

# A Name List on Claudius's Letter to the Alexandrians (P.Lond. VI 1912)

Lincoln H. Blumell\*

**Abstract:** The publication of a list of names that appears between columns two and three of Claudius's letter to the Alexandrians (P.Lond. VI 1912). Though the hand of the list is different from the hand of the letter, it shares paleographic and onomastic parallels with other documents in the archive of Nemesion.

**Keywords:** papyri, name list, Philadelphia, archive of Nemesion

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P.Lond. VI 1912 (=Brit. Mus. 2248V) is one of the most well-known papyri from Roman Egypt.<sup>1</sup> It preserves a copy of a letter from the emperor Claudius to the Jewish and Greek inhabitants of Alexandria. The letter was copied by Nemesion, son of Zoilos, the *praktor* of the poll-tax in Philadelphia during the middle part of the first century.<sup>2</sup> This document consists of

**Preliminary remark:** I would like to thank the British Library for permission to edit this text and publish an image of it. I would also like to thank Ann E. Hanson for briefly commenting on an early version of my transcription and for her graciousness during our correspondence when I learned, after completing the transcription, that she had previously worked on this piece and had intended to publish it but nonetheless permitted the present edition to proceed. Finally, I would like to thank the reviewers of this article for their erudite suggestions and lucid feedback that greatly improved this edition. Any errors or infelicities in this work are the sole responsibility of the author.

\* **Contact:** Lincoln H. Blumell, Brigham Young University, 210F JSB, Provo, UT 84602, USA, <lincoln\_blumell@byu.edu>

<sup>1</sup> The letter has been the subject of two additional editions, Sel.Pap. II 212 and CPJ II 153, and a host of studies that are conveniently summarized in CPJ II 36–38 and more recently in L.H. Feldman and M. Reinhold (Eds.), *Jewish Life and Thought among Greeks and Romans* (Edinburgh, 1996), 89 as well as at <<http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.lond;6;1912>>. This large papyrus measures 29.0 × 116.5 cm (h × w).

<sup>2</sup> A.E. Hanson, “Caligulan Month-Names at Philadelphia and Related Matters,” *Pap Congr XVII.3* (1984): 1108–1109 argues that P.Lond. VI 1912 was written by Nemesion himself; see also n. 9 below. On the archive of Nemesion see TM Arch 149; see also the

109 lines of text and is stretched out over five columns on the backside (↓) of the papyrus. Column one, which prefaces the letter, contains a brief edict by the prefect Lucius Aemilius Rectus ordering the letter's publication,<sup>3</sup> while columns two through five contain the letter of Claudius.<sup>4</sup> But as H.I. Bell noted in his edition of P.Lond. VI 1912, the letter of Claudius was not the only text preserved on this papyrus, though it is the only one to date that has been published. The edict and letter of Claudius were written on the verso of another large document that contained a tax register,<sup>5</sup> and on the far-left side of the verso, before the first full column that contains the edict of Lucius Aemilius Rectus, there are the fragmentary remains of the end of another column forming part of some register.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, between columns two and three of Claudius's letter is yet a third text, written at a 180-degree angle to the letter, that is complete and consists of a list of fifteen lines. Given the layout of the letter of Claudius where the intercolumniation between columns two and three is markedly wider than the rest of the letter, it seems reasonable to suppose that this text may have preceded the letter on the backside of the papyrus and that columns two and three were written around it.<sup>7</sup>

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printed version in K. Vandorpe, W. Clarysse, H. Verreth, *Graeco-Roman Archives from the Fayum* (Leuven, 2015), 256–258. On Nemesion in particular, see A.E. Hanson, "Papyri and Efforts by Adults in Egyptian Villages to Write Greek," in E.P. Archibald, W. Brockliss, and J. Gnoza (Eds.), *Learning Latin and Greek from Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge, 2015), 20–29.

<sup>3</sup> The edict in the preface carries the date 10 Nov. A.D. 41.

<sup>4</sup> The original letter was either written in Latin and later translated into Greek at the Imperial Chancery in Rome prior to being sent to Alexandria, or it may have been originally written in Greek by someone influenced by Latin. See CPJ II, pp. 37–38. For a lucid discussion of why this letter may have been copied in Philadelphia, see A.E. Hanson, "Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, *Arabes*, and *Ioudaioi* in the First Century A.D. Tax Archive from Philadelphia: P.Mich. Inv. 880 Recto and P.Princ. III 152 Revised," in J.H. Johnson (Ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond* (Chicago, 1992), 138–140.

<sup>5</sup> P.Lond. VI, p. 2: "The Claudius letter, with the prefect's edict ordering its publication, was copied on the verso of a long but imperfect roll, the recto of which contains a tax register." For a brief overview of the text on the recto, see A.E. Hanson, "Revisions for P.Mich. X 578 (Census List)," *PapCongr XXV* (2010): 310–311.

<sup>6</sup> It is unclear if this partial column is directly related to the register on the recto. Of this column Bell remarked (P.Lond. VI, p. 2): "... before the column containing the edict are the ends of lines of a column forming part of a register, the nature of which is hardly possible to determine."

<sup>7</sup> The intercolumniation between cols. i and ii is similar to what is found between cols. ii and iii, but then the space between cols. iii and iv and iv and v is significantly smaller. One

While the hand of the list of names shares general affinities with the text of Claudius's letter as both are written with a dark brown ink, the respective scripts have a slight tilt to the right, and certain letterforms share graphic affinities,<sup>8</sup> there are some notable differences. Not only is the script of this document much smaller than the script of Claudius's letter, but the letter is also generally written with a more deliberate hand where individual letters are more distinctly written whereas the list of names is quite rapid as two or three letters are sometimes seemingly written together or slurred (*Ver-schleifung*) without the lift of the pen. These differences do not mean that both documents must necessarily have been written by two different scribes, as a scribe could certainly vary their script depending on haste or circumstance, but there are enough differences between the two that it cannot be automatically assumed that both texts were written with the same hand.<sup>9</sup> The hand of this text shares some striking paleographic parallels with a few other texts in the archive of Nemesion. In particular, it shares a number of distinct graphic similarities with P.Mich. XII 638, a list of *Arabes* registered for tax purposes in Philadelphia and dated to the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41–54).<sup>10</sup> In these two documents both hands are written

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might expect the edict (col. i) introducing the letter to be marked off by larger intercolumniation, but there is no reason why the intercolumniation should be as wide as it is between cols. ii and iii unless perhaps the present text was already inscribed on the backside of the papyrus before the letter was written. There is also a thin faint border encompassing the list. It is conceivable that this border could have been made by the scribe of the letter of Claudius who wanted to mark off this text from that of the letter; one finds similar instances of scribes marking off preexisting text so as to not interfere with added text in both Favorinus (MP<sup>3</sup> 455) and in the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία (MP<sup>3</sup> 163). I thank Demokritos Kaltsas for bringing the similar examples from Favorinus and the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία to my attention.

<sup>8</sup> Both hands share general characteristics common in early Roman hands: betas have a distinct u-shape instead of the B-shape; epsilons are written with a single stroke that folds back before the middle horizontal stroke extends; kappas are likewise written with a single stroke where the bottom oblique is quite small; and upsilons are written with a single stroke (y-shaped) and are looped at the top right instead of the base.

<sup>9</sup> Hanson (n. 2), 1108–1109 argues that P.Lond. VI 1912 was written by Nemesion himself. For a comparandum she cites P.Mich. X 582, col. ii (A.D. 50), a draft of a petition, that she also believes was written by him. If Nemesion himself wrote P.Mich. XII 656 (first half I A.D.), a letter from Nemesion to Tryphon, it may be added that a comparison of the formation of the name Tryphon—which appears both in the letter (l. 1) and in the present list (l. 15)—reveals some definite graphic differences. For an image of the letter, see <<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-1495>>.

<sup>10</sup> For an image of this papyrus, see <<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-3135>>. In the *ed.pr.* the opening line of P.Mich. XII 638 that reads γραφὴ Ἀράβω(v) was taken to refer to

with a similar rapid script, and a number of individual letters are distinctly written in the very same way.<sup>11</sup> Additionally, as both of these texts contain some of the same names, it is remarkable how similar the letter formations are in such instances.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, it appears probable that the author of P.Mich. XII 638 was also the author of the present document.<sup>13</sup>

The names preserved in this list are all masculine and are typically followed by a patronym and in some instances by a double name, occupation, or some other identifier.<sup>14</sup> In a few cases, some names are followed by a long horizontal stroke which signals that the patronym that follows is the same name as that of the son mentioned at the start of the line.<sup>15</sup> Some of the names appearing in the list are abbreviated by suspension. While most of them can be restored because the same name and patronym appear in another text from the archive, not all of them can be resolved because multiple onomastic terminations are possible. While over half of the names and accompanying patronyms that occur in the list can be found in other lists from the archive, this fact does not automatically guarantee that these are necessarily the same individuals.<sup>16</sup>

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the village of Arabon that was located in the division of Herakleides. However, this should be understood as a “List of *Arabes*”: see Hanson (n. 4), 137, n. 21.

<sup>11</sup> For example, the alphas are consistently written with one stroke and are left open at the top; the pi is consistently written with two strokes where the bottom left leg ends with a distinct upward flourish and the left end of the horizontal top stroke has a distinct downward flourish; tau is written with a distinct bifurcated shape; upsilons are generally compressed and have a distinct y-shape; and the omegas are written with a single stroke where the third vertical hasta is typically ligatured with the succeeding letter.

<sup>12</sup> This is particularly the case with the names Ἀτρῆς (P.Mich. XII 638.19; present text l. 2); Ἡρακλῆς or Ἡρακλ( ) (P.Mich. XII 638.18; present text l. 7); Παντεβ( ) (P.Mich. XII 638.9, 14; present text ll. 8 and 12); and Ὠρος (P.Mich. XII 638.16; present text l. 3).

<sup>13</sup> The present document also shares some notable paleographic similarities with a few other texts in the archive: viz., P.Mich. XII 642 (ca. A.D. 48/9 or 62/3); P.Princ. I 14 (ca. A.D. 48/9 or 62/3); P.Corn. 24 (A.D. 56); and P.Ryl. IV 595 (ca. 28. Oct. – 26. Nov. A.D. 57).

<sup>14</sup> While the name Ἐπιεύς (l. 13 in this list) is often used for males, it is also occasionally used for females and is therefore a unisex name. On this name, see below, commentary to l. 13.

<sup>15</sup> See below, commentary to l. 10.

<sup>16</sup> A.E. Hanson, “Documents from Philadelphia Drawn from the Census Register,” *PapCongr XV*, Vol. II (1979): 71, n. 3 prudently warns: “Identity of individuals from Philadelphia document to document is plausible only when information in addition to father’s name is available, such as mother’s name, age, profession, place of residence outside Philadelphia—or when the name or father’s is unusual.”

The ostensible purpose of the list is not readily discernable; if the list contained a short header, it is unfortunately lost as the first line is damaged and unreadable.<sup>17</sup> As no amounts of money are given anywhere on the list it is not immediately apparent that it necessarily served as a tax register.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, as no ages are given on the list it is not obvious that it served as a census list either.<sup>19</sup> There are other miscellaneous lists preserved among the documents that belong to the archive of Nemesion, like lists of delinquent taxpayers or missing persons, but the express purposes of such lists are explicitly stated in the document.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps a clue to the purpose of the list could reside in the fact that at times it appears to be ordered and arranged by family grouping (ll. 2, 5 *οἰός*; l. 6, *ἀδελφός*).<sup>21</sup> Noting this tendency in certain name lists in the archive of Petaus (P.Petaus 93–108) led the editors

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<sup>17</sup> There is no readily apparent correlation between this list and the register on the front side of the papyrus. While some of the names that appear in the register also appear in this list, in no cases do the same name and patronym or double name appear in both documents. Nevertheless, it would seem probable that this short list would relate to the register on the recto or the unreadable register that precedes the edict to the left (see n. 6 above).

<sup>18</sup> There are a number of tax lists or registers in the archive of Nemesion that are composed of lists of names and that typically consist of a male name followed by a patronym then a sum of money: P.Corn. 21 (27 Aug. A.D. 33); 23 (ca. A.D. 30–61); P.Harr. I 164 (ca. A.D. 30–61); 165 (A.D. I); P.Mich. XII 638 (ca. A.D. 41–54); 639 (ca. A.D. 30–61); 640 (ca. A.D. 38 or 42 or 56); 641 (ca. A.D. 39 or 43 or 57); 642 (ca. A.D. 48/9 or 62/3); P.Princ. I 3 (ca. A.D. 30–33); 10 (24 Jan. A.D. 34); 12 (ca. 34–35); 14 (ca. A.D. 48/9 or 62/3); SB XIV 11414 (ca. 27 Oct. A.D. 33); 11481 (ca. A.D. 38–48); 11930 (ca. A.D. 59–60); XVI 12737 (ca. 21 Jan. A.D. 31); 12738 (ca. 29 Sept. – 28 Oct. A.D. 35); 12739 (before 13 Nov. A.D. 35); 12740 (ca. 21 Nov. A.D. 35).

<sup>19</sup> There are at least three other census lists in the archive of Nemesion: P.Congr. XV 14 (ca. A.D. 46–47); P.Mich. X 578 (ca. A.D. 47–48); P.Princ. III 123 (ca. A.D. 38–39). After the name and patronym are given in these lists the age, or the age and regnal year, typically follow.

<sup>20</sup> P.Corn. 24 (A.D. 56), List of Names of Delinquent Taxpayers; P.Ryl. IV 595 (ca. 28 Oct. – 26 Nov. A.D. 57), List of Missing Persons.

<sup>21</sup> The only other strictly name list I have been able to locate from Philadelphia from the Roman period is P.Hamb. III 224 (A.D. II/III). As noted by the editors, the purpose of the list is not entirely secure, but they suggest it probably had something to do with taxation and noted that it was generally ordered by family grouping (P.Hamb. III, p. 159): “Das einzige erkennbare Ordnungsprinzip scheint zu sein, dass Angehörige einer Familie zusammengefaßt sind. Demnach könnte es sich um eine Liste von Personen aus ein und demselben Dorf, dessen Name im verlorenen Teil genannt gewesen sein sollte, handeln, nach Familien geordnet... Es ist vorstellbar, dass die Liste ein Personenverzeichnis eines Dorfes gewesen ist, anhand dessen ein Steuereinnahmer bei seiner Arbeit vorgegangen ist.”

to speculate whether such lists may have been composed on the basis of a census-list.<sup>22</sup>

Of all the lists in the archive of Nemesion, the present one is most similar to P.Mich. XII 638 (A.D. 41–54) that preserves a short list of names where a few occupations are also recorded, but as there is a single reference in that list to eight drachmas beside the name in l. 4, the editor argued that the document must have served as a “tax register.”<sup>23</sup> Given the nature of Nemesion’s archive and the fact that the lists that are preserved in it are overwhelmingly tax related, a similar context probably lies somewhere behind the present list. On this front, the fact that one of the individuals is designated as ἐστρατευμένος (l. 4; “enlisted in the army”) may lend some additional support to this suggestion since persons bearing this designation occupied a special category in the eyes of the tax bureau.<sup>24</sup>

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- 1 . . [ . . ] .
- 2 Ἄτρῆς Ἄρφαή(σεως)
- 3 Ὠρος υἱός
- 4 Ὀρίων Ἡρακλ( ) ἐστρα(τευμένος)
- 5 Παπο(ντῶς) Λεοντ(έως) {υἱός}
- 6 [M]ένων Ἰσχυρίω(νος)
- 7 Ἡρακλῆς ἀδελφός(ς)
- 8 Πανετβ(εὺς) Πεταρψενή(σιος)
- 9 Παπεῶ(ς) Παλο(ύτος)
- 10 Παλοῦς (ὁμοίως)

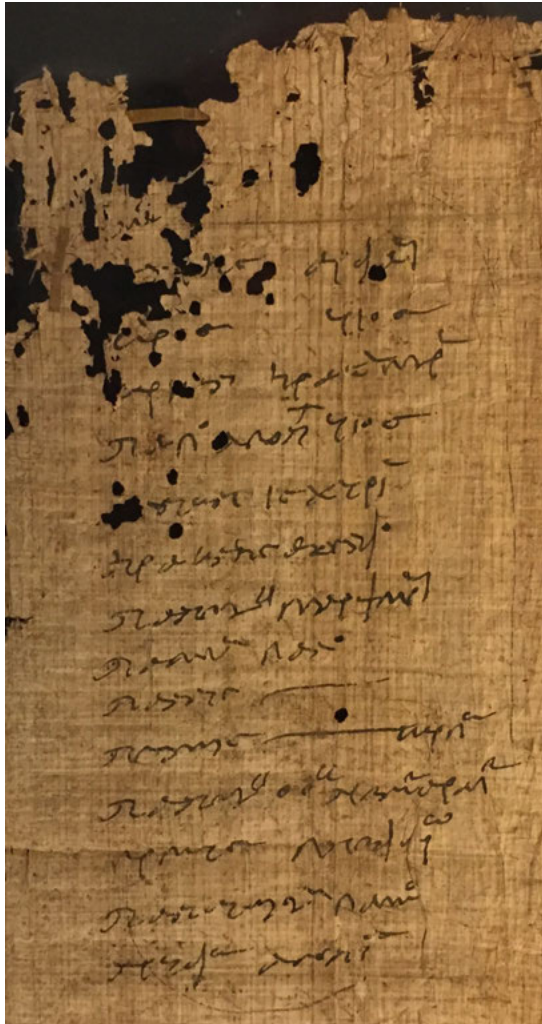
<sup>22</sup> P.Petaus, p. 307 (commenting on P.Petaus 93): “Die Namen auf dem Rekto sind meistens nach Familiengruppen angeordnet, was vermuten läßt, dass sie nach einer Zensusliste zusammengestellt wurden.”

<sup>23</sup> P.Mich. XII, p. 45: “A sum of eight drachmas, which appears opposite the name in line 4, suggests that the text was copied from a tax register.” Hanson, (n. 4), 137, n. 21 similarly believes that the list served as a tax register.

<sup>24</sup> See below, commentary to l. 4. A.E. Hanson, “Topographical Arrangement of Tax Documents in the Philadelphia Tax Archive,” *PapCongr XX* (1992): 211–218 discusses the various “Name Lists” from the archive of Nemesion to show that in certain cases they appear to contain a topographical arrangement. While this cannot be determined with the present list, she also notes (p. 214) that there was evidence that in any given tax year a scribe putting together a name list ordered it based on earlier lists or a master copy and that blank space was left for the amount paid to be filled in by other scribes throughout the course of the year as taxes were collected. With this possibility in mind, is it possible that this short list represents a draft of an earlier copy of such a tax register where the amounts collected would be added in later after the collection?

- 11 Πετεῆς (ὄμοίως) καρπώ(νης)
- 12 Πανετβ(εὺς) ὄς κ(αὶ) Νεμε(σίων) Ἄραπέ(τιος)
- 13 Ἐριεὺς Πνεφερῶ(τος)
- 14 Πανουεῖτη(ς) Πατμο(ύιος)
- 15 Τρύφω(ν) Λεονίδ(ου)

## 15 1. Λεονίδου



P.Lond. VI 1912. Name list

### Translation

... Hatres son of Harphaesis; Horos his son; Horion son of Herakl( ), who is enlisted in the army; Papontos son of Leonteus; Menon son of Ischyriion; Herakles his brother; Panetbeus son of Petarpsenesis; Papeos son of Palous; Palous (son of Palous); Petees (son of Petees), a grocer; Panetbeus, alias Nemesion, son of Harapetis; Herieus son of Pnepheros; Panoueites son of Patmouis; Tryphon son of Leonides.

### Commentary

**1** The text on the first line cannot be read because of lacunae and effacement to this part of the papyrus, but the undecipherable text appears to have been no more than five or seven letters in length. There is a dark spot under the first letter that looks like ink, but it is actually a hole in the papyrus. If there were a name written here, then there is no patronymic or other modifier that follows as the papyrus is completely blank after the traces of ink. Thus, this line is definitely shorter than the rest. Some lists of names begin with a month, regnal year, or toponym, and along these lines one possibility might be to tentatively conjecture Μεχ[εῖ]ρ.

**2** Ἄτρῆς Ἀρφαή(σεως): Both alpha and rho are partially lost in lacunae but the extant strokes on the papyrus fit these letters very well. The names Ἄτρῆς (TM Nam 317) and Ἀρφαήσις (TM Nam 284) are relatively common in texts belonging to this archive; a Ἄτρῆς is also attested in col. iv of the register on the other side of the papyrus. Another individual bearing the same name and patronym from Philadelphia is attested in BGU VII 1615.9 (26 Apr. 26 – 2 May A.D. 84; List of Weavers) but it is uncertain whether it is the same person given the date of the text and the relative commonality of the two names at Philadelphia (see n. 16 above).

**3** Ὡρος υἱός: The use of υἱός indicates that Horos (TM Nam 356) was the son of the individual (i.e. Ἄτρῆς) on the previous line. A Ὡρος son of Ἄτρῆς is not otherwise attested in the published documents in this archive. If the Hatres son of Harphaesis who appears in BGU VII 1615 (see n. 2 directly above) is the same individual who appears here, then he had at least two sons: Horos (mentioned here) and another son named Hatres mentioned in BGU VII 1615.9.

**4** Ὡρίων Ἡρακλ( ) ἐστρα(τευμένος): On the name Ὡρίων see TM Nam 43787. The suspension Ἡρακλ( ) has been left unresolved as this is a frequent abbreviation in contemporary papyri with various possibilities: Ἡρακλ(ᾱ); Ἡρακλ(είδου); Ἡρακλ(είου); Ἡρακλ(έους). Perhaps Ἡρακλ(έους)



is the least likely possibility as the scribe spells out this name in full in l. 7. The only other attestations of the name Horion and a patronym beginning with Ἡρακλ- appear in much later texts from elsewhere so that they cannot be the same individual. A Ἡρακλῆ(ς) Ὠρίωνος appears in P.Corn. 21, col. xiii.377 (27 Aug. A.D. 33) from Philadelphia; thus, given the date of this text combined with the onomastic practice of paponymy, is it possible that the Herakles mentioned in P.Corn. 21, col. xiii.377 is the father of the Horion mentioned in the present text?

The reading ἐστρα(τευμένος) best resolves the text, although the reading γέρδ(τος) could be a remote possibility.

On three separate occasions in P.Sijp. 26 (ca. March A.D. 51), a text from this archive, the participle is suspended ἐστρατευμ(ένοι) (col. i.3), ἐστρατευμ(ένοι) (col. iv.91), and ἐστρατε(υμένοι) (col. vi.128). The verb refers to persons who are serving or who are enlisted in the army (see discussion in P.Mich. VIII 514, n. 23). In P.Sijp. 26 this designation is used for certain people who owe payments for the *laographia* and suggests that they occupy a special category. As A.E. Hanson, the editor of P.Sijp. 26 noted (n. 3): “Separate lists of ἐστρατευμένοι are not infrequent in the Philadelphia tax documents, as e.g. P.Ryl. IV 595, 114–122 (+ *BL* VI 123), where the enlisted are booked for full payment of the *laographia* in arrears. Repeated isolation of the enlisted in discrete lists suggests that the tax bureau considers the category one that requires special attention. The I-cent. declarations of *anachoresis* from the Oxyrhynchite nome occasionally note that the missing taxpayer has not enlisted (P.Oxy. XXXIII 2669, P. Gen. II 94): the concern of tax authorities may reside in both a change of domicile and a change of status.” In the present name list the use of ἐστρατευμένος lends weight to the suggestion that it has some connection to a tax register.

**5 Παπο(ντῶς) Λεοντ(έως) {υῖός}**: The restoration of both abbreviated names have been made based on the fact that the same name and patronym appear together in three other published texts belonging to the archive: SB XVI 12737, col. ii.9, iv.32, V col. i.10 (ca. 21 Jan. A.D. 31); P.Princ. I 8, col. x.9 (27 Nov. A.D. 46 – 24 July A.D. 47); P.Sijp. 26 col. iv.73 (ca. March A.D. 51). On the name Παποντῶς, see TM Nam 4872; for the patronym Λεοντεύς see TM Nam 3845.

The υῖός at the end of the line is curious given that it appears superfluous as it is in the nominative and the patronym is already supplied: cf. l. 3 where it is also used in the nominative but there is no patronym in that line. One option, that is not without problems, could be to supply δς καί so that the line reads: Παπο(ντῶς) {δς καί} Λεοντ(εὺς) υῖός (“Papontos, alias Leonteus,

his son” [i.e. son of Ὠρίων on the previous line]). But when a double name occurs later in l. 12 the ὄς καί is written out. Additionally, it is unlikely that the λεοντ( ) that follows is anything but a patronym as there are no occupations that readily lend themselves and in the list the norm is for the patronym to occur directly after the name. Therefore, the most likely option is to take υἱός as a mistake; perhaps the line was copied from another list where Papontos was indeed preceded by his father Leonteus so that υἱός had its usual sense.

**6** [Μ]ένων Ἰσχυρίω(νος): The reading of the first name is somewhat uncertain. The name that most readily lends itself is Μένων, which has nearly ten occurrences in texts from the archive. On the name Μένων see TM Nam 4073. The name Ἰσχυρίων (TM Nam 3445) is widely attested in contemporary texts from Philadelphia. The suprascript omega over the iota is more compressed than the other two suprascript omegas employed in ll. 11 and 13 but it is to be preferred to a supralinear stroke.

**7** Ἡρακλῆς ἀδελφός(ς): The use of ἀδελφός indicates that Herakles was the brother of the individual (i.e. Μένων) on the previous line. Such designations are fairly common in the lists and registers in the archive. Since the father of Ἡρακλῆς is presumably the Ἰσχυρίων who is mentioned on the previous line (l. 6), this individual may also be attested in SB XX 14576, col. vii.140 (=P.Princ. I 13; 14 Jan. 43): Ἡρακλῆς(ς) Ἰσχυρίω(νος). Additionally, in P.Ryl. IV 595, col. v.101 (ca. 28. Oct. – 26. Nov. A.D. 57) there is a Ἡ[ρ]άκλη(ος) Ἰσχυρίω(νος); instead of Ἡράκλη(ος), the restoration could also be Ἡρακλῆς(ς), in which case this might also be the same individual. On the name Ἡρακλῆς see TM Nam 4560.

**8** Πανετβ(εὺς) Πεταρψενή(σιος): This name and patronym, albeit rendered differently, are elsewhere attested in this archive in P.Princ. I 1, col. ii.1 (ca. 17 Apr. A.D. 51): Πανετβ(ὺς) Πεταρψενή(σιος) and in P.Sijp. 26, col. iii.66 (ca. March A.D. 51): Πανετβε(ὺς) Πεταρψε(νήσιος). The name Πανετβεὺς (see NB Dem. 384; TM Nam 732) is also commonly rendered (and restored) as Πανετβὺς, Πανετβδς, Πανετβεδς, and Πανετβῆς. The name Πεταρψένησις (TM Nam 859), which is the most commonly attested spelling, is also rendered in documents from this archive as Πετερψένησις, Πεταρψένησις, Πεταρψένησις, and Πετερψένησις.

**9** Παπεῶ(ς) Παλο(ῦτος): This name with accompanying patronym is not attested elsewhere, although the reading of the first name is not entirely secure. The third letter, pi, is formed similarly to how it appears at the beginning of the name Πνεφερῶ(τος) in l. 13. The name Παπεῶς, which appears to be a variant of Παπευῶς (TM Nam 27163), is not widely attested

(P.Lond. II 376.1 [pp.77–78, A.D. 159, Arsinoite]; SB XIV 11383.2 [A.D. 113–120; Hermopolis]) and there are not any attestations of this name in a published text from the archive.

The restoration Παλο(ῦτος) (TM Nam 613) is based on the fact that immediately below in l. 10 the name Παλοῦς is attested, and as family relationships at times are grouped together on the list (ll. 2, 5 υἱός; l. 6, ἀδελφός), this resolution seems the most attractive option. On the other hand, in P.Corn. 21, col. vi.108 (27 Aug. A.D. 33), also from the archive, the genitive Πάλου (apparently from Πάλος) does appear and might be a remote possibility.

**10** Παλοῦς (ὁμοίως): The letters in the middle of this name are rather slurred together so that the reading is somewhat difficult. While one option could be to read Παναῦς, a better reading is Παλοῦς (TM Nam 613): the reading -λο- is preferred to -να-. Παλοῦς does not appear to be attested in the published texts of the archive. However, given how similar Παναῦς and Παλοῦς are, especially when letters are slurred, it could be a possibility that a few renderings of Παναῦς in the archive might actually be Παλοῦς: P.Princ. I 14, col. v.13 (ca. A.D. 48/9 or 62/3): Πα[ν]αῦς; SB XVI 12737V, col. i.21 and 23 (ca. 21 Jan. A.D. 31): Παναῦς (ὁμοίως) and Παγαῦς (ὁμοίως).

The long horizontal stroke following the name indicates that in this case both father and son bore the same name, thus ὁμοίως. For the use of this abbreviation in name lists from Philadelphia see P.Mich. XII, p. 46, n. 18 where *WO* I 819, n. 2 is cited: “Dies ὁμοίως steht häufig hinter Eigennamen, um die Wiederholung des Namens im Genetiv anzudeuten.”

**11** Πετεῆς (ὁμοίως) καρπώ(νης): The text is quite slurred near the end of the name. I have read Πετεῆς (TM Nam 5074) over Πετεῦς and Πεταῦς, which might also be possible. Besides the fact that the present reading seems to better fit with the traces of the text, there is one other individual in the published texts of the archive that bears this name and possesses the very same patronym that appears here: P.Princ. III 123, col. ii.9 (A.D. 38–39): Πετεῆς Πετεῆτος. Thus, this individual might also be attested elsewhere. On the use of the abbreviation (ὁμοίως), see commentary to l. 10. For the abbreviation καρπω( ) meaning καρπώ(νης) in contemporary documents from Philadelphia, see SB XX 14576.246, 479 (14 Jan. A.D. 43); P.Princ. I 2, col. vi.26 (27 Aug. A.D. 33); 9, col. iii.1 (A.D. 31); cf. SB XVI 12739V, col. ii.26 (before 13 Nov. A.D. 35).

**12** Πανετβ(εὺς) ὄς κ(αὶ) Νεμε(σίων) Ἄραπέ(τιος): This double name, consisting of both an Egyptian (Πανετβεύς; see NB Dem. 384 and TM Nam 732) and a Greek one (Νεμεσίων; TM Nam 4253), is not otherwise attested in the published texts belonging to this archive; however, the name Πανετβεύς followed by the same patronym as appears here (but spelled Ἄραπάτις) is attested in this archive in SB XVI 12737, col. ii.21 (ca. 21 Jan. A.D. 31): Π[α]νετβ(εὺς) Ἄραπάτις. On the α > ε interchange see Gignac, *Gram.* 1, 277–282; on p. 279 he explicitly notes that in Egyptian names there is a frequent interchange of α > ε.

**13** Ἐριεὺς Πνεφερω̄(τος): Another person bearing the same name and patronym in this archive is attested in P.Princ. I 8, col. viii.7 (27 Nov. A.D. 46 – 24 Jul. A.D. 47). Likewise, another individual bearing the same name and patronym appears in SB XVI 13017.3 (24 BC; Soknopaiou Nesos), although it is unlikely to be the same person. Though Ἐριεύς is a unisex name, attested for both males and females, it is almost certainly designating a male here given that the list is otherwise full of exclusively male names: see NB Dem. 746–748, 771 and TM Nam 335. On the patronym see TM Nam 932.

**14** Πανουεῖτη(ς) Πατμο(ύιος): An individual bearing this name and patronym is not attested elsewhere. The name Πανουεῖτης is not widely attested with at present only five attestations in published texts; see TM Nam 11164. Of these five attestations, two appear in contemporary texts from Philadelphia with the second using the same suspension of the name as is attested here: SB XVI 12739, col. ii.18 (before 13 Nov. A.D. 35) and SB XX 14576, col. vii.129 (14 Jan. A.D. 43). The supralinear eta that signals the suspension is compressed and written with a distinct slant to the left. The name Πατμοῦις (TM Nam 4948), while not widely attested, is more well-attested than Πανουεῖτης. In published texts from Philadelphia from the same period as the present text, the name occurs eight times (spelled once as Πατμούεις). For the same suspension of this name as is attested here, see SB XX 14576, col. xx.586 (14 Jan. A.D. 43).

**15** Τρύφω(ν) Λεονίδ(ου): An individual bearing this name and patronym is attested in one other contemporaneous text from the archive: P.Princ. I 2, col. iii.9 (27 Aug. A.D. 33), although here it is rendered Λεωνίδου instead of Λεονίδου. On the ω > ο interchange see Gignac, *Gram.* 1, 275–277. For another rendering of this name with an omicron instead of an omega in this archive, see SB XX 14576, col. xiii.307 (14 Jan. A.D. 43). The suprascript delta is vertically compressed much like the superscript lambda in l. 4. On the name Τρύφων see TM Nam 6335; for Λεωνίδης see TM Nam 3867.