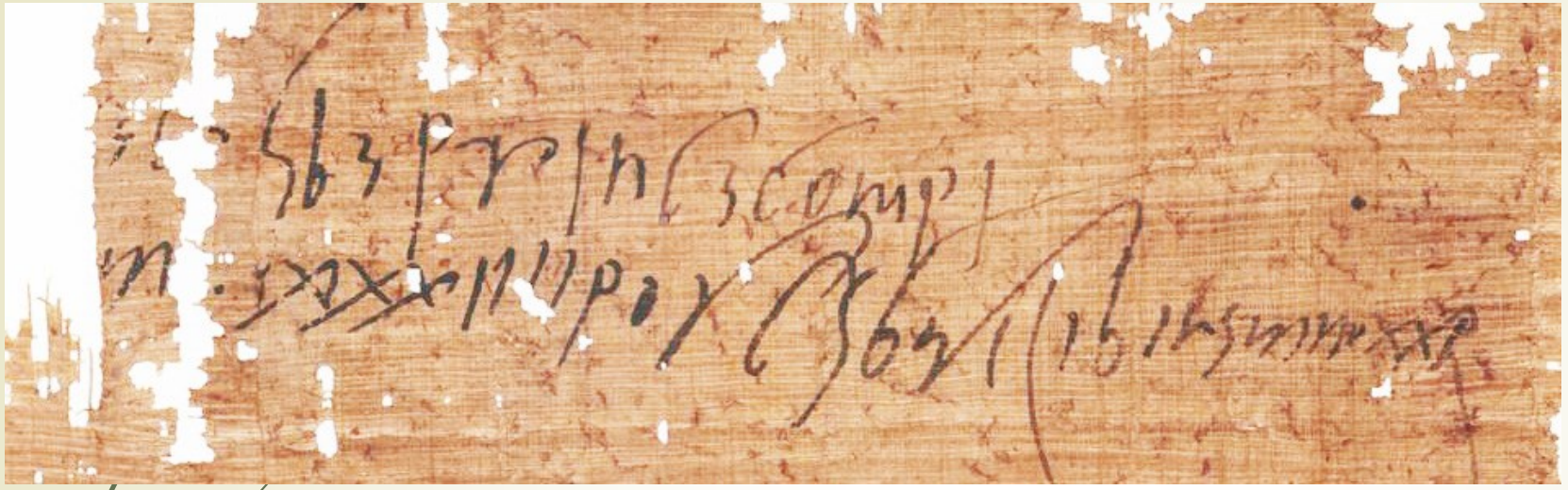
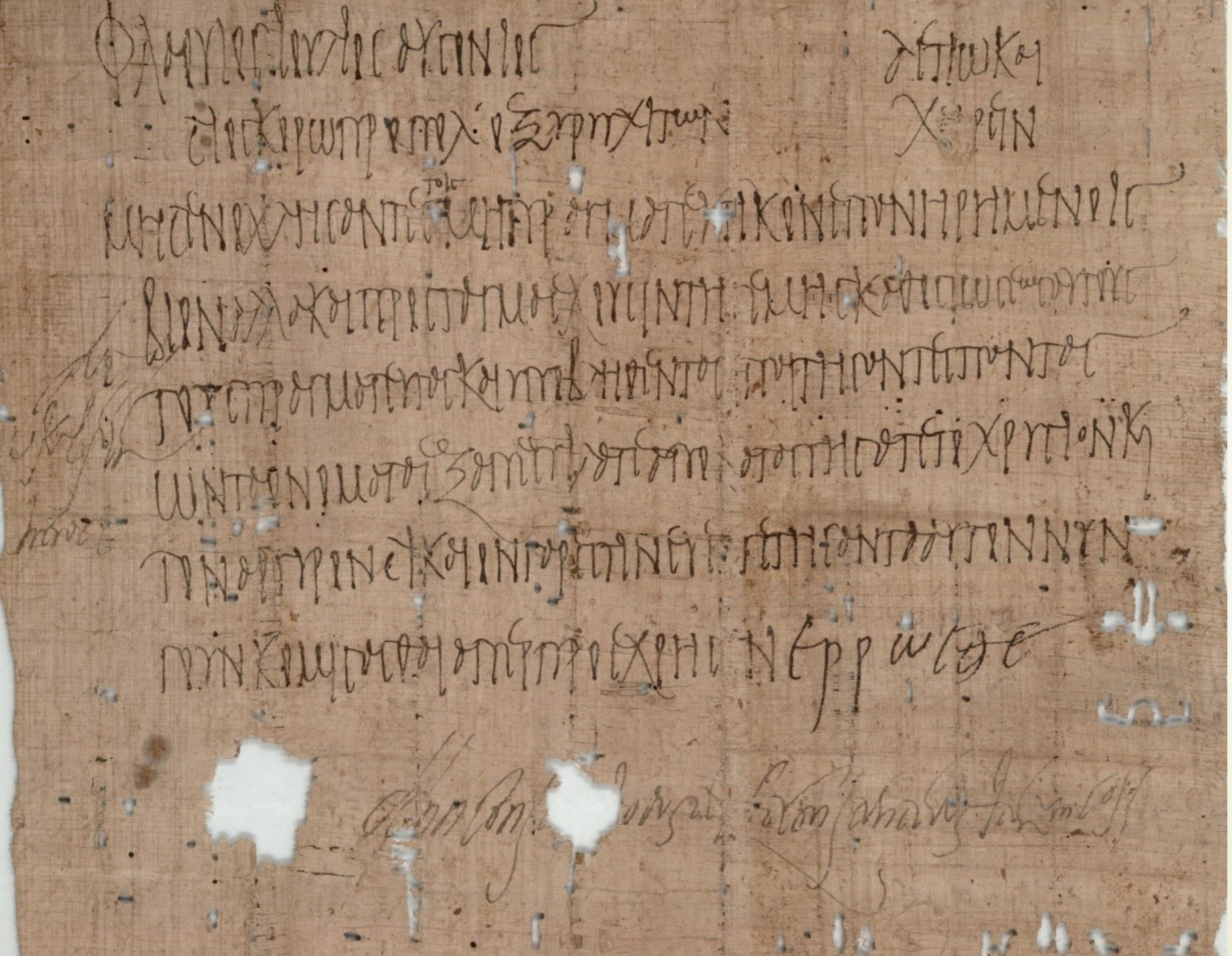


# The proof is in the dating

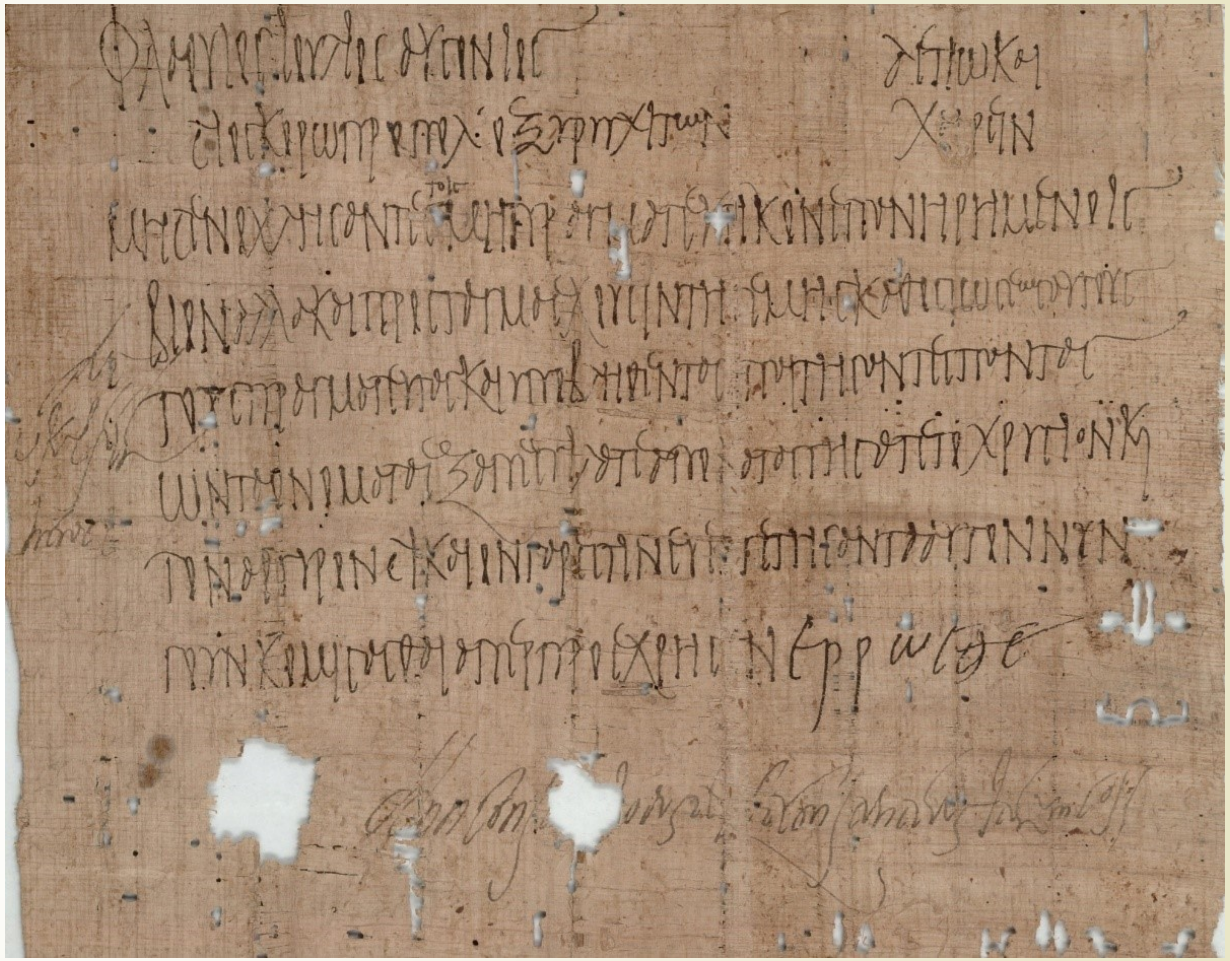
## Why Latin Dates in Late Antique Documents Matter, and How



Say **hi** to my little **friend**

# *P.Oxy.* L 3577

- AD 342, TM 15398



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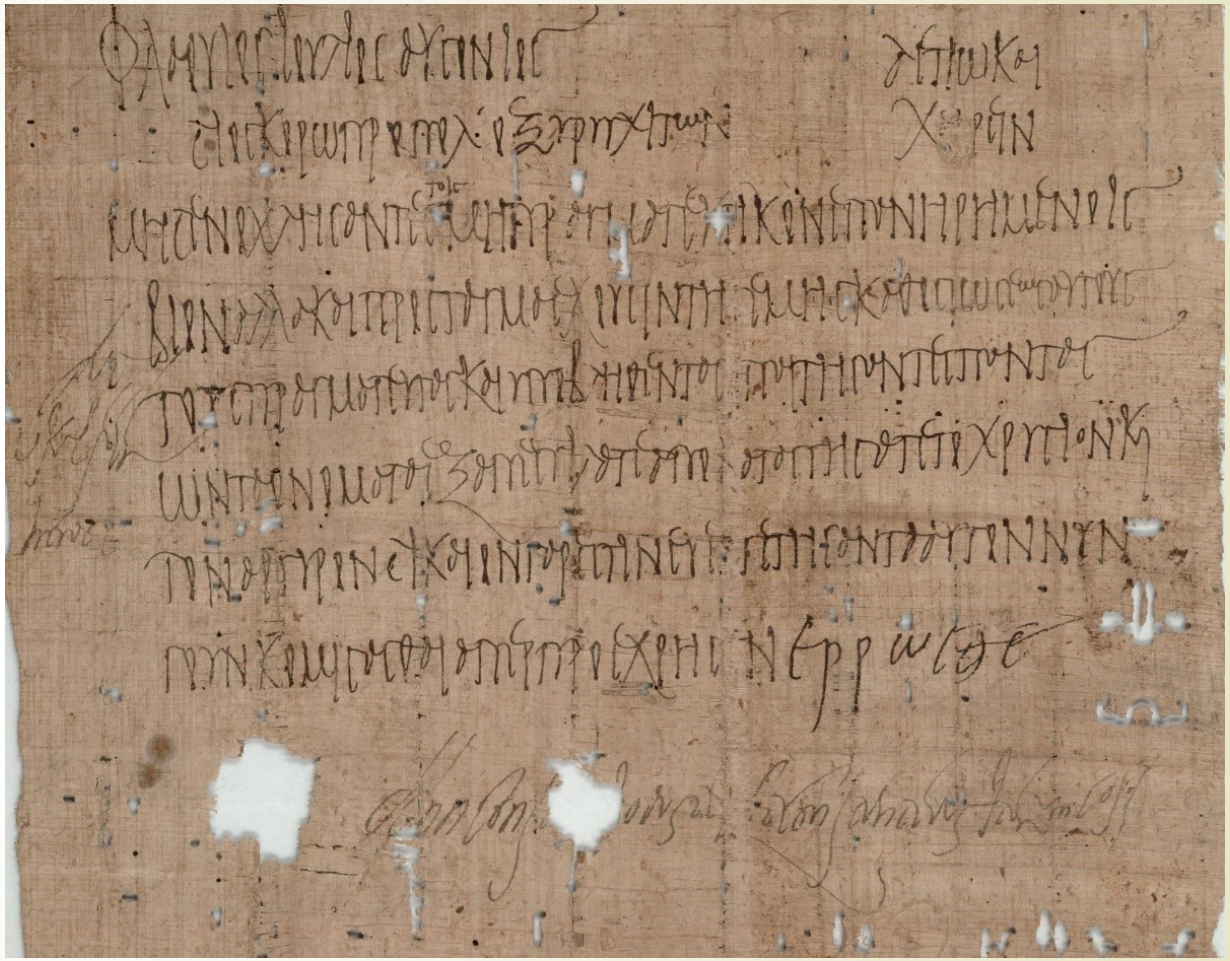
- AD 342, TM 15398
- Papyrus **sheet**



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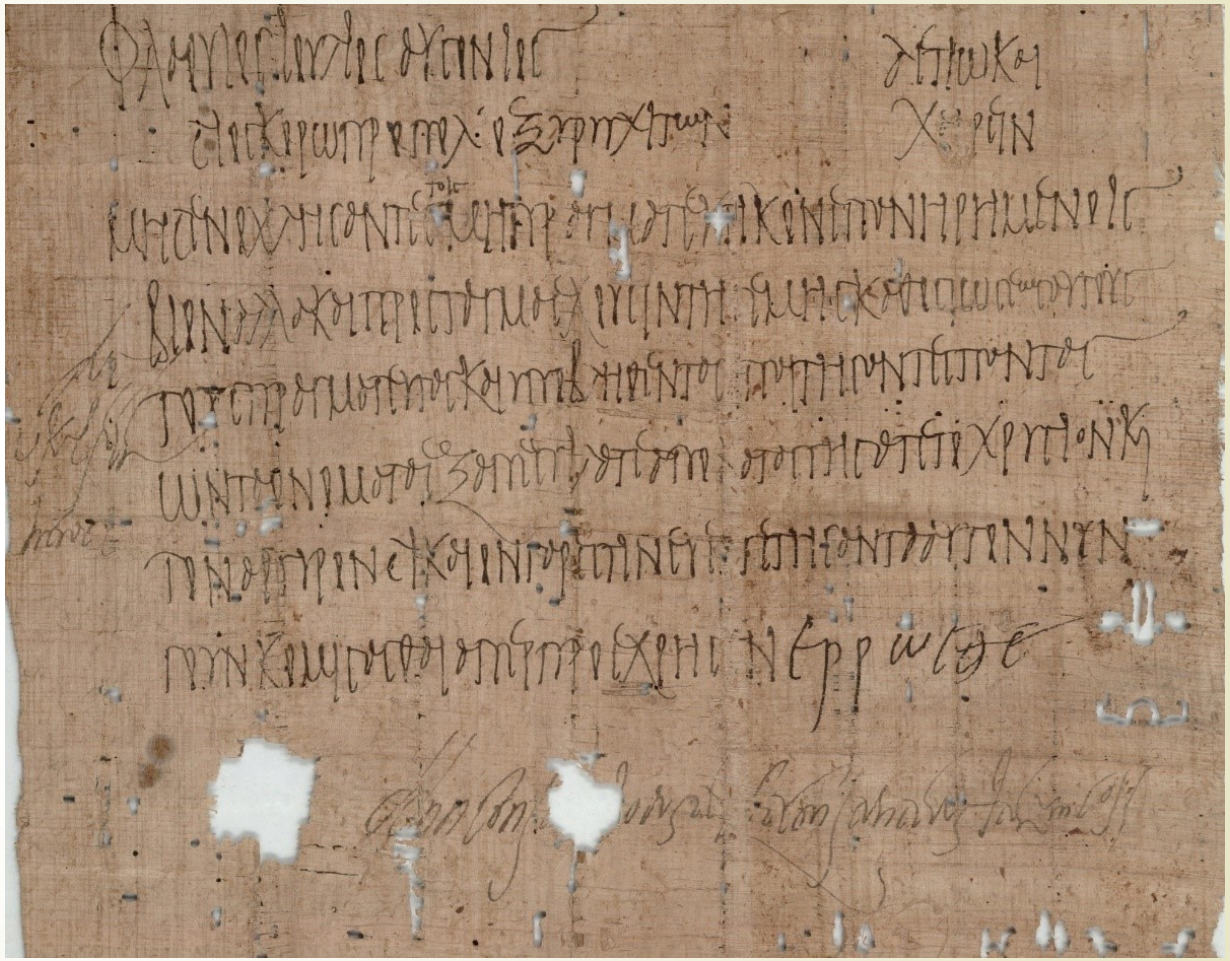

# *P.Oxy.* L 3577


- **Letter** from Fl. Iulius **Ausonius**, ***praeses Augustamnicae***, to Aetius and Dioscorus, προπολιτευόμενοι of **Oxyrhynchus**

# And here's the letter:

Φλάουϊος Ἰούλιος Αὐσόνιος Ἀετίῳ καὶ
Διοσκόρωι προπολ(ιτευομένοις) Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν **χαίρειν**.
Μηδὲν ὀχλήσαντες `τοῖς´ μὴ πραγματευτικὸν ἐπανηιρημένοις
βίον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσταγμα ἔχουσιν τῆς ἐμῆς καθοσιώσεως, αὐτοὺς
5 τοὺς πραγματευτὰς καὶ ὑποβληθέντας ἀπαιτήσαντες πάντας
ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐξαπεστίλατε, ἀποκαταστήσατε τὸ χρυσίον καὶ
τὸν ἄργυρον. Δίκαιον γάρ ἐστιν εὐεργετήσαντα αὐτὸν νῦν
γοῦν κομίσασθαι ἅπερ προέχρησεν. **Ἔρρωσθε**

Φλάουϊος Ἰούλιος Αὐσόνιος Ἀετίῳ καὶ Διοσκόρωι προπολ(ιτευομένοις) Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν χαίρειν. Μηδὲν ὀχλήσαντες `τοῖς´ μὴ πραγματευτικὸν ἐπανηιρημένοις βίον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσταγμα ἔχουσιν τῆς ἐμῆς καθοσιώσεως, αὐτοὺς τοὺς πραγματευτὰς καὶ ὑποβληθέντας ἀπαιτήσαντες πάντας ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐξαπεστίλατε, ἀποκατάστήσατε τὸ χρυσίον καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον. Δίκαιον γάρ ἐστιν εὐεργετήσαντα αὐτὸν νῦν γοῦν κομίσασθαι ἅπερ προέχρησεν. Ἔρρωσθε

Flavius Iulius Ausonius to Aetius and Dioscorus, chief office holders of the Oxyrhynchites: greetings.

Without in any way molesting those who have not taken up the life of businessmen and who have, moreover, an edict of my own Loyalty (sc. to protect them), exact the tax from those people who are indeed businessmen and subject to it, that is, from all those whose names you have dispatched, and give back the gold and silver. For it is just that he who has been a benefactor should himself now finally receive back what he advanced.

Fare you well.

Φλάουϊος Ἰούλιος Αὐσόνιος Ἀετίῳ καὶ Διοσκόρωι προπολ(ιτευομένοις) Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν χαίρειν. Μηδὲν ὀχλήσαντες `τοῖς´ μὴ πραγματευτικὸν ἐπανηιρημένοις βίον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσταγμα ἔχουσιν τῆς ἐμῆς καθοσιώσεως, **αὐτοὺς τοὺς πραγματευτὰς καὶ ὑποβληθέντας ἀπαιτήσαντες πάντας** ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐξαπεστίλατε, **ἀποκαταστήσατε τὸ χρυσίον καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον**. Δίκαιον γάρ ἐστιν εὐεργετήσαντα αὐτὸν νῦν γοῦν κομίσασθαι ἅπερ προέχρησεν. **Ἔρρωσθε**

χρυσάργυρον ~ ***collatio lustralis***

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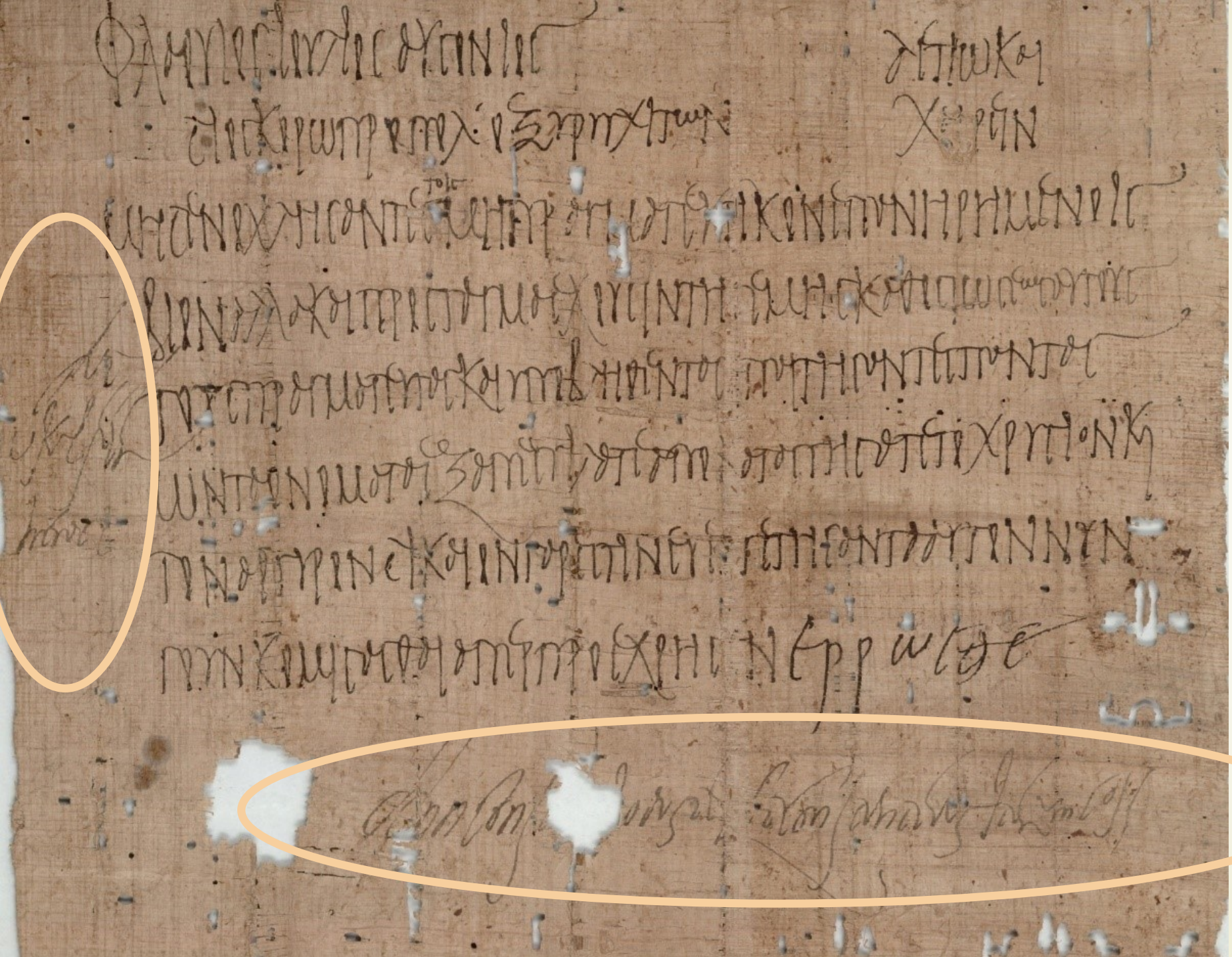
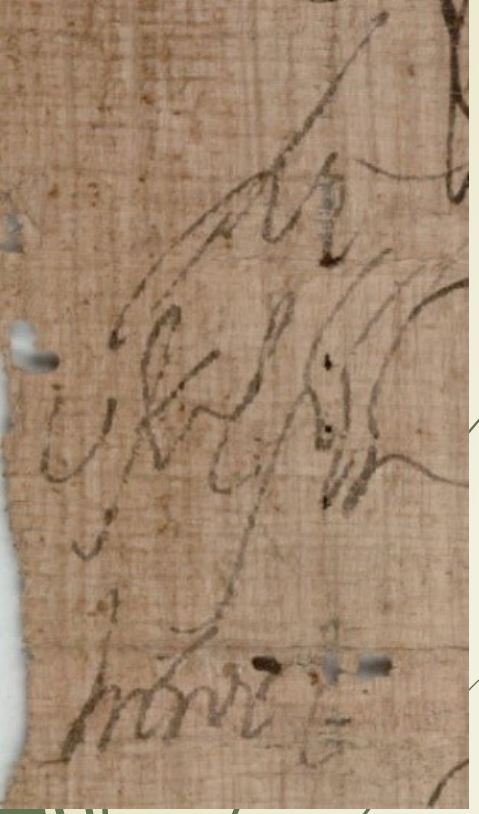


**Two** Latin **dating formulae** in the right and bottom **margins**



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***dat****(a) – or dat(um)?*

***V Kal****(endas)* ***Febr****(uarias)*

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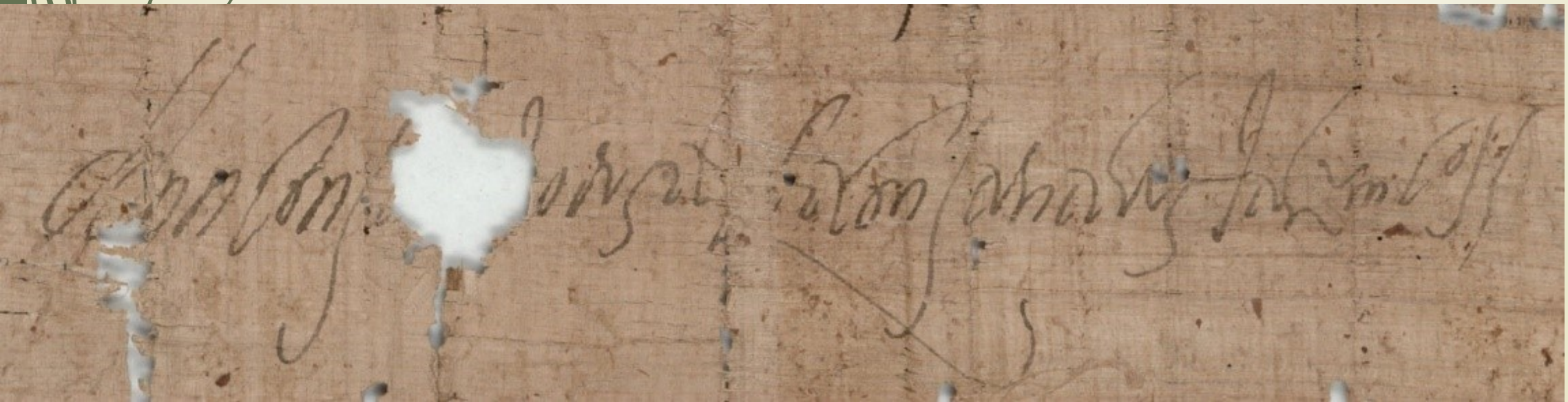

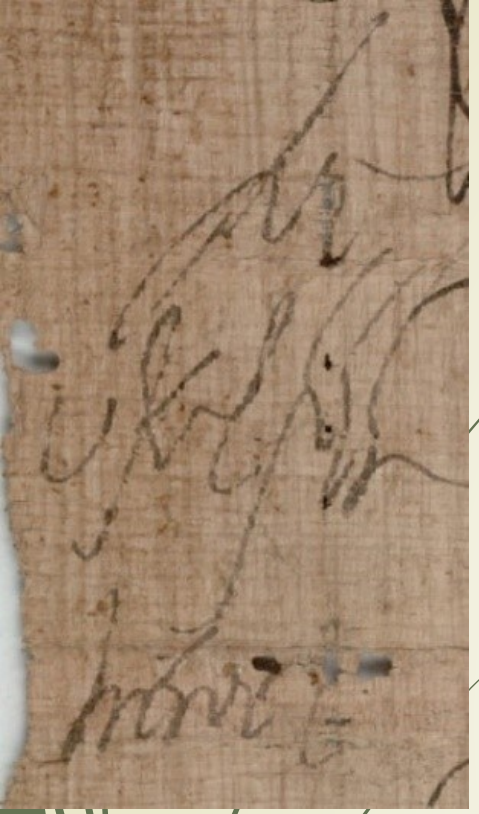

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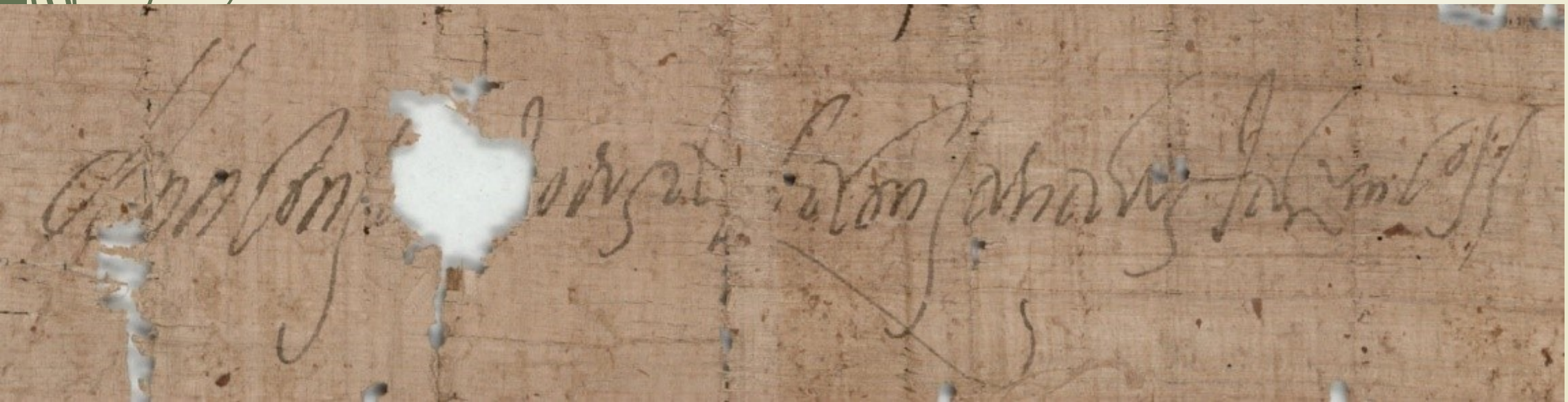

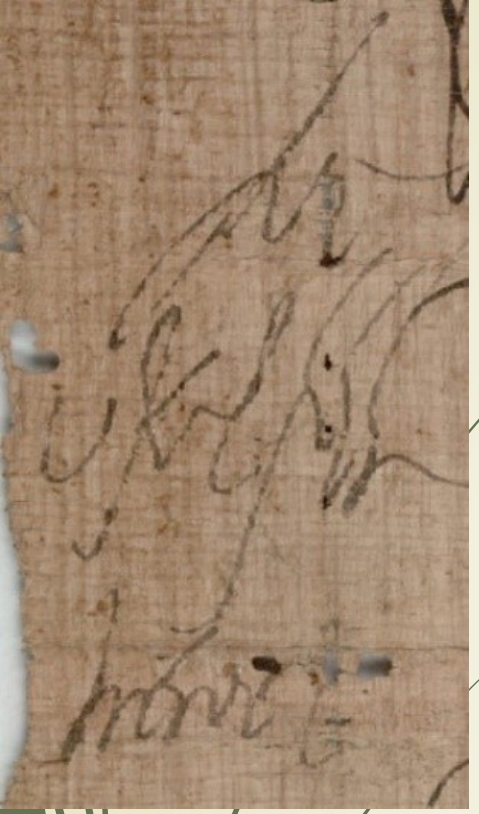

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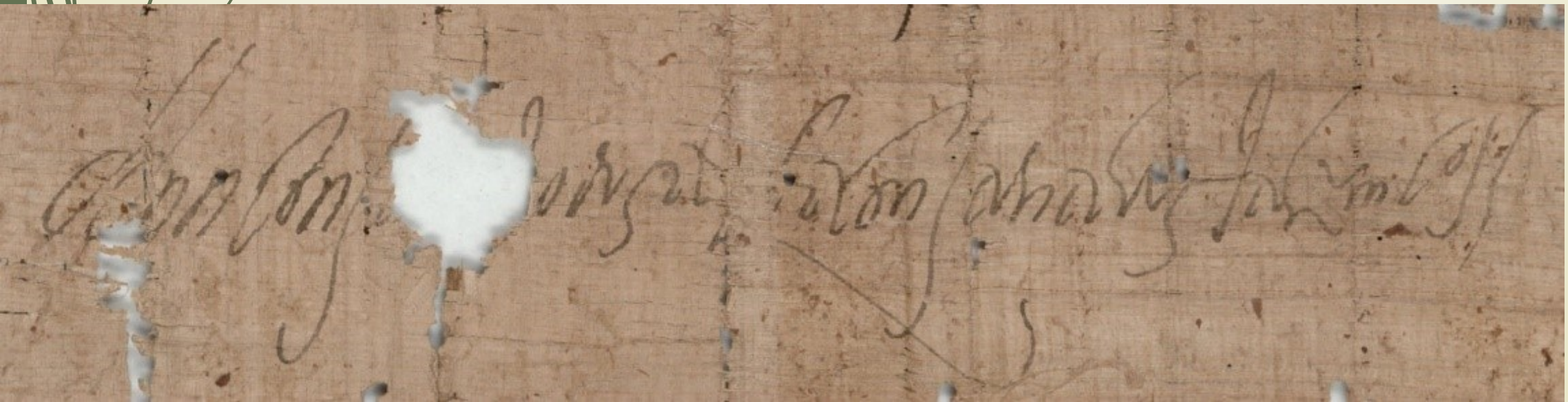

*data V Kalendas Februarias Heracleopoli Constantio Augusto III et Constante Augusto II consulibus*

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*ChLA* XLV 1340, ll. 11-13 *actum* [·] ***Alexandr(eae)*** · ***ad Aegypt(um)*** · *IIX K(alendas)* · *Septe(mbres) C(aio) Ṣ[allus]tio* · *Crispo* · *L(ucio)* · *Lentulo Scipione co(n)s(ulibus)* (AD 27, TM 16273).

*BGU* VII 1695 fr. B2 *f(actum)* ***Alex(andreae)*** ***ad Aeg(yptum)*** *Nonis Octobr(ibus) Barbaro et Regulo co(n)s(ulibus) anno XXI Imp(eratoris) Caesaris T(iti) Aeli Hadr[ia]ni Antonini Aug(usti) Pii, mense Phaophi die X* (AD 157)

*BGU* VII 1694, ll. 1-4 *M(arco) Ponti[o] Laeliano A(ulo) Iunio Past[ore c]o(n)s(ulibus) X K(alendas) Dec(embres) anno IIII Imp(eratoris) Caesaris M(arci) Aur[el]i A[n]tonini Aug(usti) et Imp(eratoris) Caesaris L(ucii) Aure[l]i Veri Aug(usti) mense Ath[y]r die XXV* ***Alex(andreae)*** ***ad Aeg(yptum)*** (AD 163, TM 69750).

*P. Sakaon* 34, ll. 1-2 *d(ominis) n(ostris) Lici[n]io Aug(usto) VI et Licinio nob(ilissimo) Caes(are) II co(n)s(ulibus), die pridie Idus Dec[em]bres,* Χοιὰκ ις ***Arsinoit(um civitate)***, ***in secret(ario)***. *E ṗraes(entibus) Sotarion eṭ Horion d(ixerunt)*: Ἥρων πενθερός κτλ.

Some instances (the location is in **bold**)

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- **Sometimes we might find a single formula which in the original document was split**

# The evidence?

- Several papyri, either Greek or Latin, which have been augmented, after the main text had been written and not inside the text, but in the writing frame, i.e. in the margins, with a Latin dating formula opened by the participle *data* or *datum*. Mainly from **Roman and Late Antique Egypt**, but also from **Mesopotamia**

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- Refer in acta. *Later additions of Roman dating formulae in Latin and Greek papyri and ostraka* (1st– 6th AD). Conference in **Heidelberg**, **2017**
- *Formule di datazione in Latino su papiri e ostraka greci e latini (I-VI d.C.): origini, tipologie e scopi*. Conference in **Alicante**, **2018**
- **Data epistula**: *Later Additions of Roman Dating Formulae in Latin and Greek Papyri and Ostraka from the First to the Sixth Centuries AD*, «**Manuscripta**» LXIII/2 (**2019**) 157–230

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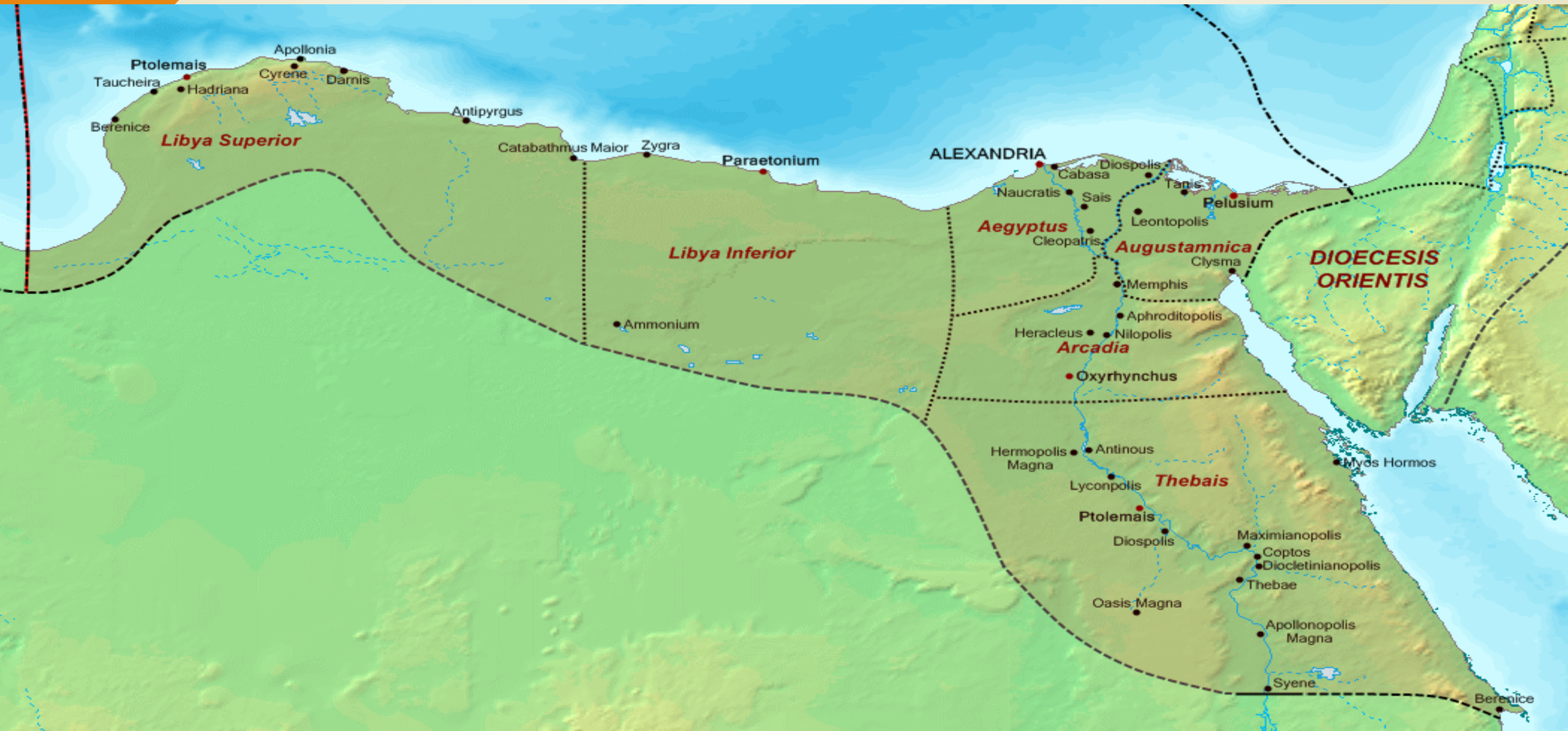
- The most significant batch of evidence and, in fact, a worthy representative of **Latin in Egypt after Diocletian**

# LAtin RElics in a GReek Egypt (MSCA-IF-GF n° 895634): Latin in Egyptian documents between **Diocletian** and **Heraclius**



# The evidence?

- Entirely or partially: a complete dating formula with toponym, either split (left margin + bottom margin) or not, introduced by a *data* or *datum*

- ‘As someday it might happen that a victim must be found

  **I’ve got a little LIST**’

# The list: **25** objects

- *ChLA* XLVII 1433 (AD **293**)
- *ChLA* XLV 1336 (AD **307 or 320**)
- *PSI* I 112 (c. AD 316)
- *ChLA* XLV 1319 (AD 317)
- P.Gen. inv. 117 *verso* (AD 329)
- *P.Oxy*. XLIII 3129 (AD 335)
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- *ChLA* V 285 (AD 357)
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- **Greek** language (when directed **outside** Roman army and administration) vs. **Latin** (**inside** jobs)

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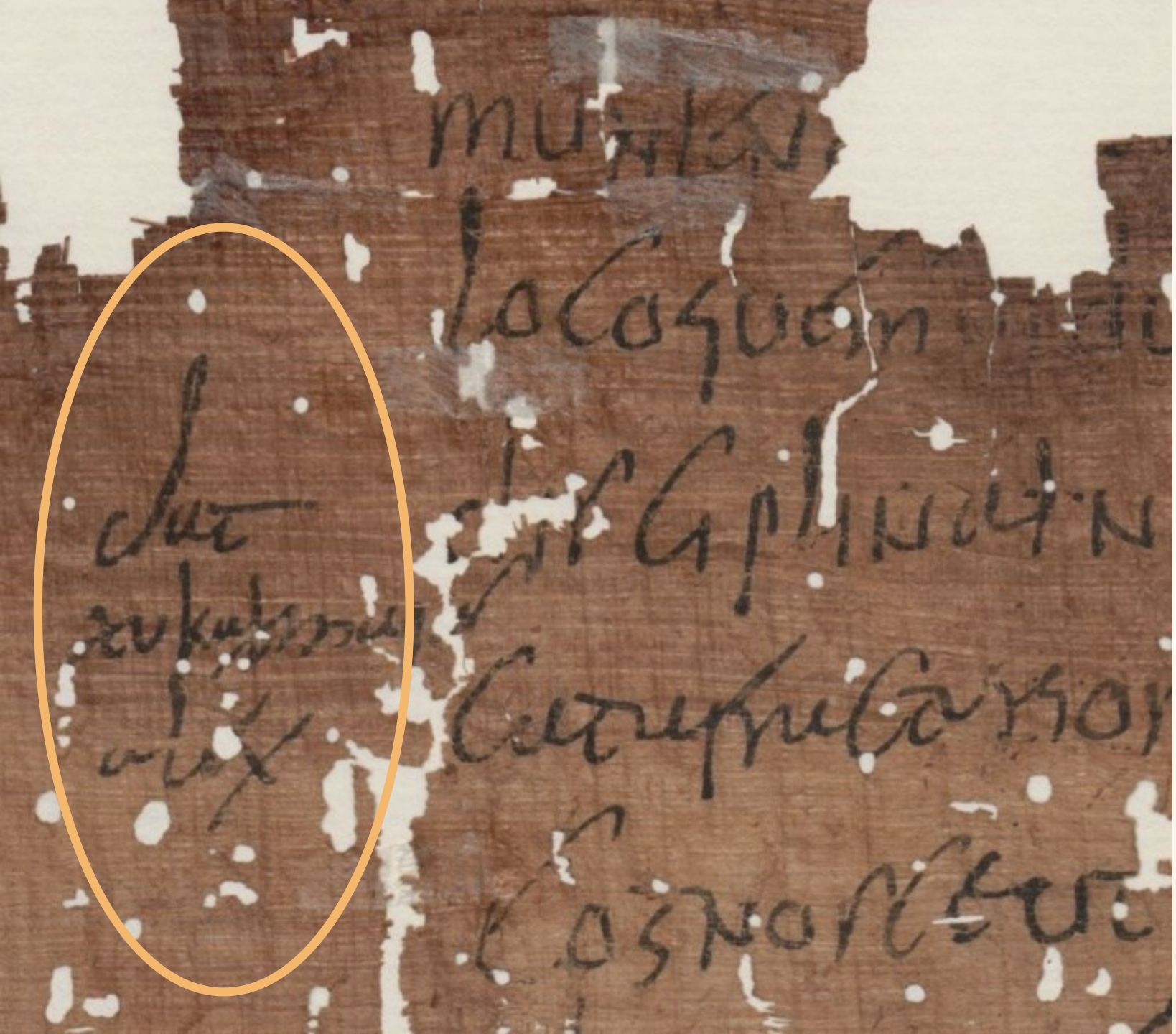
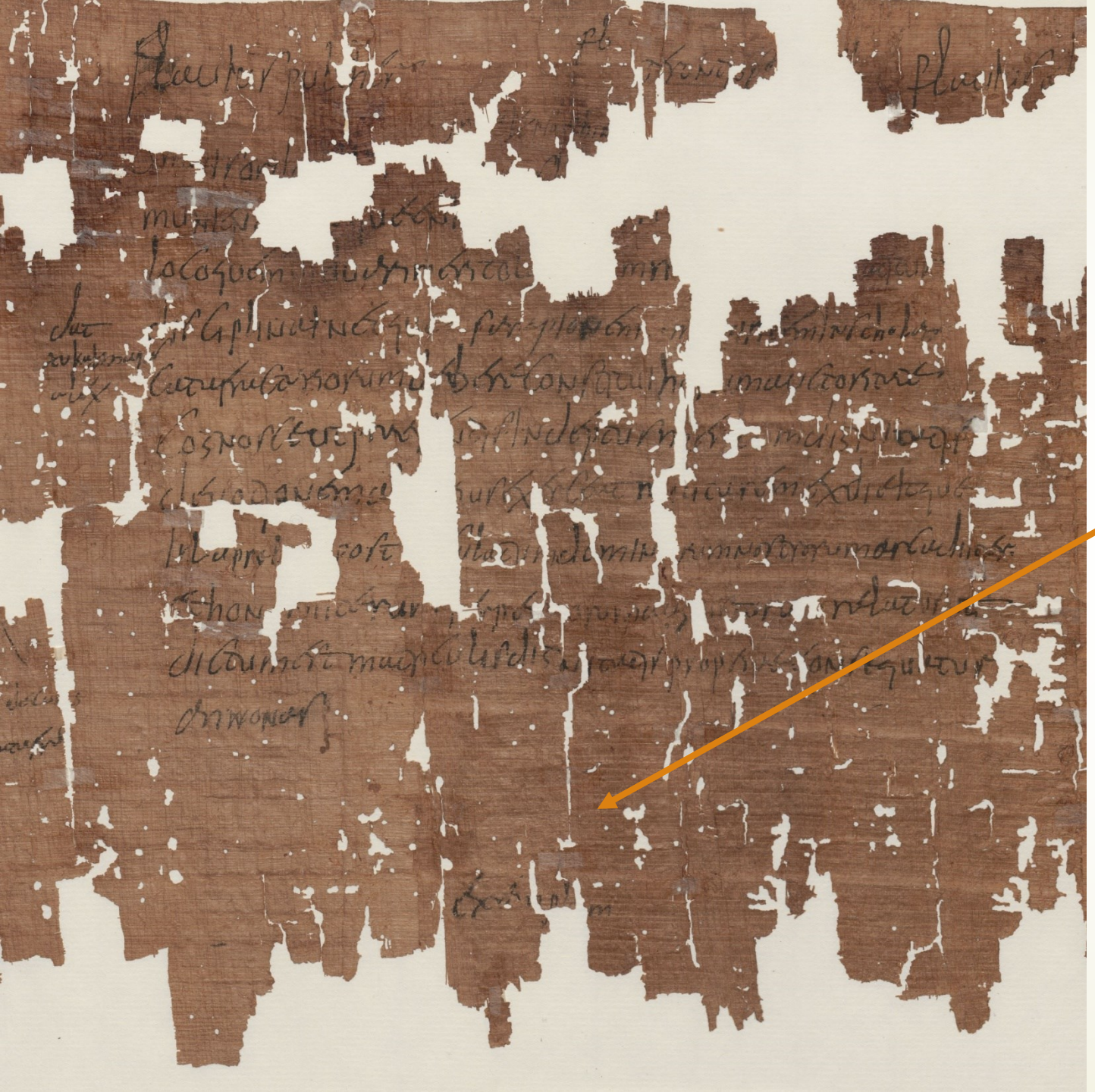
- Sarapio himself put this dossier up, requesting copies of the official letters preserved in the unit's archive, for unknown reasons (a trial?)



The scribe has put a *data*-formula in the left margin – ***dat(a) XV Kal(endas) Maias Alex(andriae)***, but **no consular year at the bottom**.



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- But **no consular year at the bottom**.
- The scribe might have disregarded the consular year, as it was already in the main text (ll. 9–11 ex die itque |[10] inl(ustri) Aprel[is] **post [con]sulatum domin[o]rum nostrorum** Arcadii ter |[11] et Hon[o]rii iterum perpetuorum Augustorum)

# **4** outliers

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# **4** outliers: copies of **Imperial constitutions**

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- *ChLA* XLIII 1248 (AD 383–401)
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- P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)
- *ChLA* XLIV 1305 (IV AD)
- PSI inv. 423 (IV AD)
- *ChLA* XLIV 1262 (IV–V AD)
- *ChLA* XLIV 1286 (AD 420)
- ***ChLA* XLIV 1301 (AD 465–7)**
- P.Sorb. inv. 2743 *recto* (V AD)
- *P.Mich*. XVIII 794 (VI AD)
- ***P.Cairo Masp*. I 67031 (AD 543–5)**

# **4** outliers: the **misfit**

- ***ChLA* XLVII 1433 (AD 293)**
- *ChLA* XLV 1336 (AD 307 or 320)
- ***PSI* I 112 (c. AD 316)**
- *ChLA* XLV 1319 (AD 317)
- P.Gen. inv. 117 *verso* (AD 329)
- *P.Oxy*. XLIII 3129 (AD 335)
- *P.Oxy*. LV 3793 (AD 340–4)
- *P.Oxy*. LV 3794 (AD 340)
- *P.Oxy*. L 3577 (AD 342)
- *P.Oxy*. L 3579 (AD 341–3)
- *P.Abinn*. 2 (AD 344)
- *P.Oxy*. LXIII 4369 (AD 345)
- *ChLA* XI 472 (AD 347)
- *ChLA* V 285 (AD 357)
- *ChLA* XLIII 1248 (AD 383–401)
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- P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)
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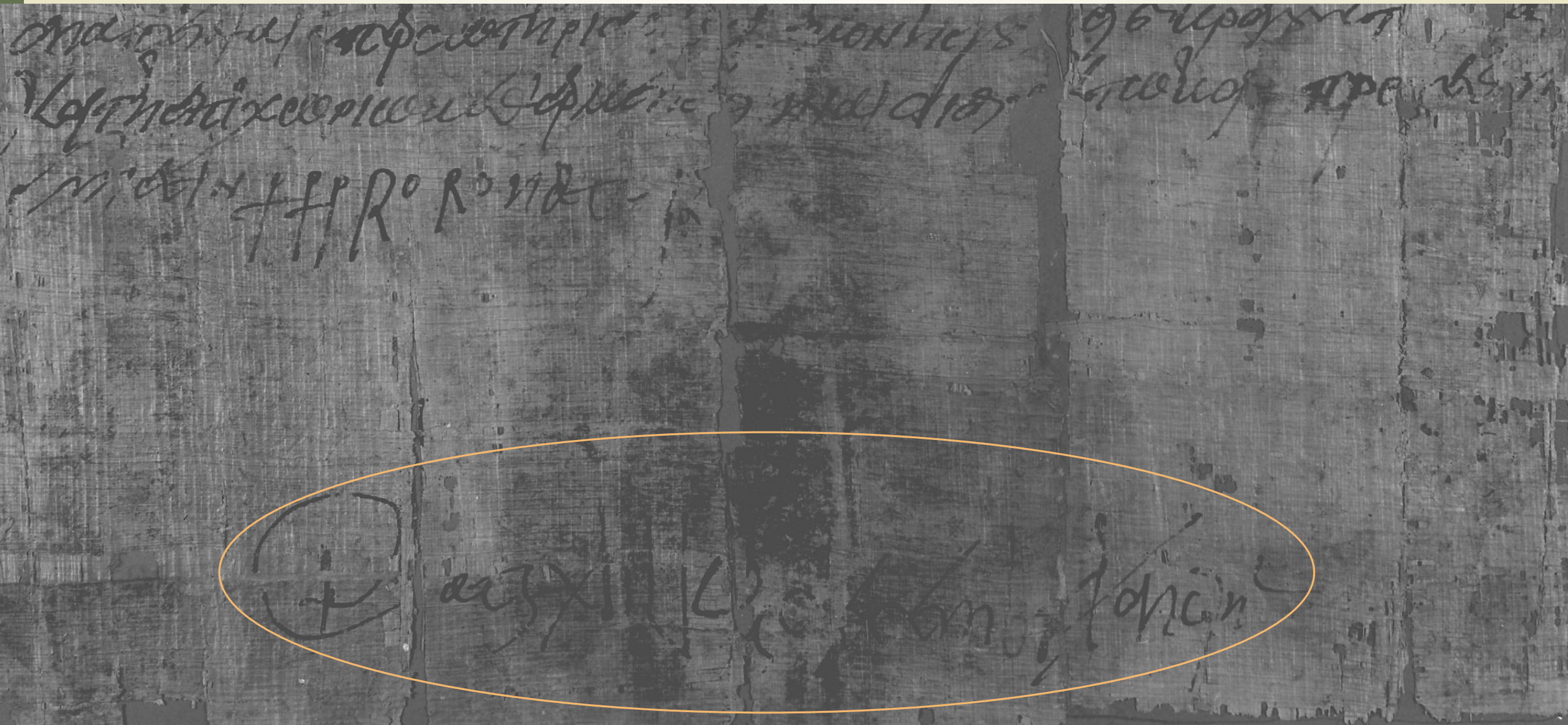
*dat(a) XIII K‹a›l(endas) Decembri(s) Antinu(poli)*



# Two questions

- (**1**) Do we have Latin 'inorganic' dating formulae with *dat(a)* in papyri **before Late Antiquity**?
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- *P.Iand.* IV 68 – **second century** AD
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- *P.Dura* 58 – c. AD **220–35**
- *P.Oxy.* X 1271 – AD **246**
- *SB* XVI 12667 – **third century** AD

- They are all communications from a higher to a lower rank
- In the dating formula, the toponym is always in the **middle**
- **But the positioning of the formula is remarkably erratical**

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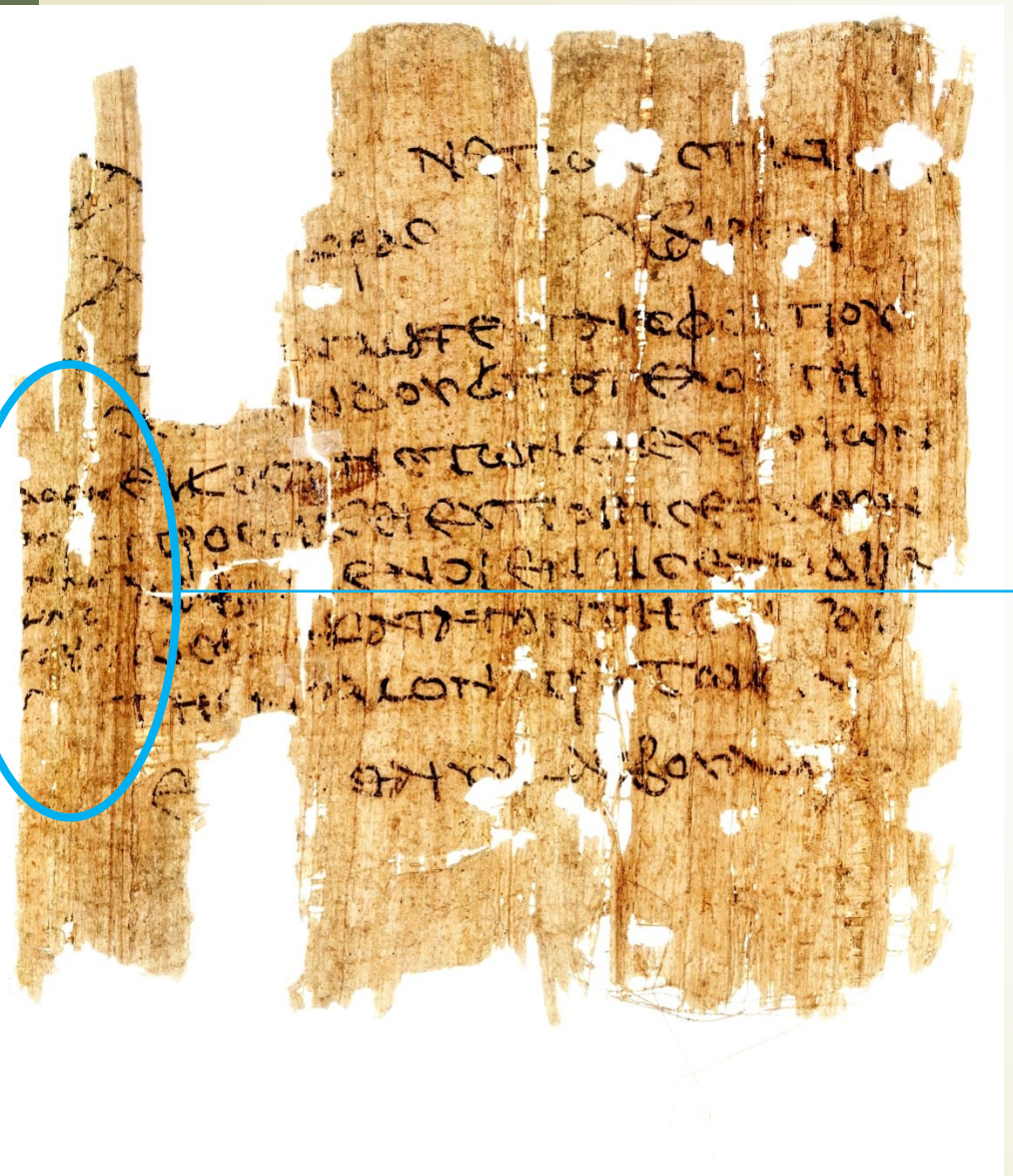
- **[ἐ]δόθη** | [π]ρὸ τρι̣|[ῶ]ν Νω̣|[ν]ῶν̣ Ὀ|[κ]τ̣ωβρί̣|[ω]ν (= *dat(a) pridie Nonas Octobres*)
- **ἐδόθη** πρὸ γ′ εἰδῶν Ἰανουα[ρίων κτλ. (= *dat(a) pridie Idus Ianuarias*)

# (1) **Yes**: a small quantity

- *P.Oxy.* XX 2265 – AD **123–5**: letter from the prefect Haterius Nepo



[ἐ]δόθη
[π]ρὸ τρι-
[-ῶ]ν Νω-
[-ν]ῶν Ὀ-
[-κ]τωβρί-
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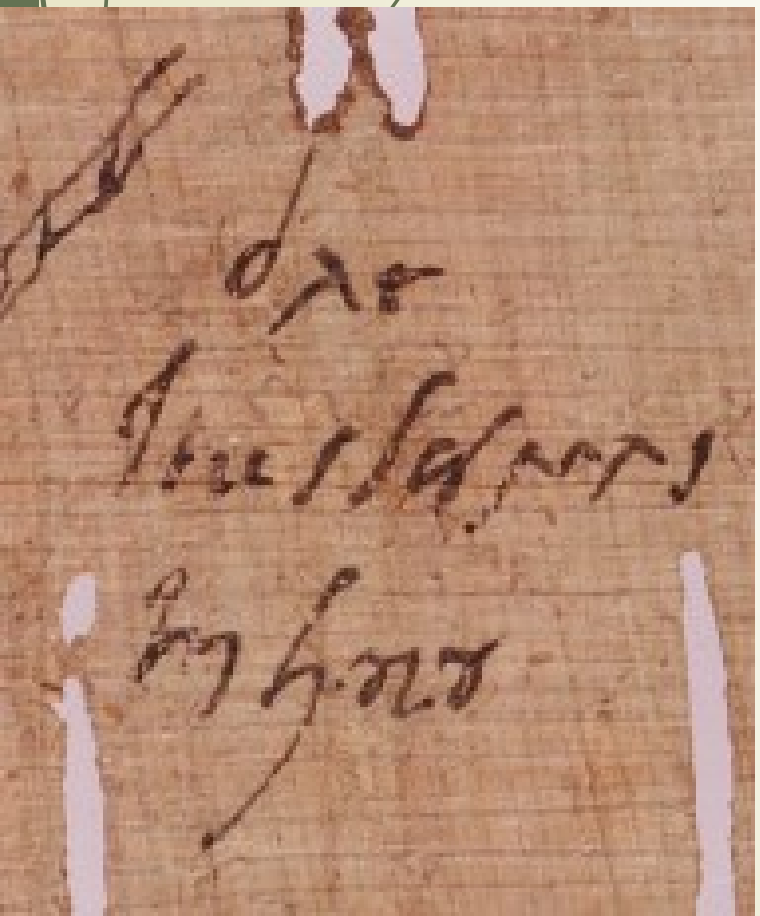
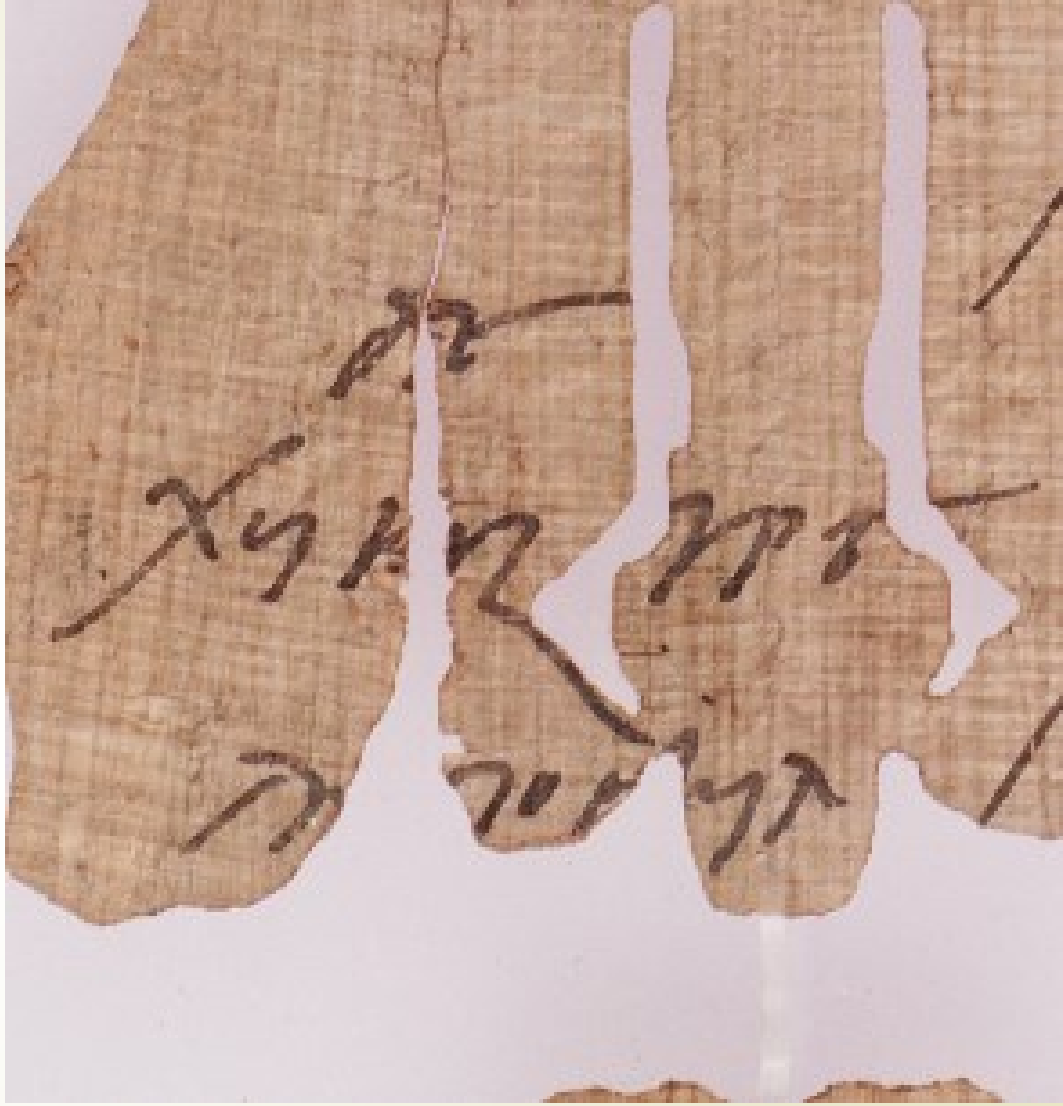
- *Epistulae probatoriae equorum* from the 20th cohort of the Palmyrenes
- Sent **by provincial governors** to the **tribune of the cohort**, ordering the enlistment of **new horses** for specific soldiers
- Those in **56** are **originals**, **58** is a **copy**

*dat(a)*
*IIII Idus Mai(as)*
*Hieropo(li)*





*dat(a)*
*XVI Kal(endas)* [*S*]*ept(embres)*
*Antiochia*

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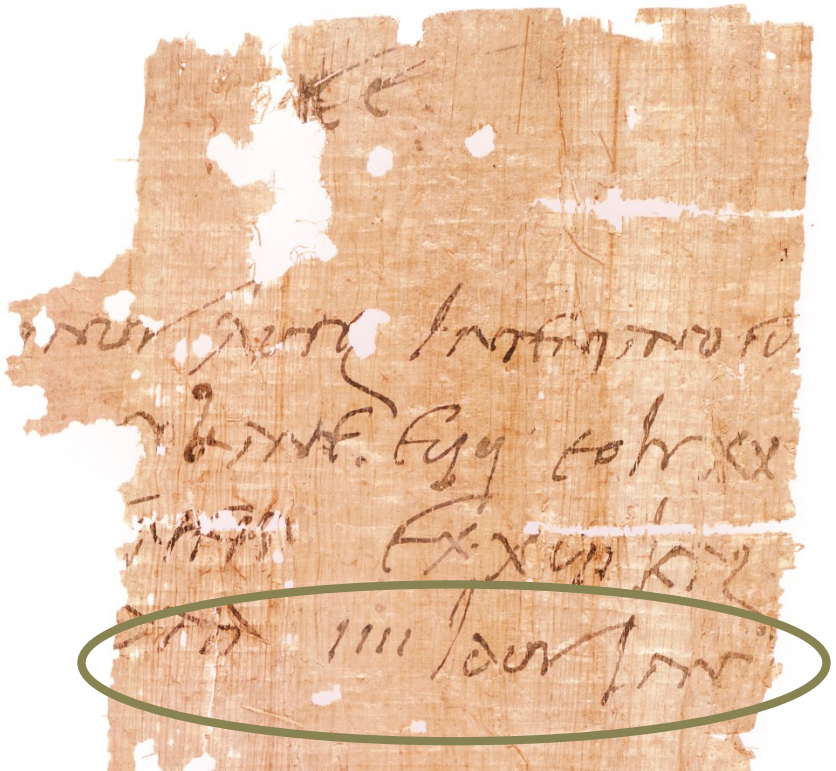
- Those in **56** are **originals**, **58** is a **copy**
- **No bottom margin is preserved: was there a consular year?**

|1 ⟦[e]xe⟧
|2 Aurel [A]ur[eli]anus Aurel Inteniano suo [
|3 s{s}ubici ius[si p]rob a me. eqq· coh XX [Palmyr
|4 in [acta ut mo]s refer ex· XVII Kal [
|5 [. . . . . ] **data IIII Idus Ian** .[- - -]



The formula is at the end of the text – the text is a **copy** of the original letter

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- A copy of an Imperial **rescript** concerning the legal condition of the *christae* (χειριστaί)
- The date is at the **end** of the text:

**dat(a)** · Iḍụs [Fe]bṛ[ua]rias ̣ae ̣[- - -]

acce ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣[- - -]

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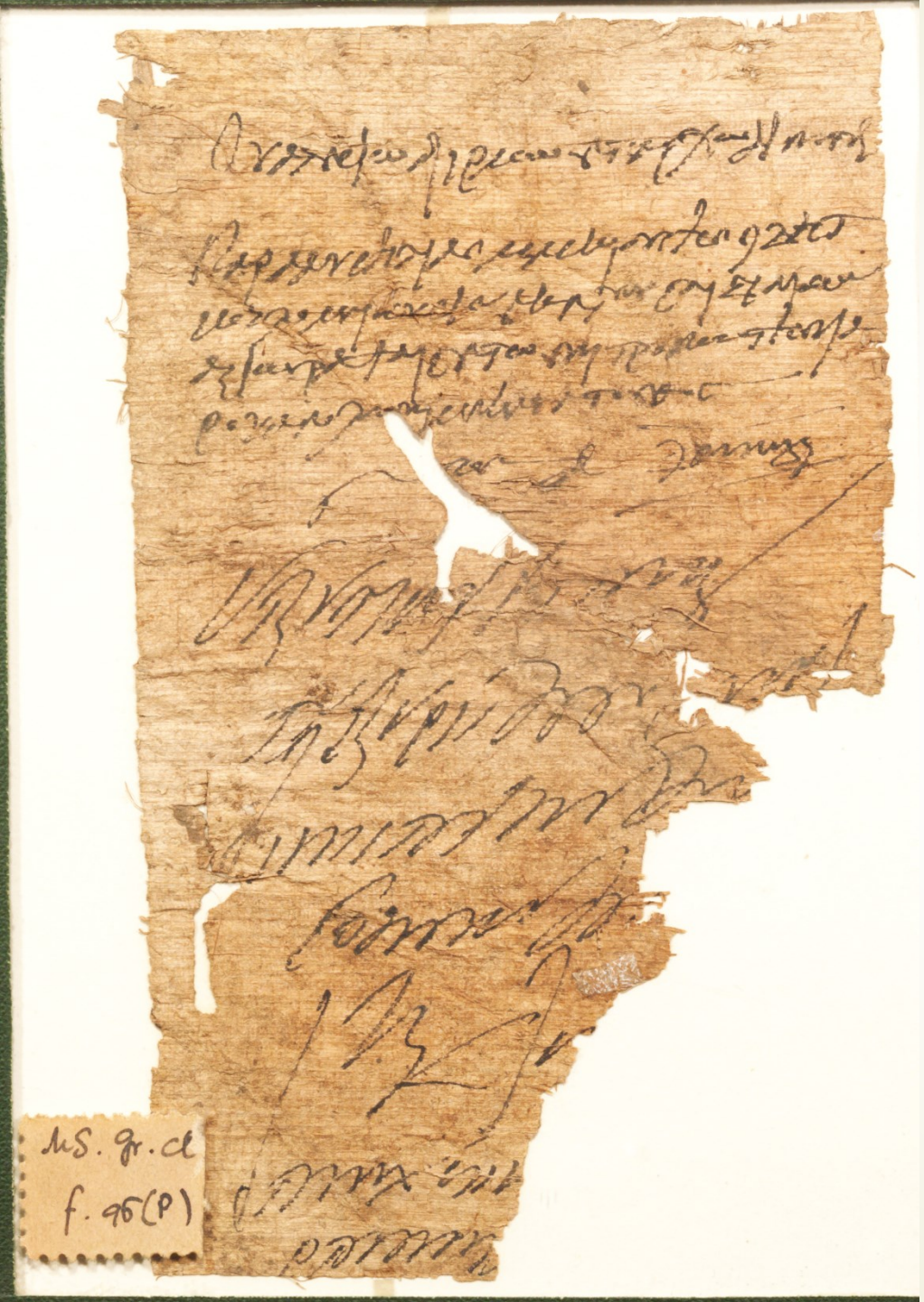
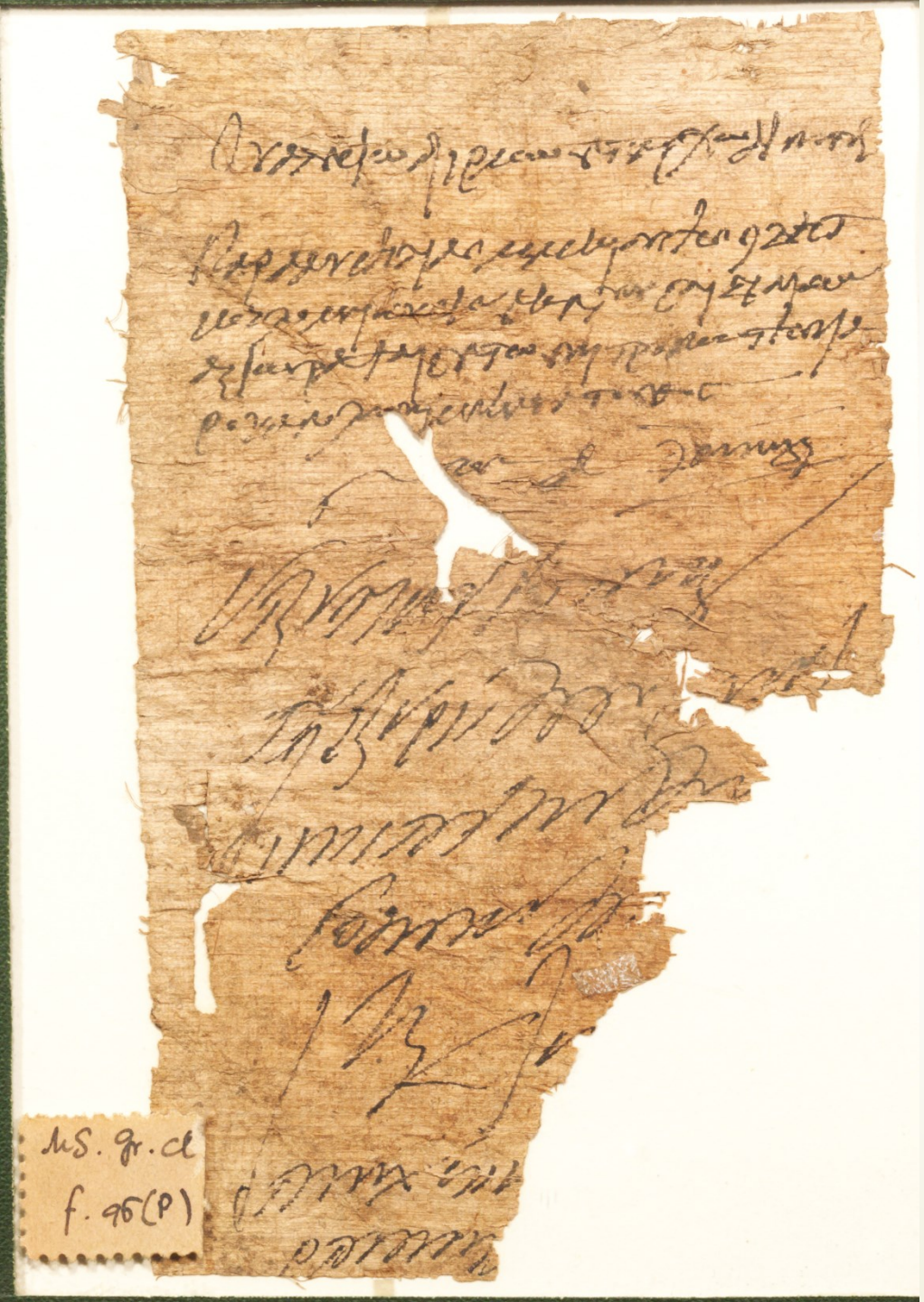
- A request from Αὐρηλία Μαικιανή an Egyptian woman from **Side** in Pamphylia, who asks the prefect of Egypt **Valerius Firmus** to write to the *procurator Phari* and grant her the permission **to set sail from Egypt and return home**




|[1] Οὐαλερίῳ Φίρμῳ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου
|[2] παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Μαικιανῆς Σιδήτ(ιδος).
|[3] **Βούλομαι κύριε ἐκπλεῦσαι διὰ Φάρου**.
|[4] Ἀξιῶ γράψαι σε **τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ τῆς Φά-**
|[5]**-ρου** ἀπολῦσαί με κατὰ τὸ ἔθος.
|[6] Π̣[α]χὼν̣ α. Διευτύχει.

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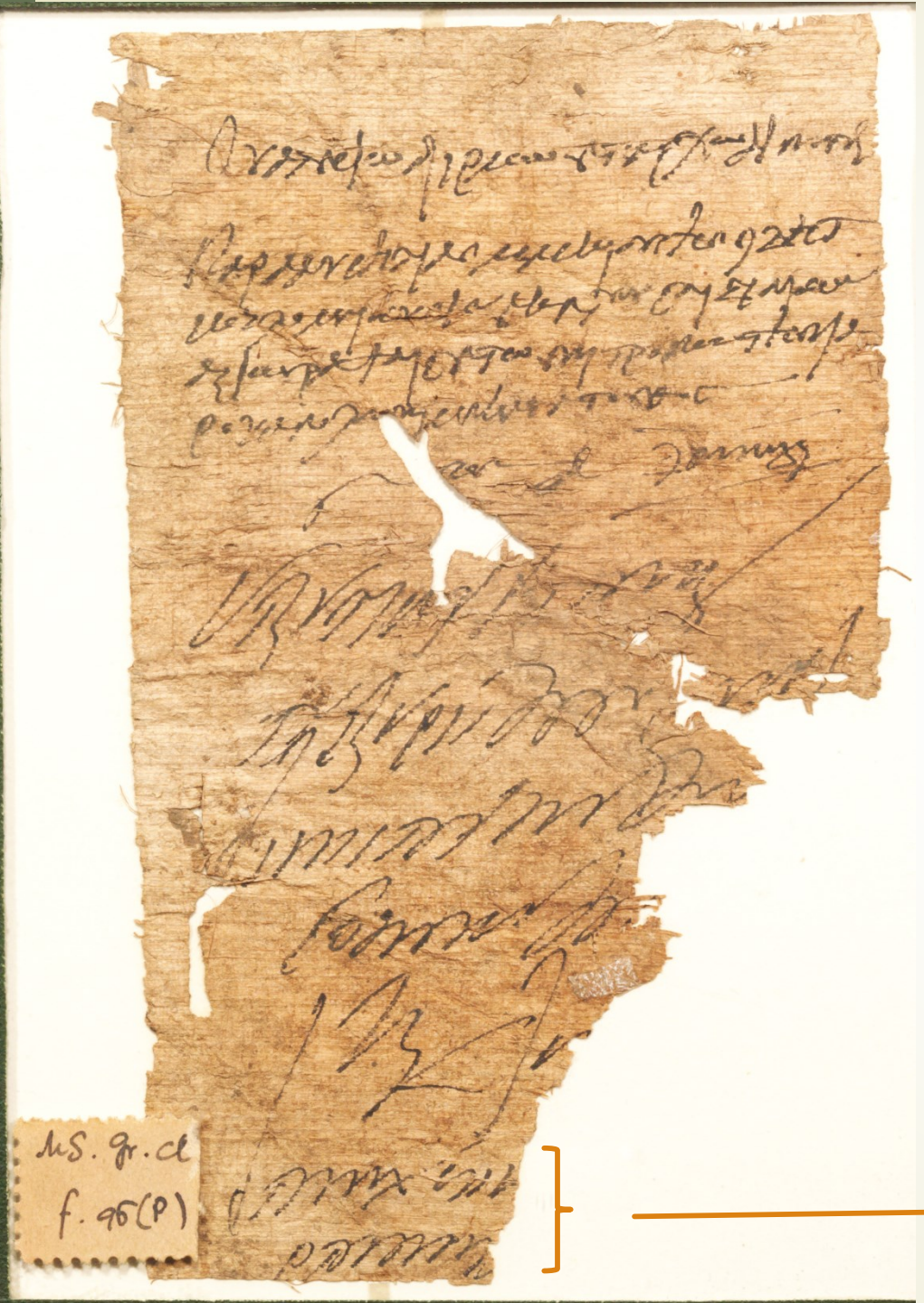
|[7] **Valerius Firmus**
|[8] **Asclepiade salutem**. [ . ] . . .̣ si
|[9] dimitti iusi de P[haro]
|[10] comendo t[ibi].
|[11] Vale iu[ssi].

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**datum** XVII K[al(endas) Oct(obres) - - -]
Pr‹a›esenti Ạ[lbino co(n)s(ulibus)]

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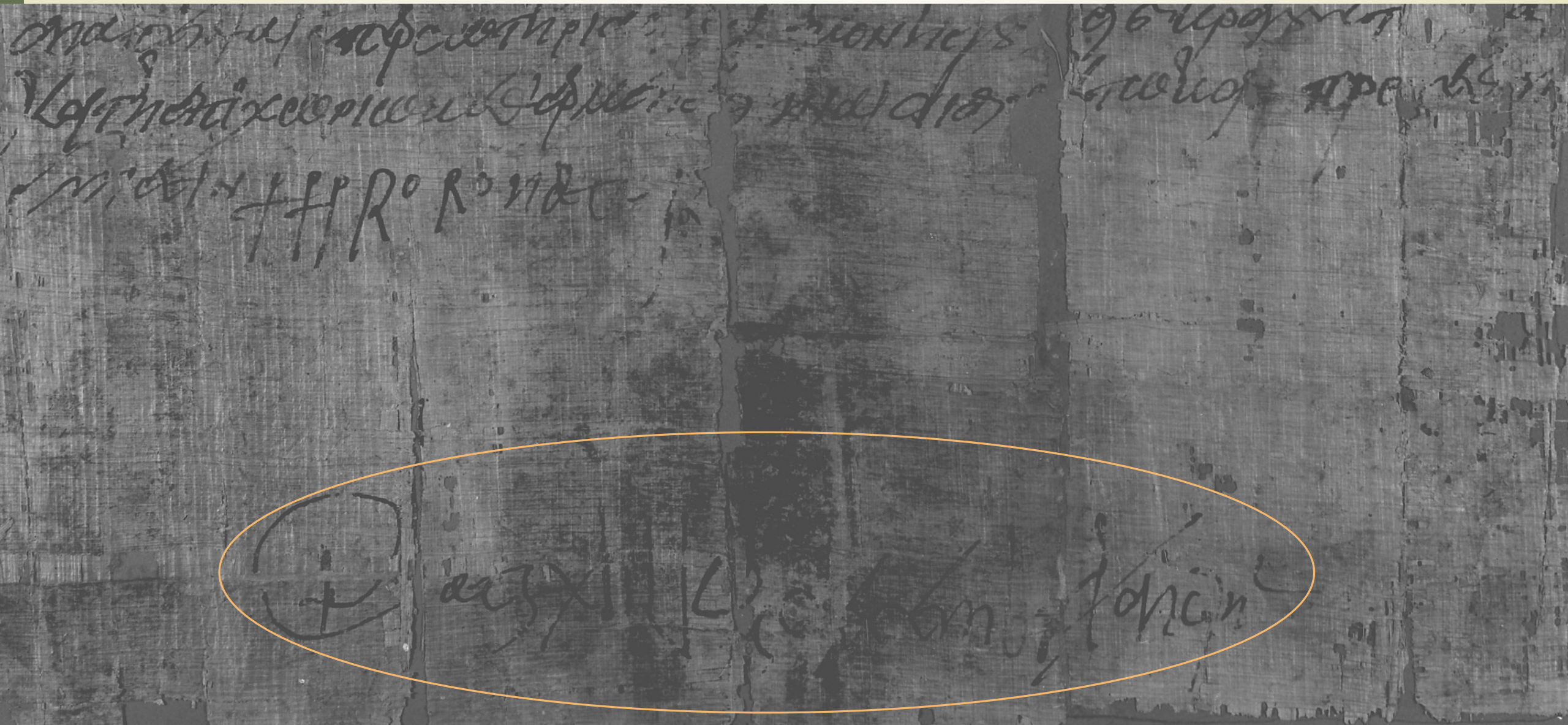

# So?

- (**1**) Do we have Latin 'inorganic' dating formulae with *dat(a)* in papyri before Late Antiquity?
- The **fourth century** is pivotal in stabilizing and wide spreading the inorganic dating formula with *data*, **split** in two parts
- Putting at least part of the formula **in the left margin** is a **peculiarly Roman custom**, sometimes disregarded in copies of official documents

# Two questions

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- *AE* 1977, 807, ll. 10–2 […] ***dat(a)*** *[pr]i(die) K[al(endas) Iu]n(ias)* ***Rom[a]e*** | *Fab(io) Cilone [II] et* | *Anni[o] L[ibo]ne co(n)s(ulibu)s* (AD **204**, province of *Asia*)
- *AE* 1894, 68, ll. 26–8 ***data*** *Kalendas Iunias* | ***Constantinopoli*** *Mauortio uir[o] clarissi|mo consule*, etc. (AD **527**, Galatia)
- *CIL* II 2959, 12-15 […] *bene* | *ualete.* ***Dat(a)*** *Non(is) Octubri(bu)s(!)* ***Ca|llagori*** *Imp(eratore) Caes(are) Traiano* | *Hadriano Aug(usto) III co(n)s(ule)* (AD **118**)
- *CIL* VIII 10570 = VIII 14464, col. III 23-27 […] ***dat(a)*** | *pr(idie) Idus Sept(embres)* ***Karthagin(e)*** | *feliciter* | *consummata et dedicata* | *Idibus Mai(i)s Aureliano et Corne|liano co(n)s(ulibus)* (AD **182**)

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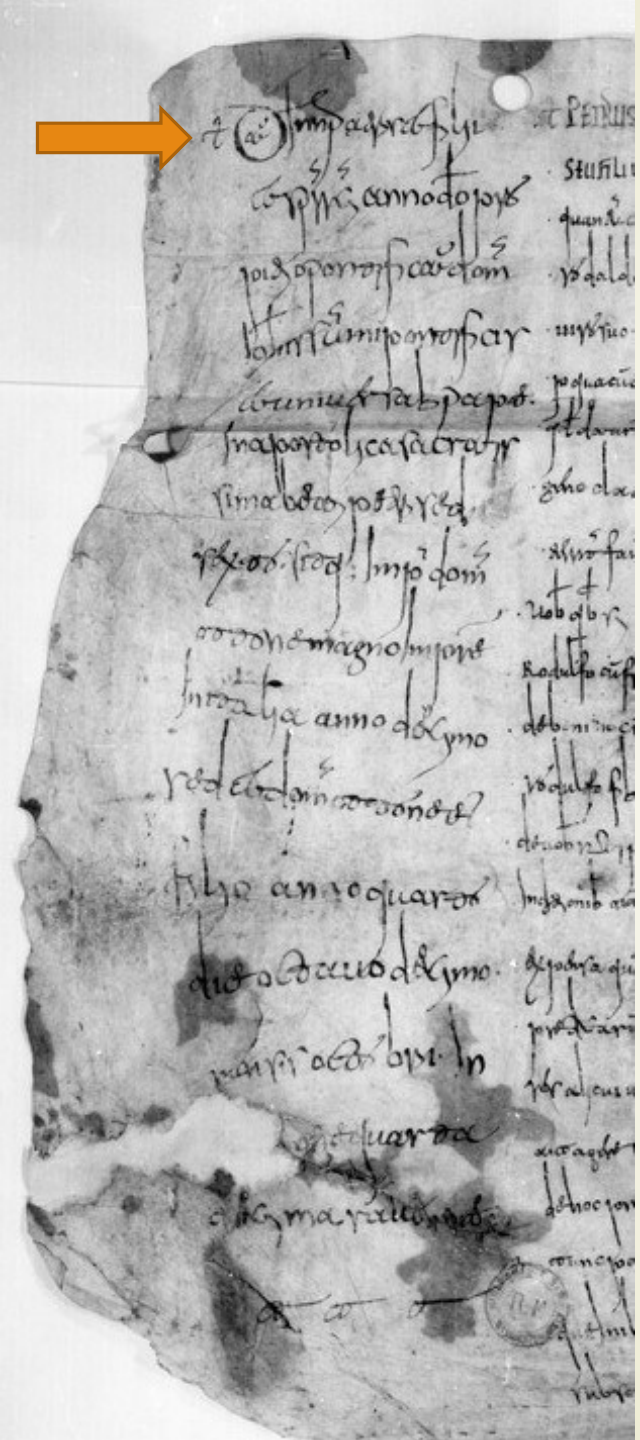
- And yet, they are **laid out in the same way** (e.g. ***dat(a)*** *Non(is) Octubri(bu)s(!)* ***Ca|llagori*** *Imp(eratore) Caes(are) Traiano | Hadriano Aug(usto) III co(n)s(ule)*) and might have been copied in a single line, but **split in the antigraph**

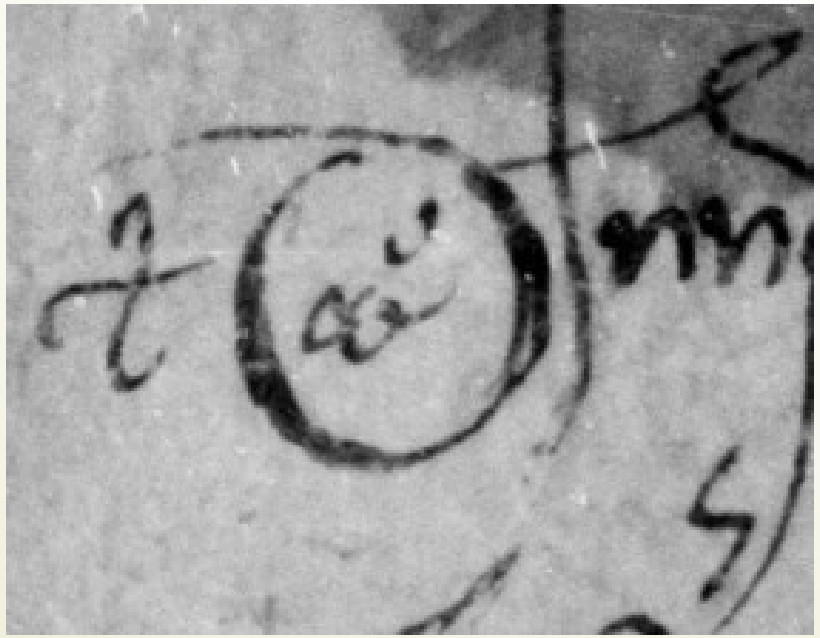
# Tjäder: *Et ad latus* (1994)

- ***nov*. 9** *et manu diuina: proponatur amantissimo nostro populo Romano.* ***Et ad latus: Dat. VIII Kal(endas) Iul(ias) Rau(ennae) Valent(iniano) A(ugusto) et Anatolio u(iris) c(larissimis) cons(ulibu)s***
- ***nov*. 16**: *et manu diuina: proponatur amantissimo nostri populo Romano.* ***Et ad latus: Dat. XV Kal(endas) Feb(ruarias) Romae Valentiniano A(ugusto) VI cons(ule)***
- ***nov*. 1,3**: *et manu diuina: Optamus uos felicissimos ac florentissimos nostrique amantissimos per multos annos bene ualere, sanctissimi ordinis p(atres) c(onscripti).* ***Et ad latus: Dat. III Non(as) Mart(ias) Romae d(omino) n(ostro) Valent(iniano) A(ugusto) VII et Auieno u(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ulibu)s.*** *Recitata in senatu per u(irum) inl(ustrem) proconsulem Postumianum prid(ie) Id(us) Mart(ias)*



# Tjäder: *Et ad latus* (1994)

In several emphyteusis deeds emanated from the chancery of the **Archbishopric of Ravenna** in the early Middle Ages (**VII-X** c. AD), a dating formula with *data* is inserted in the **upper left margin**



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- *Senatus consulatum de Bacchanalibus* (**BC 186**): [*Q*(*uintus*)] *Marcius L*(*ucii*) *f*(*ilius*) *S*(*purius*) *P*(*ostumius*) *L*(*ucii*) *f*(*ilius*) *co*(*n*)*s*(*ules*) *senatum consoluerunt N*(*onis*) *Octob*(*ribus*) ***apud aedem*** | ***Duelonai***

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- The alignment is **disregarded** in: **copies** on stone, papyrus or gathered in legal repositories (the *Codices*); and, if originals, when emanated by **provincial chanceries** (at least before the IV cent. AD: Dura, the travel permit, etc.)

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- The alignment is disregarded in: copies on stone, papyrus or gathered in legal repositories (the *Codices*); and, if originals, when emanated by provincial chanceries (at least before the IV cent. AD: Dura, the travel permit, etc.).
- Diocletian and Constantine's reforms, inaugurating the fourth century AD and, in fact, Late Antiquity, probably **enforced for all communications from all chanceries**, including those of the provincial governors, **the split dating formula**, whatever the **language** in which these communications were drafted (Greek in the East, Latin in the West and in internal proceedings of Roman army).
- After the **fourth century** and the final loss of Roman power in the **West**, the **Eastern** chanceries stuck to this format, **but less frequently and with less precision** (e.g. the Maspero papyrus), until the last decades of Roman/Byzantine power

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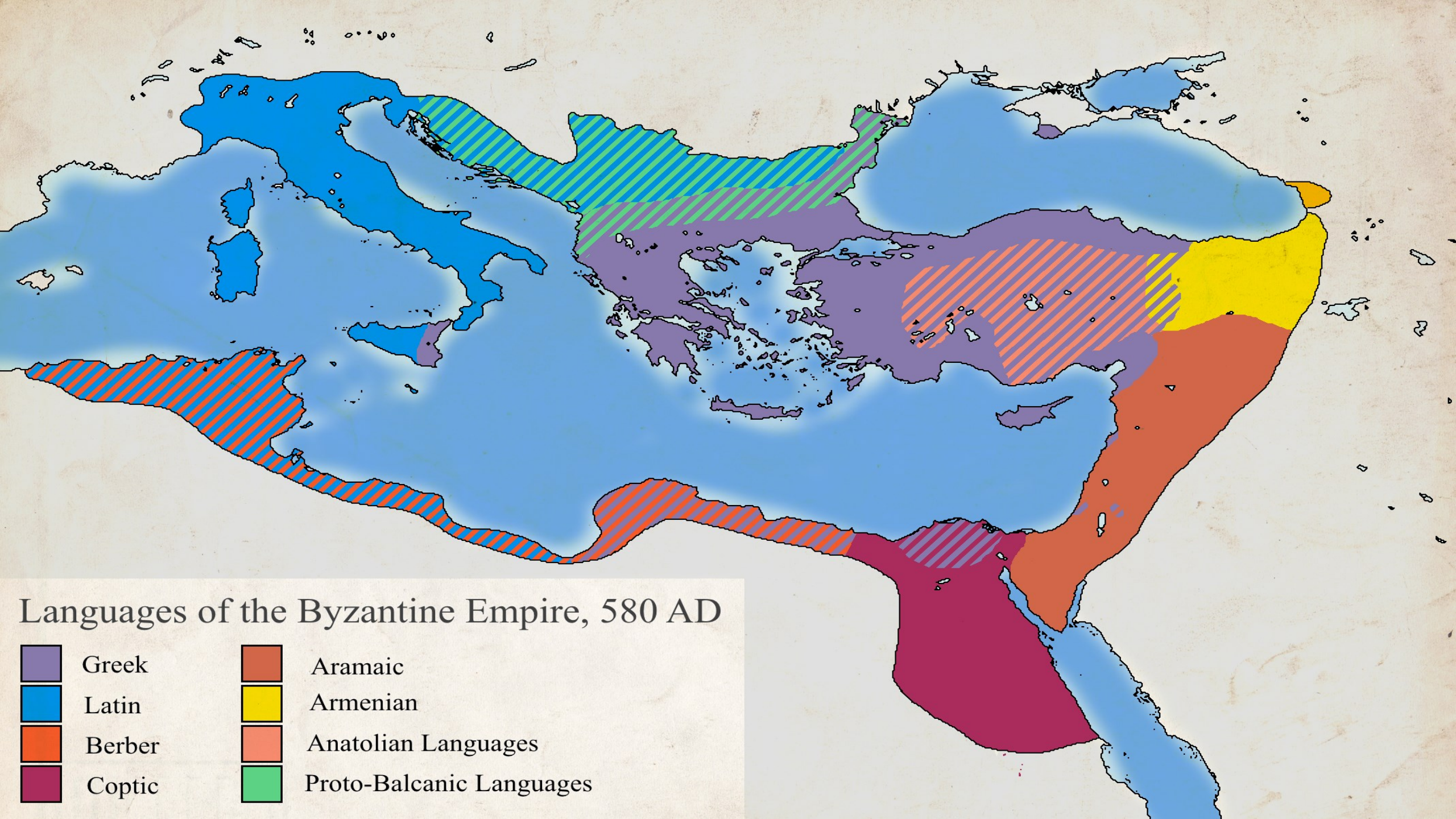
- **Validating marks** (J. N. **Adams**)

'It is possible that some documents were **authenticated** by the insertion of a date or other marginal notation by a second person' (*Bilingualism and the Latin language*, chapter 3.VI.2, pp. 390–393).


Languages of the Byzantine Empire, 580 AD
Greek
Latin
Berber
Coptic
Aramaic
Armenian
Anatolian Languages
Proto-Balcanic Languages

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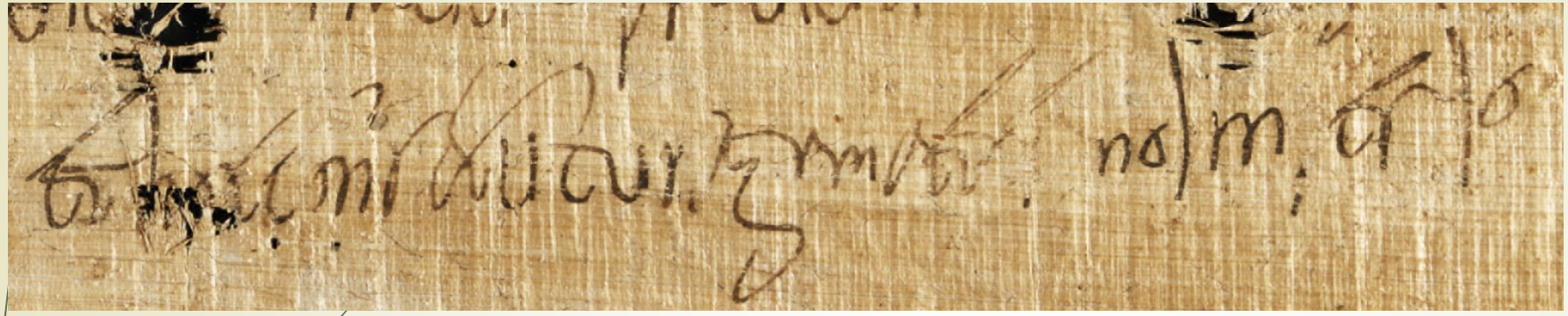
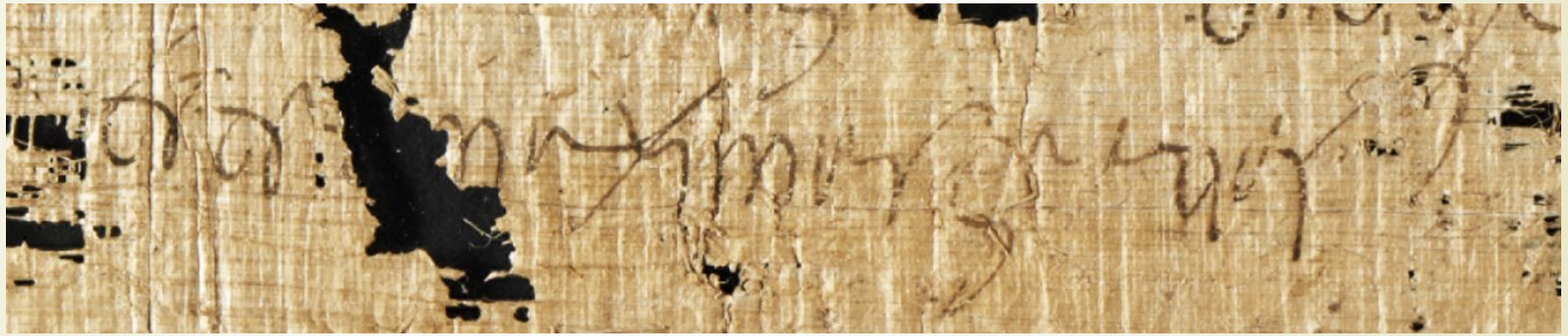
- **Language** and **layout** join forces in bestowing a **distinctive feature** to a document – occasionally even the **script** (*litterae caelestes*)



14
15

… Et hoc consecutus **agam** aeterno imperio uestro **maximas gratias**



**Thanks for attending this paper!**