

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:

] an(no) XXXIII: pos(t) c(onsulatum) Basili ... ( ) 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.<sup>23)</sup> We may therefore date this document with confidence to the first three months of 561.<sup>24)</sup>

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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 post-consular 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. *Konsuln*. 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.

P. ERL. 52 B Recto: A REEDITION

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<sup>1)</sup> 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.<sup>2)</sup>

Column I

- 
- |    |  |                                     |
|----|--|-------------------------------------|
| 23 | κίβραϊως [   | ] λί(τραι) / βρα                    |
| 24 | οὕτως  |                                     |
| 25 | μη(νὶ) Μαΐων [Κορνηλίω Μώρου εἰς Τ[εντ]ύραν ἀπὸ κ <sup>ω</sup> ἰνδικ(τίονος) λῖ(τραι) ψ[ς] |                                     |
| 26 | λοιπ(αὶ) εἰς τὴν πρὸ α <sup>ω</sup> Καλ(ανδῶν) Μαΐων ὑπατείας Οὐλοουσιανοῦ καὶ Ἀννιανοῦ    |                                     |
| 27 | τῶν λαμπροτάτων  | λί(τραι) / Ααμε                     |
| 28 | οὕτως  |                                     |
| 29 | κ <sup>ω</sup> ἰνδικ(τίονος) π(αρά) Κορνηλίω Μώρου   | λί(τραι) υμη                        |
| 30 | λογοθεσίου ιη <sup>ω</sup> ἰνδικ(τίονος) π(αρά) Πωῦτι Πχοταπῆτος καὶ κοι(ωνοῖς)            |                                     |
| 31 | ποιμέσι κῶμης Πτύτεις  | λί(τραι) υια ὀμ(οῖως)               |
| 32 | λογοθεσίου ιζ <sup>ω</sup> ἰνδικ(τίονος)   | λί(τραι) / Απς                      |
| 33 | οὕτως  |                                     |
| 34 | π(αρά) Ἰσχυρίωνι Κασιανοῦ  | λί(τραι) υ                          |
| 35 | π(αρά) Νεφῶτη Διοσκόρου καὶ κοι(ωνοῖς) μεναι)  | λί(τραι) χπς γ(ίνονται) αἰ π(ροκει- |

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.

- 36 κριθῆς (ἀρτάβαι) φζ γ̄ ῑο̄  
 37 οὕτως  
 38 ᾱ ἰνδικ(τίονος)  
 39 διαδόταις ἐπὶ τόπων Οὐαλεντίνῃ καὶ Μάρκῃ (ἀρτάβαι) ολ β̄ η̄  
 40 οὕτως  
 41 κ̄ ἰνδικ(τίονος) (ἀρτ.) ρπςL ιζ̄ ἰνδικ(τίονος) (ἀρτ.) μδ δ̄ κ̄ο̄  
 42 ὑποδέκταις τοῦ νομοῦ εἰς τὰς ἐπὶ τόπ(ων) χορηγίας (ἀρτ.) κζL  
 43 οὕτως  
 44 κ̄ ἰνδικ(τίονος) (ἀρτ.) θ ζ̄ ιζ̄ ἰνδικ(τίονος) (ἀρτ.) ιη̄ γ̄  
 45 εἰς δὲ Τεντύραν ἀπὸ ιζ̄ ἰνδικ(τίονος) (ἀρτ.) ν γ(ίνονται) αἰ (προκείμεναι)  
 46 γ(ίνονται) μεταβ... (ἀρτ.) τη δ̄ κ̄ο̄  
 47 λοιπ(αἰ) (ἀρτ.) τρθ[η]

## Column II

- 48 οὐτ[ως]  
 49 κ̄ ἰνδικ(τίονος) (ἀρτάβαι) [ λ̄ ζ̄  
 50 ιθ̄ ἰνδικ(τίονος) (ἀρτάβαι) ι γ̄  
 51 ιη̄ ἰνδικ(τίονος) (ἀρτάβαι) μη L δ̄  
 52 ιζ̄ ἰνδικ(τίονος) (ἀρτάβαι) ρπθ κ̄ο̄  
 53 γ(ίνονται) αἰ (προκείμεναι)  
 54 ὄχυρου λι(τρῶν) (μυριάδες) ια / Θ̄σ̄.  
 55 οὕτως  
 56 εἰς Μαξιμιανόπολ(ιν) λι(τρῶν) (μυρ.) η / Θ̄.δ̄  
 57 οὕτως  
 58 Κτίστη Κοπρήτος γ(ίνονται) αἰ (προκείμεναι)  
 59 Ἰανουαρίῳ ἀπὸ λι(τρῶν) (μυρ.) θ̄ μετὰ  
 60 τὰς οὐσας ᾱ ἰνδικ(τίονος) λι(τρῶν) (μυρ.) β̄ / ΗΕ αἰ  
 61 λοιπ(αἰ) λι(τρῶν) (μυρ.) ζ̄ / Εημ  
 62 οὕτως  
 63 κ̄ ἰνδικ(τίονος) <λι(τραί)> / Δφ ιη̄ ἰνδικ(τίονος)  
 64 λι(τρῶν) (μυρ.) ε̄ / Ζυμ  
 65 Ποαμητ( ) ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης

- 66 ἀπὸ ιη´ ἰνδικ(τίονος) ἀπὸ λι(τρῶν) (μυρ.) β´ μετὰ τὰς  
 67 οὐσας α´ ἰνδικ(τίονος) λ[ι](τρῶν) (μυρ.) α´ ως αἱ  
 68 λοιπ(αἱ) λί(τραι) / Θρμδ  
 69 Ψενπνῆχθι ναυκλήρη  
 70 ἀπὸ λι(τρῶν) (μυρ.) β´ Ε μετὰ τὰς οὐσας  
 71 α´ ἰνδικ(τίονος) λί(τρας) / ςψ αἱ λοιπ(αἱ) λι(τρ.) (μυρ.) α´ Ηφ γίνονται αἱ  
 π(ροκεῖμεναι)  
 72 λοιπ(αἱ) λογοθ(εσίου) ιη´ ἰνδικ(τίονος) π(αρά) ὑποδέκταις  
 73 τοῦ νομοῦ λι(τρῶν) (μυρ.) γ σ

35 Uncertain if papyrus has κοιν, κοι or κοιν[ω( )] 52 ρθ: ρ ex u

23. Possibly, as in 36, nothing was written in this line between κρέως and the amount.

25. The editor did not understand  $\mu\eta^3 = \mu\eta(\nu\acute{\iota})$ , and he therefore rejected his own correct suggestion of Μαῖω(ν).

31. There is a line under the end of ποιμέσι and the start of κώμης.

35. For γίνονται αἱ π(ροκεῖμεναι) see H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae I* (Amsterdam 1973) 54 with other references. The editor (35n.) suggested this resolution but rejected it, evidently not understanding its use at the end of an account where the total is given at the top and then analyzed.

38. This line was apparently added between the lines as a supplement to διαδότης in the next line.

46. The editor's μεταβολεῖ has no sense in this place. We expect a form, probably passive, of μεταβάλλω, cf. line 7 of A Recto.

47. The editor places λοιπ(αἱ) in the preceding line, but this gives no sense, as the figure in 47 is in fact the balance, while 46 is the total of the figures above. The word is not really quite aligned with either line.

48. It is possible that the papyrus is virtually complete at top and that no text is lost (also in Column I). In this case it would be likely that lines 49ff. give a breakdown of line 47. But mutilation of the amounts makes it impossible to be certain.

54. The editor failed to recognize  $\wedge$  as the sign for myriads, but transcribed it as pi throughout, leading to grave problems in understanding the arithmetic.

58. There is a marginal stroke next to this line.

72. λογοθέσιον, absent from LSJ and WB, is cited by WB Supplement from this papyrus and from P.Oxy.XVIII 2187.9, where the editor translates it "audit of the accounts". Daris, Spoglio, adds PSI VII 767.49.

## Translation

## Column I

Meat		2,651 lbs.
	As follows:	
In the month of May, to Cornelius son of Moros, to Tentyra, from the 20th indiction		7[06] lbs.
Balance on Ante I Kal. May in the consulate of Volusianus and Annianus the most illustrious		1,945 lbs.
	As follows:	
20th indiction, with Cornelius son of Moros		448 lbs.
From the audit of the 18th indiction, with Paos son of Pchotapes and associates, shepherds of the village of Pityis		411 lbs.
Likewise, from the audit of the 17th indiction		1,086 lbs.
	As follows:	
With Ischyriion son of Kasianos		400 lbs.
With Nephotes son of Dioskoros and associates		686 lbs.
The preceding sums agree.		
Barley		707 $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{12}$ art.
	As follows:	
To the local diadotai of the 1st indiction, Valentinus and Marcus		230 $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ art.
	As follows:	
20th indiction		186 $\frac{1}{2}$ art.
17th indiction		44 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{24}$ art.
To the hypodektai of the nome, for local provisions		27 $\frac{1}{2}$ art.
	As follows:	
20th indiction		9 $\frac{1}{6}$ art.
17th indiction		18 $\frac{1}{3}$ art.
To Tentyra from the 17th indiction		50 art.
The preceding sums agree.		
Total transferred (?)		308 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{24}$ art.
Balance		399 [ $\frac{1}{8}$ ] art.

## Column II

	As follows:	
20th indiction		[.]30 $\frac{1}{6}$ art.
19th indiction		10 $\frac{1}{3}$ art.
18th indiction		48 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ art.
17th indiction		189 $\frac{1}{24}$ art.
The preceding sums agree.		
Chaff		119,2[.] lbs.
	As follows:	

To Maximianopolis 89, [.]4 lbs.  
 As follows:  
 To Ktistes son of Kopres The preceding sums agree.  
 To Ianuarius, from 90,000 lbs. after the sums from the 1st indiction, 28,060 lbs.,  
 the balance 65,940 lbs. [sic]  
 As follows:  
 20th indiction 4,500 lbs.  
 18th indiction 57,440 lbs.  
 To Pasmēt( ) from Elephantine, from the 18th indiction, from 20,000 lbs., after the  
 amount from the 1st indiction, 10,856 lbs., balance 9,144 lbs.  
 To Psenpnechthis the naukleros, from 25,000 lbs., after the amount from the 1st in-  
 diction, 6,500 lbs., balance 18,500 lbs. The preceding sums agree.  
 Balance from the audit of the 18th indiction with the hypodektai of the nome, 30,200 lbs.

A brief explanation of the addition may be useful in the case of doubtful points.

Lines 23-35, meat: the basic sum is line 25 + line 27 = line 23 (706 + 1945 = 2,651). The figure of 1,945 is reckoned as follows: lines 34 + 35 = line 32 (400 + 686 = 1,086); lines 32 + 29 + 31 = line 27 (1,086 + 448 + 411 = 1,945).

Lines 36-47, barley: the basic sum is 47 + 46 = 36 (399 1/8 + 308 1/4 1/24 = 707 1/3 1/12). Line 46 is reached by adding lines 39, 42 and 45 (230 2/3 1/8 + 27 1/2 + 50 = 308 1/4 1/24). Line 39 is the addition of two sums in line 41, and line 42 is the addition of two sums in line 44.

Lines 54-73, chaff: some figures are lost, making a complete reconciliation impossible. Lines 60 + 61 must = 59, but the scribe incorrectly wrote an epsilon instead of alpha in the thousands' place in line 61; that alpha was right is shown by adding 63 to 64 (4,500 + 57,440). Perhaps alpha was misread as epsilon from an account on which the figures originally stood. Line 66 less line 67 = line 68. Line 70 less line 71 = line 71 (18,500). Lines 61, 68 and 71 add up to 89,584, evidently what should have stood in line 56 (we cannot say if it actually did). Line 54 minus line 56 = line 73, but uncertainty in the last digits in lines 54 and 56 makes the exact sum (and the accuracy of the reckoning) uncertain.

This account has numerous points of interest. Here we are concerned with only one, the mentions of indictions. There are mentions of the 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, and 1st indictions. The first four of these are certainly, since we have a clear date by consuls in line 4 of 30 April 314, the indictions of 308/9 through 311/2. The usage of such numbers was demonstrated by Kase,<sup>3)</sup> who remarked that these numbers equal the regnal

3) P.Princ.Roll, pp.26-27.

years of Galerius, the senior emperor at the time. We reserve a discussion of the problems concerning this style of reckoning to our forthcoming monograph.

The 1st indiction is the most recent, evidently (lines 38, 39, 60, 70, 71), and its harvest has already taken place. The entire account mentions only one expenditure after this date, in May (line 25), and we think it is a fair deduction from the fact that the last balance cited is that of 30 April that the account itself was drawn up in or shortly after May, 314. It is evident that indiction 1 in this context can be only the 1st indiction of the cycle of 312, i.e. 312/3. It is natural enough that indiction 2, 313/4, is not mentioned, for its harvest fell in 314 itself; the taxes would not begin to be paid, and the revenues thus be used for expenditures, until shortly after the time to which we assign this account, i.e. the harvest season of indiction 2 in 314. No mention of an indiction 2 is thus to be expected.<sup>4)</sup>

The broader significance of the evidence of P.Erl. 52 will be treated in our monograph on chronology. But it is important to point out that this is the only evidence known so far mentioning indiction 1 of the first cycle in a document. From P.Erl. 52 we can therefore deduce that by spring, 314, the authorities in Egypt were using the cycle of consecutively numbered indictions based on 312/3 = year 1, and that this system was used with reference not only to the current year but with regard to the past one. At all events, by May or June, 314, the cycle was in use with respect to the time since 312.

The other columns of this papyrus might also benefit from a reedition; and indeed P. Erl. 105 - 110, which clearly come from the same source and are closely related, could also use work. The photographs are not sufficiently clear to permit this at present, and recourse to the originals, not throughout well preserved, will be needed. For the present, we give a list of corrections to the remainder of P.Erl. 52 which can be made from the photographs. (X → Y means "for X read Y".)

P.Erl. 52 A Recto

Line 3: Ιχνη γαῖ → Ι. / Ηρ γίνονται αἱ πορεύμεναι

4: This line is heavily mutilated, but there seems space enough in the lacuna to restore the name at least of the second consul: [καὶ Πρόβου]

4) Cl. Préaux, Cd'E 18 (1943) 169 pointed out that this papyrus contained a clear mention of the 1st indiction of 312/3, but her remarks have not been noticed by subsequent scholars, so far as we have seen.

5: λι(τραι) πγ σ → λι(τρῶν) (μυρ.) γ σ, cf. lines 54ff.

6: γαι' → γ(ίνονται) αἱ π(ροκείμεναι)

7: Ἀππωνίου → ἄνωνικοῦ

9: ]θασίου → λογο]θεσίου

10: Ἰνδικ[τίονος] ..... χορη → Ἰνδικ(τίονος) [εἰς τὰς] ἐπὶ τόπων χορη|  
[γίας]

19: Ι.λογου → Ι. λογοθ(εσίου)

P. Erl. 52 A Verso

Above the middle, one reads, in the same hand as B Verso, three lines:

Βορήσεως (cf. B Verso)

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Παχών

P. Erl. 52 B Verso

Line 78: Ψενεπ[ιμ]ιος → Ψενετύμιος

80: τοῦ θυ( ) → Τέχθ(ω)

ζ ρζΛ' → (τάλαντα) ιζς

82: (τάλαντον) αΛ επ → (τάλαντον) α (δραχμαῖ) Δπ

91: (τάλαντα) βΞβ → (τάλαντα) β (δραχμαῖ) Β

93: Ἀ[ρ]ιῆτος → Ἀτρήτος

The numerals in lines 80 and 81 refer, in our opinion, to pagí.

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