Papyrology and the History of Early Islamic Egypt

Edited by

Petra M. Sijpesteijn &
Lennart Sundelin

BRILL

PAPYROLOGY AND THE HISTORY OF EARLY ISLAMIC EGYPT

ISLAMIC HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

STUDIES AND TEXTS

EDITED BY

WADAD KADI

AND

ROTRAUD WIELANDT

VOLUME 55

PAPYROLOGY AND THE HISTORY OF EARLY ISLAMIC EGYPT

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PETRA M. SIJPESTEIJN AND LENNART SUNDELIN

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Sarah J. Clackson
(11 December 1965–10 August 2003)

"Aber schön war es doch."

– Hildegard Knef

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PREFACE

The studies appearing in this volume represent papers delivered at a colloquium held in March 2002 in Cairo on the theme "Documentary Evidence and the History of Early Islamic Egypt." The conception of this meeting and its organization originated with a number of graduate students and young scholars at Princeton University, as did the initiative for the simultaneous founding of an International Society for Arabic Papyrology. This is an encouraging harbinger for the future of Near Eastern Studies.

Two important currents of recent historical interests converge in the essays published in this volume—one is chronological and the other is methodological. For some time now, one can observe a heightened interest in careful and detailed re-examination of the first years of the Islamic era, trying to establish fixed points and sure footings in an attempt to reconstruct the reality—political, social, economic and religious. No literary source has been spared in this exploration and no received wisdom has been left unquestioned. Conventional views on an array of sensitive subjects—the contents and dating of the Qur'an, the nature of Muhammad's message, the constitution and transmission of the vast body of *ḥadīth* literature—have not been spared a renewed and rigorous interrogation. The same is true for a variety of issues related to the beginnings of Islamic law and the institutions of governance in the Middle East and North Africa in the seventh through tenth centuries.

And now documents are coming into their own. It was not so long ago that entire sectors of medieval Near Eastern history were pronounced inaccessible to historical research because of a lack of appropriate sources. Indeed, there were frequent laments concerning the penury of documentary sources for the pre-Ottoman period, especially for issues of social and economic history. As interest in certain areas of historical research grew, so, it seems, did the availability of relevant documents. An increased and stubborn interest in the economic, social and cultural life of the medieval Islamic world has, paradoxically, produced the appropriate documents, and not vice versa. Not only was the existence of documents, such as the Arabic papyri from Egypt, known for almost two centuries, but they

survived in large numbers and many have long been accessible through publication and translation. What has changed during the past two decades or so is the awareness of how much such documents can tell us about issues of crucial importance to the history of the Islamic Middle East.

The ten papers published here are only a selection, corresponding to one-third of the thirty papers delivered at the Cairo colloquium in March 2002. This meeting brought together scholars young and old, but mostly young, from all parts of the Middle East, as well as from Europe and North America. Its conception and organization were entirely the result of the initiative and vision of two young scholars—Petra Sijpesteijn and Lennart Sundelin—both at that time graduate students in the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University. Their efforts, which were dedicated and indefatigable, were amplified by the generous and efficient collaboration of Dr. Johannes den Heijer, the director of the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo. There were others, both at Princeton and in Cairo, who contributed time and resources to the success of this scholarly endeavor, and they have our full appreciation. However, it is to these three scholars—Petra Sijpesteijn, Lennart Sundelin and Johannes den Heijer—that our full homage and our gratitude is extended.

The contents of this volume (and the other papers presented at the conference) have amply confirmed the faith of its organizers in the considerable potential of the papyri and related documentary material.

A. L. Udovitch
Princeton University
September 25th, 2003

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would first like to thank the many sponsors who made the Cairo Conference and the publication of this volume possible, including the International Society for Arabic Papyrology, the Program in Near Eastern Studies (Princeton University), the Department of Art and Archaeology (Princeton University), the Program in Hellenic Studies (Princeton University), the Council on Regional Studies (Princeton University), the Program in the Ancient World (Princeton University), l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo), the American Research Center in Egypt, and the Royal Netherlands Embassy, Cairo.

We are, however, most of all indebted to our hosts in Cairo, the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo (NVIC), and to the efforts of the staff there, whose professionalism and (very importantly) calm demeanor were essential for the success of the Conference. This was true of all the staff, but perhaps especially the manager, Tilly Mulder, and the director, Johannes den Heijer. And Dr. Den Heijer was also one of the organizers of the Conference from the beginning, as well as a participant who contributed an important paper.

Likewise, we want to thank the staff of the Dār al-Kutub (Egyptian National Library) for hosting the sessions on the third day of the Conference, and for their willingness to introduce Conference participants to their valuable holdings, especially the important collection of Arabic papyri there. And our special thanks go to the Keeper of the Arabic Papyri at the Dār al-Kutub, Dr. Sa'id Maghawry, who, with his warm hospitality and boundless enthusiasm for the study of these precious relics, was an inspiration to us all.

We are also indebted to the staff of the Department of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University, who were involved with the planning and organization of the Conference, especially Kathleen O'Neil and Kate Fischer. And we would like to thank A. L. Udovitch, Peter Brown, and Patricia Crone for their early encouragement of this project, for serving on the organizing committee, and for their willingness to help us secure the funding necessary to pull it all off. Likewise, we want to thank our editors at Brill, Trudy Kamperveen

and Boris van Gool, for their efficiency and unflagging good nature as we brought the Conference proceedings to publication.

Finally, we have chosen to dedicate this volume to the memory of Sarah J. Clackson. She was a brilliant scholar, a participant in the Cairo Conference, a contributor to this volume, but, most importantly, our friend. She is missed.

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NOTES ON ABBREVIATIONS AND DATES

Abbreviations

Abbreviations for Greek and Coptic documentary texts edited in monographic volumes are given according to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, 5th ed., eds. J. F. Oates, R. S. Bagnall, S. J. Clackson, A. A. O'Brien, J. D. Sosin, T. G. Wilfong, and K. A. Worp (*BASP* Supplement 9, 2001). An updated electronic version of the *Checklist* may be consulted online at: <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

For Arabic documentary texts, abbreviations have been given according to the beta version of the *Checklist of Arabic Papyri*, eds. J. F. Oates and P. M. Sijpesteijn (forthcoming). The beta version of this checklist may be consulted online at: <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist_arabic.html>.

Other abbreviations used in this volume are as follows:

Archiv *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*. Leipzig 1901–
BASP *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*. Urbana IL, etc. 1963–
BSAC *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte*. Cairo 1935–
BZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. Munich 1892–
CdE *Chronique d'Égypte*. Brussels 1925–
CE *Coptic Encyclopedia*, 8 vols., ed. A. S. Atiya. NY 1991
CIS *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. Paris 1881–
EI2 *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new ed., 11 vols. Leiden 1954–
JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Ann Arbor 1843–
JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. London 1914–
JJP *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology*. New York 1946–
LSJ *A Greek-English Lexicon*, eds. H. G. Liddell et al. Oxford 1940
ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*. Leipzig 1886–
ZÄS *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Leipzig/Berlin 1863–
ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*. Bonn 1967–

Dates

If not otherwise specified, dates given in this volume are A.D. dates. However, if a double date is given (e.g. 99/717), the first is the Muslim *hijrī* date (A.H.) and the second is A.D.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Sarah J. Clackson was the Lady Wallis Budge Research Fellow in Egyptology, Christ's College, Cambridge, and the author of *Coptic and Greek Texts Relating to the Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo* (Oxford, 2000). Her book *It Is Our Father Who Writes: Orders from the Archimandrite's Office at the Monastery of Apollo at Bawit* is to be published in 2005 in the series American Studies in Papyrology.

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Petra M. Sijpesteijn recently finished a Ph.D. in the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University and is now a junior research fellow at Christ Church, Oxford. She is currently working on a rural history of Egypt during the first two centuries of Muslim rule.

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SCHEDULE OF THE CONFERENCE "DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE AND THE HISTORY OF EARLY ISLAMIC EGYPT" (CAIRO, 23–25 MARCH 2002)

Saturday, March 23 (Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo)

Sebastian Richter (Leipzig University): "Arabic Loan Words in Coptic Records"

Sofia Torallas Tovar (CSIC—Madrid): "Linguistic Interference in Byzantine and Proto-Islamic Egypt: Greek—Coptic"

Samiha Abd el-Shaheed (Coptic Museum, Cairo): "The Papyrus Collection of the Coptic Museum"

Sarah J. Clackson (Cambridge University): "A Mid-Eighth Century Trilingual Tax Demand Issued to a Bawit Monk"

Petra M. Sijpesteijn (Princeton University): "A Travel Itinerary from Early Islamic Egypt"

Klaas Worp (Amsterdam University/Leiden University): "An Arabic Sammelbuch"

Sarah J. Clackson (Cambridge University): "Incorporating Arabic Text Editions in the Checklist"

Andreas Kaplony, David Arn, and Johannes Thomann (Zurich University): "A Virtual Arabic Papyrology School"

Petra M. Sijpesteijn (Princeton University): "The Arabic Papyrology Web-Site and Other Internet Resources"

Raif Georges Khoury (Heidelberg University): "Les plus vieux documents des 100 Nuits et comment les classer chronologiquement à l'aide de la papyrologie arabe"

Sunday, March 24 (Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo)

Klaas Worp (Amsterdam University/Leiden University): "Some Observations on Greek Papyri from Late Byzantine and Arabic Egypt"

Sofia Schaten (Münster University): "Passport(s) or Work Permit(s)—That is the Question!"

Georg Schmelz (Heidelberg University): "The Reedition of P.Lond. IV 1631"

Sebastian Richter (Leipzig University): "The Coptic Lease O.Crum-Ad.15: A Fresh Look"

Raif Georges Khoury (Heidelberg University): "The Diversity and Importance of the Documents on Arabic Papyri and How to Classify and Read Them"

Frank R. Trombley (University of Wales, Cardiff): "Sawīrus b. al-Muqaffaʿ and the Christians of Umayyad Egypt in Documentary Context"

Lennart Sundelin (Princeton University): "Using Documentary Evidence to Reconstruct the Village of Early Islamic Egypt"

Johannes den Heijer (Leiden University/NVIC) and Saʿid Maghawry (Dār al-Kutub, Cairo): "The Use of the 'Kharāj' Calendar in Documentary and Literary Sources"

Abraham Udovitch (Princeton University): "The Complexity of Rural Society in Eleventh Century Egypt"

Monday, March 25 (Dar al-Kutub)

Saʿid Maghawry (Dār al-Kutub, Cairo): "The Policy of the Umayyad Governor Qurra b. Sharīk al-ʿAbsī towards Local Chiefs (ʿummāl) and Subjects (Civilians) in the Light of Papyri of the First Centuries of the Hijra"

Jaser Abu Safieh (University of Jordan, Amman): "Tax Terminology in the Papyri of Qurra b. Sharīk"

Adam Silverstein (Cambridge University): "The Use of Documentary Evidence in Studying the Early History of the Barīd"

Hugh Kennedy (St Andrews University): "Rizq, 'Aṭā' and Dīwān in Early Muslim Administrative Systems"

M. Lesley Wilkins (Harvard University): "A Database of Written Materials from Early Medieval Egypt"

Ayman Fu'ad Sayyid (Cairo University): "Al-Maqrizi et les sources documentaires. Présentation de la nouvelle édition des *Khitat* (volume I)"

Raif Georges Khoury (Heidelberg University): "About the Nachlass of Adolf Grohmann: Published and Unpublished Arabic Papyri from the Egyptian Library"

Omar al-Ghul (University of Jordan, Amman): "Early Quranic Fragments on Papyrus"

Nicole Hansen (University of Chicago): "Links to the Past and Bridges to the Future in Medicine and Magic in Early Islamic Egypt"

Alia Hanafi (Ain Shams University, Cairo): "Some Unpublished Arabic Manuscripts and a Papyrus"

Muhammad Ahmad 'Abd al-Latif (Cairo): "The Most Important Cities in Upper Egypt in Some Papyri of the First Three Centuries A.H."

Adam Sabra (Western Michigan University/ARCE): "Credit in Abbasid Egypt"

Wadad al-Qadi (University of Chicago): "Population Census and Land Surveys under the Umayyads"

INTRODUCTION: PAPYROLOGY AND THE STUDY OF EARLY ISLAMIC EGYPT[1]

Lennart Sundelin

In 1902, when Alfred Butler published his classic study *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, the first fruits of spectacular recent papyrus finds were only just then becoming available to historians. Starting with documents discovered in 1877 on the site of ancient Arsinoe, just outside Madīnat al-Fayyūm, thousands of Greek, Coptic, and Arabic texts were soon being dug up there and elsewhere in the Fayyūm oasis. Major finds were likewise made at Ihnās al-Madīna (Heracleopolis), Bahnasā (Oxyrhynchus), Ashmūnayn (Hermopolis), Kōm Ishqāw (Aphrodito), West Thebes, Aswān (Syene and Elephantine), and at several other sites in Upper and Middle Egypt.[2] Written predominantly on papyrus, but also on parchment, cloth, wood, bone, leather, and broken pieces of pottery (and some of the later documents also on paper), these texts were found in the course of archaeological excavation, clandestine digging by local inhabitants, or simply by accident, often as a result of the expansion of Egyptian agriculture in this period.

From the 1880's on, editions of texts as well as descriptive catalogs of major collections began appearing with increasing frequency. Butler was already able to consult the first of these and he made several references to the papyri. For example, in his discussion of the problems posed by the considerable gap between the seventh-century chronicle of John of Nikiou and the much later appearance of Arabic historical writing about the Conquest period, Butler suggested that "there is

[1] I would like to thank Petra Sijpesteijn for her useful comments on this paper.

[2] For discussions of the major finds in that period (and more recently), see E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction*, 2d ed., Oxford 1980, 17–41; A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde I: Einführung*, Prague 1954, 7–35; idem, *Arabische Papyruskunde*, Leiden 1966, 54–63; M. Krause, "Papyrus Discoveries," *CE*, vol. 6, 1898–1900.

some hope of bridging the gulf when the immense mass of Fayûm and other papyri comes to be examined."[3] And, later in the book, some documents from the Vienna collection would be used to resolve a question about a name appearing in John's *Chronicle*.[4]

Before the 1870's, there had been very few papyrus texts available for the study of early Islamic Egypt and the tumultuous decades of Byzantine and Persian rule that preceded the Arab Conquest. Yet, the potential historical importance of these artifacts had come to the attention of European scholars already by the mid-eighteenth century, particularly after the 1752 discovery of hundreds of papyrus rolls at Herculaneum in Italy. And European travelers to Egypt had been bringing home scraps of ancient texts on papyrus for centuries. By the early nineteenth century, more were being found in excavations carried out by collectors of Egyptian antiquities. The first Greek papyrus to be edited and published appeared in 1787, then a second in 1813.[5] Throughout the nineteenth century there was increasing interest and the pace of publication slowly picked up. But these early editions of Greek papyri were generally texts stemming from the Ptolemaic or early Roman eras, periods of much greater interest to scholars of that day than later materials. In fact, it often happened that when later documents were found in the course of excavation, they were simply discarded by collectors who were really only interested in classical period texts. It has been estimated that "many thousands" of Byzantine Greek, Coptic, and Arabic documents were lost in this way.[6] And, before the late nineteenth century and the rise of Theodor Mommsen's *Altertumswissenschaft*, there was limited interest in documents at all, as opposed to literary texts, which were what really interested both scholars and collectors.[7]

Interestingly, Arabic documentary papyri had been published as early as 1825, when two eighth-century safe conduct passes were edited by the renowned French orientalist A. I. Silvestre de Sacy.[8]

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[3] A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, 2d ed., edited by P. M. Fraser, Oxford 1978, xx–xxi.

[4] Butler, *Arab Conquest*, 235 n. 2.

[5] Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 19–20.

[6] Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 21.

[7] On the relationship between *Altertumswissenschaft* and papyrology, see P. van Minnen, "The Century of Papyrology (1892–1992)," *BASP* 30 (1993), 5–18, especially 5–12.

[8] "Mémoire sur quelques papyrus écrits en arabe et récemment découverts en

He would go on to publish two more early Arabic papyri, as well as a re-edition of his first two texts, but it would then be decades before anyone else stepped forward to continue his pioneering work. In general, very little documentary evidence relevant to this period, in any language, would be available before the end of the nineteenth century.

The real contribution of the papyri for the study of late Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt would only come with the publication of documents from those large finds which began to be made in 1877. These included texts written in Arabic, Greek, and Coptic, and even some in Syriac and Middle Persian. Because the cataloging of document collections remains incomplete, and because papyri continue to be found in Egypt and continue to appear in the hands of antiquities dealers or private collectors, it is difficult to say with any precision how many texts have been found in total. Nevertheless, it is clear that a staggering amount of material is available for researchers. In 1993 the papyrologist Peter van Minnen estimated that 35,000 Greek papyri had already been edited and published.[9] In the ten years since, the pace at which new texts have been appearing has only increased. Although the exact number of Greek documents which date to the late Byzantine and early Islamic period is not known, a considerable percentage of the major late nineteenth century finds were from this era. In some places, such as at Kōm Ishqāw (Aphrodito) in Middle Egypt, most of the material found was late.

In the case of Arabic documents, it is safe to assume that they all postdate the Conquest. Although the total amount published thus far is considerably less than is the case for Greek papyri, the number of texts awaiting editors is enormous. The man who dominated Arabic papyrology for much of the twentieth century, Adolf Grohmann, estimated in 1952 that some 50,000 Arabic documents had been found, of which roughly 16,000 were written on papyrus, most of the rest being later documents on paper.[10] A little more than forty

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Égypte," *Journal des Savants* (1825), 462–73. These two papyri have recently been re-edited by Y. Raghib as nos. 7–8 in his "Sauf-conduits d'Égypte omeyyade et abbasside," *Annales Islamologiques* 31 (1997), 143–68, here 160–62. Regarding these texts, see also L. Sundelin, "The Consul-Collector and the Orientalist: Drovetti, Silvestre de Sacy, and the Birth of Arabic Papyrology," *al-Bardiyyat: Newsletter of the International Society for Arabic Papyrology* 1 (2003), 3–11.

[9] van Minnen, "Century of Papyrology," 15.

[10] A. Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri*, Cairo 1952, 2–3.

years later, the French papyrologist Yusuf Raghib could say with confidence that this number was now far too low and he suggested that the total was probably more than 150,000, noting that the Vienna collection alone had some 83,300 Arabic pieces (of which 46,300 were papyrus and 36,335 paper).[11] Many of these pieces are mere scraps, and most texts are fragmentary, but the abundance of material remains astonishing.

The amount of Coptic material in most collections is much less than is the case for Greek and Arabic, but still considerable. At Vienna, for instance, there are some 11,159 cataloged pieces in Coptic, of which 7153 are on papyri, most of the rest on parchment or paper; if uncataloged materials are included there are about 26,000 Coptic objects.[12] Of the Vienna *coptica*, more than 2300 texts have been edited. While Vienna is the world's largest collection of papyri, there are museums, libraries, and private collections of Greek, Arabic, and Coptic documents throughout the world with holdings of various sizes, several of them having collections numbering in the thousands of pieces.[13]

Among the documentary texts available in these collections, we encounter a diversity of content which mirrors the complex social and economic realities of early medieval Egypt. There are private documents, such as personal letters, bequests, marriage contracts and documents governing divorce; commercial texts including accounts, contracts for sale and rental, quittances, lists, business correspondence, and orders for goods; and there are official documents, such as tax demands and receipts, tax surveys, official declarations and

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[11] Y. Raghib, "Les plus anciens papyrus arabes," *AI* 30 (1996), 1–19, here 2.

[12] H. Loebenstein, "Vom 'Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer' zur Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: 100 Jahre Sammeln, Bewahren, Edieren," in *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.)*, Textband, Vienna 1983, 3–39, here 17; H. Loebenstein and M. Krause, "Papyrus Collections," *CE*, vol. 6, 1890–8, here 1891.

[13] For a searchable database of Greek and Coptic papyrus collections, see "The Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Collections World-Wide" <http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/>. A useful survey of major Coptic holdings can also be found in Loebenstein and Krause, "Papyrus Collections." The fullest surveys of Arabic holdings worldwide are found in Adolf Grohmann's *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde I: Einführung*, 36–62, and his *Arabische Papyruskunde*, 63–90. Far briefer, but much more recent, is R. G. Khoury, "Papyruskunde," in W. Fischer (ed.), *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie, Band I: Sprachwissenschaft*, Wiesbaden 1982, 251–70, here 253–8. For North American collections of Arabic documents, see now P. M. Sijpesteijn, "North American Papyrus Collections Revisited," *al-Bardiyyat: Newsletter of the International Society for Arabic Papyrology* 1 (2003), 11–19.

edicts, administrative correspondence, orders to appear before a judge, records of legal proceedings, petitions, even international treaties.

Unlike documents from medieval Europe, which have often been preserved in institutional archives of some sort (e.g. in ecclesiastical, monastic, municipal, or state collections), no archives have survived in this way from early medieval Egypt. Nevertheless, it is clear that both personal and institutional collections of documents did exist in ancient and medieval Egypt, and a number of these have been found, at least in part, including several from late Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt.[14] The vagaries of the antiquities trade meant that batches of documents found together were often divided up and sold as individual pieces. Even when purchased as lots, related documents not infrequently were separated and went to different collections. Yet, despite this dispersal of the individual texts, sometimes across several continents, such archives have in several cases been successfully reconstituted.[15]

The literary texts that have been found in archaeological contexts are just as important for our understanding of late Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt.[16] Unfortunately, they are generally studied separately from documents found alongside them.[17] Yet, such texts offer

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[14] For Greek archives, see O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, 2d ed., Milan 1988, 248–61 and 575–8, and now also the "Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Collections Worldwide"; for Coptic, see M. Krause, "Archives," *CE*, vol. 1, 226–8; for Arabic archives, see Y. Raghib, "Pour un renouveau de la papyrologie arabe: Comment rassembler les archives dispersées de l'Islam médiéval," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, comptes rendus* (Paris, 1984), 68–77.

[15] E.g., *CPR* VIII 72–84 (a late seventh-early eighth century archive of Greek administrative documents); *P.Mon.Apollo* (a seventh–eighth century collection of primarily Coptic documents from the Apa Apollo monastery in Bawit); *P.Marchands* (a ninth-century archive of Arabic letters and other documents belonging to a family of textile merchants); and now also P. M. Sijpesteijn, "Shaping a Muslim State: Papyri Related to a Mid-Eighth-Century Egyptian Official." Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2004 (a mid-eighth century archive of Greek and Arabic commercial and administrative documents).

[16] For Arabic literary papyri, see R. G. Khoury's paper in this volume which includes references to his own work in this field and that of other scholars, particularly the pioneering studies of Nabia Abbott (63–95). For Greek literary papyri, the standard works are R. A. Pack, *Index of Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2d ed., Ann Arbor 1965, and J. Van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, Paris 1976 (new editions are being prepared for both); see now also the "Leuven Database of Ancient Books" <http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/>. For Coptic literary papyri, see the articles by M. Krause, "Papyri, Coptic Literary" and "Papyri, Coptic Medical," in *CE*, vol. 6, 1884–8.

[17] On the desirability of more fully integrating these two branches of papyrology, see van Minnen, "Century of Papyrology," 11–13.

us important early evidence for literary, scholarly, and religious activity, as well as for the circulation of the products of these activities, in comparison with manuscript traditions that are invariably later. The paper contributed by Raif Georges Khoury to this volume discusses the papyri as witnesses of Arabic literary activity as early as the eighth century. This is a period for which the evidence is otherwise inconclusive and has engendered considerable debate as, for example, in the question of whether religious and historical texts were being written down at all, as opposed to oral transmission. As has also been the case with classical and early Christian literature from Egypt, the fragments found of post-Conquest literary works include our earliest attestations for a number of important texts, as well as the remains of some works long thought to be lost.[18] And they provide us with information about what sorts of texts were being copied and read in those centuries, much more than we can glean from the end products of the manuscript traditions.

Moreover, these literary texts, found written on papyrus, parchment, and other materials, sometimes contain important information about their owners and those who produced them; for example, when colophons make reference to the patronage of manuscript production, or name the scribes who copied them.[19] And, although literary texts without colophons offer few internal clues as to their provenance, date, ownership, or use, if we look closely at cases where they are found in association with documents, or in a controlled excavation, it might be possible to start to answer these questions with more precision. Finally, semi-literary texts, such as the two Arabic amulets published in this volume by Alia Hanafi, provide important information about the society in which they circulated, in this case with respect to religious belief and practice. Similarly, the numerous writing exercises and other school texts recovered from this period have much to say about literacy and the organization of education.

In addition to texts written on papyrus and similar media, Egypt has produced various other important types of 'documentary' evidence which should not be overlooked. Inscriptions, graffiti, seals and stamps,

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[18] For a recent summary of the earliest fragments of Arabic religious and historical literature, see also Y. Raghib, "Les plus anciens," 2–7, which includes a discussion of early Qurʾānic fragments.

[19] E.g., the important find of ninth- and tenth-century Coptic manuscripts bearing colophons and found in the Fayyūm in 1910, most of which are now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City; cf. M. Krause, "Colophon," *CE*, vol. 2, 577–8.

weights, and coins are all available from the first centuries of Islamic Egypt, in some quantity, and in Greek, Coptic, and Arabic. Likewise, the data produced in archaeological excavations also needs to be more thoroughly integrated into consideration of this period. Although the Cairo conference "Documentary Evidence and the History of Islamic Egypt" did not include papers dealing with these forms of evidence, it is anticipated that future meetings sponsored by the International Society for Arabic Papyrology will widen their scope to consider the important contributions such materials can make to this study.

Papyrology and History

In comparison with literary sources which were usually written long after the events they purport to describe, the papyri and these other documentary materials offer an immediate and relatively unmediated window through which to view the early development of an Islamic society. And, since we have very little in the way of documentary evidence for this period from other parts of the Islamic world, and everywhere the literary evidence is mostly late, the Egyptian documents take on additional importance as we try to understand contemporary developments from the Atlantic to the Oxus.[20]

There are numerous instances where documents, inscriptions, coins, or weights will mention important historical personages known to us from the literary record.[21] These texts sometimes provide details

[20] Although Arabic documents have been found elsewhere, including Syria, Palestine, Iraq, and even Afghanistan, these finds are exceptional and have produced but a small fraction of the total number of documents which have been recovered in Egypt. For a list of the major finds of Arabic documents outside Egypt, see *P.Mird*, pp. ix–xii. Note, however, that the place of discovery is not always where a document was written, e.g. a seventh-century Arabic letter written by a merchant in Ifrīqiya (modern Tunisia), but sent to (and found in) Middle Egypt, published by Yusuf Raghib ("La plus ancienne lettre arabe de marchand," in Y. Raghib (ed.), *Documents de l'Islam médiéval: Nouvelles perspectives de recherche*, Cairo 1991, 1–9). This phenomenon is well known from the documents of the Cairo Geniza, wherein are found documents produced in Ifrīqiya, Spain, Iraq, Sicily, Palestine, and elsewhere.

[21] For a selection of Arabic (including bilingual Greek-Arabic) papyri making reference to known historical persons and events, see the chrestomathy of texts in Grohmann's *From the World of Arabic Papyri*. For a collection of Arabic inscriptions from early Islamic Egypt which includes several texts connected with persons known from literary sources, see G. Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques sur pierre*, Cairo 1971.

missing from the historiographical record, and they also allow us to check the accuracy of reports found in those literary sources. A well-known example of this is found in the extensive administrative correspondence of the governor Qurra ibn Sharīk (in office 90–96/709–15). These Greek, Coptic, and Arabic letters were sent from Fusṭāṭ to local administrators, particularly the pagarch of Aphrodito, Basīl. As has been pointed out on numerous occasions, the papyri seem to contradict the image of this Umayyad governor as found in the primarily Abbasid-era historical sources.[22] In those narratives, Qurra is portrayed in a mostly negative light and as something of a tyrant. In the papyrus letters, however, he comes across rather as a careful administrator concerned with efficiency and justice, threatening Basīl and other local officials with punishment if they abuse taxpayers or allow village leaders to do so.

In this volume, Frank Trombley's paper provides us with an example of how documents can be used to enhance our understanding of important events and developments appearing in the chronicles. He uses a combination of literary and documentary evidence to study the ways in which an expanding Umayyad naval program affected the Christian population of Egypt, particularly through the requisitioning of manpower and supplies. Trombley further suggests links between these developments and important eighth-century administrative reforms we know largely from the papyri, such as the increased surveillance and control of population movement (e.g. through the issuing of safe-conduct passes, or 'passports').[23]

In some cases, documents exist which allow us to evaluate conflicting claims found in the literary sources. Adam Silverstein's paper in this volume is a good example. In studying the early development of the "Islamic postal system" (*barīd*), he compares the information found in documents and in literary sources to check the interpretation and reliability of both, and documents are likewise used to choose between contradictory accounts found in the historiographical and administrative literatures. As Silverstein also points out, this is one of the

[22] E.g., P. Qurra, pp. 66–9.

[23] For the most recent discussions of this phenomenon, see (for the Coptic evidence) S. Schaten, "Reiseformalitäten im frühislamischen Ägypten," *BSAC* 37 (1998), 91–100, and (for the Arabic evidence) Raghib, "Sauf-conduits." Gladys Frantz-Murphy has also recently commented on these documents, which she refers to as "work permits"; see *CPR* XXI, pp. 106–9.

rare cases where the material from Egypt may be compared with documentary evidence from elsewhere in the early Islamic world, in this case documents referring to the *barīd* found in Central Asia.

In most cases, however, documentary texts instead provide us with 'anonymous' data which can be used to reconstruct social, administrative, and economic interactions which go completely unnoticed in the literary sources. Most fundamentally, there is the mass of detail about the day-to-day life of ordinary people in this period, Muslims and non-Muslims, rich and poor, rural and urban, male and female. We have access to segments of the population that otherwise remain largely invisible because of the focus of literary texts on important historical personalities and the activities of particular social and political groups (e.g. ruling elites and the *ʿulamā*). We become privy to many aspects of their daily affairs through the wide variety of texts at our disposal, ranging from personal letters to the wide-ranging documentation produced by the state and its administrative activities.

There are whole fields of economic activity that make virtually no impression on literary sources preserved in the manuscript tradition, and which can only be studied through documents. Take, for example, practices of estate management, which figure prominently in the Arabic papyrus letter edited here by Petra Sijpesteijn. Agricultural activities produced a large volume of documentation, and papyrologists working on the Ptolemaic and Roman periods have made impressive advances in their understanding of the internal workings of estates and other units of the agrarian economy, as well as the relationship of these to cities and to the state. Jairus Banaji has recently used Greek papyri to study such issues for the Byzantine period and the first decades after the Conquest.[24] And Gladys Frantz-Murphy has done important work using Arabic documents to study land tenure as this relates to fiscal policy.[25] Still, a massive amount of material relevant to the rural economy in early Islamic Egypt awaits further study.

This is also the case for social and economic life in provincial towns, places like Madīnat al-Fayyūm, Ashmūnayn, and Aswān. In the paper contributed to this volume by Klaas Worp, we get a

[24] *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance*, Oxford/New York 2001.

[25] See, most recently, her volume *CPR* XXI (= *Arabic Agricultural Leases and Tax Receipts from Egypt, 148–427 A.H./765–1035 A.D.*, Vienna 2001).

glimpse of how much information is available in the papyri for some of these towns. This is important because such places rarely appear in the chronicles and other literary texts, which are focused primarily on what was happening in the new Egyptian capital, Fusṭāṭ, or in the imperial capital. Studies which reconstruct the socio-economic realities of particular villages and towns, places for which we have concentrations of documentary evidence, would seem to offer much promise. This has now been born out in Terry Wilfong's examination of the lives of women (and men) in a large village in Upper Egypt during the seventh and eighth centuries.[26] The economic relationships of these towns and villages with their hinterlands, and with Fusṭāṭ, should likewise be further explored.

Similarly, there are important developments which, if not entirely missing, are at least obscured in the literary sources we have at our disposal. For example, the early evolution of Islamic law is largely hidden behind a 'classical' system that later historians and jurists seem to assume had existed since the Conquest. Using the early legal documents which have survived, scholars can investigate continuities with older Near Eastern, Mediterranean, and Egyptian legal traditions, and various other aspects of legal adaptation and change in the first Islamic centuries, for example the development of legal formularies.[27] Along the same lines, administrative law underwent considerable evolution before the 'classical' system began to coalesce in the mid- to late-eighth century. Although ongoing debates in the legal literature offer hints that we are dealing here with problems still being resolved, tying those texts to what was really happening in the countryside is

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[26] T. G. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt*, Ann Arbor 2002.

[27] E.g., G. Frantz-Murphy, "A Comparison of the Arabic and Earlier Egyptian Contract Formularies, Part I: The Arabic Contracts from Egypt (3d/9th–5th/11th Centuries)," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 40 (1981), 203–25 and 355–6; idem, "A Comparison of the Arabic and Earlier Egyptian Contract Formularies, Part II: Terminology in the Arabic Warranty and the Idiom of Clearing/Cleaning," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 44 (1985), 99–114; idem, "A Comparison of Arabic and Earlier Egyptian Contract Formularies, Part III: The Idiom of Satisfaction," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 47 (1988), 105–12; idem, "A Comparison of Arabic and Earlier Egyptian Contract Formularies, Part IV: Quittance Formulas," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 47 (1988), 269–80; idem, "A Comparison of Arabic and Earlier Egyptian Contract Formularies, Part V: Formulaic Evidence," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 48 (1989), 97–107; G. Khan, "The Pre-Islamic Background of Muslim Legal Formularies," *ARAM* 6 (1994), 193–224; M. H. Thung, "Written Obligations from the 2nd/8th to the 4th/10th Century," *Islamic Law and Society* 3 (1996), 1–12.

problematic. We can only hope to trace this evolution by means of the documentation produced by the tax system. For instance, with the eighth-century legal controversies over the fiscal status supposedly accorded to various lands at the time of the Conquest, depending on the circumstances of their capture, we are clearly dealing with the retrojection of the 'classical' system onto earlier times to serve current political and economic purposes.[28] But it would be very difficult to determine from the debate itself what had been the reality 'on the ground' in the first decades after the establishment of Arab rule. Yet, a large number of tax demands, receipts, registers, and correspondence exist in Greek, Arabic, and Coptic, from as early as the 640's. This material is not always easy to interpret, and several key points remain controversial, but these documents do allow us to get behind the anachronisms of the Islamic legal literature, which was produced only much later.

To date, most of the historical research which has made use of documentary evidence from late Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt has focused on administrative history. Already in the first decades of the twentieth century, the historian Carl Becker and the papyrologist H. I. Bell were using recently discovered Greek and Arabic papyri to delineate the structure of the new Arab regime's administrative system. The first historical monograph to make extensive use of papyrological evidence from this period, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam*, by D. C. Dennett, Jr., was a study of early fiscal policy. And, more recent work based on the papyri has generally been focused on administrative developments, too.[29] Scholars have been tracing the ways in which the Arab-Muslim state adapted the Byzantine system to its own needs and traditions, sometimes in surprisingly creative ways. Byzantine models of administrative and documentary practice would long continue to be important, and not just in the seventh and eighth centuries when Greek and (to a much lesser

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[28] A. Noth, "Some Remarks on the 'Nationalization' of Conquered Lands at the Time of the Umayyads," in T. Khalidi (ed.), *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, Beirut 1984, 223–8; cf. G. Frantz-Murphy, "Arabic Papyrology and Middle Eastern Studies," *MESA Bulletin* 19: 1 (1985), 34–48, here 36 and 40f.

[29] E.g., K. Morimoto, *The Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Early Islamic Period*, Kyoto 1981; G. Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration of Egypt from the Arabs to the Ottomans*, Cairo 1986; J. B. Simonsen, *Studies in the Genesis and Early Development of the Caliphal Taxation System, with Special References to Circumstances in the Arab Peninsula, Egypt and Palestine*, Copenhagen 1988; F. Morelli, *Olio e retribuzioni nell'Egitto tardo (V–VIII d.C.)*, Florence 1996.

extent) Coptic remained in use as administrative languages. Patterns of social, economic, and administrative organization established in the Byzantine period (or earlier) left an imprint on Egyptian society which persisted well into the Islamic period, in some cases up to the present.

In an encouraging development, however, the past few years have also seen the appearance of several studies based on documentary evidence that instead are interested in various aspects of social, economic, and religious history. Taking highly focused topics such as women in an Upper Egyptian town in the seventh-eighth centuries, the cult of the saints in late Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt, or Christian ecclesiastical office holders in this period, these monographs have shown the rich potential of the documents for the study of more than just fiscal, administrative, and legal history.[30] It is hoped that scholars using the Arabic documents will now continue this trend, which has thus far been based primarily on the use of Greek and Coptic materials.

Finally, but very importantly, these documents have been, and will continue to be, a crucial body of evidence for the study of the grammar, lexicography, and development of the three languages used in early Islamic Egypt: Greek, Coptic, and Arabic. The work of Joshua Blau and Simon Hopkins on the development of 'Middle Arabic' has long drawn on the Egyptian documents, both those found in the Cairo Geniza as well as the earlier texts.[31] The evolution of the Egyptian language and its various Coptic dialects, including the impact of contact with first Greek and then Arabic, remains a topic of great interest. The paper of Tonio Sebastian Richter published in this volume takes up this issue, particularly the problem of Arabic loanwords appearing in Coptic documents. And, Greek, too, continued to evolve in this period. While we tend to think of borrowing and influence as having worked primarily in the other direction, Sofía Torallas Tovar's paper examines evidence for lexical interference in the Greek used in late antique Egypt. Indeed, there is a wide range of socio-

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[30] Wilfong, *Women of Jeme*; A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes*, Paris 2001; G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten nach den Aussagen der griechischen und koptischen Papyri und Ostraka*, Munich/Leipzig 2002.

[31] S. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, Oxford 1984; J. Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic: A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic*, 3d rev. ed., Jerusalem 1999.

linguistic questions about this unique trilingual environment which have only begun to be studied. The intriguing question of how factors such as gender and social relationship helped determine which language was used in drawing up any particular document is touched upon briefly in Sarah Clackson's contribution.

To be sure, the papyri and other documents are not unproblematic sources. Working with these materials is difficult and proper training in their reading and interpretation is hard to come by.[32] Greek papyrology remains by far the most developed of the fields, but it too is very much a 'niche' specialty with limited opportunities for training, research funding, and employment. Moreover, the unique problems associated with Greek documents from Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt are rarely dealt with even when formal training in papyrology is available. Adding to the problems, the texts themselves are widely scattered in a number of public and private collections across Europe, North America, and the Middle East, not always easily accessible even to established scholars in the field, let alone students trying to learn the craft. Though a large number of edited documents are now available on-line through the Duke Database of Documentary Papyri, for our period these are only Greek materials.[33] The increasing number of digitized images of texts available on-line is an important and encouraging development, and projects such as the Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS) are a tremendous resource, but, again, Greek papyri remain the primary interest of such initiatives.[34] As for the more conventional 'hardcopy' published editions of documents, fairly complete research collections of such materials are available in only a handful of libraries. Even when one has access to these resources, the lack of up-to-date, reliable handbooks to guide the uninitiated means that it may take a very long time for a student or non-specialist to develop any sense of what is available and how

[32] It should be noted, however, that there are now summer papyrology workshops taking place in the United States (under the aegis of the American Society of Papyrologists) and at University College London (Institute of Classical Studies Summer School in Papyrology). These seminars focus on Greek papyri, but also plan to offer instruction in working with Demotic, Latin, and Coptic texts. It is to be hoped that Arabic documents will likewise at some point be included. Another encouraging development is an on-line "Arabic Papyrology School" being set up by a group of scholars in Zurich (Andreas Kaplony, Johannes Thomann, and David Arn) <http://www.ori.unizh.ch/aps/>.

[33] <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cache/perscoll_DDBDP.html>.

[34] <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/index.html>.

to find what he is looking for.[35] The situation is somewhat better for Greek papyrology, and there is now a general introduction to using the papyri in historical research which even makes some effort to take into account the Coptic evidence.[36] Nevertheless, a considerable investment of time and energy is required for anyone who wants to be able to use papyrological materials with any facility.

As sources of information, the documents present their own set of problems. They have 'blind spots', too. The events and developments most interesting to the authors of chronicles and other literary texts often make no impression on the documentary record. Wars and revolts can pass without producing a ripple in the papyri. And coverage is primarily focused on particular aspects of life in these societies, most especially the administrative, legal, and commercial interactions so productive of documentation. Private and even business letters sometimes take us outside of the stereotyped, highly formulaic world of documentary practice, but not always and never entirely. Even familiar letters tend to be somewhat restricted in their contents, usually revolving around a handful of conventional topics. Of course, coverage is not as biased towards social elites as is the case with literary texts, and a much wider swath of society makes regular appearance in documents, but here, too, the humbler members of these communities tend to remain fairly anonymous, if they appear at all. A textile merchant is likely to have a much higher profile in the documentary record than a shepherd. On the other hand, neither is likely to appear in a literary text.

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[35] Here, again, Greek papyrology is the exception. For introductions, see Turner, *Greek Papyri*; Montevecchi, *La papirologia*; H.-A. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, Darmstadt 1994. A chrestomathy of texts with notes and introduction is P. W. Pestmann, *The New Papyrological Primer*, Leiden 1990. There is no basic handbook available for Coptic papyrology, though there is a chrestomathy: W. Brunsch, *Kleine Chrestomathie nichtliterarischer koptischer Texte*, Wiesbaden 1987. For Arabic papyrology, there are several (now dated) introductions by Adolf Grohmann, including *From the World of Arabic Papyri* (1952), *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde I: Einführung* (1954), and *Arabische Papyruskunde* (1966). More limited in scope, but also more recent, are: Khoury, "Papyruskunde" (1982); Khoury's introduction to *Chrest.Khoury* I (1993); and the introduction to Geoffrey Khan's *Bills, Letters and Deeds: Arabic Papyri of the 7th to 11th Centuries*, London/Oxford 1993. The selection of Arabic documents presented with French translations in *Chrest.Khoury* I is a useful introduction to the variety and contents of the Arabic material, as is that in Grohmann's *From the World of Arabic Papyri*.

[36] R. S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History*, London/New York 1995.

Coverage in chronological and geographical terms is also uneven. We have very little in the way of documentary evidence from the Delta, or even Alexandria (yet another reason the text edited here by Petra Sijpesteijn is an important contribution). The overwhelming majority of documents that have been recovered come from Middle and Upper Egypt, and, in fact, most of those come from a half dozen districts which have been particularly productive of finds (the Fayyūm/Arsinoe, al-Bahnasā/Oxyrhynchus, Ashmūnayn/Hermopolis, Kōm Ishqāw/Aphrodito, Western Thebes, and Aswān/Syene). A considerable number of Arabic documents have also been found in Fusṭāṭ, the capital of Egypt after the Arab Conquest, and texts sent from or mentioning Fusṭāṭ have been found at sites up and down the Nile. The 'Cairo Geniza' should also be mentioned here. It is an amazingly rich collection of documents in Arabic (and other languages) that were produced by (or sent to) members of the Jewish community there, though few of these texts date from before the eleventh century.[37]

The Cairo Conference and Future Research

The conference held in Cairo in March 2002 under the name "Documentary Evidence and the History of Early Islamic Egypt" was an attempt to bring together, for the first time actually, historians and papyrologists working on this period and interested in making use of the papyri and other documentary sources in all three languages, Greek, Coptic, and Arabic. This was also the occasion for the creation of an organizational framework to encourage cooperation, projects of common interest, and the dissemination of information about this field of research. That organization has been established as the International Society for Arabic Papyrology (ISAP).[38] The chronological limits set as the focus for the Cairo meetings (seventh to tenth centuries) were somewhat arbitrary, but nicely coincided with the period

[37] For an introduction to the Geniza materials, see now S. C. Reif, *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo: The History of Cambridge University's Genizah Collection*, Richmond 2000. Transcriptions and digitized images of Geniza texts are available on-line at the Princeton Geniza Project website <http://www.princeton.edu/~geniza/>.

[38] For further information about ISAP, consult the website <http://www.princeton.edu/~petras/isap/isapframe.html>.

during which papyrus continued to be the primary writing support in post-Conquest Egypt. By the end of the tenth century, papyrus had largely been replaced by the use of paper. The interests of ISAP and its membership, however, extend more widely in material, chronological, and geographical terms. These interests encompass the study of various kinds of documentary evidence from throughout the early Islamic world, as well as related sources of information, e.g. the papyri of Byzantine Egypt, the Geniza materials, etc.

Although the potential of documentary evidence for the study of this period has been noted by historians from time to time, there had been no previous attempts to bring together in one place scholars from all the various disciplines whose interests intersect in this important time when an Islamic society was being born in Egypt and the indigenous population was experiencing a wide-ranging transculturation. These scholars have traditionally been divided by disciplinary and professional boundaries which have only in rare cases been breached. The problem of the "compartmentalization of scholarship" which Sarah Clackson tackles in her paper with regard to Coptic and Greek papyrology, is a problem which has afflicted the study of this period more generally. In some cases this has been rooted in old cultural, chronological, and linguistic prejudices on the part of scholars, prejudices which have only recently begun to erode, but often the barriers have been and remain institutional. Researchers come from different traditions of scholarship (Classics, Early Christian studies, Egyptology, or Arabic and Islamic studies), and few of them have had the training to work with materials in all three languages, or to master the various cultural and religious backgrounds associated with these languages. Likewise, they generally belong to entirely different professional associations, attend separate scholarly conferences, and rarely conduct their research and teaching within the framework of the same departments and programs.

It is hoped that the Cairo conference and the papers being published here represent a new level of interaction between members of these various scholarly groupings. It is further hoped that such interaction will continue in the future and produce the sort of interdisciplinary cooperation necessary for the successful study of this complex period of cultural and linguistic interplay, exchange, and transformation. The tools available to researchers interested in working with documents remain limited, and work on such projects of common interest needs to be encouraged and facilitated. The recent integration

of Coptic documents into what is now the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* was an important step, and it is to be hoped that Arabic will soon follow.[39] Having for Coptic and Arabic the basic resources long available for the study of Greek papyri, such as the *Sammelbuch* and the *Berichtigungsliste* (which since 1913 have been collecting texts edited in scattered, unindexed volumes, as well as corrections made to previous editions of texts), is an important desideratum. There are encouraging signs. The first volume of a Coptic *Sammelbuch* has now appeared, with a second on the way.[40] There has even been talk of the creation of an 'electronic *Sammelbuch*' for Arabic documents.[41] Ultimately, electronic databases of texts similar to the Duke Data Base of Documentary Papyri and the APIS project, providing both transcriptions and digitized images, need to be created for Arabic and Coptic materials. And, perhaps most importantly, opportunities for training in these disciplines need to be available for interested students. Even for Greek papyrology, which is relatively well-organized and provided for, the study of documents from the Byzantine and early Islamic period requires special training that is difficult to find. In addition to facilitating the editing and study of texts by papyrologists, having these tools and basic training opportunities will also make it possible for historians to fully exploit these unique resources, a prospect which remains daunting for most.

Developing these fields of research and fostering the interdisciplinary cooperation needed to successfully interpret both the documents and the society which produced them is a goal that today remains far short of fulfillment. But the excitement of scholars present in Cairo at the conference in 2002 was palpable, as is that of colleagues who were not able to be there but who are participating in this project. It is to be hoped that students and scholars will now capitalize upon that excitement and the intrinsic interest of these texts to more fully exploit their rich potential. The success of the second ISAP

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[39] The *Checklist* may be consulted on-line at <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>. A beta version of a *Checklist of Arabic Papyri* (compiled by J. F. Oates and P. M. Sijpesteijn) is now available at <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist_arabic.html>.

[40] *SB Kopt.* I.

[41] Discussed by Andreas Kaplony of Zurich at the recent ISAP conference "Documentary Evidence and the History of the Early Islamic Mediterranean" (Granada, 24–27 March 2004).

conference, recently convened in Granada (24–27 March 2004), suggests that these materials are finally beginning to attract the attention they deserve.

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PAPYROLOGY AND THE UTILIZATION OF COPTIC SOURCES

S. J. Clackson

This paper examines how Coptic documentary evidence has been utilized over the past hundred years, and aims to show how the organization and presentation of surviving written sources have influenced modern perceptions of Late Antique Egypt.[1]

1. *'Greeks' or 'Copts'?*

Papyrology today still reflects the concerns of the scholars who pioneered the discipline in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[2] Rather than an interest in Egyptian history *per se*, it was the lure of Greek texts, potentially recording the work of Classical authors, which attracted many to the subject.[3] For well over a hundred years

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[1] A preliminary version of this paper was delivered at the conference "Encounters with Ancient Egypt," held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 15–18 December 2000. In the course of its preparation, I benefited from discussion with Dorothy Thompson; I am also grateful to Christopher Bayly and Leslie MacCoull for their input.

[2] R. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History*, London 1995, 22 f. For insights into the history of papyrology, see P. Van Minnen, "The Century of Papyrology (1892–1992)," *BASP* 30 (1993), 5–18; id., "The Origin and Future of Papyrology from Mommsen and Wilamovitz to the Present, from Altertumswissenschaft to Cultural Studies," in A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists, Copenhagen 23–29 August 1992*, Copenhagen 1994, 35–41; J. Keenan, "Papyrology and Byzantine Historiography," in *Alpha to Omega: Studies in Honor of George John Szemler on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Chicago 1993, 111–22; M. Hombert, "La papyrologie grecque," *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles* 31 (1925–26), 167–89. For 'Coptic papyrology', see M. Krause, "Koptologie und Papyrologie," in *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di papirologia (Napoli, 19–26 maggio 1983)*, vol. 2, Naples 1984, 735–53; J. Irmscher, "Die Anfänge der koptischen Papyrologie," in P. Nagel (ed.), *Graeco-Coptica. Griechen und Kopten im byzantinischen Ägypten*, Halle (Saale) 1984, 121–36; A. Steinwenter, "Die Bedeutung der Papyrologie für die koptische Urkundenlehre," *Münchener Beitrage zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichtes* 19 (1934), 302–13.

[3] D. Hobson, "Towards a Broader Context of the Study of Greco-Roman Egypt," *Échos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 32, n.s. 7 (1988), 353–63, here 353 f., and the response by L. MacCoull, "Towards an Appropriate Context for the Study of Late Antique Egypt," *Ancient History Bulletin* 6 (1992), 73–9, here 74.

now, Greek-language sources have been privileged over contemporary texts in Coptic and the other languages in use in Late Antique Egypt. The result is a picture of Egyptian society as a bipolar phenomenon,[4] with urban-dwelling, land-owning, Greek-speakers contrasted with the rural, peasant Coptic-speakers,[5] who were ignorant of Greek. This view prevails despite being contradicted by surviving documentation, a selection of which is discussed below.

Users of papyrological data often make a distinction between 'Greeks' and 'Copts' based on little more than the evidence of language-use.[6] Whereas references to ethnic status occur comparatively frequently in documentation preserved from the Ptolemaic period and have been the subject of much scholarly interest,[7] textual sources from Late Antique Egypt are largely silent on the subject. The usual implication is that if an ancient document was written in Greek, its author was Greek, unless the text contains linguistic features characteristic of an Egyptian language user. In this way, a large quantity of source material can be appropriated by historians focussing on 'Graeco-Roman' or Hellenistic Egypt.

It is not, however, possible to create a convenient dichotomy between 'Greeks' and 'Copts' in Late Antiquity, by which time there is evidence for high levels of social integration and acculturation.[8]

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[4] MacCoull, "Dioscorus and the Dukes: An Aspect of Coptic Hellenism in the Sixth Century," *Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines* 13 (1986), 30–40, here 40 n. 42.

[5] T. Thomas, "Greeks or Copts?: Documentary and Other Evidence for Artistic Patronage during the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Periods at Herakleopolis Magna and Oxyrhynchos, Egypt," in J. H. Johnson (ed.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, Chicago 1992, 317–22, here 317.

[6] Thelma Thomas ("Greeks or Copts?") has used stylistic criteria as well as papyrological evidence to determine whether the commissioners of tombs at Oxyrhynchus and Heracleopolis Magna were 'Greeks' or 'Copts'. On the subject of 'Coptic style', see Thomas, *Late Antique Egyptian Funerary Sculpture: Images for This World and the Next*, Princeton 2000, xvii–xxv.

[7] For recent discussions of ethnicity in the Ptolemaic period, see D. Thompson, "Hellenistic Hellenes: The Case of Ptolemaic Egypt," in I. Malkin (ed.), *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, Cambridge MA 2001, 301–22, and K. Goudriaan, "Les signes de l'identité ethnique en Égypte ptolémaique," in C. Décobert (ed.), *Valeur et distance: Identités et sociétés en Égypte*, Paris 2000, 39–70 (especially pp. 52–54), who demonstrates the unreliability of language-use as an indicator of ethnicity.

[8] E. Wipszycka ("Le nationalisme a-t-il existé dans l'Égypte byzantine?," *JJP* 22 (1992), 83–128 [reprinted in *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive*, Rome 1996, 9–61]) looks at the evidence for tensions between 'Greeks' and 'Copts' in her attack on notions of Egyptian nationalism, and says (p. 110 [1996: 40]): "Un trait caractéristique de l'Égypte byzantine, c'est l'absence de cette correlation stricte, regulière, entre division ethnique et hiérarchie socio-économique, qui est propre à

Bilingual archives show how Coptic and Greek could be used complementarily in everyday life from at least the fourth century right up to the eighth century, and even beyond.[9] All of the earliest dateable Coptic documents can be associated with texts in other languages, many deriving from bilingual or multilingual milieux.[10] Most of the early texts are private letters, reflecting the tendency for Coptic to be used for communications about internal, private affairs. Later on, surviving documentation from the sixth century onwards shows that Coptic also came to be used when conducting external business, including the drawing up of legal documents (see below for the earliest securely dated example). Despite this development, documents were still drawn up in Greek, even for people who explicitly stated that they did not understand the language.[11]

2. *Coptic-Greek bilingual archives*

Details of some of the bilingual archives discovered within the last hundred years are briefly reviewed below in order to give an idea of the complexity of reconstructing ancient identity. They also illustrate how our picture of ancient society is not only dependent on the chance survival of relevant documentation but also on the fate of this documentation once it has been unearthed. Most of the papyri discovered to date have not been found during controlled, scientific

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l'Égypte romaine." On the disputed subject of the degree to which cultural fusion may have already taken place in the Ptolemaic period, see Goudriaan, "Les signes de l'identité," 41 f.

[9] Note that the term 'archive' is used here to refer to papers which have been related in modern times to one particular person or group, and not necessarily to papers collected together in antiquity.

[10] Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton 1993, 238. Despite the fact that all of the evidence presented by Bagnall derives from monastic contexts in Upper Egypt, the misimpression, created by certain literary sources, still persists that Upper Egyptian monks were monolingual; see, for example, V. Bubenik *Hellenistic and Roman Greece as a Sociolinguistic Area*, Amsterdam 1989, 259.

[11] The most frequently-cited case is that of Abraham, Bishop of Hermonthis in the late 6th- early 7th century, who asks another to sign his will for him in Greek; see MacCoull, "Apa Abraham: Testament of Apa Abraham, Bishop of Hermonthis, for the Monastery of St. Phoibammon near Thebes, Egypt," in J. Thomas, A. Constantinides Hero, and G. Constable (eds.), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, vol. 1, Washington DC 2000, 51–8, for a new translation of this text.

excavations, and so they often lack any record of their original findspot.[12] In such circumstances, decisions about a manuscript's context, provenance, or date have to be based on a combination of textual features and internal data such as personal and place names.

The archive of Apa John the anchorite

The first archive under consideration is that of the anchorite Apa ('father') John, by all accounts a well-respected and influential member of the community in fourth-century Egypt. Constantine Zuckermann has convincingly equated him with the well-known monastic figure, John of Lycopolis, an ascetic and recluse whose fame spread beyond Egypt, and who is known to have been an adviser to the Emperor Theodosius I.[13] Palladius recorded in the *Historia Lausiaca* that John, a Coptic-speaker, communicated with Greek-speakers through a translator.[14] The letters addressed to Apa John which survive today are written in both Greek and Coptic, and contain requests from monks, ecclesiastics, officials, soldiers and others, asking for him to intercede on their behalf with government officials. He was also approached with requests for prayers, in his capacity as a spiritual leader.

On their discovery in the modern era, Apa John's letters appear to have been divided up into different language groups, as was often the case in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially when texts were excavated in large numbers.[15] Consequently the Greek texts from the archive arrived in British collections separately from

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[12] Even in the course of relatively modern scientific excavations, such as those conducted at Syene, no record may be made of where manuscripts were found; see B. Porten, J. J. Farber, C. J. Martin, G. Vittman, L. S. B. MacCoull, and S. Clackson (eds.), *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change*, Leiden 1996, 3. In contrast, the most recent excavators of Kellis have meticulously recorded the precise find-spot of all texts; see *P.Kell.* V, pp. 96–122.

[13] "The Hapless Recruit Psois and the Mighty Anchorite, Apa John," *BASP* 32 (1995), 183–94, here 188–190.

[14] Zuckermann, "The Hapless Recruit Psois," 191 with n. 26.

[15] Leslie MacCoull has been actively involved in reuniting Greek and Coptic papyri from a number of archives, most notably those of Dioscorus of Aphrodito, discussed below, and of the seventh-century Apollinopolite pagarch, Papas, which was discovered in a jar at Edfu in 1921–1922; see MacCoull, "The Coptic Papyri from Apollonos Ano," in B. Mandilaras (ed.), *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology, Athens 25–31 May 1986*, vol. 2, Athens 1988, 141–60 (here 141 f.). See MacCoull, "Further Notes on Interrelated Greek and Coptic Documents of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," *CdE* 70 (1995), 341–53, for further interrelated Greek and Coptic documents which have become separated.

the Coptic texts: one Greek papyrus, published in 1901, was acquired for the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney, and others were purchased by the British Museum and published in 1907. They may have come from the same source as the bulk of the Greek texts from the archive, acquired in Egypt by Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt, and dispatched eventually to the John Rylands Library in Manchester.[16] This collection is where the Coptic letters were already kept but no connection between Greek and Coptic texts was made for many years, despite the suggestion of Walter Ewing Crum in his edition of the Coptic letters in 1909.[17] It was over eighty years later that the texts in both languages were finally assembled into a coherent archive.[18] A possible link has also been established between the acquisition of the Coptic texts from dealers in Giza in 1898,[19] and the discovery of papyri at the Monastery of John of Lycopolis, Dayr al-'Azam, in September 1897.[20]

As Peter Van Minnen has pointed out,[21] it is remarkable that Greek texts from Apa John's archive were published long after the Coptic papyri, when the reverse scenario is much more common.[22] Coptic texts often remain in obscurity long after their Greek counterparts have been published,[23] as happened in the case of the next archive under discussion.

The archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodito

Dioscorus of Aphrodito's sixth-century archive provides a glimpse of the complexity of Late Antique society, preserving a range of personal papers in Greek and Coptic, including Greek literary compositions

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[16] Zuckerman, "The Hapless Recruit Psois," 188 f. n. 21.
[17] *P.Ryl. copt.* 268.
[18] Zuckerman, "The Hapless Recruit Psois," 188–194. I recently found a Coptic letter in the University of Michigan Papyrus Collection which I believe to be addressed to Apa John. It has attracted no scholarly interest since being acquired, in 1934, together with a group of papyri from Maurice Nahman through Harold Idris Bell.
[19] The Earl of Crawford was the original purchaser of the Coptic papyri, cf. Zuckerman, "The Hapless Recruit Psois," 192. They were later acquired by Enriqueta Rylands in 1901 for the library she founded in her late husband John's name.
[20] Zuckerman, "The Hapless Recruit Psois," 191 f.
[21] "The Roots of Egyptian Christianity," *Archiv* 40 (1994), 71–85, here 80 f.
[22] In the case of *P.Herm.* 7–10, more than fifty years later, in 1964.
[23] MacCoull, review of *P.Aphrod.Lit.* in *BASP* 37 (2000), 193–210, here 195.

which have recently been the focus of a study by Jean-Luc Fournet (*P.Aphrod.Lit.*). Dioscorus' high status profile directly contradicts the bipolar view of Egyptian society mentioned earlier: born into a prominent land-owning family in the Middle Egyptian village of Aphrodito, he journeyed to Constantinople on two separate occasions in order to represent his own and his village's interests at the imperial court. Dioscorus illustrates how an Egyptian of his time could move between the pagan and Christian worlds effortlessly: in one of his petitions, he combined an invocation of the god Zeus with biblical references.[24] Books from what has been described as Dioscorus' 'library' indicate that he received a classical education, and was a devotee of Homer and Menander. His own poetry shows how greatly he was influenced by these two authors, and even the Greek documents he wrote as a notary show the influence of Homer.[25] It is thought that he used his copy of the *Iliad*, and its accompanying scholia minora, in his capacity as a *grammatikos* or teacher, disseminating classical learning.[26] However, his grounding in the Egyptian language, and probably that of his pupils, is reflected in the Greek-Coptic glossary in his possession which may have been compiled for teaching purposes.[27]

Dioscorus was fluent in Coptic and Greek, writing both languages with equal facility, and it is interesting to note that he wrote Coptic and Greek documents in a slightly different way. When drafting Coptic documents and Greek literary compositions, he used a rounded, sloping majuscule hand, but for Greek documents, he employed a more cursive, generally upright script.[28] Was this a conscious decision on Dioscorus' part, and were Egyptian scribes trained to write Coptic and Greek documents in different ways? Such questions are likely to remain unanswered until the palaeography of Coptic documents receives adequate attention.

The documentation relating to Dioscorus' life and work is one of the most complete personal records to have survived from antiquity, yet there are notable gaps which serve as a reminder of the deficiencies of ancient data sets. The lack of works of Christian content preserved

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[24] *P.Aphrod.Lit.*, p. 681.
[25] *P.Aphrod.Lit.*, p. 674 f.
[26] *P.Aphrod.Lit.*, p. 688 f.
[27] *P.Rain.Unterricht kopt.* 256; H. I. Bell and W. E. Crum, "A Greek-Coptic Glossary," *Aegyptus* 6 (1925), 177–226.
[28] *P.Aphrod.Lit.*, pp. 245–8.

in Dioscorus' 'library' is an example of just such a gap: there are no copies of the Gospels or Psalms with which Dioscorus was clearly familiar. Fournet has suggested that such works might have been donated to his father's monastery, which Dioscorus himself joined in later life.[29] Similarly, none of his juridical reference works are preserved, possibly because they, too, were dispatched elsewhere. The accident of survival can lead to some curious emphases: whereas few manuscripts have been preserved from the libraries of renowned institutions such as Shenute's White Monastery,[30] a collection of 47 sizeable and sumptuous codices was discovered on the site of a much more modest monastery near the present-day village of Hamuli in the Fayyum in 1910.[31]

While much of the later, eighth-century Coptic material from Aphrodito was published as an appendix to the Greek texts from the site purchased by the British Museum (*P.Lond.* IV), the papyri from Dioscorus' sixth-century archive were not so fortunate. Most of the Greek texts were published soon after they were discovered, but it was several decades before interest was shown in the Coptic documents. Many have now been traced and published, largely thanks to the efforts of Leslie MacCoull.[32] By the time modern researchers turn their attention to reconstructing an archive, its constituent pieces may be dispersed in numerous locations. The very nature of the antiquities trade which handles unofficially excavated material encourages the division of manuscripts in order to maximise their financial value. Today manuscripts from Dioscorus' archive are to be found in collections in Baltimore, Berlin, Cairo, Cambridge, Florence, Geneva, London, Oxford, Princeton, Strasbourg, and the Vatican.

Since it is more profitable to rip up and sell pieces from a papyrus individually than to sell it intact, fragments of a single manuscript

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[29] *P.Aphrod.Lit.*, p. 672.

[30] M. Krause, "Libraries," in A. S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 5, New York 1991, 1447–50, here 1448.

[31] L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 2 vols., Leuven 1993, lviii–lxii.

[32] MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito: His Work and His World*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1988. It may still be that important texts from Aphrodito lie inedited, as did the seventh-century, 130-line Coptic contract recently published by A. Alcock and P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Early 7th Cent. Contract from Aphrodito (P. Mich. Inv. 6898)," *Enchoria* 26 (2000), 1–19. Jean-Luc Fournet is currently compiling a corpus of digital images of the Byzantine-period texts commonly referred to as the 'archives of Dioscorus of Aphrodito'.

may end up in different collections around the world. I recently identified some new pieces of a papyrus from Dioscorus' archive in Cambridge and Berlin—the former lay in obscurity, unpublished for over eighty years, while the latter, although published more than thirty years ago (*BKU* III 503), had never been identified with Dioscorus since it had no recorded provenance. These newly identified pieces belong together with fragments of the same papyrus now in Cairo and Alexandria, identified and published by MacCoull.[33] It is the Greek text—part of a manual practising the conjugation of contract verbs—drawn up on one side of this papyrus which has attracted most scholarly attention to date,[34] despite the fact that the Coptic legal contract drawn up in 569 on the other side by Dioscorus appears to be the earliest Coptic legal document with a secure date.[35]

The Patermouthis archive

The next archive for examination belongs to a man called Patermouthis, who was a boatman and soldier, as well as something of a man of property and money-lender before he went bankrupt. He lived at the turn of the seventh century on Egypt's southernmost border at Syene, modern Aswan, and the Greek papyri from his archive span well over a hundred years, from the end of the fifth century.[36] All are legal documents, many concerning property acquisition and money-lending and, as such, reveal a fair amount of family dispute over inheritance as a consequence of constant division and re-division of residential property.

In 1907, four Coptic papyri were acquired for the collections now held by the British Library, together with some Greek documents from Patermouthis' archive. Two of the Coptic texts were subsequently published by Crum in 1921 (*P.Crum ST* 96, 181) but, even though Arthur Steinwenter suggested a connection with published

[33] MacCoull, "A Coptic Cession of Land by Dioscorus of Aphrodito: Alexandria Meets Cairo," in T. Orlandi and F. Wisse (eds.), *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies, Roma, 22–26 September 1980*, Rome 1985, 159–66.

[34] *P. Aphrod.Lit.*, p. 181–203; 236–237, 688–689.

[35] MacCoull, "A Coptic Cession of Land." Anne Boud'hors is to publish a new edition of the Coptic text, and Jean-Luc Fournet the Greek text, expanding his re-edition of the published fragments in *P. Aphrod. Lit.* III 1.

[36] Porten et al., *The Elephantine Papyri*, 389–98.

Greek texts from Syene as long ago as 1955,[37] it took seventy years for the four manuscripts to be identified as belonging to Patermouthis' archive.[38] At a superficial level, the Coptic texts are not as impressive as their Greek counterparts in the archive, primarily because they are much shorter, but they may be seen to project a different view of Patermouthis' family, revealing its more private affairs. Two of the Coptic texts may involve his wife, Kako: one is addressed to her and concerns the settlement of a debt she has incurred. The other is less easy to interpret but it may have been issued by Kako to her brother concerning a debt he owed to Patermouthis. As with other written communications issued by Egyptian women,[39] it is difficult to determine whether Kako actually wrote this text herself or whether it was dictated to a scribe or relative, who then wrote on her behalf. It may be significant, however, that the one text in which she is addressed as the protagonist was written in Coptic rather than Greek. Perhaps, like other Egyptian women, Kako expressed herself in Coptic but not Greek.[40] In any case, this archive shows how there was still a tendency in the seventh century for Coptic to be used for private family business, and Greek for external affairs.

3. *The compartmentalization of scholarship*

Despite evidence for bilingualism such as that inherent in the archives discussed so far, few studies of Late Antique Egypt to date have utilized Coptic as well as Greek documentation.[41] The reason for this

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[37] *Das Recht der koptischen Urkunden*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 10. Abt., 4. Teil, 2. Bd., Munich 1955, 2 n. 1

[38] S. J. Clackson, "Four Coptic Papyri from the Patermouthis Archive in the British Library," *BASP* 32 (1995), 97–116.

[39] R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Princeton 2001, 88.

[40] With reference to the sixty or so Coptic letters written by women which survive from the sixth–eighth centuries, Raffaella Cribiore (*Gymnastics of the Mind*, 78) has asked the question: "Were women in late antique Egypt expressing themselves in writing mostly through Coptic?" To date, these documents have received little attention.

[41] It should be stated that there was, until recently, very little Coptic source material which could be used in such studies, as Terry Wilfong observes in his review of R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993), in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 60 (2001), 201–3, here 202. Before the discovery in the 1980s of a multitude of mid-fourth-century Coptic texts at Kellis in the Dakhleh Oasis, the number of Coptic texts which could be securely dated to before the sixth century was low.

has more to do with the "compartmentalization of scholarship"[42] than with the quality of the source material: as Arthur Steinwenter complained almost seventy years ago, Coptic texts have only been overlooked because they are not written in Greek.[43] In the West, the centuries-old tradition of training in Classical languages is usually separated from academic study of Oriental, or Near Eastern, languages and cultures. The division often extends into the physical organization of material culture in museums and libraries: in the British Library, for example, Coptic papyri from Patermouthis' archive are now assigned to a different department from the Greek, even though acquired at the same time. The Coptic papyri are designated 'Oriental' manuscripts, while the Greek are 'Western', and as such belong to separate divisions of the library, which just happen to be served by reading rooms on different floors.

In 1929, the Coptologist and demotic scholar Herbert Thompson remarked that "the Coptic language suffers from being the handmaiden of Greek."[44] This remark was occasioned by the fact that the vast majority of literature recorded in the Coptic language was translated from a Greek original. Thompson's statement is also true on other levels, not least the close physical resemblance which Coptic texts can bear to Greek. In terms of script alone, the Greek alphabet accounts for 24 out of the 30 letters of the Sahidic Coptic alphabet. Recently the International Association of Coptic Studies has urged that Coptic be represented in Unicode with its own discrete alphabet, rather than being categorized as a subset of the Greek alphabet.[45]

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[42] Hobson, "Towards a Broader Context," 353.

[43] "Die Bedeutung der Papyrologie für die koptische Urkundenlehre," *Münchener Beitrage zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichtes* 19 (1934), 302–13, here 304. There are numerous examples of Hellenocentric studies and corpora with all-embracing titles which give no indication of the restricted data set employed—a prime example is an article entitled "Egitto cristiano: testimonianze papirologiche," in which nothing written in Coptic is included among "i piu interessanti 'testimoni cristiani'" (M. Naldini in A. Camplani (ed.), *L'Egitto cristiano: Aspetti e problemi in età tardo-antica*, Rome 1997, 273–89). Conversely, another article from the same publication (E. Wipszycka, "Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche in Egitto dalla fine del III all'inizio dell'VIII secolo," p. 219–71), makes particularly good use of sources in Coptic as well as Greek.

[44] In a review of W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, part I (Oxford 1929), in *JEA* 15 (1929), 277–9, here 278.

[45] *International Association of Coptic Studies Newsletter* 42 (December 2000), pp. 8–9, 13–14; this newsletter is available as a pdf-file at http://rmcisadu.let.uniroma1.it/~iacs/ (consulted 21/12/2001).

Coptic or Greek?—on classifying texts

Coptic is at once accessible but impenetrable to Greek specialists who recognise the script but cannot understand the language. Sometimes a Hellenocentric viewpoint can disastrously influence an editor's perception of a text, as in the case of a papyrus in the collections of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. It was edited and published as the fragmentary remains of excerpts from Euripides' *Hecuba*, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, and Sophocles' *Antigone*, arranged in a "kind of alphabetical order."[46] As such, it was included in the corpus *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (Pack^2 1571). In reality, the text is nothing but a very fragmentary Coptic document and, as such, remains unpublished.[47] It was clearly the editor's expectation that papyri contain Greek literary texts which coloured his perception of this particular papyrus,[48] much in the way that would-be decipherers of Egyptian, most notably Athanasius Kircher, were thwarted because, following Horapollo, they could not conceive of hieroglyphs as anything other than symbolic writing.[49]

Coptic texts are littered with Greek words and phrases—according to general estimation, Greek words can comprise up to 20% of the Coptic word stock,[50] of which a small number were originally Latin.[51]

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[46] F. Heichelheim, "Pap. Cantabr. H. Loewe I and II," *Symbolae Osloenses* 20 (1940), 173 f.

[47] J. Diggle, *Euripidea*: *Collected Essays*, Oxford 1994, 229 n. 1.

[48] The same editor (F. Heichelheim, "Another Literary Papyrus in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge," *American Journal of Philology* (April 1940), 209 f.) interpreted another Coptic document as Greek, with the result that it was taken up into the multi-volume corpus of Greek documents known as the *Sammelbuch* (*SB* VI 8996). Over forty years later, the text was finally identified and re-edited as a Coptic letter, P. Leeds no. 5, by Herwig Maehler, "Einer koptischer Papyrus in Leeds," *Enchoria* 12 (1984), 27 f.

For Greek and demotic misinterpreted as Coptic and demotic, see Willy Clarysse's comments ("Bilingual Texts and Collaboration between Demotists and Papyrologists," in *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di papirologia (Napoli, 19–26 maggio 1983)*, vol. 3, Naples 1984, 1345–53, here 1347) on S. Pernigotti, "Frammenti copti a Pisa," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 4 (1981), 223–9, here 228, no. 5.

[49] E. Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition*, Princeton 1993, 96f.

[50] Despite the key role played by Greek in the Coptic language, there has never been a major study of the subject. This situation may be set to change thanks to the recent publication of H. Förster, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten*, Berlin 2002.

[51] See the unfinished lexicon of Latin words employed in documentary sources, I.-M. Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser and J. Diethart (eds.), *Lexicon der lateinischen Lehnwörter*

One of the effects of the close association between the Greek and Coptic languages in everyday life is that it is sometimes difficult to tell whether a text should be classified as one or the other. This is particularly true of accounts, lists, receipts, and other short texts where a lot of Greek terminology is employed, often in heavily abbreviated forms. A good example is a loan contract which has been claimed as Coptic by some editors, and as Greek by another: it was found together with a number of Coptic texts, and so was categorized as Coptic.[52] It was subsequently re-edited as a Greek text which included Coptic elements,[53] after which it was reclaimed as Coptic by being included in two corpora of exclusively Coptic texts.[54]

Three paper fragments inscribed with Greek mathematical tables from an 8th-century school-text have recently been reunited by Giuseppina Azzarello,[55] even though they all belong to the same collection. Two of the fragments had been dated to the 9th century and included in a corpus of Greek educational texts (*P.Rain.Unterricht* 162), while the other had been dated to the eleventh century and consigned to a corpus of Coptic educational texts (*P.Rain.Unterricht kopt.* 322). A subscription in Arabic, omitted in the original publication of the "Coptic" piece, provides a clue to the context in which the school-text was used since it records the name of a certain son of Muḥammad, son of Saʿīd, the teacher. Van Minnen has remarked on the close links between the material contained in the two corpora of educational texts, *P.Rain.Unterricht* and *P.Rain.Unterricht kopt.*, and has urged a more integrated view of bilingual education in Late Antique Egypt.[56]

It has taken another school text almost a hundred years to be officially recategorized. Since its initial publication in 1902, *O.Crum* 525, an ostracon containing syllabic name-lists, has only recently been re-edited as a Greek text.[57] Whether a text is classified as Coptic

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in den griechischsprachigen dokumentarischen Texten Ägyptens mit Berücksichtigung koptischer Quellen, MPER N.S. 27, Vienna, 1996– [fasc. 1, alpha, 1996; fasc. 2, beta-delta, 2000].

[52] F. Hintze, "'Berliner koptische Ostraka aus Elephantine," *ZÄS* 104 (1977), 97–112, here 110–12, no. 13.

[53] K. Worp, "Das Berliner Ostrakon P. 14735: Koptisch oder Griechisch?" *Archiv* 36 (1990), 75–7.

[54] *SB Kopt.* I 35; Porten et al., *The Elephantine Papyri*, E10, p. 588 f.

[55] "P.Rain. Unterricht 162 + P.Rain. Unterricht kopt. 322," *ZPE* 135 (2001), 172–4.

[56] "The Roots of Egyptian Christianity," *Archiv* 40 (1994), 71–85, here 73.

[57] M. Huys and T. Schmidt, "The Syllabic Name-Lists on *O.Crum* 525 (UC inv. 32222): Re-Edition and Commentary," *ZPE* 134 (2001), 145–62.

or Greek is not important *per se*,[58] but it does become an issue when texts in one language are privileged over texts in another language, as happens in the case of Greek and Coptic.

Archives excavated at Wadi Sarga

1922 saw the publication of a ground-breaking edition of texts from a monastic site in the Wadi Sarga about miles south of Asyut. Excavations in 1913–14 had uncovered the "remains of what was once a thriving Coptic community,"[59] known as the Monastery of Apa Thomas, and including a number of Coptic and Greek manuscripts. A selection of texts was expertly published by Crum and another major figure from the early days of papyrology, Harold Idris Bell. Their text edition was unusual in several ways, not least because the editors chose to publish the 385 Coptic and Greek texts altogether in one volume in a particularly well-integrated fashion, believing that "[t]he main importance of the collection lies . . . less in details than in its *ensemble*, as representing the life and activities of a monastic settlement."[60]

Although the editors handled the texts in the two languages separately, with Crum editing the Coptic texts, and Bell the Greek, they came together in presenting their data. In order to preserve the collection's integrity, the editors chose not to organise the texts according to artificial categories such as the material on which they were written (papyrus, ostracon, parchment, and so on), nor did they split up the edition into separate sections for the different languages, "since documents of the same class were written now in Greek . . . and now in Coptic, no distinction between the two languages has been made in our arrangement."[61]

Another exceptional feature of the edition of Wadi Sarga texts is that a Coptic font was employed throughout for both Greek and Coptic texts (with a few exceptions) "for convenience in printing."[62]

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[58] The inadequacy of any attempt at a rigid classification of texts by language is demonstrated by the necessary inclusion of Greek texts in specifically 'Coptic' text editions, such as the *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, of which *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1075, 1076, 1077, 1078, amongst others, are Greek; and by the inclusion of Coptic texts in *soi-disant* Greek text editions, such as *Greek Papyri in the British Museum: P.Lond.* IV 1494–1646; V 1709; VI 1920–1922 are all Coptic.

[59] *P.Sarga*, p. 2.

[60] *P.Sarga*, p. x.

[61] *P.Sarga*, p. x; texts in Coptic and Greek were listed separately at *P.Sarga*, p. xv.

[62] *P.Sarga*, p. x.

The homogeneity which arises out of the predominant use of a single font for presentation of the texts may, however, have caused the Greek material to be overlooked by papyrologists to a large extent, because the edition was primarily associated with Coptic texts. A hint of the importance of script as a cultural indicator may be gleaned from the fact that the Wadi Sarga text edition was not 'officially recognised' by papyrologists for quite some time. When the first edition of the Greek papyrologist's bibliographical bible, the *Checklist*, appeared in 1974, the texts from the site were only referred to in a brief footnote,[63] together with Greek texts from another, primarily 'Coptic' site, Deir el-Balayza (*P.Bal.*). It was only in 1992, in the fourth edition, that the Wadi Sarga edition was accredited with an official entry, and fully integrated with other Greek text editions.

A year later, and more than seventy years after their initial publication, the Greek texts from Wadi Sarga were 'reclaimed' once more for Greek papyrology when they were included in the 1993 issue of the *Sammelbuch*, and this despite the fact that many of these 'Greek' texts contain Coptic words and characters.[64] Thus it can be seen how the organization of a text edition can have important implications for the subsequent fate of the material it contains: compare how the Wadi Sarga material fared against another predominantly 'Coptic edition', that of the texts excavated at the Theban Monastery of Epiphanius (*P.Mon.Epiph.*). Published in 1926 in a separate section from the Coptic texts, the relevant Greek texts[65] were quickly taken up into the 1931 volume of the *Sammelbuch*, barely five years after their publication.[66]

It is interesting to observe that most of the Greek texts in *P.Mon.Epiph* are transcribed in Coptic font, and that they are usually described as having been written in a majuscule, or informal hand; conversely, texts in a cursive hand are usually transcribed in Greek font.[67] No examination has yet been made of what constitutes a 'Coptic hand'

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[63] J. F. Oates, R. S. Bagnall, W. H. Willis, "Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca," *BASP* 11 (1974), 1–35, here 3 n. 1.

[64] *P.Sarga* 121–127, 147, 150–151, 155–156, 159–160, 195, 199–201, 205–343, 345–374, 380–385 are now reproduced as *SB* XVIII 13370–13562.

[65] *P.Mon.Epiph.* 579–634 (pp. 119–39).

[66] *P.Mon.Epiph.* 623–634, 676–702 = *SB* IV 7436, 7477–7514.

[67] *P.Mon.Epiph.* 594, 611–614, 620, 624, 626–633. No palaeographical note was recorded for *P.Mon.Epiph.* 623.

as distinct from a 'Greek hand',[68] but it is often the case that a poorly-executed text might be labelled 'Coptic'.[69]

The Wadi Sarga material can also be cited as an extreme example of how the organisation of material culture in modern institutions can result in the disastrous dispersal of finds from a single scientific excavation. When donated to the British Museum by the Byzantine Research Fund, texts and artefacts from the site were assigned to four different departments: papyrus and parchment manuscripts went to two separate departments of what is now the British Library; the ostraca and other artefacts to the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum, and stelae to what was at that time the Museum's Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities.[70] So much for Crum and Bell's pioneering efforts to present this material as an 'ensemble'!

Accessibility of Coptic sources

The types of Coptic text which were researched in the first half of the twentieth century, and the ways in which they were presented, largely reflect the interests of early scholars who often focused purely on the philological value of the papyri. Those with an interest in Roman law were keen to appraise its influence on the legal systems of the Empire's subjects, and so emphasis was placed on the publication of Coptic legal texts. Unfortunately, this material was not always presented in an accessible way for non-specialists, as in the case of an important collection of eighth-century legal texts from Jeme in Western Thebes (*P.KRU*). They were published by Crum in 1912 but remained for the most part untranslated for fifty years: it was only through the efforts of Walter Till that German translations of the bulk of the texts became available in 1964. Till was responsible for opening up a large quantity of Coptic-language material with his translations and commentaries, which were often lacking in

[68] See the discussion of Dioscorus of Aphrodito's different Coptic and Greek hands above.

[69] Note, however, that the "so-called Coptic style" employed in a Greek euchologion found at Balayza (C. Roberts and B. Capelle Roberts, *An Early Euchologion: The Dêr-Balizeh Papyrus Enlarged and Reedited*, Louvain 1949, 10), refers to the elegant bookhand commonly classified as Alexandrian majuscule or Coptic uncial.

[70] *P.Sarga*, p. xi.

the monumental catalogues of Coptic texts, such as those compiled by Crum for collections in the British Museum (*P.Lond.Copt.* I), and the Rylands Library (*P.Ryl.Copt.*). Although both catalogues contain a wealth of data, they are practically useless for anyone without some knowledge of Coptic, and are unwieldy even for specialists because of the extremely broad categories into which the data are organized. As such, potentially rich sources remain hidden within sections headed "Legal and financial texts" or "Letters," with the texts remaining largely unarticulated by analytical comment.

Papyrus editions have become much more user-friendly in recent years, although calls are still made for improved accessibility to non-specialists, by assembling and publishing related texts, and by providing subject indexes.[71] Access to the Coptic sources would be greatly enhanced by the development of the sort of research tools which papyrologists working with Greek material take for granted, tools such as onomastica, palaeographical manuals specifically focusing on documents, and introductory primers.[72] Most Greek documents are also now available on Duke University's searchable Database of documentary papyri but there are, as yet, no plans for a comparable database for Coptic documents.

Multilingual archives excavated at Kellis: Coptic, Greek, Syriac, Latin

Recent discoveries made at Kellis, modern Ismant el-Kharab, in the Dakhleh Oasis, look set to revolutionize the study of Late Antique Egypt, and at the same time to raise the profile of Coptic sources. Ruined houses at the site have yielded several thousand Coptic and Greek texts, some of which give an insight into the lives of fourth-century adherents to the religion founded by Mani in the third century. Publications of texts from the site within the last ten years have challenged assumptions about Late Antique society, and in particular the relationship between Christianity and Manichaeanism.[73] The

[71] Van Minnen, "The Origin and Future of Papyrology," 39 f.

[72] [It was SJC's intention to publish an introductory primer for Coptic documents.]

[73] A papyrus once thought of as one of the earliest Christian texts, *P.Harr.* I 107, has now been reinterpreted as a Greek Manichaean letter; see I. Gardner, A. Nobbs, and M. Choat, "P.Harr. 107: Is This Another Manichaean Letter?" *ZPE* 131 (2000), 118–24. Kellis has offered other challenges to existing classifications of ancient texts: the site has yielded a unique ostracon (I. Gardner, "An Old Coptic Ostracon from Ismant el-Kharab?" *ZPE* 125 (1999), 195–200) which may contain the only secular text written in Old Coptic. This script has hitherto only been found in pagan magical texts.

new sources are especially valuable because they derive from controlled excavations, which means that a full record has been kept of the exact findspot of each text. Until this discovery, there were very few securely-dated Coptic documents from the fourth century, and all were letters of one type or another, whereas the Kellis texts include a syllabary, and business acounts in Coptic as well as personal letters.

Most of the Coptic non-literary texts from Kellis contain passages in Greek, and sometimes the language changes from Greek to Coptic mid-sentence.[74] Greek is often used in the address,[75] or in the opening or closing formulae of a letter.[76] An indication of the level of Coptic-Greek bilingualism at Kellis may be reckoned from a phrase in a Coptic letter addressed to an inhabitant of one of the houses, who is told to "study your Psalms either in Greek or Coptic."[77] Here it is the Manichaean Psalms which are undoubtedly intended, copies of which have been found at Kellis, along with other Manichaean literature.[78] Texts excavated at the site have also provided important evidence for further multilingualism in Egypt: in addition to Coptic and Greek texts, there are also Syriac texts, some with Coptic glosses,[79] and some people appear to have used Latin (the Coptic term used is *mntrômaios*), and were actively involved in teaching this language.[80]

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[74] *P.Kell.* V 22.2–3 (p. 7).

[75] *P.Kell.* V, p. 7.

[76] For example, *P.Kell.* V 36 is a Coptic letter with both an address in Greek and an introductory greeting "To my masters and most honourable, noble, and beloved brothers, Psais, Andreas. From Ouales; in God—greetings." Using Greek in an address or docket is a practice found in Coptic texts from other parts of Egypt, and the converse occurs in some seventh-eighth-century Greek documents from Middle Egypt which have an address or docket in Coptic (*P.Athen.Xyla* 5, 6, 8, 12, 13, 17, 18).

[77] *P.Kell.* V 19.13–14; cited *P.Kell.* II, p. viii, with n. 12.

[78] I. Gardner, "Glory be to Mani!," in C. Fluck et al. (eds.), *Divitiae Aegypti. Koptologische und verwandte Studien zu Ehren von Martin Krause*, Wiesbaden 1995, 105–12, here 105.

[79] Syriac was the language of the first generation of Manichaean missionaries who came to Egypt to spread the new religion. A number of bilingual Syriac-Coptic glossaries excavated at Kellis may have been exercises in translation from one language to the other. The Syriac texts found at Kellis are believed to be exclusively religious in content, although *P.Kell.* I 67, is a Greek letter with a Syriac docket. This text mentions a certain Ision who has become a *hellenistês*, a term translated by the editors as "user of Greek" (*P.Kell.* I 67.20). Ision may also be described as a 'Syriac reader' (*anagnostês syriattikos*), although this reading may be queried; see A. Jördens, review of *P.Kell.* I in *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 17 (1998), 121–32, here 130.

[80] *P.Kell.* V 20.25–26.

Because of the volume of manuscripts discovered to date, publication of the Kellis texts has been organised so far according to language and text type, and, at the time of writing, two volumes of Coptic texts have been published and three of Greek. This arrangement has unfortunately meant that associated texts from related archives have been separated in the publications so far, witness the archives of Tithoes,[81] and of Pamour son of Psais.[82] However, it is now at least possible to ascertain the find spots of the texts from the excavation record.[83] Based on the evidence excavated and analysed so far, the following overview can be made of how the people of Kellis, and people from the Nile Valley, writing to family members and others at Kellis, used Coptic, Greek, and Syriac:

- Greek
  - (*P.Kell.* I, p. 8:) External, formal, and administrative usage: petitions to government officials; leases; sales; donations; loans of money and commodities; manumission of a slave; exchange of property rights; cession of property/land; administrative accounts and lists; medical, magical and astronomical texts; one school text
  - Internal and domestic usage: many private letters and short business notes
- Coptic
  - Internal and domestic usage: personal letters, business accounts; a syllabary; Manichaean literature is also mainly found in Coptic
- Syriac
  - Religious texts; docket of Greek letter (*P.Kell.* I 67)

These divisions, echoing the usage of Coptic and Greek found in later archives such as Patermouthis' three centuries later (discussed above), can be seen in practice in documents relating to the family of Titoue (Greek Tithoes), in which the one surviving document written in Coptic is a private letter written by Titoue to his son, Shamoun (*P.Kell.* V 12).[84] The rest of the documents are directed to Titoue and are written in Greek, and they include two legal agreements,

[81] *P.Kell.* I 8–12; *P.Kell.* V 12.
[82] *P.Kell.* I, p. 50–52; *P.Kell.* V, p. 107.
[83] *P.Kell.* V, pp. 118–22.
[84] Another Coptic letter, *P.Kell.* V 13, probably also relates to this archive.

two orders for payment, and a fragmentary letter. Titoue was a carpenter who may have lived in 'House 2' at Kellis; one of the letters reveals that his grandson (also called Titoue) was to go into a monastery to learn linen-weaving (*P.Kell.* I 12.17–20).

4. *'Coptic Egypt' and the 'Coptic problem'*

The social and political preoccupations of papyrologists in the last century is a subject which merits a study of its own but it is worth mentioning briefly here some opinions inspired by the papers of Dioscorus. The more outrageous views have been reprinted by MacCoull, who notes that "[t]he pioneers, Jean Maspero and Sir Harold Idris Bell, the first ever to read Dioscorus's papers, were repelled by what they were working on, and their distaste shudders from the pages of their editions."[85] MacCoull quotes a typical Bell tirade: "his personality, as revealed in the documents he has left us, certainly does not inspire respect, and his verses indubitably merit damnation; . . . his verses, if infamous as literature, are at least of interest as illustrating the morass of absurdity into which the great river of Greek poetry emptied itself." Bell also branded Dioscorus as, amongst other things, "the vain, pedantic, flowery advocate of Aphrodito,"[86] and his disdain for things 'Oriental' has been remarked upon and attributed to "colonialist or residual Victorian sentiments."[87] How far, however, can such opinions be directly attributed to Bell's reaction to issues such as Egyptian nationalism and the 'Coptic problem', both prominently reported in the British press in the early twentieth century?[88]

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[85] *Dioscorus*, xv–xvi.

[86] In a review of J. Maspero, *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*, vol. 3 (Cairo 1916), in *JEA* 3 (1916), 288–92, on p. 292.

[87] J. G. Keenan, "Papyrology and Byzantine Historiography," in *Alpha to Omega: Studies in Honor of George John Szemler on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Chicago 1993, 111–22, here 120.

[88] See C. A. Bayly, "Representing Copts and Muhammadans: Empire, Nation, and Community in Egypt and India, 1880–1914," in L. Fawaz, C. A. Bayly, and R. Ilbert (eds.), *Modernity and Culture from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, New York 2002, 158–203, for an insight into attitudes towards the Copts which prevailed in the West in the late nineteenth–early twentieth century. For the possible role played by nineteenth-century European egyptologists in influencing contemporary Copts to identify themselves as the direct descendants of the pharaohs, see B. L. Carter, *The Copts in Egyptian Politics 1918–1952*, London 1986, 96.

An opposing view to that of Bell, but one which can also be perceived in a polemical light,[89] has been put forward by MacCoull, who champions Dioscorus as a member of the "Coptic leisured class," "who supported and made possible the high creativity of Coptic culture."[90] Such promotion of the concept of 'Coptic culture' runs the risk of producing as imbalanced a picture of Late Antique Egypt as that which results from a Hellenocentric viewpoint. Scholarly literature, however, abounds with articles on 'Coptic Egypt', a vague cultural label with an equally undefined chronological association. Pierre du Bourguet saw its origins as coterminous with that of the Coptic language, for which he cited origins in the second century B.C.,[91] but many perceive 'Coptic Egypt' as stretching from the third to the seventh century A.D.[92]

The convenient label 'Coptic' is assigned to a variety of terms which come under the umbrella 'Coptic Egypt', such as Coptic Christianity, monasticism, art and archaeology, textiles, and so on.[93] The words 'Copt' and 'Coptic', however, only came into use after the Arab conquest, deriving probably from a contracted Arabic form of *aigyptios* 'Egyptian'.[94] Both terms have multiple resonances today

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[89] Wipszycka, review of L. S. B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito: His Work and His World* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1988), in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 48 (1991), 529–36.

[90] MacCoull, *Dioscorus*, 152 and 8.

[91] "Copt," in A. S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, New York 1991, 599–601, here 600.

[92] N. Bosson, "'Copte' de l'ambiguité à une réalité sociale et linguistique," in N. Bosson and S. Aufrère (eds.), *Égyptes . . . L'Égyptien et le copte*, Lattes 1999, 23–5, here 23. Thomas (*Late Antique Egyptian Funerary Sculpture*, xxiv) believes the period to be 'coeval with late antiquity', whereas Krause ("Die Koptologie im Gefüge der Wissenschaften," *ZÄS* 100 (1974), 108–25, here 110) considers it to have lasted up to the 9th century. MacCoull defines her use of "'the Coptic period' of 'Coptic Egypt' to mean the period and culture in which the Coptic language was a culture-carrier" (e-mail correspondence, 29 January 2001).

[93] Recent publications have concerned themselves with 'Coptic civilisation' (e.g. J. Irmscher, "Le origini della civiltà copta," in L. Criscuolo and G. Geraci (eds.), *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba: bilancio di un confronto. Atti del colloquio internazionale*, Bologna 1989, 469–73) and the 'Coptic view of history' (V. Wessetzky, "Remarks on the Character of the Coptic View of History," in U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt: Studies Presented to László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, Budapest 1992, 615–17). MacCoull's collected papers are published under the title 'Coptic perspectives on Late Antiquity' (Aldershot 1993).

[94] Bosson, "'Copte' de l'ambiguité," 24; T. Orlandi, "Letteratura copta e cristianesimo nazionale egiziano," in A. Camplani, ed., *L'Egitto cristiano: Aspetti e problemi in età tardo-antica*, Rome 1997, 39–120, here 43 f.

but, in terms of Late Antiquity, it is simply as 'Egyptian' that they are to be understood.[95] In many ways, the term Coptic is best reserved for the last phase of the Egyptian language, and the literature written in this language (much of which is translated from Greek or Syriac originals). Reference to 'Coptic Egypt' runs the risk of marginalising important material sources whose positive integration should be encouraged.

5. *Integrating Coptic sources*

The preceding survey has demonstrated how Coptic documents from Late Antique Egypt have been divorced from their Greek counterparts by being published separately and housed in different locations within museums and libraries, even though they belong together—in some cases, deriving from the same archive or findspot. Furthermore, it has been shown how inaccessible Coptic sources can be for non-specialists, a situation which is now changing, thanks to the recent development of much-needed instrumenta such as the first-ever dictionary of Greek words used in Coptic documents—Förster's *Wörterbuch*—a work destined to open up a vast array of Coptic material to Greek papyrologists. Another important advance for the integration of Coptic sources within mainstream papyrology is the 2001 edition of the *Checklist*, which now bears the title of the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*. By incorporating listings of publications of Coptic and Demotic texts into a domain formerly occupied exclusively by Greek and Latin language sources, it is to be expected that valuable data which were formerly excluded will now be embraced by a wider audience. Combining these advances with the production of more instrumenta and accessible editions of Coptic texts, it should be possible to revolutionise the study of Late Antique Egypt.

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[95] For an examination of the meaning and ambiguities of the term 'Copt', see Bosson, "'Copte' de l'ambiguité". Thomas ("Copts," in G. Bowersock, P. Brown, and O. Grabar (eds.), *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Post-Classical World*, Cambridge MA 1999, 395f.), seeing the 'Copts' as a distinct group in terms of their religious affiliation, suggests that "what we mean by 'Copt' is a product of both the Arab conquest and the triumph of Monophysitism."

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TWO UNPUBLISHED PAPER DOCUMENTS AND A PAPYRUS

Alia Hanafi

1. *Amulet or Part of an Instructional Text for Prayers*

Manus. ACPSI s. r. 3 (= Manus. Ragab 3) Provenance unknown
20.5 × 7.8 cm 4th/10th
Plates 1–2

The paper is fine and of light-brown color. It has been folded eight times horizontally. The only damage is on the left edge where a piece of paper was torn off along the whole side.

The handwriting is similar to that used in the fourth century A.H.[1] Diacritical points and vowels[2] are written on both the front and the back side of the paper.

The text on the front is bordered by a decorative rectangular frame adorned with geometric triangle and diamond patterns. The left-hand side of the frame is lost. The small diamonds are filled with dots while some of the triangles are colored in with ink, and others are left blank. The writer is possibly imitating the decorations appearing in many Qur'āns, but using his own style. Similar geometrical designs are quite common on amulets as well.[3]

The front of the paper contains the text of a Qur'ānic verse, written in ten lines with reddish-brown ink. Although not complete, the text on the front can be reconstructed in its entirety as *āyat al-kursī*, the 'verse of the throne' (Q 2:255), which is part of *Sūrat al-Baqara*.

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[1] Cf. W. Ahlwardt, *Zwölf arabische Schrifttafeln*, Berlin 1888, pl. I, no. 1 (dated 364/974).

[2] Initially Arabs did not make use of signs for the short vowels. The long vowels and diphthongs are indicated by three consonants that are nearest to them in sound. See W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Cambridge, 1967, vol. 1, 7 ff. Cf. A. Hanafi and I. Ebeid, "A Part of a Sermon," *Bulletin of the Center of Papyrological Studies* 3 (1986), 126–50, here 128–9.

[3] E. A. Wallis Budge, *Amulets and Magic*, London 2001, 67.

The texts on the front and back of this paper were not necessarily related, but both fulfilled some pious function, probably for private use. There are no internal references to the client or user who designed, obtained or ordered these texts, nor is the purpose of the texts stated, but the decoration, the fact that the paper was folded probably to fit in a protective box (see below) and the contents of the verse appearing on the front suggest that it functioned as some kind of amulet (Ar. *tilsām, tamīm, ḥirz*).[4] Unlike pre-Islamic magical objects, Muslim amulets and other talismanic items rarely invoke a demonic force, but consisted mainly of pious invocations to God witnessing the believer's continuous trust in Him, usually in the form of Qur'ānic quotations and prayers.[5] Most of these magical objects were aimed at obtaining general protection and aid from God against all calamities, rather than asking His help against one specific evil.[6] Our text follows these general characteristics, as Muslims are known to recite *āyat al-kursī* to seek God's protection from the Devil or the evil eye.[7] In the words of one translator of the Qur'ān, even in the original Arabic this verse seems to mean more than can

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[4] Re amulets and amulet use in general, see E. Savage-Smith, "Amulets and Related Talismanic Objects," in F. Madison and E. Savage-Smith (eds.), *Science, Tools and Magic*, vol. 1, London/Oxford 1997, 132–45.

[5] E. Savage-Smith, "Magic and Islam," in F. Madison and E. Savage-Smith (eds.), *Science, Tools and Magic*, London/Oxford 1997, vol. 1, 59; idem "Amulets," vol. 1, 133. Muslim legal and religious sources made a distinction between amulets which employed Qur'ānic quotations and solely invoked God's aid, albeit sometimes through angels, Muḥammad, ʿAlī, or other Muslim saints as intercessors, so-called 'white magic,' and the prohibited 'black magic' using *jinn* and demons and aimed at harming people (T. Fahd, "Siḥr," *EI2*, vol. 9, 567–71; E. Savage-Smith, "Introduction: Magic and Divination in Early Islam," in E. Savage-Smith (ed.), *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, Aldershot/Burlington 2004, xiii–xlviii, here xxii). Cf. إن الرُقى والتمائم والتولة شرك (ʿA. R. b. Ḥ. Āl al-Shaykh (d. 1258/1842), *Fatḥ al-majīd sharḥ Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Bāz, 7th ed., Medina 1399/1979, 130). Re the meaning of *tamā'im*: التمائم شيء يُعلق على الأولاد عن العين، لكن إذا كان المعلق من القرآن فرخص فيه بعض السلف، وبعضهم لم يرخص فيه ويجعله من المنهي عنه، منهم ابن مسعود رضى الله عنه *Fatḥ al-majīd*, 132). The *tuwala* are a kind of beads which wives used to make their husbands love them; cf. Ibn Mānẓūr (d. 711/1311), *Lisān al-ʿarab*, eds. ʿA. ʿA. al-Kabīr, M. A. Ḥasab Allāh and H. M. al-Shādhilī, vol. 1, Cairo 1981, 456).

[6] Even the amulets protecting against scorpion stings (F. Bilabel, A. Grohmann, and G. Graf, *Griechische, koptische und arabische Texte zur Religion und religiösen Literatur in Ägyptens Spätzeit*, Heidelberg 1934, nos. 162–6), and mad dog bites (no. 161) can be interpreted as protections against the evil eye, which was considered to be the cause of sudden, unexplained death for which these animals were the symbols (Savage-Smith, "Magic and Divination in Early Islam," xix–xx).

[7] See al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn*, eds. ʿA. Rabāḥ and A. Y. al-Daqqāq, 3d ed., Riyadh 1413/1993, 332 ff.

be expressed in words.[8] Its popularity might be related to this perceived hidden meaning of the verse and it came to be one of the verses most commonly appearing on Muslim magical objects.[9]

The eight horizontal folding lines in the paper suggest that, after having been folded into a long horizontal strip, the paper was rolled up to be carried in a metal cylindrical case worn horizontally around the neck.[10] Such amulet cases were often decorated with Qur'ānic quotations and decorations that reenforced the protective nature of the amulet.[11]

The back has no decoration and seems to have been written in the same hand, albeit with a thinner pen than was used on the front of the paper. On the front and back of the paper a similar amount of text is missing, making it impossible to establish which text was written first.[12] Using the beginning of line 1 on the back (بسم الله بدأ), however, one could argue that this text was written before the one on the front.

Amulets often contain Qur'ānic verses in combination with prayers to God, the testimony of faith, and other pious phrases. If not an amulet, however, the text on the back could also possibly be interpreted as a religious instructional text, perhaps once belonging to a student learning prayers. The pious formulae and prayers on the back form some kind of *duʿā'*, a beneficent or imprecatory prayer of

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[8] For a translation of *āyat al-kursī* and notes on the text, see *The Holy Qur'ān: English Translation of the Meanings and Commentary, Revised and Edited by the Presidency of Islamic Researches, IFTA, Call and Guidance*, Medina 1989, 114 nn. 296–8.

[9] The 'Throne Verse' is likewise the verse most commonly appearing on magical objects in the Khalili collection (Savage-Smith, "Magic and Islam," vol. 1, 59, catalogue nos. 26–7, 31, 35–7, 43–9, 57–8, 85, 91, 103–4). The popularity of this verse on amulets was already established at an early stage, witness the examples on papyrus (Bilabel, Grohmann, and Graf, *Religion*, no. 146.1–15, dating from the second-third/eighth-ninth centuries; 148 (= *PERF* 644), dating from the third/ninth century, provenance of both is unknown). Cf. Budge, *Amulets and Magic*, 54–5. For the use of Qur'ānic verses in other amulets, see, for example, Manus. Haun. No. 10 (A. Hanafi, "Papyri Haunienses (P. Haun.), part I," *Bulletin of the Center of Papyrological Studies* 6 (1989), 74–82, pap. no. 8); Bilabel, Grohmann and Graf, *Religion*, nos. 150–2; 153–4.

[10] Another, cheaper, way of keeping amulets was folded up in a flat leather or cardboard case which was tied around the neck or arm (Budge, *Amulets and Magic*, 34).

[11] Savage-Smith, "Amulets," 134.

[12] While amulets appear on paper and papyrus with a blank verso, many amulets appear on re-used writing material (e.g. on the back of a letter: Bilabel, Grohmann and Graf, *Religion*, nos. 143, dating from the first–second/seventh–eighth centuries, provenance Fayyūm; 144, dating from *ca.* 277/890; 145, dating from the second–third/eighth–ninth centuries, provenance of both is unknown).

invocation in favor of or against someone. While the *duʿāʾ* is mostly a personal, privately uttered invocation, it also has communal value and aspects, and, as in the case of *duʿāʾ al-qunūt*, it can be incorporated in the communal, ritual prayer. The choice of words in the *duʿāʾ* is free, but generally Qurʾānic texts and traditional prayers already in existence are used.[13] Our text is no exception to this. The text on the back starts with a phrase introducing the prayers (*taḥiyyāt, ṭayyibāt, ṣalawāt*) continuing with the *taḥiyya* for Muḥammad and the community of believers (ll. 2–3), the Muslim testimony of faith (*tashahhud*) (ll. 3–4), and *ṣalāt al-ibrāhīmiyya* which includes a blessing on Muḥammad and his family (ll. 5–7).[14] After a line of oblique strokes follows the *qunūt*-prayer in six lines written in the same hand and with the same ink (ll. 9–15). *Duʿāʾ al-qunūt* has the general sense of the believer's resignation to what God gave him, and it is especially used by Muslims overtaken by a calamity.[15] The second caliph, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13–23/634–44), is reported to have said the *qunūt* in the *Fajr* prayer after the second prostration (*rukūʿ*).[16] The *qunūt*-prayer was also often recited during the *ṣalāt al-witr*, the prayer performed after the evening and before the dawn *ṣalāt*.[17] Only the Hanafīs consider this prayer a duty (*wājib*), though not an obligation (*farḍ*), and they also consider *qunūt* to be an obligatory part of *ṣalāt al-witr*. According to all other Islamic law schools, *ṣalāt al-witr* is simply a highly recommended prayer, in which *qunūt* of various forms may be a part.[18]

The missing parts of the testimony of faith and the other prayers at the beginning of the text can be reconstructed here, as is the case with the *qunūt*-prayer, although there exists some variation in the order of words and phrases, as well as in the choice of words and the length of this prayer (see below, commentary to back).

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[13] L. Gardet, "Duʿāʾ," *EI2*, vol. 2, 617–18.

[14] For these prayers, see C. E. Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, London 1961, 155–9, 167–8, 171–2, 220–7.

[15] ʿA. F. al-Maḥrūqī, *al-Duʿāʾ*, al-Mansura 1969, 109 ff.; A. J. Wensinck, "Ḳunūt," *EI2*, vol. 5, 395.

[16] al-Maḥrūqī, *Duʿāʾ*, 112.

[17] Wensinck, "Ḳunūt"; G. Monot, "Ṣalāt," *EI2*, vol. 8, 925–34.

[18] Monot, "Ṣalāt," 925–34.

Front: Text

1. بِسْمِ [اللـ]ـهِ الرَّحْـ[ـمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
2. اللَّهُ لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ هُـ[ـوَ الحَيُّ القَيُّومُ
3. لاَ تَأْخُذُهُ سِنَـ[ـةٌ وَلاَ نَوْمٌ لَهُ مَا
4. فِي السَّمَـوَاتِ [وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ
5. مَـنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَشْـ[ـفَعُ عِنْدَهُ إِلاَّ
6. بِـإِذْنِهِ يَعْلَمُ مـ[ـَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ
7. وَمَا خَلْفَهُـ[ـمْ وَلاَ يُحِيطُونَ
8. بِشَـيْءٍ مِنْ عِلْـ[ـمِهِ إِلاَّ بِمَا شَاءَ
9. وَسِعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ ا[لسَّمَوٰتِ وَالأَرْضَ
10. وَلاَ يَؤُدُهُ حِـ[ـفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ العَلِيُّ العَظِيمُ

Front: Translation

1. In the name of Allāh, the Bene[ficent, the Merciful.
2. Allāh! There is no god but H[e, the Living, the Self-subsisting.
3. No slumber can seize Him [nor sleep. His are all things
4. in the heavens [and on earth.
5. Who can inter[cede with Him except
6. by His permission? He knows wh[at is before and
7. behind [them. Nor shall they comprehend any
8. of His knowledge [except as He wills.
9. His throne is as vast [as the heavens and the earth,
10. and He feels no fatigue [in guarding them for He is the Most High, the Supreme (in glory).

Front: Commentary

2. The long ā in *ilāh* is lacking, which according to Qurʾānic orthography should be written above the line.[19]
4. The first *alif* in *samāwāt*, which (according to Qurʾānic orthography) should be written above the *mīm*, is lacking, while the second *alif* has *scriptio plena* (contrary to Qurʾānic orthography,

[19] For the practice of writing long vowels over the word in the Qurʾān, see Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, vol. 3, 2d ed., bearbeitet von F. Schwally, Leipzig 1938, 19–53, here 19–21, 31–3; W. Diem, "Untersuchungen zur frühen Geschichte der arabischen Orthographie," *Orientalia* 48 (1979), 207–57, here 211–12, 242–56.

where a superscripted *alif* appears). For *scriptio defectiva* of long ā in documentary papyri, see S. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, Oxford 1984, § 10.a; for *scriptio plena* of long ā, see idem § 11.

5. An unconventional ligature appears at the beginning of this line (منذا) where two words have been joined into one.
6. *Hamza* is not followed by a *kasra* vowel in the manuscript.
8. Postvocalic *hamza* is missing in *shay*ʾ. Cf. Hopkins, *Studies*, § 20.c.
10. In *yaʾūduhu*, the *hamza* is clearly written above the *wāw* rather than between the *yā*ʾ and the *wāw*, as in the traditional orthography of the Qurʾān.

Back: Text

1. بسم الله نـ]بْدَأ <الـ>تَحياتُ لِلِه وَالصلَوَاتُ [والطيبات
2. السلام] عَليْكَ أيُّهَا النَّبىُ السلامُ [علينا
3. وعلى عباد الله الـ]صـَّالِحِيْنَ أشْهَدُ أنْ لا إِلَه إلا [الله
4. vac.?] وَأشْهَدُ أنْ مُحَمّدً عَبْدُهُ (vac.) [ورسوله
5. اللهم صل على محمد] وَعَلى آلِ مُحَمَّد وبَارِكْ عَلى [محمد
6. وعلى آل محمد كما صـ]ـلَيْت عَلى إبْرَاهِيم وَعَلى آلِ إبْرَاهِيم [وباركت
7. على إبراهيم و]عَلَى آل إبْرَاهِيم فى الْعَالمِين [إنك حميد مجيد
8. / [/
9. اللهم انا نستعينك ونستهديك ونـ]ستَغفِركَ ونؤمِنَ بِكَ [ونتوكل
10. عليك ونثنى علـ]يكِ الخَير كُلّه نَشْكُركَ [ولا نكفرك
11. ونخضع لـ]ك ونَخْلَعُ وَنَتْرُكُ مَن [يكفرك
12. اللهم اياك نعبد ولك نصلى ونسـ]جد وَالَيْكَ نَسْعَى ونَحْفُدُ
13. نـ]رجُوا رَحمَتَكَ وَنَخشَى [عذابك
14. ان عذا]بَكَ بالكَافِرِينَ ملحق [اللهم انصرهم
15. على عدوك وعدوهم اله ا]لحَق

Back: Translation

1. In the name of Allāh we] begin. To Allāh belong the supplications and prayers, [and good deeds.
2. Peace] be upon you, oh Prophet. Peace be [upon us
3. and upon those who are servants of Allāh] the righteous ones. I bear witness to the fact that there is no god but [Allāh.
4. vac.?] And I bear witness that Muḥammad is His servant (vac.) [and His messenger.
5. Oh Allāh, exalt Muḥammad] and the followers of Muḥammad, and bless [Muḥammad

6. and the followers of Muḥammad, as You] have exalted Ibrāhīm and the followers of Ibrāhīm [and as You have blessed
7. Ibrāhīm and] the followers of Ibrāhīm in the worlds. [You are the Praised, the Glorious.
8. /
9. O Allāh, we beseech You for help and guidance. And we] seek Your forgiveness, and believe in You. [And we place our trust
10. in You. You we praise for] all Your goodness. To You we are grateful. [And we are not ungrateful to You.
11. We submit to You] and we renounce and turn away from whomever disobeys You, and breaks [Your commandments.
12. O Allāh, You alone we worship. To You we pray and to You we] kneel, and to You we betake ourselves, and to obey You we are quick.
13. We] beg for Your mercy and fear [Your punishment.
14. For] Your punishment overtakes the unbelievers. [O Allāh, let the believers win]
15. over Your enemies, and their enemies. Oh God of] truth.

Back: Commentary

1–8. It should be noted that the left-hand margin may have contained only one or two words, because the right-hand margin on the front-side is complete.

1–4. These lines contain the testimony of faith (*tashahhud*), which is one of the five pillars of Islam and is recited by Muslims several times in each prayer.[20]

1. This line might have begun with بسم الله نـ]بدأ if نـ]بدأ is an acceptable reading. Examples of a shortened *basmala* are known from literary texts. See, for example, بسم الله ولجناء، وبسم الله خرجنا.[21] Typically, Muslims begin their writings with the extended *basmala* (بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم), but there is not enough room at the beginning of this line to fit this phrase.

   Al-taḥiyyāt lacks the article which is expected in view of the parallel construction with *wa-ʾl-ṣalāwāt wa-ʾl-ṭayyibāt.*

   Al-ṭayyibāt is restored on the basis of al-Maḥrūqī, *Duʿāʾ*, 116.

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[20] Bukhārī (d. 256/870), *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Beirut 1987, no. 5794 اَلتَّحِيَّاتُ لِلّٰهِ وَالصَّلَوَاتُ وَالطَّيِّبَاتُ اَلسَّلَامُ عَلَيْكَ . أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ .وَرَحْمَةُ اللّٰهِ وَبَرَكَاتُهُ اَلسَّلَامُ عَلَيْنَا وَعَلَى عِبَادِ اللّٰهِ الصَّالِحِينَ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلٰهَ إِلَّا اللّٰهُ وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ

[21] Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889), *Sunan*, Beirut n.d., no. 4432.

2. *Al-salām*] *ʿalayka* is restored on the basis of al-Maḥrūqī, *Duʿāʾ*, 116. *ʿalaynā*. In prayers السلام علينا ورحمة الله وبركاته or السلام علينا usually follows after the phrase السلام عليك ايها النبى but these expressions are sometimes omitted entirely. We cannot restore the line with the first phrase because there is only room for one word. I prefer therefore to restore [علينا] here, since both of these two expressions are equally attested.

3. *Wa-ʿalā ʿibād Allāh al-*]*ṣāliḥīn ashhadu an lā ilāh illā* [*Allāh*. See Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), *Musnad*, Cairo 1980, no. 16450.

4. It seems that the writer left a space vacant at the beginning of this line because the second part of the testimony of faith concerning the prophet Muḥammad also has a vacant space after *ʿabduhu*, although *wa-rasūluhu* usually follows it. *Wa-rasūluhu*, however, possibly belongs in the lacuna after the vacant space.

5–7. These lines are the part of the testimony of faith that contains the phrase الصلاة على الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم but which could be expressed in several ways. See, for example, Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, no. 16450 اللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ ;وَبَارِكْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا بَارَكْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ فِى الْعَالَمِينَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ Ibn Māja (d. 273/887), *Sunan*, 1404/1983, no. 894, اللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ ; إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ اللّٰهُمَّ بَارِكْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا بَارَكْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Beirut 1987, no. 3119, اللّٰهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَعَلَى آلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ اللّٰهُمَّ بَارِكْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا بَارَكْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَعَلَى آلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ . All of these variant formulae are therefore mentioned in the *ḥadīth*s. Nabīl Ḥijāzī devotes a complete chapter in *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt* to the prayer on Muḥammad (فصل فى كيفية الصلاة على النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم).[22]

8. Since the right-hand margin on the front is complete, it seems safe to assume that the left-hand margin of the back is also intact. Probably *innaka ḥamīd majīd* was in its entirety written on line 7. The oblique strokes in line 8 form a separation between the first half of the prayers and the *qunūt*. Alternatively, the sentence *innaka ḥamīd majīd* was divided between lines 7 and 8, and line 8 began with the word *majīd* and ended with a vacant space, filled with several oblique strokes.

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[22] N. Ḥijāzī, *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt wa-shawāriq al-anwār fī dhikr al-ṣalāt ʿalā al-nabī al-mukhtār*, Cairo 1388/1968–9, 40–4.

9. اللهم إنا نستعينك ونستهديك ونـ]ستغفرك is restored on the basis of al-Maḥrūqī, *Duʿāʾ*, 112, and S. ʿA. W. al-Qaḥṭānī, *Ḥiṣn al-muslim min adhkār al-kuttāb wa-ʾl-sunna*, Riyadh 1422 A.H., 81. Cf. the version ascribed to ʿUmar b. al-Khattāb (Ghazālī (d. 1416/1996), *Fann al-dhikr wa-ʾl-duʿāʾ ʿinda khātam al-anbiyāʾ*, tr. Y. T. DeLorenzo, Beltsville 1417/1996, 181).

9–10. ونتوكل] عليك is restored on the basis of al-Maḥrūqī, *Duʿāʾ*, 112. This sentence is absent in the text of the prayer in al-Qaḥṭānī, *Ḥiṣn*, 81. It echoes *Sūrat Ibrāhīm* (Q14:12) وَمَا لَنَا أَلَّا نَتَوَكَّلَ عَلَى اللهِ ("We have no reason not to put our trust in Allāh").

10. ونثنى عل]يكِ الخَير كُله . See al-Qaḥṭānī, *Ḥiṣn*, 81, where the word *kulluhu* is deleted. This sentence is absent from the text of the prayer in al-Maḥrūqī, *Duʿāʾ*, 112–13. This phrase is also related to expressions such as: والخير كله فى يديك (M. S. Ṭanṭāwī, *Silsilat al-buḥūth al-islāmiyya, al-duʿāʾ*, Cairo 1972, 204).

ولا نكفرك] For the restoration of this phrase, see al-Qaḥṭānī, *Ḥiṣn*, 81. al-Maḥrūqī has a different word order (*Duʿāʾ*, 112) as does Ghazālī, *Fann*, 181.

11. ونخضع لـ]ك This phrase is restored on the basis of al-Qaḥṭānī, *Ḥiṣn*, 81, but the phrase is lacking from al-Maḥrūqī, *Duʿāʾ*, 112–13.

ونَخْلَعُ وَنَتْرُكُ مَن [يكفرك For the restoration, see al-Maḥrūqī, *Duʿāʾ*, 112 and Ghazālī, *Fann*, 181 where the word يفجرك can be found instead of يكفرك as it is in our text. The meaning of both is the same. The word وننترك is lacking in the text in al-Qaḥṭānī, *Ḥiṣn*, 81 and Ghazālī, *Fann*, 181.

12. اللهم إياك نعبد ولك نصلى ونسـ]جد For the restoration of this line, see al-Maḥrūqī, *Duʿāʾ*, 112, Ghazālī, *Fann*, 181, and al-Qaḥṭānī, *Ḥiṣn*, 81. In other versions of the *qunūt* this line can appear at the beginning of the prayer (al-Maḥrūqī, *Duʿāʾ*, 112–13).

إياك نعبد echoes a verse from the *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* (Q 1:5) إياك نعبد وإياك نستعين, ("It is You Whom we worship, and Your aid we seek.").

نحفد means "we are motivated to do our duties swiftly" (Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311), *Lisān al-ʿArab*, eds. ʿA. ʿA. al-Kabīr, M. A. Hāsāballāh and H. M. al-Shāḍilī, vol. 2, Cairo 1981, 922). The writer means here that Muslims are motivated to do good deeds by the desire to obtain Allāh's approval

(A. ʿAbd al-Jawād, *al-Duʿāʾ al-mustajāb min al-ḥadīth wa-ʾl-kitāb*, Cairo 1993, 137: رب أورعنى أن أشكر نعمتك ... وأن أعمل عملا صالحا ... الخ).

13. نـ]رجوا رحمتك For the restoration of this phrase, see al-Maḥrūqī, *Duʿāʾ*, 112, al-Ghazālī, *Fann*, 181, and al-Qaḥṭānī, *Ḥiṣn*, 81. One might further restore this phrase completely as: اللهم إنا نـ]رجوا رحمتك ("O Allāh,] for Your mercy we hope") since our text diverts in several places from the examples quoted by al-Maḥrūqī and al-Qaḥṭānī. Moreover, the lacuna leaves room for such a restoration and it does not change the over-all meaning.

ونخشى عـ[ذابك Restored on the basis of al-Maḥrūqī, *Duʿāʾ*, 112, Ghazālī, *Fann*, 181, and al-Qaḥṭānī, *Ḥiṣn*, 81.

14. إن عذا]بك بالكافرين ملحق Restored on the basis of al-Maḥrūqī, *Duʿāʾ*, 112, Ghazālī, *Fann*, 181, and al-Qaḥṭānī, *Ḥiṣn*, 81.

14–15. اللهم انصرهم على عدوك وعدوهم اله ا]لحَق Restored on the basis of al-Maḥrūqī, *Duʿāʾ*, 112 and al-Ghazālī, *Fann*, 182.

2. *Qurʾānic Fragment*

Manus. ACPSI s. r. no. 1 A (= Manus. Ragab 1)	Provenance
7. 9 × 5.4 cm	unknown
Plate 3	4th/10th

The paper is fine and of light-brown color. The handwriting is similar to writing used in the fourth-century A.H.[23] The diacritical points are written in most places and the words are voweled (*mushakkala*).[24]

The front side of this paper contains a Qurʾānic quotation, possibly for an amulet, in ten lines of reddish-brown ink. A rectangle appears at the bottom margin below the text. The seemingly unskilled writer has used the first three verses of the *Sūrat al-Nabaʾ* (Q 78:1–3).[25] The text is full of mistakes, both in the orthography and in the voweling (*tashkīl*). In the left-hand margin a calligraphically drawn *fāʾ* has been written upside down in another hand. For the use of amulets in Islam, see the introduction to Text 1 above. It should be noted that I have added the numbers of the Qurʾānic verses in the translation.

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[23] See above, note 1.
[24] See above, note 2.
[25] For a discussion of the meaning of these verses, see *The Holy Qurʾān*, 1880 and note 5889.

The back of the paper seems to have been prepared for writing, with a border of double lines around the edges of the page to frame the text, but it is otherwise blank.

Text

1. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
2. عَمَّ يَتَسَلَنَ عَن
3. نَبى العَظِيمِ
4. الَّذِى هُمْ فِيهِ
5. مَخْتَلِفُنَ كَلا

Translation

1. In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
2. Concerning what are they disputing? (1) Concerning
3. the great news (2)
4. about which
5. they cannot agree. (3) Verily,

Commentary

1. This line contains the *basmala*. It is not voweled and *al-raḥīm* is written above the line.
2. This line contains verse 1 and one word belonging to verse 2.

   Yatasā'alūna The intervocalic *hamza* between two homogeneous vowels has disappeared while the complex resolved into the corresponding long vowel (Hopkins, *Studies*, § 25.a). The word also has *scriptio defectiva* of long ā and ū (Hopkins, *Studies*, § 9 and 10).
3. This line contains the rest of verse 2.

   naba' al-aẓīm (نبى العظيم). The definite article is missing from the noun, but present on the adjectival attribute (Hopkins, *Studies*, § 186). *Alif mamdūda* is written with a *yā'* (Hopkins, *Studies*, § 9.a).

4–5. These lines consist of verse 3 and one word from verse 4.

5. *Mukhtalifūn* is written with defective long ū (Hopkins, *Studies*, § 9).

   كلا After verse 3 the writer begins verse 4, starting with كلا. This should have been continued either in the vacant space under this last line or on the back with سيعلمون ("Verily, they

shall soon [come to] know it!"). For unknown reasons, the scribe did not complete the rest of this verse.

3. *Sale of a Mule*

P. ACPSI s. r. no. 34 (= P. Ragab 34) Provenance unknown
11.8 x 9.4 cm 144/761–2?
Plate 4

The papyrus is of light-brown color, fine and well preserved. The only original cutting edge to have been preserved is at the top. It was folded horizontally three times. There is a margin of 2 cm at the top, and of 3.6 cm at the bottom.

The text was written perpendicular to the fibers in reddish-brown ink. Six lines of writing have been preserved, but the text may have had a total of seven lines since the lacuna at the beginning of line 6 may have contained one word. The text shows no orthographic or grammatical mistakes. No diacritical points appear in the text. The place of discovery is unknown, and the recto is blank.

The document can be dated to A.H. 144 (A.D. 761–2) if the words "one hundred and forty-four" on the first line can be interpreted as its date. In any case, the handwriting is similar to that of *P.Cair.Arab.* VI 391 (pl. VII) (dating from the second–third/eighth–ninth centuries), further supporting a second/eighth-century date for this document.

The subject of the text is the sale of a mule belonging to a Jewish family and the proposed sale of the mule's mother (see ll. 2–3 and the notes). Although prohibited from breeding mules themselves (see Lev. 19:19, "You shall keep my statutes. You shall not let your animals breed with a different kind; you shall not sow your field with two kinds of seed; nor shall you put on a garment made of two different materials"), Jews nevertheless sometimes acquired them (see Ez. 27:14, "From Bethogarmah they bartered horses, horsemen, and mules for your wares").

That Jews, Christians and Muslims maintained commercial, social and administrative contacts during the first centuries of Islamic rule in Egypt is clear from documentary and narrative sources.[26] Our text

[26] S. R. K. Glanville, *The Legacy of Egypt*, Oxford 1953, 349.

confirms such commercial contacts, here between a Jewish family selling a mule and the Muslim involved in this transaction.

The apparent absence of the *basmala* at the head of this text might indicate that it was produced in a Jewish context.

Text

1. كتب فى يوم كذا شهر كذا سنة] أربع وأربعين ومائة
2. هذا كتاب مـ]ـن يعقوب اليهودى ويوسف بن يعقوب اليهو[دى
3. . . . فلان] بن يوسف اليهودى ومعه بغلة له
4. . . .] كرم فخلفها مع غلام له [[. . .]]
5. . . .] وخرج كما أخبرهم فباعها بعشـ[ـرة
6. دنانير] (vac.)
7. . .]ـب أمه صلح أن يبيعها

Translation

1. It was written on such and such a day of such and such a month of the year] one hundred and forty-four
2. This is a document from] the Jew Jacob and Joseph son of Jacob the Je[w
3. . . . so and so] son of Joseph the Jew [went?] and with him there was a mule he owned.
4. in order that] Karam [might sell it] so he left it with his servant [[. . .]]
5. . . .] and went out, as he told them, and then he sold it for te[n
6. *dīnār*s] (vac.)
7. . . .] its mother (i.e. the she-ass) [becomes well] he can sell it.

Commentary

1. كتب فى يوم- شهر- سنة] أربع وأربعين ومائة . This is clearly the first line and may bear the date of the document. Adding a weekday and Islamic month in the lacuna before the number is therefore a possible restoration of the line. For the appearance of the date at the beginning of a document, see *P.Cair.Arab.* IV 280 r. 1.

2–3. هذا كتاب مـ]ـن may be restored (see *P.Cair.Arab.* I 145.2), although the reading of the letter ن of من is uncertain. It seems that we are dealing with a Jewish family in these two lines, consisting

of Jacob and his son Joseph and a grandson whose name has been lost in the lacuna. The grandson has apparently been sent to sell the mule through an agent whose name is perhaps Karam (l. 4 كرم).

3. بغلة mule. Another word used for mule is هجين.[27] The mule is the offspring of a horse and an ass, a hybrid animal combining the power of the horse and the patience of the ass. Smaller than the horse, the mule is a remarkably sturdy, patient, obstinate, sure-footed animal, living ordinarily twice as long as a horse.[28] Nevertheless, in a sixth/twelfth century Arabic letter, a soldier writes to his family that his mules and horses were so tired that they forced him to stop during a campaign in the Fayyūm.[29] Legal contracts often contain adjectives describing some feature of the mule, such as "of red-haired mane and forelock" (اشقر),[30] "grey" (اشهب),[31] "with rounded legs or rapid" (مخذرف),[32] "coal-black" (ادهم),[33] "with a white left leg" (محجل الرجل اليسرى).[34]

Mules had a great value in Egypt and other countries; in the Old Testament they are ridden only by kings and great men (cf. 2Sa 13:29; 18:9; 1Ki 1:33). In the New Testament, by contrast, we do not encounter them at all, perhaps suggesting that they had ceased to be imported, though we also have evidence of mules being presented as gifts to Indian princes at this time.[35] In the Graeco-Roman period, too, taxes were levied on donkeys and horses, but not on mules.[36] From Islamic Egypt, however, we

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[27] Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, vol. 6, s.v. هجين; vol. 1, s.v. بغلة; Y. Raghib, *Actes de vente d'esclaves et d'animaux d'Égypte médiévale 1*, (*Cahier des annals islamologiques* 23), Cairo 2002, 16.4; 17.5.

[28] Ch. Pellat, "Baghl," *EI*2, 17.5, 909.

[29] *P.Vindob.Arab*. II, 11, 3.

[30] Raghib, *Ventes*, 16.4.

[31] Raghib, *Ventes*, 18.5.

[32] Raghib, *Ventes*, 18.5.

[33] Raghib, *Ventes*, 16.4.

[34] Raghib, *Ventes*, 16.5. For the meaning of حجل see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, vol. 2 s.v. التحجيل بياض في قوائم الفرس او في ثلاث منها او في رجليه قل او كثر بعد ان يجاوز الركبتين والعرقوبين لانها مواضع الاحجال . . . يقال فرس محجل . . . وان كان باحدى رجليه وجاوز الارساغ فهو محجل الرجل اليمنى او اليسرى.

[35] A. C. Johnson, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore 1936, 229.

[36] Sh. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*. New York 1969, 91 ff.; M. A. I. Aly, "An Edition of Unpublished Greek Papyrus Documents from Dionysias and Some Papyri of Cairo Museum, with Commentary," *Bulletin of the Center of Papyrological Studies and Inscriptions* 18 (2001), 51–64, pap. no. VII, note 4.

again have evidence for the presence of mules.[37] From Fāṭimid Egypt (r. 358–567/969–1171) we have the anecdote about the caliph al-Ḥākim (r. 386–411/996–1021) riding his favorite mule into the Muqaṭṭam hills, never to return.[38] In the year 403/1012–3, this same caliph al-Ḥākim had issued a decree that *ahl al-dhimma* were not allowed to ride horses, only mules and asses.[39] The Geniza documents inform us that middle-class Jewish physicians or merchants owned modest riding beasts, or at least "possessed saddles and harness for both mule and donkey to be used when one bought or hired a mount for travel."[40]

4. Karam. This may be the agent who sold the mule. The name can also be read as [Ibn] Karāma, with *scriptio defectiva* of the long ā, and the final *tāʾ marbūṭa* effaced (Hopkins, *Studies*, § 10.b). For the name Ibn Karāma, see Ḥamad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaqīl, *Kanz al-ansāb wa-majmuʿ al-ādāb*, Riyadh 1993, 408.

   Ghulām is used in the sense of "slave" or "purchased slave." The word is synonymous with *mamlūk* (M. F. Wajdī, *Dāʾirat maʿārif*, vol. 7, Beirut n.d.). Ibn Manẓūr writes: **والغلام معروف. ابن سيدة: الغلام الطار الشارب وقيل: هو من حين يولد إلى أن يشيب** (*Lisān*, vol. 5, 3288–9). The sense of this phrase seems to be that the Jewish grandson did not find the agent Karam, and thus left the mule with the agent's slave, whose name seems to have been effaced at the end of the line.
5. *wa-kharaja*. The reading is uncertain.

   The last letter of *kharaja*, *jīm*, is connected to the first letter *kāf* of the following word in an unconventional ligature. Apparently, the grandson told his Jewish family that he had left the mule with the agent's slave who then sold the mule for ten or twenty *dīnār*s.

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[37] There are, for example, references to caliphal stables in Cairo, which also housed mules (Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1987, vol. 1, 444). For mules in Islamic Egypt, see also: D. Müller-Wodarg, "Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens in der früheren ʿAbbāsidenzeit 750–969 n. chr. (132–358 d. H.)," *Der Islam* 32 (1957), 141–67, here 151–2.

[38] A. Shalabī, *Mawsūʿat al-taʾrīkh al-islāmī waʾl-ḥaḍāra al-islāmiyya*, 6th ed., Cairo 1983, vol. 5, 129.

[39] F. ʿĀmir, *Taʾrīkh ahl al-dhimma min al-futūḥ al-ʿarabī ilā nihāyat al-ʿaṣr fāṭimī*, Cairo 2000, vol. 1, 205.

[40] S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 4, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1983, 264.

5–6. The letter *shīn* is written without the three dots over it. These two lines may be restored as بعشـ[رة دنانير or بعشـ[رين دينارا because the first three letters of the word that have been preserved fit both بعشـ[رة and بعشـ[رين . There are various prices given for a mule in contemporary documents from Egypt. In a sale contract for a mule dating from the first–second/seventh–eighth centuries a mule is sold for five *dīnār*s.[41] In third/ninth century sale contracts mules were sold for 8½,[42] 9,[43] 9½,[44] 12½[45] and 13 *dīnār*s.[46] Since we find the prices of mules varying between 5 and 13 *dīnār*s I suggest to restore the lacuna: بعشر]ة دنانير. Goitein's remark that a gift of a two-hundred *dīnār* mule and its saddle was a "frightening sum" only confirms this suggestion.[47] Even the twenty *dīnār*s paid for a mule in another Geniza document Goitein considers to be "considerable."[48]

6. See the commentary to lines 5–6 for the preferred restoration *danānīr* in the lacuna at the beginning of line 6 where a piece of the papyrus has been torn off.

7. ويقول عندما تطيـ]ـب أمه. A sentence similar to this one may be restored here, where mention is made of selling the mule's mother. Perhaps the sale of the mother (the she-ass) might have been delayed because she was ill, either through disease or as a result of giving birth.

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[41] *Chrest.Khoury* II 17.3.
[42] Raghib, *Ventes*, 16.6–7.
[43] Raghib, *Ventes*, 18.6 and 20.5.
[44] Raghib, *Ventes*, 17.6–7.
[45] Raghib, *Ventes*, 19.5–6.
[46] Raghib, *Ventes*, 21.7.
[47] Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 4, 262.
[48] Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 4, 262–3.

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L'APPORT SPÉCIALEMENT IMPORTANT DE LA PAPYROLOGIE DANS LA TRANSMISSION ET LA CODIFICATION DES PLUS ANCIENNES VERSIONS DES *MILLE ET UNE NUITS* ET D'AUTRES LIVRES DES DEUX PREMIERS SIÈCLES ISLAMIQUES

R. G. Khoury

Remarques préliminaires

Il est bon d'attirer l'attention sur la valeur des textes classiques dans la défense d'une culture performante, qui résiste à la destruction voulue ou non voulue de valeurs indispensables de toute société, non seulement dans les pays arabo-islamiques. Car nous assistons à un abandon de plus en plus grand du passé et de sa tradition culturelle, en faveur de discussions dites modernes, qui, en réalité, se créent un monde spécial rempli d'idées modiques qui ne vivent que "l'espace d'un matin," cédant à leur tour la place à d'autres, et ainsi de suite, sans que l'on puisse voir vers où nous mène ce développement effréné. Il y a même des textes classiques qui ont presque disparu totalement des programmes enseignés dans les écoles et même dans les universités, comme par exemple les *Mille et Une Nuits*, qui offrent une véritable mine très riche de valeurs historiques, sociales et culturelles, si l'on sait les aborder de leur côté véridique, et non comme un livre dévoyant, avec une licence de descriptions déchaînées, et donc à cause de cela à interdire.

C'est dans ce contexte que l'auteur de ces pages voudrait déplorer cette attitude triste, et à long terme très destructrice, qui pousse les jeunes surtout à s'éloigner de plus en plus de ces bons textes classiques, sous prétexte que ceux-ci sont trop éloignés des soucis de leur société d'aujourd'hui. On oublie, hélas beaucoup trop, que ces textes ont de quoi alimenter toute discussion sur des problèmes de la société arabo-islamique moderne, si l'on sait les aborder de leur côté voulu, et si on leur ajoutait les textes d'autres auteurs modernes imbus d'eux, qui ont de quoi faire réfléchir par leurs pensées profondes et l'examen des crises multiples par lesquelles passent leurs pays depuis des générations. Alors qu'en Orient des textes comme les *Mille et*

Une Nuits restent tabous, ils font par contre en Occident l'objet de séminaires de travail dans nos universités et sont mis par certains collègues au centre de colloques ou d'autres activités scientifiques.[1] Il ne s'agit ici en aucune façon de faire l'éloge de cette collection de récits magnifiques, mais plutôt d'attirer l'attention d'un côté sur leur valeur dans l'étude de la culture et de société arabo-islamique, de l'autre de jeter un peu plus de lumière sur le développement de la transmission des textes au cours des deux premiers siècles islamiques en général, à la lumière de l'apport des papyrus arabes anciens, surtout ceux conservés à Heidelberg, Allemagne, et qui nous conduisent vers des horizons nouveaux dans ce domaine, comme je l'ai montré et je le montre depuis le début des années 1970, et surtout dès 1986.[2]

Pour commencer il faut noter que nous disposons de beaucoup de livres sur l'écriture, les bibliothèques islamiques, à partir du III^{e}/IX^{e} siècle, et de leurs fonds, mais nous n'avons par contre aucun travail essentiel sur les débuts de l'Islam et les grands centres de conservation des manuscrits aux deux premiers siècles de l'Hégire.[3] Et pourtant

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[1] Il y a eu plusieurs publications assez proches de nous, dont je mentionne quelques-unes: J. E. Bencheikh, *Les Mille et Une Nuits ou la parole prisonnière*, Paris 1988; E. Weber, *Le secret des Mille et Une Nuits. L'interdit de Shéhérazade*, Toulouse, 1987; idem, *Imaginaire arabe et contes érotiques*, Paris 1990; idem (éd.), *Les Mille et une Nuits contes sans frontière*, Toulouse 1994 etc.

[2] A ce sujet voir: R. G. Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa (97–174/715–790): Juge et grand maître de l'École Égyptienne* (*Codices Arabici Antiqui* IV), Wiesbaden 1986; idem, *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam depuis le I^{er} jusqu'au III^{e} siècle de l'Hégire d'après le manuscrit d'Abū Rifāʿa ʿUmāra b. Wathīma al-Fārisī: Kītāb Bad' al-khalq wa-qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (*Codices Arabici Antiqui* III), Wiesbaden 1978; idem, "ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa," dans *L'apport de la papyrologie dans la transmission et codification des premières versions des Mille et Une Nuits (Les Mille et Une Nuits contes sans frontière)*, Toulouse 1994 (AMAM), 21–33, ici 26sqq.; idem, "Kalif, Geschichte und Dichtung: Der jemenitische Erzähler ʿAbīd Ibn Šarya am Hofe Muʿāwiyas," *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik/Journal of Arabic Linguistics* 23 (1993), 204–18; idem, "Dawr waraq al-bardī fī . . .," *Ḥawliyyāt al-Jāmiʿa 'l-Tūnisiyya* 39 (1995, publ. 1997), 161–82; idem, "Les grands centres de conservation et de transmission des manuscrits arabes aux premier et deuxième siècles de l'Hégire," *Studies in Memory of A. Wasserstein* (*Scripta Classica Israelica* XVI), (1997), 215–26; idem, "Geschichte oder Fiktion. Zur erzählerischen Gattung der ältesten Bücher über Arabien," dans S. Leder (ed.), *Story-Telling in the Framework of Non-Fictional Arabic Literature*, Wiesbaden 1998, 370–87; idem, "Die Erzähltradition im Islam, Islam—eine andere Welt?" *Studium Generale Université Heidelberg, Heidelberg 1999*, 2002 (Rectorat), 23–40. Tous mes articles mentionnés ci-dessus, qu'ils portent à peu près le même titre ou non que celui de ces nouvelles pages, ont été revus et augmentés grandement.

[3] Concernant les bibliothèques en général, voir surtout, Y. Eche, *Les bibliothèques arabes publiques et semipubliques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie et en Egypte au Moyen Age*, Damas 1967, et en langue arabe, S. S. al-Nashshār, *Tārīkh al-maktabāt fī Miṣr—al-ʿaṣr al-*

on ne peut négliger le développement ultérieur dans ce domaine qui a conduit aux grandes institutions de toutes sortes dans les siècles postérieurs, qui ont emmagasiné des stocks énormes de livres au nombre tellement haut, mais qui ont fini par être dispersés, détruits dans la majorité de leurs originaux, de sorte qu'il ne nous reste pour l'étude de ces temps reculés que des copies de copies, avec un rien comme originaux. Heureusement que les papyrus sont là en masse sous forme de documents de toutes sortes et qui ont de quoi sauver un peu la face, pour nous aider à décrire la situation concernant d'autres écrits et fournir ainsi des renseignements plus précis sur un certain développement de l'activité scripturaire dans les premières générations islamiques. Et, pour entreprendre une telle tâche, nous avons des éléments assez importants, qui, il est vrai, à eux seuls ne peuvent naturellement pas suffire pour élucider l'ensemble des problèmes qui se posent à la recherche dans la reconstruction de toute la production de ces temps reculés de l'histoire culturelle de l'Islam. Néanmoins, ils forment des jalons qui peuvent aider à nous faire une image de ce qu'a pu être le chemin suivi par ce passé, et ainsi servir de base pour d'autres orientations utiles dans ce domaine, surtout concernant l'authenticité dans la transmission de textes culturels en général, dans lesquels l'idéologie partisane ne joue pas de rôle. Et les éléments dont il est question ici sont assez nombreux, pour qu'on puisse les prendre au sérieux, surtout qu'ils sont formés de documents sur papyrus de toutes sortes, authentiques et assez souvent datés ou datables, et dans leur écrasante majorité en provenance d'Égypte, pays du papyrus.

Un moyen très efficace dans la reconstruction de cette production archaïque est bien sûr de se baser sur les grandes personnalités desquelles une telle activité est connue, de voir comment on peut utiliser les données sur papyrus, qui se rapportent à elles: le rayonnement de ces savants comme chefs d'écoles, à l'intérieur de cercles familiaux ou dans les mosquées, pour suivre enfin la transmission de leurs écrits, et voir comment les problèmes peuvent se présenter chez d'autres, contemporains ou postérieurs à eux dans les différentes provinces islamiques. Il est clair que l'Islam, partout où il s'implantait,

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mamlūkī, Le Caire 1413/1993; Sh. ʿA. ʿA. Khalīfa, *Majmūʿat al-bibliyujrāfiyya al-tārīkhiyya*, 2e vol.: *al-Kutub wa-'l-maktabāt fī 'l-ʿuṣūr al-wusṭā—al-Sharq al-muslim*, Le Caire 1997, etc.

s'organisait autour de son livre sacré et des sciences qui s'y rapportaient. Dans cette première manifestation scientifique en Islam, la mosquée a sans doute joué un rôle particulièrement important, car là d'abord un enseignement régulier systématique a pu s'effectuer, et surtout se développer en activité scientifique écrite intense.[4] Néanmoins, nous n'avons rien pour documenter la valeur et l'étendue réelles des premiers essais de mise par écrit, des premières écoles en période islamique, si l'on ne veut pas rester dans le vague, les généralités qui attribuent à chaque personnalité de valeur des débuts de l'Islam culturel un nombre plus ou moins détaillé et grand de livres; même si une part de ces données va dans le chemin imaginable, celles-ci restent cependant sans fondement solide et crédible, pour attester la justesse de données postérieures, qui se réfèrent à des activités scripturaires intenses, concernant ces périodes reculées.

C'est pourquoi il est utile de tenir compte, à côté de cela, des informations attestées par des documents se rapportant à des cercles privés, dans des maisons d'intellectuels tournées vites en centres de codification et de transmission, dont le fruit nous est plus connu, au moins en partie. C'est ainsi que l'on voit comment des chefs de familles, par exemple des juges ou des intellectuels jurisconsultes ou autres, parfois dotés d'une richesse assez considérable, voire fabuleuse, rassemblaient autour d'eux des hommes de niveaux scientifiques variés, pour s'adonner, dans le cadre de séances familiales et privées, à la transmission de ce que représentait le savoir ou un certain savoir dans leurs provinces.[5] Il ne faut point négliger de souligner spécialement que les assemblées d'intellectuels, d'hommes de sciences, surtout sous le patronage de califes, et assez tôt comme on le verra par la suite, mais aussi de mécènes de toutes sortes, ont contribué de manière extraordinaire à la transmission du savoir d'abord, et ensuite à sa fixation progressive par écrit, et ceci bien avant la création de centres bibliothécaires officiels dignes de ce nom, sous les

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[4] Concernant la mosquée et son importance à cet égard, voir: ʿA. Ḥ. Maḥmūd, *al-Masjid*, Le Caire 1976, 23 sqq.; D. Brandenburg, *Die Madrasa*, Graz 1978, 1 sqq.; de plus les travaux de G. Makdisi.

[5] Concernant ce genre de séances postérieures, voir par exemple: G. Vajda, *Les certificats de lecture et de transmission dans les manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Paris 1956; R. Sellheim, *Gelehrte und Gelehrsamkeit im Reiche der Chalifen, Festschrift für Paulo Kirn*, Berlin 1962, 54–79 (trad. arabe: ʿA. Rizq, *Al-ʿIlm wa-'l-ʿulamā' fī ʿuṣūr al-khulafā'*, Beyrouth 1972); ʿA. M. Hāshim, *al-Andiya al-adabiyya fī-'l-ʿaṣr al-ʿabbāsī fī-'l-ʿIrāq ḥattā nihāyat al-qarn al-thālith al-hijrī*, Beyrouth 1982, etc.

dynasties postérieures, surtout abbaside à Bagdad, et omeyyade en Espagne.[6]

Comment alors se présentent d'abord les informations, conservées chez des auteurs classiques des générations postérieures, qui nous renvoient aux premiers temps de l'Islam? Il faut avouer que rien en général, parmi les écrits qu'on leur attribue, n'a survécu sous forme originale, indépendante. Il s'agit là sans doute d'un problème majeur, délicat, même très grave, et pourtant pas insurmontable, surtout si nous pouvons attester d'une manière solide que l'activité scientifique a bel et bien eu lieu, et qu'elle n'est pas une pure fiction ou une création de la pure sympathie ou de l'hagiographie. Touchant les domaines, auxquels se rapportent mes travaux, on peut affirmer cette dernière idée de plus en plus fermement, comme on le verra plus clairement par la suite. Il est clair aussi que rien ne peut naître *ex nihilo*, sans évolution préalable, sans "balbutiements" aussi. Dans ce processus de transmission des textes le problème de l'interdépendance des sources, entre les écrivains arabes, justement de la période classique, apparaît comme central, car il nous aide à établir jusqu'à l'évidence le cadre général concernant la question des sources, qui sont à l'origine d'une bonne partie des textes postérieurs. Déjà Zakī Mubārak avait attiré l'attention sur cet aspect extrêmement important de l'évolution de la culture arabe archaïque. Dans un livre important,[7] qui présente à ce sujet plus d'une idée intéressante, l'auteur a eu le courage de prendre position, et déjà à une date assez reculée (1931), contre une foule d'opinions courantes, soutenues alors et qui ont encore, malheureusement, jusqu'à aujourd'hui des partisans, pour défendre cette thèse discutée ici et devenue de plus en plus évidente. Le sens de ses mots paraît revêtir une importance spéciale, considéré à la lumière de ce qui a été dit sur l'interdépendance des textes. Pour lui, par exemple, ce n'est pas Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (m. *ca.* 139/756) qui est le premier prosateur qui "ait enrichi la langue arabe." Le premier chef d'œuvre en prose est plutôt le Coran. Or Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ "appartient au commencement du deuxième siècle. Comment croire," ajoute-t-il, "que durant ce long laps de temps, depuis l'apparition du Livre, on n'ait rien produit? Le fait que le Coran est un ouvrage religieux n'empêche pas de le considérer aussi comme

[6] Sur les bibliothèques en général, voir Eche, *Les bibliothèques arabes*.
[7] Z. Mubārak, *La prose arabe au IV^e siècle de l'Hégire*, Paris 1931.

une œuvre littéraire, car c'est bien le rôle des lettres d'être toujours le reflet des mœurs et des croyances."[8]

Les découvertes des papyrus arabes anciens, non seulement dans le domaine des documents proprement dit, mais aussi dans les domaines historiques et administratifs, peuvent être invoquées comme le meilleur témoignage d'une certaine activité littéraire, déjà dans le siècle du prophète Mahomet. En somme, la thèse de Mubārak formulée ci-dessus ne peut plus paraître si exagérée, comme on le pensait au début, même encore dans les années soixante du siècle dernier; et elle mérite qu'on s'y penche avec beaucoup d'attention et de confiance aussi. Ce qu'il écrivait, à propos du Coran, a de quoi faire sérieusement réfléchir:

> L'apparition d'une œuvre aussi subtile, aussi pure de forme que le Coran ne prouve-t-elle pas jusqu'à l'évidence que sa langue a depuis longtemps dépassé l'âge des balbutiements? Ne faut-il pas croire aussi que lorsqu'une langue est forte, riche, en pleine possession de ses moyens, elle suscite forcément l'étude des rhéteurs et des grammairiens, et qu'elle compte, dès lors, non seulement des poètes et des orateurs, mais aussi des critiques pour analyser dans leur faiblesse ou leur puissance, dans leur clarté ou leur obscurité, les différents styles?[9]

Et il ajoute un peu plus loin:

> Le Coran, dans son éloquence et sa subtilité, s'adressait sans doute possible à des hommes capables de le comprendre et de le goûter. Or, une telle culture, quand elle est assez répandue, ne saurait être le fruit du hasard, ni exister sans éducation préalable.[10]

Nous savons clairement que les œuvres des écrivains du II^{e}/VIII^{e} siècle, et à plus forte raison celles du III^{e}/IX^{e} ne sont pas nées de rien; car les productions majeures de l'époque abbaside ne sont pas concevables sans les écrits qui les ont précédées et leur ont ouvert la voie. Ceci est indéniable dans toutes les littératures mondiales, et donc aussi dans la culture arabo-islamique. Et il est très heureux de constater que les spécialistes des études arabes et islamiques prennent de plus en plus conscience des périodes archaïques de cette discipline, et de l'apport très considérable des deux premiers siècles dans la fécondation des œuvres postérieures. Ainsi l'on assiste à un

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[8] Mubārak, *La prose arabe*, 49–50.
[9] Mubārak, *La prose arabe*, 55.
[10] Mubārak, *La prose arabe*, 59.

véritable processus d'ascension, de gonflements des sources premières, archaïques, qui nous ramène, considéré en sens inverse, aux premières générations. Du moins il nous permet de conclure à l'existence d'une activité écrite, même si l'on ne peut pas saisir celle-ci et la cerner de près et la définir exactement, vu la non-survie de sources originales des premiers auteurs eux-mêmes, à part le Coran et quelques spécimens anciens rares sur papyrus ou sur d'autres matériaux d'écriture.

Le sens flexible du mot kitāb

Cependant, il ne faut pas outrer les dimensions accordées aux écrits du deuxième siècle, et à plus forte raison à ceux du premier, car, si l'on analyse le peu d'entre eux qui ont survécu sous forme de livres, on se rend compte qu'ils ne sont pas volumineux, et qu'ils peuvent, à cause de cela, servir comme base pour l'évaluation des autres que les temps ou les hommes ont détruits. C'est là que le sens très flexible du mot *kitāb* ("*livre*")[11] entre en jeu, du fait que ce mot signifie ce qui est écrit, allant donc du sens de quelques mots,[12] en passant par celui d'un billet, d'un document, d'une lettre proprement dite,[13] d'un chapitre, comme c'est le cas par exemple dans *Kitāb al-zuhd* d'Asad Ibn Mūsā (132–212/750–827), où le mot est placé en tête d'un chapitre, comme synonyme de *bāb* ou *juz'*,[14] pour culminer dans celui donné au Livre Sacré ou Coran. Et il est facile

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[11] Là-dessus, voir: R. Sellheim, "Kitāb," *EI*2, vol. 5, 207–8.

[12] Voir par exemple la petite phrase que le prophète Daniel a dû expliquer à Nabuchodonosor (Khoury, *Les légendes*, 80, et texte arabe, 281, 13).

[13] Un exemple typique ancien peut-être découvert dans les lettres administratives de Qurra ibn Sharīk, publiées par C. H. Becker à Heidelberg en 1906, et certaines autres après lui par N. Abbott, A. Grohmann, Y. Raghib ou W. Diem, dont on trouve une liste bibliographique se rapportant à tous ces auteurs, dans ma *Chrest.Khoury* I, pp. 172 sqq. Néanmoins il est bon de renvoyer à un petit poème du poète 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a, parce qu'il apporte un témoignage éclatant de la diffusion des lettres en son temps (*Dīwān*, Beyrouth 1966, 114):

Kitāb
Katabtu ilayki min baladī *kitāba muwallahin kamidi*
Ka'ībin wākifi 'l-'aynay- *ni bi-'l-ḥasarāti munfaridi*
Yu'arriquhu lahību 'l-shaw *qi bayna 'l-saḥri wa-'l-kabidi*
Fa-yumsiku qalbahu bi-yadin *wa-yamsaḥu 'aynahu bi-yad*

[14] Voir R. G. Khoury, *Asad Ibn Mūsā: Kitāb az-zuhd. Nouvelle édition revue, corrigée et augmentée de tous les certificats de lecture, avec une étude sur l'auteur*, Wiesbaden 1976, 39 sqq.

de trouver d'autres exemples, à côté de ceux donnés dans les notes. Les beaux et simples vers du poète omeyyade ʿUmar Ibn Abī Rabīʿa (m. *ca.* 102/720) nous montre jusqu'à l'évidence comment la culture à ses débuts croissait sans cesse, pour gagner des cercles de plus en plus nombreux d'hommes de science, qui pouvaient profiter de ce qui se développait comme facilités multiples, avec la croissance, le développement politique, religieux et géographique de tout l'Empire Islamique, en général. C'est ainsi que tout concourt à développer les liens entre la capitale et les provinces, entre les hommes au pouvoir et de pouvoir, entre les savants et les hommes d'affaires de toutes sortes. A la réalisation de ces facilités ont grandement contribué l'introduction de moyens de communications de plus en plus perfectionnés d'une part, d'autre part la diffusion du papier qui se répandait de plus en plus dès le III^{e}/IX^{e} siècle, sans pourtant arriver à mettre de côté le papyrus, qui resta dans les trois premiers siècles le matériel d'écriture de la masse des écrits, comme nous le montrent les documents anciens, que l'Égypte, son pays, nous a conservés.[15]

al-Dhahabī et l'an 143 (760/1)

C'est ainsi que l'on peut prendre la deuxième moitié du II^{e}/VIII^{e} siècle comme point de départ, pour une activité scientifique, qui va crescendo dans tous les sens possibles à l'époque, et bien sûr dans le sens qui nous intéresse ici. L'expérience des spécialistes musulmans classiques de leur histoire, concernant la transmission du savoir en Islam, corrobore ces données, d'autant plus que nous avons quelques spécimens d'écrits sur papyrus ou formant des versions issues de ceux-ci, qui, à leur tour, confirment le sens général de ces données. Nous allons tâcher de développer ces idées, d'abord à l'aide d'un passage d'al-Dhahabī (m. 748/1348), important, même très important, auquel suivra une présentation des écrits anciens dont nous disposons, et auxquels on rattachera deux anciens fragments des *Mille et Une Nuits*, déjà publiés par Nabia Abbott.

Le passage d'al-Dhahabī nous a été conservé, entre autres par Ibn Taghrībirdī (m. 874/1470), qui le cite concernant l'an 143 (760–761):

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[15] Là-dessus, voir R. G. Khoury, "Papyrus," *EI2*, vol. 8, 261–5.

Qāla ʾl-Dhahabī wa-fī hādha ʾl-ʿaṣri sharaʿa ʿulamāʾu ʾl-Islāmi fī tadwīni ʾl-ḥadīthi waʾl-fiqhi waʾl-tafsīri wa-ṣannafa Ibn Ǧurayj al-taṣānīfa bi-Makkata wa-ṣannafa Saʿīd Ibn Abī ʿArūba wa-Ḥammād Ibn Salama wa-ghayruhum biʾl-Baṣrati wa-ṣannafa Abu Ḥanīfa al-fiqha waʾl-raʾya biʾl-Kūfati wa-ṣannafa ʾl-Awzāʿī biʾl-Shāmi wa-ṣannafa Mālik al-Muwaṭṭaʾa biʾl-Madīnati wa-ṣannafa Ibn Isḥāq al-Maghāziyya wa-ṣannafa Maʿmar biʾl-Yamani wa-ṣannafa Sufyān al-Thawrī Kitāba ʾl-Ǧāmiʿi thumma baʿda yasīrin ṣannafa Hishām kutubahu wa-ṣannafa al-Layth Ibn Saʿd waʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa thumma Ibn al-Mubārak waʾl-Qāḍī Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb wa-Ibn Wahb wa-kathura tabwību ʾl-ʿilmi wa-tadwīnuhu wa-rabaṭ wa-duwwinat kutubu ʾl-ʿarabiyyati waʾl-lughati waʾl-tārīkhi wa-ayyīmi ʾl-nāsi wa-qabla hādhā ʾl-ʿasri kāna sāyiri (= saʾiru) ʾl-ʿulamāʾi yatakallamūna ʿan ḥifzihim wa-yarwūna ʾl-ʿilma ʿan ṣuḥufin ṣaḥīḥatin ghayri murattabatin fa-suhhila wa-liʾl-llāhi ʾl-ḥamdu tanāwulu ʾl-ʿilmi fa-akhadha ʾl-ḥifzu yatanākaṣu.

Al-Dhahabī dit: à cette époque les savants islamiques commencèrent à mettre la tradition, le droit islamique et l'exégèse par écrit; Ibn Jurayj classa les œuvres à la Mecque, Saʿīd Ibn Abī ʿArūba et Ḥammād Ibn Salama et d'autres à Basra, Abū Ḥanīfa le fiqh et le *raʾy* à Kufa, al-Awzāʿī à Damas, Mālik *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* à Médine, Ibn Isḥāq les Maghāzī, Maʿmar au Yémen, Sufyān al-Thawrī le livre *al-Ǧāmiʿ*, puis peu après Hishām ses livres, et puis al-Layth Ibn Saʿd, ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa, Ibn al-Mubārak, le juge Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb et Ibn Wahb. La classification et la mise par écrit de la science ne cessèrent d'augmenter: les livres sur l'arabe, la langue, l'histoire et les chroniques furent fixés par écrit, alors qu'avant cette période tous les savants parlaient de mémoire et transmettaient la science à partir de feuilles authentiques (mais) non ordonnées; ainsi fut simplifiée, Dieu merci, la transmission de la science, de telle manière que la transmission orale se mit à diminuer.[16]

Un texte admirable qui me semble très clair, surtout si l'on tient compte des données scripturaires que nous avons en main. Il est naturel qu'on puisse l'étudier de différentes manières, chacun selon son point de vue ou l'intérêt scientifique de ses propres travaux; il est cependant intéressant de noter qu'il a été cité et commenté plusieurs fois les dernières années: d'abord par al-Ǧābirī,[17] et puis par Ṭarābīshī qui a repris ce passage, en critiquant et corrigeant le premier.[18] Mes

[16] Voir Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 31 f. où ce passage avait été déjà présenté et traduit par moi, pour la première fois; je l'ai repris plusieurs fois plus tard, là-dessus, voir plus haut note 2.

[17] al-Ǧābirī, *Takwīn al-ʿaql al-ʿarabī*, Beyrouth 1984, 61 sqq., livre qui ne m'était pas disponible à l'époque, d'autant plus que mon livre sur Ibn Lahīʿa était presque deux ans sous presse; je ne l'ai eu sous les yeux, qu'à travers la critique qu'en a faite Ṭarābīshī, voir note suivante.

[18] G. Ṭarābīshī, *Ishkāliyyāt al-ʿaql al-ʿarabī*, Beyrouth/Londres 1998, 11 sqq.

commentaires, qui ne sont pas éloignés de ceux de Ṭarābīshī, apportent néanmoins une explication soutenue par les manuscrits anciens sur papyrus, et qui se rapportent aux égyptiens parmi les hommes de science cités là. Si j'insiste donc sur ce qu'Ibn Taghrībirdī (et d'autres aussi comme al-Suyūṭī (m. 911/1505)[19] après lui) nous rapporte dans sa citation d'al-Dhahabī, c'est pour mettre en exergue ici aussi l'idée d'une évolution de plus en plus croissante dans l'activité scripturaire, qui a commencé petit à petit, et s'est activée de façon particulière dès cette date donnée par ce dernier historien, et non pour reprendre des définitions de termes employés là, et que Ṭarābīshī a assez mis en lumière. Si l'on regarde de près, on constate d'abord qu'al-Dhahabī mentionne quelques provinces qui ont joué dans ce processus un rôle plus grand que d'autres autour et après cette date jusqu'au début du III^{e}/IX^{e} siècle:

1. Le Ḥijāz, avec ses deux centres la Mecque et Médine.
2. L'Irak, avec Basra, Kufa (et Bagdad qui n'y est pas mentionnée *expressis verbis*).
3. La Syrie avec sa capitale Damas.
4. Le Yémen (avec sa capitale Ṣanʿā', qui n'y est pas mentionnée *expressis verbis*).
5. L'Égypte en dernier lieu, sans y être mentionnée *expressis verbis*, mais dont l'apport est énorme, par rapport aux autres provinces, sur quoi je reviendrai un peu plus loin.

Entre-temps nous avons beaucoup plus de renseignements complémentaires à ceux de Brockelmann,[20] par les travaux de Sezgin,[21] et surtout par ceux de van Ess,[22] concernant l'activité dans les provinces nommées, des informations qui vont bien sûr au-delà de ce que nous livre le passage d'al-Dhahabī. Néanmoins, ce dernier texte reste une base solide de laquelle on peut partir, pour observer de manière assez concrète la justesse de ses propos, en suivant la chronologie du développement historique:

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[19] Ṭarābīshī, *Ishkāliyyāt*, 11, citant al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-khulafā'*, Le Caire 1964.

[20] C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Supplementbände 1–3, Leyde 1937–42.

[21] F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, I, Leyde 1967–.

[22] J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3 Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin/New York 1991–97.

1. *En tête vient Damas*

Là nous avons des données qui remontent au temps de Muʿāwiya (r. 41–60/661–80) lui-même: *Akhbār ʿAbīd (ʿUbayd) Ibn Sharya fī 'l-Yaman*, publié ensemble avec *Kitāb al-Tījān* d'Ibn Hishām (m. 218/833),[23] auteur de la *Sīra* classique. Du fait que ce dernier livre remonte à un autre de Wahb Ibn Munabbih (m. à côté de 110/728), mais gonflé d'informations multiples sur les Ḥimyarites, et qu'Ibn Sharya (I/VII siècle) était encore plus âgé que Wahb, comme on le verra dans les lignes suivantes, nous avons là les deux textes les plus vieux sur le Yémen (histoire, légende, poésie . . .), tout est là, et pousse à l'étude, à une étude plus exhaustive, et mérite à cause des trésors de toutes sortes qui y ont cachés de les éditer de manière soignée, en particulier concernant les noms propres et les poèmes surtout du livre de ʿAbīd. Tous les deux veulent parler du Yémen, surtout ḥimyarite, vanter son passé prestigieux et le rattacher à la grande tradition prophétique, de laquelle était sorti le Prophète de l'Islam. *Kitāb al-Tījān* est néanmoins plus centré sur cette question, à cause du grand maître des histoires prophétiques (bibliques) en Islam, Wahb Ibn Munabbih; alors qu'*Akhbār* ʿAbīd sont plus dans le genre narratif, dans lequel la poésie est nettement plus importante, car elle forme une bonne partie du livre et sert, selon le désir expresse du calife Muʿāwiya lui-même, comme base de la véracité historique des renseignements, que lui livre son hôte ʿAbīd.

En effet, c'était le calife qui avait fait venir ce dernier du Yémen à Damas, sur conseil de son loyal allié, ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ (m. *ca.* 42/663), le conquérant d'Égypte et son premier gouverneur. Pourquoi l'a-t-il fait? L'introduction du livre nous explique toute l'histoire de la genèse du livre, dans tous ses détails, et met un lien avec certains termes employés dans le texte susmentionné d'al-Dhahabī: une fois le calife intronisé comme tel, et après avoir atteint l'apogée de sa gloire, il montrait de plus en plus de l'intérêt pour l'histoire arabe ancienne, à tel point que "sa joie préférée, à la fin de sa vie, étaient les causeries nocturnes et les histoires des gens d'autre fois."[24] Nous avons par là un vieux, très vieux témoignage qui corrobore l'intérêt

[23] Les deux livres ont été édités d'abord à Haydarabad en 1347/1928 dans un même volume, puis récemment par ʿA. ʿA. al-Maqāliḥ à Ṣanʿā' en 1979, avec une introduction succincte et des notes.

[24] *Akhbār ʿAbīd*, 312, 7–8.

de Muʿāwiya (et de ses successeurs après lui) pour "la poésie, la généalogie et l'histoire (*ashʿār*, *ansāb* et *akhbār*)" des arabes, ce qu'attestent aussi plusieurs auteurs postérieurs, comme al-Jāḥiẓ (m. 255/868) par exemple.[25] ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ, qui va jouer un autre rôle important dans un tout petit papyrus, publié par Abbott, et que nous verrons plus loin, avait donc conseillé au calife d'engager ce conteur, le plus talentueux et le plus renommé de son temps, qui, de plus, avait un âge tellement fabuleux qu'il dépasse toute représentation, à tel point qu'al-Sijistānī (m. 25/864) le mentionne parmi les *muʿammarūn*.[26] Et, à cause de tout cela, il connaissait les rois des anciens arabes (avant l'Islam) et était le plus compétent donc pour satisfaire l'attente du souverain islamique. Dès le départ nous avons une description romanesque de l'histoire, de son milieu et de ses acteurs, que le genre narratif dans la culture arabe véhiculait dès le départ, comme une tradition extrêmement solide, à laquelle viendront se greffer d'autres composantes importées d'Iran et d'ailleurs. Mais la base est déjà attestée ici, dans le programme que Muʿāwiya nous dévoile dans le texte:

> *Innī aradtu ittikhādhaka muʾaddiban lī wa-samīran wa-muqawwiman. Wa-anā bāʿithun ilā ahlika wa-anquluhum ilā jiwārī wa-kun lī samīran fī laylī wa-wazīran fī amrī*
>
> Je te voulais comme éducateur pour moi, comme causeur nocturne et comme conseiller. Et je vais envoyer [des gens] vers ta famille et la chercher vers mes côtés. Sois pour moi un conteur nocturne dans mes nuits et mon vizir dans mes affaires.[27]

Et le conteur fut proche du calife et lui conta, satisfaisant l'intérêt que portait celui-ci pour le passé des arabes, leurs histoires et leurs poésies. L'introduction du livre que j'ai analysée plus d'une fois en détail, sous différents aspects, depuis mon livre sur Wahb Ibn Munabbih jusqu'à maintenant, contient une information des plus précieuses, que l'on puisse trouver sur l'histoire de la transmission d'un livre dans la littérature arabe archaïque: Le calife semble avoir été tellement impressionné par "Les histoires de son hôte" qu'"il donna l'ordre aux fonctionnaires de son Dīwān de les transcrire et de les

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[25] Là-dessus voir aussi N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri, I, Historical Texts*, Chicago 1957, 15 sqq.

[26] al-Sijistānī (m. 250/864), *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn* (*Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* 2. Teil/2e partie), éd. I. Goldziher, Leyde 1896–99, texte arabe, 40–3.

[27] *Akhbār ʿAbīd*, 313, 1–3.

mettre sous forme de livre" (*amara aṣḥāba dīwānihi an yuwaqqiʿūhu wa-yudawwinūhu*).[28] Et Ibn al-Nadīm (m. 380/990) ajoute une phrase, qui ne se trouve pas dans le livre de ʿAbīd: "Et de les attribuer à ʿAbīd Ibn Sharya" (*wa-yansubūhu ilā ʿUbayd Ibn Sharya*).[29]

Voilà un texte qui est particulièrement utile pour notre sujet ici, qui nous a conservé, comme rarement un autre livre de la littérature des deux premiers siècles, une attestation documentaire sur la genèse de cette œuvre d'une part, et de son rattachement à la mise par écrit des premiers spécimens d'activité à cet égard. Et nous allons voir qu'il y a plus d'une cause, pour pouvoir faire des rapprochements d'une part entre ce livre et les manuscrits historiques sur papyrus, dont l'origine remonte au temps de Muʿāwiya et de ses premiers successeurs, sous lesquels Ibn Munabbih a vécu et est mort, d'autre part aussi entre lui et les plus vieux fragments qui nous sont arrivés des *Mille et Une Nuits*, sur papyrus ou sur papier.

2. *L'Égypte, terre du papyrus, et ses quatre savants mentionnés dans le texte d'al-Dhahabī*

Est-il étonnant de voir ce pays représenté de manière plus forte que les autres dans cette transmission scripturaire qui se systématisait de plus en plus, alors que le papyrus y était autrement abondant et qu'il y avait là à cause de cela une tradition millénaire, autrement sûre dans ce domaine? Et c'est à cause de cela que cette province islamique a pu profiter, justement au début de cette explosion culturelle, et avant que le papier n'ait pu satisfaire vraiment tous les besoins nécessaires, de cette tradition et conserver les spécimens les plus vieux de cette activité. Et c'est de là que nous avons des informations presque uniques touchant des centres bibliothécaires au II^{e}/VIII^{e} siècle, où se réunissaient les savants et les disciples, de l'Égypte et de toutes parts de l'Empire Islamique, pour enseigner, apprendre et codifier. Rien d'étonnant, puisque ce pays est devenu, dès ce siècle déjà, une véritable plaque tournante pour les hommes de science (et les hommes d'affaires, et beaucoup d'entre eux étaient les deux à la fois) entre l'est et l'ouest.[30] Le mot amené par les sources citées

[28] *Akhbār ʿAbīd*, 313, 9–10.
[29] Ibn al-Nadīm (m. 380/990), *Fihrist*, vol. 1, éd. Flügel, Leipzig 1871–72, 90.
[30] Entre temps nous disposons de listes de plus en plus impressionnantes de noms

plus haut se comprend donc bien et fait sauter cette importance aux yeux, grâce au plus grand nombre de savants qu'il mentionne par leurs noms.

2.1. *al-Layth Ibn Saʿd (94–175/713–791)*

En premier lieu al-Layth Ibn Saʿd, grand maître scientifique, "émir non couronné" et grand richissime du pays, dont la fortune a augmenté considérablement aussi à cause de la science, mais qui n'a jamais accepté un poste quelconque, alors qu'il avait des relations privilégiés avec Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170–93/786–809), qu'il aurait tiré d'un embarras juridique.[31] Il a été sans doute le chef de l'école juridique la plus marquante de l'Égypte, mais qui a perdu vite après sa mort de sa force, surtout parce qu'il n'a pas eu de disciples forts qui ont lutté en sa faveur. Il était un grand mécène et soutenait beaucoup d'autres savants, dont Mālik Ibn Anas (m. 179/795) et le savant suivant, surtout après l'incendie de sa maison.[32]

2.2. *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa (97–174/715–790)*

Derrière lui vient ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa, juge et grand maître de l'École Égyptienne, et grand ami de ce dernier, dont on verra un peu plus loin le rôle plus que primordial dans la diffusion de la culture islamique.[33]

Et derrière les deux sont mentionnés, comme il se doit, les deux disciples des deux maîtres les plus fameux.

2.3. *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak (118–81/736–797)*[34]

ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak est l'auteur devenu spécialement fameux pour son autorité concernant l'ascétisme (le premier livre sur l'ascétisme

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de savants qui ont passé par ce pays, qui s'y sont installés, ou qui sont allés plus loin vers les autres provinces islamiques au Maghreb, comme en témoignent surtout beaucoup de livres historiques sur les premiers siècles en Egypte. Voir par exemple les listes d'*isnād*s analysés chez Khoury, *Les légendes*, ou *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, etc.

[31] Là-dessus, R. G. Khoury, "al-Baḥth al-ʿilmī wa-l-mihan al-ḥurra fī l-qarnayn al-awwalayn li-l-Hijra," dans F. Ḥussein (ed.), *Dirāsāt muhdāt ilā ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ad-Dūrī*, Amman 1995, 110–19.

[32] Sur lui voir Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 173 sqq., avec la mention de sa lettre à Mālik Ibn Anas (m. 179/795) auquel il dit en des termes clairs ce qu'il pense de lui, sans aucun complexe. R. G. Khoury, "Al-Layth Ibn Saʿd (94–175/713–91) grand maître et mécène de l´Égypte, vu à travers quelques documents islamiques anciens," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 40 (1981), 189–202.

[33] Sur lui et le titre complet de celui-ci, voir la note 16.

[34] Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 170–2.

et la spiritualité en Islam est de lui), de plus comme riche mécène. L'*EI* lui a consacré un article, qui n'est malheureusement pas du tout approprié à sa valeur comme "*imām* de son temps dans les pays du monde, et le plus digne de cela en science, en spiritualité, bravoure et générosité."[35]

2.4. *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Wahb (125–97/743–812)*[36]

ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Wahb était non seulement le disciple des deux maîtres susmentionnés, mais aussi du fameux Mālik Ibn Anas, dont il a pris le rite, pour en devenir le maître en Égypte; c'est pourquoi a recouru à lui le transmetteur de la première recension du *Muwaṭṭaʾ* de l'*imām* de Médine.[37] De lui nous avons de plus un volume entier sur papyrus concernant la tradition islamique, publié par David-Weill, et qu'il fallait rééditer, de manière plus complète que celui-ci ne l'a fait.[38]

Bibliothèque privée d'Ibn Lahīʿa et spécimens de cette activité égyptienne

On voit par ces quelques mots combien cette Égypte du siècle de ses quatre savants était devenue fameuse et rayonnait à travers tout l'Empire Islamique, de l'est à l'ouest. A ce moment on peut comprendre pourquoi al-Dhahabī a voulu les mentionner, mettant en valeur cette importance régionale dans la codification et la transmission des textes. Ce pays a acquis tout cela, parce qu'il est devenu un foyer très important, à une époque dans laquelle les autres provinces étaient sans les mêmes possibilités matérielles suffisantes, sur le plan de l'écriture, pour la conservation et la transmission des manuscrits arabes. Le travail nous est facilité ici grandement, par la deuxième personnalité du texte analysé, c'est-à-dire ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa, car il nous apporte le plus d'aide dans le domaine qui nous intéresse dans cet article: devenu juge d'Égypte pendant une dizaine d'années, il a fini par se constituer une bibliothèque privée, dans sa maison, dans laquelle il avait l'habitude de réunir des originaux et

[35] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (m. 852/1449), *Tahdhīb*, V, Haydrabad 1325/1907– (photom. reprod. Beyrouth 1968–), 386, 8–9, citation amenée par moi dans mon livre *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 171.

[36] Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 122–4.

[37] M. Muranyi, *Materialien zur mālikitischen Rechtsliteratur (Studien zum islamischen Recht 1)*, Wiesbaden 1984, 99–100.

[38] J. David-Weill, *Le Jāmiʿ d'Ibn Wahb*, Le Caire 1939, 1941–43, 38.

des copies de manuscrits, où il écrivait lui-même et dictait à des disciples nombreux, parmi lesquels se trouvaient les deux mentionnés ci-dessus, et à d'autres savants ou disciples aussi, désireux d'apprendre et de diffuser leur propre savoir et celui d'autres. Et nous avons une grande chance de le voir présenté par les sources bio-bibliographiques comme le savant idéal, qui composait, transcrivait, dictait et laissait transcrire, allant au devant des savants installés en Égypte, et de ceux qu'il rencontrait dans ses voyages ailleurs. Il ouvrait la porte de sa maison, et donc de sa bibliothèque à tous ceux qui le cherchaient, ou qui entraient en Égypte, pour y habiter ou y régler des affaires de tout ordre, aussi scientifiques; et nous savons par surcroît qu'il correspondait avec qu'il ne voyait pas sur place, comme nous le prouvent plusieurs témoignages variés à ce sujet.[39]

Tous les éléments sont donc réunis, pour donner à ce savant une image spécialement alléchante, vu le peu d'informations sûres et documentées dès le départ dans ce domaine, concernant les autres régions et savants susmentionnés, et vu la perte des originaux de ce qui a été mis par écrit. Si j'y insiste les dernières années, rappelant cette situation, ce n'est en aucune manière dans l'intention de minimiser l'activité dans les autres provinces islamiques, mais plutôt pour mettre en valeur la valeur de l'Égypte comme témoignage solide pour l'activité intense qui se manifeste en s'amplifiant sans cesse, et ceci dans tout l'Empire Islamique, mais dont ce pays était, au temps du papyrus un foyer spécial. Car là nous avons la chance d'avoir entre nos mains des papyrus historiques, les plus vieux de leur genre, qui nous soient arrivés et qui, en originaux ou en copies d'originaux qui remplacent automatiquement ceux-là perdus ou détruits par le temps, *ont été fixés par écrit dans la bibliothèque privée de cet homme de science*, juge d'Égypte et originaire du Ḥaḍramaut: *Ils ont été écrits, ou de toute manière transmis en Égypte et conservés chez lui.* Il s'agit des textes que j'ai déjà publiés dans ma série, et qu'on peut grouper sous trois rubriques susceptibles de documenter les propos tenus jusque là, quitte à les compléter par des découvertes possibles chez d'autres savants islamiques dans l'avenir.

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[39] Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 26 sqq.

Production d'Ibn Lahīʿa et ses propres disciples

Le plus vieux rouleau de papyrus de ce maître est transmis par son disciple ʿUthmān Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Miṣrī (144–219/761–834).[40] Il est difficile de trancher à quelle date exacte cet unique rouleau a été fixé par écrit, durant la vie d'Ibn Lahīʿa, au cours de la dernière partie du II^e^, ou peut-être au début du III^e^ siècle islamique; la solution la plus raisonnable est de penser à une date qui corresponde aux années dans lesquelles le maître était encore en vie, vu le zèle que ce dernier avait à travailler et à collectionner les manuscrits. On y trouve une série de traditions islamiques, sous l'angle de l'Égypte, et contenant entre autres la plus vieille autodéfense du troisième calife orthodoxe ʿUthmān (r. 23–35/644–56), face à la mort et assiégé par les trois troupes militaires, dont l'égyptienne était la plus importante, et, à côté de cela le siège de l'anti-calife au Ḥijāz, ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr (r. 64–73/684–92), ainsi que des textes des plus anciens sur les sortes de *fitna*, à l'occasion de tels événements douloureux dans l'histoire du I^er^ siècle islamique.[41]

Production de savants non égyptiens mais versions transmises par des Égyptiens

Ces versions sont préservées sur papyrus et conservées très vraisemblablement parmi les *uṣūl* et les *furūʿ* du juge d'Égypte (c'est-à-dire parmi *les originaux et les copies de sa bibliothèque*, termes que j'ai analysés en détail dans mon livre sur lui).[42] Il s'agit là des deux spécimens les plus vieux de leur genre, qui nous soient arrivés sous forme de livres datés, dans l'histoire de la culture islamique.

[40] Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 118–22.

[41] Concernant ʿUthmān, voir Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 181 sqq. Concernant Ibn al-Zubayr, voir Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 199 sqq. Concernant *al-fitna*, voir Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 211 sqq.

[42] Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 29–30.

Ḥadīth Dāwūd *("Histoire du roi David")*

Maghāzī Rasūl Allāh ("Campagnes du Messager d'Allāh," qui étaient à cette époque de l'Islam archaïque aussi synonyme de Biographie ou *Sīra*, comme on le sait).[43]

Le premier papyrus est daté de 229/844, le second est de la même période, malgré qu'il ne porte pas de date, puisqu'il s'agit du même transmetteur égyptien Muḥammad Ibn Baḥr al-Qurashī, Abū Ṭalḥa, qui a appartenu à la même époque des disciples d'Ibn Lahīʿa, et à cause de cela n'a pas pu ignorer la fameuse bibliothèque de leur maître et de celui de l'Égypte.[44]

Production plus volumineuse d'autres savants non égyptiens

Ces savants étaient installés en Égypte, et dépendaient étroitement de l'École Égyptienne, et donc avant tout d'Ibn Lahīʿa, puisqu'il avait sa belle bibliothèque à leur disposition d'un côté, comme on le raconte sans cesse à ce sujet, et de l'autre qu'un certain nombre des mêmes transmetteurs et disciples de cet auteur égyptien (parmi lesquels se trouve le susnommé Muḥammad Ibn Baḥr) entre en jeu dans les textes de ces savants étrangers:

Kitāb Badʾ al-khalq wa-qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ ("Livre sur le début de la création et des histoires des prophètes"). Il est de Wathīma Ibn Mūsā Ibn al-Furāt al-Fārisī al-Fasawī (m. 237/851), et transmis par son fils Abū Rifāʿa ʿUmāra Ibn Wathīma . . . al-Fārisī (m. 289/902).[45] Ce qui prouve que le père avait une connaissance parfaite des originaux et des copies sur papyrus, conservés très vraisemblablement dans la bibliothèque d'Ibn Lahīʿa, est bien le fait que par exemple sa version sur "l'Histoire de David" reproduit celle attribuée à Wahb Ibn Munabbih, que nous avons vue plus haut, mot pour mot, en la gonflant, mais sans aucune altération dans son texte original; ainsi elle m'a permis, de la manière la plus sûre, de combler les lacunes terrifiantes du papyrus et de compléter son état très fragmentaire de

[43] Sur l'édition de ces deux textes, voir R. G. Khoury, *Wahb Ibn Munabbih* (*Codices Arabici Antiqui* I), Wiesbaden 1972, I, 33 sqq., 117 sqq.

[44] Khoury, *Wahb Ibn Munabbih*, 34, 3; 118, 1.

[45] Sur ce livre, voir Khoury, *Les légendes*, texte arabe. Concernant les auteurs: sur le fils, voir 137–9; sur le père, voir 139–50.

la majeure partie de ses pages, comme on peut le constater très clairement dans mon édition de tous ces papyrus mentionnés ici.[46]

Autres auteurs de toutes les régions

A tout cela on pouvait ajouter d'autres auteurs de toutes les régions, qui sont venus en Égypte, pour s'y installer ou pour la visiter, parmi eux une foule de Yéménites et de Syriens, comme Asad Ibn Mūsā, qui, omeyyade de naissance, est venu s'installer dans ce pays et figure parmi les disciples les plus fidèles d'Ibn Lahīʿa, transmettant de lui et de livres conservés dans sa bibliothèque.[47] D'ailleurs c'est par son intermédiaire qu'Ibn Hishām, l'auteur de la *Sīra* classique de l'Islam, a transmis de Wahb Ibn Munabbih les informations de son *Kitāb al-Tījān*, que nous avons vu plus haut. On voit par là que les matériaux sur le Yémen ḥimyarite, ensemble avec d'autres sources variées, sur l'histoire islamique ancienne transmise d'abord oralement par leur plus grand maître yéménite Wahb, ont trouvé de très bons colporteurs vers l'Égypte, où, en relation avec des disciples comme Asad, tout cela n'a pu être conservé et diffusé qu'avant tout dans la fameuse bibliothèque du juge d'Égypte. Et là ces matériaux, mis par écrit au moins en partie, ont pu être complétés et élargis, dans le sens que le laissait comprendre le texte d'al-Dhahabī.

Le seul plus vieux fragment des Mille et Une Nuits, sur papier

Abbott avait publié ce seul fragment qui porte un titre en relation directe avec cet ensemble de contes en 1949.[48] Comme on voit dans ce titre, *il n'y a que le chiffre rond, sans le 1*, qui y a été ajouté, comme on le sait beaucoup plus tard. Le fragment est conservé à l'Oriental Institute de l'Université de Chicago, et appartient donc à sa fameuse collection papyrologique, dont Abbott a publié la plupart des manuscrits historiques, littéraires ou touchant les commentaires coraniques

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[46] Voir là-dessus, Khoury, *Wahb Ibn Munabbih*, les notes dès p. 34 sqq.; Khoury, *Les légendes*, surtout 90, du texte arabe.

[47] Voir Khoury, *Asad Ibn Mūsā*, 23 etc.

[48] N. Abbott, "A Ninth-Century Fragment of the *Thousand Nights*: New Light on the Early History of the Arabian Nights," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 8 (1949), 129–64.

etc.[49] Le manuscrit d'Abbott est formé de deux folios liés ensemble, dont les pages 3 et 4 contiennent le texte des contes qui nous intéresse ici. Elle en donne la description suivante:

> The manuscript contains six distinctly different entries, the chronological order of which, judged by the factors of space relationships, the different types of scripts, and the overlapping of the inks, seems to be as follows:
>
> 1. The *Alf Lailah* or "Thousand Nights" fragment
> 2. Scattered phrases on pages 2 and 3
> 3. Outline drawing of the figure of a man on page 2
> 4. A second group of scattered phrases in different hands on page 2
> 5. Rough draft of a letter on page 1
> 6. Formulas of a legal testimony dated Ṣafar A.H. 266/October, A.D. 879 written on the margins of all four pages.[50]

Comme on peut le constater, à l'analyse même rapide de ces mots, on a l'impression d'avoir affaire à l'un des manuscrits arabes les moins soignés qui nous soient arrivés du passé arabo-islamique. Abbott a bien sûr essayé d'en ordonner les parties; et même si l'ordre qu'elle propose est le plus proche de la réalité, il en ressort une impression générale assez trouble, car les parties sur les deux folios sont très disparates, pour conduire à une conception harmonieuse de l'ensemble, et en particulier aussi à la même date de cet amas désordonné. On a le sentiment, comme Abbott d'ailleurs le fait remarquer,[51] que le témoin Aḥmad Ibn Maḥfūẓ, dont on a le témoignage sous le n° 5 susmentionné, griffonne les nombres de la date, "alone or in combination" (Abbott), comme il le fait aussi avec les différents mots et phrases du témoignage. Il est donc plus sensé de mettre la date qu'il écrit sur plusieurs pages en relation étroite avec les formules du témoignage, qui sont ici "fifteen separate entries of the legal formula exclusive of the several scattered phrases of the same. Seven of these entries provided a complete date, four of which are still preserved in full" (sur les pages 2, 3, et 4);[52] bien sûr alors, non comme une date du texte des *Mille et Une Nuits*, mais tout simplement comme

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[49] P. Qurra; N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, I, II, III, Chicago 1957, 1967, 1972; une liste plus complète: Khoury, "Papyrus," 261–5.

[50] Abbott, "Ninth-Century Fragment," 130 b.

[51] Abbott, "Ninth-Century Fragment," 141 b (avant le texte arabe du témoignage et de la date).

[52] Abbott, "Ninth-Century Fragment," 143 a (en bas)-143 b (en haut).

un prolongement de la date de ce témoignage, d'autant plus que la répétition de la formule de ce dernier, de manière plus ou moins complète, déchiquetée, fragmentaire sept fois, ne peut pas être prise en considération pour une autre fin que pour celle du commerçant. Celui-ci semble multiplier des notices, peut-être même s'amuser à les noter, concernant ses besoins journaliers, car il très rare, voire inusité d'apporter tant de témoignages au nom de la même personne, en des mots identiques, de manière complète ou fragmentaire, et ceci sur un seul et même document. Il reste bien évident que son témoignage est de cette date, c'est-à-dire 266 H., que l'on peut retenir, comme Abbott d'ailleurs finit par le suggérer, comme "*a terminus ante quem* for the earlier date of the *Alf Lailah*".[53]

Des mots clairs, mais qui méritent une analyse plus serrée, car ils restent, malgré tout, assez théoriques chez Abbott, et surtout sans témoignage sûr en faveur d'une pré-datation en leur faveur. Ce qu'Abbott a développé reste liée à ce qu'on sait en général de l'histoire de la genèse de la première ou des premières versions des *Mille et Une Nuits*, où elle étudie le lieu, l'époque et l'influence du modèle persan *Hazār afsāna*, dont l'historien classique al-Masʿūdī (m. 345/956) mentionne une traduction arabe sous le titre *Alf Khurāfa*,[54] et d'autres modèles aussi.[55] Mais il fallait un témoignage sûr en faveur d'une datation plus ancienne de ce fragment. Pour cela il nous faut revenir à la date des formules, 266/879, et au fragment qui est lié à l'histoire du *matériel employé, lui-même du papier et non du papyrus*. Et il n'est pas nécessaire de s'attarder là-dessus, car le papier a été introduit sous les premiers califes abbasides, de sorte qu'il doit avoir été employé bien sûr avant cette date, c'est-à-dire *grosso modo* dès l'époque de Hārūn al-Rashīd.[56] Donc le manuscrit aurait dû venir de Bagdad, comme tous les documents sur papier, datés ou datables, du II[e] ou du début du III[e] siècle islamique, et dont les plus vieux textes connus

[53] Abbott, "Ninth-Century Fragment," 143 b (en bas)-144 a (en haut).

[54] al-Masʿūdī (m. 345/956), *Murūj*, éd. Barbier de Meynard, Paris 1861–77, IV, 90, qu'Ibn al-Nadīm répète, *Fihrist*, 304.

[55] Par exemple, les aventures de *Sindbād* etc., Abbott, "Ninth-Century Fragment," 150a sqq., 155, 156 sqq.

[56] Sur le papier, voir J. Karabacek, "Das arabische Papier," *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* II–III, Vienne 1887, 87–178; G. Endreß, "Handschriftenkunde," dans W. Fischer (ed.), *Grundriß der Arabischen Philologie* I, Wiesbaden 1982, 275–6, etc.

varient entre 260/873 et 297/909.[57] Il est donc normal de rattacher son origine à l'Irak, malgré qu'il soit arrivé d'Égypte à Chicago, avec d'autres documents sur papyrus et sur papier, d'autant plus que Bagdad était le lieu de réception des plus vieilles versions sur les *Mille et Une Nuits*, d'où il a pu être colporté vers la Syrie, puisqu'il y est question d'*adab shāmī* ("manière courtoise syrienne"), qui a pu y avoir été ajouté plus tard. Naturellement cette question d'un original écrit en Irak, colporté vers la Syrie ou copié par un Syrien, ne résout en rien le problème chronologique de la première ou des premières versions de ces contes, dont les premiers spécimens ont dû avoir été mis en circulation à Bagdad sur papyrus, sur parchemin ou même des copies sur papier.[58] Par contre, le problème peut-être mieux éclairé, si l'on étudie de près la langue du fragment d'Abbott, surtout le titre, à la lumière de l'histoire du genre narratif de la littérature archaïque de l'Islam, pour mieux cerner la question de la codification et de sa datation. On le verra mieux plus loin.

Un second fragment sur papyrus publié par Abbott en 1972

Ce second fragment permet de jeter un peu plus de lumière sur cette tradition narrative dans les *Mille et Une Nuits*, avant le contact thématique avec l'Iran: Le portrait de l'"Ideal Maiden," qui accompagne un petit "*Speech of ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ*."[59] En effet, avant de commencer à décrire cette "fille idéale," ʿAmr prend la parole, pour attirer l'attention de ses auditeurs sur le rôle fondamental du calife, dans la vie de la Communauté, auquel on doit fidélité et obéissance. Et ce calife ne peut être que Muʿāwiya, vu les rapports qui liaient les deux, d'autant plus que plusieurs textes anciens les mettent ensemble, comme aussi les *Akhbār* d'Ibn Sharya, qui est conseillé au même calife par le conquérant de l'Égypte etc. Et ce n'est qu'à partir de la ligne 7 du texte arabe, formé lui-même dans ses deux parties de

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[57] Karabacek, "Papier," surtout 22 sq., 35–42, 90–1, etc.

[58] Concernant les matériels d'écriture disponibles dans ces époques lointaines, et que l'on conserve dans les collections dites papyrologiques à travers le monde, voir A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde*, I, *Einführung*, Prague 1954, 36 sqq.; *Chrest. Khoury* I, p. 7 sqq., et Khoury, "Papyrus," 261 sqq.

[59] Abbott, *Studies* III, voir le document 3: "A Speech of ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Description of the Ideal Maiden", 43–78; le texte arabe est de 11 lignes.

11 seulement, que commence la "*Description of the Ideal Maiden*." Le fait déjà de voir ʿAmr dans la genèse d'un tel texte est un témoignage de plus en faveur de l'ancienneté de celui-ci. Et pourtant ce dernier fragment papyrologique, introduit par un tel discours, n'est pas daté de l'époque de ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ et de Muʿāwiya, bien que le genre, sur le plan linguistique et littéraire, eût pu être assez proche de cette période. Car il reste quand même lié au nom du transmetteur Yaʿqūb Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Ibn Abī Rabāḥ (m. 155/771), que Abbott[60] n'est pas arrivé à localiser chronologiquement comme il faut, alors qu'il est bien connu, grâce à Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (m. 852/1449).[61] C'est à cause de cette lacune qu'elle écrit: "Yaʿqūb may or may not have long survived his aged scholarly father, ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ who died in 114/732." Malgré cela, elle date le papyrus du milieu ou du troisième quart du II[e] siècle islamique. Mais n'ayant pas établi la date exacte de la mort de ce fils, elle ajoute: "Nevertheless, the papyrus could as well be from Yaʿqūb's hand as from that of a younger second-century transmitter."[62] Cependant, nous savons que Yaʿqūb est la meilleure référence, du fait que son nom est mentionné comme transmetteur dans le papyrus et qu'il est mort juste au début de la période abbasside. Pourquoi alors aller chercher ailleurs, pour pouvoir maintenir la datation possible de ce document? Ainsi nous pouvons conclure que nous avons là un produit littéraire de la dernière partie de l'époque omeyyade et du début de celle des Abbassides. N'est-ce pas là un témoignage écrit de plus, qui nous met en relation avec la date avancée par al-Dhahabī, que nous avons étudiée plus haut, et qui atteste la présence d'éléments narratifs anciens chez les Arabes? Ces éléments nous mènent vers un passé plus ancien que celui introduit à partir du genre iranien des *Mille et Une Nuits*, et ont favorisé des additions nombreuses sur des califes, leurs milieux ou les milieux et les sociétés postérieurs, dans lesquels ces contes ont été transmis et développés.

Ce qui est intéressant concernant ce fragment sur papyrus, c'est qu'il est d'abord sur papyrus, et donc plus vieux que le premier d'Abbott; de plus on peut plus facilement le rattacher aux *Mille et*

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[60] Abbott, *Studies* III, 44, commentaires sur lignes 7–8.

[61] Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 392–3, qui donne sa date de mort, que Sezgin, *Geschichte* I, 64, répète aussi. Son père ʿAṭāʾ Ibn Abī Rabāḥ est bien connu, il mourut 114/732. Sur le père, voir Abbott, *Studies* III, à compléter par Sezgin, *Geschichte*, 31.

[62] Abbott, *Studies* III, 78, 13–5.

Une Nuits, ce que Abbott n'a pas du tout essayé de faire: En effet nous avons un noyau, appartenant à la tradition arabe, bien sûr enrichie, de ce que devait devenir plus tard le portrait de la femme idéale incarnée par exemple par *Tawaddud* dans ces contes; quelques lignes anciennes, qui sont transmises, élargies jusqu'aux dimensions que l'on connaît à ce sujet.[63] De plus il y a une coïncidence très heureuse, qui rattache ce petit morceau sur papyrus aux vieux documents historiques étudiés plus haut: La date de mort du père, 'Aṭā' Ibn Abī Rabāḥ, qui est 114/732; or cette date est l'une des deux dates de la mort de Wahb Ibn Munabbih (à côté de 110/728), premier transmetteur des vieux papyrus arabes historiques de Heidelberg, ce qui nous ramène à la même époque de la transmission et de la codification de ces textes anciens, dont parlait al-Dhahabī.

Importance de la littérature narrative dans les deux premiers siècles islamiques

Aujourd'hui on porte bien sûr de plus en plus d'intérêt pour les *Mille et Une Nuits*, mais encore trop peu de soin pour la littérature narrative dans les premières générations de savants islamiques. On semble avoir peur du mot *qāṣṣ*/*quṣṣāṣ* ("conteur"), alors qu'il s'agit là d'un des genres les plus vieux et les plus solidement ancrés dans toute l'histoire culturelle des arabes et des orientaux en général. Et l'on ne peut échapper à ses traces ni à l'époque classique, ni de nos jours. Il suffit de se pencher sur toute l'histoire et en particulier sur l'histoire culturelle des premiers siècles, pour s'en rendre compte; mais il n'est pas de mon intention de traiter ici le *qaṣaṣ* comme tel, auquel Khalil Athamina a consacré, il y a quelques années, un très bon article, avec une étude exhaustive.[64] Plutôt j'aimerais attirer l'attention sur l'importance du *qāṣṣ* et du transmetteur d'un côté, et d'un autre sur la littérature qui en est née, depuis le début de la période islamique, jusqu'à l'époque dans laquelle des manuscrits comme ceux des *Mille et Une Nuits* ont commencé à être mis en circulation par écrit. Il ne faut point oublier, en parlant du genre narratif de ces contes, qu'il a des origines non seulement persanes et

[63] Sur Tawaddud, voir son portrait dans l'édition de Beyrouth, III, 108–42.

[64] Kh. Athamina, "*Al-Qaṣaṣ*: Its Emergence, Religious Origin and its Social-Political Impact on Early Muslim Society," *Studia Islamica* 76 (1992), 53–74.

orientales anciennes, mais aussi arabes archaïques. Car les conteurs étaient sans doute mêlés intimement à la transmission non seulement d'histoires de toutes sortes, en période préislamique, mais aussi à celle de la poésie, sans laquelle rien ne pouvait passer en rapport avec l'identité historique et culturelle des arabes à l'intérieur de l'Islam. C'est pourquoi on comprend combien grand était leur rôle au début de l'Islam, car ils diffusaient, avec beaucoup de succès, une littérature arabe, arabo-islamique très en vue, d'autant plus qu'ils incarnaient l'esprit littéraire des générations qui les ont précédés, et auxquelles ils ont apposé leur sceau d'islamisés. Ainsi le côté scientifique, mais populaire, comme on ne pouvait pas se l'imaginer autrement à cette époque lointaine, ce qui est valable d'ailleurs pour toute culture naissante, grandissante, conciliait, grâce à ce mélange, les besoins de la "distraction" avec ceux de l'"édification": Ceci est vrai pour ce qui concerne toute cette littérature archaïque sur le passé yéménite, l'histoire de tous les prophètes etc., dont nous avons vu plus haut défiler devant nos yeux quelques spécimens qui ont survécu à la destruction.

On ne peut pas, à partir de là, s'imaginer comment cette culture naissante, qui n'a fait que se développer sans cesse comme une flèche, aurait pu se passer de ces conteurs au talent extraordinaire, qui apportaient de la saveur par leurs capacités linguistiques et oratoires aux matières souvent sèches des autres branches. C'est pourquoi ils ont eu énormément de succès chez beaucoup de califes, orthodoxes comme omeyyades surtout (et même chez leurs successeurs), jusqu'au moment où ils perdirent de leur autorité lentement: Pellat[65] met cela surtout en relation avec le désir des autorités religieuses de ne plus accorder un caractère officiel aux matériaux étrangers, que ces conteurs et leurs propos apportaient et qui provenaient des cultures avoisinantes, surtout judéo-chrétiennes; car l'apologétique se faisait sentir de tous les côtés, et à cause de cela il fallait prendre ses distances vis-à-vis de ce répertoire, pour mieux mettre en évidence l'apport proprement islamique, le protéger et en montrer l'individualité. Néanmoins, tout connaisseur de la matière se rend vite compte que les mesures prises contre les *quṣṣāṣ* (conteurs) sont restées presque sans succès, bien que ceux-ci aient été chassés des mosquées, du fait qu'ils ont gardé beaucoup de prestige auprès des masses, bien plus

[65] Charles Pellat, "Ḳāṣṣ" *EI2*, vol. 4, 733–5.

que les *fuqahā'* ("jurisconsultes") à la matière bien sèche. Cette popularité était bien sûr augmentée par le fait qu'ils étaient, et de loin, plus sûrs comme orateurs que ces derniers, et sur le plan linguistique et sur celui de la rhétorique en général. Il y avait même parmi eux de très cultivés, qui étaient de verve si fine qu'ils arrivèrent à fasciner un esprit aussi difficile à contenter que celui d'al-Jāḥiẓ, grâce à leur "facilité d'élocution et le charme de leur langage."[66]

Ce dernier fait a dû jouer un rôle prédominant dans la diffusion de nouvelles plus ou moins historiques, surtout si les informations et les histoires étaient entremêlées de poésie, ce qui en augmentait la valeur aux yeux des autorités, comme on l'a vu plus haut avec Muʿāwiya et son conteur ʿAbīd/ʿUbayd Ibn Sharya. Ainsi les conteurs des temps préislamiques, qui ont connu l'Islam, et leurs successeurs étaient-ils devenus de véritables "stimulateurs de l'enthousiasme religieux," comme les poètes préislamiques l'avaient été pour l'enthousiasme général de leur époque. Ils devinrent de véritables "exégètes populaires du Coran et des homélistes officiels, qui tournèrent, pour des causes religieuses, en narrateurs." A partir de là, on ne devrait pas s'étonner de constater que ce métier était comparable à celui des poètes des temps reculés des Arabes, d'autant plus que les poètes étaient la première référence pour tout ce qui concernait le passé, et que la poésie forma, longtemps, le point culminant et l'occupation sans concurrence de leur histoire culturelle.[67] Poésie et narration en général sont devenues inséparables dans la culture arabo-islamique, et les grandes compilations le montrent jusqu'à l'évidence, avec bien sûr les nouvelles données thématiques que la religion a apportées. Et on ne peut pas ignorer toute cette richesse de ce passé lointain.

al-Dhahabī et le cadre général tracé par lui

L'importance des textes dits égyptiens ne s'arrête en aucune manière là, mais elle va bien au-delà, car certains termes employés par ces

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[66] Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, Paris 1953, 110.

[67] Voir par exemple R. Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe I*, Paris 1952; et plus proche de nous, E. Wagner, *Grundzüge der klassischen arabischen Dichtung* I, *Die altarabische Dichtung*, Darmstadt 1987, 1 sqq.; R. G. Khoury, "Poésie et prophétie en Arabie: Convergences et luttes," dans J.-G. Heintz (éd.), *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 1995* (*Travaux du Centre de recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Crèce antique* 15), Paris 1997, 243–58, etc.

manuscrits, sur papyrus ou sur papier, aident à contrôler la transmission de beaucoup d'autres textes ou fragments de textes anciens, et partant à les situer chronologiquement, de façon assez sûre. On le verra plus loin. Par la description de cette activité narrative, on voit qu'il est donc important de tenir compte du genre lui-même, d'abord par rapport à l'Arabie préislamique, aux premiers temps de l'Islam et au goût, tôt observé, chez les califes omeyyades pour leur patrimoine arabe ancien, qu'ils voulaient faire revivre dans leurs cours. Il est aussi important de ne pas prendre les données bio-bibliographiques de ce grand historien islamique comme des informatives exhaustives sur tout le développement de l'activité de codification et de transmission de l'ensemble de la culture arabo-islamique de cette époque. Néanmoins, nous avons là des indicateurs lumineux, qui ont dû lui avoir été plus perceptibles que d'autres, dans cette poussée impressionnante de l'écriture, qui devient un instrument indispensable de communication dans l'Empire Islamique: Celui-ci augmente en espace et en importance, tout se ramifie, tout risque de trop déborder; l'écriture devient un instrument vital de réunion, de cohésion, ce qui a poussé al-Qalqashandī (m. 821/1418) à énoncer la fameuse phrase suivante:

> *al-kitāba uss al-mulk wa-ʿimād al-mamlaka*
>
> l'Écriture est la base du règne et le pilier du royaume.[68]

A suivre de près toutes ces données concernant l'activité scripturaire, nous constatons que toutes tendent à mettre en évidence un changement scientifique sensible, marqué par l'introduction de mots en nombre, dont on ne parlait pas avec la même forme, la même intensité, la même fréquence, avant la période abbasside. Et il ne faut point se figer dans l'analyse des mots, pour voir quel ordre chronologique leur donner, dans un examen systématique du mouvement scripturaire. Car les livres scientifiques se constituaient là, de plus en plus volumineux, au fur et à mesure que les matériels de l'écriture se diffusaient un peu partout, à l'intérieur des cercles savants, surtout en Égypte où les auteurs égyptiens ont eu plus de chance qu'ailleurs de trouver toutes facilités pour leurs tâches scripturaires. Il s'agit

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[68] al-Qalqashandī (m. 821/1418), *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, Le Caire 1331/1913, I, 37, 11. Voir aussi toute cette page et les suivantes, dans lesquelles il a réuni tout ce qui a été dit de bon à ce sujet.

donc d'une activité qui commença à petits pas, mais qui devint de plus en plus explosive, sitôt que les conditions étaient devenues très favorables. Il ne suffisait plus de codifier (*dawwana*), terme employé par Muʿāwiya par rapport aux fonctionnaires de son *Dīwān*, comme nous l'avons vu plus haut concernant les *Akhbār* de ʿAbīd/ʿUbayd Ibn Sharya. Il était devenu impérieux d'ordonner (*rattaba/tartīb*) cette masse d'écrits, qui augmentait sans cesse. On codifiait donc, puis on classait ce qu'on avait codifié, et nous voilà dans un mouvement de classification (*taṣnīf*) et de mise en ordre par thèmes, par chapitres (*tabwīb*); et quelle importance si l'ordre chronologique de ce travail naissant et s'amplifiant n'est pas tout à fait respecté par les textes qui les emploient, car il est particulièrement important que l'on voit des termes comme ceux-ci employés, alors qu'ils étaient ou non utilisés encore dans le sens qui nous est devenu familier, ou ils étaient employés de manière non ordonnés. Al-Dhahabī l'a bien souligné, en écrivant:

> *wa-kathura tabwību ʾl-ʿilmi wa-tadwīnuhu wa-rabaṭ wa-duwwinat kutubu ʾl-ʿarabiyyati wa-ʾl-lughati wa-ʾl-tārīkhi wa-ayyāmi ʾl-nāsi wa-qabla hādhā ʾl-ʿaṣri kāna sāyiri (=sāʾiru) ʾl-ʿulamāʾi yatakallamūna ʿan ḥifẓihim wa-yarwūna ʾl-ʿilma ʿan ṣuḥufin ṣaḥīḥatin ghayri murattabatin fa-suhhila wa-liʾ-llāhi ʾl-ḥamdu tanāwulu ʾl-ʿilmi fa-akhadha ʾl-ḥifẓu yatanākaṣu.*
>
> La classification et la mise par écrit de la science ne cessèrent d'augmenter: les livres sur l'arabe, la langue, l'histoire et les chroniques furent fixés par écrit, alors qu'avant cette période tous les savants parlaient de mémoire et transmettaient la science à partir de feuilles authentiques (mais) non ordonnées; ainsi fut simplifiée, Dieu merci, la transmission de la science, de telle manière que la transmission orale se mit à diminuer.[69]

Ce qui est essentiel, et qui doit avoir correspondu à la réalité historique dans la codification et transmission des textes, ce sont des expressions clef qui qualifient la période d'avant 143 A.H., une période dans laquelle on transmettait "de mémoire" (*ḥifẓan*), ce qui ne veut en aucune manière signifier que tout se faisait seulement ainsi, car l'historien ajoute tout de suite une expression rectificative, *wa-yarwūna ʾl-ʿilma ʿan ṣuḥufin ṣaḥīḥatin ghayri murattabatin* ("et transmettaient la science à partir de feuilles authentiques (mais) non ordonnées"). Donc la transmission orale y régnait, sûrement, néanmoins pas de

[69] Voir Khoury, *ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa*, 31 sq., plus haute note 16.

manière exclusive, puisqu'il y a avait "des feuilles authentiques," ce qui justifie les données concernant les débuts de ces sciences islamiques fixées par écrit, en partie; et, comme il s'agissait de débuts, rappelons-nous les mots de Zakī Mubārak, cités plus haut, où il parlait de "balbutiements."[70] Al-Dhahabī parle en connaissance de cause de (*ṣuḥuf*) *ghayr murattaba*, c'est-à-dire non ordonnées, non travaillées de manière systématique, parce que ni le temps n'était mûr pour cela, ni les conditions extérieures n'étaient réalisées pour le permettre.

Les papyrus de la Bibliothèque du juge Ibn Lahīʿa

Avec ce qu'énonce là al-Dhahabī, nous tombons juste sur ce que nous permettent d'observer les papyrus qui ont survécu, malgré les dates un peu postérieures à cette année magique avancée par l'auteur. Tous ces papyrus remontent à l'époque du juge d'Égypte et au travail effectué dans sa maison par des disciples, dans sa bibliothèque privée, et sans doute ailleurs autour de lui, sans que l'on ait, ailleurs, les mêmes traces d'une telle activité sur papyrus, attestée par des spécimens anciens. Et c'est là que l'on comprend combien il avait raison de mentionner parmi les quelques représentants éminents de leur temps quatre égyptiens. Il s'agit là du rouleau d'Ibn Lahīʿa lui-même, des spécimens remontant à Wahb Ibn Munabbih, transmis par des membres de la famille de ce dernier, et, plus tard en Égypte, par des disciples égyptiens installés dans ce pays, ou des visiteurs qui ont copié d'eux et ainsi enrichi leur propre activité (comme Wathīma et son fils ʿUmāra susmentionnés).

A ces écrits il faut ajouter les deux fragments sur les *Mille et Une Nuits* et l'"Ideal Maiden." Revenons pour cela aux plus vieux fragments connus des *Mille et Une Nuits*, publiés par Abbott: Par rapport au papyrus sur l'"Ideal Maiden" étudié plus haut, il est simple de le rattacher à l'époque de la date 143 A.H., car, comme on l'a vu plus haut, père et fils transmetteurs du texte de 11 lignes, publié par Abbott, remontent à une époque antérieure. Le père est mort 114/732, donc un véritable contemporain de Wahb Ibn Munabbih, dont on avance cette dernière date, comme deuxième possibilité pour sa mort; par contre la date de mort du fils est 155/771, et donc toute proche

[70] Voir Zakī Mubārak, plus haut notes 7 sqq.

des données d'al-Dhahabī; elle coïncide de plus avec l'année d'entrée en fonction du juge Ibn Lahīʿa. Que veut-on alors de plus éloquent que ces dates!

Quant à l'autre fragment mentionnant *expressis verbis* les *Mille et Une Nuits*, l'affaire est moins claire d'emblée, mais elle ne laisse pas de doute sur l'ancienneté de sa première version. Car on a vu plus haut que la date qu'il porte n'est autre que celle des témoignages, elle a été multipliée à loisir, avec la multiplication de ceux-ci; et ce qui prouve son ancienneté est bien le texte de son introduction, dans laquelle le mot *ḥadīth* apparaît dans le titre du fragment:

> *Kitāb 2. fihi ḥadīth 3. Alf Layla. Lā ḥawla 4. wa-lā quwwata illā bi-llāhi a- 5. l-ʿaliyy al-ʿazīm*
>
> Un livre, dans lequel il y a l'histoire des Mille Nuits. Il n'y a de puissance et de force qu'en Dieu le Haut et le Puissant.

Un titre alléchant, car il amène une toute vieille tradition dans le genre narratif: l'emploi du terme de *ḥadīth* pour tout ce qui est conte, histoire narrée, et qui a été lentement, mais sûrement réservé à un certain moment à la tradition islamique pure, alors que pour la notion d'histoire (contée) on a établi définitivement un autre terme, celui de *qiṣṣa*, utilisé surtout dans les *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* ou histoires prophétiques. Une lumière spéciale est jetée là par "l'Histoire de David," conservée sur papyrus dans la collection papyrologique de Heidelberg et attribuée à Wahb Ibn Munabbih, dont il a été question plus haut. Elle portait encore comme titre: *ḥadīth Dāwūd*.[71] Or le livre de Wathīma, qui a copié de cette "Histoire," et du reste des autres qui ont formé le corpus sur les prophètes bibliques, atteste ce changement, bien que l'auteur ne soit mort que quelques années après la date du papyrus en question. Et son travail sur son manuscrit très volumineux, en deux parties, dont l'une seule—allant de Moïse et d'al-Khiḍr au prophète Mahomet—a survécu en 400 pages. Il serait inimaginable de penser qu'il s'est mis à écrire son livre en entier juste avant sa mort. Plutôt il faut imaginer une date beaucoup plus reculée, qui amènerait automatiquement à l'époque d'Ibn Lahīʿa, dont il a fréquenté les cercles, ou tout au moins de ces disciples directs. En gros on peut donc tout à fait imaginer que l'abandon

[71] Voir là-dessus Khoury, *Wahb Ibn Munabbih*, I, 33.

du terme de *ḥadīth*, en faveur de celui de *qiṣṣa*, a dû avoir lieu vers le début du III^e^/IX^e^ siècle.

Revenons au patrimoine préislamique qui a été codifié, sur ordre du calife Muʿāwiya, et a fini par nous arriver dans une version plus tardive, c'est-à-dire ou à la même époque des papyrus datés de Heidelberg, ou à l'époque du fragment des *Mille et Une Nuits* de Chicago. Comme expression particulièrement éloquente de cette activité, nous avons vu le livre des *Akhbār* de ʿAbīd/ʿUbayd Ibn Sharya, de son pendant chez Ibn Munabbih, transmis de manière élargie par Ibn Hishām. Ce livre vient s'ajouter à ces exemples de textes anciens, qui remontent à une époque archaïque, de toute manière plus ancienne que celle de la version qui nous est arrivée (III^e^/IX^e^ siècle). Car il y a là Muʿāwiya d'un côté qui en avait ordonné la codification, et d'un autre le terme *ḥadīth*, employé en tête du livre, et tout proche du titre, ce qui atteste l'appartenance de ces histoires sur le Yémen au fond des histoires profanes narrées, ou *ḥadīth/aḥādīth*, dont il a été question plus haut par rapport à *ḥadīth Dāwūd* ou "Histoire de David," et qui ont été fixées par écrit, avant la classification systématique des écrits à partir de la deuxième moitié du II^e^/VIII^e^ ou du début du III^e^/IX^e^ siècle. Bien sûr il faut y ajouter aussi les écrits, qui sont d'époque omeyyade et qui viennent de cet auteur ou premier transmetteur de ce dernier papyrus (Wahb Ibn Munabbih), et qui furent transmis par des membres de sa famille et colportés vers l'Égypte, et de même ceux nés en Égypte dans la maison du fameux juge de ce pays ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Lahīʿa et transmis par des disciples de ce dernier, parmi lesquels se trouvait le livre de Wathīma Ibn Mūsā Ibn al-Furāt al-Fārisī et de son fils ʿUmāra. Un programme pas du tout négligeable, qui change radicalement la vue théorique répandue avant la découverte de tous ces documents, et établit surtout la liaison qui les réunit, et à l'aide de laquelle on peut retracer un développement chronologique de la codification et de la transmission des textes pendant les premiers siècles islamiques.

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O.CRUM AD. 15 AND THE EMERGENCE OF ARABIC WORDS IN COPTIC LEGAL DOCUMENTS[1]

Tonio Sebastian Richter

The Coptic language has commonly been considered to be hospitable to foreign words.[2] This was certainly true in the case of borrowing from Greek, to an extraordinarily high degree, but it was not at all true of borrowing from Arabic. In some respects, the contact between Coptic and Arabic may be compared with that of Demotic and Greek in Ptolemaic and Roman times. Under similar conditions of an increasingly bilingual milieu in the realm of spoken language, written Egyptian nevertheless was restricted by its proper decorum to using indigenous vocabulary, avoiding foreign words to the greatest possible extent. As is well known, interference of the Greek and Egyptian languages would result from longterm bilingualism, its striking evidence being Coptic as a fully functional language enriched by an enormous amount of Greek vocabulary drawn from most semantic and grammatical catagories.

On the contrary, the colloquial absorption of Arabic, contrary to what might be expected (since it finally led to almost complete language replacement), scarcely left any trace in Coptic texts. If we want to investigate the when, where and why of borrowing Arabic words in the Coptic written language, we must exclude a considerable segment of Coptic literary production. Not only canonical texts, with their (intended) unchangeableness more or less perfectly maintained by scrupulous copying (e.g. biblical texts), but also literary genres handed down in much more open manuscript traditions (e.g. homilies), and even entirely new late Coptic compositions (e.g. those

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[1] This article summarizes two papers read at the Cairo colloquium. I am deeply indebted to Lennart Sundelin who improved the English of the printed version. For the issues dealt with, cf. also: T. S. Richter, "Arabische Lehnworte und Formeln in koptischen Rechtsurkunden," *JJP* 31 (2001), 75–98, and id., "Koptische Mietverträge über Gebäude und Teile von Gebäuden," *JJP* 32 (2002), 113–68.

[2] As pointed out by G. Mink, "Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft und Koptologie," in R. McWilson (ed.), *Coptic Studies, vol. I: The Future of Coptic Studies*, Leiden 1978, 71–103, esp. 95 f.

of the so-called folk literature),[3] show no linguistic features that might be due to the influence of Arabic. In fact, Coptic literature, in the proper sense, clearly remained untouched by the phenomenon of linguistic interference up until the time when the concerned texts were translated into Arabic.[4] Also, in some types of everday texts (e.g. epigraphic formularies), there is a continuing use of traditional patterns of expression for a very long time. All these mentioned kinds of Coptic texts have their pragmatic scope (*Sitz im Leben*) in common. They are closely connected with the religious life and customs of Christian communities, that is, with a quite homogenous milieu of culture and language.

Of course, traces of Coptic-Arabic interference might instead be expected in Coptic texts pragmatically embedded in those segments of everyday life that included cultural and linguistic contact. Obviously, it was semantic emergency—the simple lack of suitable designations being "a universal cause of lexical innovation"[5]—which would have given rise to the adoption of Arabic words in written Coptic. To the best of my knowledge, the earliest evidence of a strong Arabic influence is attested by a group of educational and scientific Coptic manuscripts from around the ninth and tenth centuries.[6] There are Arabic names for drugs and diseases recorded in Coptic transcription in a large medical papyrus,[7] likewise in an alchemical treatise Arabic names of organic and inorganic substances appear.[8] Despite the former existence of an elaborated Egyptian astronomical terminology still attested in late Roman times,[9] planets and constellations bear Arabic names in Coptic astrological tracts,[10] and a Coptic cal-

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[3] A. Erman, *Bruchstücke koptischer Volkslitteratur*, Berlin 1897, and H. Junker, *Koptische Poesie des 10. Jahrhunderts*, Teil 1–2, Berlin 1908–11.

[4] For this period of language shift, see S. Rubenson, "Translating the Tradition: Some Remarks on the Arabization of the Patristic Heritage in Egypt," *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 2 (1996), 4–14.

[5] U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*, The Hague/Paris 1968, 56.

[6] Cf. W. H. Worrell, "Testimony of Arabic Words in Coptic in the Ninth or Tenth Century," in *Coptic Sounds*, Ann Arbor 1934, 122–33.

[7] É. Chassinat, *Un papyrus médical copte*, Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 32, Cairo 1921.

[8] L. Stern, "Fragment eines koptischen Tractates uber Alchimie," *ZÄS* 23 (1885), 102–19.

[9] See e.g. A. von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna*, ÄA 60, Wiesbaden 2000.

[10] E.g. Codex Parisinus 135,5 quoted by Oskar von Lemm, *Der Alexanderoman bei den Kopten*, St. Petersburg 1903, 35f., and a text published by Pierre Bouriant, "Fragment d'un manuscrit copte de basse époque ayant contenu les principes

culation manual provides Arabic units of measure and calculation terms in Coptic transcription.[11] The strikingly high presence of Arabic borrowings in these manuscripts might have been due to the inevitablity of using appropriate nomenclature in order to participate in contemporary scientific discourse—to some extent comparable with the use of languages for special purposes in modern sciences. Such terms of nomenclature clearly differ from 'ordinary' appellativa by their specifically close connection between *signifié* and *signifiant*. Just as with proper names, they cannot be simply translated from one language into another one; not, at least, as easily as conceptual terms like 'man', 'to make', 'beautiful', 'three', or 'in'.

The approach taken in this paper attempts to describe and to interpret the emergence of Arabic borrowings in Coptic legal documents. First I will provide a new edition of the Coptic ostracon *O.Crum* Ad. 15. Although known for a long time, it has not fully been appreciated until now—since it bears hitherto undetected evidence for a semantic calque inspired by the Arabic. My second approach will refer to early borrowed Arabic loanwords, attested in Coptic legal documents from about the late seventh century up to the middle of the ninth century. And last I will attend to the late Coptic Teshlot archive (eleventh century) and its Arabic borrowings.

1. *O.Crum Ad. 15: A Re-Edition*

The Coptic ostracon *O.Crum* Ad. 15 belongs to the collection of the Egyptian Museum of the Leipzig University, bearing inventory number 504.[12] It measures 9 cm in height and 12 cm in width. Acquired by Georg Steindorff at Luxor,[13] some of its dialectal features support the assumption that it really originates from the Theban area. It was published already in 1902 in the pioneering work *Coptic Ostraca*

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astronomiques des arabes," *Journal Asiatique*, deuxième série, tome IV, Paris 1904, 117–23.

[11] BL Or. 5707 published by James Drescher, "A Coptic Calculation Manual," *BSAC* 13 (1948–49), 137–60; republished by M. R. M. Hasitzka and H. Harrauer, *Neue Texte und Dokumentation zum Koptisch-Unterricht*, MPER n.s. 18, Vienna 1990, no. 331.

[12] I am very grateful to the authorities of the Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig, Prof. Dr. Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert and Dr. Friederike Kampp-Seyfried, for kindly permitting me to publish this new edition of Inv.-Nr. 504.

[13] This is the only information provided by the old card-index of the collection.

by Walter Ewing Crum.[14] The text is written on a smooth potsherd of light reddish clay, quite different from the well-known grooved pottery of brownish colour serving as writing support for the great majority of Coptic ostraca from Thebes. The handwriting of the text is a fluent cursive (see plate 7), most easily comparable with that of the Theban tax receipts. Thus, palaeography would suggest a dating early in Islamic times, in the first half of the eighth century rather than in the late seventh. The ostracon contains a lease contract concerning a house.[15]

Text

1 + ϩⲙⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲕⲩⲣⲁ ⲓ⸌ⲉ⸍⸌ⲧ⸍⸌ⲓ⸍⸌ⲑ⸍
2 ⲉⲧⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲛⲕⲟⲙⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲍⲉ ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ ⲁⲓⲱⲁⲍⲉ
3 ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ ⲁⲕⲛⲁⲓ ⲡ⸌ⲉ⸍ⲓⲏⲓ ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲓⲱⲱⲡ ϩⲓ
4 ⲟϥ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲍⲓⲛⲥⲟⲩⲍⲟⲩⲧⲁϥⲧⲉ
5 ⲛⲉⲙⲭⲓⲣ ⲱⲁⲥⲟⲩⲍⲟⲩⲧⲁϥⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲙⲭⲓⲣ
6 ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲓ̈ ⲡⲉϥⲱⲕⲁⲣ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲡⲣⲟⲥ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲛ
7 ⲡⲟⲗⲕ ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲛⲉⲣϩⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲍⲉⲣϩⲁⲙ
8 ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲕⲩⲣⲁ ⲥⲧⲟⲭ⸌ⲉ⸍
9 ⲥⲉⲩϩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙϩⲛⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲓϩⲧⲉ[sic]
10 ⸌ⲙⲙ⸍ⲟⲓ ⲉⲓⲥϩⲁⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲥ +

2 ⲕⲟⲙⲏⲧⲟⲥ: Crum ⲕⲟⲙⲉⲧⲟⲥ—8 ⲥⲧⲟⲭⲉ: read ⲥⲧⲟ<ⲓ>ⲭⲉ—9 ⲛⲧⲁⲓϩⲧⲉ: read ⲛⲧⲁ<ⲥ>ϩⲧⲉ

Translation

1 In the name of God! [a]It is I, Kyra, (daughter of) Ietith, 2 who writes to Komêtos[a]: [b]Since (ἐπειδή) I have spoken 3 with you[b], [c]you (gave) me[c] [d]this house, [e]so that I dwell on 4 it[e] [f]one year from day twenty-four of Mechir 5 until day twenty-four of Mechir[f]; 6 [g]and I give you its rent in the manner (πρός) 7 we had settled with each other[g], [h]being one dirham 8 less (παρά) two (corns of) barley[h]. Kyra assents (στοιχεῖν). 9 Severos (son of) Mena, <she> has requested (αἰτεῖν) me, 10 I am writing for her.

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[14] W. E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca*, London 1902 (*editio princeps*, Ad. 15, and translation, p. 23). See also the translation by W. C. Till, *Die koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Theben*, Vienna 1964, 69 f.

[15] For Coptic leases of houses generally, see Richter, "Koptische Mietverträge".

Commentary

[a–a] The address formula mentions the parties: The tenant, issuing the record, is a woman. She says: "I, Kyra Ietith", and this was considered by Crum and Till as being her title ('lady') and her name (Ietith). For two reasons I don't agree with them. First, in an overwhelming majority of instances in Coptic the honorific title κύρα 'lady' bears an article: ⲧ-ⲕⲩⲣⲁ 'the lady'.[16] Furthermore, in line 8, when the issuing party's consent is finally expressed, the text reads: ⲕⲩⲣⲁ ⲥⲧⲟ(ⲓ)ϫⲉ "Kyra is assenting". Since ⲕⲩⲣⲁ is well attested as a female personal name, an emendation of the name ⲓⲉⲧⲓⲑ in line 8 as suggested by Crum and Till seems unnecessary. Most probably, the name of the tenant is "Kyra, (daughter of) Ietith" (the mother's name to be considered a phonic variant of the *Septuaginta* form Ιουδείθ). In line 9, the scribe of the text has written his own name in this very manner of asyndetic junction ("Severos (son of) Mena"), and in line 2 the name of the lessor Komêtos appears just like that of Kyra in line 8 without mentioning the filiation. Concerning the gender of the contract parties attested in leases of houses, already in 1913 Berger wrote:[17] "Es ist auffallend, wie oft in den Mietverträgen Frauen, sowohl als Vermieterinnen als auch als Mieterinnen . . . auftreten." Recently Hansgünter Müller calculated the proportion of those contracts involving women as tenants, lessors or both, at one-sixth in Principate times, increasing to a third during the Byzantine period.[18] Obviously this feature is shared by the Coptic contracts. In four of the twelve texts preserved, women are acting either as tenant (*O.Crum* Ad. 15) or lessor (*CPR* IV 113 and *O.Hall* 73/2), or even as both tenant and lessor (as in *CPR* IV 114).

[b–b] The deed corpus is beginning here with the word ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ, 'since, after', followed by the declaration ⲁⲓⲱⲁϩⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ, 'I have spoken with you'. Assuming that these two words alone constitute a kind of 'clause', one may recall the Greek hypomnemata-contracts, attested until the sixth century, which were stylized as a request or

[16] Cf. e.g. *O.Crum* 169,2; 205,2; 268,2; 289,13; 320,5.6; Ad. 25,10; Ad. 28,2; Ad. 58,20.

[17] A. Berger, "Wohnungsmiete und Verwandtes in den gräko-agyptischen Papyri," in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* 29 (1913), 321–415.

[18] H. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur ΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΣ von Gebäuden im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri*, Erlanger Juristische Abhandlungen 33, Köln/Berlin/Bonn/Munich 1985, 102–9; for the whole subject, cf. A. Arjava, *Women and Law in Late Antiquity*, Oxford 1998.

an offer to lease.[19] At the very least, a prior consultation of the parties might explain the laconic wording of our document.

[c–c] The acknowledgement of the issuing party: "you have (given) to me this house" is lacking the verb ϯ 'to give' due to a peculiarity of Coptic texts from Thebes already noticed by Walter Crum.[20] The phenomenon was also discussed by Stephen Emmel[21] and most recently by Leo Depuydt.[22] As is shown by all examples, it depends on a certain syntactic environment, consisting of a tri-partite conjugation base (permitting the use of reduced infinitive forms)[23] and a direct object closely junctured although seperated from the conjugation by a pronominal dative form, e.g.:

O.Crum 157,4	ⲛⲧⲁ	ⲛⲏⲕ ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲣⲙⲏⲥⲓⲟⲛ	"that I (give) you a trimesion"
O.Crum 244,4	ⲁⲕ	ⲛⲏⲓ ⲟⲩⲏⲣ	"how much did you (give) me?"
O.Crum 403,5	ⲙⲡⲟⲩ	ⲛⲏⲓ ⲡⲣⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟ/	"they did not (give) me the solidus"
- -,9	ⲛⲥ	ⲛⲏ ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ	"and you (give) the another one"
O.CrumST 40,16	ⲉⲙⲡⲓ	ⲛⲉⲕ ⲥⲟⲩ	"while I did not (give) them to you"
O.CrumST 129,2	ⲁⲩ	ⲛⲏⲓ ⲛⲟ ⲕⲍ	"you (gave) me 27 no(mismatia)"
- -,3	ⲁⲩ	ⲛⲏⲓ ⲟⲩⲧⲉⲣⲙⲉⲥⲉⲟⲛ	"he (gave) me a trimesion"
- -,4	ⲁⲩ	ⲛⲏⲛ ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲉⲙⲛⲗⲓⲧⲣ°	"he (gave) us thirteen(?) litron"
- -,5	ⲁⲩ	ⲛⲏⲛ ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲗⲓⲧⲣ°	"he (gave) us thirty litron"

[19] Müller, *Untersuchungen zur ΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΣ*, 50–76.

[20] W. E. Crum, *Short Texts from Coptic Ostraca and Papyri*, Oxford 1921, viii.

[21] S. Emmel, "Proclitic Forms of the Verb ϯ in Coptic," in D. W. Young (ed.), *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*, E. Gloucester (Mass.) 1981, 131–46.

[22] L. Depuydt, "Eight Exotic Phenomena of Late Egyptian Explained," in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies, Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999*, CNI Publications 27, Copenhagen 2002, 122.

[23] In one case, at least, the unetymologic imperative form ⲧ(ⲓ)- seems to be attested also: *O.CrumST* 331,11–12, ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ ϩⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ "Now (give) him twenty breads".

-	-,7	ⲁϥ	ⲛⲏⲓ ⲥⲛⲁϩ	"he (gave) me two
			ⲛ[ⲧⲁ]ⲕⲓⲛⲟⲥ	bottles"
O.CrumST 219,2f.		ⲧⲁ	ⲛⲏⲕ ⲧⲁⲓⲡⲉ	"and I (give) you
			ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲓⲛ	the oipe of lentils"

The conclusion drawn by Depuydt is that the entirely reduced infinitive form ⲧ- followed by the dative particle ⲛ- was suffering from a 'nasal plotion'. This exotic phenomenon of a 'zero lexeme' (since there is no elliptic omission but an invisible presence of the verb) recalls a similar one preserved in Coptic letters from Kellis, Dakhleh Oasis where a reduced-form spelling of the dative preposition is attested, depending on similar syntactic conditions, e.g. *P.Kell.Copt* 44,6: ϫⲓ-ⲧⲉ-ⲛⲕ-ⲟⲩ-ϯⲉ "I gave you a share."[24] Obviously it was just this wide-spanned extension of the single prosodic unit acrossing the post-infinitival dative preposition down to the directly linked object noun phrase[25] (only possible with the verb ϯ 'to give') which caused the reduction of the dative preposition in Kellis as well as the reduction and following 'nasal plotion' of the verb ϯ in Thebes. In the present lease contract of *O.Crum* Ad. 15, the 'zero verb' ϯ 'to give' does not mean 'I bestow' or 'I sell', but as connoted by context only, it just means 'I lease' (to you). Such a rather terse expression in order to say 'I lease' is elsewhere attested in Coptic lease contracts both from Middle Egypt[26] and from Thebes: ⲉⲓϯ ⲛⲁⲕ, literally "I give you."[27]

[d–d] The material object of the lease as well as the grammatical object of the unvisible verb 'to give' is ⲡⲉⲓⲏⲓ "this house." The strong determination by the demonstrative article seems strange, since there is no further mention of "this house," neither before nor after this one. If we do want to interpret the choice of the demonstrative, we may assume that the deixis refers to the foregoing oral agreement of the parties mentioned above.

[e–e] After recording the fact of leasing and its object, this clause designates the purpose intended by the tenant. Such a clause is

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[24] I. Gardner, A. Alcock, and W.-P. Funk, *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis*, Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph 9, Oxford 1999.

[25] Description according to the analysis by W.-P. Funk in Gardner et al., *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis*, 87.

[26] Cf. T. S. Richter, "Alte Isoglossen im Rechtswortschatz koptischer Urkunden," *Lingua Aegyptia* 10 (2002), 389–99.

[27] A Theban example being e.g. *O.Crum* 139,4.

attested also in Coptic lease contracts from Hermopolis,[28] corresponding to the recurrent phrase of Greek house leases "I confess to have leased from you for the time you want, starting up on day so-and-so, the house belonging to you," etc., πρὸς χρήσιν ἐμὴν καὶ εἰς οἴκησιν "for my use and for dwelling."[29]

[f-f] Here the period and start of the tenancy are recorded. But the text does not bear the date of issue, thus we cannot know the interval between the day of recording the contract and the date of the contract coming into force.[30] Among the Hermopolite Coptic leases, there are three texts preserving complete clauses about term of tenancy (*BKU* III 426; *CPR* IV 114, *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1018), all of them fixing the start of tenancy by the expression ⲁⲓⲛⲙⲡⲟⲟϥ 'since today'. Obviously, the contractual agreement was signed not before the first day of its validity. The term of one year seems to have been a common space of time for lease agreements so far attested in Coptic. On the contrary, Greek contracts from the Byzantine period are usually concluded ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον βούλει "for the time you (i.e. the lessor) want."[31]

[g-g] The last clause is dealing with the payment. The word expressing the term 'rent' is ϣⲕⲁⲣ. The use of the word ϣⲥⲟⲣ, ϣⲕⲁⲣ or ϣⲕⲁⲁⲣ within the Coptic terminology of leases corresponds to that of the Greek word ἐνοίκιον,[32] both words designating payment for simple use of rented objects, without a tenant's goal being to make profit by using the leased object.

[h–h] Of course, the amount of rent is an essential point of every lease contract.[33] Thus, the last point made by our contract just con-

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[28] The same idea expressed by similar words: ⲛⲧⲁⲟϥⲱϩ ⲉⲓⲱⲱϥ or ϩⲁⲣⲟ(ⲕ) "so that I dwell on it" (or "with you") in *CPR* IV 114, *CPR* IV 115, *P.HermitageCopt.* 1+ and *P.Lond.Copt.* I 1018; cf. Richter, "Koptische Mietverträge."

[29] Cf. Müller, *Untersuchungen*, 241–4; Berger, "Wohnungsmiete," 341f.

[30] For the Greek evidence, see Berger, "Wohnungsmiete," 373–6.

[31] Cf. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur ΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΣ*, and Richter, "Koptische Mietverträge."

[32] Re ἐνοίκιον, cf. A. Berger, "Wohnungsmiete," 342–8. In Coptic land leases, the leaseholders have to pay ϣⲟⲙ in the Fayyum and ⲡⲁⲕⲧⲟⲛ in Thebes. In Ashmunein, where emphyteusis as a third type of lease was usual, the Coptic words used for the different kinds of payment are ϕⲟⲣⲟⲥ to be paid by leaseholders, ⲡⲁⲕⲧⲟⲛ to be paid by hereditary leaseholders and ϣⲥⲟⲣ to be paid by tenants; cf. Richter, "Alte Isoglossen."

[33] Cf. Berger, "Wohnungsmiete," 342–8; Müller, *Untersuchungen zur ΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΣ*, 118–226; K. A. Worp, "Bemerkungen zur Höhe der Wohnungsmiete in einigen Papyri aus dem byzantinischen Ägypten," *Tyche* 3 (1988), 273–5.

cerns this issue: ϵⲧϵⲟⲩⲇⲉⲣϩⲁⲙ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ "being one dirham **ⲡⲁⲣⲁ** two ϵⲓⲱⲧ." Here we meet the Arab silver currency, the dirham, in quite an interesting phrase. The following Greek loan word **ⲡⲁⲣⲁ** has at least three somewhat different meanings in Coptic[34]—a remarkable semantic polyvalency of a preposition borrowed from another language. Two of them are attested in Coptic literary and non-literary texts as well. The third one seems to be restricted to non-literary Coptic:

ⲡⲁⲣⲁ *in Coptic*

1	more than, beyond	plus que, au-delà	mehr als, über . . . hinaus

e.g. *O.Crum* 370,5–6: ⲱⲁϥⲃⲁⲣϵ ⲙⲙⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲛ "he is burdening us more than is fair"

2	contrary to, against	malgré, contre	gegen, entgegen

e.g. *O.Crum* 40,4f: ⲁⲓⲕⲱ ⲡⲁⲧⲟⲱ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ϵⲕϵⲧⲟⲱ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲕⲁⲛⲱⲛ "I left my district, I went to another district contrary to the rules"

3	less	moins	weniger

e.g. *O.Crum* 405,3–5: ⲟⲩϩⲟⲗⲟⲕ/ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲃ . . . ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲕϵⲣⲁⲧ/ "one gold solidus . . . less a keration"; *O.Crum* 462,3v: . . .] ⲛ̄ⲣⲧⲟⲃ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲥⲛⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲁϩⲉ "x artabas less two maje"

The second meaning is not quite different from the first one, since it denotes the idea of 'beyond' with a specific reference to binding norms or generally accepted ideas. However, the third meaning seems to be contradictory to the first one. The Egyptian dry measure unit called maje was a fraction of an artaba, just as the keration was a fraction of the solidus. Evidently, the third meaning is necessarily connoted just in such a manner by two different amounts of measures, coins, or the like. Thus, in appropriately connoted phrases, the word **ⲡⲁⲣⲁ** functions in Coptic documents just as in Greek ones, where the so-called παρὰ-formula commonly expresses decimal

[34] All of them originally belonging to the accusative formation of this preposition, and all of them still attested in modern Greek.

places of amounts inexpressible by the usual unit or double fractions.[35] As for the the ⲡⲁⲣⲁ-formula denoting the rent to be paid by Kyra daughter of Ietith there is a problem, however. The homonymous Coptic word ⲉⲓⲱⲧ either means 'barley' or 'father'. As a matter of course, the latter may be left out of consideration. But even the meaning 'barley' seems hardly suitable at first glance. What shall we understand by "two barley," and how might they be subtracted from one dirham? That is why both Crum and Till suspected a corruption of the text. Walter Crum translated in his edition in *Coptic Ostraca* "1 dirham *of* barley less 2 . . .," presuming a lack of any unit defining the second amount.[36] Walter Till translated the phrase under discussion as "namely one dirham less 2 (. . .) barley," suspecting a measure of capacity omitted.[37] However, it seems possible to understand the written text well without any emendation. Colleagues working on Arabic documents may already have guessed the solution. In Arabic, the smallest unit used for adjusting and weighing coins is called *ḥabba* 'corn of barley'. Writers like al-Maqrīzī counted in *ḥabba* for refering to different standards of the dirham. In fact, the Arabic papyri also do so when mentioning fractions of the dirham or pointing out the several standards of currency.

Thus, the precise meaning of ⲉⲓⲱⲧ 'barley' in *O.Crum* Ad. 15 obviously depends on the special semantic value 'corn of barley (as counting unit)', passing from the Arabic word *ḥabba* to its Coptic synonym. Our documentary witness for this semantic calque (Lehnbedeutung) gets support from the evidence of Ms. British Library Or. 5707, an elaborate educational text written about A.D. 900. Among its counting exercises, there also occur some examples of monetary conversion, reducing 60 ⲉⲓⲱⲧ into one keration and 1440 ⲉⲓⲱⲧ into one holokottinos. So, we may well translate the rent amount in *O.Crum* Ad. 15, line 7–8, as "one dirham less two *ḥabba*."

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[35] For the avoidance of such a use of ⲡⲁⲣⲁ in literary Coptic; compare 2 Cor 11,24: τεσσεράκοντα παρὰ μίαν) where all Coptic dialects so far attested translate παρά by the word ϣⲁⲧⲉⲛ (B: ϣⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ, F: ϣⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲉⲓ, S: ϣⲁⲧⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ.

[36] The entry "as rent" in his *Coptic Dictionary* (s.v. ⲉⲓⲱⲧ 'barley', *CD* 87b) is due to that conjecture.

[37] Till, *Die koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Theben*, 70.

2. *Arabic Borrowings in Coptic Legal Documents from the Late Seventh to the Mid-Ninth Century*

The appearance of a semantic calque in an eighth-century Coptic documentary text raises the issues of when, where and why the reception of Arabic borrowings in Coptic took place. Dealing with Coptic legal documents from the first two centuries of Arab rule over Egypt, anyone trying to answer this question must operate with very scarce evidence. During the main period of issuing legal documents in Coptic, the contact between Arab authorities and their subjects left only minimal traces in the written language. In fact, only two Arabic words do occur with any considerable frequency. One of them is the word ⲁⲙⲓⲣⲁ.[38] As is well-known, it depends on the Arabic word *amīr*, literally meaning 'commander' but frequently used as an epithet for officials like the pagarchos/*ṣāḥib al-kūra*.[39] However, the most often attested Coptic form is spelled with the final vocal alpha. Further, the penultima of the word is vocalized sometimes with alpha (ⲁⲙⲁⲣⲁ) or epsilon (ⲁⲙⲉⲣⲁ), a reduction resulting from the shift of stress on the last syllable. These features clearly indicate that the Coptic loan word has not been borrowed from Arabic directly. More likely, Coptic adopted the Greek form ἀμιρᾶς, especially the dative and vocative form ἀμιρᾶ commonly used in address formulae. The linguistic constellation attested in the famous trilingual Aphrodito dossier from the beginning of the eighth century may explain why this word has taken such a circuitous route from Arabic to Coptic.[40] As is well known, in the office of the governor Qurra ibn Sharīk, at the highest administrative level, documents were written in Arabic and also in Greek, depending on the addressee. At a lower level of administration, that of the pagarch of Aphrodito, both Arabic and

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[38] ⲁⲙⲓⲣⲁ, ⲁⲙⲉⲓⲣⲁ*, ⲁⲙⲉⲣⲁ**, ⲁⲙⲁⲣⲁ***, ⲁⲙⲉⲣⲁⲥ****: e.g. *P.Lond.* IV 1603 (A.D. 709, Aphrodito); *P.KRU* passim (Thebes), *O.Med.Habu* 281,5 (a tax called ⲡⲉⲝⲉⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲙⲡⲁⲙⲓⲣⲁ); *O.Vindob.Copt.* 384,8; *P.Ryl.Copt.* 115,6; 132,2; and passim**; 373***; 374**; 381,10****; *CPR* IV 51,8 (Ashmunein); *P.Bal.* 122,5; 183,3; 184,1; 187,11**; 242,4**.

[39] Cf. A. Grohmann, "Der Beamtenstab der arabischen Finanzverwaltung in Ägypten in früharabischer Zeit," in *Festschrift Friedrich Oertel*, Bonn 1964, 120–34.

[40] For the Qurra correspondence (*P.Lond.* IV, *P.Ross.Georg.* IV, etc.), see H. Cadell, "Nouveaux fragments de la correspondence de Kurrah ben Sharik," *Recherches de Papyrologie* 4 (1967), 107–60. For our subject, see also A. Grohmann, "Griechische und lateinische Verwaltungstermini im arabischen Ägypten," *CdE* 13–14 (1932), 275–84.

Greek were used, too. Only some local administrative bodies in the villages made use of Coptic. Thus, in communication between Arabic-speaking authorities and Coptic-speaking subjects about matters of tax revenue, mustering workmen, the administration of justice, and the like, Greek served as the lingua franca.

Another early attested Arabic word is dirham, the designation for the Arab silver currency, in Coptic as ⲇⲉⲣϩⲁⲙ, ⲧⲉⲣϩⲁⲙ and similar. When the Arab gold coin, the *dīnār*, was established in Egypt about 697,[41] the common Coptic designation holokottinos simply shifted from the Byzantine solidus to the *dīnār*, especially since the new golden coin resembled the older one in size and weight. With respect to silver currency, however, in the coinage reform of the emperor Anastasius in 498 a heavy copper coin called follis and its fractions were put into circulation and minted silver was more and more driven out of circulation in the Byzantine empire. Only as units of account did a few silver denominations still remain in use for bookeeping matters. Thus, when the Arab silver coin with its characteristic appearance inspired by the flat shaped drachmē of Sassanian coinage[42] was put in circulation, *nolens-volens* its name too was used. Expressions like ⲧⲉⲣϩⲁⲙ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲣⲱⲧ 'heavy dirham', ⲧⲉⲣϩⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲁ 'intact dirham' or ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲣϩⲁⲙ 'great dirham', all refer to certain qualities and emissions of the coin,[43] likewise occuring in Arabic papyri.[44]

Apart from these two words, only a few Arabic expressions are sporadically attested in Coptic legal documents up to the ninth century, such as (ⲁⲗ)ⲡⲁⲣⲁ 'receipt',[45] ⲁⲩⲛ 'debt of money',[46] (ⲁⲗ)-

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[41] A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde*, Prague 1955, 184f.; W. C. Schultz, "The Monetary History of Egypt 642–1517," in C. F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt, Vol. I: Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, Cambridge 1998, 318–38.

[42] Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie*, 203–6; Schultz, "Monetary History."

[43] E.g. ⲧⲉⲣϩⲁⲙ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲣⲱⲧ *P.MoscowCopt.* 29,26–27 'heavy dirham'; ⲧⲉⲣϩⲁⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲁ *CPR* II 236,19 'intact dirham'; ⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲧⲉⲣϩⲁⲙ *MPER* V, p. 53 'large dirham'.

[44] Cf. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie*, 213; M. C. Bates, "Coins and Money in the Arabic Papyri," in Y. Raghib (ed.), *Documents de l'Islam médiéval. Nouvelles perspectives de recherche*, Cairo 1991, 43–64.

[45] *barā'a*: early instances (7th–8th cent.): *P.Bal.* 291,5 (ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁ); 29 (ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁ); later instances (9th–10th cent.): ⲁⲓ ⲧⲁⲗⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲁϧ *P.Ryl.Copt.* 377,9; ⲁⲓⲁⲗⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲧⲟⲧϥ *P.CrumVC* 49,13; ⲧⲁⲗⲡⲁⲣⲁ *P.CrumVC* 115,9.

[46] *dayn*: ⲡⲁⲩⲛ ⲁⲉ ⲧⲛϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛϩⲉⲧⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲁⲣⲛⲙⲁϩⲕ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ *P.Bal.* 102,14–15, "the debt, we are willing for you to pay it to you in full."

ⲙⲁϣⲗⲉ 'freedman', and ⲁⲗⲙⲟϣⲙⲉⲛⲓⲛ 'faithful'.[47] In other sorts of documentary texts like letters and lists, some other Arabic designations are attested.[48] But, obviously, at that time the language contact between Arabic and Coptic speakers was mostly mediated by professional interpreters coming into contact with each other at a few tangential points of contact between two linguistically homogenous milieux, so that interference phenomena failed to appear in the written Coptic language, and even in the written language of daily use.

3. *The Late Coptic Teshlot Archive and Its Arabic Borrowings*

An advanced state of language contact has been revealed to us by the late Coptic legal documents of the Teshlot archive, containing nine contracts concerning the property of a man called Raphael son of Mina, who flourished in the first half of the eleventh century at Dashlūt.[49] The scribes of these records regularly made use of at least four Arabic loanwords.

The word ⲁⲗⲙⲓⲣⲉⲧ is the Arabic noun *al-mīrāth* 'inheritance',[50] an old-established Arabic legal term[51] well known from both juridical

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[47] *mawlā*: self-designation of an issuer: ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲃⲟϥ ⲑⲉⲃⲓⲧ ⲡⲙⲁϣⲗⲉ ⲛⲓⲉϫⲓⲁ *CPR* IV 111,1; *CPR* IV, 168 c,e. *mu'minīn*: e.g. *P.Bal.* 187,7; 287,1.4; also attested in Greek documents, cf. *CPR* XXII (ed. F. Morelli), passim.

[48] E.g. ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲕⲁ 'expenses' (*PERF* no. 603); ⲧⲁⲗⲥⲟϥⲙⲗⲉ 'the total amount' (*MPER* V,56); ⲧⲁⲗⲕⲁⲛⲧⲣⲉ 'the bridge' (*CPR* II 228,7r); ⲡⲁⲗⲙ(ⲏ)ⲛⲥⲏⲗ 'the station' (*P.CrumVC* 49,4.8).

[49] T. S. Richter, "Spätkoptische Rechtsurkunden neu bearbeitet (II): Die Rechtsurkunden des Teschlot-Archivs," *JJP* 30 (2000), 95–148.

[50] *P.Teshlot* 8,6 ⲁⲓⲧⲁⲁϥ ⲉⲁⲱⲃⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲁⲩⲏⲣⲉ ⲫⲁⲧⲉϥⲧⲟ ⲫⲓⲧⲁⲁⲗⲙⲓⲣⲉⲧ "I gave it Tobias, my son, as part of my legacy"; *P.Teshlot* 7,10–11 ⲫⲓⲡϫⲱⲃ ⲉⲧⲁⲁⲗⲙⲓⲣⲉⲧ "concerning the matter of my inheritance"; M. Green, "A Private Archive of Coptic Letters and Documents from Teshlot," *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden)* 64 (1983), 108 f., considered the two Arabic loan words ⲁⲗⲙⲓⲣⲉⲧ and ⲁⲗⲡⲁⲣⲁ as varieties of the only Coptic word ⲃⲉⲣⲃⲱⲣⲉⲧ (a kind of estate): "If ⲁⲗⲡⲁⲣⲁ and ⲁⲗⲙⲓⲣⲉⲧ are Arabic words, it seems strange that the Coptic article should qualify the noun concerned when the Arabic article is already present." But already L. Stern (" Fragment eines koptischen Tractates," 117) observed that Arabic nouns "meist mit dem arabischen Artikel *al*... ins Koptische herübergenommen sind." L. S. B. MacCoull, "The Teshlot Papyri and the Survival of Documentary Coptic in the Eleventh Century," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 55 (1989), 204, suggests *mīra* "supplies" (root *MYR*; mār: I & IV 'to make provision'), but this word is not suitable either semantically or phonetically. Arabic feminine nouns in Coptic never bear the ending -ⲧ but always -ⲉ or -ⲁ.

[51] A. Layish, "Mīrāth," in *EI*[2] 7:106–112; A. J. Wensinck and J. H. Kramers, "Mīrāth," in *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, Leiden 1941, 511–17.

literature and papyri.[52] The shift to feminine gender (Coptic has ⲧ-ⲁⲗⲙⲓⲣⲉⲧ) may be due to the semantic vicinity of an earlier Coptic expression of 'inheritance', the Greek loan word ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ which has been replaced by ⲁⲗⲙⲓⲣⲉⲧ at least in the language of documents.[53] Sarah Clackson was kind enough to draw my attenion to the contemporary Coptic account book BL Or. 13885 (to be published by her) wherein the same loan word is attested in a quite similar writing (ⲁⲗⲙⲉⲣⲁⲧ).[54]

The meaning of the word ⲁⲗϩⲁⲧ can be understood by its context.[55] In clauses recording the bordering neighbours of an estate, obviously the word means something like 'border (of an estate)'. Thus, it is not so difficult to suggest the Arabic noun *al-ḥadd* as its etymon. The latter was commonly used in relevant clauses of contemporary Arabic sales of estates and the like.[56] To the best of my knowledge, the loanword ⲁⲗϩⲁⲧ is hitherto attested in Coptic in the Teshlot archive only. But here, the term has entirely replaced the former term ⲧⲟϣ used in earlier Coptic records.

The word ⲁⲙⲙⲟϭⲣ is also comprehensible by means of contextual connotation. It usually occurs as a verbal expression in a clause where the scribe accounts for his assistance to an issuing person being unable to write: "They have instructed (ⲁⲙⲙⲟϭⲣ) me, I have written and witnessed for them."[57] In earlier Coptic records, similar clauses are operating with verbs like ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲣⲉⲡⲉ, ⲁⲓⲧⲉⲓ, ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ, ⲕⲱⲣϣ, ⲥⲛⲟϭ, all of them meaning 'to instruct, to request some-

[52] For instance, in certain security clauses excluding claims to an inheritance (*bi-mīrāth*), e.g. *P.Cair.Arab.* I 57,16 (A.D. 952), *P.Cair.Arab.* I 67,18 (A.D. 1058), *P.Cair.Arab.* II 73,23 (A.D. 932), and passim; see also *P.Cair.Arab.* I 67,5–6 (A.D. 1058): *jamīʿ ḥaqqihi min mūrthihi min abīhi* "the whole part of that which he inherited from his father."

[53] In literature, the word ⲕⲗⲏⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ continued to be used, cf. *Triadon* 516,3 (where the Arabic translation provides *mīrāth*). For the change of gender as a phenomenon of language contact, see P. Nagel, "Die Einwirkung des Griechischen auf die Entstehung der koptischen Literatursprache," in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Christentum am Roten Meer*, Berlin/New York 1971, 337–44.

[54] Fol. 17B,1.

[55] E.g. *P.Teshlot* 2,8 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲗϩⲁⲧ ⲉⲡⲓϩⲓ ⲧⲏϥ "these are the borders of this whole house"; *P.Teshlot* 3,15–16 ⲡⲁⲗϩⲁⲧ ⲛⲓⲓⲏϥ . . . ⲡⲁⲗϩⲁⲧ ⲛⲉϩⲏⲧ "the eastern border . . . the northern border."

[56] E.g. *P.Cair.Arab.* I 53 (9th cent.) lines 8, 15, and 19.; *P.Cair.Arab.* I 54 (A.D. 1056), lines 4, 5; and passim.

[57] *P.Teshlot* 1,11 ⲧⲁϭⲁⲙⲙⲟϭⲣ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲥϩⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲉⲣ ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲥⲱϭ; similarly *P.Teshlot* 1,3; 3,18; 4,17; 5,15.

body'. Michael Green has considered ⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩⲣ a variety of the Coptic verb ⲙⲟⲩⲣ 'to bind, to tie', suspecting an idiomatic meaning 'to involve, to oblige'.[58] But there are two reasons to doubt his opinion. First, the word under discussion is permanently written ⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩⲣ; second, its grammatical object always appears together with the dative particle, unlike the transitive verb ⲙⲟⲩⲣ 'to bind' which requires a direct object. That is why I consider ⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩⲣ to be rather a borrowing depending on Arabic *amara* 'to command, to instruct', a verb developing the imperfect vocal *u*, e.g. *ya'mur* 'he commanded'. In the Coptic spelling, the glottal stop, properly being the final consonant of the first syllable, was analyzed as a gemination of the sonorant /m/. The prefixed conjugation pattern may have been the reason for adopting the Arabic imperfect stem. In Arabic papyri, relevant clauses contain the related noun *amr* 'order, instruction'.[59]

The word ⲁⲧⲧⲁϩⲉⲣⲓ appears in connection with amounts of money. In *P.Teshlot* 2, the payment for a house is acknowledged by the words: "gold 8 holokottinos ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲧⲁϩⲉⲣⲓ I did receive by him." In *P.Teshlot* 5, the price of a building was fixed: "gold (pieces) 9 ⲛⲁⲧⲁϩⲓⲣⲉⲓ."[60] Presumably, the word functions as an attribute of gold currency. In Arabic papyri we meet, apart from attributes like 'in full', 'heavy', 'new', or 'good',[61] also some names of caliphs converted into adjectives with the nisba ending, thus indentifying certain *dīnār* emissions by the holder of the minting prerogative.[62] Among

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[58] Green, "A Private Archive," 10.

[59] "On his instructions (*bi-amrihi*) he has written," e.g. *P.Hamb.Arab.* 1,25 *kataba ʿanhu bi-amrihi wa-maḥḍarihi*; cf. A. Grohmann, "Die Papyrologie in ihrer Beziehung zur arabischen Urkundenlehre," in *Vorträge des 3. Internationalen Papyrologentages in München vom 4.–7. September 1933*, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 19, München 1934, 348. Re the problems of verb borrowing from Arabic to Coptic, see generally T. S. Richter, "Arabic loan-words in Coptic."

[60] *P.Teshlot* 2,5–6 ⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲏ ⲉⲛϩⲟⲧϫⲟⲧⲕⲟⲧⲧⲉⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲧⲁϩⲉⲣⲓ ⲁⲓⲥⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ "gold 8 holokottinos of al-Ẓāhir, I have received them from him"; *P.Teshlot* 5,10 ⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲑ ⲛⲁⲧⲁϩⲓⲣⲉⲓ "gold (pieces) 9 of al-Ẓāhir."

[61] Cf. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie*, 200–2.

[62] Instances without the article: *dīnār mustanṣirī* 'dinar of al-Mustanṣir' (r. 427–87/1036–94) *P.Cair.Arab.* I 45,6; 64,14; 66,13; 71,16–17; *P.Berl.* 8169,4; 8217,4; 9160,7; 15022,5; *dīnār muʿizzī* 'dinar of al-Muʿizz' (r. 341–365/953–975); cf. *P.Cair.Arab.* I, p. 203, and Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie*, 197 n. 2.; instances with article: R. G. Khoury, *Chrestomathie de la papyrologie arabe*, HdO I, 2/2, Leiden/New York/Copenhagen/Köln 1993, no. 54 (A.D. 1054), line 10: *min al-ʿayn al-muʿizzī* "d'or d'al Muʿizz"; no. 53,11 (= *BAU* no. 10, A.D. 1015); *P.Cair.Arab.* II 111,2: *al-ḥākimī* "(dinars of al-Hakim).

them there is attested the name of the Fatimid caliph ʿAlī al-Ẓāhir (r. 411–427/1021–1036).[63] So, I consider ⲁⲧⲧⲁϩⲉⲣⲓ a transcription of the attribute *al-ẓāhirī*, denoting *dīnār*s struck under the authority of al-Ẓāhir. *P.Teshlot* 2 and 5 both date from the time of his rule.

Except for the last one, the Arabic loanwords attested in the legal documents of the Teshlot archive are principally translatable terms. Moreover, all of them are important legal terms, each of them replacing Coptic or Greek terms of the earlier Coptic juridical language. In comparison with the evidence of early attested Arabic loanwords, we observe quite a different state of affairs. The sociolinguistic evidence available from these observations seems to indicate a permanent language contact between Arabic and Coptic speakers in the field of private law, that is, in the midst of everyday life. A similar conclusion is pointed out by the increasing number of bilingual private documents since the mid-ninth century,[64] as well as by tenth-century Arabic contracts settled by two Christian parties, as shown by Nabia Abbott in 1941.[65] Last, but not least, lexicological evidence corresponds to formulary evidence, since there is an obvious influence of Arabic formularies and phrases on the wording of late Coptic records.[66]

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[63] Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie*, 197, wrote: "Aus der langen Reihe von Goldprägen der Fāṭimidenkalifen sind ausser jenen des al-Muʿizz nur die des Kalifen al-ʿAzīz billāh (976–996 n.Chr.), al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh (996–1021 n.Chr.) und al-Mustanṣir billāh (1036 bis 1094 n.Chr.) in den Papyri erwähnt." But already J. Karabacek commented concerning *PERF* no. 1147: "Sigill . . ., wodurch dem Ismaʿīl, Clienten des Ismaʿīl, auf Grund des von ihm aufgeführten Bauwerkes die Geldsteuer sammt Wägegebühr in hâkimitischem und *zâhirischem* Golde pro 415 H. (= 1024/5 n.Chr.) berechnet wird. Ausgefertigt im Schaʿbân des Jahres 416 H. (= September-Oktober 1025 n.Chr.)." (Italics by T.S.R.)

[64] As for legal documents, see T. S. Richter, *Rechtssemantik und forensische Rhetorik. Untersuchungen zu Wortschatz, Grammatik und Stil der Sprache koptischer Rechtsurkunden*, Kanobos 3, Leipzig 2002.

[65] N. Abbott, "Arabic Marriage Contracts among Copts," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 95 (1941), 59–81.

[66] Cf. Richter, "Arabische Lehnworte," 82–5, and idem, "Spätkoptische Rechtsurkunden neu bearbeitet (III): P.Lond.Copt I 487 – arabische Pacht in koptischem Gewand," *JJP* 33 (2003), forthcoming.

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TRAVEL AND TRADE ON THE RIVER[1]

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Some time in 117/735, a Fayyūm estate-agent, Abū ʾl-Ḥārith, received a letter from his estate-holder, then on business in Alexandria.[2] The estate-holder, whose name is lost, recounts for Abū ʾl-Ḥārith the course of a trip he is in the process of making from the Fayyūm, the towns along the Nile at which he has stopped and certain of his expenses en route. After announcing the successful conclusion of his business in Alexandria, he turns his attention to matters on the estate, for which Abū ʾl-Ḥārith was evidently responsible.

As interesting as this letter no doubt was for Abū ʾl-Ḥārith, it is possibly even more interesting for us, because not only is it among the earliest pieces of evidence we have for the existence of Muslim estate-holders in rural Egypt, it also offers an invaluable glimpse into the world of an early Muslim agricultural and commercial entrepreneur in a still predominantly Christian countryside—a glimpse that is some two hundred years ahead of its nearest equivalent in the narrative sources. Fragmentary though the letter is, through it we can begin to see the integration of Muslim landholders into the agricultural and commercial sphere—an economic system whose interconnections spanned Lower Egypt and in which farmers or traders might travel more than ten days to ferry their produce to market. We also see the full and vital functioning of Alexandria as a market town and entrepôt, at a time when the city has been thought to have been surpassed by the new Muslim capital Fusṭāṭ. And, finally,

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[2] P.Mich.Inv. 5614 is part of a lot bought in 1930–31 by the University of Michigan from the Egyptian dealer Maurice Nahman via the British Museum. The origin of the lot is said to be the Fayyūm, and this fits the provenance of many of the papyri. See my dissertation, *Shaping a Muslim State: Papyri Related to a Mid-Eighth-Century Egyptian Official*, Princeton University 2004. One other letter from this same lot is also addressed to Abū ʾl-Ḥārith by a certain ʿUthmān b. Sulaymān (P.Mich.Inv. 5626A) who does not seem to be the same person who wrote our letter.

we see the existence of Rosetta (Rashīd) as an established transfer point on the route from Fusṭāṭ to Alexandria more than a century before its conventional Arab foundation date.

Alexandria and Rosetta

The journey to Alexandria described in the letter took the sender at least ten days and involved travel by boat on the Nile and overland by pack-animal. Because the top of the letter has been torn off, we cannot tell exactly where the journey began, though presumably somewhere in the general vicinity of Daḥmīṭ, the Fayyūm river port at which the sender embarked upon the water-borne leg of his journey (line 1 *rakibnā min Daḥmīṭ*) and the first town mentioned in the letter. On Thursday 27 Rabīʿ II of the year 117/735 the estate-holder was in Sayla (line 2),[3] two or three days sailing south of Fusṭāṭ. Reaching Fusṭāṭ on Saturday evening, the first day of Jumādā I (lines 2–3), he continued his trip up the western branch of the Nile Delta to Rosetta, a journey of seven days by boat (line 4). At Rosetta he left the boat and rode the final stage from Rosetta to Alexandria by donkey or mule, a journey of probably one or two days (lines 4–5).[4]

This segment of the trip, from Rosetta to Alexandria, is the only one for which he quotes expenses, probably because it was the most expensive. The overland route was necessary, however, because by the beginning of the second/eighth century the ancient canal con-

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[3] For these two towns, see the commentary to lines 1 and 2. For the date of the letter, see the commentary to lines 17/18.

[4] The distance between Rosetta and Alexandria is about sixty kilometres. According to Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), Alexandria is about a day's distance from the Nile (*Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 1, eds. Ch. A. C. Barbier de Meynard and A. J. B. M. M. Pavet de Courteille, rev. and corr. by Ch. Pellat, Beirut 1966, 210). Gustave Flaubert in 1849 covered the same distance on horseback, with numerous interruptions, in one day (see his letters to his mother, 17 and 23 November 1849, in *Flaubert in Egypt*, ed. F. Steegmuller, Harmondsworth 1972, 28–35). According to Leo Africanus (d. *ca.* 956/1550), the mules and donkeys which one could rent in Rosetta walked so quickly that they covered the distance between the two towns in one day (from sunrise to sunset) (Jean Léon Africain, *Description de l'Afrique*, translated by A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, 499). But a pack-camel or mule with load—the most probable means of transport used by our sender—covered only thirty to forty kilometres a day (R. Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel*, New York 1990, 23). See also *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Egypt*, 5th ed. revised on the spot, London 1875, 101.

necting Alexandria to the western Bolbitine arm of the Nile at Fuwwa was usable for transportation for only a few months of the year.[5] Silting was an old and ongoing problem. Twenty-five years earlier, Qurra b. Sharīk, then governor of Egypt (in office 90–6/709–15), had warned Basileios, the pagarch of the Upper Egyptian town of Ishqāw (Aphrodito), to "send off immediately with all speed the supplies requisitioned from your administrative district before the water in the canal of Alexandria (διώρυξ Ἀλεξανδρείας) goes down; otherwise you will be compelled to pay the portage of the said supplies by land to Alexandria."[6] Only for a short period beginning in the twelfth Coptic month of Misrā (August), when the water of the rising Nile reached the canal, could boats sail directly to Alexandria,[7] and our

[5] The more westerly Canopic branch of the Nile Delta had dried up not some time *before* the Islamic conquest (as claimed by S. Labib, "Iskandariyya," *EI2*, vol. 4, 132–7), but some time during the first Muslim century. This can be concluded from the mention in early Arabic texts that the canal started at al-Karjūn on the Canopic branch (P. Kahle, "Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Alexandria," *Der Islam* 12 (1922), 29–83, especially 45). But at the time our letter was written, the canal reached the more easterly Bolbitine branch at Fuwwa, not in al-Karjūn. See also Qudāma b. Jaʿfar (d. 337/948), who lists al-Karjūn (For this town, see S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, vol. 3, Wiesbaden 1991, 1230–33) among the places on the road from Fusṭāṭ to Alexandria, but has the *khalīj Iskandariyya* start further to the east (*Kitāb al-kharāj*, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 6, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1967, 220). For the seasonal usability of the canal, see below note 7.

[6] The transport over water in other words was included in the taxes levied on the community; the extra costs for transport over land had to be paid by the pagarch (*P.Lond.* IV 1353.10–12, dated 710, provenance Ishqāw). The same is stated in relation to Trajan's canal, also called *khalīj amīr al-muʾminīn*, which connected Fusṭāṭ to the Red Sea at Qulzum (Clysma) (*P.Lond.* IV 1346; A. Becker "Arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes," *ZA* 20 (1907), 68–104, IV, both dated 91/710; *P.Lond.* IV 1465, undated, provenance of all Ishqāw. Cf. Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), *al-Mawāʿiẓ waʾl-iʿtibār fi dhikr al-khiṭaṭ waʾl-athār*, vol. 1, ed. A. F. Sayyid, London 2002, 578–9).

[7] Ibn Mammātī (d. 606/1209), *Kitāb qawānīn al-dawāwīn*, ed. A. S. Atiya, Cairo 1943, 256–7 and in his long calendar (Ch. Pellat, *Cinq calendriers égyptiens*, Cairo 1986, 92). See also Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, 739. Ibn Ḥawqal (*fl.* 4th/10th) writes that the canal is only usable in the summer (*Kitāb al-masālik waʾl-mamālik*, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 2, ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1967, 140). In 686 the patriarch John III was able to sail in the month of Hātūr (October/November) from Fusṭāṭ to Alexandria (*History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* III, Agathon to Michael I (766), *Patrologia Orientalis* V, ed. B. Evetts, Paris 1910, 20–1). See also S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1967, 298, n. 32. But see A. S. Atiya and H. Halm, "Rashīd," *EI2*, vol. 8, 438: "Till the 9th century A.D., ships sailed direct to Fuwwa; but owing to the excessive depositing of the silt in this region, Rashīd began to take its place." The canal needed to be dredged and re-dug regularly to prevent it from becoming unusable all year round. Many governors and even caliphs are consequently credited with

letter was written in the tenth month, namely Ba'ūnah (June), at the beginning of the inundation season when the *khalīj Iskandariyya* stood dry.[8]

The conditions of the canal largely account for Rosetta's rise. Its neighbour by a few kilometres, the pre-Islamic Bolbitine (Βολβιτίνη), had been inhabited since ancient times and was the home at the beginning of the eighth century to part of the Muslim fleet.[9] At what point Rosetta superseded Bolbitine as the most important town at the entrance of the western branch of the Nile, or whether the two towns existed side by side fulfilling different functions in early Islamic Egypt, is unclear. Third/ninth century and later Muslim accounts of the conquest of Egypt also mention the capture of Rashīd, but this might be based on a confusion between Bolbitine and Rosetta, reflecting the latter city's more prominent position in later times.[10] Muslim historical sources place Rosetta's founding in 870 and it first appears in the narrative sources in anecdotes set in the mid-eighth

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clearing the canal of deposits to make it navigable throughout the year. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān (in office 65–86/685–715) was the first governor to work on the canal of Alexandria (*amara bi-ḥafr baḥr al-Iskandariyya*) (*History of the Patriarchs* III, 42). The caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–47/847–61) ordered in 238/854 that work be done on the canal (Kindī, (d. 350/961), *Kitāb al-wulāh wa-kitāb al-quḍāh*, ed. R. Guest, Leiden 1912, 469; *History of the Patriarchs*, vol. 2, part 1, Khaël II-Shenouti I, A.D. 849–880, eds. Y. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ and O. H. E. Burmester, Cairo 1943, 13, 15; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, 463–4). But Masʿūdī wrote that for a long time no Nile water at all could reach Alexandria through the canal due to silting and a lack of repairs, so that the people had to drink water from wells. In the year that he wrote this (332/943) he had heard that the Nile had reached a height of eighteen cubits, but since he himself was at that time in Antioch he was not able to check whether the water had reached the canal (*Murūj*, vol. 1, 209–10, quoted by Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), *Ṣubḥ al-ʿashā'*, vol. 3, Cairo 1914–22, 304–5). Idrīsī (d. 560/1165) wrote that ships coming from the Nile on their way to Alexandria passed Rosetta and sailed into a lake situated along the coast, bringing them to within *ca.* ten kilometres of the city (*Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrīsī*, eds. R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1866, 150). Maqrīzī credits Sultan Baybars (r. 658–76/1260–77) with taking so much sand out of the canal in the year 662/1263–4 that it was usable all year round (*Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, 463–4).

[8] The Nile started its annual rise in Ba'ūnah (May–June), reaching its peak in Bābah (September–October) (Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, 730, 737).

[9] *P.Lond.* IV 1414, dating from the eighth century; 1449.62, 65, dated 710–12, provenance of both is Ishqāw.

[10] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (164/871) mentions a Quzmān *ṣāḥib* Rashīd at the time of the conquest (*Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Ch. C. Torrey, New Haven 1922, 85). Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Mu'izz relates that Muslim troops were ordered to conquer Rosetta by Caliph ʿUmar I (r. 13–23/634–44) (*Futūḥ al-Bahnasā*, tr. E. Galtier, *Mémoires publiés par les members de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, 22 (1909), 44).

century.[11] Alexandria's eastern city gate, Bāb Rashīd, the Rosetta Gate, dates at least to the mid-third/ninth century when the Islamic city walls were built.[12] From the letter, however, which is the first piece of documentary evidence we have for Rosetta/Rashīd, we see that the town was already in existence considerably before this. While the road's use by later travellers is attested in many documents, this letter shows that even in the early second/eighth century, some twenty-five years after Bolbitine's wharfs had been in full operation, merchants travelling down the Nile to Alexandria were accustomed to transferring at Rosetta to the overland route when the Alexandrian canal to the Nile was impassable.[13]

The letter also provides an extremely valuable corrective on the status of Alexandria in second/eighth century Egypt. With the Muslim conquest of Alexandria in 642 and the departure of many of its Greek inhabitants, the "Queen of the Mediterranean" lost her position as capital of Egypt and her pivotal role as the port for state-sponsored grain exports to Constantinople.[14] The political centre of

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[11] Rashīd is first mentioned in relation to an episode of inter-religious strife between the Copts and other Christians in Egypt set around 730 (*History of the Patriarchs* III, 62–3). A Christian revolt took place in Rosetta in 749–50 (Kindī, *Wulāh*, 96; *History of the Patriarchs* III, 165). According to Leo Africanus, it was the sultan Ibn Ṭūlūn (r. 264–70/868–84) who founded the city in the year 870 (*Description*, 499).

[12] Kahle, "Mittelalterlichen Alexandria," 39.

[13] The Geniza letters dating from the eleventh-thirteenth centuries provide examples both of boats reaching Alexandria by way of the canal and shipments that are being moved from boats to transport animals in Rosetta (Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, 295 n. 4).

Our letter can also be usefully set against Ibn Ḥawqal's (d. 378/988) description of the parlous state of Alexandria compared with the vibrancy and affluence of Rashīd, with its bath house and many excellent markets (Ibn Ḥawqal, *Buldān*, 137, 139; see also Makhzūmī, *Minhāj*, 14). For our travelling estate-holder, however, Rosetta/Rashīd is a mere way station where ships are exchanged for mule- or camelback and not even worth a stop, while Alexandria is *the* market in the Delta. This, indeed, seems to have been the situation up to the time of Yaʿqūbī (d. 284/897), in whose report Rashīd functions merely as a port by which ships from the Mediterranean reached the Nile (*Kitāb al-buldān*, 338). Leo Africanus mentions that for those wanting to travel to Alexandria there are plenty of mules and donkeys available in Rosetta who are so swift that they cover the sixty kilometres between the two towns in one day (*Description*, 499). For a similar market, where animals can be rented to cross the desert at Farama on the eastern branch of the Nile, see the description given by Bernard (fl. 870) (*Itinerarium*, eds. T. Tobler and A. Molinier, Osnabrück 1966, 313). It also occurred—albeit less frequently—that ships set out from Rosetta to Alexandria over the sea.

[14] In response to a famine in the Ḥijāz, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ is said to have re-opened

gravity shifted rapidly to the Muslim garrison city Fusṭāṭ,[15] which had been founded in 641/2 at the place of the Roman fortress Babylon.[16] The fabric of the city's physical environment also suffered as the damage caused during the Byzantine-sponsored revolt of 645–46 and the city's subsequent retaking was compounded by later earthquakes.[17] When the Muslims came to rebuild the city walls in the mid-third/ninth century, the city encompassed an area about one eighth the area of the ancient Roman city.[18] This decay is also to some extent reflected in the topos of Alexandria's wondrous former splendour. Yaʿqūbī (d. 284/897) describes the city as having been "a magnificent, glorious city, whose wealth and sublimity are indescribable and whose number of outstanding monuments is innumerable . . . The canal provides the city with sweet water that flows on into the Mediterranean."[19] By the tenth century the trope had degenerated into confused and fantastic stories about vanished monuments, such as Masʿūdī's account of the marvellous lighthouse of Pharos resting on a giant crab made of glass.[20] This decline narra-

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Trajan's canal leading from Fusṭāṭ to the Red Sea port of Qulzum (Clysma), whence grain was shipped directly to the new ruling empire's capital (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 162–5; *The Chronicle of John (c. 690 A.D.), Coptic Bishop of Nikiu*, 2d ed., tr. R. H. Charles, Amsterdam 1982, CXX.31; Ṭabarī (d. 311/923) *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-ʾl-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et al., Leiden 1879–1901, vol. 1, 2577). But see R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It*, Princeton 1997, 580 n. 152.

[15] Greatly impressed by the city and its beautiful buildings, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (d. 42/663) legendarily wished to make Alexandria the Muslim seat of government, but Caliph ʿUmar I declared that his armies in the conquered lands were not to be separated from his seat in Medina by any body of water, forcing ʿAmr to move instead up-river to the site of his new city, Fusṭāṭ (Balādhurī (d. 279/892), *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1866, 222; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 91, quoted by Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, 452). But see A. Noth, *An Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study*, tr. M. Bonner, 2d ed. L. Conrad, Princeton 1994, 178–9.

[16] See A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, 1902, 2d edition by P. M. Fraser, Oxford 1978, 341 and n. 1.

[17] Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 475, 490–1.

[18] See the plan of the city in E. Schwertheim, "Alexandreia," H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds.), *Der neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike*, vol. 1, Stuttgart 1996, 463–5. On Alexandria's decrease in size and population, see too Kahle, "Mittelalterlichen Alexandria," 29, 39–40.

[19] *al-Iskandariyya al-ʿaẓīma al-jalīla allatī lā tūṣafu saʿatan wa-jalālatan wa-kathrat athār al-awwalīn . . . wa-lahā khalīj yadkhuluhu al-māʾ al-ʿadhb min al-nīl thumma yaṣubbu fī ʾl-baḥr al-māliḥ* (*Kitāb al-buldān*, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 7, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1967, 338).

[20] Quoted in Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, 255. See Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 376–7, and generally on Alexandria 368–400.

tive dovetailed conveniently with Henri Pirenne's famous but extreme thesis on the contraction of Mediterranean commerce in the wake of the Muslim advance.[21] But despite the overhaul of the Pirenne thesis, post-conquest Alexandria is still generally seen as having suffered economically. As P. M. Fraser has said, "in the years following the conquest, and in the Umayyad period, there is no sign of such life [trade with the East and West, based on transit via Alexandria], and the city remained a frontier post."[22] But while the medieval city may well have been overshadowed by Fusṭāṭ,[23] evidence from the earlier period, to which our papyrus adds significant insights, suggests a somewhat different situation.

In fact, Alexandria remained an important and vital commercial centre. The city and its centuries-old roads continued to carry Egypt's goods to its docks. Even when changing trade patterns in the eighth century might have diminished Alexandria's role as an international port, the stimulus these gave to local production brought about increased internal consumption rather than causing any significant decrease in the total value of trade.[24] Our traveller does not stop

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[21] H. Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, Paris 1937. But see, for example, R. Hodges and D. Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis*, London 1983. See also Leo Africanus: "Elle [Alexandria] conserva cette renommée bien longtemps, jusqu'à ce qu'elle tombât aux mains des Mahométans. Depuis, au cours des années elle diminua d'importance et perdit son ancienne noblesse parce qu'il n'y eut plus un marchand de Grèce ou d'Europe qui put y faire du commerce si bien qu'elle devint presqu'inhabitée (*Description*, 495)."

[22] P. M. Fraser, "Alexandria," in A. S. Atiya (ed.), *CE*, vol. 1, 89–92, especially 91. Cf. the "structural changes brought about by the advent of a new Islamic political and cultural system that placed Alexandria in a strategically subordinate position vis-à-vis its inland rival" led to "medieval Alexandria's incontestable status as Egypt's *second* city, subsidiary to Cairo in almost every significant respect" (A. L. Udovitch, "Medieval Alexandria: Some Evidence from the Cairo Genizah Documents," *Alexandria and Alexandrianism*, Malibu 1996, 273–83, especially 274).

[23] The role of Alexandria as a commercial centre had increased again by the twelfth century. See Ibn Jubayr's (d. 614/1217) account of his arrival in Alexandria in 1183. About Alexandria's markets he writes: *wa-aswāquhu fī nihāya min iḥtifāl ayḍan* (*Riḥla*, ed. W. Wright & M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1907, 40). According to Ibn Jubayr, Alexandria has more mosques than any other city and, with its many colleges, public baths, hospital and hostels, it gives the impression of being a city that never sleeps (*wa-min al-gharīb ayḍan fī aḥwāl hādhā 'l-balad taṣarruf al-nās fīhi bi-'l-layl kataṣarrufihim bi-'l-nahār fī jamīʿ aḥwālihim*) (*Riḥla*, 40–3). Using Geniza documents, Udovitch has shown that Alexandria played a significant role in eleventh-thirteenth century Egyptian commercial life ("Medieval Alexandria").

[24] M. Rodziewicz, "Graeco-Islamic Elements at Kom el Dikka in the Light of the New Discoveries: Remarks on Early Medieval Alexandria," *Graeco-Arabica* 1 (1982), 35–49, and M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce A.D. 300–900*, Cambridge 2001, 584–5.

much longer in Fusṭāṭ than is needed to observe the new moon. It is Alexandria, and not Fusṭāṭ, that provided him the more attractive market, and it is there that he brings his goods. And as other papyri make clear other traders had made the same choice joining our sender in Alexandria.[25]

Even politically Alexandria was far from defunct. From the conquest to the early eighth century, a large number of Muslim soldiers were stationed in the city, including part of the fleet; ships were built and restored in its shipyards, and the city served as one of the jumping-off points for Muslim raids (κοῦρσα) into Byzantine territory.[26] But Alexandria was more than a military frontier post populated by Muslim troops. The (Christian) civil governors who ruled the city during the Umayyad period continued to carry the pre-Islamic Byzantine title, which even found its way into a letter from the governor Qurra b. Sharīk.[27] Several of Egypt's Umayyad governors and finance directors spent part of their time in the city, not only when the capital Fusṭāṭ was stricken by disease, but also, apparently, out of personal preference.[28] The special administrative and political position that Alexandria had enjoyed before the conquest seems to have continued at least until the Faṭimid period.[29] Its semi-independent

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[25] See below note 34.

[26] *P.Lond.* IV 1392, dated 710–11, provenance Ishqāw. Workmen, sailors and provisions were sent directly to the city from the different communities around the country (*P.Lond.* IV 1412, dated 702–3; 1353, dated 710; 1392, dated 710–11, provenance of all is Ishqāw). See also Aly Mohamed Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Cairo 1980, 27–30.

[27] Θεοδώρῳ Αὐγουσταλίῳ (*P.Lond.* IV 1392.13, dated 710–11, provenance Ishqāw). Cf. *History of the Patriarchs* III, 26, 28, 57–8, 64.

[28] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 130–1, quoted in Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, 451. The governor Maslama b. Mukhallad (in office 47–62/667–81) spent the years 60–1/679–80 in Alexandria (Kindī, *Wulāh*, 39). The governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz went to Alexandria in 74/693 "according to the custom of those who were appointed governors to receive its taxes" (*History of the Patriarchs* III, 13; Kindī, *Wulāh*, 51). He also gathered the bishops to Alexandria for three years, where he was at that time residing (*History of the Patriarchs* III, 34, 42). The governor Hanẓala b. Safwān (in office 102–5/720–3) moved to Alexandria in 103/721 (Kindī, *Wulāh*, 71; Ibn Taghrī Birdī (d. 815/1412), *al-Nujūm al-ẓāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-'l-Qāhira*, vol. 1, Cairo s.d., 250). The finance director Usāma b. Zayd did the same in 99/717 and stayed there until he was replaced (*History of the Patriarchs* III, 70–1).

[29] Theodore, the governor of Alexandria, received from the caliph Yazīd (r. 60–4/680–3) authority over Alexandria and the surrounding land and a declaration that the governor of Egypt had no jurisdiction over him (*History of the Patriarchs* III, 5). Ṭabarī describes the conquest of Miṣr *and* Iskandariyya in the years 20–5/641–6 (*Ta'rīkh*, vol. 1, 2581–89, 2809). For the later period, see A. Grohmann, *Studien zur*

status is clearly reflected in the visit of the late-ninth century Italian pilgrim Bernard, who before travelling to Egypt had to obtain two safe conducts (*amān*)—one for the ruler of Fusṭāṭ and a different one to be presented specifically to Alexandria's ruler.[30]

The estate-holder of our letter spent a week in Alexandria before offering his goods for sale. The sale went well, he writes, and one wonders whether this was due in any way to the diminished volume of incoming goods due to the seasonal closure of the Alexandrine canal.[31] Alexandria's internal population and its continued role as an international trading centre probably meant that the city could sustain a permanent market.[32] The week of apparent inactivity was therefore probably for personal reasons rather than because he had to wait for the weekly market day. The estate-holder's delay in selling his wares might also have been motivated by his desire to wait for prices to rise, a mechanism we find frequently in the Geniza letters.[33]

Contemporary letters confirm the kind of commercial ties between Alexandria and Muslims residing in the Fayyūm oasis described in our letter.[34] The question remains why the estate-holder and sender

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historischen Geographie und Verwaltung des frühmittelalterlichen Ägypten, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 77. Band, 2. Abhandlung, Vienna 1959, 30–2; Labib, "Iskandariyya."

[30] Bernard, *Itinerarium*, 310–11. Even in the fourth/tenth century, Alexandria was mentioned separately from the rest of Egypt in the ʿAbbasid state budget (Grohmann, *Studien*, 32 and n. 2).

[31] For a discussion of the economic importance of offering goods for sale before the arrival of other merchants, see A. L. Udovitch, "Time, the Sea and Society: Duration of Commercial Voyages on the Southern Shores of the Mediterranean during the High Middle Ages," *La navigazione mediterranea nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto 1978, 503–45, especially 526–7.

[32] For a continued internal market, see Rodziewicz, "Graeco-Islamic" and Labib, "Iskandariyya." The level of exchange in the Islamic Empire made permanent markets a feature of the major cities no later than the ʿAbbasid period. As opposed to Europe, where the size and nature of the economy favoured periodic markets (McCormick, *Origins*, 586–7, 790). Goitein, on the other hand, found that at the time of the Geniza letters there were set market days (*Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, 195; vol. 4, 26).

[33] See, for example, the case in which pepper merchants from India arrived in Aden to find a slow market: there was no demand for pepper, news about the market in Egypt was not great, and no buyers had arrived from the West. The top customs official at Aden decided to intervene and he "held off on the collection of the taxes (*ʿushūr*) from them until the day of sailing; people arrived from all over and the price of pepper reached 23 *dīnārs* a *bahar*" (TS 20.137 = *India Book* 29–II.23, ll. 25–29; this document is discussed by Roxani Margariti, *Like the Place of Congregation on Judgement Day: Maritime Trade and Urban Organization in Medieval Aden (ca. 1083–1229)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University 2002, 184–7). Cf. Udovitch, "Time," 526–30.

[34] A flax-trader sells his wares in Alexandria and obtains more flax in the Fayyūm

of our letter travelled himself to Alexandria to offer his wares for sale. Was the kind of trading venture he was involved in too lucrative to leave to middlemen?[35] Or were there specific circumstances that forced farmers to undertake the sale of their produce themselves? Perhaps, like the second–third/eighth–ninth century letter-writer who decided to accompany his goods to market personally, he did so because "every shipper I sent anything with has stolen some of it."[36] While there were compelling reasons to ensure the transaction was closely supervised, it also has to be considered whether commercial networks available to our sender where sophisticated enough to allow for specialised agents. Alternatively, personal reasons, to visit family, tourist sites or other places of interest or importance to him, might have motivated him to proceed to Alexandria. In any case, he seems to have planned to stay for a longer period in Alexandria, since Abū ʾl-Ḥārith had to send a third person, Abū Jumʿa, to deliver some more goods to him there (lines 13–14).

The Goods for Sale

What was Abū ʾl-Ḥārith's estate-holder bringing to market? Some tentative conclusions can be drawn from the economics of the transaction. The cost of freighting goods over land from Rosetta to Alexandria, which covered not only the sender's personal travel expenses but also the transportation of the goods intended for sale,[37]

(P.Mich.inv. 5609 = Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State*, no. 26; cf. no. 25). Another letter deals with the sale of sheep and (sheep) fat in Alexandria (*P.Princeton* AM 13395 (21) = Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State*, no. 32). Both papyri can be dated to *ca.* 730–50. At the time of patriarch Michael I (in office 744–68) merchants from Fusṭāṭ (*tujjār miṣr*) traded with the bishop of the Fayyūm (*History of the Patriarchs* III, 94).

[35] As D. Rathbone writes of the marketing of grain by the third-century Appianus estate (*Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt: the Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate*, Cambridge 1991, 318).

[36] *P.Berl.Arab.* II 53.14, dating from the second–third/eighth–ninth centuries, provenance Ashmūnayn. This was definitely the system in place at the time of the Geniza records, when shipments were normally accompanied by the proprietors, their business friends or their agents (Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, 338).

[37] The rent of a mount for transportation generally included the driver's wages and food and drink for both him and the animal, but could also include the pay for carriers moving the goods to and from the animals. In the fourth/tenth century the rent of a plough and a pair of oxen included the animals' fodder, while the renter had to pay the ploughman's loan (Ibn Mammātī, *Qawānīn*, 278). In 205/821 a press (*miʿṣara*) is leased (*qibāla*) without the animals (*dawābb*) needed to

amounted to one *dīnār* minus half a *qīrāṭ*—almost one whole gold piece.[38] The incomplete nature of the remaining contemporary evidence, with distances, weights and payments hardly ever mentioned in the same document, makes it difficult to determine transportation

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work it and with their fodder provided, presumably by the tenant (Y. Raghib, "Contrat d'affermage d'un pressoir à huile," *Studia Iranica* 11 (1982), 293–9 = *Chrest.Khoury* I 65, provenance Fayyūm). The sender of our letter emphasizes that the *birdhawn* rented out to do the pressing for Abū 'l-Ḥārith should be fed "as much barley as it wants to eat" (line 21). In a third/ninth-century letter, the addressee is asked to send food to an animal driver (?) and his beast, which have perhaps been rented by the sender (*P.Heid.Arab*. II 43, provenance not mentioned).

An account of the same journey from Rosetta to Alexandria, dated to around 1100, from the Cairo Geniza, gives an idea of the charges, tolls, levies and taxes involved. An agent entrusted with the transport of a bale of purple cloth from Fusṭāṭ to Alexandria via Rosetta pays one eighth of a *dīnār* over the freight (מרכב אונרה) on arrival in Rosetta, as well as dues to the city, the cost of hiring of three guards for the passage to Alexandria and the purchase of bread for the camel-driver and guards. The ferry across the lake of Edkū (Mareotis) cost one *dirham*. In Alexandria, one sixth of a *dīnār* and one quarter of a *qirāṭ* went to the camel-driver for the hire of the camel (אונרה נמל); entrance tolls and fees had to be paid at the city gate, as did the cost of transporting the bale to a storehouse, as well as additional costs related to the bale's next step in its journey overseas (Freer Collection in Washington XXXVI). The Judeo-Arabic text can be found in R. Gottheil and W. H. Worrell (eds.), *Fragments from the Cairo Genizah in the Freer Collection*, London 1927, 164–6. The text is discussed by Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, 339–43. The different payments to be made on commercial transports are also described by Makhzūmī (d. 575/1179) (*Kitāb al-minhāj fī 'ilm kharāj Miṣr*, eds. Cl. Cahen and Y. Raghib, Cairo 1986, 102–9v).

See also the eighth-century Coptic letter from a certain Yazīd in the Fayyūm to Abū 'Alī in Fusṭāṭ about the expenses paid for the transportation of wine from the Fayyūm oasis to Fusṭāṭ. For wine shipments, a duty was paid in Arsinoe, tolls at the bridge at Lāhūn, at the harbour in Babylon fees were paid, as well as freight, and payments to different persons presumably involved in the transport (*CPR* II 228).

[38] Lines 4–5. One Egyptian *qīrāṭ* constituted 1/24th of a gold *dīnār* of 4.233 grams (W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung, Der nahe under mittlere Osten, Ergänzungsband I, Heft I, Leiden 1970, 1–2, 27). Wagons were never an important means of transportation in Egypt, although they did not disappear from Egypt some time before the Islamic conquest as Bulliet has claimed (*Camel*, 22), as Greek papyri show (R. S. Bagnall, "The Camel, the Wagon and the Donkey in Later Roman Egypt," *BASP* 22 (1985), 1–6). Wagons (*'ajala*) are also occasionally mentioned in Arabic papyri (*CPR* XVI 12.9, dating from the third/ninth century, provenance not mentioned; *P.Philad.Arab*. 83.7, dating from the second–third/eighth–ninth centuries, provenance not mentioned. Perhaps so read rather than the editor's "heifer."). Donkeys could carry about three *artabai* of wheat each and were most commonly used to transport goods for short distances of about fifteen to twenty kilometres; the larger and sturdier but also more expensive mules and pack-camels were reserved for longer distances and could carry about twice as much. Several third/ninth-century letters mention camels being used to transport wheat (*qamḥ*) (Y. Raghib, "Lettres arabes (I)," *Annales Islamologiques* 14 (1978), 15–35, 6.12–13, provenance probably Fayyūm; *P.Heid.Arab*. II 18, provenance not mentioned). Mules are used in third/ninth-century Fayyūm to transport

costs in early Islamic Egypt.[39] But by drawing upon the ratios found in comparative material between the cost of transportation and the value of the goods being shipped, we can use the price quoted in our letter to make some cautious surmises about the size of the load, and therefore also the kind of goods involved.

In Fatimid Egypt transport costs for luxury goods amounted to an average of 1–1½ percent of the total price of the goods. For bulky goods transport costs amounted to much more: between 20 and 25 percent of the value.[40] Similar figures are available from pre-

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soil (*turāb*) and lime (*jayr*) (*P.Berl.Arab.* II 56.6, 8, provenance not mentioned). For the weight carried by animals, see H. J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians*, St. Katharinen 1991, 338.

[39] See for example the second-third/eighth-ninth-century account from an estate which records the payment of one *dīnār* for the transport over an unknown distance of the harvest, and 2¼ *dīnār*s for transportation of 150 *artabai* barley by boat from an unidentified place to Fusṭāṭ (*P.Cair.Arab.* VI 378, provenance unknown). A third/ninth-century letter mentions transport costs (*kirā'*) for flax without a price (*P.Heid.Arab.* II 29.8, provenance not mentioned). For an unspecified distance, the prices for the transport over land and water of soap, raw sugar, and Palestinian olive oil is given in fractions of *dīnār*s (*P.Berl.Arab.* II 40, provenance not mentioned).

Fiscal documents also provide some information on the costs of transportation of taxes paid in kind, but the relation between the transportation prices listed in those documents and those paid on the free market is not clear. Johnson and West suggest that the cost of privately arranged transport was much higher than that for the *annona* in Byzantine Egypt: one third of the value for private as opposed to one tenth for government-ordered transport (*Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, Princeton 1949, 162 and n. 41). At the beginning of the eighth century the freight and wages for a transport of twenty *artabai* of bread and two *metra* of oil in taxes from the Upper Egyptian town of Ishqāw (Aphrodito) to Qulzum (Clysma) was set at two solidi (*P.Lond.* IV 1433, 21–2, dated 707). The tax-payments in *artabai* of bread (ψωμίον) referred to the wheat to bake bread with, which was sometimes paid in bread, other times in wheat (F. Morelli, *Olio e Retribuzioni nell'Egitto tardo, V–VIII d. C.*, Florence 1996, 101–2). In the Umayyad period, twenty *artabai* of wheat weighed between 500 and 600 kilograms, and twenty *artabai* of bread between 660 and 800 kilograms. Two μέτρα (= 20 ξέσται) of oil amounted to about 10 litres (Morelli, *Olio*, 7, 101–2).

Another tax payment at the beginning of the eighth century of thirteen *irdabbs* of wheat included in its purchase price of one gold piece transportation from Ishqāw, probably to Fusṭāṭ (*P.Lond.* IV 1335.11; 1407.4; Becker, "Aphroditofundes," X.11, all dated 90/709). In an account from the year 96/715–16, the transport by 168 camels of undefined goods for the short distance from the town of Ishqāw to the Nile cost four solidi (*P.Lond.* IV 1435.53). It cost 5⅔ solidi to pay for one camel driver (one solidus) and the hire of two camels (4⅔) to transport several tree trunks and other building materials from Ishqāw (Aphrodito) to the Nile (*P.Lond.* IV 1433.23–6, dated 706–7).

For prices of transport in Egypt in the later period, see also E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaries dans l'orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 212, 223.

[40] Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, 342–5. Johnson and West mention a case

Islamic Egypt.[41] Although the numerical values will have changed in the intervening period, the ratio, given the more or less stable nature of the variables involved, most likely remained roughly constant.[42] Even taking into account the costlier nature of transport over land as against transport by water, the high price paid for the sixty kilometres that separate the two towns—nearly one *dīnār*—suggests that the load being transported was a large one.[43] This is corroborated to some extent by the unlikelihood of a consignment of a hundred *dīnār*s' worth of luxury goods coming from the Fayyūm, since everything we know about the staple-oriented nature of the Fayyūm economy suggests that such a quantity of goods of such value would hardly have been available in the oasis. Most likely, therefore, the estate-holder dealt in agricultural goods, whose heavy and bulky character explains their relatively high transportation costs, and which were available on his estate. From here we can narrow in on the exact type of produce involved, and three principal candidates present themselves: wine, flax and wheat.

Wine does not seem especially plausible. Abū 'l-Ḥārith was involved in viticulture, and a contemporary Coptic letter indicates that a wine trade did exist between the Fayyūm and Fusṭāṭ.[44] But the vintage took place in August, and thus no wine of that year's harvest would have

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in which one third of the value of a shipment of wheat was paid for transportation (*Byzantine Egypt*, 162).

[41] In the second century, Drexhage calculated that it cost 142 drachma to transport one hundred *artabai* of wheat, worth 800 drachmai, one hundred kilometres over land. This amounts to 18 percent of the value. In the third century the cost had risen to 24 percent (284 drachmai to transport 1200 drachmai worth of wheat) (*Preise*, 349–50).

[42] The temporarily scarce availability of transportation, for example, during the harvest, the effects of high or low water and winds and other weather conditions must have caused significant fluctuations which are not reflected in these average prices. Because these fluctuations did not differ *per se* within each historical period, the distorting effect is equal for each.

[43] Hence, as McCormick aptly puts it, "merchants congregate up and down the long rivers that were the arteries of early European communications and civilization" (*Origins*, 790). See also R. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton 1993, 34–40; Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, 278. When the governor of Alexandria tried to convince Sulṭān Qalāwūn (r. 678–89/1279–90) to dig the Alexandrian canal he mentioned as the first advantage that transport of goods to Alexandria would become cheaper, which would benefit the treasury (Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, 464). Beasts of burden become more cost-effective on shorter distances. McCormick suggests a distance of *ca.* fifteen kilometres as a watershed (*Origins*, 76).

[44] A Coptic letter mentions wine being exported from the Fayyūm to Fusṭāṭ (*CPR* II 228, dating from the eighth century).

been ready for sale when the estate-holder had set off on his journey to Alexandria.[45] That he was selling last year's wine is also unlikely, since wine was typically consumed within a year of production.[46]

Another major Fayyūmic crop, flax, was also sold on the Alexandrian markets, as a contemporary Arabic papyrus indicates.[47] Geniza letters also show that, in Faṭimid and Ayyūbid Egypt, flax purchased in the Egyptian hinterlands, especially the Fayyūm, was sold at Alexandria for export around the Mediterranean.[48] However, flax plants had to undergo a process of treatment after the harvest in Baramhat/Baramūda (March–April) to extract their fibres and prepare them for sale in August/September.[49] While a contemporary papyrus suggests that flax was also traded at the different stages of the process in the Fayyūm, it seems unlikely that our sender was carrying unprepared flax on his journey up the Nile in June.[50]

The most probable candidate is wheat. We know that the estate-holder owned arable land of which part at least seems to have been under wheat, since he requests Abū 'l-Ḥārith to supervise its milling (line 8).[51] In Egypt grains are threshed in Baramūda (April); by

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[45] See below commentary to line 21.

[46] Rathbone describes the technical limitations of wine storage in antiquity, circumstances that presumably continued into the early Islamic period (*Rural Society*, 257–58).

[47] A flax-trader in Alexandria orders in a letter flax from someone in the Fayyūm (P.Mich.inv. 5609, dated 730–50 = Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State*, no. 26; cf. no. 25). In the Geniza period, the Fayyūm was the second most common source for flax sold in Alexandria (Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, 456).

[48] Many caravans from Alexandria got flax in Būsh, near ancient flax-growing centres east of the Fayyūm. Similarly, Būṣīr, at the entrance of the Fayyūm, was the most popular flax market in the period of the Geniza letters (Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, 456).

[49] Ibn Mammātī, *Qawānīn*, 248–50, 261–2; Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, 99.

[50] P.Mich.inv. 5632 = Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State*, no. 23. In the Geniza period flax-traders fanned out into the countryside to buy raw flax that had been prepared during the winter months for the trading season that began in early spring (Udovitch, "Medieval Alexandria," 281).

[51] Over the course of the eighth century, one *dīnār* bought ten to fifteen *irdabb*s of wheat, and barley cost about half of that. See further, A. Grohmann, "Weizenpreis im arabischen Ägypten," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire* 30 (1930), 541–3, especially 542. But there are some great differences in the examples listed by Grohmann. Moreover, in medieval Egypt, the areas of Fusṭāṭ, Fayyūm and Alexandria all used their own *irdabb* standard weight, varying between about seventy to about hundred kilograms (Hinz, *Gewichte*, 39; J. Burton-Page, "Mawāzin," *EI2*, vol. 6, 117–22). See also *P.Lond.* IV 1434.128 (dated 715, provenance Ishqāw) where a price of 1/10 *dīnār* was paid for 1 *artaba* of wheat. In another early second/

Bashans (May) no crops are left standing in the fields, which would have made the wheat ready for export to Alexandria by the time the sender travelled there.[52] Many debt-acknowledgements for wheat, moreover, have a termination date in the month Ba'ūna, immediately after the harvest, the same month our sender wrote his letter.[53]

Landholders, Workers and Agricultural Matters

The contents and the tone of the letter suggest that the relationship between the sender and Abū 'l-Ḥārith is that between a landlord and his representative or agent on the estate. The sender is familiar with the seasonal rhythm of his agricultural holdings and seems closely involved with its management. He is acutely aware of the different stages of the agricultural calendar and work schedule; he uses the names of his workers and gives a precise description of their tasks; and he is intimately involved even in the care of the farm's animals, though he leaves the details and day-to-day execution to Abū 'l-Ḥārith. Abū 'l-Ḥārith is given responsibility over the execution of a wide variety of tasks—from the minor, such as supervising the milling and working of the land, to the more significant, such as the acquisition of new acreage, with the sender asking Abū 'l-Ḥārith to purchase a plot from a certain Bilatūs b. Bīhawīh, which Abū 'l-Ḥārith had brought to the sender's attention (lines 10–11). Although the letter suggests that the estate-holder sought, and relied upon, Abū 'l-Ḥārith's advice, Abū 'l-Ḥārith still does not have a free hand on the property, and his employer still sees fit to send instructions by mail.

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eighth-century papyrus, 8½ waybas of wheat cost 1 *dīnār*. (*P.Ryl.Arab.* I I 5.7–8, provenance not mentioned).

[52] C. Wissa Wassef, "Calendar and Agriculture," *CE*, vol. 2, 440–3, especially 442.

[53] M. Thung, *Arabische juristische Urkunden aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Amsterdam 1997, 18.4–5 commentary, dated 207/823, provenance Fayyūm; 26, dated 251–2/865–6, provenance not mentioned; *P.Philad.Arab.* 31.v, vi, and vii, all dated 268/881–2, provenance of all is Fayyūm; Thung, *Urkunden*, 27, dated 344/956, provenance not mentioned; *Chrest.Khoury* I 33, dated 445/1054, provenance Fayyūm; 34, dated 451/1060, provenance probably Fayyūm.

There are several indications that the land under Abū ʾl-Ḥārith's responsibility constituted only one part of the sender's estate, for which the distribution of animals and workers was centrally organized. Abū ʾl-Ḥārith needs a mule during the vintage, which is sent by the estate-holder with a certain Rāshid. The latter will look after the mule and return it to the estate-holder after the work is finished (lines 18–21).[54]

Abū ʾl-Ḥarith borrows the mule for the "month of pressing" to carry baskets or other containers, or to operate some kind of mill, either for olives or grapes. Grapes were trod by foot in the medieval period, as they had been throughout the pharaonic and Roman periods.[55] After treading, the skins and seeds were pressed using a mechanical screw press.[56] Olives were first crushed in a *trapetum*, a mill in which two lens-shaped stones rotated over a flat stone surface, with the pulp then being placed in baskets and pressed.[57] From the mid-first century B.C. this pressing was also done by screw presses,[58] so the odds are split fairly evenly between the two types of produce. However, the season in which the letter was written tends to point more to wine production rather than olive oil (see below the commentary to line 21). Moreover, since the mule is needed both during the month of pressing and for several weeks (up to one month) afterwards (line 20), it was probably used for the transportation of baskets, jars and the like, rather than for the actual pressing at the mill.

Since the building of a press required a substantial investment,[59] most farmers had to rely on leasing or borrowing someone else's. While it is unlikely that every farmer using a press provided his own animals to work it, legal contracts suggest that mills were leased on a season-by-season basis with the lessor providing the necessary animals.[60]

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[54] A similar arrangement was in use on the Appianus estate (Rathbone, *Rural Society*, 267).

[55] R. I. Curtis, *Ancient Food Technology*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne 2001, 146–60, 376–8.

[56] Curtis, *Technology*, 378.

[57] Flat-surface *trapeta* were used mainly in the eastern Mediterranean (Curtis, *Technology*, 305, 382).

[58] Hero of Alexandria's (*fl. ca.* 1st) description of olive oil presses survives only in a ninth-century Arabic translation, suggesting that this was also the method used in the Islamic period (Curtis, *Technology*, 310–1, 391).

[59] Bagnall, *Egypt*, 78; Curtis, *Technology*, 390.

[60] An Arabic contract dated 205/821 records the leasing (*qibāla*) of a public press (*miʿṣara*) with the specification that animals (*dawābb*) and fodder were not included.

The sender's estate seems to be quite extended and his possessions substantial, and it seems likely that Abū 'l-Ḥārith used the estate's press with one of the animals provided also by the estate.

The letter also gives some valuable insights into the ethnic and religious composition of rural society at this time. The sender asks Abū 'l-Ḥārith to obtain the substantial amount of ten *faddān*s of land for him, either from Bilatūs b. Bīhawīh or Yuḥannis b. Sawīrus, two local Christian landowners and perhaps remnants of the pre-Islamic Christian aristocracy. Other Christians mentioned in the letter seem to have been agricultural labourers, with a certain Yuḥannis involved in some way in the milling of flour and a person called Sanbā taking care of some agricultural work in a field. The role of the two Muslims mentioned in the letter is less clear. A certain Rāshid is entrusted with the transport of the sender's *birdhawn* to Abū 'l-Ḥārith, perhaps as the animal's driver, and a Zayd supervises the weighing of the flour that Yuḥannis has milled. Whether Zayd was another worker charged with weighing the portions of flour or held a more official position such as the collector of taxes in kind, however, remains unclear.[61]

Conclusion

Although the first generations of Muslim soldiers had been prohibited from leaving their garrison in Fusṭāṭ to settle as agricultural workers on Egyptian land,[62] anecdotal evidence and legal discussions

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The press was located in Aqnā in the Fayyūm (Raghib, "Contrat"). An ox is rented to work in a waterwheel until the irrigation is completed for the price of 1 *dīnār* (*Chrest.Khoury* I 62, 8–9, dated 333/945, provenance Ashmūnayn). For mill-leasing in pre-Islamic Egypt, see Bagnall, *Egypt*, 77–8.

[61] Early eighth century papyri indicate that government appointed officials responsible for the collection of taxes in kind were also assigned the weighing or measuring of agricultural goods paid to the fisc (*P.Heid.Arab.* I 3, dated 91/710, provenance Ishqāw; P.Mich.Inv. 5632 = Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State*, no. 23, provenance Fayyūm). In a third/ninth-century private letter, a woman writes how much the wheat weighed that she had received from the sender (*P.Khalili* I 17.5–6, provenance not mentioned).

[62] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 162. Rather than allowing Muslims to cultivate *mawāt* lands in Egypt, Christian Egyptians received forced assignments of land as papyri dating from the late seventh/eighth centuries show (F. Morelli, "Agri deserti (*mawāt*), fuggitivi, fisco: una κλήρωσις in più in SPP VIII 1183," *ZPE* 129 (2000), 167–78, and the papyri mentioned there).

confirm that at the beginning of the second/eighth century Muslims were starting to settle as agriculturalists in Egypt as elsewhere in the Muslim empire.[63] By the end of the first/seventh century, references to Muslim estate-holders appear in the papyri and narrative sources. That the governors and members of the ruling family, to whom these lands were often assigned, were actively involved in the management of their estates is, however, doubtful.[64] Arabic papyri include the first known Arabic land leases (dated 159–61/775–6),[65] as well as lists of Muslim agricultural tax-payers from the second/eighth century. But while these do confirm the presence of Muslim landowners in the Fayyūm from the second half of the second/eighth century onwards,[66]

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[63] Legal sources and *ḥadīth*s discuss legal and administrative problems resulting from these changes (discussed in Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State*, chapter two).

[64] Narrative sources contain information about Muslims such as Abū Sufyān (d. 32/653), who had acquired an estate (*ḍayʿa*) or village in pre-Islamic Syria while trading there; it then passed to his son Muʿāwiya and grandson after his death (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 129). Other Muslims obtained confiscated or otherwise abandoned land in Mesopotamia, Syria and Iraq during and immediately after the conquests (Mesopotamia: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 179–81; Ascalon in Palestine: idem, 144; Armenia: idem, 207). Abandoned (*mawāt*) land which was reclaimed through irrigation projects could also come into Muslim possession, and the large agricultural palace projects of the Umayyad dynasty fall into this category. Qurra b. Sharīk developed land by draining Birkat al-Ḥabash in Egypt (Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 2, 49, 86). With one exception, reports of members of the caliphal family taking possession of land do not exist for Egypt (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 101. The papyri, however, contain several references to members of the ruling élite possessing estates in Umayyad Egypt. An estate of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 65–86/685–705) is mentioned in a Greek contract: οὐσία του πρωτοσυμβοὺλου (*CPR* VIII 82.5, dated 699–700, provenance Fayyūm). Another Greek papyrus mentions an οὐσία του συμβούλου ἐν Δαμασκῷ, perhaps referring to the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik's (in office 86–90/705–8) property in the Umayyad capital (*P.Lond.* IV 1414, fol. 4b.81; fol. 7.151, dating from the eighth century, provenance Ishqāw). An οὐσία of the governor is also mentioned in *P.Lond.* IV 1447 fol. 9.172, dated 685–705, provenance Ishqāw). An *ūsiyya* of ʿAbd al-Malik is mentioned in a second–third/eighth–ninth-century Arabic papyrus (mentioned in A. Grohmann, "Griechische und lateinische Verwaltungstermini," *CdE* 13–4 (1932), 275–84, especially 282, provenance unknown).

[65] W. Diem, "Einige frühe amtliche Urkunden aus der Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (Wien)," *Le Muséon* 97 (1984), 109–58, nos. 5a and 5b, dated 159–61/775–6, provenance Ahnās.

[66] Diem, "Einige," no. 3, dated 162/778; *CPR* XXI 1 (= O. Loth, "Zwei arabische Papyrus," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 34 (1880), 685–91, no. 1), dated 169/785; 2 (= *PERF* 621), dated 176/792; Diem, "Einige," no. 4, dated 177–8/793–4; *Chrest.Khoury* I 66 (= A. Grohmann, "Die Papyrologie in ihre Beziehung zur arabischen Urkundenlehre," *Papyri und Altertumswissenschaft, Vorträge des 3. Internationalen Papyrologentags in München vom 4. bis 7. September 1933*, München 1934: 327–359, no. 1, p. 338), dated 179/795, provenance of all is Fayyūm; *CPR* XXI

they generally do not refer to large estates.[67] Muslim οὐσία-holders are mentioned in an eighth-century Greek papyrus from the Fayyūm, but this is (so far) an isolated snippet.[68] The sender of our letter, however—judging by his having enough liquidity to be able to acquire another ten *faddān*s of land—seems to have had something much more οὐσία-like, making him one of the first attested Muslim landowners not just in the Fayyūm, but in all Egypt of whom we know more than just his name.[69]

His estate probably included a wine or olive press and perhaps a flourmill. It also employed specialized workers and labourers, as well as a full-time steward, Abū ʾl-Ḥārith, who was responsible for daily management when the owner was away. The specificity of detail he provides Abū ʾl-Ḥārith in the letter, including a precise account of his journey, suggests the two men had a close and longstanding working relationship.

The degree to which these Muslims were integrated into the day-to-day workings of the countryside is suggested both by their interaction with Christian workers and cooperation with neighbouring

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3 (= *PERF* 638), dated 179–80/796, provenance unknown; Diem, "Einige," no. 6; *CPR* XXI 4 (= *PERF* 638 = Grohmann, "Urkundenlehre," no. 2, p. 339), both dated 180/796, provenance of both is Fayyūm; Thung, *Urkunden*, 17, dated 178/795, provenance not mentioned. For an earlier, late seventh century, text found in the Negev desert (Palestine) referring to Muslim Arabs involved in the assignment of agricultural land, see *P.Ness.* 58.

[67] For such lists of landholders including Muslim names, see for example *P.Cair.Arab.* IV 217.3, 4, 5, 7, dating from the second/eighth century; 218.3, 5, dating from the second-third/eighth-ninth centuries; *CPR* XXII 34.1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15 dating from the eighth century; *P.Prag.Arab.* 22.5, 8, dating from the second–third/eighth–ninth centuries; the provenance of all these papyri is unknown.

[68] οὐσία Αβου Β . .; οὐσία Οὐμαρ ὑιου Μαροῦ(αν); οὐσία Ομου Αὐλ[(*SPP* X 121.3, provenance Fayyūm). I wish to thank Federico Morelli and Nick Gonis for their corrected reading of this papyrus.

[69] For a description of the large agricultural estates in sixth and seventh-century Fayyūm, see J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity*, Oxford 2001, 240–50. The administrative and political role of the landowning élite was, however, greatly reduced after the Islamic conquest (Banaji, *Change*, 152–4). But see *P.Ross.Georg* IV 6.9 (dated 710, provenance Ishqāw) and the discussion of the term ἐμφανῶν τὴς διοικήσεως as evidence for a continued role for large landowners in Umayyad Egypt by Bell, "The Administration of Egypt under the Umayyad Khalifs," *BZ* 28 (1928), 278–86, especially 281. The Greek papyri from the Islamic period continue to mention *ousiai* in the Fayyūm. See for example *P.Ross.Georg.* V 71.1, dating from the eighth century; *SPP* III 344.1, dated 643–58; X 24.4, dating from the seventh–eighth centuries. See also the discussion of the role played by the Christian (landowning) élite in the early second/eighth century Muslim administration in the Fayyūm in Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State*, chapter one.

Christian landowners, as well as by the interconnected nature of the economic system in which farmers from as far away as Middle Egypt might travel to Alexandria to sell their surplus. While all of these activities show close similarities to those of the great landowners of pre-Islamic Egypt, it is the evidence of a *Muslim* landowner operating in a still mostly Christian landscape that makes this papyrus so important.

The Papyrus

P.Mich.inv. 5614[70]
plate 6

papyrus	34 × 24.6	117/735

Provenance: Fayyūm

Dark brown papyrus. The original cutting lines have been preserved on the left, right and bottom sides of the papyrus. There is one vertical tear from the top to the bottom at a distance of one third the papyrus' width from the left border. The top of the papyrus is missing and the right top corner of the remaining text has been partially torn off. There is a right margin of 1.5 cm and a bottom margin of 3 cm. The text is written in black ink with a thin pen perpendicular to the papyrus fibres. The script shows the characteristics of first–second/seventh–eighth century writings: *dāl/dhāl* has a rightward bend at the top of the letter (line 4 Iskandariyya, line 9 Zayd, line 11 *dhakartu*); the horizontal stroke of initial and independent *ʿayn/ghayn* is extended to the right (line 3 *ʿalaynā*, lines 13 and 20 *awʿadanī*); the *ṣād/ḍād* is horizontally extended with straight parallel horizontal strokes (line 6 *ʿaraḍnā*, line 11 *arḍ*, line 22 *awṣīhi*), also in *ṭāʾ/ẓāʾ* (line 5 *qīrāṭ*, line 7 *unẓur*); the tail of the final and independent *mīm* is very short (line 6 *thumma*, lines 22, 23, and 24 *salām*); there is a marked extension of the tail of final and independent *yāʾ* to the right in a horizontal line (line 7 *ilayya*, line 13 *alladhī*, line 18 *birdhawnī*). There are a few diacritical dots. The verso is blank.

[70] I would like to thank Traianos Gagos of the University of Michigan papyrus collection for his permission to publish this text.

Text

1. . . . . ر]كبنا من دحميط
2. ووصلنا الى ا]لسيل[ة] يوم الخميس وجينا الفسطاط ليلة الاحد
3. واستهل علينا الهلال ليلة الاحد بالفسطاط ثم سرنا
4. الى رشيد سبع فبلغ كراى من رشيد الى الاسكندرية
5. دينر الا نصف قيراط فلما قدمنا الاسكندرية مكثنا
6. بها جمعة ثم عرضنا يوم الاثنين فاجار الله عرضنا
7. والحمد لله انظر يابا الحرث ان تعزر الى يحنس
8. ا[. .] الشيخ فى قمح الطحونة وتغربل[ه] وخذه واذا كان
9. كل احد فابعث زيد فليكيله كل احد وامر سنبا
10. لا يغفل من تعويض الحقل وان استطعت ان تاخذ
11. لى الارض الذى ذكرت من ارض بلتوس بن بيهويه
12. ان رايت ذاك او تقول ليحنس بن سويرس فانه قد
13. اوعدنى بعشرة فدادين وقد بلغنى الذى بعثت به
14. مع ابو جمعة اسل الله لنا ولك بالعافية فى
15. الدنيا والاخرة واتم علينا وعليك نعمته وادخلنا
16. واياك الجنة برحمته كتبت اليك كتابى هذا لثلثة
17. وعشرون خلون من جمادى الاولى ستة وعشرين من
18. بونة وقد بعثت اليك مع راشد ببرذونى صحيح
19. ليس بظهره باس فانظر رحمك الله ان تبعث به الى
20. بعد العصير بشهر فان راشد {مع} <قد> اوعدنى ان ياتينى به
21. فاذا بلغتم شهر العصيرفليعلف بشعير ما اكل
22. اقرا على سنبا السلم واوصيه بدفاية كثيرا واقرا على ابنوله
23. كتابك السلم كثيرا
24. والسلم عليك ورحمت الله

Diacritical dots

7) تعزر 9) ليكيله, سنبا 10) استطعت 13) بعشره, بلعنى 18) بونه 20) ياتينى 22) ابنوله

Translation

1. . . . . On day X] we embarked from Daḥmīṭ
2. and we arrived in] Sayl[a] on Thursday. We reached Fusṭāṭ on Saturday evening
3. and the full moon appeared to us on Saturday evening in Fusṭāṭ. Then we headed
4. for Rashīd in seven days. And my rental expenses from Rashīd to Alexandria amounted to
5. one *dīnār* minus half a *qīrāṭ*. Having arrived in Alexandria, we stayed

there for a week. Then we displayed our goods (for sale) on Monday and God supported our display,
thanks be to God. Make sure, oh Abū ʾl-Ḥārith, that you help for my sake Yuḥannis
. [. . .] the old man (*shaykh*) with the wheat of the mill and sift [it] and take it. And when
each one is done, then send Zayd and let him measure each one. And order Sanbā
not to neglect to improve the field. And if you are able to, obtain
for me the land of Bilatūs b. Bīhawīh's which you mentioned, (then do so)
if you think it a good idea. Or tell Yuḥannis b. Sawīrus (to give it to me), for he has already
promised me ten *faddān*s. And I have received what you sent
with Abū Jumʿa. I ask God on our and your behalf for health in
this world and the next, and may He complete for us and for you His bounty and cause us
and you to enter into Paradise through His mercy. I wrote this letter of mine to you when three
and twenty (days) had passed of Jumādā I (and) twenty-six (days) of
Baʾūna. And I have already sent to you with Rāshid my mule (*birdhawn*), it being in good health
and there not being a fault in his back. So, make sure, may God have mercy on you, to send it back to me
one month after the pressing. And Rāshid has already promised me that he will bring it to me.
So when the month of pressing will arrive, let it be fed barley however much it eats.
Give many greetings to Sanbā and admonish him to take care of Dafāya? and give to Abnūla,
your scribe, many greetings.
And peace be upon you and God's blessings.

Commentary

1. *rakibnā min Daḥmīṭ*. Only traces of the *rā*ʾ of *rakibnā* can be detected after the lacuna. The initial *kāf* is written as in line 4 *kirāʾī* and in line 21 *ʾakala*. This verb suggests that this is the place where the sender boarded a boat probably to sail via the canals of the

Fayyūm oasis towards the Nile. I have been unable to identify this place.

2. *Sīla/Sayla*. The final *tāʾ marbūṭa* of Sayla cannot be read. This town is situated in the eastern Fayyūm oasis, at about two days sailing from Fusṭāṭ.[71]
   wa-jīʾnā ʾl-Fusṭāṭ laylat al-aḥad. The first tooth of *jīʾnā* is very high. Compare for example the medial *tāʾ* in line 3 *istahalla*, *nūn* in line 4 Iskandariyya and *tāʾ* in line 16 *raḥmat*. The Muslim day starts at sunset and *laylat al-aḥad* therefore means Sunday eve or Saturday evening.[72]
3. *wa-ʾstahalla ʿalaynā ʾl-hilāl laylat al-aḥad bi-ʾl-Fusṭāṭ*. The appearance of the new moon is not only significant in matters of absolute dating, as in Islamic law, but was also generally used in the Islamic world to indicate the day of the month. In his travel account, Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217) starts every month describing when and where the new moon appeared, which was the most exact way to indicate the time and date of the different stages of his trip (e.g. *istahalla hilāluhu laylat al-thalāthāʾ . . . wa-naḥnu bi-Miṣr*).[73] The *adab al-kuttāb* literature discusses expressions used to indicate the beginning of the month, such as *fī mustahall shahr kadhā* or *li-mustahall (istihlāl) kadhā*.[74] In the papyri the expression is also used, for example, in the dates of legal documents: *fī mustahall* Thung, *Urkunden*, 27.16 (incorrectly listed as *mustahill* in the index), dated 344/956, provenance Ashmūnayn; 29.9, dated 356/967, provenance probably Ashmūnayn; *P.Berl.Arab*. I 14.16–7, dated 404/1014, provenance Fayyūm; *mustahall* Y. Raghib, "Contrat d'affermage d'un pressoir à huile," *Studia Iranica* 11 (1982), 293–9, line 9; *min mustahall* Thung, *Urkunden*, 35.7, dated 887/1482, provenance probably Cairo or Atfīḥiyya; *al-jārī fī ahillat sana* 24.5, dated 335/946–7,

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[71] M. Ramzī, *al-Qāmūs al-jughrāfī li-ʾl-bilād al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1958, II/3, 101; H. Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehenregistern, vol. 1 Oberägypten und das Fayyūm*, Tübingen 1979, 269–70.

[72] B. van Dalen, "Ta'rīkh," *EI2*, vol. 10, 257–71, here 259.

[73] *Riḥla*, 57. Levi Della Vida read incorrectly in *P.Philad.Arab*. 76.3 (dating from the third/ninth century, provenance not mentioned): *jīʾnā ʿan al-laylat yawm al-sabt al-Fusṭāṭ*. While the expression is in itself already impossible, the photograph shows: *. . . aʿazzaka allāh yawm al-sabt al-Fusṭāṭ*.

[74] Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vol. 6, 244; Sūlī (d. 335/947), *Adab al-kuttāb*, eds. M. B. al-Aṭarī and ʿA. M. al-Ālūsī Shukrī, Cairo 1341/1923, 181.

provenance Ashmūnayn; 15.4, dated 340/951–2, provenance not mentioned; 27.11–5, dated 344/956, provenance Ashmūnayn; *Chrest.Khoury* II 24.7, dated 383/993, provenance Ashmūnayn; *Chrest.Khoury* I 45.4–5, dated 389/999, provenance unknown; Thung, *Urkunden*, 13.11, dated 403/1012, provenance Ashmūnayn; *ʿinda stihlāl P.Cair.Arab*. II 105.11, dated 527/1132, provenance Fayyūm.

The Muslim calendar is empirical and can therefore differ one day or more from the mathematical calculation of the beginning of the month. In the course of the month, however, this difference between the observed and calculated date disappears.

4. Rashīd (رشيد; ⲧⲣⲁϣⲓⲇ) is the Coptic and Arabic name for the harbour city Rosetta situated on the mouth of the Bolbitine Nile branch located near ancient Bolbitine (Βολβιτίνη *P.Lond*. IV 1414.59).[75] Our letter offers the first documentary evidence for the existence of the city, contradicting the claim made in Muslim historical sources that the city was founded in 870.[76] The letter *rāʾ* is written in the same way as in l. 7 *tuʿazzira*; l. 12 *raʾaytu*; l. 18 *Rāshid*.

sabʿ. *Sabʿ* should thus either be read as an accusative of time *sabʿan*, lacking the *tanwīn alif* (Hopkins § 167.b) which is a scribal error for *sabʿatan* (*sabʿat ayyām*). In line 6, however, *jumʿa* (l.6) is used to refer to a week.[77]

The journey from Fusṭāṭ to Rosetta went by ship over the Nile and took about seven days (about 259 kilometres).[78] The sender, having left Fusṭāṭ on Sunday would thus have arrived in Rosetta on the following Saturday. Using papyri from Apollônos Anô and Aphrodito, Frank Trombley calculated that at the beginning of the eighth century, ships sailing downstream made an average 28.8 kilometres per day.[79] According to Herodotus, however, it

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[75] Timm, *Christlich-koptische Ägypten*, vol. 5, 2198–2203; Ramzī, *Qāmūs*, II/2, 300–1.

[76] See above, note 11.

[77] *Sibʿ*, a kind of camel, is probably not intended here. Cf. *al-qamḥ alladhī ḥamaltahu ʿalā ʾl-sibʿ* (Raghib, "Lettres I," no. 6.12–13, dating from the third/ninth century, provenance probably Fayyūm); *mā kāna min sibʿ aw jamal* (Ibn Ḥawqal, *Masālik*, 148; E. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Cambridge 1984, 1297, left column).

[78] Labib, "Iskandariyya," 132–7. At the time of the Geniza, ships took five to six days to sail from Cairo to Alexandria (Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, 299).

[79] In this volume, "Sawīrus b. al-Muqaffaʾ and the Christians of Umayyad Egypt:

took seven days to sail upstream from the Mediterranean to Lake Moeris in the Fayyūm, amounting to about 56 kilometres a day![80] A nineteenth-century travel guide claims that it takes 6–8 weeks to cover the *ca.* 725 kilometres from Cairo to Aswān and back by boat, including 20 days for sightseeing.[81] Wind and weather conditions, and other variables, caused great variety and a wide range in travel times, so that while an average time to cover a distance by sailing can be calculated, the duration of individual voyages could differ a lot.

4./5. *balagha kirā'ī min Rashīd ilā 'l-Iskandariyya dīnār illā nisf qīrāṭ*. The Egyptian *qīrāṭ* was 1/24 of a *mithqāl* or *dīnār* and the price for this trip comprised thus almost one *dīnār*.[82] Such a high price suggests a transport of bulk goods. See above, the section 'The Goods for Sale.' The sixty kilometres between Rosetta and Alexandria could be covered by camels or mules in one or two days.[83] Our sender, having arrived on Saturday in Rosetta and having left again the next day, would thus have arrived in Alexandria on the following Monday.

6. *thumma ʿaraḍnā yawm al-ithnayn fa-ajāra allāh ʿarḍanā*. *ʿaraḍa* I = to present (for sale); expose (for sale) (Lane, *Lexicon*, 2003, left column). See *ʿaraḍnā 'l-athwāb* (*P.Marchands* III 40.4, dating from the third/ninth century, provenance Fayyūm); ודכר אנה ערץ אלמיעה סויה סתה דנאניר אלק מן ואנה לם יביעהא (TS 8J 19 f. 26.10–11, dating from the eleventh century).
ajāra allāh ʿarḍanā. The initial *jīm* has less of a curve than initial *ʿayn*. See line 5 *ʿaraḍnā* and line 15 *ʿalaynā wa-ʿalayka*. And see, for a similar form of initial *jīm/ḥā'/khā'*, line 17 *khalawn*. For this expression, see *qul man bi-yadihi malakūtu kulli shay'in wa-huwa yujāru wa-lā yujāru ʿalayhi in kuntum taʿlamūna* in Qur'ān 23:88. The verb can also be read as *ajāza*.

7. *unẓur yā Abū 'l-Ḥārith an tuʿazzira ilayya Yuḥannis*. *Ḥārith* is written with *scriptio defectiva* of long ā (S. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic: Based upon Papyri Datable to Before 300 A.H./912 A.D.*,

War and Society in a Documentary Context" in P. M. Sijpesteijn and L. Sundelin (eds.), *Papyrology and the History of Early Islamic Egypt*, Leiden 2004.

[80] Herodotus 2.4; A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus, Book II, Commentary 1–98*, Leiden 1976, 34.

[81] *Murray's Handbook*.

[82] Hinz, *Gewichte*, 1–2, 11, 27.

[83] See above note 4.

Oxford 1984, § 9.c). This name is also written this way in two other early official letters (Raghib, "Lettres I," 1.6, dated 134–9/751–6; 2.2, dating from the second/eighth century, provenance of both is the Fayyūm).

Ilayya seems to be a hypercorrection for *lī* used as a *dativus ethicus*. Cf. the uncertain example provided by Hopkins for *ilā* superseding *li* (*Grammar*, § 107.b). Such a reading is preferable to reading this word as the preposition *ilā* which is not usually combined with the verb *ʿazzara* when referring to the person who is helped. *Fī* in line 8 refers to the task that has to be helped with. This verb can also be read *tuʿarrira*, which is followed by *bi-* for persons.

8. The first two words on this line can be read as: *alif*-?; *alif-lām-sīn/shīn*-tooth-*jīm/hāʾ/khāʾ*. A more satisfactory reading could not be provided. Perhaps Yuḥannis' *kunya* was written here?

   qamḥ al-ṭāḥūna. *Ṭāḥūna* is written with defective long ā (Hopkins, *Grammar*, § 9.c). See *taktubu ilayya fī qārib shaʿīr yaṭḥunuhu* in J. David-Weill *et al.*, "Papyrus arabes du Louvre III," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 21 (1978), 146–64, no. 30.7, dating from the second/eighth century. Millers and mills appear frequently in the papyri. See, for example, Grohmann, "Wirtschaftsgeschichte," 18.3, dating from the third/ninth century; *Chrest.Khoury* I 51.2, dated 353/964, provenance probably Ashmūnayn; 57.3, dated 395/1004, provenance Fayyūm.

9. *kull aḥad*. *Aḥad* is used twice in this line instead of the expected *wāḥid* when used as a substantive.[84] Hopkins cites a case of *wāḥid* being used when *aḥad* was to be expected (*Grammar*, § 201).

   fa-bʿath Zayd. *Tanwīn alif* is absent in this direct object against Classical Arabic (Hopkins, *Grammar*, § 166.d).

   fa-l-yakīlhu kull aḥad. Long medial ī is retained where Classical Arabic requires a short i (Hopkins § 81.a). After Abū ʾl-Ḥārith has sifted and taken the wheat from the mill, he shall have Zayd weigh it. Zayd possibly worked for the sender, making sure that the wheat received from the miller was the same amount that

[84] W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3d ed., Cambridge 1896–98, vol. 2, 236 A, § 97.

was given to him,[85] preparing the flour for sale in standard quantities, or as a collector of taxes in kind.[86]

9./10. *wa-ʾmur Sanbā lā yaghful min taʿwīḍ al-ḥaql.* In the papyri the verb *ʾamara* is commonly followed by an asyndetic clause (Hopkins, *Grammar,* § 169.b). Sanbā is a form of the Greek name Σαμβᾶς (*NB*, 360). *Taʿwīḍ al-ḥaql* has as its meaning to improve (*aṣlaḥa*) the ground. The retention of *alif* in the imperative of *ʾamara* after *wa* is in accordance with Classical Arabic.[87]

11. Bilatūs b. Bīhawīh. For the first name, see *P.Prag.Arab.* 8v.19, 35, dating from the third/ninth century; 41v.2, 5; 46v.6, both dating from the fifth/eleventh century. The patronymic is an Arabic form of the Christian name Biheu, ⲡⲉϩⲏⲟ, ⲡⲁϩⲏⲟ and variants (G. Heuser, *Die Personennamen der Kopten*, Leipzig 1929, 28, 68).

12. *in raʾayta dhāka.* For the use of *dhāka* in the papyri see Hopkins, *Grammar,* §61.f. This formula expressing a polite wish more commonly takes the form: *fa-in raʾayta . . . faʿalta*, but also frequently appears without the apodosis. In Arabic petitions some form of this formula was standard. In the earliest known petition dated 100/718–9 the following expression is used: *in raʾā ʾl-amīr min al-raʾy an . . . fa-l-yafʿal.*[88] In letters the same phrase is used to express a polite wish. See, for examples without an apodosis: *CPR* XVI 10.2, provenance not mentioned; 15.4, provenance probably Ashmūnayn; David-Weill et al., "Louvre," 19B.7 (translated by the editor as "si tu es de cet avis"), all dating from the third/ninth century; *P.Berl.Arab.* II 74.5, 10, dating from the second/eighth century, provenance of both is not mentioned (translated by the editor as "wenn du also doch beschliessen würdest").

14. *maʿa Abū Jumʿa. Abū* for Classical Arabic *Abī* is very frequent in the papyri (Hopkins, *Grammar*, § 162.a.i).

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[85] See the third/ninth-century letter in which a woman writes that she has weighed the wheat she had received from the sender, presumably to check that the same amount was delivered that was sent (*P.Khalili* I 17.5–6, provenance not mentioned).

[86] See above, note 61.

[87] Wright, *Grammar*, vol. 1, 76 D, § 138.

[88] For the chronological development of Arabic petition formulae, see G. Khan, "The Historical Development of the Structure of Medieval Arabic Petitions," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 53 (1990), 8–30.

14./16. *asʾalu allāh lanā wa-laka bi-ʾl-ʿāfiya fī ʾl-dunyā wa-ʾl-ākhira wa-atamma ʿalaynā wa-ʿalayka niʿmatahu wa-adkhalanā wa-iyyāka al-janna bi-raḥmatihi.* The *hamza* is not written in *asʾalu* (Hopkins, *Grammar*, § 19). For the use of *saʾala* with *li-* for the person in whose favour the addressee requests something from God, and *bi-* for the thing asked for, following the semantically close expression with *ḏw* I *allāh li-fulān bi-shayʾ*, see *P.Berl.Arab.* II 27.10 commentary (dating from the third/ninth century, provenance not mentioned).

The first of these prayers is not elsewhere attested, but see *ʿāfānā allāh wa-iyyāka bi-aḥsan ʿāfiyatihi fī ʾl-dunyā wa-ʾl-ākhira* in *P.Berl.Arab.* II 75.5–6, dating from the second/eighth century (= Loth, "Papyrus," no. 2r5), provenance Fayyūm. The second two expressions are still dependent on *asʾalu allāh an*, but are constructed as separate wishes which commonly appear at the beginning of letters. See, for example, *aṭāla allāh baqāʾaka wa-ʿazzaka wa-akramaka wa-atamma niʿmatahu ʿalayka wa-zāda fī iḥsānihi ilayka* in *P.Berl.Arab.* II 29.2, dating from the third/ninth century, provenance not mentioned. But see also *nasʾalu allāh lanā wa-lakum tamīm niʿmatahu ʿalaynā wa-ʿalaykum* in *P.Berl.Arab.* II 72.6–7, dating from the second/eighth century, provenance not mentioned, and the examples in the commentary. For the final prayer, see *nasʾalu allāh an yulbisanā wa-iyyāka ʿāfiyatahu wa-an yudkhilanā bi-raḥmatihi al-janna* in P.Mich.Inv. 5622.3–5, dating from 730–50, provenance Fayyūm (= P. M. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State: Papyri Related to a Mid-Eighth-Century Egyptian Official*, Ph.D. dissertation Princeton University, no. 25).

17./18. *katabtu ilayka kitābī hādhā li-thalātha wa-ʿishrūn khalawna min Jumādā ʾl-ūlā sitta wa-ʿishrīn min Baʾūna. ʿIshrūn* in the *casus rectus* is a hypercorrection for the *status obliquus* after the preposition *li* (Hopkins, *Grammar*, § 86.b).

For the use of dating using a form of the verb *khalawna*, see A. Grohmann, *Arabische Chronologie. Arabische Papyruskunde*, Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung. Der nahe und der mittlere Osten. Ergänzungsband 2 Erster Halbband I, Leiden 1966, 19–20.

Baʾūna is one of the Arabic forms for the tenth Coptic month ⲡⲁⲱⲛⲓ (May 26–June 24). See Grohmann, *Chronologie*, 28,

for the different ways in which this month name is written in the Arabic papyri. The first number is partially erased and can be read as *sitta*, *sabʿa*, or *tisʿa*.

For examples of dated private letters see: *wa-kutiba yawm al-khamīs li-thalāth layālin khalawna min shahr Rabīʿ al-ākhir* in Raghib, "Lettres I," 7.4–5; *kitābī ilayka juʿiltu fidāʾaka min al-Fusṭāṭ fī arbaʿat ayyām maḍaw min Shaʿbān* in Raghib, "Lettres II," 17.4, provenance of both unknown; *wa-kutiba yawm al-khamīs ḍaḥwatan* in *P.Heid.Arab.* II 7.9, provenance not mentioned, all dating from the third/ninth century.

In the year 117/735, Jumādā I began on Sunday evening and the 24th of that month fell on 27 Baʾūna. The Muslim day starts at sunset. Twenty-three days having passed in Jumādā I take us to 24 Jumādā I. The Coptic day was calculated, according to liturgical texts, from sunset to sunset.[89] Twenty-six days of the month having passed brings us to the 27th. For examples of Arabic papyri dated by the Coptic and Islamic day and month, see Grohmann, *Chronologie*, 29–30; *CPR* XXII 23, dated 787–8, provenance unknown; and *P.Prag.Arab.* 47, dated 440/1049, provenance probably Ashmūnayn.[90] See also, above, the commentary to line 3.

18. *birdhawnī*. Mules, donkeys, and oxen were the animals commonly used in agricultural production, horses being too precious.[91] The mule would have been used to carry products from the field to the mill, or in the rotating mills that crushed the olives or pressed olives and grape-skins.[92]

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[89] Maged Mikhail, communication by e-mail, 14 June 2003.

[90] Grohmann writes that the double dates are generally quite accurate, but the examples in *P.Prag.Arab.* 47 show that dates could be off by one or two days. This was due to the witnessing of the new moon, the indicator of the new Islamic month, differing from place to place. Because it is the witnessing of the new moon that determines the starting point of the new month, different starting dates could also result from bad or cloudy weather obstructing the view in the evening.

[91] I want to thank Klaas Worp for bringing this to my attention (Cairo, March 2002).

[92] Rotary motion allows for the use of animals (Curtis, *Technology*, 305). At the time of harvest, asses were used to transport baskets of grapes daily from the vineyards to the presses on the third-century Appianus estate (Rathbone, *Rural Society*, 252–3).

Mules were rented out to transport different goods in the Fayyūm (*P.Berl.Arab*. II 56.4, dating from the third/ninth century, provenance not mentioned). In a letter someone writes: *wa-qad anfadhtu ilayka al-birdhawn maʿa Bkāshir* (*P.Philad. Arab*. 78.5, dating from the fifth/eleventh century, provenance not mentioned).[93]

Examples of working men who are hired for some specific (seasonal) agricultural task also occur in the papyri. A man agrees to thresh (*dirās*) with his men twelve *faddān* of wheat (Thung, *Urkunden*, 14.7, dated 277/891, provenance Ashmūnayn). In four contracts, men are hired to cut grain and mow clover (*P.Philad.Arab*. 31.i–iv, all dated 268/882, provenance of all is Fayyūm). A man is hired to take care of a donkey (David-Weill, "Contrat," dated 263/877, provenance Egypt). A worker is hired to work two months in bean cultivation (*fūl*), starting in the month Choiak (November/December) with a salary of two *dirham*s a month, or 1/6 *dīnār* for the two months (*P.Cair.Arab*. II 96, dated 227/841, provenance unknown).

18./19. *ṣaḥīḥ laysa bi-ẓahrihi ba's*. *Ṣaḥīḥ* should be read *ṣaḥīḥan* as a *ḥāl* accusative lacking *tanwīn alif* (Hopkins § 167).

For the expression *lā ba's bi-*, see: *wa-aswāq lā ba's bihā* (Ibn Ḥawqal, *Masālik*, 143).

A similar concern about the condition of a leased-out working animal is expressed in a fourth/tenth century document recording the lease of an ox to work at a waterwheel until the irrigation is completed, for the price of one *dīnār* under the condition that it will be returned to the owner as it had been delivered (*usallimu ilayka hādhā 'l-thawr kamā tasallamtuhu minka* in *Chrest.Khoury* I 62.8–9, dated 333/945, provenance Ashmūnayn).

[93] The printed pages of the edition have been reversed for this text. The Arabic text can be found on page 136, the translation on page 138.

raḥimaka allāh. This prayer is used both for deceased and living people (*P.Heid.Arab*. II 13.5, dating from the fifth/eleventh century, provenance not mentioned, and the examples mentioned in the commentary).

20. *baʿda ʾl-ʿaṣīr bi-shahr*. For the meaning of *ʿaṣīr* see below, the commentary to line 21.
    The scribe seems to have made a mistake here, writing *maʿa* for *qad*. See lines 12/13 *qad awʿadanī*.
21. *shahr al-ʿaṣīr*. The root ʿ-ṣ-r is used to refer to squeezing, juicing and pressing (Lane, *Lexicon*, 2061–3). *Miʿṣara* is used to describe a wine, olive, or sugarcane press.[94]
    This pressing season probably refers to the pressing of grapes. Grapes became plentiful in the month following the month in which the letter was written, the eleventh Coptic month, Abīb (July).[95] In Misrā (August), wine-making started.[96] Grape juice,[97]

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[94] A *miʿṣara* belonging to a *zayyāt* is mentioned in a sales contract dated 239/854 (*P.Cair.Arab*. I 56.4, provenance Edfu, and see the commentary for further examples). A *miʿṣarat zayt* was built by the patriarch John III (in office 677–86) (translated "linseed oil press," *History of the Patriarchs* III, 18). Cf. אלמסתנדה לעצר אלזית אלחנרה אלמעצרה (TS Arabic Box 38, f. 86, cited in Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 4, 363). Also from the Geniza documents: עציר or עצאר, a presser of grapes (Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, 123, 428) or operator of an oil or wine press (Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, 92, 413). Cf. W. Diem and H. P. Radenberg, *Dictionary. The Arabic material of S. D. Goitein's A Mediterranean Society*, Wiesbaden 1994, 144–5. An Abū ʾl-Ḥadīd *al-ʿaṣṣār* appears in a third-fourth/ninth-tenth-century papyrus (*CPR* XVI 22.12, provenance not mentioned). In a marriage contracted dated between 421–6/1030–5, an *ʿaṣṣār*'s granddaughter married a miller (*ṭaḥḥān*) (*P.Philad.Arab*. 27.3, 10, provenance not mentioned).

[95] Ibn Mammātī, *Qawānīn*, 255–6, and in his long calendar cited in Pellat, *Calendriers*, 86; Makhzūmī, *Minhāj*, 8; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, 738; anonymous calendar quoted by Pellat, *Calendriers*, 194. See also D. Müller-Wodarg, "Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens in der frühen ʿAbbāsidenzeit 750–969 n. Chr. (132–358 d. H.)," *Der Islam* 32 (1957), 14–78, especially 45; Wissa Wassef, "Calendar," 443.

[96] Specified as something the Christians did by Maqrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, 739). See also Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, 123, and Rathbone, *Rural Society*, 250–1.

[97] *ʿaqīd* (Y. Raghib, "Quatre papyrus d'Edfou," *Annales Islamologiques* 14 (1978), 1–14, no. 3r.8, dating from the forth/tenth century, provenance Edfu); *ʿāṣira* is mentioned in an account of the grape harvest (*P.Cair.Arab*. VI 376.4, 7, 9, dated *ca.* 320/932, provenance Edfu).

vinegar, boiled wine[98] and wine[99] are frequently cited in the papyri and other sources, and viticulture remained important in the early Islamic period in Egypt.[100]

Olives were harvested at the end of Bābah (October), when the first pressing took place.[101] The oil pressing continued in Hātūr

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[98] *Khull* was produced in the twelfth Coptic month, Misrā (Makhzūmī, *Minhāj*, 8; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, 739). The Greek papyri from the Islamic period mention boiled wine (ἕψημα), referring to wine-must boiled down to its third, and sour wine (ὄξος), generally interpreted as vinegar. The 'boiled wine' was ordered in great quantities by the Muslim authorities and it appears in distribution lists of workers, soldiers and others in the Muslims' service, Christians, but especially Muslims (Morelli, *Olio*, 112 n. 134; N. Gonis, "Two Fiscal Registers from Early Islamic Egypt (*P.Vatic.Aphrod.*13, *SB* XX 14701)," *ZPE* 30 (2000), 21–9, 1.7, commentary). *Ṭilā' maṭbūkh*, boiled wine (perhaps the Greek ἕψημα, boiled wine, rather than "durch Kochen eingedickter Traubensaft"?) is requested in a second/eighth-century letter by Muslims (*P.Heid.Arab.* II 24.9, provenance not mentioned). For a discussion of wine in the Greek papyri from the forth to seventh centuries, see L. Casson, "Wine Measures and Prices in Byzantine Egypt," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 17 (1939), 1–16. But see Morelli's critique in *Olio*, 150 n. 41.

[99] *Ṭilā'* is mentioned on two Umayyad glass weights, one issued under the finance director Usāma b. Zayd (in office 96–9/714–7 and in 102/720–1), the other by Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ (finance director 99–101/717–20) (A. H. Morton, *A Catalogue of Early Islamic Glass Stamps in the British Museum*, London 1986, nos. 13 and 24). A *mikyala* weight for beer dating to the 'first years of Muslim rule' has been found in Fusṭāṭ (L. Eldada, "Glass Weights and Vessel Stamps," in J. Bacharach (ed.), *Fustat Finds*, Cairo 2002, 112–66, no. 59). *Ǧayyid ṭilā' rā'iq* appears in a list of expenses incurred by Muslim troops stationed in the Fayyūm and Ahnās (A. Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri*, p. 135, line 23 = *PERF* 709, dating from between 205–6/820–1). See also the wine delivered to an *amīr* (*CPR* VIII 85, dating from the seventh/eighth centuries, provenance Hermopolis). Wine was sent from an estate (*ousia*) to an *amīr* at the end of the seventh century (*P.Apoll.* 10, provenance Edfu). Around that same time an estate in the Fayyūm delivered wine as taxes (*SPP* VIII 1341.2, dating from the seventh/eighth centuries). Skins with *khamr* belonging to a Christian are recorded in a bill of lading (*P.Khalili* I 7.3, 5, 6, dating from the second/eighth century, provenance not mentioned). *Nabīdh* is mentioned in a third/ninth-century account (Grohmann, "Wirtschaftsgeschichte," 18.6, provenance unknown). *Sharab* mentioned in a request for medicine probably refers to wine, according to the editor (Raghib, "Edfou," 3r.8, dating from the fourth/tenth centuries, provenance Edfu), but see *CPR* XVI 24.9, dating from the third/ninth century, provenance not mentioned). A certain *Aḥmad al-nabbādh* appears in a fifth/eleventh-century text (*P.Cair.Arab.* I 69.10, dated 459/1066–7, provenance Ashmūnayn).

[100] *Karm*, vineyard, appears in land-tax payments from the earliest period onward (*P.Giess.Arab.* 3.5, commentary and n. 1; 4.2 commentary; p. 21 n. 1, provenance of both is Fayyūm). Although editors often translate this as taxes on wine or wine-producing land, this is, of course, not certain. See notes 98 and 99 for evidence of the continuation of viticulture in the Fayyūm and Egypt in general after the Muslim conquest. For wine trade between the Fayyūm and Fusṭāṭ, see above note 44.

[101] Long calendar of Ibn Mammātī in Pellat, *Calendriers*, 8; in the month of Tūt (Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, 730).

(November).[102] It is therefore unlikely that this is the pressing season referred to in this letter, which was written three months before the olive pressing began.[103]

Radishes, a much more common source for oil than olives in Egypt, were grown all year round. Consequently, the pressing of the seeds for oil took place throughout the year, as well, and not only during one particular pressing month.[104] In an early second/eighth century letter, the addressee is nevertheless asked to buy the sender radish oil from the new press.[105] Other plants such as myrtle, lotus[106] and balsam also provided oils, but these do not seem to have been produced on a large scale.[107]

Sugar cane was probably not yet being cultivated in Egypt at this time.[108] Moreover its pressing season falls even later than that of olives, namely in Kayhak and Ṭūba (November/December).[109]

Shaʿīr, barley, was used first and foremost as animal fodder.[110]

22. *wa-qraʾ ʿalā Sanbā al-salām wa-ʾawṣīhi bi-Dafāya kathīran.*

Alif maqṣūra is not written in *ʿalā* (Hopkins, *Grammar*, § 55.i, 107). *ʿAlī* is written in the same way in several other early papyri. See, for example, *CPR* XVI 4r.9, dating from the first-second/seventh-eighth centuries, provenance probably Ahnās.

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[102] Anonymous calendar in Pellat, *Calendriers*, 140; also Müller-Wodarg, "Landwirtschaft," 64–5.

[103] For the Fayyūm as the most important oil producing center in Egypt from pharaonic to modern times, see Morelli, *Olio*, 150 n. 37. But Leo Africanus wrote that in the sixteenth century the many olives that grew around Madīnat al-Fayyūm were only suitable for eating, not for making oil (*Description*, 531).

[104] Ibn Mammātī, *Qawānīn*, 269.

[105] *wa-btaʿ lanā min al-jadīd wa-lā tuʿajjil ḥattā yuʿṣara al-jadīd* (P.Mich.inv. 5623 = Sijpesteijn, *Creating a Muslim State*, no. 28.13–14, dated 730–50, provenance Fayyūm).

[106] In Bābah (October) (Ibn Mammātī, *Qawānīn*, 238).

[107] From the middle of Tūt (September) (Ibn Mammātī, *Qawānīn*, 251–2; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, 736). And in Bābah (October) oil was taken from myrtle (*ās*) and nenuphar (*nīlūfar*) (Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, 731).

[108] In spite of Müller-Wodarg's citation of a papyrus dating from the second/eighth century in which sugar, but not *sugarcane*, is mentioned ("Landwirtschaft," 48 n. 408). Qurra b. Sharīk allegedly introduced sugarcane cultivation on the land reclaimed from Birkat al-Ḥabash (Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 2, 49; vol. 3, 511; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Nujūm*, vol. 1, 244).

[109] Ibn Mammātī, *Qawānīn*, 244, 266; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. 1, 733.

[110] Müller-Wodarg, "Landwirtschaft," 20–1.

Salām is written with defective long ā (Hopkins, *Grammar*, § 9.c). Also written thus at the end of this line and in lines 23 and 24.

Wa-ʾawṣīhi has retained a long ī where Classical Arabic requires a short i (Hopkins, *Grammar*, § 82.d). The bottom half of the letters in the word following *wa-ʾawṣīhi* are effaced, but seem to read: *bāʾ-dāl/dhāl-fāʾ/qāf-alif/lām*-tooth-*hā/tāʾ marbūṭa*. These most probably refer to a Christian personal name.

22./23. *wa-qraʾ ʿalā Abnūla kattābika al-salām kathīran*. For the Christian name Abnūla (ⲁⲃⲛⲱⲗⲁ; ἀπα Νεῖλο), see *P.Qurra* III.5, v.2, dated 91/709–10, provenance Ishqāw; *P.Cair.Arab*. I 61.2, dated 423/1031; 54.5, dated 448/1056; 67.4, dated 450/1058, provenance of all three is Fayyūm.

Kattāb (R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Leiden 1881, vol. 2, 450 right column) can also be interpreted as a scribal error for the much more common word *kātib*, switching the letters *tāʾ* and *alif*. *Kattāb* with the meaning scribe appears also in a contemporary early letter in a correspondence which otherwise uses *kātib* to refer to scribe (P.Mich.inv. 5626(C).17, dated 730–50, provenance Fayyūm (= Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State*, no. 4)). Christian scribes producing Arabic letters in the service of Muslims are attested in the early papyri. See, for example, the scribes ʿĪsā (Becker, "Aphroditofundes," IV.15, dated 91/710, provenance Ishqāw), Yaḥyā (Diem "Vier Dienstschreiben an ʿAmmār. Ein Beitrag zur arabischen Papyrologie," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 133 (1983), 239–62, d.7, dated 102/720, provenance not mentioned) and Petosiris (*CPR* XVI 4r.9, dating from the first–second/seventh–eighth centuries, provenance probably Ihnās).

24. *al-salām ʿalayka wa-raḥmat allāh*. *Raḥmat* is written with *tāʾ ṭawīla* instead of *tāʾ marbūṭa* in the *status constructus* which is an archaic spelling (Hopkins, *Grammar*, § 47.a).

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DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE *BARĪD*

Adam Silverstein

The Near East is no stranger to land-based empires, and empires have never been able to survive without the ability of rulers to communicate regularly and speedily with the remotest provinces of their lands. The usual method of communication employed by imperial rulers is often referred to as a 'postal system'. By the time the caliphs created their own postal-system, called *al-Barīd*, they were able to draw on the centuries, if not millennia, of postal experience imprinted on the lands they ruled. In what follows, two points will be made. First, the relevance of documents to ancient postal systems in general, and to the *Barīd* in particular, will be discussed. Second, the contribution of documentary evidence to our knowledge of the early Islamic postal system will be demonstrated, on the basis of fragments from Egypt and Central Asia.

It could be argued that the fewer literary sources we possess for a particular subject, the more important documentary sources for the same subject become. In the case of the *Barīd*, this simple formula could not be truer; there is frustratingly little information on the pre-Mamluk *Barīd* in literary sources. Among the thousands of titles collected by Ibn al-Nadīm, only one book has the term *barīd* in its title and this book does not appear to have survived.[1] Sauvaget, in his celebrated study of the Mamluk postal system, remarks that "[Regarding the pre-Mamluk *Barīd*] we only possess skeletal documentation, extremely laconic allusions . . . which tell us little more than the fact of the *Barīd*'s existence."[2]

But even disregarding the limitations of the literary sources, there are reasons why documents are inherently important to the study of pre-modern postal systems. First, written messages that were delivered

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[1] *Kitāb Shiḥnat al-Barīd*, by one Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥārith al-Kharrāz (d. 258/872); cf. B. Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, vol. 1, New York 1970, 228f.

[2] J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des mamelouks*, Paris 1941, 1 f.

by the postal system usually contained a few words about the courier bearing the letter. Thus, in the Greek papyri from Egypt during the governorship of Qurra ibn Sharīk (in office 709–714), there are a number of official letters that describe the messenger by the term *beredarion*.[3] This term is often shortened to either *berd* or, interestingly, *berid*.[4] The equivalent in comparable Arabic documents is almost always *rasūl*. Without wanting to delve into the problematic question of the etymology of the term *barīd*, it is worth noting here the importance of such references. Another example may be found in the vast materials preserved in the Cairo Genizah. In many of the surviving letters there are a few words giving the name of the messenger and the method by which the letter was to be delivered. Goitein has produced an impressive study of what he calls "The Commercial Mail System" on the basis of these documents.[5]

Second, the function of the *Barīd* as a system of intelligence gathering is also apparent in documents from Egypt. In one well-known instance, Qurra ibn Sharīk writes to Basīl, the administrator of Ishqaw, mentioning the *ṣāḥib al-Barīd*'s report on unfair practices employed by Basīl in collecting taxes.[6] These postal reports were always written down and one can expect to find specimens of this type of text in the files of the imperial chancellery bureau. Third, users of the postal system were provided with documents that specify the details of their right to use the *Barīd*. Several documents spanning a wide range of regions and periods survive, and are often referred to as 'passports'. Naturally, many of these passports are unrelated to the imperial postal system, but we do occasionally come across letters that allow the bearer to use the mounts of the *Barīd*, some of which will be discussed below. Finally, the movement of couriers between postal stations was carefully recorded in logbooks at each

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[3] *P.Lond.* IV, p. xxiv.

[4] '*berid*': *P.Lond.* IV 1381.16; 1434.254, 329; 1440.4; and 1441.89. '*berd*': *P.Lond.* IV 1362.24; 1368.12; 1370.19; 1380.33; 1387.15; 1391.31; 1401.15; 1403.7; 1416.51; 1433.45, 112, 143, 194, 312, 351, 368; 1434.17, 26, 44; 1441.80, 84; 1443.35, 48, 56; and others. For a discussion of the etymology of the term *barīd*, see M. Ullmann, *Zur Geschichte des Wortes Barid, 'Poste'*, Munich 1997; A. Silverstein, "Etymologies and Origins: A Note of Caution," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 28/1 (2001), 92–4.

[5] S. D. Goitein, "The Commercial Mail Service in Medieval Islam", *JAOS* 84 (1964), 118–23.

[6] The text of this fragment is presented in full, both in Arabic and in translation at P.Cair.Arab. III 153.

station, and specimens of this type of source have survived from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.[7]

However, considering the inherent relevance of documents to pre-modern postal systems, there is surprisingly little non-literary material that sheds light on the early history of the *Barīd*, and it would be impossible to trace the evolution of the Islamic postal system in any detail without using the scattered literary references to the *Barīd* in conjunction with the documentary material. That said, there are two important details regarding the history of the *Barīd* that, based on the documentary evidence, we now know to be inaccurate. Amongst surviving literary sources, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's (d. 749/1349) account has had more influence on modern scholarship on the *Barīd* than any other primary source.[8] This may be due to the fact that this account provides us with one of the only chronological summaries of the early development of the *Barīd*. It is, therefore, worth quoting this passage in full to establish the basic evolution of the *Barīd* according to medieval Muslim scholars. Al-ʿUmarī writes:

> The first person to establish the *Barīd* in Islam was Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, (may Allāh be pleased with him), when his caliphate became stable: When the caliph ʿAlī (may Allāh be pleased with him) died and ʿAlī's son al-Ḥasan handed caliphal power over to [Muʿāwiya] and [Muʿāwiya] rid himself of [internal] struggles, he established the *Barīd* to expedite the arrival of intelligence (*akhbār*) to him from his outlying provinces. He therefore ordered that Persian dehqans and people of the Byzantine provinces be brought before him, and he explained to them what it is that he wanted, and they established the *burud* (sing. *barīd*), using mules with pack-saddles as the means of transport. Some, however, say that this happened during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān, when he rid himself of the Kharijites . . . [The caliph] al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik used [the *Barīd*] to transport mosaics (*al-fusayfisā'*)—which is gilded tessera—from Constantinople to Damascus . . . The *Barīd* remained in existence and in constant use until the time came

[7] Ptolemaic Egypt: the entire text of one such document, dating from 255 B.C., has been published in N. N. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation*, Cambridge 1981, no. 247. Roman Egypt: cf. *P.Oxy*. XL 4087–8, where the courier traffic through a *mansio* of the *cursus publicus* in Tacona is recorded.

[8] Modern scholars who have based much of their treatment of the *Barīd* on al-ʿUmarī include: D. Sourdel in his article '*Barīd*' in *EI*[2] 1:1045 f.; F. Dvornik, *The Origins of Intelligence Services*, New Jersey, 1974, 199 ff.; and N. Saʿdawī, *Nizām al-barīd fi 'l-dawla al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1953, passim.

> for the collapse of the structure of the Marwanid state, and the unraveling of Marwanid power, and the Marwanids were cut off from [all the land] between Iraq and Khurasan, since the notables turned to the Shiism that upheld the Abbasid state. This continued until the end of Marwān ibn Muhammad's reign—he was the last of the Umayyad caliphs. Then al-Saffāḥ ruled, then al-Manṣūr, and then al-Mahdī, but no saddle was strapped and no mount was bridled for the *Barīd*. But then al-Mahdī sent his son Hārūn al-Rashīd to campaign against the Byzantines, and [al-Mahdī] wanted to obtain immediate knowledge of [his son's] affairs, so he established *burud* between him and his son's camp, which would bring information about [his son] to him, and which would show him an updated picture of his affairs. When Hārūn al-Rashīd returned, al-Mahdī discontinued these *burud* and the situation continued in this way throughout his reign and the reign of Mūsā al-Hādī after him. But when Hārūn al-Rashīd became caliph, he remembered his father's excellent initiative in setting up *burud* between the two of them, and Yaḥyā ibn Khālid said to him: 'Were the caliph to order the establishment of the *Barīd* as it used to be, this would be beneficial to his rule'. So [Hārūn] ordered him to do so, and Yaḥyā established and organized [the *Barīd*] in the manner that it functioned during the days of the Umayyads, and he stationed mules at the stations . . .[9]

Al-ʿUmarī's first statement in which he credits Muʿāwiya with the creation of the *Barīd* has been questioned by A. Noth, who argues that since the earliest documents which mention the *Barīd* date from *c.* 700, it is only from this date that we can speak with confidence of an Islamic postal system.[10] Noth's general conclusion is that any literary sources that refer to the *Barīd* must be no earlier than *c.* 700. Although I agree with Noth's cautious approach to the literary sources and respect his uncompromising reliance on documentary evidence, in this case he is over a century and a half off the mark: a South Arabian inscription from *c.* 542 makes reference to two couriers bearing news of the breaching of the Ma'rib Dam, the term for these couriers being represented by the consonants BRDN.[11] Noth's postulate and suggested dating are therefore inaccurate. But this does

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[9] Al-ʿUmarī, *al-Taʿrīf bi'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, Cairo 1894, 184–6.

[10] A. Noth, *Quellenkritische Studien zu Themen, Formen, und Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtesüberlieferung* (trans. M. Bonner), Princeton, 1994, 80f.

[11] *CIS* IV ii, no. 541; for a more detailed discussion of the importance of this reference for our understanding of the early history of the *Barīd*, see A. Silverstein, "The Origins and Early Development of the Islamic Postal System (*al-Barīd*), until *ca.* 846 CE," Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University 2002, 74–95.

not change the fact that al-ʿUmarī's assertion that Muʿāwiya invented the *Barīd* is still wrong, and we know this from a non-literary source.

Second, and perhaps more importantly, is al-ʿUmarī's statement that from the fall of the Umayyads until the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd there was no regular *Barīd* service at the disposal of the Abbasid caliphs. There are no fewer than eight documents that disprove his assumption. Before discussing them, it is worth mentioning that there are literary references to the *Barīd* being used under the early Abbasid caliphs, and the thought that—despite the rich heritage of imperial communications systems in the Near East—the Abbasids spent the first four decades of their reign without a *Barīd* is plainly counter-intuitive. But, in essence, what we have here is a tension between a number of literary sources, and it is only from the existing documentary evidence that these tensions can be alleviated. Of the eight *Barīd*-related fragments, six are from Egypt and two are from Central Asia.

The Egyptian documents consist of six warrants to use the *Barīd*, all of which date back to the years 745–752. The documents were published by Margoliouth some seven decades ago,[12] were summarily discussed by Goitein three decades thereafter,[13] and have recently been republished and translated with annotation by Raghib.[14] The fragments are not very exciting: they all say "send so and so on two mounts of the *Barīd*, one of them being the *furāniq*'s mount." Of course, the names mentioned on each document are different, as are the dates on which these documents were composed, but otherwise the fragments are identical. Clearly, considering the meager content of these documents, they have received a disproportionate amount of scholarly attention. Thus, although Raghib's short commentary on the fragments is interesting, one wonders if these fragments really deserved republication. Furthermore, despite the very limited amount of text included in each letter, he argues that the similarity in the epistolary style of the fragments show that there was administrative continuity from Umayyad to Abbasid times, as the earliest of the letters dates from the former dynasty, while the others letters date

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[12] P.Ryl.Arab., pp. 28–31.

[13] S. D. Goitein, "The Commercial Mail Service in Medieval Islam," *JAOS* 84 (1964), 119.

[14] Y. Raghib, "Lettres de service au maître de poste d'Asmun," *Archéologie Islamique* 3 (1992), 5–16.

from the latter.[15] This is hardly ground-breaking stuff: in what way are we to expect that the simple sentence "let so and so use the *Barīd*" would change in light of the Abbasid revolution? And, in any event, the argument that early Abbasid administration was largely a continuation of Umayyad practices has been discussed in great detail by a number of scholars.[16]

The single most important fact that we can learn from these documents is that, contrary to what al-ʿUmarī and his sources tell us, the *Barīd* was actually in existence during the reign of al-Saffāḥ. Two recently discovered leather documents from Central Asia add further confirmation to the intuition that the *Barīd* existed under the early Abbasid caliphs. The first of these documents is a contract for the purchase of an estate, from 757, and is in the Bactrian language (*balkhī*), while the second fragment is an Arabic text datable to 764.[17] The Arabic text appears to be a quittance, exonerating the bearer of the text from a list of taxes, one of these taxes being *nafaqāt dawābb al-Barīd* (expenses incurred by supplying postal mounts). This phrase appears no fewer than three times in the fragment and is probably a reference to the fact that local governors were responsible for the maintenance of the postal stations in their region, and would requisition the animals, manpower, and supplies (fodder, etc.) used in the system from the local population.

The Balkhī document is more problematic. Two types of taxes are mentioned in this text: *gazīt* and *barīt*. The former is no doubt a local rendition of the Arabic poll-tax, *jizya*, but the latter is a *hapax legomenon*, and one can only speculate that the same *Barīd*-tax referred to in the Arabic fragment is meant here. If this is the case, the final '*t*' is simply a corruption of the usual '*d*', inspired by the '*t*' of *gazīt*.

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[15] Raghib, "Lettres," 6.

[16] cf. S. D. Goitein, "A Plea for the Periodization of Islamic History," in his *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, Leiden, 1966; I. Bligh-Abramski, "Evolution versus Revolution: Umayyad Elements in the Abbasid Regime 133/750–320/932," *Der Islam* 65/2 (1988), 226–43; and A. Elad, "Aspects of the Transition from the Umayyad to the Abbasid Caliphate," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 19 (1995), 89–132.

[17] The first document has been published by N. Sims-Williams in his *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan: Legal and Economic Documents*, Oxford 2000, 126–7. The Arabic document, which is from the Nasser David Khalili collection of Islamic art, is currently being edited by Dr. Geoffrey Khan. I would like to thank Dr. Khan for bringing this text to my attention.

Professor Sims-Williams, who edited this text, has tentatively translated the term *barīt* as "harvest tax" or "assigned tax", but he has told me that he considers the option of *barīd* to be equally plausible. These are not the only *Barīd*-related documents from Central Asia; nearly half a century ago, Krachkovsky published a Sogdian leather document from 717–8.[18] In this text, Dīwāstī asks the *amīr* al-Jarrāḥ ibn ʿAbd Allāh to allow him the use of "a mount from the mounts of the *Barīd*," which Diwāstī's *ghulām* would ride.

The Central Asian documents are important for two reasons. First, as we have noticed, they confirm that the *Barīd* was in use during the reigns of the early Abbasid caliphs. This conclusively refutes al-ʿUmarī's statements to the contrary, and allows us to approach the literary references to the *Barīd* during the early Abbasid period with newfound confidence in their reliability. Second, the fact that these documents are not from Egypt has far-reaching consequences for our understanding of the *Barīd*. One problem faced by scholars using documentary evidence is that their evidence is often limited to papyri from Egypt or the Sinai desert. This means that their findings must be tempered by a disclaimer regarding the relevance of their evidence for provinces other than Egypt. One such example, which is, moreover, related to our topic, is the state of the *cursus publicus*—being the Roman postal system—in light of Justinian's reforms. Procopius, in his politically motivated *Anecdota*, tells us that Justinian "abolished the post from Chalcedon as far as Daciviza (modern Gebize) and compelled all couriers, much against their will, to proceed from Byzantium directly to Helenopolis by sea."[19] Earlier, in 467–8, the *cursus clabularis*—the heavy transport branch of the *cursus publicus*—was abandoned in the eastern provinces.[20] A papyrus fragment from Egypt, datable to 610, makes reference to both branches of the *cursus publicus* and this has led scholars to the conclusion that despite the downsizing of the postal system in the East, Egypt was an exceptional case.[21] Conversely, in the case of the *Barīd*, the existence of documentary evidence from as far west as Egypt and as far

[18] I. Krachkovsky, *Selected Works*, vol. 2, Moscow 1955, 182–212 at 184 (in Russian).
[19] Procopius, *Anecdota* (trans. H. B. Dewing), Cambridge MA, 1969, 30:8 ff.
[20] J.-M. Carrié, "Cursus Publicus," in G. Bowersock, O. Grabar, and P. Brown (eds.), *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Post-Classical World*, Princeton, 1999, 402.
[21] Ibid.

east as Soghdia and Balkh makes it clear that the lack of documents from other caliphal provinces is a reflection on the poor state of surviving fragments from the period, not on the poor state of the *Barīd* at that time. Unfortunately, perhaps due to the introduction of paper to Islamic lands in the mid-eighth century—making the more resilient writing materials such as papyrus and parchment less popular amongst bureaucrats—further documentary evidence for the early *Barīd* does not appear to have survived. The exception to this is, of course, the Cairo Genizah, although the bulk of the evidence therein is concerned with a later period, and with messengers external to the imperial postal service.

To say that this is a work in progress is almost entirely meaningless; by the very nature of the subject, which is based on the constant discovery and decipherment of hitherto unearthed materials, the contribution of documentary evidence to our knowledge of the *Barīd* will never quite be complete. But this is no excuse for not making a start on this project. One hopes that the foregoing remarks will provide the basis upon which future developments in this field may be built.

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al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349), *al-Taʿrīf bi'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, Cairo 1894.

EGYPTIAN LEXICAL INTERFERENCE IN THE GREEK OF BYZANTINE AND EARLY ISLAMIC EGYPT*

Sofia Torallas Tovar

When studying the presence of lexical interference in Greek from Egyptian,[1] the only source of interference discernible in Greek literature, we are faced with a bibliography that is not very extensive and that relates only partially to the topic.[2] Of the forty or fifty loan words identifiable, the etymological derivation from Egyptian is difficult to explain for some, for others it is very transparent.

In fact, there is more to be done than to list and explain the lexical borrowings. The real interest of this subject lies in explaining the larger linguistic situation—level of literacy, bilingualism, prestige language versus popular language—especially in late antiquity and the early Islamic period, when the interference was at its peak. The aim of this study, then, is to understand why the texts present such

* My research on Greek in Egypt is part of the Spanish project "Procesos de interacción cultural y génesis de las identidades nacionales balcánicas," (BFF 2000–1097–C02–01) coordinated by P. Bádenas de la Peña (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid). I want to thank sincerely Prof. Dr. Klaas Worp for his wise guidance and suggestions and Dr. José Manuel Galán for the revision of the Egyptian.

[1] On this see: L. Th. Lefort, "Gréco-Copte," in M. Malinine (ed.), *Coptic Studies in Honour of W. E. Crum*, Boston 1950, 65–71; E. Oréal, "Contact Linguistique. Le cas du rapport entre le grec et le copte," *Lalies* 19 (1999), 289–306; F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. 1, Milan 1976, 46–8; G. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*, London 1997, 107–27; S. Torallas Tovar, "Las lenguas de Egipto: Griego y Copto en contacto," *Interlingüística* 10 (2002), forthcoming. On Egyptian Greek, see S. G. Kapsomenos, "Das Griechische in Ägypten," *Museum Helveticum* 10/3–4 (1953), 248–63; G. Bastianini, "Il greco in Egitto," *Comunicazioni* 4 (Istituto Papirologico Vitelli), Florence 2001, 49–61.

[2] J. Vergote, "Bilinguisme et calques (translation loan words) en Égypte," *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Naples 1984, vol. 3, 1385–9; B. Hemmerdinger, "Noms communs grecs d'origine égyptienne," *Glotta* 46 (1968), 247–54; A. G. MacGready, "Egyptian Words in the Greek Vocabulary," *Glotta* 46 (1968), 238–47; R. H. Pierce, "Egyptian Loan Words in Ancient Greek," *Symbolae Osloenses* 46 (1971), 96–107; J. L. Fournet, "Les emprunts du grec à l'égyptien," *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 84 (1989), 55–80.

deviations, whether these deviations are due to interference, and how the use of Greek in one particular geographical space, namely Egypt, evolved.

Language contact studies generally divide loan words into two kinds:[3] (1) terms that are natural to the target language, and which the speaker does not distinguish from the native terms; and (2) xenisms or peregrinisms, which are not naturalized into the language, but remain as specialized terms to denote foreign objects, practices or ideas—e.g. weights and measures, the names of the months, administrative positions—and are generally imported through commercial contact or geographical and travel literature. Xenisms or peregrinisms do not imply bilingualism, or even a fair knowledge of the model language. In the case of Egypt examples include κόρος, κάβος, γόμος, λακώτιον, λεσῶνις, and so on.

It is generally accepted that the Greek language is one of the most resistant to linguistic influence.[4] Contact between Egyptian and Greek predates the classical period, when commercial exchanges facilitated linguistic interference.[5] Until the Hellenistic period loan words consisted mainly of xenisms or peregrinisms. Terms such as βᾶρις, χάμψα, κίκι and ἔρπις, which authors such as Herodotus or Aeschylus[6] use to describe Egypt, represent specifically Egyptian circumstances. The linguistic situation of this period was not one of two populations interacting on a daily basis, but one of sporadic commercial contact in which bilingualism was not necessary[7] and in which speakers of the two languages remained physically apart.

After the Macedonian conquest, however, contact within the same geographical space existed. The possibility emerged, therefore, of a bilingual community and a different kind of linguistic exchange. The

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[3] E. Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," *Language* 26 (1950), 210–31, here 212–3.

[4] A. Meillet has said (*Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*, Paris 1948, 304): "Il n'y a pas de langue plus rebelle à l'emprunt à des langues étrangères que le grec de l'époque classique parce qu'il n'y a en nulle part de civilisation plus évidemment supérieure aux civilisations voisines que n'était, dans l'Antiquité, la civilisation héllenique. Pour déterminer l'entrée d'une masse plus grande de mots latine et ensuite de mots romans, il a fallu la ruine de la civilisation héllenique."

[5] D. Mallet, *Les premiers établissements des grecs en Égypte, VII^e^ et VI^e^ siècles*, Paris 1893; idem, *Les rapports des grecs avec l'Égypte (de la conquête de Cambyse, 525, à celle d'Alexandre, 331*, Cairo 1922; Bastianini, "Il greco," *passim*.

[6] See Herodotus' description of Egypt in book two; Aeschylus' *Suppliants* has an Egyptian ambience.

[7] Perhaps a "pidgin" language developed for this aim.

texts which provide our evidence for this interference are the papyri and the literature written in Egypt. Through them we can reconstruct the linguistic situation of the Egyptian-Greek language, and the dialectal particularities of the Greek used by Egyptian speakers.

When considering bilingualism and interference, three sociolinguistic aspects should be taken into account.[8] First, the circumstances of the speaker, whether he or she was bilingual and the level of proficiency in each language attained. Secondly, the languages in question: their relative prestige and whether they were dialects or standardized languages. And finally, the level of speech, whether familiar and popular, educated, administrative, etc.

Regarding these three aspects in the case of Egypt, the following must be said: the problem of bilingualism in Egypt is not yet solved,[9] but the continued existence of interpreters (ἑρμηνεῖς)[10] suggests that it was never very extensive. While bilingualism seems to have been more prevalent among Egyptians, this is hard to quantify because of the considerable difficulty of differentiating between native and Greek populations. With regard to the languages, the high degree of dialectal fragmentation in Egyptian and Coptic has to be taken into account, even if differences between dialects were not particularly substantial, when analyzing the relationship between a loan word and its model in Coptic.

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[8] W. Wölck, "Types of natural bilingual behavior: a review and revision," *The Bilingual Review* 24 (1987/8), 3–16.

[9] On this see: W. Peremans, "Über die Zweisprachigkeit im ptolemäischen Ägypten," in H. Braunert (ed.), *Studien zur Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte. F. Oertel zum achtigsten Geburtstag gewidmet*, Bonn 1964, 49–60; B. Rochette, "Grecs et Latins face aux langues étrangères. Contribution à l'étude de la diversité linguistique dans l'antiquité classique," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 73, 1 (1995), 5–16; idem, "Sur le bilinguisme dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine," *CE* 71 (1996), 153–68; idem, " Parce que je ne connais pas bien le grec . . .: P. Col. Zenon II 66," *CE* 71, nº 142 (1996), 311–16; idem, "Le bilinguisme gréco-latin et la question des langues dans le monde gréco-romain. Chronique bibliografique," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 76, 1 (1998), 177–96; G. Husson, "Quelques aspects de la diffusion du grec en Egypte romaine," in Cl. Brixhe (ed.), *La koiné grecque antique III. Les contacts* (Association pour la diffusion de la recherche sur l'antiquité. Collection Études anciennes 17), Nancy/Paris 1998, 113–7.

[10] W. Peremans, "Les hermeneis dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine," in G. Grimm, H. Heinen and E. Winter (eds.), *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten*, Mainz 1983, 11–17; B. Rochette, "Traducteurs et traductions dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine," *CE* 69 (1994), 313–22; idem, "Bilinguisme," 153–68. Recently published is J. N. Adams, M. Janse and S. Twain (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society. Language Contact and the Written Text*, Oxford 2002, with a contribution by P. Fewster, "Bilingualism in Roman Egypt," 220–45.

The Sources

a) *Direct Sources*

The third aspect has to do with the type of source used to study linguistic interference—papyrological or literary. The problem we are faced with when studying "dead languages" is that we have to find in the written sources that have been preserved evidence closest to the spoken language. Literary texts present a high level of language, since they have been written by the most educated people. The level of language found in the documentary papyri is generally not as high as in literary texts; at best they are almost of the same level. But for various reasons the papyri do not necessarily reflect the actual linguistic situation of the spoken language. Not only does the formulary style of the administrative texts, which comprise the greatest part of the documentary papyri, limit their usefulness as indicators of linguistic usage, but those writing the texts were typically educated enough to avoid incorrect or deviant variations of language when writing.[11] I mean that linguistic interference usually occurs in less self-aware speakers, who are less concerned about the perceived "purity" of their language. The less educated are typically also less able to distinguish alien elements in their speech. For this reason, private letters provide a more popular instance of language, and are very useful. It is thus not easy to discern the real state of language usage via the testimony of the papyri.

It is even more difficult to diagnose linguistic interference in literary texts. But if we do find a loan word in them, its acceptance into this more conservative level of language allows us safely to say that it has been naturalized or has crystallized into Greek more generally.

One of the most important steps in analyzing interference is to assess the value of the testimonies we find in order to understand the characteristics of the interference. As said above, the loan words found in non-Egyptian Greek authors have not been naturalized into their Greek usage and are thus considered xenisms. As an example

[11] On literacy, see A. E. Hanson, "Ancient Illiteracy," in M. Beard et al. (eds.), *Literacy in the Roman World* (*Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Supplement 3) Ann Arbor 1991, 159–98; W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge 1989; K. Hopkins, "Conquest by Book," in Beard, *Literacy*, 133–58; E. Wipszycka, "Le degré d'alphabétisation en Égypte Byzantine," *R.E. August* 30 (1984), 279–96; A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf (eds.), *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1994.

we can consider the contrast between the use of the word κάκις[12] by Strabo (17.2.5: οἱ κάκεις δὲ ἴδιόν τι ἄρτου γένος) and its completely different context in the first-century A.D. papyrus, *P.Mich.* V 243 (l.10: ἑκάστου παραχρῆμα εἰσφέροντος (δραχμὴν) καὶ κάκεις δύο 2). What for Strabo is a specialized loan word, is for the papyrus writer part of his basic vocabulary, not distinguished from other terms of Greek origin.

b) *Indirect Sources*

Sometimes Greek or even Latin literature (for example John Cassian)[13] gives us information regarding terms used in the Greek spoken in Egypt, such as βαυκάλιον or ἐμβρίμιον, whose naturalization into the language can be confirmed by the papyri. The indirect testimony of lexical borrowings that literary evidence supplies can be very misleading, but even if it proves to be less valuable than the direct source of the papyri, it has to be taken into account.

Linguistic Diagnosis

The results obtained by modern studies of language contact can be usefully applied to the linguistic situation in Egypt.[14] For Greek and Coptic in Egypt the situation is one of "linguistic maintenance."[15] Although penetration of Greek into Coptic was deeper than the reverse, due to the linguistic prestige of Greek, neither of these languages experienced a significant shift. While code-switching and code-mixing[16] probably occurred in popular speech, the full extent of

[12] A kind of bread roll or bun. Middle Egyp. *'kk*/alternative forms in Coptic ϭⲁϭⲉ/ϭⲁⲁϭⲉ, ⲕⲁⲕⲉ.

[13] *Institutes* 4, 16, 1; *Conlatio* 1, 23, 4.

[14] On this topic the classic handbook is U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact. Findings and Problems*, New York 1953. Modern studies include: S. G. Thomason and T. Kaufman, *Language Contact. Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*, Berkeley 1988; E. H. Jahr (ed.), *Language Contact. Theoretical and Empirical Studies* (Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs 60), Berlin/New York 1992; S. G. Thomason, *Contact Languages. A Wider Perspective*, Washington DC 1996; H. Goebl et al. (eds.), *Kontaklinguistik = Contact linguistics = Linguistique de contact: Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung*, Berlin 1996–7.

[15] Thomason and Kaufmann, *Language Contact*, 65–109.

[16] "Code-mixing" is the insertion of an alien lexical or phrasal category into a

which is not reflected in the written language,[17] both preserved their identity in spite of linguistic interference. Some Coptic texts full of Greek words seem to prove that there has been a "relexification" process,[18] but most of the Coptic synonyms for the new Greek terms acquired were conserved and even used together consecutively in the same text.[19]

Lexical Borrowings

Reflecting the weak interference of Egyptian in Greek, all Egyptian loan words into Greek are nouns, due to nouns being more independent from syntax than verbs or adverbs, i.e. they do not constitute nexus elements.[20] This cannot be said of the reverse: Coptic inherited words in all categories. Haugen has set the proportion of loan words as follows: nouns 71–75 percent, verbs 18–23 percent, adjectives 3–4 percent, adverbs and prepositions 1 percent, and interjections 1 percent.[21]

Verbs were a very fertile source of borrowings from Greek into Coptic, despite the irreducible divergences between the conjugation

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given structure. The difference between borrowing and code-mixing would be the size and type of element inserted. It is the first step for a loan word entering another language in a bilingual context. Code-switching is the alternation between languages, something that cannot be proven by the texts. For an explanation of these and other terms, see P. Muysken, "Syntax," in Goebl, *Kontaktlinguistik/Contact Linguistics/Linguistique de contact*, 117–24, here 117–21.

[17] See C. Reintges, "Code-mixing Strategies in Coptic Egyptian," *Lingua Aegyptia* 9 (2001), 193–237. On the social significance of code-switching interference, see C. Scotton, "Code-switching as indexical of social negotiations," in M. Heller (ed.), *Codeswitching*, Berlin 1988, 151–86. See also S. Poplack, "Contrasting patterns of code-switching and transfer," in M. Heller (ed.), *Codeswitching*, Berlin 1988, 215–44.

[18] This means that the borrowing from another language is so pervasive that most of the original native lexicon has been substituted by loan words. It is not the case in Coptic.

[19] For Greek terms in Coptic see H. Förster, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten*, Berlin 2002.

[20] Muysken ("Syntax," 119) says they have a "peripheral role in sentence grammar." The verb, on the other hand "is more crucial to that organization (i.e. of the sentence)." He points out ("Syntax," 120) the paradigmatic coherence of some lexical subcategories, as for instance, the pronouns, something which prevents or at least makes the interference more difficult.

[21] Haugen, "Analysis," 224. See also Muysken, "Syntax," 119–20; S. Poplack, D. Sankoff and C. Miller, "The Social Correlates and Linguistic Processes of Lexical Borrowing and Assimilation," *Linguistics* 26 (1988), 47–104.

systems.[22] The opposite though is not the case. While Coptic's highly receptive verbal system absorbed many verbs, the resistance of Greek to borrowings left it without a single borrowed verb.

Strategies of Adaptation

Since Greek and Egyptian languages do not share a grammatical correspondence, the adoption of Egyptian terms necessitated strategies of adaptation into the Greek declension system. One of these resources in the earlier-attested terms was the suffix—ις: βᾶρις, ἶβις, ἶρις, θλίβις, βάϊς and κυλλᾶστις.

This alternated with another integration resource: the suffix -ιον,[23] generally denoting a diminutive, which survived until the eighth century in the coining of new terms from a foreign one: κολόβιον,[24] βαυκάλιον,[25] ἴνιον, κλάλιον,[26] ἐμβρίμιον[27] and λακώτιον.[28]

Some terms in very late texts seem to be the product of code-switching and they preserve the Egyptian undeclined form,[29] trying to reproduce in Greek the pronunciation of Coptic: for example, κόντσου (*SB* I 1160), a kind of vessel, is the Coptic ⲕⲟⲧⲛⲍⲟⲩ, μασζέρτ, μασέρτ (*P.Lond.* IV 129), μασέρτ (*P.Lond.* IV 1414, Aphrod. eighth century) μασζέρτ (*P.Lond.* IV 1416, Aphrod. A.D. 732–733), a

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[22] L. Deroy, *L'emprunt linguistique*, Paris 1965, 70.

[23] L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, London/Oxford 1945, 79–83. This suffix is also added to Latin loan-words (Palmer, *Grammar*, 86). See also Gignac, *Grammar*, 25.

[24] Coptic ϭⲟⲗⲃⲉ (S), ⲍⲟⲗⲃⲓ (B), ⲯⲟⲗⲃⲉ (B), Eg. *grb*.

[25] Coptic ⲃⲁⲗⲕⲟⲩ?

[26] *P.Oxy*. 1917, from Coptic ⲕⲗⲁⲗ.

[27] ⲙⲣⲱⲙ, in Eg. *wrm* (WB I 333). G. Husson, "Ἐμβρύμιον/ἐμβρίμιον: à propos d'un objet mobilier égyptien," *CE* 63 (1988), 331–340; M. Pezin, "Pour une étymologie égyptienne de ἐμβρίμιον," *CE* 63 (1988): 341–343. For the use of ἐμβρύμιον in the papyri see *P.Fuad. I Univ*. 26 A.D. I–II; *P.Petaus* 33, A.D. 184; *P.Col*. 8, 240 A.D. IV-V. *Apoph. Patrum, S. Macarius Aegyptius, PG* 34, 248A l. 7.

[28] *PApoll*. 97 E 13 (Apoll. Magna A.D. 703–715). From coptic ⲗⲁⲕⲟⲟⲧⲉ.

[29] Gignac, *Grammar*, II 103; W. Clarysse, "Egyptian Scribes Writing in Greek," *CE* 68 (1993), 186–201, here 198. Gignac's and Clarysse's explanation for this phenomenon is that in the Byzantine period, Greek was written alongside Coptic. There are undeclined forms in earlier periods too, probably due to code-switching. Some words were always kept undeclined, as for example, the names of the Egyptian months (H. J. Thissen, "Zum Umgang mit der ägyptischen Sprache in der griechisch-römischen Antike," *ZPE* 97 (1993), 239–52, here 241).

kind of rope, is the Coptic ⲙⲁⲱⲣⲧ.[30] Sometimes the writer felt the need to express the same reality both in Greek and Coptic, to make sure it would be understood by bilingual or semibilingual readers.[31]

Those terms are the first step in the borrowing process. They never crystallized because there was apparently no time for them to "finish their trip." This must have been the way all terms started their transfer, by being used in a code-switching context and then being gradually adapted and accepted, be it as a xenism or as a naturalized term.

Other Lexical Interference Phenomena

Other lexical phenomena produced by interference are:

1) Doublets:[32] the lexical borrowing happens twice in different periods of time:

For example, χλίβιον,[33] small basket, and also a measure, later appears as χλούβον,[34] basket, having as a possible Egyptian origin **kleb*, Coptic ϭⲗⲏⲃ, although an ultimate Semitic origin seems to be *kelub*.[35]

We find doublets also using the two "adaptation suffixes": βαύκαλις versus βαυκάλιον (which survives later).

2) Sometimes, in long-lasting contact situations, loan words can travel back into their language of origin, having been distorted by the destination language.

This is possibly what happened to the Greek λεβίτων, which in Coptic appears as ⲗⲉⲃⲓⲧⲟϥ in one of its forms, and this is the form we find in the Greek papyrus *P.Neph.* 12 (l. 14: τὸ ἱμάτιν καὶ δύο λιβιτου (ed. λεβιτῶνας) καὶ τρία δρέπανα), where the editor has cor-

[30] W. Vycichl relates it to Arabic (*Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Copte*, Louvain 1983, 129).

[31] See for example the use of ἤτοι in the papyri, studied by P. J. Sijpesteijn. ("The Meanings of ἤτοι in the Papyri," *ZPE* 90 (1992), 241–7, here 242). See also the case of οὐρε, πκωμ, τνευπε or τχρῆρε in the appendix.

[32] Haugen, "Analysis," 222; B.-L. Hoffer, "Borrowing," in Goebl, *Kontaktlinguistik/Contact Linguistics/Linguistique de contact*, 541–9, 541.

[33] *P.Wisc.* II 80, A.D. 114. For its meaning as a measure see N. Y. Clauson, "A customs house registry from Roman Egypt (P. Wisconsin 16)," *Aegyptus* 9 (1928), 240–280, here 268.

[34] *P.Oxy.* Hels 50, 15 (Oxyrhynchus A.D. III); *P.Benaki* 614 A, 3, 4 (Fayyūm, A.D. V) *P.Berl.Sarisch.* 22, 3 (A.D. VI), *P.Haun.* III 52 (A.D. VI–VII).

[35] Vicychl, *Dictionnaire*, 338. **kleb* < Hebrew *kelub*.

rected λιβιτου into a correctly declined form for the needs of Greek syntax. The form that the text presents is the Coptic form, devoid of flexive marks.

Calque or Semantical Borrowing

In some cases we find a transfer not of a lexeme, but of a semanteme, or even a whole structure. The calque or semantic loan happens when a term in the model language has two semantemes, one of them in common with the target language. This polysemy is what is transferred and the term acquires an extra meaning.

This is the case with the Greek θαλλός, branch, which acquired the new meaning of "present."[36] This can be explained through the existence in Egyptian of two etymologically unrelated homophone terms: *mnh*, branch, synonym of θαλλός and *mnh.t*, present.

The same can be said of the Greek ὄρος, mountain, which acquired the meanings "desert" and "monastery,"[37] which can be explained through the Coptic word ⲧⲟⲟϭ, meaning both "mountain," "desert" and even "monastery."

Construction Loan or Structural Loan

Loan translation or structural loan represents the level immediately previous to syntax borrowing. In this case both the construction and the concept are borrowed. The structure is reproduced as accurately as possible with the means available in the target language. Coptic's fairly transparent nominal derivation system, for example, which involves the use of prefixes, can be easily translated literally into Greek.

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[36] P. Derchain, "Une origine égyptienne de l'emploi du mot θαλλός = cadeau dans les papyrus grecs d'Égypte," *CE* 30, nº 60 (1955), 324–6.

[37] H. Cadell and R. Rémondon, "Sens et emplois de τὸ ὄρος dans les documents papyrologiques," *Revue des études grecques* 80 (1967) 343–9; P. Kahle, *Bala'izah, Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'iza in Upper Egypt*, London 1954, 27–8 under ⲧⲟⲟϭ. Deroy explains it as a Semitic form of expression (*L'emprunt*, 94). In *Matthew* 24:16 we read: εἰς τὰ ὄρη, "to the mountains." Compare to *Matthew* 18:12 ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, cf. *Luke* 15, 4, ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, "in the desert." In fact in the gospel of Matthew ὄρος, is used in plural to express a "desert region" following a Semitic expression (cf. Ar. *dabr*, Hebrew *midbār*).

We find some of these structural borrowings in the Greek *Excerpta* of the Pachomian Rule: ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῆς ἑστιάσεως renders ⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱⲙ.[38] The prefix ⲙⲁ means "place" and ⲟⲩⲱⲙ means "to eat." Similarly εἰς τὸν τόπον τῶν νοσερῶν, ⲙⲁⲛⲛⲣⲉϥϣⲱⲛⲉ (?) or ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ καθεύδει, ⲙⲁⲛⲛⲕⲟⲧⲕ.[39]

Conclusions

To sum up: the analysis of lexical borrowing represents a good point of departure for the study of linguistic contact, since lexical borrowing is the first step on the path to linguistic interference. The study of Egyptian lexical borrowing in Greek has to start with a linguistic diagnosis of the situation throughout the centuries. The most interesting material for this enquiry is the latest and most representative of evidence of language contact: popular literature, translations, private letters, house inventories and such documents. Limiting the study to a monastic context can, I think, be very productive.[40] A different focus to that currently pursued would be to provide a closer view of the phenomenon of language contact in antiquity and, in particular, the situation of Greek in Egypt. Another aspect that remains to be studied are the semantic changes experienced by a loan word when it moves from the native term to the borrowed one. Words such as ἔρπις, "Egyptian wine," or τύφλη, a specific kind of fish, for example, stem from the generic terms *irp*, "wine," and ⲧⲃⲧ, "fish." The loan word here acquires a special meaning which does not exist in its model. But such a study is hindered by the Egyptian etymology of the Greek term being in most cases unsure, and the meaning unclear.

[38] *Praecepta* 91 edited by L. Th. Lefort, *Oeuvres de s. Pachôme et de ses disciples*, CSCO 159–160, Louvain 1956, 31; *Instituta* 8 edited by Lefort, *Oeuvres*, 34

[39] *Praecepta* 88 edited by Lefort, *Oeuvres*, 30.

[40] My first exploration of this topic is S. Torallas Tovar, "La situación lingüística en los monasterios egipcios en los siglos IV–V," *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 1 (2003), 233–245. See also the first footnote to this article.

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APPENDIX: EGYPTIAN LOAN WORDS IN GREEK*

ἀβλαβύνιον, *hapax* in Hesychius, cleaning cloth?
Lit: J. L. Fournet, "Les emprunts du grec à l'égyptien," *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 84, fasc. 1 (1989), 55–80, here 75.

ἀβραμίς, name of a fish.
Etym: From Egyptian *rm* with the article *p3* (Fournet, "Emprunts," 72). See also D. W. Thompson, "On Egyptian Fish Names Used by Greek Writers," *JEA* (1928) 22–33, here 24.

ἀέντιον, *hapax* in Hesychius, myrrh.
Etym: From Egyptian *ʿntyw*, gum, aromatic gum (Fournet, "Emprunts," 75).

ἀθήρα, ἄθηρα, ἀθάρη, ἀθήριον, wheat porridge.
Etym: From Egyptian θήρα, flour (Pliny, *NH* 22.121; Jerome *Hebraicae Quaestiones in Gen.* 45.21). From *ἀθάρϝη (P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque avec un supplément*, Paris 1999, 27 and DGE I 67). From Indo-European *$ṃth^{o}rā$, (etymology proposed by DGE I 67), from the Indo-European root *$menth_2$, 'quirlen, umrühren' (H. Rix, *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*, Wiesbaden 1998, 395. Cf.

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* This list aims to collect the basic bibliography on every word that has at some point been considered to be of Egyptian origin, and words found in the papyri that I think are of Egyptian origin. I have not included the names of the Egyptian months, nor the polemical etymologies of Martin Bernal (*Black Athena* I, New Brunswick 1989), nor the entire discussion about every particular word. The Greek etymological dictionaries (E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Heidelberg 1916, P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque avec un supplément*, Paris 1999, H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1954–1972) are quoted where they contribute to the discussion. I have used the following abbreviations: Crum = W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939; DGE = Francisco R. Adrados et al. (eds.), *Diccionario Griego-Español*, vols. 1–6, Madrid 1980–2002; LSJ = H. G. Liddell and R. Scott (H. S. Jones), *A Greek English Lexicon, with a supplement*, Oxford 1968; WB = A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, Berlin/Leipzig, 1926–1963. The references are listed as Etym. if they discuss the etymology, and Lit. if they only mention the word as being Egyptian. The Egyptian etymologies given by every author have been standardized to one system of transcription. Some of them have even been corrected by Dr. J. M. Galán (CSIC, Madrid). Dr. Javier del Barco (CSIC, Madrid) helped me with the revision of the Hebrew and Dr. Eugenio Luján (Universidad Complutense) with the Indo-European roots. To all of them my sincere gratitude.

Sanskrit *mánthati*, 'to shake.' Cf. Latin *ador* (E. Mayser and H. Schmoll, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Berlin 1970, I 26 and I 123). From Egyptian *ṯr.t*, flour (WB V 386, 5) (C. Daniel, "Des emprunts égyptiens dans le grec ancien," *Studia et Acta Orientalia* 4 (1962), 13–23, here 19–20; Fournet, "Emprunts," 72–3).
Lit: N. Fernández Marcos, "¿Rasgos dialectales en la koiné tardía de Alejandría?" *Emerita* 39, 1 (1971), 33–45, here 40.

ἆθλον, prize, competition.
Etym: From Egyptian *tri*, honour, respect and *trr*, to compete (Daniel, "Emprunts," 20).

ἀλάβαστρος, ointment flask.
Etym: From Egyptian *ʿa-la-baste*, vase of the goddess Ebaste (Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 53).
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 26; H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1954–1972, I 62. The DGE states that the word is perhaps derived from Egyptian.

ἀλάβης, Nile fish, *labeo niloticus*. Pliny *NH* 5.51.
Etym: From Demotic *lbs*, Coptic ⲗⲁⲃⲉⲥ (S) (Fournet, "Emprunts," 74). From Egyptian *repi* or *lepi* (Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 53; DGE I 135). See also Thompson, "On Egyptian Fish Names," 23.
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll describe the word as 'wahrscheinlich ägyptisch' (*Grammatik*, I 26, cf. I 2 3, 3, 34).

ἄμι, ἄμμι, cumin, *ammi copticum*, ajowan?
Etym: From Egyptian *mymy* (Pliny, *NH* 22.15.58; H. Brugsch, "Aethiopica," *Ägyptische Zeitschrift* 29 (1891), 25–33, here 26–8). A. Gardiner, however, rejects it (*The Wilbour Papyrus*, vol. 2, London 1948, 113–15). From Egyptian *m3* (WB I 185, 5), *ʿm3*, "eine offizinelle Pflanze" (B. Hemmerdinger, "Noms communs grecs d'origine égyptienne," *Glotta* 46 (1968), 247–54, here 247). R. H. Pierce, on the other hand, rejects this idea ("Egyptian Loan Words in Ancient Greek," *Symbolae Osloenses* 46 (1971), 96–107, here 100).
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 26.

ἄννησον, ἄνησσον: *Pimpinella anisum*, anis.
Etym: From Egyptian *inst* (WB I 100, 1–2) (A. Wiedemann, *Sammlung altägyptischer Wörter welche von klassichen Autoren umschrieben oder übersetzt*

worden sind, Leipzig 1883, 11; Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 240). But see Pierce, "Loan Words," 101.

ἄνοῦχι, some kind of brushwood.
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27.

ἄρον, Egyptian arum.
Etym: From Egyptian *r*, rush (WB I 208, 1) (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 244). But see Pierce, "Loan Words," 101. From *ꜥr*, the grass from which scribes make their brushes (WB I 208, 4–6), but without a semantic connection.

ἀταστῖται, cultic group.
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27

ἄτωρ, hapax in Hesychius, μελία, ash.
Etym: Cf. Egyptian *ṯrt* (Fournet, "Emprunts," 75).

ἀχάνη, box.
Etym: From Egyptian *ḥn* > Accadian hanu[41] > Gk. ἀχάνη (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 243–4). But see Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 149 and Pierce, "Loan Words," 101.

ἄχει, reed-grass.
Etym: From Egyptian *3ḫy*, *3ḫy*, plant, vegetation (Fournet, "Emprunts," 69). See also J. Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte*, Louvain 1959, 59–66.
Lit: T. O. Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament," *JAOS* 73 (1953), 145–55, here 146.

ἀωίλιον, measure of volume or capacity.
Etym: According to Fournet, from Coptic ⲁϩⲟ and from Egyptian *ḥꜥ*, but he expresses doubts about the latter ("Emprunts," 74).
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27–8; A. G. MacGready, "Egyptian Words in the Greek Vocabulary," *Glotta* 46 (1968), 238–47, here 252.

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[41] Only *hanunu* is attested (W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1965–81, 321) as an Egyptian loan-word for "box," but see I. J. Gelb et al. (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago 1956–, H 83, which states that its meaning is uncertain.

βαιοιελύπιον, Egyptian boat.
Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 252.

βάϊς, βάϊον, branch, palm.
Etym: From Egyptian *b'i*, palm fibre Coptic ⲃⲁⲓ (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 245; G. Nencioni, "Innovazioni africane nel lessico latino," *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 16 (1939), 3–50, here 22; J. Vergote, "Bilinguisme et calques (Translation Loan Words) en Égypte," *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Naples 1984, III 1385–9, here 1387; Fournet, "Emprunts," 69).
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28; MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 250.

βᾶρις, Egyptian boat.
Etym: From Egyptian *byr* (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 241; Vergote, "Bilinguisme," 1387). Fournet, "Emprunts," 57; Nencioni, *Innovazioni*, 16–7. Cf. Lat. *barca* (F. Rodríguez Adrados, "Ambiente y léxico egipcio en Esquilo, Las Suplicantes: βᾶρις (839, etc.), σινδονίᾳ (121), χάμθα (878), Ἶσι (848)," *Eikasmos* 10 (1999), 47–55, here 50).
Lit: M. Merzagora, "La navigazione in Egitto nell'età Greco-Romana," *Aegyptus* 10 (1929), 105–48, here 127–8; Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27; Frisk, *Wörterbuch*, I 220; MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249; N. C. Conomis, "Concerning the New Photius," *Hellenika* 34 (1982/83), 151–90, here 177; Fournet, "Emprunts," 57; F. Díez de Velasco and M. A. Molinero Polo, "Hellenoaegyptiaca I. Influences Égyptiennes dans l'imaginaire grec de la mort: Quelques exemples d'un emprunt supposé (Diodore I, 92, 1–4; I, 96, 4–8)," *Kernos* 7 (1994) 75–93, here 82–3. Cf. βαρίβας, sailor; βουβάρας, βούβαρις, big boat; ἄβαρις, the one who does not have a boat.

βαρκίων, *hapax* in Hesychius, plant.
Lit: Fournet, "Emprunts," 75.

βάσανος, pierre de touché.
Etym: From Egyptian *bḫn*, perhaps through Lydian which would explain the correspondence *ḫ* and Gk *s* (Fournet, "Emprunts," 57). Cf. K. Sethe, "Die Bau- und Denkmalsteine der alten Ägypter und ihre Namen," *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin 1933, 864–912, here 908 and Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words," 147.

βαύκαλις, βαυκάλιον, bottle.
Etym: From Egyptian *b3ḳt*, vase for olive oil (G. Nencioni, "βαύκαλις -άλιον e καυκάλιον," *Rivista di studi Orientali* 19 (1940), 98–104, here 99).
Lit: B. A. Terracini, "Di che cosa fanno la storia gli storici del linguaggio," *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 28 (1936), 1–31, here 31; A. Leroy-Molinghen, "Du κώθων au βαυκάλιον," *Byzantion* 35 (1965), 208–20.

βῖκος, βίκιον, jar or drinking bowl.
Etym: From Egyptian *b3ḳt* (WB I 424, 11) (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 241). But Chantraine (*Dictionnaire*, 176) prefers a Semitic origin. Cf. Pierce, "Loan Words," 102. There is also some discussion in E. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec*, Paris 1967, 78–80.
Lit: Frisk describes the word as "wahrscheinlich ägyptisch" (*Wörterbuch*, I 237). See also Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27.

βόρασσος, growing spadix of the date with unripe fruit.
Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 250. But Chantraine is of the opinion that the word probably has a Semitic background (*Dictionnaire*, 185).

βουτός, grave. *hapax* in Hesychius.
Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 250; Fournet, "Emprunts," 75.

βύνητος, Egyptian garment.
Etym: From Egyptian *bnd*, to wear, to dress (WB I 465, 3) (B. H. Stricker, "Trois études de phonétique et de morphologie coptes," *Acta Orientalia* 15 (1937), 1–20, here 10; Fournet, "Emprunts," 75).
Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 250.

βύσσος, fine silk.
Etym: H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, Berlin 1895, 125; W. Spiegelberg, "Ägyptische Lehnwörter in der älteren griechischen Sprache," *Zeitschrift der vergleichenden Sprachforschung* 41 (1907), 127–32, here 128–9; Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words," 147; Masson, *Recherches*, 20–2. Frisk describes the etymological process behind this word as "durch semitische Vermittlung" (*Wörterbuch*, I 278).
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27 (cf. II 2, 137).

βωρεύς, *mugil cephalus*.
Etym: From Egyptian *br* (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 247; Fournet, "Emprunts," 58).

Lit: Thompson, "On Egyptian Fish Names," 27; I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten*, Wiesbaden 1970, 41.

γαλῆ, animal belonging to the weasel family.
Etym: Cf. Coptic ⲕⲁⲗⲏ, ⲕⲁⲗⲏ, Demotic *ḳl*, Egyptian *g'l3t* (W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1965, 60). But see Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 207.

γάνις, Egyptian measure.
Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 252.

γόμος, weight.
Lit: K. Kyriakopoulos, "Γομόω ή γομφόω;," *Horos* 10–2 (1992–8), 491–501; S. Torallas Tovar, "Egyptian Loan words in *Septuaginta* and the Papyri," in H. Harrauer and B. Palme (eds.), *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Papyrology*, Vienna (forthcoming).

ἔβενος, ebony.
Etym: From Egyptian *hbnj* (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 242). Fournet wonders whether the ultimate origin is Nubian ("Emprunts," 59). See also Spiegelberg, "Lehnwörter," 131; Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words," 147; Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 11.
Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249; A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, London 1962, revised edition 1989, 434.

ἐμβρύμιον, ἐμβρίμιον, pillow.
Etym: From Cp ⲙⲣⲱⲙ. M. Pezin, "Pour une étymologie égyptienne de ἐμβρίμιον," *CE* 63 (1988), 340–343, 341–343.
Lit: G. Husson, "ἐμβρύμιον/ἐμβρίμιον: à propos d'un objet mobilier égyptien," *CE* 63 (1988), 331–40.

ἔντυβον, ἐντύβιον, name of a plant.
Etym: From the Egyptian based on the name of the month τυβί, during which the chicoree was collected, with the Egyptian preposition *m*, in, or the adjective *ny*, belonging to, added to the beginning (Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 17). But Chantraine considers it to be a Semitic loan word (*Dictionnaire*, 352).

ἔρπις, Egyptian wine.
Etym: From Egyptian *irp* (Masson, "Hipponax," 46–50; MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249; Fournet, "Emprunts," 59). Tzetzes (*Scholia*

to Lycophron) and Eustathius already pointed out that the origin of this word is Egyptian.

ζῦθος, ζῦτος (only form in the papyri), beer.
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27 (cf. I 2 2, 20). Cf. A. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurteilung der Koine*, Strassburg 1901, 111. See also A. Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch: mit sachlichen Erläuterungen*, Leipzig 1890, 327; Th. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Borna/Leipzig 1913, 164; Frisk, *Wörterbuch*, I 616. MacGready finds it difficult to trace the original Egyptian word ("Egyptian Words," 250). See also E. Peruzzi, "À propos de l'origine gréco-égyptienne de ζύθος," *Humanitas* 1 (1947), 138–40. Chantraine thinks that the resemblance to ζύμη may point to a Greek origin (*Dictionnaire*, 401).

ἡμιτύβιον, hand-towel.
Lit: Pollux 7.71; Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27.

θῖβις, basket. Cf. also the form qhvbh.
Etym: From Egyptian *db3t* (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 246; Fournet, "Emprunts," 72). Through Hebrew *tebâ*, and this from Egyptian *db3t*, 'box' (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 252). See also U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, Berlin/Leipzig 1927, vol. 1, 640 and Masson, *Recherches*, 76.
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27.

ἶβις, ibis.
Etym: From Egyptian *hby* (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 242). From Egyptian *hb, hib* (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249). See also Fournet, "Emprunts," 60 and Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 22.
Lit: Thumb, *Sprache*, 111; Frisk, *Wörterbuch*, I 851; Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27.

ἴν, ἴνιον, measure.
Etym: From Egyptian *hnw* (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 246; Fournet, "Emprunts," 69).
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

ἶρις, rainbow.
Etym: From Egyptian *irt*, eye (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 240). Pierce objects to this derivation ("Loan Words," 102–3). See also MacGready,

"Egyptian Words," 251. In Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 10) ἶρις is a Greek rendering of the Egyptian word *irt*. Chantraine considers it to be of Indo-European origin (*Dictionnaire*, 469).

κάβος, measure.
Etym: From Egyptian *ḳb* (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 247). See also Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 11 and Torallas Tovar "Egyptian Loan Words." But compare Lewy who considers it to be a Semitic loan word (*Fremdwörter*, 115).

καίμιον, name of a bird.
Etym: From Coptic ϭⲁⲓⲙⲉ, this comes probably from Egyptian *gm.t*, black ibis (WB V 166, 5) (Westendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 448; Fournet, "Emprunts," 69).
Lit: L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, London/Oxford 1945, 82.

κάκις, kind of Egyptian bread, plural form (Strabo XVII 2.7).
Etym: From Coptic ϭⲁⲁϭⲉ, and this comes from Demotic *kʿkʿ* (Fournet, "Emprunts," 66). From Egyptian *ʿkk* (WB I 235, 4: *ḳ3ḳ3*), which becomes by metathesis *kʿk* (W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Copte*, Louvain 1983, 351).

καλάσιρις, branch of the military caste, Egyptian long garment.
Etym: From Egyptian *gl-šr* (Pierce, "Loan Words," 103). From Egyptian *kry-sry*, Demotic *glr-šr* (Fournet, "Emprunts," 60). Both Fournet and Chantraine consider the etymology for the two meanings to be the same, with the name of the military caste coming from the long garment (Fournet, "Emprunts," 60; Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 484). See also W. Spiegelberg, "Review of E. A. Wallis Budge *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*," *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 27, no. 4 (1924) 182–91, here 188–9 and J. K. Winnicki, "Die Kalasirier der spätdynastischen und der ptolemäischen Zeit," *Historia* 26/3 (1977), 257–68, here 262.
Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249; J. K. Winnicki, "Zwei Studien über die Kalasirier", *Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica* 17 (1986), 17–32; J. K. Winnicki, "Die Kalasirier in griechischen Papyri," *JJP* 2 (1992), 63–5.

κάμαξ, vine-pole.
Etym: From Egyptian *ḳm3*, cf. Coptic ⲕⲁⲙ (Daniel, "Emprunts," 22).

But see Chantraine, who considers it to be of Indo-European origin (*Dictionnaire*, 488).

κάννιον, cup.
Lit: Fernández-Marcos, "Rasgos dialectales," 40.

κάστυ, scribe's palette.
Etym: From Hebrew *qeset*, and this comes from Egyptian *gstj* (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 251).

κέρκηρις, water bird.
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

κῆβος, κῆπος, monkey.
Etym: From Egyptian *gyf* (Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words," 154; Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 244; Fournet, "Emprunts," 72). But see Lewy and Boisacq who relate it to Sanskrit *kapi* (Lewy, *Fremdwörter*, 6; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, s.v.). Compare Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 13 and Masson, *Recherches*, 87, n. 5.

κιβώριον, cup, box, seed-vessel.
Etym: From Egyptian *ḳbyt*, *ḳb*, measure for fluids (WB V 25, 2–6) (Fournet, "Emprunts," 72). The word has probably an ultimately Semitic origin (Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 10–1).

κίκι, *ricinus communis*, castor-oil.
Etym: From Egyptian *k3k3* (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 242–3). See also Pierce, "Loan Words," 103 and Fournet, "Emprunts," 61.
Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 74; Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 9; Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 530; M. Schnebel, *Die Landswirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Munich 1925, 201.

κλάλιον, ring, necklace.
Etym: From Demotic *ḳll*, Coptic ⲕⲗⲁⲗ (Fournet, "Emprunts," 69).

κνίψ, insect that eats fig-insects.
Etym: From Egyptian *ḫnmś*, midge (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 242). But see Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 548–9.
Cf. the related term κώνωψ which Spiegelberg considers with reservation to come from Egyptian *ḫnmś* (*Lehnwörter*, 131–2).

κολόβιον, sleeveless tunic. This word probably stems from Egyptian *grb*, fabric and Coptic ⲥⲟⲗⲃⲉ (S), ⲍⲟⲗⲃⲓ (B), garment.
Etym: For the Coptic word and the Egyptian etymology see Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 338.
Lit: M. Hasitzka, "Bekleidung und Textilien auf uneditierten koptischen Papyri der Papyrussammlung in Vienna: Termini," *GRAFMA Newsletter, Bulletin du groupe de recherche archéologique française et internationale sur les métiers depuis l'Antiquité* 2 (1998), 28–34, here 30.

κόμμι, gum.
Etym: From Egyptian *ḳmyt* (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 243; MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249). See also Fournet, "Emprunts," 62 and Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 12.
Lit: Frisk, *Wörterbuch*, I 909; Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27.

κόνδυ, vessel. Perhaps equal to κόντσου (*SB* I 1160)?
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 30. Cf. Coptic ⲕⲟⲩⲛⲧⲟⲩ. Vergote wonders whether the word's ultimate origin is Persian (*Joseph en Égypte*, 175–6).

κόρσιον, tuber of the Nile, water-lily.
Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 251.

κοῦκι, *Hyphaena thebaica*, doum palm; κούκιον, the fruit of the doum palm.
Etym: From Egyptian *ḳwḳw*, a kind of fruit, fruit of the doum palm (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 244–5; Fournet, "Emprunts," 62). But this is rejected by Pierce ("Loan Words," 104). See also Westendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 59; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 74 and Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 9. Cf. κόϊξ, tree and κοΐκινος, basket made of palm fibres. Chantraine and Frisk consider these words to be probably of Egyptian origin (Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 572–3; Frisk, *Wörterbuch*, I 934).

κουκ(κ)ούφας, -ατος, hoopoe.
Etym: From Egyptian *ḳḳ* and from it, Demotic *ḳḳpt* and *ḳwḳwpt* (Fournet, "Emprunts," 69). Compare ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲫⲁⲧ (B), ⲕⲱⲕⲱⲡⲁⲧ (S). But see also Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 573.

κυλλῆστις, rounded Egyptian bread, made of ὄλυρα.
Etym: From Egyptian *krš*t (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 241; MacGready,

"Egyptian Words," 249; Fournet, "Emprunts," 62).
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27.

κῦφι, aromatic preparation for religious use, Egyptian compound incense.
Etym: From Egyptian *k3pt*, from *k3p*, to burn (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 247; MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 251; Fournet, "Emprunts," 63).
Lit: Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 9.

λακώτιον,
Only instance *P.Apoll.* 97 E 13 (Apollonopolis Magna, A.D. 703–15).
From Coptic ⲗⲁⲕⲟⲟⲧⲉ.

λεβίτων, λεβητών, monk's tunic.
Lit: Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 23; A. Boud'hors, "Vêtements et textiles à usages divers: termes coptes", *GRAFMA Newsletter, Bulletin du groupe de recherche archéologique française et internationale sur les métiers depuis l'Antiquité* 1 (1997), 20–8, here 25; S. Torallas Tovar, "El hábito monástico en Egipto y su simbología," *Ilu. Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones* 7 (2002), 163–74, here 165–6.

λείριον, *lilium candidum*, Madonna lily; *Narcissus serotinus*.
Etym: From Egyptian *ḥrrt* flower, Demotic *ḥrry*, Coptic Sahidic ϩⲣⲏⲣⲉ, Fayyumic ϩⲁⲏⲗ (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 240; M. Cohen, "Quelques mots périméditerranéens: lis, scorpion, sabre," *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 31 (1931), 37–41, here 37–8). But this is rejected by Pierce and Blazek (Pierce, "Loan Words," 105; V. Blazek, "Greek λείριον," *Sborník Prací Filosofické Fakulty Brnenské University* 1 (1996), 21–5, here 22).
Lit: Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 20; A. Meillet, "De quelques emprunts probables en grec et latin," *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 15 (1908), 161–4, here 163; G. C. Papanastassiou, *Compléments au Dictionnaire étymologique du grec ancien de Pierre Chantraine*, Thessaloniki 1994, 20.

λεμεῖσα = στρατηγός.
Etym: From Demotic *mr mšʿ*, from Egyptian *imi r3 mšʿ* (Fournet, "Emprunts," 70).
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

λεσῶνις, temple assistant or temple administrator.
Etym: From Demotic *mr šn*, and this from Egyptian *imy r3 šn* (WB VI 249). Cf. Coptic ⲗⲁⲯⲁⲛⲉ, town magistrate.
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

λωτός
Etym: From Hebrew *lôṭ*. (Lewy, *Fremdwörter*, 46). But Daniel derives it from Egyptian *rd*, Coptic ⲣⲱⲧ, ⲗⲱⲧ ("Emprunts," 16–8).
Lit: Papanastassiou, *Compléments*, 23.

μάγδωλος, tower.
Etym: From Egyptian *mkrt* (WB II 164, 2–3), from Hebrew *migdal* (Fournet, "Emprunts," 70).

μάκαρ, blessed, happy.
Etym: From Egyptian *mꜥr*, blessed, happy (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 240). From Egyptian *m3ꜥ-ḫrw*, justified of voice (A. H. Krappe, "Μάκαρ," *Revue de Philologie* 66 (1940), 245–6; Daniel, "Emprunts," 18–9). But Chantraine and Pierce consider this etymology to be unsound (Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 659; Pierce, "Loan Words," 105).
Lit: Papanastassiou, *Compléments*, 24.

μασζέρτ, μασέρτ, a kind of rope. See below μεχέρθι.
Attested in *P.Lond.* IV 129, *P.Lond.* IV 1414, *P.Lond.* IV 1416, all from A.D. eighth century Aphrodito. It is probably the Coptic ⲙⲁⲯⲣⲧ.
Etym: Vycichl (*Dictionnaire*, 129), however, relates the Coptic to Arabic.

μάτιον, measure of capacity.
Etym: From Demotic *md3t*, and this from Egyptian *md3*, measure of dates (WB II 186, 15) (Fournet, "Emprunts," 70).

μεχέρθι, ship's cable. Is this word equal to μασέρτ?
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

μηθίς, name of a plant?
Etym: From Egyptian *mnt3*, sacred bush of the abaton of Osiris on the island of Biggeh, near Philae (WB II 92, 13–4) (Fournet, "Emprunts," 66).

μνάσιον, μναύσιον, *cyperus esculentus*, earth-almond.
Etym: From Egyptian *mnw*, a body of water filled with aquatic plants (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 245). But this is rejected by Pierce ("Loan Words," 106).

μόροχθος, clay.
Etym: From Egyptian *m-rḫt* (WB II 448, 8) Coptic ⲙⲟⲣⲟϩⲧ (Westendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 520). Chantraine considers it to be a loan word (*Dictionnaire*, 713).

μώϊον, jar.
Etym: From Egyptian *m3ḥ* (WB II 31, 1–3) (Fournet, "Emprunts," 70).
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28; Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 729.

ναύβιον, volume measure.
Etym: From Egyptian *nb*. Cf. Coptic ⲛⲏⲃ (Crum 221b) (Fournet, "Emprunts," 75).
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

ναῦον, length measure.
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

νέκταρ, nectar.
Etym: From Egyptian *nṯry* (R. D. Griffith, "Nektar and Nitron," *Glotta* 72 (1994), 20–3).

νεμσελ, meaning unclear.
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

νεονχῶυ, ointment.
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

νέρτος, a bird (Hesychius: ἱέραξ, a falcon).
Etym: From Egyptian *nrt*, vulture (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249). But this is rejected by Pierce on the basis of the argument that the *t* is already lost in Old Egyptian. Cf. Coptic ⲛⲟϯⲣⲉ ("Loan Words," 106).

νίτρον, natron.
Etym: From Egyptian *nṯr* (Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words," 153;

Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 240). From Egyptian *ntry* (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249; Fournet, "Emprunts," 64; Griffith, "Nectar," 20–3). But this is rejected by Pierce ("Loan Words," 106).
Lit: Frisk, *Wörterbuch*, II 321; Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 27, Lucas, *Materials*, 303, 317–47.

ξίφος, sword.
Etym: From Egyptian *sft*, Coptic **ϲϩϥϵ** (H. Brugsch, *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1868, 1213; Cohen, "Mots," 40–41; Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 239). But Pierce disagrees with this ("Loan Words," 106). Jasanoff and Nussbaum criticize Bernal's etymology (M. Bernal, *Black Athena* I, New Brunswick 1989, 369; J. H. Jasanoff and A. Nussbaum, "Word Games: The Linguistic Evidence in Black Athena," in M. R. Lefkowitz and G. MacLean Rogers (eds.), *Black Athena Revisited*, London 1996, 177–205, here 199). See also T. B. L. Webster, "Homer and Eastern Poetry," *Minos* 4 (1956) 104–16, here 104. The word is attested in Mycenaean and can be traced back to an Indo-European form with initial labiovelar *$*k^{w}s$-*. Myc. *qi-si-pe-e* (A. Heubeck, "Mykenisch **qi-si-po* = ξίφος," *Minos* 6 (1958), 55–60; F. Aura Jorro, *Diccionario Micénico*, Madrid 1993, vol. 2, 205–6, with bibliography). But consider Bertolín Cebrián who lists it as of uncertain Egyptian origin (R. Bertolín Cebrián, "Loan-Words in Mycenean Greek," *Sborník Prací Filosofické Fakulty Brnenské University* 1 (1996), 13–20, here 14).

ὄασις, oases.
Etym: From Egyptian *wḥ3t* (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249; Fournet, "Emprunts," 67).

ὀθόνη, ὀθόνιον, veil.
Etym: From Egyptian *'dmy* (Lewy, *Fremdwörter*, 124–5; Spiegelberg, *Lehnwörter*, 130; Masson, *Recherches*, 89; Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words," 147).

οἰφεί, Egyptian measure.
Etym: From Egyptian *ipt* (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 251; Fournet, "Emprunts," 71). But compare **ⲟⲉⲓⲡⲉ** (Pierce, "Loan Words," 103).

οὔϊγγον (οὔϊπον, οὔϊτον), Egyptian arum.
Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 251.

οὐραῖος = βασιλίσκος.
Etym: From Egyptian *i'rt* (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 251; Fournet, "Emprunts," 67). But cf. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 838.

οὐρε, οὐρι, harness.
It appears in *P.Fay.* 115 and *PNYU* 9 (still unpublished)[42] rendering the Greek term ζυγοδέσμιαν ἁμάξων.[43] See H. I. Bell and W. E. Crum, "A Greek-Coptic glossary," *Aegyptus* 6 (1925), 177–226, for a correspondence ζυγοδέσμιον to Coptic ⲧⲟϯⲣⲛⲁϩⲃⲉ (Reedited by M. Hasitzka, *Koptisches Sammelbuch* I, Vienna 1993 (MPER) XVIII, 256).

πάπυρος, papyrus.
Etym: From Egyptian and Coptic *papurro* (W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, Berlin 1962, 9). See also MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 251. Mayser and Schmoll do not list it under Egyptian loan words (*Grammatik*, I 31). From Egyptian *p3 pr '3*, the one from the great house (Vergote, "Bilinguisme," 411–6). But the same author derives it in a later work from *p3 pr*, the one from the house (J. Vergote, "L'etymologie du mot papyrus," *CE* 60 (1955), 393–7). See also Fournet, "Emprunts," 64–5; Lewy, *Fremdwörter*, 172; Papanastassiou, *Compléments*, 49.

πίρωμις, καλὸς κἀγαθός (hapax in Herodotus 2.143).
Etym: From Egyptian *rm(t)* preceded by the article *p3* > Coptic ⲡⲓⲣ-ⲱⲙⲓ (B), the man (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249; Fournet, "Emprunts," 67).

πκωμ, wooden waggon-box.
This word appears in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67303 (A.D. 553) rendenring[44] the Greek term ξυλινοβαστάκιον. See Crum (109a) ⲕⲱⲙ, who cites this papyrus.

πορενβῆκις, the keeper of the falcon.
Etym: From Egyptian *p3 wr bik* (LSJ 1449).
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

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[42] I thank warmly Prof. Klaas Worp, who is editing this piece, for calling my attention to this and many other terms in the papyri.
[43] See Sijpesteijn, "Meaning."
[44] See Sijpesteijn, "Meaning."

πορθώτης, the keeper of the ibises.
Etym: From Egyptian *p3 wr ṯḥwt* (LSJ 1450).
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

πρεμίτ, proper name?
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

προνήσιον, bench along a wall.
Lit: From the Greek prefix προ- combined with Egyptian *nsy*, bench, seat or mastaba (G. Husson, "Note sur la formation et le sens du composé προνήσιον," *CE* 51 (1976), 167–8). From the prefix προ- combined with Egyptian *nst*, throne (Fournet, "Emprunts," 71).

πυραμίς, pyramid.
Etym: From Egyptian *pr m ws* (A. Erman, "Aegyptische Lehnworte im Griechischen?" *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 7 (1883), 336–8, here 337). But compare Papanastassiou, *Compléments*, 60.

ῥισῆς, title of an Egyptian priest.
Etym: From Egyptian *ḥry š*. Cf. also ῥισηγέτης (Fournet, "Emprunts," 71). From Egyptian *ḥry š w3d wr* or *w3d wr* (Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte*, 72).

ῥωψ, boat, πλοῖον παπύρινον.
Etym: From Demotic *rms* (E. Lidén, "Ein ägyptisches Wort bei Hesych," *Glotta* 2 (1909), 149–51; Vergote, "Bilinguisme," 138; Fournet, "Emprunts," 71).
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

σάβανον, linen.
Etym: From Egyptian *sbn*, mummy bandages (WB IV 89, 13) (Fournet, "Emprunts," 71). Cf. Lewy, *Fremdwörter*, 127.
Lit: Papanastassiou, *Compléments*, 67.

σάκκος, sack made of coarse hair-cloth.
Etym: Probably from the Hebrew *saq* (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 249). Mayser and Schmoll list it under 'Semitische Wörter' (*Grammatik*, I 29). From Egyptian *s3k*, Cp **ϲⲟⲕ** (R. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, Leiden 1955, IV 64).

σαλούσιον, σαλώσιον, earthen vessel, measure of capacity.
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

σάμαθον, pail.
Etym: From Coptic ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲑⲉ (R. J. Littman and J. Hartley, "A Note on P. Oxy. 1290, 1 and 5," *ZPE* 4 (1969), 186; Westendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 538). But it could also be an incorrect spelling of the word σαμβάθιον, which is also a vessel.

σάρι, aquatic plant.
Etym: From Egyptian *s3ri* (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 245). Fournet derives it from Egyptian *s3ry*, medicinal plant (WB IV 19, 10–13), or *sʿr*, papyrus-like plant, preferring the latter ("Emprunts," 68). Cf. also Coptic ϣⲁⲣⲓ (Crum 584a), aquatic plant. From Egyptian *s3ry* (Nencioni, "Innovazioni," 9, 18).
Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 251.

σεβέννιον, palm tree fibres. Cf. below συμβέννιον.
Etym: From Egyptian *sny bnrt* (Vergote, "Bilinguisme," 1387; Fournet, "Emprunts," 71–2).

σελκαμ, meaning unclear.
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

σινδών, linen, fine cloth.
In Herodotus and Aeschylus this word refers to a mummy's bandage, later its meaning was semantically extended to a curtain or even linen garment (Herodotus 2.86; Aeschylus fr. 153 Radt (*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* III 185)).
Etym: From Egyptian *šn<u>d</u>wt*, kilt (Erman, "Lehnworte," 338, Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 242; MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 250; Forbes, *Technology*, IV 75). Pierce considers the etymology to be uncertain ("Loan Words," 107). Masson, on the other hand, finds a Semitic ancestry for the word (*Recherches*, 25–26). Fournet points to the Accadian *saddinu/sattinu*, but prefers a derivation from the Egyptian *šn<u>d</u>wt* ("Emprunts," 74). Compare Papanastassiou, *Compléments*, 71. The adjective σινδόνιος appears in Strabo (15.1.71).
Lit: Rodríguez Adrados, "Ambiente," 51.

σοῦσον, lotus flower.
Etym: Through iranian *sūsan* < Egyptian *sšn* (Masson, *Recherches*, 58; Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words," 154; Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 245). From Egyptian *sšn*, lotus (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 251).

σοῦχος, In Strabo 17, 1: name of the crocodile in a certain part of Egypt.
Lit: From Egyptian *sḥw* (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 251). But see under χάμψα below.

στάχι, sort of vermillion.
Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 251.

στίμμις, powdered antimony, kohl. στίβι (*Septuaginta, Jeremiah* 4, 30).
Etym: From Egyptian *(m)sdmt*; Coptic ⲥⲧⲏⲙ (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 243; MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 250). From *msdmt*, from it Demotic *stm* and Coptic ⲥⲧⲏⲙ (Fournet, "Emprunts," 65).

στυριός, στυρίωσις.
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

συμβέννιον, LSJ cf. σεβέννιον, palm fibre.
Etym: From Egyptian *šnj bnrt* (WB IV 500, 15), Coptic ϣⲛϧⲛⲛⲉ, literally palm hair (Westendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 316).
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

συρμαίη, purge plant.
Lit: From Egyptian *srmit* (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 250).

σφίγξ, sphinx.
Etym: From Egyptian *šsp'nḫ*, living image (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 250).

σῶρυ, metallic substance, probably iron sulphate.
Etym: From Egyptian *s3 wr* (Fournet, "Emprunts," 65).

ταπλαεῖται, cultic group.
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

τεαρσιήκις, obscure word, perhaps an occupation.
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28.

τνευπε, appears in the papyrus *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 25Fr. A 19 (A.D. VI) to explain the Greek λάκος, cistern. The t is probably the article. I cannot trace it back to any Coptic word.

τρικέλλαρον, an agricultural tool.
Etym: Perhaps related to Coptic ⲕⲁⲗⲗⲏⲣⲉ (Littman and Hartley, "Note," 186; Westendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 508).

τύφλη (Athenaeus 312b), τυφλῖνος, τυφλίνης, a kind of fish.
Etym: Volksetymologie from Egyptian *tbt*, "fish," cf. Coptic ⲧϯⲃⲧ (Thompson, "On Egyptian Fish Names," 32).

φεννῆσις (-ῆσι, -ήσιος), priest of Isis.
Etym: From Egyptian *p(3) ḥm n Ist* (Fournet, "Emprunts," 72).

φενπταῖος, priest of Ptah.
Etym: From Egyptian *p(3) ḥm n Ptḥ* (Fournet, "Emprunts," 72).

φοῖνιξ, phoenix.
Etym: From Egyptian *bnw* (WB I 458, 3–4) (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 250; Fournet, "Emprunts," 74). Cf. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 1219.

φῦκος, a precious stone.
Etym: From Egyptian *mfkt*, through Hebrew *pûk* (Lewy, *Fremdwörter*, 47; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire*, 1040–1). But Lambdin does not agree with this ("Egyptian Loan Words," 152). Cf. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 1231.

φώσσων, coarse linen garment.
Lit: Fournet, "Emprunts," 75.

χάμψα, crocodile (Herodotus 2.69).
Etym: From Egyptian *ḥms* (Hemmerdinger, "Noms," 242). From Egyptian *msḥ* (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 250). Compare ⲙⲥⲁϩ from Egyptian *msḥ*, Demotic *msh*, and explaining the Greek by metathesis: *ḥms* (WB III 96, 11–12; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 123). The explanation with an indefinite article in Coptic ϩⲉⲛ- (S) or ϩⲁⲛ- (B) for the Greek χα- is, however, impossible because, as Fournet points out, Egyptian *h* = Greek χ is an equation that has no precedents ("Emprunts," 68).
Lit: R. Renehan, "Some Greek Lexicographical Notes," *Glotta* 46 (1968), 60–73, here 73; Rodríguez Adrados, "Ambiente," 52–4.

χέννιον, quail.
Etym: From Egyptian *ḫnnt*, *ḫnnw*, bird (WB III 288, 18–9) (Fournet, "Emprunts," 74).
Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 251.

χενόσιρις, Egyptian name of ivy, literally plant of Osiris.
Etym: From Egyptian *ḫ3 n isr*.
Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 251; Fournet, "Emprunts," 68.

χλίβιον, basket, measure. Cf. χλοῦβον.
Etym: Compare ϩⲗⲏⲃ, from Egyptian **kleb*, cf. Hebrew *kĕlub* (Vycichl, *Dictionnaire*, 338; N. Y. Clauson, "A Customs House Registry from Roman Egypt (P. Wisconsin 16)," *Aegyptus* 9 (1928), 240–80, here 268; MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 252; Fournet, "Emprunts," 72).

χρῆρε or τχρῆρε, appears in a couple of sixth century papyri (*P.Lond.* V 1722.20 and *P.Muench.* I 11, 27 and 12, 22) explaining the Greek word ὑποπέσσιον, which seems to be the space below the staircase generally used for storing things.
Etym: This word has been explained as stemming from Demotic *ḥrr* "Frauenabteilung" in W. Spiegelberg's edition of the Strassburg Papyrus 1 (*P.Dem.Strasb.* 1 and *P.Louvre* 2424) (*P.Stras.Dem.* 18). See H. I. Bell, "Syene Papyri in the British Museum," *Klio* 13 (1913), 160–74, here 172; S. R. K. Glanville, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the BM* 1, London 1939, XXXIII n. 1; G. Mattha, "Notes on a Demotic papyrus from Thebes," *Annales du Service des Antiquités Égyptiennes*, 51 (1951) 265–7.
But I think the term in these late papyri is reproducing the Coptic ϩⲣⲁⲓ "below" + ⲣⲓ "room," with the ⲧ being the feminine article for ⲣⲓ, also a feminine noun. But cf. Crum 107b ϰⲁⲗⲁⲥⲧⲱⲣⲧ, a term with a similar meaning.
Lit: G. Husson, "Houses in Syene in the Patermouthis Archive," *BASP* 27 (1990), 123–37, here 126; idem, *Oikia. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs*, Paris 1983, 226–30, 230.

χυμεία, alchemy.
Etym: From Egyptian *kmt*, literally the black land (MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 251). LSJ mentions it probably comes from χύμα.

χωνσχυ, meaning unclear.
Lit: Mayser and Schmoll, *Grammatik*, I 28

ψαγδάν, σάγδας, ointment.
Etym: From Egyptian *p3 sgnn* (Vergote, "Bilinguisme," 1387; Fournet, "Emprunts," 66; Jasanoff and Nussbaum, "Word Games," 196). See W. Spiegelberg, "Ψάγδαν, ψάγδας, σάγδας," *Hermes* 56 (1921), 332–3.

ψχέντ, royal headdress.
Etym: From Egyptian *p3 šmty* (WB IV 250, 10; MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 252; Fournet, "Emprunts," 72). See also Jasanoff and Nussbaum, "Word Games," 196.

ὠχεί, Egyptian name of the ἀτράφαξυς orach, *atriplex rosea.*
Lit: MacGready, "Egyptian Words," 252.

SAWĪRUS IBN AL-MUQAFFAʿ AND THE CHRISTIANS OF UMAYYAD EGYPT: WAR AND SOCIETY IN DOCUMENTARY CONTEXT

Frank R. Trombley

It is generally agreed that Sawīrus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ was one of several compilers rather than the final redactor of the *History of the Coptic Patriarchs of Alexandria*.[1] I do not propose to enter into the question of authorship, but, accepting the premise that the work is a compilation that relied on documents or proximate reports about them, I intend to show that a documentary logic is inherent in the account ps.-Sawīrus presents.[2] My specific aim is to develop the discussion along particular lines, that is, how the *History of the Patriarchs* reveals the function of the Christian population in subsidising one of the big projects of the Umayyad *khalīfa*, the annual raid (*koursos*) of the Egyptian fleet against the coastlands of the Byzantine empire.[3] It is well known, particularly from the Aphrodito papyri, that a complex infrastructure was built up, probably based on a streamlined model of the previous Late Roman administrative apparatus, to underpin this programme.[4]

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[1] Severus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria III: Agathon to Michael (766)*, ed. and trans. B. Evetts, Patrologia Orientalis V, Paris 1910, 1–215 [257–471] (hereafter *HP*). See also the somewhat superior text in C. F. Seybold (ed.), *Severus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. Alexandrinische Patriarchengeschichte von S. Markus bis Michael I (67–767), nach der ältesten 1266 geschriebenen Hamburger Handschrift im arabischen Urtext herausgegeben*, Hamburg 1912 (*non vidi*). On textual questions, see J. Den Heijer, *Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Mufarriǧ et l'historiographie copto-arabe. Étude sur la composition de l'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*, CSCO Subsidia 83, Louvain 1989, 14–80.

[2] Den Heijer, *Mawhūb ibn Manṣūr*, 81–116; D. W. Johnson, "Further Remarks on the Arabic History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria," *Oriens Christianus* 61 (1977), 103–16.

[3] F. Trombley, "Mediterranean Sea Culture between Byzantium and Islam, *c.* 600–850 A.D.," in E. Kountoura-Galakē (ed.), *The Dark Centuries of Byzantium*, Athens 2001, 133–69.

[4] *P.Lond.* IV, pp. xxxii–xliv; C. H. Becker, "Historische Studien über das Londoner Aphroditowerk," *Der Islam* 2 (1911), 359–71.

The Historical Context

The Umayyad dynasty and its governors were the architects of early Arab navalism.[5] The years between the overthrow of the Byzantine emperor Justinian II in 695 and the abortive Muslim siege of Constantinople in 717–18 were perhaps the most critical in terms of the ambitious scale of ship construction.[6] It was at this time that the successors of Justinian II had begun an active policy of making land expeditions and naval descents on the Muslim-controlled coastal cities of Syria, Palestine and Egypt. There was, for example, a naval expedition of 360 Byzantine ships against Damietta in 90/708–9,[7] during which an Arab admiral was captured, and another in 121/738–9.[8] A good many other expeditions sailed against unidentified localities in Egypt during this period.[9] Most of these forays seem to have been directed against the coastal zone of the Nile delta, but there has been little success in working out the place names of the towns besieged and captured by the Byzantines in the Arabic texts.[10] The geographical region of these raids was generally *al-sawāḥil*, "the sea estuaries of the Nile," whose defence lay in the hands of a special naval squadron (*aṣḥāb sufunihi* = *paraphylakē tōn stomiōn*).[11] The defensive aim of protecting the sea approaches may have been one of the original reasons for the formation of an Egyptian squadron.[12] This led to the establishment of shipyards devoted specifically to the con-

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[5] See in general A. M. Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Seventh to the Tenth Century A.D.*, Cairo 1966, 23–42. On the tax programmes that supported the fleet, see L. Casson, "Tax-Collection Problems in Early Arab Egypt," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 69 (1938), 274–91; K. Morimoto, *The Fiscal Administration of Early Medieval Egypt*, Kyoto 1981.

[6] The Muslim fleet is said to have arrived off Constantinople on 1 September 717; Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, AM 6209, tr. C. Mango and R. Scott, Oxford 1997, 545 and n. 17.

[7] 20 November 708 to 8 November 709.

[8] 18 December 738 to 6 December 739; extract from al-Maqrīzī, noted in E. W. Brooks, "The Relations between the Empire and Egypt from a New Arabic Source," *BZ* 22 (1913), 381.

[9] Brooks, "New Arabic Source," 383.

[10] E.g. the Byzantine raid of 736–7 landed at an unidentified place called Qryga (al-Kindī) or Taruga (al-Maqrīzī); see Brooks, "New Arabic Source," 390. On geography, see A. Grohmann, *Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung des frühmittelalterlichen Ägypten*, Vienna 1959, 29, Abb. 7, where the coastal city of "Ğurğīr" is indicated in the east of the Nile delta.

[11] E.g. Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 11 [265]; *P.Apoll.* 12 (p. 36).

[12] See Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation*, 35 f.

struction of a war fleet in al-Fusṭāṭ and other localities, including Alexandria, Babylon, Damietta, Klysma, Rosetta and Tinnis.[13]

The *dīwān* at the new Muslim administrative centre of al-Fusṭāṭ, which was established outside the old Byzantine fortress of Babylon, became the nerve centre of a network for distributing money and food to the *muhājirūn* or Muslim soldiery with their extended families and tribal clients, who were mostly settled in the immediate vicinity.[14] The day-to-day operations of the *dīwān* are known in considerable detail.[15] All the revenues coming in for naval construction went there before being disbursed to the different shipyards to pay shipwrights and other skilled artisans who had been recruited in Egypt, and to purchase raw materials for the ships under construction in these places. Much of the human and material capital for this project was requisitioned through a system of paid *corvées* from the villages of Egypt, as the papyri make clear.

The Qurra, Aphrodito and Apollonos Ano papyri reveal a considerable investment in manpower and tax receipts for the fitting out and manning of a war fleet in the waters of the Nile delta during the governorship of Qurra b. Sharīk (in office 709–14).[16] The documents come from a restricted number of localities. If the figures given in them for men and money could be multiplied by the total number of contributing fiscal units, it might be hypothetically possible to reconstruct and measure the scale of naval investment being undertaken at this time, but documents from other localities are usually lacking. There is detailed papyrological evidence for Qurra's immediate successors suggesting rising and falling tax, but this evidence does not bear on naval construction.[17]

The relevant papyri cover only a few years *c.* 709–14, mainly the governorship of Qurra, so it is difficult to establish clear indications

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[13] Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation*, 22–42.

[14] W. B. Kubiak, *Al-Fustat: Its Foundation and Early Development*, Cairo 1987, 128, 155 n. 31, etc.

[15] *P.Qurra*, pp. 10–33; Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration*, passim.

[16] On the Greek papyri of Aphrodito, see above, note 4. Arabic texts: W. Diem, "Einige frühe amtliche Urkunden aus der Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer Wien," *Le Muséon* 97 (1984), 109–58, no. 1; C. H. Becker, "Arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes," *ZA* 20 (1907), 68–104; idem, "Neue arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes," *Der Islam* 2 (1911), 245–68; H. I. Bell, "Translations of the Greek Aphrodito Papyri in the British Museum," *Der Islam* 2 (1911), 269–83 and 372–84; *P.Qurra* 1–5; *P.Cair.Arab*. III 146–166; *Chrest.Khoury* I 90–93. Greek texts: *P.Apoll.*

[17] Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration*, 84–91.

of rising or falling naval investment over a longer period of time. The historical sources and papyri suggest that the governors of Egypt pressed for maximal output in naval construction throughout the Umayyad period, but such a conclusion remains provisional in the absence of comprehensive documentary data. Fleet construction was always a capital-intensive programme and had a heavy fiscal impact, whether the ships were being built for purely defensive purposes, or whether attacking Constantinople was the long-term aim right from the start. The only reference to the specifically defensive functions of the Egyptian squadron is made a century later. Sawīrus reports for 238/853:[18]

> [ʿAnbasa] ordered the construction of ships in all coastal towns because the Greeks came to Damietta at that time . . . Consequently many ships were built and every year they repaired those which were wrecked. They sailed in them to the land of the Greeks and made war on them.

The implication is that an aggressive raiding policy was the best defence.

One of the best-documented years of the naval build-up was the ninth indiction (710–11). The papyri could refer to a particular annual expedition (the *koursos*), perhaps a raid to draw off Byzantine forces that might otherwise have attacked Egypt, or to distant preparations for the expedition being planned against Constantinople that eventually set out in the summer of 717.

Ps.-Sawīrus mentions a series of fiscal measures designed to finance the fleet between *c.* 661–749. Both he and the papyri suggest that a vastly disproportionate part of the tax burden fell on the Christian population of Egypt, and that these measures increased the regular taxation imposed on the *dhimmī*s. The first reported instance of tax rises, which are mistakenly dated to the patriarchate of Agathon (661–77), goes all the way back to the caliphate of Yazīd I (680–83):[19]

> In those days Alexandria was governed by a man whose name was Theodore [the Chalcedonian. He] went to Damascus to the leader of the Muslims whose name was Yazīd son of Muʿāwiya, and received

[18] Quoted in Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation*, 36. See also G. Levi Della Vida, "A Papyrus Reference to the Damietta Raid of 853 A.D.," *Byzantion* 17 (1944–5), 212–21; R. Rémondon, "À propos de la menace byzantine sur Damiette sous le règne de Michel III," *Byzantion* 23 (1953), 245–50.

[19] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 5 [259].

> from him a diploma giving him authority over the people of Alexandria and Maryūt and all the neighbouring districts, and declaring that the governor of Egypt had no jurisdiction over him. [Theodore demanded of Agathon] the money which he was bound to pay, taking from him thirty-six *solidi* every year [as *jizya* for his clergy], but he also exacted from him that which he spent upon the sailors in the fleet (*ʿalā ʾl-nawātiyya fī ʾl-usṭūl*).

The census conducted by Usāma, Qurra's successor as governor in 715, may have been imposed partly for the purpose of tightening up revenue collection in order to enlarge the Egyptian naval squadron: ps.-Sawīrus refers to his "setting the boundaries of the rural districts" (*ʿalām jamīʿ al-kuwar*),[20] but he says nothing specific about the fleet. Usāma is said to have insisted on the cadasters being written in Arabic:[21]

> [In] the year 431 [of the era] of Diocletian . . . after the death of Qurra, al-Walīd sent to Egypt as his successor a governor named Usāma. This man, when he came to al-Fusṭāṭ, demanded a description of the boundaries of all the rural districts, and wrote it down in Arabic.

The planned sailing of an Egyptian squadron to join the land and sea expedition against Constantinople, at the latest in spring 718, is a possible explanation for this measure; in itself it was not a tax rise, but only an attempt to make the figures available in Arabic for inspection by non-bilingual, Arabic-speaking officials of the *dīwān*.

This was accompanied by another measure designed to keep track of the Christian population by restricting its movement:[22]

> [Usāma] commanded that no one should lodge a stranger in the churches or at inns or on the wharfs, and the people were afraid of him and drove out the strangers who were in their houses. And he commanded the monks not to make monks of those who came to them. Then he mutilated the monks, and branded each one of them on the left hand, with a branding iron in the form of a ring, that he might be known [as a monk], *adding the name of his church and his monastery*, without a cross, and with the date according to the era of Islam.

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[20] Evett's translation of this passage ("the boundaries of all the provinces") is surely defective. It cannot be substantiated from any source that the boundaries of the eparchies and nomes of Egypt were changed at this time. The measures were therefore connected with small circumscriptions, that is, individual properties as they were demarcated in the cadasters. See next note.

[21] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 67 [321].

[22] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 68 [322].

The stipulations given in italics were intended among other things to prevent men with artisan and seafaring skills from disappearing into the ranks of the monks. Escape to monasteries to avoid taxation and *corvées* was a recognised feature of Egyptian society in the Byzantine period and this, with the synchronism of the run-up to the expedition against Constantinople, offers a possible explanation for this measure.[23] In some ways it imitates the late third-century laws of Diocletian intended to keep the agricultural population physically tied to the fiscal units in which they were producers.[24] Thus, as the preparations for the sailing of the fleet were completed, it would be possible to draw on skilled workmen—carpenters, ship fitters and seamen—in predictable and proportionate numbers from all fiscal districts involved in the manpower levies scheduled to take place. The superindictions on moveable wealth that ʿUsāma imposed at this time may also have been related to this plan, for the foodstuffs, cattle, oil and woodwork confiscated all had uses in the war fleet.

Even fairly isolated monasteries had problems with *corvées*. The life of Samuel of Qalamūn (late seventh cent.) mentions a requisition that caused serious problems of subsistence:[25]

> Then on one occasion an order was issued: the camels of the monastery and those of everyone else were requisitioned to take corn to Klysma. Those of the monastery were taken, as I have said, and for six whole months were not released. And so they were unable to find a way of transporting bread for the brothers.

The chronology is uncertain, but this measure may have been a response to a grain shortage that struck Madina in 643–4, Klysma being the main Egyptian seaport on the Red Sea.

Ps.-Sawīrus cites another of Usāma's acts, a decree dated to year 96 of the *hijra* requiring passports for internal travel in Egypt and imposing severe penalties for anyone who failed to produce the document.[26] This, like the branding of monks, was designed to keep the Christian population confined and its agricultural surplus available inside their recognised fiscal circumscriptions by making travel and

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[23] R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton 1993, 144.

[24] A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–604*, Oxford 1964, 801–3.

[25] Isaac the Presbyter, *The Life of Samuel of Kalamun*, ed./trans. A. Alcock, Warminster 1983, 109 and 129 n. 214.

[26] Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration*, 125 f.

the intercommunal marketing of farm goods difficult.[27] It is also direct evidence for the extensive and continuing use of the Nile by civilian river craft:[28]

> He wrote and said (*wa-kāna yaktubu wa-yaqūlu*): whenever anyone is found walking or passing from one place to another, or disembarking from a boat, or embarking, without his passport (*sijill* "registration document"), he shall be arrested, and the contents of the boat shall be confiscated, and the boat shall be burned . . . If a mouse ate a man's passport or if it were injured by water or fire or any accident, whether part or the whole of it remained in his possession, if its lettering were damaged, it could not be changed for a new one until he paid five *solidi* as a fee for it, and then it could be changed for him.

Few agriculturalists could afford to risk losing their passports if things went wrong during a journey.[29]

No passports from the governorship of Usāma survive in the papyri, but there are two from the later Umayyad period, one fragmentary and the other intact; their contents may well be representative of the earlier period. Both documents are written according to an identical formula, giving a physical description of the applicant and being valid for only a short period of time, from two to five months. The passports guarantee free transit to a different pagarchy, restricting the person to working only there.[30] In each instance, the purpose of travel was partly to find work for subsistence, but particularly to come up with the money required to pay the *jizya*, a term in the Egyptian papyri that in the early eighth century was being used as

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[27] On *dhimmī* agriculture, see T. G. Wilfong, "Agriculture among the Christian Population of Early Islamic Egypt: Practice and Theory," and G. Frantz-Murphy, "Land-Tenure in Egypt in the First Five Centuries of Islamic Rule (Seventh—Twelfth Centuries A.D.)," in A. K. Bowman and E. Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times*, Oxford 1999, 217–35 and 237–66.

[28] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 69 [323]. The key to the documentary origin of this notice lies in the use of the Latin-Greek loanword *sijill*. The doubled final radical is difficult to explain except as derived from the Greek *sigillon* < Latin *sigillum* (oral communication from R. G. Khoury, 24 March 2002); see also below, note 83. On Greek loanwords in official titles, see A. M. Mukhtār, "On the Survival of the Byzantine Administration in Egypt during the First Century of Arab Rule," *Acta Orientalia* 27 (1973), 309–19, esp. 317.

[29] Ps.-Sawīrus fails to indicate whether the initial award of a passport required a fee. See the hard-luck story of a widow whose son and his passport were eaten by a crocodile and who allegedly had eventually to pay for two passports, one for her son and one for herself; Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 70 [324].

[30] *P.Cair.Arab.* III 174–175.

a general fiscal term for the sum of all the taxes that individual farmers and artisans were paying, encompassing both the capitation tax and the land tax in kind on agricultural produce (generally known as the *kharāj* elsewhere).[31] The intact passport bears the date of 1 Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 112/14 February 731. The relevant sections are:[32]

> This is a document (*kitāb*) from ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh, administrator of the *amīr* ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb over Upper Ashmūn, for Constantine Papastolos (*Babusṭulus*), a young man, flat-nosed, on his cheek being a scar and on his neck two moles, having lank hair, one of the people of Basqanūn belonging to (the district of) Upper Ashmūn. I have permitted him to work at Lower Ashmūn in order to pay his poll tax (*li-wafī jizyatihi*) and to obtain his subsistence, and I have appointed for him two months from the lunation of Dhū 'l-Ḥijja to the end of Muḥarram of the year 116, and whoever of the treasury officials of the *amīr* or others meets him, let him not treat him in this period otherwise than well. And security upon him who follows the guidance, and Ṭulayq wrote it just <at the time> of the new moon of Dhū 'l-Ḥijja of the year 112.

This passport was in all probability issued in the interest of maximising the revenues of a pagarchy (in this instance Upper Ashmūn), which might otherwise fail to reach its target sum to be collected from the *dhimmī*s by the end of the financial year. This occurred in 722 and again in 731. The evidence is suggestive, but too fragmentary for drawing conclusions about long-term fiscal patterns.

The draconian penalties that ps.-Sawīrus mentions imply the government's suspicion of ethnic collusion by Copt shipmasters in aiding illegal migrants, particularly Greeks, who were suspected of being potential spies who were willing or able to pass intelligence to the Byzantine authorities about the condition of fortifications, troop deployments and naval construction in Egypt, as a Mālikite *jihād* manual suggests.[33] Ps.-Sawīrus observes:[34]

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[31] Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration*, 63, following Bell and Becker.

[32] Adapted from Grohmann (trans.), *P.Cair.Arab.* III 175. There must be an error with one of the A.H. dates. It is otherwise difficult to understand why a two-month passport would be given four years in advance. In *P.Cair.Arab.* III 174, the year of issue and year of effect for the passport are identical.

[33] Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996), *Kītāb al-jihād* §§119, 122, in *Der heilige Krieg (Ǧihād) aus der Sicht der mālikitischen Rechtsschule*, ed. M. von Bredow, Beirut 1994, 433–40, 445–7. Cf. the Ḥanafī al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805), *Siyar*, tr. M. Khadduri, *The Islamic Law of Nations*, Baltimore 1966, where there do not appear to be similar provisions.

[34] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 69 [323].

> If any Greeks (*min al-rūm*) were found on the river (*fī 'l-baḥr*) they were executed, impaled and had their hands and feet cut off.

The principal outcome of these regulations was the accumulation of goods in their places of production and a sharp rise in prices at the urban markets. There is a parallel case: the settlement of Christian Nubians in Muslim Egypt and the movement of their traders when sailing down from the Upper Nile were restricted from the time of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's first governorship onward.[35]

One of the Aphrodito papyri reports that Copt sailors (*nautai*) deserted in large numbers after the raiding fleet attacked Sardinia and Sicily in 703–4 and it was thereafter shipwrecked in a storm on the African coast. The Arab governor Qurra b. Sharīk inquired of Basileios, the pagarch of Aphrodito, how many of the missing men had returned and how many had died as of 710, six years after the disaster:[36]

> We have not learned the number of sailors who have returned to your district, of those who departed on the *koursos* against Africa with ʿAṭā b. Rāfiʿ whom Mūsā b. Nuṣayr sent, and which ones have remained in the same Africa. After you receive the present letter, write to us about the number of the sailors who have returned to your district, after learning from them by questioning them about those who remained in Africa and for what reasons they remained there, and about those who died in that place as recorded, and who died immediately after leaving [for Africa].

It is quite possible that many of the sailors had no particular desire to return to Egypt and found employment elsewhere in the western Mediterranean.[37]

This may tie in with the well-known propensity of Copts to become "fugitives" (*phygadai*). This tendency had perhaps begun to reach interregional proportions.[38] The ambivalence of the Copts toward their employers as *corvée* sailors (*angareutai*) on hazardous duty was

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[35] V. Christides, "Sudanese at the Time of the Arab Conquest of Egypt," *BZ* 75 (1982), 6–13. Nubian pastoralists already living in Egypt at the time of the conquest were allowed to stay, as long as they paid the same taxes as the Copts and Greeks.

[36] *P.Lond.* IV 1350.

[37] On seafaring and conditions of service, see M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce 300–900 A.D.* (Cambridge, 2001), 402–29.

[38] This word is defined as "*one who flees* from his country, either voluntarily, *runaway*, *fugitive*, or by legal sentence, *exile*" (*LSJ*, s.v.).

reflected at Constantinople in 718, when the seamen of the Egyptian squadron consisting of 400 warships and transports manned the skiffs of the warships (*hoi tōn katenōn sandaloi*) in large numbers and defected to the Byzantines, possibly through the collusion of the Christian emperor.[39] As the Greek chronicler Theophanes reports, "the sea appeared to be completely covered with wood (*holoxylon*) from Hiereia to the city."[40] The mass defections may explain why the *khalīfa* hesitated after this to besiege Constantinople by sea with Christian crews in their warships and transports.

This series of events appears to be the background of an important statement of ps.-Sawīrus about the taxation policies of Qurra b. Sharīk. It comes from the patriarchate of Alexander II (705–730), whose agents oversaw the finances of the Coptic church during Qurra's governorship (30 January 709–7 December 714):[41]

> And the *amīr* Qurra was a great lover of money; and whenever a [Christian] official (*arkhūn*) died, he seized all his goods. Thus on the death of the chief of the *dīwān* of Alexandria, and of Apa Kyros of Tinnis who was a *kātib*, and of an innumerable number of officials at Miṣr, he confiscated their property; and he even took away the endowments of the bishops. By these means he added 100,000 *solidi* to the established revenue of the country. And men began to flee from place to place (*wa-kānū al-nās yahrabūna . . . min makān ilā makān*) with their wives and children, but no place would harbour them because of the troubles and the exaction of taxes . . . Then Qurra appointed a man named ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz of the city of Sakhā who collected the fugitives from every place (*alladhīna yahrabūna min kull mawḍiʿin*), and brought them back and punished them, and sent everyone to his own place (*ilā mawḍiʿihi*).

Ps.-Sawīrus' characterisation of Qurra's aggressive revenue raising tactics provides some scope for understanding the frequent mention of Coptic migrants in the papyri.[42] Unfortunately, the fiscal measures taken in the run-up to the expedition against Constantinople in 717–718 are not known in anywhere near the same depth as the Qurra documents reveal for 709–714.

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[39] It is quite possible that the loss in naval and maritime personnel that had occurred in the last years of Justinian II's second reign had not yet been replaced, and that there was a labour shortage in these trades; Trombley, "Mediterranean Sea Culture," 148.

[40] Theophanes, *Chron.*, AM 6209 (Mango-Scott, 546).

[41] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 64 [318].

[42] Abbot, *Qurrah Papyri*, 64–8.

Ps.-Sawīrus' Reports on Coptic River Boats and Seafaring

Ps.-Sawīrus provides many references to the use of seafaring and riverine craft. This source's broader statements do not have a documentary origin, but nevertheless give useful indications about the extensive use of the channels and smaller waterways of the Nile delta during the Conquest and Umayyad periods. For example, in 644, when ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ departed from Alexandria after the Byzantine evacuation and the Coptic patriarch Benjamin's reinstatement,[43] a Coptic Christian provincial civil official (*doux*) named Sanoutios seems to have joined and cooperated with the Muslims, and to have had ships (*al-marākib*) at his disposal for carrying troops and booty.[44] Similarly, a century later, during the Egyptian phase of the Umayyad caliph Marwān II's struggle with the Abbasids, "he sent troops in boats to the north to every district, that they might burn all the boats that they found on the river; and this purpose they carried out."[45] As to civilian shipping, it appears that the Coptic patriarch and bishops usually travelled the river by boat, as for example when patriarch Alexander II sailed for al-Fusṭāṭ in order to see the Muslim governor in 730.[46] After the interview, he sailed downstream from Miṣr to Tarnūṭ, covering a distance of some sixty kilometres in a single night.[47] Similarly, the suffragan bishops of Egypt had little or no trouble travelling downstream to Alexandria during the period under consideration here.[48]

A demand for large river boats continued until the end of the Umayyad period. This is apparent from what ps.-Sawīrus has to say about the tax collecting expeditions of the governor al-Qāsim, who is reported to have sailed as far up the Nile as the White Monastery of Shenute of Atripe:[49]

> After [governor al-Qāsim] made boats like the fortresses of kings (*ʿamala marākib mithla quṣūr al-mulūk*), and had furnished them, he embarked in them with his wives and slaves, and sailed through the land of

[43] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 496 [232]. Cf. A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of Roman Dominion*, 2d ed., ed. P. M. Fraser, Oxford 1978, 542.
[44] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 498f. [234f.]. Cf. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 440, 449.
[45] Quoted in Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation*, 36.
[46] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 77 [331].
[47] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 77 [331].
[48] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 113 [367], 133 [387].
[49] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 95 [349].

> Egypt, and took them with him to Alexandria and Tinnis and Damietta, in order to take the money of the merchants and of the people and of the officials in those places. And he went up the river to Upper Egypt as far as Aswan (*ilā ṣaʿīd Miṣr wa-yantahī ilā Aswān*), doing the same thing. And a body of troops and armed men travelled in his company; and he entered the theatre at Ansina. And on a certain day al-Qāsim arrived at the monastery of St. Shenute . . .

It is difficult to say how long Christians continued to dominate the seafaring and ship-fitting trades. As will be seen, it continued until at least 715–16 and probably much longer.

We must now take up ps.-Sawīrus' reports in two areas, the seafaring and riverine navigation cadres that existed among the Christian Copts and Greeks, and the impact that the naval programme seen in the papyri had on the people who supported the naval infrastructure with their particular skills.

1. The first instance relies on the personal testimony of one of the sources that went *c.* 686–9 into ps.-Sawīrus' compilation:[50]

> At that time (*thumma*) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [the governor] travelled to Miṣr. There the patriarch suffered a sharp pain in his side. The *amīr* sent his scribes (*al-kuttāb*) . . . and they disposed a boat (*markab*) that he might come down to Alexandria. And the writer of this biography was with him, because he was his [spiritual] son.

The capacity of governors and their officials to provide boats is beyond dispute, as an early eighth-century papyrus of unknown provenance indicates:[51]

> I have sent . . . my boat (*safīnatī*) to Akhmīm. If you think—may Allah grant you enjoyment—to write to the financial officers on behalf of its sailors, so as to prevent them from interfering with them, do so. May Allah compensate you! It is not the first time you have done me such a favour.

2. Ps.-Sawīrus gives the itinerary of a journey made by Michael, a monk of Wadi Habīb, in August 744 that led to his being nominated to the patriarchate of Alexandria. He was one of a group of ascetics from the monastery there who visited the newly appointed Muslim governor Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd to greet him and ask for a reduction in the *kharāj* and *jizya* that his predecessor al-Qāsim had imposed.[52]

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[50] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 20 [274].
[51] *Chrest.Khoury* I 96.
[52] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 105 [359]. Taxes on monks were a matter of existing practice,

The *terminus post quem* for the journey is the synod of bishops that had assembled to elect a new patriarch on 28 Misrā in the year 459 of the era of Diocletian (743–4).[53] At first sight the concatenation of dates in this section suggests the existence of a patriarchal register recording the dates of synods, elections and the meetings of bishops with Muslim civil officials. The sequence of events was as follows:[54]

1. The delegation from Wadi Habīb arrived at the Island (*al-jazīra*) of the Nile near al-Fusṭāṭ on 13 Tūt, when Michael was acclaimed and recognised as patriarch, with the consent of Ḥafṣ and the commendation of Theodore the metropolitan archbishop of Miṣr.
2. On 14 Tūt the bishops embarked on the boats (*al-marākib*) and sailed down (*inḥadarū*) the Nile to Alexandria.
3. On the night of 16 Tūt the bishops reached Alexandria. A heavy rainfall, the first in two years, engulfed the city during the procession with candles, crosses and gospel books.
4. On 17 Tūt Michael was consecrated patriarch.

The bishops made use of boats, but the ethnicity of the shipmasters is not mentioned. It took three full days of travel (14–16 Tūt) to cover approximately 180 km sailing downstream from al-Fusṭāṭ to Alexandria.[55] This was a swift journey compared to those on the Upper Nile. Papyri at Apollonos Ano (present-day Edfu in the Upper Thebaid) indicate that the journey between there and Babylon, a distance of 831 km, averaged 18 km per day going up the Nile and 27 km per day coming down.[56]

3. We are on surer ground with ps.-Sawīrus' notice about Usāma who succeeded Qurra as governor of Egypt in 715–16, which the compiler's source dates by means of the official Christian system, year 431 of the era of Diocletian and the thirteenth year of the indiction, the latter of which derives from the Late Roman taxation calendar. This usage was probably read off a document requiring a rewriting of the cadasters, literally "a survey of all the villages" (*ʿalām*

going back at least to the governorship of Qurra. See the orders for payment by the monasteries of Saint Maria (30 1/6 gold *dinars* = *solidi*) and Abba Hermaotos (28 1/6 gold *dinars*), both discovered at Aphrodito/Jkow and dated to Ṣafar 91/9 December–7 January 709–10. *P.Cair.Arab.* III 162 and 163.

[53] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 105 [359].

[54] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 113 f. [367 f.].

[55] I assume that the patriarch's entourage took the so-called Alexandria Canal rather than sailing to Rosetta and thence along the coast to Alexandria. If the latter, one must add about 60 kilometres to the journey; al-Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. R. Guest, Leiden 1912, map.

[56] *P.Apoll.* 21 (24 June 710), p. 57.

jamīʿ al-kuwar)[57] and that its records be kept in Arabic (*wa-kutubaha bi'l-ʿarabī*), the report of which immediately follows.[58]

It should be evident from these examples that the Nile rivercraft still remained at least partly in the hands of Christians during the Umayyad period. Papyrological attestations of this exist in the Umayyad period, in the Aphrodito and Apollonos Ano papyri,[59] and it is reasonable to suppose that Christians pressed into naval service for the *koursos* were most often Copts who had some experience in sailing river craft on the Nile. This is underscored by the fact that the "sailors" (*nautai*) requisitioned in the Qurra and Aphrodito papyri are listed along with specialists in other trades, as for example "carpenters," who may have been reckoned as "sailors" by trade.[60]

The character of ship construction and the Nile boat traffic is apparent in the papyri of Apollonos Ano (present-day Edfu) in the Upper Thebaid.[61] The documents date between 703–15 and are written in Greek. They are fully contemporary with most of the Aphrodito and Qurra papyri, yet have different points of emphasis in terms of the administrative institutions they represent and the microeconomic picture they give. More importantly, the Apollonos papyri provide supplementary evidence about the shipbuilding policy of the Umayyad governors.

Many different categories of boats and ships are reported. Their classification poses certain problems and only provisional remarks can be made here. Among the vessels reported are the *alieutikon, karabion* and *karabos* (two frequently used terms for the naval vessels of the Egyptian war fleet), *ploion* (often a large round-ship for carrying bulk cargo), *sanidion* and *skaphos*.[62] The *alieutikon* ("fishing boat") was probably a medium size craft; it was used by Christian officials in the service of the Muslim governors for carrying correspondence and collecting revenue. A document of 705–6 provides a multi-faceted example of these functions:[63]

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[57] Evetts' translation is here doubtful.
[58] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 67 [321].
[59] See especially *P.Lond.* IV 1433, passim.
[60] On trades, see M. Shatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World*, Leiden 1994.
[61] *P.Apoll.*, passim.
[62] *P.Apoll.* 5, 9–12, 15, 18, 29, 30, 32, 33, 45, 55, 556, 65, 93. On classes of naval vessels, see Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation*, 125–37.
[63] *P.Apoll.* 15.

> With Kyros Pachymios I think it necessary to write to you today that you prepare to be [. . .] for me a good *alieutikon*, so that with it I may go up river (*anelthō*) without hindrance, as God commands, and complete (the collection of) the tribute in gold (*chrysion*) of the land parcels of the Blemmyes and the value of their flocks, since they have sent to me [. . .]. So when I come for the gold and the ship (*heneken tou ploiou*), I must not be impeded.

The *alieutikon* was large enough a craft for carrying passengers on official business. For example, *c.* 705–6, a boat of this type was provided on the authorisation of Helladios, a government official, to send downriver some men who were involved in a legal case. They are called the "opponents of Sabinos" (*antidikoi Sabinou*). The *alieutikon* was not provided with bread for the journey (*chōris psōmiou*); for this or some other reason, the men in question escaped upriver and refused to report to Helladios (*ephygan kai anēlan kai oude holōs ēlthan pros me*).[64]

Civilian trade and river traffic between Apollonos Ano and the Nile delta are reported, mostly in connection with the shipment of natural and agricultural products as taxation in kind. One document (3 October 704) reports the intended delivery of two shiploads of wine totaling 2,500 *knidia* (= 125,000 *xestai*/liquid pints) from a Christian ecclesiastical estate to the Muslim governor (*amīr*) of the Thebaid.[65] The term *ploion* is used for the ship, suggesting a large vessel.

The possibility that *ploion* is a semi-technical term for a large cargo ship is corroborated by another papyrus, dated 5 December 705. It concerns a consignment of wood destined for the repair of a boat in a small shipyard somewhere in the Thebaid. Although the arsenals of the raiding fleet were located principally at Alexandria, Babylon, Damietta, Klysma, Rosetta and Tinnis,[66] there were many smaller installations of this type along the course of the Nile that serviced river craft of various sizes:[67]

> (Cross) Let your divinely protected brotherhood understand that, on the day before yesterday, the seventh day of the present month, my lord the most glorious *topotērētēs* sailed down (the Nile) (*katepleusen*) and

[64] *P.Apoll.* 18.
[65] *P.Apoll.* 10.
[66] Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation*, 22–42.
[67] *P.Apoll.* 5.

> commanded me to write to you, in order that you might write (back) to me on the matter of the ship (*tou ploiou*) as to what you have done about it. At the time of (your) reading the present letter, your divinely protected brotherhood should write to me about the outcome of the matter, and about what more is required for your use. Pursuant to the present letter I am sending you dry sycamore wood (*sykamorea xēra*). But send your man to Kyris Aristophanes, who should select acacia (wood) for the keel (*epilexasthai tēn akanthean logōi tou logome(nou) kerkis*), since he can provide it (etc.).

The procurement of appropriate timber for shipbuilding was a constant problem in the Mediterranean ecological zone. Sycamore is known to have grown in the Thebaid and Fayyum districts.[68] The term "dry sycamore" refers to the final product of a treatment process by which two planks or beams were pressed together and immersed in water for an entire year, after which they became inseparable.[69] Acacia or sant was an extremely hard wood that also grew in Upper Egypt.[70] Other species of timber, particularly the tall cypress used for masts, would have had to be imported from the eastern Mediterranean coastlands.[71]

Another aspect of the question of the Coptic seafaring is the maritime trades. Most of the ship fitters summoned by Qurra b. Sharīk were permanent residents of the villages from which they were conscripted. Large numbers of these personnel were concentrated at Babylon, the principal naval station and dockyard of Egypt.[72] The Aphrodito papyri list a wide range of artisan and ship-fitting skills. Among these were caulkers, carpenters and ironsmiths.[73] It is not easy to say if these specialists were being paid a fair market wage for their services, in view of the high demand for ship fitters at this time; if they were underpaid, it was a counterproductive policy in view of the men's tendency to desert the shipyards. Nevertheless, the wages reported in the Aphrodito papyri do not seem unreasonable for men with artisan skills. A document of 709 runs:[74]

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[68] *P.Apoll.* 11, p. 34, n. 5.
[69] Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation*, 76; *P.Apoll.* 11, p. 35, n. 5.
[70] Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation*, 76f.
[71] M. Lombard, "Arsenaux et bois de marine dans la Méditerranée musulmane VII^{e}–XI^{e} siècles," and idem, "Le bois dans la Méditerranée musulmane VII^{e}–XI^{e} siècles. Un problème cartographié," *Espaces et réseaux du haut moyen âge*, Paris 1972, 107–51, 153–76.
[72] Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation*, 37.
[73] Lists of personnel are found in *P.Lond.* IV 1433 and 1434.
[74] *P.Lond.* IV 1410, in Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation*, 37.

> In the name of God. Qurra b. Sharīk, governor, to you, the people of the village of Aphrodito. Furnish for the cleansing of the *karaboi* and *akatēnaria* and *dromonaria*, which are on the island of Babylon under the supervision of ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Abī Ḥakīm the superintendent in the present eighth indiction and the *koursos* of the ninth indiction: four skilled workmen with supplies for three months, two ship's carpenters at 2 *solidi* per month, one carpenter at 1 1/3 *solidi* per month, one caulker at 1 1/2 *solidi* per month, and if you compound in money, pay for their wages and supplies as above specified only . . .

The problem of desertion from *corvée* duties comes up again and again in the papyri of the Umayyad period. Roger Rémondon observes: "Les désordres sociaux ont des causes plus lointaines, la politique générale des Omayyades, en particulier leur systeme de travail forcé."[75] One of the Apollonos Ano papyri dating from before 704 makes particular mention of the desertion of ship-caulkers (*kalaphatai*) from Babylon:[76]

> (Cross) That your most magnificent brotherhood may learn as of yesterday, which was the fourth day of the present month, I have received a letter from my master the most blessed *doux*, through the soldier Sergios who was sent concerning the ship-caulkers who have fled. So, if it is found that you have left even one only, you shall give (*dōsate*) 1000 *solidi* on behalf of yourself and you will be in danger of [losing] your life. If there are non-local (*xenoi*) ship-caulkers in your pagarchy, seize them also and send them under a wooden block (*xylomagganon*).
>
> Copy of a mandate (*sigellion*) sent to me by my master the celebrated *amīr*.
>
> (Cross) In the name of God, Iordanes to all the pagarchs of the Thebaid. Since the ship-caulkers working on the ships of Babylon have fled and we have ordered your representative not to allow even one ship-caulker [to remain] without sending him to us, but that he who detains (*kratōn*) or hides a ship-caulker should give (*dōsei*) 1000 *solidi*, if it is feasible, after ordering him to show (*hypodeixai*) the present mandate. Furthermore, if anyone refuses to surrender himself and send to you each ship-caulker who is in his administrative district, after having seen and read this mandate (*sigellin*), and lets even one [of them go free], we will not accept his goods (*hypostasis*) in lieu of his life. So, as has been said, collect the ship-caulkers and send them to your penitentiary boats (*eis ta exaleptika skaphē*).[77] I have made use of the present mandate lest you be

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[75] *P.Apoll.* 9, p. 25.
[76] *P.Apoll.* 9, p. 25 f.
[77] The sense of the term is far from clear. It is also used in *P.Lond.* IV 1433, line 401.

> in any doubt. With regard to my present communiqué, I have attached the mandate that was sent to me by the most celebrated *amīr* [—].
>
> To my divinely protected master and brother Papas pagarch of Apollonos Ano (Cross).
>
> Helladios (Cross)

The papyrus was written in Greek, but has a terminological affinity with Arabic in the use of the Greek verb *didōmi* where one would expect to see the form IV verb *aʿṭā*, 'to give', but frequently used in the sense of 'pay' in the *futūḥ* narratives.[78]

Rémondon suggests that the fugitives may have had to serve penal time on these craft, which were apparently riverboats. This seems unlikely because of the essential skills possessed by the ship-caulkers. It is more likely that the 'penitentiary boats' were operated, staffed and equipped by the *amīr* and pagarchs as secure craft for forcibly transferring the deserters back to Babylon where they could resume their *corvée* duties in the shipyards.

The Umayyad Naval Buildup

The Qurra papyri record the Umayyad naval build-up in some detail. Unfortunately no statement of broad policy survives either in the literary sources or in the papyri themselves.[79] The historian is therefore left in some doubt as to how far the policy of directly attacking Constantinople had developed by the last year of Qurra b. Sharīk's governorship. As they are reported in the papyri, the measures taken to strengthen the Egyptian fleet were mainly microeconomic in nature, that is, indications of small local contributions in specie and kind from the nome of Aphrodito, as well as *corvées* of ship fitters and sailors. Without the evidence of historical sources, particularly the account of the ninth-century chronographer Theophanes of the Arab naval expedition against Constantinople, it would be difficult to see the historical 'forest' for all the documentary 'trees'.

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[78] Compare with *P.Lond.* IV, pp. xlii–xliii. On *futūḥ* narratives, F. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, Princeton 1998, 174–82, etc.

[79] On geopolitical questions there is only E. Eickoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland: Das Mittelmeer unter byzantinischer und arabischer Hegemonie (650–1040)*, Berlin 1966; cf. Trombley, "Mediterranean Sea Culture," 133 f., 155–69.

Several hundred Arabic and Greek papyri survive from the vast series of written requisitions that Qurra b. Sharīk and other governors sent to the Egyptian nomes. It is impossible to take every one of them into account in the present survey. Instead, a representative sample will be identified for the purpose of discovering the qualitative aspects of the question. But before looking at select papyri, it is important to understand the bureaucratic system that successive Arab administrations developed as it is reflected in the papyri.

A good example of the system is found in the unique letter of Flavios ʿAṭiyya b. Juʿayd during the governorship of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in 694–5.[80] It survives only in Greek. One is inclined to agree with Wilcken's view, *pace* Bell, that it had a parallel Arabic counterpart or, more probably, an Arabic original that was issued simultaneously. This should be apparent on linguistic grounds. For one thing, the Christian official who authorised the document had an Arabic name, which is given in transliteration (*Atias uios Goedou*). The pro forma praenomen "Flavios" was adduced to his name by virtue of his rank as a civil official.[81] Moreover, there is a clear Arabism surviving in the Greek of the phrase "as also the other monasteries which have *given* their *jizya*." The Greek present participle (which Bell translates as "pay") must correspond to the Arabic form IV verb (*aʿṭaw ʾl-jizya*) in a relative clause, a phrase that turns up frequently in the sources of the Muslim conquest such as al-Balādhurī's account of the surrender of Damascus.[82] Finally, the Greek term *sigilli(o)n* (which Bell translates with the anachronistic Turkish term 'firman') is used repeatedly in the papyrus in the sense of 'public document'. This term was already a Greek loanword in Arabic in the early seventh century.[83] The hypothesis of Arabic counterparts or originals is

[80] H. I. Bell, "Two Official Letters of the Arab Period," *JEA* 12 (1926), 265–81, esp. 266–75.

[81] One regards him as a Christian because of the formula "(Cross) With the help of God" that opens the letter; Bell, "Two Official Documents," 273.

[82] al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892), *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M. De Goeje, Leiden 1966, repr. 1968, 121, line 13, etc.

[83] P. Lampe (ed.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, 1232; A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 163f. The doubled final radical works decisively in favour of Jeffery's argument. Cf. G. Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini*, Louvain 1954, 58. The term also exists in Coptic as a loanword (*sikerlē*); *P.Lond.* IV, no. 1640, line 2. Another Arabic term for 'document' is a loanword from Greek, *tūmār* < *tomarion*, 'little book', 'codicil' < *tomos*, 'book', see *P.Cair.Arab.* III 167, line 100.

related to the peculiar phenomenon that, at least in Qurra's governorship, official demand letters invariably give the name of the *kātib* who composed the document, whereas those which survive in Greek do not.[84] In other words, it is possible that the Arabic letters were often seen as autographs, and the Greek letters as no more than official copies for the instruction of bureaucrats in the pagarch's bureau who conducted their work mainly in Greek. This practice will have been a consequence of 'bureaucratic lag'; it was a transitional procedure that lasted until the officials of the pagarchies become primarily Arabic speaking in the decades after 705 when the policy of Arabising the *dīwān*s began.[85]

It is possible that the naval building programme indicated in the Qurra papyri was a direct and long-term response to aggressive Byzantine naval operations in the second half of the seventh century. Ps.-Sawīrus has this to say about the Byzantine emperor Tiberios II (698–705) near the end of the seventh century:[86]

> [He] made war on the coasts (*al-sawāḥil*) which the Muslims had taken and recovered them. He took many islands which the Muslims had ruled over and likewise restored Sicily.

As was seen above, the Arabic *al-sawāḥil* was sometimes used to refer to the sea estuaries of the Nile delta. This suggests in turn that ps.-Sawīrus had raids against the Egyptian coastal cities in mind. Ps.-Sawīrus puts the Muslims' first naval raid into the central Mediterranean during the patriarchate of Agathon (661–677).[87] This may be chronologically accurate as regards the operations of the Egyptian squadron, but the first such expedition was in fact organised by Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, governor of Syria, against Cyprus in 649.[88] The first major naval expedition against Constantinople sailed in 655, but was stopped by a Byzantine squadron at the Battle of the Masts, which took place off Phoenix on the south coast of Asia Minor.[89] Ps.-Sawīrus puts the first large Christian contributions to

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[84] *P.Cair.Arab*. III 146–148, 150–156, 158–159, 162–163, 174–175. Text number 149 has a lacuna at the end. *P.Lond.* IV 1336, 1351, 1353, 1356, etc. See *P.Lond.* IV index, p. 581.

[85] Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration*, 119 f.

[86] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 11 [265].

[87] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 4 [258].

[88] A. Cameron, *Cyprus at the Time of the Arab Conquests*, Leukosia 1992, 27–50; cf. Trombley, "Mediterranean Sea Culture," 156–60.

[89] A. N. Stratos, "The Naval Engagement at Phoenix," in A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis (ed.), *Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, New Brunswick 1980, 229–47.

the Egyptian raiding fleet in the patriarchate of Agathon. There may be a chronological difficulty here, because our source connects these contributions with the activities of Theodore the Augustalis, who is said to have received a document (*sijill* < Greek *sigillon, sigillion* < Latin *sigillum*)[90] from caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya giving him autonomous fiscal jurisdiction over Alexandria and Maryūṭ. The question is whether Yazīd was in a position to issue caliphal commissions while Muʿāwiya was still alive. This included the monies that were spent on the fleet. Of the relationship between Theodore and Agathon, ps.-Sawīrus observes:[91]

> Theodore . . . tyrannised [Agathon . . . and] took from him 36 *solidi* as *jizya* on behalf of his disciples . . . but whatever he spent on the sailors in the fleet he exacted in addition.

This is an early mention of the naval building programme that the Qurra papyri reflect in immense detail. Ps.-Sawīrus' statement seems to be based on data from a patriarchal archive. It also mentions Agathon's purchase of captives that had been taken in a sea raid against Sicily, but figures for the number of captives or the cost of their redemption are lacking.[92] Ps.-Sawīrus' report also reflects the adoption of Greek nautical terms as loanwords in Arabic, as for example *al-nawātiyya* (possibly a dialect formation) from *nautai*, 'sailors', and *al-usṭūl* from *stolos*, 'fleet'.[93]

In an important section on the patriarch Alexander (705–30), ps.-Sawīrus reports on the fiscal exactions of Qurra b. Sharīk, some of which are corroborated by the Coptic papyri that mention the pursuit of fugitives in the parts round Aphrodito.[94] It is difficult to prove unequivocally that Copts became fugitives (*alladhīna yahrubūna*) from fear of being conscripted for naval service, in addition to the usual reasons for 'withdrawal' up country (*anachōrēsis*).[95] Ps.-Sawīrus mentions the threat of forced naval service only once, in connection with a demand for specie on the basis of one *solidus* per capita from the monks of the monasteries:[96]

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[90] See above, note 83.
[91] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 5 [259].
[92] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 4 [258].
[93] On early medieval maritime loanwords in Arabic, see D. A. Agius, *Siculo Arabic*, London/New York 1996, 118f.; cf. Trombley, "Mediterranean Sea Culture," 154 f., with bibliography.
[94] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 64 [318].
[95] E.g. Isaac the Presbyter, *Life of Samuel*, 80 f., 84, 109.
[96] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 70 f. [324 f.]. This tax rate was quite possibly based on the

> And he said: "If you do not pay this, I will destroy the churches, and turn them into ruins, and make you serve on board the ships of the fleet (. . . *wa-jaʿaltukum fī marākib al-usṭūl*)."

The chronological *termini* for this event are 715–16 and 718, during the time that the Egyptian squadron was actually involved in the naval siege of Constantinople.[97] An increase of revenue may have been seen as necessary to support the huge expeditionary force, and this probably explains the aggressiveness with which Usāma extracted revenue from the Christian population. Kosei Morimoto provides a list of reasons for *dhimmī*s becoming 'fugitives': they included tax-resistance (a phenomenon that often ended in official toleration of tax arrears), evasion of *corvées* (which resulted in their abolition by ʿUmar II (r. 717–720) after he became caliph), and escape from fines and punishments.[98]

Highly suggestive is *P. Lond.* IV 1494, a Coptic document in which six men of the Three Fields near Jkow contract to guarantee under personal liability a list of three men who were supposed "as sailors of *karabion* ships to complete the expedition (*taxeidion*) in the *koursos* of the eighth indiction." The key guarantee is that the sailors will not "turn back" (*viz.* 'desert', *kampein*). One assumes that this could have happened as they were "sent northward," and again if the fleet suffered some mishap as occurred in 703–4. Although positive proof is lacking, one is inclined to suppose that naval service was not always a compulsory public service, a *corvée* or *angareia*, but was sometimes given in lieu of paying the *jizya* in specie. If so, the tax of any fugitives had to be guaranteed by the headmen of the village, in this instance Apa Kyros "the headman" (*meizōn* = *paashane*) and Herakleios the tax collector (*hypodektēs*). Although Qurra indicates in other papyri that tax was supposed to be extracted fairly, the onerous demands of naval construction came on top of the usual tax in Coptic Egypt. This was an addition to the requirements of the pre-existing Byzantine system as the Muslim administration had inherited it.

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production of the monasteries' tenants rather than the monks' *per capita*; Bell, "Two Official Letters," 272.

[97] Ps.-Sawīrus' account of ʿUsāma's governorship, *HP*, 67–71 [321–5].

[98] Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration*, 107, 112, 116, 120–22, 124, 127–8. Cf. A. Guessous, "Le rescrit fiscal de ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz: une nouvelle appréciation," *Der Islam* 73 (1996), 113–37.

The most precise statement made by ps.-Sawīrus that reflects the practices seen in the Qurra papyri comes from the late Umayyad period, when Michael I was patriarch and Marwān II *khalīfa* (r. 744–50); the latter is blamed for the exactions against Christians rather than the governor Ḥawthara, who is named as a friend of the Copts. In Egypt the blame was transferred to "the advice of an evil man, who had learnt these deeds from Satan and was director of the arsenals of Egypt" (*raʾs ʿalā jamīʿ ṣanāʾiʿ Miṣr*), ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, who seems to have been an innovative administrator and planner.[99] It is said that he collected all the gold, silver, copper and iron that he could find. We know from the Qurra papyri that iron was being collected in the form of scrap and ore for the manufacture of nails with which the hull planks were affixed to the endoskeleton of the ship.[100] ʿAbd al-Raḥīm developed a protective coating for Muslim warships against Byzantine 'marine fire'. Ps.-Sawīrus observes:[101]

> He took linen rags and smeared the ships of the fleet with a concoction of herbs that he mixed together, so that, when the fire was thrown by the Romans upon the ships, they did not burn. And I saw this with my own eyes (*naẓartu bi-ʿaynayī*); for when the ships caught fire they did not burn, but the fire was extinguished at once.

The Aphrodito and Qurra papyri pre-date this experiment and the sieges of Constantinople in 674–8 and 717–18, when the Egyptian squadron would probably have encountered the Byzantine marine fire (*pyr thalassion*) for the first time. The key to the new weapon was not the petroleum substance itself, but the rotating siphon and match that permitted the super-heated, pressurised liquid to be ignited and projected against opposing warships.[102] ʿAbd al-Raḥīm's experiments were evidently conducted with similar fuels. Ps.-Sawīrus' informant does not seem to have gleaned the information from papyrus documents in the chancellery of the patriarch; here his unique testimony is itself the document.

There is no evidence of whether ʿAbd al-Raḥīm's protective paint proved effective in naval engagements. Ps.-Sawīrus mentions Muslim

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[99] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 119 [373].
[100] *P.Lond.* IV 1369 (A.D. 710).
[101] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 119 [373].
[102] J. Haldon and M. Byrne, "A Possible Solution to the Problem of Greek Fire," *BZ* 70 (1977), 91–9.

sea raids only once, and this in connection with the sale of Christian captives. His report concerns the patriarchate of Agathon (661–77):[103]

> So the Muslims took the Romans captive, and carried them away from their own country to a strange land. Thus with regard to Sicily and all its provinces, they took possession of that island, and ravaged it, and brought the people captives to Egypt. And this holy patriarch was sad at heart when he saw his fellow-Christians in the hands of the gentiles; and as the conquerors had offered many souls of them for sale, he bought them and set them free.

There seems to be no papyrological evidence from the Umayyad period on the existence of Christian captives as slaves or of their purchase with the funds of the Coptic patriarchate. The life of Samuel of Qalamūn mentions that the Berbers took Christian captives, but provides nothing in the way of information about the prices being paid to ransom them.[104] There is no record of anything being done to retrieve the Christian Nubian slaves who were being kidnapped by Muslim raiders and sold in Egypt in the mid-eighth century.[105]

The Naval Siege of Constantinople in 717–18

The naval siege of Constantinople is reported in detail by two main sources: the *Chronographia* of Theophanes the Confessor and the anonymous *Kītāb al-ʿUyūn*.[106] The chronology is known mainly from Theophanes. The Syrian squadron of the Muslim fleet arrived off the city on 1 September 717, fought in a series of engagements with Byzantine naval forces, and apparently wintered in the bay of Sosthenion on the Asiatic shore of the Bosporos.[107] The Egyptian squadron arrived in the spring of 718. It consisted of both transports and warships (*dromones*). Theophanes' description of its actions is vitally important for understanding the context of ps.-Sawīrus' statements and of the papyri:[108]

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[103] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 4 [258].
[104] Isaac the Presbyter, *The Life of Samuel*, 92–4.
[105] Ps.-Sawīrus, *HP*, 145 [399].
[106] *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum I*, eds. M. de Goeje and P. de Jong, Leiden 1869, 16–37; E. W. Brooks, "The Campaign of 716–718 from Arabic Sources," *JHS* 19 (1899), 19–33; M. Canard, "Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende," *Journal Asiatique* 208 (1926), 80–102.
[107] Theophanes, *Chron.*, AM 6209 (Mango-Scott, 545).
[108] Theophanes, *Chron.*, AM 6209 (Mango-Scott, 546).

> In the spring <Sufyān> arrived with a fleet that had been built in Egypt: he had 400 transports laden with corn as well as *dromones*. Having been informed of the efficacy of the Roman fire, he sailed past Bithynia and crossed to the harbour of Kalos Agros on the other side [from Constantinople, near present-day Tuzla on the bay of Nikomedia], where he anchored. Shortly thereafter, <Yazīd>, too, arrived with another fleet that had been built in Africa: he had 360 transports, a store of arms, and provisions. He had the same information about the liquid fire and so put in at Satyros and Bryas, all the way to Kartalimen. Now *the Egyptian crews of these two fleets* took counsel among themselves and, after seizing at night the skiffs of the transports, sought refuge in the City and acclaimed the emperor; as they did so, the sea, all the way from Hiereia to the City, appeared to be covered with timber. When the emperor had been informed by them of the two fleets hidden in the bay [of Nikomedia], he constructed fire-bearing siphons which he placed in *dromones* and biremes and sent them against the fleets . . . [The] enemy were sunk on the spot.

The *Kītāb al-ʿUyūn* makes no mention of the destruction of the Egyptian squadron. On the subject of naval forces, it merely indicates that the Muslim *amīr* Maslama entered into negotiations with the new Byzantine emperor Leo III in order to secure the capitulation of the city; as a goodwill gesture Maslama allowed a few Byzantine ships to sail across the Bosporus to collect some of the Muslims' accumulated grain stores. The Muslims had sown their own wheat on the coastal plains of Anatolia, but some of it was undoubtedly shipped on transports from Egypt as late as the spring of 718:[109]

> And [Maslama] had continued besieging the Romans for a winter and summer, and he sowed the land; and when the second winter came upon him, it was one of intense cold . . . [The Romans] were <in despair> when they saw the corn stored up in his camp like mountains, and the men eating what they had carried off in plundering raids, and the seed they had sown. And Leo [III the Byzantine emperor], when he advised Maslama to burn the corn, had added in a sentence of his speech: "And allow the people of al-Kustantiniyya to convey a small quantity of corn into the city, in order that they may see your good intentions towards them." And he allowed them to take one or two boats full in an hour. And Leo seized this opportunity, and in part of a day conveyed away a large quantity of corn . . .

[109] Brooks, "Campaign of 716–718," 28; al-Tabarī's account is consistent, see 30 f.

It remains to be seen whether any of the phenomena seen in these historical texts can be reconciled with the data found in the Aphrodito, Apollonos Ano and Qurra papyri.

Conclusion

The patriarchal writers whose material went into the compilation of ps.-Sawīrus knew the governors' edicts well because the latter exploited the church and its lands. Christian officials in the service of the Muslim fiscal apparatus knew the system well, so much of what the *History of the Patriarchs* reports can be regarded as a species of public information widely known and perhaps widely disseminated at the time it was written down, but which would have disappeared from human memory, had it not been for the ecclesiastical habit of keeping records of miscellaneous fiscal data about the annual capitation tax, as well as expenditure on church buildings and the redemption of Christian captives. Similarly our knowledge of Qurra b. Sharīk would also have been lost to human memory, apart from the work of key writers like al-Kindī (d. 350/961) and the random survival of the Qurra, Aphrodito and Apollonos Ano papyrological archives.

There is a strong circumstantial argument that fleet construction intensified fiscal pressure on the *dhimmī* communities of Egypt, and that the Umayyad caliphate's geopolitical and ideological aim of seizing Constantinople was a factor in this. The pressure was felt not only in direct taxation, but also in the *corvées* that deprived villages of their wealth-producing manpower. If men migrated with passports to raise the specie to pay the *jizya* in the late Umayyad period, this suggests that some villages had less exploitable wealth at their disposal than sufficed to meet their tax quotas. However these questions are viewed, there seems to be considerable room for analysis that goes beyond the more usual studies of state fiscality. There is a clear necessity of fitting this into the scheme of wider Mediterranean economic relations in the early medieval period.[110]

[110] E.g. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, passim.

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TOWN QUARTERS IN GREEK, ROMAN, BYZANTINE AND EARLY ARAB EGYPT

K. A. Worp

I

Shortly before his sudden death, the late Prof. Dr. Pieter J. Sijpesteijn gave me a large-format cardboard box containing a number of photos of papyri belonging to the Vienna papyrus collection. During what turned out to be his last visit to the Austrian capital, Sijpesteijn had arranged with the director of the Papyrussammlung, Prof. Dr. Hermann Harrauer, that these Vienna texts would be reserved for him, as he intended to work on them and publish them in some future publication. Alas, all of this was not to be, and Sijpesteijn gave the box to his collaborator/successor in the hope that he would do something with these photos.

Now, when invited by Petra Sijpesteijn to participate in a conference on "Documentary Evidence and the History of Early Islamic Egypt," I rummaged through the box bequeathed by her father and was lucky enough to find an interesting Greek papyrus labeled "P.Vindob. G 31535." Its dimensions are H. 28.5 × W. 22 cm, and its writing indicates that it dates from the late-seventh/early-eighth century A.D. It is not certain whether one is dealing here with a detached leaf which originally belonged to a documentary codex,[1] or with a single sheet cut from a papyrus roll. The much-mutilated papyrus is inscribed on both sides with writing across the fiber direction. On one side one encounters a badly preserved list of λαύραι + the beginnings of names (that is, toponyms), occasionally interspersed with the term ἐποίκιον + the beginnings of names or with other elements. The other side of the papyrus sheet/leaf is even more difficult to read. With some effort at least part of a name and

[1] On this subject, see the classic article by J. Gascou in A. Blanchard (ed.), *Les débuts du Codex. Actes du colloque international du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, Institut de France, 3–4 juillet 1985* (*Bibliologia*, 9), Turnhout 1989, 71–101.

an administrative term can be read, bringing us into the world of early Arab Egypt.

First, a historical overview of the use of the word λαύρα in the preserved classical Greek literature and the papyrus documents may be useful.

II

Though there are no attestations in Mycenaean Greek, obviously the word λαύρα has a long history, as it occurs already in Homer's *Odyssey* (X.128, 137). It is rendered in *LSJ* as "alley, passage, corridor," while in later Greek it is the equivalent of ἄμφοδον, "town quarter." The latter meaning claims attention because a study of such town quarters mentioned in literary and documentary texts may allow us to obtain more detailed information regarding the structure and organization of individual ancient cities, in particular in what is usually called "Graeco-Roman Egypt."[2]

[2] On the subject of town quarters in the Greek world in general, see D. Hennig, "Strassen und Stadtviertel in der griechischen Polis," *Chiron* 30 (2000), 585–615. To my knowledge there are only three fairly recent studies of such Egyptian town quarters made by papyrologists: (1) the study of town quarters in Oxyrhynchos made by J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit. Studien zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption*, Ph.D. dissertation Berlin, Frankfurt am Main 1990, 77–98; (2) a further contribution to this subject by S. Daris, "I quartieri di Ossirincho: materiali e note," *ZPE* 132 (2000), 211–21; and (3) a similar study of town quarters in Arsinoe by S. Daris, "I quartieri di Arsinoe materiali e note," *Papirologica Lupiensia* 10 (2001), 171–96 replacing his earlier "I quartieri di Arsinoe in età romana," *Aegyptus* 61 (1981), 143–54. Now antiquated is C. Wessely's small brochure, *Die Stadt Arsinoë (Krokodilopolis) in griechischer Zeit*, Vienna 1902, repr. Milan 1973. Krüger's study is in my view the most remarkable in that he attempted to draw a map of Oxyrhynchus on the basis of the data provided by the papyri coming from there. These three studies are now joined by the monograph by R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, London/New York 2002. Unfortunately, this work came to my attention only after my paper had been delivered. In his monograph Alston provides, *inter alia*, a list of names and attestations of town quarters in Roman and Byzantine Arsinoe (135–36, 381–88) and a list of names of town quarters in Oxyrhynchus, with additional references appearing since Krüger's monograph (137–38, 388 sub n. 12). Unfortunately, the list of attestations of town quarters in Arsinoe in Byzantine Egypt proved to be not quite satisfactory (mostly due to misprints or oversights, cf. below nn. 33, 52), hence my decision to publish my own collection of material.

III

The earliest attestation of the word λαύρα in the documentary papyri published to date appears in the Ptolemaic *P.Tebt.* III.1 796.14–15 (185 B.C.), which mentions a certain Ὧρος κωμάρχης τῆς Σᾳτῦ-|ρου λαύρας. The combination of a κωμάρχης (note κώμη = "village" + ἄρχειν "to administer") and a λαύρα looks rather strange and doubtful, as it involves a practical identification of the term λαύρα with κώμη, "village," which is certainly not usual.[3] A check of the papyrus shows that the editors' reading, however, cannot be doubted.[4]

The next earliest attestation is *P.Tebt.* II 554 description (late first century B.C.). *All* other attestations of the term λαύρα come from Roman and Byzantine Egypt.

IV

In documentary papyri from Roman Egypt the word λαύρα is frequently attested. First of all, it should be noted that there is a village with the name Λαύρα in the Cynopolite or Oxyrhynchite nome.[5] It is interesting that the same name, Λαύρα, also occurs four times in a series of military documents first published in *P.Hamb.* I 39 and re-edited by Fink[6] (all referring to year 19 of Antoninus and Commodus = A.D. 179/180). In these documents—all from Alexandria—the name occurs in a phrase mentioning soldiers who are ἐξερχόμενος/-νοι εἰς Λαύραν ("going out to Laura") and who are entitled to receive an allowance of twenty-five denarii for the purchase of fodder (γράστις). The first editor of the Hamburg papyrus proposed that this meant a street in Alexandria, but if that were the case, one would like to see an indication of the precise name of that particular street. Fink did not discuss this problem, but I would assume that these soldiers were leaving Alexandria for a Roman military establishment in or

[3] Cf. the discussion by H. Missler, *Der Komarch: Ein Beitrag zur Dorfverwaltung im Ägypten*, Ph.D. dissertation Marburg, 1970, 11–12.

[4] See http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/APIS/PImages/AP00498aA.jpg.

[5] For literature on its few attestations (in *P.Oxy.* X 1256.7, 16, 24; XVI 1867^{r}.10 [Λ. ἔσω], 1867^{v}.16 [Λ. ἔξω]) see most recently Calderini, *Diz.geogr. Supplemento* II, 107.

[6] R. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, Cleveland 1971, text 76.xv.21, xix.6.22 and xx.12.

near the village of Laura, on the analogy of other soldiers who were entitled to receive a similar allowance for fodder for the journey to Aphrodito.[7] After all, on a map of Egypt one sees easily enough that the villages of Aphrodito (in the Antaiopolite nome) and Laura (in the Cynopolite nome) are not very far apart.

The term λαύρα also appears connected with the following localities:

APOLLINOPOLIS HEPTAKOMIAS
λ. Ὀννώφριος ἐλαιοπώλου: *P.Brem.* 23.5 (116)

BACCHIAS (Fayyūm)
λ. Βορρίς: *P.Mich.* III 186.10 (72), 187.8 (75)
λ. Βορροανον: *P.Mich.* XII 635.12[8] (71)

DIONYSIAS (Fayyūm)
λ. ἀπὸ Νότου: *BGU* II 393.7 (168)

EUHEMERIA (Fayyūm)
λ̣α[ύρα τῶν Π]ο[ι]μέν̣[ω]ν: *P.Münch.* III.1 84.b.7 (211)

HERMOPOLIS
λ. Ἰουδ(αική): *P.Amh.* II 98.9 (II–III)

LYKOPOLIS
λ. Λυκαγω[γ]ῶν: *SB* VI 9360 = *P.Brux.* I 20.15 (146), see *P.Oxy.Census* p. 56.

OXYRHYNCHUS See below

PANOPOLITES?[9]
λ. τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμωνος: *SB* I 1735.5 (?)

TANYAITHIS (Apollinopolites Mikra)
λ. ἀπὸ Βορρᾶ: *SB* XXIV 16012.7 (119)
λ. ἀπὸ Νότου: *P.Alex.Giss.* 14.12 (118/119); 17.12 (118/119)
λ. ἀπὸ Λιβός: *P.Alex.Giss.* 19.13 (118/119)
λ. μέση: *P.Alex.Giss.* 21.5 (118/119)

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[7] Fink, *Military Records*, 76.xii.5, xvi.23.
[8] See the note *ad loc.* for the identification of the name in this line with the name in the preceding entry.
[9] For the provenance see the character of the document, i.e. a mummy label.

THEBES

λ. Νότου:	*SB* XIV 11704 = *P.Lond.* I 109.A, fr. I.1 (II)
λ. Χάρακος:	*P.Lond.* I 119.vii.97 (*ca.* 143); *O.Bodl.* II 747.3 (152); II 813.1 (124)
λ. —:	*O.Bodl.* II 1703.2 (I)

Some of these attestations may concern a town (or village?) quarter, but more often perhaps they should be taken as the name of a street (compare for example the situation in Hermopolis, for which see also below).

The majority of attestations of λαύρα in Roman Egypt derive from the mid-Egyptian town of OXYRHYNCHUS. Three authorities on the topography of this town discuss the equivalent meaning λαύρα = ἄμφοδον.[10] Indeed, a substantial number of names of λαύραι in Oxyrhynchus correspond with names of ἄμφοδα known from the same place (underlined below are the λαύρα names which are also attested as ἄμφοδον names):

λ. Βουβαστ( ):	*SB* XX 14310.35 (188/189)
λ. Δρόμου Θοήριδος:	*P.Oxy.* II 284.4 (50); cf. *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3272.3 (61/62), without λαύρα
λ. Δρόμου Γυμνασίου:	*P.Oxy.* II 285.4 (50); cf. *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3272.4 (61/62), without λαύρα
λ. Δρόμου Σ[αράπι]δ[ο]ς:	*P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2837.11 (50)
λ. Ἑρμαίου:	*SB* VIII 9824.5 (31; cf. BL V 119); *P.Fouad* 44.13 (44); *P.Mich.* III 171.9 (58); 172.13 (62); *P.Oxy.* II 242.12 (77)
λ. Ἱππέων Παρεμβολῆς:	*SB* XIV 11902.6 (19/20); *P.Mich.* III 170.3,11 (49); 171.16 (58; Ἱππέων Κάμπου); 172.3 (62); *P.Ryl.* II 156.2 (I; cf. *BL* 389)
λ. Ἱπποδρόμου:	*P.Mich.* III 191/2.12 (60); 194.14 (61)
λ. Μυροβαλάνου:	*P.Oxy.* II 254.5 (*ca.* 20)

[10] See H. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchos*, Ph.D. dissertation, Giessen 1924, 7 ff.; Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos*, esp. 78; Daris, "Ossirincho," 211 and n. 4.

λ. Νότου [Δρόμου/Κρηπῖδος]:	*P.Oxy.* II 255.7 (48)
λ. ῥύμης Ὀννώφρεως:	*P.Mich.* X 580 (19/20)
λ. Πατεμίτ:	*P.Oxy.* XII 1449 fr.1+2.6 (213–217)
λ. Ποιμένων:	*SB* XII 10245.13 (50/51; Ποιμενική); *P.Oxy.* I 99.7,17 (55); *SB* XII 10249.16 (59)
λ. Τεμγεμούθεως/Τεμγεν-:	*P.Oxy.* II 253.3 (19); 252.5 (19/20); 251.9 (44); *P.Oxy.* I 99.6,17 (55)
λ. Χηνοβοσκῶν:	*SB* VIII 9827b.12 (29); *SB* XVI 13042.9 (29); *P.Oxy.* II 256.7 (6–35; cf. l. 16); *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2669.6 (41–54)

Krüger mentions five more town quarters as λαύραι,[11] but upon closer inspection the texts cited turn out to be missing the relevant term:

"Pammenes-Garten" (Παμμένους Παραδείσου): *P.Fouad* I 27.6 (43); ἐν τ[ῷ] Παμμένῳ λεγομέν[ῳ]

"Hauptstrasse" (Πλατεῖας): *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3272.7 (61/62); without λαύρα

"Herakles-Gut" (Ἡρακλέους τόπων): *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3272.6 (61/62); without λαύρα

"Metroon" (Μητρῷον): *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3272.5 (61/62); without λαύρα

"Lykierlager" (Λυκίων Παρεμβολῆς): *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3272.2 (61/62); without λαύρα

One might equally well regard these references as producing ἄμφοδον names; indeed, these names are known as such.

In this context *P.Oxy.* LIX 3997.31 (III/IV) also deserves attention. Although the term λαύρα appears in an uninformative context, one may perhaps restore its ἀσπάζου | [8 καὶ τοὺς] ἡμῶν πάντας | [15]. λαυρα ημω . . . as ἀσπάζου [τοὺς οἰκειοτέρους?] ἡμῶν πάντας | [τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ/ἐν τ]ῇ λαύρᾳ ἡμῶν, "greet all of our acquaintances who are living in our street."

In addition to these names Krüger and Daris also list a substantial number of Oxyrhynchite ἄμφοδα-bearing names for which there are no counterparts among the λαύρα names.[12] Krüger finds that shortly after the middle of the first century A.D. the known λαύραι

[11] *Oxyrhynchos*, 78.

[12] Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos*, 82–88; Daris, "Ossirincho," 213–21.

in Oxyrhynchus start to disappear and were replaced by their ἄμφοδον equivalent.[13] In fact, while the earliest ἄμφοδα in Oxyrhynchus turn up in the early 60s of the first century A.D. (ἄμφοδον Ἑρμαίου: *SB* XII 10788 (61–64); ἄμφοδον Ἱππέων Παρεμβολῆς: *P.Gen.* II 94 (63/64)), one finds after the late 70s (compare *P.Oxy.* II 242.12 from 77, which still refers to the λαύρα Ἑρμαίου) only two λαύρα names, these being λαύρα Βουβαστ( ) in *SB* XX 14310.35 (188/189) and the λ. Πατεμίτ in *P.Oxy.* XII 1449 fr.1+2.6 (213–217). An even later attestation of the word λαύρα may occur in *P.Oxy.* LIX 3997.31 (III/IV), for which see above. In this context it seems conceivable that in the course of the second-third century A.D. the word λαύρα returned to its traditional meaning of "passage, corridor, street."[14] At any rate, during the later third and almost the whole of the fourth century the word λαύρα more or less disappears from our documentation, both from Oxyrhynchus and from elsewhere.

As far as names of λαύραι in Roman Egypt are concerned, it is to be noted that they are often connected with a direction like South (Νότου), West (Λιβός), middle (μέση), or the name of an important building (for example, a temple or a cult center), a civil establishment (such as the Hippodrome), a military establishment (compare the names in Παρεμβολή), or with the name of a profession (Ποιμένων, Χηνοβοσκῶν). It is not common, however, to find them connected with the name of an individual person.

Remarkably enough, in Roman ARSINOE there are apparently no λαύραι. Here we find more than thirty ἄμφοδα,[15] many of which do not survive into later Byzantine Arsinoe (for which see below), such as the ἄ. Ἁλοπωλίων, ἄ. Ἀμμωνίου (τόπων), ἄ. Ἀπολλωνίου Ἱερακίου (Βουβαστείου), ἄ. Ἀπολλωνίου Παρεμβολῆς, ἄ. Βιθυνῶν Ἄλλων Τόπων, ἄ. Βουβαστείου, ἄ. Βουταφίου, ἄ. Δημητρίου, ἄ. Ἑλληνίου, ἄ. Ἑρμουθιακῆς, ἄ. Θεσμοφορίου, ἄ. Θρακῶν, ἄ. Ἱερᾶς πύλης, ἄ. Ἰσίου Δρόμου, ἄ. Κιλίκων, ἄ. Κοπρῶνος, ἄ. Λινυφείων, ἄ. Λυσανίου Τόπων, ἄ. Μενδησ-(ε)ίου, ἄ. Νεμεσίου, ἄ. Πλατείας, ἄ. Σεκνεβτυνείου, ἄ. Συριακῆς, ἄ. Τυχαίου, ἄ. Φακ(ε)ινοπωλίων, ἄ. Φανησίου, ἄ. Φρεμεί, ἄ. Χηνοβοσκίων πρώτων, ἄ. Χηνοβοσκίων ἑτέρων, and ἄ. Ὡρίωνος Ἱερακίου.[16]

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[13] *Oxyrhynchos*, 78, n. 130.

[14] Cf. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos*, 95–96 and 98.

[15] See the lists by Daris, "Arsinoe," and Alston, *City*, 381–86.

[16] Cf. Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, 28–29 for the ἀ. Ἱερ[ακίου in *CPR* I 246.10 (162). This probably contains an error for ἀ. Ἱερ[ᾶς Πύλης.

In addition to ἄμφοδα in Roman Oxyrhynchus and Arsinoe, ἄμφοδα are also found in:

ALABANTHIS (Fayyūm)[17]	
ἄ. [.]ουνῳσ.....ῳνος:	*BGU* IV 1045.6 (154)
DIONYSIAS (Fayyūm)[18]	
ἄ. Ἀρποκρατίωνος:	*BGU* I 53.12 (133); *P.Fay.* 95.9 (II)
ἄ. Ἑρμίνου:	*P.Stras.* II 122.6 (161–69)
ἄ. Βουβαστείου:	*BGU* I 53.31 (133)
HERAKLEOPOLIS[19]	
ἄ. (πρότερον) Ἀπολλωνίου:	*P.Vindob.Sal.* 14.4,11 (242);[20] *P.Oxy.* L 3571.5 (286?; om. (πρότ.)); *P.Hamb.* IV 279.17 (250–300); *BGU* III 958. fr.C.12–13 (III; om. (πρότ.)); *PSI* XII 1232.4 (IV; om. (πρότ.))
ἄ. Δωρίωνος Ἑλληνίου:	*SB* XIV 11269.4 (I B.C.–A.D. I)[21]
ἄ. (πρότερον) Ἀρίου:	*P.Oslo* III 98.ii.17 (132/133; cf. *BL* VIII 229); *P.Horak* 82.2 (II/III?; om. (πρότ.))
ἄ. πρότερον Ἀρτεμιδώρου:	*CPR* I 63.18 (222–35, cf. *BL* VIII 97; πρότ. also to be restored?); 131.3 (III); *P.Hamb.* IV 279.12 (250–300); *P.Rain. Unterricht* 95.22 (V; om. πρότ.)
ἄ. (πρότερον) Νίκωνος:	*P.Horak* 82.5 (II/III; om. (πρότ.)); *SPP* II p. 27.3 (216, cf. *BL* VIII 433); Rabinowitz, "Lease," 55.9–10 (362/63?; om. (πρότ.))
ἄ. πρότερον Ὥρων δύο:	*CPR* I 118.3 (II; (πρότ.)); *SPP* XX 25.7 (218); *CPR* I 78.7–8 (225/26); *SB* XVIII 13996.4 (229); *SPP* XX 29^{v}.5 (234–35, cf. *BL* VIII 462; πρότ. restor.); *SPP* XX 47.25 (238, cf. *BL* VIII 463; om. πρότ.); *CPR* I 96.4 (III)

[17] Cf. Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* I 149.
[18] Cf. Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* II 109.
[19] Cf. D. Hagedorn and P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Die Stadtviertel von Herakleopolis," *ZPE* 65 (1986), 101–105; R. P. Salomons in *P.Horak* 82.
[20] Cf. F. Reiter, "P.Vind.Sal. 14 und die Kopfsteuer im römischen Ägypten," *ZPE* 138 (2002), 129–32.
[21] Cf. *BL* IX 273 and Hagedorn and Sijpesteijn, "Stadtviertel," 103 and n. 9.

HERMOPOLIS MAGNA[22]

ἄ. Φρουρίου Λιβός:	*passim*
ἄ. Φρουρίου Ἀπηλιώτου:	*passim*
ἄ. πόλεως Λιβός:	*passim*
ἄ. πόλεως Ἀπηλιώτου:	*passim*

KARANIS (Fayyūm)[23]

ἄ. Ἀπηλιώτου:	*W.Chrest.* 204.17 (202/203); *BGU* II 577.8 (203); *P.Oslo* II 25.15 (217)
ἄ. Βορρᾶ:	*P.Oslo* II 25.18 (217)
ἄ. Δημητρίου:	*BGU* I 154.6 (161)
ἄ. Θοηρ(ε)ίου:	*W.Chrest.* 204.11 (202/203); cf. *BGU* I 83.1 (II/III)
ἄ. Ἰσ(ε)ίου:	*SB* VI 9555.4 (162–74)

NB: an ἄ. Κωμογραμματέων does not exist.[24]

LYKOPOLIS

ἄ. Ἀνουβιείου:	*SPP* II p. 31.11 (229/30; cf. *BL* VIII 434)
ἄ. Κρηπίδος:	*P.Oxy.Census* 326[25]

SYENE

[ἄ. Π]αερμῶνος:	*P.Par.* 17.6 + *BL* I 337 (153)

[22] See Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* II 169–71. For numbered ἄμφοδα in Hermopolis see P. van Minnen, "Eine Steuerliste aus Hermopolis: Neuedition von SPP XX 40 + 48," *Tyche* 6 (1991) 121–9, here 126, note to l. 2, and Alston, *City*, 132.

[23] Cf. Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* III 75.

[24] Cf. D. Hagedorn and Z. Borkowski, "Ἀμφοδοκωμογραμματεύς: zur Verwaltung der Dörfer Ägyptens im 3. Jh. n.Chr.," in J. Bingen, G. Cambier and G. Nachtergael (eds.), *Le Monde Grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux*, Bruxelles 1975, 775–83, here 776ff.

[25] For the provenance of the document, see O. Montevecchi, "La provenienza di P.Oxy. 984," *Aegyptus* 79 (1998), 48–76. A numbered ἄμφ. (ϛ) occurs in *P.Oxy.Census* l. 251. The situation in Lykopolis apparently resembles that found in Hermopolis (and maybe also that in Alexandria), in that texts from these provenances feature the use of parts of a town bearing names *or* numbers. In other Egyptian towns (Antinoopolis, Apollinopolis Ano, Memphis, Mendes, Thmouis, and in Panopolis) one only finds numbered ἄμφοδα. Details on such numbered town quarters are not listed here. But see Alston, *City*, 130–31, and, for the individual place names, Calderini, *Diz.geogr.*

V

In Byzantine Egypt[26] one finds λαύραι in the following localities:

APOLLONOS ANO (Edfu)	
λ. Τσιωθώρ:	*SB* I 5112.28 (618?)
λ. Ῥαχὴλ ἀπρόσιτος:	*P.Bodl.* I 45.7 (± 610)
ARSINOE	See below
HERAKLEOPOLIS	
λ. τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας Κυφεας:	*CPR* VIII 69.4 (VI/VII)
λ. ἐκκλησίας Ἀββα Μηνᾶ:	*P.Erl.* 73.19 (604)
λ. Βενέτου:	*SB* VI 9154.5 (VI/VII); *SB* XX 14682 = *SPP* VIII 1180.1 (VII; ed.: Βενέτῳ(ν)); *SPP* X 197.5 (VII/VIII; Rāshid b. Khālid), 225.1 (ed. Βενέτω(ν)), VIII 1087.2 (both VIII); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 56.6 (707); *CPR* XIX 26.1 (early VIII; Rāshid b. Khālid), cf. also *CPR* XXII 8.2n.
λ. τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς θεοτόκου Μαρίας τῆς βασιλείου:	*SB* VI 9462.3 (VII)
λ. Ποιμένων:	*SPP* VIII 1183.1 (VIII); *SPP* X 216.1 (VIII);[27] *CPR* XXII 9.1 (729; Nājid b. Muslim)
λ. Πρασίνου:	*CPR* XXII 8.2 (729/730; Nājid b. Muslim); *SB* XVI 12857.2 (early VIII; ed. Πρ(ώτης?); Nājid b. Muslim); *SPP* VIII 1195.1 (early VIII; Rāshid b. Khālid)

[26] Roughly speaking, this is the period running from the beginning of the fifth century onwards. But cf. A. Rabinowitz, "Lease of Part of a House and Workshop," *BASP* 38 (2001), 51–62, here 55 (362/63?) and *BGU* III 940.8 (398), both from Herakleopolis, λ. Σακκοφόρων, and *P.Flor.* I 66.2,4 (Arsinoe, 398, λαύρα Βιθυνῶν Ἰσίωνος). Cf. also *P.Gron.* 10.24 (IV or VI, provenance unknown; cf. *BL* V 39, VII 64; cf. below note 30).

[27] Cf. N. Gonis, "Reconsidering Some Fiscal Documents from Early Islamic Egypt," *ZPE* 137 (2001), 225–28, here 227–28.

λ. Σακκοφόρων:	Rabinowitz, "Lease," 56.8 (362/63);[28] *BGU* III 940.8 (398)
λ. Τερψαίνιος:	*P.Flor.* I 15 = *SB* XX 15008.11 (563)
λ. Φλα:	*CPR* VIII 62.16 (575); ἄ. perhaps identical with the next item?
λ. Φελῷ:	*SB* VI 9153.17 (596); ἄ. perhaps identical with the preceding item?
λ. .( )θ( )[.]μ( ):	*SPP* VIII 1084.1 (VIII)

KYNOPOLITES, unknown village

λ. τοῦ ἁγίου ἀρχαγγέλου:	*T.Varie* 15.A.19 (VI)

MEMNONIA (all specific names lost)

λ. [8]:	*P.Herm.* 25.8 (V)
λ. κα[λουμένη—:	*P.Lond.* III 991 (481; supply in l. 3: ἀπὸ κώμης Μεμνον]ίων τοῦ Ἑρμωνθίτου)
λα[ύρα—τ]ῆς αὐτὴς κώμης:	*P.Herm.* 28.5 (503?)

OXYRHYNCHUS[29]

λ. Ἀβρααμίου ἰατροῦ:	*SB* VI 8987.15 (644/45)
λ. Ἀπόλλωνος:	*P.Laur.* IV 181v.2 (577)
λ. Σαράπιδος:	*PSI* I 67.2; 68.2; 69.2 (all 573/75?; cf. *BL* VI 173)

PAPA (Herakleopolite nome)

λ. καλουμένη Νοτίνη:	*P.Köln* VII 323.11 (VI/VII)

SYENE

λ. δημοσία:	*P.Lond.* V 1724.36–37 (578–82)
λ. τῆς Παρεμβολῆς:	*P.Münch.* I 16.7 (V; adds ἤτοι Σκυτέων); *P.Lond.* V 1722.13 (530); *P.Münch.* I 8.19 (*ca.* 540; adds

[28] This text mentions also (ll. 9–10) the ἄμφοδον Νίκωνος, for which see above.

[29] Cf. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos*, 88, for the following ἄμφοδα in Byzantine Oxyrhynchus:

ἄ. ἁγίας Εὐφημίας:	*P.Oxy.* VII 1038.22 (568)
ἄ. Ἀγορᾶς Σκυτέων:	*P.Oxy.* VII 1037.12 (444)
ἄ. ἄνω Ἀχιλλίδος:	*P.Wisc.* I 8.18 (561)
ἄ. τῆς οἰκίας Ἰωάννου Αρ..ου:	*P.Oxy.* XVI 1889.15 (496)
ἄ. ῥύμ[ης Ἀ]κακίου:	*PSI* I 75.12 (VI)
ἄ. ῥυμίου τοῦ ξενοδοχείου Ἀόλλου:	*P.Oxy.* L 3600.13 (502); *PSI* VI 709.15 (566); for the same hospital cf. *P.Lond.* V 1762.12 (VI/VII)

καλουμένη τῶν Σκυτέων); *P.Münch.* I 9.54 (585); *P.Münch.* I 13.22 (594)

λ. τοῦ εὐκτηρίου τοῦ ἁγίου ἀθλοφόρου Βίκτορος: *P.Münch.* I 9.37, 42, 43 (585); *P.Lond.* V 1733.25 (594; om. τοῦ εὐκτηρίου; at end ἀββα Βίκτορος Μάρτυρος)

λ. τοῦ δημοσίου καμηλῶνος τῆς βασταγῆς Φιλῶν: *P.Münch.* I 11.23 (586); *P.Münch.* I 12.18 (590/91; at end τῶν ἀπὸ Φιλῶν)

PROVENANCE UNKNOWN

λ. [8]: *P.Gron.* 10.24 (IV or VI?)[30]

In the following list of λαύραι in ARSINOE, the metropolis of the Arsinoite nome, the names of those town quarters which alternatively are prefixed by ἄμφοδον in other texts are underlined.[31]

λ. μεγάλη: *P.Prag.* I 77.2 (VII)

<u>λ. τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας:</u>[32] *SPP* III 657.3 (VI); 670.2; 680.3; 700.2; 703.2; *SPP* VIII 741.2; 742.2; 746.3; 749.2; 750.2; 753.2 (all VII); 1209.3 (VIII); *SB* I 5127.19, 24, 26 (Byz./Arab.); *BGU* II 681.3 (Arab.)[33]

λ. τῆς ἁγίας Θέκλας: *SPP* VIII 762.2 (VI); 717.2 (VII); *SB* XXII 15256.3; *P.Prag.* I 74.3 (both VII); *SPP* X 6.6 (VII/VIII); *SB* I 4890.1; 4892.2; 5127.7 (Byz./Arab.)

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[30] Cf. *BL* V 39; VII 64, and K. A. Worp, "Ἄρχοντες and πολιτευόμενοι in Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt," *ZPE* 115 (1997), 201–20, here 212 and n. 24; probably *not* from Pathyris! It remains to be seen whether the reading [λαύ]ρᾳ Φρουρίου Φυλακ(ιτική) in *P.Berl.Sarischouli* 18^{v}.9 (VI/VII) is sufficiently reliable.

[31] Cf. Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*; Daris, "Materiali"; Alston, *City*. The various attestations of ἄμφ. with underlined names can be retrieved in the *DDBDP*.

[32] Cf. Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, 26 for the Arsinoite ἄμφοδον ἐκκλησίας, and 29 for the ἄμφοδον ἐκκλησίας Καινῶν. The reference given there to *P.Lond.* I 113.5a is incorrect; it should be 113.5b.

[33] Alston also lists *SPP* III 613 and 615 (= *BGU* II 677) as attestations of this town quarter, but a check of these texts indicates that some misunderstanding must be at stake (*City*, 380).

λ. τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου:	*CPR* IV 192.8 (VII); *SPP* III 685.2 (om. ἁγίας?); *SPP* VIII 744.3 (om. ἁγίας); *SPP* XX 175.2 (all VII; om. ἁγίας); *SB* I 5127.20, 22, 28 (Byz./Arab.); *SPP* VIII 738.2 (Arab.; om. ἁγίας)[34]
λ. τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀπολλῶ(τος):	*SB* I 5127.15, 23 (Byz./Arab.)[35]
λ. τοῦ ἁγίου Βίκτορος:	*SPP* III 675.2 (VI/VII); 698.3; *SPP* VIII 719.2; 723.2; 727.2; 728.3; 729.2; 730.3; 737.2; 745.1 (all VII); *SPP* III 667.2; *SPP* VIII 739.1 (both VII/VIII); *SB* I 5127.5, 13, 25; 5128.3 (both Byz./Arab.)
λ. τοῦ ἁγίου Δωροθέου:	*SPP* III 660.2 (VI); *SPP* VIII 706.2 (VII); *SPP* VIII 716.1 (om. λ.); *SB* I 5127.12, 16 (both Byz./Arab.)[36]
λ. τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου:	*P.Prag.* I 75.2 (VII); *SPP* III 681.1; *SPP* VIII 702; 722.2 (all VII); 740.2; *SPP* X 168.6; *SPP* XX 188.3 (all VIII; for *SPP* III 740, however, see also *BL* V 49 sub *P.Lond.* I 116.a); *SB* I 4892.3 (om. τοῦ ἁγίου); 5127.9, 21; 5128.5 (all Byz./Arab.); cf. also *SB* XII 15256.4 (VII)
λ. τοῦ ἁγίου Λεοντίου:	*SB* I 4890.2 (Byz./Arab.)
λ. τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου:	*SB* XXII 15256.2; *SPP* VIII 734.2 (both VII); *P.Ross.Georg.* V 46 (7).1 (VIII); *SB* I 5128.8 (Byz./Arab.)
λ. τοῦ ἁγίου Σανσνέως:	*SPP* III 666.3; *SPP* VIII 707.3 (om. λ.); 710.1; 725.3 (all VII); *SB* I 5127.3, 27; 5128.9; 5131.1 (all Byz./Arab.)

[34] Cf. also Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, 27, 29, 49 for an apparently still unpublished Louvre papyrus (Paris Musées Nationaux 7115 neu 257, App. 209), referring in addition to the λ. τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου, also to the λ. Κλεοπατρίου.

[35] Wessely printed in his edition Ἀπόλλω(νος), but in *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, 20: Ἀπολλώ(ς)!

[36] Cf. also Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, 25, 26, 49, 52, for an apparently still unpublished Louvre papyrus (Paris MN 6846 = App. 580) which also mentions the ἐποίκιον Θεάτρου. This text, however, is not identical with *SB* I 5128, where the ἐποίκιον Θεάτρου occurs in l. 11. Calderini remarks: "forse si tratta di una strada" (Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* II 249).

λ. τοῦ ἁγίου Φ[οιβάμμωνος:	*SB* I 5130.4 (early VIII)[37]
λ. τοῦ ἁγίου [ ]:	*SPP* III 677.2 (VII)
λ. τῶν ἁγίων Μαρτύρων:	*SB* I 4890.3 (om. ἁγίων); 5127.17, 29 (both Byz./Arab.)
λ. Ἀπερῶτος:	*SPP* III 695.2 (VII); *SPP* VIII 735.1; *SPP* X 71.13 (both VII/VIII); *CPR* XXII 13.2 (VIII); *SB* I 5127.10 (?); 5128.4 (both Byz./Arab.); *SB* VIII 9760.1 (Arab.)[38]
λ. Ἀπολλωνίου:	*SPP* III 701.2 (VII); *SB* I 4890.2; 4892.4; 5127.11, 18 (all Byz./Arab.); 5128.2 (Byz./Arab.; ed.: Ἀπολλω(νος))[39]
λ. Βιθυνῶν Ἰσίωνος:	*P.Flor.* I 66.2, 4 (398)
λ. Γεωργ(ίου):	*SB* I 4890.3; 5130.6 (both Byz./Arab.)[40]
λ. Ἡλί(ου):	*SB* I 4890.4 (Byz./Arab.)[41]
λ. Κατωτέρου:[42]	*SPP* VIII 724.3; 736.1; 756.2 (all VII); *SPP* X 6.7 (VII/VIII); *SB* I 5127.14, 30; 5128.7 (both Byz./Arab.)
λ. Κενταύρου:	*SB* XXII 15256.7 (VII)
λ. Κλεοπατρίου:	*SPP* III 652.2; 653.1; 654.2; 655.1; 656.1; *SPP* XX 173.1 (all VI/VII); *SPP* X 6.5 (VII/VIII); *SB* I 5127.2, 8; 5128.6 (both Byz./Arab.)[43]

[37] For the date and provenance of this papyrus cf. *CPR* XXII 60 introduction.

[38] Read in *SB* I 5127.10 Ἀ̣π̣ερῶτως (l. Ἀπερῶτος)? Similarly in *BGU* I 295.10: Ἀ̣π̣ερῶτος (ἄμφ.)?

[39] Is this λαύρα perhaps identical with the λαύρα τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀπολλω( )? That does not seem likely, cf. *SB* I 5127.11, 18 vs. 5127.15, 23. In any case, pace Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, 2–3, this quarter does not seem to be the same one as the Roman ἄμφοδον Ἀπολλωνίου Παρεμβολῆς, because in Byzantine documents the latter name is never mentioned in full. Cf. also below, s.n. λαύρα Παρεμβολῆς and above, s.n. λαύρα τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀπολλῶ̣( ).

[40] For the date and provenance of *SB* 5130 (early VIII, Nājid b. Muslim), cf. *CPR* XXII 60 introduction.

[41] Or should one resolve λαύρα Ἡλί(α), as in *CPR* XXII 60.65, ἐ̣ποικ(ί)ο(υ) Ἡλί(α)? *PrWB* III Abschn. 22 prints Ἡλίου. Cf. also the ἐ̣ποίκιον Ἡλίου in *SB* I 5338.28.

[42] This quarter was also called the ἄμφοδον Ταμείων ἤτοι Κατωτέρου (Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, 34).

[43] Cf. also Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, 27, 29, 49 for an apparently unpublished

λ. Μη(νᾶ):	*SB* I 4890.1 (Byz./Arab.)
λ. Ὀλυ(μπίας):	*SB* I 4890.1 (Byz./Arab.)[44]
λ. Παρεμβολῆς:	*SPP* III 663 (= VIII 755).1; 664.2 (VI); *P.Prag.* I 73.1; *SPP* III 662.1; 668.1; 674.1; 682.1; 686.1; 689.1; 697.2; *SPP* VIII 704.2; 730.1; 731.1; 733.1; 747.1; 755.2 (all VII); *SPP* III 673.1; *SPP* VIII 709.1; 718.1 (all VII/VIII); *CPR* IV 73.7; *CPR* XIX 27.2, 3 (both VIII); *SB* I 5127.4, 31 (Byz./Arab.); *BGU* II 679.2; *BGU* III 739.3 (both Arab.)[45]
λ. Περσέας:	*BGU* II 369.10 (530; cf. l. 4); *SPP* III 665.2; 694.2; *SPP* VIII 720.2 (all VII); *SPP* III 672.1; *SB* I 4890.3; 5127.6; 5128.10 (all Byz./Arab.)
λ. Τριπυλίου:	*SPP* III 661.3 (VI); *SPP* VIII 711.1; 1081.2 (ed. ἀμφόδου] Τριπήλιου; both VII/VIII); 646.2 (VIII)
λ. τῶν Τριῶν Μαρτύρων:[46]	*SPP* X 6.4 (VII/VIII)
λ. Φιλοθέου:	*SB* I 5130.5 (early VIII; Nājid b. Muslim. For the date and provenance of this papyrus cf. *CPR* XXII 60.)
λ. Ψανπαλλίου:	*SB* I 4903.1 (Byz./Arab.)

Louvre papyrus (MN 7115 neu 257, App. 209), referring in addition to the λαύρα Κλεοπατρίου, also to the λαύρα τῆς (ἁγίας) Θεοτόκου (cf. above, n. 34).

[44] Cf. Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, 33, and Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* III 385 for the ἄμφοδον Ὀλυμπίου Θεάτρου, esp. *SB* I 4834 (= 4664?).7 (Byz.), *SPP* III 334.2 (VII), *SB* I 4721.6 (589/590, Θεάτρου may be restored in l. 7) and especially *SB* I 5269.11, 37 (618, featuring the ἄμφοδον Ὀλυμπίου without the complement Θεάτρου). Should one understand in *SB* I 4890.1 the same quarter, i.e. resolve λαύρα Ὀλυ(μπίου, sc. Θεάτρου)? Cf. already Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* III 384. One 'attestation' of this λαύρα, *CPR* VII 51.6 (629–644, cf. *BL* VIII 114), may now disappear. A check of the plate convinces me that in general the reading of the word λαύρας at the end of line 6 is very doubtful; read [[α]] πρ$^{\varepsilon}$(σβυτέρου) and compare *SPP* VIII 881.1 and 929.1 for the combination πρεσβυτέρος ἐνοικιολόγος.

[45] Cf. Wessely's restoration of *SB* I 4890.3, Ἀ[πολλωνίου Παρεμβολῆς]. One may as well restore here ἁ[γίου/ἁ[γίας + name. Cf. also above s.v. λαύρα Ἀπολλωνίου, and Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, 2ff. ("Apolloniu Parembole").

[46] Cf. also above, the λαύρα τῶν (ἁγίων) Μαρτύρων, and Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, 31.

Altogether one finds almost thirty names of town quarters in Byzantine Arsinoe. Again, quite a few of these names refer to a prominent building (τριπύλιον, "triple gate"), a military establishment (παρεμβολή, "barracks"), a saint (Dorotheos, Theodoros), or perhaps rather an important religious establishment connected with the saint, such as a church or a monastery. Often a λαύρα name, such as λαύρα τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου, may stand for λαύρα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου. Even the "quarter of Philotheos" might perhaps be named after a holy man of that name. Sometimes one finds, however, a λαύρα named after what looks like a normal person, for example the λαύρα Ἀπερῶτος. I know of no saint of that name.

One may also observe that in Byzantine and early Arab Arsinoe there are ἄμφοδον names which do not (yet) find a counterpart in a similar λαύρα name. Examples include:

ἄ. Ἀλυπίου:	*P.Grenf.* II 83.3 (V); *SPP* III 385.1 (VI); *SB* 4748.6 (605); *SPP* XX 220.11 (618); *SB* I 4483.3 (621); *SPP* III 83.2 (VI/VII)
ἄ. Ἀράβων:	*P.Lund.* VI 10.4 (400)
ἄ. Ἀψίδος:	*BGU* III 725.12 (618)[47]
ἄ. Βασιλ[ικοῦ?:	*SB* XVIII 14001 = I 4481.5 (486)
ἄ. Γυμνασίου:	*P.Lond.* I 113.5.b.13 (543)
ἄ. Γυναικίου:	*SB* XXII 15703.4 (V/VI); *CPR* X 29.3 (536/537); *SB* XVI 12701.10 (600)
ἄ. Διονυσίου Σεβαστη:	*BGU* III 838.12 (578)[48]
ἄ. Ἐκκλησίας Καινῶν:	*P.Ross.Georg.* V 31.5 (503); *P.Lond.* I 113.5b.7 (543); *CPR* XIV 10.8 (556–579); cf. also *BGU* I 317.4 (580/581), ἀπὸ ἀμφόδο(υ) Ἐκκλη[σίας ± 5
ἄ. Ἑρμο[. . . .]. .:	*BGU* III 752.9 (VII/VIII); cf. below, ἄ. Τερμουθιακ(ῆς); is perhaps the same amphodon involved?
ἄ. Θαραπείας:	*BGU* II 371.7; *SB* I 4490.8 (both VII)[49]
ἄ. Θέωνος:	*P.Amh.* II 148.2 (487); *SB* VI 9456.6 (594)

[47] Cf. the ἐποίκιον τῆς Ἀψῖδος in *SPP* XX 157.3.

[48] Wessely lists it under Διονυσίου Τόπων (*Die Stadt Arsinoe*, 25), but Alston does not accept this (*City*, 383).

[49] Cf. *BGU* I 971.6 (III), ἐπ' ἀμφόδου]βας: read here ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Θαραπ]είας or ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Πλατ]είας?

ἄ. Θηβαίων:	*P.Sakaon* 60.17 (306)
ἄ. Ἱερῶν Σίγνων:	*CPR* VIII 71.10 (VII/VIII); *SB* I 4787.3 (Byz.); also in *SPP* XX 217.3 (580)?, cf. *CPR* VIII 71.10n.
ἄ. Λυκίων:	*P.Lond.* I 113.5b.6 (543)
ἄ. Μακεδόνων:	*SB* XVIII 13261.4 (VI/VII); *BGU* II 395.12 (600); *SB* I 5333 (Byz.)
ἄ. τῆς Μικρᾶς Λαύρας:	*P.Ross.Georg.* III 57.14 (VII/VIII)
ἄ. Μουϊαρίου:	*P.Lond.* I 113.6b.15, 44 (633). Is this a variant of the next name?
ἄ. Μοήρεως	*P.Würzb.* 17 (454); *SB* I 4821.5 (464); *SPP* XX 198.1 (635); *P.Bodl.* I 36.6, 10 (542/557); *P.Lond.* I 113(4).7 (p. 209) (595); *SB* XXII 15263.15 (634); *SPP* XX 198.1 (635)
ἄ. Νυμφαίου:	*SB* I 5690.2 (Byz.); *SPP* III 26.2, 3 (VI/VII)
ἄ. Ξηροῦ ἀκανθίου:	*P.Rain.Cent.* 100.4 (452)
ἄ. Πρόκλου:	*SB* XVIII 13860 = *SPP* XX 135.8 (511)
ἄ. Ταμείων:	Cf. Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, 34–35.
ἄ. Τερμουθιακ(ῆς):	*SPP* X 125 (V/VI); *P.Harrauer* 54.9 (579); *SB* I 3966.3 (?)
ἄ. Τετραπύλου ἔσωθεν ἐποικίου καλουμ[ένου N.N.]:	*SB* I 5825.2 (Byz.)

New publications of papyri continue, of course, to give new evidence on λαύραι or ἄμφοδα. For example, for Byzantine Arsinoe compare the following new names in *SB* XVIII 13261 (VI/VII):

ἄμ]φοδον Κα . . .[:	*SB* XVIII 13261.1[50]
ἄμφο]δον Κύρας Μαρί[ας:	*SB* XVIII 13261.2
ἄ. μα]καρίων πάντ[ων?:	*SB* XVIII 13261.5
ἄ. Ὀρνι[θῶνος:	*SB* XVIII 13261.8[51]
ἄμφο]δον Σταδεως δ[:	*SB* XVIII 13261.3

[50] Probably, however, one can read here Κατ̣ω̣τ[έρου, cf. the plate in the *editio princeps*. For this ἄμφοδον, see above, n. 42.

[51] Earlier this town quarter was located in Herakleopolis. Cf. the *editio princeps* of *SB* XVIII 13261 on *SPP* VIII 790.3.

As many of the ἄμφοδον names in Roman Arsinoe do not appear in texts from Byzantine or early Arab Arsinoe, and as one finds quite a few *new* ἄμφοδον or λαύρα names in these texts,[52] one begins to wonder whether the latter are replacements for ἄμφοδον names used in Roman Arsinoe—and if so, which ones. Such a question, however, can be answered only in the rare event that a document gives both the old and new ἄμφοδον name, such as the (attested) case of the ἄμφοδον Ταμείων ἤτοι Κατωτέρου. The Duke Data Bank on Documentary Papyri (DDBDP) presents seven attestations of this, all from the early seventh century A.D.

Ἄμφοδα outside of Byzantine Arsinoe or Oxyrhynchus are rare. One finds them in the DDBDP only in:

SPANIA (in the Oxyrhynchite nome)
ἄ. τῆς μεγάλης οἰκίας: *P.Bad.* VI 172.51 (547)

PROVENANCE UNKNOWN
ἄ. μεγάλου μ[ά]ρ[τυρος: *SPP* III 73.2 (VI)

VI

P.Vindob. G 31535.* For a description of the text, see page 227.

Plates 7–8

1 δυχῃ( ) ιδ̣ κ( ) κ̣δ̣" μη υs. αγs . . [
2 o † ἐποικ(ίου) Μμ . . κρουιου [
3 o λαύρ(ας) Τριπύλου

[52] On the other hand, Alston lists a Fayyūmic town quarter "Ale," apparently occurring in *SPP* III 621, 641, 647, 648 and 699 (*City*, 387), but this is a misunderstanding for Ἀλε(ξανδρείας ζυγῷ). Another Fayyūmic town quarter that Alston lists, Πιοο[ ] from *SPP* X 216 (*City*, 388), turns also out to be a ghost-name. Cf. above under Herakleopolis, s.v. λ. Ποιμένων. For the sake of completeness it may be added here that Alston's names in "omou" (cf. *City*, 386–88) for "Hagiou Apollo omou," "Hagiou Dorotheou omou," "Hagiou Theodorou omou," "Hagiou Theotokou omou," and "Megales Ekklesias omou" result from his failure to recognize in the account *SB* I 5127 the Greek word ὁμοῦ = "in total."

* It is my sincere pleasure to thank the Director of the Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Prof. Dr. Hermann Harrauer for his kind permission to publish this text.

4 o λαύρ(ας) τ(ῆς) Δεοδώκου [
5 o κτητώ(ρων) [
6 o λαύρ(ας) .[
7 o λαύρ(ας) [N.N.
8 o κτη[τώ(ρων)
9 o λαύρ[(ας) N.N.
10 o λαύρ(ας) ἁγίου Δ[ωροθέου
11 o ἐποικ(ί)ου Δεά[τρου?
12 o λαύρ(ας) Κα[[σ]]τ[ωτέρου
13 o ἐποικ(ί)ου Δεάτ[ρου
14 o λο̣ὐ̣τ̣ρ(ου) ο̣..χ[
15 .π vacat [
16 o λαύρ(ας) Κα[[σ]]τῳ[τέρου
17 κτητώ(ρων)
18 o λαύρα ἁγί[ου N.N.
19 o λαύρ(ας) Π[
20 o λαύρ(ας) † μμ...[
21 o λαύρ(ας) ἁγίου Δ[ωροθέου
22 o οὐσιῶ[ν
23 o ἐποικ(ί)ου Κωστου[ ] .[
24 o λαύρ(ας) ἁγίου Δωρο̣(θέο)υ τ( ) ...[
25 o λαύρ(ας) Κατωτ(έρου) ....[..].[
26? [[ ]]

4 l. Θεοτόκου 5, 8, 17 l. κτητόρων 11, 13 l. Θεάτρου 19 λαύρ(ας) Π[: supply Π[αρεμβολῆς/Π[ερσέας?

This list of λαύραι and ἐποίκια apparently comes from late Byzantine/early Arab Arsinoe. Especially interesting are the preserved names of quite a few λαύραι, *and* the ἐποίκιον Θεάτρου. This is important information, especially when we come to discuss the verso.

Preliminary to *that* discussion is, of course, the question of what meaning or function the alternation between the occurrences of the terms λαύρα and ἐποίκιον in the recto text had. It may be observed that: (1) in the Fayyūm, next to the λαύρα Ἡλί(α?), there is an ἐποίκιον Ἡλία/Ἡλίου;[53] and (2) next to the ἄμφοδον Ἀψῖδος (*BGU*

[53] Cf. Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* II 203. Is the ἐποίκιον name ηλιου in *SB* I 5338.28 (Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* II 204) a misreading of ηλια?

III 725.12) there is an ἐποίκιον τῆς Ἀψῖδος (*SPP* XX 157.3).[54] One might suppose, therefore, that the two terms λαύρα, "town quarter," and ἐποίκιον could be used almost interchangeably.

On the meaning of the term ἐποίκιον Drew Bear concludes that "Les *epoikia* n'ont pas d'existence administrative propre: ils sont sous la dépendence du bourg sur le territoire duquel ils sont situés."[55] And from at least three Greek papyri (*P.Lond.* I 113.6b.19, *CPR* VII 51.19ff., and *SB* I 5825.2) it would appear that ἐποίκια may indeed occur within the context of ἄμφοδα, "town quarters."

Now, one might think that the Byzantine λαύραι as "town quarters" were *also* dependent on a higher central administrative unit, the city/town, but in fact this is not the case. To a certain extent the λαύραι apparently exercised independent administrative power, as the many tax receipts published by Wessely in *SPP* III and VIII in which the λαύρα is evidently the administrative unit for which tax is paid show.

Still, even if it is accepted that ἐποίκια occurred within the context of ἄμφοδα, "town quarters," there does not seem to be a convincing answer to the question of what precisely distinguished an ἐποίκιον 'XYZ' from a λαύρα (or ἄμφοδον) of that same name. In this context one should note also Wessely's unpublished Louvre papyrus (see above, n. 36) featuring within a single text a combination of the λαύρα τοῦ ἁγίου Δωροθέου and the ἐποίκιον Θεάτρου, with which lines 10–11 in our text may be compared. A similar combination of various Arsinoite λαύραι and this same ἐποίκιον is found in *SB* I 5128 (compare its l. 11, coming after the λαύρα Περσέας in l. 10).

Due to the very fragmentary character of the list, the precise meaning of the entries for κτητώ(ρων) ("landowners") in lines 5, 8, 17, and for οὐσιῶ[ν ("land holdings") in line 22 remains unclear. It is possible, of course, that for each λαύρα/ἐποίκιον there was a registration of, for example, an amount of tax collected, or a number of inhabitants (note the check marks before most of the entries in this text, lacking only in lines 1, 15 and 17), but this is as far as

[54] On the other hand, it must be noted that Wessely's ἐποίκιον Μοήρεως next to the ἄμφοδον Μοήρεως is a phantom (*Die Stadt Arsinoe*, 32; 'RAN 514' = *SPP* XX 280). Evidently, in course of time Wessely changed his own reading.

[55] M. Drew Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite* (*American Studies in Papyrology*, 21), Missoula 1979, 41–42.

one can go. The meaning of these entries for "landowners" and "landholdings" remains unexplained.

Furthermore, there remain problems with:

– the complete reading of line 1;
– the reading of the ἐποίκιον name in lines 2 and 20, both lines featuring the same name. Such a repetition of a same element occurs also in lines 5, 8, 17, κτητόρων, and in lines 11, 13, Θεάτρου, and maybe also in lines 10, 21, 24, ἅγιος Δωρόθεος (cf. also ἁγί[ου N.N. in l. 18);
– ll. 14–15. Is one dealing here with a bath house (λοῦτρον)? And if so, what is then the meaning of the two letters preserved in l. 15?
– l. 23, ἐποικ(ί)ου Κωστου[ ].[It is interesting that in a much-mutilated document from Paris Wessely read ἐποικ(ί)ου Κῶς τοῦ Ἀρσι[νοιτου, i.e. separating Κῶς from τοῦ (*SB* I 4832.4). One can only wonder whether this reading is really justified. The same question may be raised as regards *CPR* XXII 26–28, where a χωρ(ίον) Κῶς του occurs two times and a χωρ(ίον) κωτου once. In general one wonders whether one is dealing in these documents with the same village as in the present text, and whether everywhere one should read Κωστου.

Finally, the verso of the papyrus: again, the text is much mutilated and difficult to read, because the papyrus material itself is damaged and the ink is abraded in many places. As far as the Greek part of the text on this side of the sheet is concerned, I have hardly been able to read anything intelligible, except for one passage in what appears to be the fifth preserved line: Ὀβειδ υἱὸς Σειδ ἐπικ( ) τ̣ῆς π̣αγαρχί̣ας. No doubt one is dealing with an Arab who held the office of pagarch, most probably in the Arsinoite nome, and one is reminded immediately of a well-known Arab, Ἰαειε υἱὸς Ἠλαλ, who held this post.[56] Unfortunately, I am not aware of any other publication of Greek papyri mentioning a man named ʿUbayd son of Seid/Said, but I would assume that there may be Arabic sources which could help to establish more precise dates for his term of office.

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[56] For his dossier see my article (now outdated, but still cited frequently), "Studien zu spätgriechischen, koptischen und arabischen Papyri," *BSAC* 26 (1984), 99–108. For the ἐπικείμενος τῆς παγαρχίας = "pagarch" see now the remarks made by F. Morelli, *CPR* XXII 1.2n., 7.n., 17 introduction and note to l.11 (pp. 93, 96).

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PLATES

Plate 1. Manus. Ragab 3r.

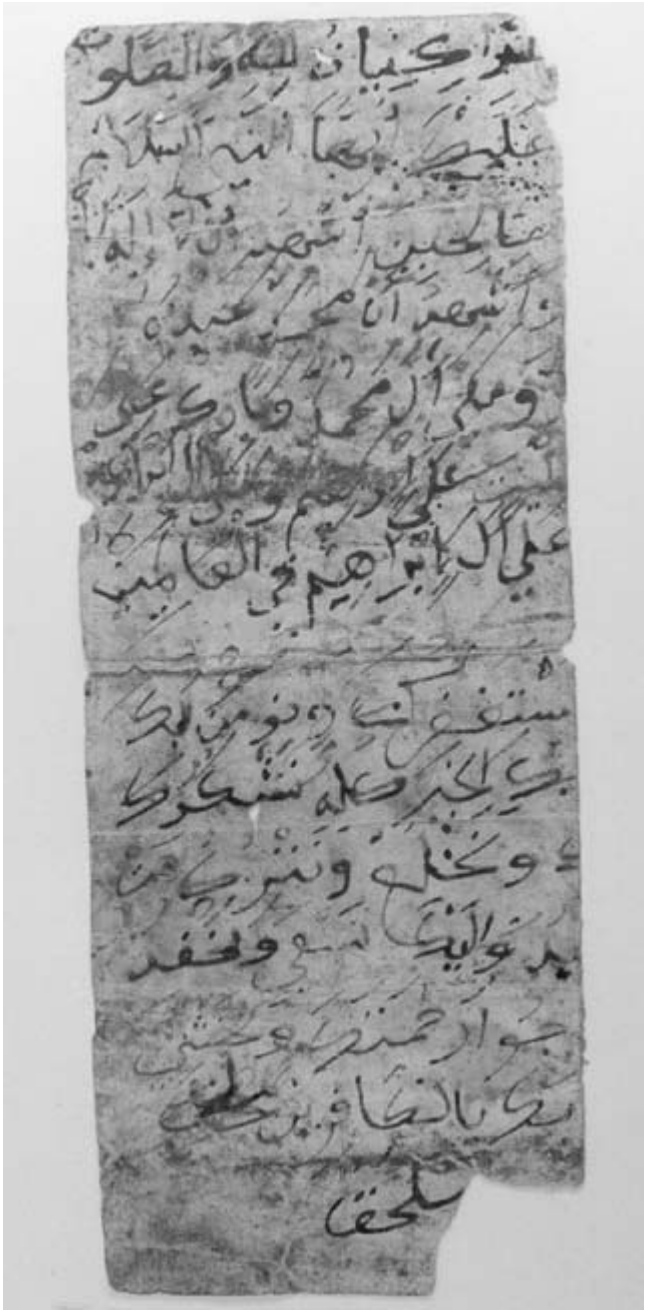


Plate 2. Manus. Ragab 3v.

Plate 3. Manus. Ragab 1.

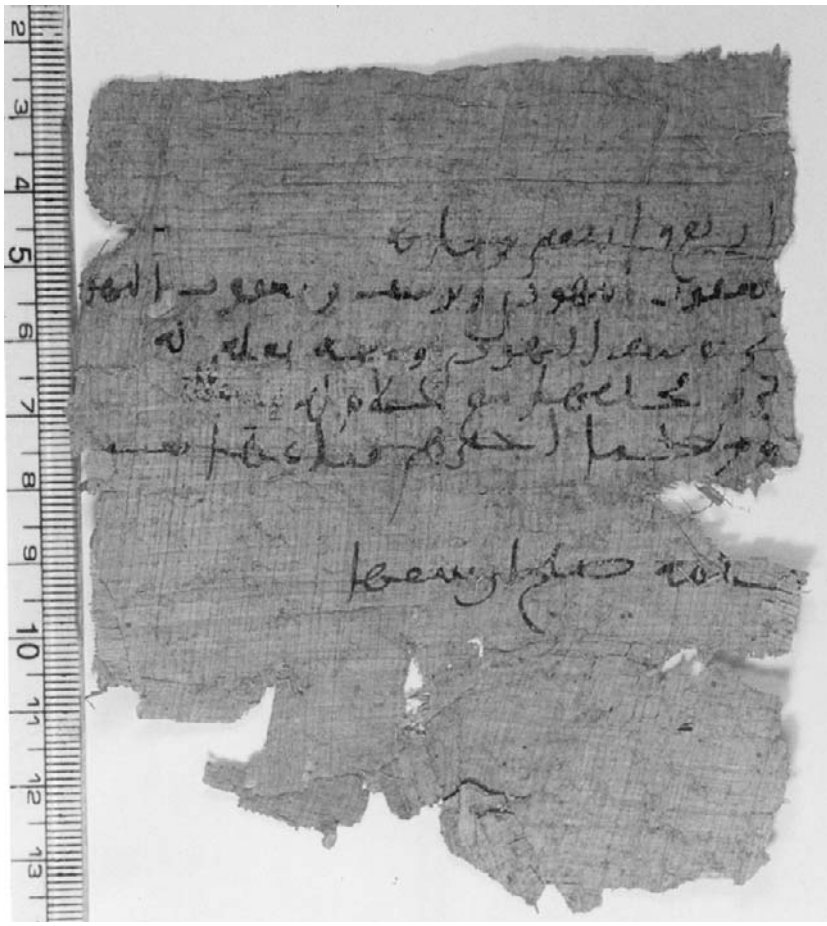


Plate 4. P. Ragab 34.

Plate 5. *O.Crum* Ad. 15.

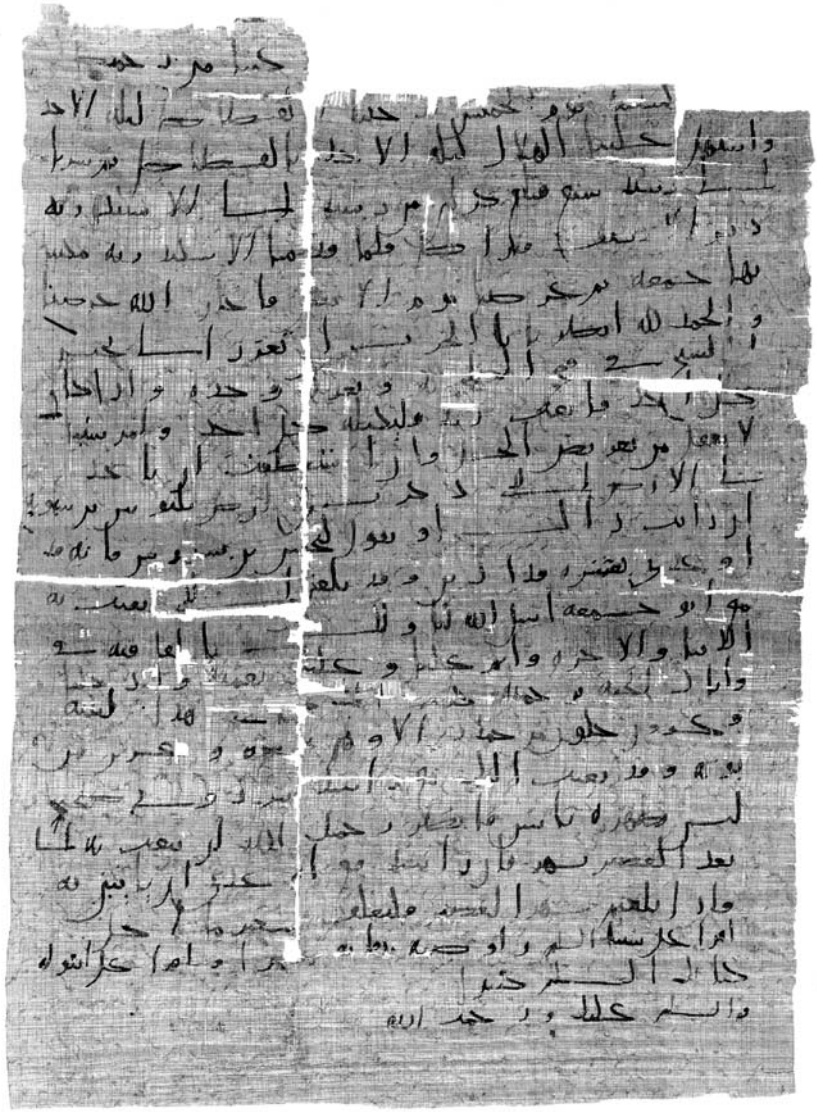


Plate 6. P.Mich.inv. 5614.

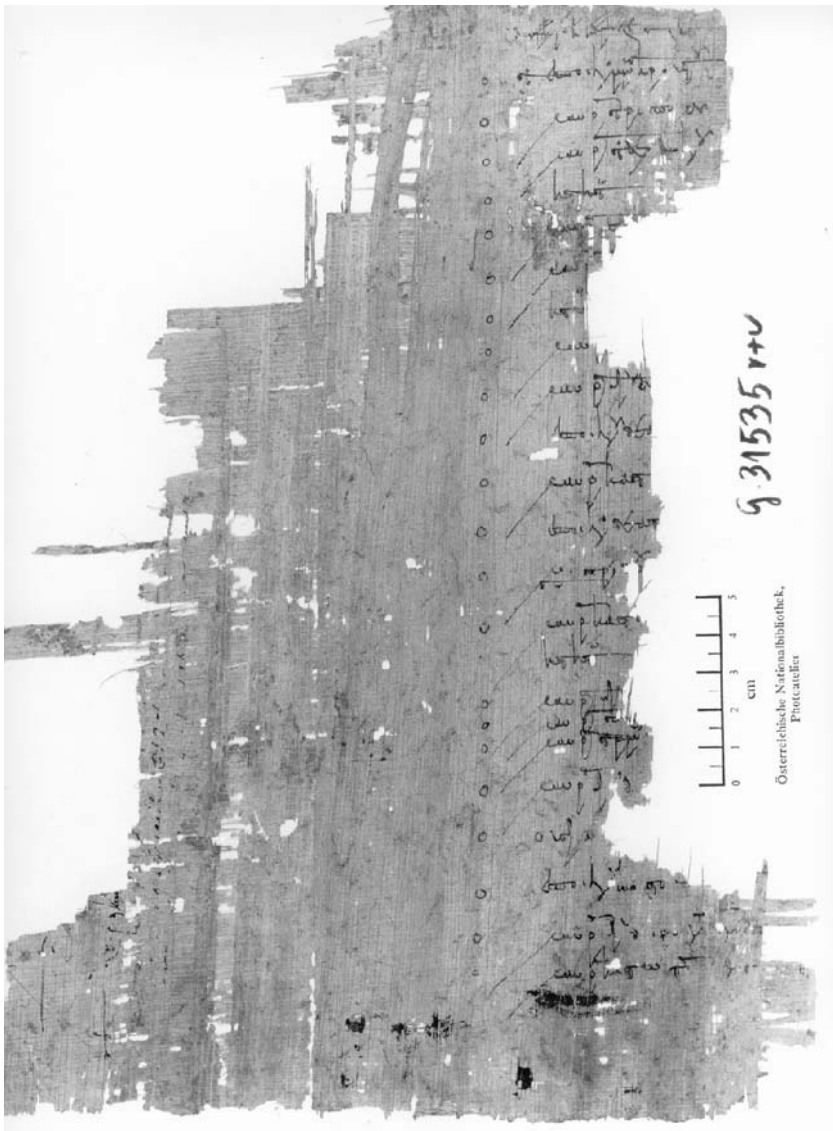
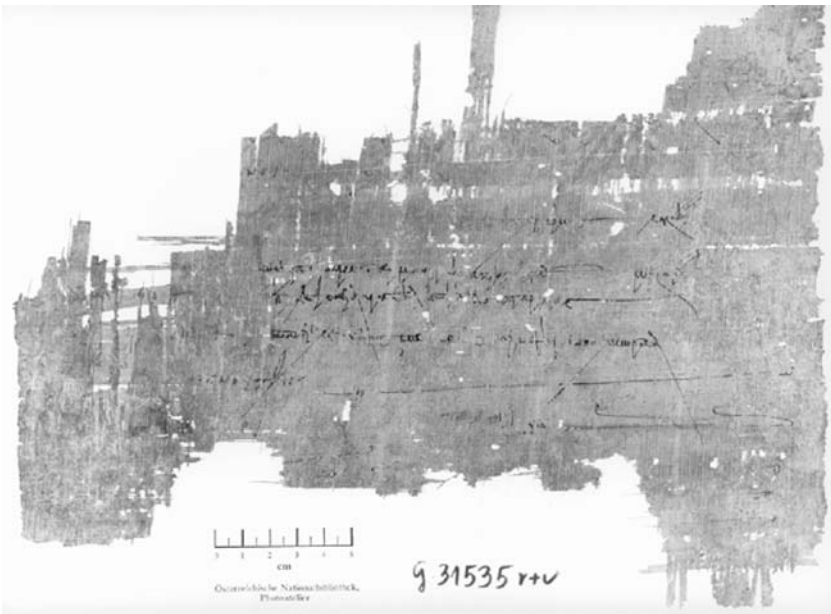


Plate 7. P.Vindob. G 31535 r.



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