

*analecta papyrologica*  
XXVII 2015

SICANIA  
*university press*

*Il volume è dedicato a Leslie Shaw Bailey MacCull  
(7 agosto 1945-26 agosto 2015)*

ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ ΟΥΡΩΣ ΔΥΩ ΝΕΣΖΟΕΙΜ Ο ΝΑΓΡΙΟΣ  
ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΔΕ ΠΑΣΚΑΦΟΣ ΕΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΨΡΡΕ  
ΠΕ ΜΠΑΣΩΜΑ ΜΝ ΤΑΜΝΤΩΔΡΑΖΕ

Il mare è vasto, le onde sono selvagge  
ed è piccola la mia barca,  
cioè la giovinezza del mio corpo  
e la brevità della mia vita...

ISSN 1122-2336

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THE DATING OF *SB XVI 12524*, *SB XIV 11264*,  
AND THE *ARCHIPHYLAKITES*

Written requests directly addressed to village officials and classifiable as ‘petitions’ are relatively common in the Ptolemaic period<sup>1</sup>, whereas few survive from the Roman period: *SB VI 9150* = *P. NYU II 3* (5 CE) perhaps addressed to the *epistates komes*<sup>2</sup>, *BGU XIII 2239* (17 CE) to the *hegoumenos*, *P. Tebt. II 516* descr. (28 CE) to the *epistates komes*, *SB XX 15077* (45 CE) to the *epistatai komes*, *SB IV 7469* (193 CE) and *SB XII 11008* (196 CE) to the *demosioi komes*. *SB XVI 12524* is *not* to be included in this small group of Roman documents: dubiously dated to 17 BCE by the editor J.R. Rea<sup>3</sup>, it is a petition addressed to Πάπος (not otherwise known) *epistates* and *archiphylakites* of the village of Theogonis.

The *archiphylakites*<sup>4</sup> is a well-attested police official of the Ptolemaic administration, mostly at village level, and is at various times the addressee of petitions. The association of this official with the title of *epistates komes*, as in this case, is fairly common in the 2nd century BCE but is not otherwise attested after 100 BCE (*SB XII 11078*, 4-5). The only other document mentioning an *archiphylakites* and not dated to the Ptolemaic period<sup>5</sup> would be *SB XIV 11264*, an order of transfer of pris-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the list by A. DI BITONTO, *Le petizioni ai funzionari nel periodo tolemaico. Studio sul formulario*, «Aegyptus» 48 (1968), pp. 53-107, in part. pp. 59-62.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. BASTIANINI-C. GALLAZZI, *P.Tebt. NS inv. 88/3: petizione agli epistatai del 45 d.C.*, «ZPE» 81 (1990), p. 256 and nt. 3 = *BL VI 254*; contra B. NIELSEN-K.A. WÖRZ, *New Papyri from the New York University Collection*, «ZPE» 133 (2000), pp. 173-175 nt. on l. 1.

<sup>3</sup> J.R. REA, *Petition to a Chief of Police*, in E. BRESCIANI *et al.* (a cura di), *Scritti in onore di Orsolina Montevicchi*, Bologna 1981, pp. 317-321: he also took into consideration the years 40/39 BCE and 26/7 CE, and specified that ‘the range might possibly be even wider’.

<sup>4</sup> On the *archiphylakites* cf. P. KOOL, *De Phylakieten in Grieks-Romeins Egypte*, Amsterdam 1954, chapter III, and J. BAUSCHATZ, *Law and Enforcement in Ptolemaic Egypt*, New York 2013, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> ἀρχιφυλάκιη at *O. Wilcken 1578*, 2 (133 CE) and ἀρχιφυλακίη at *SB VI 9207*, 10 (late 2nd-3rd century CE) are the product of conjectures not supported by further data and,

oners addressed to the *archiphylakites* of the village of Perseai, which the editor<sup>6</sup> dated to 6 BCE.

The persistence of Ptolemaic titles and denominations in the documents of the early years of the Roman rule in Egypt is neither unusual, nor surprising. Yet in these cases, since both documents bear regnal years without the name of the monarch and have been more narrowly dated by the editors on the basis of palaeographical comparisons, we must strongly suspect that both the ‘year 13’ of *SB XVI 12524*, 6 and the ‘year 24’ of *SB XIV 11264*, 9 refer to Ptolemaic regnal years. In fact, the handwriting of *SB XIV 11264* is altogether compatible with a Ptolemaic date. In particular, the shape of *tau* at l. 1 (τῶι) and l. 5 (τό and τούτων) is, as Harrauer<sup>7</sup> notes, the dominant form of *tau* since the late 2nd century BCE. Still, *SB XIV 11264* cannot be regarded as primary evidence that this form survived the ‘Zeitenwende’<sup>8</sup>, since the text is plausibly not later than Mecheir 26 of the 24th year of Ptolemy X Alexander I<sup>9</sup>, i.e. 9 March of 90 BCE<sup>10</sup>. *SB XVI 12524*, of which no image has yet been published, is likely not later than year 13 of Kleopatra VII, i.e. 40/39 BCE<sup>11</sup>, or is much earlier; in light of the considerations presented here, such a petition to an ‘*epistates (komes)* and *archiphylakites*’ is not compatible with a Roman date, since no *archiphylakites* is ever solidly attested during this period. No other petition to an *archiphylakites* has yet been narrowly dated af-

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more probably, are to be read as references to ἀρχιφύλακες; cf. *BL II.1 114* about *O. Wilcken 1578* and cf. the doubts in the edition of *SB VI 9207*, comm. on l. 5.

<sup>6</sup> G. GERACI, *Ordine di trasferimento di due arrestati*, «Aegyptus» 54 (1974), pp. 5-8.

<sup>7</sup> H. HARRAUER, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie*, Stuttgart 2010, *Textband* pp. 246-247, where the date assigned by the *ed. pr.* of *SB XIV 11264* is presented as certain.

<sup>8</sup> HARRAUER, *ibidem*. Better late examples are in *O. Leiden 19* (79 BCE) and *BGU XVI 2602* (ca. 14-13 BCE).

<sup>9</sup> The ‘year 24’ of Ptolemy XII is unlikely: cf. C. BENNETT-M. DEPAUW, *The Reign of Berenike IV (Summer 58-Spring 55 BC)*, «ZPE» 160 (2007), pp. 211-214.

<sup>10</sup> The name of the village of Perseai is mostly used as singular in the Ptolemaic period (9 cases) and as plural in the Roman period. However, *SB XIV 11264* with Περσεῶν at l. 1 would be another Ptolemaic text with the plural noun and should be added to *P. Petrie TCD Boxes 78*, Env. 40, an unpublished text – but already filed in *Trismegistos* as no. 44555 – dated to the 3rd century BCE and listing the names of some villages: Περσεῖαι at l. 5 is probably nominative plural. I thank Willy Clarysse for kindly sharing with me his notes about the Dublin fragment.

<sup>11</sup> In this case, the date of the facts described in the petition (l. 6) would be 10 July 39 BCE.

ter the early 1st century BCE<sup>12</sup> and even Rea specifies – on the basis of Roberts' plates<sup>13</sup> – that 'there are other hands of the same type ranging between 99 B.C. and A.D. 66'.

Firenze

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#### ABSTRACT

*SB XVI 12524* and *SB XIV 11264*, which mention *archiphylakitai* and have been dated to the Augustan age by their editors, are compatible with Ptolemaic dates. The *archiphylakites* is not otherwise attested in the Roman period.

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. *P. Tebt.* I 41 (105-90 BCE). *P. Mich.* XV 688 has been dated to the 2nd or 1st century BCE on palaeographical grounds; however, a 2nd century date is more likely, cf. HARRAUER, *Handbuch*, cit., *Tafelband*, pp. 38-40.

<sup>13</sup> C.H. ROBERTS, *Greek Literary Hands: 350 B.C.-A.D. 400*, Oxford 1956, pp. 8-10.



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