

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)
- 11) Arabic Add. No. 354 (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 × 20 cm w, 14 lines along the horizontal fibres, black ink.

Text:

- ... ١
- ٢ [...] ووجه الجباية] لخراج سنة. [...]]
- ٣ اب-ع-ثا بها على ان تورد [ب-يت المال
- ٤ ما تلزمهم من ذلك في كل طبل من طبولك
- ٥ على ما تكتب به الي من مبلغه ووجهه
- ٦ فاعلم ذلك ولا تعرض لوكيل جنادة
- ٧ ولا لاهل [] بيته وكل من تسمي يدخلك
- ٨ وك-ي-له من الخراج واكتب الي بما تلزمهم
- ٩ من ذلك في كل طبل من طبولك لامر باخذ
- ١٠ كفيهم بايراده بيت المال قبلنا
- ١١ وخلي بين وكيل جنادة وبين
- ١٢ غلته من النفط والخراج واهل بيته
- ١٣ ولا تعرض لهم فيها واصرف الاخيار
- ١٤ والامنا عنها ان شا الله

Translation:

l. 1 ...

l. 2 [...] 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]easury
- l. 5 in accordance with the total sum and methods (of collection) of which you inform me in writing.
- l. 6 Note this and pay no attention to Junādah's agent,
- ll. 7–8 nor to his house[]hold. The ag[en]t of anyone you name should pay you the land tax. Write to me informing me what you are imposing on them
- l. 9 for each of your instalments so that I can give instructions to their
- l. 10 guarantor to prepare to deposit (the land tax) in the Treasury with us.
- l. 11 Give Junādah's agent a free hand
- l. 12 with his naphtha 'crop' and the land tax – also his household.
- l. 13 Pay no attention to them in (this matter). Keep those with influence
- l. 14 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*.

- ll. 3–4 For *ṭabl* in this sense, see Grohmann, *APEL*, ii, 37; Khan, *SAP*, 73 and Khoury, *Chrestomathie*, 122. See also Cooper, 'Kharāj tax', 367, 374–75. For the phrase *fi kull ṭabl*, see Grohmann, *APEL*, iii, 102.
- l. 5 For the word *ʿalā*, see the comment on l. 3 above.
- l. 7 *adkhala* is here to be associated with *dakhl*, 'income'. There is a clear lacuna between the two Arabic words *li-ahli* and *bayti-hi*, but there are no words or letters missing.
- l. 11 NB *khallī*, the imperative of *khallā*.
- l. 12 Margoliouth (*CAP*, 19) refers to Abū Ṣāliḥ, *Churches*, 276, where he mentions springs of white naphtha in Aswan.
- l. 13 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 *jīm* of l. 5 has an exaggerated upper stroke which rises above the following letter; there is one example (l. 14) of the initial *shīn* in the form of a horizontal line with three dots above; *ṣād/dād* is written as an oval shape with no tooth on the left (l. 13); the base of the initial *ʿayn* extends to the right (l. 6); the initial *fāʾ/qāf* is elevated (l. 13); there are examples (e.g. ll. 8, 10, 11, etc.) of the *kāf* which is elongated horizontally with the upper stroke parallel to the base line and a rightward shaft at the top and of the *kāf* with a curved top and no shaft (ll. 4, 6, 7, 9, etc.); the medial and final *hāʾ* 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 *yāʾ* rises above teeth of the following *sīn* (l. 7); the tail of the final *yāʾ* returns to the right (ll. 5, 7, 9); there is one example (l. 11) of the final *yāʾ* *muʿarraḡah*; 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.1. 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[ين ومايتين]
 ٢ ^{الدفعة} فرمودة دينر ^{السر}
 ٣ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 ٤ ادى محمد بن ابي الاشهل عما يلزمه من الخراج[ج]
 ٥ عما زرع على اللهون بن عبدالله بن وقاد
 ٦ نصف وثلاث وثمان دينار مثقال بلا صرف
 ٧ الى نقلة بن اندونة الجهبذ بحضرة خليفة
 ٨ ابي عيسى محمد بن العباس العباسي العامل
 ٩ اعزه الله لخراج سنة خمس وتسعين ومايتين ^ح
 ١٠ وكتب نقلة بن اندونة بخطه
 ١١ دينر ^{السر}

Translation:

- ll. 1 The year [2]95
 l. 2 payment 3 Farmūṭah dinar $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{8}$
 l. 3 In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
 l. 4 Muḥammad bn Abī al-Ashhal has paid the *kharā* [j] imposed upon him
 l. 5 for what he has cultivated on the land of(?) Alhūn bn ʿAbdallāh b. Waqqād
 l. 6 a half, plus a third, plus an eighth of a *mithqāl* dinar, without any discount,

- l. 7 to Nicholas son of Andūnah, the cashier, in the presence of the deputy
 l. 8 of Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad bn al-ʿAbbās al-ʿAbbāsī, the *kharāj*-official–
 l. 9 God honour him! – for the land tax of the year two hundred and ninety-five. 295.
 l. 10 Nicholas son of Andūnah wrote (this receipt) in his own hand.
 l. 11 $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{8}$ 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:

- l. 1 295 corresponds to AD 908 and is presumably the year of the *kharāj*.
 l. 2 *al-daḡah* (see Grohmann, 'Neue Beiträge', 228) seems more likely than *al-ruḡah* (cf. *CAP*, 21). The figure '3' may indicate that this is the third instalment, or the third receipt. Farmūtah is Φαρμουθι, 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. *dīnār* is here written without the *alif al-madd*, as it is in l. 11 below.
 l. 5 This would appear to be the meaning of ʿalā here in the expression ... ʿam-mā zaraʿa ʿalā Alhūn But cf. Grohmann, *APEL*, iii, 156, 'on behalf of ...'. For the name Alhūn, see Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḡāq*, 178. It is clearly spelt with two *lāms* in the text.
 l. 6 *dīnār* 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 *ṣarf*, see Grohmann, *APEL*, iii, 156–7 and Khoury, *Chrestomathie*, 214.
 l. 7 For *jahbadh/jahbad*, from the Persian *kahbad*, see Khan, *SAP*, 62, with references. Suyūfī (*Lubb al-lubāb*, 72) gives the vocalization *jihbidh* and defines it as *nāqid al-dhahab*, i.e. the official in the mint who examines the gold coins to separate good from bad.
 l. 8 For ʿāmil in this context, see Khan, *SAP*, 62, 'accountant'. This particular official cannot be traced in the sources available to us.
 l. 11 *dīnār* is here spelt without the *alif al-madd*.

Palaeography:

The attached *alif* extends below the base line (ll. 3, 9, etc.); the initial *bāʾ* of the *basmalah* rises well above the teeth of the following *sīn* (l. 4); there are examples of the medial and final *sīn* written as a straight horizontal line (ll. 9, 10, etc.); the letter *ṣād* in l. 7 has an oval shape without a tooth on the left; the normally vertical stroke of the *tāʾ* 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 *sīn* (l. 9); the final *yāʾ* is *muʿarraḡah* (ll. 5, 9); undotted.

Text No. 3 – Receipt for a land tax payment

Arabic Add. No. 351

9 lines

Text:

- ١ ثلثة م^ـك^ـك^ـ الدفعة
- ٢ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
- ٣ ادى كيل بن بسطلـ[س] ... عمـ[ا] يلزمه من
- ٤ الخراج عن ملكه ثلث دينر وسد[س و] ثمن دينر
- ٥ مثقال بلا صرف ولا اجرة الى منيا بن شنودة
- ٦ الجهبذ كثن ما قد عمر من ارضه لخراج
- ٧ سنة احدى المنقولـ[ة مع سنة] اثنين و[تسـ]عين ومايتين
- ٨ وكتب منيا بن شنودة بخطه
- ٩ دينر



Translation:

recto -

l. 1 Three, 3. Payment $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{6}$ $\frac{1}{8}$.

l. 2 In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

1. 3–4 Kayl bn Buṣṭulu[s] ... has paid the *kharāj* imposed upon him for his own property, one third, plus one sixt[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 documents 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, l. 7 above. *ḍinār* is spelt without the *alif al-madd*.
 1. 5 See 2, l. 6 above. The name Minyā bn Shanūdah occurs also in Arabic Add. No. 67 in Part I above.
 1. 6 See 2, l. 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 *ḍinār* 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.

Text:

- ١ [بسم الله الرح-من الرحيم
 ٢ [هذا ك-]تاب من اس-[ح-]ق بن [ز]ياد عامل
 ٣ [الليث بن] الفضل مولى امير المومنين ابقاه الله على
 ٤ [كورة اسفل] اشمون للحسين بن ايمن اني اكريتك
 ٥ [...] [...] [...] [...] سبعة فدادين بسبعة دنير و...
 ٦ [...] [...] [...] [...] سلتاك تزرعها اما سنة اح-[د-]ى وثمانين و[ماي-]ة
 ٧ وتدفع خراجها على ما ياتي [م-]ن توزيع الام-[ي-]ر
 ٨ حفظه ال-[ل-]ه مع خراج سنة اثنين وثمانين ومائة
 ٩ وعليك فيها-[ا-]م-[ن-] الضريبة كمثل ما على
 ١٠ جميع اهل كورة اسفل اشمون ان شا الله
 ١١ وكتب في ذي القعدة سنة اثنين وثمانين و
 ١٢ مائة

دينر

3

فدان

3

١٣

Translation:

1. 1 [In the name of God, the Compassion]ate, the Merciful.
 1. 2 [This is a doc]ument from Is[h]āq bn [Zi]yād, district-governor
 1. 3 [of al-Layth bn a]l-Faḍl, client of the Commander of the Faithful
 - God preserve him! – over the
 1. 4 [district of Low]er Ashmūn, to al-Ḥusayn bn Ayman. I have
 granted to you as a lease
 1. 5 [...] [...] [...] seven *faddān* s with the rent of seven dinars and [...]]

- l. 6 [...]. which we have asked you cultivate. As for the year 181,
 l. 7 pay the land tax for it according to the governor's allocation –
 l. 8 God preserve him! – together with that of the year 182.
 l. 9 You must pay in [it] (the year 181) the same tax as that imposed on
 l. 10 all the inhabitants of the district of Lower Ashmūn, God willing.
 ll. 11–12 (This document) was written in Dhū al-Qa'dah in the year 182.
 l. 13 *faddān* dinar
 8 7 7

This is an extremely interesting and important document for the historical and administrative information it contains. Ishāq bn Ziyād, the district-governor of Lower Ashmūn under the well known governor of Egypt, al-Layth bn al-Faḍl, himself appointed by Hārūn al-Rashīd, is issuing a document to a farmer who has already begun to cultivate some land (See Cooper, 'Kharaj tax', 366–7). This document, 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 permitted 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:

- l. 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 (l. 2 of the Arabic text). Ishāq bn Ziyād, clearly here the governor (*ʿāmil*) of a district (see Grohmann, *APEL*, iii, 123), does not feature in the reference works at our disposal.
- l. 3 Al-Layth bn al-Faḍl, an Abbasid governor of Egypt from Khurāsān appointed in 182/798 by Hārūn al-Rashīd, remained there for four years before his dismissal and return to Baghdad. See Kindī, *al-Wulāh*, 139; Ibn Taghribardī, *Nujūm*, ii, 113; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, v, 248. The fact that al-Layth bn al-Faḍl was the 'client' (*mawlā*) of Hārūn al-Rashīd is not recorded in the sources which, however, do report that he was the governor (*wālī*) of Egypt. Perhaps we should read *muwallā*, 'appointed as *wālī*'.
- l. 4 In this early period, both Aʿlā Ashmūn and Asfal Ashmūn were separate districts (sing. *kūrah*) (Grohmann, *APEL*, iii, 122–3 and iv, 192). Later Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, i, 116, mentions Kūrat al-Ashmūnayn.
- l. 5 *danānīr* is here spelt without *alif al-madd*.
- l. 6 Reading *salnā-k* (for *saʿalnā-ka*) *tazraʿ-hā*. It may also be read *salafan li-tazraʿa-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*.
- l. 7 If the reading *wa-tadfaʿu* is correct, note the syntax after *ammā*. The letter could be *fāʿ*, 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.

l. 8 NB *ithnayni* after *sanat*. See Hopkins, *Studies*, 113. 182 corresponds to AD 798–9.

l. 11 Dhū al-Qa‘dah 182 corresponds to January 799. *thamānīn* is here spelt without the *alif al-madd*.

l. 13 *ḍinār* 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 *bāʾ* rises well above the preceding and following *sīn* (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 *zāʾ* inclines to the right (l. 8); the base of the initial *ʿayn* 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 *hāʾ* of *Allāh* (ll. 3, 10) is level with the top of the preceding *lāms*; the tail of the final *yāʾ* returns to the right (ll. 3, 4, 9, etc.) or is *muʿarraḡah* (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:

١ [بـ]سـ[م الله] [الـ]رحمن الرحيم

٢ [هذا كتـ]ب من زياد بن الخطاب ليعقوب الشماس انك سالتني

٣ [ا]ن اكريك ربع فدان ارض من الخليج الغربي [قـ]بالـ[ة]... بنصف وثمان دينر

٤ حساب الفدان بدنينين ونصف مثقال فا[جـ]بتك الى ذلك واکريتک

٥ ربع فدان بنصف وثمان دينر لخراج سنة ثمان وعشرين ومايتين

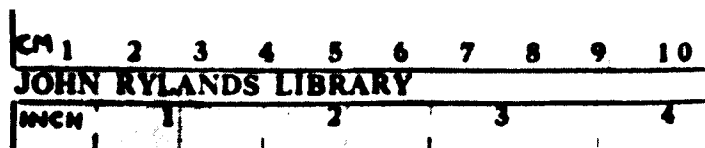
٦ وسلمته اليك وقبضته مني على ان ما بورت من ذلك فهو لازم

٧ [عـ]ليك وما [ا]زيدت عليه فبحساب ما سجلت به مني وكتب في

٨ المحرم سنة ثمان وعشرين ومايتين

بدنينير
رر

فدان
كه



Translation:

1. 1 [In the name of God] t[he] Compassionate, the Merciful.
1. 2 [This is a docume]nt from Ziyād bn al-Khattāb (addressed) to Yaʿqūb al-Shammās. You asked me
1. 3 [t]o rent to you a quarter of a *faddān* of land from the west bank [op]po[site] ... for one half, plus one eighth of a dinar,

- l. 4 the rate for one *faddān* being two dinars and half a *mithqāl* . l
 agreed to (do) that for you and rented out to you
 l. 5 a quarter of a *faddān* for one half, plus one eighth of a dinar, (to
 be countered) for the *kharāj* of the year 228.
 l. 6 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
 l. 7 for you (to cultivate it). Any additions you make are in accor-
 dance with what you registered from me. (This document) was
 written in
 l. 8 al-Muḥarrām 228.
 l. 9 *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:

- l. 3 This might conceivably mean 'on the west bank'. *ḍinār* is spelt without the *alif al-madd*.
 l. 4 *ḍinārayn* is spelt without the *alif al-madd*.
 l. 5 For the expression *li-kharāji sanati ...*, cf. Grohmann, *APEL*, ii, 53. *ḍinār* is spelt without the *alif al-madd*.
 l. 6 For the verb *bawwara*, Grohmann, 53 and Khoury, *Chrestomathie*, 191.
 l. 8 al-Muḥarrām 228 corresponds to October 842.
 l. 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 × 9 cm h, *alif* 0.7 cm, 7 lines across the vertical fibres, black ink.

Text:

- ١ بسم [أ]الله الرحمن الرحيم
 ٢ من عيسى بن ابي عط[أ] إلى صاحب بريد اشمون
 ٣ فاحمل مسلم رسولي
 ٤ على دابتين من البريد احديهما
 ٥ دابة الفرائق وكتب محمد في شهر
 ٦ ربيع الاخر سنة سبع وعشرين و
 ٧ مائة ○ ○
 ١ من عيسى بن ابي عطا [أ]إلى صاحب] بريد اشمون

Translation:

recto -

- l. 1 In the name of [G]od, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
 l. 2 From 'Īsā bn Abī 'Aṭ[ā t]o the postmaster of Ashmūn.
 l. 3 Give my messenger Muslim
 l. 4 two post mounts, one of them
 l. 5 the post guide's mount. Written by Muḥammad in the month
 ll. 6–7 of Rabī' II, in the year one hundred and twenty-seven.

verso -

- l.1 From 'Īsā bn Abī 'Aṭā [to the post]master of Ashmūn.

This is the earliest dated papyrus in the *CAP*, but possibly not the earliest in the *JRULM*; see Arabic Add. No. 236 above. See Rāḡib, '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 Ashmūn; see 7, F IV 1 below.

Commentary:

- l. 2 'Īsā bn Abī 'Aṭā' al-Ma'āfirī arrived in Egypt to take charge of the *kharāj* in Shawwāl 125/September 742. He was removed from Egypt in Jumādā II 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 Kindī, *al-Wulāh*, 83, 85, 86, 89 and 354. The word *ṣāhib* is here spelt without the *alif al-madd*.

1. 4 NB *iḥday-himā* which may also of course read *iḥdat-humā*. See Hopkins, *Studies*, 16, with references. The word ‘*alā*’ is spelt here ‘*ayn-lām*’ without the *alif maqṣūrah*.
1. 5 For *furāniq*, see the Persian *parwānak*, the guide of the post official, see Lane, *Lexicon*, 2389; Steingass, *Dictionary*, 245; Rāḡib, ‘Lettres’, 7.
11. 6–7 Rabī‘ 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 *bas-malah* rises above the teeth of the following *sīn* (l. 1); the *dāl* is in the shape of a right angle with a rightward shaft at the top (l. 5); the initial *ṣād* has an oval shape without the tooth on the left (l. 2); the normally vertical stroke of the *tāʾ* inclines to the right (l. 2); the base of the initial ‘*ayn*’ 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

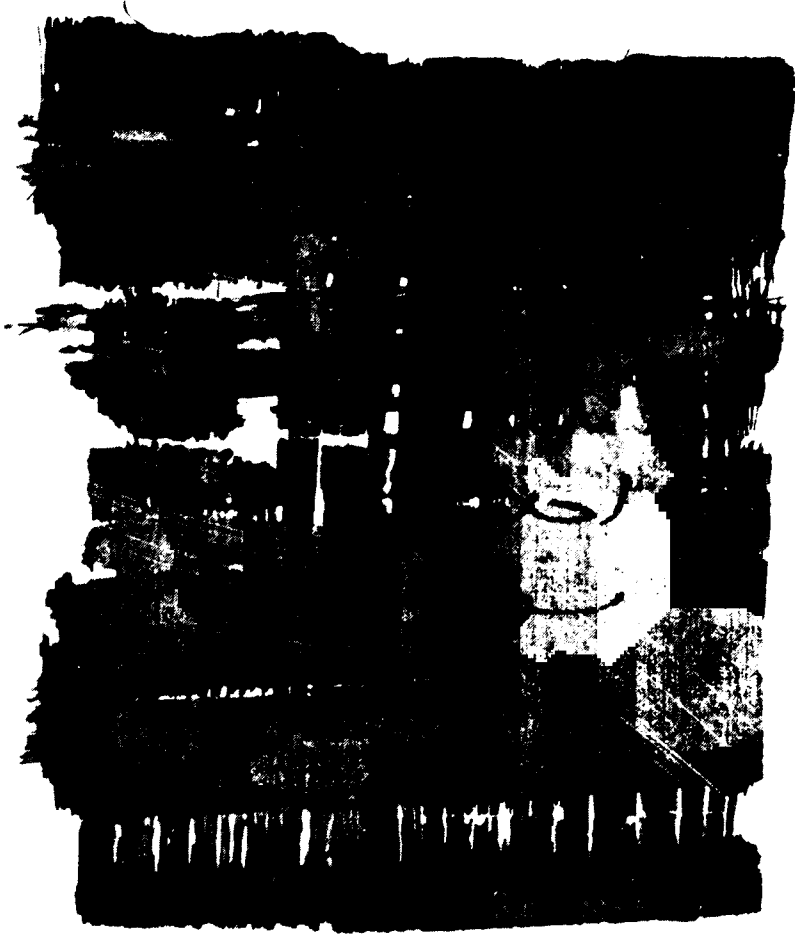
Description: fine, brown papyrus, 8.6 h × 7.4 cm w, *alif* 0.4–0.6 cm, recto – 6 lines across the vertical fibres, verso – 1 line along the horizontal fibres, black ink.

Text:

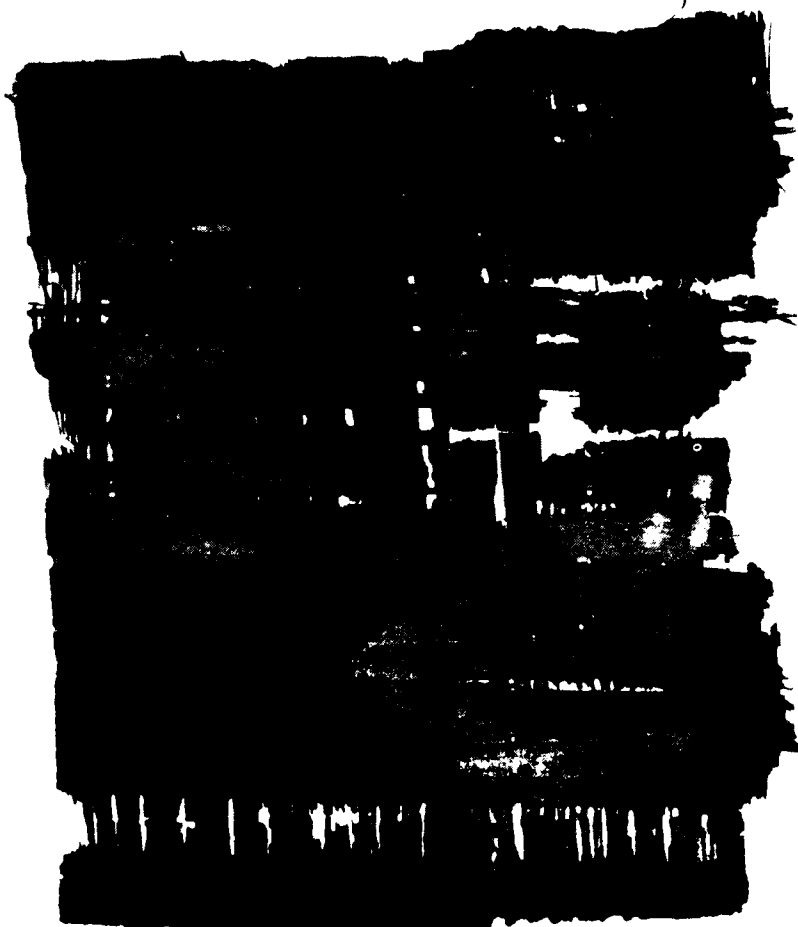
- ١ بسم الله الرحمن [الرحيم]
- ٢ من عبد الملك بن مر [وان الى صاحب بريد اشمون]
- ٣ فاحمل عبد الحميد [رسولي وهو]
- ٤ شاب حسن ابيض عـ [لى دابتين من البريد]
- ٥ احديهما دابة [الفرانق وكتب ... في شهر]
- ٦ شوال سنة احدا [وثلاثين ومائة]



- ١ [من عبد الملك بن مروان الى] صاحب بريد اشمون



(recto)



(verso)

Translation:

recto -

- l. 1 In the name of God, the Compassionate, [the Merciful].
- l. 2 From ‘Abd al-Malik bn Mar[wān to the postmaster of Ashmūn].
- l. 3 Give ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, [my messenger, ... who is]
- l. 4 a fair, handsome youth, t[wo post mounts],
- l. 5 one of them the [post guide’s] mount. [Written by in the month]
- l. 6 of Shawwāl, in the year [one hundred and thirty-]one.

verso -

- l. 1 [From ‘Abd al-Malik bn Marwān to] the postmaster of Ashmūn.

Commentary:

recto -

- l. 2 ‘Abd al-Malik bn Marwān al-Nuṣayrī was appointed governor (*wālī*) of Egypt in 131/748; see Kindī, *al-Wulāh*, 93. Cf. Rāgib, ‘Lettres’, V, 16, who reads ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd’. The latter is the author of the other five letters of this type.
- l. 3 One should perhaps read ‘[messenger of ..., who is]’.
- l. 4 Rāgib reads *jaytar*, which is certainly possible, and translates ‘petit’.
- l. 6 Reading ‘Abd al-Malik bn Marwān in l. 2 necessitates a date of 131. Rāgib reads 141. Shawwāl 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 *bā’* of the *bas-malah* rises above the teeth of the following *sīn* ; other *sīn* s 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 *ṣād* 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 × 14 cm w, *alif* 0.6–0.8 cm, 22 lines along horizontal fibres, black ink.

Text:

- ١ لابي الليث
- ٢ ابي عبدالله عبدالاعلى بن منير
- ٣ بسم الله الرحمن [الرحيم]
- ٤ من ابي الحرث الى ابي الليث
- ٥ اما بعد عافانا الله واياك
- ٦ فان عبدالاعلا كاتب ابن خرشة الذي يسكن قهقاوه
- ٧ كان دفع الي دينر لاشتري له به خبز يوم مر بنا
- ٨ مصعد وقد بعث برسول فيه وسالني ان اشتري
- ٩ له ثلث دينر زيتون اسود وكتب الي مع رسوله
- ١٠ يامرني بدفع ذلك اليه وبعث الي بثلثة الدراهم
- ١١ في ثمن الزيتون ودينر اخر سحاك ان اشتري له به خبز
- ١٢ مع الدينر الاول لا نزع له فيها ذكر في كتابه
- ١٣ وقد وجهت اليك رسوله بالثلثة الدراهم وبالدينر
- ١٤ الذي بعث به فخذ له من فرج دينر خبز من نحو ما
- ١٥ يشتري واشتري له بالدينر الاخر من السوق ان قدرت

- ١٦ عليه وخذ من سعيد خمسة قلال زيتون اسود
 ١٧ مما عنده واحمله له الى قاربه واكتب اليه كتاب
 ١٨ مني جواب كتابه الي يعلمه ما بعثت به من الزيتون
 ١٩ والخبز وليكن الدينر الذي تاخذه من فرج من عندك
 ٢٠ تدفعه اليه في ثمن [...] الخبز حتى اقدم واما الدينر الذي
 ٢١ من عندك
 ٢٢ تشتري به من السوق فخذ من رسوله وادفعه

Translation:

1. 1 To Abū al-Layth.
1. 2 Abū ‘Abdallāh ‘Abd al-A‘lā bn Munīr.
1. 3 In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
1. 4 From Abū al-Hārith to Abū al-Layth.
1. 5 To continue – God give you and us good health!
1. 6 ‘Abd al-A‘lā, 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). (‘Abd al-A‘lā) sent me the three dirhams
1. 11 for the price of the olives, plus one other dinar, asking me to buy him some bread with it
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.

1. 16 Take five jars of black olives from Saʿīd
 1. 17 from his stock and carry it to (ʿAbd al-Aʿlā's) boat. Write him a letter
 1. 18 on my behalf as a reply to his letter to me, informing him of what olives I/you sent him
 1. 19 and bread. The dinar('s worth of bread) which you take from Faraj should be from your own pocket.
 1. 20 Pay it to (Faraj) for the price [...] of the bread until I arrive. The dinar's worth
 1. 21 from your own pocket,
 1. 22 with which you will buy from the market, take it from (Abū al-Aʿlā'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 ʿAbdallāh* 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 Tīj on the left bank of the Nile, the modern-day Kūm Asfaḥt. See Khoury, *Chrestomathie*, 90. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 116, assigns 37 villages to the *kūrah*.
1. 7 The pluperfect, *kāna dafaʿa*, appears to have no force here. *Khubz* could throughout be read as *ḥibr*, ink, or even *jubn*, cheese. NB *khubz* for an indefinite accusative form. *ḍīnār* is here spelt without the *alif al-madd*, as in ll. 9, 12, 13, 15, 20 below.
1. 8 NB *muṣʿid* for an indefinite accusative *ḥāl* form.
1. 10 NB *bi-thalāthat al-darāhim*. *thalāthat* is here spelt without the *alif al-madd*, as in l. 13 below.
1. 11 NB *khubz* for an indefinite accusative form.
1. 12 NB the asyndetic clause beginning *lā nazʿumu* 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 *khamsah/khamsat qilāl*, the singular of the latter of which is *qullah*, feminine.
1. 17 NB *kitāb* for an indefinite accusative form.
1. 20 NB *tadfaʿu-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 *ṣād* has an oval shape without the tooth on the left (l. 8); the base of the initial *ʿayn* 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 *hāʾ* in the word *Allāh* (l. 2) rises level with the preceding *lāms*; the tail of the final *yāʾ* 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:

دينر
)

١ في [ثم] ن شعير

٢ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

٣ لسواك على بشار في ثمن

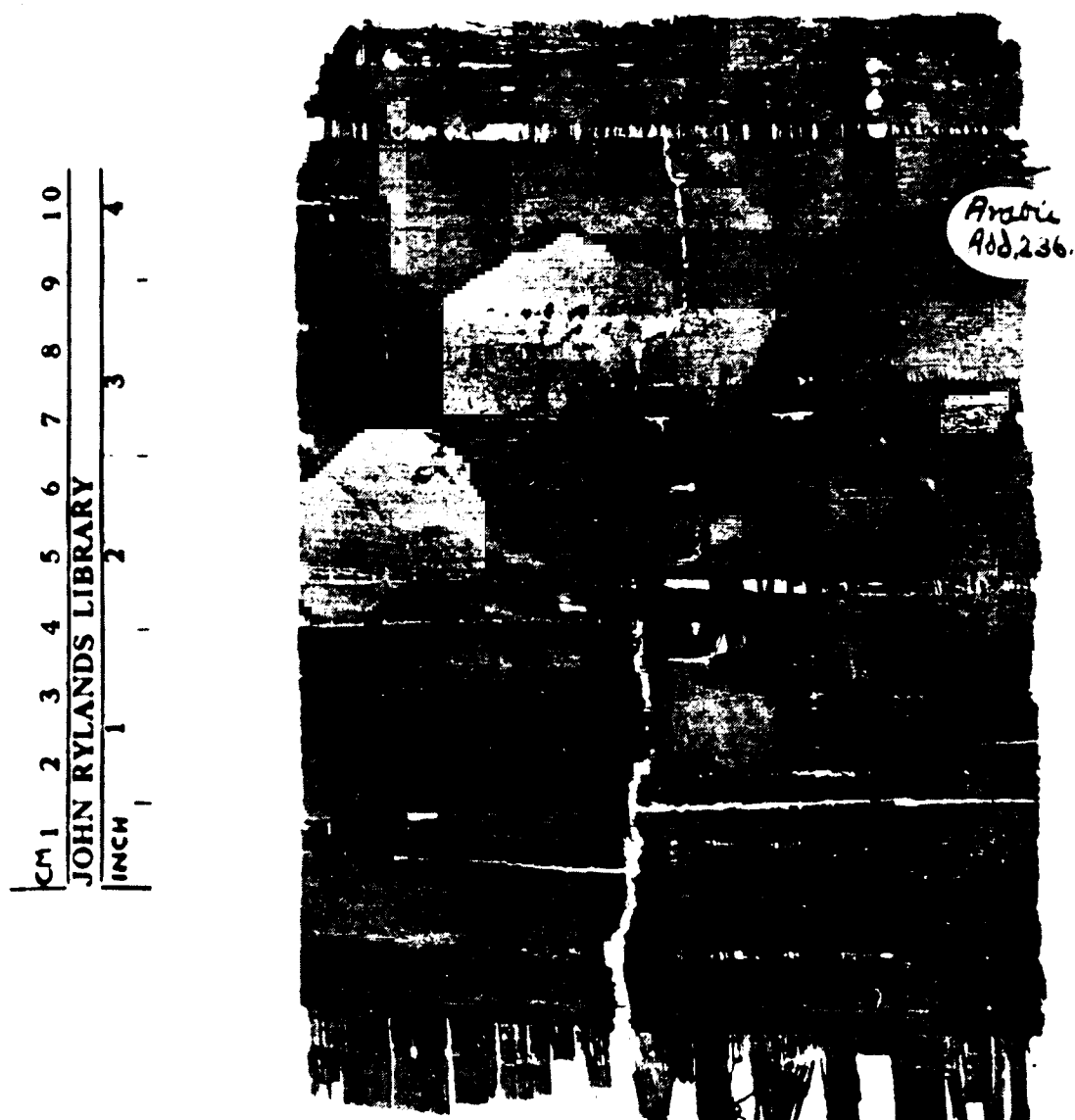
٤ شعير منه دينر ان شا الله

٥ وكتب في اربعة وثمانين

دينر

)

٦



Translation:

- l. 1 On the subject of the [pri]ce of barley. Dinar 1.
 - l. 2 In the name [of God], the Compassionate, the Merciful.
 - l. 3 Bashshār owes Siwāk the price of
 - l. 4 some barley (which he got) from him, one dinar, God willing.
 - l. 5 Written in 84.
 - l. 6 Dinar
- 1

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

Commentary:

- l. 1 *ḍinār* is spelt without the *alif al-madd*.
- l. 4 *min-hu ḍinār* might be read *miyah ḍinār*, 'one hundred dinars', but the amount in figures is in any case given in l. 1 and 100 appears excessive whatever the amount of barley might be. *ḍinār* is spelt without the *alif al-madd*.

1. 5 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.
1. 6 *ḍinār* 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 *bā'* rises above the teeth of the following *sīn/shīn* : the *shīn* is also written as a straight horizontal line; the base of the *ʿayn* extends slightly to the right; the initial *kāf* is written as a curve without the shaft at the top; the final attached *hā'* 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 *vā'* returns to the right; undotted.

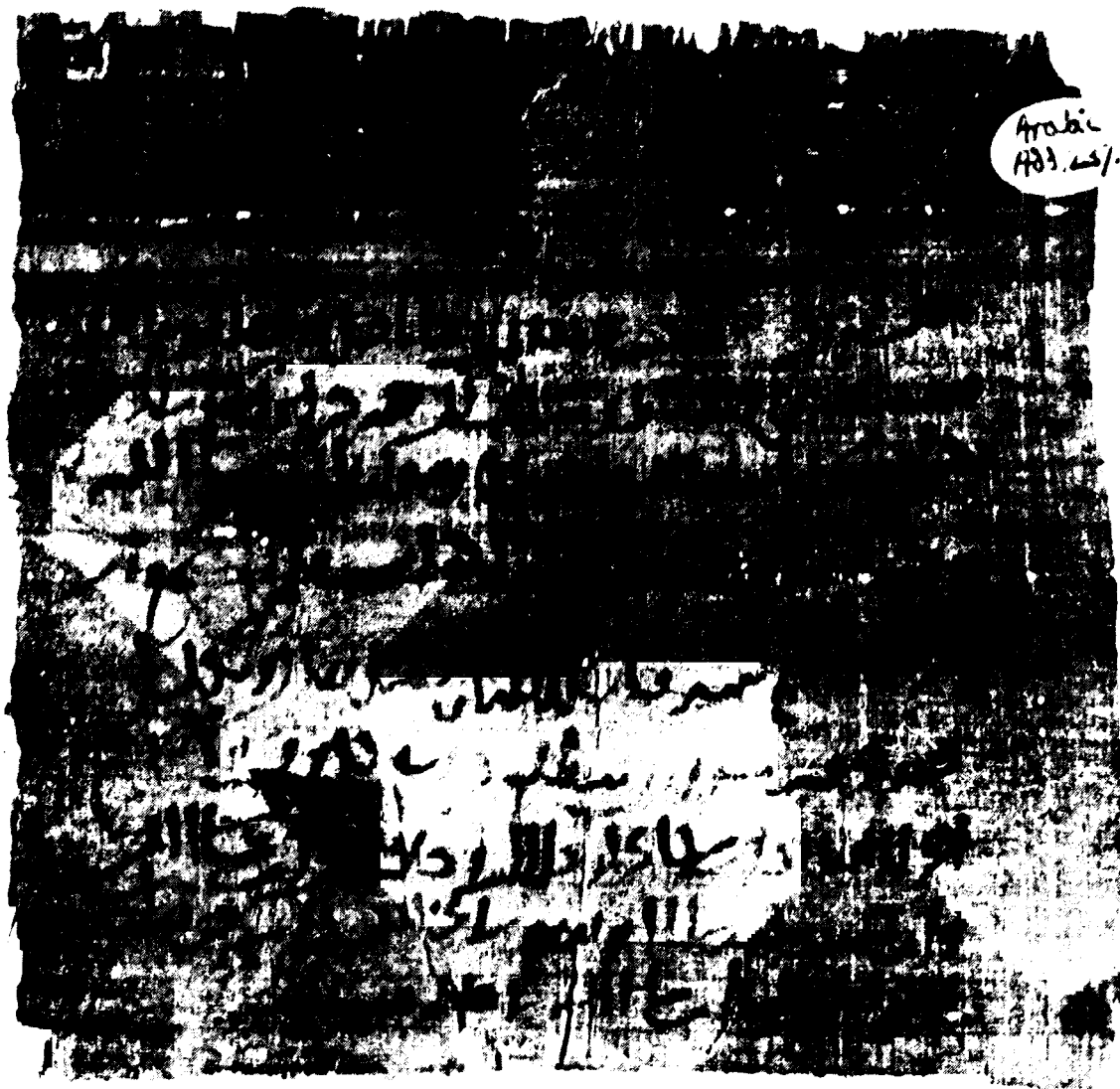
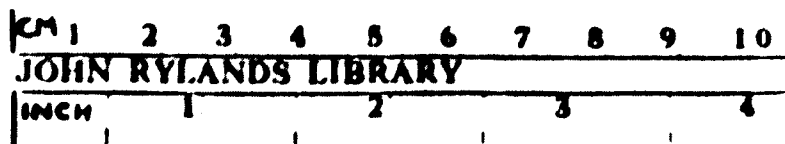
Text No. 10 – Private letter

Arabic Add. No. 237

10 lines

Text:

- ١ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
- ٢ جعلت فداك قد كنت كتبت اليك كتابا قبل هذا في اليوم الذي
- ٣ قدمت فيه من القسطنطينية وشرحت لك فيه خبر ابو يعقوب اعزه الله
- ٤ وخبر ابو سهل ابقاه الله بما رجوتني وصوله اليك ان شا الله
- ٥ وكنت اسطرت الجواب كل تخبر له جواب فلم اسمع لك
- ٦ خبر فيه واتاني كتبك فاسل الله ان يطيل بقاءك ويعزك
- ٧ فقد عرفت سوارق تتطلع خبرك في كل وقت فلا تدع
- ٨ اعزك الله الكتابة الي بخبرك وحالك وحال من اليك ان شا الله
- ٩ وان كنت تكتب الي ابو يعقوب اعزه الله كتاب فوصله الي
- ١٠ لاوصله اليه ان شا الله اطل الله بقاءك



Translation:

verso -

- l. 1 In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
- l. 2 May I be made your ransom! I have previously already written a letter to you on the very day
- l. 3 I arrived from al-Fustāt. In it I explained to you what was happening to Abū Yaʿqūb – God fortify him! -
- l. 4 and what to Abū Sahl – God preserve him! – in regard to what you expected of me, (namely) your receiving (the news), God willing.
- l. 5 You wrote the reply, giving each one (of them) an answer, but I heard nothing from you
- l. 6 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 Ya‘qūb 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 *alif* s extend below the base line; the *bāʾ* of the *basmalah* rises above the teeth of the following *sin* ; the initial *jīm*, *hāʾ* and *khāʾ* have an exaggerated upper stroke which rises above the following letters; *sin/shūn* is written as a straight, horizontal line with a stroke above; *ṣād* is oval in shape without the tooth on the left; there is one example of the normally vertical stroke of the *ṭāʾ* 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 *hāʾ* is written with a wavy end; the tail of the final *yāʾ* returns to the right and there is one example of the *yāʾ muʿarraḡah* ; 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.

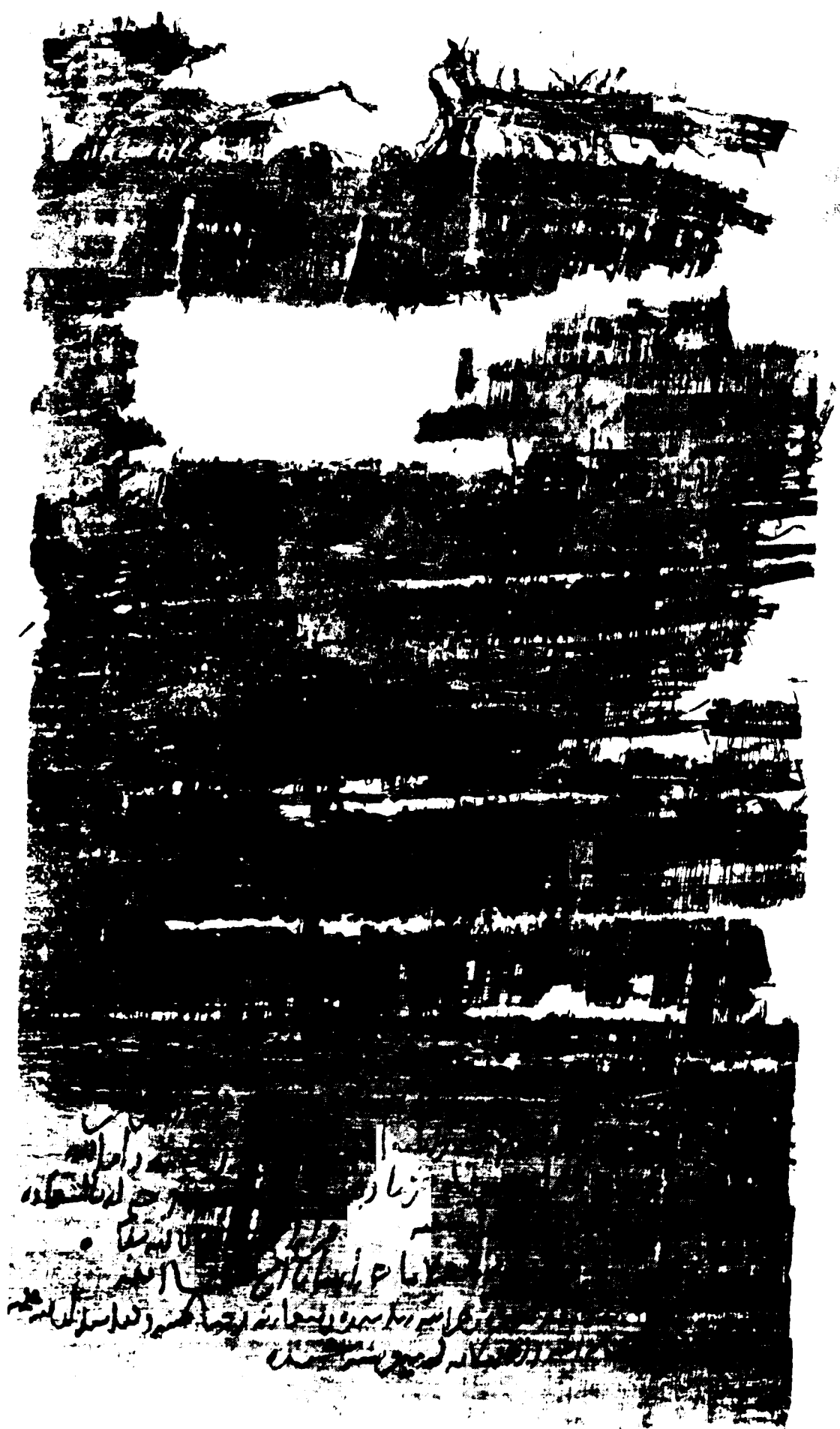
Text No. 11 – Letter addressed to an amir from a community of Christian monks complaining of harsh treatment and heavy fines
 Arabic Add. No. 354

30 lines

Text:

- ١ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 ٢ اط[ال الله بقا الامير و] ادام ع[زه وكرامته] وتاميره وسعادته و و
 ٣[.....]
 ٤ الامير [.....]

- ٥ فخرا فقد يسر عدله[.....]....
- ٦ ونحن ادام الله عز الامير اقوام من اهل [.....مـ]مدينة
- ٧ سيوط ليس لنا تجارة[.....].....
- ٨ رهبان ليل نهار ليس لنا اوية ولا اجر ولا اعطا الا ان يمر بنا رجل فيدخل هذا الدير فنضيف
- ٩ بالخبز الذي هو قوتنا ونحن ضعفا مساكين فنحن في هذا الدير اذ صعد الينا
- ١٠ اعوان من السلطان ففتحنا لهم الباب كما كنا نفعل بالصغير والكبير لا نمنع احدا
- ١١ يدخل هذا الدير فلما اكلوا وبررناهم اخذونا باجمعنا وساقونا الى دار الامير
- ١٢ [فـ]ضربنا ضربا مبرحا وغرمونا جملة دنلير حتى بعثنا ما قد كان بهذا الدير من الثياب
- ١٣ [من] قبل ان نقدر نفتدي انفسنا فضربنا على وجوهنا هاربين الى الله والى باب
- ١٤ [الامير اطلال الله] بقاء لما بلغنا من انصافه وعدله الذي يسره لرعيته ادناهم
- ١٥ [واقصهـ]م [ونـ]حن بالله وبعدل الامير اطلال الله بقاء وادام عزه بان يتفضل علينا
- ١٦ [بوا]فر فضله وعدله ... نستجير بالله وبعدل الامير في هولا الاعوان
- ١٧ وصاحبهم الوالي في الناحية فقد هتكنا واباح اموالنا ونزل بنا من جوره وبغيه
- ١٨ [.....]... ... الطاغية ونحن نودي اليه في كل شهر ربع دينار من دناتير
- ١٩ ظلما ... وعدوانا وتعسفا وليس لنا زرع ولا ضرع فلما يتعدون علينا اهو ملتنا
- ٢٠ ام كنا ضعفا مساكين الا هذا الدير بعذل [الله وا]لامير اطلال الله بقاء
- ٢١ ليس ولا [مـ]اوى
- ٢٢ ان الى بالتفضل والاحسان فوالله لقد
- ٢٣ الحمار الذي تصدق به علينا في هذا الدير لـ{ } نستقا لما لنا بعناه قبل ان
- ٢٤ نقدر نفتدي انفسنا وقد اعاد الله الامير اطلال الله بقاء وادام عزه
- ٢٥ ان يظلم احد في دولته المباركة وايامه الميمونة على جميع رعيته زاد الله
- ٢٦ الامير اعزه الله علوا وشرفا وكرما وبسط له تمكنا وختم له بالسعادة
- ٢٧ والنعيم انه ولي ذلك والقادر عليه فراي الامير اطلال الله بقاء
- ٢٨ فيما انهينا اليه من امرنا متفضلا ماجورا ان شا الله
- ٢٩ اطلال الله بقاء الامير وادام عزه وكرامته وتاميره وسعادته و..... زاد الله علمه
- ٣٠ قد زاد في احسانه اليه الرحمة شان لديه وسنة عنده



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. 4the 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
 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

- l. 20 or (that) we are defenceless and wretched? except for this monastery in the justice of [God and t]he amir – God prolong his life!
- l. 21 no, nor refuge
- l. 22 to in kindness and beneficence. Indeed
- l. 23 the ass which was donated to us in this monastery so that we can draw water, we sold it before being able to
- l. 24 redeem ourselves. God has protected the amir – God prolong his life and make his might endure! -
- l. 25 from anyone oppressing any of his subjects during his blessed rule, during his auspicious days – God increase
- l. 26 the amir! God make him mighty with his high rank, nobility and generosity, grant him authority and bring him good fortune in the end,
- l. 27 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! –
- l. 28 of what we have come to in the end, God willing.
- l. 29 God prolong the life of the amir and make his might, magnanimity, authority, happiness, and endure!
- l. 30 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 (l. 19) are of particular interest and it is to be regretted that the text contains neither names nor a date.

Commentary:

- l. 7 The well known town is spelt Suyūt in the text.
- l. 8 Reading ' w y h ?
- l. 13 *qabla an* is used almost with the meaning 'so that'. See also l. 23 below.
- l. 23 An interesting use of the verb *tašaddaqa* in this context!

Palaeography and date:

The independent *alif* rises above similar vertical letters; some attached *alif*s extend below the base line; the *bā'* of the *basmalah* rises above the teeth of the following *sīn*, on occasions having a hook to the left at the top; *sīn/shīn* on occasions is written as a straight, horizontal line;

ṣād/ḍād is written with an oval shape without the tooth on the left; the normally vertical stroke of the *ṭāʾ* inclines to the right; the base of the initial *ʿayn/ghayn* extends to the right; the *kāf* 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 *hāʾ* is written as a downward stroke; there are three different types of the final attached *hāʾ* : a wavy end; rising level with the top of the preceding *lāms*; and having a shaft at the top inclining to the right; the *wāw* on occasions takes the shape of the letter *rāʾ* ; the initial *yāʾ* rises above the teeth of the following *sīn* ; the final *yāʾ* is either written with the tail returning to the right or *muʿarraḡah* ; the *lām-alif* joins together forming the shape of the letter v; some joined words; some dots.

The date is 3rd/9th century.