by Iain Gardner and published in two volumes, in 1997 and 2007.¹⁰⁴ These volumes contained a total of 31 pieces: 20 in Coptic, six in Greek and five in Syriac, Syriac–Coptic, or Syriac–Greek. They include large sections held to stem from the *Epistles* of Mani, Manichaean psalms (several previously known from the finds at Med.Madi), prayers, Biblical texts, magical texts, wordlists – including a Coptic–Syriac list of religious vocabulary – and language exercises.¹⁰⁵ The Manichaean literary texts are examined in Chapter 10.

The documentary evidence forms the main focus in the present study. A first volume of documentary material, all of it from the House 1–3 complex and written in Greek, was published by Klaas A. Worp in 1995.¹⁰⁶ It contained 90 remains of papyrus texts. The texts display a range of genres, including letters, calendars, contracts, receipts, petitions, and the fragments of a prefectural decree (partly in Latin). Two years later, Bagnall published his edition of the Kellis Agricultural Account Book (the KAB).¹⁰⁷ Coptic documentary material has been edited and published by Gardner with Anthony Alcock and Wolf-Peter Funk in two instalments, the second published in 2014.¹⁰⁸ These two volumes contain 118 texts and textual remains, all but ten of which stem from the House 1–3 complex. The Coptic material consists mostly of private letters, but includes accounts, lists, memos, as well as a private contract or

Nicholas J. Baker-Brian, ‘Mass and elite in Late Antique religion: the case of Manichaeism’, in *Mass and elite in the Greek and Roman worlds: From Sparta to late antiquity*, ed. Richard Evans (London: Routledge, 2017).

¹⁰⁴ Gardner, *KLT I*; Iain Gardner, *Kellis Literary Texts vol. 2 (P. Kell. VI)* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007).

¹⁰⁵ The non-religious literary material from House 1–3 includes a codex with two speeches of the Athenian rhetor Isocrates, published in Klaas A. Worp and Albert Rijksbaron, *The Kellis Isocrates Codex (P. Kell. III Gr. 95)* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997).

¹⁰⁶ Klaas A. Worp, ed. *Greek papyri from Kellis vol. 1 (P. Kell. I Gr. 1–94)*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1995).

¹⁰⁷ Roger S. Bagnall, *The Kellis Agricultural Account Book (P. Kell. IV Gr. 96)* (Oxford: Oxbow, 1997).

¹⁰⁸ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*; Iain Gardner, Anthony Alcock, and Wolf-Peter Funk, eds., *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis vol 2 (P. Kell. VII 57–131)* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014).

statement of inheritance (pkc.69). Texts on ostraca from the House 1–3 housing complex were included in Worp’s 2004–publication of Kellis ostraca, while additional material, mostly from other parts of Kellis, has appeared in various articles.¹⁰⁹ The above-listed publications form the basis of the network database utilised in Chapter 5.

1.4.2 Egyptian Manichaean material

To date, the most important group of Coptic Manichaean texts were those found at Medinet Madi (Med.Madi), the current name for a site in the Fayyum in Middle Egypt known as Narmouthis in the Roman era. They provide important evidence for the literary works of the Manichaean ‘ecclesiastical’ tradition, developed by church authorities in the wake of Mani’s death, with which the lay documents from Kellis has often been contrasted. Their relationship to the Kellis material is explored more extensively in Part III, and so a presentation is in order. The Med.Madi find consisted of seven (or so)¹¹⁰ codices, written in Coptic, containing, respectively: Mani’s *Epistles* (the *Epistle* codex), excerpts from Mani’s *Living Gospel* (the *Synaxeis* codex), ‘historical’ (hagiographical) narratives (the *Acts* codex), a group of homilies (the *Homilies* codex), Manichaean psalms (the *Psalm-Book*, one codex in two parts), and two

¹⁰⁹ The papyri I have included are found in: John F. Oates, ‘Sale of a donkey (P.Duke inv. G9)’, *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 25 (1988); John F. Oates and Peter van Minnen, ‘Three Duke University papyri from Kellis’, in *Papyri in Memory of P.J. Sijpesteijn (P.Sijp.)*, ed. Klaas A. Worp and Adriaan J. B. Sirks (Oakville: The American Society of Papyrologists, 2007); T. de Jong and Klaas A. Worp, ‘A Greek horoscope from 373 AD’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 106 (1995); T. de Jong and Klaas A. Worp, ‘More Greek horoscopes from Kellis (Dakhleh Oasis)’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 137 (2001); Roger S. Bagnall and Klaas A. Worp, ‘Two 4th century accounts from Kellis’, in *Papyri in honorem Johannis Bingen octogenarii (P. Bingen)*, ed. Henri Melaerts, Rudolf de Smet, and Cecilia Saerens (Leuven: Peeters, 2000); Colin A. Hope and Klaas A. Worp, ‘A Greek account on a clay tablet from the Dakhleh Oasis’, in *Papyri in honorem Johannis Bingen octogenarii (P. Bingen)*, ed. Henri Melaerts, Rudolf de Smet, and Cecilia Saerens (Leuven: Peeters, 2000); Klaas A. Worp, ‘A new wooden board from the temple at Kellis (with plate XXVI)’, in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Berlin, 13.–19.8 1995*, ed. Bärbel Kramer, et al. (Stuttgart; Leipzig B. G. Teubner, 1997); Klaas A. Worp, ‘Short texts from the Main Temple’, in *Dakhleh Oasis Project: Preliminary reports on the 1994–1995 to 1998–1999 field seasons*, ed. Colin A. Hope; Gillian E. Bowen (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2002); Colin A. Hope and Klaas A. Worp, ‘Dedication inscription from the Main Temple’, in *Dakhleh Oasis Project: Preliminary reports on the 1994–1995 to 1998–1999 field seasons*, ed. Colin A. Hope and Gillian E. Bowen (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2002); Roger S. Bagnall, Colin A. Hope, and Klaas A. Worp, ‘Family papers from second-century A.D. Kellis’, *Chronique d’Égypte* 86, no. 171–172 (2011); Klaas A. Worp, ‘Miscellaneous new Greek papyri from Kellis (P.Gascou 67–88)’, in *Mélanges Jean Gascou: textes et études papyrologiques (P.Gascou)*, ed. Jean-Luc Fournet and Arietta Papaconstantinou (Paris: Collège de France, 2016); Wagner, *Les Oasis d’Égypte*, 327–28.

¹¹⁰ Schmidt mentioned eight, but it has been assumed that one codex was split in two for sale. James M. Robinson, *The Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi* (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2013), 4. See also Gardner, ‘An introduction’, 2 n.2.

codices of 'theology'. Of the latter two, one codex bore the title *Kephalaia of the Teacher* (1 Ke, also called the Berlin *Kephalaia*), the other; *Kephalaia of the Wisdom of My Lord Mani* (2 Ke, called the Dublin *Kephalaia*). All were written in a dialect of Coptic termed L4, associated with Lycopolis, and probably date from ca. 400 CE, although the materials contained within were translations of earlier works in Greek and/or Syriac. The codices were found by local workers around 1929, acquired by European and American buyers in Cairo in 1930–31, and the finds were announced in 1933.¹¹¹ Some codices landed in London (later Dublin), others in Berlin. A few texts were published before the Second World War,¹¹² but not, unfortunately, the *Epistles* or the *Acts*. These had been stored in Berlin, and disappeared in the looting after the war.¹¹³ The remaining codices were in poor conditions, and while the last few decades have seen the publication (and re-editing) of several texts, much remains unpublished even today.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Hans J. Polotsky, Carl Schmidt, and Hugo Ibscher, 'Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten: Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler', *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1933).

¹¹² Hans Jakob Polotsky and Hugo Ibscher, *Manichäische Homilien*, Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A Chester Beatty (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1934); Hans Jakob Polotsky and Alexander Böhlig, *Kephalaia. Lieferung 1–10. Erste Hälfte*, Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1940); Charles R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-book. Part II.*, Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1938).

¹¹³ Schmidt & Polotsky's 1933-publication remains important for its description of these lost texts. For a detailed account of the turbulent history and survey of the remains of the various codices (up until the early 1990s), see Robinson, *Manichaean Codices*.

¹¹⁴ Another fascicle of 1 Ke, based on work mostly completed by 1943, was published in 1966 by Alexander Böhlig, *Kephalaia. Lieferung 11/12. Zweite Hälfte. Vol. 1*, Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1966). The remaining two parts have been only recently translated and published by Wolf-Peter Funk, ed. *Kephalaia. Lieferung 13/14. Zweite Hälfte* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1999); and *Kephalaia. Lieferung 15/16. Zweite Hälfte* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 2000). Facsimile editions of 2 Ke were published by Søren Giversen in the 1980s (see Wolf-Peter Funk, 'Zur Faksimileausgabe der koptischen Manichaica in der Chester-Beatty-Sammlung', *Orientalia* 59, no. 4 (1990).), and its contents considered by Michel Tardieu, 'La diffusion de bouddhisme dans l'empire Kouchan, l'Iran et la Chine, d'après un kephalaion manichéen inédit', *Studia Iranica* 17 (1988). Work on a critical edition is still ongoing, however, with publication of a part of 2 Ke scheduled for April 2018. Remaining leafs of Mani's *Epistles* are being edited by Gardner and Funk, see Iain Gardner, 'Once more on Mani's Epistles and letter-writing', *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 17, no. 2 (2013): 293–94. For recent work on the *Psalm-Book*, see Gregor Wurst, *Liber psalorum. Pars II. Fasc. 1. Die Bêma-Psalmen* Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum: Series Coptica (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996); Siegfried G. Richter, *Liber psalorum. Pars II. Fasc. 2. Die Herakleides-Psalmen* Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum: Series Coptica (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998). For the *Homilies*, see Nils A. Pedersen, *The Manichaean Homilies: With a Number of Hitherto Unpublished Fragments*, Chester Beatty Library (Brepols, 2006). For the *Synaxeis* Codex, see Wolf-Peter Funk, 'Mani's account of other religions according to the Coptic Synaxeis Codex', in *New Light on Manichaeism*, ed. Jason D. BeDuhn (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

Another text of great importance that I occasionally refer to here is a miniature codex containing traditions on the life of Mani, written in Greek. It appeared in Cologne in 1969, and is therefore referred to as the Cologne Mani Codex (CMC). Details surrounding its discovery are hazy, apart from the fact that it was found in Egypt.¹¹⁵ It contains narratives purporting to be written by the early disciples of Mani, concerning his life and missionary journeys.¹¹⁶ Its publication provided new impetus for work on western Manichaeism, and much has been written on Egyptian Manichaeism since the publication of its discovery in 1970.¹¹⁷

1.5 Structure

The study is divided into three main parts. Part I focuses on the social world of the people of House 1–3, in the form of prosopography, social networks, and familial ties. The next chapter, Chapter 2, introduces the Oasis, its geographical and social landscape, as well as the village of Kellis, its layout and socio-economic character in the fourth century, and briefly sketches the spread of Manichaeism in Egypt. Chapter 3 presents the social circles and prominent actors of the papyri from the richest location of finds in Kellis, House 3. Chapter 4 adduces textual material from another part of the housing block, House 2, and situates the House 1–3 circles in relation to other influential villagers. Chapter 5 concludes Part I with a network analysis of material from both House 1–3 and the village at large.

¹¹⁵ Albert Henrichs and Ludwig Koenen, 'Ein griechischer Mani-Codex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 5 (1970); Ludwig Koenen, 'Zur Herkunft des Kölner Mani-Codex', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (1973); Albert Henrichs, 'The Cologne Mani Codex reconsidered', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 83 (1979).

¹¹⁶ A critical edition was published in Ludwig Koenen and Cornelia Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex: Über das Werden seines Leibes. Kritische Edition*. (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1988); with some additional remarks and readings in Cornelia Römer, *Manis frühe Missionsreisen nach der Kölner Manibibliographie: textkritischer Kommentar und Erläuterungen zu p. 121–p.192 des Kölner Mani-Kodex* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994). The 'body' referred to in its title is likely the communal 'Church body', as indicated by a recently deciphered passage from 2 Ke. Iain Gardner, 'The final ten chapters', in *Mani at the court of the Persian King*, ed. Jason D. BeDuhn, Paul Dilley, and Iain Gardner (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 89.

¹¹⁷ E.g. Michel Tardieu, 'Les manichéens en Égypte', *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 94 (1982); Guy G. Stroumsa, 'Monachisme et Marranisme chez les Manichéens d'Égypte', *Numen* 29, no. 2 (1982); Ludwig Koenen, 'Manichäische Mission und Klöster in Ägypten', in *Das Römisch-Byzantinische Ägypten: Akten des internationalen Symposiums 26.–30. September 1978 in Trier.*, ed. Günter Grimm (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1983); J. Vergote, 'L'expansion du Manichéisme en Égypte', in *After Chalcedon: studies in theology and church history*, ed. C. Laga, J. A. Munitiz, and L. van Rompay (Leuven: Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 1985); Stroumsa, 'The Manichaean challenge'; McBride, 'Egyptian Manichaeism'; Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East* (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1994), 61–105.

Part II focuses on the economic activity of the House 1–3 circles. Chapter 6 examines the economic network of House 1–3, how the social circles cooperated and structured their economic interaction. Chapter 7 presents the basic features of production and trade, and the economic resources that their activities conferred. Chapter 8 analyses specific relationships between House 1–3 circles and two important village institutions: a trans-local landed estate, and the village administration. Together, these chapters shed light on the social composition and economic resources of the Manichaean families in Kellis.

Part III turns to religious identity and activity. Chapter 9 builds on the prosopographic work in previous chapters. It looks at the extent of Manichaean presence in the village, and the networks through which Manichaean affiliation spread. Chapter 10 examines the beliefs and rituals reflected in the literary, liturgical texts. Chapter 11 examines how practices played out in the documentary papyri. In particular, it explores the reciprocal relationships between laity and religious authorities in the village. Finally, Chapter 12 offers a concluding discussion of the nature of the organisation that the previous chapters have uncovered.

Part I: The social world of fourth-century Kellis

Chapter 2: Life in Kellis

2.0 Introduction

Understanding the Oasis context of the finds is a key precondition for understanding the villagers themselves, and so we need to start by looking at the characteristics and conditions in the Oasis in the fourth century, its natural environment, population, government, and economic life, and the position of Kellis within the Oasis. These features become important when analysing the prosopographic data from the House 1–3 papyri, as well as for understanding the social conditions for the network. At the end of the chapter, I survey the spread of Manichaeism in Egypt before it reached the Oasis and consider how particular aspects of Oasis society may have impacted its spread here.

2.1 The Dakhleh Oasis

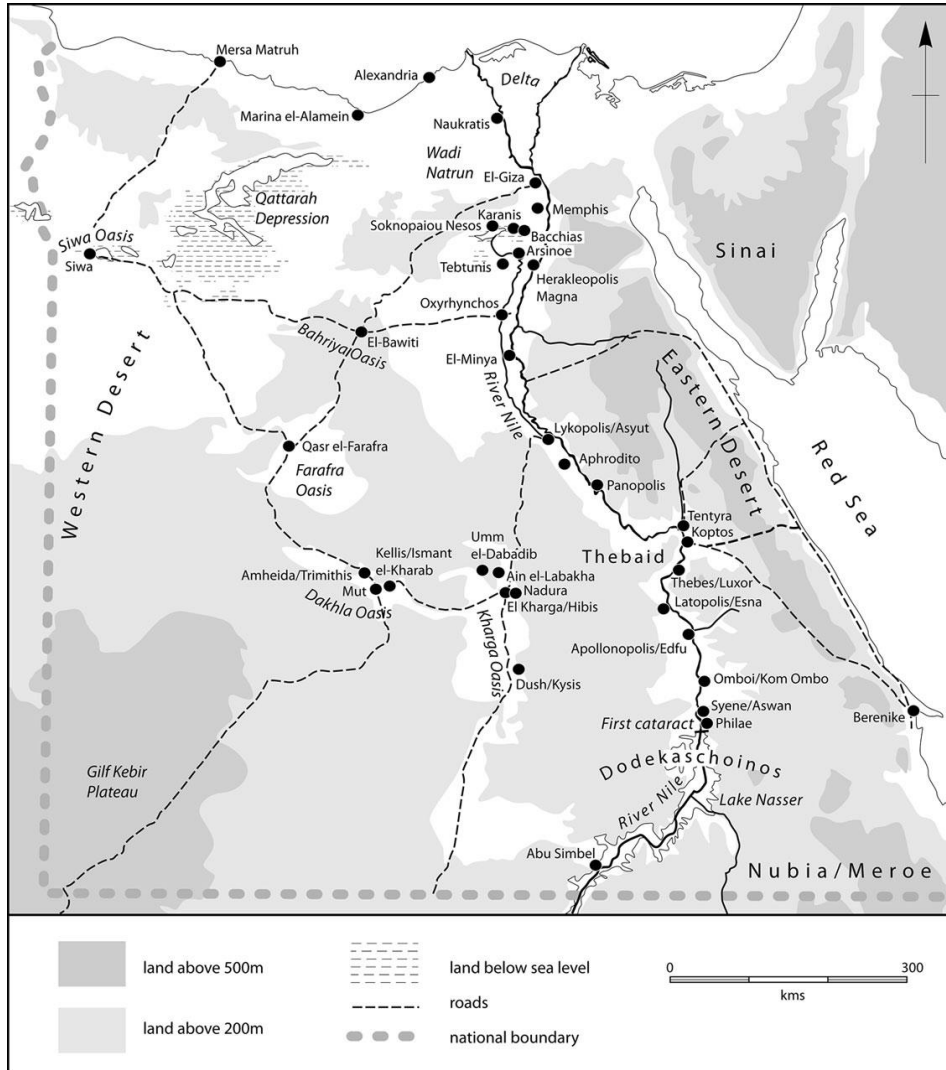


Figure 1: Map of Egypt (credit: M. Matthews, University of Reading)

The Dakhleh Oasis is one of five oases constituting the westernmost, inhabited part of Egypt, surrounded by the Sahara Desert.¹¹⁸ The oases, including Dakhleh, were settled in early pre-dynastic times and have been inhabited continuously since, with various degrees of intensity.

¹¹⁸ The other oases in western Egypt are the Farafra, the Bahariya, the Ammonite (modern Siwa), and Dakhleh's neighbour, Khargeh Oasis.

Evidence from the Old Kingdom period (2575–2137 BCE) indicates an increase in interaction between the Nile Valley and the Dakhleh Oasis.¹¹⁹ However, the classical Roman era (30 BCE–200 CE) seems to have been the peak point of settlement activity here.

2.1.1 Climate, agriculture, and communications

In antiquity, Dakhleh was often grouped together with the neighbouring Oasis, Khargeh, under the umbrella term the ‘Great Oasis’ (*oasis magna*), or simply ‘the Oasis’.¹²⁰ Herodotus referred to the Great Oasis as ‘the island of the blissful’ (III, 26), and it had a reputation for being rich and fertile, as related by Strabo (XVII, 791) and by Olympiodorus of Thebes (*FHG* 4, 64, 33).¹²¹ The latter (*fl.* mid-fifth century CE) is one of few important local (Upper Egyptian) historians of the era, and claimed to have visited the Great Oasis himself. He separated between the ‘outer’ (*exōterō*) and the ‘inner’ (*esōterō*) oasis.¹²² Greek terms which, as Guy Wagner has noted, correspond exactly to the current Arabic terms ‘Khargeh’ and ‘Dakhleh’.¹²³ The reference point for the designations ‘outer’ and ‘inner’ are the desert: Dakhleh is ‘innermost’ towards the desert, furthest from the Nile Valley. While Olympiodorus still saw the Oasis as prosperous, Christian authors of the fourth and fifth centuries such as Gregorius of Nazanzus (*Or.* XXV, 14), Asterios (*Homilia* IV, *Adv. Kalendarium Festum*) and Zosimus (V, 9) held a less rosy view: they emphasised the extreme weather conditions and lack of water.¹²⁴ Whether this reflected deteriorating agricultural conditions since Strabo (and consequently an exaggeration or anachronism of Olympiodorus), or a conflation of oasis and desert by the Christians (and perhaps a desire to stress the suffering of co-believers who were exiled to the

¹¹⁹ Colin A. Hope and Amy J. Pettman, ‘Egyptian connections with Dakhleh Oasis in the early Dynastic Period to Dynasty IV: new data from Mut al-Kharab’, in *The Oasis papers 6: Proceedings of the Sixth International Convergence of the Dakhleh Oasis Project*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall, Paola Davoli, and Colin A. Hope (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2012), 159–62.

¹²⁰ Documents from the Nile Valley do not always distinguish between oases; it can therefore at times be difficult to gauge their intended reference point.

¹²¹ See Wagner, *Les Oasis d'Égypte*, 113–14.

¹²² *Fragmenta*, 33, in *FHG* 4, 65, cited in *ibid.*, 131.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 131 n.6.

¹²⁴ See *ibid.*, 116–19.

Oasis), is difficult to determine.¹²⁵ Recent archaeological excavations have found a change in settlement patterns in the late fourth and fifth century, and the abandonment of some important sites, suggesting that conditions may in fact have deteriorated.¹²⁶

The climate of the Great Oasis is indeed extreme: harsh sunlight, sand-carrying winds (sometimes rising to storms), and long periods of heat relieved only by rare rainstorms.¹²⁷ In such an environment agriculture only blooms under very particular circumstances. As the oases were not dependent on Nile floods, the source of Egypt's prosperity elsewhere, human activity here took on a distinct character vis-à-vis the rest of Egypt.¹²⁸ The Oasis lies just above a large underground aquifer layer. In some places, the groundwater gushes forth in natural springs, but for the most part wells and canals must be constructed to irrigate the land. Oasis settlements grew up around clusters of such wells. According to Olympiodorus these were constructed through communal effort, although right of usage seems to have been strictly regulated, as attested to by the numerous occurrences of well-tags among the ostraca with the formula 'well of [name]'.¹²⁹ The control of wells was an important indicator of power (and thus a contentious issue) already in Pharaonic times.¹³⁰ Bagnall has argued that Oasite society in the Roman era must have been characterised by a smaller segment of independent peasantry than Egypt in general.¹³¹ Only the very wealthy would have had resources to undertake well construction, and so the agricultural sector came to be dominated by a small

¹²⁵ See *ibid.*

¹²⁶ Most notably Trimithis and Kellis itself. Roger S. Bagnall and Olaf Kaper, 'Introduction', in *An Oasis City*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall, et al. (New York: NYU Press, 2015), 23–24. For a tentative explanation, see Roger S. Bagnall and Nicola Aravecchia, 'Economy and society in the Roman Oasis', ed. Roger S. Bagnall, et al., *An Oasis City* (New York: NYU Press, 2015), 188–89.

¹²⁷ Modern-day measurements in Dakhleh have measured rainfall to 0 to 1mm per year. Warm summers can see the temperature remain at over 40°C for long periods, while it can change rapidly in winter, from 0°–2°C in the morning to 20°–25°C by midday. Anna L. Boozer, 'The social impact of trade and migration: The Western Desert in pharaonic and post-pharaonic Egypt', ed. Christina Riggs, *Oxford Handbooks in Archaeology Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 5.

¹²⁸ See Roger S. Bagnall, Paola Davoli, and Olaf E. Kaper, 'Amheida in its surroundings', in *An Oasis City*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall, et al. (New York: NYU Press, 2015).

¹²⁹ Wagner, *Les Oasis d'Égypte*, 280–81. See the large number of well-tags from Trimithis in Roger S. Bagnall and Giovanni Ruffini, *Amheida I: Ostraka from Trimithis. Texts from the 2004–2007 Seasons*. (New York: NYU Press, 2012).

¹³⁰ See e.g. the Setekh-stela. Anthony J. Mills, 'Pharaonic Egyptians in the Dakhleh Oasis', in *Reports from the Survey of the Dakhleh Oasis 1977–1987*, ed. C. S. Churcher and A. J. Mills (Oxbow, 1999), 175–76.

¹³¹ See Bagnall and Aravecchia, 'Economy and society in the Roman Oasis'.

elite of well-to-do landlords (*geoukhoi*) and their households. The introduction of new lifting devices and techniques in Achaemenid, Ptolemaic, and Roman times allowed for more intensive irrigation.¹³² They may have facilitated a growth in population (particularly in Roman times), probably helped by migration from the Nile Valley.¹³³

As elsewhere in the ancient world, the basic agricultural produce of the oases was grain: wheat, barley, and millet were all part of the staple diet in Dakhleh.¹³⁴ Under Roman rule, important fruit crops were grapes (for wine), olives, and dates, cultivated alongside various other products such as cotton, jujubes, honey, vegetables, and possibly sesame and cumin.¹³⁵ Alum (a type of sulphate salts) was an important product from the Ammon Oasis, and has recently been attested for Kellis.¹³⁶ Olive oil and cotton products were probably of particular importance to the Oasis. Cultivating cotton had proved difficult in Egypt, as cotton requires year-round irrigation and could not be adapted to the Nile's inundation cycle. Nor was Egypt well-suited for olive cultivation. The oases, with their abundant groundwater, had conditions more favourable for cultivating both cotton and olives. The export of these goods may have shaped the commercial life of both Dakhleh and Kellis.¹³⁷

Of the two oases of the Great Oasis, Khargeh was the more important, being larger and closer to the Nile Valley. Well-travelled, if difficult, roads led to Khargeh from the major Valley cities of Abydos and Lycopolis.¹³⁸ According to Strabo (XVII.42) the journey from Abydos to the Great Oasis – meaning probably Hibis, capital of Khargeh – took seven days.¹³⁹ To the south

¹³² Mills, 'Pharaonic Egyptians', 175–76.

¹³³ Boozer, 'The social impact of trade and migration: The Western Desert in pharaonic and post-pharaonic Egypt', 13.

¹³⁴ See Ursula Thanheiser, 'Roman agriculture and gardening in Egypt as seen from Kellis', in *Dakhleh Oasis Project: Preliminary reports on the 1994–1995 to 1998–1999 field seasons*, ed. Colin A. Hope and Gillian Bowen (Oxford: Oxbow, 2002), 302–3.

¹³⁵ See Wagner, *Les Oasis d'Égypte*, 284–301. and Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 36–46. For archaeological remains of fruit crops at Kellis, see Thanheiser, 'Roman agriculture and gardening', 305–6.

¹³⁶ Wagner, *Les Oasis d'Égypte*, 306–9. For Kellis, see for instance okell.24.

¹³⁷ For the potential economic importance of cotton in the Dakhleh Oasis, see Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 39–40; for olives, 80. See also Boozer, 'The social impact of trade and migration: The Western Desert in pharaonic and post-pharaonic Egypt', 19.

¹³⁸ See Alan Roe, 'The Old "Darb al Arbein" Caravan Route and Kharga Oasis in Antiquity', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 42 (2005).

¹³⁹ See Wagner, *Les Oasis d'Égypte*, 143.

lay Kysis, also part of Khargeh. The Dakhleh Oasis lay westward, beyond another stretch of desert – further *into* the desert, as the name implies. A papyrus letter from a Roman official travelling from Khargeh to Dakhleh in the late fourth century describes a journey from Khargeh to Dakhleh of four days and nights through waterless desert (*anydrōn orōn*) (M. Chrest. 78, ll.6–7).¹⁴⁰ A long desert road, faster but less convenient, went directly from Lycopolis to Dakhleh.¹⁴¹ Travel to and from the Nile Valley would have relied on donkeys and camels, with larger caravans preferring the latter.¹⁴² Roads continued northward from Dakhleh to other oases, eventually reaching the Mediterranean coast

2.1.2 Municipal government

For much of the Roman period, the Great Oasis was a single administrative unit – a municipality, called a *nome* – consisting of both Khargeh and Dakhleh, but centred on the city of Hibis in Khargeh. The many forts in Khargeh attest to the Roman military presence, both for internal control of the settled population and for protection against and control of nomadic tribes in the surroundings.¹⁴³ Roman military presence is attested also for Dakhleh from the late third century on: a Roman *castrum* was built at what is today al-Qasr near the city of Trimithis, and equipped with an equestrian military detachment, the *Ala I Quadorum*.¹⁴⁴ For the most part, the Romans relied on governing by way of local officials, drawn from urban

¹⁴⁰ The author, Kleobolous, is writing to a superior, and some exaggeration is perhaps to be expected. However, it is probably slight. Two roads reached Dakhleh from Khargeh: a level and relatively short – but waterless – one to the south, and a longer, more difficult stretch to the north, but with water and some comfort available at the ‘mini-oasis’ of Ain Amour, where a Roman fort has been excavated. *Ibid.*, 144–45. See also Robert B. Jackson, *At Empire’s edge: exploring Rome’s Egyptian frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 198–200.

¹⁴¹ Winlock, travelling by camel in 1908, reportedly spent eight days on the road from Assiut (ancient Lycopolis) to Dakhleh (cited in Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 63.).

¹⁴² Bagnall and Aravecchia, ‘Economy and society in the Roman Oasis’, 168–70.

¹⁴³ For a survey of such conflicts, see Wagner, *Les Oasis d’Égypte*, 394–400.

¹⁴⁴ Paul Kucera, ‘Al-Qasr: The Roman castrum of Dakhleh Oasis’, in *The Oasis Papers 6: Proceedings of the sixth International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project* ed. Paula Davoli Roger S. Bagnall, Colin A. Hope (Oxford: Oxbow, 2012), 312. For Trimithis status as polis, see pkgr. 49, and see Roger S. Bagnall and Giovanni R. Ruffini, ‘Civic life in fourth-century Trimithis. Two ostraka from the 2004 excavations’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 149 (2004): 143–44. Other units than the *Ala Quadorum* may also have been present, see Rodney Ast and Roger S. Bagnall, ‘New evidence for the Roman garrison of Trimithis’, *Tyche* 30 (2015).

elites and village property holders. Many of these officials, on both the city and village level, reappear in the Kellis texts.

Until the fourth century, the most important civilian representative of Roman government in the nomes was the municipal governor (*stratēgos*) who was appointed by the prefect in Alexandria.¹⁴⁵ The strategos oversaw the running of local, nome government: he maintained public records (including village accounts) and adjudicated conflicts. As in other parts of the Empire, a large-scale reorganisation of local administration was undertaken in Egypt in the late third and early fourth century under Diocletian.¹⁴⁶ Dakhleh was separated from Khargeh, probably as part of this reorganisation.¹⁴⁷ The ancient city of Mut (*Mōthis*) received independent status as nome capital, and Dakhleh became known as the ‘Mothite Nome’, Khargeh as the ‘Hibite Nome’. Both were subjected to the new province of the Thebais created by Diocletian, whose governor, the *praeses*, was probably seated in Antinoopolis.¹⁴⁸ The office of *curator civitatis* (*logistēs*) became the chief imperial representative,¹⁴⁹ replacing the office of strategos, which was given the Latin name *exactor civitatis*.¹⁵⁰ However, despite the division of the Great Oasis into two nomes, the logistes and the strategos/exactor retained responsibility for the entire Great Oasis, even after Diocletian’s division.¹⁵¹ The Great Oasis, then, appears to have remained administratively quite centralised, a point to which I return below (section 2.5).

¹⁴⁵ A system inherited from the Hellenistic Ptolemaic dynasty. Roger S. Bagnall, *Egypt in late antiquity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 63.

¹⁴⁶ For a summary, see Alan K. Bowman, ‘Egypt from Septimus Severus to the death of Constantine’, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Averil Cameron, and Peter Garnsey (Cambridge, 2005).

¹⁴⁷ For dating, see pkgr.41 (d. 310). Bagnall suggests 307/8 as the year of division (*P. Kell. IV*, 73.), see also Worp, ‘Short texts’, 345–46.

¹⁴⁸ Up to this point, Egypt had been under a single prefect, but various rearrangements were made in the course of the fourth century. The praeses did not receive command of the military. See Bagnall, *Egypt in late antiquity*, 63–64; Alan K. Bowman, *Egypt after the pharaohs 332 BC–AD 642: from Alexander to the Arab conquest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 81–84.

¹⁴⁹ For the functions and development of this office, see Brinley R. Rees, ‘The curator civitatis in Egypt’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 7–8 (1953–1954): 98–104; Naphtali Lewis, *The compulsory public services of Roman Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Firenze: Edizioni Gonnelli, 1997), 82.

¹⁵⁰ The term ‘strategos’ continued to be in use for a while into the fourth century; see Bagnall, *Egypt in late antiquity*, 60–61; J. David Thomas, ‘Strategos and exactor in the fourth century: one office or two?’, *Chronique d’Égypte* 70, no. 139–140 (1995).

¹⁵¹ Pkgr.25 features a logistes of the entire Great Oasis, P. Gascou 70 an exactor.

The strategos/logistes did not directly administer the cities. That was the responsibility of city councils (*boulai*), bodies of wealthy and respected local citizens collectively referred to as the *bouletic* or *curial* class.¹⁵² The councils were modelled on Greek antecedents, and were formally introduced to Egypt by the Emperor Septimius Severus only in 200/201 CE.¹⁵³ They consisted of magistrates, headed and represented by a council president (*prytanis*, *proedros*). The magistrates were tasked with paying for a range of public services, like keeping the peace, collecting taxes, and financing festivals. The fourth century saw great changes to city administration and to the relationship between city and countryside. Many traditional magistracies disappeared in the course of the century or shortly after,¹⁵⁴ while city councils received more responsibility for administrating the countryside. The logistes, in fact, ceased to be an imperial officer appointed from the outside, and came instead to be drawn from the local, curial class.¹⁵⁵ The countryside had previously been divided into districts called toparchies; these were in 307/8 renamed *pagi*, and put under supervision of a magistrate called the *praepositus pagi*.¹⁵⁶

Here, too, the Great Oasis appears to have been peculiar. It may be that its cities (Hibis, Trimithis, Mothis) each had their own *praepositus*.¹⁵⁷ Another new official, the *riparius*, oversaw law and order.¹⁵⁸ A *riparius*, who doubled as strategos/exactor, appears to have been of local significance in Kellis.

¹⁵² It has been argued that the responsibilities of officials often overlapped, providing several instances of appeal for legal redress, and making the system somewhat confusing and inefficient. See Benjamin Kelly, *Petitions, litigation, and social control in Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 78–86.

¹⁵³ Some form of administrative civic bodies also existed before this date. See Alan K. Bowman and Dominic W. Rathbone, 'Cities and administration in Roman Egypt', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 82 (1992): 120–27.

¹⁵⁴ Bagnall, *Egypt in late antiquity*, 59–67.

¹⁵⁵ Rees, 'The curator civitatis', 88–92

¹⁵⁶ For the consequences of this reform, see Bagnall, *Egypt in late antiquity*, 62 and n.107.

¹⁵⁷ Bagnall & Ruffini write: 'It looks, in other words, as if there was a logistes for the Great Oasis as a whole, consisting of three cities, but each city had its own municipal officials and presumably council. In a structure of this sort, it could well be that each city also constituted a *pagus* with a *praepositus*. Exactly what his relationship to the civic officials was, we cannot say, but he may have functioned as a kind of mini-logistes on the spot.' Roger S. Bagnall and Giovanni Ruffini, *Ostraka from Trimithis. Texts from the 2004–2007 seasons*, Amheida I (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 46.

¹⁵⁸ This office superseded the old *eirenarch*. Bagnall, *Egypt in late antiquity*, 61; Sofia Torallas Tovar, 'The police in byzantine Egypt: the hierarchy in the papyri from the fourth to the seventh century', in *Current research in Egyptology*, ed. Christina Riggs and A. McDonald (Oxford: 2000), 115–16. He performed his tasks in conjunction

The villages that dotted the countryside had their own local officials, called liturgists, who were responsible for maintaining order, keeping records, and collecting taxes.¹⁵⁹ From the early fourth century on, village liturgists were overseen by the *praepositus pagi*.¹⁶⁰ Serving as a liturgist was compulsory, and villagers did so at their own cost and responsibility; the central government intervened mainly to make sure the duties were in fact performed.¹⁶¹ Liturgies were thus chosen from among villagers of a certain financial standing, to guarantee that services were performed and taxes paid.¹⁶² Tax collection was of particular concern to the Roman administration. Locally appointed tax collectors included the *sitologoi*, responsible for wheat and barley, and the *apaitetai*, for taxes on other goods and trades. The most important liturgy, however, was that of ‘village leader’ or *komarch* (*kōmarkhos*), which had superseded the old village scribe (*kōmogrammateus*) in the mid-third century.¹⁶³ The duties of the *komarch*, as summed up by Diana Delia and Evan Haley, ‘involved collection and disbursement of funds and grain, including the *annona*; filling army supply quotas; leasing lands to private individuals; and cooperating with the police to carry out orders for the arrest of villagers’.¹⁶⁴ They appointed other local liturgists, including their own successor. The office of *komarch* bolstered the local authority of the holder, and remained a popular post in the fourth century despite the associated expenses.¹⁶⁵

with the city advocate, the *defensor civitatis* (*syndikos*, *ekdikos*), who (in this period) largely heard minor court cases. See Brinley R. Rees, ‘The *defensor civitatis* in Egypt’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 6 (1952).

¹⁵⁹ For a survey of liturgies on both city and village level, see Lewis, *Compulsory public services*. Roman citizens had (mostly) been exempt from such duties, until the grant of universal citizenship by the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of Septimus Severus in 212 CE, after which only Romans of distinction or with special arrangements remained exempted. *Ibid.*, 89–94.

¹⁶⁰ Liturgists were originally appointed by the *strategos*, but by the third century he seems mainly to have rubber-stamped nominations made by the locals, and the task was transferred to the *praepositus*. *Ibid.*, 65–66, 82. However, the *strategos/exactor* may still have had some functions related to liturgies in Dakhleh; see *pkgr.23*.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 69–70 (villages), 77 (magistrates).

¹⁶² Bagnall, *Egypt in late antiquity*, 133–36, 57–60; Peter van Minnen, ‘House-to-house enquiries: an interdisciplinary approach to Roman Karanis’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 100 (1994): 244. Still, wealth differences within this elite could vary considerably; see Roger S. Bagnall, ‘Property holdings of liturgists in fourth-century Karanis’, *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 15, no. 1/2 (1978).

¹⁶³ Lewis, *Compulsory public services*, 66–67.

¹⁶⁴ Diana Delia and Evan Haley, ‘Agreement concerning succession to a *Komarchy*’, *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 20, no. 1–2 (1983): 43.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 43–44.

Both magistracies and liturgies were restricted to half a year or one year's service, although by the fourth century the same person could serve several terms.¹⁶⁶ This system of urban and rural officials drawn from local elites, overseen by a small group of imperial appointees, ensured a civil administration that required little interference by the Roman government.

2.1.3 Oasis society

Although Khargeh remained pre-eminent, the many Roman-era archaeological sites show some population growth in Dakhleh in the first few centuries CE. Dakhleh appears to have reached its pre-modern population zenith under the Romans.¹⁶⁷ In addition to housing Roman military and civil institutions, Mothis and Trimithis were the major population centres of the Oasis. By the early fourth century Trimithis had received status as a *polis*; Anna L. Boozer has estimated its population to have reached ca 25 000 in this period.¹⁶⁸ A tax assessment from Hermopolis (d. ca. 368) indicates that Mothis was larger, perhaps by as much as one third.¹⁶⁹

The Great Oasis stood out from Egypt not only with respect to climate, but probably by cultural differences as well. Roman authorities found it relevant (at least at times) to distinguish between 'Oasites' and other 'Egyptians'.¹⁷⁰ That a distinct 'Oasite-ness' was felt by the local people themselves is indicated by the Coptic documents from Kellis, where travelling to the Nile Valley is often seen as going 'to Egypt'.¹⁷¹ The fate of the god Seth may reflect this. The cult of this god, once important in Upper Egypt, was largely suppressed by Egyptian authorities from the 25th dynasty (760–656 BCE) onwards in the Nile Valley, but temples of

¹⁶⁶ Lewis, *Compulsory public services*, 65 (villages); 76 (magistrates). For repeated service see Bagnall, 'Property holdings'.

¹⁶⁷ Boozer, 'The social impact of trade and migration: The Western Desert in pharaonic and post-pharaonic Egypt', 15. This would make Dakhleh more populated in Roman than in modern times, as suggested in J. E. Molto, 'Bio-archaeological research of Kellis 2. An overview.', in *Dakhleh Oasis Project: Preliminary reports on the 1994–1995 to 1998–1999 field seasons*, ed. Colin A. Hope; Gillian E. Bowen (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2002), 239.

¹⁶⁸ Anna L. Boozer, 'Urban change at Late Roman Trimithis (Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt)', in *Egypt in the First Millennium AD: perspectives from new fieldwork*, ed. Elisabeth R. O'Connell (Leuven-Paris-Walpole: Peeters, 2014), 29.

¹⁶⁹ Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 73 and n.42.

¹⁷⁰ Wagner, *Les Oasis d'Égypte*, 214–15.

¹⁷¹ See for instance pkc.67.

Seth continued to operate in Dakhleh and Khargeh into Roman times.¹⁷² A certain frontier mentality may moreover have characterised the peoples of Dakhleh and Khargeh. The Great Oasis was used by Roman authorities for exiling criminals – and, in the fourth and fifth centuries, religious ‘trouble-makers’ – perhaps increasing the sense of distance from Egyptian society at large.¹⁷³ Since Old Kingdom times the areas around the settled parts of the Great Oasis had been inhabited by pastoral nomads (called ‘Libyans’ or ‘Blemmyes’). While conflict occasionally erupted between nomadic groups and settled areas, peaceful co-existence would have been the norm, adding to the social and ethnic diversity of the area.¹⁷⁴

However, this isolation should not be exaggerated. Economic growth, as found in the Roman period, could have been caused by (and in turn attracted) settlers from other parts of Egypt. Conversely, the Oasites had an interest in goods and artefacts from the Valley, and cotton and olive oil were valuable goods to sell in return. Cultural trends from the Nile Valley regularly reached the Oasis. Graeco-Roman artistic styles, architecture, and literature have all left traces in Dakhleh. Christianity was established here by the early fourth century; churches have even been found in small hamlets such as Ain el-Gedida (probably ancient Pmoun Berri) and Ain es-Sabil.¹⁷⁵ The appearance of Manichaeans in the Oasis in the same period, not long after the initial arrival of the movement in Egypt, shows close contact with the Valley. Still, a sense of separateness among the Oasites is clear, and could perhaps have been turned to the advantage of Manichaean missionaries.

¹⁷² The expansion of Amon-temples in the Great Oasis may be associated with an attempt to suppress the cult in the Oasis, see e.g. the case of Eir Birbiyeh, as argued by Olaf E. Kaper, *Temples and gods in Roman Dakhleh: studies in the indigenous cults of an Egyptian oasis* (Groningen: privately published, 1997), 84–85.

¹⁷³ Although exile was usually only for six months at a time, according to Ulpian (*Dig.*48.22.7.5). Anna L. Boozer, ‘Frontiers and borderlands in imperial perspectives: Exploring Rome’s Egyptian frontier’, *American Journal of Archaeology* 117, no. 2 (2013): 281–82.

¹⁷⁴ The so-called ‘Blemmyes’ were said to have pillaged Hibis in 373. For an examination of the tensions between Nile and Oasis, and the Roman construction of Oasite otherness, see *ibid.*, 278–82. A Libyan with a camel, perhaps doing business with the textile-manufacturers in Kellis, appears in pkc.50 (ll.27–28).

¹⁷⁵ Nicola Aravecchia, ‘Christians of the Western Desert in Late Antiquity: the fourth-century church complex of Ain el-Gedida, Upper Egypt’, (Ph.D., University of Minnesota, 2009), 257; Nicola Aravecchia, Roger S. Bagnall, and Raffaella Cribiore, ‘Christianity at Trimithis and in the Dakhla Oasis’, in *An Oasis City*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall, et al. (New York: NYU Press, 2015).

Ismant el-Kharab, ancient Kellis

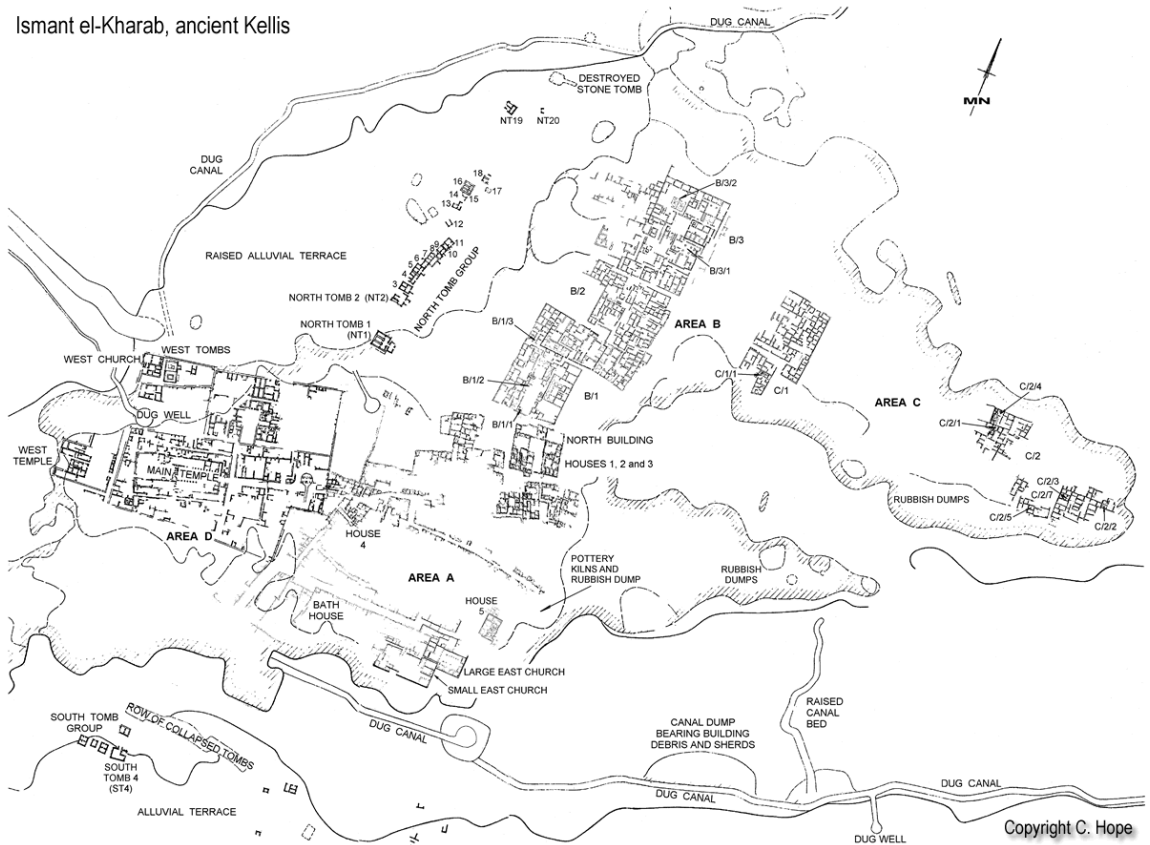


Figure 2: Ancient Kellis, excavation site (credit: Colin A. Hope)

2.2 Kellis: a brief archaeological overview

Ismant el-Kharab, ancient Kellis, lies to the east of Mothis and far southeast of Trimithis, and is today bounded by two intersecting *wadis*. The village seems to have been a new foundation of the early Roman era, occupied from around the first to the end of the fourth century.¹⁷⁶ It covered an area of approximately 1050x650m (68.3 m²).¹⁷⁷ Unlike many other Egyptian

¹⁷⁶ See Colin A. Hope, 'Observations on the dating of the occupation at Ismant el-Kharab', in *The Oasis Papers: Proceedings of the first International Symposium of the Dakhleh Oasis Project*, ed. C. A. Marlow; A. J. Mills (Oxford: Oxbow, 2001).

¹⁷⁷ For comparison: archaeological surveys indicate that Arsinoe may have been as large as 236 hectares, Herakleopolis 144 hectares, Hermopolis ca. 120 hectares (and had ca. 7000 homes in the area used for private properties), Oxyrhynchus a bit more than 100 hectares, while Aphrodito and Hibis were slightly smaller than Oxyrhynchus. See Bagnall, *Egypt in late antiquity*, 52.

villages,¹⁷⁸ it had recognisable public buildings, such as a bathhouse and a nymphaeum. There was also a complex that may have been a Roman civic building (B/1/1, see below). Excavators have divided the site into four primary sectors: Area A, B, C and D. Not all of these were occupied continuously: in any given period, parts of the village would have been in disuse or abandoned. Area C, for instance, had suffered the latter fate by the beginning of the fourth century AD.¹⁷⁹ To the north and south lay groups of burial tombs.

2.2.1 Area D

Area D was the initial focal point of the village. It was dominated by the large temple complex, referred to as the Main Temple (designated D/1), dedicated to the divine triad of Tutu, Neith and Tapshai – the ‘great gods’ of Kellis. The Main Temple was surrounded by smaller shrines (D/2–4). Just north of it, within the temple precinct, lay a domestic block (D/8) where material pertaining to imperial officials has been found. The dated material excavated in the temple area covers the entire lifespan of the village.¹⁸⁰ But while activity in the area continued, the temple itself went out of use as a cultic building at some point in the early-to-mid fourth century, and a small funerary church (D/6) was built in the north-western corner of the temple-area in the second quarter of the fourth century.

2.2.2 Area B

Northeast of the temple lay Area B, which may have served various functions. A large complex known as B/1/1 may – given its monumentality – have had a civic function, but no mention of this has been found, and some finds rather suggest a group of discrete, elite housing units.¹⁸¹ Material from the fourth century indicates that parts of the complex were converted into stables in this century. A large and richly painted residence, B/3/1, located at the north end of

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 112–14. For some other Roman-era villages, see James G. Keenan, ‘The Aphrodite papyri and village life in Byzantine Egypt’, *Bulletin de la Société d’archéologie copte* 26 (1984); Minnen, ‘House-to-house enquiries’.

¹⁷⁹ Klaas A. Worp, *Greek ostraka from Kellis vol. 1 (O. Kellis I, nos. 1–293)* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2004), 15.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁸¹ Colin A. Hope, ‘The Roman-period houses of Kellis in Egypt’s Dakhleh Oasis’, in *Housing and habitat in the ancient Mediterranean: cultural and environmental responses*, ed. A. A. Di Castro, Colin A. Hope, and B. E. Parr (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 201.

Area B, gives strong evidence for the presence of affluent inhabitants, at least in the third century.¹⁸²

2.2.3 Area C

Joining Area B to the east is Area C, which covers the eastern part of the village. Its most westerly part was an early residential area, inhabited from at least the early second century CE until its abandonment (probably for Area A) in the late third century.¹⁸³ Investigations of the eastern part of Area C have revealed a layout similar to that of the western part, which in both instances consisted of 'large areas of contiguous structures which comprise open courts flanked by smaller, rectangular rooms, most having been flatroofed.'¹⁸⁴ Traces of metalwork and pottery production have been found at this site.

2.2.4 Area A

Area A was located in the south centre of the village, bounded by the temple of Tutu to the west, the large complex B/1/1 to the north, and wadis to the south and east. Area A itself was mainly a residential quarter, although structurally distinct from that of Area C: it consisted of separate housing blocks built in mud-brick (of which House 1–3 is the most thoroughly excavated), connected by alleyways and irregular thoroughfares.¹⁸⁵ The main period of occupation appears to have been the late third to the late fourth century. Two churches, the Large East Church (A/7) and the Small East Church (A/8), were located to the south-east. They were built in the first (A/8) and second (A/7) quarter of the fourth century.¹⁸⁶ A rubbish dump (A/10) where many ostraca have been found lay on its eastern limit. A bathhouse was located in the south-western corner of Area A. In the centre, to the north, we find the block of domestic units, house 1 (A/1), 2 (A/2) and 3 (A/5), and their associated North Building (A/3),

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 207–9; Helen Whitehouse, 'A house, but not exactly a home? The painted residence at Kellis revisited', in *Housing and habitat in the ancient Mediterranean: cultural and environmental responses*, ed. A. A. Di Castro, Colin A. Hope, and B. E. Parr (Leuven: Peeters, 2015).

¹⁸³ Hope, 'Roman-period houses', 211.

¹⁸⁴ Bagnall, Hope, and Worp, 'Family papers', 229.

¹⁸⁵ Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 5–6.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

henceforth collectively referred to as the House 1–3 complex. Two other domestic units at opposite ends of the area, House 4 (A/6, close to the Main Temple) and House 5 (A/9, close to the East Church), have been partly excavated.

2.3 Society in Kellis

2.3.1 *The populace*

In terms of population, Kellis fell far behind the two urban centres of Dakhleh, Trimithis and Mothis, although its residents appear to have been comparatively affluent – indeed, Bagnall and Paola Davoli have remarked regarding the houses in Area B that '[t]he wealth suggested by these houses is beyond anything one would have expected in a village setting.'¹⁸⁷ Estimations of population size ranges between 500, at its low point, to 1500 at its zenith, probably in the third century.¹⁸⁸ Kellis was abandoned in the late fourth or early fifth century, which suggests decline and a size closer to the lower end of the spectrum in the fourth century. However, there are signs that Kellis was still a prosperous village in this period. A document dated 357 (pkgr.15) mentions the appointment of as many as ten tax collectors in connection with the *chrysargyron*, a tax on urban professionals like traders and artisans.¹⁸⁹ The evidence exhibits a wide variety of different professions: carpenters, cobblers, and potters, as well as fullers, weavers, camel- and donkey drivers, well cleaners, bath attendants, scribes, a bronze smith, a field guard, a geese keeper, a bed maker, and perhaps a honey seller; most of these also (or only) attested for the fourth century.

Agricultural work held a prominent place. The best source for understanding the agriculture of fourth-century Kellis is the Kellis Agricultural Account Book (KAB), for rents and expenses paid covering the indictions 361–64.¹⁹⁰ It shows that Kellis functioned as a hub for

¹⁸⁷ Roger S. Bagnall and Paola Davoli, 'Archaeological work on Hellenistic and Roman Egypt 2000–2009', *American Journal of Archaeology* 115, no. 1 (2011): 140.

¹⁸⁸ A rough estimate given by Colin A. Hope and (separately) by Anthony J. Mills in personal communications to J. E. Molto, cited in Molto, 'Bio-archaeological research', 243.

¹⁸⁹ Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 45, pkgr.15, ll.5–6n.

¹⁹⁰ Dated to indictions 5–7, probably covering the agricultural years 361/2, 362/3, and 363/4, see Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 58–59. Indictions were used to date documents within 15 year-cycles, inaugurated during the reign of Constantine. Bagnall notes the following indiction cycle (376–79) as a plausible alternative, but see also Bagnall and Worp, 'Two 4th century accounts', 506–7.

surrounding hamlets. The author of the KAB was an estate manager responsible for collecting rents from tenant farmers on behalf of a distant landlord. He had a storehouse in Kellis, and interacted with at least 138 named people, 36 of whom were regular tenant farmers.¹⁹¹ Some of these were located outside of Kellis, in nearby hamlets. He was probably not responsible for all the landlord's holdings in the surroundings.¹⁹² Some tenants apparently struggled to pay their dues,¹⁹³ however, no general decline is obvious, although comparable material from the previous century is admittedly lacking.

Traces of Graeco-Roman culture are fairly abundant. Fragments of a Greek legend and of a verse composition echoing – possibly parodying – Homer have been found in the Main Temple.¹⁹⁴ There are clear signs of a rhetor active in fourth-century Dakhleh and perhaps even teaching in Kellis.¹⁹⁵ Among these is the collection of speeches by the Athenian rhetor Isocrates (436–338 BCE), produced in the fourth century and probably used for teaching rhetoric, found alongside Manichaean material in House 2.¹⁹⁶ A certain Ammonios the teacher, father of Petechon, may have taught in Kellis (pkgr.69, d. fourth century). The Kellites clearly participated in the wider Graeco-Roman world.

2.3.2 Village elites

Local elites and outside influencers

Villages were often less hierarchical than cities.¹⁹⁷ However, they could not avoid a degree of social stratification, and Kellis certainly had families with comparatively more wealth and

¹⁹¹ Based on the prosopography in Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 63–72.

¹⁹² The KAB does probably not account for all the landlord's income from around Kellis. *Ibid.*, 25–27.

¹⁹³ For the income of the manager, see *ibid.*, 76–80.

¹⁹⁴ Colin A. Hope and Klaas A. Worp, 'Miniature codices from Kellis', *Mnemosyne* 59, no. 2 (2006); Klaas A. Worp, 'A mythological ostrakon from Kellis', in *The Oasis Papers 3: Proceedings of the Third International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project*, ed. Gillian E. Bowen and Colin A. Hope (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2003).

¹⁹⁵ Pointed out by Olaf Kaper, 'The western oasis', in *The Oxford handbook of Roman Egypt*, ed. Christina Riggs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 725. See also pkgr.53 (l.2).

¹⁹⁶ Worp and Rijksbaron, *P. Kell. III*; Pasquale M. Pinto, 'P. Kellis III Gr. 95 and Evagoras I', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 168 (2009): 217–18.

¹⁹⁷ For a short survey of empirical studies on landholding in the papyri see Roger S. Bagnall, *Reading papyri, writing ancient history* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 64–68. See also Ruffini, *Social networks*.

power than others, as attested to by the painted residence in Area B. Among the most visible elites in the papyri are the magistrates and officials, whose influence is seen in the orders they sent to and petitions they received from its inhabitants. The papyri show the existence of several magistrates on both the level of the entire Great Oasis and that of the Mothite Nome: a logistes (pkgr.25), an exactor (P. Gascou 70),¹⁹⁸ a *speculator* (agent for the Roman army) (P. Gascou 82), and even a deputy-exactor, who witnessed the appointment of village liturgists (pkgr.23), is attested. As noted, the logistes and the exactor seem to have remained responsible for the entire Great Oasis into the fourth century, for both Dakhleh and Khargeh. On the level of the Mothite Nome, we find papyri pertaining to council presidents (e.g. P. Gascou 72, pkgr.25), presumably in Mothis, and a praepositus pagi of Trimitis (pkgr.27).¹⁹⁹ An ex-magistrate named Faustianus was petitioned in his capacity as ‘defensor of the area’, either the Mothite Nome or the whole Great Oasis.²⁰⁰

Such high personages were perhaps rather distant to the common villager: they would for the most part not have resided in Kellis. However, one villager is found alleging that Roman soldiers and officials had been turned against him by the local komarch (pkgr.21), indicating some level of regular interaction. Moreover, some magistrates appear to have had extensive dealings in Kellis. Three magistrates are documented for the fourth century, two of them of

¹⁹⁸ See the comments in Worp, ‘Miscellaneous’, 447.

¹⁹⁹ J. David Thomas, review of *Greek Papyri from Kellis, I*, K. A. Worp, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 84 (1998): 262. The praepositus, named Serenos, received a reprimand from the governor for unreasonable demands he made of camels and beasts from the local people, a copy of which was probably retained by one of the plaintiffs. Worp broached the possibility that Serenos retired to Kellis as an explanation for the discovery of the rebuke from the governor, pkgr.27, in House 3 (Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 81.). However, the papyrus is more likely to have belonged to one of the people who had fielded the initial complaint against him. Two other pieces of evidence link Serenos to Kellis: a Serenos *officialis* mentioned in the KAB (125, 801), and an unpublished correspondence between a Serenos and an Alexander from the mid-fourth century. Still, while they may pertain to Serenos the praepositus, they probably do not evince him living there. A house closely connected to this Serenos has, however, been unearthed in Trimitis; see Bagnall and Ruffini, *Ostraka from Trimitis*.

²⁰⁰ For this question see Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 65–66 n.2.

high rank: Gelasios, an ex-logistes,²⁰¹ Pausanias, exactor and riparius²⁰², and an ex-magistrate of unknown office, Harpokration. Landownership was one channel for their influence. Both Pausanias and Gelasios owned land in the village and/or its surroundings. A distant figure like the landlord of the KAB, who probably resided in Hibis in Khargeh Oasis, would have had some impact on the local level through his landholdings.²⁰³ His land managers (*pronoētai*) in Kellis collected rents and conducted other local affairs on his behalf. They were probably important men and women²⁰⁴ in their own right, perhaps themselves landowners of local stature, but their positions would have been strengthened by ties to his large estate.²⁰⁵ Patronage was another way for elites to make their influence felt. Harpokration had villagers among his employees, one of whom came to him for protection against liturgical service and ended up causing a violent conflict in 353. While elite influence extended down to the villagers, they in turn could take advantage of such influence for their own purposes.

Other villagers of some standing were local property holders who served in important village liturgies.²⁰⁶ A certain Sois son of Akoutis was komarch of Kellis in 321. From pkgr.23 (d. 352) we know that Kellis usually had two komarchs, both appointed by lots under the supervision of the exactor.²⁰⁷ A village scribe, N.N. son of Tithoes²⁰⁸, is documented for Kellis around the same time (pkgr.14, d. 356), indicating a need for record keeping and scribal work.

²⁰¹ Worp suggested that he may be a Gelasios, 'strategos or exactor of the [Great] Oasis', who officiated in 309 (for whom see J. David Thomas, 'The earliest occurrence of the *exactor civitatis* in Egypt (P. Giss. inv. 126 recto)', *Yale Classical Studies* 28 (1985).); see Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 46, pkgr.16, ll.1–2n; 85, pkgr.29, l.3n., and the discussion in section 4.2.2. A contemporary actor by this name appears as an associate of the magistrate Serenos in Trimithis; but reservations concerning identifying these two are expressed by Bagnall and Ruffini, *Ostraka from Trimithis*, 37 n.20.

²⁰² This is an early attestation of this office, previously known from only around the year 340. For the previous earliest occurrence, see Torallas Tovar, 'The police in byzantine Egypt'.

²⁰³ For the connection between Faustianos and Hibis, see now also Roger S. Bagnall and Gaelle Tallet, 'Ostraka from Hibis in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the archaeology of the city of Hibis', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 196 (2015): 189.

²⁰⁴ For women working as and with the KAB manager, see Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 79–80.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 70–72.

²⁰⁶ The size of their holdings could vary considerably, but rich individuals are likely to have served more often. See Bagnall, 'Property holdings'.

²⁰⁷ See Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 71. For its significance, see Naphtali Lewis, 'Kleros, komarch and komogrammateus in the fourth century', *Chronique d'Égypte* 72, no. 2 (1997).

²⁰⁸ For a possible restoration of the name as 'Pebos', see section 4.3.2 (below), but also the objections in Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 43, pkgr.14, l.7n. A later occupant of this office could be Andreas, pkgr.45 (ll.34–35), but see here Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 63; Lewis, 'Kleros, komarch and komogrammateus', 346–47.

The occupations outside of liturgical service are hard to discern. Sois son of Akoutis had a close associate who was a carpenter in another village.²⁰⁹ The komarch who authored pkgr.**23**, Ploutogenes son of Ouonsis, claimed to be of ‘modest circumstances’ (l.9). However, a certain Ouonsis, probably his father, financed the purchase of transport animals for a trade venture to the Nile Valley in 319/20, with the respectable sum of 12 talents,²¹⁰ and an oath declaration from 352 (pkgr.**24**) contains a long list of signatories who he had persuaded to help ostracise an opponent. He was clearly himself a man of local influence.

Cohesion and tension

The elite was not necessarily a unified, cohesive group. Local feuds recur in several documents from the site, ranging from familial to village-wide conflicts. One such conflict appears to have been prevented. The declaration of 352, pkgr.**24**, shows that conflict had erupted between Ploutogenes²¹¹ and a certain Hatres. The exact complaint is unclear, as the body of the document is mostly lost, but it is stated that the ‘enmity’ or ‘hatred’ (*ekhthra*) of Hatres had caused problems for Ploutogenes. The importance of the conflict (or the influence of the victim) is attested to by the fact that at least 33 men, three of them clergy, were recruited to sign the document, swearing an oath that they had not known about Hatres’ actions and that they would stay aloof from involvement. The declaration was to be sent to the dux as surety, so that Ploutogenes would not suffer any further hardships (pkgr.**24**, ll.6–7). Such displays helped to restore unity and mutual trust – or at least the external projection of such – in the face of what might have become a damaging conflict.

²⁰⁹ See Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 66, pkgr.21, ll.11–12n.

²¹⁰ For prices in the early fourth century, see Roger S. Bagnall, *Currency and inflation in fourth century Egypt*, Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists Supplements (Chico: Scholars Press, 1985), 27–35.

²¹¹ The identification of the Ploutogenes here and the son of Ouonsis in pkgr.**23** seems clear. The fragmented pkgr.**24** features both a ‘[son of] Ouonsis’ (l.3) whose name is lost, as well as an ‘aforementioned’ Gena (short for Ploutogenes) (ll.7–8), although Worp is hesitant with identifying the two. Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 74, pkgr.24, l.3n. Still, the contemporaneity of the documents and prosopographical connections between them (note in particular Pebos and Horion, sons of Tithoes, see section 4.3.2) make an identification of the two Ploutogenes very probable. However, see also section 9.4.1.

Pamour (I) son of Psais (I), the earliest known member of the Manichaean ‘Pamour family’ at Kellis, is found petitioning the governor over a conflict with Pollon son of Psais.²¹² Pollon had unlawfully stolen a donkey from Pamour, who was an adolescent at the time, prompting Pamour’s petition some time later (pkgr.20, d.300–320). Pamour petitioned the governor again in 321, this time over a conflict with a komarch, Sois, who had broken into his house and assaulted his wife. Pamour alleged that Sois had been a long-time enemy, who had turned soldiers and local officials against him.²¹³ The underlying causes for this enmity is not made explicit; the involvement of local officials points perhaps to a wider backdrop for the conflict. An ex-magistrate of the city of Hermopolis in the Nile Valley had helped write Pamour’s petition, and so he was not as defenceless as he sought to project.

One large-scale conflict took place in 353, the year after family heads swore their oath in pkgr.24, documented in a petition written by Ploutogenes son of Ouonsis, pkgr.23. It pitted two komarchs, Ploutogenes son of Ouonsis and a colleague, against an ex-magistrate, Harpokration. According to Ploutogenes, the conflict started when the villager Taa refused to serve his allotted liturgy and was apprehended by the komarchs. Harpokration sent his supporters (his son Timotheos²¹⁴ and ten allies)²¹⁵ to attack Ploutogenes and his co-komarch, stealing their goods and beating them severely. In turn, they mobilised supporters of their own.²¹⁶ They probably had strong allies themselves: Harpokration’s supporters were later disarmed, apparently without incident. As Ari Bryen notes, it is difficult to assess the relative power balance between the disputants, or the true course of events, on the basis of the one-

²¹² Rather than Psais and Pollon, as originally read by Worp, see Jean-Luc Fournet, ‘Notes critiques sur des pétitions du Bas-Empire’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 28 (1998): 8–10; Nikolaos Gonis, ‘Notes on miscellaneous documents’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 143 (2003): 160–61. For Pamour I and his family, see chapter 3.2.

²¹³ The presence of Psenamounis, neither liturgist nor fellow-villager, was particularly egregious, see Naphtali Lewis, ‘Notationes legentis’, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 34, no. 1–4 (1997): 28–29.

²¹⁴ Worp noted that ‘[i]t would seem slightly more attractive to assume that Timotheos is Harpokration’s own son rather than a mere slave’ Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 72, pkgr.23, l.15n. Bryen, however, takes him to be a slave; Ari Z. Bryen, *Violence in Roman Egypt: a study in legal interpretation*, 1st ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 98. However, the occurrence of a Timotheos son of Harpokration in a different document (pkgr.8, ll.16–17) strongly supports an identification of Timotheos as Harpokration’s biological son.

²¹⁵ Termed *symmakhoi*. Bryen takes them to be assistants of the riparius, implying perhaps a conflict between nome and village administration. Bryen, *Violence in Roman Egypt*, 98.

²¹⁶ Psais son of Pateminis and Psekes son of Psennouphis, who could attest to the behaviour of Timotheos son of Harpokration; Pebos son of Tithoes, who relieved Harpokration’s associates of their clubs; and the witnesses Horion son of Tithoes, Sarapodoros son of Eros, as well as an unnamed daughter of Gena son of Pakysis.

sided portrayal we have preserved in Ploutogenes' petition.²¹⁷ At any rate, it vividly illustrates how village tensions could spill over into violence, and how local power brokers could be drawn into conflict with each other. The village elite was not a homogenous group.²¹⁸

2.3.3 Trade and economic life

The economic life of Kellis is a feature that will occupy our attention in Part II of this study, as the Manichaeans of House 1–3 were prominently engaged in textile production- and trade. The activities in Kellis must be seen in light of Roman Egyptian commerce more generally, and some preliminary remarks are in order. Study of the Roman economy was long dominated by the debate between 'primitivists' and 'modernists' on the nature of ancient economies, but has shifted focus in recent years, as questions of quantification have become more central.²¹⁹ The evidence from Roman Egypt has played an important part. Most scholars agree that Egypt had an infrastructure conducive to interregional trade, that it experienced some degree of internal competition and mobility, and was extensively monetised (in comparative terms).²²⁰ Internal tolls on goods were low, and flow was facilitated by the ease of transport on the Nile and for the oases by the Roman military presence, providing roads and a degree of security.²²¹

²¹⁷ Bryen, *Violence in Roman Egypt*, 98–100.

²¹⁸ Similarly, Ruffini has criticised scholars for treating the leading families of Aphrodito as a monolith. Giovanni Ruffini, 'Aphrodito before Dioscoros', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 45 (2008): 238–39.

²¹⁹ While the debate is not over, and modernist positions have undergone substantial revisions, it has been noted that: 'In general, recent research has increasingly pushed away from the 'minimalist' end of the spectrum of modern interpretation.' Walter Scheidel and Sitta von Reden, 'Introduction', in *The Ancient Economy*, ed. Walter Scheidel and Sitta von Reden (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), 7. Two central studies are Moses I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); and Keith Hopkins, 'Taxes and trade in the Roman Empire (200 B.C.–A.D. 400)', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 70 (1980). More recently, Walter Scheidel, Ian Morris, and Richard P. Saller, *The Cambridge economic history of the Greco-Roman world* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Alan K. Bowman and Andrew Wilson, *Quantifying the Roman economy: methods and problems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); an argument for low integration is made in Peter F. Bang, *The Roman bazaar: a comparative study of trade and markets in a tributary empire* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); while an argument for more integration is made by Peter Temin, *The Roman market economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

²²⁰ See Richard Alston, 'Trade and the city in Roman Egypt', in *Trade, Traders and the Ancient City*, ed. Helen Parkins and Christopher Smith (London; New York: Routledge, 1998; reprint, 2012); Dominic W. Rathbone, 'Roman Egypt', in *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, ed. W. Scheidel, I. Morris, and R. Saller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Matt Gibbs, 'Manufacture, trade, and the economy', in *The Oxford handbook of Roman Egypt*, ed. Christina Riggs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

²²¹ See Colin Adams, *Land transport in Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 91–115.

Products manufactured in cities were sold in villages and vice-versa. Far-flung trade with other provinces via the Mediterranean and the Red Sea provided Egypt with foreign goods, and products from Egypt were exported back along the same routes.²²² Textiles were an important commercial product, in Egypt as throughout the ancient world, and linens were considered an Egyptian specialty.²²³ While clothes were generally not sold in bulk, Peter van Minnen has shown that exports could reach high totals.²²⁴ Textile work was probably, as a rule, situated in domestic spaces,²²⁵ but some weavers leased workshops from wealthy landed elites and/or collaborated with other weavers, employing a number of assistants.

The opportunity for cotton cultivation in the oases may have given the people of Dakhleh a competitive advantage within Egypt. This could help to explain the development of private commercial adventures dealing in textiles between the Nile Valley and the Great Oasis, evident in the papyri from Kellis, although cotton-products are not mentioned explicitly in the House 1–3 letters. Other factors likely played a part as well; I return to these questions in Chapter 7. In order to follow the arguments there, as well as some of the arguments for dating actors and circles, some familiarity with measures of weight and prices in the mid–late fourth century is necessary. Table 1 lists common measures in Roman Egypt, as well as some that are rarer but occur in the Kellis texts. Talents, the dominant monetary measure in the fourth century, is shortened T.

²²² Alston, 'Trade and the city'. For Red Sea trade in the fourth century, see Eivind H. Seland, 'The Liber Pontificalis and Red Sea trade', in *Navigated Spaces, Connected Places: Proceedings of Red Sea Project V held at the University of Exeter, 16–19 September 2010*, ed. D. A. Agius (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012).

²²³ Panopolis was famed for its linen products, while Arsinoe and Karanis both had linen-workers' quarters (although whether production was concentrated there or not is uncertain). See Gibbs, 'Manufacture', 42–43; Rathbone, 'Roman Egypt'; Kerstin Dross-Krüpe, 'Spatial concentration and dispersal of Roman textile crafts', in *Urban Craftsmen and Traders in the Roman World*, ed. Miko Flohr and Andrew Wilson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

²²⁴ A mid-third century papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. Hels. 40) documents the export of 1956 pieces of clothing in the course of five days. In turn, this could – by Minnen's estimate – indicate that the city's (or the nome's) export totalled some 80 000–100 000 pieces a year. See Peter van Minnen, 'The volume of the Oxyrhynchite textile trade', *Münsterische Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 5, no. 2 (1986): 92–93; also discussed in Bagnall, *Reading papyri*, 68–69; and Gibbs, 'Manufacture', 41–42. For some cautionary remarks, see John-P. Wild, 'Facts, figures and guesswork in the Roman textile economy', in *Textilien aus Archäologie und Geschichte: Festschrift für Klaus Tidow*, ed. Lise B. Jørgensen, Johanna Banck-Burgess, and Antoinette Rast-Eicher (Neumünster: Wachholtz Verlag, 2003), 41–43.

²²⁵ Ewa Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte Romaine* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1965), 55.

Type	Measure	Value	Modern measure
Account unit	1 talent (T.)		
Coin	1 nummus	Ca. 1 T. ²²⁶	
Coin	1 solidus (sol.)	Ca. 8000 T. ²²⁷	72 sol. = 323 g gold
Roman pound	1 litra		323 g
weight	1 mna	Ca. 1 litra	323 g
weight	1 lithos (lith.)	(10+ litrai?)	(3.23 kg+?)
weight	1 centenarion (cent.)	100 litrai	32.3 kg
dry measure	1 artaba (art.)	10 mat. (23 mat.)	38.78 litres (30 kg wheat)
dry measure	1 mation (mat.) – large	1/10 art.	3.876 litres (3 kg wheat)
dry measure	1 mation (mat.) – small	1/23 art. ²²⁸	1.686 liter (1.3 kg wheat)
liquid measure	1 marion (mar.)	20 sext.	10.8 litres
liquid measure	1 keramion (ker.)	18 sext.	9.72 litres
liquid measure	1 boxion (box.)	9 sext.	4.86 litres
liquid measure	1 chous	6 sext.	3.24 litres
liquid measure	1 agon	3 sext.	1.62 liter
liquid measure	1 sextarius (sext.)		0.54 liter
liquid measure	1 hin		(0.45 liter?)

Table 1: Measures in late Roman Dakhleh (collected from Bagnall and Gardner, Alcock, and Funk)²²⁹

Prices drawn from the material give us an idea of the living costs and relative exchange rate (measured in coinage) of goods for the people of House 1–3. Furthermore, there were major periods of inflation in the mid–late fourth century. Prices for goods from before ca. 355, and

²²⁶ See pkc.15, ll.17–20.

²²⁷ The recently published O.Trim.19, dated ca. 352–360, gives a price of 7511 T./sol. This fits well with Bagnall's previous calculation (Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 57–59.) of a mean of ca. 8000 T./sol. for the KAB, dating to the early 360s, and I have used this value in my calculations. Against this, pkc.11 seems to place the worth of a solidus at ca. 11 500 T. The interpretation of the Coptic is very uncertain, however; see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 59. It is possible that pkc.11 could relate to a later period (perhaps the early 370s). A price that might be implied in P. Bingen 120 (ll.21–23v), 24 000 T./sol., is at odds with the other evidence from the Oasis, as well as the other prices in the same document. A more likely interpretation, made by Worp and Bagnall, gives 12 000 T./sol., which in fact is close to that found in pkc.11; see Bagnall and Worp, 'Two 4th century accounts', 504–7. As P. Bingen 120 can be dated to 367/8, it would support a dating of pkc.11 to the late 360s/370s.

²²⁸ This small measure of mation was used in the KAB, mostly for expenditure (see the discussion in Bagnall cited below).

²²⁹ Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 47–51; and Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 58–65.

from after the late 370s/ca. 380, differed notably from those of the intervening period.²³⁰ The data in Table 2, below, is drawn from Coptic and Greek documentary texts from House 1–3, and compared to prices from the KAB and P. Bingen 120 (Kellis, House 4, d.367/8), all probably dating to the period between ca. 355–380. Most passages relate to prices in Kellis, although a few concern purchases made in the Nile Valley.

Good	Amount	Value	Source
wheat	1 art.	1200 T. (1000–1500 T.) ²³¹	pkc.15 (ll.17–20)
barley	1 art.	800–1000 T. ²³²	pkgr.10 (ll.9–13)
bread	1 bread	30 T. (Nile Valley)	pkc.21 (ll.16–17)
cotton	1 lith.	600 T. ²³³	
jujubes	1 art.	1500–2000 T. ²³⁴	pkc.45 (ll.9–10), pkgr.10 (ll.9–13)
olive oil	1 sext.	250–350 T. ²³⁵	pkc.44 (ll.8–9, 19)
papyrus	a pair (of rolls?) ²³⁶	1000–1200 T. (Nile Valley)	pkc.78 (ll.19–27)
cloth–bag	a pair (?)	100 T.	pkc.79 (ll.19–20)

Table 2: Selected prices from Kellis ca. 360 (collected from Bagnall and Gardner, Alcock, and Funk)

According to Dominic Rathbone, an *artaba* of wheat (almost 30 kg) would suffice ‘for an adequate though not generous subsistence diet for an active adult male’.²³⁷ A wage of 60–70

²³⁰ For these developments, see Bagnall, *Currency and inflation*.

²³¹ A range of 1000 T.–1500 T., consistent with the price in pkc.15, can be inferred from the KAB, see Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 52. Moreover, a price of 1000 T./art. is found in P. Bingen. 120 (ll.15v, 26v).

²³² *Ibid.*, 52–53. A price in the same range, 500 T./art., occurs in P. Bingen 120 (ll.16v, 28v). A price of 2000 T./art. is found in pkgr.11, but this document probably belongs to a later period (late 370s?); see section 4.1.1.

²³³ Derived from the KAB, but broadly in agreement with pkgr.61 (from House 1–3). See *ibid.*, 54.

²³⁴ The price in pkc.45 (ll.9–10) is 1500 T./art., close to that implied by pkgr.10 (1600 T./art.) and not out of line with that in the KAB (2000 T./art.), although the latter two depend on the stability of the relationship between barley and jujube prices found in the probably later pkgr.11 (1 art. jujubes = 2 art. barley; here, however, 1 art. jujubes is much more expensive, 4000 T. – for its date, see section 4.1.1)

²³⁵ Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 55. A similar price range, from 233 to 250 T./sext. is found in P. Bingen 120, l.29v, ll.20–21r (although a very different price is found in the same document in l.19v).

²³⁶ Presumably, these rolls were rather large: papyrus bought by Theophanes in Antioch earlier in the same century was not that expensive compared to other goods; see John Matthews, *The journey of Theophanes: travel, business, and daily life in the Roman east* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 111; and see T. C. Skeat, ‘Was papyrus regarded as “cheap” or “expensive” in the ancient world?’, *Aegyptus* 75, no. 1/2 (1995).

²³⁷ L. Foxhall & H. A. Forbes, ‘*Sitometreia*: the role of grain as a staple food in classical antiquity’, *Chiron* 12 (1982), 41–90, cited in Dominic W. Rathbone, *Economic rationalism and rural society in third-century A.D. Egypt: the Heroninos archive and the Appianus estate*, Cambridge classical studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 109–10. See also Raymond W. Goldsmith, ‘An estimate of the size and structure of the national product of the early Roman Empire’, *Review of Income and Wealth* 30 (1984): 266.

T. a day (ca 1800 T., or 1.6 art. wheat, a month), which was paid to the female weavers of House 3 (see section 7.1.3), would be enough for a subsistence diet for one person in the 360s, at least if the weavers received enough work in the course of that month.

2.3.4 Egyptian and Christian cult in Kellis

The main temple of Kellis was dedicated to the divinities Tutu, his mother Neith, and his consort Tapsais or Tnaphersais, ‘great and powerful gods of the village of Kellis’.²³⁸ Tutu (also called Tithoes) often took the form of a sphinx; he had become popular in Egypt as the chief of a demonic army, and was therefore often titled ‘master of demons’.²³⁹ An example of personal piety to these gods has been discovered in the form of a votive statue dedicated by Talaous, daughter of Thaesis.²⁴⁰ The name Tithoes was moreover one of the most popular male personal names in the village – beaten only by (P)shai, a personification of an individual’s ‘luck’, ‘fate’, or ‘daemon’. Seth, whose main cult-centre was located in Hibis, was also of some importance in Kellis.²⁴¹ Isis was a popular goddess in the Oasis, in the form of Isis-Sothis or Isis-Demeter. A dedication by a leader (*prostatēs*) of the Isis-Demeter cult in the mid-third century, Ophellianos, and two statues of the goddess have been found in Kellis.²⁴² The large painted residence in Area B (B/3/1) could have housed the meetings of such a cult.²⁴³

Excavations of the Main Temple show that it was in continued use into the early fourth century, and ostraca found here attest to the activities of its priests and other worshippers. A man named Psais inhabited the important priestly office ‘prophet’ (*prophētēs*) in the mid-third

²³⁸ For the temples and priests of Kellis, see Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 27–40, 87–138.

²³⁹ David Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: assimilation and resistance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 115–16.

²⁴⁰ Klaas A. Worp and Olaf Kaper, ‘A bronze representing Tapsais of Kellis’, *Revue d’Égyptologie* 46 (1995); Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, 115–16.

²⁴¹ Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 55–64; Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, 113. A man with the rare theophoric name Seth appears in Kellis (okell.123).

²⁴² Hope and Worp, ‘Dedication inscription’; Olaf Kaper, ‘Isis in Roman Dakhleh’, in *Isis on the Nile: Egyptian gods in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. Proceedings of the IVth International Conference of Isis Studies, Liège, November 27–29 2008*, ed. Laurent Bricault and Miguel John Versluys (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

²⁴³ Whitehouse, ‘A house’, 252–53.

century;²⁴⁴ another prophet, Pachoumis, was active later in that century.²⁴⁵ A group of temple attendants (*pastophoroi*) are listed in an account of oil arrears from the years 299, 300, and 302 (okell.98).²⁴⁶ A man called Psais the potter was another leading priest at the end of the third century; he was still alive in 294 (okell.145) but had died by the year 299/300 (okell.98). Finally, the last active temple priest (*hiereus*) attested is Stonios son of Tepnachthes, who witnessed a contract in the year 335 (pkgr.13). The great temple building appears to have gone out of use as a place of worship around this time.

Jewish names, e.g. Mouses, Elias, and Rachel, are known from Kellis texts, but probably do not indicate the existence of a Jewish community; they are more likely to relate to Christians.²⁴⁷ A Christian community of some sort must have been active in town already by ca. 300, as indicated by the three church-buildings that appeared in the first half of the fourth century. The earliest of them, the Small East Church, dates from the reign of Constantine; the other two were built not long after in the second quarter to mid-fourth century.²⁴⁸ However, evidence for Christian presence in the period prior to this is uncertain.²⁴⁹ Shortly after the last appearance of Stonios, a certain Harpokrates, 'priest of the catholic church (*katholikēs ekklēsias*)' (l.8), subscribed as a witness to a contract dated 337 (pkgr.58). The expression

²⁴⁴ SB 24.15919. Worp, 'A new wooden board'.

²⁴⁵ Worp, 'Short texts'.

²⁴⁶ The *pastophoroi* were tasked with carrying sacred objects in processions and other minor duties (such as guarding the temple). Alan K. Bowman, *Egypt after the pharaohs 332 BC–AD 642: from Alexander to the Arab conquest*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 182.

²⁴⁷ Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 163. In general, however, the onomastics of Kellis do not seem to tell us much about religious change. Worp's analysis concludes that there is comparatively little in the Kellis onomasticon (apart from House 1–3) to indicate 'Christianisation'. See Klaas A. Worp, 'Christian personal names in documents from Kellis (Dakhleh Oasis)', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 195 (2015); for the debate regarding the relationship between names and religious change, see Roger S. Bagnall, 'Religious conversion and onomastic change in Early Byzantine Egypt', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, no. 19 (1982); Ewa Wipszycka, 'La valeur de l'onomastique pour l'histoire de la christianisation de l'Égypte. A propos d'une étude de R. S. Bagnall', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 62 (1986).

²⁴⁸ Gillian E. Bowen, 'The fourth-century churches at Ismant el-Kharab', in *Dakhleh Oasis Project: Preliminary reports on the 1994–1995 to 1998–1999 field seasons*, ed. Colin A. Hope and Gillian E. Bowen (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2002).

²⁴⁹ A contract dated 319 (P.Genova 2 app.1–2), in which two men agree on a trade-venture to the Nile Valley, is made 'with god' (*syn theō*, l.10), an expression often taken to indicate Christian belief. This assumption is not unproblematic; see Malcolm Choat and Alanna Nobbs, 'Monotheistic formulae of belief in Greek letters on papyrus from the second to the fourth century', *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 2 (2001–2005): 40–41; Choat, *Belief and cult*, 104–5. However, one of these names – Ouonsis – also features (as a patronym?) in the context of a 'presbyter of the catholic church' in pkgr.24 (d.352).

katholikēs ekklēsiās occurs altogether three times in the House 1–3 material, each time in connection with the title of an office.²⁵⁰ Pkgr.58 is the earliest, and an early attestation for this expression in the papyri in general. Another priest of the ‘catholic church’ was involved in the dispute between Ploutogenes and Hatres (pkgr.24, d.352). Finally, pkgr.32 (d.364) features a reader (*anagnōstēs*) of the ‘catholic church’ (ll.20–21), although here located in Aphrodito. Use of the ‘catholic church’ may reflect a distinction between different ‘church’ communities in the village, one of which would have been the Manichaeans (see section 9.4.1).

2.4 Manichaeism in Egypt: the road to the Oasis

The spread and size of the Manichaean community in Kellis is treated in Chapter 9. Here I provide a brief sketch of the wider dissemination of Manichaeism in Egypt itself, before it took the road to the Oasis. The early history of the Manichaean church in Egypt is relatively well-documented, at least compared to elsewhere. Manichaean church narratives from Turfan describe how an early disciple of Mani, Adda, reached the Egyptian capital Alexandria already in Mani’s own lifetime, ca. 250–270.²⁵¹ Mani is said to have ordered Adda to stay there and preach. Other sources confirm this timeframe. A Neoplatonist philosopher, Alexander of Lycopolis, wrote a treatise against Manichaeism ca. 280–300, naming the first Manichaean missionaries in his vicinity as Pappos and Thomas.²⁵² Christian leaders were on the alert as well: a papyrus letter by a Christian authority, ascribed to Theonas, bishop of Alexandria (ca.

²⁵⁰ Worp counts four (Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 74, pkgr.24, l.3n.), but the last, a Psekes pr(esbyter) found in pkgr.48, is not described as *katholikēs*. See further section 11.3.3. For the expression *katholikēs ekklēsiās*, see *ibid.*, 159, pkgr.58, l.8n; see also Ewa Wipszycka, ‘Katholiké et les autres épithètes qualifiant le nom ékklesia: contribution à l’étude de l’ordre, hiérarchique des églises dans l’Égypte byzantine’, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 24 (1994).

²⁵¹ For the period of his missionary activity, see Tardieu, ‘Les manichéens en Égypte’, 27–40; Koenen, ‘Manichäische Klöster’; van den Berg, *Biblical argument*, 33ff. Van den Berg indicates that ‘it is most probable that Addas started his mission early, about 243.’ *ibid.*, 35.

²⁵² Pappos could well be another name for Addā; see van den Berg, *Biblical argument*, 21–23. Thomas is generally taken as the author of the ‘Psalms of Thomas’ in the Med.Madi *Psalm-Book* (see below), although Jürgen Tübach has recently argued, based on the Mandaean affinity of these psalms (for which see Säve-Söderbergh, *Studies in the Manichaean Psalm-Book*, 156.), that the disciple Thomas was probably fictive, and that the Thomas-psalms originally belonged to the Mandaean community. Jürgen Tubach, ‘Die Thomas-Psalmen und der Mani-Jünger Thomas’, in *Atti, Quinto Congresso Internazionale di Studi sul Manicheismo. Il Manicheismo. Nuove prospettive della ricerca, Napoli, 2–8 Settembre 2001*, ed. A. van Tongerloo and L. Cirillo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

280–300), denounces Manichaean missionaries (and in particular Elect women).²⁵³ Roman authorities, too, took note of their arrival. An edict of Diocletian is preserved, promulgated in Alexandria in 302 and addressed to the prefect of North Africa, wherein the Emperor decreed harsh punishments for Manichaeans in the Roman Empire, including death penalty for most adherents and the burning of their books.²⁵⁴

Despite invectives and persecution, the movement gained strength in Egypt. Egyptian patristic writers were well aware of the competition. Two writers of the early–mid fourth century, Serapion of Thmuis and Didymus the Blind, are both credited with polemical works against the Manichaeans. In his hagiography of St. Anthony, Athanasius of Alexandria describes how Anthony strictly avoided Manichaeans while establishing his monastic movement; Athanasius himself targeted Manichaeans in his 39th Festal Letter (dated 367), along with other ‘heretics’.²⁵⁵ A later Egyptian patriarch, Eutychius of Alexandria (fl. ninth–tenth centuries), claimed that they were so widespread in Egypt in the fourth century that his distant predecessor Timothy (ca. 380–385 CE) made monks undergo food-tests in order to root out Manichaeans among them.²⁵⁶ Upper Egypt in particular has been seen as an early Manichaean centre,²⁵⁷ leading Jozef Vergote, based on earlier suggestions by Michel Tardieu and Ludwig Koenen, to propose two simultaneous routes of dissemination: one mission through Alexandria, another through Aelana (Aqaba) on the Red Sea, down to the ports of Upper Egypt.²⁵⁸ It was in Upper Egypt, from cities such as Antinoopolis, Lycopolis, and

²⁵³ P. Ryland 469. See Roberts C. H. Roberts, *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin papyri in the John Rylands Library*, vol. 3 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1938), 38–46. 38-46

²⁵⁴ Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 91–94.

²⁵⁵ See David Brakke, ‘A new fragment of Athanasius’s Thirty-Ninth Festal Letter: Heresy, apocrypha, and the canon’, *Harvard Theological Review* 103, no. 1 (2010).

²⁵⁶ Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 146.

²⁵⁷ Lieu, *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia*, 92–93; Siegfried G. Richter, ‘Manichaeism and gnosticism in the Panopolitan region between Lykopolis and Nag Hammadi’, in *Christianity and monasticism in Upper Egypt*, ed. Gabra Gawdat and Hany N. Takla (Cairo: The American University in Cairo, 2008).

²⁵⁸ Tardieu, ‘Les manichéens en Égypte’; Koenen, ‘Manichäische Klöster’, 96–98; Vergote, ‘L’expansion’. This theory has perhaps some support in its ability to explain differences in terminology between different Coptic Manichaean texts, argued by Paul van Lindt, *The names of Manichaean mythological figures: a comparative study on terminology in the Coptic sources* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992), 221–22. Van den Berg (*Biblical argument*, 37.) regards the southern route as the most probable one.

Panopolis, that the Manichaeans found roads leading from the Nile Valley to the Oasis, preparing the way for its dissemination there.

Evidence for the appearance of Manichaeans in Kellis is contemporary with the evidence for the catholic officials, i.e. ca. 330s, although the group may well have arrived in the Oasis somewhat earlier, around 300 (see Chapter 9). After the fourth century, when Kellis itself had been abandoned, the evidence for Manichaeans in Egypt also disappears: its later development and eventual demise goes undocumented. A much later church authority recounts a story about two travelling Manichaeans who were reported to and executed by the dux of Egypt in the year 643, but its historical veracity (or accuracy in ascribing Manichaean identity to these travellers) cannot be ascertained.²⁵⁹ According to ibn al-Nadim, a certain Abu Hilal al-Dayhuri, an 'African', was appointed leader (i.e. archegos) of the Manichaeans in Iraq during the caliphate of al-Mansur (754–775 CE). His epithet probably signifies an origin in Egypt: it does not, however, prove the continuous existence of fourth-century communities here.²⁶⁰

2.5 Centrality and religion

The spread and social composition of Manichaeism in Kellis itself receives more in-depth attention in Chapter 9. The concluding discussion here is necessarily more impressionistic, confined to general remarks concerning the possible influence of two distinct aspects of Oasis society: its centralised elite and its mobile subgroups. From the above sketch of Oasis society, we can identify certain attributes that may have affected the way Manichaeism extended its reach from the Nile Valley to the Oasis.

A common way for network researchers to conceptualise the spread of religions is to see them as information flows within networks of actors of varying centrality.²⁶¹ In centralised

²⁵⁹ Benjamin of Alexandria, *On the marriage feast of Cana*, in H. de Vies, ed., *Homélie copte de la Vaticane*, I (Hauniae 1922), 80–88; trans. Iain Gardner and Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 123.

²⁶⁰ From al-Nadim *Fihrist*, trans. John C. Reeves, *Prolegomena to a history of islamicate Manichaeism* (Sheffield; Bristol: Equinox, 2011), 266 n.78.

²⁶¹ See for instance Anna Collar, 'Network theory and religious innovation', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22, no. 1 (2007); Woolf, 'Only connect?'

societies, information has to flow through a relatively limited set of people. The natural environment of the Oasis necessitated a degree of spatial and social centralisation, as we have seen. Agricultural organisation was more strictly hierarchical here than elsewhere in Egypt, due to the investments of labour and resources needed to develop new plots of land. The author of the KAB reported to a landlord with the Roman name Faustianus son of Aquila, living all the way over in Hibis in the neighbouring Khargeh Oasis, showing that such elites could be distant. Political centralisation is also evident: the officials of the Roman civil administration were responsible for both Khargeh and Dakhleh. The Great Oasis thus had a rather narrow group of decision-makers, both administrative and economic, compared to other parts of the empire. The influence held by such a centralised elite will have affected how religion spread to and through the Oasis. It could be argued that this made it more difficult for new religious movements to enter, as the social status and conservatism of the ruling elites might make them less amenable to social and/or religious deviation.²⁶² On the other hand, they would also have more frequently been exposed to new ideas or trends from the Nile Valley. A centralised society may be useful to religious movements if they can manage to elicit support from important figures in the network of power. In any case, the sudden appearance of churches all over Dakhleh in the first half-to-mid fourth century shows that Christian (or Manichaean?) communities were already established in the area, and indicates that the centralised aspects of Oasis society did not constitute a barrier to the spread of such movements.

This can perhaps be attributed to another feature of the Oasis, namely a high degree of mobility within certain social groups. Mobility in the antique world, the physical movement of people and goods, has recently seen increased scholarly interest.²⁶³ Manichaeism has often been ascribed a particularly high degree of mobility, through the itinerancy of its Elect and its affiliation with trade communities. A high degree of mobility was characteristic of certain

²⁶² See the arguments in Collar, *Religious networks in the Roman Empire: the spread of new ideas*, 19–20.

²⁶³ The topic has attracted attention at least since Lionel Casson, but has recently seen an uptick. A landmark study is Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: a study of Mediterranean history* (Oxford; Malden: Blackwell, 2000). For a collection of both empirically and theoretically oriented studies in the context of the Roman Empire, see L. de Ligt and Laurens E. Tacoma, eds., *Migration and mobility in the early Roman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2016). A recent useful study of physical mobility in Egypt, based on papyri, is Adams, *Land transport*. For a study concentrating on long-term patterns of movement in the Oasis, see Boozer, 'The social impact of trade and migration: The Western Desert in pharaonic and post-pharaonic Egypt'. For movement in relation to cult in particular, see Simon Price, 'Religious mobility in the Roman Empire', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 102 (2012); Philip A. Harland, ed. *Travel and religion in antiquity* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2011).

groups within Oasis society as well. No River Nile provided easy transportation. A comparatively large segment of the population therefore had to be engaged in the overland movement of goods, which according to Bagnall may have offset the stark hierarchy, since '[t]here were a lot of *onelatai*, donkey drivers, and *kamelitai*, camel drivers, in the oases, far more than in most Valley communities.'²⁶⁴ These did not only work within the Oasis itself: the need and desire for contact with the Nile Valley would have made regional mobility a more prominent feature of the Oasites than of people elsewhere in Egypt. It is can be no coincidence that the people most closely associated with Manichaeism in Kellis were also deeply engaged in the Nile Valley-trade, as we shall see.

²⁶⁴ See Bagnall and Aravecchia, 'Economy and society in the Roman Oasis'.

Chapter 3: Drawing circles – the people of House 3

3.0 Introduction

This chapter's purpose is to introduce the main circles and key actors of the Coptic material, primarily those from House 3, in which nearly all texts pertaining to Manichaeism in Kellis were found. I build on the works of the previous editors in order to identify actors across texts, in order to create a prosopography for the archive(s). Furthermore, I consider how the different social circles and families interrelated, possibly as part of a single, extended familial household. By identifying actors and the way they interrelated we gain valuable insight into how roles and responsibilities were distributed among the Manichaean families in Kellis.

3.1 The archaeological and editorial work

3.1.1 The archaeology of House 1–3



Figure 3: House 1–3 (credit: Colin A. Hope)

The large majority of texts pertaining to Manichaeans were discovered in the housing block House 1–3. The archaeological context of the finds is comparatively well preserved.²⁶⁵ The houses of this residential complex were one-storied constructions with roof terraces, built around 300 CE. The main doorways faced a street to the south. The style conforms to patterns

²⁶⁵ For surveys of their construction history, Gardner and Lieu, 'From Narmouthis'; Colin A. Hope, 'The archaeological context of the discovery of leaves from a Manichaean Codex', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 117 (1997); Colin A. Hope and Gillian E. Bowen, 'The Archaeological Context', in *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis*, ed. Iain Gardner, Anthony Alcock, and Wolf-P. Funk (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1999); Hope, 'Roman-period houses'.

found elsewhere in Dakhleh.²⁶⁶ They are smaller, and lack the *atria* and wall-paintings of residences such as those in Area B.²⁶⁷ A large number of everyday items were discovered within the houses. The findings would suggest that the people of the House 1–3 texts belonged to the middle social stratum of Kellis society – if indeed they used these houses (see section 3.4.2). The houses were built in the late third century,²⁶⁸ while occupation continued until at least the 380s.²⁶⁹ House 3 was the largest structure, the first to be built, and the one that contained by far the most papyri.²⁷⁰ House 2 also provided a certain amount of papyri, mostly in Greek. The documentary texts from House 2 are prosopographically related to those of House 3, as discussed in section 4.1. A few documents, mostly fragments, were found in House 1 and the North Building. However, while fragmented, these texts also display a connection to House 3, prosopographically and even physically.²⁷¹

3.1.2 The social circles

The documentary papyri found in House 1–3 make up ca 208 papyri texts; 90 in Greek and 116 in Coptic, as well as some ostraca in both Greek and Coptic. The texts were grouped together based on recurring names and topics, palaeographic and stylistic concerns, and (in part) find-site by Klaas A. Worp in *P. Kell. Gr. I*, and, aided by Worp's publication, by Gardner, Alcock,

²⁶⁶ Any 'ideological influence' on the house lay-out seems unlikely. Boozer noted regarding the absence of kitchens in House 2: 'There is some reason to believe that the Manichees may have had a prohibition on cooking inside houses. It seems that Manicheans may have lived in the Kellis 1–3 houses, and this may explain, in part, the location of the food preparation areas outside of the house.' Anna L. Boozer, *Amheida II. A Late Romano-Egyptian House in the Dakhla Oasis: Amheida House B2* (New York: NYU Press, 2015), Ch. 6, n.143. Such prohibitions would only concern the Elect, who are unlikely to have been the primary users of House 1–3.

²⁶⁷ Lisa Nevett, 'Family and Household, Ancient History and Archaeology: A case study from Roman Egypt', in *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, ed. Beryl Rawson, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient world (Blackwell, 2011), 20.

²⁶⁸ A single coin from before this era, struck by Antoninus Pius, is 'perhaps best be regarded as a stray'; Bowen in Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 111–12 n.75.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰ Colin A. Hope and Gillian E. Bowen, 'The archaeological context', in *Coptic documentary texts from Kellis. Vol 1.*, ed. Iain Gardner, Anthony Alcock, and Wolf-P. Funk (Oxford: Oxbow, 1999), 100; Hope, 'Roman-period houses', 215–21.

²⁷¹ Gena son Ouonsis, present in pkgr.23 (and pkgr.24) from House 3, also occurs in pkgr.18 from House 1. Pieces of a Manichaean codex were found scattered between House 1, the North Building, and House 3 (now published as pkgr.97.). See Hope and Bowen, 'The archaeological context', 108; Gardner, *KLT II*, 94–97. For its content, see section 10.2.2.

and Funk in CDT I. For House 2, Worp identified four individuals who figure prominently in its texts: Tithoes son of Petesis and his son Samoun, and Pausanias and his associate Gena. The two former were active in the second half of the fourth century, the latter two in the first half, and seem to have formed distinct circles. The texts from House 2, however, only consisted of ca 12 pieces. In comparison, the Greek material from House 3 consisted of 71 pieces. These texts were dominated by Pamour I (son of Psais I) and his descendants, what I here term the Pamour circles (or the Pamours). Their texts span almost the entire fourth century. With the help of these texts, and a few readings of the yet-to-be published Coptic papyri, Worp built a preliminary genealogy of actors from House 2 and 3:²⁷²

- 330s: The Pausanias/Gena circle
- 360s: The Tithoes/Samoun circle
- 290s–380s: The Pamour circles, of which three generations can be discerned:
 - 290s–320s: Pamour I, son of Psais I, and Philammon I (his brother?)
 - 330s–360s: Psais II and Pamour II, sons of Pamour I
 - 350s–380s: Pamour III and Pekysis, sons of Psais II

However, not every document could easily be attributed to one of these circles.²⁷³ Turning to the Coptic material, most of the letters published in CDT I were not directly connected to the circles of P. Kell. Gr. I. The editors, Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, noted only one letter that clearly belonged to one of the above-mentioned actors: pkc.12, from Tithoes to Samoun. The rest of this material – excluding the Manichaean letters pkc.30–34 – they divided between four main circles:²⁷⁴

- 355 (ca.): The Horion/Tehat circle
- 350s (late): The Makarios/Maria I circle
- 360s (late): The Psais/Andreas circle
- Ca 370: The Petros circle

²⁷² See Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 28 and 51.

²⁷³ Worp lists 25 documents from House 3 (of the 72 House 3-texts in Greek in his volume) that cannot be explained by the assumption ‘that documents found in House 3 were addressed/related to people living there’. *Ibid.*, 52. In several instances he does, however, note possible relationships between the unaffiliated letters and the presumed inhabitants.

²⁷⁴ See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 11, 55–58.

Almost all the material of these circles (ca 37 Coptic texts in CDT I) stemmed from House 3. In addition to some actors identified with a high degree of certainty, the editors made a preliminary prosopographic list of 173 names. Here they noted recurring names (at times with varying forms), but also pointed out that some of these could possibly – or definitely – refer to different actors with the same name.²⁷⁵ That connections between these circles existed was clear, but the editors deferred sorting out most of them until the completion of the remaining Coptic texts.

The second volume of edited texts mainly contained material from House 3 (ca. 64 texts), which was not, however, directly related to the circles from CDT I.²⁷⁶ The editors noted only three texts that clearly belonged to one of the circles listed above: one to the Horion/Tehat circle (pkc.58), one probably to the Petros circle (pkc.60), and one probably to the Psais/Andreas circle (pkc.59).²⁷⁷ Instead, the bulk of letters from CDT II pertain to the later Pamours circle, known from the Greek texts. Most belonged to Pamour III and his wife Maria II (pkc.64–72), or his brother Pekysis (pkc.73–79), although many were also written by close family members or associates, such as Philammon II and Theognostos (pkc.80–84). The dating of the documents remained unaffected by this material. As the Coptic texts (with a very few exceptions) lack dates and patronyms, the Greek documents pertaining to the Pamours were crucial to establish a timeframe. The editors of CDT II still placed the material of Makarios in the late 350s, and attributed those of Pamour III and Maria to the successive generation. They concluded:

In sum, our interpretation is that the Makarios family correspondence dates from the later 350s C.E. (the evidence for this is discussed in some detail in CDT I). Probably it was preserved for some years by his wife Maria who lived as an elderly relative in House 3. In contrast, the core Pamour documents belong to a younger generation. Perhaps they were mainly written ten-fifteen years later, and thus never mention Makarios or Matthaïos; but the old woman was still alive in the house. Finally, as regards religious affiliation of these persons: Manichaean faith is vitally alive and a central concern for Makarios and his sons; in contrast, whilst there is still evidence for it in the Pamour documents, it is rarely so overt. Whether this is a result of increased circumspection, or a diminishing of faith, we simply cannot say.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 21–50.

²⁷⁶ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 6. Material from the house remains, although most of it is fragmentary (see *ibid.*, 259–62.)

²⁷⁷ Of the latter two letters, only the incipits remain.

²⁷⁸ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 40–41.

There were, however, many letters in the second volume whose relationships to the ‘core’ circles were difficult to establish. These include letters from and to Ploutogenes (pkc.85–91), likely several persons by that name; letters from Loihat and Timotheos (pkc.92–93); and a sizable amount of letters (pkc.94–121) that were not organised into any of the above circles, although some links could usually be found in instances where the papyri were not too fragmented.

CDT II did not contain an updated prosopography. Worp later published a compilation of names from Kellis and the Oasis in general, but without attempting a prosopography.²⁷⁹ The possible ties between Pausanias/Ploutogenes, Tithoes/Samoun, Pamour, Makarios/Maria, Horion/Tehat, Psais/Andreas, Petros, and the ungrouped letters thus remain only partially explored. Here I aim to clarify some of these relationships. The editors have made many valuable comments and suggestions for identifying actors, and for sorting out their relations, which I consider here. Because of the extensive usage of familial terminology in the Coptic texts, I only take familial terms to indicate (biological) family relationship in a few, exceptional cases.²⁸⁰ They are, however, useful for establishing broad generations. Some care is needed also in these instances, as there is evidence to suggest that such usage was also, at times, fluid and contextual (see in particular the cases of Horos I and Philammon II, below). I therefore use a combination of familial terms, prosopographic circles, roles, and find sites.

3.1.3 Circles and find-spots

One factor to consider in this regard is find site. While letters belonging to different circles of House 3 were widely dispersed, some were found in what may termed ‘discrete archives’, i.e. letters from certain social circles tended to be concentrated in certain parts of the house.²⁸¹ Here I have considered the find patterns in order to see how such discrete archives may aid

²⁷⁹ Klaas A. Worp and R. P. Salomons, ‘Onomasticon Oasiticum: an onomasticon of personal names found in documentary texts from the Theban Oasis in Graeco-Roman times’, (2009); an analysis of the distribution of Christian names in Kellis is found in Worp, ‘Christian names’.

²⁸⁰ For the general usage (and difficulty of evaluating significance of) familial terms in the period before the fourth century, see Eleanor Dickey, ‘Literal and extended use of kinship terms in documentary papyri’, *Mnemosyne* 57, no. 2 (2004).

²⁸¹ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 336.

prosopographic identifications. The chart below (Figure 4) presents 84 texts, the rooms in which they were found, and the social circles to which they were assigned. Texts with more than one link consist of fragments from different rooms.²⁸²

The central room 6 was the richest in finds. Some rooms in close proximity to each other were also closely connected spatially as well as prosopographically; in particular, room 8 and 9, and room 10 and 11. Manichaean texts were widely dispersed: many were found in several pieces, and fragments from one Manichaean literary codex were even found in different houses (pkgr.97). Texts pertaining to the same people were also dispersed throughout the house, in particular those of Pamour and Pekysis. Still, ‘discrete archives’ are in evidence. The editors noted, in particular, the strong concentration of the letters of the Maria/Makarios circle (in room 6) and those of the Petros circles (in the two adjacent rooms 8 and 9).²⁸³ In CDT II they made note of the close relationship between the letters by Philammon to Theognostos (pkc.81) and by Tekysis to Psais (pkc.116), which were found together,²⁸⁴ in turn closely tied to a letter by Tapsais to Psais (pkc.115), found at the same spot, sharing several names and probably subject matters. To these we can add the fact that all letters with an Andreas as main recipient (pkc.88, pkc.105, pkc.107) were found in room 9 (dep.3). Moreover, four out of seven letters addressed to Partheni (pkc.75–76, pkc.95, pkc.102) were found in the same room 9 (dep.3), the rest (pkc.71, pkc.83, pkc.117) in room 6 (dep.4, 1, 5). Finally, five out of six letters addressed to a Horos were found in two rooms, both in the northern part of the house: pkc.17 and pkc.78–79 were found in room 11 (dep.2+5 and 4, respectively); pkc.15–16 and pkc.76²⁸⁵ were all found in room 9 (dep.3). These discrete archives are considered in order to identify actors below (section 3.2.3 and 3.3.1, respectively).

²⁸² The dataset is drawn from a preliminary list found in CDT I, combined with data gathered from P. Kell. Gr. I, KLT I and II, and CDT II.

²⁸³ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 336.

²⁸⁴ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 242.

²⁸⁵ Pkc.76 has Partheni on the address, but Horos as the first addressee in the letter body. The exception is pkc.30, written by Lysimachos to Hor.

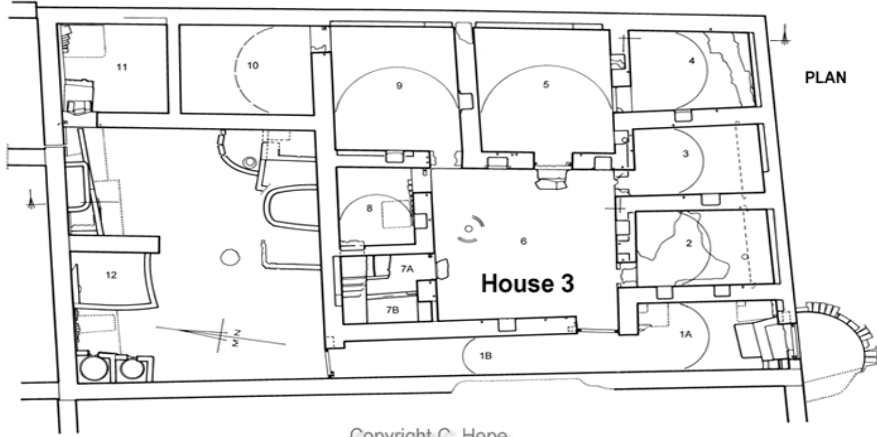


Figure 5: Layout of House 3 (credit: Colin A. Hope)

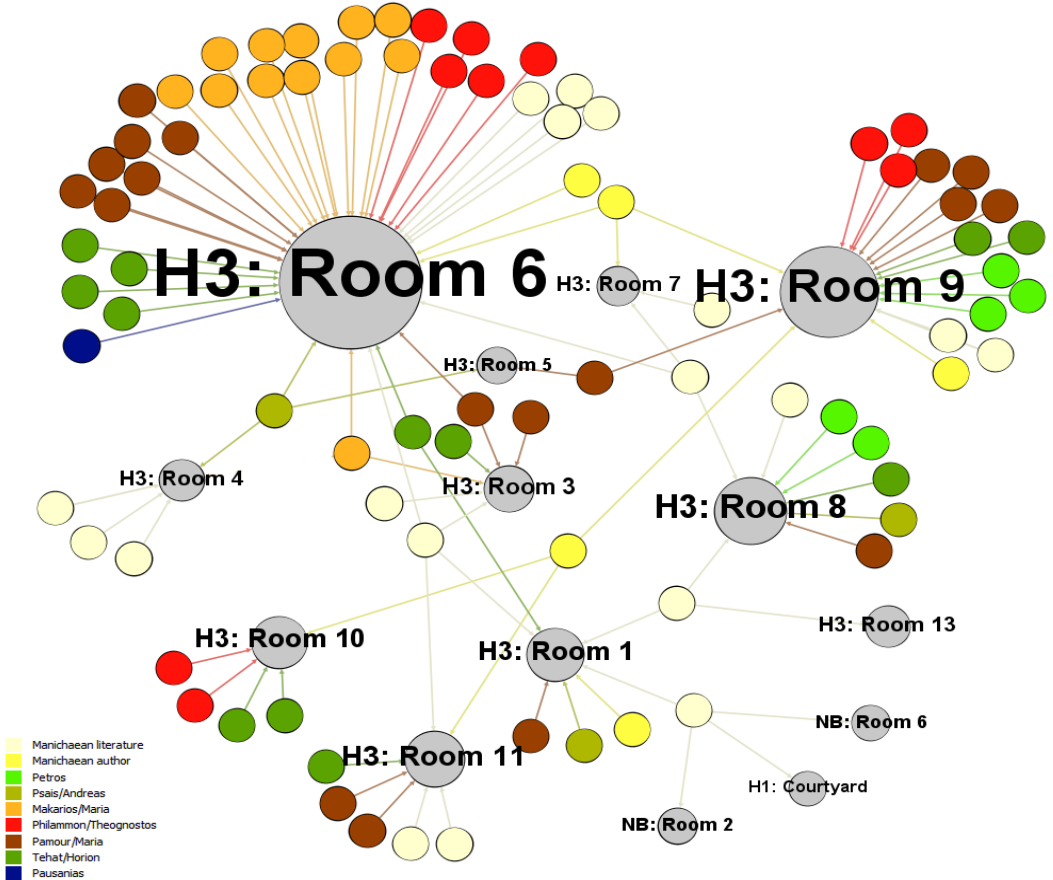


Figure 4: Links between rooms and text fragments in House 3 (Gephi).

3.2 The Pamour family

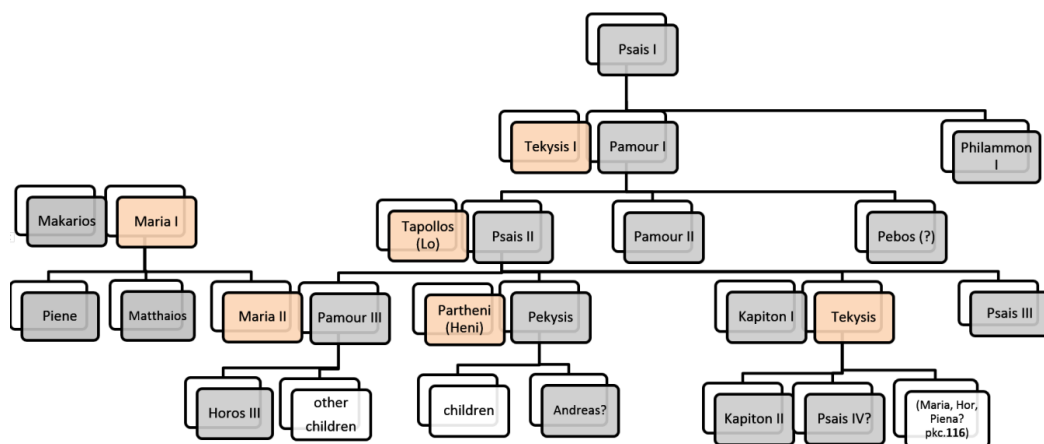


Figure 6: The Pamour family and the Makarios family

Below I introduce the principle ‘social circles’ known from House 3 papyri that can be grouped together as the so-called ‘Pamour family’. Their datable documents chronicle activities from ca. 300 to ca. 380. The ‘Pamour family’ is used as a shorthand for a multiple-family household group. I follow the editors in arguing that this household consisted of the three partly distinct ‘social circles’ visible in the letters: that of Psais II and his sons, Pamour and Pekysis (the Pamour circle), that of Makarios, Maria, and their family (the Maria/Makarios circle), and that of Psais III and his ‘brothers’ (the Psais/Andreas circle). These circles are the chief protagonists of the texts from House 1–3. They are moreover related to two other circles of documents discovered in House 3, those of Tehat and those of Petros, although their exact relationship is less clear (see section 3.4).

3.2.1 Psais II and his sons

Psais II, son of Pamour I

The earliest active member of the Pamour family identified in the sources is Pamour (I) son of Psais (I), attested for the period ca. 300–320. He was married to a woman named Tekysis (I), and worked closely with a man named Philammon (I). Their preserved documents are primarily judicial texts: only two letters can, with some uncertainty, be attributed to Pamour

I/Philammon I.²⁸⁶ Psais (II), son of Pamour I and Tekysis I, is better known. His datable activities span the mid-fourth century: from 333 (pkgr.38) to 364 (pkgr.32), and so he was probably at the latest born ca. 315. He also figures prominently, if often indirectly, in the mid-fourth century Coptic documents. He had a brother, Pamour (II), who can only be identified with certainty in one document (pkgr.42). His wife was Tapollo, and their known children include Pamour (III), Pekysis, and a daughter, probably Tekysis (III). Most occurrences of the name Pamour in the Coptic texts relate to Psais II's son, Pamour III, although there are instances of uncertainty.²⁸⁷ A Pebos son of Pamour occurs in a contract for the purchase of a seventh part of an orchard (pkgr.39). His patronymic could refer to either of these Pamours; I, II, or III.²⁸⁸

Few letters can be attributed to Psais II's authorship. The only clear example is the Coptic pkc.110 to his sons, where he probably writes from the Nile Valley. The family had strong ties to the Valley: several documents found in House 1–3 were written in Aphrodito, a village located between Lycopolis and Antinoopolis in the Antaiopolite Nome, not far from a route leading to Hibis and the Great Oasis.²⁸⁹ Psais II had made Aphrodito his primary residence by 364 (pkgr.62); his brother, Pamour II, had done likewise by the same year

²⁸⁶ Pkgr.66 and, less certainly, pkgr.65. For pkgr.66, see section 6.1.1. Pkgr.65 features a Philammon writing a Tekysis, taken by Worp to be Philammon I writing to his biological sister and Pamour I's wife, Tekysis I. See Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 51, 174. However, the document may belong to a later generation, as tentatively proposed by Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 21. Worp compares it to a letter of Philammon from the Coptic material with similar concerns for financial loss. This letter has now been published as pkc.81: it clearly dates to the mid-fourth century and is authored by Philammon II, who was also a contemporary of at least two women named Tekysis. Still, it was found close to documents of Pamour I, and no other letter by Philammon II in Greek is known.

²⁸⁷ The only certain instance of two Pamours occurs in an account (pkc.44). Here one Pamour receives payment (l.13, Pamour III?), while another provides a payment (l.11). The latter is called Pamour 'son of Belles' (or Pamour 'the blind'? See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 258, pkc.44, l.11n.). Another possible instance of two Pamours in the same document is pkc.76, a letter by Pekysis, where 'father' Pam[our?] is greeted by Charis (l.44), while another Pamour sends greetings (l.47). Pamour III must be the man who sends greetings, as he is often in the Valley, and Charis would not refer to him as 'father' – Charis is herself called 'mother' by Maria II and Pamour III. There are, however, other options for restoring the name of the father (if indeed it is a name), see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 99–100, pkc.76, l.47n. Pamour in Maria/Makarios letters pkc.20 (l.29) and pkc.26 (l.16) seems likely to be Pamour III travelling to and from the Nile Valley, especially given the presence of Philammon, although this is doubted by the editors (Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 36.). Compare also pkc.21 (l.49), pkc.25 (l.61), and pkc.80 (l.30).

²⁸⁸ The seventh-part of the orchard is valued at 5000 T., showing a date in the mid–late fourth century for this Pebos. Furthermore, it can be compared to a price for a whole orchard, which in P. Bingen 120 (l.19), d. 366/7, is 3500 T. Although size and fertility would have played into the price, making a comparison approximate, it seems likely that pkgr.39 is of even later date (370s or 380s?), and so the father should probably be Pamour II or III.

²⁸⁹ Better known from an archive of a later date, for which see Keenan, 'The Aphrodite papyri'; Ruffini, *Social networks*.

(pkgr.44).²⁹⁰ Psais II's wife Tapollo remained in Kellis, where their sons took charge of business. They, too, began travelling between Oasis and Valley by the time of or in the early 360s, and it is their circle that is best documented by the private letters.

Pamour III and Pekysis

Psais II's sons, Pamour III and Pekysis, are central figures in the archive, although their network of relatives and associates extended well beyond them. Their period of activity cover ca. 350 to 380. Pamour III was the older of the two brothers. He is first recorded in a dated document in 352, signing an oath declaration with many of Kellis' prominent household heads (pkgr.24, l.15), and so he must have been a grown man at this time, born ca. 330 or earlier.²⁹¹ He authored letters both in Coptic (pkc.64–72) and Greek (pkgr.71).²⁹² The majority of his letters contain postscripts by a Maria (II), probably his wife. Most frequently, Pamour and Maria write from the Nile Valley, and address Pamour's brother Pekysis, as well as brother Psais (III).²⁹³

Pamour III started out working in the Oasis, but moved to the Valley at some point, perhaps in the 360s. Family may have played a role. By the early 360s, Pamour had married and fathered three children – among them a boy named Horos and a girl – as documented in a contract dealing with exchange of property rights from Pamour's deceased wife to Horos, dated 363 (pkgr.30).²⁹⁴ The property was located in Aphrodito, and so his wife may have originated there. Going by the letters, this wife should be Maria II, but identifying the two presents some problems (see below). Pamour and Horos are described as 'Egyptians' (pkgr.30, ll.6–7), perhaps indicating that the family was attempting to integrate into Valley society,

²⁹⁰ Perhaps their absence from a list of prominent Kellites (pkgr.24, d.352) could be taken to indicate that they had already moved by this time, twelve years prior.

²⁹¹ The possibility that this was Pamour I son of Psais I, is unlikely: he was an adult in 301 (okell.4), and already in 333 it is his son Psais II that signs for the family, see pkgr.38. This text moreover mentions Psais II's 'son' (pkgr.38b, l.10), and so Pamour III may have been a boy by that time, born in the 320s.

²⁹² Excepting, perhaps, pkc.70, whose author is lost, but was clearly closely connected to the Pamour family.

²⁹³ For Pekysis: pkc.65–67. For Psais III: pkc.64, pkc.72, pkgr.71, perhaps pkc.68 and pkc.70. Pkc.68 was written to brother π..., but greets Pekysis in the closing, meaning that Psais III was probably the recipient (also indicated by the size of the lacuna, l.7). For the relationship of Psais III to the rest of this family, see section 3.2.3.

²⁹⁴ Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 90, pkgr.30, l.9n. For other actors by the name Horos in the House 3 circles (Horos I and II), see 3.2.3 and 3.2.4. For the question of what pkgr.30 may tell us about the date of Pamour III's letters, see below.

although Pamour was located in the Oasis (with Horos?) when it was drawn up and had to be represented by his father, Psais II.²⁹⁵ Pamour's latest appearance in a dated document is a lease made in Kellis (pkgr.33), dated 369, which does not specify that he was residing in Aphrodito at that time. A private contract in Coptic between him and his brother Pekysis (pkc.69) confirms that he moved permanently to the Valley at some point. This contract also reveals that Pekysis was in charge of their inherited property in Kellis.²⁹⁶

Pekysis himself is the author of a number of letters (Coptic pkc.73–79, Greek pkgr.72, pkgr.76). Pekysis also had wife and children – at least one son – by the early 360s (pkc.25). His wife was probably Partheni II, a weaver.²⁹⁷ He, too, often writes about business taking place in the Valley, although it seems that he retained property in and stronger ties to Kellis than his brother (as indicated by pkc.69). Despite frequently occurring in the letters, he is only identifiable with certainty in one datable Greek document: a loan-contract from 382 (pkgr.44), which saw him borrowing a gold solidus from another Kellis-villager but located in Aphrodito. This late text does not specify that he resided in Aphrodito, and Pekysis must have brought it back with him to the village, so it is likely that he was still a Kellis-resident.

Although both brothers employ long religious greetings and invocations, displaying distinctly Manichaean symbolic cues (see section 9.3.1), they are mainly concerned with their textile business. Their closest business associates were also family members: it included their

²⁹⁵ Lewis comments on this line: 'Horos' family had ties of long standing with the Valley ... It is not hard to imagine that Oasis families with such Valley connections might be dubbed "Egyptians" by their neighbours, thus expressing, I suspect, much the same combination of envy and disdain with which some people used to speak (or still speak?) of "city folk".' Lewis, 'Notationes legentis', 29–30. While plausible, it does not explain why the nickname appears in a document drafted in Aphrodito. The disdain thus may have been that of the scribe and/or the villagers in Aphrodito towards Oasites – newcomers who were trying to become 'Egyptian'.

²⁹⁶ See also pkc.77, where Pekysis greets from Pamour while present in Aphrodito.

²⁹⁷ Pekysis places Partheni's name on the address, greets 'my wife' (ἡ ἀγαπητή) with children in the incipit (pkc.75, ll.4–5), and ends his letter with a greeting (in Greek) to 'my lady Parthene' (l.44). She is often identified by the hypocoristic Heni, as the editors also argue Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 142, pkc.84, l.17n.. This is for instance shown in pkc.76. The letter has Partheni on the address, but the incipit is addressed to Horos. However, in the letter body he discusses weaving involving 'Heni', and shortly afterwards addresses a woman (fem. 'you') directly together with his children (l.34) and asks her to perform weaving. It seems clear that Partheni/Heni is the same person, wife of Pekysis. Admittedly, there were two persons of this name associated with the Maria/Makarios circle; a Heni/Partheni occurring in Matthaïos' letters (pkc.25, l.57; pkc.26, l.40) and a 'mother' Partheni in Makarios' pkc.19 (l.76; see also pkc.47, l.29). However, the former is probably Pekysis' wife, considering the closely linked mentions of Partheni and Maria II (Pamour's wife) in Matthaïos' letter pkc.25 (for which, see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 193, pkc.25, l.57n.). Most instances of Partheni/Heni (especially those involving weaving) would appear to relate to Pekysis' wife.

wives, Maria II and Partheni, their sister, Tekysis III,²⁹⁸ her husband Kapiton, the couple Philammon II and Charis, and the figures Horos, Theognostos, Psais III, and Andreas. All of these occur as authors and/or recipients in their own right. The latter two, Psais and Andreas, should probably be identified with the leaders of the Psais/Andreas circle, as argued below. Their relationship was close and in some way familial – Psais III could well be a younger, biological brother; son of Psais II – but the precise nature of their bonds is difficult to untangle. Furthermore, the letters belonging to the Maria/Makarios circle probably relates to the family of Pamour’s wife Maria II: her mother, Maria I, her father/uncle Makarios, and her brothers Matthaïos and Piene.

Both the Psais/Andreas and the Maria/Makarios circles should be included in the extended ‘Pamour family’. The later history of this family is unclear. Only two papyri from House 3 give evidence to activity after 382, but do not (as far as we can tell) concern descendants of Pamour III or Pekysis. A contract dated 386 (pkgr.45) may concern a nephew of Pamour III/Pekysis, a man named Kapiton son of Kapiton, at that time resident in the village Thio.²⁹⁹ It also involves a scribe named Andreas, perhaps identifiable with the brother or colleague of Psais III. The last datable text of the archive is pkgr.77, a heavily fragmented record of a judicial proceeding from 389.³⁰⁰

Dating the Pamour letters: Maria II and P. Kell. Gr. 30

As noted above, the editors dated the private Pamour letters to the late 360s or early 370s. A document that could help date their correspondences more precisely is pkgr.30: it would put them about a decade earlier (i.e. the early 360s). However, this text causes some difficulties as well. It is as already indicated a contract for exchange of property rights between Horos, son of Pamour (III) son of Psais (II), and a man named Psenpnouthes. Horos had inherited a

²⁹⁸ Per Makarios’ letter pkc.20 (ll.44, 55) there were two actors by this name active in the mid-fourth century. Makarios terms one of them ‘mother’ (pkc.20, l.44, see also pkc.83, l.2), and so it may be that she could be identified with Pamour I’s wife Tekysis I (only documented as active in pkgr.37, d.320, 35–40 years prior), but this cannot be known and so I here operate with three Tekysis-figures. Most instances of the name likely relates to Tekysis III, sister of Pamour/Pekysis. For her marriage to Kapiton, see pkc.75 and pkgr.76.

²⁹⁹ For a discussion of the identification of Kapiton I and II, see section 4.3.3.

³⁰⁰ Another possibly quite late document is pkgr.39, dated based on the price for parts of an orchard of 5000 talents. The man who buys it, Pebos son of Pamour, could be son of either Pamour II or Pamour III.

share in a house in Aphrodito from his mother. Since Pamour III and Horos are unable to participate, it falls to Psais II to represent them.

Maria II is by far the most likely candidate to be the wife of Pamour III. If her death is documented by this contract, it would place all letters that she was involved in at a time prior to 363.³⁰¹ Conversely, letters by Pamour III where Maria II is absent, but where one would expect her to appear, could (more tentatively) be dated after her death.³⁰² A direct mention of her death might even be found in a letter by Philammon II. He speaks of a 'great evil' that has befallen Pamour,³⁰³ writing Pekysis that: 'For you are the ones who ought to comfort him; surely we know that a great evil has befallen him. And we also heard that the old woman departed the body.' (pkc.80, ll.12–16). Since the second evil involves the death of an elderly woman, it might be suggested that the first evil similarly involved the death of a family member, and presumably one which primarily befell Pamour. The death of his wife seems an obvious candidate. Maria, furthermore, does not otherwise appear in Philammon's letters (pkc.80–82), although pkc.81 does not mention Pamour either.

Still, this chain of events remains conjectural, and there are some objections. One concerns the age of Pamour III's son, Horos, who inherited his mother in the contract pkgr.30 (d.363). He was appointed to a liturgy according to letter pkgr.72, where Pamour III's wife is alive and sends greetings. Naphtali Lewis has suggested that Horos did not represent himself in pkgr.30 because he was a minor, and so had to be replaced by his grandfather.³⁰⁴ However, Horos being a minor at his mother's death (pkgr.30) is inconsistent with her being alive at his

³⁰¹ These include pkc.64–66, pkc.71, pkc.77, and pkgr.71, as well as pkc.115, on the assumption that its author, Tekysis, is sister of Pamour and Pekysis, and the recipient is Psais III who has gone to the Valley (see pkc.105 for this development). Pkc.42, from mother Louiapshai and sister Maria to Paulos, probably also belong to this group: Matthaïos, in addition to mentioning Maria, presumably his sister, greets 'mother' Louiapshai in pkc.25. This is, however, unlikely to be his (or Maria II's) biological mother, presumed to be Maria I, and so Louiapshai may be an aunt or a grandmother. This latter possibility indicates that the 'sister' in pkc.42 could be Maria I as well. Finally, they would include the letters that mention Pamour's 'wife', but without name, pkgr.72–73.

³⁰² Primarily the letters pkc.72 and pkc.103. One might add that her presence or absence is unclear in some presumed Pamour III-letters: pkc.67–68 and 70. The author of pkc.70 is, however, somewhat unclear, while pkc.67–68 are very lacunose (it is also possible that Maria's postscript is in fact partly preserved in pkc.67). Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 60, pkc.67, l.33n).

³⁰³ For Pamour as the main object of consolation, see *ibid.*, 123, pkc.80, ll.9–10n.

³⁰⁴ Lewis, 'Notationes legentis', 29.

liturgy-appointment (pkgr.72): liturgies were usually reserved mature, able-bodied men.³⁰⁵ It is, then, possible that Pamour III had two wives: one who died in 363, while Horos was a minor (pkgr.30), and one who was alive when Horos came of age (pkgr.72). The latter could be Maria II.³⁰⁶ However, the need for a representative in pkgr.30 might also be satisfactorily explained by Horos being located with Pamour III in the Oasis (where indeed he is in pkgr.72), rather than as a minor with Psais II in the Nile Valley. This would leave room for there to have been one wife, Maria II, who died in 363, and place pkgr.72 before this date.

Another objection comes from cross-referencing with the other circles. If Maria II was the wife who died in 363, most of the Pamour letters would be contemporary with, or separated only by a few years from, those of the Maria/Makarios circle. However, Makarios is absent from the Pamour circle. This led the editors to propose a ‘generational shift’ between the Makarios and the Pamour circle, and date the Pamour letters to the late 360s–370, the Maria/Makarios to the late 350s.³⁰⁷ In that case, Maria II has to be taken as Pamour III’s second wife. On the other hand, the extensive overlap between these circles in other respects suggests that if there was a generational gap, it was not very large (see Chapter 5). I therefore prefer a dating in the early–mid 360s for the letters of the Pamour circle, but the issue cannot be entirely resolved on present evidence.

³⁰⁵ In theory, men may have become liable to liturgies already at the age they became liable to the poll-tax, i.e. at 14, but the youngest liturgists hitherto documented in the papyri range between 18–20 years, and the vast majority are older. See Lewis, *Compulsory public services*, 72 n.46. This would put at least 5 years between pkgr.30 and pkgr.72, placing the latter at the earliest in 368–370 (and probably not too long after).

³⁰⁶ Although as the wife remains unnamed in both pkgr.30 and pkgr.72 we cannot say for certain which wife – the one pre or the one post-363 – would be Maria II. A third possibility, that Maria II was not Pamour’s wife at all (but, for instance, his biological sister), appears much less likely.

³⁰⁷ The editors wrote: ‘it is certainly conceivable that Makarios and Pamour might both write to Kellis at approximately the same time, and still give the impression of this generational “shift” because they are addressing different contemporaries. Thus, when we speak of generations we do not necessarily imply (say) a twenty year gap between such. ... there are a number of factors that lead us to a notional date for the Makarios family letters ca. the latter 350s.; and for Pamour ten to fifteen years later.’ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 11. However, note that if Makarios is identifiable with a man by that name in pkgr.10, he was still active in 368/9.

3.2.2 *Maria I and Makarios*

A different, ‘mother’ Maria (here called Maria I) is the main recipient of at least seven Coptic letters, written by Makarios (pkc.20–22, pkc.24), Matthaïos (pkc.25–26) and Piene (pkc.29).³⁰⁸ She is also a central addressee in Makarios’ letter pkc.19, where Matthaïos is the primary recipient. She is presumably the mother of Matthaïos and Piene; Makarios may be either her husband or brother. A passage in Pamour’s letter pgr.71, added by his wife Maria, addresses ‘mother’ Maria, and other prosopographic ties from that letter strongly suggests that Maria I was the mother of Pamour’s wife, Maria II, as argued by the editors.³⁰⁹

Maria I was located with other relatives and associates in Kellis. Makarios addresses her alongside ‘brother’ Psenpnouthes and ‘mother’ Kyria, and at times a ‘mother’ Tamougenia.³¹⁰ He and Matthaïos, moreover, mention or greet a large number of names in their letters, many whom recur in the Pamour circle. It is clear that most of these occurrences pertain to the actors of that circle (e.g. Pamour, Pekysis, and Philammon in pkc.24, ll.49–50). Makarios and Matthaïos do not recur in the Pamour circle at all, and seem to have disappeared by the time of the preserved Pamour letters. The name Piene does occur, but the name is common both in the House 1–3 texts and Kellis at large, making an identification difficult.³¹¹

Makarios, Piene, and Matthaïos all travelled and stayed in different locations in the Nile Valley, although Aphrodito does not occur. Makarios and Matthaïos seem to have had Hermopolis as their primary residence,³¹² although both made frequent trips to nearby Antinoopolis. Makarios conducted some form of business there, along with an associate named Ammon (pkc.22). His letters contain many mundane requests for items (often textiles),

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 154–56. Several other letters (pkc.23, pkc.27–28, pkc.52) were likely also addressed to her – or at least products of the same writers – but are too fragmented for their contents to be explored.

³⁰⁹ See the map above, Figure 6, and Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 40–41.

³¹⁰ It may be relevant to note that the relative with whom Horos had to share the house he inherited from his mother with in pgr.30 was named Psenpnouthes. This could support identifying Psenpnouthes and Kyria of the Maria/Makarios circle as uncle and aunt of Maria II, in-laws to Pamour III, and explain their appearance in the Pamour letters. However, Psenpnouthes in pgr.30 is said to be from the Panopolite Nome and residing in Aphrodito.

³¹¹ It features in various forms, such as ‘Gena’, ‘Iena’, ‘Piena’, and ‘Ploutogenes’; see section 3.2.3, below. While the editors do not identify him with any of these other figures, it seems evident that the name belongs to this name-family. See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 143–44.

³¹² Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 193, pkc.25, l.50n.

fruit, or money, at times quite insisting. In return, he provided news (often bad) of his, Piene's and Matthaïos' doings in the Valley.³¹³ Matthaïos discusses some textile transactions, but otherwise mundane requests are mostly absent from the preserved letters of him and Piene.

Finally, religious cues and actors figure prominently in this circle. Makarios cites a saying of Mani's in pkc.19, and often uses elaborate religious cues in his greetings, such as when describing Maria and her co-recipients as: 'the good care-takers, zealous in every good thing, the children of the living race, the fruit of the flourishing tree and the blossoms of love.' (pkc.22, ll.4–6). In pkc.19, addressed to Matthaïos, he cites a saying of 'the Paraclete' (l.9), making a Manichaean context certain. His letters display an idiosyncratic but educated style – as Choat has put it, 'Makarios is highly educated, bilingual, writes long letters, and, such is the unusually deep religious tone and content of the greeting formulae, and their variation, that he almost certainly composes them himself.'³¹⁴ Matthaïos and Piene employ a similarly religious tone. Both begin their letters with prayers typical of the Manichaean repertoire (see section 9.3.1). Moreover, Makarios and the sons often discuss the doings of the figures Apa Lysimachos and 'the Teacher'. Piene, in particular, was close to these men, staying with Lysimachos (in Antinoopolis) and following the Teacher all the way to Alexandria, probably receiving religious instruction.³¹⁵

3.2.3 Psais and Andreas

A social circle that is somewhat more difficult to delimit is the one grouped found in the so-called Psais/Andreas letters. The primary recipient of this circle, Psais, is particularly difficult to identify, due to the currency of the name in Kellis. Identifying and/or separating the various figures named Psais (πψαι or ψαι) is of great importance for understanding the relationship between the Pamour letters and the Psais/Andreas letters. The editors grouped together three documents involving Psais/Andreas in CDT I: two letters from Ouales (Valens) to Psais (pkc.35) and Psais and Andreas (pkc.36), and one from Ammon to Psais and Andreas

³¹³ Indeed, the editors note: 'It seems to be somewhat characteristic of Makarios (or at least his style) that he spends a good deal of his time being "distressed" at one thing or another.' *ibid.*, 185, pkc.24, l.5n.

³¹⁴ Choat, *Belief and cult*, 27.

³¹⁵ See Baker-Brian, 'Mass and elite', 180–81.

(pkc.37).³¹⁶ Another letter probably authored by Ouales to Psais and Andreas appeared in CDT II (pkc.59), but only a part of the incipit is preserved. However, the second volume also included three letters addressed solely to an Andreas (pkc.88, pkc.105, pkc.107), and many more addressing a Psais. Most of these, I argue, can be added to the Psais/Andreas letters, linking this circle closely to the Pamour circle. Andreas, a name that is less common in Kellis, is of help here: it occurs quite consistently in letters involving Psais, and suggests that we are, for the most part, dealing with one man by this name, a ‘brother’ Psais III.

First, some information regarding Psais can be derived from the primary letters attributed to him. Ouales-letter pkc.35 contains a spell that Ouales has written for Psais, in return for which he expects Psais to write ‘tetrads’ to be sent with a ‘blessed one’.³¹⁷ An invocation of ‘our lord Paraclete’ (II.26–27) situates Ouales and Psais in a Manichaean context. Ouales seems to be located together with other scribes.³¹⁸ Letter pkc.36 is devoted to a transaction of money. Here Ouales addresses Psais together with Andreas, and greets the ‘little brothers’, Piena and Hor.³¹⁹ He asks them to give ‘our brother’ Psais 1400 talents. Another letter, written by a man named Ammon (pkc.37), contains a request for wool for his black tunic, and a greeting to Andreas and ‘his brothers’ – perhaps also Piena and Hor.

This Psais, then, was a capable writer, responsible for paying money and providing textile materials, and the oldest of a group of brother, some of whom appear to be young. The sequence of brothers from pkc.26 – Psais > Andreas > Ploutogenes > Horos – mirrors the sequence of these names found in several ungrouped letters. Two letters feature all of them: pkc.105 (from Psais to Andreas, with greetings from Piena and Hor) and pkc.115 (from Tekysis to ‘brother’ Psais, greeting ‘my children’ Maria, Piena and Hor, carried by her ‘son’ Andreas). In addition, several letters (pkc.111, pkc.118, and pkgr.75) that lack one of the four ‘core’ figures seem nonetheless to belong to the circle of pkc.35–37. This sequence is consistent,

³¹⁶ To be precise: the letter pkc.35 only addresses Psais, but is clearly written by the same figure as pkc.36, while pkc.37 does not address Andreas, but singles him out as the only other figure greeted by name.

³¹⁷ See sections 10.4.1 and 11.4.2.

³¹⁸ The editors carefully suggest a monastic setting for Ouales; Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 223. See the discussion in section 11.4.3.

³¹⁹ Hor has to be reconstructed, but is a very likely fit for the lacuna-size. *Ibid.*

although admittedly not all men are present in all letters (see Table 3). They also feature some other recurring names.³²⁰

The names Psais and Andreas are frequent in the letters of Pamour and Pekysis, who address a ‘brother’ Psais (III) frequently. The relationship between these two circles needs to be elucidated. A connection between them was anticipated by the editors of CDT I,³²¹ and is clear from the material in CDT II, as several Pamour associates appear in some of the above letters; e.g. pkc.115, likely by Pamour’s sister Tekysis, or pkc.105, involving Charis and father Psais. Moreover, in seven out of eight letters of the Pamour circle featuring an Andreas, he is mentioned and located with a brother Psais.³²² In these letters, Psais III is a younger associate of Pamour and Pekysis, in charge of managing textile work in the Oasis while they were away (see section 6.1.3), as also seen of the Psais who stored wool in pkc.37.

Text	Author / greets / carries	Receives / greeted
C35		Psais
C36		Psais, Andreas, Iena, [Hor]
C37		Psais, Andreas, ‘brothers’
C105	Psais, Piena, Hor	Andreas
C111		Psais, Andreas, Hor
C115	Andreas	Psais, Piena, Hor
C118		Psais, Iena, Hor
Gr75		Psais, Ploutogenes, Hor

Table 3: Psais, Andreas, Ploutogenes (Piena/Iena), and Horos by sequence of appearance

A complicating factor is the presence of what appears to be two Andreas’ in the circle: one who is termed ‘son’ and one who is termed ‘brother’. Either Pamour³²³ or, more plausibly, Pekysis/Partheni³²⁴ could be his parents, if their usage of ‘son’ is taken literally. This would

³²⁰ Ammon (pkc.37, pkc.115, pkc.118), a second Psais (pkc.36, pkgr.75), perhaps Ouales (pkc.35–36, pkc.118?) and Pebo (pkc.111, pkc.118?).

³²¹ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 58.

³²² In pkgr.71, pkc.65, and pkc.71 by Pamour, in pkc.73, pkc.79 by Pekysis, in pkc.84 by Theognostos, and in the aforementioned pkc.115 by Tekysis (here Andreas is travelling to Psais from Tekysis).

³²³ Who greets him as ‘my son’ in pkc.71.

³²⁴ Pekysis greets ‘my son’ Andreas in pkc.73 (to Psais III), and Pamour’s above-mentioned greeting to ‘my son’ Andreas occurs in pkc.71, addressed to Partheni. This could suggest Andreas to be the son of Pekysis/Partheni. Similarly, one could note Ploutogenes greeting to both Pekysis and Andreas together in pkc.86 (also to Psais III).

separate him from a ‘brother’ Andreas, who is greeted by Pamour (pkc.65) and Pekysis (pkc.79). This ‘brother’ could be identified with Andreas, son of Tone, who Pekysis used as a freight agent (pkc.78). Still, the Andreas who is called ‘brother’ by Pamour is placed last in his greetings – in the same position that the ‘son’ Andreas has in two other letters of Pamour and Pekysis.³²⁵ The editors take Andreas to be the son of Theognostos, who in pkc.84 asks Psais III to send ‘our son’ Andreas to come and perform work, and who is greeted with ‘son’ Andreas in pkc.73 and pkgr.71.³²⁶ However, I am not convinced that ‘son’ should be taken literally in these instances either. Theognostos is never greeted with a ‘wife’, nor with the generic ‘son’ or ‘children’, either by Philammon or the other authors, apart from the two letters where the ‘son’ Andreas is mentioned. There are also several other authors who call an Andreas ‘son’ – Tekysis,³²⁷ Makarios,³²⁸ and Dorotheos.³²⁹ Theognostos’ use of the communal ‘our son’ and the need to write Psais III instead of addressing Andreas directly in pkc.84 may also point against Andreas being his biological son. While uncertainty remains, I take these references (apart from Andreas son of Tone in pkc.78) to be to the same Andreas: one closely related to Theognostos, Psais III, Pamour, and Pekysis, but not a biological child of either.³³⁰

Next, we should look at the two ‘little brothers’, Ploutogenes and Horos II. They do not occur together in the letters of Pamour/Pekysis, and the name Ploutogenes/Piena only occurs once.³³¹ Most instances of the name Horos relate to an elder ‘brother’ of Pamour and Pekysis

Andreas being a nephew of Pamour and perhaps Theognostos (see section 3.3.1) could explain their affectionate use of ‘son’. However, see below.

³²⁵ Cf. Pekysis’ pkc.79 (Hor > Theognostos > Psais III > ‘brother’ Andreas) and Pamour’s pkc.65 (Pekysis > Psais III > Theognostos > ‘the other brother’ Andreas) to pkgr.71, also by Pamour (Psais III > Theognostos > ‘the son’ Andreas; here Pekysis is described as on a trip to Antinoopolis).

³²⁶ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 135.

³²⁷ Who sends a letter with ‘my son’ in pkc.115.

³²⁸ Who refers to a ‘my son’ Andreas in pkc.19.

³²⁹ Who wrote to ‘my son’ Andreas in pkc.107. All letters addressed to Andreas (pkc.88, pkc.105, pkc.107) had the same find-spot, supporting the argument that there was only one man of this name present in the house.

³³⁰ Further complicating the matter, however, it might be observed that Ammon (pkc.37, also to Psais III) asks for wool from a Louitoni, immediately before greeting Andreas, ‘his brothers and their mother’ (l.32) – but not, pointedly, their father, who could be the aforementioned Louitoni. This name could be shortened Tone. Could Andreas be son of Louitoni, a man primarily known as a business associate of Tehat and the Pamour family? For him, and for the name Loudon/Louitoni/Tone, see section 4.3.1.

³³¹ In pkc.80, a ‘brother’ Horos is greeted early, with Theognostos, before comforts are sent to Pekysis and Pamour. A ‘brother’ Iena is only greeted at the end. I have taken Horos/Iena here to refer to the elder brother/father Horos I (for a discussion of him, see section 3.3.1), and the pious ‘brother’ Ploutogenes II. They

of that name (Horos I, see section 3.3.1). For the ‘little brothers’, we have to turn to a group of letters which the editors termed the Ploutogenes letters (pkc.85–91), published in CDT II. Despite grouping them together, the editors note that they probably involve different figures by the name Ploutogenes.³³² There seems to be at least three: a ‘father’ Ploutogenes (I), located in Kellis (pkc.90, pkc.105), a pious ‘brother’ Ploutogenes (II), author of pkc.85–86 (and pkc.106) and located somewhere close by, and a younger ‘brother’, Ploutogenes (III), greeted in pkc.89 and recipient of pkc.91, and perhaps occurring in pkc.88 (see ll.16–17). In both pkc.89 and pkc.91, Ploutogenes is located with a Horos. Furthermore, pkc.88–89 involve Andreas, Philammon, and Shai (Theognostos or Psais III), while pkc.91 involves Papnouthes (another Pamour associate). Based on these considerations, it seems very likely that Ploutogenes (III) and Horos (II) in pkc.89 and pkc.91 are the ‘little brothers’ of Psais/Andreas. Exactly how they relate to Psais III and Andreas, or Pamour and Pekysis, or to some of the other occurrences of the name Ploutogenes and Horos, remains very unclear.³³³ Pamour had a biological son named Horos, here termed Horos III (pkgr.30). It is possible that he should be identified with the ‘little brother’, although Pamour III never greets a son by that name, and Pekysis only mentions him in pkgr.72. Still, in the above-adduced cases, we have clear evidence for this constellation of figures in close touch with the Pamour circles.

To conclude, I take the various occurrences of a ‘brother’ Psais in a wide variety of letters (pkc.35–37, pkc.105, pkc.111, pkc.115–116, pkgr.75) to refer to one actor, Psais III, often found together with a somewhat younger brother Andreas, and two much younger brothers, Ploutogenes and Horos. I consider the two former to be brother Psais III and the young Andreas frequently addressed or greeted by members of the Pamour circle (e.g. pkc.64, pkc.79, pkc.84, and pkgr.71). Psais III, Andreas, Ploutogenes, and Horos are all younger associates of Pamour III and Pekysis. The letters in which they occur furthermore seem to

can also be compared to ‘father’ Horos greeted with ‘brother’ Iene in pkc.94, involving other associates of Pekysis (Antinou, Lammon). The latter form of the name also brings to mind Piene, brother of Matthaïos.

³³² Partly based on palaeographic grounds. See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 143–44.

³³³ Most problematically, there are two pairs of Ploutogenes/Horos in pkc.89: the author, Ploutogenes, sends greetings from a Horos, but also greets his ‘brother’ Ploutogenes, and Horos. I take one of these pairs to be Horos I/Ploutogenes II (found in pkc.80), the other Ploutogenes III/Horos II. Of the pair that is greeted, Horos is greeted last, with no familial title, but with ‘his mother and his sister’ (ll.20–21). This suggests him to be the younger man: Horos II. However, the addition of another Horos would complicate this picture. For this question, see below.

belong to a later point in the history of the household, when Pamour III had moved more permanently to the Valley, and Psais III took responsibility for the household.

3.2.4 Summary

The main family of House 3 was that of Pamour I and his descendants. His son Psais II and grandsons Pamour III and Pekysis were the dominant actors of the group in the mid-fourth century, especially active ca. 350–380. Most of their letters belong to the early (or possibly late) 360s. Pamour III had married into the group visible in the Maria/Makarios letters, dating to the late 350s, when they, too, were working in the Nile Valley. Pamour III and Pekysis were in turn followed by the circle around their ‘brother’ Psais III, Andreas, and other figures who may be relatives of theirs, whose letters seem mostly to belong to ca. 370 and onwards. All these circles can be shown to be closely connected, belonging to an extended ‘Pamour family’, to be active in the textile trade, and to employ specifically Manichaean cues.

3.3 The Tehat circle and the Petros circle

3.3.1 Tehat, Horion, and Horos

Another central figure in the material is the weaver Tehat and her circle. Tehat was the recipient (pkc.18, pkc.51, pkc.58) and author (pkc.43, probably pkc.50) of several letters. She was probably also the author of a group of textile accounts in Coptic, based on language and prosopographic ties as well as content (pkc.44–48, perhaps excluding pkc.45; see section 6.2.1 for these). Two of the letters to her, pkc.18 and pkc.58, were written by a man named Horion.³³⁴ They concern orders for clothes sent to Tehat and her associate Hatres, and imply that Tehat was responsible for a textile workshop located in Kellis.³³⁵ It seems probable that she should also be identified with a Tehat involved with a cotton transaction in the KAB, in

³³⁴ It should be noted that both author and recipients of pkc.58 are lost, but both hand, find-site, prosopography, and content of the letter link it to Horion’s other letter to Tehat/Hatres, pkc.18. Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 20.

³³⁵ It is possible that she should be identified with the woman owing cotton ‘for weaving’ in the KAB (558–59), see section 8.2. For the workshop, see sections 6.2 and 7.1.

which case her father's name would be Ploutogenes.³³⁶ In letter pkc.43 she writes from outside of Kellis, addressing a son. Much of the Coptic text of pkc.43 is lost, but Tehat appears to be imploring the son, perhaps named Psenpsais, to send something with pack animals and perform charity (perhaps almsgiving).³³⁷ A Greek postscript contains a message concerning a shipment of oil, and greetings from a Leporius and a Makarios. Pkc.50 is also addressed to a son by a female author, but the name of both author and recipient is lost. It deals with freight to 'the border' (πταω) and work related to 'the storehouses' (ηρωρ). The occurrence of a Hatres working alongside the author and a business associate named Horion are the strongest reasons for identifying the author as Tehat, alongside the similarities of setting to pkc.43 (a female author writing her 'son' in Kellis).³³⁸ Tehat is elsewhere greeted by Samoun (pkgr.12),³³⁹ and probably the sister Hat mentioned in two Coptic letters (pkc.93, by Timotheos, and pkc.95, involving Partheni). Timotheos, author of the former, also speaks of freight connected to the 'border'³⁴⁰, and so should probably be identified with one of the men by that name linked with freight in the letters of Tehat (Timotheos son of Tiberios in pkc.43, or Timotheos son of Toni in pkc.50).

Horion³⁴¹ appears as senior to Tehat and Hatres in his two letters to them. These are by and large long orders for textiles and discussions of other business topics. In addition to

³³⁶ KAB 555–560. Perhaps Ploutogenes (spelled Iena) could be identified with Ploutogenes son of Pataias, who received an order for a Dalmatian robe in pkgr.7 (see section 4.1.2), making Tehat daughter of a neighbour of the Pamours with some long-standing interest in textiles. Another plausible suggestion is Ploutogenes son of Ouonsis, komarch in 353. This latter supposition receives support from the occurrence of the name Ploutogenes son of Ouonsis as a previous recipient of pkc.47, an account authored by Tehat. Perhaps Tehat was reusing her father's papyrus: her preserving some of his documents could explain the presence of other documents of Ploutogenes son of Ouonsis in House 1–3 (pkgr.23–24, pkgr.18). Both possibilities can only be tentative.

³³⁷ For the name Psenpsais, see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 252, pkc.43, ll.1–2n. Read perhaps ⲁⲗ[ⲏ]ⲱⲗⲓ in pkc.43 (ll.1–2)? Other Egyptian names in Tehat's writings often lack the initial π.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 276, pkc.50, ll.26–27n.

³³⁹ The context is fragmentary. Worp first read Θατμε[... μετὰ τῶν] υἱῶν αὐτῆς, but noted that he had not found the name 'Thatme...' to be previously attested (Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 38, pkgr.12, l.31n.). I here follow Bagnall who reads Θατ με[τὰ τῶν] υἱῶν αὐτῆς. Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 66 n.28. Connections between Tithoes/Shamoun and Tehat are strengthened by recurrences of the names Tapsais, Tbeke, and Tithoes in both circles. See section 4.1.1.

³⁴⁰ Regarding this term, the editors write: 'The term can also mean a district or nome. We suppose that it means the entry-point to the Oasis, where there would be official and military control.' Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 164, pkc.91, l.2n.

³⁴¹ In *CDT II*, the editors spell it Orion rather than Horion (see *ibid.*, 20 n.7.). I have continued the usage of Horion found in *CDT I* and in Worp's volume.

these two, three other Coptic letters from him have been preserved (pkc.15–17), all addressed to ‘brother’ Horos. In contrast to Tehat/Hatres, Horion clearly considered Horos to be an authority. The letters to him are adorned with religious language; in one letter he greets Horos as ‘limb of the Light Mind’ (pkc.15, ll.3–4), in another as ‘precious to my spirit, and the beloved of all my limbs’ (pkc.16, ll.1–3). Several of the transactions are related to *agape*, some form of alms, probably for Manichaeism (see section 11.2). Horion refers to previous orders Horos has given, writing in pkc.15: ‘I have received the agon of oil from our son Raz. Look, I left it [with them] for the agape, like you said. You also write: ‘Buy 6 maje of wheat’. (ll.14–17). The best-preserved letters to him (pkc.15, pkc.17) concern transactions of money, oil, and wheat, as well as a garment. Several ‘our sons’, such as Timotheos, Rax, and Pateni, assist in these transactions. Most of these familial terms are clearly used in a communal sense (and probably within a (general and probably lay) religious context, given Horion’s pious greetings. It seems similarly unlikely that Horos and Horion are biological brothers.³⁴² The occurrence of Hatres in a letter to Horos (pkc.17) shows that Tehat and Horos, although accorded unequal degrees of respect, were affiliated. Tehat furthermore refers to a ‘father’ Horos in pkc.43 (l.30), unfortunately in a highly fragmented context. It would seem that Horos was an authority of some importance to this group. It may be that Horion addressed Tehat/Hatres directly because Horos was absent, but also – given the difference in business concerns – that Horos was less directly involved with day-to-day textile production than Tehat/Hatres.

Horion’s letters to Horos, and probably also those he wrote to Tehat, can be dated to the mid–late 350s, based on a combination of price-levels, prosopographic ties, and the appearance of a certain Horion in a contract dated 356 (pkgr.14).³⁴³ The editors suggest that he wrote from somewhere close by.³⁴⁴ He speaks of sending goods south of ‘the ditch’ (τῶν δατῶν) in pkc.15 (ll.24–27), a local geographical marker that suggests that he was located

³⁴² To this can be added that Horion mentions ‘my father’ in pkc.15 (l.10).

³⁴³ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 11–14, 140. It also features a man named Herakles, found in pkc.58.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Tehat requests Horion (not?) to retrieve money from someone in Thio (pkc.50). For Thio, a village, and its location in Dakhleh, see Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 75. It may be significant that the name Tehat occurs in the KAB-entry immediately preceding the entry for Thio (ll.106–108).

somewhere on the road between Kellis and Hibis.³⁴⁵ However, in pkc.58 (ll.22–23) he appears to indicate that he will travel to the Oasis.

The Horos family

The important figure of Horos might furnish us with some vital clues as to the relationship between the Tehat circle and the Pamour circle, where a ‘father’ Horos of some authority also occurs (e.g. pkc.78–79). However, given the frequency of the name, an identification cannot be taken for granted. Supporting evidence needs to be adduced.

First, we should note that there are several other links between these circles. Tehat appears to have had close links with Partheni (see section 6.2). The figure of Hatres recurs in the Maria/Makarios letters, and is in one of them engaged in textile trade in the Nile Valley with Pamour (pkc.24, pkc.26). Furthermore, Horion greets ‘my sons’ Hatres and Theognostos in pkc.17, indicating that both were younger associates or relatives of Horos. It seems implied in this letter that Theognostos is specifically responsible for having a garment mended (pkc.17, ll.41–43),³⁴⁶ and he worked with other business agents of Horos, such as Lautine (pkc.17, pkc.83). It seems clear that Horos I was a leading authority within a distinct ‘sub-group’ of the archive, related to Tehat, Hatres, and Theognostos. This group may originally have been unrelated to the Pamour family, although there were pre-existing trade bonds, evinced by the involvement of Hatres in the Nile Valley trade (see also the occurrence of Psais II and Pamour III in Tehat’s accounts, section 6.2.3). Strong evidence for a link to the Horos addressed in Pekysis’ letters, probably of a later date than those of Horion’s, can be shown. A ‘father’ Horos occurs with ‘brother’ Theognostos in several letters of Pekysis (pkc.78–79, pkgr.72, probably pkc.76), and the two feature together in the letters of Philammon II (pkc.80–82) and

³⁴⁵ Hibis is located ‘south of the ditch’ in pkc.111; see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 229, pkc.111, l.30n. As Horion in pkc.15 was to its ‘north’, he would presumably be closer to Kellis than Hibis (while placing Hibis south of Kellis is problematic, by modern standards, Makarios similarly describes Hatres as coming ‘south’, travelling from Kellis to the Nile Valley in pkc.24). Perhaps one might suggest that Horion was located in the village of Mesobe, which seems to have been located in the direction of Hibis (see *P. Kell. IV*, 75.), and consider an identification with Horion, son of Tithoes, who delivered hay at ‘the Spring’ in Mesobe (KAB 241–49). Horion son of Tithoes involved himself in the affairs of Kellis with his brother Pebos (pkgr.23–24), and the latter had close dealings with the Pamour family. One may also note that a N.N. son of Tithoes occurs with Horion in pkgr.14. See section 4.3.2. Still, an identification remains tentative.

³⁴⁶ For Theognostos’ name here, see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 151, pkc.17, ll.41–42n.

Theognostos himself (pkc.**84**). Furthermore, the find of letters to Horos from both Pekysis and Horion in the same rooms of House 3 furthermore supports identifying them, indicating two ‘discrete archives’ belonging to this Horos.³⁴⁷

Finally, a key to explain the close affiliation between Horos and Pekysis may be found in the figure of Partheni. Partheni was probably Pekysis wife (see section 3.2.1), to whom he wrote several letters. Her name is on the address of pkc.**76**, and the letter content is also in part addressed to her. However, here Pekysis takes care to greet ‘brother’ Horos first, again giving some indication of his status.³⁴⁸ Partheni was also involved with Tehat as a weaver (section 6.1.3). Furthermore, Theognostos and Partheni had strong ties, evinced by several shared contacts and by Theognostos’ own letter (pkc.**83**, perhaps pkc.**33**). Indeed, the editors wondered whether these two may have been spouses, but as Partheni’s husband is more likely to be Pekysis, they instead suggested Theognostos to be her natural brother.³⁴⁹ This seems a plausible explanation. The marriage of Pekysis and Partheni would have been the crucial link to cement the relationship between the Horos/Tehat group and the Pamour family.

Some further considerations regarding the distribution of letters in House 3 can be adduced in order to support the existence of a separate familial group consisting of Horos, Tehat, Partheni, and Theognostos. The large majority of Coptic letters in the northernmost rooms of House 3 (rooms 9–11) are addressed to Tehat/Hatres,³⁵⁰ Horos,³⁵¹ Theognostos,³⁵² Partheni,³⁵³ Pekysis,³⁵⁴ as well as the Petros letters, which feature Partheni and associates of Theognostos (see below). It could indicate that the northerly rooms were used by, or as

³⁴⁷ Letters to Horos from both Horion and Pekysis were found both in room 11 (pkc.**17**, pkc.**78–79**) and in room 9 (pkc.**15–16**, pkc.**76**; in the latter, Partheni is named on the address, but Horos is the first addressee in the letter body).

³⁴⁸ For the identification Partheni=Heni in this letter, and her role as a weaver attested to by other documents, see section 6.1.3.

³⁴⁹ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 135.

³⁵⁰ Room 10 (pkc.**18**, pkc.**58**); both also feature in letters from room 11 (Hatres in pkc.**17**, Tehat in pkc.**93**).

³⁵¹ Room 9 (pkc.**15–16**, pkc.**76**) and room 11 (pkc.**17**, pkc.**78–79**).

³⁵² Room 9 (pkc.**80**) and room 10 (pkgr.**67**).

³⁵³ Room 9 (pkc.**75–76**, pkc.**95**, pkc.**102**).

³⁵⁴ Room 9 (pkc.**67**, pkc.**103**, pkc.**108**).

storage for, Pekysis' 'side' of the family. Some letters to Andreas³⁵⁵ and Psais III³⁵⁶ were also found in these rooms, two figures who are closely affiliated with Theognostos and Partheni in the letters written by Pamour and Pekysis, although here, again, the precise relationship is unclear. However, it must be emphasised that there are also several unrelated letters in these northerly rooms, and that the Greek judicial documents found there cannot be linked to this group.

A serious objection to this reconstruction is the possibility that we are in fact dealing with two older men by the name of Horos. The primary evidence for this is the difference in kinship terminology. Horion and Philammon greet Horos as 'brother', as does Pekysis in two letters (pkc.76, pkgr.72). Elsewhere, however, Pekysis greets Horos as 'father' (pkc.78–79). It is thus possible that we have both a 'father' and a 'brother' Horos. It is perhaps supported by the occurrence of a 'Horos' twice in pkc.82, but here both are called 'brother', and Philammon is probably repeating a greeting to the same man.³⁵⁷

Even so, the 'father' of pkc.78–79 could still be identified with the 'brother' of Horion. Furthermore, the argument for two 'Horos' here is not, in the end, persuasive. Even where Pekysis calls Horos 'brother', he accords him a prominent place: 'brother' Horos is greeted first in pkc.76, even though the rest of the letter is addressed to Shai and 'Henī'/Partheni, and he is the first adult named in pkgr.72. Moreover, Pekysis is often inconsistent in his usage of familial terms: he uses both 'father' and 'brother' for Philammon (cf. pkc.76 and pkgr.72) and for Antinou (cf. pkc.78 and pkc.79), 'brother' and 'son' for Andreas (cf. pkc.73 and pkc.79), and he calls Psais Tryphanes 'father' (pkc.78), although this man labels Pamour III his 'brother' (pkgr.73). That we are dealing with different men in these instances is unlikely. The latter example, in particular, shows that we need to be careful when trying to build generations based on the use of kinship terms alone. Horion's and Philammon's use of 'brother' Horos can probably be explained by them being more equal to him in age and/or status than Pekysis (see

³⁵⁵ Room 9 (pkc.88, pkc.105, pkc.107). Andreas (the younger) could be a son of Pekysis and Partheni, although I hold this for unlikely. He is at any rate closely linked to Partheni, Pekysis, and Theognostos (e.g. pkc.71, pkc.73, pkc.84, pkc.86). See above, section 3.2.3.

³⁵⁶ Room 9 (pkc.73, pkgr.71, both featuring Theognostos), and room 10 (pkc.86).

³⁵⁷ See the remarks in Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 134, pkc.82, l.11n.

section 7.1.1). On balance, it seems more likely that the letters relate to one Horos who is accorded different degrees of respect.

Loose threads and uncertainties remain. In particular, there is evidence for another Horos from other letters; in particular, a ‘brother’ Horos addressed by Apa Lysimachos (pkc.30). This letter was found in room 6, and so had a different find-spot from the other letters to Horos. I therefore consider it likely that he should be identified as different from the man discussed above, perhaps rather to be identified with a Horos located with Lysimachos and Pamour III in the Nile Valley in a different letter (pkc.72, l.35).³⁵⁸ It cannot be excluded that he should be related to the Horos previously discussed.³⁵⁹ The fact that the name Horos is not otherwise found in the letters of Pamour III is also quite perplexing, but could perhaps be explained by Pekysis’ closer ties to this side of the family. Finally, the exact relationship between Horos, Tehat, and Theognostos/Partheni is unresolved. One could, perhaps, suggest Tehat to be Horos’ wife, and Partheni and Theognostos (and perhaps Hatres?) to be their children. However, Tehat’s reference to ‘father’ Horos in pkc.43 must then be taken in a strong metaphorical sense (or to refer to a different Horos). It would also make Horos a great deal older than Pekysis, which seems unlikely in light of his ambiguous familial terminology.

These questions will have to remain unresolved. Still, we can certainly speak of these figures as an interconnected subgroup of the Tehat circle, and as a key link between Pamour/Pekysis and the textile workshop of Tehat.

3.3.2 The Petros circle

Less clearly related to the other circles are the letters from a certain ‘son’ to his ‘mother’ (pkc.38–41). As the author and recipient are intentionally unnamed by the author, and as most of the letters (pkc.38–40) deal with a certain brother Petros, they were grouped together as

³⁵⁸ Considering Lysimachos’ invocation of ‘brotherhood’ in pkc.30, this man may well be an Elect.

³⁵⁹ This could support a differentiation between a ‘father’ Horos (Pekysis’ pkc.78–79) and a ‘brother’ Horos of Pekysis’ other letters and those of Philammon and Theognostos (pkc.30, pkgr.72, pkc.77, pkc.80–82, pkc.84). The letters of Horion still relate to the former, providing a link between the Horos/Tehat group and Pekysis, but the nature of this relationship would be less clear. Another, more radical solution would be to take all occurrences to refer to the same man; called variously ‘brother’ and ‘father’, sometimes travelling in Egypt with Lysimachos, at other times in the Oasis with Theognostos. This seems less likely.

the Petros letters in CDT I. In addition to ‘mother’, the principal addressee, the son addresses an unnamed ‘brother’ (pkc.40, l.20) and a ‘father’ (pkc.38, l.8; pkc.39, l.44?) within the body of the letters. Other ‘brothers’ (Timotheos, Herakles) and ‘fathers’ (Pini, Dios, and Ormaouo) are named.

The letters often concern transactions of produce (pkc.38–40), handled by the mother. In pkc.41, however, the son requests her to make two headscarfs for him to sell. There are also references to other letters being written, sent, and received, as well as to papyrus and to an amulet. The mother and her associates are located in Kellis (pkc.40, l.15). The son is probably situated somewhere in the Oasis, as he seems to be not too far away from the mother. Several pieces of evidence led the editors to suggest that Petros and Timotheos were (Elect) monks, and, more cautiously, that the son may have been situated in a monastic context.³⁶⁰ These identifications would put the correspondence in the 360s or 370s.

A letter which could stem from the same author, written by another unknown author, is addressed to the ‘brothers’ Ploutogenes and Hor. In CDT I, the editors noted similarities between this letter (there referred to as P51C) and the other Petros letters, and suggested identifying the two authors.³⁶¹ However, in CDT II, where this papyrus is designated pkc.91, they state that while it is ‘somewhat reminiscent of the “Petros” letters in both style and format, and also has the same find site’,³⁶² the lack of prosopographical connections and the son-to-mother frame leads them to place it (tentatively) with the Ploutogenes letters instead.

The precise relationship of the son/mother to the rest of the house is unknown. Several of the associates and ‘fathers’ named there do not recur elsewhere. However, those that can be identified can be quite firmly linked to the group of Theognostos, Partheni, and Tehat, a link supported by the find spots of these documents, as argued above. Partheni probably appears by name, as (H)eni (pkc.38), although the reading is somewhat uncertain. Better attested are two rare names, ‘father’ Pini and ‘brother’ Hom: these occur only elsewhere in documents connected to Theognostos, Partheni, and Psais III.³⁶³ The presence of Petros in

³⁶⁰ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 235. See section 11.4.3.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*

³⁶² Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 163.

³⁶³ A ‘brother’ Hom is present in Petros letter pkc.39 and in Theognostos’ letter pkc.84 (to Psais III), and the name occurs in account pkc.45 (which features Heni, as well as Pollon, another contact of Theognostos). A ‘father’ Pini

pkc.18 provides a tie between the Petros letters and Tehat/Horion, as does the mention of ‘our brother’ Herakles (pkc.38; see pkc.58, pkgr.14). Furthermore, in pkc.41 the son asks his mother to make two headscarfs for him: it is unlikely to be a coincidence that the term for headscarfs (φογκάρι) is otherwise only found in one of the Coptic accounts, where a Herakles again is involved in the weaving of one (pkc.48). These indications strongly suggest that the ‘mother’ can be identified with Tehat, or a woman in her immediate circle, and the ‘son’ with one of the younger men in the circle of Theognostos/Partheni. It would explain how pkc.91, linked with Psais/Andreas, might be written by the same author.³⁶⁴ Still, no precise identification can be made. The absence of other central actors from the Tehat circle and the Pamour family, and the presence of several otherwise unknown names, remains puzzling. I have therefore chosen to leave the question open.

3.3.3 Summary

To sum up, in addition to the Pamour family, we find two identifiable circles in the House 3 material, that of Tehat and that of Petros. The former can be directly linked to the Pamour family through several important figures, such as Horos I, Theognostos, and Partheni, tied by the marriage of Partheni and Pekysis. The link between the Petros circle and the Pamours is mostly indirect, but it, too, is closely tied to Partheni and Theognostos. It seems probable that the ‘son’ (author) and ‘mother’ (recipient) should be identified with figures from their group, but no direct identification can be made.

3.4 People of the block

3.4.1 A multiple-family household

In order to gain a more satisfactory understanding of how these circles might be interlinked, we should briefly examine them in light of the average Roman-Egyptian household structures.

is present with the ‘mother’ in pkc.41, and a Pini travelled from Partheni to Theognostos in pkc.83. A ‘father’ Pine further assisted Psais III and Theognostos in pkc.73, and a Pini/Pine is perhaps greeted in Psais III’s letter to Andreas (pkc.105, l.5).

³⁶⁴ To this we may add the discussion of papyri and magical charms, featured both in Ouales’ letter to Psais III, pkc.35, and in the Petros letter pkc.40.

Households in Roman Egypt naturally differed from modern ones, and we have to be careful not to bring too many of our own assumptions into the material. Here we may turn to a study of Egyptian demographics by Bagnall and Frier, based on Roman census returns from Egypt, providing a glimpse into typical features of Egyptian households.³⁶⁵ Most households were complex, i.e. consisting either of extended families or multiple families. Husbands were in general older than their wives were. Wedded couples would often live with parents for some time after marriage (extending the family ‘upwards’, towards the older generation), as well as with siblings (extending it ‘horizontally’).³⁶⁶ They count many examples of same-generational multiple families, where ‘the archetype is the *frèreche*, a household in which siblings (especially brothers) remain in the household after more than one of them has married.’³⁶⁷ Lodgers (*enoikoi*) and slaves add another layer of complexity, as most Egyptian farmers could afford to hold a slave. Multiple family households, consisting of more than one conjugal family, may have made up around 25% of households.³⁶⁸ As to number of people in each unit, the size and social composition could vary markedly, and high mortality rates would much cause change within a household over time.³⁶⁹

We cannot directly apply such averages to the individual case of the House 1–3 papyri. Still, several features of the family surveyed so far resonate with the above picture. The household of the extended Pamour family included multiple family groups. Pamour III and his brother Pekysis appear to have kept their families together, extending their shared household horizontally by way of their marriages, at least until Pamour went to the Nile Valley. The family of their sister Tekysis and her husband Kapiton were likewise involved. Letters from Pamour alternate between addressing Pekysis, Psais III, and Partheni as primary recipient; Pekysis varies between Psais III, Partheni (with Tekysis), Kapiton, and Horos. The elderly Maria I

³⁶⁵ For a discussion of the census forms as statistical data, see Roger S. Bagnall and Bruce W. Frier, *The demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 40–51. The only census documents from Kellis stem from the second century, and document a single conjugal family at a much earlier period; the family of Tithoes and Talaeis, formally registered in Mesobe but living in Kellis with their two daughters and a female slave. Incidentally, Talaeis and both daughters are described as spinners.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 57–64.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 64.

³⁶⁸ For villages, they have ca. 15.8% solidary, 4.2% without family, 36% conjugal families, 17.9% extended families, and 25.3% multiple families. See *ibid.*, 67.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 68.

probably shared living space with a Pamour family member, staying with the ‘brother’ Psais III (pkgr.71) as noted by the editors.³⁷⁰ The older generation of Psais II/Philammon II and Makarios/Maria also cooperated with each other and the brothers, and so the ties went back at least one generation. The documents of Tehat/Horos may well indicate that the older generation of Pekysis’ wife, Partheni, shared in (or came to share in) this household. The Pamour family also took lodgers, such as Psais son of Syros (pkgr.32) or Marsis (pkgr.33, in Aphrodito). Slaves may also be in evidence (see section 7.1.3). This extended, multiple-family household also acted as a socio-economic unit, cooperating in a trade venture between Oasis and the Nile, as will be explored in Chapter 6. The activities of Pamour/Pekysis were continued by their younger brother or associate, Psais III, and the other young men and women located with him.

3.4.2 The family and the Houses

Finally, we should consider whether this extended household in fact inhabited the physical space where the letters were found, i.e. the House 1–3 block, and in particular House 3. Gardner and others questioned this possibility, noting that: ‘There would seem to be more textual remains and artefacts than can be accounted for by simple residential context.’³⁷¹ Instead, House 3 may well have functioned as a dumping ground from material collected from elsewhere. This would significantly weaken the argument that the groups considered above made up a single household, and furthermore make other evidence from the material context less salient for assessing this group. Colin A. Hope, on the other hand, suggested an answer in the affirmative in his concluding remarks on the archaeological context in CDT I:

it is certainly unnecessary to postulate that because of the quantity of material found in House 3 documents from diverse sources at Kellis, possibly houses near to House 3, might have been collected therein preparatory to removal on the abandonment of the area. ... Whilst the 150 vessels and more from room 6 might seem surprising, and the number restored to date from the house is in the region of 200, these may also have been accumulated throughout the fourth century and also represent the possessions of various family groups or sub-groups who resided in House 3.³⁷²

³⁷⁰ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 40.

³⁷¹ Gardner, *KLT I*, ix.

³⁷² Hope and Bowen, ‘The archaeological context’, 115–16.

Furthermore, in a study of the textile industry at Kellis, Gillian E. Bowen pointed to the discovery of weaving equipment and numerous textile fragments found in the block as indication that parts of it had been used as a weaving workshop, of which Tehat would be the most likely proprietor.³⁷³

Lisa Nevett questioned some of these connections in an article from 2011.³⁷⁴ She noted both the possibility of, but also difficulties in, reconciling archaeological finds with the actors of House 2. On House 3, she wrote: 'there is little indication that the house was divided into separate, self-contained units ... While it is possible that more than one household may have been resident in the house at once, there is nothing to demonstrate this in the archaeology'.³⁷⁵ However, after analysing finds from Karanis in a similar manner, she concluded: 'Physical boundaries do not appear to have been required to separate co-resident groups. [...] Rather, a physical house seems to have operated as an organic whole despite changes in the make-up of the occupying household or households.'³⁷⁶ Based on Nevett's study, the building structure can neither prove nor disprove the possibility of a multiple-family household in House 3. Somewhat more positively, Anna L. Boozer has indicated that the relationship between House 2 and 3 support a close connection between them, and may point to extended familial relations:

Clusters of autonomous units of houses with various designs and co-options of space indicate the presence of close relationships between households or extended family relationships between households or extended family relationships as parts of houses and streets are exchanged between neighbours due to inheritance, marriage, or sales. The relationships between the Kellis houses examined appear to fit this model.³⁷⁷

Finally, Gillian E. Bowen has made a renewed argument for the relationship between house and people of House 3 based on the prosopography.³⁷⁸ She establishes four separate archives based on find spots, and finds strong connections between them. Even where no direct links

³⁷³ See *ibid.*, 116; Bowen, 'Textiles, Basketry and Leather', 97. See also section 7.1.3.

³⁷⁴ Nevett, 'Family and Household'.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁷⁷ Anna L. Boozer, 'Towards an archaeology of household relationships in Roman Egypt', in *Mediterranean families in antiquity: households, extended families, and domestic space*, ed. S. R. Huebner and G. Nathan (Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), 199.

³⁷⁸ Gillian E. Bowen, 'The environment within: The archaeological context of the texts from House 3 at Kellis in Egypt's Dakhleh Oasis', in *Housing and habitat in the ancient Mediterranean: cultural and environmental responses*, ed. A. A. Di Castro and Colin A. Hope (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2015).

in style or prosopography are found, indirect links are in evidence for most documents (as can also be seen in the examination above). Pointing to the interconnectedness of these four sub-archives, she confidently concludes that ‘the documents found in House 3 belonged to the occupants’.³⁷⁹ In addition to these arguments, the thesis may further be supported by the evidence of pkgr.38 (d.333), which describes a structure given to Psais II and locates it adjacent to the house of his family. The description of this structure fits largely – admittedly not perfectly – with the room just north of House 3.³⁸⁰

Based on these considerations, I hold it for likely that the extended, multiple-family household here called the Pamour family used the physical space of House 3.³⁸¹ It may be that rooms were at times rented out to lodgers. Perhaps lodging could account for the presence of, for instance, Psais,³⁸² Andreas, Theognostos, or Ploutogenes, but these actors were closely affiliated with Pamour and Pekysis, and familial ties are equally possible. If some of them were lodgers, their contracts must have been facilitated by pre-existing ties of friendship or kinship. At any rate, the family retained a connection to House 3 at least until the 380s (pkgr.44).

3.5 Conclusions

In the course of this chapter, I have sought to provide a prosopography of key House 3 actors, and considered the way their circles interconnected as a household unit. I argue that the large majority of documentary material in Coptic from House 3 can be related to one extended family group, divided into three main social circles: the Pamour circle (early–mid 360s and onwards), the Maria/Makarios circle (late 350s), the Psais/Andreas circle (late 360s–370s and onwards). These people made up a multiple-family household group, collectively referred to as the Pamour family. Another important circle was that of Tehat, Horion, and Horos I. They shared several associates with the Pamour family, and probably had familial ties (by way of

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 240.

³⁸⁰ See Worp’s discussion of pkgr.38a. Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 109, pkgr.38a, l.4n.

³⁸¹ Perhaps a similar situation can be gleaned in pkgr.13, where three brothers share a single house with another (unrelated) man and a woman.

³⁸² See perhaps the contract for lease of a room by Pamour III to Psais son of Syros in Kellis (pkgr.33). However, Psais son of Syros is there labelled ‘carpenter’, which does not accord well with the activities of Psais III in the Coptic material (see section 6.1.3), and must be weighed against the strong ‘brotherly’ bonds implied by Pamour III and Pekysis in their letters to Psais III.

Partheni), but most letters attributable to this circle probably belong to an earlier period (ca. 355 or a bit later?), and it is somewhat distinct from the Pamour material in terms of prosopography. However, close business links certainly existed: these are explored in Chapters 6–7. Finally, there is the Petros circle, which had some associates in common with all these circles, and especially with Tehat and Theognostos/Partheni. While its actors were clearly related to this circle, they remain difficult to place due to the anonymity of writer and recipient. Still, both the Tehat and the Petros circle clearly belonged to the extended Pamour family.

Chapter 4: Widening circles – House 2 and Kellis at large

4.0 Introduction

This chapter continues the prosopographic work of Chapter 3, but extends its concerns to neighbours and friends of the Pamour family. In particular, it sketches the relationship between the House 3 people and three other groups: the ‘neighbours’ who occur in textual material from House 2, two village notables of the early fourth century found in different documents, and the village elite of the mid-fourth century, as listed in a single Greek document (pkgr.24). On the basis of this discussion we can analyse the position of the Pamour family household within the wider village society, which is the purpose of Chapter 5.

4.1 Meet the neighbours: Tithoes I, Ploutogenes, and Horos son of Mersis

4.1.1 *Tithoes son of Petesis*

Greek documents pertaining to Tithoes the carpenter, son of Petesis, were grouped together as pkgr.8–12 by Worp, and a Coptic letter (pkc.12, published in CDT I) by Tithoes, also belongs in this group. All of them were found in House 2, although Tithoes’ sister was married to the son of a camel driver, Horos son of Mersis (d. early 300s), whose documents were found in House 3. Most of what is known of Tithoes’ family comes from his correspondence with Samoun in pkgr.12 (by Samoun to Tithoes) and pkc.12 (by Tithoes to Samoun). His biological family included his son, Samoun, and his grandson, Tithoes (II). Several others may also be family members, in particular Tapshai and Tsenpamoun, Samoun’s sisters (?).

Tithoes I was active in the second half of the fourth century. The only text pertaining to him with a preserved consular date is pkgr.8, a contract for a slave purchase, dated 362. Another date in the same period can be inferred from pkgr.10, a short memo concerning a payment of barley, which should probably be dated to 368/9.³⁸³ In another such request,

³⁸³ The price (800 T./artaba) shows that the document should be dated to the period between the mid–late 350s and ca. 380, and a mark for the twelfth indiction puts it in either 368/9 or 383/4. See Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 34, pkgr.10, l.5n. Considering the date of pkgr.8, comparable prices found in the KAB (see section 2.3.3), and the presence of Psenpnouthes and Kyria from the Maria/Makarios circle in Tithoes own circle, 368/9 appears the most reasonable date.

pkgr.11, Tithoes' son Samoun is asked to send two artaba barley or their worth in jujubes, a letter probably belonging to the 370s.³⁸⁴

The find of carpentry tools in House 2 makes it likely that Tithoes, like the Pamour family, at one point inhabited the space in which his documents were found. Hope noted the discovery of carpentry tools as well as weaving implements or the main part of House 2: 'We would seem to have here amongst this selection tools and materials, in various stages of working, of a carpenter, and evidence for the manufacture of yarn to be used in weaving.'³⁸⁵ If Tithoes used this space we would expect a close relationship between the documents of Tithoes and those of the Pamour family, as indicated by Boozer's analysis of the archaeology (see section 3.4.2). This also seems to be the case. The name Tithoes occurs several times in the Pamour letters. Unfortunately, the popularity of the name means that an identification of Tithoes I – or his grandson, Tithoes II – with the Tithoes in the Pamour letters cannot be taken for granted.³⁸⁶ But one instance does in fact appear to relate to this man: a 'father' Tithoes greeted by a Tapsais writing to Psais III (pkc.116) should in all likelihood be identified with Tithoes I, considering that Samoun's 'sister' Tapsais is found with Tithoes I in pkc.12.

There are moreover plenty of other prosopographic links between Tithoes and House 3.³⁸⁷ Some names were probably borne by several persons, but it is highly unlikely that the high overlap can be explained purely by chance. One important tie is the couple Psenpnouthes and Kyria, who send greetings together as 'brother' and 'sister' of Samoun (pkc.12). They are greeted as 'brethren' by Makarios in his letters, and recur as 'father' and 'mother' in the Pamour circle and the Coptic accounts. This would indicate that Samoun was of an age with

³⁸⁴ No date is preserved, but Samoun is now recipient, and there has been a large increase in prices between these documents: from 800 T. to 2000 T. for one art. barley: much higher than that found in the KAB from the 360s (see Table 2). This document, then, probably belongs in the late 370s (or 380s?). For the price inflation documented for this later period, see Bagnall, *Currency and inflation*, 46–47.

³⁸⁵ Colin A. Hope, 'The find context of the Kellis Agricultural Account Book', in *The Kellis Agricultural Account Book*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall (Oxford: Oxbow, 1997), 9.

³⁸⁶ The name occurs in pkc.70, pkc.72, pkc.77, and pkc.116. Perhaps one may note the sale of a 'girl' by Tithoes 'of Peiaune', mentioned in Pekysis' letter pkc.77 (ll.14–15); similarly, Tithoes I buys a slave girl in pkgr.8, perhaps relating to the same 'girl' at different times. However, Tithoes I is described as 'from Kellis' (pkgr.8, ll.2–3), while Tithoes of Peiaune is located in the Nile Valley, and Peiaune – if it is not a patronym – could well be a toponym near Aphrodito. Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 104, pkc.77, l.14n.

³⁸⁷ Of the 14 relatives/associates in the letters of Tithoes I (pkgr.10–12, pkc.12), ten recur in the House 3 circles: Tithoes, Tehat, Tbeke, Pebok, Psenpnouthes, Kyria, Andreas, Tapsais, Makarios, and Ammon. However, the absence of Samoun himself is puzzling.

Makarios, and that Tithoes I belonged to an older generation. It may be noted that Tithoes is ordered to give barley for ‘brother’ Makarios by ‘brother’ Ammon in pkgr.10. This could perhaps be Makarios and his co-worker Ammon from the Maria/Makarios letters, although it must be assumed that they at this point were in Kellis, and that they did not regard Tithoes as a senior (he would rather seem to be a social inferior). Makarios also greets a Tapsais, as does Pamour and his circle with some frequency. There were probably two persons by this name, as Maria II once greets two Tapsais’ in pkc.65, in close proximity, and it is unclear which should be taken as the relative of Tithoes/Samoun. However, it is clear from pkc.116 that one of them was the daughter of Tithoes. Finally, Tehat mentions ‘Tapshai’ in pkc.43, while Tehat herself is greeted by Samoun as ‘sister’ with ‘children’ in pkgr.12. A literal familial tie between Tehat and Samoun cannot be shown. Still, strong links between Tithoes, the Pamour family, and the Tehat circle is evident, in agreement with the archaeology of the houses.

One specific venue for interaction between Tithoes and the House 3 people may have been Tithoes’ occupation as a carpenter. Weavers depended on carpenters for their tools,³⁸⁸ which could have given rise to cooperation between these two groups, and weaving utensils were as mentioned above found alongside the carpentry tools. Bagnall wondered whether Tithoes may have made the wooden codex used for the KAB. Similarly, it is perhaps no coincidence that several Manichaean liturgical texts found in neighbouring House 3 were written on wooden boards.³⁸⁹ A Manichaean text, albeit on papyrus (pkc.8), was found in House 2. Altogether, the evidence strongly indicates that the circle of Tithoes belonged to the Pamour family’s orbit of associates and co-religionists (see furthermore section 9.2.1).

4.1.2 *Ploutogenes son of Pataias*

Tithoes is not the only carpenter known from House 2, however. A carpenter by the name of Gena (i.e. Ploutogenes) is found in letters he exchanged with a certain Pausanias. Their correspondence is only preserved in two House 2 letters: pkgr.5 (by Ploutogenes) and pkgr.6 (by Pausanias). They can be dated ca. 330–340, a few decades prior to the material of Tithoes,

³⁸⁸ See Wipszycka, *L’industrie textile*, 51–52.

³⁸⁹ For the KAB, see Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 9–10. For the boards, see e.g. T. Kell. Copt. 1–7 in Gardner, *KLTI*.

based on Pausanias' other documents (below, section 4.2.1). Ploutogenes refers to Pausanias as 'master' and 'your nobility' (pkgr.5, ll.10–11), and reports on matters he is attending to on Pausanias' behalf while visiting a nearby hamlet, Pmoun Beri (perhaps modern Ain el-Gedida).³⁹⁰ Pausanias is clearly a social superior, although Ploutogenes' letter also contains elements of intimacy, as he greets Pausanias' wife ('lady') and children. Pausanias' side of the exchange, pkgr.6, does not contain such niceties, but he does refer to Ploutogenes as 'lord brother'. He asks him to order a shared associate, Timotheos, to guarantee for a sizable load of wheat, or alternately to guarantee it himself, implying that Ploutogenes had some means of his own.³⁹¹ Another letter addressed to a Ploutogenes (pkgr.7, d. 340s? See section 4.2.2) was found in close proximity to pkgr.6, and it is probable that the two figures should be identified. Ploutogenes is here called 'son of Pataias'. The author, Harpokration, should probably be identified with a local grandee and ex-magistrate (see section 2.3.2). He refers to Ploutogenes as 'brother', and requests him to send a 'Dalmatian' robe that he has previously ordered. Such robes were costly objects,³⁹² and it is notable that Harpokration asks Ploutogenes for his orders in return (pkgr.7, ll.18–19). It would seem that Ploutogenes was a figure of some local standing.³⁹³ At a much later date, Ploutogenes 'son of Pataias' is found acting as a witness for Pekysis, son of Psais, in a tax-issue (pkgr.76, House 3), perhaps indicating that his word carried some weight. Furthermore, it shows a tie to the Pamour family. But, like Tithoes and Psais, the name Ploutogenes and its variants is common in Kellis. There were multiple people by this name in the Coptic documents of House 3. An identification could perhaps be made with one of the older figures by this name (for a 'father' Ploutogenes, see section 3.2.3).³⁹⁴ It is moreover most unclear why his early documents were preserved, or

³⁹⁰ Aravecchia, 'Christians of the Western Desert', 257.

³⁹¹ The amount is 12 *cancelli*: 1 cancella amount to ca. 0.85 artaba, 12 cancelli being ca. 10.2 artaba, or ca. 300 kg. See Table 1, and Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 42 n.39.

³⁹² For the cost of Dalmatian robes, see the Diocletian's edict on prices (*Ed. Diocl. XXVI*, 49, 54, 59, 72).

³⁹³ The name of Ploutogenes' father, Pataias, is a much rarer name. It is found as a signature in a declaration dating ca. 344/47 (pkgr.3, l.10), and as recipient of dates from Gelasios (pkgr.16, perhaps d. 329/30 or 344/5, see below). Gelasios, a man previously of some importance, is among Ploutogenes son of Pataias' 'brothers' (pkgr.7), showing that this text relates to the same circle. Pataias is perhaps also found among the subscribers in pkgr.24 (l.19). Furthermore, we may note that the two komarchs in the petition pkgr.23 (d.352), in open conflict with Harpokration, are both named Ploutogenes: one is the author, son of Ouonsis, while the other is only referred to as a colleague. Perhaps the latter could be the son of Pataias, whose relationship with Harpokration had soured?

³⁹⁴ For the very tentative suggestion that he may have been father of Tehat, see section 3.3.1. This might in part explain his link to Tithoes I as well.

how he should be related – if at all – to the later family of Tithoes. Still, his role as a witness for Pekysis in the late pkgr.**76**, combined with shared interest in textiles and shared ties to Pausanias, suggest some sort of lasting relationship with the House 3 circles and their neighbourhood.

4.1.3 Horos son of Mersis

Horos son of Mersis was a caravan driver active in the early fourth century, as documented in two receipts for freight to the Nile Valley found in House 3 and dated ca. 320 (pkgr.**51–52**). He owned a camel stall in Kellis: it is mentioned in pkgr.**38**, dated 333, as located adjacent to the house of Psais II and of Pausanias. He was presumably still alive at this point, although the stall is only used as a reference point for delimiting the boundaries of another structure. The name ‘Horos son of Mersis’ is furthermore found as the owner of an orchard (and father of a grown son) in an ostrakon from Trimithis, dated ca. 290–early 300s.³⁹⁵ If this, as seems probable, is the same man he would be quite old by 333. Horos may moreover have been a man of some means; camel stalls were often expensive to maintain (although perhaps less so in Kellis than in cities in the Nile Valley).³⁹⁶ An inheritance contract from House 2 (pkgr.**9**) names him as uncle-in-law to Tithoes son of Petesis. This could explain the presence of his documents in the block. However, the receipts pkgr.**51–52** were found with other documents of the Pamour family in House 3 (room 6), rather than among Tithoes’ documents in House 2. They are contemporary with, and did perhaps belong to, Pamour I: both receipts are for goods that Horos had delivered to Hermopolis, to which can be compared letter pkgr.**66**, where Pamour I organises transport of clothes to Hermopolis. Although Horos is not mentioned there he may have made other trips on behalf of Pamour I, who received copies of the receipts as evidence for the goods’ safe arrival.³⁹⁷ The location of Horos’ camel stall on property neighbouring the Pamour family would have made good practical sense.

³⁹⁵ See O.Trim.241, and the comments of Bagnall and Ruffini, *Ostraka from Trimithis*, 30.

³⁹⁶ Adams, *Land transport*, 89.

³⁹⁷ A contract between a trader and a caravaner doing trips to the Nile Valley, in which the former agrees to finance the latter, has been preserved from Kellis (P.Genova 2 app.1–2). Considering that Horos must have been well established by 320, he was presumably not dependent on Pamour I, who himself may have sent family

4.2 Village notables: Pausanias and Gelasios

4.2.1 Pausanias and Pisistratos

Pausanias, the correspondent of Ploutogenes the carpenter, is known from five Greek texts from House 2 and 3: three from House 2 (pkgr.4–6), and two from House 3 (pkgr.38, pkgr.63). Two of these texts have consular dates preserved: pkgr.4 (House 2) dated 331, and pkgr.38 (House 3) dated 333. The earliest, pkgr.4, is a very fragmented contract of retirement from usage of a property (*parakhōresis*). The property was handed over to a figure whose name is lost, but could well have been Pamour I.³⁹⁸ Pkgr.38 covers a similar transaction: it is a property granted as a ‘perpetual gift’ by Pausanias to Psais II (see section 9.2.3). Both texts give Pausanias’ patronym as ‘son of Valerios’, although it has to be partly restored in pkgr.4 (l.19). Pkgr.38 preserves his title as ex-magistrate (*arxas*) of Mothis. While his office goes unmentioned, texts from other parts of Kellis can help us out. A text from domestic structure D/8 contains a petition to Pausanias, who is both riparius and exactor.³⁹⁹ Another papyrus from the same location documents a payment by Pausanias ‘son of Valerios’ in 336/7 (P. Gascoü 71).⁴⁰⁰ It seems clear that Pausanias, the riparius/exactor, should be identified with Pausanias, son of Valerios, who dealt with the Pamour family.

His later fate is unfortunately unknown. He does not resurface in the published Coptic texts, nor in other Greek documents datable after the 340s. A letter from House 3 (pkgr.63, ca. 325–340?) is addressed to Pausanias and a co-recipient, Pisistratos, a younger associate or relative of Pausanias. Pisistratos may well have stayed in Kellis, as the name is attested for the

members on caravan trips to the Nile Valley, as the later Pamour family did (a Psais making the journey in pkgr.66 could perhaps be identified with Pamour’s son, Psais II). See section 6.1.

³⁹⁸ The name of the recipient in pkgr.4 begins with a π, and the lacuna-size provides a plausible fit for Pamour son of Psais, suggested by Worp (Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 20, pkgr.4, l.2n.). If correct this would most likely be Pamour I, son of Psais I. It might, in turn, indicate that he died around this time, ca. 331–32, as his son Psais II is the addressee in pkgr.38, dated 333.

³⁹⁹ This information was first provided by Worp, cited in Colin A. Hope, ‘Excavations in the settlement of Ismant el-Kharab: Five field seasons 1995–1999’, in *Dakhleh Oasis Project: Preliminary reports on the 1994–1995 to 1998–1999 field seasons*, ed. Colin A. Hope and Gillian E. Bowen (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2002), 202–4. The papyrus has now been published as P. Gascoü 69 in Worp, ‘Miscellaneous’. See also section 2.3.2.

⁴⁰⁰ Pausanias’ payment is here made through a certain Besas, for whom see perhaps Besas, ‘the carpenter from Pm() Tekale (or: Pmeskale)’ in Pausanias’ letter pkgr.6 (l.11). For the reading Pmeskale, see Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 75 n.55. However, the name Besas was common.

mid-fourth century, up to the 360s.⁴⁰¹ He is probably the Pisistratos who provided a loan to a client named Palammon in another document from House 3, datable to the mid-fourth century (pkgr.46).⁴⁰² Pkgr.63 shows that Pausanias and Pisistratos interacted with Manichaeism. The letter is written by a man whose name is lost, but who styles himself 'father', and addresses Pausanias and Pisistratos as 'sons' (l.3). However, he is clearly not their biological father: he stresses their great reputation, and thanks them for a gift with carefully crafted religious cues, invoking 'the Paraclete spirit' (see further section 11.2.2).

4.2.2 *Gelasios the ex-logistes*

Another figure of interest, contemporary with Pausanias, is Gelasios. A receipt belonging to him for the transport of statues to Alexandria, dated 331, was found in House 3 (pkgr.29). Here he is titled ex-logistes, which makes him one of the (formerly) most important Roman officials in Dakhleh Oasis. Two documents from House 2 also involve a Gelasios. One is the letter from Harpokration to Ploutogenes son of Pataias (pkgr.7), where Gelasios is greeted by Harpokration as a 'brother'. The other is an order from Aionianos to his 'father' Gelasios (although the reading is somewhat uncertain), where Aionianos asks him to provide four artaba of dates for Pataias (pkgr.16, dated third indiction, i.e. perhaps 329/30 or 344/5). Their discovery in House 2 and the recurrence of Pataias indicates that Gelasios of pkgr.16 and pkgr.7 are the same person, associated with Pataias and his son. But can this man in turn be

⁴⁰¹ Pisistratos is rare for the Roman period, but occurs several times in the Kellis material. It seems likely that most of the occurrences from the mid-fourth century refer to this man (pkgr.46, okell.58, okell.85, okell.287, P. Bingen 120). A Pisistratos, father of Theon, is also known, from the late third century. Okell.58 and okell.85 were both found at the West Church, and the latter clearly pertains to the colleague of Pausanias. It contains an order from a Pausanias to a Kome for delivery of chickens to the 'son' Pisistratos (probably d. 328/9 or 347/8; see further section 9.2.3). Worp takes this to indicate literal sonship between Pausanias and Pisistratos (see Worp, *O. Kellis I*, 84, okell.85, ll.1,5n.). Okell.287 features a Pisistratos who signs for a chicken brought by Tou son of Psais, and contains a staurogram (*ibid.*, 175, okell.287, l.5n.). It was found in the above-mentioned structure D/8, containing texts of Pausanias (son of Valerios): based on this find-spot, an identification with Pausanias' 'son' Pisistratos is very probable. Finally, a Pisistratos recurs in an account from House 4 (P. Bingen 120, d.367), where a Gena/Ploutogenes transacts on his behalf (see perhaps Pausanias' associate, the son of Pataias, in pkgr.5-6?). Although less certain, I think it likely that it, too, relates to the same man. See also section 9.2.4.

⁴⁰² Worp remarks: 'Given the letter form of the document it looks as if Palammon stood to Pisistratos in a kind of client/patron relationship and that Pisistratos had given the said amount of money to Palammon in order to pay for the price of a waggon.' Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 137-38. Perhaps this Palammon could be identified with Lammon from the Coptic texts, without the Coptic definite article π(α), as Lammon was frequently engaged in freight (see sections 6.1.4 and 7.2). The editors, however, plausibly resolve Lammon as short for Philammon; this is now supported by pkc.122, where 'Lammon' and 'Philammon' seem to be used interchangeably for the same figure.

identified with the ex-logistes from pkgr.29? This identification has to be reconciled with the Roman preference for drawing local governors from outside the nome in which they served.⁴⁰³ Still, the fourth century witnessed a change in the practice, as logistai were drawn from local city councils already at an early date.⁴⁰⁴ There is perhaps an implied inferior status in Aionianos' order in pkgr.16, which would make an identification of Gelasios as an important (ex-)magistrate unlikely. However, Aionianos was the literal son of Gelasios, as shown by a contract found in House 4 (P. Gascou 67, d.368), where Aionianos 'son of Gelasios' is himself called ex-magistrate of Mothis – making it highly probable that his father had also held an office in the Oasis. An identification of Gelasios, father of Aionianos, with Gelasios, ex-logistes, is therefore quite likely.⁴⁰⁵ The document of Aionianos (P. Gascou 67) is furthermore a contract for irrigation of land in the vicinity of Kellis, which shows that Aionianos – and presumably his father – owned land here, providing evidence for landed interests (and perhaps a residence) in the village.

This argument can be supported by the occurrence of Gelasios in another document from Kellis. A letter from Sarapion, the council-president of Mothis, is addressed to his 'lord' Gelasios (P. Gascou 82, dated to the first half of the fourth century). It deals with the lack of payment by a group of Kellites under Gelasios' jurisdiction. It may be that he can be traced outside of Kellis in an earlier period: a document from Hibis, dated 309, names Gelasios as strategos and exactor of the Great Oasis (SBXVIII 13852), which Worp tentatively posited could relate to the early career of this man.⁴⁰⁶ If so, Gelasios would be of advanced age by the time of Aionianos' request in pkgr.16, and had perhaps retired to Kellis during or after his career.⁴⁰⁷

While the link to Pataias and his son Ploutogenes explains the appearance of pkgr.7 and pkgr.16 in House 2, the reason for the appearance of the freight receipt pkgr.29 in House

⁴⁰³ Noted by Worp, 'Miscellaneous', 438.

⁴⁰⁴ Rees, 'The curator civitatis', 91–94. Already the logistes of Oxyrhynchus in 307/8, Heron alias Sarapion, also served in other offices in Oxyrhynchus, and was probably nominated by the city council. Philip F. Venticinque, 'Common causes: Guilds, craftsmen and merchants in the economy and society of Roman and Late Roman Egypt', (University of Chicago, 2009), 61.

⁴⁰⁵ Still unpublished texts from D/8 may shed light on this issue. Worp, 'Miscellaneous', 438.

⁴⁰⁶ See Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 46–47, pkgr.16, ll.1–2n.

⁴⁰⁷ The retirement of officials from the cities to villages is certainly attested for the Roman period. See Andrea Zerbinì, 'Human mobility in the Roman Near East: patterns and motives', in *Migration and mobility in the early Roman Empire*, ed. Luuk De Ligt and Laurens E. Tacoma (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 328–29.

3 is murky. It could perhaps relate to freight performed by the Pamour family, although they are not named in the receipt. They, too, were associated with Ploutogenes son of Pataias (pkgr.76), and so perhaps some mutual ties can be inferred. Aionianos retained land in the village, as seen in P. Gasco 67, as indicated by the contract referred to above, but he is not found as a later associated of the Pamour family. Aionianos had a 'son', Makarios, documented by a potsherd from the West Church (okell.288). An identification of this man with the actor from the Maria/Makarios circle might provide another explanation for the occurrence of pkgr.29 in House 3, while the status of Aionianos could account for Makarios' high level of literacy. However, the absence of a 'father' Aionianos from his letters speaks against this, and so a literal father-son relationship is at any rate unlikely. Nothing is known of Aionianos' later history (the name itself does not appear to be attested outside of Kellis).⁴⁰⁸

4.3 Village elite in 352 CE: P. Kell. Gr. 24

The two notable families considered above recede into the background from ca. 350 and onwards, whether because of lack of documentation, decline in fortunes, or because they no longer had close ties to the village. A document that is central to our understanding of the village elite in the mid-fourth century is an oath-declaration drawn up in 352 (pkgr.24). It concerns a conflict between two figures, a Ploutogenes and a Hatres, whose background is unfortunately lost.⁴⁰⁹ Its reason for being preserved in House 1–3 therefore remains unclear. Although Pamour III appears as one of the subscribers (and writers), the matter is not one clearly related to his family or associates. It could perhaps be that Hatres is to be identified with the contemporary business associate from the Tehat circle, but the name was common. Alternately, the document may have belonged to Ploutogenes son of Ouonsis.⁴¹⁰ Luckily, the list of subscribers is largely preserved. It provides a snapshot of a large group of prominent figures in Kellis ca. 350. There are subscriptions of ca. 33 men, of which 26 names can be read,

⁴⁰⁸ Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 46. No other occurrence is found in the Trismegistos database (3/5/2017). A possible Manichaean background for the name was broached by Gardner, referred to in *ibid.*, 46–47, pkgr.16, ll.1–2n.

⁴⁰⁹ Ploutogenes here is probably the son of Ouonsis. He recurs – with most of the patronym preserved – on a papyrus reused by Tehat for the account pkc.47. Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 266, pkc.47, v. See section 3.3.1.

⁴¹⁰ See section 3.3.1. Adding to the mystery is the fact that the different hands of the subscriptions indicate that the preserved papyrus is an original, so it is unclear whether it was in fact sent. Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 54.

as a rule with their patronyms. The list is divided into four groups, each subscribed for by a competent writer. The first three of these groups exhibit several intriguing connections to the Pamour family, as we shall see.

4.3.1 Psais Tryphanes, Timotheos, Loudon, Psenpnouthes

Group 1 contains several important figures in Kellis, and also several names of importance to the Pamour family and Tehat circles. However, the list begins with clergy who are not known from elsewhere: Paminis the presbyter, and the deacons Pkour[...], and Cholos.⁴¹¹ Thereafter follow Psenpnouthes, Psais Tryphanes, Timotheos son of Loudon, and Loudon son of L[oudon?], most of whom – and perhaps all – can be found in Coptic texts. They are signed for by a certain Sarapammon son of Psais.

We may start with the man for whom a link to the Pamour family is most easily established: Psais Tryphanes. He occurs in several House 3 documents: the Greek pkgr.**50**, pkgr.**71**, pkgr.**73**, but also the Coptic pkc.**78**. He may have been the Psais who received pkc.**112** (verso of pkgr.**50**).⁴¹² These documents tie him closely to Psais II and his sons. In a receipt for a loan, pkgr.**50**, Psais Tryphanes acknowledges to have bought or borrowed items from ‘my lord father’ Psais son of Pamour (i.e. Psais II). He also figures in several private letters. In pkgr.**71**, Pamour III greets Psais Tryphanes among other friends located with his brother Psais III in Kellis, and asks Psais III to hand over some thread to Psais Tryphanes. In pkgr.**73**, Psais Tryphanes himself asks Pamour III to help his son Tryphanes, who is coming with goods, to sell them. Pamour III is located in the Nile Valley, and presumably brought the letter back to Kellis at a later date. In the pkc.**78**, Pekysis (in the Nile Valley) requests the recipients in Kellis (Horos, Theognostos, Psais III) to send a ‘girl’ with ‘father’ Psais Tryphanes. Psais Tryphanes was apparently planning to travel to the Nile Valley himself. Matthaïos, of the Makarios/Maria circle, greets a ‘brother’ Tryphanes (pkc.**26**), while Tehat sends a greeting from Tryphanes to Kellis (pkc.**50**), probably the son of Psais Tryphanes. It is clear that Psais Tryphanes and his

⁴¹¹ Cholos could perhaps relate to the associate of Philammon and Tekysis greeted in pkgr.**65**. If so, it would support an attribution of this text to Philammon II and a date in the mid-fourth century. See section 3.2.1.

⁴¹² It seems unlikely to be a coincidence that the recto of pkgr.**50**, sent *from* Psais Tryphanes, is pkc.**112**, a letter sent *to* Psais, containing greetings to ‘father’ Toni (see below). This is supported by the editors argument that pkc.**112** was written prior to pkgr.**50**. Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 230–31.

family were close associates of the Pamour family, and members of their extended circle of business contacts.

The two names following Psais Tryphanes are Timotheos and Loudon (II), sons of Loudon (I). Both names reappear in the Coptic letters. The name Loudon is rare, and only found in the House 3 material (pkgr.**24**, pkc.**50**). However, the editors of CDT I argue that Louitoni (pkc.**37**), Loutou (pkc.**47**), and the hypocoristic Toni/Tone all are likely to be Coptic forms of Loudon.⁴¹³ We find a Loutou who assists Tehat in the purchase of two slave girls in the account pkc.**47**, and to whom she entrusts a large amount of wool and dye (II.16–20). A Louitoni, appearing in Psais/Andreas letter pkc.**37**, is likewise tied to textile work, as he stores dyed wool for Psais III (II.27–31). These dealings strongly indicate an identification, and suggest that Loudon perhaps owned a storehouse in which Tehat stored and from which Psais III retrieved wool. This shared associate further strengthens the connection between the Tehat circle and Psais III.⁴¹⁴ It is, however, not entirely clear whether we are here dealing with Loudon (I) or what is probably his son, Loudon (II). The fragmented pkc.**112**, recto of Psais Tryphanes' pkgr.**50**, provides some evidence for association between Psais Tryphanes and a 'father' Toni, perhaps the elder Loudon I. However, in pkc.**50** Tehat greets from a Loudon, a Tryphanes, and either to or from a Timotheos son of Toni – i.e. Timotheos son of Loudon, identifiable with the man in pkgr.**24**. Along with the presence of Tryphanes (presumably the son of Psais Tryphanes, above), this suggests that Loudon in pkc.**50** is Loudon II. While the father of Timotheos in pkc.**50** (and of Andreas in pkc.**79**?) and father Toni in pkc.**112** appear to be Loudon I, I have taken the other appearances of the name in the House 3 texts to relate to his son, Loudon II.

Finally, the identification of the figure of Psenpnouthes is of considerable interest, but also difficult, as the name becomes common in the Christian era (although less so in Kellis).⁴¹⁵ Unfortunately, the short title or patronym linked with his name in pkgr.**24** (I.11) is mostly lost. A Psenpnouthes was frequently addressed by Makarios. The name occurs on the address of pkc.**21**, and he is greeted before Kyria and Maria I in pkc.**20**, pkc.**21**, and pkc.**22**. This is likely

⁴¹³ See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 48.

⁴¹⁴ See section 3.3.1. These identifications are further supported by the shared figure of Ammon, who requests textiles from Psais III in letter pkc.**37**, and stores textiles for Tehat in pkc.**44** and pkc.**46**. For him, see section 6.4.

⁴¹⁵ See Worp, 'Christian names'.

to be a sign of respect, since Makarios does not address him directly. Matthias mentions a blanket sent to him that was given (produced?) by father Shemnouthes (i.e. Psenpnouthes) (pkc.25, l.24), sent by way of Hatres.⁴¹⁶ Maria II also greets Psenpnouthes in the Pamour circle as ‘father’ with wife and children (pkc.66, l.43). The respect accorded him, his involvement in textiles, and the dating of the Maria/Makarios letters (late 350s) are all compatible with an identification with the Psenpnouthes of pkgr.24, who is placed at the head of the group including other known business-affiliates of the Pamour family, Psais Tryphanes and the sons of Loudon. Although this identification is less secure, it seems justifiable in light of this evidence.

4.3.2 *Pebos and Horion, sons of Tithoes*

Group 2 was signed for by Pamour son of Psais, and so we might expect connections to House 3. However, there are in fact few that can be associated with the Pamour family: neither Tithoes (son of Tithoes?), Besas son of Psais, Geneilos, nor Ampelios son of Akoutis are known associates of the House 1–3 circles. However, two exceptions are the two brothers that head this subgroup: Pebos and [.]rion, sons of Tithoes. They may furthermore have had a prominent place in in mid-fourth century Kellis. Pebos son of Tithoes is found paying (?) oil to a Stonios, probably an important pagan priest of that name known from other ostraca, at an early date (okell.75).⁴¹⁷ He was prominent among the assistants of the two komarchs in their conflict with Harpokration the ex-magistrate, documented by pkgr.23 in 353, the year after pkgr.24 was signed. In this document, Ploutogenes son of Ouonsis relates that Pebos had taken (*apelaben*) the clubs of Harpokration’s nine assailants, and was storing them in his house (l.22). As Pebos can hardly have disarmed them on his own he must have been able to mobilise his own group of assistants, and so was clearly a man of some means. It is possible that he

⁴¹⁶ To this can be added that a Shemnoute brought wool to the textile workshop in pkc.48 (l.41). Perhaps Kyria, probably wife of Psenpnouthes (pkc.20–22) referred to as ‘mother’ in the Pamour circle (pkc.68, pkc.82), was involved in blanket-weaving in the KAB, but this identification is less secure (see section 8.2).

⁴¹⁷ For some problems of interpretation, see Worp, *O. Kellis I*, 78, okell.75, l.1n. If Stonios who signed here is the pagan priest by that name who officiated ca. 300 (okell.98), which seems reasonably certain, this transaction should probably be dated to 333/4 (or at the very latest to 348/9). Stonios also occurs in pkgr.13, dated 335.

himself later came to serve in the village administration, as village scribe.⁴¹⁸ Pebos son of Tithoes furthermore recurs as a scribe in several documents of the Pamour family: pkgr.42 (d.364), pkgr.44 (d.382), and pkgr.43 (d.374 or 387?).⁴¹⁹ These are all written in Aphrodito, but pkgr.43–44 both state that Pebos was originally from Kellis, now resident in Aphrodito. This could support an identification with a Pebos in the Coptic private letter pkc.66, where Pamour mentions a ‘brother’ Pebos travelling between himself (in Aphrodito) and Pekysis (in Kellis). Whether he should also be identified with the ‘brother’ Pebos of Psais III in pkc.111, or the ‘father’ Pebos in pkc.120, is much less clear (for him, see section 11.4.2).

Pebos’ brother, Horion, also occurs as an assistant of Ploutogenes son of Ouonsis in his conflict with Harpokration in pkgr.23, where he witnesses on his behalf. The only other occurrence of a Horion with the patronymic ‘son of Tithoes’ in Kellis is found in the KAB. Here he appears, not as one of the regular tenants, but as the source of a sizable amount of hay delivered ‘at the spring’ in Mesobe (241–42). Furthermore, he can perhaps be identified with a Horion figuring in okell.60, where he receives fava flour from one of the KAB manager’s important tenants, Kome. At any rate, Pebos and Horion would seem to have been landowners of some means in their own right. An identification with the Horion from the Tehat/Horion circle is perhaps possible, but there is no strong evidence for this.⁴²⁰

4.3.3 *Kapiton son of Korax and Horos*

The figure of most interest in the third group of signatories is Kapiton, the name of the Pamour brothers’ in-law and associate, who is listed alongside a certain Horos. These are the only

⁴¹⁸ A son of Tithoes is found as village-scribe in pkgr.14, d. 356. The writing is similar to Pebos son of Tithoes’ documents (pkgr.42, pkgr.44), the lacuna roughly the right size for restoring ‘Pebos’, and the document was made on behalf of Horion (see below). Worp objects that the restoration is dubious, in particular since the genitive of the patronym differs (*Tithoetous* in pkgr.14, l.7; *Tithoetos* in pkgr.42, l.37 and pkgr.44, l.24).

⁴¹⁹ In pkgr.24, Pamour signs with the custom formula ‘because they do not know letters’ (l.15). It could thus be objected that Pebos son of Tithoes, scribe for the Pamours in pkgr.42–44, could not be the Pebos son of Tithoes listed there. However, writers were not always careful about the accuracy of the formula in lists of subscribers; see Herbert Youtie, ‘Because they do not know letters’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 19 (1975): 107. On balance, given the number of people Pamour subscribes for (altogether nine men), it seems more attractive to take the formula as used stereotypically, presumably valid for most but not all the men listed, than to assume that there were two Pebos son of Tithoes, both close associates of Pamour III, in mid-fourth century Kellis.

⁴²⁰ Some (speculative) geographical considerations (see section 3.3.1), along with the importance of his brother Pebos to the Pamour family, could point in this direction.

legible names in the same line (l.15), and unfortunately the papyrus breaks off before a familial relationship between the two (if any) is specified. Apart from the son of Korax in pkgr.**24** there is only one other instance of a Kapiton with a preserved patronym: a loan contract, pkgr.**45** (House 3, d. 386), was made by Kapiton son of Kapiton. Outside of the House 1–3 documents, there are three Greek texts from Kellis that feature the name. One mentions a Horos son of Kapiton (okell.**116**, mid–late fourth century). Two other texts feature a Psais son of Kapiton (KAB 279, and okell.**279**). This gives us three ‘sons of Kapiton’ active in the mid–late fourth century: Horos, Kapiton, and Psais. We could potentially be dealing with three brothers, sons of Kapiton (I) son of Korax. In turn, we might relate these to Horos I, Kapiton, and Psais III; the associates of the Pamour family, not least because okell.**116** also mentions a Hatres, son of Horos son of Kapiton, consonant with the Hatres present with Horos and called ‘son’ in pkc.**17**.

However, the House 3 letters do not provide an easy match with this picture. Hatres, for instance, is probably older than Psais III. Pamour III’s brother-in-law fell out with the family and disappeared in Egypt (pkgr.**76**), while Kapiton son of Kapiton was apparently still living in the village of Thio, close to Kellis, as late as 386 (pkgr.**45**). Pamour III’s and Pekysis’ brother-in-law would presumably be of an age with Pamour III himself (if not older). This would make it more likely that he should be identified with Kapiton, son of Korax, listed alongside Pamour in pkgr.**24**, rather than his son. For these two reasons I prefer the interpretation that ‘brother’ Kapiton of the Pamour letters is Kapiton (I), son of Korax, probably in turn father of Kapiton (II) found in pkgr.**45**, although other possible reconstructions might be possible. Whether the Horos in the same line should be identified with the man from the Tehat circle remains unknown.

4.4 Villagers in the Valley

Finally, not all the associates of the House 3 circles are found in Kellis itself, however. Many Kellites seem to have gathered in Aphrodito in the mid-fourth century. Among these were the above-mentioned Pebos son of Tithoes, as documented by the loan contract pkgr.**44**. This contract also describes the creditor, a certain Antoninus, as formerly from Kellis, now residing in Aphrodito (ll.3–5). Two women from Kellis, associated with the Pamours, also settled in Aphrodito. A Sofia, daughter of Besas, received a loan from Pamour II (pkgr.**42**, ll.6–8), and a

Marsis rented a room from Psais II (pkgr.32, ll.1–6): both documents were drawn up in Aphrodito and date to the year 364. Marsis could be Marsha, a woman greeted by Makarios and Matthaïos, although at that point (late 350s) she was still in Kellis. To these we can add Apa Psekes, who in a preserved letter mentions that he has resided at a location – probably Aphrodito, although the name must be restored – for 20 years (pkc.90). However, he also mentions a large sum of money (six solidi), half of which he had received from his ‘father’ Ploutogenes in Kellis, showing continued interaction with his home-village.⁴²¹

Kellites in Aphrodito continued to do business among themselves, and likely maintained a degree of collective identity as well as strong ties to their hometown. For comparison one may consider a third-century letter from Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. XXXI 2595). Here a Horigenes writes his brother Serenos (presumably in Oxyrhynchus) asking him to come, adding: ‘You will do well to come to us for a few days, for there are many Oxyrhynchites here’ (ll.5–7, trans. Adams). As Adams points out, it shows that a sense of collective identity existed among diaspora Oxyrhynchites.⁴²² Oasites certainly considered themselves distinct from ‘Egyptians’, i.e. Valley dwellers. However, there may also be traces of a more specific village identity. Psais III seems to hint at such an identity in a passage where he writes: ‘indeed, I, my brothers, I want to come to the Oasis for these very seasons; if you reach me anew and I forget my village’ (pkc.105, ll.43–46). Although the phrase is not without difficulties of translation,⁴²³ Psais seems to be expressing a strong wish to return to Kellis. While Pamour III and his family may have been trying to integrate and become ‘Egyptian’ (pkgr.30, see section 3.2.1), their closest contacts appear to have been fellow-villagers. It is clear that we should not think of the Pamours’ trade venture as that of an isolated family and their relatives, but as a mobilisation of a larger network of Kellites, to which I return in section 6.4.

⁴²¹ Two other documents, contemporary with each other, mention a ‘father’ Psekes: a ‘father’ Psekes travelled with ‘father’ Pishai from Antinoopolis to Kellis in Matthaïos’ letter pkc.25 (ll.33–35), and a ‘father’ Psekes, a presbyter, witnessed a manumission on behalf of Valerios son of Sarapion (pkgr.48, d.355). See section 11.3.3.

⁴²² For translation and remarks, see Colin Adams, ‘Migration in Roman Egypt: problems and possibilities’, in *Migration and mobility in the early Roman Empire*, ed. Luuk de Ligt and Laurens E. Tacoma (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 277–78.

⁴²³ See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 206, pkc.105, l.45n.

4.5 Conclusions

Above I have sketched some of the most important associates of the Pamour family. They include other textile traders and camel drivers in particular, but also neighbouring carpenters, landowners, Oasis notables, as well as other villagers who, for unknown reasons, had moved to Aphrodito in the Nile Valley in the mid–late fourth century. Their network of contacts appears to have been quite diverse. Many of these associates were linked up with Manichaean religious affiliation, and even a Manichaean community, as I return to in Chapter 9

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Chapter 5: Mapping Kellites

5.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the material from House 1–3 from a different angle, using quantitative network analysis. It maps the extent of the House 1–3 network, as well as the larger village network, and considers the role of the Pamour family and their associates within these networks. It aims to give an overview over actors and groups that appear to have been particularly central, and an indication of what role these played. Results are presented in the form of network charts and tables. I first present the charts and tables for House 1–3, along with some comments on distinct features, before turning to Kellis as a whole. Only in section 5.4 do I analyse the implications of these data for our understanding of the social world of fourth-century Kellis, and the role of the Pamour family within it.

5.1 Preliminary remarks: from database to network

5.1.1 Network terminology

The larger database from which the charts and tables are generated contains close to 600 texts and ca. 1750 actors (named figures), spanning the whole period of activity and range of genres from the village. Each text and name is assigned an ID-number, as well as attributes, such as ‘type’ (either ‘text’ or ‘actor’), listed in columns. Another excel-sheet creates links between them: one column contains text-IDs, another actor-IDs, linking actors to the texts in which they appear. These sheets are then uploaded into Gephi, a free social network analysis software, which generates a so-called two-mode network, showing ties (edges) between actors and/or texts (nodes). For these tables, see: <http://hdl.handle.net/1956/18580>. A plug-in for Gephi called ‘MultiMode Network Projection’ allows for the transformation of the two-mode network (linking actors to texts) into a one-mode network (linking actors to actors). This actor-to-actor network is used to calculate their relative position vis-à-vis each other, which Gephi facilitates through various statistical tools.⁴²⁴ The below networks are based on a

⁴²⁴ Gephi has been chosen for its accessibility and for being freely available. A more popular software is UCINET and the associated Pajec; for their usage, see Ruffini, *Social networks*, 29–30. Unfortunately, UCINET and Gephi do not use the same formulas for (all of) their calculations. I have therefore refrained from comparing the results

selection of texts/actors from the larger database, restricted to documentary texts from the fourth century (see below).

The statistical measures I make use of for the network as a whole are *density*, *diameter*, and *average path length*. **Density** is a measure of the number of *actualised* ties relative to that of *possible* ties between the nodes, i.e. the network's degree of connectedness. **Diameter** shows how many ties there are between the two nodes that are furthest apart in the network; i.e. the longest distance from one 'end' of the network to the other. **Average path length** shows the average amount of ties that one randomly chosen node has to pass through in order to reach any other.

For individual actors, I use *degree centrality*, *closeness centrality*, and *betweenness centrality*. **Degree centrality** is a measure of which nodes have the most connections. An actor's rank depends on the number of texts (s)he occurs in, and how many other actors occur in the same texts. **Closeness centrality** is a measure of which nodes have on average the shortest path to all the others, being closest to the 'centre' of the network. However, it is the last measure for individual actors, that of **betweenness centrality**, which will receive the most attention below. It rates node 'accessibility', scoring nodes according to how often they appear on the shortest paths that other nodes have to take in order to reach each other. It is useful for identifying actors that bridge different sub-groups.

The network charts presented below show the relative betweenness centrality score of the actors by way of size. A high betweenness centrality score does not necessarily equate 'powerful', in the traditional, top-down sense – although it does not preclude such a position either. It does highlight the people that were active in and functioned as contact points between different social circles, as far as our evidence allows us to trace them. This made them well-positioned to mediate, broker deals, spread information, or distribute resources. As the above list indicates, this measure is rather rough, and although the network provides quantitative evidence for what actors were in such positions, the specific role a particular actor played has to be considered individually. The final part of this chapter therefore

of the calculations below directly with those of Ruffini. The numbers given for e.g. betweenness centrality are only used for internal comparison.

evaluates the possible underlying social significance of the results for selected top-scoring nodes.

5.1.2 Potential obstacles

A common criticism of social network analysis – especially the difficult source material from archaeological sites – is that the centrality detected is merely an artifice of the sources, rather than reflective of the social, historical reality. In the case of the Kellis material one might object that the figures who appear as most central in the network models are those who happen to recur in the preserved documents. The people of the House 1–3 texts appear much more central than they were, due to the survival of their archives, and so the models do not provide an accurate map of the social reality of these people. The real power brokers and influencers are invisible, or only visible on the margins of the texts – in fact, the models may obscure important actors and channels of communication, rather than highlight them. A case in point is the so-called Teacher: the descriptions of him in the Maria/Makarios circle makes it clear that he was an important actor, but in the network charts he features as a much more marginal figure. However, it should be made clear that the network charts are not meant to be complete pictures of social reality. The charts show the extent of contact between people as far as the evidence allows us to map them, and while the charts cannot present the entire social horizon of the villagers they allow us a glimpse of the way information was mediated on the ground, between the villagers themselves. The Teacher, for instance, was mainly confined to the Nile Valley, and probably a rather distant figure to the people remaining in House 1–3 in Kellis. It is the people who mediated his influence in Kellis itself that interest us here.

Linked to this is the problem of the dominance of the Pamour family, the owners of the House 3 archive. Their documents make up almost half the number of those currently published in total from the village. In order to locate central actors beyond the purvey of the key owners of this archive we have to account for their bias. Here I do so in two ways: by including iterations of the network where the House 3 letters are excluded altogether, as well as by filtering out the key members of the House 3 circles (and their closest associates),

showing the network structure as it looks without their presence.⁴²⁵ The second method also allows us to test how resilient the network is – i.e. how easily it fragments when key members are removed.

A stronger objection to the approach is that the model may give a misleading picture of connections. It subsumes often quite different events under the general term ‘interaction’, all equally visualised as lines, obscuring potentially important differences. Not all ties are of equal value. Some co-occurrences of names in a single document do not imply social interaction present in the text at all, such as emperors used to date them. These naturally have to be discounted. Ruffini, moreover, pointed out the danger in leaving large ‘event’ documents, such as fiscal registers, in the database: these documents contain a large number of actors, but do not imply any actual interaction or familiarity between them.⁴²⁶ Ruffini’s solution was to remove such event documents. The only such large event document in the Kellis database is the KAB. Its income-expenditure entries evidence interaction or familiarity with the author (or at times his agents), but not internally between the vast majority of the ca. 170 tenants and artisans appearing there. It would provide valuable evidence for the social centrality and influence of its author – but his identity, unfortunately, remains unknown (see section 8.1). I have therefore removed it from the current network calculations.

Still, the same objection can also be made for smaller accounts or lists – the distinction is not always clear, – where the author similarly may have been the only shared point of contact. These make up a large part of the texts from Kellis (although less so from House 1–3), in particular the ostraca. To a certain degree, the objection can even be made for ‘private’ letters, which together with orders and other types of letters make up a substantial amount of material from House 1–3.⁴²⁷ As Matthias Brand rightly points out, in connection with the co-occurrence of Charis and the ‘Teacher’ in Makarios’ letter pkc.19, ‘[a]lthough Charis may have known the Teacher, either by name or by reputation, the available evidence indicates

⁴²⁵ Through filtering an attribute given to the selected actors with the operator ‘NOT’.

⁴²⁶ Ruffini, *Social networks*, 203–4.

⁴²⁷ For a discussion of how to define ‘private’ letters as against memos, orders, and ‘official’ types of letters, see Choat, *Belief and cult*, 12–15. As the boundaries are fleeting I have decided to combine these different types of documents in the current networks.

only an indirect link via Makarios.⁴²⁸ The Teacher is, however, an uncharacteristic figure. Statistically, it seems permissible to assume that actors appearing in the same letter knew each other by name and knew some way to access each other – as Ruffini argues, a ‘connection of some sort’ (cursive in original).⁴²⁹ In almost all documents naming only a few actors some sort of interaction between them is implied, and even some accounts and lists – e.g. *dekania* lists (villagers drafted for guard duty),⁴³⁰ priest lists, and to some extent the Coptic account reports (pkc.44, pkc.46–48) – do presuppose or imply relationships between all the actors named. It can moreover be plausibly argued that ties must have existed between people who, for instance, served or paid rent to the same landlord in such small accounts. While the specifics of each interaction is relegated to the background, the quantitative approach allows us to consider the entire field of people who had the opportunity to meet and greet.

This admittedly blunt method is suitable for the present purposes of mapping social relations on a general level. Specific patterns of interaction are considered more closely in the following chapters. Still, to account for the potentially distorting effect of different types of evidence (in particular accounts/lists) and for the dominance of the House 1–3 texts, I present several iterations of the same networks below. These include network iterations 1) based only on letters, memos, and receipts; 2) including official/judicial texts as well, but excluding accounts/lists; and 3) including also accounts/lists, barring only the KAB); in addition to 4) an iteration that excludes the House 3 letters. Actors who recur with a high centrality score in several of these iterations are more likely to have actually been central in some sense.

Finally, another potential issue should be mentioned, namely that of prosopographic identifications. The role of an individual actor can sometimes shift drastically depending on whether he or she is identified as present in a certain document or not. In the database, I have taken certainty into account as an attribute, assigning a degree of certainty for such presence from 0–6 to each edge.⁴³¹ This makes it possible to make different reconstructions and charts

⁴²⁸ Brand, ‘Speech patterns’, 109.

⁴²⁹ Ruffini, *Social networks*, 25.

⁴³⁰ For *dekania* lists, see Roger S. Bagnall, ‘Army and police in Roman Upper Egypt’, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 14 (1977). For such lists from Kellis, see okell.124–137, and probably pkgr.60.

⁴³¹ 0 being the ‘core’ occurrence of an actor; 1 being a certain identification with 0, 2 an all but certain, 3 a very likely, 4 a moderately likely, 5 an uncertain, and 6 a tenuous identification. Evaluation is based on the presence

based on the strength of the evidence. I have chosen to rely on the links I deem moderately likely in the current analysis, as providing several iterations based on different degrees of certainty would take too much space for present purposes. This approach is intended to allow others to test my results.

5.2 The House 1–3 network ca. 350–400

5.2.1 House 1–3 texts

Having noted these limitations and obstacles, we can finally look closer at the network charts. Let us start by considering the House 1–3 circles of the mid–late fourth century, based on a group of 138 texts dating ca. 350–390, a 40-years timespan (ca. two generations). ‘Private’ letters make up ca 75% (103 texts) of the documentary texts which this network is based on, the vast majority – but not all – of which stem from House 3. Together with short memos/orders, 6% (8 texts), they constitute the basis for the network of personal communications (‘letter network’) in Figure 7. Although a few of the documents are heavily damaged and/or contain little prosopographic data, most are well preserved. The judicial texts (contracts, petitions, oaths) make up another large group, ca. 15% (20 texts). They are added in Figure 8. Finally, the economic texts only make up about 4% (6 texts), and are added in Figure 10. Excluding the House 3 private letters (but not memos, or letters/memos from House 2) leaves 35% (41 texts) as the basis for Figure 9.

The first group of network iterations includes all House 1–3 actors (Figures 7–10). A second group of iterations (Figures 11–14) removes key Pamour family members, as well as key members of other circles such as Tehat (altogether 14 actors).⁴³² The final group of iterations (Figures 15–18) further removes some of their closest family members and central associates (altogether 31 actors).⁴³³

of patronymics, the find spot of the documents, the rarity of the name, the presence of other shared actors in the document, dating, and the activity the name engages in.

⁴³² Psais II, Pamour III, Pekysis, and Tekysis III; Maria I, Makarios, Matthaïos, and Piene; Psais III and Andreas; Tehat, Hatres, Horos I; Petros.

⁴³³ From the Pamour circle: Maria II, Partheni II, Kapiton I, Psenpnouthes, Kyria, Philammon II, Charis, Tapsais II, Theognostos, Lammon, Tapollon, Horos III. From the Psais/Andreas circle: Ploutogenes II, Horos II. From the Petros circle: Timotheos. From House 2: Tithoes I son of Petesis, Ploutogenes son of Pataias.

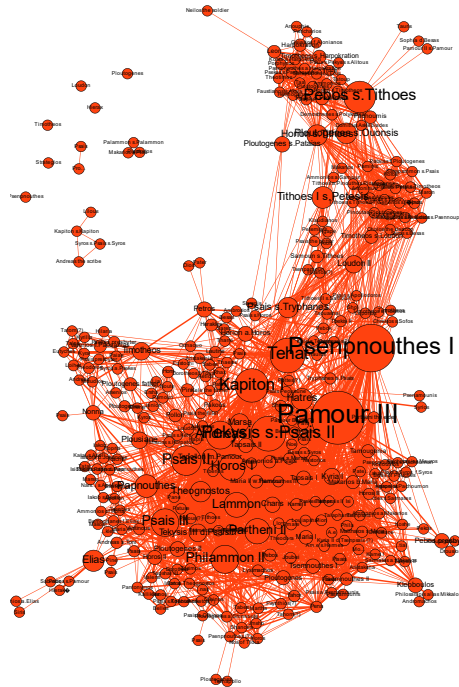


Figure 10: All documents (House 1–3)

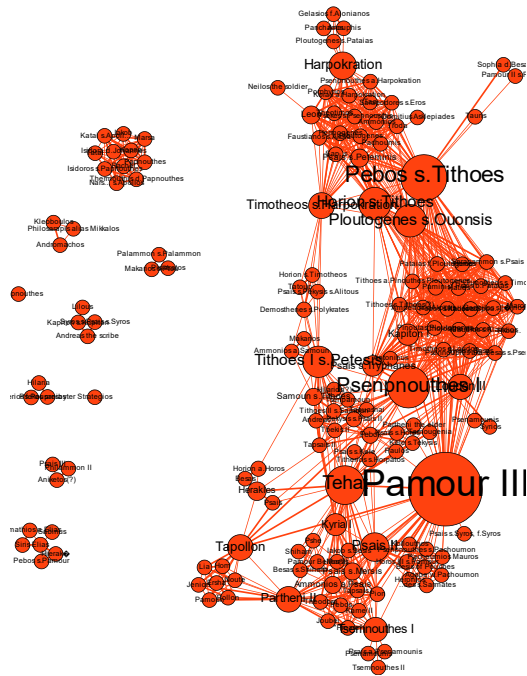


Figure 9: House 3 letters excluded (House 1–3)

House 1–3 ca. 355–385, all actors				
	Letters orders receipts	No accounts	All documents	No H3 letters
Components (of which, connected)	8 (3)	10 (4)	10 (4)	10 (8)
<i>Actors</i>	235	305	326	162
<i>Average path length</i>	2,436	2,599	2,611	2,492
<i>Density</i>	7,60 %	6 %	5,60 %	8,10 %
Giant component				
<i>Actors</i>	226	290	311	127
<i>Average path length</i>	2,436	2,600	2,611	2,507
<i>Density</i>	8,20 %	6,60 %	6,20 %	12,20 %
<i>Diameter</i>	5	6	6	5
Top ten names				
<i>Degree centrality</i>	Philammon II (5051) Andreas (5008) Lammon (5057) Pamour III (5073) Pekysis (5081) Psais II (5089) Psais III (1264) Charis (5052) Theognostos (5032) Maria I (5047)	Pamour III (5073) Philammon II (5051) Andreas (5008) Psais II (5089) Psenpnouthes (5010) Lammon (5057) Pekysis (5081) Kapiton (1014) Psais III (1264) Charis (5052)	Pamour III (5073) Philammon II (5051) Psais II (5089) Psenpnouthes (5010) Andreas (5008) Lammon (5057) Pekysis (5081) Kapiton I (1014) Psais III (1264) Charis (5052)	Pamour III (5073) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Ploutogenes s.Ouon. (5155) Psenpnouthes I (5010) Loudon II (5110) Tehat (5035) Psais s.Tryphanes (7036) Kapiton I (1014) Pataias (1011)
<i>Closeness centrality</i>	Philammon II (5051) Andreas (5008) Lammon (5057) Pekysis (5081) Pamour III (5073) Psais II (5089) Charis (5052) Psais III (1264) Hatres (5030) Theognostos (5032)	Pamour III (5073) Pekysis (5081) Psenpnouthes (5010) Philammon II (5051) Andreas (5008) Kapiton (1014) Lammon (5057) Psais II (5089) Charis (5052) Psais III (1264)	Pamour III (5073) Psenpnouthes (5010) Pekysis (5081) Philammon II (5051) Psais II (5089) Andreas (5008) Lammon (5057) Kapiton I (1014) Charis (5052) Partheni II (5087)	Pamour III (5073) Psenpnouthes I (5010) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Ploutogenes s.Ouon. (5155) Loudon II (5110) Psais s.Tryphanes (7036) Tehat (5035) Kapiton I (1014) Pataias (1011)
<i>Betweenness centrality</i>	Pekysis (5081) Psenpnouthes (5010) Andreas (5008) Philammon II (5051) Psais III (1264) Horos I (5024) Lammon (5057) Hatres (5030) Tehat (5035) Kapiton I (1014)	Pamour III (5073) Psenpnouthes (5010) Pekysis (5081) Kapiton I (1014) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Andreas (5008) Philammon II (5051) Psais III (1264) Psais II (5089) Horos I (5024)	Pamour III (5073) Psenpnouthes I (5010) Pekysis (5081) Tehat (5035) Kapiton I (1014) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Psais II (5089) Philammon II (5051) Andreas (5008) Psais III (1264)	Pamour III (5073) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Psenpnouthes I (5010) Tehat (5035) Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Ploutogenes s.Ouon. (5155) Tithoes s.Petesis (5013) Psais II (5089) Harpokration (1026) Tapollon (5142)

Table 4: Centrality measures H1–3, all actors

14 circle heads removed

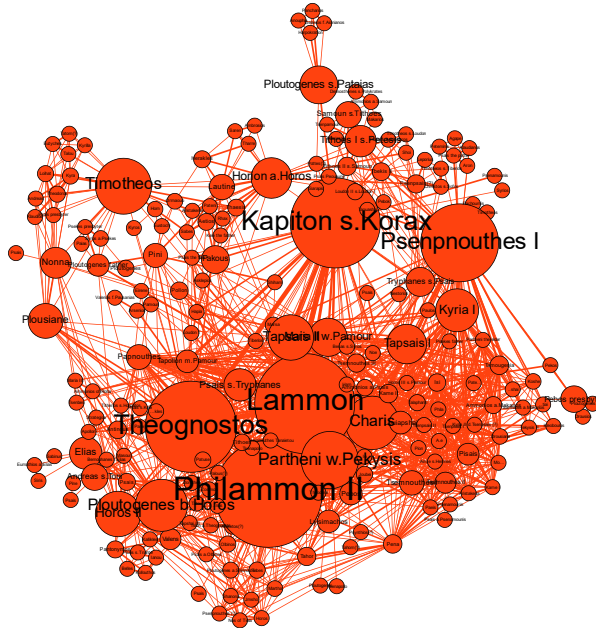


Figure 12: Letters, orders, receipts (circle heads removed. House 1–3)

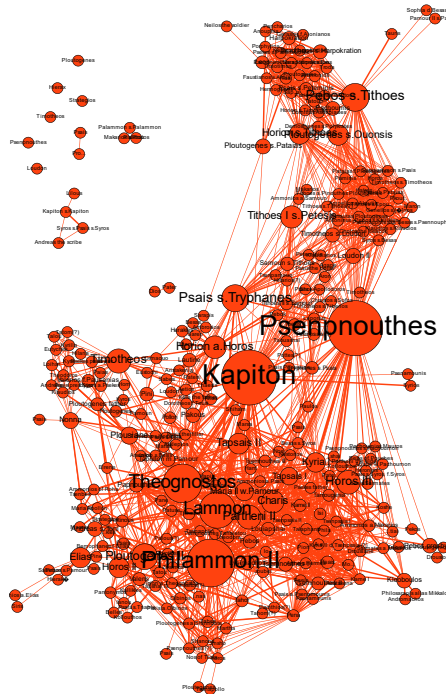


Figure 11: Letters, order, receipts, judicial documents (circle heads removed. House 1–3)

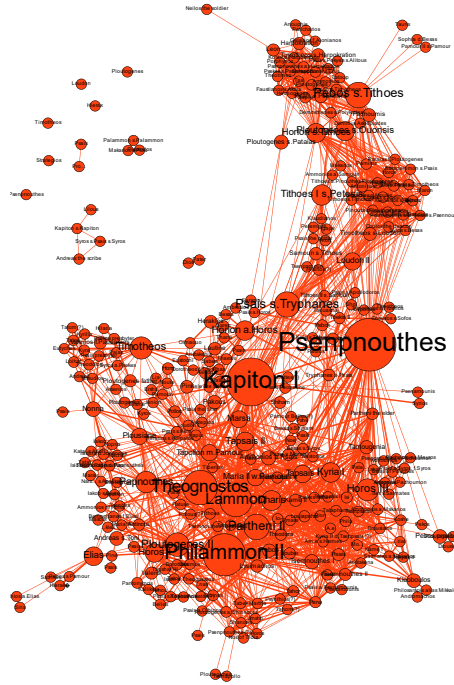


Figure 13: All documents (circle heads removed. House 1–3)

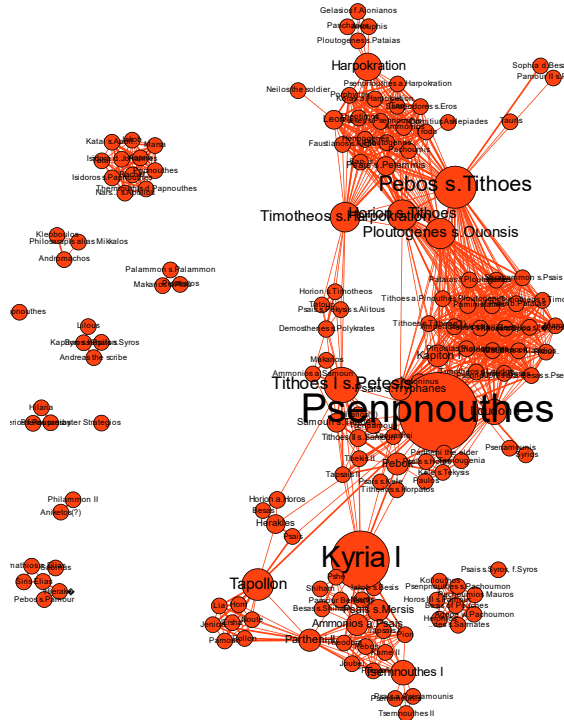


Figure 14: House 3 letters excluded (circle heads removed. House 1–3)

House 1–3 ca. 355–385: heads of House 3–circles removed				
	Letters, orders, receipts	Excluding accounts	All documents included	No H3 letters
Components (non-isolates)	10 (4)	14 (6)	14 (7)	14 (11)
<i>Actors</i>	221	291	312	156
<i>Average path distance</i>	2,711	2,869	2,874	2,696
<i>Density</i>	5,30 %	4,50 %	4,40 %	7,70 %
Giant component				
<i>Actors</i>	209	270	291	111
<i>Average path length</i>	2,712	2,87	2,875	2,727
<i>Density</i>	5,90 %	5,30 %	5 %	13,50 %
<i>Diameter</i>	5	6	6	6
Top ten names				
<i>Degree centrality</i>	Andreas (5008) Lammon (5057) Charis (5052) Theognostos (5032) Kyria I (5007) Psenpnouthes (5010) Tapsais I (5009) Partheni II (5087) Kapiton I (1014) Maria II (5090)	Philammon II (5008) Psenpnouthes (5010) Kapiton I (1014) Lammon (5057) Charis (5052) Theognostos (5032) Kyria I (5007) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Tapsais I (5009) Horion s.Tithoes (1090)	Philammon II (5008) Psenpnouthes (5010) Kapiton I (1014) Lammon (5057) Charis (5052) Theognostos (5032) Kyria I (5007) Partheni II (5087) Tapsais I (5009) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091)	Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Ploutogenes s.Ouon. (5155) Psenpnouthes I (5010) Loudon II (5110) Kapiton I (1014) Psais Tryphanes (7036) Pataias (1011) Pinoutas Ploutog. (1016) Sarapammon s.Psais (1052)
<i>Closeness centrality</i>	Philammon II (5008) Lammon (5057) Theognostos (5032) Charis (5052) Maria II (5090) Kyria I (5007) Kapiton I (1014) Tapsais II (7014) Partheni II (5087) Tapsais I (5009)	Philammon II (5008) Kapiton I (1014) Psenpnouthes (5010) Lammon (5057) Theognostos (5032) Charis (5052) Kyria I (5007) Maria II (5090) Tapsais II (7014) Psais Tryphanes (7036)	Philammon II (5008) Psenpnouthes (5010) Kapiton I (1014) Lammon (5057) Theognostos (5032) Charis (5052) Kyria I (5007) Partheni II (5087) Maria II (5090) Tapsais I (5009)	Psenpnouthes I (5010) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Ploutogenes s.Ouon.(5155) Tithoes s.Petesis (5013) Loudon II (5110) Kapiton I (1014) Psais Tryphanes (7036) Kyria I (5007) Pataias (1011)
<i>Betweenness centrality</i>	Philammon II (5008) Lammon (5057) Theognostos (5032) Kapiton I (1014) Psenpnouthes (5010) Partheni II (5087) Timotheos (5033) Charis (5052) Ploutogenes II (5108) Tapsais II (7014)	Psenpnouthes (5010) Kapiton I (1014) Philammon II (5008) Theognostos (5032) Lammon (5057) Pebos s.Tithoes (5032) Psais Tryphanes (7036) Ploutogenes II (5108) Timotheos (5033) Partheni II (5087)	Psenpnouthes (5010) Kapiton I (1014) Philammon II (5008) Theognostos (5032) Lammon (5057) Pebos s.Tithoes (5032) Partheni II (5087) Psais Tryphanes (7036) Ploutogenes II (5108) Timotheos (5033)	Psenpnouthes I (5010) Kyria I (5007) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Tithoes s.Petesis (5013) Tapollon (5142) Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Ploutogenes s.Ouon. (5155) Timotheos s.Harpokr. (1035) Harpokration (1026) Loudon II (5110)

Table 5: Centrality table House 1–3: circle heads removed

31 members removed

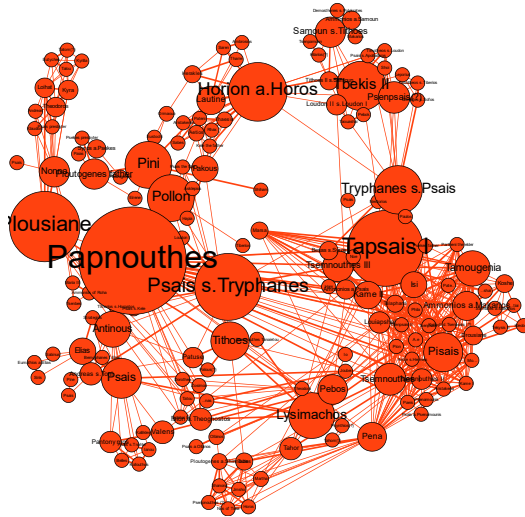


Figure 15: Letters, order, receipts (31 actors removed. House 1–3)

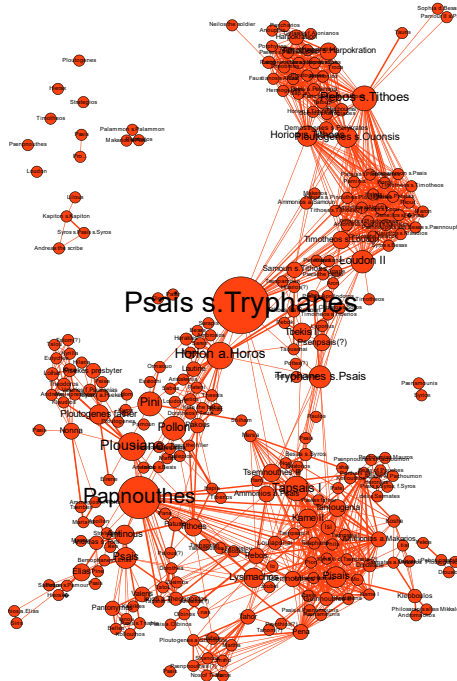


Figure 16: Letters, order, receipts, judicial documents (31 actors removed. House 1–3)

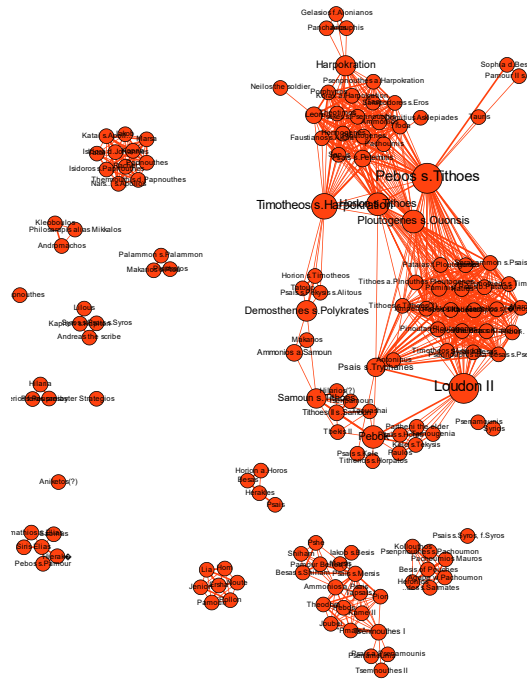


Figure 18: House 3 letters excluded (31 actors removed. House 1–3)

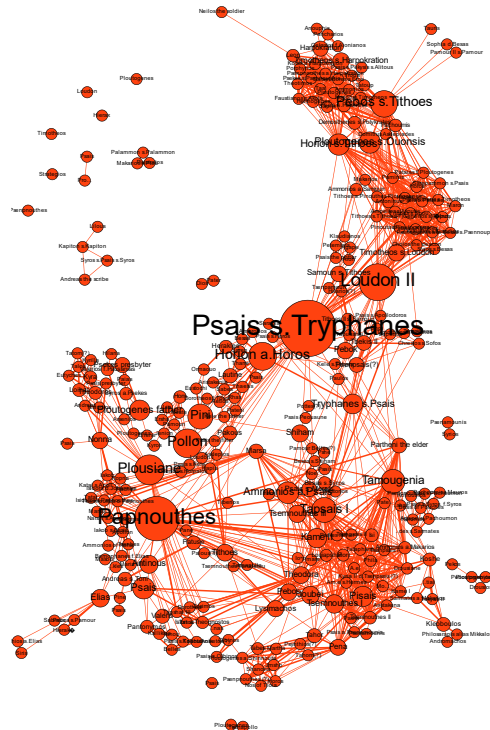


Figure 17: All documents (31 actors removed. House 1–3)

House 1–3 ca. 355–385: 31 central actors removed				
	Letters, orders, receipts	Excluding accounts	All documents included	No H3 letters
Components (non-isolates)	27 (14)	29 (14)	27 (13)	17 (14)
<i>Actors</i>	204	274	295	146
<i>Average path distance</i>	3,839	3,992	3,832	2,229
<i>Density</i>	3,30 %	3,40 %	3,30 %	7,40 %
Giant component				
<i>Actors</i>	158	220	244	73
<i>Average path length</i>	3,846	3,998	4,022	2,319
<i>Density</i>	5,30 %	5,10 %	4,60 %	23,80 %
<i>Diameter</i>	10	11	11	6
Top ten names				
<i>Degree centrality</i>	Tapsais I (5009) Tamougenia (5054) Papnouthes (7055) Tsemnouthes I (5003) Isi (5058) Pena (5067) Tsemnouthes II (5004) Ammonios a.Makar (5053) Talaphanti (5060) Kame II (5064)	Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Ploutogenes s.Ouon (5155) Tapsais I (5009) Psais Tryphanes (7036) Tamougenia (5054) Loudon II (5110) Papnouthes (7055) Tsemnouthes I (5003) Timotheos s.Loud (5166)	Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Ploutogenes s.Ouon (5155) Tapsais I (5009) Papnouthes (7055) Loudon II (5110) Tsemnouthes I (5003) Tamougenia (5054) Psais Tryphanes (7036) Timotheos s.Loud (5166)	Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Ploutogenes s.Ouon (5155) Loudon II (5110) Psais Tryphanes (7036) Pataias (1011) Pinoutas Ploutog (1016) Timotheos s.Harpokr (1035) Sarapammon s.Psais (1052) Timotheos s.Loud (5166)
<i>Closeness centrality**</i>	Tapsais I (5009) Papnouthes (7055) Isi (5058) Tamougenia (5054) Tsemnouthes I (5003) Ammonios a.Makar (5053) Kame II (5064) Tsemnouthes II (5004) Talaphanti (5060) Drousiane (5055)	Psais Tryphanes (7036) Papnouthes (7055) Loudon II (5110) Kame II (5064) Tryphanes s.Psais (5091) Timotheos s.Loud (5166) Tapsais I (5009) Tsemnouthes III (5059) Isi (5058) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091)	Psais Tryphanes (7036) Loudon II (5110) Papnouthes (7055) Tamougenia (5054) Kame II (5064) Tapsais I (5009) Ammonios a.Psais (5111) Partheni the elder (5065) Tryphanes s.Psais (5091) Tsemnouthes I (5003)	Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Ploutogenes s.Ouon (5155) Loudon II (5110) Timotheos s.Harpokr (1035) Psais Tryphanes (7036) Harpokration (1026) Timotheos s.Loudon (5166) Pataias (1011) Sarapammon s.Psais (1052)
<i>Betweenness centrality</i>	Papnouthes (7055) Tapsais I (5009) Plousiane (7017) Psais Tryphanes (7036) Horion b.Horos (5018) Tbekis II (5011) Tryphanes s.Psais (5091) Pini (5121) Pollon (5143) Lysimachos (5077)	Psais Tryphanes (7036) Papnouthes (7055) Plousiane (7017) Horion b.Horos (5018) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Tapsais I (5009) Pini (5121) Pollon (5143) Loudon II (5110) Tryphanes s.Psais (5091)	Psais Tryphanes (7036) Papnouthes (7055) Loudon II (5110) Plousiane (7017) Pollon (5143) Horion b.Horos (5018) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Pini (5121) Tapsais I (5009) Tamougenia (5054)	Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Loudon II (5110) Timotheos s.Harpokr (1035) Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Ploutogenes s.Ouon (5155) Pebok (5012) Demosthenes s.Polykr (1033) Harpokration (1026) Samoun s.Tithoes (5014) Psais Tryphanes (7036)

Table 6: Centrality table House 1–3: 31 actors removed

5.2.3 Comments

The first chart (Figure 7) comprises letters, orders, and receipts (the ‘letter network’). It is composed of 235 actors, divided between nine unconnected groups (components). This observation is somewhat deceiving: the single largest group, the ‘giant component’, embraces 226 of the actors.⁴³⁴ The other eight components comprise only a few actors. Calculations for network density and average path length largely reflect the attributes of the giant component.⁴³⁵ Network diameter is only calculated for the giant component, and the closeness centrality of individual actors also only applies to the giant component. The giant component of the letter network is characterised by high density and low average distance between actors, indicating that most of its sub-groups (‘clusters’) were closely connected, with many possible routes for information to spread through the network. Thus, although Chapters 3 and 4 assessed the documents in term of different ‘circles’, the overlap between them is so extensive that these circles are not clearly differentiated in the chart. Still, a few actors stand out in terms of betweenness centrality, in particular Pekysis, Psenpnouthes, Andreas, and Philammon II. A few circles – that of Elias and Ploutogenes son of Pataias – are weakly connected to the main component.

Adding judicial texts but excluding accounts/lists (Figure 8), the number of actors increases to 305. Density decreases somewhat: compared to the intimate circles of the private letters, this expanded network includes more peripheral business associates and neighbours. Only two new components are added. Taking the full range of documents into account, i.e. including accounts/lists (Figure 9), does not cause any major distortion. The accounts/lists only supply ten new texts, several of which are strongly linked to the other texts. The number of actors increases, but only slightly (to 326), the density remains largely the same, and no new, unconnected components appear.

⁴³⁴ Found through Gephi’s filter-function, which allows for singling out the ‘giant component’.

⁴³⁵ The texts behind the isolated components are often very fragmented ones, containing names that could potentially be identified with others, but where information is too sparse so that the name(s) relating the group to the others are probably lost in lacunae (pkgr.17, pkgr.69, pkc.14, pkc.49, pkc.62, pkc.97, pkc.113, pkc.119). This pattern holds for the other House 1–3 charts, but less so when texts from the rest of Kellis are added. For comparison, and to give a comprehensive map of my reconstructions, results for both the network as a whole and for the giant component on its own will be given in the tables below. See the procedure in Ruffini, *Social networks*, 203.

Naturally, it is mainly previously discussed actors from House 3 – in particular the Pamour family – who dominate the charts, although there are some shifts in who functions as bridges between the different subgroups (measured by betweenness centrality). In the letter network, the betweenness score is dominated by figures occurring regularly in several circles – Pekysis, Psenpnouthes, Andreas, Philammon II, and Psais III. When the judicial and economic material is added, Pamour III, Kapiton I, and Psais II climb much higher. This is in part due to the central document pkgr.24 (where the two former occur), but also the role of Pamour III and Psais II in particular as representatives of the family in judicial matters more generally, bridging the official and the ‘private’ texts. Tehat gains in importance when economic material is added, on the basis of her identification as author of the Coptic accounts. Only one actor, Pebos son of Tithoes, scores high on betweenness centrality without being identified in the private letters (in Figures 8–10). This naturally changes when the private letters are excluded (Figure 10). Pekysis, Philammon, and Andreas no longer feature as betweenness central, and are replaced by actors of more village-wide importance. Pebos is joined by his brother Horion, Harpokration the ex-magistrate, and the komarch Ploutogenes son of Ouonsis, as well as the carpenter Tithoes son of Petesis (whose texts from House 2 now play a larger role).

Turning to the charts where circle heads are removed (Figures 11–14), we find that the network is not strongly affected. In terms of betweenness centrality, Philammon II, Psenpnouthes, and Kapiton I now dominate, while actors such as Theognostos, Partheni II, and Psais Tryphanes increase in centrality. Finally, even removing 31 of the Pamour associates (Figures 15–18) does not disconnect the network. It highlights more obscure actors who bridge different letters circles, including Papnouthes, ‘mother’ Tapsais I, Horion ‘brother’ of Horos I, and associates of Theognostos (Plousiane, Pollon, and Pini). Moreover, Psais Tryphanes occurs as central both within the letter network, and as a bridge to the judicial texts (Figures 16–17), along with Loudon II. In the charts where House 3 letters are removed (Figures 14, 18), more ‘outsiders’ naturally come to the fore. In the former chart, Kyria and Psenpnouthes are still included and provide the chief links between the letter network and the judicial texts, while actors of wider importance become even more prominent. In the latter chart, associates of Tithoes son of Petesis from House 2 (Demosthenes, Pebok, Samoun) play a larger role. Pebos son of Tithoes, and also Loudon II, remain prominent figures in both chart.

5.3 The village network ca. 320–400

5.3.1 *Kellis and House 1–3: Comparing archives*

The above considerations provide some idea of the relative importance of the various actors in the House 1–3 material on the basis of the range of material from House 1–3 itself. Some important differences and problems must be considered before the material from the rest of the village can be added. The textual material from other parts of Kellis is a heterogeneous body.⁴³⁶ It consists of finds from different find sites across the village, and no familial archive comparable to that of House 3. The addition of this diverse material to the more cohesive archive of House 1–3 demands great care. Ruffini, in his study of Aphrodito's network, refrained from combining different archives, arguing that they present incompatible bodies of material.⁴³⁷ Combining them would result in distorting the network, giving artificially high centrality scores to the actors bridging archives.⁴³⁸ However, it is my view that a study that seeks to assess the centrality of a specific individual or group, based on quantitative material, cannot ignore bodies of evidence for contemporary activity within the village 'microcosmos'. The centrality of people who bridge archives is no more artificial than that within the archive itself. While actors from House 1–3 texts get a high centrality score among themselves due to the dominance of their own documents, actors who appear in multiple documents from across the village are more likely to have actually been central in some way within Kellis. The fragmentary nature of the other text finds does not allow us to assess the full significance of their role, but it does provide a fuller picture of associates and contacts that appear more fleeting in the House 1–3 archive. However, two important aspects must be accounted for to properly conduct such an analysis: documentation type and dating.

First, while a large percentage of the documents from House 1–3 could be drawn from the relatively narrow time-span of ca. 350–390, the rest of the village is more diverse. Some

⁴³⁶ Of the 598 documents in the database, a majority of 347 texts (ca. 60%) were not from House 1–3. The primary site was the Main Temple, with its associated shrines (D/1–4, 150 texts). The West Church (D/6, 53 texts) was another important find-site. Smaller bodies of material were found in a rubbish heap (A/10, 30 texts) and in domestic settings: houses in area C (C1 and C2, 37 texts), structure D/8 (D/8, 31 texts), House 4 (A/6, 24 texts), and House 5 (A/8–9, 5 texts). A few ostraca were found in the East Church (A/7, 9 texts), while the large block in Area B (B/1) has only yielded three jar docketts so far. In addition, a few (5 texts) of unknown provenance within the village have been included.

⁴³⁷ Ruffini, *Social networks*, 201.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*

material date from the early second century.⁴³⁹ While most of the material can be dated from mid–late third to late fourth century contexts, and many can be placed in the broad category of mid- or late fourth century, the documents are difficult to date more precisely.⁴⁴⁰ In order to keep a quantitatively significant number of documents, it is necessary to widen the (possible) timeframe somewhat. The charts below include material from a wider period, spanning ca. 320–400 (ca. 4 generations). The amount of texts that can be placed within this range is still much smaller than that from House 1–3, consisting of 76 texts. Still, it should be emphasised that the majority of those texts among them that can be dated with precision fall within the range of 330–375.

Secondly, the documents from the rest of the village that can be narrowed down to this date-range are characterised by a different balance between genres from those of House 1–3. The House 1–3 texts dating 350–390 were, as we saw, dominated by letters (75%) and judicial texts (15%). By comparison, letters/elaborate memos make up ca. 8% (6 texts), and official documents/contracts ca 6.5% (5 texts) of the textual material from the rest of the village – of which some moreover are badly preserved. Instead, it is dominated by short memos/receipts (49%, 39 texts) and accounts/lists (36.5%, 28 texts, including two jar docketts). This balance also needs to be taken into account when considering the significance of the centrality measurements below for positioning House 3 families within the village. Controlling for bias from the House 3 letters therefore becomes of greater importance, both by controlling for House 3 letters (Figures 21, 26) and for central House 1–3 actors (Figures 22–26). A final iteration in which all House 1–3 documents are removed is also included below (Figure 27).

⁴³⁹ Several of which are found in Bagnall, Hope, and Worp, ‘Family papers’.

⁴⁴⁰ Based on indiction dates, inflation, find-site, and/or connections to datable documents.

5.3.2 Kellis network charts

All actors included

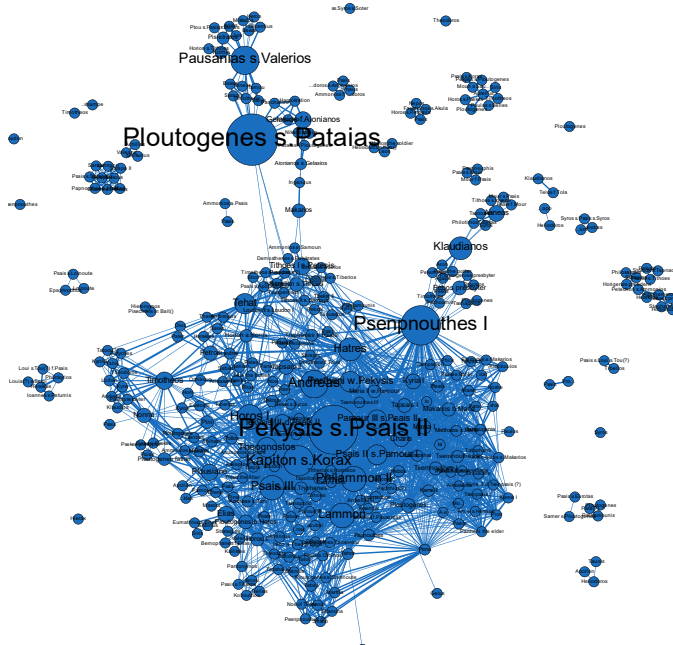


Figure 19: Letters, orders, receipts (Kellis)

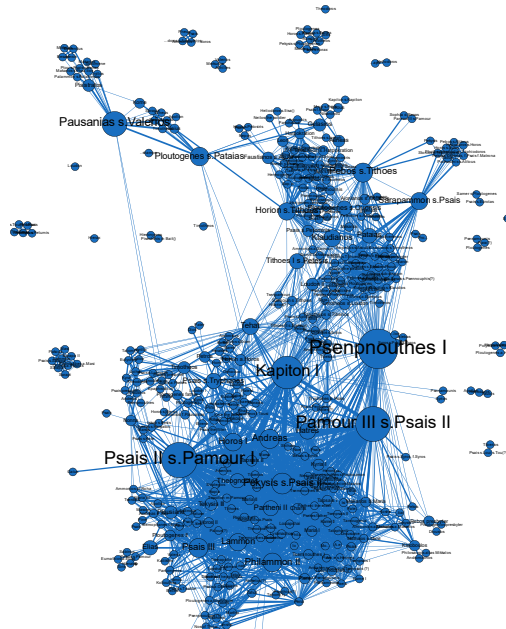


Figure 20: Letters, order, receipts, judicial documents (Kellis)

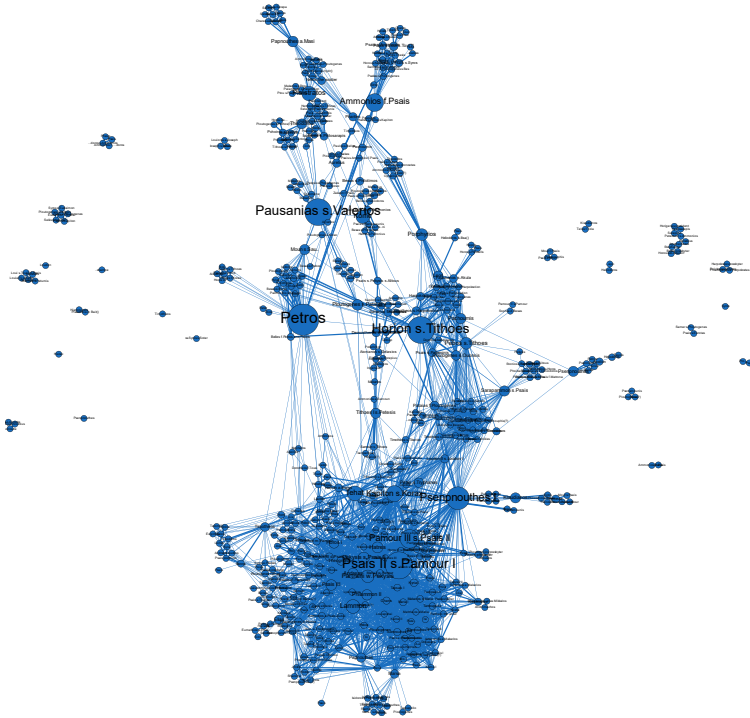


Figure 22: All documents (Kellis)

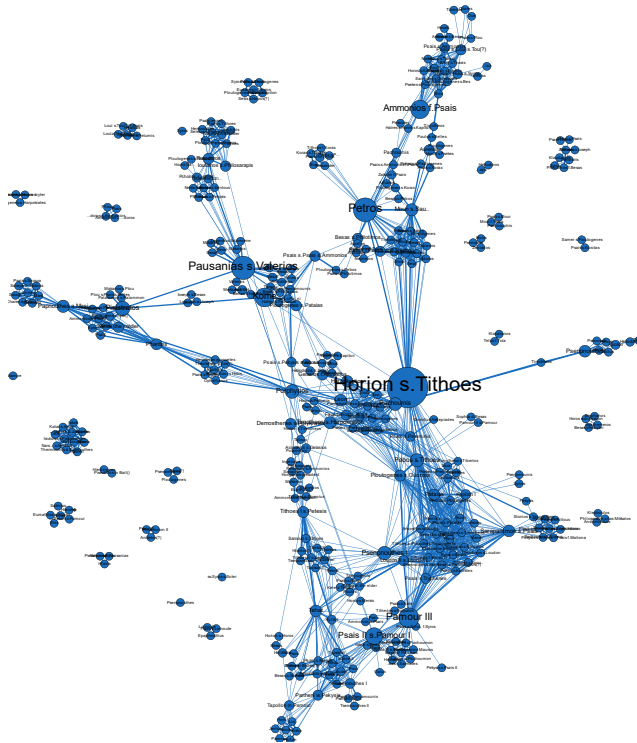


Figure 21: House 3 letters excluded (Kellis)

Kellis documents dating ca. 320–400				
	Letters, orders, receipts	Excluding accounts	All documents included	No H3 letters
Components (non-isolates)	31 (22)	31 (22)	26 (18)	28 (24)
<i>Actors</i>	343	427	554	393
<i>Average path length</i>	2,829	2,913	3,514	3,822
<i>Density</i>	0,038	3,30 %	2,50 %	2,40 %
Giant component				
<i>Actors</i>	256	341	489	301
<i>Average path length</i>	2,836	2,917	3,52	3,848
<i>Density</i>	6,60 %	5 %	3,10 %	3,70 %
<i>Diameter</i>	8	7	9	9
Top ten names				
<i>Degree centrality</i>	Philammon II (5051) Andreas (5008) Lammon (5057) Pamour III (5073) Pekysis s.Psais II (5081) Psais II (5089) Psais III (1264) Charis (5052) Theognostos (5032) Maria I (5047)	Philammon II (5051) Pamour III (5073) Psais II (5089) Andreas (5008) Psenpnouthes I (5010) Kapiton I (1014) Lammon (5057) Pekysis (5081) Psais III (1264) Charis (5052)	Pamour III (5073) Philammon II (5051) Psais II (5089) Psenpnouthes (5010) Andreas (5008) Kapiton I (1014) Lammon (5057) Pekysis (5081) Psais III (1264) Charis (5052)	Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Pamour III (5073) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Ploutogenes s.Ouon. (5155) Psenpnouthes I (5010) Pataias (1011) Kapiton I (1014) Sarapammon s.Psais (1052) Loudon II (5110) Tehat (5035)
<i>Closeness centrality**</i>	Pekysis s.Psais II (5081) Philammon II (5051) Andreas (5008) Lammon (5057) Pamour III (5073) Psais II (5089) Charis (5052) Hatres (5030) Psais III (1264) Theognostos (5032)	Pamour III (5073) Philammon II (5051) Psenpnouthes (5010) Psais II (5089) Kapiton I (1014) Andreas (5008) Pekysis (5081) Lammon (5057) Charis (5052) Psais III (1264)	Pamour III (5073) Psenpnouthes I (5010) Psais II (5089) Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Lammon (5057) Kapiton I (1014) Partheni II (5087) Hatres (5030) Psais Tryphanes (7036) Tehat (5035)	Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Ploutogenes s.Ouon. (5155) Pamour III (5073) Psenpnouthes I (5010) Psais s.Tryphanes (7036) Kome (4087) Timotheos s.Harpokr. (1035) Pataias (1011) Harpokration (1026)
<i>Betweenness centrality</i>	Ploutogenes s.Pataias (1020) Pekysis s.Psais II (5081) Psenpnouthes I (5010) Kapiton i (1014) Pausanias s.Valerios (1017) Andreas (5008) Philammon II (5051) Horos I (5024) Lammon (5057) Psais III (1264)	Psenpnouthes (5010) Psais II (5089) Pamour III (5073) Kapiton I (1014) Pausanias s.Val. (1017) Pekysis (5081) Andreas (5008) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Psais III (1264) Philammon II (1020)	Petros (5036) Psais II (5089) Pausanias s.Val. (1017) Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Psenpnouthes I (5010) Pamour III (5073) Ammonios f.Psais (8352) Kapiton I (1014) Tehat (5035) Pisistratos (1175)	Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Petros (5036) Pausanias s.Val. (1017) Pamour III (5073) Kome (4087) Ammonios f.Psais (8352) Psais II (5089) Pisistratos (1175) Porphyrios (9508) Psenpnouthes I (5010)

Table 7: Centrality table Kellis, all actors included

31 H1-3 members removed

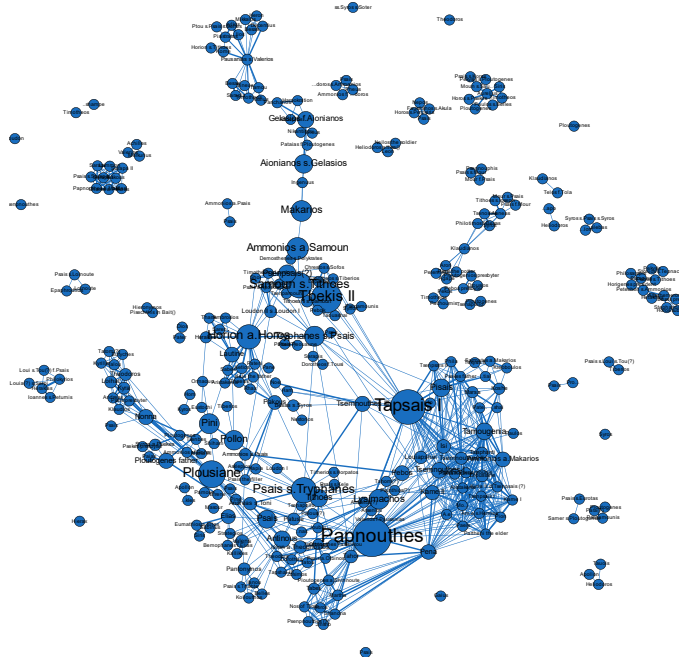


Figure 23: Letters, orders, receipts (31 actors removed. Kellis)

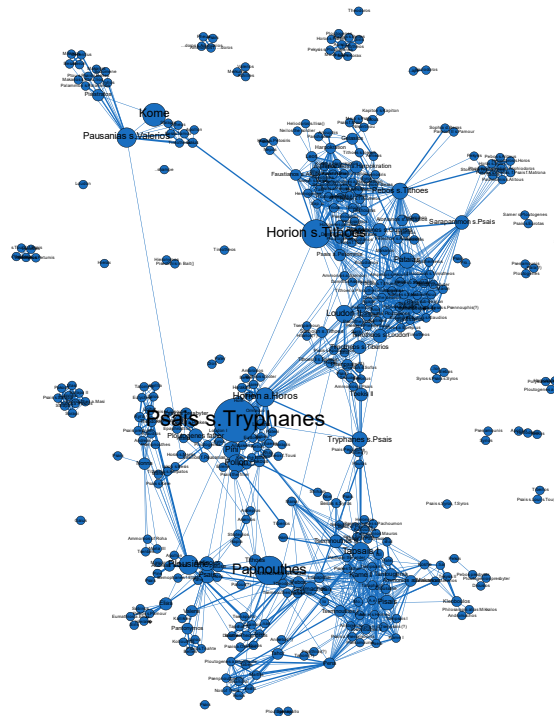


Figure 24: Letters, order, receipts, judicial documents (31 actors removed. Kellis)

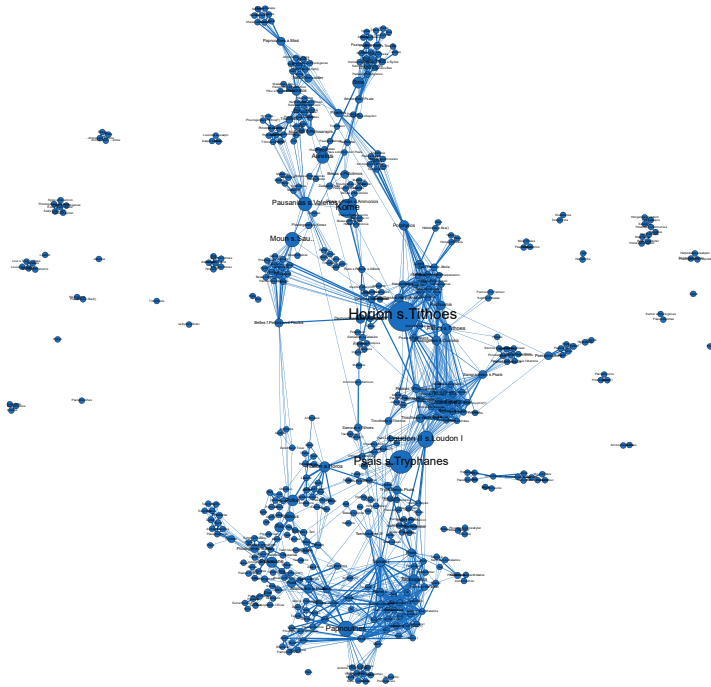


Figure 25: All documents (31 actors removed. Kellis)

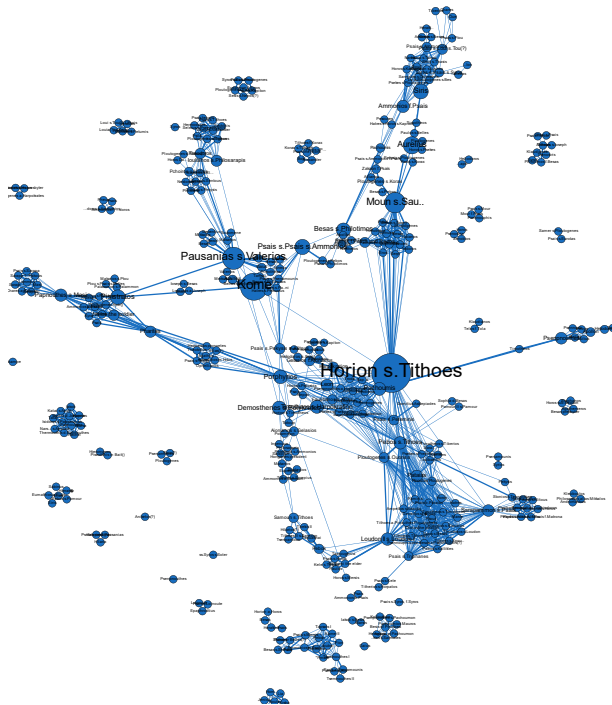


Figure 26: House 3 letters excluded (31 actors removed. Kellis)

Kellis ca. 320–380: 31 central actors of H1–3 removed				
	Letters, orders, receipts	Excluding accounts	All documents included	No H3 letters
Components (non-isolates)	51 (33)	51 (32)	44 (28)	37 (30)
<i>Actors</i>	312	396	523	376
<i>Average path distance</i>	3,827	4,259	4,767	4,093
<i>Density</i>	1,90 %	1,90 %	1,60 %	2,20 %
Giant component				
<i>Actors</i>	169	263	411	239
<i>Average path length</i>	3,885	4,565	4,815	4,125
<i>Density</i>	5,20 %	3,90 %	2,50 %	4,50 %
<i>Diameter</i>	12	11	12	10
Top ten names				
<i>Degree centrality</i>	Tapsais I (5009) Tamougenia (5054) Papnouthes (7055) Tsemnouthes I (5003) Isi (5058) Pena (5067) Tsemnouthes II (5004) Ammonios a.Mak. (5053) Talaphanti (5060) Kame II (5064)	Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Ploutogenes s.Ouon (5155) Psais s.Tryphanes (7036) Tapsais I (5009) Sarapammon s.Psai (1052) Pataias (1011) Tamougenia (5054) Pinoutas Ploutog (1016) Papnouthes (7055)	Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Tapsais I (5009) Ploutogenes s.Ouon (5155) Papnouthes (7055) Tsemnouthes I (5003) Psais Tryphanes (7036) Tamougenia (5054) Loudon II (5110) Pataias (1011)	Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Ploutogenes s.Ouon (5155) Pataias (1011) Sarapammon s.Psai (1052) Pinoutas Ploutogenes (1016) Loudon II (5110) Psais s.Peteminis (1012) Porphyrios (9508) Timotheos s.Harpokr (1035)
<i>Closeness centrality**</i>	Tapsais I (5009) Papnouthes (7055) Isi (5058) Tamougenia (5054) Tsemnouthes I (5003) Ammonios (5053) Kame II (5064) Tsemnouthes II (5004) Talaphanti (5060) Drousiane (5055)	Psais s.Tryphanes (7036) Loudon II (5110) Papnouthes (7055) Timotheos s.Loud (5166) Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Ploutogenes s.Ouon (5155) Pataias (1011) Kame II (5064) Pinoutas Ploutog (1016)	Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Psais Tryphanes (7036) Loudon II (5110) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Ploutogenes s.Ouon (5155) Papnouthes (7055) Timotheos s.Loud (5166) Pataias (1011) Tamougenia (5054) Sarapammon s.Psai (1052)	Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Kome (4087) Pebos s.Tithoes (1091) Ploutogenes s.Ouon (5155) Timotheos s.Harpokr (1035) Porphyrios (9508) Leon (1058) Psais s.Peteminis (1012) Harpokraton (1026) Pachoumis (1092)
<i>Betweenness centrality</i>	Papnouthes (7055) Tapsais I (5009) Plousiane (7017) Psais s.Tryphanes (7036) Horion b.Horos (5018) Tryphanes s.Psais (5091) Pollon (5143) Pini (5121) Lysimachos (5077) Tbekis II (5011)	Psais s.Tryphanes (7036) Papnouthes (7055) Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Kome (4087) Pausanias s.Val (1017) Plousiane (7017) Horion b.Horos (5018) Tapsais I (5009) Loudon II (5110) Pollon (5153)	Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Psais Tryphanes (7036) Kome (4087) Loudon II (5110) Papnouthes (7055) Moun s.Sau... (8193) Pausanias s.Valerios (1017) Aurelius (8190) Siris (8221) Pollon (5153)	Horion s.Tithoes (1090) Kome (4087) Pausanias s.Val (1017) Moun s.Sau... (8193) Aurelius (8190) Psais s.Psais s.Am (8350) Siris (8221) Pisistratos (1175) Besas s.Philotimos (8353) Porphyrios (9508)

Table 8: Centrality table Kellis – 31 actors removed

All H1–3 texts excluded

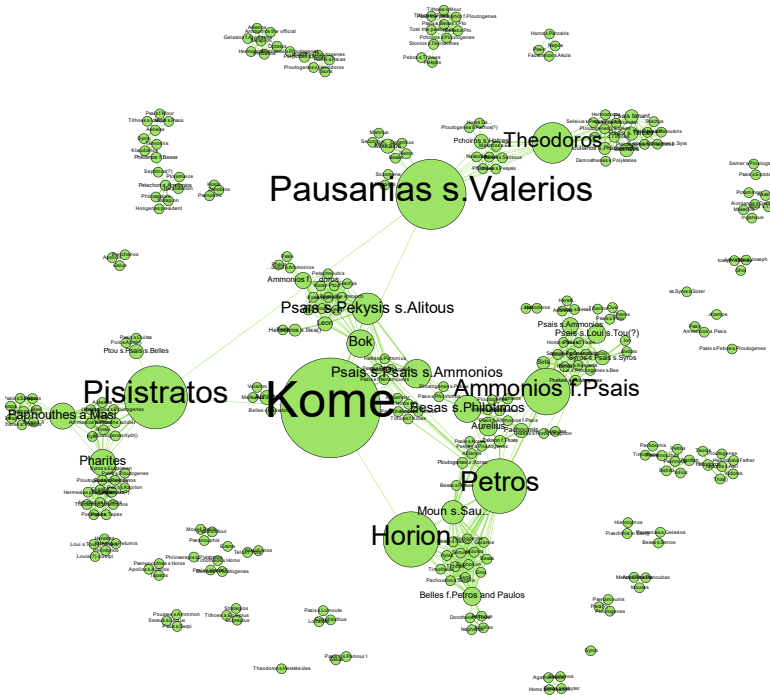


Figure 27: No House 1–3 material, ca. 320–400

Kellis only (House 1 – 3 texts removed)	
	Documents 320–400
Components (non-isolates)	36 (28)
Actors	294
Average path length	4,222
Density	2,20 %
Giant component	
Actors	162
Average path length	4,299
Density	5,60 %
Diameter	9
Top ten names	
Degree centrality	Petros (5036) Moun s.Sau.. (8193) Belles (8192) Psais s.Pekysis (1030) Papnouthes a.Masi (7108) Bok (8444) Pharites (9505) Theodoros (8186) Ammonios f.Psais (8352) Horion (s.Tithoes) (1090)
Closeness centrality	Kome (4087) Horion (1090) Petros (5036) Pausanias s.Val. (1017) Psais s.Psais s.Am. (8350) Pisistratos (1175) Psais s.Pekysis (1030) Bok (8444) Besas s.Philotimos (8353) Moun s.Sau.. (8193)
Betweenness centrality	Kome (4087) Pausanias s.Val. (1017) Pisistratos (1175) Horion (s.Tithoes) (1090) Petros (5036) Ammonios f.Psais (8352) Theodoros (8186) Psais s.Pekysis (1030) Psais s.Psais s.Am. (8350) Bok (8444)

Table 9: Kellis only

5.3.3 Comments

With the addition of the less cohesive textual material from other find sites, there is as might be expected a substantial increase in the number of unaffiliated components and isolated actors in the network charts. Within the giant components, we see that density decreases, while diameter and average path distance rises, indicating an overall decrease in connectivity, and more steps needed for each node to reach each other, due to the addition of some less well-connected actors/subgroups. But although they cause some decrease in connectivity, the number of new actors or subgroups added to the giant components is not particularly large in the case of the letter network (30 new actors) or the letters/judicial texts network (another 21 new actors) (Figures 19–20). These charts do not differ radically from those of the House 1–3 network alone, in large parts due to the paucity of corresponding private archival material from other parts of the village.

Although the additions are small, there are some notable changes in terms of betweenness centrality. For the letter network (Figure 19), the main shift is the addition of Ploutogenes son of Pataias' correspondence with Pausanias (from House 2). This addition of the circle of Ploutogenes increases his centrality markedly, in his capacity as a bridge between the Pausanias group and the Pamour family. Pausanias himself appears as a central actor with his own circle of connections. With the addition of judicial texts (Figure 20), Ploutogenes son of Pataias loses his position as a central bridge, as Pausanias also has a direct tie to the Pamour family found in these texts. Pausanias himself features consistently among the top five central actors in terms of betweenness centrality in all the charts (Figures 19–20).

The addition of the major body of Kellis texts, that of economic material, adds another 127 new actors (Figure 22). This material is mostly ostraca accounts/lists, which adds many new names and links, but whose significance is more difficult to interpret. Still, notable among the new actors is Petros, central to the Petros letters, but fairly peripheral in the previously examined House 1–3 network. He may well have been a Manichaean Elect (see sections 5.4 and 11.1.2). Other central actors include Horion son of Tithoes, who replaces his brother Pebos, as well as previously unseen figures such as Pisistratos, from the Pausanias circle and found in accounts from House 4, and Ammonios (father of Psais), who occurs with some

frequency in the West Church accounts. By removing House 3 letters (Figure 21) this picture is accentuated. While Pebos son of Tithoes, Ploutogenes son of Ouonsis, Harpokration, and Tithoes I were prominent in the comparable House 1–3 chart (Figure 9), they are absent here. Instead, Petros, Pausanias, Ammonios, and Pisistratos remain, as well as Kome, another associate of Pausanias prominent in West Church accounts, and Porphyrios, who occur in pkgr.23 and an account from House 4, enter the list. Only Pamour III, Psenpnouthes, and Psais II are left of the Pamour family.

Looking at the charts with House 3 letters but where 31 House 1–3 actors (including Petros) are removed (Figures 23–25), we find that Papnouthes and Horion ‘brother’ of Horos I again have central roles. A group of trading partners – Psais Tryphanes, Loudon II, Timotheos son of Loudon, and the more enigmatic Pollon (perhaps a storehouse owner in Kellis, see pkc.80?) – rise in centrality, of whom Psais Tryphanes and Loudon II were also present in the comparable chart in the House 1–3 network alone. These replace the previously central Pamour actors as mediators between House 1–3 and the rest of the village. The other figures of importance are, as one might expect, those of Pausanias, Horion son of Tithoes, and Kome, who remain among the most central actors in the non-epistolary charts (Figures 24–26), as well as in the network of actors where the House 1–3 documents are excluded entirely (Figure 27). Here no actor from the Pamour family, or even the House 3 circles in general, is present at all, with the exception of Petros (for whom, see below).

5.4 Models and social reality

Having surveyed the evidence, and tested different network constructions in order to measure centrality, we need to consider a crucial question more carefully: in what way do these models reflect historical, social reality? As noted in the introduction to this chapter, the models are not intended to be accurate representations of power structures, but to provide maps which help us trace social relations. First, we may note that the models can be taken to reflect broad developments in this regard. Diachronic development can be seen in charts not included here, based on material from the mid–late third century. They feature several temple priests with high betweenness centrality. This is in line with the imposing position of the Tutu temple in

the village until the late third and even early fourth century.⁴⁴¹ While Egyptian temples in general lost prestige in Roman times, the Main Temple at Kellis was built, expanded, and refurbished under Roman rule,⁴⁴² and was an economic actor that owned wells in the area.⁴⁴³ The archaeological remains of the structure shows that it only went out of cultic use some time in the first half of the fourth century, at which point the priests also disappear, paving the way for the actors visible in the networks displayed above.

Let us next consider the more focused network of House 1–3. In Chapter 3, I argued that the House 3 material was dominated by an extended family: horizontally by the couples Pamour/Maria, Pekysis/Partheni, as well as Tekysis/Kapiton; upwards, to the older generation of Psais II, Maria I, and Horos I; and downwards, to the younger members of the Psais/Andreas circle. Although of different generations, most of these were at one point active contemporaneously. The network charts show the amount and strength of the ties between these groups, the extent to which even circles presumed to be chronologically separated, such as Tehat and Psais/Andreas, shared friends and family. Removing the heads of the circles did not alter the connectivity of the circles much (Figure 12), and even removing a sizable number of prominent actors did not disconnect the network (Figure 15). This gives quantitative weight to the argument that all the House 3 circles were intimately connected, and supports the hypothesis that they all belong to a single household.⁴⁴⁴

Still, the network of this household was clearly extensive. Figure 7 shows as many as 226 interconnected actors documented in the private correspondence network of House 1–3 (a few memos are included here, but are of little quantitative significance). It might be objected that some central documents, especially pkc.19, inflate the network, similar to the effect of event documents discussed in section 5.1.2: pkc.19 alone contains a large number of actors (altogether 32 included in the network), which automatically become interlinked by the method for constructing a one-mode network used here. However, the large majority of

⁴⁴¹ A large and well-preserved mural from Shrine 1, a birth chapel connected to the Main Temple, depicts a sizable number of priests approaching the gods of the temple: altogether 64 priests, probably in connection with a palm rib festival perhaps peculiar for Dakhleh. Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 87, 167–80.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, 29–30. For the decline of the priesthood, see Bowman, *Egypt after the pharaohs*, 179–82.

⁴⁴³ Kaper, *Temples and Gods*, 163.

⁴⁴⁴ The same result, based on a different network construction, is noted by Brand, ‘Speech patterns’, 110.

actors are found in the greetings section, addressed to families in the same area, all friends of Maria I, Makarios, and Matthaïos. It seems reasonable to assume that they also had social ties to each other, and so there is no need to suspect that these links are artificial (see section 9.2.1 for a consideration of these families). Rather, this letter underscores the argument.

Turning to the larger network of the village, we find that adding more material decreased connectivity of the network somewhat (see Tables 4 and 7). We cannot thereby conclude that the House 1–3 circles were more ‘tightly’ interconnected than was normal in the village: it simply reflects the number and type of documentary texts that have (so far) been recovered from other parts of the village, as discussed in section 5.3.1. Similarly, the continued dominance of the Pamour family in centrality measures does not reflect any hegemony by this group over the village. When the private House 3 letters are removed, only a few actors (e.g. Pamour III, Psais II, Psenpnouthes) remain central in terms of betweenness centrality, despite the fact that the family’s judicial and economic documents still make up a sizable part of the total documents, and the Pamour family disappears altogether when all their documents are removed. However, some of their contacts – notably Pebos and Horion, sons of Tithoes, and Pausanias the ex-magistrate – are central in almost all these charts. They appear to have been central in terms of social position within the village, as well.

The evaluation of individual centrality, however, is a difficult enterprise. On the one hand, some names may be mistakenly identified as a single actor, inflating the centrality of certain figures. On the other, the absence of identification may be equally distorting, which is especially problematic in the case of names such as Ploutogenes, Horos, Tithoes, Ammonios, and Psais. Some of the many occurrences of these names in for instance the ostraca lists could potentially refer to actors discussed above (e.g. Ploutogenes son of Ouonsis), even though identifications cannot be made due to the absence of patronymics or other supporting evidence, causing us to overlook actors of high centrality. The centrality of the actors identified as central above therefore needs to be considered in light of the content of the documents in which they occur. Some of these figures need to be considered more carefully below, in particular those who feature less distinctly in the already-discussed House 1–3 circles, but who play a part in our understanding of the local Manichaean community. These are Pebos son of Tithoes, traders such as Psais Tryphanes, the magistrate Pausanias, and Petros.

First, let us consider Pebos son of Tithoes. He was the only associate of the family who is not clearly present in the private letters, but still has a central position in the House 1–3 network.⁴⁴⁵ He drew up documents on behalf of the Pamour family on several occasions (pkgr.42–44). His centrality, then, could simply reflect the high centrality scribes attained by virtue of being the ones to write (and sign) much of the evidence preserved for posterity.⁴⁴⁶ However, these contracts belong to different actors (pkgr.42 to Pamour II brother of Psais II, pkgr.44 to Pekysis), extend over a long period (pkgr.42 is dated 364; pkgr.44, 382); and show that while originally from Kellis, Pebos – like important members of the Pamour family – moved to Aphrodito in the Nile Valley (pkgr.43–44). These factors indicate that his association with the family went beyond mere scribal work. His role as a prominent signatory to pkgr.24 from 352, in a group for which Pamour III writes, supports this idea. He was a key supporter of the komarch Ploutogenes son of Ouonsis in a feud with the ex-magistrate Harpokration in pkgr.23 (d. 353). Here Pebos is credited with disarming the supporters of the ex-magistrate Harpokration, indicating that he wielded much influence in the village in the 350s (sections 2.3.2, 4.3.2). The importance of Horion son of Tithoes, who occurs with his brother in both pkgr.23 and pkgr.24 and as a landowner in the KAB, strengthens the impression that the sons of Tithoes were prominent actors in mid-fourth century Kellis (section 4.3.2).

When removing central Pamour associates, both in the House 1–3 network only and in the larger village network, a group of less visible House 1–3 affiliates increased in centrality: Papnouthes, Psais Tryphanes, Loudon II, and Horion ('brother' of Horos I). These figures shared close business ties with the Pamour family as well as with the circle of Tehat.⁴⁴⁷ Psais Tryphanes and Loudon II had prominent roles in the village, as indicated by their occurrence among the first group of signatories in pkgr.24. The nature of their cooperation with the Pamour family is considered more closely in section 6.4, where I argue that we are dealing with a (informal) Kellite trade association.

⁴⁴⁵ It is, however, possible that he should be identified with 'brother' Pebos referred to by Pamour III in pkc.66, perhaps another 'brother' Pebos writing Psais III in pkc.111, or even a 'father' Pebos featuring in pkc.120. All of these figures were involved in text production, which fits with this man. An identification with one or more of these would tie Pebos son of Tithoes closely to the Manichaean community. See however section 11.3.2.

⁴⁴⁶ Ruffini, *Social networks*, 214–15.

⁴⁴⁷ While Papnouthes does not feature in the letters of Tehat, we may note that a Papnouthes occurs in the KAB, who, among other actions, brought cotton from Tehat. See section 8.2.

Finally, two figures who feature prominently in the village network only, but who at times interacted with the House 1–3 people, need to be considered: Pausanias and Petros. Pausanias has already been discussed in section 4.2.1, where it was argued that he can be identified with an Oasis magistrate occurring both in House 1–3 and in other documents, particularly those from the domestic structure D/8. His prominence in the network above is based on occurrences both in texts from House 1–3, from D/8, and from the West Church. The identification of the different occurrences with the man is reasonably secure. He has a high degree of betweenness centrality in all the networks that include material from the rest of the village. This strongly suggests that he was a man of considerable influence in the period he was active in the village, which was perhaps limited to ca. 320–40s. In this period, however, he may have played an important role as patron for a larger Manichaean community here, a question I examine in more detail in section 9.2.3.

Petros is somewhat more problematic. In the House 1–3 network he features as the primary recurring actor in the Petros letters (pkc.38–39), where the son consistently refer to him as ‘our brother’ and entrust him with various messages and writings. However, he is not particularly central outside this circle, occurring only in a letter of Horion involving textiles for ‘presbyter’ (pkc.18). His prominence in the network is based on an identification with a Petros that occurs in a group of West Church ostraca accounts. A key text is okell.121, which features five actors in an account of a liquid, probably olive oil. Two co-occurring actors are Psais the monk (*monakhos*) and Bok (for Pebok, a ‘father’ associated with a monastery in pkc.12?). The argument for identifying Petros in House 1–3 and in the West Church is derived from the KAB (not included in the networks here), which features a Petros ‘the monk’ who pays rents on behalf of a *topos Mani*, also dealing in olive oil.⁴⁴⁸ It suggests that okell.121 deals with monks, and that Petros the monk had some role in the economic life of the village. The name ‘Petros’ is moreover not common in Kellis, outside the West Church texts and the House 1–3 texts. I therefore take Petros, found in the KAB, the House 1–3 texts, and okell.121, as a Manichaean Elect active in the village in the 360s. Based on find-spot, this man may furthermore be

⁴⁴⁸ That this was some kind of monastic institution is quite clear from its link to Petros the monk, and a connection to the Manichaeans in House 1–3 seems highly plausible. See furthermore section 11.4.3.

identified with Petros, son of Belles, who occurs on several other potsherds from the West Church (okell.114–115, okell.117).

This explains his prominent position in the network charts of section 5.3. However, it may be objected that the identification of the monk with the man in these potsherds is relatively uncertain (at least in the case of okell.114–115, okell.117), and so his centrality could be inflated. Moreover, even granting the identification, he is only central in the networks that include accounts/lists, which are not necessarily good indicators of social centrality. He may have had little interaction with the others listed there. Even so, it is clear that a monk by that name had some sort of role as an economic agent in Kellis in this period, as is affirmed by the KAB on its own. The documents of House 1–3 and okell.121 suggests that he was not restricted to interacting with the KAB manager, and that he played an important role as a mediator between the village and a Manichaeian religious institution. It supports the notion that the Pamour family's affiliation with Manichaeism was not an isolated case in Kellis.

5.5 Conclusions

To conclude, the formal network analysis of the Kellis documents has illustrated and provided quantifiable evidence for and weight to the argument that the House 1–3 texts primarily related to a single, extended household of multiple families. Furthermore, it served to situated the family in the village. By controlling for the bias of their documents, it could be shown that while the Pamour family was clearly not the most prominent citizens of Kellis, they had close ties to several Kellites that can in fact be shown to have been very prominent – in particular Pebos and Horion sons of Tithoes, and Pausanias son of Valerios. The activities of the latter, as well as of the monk Petros, suggest that Manichaeian religious authorities were closely involved with the village at large, and not simply the Pamour family.

Part II: Economic network

Chapter 6: Traders and weavers

6.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the way economic responsibilities were shared among the House 1–3 people in Kellis. I examine the various roles played by members of the Pamour family as traders, weavers, and managers: the tasks they performed and the authority they wielded. I furthermore trace how their economic activities were linked up with a larger network of traders from Kellis detected in Chapters 4–5.

6.1 The Pamour trade network

6.1.1 The early traders

Before we turn to the different circles of the mid-fourth century, we should start by tracing the preoccupation with textile concerns within the Pamour family. While professional spinners are known from Kellis at large back into the second century,⁴⁴⁹ the material of House 1–3 is largely restricted to the fourth century. However, we do find textile and trade concerns already in the earliest material attributable to the family, belonging to the figures of Pamour I and Philammon I.

Important texts in this regard are pkgr.19, recto (a) and verso (b), and their associated appendix, 19a app. The verso, pkgr.19b, is a judgement by the prefect (prefectoral hypograph) dated 299 CE. It is addressed to several persons, of which only the name Philammon can be read, although Pamour son of Psais can perhaps be restored, as suggested by Worp.⁴⁵⁰ Its find site is identical to other judicial texts of Pamour I (pkgr.20, pkgr.21). The recto (pkgr.19a) contains a petition regarding a row over a female slave named Senornouphis.⁴⁵¹ The appendix comprises a contract for a female slave leased out to learn the weaver's trade.⁴⁵² The exact

⁴⁴⁹ Bagnall, Hope, and Worp, 'Family papers'.

⁴⁵⁰ Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 56–57.

⁴⁵¹ For the reconstruction of her name, see Thomas, 'Review of *P. Kell. Gr. I*', 262.

⁴⁵² But while the contract (pkgr.19a app.) was linked with it was probably not physically joined to pkgr.19a. See Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 56–57. For a new rendering of pkgr.19a and appendix, and a discussion of contracts and internships, cf Marco Bergamasco, 'Una petizione per violazione di un contratto di tirocinio: P. Kell. G. 19.a', *Aegyptus* 77, no. 1/2 (1997): 15–16.

relationship between hypograph, petition, and appendix is not entirely clear,⁴⁵³ and their content is largely lost, but it seems likely that they pertain to the same conflict, and that the petition and appended weaving contract belonged to Philammon I and Pamour I.

The lease of a slave for weaving must certainly be linked with the production and sale of textiles by Pamour I, as becomes clear from a letter dealing with a shipment of clothes (pkgr.66). The author, Pamour, writes a Sarapis concerning purchase of wool and the transport of *chitons* to be sold in Hermopolis. The dating is uncertain, but there are good reasons to ascribe it to the period of Pamour I.⁴⁵⁴ Pamour I received assistance from an ex-magistrate of Hermopolis to draft a petition, pkgr.21 (d. 321), and trade relationship seems a likely venue for the origin or maintenance of such contact. The camel driver Horos son of Mersis delivered olives to a landlord in Hermopolis (pkgr.52, d. 320), showing that trade relations between House 1–3 and the elite of this city was established by the time of Pamour I. Hermopolis clearly had a wealthy elite of private landholders who could back ventures to or from the Oasis,⁴⁵⁵ and Horos may have been one of Pamour I's regular transport-agents (see section 4.1.3). Finally, a receipt for the joint payment of a substantial sum for an unknown tax by Pamour and Philammon (okell.4, d. 301) could pertain to a trade association in Kellis.⁴⁵⁶

To sum up, the evidence shows that the Pamour family engaged in textile trade to the Nile Valley, specifically Hermopolis, already in the early fourth century, and were involved with textile production at least by 299 CE.

⁴⁵³ See the discussion in Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 60.

⁴⁵⁴ This is first and foremost shown by the sums cited: x talents, 1000+ dr. (l.5), 3000 dr. (l.27f). Drachmas were obsolete by ca. 350; see Bagnall, *Currency and inflation*, 11. It was found close to other documents mostly (but not exclusively) of the late third/early fourth century: pkgr.41 (d.310), pkgr.49 (d.304), pkgr.62 (late third). The name Saa, found as patronymic to Pebos son of Saa in l.25, could be an error for Sa<r>a, and provide a link to Pebos son of Saras, who occurs in pkgr.60 (dated to the late 200s–early 300s, see Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 177, pkgr.60, l.26n.). A Horos son of Heliodoros (l.27) could be the father of the Heliodoros son of Horos who signed pkgr.13, dated 335, making it likely that Horos, too, should be placed in the late 200s–early 300s (admittedly, it is possible that he could be a son). Lastly, Pamour mentions a woman, Sen[...] (l.23), whose *chitons* are to be sold. This could provide a link to the slave and weaver-in-training, Senornouphis, from pkgr.19a. All in all, the document should probably be dated somewhere in the first three decades of the fourth century, and the author identified either as Pamour I or (much less likely) Pamour II.

⁴⁵⁵ Land in the surrounding nome was largely in private hands. See Alan K. Bowman, 'Landholding in the Hermopolite nome in the fourth century A.D.', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 75 (1985): 155.

⁴⁵⁶ Worp remarks: 'The amount of 70 denarii ... suggests that one is dealing with a kind of collective payment made by two persons on behalf of a much larger group'. Worp, *O. Kellis I*, 34, okell.4, ll.3–4n. See section 6.4.

6.1.2 Traders in the Valley

Textiles remained a concern for Pamour I's descendants. Of the private letters that can be clearly attributed to Pamour III, Pekysis, and Philammon II (about 20 letters in all), at least 13 (i.e. 65%) contain terms used in relation to clothes or cloth-production.⁴⁵⁷ In fact, of the total letters and accounts in Coptic and Greek from the mid-late fourth century – 123 letters and accounts in all – 42% (52 pieces) contain terms relating to textiles.⁴⁵⁸ Both the Tehat circle and, to a certain degree, the Maria/Makarios circle were themselves involved with textile production and trade. I return to these two circles below (sections 6.2 and 6.3).

Psais II and Philammon II

By the time of the Pamour III generation, the family appears to have been primarily based in Aphrodito, where they owned a house (see pkgr.32) and, presumably, a warehouse. They continued to make frequent journeys back and forth between Oasis and Valley, a distance of between four and ten days.

The senior actors of the group were Psais II and Philammon II. Psais is often present as a representative in the Greek judicial documents, while Philammon is more visible in the letters, interacting with Pekysis and Pamour III. Starting with Philammon, we find that three letters by (pkc.80–82) and one memo to (pkc.114) him are preserved. His seniority is evident from pkc.82, where he writes concerning Pamour that 'he is diligent, doing his work well, so much so that I said to him: "As long as you perform your work, nothing I do makes a loss".'

⁴⁵⁷ The total includes pkgr.71–73, pkc.64–82 (excluding pkc.69, a contract, and pkc.74, whose contents are entirely lost). Of these the letters that concern textiles are pkgr.71–73; pkc.66; pkc.70–71; pkc.75–79; and pkc.81–82. The terms indicative of textile interest include terms that relate to cloth-production (καρτε, ρισε, τελο, εογεν), terms for material (ουτιτ, βηκε, σαρτ, δεσε, ρωσ) and terms for products (κλεφτ, πρεφ, ρωων, φατ, ουτην, ρβασ/ρμας, ρατε, ρηνε, στρωμα, στιχα, φογκαριον, ιφρ). Other letters probably concerned textile matters even though explicit terms are not preserved: parts of Pamour's pkc.65 deals with jujubes, but a fragmented line mentions an 'iron ring' ([ρα]λεκ ηβανητε) probably related to the use of a loom. Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 51, pkc.65, ll.23–24n.

⁴⁵⁸ Excluding judicial texts, but including mostly illegible or lost texts, such as pkc.74, pkc.98, and pkc.121. Removing the most fragmented pieces (22 texts) increases the percentage: of 101 pieces, 48 contain textile-terms (i.e. 47.5%). For the terms and documents included in this list, see appendix B.

(ll.33–36). Philammon’s biggest concern appears to be the Nile Valley, but he also shows concern for affairs in Kellis. Another letter of his gives a sense of the scale of his responsibilities (pkc.81). In an important passage, he writes an angry letter concerning some affairs involving Kapiton, which reads in the translation of Gardner, Alcock, and Funk:

ἡνεοῦχ ἑταφει ἀκνηε ἀϊτ φανῆ τβα νεφ ἡτινη ἡκνηε ἡχνηε αφει ἡπφτ λαγε ηηί· τῆου περῆερ ἀραφ οὔητεῖ οὔτβα
 ηῆ δοῦωτ ἡφε ἡσῆωρ ἡτοτφ ἡαρφτφωφ εα εβας φτῆμαγφωφ ηηί· τῆμαῖρε εε φῆογρε εῖς οὔηρ ἡογλῖφ ἡἡκε
 ἡτοτφ ἡπῖπλο προκοπῶη ἀβαλ αφει ἀκνηε ἡα.εφ εε αφει ἀκῖλε αφτβεε προ ἡτρι εα ἀπολλωνι πῆῆ ἡσιαγτ’ αφει
 αφφετ ἡτβα σνεγ ἡσῆωρ

...⁴⁵⁹ when he was in Egypt I paid him 30,000 at Egyptian price for dye. He has come and given me nothing. Now take care of him. I am owed 12,000 talents by him: Let him pay for cloth he sends to me! I am astonished that he has been in the Oasis such a long time, and my things are with him; and yet he has not accomplished any kind of progress. When he came to Egypt he said that he had been in Kellis and sealed (?) the door of the store for Apolloni, the Assiut man. He came and demanded of me 20,000 talents. (pkc.81, ll.16–35)

It appears that Philammon has supplied Kapiton with money (as a loan?) in order to purchase dye or, perhaps, to make dyed clothes in the Oasis,⁴⁶⁰ which Kapiton instead has proceeded to squander.⁴⁶¹ Still, the sums Philammon mentions are sizable, in terms of everyday expenses.⁴⁶² In another letter, he orders Theognostos to get money from ‘father’ Psais (presumably Psais II) in order to pay someone to make clothes and send him (pkc.82, ll.20–23). He seems to be primarily based in the Nile Valley, at least at this stage, while others arranged the production of clothes in the Oasis.

Psais II seems to have been Philammon’s senior in turn.⁴⁶³ Philammon calls him ‘father’ (pkc.82), as does Psais Tryphanes (pkgr.50), who himself was part of the senior group (he is called ‘father’ by Pekysis in pkc.78). Psais II often represented the family in the preserved

⁴⁵⁹ An expression (ἡνεοῦχ) probably to be translated ‘successfully’, ‘well’; see Ariel Shisha-Halevy, review of Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis Volume 2. P. Kellis VII, by Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (2016): 273. Could it indicate that Philammon is stressing that he did in fact give Kapiton the money, contesting a claim by Kapiton that he did not?

⁴⁶⁰ Considering Kapiton’s travels back to the Oasis, and that the rest of the passage is concerned with his failure to produce clothes. From pkc.103, it appears that εἰσε (‘dye’) at times could be used for the dyed wool itself, see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 199., pkc.103, ll.8–11n.

⁴⁶¹ The significance of Kapiton ‘sealing’ the storehouse (πτε) of Apolloni is unfortunately obscure. A link between Apolloni and father Pollon, who kept an item for Theognostos in letter pkc.83 (both linked to some sort of ‘storage’ for Philammon/Theognostos), is perhaps possible. For the resolution of Pollon as Apollon, see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 40.

⁴⁶² 30 000 T. amount to ca. 4 solidi, 20 000 T. to 2.6 solidi, using the prices from the 360s. See section 7.4 for a more detailed assessment.

⁴⁶³ For the Greek documents pertaining to Psais II, see section 3.2.1.

judicial texts. In one letter, Pamour complains about his father having dispatched Kapiton to retrieve money from a sale of jujubes that had gone sour (pkc.65), implying that Psais II was to receive the income from Pamour's earnings. He was also important for the settling of terms (of a contract?) (pkc.77, pkc.108), and responsible for paying wages to or purchasing clothes from Psais III (pkc.108).⁴⁶⁴ In the only Coptic letter clearly attributable to him, he writes his sons Pamour and Pekysis concerning a payment he settled on their behalf, and berates them for mismanaging affairs in the Oasis (pkc.110, ll.18–29).

However, neither Philammon II nor Psais II were limited to management; they are both found ferrying textiles between Valley and Oasis on behalf of others (for which Psais is once found receiving payment), and Philammon probably had the 'official' occupational title camel driver (see section 7.2). Camel driving may have been one of the primary occupations of the family, considering the frequency of their travels. On the one hand, this may highlight the relative importance of camel drivers to Oasis society, where mediation between the Valley and the Oasis was highly valued (section 2.1.3). The family did not have to restrict itself to leading caravans, but could involve itself directly in production and sale of clothes. On the other, it also indicates the mid-stratum position of the Pamour family, whose leading members were not distant 'lords', but directly involved with day-to-day business.

Pamour III, Pekysis, and Maria II

Much work nonetheless fell to the sons of Psais II. Pamour III was, it would seem, the elder and the first to leave for the Nile Valley: he is the main recipient of pkc.110, where Psais II bids him 'take care of your brothers who are with you' (l.44tr). Pamour III himself asserts leadership in a letter to Psais III, writing: 'So, now, my brother Pshai, are matters as I handed them over to you when you left me' (pkc.72, ll.12–14). Pamour settles accounts and disburses Psais III for expenses in pkc.72 (ll.19–23) and in pkc.64 (ll.15–17).⁴⁶⁵ While he was, as quoted from the

⁴⁶⁴ The identification of Psais II in pkc.108 relies on the appearance of Hapia. This name is only otherwise attested in pkc.77, which may similarly deal with wages (see pkc.77, ll.20–25). Although the identification of Psais II in pkc.108 is plausible, it is not entirely clear that Psais was the subject in the following discussion of wages (ll.21–30).

⁴⁶⁵ For this understanding of the latter passage, see the comments in Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 46, pkc.64, ll.15–17n.

letter of Philammon above (pkc.**82**), tutored in the trade by Philammon, Pamour himself took charge of the education of younger traders from Kellis, evinced by a letter to him from Psais Tryphanes (pkgr.**73**).

While Pamour is the primary recipient of pkc.**110**, his father addresses Pekysis in a side-discussion concerning payments (ll.4–10). Pekysis' own letters are extensively concerned with textiles, and in particular the purchase of wool and dye. While in the Oasis, Pekysis complains that Pamour, who is in the Nile Valley, has not provided him with purple dye, and requests dye and coloured wool (pkgr.**72**, ll.28–33). Pekysis took the task of procuring wool and dye quite seriously when he got to the Valley himself. He is remarkably often concerned with these goods, which occur in almost all of his letters.⁴⁶⁶ His interest in these raw materials can perhaps in part be explained by himself having been trained as a weaver, evident from pkc.**103**, where Pamour III (the presumed author) asks him to cut a garment 'by your own hand' (l.21). The same passage could imply that Pamour worked with textiles himself, as he says that he will have the wool spun at his place. However, his wife Maria II is often the one who is concerned with textiles in his letters: she requests several items for a loom from Psais III (pkgr.**71**), and sent dye to her 'sister' – likely her sister-in-law, Partheni (pkc.**65**). Spinning was largely considered a female occupation in antiquity. It seems probable that Maria II – or the 'girl', possibly a slave, Jnapollo (pkc.**64**) – did most of the spinning, although we cannot exclude that Pamour, like Pekysis, at times engaged in weaving.

Pamour and Pekysis are both found travelling down the Nile on business, at least from Aphrodito to Antinoopolis and Hermopolis. A passage in a letter by Matthaïos indicates that these travels involved selling garments (pkc.**26**). I treat the unfortunately meagre sources dealing with retail in section 7.3, but it is appropriate to give a sense of the role the brothers played here. A passage from the sixth-century *Digest* could provide a model for understanding their activity. In a discussion concerning liability and the definition of 'business agent', the author notes that: 'but it has also seemed reasonable to give the name of business-agent to the people to whom clothes-dealers and linen-merchants give clothing to be carried round and disposed of – the people that we colloquially call travelling vendors [*circitores*].'⁴⁶⁷ It may

⁴⁶⁶ See pkc.**75** (ll.7–18), pkc.**76** (ll.21–30), pkc.**78** (ll.v41–45), pkc.**79** (ll.30–44); see also pkc.**96** (ll.33–35).

⁴⁶⁷ *Ulp. Dig.* 14.3.5.4–5, cited and translated in Horden and Purcell, *The corrupting sea*, 359–60.

be that Pamour III and Pekysis made the rounds from town to town – or at least to major cities, such as Hermopolis and Antinoopolis – as ‘business agents’ or travelling vendors (*circitores*), on behalf of Psais II and Philammon II, perhaps as part of their apprenticeship.

They were not the only Kellites involved with textile business in the Nile valley. From the letters to and from these brothers we get glimpses of numerous colleagues and associates active in the Nile Valley, such as Antinou and Papnoute (pkc.78), Tithoes (pkc.72), and Tryphanes (pkgr.73). These appear largely to be associates, not ‘employees’ or agents. More prominent in the letters, however, are their recipients; the people who organised work back in the Oasis.

6.1.3 Associates in the Oasis

Partheni II and Tekysis III

The men working in the Nile Valley had many contacts in Kellis on whom they relied to procure garments. Among them were the weavers themselves, of whom two in particular stand out: Partheni II and Tekysis. Partheni (also known as Heni) was the recipient of several letters. She is asked to receive materials, cut and weave garments, and send the garments back (pkc.71, pkc.75–76, and pkc.95). In pkc.76, she was to receive payment for her weaving work. She also appears in the context of textile work outside the Pamour letters: she receives payment for weaving she has done together with another woman, Kame, in the Coptic account pkc.44, is asked to weave something in pkc.33 (by Theognostos?), and is addressed in pkc.95. In this last letter, the (unfortunately lost) author had paid 2500 T./mna (ll.6–7), probably for textile materials (perhaps dye?), and mentions cash payments in relation to work at ‘Hat’s place’ (ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲗⲁⲧ), presumably the workshop of Tehat. Partheni must have worked as a weaver for the traders, while at the same time being married to Pekysis. She was not restricted to weaving either, but is the primary recipient of letters dealing with other issues: travel-arrangements (pkc.71), providing news about illness and the transfer of an item (pkc.83), and giving (?) payments (the aforementioned pkc.95, ll.8–11). It is clear that Partheni had a wide range of responsibilities, both as part of the textile business and as a family member.

Tekysis seems to have had a similar position. She was involved in weaving, as seen in a request from Kapiton (pkc.75, l.40).⁴⁶⁸ In the same letter, Kapiton asks her about some gold. A similar inquiry about a *nomismation* (i.e. a solidus or gold coin) is directed to her in pkc.78, this time by Papnouthes. One wonders if these sums were related to payment of the trade tax, the chrysargyron, as in pkgr.76 (for which, see section 7.4). There are other instances of Tekysis being relied on in case of monetary transactions as well: Pekysis asked Horos and Theognostos to make her settle with Lammon over 10 mna of wool (pkc.78), while a certain Pekos requested 100 T. to be retrieved from her by Pamour for an unknown debt (pkc.120). Tekysis appears to have had financial responsibilities, perhaps in part due to the absence of her husband, Kapiton.

Theognostos, Psais III, and Horos I

Two other important actors to whom Pamour, Pekysis, and Philammon often turned for assistance were Theognostos and Psais III. They were, as we shall see, tasked with making purchases, receiving textiles, and organising textile production. Theognostos, whose original name was Louishai, may have been the elder of the two.⁴⁶⁹ While Theognostos' own letters (pkc.83–84) are not visibly related to textile transactions, and Philammon mainly writes him concerning other matters in pkc.80, Philammon's other two letters to him (pkc.81–82) deal with textiles. He entrusts Theognostos with finding someone to make clothes (pkc.81, ll.46–48), and with getting money from 'father' Psais to pay for textile work (pkc.82, ll.22–24). Theognostos is also the probable recipient of a request from Horion to have some textile repairs performed, although the letter itself is addressed to Horos (see pkc.17, ll.41–45). Theognostos could also be the author of pkc.33, which discusses spinning-preparations for Heni (see section 11.1.2). It may be that he wove himself as well (see below, 6.2.3).

⁴⁶⁸ See also the occurrence of her name in the fragmented pkc.96 (l.1), perhaps by Pekysis.

⁴⁶⁹ For Louishai/Theognostos, see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 118–19. Theognostos is greeted before Psais III by Pamour in pkc.67, and by Pekysis in pkc.78–79, and he appears first in Pekysis' pkgr.72. Psais III is greeted first in pkc.65 and pkc.73, and is often the main addressee of their letters (pkc.70, pkc.72, and pkgr.71 by Pamour; pkc.73 by Pekysis). However, Theognostos is the chief addressee of these brothers' senior, Philammon (pkc.80–82).

While Theognostos is mainly approached by Philammon, Psais III is mainly approached by Pamour/Pekysis. He, too, had responsibility for receiving textile materials and production: he is solicited for warp and the cutting of garments (pkc.111, ll.24–38), wool for a stikharion garment (pkc.37, ll.28–31), and asked to fetch thread from the weaver Kame (pkgr.71, l.48). He is often involved in money transactions. In one letter, Pamour III⁴⁷⁰ starts by addressing Pekysis regarding weaving and dyes. Turning to Psais, as translated by Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, he writes:

ἴτακ ρ[ακ πα]σαν ποδαῖ· ἦνε σε [. . .] ἀνακ πετναπωλοῦ [ἡ] νενερηῦ παρα περ[οc ἡ]τε πρεξεε ἡτκενη[α ἡ]χνηε
οὔω· σε ἀναρ[ω]νε] ταρ[. .] ταγc· φατῖρ[α]παν]τα ἀνενερηῦ· τῖνν[ε τῖρ]πῖωπ· ἀρηνερ' ἀλο [. . .] πρᾶν ταχα
φσνῖ [οὔκολ]λαριον ννι· τᾶναρ [α]ραρ] φνα vac μαρῖ ἡσοῦῖτ[ῖ . .] ἡῖτρεφσνετ· φτηῖ[. .] φ]σνῖτῖ

For your part, you, my brother Pshai: Know that [...] I am the one who will settle things among ourselves, and the matter of the other *mna* of dye will disappear, for my people (?) [...] have bought it, - until we meet with one another and know more precisely and do our accounts. Take care of Lo [...] the craftsman: Perhaps he can repair a *collarium* for me? Instruct him about it. I will pay its cost [...] Do not let him pass by without [...]ing [and] repairing it. (pkc.103, ll.30–41)⁴⁷¹

Here we find both Pamour's assertion of leadership, mentioned above. There are also clues as to the roles of Psais. The editors comment: 'Is this the same *mna* of dye or dyed wool that the author has been discussing with Pekysis (l.8)? If so, it would seem that one brother is responsible for the weaving and the other for the financial accounts, presuming that that is what the author is now organising with Pshai.'⁴⁷² The suggestion that Psais III had responsibility for finances in the Oasis can find support in several other passages. Pamour asks him to arrange purchases and promises to disburse him (pkc.64, pkc.72). In pkc.108, Psais III himself discusses a cash payment for wool brought to him in Kellis. In pkc.102, he writes that he will make a man pay a debt (ll.22–23). Finally, in pkc.105, probably of a somewhat later date, he writes that he is attempting to acquire money through loans (or pawning) for the purchase of wool (ll.25–40) – although at this point he has travelled to the Nile Valley.

A third actor, often associated with these two, is 'father' Horos I. He appears to have been senior to both Theognostos and Psais III, and perhaps to Pamour III and Pekysis as well.

⁴⁷⁰ If, as is very likely, he is the author: see *ibid.*, 196. Perhaps the lack of greetings from Maria indicates that she had died by this point. See section 3.2.1.

⁴⁷¹ The editors note concerning ll.38–40: 'Perhaps this should be translated less literally, something like: "Give a gentle reminder to Lo about the tailor – perhaps he has repaired my collarium?" ... Of course, the translation "tailor" supposes that the *collarium* is a fabric collar or neckband of some sort.' *ibid.*, 200, pkc.103, ll.38–40n.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, 199–200, pkc.103, ll.34–35n.

He sent requests from the Oasis to Pekysis in the Valley, asking Pekysis to make a papyrus-purchase (pkc.78, ll.16–35; pkc.79, ll.20–29) and to sell unspecified items (pkc.79, l.25), which implies that he himself had some responsibility for management (and/or writing). Horos I had sent Pekysis 1500 T., perhaps for the papyrus-purchase (ll.23–25). He may be the same ‘father’ Horos who is greeted in pkc.94, which concerns textiles, but here he is one among several who receive payments for a cloak. In Horion’s letters, too, we find that Horos is mainly concerned with other matters (in particular, the agape): it is Tehat/Hatres – and in pkc.17, Theognostos – who are responsible for textiles (see section 3.3.1). It would seem that Horos was not involved in the day-to-day running of the textile workshop, although he was clearly a figure of some authority.

It was primarily Theognostos and Psais III who organised business in Kellis. They did not stay continuously put either. Philammon discusses Theognostos’ going to the Valley (pkc.80, pkc.82). Theognostos and Horos are both away from Kellis – although still in the Oasis – in Philammon’s letter pkc.81, and this seems also to be the case in Theognostos’ own letters (pkc.83, pkc.84), which appear to be written to Kellis from a location in the Oasis. Some Pamour letters request that Psais III travel to the Valley (pkgr.71, pkc.72), and in the end Psais III acceded to this wish, as he wrote letter pkc.105 to Andreas from ‘Egypt’.

Perhaps this points us to the fate of the trade venture. Gradually, it seems that important figures of the Pamour archive – also those who had important roles in Kellis – travelled more frequently or even moved to the Nile Valley (see also section 4.4). It can only be speculated as to how this movement was linked with the unknown factors that led to the abandonment of the village around ca. 400.

6.1.4 Mediators

In the meantime, several actors in the network appear to have played important roles in the freight and mediation between Oasis and Valley. One such figure is Tekysis’ husband, Kapiton. The private letters connect him strongly with the acquisition of olive oil, so he may have had an important role in terms of local agriculture (see section 7.3.2). However, he is also found as one of the most-relied upon agents for transportation between Oasis and Valley (pkc.65, pkc.81, pkc.82), as well as for receiving of textile orders in Kellis (pkc.77) or relaying them from

the Nile Valley (pkc.75, pkc.109). He clearly played multiple important roles in the network. He was also the cause of many problems. From allusions in several letters there seems to have been tension brewing between Kapiton and other family members. Pekysis mentioned a quarrel with him involving wages or a contract (pkc.77). Philammon had put Kapiton in charge of his affairs in Kellis, but he was apparently doing a bad job (pkc.81). At some point he disappeared, leaving bitterness behind: Pekysis refers to his in-law as ‘a certain so-called (*tinos legomenou*) Kapiton’ (pkgr.76, ll.6–7). Familial ties were no foolproof way to ensure harmony or reliability.

Most of the other actors recurring in the context of freight were probably also close associates of the family. A certain Lammon carried wool for Pekysis (pkc.79) and is mentioned in the context of freight in the Petros circle (pkc.40).⁴⁷³ Papnoute freighted wool (pkc.79) and letters (pkc.91); he was greeted as ‘brother’ by Philammon II (pkc.80, l.31) and by Makarios (pkc.19, ll.46–47). He himself added a greeting to his ‘brothers’ to a letter by Pekysis (pkc.78, ll.48–50). Andreas son of Tone, who transported wool (pkc.78), probably also had a close relationship to the circles.⁴⁷⁴ Both were, as indicated in Chapter 5, important agents within the network, presumably in their capacity of transport agents. However, they were probably also familial agents. Papnouthes relation is unclear. Lammon appears to have been closely tied to Tapsais and Tithoes I (pkc.19, pkc.116, Tithoes II in pkc.72), and may have been part of the House 2 family.

The trade network appears to have had many such ‘familial’ agents. Other examples include the ‘fathers’ Pishai and Psekes (pkc.25), ‘our brother’ Ision (pkc.82), and ‘our brothers’ Petros and Timotheos from the Petros letters (e.g. pkc.40), all travelling between members of the community. It should be emphasised that the usage of familial terms does not show biological ties, but was used to show strong pre-existing bonds or respect. Makarios, Matthaios, and Horion made particularly frequent use of familial terms, and it is probably not a coincidence that their letters are also characterised by strong religious language. This should

⁴⁷³ Less certainly, he may be the Lammon carrying a payment to Horos in pkc.94 (l.27), and/or the man requested from Psais in pkc.99 (l.54). It is possible that he could be identified with Palammon, son of Palammon, who borrowed money for a wagon in pkgr.64. He is also a candidate for the camel driver found in pkgr.79, as the name is probably hypocoristic for Philammon (see section 4.2.1).

⁴⁷⁴ As son of Loudon (see section 4.3.1), and perhaps a ‘brother’ Andreas occurring elsewhere (see section 3.2.3).

alert us to the possibility of shared cultic connections as an explanation for familial usage. Ties created within a religious community could have helped to facilitate trust between participants, as the threshold for utilising agents recommended by pious acquaintances would have been lower, at least among those who shared in the faith (for further discussion, see section 9.2.2).

6.2 Tehat and the workshop

6.2.1 Tehat

The letters of Horion show the importance of Tehat for the textile business in Kellis. Such a role for her is supported by the KAB, where she figures as owing cotton for weaving (for which see section 8.2). Whether the clothes-weaving workshop mentioned in the same document (KAB 1264–65) can be identified with her business is unclear. Turning to the Coptic accounts, they were written by a woman, at least in the case of pkc.44, pkc.46, and pkc.48. The same person is likely to have authored pkc.47 as well. These texts are not ‘pure’ accounts, but contain a mix of entries both for incoming and outgoing payments, as well as short descriptions of ongoing work and requests addressing an unnamed recipient – closer to reports. The editors identified their author with Tehat, writing:

Although this is rather speculative, a possible (female) author for at least some of these pieces is the figure of Tehat. Amongst the personal letters her style in pkc.43 is closest to this vernacular, and the business interests indicated in 18 and 50 would accord with these economic documents. This would also provide a satisfying link to the Horion letters, and help to date those pieces also. Nevertheless, these suggestions must be regarded as unproven.⁴⁷⁵

Regarding the nature of the business transactions visible in the accounts (specifically with regards to pkc.44), they further noted:

We suggest that the account relates to a small-scale textile business, and that the unspecified payments are for unspecified work done. Still, together with matters relating to textile production there are other items and costs which appear to be of a household or commercial (could this be a local shop?) nature. The closing statement does suggest some level of organization which demands a report. ... We tentatively suggest that the author may indeed be Tehat.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷⁵ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 253.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 257.

The argument for identifying the author as Tehat is based both on linguistic and contextual grounds.⁴⁷⁷ Some contextual evidence can be adduced. There is a large degree of overlap between the work that is described in the accounts and the work requested in the two letters of Horion to Tehat/Hatres. The account author received wool from others, conducted fulling, dyeing, and spinning, paid wages to other weavers, and sold products; the same activities are requested of Tehat/Hatres in pkc.18 and pkc.58.⁴⁷⁸ Combined with strong prosopographical ties, in particular the involvement of Herakles in both circles as an agent for the author/Tehat (in pkc.48 and pkc.58), this identification remains the most probable, and is retained in the present study, although I continue to refer to the ‘account author’ to keep the two bodies of evidence distinct. It should also be mentioned that there are strong ties between the accounts and both the Pamour circle and the Maria/Makarios circle, and it cannot be entirely excluded that one of the other woman in House 3 performed similar roles as those of Tehat (see below).

The account author was not the only person engaged in managing the workshop, however. Along with her feature other associates with some responsibility for organising the workshop, whose interaction with the author can shed light both on the way textile work was organised within the network, and perhaps provide some clues regarding her cooperation with the Pamour family. Below I take a closer look at these co-workers.

6.2.2 Co-workers

Two or three male co-workers appear in the accounts: the unnamed recipient, Shai son of Hor, and ‘father’ Shai. The account recipient is a man addressed in several (pkc.44, pkc.46, and pkc.48). He must have been a central co-worker or superior, receiving the accounts as reports on work. One passage from pkc.48 provides detailed insight into their mutual arrangements, and is worth quoting in full. The translation of Gardner, Alcock, and Funk reads:

ἀνοῦ ἀν ἀροῦν ἀπὶ α <α>πρωρε ἡτφοῦκαρι πβεκε σαπῖ ἀν ἡπροοῦ ετα πῶτω ὡαῖ τῖ πῶχ . [. .] σε . . εναῖ ἡτῖ ἀφῖ
 βεκε εἰῶω ἡτῖ . . [.] ὡαῖτῖ σῖσῶρ ἀπῖνῖνα κοῦωω τῖ εῶκ ἡθε εἰῖ . . [.] τῖβανβα . τῖωαρ εῖτωαρεκῖ ἡῖναῖ ἡοῦαν
 ἡῖτῖ οῦσεχε πῖετακῖνοῦῖ ἀραῖ εἰστε ἀῖτῖοῦαῖ ἡῖναῖ ἀν ἡῖναῖ κσαῖνε δε ἀκῖ οῦο ἡεῖανῖτῖ εα τσαρῖ τῖηρῖ κοῦωω ῖ
 ἡεῖεῖανῖτῖ νεκ ἀβαλ ἡῖτῖνῖτε ῖτῖοῦ ἡῖτῖτῖ βεκε ἡῖπῖεῖο ἡανῖαεῖῖμῖ ἀοῦε πῖεταρεῖ ἀχωε τῖῖπαωῖ ῖαῖωῖ ἡῖε κρωῖε θε

⁴⁷⁷ The authorship of pkc.45 remains uncertain, however, although the document clearly belongs to the wider Tehat circle, if this is taken to include Theognostos, Horos, and Partheni: among the names are Hom and Pollon, two men primarily known from the letters of Theognostos (pkc.83–84). See also *ibid.*, 253.

⁴⁷⁸ See *ibid.*, 270, pkc.48, l.25n. These activities are discussed further in section 7.1.

ετκοϥφωεc ρριc οϥφτττ' ακρεcτῶ ανακ ρωτ' αῖρεc πνηκε// ακτ' ἤτcναϥc ἦωε ραραῖ ἠηρακλει οϥἦτκ κεφτοϥ ωε
ἠοἠεωρ ἦτοτ' ἠῖ ωμογιη νοϥβc xῖ cαπαρoϥ ἠπροoϥ ετῶητ' ωπ ἠῖ νενερηϥ ρι πτωρτ'

Come back to this place for the weaving of the head-scarf. Also, the wool wage on the day [per day? *com.*] when father Shai gave his [...] he paid wages [...] 3(00?) talents for the *mna*. Yourself: you wish to give, just as I (?) [...] which you shall give to everyone. It is a matter which you have asked me about; see, I have told it. Or else: do you know that you have given more (?) money for all the wool. You wish to take your monies for yourself from the midst. Take them, and we shall give wages for the 2 [...] [ἡανxαεφι] to 1. That which has come upon it we divide between us. Now, are you satisfied? Just as you wish to, do it. A warp, you have spun it. I, myself, I have spun the weft. You have given 1200 on my behalf to Herakles. I owe you another 400 talents and 8 jujubes,⁴⁷⁹ from before (?) the day when we made a reckoning with each other at the staircase. (pkc.48, ll.24–39)

Here it emerges that the account recipient was not a mere supervisor, but actively engaged in production: he spun thread into warp for the weavers (l.35), and was involved with headscarf weaving (l.24). The two also shared in organising payments. The recipient purchased wool (ll.30–31), and was responsible for paying out weaving wages (ll.27–28, 33), but the account author asks him to take money for such payments ‘from the midst’ (αβαλ ἠτμητε) (l.32), probably a pool of shared resources.⁴⁸⁰ Some of these payments had caused the account author to owe him money (ll.36–39), implying that each had particular responsibilities.

The recipient, then, was not above doing work himself,⁴⁸¹ and the two shared in organising payments. These circumstances indicate that although he did have some supervisory responsibility (see pkc.44, l.34), he was more of an equal than a superior, and that the two worked closely together. However, there remains the question of his identity. The most obvious candidate is Hatres, the co-worker of Tehat named in Horion’s letters, although Hatres does not figure prominently as a superior there. In pkc.47, addressed to a plurality of weavers (and not the single male recipient), a certain Shaei son of Hor is mentioned by name: he has given orders to the weavers by way of the account author.⁴⁸² Shaei, probably for Shai, had procured warp and sent it to the weavers. In return, he ordered that the warp should be made into a headscarf and sold for oil, which in turn should be sent to him. He pays freight for the oil (ll.4–10). Given the complex order, and given that the account author paid for freight

⁴⁷⁹ For this emendation, see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 366.

⁴⁸⁰ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 270, pkc.48, l.32n. Some of the ‘weaving wage’ (βεκε) was for a group of specialised workers, but the meaning of the term ἡανxαεφι is unfortunately unclear, but it is apparently some kind of group or institution that can receive pay. See *ibid.*, 270, pkc.48, ll.19,33n.

⁴⁸¹ This is also clear from pkc.44, where he had ‘cut a cowl’ (l.4).

⁴⁸² The name is presumably for Shai son of Horos, although the form of the patronym is somewhat problematic. See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 265, pkc.47, l.5n.

herself in pkc.44, Shai was probably a staff-member located at some distance. This would be consistent with taking him as the recipient of the other accounts (pkc.44, pkc.46, pkc.48).

However, a ‘father’ Shai also occurs in the above-quoted passage from pkc.48, in relation to wages. There is also mention of money provided by Shai for the ‘wool of Shemnoute’ (l.41) later in the same account. The editors took these transactions to indicate that he may have been the employer, noting that: ‘It would seem that Shai has paid 500 T. for wool to Shemnoute. Taken with the admittedly damaged statement in l.25, it would suggest that Shai is an employer of weavers.’⁴⁸³ If Shai son of Hor is identical with him, he cannot be the recipient who is addressed in the same account. Still, it seems that the identity both of him and of ‘father’ Shai have to be considered in light of the links between the workshop and the Pamour family.

6.2.3 The workshop and the Pamour family

Since the Pamour family was involved in organising textile production, as seen above, we need to consider how its members related to the workshop. Did the Pamour family oversee the workshop and function as the ‘employers’ of Tehat and her co-worker? First, we should not that the Pamour family clearly had strong links to the workshop. Psais II makes an appearance in the accounts: one account (pkc.44) mentions Shai son of Pamour, clearly to be identified with Psais II son of Pamour I. The same account mentions Pamour – Pamour III seems a reasonable identification⁴⁸⁴ – as well as ‘Hení’ and Kame, who in all likelihood should be identified as Partheni II, wife of Pekysis, and Kame, assistant of Psais III. One of the other accounts, pkc.48, may also refer to Pamour family members: it features, as mentioned above, a ‘father’ Shai, as well as a ‘mother’ Lo, which could be Psais II and his wife Tapollo.

However, the manner in which they occur in pkc.44 does not suggest that the family controlled the workshop. On the contrary: Psais son of Pamour is paid wages for the freight of a blanket, Pamour III is paid in wheat for unspecified work, and Partheni (with Kame) are paid for weaving work. These payments would, if anything, suggest that the Pamour family were

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 271, pkc.48, l.41n.

⁴⁸⁴ The text also features a Pamour (son of?) Belles, but these two are clearly distinct. See *ibid.*, 36.

employed by the account author, not the other way around. Similarly, ‘mother’ Lo is paid for weaving in pkc.48. The only occurrence which suggests supervision is that of ‘father’ Shai in pkc.48, who, as mentioned above, supplies wages and wool to the workshop, which could suggest some form of employer-responsibility. The lack of a patronym in this text is somewhat strange, in light of the designation ‘son of Pamour’ in pkc.44, and so it is not certain that this ‘father’ is Psais II. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that a clear superior-subordinate relationship is implied. Instead, ‘father’ Shai probably brought payments for wages (and supplied wool) for specific work he had commissioned, rather than as a supervisor or employer.

This picture can be compared with orders found in the Pamour letters themselves, some of which also involves ‘father’ Psais. For one, the supply of wool from ‘father’ Shai found in pkc.48 is in agreement with the picture derived from the Pamour letters, where the traders are responsible for buying wool and dyes in the Valley and sending it to the Oasis (see section 7.1). Secondly, we frequently find the Pamour family having to negotiate with the weavers for their work. Philammon, for instance, reproaches Theognostos about neglect, writing in one letter: ‘How many times have I written to you (pl.): “Let my father Pshai give the money and you can pay for clothes and send them”.’ (pkc.82, ll.20–23). The weavers, it seems, will not make the clothes unless Psais II provide the money. Similarly, in another letter, Philammon writes: ‘If you know that there is someone with you who will do my work: Write to me and I will send you 10 mna of dye. You produce the items and send them to me.’ (pkc.81, ll.46–48v). Theognostos has to ask around for someone willing to perform the work that Philammon requests (presumably for a price). In some instances, transactions took place between Pamour family members. In one letter, Pekysis requests ‘brother’ Shai to pay Heni for work. As translated by Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, his request reads:

ἡγάκ πασᾶν ψαί ἡγοῦσαρτ εἰσπναγς οὔνητ εἰνε μ[ἡ] ἡντῆ εἰως εἰωπνε εκοῦαυς ἡ[ἡ]ε φητς ἡεκ εἰωπνε ἀν εκοῦαυς
 τες ἡρεῖ[ἡ] οὔααες ἀν στῆναγςε [.] . τες ... [ἡἡ]ἡσφ[ε] ἡωπνε ἀρο ἡἡ ἡαωῆρε [. .] ἡἡεῖαἡ ἡεἡ ἡἡνε ἡτοτῆνε
 [.] εἰἡ . . εἰωπνε εε ἡτετες ἡεσ ἡ[ἡ]καε εἡεἡαετ ἡαρσοῦααες ἀν στῆναγς ἡἡατ[ρ]οῦἡ[τς . .]

[...]485 you, my brother Shai, for wool I have sent. I have 40 and 15 on it. If you want it then take it for yourself. Or, if you want, give it to Heni to cut [...] pay her. ... After all that, I greet you (fem.) and my children. Truly, we did not receive these things from you (pl.). [...] if yes, and you (fem.) give to her the half that remains, let her cut it also and send it. I will have it brought [...] (pkc.76, ll.25–38, abbreviated)

⁴⁸⁵ Possibly: ‘I will make you pay’. See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 98, pkc.76, l.25n.

Pekysis had sent brother Shai wool from the Valley, which he in turn should either make use of himself, or pay Heni for ‘cutting’ it (i.e. cut out a garment) (ll.25–30). Shortly after, Pekysis turns to a woman – presumably Partheni, his wife, who is also on the address – and returns to the issue of ‘cutting’ a garment (ll.34–38). He is now addressing Heni/Partheni directly regarding what she should do with the wool that he has previously discussed with Shai. Evidently, she and another woman could share the work. To this can be compared another passage from the accounts, where the author states: ‘Heni spent three days, Kame spent three, while they were weaving. I have received 200 talents and 2 *maje* of wheat’ (pkc.44, ll.4–5). The money and wheat are probably for wage to the weavers (see section 7.1.3). Both passages involve ‘Heni’, work shared with another woman, and wages. Along with the other above-mentioned links to the Pamour family in pkc.44, it seems that we are dealing with the same process and the same people. Perhaps the difference in prosopography between the Tehat/Horion letters and the accounts can be ascribed to the accounts stemming from a slightly later period, when the Pamour family had become more involved with the workshop. Still, these passages also suggest that the Pamour family were not ‘employers’ of the weavers in the workshop, in the modern sense. Instead, they commissioned and paid them for individual work – even if the weavers happened to be family members.

Still, there were individuals who had particular responsibilities for relaying materials, orders, and payments to the (other) weavers, found in both groups. In the Pamour circle, this appears chiefly to be Psais III and Theognostos. In the accounts, this seems to be the account author (Tehat) and her co-workers: the recipient and/or Shai son of Hor. This brings us to the question of whether these co-workers may be identified with Psais III or Theognostos, both of whom carry names that can be linked with ‘Shai son of Hor’. Both Psais III and Theognostos were often present in the Oasis (although, for Theognostos, not always in Kellis). Psais III was involved with paying for textile materials and work, as we have seen. Furthermore, there are direct prosopographical ties between the Coptic accounts and the Psais III letters, such as Loudon, Ammon, Lo, and Kame.⁴⁸⁶ Psais III received wool and warp from the Valley on behalf of the weavers (pkc.79, ll.30–36); Shai son of Horos provided warp and weft to the weavers (pkc.47, ll.4–10). Pamour ordered Psais III to retrieve threads from Kame (pkgr.71); Kame

⁴⁸⁶ For Ammon and Loudon, see sections 6.4 and 4.3.1. For Psais III’s ties to Kame and Lo, see pkgr.71 and pkc.103.

features as an employee in the accounts (pkc.44). Regarding Theognostos, he was also involved in paying weavers for textile work (pkc.81–82). He was closely linked to Psais III, and presumably shared in his acquaintances. Most intriguingly, the passage quoted above from Pekysis' letter pkc.76 suggests that the 'Shai' mentioned is, in fact, a son of Horos. The incipit of this letter is short; it only greets 'brother' Horos and his 'children'. Shai and Heni/Partheni who occur in the letter body could well be among Horos' 'children', who Pekysis does not here bother to greet individually.⁴⁸⁷ This Shai could, in turn, be identified as Theognostos (a.k.a. Louishai), who was particularly closely linked with Heni.⁴⁸⁸ As pointed out in section 3.3.1, Theognostos was also frequently associated with Horos (for instance in pkc.17, where he is called 'son') – while Psais III is more often addressed by Pamour/Pekysis, and should perhaps be identified as a natural brother of theirs. This makes it somewhat more likely that Theognostos is the recipient of Tehat's accounts. However, despite these tantalising links, the question cannot be entirely resolved. Theognostos is never explicitly described as son of Horos. Furthermore, it is generally Pamour and Psais II that provide Theognostos/Psais III with resources in the Pamour letters, while in pkc.44 it is the account author who pays Psais II and Pamour. In the end, the evidence is not strong enough to make a decisive identification of either Psais III or Theognostos with either Shai son of Hor or the account recipient, although there is extensive overlap in their tasks.

To recapitulate, Psais II does not appear to be superior of the account writer, and the relationship between the traders and the workshop, as visible in both the Pamour letters and the accounts, suggests rather a relationship of mutual cooperation. While there are many strong links, the co-workers in the accounts cannot be decisively identified with members of the Pamour circle. Still, there is much overlap in the type of work they perform. It seems reasonable to conclude that the two groups had forged strong ties of cooperation, and a high degree of interdependence, involving both familial and economic links.

⁴⁸⁷ In the other two letters by Pekysis to Horos (pkc.78–79) he calls Horos 'father', and Theognostos, Psais III, and Andreas are greeted as 'brothers'. This might support an identification of these, or at any rate some of them, as Horos' 'children'.

⁴⁸⁸ This was already tentatively suggested by the editors. See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 98, pkc.76, l.26n.

6.3 Maria I, Makarios, and textiles

Finally, there is evidence to show the involvement of the Maria/Makarios circle in the network of weavers and traders. Maria I, mother of Maria II and addressee of Makarios, appears first and foremost in her role as supporter of Makarios, and mother to Matthaïos and Piene. However, that she worked with textiles in some capacity is also clear. The editors noted extensive textile concerns in Makarios' letters, as well as connections to the Coptic accounts (pkc.44–48). They considered his affiliation with Tehat and her business as worthy of serious consideration.⁴⁸⁹ In pkc.19, Makarios asked Maria I and Matthaïos whether they had prepared a garment, and requested them to send it to him with other textile items: a cloak, a mat, a cushion, and a mattress. One important passage reads, in the translation of Gardner, Alcock, and Funk:

τετ̄ πινετ̄ εβαλ̄ ειςωδε̄ τερχριᾱ ἡνιᾱ εῑ ἡρογο̄ τεε[ϥ] ᾱτηνιᾱ ἡνιαθεος̄ χαγ̄ ἡ̄ . [.] ἡ̄σε̄ ἡ̄ραντ̄ ἡ̄πατεχορη̄ χε̄ ρ[αβω]ξ̄
 λογαρε̄ ἡ̄ραντ̄ αν̄ ε̄τητοτ̄ε̄ ε̄λλε̄ ἡ̄βακε̄ ἡ̄τραγτε̄ . [. . . .] τογ̄ π̄επε̄ ανεῑ τηρογ̄ τ̄τ̄ταγϥ̄ ἡ̄εβαξ̄ ἡ̄αισε̄ . ἡ̄ [.]
 †η̄κε̄ ἡ̄ρητ̄ ασ̄ἡνε̄ εϣωπε̄ ε̄τεογωϣω̄ . . . [. . . .] ἡ̄γενᾱ εῑε̄ τανᾱ τσαρ̄τ̄ ἡ̄παταμη̄ ἡ̄η̄ τ̄ραγτε̄ [εισωπε] αν̄ ε̄ραση̄η̄τ̄ε̄
 ἡ̄τηεῑ ε̄η̄ τ̄ρημᾱ αραῑ χε̄ τεξ̄ [.] ἡ̄ἡδσε̄ ε̄τ̄εραγτεογ̄ ἡ̄τραμπε̄

[...] you (fem.) sell the loom. If you have no more need of it, give it for the fare of Matheos. Send [...] 60 (?) of bronze. You have not yet [...], for you went to the Oasis. Also, the coins that you (fem.) have⁴⁹⁰ [...] wage for the garment [...] the remainder of all these, buy it for clothes [... ...] If you [...] Gena, then make the wool for my [...] and the garment. Also, [if] you have settled it for me, count the fare to me; in that you [...] the losses which I have suffered for the year. (pkc.19, ll.31–38)

The admittedly fragmented text exhibits extensive textile concerns: there is talk of money given or received for wage for a garment, the sale of a loom as payment (for travel fare?), other clothes used as payment, and the making of a woollen garment. Makarios goes on to discuss a purchase of dye (l.40), and clothes that Maria was to make for Gena/Piene (l.45). In other letters Makarios mentions a garment that Maria I was supposed to have fixed and sent back by way of Pamour (pkc.20, ll.30–35), as well as requests for a pallium, a dyed cushion, and threads (pkc.21, ll.13, 24–26), and for a cord belt (pkc.24, ll.45–46). The pallium was a large garment often used by clergy, implying a skilled weaver at work.⁴⁹¹ What can be read of the fragmented pkc.52, belonging to the same circle and possibly also addressed to Maria, concerns the making of a blanket and a garment. She is furthermore requested to send

⁴⁸⁹ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 56–57.

⁴⁹⁰ For this emendation, see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 365.

⁴⁹¹ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 69.

weights for a loom to Maria II (pkgr.71). Weaving was as pointed out a household activity in antiquity, but the occurrence of a pallium, as well as of dyes and wage-payments point to more than the usual involvement with textile production.⁴⁹²

The people with whom Maria were affiliated also exhibit textile concerns. Her co-recipients, the couple Kyria and Psenpnouthes, were possibly also involved. Father Psenpnouthes sent a blanket (*strōma*) to Matthaïos (pkc.26, l.20). It may not be a coincidence that a woman who received wages for weaving blankets (*misthou strōm(atōn)*) by the KAB manager (KAB 1519) was named Kyria, daughter of Nachthes (see further section 4.3.1).⁴⁹³ Maria also shared in the trade network with the Pamour family, whose members are found performing freight on behalf of her and Makarios in several instances, and Matthaïos reported one a textile sale made by Pamour, perhaps indicating common interest (see sections 7.2 and 7.3). It should be noted, however, that despite these links, neither Matthaïos nor Makarios clearly indicate that they themselves were engaged with trading activities. Neither one discusses prices nor sales of goods that they themselves are carrying. Even Makarios, the one who is most preoccupied with mundane matters, does not inform on trade transactions, although some passages that may deal with such transactions are unfortunately very fragmented (see e.g. pkc.22, ll.24–45). In the instances where Makarios makes it clear for whom he requests clothes, it is primarily for his ‘sons’, as for Gena/Ploutogenes in the passage quoted above (also for Matthaïos in pkc.20).

Considering contemporariness of activity, shared textile concerns, and shared ties to the Pamour circle, one might expect an intimate relationship between Maria I and Tehat. Close ties between Tehat and Maria can certainly be found. Tehat’s associate, Hatres, travelled from Maria with goods to Makarios (pkc.24) and Matthaïos (pkc.26). ‘Mother’ Talaphanti, an associate of Tehat linked to weaving (pkc.58),⁴⁹⁴ is greeted with Maria by Makarios (pkc.19) and Matthaïos (pkc.25). The closest link is probably the weaver Kame, an associate who

⁴⁹² For household weaving, see Wipszycka, *L’industrie textile*, 52–53.

⁴⁹³ See further section 4.3.1 for Psenpnouthes’ involvement in textile trade.

⁴⁹⁴ Makarios greets his ‘mother’ Talaphanti with his ‘sister’ Kame. Talaphanti was mother(?) to a Tharre, who according to Horion made fine-spun wool (pkc.58, l.18). The name Tharre is unattested (but see perhaps Tharathes?), and the editors wonder whether it could ‘somehow have a meaning such as ‘the workshop’ or ‘quarter’ of Talaphanti?’ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 24, pkc.58, l.18n. In that case, Talaphanti would be a senior weaver herself.

worked with Partheni and Tehat (pkc.44, pkc.95). Makarios greets two women named Kame located with Maria: a ‘daughter’ and a ‘sister’ (pkc.19, ll.63–64): it seems very probable that one of them is Kame the weaver. This is supported by a letter from Pamour III to Psais III, where he addresses ‘mother’ Maria immediately after asking Psais to retrieve thread from Kame, and deliver it to the trader Psais Tryphanes (pkgr.71). Psais Tryphanes’ son, Tryphanes, is twice greeted by Matthaïos (pkc.25–26). Finally, both Makarios (pkc.24) and the account author (pkc.44) mention the ‘death of Joubel’, perhaps the death of a central member of the group, indicating that they are contemporaneous.⁴⁹⁵ Finally, a Makarios is located with Tehat in a letter she sent while on a business-trip (pkc.43); sending greeting to her son in Kellis. Although the editors do not see any reason to identify him with Makarios of the Maria/Makarios circle, the above certainly shows that such an identification is quite plausible.⁴⁹⁶

Still, one puzzling fact remains: Tehat herself does not occur in the Maria/Makarios circle at all, nor Maria in the Tehat circle. This observation provokes the question of whether Maria might, in fact, be identified with Tehat. The usage of double names, one Egyptian and one with (other) religious connotations, is already evinced by Louishai/Theognostos. Both women are contemporaneous and engaged in organising textile production. It might explain the shared concern for the ‘death of Joubel’, as well as the occurrence of Hatres (but not Tehat) in the letters to Maria,⁴⁹⁷ the presence of Maria (but not Tehat) in the Pamour circle, and conversely the absence of Maria from Horion’s letters. It would also account for their shared associates: Kame is for instance seen to work with Maria in pkgr.71, but presumably Tehat in pkc.44; Tryphanes is located with Maria in pkc.26, but with Tehat in pkc.50. However, while this hypothesis has plausibility, there is only circumstantial evidence to support it. We would have to account for the absence of Horos and Horion in the Maria/Makarios circle (should we, for instance, also identify Horos as Makarios?), as well as the reasons for difference in name usage between the circles. It would require a re-examination of the kinship

⁴⁹⁵ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDTI*, 56–57. Perhaps it should not be excluded that the reference may be to some sort of festival.

⁴⁹⁶ The editors see no reason to identify them, but do not exclude identification either. *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴⁹⁷ Hatres is greeted with his wife by Matthaïos in pkc.25, which could point against this. However, I have taken Hatres to be a subordinate of Tehat, rather than a husband (see section 3.3.1).

structure depicted in Chapter 3. It seems that more evidence is needed in order to support such any such identification.

To sum up, Maria engaged in organising textile production herself, while Makarios and Matthaïos appear to be trading in the Nile Valley. The precise role of Makarios and Matthaïos among the traders is unclear, as is the precise relationship between Maria I and the weavers of the workshop. However, it is at any rate clear that Maria and her family were at one point an integral part of the Pamour trade network.

6.4 A textile trade association?

Considering the number of people involved, it seems necessary to consider whether we may be dealing with a formal association (*koinon*, *synodos*). Such associations, primarily voluntary, were a staple of the ancient world. They were also a broad phenomenon, ranging from those devoted to specific divinities to those organised around certain crafts (*synergasia*), although no association had only one function.⁴⁹⁸ Occupational associations hosted regular cultic practices, and many collected membership fees, kept accounts of common expenditures, had formal leaders, and at times assisted members in economic matters.⁴⁹⁹ Scholarship has long emphasised the primary role of associations as ‘social clubs’, for instance as a substitute for people who lacked the security and social networks provided by kinship ties. Recent works have argued that this emphasis is probably too narrow. It has been argued that occupational associations were more important economically than previously recognised.⁵⁰⁰ Philip Venticinque has argued, based on the papyri, that occupational associations played an important role, complementing rather than replacing ties of kinship, helping members to

⁴⁹⁸ Harland, *Associations*, 25–53. Building on the work of Kloppenborg, Harland follows a typology of associations based on membership rather than purpose or ‘function’; dividing between associations primarily based on 1) household, 2) ethnic/geographic, 3) neighbourhood, 4) occupation, and 5) cultic connections. Of these, the Kellis association – if this is what it was – was primarily a professional association (see *ibid.*, 38–44.), although both household, geographic factors, and perhaps cult also played into its structure.

⁴⁹⁹ For late antiquity, see Venticinque, ‘Common causes’, 54–67, 213.

⁵⁰⁰ See Harland, *Associations*, 59–61.; for the economic and social role of guilds, see Venticinque, ‘Common causes’, 24–54; and ‘Family affairs: guild regulations and family relationships in Roman Egypt’, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 50 (2010); Matt Gibbs, ‘Trade associations in Roman Egypt: their *raison d’être*’, *Ancient Society* 41 (2011).

absorb economic hardship, and strengthening mutual business ties.⁵⁰¹ He has conceptualised them along Charles Tilly's notion of *trust networks*; networks that 'carry on major long-term enterprises such as procreation, long-distance trade, workers' mutual aid or practice of an underground religion.'⁵⁰²

Going back to the Kellites, it must be stressed that there is no direct evidence for a formalised association in the documents so far published. Any argument for such a framework must be indirect. Furthermore, little is actually known about the concrete ways textile production was organised within trade associations, making arguments from the type of cooperation found in the account uncertain.⁵⁰³ That said, some circumstantial evidence can be adduced to suggest that the Kellites were organised as a formal occupational association of traders. For one, there is the close cooperation between different familial groups. Above I discussed the trading ties between the Pamour circle, the Maria/Makarios circle, and the workshop. Here familial ties were probably to some extent a background for their close cooperation. Although membership of a family in the same association is not inconsistent with formal organisations, these are unlikely to have consisted only of a single household group.⁵⁰⁴ However, we also find that the House 1–3 people were closely involved with traders outside this extended kinship group. The workshop had longstanding arrangements with a certain Ammon. In pkc.46, the account recipient is asked to go to the 'storehouse' of Ammon in Psbtneis in order to retrieve a cowl. In pkc.44, it is mentioned that wool for several stikharia is located in the 'cell of Amou' (Il.22–24). An Ammon requested to be sent wool for a stikharia from Loudon II by way of Psais III (pkc.37): based on the similar context for these two men it is highly likely that they should be identified. Another trader of importance to the Pamour family was Psais Tryphanes, already examined in section 4.3.2. Here we should particularly note that he sent Pamour a request to help his son Tryphanes with selling goods (pkgr.73). Although he sweetened the arrangement by offering Pamour payment for his efforts (Il.18–20), his request shows a large degree of trust between the two. Short-term 'mentorships' of fellow traders, also those not belonging to the kinship group, may have been common within

⁵⁰¹ Venticinque, 'Family affairs', 292–94

⁵⁰² Tilly, *Trust and rule*, 4, cited in *ibid.*, 276.

⁵⁰³ See Gibbs, 'Trade associations', 294.

⁵⁰⁴ Venticinque, 'Family affairs', 276.

this network, although it does not necessarily imply any formal framework.⁵⁰⁵ Tehat and Hatres were located with Tryphanes near certain ‘storehouses’ (pkc.50), perhaps related to that of Ammon.⁵⁰⁶ It illustrates the interlinked nature of this network. We should further include Loudon II and Timotheos, sons of Loudon I,⁵⁰⁷ the former of whom was involved in textiles and had longstanding ties to Tehat and Psais III (section 4.3.1).

These figures all had common, long-term trade interests with the House 1–3 people. The network of Kellites involved with textile trade and production encompassed several families, with several storehouses located in the Oasis, and a group of traders operating in the Nile Valley. It could be objected that the activities of these families involved weavers as well as traders, women as well as men, and that a shared organisation would be somewhat at odds with the norm of single-occupation (and often male-only) participation in formal associations. On the other hand, close cooperation between weavers (who often were women) and traders must have been common also in other trade organisations.⁵⁰⁸

Secondly, a formal association framework would be strongly supported if, as has often been supposed, membership in occupational associations became compulsory for traders and artisans at the time of Diocletian. However, this has been challenged by among others Adriaan J. B. Sirks, and the debate is still ongoing.⁵⁰⁹ Even so, the late Roman state seems to have preferred to collect taxes, and especially the chrysargyron tax, by way of occupational associations.⁵¹⁰ There may be some – albeit again circumstantial – evidence for collective payments of taxes in House 1–3. A receipt for a tax paid jointly by Philammon I and Pamour I

⁵⁰⁵ Contracts preserved in the papyri show that artisans, in particular weavers, often sent their children to fellow artisans for apprenticeship. See *ibid.*, 288–92.

⁵⁰⁶ Payments to Psebtneis are listed with those ‘at the Spring’ (*pēgēi*) and Bait() in the KAB (637–644). Bait() and the Spring were located in the district of Mesobe, east of Kellis. Following the principle that locations listed together can be taken to be located near each other (see Ruffini, *Social networks*, 128–29.), Psebtneis was likely also in Mesobe – close to the road to Hibis, the ‘border’ where Tehat and Hatres were working in pkc.50. It could well be that Ammon’s was among the storehouses mentioned by Tehat in this letter. It may also be mentioned that the toponym (?) Ouait occurs in pkc.48, in connection with wool that has to be fulled for Ouait (I.3).

⁵⁰⁷ Timotheos was clearly an important associate, but in addition to the son of Loudon, there was also Timotheos son of Tiberios, also associated with Tehat (pkc.43), a man who also had an important role in an unfortunately very fragmented petition of the mid-fourth century (pkgr.2, ca. 340–50?). See further section 7.2.

⁵⁰⁸ Harland, *Associations*, 38.

⁵⁰⁹ A. J. B. Sirks, ‘Did the Late Roman government try to tie people to their profession or status?’, *Tyche* 8 (1993); Venticinque, ‘Common causes’, 188–190, and 205–6.

⁵¹⁰ Venticinque, ‘Common causes’, 180; Gibbs, ‘Trade associations’, 292.

in 301 (okell.4) could, based on its size, conceivably relate to a collective tax payment, implying that they were appointed representatives of a trade association. For the later traders, the chief piece of evidence is a letter to Pekysis (pkgr.76). Pekysis' addressee, 'brother' Sarapis, has demanded money for the chrysargyron tax from Pekysis' sister, a payment originally owed by her husband Kapiton, who has not paid. Pekysis writes Sarapis to inform him that he no longer has any common interests (pkgr.76, ll.29–30) with his brother-in-law, who has disappeared in Egypt. The absence of any official title for Sarapis and Pekysis' use of 'brother' could perhaps indicate that Sarapis is not an officially appointed tax collector (such as the *apaitetes* in pkgr.17), but a representative acting on behalf of a trade association in which Pekysis and Kapiton were members.⁵¹¹ On the other hand, the statement has to be witnessed by Ploutogenes son of Pataias, and so an official capacity for Sarapis cannot be excluded.

In sum, we cannot know with certainty whether the traders of Kellis were organised as a formal association – if so, its documents must have been stored elsewhere. The absence of strong evidence should caution us against assuming a formal framework. Still, the papyri do show that the Pamour family cooperated closely with fellow-traders from Kellis outside their own kinship group, in a trading group that shared resources, storehouses, and supported each other in selling goods. It seems likely that we can speak of this group as a 'trust network'. This collective effort would have assuaged some of the risks, deflected losses, and made it possible for the Pamour family to participate in the textile markets of the Nile Valley

6.5 Conclusions

From the above, it emerges that there does not appear to have been a single, top-down organisation which coordinated the textile production in Kellis. The leading Pamour family members participated in the day-to-day operation of the business. The women of the family were directly involved in weaving as well as some financial transactions, but younger men such as Psais III were also often involved as middle-men between the traders and weavers. Tehat and the other actors who organised the workshop had formed some sort of partnership

⁵¹¹ For the usage of kinship terms associations, see Philip A. Harland, *Dynamics of identity in the world of the early Christians: associations, Judeans, and cultural minorities* (New York: T & T Clark, 2009), 63ff. For guild officials (*epistatēs*) elected for collecting taxes on their behalf in late antiquity, see Venticinque, 'Common causes', 204. For Sarapis, one might consider the recipient of pkc.122, involved with caravan drivers.

with the Pamour family, probably cemented by familial ties, but the details are unclear. This group was, in turn, part of a larger network of Kellis families that together organised trade between the Oasis to the Nile Valley.

Chapter 7: Trading and weaving

7.0 Introduction

This chapter continues the examination of the trade network from Chapter 6. While the last chapter focused on the actors themselves, this chapter deals with the practices in which they engaged. I draw together the evidence for textile production, freight, and sales found in the different circles. The chapter concludes with an attempt to assess the scale of production and trade based on this information. Its goal is to improve our understanding of the network, and illuminate its implications for the wealth and status of the House 1–3 people.

7.1 Production

7.1.1 Acquisition of raw materials

Before production could start, spinners and weavers had to be supplied with raw materials. The most frequently occurring material in the texts is wool (καρτ), often in conjunction with dye (ξεσσε). Sheep's wool has been found in abundance at Kellis. Dyes were usually added to wool before spinning, and most of the wool appears to have been dyed, as evinced by the archaeological remains: according to Bowen, 'all of the woven wool that has been retrieved [from Kellis] is dyed'.⁵¹² Remarkably, wool and dyes were usually acquired by the traders in the Nile Valley, sent to the Oasis for spinning and weaving, before the finished clothes were sent back for sale in the Nile Valley (see section 7.3). Several letters specify that wool loads sent from the Valley amounted to 'thirty minus one' mna (ca. 9.3 kg),⁵¹³ showing that the scale of production was not too large (see section 7.4) – although one such shipment is once referred to as a 'small amount' (ληψε, pkc.78, l.41). At times, the wool was dyed and spun before it was sent,⁵¹⁴ but for the most part wool preparation took place in the Oasis. In a list of materials that the account author has at hand she lists one centenarium (= 100 mna) of

⁵¹² Bowen, 'Textiles, Basketry and Leather', 89.

⁵¹³ Both wool and dye were measured in mna (1 mna = ca. 0.3 kg). See section 2.3.3, and Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 64–65. For the size of loads, see pkc.78 (ll.41–42), pkc.79 (l.38), pkc.96 (l.32), and probably pkgr.73 (ll.29–30).

⁵¹⁴ Discussed by Pamour in pkc.103, while Pekysis mentions having sent warp from the Valley to Psais III in pkc.79.

plain wool, six mna of dyed wool, and ten mna of dye (pkc.47, ll.1–4), indicating that most of the wool she had was untreated.

This seemingly cumbersome arrangement needs to be explained. One reason for buying wool in the Valley could be lack of sheep in the Oasis, supported by the scarcity of sheep remains found at Kellis.⁵¹⁵ Another reason, frequently implied in the letters, seems to be quality. Egyptian wool was in general considered of bad quality in antiquity, although it may have improved during Roman times.⁵¹⁶ The traders exhibit great concern with the quality of the raw materials,⁵¹⁷ and were willing to spend extensively on them.⁵¹⁸ It also seems that wool and dyes found in the Nile Valley were considered better than that found in the Oasis. Concern for the quality of dyes – and the superiority of that found in the Valley – is illustrated by a passage written by Pamour to Pekysis. He says that he has gotten hold of dye made of antimony ‘of excellent quality’, and that Pekysis ‘will never find stuff as good as this.’ (pkc.103, ll.13–15).⁵¹⁹ Buying materials in the Valley might give a competitive edge in the Oasis, and been necessary for competition with others in the Valley.

In addition to wool, there is textual and archaeological evidence for linen and cotton. Linen is the textile most frequently found in Kellis.⁵²⁰ Two texts show linen-weavers active in the area (pkgr.12; KAB 292). Cotton, including woven material, has also been found.⁵²¹ This is

⁵¹⁵ Bowen, ‘Textiles, Basketry and Leather’, 89. Bowen takes pkgr.72, where Pekysis requests wool from Pamour, as evidence for sheep rearing in Kellis despite the absence of remains. However, Pekysis request was sent from Kellis, not to it (and presumably brought back to Kellis by Pamour). In the Oasis, sheep may have been an unwanted competitor for water-resources (suggested by Eivind H. Seland, personal communication).

⁵¹⁶ Wipszycka, *L’industrie textile*, 27; Jean-M. Carrié, ‘Vitalité de l’industrie textile à la fin de l’antiquité: considérations économiques et technologiques’, *Antiquité Tardive* 12 (2004): 18.

⁵¹⁷ Evinced in a range of passages. See: pkc.37 (ll.28–31), pkc.48 (ll.6–7), pkc.58 (ll.15–19), pkc.75 (ll.15, 32–33), pkc.76 (ll.21–25), pkc.95 (ll.6–7), pkc.103 (ll.7–15), pkgr.72 (l.31). Horion furthermore specified that wool he sent was ‘white wool’ in pkc.18 (l.12), probably to indicate its high quality; see Wipszycka, *L’industrie textile*, 27.

⁵¹⁸ Like the purchase of unspecified amount dye at ‘Egyptian price’, 30 000 talents (pkc.81, ll.17–18). Wool was perhaps not that expensive: a price of 100 T./mna occurs in pkc.96 (ll.34–35), admittedly in a fragmented context. See Table 10.

⁵¹⁹ See perhaps Pekysis’ response to complaints about wool he had procured, which was rejected despite being bought ‘in a low place’ (ἐ[ν] ὀυ[ν]δαμ[ν]ῶν) (i.e. somewhere in the Nile Valley?), but note the comments in Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 98, pkc.76, l.25n.

⁵²⁰ Bowen, ‘Textiles, Basketry and Leather’, 87. ‘Linen’ (τ[ρ]αβ[ε]τ[ων]ῶν) can probably be restored in a fragmented passage of a Matthaïos-letter (pkc.27, l.9).

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*

a much rarer good. It was grown locally: the KAB manager received cotton arrears from tenants. The material probably had some currency in House 1–3. An entry in the KAB records cotton arrears with Tehat for weaving work (KAB 557–560), and a Greek account from House 3 (pkgr.61), dating to the mid–late fourth century, includes a small payment in cotton. If some of the fabrics used in production were cotton, it would help explain how garments from the Oasis could be sold profitably in the Valley, as cotton was not grown in Egypt outside of the Oasis.⁵²² However, cotton is otherwise absent from the private letters. It may be that this lack of attention could be attributed to cotton being acquired locally, as opposed to the wool that was imported, but more evidence seems required to support this. At any rate, in receiving raw materials the weavers and traders appear to conform to a general practice in Roman times, i.e. that they in general did not own sheep or cultivate raw materials themselves.⁵²³

7.1.2 Preparing wool

The documentary texts give us a glimpse of how these materials were treated when they arrived in the workshop at Kellis. Wool was brought from outside of Kellis. Before spinning could start, the wool had to be cleansed, i.e. fulled. Dyes, too, were normally applied before spinning began. In some places these processes were performed in large vats and cauldrons in fulleries or dyeries,⁵²⁴ but such are not in evidence at Kellis, where production was more modest. The Coptic account author fulled the wool herself, a process for which she charged ‘wool wage’.⁵²⁵ She also handled dyeing of the wool (pkc.48, ll.25–26).⁵²⁶

Next, the wool had to be spun into warp or weft for use in weaving. Spinning was a highly gendered profession, one which all women were expected to partake in. It has also

⁵²² Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 39–40. The term ‘fabrics’ (ϩΗΜΕ) is found in pkc.18 (l.3) and pkc.58 (ll.15–23).

⁵²³ For various ways for weavers to acquire materials – of which Wipszycka consider purchases the most common, and self-cultivation the least – see Wipszycka, *L’industrie textile*, 44.

⁵²⁴ For this process, which in the case of purple dye took ca. 84 hours, see Andrew Wilson, ‘Archaeological evidence for textile production and dyeing in Roman North Africa’, in *Actas del I Symposium Internacional sobre Textiles y Tintes del Mediterráneo en Época Romana* ed. C. Alfaro, J.-P. Wild, and B. Costa (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2004), 160.

⁵²⁵ See pkc.44 (ll.1, 25–30), pkc.48 (ll.1–5). Fulling wage is recorded as 2 mat. wheat per mna wool, see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 269, pkc.48, ll.4–5n. For the process, see Wipszycka, *L’industrie textile*, 129–57.

⁵²⁶ See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 270, pkc.48, l.25n.

been considered a bottleneck in the ancient textile economy, and was probably quite labour intensive.⁵²⁷ Spinning, or preparation of warp and weft, took place in the House 1–3 circles. It is a central theme in the Horion/Tehat letters (pkc.18, pkc.58) and the accounts (pkc.44, pkc.48), although it also occurs in some other texts (the ‘Manichaean letters’ pkc.32–33, Pamour’s pkc.103). In one passage, the Coptic account author describes the amount she has prepared, along with the price she charged. It reads: ‘I have made 5 mna ready (?): 3 mna of weft, 2 [mna of warp ... at] 400 talents to the mna of weft, to be fulled, to be worked, and to be spun; and 600 for the mna of warp’ (pkc.44, ll.25–30). The account author was not alone in this work, as we saw above, but assisted by the account recipient himself, who is sometimes addressed as having participated in textile work (pkc.48, ll.35–36), as well as the weavers. It may be that others – perhaps slaves – were involved in the spinning as well, although they go uncredited.⁵²⁸

7.1.3 Weaving

While spinning was a little esteemed (if fundamental) activity in the ancient world, weaving was a bit more prestigious.⁵²⁹ Weaving implements would be found in most homes. In Kellis it was done on looms with thread weighed down (and thus kept firm) by weights.⁵³⁰ Such looms were fairly simple and highly portable instruments and could be ferried with ease over longer distances. One such transfer of loom-weights from Oasis to the Nile occurs in pkgr.72. Weaving equipment was found in House 1–3, but since it was a domestic craft they need not necessarily attributable to the workshop. Still, there are several signs of professional activity there. The finds from House 1–3 included wall fittings for two looms in House 1, a warping frame in House

⁵²⁷ It has been calculated that several (perhaps five) spinners were necessary to provide enough yarn for one weaver at work. John-P. Wild, ‘The textile industries of Roman Britain’, *Britannia* 33 (2002): 9–10. However, see the discussion below, section 7.4.

⁵²⁸ See pkc.44 (ll.24–25, 32–33), where the author slips into the first-person plural.

⁵²⁹ Wipszycka, *L’industrie textile*, 52–53.

⁵³⁰ Warp-weighted looms were probably gradually replaced by a loom whose threads were suspended between two beams, the vertical two-beam loom. For the development of loom technology in Egypt, see Martin Ciszuk and Lena Hammerlund, ‘Roman looms: a study of craftsmanship and technology in the Mons Claudianus Textile Project’, in *Vestidos, textiles y tintes: estudios sobre la producción de bienes de consumo en la Antigüedad: actas del II symposium internacional sobre textiles y tintes del Mediterráneo en el mundo antiguo*, ed. Carmen Alfaro, et al. (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008).

2,⁵³¹ and a carefully patched piece of decorated textile, exhibiting high quality workmanship, recovered from House 3.⁵³² They can comfortably be linked to the documentary evidence pertaining to the workshop. Furthermore, although not directly tied to House 1–3, two professionally spun tunics were found in the early Christian cemetery.⁵³³

As we saw in Chapter 6, all the central women of the House 1–3 texts are known to have taken part in spinning or weaving: Tekysis, Partheni, Kame, Maria I, Lo, Tehat, and Maria II. There is evidence that some of the men could weave as well, such as Pekysis (pkc.103) and perhaps Shai (pkc.76). The Tithoes correspondence provides an example of a boy, Tithoes II, sent to learn weaving at a monastery (pkgr.12, ll.19–20). There are general references to groups of weavers in Horion's letter pkc.18 (l.21). Account pkc.47 is addressed to a plural 'you' that receive finished warp from the author and are ordered to weave it into a headscarf.

Four of the weavers (Heni, Kame, Lo, and the author) are described as receiving payments for their work in the accounts. The payments enable us to calculate the daily wages, and gain insight into the weavers' means. The account author took 800 T. for 13 days of work (pkc.48). This numbers gives wages of ca. 60 T. a day ($800/13 = 61.5$ T.).⁵³⁴ A passage from pkc.44 gives a broadly similar picture (as translated by the editors): 'Heni spent three days, Kame spent three, while they were weaving. I have received 200 talents and 2 maje of wheat.' (ll.4–5). A wage of 200 T. or two maje (=matia) wheat for three days work constitute ca. 67 T./day, close to the wage the author herself took, and identical to the range implied by the three mat. barley for three days work paid to mother Lo (pkc.48).⁵³⁵ The weavers appear to have generally received ca. 60–70 T./day, or its equal in produce. This amounts to ca. 1.6 art. wheat (at 1200 T./art.) per month for a weaver in continuous employment, a bit more than

⁵³¹ Bowen, 'Textiles, Basketry and Leather', 97.

⁵³² Ibid., 93. Compare Horion's discussion of the fixing of clothes in pkc.17 (ll.44–51).

⁵³³ See *ibid.*; Rosanne Livingstone, 'Five Roman-period tunics from Kellis', in *Dakhleh Oasis Papers 6: Proceedings of the sixth International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project*, ed. Paula Davoli Roger S. Bagnall, Colin A. Hope (Oxford: Oxbow, 2012), 323.

⁵³⁴ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 270, pkc.48, l.20n.

⁵³⁵ Based on a wheat price of 1000 T./art, and barley price of ca. 600–700 T./art. Horion paid 1200 T./art. for wheat (pkc.15, ll.18–20), and 800 T./art. for barley is found in a Tithoes memo (pkgr.10). These imply wages of 80 T. However, grain prices fluctuated. The KAB shows variation from 1000–1500 T./art. wheat, while P. Bingen 120 (l.16v), dated 368, has a barley price of 500 T./art. A wheat price of 1000 T./art. (corresponding to the 200 T.) in pkc.44, and a barley price of 600–700 T./art. in pkc.48, give wages of 60–70 T./day.

the one art. and four drachmas given in monthly rations for workers at the third-century Appianus estate.⁵³⁶ While it is unlikely that the weavers worked every day of the month, it would still be an adequate income for a single worker.

Given the payments of wages, it appears that the women who wove were freeborn. It is likely that they had slaves to assist them. Various judicial texts dealing with slaves (pkgr.8, pkgr.19a, pkgr.48) show that slave labour was commonplace among the Kellites, although none of them pertain to the mid-fourth century weavers. An account mentions a purchase of two ‘girls’ (pkc.47), probably an instance of a slave purchase, although its relation to the workshop is unclear.⁵³⁷ Still, there are mentions of ‘girls’ in other documents (e.g. pkc.64, pkc.69) that could perhaps be references to slaves.

7.1.4 Products

What did the weavers weave? The authors regularly employ rather general terms, such as *ζαειτε* (‘robe, garment’) or *ζβαζ/ζμας* (‘clothing, linen’), albeit more specific terms do appear. The workshop seems to have provided a varied selection. A common item was a shirt or tunic, the *stikharion* (another word for tunic was *αυτηνη*),⁵³⁸ mentioned by authors in several different circles.⁵³⁹ Another important item was the cowl (*κλεειτ*).⁵⁴⁰ An item perhaps related to the cowl was the headcloth/scarf (*φογκαριον*).⁵⁴¹ The weavers also made jerkins/heavy scarfs (*οοραζ*)⁵⁴² and cloaks/coverings (*ρωων*). Several texts from all the different circles also

⁵³⁶ Rathbone, *Economic rationalism*, 106–16.

⁵³⁷ See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 62. The author mentions eight myriads of bronze (presumably talents), i.e. 80 000 T., ten solidi on the price of the early 360s (8000 T./sol.) or ca. seven at that of a later period (see Table 2). However, the purchase was made on behalf of a certain Kale, not for the author herself.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, 69. The *stikharion* was, together with the *clamy*s or cloak, standard apparel for the Roman military.

⁵³⁹ In a Maria/Makarios letter (pkc.26, ll.15–18), two Pamour circle letters (pkc.75; pkc.96, ll.18–19), an account (pkc.44, ll.23–24), a Tehat/Horion letter (pkc.18, ll.3–6), and a Psais/Andreas letter (pkc.37, ll.29–31)

⁵⁴⁰ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 68. It occurs in a Maria/Makarios letter (pkc.27, l.15), the accounts (pkc.44, pkc.46), and Tehat/Horion letters (pkc.18, ll.20–22; pkc.58, ll.21–24). In the latter correspondence the production of cowls is intended for a certain Saren the presbyter, see section 11.2.2.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁵⁴² The translation ‘heavy scarf’ was suggested by R. Livingstone, who has studied the textile remains from Kellis. See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 25, pkc.58, l.23n.

mention blankets (στρωμα, πρηυ).⁵⁴³ In one instance it is specified that inferior wool was set aside for a blanket (pkc.44, ll.24–25), and so blankets may have been less important, although the same document mentions a (surprisingly) high price paid for its freight (ll.32–33).

Some texts give us an idea of how much wool was needed to make certain garments. From one letter it would seem that cloaks were allotted two mna (of wool?) per piece.⁵⁴⁴ The best information is preserved for the stikharion. Pekysis sent six mna and sixteen coils of wool and asked them to be made into a good stikharion (pkc.75, ll.14–15), although perhaps not all of it was used for the single garment. Two other documents mention amounts of five mna: once for a ‘garment’ (pkc.12, ll.8–9), and once for several stikharia (pkc.44, ll.22–23). Taking five as a notional number, the amount of 29 mna of wool that the traders often sent from the Nile Valley would suffice for at least five–six stikharia.

7.2 Freight

Goods had to be ferried between Oasis and the Nile Valley. The most common way of travel was camel, better suited than donkeys or horses for long distance hauls in the desert.⁵⁴⁵ They were also more expensive to buy and maintain.⁵⁴⁶ Came drivers were paid freight costs (ζημε) for their services.⁵⁴⁷ The term βαρωε appears with reference to caravan animals (probably mostly camels), but also in several instances to their drivers.⁵⁴⁸ By camel, the trip between the

⁵⁴³ Pkc.26, pkc.44, pkc.52, pkc.76, pkc.79, pkc.105

⁵⁴⁴ Although we cannot be entirely sure that this was the total of material used, as wool could also be used for decoration. See also Gillian E. Bowen, ‘Texts and textiles: A study of the textile industry at ancient Kellis’, *The Artefact* 24 (2001).

⁵⁴⁵ Camels could usually carry loads of ca. 150–200kg, depending on animal, distance, and harness. See Adams, *Land transport*, 79–82.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 88, 106.

⁵⁴⁷ See e.g. Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 62–63.

⁵⁴⁸ For the translation of βαρωε, see *ibid.*, 172, pkc.20, l.54n; Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 75, pkc.71, ll.15–16n; 167, pkc.92, l.14n. The human driver seems to be intended in several instances; see pkc.20 (l.54), pkc.90 (l.12), pkc.92 (l.14), and pkc.122 (l.25). Perhaps caravans at times used wagons: wagons for cross-desert transport of heavy loads is attested in papyri from the eastern desert, and a contract for a loan to purchase a large wagon (*hamaxēs*) is preserved among the House 3 material in Kellis (pkgr.46). For transport in general, see Roger S. Bagnall, ‘The camel, the wagon, and the donkey in Later Roman Egypt’, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 22, no. 1 (1985); and Adams, *Land transport*, 66–67.

Oasis and the Valley could take as little as four or as many as ten days.⁵⁴⁹ Trustworthiness was an important currency when it came to freight, and concern for the trustworthiness of one's agents is expressed in several letters. Philammon (I or II) asked for a 'trustworthy fellow' (*pistou anthrōpou*) to bring him money (pkgr.65, l.24) and Horion for 'an honest man' (οὐρμητιε) to bring clothes (pkc.58, l.30). An associate explained that the traders in the Valley had not been able to send letters because they lacked familiar people to send (pkc.82, l.41).⁵⁵⁰ Timotheos, author of pkc.92–93, spent most of letter pkc.92 answering an accusation that he had been negligent during freight.

One way to secure trustworthiness was to employ relatives. Members of the Pamour family often performed work as caravan drivers between the Oasis and the Nile Valley, and Psais II himself had experience as a caravan driver. Pamour I organised freight to Hermopolis in pkgr.66. He mentions that a Psais is to be paid for freight of two loads; this might well be his son, Psais II. A Psais carried two garments from Kellis to Makarios in pkc.19 (ll.28–29); he, too, could conceivably be identified with Psais II. More clear-cut is the payment of 950 T. to Psais son of Pamour for freight in pkc.44 (l.33). The other members participated as well: Philammon II, Pamour III, and Pekysis are often found ferrying goods across the desert, as is their brother-in-law, Kapitōn.⁵⁵¹ Pamour describes some preparations for a journey involving Partheni and a 'brother' (Psais III?), reading in the editors' translation: 'When the pack animal has brought you out, I will deliver everything to be loaded; and I will take it to load it for him [[from the pack animal]]' (pkc.71, ll.14–16).⁵⁵² In most of these instances, freight seems to be internal to the family. This is probably also the case in Makarios' letter pkc.20, where he complains that Maria has not sent neither a letter nor a garment with Philammon and Pamour 'although they are not strangers' (ll.30–31). Later, in the same letter, Makarios scolds Kyria for not sending him any messages, even though she knows all the 'pack-animal owners' (νβαρᾶξε) (ll.53–54). As Makarios stresses the lack of a letter – despite close familiarity – in both

⁵⁴⁹ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 12 n.24.

⁵⁵⁰ See also the comment of the editors. Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 134, pkc.82, l.41n.

⁵⁵¹ See pkc.64 (l.30), pkc.65 (ll.31–32), pkc.73 (l.18), pkc.80 (l.24), pkc.81 (l.7), pkc.82 (l.17), pkgr.71 (l.49), and pkc.116 (l.5). Pkc.77 (l.32) and pkc.81 (l.42) mention wages (βεκε) for Kapitōn, but this appears to be for textiles.

⁵⁵² The editors here take the term νβαρᾶξε to refer to the pack animal itself, although a reference to a caravan driver cannot perhaps entirely be excluded. See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 75, ll.15–16n.

passages, it seems likely that he is referring to the same people twice (once to Maria, once to Kyria), and that the pack-animal owners and Pamour and Philammon are one and the same.

More evidence for caravan-activity is available. An official letter dating to the first half of the fourth century (pkgr.27) contains a rebuke from the governor to a nome official, the *praepositus pagi*, responsible for the countryside. He had apparently made burdensome demands on the local camel drivers. The body of the letter is lost, but its discovery in House 3 suggests that its inhabitants were among the camel drivers concerned. Finally, in a memo from House 3, dated to the late fourth century (pkgr.79), a Philammon is called ‘camel driver’ (*dromedarios*). Based on the above material, and in particular Makarios’ reference to the ‘pack-animal owners’ in pkc.20, it is compelling to identify Philammon II as this ‘camel driver’.

Despite these many connections to freight, no freight receipts pertaining to this group dating from the late fourth century has been found.⁵⁵³ At times, moreover, we find members of the family paying others for freight. Pekysis says he has paid for freight of wool to the Oasis in some of his letters (pkc.78–79), the agents that are paid are Lammon and Papnouthes, who were also close associates of the family (see section 6.1.4).⁵⁵⁴ Their caravan-activity seems primarily to have been linked to the textile business with which they themselves were occupied. Together with the evidence for cooperation between Maria/Makarios and the camel drivers in pkc.20, this indicates that Psais II and his sons played an important role as mediators and freighters within the trade network, in addition to selling their own goods.

As account author, Tehat would be the one who paid Psais II for freight in pkc.44. Similarly, we may note that Horion asked Tehat to pay for freight between Valley and Oasis (pkc.58, ll.30–32), and Tehat herself ordered her ‘son’ to get hold of a camel or a caravan driver (βαζωπ) (pkc.43, l.2). However, the fact that Tehat herself is located outside Kellis itself in this letter shows that she at times travelled herself. In pkc.50 (ll.28–29), Tehat – again located outside Kellis – states that she has paid for freight charges ‘to the border’ (l.30).

⁵⁵³ Perhaps pkgr.29, a receipt for freight of statues on behalf of Gelasios the ex-logistes, from House 3 (d. 331), also related to freight-work by the Pamour family (Pamour I, Philammon I, or Psais II?), but the freighter is not mentioned.

⁵⁵⁴ See pkc.75 (l.18), pkc.79 (ll.38–39), pkc.96 (l.34). The identification of Pekysis as author of pkc.96 is largely dependent on the similarity between the shipment here and those in pkc.78–79, although there are also prosopographical ties between these letters.

However, the passage also strongly suggests that she and her co-worker, Hatres, were themselves engaged in freight (from the ‘border’ to Kellis?), and about to retrieve goods from the ‘storehouses’ near the ‘border’ where they were located, as the editors note.⁵⁵⁵ The same letter also implies that the recipient ‘son’ engaged in freight. Tehat asks him to take care of a camel (ϸαμοϳλ) and reminds him not to neglect a payment (αλλνωδνα) that he is due (pkc.50, ll.11–12), which could suggest freight for the Roman military.⁵⁵⁶

This activity within the Tehat circle is consistent with the travels of Hatres to the Valley, mentioned in some Maria/Makarios letters (pkc.24, pkc.26). It shows the fluid roles that the textile organisers of House 1–3 could play: the same actors would, at different times, perform work as weaver, freighter, and, as we shall see, trader.

7.3 Retail

7.3.1 Textiles

Sale of textiles is documented from documents in both the Tehat and the Pamour circles, but few details concerning retail can be deduced. The traders brought materials to the workshop and paid the people there for weaving, as was normal in client-weaver relationship of antiquity.⁵⁵⁷ They themselves brought finished clothes to the Valley, presumably first to their house in Aphrodito. The amount of time they spent trading in the Nile Valley cannot be known. Some, such as Psais II, took up residence there. Many others made frequent treks. Camels could make the trip between Oasis and Valley in four to ten days. The length of one stay is described in a letter by Psais Tryphanes (pkgr.73). He had sent his son Tryphanes to Pamour III with goods – textiles, as is clear from the fragmented postscript (ll.27–30), – and wanted Pamour to stay with the son for ‘ten or twenty days’ in order to sell them (ll.8–20). Presumably, he went back to his father afterwards, although it cannot be excluded that he was supposed to manage on his own when Pamour’s time with him was up. If not, Tryphanes would have

⁵⁵⁵ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 276–77, pkc.50, l.28n.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 275–77, pkc.50, l.12n, l.28n.

⁵⁵⁷ Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile*, 44.

spent half a month or so trading in the Nile Valley, perhaps a month altogether with the journey taken into account.

Unfortunately, while there are several requests for clothes (pkc.75–76, pkc.78, pkc.81–82) or notes of having received clothes (pkc.71, pkc.79), they do not make explicit how they went about selling them. There are some indications that their work involved travelling, and that the traders would travel north, down the Nile, in order to do business. In particular, it seems that they were attracted to the ‘twin cities’, Antinoopolis and Hermopolis. Matthaïos, writing from Hermopolis, relates in an aside that Pamour sold a stikharion for 5000 T. while he was visiting (pkc.26, ll.15–18). Pamour mentions that Pekysis went away on business in Antinoopolis (pkgr.71, ll.14–18). Hermopolis had an indoors market (*macellum*), making it an attractive destination.⁵⁵⁸ Pamour and Pekysis seems, at least at times, to have acted as travelling vendors, as suggested in 6.1.2. Tryphanes’ cooperation with Pamour might suggest that the Pamour family had particularly good contacts in the Valley, which seems probable, given the family’s long period of engagement with the Oasis–Valley trade.

Some business also took place in the Oasis. The account author herself makes several transactions that seem to be local (see pkc.46), and the editors broached the possibility that the Coptic accounts could point to the workings of a ‘local shop’.⁵⁵⁹ No clear picture of the relationship between these two businesses can be gained. The money from sales in Kellis is at times seen to go to activities in the Nile Valley,⁵⁶⁰ and the letters are more often concerned with the Valley. However, business concerns in the Oasis are occasionally also mentioned (e.g. pkc.65), and local transactions would at any rate have generated less communications.

Clothes were sold whole, usually one or a few pieces at a time, but sometimes also in ‘sets’. A passage concerning a sale in the making is found in Philammon II’s pkc.81. He and an associate were waiting for five ‘sets’ of clothes that they had been promised. As Philammon himself was a trader, the sets must be intended for further retail. Other close associates, such as Horion, appear to have had stable arrangements with the workshop, and ordered clothes

⁵⁵⁸ Documented for the late third century. Alston, ‘Trade and the city’, 285.

⁵⁵⁹ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 257. See 6.2.1.

⁵⁶⁰ For the accounts, see the different payments for freight charges in pkc.44, and moreover pkc.47 (ll.5–10). For the letters, see e.g. pkc.75 (ll.29–30), and the complex set of transactions Makarios requests in pkc.19 (ll.25–45).

directly. Horion was closely affiliated with a group of Elect, and part of his business with Tehat was conducted on behalf of Saren the presbyter (see section 11.2.2).

Some references to retail can be adduced. Pamour sold a stikharion for 5000 T. in pkc.26. This sum amounts to 3–5 times the price of an art. wheat in the Oasis in the 360s.⁵⁶¹ Various payments for a robe totalled 3300 T. (pkc.94).⁵⁶² One of Tehat's cowls cost 1200–1300 T. (pkc.58, ll.1–8). The price of a headcloth is recorded as a chous of oil, i.e. ca. 1500–1800 T. (pkc.47, ll.1–5). Philammon seems to suggest that he has paid 20 000 T. for the five sets of clothes (pkc.81, ll.29–31), giving to 4000 T. per 'set', but as Philammon was a member of the trading group it is probable that these prices were for production, and that the retail price was higher. This is supported by the price of 5000 T. for a stikharion in pkc.26, although we should not expect uniformity. For further discussion, see section 7.4, below).

7.3.2 Produce

Textiles were not the only goods in which the traders trafficked. Barter in produce was ubiquitous in the Roman Empire, and fruit crops appears to have been of some interest to the Pamour family. A brief look at the transactions that feature other types of crops can shed some light on their role vis-à-vis the traders' textile engagement.

Grain

Grain is seldom mentioned in the letters, attributable to the fact that it was unlikely to be traded over longer distances.⁵⁶³ It was, however, frequently used for salaries, for instance in the KAB, and occurs several times as payments for clothing in the accounts (e.g. pkc.44, ll.10–11). Kame and Heni, and mother Lo received wage-payments for weaving in produce (wheat

⁵⁶¹ See Table 2. Some (government) prices for military stikharia are preserved for the first half of the fourth century, but are not very helpful as a point of comparison. See Bagnall, *Currency and inflation*, 69.

⁵⁶² The payment for the was done in instalments: two payments amounting to 1600 T. on their way, and one payment of 1700 T. to be sent later (pkc.94, ll.23–34). Although two separate purchases cannot be excluded, no other item is mentioned, and it seems more likely that both are part of the same transaction.

⁵⁶³ See moreover Dominic W. Rathbone, 'Prices and price formation in Roman Egypt', in *Économie antique. Prix et formation des prix dans les économies antiques*, ed. Jean Andreau, Pierre Briant, and Raymond Descat (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges: Musée archéologique départemental, 1997), 197–98.

and barley). While wheat does not figure explicitly in the Pamour letters, barley is more prominent, and was at times sent between different actors (pkc.50, pkc.78). In two Greek memos, Tithoes I (pkgr.10) and his son Samoun (pkgr.11) were tasked with procuring barley, and Psais requests barley for Philammon the camel driver in pkgr.79. Its relative importance could be attributed to its use as fodder for freight animals – especially in pkc.50 and pkgr.79, both concerned with camel drivers (although barley was more often given to donkeys).⁵⁶⁴ However, it does not seem that the Pamour family were much concerned with grain land themselves.

Olives and oil

Olives and olive oil appear more often. It has been suggested that olive oil was a central export from the Oasis to the Nile Valley, and it was certainly an important crop for the author of the KAB.⁵⁶⁵ The Pamour family appears at one point to have engaged in olive cultivation. The only direct evidence for ownership of olive orchards comes from pkgr.65, where Philammon (I or II?) entrusted Tekysis (I or III?) with the collection of rents on olive groves he leased out to tenants.⁵⁶⁶ Philammon further requested Tekysis to sell the oil and send him the money, in order to make up for losses he had incurred (presumably while trading in the Valley). Other evidence can be adduced. A loan, given by Philammon I to a man from Trimithis, consisted of one keramion (ca 10.8 litres) of oil (pkgr.49, d.304). It shows that the family had a large oil surplus. That the Pamour family still owned olive trees in the 380s may be implied by a document of Kapiton, son of Kapiton (pkgr.45, d.386). He agreed to repay a loan of one gold solidus in five maria of oil, i.e. ca. 55 litres – a substantial amount. Several other oil requests also involve a Kapiton, but likely his father, Kapiton I (see section 4.3.3). Pkc.86 concerns two choes (6.5 litres) oil which Psais III is asked to settle with Kapiton, pkgr.80 is a memo to Kapiton for an order of one marion (ca 9.7 litres) oil to an otherwise unknown Syrios; and oil is mentioned in a fragmented context in pkc.109, probably authored by Kapiton. Kapiton were

⁵⁶⁴ Adams, *Land transport*, 85.

⁵⁶⁵ For the possibly central role of olive cultivation in the Oasis, see Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 80.

⁵⁶⁶ A purchase of an orchard amidst empty plots of land by Pebos son of Pamour could similarly relate to (olive-)land cultivation (pkgr.39, late fourth century), although Pebos' relationship to the family is unclear.

clearly closely linked with olives and oil, although we also find a Lammon (here Philammon?) involved with olives in pkc.106, where the author (probably Ploutogenes II) requests an artaba of olives from him.⁵⁶⁷

However, while these transactions exhibit some degree of involvement in olives and oil, they do not seem to be related to trade in the Nile Valley. Ploutogenes, who requested oil from Psais III (pkc.86), states that he will come up to retrieve the oil himself two days hence, showing that he was located close by. The other transactions above (apart from the fragmented pkc.109) also appear to relate to local usage, as do oil transactions found in the other circles. Makarios requested Maria (in the Oasis) to sell some oil in exchange for a 'figure' (*eidos*) that he wanted her to send (pkc.22, l.77). The accounts record several local transactions in oil. In pkc.44, the Coptic account author received oil (ll.14–15) as payment.⁵⁶⁸ However, the account recipient had also supplied her with olives for two choes oil (ll.8–9), indicating that he may have some interest in them. The oil was then sold for cash or used to pay others in turn.⁵⁶⁹ In fact, the author at times bought oil (pkc.44, l.20). Tehat informed her son that she had sent a chous oil to him in Kellis (pkc.43). Oil was bought by Horion in two letters (pkc.15, pkc.17) and sent on, in both instances the transactions are for 'agape' (alms), likely to Manichaean Elect (see section 11.2.2).

Some instances of oil sent to the Valley do occur. Makarios records having received an agon of oil (1.5 litres) as well as olives and other fruit, while he is located in Egypt: however, these were for Easter (pkc.22, l.18; see pkc.24, l.44), and so should probably be seen as relating to private consumption (or alms for Elect?). The author of pkc.70 (Pamour or Pekysis?) requested a chous of oil, but this was occasioned by local scarcity, and the author's need seems not to be related to sale. One account entry contains an order from Shai son of Hor who asked the weavers to purchase a chous of oil and send it to him (pkc.47, ll.4–6). While Shai states that he will pay for its freight, he expects to receive it as a superior or co-worker,

⁵⁶⁷ For the identity of the author as Ploutogenes II, see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 207.

⁵⁶⁸ This oil was subsequently sold for 4200 T., the prices mentioned in the same document point to the size of this delivery being 2–3 choes.

⁵⁶⁹ See pkc.44 (ll.8–9, 14–15, 19). This seems to be the case in pkc.45 as well, which has three entries for oil payments (ll.2, 4, 5).

not as a customer. In none of these instances does it seem that olives or oil is intended for sale in the Valley.

Jujubes

Another fruit crop of interest to the House 1–3 circles was jujubes. As with olives, jujubes appear to have been mostly used for payments locally. The account author says that she owed the account recipient ‘eight (matia?) jujubes’, along with 1600 T. (pkc.48, ll.37–40).⁵⁷⁰ Of these, 1200 T. went to Herakles; a man who recurs in Petros letter pkc.38, which similarly concerns a jujube payment or gift for Heni (pkc.38, ll.4–6). Jujubes were in fact of particular concern to the people of the Petros circle: this good appears in three out of four of the preserved Petros letters.⁵⁷¹

However, some documents do attest to this crop being shipped to the Nile Valley. In the Maria/Makarios letters, it seems mainly to be used for private consumption: Makarios requested jujubes in pkc.21–22, along with other fruits such as figs, grapes, and some, but as noted above, these fruits were ‘for the Passah’ (l.18). Evidence for regional trade of jujubes comes primarily from the Pamour letters. In one letter, Pekysis asks Kapiton to settle two artaba of jujubes and send them to him (pkc.77, l.35). Pekysis was (per the address) located in Aphrodito, and the amount might indicate sale. We are on firmer ground with a letter by Pamour (pkc.65), who complains that his father has sent Kapiton to him about the price of jujubes. The passage, as translated by Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, reads:

ετβε εγ [α]ϋτῆνδλ κἀπιτοῦ νεκ ετβε τῆν νῆσισοῦτῆ ἡπεκσεῖ ἡεν δε τεῖτοῦ ἡογῆρ ἡνοῦ ἀγογε εἰ ἡνῆ ἡζοογε δε ἡαντῆῖτοῦ ἀειογεν ἀραῦ ἀσῆτῆ ελγτεκο ἡνοῦ σεῖ νεῖ δε τεῖτοῦ ἀβαλ εἰ[ο]γᾶρε

Why did he send Kapiton to you about the prices of the jujubes? You did not write to us saying how much to sell them for! Now, someone has come to me lately saying: “We shall not sell them”. I opened them to find that they were rotten. Now, write to these people, saying: “Sell them in the Oasis”. (pkc.65, ll.31–37)

The shipment of jujubes, whose size is not clear, were originally shipped for sale but had not survived the journey, and so Pamour seems to be saying that they (in the future) should sell

⁵⁷⁰ If the number eight refers to matia, as seems likely (see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 270, pkc.48, ll.38, 40n.), the total value of the debt would amount to somewhere between 2800–3600 T.

⁵⁷¹ In addition to the payment for Heni in pkc.38, the ‘mother’ (the recipient) paid for an artaba jujubes in pkc.39, and jujubes were used in a monetary transaction of some kind in pkc.40 (ll.24–27).

jujubes in the Oasis instead.⁵⁷² It would seem that regional trade in fruit crops could be a precarious undertaking. To these shipments of the Pamour family can be compared an expenditure entry from the KAB, which records a shipment of 32 small matia of jujubes as gifts to Sarapis, as well as ‘to Egypt’ (KAB 561–566). Of these 32 small mat., 26 (i.e. ca. 33 kg) were sent to the Nile Valley.⁵⁷³ This entry is the only one in the KAB mentioning direct transportation of goods to the Valley. The two artaba requested by Pekysis are almost double that which the KAB manager sent. While neither amount is very large,⁵⁷⁴ they were apparently large enough to be sold profitably.⁵⁷⁵

Summary

To conclude, the family may well have owned orchards with olive trees. Such orchards would have included other fruits as well, such as jujubes, as fruit trees were seldom planted alone.⁵⁷⁶ Despite the possible importance of olive oil as an export good in the economy of the Oasis in general, it does not appear as a prominent trade good in the material of the Pamour family. While jujubes at times were sent to the Valley for sale, the shipments do not appear to be large. The produce from both these crops was largely spent locally. All the instances of oil transactions, both in the letters and the accounts, appear to be for private consumption or local expenses in the Oasis, such as wages.⁵⁷⁷ Fruit crops probably helped to facilitate the group’s trade, and could at times supply extra income, they were not of primary interest in the Nile Valley trade.

⁵⁷² For this interpretation of the last lines (ll.34–37), see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 51, pkc.65, ll.34–37n.

⁵⁷³ Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 55, and see ll.561–69n. For the small matia measure, see Table 1.

⁵⁷⁴ Two artaba would take up between a third and a half of the normal carrying capacity of a single camel, depending on the size of the animal and the (in this case, rather long) distance it was to cross; see Adams, *Land transport*, 79. Presumably, the jujubes were sent alongside other goods, such as textiles.

⁵⁷⁵ As pointed out by Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 55.

⁵⁷⁶ Orchards were often used for more than a single type of tree. Thanheiser, ‘Roman agriculture and gardening’, 305.

⁵⁷⁷ This could be the implication of a letter largely unconnected to the family, pkgr.74. It deals with a harvest of olives, of which the author, a man who calls himself Psais ‘the potter’, has received a share – but not all that he is due – as wages (*misthous*). The recipient, a ‘father brother’ Aron in Kellis, and the other actors there do not appear to be related to the Pamour family, the possible exception being Psenpnouthes. However, Psais ‘the potter’, despite his title, is involved in making a garment. The use of produce from olive and jujube orchards to pay for textile work is, as seen above, consonant with the other House 1–3 texts.

7.4 Revenue

At this point, we can try to form a general impression of the scale of textile production and - trade, based on the information glimpsed in the preserved material. The prices and sums lend themselves to a certain degree of quantification, and in this section I attempt an estimate of the range of yearly profits that the traders could expect from the output of the workshop. Quantification of textile output is, however, notoriously uncertain. The documents are hard to interpret, and the prices preserved offer little more than signposts. The figures calculated below can therefore be no more than approximate. But while they will have to remain incomplete, they do serve to give us a sense of the scale at which the trading family operated, and the resources they had available.

Instance	Amount	Worth	Source
Wool	1 mna	100 T. ⁵⁷⁸	pkc.96 (ll.33–35)
Dye	1 litra	2250 T. ⁵⁷⁹	P. Bingen 120 (l.36v)
Fulling	1 mna	2 mat. wheat (240 T.)	pkc.48 (ll.4–5)
Weft	1 mna	400 T.	pkc.44 (ll.1, 28)
Warp	1 mna	600 T.	pkc.44 (l.29)
Weaving-wage	Per day	60–70 T.	pkc.48 (ll.21–24), pkc.44 (ll.4–5)
Wage	A tunic	2500 T.	pkc.81 (l.42)
Freight	A blanket to the Nile	950 T.	pkc.44 (ll.31–32)

⁵⁷⁸ 100 T./mna occurs in pkc.96 in the context of a shipment of wool, but the passage is fragmented. It is, however, comparable to prices for earlier in the century. A fragmented passage from a Coptic account reads ‘for the wool of Shai [...] There are 2 mna there’ (pkc.48, ll.1–2). Later it is mentioned that 500 T. were given ‘of Shai for the wool of Shemnoute’ (l.40). If the 2 mna were those bought by Shai from Shemnoute it would imply 250 T./mna, although the lacuna makes this unclear. P. Bingen 120, on the other hand, gives 1200 T./mna (l.33v). The reading is clear but puzzling. Bagnall and Worp comment: ‘At roughly the same level as artaba of wheat, that seems much higher than the prices we have earlier in the century ... where a pound of wool (just smaller than the mna) brings only about an eighth to a tenth the value of an artaba of wheat at the time. In no case, however, do we have enough information to assess the significance of the numbers. If wool was imported into the oases, a higher price would be reasonable, but transportation alone cannot account for the difference.’ Bagnall and Worp, ‘Two 4th century accounts’, 505. A price from an eighth to a tenth of an artaba of wheat, which was valued at 1000–1500 in the 360s, gives a range of ca. 100–200 T./mna, which is closer to the price-level implied by pkc.96 and pkc.48, and fits better with the other prices in the material. Perhaps the wool in P. Bingen 120 was dyed.

⁵⁷⁹ 1 litra is a bit less than 1 mna, used of dye in other texts from House 1–3. An unknown good, measured in mna and priced at 2500 T., occurs twice in the House 1–3 letters, in both pkc.94 and pkc.95. If dye is implied, they are well in line with the price in P. Bingen 120. In pkc.81, Philammon bought dye at the ‘Egyptian price’ of 30 000 T. Later in the same text he promises to send 10 mna of dye to the Oasis (l.47). If the 10 mna he sent were those he bought we get a price of 3000 T./mna, which might indicate that ‘Egyptian price’ was particularly expensive (a price of 2500 T./mna gives 12 mna for 30 000 T.; it could also be that Philammon kept 2 mna for himself).

Freight	To the border	300 T.	pkc.50 (Il.29–30)
Clothing	1 garment	32 mat. wheat (3840 T.)	pkc.44 (Il.10–11)
Clothing	1 stikharion	5000 T.	pkc.26 (Il.15–18)
Clothing	1 cloak	3300 T.	pkc.94 (Il.24–34)
Clothing	5 sets	20 000 T.	pkc.81 (Il.29–31)
Clothing	1 cowl	1200–1300 T.	pkc.58 (Il.1–10)
Clothing	1 cowl	10 mat. wheat (1200 T.)	pkc.46 (Il.11–12)
Clothing	1 headscarf	1 chous oil (1500–1800 T.)	pkc.47 (Il.6–8)
Clothing	1 linen sheet	2500 T.	P. Bingen 120 (Il.16r, 27v)

Table 10: Textile costs and prices from the Kellis material

Using this table, some – it must be underlined, tentative – calculations of production costs and revenues can be made. Five textile workers occur in the accounts: Kame, Heni, Lo, the account author/Tehat, and the account recipient. The recipient appear often to be away. I take the other four weavers to have worked regularly in the workshop. There may also have been slaves present, but for the sake of simplicity, we can first reckon with a team of four workers, and focus on the stikharion tunic, the most common garment.

The time needed to produce textile pieces in antiquity has been evaluated very differently.⁵⁸⁰ A papyrus from the Zenon archive (PSI VI, 599) mentions a team of four workers using six days to finish a linen blanket,⁵⁸¹ which John-P. Wild has taken to indicate that one weaver, supported by a team of three spinners, would normally need 18 days on a linen tunic, and that ‘a notional full-time weaver could produce up to 20 garments a year’.⁵⁸² However, Wild does not take rest, sickness, or festival days into account, making the actual maximum output of this four-worker team per year less. Jean-M. Carrié has pointed out that the blanket from the Zenon archive appears to be a particularly fine one.⁵⁸³ He takes Wild’s estimate of 18 days as the maximum for a set of clothes, and suggests that the time could have been much shorter, reckoning that a set of clothes may have taken one weaver and two spinners eight–

⁵⁸⁰ See e.g. Wild, ‘Facts, figures and guesswork’; and Carrié, ‘Vitalité de l’industrie textile’.

⁵⁸¹ Wipszycka, *L’industrie textile*, 64.

⁵⁸² Wild, ‘Facts, figures and guesswork’, 42. See also Wild, ‘Textile industries’, 31. An experiment of producing a large Roman woollen cloak (weighing ca. 1.36 kg when finished) with a weighted loom took one weaver 292 hours, or 36 days of work (seven–eight hours work a day), which seems excessive. Training and technique needs to be taken into account, as Wild himself notes. See also Carrié, ‘Vitalité de l’industrie textile’, 38.

⁵⁸³ Carrié, ‘Vitalité de l’industrie textile’, 37.

nine days to produce (or even, citing Morelli, six days per set).⁵⁸⁴ He reckons with an estimate of yearly workdays at 340.⁵⁸⁵ For nine days, this would result in 37–38 sets of clothes per year.

The Kellis material itself provides some information regarding both production cost and time spent weaving. A group of stikharia, per pkc.44, were allotted five mna (ca 1.6 kg) of wool. Fulling five mna cost, perhaps, 1200 T. (pkc.48), while the author charged 2400 T. for the whole process of fulling, ‘working’, and spinning five mna of wool (pkc.44). For weaving, the author charged a sum of 800 T. for 13 days of weaving (ca. 62 T./day) in pkc.48, not counting one day of preparing the wool.⁵⁸⁶ In pkc.44, she paid a weaving wage of 1616 T. to a plural ‘weavers’. Considering her own charge in pkc.48, this might be wage of 808 T. each for two weavers, for a period of 26 workdays (ca. 62 T./day), or 13 days if they alternated on the same piece or made two pieces (as seems implied by l.24).⁵⁸⁷ Together, these factors suggest that a stikharion took ca. 12–14 days, either by one or two weavers. Using an estimate for the whole process of 14 days for the team of the workshop, and Carrié’s estimate of 340 workdays, a number of 24 stikharia could be produced per year. Regarding production cost, it could be that both the 2400 T. for spinning and 1600 T. for weaving was paid by the customer, which would give a production cost of 4500 T. However, a retail price of 5000 T. (pkc.26) would only yield a profit of 500 T./garment, and maximum expected yearly income of 12 000 T. (1.5 sol.). Considering that wool, freight, and dye prices have not been considered, and that Philammon spent more than twice this amount of talents on dye alone in a single transaction (pkc.81), this

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 38–39.

⁵⁸⁵ It might be objected that this estimate is somewhat optimistic: a common estimate of workdays for male agricultural labourers is 250 days, see Walter Scheidel, ‘Real wages in Roman Egypt: A contribution to recent work on pre-modern living standards’, *Princeton/Stanford working papers in Classics* (2008): 6. On the other hand, agricultural labour and textile work are hardly comparable.

⁵⁸⁶ Spinning is often seen as the bottleneck of ancient textile production. J. P. Wild estimated five spinners necessary to supply one weaver ‘in continuous employment’ (Wild, ‘Textile industries’, 8–9.). One estimate reckons almost 135 hours of spinning for enough thread for a tunic; twelve days for one spinner or two-three days for five (Roth 2007, *Thinking Tools*, 81–82; cited in Sophie Gällnö, ‘(In)visible spinners in the documentary papyri from Roman Egypt’, in *Making textiles in pre-Roman and Roman times: people, places, identities*, ed. Margarita Gleba and Judith Pásztoókai-Szeőke (Oxford: Oxbow, 2013), 163 n.7. Still, in pkc.48, the author only mentions one day needed to prepare wool. Perhaps it was already partly prepared? On the other hand, Morelli, cited by Carrié, estimated that a spinner could spin 500 gr. wool per day (Carrié, ‘Vitalité de l’industrie textile’, 37, see also 38 n.126.). In that case, five mna of wool (ca 1.6 kg) for a stikharion could be readied by a single spinner in a bit more than three days, one–two days by two, or less than a day by more.

⁵⁸⁷ Wild notes that a finished, second-century belted tunic, described in a papyrus (BGU 1564), weighted 1278 gr., which would suggest that the five mna were intended for a single tunic, although sizes may have varied. John-P. Wild, ‘Tunic no 4219: An archaeological and historical perspective’, *Riggisberger Berichte* 2 (1994): 30.

is clearly untenable as typical for expected yearly profit. The estimate of production cost per tunic for the traders is probably too high. It seems that the account author paid the weaving wages of 1616 T. from the 2400 T. she charged for the process (leaving her, too, with ca. 800 T.), so that 2400 T. was the total cost of production for the trader/customer. This is supported by pkc.48, where the author pays mother Lo for weaving from her own pocket (ll.40–44), and by pkc.81, where Philammon's lost co-author says he paid 2500 T. in total wages for a tunic – still shamefully high, in his opinion, but he does not protest too much. In the same document, Philammon implies that he paid 20 000 T. for five 'sets' (ἄκαϊα) of two garments: 4000 T. per 'set'. If, as is probable, a set consisted of a tunic and another piece of clothing, and 2500 T. went to production cost for the tunic, we may reckon 1500 T. for the other piece and, presumably, other costs.⁵⁸⁸ A production cost of ca. 2500 T., with a price tag of 5000 T., yields a profit of 60 000 T. (9 sol.) per year – a much better result. But a typical expected profit of 50% per sale seems excessive. An expected return of 25–30%, or 1250–1500 T. per tunic (a 'normal' tunic-price of 3750–4000 T., rather than 5000 T.), might be more typical.⁵⁸⁹ This would give a profit of 30 000–36 000 T. (3.75–4.5 sol.) per year for 24 tunics.

This must still be too low, considering the expenses not accounted for, and the dye-expenditure of 30 000 T. in pkc.81. The production rate, then, could also be too low: on the above rate of 24 stikharia per year, the five 'sets' requested by Philammon in pkc.81 would constitute more than 20% of yearly production (even without factoring in the other piece of the 'set') which seems excessive. Perhaps the 13 days of production pertain to a 'set' rather than a single stikharon, although this is somewhat problematic in light of the amount of wool used. However, it might be that the workshop had more garments under production than indicated, for instance with two teams of workers (eight in total, weavers assisted by slaves). Taking 14 days as the amount of time needed for a 'set', and taking the second piece of the set to be a cloak, total expected yearly profit would be ca. 49 800–59 760 T. (ca. 6.2–7.5

⁵⁸⁸ A 'set' of clothes was the basic requirements for an army attire, which usually consisted of a stikharon and a cloak. See Carrié, 'Vitalité de l'industrie textile', 37; and see Jennifer A. Sheridan, *Columbia papyri IX: the Vestis Militaris codex* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 73–80.

⁵⁸⁹ To give a very rough comparison, texts from the Cairo genizah suggest that 25–50% was considered a good profit in tenth-twelfth century Egypt – but for longer distances and other goods. S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society: economic foundations*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967; repr., 1999), 202.

sol.).⁵⁹⁰ If the workshop had even more workers employed, and could, on average, make two sets every 14 days, production would reach 48 sets per year. Taking the rate of profit for the tunic and cloak suggested above, this would yield a yearly profit of 99 600–119 520 T. (ca. 12.5–15 sol.).⁵⁹¹

The last sum would represent a high end of possible income based on the above reconstruction. However, to reiterate, there are many uncertainties in the above assumptions. The prices and costs we have preserved may not be representative, and could have varied even over short time-spans. The weavers produced other clothes, such as cowls, for which expected profit is likely to have been less.⁵⁹² Expenses borne by the traders for wool and dyes have not been factored into the calculations. Regarding freight, some goods were sold directly from the workshop, and freight may have been conducted by the camel drivers themselves, but they also at times paid for such work (section 7.2). Internal customs have not been accounted for (although these were probably not very large in the Roman period), nor the military tax (*vestis militaris*), that may have increased the burden.⁵⁹³ The Pamour family was also liable for a tax on traders, the chrysargyron, as seen in pkgr.76. Its size – perhaps more than one solidus for Kapiton alone?⁵⁹⁴ – as well as the dye-expenditure of Philammon in pkc.81, may suggest that the estimate above is still somewhat conservative. The traders may

⁵⁹⁰ A cloak was, it would seem, was sold for 3300 T./piece (see Table 10), which on the same principle of a 25–30% profit would give a range of 825–990 T. per piece, and ca. 19 800–23 760 T. in total per year.

⁵⁹¹ Giving a range of 60 000–72 000 for the tunics, and 39 600–47 520 T. for the cloaks.

⁵⁹² The cowl in pkc.44 took three days per weaver to make. Adding one day for preparations gives 85 cowls per year, at 340 work-days. In pkc.58 a cowl was sold for 1300 T. Subtracting weaving wages (ca 420 T./cowl) and fulling (ca 240 T./cowl?) gives a yearly profit of 54 400 T. (6.8 sol.), had the workshop produced only cowls.

⁵⁹³ For the trade-tax see Bagnall, *Egypt in late antiquity*, 153–54; and for the customs rate of ca 2 %, see Michel Cottier, 'The customs districts of Roman Egypt', in *Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth International Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor 2007*, ed. Traianos Gagos (Ann Arbor: Scholarly Publishing Office, University of Michigan, 2010). On Roman trade policy, see John F. Drinkwater, 'The Gallo-Roman woollen industry and the great debate: the Igel column revisited', in *Economies beyond agriculture in the classical world*, ed. D. J. Mattingly and J. Salmon (London: Taylor & Francis, 2001), 301–6. An effect of seasonal variation in demand is rejected by Minnen, 'Oxyrhynchite textile trade', 93.

⁵⁹⁴ The sum mentioned in pkgr.76 is 1½ myriads, or ca. 15 000 T., and would amount to ca. two solidi by the price of the early 360s. This would be a substantial amount for only one trader to pay: the price for the chrysargyron on goldsmiths in Oxyrhynchus, d.426, was only little more than half a solidus (but ca. 16 000 T.); see Bagnall, *Egypt in late antiquity*, 153–54. Pkgr.76 probably belongs to a later period, the 370s or even 380s, when the solidus price may have increased (see Table 2, section 2.3.3; it may have amounted to ca. 12 000 T./sol. already in 368) For the cycle of chrysargyron collection, which Bagnall argues was collected in yearly instalments, see Roger S. Bagnall, 'The periodicity and collection of the chrysargyron', *Tyche* 7 (1992).

have ordered clothes from other workshops, or there may have been additional workers, although this is uncertain.

The traders were certainly not on subsistence level, as a substantial percentage of the Egyptian population would have been. They may have been vulnerable to market forces, as complaints about economic loss found in some letters imply,⁵⁹⁵ although their affiliation with a larger network of Kellite traders would have ameliorated risks.⁵⁹⁶ However, even taking the upper estimate as too conservative, their revenues would fall well below those from landed estates – such as, for instance, those of the KAB manager. His part of the Faustianus estate could generate a total yearly rent value of around 214 253 T. (ca. 27 sol.), comparable to that of a middling landholding by Nile standards.⁵⁹⁷ The Pamours would seem to be on the lower end of the middling spectrum. They were a far cry from trading families such as the Secundinii of third-century Trier, who, according to Drinkwater, became prosperous ‘through buying high grade raw materials from and selling high quality fabrics into distant markets’, and coordinated a dependent workforce ‘of spinners, weavers, fullers, dyers, etc., paid by the piece.’⁵⁹⁸

7.5 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have aimed to sketch some basic features of textile production and trade in the House 1–3 material, and give an account of their economic status. As already indicated in Chapter 6, family members participated in several different capacities, both as weavers, freighters, and traders. In addition to sale of textiles, they appear to have had income in olives and jujubes, and perhaps even exported some fruit to the Valley (only jujubes are

⁵⁹⁵ See pkgr.65 (ll.26–27), pkc.110 (ll.25–26), perhaps pkc.22 (ll.38–40).

⁵⁹⁶ There were, at least, other storehouses known to the House 1–3 people, such as that of Apollon in Kellis (pkc.81), and of Ammon in Psebtneis (pkc.46) and those ‘at the border’ (pkc.50). See also section 6.4.

⁵⁹⁷ Value calculated for the fifth indiction. Bagnall did not factor in expenses, but notes these would likely be marginal – much more so than for the traders. His income corresponds to a total cultivated area of ca. 54 arouras (grain land, the actual size of the area, dominated by fruit orchards, was probably less), *P. Kell. IV*, 77. For comparison, see Bagnall, *Egypt in late antiquity*, 68–70, 117.

⁵⁹⁸ Drinkwater, ‘Gallo-Roman woollen industry’, 298. For more on the Western Roman cloth-industry, see Jinyu Liu, *Collegia centonariorum: the guilds of textile dealers in the Roman West* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009). For an alternate view of the Secundinii, as landowners dabbling in trade, see Wild, ‘Textile industries’, 28.

documented), but textiles are the most common item of trade and of most concern to the traders. The income generated from the textile workshop does not, however, appear to have been very extensive.

Chapter 8: House 1–3 and village life

8.0 Introduction

This chapter assesses the economic activities of the House 1–3 circles in the context of the village, and discusses their relationship to two centres of influence here: the estate known from the KAB, and the village administration. On the one hand, did the trading activities of the House 1–3 circles necessitate patronage by the agriculture-based estate of the KAB landlord? On the other, were their revenues large enough to secure them (or obligate them to) important liturgies in the village? Focusing on the KAB, I attempt to clarify the relationship between the textile traders and these institutions below.

8.1 The KAB manager and the Pamour traders

Trading could be a precarious occupation in antiquity. As suggested in section 7.4.2, the Pamour family may have derived some wealth from leasing out land for fruit crops such as olives in order to get a more stable income. It is therefore pertinent to ask whether they may have had dealings with – or even if one of them should be identified with – the man who authored the KAB, a large wooden account-book found in the kitchen of House 2. The two groups were contemporaries, as the KAB dates to 361–64.⁵⁹⁹ Its accountant was a manager or *pronoetes* of land for a larger estate, probably owned by the landlord Faustianus in Hibis. The manager was responsible for a storehouse in Kellis, collected rents on land, made purchases, paid wages, and cooperated with other storehouses in nearby villages.⁶⁰⁰ Its presence among the House 1–3 material is something of a puzzle, and so it might be suggested that it was authored by one of the people from the House 1–3 material. However, as will be shown below, there is no clear evidence for identifying the author as part of the House 1–3 circles.⁶⁰¹

First, it should be noted that the KAB is not much concerned with textile materials such as wool, and only mentions one instance of export to the Valley, of jujubes (see section 7.3.2).

⁵⁹⁹ See Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 58–59; Bagnall and Worp, ‘Two 4th century accounts’, 506–7. See section 2.3.1.

⁶⁰⁰ For an overview, see Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 27.

⁶⁰¹ A passage from the KAB could be taken to imply that the author was a certain Chrematios (1070). However, the text is ambiguous, and a Chrematios (a name not found elsewhere in Kellis) is also listed as a tenant (535). See *ibid.*, 224, ll.1762–72n.

An argument for a connection between the KAB and House 1–3 must rely on other evidence. On the other hand, some House 1–3 texts do, in fact, contain information regarding a landlord. The term *geoukhos* (landlord) occurs three times in the letters from House 1–3. Of these, two occurrences pertain to the mid–late fourth century, in two short letters both addressed to a certain Elias (pkgr.68, pkgr.81).⁶⁰² The latter (pkgr.81) was written by a certain Sabinus. He calls Elias his ‘son’, but the letter is short, and a memo with a promise of payment rather than a private letter between father and son (although the two are not necessarily mutually exclusive). Sabinus mentions a landlord travelling from the Nile Valley, and says that he will provide Elias with payments from ‘all the farmers (*geōrgōn pantōn*)’ (l.12), showing that Elias had responsibilities for managing tenants on this landlord’s behalf. No connection to other figures of the House 1–3 circles is evident.⁶⁰³ The other letter (pkgr.68), is written by a Psais, also to his ‘son’ Elias. In light of this, it seems safer to take Elias to be a junior assistant, rather than a biological son. However, Psais’ letter is longer, although an important part is largely lost (ll.12–18). He greets his ‘daughters’ and their ‘mother’, and he invokes God, indicating shared religious affiliation. The main topics are Elias interaction with a certain Pekysis, as well as some affairs in Mesobe and in the ‘southern properties’ (*notinois pragmasi*). Psais writes: ‘If I should receive a letter from my lord the landowner, or if he does not write, as he has no need for me, I shall come.’ (pkgr.68, ll.23–26). Here, too, the context suggests that Elias was in the employ of a landlord, and that Psais is a senior colleague of Elias, although Psais’ letter displays a closer relationship than that of Sabinus.

It is *prima facie* unlikely that there were several late-fourth century landlords owning land in Kellis from outside the Dakhleh Oasis, whose agents happened to be affiliated with House 1–3. An identification of Faustianus of the KAB with the landlord in these letters seems therefore reasonable. Circumstantial evidence can be adduced to this effect. Mesobe, of concern to Psais in pkgr.68, is by far the most important place-name in the KAB, a place where the KAB manager had several associates and at least one storehouse.⁶⁰⁴ Furthermore, in another letter pertaining to Elias (pkgr.78, House 3), a Siris asks a ‘brother’ to provide Elias

⁶⁰² The third occurrence of the term is from a receipt for a delivery by Horos son of Mersis, received on behalf of a landlord situated in Hermopolis, dated 320 (pkgr.52).

⁶⁰³ Unless Sabinus is to be identified as Sabes, involved in a gold and oil-transaction in Horion’s pkc.17 (l.21).

⁶⁰⁴ Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 73–74. A Pekysis (without patronym) also make an occurrence in this document.

with dates and barley from ‘the farmers’. A man by this name, Siris son of Para, is in fact listed as owing dates in rent to the KAB manager (1430). If these two can be identified, it would suggest that Elias was the author of the KAB, or at least at one point worked for the manager. Furthermore, a potsherd from the Main Temple contains a letter from a Psais to his ‘lord’ Faustianus, concerning a tenant (okell.143). The ostrakon illustrates the importance of Faustianus to the village, not just to House 1–3 circles, and strongly suggests that he had an agent in Kellis named Psais, who could well be the ‘father’ in pkgr.68. It seems likely that Psais and Elias in pkgr.68 and pkgr.81 can be identified as agents of the Faustianus estate.

This circle can in turn be related to the Pamour family. Beside the find-spot itself, which should not be discounted, an association between Elias and the later generation of the Pamour family is attested to by pkgr.75 (see section 3.3.2). Elias greets actors from the Psais/Andreas circle, including two men named Psais: one Psais ‘the great’ and one Psais ‘the other’ (*ton allon*). The former could well be the ‘father’ who wrote pkgr.68, and in turn Psais II, father of Pamour/Pekysis, or ‘brother’ Psais III, who at this probably late date may himself have become ‘father’ to Elias. An Elias occurs as the owner of neighbouring property of a member of the Pamour family in pkgr.39, datable to the late fourth century.

Turning to the Pamour family’s link to the KAB, we find that Pamour affiliates were hired by the KAB manager for freight (below, section 8.3); which could be consonant with the payments made by Pamour and Pekysis for freight (section 7.2). The KAB manager had a staff-member, Papnouthes, charged with feeding the estate donkey. He could possibly be identified with the agent of the House 1–3 circle, found delivering wool in pkc.79. The KAB manager deals with Tehat, pointing to a link to one of the senior House 3 figures (below, section 8.2). Some of the KAB manager’s colleagues, such as Dorotheos and Belles, could perhaps be peripheral associates of the House 1–3 people (pkc.94, pkc.107). Finally, just as olives was a major income-crop for the KAB manager,⁶⁰⁵ members of the Pamour family managed olive-growing tenants (pkgr.65, see section 7.3).

In sum, there are strong reasons to think that the figures in pkgr.68 and pkgr.81 were involved in the estate of Faustianus, and in turn had links to the Pamour family. However, strong objections remain to any direct links between the trade venture and the KAB. The

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., 78.

identification of Papnouthes is not very strong, as the man in the Pamour letters seems to have worked with Pekysis in the Valley rather than with freight in the Oasis (see pkc.78). The names Pekysis, Psais, and Kapiton appear, but neither is a close associate, and identifications with men from House 1–3 are uncertain. The names Pamour and Philammon do not appear at all. This runs counter to what one would expect if the author was closely affiliated, or even identifiable, with one of these traders.⁶⁰⁶ Conversely, Elias does not occur in the private letters of the Pamour family, nor does important associates of the KAB manager such as Eros or Korau, or the employee Timotheos.⁶⁰⁷ Elias' absence in the Pamour letters could be attributed to the late date of his letters, but the other absences suggests that the KAB circle and the Pamour circle did not significantly overlap in the 360s. This makes it unlikely that the author is to be found among these traders or that his revenues were spent on supporting textile trade.

In the end, the KAB manager cannot clearly be identified with any figure from the House 1–3 material on present evidence, nor can any of his close associates. Still, some associates of the House 1–3 family were involved in work for the local estate, probably that of Faustianus, although mainly at a later date. There is no strong evidence from the documents to imply that the textile trade in the Nile Valley was supported by or closely linked to the Faustianus estate.

8.2 The KAB manager and textile production

However, a closer examination of the KAB manager's involvement with textile production in Kellis is certainly in order, considering the occurrence of Tehat in this document. First, it should

⁶⁰⁶ The name Psais recurs frequently, but never as a close associate, and there were several actors by this name. A Pekysis acting as an agent in the KAB is found once, in 1691, where a Pekysis and a Sarapis act together as agents for the author. To this can be compared pkgr.76, where Pekysis son of Psais writes his 'brother' Sarapis. However, the Pekysis in KAB 1691 should probably be identified with a man by that name occurring shortly after, in 1688. This man pays 13 keramia of must in rent to the KAB manager, which makes a close or familial relationship between the two less likely, and does not match well with what is known of Pekysis son of Psais.

⁶⁰⁷ A Timotheos (or several) was involved with transport for people of House 1–3 (pkc.17, pkc.40, pkc.43, pkc.90, pkc.92–93), and could in turn be a man by that name who did ad hoc work for the KAB manager (section 8.3). However, he is unlikely to be the close employee of the KAB manager by that name who, for instance, received clothes (below). There is no suggestion that Timotheos' activities in the Coptic letters are related to an estate; rather, they appear to be 'private' shipments. The frequency of the name moreover makes the figure difficult to disentangle.

be noted that the manager did not, for the most part, manage rents in raw materials for textiles. Neither wool, flax, nor dyes occur in the codex; materials of great importance for Tehat's workshop (see section 7.1). His prime concern is agricultural produce. The manager did receive annual rents in cotton (KAB 547, 720, 1484), but only from two tenants (Nobs and Louia). In an entry for cotton arrears, marked 'for weaving work', he mentions collecting (?) cotton from a Tehat through Papnouthes, as translated by Bagnall: '(Balance with) Tehat daughter of Iena, of cotton: one lith. for weaving (*synerga*), to wit: through Papnouthes' (KAB 555–560). However, the transaction details are unclear. If it pertains to arrears in line with the other rent-entries, it would indicate that Tehat cultivated cotton. But as Bagnall notes, the use of 'with' (*para*) is uncharacteristic of arrears.⁶⁰⁸ Furthermore, Tehat does not figure in the KAB as a regular tenant, and it is therefore unlikely that she grew cotton on leased land. The note 'for weaving work' is also irregular: the KAB manager usually purchased clothes as finished products. It should perhaps be taken to indicate that Tehat owed to weave one lithos cotton on behalf of the KAB manager, as payment for debt. This would point to identifying her with the woman from House 3. Support for this identification can be found in another entry of the KAB, where six matia of wheat are designated as for the agape (of?) Tehat (*eis agapē That*, KAB 106). The payment of agape to Tehat here can be compared to the income-entries for agape in the Coptic accounts presumed to be written by her (pkc.44, l.12; pkc.47, l.11). Combined with the involvement in weaving found in 558–560, it seems reasonable to take it that these instances relate to Tehat from House 3. The KAB manager was certainly not averse to dealing with the Manichaean traders, although his own religious affiliation is unclear (see section 11.2.3).

Furthermore, there is some evidence that the KAB manager at times financed a local weaving institution. One entry sees him paying grain for porridge 'in the clothes weaving-shop' (εἰς ἀθήρα ἐν τῷ ὑφανθ(ειῶ) ἱματ(ίῳ), KAB 1264–65). It is not among his regular or annual expenses, however, and so the clothes-weaving shop was perhaps not among his regular responsibilities, although it does indicate some kind of cooperation. Moreover, he frequently spends money to pay weavers and fullers for single tunics. At times these entries are marked as on behalf of family or associates (for Timotheos, see KAB 765; for 'mother', 1272; for Eros,

⁶⁰⁸ See Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 197, ll.555–60n. and l.559n.

789, 1278). Three entries contain payments for the weaving of blankets (*strōmata*, KAB 145, 1518, 1524). A blanket-weaver named in one of them is Kyria (1518), daughter of Nachthes, who could possibly be identified as one of the women by that name in the Maria/Makarios circle (see section 4.3.1). These payments relate to purchases rather than patronage or support, and these textile-related expenses do not make up a particularly large part of his revenue.⁶⁰⁹ Based on this, it seems the KAB manager did not have a direct, regular responsibility for textile work in Kellis. However, it does appear that Tehat of House 3 was a close associate, to whom he supplied cotton, provided alms, and made loans in exchange for textile-related services.

8.3 The KAB manager and freight

Finally, another point of contact between the KAB and the business activities known from House 3 is freight. Although the KAB manager maintained an estate-donkey for the majority of freight missions, he also at times paid other people for transport. Bagnall notes: ‘On the whole, it appears that most necessary transport was effectuated by the single animal maintained by the unit, but clearly services were contracted for from other providers as necessary and paid for out of the expenses.’⁶¹⁰ Presumably, the loads that his donkey could not manage would be those of longer distances and heavier cargo. Luckily, there was a group of locals that could be relied upon for this type of transport, namely the caravan drivers of the Pamour family and their associates.

However, as indicated, neither Pamour, Pekysis, nor Philammon are found among the KAB manager’s freight agents. Still, there is a strong possibility that some of their other associates performed such work. One sub-account of the KAB (1299–1316) lists expenses for transportation. Of the names occurring in the list, the vast majority also occur among the agents of the House 3 circles: Psais (1300), Herakles (1302), Eirene (1304), Ammon (1305), Bo

⁶⁰⁹ Altogether, his expenses for clothing, blankets, fullers, and weaving-work amount to 10.86 art. wheat, 0.65 art. barley, 0.48 art. figs, and 600 T., reckoning grain by the small mation which he used for expenses (see Table 1, section 2.3.3). Turning these payments into talents, using prices of 1200 T./art. wheat, 900 T./art. barley, and 1500 T./art. figs, gives a sum of ca. 15 000 T.: altogether 7 % of the total income from rents in the fifth indiction year (as calculated in *ibid.*, 77.). His payments were spread out over both the sixth and seventh indiction.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 79.

(1306), Timotheos (1312), Papnouthes (1313), Kapiton (1314), as well as ‘father’ Timotheos (1307) and Psais the presbyter (1315).⁶¹¹ Kapiton, Papnouthes, and Timotheos all play similar roles as transporters in the Coptic letters, although mostly in personal contexts. However, in one letter Timotheos writes about freight work (pkc.92): in the same letter, he sends greetings from a Psais ‘the presbyter’. This strongly suggests that we are dealing with the same circle of people. Still, it must be emphasised that these identifications do not show that they were in direct dependence of the KAB manager. The ad hoc nature of this list indicates that Pamour associates occasionally undertook freight on behalf of the local estate-manager, perhaps in order to supply their income, but were not employed by him as members of staff.

8.4 Village administration

Finally, we turn to a different local institution, that of the village administration. It involved a few important offices, such as komarch (and perhaps village scribe), as well as more burdensome charges involved with tax collection. Although not among the wealthiest, the Pamour family were still traders of some means, linked to a network of other influential traders, and would probably have been liable to village liturgies.

Unfortunately, the evidence for their participation in village liturgies is not very extensive. That they played some part is evident from pkgr.72, where Pekysis relates that Pamour’s son, Horos (III), has been appointed to a liturgy. However, Pekysis neglects to mention the nature of the office. As Horos appears to be rather young, it was perhaps not among the most important (or burdensome) liturgies. On the other hand, two Greek expense accounts (pkgr.53–54) could suggest more extensive involvement in the administration, and perhaps even a high level of responsibility. The preserved part of these rather fragmented accounts list payments for various services. Among the expenses from pkgr.53 are payments

⁶¹¹ Herakles was a frequent agent of Tehat/Horos, Ammon and Eirene affiliates of Psais III (pkc.37, pkc.105), as was Bo (for Pebo, see pkc.118). For Timotheos, below, for Papnouthes, section 6.1.4. Some names not included above may in fact occur on the fringes of the circle: Tatai (see Tatai, with Papnouthes, in pkgr.61?) and Koul() (see Kolouthes, agent in pkc.94?). The names in this list that do not recur in the Pamour letters are Kyrillous, Kome, Eros, and Achillas.

made for a waggoneer⁶¹², a herald, a teacher brought from the Nile Valley,⁶¹³ translation services, and papyrus. In addition, there is a sum paid to a *prinkipos*, probably the ‘chief of staff’ of a provincial governor, a powerful figure in the provincial administration (presumably of the whole Thebaid).⁶¹⁴ The other account, pkgr.54, lists payments for similar services in money and jujube fruit. Here, too, occur expenses for a *prinkipos*, a waggoneer, a herald, and papyrus, but also for a rhetor, a messenger, and a shorthand writer – all highly expensive services, some of which could relate to responsibilities for local administration. It is perhaps possible to restore a line referring to an order from the strategos.⁶¹⁵ Worp notes: ‘As some of these titles were given to municipal or government officials, it may be assumed that the payments were of an official rather than of a private nature; maybe the burden of defraying expenses made by/for these people fell upon the village of Kellis?’⁶¹⁶ If so, the owner(s) of these documents would have played a central role in village administration and life in general. However, it is not a given that they should be linked to such expenses. Moreover, we cannot be wholly certain that the documents originally belonged to the Pamour family. The texts are probably datable to the first half of the fourth century.⁶¹⁷ The texts could thus have belonged to Pausanias, whom we do know served as a magistrate in the 320s, and later come into the possession of the Pamour family (as with pkgr.63). If they belonged to the Pamour family, they are more likely to relate to Pamour I.⁶¹⁸ The extent to which the Pamour family took part in public administration therefore remains somewhat unclear, although pkgr.72 indicates that they did not shirk their duties when called upon.

⁶¹² For this translation, see Thomas, ‘Review of *P. Kell. Gr. I*’, 262–63.

⁶¹³ Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 152, pkgr.53, ll.12–14n.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 154, pkgr.54, l.16n.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁶¹⁷ The sum of money paid for the teacher in pkgr.53 points to a date in the first half, as does the (restored) occurrence of strategos in pkgr.54, although it might be noted that pkgr.23 shows that the tern *strategos* was still in use in the Oasis in 352.

⁶¹⁸ Most of the official and datable documents from the same room as pkgr.53 (room 10, dep.3) are linked to Pamour I (pkgr.21, d.321; pkgr.37, d.320) and Horos son of Mersis (pkgr.57, d.332), but there is also one of Pamour III (pkgr.33, d.369), along with letters to for instance Tehat/Hatres. Official documents from the same room/level as pkgr.54 (room 9, dep.3) are linked to Pausanias/Psais II (pkgr.38, d.333) and Horos son of Mersis (pkgr.34, d.315), but there are again many private letters relating to the later generation.

8.5 Conclusions

To conclude, although certainty cannot be obtained, the available evidence indicates that neither the trade venture nor the textile workshop regularly depended on the KAB manager for support or direction. The level of affiliation that existed – as far as the KAB and the preserved House 1–3 documentation indicates – seems to have been on the level of the occasional interaction and cooperation. Regarding participation in the administration, the Pamour family shared in liturgies on the local level, but no evidence for heavier liturgies can be found for the later period.

Part III The Light Mind at Kellis

Chapter 9: Manichaean laity: social composition and identity

9.0 Introduction

In this chapter I seek to locate the ‘Manichaeans’ within the network of families and traders surveyed so far. I start by charting the various social settings in which Manichaean affiliation was located – the household, trade relations, and other parts of village society, – and by attempting to give a minimum estimate for the number of people that can be identified as affiliated with the Manichaean religious community in Kellis. Finally, I examine the ways in which we find adherents expressing their religious identity, and how this identity, in turn, may have affected interaction with their social surroundings.

9.1 The social composition of Manichaeism

The previous chapters have already given some indication as to ‘where’ Manichaean affiliation can be located in the village, given that most Manichaean texts were found among the other documents of the Pamour family. However, it remains to be seen how widespread this affiliation was within the village, as well as in which concrete settings religious sentiments were expressed within the family – and what such expressions meant in terms of religious identity. Before turning to this last question, I focus on the size and social composition of the community in the village, which is of some consequence for how Manichaeism would have been practiced.

Previous scholarship has drawn on ideas concerning size and social composition to evaluate the success – and failure – of the movement in the Roman Empire. In contrast to the early Jesus movement, which is usually presented as originating in the countryside (*khōra*) but first achieving lasting success in the cities,⁶¹⁹ Manichaeism was at home in the city from its inception. Mani preached in several of the urban centres of the Sasanian Empire, not least the capital, Ctesiphon itself. Among the social groups that his mission appears to have appealed to three in particular stand out – all, at least in the Roman Empire, connected to life in the cities: political elites, merchants, and intellectuals. These groups have long been considered

⁶¹⁹ A recent work discussing (and challenging) this ‘urban thesis’ of Christianity’s success is Thomas A. Robinson, *Who were the first Christians? Dismantling the urban thesis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

key to the movement's initial success. The Manichaeans' own accounts often hail the support of politically influential backers at important moments in the history of the Church, depicting Mani and his disciples converting nobles and potentates in the Sasanian realm. In turn, this has been taken to indicate a conscious missionary strategy by modern scholars.⁶²⁰ Turning to the Roman orbit, the only patron the Manichaeans are known to have claimed for the Church was queen Zenobia of Palmyra.⁶²¹ Tardieu argued that the support of Zenobia may account for the arrival of the mission of Adda in Egypt, which he dates to ca. 270, when the short-lived Palmyrene Empire brought this area under its control.⁶²² However, the argument has not won general acceptance.⁶²³ Otherwise, no politically influential supporter is known with certainty from the Roman Empire.⁶²⁴ The importance of merchants, on the other hand, is well established.⁶²⁵ Merchants, too, figure in literary depictions, both Manichaean and anti-Manichaean ones,⁶²⁶ and mercantile metaphors were a staple of Manichaean poetical imagery.⁶²⁷ Sogdian traders were central for the spread of the religion in Central Asia, and Syrian merchants have been suggested as facilitating its spread to Egypt.⁶²⁸ Peter Brown took the fifth-century decline in Rome's eastern trade as one important factor in the simultaneous decline of Manichaeism.⁶²⁹ Anecdotal evidence is supplied by Augustine's biographer, Possidonium, who relates that Augustine once converted a Manichaean merchant, Firmus,

⁶²⁰ Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 58–59; Paul C. Dilley, 'Religious intercrossing in late antique Eurasia: Loss, corruption, and canon formation', *Journal of World History* 24, no. 1 (2013): 62ff.

⁶²¹ See Nils A. Pedersen, 'A Manichaean historical text', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 119 (1997).

⁶²² Tardieu, 'Les manichéens en Égypte', 10.

⁶²³ A more indirect role of the Palmyrenes is suggested by Lieu, *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia*, 35.

⁶²⁴ A possible exception is Sebastianus, governor of Egypt (356–58) and a military general who fought with Valens at Adrianopolis, who Athanasius accused of being a Manichaean Auditor. The truth value of this accusation has been doubted by several scholars, and strongly rejected by Tardieu ('Sebastianus étiquté comme manichéen', *Klio* 70, no. 2 (1988)).

⁶²⁵ It has even been claimed, with some exaggeration, that 'Merchant and Manichaean must for some time have been practically synonymous' (Maenchen-Helfen, 'Manichaeans in Siberia', *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology* XI 1951, 324, cited in Peter Brown, 'The diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 59, no. 1/2 (1969): 102.).

⁶²⁶ For Manichaean texts, see CMC 144–45 and P 15997 (pl.99, l.14) (Pedersen, 'A Manichaean historical text'). For anti-Manichaean texts, see e.g. the portrayal by Epiphanius of Mani as recipient of all his ideas from the 'Saracen' merchant Scythianus (*Panarion* 3.66.1.8).

⁶²⁷ See Widengren, *Mesopotamian elements*, 82–95.

⁶²⁸ Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 69–78; Stroumsa, 'Monachisme et Marranisme', 186.

⁶²⁹ Brown, 'Diffusion of Manichaeism', 102.

through a providentially side-tracked sermon (*Vita Augustini* 15). However, Manichaeism is certainly not the only religious group whose dissemination can be connected to trade routes and merchant activity, and so one may question the extent to which Manichaeism presented a special case in this regard.⁶³⁰ Finally, the somewhat nebulous group of ‘urban intellectuals’ has been seen as an important source of Roman adherents. The chief example is the circle of Augustine, but the philosopher Alexander of Lycopolis, who wrote not long after the movement had arrived in Roman Egypt, relates that fellow-philosophers had taken an interest in the teachings. Émile G. de Stoop even described Manichaeism as primarily influential among intellectuals,⁶³¹ while Lim has argued that many figures labelled ‘Manichaean’ may be better seen as philosophically inclined Christians, sharing an interest in Mani’s books and ideas.⁶³²

Alongside appeal to these urban elites, it has been widely assumed that Manichaeism mainly made inroads in already Christianised environments, among adherents of (some form of) Christianity. Already Ephrem the Syrian claimed that Mani chiefly took his adherents from Marcion, who in turn had seduced people from the ‘Catholic’ Church.⁶³³ Adolf von Harnack, writing of gnostic movements in general, asserted that ‘[t]he principles and doctrines of these Gnostic communities were such that it was not easy for them to gain any adherents except where some Christianity had gone before them. This is true of the Manichaean movement in the fourth century.’⁶³⁴ Similarly, Brown claimed that ‘traditional pagans seem always to have regarded the Manichees with horror; but the Christians were less certain.’⁶³⁵ He took the majority of the movement’s Auditors to have come from the ‘fringe’ of Christian communities (at least by the later period).⁶³⁶ Still, this view has seen criticism, and does not capture all the

⁶³⁰ For recent work on for instance the spread of Christianity through merchant networks on the Red Sea, see Eivind H. Seland, ‘Early Christianity in East Africa and Red Sea/Indian Ocean commerce’, *African Archaeological Review* 31, no. 4 (2014).

⁶³¹ Émile G. de Stoop, *Essai sur la diffusion du manichéisme dans l'empire romain* (Ghent: Université de Gand, 1909), 6–7, 42–51.

⁶³² Lim, ‘Nomen Manichaeorum’, 160.

⁶³³ Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 44.

⁶³⁴ Adolf von Harnack, *The expansion of Christianity in the first three centuries*, trans. James Moffatt, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1908), 307–8.

⁶³⁵ Brown, ‘Diffusion of Manichaeism’, 98.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*, 99 n.97.

available evidence.⁶³⁷ Furthermore, while Manichaeans have been seen as mainly appealing to Christians, it has conversely been assumed that they did not gain much ground in areas that were 'orthodox'. Harnack, as we saw above, emphasised recruitment from (other) gnostic groups. De Stoop opined that while Christians influenced by Greek or 'Oriental' ideas, and some pagans, found Manichaeism attractive, Catholics were impervious.⁶³⁸

In part, the difficulty of Manichaean missionaries has been associated with the growth of Christian ecclesiastical power.⁶³⁹ At times, however, it also been linked to a notion that Manichaean teachings were too complex – or 'strange' – to make headways among non-elite groups, or groups not already familiar with Christian thought. William H. C. Frend noted how Manichaean asceticism and fervour attracted members from different classes,⁶⁴⁰ but that its overly complicated doctrines held it back, 'especially when compared to the simplicity of orthodox Christianity'.⁶⁴¹ Similarly, parts of its doctrinal tenets could be seen as a limiting factor. Farmers made up the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire, and would (one might assume) have little interest in Manichaeism, considering its hostile view of their occupation with the earth – as opposed to for instance merchants, who could be drawn to the status the movement allotted them.

To sum up, the Manichaean mission has mostly been traced to political elites, merchants, and intellectuals in urban centres. At times, it has also been seen as unable to appeal to the general populace, whose support would have been necessary to build a broad movement. These reasons – an elitist mission and complex doctrines – could be taken to account for the movement's limited success and its eventual disappearance of in the Roman Empire. Certainly, Manichaeism seems never to have attained a very large following on an

⁶³⁷ BeDuhn has noted that several of Augustine's Manichaean associates – Honoratius, Nebridius, and Faustus himself – had all been 'pagan' before they converted to Manichaeism (Jason D. BeDuhn, *Augustine's Manichaean Dilemma. 1, Conversion and Apostasy, 373–388 C.E.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 107., 107), while Pedersen has pointed out that Titus of Bostra's treatise against the Manichaeans was addressed to both a Christian and a 'pagan' audience (Pedersen, *Demonstrative proof*, 158–71.)

⁶³⁸ de Stoop, *Essai sur la diffusion*, 32. The view of Manichaeism as a 'parasite' on Christian or gnostic hosts has been criticised in Williams, *Rethinking "Gnosticism"*, 93–94.

⁶³⁹ So for instance Brown, 'Diffusion of Manichaeism', 101.

⁶⁴⁰ W. H. C. Frend, *The rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 568–69.

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 456. Lane Fox, on the other hand, questioned how Mani's 'bizarre "myth" could ever appeal to people in very high society'. Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians in the Mediterranean world from the second century AD to the conversion of Constantine* (London: Viking, 1986), 570.

Empire-wide scale, and the Manichaeans themselves tended to present themselves as ‘the few’ against ‘the many’.⁶⁴² Considering the, in general, small following, it is also argued that specific local Manichaean communities were largely organised into small, tight-knit units or ‘cells’ (translating the Latin *conventicula*) of lay believers who serviced the itinerant Elect.⁶⁴³ Still, there remains the question of whether such intimate units were in fact the preferred mode of organisation. I return to the question of such cells in Kellis in Chapter 11. Here I focus on the related question of size and social composition in Kellis. If the community in Kellis was restricted to a particular occupational or household group – for instance the extended unit of the Pamour family – such a cell organisation would perhaps be the only option available to them. However, as I argue below, the Kellis evidence challenges this depiction. Manichaeism here, at least, appears to have had more success than is often allowed for.

9.2 Manichaeans in Kellis

The previous chapters have already given some indication of where we might expect to find Manichaeans in the village, but we need to be careful not to take Manichaean affiliation as a given. Below I focus on texts and groups where affiliation with this religious community can be reasonably inferred, in order to evaluate both in which social groups the movement disseminated, and the size it may have attained within the village.

Considering the emphasis on urban elites and environments, it comes as something of a surprise to find Manichaeans settling in a provincial village at Empire’s edge. Lieu suggested that the first Manichaeans at Kellis were early missionaries fleeing Diocletian’s persecution in 302, for whom House 3 may have functioned as a safe house and centre for proselytising. He argued that ‘[t]he Dakhleh oasis offered more shelter for the sect, probably because it was less overseen by imperial administrators and also less Christianised.’⁶⁴⁴ It could be supported by the Syriac texts and translation tools found at the site, attesting to early Syrian missionaries

⁶⁴² See, for instance, 1 Ke. 285.24–25, and note Libanius, *ep.* 131.

⁶⁴³ See e.g. de Stoop, *Essai sur la diffusion*, 34ff; Brown, ‘Diffusion of Manichaeism’, 97; Frend, *The rise of Christianity*, 661; Lieu, ‘Precept and practices’, 78–79; BeDuhn, ‘Domestic setting’, 260. For a criticism of the term ‘cell’ (but not the underlying ‘cell behaviour’), see Lim, ‘Unity and diversity’, 231.

⁶⁴⁴ Lieu, *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia*, 98.

here. However, as Franzmann has shown, the bilingual texts found at Kellis were not the products of native Syriac speakers, but rather tools for Egyptians learning to write Syriac. To this it might be added that a letter from the mid-fourth century mentions a ‘brother’ Ision who had been taught to read Syriac (pkgr.67).⁶⁴⁵ Usage of Syriac does not seem to be restricted to the community’s early phase. Furthermore, the Oasis was the location of a Roman military unit (based in Trimitis), and there were no lack of Roman officials. It seems to me that other venues of dissemination in Kellis and in the Oasis must be sought. As we shall see, the social network of the Pamour family provides a good starting point for exploring this question.

9.2.1 Manichaean households

If Manichaeans arrived as refugees, they certainly did not remain so: by the mid-fourth century they were firmly entrenched in local society. The main Manichaean was the extended family unit of the Pamours, which we have already surveyed in the previous chapters. In a recent study drawing on the Kellis papyri, BeDuhn has situated the day-to-day forms of Manichaean ritual in a domestic setting, although he also noted that the situation may have been more complex in Kellis.⁶⁴⁶ The household was certainly a primary location for cultic activity. This is not least seen in the crucial role that women played in Kellis. The symbolic cues used to express ‘Manichaean’ adherence is examined in section 9.3 (below), and while most – but certainly not all – of the authors using such expressions were men, a large percentage of the recipients (especially of Coptic letters) were women.⁶⁴⁷ The importance of women in economic terms has already been explored: Tehat, Partheni, Maria I, and Tekysis were all active both as weavers and managers of textile production. Women are moreover found to have played a vital part in the cult.⁶⁴⁸ Tehat was closely involved in organising almsgiving to

⁶⁴⁵ Majella Franzmann, ‘The Syriac-Coptic bilinguals from Ismant el-Kharab (Roman Kellis): translation process and Manichaean missionary practice’, in *Atti, Quinto Congresso Internazionale di Studi sul Manicheismo. Il Manicheismo. Nuove prospettive della ricerca, Napoli, 2–8 Settembre 2001*, ed. A. van Tongerloo and L. Cirillo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 120–22. For a suggested explanation, see section 12.3.

⁶⁴⁶ BeDuhn, ‘Domestic setting’, 261.

⁶⁴⁷ The editors reckon that the total Coptic letters that have either female authorship (including co-authorship) or women as primary recipient constitute, roughly, more than 40% (the majority being recipients). See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 13–14.

⁶⁴⁸ For more extensive treatments of the role of women at Kellis and in Manichaeism in general, see the studies of Majella Franzmann, ‘Tehat the weaver: women’s experience of Manichaeism in fourth-century Roman Kellis’,

the Elect, and other women, such as Eirene (pkc.32), were addressed directly by the Elect for contributions – one Elect author addressed the women of Kellis as a collective, praising their great piety while requesting alms (pkc.31, see section 11.2.2). Matthaïos lamented the death of his ‘great mother’ (in the Valley) who had died without receiving a proper gathering by the ‘brotherhood’; she had clearly been a central figure (see section 11.3). Mother Kyria kept a large copy of the *Epistles* (in all likelihood those of Mani, see section 10.4.1) in her home, which Makarios requested Maria to retrieve and send to him – if Kyria was willing to give it. It seems unlikely that Kyria would have kept the book (and, as Makarios implies, potentially been unwilling to part with it) without having use for it. She may perhaps have been literate. Furthermore, Maria was responsible for the practical arrangements surrounding the religious education of Matthaïos (and support for Piene), as indicated by Makarios’ many requests to her in pkc.19. The whole household of House 1–3 invested in the cultic life of the community.

An important issue broached above was that of the size of the community. The Pamour family was certainly not the only household in which we find Manichaean adherents, and the number of households affiliated with the religious community may in fact have been extensive, as we shall see. In Chapter 4, I introduced the neighbouring carpenters Tithoes I son of Petesis and Ploutogenes son of Pataias, and the notable Pausanias. The ties of Ploutogenes’ and Pausanias’ are discussed below (section 9.2.3). Regarding Tithoes, I have previously noted that his family had strong ties to the Pamours, which likely involved shared religious practice, evinced for instance by a Manichaean devotional text found in House 2 (pkc.8) (section 4.1.1). More evidence can be adduced. Tithoes relayed greetings to his son Samoun from ‘brother’ Psenpnouthes and ‘sister’ Kyria (pkc.12), a couple that was addressed as ‘brethren’ by Makarios, and who were clearly Manichaean Auditors. Although not certain, a religious context could well have framed Tithoes’ use of familial terms. More revealing is the relationship between Tithoes’ daughter Tapsais II and the Pamour family. A letter from her to Psais III – where she also greets her father Tithoes – invokes shared religious belief, using what appears to be a distinct Manichaean expression (pkc.116). Finally, Samoun himself requested his father Tithoes to send – and in his response, his father affirmed that he had sent – Tithoes

Australian Religion Studies Review 20, no. 1 (2007); Franzmann, ‘Manichaean almsgiving’; Scopello, *Femme, gnose et manichéisme*; J. Kevin Coyle, ‘Prolegomena to a study of women in Manichaeism’, in *Manichaeism and its legacy*, ed. J. Kevin Coyle (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009).

II to a monastery (pkgr.12, pkc.12), an exchange that should probably be understood within a Manichaean framework (see section 11.4). The three known generations of the Tithoes family all appear to be involved with the Manichaean community.

However, Manichaean affiliation also extended beyond the confines of the House 1–3 block, to other households in the village. This can be seen in scattered textual finds from the site (section 9.2.4), but is most evident from two letters found in House 3 itself: Makarios' pkc.19 and Matthaïos' pkc.25. They contain greetings to an extensive list of neighbours and associates, which I would argue were considered part of the local religious community. Below I attempt a rough calculation of the number of Manichaean households in Kellis based on these two letters. Jean-Daniel DuBois has previously suggested that Matthaïos' letter would be a good place to start for such an undertaking.⁶⁴⁹ Its greeting section provides the most complete snapshot we have of the Pamour family's social circles at any one time. However, we can compare it to the roughly contemporary letter of his 'father' Makarios, which also greets a substantial number of people, and I start with examining his letter below. Both letters contain several names that are lost in lacunae, and a substantial number of people that are mentioned indirectly. In each case I give both a 'minimum' and a 'maximum' estimate of the number of people implied in the lost passages.

Makarios' letter pkc.19 greets most of the group individually, of whom about 21–22 names are (well) preserved, in addition to the recipients themselves, Maria and Matthaïos. Some are also greeted with relatives, in familial terms such as 'his father' or 'her children'. In the first estimate I count every instance of a familial term in the plural at a minimum of two. For the 'maximum', I reckon one extra member in each plural occurrence, three altogether. One group is specified as located outside of Kellis: a greeting to 'Partheni and Pena, and all in Thio' (ll.76–77).⁶⁵⁰ The number of people implied by 'all in Thio' cannot be known; I here estimate a 'minimum' of five including the named women (one household: Partheni, Pena, and three family members) and a 'maximum' of ten (two households, one of Partheni and one

⁶⁴⁹ Jean-Daniel Dubois, 'Une lettre du manichéen Matthaïos (P. Kell. Copt. 25)', in *Coptica, Gnostica, Manichaica: mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk*, ed. Louis Painchaud and Paul-Hubert Poirer (Québec; Louvain: Les Presses de l'Université Laval (éditions Peeters), 2006), 236.

⁶⁵⁰ For the location of Thio, a hamlet in the vicinity of Kellis, see Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 73–76. It is perhaps notable that Kapiton son of Kapiton is described as residing in Thio at a later date (pkgr.45, d.386).

of Pena), although there could conceivably be more.⁶⁵¹ This gives a number somewhere between 40 and 49 people (see Table 11). The majority of known addressees are women (about 20 out of 26 where gender can be determined): the strong prevalence of women greeted suggests that many of the men are absent. The number of people belonging to Makarios' intended audience, but not mentioned, is thus probably much higher.

Line	Term	Name	Greeted with	Minimum	Extended	Note
l.46	Mother	Tamougenia		1	1	
l.46–47	Brother	[..]fnoute		1	1	
l.52	Sister	N.N		1	1	
l.53	Daughter	E...		1	1	
l.53	Daughter	Tshsemnoute		1	1	
l.62	Daughter	Drousiane		1	1	
l.62	Daughter	Tshsemnoute		1	1	
l.63	Daughter	Kame		1	1	
l.63	Sister	Isi		1	1	
l.63	Sister	Mo[...]		1	1	
l.64	Sister	Kame		1	1	
l.64	Mother	Talaphanti	Children	3	4	
l.65	Woman within	N.N	Children	3	4	
l.70	Sister	Charis		1	1	
l.71	Sister	N.N	Children	3	4	
l.71	Brother	Philammon		1	1	
l.72		N.N		1	1	
l.72		Pion		1	1	
l.72	Mother	Tshmshai		1	1	
l.73	Daughter	Kyria		1	1	
l.75		Lamou	mother, father	3	3	
l.75–76		Tapsais		1	1	
l.76	Mother	Partheni		1	1	
l.76–77	Mother	Pena	all in Thio	4	10	
add;l.87	Brother	Matthaios		1	1	By Ploutogenes
add;l.88	Mother	Maria		1	1	By Ploutogenes
l.88	Brother	Hatres		1	1	By Ploutogenes
l.88	Brother	A..e s.Hermeh		1	1	By Ploutogenes
l.89	Brother	[..]aeis		1	1	By Ploutogenes
Total				40	49	

Table 11: Makarios' greetings (*P. Kell. Copt. 19*)

Turning to the closing greetings of Matthaios' letter pKc.25 (Table 12, below), about 19 names are preserved. Naturally, there is much overlap between the two letters. 12 of the 19 names

⁶⁵¹ For the (rough) household size used in the estimate for these two, see Bagnall and Frier, cited below.

are shared: [..]fnoute, Mo[...], Drousiane, Kyria (daughter), Kame (elder and younger), Lammon, Pion, Pena, and [..]aeis appear only in Makarios' letter; Andreas, Pekysis, Phila, and Marsa only in Matthaïos' letter. Most of these are shared even though greetings are not preserved. Makarios knew Andreas, Psais, Pamour, and Pekysis (the former two occur in the letter-body of pkc.19, the latter two are greeted in pkc.24). Matthaïos would likewise have known most or all the people named by Makarios. Space, absence, or other factors may have caused him to omit names.

Some of the people he omits may be intended in the general term 'house' (εἶ). Whereas Makarios mainly greets people individually, Matthaïos greets more groups: in addition to spouses, siblings, and children, he greets four separate 'houses'. There could be some internal overlap between named and unnamed actors Matthaïos greets both 'my father Pshai and his wife and children', and immediately afterwards to 'Pakosh and Pamour and their children and their brothers, each by name' (ll.60–61).⁶⁵² Presumably, these are Psais II and his sons Pekysis and Pamour III, the latter two greeted both as part of Psais' household (children), and separately with their own siblings and children. In a similar vein, Hatres and Tsemnouthes could be among the 'sons and daughters' of Philammon and Charis greeted in the line above, although there is no corroborating evidence for such a familial relation. However, it may also be that Psais II's other children, such as Tekysis and perhaps Psais III, are intended in the first instance, and that Pamour and Pekysis' 'siblings' include colleagues such as Theognostos. Otherwise the greetings are clearly to separate groups.

Counting every occurrence of the plural 'children', 'brothers', etc. at two, adding another person for each 'house', and taking Hatres and Tsemnouthes to be among the 'sons and daughters' of Philammon and Charis, gives a minimum of 53 of people. Adding another child per plural occurrence (i.e. assuming three children on average) as well as two children to Psais II (Tekysis III and Psais III), adding another person per house, and separating Hatres and Tsemnouthes from Philammon/Charis, gives a 'maximum' of 76 people.

In order to examine the plausibility of this estimate for the size of the 'houses', we can draw on Bagnall and Frier's study of Egyptian demographics. They reckoned that 'the average

⁶⁵² Maria and Partheni are mentioned in the passage immediately before this group of greetings, providing another indication that these two should be taken as the spouses of Pamour and Pekysis, respectively.

attested size of Egyptian families is about 4,4 persons.⁶⁵³ The average size of conjugal family households they calculated at 3.43 in villages (4.86 for cities), and that of extended families at 4.47 in the villages (6.13 for cities).⁶⁵⁴ Extended families were more common in villages than in the cities, and probably made up the majority of families there.⁶⁵⁵ The average for the number of persons per family unit derived from the minimum count of Matthaïos' letter, 3.12, is below that found by Bagnall and Frier for households of conjugal families, and much below that for extended families. The average derived from the 'maximum' count, 4.47, is identical with Bagnall and Frier's average for extended village families. One should be careful not to put too much weight on extrapolation from the average to the specific. Still, given that extended families were more common in the countryside, the 'maximum' estimate of 76 people (with three children on average) seems more likely to be accurate.

Line	Description	Preserved name	Greeted with	Minimum	Maximum
I.60	Sister	Tsenpsais		1	1
I.60	Father	Pshai	wife, children	2	4
I.61		Pekosh, Pamour	children, brothers	6	8
I.62	father, mother	Philammon, Charis	sons, daughters	4	6
I.63		Hatres	wife, children	4	5
I.64		Tsemnouthes	children, husband	4	5
I.65		Phila	Husband	2	2
II.65–66	father, mother	Psemnouthes, Kyria	N.N.	2	4
II.66–67		Tsemnouthes	N.N., son/children	2	4
I.67	Mother	Tamougenia		1	1
I.68		A...	mother, N.N	3	3
I.69		Isi	N.N	2	3
I.69		Marsa	brothers, children, whole house	5	8
II.70–71	Mother	Tapsais	Children	3	4
I.71	Mother	Talaphanti	children, whole house	4	6
I.72	Mother	Louiapshai	children, whole house	4	6
I.73	Brother	Andreas	whole house, people	4	6
Total				53	76
Average				3.1	4.47

Table 12: Matthaïos' greetings (P. Kell. Copt. 25)

⁶⁵³ Bagnall and Frier, *The demography of Roman Egypt*, 68.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 67.

This number must be seen in light of the suggested population of the village. It has been estimated that Kellis had a population of ca. 500 at its nadir to ca. 1500 at its zenith. The former seems small in light of the number of people listed in the KAB alone, while the latter may be somewhat large considering the abandonment of the settlement ca. 400.⁶⁵⁶ Using an estimate of ca. 1000 individuals for the late-fourth century population, and taking Matthaïos' greetings as a complete enumeration of Manichaeans in Kellis, the minimum estimate of 53 people constitutes around 5% of Kellis inhabitants, and 76 people at around 8%.⁶⁵⁷ It is certainly unlikely that Matthaïos' greetings exhausted the number of Manichaeans in Kellis. The general greeting at the end suggests that there were others he had not covered, and we find Manichaeans in other parts of the village as well (see below).

A question not yet addressed is to what extent the people greeted, presumably mostly neighbours and co-villagers, were also co-religionists. Some observations can be made on the background of the letter contents. Circumstantially, we may note that both Makarios and Matthaïos discuss 'ecclesiastical affairs' at some length. Makarios, for instance, mentions a quarrel he has had with a deacon during his 'practice' ([μῆ]ελετα, pkc.19, l.49), and describes his interaction with an *Αρα*, Lysimachos, and a more distant figure simply called the Teacher. Providing this information would primarily make sense if the authors thought Maria, Psenpnouthes, and Kyria, as well as the people to whom they were to greet and presumably relate the letter contents would be interested in these matters. More directly, Matthaïos ends letter pkc.25 by – in extension of the other greetings – bidding Maria to greet everyone 'who wishes our word (εφογωω πᾶνεξε)' (l.74).⁶⁵⁸ This clearly alludes to a shared religious community, and indicates that Matthaïos reckoned the people he had enumerated in his prior greetings as fellow-believers. We cannot know for sure how many were 'mere sympathisers' contra how many were enthusiastically active in communal life, still less how many were 'true believers', or exactly what their individual beliefs entailed (see Chapter 10 for a discussion of

⁶⁵⁶ Bagnall takes 1000 people as a conservative estimate for the fourth century in general. Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 13. For the estimate of 500–1500 people of Kellis, see section 2.3.1.

⁶⁵⁷ Assuming most of them were Kellis-inhabitants. The greeting from Makarios to those in Thio indicates that some lived in a nearby smaller village, but it is the only one mentioned by name.

⁶⁵⁸ This designation is also found in Ammon's letter concerning violence done to 'those of this word' which God can stop. See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 233–34, pkc.37, ll.20–22n.

the connection between ritual and belief at Kellis). Nonetheless, it is clear that the people greeted were those among whom Matthaïos in some sense considered part of the group.

Based on these letters, it would appear highly unlikely that Manichaeism was confined to domestic settings and intimate sphere of cell gatherings alone at Kellis. The movement's repertoire of practices involved communal ritual, for which – as will be seen in the next chapters – there is much evidence in the village, and it should not be excluded that one of the churches excavated there may have belonged to the Manichaean community (section 11.4.3). This size is also relevant for considering the assumption that Manichaeism did not appeal to people in the countryside. If the group arrived in Kellis only around 300 (or later), its growth would seem to have been quite rapid. This suggests an ability to attract adherents in a wider segment of the village population than previously assumed.⁶⁵⁹

9.2.2 Occupational networks

Given the strong links between Manichaeism and merchants, seen above, the Pamour family's involvement in textile trade does not come as a surprise. Furthermore, it seems a reasonable hypothesis that textile trade provided the contexts in which the movement spread to Kellis, in light of the regional nature, before Elect or missionaries became involved. In the early fourth century, Pamour I sent tunics to Hermopolis and his neighbour Horos son of Mersis drove his camels to the same city. Hermopolis featured a pluralistic religious landscape in this period, still dominated by the ancient temple of Thoth (Hermes), and hosted a pagan intellectual scene as well as a Jewish quarter.⁶⁶⁰ A few decades later, Pamour III went there to trade, and his in-laws Makarios and Matthaïos stayed there, showing some consistency in the family's dealings with Middle Egypt. Hermopolis' immediate neighbour across the river, Antinoopolis, was of great administrative importance, as seat of the regional governor to which the Mothite

⁶⁵⁹ It should be noted that Robinson has noted a Manichaean mission to the villages, see Robinson, *Who were the first Christians?*, 78. He cites the *Acta Archelai* for Mani's mission to villages. While this text has long been considered largely fictional, new research indicates that the author likely had some knowledge of the biography of Mani (see Gardner, 'Mani's Last Days', 161, 96–205.).

⁶⁶⁰ Although less so than in previous centuries; see Matthews, *Journey of Theophanes*, 15–30. It has been suggested, based on finds of literary papyri, that Hellenic literature remained in use here longer than for instance at Oxyrhynchus; see Peter van Minnen and Klaas A. Worp, 'The Greek and Latin literary texts from Hermopolis', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 34, no. 2 (1993): 182–83. Such statistics are difficult to evaluate, however; see in general Roger S. Bagnall, *Early Christian books in Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Nome was assigned,⁶⁶¹ but it was also the seat of Makarios' associate, Apa Lysimachos, at least for a time.⁶⁶² Pamour III and Pekysis did business in Antinoopolis as well (pkgr.71), as did their in-law Kapiton (pkc.116). The group also had some contacts further south, in and from Lycopolis (pkc.19, l.43; pkc.81) – the city of the Neo-Platonist Alexander, who wrote against Mani about three-quarters of a century earlier.⁶⁶³

The traders thus had long-standing ties to important centres in Middle Egypt where Manichaeism had arrived at least by ca. 270. I have already argued that the Pamour family was part of a wider trade network that included the textile traders Psais Tryphanes, Loudon & Timotheos sons of Loudon, Ammon in Psebtanesis, and Timotheos son of Tiberios. To these we can add Horion and Psenpnouthes, although Psenpnouthes was perhaps part of the extended Pamour family. But how widespread was belief among these traders? There are strong indications that several of them were affiliated with the movement.

Best documented is Ammon, who in pkc.37 expresses sorrow because someone has mistreated 'those of this word', along with an appeal to God for the improvement of their situation – a clear invocation of shared religious sentiment, to which can be compared Matthaïos' similar expression in pkc.25. As for Psais Tryphanes, in his letter to Pamour III (pkgr.73) he sends his son Tryphanes to stay with Pamour, implying a high degree of confidence in him, but the letter contains no religious cues. He praises Pamour's 'zeal' (*spoudē*) but the context seems to imply business rather than religious zeal. Matthaïos greets Tryphanes (pkc.26) above, and Tryphanes himself sends greetings to Tehat's son (pkc.50), so the affiliation between the two families went beyond formal business ties, although we cannot for that reason assume shared religious affiliation. However, Psais Tryphanes recurs in Pekysis' letter pkc.78. The letter contains a typical Manichaean greeting, and Psais Tryphanes is styled 'father', while Pekysis asks the recipients to entrust him with a letter. Psais Tryphanes is also a likely candidate for authorship of pkc.112, containing the broadly Christian expression 'in the lord', but also the more peculiar 'whose name is sweet in my mouth', which could be a Manichaean cue (see section 9.3.1). It is probable (although not incontrovertial) that Psais

⁶⁶¹ For this, see section 2.1.2.

⁶⁶² See pkc.21, and see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 193.

⁶⁶³ It should be noted that, despite his epithet, we cannot be sure that Alexander was actually based there when he wrote his treatise. Still, the CMC was probably also found in its vicinity; see Koenen, 'Zur Herkunft', 240–41.

Tryphanes and his family shared the Pamours' religious affiliation. Turning to Loudon and Timotheos, sons of Loudon, we can note that a Loudon is asked for wool in Ammon's letter pkc.37, and that Loudon and Timotheos occur with Horion in pkc.50. Psais (Tryphanes) moreover greets 'father' Toni (Loudon I) in the aforementioned pkc.112. It seems likely that Loudon and his family shared in the religious vocabulary of these other traders.

If this is the case, we should furthermore investigate the mechanisms for how religious affiliation may have come to spread within this group. A clear picture of the religious affiliation of the first known active generation of traders, Pamour I and Philammon I, cannot be drawn. Pamour I did not use religious cues at all in letter pkgr.66, although this is not necessarily significant. The letter that may be ascribed to Philammon I contains a broadly monotheistic, possibly Christian invocation: 'And if God bids you to save us from trouble and we survive, I shall repay your favour in full. And even if God does not, I shall do you the favour.' (pkgr.65, ll.10–15, trans. Worp). It may thus be that some family members had a Christian affiliation ca. 300–325, although the ascription of this letter to Philammon I is not certain. Nor does it evince a Manichaean link: a mainstream Christian background is quite possible, which would be in line with the common assumption that Manichaeism mainly spread among Christians.

In order to get a sense of this spread we may return to the idea broached in section 6.4, that the traders constituted an informal association or a 'trust network'. I would hypothesise that Manichaean affiliation spread gradually through this group, in accordance with Rodney Stark's depiction of religious spread through a 'structure of direct and intimate interpersonal attachments'.⁶⁶⁴ Some recent scholars of the ancient economy have stressed how informal institutions, such as shared mental models, help to facilitate trade.⁶⁶⁵ The close link between cultic activity and occupational associations in antiquity highlights the importance of shared ritual for mutual trust, providing, perhaps, a motivation for new converts within the network once initial converts had been made. The precise mechanisms remain unknown. Did the traders meet with business associates in the Valley who were

⁶⁶⁴ Stark, *The rise of Christianity*, 20. See also Harland, *Associations*, 38–44. For Christianity in papyri from Oxyrhynchus, see Blumell, *Lettered Christians*, 159–60.

⁶⁶⁵ Wim Broekaert, 'Going mental: culture, exchange and compromise in Rome's trade with the east', in *Sinews of Empire: Networks in the Roman Near East and beyond*, ed. Håkon F. Teigen and Eivind H. Seland (Oxbow: Oxbow Books, 2017), 9–13.

already Manichaean converts? Did an intrigued trader invite his brethren to a Manichaean gathering? Were the Elect involved, or did they only appear later? Celsus, writing about two centuries earlier, accused Christians of luring gullible people ‘to the wooldresser's shop, or to the cobbler's or the washerwoman's shop, that they may learn perfection.’⁶⁶⁶ Despite Celsus’ disparaging and polemical intent, it should not be ruled out that textile sellers and workshops functioned as venues for religious discussion and conversion. Here women such as Tehat may have played an important role. Another of Stark’s axioms, that the ‘religiously inactive’ often are susceptible to new religious movements, could perhaps also have played a part.⁶⁶⁷ This must not be taken to mean that native cultic practice in general was deficient, dominated by unsatisfied ‘consumers’, as Stark posited.⁶⁶⁸ However, zealous Manichaean adherents such as Makarios – if he was involved in trade himself (see section 6.3) – may have appeared persuasive to religiously less adept or committed members, leading them to follow suit in supporting the ‘holy church’ – especially if Makarios could depend on the arguments and authority of ‘holy men’ such as Apa Lysimachos.

However, it should be stressed that the hypotheses that it was the traders who brought Manichaeism to Kellis cannot be tested. Other venues such as the patronage of local notables could have influenced the traders at Kellis, as we shall see below. Furthermore, while trade concerns are prominent in the letters, this should not blind us to the fact that not all the family’s co-religionists were traders and that religious affiliation also spread through other avenues. Many of their associates and family members were not traders per se, but camel drivers and weavers. It appears very unlikely that all the households greeted by Matthaïos in pkc.25 were involved with textile trade, and it has already been argued that their neighbours, the household of the carpenter Tithoes son of Petesis, was affiliated with the religious community. Pebos son of Tithoes, the scribe, and his brother Horion, the landowner, may perhaps have been involved, but no clear evidence for their religious affiliation is preserved, unless Horion should be identified with the author corresponding with Horos and Tehat, or Pebos with the ‘brother’ who travelled between Oasis and Valley and brought Pamour III a

⁶⁶⁶ C. *Cels.* 3.55, trans. Chadwick, cited in Meeks, *The first urban Christians*, 51.

⁶⁶⁷ Stark, *The rise of Christianity*, 19.

⁶⁶⁸ See Vaage et al. for a critique of Stark. Leif E. Vaage, *Religious rivalries in the early Roman Empire and the rise of Christianity*, Studies in Christianity and Judaism (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006).

prayer (pkc.66). Perhaps Elias, working for the landlord in Kellis (see section 8), could be a coreligionist, although evidence to this effect hinges on identifying the Psais who wrote pkgr.68 (containing an invocation of God) with one of the Psais of the Pamour family. Elias' greeting to 'lord father' Bemophanes could support a link to a Manichaean group, but is certainly not decisive.⁶⁶⁹ Matthaïos, staying for a while in Antinoopolis, counted doctors (ἰατροὶ) among his friends (pkc.25, l.40). The city may have housed a medical school, and so Matthaïos had apparently gained friends in what one may loosely term 'intellectual' circles.⁶⁷⁰ As Lysimachos was based here, and as Matthaïos otherwise reports on the doings of Lysimachos and the religious community in this letter, it is tempting to suggest that he may have come to know these doctors through shared Manichaean contacts. Going by the account of Alexander of Lycopolis, the religion had piqued the interest of the literati of Upper Egypt at an early date. Doctors were not in the upper elite of Roman society, but many would have been literate,⁶⁷¹ and medical professionals may well have been drawn to the movement (perhaps intrigued by its dietetic theories).⁶⁷² However, we should not make too much out of this stray reference. It is at any rate clear that Manichaeism at Kellis was not restricted to the trading families.

9.2.3 A notable's patronage network

One other plausible – perhaps complimentary – network of religious affiliation and spread can be detected in the network of the influential local notable, Pausanias. Along with his associate Pisistratos he is the earliest identifiable actors of Manichaean persuasion in the Kellis material. I have argued that the former should be identified with the ex-magistrate Pausanias son of Valerios, active ca. 320–340 (see section 4.2.1). Evidence for Pausanias' religious affiliation comes in the form of a letter he and his associate Pisistratos received from a certain 'father'

⁶⁶⁹ The name could contain an allusion to the Manichaean Bema-festival, where a raised platform (*bēma*) was built to celebrate the appearance (*fanēs*) and future return of Mani. The name is to my knowledge unknown elsewhere in Egypt; a search in Trismegistos gave no other occurrences (5/2/2017), and see Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 197, pkgr.75, l.15n.

⁶⁷⁰ See C. H. Roberts, *The Antinoopolis papyri. Part I*. (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1950), 70.

⁶⁷¹ Harland, *Associations*, 42.

⁶⁷² For the relationship between Manichaean etiology and ancient medical discourse, see Jason D. BeDuhn, 'A regimen for salvation: medical models in Manichaean asceticism', *Semeia* 58 (1992).

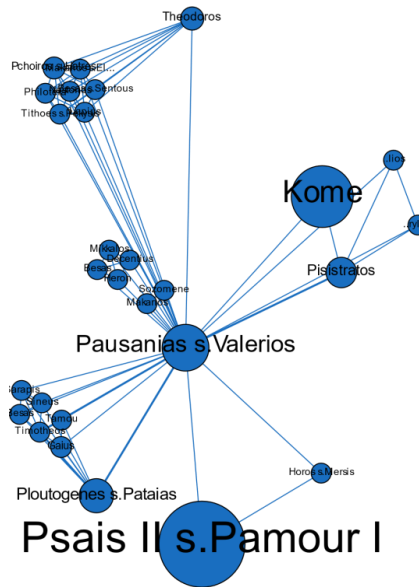


Figure 28: The ego-network of Pausanias (see section 5.3)

N.N. (pkgr.63). It contains elaborate phrasings and Manichaean cues, in response to gifts they had provided for the author, his brothers, and a certain 'lord [...]ryllos', an act of charity that should be understood within the framework of Manichaean almsgiving (see section 11.2.2).

The rest of Pausanias' preserved documents do not display any particular religious leanings, but they do illustrate that he was well-positioned to facilitate dissemination of the religion in the Oasis. His centrality in the village at large has already been pointed out in Chapter 5. The image provided above (Figure 28) is an outtake – a so-called ego network – of the village network chart from Chapter 5 (Figure 22). It has one in depth, displaying the immediate connections of Pausanias himself. It presents Pausanias' known affiliates and illustrates his different roles in the village: as a Roman official through the petition from a certain Sozomene and an order from the council-president Heron, and as a local grandee, through orders to the farmer Kome and the carpenter Ploutogenes son of Pataias. There are also indirect links to other grandees, the ex-magistrates Gelasios and Harpokration, by way of Ploutogenes.⁶⁷³

⁶⁷³ Evidence for direct 'horizontal' contact between elite families is rarely found in the papyri, as Ruffini has pointed out. Ruffini, *Social networks*, 41.

It is unlikely to be a coincidence that we find Manichaean affiliation among some of Pausanias' associates. The correspondence between Pausanias and Ploutogenes has already received some treatment (see section 4.2.1), although the religious affiliation of Ploutogenes son of Pataias is unclear. At the very least he remained in touch with Manichaean circles, as he is found as an associate of the Pamour family in the 370s, as evinced by his witnessing for Pekysis son of Psais II (pkgr.76). He could well be identified with one of the Ploutogenes known from the Coptic texts (e.g. 'father' Iena in pkc.105). The mid-fourth century Manichaean network of Psais II has also been treated, and here a shared religious background is clear. However, the tie between Pausanias and Psais II needs to be examined more carefully. The text that documents their relationship is a gift donation from Pausanias, ex-magistrate and son of Valerios, to Psais II. The find of Pausanias' letter in the Pamour family house could be explained by Pausanias being a previous owner of (one of) the structures later used by Psais II. The document also exhibits some other interesting features. A central passage, as translated by Worp, reads:⁶⁷⁴

Αύρηλιος Παυσανίας Ουαλερίου ἄρξα[ς Μωθιτῶν πόλεως] Αύρηλίω [Ψά]ιτι Παμοῦρ ἀπὸ κώμη[ς Κέλλεως τῆς αὐτῆς Μωθιτῶν πόλεως vac. [χαίρειν]. [ὁ]μολογ[ῶ κεχαρ]ίσθαι σοι χάριτι αἰωνία [καὶ ἀναφαιρέτω] ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν [ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἀ]πὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι [ἐ]δαφῶν ἐξ ἀπηλιώτου κώμη[ς Κέλλεως τόπον] πρὸς ἀνοι[κ]οδομήν νότου καὶ βορρᾶ [πηχέων τέκτονι]κῶν δεκ[α]τέν[τε], ἀπηλιώτου καὶ λιβὸς [πηχέων πέντε <καὶ> εἴκο]σι.

Aurelius Pausanias son of Valerius, former magistrate of the city of the Mothites, to Aurelius [Psai]tos son of Pamour, from the village of Kellis belonging to the same city of the Mothites. I acknowledge that I have granted to you as a perpetual gift which cannot be withdrawn, from now onwards for ever, from the plots of land belonging to me in the Eastern part of the village of Kellis a plot for building, at the South and the North being fifteen carpenter's cubits long, at the East and at the West being twenty five cubits. (pkgr.38a, II.1–9)

The recipient (Psais II) gains full right of usage of the property previously held by Pausanias. The specific background for the transaction cannot be known. The two did own (other) properties in close proximity to each other, and so would have been familiar from before. However, in a majority of other, preserved examples of such grants of an 'irrevocable gift' (*kharis anafairetos*), the property changed hands between family members, i.e. between people with intimate ties.⁶⁷⁵ There is no pre-existing kinship tie between Psais II and Pausanias,

⁶⁷⁴ The document was found in two copies, pkgr.38a and b, who complement each other, and provide certainty to some of the reconstructions.

⁶⁷⁵ See the introduction to P.Col.274 in Roger S. Bagnall and Dirk D. Obbink, eds., *Colombia Papyri X*, vol. 34, American Studies in Papyrology (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 107.

and so another reason has to be sought. Shared participation in a cultic community appears as a possible context.

Finally, we can adduce the tie to Kome. In a potsherd from the West Church, okell.**85**, Pausanias orders Kome to deliver chickens for Pisistratos on the second indiction year (328/9 or 347/8, if concurrent with Pausanias' other dated activities). The occurrence of Pisistratos makes the identification of Pausanias with the man in pkgr.**63** certain. The figure of Kome can probably also be traced further. This is the name of the largest tenant farmer in the KAB, father of a son named Nos, and perhaps father of Timotheos, a monk, who were both active agents on behalf of Kome. Kome must have been old by the 360s.⁶⁷⁶ An identification of Kome of the KAB with the man in okell.**85** (dated two or three decades earlier) seems quite plausible.⁶⁷⁷ Moreover, if the identification of the monk Timotheos as an Elect, active in House 1–3 circles, is correct (see section 11.1.2), an affiliation between Kome and Manichaeian circles was maintained into the later fourth century, involving some sort of economic cooperation with or perhaps even the donation of a child to the church – if, as Bagnall thinks, Timotheos the monk should be identified as son of Kome. Bagnall proposed that the support of Kome may have been instrumental in gaining a lease of land for a *topos Mani* in the area Kellis.⁶⁷⁸ In turn, Kome's own affiliation with the group could well have been influenced by Pausanias.

The finds of fourth-century potsherds relating to Pausanias and Pisistratos in the West Church may not be a coincidence. The potsherd okell.**85** described above was found at the West Church. Several other ostraca link Pausanias and Pisistratos directly to the West

⁶⁷⁶ Considering how he had at least one grown son by this time, and may have died in 362. Bagnall writes: 'largest tenant in indication 5 and indiction 6, afterward replaced by his sons Nos and Timotheos ... He may well have died early in the harvest of ind. 6.' Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 68. It is, however, not explicitly stated that Timotheos was a son of Kome: this must be inferred from him mediating on behalf of Kome and Nos.

⁶⁷⁷ In the KAB there are two individuals by that name; Kome the tenant and Kome the bath-man (*ibid.*, 64.). Kome the tenant acted several times as an agent for the KAB manager and paid dues in chicken. This agrees well with Kome in okell.**85**, who paid chicken to Pisistratos on behalf of Pausanias. He is probably also the Kome in okell.**115** from the same find-site. The name occurs elsewhere three times, in okell.**60**, okell.**119**, and okell.**131**.

⁶⁷⁸ Concerning whether the monk Timotheos, agent and perhaps son of Kome, belonged to the *topos Mani* of the monk Petros, Bagnall writes: 'It is not, of course, necessary to assume that the two monks were part of the same monastic establishment. But if they were, the fact that Nos' father Kome was the largest single tenant in the KAB might help to explain how the monastery of Mani came to hold some orchard land as tenant.' *ibid.*, 82.

Church.⁶⁷⁹ Several other links to Manichaean circles are also found.⁶⁸⁰ Kome recurs on another potsherd originating there, a receipt for a large amount fava flour he has delivered to a certain Horion (okell.**60**).⁶⁸¹ The West Church was built ‘probably not much later than the middle of the century’.⁶⁸² Could Pausanias or Pisistratos have been involved in funding its construction? Other documents belonging to Pausanias specifically were found in structure D/8, located close to the West Church. The location may not have been coincidental. Without more direct evidence, a Manichaean context for the West Church remains uncertain, but (as I argue in section 11.4.3) a ‘central place’ belonging to the Manichaean church in Kellis is quite plausible, based on other evidence.

Pausanias was clearly a central figure among the Manichaean laity in Kellis in the 320s–340s. His network of ‘subordinates’, described above, included a tenant farmer, an artisan, and a textile trader. It seems possible that his we are here dealing with a patronage network. Wallace-Hadrill, based on the work of Richard Saller, has defined patronage as a ‘social relationship which is essentially (i) reciprocal, involving exchanges of services over time between two parties, (ii) personal as opposed to e.g. commercial, and (iii) asymmetrical, i.e. between parties of different status.’⁶⁸³ Patronage was a core feature of the Roman social order, tying the landowning but largely city-based elite both to the urban plebs and to the rural hinterland.⁶⁸⁴ Religious groups, too, took part in such patronage networks. With the

⁶⁷⁹ Pausanias recurs in okell.**137**, Pisistratos in the West Church-ostraca okell.**287** and okell.**58**.

⁶⁸⁰ Okell.**137**, mentioning Pausanias, features Nestorios, a name that only occurs once elsewhere at Kellis in a letter of Pekysis (pkgr.**72**, where Nestorios travels to Kellis). This ostrakon also features Makarios, Theodoros, and Lepius (compare Makarios, Theodoros, and Leporius of pkc.**43**? For the problem of the name ‘Lepius’, see Worp 2004, 123). Other names that link the West Church to the Manichaean network include among others (Pa?)Mour s.Psais (okell.**94**), Petros (e.g. okell.**114**), Syros s.Psais (okell.**84**, okell.**111**; cp. pkgr.**45**), Makarios and Aionianos (okell.**288**, cp. pkgr.**16**, pkgr.**10**), Paulos (okell.**79**, cp. pkc.**42**), and Dorotheos (okell.**118**, cp. pkc.**107**).

⁶⁸¹ Okell.**60** is dated to the tenth indiction, and so belongs either to 321/2, 336/7, 351/2, 366/7, 381/2, or 396/7 (presumably it is either 336/7 or 351/2 if this, as I think, is Kome the KAB tenant). The 10 artaba in okell.**60** are a sizable contribution: most deliveries of fava flour in the KAB are smaller in size (see Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 46.). This indicates both Kome and Horion to be somewhat well-off farmers, and the latter is therefore perhaps identifiable with Horion son of Tithoes (for whom, see section 4.3.2).

⁶⁸² Gillian E. Bowen, ‘The coins from the 4th century churches and Christian cemetery at Ismant el-Kharab’, *The Numismatic Chronicle* 170 (2010): 482.

⁶⁸³ Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Introduction’, in *Patronage in ancient society*, ed. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (London: Routledge, 1989), 3.

⁶⁸⁴ The fourth century saw some changes in the social organisation of patronage, as peasants of this period had different, competing elites to whom they could appeal. Peter Garnsey and Greg Woolf, ‘Patronage of the rural

decline of the temples and the emergence of Hellenistic religious associations in Roman Egypt, the importance of non-priestly elites in facilitating cultic practice increased. Notables patronised religious associations⁶⁸⁵ and – especially important in villages – entertained the ‘common folk’ to banquets.⁶⁸⁶ For Kellis, an association honouring Isis-Demeter is documented for the mid-third century by a cult-statue donated by its leader and/or patron, Ophellianos (section 2.3.4).

First, can we identify the ties adduced above as ties of patronage? By the above definition, Pausanias’ tie with Kome can only be shown to fulfil the last requirement, i.e. being asymmetrical. The cases for Psais II and Ploutogenes the carpenter are stronger. Pausanias’ tie with Psais II is admittedly only documented in pgr.38, and while it is both personal, based on the charitable nature of the gift, and asymmetric, we cannot be sure of its temporal extent. However, the appearance of other documents pertaining to Pausanias in House 3, and the intimacy implicit in the gift, suggest an ongoing, underlying relationship. It is probable that the gift constituted an act of patronage, and while its exact background remains obscure, the Manichaean affiliation could well have provided a framework for the exchange. Finally, in the case of Ploutogenes we have a tie that clearly extended over time, and was both personal and asymmetrical, although he cannot be shown to have been part of the Manichaean community.

A direct line of influence cannot be drawn. Still, it seems likely that some of Pausanias’ clients probably emulated him in adapting the faith, whether out of respect, persuasion, or to gain favors, potentially explaining the affiliation of Kome or Psais II. It would at any rate have assisted the Manichaeans on the level of the Great Oasis. As we saw in Chapter 2, Dakhleh Oasis had a fairly concentrated administrative and land-owning elite, in which Pausanias played a part. Pausanias was a magistrate of the Great Oasis, i.e. of both Dakhleh and Khargeh, as shown in a petition by Sozomene (P. Gascou 69) – herself daughter of an ex-magistrate of Hibis. With the opportunity for creating a contact network over such a far-flung area, Pausanias was ideally placed to become an early recipient of intellectual trends from the Nile Valley. Hibis would have been a necessary stop on the road, and we know that the traders had

poor in the Roman world’, in *Patronage in ancient society*, ed. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (London: Routledge, 1989), 164–66.

⁶⁸⁵ For local elites and religious associations, see Harland, *Associations*, 111–12.

⁶⁸⁶ Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, 72–82, esp. 80–81.

co-religionists they were in touch with there (pkc.111, pkc.118). Unfortunately, nothing is known regarding how Pausanias himself became affiliated with the movement, or indeed how extensive his involvement was. There are some indications that Manichaeism gained influence in circles of the upper strata of Roman government at an early point in time. Already the edict of Diocletian (dated 302) that decreed persecution of the Manichaeans implies that there were magistrates among the movement's adherents: it ordered Manichaean leaders (Elect) to be burned, and their followers (Auditors) to receive capital punishment, but explicitly excluded those of high birth and public office. They were only to lose their property and be put to hard manual labour in the mines.⁶⁸⁷ There may then have been support for the movement in some segments of the upper landowning class that filled political office already by the time of Diocletian, through which Pausanias became familiar with it. It cannot, however, be excluded that he became familiar with the movement by way of contact with the regional trade networks.

9.2.4 Beyond House 1–3

How common was Manichaean belief in Kellis, outside of what can be gleaned from the House 1–3 material itself? Above I have argued that the greetings visible in Matthaïos' letter alone embrace around 17 extended families, perhaps (at least) 8% of the village's population, and that one of the village's most central notables in the early fourth century was also affiliated with the movement. Finds of literary texts or private material in general from other fourth-century locations have so far been much sparser. However, some finds that do concern religious affiliation in the village do support the picture of a widespread Manichaean presence in Kellis. A fragment of a Syriac text (P. Kell. Syr. 2) was discovered in the domestic structure D/8, located north of the Main Temple – a good distance away from House 1–3, in Area A. The text is largely illegible, but, as Gardner points out, all other Syriac texts from Kellis are found in House 1–3, and those that are legible often evince content that points to a Manichaean context.⁶⁸⁸ The close relationship between Manichaeism and Syriac provides the most likely explanation in this instance as well. D/8 also yielded two Sahidic Coptic papyri letters

⁶⁸⁷ See Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean texts*, 118.

⁶⁸⁸ Gardner, *KLT II*, 136–37.

(pkc.127–128), a wooden board with a non-Sahidic text (pkc.131), and papyri with magical texts and documents in Greek relating to the village administration and Roman officials.⁶⁸⁹ Two of the documentary papyri found there, P. Gascou 69 and 71, are addressed to Pausanias son of Valerios, providing concrete links to a Manichaean circle (pkgr.38). On the other hand, the Sahidic letter pkc.128, found in a different room of the same structure, involves a certain a Shai and an Ammon. The editors argue that this letter, insofar as religious content can be discerned, seems to indicate a more mainstream Christian context (see below).

This find should caution against a simple association between finds, inhabitants, and religious identity, although the Syriac fragment from the site at least shows that Manichaean literature was not confined to House 1–3. Another find-site has provided more substantial Manichaean material, namely House 4, a domestic complex in the western part of Area A, some distance away from House 1–3 and close to Area D and the Main Temple. The structure is architecturally quite different from House 1–3; it is larger, and the inhabitants may have been wealthier. However, like House 1–3, House 4 may also have housed multiple families or households.⁶⁹⁰ One part of the complex contained two Sahidic Coptic texts, pkc.124 and pkc.126. The texts appear to contain allusion to the Old Testament. Both dialect and content contrast markedly with the material found at House 1–3. As such, they probably belong to ‘Catholic’ Christian circles.⁶⁹¹ However, in another part of the House 4 block there was found a Manichaean hymn on a wooden board, T. Kell. Copt. 7.⁶⁹² The hymn is of clear Manichaean extraction; most notably in its praise of Mani himself ([πῆλ]νῆχαιος, tkc.7b.40), but also for instance in its reference to the suffering elements (ll.22–25) and its description of the sun and the moon as towers (l.48) (see section 10.1). The same spot provided a Coptic letter, pkc.122, which could provide information about the people who owned this prayer. The letter was found in the same room as the hymn-board (room 1B, dep.2), and is written in the same L* dialect used in House 1–3 texts – even a peculiar version of this dialect most closely related to

⁶⁸⁹ Worp, ‘Miscellaneous’, 3.

⁶⁹⁰ See the “Appendix” in Bagnall and Worp, ‘Two 4th century accounts’, 508–9.

⁶⁹¹ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 263–64.

⁶⁹² Originally designated A/6/14. See Gardner, *KLT I*, 50–54.

that found in the Coptic accounts (pkc.44–48) and a letter of Tehat (pkc.50).⁶⁹³ It was sent by two brothers, Psais and Masi, to their father Sarapas, with greetings to a brother Sarapis and a little girl. None of these are known with certainty from House 1–3 texts. However, it could be that they relate to colleagues of a group of people from the KAB: colleagues of the author included Sarapas, owner of a storehouse, and Sarapas' agent, Sarapis, whose daughter is also mentioned.⁶⁹⁴ There are moreover several other names suggestive of the circle of House 1–3 associates.⁶⁹⁵ The brothers had left Kellis and were now located elsewhere. They greet their father with the common expression 'in the lord' and the more notable 'whose name is sweet in my mouth' (II.1–4), and add a prayer for God to guard him – pieties often found in the House 1–3 texts, although only the 'sweet in mouth'-formula may be specifically Manichaean (see below).

The editors carefully point out that the Manichaean hymn-board, tkc.7, was found near the surface level, and that although it cannot have blown in, it could have been discarded later and not belonged to the inhabitants of House 4.⁶⁹⁶ But letter pkc.122 was found in the same room and deposit-level, furnished with the some of the same pieties, and written in a dialect similar to those of the House 1–3 letters. This makes it unlikely that the discovery of tkc.7 there was a chance occurrence. It suggests the existence of a larger, L*-writing community of Manichaeans in Kellis, perhaps connected through trade in the Valley. A Greek account from the same find spot, P. Bingen 120, provides some support for the link with the KAB, and some possibly significant prosopographical link to Pausanias' circle. P. Bingen 120 was found in the same room (1B, dep.1) as the prayer tkc.7 and the letter pkc.122. It is dated ca. 368 (or shortly after 367), and so contemporary with the KAB, and features Korau and Papnouthes, both agents of the KAB manager. The former name is rare and should almost certainly be identified

⁶⁹³ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 265–66.

⁶⁹⁴ See Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 72. A Sarapis works with Pekysis in the KAB (1691), perhaps comparable to the 'brother' Sarapis who Pekysis addressed in pkgr.76, but see section 8.1.

⁶⁹⁵ These names include Pakous (pkc.77), Chares, and Philammon, the latter probably referred to as Lammon (in I.32). They act as intermediaries between the brothers and the father (II.32–35) and seem to be caravan drivers (see II.25–26, cp. II.32–35), consonant especially with the role of Philammon II and his wife Charis in the House 1–3 circles (see pkgr.79). However, Pakous and Chares are perhaps linked in pkc.122, as opposed to Philammon and Charis in the House 1–3 texts.

⁶⁹⁶ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 263.

with this agent.⁶⁹⁷ The account also features a Pisistratos, to whom an agent named Ploutogenes delivers a substantial amount of oil (l.18v) – to which can be compared Pausanias' cooperation with a Ploutogenes (pkgr.5–6). This is well within the probable period of activity of Pausanias' 'son' Pisistratos.

It is unlikely that House 4 was used by Pisistratos, or other close associates of the House 1–3 people, although its inhabitants appear to have shared business links with Pisistratos. The discovery of a Manichaean text in this house, and of a Syriac text in D/8, shows that Manichaean affiliation was widespread in the village, also in circles beyond the Pamour family. The find of documents relating to the Pausanias circle on both sites illustrates the importance of this notable, and further strengthens the hypothesis that he was an important hub for the dissemination of Manichaeism in the village.⁶⁹⁸

9.3 Signalling lay identity

9.3.1 Identifying Manichaeans: cues in the documentary sources

What does it mean to label these people 'Manichaeans', or describe them as adhering to 'Manichaeism'? This question is treated more thoroughly in the next two chapters, in terms of literary texts and ritual practices. First, however, we should consider the identity markers used by the actors in the documentary papyri. The existence of a distinct 'Manichaean' identity, especially among laity, has recently come into question, in part based on the material from Kellis (see section 1.2). Scholars have stressed that the documentary texts from House 1–3 primarily evince a community for whom 'Manichaeanness' was of little relevance,

⁶⁹⁷ Bagnall and Worp, 'Two 4th century accounts', 506 l.39n.

⁶⁹⁸ A letter in Greek (inventory number P 93.103) from a different, perhaps separate part of House 4 (room 13), was published as this dissertation was in its final stages. See Iain Gardner and Klaas A. Worp, 'A most remarkable fourth century letter in Greek, recovered from House 4 at Ismant el-Kharab', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 205 (2018). The letter contains greetings to presbyters, and uses elaborate religious language. It provides no explicit Manichaean cues, and some features are seemingly at odds with a Manichaean provenance (such as an apocryphal citation of the prophet Jeremiah), while there are at the same time strongly Manichaean notions, such as allusions to a Light Self and to the partial truth of all human religious writings. The Manichaean hostility to all Jewish writings is moreover often overstated, see Funk, 'Mani's account', 122–24. The full implications for this letter regarding the presence of Manichaeans or other Christians in this housing complex, and their interaction in the village at large, cannot be discussed here.

unfamiliar with or uninterested in traditions such as those contained in the Medinet Madi texts and considering themselves primarily a more effective Christianity.⁶⁹⁹

The adherents at Kellis clearly drew on the terminology from the broad Judeo-Christian tradition to conceptualise their shared religious community. They referred to their community as a ‘church’ (*ekklēsia*), a term occurring in the documentary letters in the abstract sense of a shared community (pkc.31–32, pkc.73), but once also in the sense of a congregation or physical space (pkc.25). They also used common epistolary conventions associated with Christianity. Greeting-phrases such as ‘in the lord’ are prominent, Matthaïos invokes ‘Jesus the Christ’, and there is one instance of a man self-identifying as practicing an ‘exceptional Christianity’ (or ‘Chrestianity’?) in a contract (pkgr.48, d. 355).⁷⁰⁰ The affiliation between this man, Valerios son of Sarapion, and the Pamour family is unclear, but he could perhaps be the father of Pausanias (quite elderly by this time). His usage shows the importance of signalling Christianness to a surrounding (Christian) society, also exhibited among Augustine’s Manichaean interlocutors. Furthermore, it is often remarked that the private letters display an absence of what one may term distinctly Manichaean religious cues. Manichaean doctrinal terms and mythological symbols, such as names of divinities known from the Berlin *Kephalaia*, are largely – but as we shall see, not completely – absent from the documentary letters.

Although not found as an identity-marker in the private letters of members of the Pamour family, it is not unlikely that they, too, could appeal to a self-understanding as ‘exceptional’ or ‘superior’ Christians. However, a self-conception as superior Christians does not imply that the community should be understood only as a ‘superior Christianity’ (itself a problematic concept) to whom ‘Manichaeanness’ was of little importance.

For one, taking the (general) absence of Manichaean myths and divinities in the letters to imply a lack of distinct community rests, to my mind, on mistaken expectations. Religious identity is not something that is activated in all contexts, as Rebillard has stressed,⁷⁰¹ and especially not in documentary papyri.⁷⁰² Most papyrus letters were written for contexts

⁶⁹⁹ See section 10.1.

⁷⁰⁰ He frees a slave, writing (trans. Worp): ‘I acknowledge that I have set you free because of my exceptional Christianity (*hyperbolēn kh[ri]stianotētos*)’ (ll.4–5). The scribe also uses a traditional ‘pagan’ formula, ‘under Zeus, earth and sun’ (l.5).

⁷⁰¹ Rebillard, ‘Late antique limits’, 292–93.

⁷⁰² See Choat, *Belief and cult*, 12–15.

(familial, economic, or collegial) where religious affiliation could safely be ignored, taken for granted, or relegated to backdrop. Even correspondences conducted by monks did for the most part not call for displays of religious rhetoric or allegiance to a specific religious tradition, making identifying a particular ‘allegiance’ in papyri – where it existed – difficult, as recent scholarship has stressed.⁷⁰³ Christian conventions, such as ‘in the lord’, were clearly also current among the Manichaeans, and does place them within a broadly Christian context. However, the absence of more specific terms in mundane communications does not constitute evidence for the absence of a distinct Manichaean social community, ritual practices, or beliefs.

On the other hand, there are some Kellis letters that do employ religious cues in more elaborate symbolic performances. The question, then, turns on the degree to which these performances show affinity with a distinctly Manichaean tradition. This does seem to be the case. Gardner has recently argued, based on comparisons between the Kellis letters and the preserved fragments of the Mani’s *Epistles*, that it is possible to discern a Manichaean epistolary tradition – one building on a Christian one, to be sure, but representing a distinctive development begun by Mani himself.⁷⁰⁴ In a preliminary article on the ‘letter of the Teacher’

⁷⁰³ Ibid., 18–19. For monastic letters specifically, see Malcolm Choat, ‘Monastic letters on papyrus from late antique Egypt’, in *Writing and communication in early Egyptian monasticism*, ed. Malcolm Choat and Maria Chiara Giorda (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 55–56 n.228. Even monotheistic ‘formulae of belief’, often taken as evidence of Christian adherence, can be ambiguous, as argued by Choat and Nobbs, ‘Monotheistic formulae’, 50–51. There is moreover the complicating factor that letters were mediated by the scribes employed to write them. In cases where phrases with ‘religious content’ do occur – often as belief formulae in openings/closings – it cannot always be determined whether they represent scribal tradition or sender’s dictation.

⁷⁰⁴ Two recent cases highlight both the shared background of Manichaean and Christian cues, as well as the distinct features of Manichaeanness. One concerns a papyrus letter, P. Harr. 107, initially dated to the first half of the third century and considered one of the earliest Christian letters. In 2000 Gardner, Alanna Nobbs, and Malcolm Choat pointed to distinctive elements this letter shared with Kellis letters, which point rather to a Manichaean context (and consequently a re-dating to the late third/early fourth century). Iain Gardner, Alanna Nobbs, and Malcolm Choat, ‘P. Harr. 107: Is this another Greek Manichaean letter?’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 131 (2000). Their argument was criticised by David Martinez, who pointed to parallels to (ps.-)Serapion’s *Prayer-book*. Martinez did not dispute the shared distinctiveness of the letter, concluding rather: ‘This modest rebuttal to the evidence of Gardner, Nobbs, and Choat (ibid.) does not refute their claim, but it does at least suggest for P. Harris 107 and the Kellis Manichaean texts that the phrases common to both could have their ultimate source in the language of liturgy and protective magic.’ David G. Martinez, ‘The papyri and early Christianity’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 602. Gardner recently restated the original argument and, adducing more evidence, further argued that the source of the phrases should be sought in Mani’s letters. He also made some (tentative) remarks concerning a possible link between Serapion’s prayers and the anti-Manichaean polemic ascribed to him. Gardner, ‘Once more on Mani’s Epistles’, 309–10. The other case is the discussion surrounding a Kellis text, P. Kell. Gr. 98, which largely lacks Manichaean – or even Christian – terminology, although its content accorded well with Manichaean notions, and it was identified as Manichaean by the editors. This was questioned by Khosroyev,

(now pkc.61), Gardner argued that ‘Mani’s own *Epistles* acted as something of a model which was mediated down through conscious imitation by members of the hierarchy’.⁷⁰⁵ In an article from 2013, he restated this argument.⁷⁰⁶ He pointed to how prayers incorporated by Matthaïos and Piene echo prayers known from letters of Mani, how the usage of Biblical terms, allusions, and citations reflect Manichaean interpretations of Christian concepts, and how one can find continuity between the Turfan and the Kellis material. He concluded:

Manichaean letter-writers in late antique Egypt exhibited their allegiance to that community through terminology, turns of phrase, allusions and interpretations that derived from Mani’s own scriptures, together with the practice and usage of their teachers in that church. The pre-eminent source of authority was naturally Mani’s own *Epistles*, which acted as a model that on occasion can be shown to have been directly acknowledged by these later authors.⁷⁰⁷

Such characteristic allusions and turns of phrase (which I term ‘Manichaean cues’) include:

- A tripartite prayer formula, as a rule directed to the ‘God of Truth’, for health in soul, spirit, and body, representing Mani’s reworking of 1 Thess. 5:23.⁷⁰⁸ It is often combined with a prayer for protection from evil and/or Satan.⁷⁰⁹
- Invocations of divinities of a particular Manichaean significance, such as the Paraclete and the Light Mind (see below).
- Allusions to Manichaean doctrinal points, such as the role of the sun and the moon or the need for hospitality towards Elect.

who saw it as a pre-Christian gnostic text (Alexander Khosroyev, ‘Zu einem manichäischen (?) Gebet’, in *Atti, Quinto Congresso Internazionale di Studi sul Manicheismo. Il Manicheismo. Nuove prospettive della ricerca, Napoli, 2–8 Settembre 2001*, ed. A. van Tongerloo and L. Cirillo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).). A Manichaean background was maintained by Gardner, and supported by Bermejo-Rubio (Gardner, *KLT II*, 112–15; Fernando Bermejo-Rubio, ‘Further remarks on the Manichaean nature of Ευχη των προβολου (P. Kell. Gr. 98)’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 168 (2009). In 2010 it was realised that the Kellis text is paralleled by a prayer described by al-Biruni, of which fragments have been found at Turfan – the so-called daily prayer, which al-Biruni ascribed to Mani himself. See Iain Gardner, ‘“With a pure heart and a truthful tongue”: The recovery of the text of the Manichaean Daily Prayers’, *Journal of Late Antiquity* 4, no. 1 (2011)., and the discussion in section 10.1.2.

⁷⁰⁵ Iain Gardner, ‘A letter from the Teacher: some comments on letter-writing and the Manichaean community of IVth century Egypt’, in *Coptica - Gnostica - Manichaica*, ed. Louis Painchaud and Paul-Hubert Poirier (Louvain; Paris: Editions Peeters, 2006), 322.

⁷⁰⁶ Gardner, ‘Once more on Mani’s *Epistles*’, 299–308.

⁷⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 308.

⁷⁰⁸ Gardner, Nobbs, and Choat, ‘P. Harr. 107’, 122–23 n.7–12; Gardner, ‘Once more on Mani’s *Epistles*’, 299–300.

⁷⁰⁹ Iain Gardner, ‘Mani’s letter to Marcellus: fact and fiction in the *Acta Archelai* revisited’, in *Frontiers of Faith. The Christian encounter with Manichaeism in the Acts of Archelaus*, ed. Jason D. BeDuhn and Paul Mirecki (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 41; Iain Gardner, ‘Some comments on the remnants of the codex of Mani’s *Epistles* in Middle Persian’, in *Zur lichten Heimat: Studien zu Manichäismus, Iranistik und Zentralasienkunde im Gedenken an Werner Sundermann.*, ed. Team Turfanforschung (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017), 176.

- Greetings to ‘those who give rest’, often with ‘(both) elect and catechumen’, invoking the concept of ‘rest’ which was central to Manichaean ascetical regime.⁷¹⁰

Other stylistic features that are less ‘distinctively’ Manichaean, but frequently used in these letters and imitate letters of Mani himself, are:

- A formula expressing emotional closeness despite physical distance (the ‘far but near’-formula: ‘every time I am far away, it is as if I am near’).
- A prayer for a future embrace ‘in the body’, often with the addendum: ‘so that (our/my) joy will be complete’.⁷¹¹
- Praise/‘remembrance’ of good conduct, good reputation, and other virtues known from Manichaean discourse.⁷¹²

The expression ‘whose name is sweet in my mouth’, frequently conferred by the House 1–3 authors on their interlocutors, should probably be added to this list. A local dialectal feature cannot be entirely excluded,⁷¹³ although it has recently been argued that usage of the L4 dialect and its variants in general was the work of a Manichaean scribal tradition.⁷¹⁴ However, it could well reflect the relationship between virtuous acts and sensory sweetness found in

⁷¹⁰ ‘Rest’ (Gr. *anapausis*, C. ⲙⲣⲁⲛⲓ) were used for the Elect abstention from causing harm to the world soul. See BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 37.

⁷¹¹ See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 109–10, n.11–12.

⁷¹² Gardner, ‘Once more on Mani’s Epistles’, 300–1. In *CDT I*, the editors list 21 terms for virtues and values found in the Coptic letters, such as love (*agapē*), righteousness (*dikaiosynē*), and peacefulness (ⲛⲣⲕⲏⲣⲏ), virtues not restricted to the Manichaeans. Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 80; Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 35 n.2. The Coptic Kellis letters show some distinct features in the structure of their introductory formula (or ‘inner address’), such as the placement of the recipient first without and object marker, but nothing suggests that this can be attributed to Mani. See Malcolm Choat, ‘Epistolary formulae in early Coptic letters’, in *Actes du huitième congrès international d’études coptes*, ed. Nathalie Bosson and Anne Boud’hors (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 670.

⁷¹³ Malcolm Choat, review of Gardner, Alcock, Funk, *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis, Volume 2., Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (2016). A supporting argument is that, as a rule, the expression occurs in letters that contain other specifically Manichaean cues (pkc.15, pkc.17, pkc.19, pkc.26, pkc.37, pkc.79, pkc.82, pkc.115). It may be premature to categorise it as a typically Manichaean expression without an example from a Manichaean authority (e.g. from one of Mani’s *Epistles*). The well-preserved letters by Manichaean ‘Fathers’ (pkgr.63, pkc.31–32) do not employ it, although it can be restored in a fragmented Coptic text which seems to belong to the same group (pkc.63, ll.2–3).

⁷¹⁴ Ewa Zakrzewska has recently argued that the Coptic L4 (or L*) dialect reflects a specific (Manichaean) scribal tradition, rather than regional variation as previously thought. Ewa D. Zakrzewska, ‘L* as a secret language: social functions of early Coptic’, in *Christianity and Monasticism in Middle Egypt: al-Minya and Asyut*, ed. Gabra Gawdat and Hany N. Takla (Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 2015).

Manichaean discourse, which attributed physical changes to Manichaean practice (such as implied in a word play found in the letter of the Teacher).⁷¹⁵

To be sure, most of these cues do not contain direct references to Manichaean myth or belief. However, conventional religious phrases do not necessitate explicit expressions, but can derive their significance from allusions to a specific literary tradition; in this case, one ascribed to Mani. Furthermore, knowledge of this literary tradition was not restricted to the Elect, or to an ‘inner circle’. In CDT II, the editors reckoned that, of the 110 Coptic documentary letters published, 23 have ‘reasonably explicit expressions of Manichaean faith, by which we mean reference to “the Paraclete” or the “Light Mind” or suchlike’.⁷¹⁶ In other words, about a fifth of the published Coptic letters contain Manichaean cues.⁷¹⁷ Such reasonably explicit expressions are found in all the different social circles of House 1–3 discussed in previous chapters, excluding only the Petros letters. Pekysis, for instance, gives a short invocation of the tripartite formula in a letter to Horos: ‘I pray to God that he will keep you healthy at all times in your body, your soul and your spirit; until I see you again and my joy is complete.’ (pkc.78, ll.6–12). It is found among women writers as well as men: Tekysis sends greetings to ‘everyone who gives rest to you’ (pkc.115, ll.40–41). Certain authors, in particular, Matthaïos, Makarios and Horion, use them much more extensively than others. Matthaïos, for instance, greets his mother Maria and her associates with a long prayer (trans. Gardner, Alcock, and Funk):

πεῖ πε παρληλ φα πωτῖ πνογτε ἵτνηεῖ ἡνῖ νεφωρε ἕμερτῖ πῆρε· ἡνῖ πεφῖα ετογαβε· ἡνῖ νεφαγῖ γελος ἡογαῖνε
 .ξεφναραῖς ἡνῖ ἀρωτῖ εἰ οὐραπῖ· ερετῖογαχ εἰν πετῖσωνα· ἀρετῖραγῖτῖ εἰν πετῖρητῖ· ετεπῖτελη εἰν τετῖγχι-

⁷¹⁵ The Teacher plays on the similarity between the words *σῖνογχε*, ‘fragrance’, and *σῖτνογχε*, ‘good conduct’; Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 33, pkc.61, l.11n. For the bodily transformation ostensibly produced by the Manichaean regime (with the help of the Light Mind), see e.g. keph. 104 (1 Ke. 258.4–25). For the connection between ‘fragrance’ and the divine Light, traceable to Syriac Manichaean texts, see Nils A. Pedersen and John M. Larsen, *Manichaean texts in Syriac: First editions, new editions, and studies* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 226–29.

⁷¹⁶ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 13.

⁷¹⁷ By my count, there are 24 letters – 23 Coptic (presumably the 23 noted by the editors, although they do not list them) and one Greek: pkc.14–17, pkc.19, pkc.22, pkc.25, pkc.29, pkc.31–36, pkc.61–62, pkc.65, pkc.71–72, pkc.78, pkc.85, pkc.89, pkc.115, as well as the Greek pkgr.63. The expressions I count as ‘most explicitly Manichaean’ include the ‘tripartite prayer’, references to ‘giving rest’, invocations of the God of Truth, the Paraclete, or the Light Mind, labels such as ‘Children of Righteousness’ or ‘fruit of the good tree’, and the ‘far-near’ formula. Other letters deploy related phrases, probably derived from the Manichaean epistolary tradition but on their own not very distinct, including expressions of longing to ‘embrace each other in the body’, praise of a person ‘whose name is sweet in my mouth’, prayers for protection against Satan or ‘evil’, and perhaps the exclamation ‘service of God!’ (for the latter, see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 80.)

ⲛⲓ ⲡⲉⲧⲏⲡⲓⲛⲁ· ⲓⲡⲟⲗⲁⲓⲱ ⲧⲏⲣⲣ· ⲉⲧⲏⲛⲁⲉⲓⲧⲓ ⲉⲓ ⲥⲟⲛⲁ· ⲓⲡⲥⲁ ⲛⲃⲁⲗ ⲓⲡⲉⲑⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲛ· ⲉⲓ ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲥⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲛ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ· ⲛⲓ ⲱⲟⲛⲉ
 ⲛⲓⲛ ⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲟⲛⲁ

This is my prayer to the Father, the God of Truth, and his beloved Son the Christ, and his Holy Spirit, and his Light angels: That he will watch over you together, you being healthy in your body, joyful in heart and rejoicing in soul and spirit, all the time we will pass in the body free from any evil and any temptation of Satan and any sickness of the body. (pkc.25, ll.12–22)

Furthermore, the language of the ‘Fathers’ (pkc.31–32) contain the most explicit invocations, including a reference to the role of the sun and the moon as ‘storehouses’ of Light. They can be identified as Elect (see section 11.2.2). On the other hand, the two figures most readily identifiable as Elect, the Teacher and Apa Lysimachos, do not use easily identifiable Manichaean cues in their preserved letters at all – with the caveat that parts of the letters are very fragmentary (pkc.30, pkc.61, pkgr.67). The religious cues employed by the laity at Kellis are clearly suffice to place them within a distinctly Manichaean tradition.

9.3.2 Cues and church: *The Light Mind at Kellis*

While usage of such cues signals an affiliation with a Manichaean tradition, the way it can be taken to signal a distinct identity needs further elaboration. It might be argued that, while the Auditors imitated the Elect’s religious cues, they may not have been conscious of their ‘true’ significance or heritage, taking them instead to be idiosyncratic Christian formulas. Direct imitation of Elect usage by the Auditors cannot be shown on present evidence, as Brand’s recent analysis of religious language in the Kellis letters has shown,⁷¹⁸ but is not necessarily implausible. Below I look closer at cues invoking the ‘Light Mind’, a divinity invoked by Horion, and the ‘good tree’, used by Makarios, and how they relate to the Manichaean ecclesiastical tradition, as known from Med.Madi. I argue that, as far as can be discerned, its usage at Kellis appears to show conscious knowledge with this tradition among the laity.

The Light Mind was a crucial divinity to the Manichaean community. In the ‘theology’ of the Berlin *Kephalaia*, the Light Mind is responsible for some of the most important work of the forces of Light on earth.⁷¹⁹ This divinity entered human bodies, chained the demons inhabiting them, and transformed ‘old humans’ into ‘new humans’ (i.e. Elect). This process is

⁷¹⁸ Brand includes a wider range of religious cues in his analysis, not limited to specifically ‘Manichaean’ ones, but finds no pattern indicating direct Elect-Auditor transmission. See Brand, ‘Speech patterns’, 114., 118

⁷¹⁹ For a survey of its occurrences in the Med.Madi texts, see van Lindt, *Mythological figures*, 154–69.

described in detail in one of the longest chapters of the Berlin *Kephalaia*, keph. 38, which shares numerous features with a text entitled *The Sermon on the Light Mind*, found in various languages at Turfan. Both keph. 38 and the *Sermon* drew on material from a canonical work of Mani, his *Book of Giants*,⁷²⁰ and the importance of the Light Mind goes back to the earliest period of the movement. In keph. 38, the Light Mind is depicted as suppressing five evil qualities and inserting five good virtues in the human body, in its five ‘soul limbs’. The Light Mind: ‘shall set right the members of the soul; form and purify them, and construct a new man of them, a child of righteousness’ (1 Ke. 96.25–27). The presence of the Light Mind produces children of righteousness. Another chapter, keph. 7, also presents the Light Mind as a soteriological divinity, saving souls through the ‘Light Form’, an emanation that met the soul on its release, fought off demons, and brought it safely to the other divinities of redemption (1 Ke. 36.9–11).

The Light Mind was in other words of great importance for the individual, freeing their souls and transforming their bodies into vehicles of salvation for others. At the same time, it played an analogous crucial role for the social body of the Church. Keph. 7 describes the Light Mind as ‘the father of the apostles, the eldest of all the churches (πρωτῆ ἡ[ἐκ]κλησία [τῆ]ρωγῆ)’ (1 Ke. 35.21–22). This role it played through its emanation of the ‘Apostle of Light’, a spirit that inhabited human Apostles, who in turn chose the church of the flesh (1 Ke. 36.4–5).⁷²¹ The last of the Apostles, Mani, had chosen a ‘good election, the holy church’ (1 Ke. 16.3–

⁷²⁰ Werner Sundermann, *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous: Eine Lehrschrift des östlichen Manichäismus Edition der parthischen und soghdischen Version* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1992), 13–15. Mani’s *Picture-book* is said to have contained a painting of this divinity, and its iconography has been reconstructed from Uighur and Chinese art in Zsuzsanna Gulácsi, *Mani’s Pictures. The didactic images of the Manichaeans from Sasanian Mesopotamia to Uyghur Central Asia and Tang-Ming China* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 356–74. All these different traditions are concerned with evil – pre-eminently the supposedly perfect Elect. ‘The vexing experience that the powers of darkness keep rebelling against the New Man must have been of great concern for everyday life in Manichaean communities.’ Werner Sundermann, ‘Mani’s Book of the Giants and the Jewish Books of Enoch. A case of terminological difference and what it implies.’, in *Manichaica Iranica. Ausgewählte Schriften von Werner Sundermann*, ed. Christiane Reck, et al. (Rome: Istituto italiano per l’Agricoltura e l’Oriente, 2001), 705.

⁷²¹ For a different interpretation of the prophethology described in this passage, maintaining that ‘Apostle’ only applies to Mani, see de Albert de Jong, ‘“A quodam persa exstiterunt”: re-orienting Manichaean origins’, in *Empsychoi Logoi. Religious innovations in antiquity: studies in honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, ed. Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong, and Magda Misset-van de Weg (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008), 97–98. However, Mani also speaks of previous ‘Apostles’ elsewhere, e.g. in keph. 122 (1 Ke. 295.5) and see keph. 143 (1 Ke. 346–347), which relates explicitly that a single ‘power’ is behind all the Apostles.

4), which was to be the truly last Church.⁷²² The Light Mind came to dwell in and guide this Church, binding it together. In a letter-fragment preserved from the Med.Madi *Epistle Codex*, given in preliminary translation by Gardner, Mani states that: ‘He (Jesus Christ) is the one who can bless you all, my children, my loved ones: For he can place his love in your [... which] is the Light Mind’.⁷²³ According to later authorities, it was Mani who placed the Light Mind in the Church.⁷²⁴ Keph. 63 even states that the Light Mind had *become* the Church, the two having united through Mani’s love and sacrifice.⁷²⁵ Since salvation depended on the assistance of the Light Mind, and as the Light Mind and the Holy Church were one, rituals had to be performed within the Holy Church in order to be effective.⁷²⁶ In this way, Manichaean authorities presented the Church as the only locus of salvation.

This is the Light Mind as elaborated by Church authorities. But how does it relate to the divinity found in the letters at Kellis? While the evidence is sparse, there is to my mind good reasons to suspect that the latter derives from a notion of this divinity developed in the ecclesiastical tradition. The Light Mind occurs twice in the documentary texts. First, Horion greets his ‘brother’ Horos as ‘the son of righteousness, the good limb of the Light Mind’ (pkc.15, ll.2–4). The close associations of the labels ‘child of righteousness’ and ‘limb of the Light Mind’, is reminiscent of the passage from keph. 38, where becoming a ‘child of righteousness’ was a result of receiving the Light Mind. However, Horion’s usage of ‘limb of the Light Mind’ as a community designation is, to my knowledge, not directly paralleled in the Med.Madi corpus, despite the close connection between this divinity and the ‘limbs’ of the soul. In all likelihood, it reflects the identification of the Light Mind with the Church described

⁷²² See also keph. 151 (1 Ke. 371.31–372.10).

⁷²³ Provisional translation in Iain Gardner, ‘The reconstruction of Mani’s *Epistles* from three Coptic codices (Ismant el-Kharab and Medinet Madi)’, in *The Light and the Darkness*, ed. Paul Mirecki and Jason D. BeDuhn (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 100. For ‘love’ as an injunction laid upon the hierarchy of the Church, see the epistle of Mani found at Kellis preserved in pkc.54 (cited in section 10.3.1).

⁷²⁴ A tradition found in the Med.Madi *Acta Codex* states that Mani had, on his deathbed, reassured a woman named Nushak that his ‘Mind’ would remain in the Church. See Polotsky, Schmidt, and Ibscher, ‘Ein Mani-Fund’, 26–27. See also e.g. 1 Ke. 148.7–15; 2 Ps. 171.22, and CMC 17.2–7. It seems to represent a reworking of the union of Christ and Church in *Eph.* 5.26–32, applied to Mani.

⁷²⁵ ‘These two, the Mind and the Church, a single body is also their likeness; because, again, the apostle too shall give his own self for his church. And again, due to this, the church too calls him ‘love’.’ (1 Ke. 156.10–14).

⁷²⁶ See keph. 38 (1 Ke. 79.13–81.20), keph. 87 (1 Ke. 217.6–11), and BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 206–7. The role of the Light Mind in making ritual effective is made explicit in keph. 75. See also Psalm 227, where the singers request to ‘receive the Holy Seal (ⲉⲃⲣⲁⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ) from the Mind of the Church’ (2 Ps. 22.11).

above. Passages from the Med.Madi corpus show that believers were considered ‘limbs’ of the Church.⁷²⁷ United, the Church and the Light Mind represented an extension of Mani himself, who is often found addressing his followers as ‘my limbs’ in the Berlin *Kephalaia*.⁷²⁸ Horion’s phrasing alludes to a particular Manichaeian conception of the relationship between ‘child of righteousness’, Mind, and Church, expressed in a formula that suggests familiarity with these notions. This is supported by a similar expression used in pkc.31 by an anonymous ‘Father’, an Elect, who greets a group of women as ‘members (μελος) of the holy church, [daughters] of the Light Mind’ (pkc.31, ll.2–4). This greeting provides another, more explicit allusion to the unity between Holy Church and Light Mind.

More briefly, we can consider the set of notions surrounding the image of the ‘good tree’ in a letter of Makarios. Makarios greets Maria, Psenpnouthes and Kyria as ‘fruits of the flourishing tree, blossoms of love’ (pkc.22, ll. 5–6). In the ecclesiastical tradition, the ‘tree’ was a malleable metaphor, used for instance in connection with paradise and cosmic wisdom, but it is often specifically connected to the Church and its members. Here, Church authorities drew on Mani’s exposition of the Biblical parable of the two trees, which is partly preserved (or perhaps reworked) in the second chapter of the Berlin *Kephalaia*. Mani equated the ‘good tree’ with the God of Truth, the bad tree with Satan. The Churches of the Apostles were the fruits of the ‘good tree’ (e.g. 1. Ke. 14.1–2, 20.5–7). Makarios’ phrase above is not directly comparable to this: it is closer to that found in certain liturgical texts, such as Psalm 249, where the Church is the ‘good tree’ and the individual believer its ‘fruit’ (2 Ps. 58.9–10). Perhaps his usage derived from his participation in communal ritual. An Elect Father, writing to the Auditor Eirene, draws on the same imagery of the tree. However, his usage represents another adaption: he likens Eirene herself to ‘the good tree’ and her good deeds to ‘fruits’, a metaphor also found in liturgical texts.⁷²⁹ To conclude, while Makarios’ use of the ‘good tree’ metaphor is firmly rooted in the ecclesiastical Manichaeian symbolic repertoire, he does not transmit it mechanically.

⁷²⁷ By entering the Church, believers themselves became ‘consolidated limbs’ (μελος εγτικ), as a passage from the *Kephalaia* puts it (1 Ke. 357.9). See also Hom. 85.26.

⁷²⁸ E.g. 1 Ke. 34.6, 213.3, and 285.21.

⁷²⁹ For instance 2 Ps. 40.2–3, 91.8–13, 175.8–9.

The above remarks should suffice to show that, while rooted in Christian texts and traditions, the symbolic cues of the Kellites derive more directly from the distinct Manichaean repertoire, which they adapt consciously in their own writings. Furthermore, they are tied to clusters of metaphors associated with the ‘Holy Church’, and strongly suggest that the writers are signalling affiliation with the same Church tradition that produced the Med.Madi texts – the ‘Holy Church of the Paraclete’, as it is called in some Med.Madi psalms of which parts have been preserved in Kellis (see section 10.2.1). Perhaps it could be objected that the usage only reflects the dispositions of these authors, who are engaged in scripting textual identities both for themselves and for the recipients.⁷³⁰ We do not know with certainty what Horos, Eirene, Maria I, or the women of Kellis greeted in pkc.31 read into these labels. However, it seems unlikely that this audience was unfamiliar with or disapproved of the ‘scripts’. Horion and Horos shared in religious responsibilities for the agape and the ‘Fathers’ in pkc.31–32 were engaged in soliciting alms (see section 11.2.2). Makarios invokes Maria’s (or Kyria’s) role as ‘catechumen’ to chastise her, appealing to the set of norms associated with Auditor duties which he takes for granted that she shares (pkc.22, l.61). Certainly, we cannot take these greetings to show that either party were familiar with the whole scheme of Manichaean myths or divinities, or Mani’s whole exposition on the ‘good tree’, but they do show conscious engagement with a distinctly Manichaean tradition and identity.

9.4 ‘Open’ or ‘bounded’ identity?

Finally, we must ask what consequences this identity had for the adherents in their interaction with their social surroundings. The ‘sectarian’ character of some letters was, as seen above, noted by the editors. Within the sociology of religion, the concept of ‘sectarianism’ is often expressed in terms of tension between a group and its social surroundings, which has been used as a variable for providing clearer definitions (although on a sliding scale) of ‘churches’ as against ‘sects’ or ‘cults’.⁷³¹ It has also been central to differentiating religious groups in antiquity, in particular for separating ‘open’ Graeco-Roman cultic associations from

⁷³⁰ Rebillard, ‘Late antique limits’, 294. (see section 1.3.2)

⁷³¹ As for instance in the work of Stark and Bainbridge, who conceptualise ‘churches’ as religious institutions largely integrated into the social fabric, and ‘sects’ as break-away groups from churches, with a high degree of tension to dominant social norms and institutions. Stark and Bainbridge, *The future of religion*, 22ff.

‘exclusivist’ synagogues and churches.⁷³² This dichotomy has been challenged by recent scholarship, which on the one hand has pointed to exclusivist tendencies among other types of cultic associations,⁷³³ and on the other have emphasised that perfectly bounded identities are produced by the rhetorics of religious authorities.⁷³⁴ Still, the concept of ‘tension’ certainly has utility for present purposes. There is little reason to doubt that Manichaeism was a ‘sect’, in the sociological sense of a group with a high degree of tension to surrounding society. The persecutions of Bahram II in the Sasanian Empire and of Diocletian in the Roman Empire demonstrate this. It finds its echoes in the high degree of enmity towards political authorities (as well as dominant social practices, such as blood sacrifices and meat consumption) in the ecclesiastical Manichaean tradition.

Turning to the Kellis evidence, Gardner noted in *KLT I* that this lay group displayed exclusionist tendencies, stating: ‘there are some of those communal characteristics to be found here as are known from the typology of sectarian movements, particularly in their earlier, world-denying stages’.⁷³⁵ In *CDT I*, the editors adduced the use of prayers for protection from an evil world, and allusions to or even explicit mentions of persecution, as evidence for a sectarian context.⁷³⁶ Below I will survey the evidence and adduce more from other contexts, examining both signs of participation in wider society (‘positive’ interaction), as well as rejection or persecution (‘negative’ interaction).⁷³⁷

⁷³² See, for instance, Meeks, *The first urban Christians*, 78–80; Hopkins, ‘Christian number’, 217–18; J. B. Rives, ‘Christian expansion and Christian ideology’, in *The spread of Christianity in the first four centuries*, ed. W. V. Harris (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005), 17–23; Mary Beard, John A. North, and S. R. F. Price, *Religions of Rome*, 2 vols. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 307–11 (for comparison with the policing of boundaries in Graeco-Roman religion, see 211–44)..

⁷³³ Harland, *Associations*, 191ff.

⁷³⁴ For challenges, see Judith Lieu, *Christian identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman world* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 98–146. (esp. 132–146) ; and Iricinschi and Zellentin, ‘Making selves’.

⁷³⁵ Gardner, *KLT I*, viii.

⁷³⁶ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 81.

⁷³⁷ For the categories of ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ interaction, see Harland, *Associations*, 137–60.

9.4.1 Positive interaction

There is no doubt that many adherents participated in the political and economic life of the village. We have already surveyed much of the evidence for economic engagement, and we found both Pausanias and Horos son of Pamour participating in Roman administrative positions (section 8.4). No clear hostility towards the Roman political order can be detected in the sources. There are moreover signs of cross-denominational interaction, evinced by the occurrence of ‘catholic priests’ in the material, which need further consideration. A dichotomy between a sectarian (‘Holy’) Church and a dominant (‘Catholic’) Church seems plausible, although it may be premature to take it as certain that the term *katholikēs* is used in the later sense of the word.⁷³⁸ The Manichaeans, too, considered their message universal, and may at any rate have preferred to use the dominant terminology in official documents. This must be kept in mind when we examine the evidence below.

One occurrence of a ‘catholic’ presbyter is found in pkgr.24, d.352, pertaining to a certain Ploutogenes, probably the komarch, ‘son of Ouonsis’. The term is found next to a patronym ‘son of Ouonsis’ (*Ouōnsio[s]*, l.3), and should either be taken to relate to Ouonsis, or to a preceding name that is lost.⁷³⁹ However, it seems unlikely that it relates to Ploutogenes son of Ouonsis himself, as the official document sent by Ploutogenes the subsequent year (pkgr.23, d. 353) makes no mention of any such office for him. Still, it could well relate to his father or an unknown brother. The context for the document is one of wider village concerns (section 2.3.2), and so it does not necessarily show close interaction with the House 1–3 people.⁷⁴⁰ Still, Ploutogenes son of Ouonsis appears to have had some kind of affiliation with the Manichaeans of House 1–3. If the title belonged to Ploutogenes or a family member, it

⁷³⁸ For the argument that this term was also used among for instance the Meletians, see Wipszycka, ‘Katholiké’. A distinction between ‘Manichaean’ and ‘Catholic’ Christians does appear to have been recognised in the Latin west; Augustine, for instance, criticises the Manichaeans for attacking ‘Christians who bear the name “Catholic”’ (*De mor.* 2.20.75, trans. Roland J. Teske, *The Manichaean debate* (New York: New City Press, 2006), 103.)

⁷³⁹ The title agrees with the genitive of Ouonsis (Οὐώνσιο[ς] πρεσβυ[τ]έρου καθ[ο]λικῆς), but this is not decisive. Apart from as patronym, Ouonsis is only known from P. Genova I 20, d.319, where he is involved in financing the trade venture of Timotheos son of Horos to the Nile Valley (see Wagner, *Les Oasis d’Égypte*, 319.)

⁷⁴⁰ There is the question of the clergy who occur first in the list, in the same group as Psenpnouthes, Psais Tryphanes, Loudon, and Timotheos: Paminis the presbyter, and Pkour[.]s and Cholos the deacons. No patronymics are given. It cannot be known whether Paminis should be identified with the ‘catholic’ presbyter (son of?) Ouonsis, earlier in the document, or whether he represents a different church grouping in the village. Any suggestion that these were Manichaean clergy certainly cannot be shown on present evidence.

strongly indicates that this ‘catholic’ family had no trouble associating with Manichaeans or vice versa (unless we should take it to indicate that Ploutogenes had ‘converted’). Unfortunately, Ploutogenes’ relationship with the Pamour family is most unclear, despite the occurrence of texts belonging to him in House 1 and 3.

The two other documented instances involve priests writing or witnessing on behalf of associates. The first instance is a highly fragmented contract involving a certain Ploutogenes, dating to 337 (pkgr.58). Perhaps this is the son of Ouonsis, above, although the patronymic is not preserved. The priest is named [Harp]okrates, and witnesses on behalf of Ploutogenes. The name is not known from elsewhere in the House 1–3 material, or even in the village at large, and so Harpokration’s role remains unknown. If the Ploutogenes mentioned there is the son of Ouonsis, we would have more evidence for a close association of his family with ‘catholic’ circles in the first half of the fourth century. The last example pertains to a Jakob son of Basis, first(?) reader (*pr(ōto?) anagnōstēs*)⁷⁴¹ of the catholic church, is more directly tied to the Pamour family. He occurs in pkgr.32 (d. 364), where he writes on behalf of Marsa (from Kellis) in a contract for lease of a room to her in Aphrodito, by Psais (II) son of Pamour (I). This Marsa could perhaps be identified with Marsha, a woman greeted by Makarios and Matthaïos in pkc.19 and pkc.25, there located in Kellis, and part of the ‘Manichaean’ community argued above. In addition to the term *katholikēs*, the name ‘Jacob’ seems suggestive of mainstream Christian affiliation. However, this name does not recur in the House 1–3 texts, and so this reader was probably not closely affiliated with the Pamour family. Still, the text may suggest that Marsa had a pragmatic view of ‘denominational’ affiliation, or perhaps that she did not consider herself closely tied to the Manichaean community, despite the attempt of Matthaïos to script such an identity for her – if, indeed, the two should be identified. However, there are certainly multiple ways in which this interaction can be interpreted.

That participation in larger economic and political structures was the norm for Auditors is perhaps not particularly striking. More interesting are the activities of the monk Petros on behalf of the *topos Mani*. It could potentially show a Manichaean institution dealing directly with a landlord, operating as an economic entity, much like other cultic associations of antiquity (see Chapter 12). The religious affiliation of this landlord is unknown, although some

⁷⁴¹ See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 343.

evidence – if highly uncertain – may suggest that the local estate manager considered himself ‘catholic’.⁷⁴² At the very least, the activities of Petros show that a depiction of the Elect simply as world-denying renouncers is too simple.

9.4.2 Negative interaction

Alongside these signs of fluid interaction and engagement with wider society, there are also signs of anti-worldly sentiments and tensions (‘negative’) interaction. The prayer addressed to the God of Truth for health, adduced above as a cue developed from the writings of Mani himself, is often combined with a prayer for protection against ‘evil’ (πῆθαι) or ‘temptation’ (παρασυχεῖς), also in line with similar use by Mani.⁷⁴³ Matthaïos prays for Maria to be ‘free from any evil and temptation of Satan’ (pkc.25, ll.19–22); the lost author of pkc.34 prays for his recipient to be ‘free from every evil of Satan’ (ll.11–12); Pamour III prays for his recipients being protected against ‘the snares of the devil and the adversities of Satan’ (pkc.65, ll.12–15) and again against ‘temptations of Satan and the adversities of the evil place’ (pkc.71, ll.8–9). Makarios and Matthaïos include appeals for ‘freedom’ (*parrhēsia*) in their prayers (in pkc.20, pkc.22, pkc.25). These can be compared to calls for *parrhesia* by Mani himself in the Kephalaia, as the editors note, and they furthermore comment: ‘We wonder if it is more than the tyranny of distance that keeps the family away from the oasis’.⁷⁴⁴ At the very least, these passages suggest that the Manichaean view of the world as (in some sense) an ‘evil’ place was widely shared by the Kellis adherents. This view was not, of course, restricted to the Manichaeans, and its social significance is indeterminable – Manichaeans could certainly emphasise positive views of the cosmos at other times. However, it may well be significant that both Makarios’ prayers for ‘freedom’ occur in letters relating to persecutions he is experiencing in the Nile Valley (see below). Matthaïos’ own prayer in pkc.25 continues with implying a degree of anxiety, alluding to hope for a meeting in the afterlife, in the translation of the editors:

ἦτε πινὰς ἄν/ ἡροῦ ἡρεῶε τερεῶν· πετῖῶλην ἀραῖ ρῶ ἦνεγ μιν· ἦτε πινῶτε ῤηματ νεν· ἀτρῖνεγ ἀοικῶν

⁷⁴² Perhaps evinced by the Greek letters ΓΜΧ etched into the book. For their possible significance, see Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 83–84. See section 8.2 for connections to Manichaeans, and 11.2.3 for almsgiving.

⁷⁴³ Gardner, ‘Mani’s letter to Marcellus’, 36 and 41; Gardner, ‘Some comments’, 175–77.

⁷⁴⁴ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 82.

ἡνεναρηοῦ γῆ οὐπαρρησία· ἡνὶ οὐζοῦ ἐφωδβε· ἡ ἡνᾶν ἡτάφ εἰφῶξε ἡ . . . σοῦ ἡε εἰφῶξε τοφερα· τε ἡτῶπ ἡ ἡνᾶν τᾶχα
 ἄν ἡεφῶβε ἡε<ε>ἡαχᾶ ἡ ἡκεαπᾶ ᾠαρωτῆ· ἡτῆσι ἡπρῶ ἡνῆμερετε τῆροῦ· εἰθε σε ἡτε πεῖ τεζαν·

And furthermore (I pray) that this great day of joy should happen to us, the day for which we pray indeed every hour, and God grant us that we may see the image of each other in freedom and with a smiling face. Or indeed: whether they are dreams (?) or whether it is the sphere ...;⁷⁴⁵ or else again: perhaps they change and cast us once again towards you, and we will be satisfied with the face of all our beloveds. Would therefore that this may happen to us! (pkc.25, ll.22–30)

Considering the mundane tone concerning travel in other letters, attributing his concerns here to separation caused by the physical distance between Oasis and Nile Valley seems unlikely. On the other hand, there is no mention of hardships or persecutions in this letter. Perhaps his heartfelt prayer could rather be seen in light of his expression of sorrow for the death of his ‘great mother’ there (see section 11.3.1).

However, in addition to prayers against ‘cosmic’ evil, there are ample references to evils taking place in this world, to which Matthaïos likewise could be alluding. These references presume some current knowledge on the part of the recipients that we no longer possess, and so we should proceed with care. However, it is striking that Makarios in one of his letters describes difficulties that Matthaïos had experienced (pkc.20), reporting to Maria that: ‘Let it be you know that brother Sarmate has petitioned Pkonaes (?). He ordered Kleoboulos to return, and cause to be given back the things of Mathaios that had been taken.’ (pkc.20, ll.40–42). This could perhaps relate to confiscation of Matthaïos’ ‘things’ by a Roman official.⁷⁴⁶ Makarios provides another long description of hardships that he had experienced in another letter: ‘For we are not retaliating against anyone in this place for what they are doing to us’ (pkc.22, ll.61–62). He further mentions someone pursuing a man, someone who has taken a book, and an associate who is under persecution: ‘You had no pity for your brother’s son, because he is under persecution (ΔΙΩΓΜΟΣ); though you know that I have spent two years without him. He has no one who can guide him but God, the one who repays’ (ll.73–75). The other correspondences contain similarly oblique references to what might be instances of

⁷⁴⁵ The editors reject a restoration of this lacuna as ‘stars’ (ἡστωῦ). Ibid., 192, pkc.25, ll.26–29n. Still, an alternate plural form of ‘star’ is σῆστωῦ, which could perhaps be read by replacing epsilon for sigma. It appears at any rate that we are dealing with an astronomical allusion, and one should in this context note the Manichaean notion of astrological influence on the fate of individuals.

⁷⁴⁶ The editors note that the verb ‘petition’ (αἰτῆ) suggest *Pkonaes to be understood as the *komes*, i.e. the governor of Upper Egypt. A Kleoboulos is known to have been logistes of the Oasis from pkgr.25 (unfortunately missing a date). See *ibid.*, 171, pkc.20, l.41n.

‘persecution’. Pamour III alludes to some difficulty in one letter, writing: ‘You wrote to me: “When the place is quiet, then write to me”’ (pκc.72, ll.26–27). The significance of ‘place’ (μα) or ‘quiet’ (ματῆ) is most unclear, however.⁷⁴⁷ It might be that he is referring to conditions pertaining to trade. Theognostos furthermore writes, as translated by the editors:

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΤΡῆΝῆΤΡΕ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΗΡῆΜΕΥΕ ΖΙ ΠῆΡῆΤ ἦΝΟ ΝΗΝ ἘΝΟΥΩΩ ΕΙ ΤῆΝΟ ΔΡΩΤῆ· ΑΛΛΑ ΕΝΗΔῆ Ο ΧΕ ΠΗΑ ΤΗΕ ἸΝΟΥ
ΤῆΡῆΔΑΤΕ ΗῆΤΡΕ ΟΥΠΕΘΔΥ ΩΩΠΕ ΩΑΤΕ ΠΗΑ ΩΩ ΕΥΤΗΕῚ ΕΩΩΠΕ ΕῚ

God is witness that your memory is in our heart at all times, as we wish to come and see you. But what can we do? For the place is disturbed now (and) we are afraid. Let nothing evil happen whilst the place remains disturbed. (pκc.83, ll.5–8)

The disruption of the ‘place’ suggests some form of tumult, but again the events may not relate to the religious community per se (and could perhaps relate to broader difficulties in the Valley). The Elect author of pκc.31 justifies a request for goods by saying that he and his companions are ‘afflicted’ (τῆ[λ]αχῆ),⁷⁴⁸ and that ‘the place is very difficult’ (πηα μαχε [τονογ]). The passage is lacunose, but here at least it relates to a religious fellowship experiencing severe difficulties. Furthermore, a passage in the letter by Ammon (pκc.37, business-associate of Psais III, more clearly refers to religious persecutions. It reads, in the translation of Gardner, Alcock, and Funk:

ΟΥΝΔΩ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ Τ[λ]ΠΗ ΕΤΑΕ ΩΩΠΕ ΗῆΙ Ηῆ[τῆ] ΠΠΩΩ ἦΡῆΤ ΕΤΑΕΤΕ ΖΑῖ ΝΤΑΡΙΩΤῆ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΤΑΕΩΩΠΕ ΧΕ ΔΥΚΙΝ
ΑΝΔΠΣΕΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΩΔΜ ΓΑΡ ἸΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΑΤΡΕΦΟΥΩΩΩΩ ἸΝΟΥΜΕΥΕ ΝΕΙΟΥΩΩΕ ΓΑΡ ΔΕΙ ΩΑΡΑΚ ΑΛΛΑ ΔΥΧΟΣ ΝΗΙ ΧΕ ΦΕῖ ΕΝ ΠΕ

Now, great was the grief that overcame me, and the heartbreak that seized me, when I heard about what happened; namely that they shook those of this word. For it is possible for God to thwart their designs. In fact, I wanted to come to you, but I was told that it was not allowed. (pκc.37, ll.13–25)

The context clearly suggests a violent act against his fellow-believers, although no details are given.⁷⁴⁹

Hostility from certain groups, e.g. specific Roman officials, does not necessarily show a high degree of tension between the group and surrounding society in general. But these incidents are temporally disparate: Makarios’ letters probably belong to the late 350s; the letter of Ammon to around 370 – both probably before the time of the first edict of Valens

⁷⁴⁷ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 81, pκc.72, ll.26–27n. See also *ibid*, 75–76, pκc.71, l.30n.

⁷⁴⁸ Crum also lists ‘be crushed’, ‘effaced’ (as a noun ‘anguish’, ‘oppression’). Crum 151a.

⁷⁴⁹ See the comments of the editors regarding the word κιν (‘shake’). Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 233, pκc.37, l.19n.

and Valentinian against Manichaean assemblies in 373.⁷⁵⁰ They may furthermore be spread geographically. Ammon and his correspondent are in the Oasis (as was perhaps Matthaïos in pkc.20, considering that Kleoboulos may have been an Oasite official), while the Elect of pkc.31 and Makarios (in pkc.22, l.47) are in the Valley. The occurrence of periodical allusions to religious persecution in a random selection of preserved material strongly suggests that we are dealing with recurring pressure on this community. These events can all be dated before the severe decrees of Theodosius, and so it is clear that enmity against the ‘Holy Church’ was not limited to religious policy on the imperial level. As long as the community was able to recover, such pressures may well have strengthened a shared sense of identity and allegiance among adherents, contributing to solidifying a sense of a distinct identity. However, over the long term, it may have made it difficult to maintain religious institutions (see section 12.4).

9.5 Conclusions

To summarise, I have argued that we find shared Manichaean affiliation on several levels: within the household, in the neighbourhood, in networks of trade, and in networks of patronage. The site House 1–3 texts themselves, as well as other finds from the site, indicate that the number of adherents at Kellis was extensive. Legitimacy and social prestige would have been provided by local landowners and curial families, such as Pausanias. To return to the categories considered important for Manichaeism by previous scholars, we see that Manichaean affiliation was clearly not restricted to intellectuals or political elites in the Oasis, although it may well have had appeal to local notables. Furthermore, while it was strongly tied to the local trading community, religious affiliation was also spread to associated groups such as weavers, camel drivers, and other associates. It involved village artisans, as well as a large group of other families whose occupations cannot be judged, but who are unlikely all to have been traders. Finally, it was argued that the way lay adherents in Kellis express their religious affiliation show an affiliation with a distinct Manichaean tradition, and even with an ‘ecclesiastical’ tradition related to the Manichaean Church. In other words, the Manichaeans

⁷⁵⁰ For these edicts, see Per Beskow, ‘The Theodosian laws against Manichaeism’, in *Manichaean Studies*, vol. 1. *Proceedings of the first International Conference on Manichaeism, August 5–7, 1987*, ed. Peter Bryder (Lund: Plus Ultra, 1988); for a broader discussion of late-Roman law and Manichaeism, see Caroline Humfress, *Roman law and the prosecution of heresy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 243–55.

in Kellis appear to have constituted a self-consciously distinct, 'sectarian' community. The question of how this identity was maintained in – and through – practice is explored in the next two chapters.

Chapter 10: Manichaean words – literary texts and ritual community

10.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I argued that the Manichaeans made up a sizable portion of Kellis inhabitants and trading class. The identification of these people as ‘Manichaean’ rests, as we saw there, in part on the identification of Manichaean cues exchanged between members of the community. When considering their affiliation we cannot neglect the liturgical texts found along with the private and economic ones. They are the focus of this chapter. More specifically, I deal with the question of what the literary texts tell us about distinct Manichaean beliefs and rituals at Kellis. To what extent does this literature contain notions of belief and community different from those of mainstream Christians? What are their significance for our understanding of the lay Manichaeans at Kellis? Surveying the material I argue that the content and use of these texts indicate that the Kellis adherents constituted a distinctly Manichaean ritual community.

10.1 A Manichaean world

As argued in the previous chapter, the letters of the laity at Kellis evince a conscious affiliation with a distinct religious community. However, it is also clear that the Manichaean cues do not, for the most part, contain more than allusions to specifically Manichaean beliefs. It could still be the case that, while the laity were affiliated with a distinctively Manichaean community and sharing in its discourse, the Elect did not disseminate some of their more ‘esoteric’ beliefs. While we should be careful not to privilege belief over practice, the presence or absence of such notions of belief are of significance when discussing the relationship between ‘Christians’ and ‘Manichaeans’. Furthermore, they would have helped ‘believers’ make sense of the practices that a Manichaean Church would have required of them, in particular in supporting the Elect, by providing justifications (rationales) for their behaviour.⁷⁵¹

⁷⁵¹ For the concept of justification, see Berger and Luckmann, *Social construction*, 110–22; for rationales as employed in the context of Manichaeism, see BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 22–23. See also the introduction, section 1.3.2.

In the first volume of literary texts, *Kellis Literary Texts* vol. 1 (KLT I), Gardner posed the question of what the literary texts tell us about the nature of the community that utilised them.⁷⁵² He noted the prevalence of devotional material, such as hymns and prayers, which – in conjunction with the documentary and archaeological remains – provided the basis for identifying the community as composed of Auditors. These Auditors were, in Gardner’s view, characterised by a tenuous link of the ‘Manichaean world’ evinced by the Medinet Madi writings:

The amazing detail of Mani’s teachings as regards the various worlds of gods and demons, although a feature emphasized by the heresiologists for polemical purposes, would seem in some senses to have been restricted knowledge into which the elect might only gradually draw the convert. The concerns of the mass of believers were necessarily more matter-of-fact, for whom Manichaeism would have been a kind of higher and more effective Christianity.⁷⁵³

He furthermore maintained that the discovery of fragments of codices containing Mani’s *Epistles* supported the reconstruction of a group whose members were primarily oriented towards ethical and practical concerns, as well as Christian Gospel exegesis – they ‘evidence little interest in (and perhaps knowledge of) the fantastic worlds described in a text such as the *Kephalaia*.’⁷⁵⁴ Similarly, in the introduction to the first volume of documentary texts, the editors commented that:

... it is noteworthy that the complicated details of cosmology, and the various series of emanated gods, hardly intrude into the daily writings as represented here. This is hardly surprising, if one is dealing with the incidental documents of catechumens. It would appear that the more esoteric elements of Mani’s gnosis were of most concern to the elect and the heresiologists; and this should not mislead us in a study of the actual faith of these villagers, for whom Manichaeism is perhaps best described as a superior and more effective kind of Christianity.⁷⁵⁵

In the introduction to *Kellis Literary Texts* vol. 2 (KLT II), Gardner again stresses that the texts evince ‘a vibrant faith focussed on praise and conversion’.⁷⁵⁶ Similar arguments have been put forward elsewhere. In their important collection of Manichaean texts from the Roman Empire, Gardner and Lieu asserted that:

For the lay faithful in the Roman Empire it was a kind of superior Christianity, and the metaphysical details that attract the attention of scholars (and the higher echelons of the elect) had little profile. ... The textual material derived from Kellis (modern Ismant el-Kharab) evidences how carefully the hierarchy attempted to draw adherents

⁷⁵² Gardner, *KLT I*, vi.

⁷⁵³ *Ibid.*, ix–x.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, x.

⁷⁵⁵ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 79.

⁷⁵⁶ Gardner, *KLT II*, 6.

further into the church and the knowledge of truth.⁷⁵⁷

This depiction has been generally accepted.⁷⁵⁸ It suggests that the specifics of Manichaean doctrines had to be imparted through gradual (individual?) initiation. However, it is not entirely clear what these 'esoteric elements' consisted in. They clearly include the intricate lists of emanations and detailed myths, as Gardner states, but Manichaean belief entailed other ideas that departed drastically from mainstream (as well as most non-mainstream) currents of Christian thought. In particular, it included beliefs that made the Manichaean ritual 'work' in the cosmos, the justifications or rationales for Manichaean practice – what I here term 'key notions' of the 'Manichaean world'. By this I include notions such as: the conflict between two primeval principles (Light and Darkness), a world soul trapped in demonic matter, the world soul's presence in individuals and imprisoned by transmigration (or, more accurately, transfusion), the ability of conditioned human bodies to liberate souls, liberated souls' ascent to their origin through nature (e.g. the sun and the moon), and Mani's role as the founder of the 'church' in which this liberation was achieved. Individually, most of these elements (bar the last) are found in other religious or philosophical traditions. Where most, or all, are present they suggest a distinctively 'Manichaean world'. Below I examine the House 1–3 literary texts, presenting their content and evaluating their engagement with these notions.

Literary texts were widely dispersed among the other papyri found at House 1–3.⁷⁵⁹ The texts that have so far been published are, in Coptic:

- About 20 psalms, some with only the beginning of the strophe given (tkc.2 (texts A1–4, B2, C1?), tkc.4 (texts side a and b), tkc.5(?), tkc.6, tkc.7 (from House 4), pkc.1 (text A and B), pkc.2 (texts A, B, C1, C2, C3), pkc.3, and pkc.55)

⁷⁵⁷ Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean texts*, 9.

⁷⁵⁸ See for instance Nongbri, *Before religion*, 72; Timothy Pettipiece, 'Rhetorica Manichaica: A rhetorical analysis of Kephalaia chapter 38: "On the Light Mind and the Apostles and the Saints" (Ke 89.19–102.12)', in *Coptica, Gnostica, Manichaica: mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk*, ed. Louis Painchaud and Paul-Hubert Poirier (Québec: Louvain: Les Presses de l'Université Laval/Peeters, 2006), 740.

⁷⁵⁹ See Figure 4, section 3.1.3. I here exclude the astrological calendars, horoscopes, and magical invocations (pkgr.82–90, excepting pkgr.88) published in Worp, *P. Kellis I*. These constitute important evidence for the existence of magical traditions side-by-side with Manichaean belief, but are not relevant to my purposes here. For similar material from Kellis, mostly other areas of the village, see de Jong and Worp, 'A Greek horoscope'; de Jong and Worp, 'More Greek Horoscopes'; and Worp, 'Miscellaneous'.

- Mani's *Epistles* (pkc.53–54)
- 'Kephalaic' material (tkc.1, pkc.8, and perhaps pkc.4.)
- A prayer (tkc.2, text A5)
- Biblical literature; Romans 2 (pkc.6) and Hebrews 12:4–13 (pkc.9)

In Greek, the texts so far published are:

- Two psalms (pkgr.92 and pkgr.97B.I)
- Four unidentified prayers (pkgr.88, pkgr.91,⁷⁶⁰ pkgr.93(?), pkgr.94), and one recently identified with the Manichaean 'daily prayer' (pkgr.98)
- A codex with material relating to the Acts of John (pkgr.97, text A.I) and fragments of a Manichaean prayer or hymn (pkgr.97, text A.II)
- A codex containing three speeches of the Athenian rhetor Isocrates (pkgr.95)

In addition, bilingual lists with religious vocabulary have also been found, such the Syriac-to-Coptic and Syriac-to-Greek translations of, or tools for translating, religious (liturgical?) texts (T. Kell. Syr./Copt. 1–2; P. Kell. Syr./Gr. 1). These are not treated here, but are important evidence for the translation of canonical Manichaean texts in Syriac directly into Coptic at Kellis by non-Syriac speakers.⁷⁶¹

The analysis below is divided into three parts. I start by surveying the contents of the devotional material, i.e. psalms and prayers.⁷⁶² I argue that all key notions of the Manichaean world can all be found in the devotional texts (although Mani's role within the Church is mostly implicit), as well as many specifics of the Manichaean myths, even some of the supposedly esoteric elements. The next part deals with pastoral material, focusing on the preserved leafs of a codex of Mani's *Epistles*. I examine the way Manichaean communal institutions are conceptualised in the letters. Mani's role as founder of a new Church is here explicit. Finally, I look at the production, circulation, and usage of texts found in the documentary texts. I argue that the dissemination of the key notions of belief presented above, as well as many of the

⁷⁶⁰ Perhaps a hymn, see *KLT I*, 132 n.418.

⁷⁶¹ See Franzmann, 'Syriac-Coptic bilinguals'. See section 12.3.

⁷⁶² The division between psalms and prayers here is for organisational purposes; the boundaries between these categories may have been fluid.

myths, was an open process at Kellis, facilitated by communal ritual practice rather than secret initiation.

10.2 Liturgy and laity

10.2.1 *Psalms*

About 20 texts in Coptic and two in Greek have been identified as psalms; over half of these are contained in the remains of two codices, tkc.2 and pkc.2. Three texts are too badly preserved to be of use: tkc.5, pkc.3, and pkc.55. In five instances Gardner identified Kellis-texts with psalms known from the Medinet Madi *Psalm-Book*, corresponding to the Psalms 68 (tkc.2A2), 222, 108 (tkc.4, a and b), 246 (pkc.1A), and 261 (tkc.6). The Psalms 222, 246, and 261 were part of the collection previously published by Allberry (2 Ps), while Gardner included transcriptions and translations of Psalms 68 and 108 (from Giversen's facsimile-edition of 1 Ps) in his extensive apparatus. A further identification was later made by Wurst, who showed that pkc.2C2 parallels Psalm 126 (also from 1 Ps).⁷⁶³

Some differences between the two bodies are apparent. The Kellis psalms appear to be local products derived from 'canonical' texts, intended specifically for liturgical usage, unlike the compendium format of the Med.Madi *Psalm-Book*.⁷⁶⁴ Doxologies to Mani, found in the Med.Madi codex, are also present in the Kellis-psalms (excepting pkc.1A), but doxologies to other named figures found there (such as Maria, Theona, Pshai, etc.) are not.⁷⁶⁵ Much remains to be done with regards to the linguistic and editorial relationship between the two. For present purposes, the Kellis texts are close enough to the Med.Madi versions for the latter (when preserved) to be used for examining the devotional content of the former. Still, potential changes during transmission should be kept in mind, and the parts specifically preserved in Kellis are noted below.

⁷⁶³ See Gardner, *KLT II*, 173.

⁷⁶⁴ Gardner, *KLT I*, xii–xvi.

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 54 n.123.

T. Kell. Copt. 2 A1, A2, A3, B2

A folio-board from a wooden codex. Five abbreviated psalms (A1, A2, A3, B2) and traces of a sixth (B1) preserved. Only the first words of each strophe are written out, and the quality of text B coarse, indicating that the codex-boards were used as memory-aides for singers who already knew the texts.⁷⁶⁶ A2 is paralleled by Med.Madi-psalm 68, as shown by Gardner, but the written initials of the others also yield information as to their contents.

Text A1 starts by addressing and praising Jesus (described as ‘the depth’, l.3) before exhorting the singers, both as part of a common ‘us’ (ll.2, 5) and as a plural ‘you’ (l.6). At the same time, ‘they’ are said to have summoned ‘you’ (l.10), and other acts by ‘they’ are listed. These could be Elect (‘strangers to the world’ occurs in l.15; a similar summons pertains to Elect in Psalm 261, below), although apostles of Light are also possible, in light of a reference to ‘temples and altars’ (l.14) and the allusion to Christ’s crucifixion and Mani’s suffering (ⲛⲥⲣⲥ ⲙⲏ̅ ⲛ̅ⲥⲛⲁⲮⲗ, l.19). The last strophes concern a saviour – probably Jesus, as per the incipit, or perhaps Mani, a more recent saviour, alluded to in l.19 – who has achieved victory and returned to the Light (ll.21–25).

Both A3 and A4 are addressed to the soul. A3 exhorts it to prepare itself for ascent: ‘edify thee in thy doctrines’, ‘prepare thy wings’, ‘straighten thy right hand(?) (ⲥⲁⲮⲧⲧⲃ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲟⲮ(ⲛⲉⲛ))’. The reference to the right hand invoke the mythical gesture of the Living Spirit and/or the (corresponding) laying on of hands by Elect in the church.⁷⁶⁷

A4 has, as Gardner notes, eschatological overtones. It invokes the Third Ambassador (l.77), mentions the ‘diadem of light’ (l.86) given to liberated souls upon their death (also in tkc.2B1, l.123), the torture and death of a saviour-figure (perhaps Mani?) (ⲧⲁⲮⲥⲟⲣ ⲉⲁⲒⲙⲟⲮ, l.91), and ‘the image’ (of the soul, or perhaps the Father?) (l.93).

⁷⁶⁶ Gardner notes that similar texts are known from Central Asian material. *Ibid.*, 9 n.57.

⁷⁶⁷ This reconstruction is likely in light of two passages from the *Psalm-Book* (2 Ps. 67.14–16 and 69.6), although in these psalms it is the saviour that is implored to stretch out her/his hand, not the soul. The soul may have been expected to answer with the same gesture to be drawn up, or there may be a change of subject here.

B2 is written from the perspective of a group addressing a saviour-figure (ζακταειουζ, l.145; ακχωκ αβαλ, l.152). The mention of mysteries (l.150), tears (?) (ογνα [[ññ]])ρπμεουε, l.154), and the singers' self-designation as 'all thy children' (l.155), point to Mani being the addressee, as he had received the 'mysteries', was considered 'father' of the community, and as his 'weepings' on its behalf are known from the Med.Madi material (e.g. Hom. 16–18).

Finally, we return to A2, which corresponds to Med.Madi Psalm 68. This psalm (based on the Med.Madi version) is similar to that contained in A1, containing an exhortation to praise Christ, here described as 'this only-begotten (πιμονογενης) son' in the incipit (1 Ps. 97.9). The next section warns human souls against the body and the demons that inhabit it, reading (as translated by Gardner):

(ογνιχρϋ ñτε) πκεκε πε πσωμα ετκρρφορε [ññαα] . . . [.] . . [.] ηδικαιος τηρου αγωπ ηπκ . . [α]γλωσε ηεντϋ
 vac πχ<π>ο ñτε ñπκεκε πε πññι ετηνε ñπαθο[ς]ε[.] . [. .]ογνι ññατο ñσαρξ ññηριον ετ[] (ογδανων) ηεεε
 ñε[ο] πε· ογδρακων ñσαωα [ññ.πε] ογδα[ε]ññεμε ογδαε ñπετρεαυ πε ογñαν . ñ[. . . . vac] ηεωβ ñτε ητεκρ τε τρεωω
 ñτε κκ[εκε ετηρφο]ρε ñ αγνουρ ññ ογωτ α[...]

A depth of darkness is this body that you (m.sg.) wear [...] all the righteous, they have suffered, [they have ...] been oppressed in it. The creature of darkness is this house of passion [...] these masses of flesh, these beasts that [...] It is a many-faced demon, a seven-[headed] dragon. It is many likenesses, many wickednesses, a place [...] The work of perdition is the garment of [darkness that we wear ...] they bound with (?) [...] (1 Ps. 97.13–22)

Here we find a clear expression of the Manichaean view of the body as a demonic prison, driven by passions. The last fragmented line alludes to the demonic creation of the body, and the strophe that follows to its associated sins (1 Ps. 97.23–25). The next two Med.Madi leafs (1 Ps. 98.1–99.29) are very fragmented. What can be read deals with the appearance of Christ, names central apostles and invokes their words: Jesus (Mt. 6:19 cited), Paul (I Cor. 3:19 cited), and Mani (no citation, but alluded to: 'the tree of life is the knowledge of the Paraclete (πρωνη ñτε πωνε ñ πε πσαγνε ñπ[π]κλ[ς])' (1 Ps. 98.15). Exhortations to the soul are interspersed. The last strophes (1 Ps. 98.30–99.8) are very damaged in both versions, but seem to proclaim the soul's release through Christ. The piece ends with a doxology to Mani. The initial strophes preserved in the Kellis-text agree largely with the Med.Madi-text, although Gardner notes an impression 'that the Kellis text is a more fluid and oral rendition', which 'reinforces the sense

of the overall structure of T. Kell. Copt. 2 as a subsidiary document; and derived from an “authorised” version’.⁷⁶⁸ It suggests a well-organised dissemination of texts for ritual use.

T. Kell. Copt. 4 a), b)

A wooden board broken in half, previously bound with others in a larger codex, preserving two Manichaean psalms (on side a and b). In contrast to the material in tkc.2, these were originally written out in full. Both psalms can be identified: psalm a) corresponds to Med.Madi Psalm 222 (2 Ps. 7.11–9.1); b) with Med.Madi Psalm 109 (1 Ps. 154.15–155). Psalm 222 is a Bema Psalm, the central theme being the bema or ‘throne’ of Mani, erected during the Bema festival. The Bema is praised as the sign of the remission of sins in the chorus (2 Ps. 7.12–13). It is furthermore described as a sign given to the soul by the Word to occasion remembrance of its past and the confession of sins, and Paul is cited as a witness to its importance (2 Ps. 7.16–22). It is also depicted as a sign of the believer’s obligations, the church’s teachings, purity, wisdom and salvation. The believer is exhorted to greet it as ‘the great instrument of the word, upright Bema of the great Judge, the seat of the Fathers of Light’, and as ‘the Bema of the Mind of the Holy Scriptures (πβημα ἱπποϋς ἡἡγραφαγε ετοϋαβε)’ (2 Ps. 8.6–13). Paradise is portrayed as harmony and serenity in nature (2 Ps. 8.14–21). Forgiveness of sins is requested on behalf of ‘them that know thy mystery’ of the wisdom ‘of the holy Church of the Paraclete our Father’ (2 Ps. 8.22–25). While the Kellis-text is very fragmented, it clearly parallels the Med.Madi-psalm.⁷⁶⁹

As for tkc.4b/psalm 109, little can be read in either version. The incipit starts with ‘The children of the living race’ (1 Ps. 154.15), a term for the Manichaean community used by Makarios in his letter to Maria, Psenpnouthes, and Kyria (pkc.22). An unusual expression, ‘deceitful (ἡραλβερο) matter’ occurs.⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁸ Gardner, *KLT I*, 24.

⁷⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 36–37.

⁷⁷⁰ 1 Ps. 154.21 has ‘matter in its deceitfulness (ῥῆ τῷτῆἡτῥαλβερο). See the comments of *ibid.*, 41.

T. Kell. Copt. 6

Tkc.6 is another wooden board, containing fragments corresponding to Med.Madi-psalm 261. The Kellis-text is very fragmented, and the part preserved on the second leaf of the Med.Madi-hymn (76.1–25) is in the Kellis-text entirely lost, barring a few words. However, the text that can be read shows close parallels with the Med.Madi-text.⁷⁷¹ The latter is a triumphant psalm written from the point of view of a liberated soul that is called to the ‘land of the immortals’. The world and worldly life are cast as enemies, but the soul has been prepared since its childhood in the Church: ‘I have known the way of the holy ones (ⲛⲏⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ), these ministers of God who are in the church (ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲩⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲡ ⲉⲛ̅ ⲧⲉⲕⲕ[λ]ⲏ[ϭ]ⲁ), the place wherein the Paraclete planted the tree of knowledge’ (2 Ps. 75.28–30). On the next page, the Church and the Elect are praised as having provided wisdom (2 Ps. 76.6–8), and the Elect have trampled evil, defeating death (2 Ps. 76.13–16). It ends with the soul expecting its ascent and a doxology that includes a plea to both Mani and the Elect (ⲏⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲃⲉ) for help (2 Ps. 76.16–25).

T. Kell. Copt. 7

A psalm written out in full on a wooden board, broken vertically. It was found at House 4, and so provides evidence for Manichaean practice in Kellis outside the immediate social circles of House 1–3 (section 9.2.4). The incipit is not preserved. The first preserved strophes narrate events related to creatures of darkness and probably the creation of Adam (ⲡⲏⲉⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲣⲓⲡⲓⲁϭϭⲁ ⲛ̅ⲁ[ⲁⲁⲙ?], l.7). Next, a consoling figure is introduced, who travels to or otherwise interacts with the ‘porters’ (ⲛ̅ⲱⲙⲟⲩⲟⲣⲟϭ) and listens to the ‘elements’ (ll.13–15). The next four strophes start with the attributes of four different divinities: ‘The power of the God who [...]’, ‘The wisdom of the perfect Father [...]’, ‘The suffering of the elements (ⲡⲓⲣⲓϭⲉ ⲛ̅ⲏⲥⲧⲟⲩϭⲉⲱⲛ)’, and ‘In the Perfect Man [...]’ (tkc.7, ll.16–26). The next lines evidently continue the depiction of the soul in its imprisoned state and its eventual release. The last strophe includes an extended doxology, which praises Mani, his Gospel (‘alpha [to omega]’), and Jesus Christ

⁷⁷¹ Ibid., 44–48.

(ll.40–46). A postscript (or a new short prayer?) describes the sun and moon as ‘towers’ (ἰπύργος), echoing eastern Manichaean texts where they are called ‘palaces’ (l.48).⁷⁷²

These figures are all known from the Manichaean cosmological drama. The ‘Perfect Man’, for instance, is the ‘statue’ consisting of all the souls, in which the last Light will be ferried to the Land of Light at the end of the world. The ‘porters’ (*ōmoforoi*) and the ‘elements’ (*stoikheia*) are of particular significance. The ‘porters’ are the five Sons of the Living Spirit, divinities who guard the various zones of the world against rebelling dark powers.⁷⁷³ The ‘elements’ are the five Sons of the First Man, garments of power that he wore when he went to battle against the Darkness.⁷⁷⁴ They are the five light-elements that (in part) were subsequently trapped in Matter and make up the imprisoned world soul.

P. Kell. Copt. 1

This document is a single codex leaf with two psalms – text A and B, on side a) and b), respectively – written in two distinct hands. Text A can be identified as the latter half of Med.Madi-psalm 246.⁷⁷⁵ Gardner describes the production as coarse, and notes that the pieces ‘are best termed a “scrap-book” of Manichaean Psalms’. He further comments:

I suggest that it is the product of local catechumens, probably family members living in House 3, who undertook to copy out psalms as part of their spiritual praxis. Such are the evident errors that it can hardly be regarded as a professional production; and it is also doubtful whether it was actually used for liturgy.⁷⁷⁶

The Med.Madi version of this psalm, not preserved in the Kellis leaf, begins by invoking ‘my kinsman, the Light’, requesting it to come to the soul and lead it to Christ’s kingdom (2 Ps. 54.8–10). It depicts the world soul’s suffering (2 Ps. 54.11–24), and the soul itself speaks, giving a poetic formulation of Mani’s pantheism by proclaiming itself ‘the life of the world, the milk that is in every tree: I am the sweet water that is beneath the sons of Matter’ (2 Ps. 54.28–

⁷⁷² Coptic texts generally prefer ‘ships’. *Ibid.*, 53 n.122.

⁷⁷³ ‘The (five) porters’ as a title for these divinities occurs in e.g. 2 Ps. 12.24, 145.3, 163.19. See van Lindt, *Mythological figures*, 90–93. For their function, see *keph.* 38 (1 Ke. 92.12–93.19). They also occur in *pkgr.* 97, there by their individual names (see below).

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 63–65. The Greek term *stoikheion* also occurs in the *Psalm-Book*, e.g. 2 Ps. 12.25.

⁷⁷⁵ Gardner, *KLT I*, 55–57.

⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 59.

30). The psalm presents the descent of Light into matter as a stratagem by the Aeons and the First Man to subdue Darkness, and precipitates their victory (2 Ps. 55.1–8). In the second part, which is preserved in the Kellis-leaf, the soul declares that it is the son of the divinity known as the First Man, and expresses confidence in its own ability to defeat the demons, before it exhorts the (individual) soul to start its journey in the ‘ships of Light’, i.e. to the sun and the moon. The cosmic role of the heavenly spheres is alluded to, as it ‘turns quickly while the lights purify the life’ (2 Ps. 55.7).⁷⁷⁷

Text B is dedicated to the First Man. It describes him as emanating from the Mother of Life ‘by the council of all the Aeons of the Light (ΝΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΔΑΙΝΕ)’ (ll. 18–19b), and relates that he had to sacrifice his five sons (ll.22–23b), i.e. the five elements, on behalf of the Aeons. The elements are listed individually in a sequence known from the *Psalm-Book*, the Berlin Kephalaia, and Central Asian texts: air, wind, light, water, and [fire].⁷⁷⁸ As in text A, this descent and sacrifice is in the end part of a plan to ‘root out death’ (l.27b).

P. Kell. Copt. 2 B, C1

Pkc.2 is a codex with five psalms originally written out in full. Three of these – A, C2 and C3 – are very badly preserved, although in C2 (ll.104–106) can be read the doxology to Mani frequently found in the Med.Madi *Psalm-Book*, and has been shown to parallel Psalm 126 from that codex. Two of the codex-text, B and C1, provide more material.

Text B preserves a portion of the first part of an unidentified psalm. It appeals to ‘the lord of all nature ([...]ΜΠΧΔΙΣ ΜΦΥΣΙΣ ΝΗ)’, probably the subject which has sent ‘his son’, for salvation through ‘him’ (i.e. the son) on behalf of ‘us’ (ll.21–24). It continues with a first-person

⁷⁷⁷ A difference between the Kellis-psalm and the Med.Madi-psalm could be the absence of the sun as recipient of light in the Kellis-leaf (pkc.1a, ll.7–8; cf. 2 Ps.55. 7–8). This could be taken as a deliberate omission of the notion of sun as storehouse of Light. However, this notion is alluded to in the depiction of the ‘ships of light’ in the same text (ll.11–12), and the role of the sun and the moon are explicitly described in other Kellis-texts (e.g. pkgr.98, and even the letter pkc.32), so this is unlikely. The word ‘sun’ (ΠΡΗ) moreover has to be restored in the Med.Madi-text. Gardner suggests that the Kellis-text represents an earlier stage of textual history. Ibid.

⁷⁷⁸ van Lindt, *Mythological figures*, 65–66.

voice, clearly a soul, describing its confidence and belief in the mysteries. The soul makes an appeal to be saved from its enemies (including scorpions) (ll.32–38).

Text C1 can be equated with large portions of a psalm in an as of yet unordered part of 1 Ps (277–278). Both versions are very fragmented, but in this case the Kellis-papyrus is somewhat better preserved. It is written from the point of view of a soul, which narrates its travails in matter. The soul is beset upon by beasts and wolves, and tormented through burning (likely by the ‘sons of matter’, see 2 Ps. 54.18), before a saviour-figure arrives and the soul can triumph (pkc.2C1, ll.53–54; 1 Ps. 277.17–18). It now moves towards release: ‘[Ascend?] in thy mind and thou (soul) perceive thy form of [light?] (τῆμορφῆ ἡπ[ο]υγαί)νε), the image (τῆικων), this one who exists in the atmosphere (παμπρ)’ (pkc.2C1, ll.62–63; 1 Ps. 277.25). It claims kinship with ‘the son of man’.⁷⁷⁹ The end is almost illegible, except from a doxology to Mani as Paraclete, which can also be reconstructed at the end of C1.

P. Kell. Gr. 92

Pkgr.92 is a papyrus bifolium, perhaps deriving from an amulet, with a hymn to the ‘greatly praised Father’ (*poluumnēte p(at)ēr*). From the epithets it is clear that the Father of Lights is meant: he is described as the ‘fundament’ (*systema*, l.11) and ‘foundation (*systema*) of the lights’ (l.46), as well as ‘hidden’ (l.45), characteristic aspects of the highest Father of the Lights.⁷⁸⁰

P. Kell. Gr. 97 B.I–II

This Greek psalm is located in a codex which also contained various other liturgical material, including material alluding to the *Acts of John*.⁷⁸¹ It is written in couplets and addressed directly to the living soul (the ‘virgin’, the soul of the First Man), called ‘queen’. It is

⁷⁷⁹ Gardner, *KLT I*, 71 n.170.

⁷⁸⁰ For parallels in Manichaean literature, see *ibid.*, 140.

⁷⁸¹ Gardner, *KLT II*, 96. For a similarly structured hymn from Oxyrhynchus recently reinterpreted as Manichaean in light of this text, see Geoffrey S. Smith, ‘A Manichaean hymn at Oxyrhynchus: a reevaluation of P.Oxy. 2074’, *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 24, no. 1 (2016).

unfortunately very fragmented, but clearly contains parts of a longer hymnic exposé, whose first half deals with the fall of the living soul into Darkness, and its second half with the cosmic redemption process. It contains references to well-known parts of the Manichaean myth, as well as several less-well known details.

The readable passages describe the virgin soul being clothed in five elemental garments (the five Sons of the First Man). There is a description of a self-emerging boundary against the darkness known from some descriptions of the Manichaean myth: ‘a wall for the aeons of light established itself’ (II.4–5r).⁷⁸² The virgin soul is as elsewhere depicted as tricking the powers of darkness.⁷⁸³ There is the conferring of the Living Spirit’s stretching out of the right hand that ‘became the foundation of all risings’ (I.1v). This mythical event was the model for a ritual laying on of hands in Manichaean communities.⁷⁸⁴ The Beloved of the Lights (I.15r), a leading emanation, is found, as is the King of Honour (II.5–6v), along with fragmentary descriptions of their roles in the divine creation. The King of Honour was one of the five Sons of the Living Spirit or ‘porters’, which in order of importance within the mythic scheme were: the Keeper of Splendour, the King of Honour, the Adamas of Light, the King of Glory, and the Omophoros (Atlas). The other four ‘sons’ were clearly named in the text as well, although they have disappeared.⁷⁸⁵ They were each paired with one of the five cosmic virtues, the names of two of which are preserved: ‘great thought (*ennoia*)’ (I.3v) and ‘great insight (*fronēsis*)’ (I.7v).

Some terminological variations with the Coptic texts, as well as some scribal errors can be detected.⁷⁸⁶ Whether the sequence of deities or virtues corresponded exactly to the list found in other Manichaean literature is also unclear, due to the loss of text. Still, the mythic elements forming the backdrop for this hymn is consonant with detailed knowledge of the Manichaean myth. It includes even minor mythologomena, such as the personification of the five garments of the Living Soul as a female entity, the names of the five Sons of the Living Spirit, and their pairing with the five cosmic virtues (‘limbs’), known to be attributed to

⁷⁸² Gardner, *KLT II*, 108, pkgr.98, l.4n.

⁷⁸³ *Ibid.*, 108, pkgr.98, l.6n.

⁷⁸⁴ See J. Kevin Coyle, ‘Hands and imposition of hands in Manichaeism’, in *Manichaeism and its Legacy*, ed. J. Kevin Coyle (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009).

⁷⁸⁵ See Gardner, *KLT II*, 109, pkgr.98, ll.v6-16n.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 107–9, pkgr.98, ll. 7,13r; 2,6v.

individual souls (as well as the Father of Lights himself). It shows that knowledge of even ‘esoteric’ notions, such as that found in keph. 38, was to be found among believers in Kellis.⁷⁸⁷

10.2.2 Prayers

Of the six preserved prayers, one is in Coptic (tkc.2A4) and five are in Greek (pkgr.88, pkgr.91, pkgr.93(?), pkgr.94, pkgr.98). As to content, pkgr.93 is too fragmented to judge. Pkgr.88 is a short piece written on wooden board and perhaps used in a magical invocation for healing, or as an amulet. Pkgr.94 is likewise a short text on wood, containing a short praise for the Great Father of Lights.⁷⁸⁸ Three of them are more substantial: pkc.2A5, pkgr.91 and pkgr.98, and these are the focus here.

T. Kell. Copt. 2 A5

Text A5 from the wooden codex tkc.2 (which also contained psalms, see above) is a coherent prayer on behalf of the soul. It is written from the point of view of a deceased soul that invokes a series of specifically Manichaean divinities while ascending to the Land of Light. It starts with an appeal to the Third Ambassador (πμαρζωαμτ ἡπρεσβεγτης), who sent Jesus the Splendour (ἰῆς ππρεε), who in turn sent two divinities, the Light Mind (ππογς ἡογαινε) and the Virgin of Light (τπαρθενος ἡπογαινε). Mani, Spirit of Truth (ππῆα ἡτε τμηε πῆχαιε πμανιχαιος), is praised for having bestowed his knowledge upon the speaker, strengthened the soul in his faith, and completed by his commandments. These divinities are listed by order of appearance in the ‘canonical’ scheme of salvation known from other Manichaean sources.⁷⁸⁹

Next appears the soul’s counterpart (πκαω) with three angels, and presents it with gifts that symbolise victory over death. The soul starts to ascend, meeting the Judge

⁷⁸⁷ For keph. 38, and its importance within the church, see section 9.3.2. This tradition ultimately derived from Mani’s *Book of Giants*. Sundermann, *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous*, 18.

⁷⁸⁸ See Gonis and Römer, ‘Ein Lobgesang’.

⁷⁸⁹ Jesus Splendour was an emanation of the Ambassador, the Light Mind (and the Virgin) of Jesus Splendour, and Mani (in his spiritual union with the Paraclete) of the Light Mind. See below.

(πεκρίτης), being washed in the Pillar (πικτύλος), and being perfected in the Perfect Man (πρωμε ετχηκ εβαλ) – i.e. restored as fleshless and sinless and joined to other ascending souls. The judge is the so-called ‘Judge in the atmosphere’ known from other Manichaean sources.⁷⁹⁰ It then rises to the ‘ship of living water (πλαει ἡπιδου ετανη)’, i.e. the moon, where the First Man (πωαρπ ἡρωμε) blesses it. It then reaches the sun (πλαει ἡτσετε ετανη) where the Third Ambassador is located. From there it is ferried to the Land of Light (τχωρα ἡουγαεινε), where the ‘first righteous one’ (παρχιδικαιος) and the Beloved of the Lights (πμεριτ ἡἡουγαεινε) are. Finally, in a passage that may look ahead to the end-times, the Father of the Lights (πωτ ἡἡουγαεινε) reveals his image.⁷⁹¹ Gardner notes that the terms echo those found in the Berlin *Kephalaia*, and that the depiction of redemption is consonant with that found elsewhere – indeed, it ‘remained remarkably constant across the Manichaean world’.⁷⁹²

The prayer is an elegant presentation of Manichaean soteriology. Its usage needs some comment, however. An Elect could be the intended speaker: the perfection and release achieved by the soul described above was in principle reserved the Elect. However, although Auditors in general were not saved directly but needed another cycle of reincarnation (as Elect) before achieving release, a chapter of the Berlin *Kephalaia*, keph. 91, also explains how perfect Auditors can be released ‘in one body’, i.e. without needing to reincarnate (see 1 Ke. 228.20–229.20). Most Auditors were exhorted to emulate the Elect in their behaviour, as far as they were able, and would eventually reach the same destination. As we have seen, most of the psalms preserved above deal with the ascent of the soul, a common theme in Manichaean literature. This is the case for psalms contained in the same codex as pkc.2 (see

⁷⁹⁰ See keph. 28, where the Judge in the atmosphere ‘separates the righteous from the sinners.’ (1 Ke. 80.32). See also van Lindt, *Mythological figures*, 192–93.

⁷⁹¹ This is not scheduled to happen until the end-times, but, as Gardner points out, it is here probably a poetical anticipation of this event (also found in the *Psalm-Book*; 2 Ps. 63.3–8). Gardner, *KLT I*, 26. It has however recently been argued that the text provides a blueprint for an initiatory ritual. Julia Iwerson, ‘A Manichaean ritual of ascent? A discussion of T. Kell. Copt. 2 A 5’, in *Zur lichten Heimat: Studien zu Manichäismus, Iranistik und Zentralasienkunde im Gedenken an Werner Sundermann.*, ed. Team Turfanforschung (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017).

⁷⁹² Gardner, *KLT I*, 25.

psalm A4, in particular), suggesting that the prayer was chosen to accompany them for its theme.

P. Kell. Gr. 91

Pkgr.91 is a papyrus bifolium, containing a short but complete bipartite prayer, likely to have been used as an amulet.⁷⁹³ The first part (ll.1–18) addresses one or several divinities by a series of titles: ‘the firstborn word’, ‘the father of the intellectual man’, ‘the mother of life’, ‘the first apostleship’, ‘the splendour of the enlighteners’, ‘our holy spirit’, ‘the salt of the church’ and ‘the pilot of goodness’. The second part appeals to be made ‘worthy’ to be ‘your (sg.) faithful’ on behalf of ‘us’, described with another series of epithets (‘those who are perfected in you’, ‘those who are sober in you’, etc.).

Several of the titles fit the Light Mind: in particular ‘the father of the intellectual man’ and ‘our holy spirit’, which Gardner points out,⁷⁹⁴ but also ‘the First Apostleship’ (see e.g. 1 Ke. 35.21–24) and ‘the pilot’ (e.g. 2 Ps. 161.5–6). The piece, then, could be a prayer devoted to this divinity, whose importance is evident also in the documentary letters (section 9.3.2). The involvement of the Light Mind in the bodies of the Elect at the ritual meal could explain the expression ‘salt of the church’ as well. The ‘Mother of Life’, however, is directly identifiable with a different Manichaean divinity. Gardner suggests that the piece may simply be a piece of popular devotion.⁷⁹⁵ An alternative interpretation could perhaps be broached: that the writer is using juxtapositions (both ‘firstborn’ and ‘father’, both ‘father’ and ‘mother’) to allude to the idea that different divinities in the end are one and the same, i.e. the active divine Light.

P. Kell. Gr. 98: ‘The prayer of the emanations’

Pkgr.98 is a wooden board found in the rear courtyard of House 3, which contained a text titled ‘prayer of the emanations’ (*eukhē tōn probolōn*). Gardner remarks that ‘in production,

⁷⁹³ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid., 136.

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid.

format and handwriting, this piece is generally superior to contemporary papyrus prayers'.⁷⁹⁶ It is among the most significant finds of Manichaean literature in Kellis: it has been established that it contains a Greek version of a prayer found both in Central Asian material and in a passage by al-Nadim.⁷⁹⁷ Al-Nadim described it as consisting of twelve verses or sub-prayers, ten of them written by Mani himself. It was to be prayed four times a day by the Auditors and seven by the Elect, and is therefore often referred to as the 'daily prayer'. Believers turned towards the sun during the day and the moon at night, and prostrated themselves at each sub-prayer.⁷⁹⁸ The Kellis-text contains the ten prayers (i.e. only those written by Mani), praising:⁷⁹⁹

1. Lines 2–14: The Father of Lights, who has perfected the 'foundation' (*systasin*) of the aeons (ll.7–8), and is 'the basis (*systēma*) of every grace and life and truth' (ll.13–14).
2. Lines 15–22: The collective of all gods (*theous*), angels, splendours, enlighteners, powers (ll.15–18), all of whom 'subsist in holiness, and by his light are nourished, being purified of all darkness and malignance' (ll.19–22).
3. Lines 23–33: The shining angels who suppressed 'the darkness (*to skotos*) and its arrogant powers that were desiring to make war with the one who is first of all' (ll.26–29), created the world, and bound in it the 'foundation (*systasin*) of contempt' (ll.32–33).
4. Lines 33–55: 'The shining mind, king, Christ' who came from the aeons (ll.34–35), interpreted the mysteries, separating truth from lie, light from darkness, good from evil, righteous from the wicked, on behalf of all races and in all languages (ll.40–52).
5. Lines 55–59: The Living God, who 'raised up all things, what is ordered above and below' (ll.57–59)
6. Lines 59–69: The light givers, 'both the sun and the moon and the virtuous powers in them, which by wisdom conquer the antagonists and illuminate the entire order, and

⁷⁹⁶ Gardner, *KLT II*, 111.

⁷⁹⁷ Gardner, 'Recovery'.

⁷⁹⁸ The existence of the prayer was previously attested or alluded to by a variety of writers; in the western Roman Empire mainly by Augustine and the *Kephalaia* (1 Ke. 376.22–29). A version in Middle Persian is preserved among the Turfan-texts. See *ibid.*, 83–90.

⁷⁹⁹ For an abbreviated list, see Gardner, 'Ritual practice at Kellis'.

of all oversee and judge the world, and conduct the victorious among the souls into the great aeon of light.’ (ll.60–69)

7. Lines 70–77: The five great lights (*fōta*), ‘through which by participation power and beauty and soul (*psykhē*) and life are found in all.’ (ll.73–75)
8. Lines 77–84: The gods who uphold the creation (*dēmiourgēma*).’ (ll.80–81)
9. Lines 85–94: The shining angels who rule the universe, subdue the demons and all evil, and protect righteousness.
10. Lines 95–123: Finally, ‘all the righteous (*dikaious*)’ – both those who have existed, exist now, and will exist – ‘in order that all the ones whom I have worshipped and glorified and named may help me and bless me with favour, and release me from every fetter and all compulsion and torment and reincarnation (*metensōmatōseōn*) and grant me access into the great aeon of light’ (ll.103–113)

The emphasis is on the positive divine powers that regulate the earth and liberate its souls. While it depicts the attack of Darkness upon the Light (ll.26–29), it may be taken to downplay the characteristic Manichaean dualism. However, as Bermejo Rubio has pointed out, the text posits opposition between two radically different ‘foundations’ (both called *systasis*) with associated ‘powers’.⁸⁰⁰ Admittedly, it depicts an ‘asymmetrical dualism’, in which the Light is regarded as superior and in some sense prior, but this is common for Manichaean texts in general.⁸⁰¹

The text contains many other characteristically Manichaean notions. All divinities are emanations from the Father (ll.19–22). The divinities construct the world out of conquered evil matter (ll.32–33), and evil needs to be kept in check by guardian gods (ll.85–94). The sun and the moon are divine and house divinities responsible for ‘wisdom’ and ‘judgement’, to whom souls ascend before entering the ‘great aeon’ (ll.59–69). It is through five lights (i.e. the Light-elements trapped in matter) that soul and life are found in the world (ll.73–75).⁸⁰² Still, Light needs to be purified (ll.21–22). Not least, the believers need to glorify the Elect (l.96) in

⁸⁰⁰ Bermejo-Rubio, ‘Further remarks’, 223–24.

⁸⁰¹ Ibid. See also Concetta G. Scibona, ‘How monotheistic is Mani’s dualism? Once more on monotheism and dualism in Manichaean Gnosis’, *Numen* 48, no. 4 (2001): 455–56.

⁸⁰² Alexander Khosroyev argued for identifying these as the five planets (Khosroyev, ‘Zu einem manichäischen (?) Gebet’.); but see Gardner, *KLT II*, 113–14; and Bermejo-Rubio, ‘Further remarks’; and Gardner, ‘Recovery’.

order to receive release from reincarnation (l.110). Lastly, the long passage on ‘the shining mind, king, Christ’ may allude to, or more likely prefigure, the notion of the saviour-divinity’s gradual descent to the world through multiple emanations.⁸⁰³

Many divinities known from the Coptic scholastic tradition are not named specifically, or occur in variant forms.⁸⁰⁴ It is thus possible that the terminology of and divisions between divinities was still being shaped when the prayer was written – presumably at an early stage of the development in Mesopotamia, and probably by Mani himself, as related by al-Nadim.⁸⁰⁵ This is indicated by the absence of verses dedicated to Mani, which are mentioned by al-Nadim as present in the prayer at his time. The instruction at the end of the Kellis-text points in this direction as well. It reads: ‘blessed is he who prays this prayer frequently, at least three times a day’ (ll.124–126).⁸⁰⁶ This number of prayers is also found in the Parthian fragments of this text. However, al-Nadim said the prayer was to be said four times a day by the Auditors and seven times a day by the Elect. A fourth daily prayer may reflect a later development.⁸⁰⁷ Still, the key notions of belief, necessitating for instance Elect ritual meals, are all present.

⁸⁰³ Gardner, *KLT II*, 126, pgr.98, ll.34–35n. Although this refers primarily to the Light Mind, we may already here have a prefiguration of the division of soteriological emanations into separate stages, found in the scholastic tradition of the *Kephalaia*: the Mind, King, Christ, has come 1) from the outer aeons, 2) first to the created reality above, 3) then to the created reality below, 4) then to all races in every language. Keph. 7 (1 Ke. 34.13–36.26) lists, in addition to the hidden Father of Greatness, the soteriological emanations as: the Third Ambassador, ‘model of the King of Lights’ > Jesus the Splendour, ‘through whom shall be given life eternal’ > the Light Mind, ‘father of all the apostles’ > the Apostle of Light, who ‘shall on occasion come and assume the church of the flesh’. The placement roughly reflects the stages in pgr.98, with 1) the Ambassador located in the sun, the gate to the ‘outer aeons’; 2) Jesus in the moon, in the heavenly ‘created reality above’; 3) the Light Mind in the Church, in the earthly ‘created reality below’; and 4) its manifestation in Apostles of Light, sent to different peoples.

⁸⁰⁴ The ‘Living God’ for the ‘Living Spirit’ (ibid., 126, pgr.98, ll.55–59n.), ‘shining mind, king, Christ’ for the Light Mind (and other soteriological divinities, see above), ‘five lights’ for the ‘five light elements’, and ‘gods’ and ‘shining angels’ instead of specific names such as the Sons of the Living Spirit entrusted with holding and guarding the world.

⁸⁰⁵ Although I think Gardner’s depiction of the religion as having rapidly turned into ‘something that was other than that which Mani professed’ (‘Recovery’, 98–99.) is an exaggeration, and that Mani was largely responsible for his own later position, the notion that the technical vocabulary and systematised teachings found, for instance, in the Berlin *Kephalaia* developed gradually and over time (but certainly in part throughout Mani’s own lifetime) sounds intuitively correct.

⁸⁰⁶ Initially Gardner somewhat hesitantly translated ‘at least every third day’ (Gardner, *KLT II*, 127–28, pgr.98, l.26n.), but with the identification this translation is now obsolete. Gardner, ‘Recovery’, 97.

⁸⁰⁷ The number four is also found in the Uighur communal confession, the *Xuastvanift*. Gardner, ‘Recovery’, 97.

10.2.3 Summary

The most frequent topic of the psalms and prayers is the soul's entrapment in demonic Matter, preparations for release, and ascent after death. The motif of entrapment, release, and ascent is present to some degree in every psalm (an exception being what little can be read of tkc.2 B2). Several texts directly address the soul (e.g. Psalm 68/tkc.2A2; Psalm 222/tkc.4) or speak from its point of view (Psalm 261/tkc.6; tkc.2A5). It is also the central topic of the prayer tkc.2A5. The identification of individual souls with the world soul, and the familial bond between the world soul, individual souls, and divinities is also clear.⁸⁰⁸ The trapped world soul receives devotion in pkgr.97B and pkgr.98, is called 'the suffering elements' (tkc.7), 'the five elements' (pkc.1B), or 'garments' (pkgr.97B), all typical of Manichaean discourse. A poetic allusion to it as 'the milk present in every tree', occurs in the first part of Psalm 246, the second part of which is preserved in pkc.1A. The familial relationship between individual souls and cosmic divinities is seen for instance in pkc.2C1, while the transmigration of souls in the world features in pkgr.98.

The details of salvation are strikingly Manichaean, particularly evident in tkc.2A5. Here Manichaean divinities connected to the whole process are invoked, including Mani as the 'Spirit of Truth', central soteriological divinities such as the Third Ambassador – also invoked in the eschatological tkc.2A4 (and treated in tkc.1, below) – Jesus the Splendour, and the Light Mind, as well as divinities important for the soul's ascent such as the Light Form and the Judge in the atmosphere. These latter two recur in pkc.2C1 (perhaps the Judge also occurs in the very fragmented pkc.3, l.1a). The physical aspect of this ascent is shown by the role of the divine sun and moon, through which individual souls ascend, which are referred to in psalm tkc.7 and the prayers tkc.2A5 and pkgr.98. Prayer tkc.2A5, in particular, provides a detailed picture of the entire sequence of ascent, locating specific divinities in these 'ships of light'. The Elect are praised in tkc.6, and the role of the Elect as purifiers of Light in pkgr.98.

More 'obscure' mythologomena are also found. The psalm of tkc.7 mentions the 'porters', i.e. the Sons of the Living Spirit. These are probably alluded to as 'gods' who uphold the creation in pkgr.98 (ll.80–81). Significantly, they are named individually in pkgr.97B. Although only fragments are preserved, this text pairs the 'Sons' with Light-faculties or virtues,

⁸⁰⁸ We may note that this notion also occurs in Mani's own letters. See *KLT II*, 81, pkc.53, l.43,10ff.

in line with the scheme found for instance in keph. 38. Another collective of divinities with mythological-ethical aspects, the Twelve Virgins of the Third Ambassador, appear on the didactic board tkc.1 (see below, section 10.3.2).

None of these texts engage with church history or institutions, found in some Med.Madi-psalms, but this also holds true for the vast majority of (other) Med.Madi-psalms, which are likewise primarily concerned with salvation (exceptions include Psalm 227, 241, and a Wanderer Psalm (2 Ps. 140.6–7)). The Bema, the centre of attention for the Church's Bema-feast, is the theme for Psalm 222 (in tkc.4a), indicating that this festival was known at Kellis. Mani himself is mentioned in the psalms tkc.4a, tkc.7, pkc.2C1–C2, the prayer tkc.2A5, and probably in the lost body of psalm 68/tkc.2A2 (as well as potentially in other lost doxologies). The church is called 'the church of the Paraclete' (tkc.4a, tkc.6).

Thus, we find the key notions of a primal battle between Light and Darkness, the suffering world soul, its ascent through the physical sphere, and distinct Manichaean mythic ideas and divinities – including Mani – frequently occurring in these texts. The role of the Elect and transmigration both feature in the 'daily prayer'. To conclude, the devotional material from Kellis certainly does not shy away from dealing with specifically Manichaean beliefs.

10.3 Pastoral texts and laity

10.3.1 *Mani's Epistles*

Fragments of two codices identified as containing literary letters ('epistles') were published in the second volume of literary texts from Kellis.⁸⁰⁹ The remains were found in rooms of House 3 which also contained documentary material.⁸¹⁰ Gardner has argued that both style and content indicate that these should be assigned to Mani, and so represent part of his canonical work, the *Epistles*.⁸¹¹ The preserved parts of the *Epistles* at Kellis deal primarily with pastoral matters, which Gardner has taken as an indication of the primarily ethical and practical

⁸⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 14–15.

⁸¹⁰ In particular, room 6 and room 3. *Ibid.*

⁸¹¹ *Ibid.*, 27; Gardner, *KLT I*, 27.

concerns of the community.⁸¹² What they tells us about how these ethical and practical concerns were to be handled deserves further elucidation.

P. Kell. Copt. 53

Most of the fragments identified as part of Mani's *Epistles* belong to a single codex, labelled pkc.53. Eleven leaves from mostly discontinuous parts of the codex, containing material belonging to at least three different letters, have been assigned to this codex.⁸¹³ Gardner, based on the content, has provisionally titled two of these letters the Sickness letter and the Enemy letter, respectively.⁸¹⁴ The Sickness letter can probably be identified with a writing known from elsewhere as *The Epistle of the Ten Words*. The codex was not large enough to contain all letters attributed to Mani;⁸¹⁵ instead it must have represented a selection from the larger corpus.

The best-preserved leaves are those assigned to the Sickness letter (leaves 12, 1, 6, 31–34, and 51/52, in Gardner's reconstruction). The author, whose name is lost, styles himself 'apostle of Jesus Chrestos'. He addresses a man whose name is also lost, and the brethren who are with him (pkc.53, 12.1–6). He invokes 'the Father, the God of Truth' and asserts that he has sealed his interlocutors in him (12.13–14), giving emphasis to his authority. These features make an identification with Mani all but certain. In the first preserved bulk of the letter-body (leaves 31–34) describes a dire sickness he is suffering from, which has been exacerbated by a letter sent by the addressee. In the mostly illegible mid-section of leaf 31, the words 'congregation of the holy ones' (31.12) and 'envy and quarrelling' (31.16) can be read, and so conflict within the congregation would appear to be the topic. In the next leaf, it becomes clear that the addressee has complained about a co-believer who has uttered (evil) words against another member of the community (32.1–5). Mani now responds, saying that by wounding one person, the offender has unwittingly wounded 'the entire righteousness and godliness' (32.8). The addressee should speak gently with him to lead him away from such sin.

⁸¹² Gardner, *KLT I*, x.

⁸¹³ Gardner, *KLT II*, 11.

⁸¹⁴ For the details of the reconstruction of these letters see *ibid.*, 14–27.

⁸¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 13. See also Gardner, 'Once more on Mani's Epistles', 294–95.

The next two leaves (33–34) are more fragmented, but continue the topic of problems within the church. Mani is found saying: ‘For there are people of this kind in church, who are not strong; rather they look for excuses and empty words’ (33.23–25). In the last page assigned to this letter, leaf 51, Mani seeks to encourage the addressees (now plural) by stressing the need for living up to their ideals. The passage contains a strong formulation of his own role within the community, which in Gardner’s translation reads:

αρὶ πνευε ἡπετῖωρη ἡναρτε ετε ουντητηνεφ εἰ τετῖνῆτῖλογ εε εωτε οε εταῖωρη εἰσε εἰ ἡσαχε/ε/ ἡἡλοгна ἡπνευ εηπατε κωοηκοῦμενος εἰ εκκλησια ωωπε εατῖωωπε ἡρηρωμε εγανη εἰ τῖνῆτῖνεκε ἡνακαριος: τῖνογ εἰτῖατῖλε κωοηκοῦμενος εἰ εκκλησια εατῖωωπε εγωωτῖνε εατῖνε τετῖνῆτῖ ἡρογο εεωκ εβαλ τῖνογ ἡἡνακαρισμος ἡτῖνῆτῖνεκε τεἰ ετῖετῖατορο ἡρητῖ εεωοгна ἡἡ πκοσμος: ερῖναρε ηητῖ εεωκ εβαλ ἡτετῖραἰ ερωτῖ ἡρητῖ: εἡλη ἡταε πε πετῖεαυ πεκλαη ἡπετῖτορο

Remember your first faith that you had in your youth: How I labored in the congregations of the sects (ἡσαχε/ε/ ἡἡλοгна) when there was yet no catechumens and no church. You have become people made better by blessed poverty. Now, since you have been bringing forth catechumens and churches – you proclaimed and they listened to you – you are obliged the more now to perfect the blessings of this poverty, by which you will gain the victory over the sects and the world. It is profitable for you to perfect it and be vigilant in it; because (poverty) is your glory, the crown of your victory. (pkc.53, 51.1–17)

From this it is clear that the people Mani addresses are Elect, who have turned to him for rulings on disputes and breach of discipline among them. In answer, Mani stresses his role as founder: at the time he began his mission there were no catechumens or church, and he had to toil among the ‘sects’ (*dogma*). The Elect should cherish their good fortune, as Mani has prepared the way for their ‘victory’. In the process he makes a powerful statement concerning his own role which is repeated by later ecclesiastical sources: Mani had not relied on a pre-existing community, but made his own ‘good election’ (e.g. 1 Ke. 16.3) in opposition to the ‘sects’, creating a superior Church where true practice of blessed poverty could proliferate (e.g. 1 Ke. 13.30–14.7).⁸¹⁶

⁸¹⁶ See also Samuel N. C. Lieu, “‘My Church is superior...’: Mani’s missionary statement in Coptic and Middle Persian”, in *Coptica - Gnostica - Manichaica. Mélanges offerts à Wolf-Peter Funk*, ed. Louis Painchaud and Paul-Hubert Poirer (Quebec: Laval University Press, 2006). Gardner argues that: ‘The obvious hypothesis is that the positioning of Mani at the centre and as the fount of the religion is a matter that gradually developed, certainly after his death ... It is only in the scholastic tradition of the *Kephalaia* and so forth that Mani becomes ‘the apostle’ in the sense of final or definite revealer in a series, where Jesus becomes only an earlier one.’ (*KLT II*, 78, pkc.53, ll.11,11–13n.). However, it seems to me that his role as the final ‘apostle’, whose revelations legitimised a new movement, must have been established by Mani himself, as evinced by citations from his *Living Gospel* and *Šabuhagan* (see Reeves, *Prolegomena*, 97, 102–3.). His self-presentation in these letters are certainly consonant with this picture, as seen in his claim to fulfil the words of Jesus (pkc.53, 41.5–19) and the emphasis on his own revelations as providing the complete truth (pkc.54, ll.12–17; below).

A similar passage on troubles within Mani's community comes from the 'enemy letter'. Here Mani relates how some people have come to him slandering the addressee, apparently a senior member, in order to make Mani remove him. As translated by Gardner it reads:

ετρη τ[εκκλησι]α [.] εταρε αν . [.] τῆναυ αυ . [. . .] ἀραῖ [.] ἀκ' εϋρωωϋε
 α[χ]ἀρ[η]κ ην γ]ενοίτο: εϋμεϋε [χ]ενωατεοϋ ἡνσεχε τηρωϋ [ἡ]παῖτο αβαλ ἡπῖσαρ φατσταϋ [α]βαλ
 ηῖκαερεϋε ἡναϋ αβαλ ρῖ[τ]ῖηῖτωῖωῖτ' ηῖχωρηῖ ἡπῖρητ': ἀλλὰ ἀνακ πῖε πεταῖεϋ: ἡρωνε εταγτεοϋ ἡνσεχε
 ἡπαῖτο αβαλ' εϋρωωϋε αχἀρηκε ραῖεϋε ἀραϋ ρῖη ρῖσεχε εϋναϋτ' κατα ποῖῖπωα

[...] who are in the church [...] who came to the [...] they (?) sent and [...] to me [...] you, they wishing to defile [you ...]
 This should never happen. They are thinking: "If we are able to report all these words before our teacher (πῖσαρ) he
 may turn him away and divest him (ηῖκαερεϋε ἡναϋ αβαλ ρῖη) of his ministry (τῖῖηῖτωῖωῖτ), and he defiles his
 heart". However, I, this is what I have done: The people who proclaimed these words before me, wishing to defile
 you; I have gone to them with strong words according to their worth. (pκ.52, 61.7–20)

Mani sees through them, and instead it is the accusers who are rebuked. This passage evinces how the community Mani is speaking of, as hinted at above, already had its own institutions, with hierarchical officials wielding authority over each other. 'Teacher' (σαρ), the title applied indirectly to Mani, is clearly not solely a master of students: it is an office with the power to divest (*kathaireō*, 'put down', 'depose') another of his ministry (ἡῖτωῖωῖτ).⁸¹⁷ Another leaf, belonging to a different letter, concerns the errors of a certain presbyter, and gives a similar impression. It reads, in Gardner's translation:

πρ]εσβυτεροс те нин етк[.] . ἡουσαп ἡνεϋ ηῖτῖη [.] ηῖτῖηχι ἡτοτκ' ἡτασβ[ω:] сρεῖ ηῖη κ'темаῖ
 же нин пе н еϋῖεω ἡна же αῖηαῖηε ἀραϋ ρω ἡρωνε εтσαхв ἡпρηте εтнасте ἡпечρηῖ: ἡне гαρ же ηῖ σенаве
 еϋнаϋт' ἡте ппресвυтерос ηαρεῖε εῖηηтп αпῖη ηῖтῖηχι ἀραϋ ἡтсῖωῖ ε[т]ῖῖῖεωγас неϋ: петнахи оῖ[. . .] . [.]
 κῖῖπωα ἡτῖῖηαυ [. .] . [.] ἀϋ же αῖηαῖηε:

And any presbyter whom you (sg) [...] on one or two occasions, and he does not [...] and he does not take from you
 my teaching: Write to me and tell me who or where he is, so that I myself will know him; this person who is inferior
 in this manner, who hates his benefit. For understand that there is no more severe sin for this presbyter, before me,
 than this one: (That) he does not receive this teaching that I have proclaimed for him. Now, (when) someone will
 [not] receive [...] you are obliged to send [me (a message) and ...] him so that I will know. (pκ.53, 81.2–15)

Mani demands that the presbyter's wrongdoings be reported to him.⁸¹⁸ As in the passages from the 'sickness letter' and the 'enemy letter', breeches of discipline and conflicts between Elect are to be handled within the structure of the community. The principle of mutual

⁸¹⁷ Perhaps the title of teacher ascribed to Mani here (by himself) explains why the archegos, the head of the church and Mani's 'heir' (on Augustine's testimony, see *De haer.* 46.16) was considered first among the other teachers, and not a (completely) separate office.

⁸¹⁸ It is interesting to see this passage in connection with an unfortunately very fragmented chapter from the Berlin *Kephalaia*; keph. 166. As in the letter from Kellis, a rogue presbyter and the sending of messages are central features of this kephalaion (1 Ke. 411.15, 412.1–3).

observation of Elect by Auditors has recently been stressed by BeDuhn as a control mechanism that increased pressure on the Elect to act in accordance with the discipline.⁸¹⁹ This letter strengthens that impression. Mani as superior was to be informed, and would take action, against trouble-makers based on the reports made by conscientious believers.⁸²⁰ A system of observation and report was put in place to regulate behaviour among adherents.

Finally, we should note some points where cosmic doctrines are expounded in the preserved material. In the Enemy letter (41–44, 61/62), Mani exhorts his addressee to be prepared for ‘long-suffering’, and to be like an athlete, a ‘good priest’, and a farmer who tends a vineyard, who takes the fruit he plucks to his master. It seems that he is here alluding to the Elect role in refining souls and sending them to the Light (see 42.22–25). This is supported by the following discussion on the next leaf. It concerns ‘our exalted soul’ (τῆν ὑψηλὴν εὐχαρίαν) which Satan has lied about, and which is the light of the Father ‘which enlightens the world’ (43.16–17): ‘Again, pay heed to your (pl.) exalted soul, that is, the life of the universe which is spread out in every place; for how many are the wounds, how great the terrors endured by (?) humanity.’ (43.19–24).⁸²¹ On the last preserved leaf of this part he returns to the topic of enduring suffering. We may similarly adduce the transgression mentioned in the Sickness letter, where one offender, by one act of transgression, had sinned against ‘the entire righteousness and godliness’ (32.8), which seems to involve a cosmic wrong caused by an unwitting human agent.

Here, then, we find Mani making a connection between macrocosmic forces and the individual ethical regime, similar to the (admittedly much more abstract) mythological-ethical reasoning concerning divinities and virtues from the scholastic tradition in keph. 38 (or pkgr.97). Mani’s *Epistles* may primarily have dealt with ethics,⁸²² but the ethics he expounded were not easily separated from the cosmological notions.

⁸¹⁹ BeDuhn, ‘Domestic setting’, 264–65.

⁸²⁰ Augustine provides a description of this principle at work in practice among laity in Northern Africa. See section 11.4.

⁸²¹ See also pkgr.98 (ll.73–75), and the discussion above, section 10.2.3.

⁸²² But see e.g. Mani’s *Fundamental Epistle*, read to Augustine as an Auditor and attacked by him early in his episcopacy, ‘in which almost the whole of what you believe is contained’ (*C. ep. Man.* 5, trans. Teske, *The Manichaean debate*, 236.). It was centrally concerned with the war between Light and Darkness, and features of the respective realms.

P. Kell. Copt. 54

A leaf assigned to a different codex, p^kc.54, also contains a text that can be attributed to Mani, although its classification as one of his *Epistles* is less clear.⁸²³ The first legible part concerns an unknown logion by a ‘saviour’ on love and redemption. Mani says that he has given the addressees all the information they need about the mysteries, as long as they study his writings (ll.12–17). Again, we see how Mani stressed his own position, and in this case his own revelations, as the basis of his authority. He then prays that they may possess love for each other and avoid ‘divisions, disharmony, quarrels or reproaches’ (ll.20–21). He exhorts them to practice ‘love and gentleness’ (ll.23–24). Towards the end of the leaf, he comes with an injunction concerning love between the grades of the community, which in Gardner’s translation reads:

ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲏⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲛⲉⲧⲛ[ⲉⲣⲏϥ] ⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ[ⲥⲁⲗ ⲏ]ⲉⲣⲓ ⲛⲥⲁⲗ ⲛⲥ[ⲁⲃⲉ]ⲟϥⲉ ⲛ[ⲉⲡⲓⲕ]ⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲙⲁⲟⲛⲧ[ⲏⲥ] ⲛⲏⲙ[ⲁⲟⲛⲧ]ⲏⲥ ⲛⲥⲁⲛ
ⲛⲏⲥⲁⲛ ⲛⲥⲟⲛⲉ ⲁ[ⲛ ⲛ]ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲏⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲏ ⲛⲉⲣⲓⲛ[ⲟⲩ]ⲣⲉ ⲛⲏ[ⲟϥ]ⲟⲛⲁ ⲛⲟϥⲟⲩⲧ ⲛⲁⲧⲧⲟⲡⲣⲁ (vac) ⲧⲏⲟϥ ⲧⲗⲉ [ⲧⲉⲧⲉ]ⲓ
ⲉⲧⲉⲛⲁⲉⲥ ⲛⲁⲏⲣⲣⲉⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲉⲧⲛⲁⲣⲑ[ⲟⲣⲉ ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲧⲏⲛⲧⲁⲗⲁⲡⲏ ⲛⲟϥⲟⲩⲧ ⲛⲧ . . . ⲗ ⲛ[ⲟϥ]ⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲡⲉⲗⲏⲏ ⲧⲁⲗⲁⲡⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲥ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲑⲣ[ⲁⲗⲓⲕ
ⲏⲧ]ⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲏⲙⲉⲣⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲧⲏ ⲛⲥⲟⲛⲁ ⲗⲁⲣ ⲉϥ[ⲟⲩⲟⲡ ⲛⲏ]ⲧⲏ ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲟϥⲕⲟϥⲓ ⲛⲥⲏϥ ⲡ[ⲣ]ⲟⲛⲉ ⲟⲉ [ⲛⲁⲗⲓⲟϥⲏ ⲁⲃ]ⲗⲁ ⲁⲟⲣⲓⲥ ⲧⲟⲑⲣⲁⲗⲓⲕ
ⲛ[ⲧⲉ] ⲧⲁⲗⲁⲡⲏ [ⲏⲧⲉⲗⲓ]ⲏⲧⲥⲁⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲧⲁⲡⲉⲗⲣⲉⲗⲉ[ⲟⲩⲧ]ⲉ

and you will love one [another]: the [teachers] will love the teachers (ⲛⲥⲁⲗ), the wise ones (ⲛⲥ[ⲁⲃⲉ]ⲟϥⲉ) (love) the wise ones, the bishops (ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ) (love) the bishops, the disciples (ⲛⲙⲁⲟⲛⲧⲏⲥ) (love) the disciples, the brothers (love) the brothers, also the sisters (love) the sisters; and you will all become children of [a] single undivided body. Now, [this is] the way that you should behave, my loved ones, so that you will all possess this one love [and one (?)] ...; because man [can not remain without the seal [of] the love [of his] brotherhood and that of his redeemer. (p^kc.54, ll.49–63)

Mani here proclaims that the disposition of love is to govern internal relationships between members of the community in order to create a ‘single undivided body (*sōma*)’. As in the cases of errant Elect above the focus is on unity and harmony within the church ranks.⁸²⁴ The title of ‘teacher’ heads the list, demonstrating that it had already received prominence within the church, as is also shown by its application to Mani in the ‘enemy letter’ above. The other titles are not in accordance with later lists, however. The office of ‘bishop’ is listed third, replacing the office of ‘presbyter’ – which however is found in the above-cited p^kc.53, and so it may be that the two letters belong to different periods of Mani’s life and the development of the

⁸²³ See Gardner, *KLT II*, p^kc.54, 85, l.23n; 91, ll.2–6n. However, it might be plausible to identify it with the ‘Letter of the Seal’, where Mani sealed the community in his love. See Gardner, ‘Once more on Mani’s Epistles’, 310–14.

⁸²⁴ A similar emphasis of intra-communal ‘love’ is also found in 1 Ke. (e.g. keph. 63, ‘Concerning love’).

church. This would indicate that the precise order and terms may not have been as fixed at the time of writing as at a later stage.⁸²⁵ The relationship between and/or translation of the terms of the two offices, bishop and presbyter, appears to have undergone some degree of development within the community.

At any rate, we have here, as in pkc.53, another example of how the Manichaean texts from Kellis promoted strong norms of behaviour within the boundaries of an institutionalised, socio-religious body, whose final authority was Mani.

10.3.2 T. Kell. Copt. 1

Even closer engagement with the cosmology is evinced by a wooden board discovered in House 3 (tkc.1), likely used for catechetical instruction. It deals with the five properties (σχημα) of the divinity known as the Third Ambassador, who ‘exists corresponding to five properties of the Father’ (tkc.1, l.3). He is described as exalted, king, a light dispersed over aeons, hidden, and in possession of Twelve Virgins (‘after the twelve aeons of the Father’, ll.12–14). The third property reflects the notion of higher and lower emanations ultimately being part of the same deity. The Twelve Virgins were a set of divinities that manifested the effects of the disciplinary regime on the Elect body, although whether this notion was fully systematised in the western tradition is unclear.⁸²⁶ The catechetical style, and the division of processes and divinities into categories of five, are important characteristics of the Berlin *Kephalaia*, which Pettipiece has termed a process of ‘pentadisation’ conducted by the scholastic tradition of the Church.⁸²⁷ On the other hand, it lacks the introduction formula introducing the speaker as Mani, also characteristic of that work. Whether the board represents an urtext of kephalaic material, or was itself derived from a canonical collection

⁸²⁵ So Gardner writes: ‘The various titles can be paralleled from numerous sources, and the structure appears to have been instituted by the apostle himself. ... However, what is apparent here is that the categories / titles have not yet attained the fixed listing that is known from later sources ..., and which may indeed be a feature of the developed church itself’. Gardner, *KLT II*, 92 n.31.

⁸²⁶ BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 226. See also 1 Ke. 97.7–19.

⁸²⁷ Timothy Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean Kephalaia*, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean studies, (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009).

such as the Berlin *Kephalaia*, is therefore unclear.⁸²⁸ However, we should note that both the *Epistles* and some of the Psalms both appear to be derived from other, ‘canonical’ versions. Either way, the depiction of five aspects of a higher deity mirrored in a lower one shows the influence of the scholastic tradition at Kellis.⁸²⁹

Turning to the social context for the usage of the board, it was most likely a teaching or mnemonic instrument. Gardner describes it as ‘a “flip card”, utilised for the easy learning of the complex details of Manichaean doctrine.’⁸³⁰ He goes on to say:

The personal letters from Kellis evidence that the lay faithful regarded Manichaeism as a kind of superior Christianity; and the specifically Manichaean divinities such as the Third Ambassador rarely intrude. It would seem that in their evangelical mission the elect presented the faith as that of the true church, and as the fulfilment of Jesus’ teaching. Catechumens would then be slowly drawn into the community and gradually introduced to the higher knowledge of Mani’s revelations. This process is also apparent from Augustine’s writings. ... It also suggests the presence of elect at Kellis.⁸³¹

The distinction between presenting the faith as the ‘true church’ of Jesus and slowly drawing believers into the higher mysteries is not entirely clear to me – the Elect would presumably have seen no distinction, just a gradually fuller, more satisfying account of the same faith made manifest by Jesus, as explained and revealed by Mani. The Third Ambassador already figured in psalm tkc.2A4, above, and so was not a secret divinity reserved for the few, although his different attributes was probably primarily known to those who decided to undergo such teachings. More ‘earthly’ soteriological divinities such as the Light Mind and Jesus would have been more important than these cosmic figures, but probably not unknown (see below, section 10.4.2). Still, this kind of teaching does raise intriguing questions regarding the interaction between Elect and laity in House 1–3. The board was found in the same room and deposit level (room 11, level 4) as material of actors who are (presumably) Auditors: two letters by Pekysis to ‘father’ Horos I (pkc.78–79), a letter by Sabinos to Elias dealing with a landlord (pkgr.81), and a letter by Timotheos to Talou concerning freight (pkc.93). That either Horos, Timotheos, or another associate of this circle (e.g. Theognostos) were Elect cannot be

⁸²⁸ Gardner, followed by Pettipiece, appears to prefer the former solution (Gardner, *KLTI*, 4; Pettipiece, *Pentadic redaction*, 12.). Still, the pentadic structure so characteristic of the ‘scholastic’ tradition must derive from some other material.

⁸²⁹ See also Gardner, *KLTI*, 4–7.

⁸³⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁸³¹ *Ibid.*

excluded, but none of them can securely be identified as such.⁸³² It may have been used by an Elect lecturing Auditors on the issue of the Third Ambassador, and then for some reason left behind. Still, it could also be that the board was copied by an Auditor, perhaps from a book provided by an Elect. At any rate, the mundane context in which it was found and the probable lay usage of the other texts surveyed so far must be taken to point to this board being intended for Auditor instruction.⁸³³ It testifies to the presence of distinctively Manichaean notions, also ones derived from the ecclesiastical, 'scholastic' tradition, among believers in Kellis, giving strong evidence that these were not reserved to the circles of Elect, or confined to allusions in the liturgy, but that they were explained to and even memorised by (some) lay believers.

10.3.3 Summary

To sum up, the remains of Mani's writings found at Kellis show that a notion of the community as a distinct institution founded by Mani himself, with its own hierarchy, regulatory mechanisms, and norms of behaviour, circulated within the network of Manichaeans at Kellis. We furthermore see how distinct aspects of the 'Manichaean world' was disseminated among the Auditors. Manichaeans at Kellis probably considered themselves 'superior' Christians, but their superiority was clearly derived from engagement with the myths and authority of Mani.

10.4 Texts, community, and ritual

10.4.1 Textual community

These remains of Manichaean literature – as well as Pauline letters, which I have not treated here – shows that the Manichaeans at Kellis can be understood in terms of a 'textual community', i.e. one where the reading and interpretation of text were constitutive elements in social formation.⁸³⁴ This is not only clear from the uncovering of such literature, however:

⁸³² For these possibilities, see sections 3.3.1 (Horos), 11.1.2 (Timotheos, Theognostos).

⁸³³ Another find of a similar character is the unfortunately very fragmented text in pkc.8, from House 2, which may also contain kephalaic material. It features an exposé on day and night, and the heights (and the depths), corresponding to similar teachings of Mani. Gardner, *KLT I*, 96–97.

⁸³⁴ For this notion, see Robin Lane Fox, 'Literacy and power in early Christianity', in *Literacy and power in the ancient world*, ed. Alan K. Bowman and Greg Woolf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Lieu, *Christian identity*, 28–36.

it is equally evident from the documentary evidence itself. Here we find frequent allusions to how the texts were circulated, used, and produced within the network. First, we can focus on the many mentions of the copying and distribution of books within the group. The majority of

Title	Text	Coptic spelling	Circle
<i>Epistles, large/small</i>	pkc.19 (ll.82–83)	ⲡⲛⲁⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲓⲟⲛ] ... ⲡⲕⲟⲩ	Makarios/Maria
<i>Judgement of Peter</i>	pkc.19 (l.15) pkc.19 (ll.15, 84)	ⲧⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲧⲕⲣⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ	Makarios/Maria
<i>Greek Psalms</i>	pkc.19 (l.16)	ⲛ̄Ⲫⲁ[ⲗ]ⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ[ⲟⲩⲁⲛ]ⲓⲛ	Makarios/Maria
<i>Apostolos</i> ⁸³⁵	pkc.19 (ll.15–16)	[ⲡⲁⲛ]ⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ	Makarios/Maria
<i>Great Prayers</i>	pkc.19 (l.16)	ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲗⲛⲗ	Makarios/Maria
<i>Prayer-Book</i>	pkc.19 (l.84)	ⲡⲉⲮⲭⲟⲛ	Makarios/Maria
<i>Sayings</i>	pkc.19 (l.17)	ⲛ̄ⲣⲛⲛⲁ	Makarios/Maria
<i>Prostrations</i>	pkc.19 (l.17)	ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲓⲥⲓⲥ	Makarios/Maria
<i>Gospel</i>	pkc.33 (l.4) pkc.120 (ll.5–6)	[ⲡⲉⲮⲁ]ⲒⲒⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲉⲮⲁⲒⲒⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ	(Theognostos?) Pamour/Pekysis
<i>Acts</i>	pkc.120 (ll.3–4)	ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲁⲗⲗⲓⲥ	Pamour/Pekysis

occurrences are associated with the Maria/Makarios circle (pkc.19–22, pkc.24, pkc.26), but not all (pkc.33–35, pkc.111, pkc.120, pkr.67). Unfortunately, only three of the letters preserve titles (pkc.19, pkc.33, pkc.120). In these, at least, religious texts are meant. Makarios names a substantial number of such texts in pkc.19 (see Table 13), while both pkc.33 (ll.3–4) and pkc.120 (ll.2–7) refers to the *Gospel*, and pkc.120 also mentions the *Acts* in the same lines.

Table 13: religious books in the documentary papyri

The books are furthermore associated with names known from the archive. Makarios bids Maria request the great *Epistles* from mother Kyria (ll.82–84), perhaps by way of Drousiane (ll.73–74), while Maria and Matthaïos are in possession of the other books he mentions. In pkc.20 and pkc.21 Makarios requests books, while in pkc.22 someone has taken (stolen or confiscated) a book. The *Acts* in pkc.120 are with Lamon, probably either Philammon or Lammon. Father Pebo/Pabo could be identified with the Manichaean presbyter greeted by the Teacher (see sections 11.1.2, 11.4.3).

⁸³⁵ The title ‘Apostolos’ also occurs in pkc.127, a letter written in Sahidic from area D. The editors there suggest that it refers to a collection of Paul’s epistles. Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 294, pkc.127, l.21n.

Not only the circulation but also the production of texts by local adherents is attested to in many letters.⁸³⁶ Makarios encourages Matthaïos to practice writing religious texts in pkc.19, in order to prepare him for copying books when he comes to the Nile Valley. At a later point, Makarios expresses impatience for a book to be finished (pkc.24, ll.36–38). Two Psais/Andreas letters, pkc.35 and pkc.111, also evince great concern with the production of texts. Both are addressed to Psais III. Ouales writes, in Gardner, Alcock, and Funk’s translation:

†ΡΑΖΙΟΥ ΉΝΑΚ ΠΑΧΑΙΣ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΧΕΚΑΣΡΕΪ ΝΗΤΕΤΡΑΣ ΗΝΪ ΕΤΑΓΓΗΝΑΥΣΕ ΝΕΚ †ΝΑΤΡΟΥΪΤΕΤΕΣΗ ΝΕΚ ΔΗ ΧΕΚΑΪΝΕ ΧΕ
 ΪΤΑΓΠΩΡ ΔΤΟ ΔΝΟ Δ VAC ΒΑΛ ΉΠΡΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΔΣΑΡΟΥ ΤΑ VAC ΧΥ ΚΤΗΝΑΥΣΕ ΗΝΪ ΉΤΟΤΥ ΉΟΥΕ VAC ΕΥΣΗΔΗ[Δ]/ΤΪ ΧΕ ΠΑΧΕΥ
 ΧΕ ΕΝΟΥΩΩ ΤΡΕ ΚΕΟΥΕ ΣΡΕΙ ΉΚΕΚΕΥΕ †ΝΟΥ ΉΠΡΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΔΤΗΝΑΥΣΕ ΉΒΛΑΗ ΉΠΩΡ ΔΪΕΤΥ ΉΝΑΟ ΉΣΡΕΪ ΧΕ ΠΑΧΕΥ ΧΕ Δ
 ΗΧΑΡΤΗΣ ΟΥΩ ΔΛΛΑ ΟΥΣΡΕΙ ΕΦΡΩΕΥ ΔΥΩ ΕΚΣΑΡΟΥ †ΗΔΘΪ ΠΚΩΪΒΕ ΡΩΤ ΔΗΑΚ ΟΥΣΕΣΕ ΕΗ

I beg you, my lord brother: if you can write these tetrads for me, which I sent to you, I will cause what is written to be brought to you too; so that you can know where they have reached. Look out (?) whether he has not been negligent writing them. Quickly, you send them to me by a blessed one; for they say: “We want someone else to write the other ones”. Now, do not neglect to send them quickly. By no means! I did it for the great texts; (but it is) because they say that the papyrus has run out. Still, writing is what is useful; and if you do write them, I for my part will find your recompense. I am no fool! (pkc.35, ll.36–46)

Brother Pebos likewise admonishes Psais III to keep writing tetrads in pkc.111, even though he has already written a great many.⁸³⁷ Psais III himself actively participated in copying texts. Pekos ordered Pamour to have the *Acts* possessed by Lamon copied, whether by himself or someone else is unclear. The author of pkc.33 writes that a *Gospel* has recently been finished by a ‘little one’ (ΔΠΚΟΥΙ ΧΩΚ [ΠΕΥΑ]ΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ, ll.3–4).⁸³⁸ This shows the Manichaean practice of having young members acquire literacy by copying books. The practicalities of facilitating text production are also in evidence. While in the Valley Pekysis received complaints from Horos (located with Psais III) about lack of papyrus and the slowness of acquisition, to which Pekysis replied that he had been awaiting a better price (pkc.78, ll.16–27; pkc.79, ll.12–19). Perhaps equally interesting is the fact that in many instances we find that these texts were not only circulated on a local level, but were regularly being sent across distances: Pebos in pkc.111

⁸³⁶ See pkc.19, pkc.24, pkc.33, pkc.35, pkc.111, pkc.120, and perhaps pkgr.67 (see below).

⁸³⁷ For tetrads, see the remarks in section 11.4.2 and see Paul Mirecki, Iain Gardner, and Anthony Alcock, ‘Magical spell, Manichaean letter’, in *Emerging from Darkness*, ed. Paul Mirecki and BeDuhn (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 31.

⁸³⁸ Perhaps we might add pkgr.67, in which Lysimachos writes: ‘Send a well-proportioned and nicely executed ten-page notebook (*pinakidion*) for your brother Ision. For he has become a user of Greek and a Syriac reader (Ελληνιστής γάρ γέγονεν καὶ ἀναγνώστης συριατικῶς).’ (ll.17–21, translated by Gardner). See Iain Gardner, ‘P. Kellis i 67 revisited’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 159 (2007). The comment regarding Ision’s reading ability might be taken to imply that Theognostos was to copy a text for him, perhaps even in Syriac, although the lack of a title makes it uncertain. For the problem of Theognostos’ status, see pkc.73 and section 11.1.2. For the finds of Syriac texts and translation tools in Kellis, see Franzmann, ‘Syriac-Coptic bilinguals’.

required the ‘tetrads’ to be sent to Hibis, while Makarios (and Lysimachos) both request books while located in the Nile Valley.

None of the texts above state that the works are of specifically Manichaean provenance. The *Gospel*, *Acts*, *Epistles*, psalms, and so forth could perhaps be mainstream Christian texts. Still, in the case of psalms, prayers, and *Epistles*, we have, as seen above, many examples of specifically Manichaean texts found *in situ*. It seems reasonable to suggest that the *Gospel* circulated in the lay network at Kellis similarly was Mani’s *Living Gospel* – perhaps a rarer book, but not in any way kept secret or restricted from these circles. Furthermore, this book contained material pertaining to Mani’s life and to the distinctive Manichaean mythology.⁸³⁹

As noted above, ‘textual’ communities are defined by the way texts play a formative role in constituting a social identity. One way these texts could play this role was through individual study. The best example from the Kellis documentary evidence is provided by Makarios’ exhortation to the young Matthaïos. He writes, as translated by Gardner, Alcock, and Funk:

μελετε η̄ν[εκ]ψαλμος ειτε νογιανιν ειτε η̄ρ̄η̄κνηε ροοϋ <μιν> ερε τ̄σραζ[. . .]π̄ η̄π̄ρ̄κε τεκεπαγγελια εβαλ εις
 τ̄κρ̄ισ̄ις η̄π̄ετρος ρατ̄ηκ ε[ριπαπ]οστολος η̄ η̄μαν̄ αναρ̄τε η̄η̄ᾱσ̄ η̄ωληλ̄ η̄η̄ η̄ψα[λ]μος η̄[ογιδαν]ην εις η̄ρ̄η̄μᾱ αν̄ ρατ̄ηκ
 αρ̄ι η̄[ε]λετε η̄μαγ̄ εις η̄κλ̄ισ̄ις ρ̄ζ̄ ρ̄η̄κ[ογι ρ̄]η̄ ρ̄η̄σαπ̄ σαπ̄ η̄ρογο̄ η̄ρο[γο] ρ̄ζ̄ ογ̄τυπος η̄μ̄η̄νε̄ χε̄ τ̄ρ̄χρ̄[ᾱ η̄η̄]ακ̄ ᾱρ̄ζ̄
 ρ̄η̄χ̄ω̄νη̄ η̄π̄η̄μᾱ

Study [your] psalms, whether Greek or Coptic <every> day (?) [...] Do not abandon your vow. Here, the *Judgment of Peter* is with you. [Do the] *Apostolos*; or else master the *Great Prayers* and the *Greek Psalms*. Here too, the *Sayings* are with you: study them! Here are the *Prostrations*. Write a little from time to time, more and more. Write a daily example, for I need you to write books here. (p.k.19, ll.13–19)

This exhortation is echoed by the materiality of the texts themselves: the number of different and course hands in the copies of the psalms prompted Gardner to suggest that copying scripture was deemed a spiritual task, practised by ‘the whole believing community’.⁸⁴⁰ The writing of texts as spiritual practice (indeed, as a form of almsgiving) among Auditors is known from Turfan.⁸⁴¹

⁸³⁹ See Wurst, ‘L’état de la recherche’, 249; Funk, ‘Mani’s account’.

⁸⁴⁰ Gardner, *KLT II*, 6. See also Iricinschi, ‘Tam pretiosi codices’, 157–59.

⁸⁴¹ See e.g. Andrea Piras, ‘The writing Hearer: a suggested restoration of M 101d’, in *Zur lichten Heimat. Studien zu Manichäismus, Iranistik und Zentralasienkunde im Gedenken an Werner Sundermann* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2017).

10.4.2 Ritual community

However, while textual study and copying was of great significance for certain individuals, it was not something the whole community – considering the extent suggested in the last chapter – could engage in. While literacy may have been somewhat more important to Manichaeans than the surrounding society, we should not imagine that the community here was made up only of literate people. The way texts would ‘worked’ among non-literate adherents was by being embedded in shared, communal rituals. Unfortunately, little evidence for these can also be found in Kellis, apart from the implicit evidence of the liturgical texts themselves. Still Matthaios mentions how his brother has been given the honour of reading in church in pkc.25 (l.46). Augustine also attests to such occasions, on which Mani’s *Epistles* and other canonical would be among the texts read.⁸⁴² The literary finds themselves show signs of communal ritual usage. The mnemonic abbreviation of some of the psalms clearly shows that they were intended for liturgical use, to be sung at church gatherings. One of the psalms examined above, tkc.4, was intended to be sung at the annual celebration of the Bema-festival, when Mani’s suffering and death was commemorated.⁸⁴³ It seems unlikely that such a text would have been transmitted devoid of its ritual context.

Given that the liturgical texts disseminated by Manichaean authorities to the Auditors did not shy away from central and particular Manichaean doctrines, we may well imagine that it functioned to introduce them to Manichaean beliefs, at least to the ‘key notions’. However, it might be argued that references to myths and beliefs would not have functioned to impart knowledge of the myths and beliefs themselves to a wider audience. BeDuhn, in his work on the ritual meal, cites modern studies of ritual language showing that such utterances do not function primarily as communicative acts for disseminating stories or teachings.⁸⁴⁴ Nor does ritual performance depend upon members understanding the ‘underlying’ doctrines. Manichaean authorities may not have intended them to have such a function: allusions to the

⁸⁴² Attested to by Augustine (*C. epist. Man.* 5). Johannes van Oort, ‘The young Augustine’s knowledge of Manichaeism: an analysis of the “Confessiones” and some other relevant texts’, *Vigiliae Christianae* 62, no. 5 (2008): 446–47.

⁸⁴³ For this body of material in Egypt, see Wurst, *Die Bêma-Psalmen*.

⁸⁴⁴ BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 241.

‘mysteries’ could have been aimed at the Elect, who would know their true significance, congruent with the depiction of Elect as guardians of a ‘Manichaean world’.⁸⁴⁵

On the other hand, Manichaean authorities do seem to have made a concerted and conscious effort to promote knowledge of their cosmology through liturgy. Gardner has for instance noted that the frequency with which lists of emanations occur in Manichaean psalms indicates that they had ‘a catechetical as well as liturgical function’.⁸⁴⁶ Not least, key notions were as we saw all present in the text of ‘the daily prayer’, a prayer proscribed to be prayed ‘at least three times a day’ according to the text found at Kellis. This prayer will have provided a list of what its author – likely Mani – considered most crucial for adherents, including Auditors, to internalise: A primeval battle between Light and Darkness, construction of the world by Light divinities from evil matter, the salvific role of the sun and the moon, the existence of a world soul in which all life takes part, and the need to serve the Elect to be freed from transmigration. It appears to have been widely put into practice by the believers. Makarios’ exhortation for Matthaïos to practice (or write) the ‘prostrations’ seems to be an exhortation to remember to pray (or copy?) this prayer.⁸⁴⁷ Augustine, in his *Confessions*, indirectly attests to the centrality of this prayer during his time as an Auditor.⁸⁴⁸

⁸⁴⁵ It has similarly been suggested that Auditors were barred from reading or handling Mani’s books. Leurini has for instance argued that Mani’s script was reserved for religious books in order to make them inaccessible. As evidence she refers to Augustine, who supposedly gained knowledge only after having confiscated books as a Christian bishop. She moreover cites a line from a series of parables found in a codex of the *Book of Giants*: ‘The Hearer that copies a book, is like unto a sick man ...’, implying that Auditors were forbidden to ‘look at them [Manichaean texts], to read them and they seem even to be prevented from copying them’. (Leurini, *The Manichaean Church*, 85.) See also e.g. Lim, ‘Nomen Manichaeorum’, 155. However, van Oort has convincingly shown that Augustine acquired most of his knowledge already during his time as an Auditor, at least in part through reading, in his debate with Kevin Coyle (see Coyle, ‘What did Augustine know’; van Oort, ‘Young Augustine’). Van Oort adduces several passages that show Augustine reading ‘books of Mani’ (ibid., 450–56.). Moreover, the line Leurini cites from the parable does not end there (although the final words are lost); it is part of a string of metaphors concerning *positive* activities that Auditors were requested to do for the church. So for instance in the same text we find that: ‘The Hearer who gives alms to the Elect, is like unto a poor man that presents his daughter to the king; he reaches a position of great honour’ (see Walter B. Henning, ‘The Book of the Giants’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11, no. 1 (1943): 63–64; Piras, ‘The writing Hearer’, 528–29.)

⁸⁴⁶ Gardner, *KLT II*, 106.

⁸⁴⁷ Al-Nadim records that the Manichaeans prostrated themselves while praying, and it seems likely that this is the way that *proskyneō* must be understood in the Greek text. Gardner, ‘Ritual practice at Kellis’, 253–56; Gardner, ‘Recovery’, 86–87.

⁸⁴⁸ See Gardner, ‘Recovery’.

Augustine, moreover, displays knowledge of more esoteric myths, or at least mythical imagery, and implies that these were common. In his polemic against the Manichaean bishop Faustus he describes a well-known psalm the community sung together, called ‘the Song of the Lovers’.⁸⁴⁹ According to Augustine, it depicted the garlanded Father of Lights in the Land of Light, among mountains and sweet air, surrounded by his Twelve Aeons, grouped three by three in four regions, and it described the individual five sons of the Living Spirit, each with his own properties. Lieu has pointed out that psalms with similar content is found in the *Medinet Madi Psalm-Book*.⁸⁵⁰ As we have seen, these divinities were also present in psalms at Kellis. The usage of more ‘esoteric’ mythological imagery in hymns was clearly widespread. Still, use of liturgy to impart knowledge is not a foolproof method, as the study cited by BeDuhn indicates. Augustine’s ability to recall imagery from the Song of the Lovers implies that it could have such an effect,⁸⁵¹ but an Augustine could have been special cases. Still, Augustine also explicitly describes the ‘key notions’ as commonly held. Having gotten a subdeacon of a ‘catholic’ Church to confess to being a Manichaean Auditor he explains in a letter to the bishop of Caesarea in Mauretania that: ‘They (the Auditors) also adore and pray to the sun and moon with the elect. On the Lord’s day they also fast with them, and they believe along with them all the blasphemies because of which the heresy of the Manichees should be detested.’⁸⁵² He goes on to list such ‘blasphemies’, including the participation of animals in the divine substance, God’s battle and mixture with Darkness, purification of Light in the Elect, and the Light’s ascent through the sun and moon. Lim has suggested this to be a gloss, a list of beliefs not admitted to by Victorinus himself, but one added by Augustine to implicate him in the pernicious Manichaeism.⁸⁵³ Perhaps we cannot be sure in the case of Victorinus, but there is little reason to doubt that Auditors at Kellis were familiar with such beliefs.

Thus, even if some details were known mainly to the Elect, and could perhaps vary with time and place, the key notions of the ‘Manichaean world’ circulated widely. A reason for the

⁸⁴⁹ *C. Faust.* 15.5–6, trans. Roland J. Teske, *Answer to Faustus a Manichaean* (New York: New City Press, 2007), 189–91. See also Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 134.

⁸⁵⁰ Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 134–35.

⁸⁵¹ As argued by *ibid.*, 134.

⁸⁵² Augustine, *ep.* 236 (to Deuterius), trans. Roland J. Teske, *Letters 211–270, 1*–29* (Epistulae)* (New York: New City Press, 2005), 134–35.

⁸⁵³ Lim, ‘Nomen Manichaeorum’, 155.

Elects' efforts to disseminate this 'world', I would argue, is a need to defend their status. The Elect in Egypt, and the Roman Empire more generally, were working to establish religious authority in an environment of strong religious competition. Their own position as 'holy men' would have to be explained to the laity and defended against the traditional religious authority of the temples as well as against that of other 'holy men' carrying other books. Appeals to the authority of Christ certainly played a part when preaching in Christian environments, but the Elect would have had to differentiate themselves from mainstream Christian teachers in order to justify their specific regime. Persuading their listeners of the validity of their particular cosmos – the primeval battle, the imprisonment of Light, its transmigration and liberation by the Elect – would have been necessary for them to accept the burdens of almsgiving. The myths and features could resonate with pre-existing religious beliefs present among converts, as well as provide narratives within which other ritual acts were made sense of⁸⁵⁴ – although they at times, as with Augustine, came into conflict with the sensibilities of other relatively systematised world-views, such as that of the Neo-Platonists. It is often implied that they simply alluded to their intricate mysteries, 'enticing' Auditors with promises of a total explanation. This is largely based on the experience of Augustine, who expressed much bitterness over that what the Elect had 'served' him was not the explanations he had been promised (i.e. wanted).⁸⁵⁵ However, we should not generalise from Augustine's polemically shaped narrative of his own 'de-conversion' to that of other believers, for whom the myths and images of Mani would have continued to hold attraction.

This does not mean that Auditors always would respond with great interest in such 'lore'. More thorough study was perhaps not that common, restricted largely to literate adherents, although the discovery of the educational board describing the Third Ambassador at Kellis (tkc.1) strongly suggests that some believers there received instruction in esoteric knowledge. Moreover, despite the attempts of authorities to initiate Auditors into the Manichaean world, adherents may have considered many aspects irrelevant, harboured reservations, or interpreted the instructions outside the preferred framework of Manichaean authorities – while at the same time continuing to participate in rituals and to identify with

⁸⁵⁴ See for instance the chapters of the *Kephalaia* concerned with the Call and Response (keph. 115), or with the various laying on of hands (keph. 9).

⁸⁵⁵ For an analysis of Augustine's 'de-conversion', see BeDuhn, *Augustine's Manichaean Dilemma I*.

the community. BeDuhn stresses that the primary function of ritual language is to reinforce a sense of belonging to a distinct social body.⁸⁵⁶ However, even if ritual practice did not always affect the conscious knowledge of participants, it would have had the effect of socialising the participants into the social institution of the Church.

10.5 Conclusions

In conclusion, the literary texts from Kellis display a high degree of awareness of specifically Manichaean myths and beliefs. More importantly, they attest to conscious attempts by Manichaean authorities to disseminate such notions among the laity. The degree to which individual lay believers engaged with them in practice would certainly vary, as in other comparable religious groups, and we should not imagine that every part of the Manichaean 'system' reconstructed by modern scholars were present among these believers. However, a sense of belonging to a distinctive Church was created and reinforced through participation in communal ritual, to which the literary (as well as some documentary) sources attest. The laity of Kellis, insofar as they sang the psalms, prayed the prayers, and copied the texts, participated in reproducing a distinctive Manichaean community.

⁸⁵⁶ BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 242–44.

Chapter 11: Manichaean Elect

11.0 Introduction

In the last chapters I argued that the production and ritual usage of Manichaean literary texts by the laity show how lay believers in Kellis shared in a wider Manichaean ‘world’. Here I examine another central aspect of the movement’s socio-religious institutions: the activities and practices associated with the Elect. I discuss how and where we can identify Elect and religious practices in the Kellis texts, and I consider points of contact between the Kellis papyri and the Manichaean ecclesiastical tradition, on the one hand, and the testimony of Augustine, on the other.

11.1 Manichaean institutions

11.1.1 *Institutions and rationales*

There has so far been little work done concerning the practical dimensions of the Elect institutional regime, although they must certainly be seen in light of their ritual institutions. The most important work on Manichaean ritual institutions is BeDuhn’s *The Manichaean body*, which focuses on behavioural norms and rationales linked to the Elect meal.⁸⁵⁷ Through an analysis of normative discourse concerning discipline and its theological basis,⁸⁵⁸ BeDuhn has shown how subjection to Manichaean institutions was intended to produce a specific type of disciplined, ‘Elect’ bodies that could become vehicles for the salvation of souls. This salvation was enacted by one central ritual: the daily meal of the Elect. The discipline allowed the Elect bodies to separate soul (Light) from matter (Darkness) in their food through digestion, releasing imprisoned Light from the material world. BeDuhn argues that this constituted the core, so to speak, of Manichaean practice: ‘the food ritual was the focal point of Manichaean community organisation, the *raison d’être* of Manichaean discipline, and the key to understanding how normative Manichaeism proposed to produce “souls” liberated from the bonds of contingency by the actions of the very body in which they were

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁸ As he points out, these aspects were co-dependent. Ibid., 22, 121–22.

imprisoned.⁸⁵⁹ Manichaeian institutions, in BeDuhn's reconstruction, were geared to serve its central ritual. The institutions surrounding Auditor almsgiving were therefore particularly important, and – as Manichaeian authorities often stressed – made the Auditors full members of the church.⁸⁶⁰ The Church itself, with its hierarchy and initiation rituals, had the function of spreading and propagating these teachings, but also guaranteeing the legitimacy of the Elect authorities to which alms were presented, and thus the efficacy of the salvific ritual.⁸⁶¹

However, BeDuhn focuses on the institutions surrounding the meal in normative discourse, not the practicalities of communal life and organisation. Touching briefly on Manichaeism as a socio-religious organisation, he notes:

The designation "church" may be applied to Manichaeism legitimately insofar as it refers to an organized, centrally administered institution – for such Manichaeism was, during at least part of its history. Mani apparently instituted a hierarchy through which he could direct the far-flung missionary activity he instigated. We know nothing of the origin and development of this system of administration ... For our purposes, it is enough to recognize that Manichaeism existed as an institution capable of promoting its aims and enforcing its rules.⁸⁶²

Certainly, although Manichaeian authorities sought to reproduce norms and institutions, and had success in certain areas and periods, it is not a given that specific communities in fourth century Egypt shared in or were able to maintain them. In trying to elucidate the functioning of such a 'system of administration' in Kellis, there are two aspects in particular that need to be considered: the ability of Manichaeian authorities to mobilise Auditors for almsgiving and other rituals, and the ability to enforce discipline among the Elect. In order to do so Manichaeian authorities must on the one hand have found mechanisms to ensure stable and mutually beneficial ties between the two levels of believers, and on the other ensured that Elect discipline and ritual authority were maintained. They clearly succeeded to some extent, otherwise we would hardly have found traces of ecclesiastical discourse in Egypt. It could well be, however, that internal tensions – in particular relating to the Elect regime – hampered maintenance or prevented the emergence of any effective church organisation under certain conditions, or that it did not extend to distant localities such as the Dakhleh Oasis.

⁸⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁸⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 53–65.

⁸⁶¹ BeDuhn 2000, 136. This is also seen in its identification with the Light Mind, see section 9.3.2.

⁸⁶² BeDuhn, *The Manichaeian body*, 29–30.

This brings us to the social ‘cells’ which the Manichaeans are taken to have formed in the Roman Empire. Scholarship has generally taken these cells to be small, intimate groupings, ‘each comprising a handful of Electi with their devoted Hearers’.⁸⁶³ The religious practice of the Elect has therefore been considered as primarily domestic, taking place in small gatherings of Auditors waiting upon the visiting Elect. In a recent article, BeDuhn used the Kellis evidence to emphasise the intimate relations fostered by Elect-Auditors domestic cells. An Elect visit to a lay home, with the accompanying meal ritual, allowed the laity to become ‘active participants in a mystery that served towards the liberation of their own souls, as well as the souls of all living beings. Angels literally filled the room where such a sacred meal was occurring, activating a portal between sacred and profane dimensions of reality.’⁸⁶⁴ This view has lent Manichaean ritual in the Roman Empire an aura of secrecy, and strongly contrasted with the communal setting of worship dominant in Turfan. Lane Fox, for instance, described the gatherings Augustine attended: ‘Every day, not before the late afternoon, members would meet in rooms in private houses, like “cells” in a mobile, secret group. Only after Augustine’s lifetime would they build special monasteries and then only in the faraway havens of Central Asia.’⁸⁶⁵

Intimate, domestic gatherings have been considered both a necessity (although not necessarily intrinsic) and a liability to the movement. On the one hand, they allowed for closely-knit groups between which the Elect could move in relative safety as itinerant wanderers. They thus provided a measure of protection against persecution. On the other, they are also seen as weakening or excluding a church organisation. BeDuhn points out how believers may have suffered from being constrained to the private sphere, unable to perform public acts of worship to affirm private self-definition.⁸⁶⁶ A stronger dismissal was set forth by Peter Brown, who ascribes the decline of Manichaeism in part to Elect itinerancy: ‘Manichaeism was out of date. ... It represents a more primitive strand of asceticism [than Christian monasticism]: it continued the radical isolation from the world, the obligatory

⁸⁶³ Lieu, ‘Precept and practices’, 79.

⁸⁶⁴ BeDuhn, ‘Domestic setting’, 263.

⁸⁶⁵ Robin Lane Fox, *Augustine: conversions and confessions* (London: Penguin Books, 2015; repr., 2016), 121.

⁸⁶⁶ BeDuhn, ‘Domestic setting’, 270–71.

vagrancy of its Syriac homeland.⁸⁶⁷ The combination of isolation and vagrancy led to the Elect being out-competed by the better-organised Christian monastics. A similar view has been more fully articulated by Richard Lim, focusing on Manichaeans in the Latin west. The Elect regime itself, he maintains, was not conducive to institutionalised organisation of a 'Church':

To speak unequivocally of one Manichaean church in any given city is misleading insofar as it blinds our analytic eye to the diversity of "sub-cultures" present. Diversity is unavoidable and would come as the result of the fundamentally different conditions between the lives of the elect and that of hearers, and on the other hand, due to the specific patterns of socialization and contact which might make one group of hearers and one group of elect share more in common than with their counterparts of the same "rank."⁸⁶⁸

As Lim rightly points out, patterns of socialisation that left the Elect isolated from each other would have weakened the ability of church authorities to coordinate action, reinforce commitment to ascetic discipline, and impose sanctions on misbehaving Elect.⁸⁶⁹ Auditor scrutiny may have gone some way to provide social pressure to conform, as is argued by BeDuhn.⁸⁷⁰ However, the lack of practical mechanisms for pressure by the 'in-group', i.e. Elect peers, would in the end make it difficult for authorities to prevent abuse of religious authority or fractioning by independent-minded Elect. If an effective church organisation ever existed in Roman Egypt its authorities must have sought ways to deal with these issues.

The Kellis texts provide us with an opportunity to examine these feature more closely. This chapter explores Elect–Auditor relations, in the form of almsgiving and ritual services, and inter-Elect relations, in the form of Elect peer groups. Unfortunately, the Kellis material provides only indirect glimpses into Elect practice. While the literary texts from Kellis give evidence for communal ritual practice, rituals are not described explicitly in the documentary papyri. Moreover, as the Manichaeans shared terminology with Christian contemporaries, it can at times be difficult to establish whether evidence for cultic actors and activities should be understood within a mainstream Christian or a Manichaean framework. We therefore have

⁸⁶⁷ Brown, 'Diffusion of Manichaeism', 101–2. Similarly, Baker-Brian describes the Elect-Auditor relations thus: 'Hearers' residences likely served as way-stations for the Elect who, under the guidance of their ordinances, became rootless wanderers, moving between different locations in the performance of their duties.' Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism*, 130. At the same time, he maintains that they had a strong communal ethos, that 'the self-identity of Manichaeans as an exceptional ecclesia lay in the collective expression of its commitment to the teachings of Mani, and to the sanctification of his memory.' (ibid., 131). However, he does not offer an opinion as to how it was maintained.

⁸⁶⁸ Lim, 'Unity and diversity', 239.

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁰ BeDuhn, 'Domestic setting', 264–66. I will return to this topic below, section 11.4.2.

to decide how we are to identify specifically Manichaean religious authorities or cultic activities in the material. The documentary texts from Kellis are not self-explanatory, and have to be put in dialogue with other texts in order to be elucidated. To shed light on these questions, I have taken a synthetic approach, drawing on a range of Manichaean texts, although far from exhaustive. The first body of text I draw on is what I here term ‘ecclesiastical sources’. The primary body of such material is the Med.Madi texts. The Med.Madi texts were produced in the vicinity of and broadly contemporaneously with the Kellis texts (see section 1.4.2). In particular, I draw on the Berlin *Kephalaia*.⁸⁷¹ Certainly, the chief purpose of this text was to systematise cosmological and anthropological teachings, not to provide a blueprint for social interaction. However, it does at times connect these teachings to Elect virtues and modes of behaviour, and in such instances it provides insight into practices considered normative (or taken for granted) by its compilers, and the ideas that Manichaean leaders in fourth-century Egypt drew upon.

Such a synthetic approach has been challenged. Lim has criticised such an approach, and argued that: ‘By insisting on the identification and recovery of Manichaeans across the centuries and the continents as one of their chief goals, scholars in the field are unwittingly joining forces with the likes of Augustine to create and sustain a master discourse about who and what the Manichaeans were.’⁸⁷² However, as an example of a point where scholars, to his mind, have correctly emphasised difference he offers the general agreement on the contrast between a monastic Manichaeism in Central Asia and a largely uninstitutionalised Manichaeism in the Roman Empire.⁸⁷³ As I hope to show below, the claim that Roman Manichaeism was characterised by absent institutions is not beyond questioning. It has not been argued based on close examination of western Manichaean sources, but derives primarily from readings of Augustine. In order to engage with this argument it is necessary to consider to what extent the Egyptian sources and Augustine’s testimony diverge or mutually illuminate each other.

⁸⁷¹ This is especially the case if, as has been argued by e.g. Pettipiece, the Berlin *Kephalaia* represents a tradition that grew through the fourth century and was only completed in fourth-century Egypt. Pettipiece, *Pentadic redaction*, 12–13.

⁸⁷² Lim, ‘Nomen Manichaeorum’, 166–67.

⁸⁷³ *Ibid.*, 167.

11.1.2 Identifying Elect

The first task, however, is to identify Manichaean actors and actions in Kellis. In order to do so we must establish criteria for identification, without which we run the risk of misinterpreting mundane documents within a religious framework. Identifying Elect should, in theory, not be too difficult: their ascetical regime was, after all, geared towards setting them apart from worldly society. Unfortunately, it has not left visible traces in the archaeology from House 1–3.⁸⁷⁴ Instead we have to rely on authors to identify themselves, or others, as Elect. Here, too, we encounter problems: such identity markers were often omitted in daily correspondences, as Choat has noted.⁸⁷⁵ A further difficulty in the present context is limiting identification to monks of a specifically ‘Manichaean’ persuasion. Terms such as ‘righteous’ and ‘Elect’, current in scholarly literature and useful for separating them from mainstream monks, does not appear as a self-designation in the documentary corpus (although ‘Elect’ does occur as part of the believers’ symbolic repertoire; see pkc.15, pkc.16).

While ‘Elect’ as an identity marker is absent, there are figures who can be identified as Elect based on terms used to indicate religious office. As presented in the introduction, the Manichaean hierarchy was regularly depicted as consisting of the archegos, Teachers, bishops, presbyters, and deacons,⁸⁷⁶ and the literary texts from Kellis show that the hierarchy was a familiar institution to the Manichaeans here (section 10.3.1). However, of these titles the only specifically Manichaean office is the ‘Teacher’. This title is also found in the documentary

⁸⁷⁴ Archaeological evidence for Manichaean practice in general, apart from texts, may not be all that likely. However, one feature that should be considered is the practice of burial, in particular as relates to the Kellis 2 (east) cemetery. The bodies here were wrapped in linen clothings, few artefacts (and no jewellery or amulets) were found, and it was only in use in the fourth century. Michael Birrel, ‘Excavations in the cemeteries of Ismant el-Kharab’, in *Dakhleh Oasis Project: Preliminary reports on the 1992–1993 and 1993–1994 field seasons*, ed. Colin A. Hope and A. J. Mills (Oxford: Oxbow, 1999), 41. Bowen comments that: ‘the Christian Kellis 2 cemetery has been devoid of garments with the exception of the upper part of an infant’s hooded tunic. This is unusual for it is known that Christians had a penchant for being buried fully clothed; the majority of the 20 000 plus Coptic textiles in collections throughout the world were retrieved from cemeteries (Carroll 1986, 1).’ Bowen, ‘Textiles, Basketry and Leather’, 97. To this we can compare depictions by two non-Manichaean writers in China, who relate that the Manichaeans there buried their dead naked. Paul Pelliot and Émmanuel-Édouard Chavannes, ‘Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine’, *Journal Asiatique* (1913): 338, 55–56. If a link between these practices is accepted, we would have a remarkable example of unity in practice between Manichaeans under very different conditions.

⁸⁷⁵ Choat, ‘Monastic letters’, 46, 57–58.

⁸⁷⁶ For a discussion, see section 11.4.1, below.

sources: it is used as self-designation by the author of pkc.61, as well as to designate an important actor in the Maria/Makarios correspondence. Although the term ‘teacher’ (καλ) itself is ambiguous, both instances of designation show that the figure in question is an important religious authority and leader, and there is little reason to doubt that we are dealing with a top official in the Manichaean hierarchy.⁸⁷⁷ Other clerical titles used by the Manichaeans for Elect officials were shared with the Christians,⁸⁷⁸ as were common monastic designations such as ‘monk’ (*monakhos*) and ‘father’ (ιωτ, *Apa*⁸⁷⁹). Brand has argued that identifying people as Elect based on clerical titles alone is hazardous. He points to the presence of officials in the House 3 papyri that are explicitly marked as ‘of the catholic church’.⁸⁸⁰ He therefore restricts himself to identifying *Apa* Lysimachos and the Teacher as Elect, noting that ‘others are not beyond question’.⁸⁸¹ However, this designation as well as the names associated with it – Ouonsis(?), Harpokrates, Jakob – occur only in official, Greek documents (pkgr.24, pkgr.32, pkgr.58), not in the private Coptic correspondence of House 1–3.⁸⁸² Moreover, criteria for identifying Elect have to be of degree rather than of kind. The criterion that has been used for identifying Lysimachos as an Elect is not a specifically Manichaean self-designation, or use of specifically Manichaean cues, but the consistent application of the title *Apa* to him by Makarios and other writers, and a close association with other Manichaeans. His own letters (pkc.30, pkgr.67), in stark contrast to for instance the so-called Father letters, evince no specifically Manichaean cues (although the inner address of pkc.30, where such cues often occur, is missing). I here take it that it can reasonably be assumed that actors appearing with religious titles in the House 1–3 material were Manichaean officials, insofar as they are labelled by known Manichaean actors and figure within the close private social circles of the

⁸⁷⁷ See e.g. the Teacher’s allusions to Mani’s *Epistles*, Gardner, ‘A Letter from the Teacher’.

⁸⁷⁸ For a discussion of secular vs. religious usage of these terms in general, see Choat, *Belief and cult*, 57–73.

⁸⁷⁹ Found in several of the doxologies for individuals from the Med.Madi *Psalm-book*, e.g. 2 Ps. 47.22–23. For the meaning of this term, generally used in Christian religious contexts, see Tomasz Derda and Ewa Wipszycka, ‘L’emploi des titres *abba*, *apa* et *papas* dans l’Egypte byzantine’, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 24 (1994).

⁸⁸⁰ Brand, ‘Speech patterns’, 107.

⁸⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸² Ouonsis is partly an exception, but only occurs as patronymic of ‘Ploutogenes son of Ouonsis’, the previous address still visible on the papyrus used for the account pkc.47. The association of the title with the name in pkgr.24 is, however, unclear (see section 9.4.1).

community discussed previously. Although not beyond question, this assumption appears more reasonable than taking a ‘Catholic’ context as default, or refraining from making any judgement whatsoever.⁸⁸³

Based on this criterion, several actors can be identified as Elect. For one, there is a group of actors only referred to by their titles. In addition to the Teacher, mentioned above, there are also two deacons, one interacting with Makarios (pkc.19) and one associated with Lysimachos (pkc.72).⁸⁸⁴ Of the Elect known by name, the largest group are those identified based on the designation ‘presbyter’. These include the presbyters Pebos and Ploutogenios, addressed as ‘my children’ by the Teacher in pkc.61, and Saren, who was labelled ‘presbyter’ by Horion, and who in pkc.58 is also called ‘our brother’. In these instances, affiliation with Manichaeism seems clear. A less clear-cut instance is Psais the presbyter in pkc.92. The author of the letter is Timotheos, who is probably the camel driver by that name affiliated with Tehat – or perhaps an Elect from the Petros letters (below). His circle includes associates of the later Pamour family, such as Plousiane and Nonna, as well as figures with common names, such as Andreas and Theodoros, that could relate to Pamour associates. While much less certain than the others, a Manichaean context seems likely in his case as well.

There are also more general monastic titles, such as *Apa* and monk. ‘Apa’ is only applied to two figures, that of Lysimachos – whose Elect status is fairly certain – and Psekēs, who applies it to himself in his own letter (pkc.90). The letter is written in an educated style and contains several religious phrases, among them the ‘embrace in body’ cue,⁸⁸⁵ indicating that the context is Manichaean. Although more tentatively, Psekēs can probably also be identified as Elect. Regarding the title monk, it does not occur in House 1–3. It is, however, used in the KAB for two figures named Timotheos and Petros. The latter pays for a *topos Mani* (ll.320, 513) which should probably be identified as a religious institution (see section 11.4.3). Actors by these names do occur in House 1–3, featuring together in the Petros letters, for which a religious setting is possible. Although lacking monastic titles there, both are consistently called ‘our brother’. An identification between the KAB monks and the House 1–

⁸⁸³ A third option, that the titles here are non-religious designations, appears less likely.

⁸⁸⁴ One could further note the occurrence of a ‘blessed one’ acting on behalf of Ouales (pkc.35), as well as more general reference to ‘bishops’ by Lysimachos (pkc.30) and to the collective ‘brotherhood’ by Matthaïos (pkc.25).

⁸⁸⁵ See section 9.4.1, and Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 160–61, pkc.90, l.8n.

3 figures was carefully suggested by the editors.⁸⁸⁶ It seems likely to me that this is correct, and that the two can be identified as Elect.⁸⁸⁷

Finally, another way to identify ‘Elect’ is by letter contents. Three actors can be identified as Elect based on their writings: the authors of pkc.31, of pkc.32–33, and of pkgr.63, a group of letters that I here collectively refer to as the Father letters. In each instance the author styles himself as ‘father’, labels his recipients as ‘catechumens’ or ‘children of the church’, and employs Manichaean cues. A more detailed analysis of their rhetorical devices leaves little doubt that we are here dealing with alms-related letters by Manichaean Elect (see below). They provide vital evidence for the practice of almsgiving at Kellis. The absence of names unfortunately makes further identification of the authors impossible.⁸⁸⁸

This leaves us with a somewhat sizable group: seven unnamed and eight named actors identifiable as Elect (see Table 14), albeit with varying degrees of certainty. All these texts probably belong to the same period, i.e. the second half of the fourth century, apart from pkgr.63, whose father N. N. was probably active in the 330s. The actual number of Elect could thus be smaller, as unnamed actors may be identifiable with named ones or with each other. At the same time, it may be possible to trace the activity of some of these Elect beyond the texts in which they are identified above. Unfortunately, names such as Psais, Ploutogenes, and Timotheos are all quite common in Kellis, making them difficult to trace.

The above list does not exhaust the candidates for Electhood. The figure of ‘our brother’ Ision, a Syriac-reader taught by Apa Lysimachos (pkgr.67) and close associate of

⁸⁸⁶ For this and other indicators of a Manichaean monastery in the vicinity, and for the possibly monastic setting of the Petros correspondence, see below, and see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 235.

⁸⁸⁷ The names also occur in other letters: ‘our brother’ Timotheos brings news in Psekes’ pkc.90, and a Petros is involved with Saren the presbyter in pkc.18. Other occurrences of the name Timotheos are, however, much less certain. See Table 14.

⁸⁸⁸ A possible exception is the author of pkc.32–33. There is some evidence to indicate that the scribe who wrote pkc.32–33 also wrote Theognostos’ letter pkc.84. The editors concluded: ‘It seems more probable than not that 32, 33 and 84 were all written by the one scribe; but whether Theognostos himself composed the remarkable Manichaean sentiments in 32 (especially) is an unanswerable question.’ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 136. Theognostos’ close relationship to Lysimachos and Ision could point in this direction as well, and explain why Pekysis in pkc.73 requests Psais III to consult ‘our brother Theognos’ (sic) on religious matters (pkc.73, l.20; see section 11.3.3). It would provide a highly interesting example of how Elect might embed themselves in lay families, and perhaps have broader implications for textile work and the workshop as presented in the current study. However, other solutions may be conceived of; Theognostos could for instance have requested the author of pkc.32–33 to write pkc.84. Without further evidence the matter will have to remain unresolved.

Philammon and Theognostos (pkc.82), could potentially be an Elect. The possible existence of a Manichaean monastery in the vicinity may indicate that other ‘fathers’ or ‘brothers’, such as brother Valens (pkc.35–36) or father Pebok (pkc.12), were Elect (for further discussion of the issue of a monastery, see section 11.4.3). However, the actors who are assigned religious titles or, in the case of the Father letters, conduct elaborate symbolic performances, are better attested and moreover serve as good starting points for examining Elect–Auditor institutions in Kellis.

Elect	Primary texts for Elect identification	Suggested appearances
‘Deacon’	Pkc.19	
‘Deacon’	Pkc.72	
‘Father’	Pkc.31	
‘Father’	Pkc.32	Pkc.33
father N.N.	Pkgr.63	
Lysimachos (Apa)	Pkc.21, pkc.24, pkc.29, pkc.30, pkc.72, pkc.82	Pkgr.67 ⁸⁸⁹
Pebos (pr.)	Pkc.61	Pkc.120, (pkc.111?)
Petros (monk)	KAB, pkc.38–40	Pkc.18, okell.121, (okell.114?, okell.115?, okell.117?)
Ploutogenios (pr.)	Pkc.61	
Psais (pr.)	Pkc.92	(KAB, l.1315?, okell.121?)
Psekes (Apa)	Pkc.90	(Pkc.25?, pkgr.48?)
Saren (pr.)	Pkc.18	Pkc.58 ⁸⁹⁰
Timotheos (monk)	KAB, pkc.39	Pkc.90, pkc.17?, (pkc.92–93?) ⁸⁹¹
‘Teacher’	Pkc.19–20, pkc.24–25, pkc.29, pkc.52, pkc.61	

Table 14: Elect in the House 1–3 material

⁸⁸⁹ See Gardner, ‘P. Kellis I 67 revisited’.

⁸⁹⁰ See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 25, pkc.63, l.21n.

⁸⁹¹ See *ibid.*, 164–65. This man could be e.g. the son of Tiberios or son of Loudon.

11.2 Almsgiving

11.2.1 The ecclesiastical tradition

According to the polymath al-Biruni (fl. 11th century), Mani forbade the ‘acquisition of anything, except from food for one day and clothing for one year.’⁸⁹² The injunction clearly goes back to Mani himself: passages from the CMC as well as fragments of Mani’s *Šabuhraġan* and of his *Epistle to Mesene* attest to the veracity of al-Biruni’s quotation.⁸⁹³ The Elect were thus not allowed to accumulate food, goods, or land, but still needed to be fed, clothed, and housed. These tasks fell to the Auditors by way of almsgiving. Alms were the ‘financial lifeblood of the church’, as Tardieu has put it.⁸⁹⁴ Furnishing the Elect with food was particularly important, as the meals were both, in principle, rituals of cosmic significance, and, more prosaically, because they had to be supplied on a daily basis.⁸⁹⁵ In this section I focus on the concept of food alms, which is what we – for the most part – can identify in the Kellis material.

Begging for alms seems to have been the original norm for the Elect. An unfortunately fragmented passage from the CMC (142.3–13) suggests that Mani himself went out to beg for his food. This view has been taken as the ‘canonical’ or original practice, consistent with the notion of wandering Elect walking from house to house. However, at least in the eastern branch, the meal became a collective affair. The Chinese *Compendium*, a summary of teachings and practices of the group written sometime before 731 (when it probably was translated into Chinese), proscribes that the Elect wait for alms together in the monastery: they should only go out to beg if none are forthcoming.⁸⁹⁶ Monasteries were furnished with an official called the *e-huan-jian-sai-bo-sai* (probably for Pa **arwāngān ispāsg*, ‘servant of the

⁸⁹² Trans. Reeves, *Prolegomena*, 212.

⁸⁹³ A MP Manichaean text fragment, M 731v., gives a part of the same injunction and explicitly quotes Mani’s *Epistle to Mesene*, showing al-Biruni to be well-informed. See BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 128–35.

⁸⁹⁴ Tardieu, *Manichaeism*, 70.

⁸⁹⁵ For general treatments of the ritual, see the studies of Jason D. BeDuhn, ‘The Manichaean sacred meal’, in *Turfan, Khotan und Dunhuang: Vorträge der Tagung Annemarie v. Gabain und die Turfanforschung*, ed. Ronald E. Emmerick, et al. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996); ‘Eucharist or yasna? Antecedents of Manichaean food ritual’; and *The Manichaean body*, 126–208.

⁸⁹⁶ Lieu, ‘Precept and practices’, 85.

alms'), together with a lay official, which rotated monthly and collected (or received) alms.⁸⁹⁷ This office might have been a late (and transient?) development, as the term is not known from Iranian texts.⁸⁹⁸ The meal was an elaborate ritual conducted while the Elect were gathered together in the evening, with a ceremonial giving of the food by Auditors (the 'invitation', MP *niwēdmā*). Their donation, probably given to a representative of the community, was accompanied by hymns and homilies.⁸⁹⁹ The Auditors then withdrew, leaving the Elect to reflect, eat, and conduct their own after-meal hymns and prayers.⁹⁰⁰

This might contrast with a continued tradition of begging monks in the Roman Empire. The author of the Tebessa codex, for instance, refers back to the Gospel, a time when the Auditors 'helped the elect and, receiving them under their roofs and into their own homes, they provided them with the necessities of life'.⁹⁰¹ Still, normative discourse on food rituals in the west also recognised ceremonial receptions.⁹⁰² One chapter of the Berlin Kephalaia depicts Auditors as bringing the 'table' to the Elect accompanied by hymns and prayers; here a ceremony is taken for granted (1 Ke. 346.22–347.9). Another depicts Elect turning to other Elect for alms (1 Ke. 364.14–17), pointing to a normative practice of internal distribution – or at least sharing – of food among the Elect. It moreover indicates that the Elect were enjoined to eat together, for which there is in fact much evidence. Keph. 85 provides a passage dealing with an Elect going out to request alms, here presented as causing some anxiety. It reads, in Gardner's translation:

Sometimes, also, a teacher [of the] church where I am, or some of the foreign brethren, may [ask me] about a portion of alms, concerning some food that they need. I know that what I do is good, as I am obeying the one who commands [me], who sends me on the road to a foreign country. Again, if I [take] up the alms and it is brought to the church, the br[others] and the sisters can take their sufficiency of it. I know and perceive that I have therein a great success,

⁸⁹⁷ Moriyasu, *World history reconsidered*, 75; BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 138.

⁸⁹⁸ There is no trace of an office called 'servant of the alms' in Iranian Manichaean texts, although the Chinese term clearly derives from an earlier Iranian one. See Werner Sundermann, 'A Manichaean liturgical instruction on the act of almsgiving', in *The Light and the Darkness*, ed. Jason D. BeDuhn and Paul A. Mirecki (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 208. In the later Uighur realm, the office was replaced by the *xroxan*. See Takao Moriyasu, 'The flourishing of Manichaeism under the West Uighur Kingdom. New edition of the Uighur charter on the administration of the Manichaean monastery in Qočo.', in *World History Reconsidered through the Eyes of the Silk Road. Four lectures at the Collège de France in May 2003*, ed. Moriyasu Takao (Osaka: Osaka University, 2003), 75–77.

⁸⁹⁹ BeDuhn, 'The Manichaean sacred meal', 5; Sundermann, 'Liturgical instruction', 203–4.

⁹⁰⁰ See BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 149–57; Sundermann, 'Liturgical instruction', 208.

⁹⁰¹ *Codex Tebestina*, col. 17 (v.i) trans. Vermes, in Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean texts*, 269.

⁹⁰² BeDuhn (*The Manichaean body*, 128–33.) gives an overview over almsgiving in the western tradition, but does not consider the passages I emphasise here.

by this matter. [Never]theless, I am also afraid lest in any way I commit a sin when [I wa]lk on the path, as I trample upon the earth, [tre]jading on [the Cro]ss of Light (1 Ke. 208.23–33)

Mani's response comes in the form of a parable: The Cross of Light (the world soul) and the alms (trapped individual souls) are like a sick person, and the Elect is like a doctor who must at times cause pain in order to heal (1 Ke. 212.10–12). But although this suffering is to a certain extent inevitable, it does not imply that the Elect are allowed to cause unnecessary pain, by acting violent or gluttonous. Instead, the Elect is to rely on the Auditors, and lead the almsgiving 'by word' to the Auditors (1 Ke. 213.5–6).

The Elect's original question takes as its starting assumption that going out to collect alms means bringing them back to the church, where the meals were eaten by the brethren. Going out to collect alms was moreover only sometimes (οὐν κατ) necessary, when a superior commanded it. This strongly suggests that waiting collectively for alms, and consuming them together, was perceived as a normative pattern by its author, in agreement with the *Compendium*. Mani's answer in the same chapter shows the reasoning behind this: going out to receive alms involves harm to the earth, which is at times necessary but should generally be avoided. It is better to instruct the Auditors to provide the necessities. Another chapter points in the same direction. Keph. 38, which preserves some traditions going back to Mani's own work,⁹⁰³ describes how souls are liberated by the Light Mind, which enters the body and fashions an Elect (see section 9.3.2). However, the body can still experience rebellions, e.g. sickness, doubt, and apostasy. To prevent this, the community is to sit in council and put the potentially errant Elect straight. Sin resurfaces if the Elect does not heed the advice, manifesting itself in anti-social behaviour, described in a passage which, as translated by Gardner, reads:

If again [...] to that place, then again sin shall rise [...] and clothe him with lust and vanity and pride. He separates from his teacher (πρεσβυτ) and his brethren. [He sh]all always [w]ant to go in and to come out alone. He shall want to eat and to drink alone, a solitary man (οὐλαεεϋ νῖρῖνῖοϋωτ). [He sh]all always [w]ant to walk alone. Indeed, this is the [s]ign that the familiarity (τῖτῖανῖ) of his brethren does not act on him. (1 Ke. 98.15–22)

⁹⁰³ It is one of the longest in 1 Ke., and has parallels in Parthian, Sogdian, Turkic, and Chinese traditions tied to the *Sermon of the Light Nous*; material that ultimately seems to be rooted in Mani's *Book of Giants*. Sundermann, *Der Sermon vom Licht-Nous*, 11–19. See also section 9.3.2.

The term τᾶπῶ (1.22), translated ‘familiarity’, also has the meaning ‘custom, habit’.⁹⁰⁴ It shows that the Elect were expected to reinforce good conduct among themselves through becoming ‘familiar’, emulating each other’s habits. Eating and drinking (but also travelling, to which I return) on one’s own resulted in ‘sin’. Communal gatherings were considered vital occasions at which the Elect were to reinforce each other’s ‘familiarity’. Manichaean authorities in the west, then, considered the ritual meal as an affair pertaining to the Elect as a community, central for reinforcing Elect discipline. The western tradition, then, shared in notions of ceremonial receptions and collective meal consumption, in addition to individual begging.⁹⁰⁵

11.2.2 The Kellis evidence

Identifying Manichaean alms

First, it is necessary to identify passages that deal with almsgiving. However, it is difficult to separate almsgiving from other charitable transactions in papyrological sources, which often take knowledge of the underlying purpose of a transaction for granted. As in the case of identifying Elect discussed above, there is little in the way of explicit descriptions, and technical terms found in western Manichaean texts, such as Gr. *eusebeia*, *eleēmosynē*, or C. ⲙⲓⲧⲏⲁⲉ,⁹⁰⁶ are mostly absent. There are, however, transactions between Elect (as identified in section 11.1.2) and Auditors that appear to represent instances of Manichaean almsgiving. Most securely identified are those in the Coptic Father letters (pkc.31–32), which contain requests for gifts of goods, described in terms that imbue the gifts with a spiritual dimension. The editors were the first to note that they should probably be taken as alms.⁹⁰⁷ Majella Franzmann has treated these letters in a series of studies on lay religiosity and almsgiving in Kellis,⁹⁰⁸ showing how the Biblical allusions and other religious notions present in the letters

⁹⁰⁴ From τᾶπῶ, ‘be accustomed, familiar’, see Crum 422b. See also the Logos on Prayer: ‘Your (Mani’s) habit (τᾶπῶ) [remains] in my heart more than [my] brothers and my relatives’ (Hom. 2.24–25).

⁹⁰⁵ It is furthermore strongly implied in keph. 81, which is considered in 11.4.2–3, below.

⁹⁰⁶ The related verb C. ⲙⲁⲉ (‘have mercy, charity’) appears in Makarios’ letter pkc.19 and in Tehat’s letter pkc.43. For the latter, see below. For such terms more generally, see BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 128–29.

⁹⁰⁷ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 207. See the analysis below (section 11.2.1).

⁹⁰⁸ Majella Franzmann, ‘An “heretical” use of the New Testament: A Manichaean adaptation of Matt 6:19–20 in P. Kell. Copt. 32’, in *The New Testament interpreted: Essays in honor of Bernard C. Lategan*, ed. Cilliers

fit into a Manichaean Auditor–Elect framework.⁹⁰⁹ To these we should add requests found in letters by other identifiable Elect: in particular the Greek Father letter pkgr.**63**, to Pausanias and Pisistratos, which uses a similarly spiritual language in relation to a gift. Perhaps we can add those made by Apa Lysimachos in pkc.**30** and pkgr.**67**, to Horos and Theognostos, respectively, although the contexts here are less clear.

Unambiguous technical terms for Auditor–Elect alms are, as noted, absent. But a general term often applied to Christian charitable meals in antiquity, ‘love’ (*agapē*), was also at times employed for Auditor–Elect alms, and can be found in Kellis.⁹¹⁰ It is used to designate charitable gifts in the form of foodstuff in documents connected to Horion and Tehat: in Horion’s letters pkc.**15** and pkc.**17**, and in Tehat’s accounts pkc.**44** and pkc.**47**.⁹¹¹ While it is possible that the term could refer to charity meals for the poor, as was common in mainstream Christian circles, the editors point out that, if a Manichaean context frames these transactions, *agape* must be understood as referring to the Elect ritual meal.⁹¹² Although it cannot be proven beyond doubt that Horion and Tehat deploy the term for Elect alms, similarities between Horion’s donations for *agape* and the Fathers’ requests for alms in pkc.**31–32** strongly support this interpretation.

A few other transactions mentioned by lay writers may also be alms for the Elect, despite lack of technical vocabulary. In addition to discussing *agape*, Horion orders clothes on behalf of Saren the presbyter (pkc.**18**, pkc.**58**), and gives a cowl to the ‘brothers’ (pkc.**58**). The gifts to Saren must similarly be alms, if the identification of Saren as an Elect presbyter is correct (section 11.1.2). Pekysis discusses a matter of two girls requested as a ‘service to the church’ (pkc.**73**, ll.16–17), which seems likely to be related to the well-known Manichaean

Breytenbach, et al. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006); ‘Tehat the weaver’; ‘The treasure of the Manichaean spiritual life’, in *In Search of Truth: Augustine, Manichaeism and other Gnosticism. Studies for Johannes van Oort at sixty*, ed. Jacob A. van den Berg, et al. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011); ‘Manichaean almsgiving’.

⁹⁰⁹ See, in particular, Franzmann, ‘Treasure’.

⁹¹⁰ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDTI*, 70–71, 77; Anthony Alcock, ‘The *agape*’, *Vigiliae Christianae* 54, no. 2 (2000).

⁹¹¹ The term also appears in the KAB, twice with named women: Tehat and Tanoup. See Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 80–82.

⁹¹² Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDTI*, 77 n.95. The editors note: ‘Augustine (c. *Faust.* XX, 20) refutes the charge of Faustus that Christians had converted pagan sacrifices into *agapae* by representing them as charity meals (*agapes enim nostrae paupers pascunt*).’ (ibid., 70.). For the Manichaeans, the Elect were the truly poor, and charity for the Elect was thus true *agape*. For the connection between love and charity to the Elect in Manichaean Coptic texts, see perhaps also 1 Ke. 279.11–19, 166.13–16, 230.4–5.

practice of giving children to the care of Elect for education and training as new Elect. The sojourn of Piene with the Teacher known from the Maria/Makarios letters suggests a similar donation. Finally, an appeal by Tehat might be read as an appeal for charity to the Elect. The passage is unfortunately heavily fragmented. The reconstruction and translation of Gardner, Alcock, and Funk reads:

εγῆν οὐλακ ἡ . . . σε ἀρετῆ τοο . . . τοῦνοῦ σε πε τῆναγ οὐρνο νεῖ . . . εἰ ἀνειορφα[νο]ς εἰ τε τακτῆναγ ἡ . . . ἡν εἰπε
 πεῖ πε ετρα πκρητ . . . ἀνακ τεκνο ἀτρεκνα. . . ἡπρητε . . . τὰ ταπωαῖ ἡ[. . .] . . . ἀτρεῖ . . . ὄρακ εἰ οὐς . [. . .]
 ὄωπε [. . .] . σοπ ἡτκωογ . [. . .] ἔρνεσ η[. . .] . εἰ ὄωπε ἡσως . . . ετῆ . ἡ . . . τῆνοῦ οὐν πετ[. . .] ἄβε ἡ[.] ὄω ἔτηκ
 εαραγ ἡκτοῦν . [. . .] εἰνο νεγ εἰ ἡτῆγ ἰωτ ο[γτε] ἡο μετρι δε κνε ἡσασε . . . χηρε νιν οὐοῖ ἡρες οῦτῆ
 (vac) . τε ἡε ἡῖ εἰρηῖ ἡφναε εἰ εἰ τῶγ τῶγ ἡῖ τβηκε ἡ . . . οὔ . [. . .] . εἰσε εἰ εἰ πε πρητε [. . .] ἡ
 π[ε]κρητ ὄωπ ε . γ ἡπρη[. . .] . ε εἰ ἡῖ . . . ε ὄωπε ἀπ[. . .] . εἰσε [.] ἡτακ ἡπ[. . .] . ε ο[γω]ε ἡρητκ . . .
 ἡοῦτ . . . ε η[. . .] ἡκα . ἡπῆ . . . κατα πρη[η]τε ἡ . οὔ . τ ἡτ . πογῖωτ εἰωρ [.] ὄωκ ἡνιῶῖαι ε . ὄωπ τηρογ
 † το[τλ] ἡ ἡκα ἡο ἡε[. . .] εἰσε ἀραγ εἰσε . εἰσε εἰσε τῆναγ ἡ[ε]ἰωγ . [. . .] ἡ . . . εἰσε . . . ἡρω . [. . .] ἡ εἰσε . . .
 ἡτῆ εἰσε ὄωγ νιν τῆ ἡπογρῶπ ἡῖ πογλεε εἰσε . . . ε . ἡτ εἰσε εἰσε εἰσε εἰσε νεγ

If there is a bowl (?) of vegetables (?) [...] Indeed, this is the time: Send a pot (?) [...] to these orphans (ἀνειορφα[νο]ς);
 for you did send [...] If this is what your heart has [...] me, your mother; so that you throw (?) like this [...] Tapshai [...]
 for him to [...] to you. A [...] happened [...] Tkoou [...] seek after it [...] Now then, the [...] Have pity for them, and you
 set up (?) [some] pots for them; in that they have no father nor mother. And until you know (?), the baked loaves [...]
 every widow (χηρε νιν) eats (?) [...] find it [...] charity (ἡε); and he [...] and he has mercy (ἡφναε) on them in their
 [...] with Tbeke [...] baked loaves to them. What is the manner of [...] your heart receives to them (?). Do not [...]
 Greet [...] on their behalf [...] You [...] place in you [...] Do not [...] according to the manner of [...] their father Hor [...]
 these strangers (ἡῖ) [...] all of them. Lay your hands on [...] which they sent after [...] Who is it really that
 takes care of them and their anxiety(?) in their hearts? For, are there any others for them? (pκ.43, II.6–38)⁹¹³

Franzmann expresses scepticism as to whether the ‘orphans’ mentioned in the request can be identified as Elect.⁹¹⁴ The usage of ἡε may relate to the term for alms used in the Med.Madi literature, ἡῖτῆε (‘charity’), but was not particular to the Manichaeans. Yet the passage also strongly recalls stock terms and themes employed in reference to the Elect: not only ‘orphans’ and ‘widows’, common terms in connection with Christian alms, but also ‘strangers’.⁹¹⁵ Most striking is the similarity to a passage from the Homily of the Great War, in which Mani is depicted as weeping for his persecuted Elect, in Pedersen’s translation:

I weep for my widows (ἡχηρα) who h[ave no one that will]
 stretch his hand to them (in order to help). I weep for my [orphan]ed
 ch[ildren] (ἡῖ) [ἡε ἡορφα]νος, these lonely strangers (ἡῖ) [ἡε ἡορφα]νος), for w[ho will lo]ok

⁹¹³ For the revised translation of the last line, see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 366.

⁹¹⁴ Franzmann, ‘Manichaean almsgiving’, 3.

⁹¹⁵ ‘Widows’ and ‘orphans’ are used in several Med.Madi texts for the Manichaean community, and in several instances there is an emphasise on the spiritual benefit of assistance that strongly suggests Elect are meant (e.g. 2 PsB. 53.24–25, 62.17, 175.22; Hom. 44.26).

after them? At [whose] tabl[e] (τραπεζ[α]) will they eat? (Hom. 17.11–14)

Here all three terms occur together, in the context of alms,⁹¹⁶ with woeful rhetorical questions similar to those of Tehat. This interpretation of the passage from Tehat's letter certainly remains tentative, but the possibility that she refers to preparations of an Elect meal should not be dismissed – particularly not in light of the occurrences of agape in the accounts associated with her, and considering her close relationship to Horos and Horion, themselves organisers of agape.

To sum up, while there are no unambiguous acts of Auditor–Elect almsgiving, there are several requests and transactions whose contexts strongly suggest that they should be interpreted within this framework. The most well-established of these are the letters written by Manichaean authorities, pkc.31–32 and pkgr.63, the agape of Horion in pkc.15, pkc.17, and his gifts to the presbyter Saren in pkc.18 and pkc.58. Although there are a few other passages that likewise suggest Elect alms (especially the donations of children to the church), these provide the main starting point for the analysis below, which focuses on Elect meals.

Soliciting alms

Let us first consider how the Elect went about being leaders of the alms 'by word to the catechumen', i.e. the rhetorical construction and content of Elect letters, before moving on to their implications for almsgiving practices. The Father letters provide the primary examples for this purpose. Letter pkc.31 is addressed to a group of women, by an author who styles himself 'your father who is in Egypt' (ll.7–8). His incipit contains a tripartite greeting, situating the women as 'members of the holy church', '[daughters] of the Light Mind', and 'children of God', and praising them as 'favoured', 'blessed', and 'God-loving' (ll.2–6). The letter body starts with a prayer for God to guard the women against the evils of the world due to their mutual relationship: 'You being helpers, worthy patrons and firm unbending pillars; while we ourselves rely upon you' (ll.17–19). This dependence, however, does not appear to be based on direct interaction; as translated by Gardner, Alcock, and Funk:

⁹¹⁶ 'Table' (Gr. *trapeza*) was regularly employed as a term for the Elect meal. Puech, *Sur le manichéisme*, 74–75, 257. Occurrences of 'widows' and 'orphans' in other Med.Madi texts similarly emphasise the spiritual benefit of assistance that strongly suggest Elect are meant (e.g. 2 PsB. 53.24–25, 62.17, 175.22; Hom. 44.26).

ἴταρισωτῆ σε εἶπε πετῆσαιτ' εἰς τὴν οὐρανὸν ἵνα ἴδωσθε· αἰρεσθε τὸ νοσηρὸν· αἰρεσθε τὸ νοσηρὸν· ἵνα ἴδωσθε ἵνα ἴδωσθε
[εἶπε εἰς τὴν οὐρανὸν· εἶπε [εἰς τὴν ἀ]ἰσθητὴν πρὸς τὴν οὐρανὸν ἵνα ἴδωσθε τὸ νοσηρὸν]

Indeed, when I heard about your good, God-loving fame; I rejoiced greatly. I was very grateful to you, ten million times! Whether we are far or we are near: indeed, we have found remembrance (πρηνεγε) among you. (pkc.31, ll.20–26)

Through their good deeds, the lay women at Kellis have achieved a good reputation (πετῆσαιτ' εἰς τὴν οὐρανὸν), which has even reached the author and incurred his gratefulness all the way over in Egypt, phrased by way of the 'far–near' formula (see section 9.3.1). Moreover, by their deeds – perhaps help to other Elect familiar to the author – the women had equally displayed appreciation for the Father, who was presumably a figure of some stature in the community. He continues by praying for that 'this knowledge and this faith' shall stay with them in the future (ll.26–29), implicitly tying the strength of their faith to their good deeds. Only after this introduction does he turn to the more mundane purpose of the letter: a request for two choes of olive oil. Although the rest of the letter is quite fragmented, it is apparent that this request is occasioned by some hardship the author is experiencing (see section 9.4.2).

The author of pkc.32 simply calls himself 'your father', and writes a single 'our loved daughter'. He, too, situates her in relation to the community with a tripartite greeting: she is a 'daughter of the holy church', a 'catechumen of the faith', and a 'good tree (πρὸς τὴν οὐρανὸν) whose fruit never wither, which is your love that emits radiance every day' (ll.1–7). From the image of the tree, he turns to one of wealth: the woman has acquired riches in the treasuries in the heights, 'where moths shall not find a way, nor shall thieves dig through to them to steal; which (storehouses) are the sun and the moon (πρὸς τὴν οὐρανὸν)' (ll.10–13).⁹¹⁷ Finally, he stats that her 'deeds resemble her name', Eirene (ll.14–15).⁹¹⁸ These turns of praise echo Manichaean interpretation of New Testament passages, which are used in a particular way to put emphasis on the importance of good deeds: Eirene's faith is the 'tree' and the 'love', but it bears 'fruit' and emits 'radiance' in the form of good deeds. The image of 'treasure' in the 'storehouses' of the sun and the moon expresses, by way of Matt. 6:19–20, the Manichaean notion that an Auditor's good deeds are 'Light' that literally goes up to be stored in the

⁹¹⁷ For an analysis of the images of the 'good tree' and the 'treasure', see Franzmann, 'Treasure'. See also the discussion of tree-imagery in Makarios' letter pkc.22 in section 9.3.2.

⁹¹⁸ See the comments in Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDTI*, 24. See also pkc.105 (l.81).

heavenly bodies.⁹¹⁹ After this rich introduction follows the tripartite prayer for well-being in body, soul, and spirit until their next meeting. The author then broaches more mundane matters: he wants Eirene to mix warp and to send oil and wheat. But these mundane matters are themselves intertwined with a metaphor: her actions lay foundations for a 'house' where she will find eternal rest (Il.28–31).⁹²⁰ At the end of this discussion he exhorts her to 'fight in every way to complete the work, for a person knows not at what hour the thief will come to dig through the house.' (Il.40–45).⁹²¹ A certain threat can perhaps be detected: the 'thief' (*lēstēs*) can still undermine her salvation if she stops performing good deeds.⁹²² Finally, the father ends by rejoicing over her recovery from an illness. Considering his previous forceful assurances that Eirene's good deeds have already been stored in the heavenly bodies, but will give her spiritual benefits only if she continues to perform them, one might consider the possibility that her illness had occasioned some doubts, which the author now is trying to dispel.⁹²³

There is little reason to doubt that these letters deal with requests for alms by Elect. Their shared concerns provide insight into stock topoi that Elect could draw on in order to persuade Auditors to donate. Both letters start with introductory formula that depict the value of the Auditors to God, the church, and the writer. Both put a strong emphasis on the importance of good deeds (pkc.31's prayer, pkc.32's introductory formula). Good deeds are tied to the resilience of the recipients' faith, and ultimately to their very salvation. Both authors connect the practical performance of good deeds (i.e. expressions of faith) to requests of assistance, in both cases involving foodstuff – and, in pkc.32, textiles – they are to receive.

The final Father letter, the Greek pkgr.63 to Pausanias and Pisistratos, has a somewhat different structure and purpose. At the same time, it shares many of the same concerns. The

⁹¹⁹ Franzmann ('An heretical use', 156–57.) took Eirene radiating light to imply that she is placed on pair with the Elect. However, this image too seems to relate to another notion, found in the *Kephalaia* (see 1 Ke. 227.18–26), that Auditors' Light-particles (or soul-fragments) travel before them to the heavenly bodies, where they await his or her death before judgement.

⁹²⁰ For the image of the 'house', see Franzmann, 'Treasure'; Gardner, 'Once more on Mani's Epistles', 301–2.

⁹²¹ The religious language and the request for warp and oil are strongly intertwined – so much so that Gardner considers whether the request itself might be symbolic. Gardner, 'Once more on Mani's Epistles', 301–2.

⁹²² Franzmann, 'Treasure', 241–42.

⁹²³ For the connection between physical diseases and spiritual illness, see keph. 86.

author, who does state his name (although it is unfortunately lost in a lacuna), starts by praising his recipients. The incipit is different from the Coptic letters, but ‘reputation’ plays a key role, as in **pkc.31**. Pausanias’ and Pisistratos’ good reputation (*eufēmia*) is ‘great and without limit’ in ‘our mind and speech’, ‘recorded and testified’ by way of their ‘most sincere mind’ (ll.5–11, trans. Worp). Subsequently, instead of making a request, the author and his companions offer thanks for gifts, in a particularly striking passage, as translated by Worp:

Ὅπως καὶ τὸ γράμμα μετρίως εὐφραίνειν ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπειγόμεθα κ[α]ὶ τ[ο]ύτω συνεχῶς χρᾶσθαι καὶ ὧν ἐνδ[ο]ν πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν φέρομεν θε[ε]ρ[ο]σ[ε]βῆ δι[α]θήσειν κη[μ]άτων θείων ε[ἰ]ς τοὺς [. . .] ἀνωδι . . . σίας ἐκπέμπει· πάνυ γὰρ ἡδόμεθα καὶ χαίρομεν κομιούμ[ε]νοι τὰ [τ]ῆς ὑμε[τ]έρας εὐνοίας τεκμηρία τε καὶ ἀσμένα ὑμῶν γράμματα, λέγω [. . .] . ν· κ[α]ὶ νῦν ἀπολαύομεν πνευματικῶν ὀλίγων καρπῶν, ἀπολαύ[ο]μεν δ[ὲ] πάλιν καὶ τῶν καρπῶν ψυχικῶν τῆς εὐσεβοῦς . . . φώρας δηλονότι· καὶ ἀμφοτέρ[ω]ν πεπλησμέ[ε]νοι πᾶσαν εὐλογίαν σπ[ε]υσόμεθα πρὸς τὴν φωτινοτάτη[ν] ὑμῶν ψυχὴν καθ ὅσον ἡμῖν ε[ἰ]σι[τ]ι δυνα[τ]όν . . . }· μόνος γὰρ ὁ δε[ε]σπότης ἡμῶν [ὁ] π[α]ρ[ά]κλητος ἱκανὸς ἐπαξίως ὑμᾶς εὐλογῆσαι[ν] κ[α]ὶ τ[ῶ]ν δέοντι καιρῷ ἀνταμείψασθαι

And yet, knowing that this letter will gladden (you) in due measure, consequently we hasten to make use of this and to send off to the [...] word of the divinely generated conceptions which we cherish inside towards your pious character. For we are most pleased and rejoice when (or: that?) we shall receive both the indications of your sympathy and the welcome letter of yours, I mean [...]; and now we benefit from a few fruits of the spirit and (later) again we benefit also from the fruits of the soul of the pious [...] and filled with both we shall set going every praise towards your most luminous soul inasmuch as this is possible for us. But only our lord the Paraclete is competent to praise you as you deserve and to compensate you at the appropriate moment. (pkgr.63, ll.11–30)

After this display of gratitude, the author shifts to more prosaic matters, noting that the basket (*spyridion*, l.31) that Pausanias and Pisistratos sent has arrived, and that he has forwarded (some of) its contents to lord [...]ryllos.⁹²⁴ He ends by saying that he prays for the two to remain helpful, and greets from various brethren, whose names are mostly lost (ll.38–39).

As in **pkc.31**, the author appears to be located at some distance from the recipients, and may (less certainly) primarily be familiar with them by way of their ‘good reputation’ that has reached a great extent. As in **pkc.32**, he employs language of spiritual ‘fruits’ to refer to the Auditors’ good deeds: they are tied to pious donations to himself and his brethren, as seen in the sudden shifts from mundane gifts to higher, ‘spiritual’ matters, and back to the discussion of a basket. Moreover, by his assertion that he and his companions will be filled by ‘fruits of the soul of the pious ...’ when they receive the gifts, it seems that the gifts may well be interpreted as goods for consumption. We should probably understand **pkgr.63** as a letter of thanks for alms, and alms, moreover, that the recipients would consume at a ritual meal. This is supported both by the author’s final assertion in the lines quoted: that he and his

⁹²⁴ Possibly [Ky]ryllos, but the spelling of Kyrillous with a second upsilon is to my knowledge uncommon. Could the name be [Be]ryllos? This name is attested in papyri of the later Roman Empire (see P. Oxy. 14 1679, SB XXVI 16581), and its associations with ‘light’ and ‘radiance’ fits nicely with the Manichaean context of this ‘lord’.

companions will make praise on behalf of the Auditors' 'luminous soul', i.e. the trapped living soul that is purified through the meals, which he in turn links to the 'recompense' of the Auditors, i.e. their salvation. Despite the effect of this praise, he hastens to piously emphasise that, in the final instance, salvation is in the hands of the Paraclete.⁹²⁵ Several of the same topoi are found here as in the two Coptic Father letters: the spiritual authority of the author, the importance of good deeds/reputation of the recipients, the spiritual recompense for their deeds, and a link between good deeds, salvation, and concrete instances of donation to the author.

In these three letters, then, we find Elect employing elaborate symbolic performances to persuade or reassure the Auditors of their value to the Church. There are, however, indications that such performances were not always necessary. A letter by Apa Lysimachos to Theognostos, which contains a request for a notebook, is much less elaborate: while the main letter body is lost, and Lysimachos does exhort Theognostos to mind his 'sobriety' (*nēpsis*), one may compare the comparatively curt introductory formula (pkgr.67, ll.1–3) to those of the Father letters. This might be an indication of the less formal ties between him and Theognostos; the latter was closely connected to several of Lysimachos' associates, such as Ision and Philammon, and presumably intimately known to Lysimachos himself. Asking for alms could, in other words, be a more mundane affair, and so may not always be obvious in the letters.⁹²⁶ In contrast to the close ties between Lysimachos and Theognostos, the Elect authors of pkc.31 and pkgr.63 seem not to have been directly familiar with their recipients. Their rhetorical displays of symbolic cues functions to assert their religious credentials in the absence of pre-existing ties. Another context must, however, have occasioned the symbolic performance of the author of pkc.32, who implies that he had had prior contact with Eirene. His eagerness to reassure her of the value of her deeds, and the scriptural allusions he employs to do so, may very well stem from a perceived need to comfort her in the wake of sickness – or even religious doubt?

⁹²⁵ For the argument that this likely refers to an after-meal prayer on behalf of the Auditors' souls, see below, section 11.3.1.

⁹²⁶ However, the Theognostos' religious role within the community is not entirely clear, see above, section 11.2.1.

Providing alms

The above-considered letters also tell us much about the way Auditors were expected to arrange for donations. As pointed out, the author of pkc.31 primarily knew his recipients by reputation, and likely had not previously had direct contact with the women in Kellis. However, he still expects alms to be sent to him all the way over in Egypt, by way of a ‘son’ he sends to retrieve them (I.41). Similarly, the ‘father’ in pogr.63 emphasises the great extent of the reputation of Pausanias and Pisistratos in his letter, and his symbolic performance can be seen in light of a need to reassure them of the spiritual value of their gifts despite a lack of prior familiarity. Auditors were clearly expected to contribute alms to certain Elect even across large distances, not only to supply their own local itinerant.

Still, while some Elect could solicit alms from afar, others cultivated personal bonds. The Father writing pkc.32 appears to be well acquainted with the recipient, Eirene, having met her previously (I.24). He grieves over sickness and rejoices in her recovery (II.45–49). He also mentions practical matters which the two were to conduct face-to-face, which in Gardner, Alcock, and Funk’s translation reads:

ἡνῆσως ἴσχεῖ εἶπὲς ἡ ἐπιπρῖμευε δε ερε . . . ἔραζε ἀμαγ δε πρῶβ καλως φαῖει ἀρρηῖ ἔραπαξ ἀτ σῆτε ἡπὲνῖ ἡωφε ἡσνατ ἡνῖ ἀτ πῶλωβφ. ταρεῖγταν ἡνο ηρητῶ φα ἀνηρε ἀρῖ πρῶβ τεμογχατ πωῖτῖ φαῖει. εωωπε εωγντε ἡηε εωογνε. ἱ ογκογς ἡπῖσαν. ἡαρεφτῖἡαογυ ἡνῖ ἡ σῖο φγσει. εωωπε ἀη εωγῖ [σ]ογο ἱ ἡεφ ἡῖτωῖἡηε ἡἡαδε. φατῖῖραπαντα ἀνενηρηγ τῖῖτ ἡῖωπ.

Furthermore, I write, giving you the remembrance that you [...] for the matter is fine, until I come up. Once you have laid the foundation of your house, fight in every way to put on its coping that you may be at ease therein forever. Do the work and mix the warp (?) until I come. If you have oil standing, give a *chous* to our brother; let him send it to me, or two naturally (?). if also there is wheat, give him eighteen *maje*; until we meet one another and settle our account. (pkc.32, II.24–40)

The meeting of the two appears to be rather mundane, perhaps even a regular affair: the father comes to supervise her mixing warp (τεμογχατ πωῖτῖ φαῖει) and to settle accounts (ἱ ἡῖωπ, lit. ‘give our count’). The account that they are to settle, if in the sense of monetary compensation, makes the details of the almsgiving uncertain. Perhaps Eirene was unable (or unwilling) to pay for the oil and grain from her own pocket, and so required compensation, perhaps from communal funds.⁹²⁷ It may, however, be that their reckoning has a different

⁹²⁷ There is evidence to suggest that the Elect accumulated communal funds, which could presumably be used for alms. See the discussion of *C. Faust*. 5.5, section 11.4.2, below.

meaning. Moreover, we find an intermediary ‘our brother’ who relays messages between the Father and Eirene, by way of whom alms were also to be sent. Eirene’s donations of oil, wheat, and textiles were thus not intended for the single Elect father, even though the author appears to be located in the immediate vicinity, but to be shipped off for an individual – or, more probably, a group (see below).

Turning to the lay documents concerning gifts for Elect, similar features are in evidence. Horion’s dealings, in particular, provides interesting details. In pkc.58, he berates Tehat and Hatre for asking him to pay for a cowl which he had apparently hoped to give as a gift, and which he has already given to the ‘brothers’. The editors suggest that Horion had expected Tehat/Hatres to provide the cowl as alms, and is somewhat indignant that he has to pay for it.⁹²⁸ It indicates that Horion was responsible for relaying alms gifts on behalf of other Auditors. He certainly had important responsibilities for purchasing resources for the agape. In pkc.15, he writes ‘brother’ Horos about practical arrangements he has made for an agape (trans. Gardner, Alcock, and Funk):

ζαίχι παρων ννηε̄ ν̄τοτ̄ ν̄ν̄/πιν/ω̄νρε ραζ εις̄ δ̄ικαδ̄υ ν̄ταγαπ̄ν̄ ν̄θε̄ ε̄τακ̄χο̄ς̄ ακ̄ρ̄εῑ αν̄ γε̄ το̄ῡ σο̄ε̄ η̄ᾱξε̄
 ν̄σο̄γο̄ τ̄η̄ᾱτᾱῡσε̄ ν̄η̄τ̄ε̄νᾱῡς̄ ν̄ω̄ε̄ αν̄ρ̄τᾱβ̄ ν̄ῑε̄ σᾱω̄ῡ ν̄ω̄ε̄ τ̄ο̄ῡ [ν̄]νο̄ῡμο̄ς̄ ρ̄ᾱ τ̄σο̄ ν̄η̄ᾱξε̄ ζαίχῑ τ̄χ̄λω̄ε̄ αν̄ ν̄τοτ̄
 ν̄π̄ν̄ω̄νρε̄ πᾱτ̄ε̄ν̄ῑ εῑς̄τε̄ δ̄ῑνᾱρ̄ς̄ δ̄ῑτ̄η̄νᾱῡς̄ ν̄τοτ̄ν̄ ρ̄αζ̄ εκ̄ω̄αν̄χῑτ̄ς̄ ρ̄ε̄ῑ ν̄η̄ῑ ν̄π̄ρ̄ρ̄ε̄ῑς̄τᾱ η̄ε̄κ̄ ε̄τ̄βε̄ τᾱγαπ̄ν̄ τ̄η̄ᾱε̄ς̄ δ̄ῑρε̄ω̄ε̄

I have received the *agon* of oil from our son Raz. Look, I left it [with them] for the *agape*, like you said. You also write: ‘Buy 6 *maje* of wheat’. I will buy them (at) 1200 to the artaba; thus 705 *nummi* for these 6 *maje*. I have also received the *j/je* from our son Pateni (?). Look, I filled it and sent it by way of Raz. As you receive it, write to me. Do not bother (?) yourself about the *agape*. I will do it, rejoicing. (pkc.15, ll.14–24)

Horion has ‘left it (the oil)’ (δ̄ικαδ̄υ) with a group of people, presumably Elect. There is no hint that they visited him; instead Horion delivered the resources to them himself. His matter-of-fact language, and the assumption that Horos would (normally) also be concerning himself with agape, indicates that these two shared habitual responsibility for gathering alms to the Elect, rather than they served Elect at the occasional visit. A figure who recurs in both of Horion’s letters to Tehat/Hatres (pkc.18, pkc.58) is Saren ‘the presbyter’. In both letters, Saren figure as one who has sent orders for clothes that Horion transmits to Tehat/Hatres, once perhaps also involving Petros (pkc.18, l.23). It is clear that Horion and Saren had regular

⁹²⁸ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 23, pkc.58, ll.1–10n.

interaction. More details are provided in a passage from pkc.58, which in Gardner, Alcock, and Funk's translation reads:

μηρνε μη μη[κλε]ϣτ̄ ηεπησαν ηε ςαρην εφναϊ σε ε[.] ςελσντ̄ τονοῡ το[νοϣ] . ςρφν ηρακλ<ει> αςεεῑ ατρογῑ
 λογαρε̄ τα[βωκ] λ]νεϣ̄ ητανο̄ αρφ[τ]η̄ φοϣωφ̄ ηρνε αςμη̄τοϣ̄ ηρ̄ηωραζ̄[.] ηη̄ ητωτ̄η̄ λη̄ ετ[η]λογαλοϣ̄ ηη̄
 ποϣρω̄ν ηη̄λ̄ ςνο̄ η̄[. . . . ϣω̄ν οϣηη̄λ̄ ηη̄[. . . . ε̄ η̄ςατερε̄ η̄ωτ̄τ̄ ηαϑ̄ ηη̄ ηρω̄ων̄ [. . . .] η̄πην̄ εφνατη̄[ηα]ϣ̄
 λη̄ ηη̄τ̄η̄

These fabrics and these cows belong to our brother Saren. Now, as he will come (would you be?) so very kind [...] bid (?) Erakl(ei) to write to get them to come to the Oasis; and I shall [(also?) go] there and see you. He wants the fabrics to be made (into) jerkins [...] Also, you are to cut them with their cloak(s): two *mna* for [each?] cloak, one *mna* [...] *stater*s for large warp and this cloak. (Wool?) from the place he will also send to you (pkc.58, ll.21–26)

It appears that Saren was about to make a journey (εφναϊ σε, l.21) in order to meet with Horion (and/or Tehat and Hatres), presumably in order to receive the clothes. The last line, if the editors' suggestion for reconstruction is correct, may even indicate that he provided wool for the clothing in return, perhaps acquired from laity in the Valley (section 7.1.1), although both the reconstruction and the subject of the sentence is open to interpretation. It is at any rate not wholly unexpected to find Elect involved in textile transactions, considering the Father's interaction with Eirene in pkc.32. The presence of Saren furthermore indicates that alms arrangements were, at least at times, mediated by church officials.

Accounts provide the last group of documents that feature agape. Best attested for a Manichaean context are the Coptic accounts. The account author noted two agape contributions. In one account, she writes: 'The agape of Theodora: She has given a maje of olives and a half maje of grapes.' (pkc.44, ll.12–13). In another account she addresses a group of weavers, writing: 'The lentils and lupin seeds: Make them as an agape (αριοϣ̄ η̄κακπη̄) for me.' (pkc.47, ll.10–11) As the author is likely Tehat, we may compare this to an agape entry in the KAB, where six (small) mat. wheat are designated as 'for agape (of) Tehat' (KAB 106).⁹²⁹ Tehat is unlikely to have been Elect, and so her regularly receiving (or, in pkc.47, demanding) agape contributions from other households implies that she had some sort of organisatory role. She was a close associate of Horion and Horos I, showing that this circle was particularly frequently involved in organising agape. While it could conceivably be argued that these

⁹²⁹ For the 'small' and the 'large' matation used in the KAB, see section 2.3.3. Six small mat. amount to ca. 7.8 kg.

payments were stored for visiting Elect, it seems more likely that she was to relay them to Elect located elsewhere, as we have seen that both Horion and Eirene did.

Finally, we may note the agape payment entries found in the KAB. Here the manager pays agape in several instalments concentrated in the first four months of each year.⁹³⁰ If so, Elect received regular contributions (ordered by the landlord?) for part of the year, in addition to being allowed to lease land, pointing to an institutionalised agape-framework. The KAB account also features payments to a bishop who presided over a local (?) church: to the church (880, 883), to the bishop (706), and ‘to the church for the bishop’ (εις ἐκκλησία [*sic*] τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ), KAB 620–621). These may perhaps refer to a Manichaean institution. As mentioned above, one agape-payment was especially designated for Tehat, perhaps indicating that the donation was given for the agape collection of her and her associates, but most entries are unmarked. However, although the payment to Tehat is compelling considering her role elsewhere, in the absence of other evidence it is imprudent to conclude that all agape entries in the KAB relate to specifically Manichaean alms – especially as there is some evidence to suggest that the author expressed belonging to a mainstream Christian context.⁹³¹

At any rate, the acts of Auditor–Elect almsgiving that can be identified in the Kellis material all seem to be delivered to Elect, who either retrieved the alms themselves or awaited them at a separate location, on a habitual basis. This should alert us to an often-overlooked fact when dealing with the practicalities of Elect life: Auditors could not be expected to show up at Elect gatherings every day. Even Auditors located in the same village or city would have needed mechanisms for delivering alms to the places where the Elect were located at days

⁹³⁰ Bagnall (*P. Kell. IV*, 82–83.) describes five main features that characterise the expenditures on agape in the KAB: 1) they appear in both *dapane* and *hyperesia* entries, entries for general or unknown service expenses; 2) they are mostly in wheat, but twice in wine, once in barley, and once in cheese; 3) two instances are associated with specific individuals (Tehat and Tanoup); 4) the amounts vary considerably and so are not fixed; and 5) they are concentrated in the first four months of each year. What these features might signify for agape practice remains unclear. Varying amounts would indicate that the number of recipients also varied, in line with a varying numbers of Elect in need of *agape*. Although the presence of wine among the agape contributions could be seen as evidence of a non-Manichaean context, we cannot be sure that it was directly sent on to the Elect (and not, for instance, sold or exchanged for other goods). One may furthermore note Augustine’s remarks in *De mor.* 2.16.47, where he says that the ‘juice’ the Elect drink is nothing other than alcohol-free wine (*caroenum*, which Teske notes ‘refers to a sweet wine that had been boiled down to a third of its original amount.’ Teske, *The Manichaean debate*, 60 n. 9.).

⁹³¹ See *ibid.*, 80–84, for a ‘catholic’ Christian link, esp.83–84.

when they could not come – which, for most adherents, would have been most days, explaining why Monday was set apart for a special ‘prayer gatherings’ (see section 11.3.1). This could well explain the role of the group Horion, Horos, and Tehat in Kellis. As Auditors who were more involved with the Church than most other lay people, they gathered resources from the local laity and delivered them to the Elect, or even handed them on to Elect agents who came to gather alms, such as the father in pkc.32.

A possible exception may be found in Tehat’s letter pkc.43, if, as tentatively posited above, it deals with Elect almsgiving. Tehat seems to be trying to persuade her ‘son’ to prepare alms – loaves, vegetables, and pots, – which could be intended for impending Elect ‘strangers’. This might provide evidence for an intimate ritual prompted by Elect visitors, although it would seem the ‘son’ has to be persuaded to facilitate it. However, both the context for and the specifics of the request are too fragmented for it to carry much weight.

Sharing alms

Can these donations tell us anything more about the Elect to whom they were given? For one, we may note that the food alms identified above consist primarily of oil and wheat, as well as olives, grapes, lentils, and lupin seeds. Such a diet is in line with what is known of the Elect dietary norms. More revealing are the amounts of goods requested. In the Coptic Father letters, the amounts of grain and oil requested are much larger than those needed for any individual Elect. The author of pkc.32 requested one or two choes (1.5–3 litres) and 18 mat. wheat (ca. 58 kg), amounting to almost two artaba. One artaba was enough to sustain an active man for a whole month (see section 2.3.3); two artaba are wholly unlikely to be intended for a single person. The author of pkc.31 asked for two choes oil (ca. six litres) on behalf of a plurality of people (ll.29–34). These Elect must either have had the food stored for them (in communal spaces?) or consumed it in groups upon delivery.

Horion’s letters provide a similar picture. In pkc.15, Horion purchased six matia wheat – a little more than half an artaba, or ca. 18 kg – and sent one agon oil, i.e. 1.5 litres, for the

agape. Specifically, he says: ‘I left (ἀἰκᾶαυ) it [with them]⁹³² for the agape’ (pkc.15, ll.15–16). It is clear that the agape is delivered and handed over to a plurality of recipients. Likewise, in pkc.17, Horion refers to one or two agon oil, ca. 1.5–3 litres.⁹³³ Furthermore, Horion here makes an aside: ‘we take in much oil for the *agape*, in that we are many, and they consume much oil.’ (pkc.17, ll.23–25).⁹³⁴ In both these letters, the size and the explicit mention of the delivery suggests that it is intended for a group. Furthermore, there is a great similarity between the agape transactions described by Horion and the goods requested by the Fathers, where a Manichaean context for the deliveries are certain.⁹³⁵ There is no reason to suspect that Horion’s donations could not similarly be intended for groups of Elect, and we have here clear evidence for Elect receiving food and presumably consuming the meal in common. The number of Elect present at any one time may have varied (if the number had remained stable, Horion would presumably not have had to inform Horos that they at the moment were ‘many’). Several other pieces of evidence similarly point in the direction of communal consumption of meals. In letter pkgr.63 (quoted above), father N.N. indicates that he is part of a plurality of persons who have been filled (*apolauomen*) by spiritual fruits, pointing to alms shared by a group of Elect. Moreover, although not pertaining to food alms, Horion and Tehat intended to provide Saren the presbyter with multiple cowls, jerkins, and cloaks in pkc.58, which would make sense if these were received on behalf of a group. Horion also notes that he donated a cowl to a plurality of ‘brothers’ in that letter.

⁹³² For this reconstruction the editors noted: ‘Here the reading is particularly difficult; but the sense must be something like: ‘I have put it aside for the agape’. We can not simply read ἡτοτοϋ; perhaps the best possibility is οϋτωϋ’ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDTI*, 144, l.15n.

⁹³³ Some fragmented lines (ll.26–27) also refer to 3 xestes. This would make the amount 4.5 litres altogether, if (as seems possible) these are to be taken as in addition to (and not a repeated reference of) the aforementioned 1 agon.

⁹³⁴ We can also note the importance of oil for both Horion and the Fathers, which can be compared to evidence such as the anti-Manichaean *Acta Archelai* (11), which implies that olive oil was used to anoint the Elect after the meal. See BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 148.

⁹³⁵ The oil-to-wheat ratio of the goods acquired by Horion in pkc.15 is of the same order of magnitude as that of the oil and wheat requested by the Father in pkc.32: 3–6 litres oil & 58 kg wheat = 10–19 kg wheat per litre oil (pkc.32); 1.5 litre & 18 kg = 12 kg per litre (pkc.15). Although a coincidence cannot be entirely ruled out, the similarities between the transactions are striking.

11.2.3 Summary

To conclude, the evidence for almsgiving from Kellis indicates routinized acquisition and provisions of alms. In general, they seem to have required cooperation and coordination involving both Auditors and Elect, and even at times a presbyter. This organisation ensured that alms at times could be sent to Elect as far afield as the Nile Valley. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that the Elect regularly received alms (and in all likelihood consumed meals) as a group, rather than as individual beggars or itinerants. This goes against the common assumption often made by scholarship. Scholars have often assumed that, in practice, the Elect received their meals individually while visiting Auditors. The local community of Auditors would gather in the home of one of their numbers, where the visiting Elect was received and fed. In the case of the Kellis-evidence, BeDuhn states:

[c]areful organization and communication was necessary to prepare for the arrival and hosting of an Elect, and is attested by the documents from Kellis. The Elect depended entirely on the ordinary adherent for safety, housing, food, clothing, and other supplies necessary to the Manichaean mission. These responsibilities continued to some extent even after the Elect had departed, as the Manichaean families would continue to provide needed items as requested by letter and messenger.⁹³⁶

However, while it is *a priori* likely that Elect visits necessitated preparations, and that Elect in practice would eat in the homes of Auditors, the Kellis evidence that we have examined does not provide clear evidence for this. This is not to say that individual receptions of Elect in Auditor households did not occur. Travelling Elect would certainly have had to eat while visiting Auditors, and such visits would have required ceremonial attention. Small, intimate alms ceremonies have presumably left less of an imprint in the documentary sources than the need for larger quantities of goods, but could perhaps be alluded to in pkc.43. Still, what can be gleaned from the majority of textual evidence from Kellis pertains to the delivery of alms by Auditors or the retrieval of alms by Elect for communal consumption.

⁹³⁶ BeDuhn, 'Domestic setting', 261.

11.3 Elect services

11.3.1 'Spiritual' services

The ecclesiastical tradition

In return for their meals, the Elect were to care for the Auditors' souls. Elect and Auditors gathered together at prayer meetings, where they would sing hymns – as evinced by the many psalms in the *Psalm-Book* involving both Elect and Auditors – and pray together. Such meetings were, at least in the eastern tradition (and probably also in the west), held every Monday,⁹³⁷ although meals could as noted in section 11.2.1 also occasion such rituals. Prayer gatherings involved the reading of homilies (including parables) as well as scripture (section 10.4.2). The Coptic tradition similarly indicates that readings were to take place. From the Homilies we know that the church had a 'reader' (*anagnōstēs*), presumably a minor church official of the type found in contemporary Christian church (although probably an Elect).⁹³⁸ Keph. 122 provides us with a glimpse into one of the congregation's activities at such a meeting from the Coptic tradition. Here Mani is made to give a mythical explanation for the 'call' that the congregation would chant and the 'answer' with which the Elect would respond.⁹³⁹ Prayers were also important for the redemption of the Auditors and their families, and the Elect derived their authority in part from the efficacy of their prayers. This is shown in keph. 115, where an Auditor asks Mani whether alms and intercessory prayers by the Elect also help the salvation of those who are already dead. Mani is made to answer in the affirmative, and in his answer he draws on mythical parallels to demonstrate how pure souls can assist in the release of other souls (1 Ke 279.15–26).

The Kellis evidence

Unfortunately, although the *Epistles* and psalm collections found at the site imply that they took place, the laity in Kellis do not regularly discuss ritual gatherings. Only in one letter do we

⁹³⁷ See Puech, *Sur le manichéisme*, 96–97; BeDuhn, 'The Manichaean weekly confession', 277–78.

⁹³⁸ See Nils A. Pedersen, *Studies in the Sermon on the Great War: Investigations of a Manichaean-Coptic text from the fourth century* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1996), 164 n.38.

⁹³⁹ See 1 Ke 292.4–8.

find an incidental reference to liturgical gatherings, namely in Matthaïos' pkc.25. Matthaïos relates that his brother and the Teacher are located somewhere in the north (presumably Alexandria, per pkc.24 and pkc.29): 'For he (the Teacher) loves him (Piene) very much, and makes him to read in church (εφτρεφωσ) κατὰ ἐκκλησίαν)' (pkc.25, ll.45–46). This passage signals Elect presence at readings of scripture, and Matthaïos' language furthermore suggests that such gatherings were regular. Matthaïos further writes in the same letter, explaining why he has not gone to see his father, as translated by Gardner, Alcock, and Funk:

†ἦνίμα σε ἄντινοοῦ ἕκ φ[οοῦ] εἶτα πσαρ ει αρησ ἦπρωσῆ θε αβωκ αλ . [. .] οὔδε ἀσπρωινη ἦπαίωτ' εἵβε δε
 σερωκτιροῦ εἰ ππολις εἵβε τῆγχι [α]ἠ ἦμακαρια ἦταμο νασ τῆερε ἦπερπνεγε τονου ἀίρλγππ δε δε ασμοῦ
 ἀηεατῆς ει αγω δε ασμοῦ ἀἦπρωσῆ τῆἦτσαἠ εσσαγρ ααωσ

Thus, I have been here in Antinoou since the day when the Teacher came south; (and) I have been unable to find a way to go [...], nor to visit my father, because they are mourning in the city for the blessed soul of my great mother. We are remembering her very much. And I was distressed that she died when we were not with her, and that she died without finding her brotherhood gathered around her. (pkc.25, ll.48–56)

This strongly suggests a ritual funerary gathering, and the editors take it to indicate a role for the Elect in administering to Auditors at the point of death.⁹⁴⁰ Manichaean 'death masses' have previously been suggested based on the content of psalms such as those in 2 Ps, with parallels drawn to the Mandaean *massiqta*-liturgy, where ritual specialists help facilitate the ascent of the soul of the dead.⁹⁴¹ As seen in section 10.2, several hymns and prayers from Kellis address the soul as it was preparing itself to depart for the Land of Light. It is not entirely clear whether 'great mother' indicates a figure of religious authority (implying a ceremony for a departed Elect) or, as the editors prefer, Matthaïos' literal grandmother.⁹⁴² Either way, that Matthaïos reports on it to Maria shows that it was considered an important gathering among the Auditors.

Although not explicitly dealing with a gathering, another instance of prayers on behalf of the Auditors' souls can be adduced from pkr.63, the Greek Father letter. The author's promise to praise Pausanias and Pisistratos in the wake of 'having been filled' by spiritual fruits, probably at an alms meal, could well be taken to relate to an after-meal prayer on behalf of the Auditors' souls. As seen above, Elect prayers were thought to have the power to provide

⁹⁴⁰ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 78.

⁹⁴¹ Widengren, *Mesopotamian elements*, 108.

⁹⁴² Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 193, pkc.25, l.52n.

intercession on behalf of other souls in the Manichaean ‘ecclesiastical’ tradition; and special after-meal prayers are attested in Manichaean texts.⁹⁴³ At the very least, the author clearly wants to reassure the two Auditors that their alms-act will give the proper spiritual benefit in return for their gifts – although he is piously quick to point out that *final* recompense is only in the hands of the Paraclete.

11.3.2 Religious instruction

The ecclesiastical material

Their assistance also took more didactical forms. Many chapters from the Berlin *Kephalaia*, such as keph. 115 cited above, show Mani answering questions from Auditors, presumably as a model for Elect who would similarly have to respond to questions from the laity. A passage from the SGW relates how, the Church will be persecuted to the brink of destruction during the Great War, but will afterwards be rebuilt, and at this point the Auditors will return *en masse* to listen to the church reader, and the churches and the Auditors’ houses will become schools (ⲁⲛⲛⲥⲏⲃ ⲛⲓⲧⲥⲃⲱ, Hom. 30.32). By providing knowledge as well as prayers the Elect could ensure the spiritual health and eventual salvation of the Auditors on whom they depended.

The Kellis evidence

There are some glimpses of Elect teaching members of the community in the Kellis letters, although it is not specified that religious knowledge is being imparted. Makarios relates that Piene, the brother of Matthaïos who took to follow the Teacher, was taught Latin by him. The passage reads: ‘And Piene: The great Teacher let him travel with him, so that he might learn Latin. He teaches him well.’ (pkc.20, ll.24–26). It seems unlikely that Latin was the only part of the curriculum, which must have involved more extensive religious knowledge, as Matthaïos also noted that the Teacher allowed Piene to read in church (see above). Likewise, Lysimachos informs Theognostos that his ‘brother’ Ision has become literate in both Greek and Syriac

⁹⁴³ For previous known allusions to such a prayer, see BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 147–48.

(pkgr.67).⁹⁴⁴ If the preserved documents from Kellis are any indication, Syriac literacy must surely have been intended for reading and translating Manichaean religious texts.

However, instruction of these two boys may well be related to them following an Elect training program, reserved for youths being instructed as Elect, rather than as part of general didactical service to Auditors.⁹⁴⁵ For Elect instruction of Auditors specifically we must turn elsewhere. The discovery in House 3 of a wooden board listing the five aspects of the ‘Third Messenger’ (tkc.1), an important divinity in the redemption process, evinces a clear attempt at providing advanced religious instruction to the Kellites.⁹⁴⁶ In the documentary texts, however, the evidence is only indirect. A passage from pkc.73 may illuminate how religious knowledge spread through lay networks. The author, Pekysis, attempts to solicit a ‘service for the church’ (ΠΟΜΩΞ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, ll.16–17) from the recipient, Psais III, in the form the donation of two young girls (Psais’ nieces?). In order to persuade Psais, Pekysis asks him to talk to Theognostos: ‘Our brother Theognos will tell you everything. He will speak to you about the girl and [...] the [great (?)] matter, so that we may attain life eternal [...]’ (ll.20–24). Theognostos appears to have been an eager Auditor, who had formed close ties to Apa Lysimachos and his protégé, Ision. This may explain his authoritative status here: through his close friendship with these Elect, he had acquired the religious knowledge that he, in turn, could impart to Psais III to explain the importance of his ‘service’ to the church. It provides a good example of how religious knowledge had to be mobilised in order to justify specifically Manichaean practices, as argued in section 10.4.2. In this way, Elect teachings could be disseminated within lay networks through Auditor–Elect ties.

Augustine

The example of Augustine provides a possibly similar situation: as an Auditor, Augustine had regular and lively discussions with Elect in Hippo, especially with ‘two men of fairly good reputation, men of quick wit and leaders in those discussions of theirs, who were closer to us

⁹⁴⁴ Following Gardner’s interpretation of this text. Gardner, ‘P. Kellis I 67 revisited’.

⁹⁴⁵ As argued by Baker-Brian, ‘Mass and elite’, 180–81.

⁹⁴⁶ See also BeDuhn, ‘Domestic setting’, 263.

than the others'.⁹⁴⁷ He mentions the scandal of an Elect who used to preach in the 'whose discussions we frequently attended in the quarter of the fig merchants'⁹⁴⁸. They provide vivid examples of occasions on which Elect and Auditors would meet for discussions and instruction in Manichaeism outside the framework of ritual gatherings. He also made more thorough studies, such as reading texts – including Manichaean astrological texts – together with bishop Faustus, apparently in private.⁹⁴⁹ To our knowledge, he probably did not memorise aspects of Manichaean divinities as might be implied by tkc.1.

11.3.3 'Magical' and practical services

Finally, we may have a case of more 'illicit' ritual services provided by Elect to Auditors. BeDuhn noted that '[a]mong the "magical" services offered by the Elect, we find in correspondence prayers for the physical well-being of addressees, invoking the blessings of the divine forces on their life, as well as the occasional spell for the use of the recipient in quite mundane matters', citing pkc.31, pkc.32, and pkc.35.⁹⁵⁰ The two former relate to the spiritual health of the recipients and the solicitation of alms, as argued above. The latter, pkc.35, deals explicitly with 'magic'. The papyrus consists of two texts: the upper half contains a magical spell for the separation of two lovers, the bottom half contains Ouales accompanying letter, with an explanation for the spell and a request for other writings in return.⁹⁵¹ The two are identifiable as Manichaean by the oath Ouales swears to 'our lord the Paraclete' (l.27). Although Mani is said to have forbidden sorcery, they may not have thought it applicable to their usage,⁹⁵² or perhaps awareness of the unsanctioned nature of the task may help explain an enigmatic aside from Ouales: 'for my part knowing that it will not be brought to brother

⁹⁴⁷ *De mor.* 2.19.71, trans. Teske, *The Manichaean debate*, 101.

⁹⁴⁸ *De mor.* 2.19.72, trans. *Ibid.*

⁹⁴⁹ See *De mor.* 2.8.11, 2.19.71, *Conf.* 5.7. See also van Oort, 'Young Augustine'; BeDuhn, *Augustine's Manichaean Dilemma I*, 123–31.

⁹⁵⁰ BeDuhn, 'Domestic setting', 265–66.

⁹⁵¹ For an analysis, see Mirecki, Gardner, and Alcock, 'Magical spell'.

⁹⁵² *Ibid.*, 10–11 n.44. For a rejection of such practices by an early church authority, Mani's disciple Kustaïos, see the criticism of Elect who practice astrology in the SGW (Hom. 30.2–4).

Kallikles, I am sending.’ (pkc.35, ll.32–34)⁹⁵³ This is far from the only spell found at Kellis; the House 1–3 documents include several examples of charms and astrological calendars (pkgr.82–94), as do papyri from elsewhere in Kellis, indicating that such requests were not unusual.⁹⁵⁴ Being able to harness the ritual powers of the Elect for more prosaic ends would provide an incentive for the Auditors to stay invested. For the Elect, producing magical formula would have been an efficient way to provide the laity with some ‘tangible’ evidence for their religious competence.⁹⁵⁵ However, we should sound a note of caution here: there is no clear evidence that Ouales was in fact an Elect. Apart from his pious invocation of the Paraclete, he does not identify himself as a religious authority. The understanding of him as an Elect hinges on the possibly monastic setting for this letter (for a discussion, see below, section 11.4.4).

That many – if not most – Elect were expected to have some level of literacy would at any rate have made them useful for the Auditors in a range of settings, in addition to that of copying magic. A more mundane Elect scribal service might be found in pkgr.48. A Psekes guaranteed for the release of a slave by Valerios, who acts because of his ‘exceptional Christianity’ (*hyperbolēn kh[ri]stianotē̄tōs*). Psekes is styled, in Worp’s reconstruction, ‘our most reverend father’ (*qide[simō]tatou patr[os hemōn]*) (ll.9–10), and it is quite plausible that the term ‘monks’ (*[mo]nakhōn*) should be restored in the same line, probably related to his introduction (ll.10–11). At the end of the document he is given the abbreviated title *pr()*, probably for presbyter (l.20). These factors could be taken to indicate that Psekes was a religious leader, acting on behalf of monks. Worp notes, against the hypothesis that this was a Christian *manumission in ecclesia*, the bilateral character of the document, and the absence of a bishop or other representatives apart from the presbyter.⁹⁵⁶ However, these objections would not hold much weight if the context is a Manichaean one, in which the presence of an Elect official, acting on behalf of the monastic community, may well have been sufficient to secure its validity. Furthermore, there is the figure of Apa Psekes, author of pkc.90, who could

⁹⁵³ For another explanation for this aside, see *ibid.*, 31.

⁹⁵⁴ E.g. P. Gascou 84, from House 4, and P. Gascou 87, from D/8. Worp, ‘Miscellaneous’.

⁹⁵⁵ Perhaps such a continued role might further explain finds of protective magical incantations in Aramaic, written in Manichaean script, found in Mesopotamia (dated fifth–seventh centuries). See Pedersen and Larsen, *Manichaean texts in Syriac*, 5–8.

⁹⁵⁶ Worp, *P. Kellis I*, 142.

well be a Manichaean Elect, based on his title, use of some religious cues, and association with ‘our brother’ Timotheos. Although the evidence is not conclusive, I take these as possible indications that we may be dealing with an example of an Elect providing both an ‘earthly’ witness (as required by Roman law), and a spiritual guarantee for the validity of a manumission.

11.3.4 Summary

To sum up, there is some evidence from Kellis for Elect ministering to Auditors through regular gatherings involving reading of scripture, funerary rites, and prayers on behalf of their soul. The evidence is unfortunately meagre, restricted to passing mentions by Matthaïos in the Nile Valley and the Elect author of pkgr.63. However, the literary texts of psalms and prayers discussed in Chapter 10 show that such communal gatherings were practiced in Kellis as well, although they do not indicate how often the Elect themselves participated. Furthermore, there is some evidence, if indirect, for religious instruction taking place in Kellis. Furthermore, the Elect may have bolstered their authority by channelling their spiritual and scribal abilities into more practical matters, such as the production of spells.

The frequency with which the Elect attended on the laity is unknown, although the travels of ‘our brother’ Petros (discussed below) could suggest that it was probably not unique events. The close Elect–Auditor relationships developed in these types of interactions, distinct from the formal meal ceremonies (from which they were in part excluded), would have functioned as a way for the Elect to disseminate discourse, practices, and beliefs within the network. In so doing, they would strengthen the Auditors’ engagement with the faith, but also reinforced their own status through displays of religious knowledge and eloquence.

11.4 Elect organisation

11.4.1 Itinerancy and group-making

The ecclesiastical tradition

Itinerancy was one of the most distinctive features of Elect behaviour in the Roman Empire, related to a tradition of wandering monks among Syro-Mesopotamian Christians.⁹⁵⁷ It was connected to the Manichaean notion of the soul: as souls are strangers to the material world, so the Elect should live as strangers, avoid worldly attachments and (re-)orient their souls towards their heavenly origins. An itinerant lifestyle was therefore touted as the movement's normative mode of behaviour. Al-Biruni provides a succinct formulation, quoting a rule imposed by Mani himself on the Elect to 'continually journey throughout the present world, engaging in missionary work and guiding people onto the right path.'⁹⁵⁸ The Elect appropriated the wandering 'holy man' as part of their self-representation. The title of a collection of Coptic psalms found in the Med.Madi *Psalm-Book* (ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΑΡΑΚΩΤΩΝ) has been interpreted as 'psalms of the wanderers' or 'pilgrims'.⁹⁵⁹ This ideal is articulated in a wide array of texts; for instance in a chapter from the Berlin *Kephalaia*, keph. 91, concerning the perfect Auditor who will be saved without transmigration, as translated by Gardner:

His house, in his reckoning, shall be like these lodging houses (μικανσιλ[ε]). He says: I am living in a house for rent by some days and months. His brothers and his relatives shall be, in his reckoning, necessary as foreign people who take up with him while travelling on the road with him. (1 Ke. 228.25–29)

The perfect Auditor is one who models himself on the Elect. He is to treat his house like that of someone else, in which his stay is temporary, just as the Elect are not to hold property and not dwell long at any one place. More specific regulations are absent in the material. A late source, the ninth-century Mu'tazilite author al-Jahiz, had heard that Manichaean Elect considered it a sin to sleep more than two days in the same house.⁹⁶⁰ Nothing so specific is to

⁹⁵⁷ See Arthur Vööbus, *History of asceticism in the Syrian Orient: a contribution to the history of culture in the Near East*, 3 vols. (Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus, 1958), 109–37; Julien Ries, 'Commandments de la justice et vie missionnaire dans l'Église de Mani', in *Gnosis and Gnosticism*, ed. Martin Krause (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 101.

⁹⁵⁸ Al-Biruni, *Athar*, trans. Reeves, *Prolegomena*, 212. See section 11.2.1, above.

⁹⁵⁹ Peter Nagel, 'Die Psalmoi Sarakoton des maniehäischen Psalmbuches', *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 62, no. 1–6 (1967).

⁹⁶⁰ See Reeves, *Prolegomena*, 206. Vööbus (*History of asceticism*, 116–17.) states: 'The rule never to pass two nights in the same place ... seems to have been imposed by such scrupulous circles as those of Ruhban al-Zanadiqa, and were not, therefore, a general regulation.' However, one may perhaps compare the *Teaching of*

my knowledge found in the Manichaean material itself. Moreover, the itinerant lifestyle was combined with measures to limit the isolation it might have entailed, as I argue below (sections 11.4.2–3).

The Kellis evidence

The Elect known from Kellis were certainly frequently on the move.⁹⁶¹ The ‘Father in Egypt’ who authored pkc.31 mentions a trip he made, although the context is fragmentary (l.34). The Father who wrote pkc.32 travelled between his own location and Eirene. Both mention an agent, an ‘our brother’ (pkc.32) or a ‘my son’ (pkc.31), who travelled between themselves and the recipients, and who could perhaps be Elect themselves. Saren the presbyter had informed Horion that he was about to travel (pkc.58). ‘Our brother’ Petros is depicted as on the road in every son–mother letter he appears in, travelling back and forth between them. In pkc.39, he travels together with ‘our brother’ Timotheos. In a similar vein, we may perhaps add that Ouales specifically requested a ‘blessed one’ to be entrusted with texts and to bring it to him by Psais III (pkc.35, l.42). These travels indicate a highly mobile group of Elect, although it is never made explicit that they are ‘wanderers’ in or ‘strangers’ to the world – although Tehat’s mention of ‘these strangers’ in pkc.43 might refer to Elect, and express the ideal of Elect dependency on Auditors.

The best-documented example of a travelling Elect is the Teacher himself. Matthaïos describes how the Teacher and his retinue went north from Antinoopolis, together with Piene (pkc.25), and Piene himself writes that he was going to travel with the Teacher all the way to Alexandria (pkc.29). At a later point, Makarios mentions ‘brothers’ coming from Alexandria bearing news of Piene, who was now planning to come south again, like the Teacher had already done (pkc.24).

The case of the continuous journeys of the Teacher is consistent with, and must be interpreted in light of, adherence to a norm of itinerancy. The travels of the other Elect adduced above are likely to express the same norm in some way. The travels take place both

the Twelve Apostles (the *Didache*) by an anonymous early Christian author, which features an injunction for believers not to let ‘prophets’ stay more than two nights (chapter 11).

⁹⁶¹ As pointed out in Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 81–82.

within the Oasis (as in pkc.32 and the Petros letters), and across longer distances (as seen in those of the Teacher, and perhaps that of Saren). However, itinerant behaviour apparently did not necessarily mean never staying put. Lysimachos must have remained in Antinoopolis, at least for a while, as Makarios could forward letters by way of him (pkc.21). However, he, too, occasionally took to the road, perhaps even all the way to Kellis (pkc.30, pkc.82).⁹⁶²

On the assumption that these travels can be linked to an ideal of itinerant behaviour shared among the Elect, a question we must examine is how such behavioural patterns affected communal organisation. 'Itinerant' is often set in opposition to 'organisation'.⁹⁶³ As pointed out above (section 11.1.1), it has been argued that Elect itinerancy weakened group-cohesiveness, and attempts at organising the Church. Individual Elect, staying with their own groups of Auditors, would be free from pressure to conform to institutional discipline. The lack of mechanisms for peer reinforcement would leave the Church vulnerable. Against this hypothesis, I argue that Elect mobility should be seen as part of an effort by Church authorities to maintain and strengthen group cohesiveness.

First, several of the travels documented above take place within the framework of communal activity. The Father of pkc.32 travelled in order to settle arrangements concerning textiles and oil with Eirene, and perhaps to cater to her spiritual needs. Saren met with Horion in order to retrieve textiles in pkc.58. These travels must be connected to mediation between lay groups and groups of Elect, probably specifically in relation to alms. Petros and Timotheos, on the other hand, appear to be travelling between lay people, and Petros in particular seem to have made regular journeys between the 'son' and the 'mother', carrying messages and news. That Makarios sent letters to Maria I by way of Apa Lysimachos might even indicate that Lysimachos had access to trustworthy Elect agents. These passages should alert us to the role 'itinerancy', as an ideal, could play as an instrument by which the Elect could serve the greater needs of the Church, rather than as 'mere' ascetic exercises.

Second, the Elect we find in the material are, as a rule, present in groups of their peers. I have already argued that most instances of almsgiving in the Kellis material strongly suggest

⁹⁶² The text in pkc.30 could indicate that he had intended to go to Kellis, but the name has to be restored, and might be dubious. Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 206, pkc.30, l.7n.

⁹⁶³ For instance by Walter Burkert, *Ancient mystery cults* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 31.

groups of Elect who ate together (section 11.2.2). Also in instances where we find Elect writing or greeting, we find them as part of a group. This occurs in letter pkc.61, whose author writes: ‘The Teacher, and the brothers who are with me: To all the presbyters, my children, my loved ones; Ploutogenios and Pebo and all the others’ (pkc.61, ll.1–4). Lysimachos likewise greets from ‘our brothers’ (pkc.30, l.21), and is present with Ision in pkgr.67. The ‘fathers’ all use the first-person plural (pkc.31, l.25; pkc.32, l.24; pkgr.63, l.38), and the authors of pkc.31 and pkgr.63 refer to brethren who are with them. Pamour relayed greetings from a group he calls ‘those of Apa L(ysimachos) and Horos (ⲛⲁⲁⲛⲁ ⲗ. ⲙⲏ ⲒⲠⲣ)’ (pkc.72, ll.35–36). This last passage could well imply that certain Elect were grouped together in ‘companies’, as we shall see below. Only a few letters do not mention companions.⁹⁶⁴ However, it may be objected that the ‘brethren’ could be Auditors. In support of this, we find Philammon II relating how he and others (presumably fellow, Auditors such as Pamour III) will leave with Apa Lysimachos if the latter wishes to go in pkc.82. Still, several of the instances adduced above do involve more than one Elect. The group of ‘those of Lysimachos and Hor’ that Pamour greets from in pkc.72 included a deacon, the Teacher addresses two presbyters in pkc.61, and it seems probable that the figures of Ision and Piene were not ‘simply’ Auditors, but young recruits being groomed for Electhood (section 11.3.2). Furthermore, the brethren who consumed the offerings in pkgr.63 must have been Elect, if, as argued above, the author refers to a ritual meal.

To conclude, the glimpses of Elect behaviour from the Kellis texts strongly suggest adherence to a norm of itinerant behaviour. Elect travels took place between groups both within the Oasis itself and across longer distances in the Nile Valley. They involve the performance of errands on behalf of other believers, both Auditors and Elect. The Elect actors who performed these journeys frequently gathered – and probably travelled – in groups. The Elect regime does not appear to have excluded group behaviour.

⁹⁶⁴ E.g. pkc.38, relating to Petros, although Petros is found travelling with ‘our brother’ Timotheos in pkc.39

Further evidence

Contemporary evidence from Egypt can be adduced to show the widespread existence of Elect groups travelling together. Gardner has drawn attention to P. Oxy. 2603 (P.Harr. 107), a fourth-century letter of introduction from Oxyrhynchus identified as of Manichaean provenance.⁹⁶⁵ The writer, Paul, asks the recipient to receive a group of people ‘in love, as friends, for they are not catechumens but belong to the company of Ision and Nikolaos (τῶν περὶ Ἰσίωνος καὶ Νικολᾶου ἰδ[ί]οι), and “if you do anything for them, you have done it for me” (P. Oxy. 2603, ll.26–28, trans. J. H. Harrop). The line ‘if you do anything for them, you have done it for me’ is, as Gardner has shown, a direct quote from Mani.⁹⁶⁶ He is paraphrasing Matt. 25:40, equalling the Elect with the ‘least’, the assistance of whom is equal to helping Christ himself (since the Elect help liberating the divine). As Gardner also suggests, we are probably dealing with a ‘company’ (*idios*) of Elect who are assigned to named individuals, Ision and Nikokles, similar to Pamour’s greeting from ‘those of Apa Lysimachos and Hor’.⁹⁶⁷ This document should also alert us to the fact that, in the absence of familiar faces, the Elect had to rely on proof such as letters of introduction in order to demonstrate their credentials.

Other evidence attests to the widespreadness of group travels. An outside observer of a much later date, al-Jahiz, was informed by his source that: ‘They (*zindiq* monks) always wander in pairs. Whenever you observe one of them, look around, and you will soon see his companion.’⁹⁶⁸ His observation is unlikely to be affected by heresiological tradition; it is at any rate presented as based on experience. Furthermore, Elect authorities saw such joint travels as a means to preserve the Elect ethos, shown by a passage from the Berlin *Kephalaia*, which states that one can always spot an errant Elect by that: ‘He shall always want to go in and to come out alone ... He shall always want to walk alone.’ (keph. 38, cited more fully in section 11.2.1). Ensuring that Elect regularly travelled in (at least small) groups would have served as a mechanism for the preservation and reinforcement of Elect ethos through mutual, peer

⁹⁶⁵ J. H. Harrop, ‘A Christian letter of commendation’, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 48 (1962); Gardner, Nobbs, and Choat, ‘P. Harr. 107’; Gardner, ‘Once more on Mani’s Epistles’, 307.

⁹⁶⁶ Gardner, ‘Once more on Mani’s Epistles’, 307–8.

⁹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁸ Jahiz, *Kitab al-hayawan*, trans. Reeves, *Prolegomena*, 206. The source goes on to relate a story about two monks who came to Ahwaz in Iran. While at times ambiguous, the term *zindiq* in this instance quite clearly relates to Manichaeans.

observation – although, compared to for instance the monasteries of Pachomius, it must of course be emphasised that the Elect mode of organisation left more up to the Elect themselves.

Augustine

Finally, we may compare these considerations with the evidence of Augustine. The issue of communal engagement among the Elect is treated more extensively below, in connection with the role of the hierarchy and monasticism. Regarding the question of Elect groups, however, there are in particular three passages that can be taken to imply that each Elect generally lived a largely isolated existence, separate from their Elect brethren, and so preclude any significant role for Elect gatherings or groups. Two of these passages are connected with his depiction of the monastic project of his friend Constantius, described in *De mor.* (2.19.74) and *C. Faust.* (5.5). I would argue that his purpose here is to depict Elect life as unregulated as possible, so as to contrast their ‘wicked’ lives with Constantius’ noble project of gathering them into his own house. It cannot be taken as an accurate representation of Elect life. Another passage, which has been taken to prove the dispersed and isolated nature of Elect life,⁹⁶⁹ concerns an incident that Augustine recalls from his time in Carthage. Augustine relates that he saw a group of Elect walking together, exhibiting immoral behaviour. The passage reads, in Teske’s translation:

I myself – and not I alone but also the people who in part have already been set free from that superstition and who in part will still, as I hope, be set free from it – saw at a crossroads in Carthage, in a very well-known square, not one but more than three of the Elect, who were passing together behind some women or other, hustle them with such an immodest gesture that they outdid the impurity and impudence of all the scum of the earth. It was clear enough that this stemmed from a longstanding habit and that they lived in that way among themselves, since none of them was afraid of the presence of a companion, and in that way they demonstrated that all or almost all were involved in this evil. For they were not men from one house but men who certainly lived in different places; perhaps they had together come from the place where the meeting of all of them had been held.⁹⁷⁰

For one, the emphasis Augustine places on that these, particular Elect were not men from ‘one house’ could suggest that there were, in fact, Elect who did live in one house (‘among themselves’), but that these were not among them. To this observation may be added that he, in a passage shortly after the above, relates that he often encountered a group of Elect,

⁹⁶⁹ For instance Lim, ‘Unity and diversity’, 240.

⁹⁷⁰ *De mor.* 2.19.68, trans. Teske, *The Manichaean debate*, 99–100..

accompanied by a presbyter, who regularly visited the theatre together (*De mor.* 2.19.72). Elect–Elect socialisation was clearly not a rare event.

More importantly, the above-quoted passage shines light on another way in which the Elect strove to maintain a peer community. The final line, regarding ‘the meeting of all of them’, shows that, to Augustine, large gatherings of ‘all’ Elect were mundane affairs, the most plausible explanation for why these particular Elect would be walking together. The gathering is presumably of the same type as that which he describes earlier in the same work (*De mor.* 2.16.52) and to which he refers at the start of his debate with Fortunatus (*C. Fort.* 3): a daily gathering of Elect for the consumption of a meal.⁹⁷¹ As already pointed out, the Kellis evidence strongly suggests that Elect gathering together for meals were common among the Elect. Augustine, too, appears to have been familiar with such regular – perhaps daily – gatherings.

11.4.2 Hierarchy and supervision

The ecclesiastical tradition

For the most part, the ecclesiastical tradition assumes that the Elect coordinated their activity, organising missionary work and ritual activities in common. As already argued in section 10.3, the pastoral, ecclesiastical material from Kellis shows norms of intra-communal regulations and behaviour linked to Manichaean socio-religious institutions. Supervision was, in theory, chiefly the task of the hierarchy, consisting of the archegos, 12 Teachers, 72 bishops, and presbyters. An ecclesiastical ideology had developed in which the numbers of officials were

⁹⁷¹ Lim takes the passage from *C. Fort.* to imply that ‘The activities of the elect were shrouded in mystery, or at least we are not told much about them. Even Augustine himself who had been a Manichaean for quite some time could plausibly disavow knowledge of their activities when it suited him to do so.’ (Lim, ‘Unity and diversity’, 239.). However, Augustine states explicitly that he attended prayer with the Elect and found them inconspicuous, and says only: ‘I cannot, however, know what you, the Elect, do among yourselves. For I have often heard from you that you receive the eucharist, but the time when you received it was kept hidden from me, so how could I have know what you receive?’ (*C. Fort.* 3, trans. Teske, *The Manichaean debate*, 146.). Augustine clearly could not deny knowledge of their meetings or even of their location – elsewhere he even claims extensive knowledge of Elect communal meals, as exhibited by his ‘graphic’ description of the Elect eating together with their novices (*De mor.* 2.16.52). Instead, he takes the opportunity slyly to allude to the rumours that the Elect ate cakes containing human semen, which Fortunatus did not deign to answer. Per this passage it seems that Auditors in the west were not present at the meal itself, as was also the case for Auditors in the east. Still, they could if they wished attend the preliminary donation ceremony, involving prayers, readings, and preaching, which Augustine several places implies that he did attend. See the discussion in BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 131–32.

considered to be modelled on both Jesus' 12 disciples and 72 envoys as well as the divine order.⁹⁷² The officials were ordained by a laying on of hands by superiors (implied by keph. 9).

As to their practical tasks and functions, the sources are not explicit but some information can be gleaned. Several passages imply that the leadership was supposed to gather in order to deal with Elect discipline. This is the case in keph. 38, which lists the four grades of officials as gathering in order to counsel an errant Elect (1 Ke. 97.30–98.3).⁹⁷³ The final decision to expel Elect from the movement resided in higher officials, as implied by a letter of Mani preserved in pkc.53 (see section 10.3.1). One office that is well-attested is the presbyter. In the Chinese *Compendium*, the title presbyter is glossed as 'masters of the halls of law', and the most frequently used term for the office of presbyter in Iranian texts is *mānsārār*, 'house-master'. It is therefore tempting to link the presbyter with the leadership of Manichaean monasteries. In the CMC, Mani's father Pattik is titled *oikodespotēs*, 'house-master', corresponding to MP *mānsārār*. It has been argued that *oikodespotēs* may reflect the terminology of the 'Elchasaite' community, rather than that of the Manichaean author(s) of the CMC.⁹⁷⁴ However, it seems highly unlikely that the usage of *mānsārār* in Iranian sources is a coincidence. The Manichaeans may well have drawn on the Elchasaite community for organisational terminology, even if the western community settled on the term presbyter for this office.⁹⁷⁵ However, there is another reason to suspect that 'presbyters' were not monastic leaders. The Berlin *Kephalaia* contains a chapter, keph. 81, wherein an Elect leader describes how he presides over fifty Elect who gather daily in the church (ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ) in order to fast (1 Ke.

⁹⁷² A theological explanation for these numbers has now been found in a passage attributed to Mani in the Dublin *Kephalaia*. See Jason D. BeDuhn, 'Parallels between Coptic and Iranian Kephalaia: Goundesh and the King of Touran', in *Mani at the Court of the Persian King: Studies on the Chester Beatty Kephalaia Codex*, ed. Iain Gardner, Jason D. BeDuhn, and Paul Dilley, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 69–70.

⁹⁷³ Such a corrective gathering is perhaps also described in keph. 149 (1 Ke. 360.17–20), where a sinning Elect is brought into the midst of the church.

⁹⁷⁴ John C. Reeves, 'The 'Elchasaite' Sanhedrin of the Cologne Mani Codex in light of Second Temple Jewish sectarian sources', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 42 (1991): 68–91.

⁹⁷⁵ A word corresponding literally to 'presbyter', *mahistag*, is also found applied to this office in the MP material, used more rarely but occurring for instance in the important *Book of Prayer and Confession*. See, in general, Alois van Tongerloo, 'La structure de la communauté manichéenne dans le Turkestan chinois à la lumière des emprunts Moyen-Iraniens en Ouïgour', *Central Asiatic Journal* 26, no. 3 (1982): 273–85.

193.31–194.1). The Elect is described both as ‘leader’ (*arkhēgos*)⁹⁷⁶ and ‘head’ (ἀνϰ). However, he asks Mani for permission to withdraw from his position, ‘that I may walk in the midst of my brothers like the elders (ⲛⲧⲣ[ⲉ ⲛ]ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲥⲄⲮⲮⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ)’ (1 Ke. 194.29–30). He can hardly be asking to be made an ‘elder’ in a literal sense. The leader wants to be released from a heavy office, as ‘head’ of a monastic congregation, in favour of a lighter one, a ‘presbyter’ who walks with the brethren. It suggests that presbyters, at least in the western tradition, were supposed to travel with the common Elect (as a guide, in groups?) rather than preside over monasteries. Conversely, it suggests that leadership of ‘monasteries’ was restricted to upper clergy.

Elect outside the hierarchy also took part in the Church’s organisation. The eastern evidence shows a developed system of minor officials delegated to perform specific tasks, such as scribes and alms-supervisors.⁹⁷⁷ The western evidence features readers and deacons.⁹⁷⁸ It has already been argued (section 11.2.1) that keph. 85 indicates that individual Elect were sent by a superior to gather alms on behalf of the brethren, although it is not described as an office, and likely not institutionalised as such. There are numerous other allusions to Elect officials in the Berlin *Kephalaia*, which cannot be treated in depth here.

The Kellis evidence

The evidence for officials from Kellis is somewhat limited (but far from non-existent), given that it reflects the Church from the point of view of the laity. As such, we should first examine the various ways in which the other visible Elect, as well as the Auditors themselves,

⁹⁷⁶ Probably a high official, rather than the head of the Church. A similar non-technical usage is found in the Central Asian material for MP *sār*. See e.g. Sundermann, ‘Liturgical instruction’, 205.

⁹⁷⁷ For a synchronised view of these various offices, see Tardieu, *Manichaeism*, 57–62.

⁹⁷⁸ For readers (*anagnōstai*), see section 11.3.1. Deacons are at times equated with bishops based on the Iranian etymology; so *ibid.*, 58; Leurini, *The Manichaean Church*, 190–212. This receives some support from Coptic texts such as keph. 9 (which also attests to ordination by *cheirotomia*), where Mani commands: ‘make obeisance to the teachers (ⲛⲓϰⲁⲗ), and the deacons (ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲁⲅⲉⲧⲉ) and the presbyters (ⲛⲓⲣⲉⲥⲄⲮⲮⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ), they whom I have laid hands on.’ (1 Ke. 42.2–8). On the other hand, Augustine asserted that ‘the bishops also have deacons’ (*De haer.* 46.16, trans. Roland J. Teske, *Arianism and other heresies*, The Works of Saint Augustine: a translation for the 21st century (New York: New City Press, 1995), 45.). This implies a differentiation. How (or whether) to reconcile these sources, and what Augustine’s assignation of deacons to bishops in particular signifies, cannot be treated here, but deserves further attention, especially in light of the several hierarchy lists found in the CMC and the Med.Madi texts.

contributed to the maintenance of discipline. The Kellis letters show that supervision of behaviour was not restricted to officials. The importance of ‘good behaviour’ and ‘reputation’ pervades the rhetorical performances of the preserved Elect letters. As pointed out above (section 11.2.2), pkc.31, pkc.32, and pkgr.63 all in different ways emphasise their respective recipients’ ‘good deeds’. Letters pkc.31 and pkgr.63, moreover, include praise for the ‘good reputation’ of the lay recipients, which they have earned based on their deeds, presumably by way of intermediaries. In pkgr.67 Lysimachos exhorts Theognostos to heed his sobriety, and in pkc.30 he states that he and his companions know the ‘fraternal love’ of his interlocutor, Horos (here perhaps from experience).⁹⁷⁹ Concerns for good reputation and righteous behaviour even trickled down to Auditor relations. Makarios exhorted Matthaïos to good behaviour, citing Mani on respecting teachers even when they are distant: ‘Now, be in worthy matters; just as the Paraclete has said: The disciple of righteousness is found with the fear of his teacher upon him (even) while he is far from him, like (a?) guardian.’ (pkc.19, ll.8–11).⁹⁸⁰

The only preserved letter by an Elect official shows that this was a concern for the officials as well. Despite his busy itinerary, the Teacher found time to address the presbyters Ploutogenios and Pebos, and their ‘brethren’. The main preserved parts of this letter is the introductory prayer, which reads: ‘I pray always to Jesus Christ: That he will guard you for me with this fragrance ((excellent conduct)) as you are [honoured] by everyone corresponding to [your] conduct’ (pkc.61, ll.9–13).⁹⁸¹ The following lines (ll.15–16), although very fragmented, continue the theme of protecting their virtue.⁹⁸² The length of the letter indicates that he discussed other matters as well, but it is notable that the incipit puts such a great stress on exhorting to good behaviour. While Teachers were highly mobile figures of authority, retaining the practice of itinerancy, they were equally expected to show concern for the behaviour of Elect beyond their direct contact.

⁹⁷⁹ However, for their possible Elect status, see sections 3.3.1 and 11.1.2.

⁹⁸⁰ For this reconstruction of the quote, see Gardner, ‘A Letter from the Teacher’, 321.

⁹⁸¹ For the relation of ‘fragrance’ to ‘excellent conduct’, see section 9.3.1.

⁹⁸² Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 33, pkc.61, ll.15–16n. Compare, perhaps, pkc.84.

Thus, all the Elect letters from Kellis show concern for communal cohesiveness and upright religious behaviour, both for Auditors and Elect themselves. It might be objected that we in some cases are dealing with a stock topos, not necessarily real concern, but this rather reinforces the point: it was a theme of central importance to the Manichaean epistolary tradition, and so presumably a core value to the Church. This may in turn be connected to the special relationship between Elect and Auditor that we find within the Church. As BeDuhn has argued, mutual scrutiny between Elect and Auditors functioned to reinforce commitment, especially for the Elect to the ascetical regime. He cites a complaint made by Makarios in pkc.19 about the behaviour of a certain deacon.⁹⁸³ This argument is strengthened by the pervasiveness of concern for upright behaviour here.

Furthermore, it highlights another important social force within the movement, namely rumour. Considering the high mobility of the Elect rumours concerning the conduct of other Elect would have travelled fast within the wider church. The circulation of information regarding good or bad behaviour would have been particularly important to the upper clergy, i.e. Teachers and bishops. These were the ones tasked with expelling misbehaving Elect, and would have needed to stay informed in order to make sound judgements about the validity of such accusations. Conversely, the circulation of false rumours presented dangers for an Elect's reputation. This is seen in the great concern for slander and false rumours expressed in several ecclesiastical texts.⁹⁸⁴

Turning to the more specific behaviour of the hierarchy, the evidence is as stressed unfortunately limited. Apa Lysimachos, in his letter to Horos, discusses what appears to be Elect affairs in a mostly lost passage. At the end of this discussion, he mentions the 'bishops' (νεπισκ[ο]πος), perhaps shortly after having mentioned a Teacher (καχ), and he follows up by expressing amazement (ο[ι] τ[η] ραυπηρε), presumably dismay, concerning some events involving 'our children who are among [our?] kindred' (pkc.30, ll.3–5). Presumably, he is discussing

⁹⁸³ BeDuhn writes: 'One of the recently discovered letters from the Manichaean cell in Kellis refers to a conflict arising out of the conduct of a "deacon" as observed and faulted by the layperson Makarios. As a result, the deacon was "turned away" and complained to Makarios, "What do you have against me?" The latter remonstrance was made "during his practice", either of fasting or receiving confession, and Makarios adds this to his faults, that he was angry during his religious observances.' BeDuhn, 'Domestic setting', 264–65.

⁹⁸⁴ See, in particular, the SGW (Hom. 30.6–15) and keph. 73 (1 Ke. 179.30–180.18).

matters pertaining to the Manichaean hierarchy, and perhaps especially to the ‘death of Joubei’, mentioned at the end of the letter (l.24tr). Unfortunately, the thrust of his discussion is lost. Bishops are otherwise not mentioned in the material.⁹⁸⁵ Only the Teacher in the Nile Valley and the (local) presbyters are seen interacting with the Manichaeans connected to Kellis. Some remarks can be made concerning the presbyter, the most frequently mentioned office. It is noteworthy that the Teacher singled out presbyters specifically as his addressees among other ‘brethren’ in pkc.61. One of these presbyters was Pebos. A Pebos with some degree of religious authority features in two other letters: pkc.111 and pkc.120. Pkc.120 deals with religious scripture located with a ‘father’ Pebos. The author, a certain Pekos, asks Pamour to collect texts from Pebos, and bring him either texts or figs in return. In the translation of Gardner, Alcock, and Funk:

ⲡⲬⲔⲠⲚ ⲉⲧⲛⲧⲟⲧⲓ ⲛⲗⲁⲙⲟⲛ ⲧⲁⲣⲉ ⲛⲡⲣⲁⲗⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲣⲓϩ ⲛⲧⲁϩ ⲡⲉϩⲁⲓⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲧⲣⲟϥⲛⲧϩ ⲛⲛⲓ ⲛⲧⲟⲧϩ ⲛⲡⲓⲟⲧⲧ (vac) ⲡⲁⲃⲟ ⲧⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲗⲉ
ⲛⲓⲕⲛⲧⲉ ϩ . [.] . ϣ ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲡⲧ [.] ⲕⲧⲣⲟϥⲛⲧⲧⲥ ⲛⲛⲓ ⲛⲕⲁⲕⲉϥⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲁⲗⲗⲁϩ ⲁⲣⲁϩ ⲟⲩⲁⲧⲣⲁϩⲟϥ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲡⲉ ⲉⲛⲡⲬⲓ ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲧⲟ(vac)ⲗⲛ
ⲧⲧⲁⲃ ϩⲁϥ ⲁⲡⲛⲓ ⲛⲡⲓⲟⲧⲧ ⲡⲉⲃⲟ

About this book that Lamon has: Let the *Acts* be copied. But the *Gospel*: Let them bring it to me from father Pabo. These 5 *maje* of figs [...] you let them bring it to me. As for the other ones: Wait until I send them to you. If <you> did not receive this letter⁹⁸⁶, make him give it and send it to the house of father Pebo. (pkc.120, ll.3–15)

‘Father’ Pebos (also spelled Pabo) was involved with storing religious texts. It seems not unreasonable to link him to the ‘presbyter’ greeted by the Teacher: although the name Pebos occurs with some frequency in the Greek material from Kellis, it is rare in the Coptic House 1–3 texts. The same letter speaks of events relating to ‘the father’, presumably Pebos. A literal father is unlikely. Moreover, a Pebos is again found to be an authority involved with religious texts in a different letter, pkc.111. Here Pebos is the primary author of this letter, addressed to Psais III, whom he greets as ‘brother’ and with the greeting ‘in the lord’. There is no explicitly Manichaean cue in the letter. However, Pebos writes (trans. Gardner, Alcock, and Funk):

ⲉⲡⲛⲗⲛ ϩⲁⲓϭⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲕ ϩⲉ ⲁⲛⲛⲛⲧⲧ[ⲉ] ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲣⲁⲥ ⲛⲉⲛⲧ ⲛⲧⲟⲩⲁⲧⲥ ϩⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲁⲣⲛⲥ ⲁⲓϩⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲗ[ⲃⲓ]ⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲗⲉϩ ϩⲉ ⲛⲟϥⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲛ ⲧⲛⲣⲟϥ
ⲡⲁⲗⲉⲓ ϩⲉ ⲛⲛⲁⲛ ⲁⲣⲣⲁⲛ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲟ ⲛⲉⲣⲛⲟ ⲧⲛⲣⲟϥ ⲧⲛⲟϥ ⲡⲉ ⲟϩⲁⲩⲟⲣⲉ ⲁⲥⲣⲉ[ⲓ] ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲣⲁⲥ: ϩⲟⲃ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲛⲓ [ⲉⲧ]ⲁⲓϭⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲕ ⲉⲧⲃⲛⲧⲓⲛ
ⲛⲡ[ⲟ]ⲡⲣⲁⲛⲉⲗⲉⲓ ⲁⲣⲁϩ

Since I told you: “Bring 10 tetrads north of the ditch” – I have come south. I asked Olbinos. He said “We do not want all these”. I said: “Surely (not), why would we want to destroy all these things?” Is it now to stop writing the tetrads? Also, everything I have spoken to you about: Do not neglect it! (pkc.111, ll.5–14)

⁹⁸⁵ However, see now (perhaps) Gardner and Worp, ‘A most remarkable letter’.

⁹⁸⁶ Or ‘the *Epistle*’? See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 256, pkc.120, ll.13–14n.

While calling Psais a ‘brother’, the passage strongly suggests that Pebos was a leader of some sort, and responsible for ordering and collecting ‘tetrads’. Tetrads appear to be copied or written ‘north of the ditch’, i.e. in Dakhleh, but brought south of the ditch, to Hibis, where they were given to Olbinos. Here we may compare Ouales’ letter pkc.35, where Psais III again is involved in writing ‘tetrads’, probably copying religious text on clean papyri.⁹⁸⁷ Ouales indicates that both Psais and him are acting on behalf of superiors. Olbinos adds a postscript to pkc.111, but is careful not to contradict Pebos’ orders or infringe on his writing;⁹⁸⁸ he was evidently a subordinate of Pebos. He adds requests concerning textile work and ends with a formula: ‘I ask you, my brothers, my masters, that you will take on this burden (ῑ-επιμεῑ, Gr. *epigemizein*, ‘lay as a burden’) and do these things for me’ (ll.41–44). A similar request to take on a ‘burden’ (C. ωτι) occurs in pkc.73: there it is used of a ‘service for the church’ that will be ‘a hard burden (ωτι δαβατ) at the judgement’ (ll.17–18); a deed that will weigh in the person’s favour after death.⁹⁸⁹ Olbinos’ request similarly implies religious reward for undertaking the task he requests, giving a further reason for assigning Elect status to him and his superior, Pebos. If Pebos ‘the presbyter’, addressed by the Teacher, can be identified with ‘father’ Pebos in pkc.120, and ‘brother’ Pebos in pkc.111, we would have important testimony as to how Elect officials worked to disseminate literature in the Oasis by storing and ordering texts. Furthermore, these two could in turn be linked to Ouales, who also ordered Psais III to write ‘tetrads’. Ouales relates that a plural ‘they’ are responsible for ordering writings and for supplying him with papyrus, pointing to the existence of superiors.⁹⁹⁰ Another passage mentions ‘brother’ Kallikles, who may have had some kind of authority. The absence of prosopographic links between these two letters – apart from the central recipients, Psais and Andreas – is difficult to explain, but could perhaps be attributed to Elect mobility.

⁹⁸⁷ It has been suggested that tetrads were papyrus quires consisting of four double leaves, i.e. quaternions. Mirecki, Gardner, and Alcock, ‘Magical spell’, 31. Nonetheless, a religious context for these writings appear quite likely. Ouales speaks of copying the ‘great texts’, to be brought by a ‘blessed one’. He himself seems to be situated in some sort of Manichaean scriptorium. See furthermore 10.4 for the production of religious texts in Kellis.

⁹⁸⁸ See the remarks of Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 229, pkc.111, ll.38–39n.

⁹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 87, pkc.73, ll.17–18n.

⁹⁹⁰ Mirecki, Gardner, and Alcock, ‘Magical spell’, 30.

Finally, and better attested, is the figure of Saren the presbyter. In Horion's letter pkc.58, he is found receiving clothes in a quantity that strongly suggests that he acted on behalf of a group (above, section 11.2.2). Saren is himself responsible for sending the order to Horion, and for retrieving the clothes. Thus, both presbyters that feature at Kellis would appear to have responsibilities tied to Auditor activities, while perhaps also supervising the Elect.

In the eastern tradition, as we saw, presbyters were in charge of 'halls of law'. In the Berlin *Kephalaia*, however, they were found to 'walk' among other Elect. These suggest quite different roles for this office – one primarily a monastic leader, the other not. This can perhaps be related to different degrees of institutionalisation and resources available for Manichaeans in these two areas. The Church tradition found in keph. 81 certainly implies that presbyters were tied to smaller groups of Elect, as opposed to the 50 Elect overseen by one of the 'leaders'. However, the Kellis evidence suggests that presbyters were, in practice, also assigned some degree of supervisory responsibilities in Egypt.⁹⁹¹ The presbyters evident in Kellis, based on the evidence considered above, appear to fall somewhere in between.

Augustine

Augustine's criticism of the Elect in *De moribus Manichaeorum* provides the best evidence for the role of rumour within the movement. He and his fellow Auditors had, he relates, heard rumours of misconduct concerning nearly all of the Elect he knew, and he describes specific instances of false rumours being spread by the Elect themselves.⁹⁹² While his stories are likely hyperbole, the difficulty of verifying rumours would have caused anxiety and distrust within the Church. These conflicts must have contributed to his eventual disillusionment, and they show the potential negative effects of reliance on their system of mutual scrutiny.

However, Augustine was also well-informed regarding the activities of the Elect hierarchy. A statement of his that Elect were sent to establish or reinforce local groups implies

⁹⁹¹ It may be added that, in Iranian texts, the presbyters are often described as a 'treasurers', although it is not clear whether this epithet is to be understood literally. Leurini, *The Manichaean Church*, 219.

⁹⁹² See *De mor.* 2.19.68, 2.20.74. In the latter instance, a rumour of misconduct had apparently travelled all the way from Rome to North Africa.

a degree of central coordination (see section 11.4.1). Bishop Faustus spent time away from Carthage, presumably administering to other communities, but worked closely with the Carthaginian community when he returned.⁹⁹³ However, Lim has strongly criticised the idea that Elect officials were of any importance in North African communities. He argues that:

the whole Manichaean hierarchy in Carthage, if it existed at all in any meaningful way, was at best opaque. The identity and whereabouts of a bishop was so well concealed that he could not even be approached by Manichaean hearers bearing complaints. This situation Augustine says, was occasioned by his fear of being exposed by informers and of being apprehended by the authorities.⁹⁹⁴

As evidence for the concealed bishops he cited *De mor.* 2.70. However, the bishop does not appear to be the concealed individual; and the passage rather suggests that reporting bad behaviour to the leadership was routine, and that decisions were taken by a bishop in concert with other leaders.⁹⁹⁵ This is supported by another passage from this work concerning the Manichaean community in Rome. While looking to fund the establishment of a monastery, the Auditor Constantius contacted the bishops in Rome. Augustine states that ‘he complained that his great efforts were hindered by the corruption of the bishops by whose help he had to carry out his project.’⁹⁹⁶ It is clear that the bishops were sceptical of the project, and that their approval was needed for it to go ahead. Only when Constantius managed to persuade a bishop to spearhead it was it realised. This is in agreement with keph. 81 (above), which indicated that monastic gatherings were to be supervised by officials of a higher order than the

⁹⁹³ Decret (‘Le manichéisme présentait-il’, 12–13.) takes Faustus to have been the only bishop in Carthage, and his absence to show the lack of leadership in North Africa, compared to the plethora of Christian bishops. Whether Faustus was the only bishop (and not just a particularly persuasive one) seems unclear; at any rate, the very different structures of the two ‘Churches’, which saw the Elect themselves involved in ministering to the flock, makes equating Manichaean and Christian bishops somewhat misleading.

⁹⁹⁴ Lim, ‘Unity and diversity’, 241.

⁹⁹⁵ The passage deals with bad Elect behaviour going unpunished due to fear, within the leadership, of being reported to the authorities; a response that Augustine had received on a previous occasion when he came with a similar complaint (*De Mor.* 2.19.68–69). In Teske’s translation, the passage reads: ‘We also received this response (i.e. that no punishment could be meted out due to risk of betrayal) when we reported to the leaders of the sect that a woman had complained to us. In an assembly where she was along with other women, where she felt confident because of the holiness of the Manichaeans, after several of the Elect had entered and one of them had put out the light, she was seized in the dark in the embrace of one of them, though it was not certain who it was ... And this was done on the night when you celebrated the vigil of a feast. But really, even if there was no fear of betrayal, who could bring before the bishop for condemnation a man who had taken such precautions not to be recognised? As if all of them who had entered at the same time were not involved in the same crime! For the light was extinguished while they were all joking rudely.’ *De Mor.* 2.19.70, trans. Teske, *The Manichaean debate*, 100. As the last sentences make clear, it is not the bishop who was difficult to locate, but the Elect culprit who had taken care to seize the woman in a dark room and while hiding among other Elect – who, in Augustine’s estimate, must be considered complicit.

⁹⁹⁶ *De mor.* 2.19.74, trans. Ibid., 102.

presbyters. Furthermore, it seems the hierarchy also played a role in settling doctrinal questions. At the end of his debate with Augustine, the presbyter Fortunatus stated that he would go back to consult his superiors (*maiores*), presumably the group headed by a bishop back in Carthage.⁹⁹⁷

For the lower ranks, Lim took the freedom of Fortunatus to stay in Hippo to preach ('hardly an occupation one associates with presbyters in the Christian context'), and his replacement as Elect representative in Hippo by Felix, a *doctor*, as examples signalling a lack of regard for rank or division of tasks within the church.⁹⁹⁸ As a consequence of their disorganisation, the hierarchy was unable to restrain rampant bad behaviour among the Elect, as indicated by Augustine's aside regarding the emergence of an austere, schismatic group, the *Mattarii*.⁹⁹⁹ However, I am not convinced that these examples prove the point. With regards to difference in rank between Fortunatus and Felix, it might just as well indicate that a more senior figure was thought necessary to counter the influence of Augustine – if indeed we are to take it that Augustine, in describing Felix, uses *doctor* in the technical sense of great Teacher (*Retract.* 2.34.1), of which I am sceptical.¹⁰⁰⁰ Fortunatus' role in Hippo does indicate that Elect officials had more freedom than (and different responsibilities from) their Christian counterparts, but this is tied to the particular structure of the Manichaean church, where ordinary Elect were the lowest rank, rather than a lack of structure. Considering his reference to 'superiors', moreover, Fortunatus clearly thought himself to operate within the framework of a hierarchy. Regarding the possible role of presbyters as leaders of Elect groups, we do not know whether Fortunatus was the only Elect in Hippo at the time of his debate, only that he

⁹⁹⁷ *C. Fort.* 37. I see no reason why Fortunatus would have been explicit about the individual official he would report to; an objection made by Lim, 'Unity and diversity', 237 n.24. It seems the leadership met in quorum (see above).

⁹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 237–38.

⁹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 242–43.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Lim expresses some doubt in this regard (*ibid.*, 237.), to my mind justified. It is, however, the prevailing view; see e.g. Decret, *L'Afrique manichéenne: IVe–Ve siècles. Étude historique et doctrinale*, 363; Giulia S. Gasparro, 'The disputation with Felix: themes and modalities of Augustine's polemic', in *In search of Truth*, ed. Johannes van Oort and Einar Thomassen (Leiden: Brill, 2011). Cf. BeDuhn, *Augustine's Manichaean Dilemma*, 306 n.23. If Felix had been a leading Teacher, this point would presumably have been stressed both by Augustine, who claimed victory in the debate, and especially by his biographer Possidonius, who claimed that Felix converted afterwards (as is stated in the conclusion of the preserved manuscript tradition, although Augustine does not mention it in the *Revisions*). In *De haer.* 46.16, the second level of the hierarchy is called *magister*, not *doctor*. The Manichaeans certainly had informal 'teachers' and preachers.

was the most prominent. Augustine states that he regularly saw a group of Elect visiting the theatre accompanied by a presbyter while in Carthage (*De mor.* 2.19.72). The presence of the presbyter was presumably of note because he was supposed to supervise them, and the regularity with which he observed this group together may suggest that they constituted a ‘company’, although informal friendship among like-minded Elect cannot be excluded. Finally, there is no reason to disbelieve Augustine’s testimony regarding the existence of the *Mattarii*. However, while it shows disagreement regarding the strictness of Manichaean asceticism (in this particular case, the question of whether it was allowed for Elect to sleep in beds, see below), it does not prove an inability among Elect in general to adhere to their precepts.¹⁰⁰¹ Elect officials clearly faced great difficulties, compounded by the fear of persecutions in the 370s, 380s, and onwards, but Augustine’s evidence highlights the extent to which they maintained a Church, despite such problems.

11.4.3 ‘Monastery’ and communal space

The ecclesiastical tradition

Having argued that Elect regularly acted in groups, and that they sought to maintain a cohesive organisation, we should turn to one of the recurring questions within Manichaean studies, namely the existence of monasteries in the west. Church historical texts from Turfan relate that the early disciples founded monasteries in the Roman Empire already during the time of Mani.¹⁰⁰² These could be retrojections, and it has been argued that monastic institutions were only adopted under the influence of Buddhism in Central Asia, although this has not won universal acceptance.¹⁰⁰³ However, there is certainly evidence for the existence of a notion of specifically religious buildings set aside for the Elect in the Med.Madi material. The SGW

¹⁰⁰¹ A similar dispute between pragmatic and strict Elect took place in the late seventh-century Manichaean church, as related by al-Nadim. See Reeves, *Prolegomena*, 264–66.

¹⁰⁰² Werner Sundermann, ‘Studien zur kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur der iranischen Manichäer III’, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 14, no. 1 (1987): 71–72.

¹⁰⁰³ Asmussen, *Xuāstvánīft*, 260–61 n.14. This was modified by Sundermann, who (like Vööbus) suggested that while a Buddhist background is plausible, it would have been acquired already by the time of Mani. Werner Sundermann, ‘Manichaeism meets Buddhism: the problem of Buddhist influence on Manichaeism’, in *Buddhavidyasudgakarāh. Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, ed. Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Jens-U. Hartmann (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica, 1997), 653.

predicts a time when worldly institutions are replaced by holy ones, when ‘temples of the gods of this world will become a dwelling place ([μαῖνωσπι]ε) for the elect and the holy church.’ (Hom. 26.11–12). In the Berlin *Kephalaia*, the construction of buildings for the church is considered part of the Auditors’ alms-obligations: keph. 85, dealing with alms, exhorts the Auditors to ‘build a dwelling (μαῖνωσπιε) or construct some place (το[πος])’ (1 Ke. 193.12) for the Holy Church. Keph. 158 lists churches and houses (νεκκλησια μῆ ἡμι) to be given to the Elect (1 Ke. 396.7–9).¹⁰⁰⁴ A similar text from Turfan exhorts the Auditors to build monasteries as alms, showing a point of contact between these traditions.¹⁰⁰⁵ As seen above, keph. 81 also describes an Elect leader presiding over fifty Elect, who gathered daily in ‘the church’ (εἰς τεκκλησια), in order to fast (1 Ke. 193.31–194.1). Another chapter, keph. 85 quoted in section 11.2.1, is framed as the question of an Elect given orders by a superior of a specific ‘church’ to which he belonged (τεκκλησια εἰ-ἡρητς). The term ‘church’ appears to be the preferred term for regular Elect gatherings, including the physical spaces in which these took place.¹⁰⁰⁶ The term ‘monastery’ also occurs in a Coptic translation of passages from Mani’s own *Living Gospel*.¹⁰⁰⁷ The ‘monasteries’ in this passage seem to belong to the baptists of Mani’s youth,

¹⁰⁰⁴ Funk tentatively suggests a different interpretation: ‘Wie sich „die Kirchen und die Häuser“ sachlich in die Aussage einfügen, ist nicht ganz klar, viell. (?) hat man zu verstehen: „in ihnen genützt werden, das heißt, in den Kirchen und den Häusern, (nämlich) die Kleider“ usw.’ Funk, *Kephalaia*, 277 n.8. However, it does not seem strange in light of keph. 81 and 85.

¹⁰⁰⁵ A parable text, M 47 II/v/4–5, contains an injunction regarding almsgiving (*ruwānagān*) for the Auditors to build monasteries for the church (*dēn*): ‘Das sind die Almosenspenden. Die Hörer entrichten sie an die Kirche <und> bauen Klöster’ (*ruwānagān ast niyōšāgān ō dēn kunēnd mānistān dēsēnd*), trans. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte*, quoted in Leurini, *Manichaean church*, 272.

¹⁰⁰⁶ More evidence for Elect-specific ‘churches’, referring both to Elect groups as well as buildings, can be adduced in an implicit differentiation between αγγε (‘congregation’, ‘assembly of adherents’) and *ekklēsia* (Elect/ritual gatherings, spaces for ritual gatherings). In the SGW, three female Auditors (Banak, Dinak, and Nushak) address a lament to the departed Mani: ‘all the worlds need to grieve over you in the midst of your churches (εἰς τῆντ[ε] ἡνεκκλησια) and weep publicly in your congregations (ἡσεριμ [παρ]ρησια εἰς νεκκαγγε)’ (Hom. 59.13–17). A distinction between ‘church’ and ‘congregation’ is implied, delimiting closed (Elect?) groups/spaces (‘churches’) from public (Elect–lay) gatherings (‘congregations’). In keph. 70, Mani seats himself ‘among the church, in the midst of the congregation (εἰς τεκκλησια εἰς τῆντ[ε] ἡτσαγγε)’ (1 Ke. 169.27–28). The first part of the sentence may just as well be translated as ‘in the church’, implying two different spaces: a physical space, the ‘church’, and a social space, the ‘congregation’. Dilley moreover refers to a passage in the Dublin *Kephalaia* that describes a conversation between Mani and Sasanian notables taking place in a church. Dilley, ‘Mani’s Wisdom’, 40.

¹⁰⁰⁷ The term is found in a passage from the *Synaxeis* Codex published by Wolf-Peter Funk, although the Coptic text is not given. See Funk, ‘Mani’s account’, 120.

and so may not be relevant for understanding Mani's community. However, it is clear that a concept of Elect-specific buildings, called either 'dwelling place' or 'church', was known to Manichaean authorities in Egypt.

The question seems rather to be what went on inside the buildings. Here we must again start with the eastern material. A section of the Chinese *Compendium* (briefly referred to above, section 11.2.1) dealt explicitly with the layout of monasteries and provides an idea of their functions. The *Compendium* prescribes five rooms: one for storing of religious texts and images, one for fasting and preaching (probably where alms were received and sermons read), one for worship and confession, one for religious instruction, and one for sick Elect. It further states: 'In the five rooms set up as above, the community of monks should live in common, practising good works with zeal. The monks should not build individual rooms, kitchens or storehouses.'¹⁰⁰⁸ A text in Uighur Turkic describes monasteries as 'the healing place (*otačılık*) of the element gods': i.e. the place where Light-elements were purified and released through the Elect ritual meal.¹⁰⁰⁹ The 'church' described in keph. 81 was also the location for the fasting of the fifty Elect, while the Elect who went to gather alms in keph. 85 was expected to bring them back 'to the church' (above, section 11.2.1). Meals and fasting were clearly considered central functions. In addition, these buildings would presumably have facilitated scribal activities, communal festivals, and gatherings (caγçč) involving the laity, such as the prayer meetings discussed above (section 11.3.1).

Some uncertainty has remained in the literature as to whether Manichaean 'monasteries' were intended to be communal living spaces. The most frequently used term for 'monastery' in the east, MP *mānīstān*, had the original sense 'house, home, dwelling-place'.¹⁰¹⁰ The Parthian term *ārām*, 'rest, resting place', was widely used for 'monastery',

¹⁰⁰⁸ Trans. Lieu, 'Precept and practices', 85.

¹⁰⁰⁹ T II D. 171R.26–37; trans. BeDuhn, *The Manichaean body*, 183–84. The same passage speaks of the monasteries as 'resting places' (*ornangusi*, from *ornan-*, 'to place or install oneself, to be placed or installed', which Zieme translates Siedlungsorte; Peter Zieme, 'Mānīstān, „Kloster“ und manichäische Kolophone', in *Zur lichten Heimat: Studien zu Manichäismus, Iranistik und Zentralasienkunde im Gedenken an Werner Sundermann.*, ed. Team Turfanforschung (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017), 742.).

¹⁰¹⁰ Bo Utas, 'Manistan and xanaqah', in *Papers in honour of professor Mary Boyce*, ed. A. D. H. Bivar, *Acta Iranica* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 657. For the possible theological significance of this term as 'dwelling of the Light-Mind', see Sundermann, 'Studien III', 71–72.

alongside *mānistān*.¹⁰¹¹ This ‘rest’ was tied to the healing of the Light elements, but monasteries could also be ‘places of rest’ and healing in a literal sense: as we saw, the *Compendium* prescribed a room for the treatment of sick monks.¹⁰¹² However, there is good reason to think that stays at monasteries were intended to be temporary and mainly ritual gatherings. The passage from the *Compendium* only includes room for sick monks, and is explicit in that the monastery should not include separate living quarters. In a recently published MP version of a letter by Mani, he greets an Elect located in a *‘spync*, ‘hostel’, indicating the temporariness of Elect stays in such places, if a monastery – as seems quite possible – is intended.¹⁰¹³ Moreover, textual fragments from Turfan explicitly exhort Elect to abstain from extended stays in monasteries.¹⁰¹⁴ Some passages from the Uighur royal decree concerning Manichaean monasteries, known as the ‘Monastery scroll’, imply that Elect, or at least some of the upper members of the hierarchy, resided in the monasteries at the time of Uighur patronage.¹⁰¹⁵ This appears to represent a late development, as Manichaean monasteries were not intended to provide permanent sleeping arrangements for Elect, although we should not exclude that the Elect could use them as temporary ‘resting places’.

For the west, we may consider keph. 91, cited above, which described the ‘perfect’ Auditor as treating his house like a lodging house (μαῖσθαλι[ε]) for temporary residence. The term μαῖσθαλιε, ‘lodging house’, literally means ‘place of rest’, perhaps similar to the term *ārām* (and *‘spync*). It might be that a comparison between the temporary ‘lodging house’ of a perfect Auditor and a ‘place of rest’ of the Elect is implied. The SGW describes, alongside ‘dwelling places’ for the church mentioned above, how female Elect in an idealised future will sleep in the palaces of the aristocracy, not monastic buildings (Hom. 24.9–10). Together, these

¹⁰¹¹ Utas, ‘Manistan and xanaqah’, 663. It appears for instance in the Parthian hymn-cycle, *Huyidagmān*, which employs both *ārām* and *mānistān*. See M 625^bv l.6a, in Tsui Chi, ‘Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan “The Lower (Second?) Section of the Manichæan Hymns”’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11, no. 1 (1943): 218.

¹⁰¹² Perhaps spiritual sicknesses, such as isolation, as well as a physical ones, such as that described by a doubting Elect in keph. 86. Paul Pelliot suggested that the notion of spiritual trouble and doubt as ‘sickness’ could go back to a specific *Epistle* of Mani no. 67 in al-Nadim’s list, entitled ‘The healthy and the sick’. Pelliot and Chavannes, ‘Un traité manichéen’, 134 (10) n.1; see Dodge, *The Fihrist*, II, 801.

¹⁰¹³ M501p+R6. Werner Sundermann, ‘A Manichaean collection of letters and a list of Mani’s letters in Middle Persian’, in *New light on Manichæism*, ed. Jason D. BeDuhn (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 272 n.94.

¹⁰¹⁴ See Zieme, ‘Mānistān’.

¹⁰¹⁵ Moriyasu, *Uigurischen Manichäismus*, 75–77.

features suggest that the Elect were to gather at, but not to sleep in, the ‘monasteries’, having to make sleeping arrangements elsewhere.

To summarise, the church tradition prescribed the use of buildings dedicated to the church, as ‘resting places’ and gathering points for Elect, combining facilities for ascetic practice (fasting and meals, and likely also writing) with facilities for lay communal ritual in a single building or complex. Its conception was clearly an early development, although its functions may have varied. Still, the evidence displays a broadly uniform rejection of long overnight stays.

The Kellis evidence

The question of Manichaean monasteries in Egypt was already broached by scholars before the finds from Kellis were known.¹⁰¹⁶ Textual material from Kellis can be taken to support this argument; the editors of CDT I, based on the evidence of Tithoes and of the KAB (see below), maintained: ‘In any case it seems certain that there was a Manichaean monastery in the environs of Kellis.’¹⁰¹⁷ Furthermore, they argued that such a monastery would have been the ‘central focus of Elect life ... where they lived whilst not away on evangelical work’.¹⁰¹⁸ Still, there does not yet seem to be consensus among scholars on these issues, regarding either their existence or function, and the material from CDT II needs to be taken into account. We should therefore review the evidence from the texts hitherto published.

Three main pieces of evidence may be put forward. First, and most evidently, there is the explicit mention of a monastery in the correspondence of Tithoes and his son Samoun (pkc.12, pkgr.12), who agree to send the young Tithoes II to a ‘monastery’ (ζενερε in pkc.12, *monastērion* in pkgr.12) with ‘father’ Pebok to learn linen weaving.¹⁰¹⁹ The prosopography tie these figures closely to the Pamour family, and the finds of Manichaean textual material in

¹⁰¹⁶ See in particular Stroumsa, ‘The Manichaean challenge’.

¹⁰¹⁷ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 76.

¹⁰¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹⁹ See furthermore Iain Gardner, “‘He has gone to the monastery...’”, in *Studia Manichaica: proceedings of the IVth International Conference of Manichaean Studies, Berlin 1997*, ed. Roland E. Emmerick, Werner Sundermann, and Peter Zieme (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000).

House 2 itself suggest a Manichaean context for this family (see section 9.2.1). The name ‘Pebok’ recurs in pkc.47, where the account author has acquired ‘wool of/for Pabok’ (ⲘⲁⲠⲧⲓ ⲛⲓⲠⲁⲃⲔⲕ, l.24). The editors state that there is no particular reason to identify the two figures.¹⁰²⁰ Contra this, it should be pointed out that there are very few occurrences of the name Pebok in Kellis,¹⁰²¹ moreover, the contemporaneity of these two occurrences, the shared link to Tehat (by way of Tithoes I in pkc.12 and pkgr.12), and even shared involvement with textile production, are all factors that support identifying the two Peboks. As we saw in pkc.58, Saren the presbyter was involved in retrieving textiles, and the wool Tehat has acquired in pkc.47 may perhaps be intended as alms, or, alternately, for a garment that Pebok himself has provided wool for (as perhaps is the case with Saren; see pkc.58, l.25?). Yet, it might be objected that a Manichaean institution is not thereby demonstrated. Pebok does not feature in the other House 1–3 texts, and we cannot entirely exclude that undogmatic Manichaeans cooperated with Christian monks, for instance for business purposes. Perhaps the fact that weaving was practiced in the monastery could be taken as contrary to an ideal that Elect should not perform any profane work. However, this issue was not settled, and there appears to have been some Elect who considered textile work legitimate, as evinced by a letter found at Turfan by a local, ‘eastern’ Church official who complains about a (newly-arrived) Syrian Electa who sews garments.¹⁰²² The western Elect may not have had the luxury of their brethren in Turfan to remain completely above such work.

A second piece of evidence is the occurrence of a *topos Mani* in the KAB. It is mentioned twice in the KAB’s income accounts for olives and dates (KAB 320, 513), showing that the *topos* leased land for cultivation from the KAB owner, and in later entries a Petros ‘the monk’ pays rent for olives and dates on its behalf.¹⁰²³ As previously argued, Petros can be identified as the man by that name occurring in the Petros letters from House 1–3, and

¹⁰²⁰ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDTI*, 35. The difference in variant of the name is however not significant: see for instance the variants of Pekysis (Copt. ⲛⲁⲥⲟⲩⲧⲓ/ⲛⲉⲥⲟⲩⲧⲓ) or Pebos (ⲛⲉⲃⲟ/ⲛⲁⲃⲟ).

¹⁰²¹ The only other instance of this name is on an undated and otherwise unscripted ostracon from Shrine 3 at the Main Temple, okell.250.

¹⁰²² M112 + M146a + M336c (l.16), in Werner Sundermann, ‘Ein Re-Edition zweier manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe’, in *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan: Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume*, ed. Maria Macuch, Mauro Maggi, and Werner Sundermann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 408.

¹⁰²³ KAB 320 (*topos Mani*), 975–976 (*Petros monakh(os) anti Mani*), see also 1109, 1433.

probably a specifically Manichaean monk. Gr. *topos* simply means ‘place’ or plot of land, but could also refer to a shrine, and from the fourth century on it became a common term for monastic institutions.¹⁰²⁴ A monastic context is clearly implied by the presence of Petros the monk as a middleman. We cannot be entirely sure that the *topos* and the monastery were one and the same, and questions remain regarding the form and significance of the name *Mani*, as Choat points out.¹⁰²⁵ Still, both Petros and Pebok shared an indirect connection, by way of Tehat, with whose textile workshop Petros can also be shown to have been involved (see pkc.18).¹⁰²⁶ The two figures were certainly contemporary, and frequented the same circles.

Thirdly, while maintaining that the term *topos Mani* is not in itself sufficient, Choat has noted that ‘along with the reference in P. Kell. V Copt. 39.35 to “a little cell” (τκογῖ ἡρι, which can also refer to a room in a house, CD 288a), the confluence of evidence hints that the editors may be correct.’¹⁰²⁷ This ‘confluence of evidence’ constitutes the third argument for a monastic institution in Kellis or its vicinity. The editors highlighted two bodies of letters that may evince monastic settings: the letters of Ouales to Psais/Andreas (pkc.35–36), and the aforementioned Petros letters (pkc.38–41). The latter involve several ‘fathers’ and ‘brothers’, including the two possible monks, ‘our brothers’ Petros and Timotheos. Some passages may in fact make explicit references to monks: the term *ελλο*, which appears twice (pkc.39, ll.26–27; pkc.40, l.13), can mean both ‘old man’ and ‘monk’.¹⁰²⁸ The letters in which *ελλο* appears have other features that suggest a religious context. The ‘son’, in pkc.39, discusses writing of

¹⁰²⁴ Bagnall, *P. Kell. IV*, 81–82. See also Choat, cited below.

¹⁰²⁵ *Topos* (‘place’) was often used for shrines and later monasteries in late antiquity. The form of the name *Mani* is puzzling, as *Mani* in Greek was usually written *Manēs* or *Manikhaios*. It might be an abbreviation (*topos* (*tōn*) *Mani(khaiōn)*), as suggested by Pedersen. Choat, ‘Monastic letters’, 57 n.228; Pedersen, ‘Manichaean exonyms and autonyms (including Augustine’s writings)’. 6.

¹⁰²⁶ The two may occur together in an account of liquid (probably oil) payments, okell.121, which lists Petros and Bok (quite possibly for Pebok). The text also features Psais ‘the monk’ (‘our brother’ Psais, pkc.30?), Alexander, Horos son of P[...] (Horos in pkc.30, pkc.72?), and Korax son of Tithoes (‘our son’ Rhax; pkc.15, l.15?). Perhaps one might suggest that these figures should all be understood as monks (Psais being the only one explicitly labelled as such, due to the commonality of that name?), and the ostrakon evince oil payments to a small Elect group, but such a hypothesis certainly needs more support.

¹⁰²⁷ Choat, ‘Monastic letters’, 57 n.228.

¹⁰²⁸ The editors carefully translate ‘old man’ in both instances, but make note of the double meaning. Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 240, pkc.39, l.27n. See also Crum 669b.

a letter, of ‘fragments’ (νηπασε),¹⁰²⁹ ‘the small cell’ (noted by Choat above), and a ‘charm’ (φυλακτήριον, *fylaktērion*) (pkc.39, ll.34–38). In pkc.40, he says that he has arrived at a place where he is not able to rest, and refers (allegorically?) to a quarrel with the ‘old man’ / ‘monk’: ‘For, since the day when I came, my body is restless; I have not given myself to sleep, for it is not the place (μα)! Like another one, with whom the old man (ελλο) also fights, [...]’ (pkc.40, ll.9–13). The following passage is fragmented, but the son appears to be discussing an ongoing event related to the ‘other one’ and the ‘old man’. Further on, he says that he is ‘sick, since the day that I came’ (l.24). Then he makes an enigmatic statement suggesting healing: ‘[...] another] year I will stay like this. I will come. There is no great [...] disturbance, and not the body either, we being well of blindness (βλλε) [...]’. (pkc.40, ll.29–30) It is unfortunately difficult to get a coherent picture from the two fragmented passages, one seemingly claiming a state of restlessness,¹⁰³⁰ the other recovery from ‘blindness’ (spiritual sickness?), but there is clearly a link between the son’s physical location and his spiritual state. Furthermore, there is a place where they have a shared cell and store charms and papyrus. However, the son himself is involved in selling textiles produced by the ‘mother’ (pkc.42) and making sure she pays for goods (pkc.38, pkc.40), and so is perhaps unlikely to be a monk himself, although the case of Petros and of the ‘fathers’ show that Elect did not always shy away from economic matters. On the other hand, the monastery of the Tithoes correspondence was itself a place for producing textiles, rather than for selling them.

Turning to Ouales’ letter to Psais III, it has already been noted (sections 11.3.4) that he can be situated in a Manichaean scribal context, indicated by the oath he swears on the Paraclete and the spell he copied by his own hand. To these we can add his great need for papyri (pkc.35, ll.41–45). As we saw in section 11.4.2, Ouales appears to have superiors responsible for ordering the ‘tetrads’, and a ‘blessed one’ is responsible for mediating between the two. A religious scriptorium could well be implied.¹⁰³¹ It seems likely to be linked to the other request for ‘tetrads’ to Psais III found in pkc.111, by Pebos and Olbinos, a letter

¹⁰²⁹ The term can also mean ‘(book) section’, see Crum 286a.

¹⁰³⁰ See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDTI*, 244, pkc.40, ll.11–12n.

¹⁰³¹ Reservations are expressed in Mirecki, Gardner, and Alcock, ‘Magical spell’, 30–31; but see also Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDTI*, 223.

that also suggests religious scribal activity, or at least centrally directed text production, as discussed above. Furthermore, in pkc.120, ‘father’ Pebos is linked to a place referred to as πῶτο, ‘the place of convalescence’. The author of that piece, a man named Pekos, having first asked Pamour to send for the *Gospel* from father Pebos, asks him regarding certain items: ‘Take them down and put them inside the cell. Do not delay to go to the place for convalescence (πῶτο)¹⁰³² to see the man, for they have gone after the father.’ (pkc.120, ll.19–25). It would seem that the father was in some way tied to this place. This ‘father’ could well be the father Pebos referred to initially, strengthening the argument for a religious role for him, and indicating that we in turn seem to be dealing with a location having a religious significance or function. Uncertainty remains as to whether the ‘place of convalescence’ can be identified with the ‘house of father Pebos’. Furthermore, the term πῶτο is not, to my knowledge, found elsewhere for a Manichaean institution. However, it is clearly compatible with and even reminiscent of the notion of ‘places of rest’ discussed above. The term might furthermore be restored in the Petros letter pkc.41, providing a link to the ‘son’ discussed above, although the restoration is uncertain.¹⁰³³

Finally, we may take a look at the letters of the Maria/Makarios circle. Makarios speaks of a ‘temple’ or ‘sanctuary’ in a fragmented passage, which reads: ‘How many [...] these or our sanctuary (πῆριε)¹⁰³⁴? Are not you yourself a catechumen? For we are not retaliating against anyone in this place for what they are doing to us.’ (pkc.22, ll.61–62). This was taken by the editors as a lay communal institution, akin to a church, rather than a monastery.¹⁰³⁵ In the fragmented line immediately preceding this statement, he quotes someone saying ‘I will rest’ (†ΝΑῪΤΑΝ, l.60), a notion intimately connected with the Elect regime. The lines immediately following discuss the copying of a book and the theft of a book (ll.63–66), although the

¹⁰³² For the term (from ὑτο), meaning ‘lying down’ (and so linked to ‘rest’), see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 240, pkc.120, ll.14–17n., and Crum 595b, 792a.

¹⁰³³ See *ibid.*, 257, pkc.120, l.23n.

¹⁰³⁴ For the term, lit. ‘temple’ (sometimes also used for ‘church’), see Crum 298b. At the end of the same letter Makarios greets to ‘all at Ρουαρο’ (ΠΟΥΑΡΟ), lit. ‘the great sanctuary’, which the editors take to be a toponym. See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 181, pkc.22, l.81n.

¹⁰³⁵ *Ibid.*, 78.

implications are somewhat obscure. However, if Makarios is discussing events related to a monastic institution here, it is one situated in the Valley, rather than in the vicinity of Kellis. Perhaps we may also add a passage from Matthaïos, who in pkc.25 noted how the Teacher let Piene ‘read in church’ (see section 11.3.1) while they were located in Alexandria. Considering the usage in keph. 81 and keph. 158, cited above, it may be that the Teacher presided over a ‘church’ in Alexandria, although a mobile ‘church’ of Elect cannot be excluded either in this instance.

To recapitulate: two letters provide explicit mentions of a monastery (pkc.12, pkgr.12), and there is a suggestive occurrence of a *topos Mani* (KAB). In addition, several letters contain spatial terms associated with rest and recovery (pkc.22?, pkc.40, pkc.41 (restored), pkc.120), the production and/or storing of religious texts (pkc.22, pkc.35, pkc.39, (pkc.111?), pkc.120), and Elect activity (pkc.25, pkc.39–40, (pkc.111?, pkc.120?)), all of which are suggestive of a monastery, but none of which are without ambiguity. Terms such as ‘place’ or ‘house’, while featuring in Manichaean ecclesiastical discourse, are too ambiguous to provide clear evidence. If father Pebos in pkc.120 was a ‘presbyter’ (as per pkc.61) he may have been responsible for Elect groups, as argued above (section 11.4.2). The letters to Psais III concerning tetrads could both emanate from a monastic scribal centre – if so, the monastery might be situated in Hibis, as implied by pkc.111. There are certainly firm prosopographic ties between Psais III and the Petros letters, notably ‘father’ Pini (pkc.42, pkc.73, pkc.83).

The vagueness of terminology, and the lack of clearly identifiable Elect, may caution against drawing too strong conclusions, although the absence of technical terms in informal discourse should not come as a surprise, given the lack of a technical vocabulary in the actual western Manichaean ecclesiastical sources. Furthermore, the mentions of ‘cells’ in which scribes could work and charms and religious literature be kept (and subsequently stolen, as perhaps implied by Makarios in pkc.22) strongly indicates that a communal centre is intended. When considered in light of the frequent Elect gatherings for ritual meals already adduced (section 11.2.2), it seems that, on balance, the existence of a Manichaean communal centre in the vicinity of Kellis appears very strong, as the editors of CDT I maintained. However, the nature of this institution still raises questions. As we saw above, the editors suggested that the Elect lived in the monasteries. However, they also considered the possibility that they

mainly interacted with the Auditors in church-buildings such as those excavated at Kellis. broached the issue of two possible institutions:

[The question of agape deliveries] raises the question as to whether the Manichaeans in fourth century Egypt had two distinct types of religious building, i.e. monasteries and churches. The eastern literature certainly uses two parallel terms; and in this present volume we perhaps (the passage is fragmented) find Makarios making mention of 'our sanctuary' ... Still, in general it seems reasonable to suppose that the Kellis Manichaeans *may* have had a religious building in the village, and that such a 'church' could have been in broad terms similar to that of the Christians.¹⁰³⁶

However, the terminology does not seem to be consistent enough to allow us to infer a clear separation between one lay and one Elect institution. It seems rather more likely that both Elect and laity met in the same 'sanctuaries', where they stored literature and other valuables. Whether the Elect also slept there cannot be known on present evidence from Kellis, but seems unlikely in light of the ecclesiastical material presented above, and the narrative of Augustin, considered below. Still, the Elect presumably spent more of their time (perhaps the better part of the day) performing the 'work of the religion' in such places, writing and eating in the company of other Elect, when not away on travels.

Augustine

Finally, the testimony of Augustine has been taken to show that 'monasteries' was a novelty among Manichaean Elect, or at least not established in Roman North Africa, demonstrated by a single episode concerning a monastery established in Rome. In *De moribus Manichaeorum*, Augustine narrates how a wealthy Auditor (who in *C. Faust.* 5.5 is revealed to be Constantius, a later Christian convert) often had to defend the morals of the Elect in debates, as they were criticised for living like vagabonds, and sought to gather them into his home. Although he was first rebuffed by the Roman Manichaean bishops, he found a rustic, unlearned bishop who agreed to participate in the project, and Augustin relates how all Elect first gathered in the house but subsequently left:

The bishop praised him and agreed. He chose to be the first to live in his house. After he did this, all of the Elect who could be found in Rome assembled there. When the rule of life from the letter of Mani was proposed, many found it intolerable and left. But out of shame, nonetheless, more than a few remained.¹⁰³⁷

¹⁰³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰³⁷ *De mor.* 2.20.74, trans. Teske, *The Manichaean debate*, 102.

The project did not end well. Quarrels erupted between the remaining Elect, with several making some sort of accusation against Constantius and claiming that they could not endure the rules, to which he replied that they should either overhold all the commandments or none. The project collapsed when the bishop was disgraced: it was revealed that he had food brought to him in private, paid for from a private purse. Augustine retold this story in an attack on the Elect lifestyle promoted by bishop Faustus. It reads, in Teske's translation:

Faustus went so far as to dare to say that you do not carry money in your wallet. We would not criticize this in your case if it were not that you profess one thing and live in another way. Or did he perhaps speak the truth that you do not carry money in your wallet, though you have gold in chests and bags? There is still living that Constantius, who is now our brother as a Catholic Christian. He gathered many of you together in Rome into his house in order to carry out the commandments of Mani ... And when your weakness caved in under these commandments, you were scattered, each on his own path. Hence, those who wanted to persevere in them created a schism from your society and, because they sleep on mats, they are called Mattarians.¹⁰³⁸

As these passages indicate, and as we would expect from the sources regarding itinerancy in section 11.4.1, most Elect slept on their own – or, as I have argued, in small companies, – dispersed at various places. However, the incidence is also taken as proof of the neglect or inability of Manichaean officials to tend to the community. Decret, for instance, took it to show a certain degree of neglect by the busy Church officials.¹⁰³⁹ More strongly, it led Lim to conclude that:

From these various accounts we can catch glimpses of the diversity within the rubric of the “something” we call Manichaeism. We sense the powerlessness of any central authority to regulate the activities of the itinerant elect, as well as the absence of a “central place”, especially during the times when the sporadic persecutions were particularly intense, where the Manichaeans in a city, both the elect and the hearers alike, could meet face to face on a frequent and regular basis.¹⁰⁴⁰

As I have argued above, the Elect officials do not appear to have been as absent or powerless as implied, although increasing pressure from the Roman government certainly took its toll. Nor were the Elect without gathering places: Augustine exhibits familiarity with regular Elect gatherings for meals and rituals and states that he had regular interaction with Elect authorities (see sections 11.4.1–2). The passage quoted here from *C. Faust.* suggests that the Elect possessed communal treasuries, if Augustine's assertion regarding their possession of gold ‘in chest and bags’ is to be believed – it would at least be in agreement with the evidence

¹⁰³⁸ *C. Faust.* 5.5, trans. Teske, *Answer to Faustus*, 88.

¹⁰³⁹ Decret, ‘Le manichéisme présentait-il’, 13.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Lim, ‘Unity and diversity’, 243.

for temple treasuries in Turfan.¹⁰⁴¹ The canonical Manichaean tradition maintained an idea of ‘central places’ for the Elect, which, however, did not (originally) involve shared sleeping arrangements, as Decret also points out.¹⁰⁴² So while the Elect in Rome, like elsewhere, ate, prayed, and at times rested together in communal spaces, they did not establish ‘monasteries’ in the sense of permanent, shared living quarters for large groups of monks, as were developing among Pachomian monks in Egypt. This was the novelty of Constantius’ project, representing an attempt to reform Manichaean monasteries. It is improbable that the Elect in Rome were unaware of Mani’s ‘true’ commandments regarding monastic life. Rather, it seems that Augustine is exploiting a disagreement among the Manichaeans concerning how to organise Elect asceticism, specifically regarding sleeping arrangements. Augustine presents the Elect who rejected Constantius’ rule as unfamiliar with Mani’s ‘true’ commandments, but it is Constantius who attempts a novel interpretation.¹⁰⁴³ As Augustine states, Constantius’ chief motivation was not the true commandments of Mani, but a concern for Elect reputation. Most of the Elect leadership, as well as the majority of Elect themselves, rejected this outright, presumably because it was contrary to their interpretation of Mani’s letter. Even the Elect who decided to follow Constantius disagreed concerning the details, causing their complaints and the eventual collapse of the monastery. Augustine, of course, presents it as if the Elect were not able to endure the ‘real’ commandments, as per their usual wickedness. He may well have found support for this view among the Mattarii, per his comments in *C. Faust*. Their name indicates that they slept on mats, presumably because they slept in communal halls rather than individual rooms. But while the ‘mainstream’ Manichaean Church rejected collective sleeping arrangements, it was certainly familiar with central, ritual meeting places.

11.4.4 Summary

To summarise, the Elect visible in the Kellis material were frequently on the move, and adhered to a norm of itinerant behaviour. They are found to travel to serve the Church, at

¹⁰⁴¹ See Lieu, ‘Precept and practices’, 86, 90–96.

¹⁰⁴² See Decret, ‘Le manichéisme présentait-il’, 15. This tension can perhaps be found in prescriptions similar to the one found in the Chinese *Compendium* (quoted above), which stated that the Elect were to ‘live in common’, but also that they were forbidden from having their own sleeping compartments.

¹⁰⁴³ As also argued by *ibid.*, 16–20.

least at times in groups with other Elect, a practice encouraged by Manichaean authorities. Authorities displayed a great concern for maintaining communal ethos, and officials were involved in organising church activities. In sum, the Elect did not see themselves, nor did they act, as isolated agents catering to disconnected constituents, but as part of a cohesive network where they played roles as mediators, overseers, and religious specialists. There is furthermore evidence for some kind of communal space or building set apart for the church in Kellis. This building would have been used for Elect gatherings, meals, and other communal rituals. However, it would not have constituted a 'monastery' in the Pachomian sense.

11.5 Conclusions

Above I have argued that the Elect-Auditor behaviour visible in the Kellis texts is largely consonant with what can be discerned of norms and practices from the ecclesiastical, Manichaean literature of Med.Madi, as well as from the experiences of Augustine. Almsgiving in mid-fourth century Kellis had undergone some degree of routinisation, by way of stable ties between Elect and Auditors. Alms were delivered by specific groups of lay people, or retrieved by the Elect themselves, on a regular basis, both within local communities and across regional distances. In return for alms, the Elect provided services geared towards caring for lay souls, providing prayers and instruction, and perhaps procuring magical formulae and other more 'mundane' services.

The Elect seen in the Kellis papyri made effective use of the injunction to travel continuously. Their mobility facilitated the distribution of alms and letters within the community, ensuring the flow of goods and information between the disparate parts of the church. Their practice also involved gathering for communal rituals and meals, and supervising each other's behaviour. Elect officials took an active part in directing these different endeavours, and are often visible in the material. The usage of communal spaces would have provided opportunity both for communal practice and some degree of supervision. All in all, the Kellis material does not show Elect itinerancy as simply leading to isolated, vagrant Elect, dependent on specific lay groups, nor as inevitably leading to institutional fragmentation. On the contrary, it appears to have been a feature enabling them to serve the institutional interests of the Church.

Chapter 12: A Manichaean church network

12.0 Introduction

This concluding chapter summarises the features of the ‘Holy Church’ in Kellis, and seeks to locate them within the broader sphere of antique religious movements. In particular, I seek to show how the practices visible in the Kellis material illuminate the wider, Manichaean Church. I argue that the Manichaean Church, as an organisation, shared many features with other contemporary cultic associations. However, certain features – and, in particular, its trans-local links – must be seen in light of wider developments in late antique cult. Finally, I offer some brief reflections on the development and demise of this network.

12.1 A Manichaean church in Kellis

The Kellis evidence provides important insights into the local dimensions of lay community in the village. Ties of religion extended through the household, neighbourhood, and trading partners of the people of House 3. The local community included artisans and tenant farmers as well as traders, and at least one patron from the curial class. The income of the traders was not substantial, but brought in a surplus which they could spend on alms for the Elect. In terms of size, the group of adherents that can be glimpsed in the House 3 texts consisted of a minimum of 17 extended families, while the religious community in the village as a whole probably encompassed more families than those featured there. Individuals were exhorted to pray (on their own?) three times each day. The community held gatherings for religious service, including psalm singing, text reading, and funerary and meal rituals, although we do not know where or how often they met for service, or how many attended regularly.

While the Elect were central to ritual life, it has been argued that they constituted a disorganised body, characterised by an absent hierarchy and communal institutions, and weak cohesion. Lim suggested Gerd Theissen’s ‘wandering charismatics’ as an analytical model for the movement in the Roman Empire. Theissen originally applied his model to the early Jesus

movement, using concepts drawn from Weber.¹⁰⁴⁴ He argued that the early disciples of Jesus could be understood in terms of complementary, reciprocal relationships between poor, homeless charismatic preachers, who depended on sedentary local supporters, and who in turn received legitimacy from a 'bearer of revelation' (i.e. Jesus).¹⁰⁴⁵ This seems broadly applicable to the Elect. However, Theissen stressed that the charismatic's life was 'not an institutionalized form of life, a position which someone could adopt as a result of his own decision',¹⁰⁴⁶ and was explicit in that they 'remained wholly within the framework of Judaism and had no intention of founding a new "church"'.¹⁰⁴⁷ My arguments in the preceding chapters indicate that this does not capture the movement seen in the Kellis evidence. The adherents at Kellis possessed literature wherein Mani described how he founded a new Church based on his own revealed knowledge and distinct from other 'sects'. The adherents alluded to their membership in this Church with phrases like 'limbs of the Light Mind' or 'children of righteousness'. The Elects' authority was, to a large degree, derived from their status in the Church, not personalised charisma, although ascetic virtues would presumably have been vital to the maintenance of their authority, seen in the emphasis on good behaviour. The Elect also played a central practical role within the Church; they made errands on its behalf, had regularised contact with Auditors, and would gather (perhaps daily) for meals. Elect officials were frequently involved in managing these matters. It is evident that the local church must be understood as part of a larger church organisation.

Nonetheless, we may still question the degree of institutionalisation. Bagnall, in an aside, has described the Kellis community as 'lightly institutionalised'.¹⁰⁴⁸ This may well be correct, but 'lightly' compared to what? A modern framework is clearly not suitable as a point of comparison. To get a sense of how this Church compare to similar groups in antiquity, we need to briefly look at other forms of private religious organisation in the Graeco-Roman

¹⁰⁴⁴ Theissen, *Sociology of early Palestinian Christianity*. For Theissen's appropriation of Weberian concepts, and an example of a critical evaluation of his model for early Christ groups, see Jonathan A. Draper, 'Weber, Theissen, and "wandering charismatics" in the *Didache*', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6, no. 4 (1998).

¹⁰⁴⁵ Theissen, *Sociology of early Palestinian Christianity*, 7, 24–30.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Roger S. Bagnall, 'Models and evidence in the study of religion in Late Roman Egypt', in *From Temple to Church: destruction and renewal of local cultic topography in late antiquity*, ed. Johannes Hahn, Stephen Emmel, and Ulrich Gotter (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 36.

world, the so-called voluntary associations.¹⁰⁴⁹ While itself a heterogeneous phenomenon, embracing a broad range of group formations, some features are sufficiently common to provide an 'ideal type' for comparison.¹⁰⁵⁰ Voluntary associations ranged from cultic to occupational ones, but all featured cultic practice in one form or another.¹⁰⁵¹ Many kept membership lists, which show that they could range in size from only a few to several hundred members, although on average the number was somewhere between 20–60.¹⁰⁵² Specialised cultic associations could be based in households or centred on households of wealthy benefactors.¹⁰⁵³ Widely shared functions included organising communal meals and cultic observance, and funerals for members.¹⁰⁵⁴ Members contributed to financing these activities, they elected and/or served as officials, and participated in communal gatherings. Their meetings could be held in public spaces, in the houses of wealthy patrons, or in buildings owned by the association as an entity.¹⁰⁵⁵ They involved banqueting, but also prayers and in some groups speeches about the divine.¹⁰⁵⁶ Associations often sought to regulate social

¹⁰⁴⁹ For the term, see Stephen G. Wilson, 'Voluntary associations: An overview', in *Voluntary associations in the Graeco-Roman world*, ed. John S. Kloppenborg and Stephen G. Wilson (London; New York: Routledge, 1996).

¹⁰⁵⁰ Much scholarship has been devoted to comparing such associations with the early Christ groups. For an overview over the most recent literature, see Ascough, 'What are they now...'. For a debate about their usefulness as a heuristic model, see Richard S. Ascough, 'Paul, synagogues, and associations: reframing the question of models for Pauline Christ groups', *Journal of the Jesus Movement in its Jewish Setting* 2 (2015); Eric S. Gruen, 'Synagogues and voluntary associations as institutional models: a response to Richard Ascough and Ralph Korner', *Journal of the Jesus Movement in its Jewish Setting* 3 (2016); Richard S. Ascough, 'Methodological reflections on synagogues and Christ groups as associations: a response to Eric Gruen', *Journal of the Jesus Movement in its Jewish Setting* 4 (2017).

¹⁰⁵¹ See Wilson, 'An overview'; Harland, *Associations*, 30–38.

¹⁰⁵² On John S. Kloppenborg, 'Membership practices in Pauline Christ groups', *Early Christianity* 4, no. 2 (2013).

¹⁰⁵³ See for instance the large Bacchic cult of Pompeia Agrippinilla (IGUR 160), wife of a senator and proconsul of Asia, in the mid-second century CE. It involved 402 members, including household members, freedmen and other contacts of this family. *Ibid.*, 190–91.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Harland, *Associations*, 28.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 53–56; for the spread of associations as evinced by the expansion or acquisition of buildings, see Richard S. Ascough, "'A place to stand, a place to grow": Architectural and epigraphic evidence for expansion in Greco-Roman associations', in *Identity and Interaction in the Ancient Mediterranean: Jews, Christians and Others. Festschrift for Stephen G. Wilson*, ed. Zeba Crook and Philip Harland (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007). For the assembly place of an early 'Christ group', see David G. Horrel, 'Domestic space and Christian meetings at Corinth: Imagining new contexts and the buildings east of the theatre', *New Testament Studies* 50 (2004).

¹⁰⁵⁶ See IG II² 1368 = AGRW 7 (I.115).

behaviour among its members, rewarding generous members with statues or inscriptions and imposing punishments such as fines or expulsion for breaches of good conduct.¹⁰⁵⁷

This short sketch should suffice to show broad similarities between (other) voluntary associations of the Graeco-Roman world and the Manichaean 'Holy Church' discernible in the Kellis material. While the Manichaeans may have lacked certain of these institutional features, such as membership lists (as is probable, given their often illicit status), they did share in features such as regular ritual gatherings, mechanisms for collecting and distributing resources, official supervision, communal spaces, and attempts to regulate group relations. This may perhaps not appear very significant, given the great variation within the broad category 'voluntary association'. However, I would suggest that the church group in Kellis evinces features restricted to a more limited set of associations, characterised by a comparatively high degree of institutionalisation. The dissemination of liturgical texts, exhortation to daily prayers, and high intensity of social scrutiny point to a stronger concern for ensuring uniformity among Manichaeans than in most other associations.¹⁰⁵⁸ Another important difference can be found in the degree of trans-local organisation, as I argue below.

12.2 A Manichaean Church in Egypt

12.2.1 Trans-local links

The Kellis documents show that Manichaeans in Kellis were in touch with believers all over Egypt. We find ties to other local congregations, such as the families in Thio or Ammon in Psbthnesis, as one might expect, but also to Hibis in Khargeh Oasis, as well as to Aphrodito, Lycopolis, Antinoopolis, Hermopolis, and Alexandria in the Nile Valley. It might be objected that some of these links primarily concerned trading activities, not their religious community,

¹⁰⁵⁷ Kloppenborg, 'Membership practices', 195–202; Venticinque, 'Family affairs', 280–88.

¹⁰⁵⁸ See for instance the (general absence of) books in mystery cults, Burkert, *Ancient mystery cults*, 70–72. Textual narratives may have played a role in Graeco-Roman associations, see Richard Last, "'Communities that write": Christ-groups, associations, and Gospel communities', *New Testament Studies* 58, no. 2 (2012). However, its textual practices were more similar to those of other Judaeo-Christian groups and those found in philosophical schools. See for instance the distinct Christian book culture that emerged in the third and fourth century, see Lane Fox, 'Literacy and power in early Christianity'. For social control within Manichaean groups, see section 11.4.2, and see BeDuhn, 'Domestic setting', 264–65; Jason D. BeDuhn, 'The Near Eastern connections of Manichaean confessionary practice', *ARAM* 16 (2004).

but these two, as we have seen, overlapped. The group of associates around Pebos in Hibis, for instance, were clearly also part of the religious network. Crucially, the documents demonstrate coordination by religious authorities in different localities. The Elect, such as the Teacher and Lysimachos, are the actors that can be most firmly linked to the large cities of the Nile Valley. The Teacher travelled up and down the Valley, visiting local congregations along the way. Lysimachos, while perhaps more sedentary in Antinoopolis, stayed in regular touch with co-believers in the Oasis. Elect such as Saren the presbyter or the Father in pkc.31 used their ties to gather resources. Officials kept in touch with distant cult officials, evinced by the Teacher's letter to Pebos and Ploutogenios. A similar pattern can be found in the writings of Augustine, who imply some level of frequent contact between believers in Rome and Carthage.¹⁰⁵⁹ Faustus and other African Elect featuring in Augustine's writings were highly mobile, and, as I argued in the previous chapter, also reasonably well organised, especially in light of the threat of persecution hanging over them in the late 370s–380s.

The existence of trans-local links within cultic associations, and the coordination of activity between officials, have generally been taken as a feature specific to Christian and Jewish organisations.¹⁰⁶⁰ However, Richard Ascough has recently argued that comparable trans-local and even trans-regional links are found in some voluntary associations as well.¹⁰⁶¹ The main examples adduced by Ascough are occupational trade associations (often ethnically based), that involved establishment of cult centres when trading abroad, as well as cults such as that of Serapis, where Egyptian cult personnel are known to have been called to serve in temples outside of Egypt, or the international association of Dionisiac artists. However, the type of interaction evinced seems, on the whole, less extensive than that implied by the Kellis texts.¹⁰⁶² So, for instance the Mithras cult, which shared some features with Manichaeism and

¹⁰⁵⁹ See for instance *De mor.* 2.20.75.

¹⁰⁶⁰ So for instance Meeks, *The first urban Christians*, 75–76.

¹⁰⁶¹ Richard S. Ascough, 'Translocal relationships among voluntary associations and early Christianity', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 5, no. 2 (1997). See also Harland, *Associations*, 180.

¹⁰⁶² Ascough, moreover, stresses that the main point of comparison is *early* Christianity. Ascough, 'Translocal relationships', 234.

remained active into the fourth century, does not appear to have maintained trans-local coordination between its officials to any extensive degree.¹⁰⁶³ Manfred Clauss has argued:

Due to its lack of internal organisation, the cult of Mithras had barely any means of defending itself against attacks by Christians, and the abominations of the age. It was scattered in numerous small congregations which were not recognisably connected with one another. There was no hierarchy to bind several congregations together, which might have been able to organise some resistance; and there were no centres with super-ordinate temples.¹⁰⁶⁴

In contrast, the itinerant aspect of the Elect regime allowed them to manage trans-local ties. The attempts by Manichaean leaders to maintain a hierarchy and discipline across disparate congregations – even if they were not always (or ultimately) successful – evince a high degree of institutionalisation, in the context of antique voluntary associations. As I return to below (section 12.3), the Manichaeans were certainly not the only movement that sought to build such networks, which became more common in Late Antiquity.

12.2.2 Trans-regional links

Regarding whether this shows the Manichaean church in Kellis to be part of ‘the’ Manichaean church is a difficult question. It cannot be excluded that there may have been other, competing Manichaean groups in Egypt, taking their cue from Mani’s texts and proclaiming themselves *the* ‘Holy Church’. The evidence of Augustine shows that there were other ‘splinter’ groups of the ‘main’ Manichaean Church.¹⁰⁶⁵ At the very least, the Kellis Manichaeans belonged to a church branch that extended across Egypt, and which drew on practices, texts, and symbolic cues known from the tradition of the Med.Madi authorities. It seems reasonable to assume that the extensive network led by Makarios’ Teacher represented the dominant Manichaean organisation in Egypt.

Did its network extend beyond Egypt? An answer in the affirmative may appear unlikely. However, attention has recently been re-focused on the issue of links between ‘eastern’ and ‘western’ Manichaeans, in particular by the work on the Dublin *Kephalaia*. In a

¹⁰⁶³ While J. Bjørnebye, for instance, has suggested that the *pater patrum* of the Mithraic hierarchy could in some respects inhabit a position similar to that of Christian ‘bishops’, he also notes that there is no strong evidence for this hypothesis. Jonas Bjørnebye, “‘Hic locus est, sanctus, piusque benignus’”: The cult of Mithras in fourth-century Rome’, (University of Bergen, 2007), 220.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Manfred Clauss, *The Roman Mithras cult: the God and his Mysteries* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 171.

¹⁰⁶⁵ As pointed out by Lim, ‘Unity and diversity’, 245.

preliminary publication on the contents of this codex, BeDuhn signals that it may shed new light on important questions regarding the coherence of the movement, indicating closer contact than once thought.¹⁰⁶⁶ A far-flung church was certainly the ambition of Mani and his disciples. It is evident in Mani's 'international' list of prophetic forerunners, and emphasised in published texts, for instance in an oft-quoted passage from the Berlin *Kephalaia*, here in the translation of Gardner and Lieu:

I have chosen you, the good election, the holy church that I was sent to from the Father. I have sown the seed of life. I have [...] from east to west [...] my hope has gone toward the sunrise of the world, and every inhabited part; to the clime of the north, and the [...] Not one among the apostles did ever do these things [... my hope] will remain in the world until [the return of Jesus in judgement, and he will place my] church on the right side [and the evildoers] on the left. (1 Ke. 15.24–16.17)¹⁰⁶⁷

The same work contains another frequently cited chapter, listing ten reasons why Mani's church is superior to all others, thus justifying his mission. The first justification reads, also in the translation of Gardner and Lieu: 'In this first matter my church surpasses the first churches: Because the first churches were chosen according to place, according to city. My church, mine: It is provided for it to go out from all cities, and its good news attains every country.' (1 Ke. 371.15–20)¹⁰⁶⁸ An 'international' outlook was of primary importance to the early Church. However, we do not know whether any of the believers in Kellis ever read or heard such words, or exactly how far they thought their 'Church' reached. Furthermore, an imagined worldwide community is certainly not dependent on the existence of an actual organisation maintaining such contact in practice.

Still, there are signs of actual, trans-regional contact beyond the initial missionary efforts, and there is no *a priori* reason to reject the existence of a trans-regional church network into the mid–late fourth century. Evidence for trans-regional contact is found in Manichaean texts from Turfan. A letter from a church official (perhaps the archegos Sisinnios) located in Mesopotamia to one of Mani's disciples, Mar Ammo, in Merv (in today's Turkmenistan) indicates an effort to maintain contact between the 'central' Church and its travelling missionaries in the late third century.¹⁰⁶⁹ Contact between the hierarchy in

¹⁰⁶⁶ BeDuhn, 'Parallels', 52.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Trans. Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean texts*, 2.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Trans. Gardner and Lieu, *ibid.*, 266.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature*, 23–24.

Mesopotamia and the churches established in Central Asia continued, although later tainted by schism, and is found in sources as late as the ninth century.¹⁰⁷⁰ As for the western sphere, a church historical text from Turfan relates that Mani sent books – among them his own work, *The Treasury of Life* – to the disciple Adda who was working in Alexandria.¹⁰⁷¹ The main piece of evidence for continued contact between Sasanian Mesopotamia and Roman Egypt is the Med.Madi archive itself. The *Psalm-Book* contains psalms praising the archegos Sisinnios (Psalms 234, 241). A text from the *Homilies Codex* describes the death of Sisinnios and the appointment of his successor, Innaios (Hom. 82.21–22).¹⁰⁷² Preserved leaves from the *Acts Codex* recount narratives of the activities of Innaios in Mesopotamia in the early 300s, during the reign of Hormuz II (ca. 302–309).¹⁰⁷³ As the first Manichaean mission had arrived in Egypt at least by 270, such literature must have been disseminated from Mesopotamia at a later date.¹⁰⁷⁴

The Med.Madi archive demonstrates that translation into Coptic of material stemming from the Mesopotamian hierarchy extended well into the fourth century. Moreover, the

¹⁰⁷⁰ A Mesopotamian dominance in the early church was asserted by the appointment of Sisinnios of Kashkar (on the Tigris River) as the first archegos; see Michel Tardieu, ‘La nisba de Sisinnios’, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 18, no. 1 (1991). Mesopotamia long retained primacy. Al-Nadim describes a schism that occurred in the late sixth century between Mesopotamian leaders and Central Asian (*dīnāwarīya*) Manichaeans, largely over the location of the archegos: according to established Manichaean tradition, as related by al-Nadim, the archegos had to be located in Mesopotamia (see Dodge, *The Fihrist*, II, 792.). A reconciliation was arranged in the seventh century, but a new division occurred shortly after. The practical role of the central leadership is unknown. It could not have asserted authority very effectively, probably having to rely on the prestige and ordinances (whether real or invented) of Mani. On the other hand, schisms would hardly have taken place if there had been no coordination between these groups. A letter published and dated to the ninth century by Sundermann (‘Ein Re-Edition’, 408.) shows that the Mesopotamian and the Central Asian communities still considered each other part of the same ‘church’ despite the schism, and still had contact (or renewed contact) in that century.

¹⁰⁷¹ Text M2, Werner Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1981), 17–18, 34–36; Sundermann, ‘Studien III’, 70. For an argument for more extensive contact back and forth between the communities at the time of Mani, see François Decret, ‘Le manichéisme en Afrique du Nord et ses rapports avec la secte en Orient’, *ARAM* 16 (2004).

¹⁰⁷² For the date of Sisinnios’ death, and the authorship of the text called ‘Salmaios’ lament’, see now Iain Gardner, ‘New readings in the Coptic Manichaean *Homilies Codex*’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 205 (2018): 124–26.

¹⁰⁷³ See Pedersen, ‘A Manichaean historical text’.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Some of texts (such as the Thomas psalms) were composed in Mesopotamia, while for instance the Berlin *Kephalaia* has been taken as an organically growing tradition that may have been edited in Egypt itself. See Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, xxiii–xiv. However, the Dublin *Kephalaia* clearly contains material that must have been composed by people familiar with Sasanian social and political conditions, thus likely located in Mesopotamia, and there is moreover little reason to assume that the two *Kephalaia* codices belong to different traditions, as earlier proposed by Tardieu, ‘La diffusion’. See Gardner, ‘An introduction’; Dilley, ‘Mani’s Wisdom’.

material found at Kellis show an organised approach to the dissemination of texts. The discovery of Syriac-Coptic word-lists with religious terminology, and remains of Syriac literature, shows that Syriac texts were being circulated and translated by adherents in Kellis around the mid-fourth century. The need for translating texts probably explains why the community had a need for training Syriac writers, as in the case of Ision mentioned in pkgr.67.¹⁰⁷⁵ I would suggest that this need could at least in part stem from an effort to disseminate recently-arrived books in Syriac from Mesopotamia, authored by disciples and church authorities who continued their activities into the fourth century.¹⁰⁷⁶ The occurrence of a book called *Acts* in pkc.120 could even provide an example of such a text, if a church historical work like the Med.Madi *Acts* Codex is intended.¹⁰⁷⁷ Furthermore, the Kellis texts may indicate that Egypt provided a bridge for transmission of literature to – and support for – communities in the Latin parts of the Roman Empire: a westward connection could be inferred from the Teacher’s education of Piene in Latin (pkc.20), or at least in the Teacher’s own knowledge of that language. As the editors carefully note, usage of Latin for interaction with important Roman officials in Egypt itself cannot be excluded.¹⁰⁷⁸ However, it seems to me less probable.¹⁰⁷⁹

This evidence does not necessarily show regular, extra-regional links between Egypt and other areas. Gardner and Lieu suggested that the dissemination of the Med.Madi texts

¹⁰⁷⁵ An alternative explanation could be that Syriac remained a sacred language in the church, as proposed by e.g. Leurini, *The Manichaean Church*, 79–85; see also the discussion in Pedersen and Larsen, *Manichaean texts in Syriac*, 11–12. It seems unlikely in light of the great emphasis on translation into local languages expounded by Manichaean authorities, and evinced by the Syriac–Coptic word-lists. One might furthermore note the lack of care in preserving Syriac texts at Kellis, as evinced for instance by pkc.57: this letter was written in Coptic on a wooden board that had previously been used for a longer Syriac text. See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT II*, 18.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Although, to provide a hypothesis, it may be that the differences in terminology pointed out by van der Lindt (*Mythological figures*, 221–22.) reflect different periods of translation.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Unfortunately, the title of the Med.Madi work is, to my knowledge, not preserved, while the term used by Pekos in pkc.120 (*praxeis*) need not necessarily reflect the official title of that work.

¹⁰⁷⁸ See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT I*, 170, pkc.20, l.25n.

¹⁰⁷⁹ This might be the case if Piene was to approach military officials. However, all the highest civilian governors of Egypt known for the period 345–370 (from Nestorius I to Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus) were native to Greek-speaking areas – excepting only Italicianus, governor for 3 months in 359, who Libanius at least would still address in Greek (*Ep.* 238), and Gerontius 2, governor in 361/2 – but he was a native of Armenia, not the Latin-speaking west. See A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, *The prosopography of the later Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 1094–95, and their separate entries. Presumably, their staff was also Greek-speakers.

could be attributed to Manichaeans fleeing persecutions in the Sasanian Empire.¹⁰⁸⁰ Still, this explanation appears insufficient. At the earliest, the Syriac original of the *Acts Codex* – or at any rate the traditions contained within – can only have arrived in the second or third quarter of the fourth century, allowing some time for composition. Although little is known of the relationship between Manichaeans and the Sasanian court at this time, it is not particularly noted for persecutions. Manichaean communities, furthermore, remained in Mesopotamia until Abbasid times.¹⁰⁸¹ Even if official pressure may have caused Elect to move more frequently than they may otherwise have, it seems improbable that they would have limited their contact with other communities only to times of persecution.

Still, it might be objected that such contact could not have been maintained by a private voluntary association such as the Manichaean Church, in the absence of some form of official support or sanction. Here the Kellis network can perhaps provide a model for contact. As we have seen the local networks of family, trade, and patronage at Kellis, and the regional trade in which they participated, enabled Elect to maintain regular links between the Oasis and the Valley. Close ties between Upper and Lower Egypt must have been maintained by networks analogue to that of the Pamour family and their associates, if probably much denser. Trade and other traffic between Alexandria and Antioch was common, and would have allowed Manichaean communities in Egypt to reach those in Syria. Trade along the Red Sea would even, for a while, have provided some possibility of trade links to Mesopotamia itself. In the west, Augustine had close contact with Manichaeans in Rome, and might even have been acquainted with believers from the Greek east active in the Latin sphere.¹⁰⁸² This should suffice to show how series of partly overlapping local and regional clusters of adherents could have provided the day-to-day environment for inter-regional contact, on the model of Mediterranean connectivity suggested by Horden and Purcell.¹⁰⁸³ Certainly, only a few groups or individuals would have regularly traversed long distances, and travels between Egypt and

¹⁰⁸⁰ Gardner and Lieu, 'From Narmouthis', 152.

¹⁰⁸¹ Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 81–83.

¹⁰⁸² While still a Manichaean, Augustine came to admire a Greek-speaking, Syrian-born rhetorician named Hierius, who had taught himself Latin (*Conf.* 4.14.21). This Hierius may well have been a Manichaean himself, based on his reputation in the circles that Augustine frequented, and on the content of the work that Augustine composed and dedicated to him, as suggested by Brown, 'Diffusion of Manichaeism', 97.

¹⁰⁸³ See Horden and Purcell, *The corrupting sea*, esp. Ch. 5.

Mesopotamia was probably not very common. However, even the occasional contact can serve to socialise distant groups into a shared cultural field, through what Granovetter has termed ‘weak tie diffusion’.¹⁰⁸⁴ Furthermore, that Manichaean church authorities actively promoted inter-regional contact is highly probable, considering the ecclesiastical material adduced above. Upper Elect officials may even have been tasked with managing inter-regional contact – it seems unlikely to be a coincidence that it is the Teacher who is found teaching Latin, as well as frequenting the route between Antinoopolis and Alexandria. We should certainly not imagine that the Teacher(s) in Egypt regularly received orders or messages from leaders in Mesopotamia, or that the latter could impose doctrinal interpretations or ritual practices from afar. Still, low intensity contact and textual diffusion between different Manichaean churches would have been amply served by such networks, and sufficed to create a Manichaean ‘world’.

12.3 A late antique trend

To sum up: we have, in fourth-century Kellis, remains pertaining to a cultic organisation that identified itself as the ‘holy church’ of the Paraclete, reproduced texts, symbols, and practices derived from a distinctly Manichaean tradition, and sought to retain an interlinked church network across Egypt and probably further afield. But while I have argued that it was more institutionalised than most common forms of religious associations in the Roman Empire, it was certainly not the only organisation of its kind. Some philosophical schools, such as the Epicureans, may have provided parallels in an early period.¹⁰⁸⁵ The Manichaeans’ own institutions were assembled from a range of different influences – among them the Marcionite church, whose organisation may have exhibited similar features.¹⁰⁸⁶ The ‘Catholic’ Christian

¹⁰⁸⁴ See, in particular, Granovetter, ‘Weak ties revisited’, 215–16.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Richard S. Ascough, ‘Greco-Roman philosophic, religious, and voluntary associations’, in *Community Formation in the Early Church and in the Church today*, ed. Richard N. Longnecker (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2002), 7–8.

¹⁰⁸⁶ The Marcionite community has been suggested as a central mediator of Christian influence, and an inspiration for its bipartite division and use of ‘bishops’, see e.g. Puech, *Sur le manichéisme*, 253–54; Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 32–37. However, its structure clearly drew on a variety of sources, both for the hierarchy and for the Elect-Auditor division. Regarding the hierarchy, Manichaean ‘cosmic’ concerns were at work, with the number of officials having cosmological symbolic values. Tardieu (*Manichaeism*, 59.) pointed to a possible astrological aspect to the division 12 Teachers, 72 bishops, and 360 presbyters (the latter number found in the eastern tradition), and the argument has been more fully developed by Leurini who links it to Manichaean

church itself provides a parallel development of trans-local links and hierarchical structures, which, when allied with the Roman state apparatus, developed into a much more effective institution.¹⁰⁸⁷ The heightened mobility of ‘holy men’ saw at least some movements – e.g. Egyptian monastic groups – of ascetics organised in trans-local networks. Other organisations, such as the Jewish patriarchate, may represent a similar tendency within non-Christian environments in the same period.¹⁰⁸⁸ In this way, the Manichaean church both exemplified and contributed to an organisational form typical to Late Antiquity. These organisations themselves contributed – after many twists and turns – to the widespread conceptual ordering of cultic practice into different ‘religions’.¹⁰⁸⁹

divinities (‘The Manichaean Church between earth and paradise’, in *New Light on Manichaeism*, ed. Jason D. BeDuhn (Leiden: Brill, 2009); *The Manichaean Church*, 91–157.). A Christian background (mediated by Marcion?) is certainly also evident; both interpretations receive support from the Dublin *Kephalaia*, which contains a chapter where Mani is asked by Gundesh, a sage, to explain the structure of the community (specifically, the institution of 12 Teachers and 72 bishops). BeDuhn notes: ‘Mani connects these ranks both with the two groups of disciples that Jesus selected (in Luke and the Diatessaron), and with hierarchies of angels.’ BeDuhn, ‘Parallels’, 70. The ‘Elchasaite’ sect of Mani’s youth (or similar groups of ‘baptists’) was also a source of influence. The Abbasid historian al-Ma’sūdī claimed that ‘the Christians took some of these (ecclesiastical) offices from the Šābians; the Manichaeans did (likewise) with that of “priest,” “deacon,” and the rest, although not those of the “electi,” “auditores,” etc.’ Reeves, *Prolegomena*, 208. See also Koenen, ‘Manichäische Klöster’, 99–100; Reeves, ‘The ‘Elchasaite’ Sanhedrin of the Cologne Mani Codex in light of Second Temple Jewish sectarian sources’; Stanley F. Jones, ‘The Book of Elchasaï in its relevance for Manichaean institutions’, *ARAM* 16 (2004). The leadership structure found in some Qumran texts has been considered the closest parallel for the early Christian church structure as well, providing perhaps a common source for Christians and Manichaeans; see Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, 495. Mani’s division between ‘Elect’ and ‘Auditor’, on the other hand, could even derive from Indian traditions, either by way of writers like Bardaisan or (to my mind more likely) by encounters with Indian ascetics, as seen in the particular way the role of the Elect was developed. See Deeg and Gardner, ‘The case of Jainism’; Dilley, ‘Mani’s Wisdom’, 50.

¹⁰⁸⁷ For the growth of Christian institutions up to the fourth century, see Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, 493–517; Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome*, 304–6; Rapp, *Holy bishops*, 24–37. The growth of episcopal power in the wake of Constantine’s support for the church can for instance be seen in the subordination of funerary associations to bishops by Constantine and later emperors, see Sarah E. Bond, ‘Mortuary workers, the Church, and the funeral trade in Late Antiquity’, *Journal of Late Antiquity* 6, no. 1 (2013). For episcopal influence in the fourth century in general, see in particular Peter Brown, *Power and persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison; London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992).

¹⁰⁸⁸ It is generally agreed that the Jewish patriarchate began to assert itself within the Jewish community at least by the final quarter of the second and early third century CE, under Yehudah ha-Nasi (Judah the Patriarch), although there is considerable disagreement concerning its development and influence. See David M. Goodblatt, ‘The political and social history of the Jewish community in the land of Israel, c. 235–638’, in *The Cambridge History of Judaism. Volume 4: the Late Roman–Rabbinic period*, ed. Steven T. Katz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 417–23. Whether the patriarch succeeded, for instance, in gaining Roman acceptance before the end of the fourth century is of lesser import here; the central argument is that the patriarchate would seem to parallel attempts among Christians and Manichaeans to develop ‘centralised’ but trans-local organisations, originally outside a political framework, using some religious authorities – Rabbis – as officials (although the relationship between the patriarchate and the Rabbis is also a somewhat contentious matter).

¹⁰⁸⁹ The social counterpart to the conceptual development BeDuhn, ‘Mani and the concept of religion’.

However, these developments lie well beyond the scope of the present study. Suffice it here to note that the Manichaean Church documented in the Kellis texts represented, for its time, a highly institutionalised voluntary organisation.

12.4 Group-making and later developments

As one of the reasons for why his Church was superior, the Berlin *Kephalaia* presents Mani as claiming: ‘My church will remain henceforth and be unveiled through the world ... it has attained its fastness and can not be shaken, continuing on till the end of the world’ (1 Ke. 371.31–372.10 (abbreviated), trans. Gardner and Lieu).¹⁰⁹⁰ The Church does not appear to have lasted until the end of the world – and nor did it remain ‘fixed’. We should be careful not to mistake the Manichaean Church for a bounded or finished entity, an identical copy of the ‘mother church’ in Mesopotamia. In this regard, there is ample reason to heed the warning against overemphasising continuity. Re-making ‘Manichaeism’ in a Roman, in an Egyptian, or even in an Oasite context entailed translations and compromises, conscious and unconscious adaptations, in which the local networks themselves played a part.¹⁰⁹¹ Maintaining what local authorities took to be the central features of the faith would have required constant attention to boundaries of identity. The process would have had varying degrees of success, and gradually led to changes in the community itself. Certain features would also have been difficult to maintain. It is highly unlikely that trans-regional links between Egypt and Mesopotamia survived (long) into the fifth century. Peter Brown was probably correct in identifying changes in trading patterns and the growth in Christian episcopal power in the fifth and sixth centuries as central factors in the decline of Manichaeism, along with hostility from the Roman state. These changes made it increasingly difficult for adherents to disseminate literature, for Elect to find safe havens of support, and for the maintenance of trans-regional or even trans-local contact between communities.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean texts*, 266.

¹⁰⁹¹ For an example of dynamical appropriation and adaptation of Manichaeism, see Jason D. BeDuhn, ‘Am I a Christian? The individual at the Manichaean-Christian interface’, in *Group identity & religious individuality in late antiquity*, ed. Éric Rebillard and Jörg Rüpke (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2015).

Kellis appears to have been abandoned around 400 CE. What happened to the Manichaean community there cannot be ascertained – it may be that some settled in Aphrodito, although whether or for how long they stayed supporters of the Holy Church is unknown. In 527, during the last major persecution of Manichaeans in the Roman Empire, a ‘leader’ of the Manichaeans named Photeinos was brought out in chains, and forced to debate a philosophically trained catholic authority named Paul in Constantinople.¹⁰⁹² If the account of this debate has historical veracity, as is generally accepted,¹⁰⁹³ Photeinos may well have presided over the (last?) vestiges of a Manichaean Church in the Roman Empire. Still, it did survive in Mesopotamia and Iran for yet another three centuries. Persecutions under the Abbasids weakened it, made it increasingly reliant on ties to Central Asia, and in the end put it to flight.¹⁰⁹⁴ But even if the larger Church disappeared, pockets of adherents may have survived in specific localities, relying on networks of believers such as those of the Manichaean families in fourth-century Kellis.

¹⁰⁹² Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Roman Empire*, 171–73.

¹⁰⁹³ See Byard Bennet, ‘Paul the Persian’, *Encyclopedia Iranica Online* (2003), <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/paul-the-persian>.

¹⁰⁹⁴ For persecutions of Manichaeans by Abbasid authorities as described in Arabic sources, starting with those of the caliph al-Mahdi (775–785), see Reeves, *Prolegomena*, 235ff. The later history of the Manichaean church in Mesopotamia and Iran is chiefly known from the reliable account of ibn al-Nadim. He recounts a schism between the Mesopotamian and Sogdian church in the early seventh century, in continuation of a conflict from the sixth century, that was only finally healed under the *imam* (archegos) Abu Sa’id Raha (see Dodge, *The Fihrist*, II, 793.). Flügel quotes an Iranian Muslim scholar, Shahrastani, who put Raha as active in 884 (Flügel, *Mani*, 328.). According to al-Nadim, the *imam* left Mesopotamia altogether shortly afterwards. He had, however, still known ‘about three hundred of them (i.e. Manichaeans)’ in Baghdad at the time of the governor Mu’izz al-Dawlah (946–67), i.e. in the mid-tenth century; but says that at the time of writing (ca. 990 CE): ‘there are not five of them in our midst’, trans. Dodge, *The Fihrist*, II, 803. At this time, the Manichaeans were mainly located in Rustaq (in northern Afghanistan?), Samarkand, Sughd (Sogdia), and especially Tunkath (near Tashkent). The leadership had apparently re-located to Samarkand; *ibid.*, 805.

Conclusions

At the outset of this study I set out to answer the question: what was Manichaeism to its adherents in Kellis? I proposed to answer this question by approaching 'Manichaeism' primarily as social practice, and to explore the activities and relationships of the Kellis Manichaeans both socially and economically in order to see how religious practice was embedded within the daily lives of the villagers. Part I was dedicated to a prosopographic overview over House 3 actors, and tracing their affiliation with the rest of the village. I argued that the documents evince an extended, multiple-family household unit – a tight-knit group that nonetheless had an extensive range of connections. Part II explored the economic activities of this group. I argued that it was an economic unit engaged in both the production and sale of textiles, but also that they participated in a wider trading network, involving other families at Kellis, many of whom were involved in trans-regional trade activity. I argued that this extended trade network provided the House 1–3 people with the security and predictability they needed in order to maintain trading ties with the Nile Valley.

Part III turned explicitly to the religious aspects of the House 1–3 network. In Chapter 9 I argued that the Manichaean community was firmly rooted in familial households but not confined to their intimacy: it spread through trade networks and neighbourhoods, and extended to a substantial number of lay families. Furthermore, the expressions of self-identity among this laity showed clear signs of being rooted in a Manichaean, ecclesiastical tradition. Chapter 10 considered the literary sources. The beliefs and communal rituals implied in this material also point to a distinctly Manichaean ecclesiastical tradition. In Chapter 11 I looked at the role of the Elect that can be discerned in the material. I argued that the way Auditor almsgiving and Elect practice was organised point to efforts at maintaining a church-organisation. Finally, in Chapter 12, I situated this organisation in the broader context of antique and late antique religious associations. My arguments indicate that 'Manichaeism', as it was practised in fourth-century Kellis, evince a self-conscious community, distinct 'Manichaean' notions of belief, and a strong social organisation.

Much work on Manichaean social practices remains to be done. Textual material from Kellis remains unpublished and perhaps undiscovered, as do material from neighbouring sites such as Ain el-Gedida, Mut, and Amheida. New finds may occasion a need to revisit the

prosopography proposed here. The Med.Madi texts have yet to be systematically analysed in terms of social norms and practices, and forthcoming volumes of the remaining Med.Madi texts will undoubtedly add much to our knowledge of the history, doctrines, and self-understanding of the early Manichaeian Church, and the way they were appropriated in Kellis. We are in many ways only at the beginning of understanding 'Manichaeism'.

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Errata

The entire text: Figures table updated. Network maps (Figures 7–28) replaced with maps in .svg format. Reference format 2 PsB – corrected to 2 Ps. Instances of “trans. Gardner” (in short passages from the *Kephalaia*) and of “trans. Gardner, Alcock and Funk” and “trans. Worp” (in short quotations from the Kellis texts) deleted.

Page 2 Apostrophes removed: “‘mundane’ documents” – corrected to “mundane documents”

Page 10 Grammatical error: “in particular Indian influences were particularly” – corrected to “Indian influences were particularly”

Page 12 Missing text: “not frequently found” – corrected to “not frequently found in Manichaean texts”

Page 15 Note 16 Missing word: “criticism the category” – corrected to “criticism of the category”

Page 19 Grammatical error: “trend, and giving emphasis” – corrected to “trend, giving emphasis”

Page 20 Grammatical error: “analysed by quantitative analysis” – corrected to “analysed in quantitative terms”

Page 35 Missing space: “societymay” – corrected to “society may”

Page 39 Faulty reference format: “(Geography XVII.42)” – corrected to “(XVII.42)”

Page 46 Name altered: “east of Mut” corrected to “east of Mothis”

Page 51 Note 199 Double period removed: “*Trimithis..*” – corrected to “*Trimithis.*”

Page 53 Grammatical error: “for the respectable” – corrected to “with the respectable”

Page 54 Grammatical error: “without incidence” corrected to “without incident”

Page 69 Text altered: “the inhabitants of House 1–3” – corrected to “the people in the House 1–3 texts”

Page 71 Faulty italics: “*CDT* I” – corrected to “CDT I”, “*CDT* II” – corrected to “CDT II”

Page 77 Note 291 Grammatical error: “The option that” – corrected to “The possibility that”

Page 97 Grammatical error: “several features ... resonates” – corrected to “several features ... resonate”

Page 98 Missing word: “cooperated each other” – corrected to “cooperated with each other”

- Page 113 Grammatical error: “he is stores dyed wool” – corrected to “he stores dyed wool”; “These dealings ... suggests” – corrected to “These dealings ... suggest”; “This shared associated” – corrected to “This shared associate”.
- Page 119 Missing reference added: “For these tables, see: <http://hdl.handle.net/1956/18580>.”
- Page 124 Faulty cross-references: “Figure 8” – corrected to “Figure 7”; “Figure 9” – corrected to “Figure 8”; “Figure 11” – corrected to “Figure 10”; “Figure 10” – corrected to “Figure 9”; “Figures 8–11” – corrected to “Figures 7–10”; “Figures 12–15” – corrected to “Figures 11–14”; “Figures 16–19” – corrected to “Figures 15–18”
- Page 134 Faulty cross-references: “Figure 8” – corrected to “Figure 7”; “Figure 9” – corrected to “Figure 8”; “Figure 11” – corrected to “Figure 9”
- Page 135 Faulty cross-references: “Figures 9, 11” – corrected to “Figures 8–10”; “Figures 12–15” – corrected to “Figures 11–14”; “Figures 16–19” – corrected to “Figures 15–18”; “Figures 17–18” – corrected to “Figures 16–17”; “Figures 15, 19” – corrected to “Figures 14, 18”
- Page 137 Faulty cross-references: “Figures 22, 27” – corrected to “Figures 21, 26”; “Figures 23–27” – corrected to “Figures 22–26”; “Figure 28” – corrected to “Figure 27”
- Page 147 Faulty cross-references: “Figures 20–21” – corrected to “Figures 19–20”; “Figure 20” – corrected to “Figure 19”; “Figure 21” – corrected to “Figure 20”; “Figures 20–23” – corrected to “Figures 19–22”; “Figure 23” – corrected to “Figure 22”
- Page 148 Faulty cross-references: “Figure 22” – corrected to “Figure 21”; “Figure 10” – corrected to “Figure 9”; “Figures 24–26” – corrected to “Figures 23–25”; “Figures 25–27” – corrected to “Figures 24–26”; “Figure 28” – corrected to “Figure 27”
- Page 149 Faulty cross-references: “Figure 13” – corrected to “Figure 12”; “Figure 16” – corrected to “Figure 15”; “Figure 8” – corrected to “Figure 7”
- Page 152 Missing text: “in the economic.” – corrected to “in the economic life of the village.”
- Page 160 Coptic transcription error: “тϣα” – corrected to “тϣα”. Misplaced space: “н̄то т̄ϣ” – corrected to “н̄тоϣ̄”. Missing sign: “αϣϣετ” – corrected to “αϣϣετ”. Faulty reference: “ll.12–35” corrected to “ll.16–35”. Duplicated text deleted: “It also appears from this text that ‘dye’ (ⲭⲏⲃⲉ) at times could be used for the dyed wool itself.” (twin text in Note 460, same page).
- Page 162 Faulty reference format: “**pkc.75**, ll.7–18; **pkc.76**, ll.21–30; **pkc.78**, ll.v41–45; **pkc.79**, ll.30–44, (also see **pkc.96**, ll.33–35)” – corrected to: “**pkc.75** (ll.7–18), **pkc.76** (ll.21–30), **pkc.78** (ll.v41–45), **pkc.79** (ll.30–44); see also **pkc.96** (ll.33–35)”
- Page 165 Coptic transcription error: “ϣⲏⲏ” – corrected to “ϣⲏⲏ”
- Page 170 Missing sign: “н̄нρακλει” – corrected to “н̄нρακλει”. Coptic transcription error: “σαπαϣογ” – corrected to “σαπαϣογ”

- Page 171 Textual error: “to this indicate” – corrected to “to indicate”
- Page 172 Indent added: “This picture can be compared”
- Page 176 Faulty reference format: “(1519)” – corrected to “(KAB 1519)”. Grammatical error: “reported one a” – corrected to “reported on a”
- Page 185 Textual error: “glimpse of the kinds of how” – corrected to “glimpse of how”
- Page 194 Missing text: “Some references to Pamour sold a” – corrected to “Some references to retail can be adduced. Pamour sold a”. Textual error: “giving to 4000” – corrected to “giving 4000”.
- Page 197 Missing space “εγ[α]ϣτῆναγ” – corrected to “εγ [α]ϣτῆναγ”
- Page 198 Missing space: “to theValley.” – corrected to “to the Valley.”
- Page 204 Grammatical error: “a middling landholdings” – corrected to “a middling landholding”
- Page 208 Faulty cross-reference: “The former” – corrected to “The latter”. Comma removed: “(pkgr.81),” – corrected to “(pkgr.81)”
- Page 211 Faulty reference: “(547, 720, 1484)” – corrected to “(KAB 547, 720, 1484)”, “for Timotheos, 765” to “for Timotheos, see KAB 765”
- Page 212 Faulty reference format: “145, 1518” – corrected to “KAB 145, 1518”
- Page 219 Grammatical error: “scholarship have drawn” – corrected to “scholarship has drawn”
- Page 222 Spelling mistake: “Manichaeism” – corrected to “Manichaeism”
- Page 224 Grammatical error: “and the were no” – corrected to “and there were no”
- Page 235 Missing space: “Kelliswas” – corrected to “Kellis was”
- Page 236 Faulty cross-reference: “below (Figure 29)” – corrected to “above (Figure 28)”
- Page 253 Missing word: “a group women” – corrected to “a group of women”
- Page 259 Missing parentheses: “furthermore I pray” – corrected to “furthermore (I pray)”
- Page 260 Grammatical error: “letters probably belongs” – corrected to “letters probably belong”

Page 269 Coptic transcription errors: “οὐαῖαχρ ἵτε πκεκε πε πσωμα ετκῤῥφορε ναδικαιος τηροϋ αἰωωπ μπκ. . [α]γλωαχρ νρητῖ πχπο ἵταϋ ἵπκεκε πε πινι ετμηρ ἵπαθο[α . . .] ἵνιατο ἵσαρζ νιοηριον ετ. . . οὔδαμων νραρ ἵρο πε οὔδρακων ἵσαωϋ [ἵαπε] οὔραρ ἵεῖνε οὔραρ ἵπετραϋ πε οὔμαν . ἵ[. . . .] πρωβ ἵτε πτεκο τε τρῶσω ἵτε πκ[εκε ετῤῥφο]ρε ἵ. αἰμοϋρ ἵἵ οὔωτ α[. . .]”
 – corrected to: “(οὐαῖαχρ ἵτε) πκεκε πε πσωμα ετκῤῥφορε [ἵμαϋ] . . . [.] . . [.] ναδικαιος τηροϋ αἰωωπ μπκ . . [α]γλωαχρ νρητῖ vac πχ<π>ο ἵτε ἵπκεκε πε πινι ετμηρ ἵπαθο[ϋ]σ[.] . [. . .]οὔν ἵνιατο ἵσαρζ νιοηριον ετ[] (οὔδαμων) νραρ ἵρ[ο] πε· οὔδρακων ἵσαωϋ [ἵαπε] οὔραρ[ρ]ἵεῖνε οὔραρ ἵπετραϋ πε οὔμαν . ἵ[. . . . vac] πρωβ ἵτε πτεκο τε τρῶσω ἵτε πκ[εκε ετῤῥφο]ρε ἵ. αἰμοϋρ ἵἵ οὔωτ α[. . .]”

Page 270 Missing bold: “T. Kell. Copt. 2” – corrected to T. Kell. Copt. **2**”. Missing bold and comma: “tkc.2” – corrected to “tkc.**2**,”

Page 276 Space removed: “in Kellis. [n.787]” – corrected to “in Kellis.[n.787]”

Page 286 Coptic transcription error: “ποῖπωα” – corrected to “ποῖπωα”. Space missing: “πεν” – corrected to “πε η”

Page 288 Coptic transcription errors: “νετῖβηγε τηρτῖἵσωμα γαρ εὔωοοπ” – corrected to “νετῖβηγε τηρτῖ· ἵσωμα γαρ εὔ[ωοοπ]”. Transcription errors: “ἵ[τε] ταγαπἵ [ἵτεϋμ] ἵτσαν” – corrected to “ταγαπἵ [ἵτεϋμ]ἵτσαν”.

Page 302 Indent added: “However, BeDuhn focuses on”

Page 306 Grammatical error: “as a identity marker” – corrected to “as an identity marker”

Page 307 Grammatical error: “this designations” – corrected to “this designation”

Page 308 Missing word: “‘Apa’ only applied” – corrected to “‘Apa’ is only applied”

Page 309 Textual error: “himself with as ‘father’” – corrected to “himself as ‘father’”. Note 888 Missing text: “Pekysis in requests” – corrected to “Pekysis in pkc.73 requests”

Page 311 Grammatical error: “The injunction clearly going” – corrected to “The injunction clearly goes”

Page 312 Grammatical error: “ceremony being taken” – corrected to “ceremony is taken”.

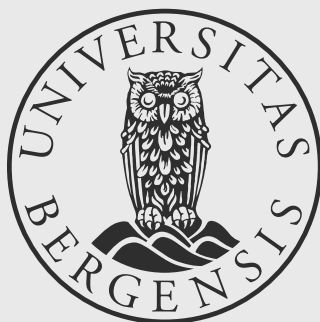
Page 315 Grammatical error: “this transaction” – corrected to “these transactions”

Page 316 Coptic transcription error: “αἰορφα[νο]ϋ” – corrected to “αἰορφα[νο]ϋ”. Faulty sign: “[]” corrected to “(vac?)”

Page 318 Grammatical error: “women at Kellis has” – corrected to “women at Kellis have”

- Page 319 Missing period: “) A certain threat” – corrected to “). A certain threat”
- Page 321 Grammatical error: “displays ... functions” – corrected to “displays ... function”
- Page 323 Reference error: “pkc.15, ll.13–24” – corrected to “pkc.15, ll.14–24”
- Page 324 Coptic transcription error: “ⲉⲧⲣⲏⲛ[ⲗ]ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲙⲏⲗ̅” – corrected to “ⲉⲧⲣ[ⲏ]ⲗⲟⲩⲗⲁⲭⲟⲩ ⲙⲏ
ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲏⲗ̅”. Transcription error: “ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲧⲏⲡⲏⲗ]ⲩⲥ” – corrected to
“ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲧⲏⲡ[ⲏⲗ]ⲩⲥ”
- Page 327 Note 935 Missing text: “Although a coincidence cannot be entirely ruled out, the
similarity.” – corrected to “Although a coincidence cannot be entirely ruled out, the
similarities between the transactions are striking.”
- Page 332 Grammatical error: “the form the donation” – corrected to “the form of a donation”
Misplaced text removed: “(D).”
- Page 336 Note 958 Missing reference: “Trans. Reeves” corrected to “Al-Biruni, *Athar*, trans.
Reeves”
- Page 341 Missing word: “contrast their ‘wicked’ lives Constantius” – corrected to “contrast
their ‘wicked’ lives with Constantius”
- Page 347 Coptic transcription error: “ⲡⲉϣⲁⲣⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ” – corrected to “ⲡⲉϣⲁⲣⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ”. Missing
sign: “(vac)”. Faulty reference: “pkc.120, ll.3–15” – corrected to “pkc.120, ll.2–15”.
Faulty reference: “(pkc.120, ll.5–14)” – corrected to “(pkc.111, ll.5–14)”
- Page 348 Grammatical error “); a deed will weigh” – corrected to “); a deed that will weigh”
- Page 350 Note 995 Double period removed: “*debate*, 100..” – corrected to “*debate*, 100.”
- Page 351 Note 1000 Missing reference added: “Cf. BeDuhn, *Augustine’s Manichaean
Dilemma*, 306 n.23.”
- Page 353 Missing word: “went inside of” – corrected to “went on inside”
- Page 355 Grammatical error: “similar to the terms” – corrected to “similar to the term”.
Missing words: “between temporary” – corrected to “between the temporary”;
“church tradition use of buildings” – corrected to “church tradition prescribed the use
of buildings”
- Page 356 Spelling mistake: “regarding wither” – corrected to “regarding either”
- Page 367 Extra line before chapter title removed. Missing word: “I seek to how” – corrected
to “I seek to show how”
- Page 373 Missing word: “translation Gardner and Lieu” – corrected to “translation of Gardner
and Lieu”
- Page 377 Textual error: “70 bishops” – corrected to “72 bishops”

Page 380 Note 1094 Misplaced period: “our midst.’, trans.” – corrected to “our midst’, trans.”



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