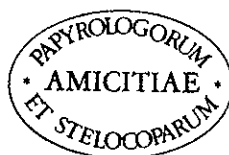


ZEITSCHRIFT
FÜR
PAPYROLOGIE UND EPIGRAPHIK

herausgegeben

von

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STEALING LIVESTOCK AT OXYRHYNCHA

We present here a papyrus document housed in the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin. The small fragmentary text contains a petition from Neoptolemos to Apollonios, the police chief (*archiphylakites*) of the village of Oxyrhyncha. A contemporary Apollonios, who was *epistates* of the same village, is known from a handful of documents. It is possible, we suggest, that the two were one and the same.

In the mid second century B.C. Petos son of Petesouchos, a royal farmer at Oxyrhyncha, submitted a petition to Apollonios, the *epistates* of the same village (*P.Erasm.* I 4; mid II B.C.). His complaint was similar to that of Neoptolemos: unidentified robbers broke into his yard and drove away his livestock. The editors suggested that the Apollonios in *P.Erasm.* I 4 may have been the same person to whom the Arsinoite *strategos* Demonax forwarded another petition (*P.Erasm.* I 3; 166 B.C.), and was very likely the same Apollonios who was instructed to deliver a summons in *P.Erasm.* I 11 (150 B.C.).¹ These identifications are plausible but not certain.² We may perhaps be more confident that the Apollonios, *epistates* of Oxyrhyncha, who received a *prosangelma* concerning a beating and subsequent trial (*SB XXII 15542*; mid II B.C.), is, as the editor suggested, the same man to whom *P.Erasm.* I 4 was addressed.³

All of these texts belong to the middle of the second century B.C. The Texas petition is dated to a 28th regnal year. Palaeography urges against the 28th years of Philadelphos (258/7) and Auletos (54/3), leaving 154/3, under Philometor, and 143/2, under the restored Euergetes II, as the only possible dates. We may be certain, then, that the Apollonios who is chief of police in the Texas papyrus was at least a close contemporary of the *epistates* mentioned at *P.Erasm.* I 4 and *SB XXII 15542*. At least five contemporary police chiefs were both *epistates* and *archiphylakites* of a village.⁴ Thus, both chronological and administrative realities allow the possibility that Apollonios the *archiphylakites* in the Texas papyrus was elsewhere addressed as *epistates*, and that a single man named Apollonios held both posts at Oxyrhyncha. Any identification must remain at best a conjecture for now, but perhaps new texts will allow greater certainty.

¹ Identifications proposed at *P.Erasm.* I pp.17, 19 (reproducing P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Ptolemaic Papyri in the Collection of the Erasmus University," *ZPE* 40 [1980] 119-129, at 120, 121), and p.33.

² It was not uncommon for *epistatai* to be involved in legal proceedings, including the delivery of summonses and/or transport of litigants: cf. the commands directed to *epistatai* by *strategoï* in *P.Enteux.* 44, 47 (221 B.C.), and 54 (218 B.C.). *Strategoï* very often forwarded petitions to *epistatai* with instructions to resolve the conflict: *P.Enteux.* pp.xlii-xlvii. At *P.Enteux.* 50.4-5 (221 B.C.) a petitioner asked that the king have the *strategos* write to the *archiphylakites*; the *strategos*, however, forwarded the petition not to the *archiphylakites*, but to the *epistates* (10). At *P.Enteux.* 82.7-8 (221 B.C.) the petitioner requested that the *strategos* write both to the *epistates* and the *archiphylakites*; the *strategos* forwarded the petition to the former (11).

³ N. Gonis, "A New 2nd Century B.C. Prosangelma," *Acts XX* 231-235, identification at 233.

⁴ Aniketos was both *epistates* and *archiphylakites* of Euhemeria: *P.Giss.Univ.* I 7.1-2 (II B.C.), 8.1-2 (131 B.C.); *SB VIII 9674* (ca 131 B.C.), *epistates* restored; *Pros.Ptol.* I 643 and addenda at VIII 643, to which add *SB XIV 11883* (170-116 B.C.); Demetrios held both posts in Soknopaiou Nesos: *P.Mich.* XV 688.1-2 (II/I B.C.); another Demetrios held both at Tebtynis: *P.Tebt.* I 43.9-10 (118 B.C.), as did Herakleides: *P.Tebt.* I 230 (late II B.C.); also Heliodoros from an undetermined village in the Fayyum: *SEG XXXIII 1359* [cf. *I.Fay.* II 209.3-4] (107-101 B.C.).

P.Texas inv. 2
Oxyrhyncha

14 x 8 cm.

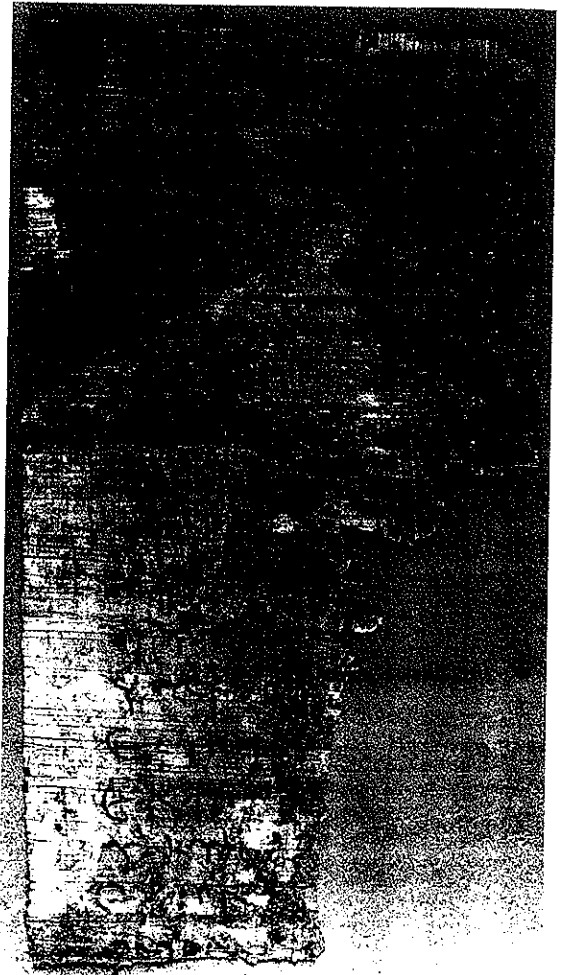
154/3 or 143/2 B.C.

The recto preserves 16 lines of text, written with the fibers. The verso, which is badly abraded, may preserve the name of the addressee written with the fibers. Margins survive on three sides: at top, left, and right. The document is broken at the bottom. Perhaps 4–6 lines of text have been lost.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

- 1^o Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἀρχιφυλα-
κίτηι καὶ τοῖς φυλακίταις
Ὁξυρύγγων παρὰ
4 Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου(ου)
Μακεδόνοιο διαδόχου
τοῦ πατρικοῦ {μου} κλήρου.
τῆι εἰς τὴν ιβ τ[οῦ - ^{ca} 2-4 -]
8 τοῦ κη L. [- - ^{ca} 6-8 - -]
φερούσηι νυκ[τὶ - ^{ca} 4-6 -]
οντος μου ε[- - ^{ca} 7-9 - -]
ὑπερέβησά[ν τινες]
12 εἰς τὴν ἀν[λὴν μου, οὗ / ἐν ἧι]
ἐκοιτάζε[το - - ^{ca} 6-8 - -]
τὰ κτήνη, κ[αὶ ὄχιοντο]
ἔχοντες. [- - ^{ca} 7-9 - -]
16 . . γ . θα . . . [- - ^{ca} 7-9 - -]

v^o Ἀπολλ[λωνίῳ?]



Recto: To Apollonios, *archiphylakites*, and the *phylakitai* of Oxyrhyncha, from Neoptolemos, son of Ptolemaios, Macedonian, inheritor of his father's allotment. On the night before the twelfth of ..., year 28, while I was ..., certain individuals broke into my yard, where my flock was penned, and departed in possession of (them?)...

Verso: To Apollonios (?).

NOTES

- 1–3: Correspondence addressed to a police official and his *phylakitai*: e.g. *P.Giss.Univ.* I 8.1–4 (131 B.C.): Ἀνίκητωι ἐπιστάτει καὶ ἀρχιφυλακίται [καὶ τοῖς] μ[ετ'] αὐτοῦ φυλακ[ίταις] Εὐήμερί[α]ς.
4: This Neoptolemos is not otherwise known.
7: A month is required and given the available space, Thoth, Hathyr, and Tybi are the most likely candidates.
8: Sense and parallel phrasing (e.g. *P.Erasm.* I 4.5–7) do not suggest a need for additional clarification at the end of the line. Word order and space do not admit the kind of redundant precision attested at *P.Tebt.* III.1 796.3–4 (185 B.C.): τῆι νυκτὶ τῆς ι εἰς τὴν ια τοῦ προγεγραμμένου μηνός.
9–10: Parallel formulary suggests that these lines contained a statement of the petitioner's whereabouts at the time of the incident: *P.Enteux.* 27.2 (222 B.C.): ἔχοντός μου ἐπιστολάς εἰς τὴν Θηβαίδα; 55.4 (222 B.C.): ὄντος μ[ου] ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι πρὸς κρίσει; *P.Tebt.* III.1 793.xi.12 (183 B.C.): ἀναλύοντος μου ὁπίτερον τῆς ὥρας πρὸς ἐμαυτόν; III.2 895.3 (ca 175 B.C.): ὄντος μου ἐν Κροκοδίλων πόλει; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 44.1–2 (253 B.C.): ἀναβαίνοντός μου ἔκ τοῦ πεδίου; *SB VI* 9068.9–10 (Moithymis, III B.C.): ὄντος μου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. Restore ἐ[ν] or (less probably) ἐ[πί] at line-end?

- 11-12: For parallels for this common turn of phrase see *P.Heid.* VIII 421.2 (Herakleopolis?, ca 201 or 177 B.C.?) with commentary at 325-326.
- 13-14: ἐκοιτάζε[το - -^{ca 6-8} - -] | τὰ κτήνη; We might supply the necessary sense by restoring [μου] | τὰ κτήνη, but one would expect the more common word order τὰ κτήνη μου. This restoration would also leave a gap of 3-4 letters. Alternatively, something like ἐκοιτάζε[το πάντα] | τὰ κτήνη (cf. *UPZ* I 110.173-4 [Memphis, 164 B.C.]) would satisfy both sense and space. Perhaps the neuter plural τὰ κτήνη took a plural verb: ἐκοιτάζο[ντο; cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* II.3 28-30. We have assumed that the form is middle/passive: "where my flocks were penned," but the active voice (ἐκοίταζο[v]) would not be impossible; cf. e.g. *BGU* VI 1223.12 (Hermopolite, III B.C.); *P.Mil.Vogl.* VII 305.107, 307.29, 32 (Tebtynis, II B.C.); *P.Würzb.* 11.18 (Arsinoite, A.D. 99). Traces after the zeta seem to be more consistent with epsilon than omicron, but we hesitate to rule out either. The use of the imperfect may have been frequentative, suggesting that it was Neoptolemos' habit to pen his flock in the courtyard.
- 14-15: [ᾠχοντο] | ἔχοντες; Variations on the phrase are common in reports of theft: cf. *BGU* VI 1253.8-10 (? , II B.C.): τὰ τε κτήνη ἀπειβιάσαντο καὶ ᾠχοντο ἔχοντες; *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59659.7-9 (241 B.C.): περιείλοντό μου ὑποζύγια | Ζήνωνος δύο, ἃ ᾠχοντο | ἔχοντες; *P.Coll.Youtie* I 7.6-8 (? , 224 B.C.): ᾠχοντο δ' ἔχοντες ποδανιπτῆρα χαλκοῦν μέγαν; *P.Dion.* 10.7-8 (Hermoupolis Magna, 109 B.C.): τὰ πρὸς τὴν γεωργικὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ τὰλλα τὰ ἐν τῷ | αὐτῷ τόπῳ ᾠχον[τ]ο ἔχοντες; *P.Frankf.* 3.20 (Tholthis, 212 B.C.): ᾠχοντο ἔχοντες αὐτῆς κρόκην; *PSI* IV 396.11-12 (Philadelphia, 241 B.C.): ᾠχοντο ἔχον[τες οἴνου] κεράμια | δεκαεννέα; *P.Tebt.* I 52.7-10 (ca 114 B.C.): ᾠχοντο ἔχοντες τ[ῆ]ν τῆς οἰκίας μου συγγραφήν καὶ ἕτερα βιοτικὰ | σύμβολα; III.1 796.6-7 (185 B.C.): οἴχονται [ἔ]χοντες ἐν τῇ προστάδι σφυρίδα σίτων; 797.19-20 (II B.C.): ᾠχοντο ἔχοντες | τὸ μέλι [τε κα] | τὸ ὀθόνιον; *SB* XVIII 13160.10-11 (Moeris, 244 or 219 B.C.): ᾠχοντ' ἔχοντες | συρίαν γυναικείαν.

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SB XIV 11273: NO VOCATIVE

A petition to the strategos from the second half of the second century B.C., and assignable more precisely to 124-120,¹ P.Med. inv. 71.38 was published in *Aegyptus* 54 (1974) 34-36 and reprinted as SB XIV 11273. The editor's text is as follows:

Διοφάνηι τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς συγγενέσι
καὶ στρατηγῶι
παρὰ Τρυφ[]
4 τῶν ἐν τοῖς κατοίκοις ἱπαρχῶν. ἀνόμως
καὶ παρὰ πᾶ[σα]ν δικαιοσύνην Ἄμεν{ον}ῶπις
καὶ Ταῆσ{ο}ις τ[ῶ]ν ἐξ Ἀπιάδος τῆς Θεμίστου
μερίδος εἰσβιασάμενοι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν μου
8 τὴν οὖσαν [ἐν] τῇ αὐτῇ κώμη σὺν Θαυβάστι,
καὶ τῇ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐπιτεταγμένη Ἔσερχᾶφι
δόντες πληγὰς πλείους, τῶν ἐμῶν
ἔνδον ὄντων, ὧν τὸ καθ' ἐν ὑπόκειται,
12 καὶ ἐγκρατε[ί]ς τούτων γενόμενοι,
ἐνφκήκασ[ι] οὐδενὸς δικαίου ἀντε-
χόμενοι τῇ δὲ βίᾳ συνχρόμενοι.
ἀξιῶ οὐ[ν σε] συγγράψαι ἐπιστρε-
16 φέστερον [τῶι] ἐπιστάτῃ καταστήσαι
[αὐ]τοὺς ἐ[πὶ σὲ ἴν' ἔσ]ομ[αι] τετευχῶ(ς)
τῶν δικαίων πα[ρὰ σοῦ, στρατηγὲ σε]μνότητε.
εὐτύχει.

Apart from the lacuna in line 3, affecting only the identity of the petitioner, most of the text is relatively certain, until the ending of the petition, which is lacunose and requires considerable reconstruction. This reconstruction includes on the editor's view a vocative phrase, not a single undotted letter of which survives.

It is precisely this vocative phrase that elicits doubt about the text. In the course of a study of the general patterns of vocative usage in papyrus letters and petitions,² we found that the vocatives of SB 11273 were most unusual for such an early document, and this discovery in turn has led to a reconsideration of the entire latter part of the papyrus. The main problem with the vocatives in SB 11273 is simply that one would not expect anyone other than the king to be addressed with a vocative title in a papyrus document of the second century B.C. The commonness of βασιλεῦ in petitions has perhaps tended to obscure the absence of other vocatives in third and second-century petitions. In the first century B.C. and later, the situation changes markedly, and there comes to be a group of titles that can be used vocatively in petitions to officials other than the king; this group includes ἡγεμῶν, διοικητά, and ἐπιστάτα as well as στρατηγέ. But this entire class of addresses is unattested in papyri of the third and second centuries B.C. The reason for this omission seems to be that papyrus documents

¹ The online *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* gives this date, citing L. Mooren, *La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque* (*Studia Hellenistica* 23, Leuven 1977) 97-98 no. 2 and 214. Mooren's date is based on changes in aulic titulature.

² See Eleanor Dickey, "The Greek Address System of the Roman Period and its Relationship to Latin," forthcoming in *Classical Quarterly*.

earlier than the first century B.C. usually follow the classical norms of vocative usage, according to which vocative titles are used only to the actual monarch (who is frequently called βασιλεῦ³) while the rare other addressees, if they receive vocatives, are simply addressed by name.⁴

Arguments from silence are of course open to question, especially given the small percentage of papyri that has survived to modern times. But in this case the large number of surviving petitions of the last three centuries B.C. suggests that such an argument can have some force. Comparison strengthens this point: the third and second centuries B.C. have each left us more than twice as many petitions as the first century B.C., so the complete absence in that corpus of types of address that are well attested in the first century B.C. is unlikely to be due to chance.⁵

Another problem with reconstructing the address στρατηγὲ σεμνότατε is that both these vocatives are extremely rare in papyrus documents. We can find only one example of their being used together, namely that cited by the editor in support of the restoration, σεμνότατε στρατηγέ at BGU VIII 1843.13 (50/49 B.C.). The two words occasionally appear independently in the vocative, but even such limited parallels are very rare and later: we can find only two other occurrences of σεμνότατε in documentary papyri of any date⁶ and only three other occurrences of στρατηγέ.⁷ And none of these parallels is as early as the second century B.C.: two are from late in the Roman period, and the other four from the first century B.C., with the earliest being 60-59 B.C.⁸ Nor is there any match with SB 11273 in terms of location, for whereas our papyrus was written in the Arsinoite nome, the first-century parallels all come from the Herakleopolite, and the later ones from elsewhere.⁹

The formulation of the concluding lines evokes other doubts as well. Particularly troubling is συνγράψαι, which is not used in other petitions in such a context. Examples of what one would expect include διὸ ἀξιῶ [σ]υντάξαι γράψαι τῶι τῆς κόμης ἐπιστάτη καταστήσαι τόν τε Παποντᾶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ σὲ ὅπως ἐγὼ μὲν τὸν χόρτον καὶ τὸν πυρὸν κομίσωμαι καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἱμάτιον αὐτοὶ δὲ τόχῳσι ὧν προσήκει, in SB XVIII 13087.23-27 (another petition in the Milan collection, but dated to 4 B.C.); ἀξιούμεν ἐὰν φαίνεται συντάξαι γράψαι Ζωίλῳ πράκτορι παρὰ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ποιήσασθαι κτλ., in BGU VIII 1851.4-6 (64-44 B.C. [Gesamtverzeichnis]), or ἀξιῶ, ἐὰν φαίνεται, συντάξαι πρὸ πάντων μὲν γράψαι τῶι τῆς Ἀκώρεως ἐπιστ[ά]τει μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τῶι ἐγκαλουμένῳ μήτ' ἐμὲ μήτε τὴν μητέρα μου παρενοχλεῖν κτλ. in P.Dion. 11.26-30 (108 B.C.). With these parallels (which could be multiplied¹⁰) in mind, we propose to read as follows (lines 15-18):¹¹

ἀξιῶ συντάξαι γράψαι ἐπιστρε-
φέστερον [τῶι] ἐπιστάτη καταστήσαι
[αὐ]τοὺς ἐπὶ [σὲ] ὅπως τοῦχῳ (l. τύχῳ) τῶν
δικαίων π[.] . . . τ α τ ι ς .

³ 193 times in the third and second centuries B.C.

⁴ Only at P.Cair.Zen. I 59034.18 and UPZ I 66.6; there is also one example of πάτερ in the recounting of a dream at UPZ I 78.36. For the rules of classical address usage see E. Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* (Oxford 1996).

⁵ III B.C.: 281 petitions, III/II B.C.: 7; II B.C.: 287; III B.C.: 1; I B.C.: 137; I B.C. - I A.D.: 2. For the method of calculation of these figures, and the methodology used to search for the vocatives, see the forthcoming article cited above, n. 2.

⁶ These are σεμνότατε διοικητά at BGU VIII 1756.15 and σεμνότατε ἐπιστάτα at BGU XVI 2600.9-10.

⁷ BGU VIII 1816.15, στρατηγὲ ἄριστε at CPR 17A.6.3, στρατηγὲ πιστέ at P.Oxy. I 41.27.

⁸ BGU VIII 1843: 50-49 B.C., BGU VIII 1756: 58 B.C., BGU XVI 2600: 13 B.C., BGU VIII 1816: 60-59 B.C., CPR XVII A 6: A.D. 316, P.Oxy. I 41: III/IV A.D.

⁹ CPR XVII A 6: Hermoupolis Magna, P.Oxy. I 41: Oxyrhynchus.

¹⁰ The standard study is by A. Di Bitonto, *Aegyptus* 47 (1967) 5-57 (on petitions to the king) and 48 (1968) 53-107 (on petitions to other officials). For συντάξαι phrases in petitions to officials, see pp. 78, 80, 82 and 84 of the second instalment.

¹¹ A good plate is provided in the edition (Tav. VIII); we are grateful to Carla Balconi for an excellent color digital image.

It will be observed that the difficulties in lines 15-17 are essentially resolved, although at the cost of a misspelling in $\tauύχ\omega$.¹² Line 18, however, remains difficult. There are in fact slight traces of ink on the surface almost throughout the lacuna, but none is clear enough that we have felt able to print any particular letters outside the brackets. The traces after pi do not look like alpha. Although the reading $\tau\alpha\tau$, which undoubtedly contributed to the editor's proposed reading, is good (although perhaps not inescapable), we do not think it is possible that the line ended with an epsilon; there is too much ink for a single letter. The surface of the papyrus is disturbed at this point, and it is possible that the fibers with the upper part of these letters are out of place. Parallels suggest that we should have a concluding expression of the hoped-for results of the intervention by the strategos: that the petitioner will be helped or benefited. We have considered a variety of possibilities from the phrasings attested elsewhere,¹³ none yielding a reading we find acceptable.

The ending appears to be $-\iota\varsigma$, and the letter before iota appears to be lunate in form, thus probably epsilon or omicron. These considerations suggest two possibilities to us: (1) a masculine nominative singular ending of an aorist passive participle in $-\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, presumably dependent on the subject of the verb—the petitioner, that is—and expressing some sentiment like “having been benefited by you.” (2) A masculine dative plural ending in $-\tau\alpha\tau\iota\varsigma$, thus a superlative adjective modifying some preceding noun. For neither of these, however, have we been able to find either a persuasive parallel or a reading that accommodates the other surviving traces and makes sense. We hope that readers will be more successful.

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¹² We owe the omicron to Willy Clarysse. One might also read epsilon and suppose contamination from the stem used in the future and perfect. The surface is too disturbed and the writing too blotted to allow certainty. In any event, this would simply offer a different misspelling. The editor's text here, of course, required an omitted letter; in no case does it seem possible to read a form that does not require correction. For these phrasings see Di Bitonto (above, n. 10, 1968) 103-04.

¹³ One will find in Di Bitonto (above, n. 10), 1967: 52-55 and 1968: 103-06, the repertory. None seems to us possible here.

¹⁴ We thank Willy Clarysse and Klaas Worp for discussing this text with us.

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