PART II

A CRITICAL EDITION OF SELECT ARABIC PAPYRI

Introduction to Part II
The eleven edited papyri presented below have been selected from all the pieces preserved in the JRULM. If they appear in *CAP*, full references are given, plus a full description and palaeographic comments, but no second plate is provided unless this was lacking in the *CAP*. If they do not appear in *CAP* and are thus fully described in Part I above, the appropriate reference number is provided, plus a photograph of the original text. Comments on the orthography of the papyri are to be found in commentaries.

Personal and family names, place names and dated papyri from those pieces which do not figure in Part I above find a place in the appropriate index in bold type under their Part II number. Such names and dated papyri which appear above in Part I will already find a place in the appropriate index under the original number or an Add. number.

The critical signs used below are those generally accepted by papyrologists and found in Pestman, *Primer*, 14–15 and in the inside of the back cover:

[ ] lacuna
< > omission in the original with no space
[[ ]] deletion in the original
{ } cancelled by the editors
...... illegible letters.

In the translation, brackets (()) enclose words supplied by the editors in order to provide a smoother translation and/or to clarify the text further. Square brackets ([]) are used in the translation to indicate lacunae in the original as far as this is possible.

The eleven papyri edited below are:

1) A I 3 (*CAP*)
2) B II 10 (*CAP*)
3) Arabic Add. No. 351 (Part I)
4) D II 7 (*CAP*)
5) Arabic Add. No. 343 (Part I)
6) E III 12 (*CAP*)
7) F IV 1 (*CAP*)
8) D III 7 (*CAP*)
9) Arabic Add. No. 236 (Part I)
10) Arabic Add. No. 237 (Part I)
The Texts

Text No. 1 – Instructions concerning the land tax
II.8, A I 3, Old Number 34
CAP, 18–19 and Plate 4

Description: Light brown, fine papyrus, 22 h x 20 cm w, 14 lines along the horizontal fibres, black ink.

Text:

[da]

Translation:

1. [...] and different methods of tax collection for the land tax of the year [...]
ll. 3–4 Send it on the understanding that what you are imposing on them for each of your instalments will be deposited in the [Tr]asury in accordance with the total sum and methods (of collection) of which you inform me in writing.

l. 5 Note this and pay no attention to Junādah's agent, nor to his house[hold]. The agent of anyone you name should pay you the land tax. Write to me informing me what you are imposing on them for each of your instalments so that I can give instructions to their guarantor to prepare to deposit (the land tax) in the Treasury with us.

l. 9 Give Junādah's agent a free hand with his naphtha 'crop' and the land tax – also his household.

l. 11 Pay no attention to them in (this matter). Keep those with influence and those in positions of trust away from it (all), God willing.

This is an extremely interesting document, an official letter addressed by a high official to the land tax collector on the ground. One clear direction is that the writer be kept informed of all the tax collector is doing in his official work. It would appear that the collector fixes at least the instalments of the land tax, if not the amount of the tax itself (ll. 3–4). That the land tax can be paid in instalments is a well known fact. The high official would appear to be intervening here in the case of Junādah, his agent and his family, implying that the tax collector should leave them out of his reckoning.

Commentary:

l. 2 This appears to be the meaning of wujūh here and in l. 5 below. It might also mean how the tax expenditure was made.

l. 3 The imperative is clearly dual here, although the remainder in the text are singular. The final two words of the line might read rather tilka al-mudunu and the translation then would read ‘... that these towns deposit what you impose upon them/what is imposed upon them ...’. The word 'alā appears to be written as 'ayn – lām only, without alif maqṣūrah.
For *tabl* in this sense, see Grohmann, *APEL*, ii, 37; Khan, *SAP*, 73 and Khoury, *Chrestomathie*, 122. See also Cooper, 'Kharaj tax'. 367. 374-75. For the phrase *fi kull tabl* see Grohmann, *APEL*, iii, 102.

For the word *'alâ*, see the comment on l. 3 above.

*adkhala* is here to be associated with *dakhl*, 'income'. There is a clear lacuna between the two Arabic words *li-ahli* and *bayt-i-hi*, but there are no words or letters missing.

NB *khallâ*, the imperative of *khallâ*.

Margoliouth (*CAP*, 19) refers to Abû Šâlih, *Churches*, 276, where he mentions springs of white naphtha in Aswan.

Perhaps to keep them from corruption.

Palaeography and date:
The independent *alif* rises above similar vertical letters; the attached *alif* extends below the base line; the *jim* of l. 5 has an exaggerated upper stroke which rises above the following letter; there is one example (l. 14) of the initial *shin* in the form of a horizontal line with three dots above: *sâd/dâd* is written as an oval shape with no tooth on the left (l. 13); the base of the initial *'ayn* extends to the right (l. 6); the initial *fâ/qâf* is elevated (l. 13); there are examples (e.g. ll. 8, 10, 11, etc.) of the *kâf* which is elongated horizontally with the upper stroke parallel to the base line and a rightward shaft at the top and of the *kâf* with a curved top and no shaft (ll. 4, 6, 7, 9, etc.): the medial and final *hâ* varies considerably in form, there being examples of the wavy end (l. 5), the upward loop (ll. 4, 7, 10, etc.) and two with the shaft at the top inclining to the left (l. 2, 6); the medial *wâ* rises above teeth of the following *sin* (l. 7); the tail of the final *wâ* returns to the right (ll. 5, 7, 9); there is one example (l. 11) of the final *wâ* *mu'arragah*; there are connecting strokes between letters (ll. 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, etc.); some dots (ll. 4, 13, 14, etc.).
The date is 3rd/9th century.

**Text No. 2** – Receipt for a land tax payment

III. I. B II 10, Old Number 8

*CAP*. 20–21 and Plate 1

Description: brown papyrus. 22 h × 11 cm w, *alif* 1 cm, 12 lines along the horizontal fibres, black ink.
Text:

١ سنة خمس وتسع[بين ومايتين]
٢ الدفعة
٣ فرموطة

Translation:

1.1 The year [2]95
1.2 payment 3 Farmūtah dinar $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{8}$
1.3 In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
1.4 Muhammad bn Abī al-Ashhal has paid the kharā [j ] imposed
     upon him for what he has cultivated on the land of(?!) Alhūn bn ʿAbdallāh
     b. Waqqād
1.5 a half, plus a third, plus an eighth of a mithqāl dinar, without
     any discount,
1.7 to Nicholas son of Andūnah, the cashier, in the presence of the deputy
1.8 of Abū Ṭsā Muhammad bn al-ʿAbbās al-ʿAbbāsī, the kharāj-official–
1.9 God honour him! – for the land tax of the year two hundred and ninety-five. 295.
1.10 Nicholas son of Andūnah wrote (this receipt) in his own hand.
1.11 \[1/2 \, 1/3 \, 1/6 \, \text{dinar.}\]

This is a receipt handed over to the payer on payment of the land tax. It should be noted that the document is signed by the cashier and the payment is witnessed by the kharāj – official himself. This document differs somewhat from the one which follows which is a similar receipt. The insertion of the fractions of the payment in signs in ll. 2 and 11 is common practice.

Commentary:
1.1 295 corresponds to AD 908 and is presumably the year of the kharāj.
1.2 al-dafāḥ (see Grohmann, ‘Neue Beiträge’, 228) seems more likely than al-ruqāḥ (cf. CAP, 21). The figure '3' may indicate that this is the third instalment, or the third receipt. Farmūtah is Φορμουθ, 27 March – 25 April (Pestman, Primer, 315). Grohmann suggests (APEL, iv, 51) that taxes paid in cash were generally paid in Phamenoth and occasionally in Pharmouthi and Pauni. This rule, observed in the Graeco-Roman period, was not apparently followed during the Arab administration in Egypt. Then the land tax was paid in various months of the years (Grohmann, APEL, iii, 194). Since the flax harvest took place in Pharmouthi, it is tempting to see this as the crop in question here. dinār is here written without the alif al-madd, as it is in l. 11 below.
1.5 This would appear to be the meaning of ‘alā here in the expression … ‘am-mā zarāʾa ‘alā Alḥūn …’. But cf. Grohmann, APEL, iii, 156, 'on behalf of ...'. For the name Alḥūn, see Ibn Durayd, Ishtiqāq, 178. It is clearly spelt with two lāms in the text.
1.6 dinār is here spelt with alif al-madd ; cf. ll. 2 above and 11 below. For the mithqāl weight, see Grohmann, APEL, i, 71 and Hinz, Masse, 1-8. For sarf, see Grohmann, APEL, iii, 156-7 and Khoury, Chrestomathie, 214.
1.7 For jahbadh/jahbad, from the Persian kahbad, see Khan, SAP, 62, with references. Suyūṭī (Lubb al-lubāb, 72) gives the vocalization jihbidh and defines it as nāqīd al-dhahab, i.e. the official in the mint who examines the gold coins to separate good from bad.
1.8 For ‘āmil in this context, see Khan, SAP, 62, ‘accountant’. This particular official cannot be traced in the sources available to us.
1.11 dinār is here spelt without the alif al-madd.
Palaeography:
The attached alif extends below the base line (ll. 3, 9, etc.); the initial bā’ of the basmalah rises well above the teeth of the following sin (l. 4); there are examples of the medial and final sin written as a straight horizontal line (ll. 9, 10, etc.); the letter sād in l. 7 has an oval shape without a tooth on the left; the normally vertical stroke of the tā’ inclines slightly to the right (l. 11); the base of the initial ʿayn extends to the right (l. 6); the initial kāf has a curved top with no shaft (l. 11); there are examples of the final hāʾ with a wavy end (ll. 3, 11, etc.); the medial yāʾ rises above the teeth of the following sin (l. 9); the final yāʾ is muʿarraqah (ll. 5, 9); undotted.

Text No. 3 – Receipt for a land tax payment
Arabic Add. No. 351

9 lines

Text:

1. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
2. ادی کیل بن بسطلا[س] ... عم[ب] لازمه من
3. الخراج عن ملكه ثلاث دينر وس[س] و[س] ثمن دينر
4. مثال بلا صرف ولا اجرة الى منيا بن شنودة
5. الجهبد كثمن ما قد عمر من ارضه لخروج
6. سنة احدى المنقول[ة مع سنة] اثنان و[تس] عين ومايتين
7. وكتب منيا بن شنودة بخطه
8. دينر
9.
Translation:
recto -
1. 1  Three, 3. Payment \( \frac{1}{3} \) \( \frac{1}{6} \) \( \frac{1}{8} \).
1. 2  In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
1. 3–4 Kayl bn Bustulu[s] ... has paid the kharāj imposed upon him for his own property, one third, plus one sixti[h, plus] one eighth of a mithqāl dinar,
1. 5 without any discount, nor any (other) payment, to Minyā bn Shanūdah,
1. 6 the cashier, as the price of what he has already cultivated of his land for the land tax
1. 7 for the year (ninety-)one carried over [to (be paid together) with the year] two hundred and [nin]ety-two.
1. 8 Minyā bn Shanūdah wrote (this receipt) in his own hand.
1. 9 Dinar
\[\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{6} \frac{1}{8}\]

This document differs from the previous one, although it has the same purpose. It is written by the cashier to whom the land tax is handed over but on this occasion there is no witness (cf. 2 above). Here the year is written into the middle of the text rather than beginning the document.

Commentary:
1. 1 We take 'three' to be the number of the payment, or the instalment.
1. 4 For mithqāl, see 2, 1. 7 above. dinār is spelt without the alif al-madd.
1. 5 See 2, 1. 6 above. The name Minyā bn Shanūdah occurs also in Arabic Add. No. 67 in Part I above.
1. 6 See 2, 1. 7 above.
1. 7 The years 291–2 correspond to AD 903–5. It seems that carrying the land tax over into the following year was a not uncommon practice. See 4, ll. 7–8 below.
1. 9 dinār is spelt without the alif al-madd. The fractions are deduced from the text, ll. 3–4.

**Text No. 4** – Document concerning the leasing of land
IX.6, D II 7, Old Number 44
CAP, 105–6 and Plate 19

Description: brown papyrus, 25 h × 15 cm w, 13 lines along the horizontal fibres, black ink.
1. 1 [In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
1. 2 [This is a document from Isḥaq bn [Zi]yād, district-governor
1. 3 [of al-Layth bn a]l-Fadl, client of the Commander of the Faithful
- God preserve him! – over the
1. 4 [district of Low]er Ashmun, to al-Husayn bn Ayman. I have
granted to you as a lease
1. 5 [...........]... seven faddān s with the rent of seven dinars and [.....]

Translation:

[In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
This is a document from Isḥaq bn [Zi]yād, district-governor
of al-Layth bn a]l-Fadl, client of the Commander of the Faithful
- God preserve him! – over the
district of Lower Ashmun, to al-Husayn bn Ayman. I have
granted to you as a lease
[...........]... seven faddān s with the rent of seven dinars and [.....]
1. 6 [.....].. which we have asked you cultivate. As for the year 181,
1. 7 pay the land tax for it according to the governor's allocation –
1. 8 God preserve him! – together with that of the year 182.
1. 9 You must pay in [it] (the year 181) the same tax as that imposed on
1.10 all the inhabitants of the district of Lower Ashmun, God willing.
II. 11-12 (This document) was written in Dhū al-Qa‘dah in the year 182.
1.13 faddān dinar

8 7 7

This is an extremely interesting and important document for the historical and
administrative information it contains. Ishaq bn Ziyād, the district-governor of
Lower Ashmun under the well known governor of Egypt, al-Layth bn al-Fadl, him­
sell appointed by Harūn al-Rashīd, is issuing a document to a farmer who has
already begun to cultivate some land (See Cooper, 'Kharaj tax', 366-7). This docu­
ment, dated late 182, gives de jure recognition to a land-leasing arrangement which
was already in de facto existence in the year 181. The tenant-farmer is to be permit­
ted to pay the land tax for the year 181 together with that for 182. Margoliouth
(CAP, 106) rightly points to the low rent, a dinar a faddān, and suggests the kharāj
would be high. See also in this connection Grohmann, APEL, ii, 31-5.

Commentary:
1. 2 There would appear to be space in the damaged papyrus for hādhā, although with elongated letters it may simply begin ‘kitāb min ...'. See Grohmann, APEL, ii, 35 (1. 2 of the Arabic text). Ishaq bn Ziyād, clearly here the governor ('ūmil') of a district (see Grohmann, APEL, iii, 123), does not feature in the reference works at our disposal.

1. 3 Al-Layth bn al-Fadl, an Abbasid governor of Egypt from Khurāsān appointed in 182/798 by Harūn al-Rashīd, remained there for four years before his dismissal and return to Baghdad. See Kindi, al-Wulāh, 139; Ibn Taghhrbard, Nuqīm, ii, 113; Zīrīkhi, A‘lām, v, 248. The fact that al-Layth bn al-Fadl was the ‘client' (mawlā) of Harūn al-Rashīd is not recorded in the sources which, however, do report that he was the governor (wāli) of Egypt. Perhaps we should read muwallas, 'appointed as wāli'.

1. 4 In this early period, both A‘lā Ashmun and Asfal Ashmun were sep­
parate districts (sing. kūrah) (Grohmann, APEL, iii, 122–3 and iv, 192). Later Maqārit, Khitat, i, 116, mentions Qurāt al-Ashmūnayn.

1. 5 danānīr is here spelt without alif al-madd.
1. 6 Reading salānā-k (for saʿalnā-ka) tazrā-hā. It may also be read salafan li-
tazrā-a-hā, meaning ‘as an advanced payment so that you can cultivate it'. 181 corresponds to AD 797-8. thamānīn is here spelt without alif al-madd.

1. 7 If the reading wa-tadfā-u is correct, note the syntax after ammā. The letter could be fā‘, but, in this case, it is not joined in the usual way to the front of the verb. NB the second person singular of the imperfect with an imperative meaning.
ll. 7–8 See e.g. Grohmann, *APEL*, ii, 29–30.
1. 8 NB *ithnayni* after *sanat*. See Hopkins, *Studies*, 113. 182 corresponds to AD 798–9.
1. 11 Dhū al-Qa‘dah 182 corresponds to January 799. *thamānīn* is here spelt without the *alif al-madd*.
1. 13 *dīnār* is here spelt without the *alif al-madd*.

Palaeography:
The attached *alif* extends below the base line (ll. 2, 6, 7); the initial and medial *bā‘* rises well above the preceding and following *sin* (l. 5); the medial *dād* is elongated horizontally with the upper stroke parallel to the base line and a tooth on the left (l. 9); the normally vertical stroke of the *zā‘* inclines to the right (l. 8); the base of the initial *‘ayn* extends to the right (ll. 2, 6, 7, 9, etc.); the initial *kāf* is elongated horizontally with the upper stroke parallel to the base line and a rightward shaft at the top (ll. 4, 9, 11, etc.); the final *hā‘* of Allah (ll. 3, 10) is level with the top of the preceding *lam*; the tail of the final *yā‘* returns to the right (ll. 3, 4, 9, etc.) or is *muḥarrakah* (ll. 3, 7, 11, etc.); there are examples of extended connecting strokes between letters (ll. 1, 7, 10, etc.); two dots in l. 4.

**Text No. 5** – Document concerning the leasing of land
Arabic Add. No. 343

9 lines

Text:

1 [بـ[سـ[م الله ﷺ]رـحمـن الـرحيم]

2 [هـذـا كـتـاب من زـياد بن الـخطاب لـيعـقـوب الـشـمـاس اـنـك سالنتي]

3 [إن اكريب ربع فدان ارضا من الخليج الغربي [قـبـال]ـة... بنصف وثمن دينار]

4 حساب الفدان بدينرين ونصف من قال قال فإكتي الى ذلك واكربيك

5 ربع فدان بنصف وثمن دينار لخرج سنة ثمان وعشرين ومايتن

6 وسلمتة اليك وقبولته مني على ان ما بورت من ذلك فهو لازم

7 [علليك وما [ز]يدة عليه فحسب ما سجلت به مني وكتب في]

8 المحرم سنة ثمان وعشرين ومايتن

9 [بـ[سـ[م الله ﷺ]رـحمـن الـرحيم]

فدان

10 [بـ[سـ[م الله ﷺ]رـحمـن الـرحيم]

بـ[سـ[م الله ﷺ]رـحمـن الـرحيم]
Translation:

1. 1 [In the name of God] [the] Compassionate, the Merciful.
1. 2 [This is a document]nt from Ziyād bn al-Khattāb (addressed) to Ya‘qūb al-Shammās. You asked me
1. 3 [t]o rent to you a quarter of a faddān of land from the west bank [op]posite ... for one half, plus one eighth of a dinar,
the rate for one faddān being two dinars and half a mithqāl. I agreed to (do) that for you and rented out to you
a quarter of a faddān for one half, plus one eighth of a dinar, (to be countered) for the kharāj of the year 228.
I handed it over to you and you took it from me on the basis that you left none of it fallow. It is obligatory
for you (to cultivate it). Any additions you make are in accordance with what you registered from me. (This document) was written in
al-Muharram 228.

faddān for dinars
$\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{8}$

A land leasing document similar to the previous. There is a stronger provision here (cf. 4 above) that the land must be cultivated and cannot be allowed to remain fallow. The rent of the land in the previous document is one dinar per faddān of land; here it is $2\frac{1}{2}$ dinars.

Commentary:
1.3 This might conceivably mean 'on the west bank'. dinār is spelt without the alif al-madd.
1.4 dinārayn is spelt without the alif al-madd.
1.5 For the expression li-kharāji sanati ..., cf. Grohmann, APEL, ii, 53. dinār is spelt without the alif al-madd.
1.6 For the verb bawwara, Grohmann, 53 and Khoury, Chrestomathie, 191.
1.8 al-Muharram 228 corresponds to October 842.
1.9 bi-danānīr is spelt without the alif al-madd.

Text No. 6 – Instruction for providing mounts
IV.3, E III 12, Old Number 19
CAP, 29 and Plate 5

Description: fine, brown papyrus, 13 w x 9 cm h, alif 0.7 cm, 7 lines across the vertical fibres, black ink.
Text:

1 بسم [اِنَّلَهُ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
2 من عيسى بن أبي عطى على الصحب برید اشمون
3 فاحمل مسلم رسولی
4 على دابتين من البريد احديهما
5 دابة الفرائط وكتب محمد في شهر
6 ربيع الآخر سنة سبع وعشرين و
7 مائة 0
8 من عيسى بن أبي عطا [الي الصحب] برید اشمون

Translation:
recto -
1.1 In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
1.2 From Ḥisā bn Abī Ḥāṣū [to] the postmaster of Ashmun.
1.3 Give my messenger Muslim
1.4 two post mounts, one of them
1.5 the post guide's mount. Written by Muḥammad in the month
2.6-7 of Rabû II, in the year one hundred and twenty-seven.
verso -
1.1 From Ḥisā bn Abī Ḥâṭâ [to the post]master of Ashmun.

This is the earliest dated papyrus in the CAP, but possibly not the earliest in the JRULM; see Arabic Add. No. 236 above. See Rāgib, 'Lettres', I, 8–9. There are six pieces on the same subject and those authors who can be identified reveal that they are all high ranking state officials; all are addressed to the postmaster of Ashmun; see 7, F IV 1 below.

Commentary:
2.1 Ḥisā bn Abī Ḥâṭâ al-Maṣāfirî arrived in Egypt to take charge of the kharāj in Shawwāl 125/September 742. He was removed from Egypt in Jumādâ I 127/March 745, two months after this document was written, but returned in al-Muḥarram 128/October 745. He appears to have remained in office until 131/748–49 at the earliest. See Kīndî, Wulâh, 83, 85, 86, 89 and 354. The word sâhib is here spelt without the alif al-madd.
l. 4  NB ihday-himā which may also of course read ihdat-humā. See Hopkins, Studies, 16, with references. The word ʿalā is spelt here ʿayn-lām without the alif maqṣūrah.

l. 5  For furāniq, see the Persian parwānak, the guide of the post official, see Lane, Lexicon, 2389; Steingass, Dictionary, 245; Raġib, Lettres, 7.

ll. 6–7  Rabīʿ II 127 corresponds to February AD 745.

Palaeography:
The independent alif rises above similar vertical letters and in some cases has a curved hook to the left at the bottom (ll. 1, 5, 6, etc.); there is one example of the attached alif extending below the base line (l. 4); the initial bāʾ of the basmalah rises above the teeth of the following ʿain (l. 1); the dāl is in the shape of a right angle with a rightward shaft at the top (l. 5); the initial sād has an oval shape without the tooth on the left (l. 2); the normally vertical stroke of the ẓāʾ inclines to the right (l. 2); the base of the initial ʿayn extends to the right (ll. 2, 4, 6, etc.); the tail of the final yāʾ returns considerably to the right (ll. 3, 5, etc.); the lām-alif joins together in the shape of the letter v (l. 6); examples of extended connecting strokes between letters (ll. 1, 5, 6, etc.); undotted.

Text No. 7 – Instruction for providing mounts
IV.5, F IV 1, Old Number 318
CAP, 30

Description: fine, brown papyrus, 8.6 h × 7.4 cm w, alif 0.4–0.6 cm, recto – 6 lines across the vertical fibres, verso – 1 line along the horizontal fibres, black ink.

Text:

1 بسم الله الرحمن [الرحيم] 
2 من عبدالملك بن مر [وان الى صحب برید اشمون]
3 فاحمل عبدالحميد [رسولى وهو]
4 شاب حسن ابيض ع [لمي دابتين من البريد]
5 احديهما دابه [الفرائق وكتب ... في شهر]
6 شوال سنة احدا [وتلثين وماية]

[من عبدالملك بن مروان الى] صحب برید اشمون
Translation:

recto -
1. 1 In the name of God, the Compassionate, [the Merciful].
1. 2 From 'Abd al-Malik bn Mar[wân] to the postmaster of Ashmûn.
1. 3 Give 'Abd al-Ḥamîd, [my messenger, ... who is]
1. 4 a fair, handsome youth, [two post mounts],
1. 5 one of them the [post guide's] mount. [Written by ..... in the month]
1. 6 of Shawwâl, in the year [one hundred and thirty-one].

verso -
1. 1 [From 'Abd al-Malik bn Marwân to] the postmaster of Ashmûn.

Commentary:

recto -
1. 2 'Abd al-Malik bn Marwân al-Nuṣayrî was appointed governor (wâlî) of Egypt in 131/748; see Kindî, al-Wulâh, 93. Cf. Râgib, 'Lettres', V, 16, who reads 'Abd al-Malik b. Yazîd'. The latter is the author of the other five letters of this type.
1. 3 One should perhaps read '[messenger of ..., who is]'.
1. 4 Râgib reads jaytar, which is certainly possible, and translates 'petit'.
1. 6 Reading 'Abd al-Malik bn Marwân in 1. 2 necessitates a date of 131. Râgib reads 141. Shawwâl 131 corresponds to June 749.

Palaeography:
Recto – the independent alif rises above similar vertical letters; the attached alif extends below the base line; the initial bâ of the basmalah rises above the teeth of the following sin; other sins are in the form of a straight horizontal line; the base of the initial 'ayn extends to the right; there are extensions of the connecting strokes between letters; undotted. Verso – the sad is oval without the tooth on the left; undotted.
Text No. 8 – Letter giving purchasing instructions
VI.12, D III 7, Old Number 40
CAP, 45–6 and Plate 10

Description: yellowish-brown papyrus, slightly soiled, 22 h x 14 cm w,
*alif* 0.6–0.8 cm, 22 lines along horizontal fibres, black ink.

Text:

لايبي الليث

ابي عبدالله عبدالاعلي بن منير

بسم الله الرحمن [الرحيم]

من ابي الحرش الى ابي الليث

اما بعد عفاننا الله وإياك

فان عبدالاعلا كاتب ابن خرشة الذي يسكن قيقاوه

كان دفع الي دينر لانشري له به خبز يوم مر بنا

مصعد وقد بعث برسول فيه وسالني ان اشترى

له ثلث دينر زينتون اسود وكتب الي مع رسوله

يامرني بدفع ذلك اليه وبعث الي بثلثة الدراهم

في ثمن الزينتون ودينر اخر سحاكل ان اشترى له به خبز

مع الدينر الأول لا نزعم له فيها ذكر في كتابه

وقد وجهت اليك رسوله بالثلثة الدراهم بالدينر

الذي بعث به فخذ له من فرج دينر خبز من نحو ما

يشتري واشتري له بالدينر الآخر من السوق ان قدرت
17 علي وجه من سعيد خمسة قبل زيتون أسود
17 مما عنده واحمله له إلي قاربه وأكتب إليه كتاب
18 مني جواب كتابه إلي يعلمه ما بعثت به من الزيتون
19 والخبز وليكن الدينر الذي تخذه من فرج من عندك
20 تدفعه إليه في ثمان [..] الخبز حتى أقدم واما الدينر الذي
من عندك
21 تشتر به من السوق فخذه من رسوله وادفعه

Translation:
1. 1 To Abū al-Layth.
1. 2 Abū 'Abdallāh ʿAbd al-Aʿlā bn Munīr.
1. 3 In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
1. 4 From Abū al-Ḥārith to Abū al-Layth.
1. 5 To continue – God give you and us good health!
1. 6 ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, the secretary of Ibn Kharshah, who lives in Qahqāwah
1. 7 gave me a dinar to buy him some bread with it when he passed by us
1. 8 as he went up-stream. He sent it with a messenger and asked me to buy
1. 9 a third of a dinar of black olives for him. He also wrote me a (letter which he sent) with his messenger,
1. 10 instructing me to hand this over to (the messenger). (ʿAbd al-
1. 11 for the price of the olives, plus one other dinar, asking me to buy
1. 12 along with the first dinar, (but) we do not think he made any mention of them in his letter.
1. 13 (Therefore), I have already sent his messenger on to you (bringing) the three dirhams and the dinar
1. 14 which he sent (me). So take him a dinar's worth of bread from Faraj according to what it will approximately
1. 15 buy. Buy (it) for him with the other dinar from the market, if you can.
Take five jars of black olives from Sa'īd from his stock and carry it to (‘Abd al-A‘lā’s) boat. Write him a letter on my behalf as a reply to his letter to me, informing him of what olives I/you sent him and bread. The dinar’s worth of bread which you take from Faraj should be from your own pocket. Pay it to (Faraj) for the price [[...]] of the bread until I arrive. The dinar’s worth from your own pocket, with which you will buy from the market, take it from (Abū al-A‘lā’s) messenger and hand it over.

This rather confused private letter has been edited here in particular because of its linguistic interest. It is almost pure colloquial Arabic and, read out loud, it could be taken for just that. See above, Introduction, *The Language of the Arabic Papyri*.

Commentary:

1. 2 *Abī ‘Abdallāh* is the clear reading here, as Margoliouth realized (*CAP*, 45). This kunyah and its accompanying names are thus a mystery.

1. 6 Qahqāwah, capital of a kūrah of the same name, is situated south of Abū Tij on the left bank of the Nile, the modern-day Kūm Asfaḥt. See Khoury, *Chrestomathie*, 90. Maqrīzī, *Khitat*, i, 116, assigns 37 villages to the kūrah.

1. 7 The pluperfect, *kāna dafa‘a*, appears to have no force here. *Khubz* could throughout be read as *hibr*, ink, or even *jubn*, cheese. NB *khubz* for an indefinite accusative form. dinār is here spelt without the *alif al-madd*, as in ll. 9, 12, 13, 15, 20 below.

1. 8 NB *mus‘id* for an indefinite accusative *hāl* form.

1. 10 NB *bi-thalāthat al-darāhim*. *thalāthat* is here spelt without the *alif al-madd*, as in 1. 13 below.

1. 11 NB *khubz* for an indefinite accusative form.

1. 12 NB the asyndetic clause beginning *lā naz‘umū* ... . The *fi-hā* refers to *al-darāhim*. NB *dhikr* for an indefinite accusative form.

1. 15 NB *wa-ishtarī*, the masculine singular imperative of *ishtarā*.

1. 16 NB *khamsahkhamsat qilāl*, the singular of the latter of which is *qullah*, feminine.

1. 17 NB *kitāb* for an indefinite accusative form.

1. 20 NB *tadfa‘u-hu*, a second person singular imperfect verb with an imperative meaning.
1. 22 NB *tashtarī-hi* perhaps for *tashtarī bi-hi* and this second relative clause lacks the relative pronoun.

Palaeography and date:
The independent *alif* rises above similar vertical letters (ll. 2, 4, 8, etc.); the attached *alif* extends below the base line (ll. 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, etc.); the medial *sād* has an oval shape without the tooth on the left (l. 8); the base of the initial *‘ayn* extends to the right (ll. 2, 6, 12, 16, etc.); there is one example of the *kāf* which is elongated horizontally with the upper stroke parallel to the base line and an upward shaft at the top (l. 12); there are examples of the *kāf* in the shape of a *lām* (ll. 6, 10, 19, etc.); the final *ḥā* in the word *Allāh* (l. 2) rises level with the preceding *lāms*; the tail of the final *yā* returns to the right (ll. 1, 8, 14, 20, etc.); some dots (ll. 2, 7, 14, 16, 17, 19, etc.).
The date is 3rd/9th century.

**Text No. 9 – Dated IOU for barley**
**Arabic Add. 236**

6 lines

Text:

1. في [ثم]ن شعير

2. بسِ[م الله] الرحمن الرحيم

3. لسواك على بشار في ثمن

4. شعيرٍ منه دينارٍ ان شا الله

5. وكتب في اربعة وثمانين

6. دينار
Translation:
1.1 On the subject of the [price of barley. Dinar 1.
1.2 In the name [of God], the Compassionate, the Merciful.
1.3 Bashshar owes Siwak the price of
1.4 some barley (which he got) from him, one dinar, God willing.
1.5 Written in 84.
1.6 Dinar

An interesting IOU with a broken clay seal. It seems that receipts and IOUs in particular carried seals.

Commentary:
1.1 *dinār* is spelt without the *alif al-madd*.
1.4 *min-hu dinār* might be read *miyah dinār*, 'one hundred dinars', but the amount in figures is in any case given in 1.1 and 100 appears excessive whatever the amount of barley might be. *dinār* is spelt without the *alif al-madd*. 
If the reading 84, rather than 204, is correct, this is the oldest Arabic papyrus in the JRULM. 84 is the equivalent of AD 703, 204 of AD 819.

dīnār is spelt without the alif al-madd.

Palaeography:
The independent alif rises above similar vertical letters; the attached alif extends below the base line; the bāʾ rises above the teeth of the following sin/shīn: the shīn is also written as a straight horizontal line; the base of the ‘ayn extends slightly to the right; the initial kāf is written as a curve without the shaft at the top; the final attached hāʾ is in the shape of a large inverted comma stretching back over the word and crossing the letters of the line above; the tail of the final yāʾ returns to the right; undotted.

Text No. 10 – Private letter
Arabic Add. No. 237

10 lines

Text:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

1. جعلت فذاك قد كنت كتبت إليك كتابا قبل هذا في اليوم الذي

2. قدمت فيه من الفضائل وشرحت لك فيه خبر أبو يعقوب اعزة الله

3. وخبر أبو سهل إبقاء الله بما رجوتني وصوله اليك إن شاء الله

4. وكنما اتسرت الجواب كل تخبر له جواب فلم أسمع لك

5. خبر فيه واتاني كتبك فاسل الله أن يطيل بقاك ويعزك

6. فقد عرفت سوارق تتطلع خبرك في كل وقت فلا تدع

7. اعزع الله الكتابة الي بخبرك وحالة وحال من اليك إن شاء الله

8. وان كنت تكتب إلى أبو يعقوب اعزة الله كتاب فوصله الي

9. لاوصله اليه إن شا الله اطال الله بقاك

10. سل الله الرحمن الرحيم
In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

May I be made your ransom! I have previously already written a letter to you on the very day I arrived from al-Fustāt. In it I explained to you what was happening to Abū Ya'qūb – God fortify him! - and what to Abū Sahl – God preserve him! – in regard to what you expected of me, (namely) your receiving (the news), God willing.

You wrote the reply, giving each one (of them) an answer, but I heard nothing from you in it (about yourself). I have received your letter. I ask God to preserve and fortify you.
1. 7 You have realised that Suwāriq(?) is waiting for news of you all the time, so keep on –
1. 8 God fortify you! – writing to me (giving) me your news and (telling) me how you are and how those with you are, God willing.
1. 9 If you write Abū Yaʿqūb a letter – God fortify him! – send it to me (first)
1. 10 so that I can send it on to him, God willing. God preserve you!

This is a private letter, written to follow up a previous letter, typical of many others in this collection and in the Arabic papyri in general. NB the use of kunyahs rather than isms which would generally imply respect and politeness.

Commentary:
1. 7 One would expect a personal name here and the reading Suwāriq is tentative.

Palaeography and date:
The independent alif rises above similar vertical letters; some attached alifs extend below the base line; the bā of the basmalah rises above the teeth of the following sin; the initial jīm, hā and khā have an exaggerated upper stroke which rises above the following letters; sin/shin is written as a straight, horizontal line with a stroke above; sād is oval in shape without the tooth on the left; there is one example of the normally vertical stroke of the yā inclining to the right; the base of the initial ʿayn extends to the right; the initial kāf is written as a curve without the shaft at the top; the final kāf is written in the shape of the letter lām; the final attached hā is written with a wavy end; the tail of the final yā returns to the right and there is one example of the yā muʿarraqah; the lām-alif joins together forming the shape of the letter v; some joined words; some dots.
The date is 2nd-3rd/8th-9th century.

Text No. 11 - Letter addressed to an amir from a community of Christian monks complaining of harsh treatment and heavy fines
Arabic Add. No. 354

30 lines

Text:

1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

2 اط[ال الله بقا الأمير و[ ادام ع[زه وكرامته] وتاميره وسعادته و .... و .... ...

3 ..........................................................

4 ..........................................................
5 فخرًا فقد يسر عله...
6 ونحن أدام الله عز الأمير أقام من أهل...
7 سبوع ليس لنا تجارة...
8 رهبان لينهار ليس لنا أودية ولا أجر ولا أعطا إلا أن يمر بنا جلد فيدخل هذا الدير ف(TIMELINE)
9 بالخيز الذي هو قوتنا ونحن ضعفاء مساكين فنحن في هذا الدير إذ صعد الينا...
10 اعوان من السلطان ففتحنا لهم الباب كما كنا نفعل بالصغير والكبير لا نمنع أحدا...
11 يدخل هذا الدير فلما أكلوا وبرناهم خذوهنا بجمعنا وساقونا إلى دار الأمير...
12 [د]ضارينا ضربا مبرحا وغرمونا جملة دينار حتى بعثنا ما قد كان بهذا الدير من الثياب...
13 [من] قبل أن نقدر نفدينا لفسينا فضريبنا على وجودنا هاربين إلى الله وله باب...
14 [الإمبراطور أطال الله] بقاء لابد ما بلغنا من إضافته وعلنه الذي يسره لرعيته لانفاهم...
15 [واقصهان] [وت]نحن بالله وبإمارة أطال الله بقاء والإله بارد في هولا الإعوان...
16 [ب]وافر فضل الله وعلنه... نستجي بالله وعدل الإمبراطور في هولا الإعوان...
17 ونحبرهم الوالي في الاراضي فقد هلكنا وابناً وأمولاً ونزل بناء من جوره وبغية...
18 [و]الطاعية ونحن نودي اليه في كل شهر ربع دينار من دينار...
19 غلتا... وعدوا وتعصنا وليس لنا زرع ولا ضرع فلما يتعدون علينا هو ملتينا...
20 أم كنا ضعفاء مساكين... إلا هذا الدير بعد [الله وإ]إمارة أطال الله بقاء...
21 ليس... ولا [ب]ماري... ...
22 انب... [ب]الفضيلة والإحسان فوالله لقد...
23 ... الحمار الذي تصدق به علينا في هذا الدير لأ]] تستقنا الينا ببعناه قبل أن...
24 نقدر نفدينا المنتجا وكذاع الله إمارة أطال الله بقاء والإله عزه...
25 أن يلمح أحد في دولته المبارك والبامي الميمنة على جميع رعيته زاد الله...
26 الإمبراطور عزه عوا وشرفاء وكرمها ووسط له ثمكنا وخمته له بالسعادة...
27 والنعم إنه ملك ذلك والقاهر عليه فراعي الإمبراطور أطال الله بقاء...
28 فيما إنهنليه من أمرنا متفضل ماجورا ان شاء الله...
29 اطال الله بقا الإمبراطور ودام عزه وكرامته وتماثره وسعادته و...
30 قد زاد في إحسانه الله الرحمة شأن لديه وسنة عدته
PART II – A CRITICAL EDITION OF SELECT ARABIC PAPYRI

Translation:

1.1 In the name of Go[d, the Compass]ionate, [the Merciful].

1.2 God pro[long the amir’s life and] make his [might and nobility],
his authority, his happiness, .... and .... endure!

1.3 [.................................................................]....

1.4 ....the amir .... [.................................................................]...

1.5 glory, for He has dispensed His justice ....[...............................]....

1.6 We – God make the amir’s might endure! – are folk of the com-
munity of [..........................................................]town of

1.7 Asyut. We do not practice commerce [........................................]
.................................................................]....

1.8 monks, night and day, we have no (private) houses(?), nor
wages, nor pay. Whenever anyone comes by and enters this
monastery, we give him hospitality,

1.9 (providing him) with bread which is our staple diet. We are
defenceless, wretched. We were in this monastery when there
came to us

1.10 some of the sultan’s supporters. We let them in, as we do (every-
one), both great and lowly; we turn away no one

1.11 coming to this monastery. When they had eaten and we had
had treated them well, they seized all of us and took us to the amir’s
residence.

1.12 [He] beat us violently and imposed such a fine on us that we
sent what cloths/clothes we had in this monastery

1.13 [be]fore we could redeem ourselves. So we have fled, making
for God and the gate of

1.14 the [amir – God prolong] his life! – because of what we have
heard of his just treatment and the justice which he has dis-
pensed to his subjects, both near

1.15 [and far], (seeking refuge) in God and in the justice of the amir
– God prolong his life and make his might last! – for him to be
kindly disposed towards us

1.16 [in h]is plentiful kindness and justice. We [se]ek refuge in
God and in the justice of the amir in the matter of these sup-
porters

1.17 and their leader, the governor of the district. He has destroyed us
and declared our property ownerless. He has attacked us
unjustly and outrageously

1.18 [......] .... the tyrant. We pay him a quarter of a dinar per month
in .... dinars

1.19 injustice ... enmity and compulsion. We have no cultivable land,
nor livestock. Why do they show us hostility? Is it (because of)
our religion
1. 20 or (that) we are defenceless and wretched? ... .... except for this monasterey in the justice of [God and t]he amir – God prolong his life!

1. 21 ...... ...... no ......, nor refuge ...... ...... ......

1. 22 ...... ...... to ...... ...... in kindness and beneficence. Indeed

1. 23 .... the ass which was donated to us in this monastery so that we can draw water, we sold it before being able to redeem ourselves. God has protected the amir – God prolong his life and make his might endure! -

1. 24 from anyone oppressing any of his subjects during his blessed rule. during his auspicious days – God increase the amir! God make him mighty with his high rank, nobility and generosity, grant him authority and bring him good fortune in the end,

1. 25 also tranquillity. He is the one who can support (all) this and who can bring it to pass! The amir’s opinion – God prolong his life! –

1. 26 of what we have come to in the end ......, God willing.

1. 27 God prolong the life of the amir and make his might, magnanimity, authority, happiness, ...... and ...... endure!

1. 28 God has increased His good treatment of him; mercy is something of major importance to him and his way of conducting himself.

This is a letter of such social interest that, although it has a number of problems of reading and interpretation, we felt we had to include it in this section. The letter, clearly written by a Christian, is composed in quite an elevated epistolary style with words and phrases which may well be reflections of earlier Christian writings. Suggestions of religious discrimination (1. 19) are of particular interest and it is to be regretted that the text contains neither names nor a date.

Commentary:
1. 7 The well known town is spelt Suyūṭ in the text.
1. 8 Reading 3 w y h ?
1. 13 qabla an is used almost with the meaning ‘so that’. See also 1. 23 below.
1. 23 An interesting use of the verb tasaddaqa in this context!

Palaeography and date:
The independent alif rises above similar vertical letters; some attached alifs extend below the base line; the bā of the basmalah rises above the teeth of the following sin, on occasions having a hook to the left at the top; sin/shīn on occasions is written as a straight, horizontal line;
sad/dad is written with an oval shape without the tooth on the left; the normally vertical stroke of the ta' inclines to the right; the base of the initial 'ayn/ghayn extends to the right; the kaf on occasions is elongated horizontally with the upper stroke parallel to the base line and a rightward shaft at the top, but on other occasions it is written with a curve and a rightward shaft at the top; the initial ha' is written as a downward stroke; there are three different types of the final attached ha': a wavy end; rising level with the top of the preceding lams; and having a shaft at the top inclining to the right; the waw on occasions takes the shape of the letter ra'; the initial ya' rises above the teeth of the following sin; the final ya' is either written with the tail returning to the right or mu'akkadh; the lam-alif joins together forming the shape of the letter y; some joined words; some dots.

The date is 3rd/9th century.