

pano parte dell'interlineo di Col. I 4/5, per spostarsi nello spazio libero dell'intercolumnio. Nella Col. II sono visibili tre paragraphoi: un testo dialogico (filosofico?)?

Si attribuisce la scrittura al III sec. d.C.; il verso è bianco. Il margine inferiore è conservato per cm 1.

recto →	Col. I	Col. II
↓	-----	
	]α	.(O)I
	]με	δε[
	]υτ	πει[
	]ααα	εικ[
5	ήλλ' ἀναγρά-	—
	]ται ζαμαι	..I
	πάλιν	
	α]ύτῳ ἐρω	θεῖν[
	]α	δ[
	]c	θ[
10	]cαε	.I
	]κη	[
	]α	[
	]λε	[
	]ον	[
15	]ουc	λ_[
	]α	[
	]o	[

Col. I

3-4. κη]στ[τ- vel ὀρ]στ[.

4-5. La prima annotazione, che è visibilmente interlineare, potrebbe riferirsi a qualcosa che, dimenticato nel testo, viene aggiunto; oppure una correzione, una variante (la mano pare la stessa). — πάλιν ἐρω: da λέγω, ἐρω, come pure ἐρώω?

12.]λε: oppure]αc.

Col. II

2. [: forse un η con sopra un o per correzione?

6. Sotto θεῖν[ben visibile il segno di paragraphos, che pare ricorra pure sotto εικ[(r. 4), e sotto λ[(r. 14).

8. θ[vel ο[.

THE ERA OF THE MARTYRS*

*Addenda et corrigenda in
analekta Pap 7 (1995) p 155-164*

Dated material from Christian Egypt (documentary and literary papyri, colophons of literary works, gravestones, inscribed monuments) is dated according to a number of different systems. Documentary and literary matter can be dated according to mentions of the Roman consuls (see R.S. Bagnall/A. Cameron/S.R. Schwartz/K.A. Worp, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, Atlanta 1987). According to a pattern set in Roman times, documents can give the regnal years of Byzantine emperors (see *RFBE*). (In Coptic documents, regnal dating ceases after the reign of Constantine; in Greek, it persists through the reign of Heraclius. Thus the old theory that patriotically Monophysite Copts re-

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Bibliographical references:

- ACO = Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, ed. E. Schwartz (Berlin 1914-1983)
 Altheim-Stiehl = F. Altheim/R. Stiehl, *Christentum am Roten Meer*, vol. I (Berlin 1971)
 de Bock, Matériaux = W. de Bock, *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Égypte chrétienne* (St. Petersburg 1901)
 P. Boeser, *Beschrijving RMO* = P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, VII: De monumenten van den Saitischen, Grieksch-Romeinschen, en Koptischen Tijd* (The Hague 1915)
 J. Clédat, *Baouit* = J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit* (Cairo 1916)
 M. Cramer, *Totenklage* = M. Cramer, *Die Totenklage bei den Kopten* (Vienna 1941)
 M. Cramer, *Kopt. Inscr. Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum* = M. Cramer, *Die koptischen Inschriften im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum* (Cairo 1949)
 CSBE = R.S. Bagnall/K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen 1978)
 DACL = H. Leclercq et al., *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris 1907-53, cited by vol. and col.)
 Excav. Sakkara 1907/1908 = J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Sakkara, 1907/1908: The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* (Cairo 1908) [Texts cited after their publication number in the chapter on Coptic inscriptions published by Sir Herbert Thompson]
 Excav. Sakkara 1908/1910 = J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Sakkara, 1908/1909, 1909/1910: The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* (Cairo 1912) [Texts cited after their publication number in the chapter on Coptic inscriptions published by Sir Herbert Thompson]
 Faras III = S. Jakobielski, *Faras III: a history of the bishopric of Pachoras on the basis of Coptic inscriptions* (Warsaw 1972)

fused to date their documents by the reigns of Chalcedonian emperors can be seen to make no sense.) A local era, that of the city of Oxyrhynchus, was for a time used in that one place (see *CSBE*, pp. 36-42). And, of course, after the Arab conquest of Egypt, dating by the Moslem Hegira began to be found, either in conjunction with another system or alone (see K.A. Worp, "Hegira years in Greek, Greek-Coptic and Greek-Arabic papyri", *Aegyptus* 65 [1985] 107-115). To the annoyance of scholars, documents in the Coptic language often do not bear any date more exact than that of the indiction. But in both Greek and Coptic another system is found for indicating explicit absolute dates for Egyptian texts and objects. It is an era that reckons from a starting-point of Thoth 1 (= 29.viii), A.D. 284.¹

This era, still in use today by the Coptic Orthodox church and in Egyptian newspapers, is variously called, and known as, the Era of (or "from") Diocleti-

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- Faras IV = J. Kubinska, *Faras IV: inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes* (Warsaw 1974)
 Godlewski = W. Godlewski, *Le monastère de St. Phoibammon* (Warsaw 1986), chapt. X (cited by n°)
 Kosack = W. Kosack, *Lehrbuch des Koptischen* (Graz 1974), 2. Teil: Lesestücke
 v. Lantschoot = A. van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons des mss. chrétiennes de l'Égypte* (Louvain 1929)
 Lef. = G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* (Cairo 1907) (cited by n°)
 Munier = H. Munier, "Les stèles coptes du Monastère de Saint-Siméon à Assouan", *Aegyptus* 11 (1930-31) 257-300; 433-484 (cited by n°)
 La Nubia med. = U. Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia medioevale I* (Cairo 1935)
 PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris 1857ff.)
 PLRE = *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*
 RAC = *Realenzyklopädie für Antike und Christentum*
 RFBE = R.S. Bagnall/K.A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt* (Missoula 1979)
 Togo Mina = T. Mina, *Inscriptions coptes et grecques de Nubie* (Cairo 1942; cited by n°)
 Turaieff, Matériaux = B. Turaieff, *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Égypte chrétienne* (Moscow 1902)
 Zoega = Zoega, *Catalogus codicum copticorum manuscriptorum* (Rome 1810, repr. Hildesheim 1973).

Greek papyri are referred to according to J.F. Oates et al., *Checklist*³ (Atlanta 1985), Coptic papyri according to A.A. Schiller, "Checklist", *BASP* 13 (1976) 99-123.

(1) There are notes on this era in *RAC* III 1052f. and *DAcL* V 361f., but they are perhaps not as informative or useful as one might wish. A. Pochan in *Bull.Inst.Eg.* 19 (1937) 135-145 attempted a systematic task of dealing with the era problem but without reaching satisfactory conclusions. Cf. *CSBE* ch. 7 for a full discussion of the Greek papyrological evidence from Byzantine and early Arabic Egypt.

an, or the Era of (or "from") the ("holy" or various other epithets) Martyrs. Designation of the era as that of Diocletian appears earlier: the appellation "Martyrs" occurs later in time. Reference works in various fields and modern literature usually lump the two era designations together, without distinguishing the era names. This leads to confusing references, especially as documents referred to in lists and indices as being dated by the Martyrs are in fact, when the text is checked, dated by Diocletian, or vice versa.² The origin of the era is still to be sought, and its spread and change of name traced and accounted for.

This article will focus upon a number of questions:

- When and why did this era, which gradually became the common dating system for the Christian population of Egypt especially after the Arab conquest in A.D. 641, begin to be used? What are the first attested uses of "Diocletian" and of "martyrs", and in what media? Why was the emperor Diocletian chosen as the eponym of an era? Who were the "martyrs", and why were they chosen as another eponym of the same era?
- When and where in Egypt and Nubia did a distinction between the two designations begin to be seen in our documentation (papyri [including parchments and paper documents], inscriptions, colophons, inscribed monuments)?
- What does the shift from a designation "Era of/from Diocletian" to

(2) We have found that no Greek documentary text on papyrus ever uses the designation "Era of (from) the Martyrs". As to the Coptic texts, a principal source of information is E.B. Allen, "Available Coptic texts involving dates", *Studies W.E. Crum* (Boston 1950) 3-33, but his lists were not exhaustive even at the time his paper was published; Allen restricts himself to texts on papyrus, paper or parchment, leaving out exactly dated inscriptions such as stelae though they are abundant (we are hampered by the lack of a corpus of Coptic inscriptions). Caution must be used in consulting most publications of Coptic texts, as editors tend to use "Diocletian" and "Martyrs" interchangeably, and to restore whatever they are most used to. E.g. Rylands 175.1, from Hermopolis, reads simply ΤΙΕΤΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΥ ΤΡΑΚΟΣΤΟΥ ΕΒΔΟΜΟΥ. Crum gives "Martyrs 437 = A.D. 721", but the beginning is lost from the papyrus, so the era designation is not preserved, and one can only assume "Martyrs". In any case, that early it is more likely to have been "Diocletian" rather than "Martyrs". Likewise, in BM 673 the designation of the era has broken off and one cannot tell whether one is dealing with "Diocletian" or with "Martyrs"; it is late enough (y. 703 = A.D. 986/7) to be confusing, as both era denominations are found in Egypt by that time. The following are erroneous mis-attributions of the era designation by Allen (cf. also *infra* n. 15):

v. Lantschoot i, iii, xvi: Diocletian, not Martyrs.

v. Lantschoot xiv: reads only ΚΑΤΑ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ ΧΖ (sic, no specific era).

BM 1226: Diocletian, not Martyrs; idem: Hall p. 6, # 1208.

Allen's idea that Hall p. 72 # 21268 might date from a year 643 is a fanciful and amusing misunderstanding of the heading ΧΜΓ (see now G. Robinson in *Tyche* 1 [1986] 175-177).

"Era of/from the (holy etc.) Martyrs"³ say about developments in the cultural history of Coptic Egypt and the growth of a community self-awareness?

On the first question, we may begin with the data supplied by R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp in their *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen 1978), Chapt. 7 (with a table of attestations of the Diocletian era in documentary sources, i.e. in Greek and demotic inscriptions or graffiti and in Greek papyri on p. 46-49), supplemented by our own collection of evidence (see our tables I and III). Contrary to common opinion which holds that the era at its beginning is a specifically Christian one, connected with the computation of the lunar (Paschal) cycle⁴, its inception can be seen to be rooted in a reckoning used by pagan priests in a cultic context. Its "pagan" roots are also demonstrated by its use in the computation of horoscopes (something officially rejected by the early Church), in astrological literature (cf. Paulus Alexandrinus) and in the demotic-Greek graffiti composed by pagan priests at Philae (and one might add the Theban graffito *Baillet* 1319 [cf. *ZPE* 26 (1977) 276, xviii], as there is no reason to believe that the author of this text was a Christian). The earliest contemporaneous documentary epigraphical evidence for the use of the era in a Christian milieu is the Greek grave-stele *SB* III 6250, year 208 = A.D. 491/2, from Alexandria; it is followed by a series of sixth-century Alexandrian

(3) There is not much agreement among scholars as to the date of the change in era name. J.-C. Grenier [*BIFAO* 83 (1983) 205 n. 3] states that the designation "Martyrs" is found from the VIth century onwards, but he does not give evidence for this. V. Gardthausen [*Griechische Paläographie* (Leipzig 1913), II 446-7] asserted that the era of the Martyrs appeared first in the VIIth century, but he, too, did not back up this statement with evidence. M. Chaîne [*Chronologie des temps chrétiens de l'Égypte* (Paris 1925) 12-18] opted for the VIIIth to VIIIth century, "que les circonstances expliquent" (p. 15), but denied either era name any ideological significance. V. Grumel [*La Chronologie* (Paris 1958) 221] repeated the assertion of a VIIth century inception of use of the era (but his date for *I. Froehner* I 81 cannot be maintained; see *CSBE* 49 n. 24 and *Cd'E* 61 [1986] 353). In A. Grohmann's *Arabische Chronologie/Arabische Papyruskunde* (Leiden 1966), W.C. Till stated (p. 42) that people began to call the Diocletian era the Martyrs' era in the VIIIth century. In publishing the inscriptions of St. Simeon's monastery at Aswan in *Aegyptus* 11 (1930-31), H. Munier found that in inscriptions from this locality the designation of the era of the Martyrs did not appear until the Xth century (p. 261 n. 3). A. Mallon (*DACL* III 2823) found the earliest attestations of the Martyrs only with the beginning of the XIth century, while M.H. Rutschowskaya in *Naissance de l'écriture* (Paris 1982) 186-7 says simply "after the conquest". R.S. Bagnall - K.A. Worp lapidarily write (*CSBE* 43) "Later, one finds the era called 'from the Martyrs'." The question is, of course, how much later? Coptic documentary papyri, which rarely have an absolute date at all before A.D. 641 and are not much more frequently provided with an absolute date after the Arab conquest, do not seem to use this era (to dated material referred to in our note 2 add *KRU* 14, 15, 70 and 106 as in our Table I; *P. Stras.* 397, cf. L.S.B. MacCoull, "A further redating of *P. Stras.* 397", *BASP* 24 (1987) 63-66, opting for a date of 2.vi.835, i.e. Pauni 8, ind. 13, Diocl. y. 551. There are 3 exceptions in our Table III, *BM* 465, 1213 and 673 [cf. above, n. 2]).

(4) For the latter idea cf. V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris 1958) 36-40, who disregarded — at his own peril — the remarks made by F. Hohmann, *Zur Chronologie der Papyrusurkunden*, Diss. Münster, Greifswald 1911, 44-45.

epigraphic uses. But it should be observed that this is not the earliest attestation for the use in a "Christian" source: we have, after all, Athanasius' Festal letters apparently attesting to a very early "Christian" use of the era, we have Epiphanius, we have Ambrosius and — last but not least — we have the fragment on papyrus of a passion of Saint Dioscorus, which *may* have contained a mention of Diocletian era year 23 (for the restoration of this see the editor's note *ad loc.*). To start with the last text, this is a special, anomalous case. It is not a dating clause, but the opening of a martyr story set in the times of the Great Persecution. Hence naturally a regnal year of Diocletian would be used by the narrative writer in giving the setting for the events he treats. This anachronistic use in martyrologic storytelling is quite different from a dating method for documents or epigraphic records.

In our opinion the use of the Diocletian era years found in the (Syriac) headings to the Festal letters of Saint Athanasius and in the Syriac index is not to be regarded as contemporaneous evidence for the use of this era for dating purposes, but rather as the work of some later editor or translator of Athanasius' *opera omnia*. Originally, such Paschal letters do not seem to have had any absolute dating (cf. the translations into Coptic of Athanasius' Greek originals [*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 150] which lack all dating elements; cf. also the similar letters by Cyrillus, PG 77, pp. 401-982) and it is clear from the place occupied by the references to specific era years in the Index that they are rather some kind of redactor's comments added to the years in question. It is another question, of course, when these Diocletian era years were added to the headings of the Festal letters (now preserved only in a translation into Syriac) and to the Index. This question, moreover, should take into account whether the references to the Diocletian era years were added by a Greek redactor who edited Athanasius' works, or by the translator of the Syriac version (on the Coptic version cf. above). One might speculate that an edition of Athanasius' works was published not very long after his death in A.D. 373 and that the need for an Index will have arisen more or less simultaneously, say ca. 375-385. But that proves only that, if the Syriac translation renders a Greek original faithfully, in this period an era of Diocletian was used by someone working in the archives of the Archbishop of Alexandria, probably by a Christian; it should not be taken to prove that the era of Diocletian was of predominantly "Christian" origin.

The same questions concerning the authentic contemporaneous use of the Diocletian era for dating purposes may be posed as regards the attestations in Epiphanius' works. Some of these are certainly not authentically Epiphanius' own words but those of a later editor of his works (cf. the passages referred to in the edition by K. Holl, vol. I p. 1; 5; 153) and in the case of the attestations found in vol. I p. 73; 147 and III 48 one may well wonder, likewise, whether one is dealing with some form of later marginalia by an editor which have crept into the text (note the fact that in all of these instances the datings are given in some form of explanatory note introduced by *τοῦτέστιν* *vel sim.*; one must, however, be cautious in regarding these attestations as later intrusions into Epiphanius' text, as there is a serious danger that one makes a circular argument!).

Then we have the attestation of the use of the era found in Ambrosius' let-

ter 13. Regardless of the question concerning the authenticity of this letter (M. Zelzer defends it⁵), it seems more safe not to regard it as proof for the contemporaneous use of the Diocletian era in western Christian milieus. Ambrosius communicates the date for Easter 387 to his fellow-bishops in Italy on the basis of information obviously provided by the patriarch in Alexandria, hence the use of Egyptian dating elements in his letter.⁶

The chronicle contained in the P. Golenishev is probably not to be regarded as contemporaneous evidence for the use of the era; moreover, the date the papyrus was written (Vth century?) is uncertain.

In fact, our next earliest documentary evidence for the use of this era in a Christian milieu is to be found in the church document published in *ACO* I.1.4 p. 67 from year 164 (= A.D. 447/8; cf. E. Schwartz in F. v. Woess, "*Das Asylwesen Ägyptens in der Ptolemäerzeit und die spätere Entwicklung*" [München 1923], 258ff.). We wish to note here that the era seems characteristic of Egypt and Egyptian usage.⁷ Only after the Arab conquest of Egypt one finds the era of Diocletian used for dating such everyday types of documentation as papyrus contracts and receipts. The provenance of the post-Conquest papyri ranges from the Arsinoite and Herakleopolite nomes of Lower Egypt⁸ to the Hermapolite and the Thebaid of Upper Egypt. It should be noted that the indication of the Diocletian era and the indiction do not always agree (cf. our Table II).

Only two or three known Coptic papyri/paper documents use the era designation "Martyrs"; other papyri and some inscriptions and colophons employ "Diocletian". "Martyrs" comes into use in epigraphy, colophons, and as

(5) Cf. M. Zelzer, "Zum Osterfestbrief d. hl. Ambrosius und zur römischen Osterfestberechnung d. 4. Jhdts", *WS N.F.* 12 (1978) 187-204.

(6) The question may be raised why Ambrose did not convert the Diocletian era years into calendaric data more easily understandable for his fellow-bishops, while he performed this service as regards the conversion of Egyptian months and days into the Roman calendar. Did Ambrose's colleagues know of the equivalence of any given Diocletian era year into their own year indication (by consuls)?

(7) The attempts of G.E. Kirk in *Journ. Palest. Orient. Soc.* 17 (1937) 209-217 and 18 (1938) 161-66 to restore the era of Diocletian in inscriptions found in Palestine in which no era designation is given are doubtful, even given apparent correspondences with indiction year values. *SEG* VIII 302 mentions year 384 (= A.D. 667/8) and ind. 13 (= A.D. 669-670) in an inscription from el-Arish which place at that time belonged to Egypt rather than to Palestine, cf. *P.Ness.* 15, introd. The inscription from Arabia printed in *DAFL* X. 2 2514 is probably year 502 of the era of Bostra rather than Martyrs era year 502 (confirmed by D. Feissel *per epist.*). A first certain attestation of the use of the Diocletian era outside of Egypt has now turned up in new inscriptions from Soloi (Cyprus) mentioning years 365 = ind. 7 (A.D. 648/9) and 371 = ind. 13 (A.D. 654/5), i.e. just after the Arab conquest of Egypt. See J. des Gagniers — Tran Tam Tinh, *Soloi. Dix campagnes de fouilles, 1964-1974*, Sainte Foy 1985, 116ff. (We owe this reference to the kindness of D. Feissel [cf. now *Bull. Epigraphique* 1987, 532].)

(8) On balance it seems likely that *P.Erl.* 56, listed by Bagnall/Worp, *CSBE* 49, as attesting a year 430 in a document with an unknown provenance does not belong in their list; there is no indication of the (usual) era designation and there is no need to think that the letters ypsilon, lambda must be interpreted as a numeral 430 which be equivalent to a Diocletian era year.

the usual method in the later period (after the eleventh century with its language shift from spoken Coptic to spoken Arabic) of dating dedicatory inscriptions and visitors' graffiti at monastic sites. (See Table III.) It is worth noticing that the era, whether termed "Diocletian" or "Martyrs", is first used in religious contexts. Only later on is it found used in secular contexts. As to the question "Why, initially, Diocletian?", we note that the traditional watershed of his accession naturally gave birth to a rich later folklore. The article of J. Schwartz, "Dioclétien dans la littérature copte" *BSAC* 15 (1958-60) 151-66 is more about using Coptic hagiography as a source for possible details of Roman history than about the growth and elaboration of the legendary figure of Diocletian as the archetypical villain. (The main thing is the legend that he was both Egyptian by origin and a Christian apostate; cf. also Zoega 59 = MS.Vat.Copt. 58.) This paper wishes also to explore a source of Coptic historical mythology and community self-image ("the church of the martyrs").

As to the second question, our research has found more overlap in the designations than had been thought (late employments of "Diocletian" and early uses of "Martyrs": see below), for example in the late ninth and early tenth centuries in the Fayum⁹ and Lower Egypt (compare Tables I and III). By the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, when Coptic had been largely replaced by Arabic in most spheres of life and had ceased to be understood, "Martyrs" is, with one possible exception (see below), the only reckoning found, country-wide, and it remains the standard one throughout Mamluk and Ottoman times for Christians.

With regard to the third question, and the reason for the origin of the era designation "Martyrs", some clarification is in order. In 1968 I.A. Ghali¹⁰ put forth the totally fantastic theory that the "martyrs" for whom the era came to be named were "nationalist martyrs"¹¹ ("Egypt for the Egyptians!") of the

(9) Note the alternations among v. Lantschoot iv-v, vii-viii, x-xi, xiv, xv, xvii-xxiii and so on throughout a large part of the assemblage (even in the tenth century).

(10) "Le calendrier copte et l'ère des Martyrs", *BIFAO* 66 (1968) 113-120. It is astonishing that this article could have been written, using nineteenth-century textbooks, after the appearance of the Aurelius Isidorus archive (1960) and of J. Lallemand's *L'administration civile de l'Égypte de l'avènement de Dioclétien*. . . (1964).

(11) Such a theory cannot stand in the face of, not only chronology (see below, n.12), but also the colophon of v. Lantschoot lvi = Tischendorf 3 (von Lemm, *Iberica* [St. Petersburg 1906] 31-32 and Plate II), where the scribe writes ΚΑΤΑ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΗΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΣ ΔΙΟΚΛΗ[Η]ΔΑΝΟΥ (Table III, s.a. 669; cf. Table I, s.a. 764). There is no way the "holy martyrs of Diocletian" (which von Lemm misconstrued) can be anyone but the Christians who perished in the Great Persecution. — Is this phrase, though, in a mid-tenth-century colophon of a hagiographic MS. from an urban monastery of the Fayum just a scribe's somewhat sloppy or forgetful way of running two designations together? Should it be construed as "according to the reckoning of the holy martyrs, viz. (from) Diocletian", as an "i.e." or "="? (There is no N- before "Diocletian".) The opposite phenomenon occurred in the early eleventh century in Arabic, in the colophon of Sinai Ms.Ar. n.s. paper #34, where the Arabic text gives "in the year 731 of Diocletian which is (wahiya) Martyrs". In this paper we intend to show that the change in era name did have cultural significance.

"anti-Roman" revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus (whom he confused with Achilleus)¹², not the Christian religious martyrs of the Diocletian persecution of A.D. 302/3.¹³ Obviously this is nonsense. But the change in the era name is noteworthy, and is indicative of something that was happening in Egypt and the Nile Valley in the first century or two of Abbasid rule, in particular in Nubia to the south, always a refuge for persecuted Copts.¹⁴ Through the documentation assembled in our tables we can trace and evaluate the birth and growth of a calendar reckoning system that is still used with pride by some eight million Egyptian Christians.

Dating by the Diocletian era continues to be found in all classes of our presently available documentation up until the middle of the 12th century. Our latest securely dated text dates from Diocl. year 883 = A.D. 1166/7. After this there is only one more text which seems to have been dated by way of a Diocletian era year, but the actual reading of the year in question is far from secure (it has been restored by Kosack as year 1055 presumably on the basis of prosopographical considerations). It is striking that this era would have been used so late by an Arabic governor commemorating his road-construction activity.

What is the first attestation of "Era of the Martyrs"? Supposed late seventh- and early eighth-century instances of the use of this era name have proved to be problematic, and a number have been eliminated from our lists.¹⁵ The inscribed stone in the Franciscan Center for Christian Oriental Studies at Cairo published in *BSAC* 21 (1975) 120.27, originally suggested to be dated A.MM. 425 = A.D. 708/9 (though doubted by the editor), cannot possibly, from the letter-forms, be that early. It is probably an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century hand-copy, made by an autodidact whose hand was formed from imitating printed liturgical texts, of an original that might have been thirteenth century (A.MM. 925, if the first numeral could be \top = 900). And Monneret de Villard's graffito from Wadi es-Sebu'a, republished in *La Nubia medioevale* I (Cairo 1935) 88 from F.Ll. Griffith's *Nubian texts of the Christian period* (Berlin 1913) 60-62 as being Martyrs 511 = A.D. 794/5, is likewise to be rejected. The letters $\epsilon\mu$ in line 8 of the graffito are probably not to be expanded as $\epsilon(\text{ΤΟΥ})\text{C} \text{M}(\text{ΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ})$: this formula is never found, in epigraphy or

(12) See J. David Thomas, "The date of the revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus", *ZPE* 22 (1976) 253-279: the date is A.D. 297/8; cf. also *RFBE* 28-29; *PLRE* I 263 s.n. L. Domitius Domitianus (6). No theory built partly on the fact that the Great Persecution itself did not begin in 284 is supportable by this episode.

(13) Ghali, an amateur, was unaware of the work of A.C. Johnson in *CP* 45 (1950) 13-21 and of J. Lallemand in *Aegyptus* 33 (1953) 97-104.

(14) Cf. W.Y. Adams, *Nubia, corridor to Africa* (Princeton 1977) 447; P.L. Shinnie in *Cambridge History of Africa* II (Cambridge 1978) 569.

(15) Cf. above, fn.2. The early example listed by Allen in Crum, *Epiphanius* I p. 111 n. 4, supposed to be Martyrs year 414 (11th indiction = A.D. 697/8) is another case of a Diocletian year being referred to as Martyrs: it is *BSAA* 30 (1926) 27, a renovation inscription from the Thebaid.

any other medium. Attested are ΔΠΟ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ and ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ, *vel sim.*, but never ΕΤΟΥΣ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ.

The first and earliest use known to us of the Era of the Martyrs occurs on a Greek gravestone from Old Dongola in Nubia, dated by the Polish excavators to A.MM. 502 = A.D. 785/6 (5.ix.785). The formula ΔΠΟ Π, "from the Martyrs", can be seen on the plate (*Kush* 15 [1967/8] pl. 25), but the numerals ΦΒ for the year can hardly be seen at all. (There has been no subsequent report to indicate whether the inscriptions excavated at Old Dongola have been kept at the Khartoum Museum or at the Warsaw Museum: the texts will be hard to check at first hand.) Our next instance is also from Old Dongola, dated A.MM. 513 = A.D. 796/7, also with the ΔΠΟ formula. We seem to be dealing with the appearance of a new era name in funerary inscriptions from the Nubian capital of the kingdom of Makouria, in an age when Nubia had become, under the so-called *baqt* (*pakton*), a client state of the Abbasid rulers of Egypt. Were the people who originated this phraseology themselves Coptic Christian Egyptians who had fled south for refuge to the Monophysite stronghold of Old Dongola? Or were they perhaps Nubian Christians? (The second example is partly in Old Nubian.)

The next employment of the Era of the Martyrs known to us in a Coptic dating clause is non-epigraphic and comes from A.D. 861/2. It is in the colophon of the Morgan codex Ms. Hamouli H (47556), the Gospel of John in Sahidic, fol. 49v (*Bybliothecae Pierpont Morgan Codices Coptici phototypice expressi* V plate 100), reading ΚΑΤΑ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ ΝΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ ΦΩΗ, "according to the time-reckoning of the Martyrs 578". No other era designation is visible. (The numerals, in particular the phi, are clear and verifiable on the plate.) It remains to establish how the notion of reckoning from or according to the Martyrs made its way from Nubia to a monastic scriptorium in the Fayum in some seventy years. Then we find one more gravestone from Old Dongola with the ΔΠΟ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ formula, dated A.MM. 600 = A.D. 883/4. In the late ninth century the more elaborate Martyrs dating seems to have become established in the monastic scriptoria of the Fayum (Touton and Sopehes), overlapping in time with the use of "Diocletian" in funerary inscriptions from the Aswan area (Table I). It next appears in a colophon in A.D. 888/9 in the Wadi Natrun (St. Macarius' monastery), in the Bohairic gospel catena by Theodore of Abusir (ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ ΧΕ)

From the turn of the ninth to tenth century comes an extremely problematic instance of "Martyrs", the bilingual inscription published in *ASAE* 13 (1924) 285-6. There is no plate; no number of the *Journal d'entrée* of the Egyptian Museum is given; the item is uncheckable. What is astonishing is that the dating clause by the Martyrs appears in the *Arabic* portion of this bilingual funerary text from (?) Middle Egypt (el-Dakrour), and this very early for bilingualism in texts other than financial records.¹⁶ The martyrs have acquired the Arabic

(16) See L.S.B. MacCoul, "Three cultures under Arab rule: the fate of Coptic", *BSAC* 27 (1985) 61-70, and *eadem* "The strange death of Coptic culture", *Coptic Church Review* 10 (1989) 35-45.

epithet *al-athār*, "pure", characteristic of the late twelfth century and after. The numerals for the year 625 (of the Martyrs) are given by the editor as being in the Arabic language, ٦٢٥. This is quite incredible: even in Arabic-language texts in Egypt numerals were in the so-called "Coptic cursive numbers" until Mamluk times. (A.MM. 925 in Arabic might be possible.) This item probably does not belong in our list.

We now come to the Bohairic area and period of Coptic. The only way to ascertain a possible provenance for the first two inscriptions published in *BSAC* 5 (1939) 81f., clearly dated to the early tenth century, might be to find out if the proper name "Kyrimanna" is typical of a certain place. So far this has not yielded any results. But in the second of these two inscriptions we have the first instance of coördinating the Martyrs date with the Hegira year, as had already been done with the Diocletian year in Middle Egypt, the Thebaid, and Nubia.¹⁷ By the late tenth to early eleventh century, coördinating a Martyrs date with the Hegira date was beginning to become normal practice in monastic scriptoria in Upper Egypt, in particular Esneh (Latopolis). Indeed, in the eleventh-century Hermopolite, the literate Coptic-using population was dating by Hegira year alone, not even explicitly designating the era. In these documents, the Teshlot papyri¹⁸, the scribes wrote simply "this year 420" and the like, without specifying the reckoning.

Roughly, thus, by the time that Coptic was beginning to yield place to Arabic as the everyday language of the Christian population of Egypt, and Christians were beginning to be a slight minority in some regions, dating by the Martyrs was becoming the more customary form of chronological reckoning for the Copts. We have seen this era appear in Nubia in the late eighth century, and then reach the monasteries of the Fayum. It is not found in eighth-century Jeme (Thebes) or in the documents of the ninth-century Apa Apollon monastery at Bawit; it spreads from Nubia directly to the White Monastery and its Sahidic-using region in the Panopolite and further south, and (via donated MSS.?) to the Bohairic-speaking area including the Wadi Natrun.

How was the spread of this era usage actually engineered? Was an official decision ever made by some ecclesiastical authority, whose writ would run among the "second-class citizenry" of Egypt's Christians who were by now legally in the subordinate status of *dhimmi*s, to change the name of the era according to which documents drawn up for the members of the community were dated? How could such a decision have been promulgated and its provision enforced throughout all the regions of Abbasid, Tulunid, and Fatimid Egypt, from bishoprics to villages? What authority would have been impressed with a

(17) See K.A. Worp, "Hegira years in Greek, Greek-Coptic and Greek-Arabic papyri", *Aegyptus* 65 (1985) 107-115: not dealing with purely Coptic papyri.

(18) M. Green, "A private archive of Coptic documents and letters from Teshlot", *OMRO* 64 (1983) 61-122; L.S.B. MacCoull, "The Teshlot papyri and the survival of documentary Sahidic in the eleventh century", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 55 (1989) 201-206.

system that had, it seems, come downriver from Nubia? Still, the conclusion seems inescapable that the name of the era was changed to express a particular religious self-consciousness on the part of the Coptic community, and that this new designation caught on at the level of local scribes, who were most often the ones who drew up documents and produced religious texts for the needs of Christians. The new designation of the Coptic era as that "of the Martyrs" emphasizes even more strongly than the name of Diocletian the fact that the community, religiously defined by its new non-Christian overlords, saw itself as the heir of the martyrs of the Great Persecution of the fourth century. Also indicative of currents of feeling and attitudes within Coptic community culture are the various epithets which become attached to the word "Martyrs" in the name of the era. At first in Greek/Coptic we find the epithet "holy", $\tau\omega\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\alpha\gamma\iota\omega\upsilon\ \mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\omega\upsilon$ (using the Greek *hagion*, not the Coptic *etouaab*). Later in the Arabophone period, there come to be attached to the Arabic translations of the word "Martyrs", *shahidun*, such epithets as "pure" (*athār*), "upright" (*abrār*), "blessed" (*sa'īd/as'ād*) and "crowned" (*makillīn*) (e.g. Cod.Borg.Copt. 99 and 108). This surely betokens increasing reverence for the martyrs of the Diocletianic persecution, seen as the real founders of the Egyptian church. From this identification with martyrdom grew a whole self-mythologizing of the Coptic identity that was not to be superseded until the late nineteenth century, when European education began to give latter-day Copts the notion that they were the lineal descendants of the Pharaonic population.

But this picture is still only a partial one. We need to look more closely at what was happening in Egypt in the second half of the ninth century and in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the period of the first attestations of "Martyrs" in literary colophons and the spread of the designation, to see what it was that the adoption of this new name was expressing. During these 250 years the Coptic Orthodox patriarch of the day himself had no fixed residence: the "central office" for communal tax responsibility was more often than not in a Delta or Wadi Natrun monastery, and did not become fixed at Cairo until the late eleventh century. Perhaps the introduction of a strongly Christian era name for intra-communal use was an attempt to fix upon one constant element in otherwise fluid chancery procedure. Moreover, the leaders of the Coptic community of the time were not the patriarchs: they were the rich lay notables, mostly those of Cairo, thoroughly assimilated to their Islamic cultural environment and producing successive generations of high state functionaries.¹⁹ The church was becoming a department of a state that was informed by principles radically op-

(19) See the remarkably acute observations of M. Martin, "Une lecture de l'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie", *POC* 35 (1985) 15-36 esp. 22-27: a study which presents a deeply saddening picture of institutionalized collaboration.

posed to every part of its existence except the financial; the possible leader class was far more concerned with its own wealth and prestige than with the uniqueness of its identity. Specifically Coptic forms of piety survived mainly in the monasteries. Since the earliest instances of the Era of the Martyrs seem to occur in tombstone inscriptions in Old Dongola, quite possibly written by Egyptian Christian emigrés²⁰, and then the era appears in monastic scriptoria, it may be hypothesized that the new era name was a monastic phenomenon, thought up by emigré monks and re-introduced to their original homeland in quieter times.

Thus, the "Era of Diocletian", that had come from an origin in Egyptian pagan cult to be used in Christian literature and then in documents, should be clearly distinguished in citations from the "Era of the Martyrs", a late product of the Coptic church in captivity.

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(20) The Old Dongola necropolis itself is not specifically monastic; but someone had to instruct the stone-cutters.

TABLE I List of Diocletian era years attested by manuscript and epigraphic evidence from Christian Egypt. NB: this list does not include instances tabled in CSBE 46-49; it includes some (sub-)literary sources from the IV-VIth century. The language of the grave-stones, graffiti and colophons is normally Coptic, unless otherwise indicated.

REFERENCE	DIACL.Y.	JUL.Y.	MONTH, DAY	IND.	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
P.Oxy. L 3529.1	23?	306/7				Oxyrhynchus	Hagiography	See ed.'s note ad loc.
BIFAO 83 (1983) 198-208:	33	316/7				The	Hieratic in-	Cf. ed.'s re-
Bucheum-stele # 20	39	322/3				Bucheum	scription	marks, p. 204ff.
Athanasius, Festal letters, headings	57	340/1					concern. bull	
Athanasius, Index (Syr.)	45-64	328-47						Cf. ed. by A. Martin-M. Al- bert, pp. 221-31
	44	327/8						Cf. ibidem, p. 225-7
	45	328/9						Cf. ibidem, p. 227
	85	368/9						Cf. ibidem, p. 273
	86	369/70						Cf. ibidem, p. 275
Epiphanius, Ancoratus u. Panarion, ed. K. Holl, (Leip- zig 1915-33), vol. I p. 1.14; 5.5-6; 73.1; 147.28	90	373/4						
p. 153.1	92	375/6						
Vol. III, p. 48.8	93	376/7						
Ambrosius, Ep. 13.14 (ed. M. Zelzer, CSEL 82, p. 228)	93	376/7						Same letter also mentions years 76 and 89 (cap. 14; 21)
Paulus Alexan- drinus, Isagog- ica, ed. Aem.Boer (Leipzig 1958), p. 41	94	377/8	Mecheir 20					
P.Golenisheff col.vi ^{f, v}	101?-109	383-392						Cf. C. Vanders- leyen, Chronologie des Préfets d'Egypte de 284 à 395, Bruxelles 1962, 172-3

REFERENCE	DIACL.Y.	JUL.Y.	MONTH, DAY	IND.	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
Acta Concilio- rum Oecume- nicorum, ed. E. Schwartz, I.i.4, p. 67	164	447/8	Pharmuthi 23	1				
Euthalius Dia- conus, Editio Epistularum S. Pauli, PG 85, p. 716	174	457/8	Epeiph 5	12				
Joh.Philopo- nus, In Physi- cor. IV.10 (= CAG 17 [ed. H. Vitelli] 703.17)	233	516/7	Pachon 10					
Joh.Philopo- nus, De Aeter- nitate Mundi, xvi (ed. H. Rabe p. 579.15)	245	528/9						
Olympiodorus, In Meteorolog. I.6 (= CAG 12.2 [ed. W. Stüve] 52.31)	281	564/5	Mesore					
ASAE 15 (1915) 118	336	619/20	Tybi 5	8		Antinoite	Gravestone	Coptic; Ed.: 31.xii.620, but date is I.i.620 (619/20 = leap year)
SEG VIII 302	384	667/8	Pa(chon/- uni?)	13		El-Arish	Gravestone	Greek; cf. above, fn. 7
SB XVI 12481	385	668/9	Choiak 2	12		Arsinoe	contract	Greek papyrus
CPR X 134	388	671/2	Choiak 7	15		Arsin./ Herakleop.?	contract	Greek papyrus
BSAC 3 (1937) 2	402	685/6				Deir Abu Lifa	Monk's graffito	Designation of era lacking; ed. thinks "Mar- tyrs", but this seems unlikely
Excav.Sakkara 1908/10, # 209	412	695/6	Phaophi 4	9		Sakkara	Gravestone	
BSAA 30 (1936) 27	414	697/8	Phaophi 13	11	55	Thebaid	Renovation inscr.	Ed.: year 55 since Saracen conquest, but this is errone- ous, since it must be, then, 58 (from 639) or 56 (from 641); calculated from 642?

REFERENCE	DIOCL.Y.	JUL.Y.	MONTH, DAY	IND.	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
CPR X 136	419	702/3	Mesore 21	1		Arsinoe	contract	Greek papyrus
Faras IV # 1; p. 20	423	706/7	Epagom. 5	6		Nubia	Foundation inscr.	Greek and Coptic
Faras IV, p. 18 = SB I	427	710/1	Choiak 18	9		Nubia	Foundation inscr.	Greek
1594 Excav. Sakkara 1908/10, # 186	429	712/3	[]			Sakkara	Gravestone	
Munier 53	432	715/6	Mecheir 9			Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 54	434	717/8	Pharmuthi 4	1		Aswan	Gravestone	
P. Rainer Cent. 121	437	720/1	Phaophi (?) 9	3?		Herakleop.	Legal doc.	Greek papyrus
Ryl 175	437	720/1	[]			Upper Egypt	Legal doc.	Era designation broken off
P. Boeser, Beschrijving RMO, # 33, pl. 18	438	721/2	Pauni 12	6		?	Gravestone	
ASAE 6 (1907) 107 = DACL III 2879	439 ?	722/3	Choiak 21	6		Philae	Renovation inscr.	Cf. plate in ed. princ.; rather y. 469?
Munier 55	442	725/6	Pauni 18	9		Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 56	443	726/7	Mecheir 7	10		Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 57	443	726/7	Pauni []	11		Aswan	Gravestone	Cf. Aegyptus 11 (1930/1) 262 n. 1
Munier 58	444	727/8	Tybi 7	11		Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 59	444	727/8	Mecheir 4	11		Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 60	445	728/9	Phaophi 15	12		Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 61	445	728/9	Phamenothe	12		Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 62	445	728/9	Phamenothe 22	12		Aswan	Gravestone	
Excav. Sakkara 1908/10, # 274	445	728/9	Pachon 25	14		Sakkara	Gravestone	
Munier 63	446	729/30	Mesore 2	13		Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 64	449	732/3	[]			Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 65	449	732/3	Choiak 2	1		Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 66	449	732/3	Pachon 15	2		Aswan	Gravestone	Cf. M. Cramer, Archäol. u. epigr. Klassifikation kopt. Denkmäler, Wiesbaden 1957, 32 # 54; Munier's translation is incorrect
Munier 67	450	733/4	[]	2		Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 68	450	733/4	[]	2		Aswan	Gravestone	

REFERENCE	DIACL.Y.	JUL.Y.	MONTH, DAY	IND.	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
J. Clédat, Baouit, p. 84 #V	451	734/5	Phamenoth 5	3		Bawit	Gravestone	
Lef. 69	451	734/5	Pachon 12	3		Old Cairo	el-Moallaqa lintel	Cf. ZPE 64 (1986) 231
KRU 106 = SB I 5609	451	734/5	Pauni 6	3	114 = 732/3	Jeme	Legal doc.	Cf. Aegyptus 65 (1985) 113 # 28
J. Clédat, Baouit, p. 84 #IX	453	736/7	Phamenoth 16 Pharmuthi 4			Bawit	Gravestone	Ed. reads wrong day numerals; cf. plate 50
Munier 69	454	737/8	Pauni 16	6		Aswan	Gravestone	
DACL III	455	738/9	Choiak 8	10		Faras	Gravestone	Indiction must be wrong
2882 = Ko- sack # 114								
DACL III	455	738/9	Tybi 21	7		Bawit	Gravestone	
2861 = J. Clédat, Baouit, p. 85 # X								
Munier 70	455	738/9	Tybi []	7		Aswan	Gravestone	
Excav.Sakkara 1908/10, # 208	457	740/1	Pharmuthi 13	10		Sakkara	Gravestone	
Kosack # 102 = Hall p. 6, # 1208	457	740/1	Mesore 28	10		?	Gravestone	Kosack's tran- script has ind. 15, wrongly; see the drawing which has ETOY(Σ)
Munier 71	461	744/5	Hathyr 3	13		Aswan	Gravestone	
BM 1226	461	744/5				Fayum?	Legal doc.	
ASAE 15 (1915) 139	463	746/7	Choiak 15	15		Deir el- Muharraq (Assiut)	Gravestone	Papyrus Greek; ed.: "747", but Choiak 15 = in 746; lacks era designation
Excav.Sakkara 1908/10, # 212	463/8	746/7 or 751/2				Sakkara	Gravestone	
DACL III	466	749/50	Epeiph 12/15?	7		Deir Abu Hennes (nr. Antin.)	Gravestone	Cf. MéI.Fac. Orient.Univ.Bey- routh 5 (1912) 124 n. 1; cf. plate in MDAIK 27.2 (1971), Taf. XXXVII.C
2857 = Cramer, Totenkloge 6 # 1								Cf. Aegyptus 65 (1985) 113 # 29
KRU 70 = BM 398	466	749/50	Epeiph 10	3	132 = 749/50	Jeme	Legal doc.	
Munier 72	467	750/1	Thoth 4	4		Aswan	Gravestone	
Excav.Sakkara 1907/8, p. 32 # 12	467	750/1	[]	[]		Sakkara	Gravestone	
Munier 73	468	751/2	Thoth 1	5		Aswan	Gravestone	

REFERENCE	DIACL.Y.	JUL.Y.	MONTH, DAY	IND.	HĒGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
Excav.Sakkara 1908/10, # 280	469	752/3	Choiak 6	6		Sakkara	Gravestone	Cf. M. Cramer, Archäol. u. epigr. Klassifika- tion kopt. Denkmäler, Wiesbaden 1957, p. 25 # 44; prints year 499 in translation
ASAE 6 (1907) 107 = DACL III 2879	469?	752/3	Choiak 21	6		Philae	Renovation inscr.	Cf. sub y. 439
Munier 74	469	752/3	Pauni 20	5(?)		Aswan	Gravestone	Ed.: ind. 15?
SB I 4949	470	753/4	[]	6(?)		Dendur	Gravestone	Cf. BL V 93
Togo Mina 80	471	754/5	[]			Nubia	Gravestone	
Munier 75	471	754/5	Hathyr 25	1(?)		Aswan	Gravestone	Indiction should be 8
Munier 76	472	755/6	[] 5	9		Aswan	Gravestone	
KRU 14 =	472	755/6	Choiak 4 (?) or Pachon 4	9		Jeme	Legal doc.	
BM 405 = SB I 5563								
KRU 15 =	473	756/7	Hathyr 12	10		Jeme	Legal doc.	
BM 408 = SB I 5564								
DACL III 2845/6	473?	756/7	Epeiph 19/29	14		Sakkara	Gravestone	Should be Diocl. y. 477, or indic- tion wrong?
Munier 77	474	757/8	Mesore 16	11		Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 78	476	759/60	Thoth 15	14		Aswan	Gravestone	
OMRO 50	476	759/60	Phaophi 4	13		Antinoe?	Gravestone	Kosack's tran- scription errone- ous
(1969) 4 = Kosack # 97a								
Excav.Sakkara 1908/10, # 221	476	759/60	Tybi 10			Sakkara	Gravestone	
Excav.Sakkara 1908/10, # 204	470+?					Sakkara	Gravestone	
DACL III 2856 = Ko- sack # 107 = Cramer, Totenkloge, 7 # 2	481	764/5	Pharmuthi 28	3		Deir Abu Hennes	Gravestone	
Lef. 668	482	765/6	Phamenothe 5	2		Nubia	Gravestone	Indiction does not fit; cf. BASP 18 (1981) 53, # 99
Faras III, p. 202	482	765/6	Pauni 6			Faras, Nubia	Gravestone	Greek
Munier 79	483	766/7	Pauni 2			Aswan	Gravestone	
Excav.Sakkara 1908/10, # 213	488	771/2				Sakkara	Gravestone	

REFERENCE	DIACL.Y.	JUL.Y.	MONTH, DAY	IND.	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
Munier 80	489	772/3	Choiak 19	11		Aswan	Gravestone	
Lef. 645 = SB I 5826	491	774/5	Epeiph 1	[]		Nubia	Gravestone	Greek
Excav. Sakkara 1908/10, # 203	492	775/6	Phaophi 28	14		Sakkara	Gravestone	
Munier 81	492	775/6	Mecheir 2	14		Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 82	492	775/6	Mecheir 15	[14]		Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 83	494	777/8	Thoth 4	1		Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 84	497	780/1	Tybi 1	4		Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 85	498	781/2	[]	[]		Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 101	501	784/5	Hathyr 29	8		Aswan	Gravestone	
DACL III 2867f. = Cramer, Totenklage 9 # 3	502	785/6	Phamenoth 7	9		Old Cairo?	Gravestone	Cf. M \acute{e} l.Fac. Orient. Univ. Beyrouth 5 (1912) 124f.
Munier 102	502	785/6	Phamenoth 17	9		Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 103	502	785/6	Pachon 13	10		Aswan	Gravestone	
DACL III 2846	5[04?]	787/8	Epeiph 23		171 = 787/8	Sakkara	Gravestone	DACL does not restore precise Diocl. year numeral
Munier 104	512	795/6	Pharmuthi 14	4		Aswan	Gravestone	
Aegyptus 19 (1939) 195-6 #4 = M. Cramer, Totenklage, 13 #4	512	795/6	Pharmuthi 22	4		Antinoe?	Gravestone	
Munier 105	515	798/9	Phamenoth []	[]		Aswan	Gravestone	
Kush 15 (1968/9) 113 + Pl. 27	515	798/9	Pachon 4	7		Old Dongola, Nubia	Gravestone	Descr.; uses other dating criteria as well; yr. from Creation 6290; Ethiopian era yr. 790; in Greek.
DACL III 2869 = M. Cramer, Kopt. Inschr. Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum # 1	515	798/9	Mesore 9		189 = 804/5	Qaw, Upper Egypt	Gravestone	
Faras IV # 4	518	801/2	Tybi 28 = Sunday	10		Faras	Gravestone	Also mentions yr. 6294 from Creation; in Greek
La Nubia medioevale I 26	519	802/3	Thoth 13	11		Nubia	Gravestone	

REFERENCE	DIOCLY.	JUL.Y.	MONTH, DAY	IND.	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
Zoega, p. 174 # XI	519	802/3				? (erased)	Bible Colo- phon	
Munier 106	521	804/5	Pachon 14	[]		Aswan	Gravestone	
Excav.Sakkara 1907/8, p. 31 # 11	523	806/7	Thoth 6?	15?	190 = 805/6	Sakkara	Gravestone	Cf. DACL III 2841 bottom; in- diction year cor- rected by ed. from 19 to 15
Munier 107	524	807/8	Choiak 2	1		Aswan	Gravestone	
Lef. 643	528	811/2	Choiak 22	5		Nubia	Gravestone	Greek
KRU 100	529?	812/3	Thoth []			Jeme	Legal doc.	1 st numeral re- stored on basis of Arabic pro- tocol; cf. W.C. Till, Datierung und Prosopographie, 36-38
Excav.Sakkara 1908/10, # 202	534	817/8	Pharmuthi 9		202 = 817/8	Sakkara	Gravestone	
Munier 108	535	818/9	Thoth 19	12		Aswan	Gravestone	
Morgan M579 = v. Lant- schoot # I	539	822/3		1		Fayum	Hagiography	
BM Or. 6203	549	832/3	Tybi 9	11 (?)	217 =	Hermopolite	Legal doc.	
M. Cramer, Kopt.Inschr. Kaiser- Friedrich- Museum, p. 22	55[7?]	840/1	[]7	4	832/3		Gravestone	Diocl.y. restored by us on the ba- sis of indict. num. + reman- nants of Diocl.y. num.
Morgan M588 = v. Lant- schoot # III	558	841/2	Phamenothe 12	5	227 = 841/2	Fayum	Hagiography	
BM Or. 6204	559	842/3	Choiak 9	6	227 = 841/2	Hermopolite	Legal doc.	For the date cf. Cd'E 56 (1981) 126
Morgan M586 = v. Lant- schoot # IV	561	844/5	Phaophi 12	8	230 = 844/5	Fayum	Hagiography	
BIFAO 70 (1971) 165 # 2 = Or. Anti- quus 10 (1971) 53	561	844/5	Pachon 8		230 = 844/5		Gravestone	
BM Or. 6206	564	847/8	Phaophi 3	11	233 = 847/8	Hermopolite	Legal doc.	
Morgan M583 = v. Lant- schoot # V	564	847/8	Mecheir 13	11		Fayum	Hagiography	
BM Or. 6202	566	849/50	Thoth 15	14		Hermopolite	Legal doc.	
Munier 109	566	849/50	Pauni 25			Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 110	567	850/1	Mesore 30	14		Aswan	Gravestone	

REFERENCE	DIACL.Y.	JUL.Y.	MONTH, DAY	IND.	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
Morgan M595 = v. Lantschoot # VIII	571	854/5	Pharmuthi 8			Fayum	Homily	
Munier 111	572	855/6	Thoth 1			Aswan	Gravestone	
Morgan Hamouli H47562 ^r = v. Lantschoot # X	572	855/6	Pauni 12			Fayum	Guard leaf	
Munier 112.7	573	856/7	Pharmuthi []			Aswan	Gravestone	
Munier 113	574	857/8	Thoth 12			Aswan	Gravestone	
SB IV 7428	574	857/8	Choiak 10			Nubia	Gravestone	Greek; dates also after yr. of Creation 6345; Ethiopian era yr. 868
BSAC 3 (1937) 4	574	857/8				Deir Abu Lifa	Graffito	Does not mention era designation; could be Martyrs?
Togo Mina 88	575	858/9	Phaophi (?) 3			Nubia	Gravestone	
Morgan M591 = v. Lantschoot # XI	577	860/1	Mecheir 20			Fayum	Hagiography	
Faras IV, p. 32 = DACL III 2883	578	861/2	Epeiph 22			Faras	Gravestone	
Munier 112.17	582	865/6	Mecheir 21			Aswan	Gravestone	
Togo Mina 25	583	866/7	Epagom. 3			Nubia	Gravestone	
ASAE 16 (1916) 253	586	869/70	Epeiph 12			Babylon/Old Cairo?	Gravestone	
Munier 114	588	871/2	Phamenoth 22			Aswan	Gravestone	
Morgan M596 = v. Lantschoot # XIII	588	871/2				Fayum	Homily	
Turaieff, Matériaux, 17 # 35	590	873/4	Tybi 20				Gravestone	
Munier 115	594	877/8	Mecheir 18	1		Aswan	Gravestone	Should be ind. 11
Munier 116a	601	884/5	Hathyr 17	3		Aswan	Gravestone	
Till, Anz. Akad. Wien 1955, 171-186 # 2 = DACL III 2835	603	886/7	Pharmuthi 17	[]		Delta	Gravestone	Till restores Saracen yr. numeral as [273](=886/7)
Munier 116b	604	887/8	Epeiph 21	[]		Aswan	Gravestone	
Lef. 541 = Livre du Centenaire de l'IFAO, Cairo 1983, 251 # 29	606	889/90	Pachon 5 (?)		277 = 890/1	Esneh	Gravestone	Cf. the drawing in Rev.Arch. 1902, 146 for Saracen year; Greek

REFERENCE	DIACL. Y.	JUL. Y.	MONTH, DAY	IND.	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
Munier 116c	608	891/2	Hathyr [	]		Aswan	Gravestone	
Morgan	609	892/3			278 = 891/2	Fayum	Guard leaf	
Hamouli H 47551bis ^r = v. Lantschoot # XVI								
Morgan M567	609	892/3				Fayum	Bible (OT)	
= v. Lant- schoot # XVII								
Morgan M593	609	892/3				Fayum	Hagiography	
= v. Lant- schoot # XIX								
Morgan M590	609	892/3				Fayum	Hagiography	
= v. Lant- schoot # XX								
Morgan M607	611	894/5				Fayum	Reader's notes	
= v. Lant- schoot # XXII								
Morgan M599	618	901/2	Choiak 12			Fayum	Homily	
= v. Lant- schoot # VII								
Morgan M603	619	902/3				Fayum	Homily	
= v. Lant- schoot # XLV								
Morgan M600	622	905/6				Fayum	Guard leaf	
= v. Lant- schoot # XXXI								
Togo Mina 315	623	906/7	Epeiph 6		293 = 905/6	Nubia	Gravestone	
Togo Mina 314	623	906/7	Epeiph 10		293 = 905/6	Nubia	Gravestone	
Lef. 647	629	912/3	Phamenothe 22 = Sunday		291 = 903/4	Nubia	Gravestone	Sarac. and Dio- cl. years con- flict; but 18.iii.904 was a Sunday; Diocl. year probably wrong; Greek
BIFAO 83 (1983) 103	630	913/4	Choiak 28		301 = 913/4 ?		Gravestone	
Morgan M597	630	913/4				Fayum	Biblical palimpsest	
= v. Lant- schoot # L								
Togo Mina 320	639	922/3	Pauni 30 (?)			Nubia	Gravestone	
Faras IV # 5	639	922/3	Mesore 20	11		Faras	Gravestone	Greek
Paris copte 129 ¹³ 41 ^v = v. Lantschoot # LII	640 + ?	923/4 + ?				White Monast.	Hagiography	

REFERENCE	DIACL.Y.	JULY.	MONTH, DAY	IND.	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
Faras IV # 6	642	925/6	Epeiph 20	14		Faras	Gravestone	See ed. for various other dating criteria; Greek
Paris copte 132 ¹ 67 = v. Lantschoot # LI(E)	643	926/7	Pauni 23			Fayum or Akhmim?	Colophon	
Faras III, p. 111	646	929/30	Pharmuthi 28			Faras	Gravestone	
Paris copte 132 ¹ 74 = v. Lantschoot # LXXXII	646	929/30				Akhmim	Colophon to patristic wks.	
DACL IV 2492 = ZÄS 16 (1878) 26 = Till, Anz.Akad. Wien 1955, 171-186 # 1	648	931/2	Pachon 24		320 = 932/3	Nubia	Gravestone	
M. Cramer, Kopt.Inschr. Kaiser- Friedrich- Museum, p. 38	650	933/4	Tybi 21			?	Gravestone	
Pierpont Mor- gan Library, sycamore wood box, acq. 1920 (no acc.no.)	650	933/4	Tybi 24			?	wood box	Unpublished
WZKM 54 (1957) 211	655	938/9	Phamenoith 2			Abydos	Gravestone	
Meroe (Moscow 1977) 273-77	655	938/9	Pauni 1			Nubia	Gravestone	Does not men- tion era designa- tion; could be Martyrs yr. 655; Greek
Paris copte 131 ³ 39 ^v = v. Lantschoot # LV	656	939/40				White Monast.	Colophon to patristic wk.	Written at Tou- patristic wk. ton (Fayum)
M. Cramer Kopt.Inschr. Kaiser- Friedrich- Museum, p. 42	659	942/3					Gravestone	
DACL IV 2491 = Rev.Egypt. 4 (1885) 26	662	945/6			334 = 945/6	Esneh	Gravestone	
Togo Mina 318	671	954/5	Choiak 20			Nubia	Gravestone	

REFERENCE	DIACL.Y.	JUL.Y.	MONTH, DAY	IND.	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
Faras IV, p. 54 (transl.)	671	954/5	Pachon 11			Faras	Gravestone	Coptic text in Faras III, p. 125
BIFAO 78 (1978) 341	673	956/7				Fayum?	Renovation inscr.	Ed. prints numeral as "676"
DACL III 2851 = ASAE 10 (1910) 59-60	675	958/9				Fayum	Dedication	
Aegyptus 4 (1923) 133	678	961/2	Choiak 29			Esneh	Painter's inscr.	Does not mention era designation; could be Martyrs yr. 678
Golenischeff Copte 16.2 ^v = v. Lantschoot # LVII	678	961/2				White Monast.	Colophon; content?	
Faras IV, p. 55 (transl.)	689	972/3	Choiak 16			Faras	Gravestone	Coptic text in Faras III, p. 121/2
BM Or. 6780 = v. Lantschoot # CVII	690	973/4	Phamenoth 4	[]	363 = 973/4	Esneh	Homily	
BM Or. 7022.59 ^v = v. Lantschoot # CVIII	697	980/1	Pharmuthi 12			Esneh	Colophon to hagiography	
ZNTW 37 (1938) 21 # 9941	698?	981/2	Epeiph (?) []		372? = 982/3		Gravestone	We have seen a photo (courtesy of G. Poethke, Staatliche Museen Berlin/DDR). Reading of Diocl. yr. uncertain (read 688 rather than 698?); likewise reading of Saracen yr. uncertain (362 for 372?). Ed.'s notion of composite era year ("16 + 688/682") by all means wrong
Paris copte 132 ¹ 70 ^r = v. Lantschoot # LXXXV	702	985/6				White Monast.	Colophon	

REFERENCE	DIOCL.Y.	JUL.Y.	MONTH, DAY	IND.	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
Togo Mina 319	703	986/7	Mesore 1			Nubia	Gravestone	
BM Or. 7028 = v. Lantschoot # LIX	705	988/9			378 = 988/9	Edfu	Colophon to homilies	
BM Or. 6782 = v. Lantschoot # LX	706	989/90				Fayum	Apocryphal text	
Munier 117 BM Or. 7029 = v. Lantschoot # CXIII	707 708	990/1 991/2	[Epeiph 20	]	372? = 982/3	Aswan Esneh	Gravestone Colophon to patristic wk.	
BM Or. 7030 = v. Lantschoot # CXV	711	994/5				Esneh/Edfu	Colophon to hagiography	
Faras IV, p. 56 (transl.)	715	998/9	Epeiph 26			Faras	Gravestone	Coptic text in Faras III, p. 136/7
Naples Copt. 1.B.1.343 = v. Lantschoot # LXI	719	1002/3				Fayum	Biblical text	
Paris copte 124 ¹⁴ 95 ^v = v. Lantschoot # LXX	719	1002/3			393 = 1002/3	Shotep	Colophon to conciliar/canons vol.	
Morgan M633 = v. Lantschoot # CXIV	721?	1004/5	Tybi 17		425? = 1033/1034	Esneh	Guard leaf	
BM Or. 1320 = v. Lantschoot # LXII = BM 162	722	1005/6				Fayum	Canons	
Zoega p. 99 # LIV = Rendiconti Acad. Lincei 15 (1906) 471-4 = Vat. Copt. 68 (7)	730	1013/4	Mesore 25			Wadi Natrun	Colophon	See table III, s.a. 673 ving date of earthquake
Vat. Borg. Copt. 109 = v. Lantschoot # XCV	732	1015/6	Pa-- 13			Akhmim?	Hagiography	
BM 490 = BM Or. 3581 (B 70) = v. Lantschoot # C	752	1035/6			427? = 1035/6	Upper Egypt	Colophon	

REFERENCE	DIACL.Y.	JUL.Y.	MONTH, DAY	IND.	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
Cairo 9296 = v. Lantschoot # CI	764	1047/8			437 = 1045/6	Upper Egypt	Spiritual tract	Reads $\overline{\text{M}} \Delta \text{MOK/}$; adds "Christ being king over us"; cf. above n. 11
DACL III 2882 = ZÄS 44 (1907) 71, 133 Paris copte 132 ¹ 66 ^v = v. Lantschoot # LXXVII.2(G) 21 ASAE 22 (1922) 56	770	1053/4	Pachon 20 = Sunday			Wadi Halfa	Gravestone	
Paris copte 129 ¹² = v. Lantschoot # CII Kosack # 191 = DACL III 2878	807	1090/1	Pauni 12		486 = 1093/4	White Monast.	Patristic	Also mentions Martyrs yr. 992; cf. our table III
	871?	1154/5	Pauni 6			Qaria bi-Dueir		Mostly restored and very doubt- ful; could be "Martyrs"?
	883	1166/7			560 = 1164/5	Oxy- rhynchus?	Shenoute, Pachomiana	Also mentions Martyrs year 889; cf. our Ta- ble III
	1055?	1338/9	Pharmuthi 1		737 = 1337/8	Kom Ombo- Aswan road	Inscr. rebuil- ding of road	Cf. ed.princ. in RecTrav 15 (1893) 176-7 and Mél.Fac.Orient. Univ. Beyrouth 5 (1912) 132-4.

TABLE II List of texts listed in table I which offer a "disagreement" between the indication of the Diocletian era year and the indication of the indiction. Texts marked with an * can be made to agree by assuming that the Diocl. era year in question ran from 1.ix. until 1.ix, while the indiction in question ran from 1.v until 1.v in a set of "overlapping" Julian years (for the so-called "Pachon" indiction cf. CSBE 68).

REF.	DIACL.Y.	= JULY.	MONTH, DAY	INDICTION	= JULY.
* Euthalius Diaconus, Edi- tio Epistt. S. Pauli	174	457/8	Epeiph 5	12	458/9
SEG VIII 302	374	667/8	Pa()	13	669/70
* Faras IV # 1; p. 20	423	706/7	Epagom. 5	6	707/8
P.Rainer Cent. 121	437	720/1	Phaophi? 9	3	719/20
* Boeser, Beschrijving RMO # 33	438	721/2	Pauni 12	6	722/3
* Munier 57	443	726/7	Pauni[]	11	727/8

REF.	DIACL.Y.	= JUL.Y.	MONTH, DAY	INDICTION	= JUL.Y.
CPR X 136	419	702/3	Mesore 21	1	702/3
Munier 55	442	725/6	Pauni 18	9	725/6
Munier 63	446	729/30	Mesore 2	13	729/30
Lef. 69	451	734/5	Pachon 12	3	734/5
KRU 106 =	451	734/5	Pauni 6	3	734/5
SB I 5609					
Munier 69	454	737/8	Pauni 16	6	737/8
KRU 70	466	749/50	Epeiph 10	3	749/50
KRU 14 = SB	472	755/6	Pachon ? 4	9	755/6
I 5563					
Munier 77	474	757/8	Mesore 11	11	757/8
Kush 15	515	798/9	Pachon 4	7	798/9
(1968/9) 113					
+ pl. 27					
Munier 110	567	850/1	Mesore 30	14	850/1
Faras IV # 5	639	922/3	Mesore 20	11	922/3
Faras IV # 6	642	925/6	Epeiph 20	14	925/6

TABLE III List of Martyrs era years attested by manuscript and epigraphic evidence from the Nile valley. NB: the language is Sahidic Coptic unless otherwise noted.

REFERENCE	MM.YEAR	JUL.YEAR	MONTH, DAY	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
Kush 15 (1967/8) 133, pl. 25	502	785/6	Thoth 8		Old Dongola (Nubia)	Gravestone	Our reading of plate (Greek); descr. only
Kush 15 (1967/8) 133, pl. 26	513	796/7	Pharmuthi 19		Old Dongola (Nubia)	Gravestone	Partly Nubian; descr. only
Altheim-Stiehl, I 491	545	828/9			Faras		Nubian; eds: "578".
Morgan MS. Hamouli H = v. Lantschoot # XII	578	861/2			Touton (Fayum)	Gospel of John	Sahidic
Kush 15 (1967/8) 163, pl. 33	600	883/4	Choiak 17		Old Dongola (Nubia)	Gravestone	Cf. "Nubia, Recentes recherches", War- saw 1975, 48: draw- ing
BM Or. 8812	605	888/9			Wadi Natrun (S. Macarius)	Gospel Cate- na by Theo- dore of Abusir	Hermeniae Bohairic
Morgan M575 = v. Lant- schoot # XVIII	609	892/3			Fayum	Hermeniae	
Morgan M577 = v. Lant- schoot # XXI	611	894/5			Fayum	Hagiography, homilies	
Morgan M574 = v. Lant- schoot # XXIII	611?	894/5			Fayum	Hermeniae	Or MM.y. 614 = 897/8?
Morgan MS Hamouli B = v. Lantschoot # XLVI	620	903/4			Fayum	Panegyric on Macarius of Tkow	
ASAE 13 (1924) 285-6	625	908/9			el- Dakrou/ed- Deir	Gravestone	year in Arabic part
BSAC 5 (1939) 81f. # 1	628	911/2	Pachon 17 = Tuesd.		?: bought fr. dealer	Gravestone	Bohairic
BSAC 5 (1939) 81f. # 2 = Kosack # 112	633	916/7	Phamenoth 29	304 = 916/7	?: bought fr. dealer	Gravestone	Bohairic
Vat.Copt. 59(4)	634	917/8			Wadi Natrun	Martyrdom	
Vat.Copt. 65(5) = Zoega 27	634	917/8			Wadi Natrun	Encomium of saint	Bohairic
Vat.Copt. 66(3) = Zoega 19	641	924/5			Wadi Natrun	Martyrdom	Cosmas Patr.Ale- xandr.

REFERENCE	MM.YEAR	JUL.YEAR	MONTH, DAY	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
Paris copte 132 ¹ 67 = v. Lantschoot # LI(D)	64[4]	927/8			Fayum or White Monast.?	Homilies & legends	Era designation lacking
Vat.Copt. 69(5)	649	932/3	Epeiph 10		Wadi Natrun	Encomium attr. to Cyril of Alexandr. Sermon	Reader's note from MM.y. 709
SPP XV 195 (p. 6) = Vien- na K 351	653	936/7			Touton (Fay- um), donated to White Mon.		
Paris copte 129 ¹⁵ 127 ^v = v. Lantschoot # LIII(B)	656	939/40			Fayum (or White Monast.?)	Hagiography	
v. Lantschoot # LVI = Tischendorff III	669	952/3			Fayum		ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΚΛΗ[Η]ΔΙΑΝΟΥ; cf. above, fn. 11
Altheim-Stiehl, I 495	670	953/4			Faras		In a restoration
Vat.Copt. 63(5)	672	955/6			Jefrou(?)	Encomium of saint	
Vat.Copt. 68(7)	673	956/7	Phamenoth 18		Wadi Natrun	Panegyric on Macarius of Tkow	A later note men- tions Diocl.y. 730
BM 1213	675	958/9	Pharmuthi 6, ind. 10 (?)		Assiut	Papyrus; let- ter between 2 priests	Ind. 10 hardly right; ind. 2 ex- pected
Vat.Copt. 61(5)	678	961/2			Wadi Natrun	Homily	"With our Lord Je- sus Christ being king over us"; Me- nas Patr.Alexandr. Era designation lacking
P.Bad. V 137	684	967/8	Phaophi 11		Fayum?	Magic	
Vat.Copt. 65(4) = Zoega 16	695	978/9			Wadi Natrun or Delta	Life of a saint	
v. Lantschoot # LVIII = Golenisheff copte # 33	696	979/80			Fayum		
BM Or. 7025	698	981/2	Thoth 12, ind. 10		Esneh/Edfu	Homily on Abbaton by Timothy Ae- lurus	
BM Or. 6781	699	982/3	Mecheir 8	371 = 981/2	Hermonthis	Homily on Michael by Theodosius of Alex.	
BM 673	703(?)	986/7			Fayum	Sale	Lacks era design.; only ΚΑΤΑ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ

REFERENCE	MM. YEAR	JUL. YEAR	MONTH, DAY	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
BM Or. 7021	703	986/6	Epeiph 19, ind. 15	[377] = 987/8	Esneh	Homily on Michael by Theodosius of Alex.	
BM Or. 7024	70[3]	986/7?	Mecheir 16, ind. 15	376 = 986/7	Esneh	Homilies	Reader's notes from MM.y. 749, 750, 744
Vat. Copt. 61(6) = Zoega 41	711	994/5			Wadi Natrun	Sermon	Bohairic
Paris copte 129 ¹⁶ , 105 ^v = v. Lant- schoot # LXXXVI	712	995/6			Upper Egypt or White Mon.	Hagiography	
BM Or. 6783	719	1002/3	Mesore 1, ind. 1	393 = 1002/3	Esneh	Saint's life	
BM Or. 7027	721	1004/5	Tybi 3, ind. 3	395 = 1004/5	Esneh	Homily	
BM Or. 7026	722	1005/6	Thoth 10, ind. 4	395 = 1004/5	Esneh	Saint's life	
Faras IV # 7 SPP XV 238a = v. Lant- schoot # LXIII = Vien- na K 9436	722 723	1005/6 1006/7	Thoth 24		Faras, Nubia White Monast.	Gravestone Homily	Greek
Lef. 665	723	1006/7	Choiak 29		Meinarti, Nubia	Gravestone	Greek; destroyed 1882
DACL III 2874 + fn.9	730	1013/4	Hathyr 9		el-Kharga necropolis	Visitor's graffito	No explicit era designation
Godlewski # 15	730 ?	1013/4			Deir el- Bahari	Graffito	Unexplained alpha bef. psi in yr. numeral
Sinai Ms. Ar. n.s. paper # 34	731	1014/5		405 = 1014/5	Sinai (?)	Apocrypha	Arabic; "year of Diocl. which is Martyrs"; cf. our fn. 11
Livre du Cen- ténaire de l'IFAO (Cairo 1983) 270 # 80	738	1021/2	Pharmuthi []	412 = 1021/2	Esneh	Gravestone	Sahidic
Vat. Copt. 66 (12) = Zoega 17	741	1024/5	Phaophi 25 = Thursday		Wadi Natrun (scribe from Damietta)	Homily	Year of Christ 1017, of Creation 6517
Vat. Copt. 58 (4) = Zoega 58	741	1024/5			?	Martyrdom	Year of Christ 1017, of Adam 6517
BM Or. 7024	744	1027/8	Thoth 16	414 = 1023/4	Esneh	(?) Reader's note	Cf. above, MM. y. 70[3]
Kosack # 100 = DACL III 2883 + fn. 1 = La Nubia med. I 206	745	1028/9	Epeiph 7		Nubia	Gravestone	

REFERENCE	MM.YEAR	JUL.YEAR	MONTH, DAY	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
JEA 49 (1963) 165-6	748	1031/2	Pauni 17		Armenna, Nubia	Gravestone	Greek
BM Or. 6800	748	1031/2		422 = 1030/1	Koptos?	Homilies	
BM Or. 7024	749	1032/3			Esneh	(?) Reader's note	Cf. above, MM.y. 70[3]
BM Or. 7024	750	1033/4	Pauni 8		Esneh	(?) Reader's note	Cf. above, MM.y. 70[3]
v. Lantschoot # 99, IFAO fr.	750	1033/4	Mesore 5	423 = 1031/2	Upper Egypt	(?)	
Faras IV, # 8 (p. 40)	753	1036/7	Hathyr 15		Faras, Nubia	Gravestone	Greek
La Nubia med. I 220	754	1037/8	Choiak 15 (?)		Nubia	Gravestone	
BM 465	764	1047/8	Pharmuthi 23		Cairo (?)	Letter <i>re</i> ka- non	Papyrus
BM Or. 6799	769	1052/3	Pauni 15	448 = 1056/7	Faras, Nu- bia?	Homily	
Paris copte 131 ⁷ = v. Lantschoot # CXXIV	774	1057/8	Epeiph 5		White Monast.?	Patristic	
Faras IV, p. 57 (transl.)	778	1061/2	Pachon 27		Faras, Nubia	Gravestone	Coptic text in Faras III, p. 149-50
Vat.Copt. 66(8)	781	1064/5			Wadi Na- trun?	Miracles of saint	Reader's annota- tion, MM.y. 784 = 1067/8
Vat.Copt. 66(11) = Zoc- ga 25	783	1066/7	Epeiph 29		?	Story of Joseph the Carpenter	illuminated
Kush 12 (1964) 38	786	1069/70	Choiak 8 = Friday		Near Fadrus, Nubia	Gravestone	= Joint Scand.Exped. Sudan, VI 57; Greek
Godlewski # 11	789	1072/3	Pauni (?) 26		Deir el- Bahari	Graffito	
Godlewski # 12	790	1073/4	Pauni 26		Deir el- Bahari	Graffito	
Louvre AE, AF 6265	800	1083/4	Phamenoth 6		Esneh	Gravestone	Sahidic.Plate in <i>La naissance de l'écriture</i> (Paris 1982) 186
SB IV 7432 = La Nub. med. I 218 = JEA 13 (1927) 230- 1, pl. 57	800	1083/4	Pachon 6		Nubia	Gravestone	Greek
Sinai Ms.Ar. n.s. paper # 56	805	1088/9	Phamenoth 15		Written at Cairo	Horologion	In Arabic; no ex- plicit era design., only "year 805".
Kush 13 (1965) 94 + pl. 21c	809	1092/3			Nubia	Inscription	Description only

REFERENCE	MM. YEAR	JUL. YEAR	MONTH, DAY	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
Faras IV p. 58 (transl.)	813	1096/7	Mesore 21		Faras, Nubia	Gravestone	Coptic text in Faras III, p. 155
Livre du Centenaire de l'IFAO, Cairo 1983, 259 # 57	820	1103/4	Mesore 9		Esneh	Gravestone	
Paris copte 129 ¹⁹ 55 ^v = v. Lantschoot # LXXXI	834	1117/8	Epeiph 22		White Monast.	Hagiography & patristic	
JTS 5 (1904) 557 # A3 = W. de Bock, Matériaux, p. 58 (fig. 70)	840	1123/4			White Monast.	Dedicatory inscr. of painting	
Godlewski # 16	865	1148/9	Pauni 26		Deir el-Bahari	Graffito	Crum, Epiphanius I 13, read 867
Kosack # 188 = DACL III 2866	872	1155/6			Hermop./Assiut	Inscribed clay jar	
SB V 8763	873	1156/7	Mesore 2		Nubia	Gravestone	Greek
Lef. 564	873	1156/7	Tybi 1		Aswan	Gravestone	Greek
Proc. Brit. Acad. 14 (1928) 123	874	1157/8	Thoth 20		Nubia	Funerary inscription	Old Nubian
Kush 12 (1964) 38	875	1158/9	Mecheir 1		Near Fadrus, Nubia	Gravestone	= Joint Scand. Exped. Sudan, VI 60; Greek Arabic
Sinai Ms. Ar. n.s. paper # 20	877	1160/1	Muharram 14 = Tuesd.	556 = 1160/1	Sinai?	Martyrdoms	
La Nubia med. I 219	878	1161/2	Thoth 18		Wadi Halfa?	Gravestone	Greek
Kush 2 (1954) 31	879	1162/3	Pauni 8		Nubia	Gravestone	Greek
Paris copte 129 ¹² = v. Lantschoot # CII	889	1172/3	Thoth 15		Oxyrhynchus?	Shenoute, Pachomiana	Also mentions Diocl. y. 883
Kosack # 119	889	1172/3	Tybi 22		Aswan	Gravestone	
Lef. 666	889	1172/3	Phamenoth 25		Nubia	Gravestone	Greek
Faras IV # 11	897	1180/1	Tybi 23		Nubia	Gravestone	Greek; cf. Cd'E 61 (1986) 352, ad # 8
SB V 8765	898	1181/2	Choiak 1		Nubia	Gravestone	Greek
Faras IV # 10	900	1183/4	Pharmuthi 4		Nubia	Gravestone	Greek; cf. Cd'E 61 (1986) 353-4
W. de Bock, Matériaux p. 76-77, fig. 91	902	1185/6	Pharmuthi 1		Esneh, Deir esh-Shuhada	Gravestone	Our correction of ed.'s "502" (also read by Turaieff, Matériaux, 20 # 48, and DACL III 2877)

REFERENCE	MM. YEAR	JUL. YEAR	MONTH, DAY	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
Paris copte 132 ¹ 67 = v. Lantschoot # LI	906	1189/90	Pauni 7		Upper Egypt	Homilies & Apocrypha	
BM 735	908	1191/2			St. Anthony's monast.	(Lost) exemplar of Copt./Arab. tetraevangelion	
Godlewski # 29	919	1202/3		599? = 1202/3	Deir el-Bahari	Graffito	2 nd numeral of Saracen year can be read as qoppa (90); ed.: 549.
BM 734	924	1207/8			Deir et-Tin (Old Cairo?)	Copt./Ar. tetraevangelion	
Vat. Copt. 69(2) = Zoega 47	927	1210/1	Pachon 1		?, scribe fr. Damanhour	Martyrdom of John of Phanijoit	Transl. from Arabic; Bohairic
BIFAO 78 (1978) 281 # 17; 304 # 51.8	949	1232/3			St. Anthony's monastery	Dedicatory inscr. of painting	
JTS 5 (1904) 558 # A5	953	1236/7	Epeiph 13		White Monast.	Restoration inscription	
JTS 5 (1904) 557 # A4	953	1236/7	Epeiph 24		White Monast.	Inscr. giving date of monk's entrance	
Lef. 664 = I. Froehner I 81	960	1243/4	Choiak 1		Nubia	Gravestone	Greek; cf. above, n. 3
Paris copte 132 ¹ 67 = v. Lantschoot # LI (A)	964	1247/8	Hathyr 6		Touton (Fayum)	Homilies	
BM 758	966	1249/50			Cairo?	Copt./Ar. Epistles & Acts	
JTS 5 (1904) 561 # A7	975	1258/9	Mecheir 7		White Monast.	Priest's inscr.	
BM 1247	990	1273/4	Thoth 22		Wadi Natrun	Copt./Ar. lectionary	
Paris copte 132 ¹ 66 ^v = v. Lantschoot # LXXVII.2 (G) 36-37	992	1275/6	Choiak 24		White Monast.	Patristic	Also mentions Dioc. cl.y. 807 = 1090/1 and Heg.y. 486 = 1093/1094
Kosack # 120 = DACL III 2870	1017	1300/1	Mesore 11		Red Monast.	Painter's inscr.	
Turaieff, Matériaux, p. 22 # 55	1024	1307/8				Funerary text	
Proc. Brit. Acad. 14 (1928) 137	1038	1321/2	Pharmuthi 12		Aswan	Funerary text	Greek

REFERENCE	MM. YEAR	JUL. YEAR	MONTH, DAY	HEGIRA Y.	PLACE	CONTENT	REMARKS
Plumley, Scrolls of Bp. Timotheos	1088	1371/2	Hathyr 19 = Sunday		Written at Cairo	Epistles confirmatory for Nubian bishop	Both Coptic and Arabic
Livre du Centenaire de l' IFAO (Cairo 1983), 270 # 79	1114	1397/8	Hathyr 8		Esneh	Gravestone	
RecTrav 37 (1915) 45	1120	1403/4	Pa[uni? -]		Aswan	Visitor's inscr.	
JNES 46 (1987) 287f. + pl.10	1126	1409/10	Pauni 4		Ethiopia	Trilingual colophon	
BM 759	1132	1415/6			?	Copt./Ar. Epistles	

APPENDIX

After we closed off our Ms, early 1988, a few more texts mentioning a Diocletian era year have come to our notice *. We should like to thank Prof. A. Tihon (Louvain) for her kind help in collecting relevant materials. We do not think that they fundamentally alter the historical sketch we have given above, p. 375 f., of the origin of the era, but it is interesting to find more attestations of an early "pagan" use of the era by ancient astronomers. The interested reader is kindly requested to insert the references into our Table I under the proper years.

REFERENCE	DIOCL.Y.	JULIAN Y.	MONTH, DAY	REMARKS
A. Tihon, Le "Petit commentaire" de Théon d'Alexandrie aux "Tables Faciles" de Ptolémée, Città del Vaticano 1978, 205-6, 303-4	77	360/1	Thoth 22	= Tihon ¹
A. Tihon, Le calcul de l'éclipse du Soleil de 16 Juin 364 p.C. et le "Petit Commentaire" de Théon, Bull. Inst. Hist. Belge de Rome, 46/47 (1976/77) 35-79	80 (81)	363/4	Pauni 22 (Thoth 24)	According to Theon, year 80, Payni 22 "Alexandrian style" corresponds with y. 81, Thoth 24 in the Egyptian "moving" year
Theon's commentary to Ptolemy's Almagest, ed. Basel 1538, Liber VI, p. 319f. (cf. L. Ideler, Handbuch d. mathemat. u. techn. Chronologie, I [Berlin 1825] 142, 164 and A. Tihon ¹ [see supra] 1).	81	364/5	Hathyr 29 (Phamenoth 6)	According to Theon, year 81, Hathyr 29 "Alexandrian style" corresponds with y. 81, Phamenoth 6 in the Egyptian "moving" year

* We should like to thank Prof. A. Tihon (Louvain) for her kind help in collecting relevant materials.

REFERENCE	DIACL.Y.	JULIAN Y.	MONTH, DAY	REMARKS
A. Tihon ¹ (see supra), 262, 331	94	377/8	(Phamenoth)	
O. Neugebauer/H.B. Van Hoesen, Greek Horoscopes, Philadelphia 1959, 131 #L 380	97	380/1	Hathyr 30	
ibid. 136, #L 419	135	418/9	Epeiph 8	
ibid. 138, #L 428	145	428/9	Thoth 10/11	
ibid. 140, #L 431	147	430/1	Tybi 14/15	
J. Mogenet-A. Tihon, Le "Grand commentaire" de Théon d'Alexandrie aux "Tables Faciles", L'Antiquité Classique 50 (1981) 526f., esp. 530	179	462/3	Phaophi 12	
O. Neugebauer-H.B. Van Hoesen, Greek Horoscopes, 141 #L 463	179	462/3	April 25	
ibid. 142, #L 474	191	474/5	October 1	
ibid. 143, #L 475	19[1]	474/5	Epeiph 22	
A. Tihon, Les Scolies des "Tables Faciles" de Ptolémée, Bull.Inst.Hist.Belge de Rome, 43 (1973) 49ff., esp. 60 Ch. VII.8, 81ff.	194	477/8	Thoth 1	
O. Neugebauer-H.B. Van Hoesen, Greek Horoscopes, 143 #L 478	195	478/9	Thoth 1/2	
ibid., 144, #L 479	195	478/9	Epeiph 20 = Sunday	
ibid., 146, #L 483	199	482/3	Epeiph [1]4	
ibid., 147, #L 484	[200]	483/4	Epeiph 27	
ibid., 148, #L 486	202	485/6	Phamenoth 25 = Monday	
ibid., 149, #L 487	204	487/8	Thoth 7 = Saturday	
ibid., 152, #L 497	214	497/8	Hathyr 1	

Dr. J. Gascou refers us to a remark made by Malalas (p. 309 Bonn): και ἔκτοτε ἐχρημάτισεν ὀνομάζεσθαι πρῶτον ἔτος Ἀλεξανδρείας; ἔστιν οὖν ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ὁ χρηματισμὸς τῆς πρὸς Αἴγυπτον Ἀλεξανδρείας, i.e. the institution of the year count is ascribed to Diocletian himself. Very much relevant for the question concerning the name change of the Diocletian era are the remarks made by F.K. Ginzel, Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie, I (Leipzig 1906) 229-231, who attributes the name change to a desire by Christians either to disguise its pagan origin or to deliberately recall the hard times of the persecution (Ginzel, p. 230).

LES PAPYRUS DE CALLIMAQUE

L'équipe qui oeuvre à la troisième édition du *Catalogue des Papyrus littéraires grecs et latins*¹ a déjà eu, à plusieurs reprises, l'occasion de présenter en avant-première un échantillon de ses travaux. Après deux essais personnels relatifs, l'un, aux papyrus de l'*Odyssée*², l'autre, aux textes latins d'auteurs classiques³, j'ai offert aux participants du XVIII^e Congrès International de Papyrologie (Athènes, mai 1986) qui s'y intéressaient une brochure due essentiellement à Marie-Hélène Marganne et faisant le point de la situation en ce qui concerne les fragments de médecins ou à contenu médical⁴; cette contribution sera reprise dans les *Actes* du Congrès, actuellement sous presse. Avec l'aide de Jean Straus, j'ai ensuite livré aux historiens la portion de notre fichier qui traitait d'Hérodote⁵.

C'est à Didier Marcotte que j'ai confié la responsabilité d'exposer ici le chapitre particulièrement délicat qui couvre la poésie callimaquéenne. Notre jeune collaborateur ne s'est pas contenté de rassembler la documentation réunie par l'équipe depuis près de quinze années: il l'a enrichie et surtout profondément repensée en fonction des nouveaux témoins papyrologiques et des théories les plus récentes, en se gardant bien, toutefois, comme je le lui avais recommandé, de modifier au delà du strict nécessaire l'ordre des papyrus tel qu'il figure dans la deuxième édition du Catalogue. Quoi qu'il en soit, chaque fois qu'un déplacement s'est avéré indispensable, un renvoi a été ménagé afin de ne pas dérouter le lecteur resté fidèle depuis 1965. Insérés logiquement parmi les autres, les textes nouveaux ont reçu des numéros à une ou deux décimales pour des raisons et selon des critères qui ont été expliqués dans l'introduction à *Medici et Medica* (cité ci-dessous, n. 4).

Le mode de présentation n'a guère varié par rapport à l'exercice précédent

(1) 2^e éd. par R.A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (Ann Arbor, 1965).

(2) P. Mertens, *Vingt années de papyrologie odysseenne*, dans *CdE* 60 (1985) 191-203.

(3) P. Mertens, *Les papyrus littéraires latins d'auteurs classiques durant les deux dernières décennies*, dans *Misc. Pap. Ramon Roca-Puig* (Barcelone, 1987) 189-204.

(4) M.-H. Marganne-P. Mertens, *Medici et Medica*. III-33 p. (Université de Liège, Séminaire de Papyrologie, 1986).

(5) P. Mertens-J. Straus, *Les papyrus d'Hérodote depuis 1965* (à paraître dans le *Bulletin of the Center of Papyrological Studies*, Ain Shams University, Le Caire).