... [verseremo i canoni in natura ogni anno nel mese di] Payni, sull'aia, in prodotto nuovo e mondo, calcolandoli con misura di sei choinikes vostra privata, effettuando la misurazione attraverso i vostri agenti; ricadendo su di voi proprietari tutti quanti i gravami fiscali, su di noi! invece le tasse annuali sul trasporto; e alla scadenza consegnereemo le arure monde da giunco, canna, gramigna ed ogni impurità. Qualora decidiate di dare in affitto.

Penneis, il summenzionato, di anni 50, cicatrice in prossimità del ginocchio destro.

Syros, di anni 35, cicatrice sul piede sinistro.

Anno decimo di Aurelio Antonino Cesare, il sovrano Armeniaco Medico Partica Massimo; Mesore, secondo dei giorni aggiunti.
TEN CONSULAR DATES

In the course of preparing a list of attestations of consulates in the papyri of the period 284-641, we have had occasion to examine a number of anomalies. In this article we discuss ten such difficulties of reading or dating and offer our resolution of each.

1. P.Athen. 34

The editor of this report of a physician did not give a transcription of, nor comment on, the last line of the text. Such reports universally have a date at the end, and at the date indicated by the hand (III-IVp, according to the editor), one would find either a date by regnal years or, in the fourth century, by a consulate. Examining the photograph (pl. XIII), we find that no regnal formula can be read. The writing of this line is smaller (though not by a different hand) than the rest of the document, and we calculate that about as much of this line is lost as is preserved, thus allowing us ca. 20-25 letters. On the basis of the plate, we propose the following reading:

Εὐπατείος Οὐσιλακίου· Ἀρουτέσσιου (καὶ) Φλασσάκεου Εὐσθέανα κόμιτος

The consuls are those of 347. The titles diverge from those attested elsewhere in that Rufinus is not styled praetextus praetorio, and that neither man seems to be styled εὐσθέανα, 6 λαμπρόστατος. But as there are in fact traces below this line, we may suppose that the date continued, giving at least the month and day, and in all likelihood preceding that, τῶν λαμπρόστατων. It is not uncommon for the papyri to alternate between giving λαμπρόστατος with each consul and giving it in the plural after the pair.

For the lack of an article before κόμιτος, cf. P.Princ.II 81.3 (A.D.344).

1) This list will appear in our Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt, forthcoming in Studia Amstelodamensia. For a further consular problem with significant implications for the Fasti, see our forthcoming article in Mnemosyne 31 (1978).

2) For this class of documents the literature cited in P.Oxy.XLV 3245 introd.

3) For the consulate see P.Oxy.IX 1190.15; XLIII 3146.1; P.Ant.I 31.13; and P. Calr.Pref.39.22.

4) Compare, e.g. from A.D.372, P.Vindob.SIjp.13.1 and P.Lips.85.1.
2. P.Lond. III 1113 (p. lvii descr.)

Seventy years after its description, this text is still the only reference in the papyri to the consuls of 367. It therefore seemed to us worthwhile to check the exact reading. In a visit to London in May, 1977, Bagnall read the date as follows:

\[ \text{εμετά τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίου Λουπικίνου καὶ Ἰ[ν]οβίνου} \]
\[ \text{ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑ ὀδὶ καὶ πεδινῆς δυνάμεως καὶ Φλαουίου} \]
\[ \text{[ca 8: vacat?] Ἰοβίνου ΤΟῦ λαμπροσώπων.} \]

It is remarkable that the scribe gives Fl. Lupicinus the titles of comes equitum et pedi-tum. He is otherwise recorded as having been magister equitum in the east from 364 - 367. His colleague, Fl. Lovinus, was magister equitum in the west. He apparently has no title in the consular formula here other than vir clarissimus. It is not certain if there was writing at the start of line 3, where any ink is now completely effaced. No other names are recorded for Lovinus which one could restore.

3. P.Lips. 13

The loan of money recorded on this papyrus is to bear interest starting from the next month, Hathyr, of the current 8th indiction; the present month is therefore Phaophi, and line 21 indeed gives a date of Phaophi 25 = 22/23.x. The editors restore the consular date as follows:

\[ \text{[Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Οὐδολεντινιανοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ Φλαουίου} \]
\[ \text{[Οὐδολεντιοῦ] Αὐγούστου}. \]

On the basis of this reading, they date the papyrus to A.D.366, for Valentinianus and Valens were consuls together in 365. The editors remark (lines 1 - 2 n.) on the anomaly of an 8th indiction's (364/5) being spoken of as still current in 366, but their confidence in the reading, particularly of the phi in line 1, leads them to reject the testimony of the indiction. 8

5) We wish to record our thanks to T.S. Pattle of the British Library for his cordial help on this visit.


8) The volume properly has only one editor, Mittels, but it is clear that in P.Lips. 13 the final reading of these lines was that of Wilcken.
This restoration and dating arouse suspicion on several grounds. (1) It is very rare for the indiction to disagree with a consular date by more than one year, and most such instances in fact move in the other direction, i.e. the indiction is too high.

(2) The restoration supposes a much larger restoration at the left in these lines (11 letters in line 1, 9 in line 2) than in the other lines, where only 1-3 letters are lost. The editors were conscious of this difficulty and remarked, "Die beiden ersten Zeilen, bei denen etwas mehr fehlt als bei den Übrigen, müssen weiter nach links ausgerückt gewesen sein, als die nachfolgenden." We have examined a good photograph of the papyrus, and the left margin is broken evenly all along the side, and the number of missing letters must have been the same (2-3) all the way along, except for lines 4-8, where a small strip of papyrus projects to the left with one or two letters on it. This means that one would have to assume a very large projection in line 1 to accommodate the editors' restoration. A restoration of 3 letters would be expected.

(3) The form of the imperial titles restored is very odd. The one secure example of a papyrus giving the titulature for the consuls of the year 365, SB III 6612.2 (22 October 365) reads: ὤπατείς τῶν διστοτίων ὑπὸ Ὀμήρινιονοὶ καὶ Ὀμῆριντος αὐτοῦ Ἀδριατίνων. The phrase ὉΤΥV διστοτίων ἡμῶν is almost never omitted from the consular titulature of living monarchs. Further, one does not expect to find Flavius with Valens alone; if it occurs at all (as in P.Lips.33 II.1), it should come before both; and normally with emperors it is not found at all.

(4) The document was written by a scribe named Philosarapis. This scribe also occurs in other Leipzig papyri, namely P.Lips. 17 (377) and 28 (381), signing in a manner similar to that here. It is a priori probable that P.Lips. 13 also falls around the same time as his other two texts. It seems to us reasonable, therefore, to seek a solution which takes all of these objections into account. This can only be the dating of the papyrus in October, 379, at which time an 8th indiction was current. The consuls of 379, O.Magnus Ausonius and Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius, are manifestly not present in P.Lips. 13, for the

9) For this we thank R.Jager of the University Library in Leipzig.

10) In line 8, print ἔτων ἡμῶν.

11) This connection, we find, also struck J.Schwartz; Philosarapis also appears in P.Strasb.246, a fragment now lacking any date, and Schwartz wondered "si le P.Lips. 13 pouvait être daté de 379 p.C."
reading of Augustus in line 1 is certain. Moreover, no texts have yet been published
with these consuls. In fact, no texts from the year 379 with any consulate have been
published. The consuls of 378, however, are attested, for example in BGU XIII 2339.1,
where they have the form τῶν δεσπότων ἡμῶν Ὀὐδεντος τῶς καὶ Ὀὐδεντινιανοῦ
tῶς Π' Τῦν αἰώνιαν Ἀγαθοῦν.

P.Lips.13 does not at first sight accommodate quite this formula. Two remarks are
in order before we go further. First, the papyrus is not complete at the top; no top
edge is preserved, and it is quite possible that line 1 of the preserved section is not the
original first line. Secondly, the photograph does not quite support the editors’ text at
all points. A diplomatic transcription of what we can read is as follows:

[ ... ]εἰλανού[ ca 10 ]γαυούστουκα[ ca 7 ]
[ ... ]αυ.ο.[ ca 11 ]

1. We see no trace of the supposedly certain phi here; Mittels read only κα[λ] in the
"Erstdruck", no.6, but Wilcken thought he saw a phi.

2. The third letter is very probably tau, as it is formed in the same way as the tau
of σύνις in line 6. Mittels read αυτο in the "Erstdruck". The last letter before the
lacuna is represented by scattered traces, and we are not absolutely certain what is ink.
Arguments can be made for either upsilon or kappa. There may be some ink after the
letter in question, depending on its identification.

On the basis of this transcription and the known phraseology of other documents of
the period, we offer the following reconstruction:

[Μετὰ τῆς ὑπάτειαν τῶν δεσπότων ἃγιαν]
[Ὀδέντος Ἀγαθοῦ Τῶς καὶ Ὀὐδεν]-
[τῶν]εἰλανού [νέου αἰώνιου] Ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τ........]

4 [ ... ]αυ.ο.[ τῶς β'] vocat

This restoration provides a regular line length and relies, so far as it goes, on regular
phraseology. But the titles of the junior Augustus are a problem; that he was called αἰώ-
νιος and Valens not is a minor problem; if necessary, the word could be added to Va-
lens’ titles and those redistributed slightly over lines 1 - 2. That each emperor is sepa-
rately called Augustus is also not a problem, though it is more common earlier in the
fourth century, in the time of the sons of Constantine. But how are we to fill the re-
main ing space? It is conceivable that the remainder of line 3 was blank, as also the
start of line 4, though it does not seem very probable. The contemporary documents provide no phrase beyond Augustus which could be restored here. We can suggest two possibilities, both of which would be unique for this period. (1) Read Αὐτῶν ῥατόρος. The difficulty here is twofold, that this title does not appear in literature between the early fourth century and the reign of Anastasius, 12) and that the traces before the lacuna, after what would be a kappa, are not likely to be compatible with rho. 13)

(2) Read τοῦ δέκατοῦ αὐτοῦ. This restoration fills the space (as Αὐτῶν ῥατόρος does not), expresses correctly the relationship of Valentinianus II to Valens, and is not an anachronism. It encounters, however, two objections also: that the phrase is otherwise unattested (but cf. in ZPE 23 [1977] 218 the phrase Γρατιλαυνω τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου υἱοῦ τοῦ δεκατοῦ ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ Αὐγούστου); and that if one reads αὐτοῦ one must dismiss several traces on the photograph as not being ink. From the photograph we cannot exclude either of these hypotheses and prefer in consequence to include neither in the text.

The exact date of P.Lips.13 is 23.x.379 (379/380 being a leap year).

4. SPP XX 1 14

According to the editor, this text is dated to the consulate of Honorius VIII and Theodosius III, or 409. One is troubled, however, by the unexplained blank of the entire left half of line 2 and the apparent word ending which suggests a word between Αὐγ(οῦτο) and τῶ γ. Still worse, we find in Aegyptus 12 (1932) 375 that Zereteli, rereading the original papyrus, read the indiction number in line 2 as 15. But we have seen on a photograph that the iota is absent; hence it is 5. Neither 15 nor 5 suits the editor's consular date, for 409 is the end of indiction 7 and the start of 8. If we assume that we must be in a year which saw either the end or the start of a 5th indiction, that one of the consuls was a Theodosius and that the other was serving for the third time, we are forced to the consulate of 420, with Theodosius for the 9th time and Fl. Constantius for the 3rd. Now the year of the consulate is itself excluded, since it was divided between the 3rd and 4th inductions. And since the consuls of 421 appear.

12) We find the term still in P.Lond.III 1291 (p.lxxi; cf. p.336), in 329 (cf. P.Oxy. X 1265.16; 336 A.D.), but it is exceptional even then. The first example of its re-introduction known to us is P.Lond.III 992, in 507.

13) We have considered possible restorations for consulates in the sixth century (cf. preceding note), but in our opinion the handwriting cannot belong to this period, and in any case we have found no suitable consular formula, and Philosorapis purs a later date out of court.
in a postconsular formula in August, 422 (SPP XX 118), and our text is dated to Meso-
re 1 (?), or 25 July, a date in 422 is unlikely. The year thus must be 421. The 5th
indiction began in this year. We suggest that the text of lines 1-2 of this papyrus be
read and restored as follows:

Μετὰ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ διεπόδοτος ἡμῶν Θεοδόσιου ΤΟÙ σιθμίου Αὐγοῦστου
Ετὰ 6' καὶ Φλ(αυ)ποῦ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) πατὰρ(ικίου) τὸ γ, Μεσορη ἡ
Τωντίνων ἐν Ἄλεξ(ανδρείᾳ).

For the formula of this year cf. e.g. P.Oxy.VIII 1134 and Pap.Lugd.Bat.XIII 8 and
13. 14)

5. P. Haun.Inv.318 15)

The editors correctly dated this papyrus to 439, as it has a postconsular formula of
Theodosius XVI and Fl. Faustus. But they were unable to make out the end of the first
line, where the scribe has not written the date correctly. On the plate we read the
consular date as follows:

Μετὰ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ διεπόδοτος ἡμῶν Θεοδόσιου τὸ 6' καὶ Πελοπ(οτάτων)
ΤOU <τOÙ> λαμπρ(οτάτων)

In all likelihood, the scribe has washed out something after Theodosius' numeral, but
the precise order in which he made the other corrections is not clear to us.

6. P. Mil.1 64

According to the editor, this text is dated to the consulate of Fl. Anatolius, Choiak
10, and speaks of the current ninth indiction in line 9. On this basis, the date must be
6.xii.440, and it is to 440 that the editor dates it. But he remarks, "Non è da escludere
la possibilità che la data fosse espresso con la formula postconsolare." When one
considers that there are 10 letters restored in line 1 compared to 18 in 3, 19 in 4, and
so forth, one suspects that a postconsular formula, which would occupy 17 letters, is
indeed to be restored. Furthermore, one can see clearly on Tavola XXV that the reading

14) It is curious to note that Wessely apparently mentioned this text years before
he published it, in MPER V, p. 100 bottom, as PER No.4119, and there he dates it to
420, identifying the consuls as Theodosius (no numeral) and Constans (sic) III. For some
reason this citation was not reprinted in SB I 5159ff. along with its neighbors.

15) Univ. of Copenhagen, Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin 6
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δεότης in line 9 is not possible. We read, in fact, δεότης on the photograph, and Professor Orsolina Montevvecchi has been so kind as to confirm this reading on the original for us. The date is therefore a year later, 6. xii. 441.

7. SB V 8264

The editors present the text of lines 1-2 of this papyrus as follows:

[† 'Υκατε[α]ς Φλαου[ου Μπαε[ου ΤΠ[ ]

Ναμπροτάτου, Φαρν[ο[θ[ε[α]ς ιν]ινέ[κτ[ο(νο[ς[ θ//

They dated it to 523. The difficulty arises, however, that Pharmouthi of indiction 2 fell in 524. Furthermore, the restoration of line 1 amounts to 8 letters, counting the cross, while that of line 2 comes to 14 letters, as do the restorations of succeeding lines, within a small margin of variance. It is therefore a priori likely that in fact we are dealing with a postconsular date, and that the papyrus is to be placed in 524. Professor Hombert kindly examined the papyrus for us, and Bagnall subsequently studied it with him. We think it safe to say that there is no objection to the restoration of a postconsulate, since the only letter in line 1 before the name of the consul can as well be a ιν as a σιγμα in this hand, and the edge of the papyrus is straight. We read, therefore, [Μετ[ι την ιππατε[α[ν ΧΤΧ.

8. SB VIM 9773

According to its editor's text and restorations, this document is one of only two papyri with consular dates by the consuls of 405. His text reads as follows:

[ Χ Χ Χ βασιλε[ας του]

δημάρχου δεσποτάτου Φλαου[ου Όνυριου

τοῦ αυτοκράτορος, δια[κρα[τορο[ς Τ]<θ//

This text must arouse suspicion, for it would offer an example of dating by regnal years under Honorius, when in fact no dates by regnal years are known after 385

16) The only alternative means of avoiding the conflict is to read a different month in line 2; but Professor Hombert and Bagnall are agreed that this is not possible.

17) See the remarks of P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp, p. 239-243 on the few
before the publication of Justinian's Novella 47 in A.D.537. In addition, it suggests that Stilicho's colleague in 405, Fl. Anthemius, was ignored in the papyrus, whereas we know that he appears with Stilicho in SB VIII 9931. Finally, ἐνδοξόστατος is not otherwise attested before 446 as an epithet for a consul, and one may observe also that the word μηνύς is superfluous and in fact undesirable between the month name and the day.

On the other hand, after 566 the consular date is never again in the papyri given by the consulate of a commoner, who can be styled ἐνδοξόστατος. As the earlier period is excluded by the fact that consular dates and regnal formulas are not blended in this way, we are limited to the period 537 - 566. Indiction 4 falls in this period in 540 (we are in Phoophi, thus in the first Julian year of an indiction, e.g. of 540/1) and 555. The sequence of letters in line 3, ιουστι, suggests that we have the consul of 540, Fl. Iustinus, and since the text evidently does not have a postconsular phrase or a numeral after the name of the consul, it is not likely that p.c. Basili 14 (555) is the year in question.

On the basis of these deductions, we requested a photograph from Vienna; once again we have to thank H. Harauer and M. Fackelmann for responding to our request. On this photograph we read the following:

βασιλεύς ΤΟΥ Βελιστάτου καὶ ἐνδοξόστατος

TOU αἰώνιοι Αὐτοῦ στράτηγος καὶ Αὐτοῦ ἱεράτης

ἐποικὶ Ιέρουσαλήμ Φαλαινοῦ ἰουστινιανοῦ

ΤΟΥ ἐνδοξόστατος Φαλαινοῦ ἰουστίνιου τῆς τῆς ἐντυπώσεως τετάρτης ἰουστίνιον ἐν Ἰοκάτω (λέους) ἐν Ἰοκάτω

The papyrus is thus datable to 540, in the 14th regnal year of Justinian (which documents of the later fourth century where regnal years appear.

18) See ZPE 5 (1970) 86 for the correction of the consulate in this text.
19) BGU XII 2141 is the first example; and after that there is not another instance until 492, in SB VI 9152.
20) In line 8 also one must read Ἰοκάτω (λέους).
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...gan on 1.Iv), in the 4th indiction, and in the consulate of Fl. Iustinus. The date is 17 October.

9. P. Vindob. Gr. Inv. 25948

The editor presents as follows the text of lines 1-2 of this papyrus, which he dates to A.D. 571:

\[ \text{[t Μετὰ τὴν ὀπιστείαν Φιλοσοφίου ἱστομέτρου τοῦ ἐνδοεξοτάτου ἐκτοῦ ἐκτούρισμος.} \]

Line 8 provides the further information that indiction 6 is about to begin, presumably in the following year, for this document is a lease of land for the crops of that indiction. As an indiction 6 began in 572, the indiction accords properly with the editor's date. There is, however, the difficulty that the emperor Justin is never referred to in a consular dating as simply Fl. Iustinus; he consistently has a complicated and long formula of which the following is a simple version: Βασιλείας Κατ ὀπιστείας τοῦ διστάτου ἡμῶν Ἰω. ἱστομέτρου τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀγαθοστου, ἐκτοῦ -. And the epithet ἐνδοεξοτάτος is never used of a reigning emperor, only of a private person. We are thus prohibited from dating this papyrus to 571.

The only possible alternative is 541, which was indeed the year after the consulate of Fl. Iustinus (compare previous document). And the simple titularure of the Vienna papyrus coincides exactly with that used for Iustinus in 540. One may naturally object that the mention of a "sixth year" in the formula is an obstacle. But on the photograph printed as Plate III in the edition, we read the end of line 1 instead as Θόθ 

\[ \text{... \&...}, \]

providing the month and removing a sixth year. We cannot say with confidence what followed Thoth, but presumably there was a date written out.

10. CPLat. 147

The consular date in line 2 of this fragment is printed as follows:

\[ \text{[um XXXIII post c(onsulatum) Basili bis anno XXI} \]

21) TAAANTA 6 (1975) 52.

22) The one curious feature about a postconsular date in September, 541 by Fl. Iustinus is that the consulate of Fl. Basilius was evidently already known in Egypt in January, as we learn from P. Cair. Masp. II 67126.36 and P. Lond. V 1719.1 But SPP XX
To this text R. Cavenaile gives the date A.D. 548, evidently on the basis of the assumption that the year 21 mentioned is the regnal year of Justinian, which ended in 548. This dating, however, ignores the figure XXXIII, leaving it without explanation, and does not indicate why we should find the word bis in the formula. On the plate published by C. Wessely in SPP XIV, Tafel XII, we read the following:

\[ \text{anno XXXIII: pos(t) c(onsulatum) Basili ...} \text{anno XXI.} \]

The year 34 is to be taken as the regnal year of Justinian, running from 1.iv.560 to 31.iii.561; the 21st year of the postconsular era of Basilius can be 561 or 562, and is certainly 561 here.\(^{23}\) We may therefore date this document with confidence to the first three months of 561.\(^{24}\)

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136.4, if correctly read, offers an example in February-March of a postconsular date by Fl. Iustinus.

23) During the period after 541, we find two ways of reckoning consular and postconsular years in the papyri. One of these treats the year after the consulate as p.c.1; the other calls it year 2 of the consulate. In practice, "consulate" and "after the consulate" are interchanged, and we thus find two numbers in use for a given year. For the workings of this system, see the remarks of E. Stein in Mélanges Bidez (Bruxelles 1934) 869-878 and 887-894. In Cd'E 28 (1953) 373, we find under L.3 the suggestion of 562 as a date for this text, evidently based on the consulate but not the regnal years.

24) We do not know what the few letters after Basilius' name are; there is an abbreviation stroke after them, so that bis is not possible. Possibly the letters after the first are iu plus abbreviation, i.e. iu(nioris), as Basilius is styled in Latin formulas, cf. J. -O. Tjäder, Die nichtliterarischen Lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445-700 (Lund 1955) 521 s.v. Consuln. The u, however, is rather dubious, and one is still left without an explanation of what precedes. It does not seem possible to read v(iri) c(larissimi) at any point.
One of the more interesting, and neglected, texts for the history of the beginning of the fifteen-year indiction cycles is P.Erl.52, an account of various commodities disbursed for official purposes. The first edition presents numerous difficulties, and the preservation of parts of the text is poor. We have been led by our study of the indiction system to examine P.Erl.52 more closely on the basis of photographs kindly obtained by Professor J.Herrmann. From these we present a revised text and translation of the best-preserved part of the papyrus, B Recto, and a list of some corrections to the text of other parts of the papyrus.

**Column I**

23 κρέας [ ] λέτρα εργα

24 οὖτως

25 μηνιά) Μαίων [Κ]ορυνθιά μάρου εἰς Τ[εντ]όραν ἀπὸ Η" ἱνδικ(τίονος) λέτρα φίλ[ε]

26 λογοθεσίου εἰς τὴν πρὸ ἄ' Κολ[ανδῖν] Μαίων ὑπατείας Οὐδεμιοισούοι παῖς Ἀννισοῦ

27 Τὸν λαμπροτάτουν

28 οὖτως

29 κ"" ἱνδικ(τίονος) π(αρό) Κορυνθιά μάρου λέτρα (τραί) ὑμί

30 λογοθεσίου εἰς ἱνδικ(τίονος) π(αρό) ΠΟΤΙΤΙ ΠΡΩΤΑΤΗΕΤΟΣ Ἁτλ κοι(νοῦς)

31 πομέδι κόμης ἔτοιμος

32 λογοθεσίου εἰς ἱνδικ(τίονος)

33 οὖτως

34 π(αρό) ἱδρυμέναι Κασαλοῦ

35 π(αρό) Νερώτη Αἰολοκόρου καὶ κοιν(νοῦς) λέτρα(τραί) χῶς γῆ(νονταί) ἄ' π(οικεί-

1) The results of this study will be embodied in our forthcoming Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt, in *Studia Amstelodamensia*.

2) It should be pointed out that A and B join exactly.