INTRODUCTION

The Arabic papyri in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester (JRULM) number approximately 800. In 1933, D.S. Margoliouth, then Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford, published his *Catalogue of Arabic papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester (CAP)*, including a total of 420 pieces in his descriptions. Margoliouth briefly explains that the Arabic papyri preserved in the JRULM were originally bought by the then Earl of Crawford in 1899. They were handed over to Josef Karabacek, the director of the Hofbibliothek in Vienna, for cataloguing. Karabacek, however, had no time to deal with the collection and, when it became the property of the John Rylands Library Manchester (JRLM) in 1901, presumably along with all the other Crawford donations, it was handed over to Margoliouth in Oxford. We do not know when the papyri finally came to rest in Deansgate. Margoliouth published some specimens of their contents in his article of 1909 dedicated to de Vogüé, found some cheap X-ray glass from the Radcliffe Infirmary in Oxford in which some of the pieces were mounted, despatched them to the JRLM and finally published the *CAP* in 1933 after making several visits to Manchester to work on them.

The Contents of the Supplementary Catalogue

So much for the 420 Arabic papyri which appear in the *CAP*. It is strange that the remainder find no mention in it and their presence in the JRULM was first noted in the list of the oriental manuscript collections made by Taylor. Although Taylor makes it clear (p. 462) that these particular Arabic papyri entered the JRLM as a part of the Crawford collection, their absence, and that of the nine other numbered pieces, was not explained in any way in the *CAP*.

The Supplementary Catalogue provided below describes a total of 365 pieces, i.e. the nine pieces ‘inadvertently omitted from his *Catalogue*

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1 *CAP*, ix.
2 *Florilegium*, 407-17.
3 F. Taylor, *BJRLM*, 54 (1972), 463.
4 See Taylor, 463, who mentions ten pieces not in the *CAP* including F IV 1 which is, in fact, dealt with by Margoliouth, p. 30.
by Margoliouth' (C IV 10, D II 2, D II 3, D III 2, E III 2, E III 6, E III 8, E III 9 and F IV 18), plus Add. Nos 1–252, already numbered, plus the 104 fragments now given numbers by the present authors. Twenty pieces were discarded during the present project as they are either completely Coptic, totally illegible, or contain signs rather than script and were not numbered.

Two further points should be borne in mind when consulting the Supplementary Catalogue. All papyri previously thought in error to contain Arabic texts and categorized as such have naturally been left in the collection; there are only two or three, Coptic and Pahlavi.

The reader should also note that the spelling ‘bn’ has been employed throughout this study – apart from the list of references – rather than the more usual abbreviated form ‘b.’. This is simply because on occasions it is necessary to indicate a missing letter (e.g. ‘[b]n’ or ‘b[n]’) and it was thought better to keep the spelling consistent throughout.

The Supplementary Catalogue

In the Supplementary Catalogue below, the Description includes the physical description of the papyrus, the number of lines of the text(s), the direction of the text(s) in relation to the fibres, and the ink. The very large majority of the papyri are incomplete and are described as fragments; many are only very small fragments. The terms recto and verso are used, although it is admitted that they are not entirely appropriate for papyri. If it is not clear which is the original text, the recto is reckoned to be the more important of the two sides, as far as this can be judged. It should perhaps be noted that the direction of the text in relation to the fibres in these Arabic papyri is far from being a simple case of the recto running along the horizontal fibres and the verso across the vertical. It is probable that the majority of pieces of which the verso is blank have the recto text written across the vertical fibres. Nos 253–332 have at some stage been stuck to pieces of cardboard and there can be no access to the verso. In these cases, no mention of the verso is made in the Description.

Measurements are given in centimetres, the longer side first, with an indication which side is the height (h), in relation to the text of the recto, and which is the width (w). The height of the alif is also given.

Only twenty-six of those catalogued below in Part I bear a precise date. Where no date is given, we have chosen to provide an approximate date in very broad terms and this is based on a careful scrutiny of the features of the script which yield some palaeographic information. It has

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5 Nos 253–356.
6 See Smith & Tait, Saqqâra Demotic papyri, xi.
7 See Pestman, Primer, 4–5.
been necessary to resort to an educated guess where fragments do not permit such scrutiny. A full discussion of the palaeography of the Arabic papyri with a table can be found below.

Under the heading of **Subject matter**, we have attempted to assemble sufficient indications of the contents of the texts to lead anyone consulting this catalogue to those pieces which may be of interest. Every effort has been made to classify the texts: NB a document is non-literary, and all letters are arranged under the headings official, private and semi-official (see Index of English Terms and Subjects). Difficult as it has sometimes been, we have tried to provide a useful description of the subject matter which also gives Arabic technical terms or quotations and the former and key words of the latter can be found in the Index of Arabic Terms.

To round off each entry in the Supplementary Catalogue below, **Personal and Place names** have been inserted as necessary.

**The Indices**

All numbers in the indices refer to the Margoliouth *CAP*, or the Add. number assigned to each papyrus, or to the text number of Part II. In the case of the first, this begins with a capital letter, C, D, E or F; in the case of the second, it is a straightforward number; in the case of the third, it is a number in bold type. The indices are the Index of Arabic Terms, which includes key words from quotations from the Arabic, as well as technical or semi-technical terms, with a translation in the context of the texts, and the Index of English Terms and Subjects. The latter lists all terms and words taken from the **Subject matter** entries in Part I and from the commentary of Part II and also certain important and frequently occurring subjects: agriculture, law and religion. An Index of Personal and Family Names contains all such names in the fragments, whether complete or incomplete. In the latter all incomplete names are ignored and the first complete name has been inserted in alphabetical order. A short Index of Place Names follows and then the Index of Dated Papyri in chronological order, twenty-nine pieces in all.

**The Palaeography of the Arabic Papyri**

Encouraging strides have been made in the field of Arabic palaeography in recent years, in particular in the context of papyri.8 We have chosen in Parts I and II below to describe in as much detail as possible the interesting palaeographic features of each piece. Such descriptions will assume

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8 The point should perhaps be made with force that Arabic palaeography cannot develop without regard for all early media of writing: incised inscriptions (in stone, clay, wood and metal), Quranic MSS on parchment etc., coins, glasses, seals, ostraca and textiles. Particularly promising recent advances in the field of Arabic papyrology are Khan, *Arabic papyri*, 27–46 and Bills, *letters and deeds*, 18–21; Gruendler's lists and tables in her *Arabic scripts* are of great value.
more relevance if they are prefaced by more specific comments on the letters in question and if these comments are accompanied by illustrations. We have therefore drawn up a table including all the letters the palaeographic features of which are described below (see Table 1 below).

It is our firm belief that much of relevance in early Arabic palaeography can be traced back to Nabataean origins and the papyri under study illustrate this remarkably clearly.9 There can be no doubt that Nabataean influence on the script of the papyri is just as strong as it is on that of the lapidary inscriptions. Particularly good examples of this are as follows: the alif with a hook bending to the right at the bottom; the attached alif with the tail extending below the base line; the medial ḥāʾ, the diagonal stroke crossing the base line; the elongated, horizontal ʿād with the upper stroke parallel to the base line, with a tooth on the left; the normally vertical stroke of the ʿāl with an open top; the elongated, horizontal ḫāʾ with the upper stroke parallel to the base line with an upward or a rightward shaft at the top; the final ʾāʾ returning to the right.

Three other features which occur frequently below are as follows:

A) A long, vertical stroke representing the initial or medial bāʾ, tāʾ, thāʾ, nūn or yāʾ, following or preceding the sīn/shīn. This phenomenon occurs quite commonly with the bāʾ of the basmalah. It is clear that such a practice distinguishes the teeth of the letter sīn/shīn from that of the following or preceding bāʾ, tāʾ, thāʾ, nūn or yāʾ and it is frequently found in both the papyri and early Arabic inscriptions.10

B) Elongated strokes between letters. This method of filling in space is common in both papyri and epigraphy.11

C) Common dot (or sometimes two dots) preceding the basmalah.

We now deal with the important palaeographic features letter by letter, before offering the table mentioned above.

1) Alif

The vertical stroke of the independent alif can have a hook either to the right or to the left at the bottom. This form is a development of the late

9 Gruendler, Arabic scripts, passim, does an excellent service in highlighting this important consideration.

10 See for example Grohmann, Expédition, nos Z5, Z13, Z16 and Z22, plates III and IV; al-Rashid, Darb Zubaydah, no. 6, 244.

11 See for example Miles, 'Early Islamic tombstones', nos 4, 7 & 8; see also below Arabic Add. No. 236.
INTRODUCTION

Nabataean form, but it became quite common in Kufic inscriptions, eventually assuming an ornamental character. The earliest example of this form in the pre-Islamic inscriptions can be seen in that of Jabal Ramm B which dates from about AD 300–50. However, its first known appearance during the Islamic period occurs in the Hijri inscription dated 31/652.15

The vertical stroke of the attached alif with the tail extending below the base line occurs frequently in the early papyri, as well as in inscriptions. The first occurrence of this feature can be seen in an undated papyrus of the Nabataean period, but the earliest during Islamic times appears in the Hlnasa papyrus dated 22/643. It also occurs in the ‘Abbâsah inscription dated 71/691. This feature appears frequently in the pieces studied below, one of which is dated 84/704.

2) Ḥā
The hā made up of two straight lines, a diagonal crossing the base line, developed from the Nabataean form and is ancient. Its first appearance was in the pre-Islamic inscriptions, e.g. Zebed, dated AD 512, and Jabal Usays, AD 528. It also occurs in certain graffiti of the 1st/7th century and its earliest dated appearance is in the Hijri inscription dated 31/652. It also appears on an inscription on the Darb Zubaydah dated 56/676, and on one in Mecca dated 80/699. It also appears quite frequently in Arabic papyri, as in Arabic epigraphy, the first example being in the Hlnasa papyrus, dated 22/643.

3) Sād/Dād
The elongated horizontal sād/dād with the upper stroke parallel to the base line and a tooth on the left occurs quite frequently in Arabic papyri, as well as in Arabic epigraphy. It appears in the Mu‘awiyah inscription dated 58/677–78, and in the inscription of Hafnat al-Abyad dated 64/684–85; also on a bronze dated 69/688–89.

12 See Grohmann, Expédition, 35, and Origin, 188; al-Fitr, Tatawwur, 208. See also below for example
13 See Jum‘ah, DTKK, 147.
14 See Gruendler, Arabic scripts, 32.
16 See Gruendler, Arabic scripts, 33.
17 Gruendler, 35.
19 Arabic Add. No. 236 below.
21 Gruendler, 49.
22 Gruendler, 48.
24 Sharaf al-Din, ‘al-Nuqash al-Islâmiyyah’, plate 50A.
26 Abbott, Rise, plate iv.
27 Miles, ‘Early Islamic inscription’, 236–42.
28 Grohmann, Arabische Paläographie, ii, 71a and 80b, fig. 45.
29 Gruendler, Arabic scripts, 71.
Some of the papyri under study provide the early and rare feature of the ta'/za* with the normally vertical stroke inclining diagonally to the right. This form is ancient and derived from the equivalent Nabataean form. It occurs in the Mu'nat inscription dated AD 93.\textsuperscript{30} and thereafter in the inscription of Harrân, AD 568.\textsuperscript{31} It also appears in the first three centuries of Islam,\textsuperscript{32} the first example being the 'Abbâsah inscription dated 71/691.\textsuperscript{33} It occurs in inscriptions dated 218/833\textsuperscript{34} and 246/860.\textsuperscript{35} Its first appearance in papyri is in the Ihnasa papyrus dated 22/643.\textsuperscript{36}

Both the base of the initial 'ayn/ghayn extending to the right and the open medial form existed from Nabataean times. They also appear in pre-Islamic inscriptions.\textsuperscript{37} The first appearance of such an initial form is in the inscription of Jabal Ramm B dated AD 300–50.\textsuperscript{38} Thereafter the Umm al-Jimal inscription also contains this feature, but it can only be dated approximately to the 6th–7th century AD.\textsuperscript{39} Its first occurrence in the Islamic period can be seen in the Hijri inscription dated 31/652.\textsuperscript{40} It also occurs in the Mu'awiya inscription dated 58/677–78.\textsuperscript{41}

The open medial form occurs in the Zebed inscription dated AD 512\textsuperscript{42} and in that of Jabal Usays dated AD 528.\textsuperscript{43} In the Islamic period it can be seen in the Hijri inscription dated 31/652.\textsuperscript{44} In papyri the open 'ayn/ghayn is to be found in the Engaddi papyrus, probably to be dated somewhere between AD 40–71.\textsuperscript{45} In the Ihnasa papyrus, dated 22/643, it occurs thus, though not consistently.\textsuperscript{46}

Some of the papyri below\textsuperscript{47} contain the final qāf with a tail broken to form a semi-circle to the left and upwards. This form occurs during the whole of the 1st/7th century and reoccurs as late as the end of the

\textsuperscript{30} Gruendler, 73.     
\textsuperscript{31} Gruendler, 73.     
\textsuperscript{32} Grohmann, Expédition, no. Z67, 55–6.     
\textsuperscript{33} Hawary, 'Monument Η, 321–3.     
\textsuperscript{34} Hawary & Rached, Stèles funéraires, i, no. 152, plate 30.     
\textsuperscript{35} Wiet, Stèles funéraires, ii, plate 24.     
\textsuperscript{36} Gruendler, Arabic scripts, 75.     
\textsuperscript{37} Gruendler, 77.     
\textsuperscript{38} Gruendler, 76–7.     
\textsuperscript{39} Naqshabandi, 'al-Khatt', 133.     
\textsuperscript{40} Hawary, 'Monument Η, 321–32.     
\textsuperscript{41} Miles, 'Early Islamic inscription', 236–42.     
\textsuperscript{42} Gruendler, 77.     
\textsuperscript{43} Gruendler, 76–7.     
\textsuperscript{44} Hawary, 'Monument Η, 321–3; see also Arabic Add. No. 236 below.     
\textsuperscript{45} Gruendler, 79.     
\textsuperscript{46} Gruendler, 78–9.     
\textsuperscript{47} E.g. Arabic Add. No. 141 below.
INTRODUCTION


7) Kāf

It would seem that the earliest example of the elongated horizontal kāf in Arabic occurs in the inscription of Qasr Kharānah dated 92/710. It also appears in a lapidary inscription published by Miles and in an epitaph from the Hejaz dated 160/776. The following is a list of its occurrence between 100 BC in Nabataean and the 2nd/8th century:

Nabataean –
   a) Horvat Raqiq 100 BC
   b) Graffito of Jabal Munayjah AD 219

Pre-Islamic Arabic –
   a) Umm al-Jimal A AD 250
   b) Namārah AD 328
   c) Jabal Ramm B AD 300–50
   d) Jabal Usays AD 528
   e) Umm al-Jimal B 5th–6th century AD

Islamic period –
   a) Ihnasa papyrus 22/643
   b) Hījri inscription 31/652
   c) Khashnah 56/676
   d) Qasr Kharānah 92/710
   e) Hejaz epitaph 160/776

8) Ḥāʾ

The triangular form of the final ḥāʾ is found in our collection of the papyri. It has been assigned to the 3rd/9th century by Grohmann who is discussing Arabian graffiti, although in the epigraphic context it would seem to be more common in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. One unique and striking form of the initial ḥāʾ is a simple downward stroke.

9) Wāw

The wāw is once found in the shape of the letter rāʾ.

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48 Rogers, 'Notice', plate II, no. 20.
49 Gruendler, 19, 87.
50 Gruendler, 24, 87.
51 Grohmann, Expedition, no. Z18, 26, n. 4.
52 Jaussen-Savignac, Mission, iii, plate Iviii.
53 Early Islamic inscriptions, plate xviii b.
54 Grohmann, Expedition, No. Z9, 14, n. 1.
55 The whole of this list is taken from Gruendler, Scripts, 7–28.
56 Sec Grohmann, Expedition, 6.
57 See Arabic Add. No. 354.
58 See Arabic Add. No. 354.
10) \(\text{Ya}^2\)
One of the papyri below\(^{59}\) provides a striking example of the Nabataean final \(\text{Ya}^3\) with the tail dropping vertically below the base line.\(^{60}\) It occurs in the earliest dated Arabic inscription.\(^{61}\) However, the majority offer the common feature of the final \(\text{Ya}^3\) with the tail returning to the right. Such a form occurs quite frequently in Arabic epigraphy and more commonly in the papyri. The earliest example is that in the pre-Islamic Arabic inscription of Umm al-Jimāl B dated 5th–6th century AD.\(^{62}\) It also occurs in the Hijrī inscription dated 31/652\(^{63}\) and the ‘Arī b. Īsā inscription dated 304/916.\(^{64}\)

In a few cases the final \(\text{Ya}^3\) is written \(\text{mu'arraqah,}\) as in the naskhi script. This can be found in a parchment fragment dated 22/643,\(^{65}\) in the ‘Abbāsah inscription dated 71/691\(^{66}\) and on an epitaph from al-Sirrayn dated 1st–2nd/7th–8th century.\(^{67}\)

11) \(\text{Lām–alīf}\)
The \(\text{lām–alīf}\) joining together forming the letter \(\text{r}\) would appear to be unique to Arabic papyri. It is almost non-existent in epigraphy.

The table below illustrates all the descriptions which appear in the catalogue in Part I, and in the texts of Part II below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>letter</th>
<th>description</th>
<th>illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{alīf (a)})</td>
<td>rises above</td>
<td>(\text{|})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{alīf (b)})</td>
<td>extends below</td>
<td>(\text{|})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{alīf (c)})</td>
<td>hook to left</td>
<td>(\text{|})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{alīf (d)})</td>
<td>hook to right</td>
<td>(\text{|})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{alīf (e)})</td>
<td>hook at top</td>
<td>(\text{|})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{bā’/tā/’thā’})</td>
<td>rises above</td>
<td>(\text{|})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{59}\) Arabic Add. No. 123.
\(^{60}\) E.g. see the graffito of Sa’dallah, AD 150; the graffito of Wadi Mughrah, AD 267; the inscription of Raqūsh, AD 267; the inscription of al-Namarah, AD 328; and Umm al-Jimāl B, 5th–6th century AD.
\(^{62}\) Gruendler, 113.
\(^{64}\) Miles, ‘Pilgrim road’, 477–87.
\(^{65}\) Gruendler, 22 & 115.
\(^{67}\) Zayla’, ‘Makkah’, no. 5, plate 21.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>letter</th>
<th>description</th>
<th>illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jimḥā/khā (a)</td>
<td>diagonal stroke crossing base line</td>
<td><img src="image1" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jimḥā/khā (b)</td>
<td>upper stroke exaggerated and rising above following letters</td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāl/dhāl (a)</td>
<td>runs horizontally with upper stroke parallel to base line and hook at top</td>
<td><img src="image3" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāl/dhāl (b)</td>
<td>shape of right angle with vertical stroke rising level with other vertical letters</td>
<td><img src="image4" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šīn/shīn (a)</td>
<td>first tooth rises above other teeth</td>
<td><img src="image5" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šīn (b)</td>
<td>horizontal line with dot and diagonal stroke above</td>
<td><img src="image6" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šīn (c)</td>
<td>horizontal line marked above with circumflex accent</td>
<td><img src="image7" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šīn (d)</td>
<td>horizontal line with large comma above</td>
<td><img src="image8" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šīn (e)</td>
<td>horizontal line with three dots above</td>
<td><img src="image9" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šīn (f)</td>
<td>horizontal line with diagonal stroke above</td>
<td><img src="image10" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sād/dād (a)</td>
<td>runs horizontally with upper stroke parallel to base line and tooth on left</td>
<td><img src="image11" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sād/dād (b)</td>
<td>runs horizontally with upper stroke parallel to base line without tooth</td>
<td><img src="image12" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sād/dād (c)</td>
<td>oval in shape with no tooth</td>
<td><img src="image13" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sād/dād (d)</td>
<td>trapezium shape with no tooth</td>
<td><img src="image14" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sād/dād (e)</td>
<td>runs horizontally with upper stroke parallel to base line with left side and tooth inclining to right</td>
<td><img src="image15" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭāʾ/ẓāʾ (a)</td>
<td>normally vertical stroke inclines to right</td>
<td><img src="image16" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭāʾ/ẓāʾ (b)</td>
<td>vertical stroke extends below base line</td>
<td><img src="image17" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿayn/ghayn (a)</td>
<td>base extends to right</td>
<td><img src="image18" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿayn/ghayn (b)</td>
<td>open at top</td>
<td><img src="image19" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fāʾ (a)</td>
<td>pointed head</td>
<td><img src="image20" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fāʾ (b)</td>
<td>dot beneath (see qāf (c) below)</td>
<td><img src="image21" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fāʾ (c)</td>
<td>elevated</td>
<td><img src="image22" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāf (a)</td>
<td>broken tail</td>
<td><img src="image23" alt="diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>letter</td>
<td>description</td>
<td>illustration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāf (b)</td>
<td>elevated with pointed head and tail falling vertically and bending to left</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="qāf(b)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qāf (c)</td>
<td>dot above (see fā (b) above)</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="qāf(c)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāf (a)</td>
<td>elongated horizontally with extended base, upper stroke parallel to base line and shaft at top</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="kāf(a)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāf (b)</td>
<td>elongated horizontally with upper stroke parallel to base line with no shaft at top</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="kāf(b)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāf (c)</td>
<td>in shape of lām</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="kāf(c)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāf (d)</td>
<td>curved top with no shaft</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="kāf(d)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lām (a)</td>
<td>tail curves round level with top of vertical stroke</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="lām(a)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lām (b)</td>
<td>top has acute-angled edge</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="lām(b)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mim</td>
<td>triangle shape</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="mim" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nūn</td>
<td>ends in exaggerated flourish</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="nūn" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā (a)</td>
<td>triangle shape</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="hā(a)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā (b)</td>
<td>shape of large inverted comma</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="hā(b)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā (c)</td>
<td>wavy end</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="hā(c)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā (d)</td>
<td>downward stroke</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="hā(d)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā (e)</td>
<td>rises level with top of preceding lāms in divine name</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="hā(e)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā (f)</td>
<td>upward loop</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="hā(f)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā (g)</td>
<td>shaft at top inclining to left or right</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="hā(g)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāw (a)</td>
<td>pointed head</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="wāw(a)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wāw (b)</td>
<td>in same form as letter rā</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="wāw(b)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yā (a)</td>
<td>returns to right</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="yā(a)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yā (b)</td>
<td>rises above</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="yā(b)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yā (c)</td>
<td>rises and drops vertically to left</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="yā(c)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yā (d)</td>
<td>final form muʿarraqaḥ</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="yā(d)" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yā (e)</td>
<td>tail firstly drops, rises at a right angle, swings down to left and returns to cross downward swing to form oval shape</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="yā(e)" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Language of the Arabic Papyri

The texts catalogued in Part I and those edited in Part II are, in common with other known Arabic papyrus texts, written in Middle Arabic (MA). There can be no doubt but that they are composed in a literary Arabic which is a mixture of non-classical Arabic elements and pure classical Arabic (CA) elements. By ‘classical Arabic’ we mean the language discussed by the classical Arabic grammarians, although it should be borne in mind that in the case of the papyri, the latter predate the bulk of the classical grammatical literature. The Arabic papyri are indeed the earliest examples of MA; they are all original, uncorrupted MA texts which have come down to us exactly as they were written 800–1,000 years ago. It now seems clear from more recent studies of two lengthy and complete Muslim MA texts that the texts were composed heavily laced with non-CA linguistic features and that the tendency was that, the more scribes got to copy the text down the ages, the more the non-CA features were edited out in order to produce a more classical text. Here, and in Arabic papyri in general, such ‘correction’ by scribes was not possible and we should perhaps take advantage of that situation to ponder

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>letter</th>
<th>description</th>
<th>illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lām-alif (a)</td>
<td>two strokes crossing and remaining open</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lām-alif (b)</td>
<td>v shape</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lām-alif (c)</td>
<td>two strokes crossing with triangular base</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lām-alif (d)</td>
<td>v shape with barbs to left at top</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

68 With any mention of MA, the name of Joshua Blau immediately comes to the fore. General studies are his The emergence and linguistic background of Judeo-Arabic (Oxford, 1965) and a collection of his articles and contributions, Studies in Middle Arabic and its Judeo-Arabic variety (Jerusalem, 1988). Blau is also the compiler of a grammar of Judeo-Arabic in Hebrew, A grammar of mediæval Judeo-Arabic (Jerusalem, 1961) and of Christian MA, A grammar of Christian Arabic, based mainly on South Palestine texts from the first millennium (Corpus Scriptorum Orientalium 27, 28 and 29, 1966–67). See also Smith's review of Khan, Arabic papyri and Grohmann/Khoury, Chrestomathie in JRAS, 4, no. 1 (1994), 91.
69 Blau's own definition of MA is a little more complicated than this one and indeed it changes over the years. In his Emergence (1965), 24–5, Blau interprets MA as being the non-CA elements in an Arabic text. In his article, 'State of research', written in 1981, he writes, 'It seems, however, more expedient to reserve the use of the term Middle Arabic for the mixed language of mediæval texts, containing Standard Arabic, Neo-Arabic, and, as we shall see later, pseudo-correct features, and to call the vernacular component of Middle Arabic Neo-Arabic (or more exactly, the early layer of Neo-Arabic, its later layer being the language of modern Arabic dialects).' Schen in his articles, 'Usama' (1972–73), 218–9, writes of 'MA elements' and adopts Blau's 1965 definition of MA. See also Shivtiel, 'Maze of Arabic' (1991), 1441, where he suggests the term 'standard Arabic' rather than MA.
71 See Smith, 'Language', Conclusions, 2.
the language of the texts a little more. It appears to us that the language of the papyri fits in well into the suggestion that MA texts begin their existence containing many elements of non-classical Arabic. Blau’s statement made in 1965 and repeated in 1977 and 1988\textsuperscript{72} that the non-CA admixture in the papyri is slight is correctly challenged by Hopkins.\textsuperscript{73}

Set out below under fifty-one headings are phrases and sentences from the JRULM papyri appearing in Parts I and II of this study and which illustrate well the non-CA elements of MA. Linguistic comments are also made in the commentaries of Part II. The examples below are divided into two parts: morphology and syntax. There can be no claim of comprehensiveness and the repetition of particular constructions is used to reflect their commonness throughout this study of the papyri. Where possible reference is made to Hopkins’s Studies (1982), an excellent study of the grammar of Arabic papyri (Hopkins), to Schen’s ‘Usama Ibn Munqidh’s memoirs ...’ (1972–73), two articles on the MA of Usamah’s Iktibār (Schen – all the references below are to the second article) and to a study of the language of Ibn al-Mujāwir’s Tārikh al-Mustabsir (Smith), the latter two being major Muslim MA texts.

a) Morphology

verbs

M.1 Add. No. 70

\[
\text{lām yuʿtīyānī-hi} \quad \text{‘they have not paid him/it’}. \quad \text{NB the indicative dual ending of the verb after lām}. \quad \text{Hopkins, 85/section 82.}
\]

M.2 A 13, Part II, Text No. 1/line 11

\[
\text{wa-khalli bayna wakīl Junādah ... ‘Give Junādah’s agent a free hand ...’}. \quad \text{NB the imperative of the weak verb spelt with final ẓa’.}
\]

M.3 D III 7, Part II, Text No. 8/15

\[
\text{wa-īṣṭārī la-hu} \quad \text{‘Buy for him ...’}. \quad \text{NB as above M.2.}
\]

M.4 D II 7, Part II, Text No. 4/6

\[
\text{salnā-ka} \quad \text{‘we have asked you’}. \quad \text{Hopkins, 29/26.}
\]

M.5 Add. No. 237, Part II, Text No. 10/5

\[
\text{wa-kunta āṣartā āl-ṣawāb} \quad \text{‘You wrote the reply’}. \quad \text{NB form IV, āṣara, for I, sātara}. \quad \text{Hopkins, 73/72: Schen, 68; Smith, examples 3.A.4–7.}
\]

\textsuperscript{72} \text{See Emergence, 123, ‘Beginnings of the Arabic diglossia’. 22 and the note added to the reprint of this article in Studies, 22.}

\textsuperscript{73} \text{Cf. Studies, xlvii.}
nouns, participles etc.

M.6 Add. No. 96


M.7 Add. No. 208

\textit{inna la-hu khamsah wa-sittūn dināran} ‘He has 65 dinars’. NB \textit{sittūn} after \textit{inna}. Hopkins, 108/86b; Smith, 3.B.3.

numerals

M.8 E III 12 & F IV 1, Part II, Text Nos. 6/4 & 7/5
two examples \textit{-ihday-himā/iḥdat-humā} ‘one (fem.) of them’.

Hopkins, 16/12f.

M.9 Add. No. 90

\textit{arba'āh 'asharah dirhaman} ‘14 dirhams’.

b) Syntax – verbs

S.1 D II 3

\textit{tashtarī bi-hā} ... ‘buy with them ...’. NB the second person imperfect verb for the imperative – very common in the papyri; see below examples S.2–7. Hopkins, 136/138b; Schen, 79; Smith, 3.A.7–8.

S.2 D II 3

\textit{ta'khudhu min-hu al-thiyāb} ‘take the clothes from him’. See S.1 above.

S.3 D II 3

\textit{wa-tastaqdi fi-hi wa-tadafa' u ilā Ibn Fuḍayl} ... ‘Demand it and pay Ibn Fuḍayl ...’. See S.1 and S. 2 above.

S.4 Add. No. 28

\textit{tastawfū jamī' mā akhraja al-qalam} ‘Pay in full everything expressed in writing’.

S.5 Add. No. 127

\textit{fa-tuhsinu zanna-ka} ... ‘So think well of ...’.

S.6 Add. No. 309

\textit{wa-tushhidu 'alay-hi} ‘Make him bear witness against him’.

S.7 D III 7, Part II, Text No. 8/20

\textit{tadafa' u-hu} ‘Pay it’.

S.8 Add. No. 73

\textit{mā ta'muru na'ti-hi} ‘Whatever you order, we shall heed’. NB the use of the imperfect indicative \textit{na'ti}.

S.9 Add. No. 104

\textit{wa-anā khārij ilā al-Fuṣṭāt} ‘I shall leave for al-Fuṣṭāt’.

NB the use of the personal pronoun and the participle to express future time.

negatives

S.10 E III 6

\textit{wa-in kāna al-amr laysa sahl ‘alay-ka} ... ‘If the matter is not easy for you, ...’. NB the use of \textit{laysa} and \textit{kāna} in the conditional clause.
NB also the predicate *sahl* is without the *alif al-tanwîn*. Hopkins, 153/156.

cases

S.11  Add. No. 234  

*bi-wakâlati akhû-hâ* ‘with (the appointment) of her brother as her agent’. NB nominative form of *akhû*. Hopkins, 159/163 regards the *akhû* as invariable; Schen, 83.

S.12  Add. No. 237, Part II, Text No. 10/9  

*wa-in kunta taktubu ilâ Abû Yaʻqûb ...* ‘If you write to Abû Yaʻqûb ...’.
See S.11 above.

S.13  Add. No. 237, Part II, Text No. 10/3 & 4  

two examples -*khabar Abû Yaʻqûb* ‘what is happening to Abû Yaʻqûb’. *khabar Abû Sahl* ‘what is happening to Abû Sahl’.

S.14  Add. No. 189  


S.15  Add. No. 237, Part II, Text No. 10/9  

*wa-in kunta taktubu ilâ Abû Yaʻqûb kitâb ...* ‘If you write Abû Yaʻqûb a letter ...’.

S.16  Add. No. 258  

*wa-lâ tuʻakhkhir min-hu dirham wâhid* ‘Don’t hold back one single dirham from him’.

S.17  D III 7, Part II, Text No. 8/7, 8, 11, 12, 17  

five examples – *khubz, muʻṣîd, khubz, dhikr, kitâb* .

S.18  Add. No. 237, Part II, Text No. 10/5 & 6  

two examples – *jawâb, khabar* .

numerals

S.19  D II 3  

*sittat al-danânîr* ‘the six dinars’. Hopkins, 183–4/188.

S.20  Add. No. 249  

*thalâthat al-danânîr* ‘the three dinars’.

S.21  D III 7, Part II, Text No. 8/10  

*bi-thalâthati al-darâhim* ‘the three dirhams’.

S.22  D II 12  

*al-ʻasharah danânîr* ‘the ten dinars’.

S.23  Add. No. 284  

*ithnâ ʻashar irdabb* ‘12 irdabb s’. Schen, 85.

S.24  Add. No. 343  

*sanat thamân wa-ʻishrîna wa-miyatayn* ‘in the year 228’. Hopkins, 191/194.
S.25  Add. No. 343, Part II, Text No. 5/5 & 8
    two examples – sanat thamān wa-ṭishrīna wa-miyatayn ‘in the year 228’.
S.26  Add. No. 351, Part II, Text No. 3/7
    sanat ithnayni wa-tisrīna wa-miyatayn ‘in the year 292’.
S.27  D II 7, Part II, Text No. 4/8 & 11
    two examples – sanat ithnayni wa-thamānīna wa-miyah ‘in the year 182’.
S.28  D III 7, Part II, Text No. 8/16
    khamsat qilāl ‘five jars’. NB the singular of qilāl is qullah.
    Hopkins, 113/92a.
S.29  D III 7, Part II, Text No. 8/7
    kāna dafā’ā ilay-ya dinār ‘he gave me a dinar’. NB the use of the auxiliary in Arabic where clearly simple past time is meant and not the pluperfect. Hopkins 208/238; Schen, 87.
S.30  Add. No. 237, Part II, Text No. 10/2 & 5
    two examples – qad kuntu katabtu ilay-ka kitāban ‘I have already written a letter to you’. wa-kunta aṣṭarta al-jawāb ‘You wrote the reply’. See S.29 above.
S.31  Add. No. 237, Part II, Text No. 10/9
    wa-in kunta taktabu ilā Abū Ya’qūb kitāb fa-wassil-hu ilay-ya ‘If you write AY a letter, send it to me’. NB the perfect auxiliary verb with the imperfect of the main verb in the conditional clause.
S.32  Add. No. 54
    mālu-ka fa-qad jumī’a ‘Your wealth has been collected’.
S.33  Add. No. 56
    qarāru-ka ‘ajjil bi-hi ‘Hurry up with your report’.
S.34  Add. No. 104
    al-amr ukattimu-ka/uktimu-ka ‘I ask you to keep the matter secret.’
S.35  D II 7, Part II, Text No. 4/6–7
    ammā sanat ... wa-tadfa’u kharāja-hā ‘As for the year ..., pay the land tax for it’. NB ammā followed by wa-. Hopkins, 136/138.
S.36  D II 7, Part II, Text No. 4/6
    salnā-ka taẓrā’u ‘... which we have asked you cultivate’. NB the absence of an and the subordinate asyndetic clause. Hopkins, 229 ff./269; Schen, 91; Smith, 4.1.9–12.
S.37  D III 7, Part II, Text No. 8/11–12
    ... wa’ala an ashtarīya la-hu bi-hi khubz ma’ā al-dīnār al-awwal lā naz’um la-hu fi-hā dhikr ‘... asking me to buy him some bread with
it along with the first dinar, (but) we do not think he made any mention of them in it.' NB the co-ordinate asyndetic clause. Hopkins, 228/268; Schen, 90; Smith, 4.1.1–7.

\[an/anna\]

S.38 Add. No. 120

\[wa-anā arjū anna-ka fi ḥāfiyā ‘I hope you are in good health’.\]

Hopkins, 237/279.

\[conditionals\]

S.39 Add. No. 237, Part II, Text No. 10/9

\[wa-in kunta taktubu ilā Abū Ya‘qūb kitāb fa-wassil-hu ilay-yā ‘If you write a letter to AY, send it to me’. NB the perfect of the auxiliary kāna and the imperfect of the main verb within the conditional clause. See S.31 above.\]

S.40 Add. No. 275

\[fa-in lam yaddīr ṭabbhu-hu rudda al-danānīr ‘If his master does not pay, return the dinars’. NB the absence of fa- on the imperative commencing the main clause of a conditional sentence.\]

S.41 Add. No. 268

\[kulla mā taḥtāju ilā al-murr mudda min-hā ‘Whenever you need myrrh, take some of it’.\]

\[word order\]

S.42 Add. No. 96

\[al-ḥādirīn āṯaw ‘Those present paid’. Schen, 96.\]

The examples set out above, despite the relatively small number from which we have been able to draw, some 350 fragments from the Part I catalogue and eleven pieces from Part II, are sufficient, it seems to us, to establish the language incontrovertibly as MA. In the above examples the morphology and, to an even greater extent, the syntax of the non-CA features of the documents place the language fairly and squarely in this genre of Arabic. In the morphology section, weak verbs in particular provide good examples (1–3). In the syntax section, the predominance of the indefinite accusative without alif al-tanwin makes this the rule rather than in the exception in the writings of the papyri. The use too of the second person indicative(?) to express an imperative is almost, one might say, the rule. The use of the auxiliary too is extremely interesting.

To complete this section on the language of the papyri, it is relevant briefly to reflect on the authors of the texts and the literary, and indeed on the general linguistic, influences which were at work upon them. Certainly the large majority of Arabic papyri would appear to be Muslim in origin.\(^{74}\) In these early centuries of Islam in Egypt, we may perhaps

assume that the literate Muslim population was exposed to the classical Arabic of the Qur'an and to the pre- and early Islamic poetry, the latter in its oral form. At the same time, the Muslim Arabs were already speaking an Arabic different from the classical and, one must assume from its examples in the papyri, not so unlike the colloquial Arabic of the present day. From the earliest times after the Muslim conquest of Egypt, there evolved a language in between the classical and the spoken, a language of everyday literary communication which drew heavily on both and which, depending on the author and the precise influences at play upon him and the circumstances of composition, contained more or less of both. This language was employed by the literate population of the Nile Valley in all their dealings which involved the Muslims and which required the introduction of the written word. We shall see the variety in the types of communications which they found necessary: all types of letter, personal, semi-official and official, contracts, legal declarations, receipts, IOUs etc. The language we find is the same throughout, even if the mix, classical and spoken, differs from document to document. That language, we repeat, is MA.

But what of the non-Muslim population of early Islamic Egypt? We are prepared to accept that the majority of papyrus texts written in Arabic were composed by Muslims who formed the government of the state and at all levels of society held the actual authority. Clearly, however, some were written by the Christian Copts and, although it is not possible to state with any authority how common such writings were, such non-Muslims must be introduced into this discussion on the language of the papyri. We can assume that the Copts knew little of the text of the Qur'an; they certainly would not have memorized it and have introduced into their educational system the formal classical Arabic grammar of the Qur'an, as the Muslims did. Nor would they have generally spoken the colloquial Arabic of the Muslims, depending rather on their own language and the dialects thereof, although Greek too continued in use among the Copts to a limited and declining extent. Nevertheless, we have no evidence that they used for their literary communications with the Muslims an Arabic greatly different from that of the Muslims; indeed the evidence, where it exists, points to the fact that they employed the same literary language of communication as the wielders of power in the land. The language of the Arabic papyri, the

75 See Blau, Emergence, 25, for the different mixes in MA exist in all examples, not in the papyri alone.
77 See again for example the long text of Arabic Add. No. 354 in Parts I and II below.
earliest form of MA, acquired, it would seem, a sufficiently high stand-
ing and prestige of its own in Egypt to permit the Copts to use it as an
everyday literary language in their social and economic intercourse with
the ruling Arabs. The latter, therefore, it might be said, were subjected to
triglossia: their classical literature, their spoken language and their liter-
ary language of everyday communication. the language which appears
in the Arabic papyri.

The Orthography of the Arabic Papyri
Since all the documents described in this work are manuscript originals
dating from the first-fourth/eighth–tenth centuries, highlighting the
orthography is of some importance. It has been our practice here, there-
fore, to document all examples of non-CA orthography in the texts of
Part II below in the Commentary. It should be said immediately that
hamzah is completely absent. The most frequently encountered orthog-
raphy of note is the absence of the alif al-madd, i.e. alif as the mater lec-
tionis to lengthen the ‘a’ vowel (see Texts Nos 2/2 and 11, 3/4 and 9,
4/5 and 13 etc. below). This has been the subject of an interesting study
by Diem, mainly in the context of epigraphy.78 There is also the final alif
used by the writer rather than the conventional ya as an alif maqsurah.
Other non-CA orthographies noted in the fragments catalogued in Part I
below are: the tā rather than tā marbutah, particularly in the construct
and non-plausal position; and the addition of the alif fāsilah, where CA
would not permit it.

78 ‘Some glimpses’, passim, in particular 256–60; see also Hopkins, Studies, 50–1, 52 ff.