The Eras of Diocletian and the Martyrs: Addenda & Corrigenda
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Published in:
Analecta Papyrologica

Citation for published version (APA):

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A few years ago we published a discussion of the eras of Diocletian and the Martyrs, together with a list of attestations of both eras in various (mostly Coptic) sources, in "Miscellanea Papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana" (edd. M. Capasso, G. Messeri Savorelli, R. Pintaudi [Firenze 1990], II 375-408). Since then a number of references there still missing and new attestations have come to our notice; it seems worthwhile to us to publish here a collection of addenda and corrigenda to the earlier list. We should like to thank especially our colleague Mr. A. Lajtar (Warsaw) warmly for his generous help in collecting missing references. In Archiv f. Papyrusforschung 38 (1992) 47ff. W. Brunsch lists a number of Greek and Coptic stelae from the Coptic Museum in Cairo which are dated apparently by some era year (cf. p. 54, K 9651 from A.D. 885/889/896; p. 55, K 9714 from A.D. 755, K 9769 from A.D. 751/2 and K 9782 from A.D. 758; p. 56, K 9975 from A.D. 733/4; p. 58, K 68418 from A.D. 752; p. 59, 2 unnumbered stelae from A.D. 753 and 858); he informs us (by letter from 13.iv.1994) that he is working on a full publication of these texts.

Add now to our Bibliography:

C. Wietheger, Das Jeremias-Kloster zu Saqqara unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Inschriften. Altenberge 1992 (= Arbeiten zum spättantiken und koptischen Ägypten, 1) [cited below as 'C. Wietheger' followed by publication number]
I. Kamel, Coptic Funerary Stelae (Cairo 1987) (= Catalogue général des antiquités du Musée Copte, # # 1-253)
KSB = M.R.M. Hasitzka, Koptisches Sammelbuch (Wien 1993-...)

A: The Diocletian era:

Year 333: add: R. Kasser e.a., Kellia, II. Topographie (Geneva 1972) Kellia 101 # 11.
386: add: R. Kasser e.a., *Kellia, II. Topographie* (Geneva 1972) 78 (era name restored)
412: Excav. Sakkara 1908/10, # 209 = C. Wietheger # 184
422: add: KSB I 791 (Pachon 17, ind. 4 [= 705/6]; the translation in the ed. princ. erroneously prints ‘Indiktion 5’).
428: add: R. Kasser e.a., *Kellia, II. Topographie* (Geneva 1972) 42 # 1.
429: Excav. Sakkara 1908/10, # 186 = C. Wietheger # 115
432: Munier 53 = KSB I 551; add. R. Kasser e.a. *Kellia, I* (Cairo 1969) 105 # 25 (Choiak 29)
434: Munier 54 = KSB I 552
439?: ASAE 6 (1907) 107 = KSB I 302 (Dioicl. yr. = 469)
442: Munier 55 = KSB I 553
443: Munier 56 = KSB I 554
443: Munier 57 = KSB I 555
444: Munier 58 = KSB I 556
444: Munier 59 = KSB I 557
445: Munier 60 = KSB I 558
445: Munier 61 = KSB I 559
445: Munier 62 = KSB I 560; Excav. Sakkara 1908/10, # 274 = C. Wietheger # 58
   add: R. Kasser e.a. *Kellia, I* (Cairo 1969) 106 # 26 (Mesore 5)
446: Munier 63 = KSB I 561
449: Munier 64 = KSB I 562
449: Munier 65 = KSB I 563
449: Munier 66 = KSB I 564 (the text in DACL III 2871 reads the numeral as 445)
450: Munier 67 = KSB I 565
450: Munier 68 = KSB I 566
454: Munier 69 = KSB I 567
455: Munier 70 = KSB I 568; add: R. Kasser e.a. *Kellia, I* (Cairo 1969) 105-106 # 25 (Choiak 21)
455: DACL III 2882 = Kosack # 114 = Liverpool Annals Archaeology & Anthropology 14 (1927) pl. XX. 24; ind. 10 is a misprint for ind. 7; this text is a graffito, not a gravestone.
457: Excav. Sakkara 1908/10, # 208 = C. Wietheger # 183
461: Munier 71 = KSB I 569
466: DACL III 2857 = DACL I 2342 = KSB I 428
467: Munier 72 = KSB I 570; Excav. Sakkara 1907/8, # 12 = C. Wietheger # 35
468: Munier 73 = KSB I 571
463/68: Excav. Sakkara 1908/10, # 212 = C. Wietheger # 185
469: Munier 74 = KSB I 572; Excav. Sakkara 1908/10, # 280 = C. Wietheger # 80; ASAE 6 (1907) 107 = KSB I 3023 Aegyptus 73 (1993) 163 # 30 (Choiak 21, ind. 6)
470-479: add: C. Wietheger # 191 (Pachon 14, ind. [ ])
471: Munier 75 = KSB I 573; add: U. Monneret de Villard, La Nubia medioevale I 166+pl. 151 (gravestone).
472: Munier 76 = KSB I 574
473: DACL III 2845/6 = C. Wietheger # 84
474: Munier 77 = KSB I 575
476: Munier 78 = KSB I 576; Excav. Sakkara 1908/1910, # 221 = C. Wietheger # 60
481: DACL III 2856 = KSB I 780
483: Munier 79 = KSB I 577
488: Excav. Sakkara 1908/10, # 213 = C. Wietheger # 190
489: Munier 80 = KSB I 578
492: Munier 81 = KSB I 579; Excav. Sakkara 1908/10, # 203 = C. Wietheger # 192
492: Munier 82 = KSB I 580
494: Munier 83 = KSB I 581
497: Munier 84 = KSB I 582
498: Munier 85 = KSB I 583
499: add: I. Kamel, Coptic Funerary Stelae # 243 = W. Brunsch, Orientalia 60 (1991) 107-8 = C. Wietheger # 189 (Saracene yr. 164, ind. 4 [Brunsch: ind. 1], Mesore 1)
501: Munier 101 = KSB I 599
502: Munier 102 = KSB I 600
502: Munier 103 = KSB I 601
502: M. Cramer, Totenklage 9 # 3 = KSB I 781 = I. Kamel, Coptic Funerary Stelae # 247
504?: DACL III 2846 = C. Wietheger # 85 (reads year numeral as ΦΓ = 503)
512: Munier 103 = KSB I 602; Cramer, Totenklage 13 # 4 = KSB I 782
514: add: Archéologie du Nil Moyen V (1991) 157 ff. # 1 (Tybi 12, ind. 6)
515: Munier 105 = KSB I 603
516: add: I. Kamel, Coptic Funerary Stelae # 242 = Aegyptus 73 (1993) 193 # 55 (Phamenoth 1, ind. 8; ed. wrongly Phamenoth 9, ind. 1)
520+: add: WZKM 14 (1900) 236-238, Text ‘A’
521: Munier 106 = KSB I 604
523: Excav. Sakkara 1907/8 p. 31 # 11 = C. Wiethegher # 86
524: Munier 107 = KSB I 605
534: Excav. Sakkara 1908/10, # 202 = C. Wiethegher # 194
535: Munier 108 = KSB I 606
55[7]: M. Cramer, Kopt. Inschr. Kaiser Friedrich-Museum p. 22 = KSB I 786 (where our restoration of the last digit of the era year not yet paid attention to; we see now on the plate of the inscription in Aegyptus 19 [1939] Tav. XI that in line 15 at the start one should read the name of the month as ΑΘΥΡ ζ)
566: Munier 109 = KSB I 607
567 Munier 110 = KSB I 608
572: Munier 111 = KSB I 609
573, 582: Munier 112 = KSB I 610
584: add: Faras III 93 ff. (or year 594?)
588: Munier 114 = KSB I 612
594: Munier 115 = KSB I 613
601-608: Munier 116 = KSB I 614
614?: add: Tamit 1964 p. 72 # 34 (Pharmuthi 10; year possibly 614 acc. to photo)
629: Lef. 647 = KSB I 734
630: BIFAO 83 (1983) 103 = KSB I 744
637: add: KSB I 460 (Hathy 21; indication ‘Diocletian’ or ‘Martyrs’ missing)
649: add: Faras III 115 = LAAA 14 (1927) pl. 91
655: add: Faras III p. 116
662: DACL IV 2491 = Rev. Egypt. 4 (1885) 26 = KSB I 486
670: add: Faras IV # 30
673: BIFAO 78 (1978) 341 = KSB I 401
800: cf. H. Junker in ZÄS 60 (1925) 116 n. 3 on Hall, BM 607.
865: the reading of this numeral in DACL I 2342 is incorrect, cf. the re-edition in KSB I 428 (supra, s.a. 466)
1006: add: G. Graf, Catalogue de Mss arabes-chrétiens (Rome 1934) #169 (pp. 72-73), ‘Copt.Mus.Lit. 309’ (= Saracen yr. 689; fragm. preserved lectionary)

B: The Martyrs era:

597: add: Faras III 96 ff. = LAAA 14 (1927) pl. 93+74.2
628: BSAC 5 (1939) 81 f. #1 = I. Kamel, Coptic Funerary Stelae #66
633: BSAC 5 (1939) 81 f. #2 = I. Kamel, Coptic Funerary Stelae #65
669: add: JEA 75 (1989) 205
715: cf. KSB I 430 (very dubious)
740+?: add: Faras III p. 163
745: add: G.S. Mileham, Churches in Lower Nubia, 10 + p. 7 (Epeiph 7)
751: add: ZÄS 60 (1925) 132, ‘Ibrim 687’ (unpublished?)
788: add: Sudan Texts Bulletin 3 (1981) 7 (adds Hegira yr. 464; era name, month and day broken off)
800: Louvre AE, AF 6265: the editor prints ‘800’ in her translation, but the text itself clearly reads $\Psi_\beta = 799$ (communication of R.-G. Coquin)
808: add the Cairo Patriarchate Arabic Ms ‘C’ of the Historia Patriarchorum, ed. J. den Heijer; equals lunar [Saracen] year 481;
809: add: ZÄS 60 (1925) 132, ‘Ibrim 686’ (unpublished?)
846: add: KSB I 333
865: add: KSB I 340
Texts from Qasr Ibrim III (London 1991) # 30 p. 3 (transl. p. 39) (Mesore 29 = 1st Selene day); this text seems to be identical with JEA 61 (1975) pl. II.2 (where ed. reads and dates wrongly: “881 after the Martyrs, i.e. A.D. 1165”; for the text cf. also G.M. Browne, Chrysostomos Nubianus, p. 26).

874: add: KSB I 337 (Choiak 29)

875: add: I. Kamel, Coptic Funerary Stelae # 13 = W. Brunsch, Orientalia 60 (1991) 92-93 (Pauni 3)

889: Kosack # 119 = DACL III 2879 (graffito, not a gravestone)


894, 896: add: Paris Copte 13 (yr 894 + Pharmuthi 24; yr. 896 + Thoth 6, Phaophi 8, Tybi 13; Gospels)


903: G.M. Browne, Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim III (London 1991) # 35 p. 11 (transl. p. 48) (Mesore 6 = 1st Selene day)


915: add: KSB I 353 (Pharmuthi 22)

915: add: G.M. Browne, Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim III (London 1991) # 38 p. 16 (transl. p. 56; Tybi 4 = 7th Selene day) and # 40 p. 20 (transl. p. 59; Mesore 23 = 26th Selene day)

920: add: Paris Copte 16 (Gospels)

921: add: Vat. 9 (Gospels)

932: add: Paris Copte 15 (Gospels)

946: add: Paris Copte 59 (Gospels)

966: add: Paris Inst. Cathol. 1 (Gospels)

969: add: KSB I 336

973: add: G. Graf, Catalogue de Mss arabes-chrétiens (Rome 1934) # 153 (pp. 65-67), ‘Copt. Mus. Bibl. 93’ (Payni 1, Saracen yr. 655; Gospels)

976: add: KSB I 350 (Mecheir 6)

981: add: Bodl. Huntington 26 (Mecheir, Saracen yr 663, Lectionary)


1007: add: G. Graf, Catalogue de Mss arabes-chrétiens (Rome 1934)
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# 574 (p. 214) ‘Copt. Patr. Bibl. 196’ (Mesore 9; Gospels; date in Arabic portion of colophon)

1011: add: Bodl. Huntington 18 (Epagom. 6; lectionary)

1021, 1024: add: BM Or 425 (Gospels; in 2nd colophon era not specified)

1031: add: G. Graf, Catalogue de Miss arabes-chrétiens (Rome 1934) # 160 (pp. 68-69) ‘Copt. Mus. Lit. 307’ (Lent lectionary)

1042, 1043: add: Copt. Patr. Bibl. 200 (year 1042 also has Pharmuthi 14, Saracen year 726; Gospels)¹

add: idem, Lit. 311 (Hathyr 8-Mesore 26; Liturgy for blessing of water)

1047: add: G. Graf, Catalogue de Miss arabes-chrétiens (Rome 1934) # 671 (pp. 245-246) and # 675 (pp. 247-248) ‘Copt. Mus. Bibl. 98’ (Phaophi 22; Luke and John); idem, Bibl. 103 (Phaophi 8; Matthew and Mark)

1062: Vat. 11 (Pharmuthi 10; Gospel of John)

1087: add: G. Graf, Catalogue de Miss arabes-chrétiens (Rome 1934) # 168 ‘Copt. Mus. Lit. 359 (Epeiph 28; Liturgy for blessing of water)

1114: Livre du Centenaire de l’IFAO 270 # 79 = KSB I 736

Texts we wish to reject:

(1) BSAC 30 (1991) p. 105-106, text # I, l. 2: according to the editor (cf. the translation) one is dealing with year 6[---] of the Martyrs, Tybi 1, on a Friday. We fail to see, however, a precise indication of “Martyrs” in the Coptic text itself and we reject the editor’s readings/interpretation.

(2) ibidem (# 1) p. 110, text # IV, l. 1: in its present reading this text presents us with a year 314 of the M[artyrs]. Apparently this would be the earliest direct reference to a Martyrs year (the earliest such year known thus far is year 502 = A.D. 785/6, cf. L.S.B. MacCoull-K.A. Worp, p. 401). As there is a suspiciously large gap between 314 and 502 and as there is nothing in the text justifying the restoration ‘M[artyrs]’ we do not think that the dating of this text by year 314 of the M[artyrs] is warranted per se.

(3) Preliminary Report Seventh Season of Excavations at the Site of Akoris, Egypt, 1987 (Kyoto 1988), 56 text # 1 (photo in Preliminary Report Sixth [1986] Season, pl. 20 upper). Year 400 is suspiciously early for a year of the Martyrs

¹ See Kh. Samir, Tables de concordance des manuscrits arabes chrétiens du Caire et du Sinai, Louvain 1986 (= CSCO 482, Subsidia 75), p. 109.
and a check of the photo convinces us that the editor’s readings in this line are probably simply incorrect (a re-edition of the ostrakon is planned). (4) ibidem (# 3), 57 text # 1; despite the editor’s optimistic comment ‘according to a better photography, the whole inscription could be completed’ we feel that in the case of this Coptic papyrus (!) the reading of the beginning of line 10 as [POM]ΠΙ ΦΑ Μ(ΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ) = “year 501 (of the Martyrs = 785 A.D.)” is highly doubtful. This text, therefore, should not be taken as the earliest attestation of the Martyrs era.

(5) We find it difficult to share the editors’ opinion (‘non vediamo altra soluzione’) that the texts on both sides of the wooden tablet Pap. Flor. XVIII 22 are dated by way of Diocletian era years, Text A by year 260 (col. vi: Φομ(ενω)θ ε, σεξ, κς -, ινδ(ικ.) ζ) and Text B by year 261 (col. iii: Φομ(ενω)θ κβ, σεξα Πι(α)κ(ων) α ινδ(ικ.) η). Our reasons for this are the following:

a. The provenance of the wooden board is not known and it may come from any place in Egypt. Now, G. Wagner (Les Oasis d’Egypte, 90 ff.) has published some ostraka from the Small Oasis in which apparently datings after the Oxyrhynchite Era are intended but, whereas this era normally consists of two year numerals, the datings on the ostraka give only one such numeral. We cite:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yr.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>374/5</td>
<td>O. Bahria 6 (Les Oasis 90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>400/1</td>
<td>O. Bahria div. 11 (Les Oasis 107)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>403/4</td>
<td>O. Sarm. 1; 6 (Les Oasis 96, 98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>404/5</td>
<td>O. Bahria 11 (Les Oasis 92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>405/6</td>
<td>O. Sarm. 13 (Les Oasis 100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>410/11</td>
<td>O. Dor. 2; 3 (Les Oasis 102-3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>411/2</td>
<td>O. Bahria div. 6; 8 (Les Oasis 106)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One may, therefore, reckon with the hypothesis that the same phenomenon of a ‘single-numeral’ Oxy. era year, if this is real anyway, also occurs on both sides of the wooden board under review.

b. Apart from grave stones and such literary use as that by John Philoponus it is extremely rare to find the Diocl. Era in use as early as in the 6th
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century A.D., and the problem is enhanced by the fact that the era-type would not have been indicated as such (only starting with the end of the 7th century we know of a few parallels for this omission, cf. our article in Misc. Pap. II [cited at the start of this contribution]).

c. As J. Rea (who kindly checked the original tablet for us) observes, the idea that one side of this tablet was written about one whole year later than the other, or even that they have sample dates one year apart, is difficult to accept. Both sides are about words in delta and epsilon. Presumably they were written (or were to be copied, more likely) in the same month of the same year, cf. MPER XV 60. Furthermore, Rea observes that the squiggles after the $\sigma = 200$ standing for $\xi = 60$ (or, for that matter, $\zeta = 7$) look suspicious. Rather, they look like the mark of abbreviation or finality which hangs from the cross bar of the theta in the abbreviation for Phamenoth on side B, and Rea transcribes $\sigma\zeta$. The exact meaning, however, of this (an abbreviated word?) is uncertain and we cannot propose a complete solution of all problems regarding the dating parts of this wooden board.

(6) S. Donadoni connects year 204 found on a Coptic grave-stone from Antipoolis (cf. Studi A. Calderini-R. Paribeni, II [Milano 1957] 480 # 3.11) with the era of Diocletian. We think that the Saracene era (without a specific era indication) may be more likely, cf. the dating of the so-called teshlot Papyri; for these see L.S.B. MacCoull in OCP 55 (1989) 201-206.

We gladly use the occasion for publishing also some addenda to the table of datings by the moon published by R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp in CdE 61 (1986) 351:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Diocl./ Mart. era</th>
<th>Jul. era</th>
<th>Eg. Date</th>
<th>Jul. Date</th>
<th>Selene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aegyptus 72 (1992) 112 f.</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>796/7</td>
<td>Pharmuthi 19</td>
<td>14.iv</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DACL III 2879 = W. Kosack Kopt. Kehrbuch # 119</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>1172/3</td>
<td>Tybi 22</td>
<td>17.i</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² Browne dates to 23.viii.1156!
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Diocl./ Mart. era</th>
<th>Jul. era</th>
<th>Eg. Date</th>
<th>Jul. Date</th>
<th>Selene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G.M. Browne, <em>op. cit.</em>, # 35 p. 11 (transl. p. 48)</td>
<td>903</td>
<td>1186/7</td>
<td>Mesore 6</td>
<td>30.vii$^3$</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.M. Browne, <em>op. cit.</em>, # 38 p. 16 (transl. p. 56)</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>1198/9</td>
<td>Tybi 4</td>
<td>30.xii</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># 40 p. 22 (transl. p. 59)</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>1198/9</td>
<td>Mesore 23</td>
<td>16.vii</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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$^3$ Browne dates to 31.vii.1188!  
$^4$ In the Sudan Texts Bulletin the day numeral was read as Hathyr 4 (= 31.x). Browne reads a dotted epsilon and dates to 1.xi.1191.
Il papiro conserva una lettera di Qorra ben Sharīk al pagarco Basilio, nella quale si sollecita l’invio di materiali, generi alimentari e denaro necessari per la flotta e per opere edilizie.

Dopo la lettera vera e propria, datata al 19 settembre 709, abbiamo, scritta in un’altra grafia, la γνῶcitc nella quale sono indicati dettagliatamente i generi richiesti e le loro quantità.

Nella trascrizione data dall’editore la γνῶcitc presenta alcune incongruenze: a) il totale in denaro dato a l. 41 risulta inferiore di oltre 1 1/2 νομίκεια a quello che si otterrebbe sommando le cifre delle singole registrazioni; b) i prezzi che si ricavano per δξος e ὀλυκη vanno contro quanto sappiamo sui prezzi di questi due generi all’inizio dell’VIII secolo; c) i generi delle ll. 34-36 – dalle quantità si ricavano 8 razioni mensili – danno razioni differenti per la quantità di ὀλυκη da quelle che già conosciamo dalla contabilità afriditopolita per i lavoratori al servizio della amministrazione araba.

Un riesame della γνῶcitc permette di chiarire la struttura del conto e di escludere un errore di calcolo del contabile; di verificare e di riportare nella norma prezzi e razioni alimentari; di migliorare il testo in vari altri punti.

Diamo una trascrizione della γνῶcitc con le nuove letture e secondo gli allineamenti delle righe così come esse sono disposte sul papiro, allineamenti funzionali alla comprensione della struttura stessa del conto.

28 + Γνῶcitc κῶμι(π) Ἀτφ(ο)δ(το)  
29 oῖ(το)ς