

Prosopography of Makarios's and Pamour's Relatives

This prosopography of a selection of the Kellis letters includes most of the relatives of Makarios and Pamour III, but focuses on those who are discussed in the main text. The creation of a fuller prosopography and an updated *onomasticum* remains paramount. The notes here should be read in the context of the prosopography in CDT1 and the reconstructed family trees in chapter 1. For most reconstructions, I am indebted to the editors of the Kellis papyri. I have only referred to their editions for the most controversial identifications, or where I deviate from their reconstruction. The abbreviations in this appendix are shortened, G = P.Kellis I Gr. + no., C = P.Kellis V and VII Copt. + no. The **bold** font indicates that a letter was (probably) written by the individual, while non-bolded font indicates other letters that only mention their name.

Andreas

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

Andreas is one of the most enigmatic figures in the corpus, as he is greeted by many but his exact relationship with his addressors is never entirely clear. Pamour greeted Partheni “and her children by name, especially my son Andreas” (C71). In C84, Theognostos writes the following to Psais III: “our son Andreas, if he is unoccupied, let him come to us.” Pegosh greets him as “my son” (C73) and as “brother” (C79), while Pamour II describes him as Theognostos’s son (G71). The passages place Andreas in the generation after Theognostos and Pamour III, but it remains unclear whether he was a child of one of these people.¹ P92.1 is an unpublished fragment, written by Andreas to Psais.² C36 is a letter sent from Ouales to Psais and Andreas, which has led the editors to reconstruct Andreas and Ouales in the fragmentary C59.

Several other figures with the name Andreas feature in the Greek and Coptic letters. In C78, Andreas, son of Tone is greeted, and the Andreas greeted by Timotheos in C92

1 Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 135 suggest that if Theognostos was the husband of Partheni, Andreas might have been their son. Cf. Teigen *The Manichaean Church in Kellis*, 65–67.

2 Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 247.

might have been a third individual. The village scribe in G45 is yet another individual. In C107, Andreas is addressed by a certain Dorotheos, but the letter lacks references to other familiar names.

Apa Lysimachos

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

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

Charis (Wife of Philammon II)

C19, C20, C24 (unnamed), C25, C26, C64, C66, C67, C70, C76 (postscript), C102, C105 (?) See notes at Philammon II. In C64, she is greeted by Maria (wife of Pamour III) as "mother Chares and her children." In C76, she adds a postscript to Pegosh's letter to Partheni, which has led some to suggest that she may have been Pegosh's wife.³ In several letters she is referred to without her husband (maybe he passed away? See C70, C76, C102, C105).

Horos (Son of Maria and Pamour III)

G30, G72

Hor (Presumably More than One Individual)

Distinguishing between the various individuals called Hor (and variations of this name) is nearly impossible. Two identifications are of crucial importance: who is the Hor associated with Apa Lysimachos, and who are the author and recipient of C15–18? Decisions regarding these two questions influence the identifications in other letters.

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

Hor I

Apa Lysimachos is closely associated with Hor, as he is included in the postscript in C72 and addressed by Apa Lysimachos in C30. Both of these letters mention a “brother Psais,” whom I identify with Psais III. Psais III, Pamour III and Pegosh greet Hor in their letters (C70, C76, G72), and so did Philammon II (C80, C81, C82) and Theognostos (C84, see also C111). If we take these passages to be referring to the same individual, he may have been a very central figure. G72 mentions a Horos, presumably the son of Pegosh or Pamour III.

Hor II

“father Horos” is addressed by Pegosh in C78–79. Since he is a senior figure, he is probably not to be identified with the recipient of C30 and C80–82.⁴ It is unclear whether “father Hor” in C43, C94 is the same individual.

Hor III

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

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

Jemnoute (Daughter of Maria and Pamour III)

C19 (once?), C25, C26, C44 (?), G30 (unnamed), C64 (unnamed), C65, C71, C72 (?), G71 She is probably to be identified with the J(e)mnoute of C25 and C44. In G71, Pamour III greets “mother Maria and the little Tsempnouthes” and requests that the “girl” to be sent, probably as a maid, and in C64 Pamour III and Maria repeat this request. The use of this adjective dovetails with Pamour’s “little Tsempnouthes” in G71.⁵ In C65 and

⁴ *Contra* Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 106.

⁵ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 46.

C71, Maria greets her (unnamed) mother with “my daughter Jemnoute,” but in light of Pamour’s greeting in G71 it seems reasonable to identify the older Maria, wife of Makarios, with the mother of Maria, wife of Pamour III.⁶ In this reconstruction, Maria (Makarios’s wife) is the mother of Maria (Pamour’s wife), and Jemnoute stays with her grandmother while Pamour and his wife work in Aphrodite. It is, however, difficult to reconcile this reconstruction with Pamour’s promise to pay for her travel and present wool for a cloak as “her hire” (G71).

The Jnpnoute in the list of people traveling with Apa L. (C72) and the Jemnoute in the economic account (C44) are distinct individuals, but contemporary to Jmnoute. Makarios also greets two Tshemnoute’s in C19, but only refers to one as “my daughter.”

Kapiton (Son of Kapiton)

C65, C70, C72, C75, C76, C77, C81, C92, C86, C108, C109, C116, G45, G71, G76
 Kapiton son of Kapiton (patronym in G45) was married to Tagoshe, the sister of Psais III, Pegosh and Pamour III. As such he was often addressed by the brothers (C65, C72, C77),⁷ and he is referred to in business and travel arrangements (C81, C82, C86, C108, C116). In one of Pegosh’s letters (C75), Kapiton adds his own greetings to Tagoshe. G76 shows that Kapiton became estranged from his wife, and Pegosh writes that he no longer knows if Kapiton is alive.⁸ Kapiton is presumably the author of a letter to his wife (C109 spelling her name as Tegsogis (?)). The Kapiton in G45, who borrowed money from someone in the hamlet of Thio (386 CE), may be his son, because Pegosh reports that his former brother-in-law moved to the Nile valley.⁹

Kyria (Wife of Psemnoute)

C12 (?), C19, C20, C21, C22, C25, C44, C66 (unnamed), C68, C82
 Kyria has been associated with Psemnoute and they are addressed at least three times with Maria (C20, C21, C22). Since Matthaios addresses them as “father Psemnoute and mother Kyria” (C25), they were probably married and belonged to the generation of Makarios and his wife Maria. Kyria could have been Maria’s sister.¹⁰ The alternative

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

7 On the double greeting, see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 103.

8 Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 100–1.

9 Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 100.

10 Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT1*, 29.

spelling Goure/Gouria (C20 and C19) may indicate that Mother Goure/Gouria in C68 and C82 is the same woman, maybe addressed after the death of her husband.¹¹ In this latter letter, Philammon II greets “my mother Gouria and my sister and her husband and her daughter.” If Gouria is indeed Kyria, the wife of Pshempnoute, and if she is the sister of Maria, we can connect both the Kyria-Pshempnoute couple and Philammon to the Makarios archive.¹² There is, however, no definitive evidence to identify Philammon as the biological son of Kyria.

Maria (Wife of Makarios, Mother of Matthaïos and Piene)

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

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

Maria (Wife of Pamour III)

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

Maria adds her postscript to a number of letters by Pamour III, most of which are probably sent from Aphrodite. In C25.57 Maria (Makarios’s wife) asks about the name of Maria’s (Pamour’s wife) (newborn?) daughter. In C26.46 Matthaïos discusses this Maria in a letter to his mother.

Makarios

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

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

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

12 Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 118.

Matthaios (and Variant Spellings, Son of Makarios)

C19, C20, C21, C25, C26, C27

Pamour I

G4(?), G19b, G20, G21, G30, G31, G33, G38ab, G41, G42, G44, G50, G66 (?), G76, G19b is a prefectoral hypographe in Pamour son of Psais and Philammon's petition. G20 and G21 (from the first decades of the fourth century) are petitions by Pamour son of Psais. G30, G33, G38ab, G42, G44, G50, G76 is patronym only.

Pamour II

G42

Pamour II is the uncle of Pamour III. He was Psais II's brother, as he identifies himself in a loan document (G42) as the son of Pamour I and Takose/Tekysis.

Pamour III (Son of Psais, Grandson of Pamour)

C22 (?), C24, C25, C26, C64, C65, C66, C67, C68, C69, C70, C71, C72, C77, C80, C82, G24, G33, G71, G72, G73(?)

Pamour III is the son of Psais II and the brother of Pegosh/Pekysis (greeted as brother in C24, C25, mentioned together in C80). Presumably, they had a third brother, Psais III, with whom they corresponded regularly. Pamour III traveled with Philammon II (C82), Pegosh (C77), and maybe also with Matthaios (C26) for business purposes. In G24, Pamour son of Psais is included in a legal petition. G24 mentions a Pebos son of Pamour, which might indicate that Pamour III had another son.¹³

Partheni (Wife of Pegosh)

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

Partheni is the wife of Pegosh. She is addressed twice in his letters (C75, C76) as "my lady Parthene." She is also greeted several times by the other brothers (C70 by Pamour III or Pegosh, C64 and C71 by Pamour III, C102 by Psais III). C19, C25 and C47

¹³ On the dating of this text, see Worp, *GPKI*, 114.

may refer to the same person, although the texts are generally considered to be earlier and refer to a “mother Partheni,” which may point to an elderly lady. The Partheni in C19 is, moreover, located in the hamlet Thio. C25 mentions a son of Partheni. The use of short names is also confusing, as Partheni might have been addressed as Heni in several letters (C76, C83).¹⁴ If that is a correct understanding of the shortened name, one might wonder whether the Heni in other letters also refers to this Partheni (C26, C33, C38, C44, C45). A strong connection exists between C83 (Theognostos mentioning “father Pollon” and “sister” Heni) and C45 (with the same names).¹⁵

Pegosh (Brother of Pamour III)

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

Pegosh/Pekysis is the son of Psais, and grandson of Pamour (C75 address). He is Pamour III’s brother. They are often addressed together (C24, C25, C80) and correspond regularly with each other. They belong to Matthaios’s generation (who greets them as brothers). Pegosh lived in Antinoopolis (G71), and wrote to his brother about the liturgical duties of his son (G72). In G76, he offers a surety for his former brother-in-law Kapiton’s tax debt. G44 details a loan of money from April 382 CE, which dates Pegosh’s activities into the 380s. The letters C73–C79 are mostly addressed to Psais III (C73, C74) and Partheni (C75, C76). The latter seems to have been his wife (see notes at Partheni, in C25 a son is mentioned as well). C70 was either written by Pamour III or Pegosh.¹⁶ C120 was a letter to Pamour written by a “Pekos,” who, despite the variant spelling, may be the same person.¹⁷

Piene (Son of Makarios)

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

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- 14 On the use of these truncated names see Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 39, 60, 71. Reference is made to Bagnall and Ruffini, *Amheida I. Ostraka from Trimithis, Volume 1*, 60.
- 15 Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT1*, 25. I consider the weaver in C44 someone else and do not recognize Partheni in C38. The (H)eni in C26 and C33 may connect Partheni stronger to the Makarios family, but I am not convinced she is in fact the same person.
- 16 See notes on the address at Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 69–70.
- 17 Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 84.

Philammon I

G19b, G49, G65

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

Philammon II (Husband of Charis)

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

Philammon II is probably the husband of Charis, as they are greeted together several times (C19, C25). Since Makarios greets them as “brother” and “sister,” and Matthaïos and Gena opt for the more formal “father” and “mother,” Philammon II and Charis belong to the generation of Makarios.

Philammon III

C78, C79, C80, C81, C82, C88 (?), C89 (?), C108, C114 (?), C122 (?), G64 (?), G71, G72, G79
In G71, Philammon is mentioned by Pamour III, but without a family-designator. C78 and C79, written by Pegosh to father Horos, also contain a reference to Philammon, but no family-designator is used in these letters either.¹⁹ G79 reveals Philammon was a *dromedarius*, which is often associated with the military, but might have been used here as an indication of his occupation. The existence of other individuals with the same name cannot be ruled out, since we know at least one other Philammon who came from Tjkoou (C20). An identification with Lammon (C24, C65, C72, C77, C78) has been suggested, but is not likely because this person is addressed as “my son” by Pegosh and Pamour (C77, C72). Lammon is, however, distinguished from Philammon in C24. C122 derives from House 4, which makes it less likely that it refers to Philammon III.

Ploutogenes (Presumably More than One Individual)

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

¹⁸ Worp, *GPKI*, 37.

¹⁹ Worp, *GPKI*, 171.

Ploutogenes (and variant spellings) appears to be a central figure in the Kellis papyri, but he is difficult to place in terms of kinship relations. He belonged to the generation of Pamour III and his brothers, since he corresponded with Psais III and Andreas (C36 (?), C85, C86, C88). Two potential identifications are of importance. The first is the identification of the Ploutogenes of C85–C89 with the recipient of the Teacher’s letter (C61 addressing a Ploutogenios). The second is the usage of the short name Piena or Iena for Ploutogenes in C90, which leads us to wonder whether the Piena/Iena in other letters is to be identified with Ploutogenes, author of C85–89. The latter question is made more difficult by the appearance of a Hor and Iena, who are greeted several times (C91, C118, C36, C115, C105). C106 has been associated with C85 and C86 on the basis of the handwriting.²⁰ In light of these questions, I distinguish between the following individuals:

Ploutogenes I

Called “father Iena” in C90 and C105. This man probably belonged to Psais II’s generation. An identification with the Ploutogenes in G58 would pin the date to the year 337 CE.

Ploutogenes II

Author of C85–C89, who used the abbreviated name Piena (C88, C89).²¹ This individual was in the same generation as Psais III, Andreas, and others. His greeting to Plotogenes and Hor (C89) indicates the presence of another figure with the same name.²²

Ploutogenes III

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

20 Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 143.

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

22 Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 143, 153–5.

Psais I

Psais I does not appear in the Kellis corpus except as a patronym.

Psais II (Son of Pamour)

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

Psais II lived for a long time and served as *paterfamilias* for the extended family. As such, he is addressed by his sons, their wives, and others as “father Pshai/Psais.” In G75 he may be greeted as “my most esteemed brother Psais the great.” Pegosh’s reference to “father Shai” in C77 could also refer to someone else. C110 is presumably written by father Psais II to his sons Pamour III and Pegosh.²³ G32 is a lease contract (from 364 CE). G38ab (333 CE) is a grant for a plot of land. In G30 (363 CE) Psais II represents his son Pamour III and grandson Horos in a case about land ownership in Aphrodite. G33, G44, G76 mention only a patronym.

Psais III (Brother of Pamour III)

C19 (?), C30, C35, C36, C37, C57 (?), C59 (?), C62 (?), C64, C65, C67, C70, C71, C72, C73, C77, C78, C79, C80, C84, C109 (?), C111 (?), G67, G71, G72, G75 (?).

Although Psais III is not as explicitly connected to the family as his two brothers, he is frequently addressed as “brother” by Pamour III and Pegosh. Since Psais is a common name in the oasis, it is difficult to distinguish him from his father, Psais II, and other individuals.²⁴ The identification in C35–37 is built on the presence of Andreas. The Psais in C19, C30, C109, and C111 could have been another person. C112 and G50 are probably associated with Psais Tryphanes.²⁵

Psemnoute

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

Psemnoute was the husband of Kyria, and a close associate of Makarios. His name in C33 occurs without the presence of other familiar names. In G70, another (?)

²³ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 221–4.

²⁴ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 77 expresses doubt, but also distinguishes the Pshai of C64, G71 and C72 from father Psais II.

²⁵ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 111, 230–1.

Psempnoutes is addressed by Timotheos the carpenter. Other individuals with the same name are mentioned in G23, G24, G74, KAB 575, 1155.

Tagoshe (Wife of Kapiton, Sister of Pamour III)

C64, C67, C75, C78, C83 (?), C96, C109 (?), C115, C120, C116? G76 (unnamed)
 Tagoshe is greeted several times by Pamour and Pegosh (C64, C67, C78, C120). In C83 Theognostos mentions a “mother Tagoshe.”²⁶ She was the wife of Kapiton, but G76 indicates that he left her. She is presumably the author of C115, which addresses Psais III. The children greeted in this letter could have been her children (especially Maria, who is addressed as “my daughter,” but this is less certain for Hor and Piena).

Takose (Wife of Pamour I)

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

Tappollos (Mother Lo, Wife of Psais II)

C45, C48, C64, C65, C70 (?), C88, C103, C108, G44, G87
 Mother Lo is greeted several times by relatives of Pamour III (C64 by Pamour III, C66 by Maria, C108 by Psais III, C70 by Pamour or Pegosh). The Lo in C70 could be another person since she is addressed as “sister Lo.” An amulet (G87) is made for “Lo.” In G44, Pegosh refers to his father and grandfather, and a grandmother named Tappollos. Could Tappollos be the same as the elderly “mother Lo”? The strongest supporting argument for this identification is the fact that Maria begins C64 by greeting the elderly ladies before moving on to more practical items.²⁷

26 Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 180 distinguishes between the Tagoshe/Tekysis in C96 and the wife of Pamour I.

27 Worp, *GPK1*, 54 is carefully suggesting she may be identified with Tappollos. Cf. Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 40, 46, 196, 214.

Theognostos

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

Theognostos is strongly associated with Philammon III, Pamour III and Pegosh. He is the recipient of a letter from Apa Lysimachos (G67). He is frequently addressed by the brothers (C80, C81, C82 to him alone, C65 and C72). How exactly Theognostos was related to Andreas, Hor, and Partheni is not clear. He could have been Partheni's brother, and therefore, the brother-in-law of Pamour III, Psais III, and Pegosh. See also the notes on Andreas.²⁸

The Teacher

C20, C24, C25, C29, C61

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

Unnamed (Son of Maria and Pamour III)

Postulated from G30

²⁸ Gardner, Alcock, and Funk, *CDT2*, 135, 142.