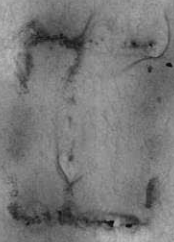


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A FURTHER NOTE
ON
EARLY PTOLEMAIC CHRONOLOGY

BY

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The article published in the last number of the *Annales*, p. 209, *On the dating of early Ptolemaic papyri*, was already in print when another portion of the Gerza find came into our possession. The new documents, among which are one or two pieces of more than ordinary interest, throw a little more light on some of the questions discussed in the above-mentioned paper.

We had previously inferred from the double dates of Apollonios (*art. cit.*, p. 213) that an extra month was intercalated not in year 30, in which there seemed to be evidence of a second Peritios, but in year 31. That inference is now confirmed, for among the new material is a letter from Apollonios himself dated Λ λα Περιτίου ἐμβολί(μου) κη Φαμενώθ ς. The concordance here differs by one day from that of our Table, which, it will be remembered, is founded on the usual assumption that the Macedonian months consisted of 29 and 30 days alternately⁽¹⁾ without any relation to the actual changes of the moon⁽²⁾. But the slight differences

⁽¹⁾ Grenfell and Hunt, whom I have followed, suppose that the odd months had 29 days and the even months 30 days, and they suggest that the last day of the short months was written as the 30th, the 29th being omitted (*Hibeh Papyri*, p. 334). But in the Philadelphia papyri we find Gorpaios 29, and Gorpaios was one of the odd months.

⁽²⁾ Bouché-Leclercq (*Hist. des Lagides*,

IV, p. 285, note 1) says of the Macedonian calendar: «Il n'était même pas d'accord avec la lune, son régulateur naturel. Par exemple, en l'an V de Philométor la lune était âgée de 24 jours le 7 Artemisios.» He forgets that at the date mentioned the Macedonian months had been assimilated to the Egyptian and that *Artemisios* was merely an official synonym for *Athyr*.

between the dates of Apollonios and those of the Table make it doubtful whether our hypothesis is quite correct and whether Apollonios did not reckon the length of the months on a different system.

In the next place certain dockets of Zenon, together with some others in the papyri previously examined, enable us to determine the beginning of year 29 to within one week. In year 28 Zenon appears to have gone on a long voyage of inspection, probably in attendance on Apollonios. Coming from the east of the Delta, he arrived in Memphis on or before the 24th of Dystros and remained there till the 3rd of Xandikos or later. Between the 3rd and the 20th of Xandikos he went on to Alexandria, where he remained until the month of Daisios. Now in this series of dockets the last date of year 28 is Dystros 24 and the first date of year 29 is Xandikos 2.

Year 29 then began between Dystros 24 and Xandikos 3. These dates in the Egyptian calendar, according to Apollonios, are Phamenoth 4 and Phamenoth 11. But we have already seen (*art. cit.*, p. 215) that year 32 did not begin till after Pharmouthi 1, equivalent at that time to Dystros 24. Year 29 then began before Phamenoth 11 and year 32 after Pharmouthi 1. This definitely confirms our contention (*art. cit.*, p. 218) that the first day of the regnal year, as officially reckoned, was a fixed date in the Macedonian calendar and therefore a changeable date in the Egyptian calendar.

It is perhaps permissible to go a step farther. A fragmentary letter⁽¹⁾ among the new material is dated $\text{L } \lambda\beta \text{ } \Phi\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\upsilon\theta\iota \bar{\gamma}$. Now if we may assume this date to be correct and if moreover it refers, as is most probable, to the regnal year of which we have been speaking, it fixes the beginning of the year to within two days. For as we know that the regnal year began between Dystros 24 and Xandikos 3, it follows from the concordances of Apollonios (see *art. cit.*, Table II) that in the Egyptian calendar year 32 began between Pharmouthi 1 and Pharmouthi 9 and year 33 between Phamenoth 20 and Phamenoth 28, so that Pharmouthi 3 of year 32 can

⁽¹⁾ It is possible that this letter refers to the same subject as two other letters dated year 31, Phamenoth 30, and recei-

ved by Zenon on year 31, Pharmouthi 1. Unfortunately, half of it is missing, and the meaning is doubtful.

only have fallen at the *beginning* of that year. We must conclude then that year 32 began on the 2nd or 3rd of Pharmouthi. In the Macedonian calendar these dates correspond to Dystros 25 and 26; and, as we have already proved that the first day of the regnal year was a fixed date in the Macedonian calendar, it follows, if the above assumptions are correct, that the first day of the year was either the 25th or the 26th of Dystros.

It may be regarded then as established that the year by which the *dioiketes* and other officials dated their correspondence in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphos was a Macedonian year beginning on or shortly after the 25th of Dystros. There are also some indications (see *Hibeh Papyri*, Appendix III, p. 369 and p. 374) that the term of office of the eponymous priest and priestess, so often mentioned in the dating of documents, corresponded with this Macedonian year. That its starting-point was the anniversary of the king's accession is still only an assumption, though a very probable one. The probability would be still greater if it could be shown that the starting-point varied from reign to reign; and it will be disappointing if the Philadelphia papyri do not at least help us to determine, more conclusively than has yet been done, in what month the regnal year of Euergetes I began. But at present the evidence on this point is somewhat confusing.

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P. S. The article *On the dating of early Ptolemaic papyri* was written before I was aware of the publication, by Prof. Vitelli and his colleagues, of the Zenonian papyri in Florence, and the above note had unfortunately gone to the printer before I had an opportunity of studying their most interesting work. The Florence collection is no less important than ours, and represents very fully what we may call the three main phases of Zenon's correspondence: the early period, from year 25 to year 29, when he was employed by Apollonios on foreign business, sometimes travelling abroad; the middle period, when he was settled at Philadelphia, working under the direct orders of Apollonios and in constant communication with him; and the later years, in which the figure of his patron fades into the

background until we read of the great Philadelphian estate as τῆς [πρότε]ρον οὔσης Ἀπολλωνίου δ[ωρεᾶς].

The double dates of Apollonios and Zenon in the Florence collection, though not numerous, confirm our main contentions about the regnal year of Ptolemy II and the Macedonian calendar. More clearly than ever we see that the dates of Zenon are not to be relied on and that for the most part he contented himself with a rough *assimilation* of the two calendars. Most interesting is the evidence (*op. cit.*, nos 347, 436, 514) that the king's birthday fell in Dystros : my conjecture that he was crowned by his father on the occasion of his completing his 25th year may well be right. The only document that conflicts with our theory of the regnal year is n° 509, in which Phamenoth 2 appears to precede Mesore of year 30; and in view of the other evidence I have little doubt that there is some mistake here⁽¹⁾ or (and this is more probable) that the date refers to the canonical year which began in Thoth.

The Florence papyri help to enlighten us a little about the chronology of the reign of Euergetes. Nos 386 and 388, dealing with the payment of taxes, give us the following sequence of financial years, Λθ, Λβ, Λγ, Λδ, showing that year 2 of Euergetes immediately followed year 39 of Philadelphos. These dates have an important bearing on the question of the financial year and also on the question of the regnal year of Euergetes. The following argument will be more easily understood if the reader will look at Table II in our previous article.

We took the double date of year 39 in which Artemisios is equated to Payni (*art. cit.*, p. 222) to refer to the regnal year, because it occurs in the formula Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου together with the names of the eponymous priest and priestess, and it is reasonably supposed that such dates are as a rule regnal dates. If that view is right, we may infer two things from the new evidence. First, the year employed in the above sequences,

⁽¹⁾ Needless to say, the scribes often made slips and mistakes. One letter for instance is dated Λλ and endorsed Λλδ. Another case of the same kind is cited on p. 217 of my former article : it seems to

me now, on second thoughts, that Λε is in the first place a slip for Λλε and in the second place a mistake for Λλς, the new year having probably begun a few days before.

which was presumably a financial year, began in Thoth. It cannot have begun in Mecheir, for in that case there would have been another year, $\text{L}\mu$ or $\text{L}\alpha$, between $\text{L}\lambda\theta$ and $\text{L}\beta$. Secondly, the reign of Ptolemy II must have ended between Payni and Thoth of his 39th regnal year, for otherwise $\text{L}\beta$ would have been preceded by $\text{L}\mu$ or $\text{L}\alpha$. The fact that the Canon assigns to Philadelphos a reign of 38 full years, counted from Thoth to Thoth and starting from the Thoth which preceded his accession, and the mention of a *Panemos embolimos* in our papyri had already led me to conjecture that the regnal year of Euergetes began in Loios (*art. cit.*, p. 222). This theory would also explain satisfactorily the dates in *P. Petr.*, III, 21, a — g (amended in *P. Hib.*, p. 376), accounts of a series of judgments delivered in Peritios, Dystros and Xandikos of year 21 and on Loios 29 of year 22.

On the other hand, it is necessary to take into consideration the possibility that the double date above mentioned refers to the 39th financial year and the 38th regnal. In that case the financial year cannot have begun in Thoth, for a year beginning in Thoth would not have been in advance of the regnal year in Payni. We must then suppose the 39th financial year to have begun in Mecheir of regnal year 37. The combined evidence of the Canon and of *P. Flor.* 386, 388 will then oblige us to place the accession of Euergetes between Thoth and Mecheir of the 38th regnal year of Philadelphos; and it will enable us (what the alternative view forbids) to place it on Dios 25 (= Choiak 17 approximately), the date on which the young king, according to the Kanopos decree, *παρέλαξεν τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς*.

In favour of the second of those two theories it should moreover be said that the dates of the closing years of Euergetes in the documents from Magdola and Elephantine⁽¹⁾ and also in the Petric papyri are compatible with a regnal year beginning in Dios, but are extremely difficult to reconcile with one beginning in Loios. In fact it seems to me, on the present evidence, almost certain that the regnal year of Euergetes began, as is generally supposed, on the 25th of Dios, and that consequently the financial

⁽¹⁾ The editor of the Elephantine papyri, M. Rubensohn, has erroneously dated

them on the old system, assuming Thoth 1 to be the starting-point of the year.

year began in Mecheir⁽¹⁾. As for the date $\Lambda\iota\zeta$ Πανήμου ἐμβολίου, which seems to indicate that the regnal year began in Loios, I was perhaps mistaken in attributing it to Euergetes : it may belong to the reign of Philopator, for there are rather strong reasons for thinking that Euergetes died about the end of Loios in his 25th regnal year⁽²⁾. The first and last years of Euergetes might, according to the above theory, be tabulated thus in continuation of Table II; and it may be remarked that these concordances agree very closely with certain double dates which the papyri give us for year 25⁽³⁾. But whatever month be taken as the starting-point of the regnal year of Euergetes, it will, I think, be found impossible to avoid

⁽¹⁾ As was formerly pointed out by Mr. Smyly, a financial year beginning in Thoth is irreconcilable with a regnal year starting from Dios 25 (*P. Hib.*, p. 364).

⁽²⁾ The most serious objection to this view is *P. Magd.*, n° 42, which implies that in year 1 of Philopator Athyr preceded Tybi. But it may be that the petitioner, writing in year 1 two months after the incident about which she complains, inadvertently misdated it or dated it by the canonical year. M. Lesquier, to whom we are indebted for an acute analysis of the Magdola dates, has argued from them that Euergetes reigned for more than 25 full years and died between Phamenoth 27 of his 26th regnal year and the following Thoth. I am unable to accept this view. We know from two or three sources (*P. Petr.*, III, 58, *d*; *Cat. Cairo*, *Demotischen Papyrus*, n° 30604) that in Phamenoth the financial year of Euergetes was one unit in advance of the regnal year, so that Phamenoth of regnal year 26 would have been equivalent to Phamenoth of financial year 27. But as Euergetes did not reach his 27th financial

year, he must have died *before* Phamenoth of his 26th regnal year. That seems clear enough. Further, as Tybi seems to have preceded Phamenoth in the early regnal years of Philopator (*P. Magd.*, n° 39) and as Euergetes reigned for 25 canonical years, it is probable that Philopator came to the throne between the twenty-fifth Thoth of the **actual** reign of Euergetes and the following Tybi; and that is in fact where we have placed his accession. Again, it appears from *P. Petr.* III, 141 that Euergetes died between the beginning of Choiak of his 25th regnal year and the following Payni. Combined with the preceding evidence this fixes the date of his death to Choiak or the beginning of Tybi. So if we say that Philopator's regnal year began about the middle of Choiak and the end of Loios, I think we shall not be far wrong.

⁽³⁾ On the other hand, I must admit that the double date of the Kanopos decree does not accord with this arrangement so well as with the theory that Philadelphos died in his 39th regnal year (*v. Annales*, XVII, p. 220).

	YEAR 1.	YEAR 25.
Dios 25	Choiak 17	Phamenoth 23
Apellaios 1	Choiak 22	Phamenoth 28
Audnaios 1	Tybi 22	Pharmouthi 28
Peritios 1	Mecheir 21	Pachons 27
Dystros 1	Phamenoth 21	Payni 27
Xandikos 1	Pharmouthi 20	Epeiph 26
Artemisios 1	Pachons 20	Mesore 26
Daisios 1	Payni 19	Thoth 26
Panemos 1	Epeiph 19	Phaophi 26
Loios 1	Mesore 18	Athyr 19
Gorpiaios 1	Thoth 13	
Hyperberetaios 1	Phaophi 12	
Embolimos 1	Athyr 12	
Dios 1	Choiak 12	

the conclusion that at least two and more probably three different systems of reckoning the year were in common and rather indiscriminate use at this period. This and some other chronological questions I hope to discuss more fully on another occasion.

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