

Christians and Muslims in Early Islamic Egypt

Edited by
Lajos Berkes



Christians and Muslims in Early Islamic Egypt

American Studies in Papyrology

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CHRISTIANS AND
MUSLIMS IN EARLY
ISLAMIC EGYPT

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EDITORIAL REMARKS

Several contributions include (re)editions of papyrus texts: they have been numbered for easier referencing throughout the volume as usual in papyrological volumes. The abbreviation for the editions in this volume is *P.Christ.Musl.* All dates are AD/CE unless specified otherwise. Editions of Greek papyri are quoted according to the abbreviations of John F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, 5th ed. (*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* Suppl. 9) (Oxford: Oxbow, 2001). The up-to-date electronic version is accessible at http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/checklist_papyri.html and <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>. Editions of Arabic papyri are quoted according to the abbreviations of P. M. Sijpesteijn, J. F. Oates, and A. Kaplony, "Checklist of Arabic Papyri," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 42 (2005): 127–66. The up-to-date electronic version is accessible at <http://www.naher-osten.uni-muenchen.de/forschung/papyrologie/apb/index.html>. Various databases of Trismegistos are cited throughout; see <https://www.trismegistos.org/index.php>. For the metadata of Coptic documentary papyri the Brussels Coptic Database is being cited in the volume; see <http://dev.ulb.ac.be/philo/bad/copte/baseuk.php?page=accueiluk.php>. For the text and metadata of Greek (and on occasion Coptic) papyri the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (DDbDP) is referenced; see papyri.info. In most cases, when the introduction or commentary of a papyrological edition is cited, it is referred to with *author*, *siglum*, and *page number* rather than to a separate article in the bibliography. The bibliographies, transliterations, and editions of the contributions in French only partially conform to the *Chicago Manual of Style*, because an effort has been made to respect their own conventions.

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Introduction: A Papyrological Perspective on Christians and Muslims in Early Islamic Egypt

Lajos Berkes

This volume consists of papers delivered at the workshop “Christians and Muslims in Early Islamic Egypt” held in Heidelberg on 29–30 September 2016, generously funded by the *VolkswagenStiftung*. It relates, primarily from a papyrological perspective, to various aspects of the relationship between Christians and Muslims in the period mainly of 640–800, with some papers discussing slightly earlier phenomena or later developments.

The second part of the 7th and the 8th century is usually considered in papyrological publications as “early Islamic Egypt.” This was a formative period in the long history of the Nile Valley: after the Arabs conquered Egypt in 642, a slow transformation began from a Christian to a Muslim society, from a mainly Coptic- and Greek-speaking country to a predominantly Arabophone population, and from a world that we regard as “late antique” to what seems to be “medieval.” These changes did not happen overnight and did not even end around 800. The beginning of the 9th century marks in papyrology, however, the end of the early Islamic period, in contrast, for example, to the *Cambridge History of Egypt*, which extends this period to the Fatimids (969).¹ The papyrological understanding of this time frame can be traced back to the tradition of the discipline, which is focused on Greek texts. Although it has recently been shown that the Greek documentary tradition extended to the very late 8th century and even to the first decades of the 9th,² it is *grosso modo* true that the more than a millennium-long tradition of written Greek disappears rapidly in the 8th century, while Coptic and especially Arabic become more important.

Not only papyrological tradition, however, defines the early Islamic period as the time frame between 642 and 800. Given that the continuities with the Byzantine period in the second half of the 7th century are striking, one even may consider whether it would be more accurate to speak about “post-Byzantine” rather than “early Islamic” Egypt during these decades.³ The 8th century witnessed a period of transition from late antique to medieval structures. Even though only a fraction of the relevant preserved material has been published, one may still say that 9th-century documents present us with very different realities than what one witnessed in the preceding 150 years. With the fall of the Umayyad dynasty in 750—whose rule is often considered

1. Petry 1998.

2. On Greek documents in 7th- to 8th-century Egypt, see de Jong and Delattre 2015; Berkes 2019; and Berkes, forthcoming.

3. Cf. O’Connell 2014, In1: “‘Early Islamic’ is avoided in general to describe a chronological period because it gives the false impression that Egypt became Muslim shortly after AD 641.”

to be an extension of late antiquity—major changes became apparent. In the late 8th and 9th centuries, the number of Arabic papyri increases significantly and—as noted previously—Greek finally disappears from documentary use. During the 8th century the Christian landholding elite, which is so prominent in the documentation of the late Byzantine period and even the first 50 years of Arab rule, seems to have been replaced by new Muslim landowners. As suggested by documentary sources, Islamization also seems to begin, even in the countryside.⁴ One could also list other examples—from a papyrologist’s point of view, the late 8th to early 9th century seems clearly to introduce a new era.

Before we continue, we also need to reflect on the use of the terms “Christian,” “Arab,” and “Muslim” in this volume. Christians were not a homogeneous group in this period; both miaphysite and Chalcedonian church organizations were present in the country. However, papyri—similar to those during the Byzantine period—almost never contain hints at Christian doctrinal differences. Accordingly, the term “Christian” covers both Chalcedonians and miaphysites; however, “Copt” refers only to Egyptian miaphysites. The question of the terms “Arab” and “Muslim” is more complex. In theory, an Arab name in our sources can refer to three different identities: an Arab Muslim, an Arab Christian, and a converted Copt. Generally speaking, in most cases one can exclude the second possibility, while the presence of converts seems to be less likely in papyri from the first decades of Arab rule than from the 8th century. For instance, some authors in this book prefer the term “Arab officials,” while others discuss “Muslim officials.” One can argue for both: I have respected their choices throughout and have not standardized their terminology.

A further connected problem is inferring religious affiliation from certain biblical names that were common in the Abrahamic religions, such as Abraham. In these cases, the Arab versions of these names are often characteristic: *Ibrāhīm* is not a spelling a Coptic-speaking Christian would have likely used—at least in the 7th–8th century. This connects to the question of identifying Jews in the sources. Although there are a handful of clear references to them in documents of this period, it is still difficult to identify them based on onomastics. Generally, papyrologists have assumed that people with names from the Old Testament, for example, Joseph, are Christians. This is probably true in most cases and is also the general assumption throughout this book.

The papyrological perspective of this volume naturally marks the areas that are the center of discussion. Since papyri mostly preserve administrative, economic, and other everyday documents, their most significant contribution is in the area of administrative, economic, and social history.⁵ It goes without saying that they also provide important insights into everyday writing, documentary practices, and language choice and usage. These latter phenomena are especially interesting in nondocumentary genres such as literary or semiliterary papyri. In our period, the first category includes mainly Christian—often liturgical—texts,⁶ while Arabic literary papyri are rare before the 9th century. The second category, however, is more elusive: traditionally, in papyrological jargon, texts that are considered to be sub- or semiliterary are those that cannot easily be labeled as “documentary” or “literary,” such as medical recipes and magical or school texts. Edward Love’s contribution engages with this material, but there is clearly more research needed in this area.

Since the studies collected here focus mainly on documentary papyri, it is necessary to mention a couple of caveats. While documentary papyri—similar to archaeological sources—certainly present a more down-to-earth perspective than literary sources, it cannot be stressed

4. See Sijpesteijn 2013. For a concrete documentary example, see, e.g., Gonis 2003.

5. On Jews in early Islamic Egypt, see most recently Sijpesteijn 2020. For a summary of the relationship of Christians and Muslims in the intellectual sphere, see Griffith 2008, who focuses mostly on areas other than Egypt.

6. On this important but neglected topic, see Mihálykó 2019.

enough that they nonetheless have their limitations. Even though they deal with everyday affairs of cities and villages, they mostly still represent the perspective of local elites.⁷ Furthermore, the picture emerging from these sources is heavily informed by what kinds of archives are preserved. It is crucial to be aware that what we possess reflects only certain aspects of everyday realities. The Greek and Arabic documentation of the 7th and 8th centuries consists mainly of administrative papers and the correspondence of government offices and monasteries. Coptic papyri—especially ostraca from the upper Egyptian village Djeme and legal documents from various sites—allow more insight into private affairs, but family archives are rare. It is not surprising, therefore, that the focus of papyrological research—and also of this volume—on this period has been on various aspects of the administration of the nascent Islamic empire as well as monastic economies.

One has to also be aware of the geographic limitation of the papyrological material: due to the climatic conditions of Egypt, barely any papyrus was found in the humid soil of the Nile Delta. However, there are only a couple of find spots even in the southern part of the country that produced large amounts of papyri (or ostraca) from the medieval period. If we start from the north, the first major source of papyri is the Fayyūm, the old Arsinoite nome, and eastward to it Heracleopolis (ar. *Ihnās*) and its administrative territory—although there are far fewer papyri preserved from the latter region, probably due to an unfortunate fire in 1899 in Hamburg harbor, which destroyed the ship transporting many of the papyri found there.⁸ Southward, the region of Hermopolis (copt. *Shmun*, ar. *Ushmūn*)—especially the monastery of Apa Apollon in Bawit—must be mentioned. Farther down the Nile, the monasteries of Bala'izah and Wadi Sarga are noteworthy sites. Aphrodito (ar. *Ishqūh*) and Edfu (gr. *Apollonopolis Magna*) have preserved important administrative archives from the early 8th century and around 660–80, respectively. Finally, the Theban region—especially the village Djeme and the surrounding monasteries—has produced thousands of mostly Coptic ostraca and some papyri. There are, of course, other find spots for this period, but the ones mentioned here have produced the most material and have consequently shaped papyrological research on early Islamic Egypt.

Although it is a papyrological truism that there are hundreds of thousands of unpublished texts that lie dormant in various collections all over the world, this is especially true for the early Islamic period. This applies to all three major languages of this period: Greek, Coptic, and Arabic. Greek papyrologists, who usually come from a background in classics, have generally avoided working on “late” papyri, but there has been a surge in interest in the documentation of the 7th and 8th centuries in recent decades. This interest manifests itself not only in the edition of sources or even entire volumes dedicated to Greek papyri from the postconquest period (Federico Morelli's *CPR* 22 and 30) but also numerous studies revisiting already-published or described material. There is even more to be done in Coptic and Arabic papyrology: many areas of the documentation in these languages have only just started to be explored. Although studies on Arabic papyri have become an important part of the discourse on early Islamic history, there is still a lack of text editors who would take on the important task of publishing corpora of Arabic papyri.

A connected and important development in this field has been the increasing cooperation between specialists in these three languages as well as other fields. In the past, scholars who specialized in various languages often used to ignore each other's work, but interdisciplinary collaboration has already become the norm in researching Graeco-Roman and early Islamic Egypt. This is especially important, since very few scholars are able to read all three relevant languages to the same level. Nevertheless, although it may seem paradoxical at first sight, Greek

7. Cf. Bagnall 1995, 19–20.

8. Wilcken 1901, 226–27.

and Coptic papyri contribute much more than Arabic papyri to the research on the first decades of Islamic Egypt.⁹ The reason behind this is simple: there were only a few Arab officials and soldiers in the country who could have produced texts in Arabic, while the bureaucracy simply continued—apart from the top echelons of government (and there only partially)—in Greek.

In 642, the conquering Arabs gained control over a province of the Byzantine Empire. Egypt had only just started to recover from the brutal Sassanid occupation of 619–29 when it had to face invaders again. Our sources seem to suggest that the Arabs were less brutal than the Persians, but they were still an occupying force. Although later historical writings suggest that the miaphysite Copts welcomed the conquerors as their liberators from the Chalcedonian oppression, these accounts are certainly partisan and reflect more the concerns of their own period than the realities of the conquest.¹⁰ The top layer of society seems to have fled the country to Byzantium, but the papyrological evidence suggests that in the second part of the 7th century the same locally rooted landholding elite dominated as before. Below a top stratum of Arab officials, these local aristocrats and the omnipresent monasteries were the most important factors—both economically and administratively.

The Arabs do not frequently appear in papyri of the first decades of Muslim rule. We sometimes encounter references to the governor of Egypt or other high-ranking functionaries, their servants, and their new capital, Fustāṭ, but their occurrence is, generally speaking, a rarity. It is no surprise, therefore, that Greek and Coptic papyri of the second part of the 7th century are often difficult to distinguish from earlier Byzantine documents, since on the level of everyday bureaucracy only a few things changed. For this reason—as suggested earlier—it is perhaps apt to call this the “post-Byzantine” period. A similar point has been recently formulated by Clive Foss: “This was a country under occupation, not yet arrived at a point when there was any assimilation between the new conquering forces and the local population.”¹¹

Although the continuities are striking, naturally, change and developments can also be observed. However, they represent a particularly complex and intensely debated topic in scholarship. On the one hand, it is often difficult to determine whether new vocabulary or certain administrative changes are to be connected to the Arabs or to the period of the Persian occupation, or even to the Byzantine reorganization of the province between these periods. On the other hand, the assessment of the changes under Arab rule range from supposing a smooth and more or less unchanged continuation of Byzantine practices to envisioning major innovation.¹² A good example of the complexity of the topic is the poll tax introduced for non-Muslim males, the Byzantine antecedents, terminology, and sometimes even nature of which are unclear. The question of continuity and change in administrative practices is an ongoing debate that may be significantly influenced by the continuing publication of new source material.

Under the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (685–705), major reforms were introduced that were implemented in Egypt by his brother, the governor ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān (in office 685–705) and his successors. These reforms aimed inter alia at creating more centralization in the administration and increasing the use of Arabic in the bureaucracy. These often-discussed reforms left a strong impression, both in the literary tradition and the documentary sources.

9. Cf. Bell 1908, 278: “That a person who has no knowledge of any Oriental language, not even Coptic, should appear at a congress of Orientalists and read a paper on the administration of Egypt under the early Khalifate is an audacity which requires a word of apology. My excuse is that the most detailed and authoritative evidence on this subject is to be found in the Greek papyri.”

10. Papaconstantinou 2006.

11. Foss 2009a, 3.

12. See the summary on this question in Papaconstantinou 2010, 57–58. The recent thought-provoking comparison of the early phase of Muslim rule with the post-Roman barbarian kingdoms of the 5th to 6th century according to which the Arabs might have presented themselves formally as the vassals of the Byzantine emperors is worth mentioning in this context; see Morelli 2010.

Some of the most significant measures were the increasing control of tax fugitives through restrictions on free movement and the abolishment of the tax exemption of monks. In addition, from this time on one finds increasingly (Arab and convert) Muslim officials at the local level, such as at the most important administrative office of the cities, the pagarchy. The (post-)Byzantine local bureaucracy was under the control of aristocrats who were more loyal to their local networks and interests than to the distant central administration. The new Muslim officials were loyal to the Arabs and were regularly transferred lest they build up a local power base.¹³

In the documentation of the 8th century, the Christian landowning elite so prominent in the preceding centuries almost entirely disappears. As literary sources report, a series of revolts took place in the 8th century, organized by the disenfranchised local elite. The changes are less visible in the villages: local officials and dignitaries appear to be Christians—almost without exception—throughout the century. However, the village elite and population were also faced with new realities. The traditional Byzantine system of a collectively liable village community whose leading members distributed the tax burden locally was increasingly shifted toward individual tax liability, especially after the Abbasid takeover in 750. *Corvée* labor for the Arab authorities also figures prominently in the documentation of the 8th century.¹⁴ Workers and craftsmen were required to participate in building projects or in constructing the war fleet to be sailed against Byzantium.¹⁵ These workers were sometimes required to fulfill their duties in Syria or Palestine, and some of them even served as oarsmen on Muslim warships: the psychological difficulty of this situation is illustrated by the fact that during the second siege of Constantinople in 717–18—as the Byzantine chronicist Theophanes reports—the Coptic seamen serving in the Umayyad fleet betrayed their masters and defected to the Byzantine emperor.¹⁶ Changes were also felt by monasteries, which were seriously affected by the heavy tax burden in the 8th century, as is well attested in the papyrological documentation.¹⁷

Christian attitudes toward the new rulers have not yet been systematically studied. The Egyptian ecclesiastical literature of the 7th to 8th century seems to be more concerned with securing the favor of the Arabs toward the miaphysite church against the Chalcedonians than with the danger of conversion to Islam. Documentary papyri sent by Arab officials in the 7th and 8th centuries often contain serious and extravagant threats against their Christian subordinates, which were sometimes recalled in the internal correspondence of local administrators as “threatening letters.”¹⁸ These letters have been recently interpreted as a sign of the weakness of the central government, which could not impose its will on the local powerbase of Christian aristocrats,¹⁹ and it is indeed difficult to assess how many of these threats were fulfilled. However, the correspondence of local administrators of the first decades of Arab rule, such as the Senouthios or Papas archives,²⁰ often conveys a stressful atmosphere in face of the approaching deadlines of fiscal demands, while traveling to Fustāṭ apparently evoked anxiety in Copts.²¹ However, there are also examples of cordial collaboration: for instance, sometime in the early 8th century, Zacharias, a Christian administrator in the region of Hermopolis, addressed a letter to the *amīr*, Rāshid b. Khālid, calling him his “sincere friend.”²² As this typically Byzantine expression from

13. See, e.g., Sijpesteijn 2013, 91–111.

14. Sijpesteijn 2009.

15. See Jelle Bruning’s contribution in this volume.

16. De Boor, *Theoph.*, p. 397, ll. 5–9.

17. See, e.g., the case study of Gonis 2004.

18. Cf. the ἀπειλητικὰ γράμματα in SB 26.16358.8 (Hermopolis, 644 [?]) and *P.Apoll.* 38.3 (Edfu, 2nd part of the 7th c.).

19. See Papaconstantinou 2015, focusing on the letters of Qurra ibn Sharīk in the early 8th century.

20. See, e.g., the large portion of letters from the Senouthios archive published in *CPR* 30 and the majority of the Greek texts of the Papas archive in *P.Apoll.*

21. See Anne Boud’hors contribution in this volume at p. 59–60.

22. *P.Ryl.Copt.* 285 (Hermopolis, 710 or 725); for the dating see the contribution of Nikolaos Gonis in this volume at p. 129.

Zacharias's letter in Coptic shows, living under new rule did not mean a sudden break with the Graeco-Roman heritage of the country. Byzantine honorific epithets (sometimes applied to Muslim officials), Graeco-Roman nomenclature, and many other markers of cultural identity were preserved well into the 8th century. It seems that there was a strong nostalgia for the period of Byzantine rule, even in remote rural areas in Upper Egypt such as the village of Djeme.²³

Two topics of prominent interest in our period are "Arabization" and "Islamization." The former term denotes the gradual linguistic shift that transformed Egypt from a predominantly Coptic- and Greek-speaking country to an overwhelmingly Arabophone one. The latter expression is used to describe the process by which Christians became a minority in relation to Muslims. At the time of the Arab conquest, apart from Jews, virtually every inhabitant of the country was Christian, while modern estimates usually give a percentage of around 10 percent for the Christian population. How did this change happen? At first sight, these two processes may seem to go hand in hand—especially with regard to the special status of Arabic in Islam. But, it has to be stressed, and is apparent, that this was not the case. Parallel to the steady decline of Coptic to its eventual death sometime around the 14th century, Arabic seems to have gained significant ground even among Christians by the end of the 10th century—as is well attested by both documentary and literary sources.²⁴

While the process of Arabization is more palpable, the case of Islamization is less straightforward. According to the traditional view, the first big wave of conversion occurred in the 8th to 9th century—at least partially due to the fiscal disadvantages for non-Muslims—and the tipping point, when Muslims became a majority, was reached as a consequence of heavy anti-Christian repressions under early Mamlūk rule in the 13th and 14th centuries. However, as has been recently pointed out, this view sees conversion as the major factor in Muslims becoming the majority and ignores that Arab immigration and settlement, Muslim marriage with Coptic women, Coptic demographic decline, and other factors must also have played a significant role. Even though assessments of this phenomenon vary greatly, it may seem reasonable to assume that Islamization was rather the product of a gradual process than of watershed events that resulted in Copts becoming a minority.²⁵

These general observations about Arabization and Islamization are certainly useful to understand the rough outlines of these phenomena, but it is also important to keep in mind that they do not necessarily reflect regional developments. For instance, Arabization seems to have progressed much more slowly in Upper Egypt than in the Nile Delta. This is one of the aspects in which the contribution of papyrology cannot be overstated. One has to keep in mind that language choice for written documents does not necessarily reflect spoken usage, but these documents still provide evidence and perspectives very different from literary sources—placing developments in a regional perspective. Both the Arabic and Coptic papyrological material of the 9th and 10th centuries can almost be regarded as *terra incognita*, and therefore much is to be expected of the publication and analysis of this material for the understanding of the Islamization and Arabization of Egypt.

What I have just sketched is the general background against which the studies of this volume are to be understood. The first two contributions shed light on Egypt's role in the larger context of the caliphate. Eugenio Garosi's chapter discusses the usage of Arabic as an imperial language both at an imperial and an Egyptian level, bringing the papyrological material into a fruitful dialogue with other sources from the whole caliphate. Jelle Bruning's contribution focuses on the organization of naval warfare in the context of the Arab-Byzantine wars and elucidates new aspects of this much-discussed topic.

23. Papaconstantinou 2009.

24. Richter 2009 and Papaconstantinou 2012.

25. O'Sullivan 2006.

The following six studies, which constitute the bulk of this book, are concerned with the development of the new Muslim administration in the 7th and 8th centuries and the relationship of the Muslim officials to their predominantly Christian subjects. Anne Boud'hors's contribution discusses what Coptic papyri reflect on the creation of the new capital, Fustāṭ: her close reading of the sources informs us not only about administrative realities but also about local attitudes toward the new capital. Fustāṭ/Babylon is also the focus of the article by James Cowey, Naïm Vanthieghem, and the author of this introduction and deals with Arabic-Greek tax receipts emanating from the barns of the new capital issued probably by a hitherto unknown official. Vanthieghem's further prosopographical note on an important civic servant of the Umayyad period demonstrates the importance of reading papyri alongside literary sources.

The following three contributions focus on Arab/Muslim officials in 8th-century Egypt. Esther Garel and Naïm Vanthieghem discuss the *status quaestionis* of pagarchs in the 8th-century Fayyūm, (re)editing several papyri. Nikolaos Gonis presents a fresh study on Rāshid b. Khālid, an official of the early 8th century whose career is one of the most-eminent and best-attested instances of a pagarch's activities in the Umayyad period. Jennifer Cromwell discusses the Arab officials and their organization in the Theban region in the pre-Abbasid period. Together, these studies provide an overview of the bureaucracy of the regions from which most of our administrative sources are preserved.

The last three chapters address naming practices and language change. Jean Gascou presents a panorama of the naming practices of the Christian population of early Islamic Egypt through case studies focused mostly on Edfu. Anne Boud'hors and Maher Eissa publish a new example from the barely known genre of late Coptic letters, which are products of a period with conventions and vocabulary diverging significantly from late antique practices. Finally, Edward Love's study on bilingualism and bigraphia in magical texts scrutinizes this phenomenon in a comparative perspective from the Egyptian-Greek spells of the Graeco-Roman period to the Coptic-Arabic amulets of the Cairo Genizah.

As I have tried to outline in this short introduction, and as the many questions posed by the contributions of this volume show, the time for a papyrological synthesis on early Islamic Egypt has not come yet.²⁶ This book does not intend to give a complete overview or even address all the relevant problems, but it aims at providing new material and perspectives for the ongoing exploration of this underresearched field. The authors do not necessarily agree with each other on everything, and I have preferred not to eliminate differences.

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Lajos Berkes

26. Sijpesteijn 2013 provides a useful overview of the current state of research, discussing sources in all three languages. Her book is at present one of the most important reference works for early Islamic Egypt, which is well illustrated by the fact that it is cited in almost all contributions in this volume. Mikhail 2016 discusses several interesting topics but does not engage in depth with the papyrological evidence and does not provide a comprehensive overview of the period.

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Egypt and the Caliphate

Imperial Arabic: Some Notes on Visual Symbolism

Eugenio Garosi

In the wake of a rapid series of conquests, the Byzantine Levant and North Africa, the Sasanian Empire, and the Yemenite kingdoms fell into the hands of a relatively small group of Arab invaders. In spite of this overwhelming initial military success, the resilience of the early caliphate was put to major tests. Throughout the 7th century, Byzantium repeatedly attempted to gain back the provinces it had lost in the Orient and in North Africa.¹ Inside the Muslim community two civil wars (653–61 and 683–92) over leadership threatened the very survival of the Islamic Empire.² These developments catalyzed the Arab-Muslim governing elite's resort to different markers of alterity in order to formulate its public normative identity vis-à-vis its Muslim following, the composite entity of its subjects and enemies. Endowing architecture, establishing new capital cities, and carrying out collective ritual practices such as the *hajj* pilgrimage were some of the public means employed to shape a new web of spiritual and political significance.³ Though less spectacular a medium, official⁴ textual promulgations played a similar and arguably more pervasive representative role. The public employment of Arabic in official documents, in particular, represented one of the earliest, most immediate, and diffuse public manifestations of Arab rule. Conversely, figurative emblems of sovereignty inherited from previous imperial traditions were in time supplanted by Arabic epigraphies as the new public symbol of Muslim sovereignty. A close analysis of the surviving Arabic sources from the first two Muslim centuries suggests that it was the symbiotic and iconic association of Arabic with imperial authority that cemented the use of Arabic script as the unifying, transregional common denominator of early Islamic visual power symbolism.

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1. Prominent examples of Byzantine (counter)offensives are the reoccupation of Alexandria in 645 and of Carthage in 698 and the dispatch of Mardaites to the Lebanese coast, resulting in the tribute imposed on the Muslims in 678/9 and increased in 688/9. On this theme, see Howard-Johnston 2010, 4–9; and Lilie 1976, 83–96 and 99–112.
2. The term "empire" describes a political entity characterized by a structurally unequal relation between the political center and the periphery and ruled by a transregional elite that is ethnically and culturally distinct from the populations living under its dominion. See Tilly 1997, 2. On the use of the notion of "empire" to describe the early Islamic caliphate, see Kennedy 2004, 3n1.
3. Cf. Grabar 1987, 43–71.
4. Official texts are to be understood as documents issued in the context of an "office," that is, both the exercise of legitimate authority itself and the place from and in which legitimate authority is exercised.

The Rise and Nature of Arabic Documentary Culture

Traces of the dawning of an Arabic written culture shine through later compilations of pre-Islamic poetry and a handful of epigraphic testimonies mostly harking back to the early 5th/6th century.⁵ It is only with the rise of Islam that this epigraphic text culture reemerges after almost a century of silence,⁶ as attested by the rapid spread of Arabic graffiti throughout the Arabian Peninsula and the Syrian Desert since the 640s. These consist for the most part of expressions of private piety that offer a fascinating, if limited, window on the embryonic phase of the Islamic creed.⁷ Concomitantly, Islam's rapid political expansion created the conditions for the development of a new documentary scribal tradition whose fortunes overlapped with those of the Arab imperial rule. First examples of Arabic administrative papyri are documented as early as in the immediate aftermath of Egypt's capitulation⁸ and appear in Greater Syria in the 670s.⁹ In the numismatic ambit Arabic legends are attested with growing regularity on Arab-Sasanian coinage since 651¹⁰ and are systematically included on the Syrian-Levantine copper coinage from the following decade.¹¹ In the western appendices of the empire, North Africa and Spain (conquered respectively in 698 and 711), Arabic is attested on the short-lived copper coinage of the governor Ibn al-Nu'mān (699/700),¹² on seals dating back to the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula,¹³ and in bilingual Arabic-Latin and later Arabic monolingual coinage from 715/6 onward.¹⁴ The first examples of Arabic in official epigraphy are the dam inscriptions of Mu'āwiya I (r. 661–80) in Ṭā'if (677/8) and in Medina (661–80),¹⁵ the inscriptions of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (691/2),¹⁶ and those on the *miliaria*¹⁷ of 'Abd al-Malik (685–705).¹⁸

Despite the uneven geographic distribution of the physical testimonies, the nature of early Islamic (up to ca. 800) Arabic documentary writing bears witness to the historical circumstances of its development. More specifically, the evidence for the official use of written Arabic in the surveyed time span exponentially dwarfs that for its employment in medium- and long-distance

5. Of the 12 known Arabic inscriptions dated or datable before the rise of Islam, those of Madā'in Šāliḥ (dated 267), Namarra (dated 332), and 'En Awdat (undated, probably 4th century) employ Nabatean-Aramaic script, and that of Wādī Salma employs Greek script. Of the pre-Islamic inscriptions employing (Old) Arabic script, those of Nebo (undated, probably 6th century) and Ḥarrān (dated 548) are bilingual (Greek/Arabic), and that of Zebed (dated 512), trilingual (Greek/Arabic/Syriac). On the date of the Namarra inscription, see Robin 2016, 376–77.
6. The latest pre-Islamic Arabic inscription is the one found on the *martirium* of Ḥarrān (548). The earliest dated Islamic epigraphy known to date is a graffito found at Muthallath (Saudi Arabia) dated 23 (643/4) and first published by Kawatoko 2005, 51–52.
7. On the expressions of piety in early Islamic Arabic graffiti, see Hoyland 1997a and Imbert 2011, 57–78.
8. The earliest Arabic testimonies on papyrus are *P.TillierDebs = Chrest.Khoury* 1. 48 (Asyut; related to 640/1); *P.World*, p. 113 = *P.GrohmannMuhadara* 2, p. 12 (Ihnās; 643); and *P.DiemAphrodito*, p. 272 = *P.RagibAn* 22 (unknown provenance/Egypt; 642/3).
9. Arabic papyri have been excavated in Syria at the two sites of Nessana and Khirbat al-Mird. The earliest dated specimen is *P.Ness.* 60 (Nessana; 674).
10. Heidemann 2010a, 163.
11. Album and Goodwin 2002, 74; Foss 2008, 38–40; Heidemann 2010a, 157–58.
12. Johnson 2015, 227–30. Cf. Johnson 2015, 233–38.
13. Tawfiq 2011, 147–60.
14. Bates 1992, 281–84.
15. Hoyland 2006, 399, 413, and 415.
16. An alternative date for the completion of the construction of the Dome of the Rock has been proposed by Blair 1992, who interprets *RCEA* 1.9 (dated 691/2) as a foundation inscription and the edifice as a celebratory monument for the victory against the anti-caliph Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 692).
17. There are a total of eight milestones dated to the reign of 'Abd al-Malik: *AI*, p. 368 (Samakh; 692); *CIAP* 1, p. 4 no. 1 (Abū Ghūsh; 685–705); *CIAP* 3, p. 104 no. 1 (Dayr al-Qalt; 685–705); *CIAP* 3, pp. 104–5 no. 2 (Khān al-Ḥathrūra; 685–705); *CIAP* 3, p. 220 no. 1 (Fiq; 704); *CIAP* 3, p. 221 no. 2 (Fiq 704); *RCEA* 1, 15 (Bāb al-Wādī; 685–705); and *FM* p. 605 ('Ayn Ḥamad; 685–705).
18. A list of Arabic documents dated or datable to the 7th century is provided by Raghīb 2013, 702–19. This survey, however, does not take coins, seals, stamps, and weights into account.

private exchange. Out of the more than 750¹⁹ published Arabic documents on papyrus, parchment, and paper²⁰ dated or datable before 800, an overwhelming majority of over 70 percent (211 official letters, 285 protocols, 41 official receipts, 16 official lists) pertains to official administrative matters. Documents of private pertinence, on the other hand, claim only about 26 percent of the total (130 private letters, 34 private business letters, 14 private lists and accounts, 15 private legal documents, 10 private receipts). Literary texts preserved on papyrus amount to less than 5 percent of the total.²¹ Starting from the late 8th to early 9th century, Arabic papyri from Egypt exhibit an exponential increase both in absolute numbers and in the relative share of documents pertaining to business and private matters.²² About a third of the more than 800 early Islamic epigraphic testimonies dated or datable before 800²³ is claimed by private graffiti.²⁴ These, however, are almost exclusively circumscribed to geographic areas in which Arabic-speaking communities are attested before the conquest (the Arabian Peninsula and the Syrian Desert). Among the Arabic inscriptions (excluding graffiti) spreading from modern-day Tunisia to Iran, the largest share (ca. 68 percent) of the coeval preserved testimonies is claimed by official monumental inscriptions. The tens of thousands of coins making up by far the largest (and more evenly distributed)²⁵ share of the period's preserved Arabic documentary sources are likewise the product of imperial mints. This corpus is further enlarged by thousands of clay, metal, and glass seals; weights; and vessel stamps, all manufactured by state factories.²⁶ The evidence suggests that beyond the boundaries of the Arabic-speaking cultural environment the employment of written Arabic in the early Islamic period was characterized and defined by a strong connection with the milieu of the imperial administration. Conversely, the surviving testimonies indicate that it was in the form of the early Islamic official documentary standards²⁷ and formats that the subjects of the Muslim Empire first experienced Arabic.

Imperial Arabic: Reading and Viewing

Tradition credits the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān with changing the official language of the central Muslim administration to Arabic. Documentary evidence, however, shows that the process of Arabization of the Muslim administrative machinery followed regional patterns and in some cases even anticipated 'Abd al-Malik's ascension.²⁸ At the other end of the spectrum, the use of indigenous languages alongside Arabic in the Muslim chanceries persisted well after the

19. Some 606 of the published Arabic papyri to date were excavated in Egypt, 115 in Syria, and 36 in Central Asia. These figures are based on the data provided in the Arabic Papyrology Database (APD), <http://www.apd.gwi.uni-muenchen.de:8080/apd/project.jsp>. I am indebted to the APD research group at the Institute for the Near and Middle East in Munich for granting me access to internal data.
20. Three 8th-century paper documents from early Islamic Sogdia have recently been published by Haim, Shenkar, and Kubarnov 2016, 147–55.
21. These figures are to be taken with a grain of salt as the ascription of some documents to one category or the other is ipso facto approximate. The fragmented status of a number of documents further complicates a precise classification.
22. I thank Andreas Kaplony for calling my attention to this phenomenon.
23. These figures rely mainly on the data provided by the *Thesaurus d'Épigraphie Islamique (EPI)*, <http://www.epigraphie-islamique.org/epi/login.html>.
24. Graffiti distinguish themselves from inscriptions proper both by their form—often characterized by the heterogeneity of the characters—and by their informal, accidental, and personal nature; see McLean 2002, 207–8. The fact that graffiti are materially produced by their author whereas inscriptions are usually commissioned may be considered an additional criterion of distinction. A perfect separation of the labels “graffito” and “inscription,” however, is admittedly difficult at times.
25. For an overview of pre-800 early Islamic coin types and subtypes, see Album 2011.
26. The published specimens of early Islamic Arabic seals, weights, and vessel stamps amount to about 2,000 exemplars, most of which come from Egypt (the estimates are mine).
27. On the definition of “documentary standard,” see Grob 2010, 156–58.
28. Kaplony 2016, 399–401.

death of the first Marwanid.²⁹ By the end of the 7th century at the latest Arabic had come to be associated with sociopolitical prestige in lands of very disparate cultural backgrounds³⁰ in which Arabic speakers, let alone Arabic readers,³¹ almost invariably constituted a minority of the population.³² There is no indication that official Arabic documents dispatched or otherwise addressed to nonnative Arabic speakers were comprehensible to their putative “readers.”³³ The best-documented such case is the correspondence between the Arab governor of Egypt Qurra b. Sharik (in office 709–14), and Basilios, pagarch of Aphrodito/Ishqūh.³⁴ Letters from the governor were seemingly sent in two separate copies, a Greek and an Arabic one,³⁵ and tax demands (framed as letters from the governor) imposed on the communities under Basilios’s jurisdiction were issued bilingually (Arabic/Greek). Incoming and outgoing business within the pagarchy, on the contrary, was dealt with only in Greek or Coptic.³⁶ The trilingual dossier of the pagarch of the Fayyūm Yahyā b. Hilāl (in office ca. 744–60) reveals a similar interplay of the three languages, with Arabic being attested only in missives between high-ranking Arab officials and outgoing and incoming correspondence at the level of the pagarchy being issued in Greek or Coptic.³⁷ As these instances suggest, sending Arabic missives and Arabic versions of tax demands transcended practical purposes and was rather intended to function as a symbolic expression of authority and cultural self-awareness.³⁸

In multilingual contexts, the use of a particular idiom and script grants a privileged access to a text for a select group of readers, thereby excluding others.³⁹ Latin inscriptions in Christian churches or public monuments in preindustrial Europe provide a good example of media not conceived to be comprehensible to all (even among the literate population) and are indicative of expressive choices going beyond the sheer transfer of information. In fact, the use of specific alphabets instead of or in combination with others often represents a more immediate signifier of cultural, political, and social identity or alterity than the spoken language.⁴⁰ In their oral forms,

29. The last dated Greek administrative document is *CPR* 22.21 (Fayyūm; 796–97). According to literary evidence, in the eastern provinces of the Islamic empire Middle-Persian in Pahlavi script remained the official administrative language until 697. In fact, in the Arab provinces at the fringes of Iran Arab-Sasanian coins continued to be minted well into the Abbasid period (Album and Goodwin 2002, 26–37 and 43–45).

30. Cf. Rosenthal 1961, 17.

31. There is to date no systematic study of the Arabic literacy rate in the early Islamic Empire. For some considerations on Arabic literacy in early Islamic Egypt, see Grob 2010, 87; and Sijpesteijn 2013, 217–19. On literacy in pre-Islamic Arabia based on epigraphic evidence, see Stein 2010.

32. Notable exceptions were Arabia and the former Byzantine-Sasanian frontier zone running between the hinterland of Greater Syria and the lower Euphrates, where a consistent Arabic-speaking population is attested already centuries before the Muslim conquest. See Stroumsa 2015, 147–48. Cf. Kaplony 2016, 399–400.

33. The formal and formulaic differences between early Islamic official documents written in Greek, Coptic, and Arabic suggest that even in state chanceries scribal training was organized according to language so that scribes were trained in only one idiom; see Sijpesteijn 2013, 231–32. The discrepancies between coeval Arabic, Bactrian, and Middle Persian documents produced in the eastern provinces suggest a similar situation in the former Sasanian territories; see Khan 2008, 887.

34. A list of documents belonging to Basilios’s archive sorted according to language is given by Richter 2010, 219–20.

35. It must be noted that no such duplicates could be identified beyond doubt so far. Harold I. Bell, *PLond.* 4, p. 42n2, suggested a number of pairs (*PLond.* 4.1349 and *P.Heid.Arab.* 1.1; *PLond.* 4.1359 or 1345 and *P.BeckerPAF* 3; and *PLond.* 4.1398 and *P.BeckerPAF* 3, frag. 4). The Greek and Arabic missives, however, differ markedly in wording.

36. For a detailed analysis on the interplay and different functional and symbolic roles of Arabic, Greek, and Coptic in Basilios’s archive, see Richter 2010, 214–18.

37. On the archive of Yahyā b. Hilāl, see Sijpesteijn 2010 and the contribution of Esther Garel and Naïm Vanthieghem in this volume, esp. at p. 89.

38. Richter 2010, 215; Sijpesteijn 2013, 218–19; Reinfandt 2015, 282.

39. Thomason 2001, 198.

40. See Biermann 1998, 36–48, on the use of public writing in the early Islamic Empire; Adams 2003, 271, on allography in Latin inscriptions to symbolize cultural heritage; Stock 1983, 16–18, on the role of written documents in shaping systems of loyalties in 11th-century Europe; Adamska 2013, 354–56, on the political dimension of the choice of chancery languages in medieval Central Europe.

Judeo-Arabic vernaculars, for instance, are basically Arabic dialects; it is the use of the Hebrew alphabet that marked Judeo-Arabic writers as a distinctive ethnic group.⁴¹ In prevalently illiterate environments, in particular, public writing functions primarily as a medium of display⁴² and a social leveling ground: differentiating the educated from the illiterate, the adherents of one confession from those of another one, a dominant ethnic group or political faction from second-class citizens, and so on.⁴³ The social dynamics highlighted by public writing are implied by visual impression and are largely independent of the actual comprehension of a text's content.⁴⁴ Roman military diplomas symbolizing the acquisition of Roman citizenship and the correlated legal privileges, for instance, were invariably issued in the Latin language and alphabet irrespective of the recipient's cultural background and ability to read them.⁴⁵ A text's evocative power may, in some cases, even depend on its incomprehensibility. Magic spells written in Coptic in Islamic Egypt, for example, were deemed more powerful by Arab customers due to the suggestion inspired by the script's obscurity.⁴⁶ Not too differently, 19th-century collections of arabesque music exhibiting calligraphic untranslated titles in Arabic sold to, but incomprehensible for, the European public also used the exclusivity of the linguistic medium to boast their "exotic" appeal.

In a time in which Arabic writing was almost exclusively experienced as a manifestation of Islamic rule, the use of Arabic script in official documents, inscriptions, architectonic complexes, and coinage guaranteed the visual distinctiveness of the imperial authority.⁴⁷ Early Islamic Arabic chancery documents furthermore characterized themselves by the adoption of a distinctive layout structure.⁴⁸ Typical layout elements of official Arabic epistolography are, for instance, the *alinea* after the initial invocation (*basmala*) and between the blessing (*ḥamdala* + *shahāda*) and the transition formula (*amma ba 'd*).⁴⁹ Though very common in both private and official correspondence, these layout elements are more often missing from examples of the former than of the latter.⁵⁰ Within the mid-8th-century archive of 'Abd Allāh b. As'ad, for

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41. The role of alphabets as ethnic and cultural boundaries is highlighted by modern examples of language policy, such as the ban of the Hebrew alphabet in the former Soviet Union due to its symbiotic connection to Judaism or the adoption of the (modified) Latin alphabet in republican Turkey, symbolizing the country's connection with coeval Western civilization.
 42. In literate environments, illiterate adults and preschooled children alike first approach writing through visual rather than orthographic features. See Kurvers, van Hout, and Vallen 2009, 882–83.
 43. On the role of cultural markers (especially language and script) in articulating the relation between the ruling elite and the lower classes in agrarian societies, see, e.g., Gellner 1983, 8–13; and Bourdieu 2005.
 44. Biermann 1998, 20; Corbier 1987, 39, on the performative function of Roman public inscriptions. Cf. Harris 1989, 211–13, on the communicative potential of public writing on inscriptions and coins in the Roman Republic and Empire. Cf. mutatis mutandis Bourdieu 2005, 66–67: "... utterances are not only ... signs to be understood and deciphered; they are also *signs of wealth*, intended to be evaluated and appreciated, and *signs of authority*, intended to be believed and obeyed. ... It is rare in everyday life for language to function as a pure instrument of communication. ... For in addition to the expressly declared, linguistic practice inevitably communicates information about the (differential) manner of communicating, i.e. the *expressive style*, which ... takes on a social value and a symbolic efficacy" (italics in original).
 45. On Roman military diplomas, see Roxane 1978. The inner side of some diplomas is interestingly inscribed with a pseudo-script that conveys only the optic impression of Latin.
 46. On the developments of Coptic magical texts after the Islamic conquest, see Edward Love's contribution in this volume.
 47. On the use of Arabic script as a visual symbol of authority, see Ettinghausen 1974; Edwards 1991; Blair 1998, 42; and Johns 2015, discussing Arabic inscriptions in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo.
 48. On the graphic arrangement of Arabic papyrus letters, see Grob 2010, 187–200. Schematics of the layout of early Islamic Arabic letters can be viewed now through the function "Types" of the APD, at <https://www.naher-osten.lmu.de/apd>. See in particular type A1 ("From X to Y greetings"). I am indebted to the project's members for sharing preliminary results.
 49. The basic formulaic constituents of early Islamic Arabic epistolography are (1) the invocation, (2) the internal address, (3) the greeting, (4) the blessing, and (5) the transition formula; see Reinfandt 2015, 282–85; Grob 2010, 191–93; and Kaplony 2018, 344–54. For some examples of documents articulating these elements with their layout structure, see *P.Heid. Arab.* 1.10 (Ishqūh; 710); *P.GrohmannQorra-Brief* (Fayyūm; 709); *P.GascouQorra* (Fayyūm; 709); *P.Qorra 1* (Ishqūh; 709); *P.HindsNubia* (Qaṣr Ibrīm; 758); and *CPR* 16.4 (provenance unknown/Egypt; 8th century).
 50. Examples of private documents lacking an *alinea* between the *basmala* and the body of the text are *P.BruningSumna* (provenance unknown/Egypt; 664/5), l. 1; *P.JoySorrow 1* (provenance unknown/Egypt; 8th century), l. 1; *P.Ness. 56* (Nessana; 686/7), l. 1; *P.DiemRemarkableDocuments 1* (provenance unknown/Egypt; 7th century), l. 1; and *P.TillierFustat 2* (Fust

instance, the missives lacking a separation between the blessing and the transition formula⁵¹ are never those addressed to or issued by the chancery of ‘Abd Allāh’s superior, the pagarch Nājīd b. Muslim (in office ca. 730–50). These less formal writings also depart from the archive’s chancery documents graphically by exhibiting less cursive and less smooth hands.⁵² Examples of bilingual documents such as the requisition orders and tax demands preserved from 7th- and 8th-century Syria and Egypt then offer the possibility of inquiring into the graphic relation between the different redactions of the text. The Arabic version, symbolically put at the top of the papyrus and written in larger script, imposes itself as dominant in a positional and spatial hierarchy over the functionally dominant Greek one,⁵³ relinquished to the bottom of the sheet.⁵⁴ Clay seals whose traces are still recognizable on multiple papyri further added to the visual impression of those documents.⁵⁵ An ostentatious and lavish distribution of the text on the papyrus surface combined with elongated characters (*linea dilatans*)⁵⁶ and ample blank spaces between words and groups of letters characterizes official writs and stood as a symbol of material wealth. Wide spacing between nonligated characters belonging to the same word finally betrays a conception of the text based on graphic/visual unities rather than meaning unities.⁵⁷ Combined, these features contributed to create a visual semantic intended to evoke notions of authority through the appearance of the document even before (and independently of) the reading of its content. They made official Arabic writings optically distinguishable not only from their coeval pendants in other languages but also from informal, private Arabic documents. In this respect, it would be accurate to understand early Islamic Arabic official promulgations not only, and possibly not mainly, as conceived for a readership but rather for a spectatorship.⁵⁸ In other words, in early Islamic Arabic public texts, referential and informative functions existed simultaneously depending on the addressed social and cultural group. All layers of a single document were conceived to be communicative but not all to be necessarily or primarily explicitly communicative.⁵⁹ While the employment of regional languages in the early Islamic chanceries was communicative *quia* informative, official Arabic texts could provide an additional communicative layer precisely *quia* noninformative. For a skilled Arabic reader the ability to understand the text and appreciate the distinctive formal and ideological features it contained symbolized belonging in the prestige cultural and political milieu of the imperial elite. For people versed and not versed in Arabic alike, on the other hand, the visuality of the medium worked as a powerful signifier of Arab sovereignty irrespective of a document’s actual content.

āt; 785–93). Examples of private and business letters lacking an *alinea* or a *vacat* between the blessing and the transition formula are *P.Berl.Arab.* 2.49 (unknown provenance/Egypt; 8th century) r, 3; *P.Khalili* 1.21 (unknown provenance/Egypt; 8th century), 2 (lacking the entire blessing); *P.Mird* 61 (Khirbat al-Mird; 8th century), 5; *P.RagibLettres* 9b (unknown provenance/Egypt; 8th century) v, 3; *P.RagibLettres* 11 (unknown provenance/Egypt; 8th century) r, 3–4; and *P.ReinfandtLeinhaendler* (Ihnās; first half of the 8th century) r, 3.

51. *P.MuslimState* 24.3, *P.MuslimState* 25.3, *P.MuslimState* 28.3, *P.MuslimState* 31.3, *P.MuslimState* 32.3, *P.MuslimState* 34.3, and *P.MuslimState* 38.4 (Fayyūm; all datable to 730–50).

52. Cf. Sijpesteijn 2013, 230; and Sijpesteijn 2020, 460–62.

53. The degree and chronology of the Arabization of and, consequently, the function of Arabic and Greek in the early Islamic chanceries varied depending on the region; see Kaplony 2016, 392–401.

54. As illustrative examples, see *P.Ness.* 60 (Nessana; 674) and *P.BeckerPAF* 10 = *P.Heid.Arab.* 1.9 (Ishqūh; 709). Concerning bilingual tax demands from Egypt, Andreas Kaplony suggested that though put at the top of the papyrus sheet, the Arabic text was actually based on a Greek prototype (2016, 398–99).

55. On sealing practices in early Islamic Egypt, see Sijpesteijn 2012, 164–73; and Sijpesteijn 2018.

56. The *linea dilatans* is employed in Arabic letters principally as a means toward the justification of a text. It can furthermore be used to highlight single words and to mark the beginning of a new paragraph; see Grob 2010, 188.

57. N. Abbot, *P.Qurra*, p. 36. For some examples, see *P.Ryl.Arab.* 15.39 = *P.DiemGouverneur* (Ushmūnayn; 684/5), 6 (الستلم); *P.Cair.Arab.* 154 = *P.BeckerNPAF* 8 (Ishqūh; 709/10), 16–17 (أرضك); and *Chrest.Houry* 1.90 = *P.World*, p. 124 = *P.Heid.Arab.* 1.1 (Ishqūh; 710), 16 (عيدك).

58. There are indicators that early Islamic official documents on papyrus were on occasion supposed to be hung in congregational places for public display. See, e.g., *P.Lond.* 4.1343 (Ishqūh; 709), 26.

59. On explicit communication, see Sperber and Wilson 2008, 172–83.

Arabic and Figurative Imagery

The use of the written word as a communal medium of display is not peculiar to the Islamic civilization. Rather, setting apart the Islamic praxis of public writing from those of other antique cultures is the steady and virtually ubiquitous presence of Arabic script in Islamic visual arts in the most disparate media.⁶⁰ The interplay of Arabic writing and figurative imagery of late antique ascendancy in official representations of Arab authority, in particular, is indicative of the ideological positioning of the rising Islam toward the reference cultures of the pre-Islamic Near and Middle East.

Of all kinds of primary evidence on the attitude of the early Islamic rule toward visual symbolism, coins are by far the most plentiful and the only diachronically continuous and geographically evenly distributed ones. After the Islamic conquest, monetary zones that reflected the pre-Islamic political status quo had to be adapted to the new geopolitical scenario.⁶¹ In the absence of a tradition to draw expertise from, the first Islamic⁶² coinage had to rely to different degrees on the existing late antique paradigms and canons.⁶³ In particular, for the first 60 years of their rule the Arabs resorted to iconographic models inspired by Byzantine and Sasanian precedents for their coinage. Both prototypes and the degree of adherence to them varied greatly depending on “environmental” factors.⁶⁴ Irrespective of the single variations, a common feature of the first Islamic numismatics is that it reproduced both royal emblems such as crowns, globes, and scepters and religious symbols such as the Christian cross and the Zoroastrian fire altar inherited from the preceding imperial traditions. This praxis remained unaltered even when, under Mu‘āwiya I, Syrian mints underwent an extensive reorganization and were more closely regimented (so-called Umayyad imperial coinage).⁶⁵ Emblems of Sasanian and Byzantine authority were likely employed as deindividualized attributes of power *lato sensu* rather than as dogmatic and political statements at this point. Direct parallels can be seen in the inclusion of symbols typically associated with Byzantine and Sasanian royalty in the architectonic and pictorial decoration of Umayyad palaces.⁶⁶ The use of hanging crowns as ceremonial objects and decorative elements in Umayyad palaces in a manner reminiscent of Sasanian customs and motives,⁶⁷ in particular, is both archaeologically and literarily documented.⁶⁸ Artistically rendered Sasanian and Byzantine crowns are also visible in the mosaics decorating the Dome of the Rock.⁶⁹ The alleged indulgence of the Umayyad monarchs in the lifestyle of their predecessors may also be interpreted as a symbolic appropriation of royal prerogatives.⁷⁰ Conversely, Arab

60. Cf., e.g., Blair 1998, 3–8.

61. Heidemann 1998, 95.

62. An “Islamic” coinage *stricto sensu* (i.e., exhibiting explicit references to the Muslim creed) appeared only during the second Muslim Civil War (see below n92). Here the term is used only in a chronological sense.

63. For about a decade after the fall of the Levant to the Arabs, Muslim rule in Syria relied on imported Byzantine copper coinage; on this theme, see Heidemann 1998, 97–98. A metrological analysis has shown, furthermore, that Arab imitative coinage (ca. 638–60) closely followed the weight standards of the coeval Byzantine official series. On this theme, see Pottier, Schulze, and Schulze 2008.

64. For the different (and partially overlapping) phases of Arab-Byzantine coinage, see Album and Goodwin 2002, 74; Foss 2008, 9–10 (introduction); and Heidemann 2010a, 151–61. For the Arab-Sasanian coinage, see Album and Goodwin 2002, 1; and Heidemann 2010a, 162–69.

65. For the definition “Umayyad imperial coinage,” see Album and Goodwin 2002, 74–75; and Goodwin 2012, 186. For an overview of the various terminologies used by scholars to refer to the different phases of Islamic transitional coinage, see Oddy and Schulze 2012, 187–93.

66. See Finster 2005, 155, on capitals depicting both the Byzantine emperor and the Sasanian King of Kings in the Umayyad palace at Anjar (Lebanon).

67. For royal attributes in Sasanian art, see Harper 1979, 49–64.

68. Ettinghausen 1972, 24–33; Hillenbrandt 1982, 12 and 19; Shaked 1986, 76.

69. Grabar 1987, 55–56; and 2006, 85, fig. 29.

70. Cf. Grabar 1987, 148–49; Hillenbrandt 1982, 3–20; and Shaked 1986, 75–87.

coinage up to 692 underlines the overall unwillingness or inability of the conquerors to forge authentic signs of sovereignty on a figurative level. Furthermore, the coinage's visual language remained divided by region according to the preexisting monetary zones.⁷¹ Browsing through Islamic coin designs up to the end of the 7th century, one finds that the only transregional (*vi-delicet* imperial) feature shared by the different visual languages of coins produced in different provinces and on different metals is the inclusion of brief legends in Arabic script. In the 660s at the latest Arabic inscriptions on coins, whether alone or, more frequently, in combination with other languages,⁷² became an almost universal component of early Islamic coinage.⁷³ It was through Arabic script, not iconography, that the imperial elite at first impressed its public mark on the coinage. The inclusion of Arabic legends thus also provided a visual cue to reinterpret the symbols previously associated with Byzantine and Sasanian authority in light of the Arab Muslim rule that had, symbolically and factually, supplanted it.

A major watershed in Islamic numismatic history was brought about over the course of a few years during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik in two subsequent monetary reforms. A first short-lived one known as the "standing-caliph"⁷⁴ coinage (692/3 to 696/7) represented the first attempt at shaping an original figurative imagery for the Islamic Empire. The second (since 697/8 for gold and 698/9 for silver)⁷⁵ replaced figural images altogether with Arabic epigraphies. Only the latter proved itself successful in the long term and set the standard for future Muslim coinage. There was hardly any aspect of the new coins that was not new. Figurative iconography had vanished in favor of Arabic epigraphies; the Muslim profession of faith had been expanded with polemical anti-Trinitarian statements; even the writing direction (now counterclockwise) was altered.⁷⁶ Optically, however, the most immediate rupture with the past was the removal of the ruler's figure from the official coinage, which ended a centuries-old convention.⁷⁷ The ideological reasons behind such a radical move in a generally conservative ambit like the coinage have puzzled many scholars, prompting different hypotheses.⁷⁸ The (alleged) aniconic and iconoclastic nature of the Muslim creed cannot provide a satisfactory explanation for the dismissal of figurative symbols.⁷⁹ Dating the first emergence of a bias toward iconoclastic tendencies in the Muslim tradition is a debated matter. The most recent reconstructions incline toward a dating between the 720s and the 740s, that is, more than 20 years after the monetary reform.⁸⁰ Except for a few often-cited episodes such as the Yazīd II's edict against images, iconoclastic outbreaks on the side of the Muslim authorities are rarely recorded.⁸¹ Turning to material evidence, nothing in the monetary history of the early caliphate hints at signs of hostility against figurative motives per se. Leaving aside imitative coinage,⁸² even series indented by clearly reformist intentions do not betray any attempt to shift from a figurative to an all-epigraphical model. Even 'Abd al-Malik and his most prominent governors issued and let themselves be portrayed on figurative coins. Preserved clay seals used by officials to validate their correspondence from the

71. Heidemann 2010a, 151–52.

72. Languages used in early Islamic numismatics include most notably—but not exclusively—Greek in Syria, Latin in North Africa and Spain, and Middle Persian in Pahlavi script in the Iranian world.

73. See above p. 14 and nn10–14.

74. On the definition "standing-caliph," see Album and Goodwin 2002, 74; and Oddy and Schulze 2012, 193.

75. Bacharach 2010, 16–19; Foss 2008, 111–12; Heidemann 2010a, 184–85.

76. Cf. Bacharach 2010, 18.

77. Later Arabic precious-metal coinage will, furthermore, remain anonymous until the Abbasid revolution.

78. On a more technical explanation for the success of the all-epigraphic coinage based on the Gresham law, see Bacharach 2010, 19–20.

79. See, e.g., Welch 1977, 63–65; and Paret 1976–77.

80. Based on the analysis of early Muslim *ḥadīth* literature undertaken by van Reenen 1990, 27–77, revising a previous study by Rudy Paret 1976–77.

81. Sahnner 2017.

82. On the Arab imitative coinage, see Foss 2008, 25–27; Album and Goodwin 2002, 75 (pseudo-Byzantine); and Pottier, Schulze, and Schulze 2008.

years of the reforms and those following it make use of both animal and human figures.⁸³ Some atypical standing-caliph coppers from Palestine and Mesopotamia featuring only the legend *muḥammad rasūl allāh* (Muḥammad is God's messenger) flanking the standing-caliph figure on the obverse have even been tentatively identified as depictions of the Prophet Muḥammad.⁸⁴ This interpretation has since gained some support,⁸⁵ but more often than not it has been rejected by later studies.⁸⁶ A unique Arab Sasanian silver drachm minted in Damascus in 691/2 also shows the same inscription placed in front of the royal portrait⁸⁷ (i.e., in the section usually reserved for the name of the ruling king depicted in the central portrait).⁸⁸ Of relevance for the point at issue is not so much whether such coins should be understood as depictions of Muḥammad but rather their interpretive ambiguity. If anything, the insertion of the legend next to the main depiction shows that Arab authorities were little concerned about the possibility that the beholders might have interpreted the figure as that of the Prophet. An aniconic output is clearly recognizable in Umayyad sacral architecture, which never exhibits decorative motives other than floral, scriptural, and inanimate ones. Sculptures and pictorial decorations in Umayyad palaces up to the 740s,⁸⁹ however, show, quite literally, a different picture, displaying frescoes and even three-dimensional sculptures of human and animal subjects.⁹⁰ Embedding the religious invocations and other pious mottos in figurative coins did not constitute a taboo either. Religious invocations combined with iconographic elements were a trademark of pre-reform Arab coinage since its first recorded existence.⁹¹ Virtually all contenders in the Second Civil War (683–92) took it a step further, including explicitly Muslim slogans and Qur'anic paraphrases on their coinage.⁹² Even notoriously uncompromising Islamic fringes such as the Kharijites had no moral prejudice to embed their pious motto *lā ḥukm illā li-llāh* (there is no judgment but God's) on figurative Arab-Sasanian coins.⁹³ Figurative subjects (including animals⁹⁴ and even human figures⁹⁵) are finally well attested on *post*-reform Umayyad copper and occasionally appear on precious-metal coinage in Abbasid times.⁹⁶ The strong symbiosis of Arabic and Islamic religion

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83. The most prominent example of such tokens is the seal of the caliph's own brother and Egypt's governor, 'Abd al-'Azīz, showing a man with an axe (*Nilus* 4, no. 33).
84. The issue was first raised by Foss 2001, 9. A similar case was raised by Gaube 1973, 36 2.2.3.6, 12, who identified the Muḥammad (written as *MHMT*) occurring in Pahlavi or Arabic on the marginal legend, in front of the portrait, or both in some Arab-Sasanian drachms (so-called Muḥammad series minted in the northern provinces of the Islamic Empire with the homonym Prophet). The figure, however, is probably to be understood as the governor of the region, Muḥammad b. Marwān; see Sears 2003, 90–97.
85. Hoyland 2007, 593–96.
86. See Heidemann 2010a, 175–76n71; and 2010b, 24–25, who argued that by the late 7th century legends and depictions had become increasingly independent aspects of coinage; see also Treadwell 2015, 86–91.
87. Morton & Eden LTB (in Association with Sotheby's) 2012, lot 20 (*muḥammad rasūl allāh*, 72 [691/2], Damascus).
88. This is the section where in Arab times the name of the issuing governor or caliph was inserted. See Gaube 1973, 9–55.
89. See, e.g., Grabar 1987, 132–69.
90. Prominent examples are the residences of Quṣayr 'Amra (ca. 723–43), Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī (728–29), and Khirbat al-Mafjar (743–44).
91. Some of the earliest examples of religious phraseology to appear on Islamic coins are the validating legend *bi-ism allāh* and the governors' personal mottos, such as *bi-ism allāh rabbi* (in the name of God, my Lord) on the marginal legends of Arab-Sasanian drachms.
92. Confessionally defined Islamic mottos were first introduced in the coinage of the anti-caliph Ibn al-Zubayr in 689 during the Second Civil War and only later appropriated and adapted by the victorious Marwanids. On Zubayrid coinage, see Foss 2013, 11–17.
93. On Kharijite coinage, see Foss 2002; and Geiser 2010, 172–80.
94. See, e.g., *BMC* 2 no. 795 (anonymous, without date/Umayyad, Ḥims), depicting an elephant, and *SICA* 2 no. 1306 (anonymous, without date/Umayyad, without mint), depicting a lion.
95. See, e.g., *SICA* 2 no. 1354 (anonymous, without date/Umayyad, without mint), depicting a helmeted human head, and *BMC* 2 no. 674 (anonymous, without date/Umayyad, without mint), depicting a horse rider.
96. A blatant example is the silver medallion of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–61) first published by Bergmann 1869, 445–56, and depicting a frontal royal portrait of the caliph on the obverse and a man leading a camel on the reverse (855/6; without mint/Sāmarrā').

has often been thought to be the core ideological factor behind the all-epigraphic reform.⁹⁷ The inclusion of the anti-Trinitarian excerpt from Sura *al-ikhhlās* (Q 112: 2–3), *allāh aḥad allāh al-ṣamad lam yalid wa-lam yūlad* (God is one, God is eternal, He begets not, nor is He begotten)⁹⁸ in the reverse-field legend⁹⁹ further suggests an anti-Byzantine political background of the reform.¹⁰⁰ None of these elements, however, provides an explanation concerning why a purely epigraphic visual language was preferred to a figurative one. Approaching the question from a different angle, it is crucial to investigate why Arabic epigraphies were deemed a fitting substitute for figurative imagery in terms of communicative potential or, in other words, why the standing-caliph coinage failed where the all-epigraphic one succeeded.

With respect to ideological and formal features, the standing-caliph coinage anticipated the main distinctive characteristics of the all-epigraphic one. Much like the latter, the former abolished pre-Islamic secular and religious symbolism, publicly asserting the Muslim profession of faith and dropping languages other than Arabic. On a more technical level, the standing-caliph issues introduced the reverse executive legend *bi-ism allāh ḍuriba hādhā al-fals/dīrham/dīnār bi so-and-so* (mint name) *fī sana so-and-so* (number), “in the name of God, this *dīnār/dīrham/fals* was minted in X in the year Y,” which became standard on all-epigraphic coins.¹⁰¹ The series is also the first documented occurrence of the same iconographic program in all three metals across mints of Syria, Palestine, Northern Mesopotamia,¹⁰² and Iran,¹⁰³ setting a precedent for the all-epigraphic reform to build on. The standing-caliph coinage thus bears witness to the search for a distinctive and transregional canon for imperial representation in the aftermath of the Second Civil War. This intent harmonizes with the other coeval symbolic efforts at legitimation during ‘Abd al-Malik’s reign and most notably the restoration of the Meccan sanctuary, the erection of the Dome of the Rock, and the already-mentioned enforcement of Arabic as the official language of the Muslim administration—even if the latter took decades to be fully effective.¹⁰⁴ An analysis of the different standing-caliph issues, however, highlights the intrinsic limits of the visual language of the series. Apart from the obverse standing figure with a sword, which gives the name to the series, the gold coins distinguish themselves for the somewhat obscure reverse symbol frequently referred to in the literature as “transformed cross on steps” or “globe on a pole on steps.”

Copper issues produced in mints from Syria and Northern Mesopotamia exhibit a peculiar symbol on the reverse side, “enriching” the pole of the gold issues with an elliptical element (generally referred to as “phi-shaped symbol on steps”).¹⁰⁵ Palestinian mints, on the contrary, still keep the Greek numeral “m”¹⁰⁶ of the precedent bilingual issues in place unchanged.¹⁰⁷

97. On the religious connotations of Arabic writing in Islam, see, e.g., Rosenthal 1961 and Dodd 1969.

98. The legend appears in this form on gold *dīnārs*. On the wider silver *dīrhams* the legend encompasses also the following Qur’anic verse (Q 112: 4): *wa-la yakun la-hu kufū’àn aḥad*, “. . . and He has no equal unto Him.”

99. In the lack of a ruler’s depiction, the side containing the legend *lā ilāh illā allāh waḥda-hu*, “there is no god but God alone,” is generally considered the obverse in post-reform Islamic coinage. The legend appears on opposite sides on *dīnārs* and *dīrhams*. For considerations on the determination of the obverse in post-reform *dīrhams*, see Bacharach 2010, 16–19.

100. Bacharach 2010, 15–16.

101. The introduction of the executive legend marks the first use of Arabic nomenclature for copper and gold coinage (*fals* and *dīnār*, respectively) on the coins themselves.

102. For a list of the Syrian, Palestinian, and Northern Mesopotamian mints of standing-caliph coinage, see Album and Goodwin 2002, 95–98 and 121 (map); and Foss 2008, 81–83.

103. On standing-caliph copper issues from Susa, see below pp. 25–26.

104. See above pp. 15–16 and n29.

105. John Walker suggested that the phi-shaped object stood as an abbreviation of Greek *f(ollis)*, “copper coin”; see Walker 1956, 23 (introduction). A useful synoptic overview of alternative interpretations is given by Schulze 2010, 11–12. Wolfgang Schulze understands the symbol as an attempt to create an authentic Islamic religious symbol and traces iconographic parallels with astral cultic symbols of pre-Islamic Arabia; see 13–21.

106. The numeral “M” (also “m”) originated as a marker of value on Byzantine coppers denoting 40 *nummi*.

107. Foss 2008, 67; Album and Goodwin 2002, 93. All tentatively explain the discrepancy chronologically. Schulze 2010, 20, suggests a connection with the Christian predominance in Palestine.



Fig. 1. Anonymous, drachm, AH 75 (694/5 CE), without mint (Damascus?)
Photo by Gyselen 2000, Plate 15 no. 7 (enlarged)



Fig. 2. Anonymous (frozen Khusrō), drachm, without date, without mint (Damascus?)
Photo by Treadwell 1999, 268 (ANS), originally published by Miles 1957, 192–93 (3.70 g, enlarged)

On the silver issues minted in Damascus in 75 AH (694/5) the standing-caliph figure is in turn placed on the reverse while the obverse still displays the bust of the Sasanian King of Kings (Fig. 1).¹⁰⁸ Perhaps to avoid the anomaly of having the ruler's image on both sides in the following year, the same mint reshaped the bust of the Sasanian king into one of the standing caliph.¹⁰⁹ On the same issues, the obverse side showed an inedited visual symbol (a spear beneath an arcade) with few numismatic parallels and generally denominated in the literature as “sacrum and spear” (Fig. 2).¹¹⁰

108. Treadwell 2005, 1.

109. Treadwell 2005, 11; Bacharach 2010, 13.

110. On this element, see in particular Treadwell 2005, 15–21, on the connection with the motive of the cross under arch of pilgrim's vessels from Syria. Similar niches are found on Sasanian sphragistics as well; see, e.g., Gyselen 1994, nos. 10. A. 11–17 and 10. B. 10. A previous article by George Miles interpreted the symbol in a religious light and understood it as the Prophet's lance beneath a *mihrāb*; see Miles 1952, 159–71.



Fig. 3. Bishr b. Marwān, drachm, Aqūlā, AH 73 (692/3 CE)

Photo by Treadwell 1999, 261, A1 (4.31 g, enlarged); image courtesy of Luke Treadwell

Contemporarily with the first coining of silver drachms in Damascus, the mints of Aqūlā¹¹¹ and Baṣra under the tenet of the caliph's brother Bishr b. Marwān (in office 691–4) crafted the so-called *orans* silver drachms.¹¹² The latter coins show the classical Sasanian royal bust on the obverse but replace the Zoroastrian altar of the reverse with a praying figure flanked by two attendants. In the issues from the years 73 AH (Fig. 3) and 74 AH the robe of the main reverse figure presents affinities with the one of the standard standing caliph.¹¹³

Contemporary Egyptian coinage issued by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān (in office 685–705) does on occasion exhibit symbolic elements linking it to both the Syrian (phi-shaped symbol) and Palestinian (Greek numeral “m”) standing-caliph copper stock.¹¹⁴ The obverse main figure is likewise reminiscent of the “falconer” coins of the so-called pseudo-Damascus mint,¹¹⁵ but it is clearly divergent from that of the standing-caliph series.

In the Maghreb the reverse symbol typical of the standing-caliph gold series is found on half-*dīnār* (lat. *semissis*) gold issues but combined with a “two imperial figures” obverse of Byzantine ascendancy.¹¹⁶ The latter is used on copper coinage and third-*dīnār* coins (lat. *tremissis*) from the same region as well, which in turn exhibits on the reverse a “T”-shaped pole bar¹¹⁷ reminiscent of the one visible on previous Umayyad imitative gold coinage¹¹⁸ but not found on any coeval Islamic copper coins from other regions.

Even in Damascus (presumably), a parallel gold series was minted resembling in all aspects the standing-caliph reverse but showing on the obverse three “imperial figures” of Byzantine in-

111. A city immediately to the north of the new Arab provincial capital of Kūfa for which the mint name probably stands. See Treadwell 1999, 226–28.

112. The definition “*orans* drachms” goes back to Walker 1952, 106–8.

113. Treadwell 1999, 238. For a discussion on the identity of the represented figure(s), see 233–40.

114. Goodwin 2015, 208; Foss 2008, 103. On the attribution of those coins to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s governorate, see Metlich and Schindel 2004, 113.

115. The existence of a so-called pseudo-Damascus mint was first recognized by Milstein 1988–89. The identification of the obverse figure of some issues with a falconer was first championed by Oddy 1991; cf. Album and Goodwin 2002, 87; and Foss 2008, 47–48. This interpretation, however, was disputed by Schindel and Hahn 2010, prompting a reassertion by Oddy 2012, 109–10.

116. Johnson 2015, 229n29. Cf. Walker 1956, 54.

117. Heidemann 2010b, 26, suggested that the “T” bar may have been intended as an abbreviation of *tremissis*.

118. See, e.g., Miles 1967, pl. 45. nos. 4, 6, and 8.

spiration.¹¹⁹ Stefan Heidemann has convincingly argued that the different reverse symbols functioned as markers of value.¹²⁰ This does not explain, however, the use of different reverse sides on coeval issues of the same metal and value (such as in the case of the phi-shaped symbol and the Greek numeral “m” on the Syrian and Palestinian standing-caliph coppers, respectively)¹²¹ or the same reverse symbols appearing combined with a different obverse (as in the case of the symbol of the globe on a pole on steps appearing both in the standing-caliph and the three-imperial-figures *solidi*). The iconographic links exhibit a clear influence from the main Syrian series outward; yet the degree of regional variations is impossible to overlook.

A common denominator of the standing-caliph series seems to have been the removal of non-Islamic religious symbols. Enigmatic examples of standing-caliph¹²² coppers from the mint of Susa (Iran) tell a slightly different story. Apart from the radical reshaping of the figure on the obverse, the coins’ reverse very curiously exhibits a modified “floral” version of the cross-on-steps motive instead of the typical elements of the series.¹²³ Similar floral motives have parallels in Sasanian *sphragistics*.¹²⁴ The original ideological significance of the reverse symbol was apparently lost to the point that the Iranian engravers replaced it with a more familiar one.¹²⁵ This instance brings attention to the main systemic limit of the standing-caliph series as a whole: the referential dimension. Over the course of the centuries, the political entities englobed in the Arab Empire had developed diverse patterns of figurative imperial representation. Iconographies associated with royal authority in the different monetary zones had set deep roots by the conquest’s time. To be able to express power figuratively, Arab rule had to adapt to the centuries-old compositional schemes with which power had been associated.¹²⁶ For the ruler’s portrayal on gold and copper coinage a standing pose was adopted, a common representation pattern for emperors on Byzantine coinage. For the silver issues, the obverse figure was soon modified into a bust form as the Sasanian canon commanded. Eloquently the caliphal portrayal on the *sacrum-and-spear drachms* wears a crown (or possibly a helmet), an element missing from the standing-caliph copper and gold series. The headgear differs markedly from its Sasanian pendants despite reproducing the Sasanian diadem consisting of two dotted lines ending in three pellets.¹²⁷ Crowns on Sasanian coins traditionally represented individualized attributes differentiating a king’s effigy from that of his predecessors.¹²⁸ This element retained no such function into Islamic times, surviving as a frozen visual mark.¹²⁹ No other portrayals of caliphs in frescoes, coinage, or statuary¹³⁰ show depictions of crowns. In fact, the Islamic tradition attaches a political stigma to the wearing of crowns, often seen as an attribute of tyrants as opposed to just monarchs.¹³¹ Crown-shaped

119. Bacharach 2010, 9; Heidemann 2010a, 173–74; Foss 2008, 65; Album and Goodwin 2002, 91.

120. Heidemann 2010b, 24–25.

121. See above p. 22 and n106.

122. ASCC 39a; ASCC 39b; ASCC 40 (all anonymous, without date/Umayyad, Susa). These types are the only attestations of a standing-caliph model in coeval Iran; see Gyselen 2000, 38.

123. The presence of a cross has prompted Rika Gyselen’s suggestion that the minting of these issues was delegated to a local Christian authority. This hypothesis has, however, been rejected by Treadwell 2008, 360n113.

124. Treadwell 2008, 360–61.

125. “The figure of the ‘caliph’ is so crudely rendered that one wonders whether the engraver himself had any idea what the ‘scabbard’ and ‘whip’ signified on the prototype. By contrast, the ‘Cross-on-Steps’ was surely comprehensible to the engraver.” Treadwell 2008, 363.

126. Cf. Grabar 1987, 93–94.

127. Gaube 1973, 16–17; Treadwell 2005, 12.

128. Göbl 1968, 7–9.

129. Mu’awiya I, ‘Abd al-Malik, Ibn al-Zubayr, and Qaṭari b. al-Fujā’a, for instance, all issued Arab-Sasanian coins exhibiting the same frozen Sasanian royal bust of Khusrō II (see, e.g., *SICA* 1 no. 245, no. 264, no. 265, and no. 273).

130. A prominent example of a statuary depiction of a caliph (or prince?) bearing a striking resemblance to that of the standing-caliph coins is the one found at the Umayyad residence of Khirbat al-Mafjar; see Hamilton 1959, pl. 55, nos. 1 and 5.

131. Marsham 2015, 140–41; Crone 2005, 46. Mu’awiya I, for instance, is reported to have refused to wear a crown; see Hoyland 1997b, 136.

headgear was most likely inserted in the sacrum-and-spear coins because the aesthetics of the Sasanian drachms demanded that specific *visual* element.¹³² In regard to the reverse-side symbols on copper and gold issues, whatever their original meaning may be, they are modeled according to the compositional scheme of the Byzantine cross on steps in the same way the reverse of both the *orans* and the sacrum-and-spear drachms reproduced the tripartite reverse structure of the Zoroastrian “fire-altar with two attendants” of the Sasanian drachms.¹³³ Returning to the Iranian standing-caliph coppers from Susa, it was probably the “Byzantine” compositional scheme that led to the replacement of the transformed cross with an actual cross—even if modified in accordance with local tastes.¹³⁴

Yet how does this relate to the choice of replacing the figurative motives with Arabic inscriptions altogether? The reformed coinage endeavored to mark the cultural self-awareness of the Arab imperial elite on different levels: (1) theologically: by defining the leading culture of the empire and its governing group as Muslim; (2) linguistically: by excluding other imperial languages such as Greek, Middle Persian, and Latin; and (3) iconographically: by dismissing signs of royalty derived from late antique cultures. The standing-caliph series’ visual language proved itself both too permeated by regionalisms and too closely associable with the Byzantine and Sasanian traditions from which it tried to distance itself.

This feature is common to all the abortive attempts¹³⁵ at establishing an original Islamic figurative coinage and helps explain why the latter failed to set a durative standard for the decades to come. Unlike any other linguistic and iconographic token, Arabic script was a both unambiguous and authentic mark. Its exclusiveness assured its independence from the heavy and symbolically uncomfortable heritage of the previous imperial traditions. Finally, through its graphic distinctiveness the new prestige script could and did function as a visual signifier of power, cultural self-awareness, and authority. Parallel developments are visible in Islamic official sphragistics as well. Here too one witnesses a slowly but steady evolution from the figurative motives depicting animals and human figures¹³⁶ to purely epigraphical tokens over the course of the 8th and 9th centuries.¹³⁷ As in the case of Arabic official documents on papyrus the ideological message of the new all-epigraphic coinage was concentric, establishing different patterns of access for different groups: literate Arab Muslims would have understood the Muslim affirmation of faith and the other signs of sovereignty. At the same time, the illiterate spectators would have recognized the indisputable visual novelty of the coinage and the total rupture with the figurative language of preexisting political entities.

Concluding Remarks

The implementation of the new coinage on a transregional scale was not achieved with a pen’s stroke but followed different patterns in different regions. In some instances the process even

132. A similar headgear is shown on the obverse figure of rare Arab-Sasanian coppers featuring the name al-Walid. While the identification of the name with the caliph al-Walid I (r. 705–15) cannot be ascertained beyond doubt, it seems the most probable hypothesis. The name is flanked by another “illegible” legend in Arabic (according to Gyselen 2000, 77 and 163) or Pahlavi (according to Album and Goodwin 2002, 48) characters.

133. Treadwell 1999, 232.

134. Other issues by the mint of Susa are also modeled on Byzantine prototypes. See Gyselen 2000, Types 42, 74, and 76; and α (annex).

135. Other examples of “experimental” monetary issues are the so-called radial drachms of the governor al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (in office 694–714), which place the Arabic *shahāda* in a circular pattern around the traditional Sasanian royal portrait, and the drachm of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (in office 702–4), depicting a warrior armed with a spear.

136. Examples of figurative seals are those of ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ depicting a bull (*Nilus* 4, no. 17); of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān depicting a man’s bust with an axe on his shoulder (*Nilus* 4, no. 33); and of Qurra b. Sharīk depicting a cheetah or a hound (*Nilus* 4, no. 18).

137. Sijpesteijn 2012, 171–72.

outlasted the Umayyad dynasty. It took even longer for the implementation of Arabic as the only language of Arab administration to be 100 percent effective. The course set by ‘Abd al-Malik however, proved itself a successful one in the long term. His reforms capitalized on the impulse animating the confrontation of the rising Arab governing group with the representative standards developed by its predecessors. In Arabic script the imperial elite found a symbolic affirmation of its authority and self-awareness, which was at the same time authentic, unequivocal, exclusive, and universal. The diverse entity of the empire’s non-Arab subjects experienced this imperial effigy through the “referential” dimension conveyed first and foremost by visual impression.

Abbreviations of Quoted Editions

- AI Sharon, Moshe. 1966. “An Arabic Inscription from the Time of the Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 29: 367–72.
- ASCC Gyselen, Rika. 2000. *Arab-Sasanian Copper Coinage*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- BMC 2 *Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum Part 2: A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-reform Umayyad Coins*. 1956. London: British Museum Publications.
- CIAP 1 Sharon, Moshe. 1997. *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae*. Vol. 1. Leiden: Brill.
- CIAP 3 Sharon, Moshe. 2004. *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae*. Vol. 3. Leiden: Brill.
- Nilus 4 Wassiliou, Alexandra-Kyriaki, and Hermann Harrauer. 1999. *Siegel und Papyri. Das Siegelwesen in Ägypten von römischer bis in früh-arabische Zeit: Katalog zur Sonderausstellung des Papyruseums der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Zusammenarbeit mit der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften/Kommission für Byzantinistik, 20.9.–31.12.1999*. Vienna: ÖVG.
- RCEA 1 Combe, Etienne, Jean Sauvaget, and Gaston Wiet, eds. 1931. *Répertoire Chronologique d’Épigraphie Arabe. Tome Premier*. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.
- SICA 1 Album, Stephen, and Tony Goodwin. 2002. *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean 1: The Pre-reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum.
- SICA 2 Nicol, Norman D. 2009. *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean 2: Early Post-reform Coinage*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum.

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Imperial Policies and the Organization of the War Fleet in Early Islamic Egypt

Jelle Bruning

From the mid-20s AH/mid-640s CE, the empire of the Rightly Guided and Umayyad caliphs increasingly engaged in naval warfare. Initially supporting their efforts to conquer Byzantine territory and later institutionalized as yearly raids, naval expeditions were an important feature of these caliphs' *jihād* policies,¹ through which they actively sought to establish Islam's dominance beyond the empire's borders and simultaneously tried to legitimize their own rule.² Recent research shows that the period between the start of the Muslim conquests soon after Muḥammad's death in 11/632 and the establishment of empire-wide Abbasid rule in 132/750 witnessed drastic changes in the Muslim polity and administration. Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān's accession to the caliphate in 41/661 and the later years of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's reign, as well as that of his son and successor, al-Walid, are now known to have been key moments of change. Most important in the present context, their rule witnessed waves of administrative centralization and Islamization.³

This chapter studies to what extent these developments in the Muslim empire's early polity affected the organization of its fleets and naval expeditions, with a concentration on Egypt. This province of the Muslim empire is particularly interesting in this regard because it came to hold a significant share in the organization of naval expeditions after it was conquered by Muslims in the early 20s/640s. For example, the 3rd-/9th-century historian al-Balādhurī claims (with some exaggeration) that until the 50s/670s only Egypt possessed arsenals for the Muslim empire's war fleet.⁴ Other historians record the participation of many Egyptian fleets in naval expeditions; we will come back to them later. In addition to historiography, which often remains limited to the mentioning of expeditions and a handful of arsenals, documentary sources on the organization of naval expeditions are abundantly available from Egypt and deeply enrich such historiography.⁵ When studied together, and with the changes of Sufyanid and Marwanid polities in mind,

1. Fahmy 1966a, 1966b; Eickoff 1966; and most recently Picard 2015 are the main publications for the history of the Muslim fleet in the 1st/7th and 2nd/8th centuries.
2. On *jihād* before the Abbasids and related contemporary politics, see Blankinship 1994, especially 11–35; Crone 1994; Hoyland 1997, 554–55; Heck 2004, 106–8; Bonner 2006, 119–24; and Afsaruddin 2013, especially chaps. 1 and 2.
3. Most recently, Sijpesteijn 2013, especially chaps. 2 and 3; Legendre 2014, 2016; and Bruning 2018b.
4. Al-Balādhurī 1866, 117.
5. Published in 1910, Harold I. Bell's *PLond.* 4, pp. xxxii–xliv, remains the main analysis of Egyptian papyri concerning the fleet. For more recent publications using this and other documentary material, see Kennedy 2007, especially 324–43, with attention to papyri on 341–43; Muhammad 2008; Foss 2009, 2010, 87–88; al-Qāḍī 2016, 111–21; and Wissa 2017. Documentary sources for other areas are much less available. Two Greek inscriptions mention a Muslim expedition against Cyprus

historical literature and preserved documents show a remarkable development in the organization of naval expeditions in Egypt.

1. Egypt's Fleet under the Rightly Guided Caliphs

As is well known, the first organization of a fleet under Muslim command must be ascribed to Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān while he was governor of Syro-Palestine for the caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (r. 23–35/644–55). With a fleet, Mu'āwiya wished to expand the Muslim conquests to overseas areas and to defend the recently conquered Syro-Palestinian coast. Whereas the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13–23/634–44) allegedly had prohibited Mu'āwiya from pursuing naval expeditions, 'Umar's successor, 'Uthmān, allowed him to do so under special conditions.⁶ From the start, Mu'āwiya involved Egypt in the realization of his plans. As in the rest of the Byzantine Empire, Egypt lacked a permanent imperial fleet at the time the Muslims conquered the province in the early 20s/640s (although minor flotillas must have existed).⁷ The infrastructure necessary to build a fleet had not disappeared, however. Alexandria, Egypt's safest and largest entry to the Mediterranean,⁸ was the province's main commercial center in the mid-1st/7th century and must have possessed shipwrights and docks for the maintenance and repair of the many commercial ships that entered the city's harbors.⁹ In Egypt, the Muslims' initial naval policies are strongly connected to their attitude toward Alexandria, especially their appointment of a Muslim garrison in the city and the implementation of 'Uthmān's decree to have this garrison stationed there on a permanent basis.¹⁰

Before 'Uthmān b. 'Affān's caliphate, Egyptian fleets had a nonmilitary character, but some supported the logistics of battles fought on land. According to the *History of the Patriarchs*, for example, 'Amr b. al-Āṣ traveled with his army to Cyrenaica and Pentapolis in 21/642 or 22/643 while ships allegedly “containing the provisions and booty of the troops” set sail from Alexandria.¹¹ In a similar way, an Egyptian fleet that participated in 23/643 in a Muslim raid deep into Asia Minor, which eventually reached Amorion/'Ammūriya, must have been of an auxiliary nature.¹² Among such early naval projects must also be counted the organization of a fleet carrying Egyptian grain to the Ḥijāz in the first years of Muslim rule over Egypt. In order to create a waterway between the Nile and the Ḥijāz, 'Amr b. al-Āṣ ordered the reexcavation and partial relocation of the *Potamos Traianos*, probably by conscripting indigenous Egyptians.¹³ This canal

in 28/649; see Des Gagniers and Tam Tinh 1985, 115–25. For Arabic inscriptions referring to expeditions against Kos and Knidos, see Imbert 2013.

6. The literature on the early history of the fleet is vast, but the information remains rather limited. For recent contributions to the discussion (in addition to the publications mentioned in the preceding footnotes), see Beihammer 2004; Borrut 1999–2000, 12–16; Humphreys 2006, 53–58; Picard 2015, 229–40; and Pryor and Jeffreys 2006, 24–25. Recently, two studies tried to locate 'Umar's prohibition in Abbasid propaganda: Keshk 2008, 27–40, who argues that the association between 'Uthmān and Mu'āwiya's maritime project in historical literature aims to discredit the Umayyads as political-religious rulers; and Picard 2010, who sees 'Umar's prohibition to sail the Mediterranean as a 3rd-/9th- and 4th-/10th-century attempt to legitimize the limits of the Abbasid empire.
7. Zuckerman 2005, 109–17; and Pryor and Jeffreys 2006, 24–25; *pace* Cosentino 2007, 577–78. In addition, there is no evidence that the annona fleet, carrying Egyptian grain from Alexandria to Constantinople, was continued after the Sasanian conquest of Egypt in 619 CE had stopped it; see McCormick 1998, 115–18.
8. Cooper 2014, 74 and 143–50.
9. For the continuity of interregional and domestic commercial activity in Alexandria throughout the 1st/7th century, see the discussion and literature referred to in Bruning 2018b, 58–86.
10. For the initial Muslim garrison in Alexandria, see Bruning 2018b, 39–45.
11. *History of the Patriarchs* 1947–59, 2:495–500 [231–36]. The booty referred to is that taken by the Muslims during their conquest of Alexandria.
12. Bouderbala 2008, 278–82.
13. For indigenous Egyptians reexcavating the canal, see John of Nikiu 1916, 195 [CXX.31], and Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam 1922, 164 (line 20).

connected the Nile at Babylon/Qaṣr al-Shamʿ with the Red Sea near Klyisma/Qulzum and was later called “Canal of the Commander of the Faithful” (*Khalīj amīr al-muʿminīn*).¹⁴

In accordance with Muslim historical tradition on the chronology of maritime warfare in early Islam, Egyptian participation in real naval battles is recorded from the caliphate of ʿUthmān onward. In 28/649 and with caliphal permission, Muʿāwiya organized a large Syrian-Egyptian expedition against Cyprus.¹⁵ The early 3rd-/9th-century Dionysios of Tell-Mahrē maintains that Muʿāwiya enjoyed much operational freedom and writes that he “conveyed to the general at Alexandria that he, too, should send ships and a large army from Egypt. As soon as he received the letter from Muʿāwiya, he [i.e., the Alexandrian general] dispatched the ships.”¹⁶ Egyptian participation in a second raid against Cyprus in 33/653 is not recorded. A year later, in 34/654–55, Muʿāwiya led a major assault on Constantinople.¹⁷ A fleet of warships departed from Alexandria under the command of the Egyptian governor ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ and equipped, according to the 1st-/7th-century pseudo-Sebeos, with “mangonels, and machines to throw fire, and machines to hurl stones, archers and slingers.”¹⁸ A second fleet, consisting of small maneuverable ships, was organized on the Syrian coast at Tripoli while Muʿāwiya himself led a land expedition advancing toward the Byzantine capital.¹⁹ Whereas the Armenian pseudo-Sebeos describes the Muslim fleet’s complete destruction near Constantinople by a storm,²⁰ Christian and Muslim sources from the Near East dedicate most of their attention to an early stage in the assault: the so-called Battle of the Masts (*Dhū al-Ṣawārī*) on the southern Anatolian coast near Phoinix,²¹ where the Muslim fleet defeated that of the Byzantines and the Byzantine emperor was forced to flee in secret.²²

2. The Sufyanid Fleet

Following the First Civil War (36–41/656–61) during which territorial expansion on the empire’s frontiers had largely stopped and, instead, the Muslim community was occupied by internal strife surrounding questions of religious and political legitimacy,²³ the reign of the first Umayyad caliph, Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (r. 41–60/661–80), formed a period of major development

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14. The 3rd-/9th-century Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (1922, 162–64) and al-Yaʿqūbī (1883, 2:176–77) connect the reexcavation of the canal with the so-called Year of the Drought (*ʿĀm al-ramāda*) of late 17/638 and 18/639–40, during which a severe famine struck the Ḥijāz (al-Yaʿqūbī 1883, 2:171; and al-Ṭabarī 1879–1901, 1/5:2573–74). Al-Balādhurī (1866, 216), however, dates the reexcavation to the year 21/641–42, and al-Kindī, writing in the 4th/10th century, even dates it to 23/643–44 (in his now-lost *al-Jund al-gharbī*, cited in Ibn Duqmāq 1893, 4:120; and al-Maqrīzī 2002–3, 3:474). Archaeology confirms the early date of the reexcavation of the canal and, in addition, shows that it included a relocation of the canal’s entrance from Babylon/Qaṣr al-Shamʿ to al-Ḥamrāʿ al-Quṣwā, a northern suburb of Fuṣṭāṭ. See Sheehan 2010, 51–53, 85–86, and 89–90. On the canal, see also Cooper 2014, 95–99; and Kubiak 1987, 118–20.
 15. On this expedition, see Beihammer 2004 with bibliography on 47n1. See Kyrris 1984, 149n1, for the hypothesis that the Egyptian participation was a retaliation for the Byzantine attack on Alexandria in 25/646, staged from Cyprus.
 16. Hoyland 2011, 131 with n. 315. The emphasis on Alexandrians on pp. 131 and 132 is striking and makes one wonder to what extent the Alexandrian *amīr* operated independently from Egypt’s governor at that time (ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ). Note that the 4th-/10th-century Egyptian historians Ibn Yūnus (2000, 1:269 [no. 737]) and al-Kindī (1912, 12–13) do not include an expedition against Cyprus among the expeditions organized by this governor.
 17. For this assault, see Hoyland 2011, 141n340; Stratos 1980, 229–47; O’Sullivan 2004, 67–88; Zuckerman 2005; and Cosentino 2007, 586–93.
 18. Pseudo-Sebeos 1999, 144–45, with the commentary on 274–76.
 19. Dionysios of Tell-Mahrē in Palmer 1993, 179; Theophanes Confessor 1997, 482; Elias of Nisibis 1910, 86–87.
 20. Pseudo-Sebeos 1999, 145–46.
 21. Cf. Fahmy 1966b, 86.
 22. Dionysios of Tell-Mahrē in Palmer 1993, 179 (who adds that after its victory near Phoinix the Muslim fleet sailed on to Rhodes and then returned home); Theophanes Confessor 1997, 482; Michael the Syrian 1899–1905, 2:445–46; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam 1922, 189–91; Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ 1985, 168; al-Kindī 1912, 13.
 23. The best overview of the First Civil War remains Djaīt 1989.

for the Muslim polity. Showing simultaneously the caliph's political acumen and the organizational vitality of his empire,²⁴ Mu'āwīya's rule radically departed from that of the Rightly Guided caliphs before him. With his headquarters in Damascus rather than Medina, Mu'āwīya headed a centralized polity, and his rule witnessed administrative, legal, and military reforms throughout the empire.²⁵ Mu'āwīya also revived a combative *jihād* policy that formed part of the religious legitimacy of his caliphate, as it had done for his predecessors.²⁶ Monumental inscriptions, papyrus protocols, and coins as well as architectural changes also propagated this religious legitimacy and publicly displayed his rule over the Muslim community of "believers."²⁷ His imperial policies laid the foundations of the infrastructure of the Umayyad fleet.

Among the many changes during Mu'āwīya b. Abī Sufyān's caliphate were reforms of military administration. Some of these reforms were part of Mu'āwīya's early policies, implemented soon after he emerged victorious from the First Civil War, and aimed to secure his power. From the governorate of 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān (in office 43–44/664–65), for example, Egyptian governors more actively than before engaged in the administration of Alexandria's garrison, thereby securing its loyalty to the Sufyanid authorities. From 44/665 onward, governors are known to have visited the city soon after their assumption of power to command the soldiers stationed in Alexandria.²⁸ Two historical accounts preserved in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's 3rd-/9th-century *Futūḥ Miṣr* confirm Mu'āwīya's early interest in the defense of Egypt's Mediterranean littoral. They state that Mu'āwīya increased Alexandria's garrison from 12,000 soldiers to either 20,000 or 27,000 soldiers during 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān's governorate by sending non-Egyptian regiments to the city.²⁹

Other changes date from the long governorate of Maslama b. Mukhallad (47–62/667–82), an Egyptian governor famous for organizing many land and seaborne expeditions.³⁰ Al-Balādhurī writes that Mu'āwīya increased the number of arsenals in his empire around 49/669–70 to protect the coasts against Byzantine invasions.³¹ Possibly in reaction to a Byzantine attack on the Egyptian coastal town of Parallos/Burullus in 53/672–73,³² Maslama b. Mukhallad had a new arsenal constructed on the island opposite Fuṣṭāṭ (now called al-Rawḍa) in 54/673–74.³³ Part of this imperial policy was probably also the conquest and subsequent fortification of the strategically located island of Rhodes in 52/671–72 and 53/672–73.³⁴ This new infrastructure allowed for the organization of maritime expeditions on a larger scale than before. At an unspecified date during his governorate, for instance, Maslama b. Mukhallad decided to increase the number of soldiers participating in naval expeditions (*ba'th al-baḥr*).³⁵ Also the number of expeditions increased (we return to them later). Directly related to this intensification of maritime warfare is the appearance of a new military rank in sources on the Sufyanid period: the *ṣāḥib al-baḥr*, "fleet commander." Although admirals had commanded entire military fleets under the Rightly

24. This is especially argued for in Foss 2010 and Hoyland 2006, 395–416.

25. In addition to the literature referred to in the preceding footnote, see Legendre 2016, 10–13; and Bruning 2018a, 2018b.

26. Blankinship 1994, 24. See also Heck 2004, 106–8; Bonner 2006, 120–24; and Foss 2010, 88.

27. For inscriptions and protocols, see Hoyland 2006, 399. For architectural innovations, see Bruning 2018b, 49–51. See also Howard-Johnston 2010, 178; and Hoyland 2015, 136–37, for the religious implications of the ceremony of Mu'āwīya's receiving the *bay'a* in Jerusalem.

28. See the discussion in Bruning 2018b, 49–57.

29. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam 1922, 192 (partially copied in al-Suyūṭī 1967, 1:163). See also al-Kindī 1912, 36 (copied in al-Maqrīzī 2002–3, 2:46); and Ibn 'Asākir 1995–2000, 38:268, where it is said that 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān himself traveled to Alexandria to support the city's garrison.

30. Al-Kindī 1912, 38; Ibn Taghrī Birdī 1992, 1:175; al-Maqrīzī 2002–3, 2:46.

31. Al-Balādhurī 1866, 117.

32. E.g., Fahmy 1966a, 35–36; and Sayyid 1998, 77; and their references.

33. Al-Kindī, cited in al-Qalqashandī 1913–19, 3:339; al-Maqrīzī 2002–3, 3:570 (similar information in 3:622); and al-Suyūṭī 1967, 2:378. Cf. Jankowiak 2013, 280.

34. Al-Ṭabarī 1879–1901, 2/1:157.

35. Nu'aym b. Ḥammād 2002, 26 [no. 69].

Guided caliphs—the governor ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d b. Abī Sarḥ’s command over the Egyptian fleet attacking Constantinople in 34/654–55 was mentioned previously—all the Egyptian *aṣḥāb al-baḥr* of the Sufyanid period were appointed by, and were therefore subordinate to, the governor in Fustāt.³⁶ Not only Egyptian fleets were commanded by a *ṣāḥib al-baḥr*; the rank/office also appears during Mu‘āwiya’s reign in sources on the military organization of the Syro-Palestinian coast.³⁷

Papyri dating from Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān’s caliphate and documenting the organization of (a) maritime fleet(s) agree with an increased interest in maritime warfare in the 40s/660s and 50s/670s. Papyri from the previous two decades record the Muslim authorities’ interest in riverine traffic only and thus imply the (geographically or otherwise) limited scale of the organization of expeditions during these years.³⁸ By contrast, documents from the Sufyanid period show how the governor in Fustāt and his bureau mobilized the entire administration to organize naval expeditions.³⁹ These papyri belong to the archive of Papas, pagarch of the Upper Egyptian pagarchy of Apollōnopolis Anō/Udfū in the 40s/660s and 50s/670s.⁴⁰ According to these documents, the governor in Fustāt instructed the *dux* of the Thebaid on the number of workmen and sailors as well as the amount and type of materials his eparchy had to supply. The *dux* divided the requisitions among the pagarchies and had the notaries of his bureau inform the pagarchs by letter of what he had allotted to them. One such letter is *P.Apoll. 29* (probably from a 4th indiction year, i.e., 55–56/675–76), in which the notary Elias informs Papas that he has to provide three specialized workmen for “the workshops of Babylon,” probably the arsenal on al-Rawḍa. Another letter from the bureau of the *dux*, *P.Apoll. Copt. 5*, demands unskilled workmen, masts for boats, sailors, and their foodstuffs (bread and wine). Other materials demanded are boiled wine and vinegar, acacia and cypress wood, anchor cables, and fighting equipment.⁴¹ Such demands were not always easy to meet. In *P.Apoll. 38*, for example, Plato, head of the neighboring pagarchy of Latopolis/Isnā, informs Papas that the *dux* had instructed him to send five ship caulkers for service in Babylon/Qaṣr al-Sham’s arsenals. Because three of the five caulkers he sent were rejected and no other caulkers could be found in his pagarchy, he asks Papas to lend him some caulkers from the pagarchy of Apollōnos Anō/Udfū.

For the pagarch, these requisitions were to a large extent fiscal-administrative affairs, costs that could be deducted from the tax quota.⁴² Among the local population, however, the papyri

36. For a discussion on Egypt’s *ṣāḥib al-baḥr*, see Bouderbala 2008, 277–91, and the overview on 328.

37. Mikati 2013, 43–54, especially 45.

38. The well-known *P.World*, 113–15 (Heracleopolis/Ihnās, 22/643; for the Greek part, see also *SB* 6.9576) describes the *amīr* ‘Abd Allāh b. Jābir’s garrison as “his boatmen (*aṣḥāb sufunihi*), cavalry and heavily-armed soldiers.” Reference to “sailors of the ships of Babylon’s postal/relay station (*allage*)” is made in the mid-1st-/7th-century *P.Vind.Tand.* 31 (Memphis/Manf); for the interpretation, cf. *CPR* 22.6, commentary to line 3. *CPR* 30.11 (Hermopolis/Ushmūn, early 20s/640s) describes how *muhājirūn* demanded ships from the local population; cf. John of Nikiu 1916, 181 [CXIII.1], who writes that ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ ordered Apa Kyros, probably the pagarch of Hermopolis/Ushmūn known from papyri, to deliver ships to the Muslim troops after their conquest of the Arsinoite/Fayyūm. *CPR* 30.14 (Hermopolis/Ushmūn; early 20s/640s) is an official demand for cushions for sailors on *paktonaria*; for this type of fluvial ship, see *CPR* 30, pp. 78–84. The only document known to me that possibly concerns the organization of a military fleet before the Sufyanid period is *CPR* 24.31 (Arsinoite/Fayyūm or Heracleopolis/Ihnās). This is a fragment of a letter that is paleographically dated to the second half of the 1st/7th century (the editor argues that a mid-1st/7th date is likely; see *CPR* 24, p. 186) and uses a terminology typical of the Muslim period (Berkes 2017, 8 with n. 27). The letter’s sender demands the quick delivery of no fewer than 130 sails and ropes.

39. For a useful overview of the documents on the fleet from the archive of Papas, see Foss 2009, 18–22.

40. For the date of these documents, see Gascou and Worp 1982, 88–89. Recently, Jankowiak 2013, 299, has proposed to date *P.Apoll.* 83, from an 11th indiction year, to 48–49/668–69. Reference to the arsenal on the island of al-Rawḍa in *P.Apoll.* 9 and 29 rules out for these two documents a date before 54/673–74, the year in which that arsenal was built.

41. See Foss 2009, 18–22; and Morelli 1998, 169–73.

42. See, for example, *P.Apoll.* 28: an official letter from the bureau of the *dux* saying that sailors were to be paid from the *demosia chrytika*; *P.Apoll.* 30: a fragmentary letter stating that something should be registered “on the account of the *karaboi*”; *P.Apoll.* 52: a fragment of a letter stating that something needs either be paid from the price of wheat, from the

show that there was much resentment against conscription for work in the arsenals or as sailors on the (war)ships.⁴³ Some conscripted persons preferred to pay a money composition (*adaeratio*) so that the authorities could hire someone else or directly paid others to go in their stead.⁴⁴ Hoping to escape conscription, others fled from their pagarchy—an amply documented phenomenon in late antiquity not limited to forced labor.⁴⁵ Documents from the Papas archive show that the authorities responded quite aggressively to this phenomenon. *P.Apoll.* 9 contains a copy of a circular letter sent by an *amir*, who probably had his office in Fustāt, via the *dux* to all the pagarchs in the Thebaid.⁴⁶ It states that the caulkers working on the ships on the island opposite Fustāt had fled and summons the pagarchs to send back to Babylon/Qaṣr al-Sham ‘each caulker, “in shackles,” who appears in their pagarchies. In another, urgent letter, a notary informs Papas that the governor in Fustāt had ordered him to send sailors with their equipment and supplies “by every means.”⁴⁷ In *P.Apoll.* 13, a representative of the *dux* orders Papas to keep a list of all “strangers” in his pagarchy, possibly including persons who had tried to escape conscription for service on the fleet, and to give them a fine of 3 solidi.⁴⁸ When compared to the methods of the Marwanid authorities, however, those used under the Sufyanids were rudimentary.

As noted previously, when compared to the period of the Rightly Guided caliphs, the number of naval expeditions in which Egypt was involved drastically increased during the first 15 years of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān’s rule. Especially between 47/667–68 and 56/675–76, such expeditions took place almost every year. In 47/667–68, five years after the earliest known naval expedition organized under Mu‘āwiya,⁴⁹ the former Egyptian governor and now *ṣāhib al-baḥr* ‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir al-Juhānī is recorded as having departed from Alexandria to attack Rhodes.⁵⁰ The next year, 48/668–69, Mu‘āwiya’s son Yazīd led a large-scale attack on Constantinople. The same ‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir reportedly led the Egyptian naval contingent among Yazīd’s forces.⁵¹ A passage in al-Ṭabarī’s *Ta’rikh* concerning that year tells that ‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir’s fleet was part of a joint Egyptian-Medinese fleet under the command of Khālīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, a grandson of the famous conqueror Khālīd b. al-Walīd (d. 21/642).⁵² In 48/668–69 or 49/669–70, an Egyptian fleet organized in Alexandria also attacked Sicily and took captives and booty there. The expedition may have been organized in reaction to political instability in the Byzantine Empire caused by the Muslim attack on Constantinople of 48/668–69.⁵³ This expedition may have been the one led by the *ṣāhib al-baḥr* ‘Uqba b. Nāfi‘ al-Fihri that reportedly took place in the winter of 49/669–70.⁵⁴ Sources mention no naval expeditions organized in Egypt for the year 50/670–71. In that or the preceding year, they tell, Egypt’s military efforts concentrated on the conquest of the Byzantine province of Africa.⁵⁵ In 51/671–72, the governor Maslama b. Mukhallad made Khālīd b. Thābit al-Fahmī *ṣāhib al-baḥr*. Where his fleet was heading remains unknown.⁵⁶ Faḍāla b. ‘Ubayd al-Anṣārī, a Syrian general who headed many naval expeditions, was allegedly

logisimon, or from the *dapane* of the *nautokaraboi*; *P.Apoll.* 83: a register stating money paid to a deacon to buy bread for *nautokaraboi*.

43. On the conscription of the local non-Muslim population, see Muhammad 2008; al-Qāḍī 2016, 111–21; Trombley 2004, 199–226; and Wissa 2017.

44. See *P.Apoll.* 28.

45. On fugitives in early Islamic Egypt, see Sijpesteijn 2013, 96–102.

46. Morelli 2016, 267–82. Cf. Legendre 2016, 12, who argues that the *dux* and the *amir* are the same person.

47. *SB* 14.11917.

48. *P.Apoll.* 13, introduction; possibly also *P.Apoll.* 14.

49. This is a naval expedition led by N.N. b. Marwān or Busr b. Abi Arṭāt in 42/662–63; see Agapius of Manbij 1912, 349.

50. Al-Kindī 1912, 37–38. Al-Ṭabarī 1879–1901, 2/1:85 (followed by Ibn Kathīr 1998, 8:30) dates this expedition to 48/668–69.

51. For this attack and its date (not 54–60/673–79), see Jankowiak 2013.

52. Al-Ṭabarī 1879–1901, 2/1:85.

53. *History of the Patriarchs* 1947–59, 3:4–5 [258–59]; and the discussion in Jankowiak 2013, 313–14.

54. Al-Ṭabarī 1879–1901, 2/1:86; Ibn Taghri Birdī 1992, 1:181.

55. Khalifa b. Khayyāt 1985, 210–11; Ibn Taghri Birdī 1992, 1:182. See also Kaegi 2004, 21–43.

56. Ibn Yūnus 2000, 1:148 [no. 385].

appointed Egypt's *ṣāhib al-baḥr* under Mu'āwiya before his death in 53/672–73.⁵⁷ The *ṣāhib al-baḥr* Khālid b. Thābit al-Fahmī raided North Africa in 54/673–74.⁵⁸ Two years later, in 56/675–76, Maslama b. Mukhallad appointed 'Ābis b. Sa'īd al-Murādī to command the Egyptian fleet, which, in a joint Syrian-Egyptian expedition headed by one Mālik b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khath'amī, raided a place or region in North Africa.⁵⁹ Mu'āwiya's military momentum decreased in the remaining five years of his caliphate. Although some land and seaborne expeditions continued to be organized,⁶⁰ sources record no such expeditions as having been organized in Egypt. A number of sources explicitly state that in 59/678–79 “no naval expedition took place.”⁶¹ A fleet that carried grain to the Muslim garrison of Rhodes in 60/679–80 is the last Egyptian fleet under Mu'āwiya mentioned by Muslim historians.⁶² It is uncertain if fleets were organized during the caliphate of Mu'āwiya's son and successor, Yazīd (r. 60–64/680–83).⁶³

3. The Marwanid Fleet

During the Second Civil War that followed the death of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya in 64/683, fleets did not attack Byzantine territory. The Muslim community was again occupied with internal strife: 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr ruled as caliph from Iraq to Sijistān and in parts of Syria and the Hījāz, there were pro-Alid and Kharijite rebellions in Kūfa and Baṣra, and the Marwanids claimed entitlement to the caliphate in Damascus and Palestine. The civil war immediately affected the organization of Egypt's fleet. Doubtlessly on the initiative of opponents of Ibn al-Zubayr, Egypt's grain fleet to the Hījāz was discontinued after Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya's death.⁶⁴ Furthermore, to concentrate on fighting rival claimants to the caliphate, the second leader of the Marwanids, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, concluded two peace treaties with the Byzantines between 66/685 and 71/690.⁶⁵ Egypt's little naval activity during the Second Civil War recorded in the sources indeed aimed to fight the troops of rival caliphs rather than to attack Byzantine territory.⁶⁶

The Marwanids established their rule in Egypt in Jumādā I 65/November–December 684 and defeated Ibn al-Zubayr in 72/692.⁶⁷ In the first years that followed the breach of the second peace treaty in 73/692,⁶⁸ the Marwanids dedicated most of their military efforts in the

57. Ibn Yūnus 2000, 1:395 [no. 1068].

58. Khalifa b. Khayyāt 1985, 223; Ibn Yūnus 2000, 1:148 [no. 385].

59. Al-Kindī 1912, 39; Ibn 'Asākir 1995–2000, 11:298; Yāqūt 1866–73, 1:211. Note that Ibn Taghrī Birdī (1992, 1:185) presents an entirely different story and maintains that Maslama b. Mukhallad sent 'Ābis b. Sa'īd with a fleet to Constantinople in 49/669–70.

60. See the overview in Jankowiak 2013, 268–69.

61. Al-Ṭabarī 1879–1901, 2/1:188; Khalifa b. Khayyāt 1985, 226; al-Ya'qūbi 1883, 2:286.

62. Khalifa b. Khayyāt 1985, 229.

63. In an anachronistic anecdote, the *History of the Patriarchs* (1947–59, 3:5 [259], also found in 4:372–73 [486–87]), mentions that an Alexandrian *augustalis* named Theodore was able to obtain independence from the governor of Egypt from the caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya during the papacy of Agathon, who held office under Mu'āwiya only (40–57/661–77). This Theodore allegedly ordered the pope to pay for the sailors of the fleet. Jankowiak 2013, 254–56, has convincingly argued that there is no historical basis for Mu'āwiya's alleged 30-year peace treaty with Constantine IV of 58/677–78 or 59/678–79.

64. Al-Balādhurī 1866, 216.

65. Kaplony 1996, 99–126.

66. Ibn Jaḥdam, Egypt's governor for Ibn al-Zubayr in 64–65/684–85, sent a fleet to fight Marwanid troops heading for Egypt (al-Kindī 1912, 43); Egypt's governor 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān organized a fleet in 72/691 to attack Ibn al-Zubayr in the Hījāz (al-Kindī 1912, 51).

67. See Rotter 1982, 153–58, for the Marwanid conquest of Egypt.

68. For sources based on Theophilus of Edessa, see Hoyland 2011, 185–87. Muslim historians of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries do not mention Justinian II's breach of the treaty but do refer to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's attack on Sebastopolis on the Black Sea in 73/692; see Khalifa b. Khayyāt 1985, 270; and al-Ṭabarī 1879–1901, 2/2:853. See also Howard-Johnston 2010, 499–500.

Mediterranean basin to the reconquest of North Africa, which had fallen into the hands of Byzantine and Berber rulers.⁶⁹ But also in the eastern Mediterranean the new rulers soon started to organize naval expeditions. In agreement with the Marwanids' preaching of a combative *jihād* from 74/693–94,⁷⁰ an *entagion* issued by the Egyptian governor 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān records that as early as 74/694 Egypt contributed sailors to a fleet organized in Syro-Palestine.⁷¹ The Marwanids organized Egyptian expeditions as well, as appears from another *entagion*, dated to 79/698, demanding supplies for Egyptian warships participating in an expedition the following year.⁷² Despite Egypt's participation in naval expeditions soon after the end of the Second Civil War, however, most of the published documentary as well as literary sources refer to a more frequent organization of naval expeditions in Egypt from approximately the caliphate of al-Walīd (86–96/705–15) onward.

Papyri that are more or less contemporary with al-Walīd's caliphate and belong to the archive of Basileios, chief administrator of the Upper Egyptian pagarchy of Aphroditō/Ishqūh, form the main source of information on Egypt's Marwanid fleet.⁷³ Because contributions to the fleet formed a large part of the central authorities' fiscal demands—in some years, even Basileios's relatively small pagarchy had to supply as many as 90 sailors⁷⁴—the fleet is a prominent theme in these documents. By contrast, literary sources present only the barest outlines of naval warfare in this period (with the exception of a few major events that are treated in some detail, such as the caliph Sulaymān's attack on Constantinople in 98–99/716–18).⁷⁵ These papyri show that Marwanid Egypt was well integrated in the empire and contributed to the financing and/or supplying of annual expeditions organized in North Africa and Syro-Palestine besides naval expeditions being organized in the province itself. For example, in *P.Lond.* 4.1350, an official letter dated 91/710, the governor Qurra b. Sharīk (in office 90–96/709–14) writes about an expedition led by the *ṣāhib al-baḥr* 'Aṭā' b. Rāfi' al-Zulayqī and organized in North Africa by the local governor Mūsā b. Nuṣayr with Egyptian support.⁷⁶ The expedition is well-known from historical sources, which inform us that it aimed to conquer Sicily or Sardinia in 85/704 but was unsuccessful because the fleet shipwrecked in a storm.⁷⁷ This is the earliest naval expedition mentioned in papyri from the archive of Basileios. Other expeditions are recorded for almost every year covered by the archive. According to a Greek account book dated to Dhū al-Hijja 87/November 706, for example, the Upper Egyptian pagarchy of Aphroditō/Ishqūh contributed to the financing of an expedition organized in Syro-Palestine,⁷⁸ where Laodikeia/Lādhiqiyya appears to have been the

69. Hoyland 2015, 142–46; Kennedy 2007, 215–22.

70. See Robinson 2005, 84–86, for poetry and pre-reform coins depicting 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān as a dedicated warrior. For a more detailed analysis of the coins, see Heidemann 2010, 174–76.

71. Delattre, Pintaudi, and Vanthieghem 2013. In addition, sailors are demanded in *P.Gascou* 28 (poss. Antinoopolis/Anṣinā), dated to 76/695; it remains uncertain if they are to participate in an expedition (cf. the commentary to lines 3–4).

72. Diem 1984, no. 1.

73. For a description of the fleet on the basis of these documents, see *P.Lond.* 4, pp. xxxii–xliv.

74. Al-Qāḍī 2016, 115–16.

75. For sources belonging to the Byzantine historical tradition, see Hoyland 2011, 209–15, with the references in 209n580. For a synthesis on the basis of Muslim sources, see Brooks 1899, 19–31.

76. Note that 'Aṭā' b. Rāfi' is the first Marwanid *ṣāhib al-baḥr* known from historical sources; see Bouderbala 2008, 328. In light of the expeditions organized during Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyan's caliphate discussed previously, Harold I. Bell's claim (1908, 114; repeated in Fahmy 1966a, 87; and Māhir 1967, 87) that 'Aṭā' b. Rāfi's ill-fated expedition of 85/704 was the first of the yearly naval expeditions organized by the Umayyads can no longer be accepted. Bell based this claim on a partially faulty reading of a discussion on early Islamic naval warfare in North Africa in Michele Amari's *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*. The passage in Amari's *Storia* (1854–72) can be found at 1:124 and refers explicitly to "l'infestazione del Mediterraneo occidentale" (my italics). *P.Ness.* 74 (dated to ca. 66/685) refers to a fleet (*stolos*) in line 7, but the character of this fleet remains unclear.

77. E.g., Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam 1922, 237; Ibn Yūnus 2000, 1:344 [no. 944]; al-Dhahabi 1990, 6:18; and Ibn Kathīr 1998, 12:345. For discussions on this expedition, see Eickoff 1966, 28–29; and Fahmy 1966b, 120–21.

78. *P.Lond.* 4.1441.52.

main maritime center at that time.⁷⁹ Another account book records that on Rabi‘ I 20/February 28 of the following year, 88/707, a *pistikos* named Athanasios collected 20 artabas of bread for an expedition organized in Egypt itself.⁸⁰ These and other documents show that the Marwanid fleet and its administration differed much from their Sufyanid counterparts.

Papyri from the 70s/690s and later show this difference most clearly in their use of terminology previously unattested in Egypt. In contrast to documents from the Sufyanid period, Greek and Coptic papyri from the Marwanid period systematically refer to a naval expedition with the word *kourson*, “raid.”⁸¹ And although the (exclusively Muslim) soldiers participating in these *koursa* (often specified as being *muhājirūn* and *mawālī*⁸²) are in most documents simply called *machoi*, “soldiers,”⁸³ the term *prokoursarioi*, “raiders” or “corsairs,” appears in an Egyptian context for the first time in contemporary documents.⁸⁴ Another terminological change that occurred in the same period concerns the composition of the fleet. Documents from the Sufyanid period refer to the use of *karaboi*, two-banked galleys.⁸⁵ According to papyri from around the turn of the 2nd/8th century, the Marwanid fleet was more diverse and made use of *akatenaria* (one-banked auxiliary vessels) and *dromonaria* (large two-banked galleys) in addition to *karaboi*.⁸⁶ Although the names of these ships are derived from the names of Byzantine ships, neither the *akatenarion* nor the *dromonarion* is known to have been used in pre-Marwanid Egypt.⁸⁷ Finally, it is in documents from the Marwanid period that we find a tax called *nautikon*—a tax for the costs of sailors (occasionally also artisans) and their maintenance.⁸⁸

79. *P.Lond.* 4, p. xviii; cf. Borrut 1999–2000, 17–18.

80. *P.Lond.* 4.1433.46.

81. Cf. Bell 1908, 115, who notes that *kourson* may indicate the making of a raid. In three bilingual documents, this word is used in the Greek where the Arabic has *jaysh*, “expedition” (Delattre, Pintaudi, and Vanthieghem 2013, 367 [74/694], lines 5–6 and 15; Becker 1907, no. 9 [90/709–10], lines 7 and 14; and Becker 1908, 150 [95/714], lines 4 and 11). For the meaning of *jaysh* in these documents, see also Becker 1907, 90. The correspondence between *kourson* and *jaysh* is also visible in a more or less fixed expression that in *P.Heid.Arab.* 1.1 = *P.World*, 124–25 = *Chrest.Khoury* 1.90 (91/710) takes the form of *ḥadāra ‘atā’ al-jund | wa-‘iyālihim wa-khurūj al-juyūsh* (lines 8–9), “[the time for the payment of] the ‘atā’ of the *jund* and their families and the departure of the expeditions has arrived.” Lines 7–9 of *P.Lond.* 4.1394, dated to 89/708–9, give the closest parallel in Greek: κατέλαβεν ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ λαβεῖν τοὺς Μωαγαρίτας τοῦ Φοσσάτου τὰς ῥόγας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξελεθεῖν εἰς τὰ κ[ο]ῦρσα, “now has arrived the time for the *muhājirūn* of Fustāt to receive their allowances and to go out to the *koursa*” (trans. Bell 1911b, 382, slightly adapted). Another parallel can be found in lines 15–16 of *P.Lond.* 4.1349 (91/710): ἐπέφθασεν ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ῥόγας τῶν Μωαγαριτῶν τοῦ Φοσσάτου(υ) καὶ τῶν κούρσων, “now has arrived the time for the allowance to the *muhājirūn* of Fustāt and for the *koursa*” (trans. Bell 1911a, 278, slightly adapted), leaving out a word denoting “going out/departing/etc.” The use of a *mašdar* (*ghazw*) rather than a substantive (*ghazwa*) in an Arabic parallel in *P.Cair.Arab.* 3.148 (90/709 or 91/709–10), lines 5–6 and 8–10, also indicates that the making of a raid is meant: *fa-innaka qad ‘alimta alladhī katabtu ilayka bihi . . . wa-lladhī qad ḥadāra min ‘atā’ al-jund | wa-‘iyālihim wa-ghazw al-nās*, “for you know about what I wrote to you . . . and [about the time for the payment of] what of the ‘atā’ of the *jund*, their families, and the raiding of the men has arrived.” Two inscriptions from Knidos and Kos, dated 98/716–17 and 99/717–18, respectively, attest to the use of the substantive (*ghazwa*) for an actual “expedition”; see Imbert 2013, 734 [C1] and 746 [K1]. Note that on the *verso* of Rāḡib 1981, no. 1 (probably 91/710), there is no correspondence between the Arabic *fī arzāq al-juyūsh*, “concerning the allowance of the soldiers,” and the Greek λ[(ὀ)γ(ω)] ῥοϋ[ζ]ικ(ο)ῦ μωαγα(ριτῶν), “on the account of the allowance of the *muhājirūn*”; see Gascou 2011, 270, with discussion on p. 271.

82. Fahmy 1966a, 103–6.

83. *CPR* 22.53 *verso* (ca. 95–97/714–16), commentary to line 14. Rāḡib 1981, no. 1 (probably 91/710), the only Arabic document that explicitly refers to soldiers on “the ships of [the people of] Egypt and the ships of the people of Syria,” uses *muqātīla*, the Arabic equivalent to *machoi*. See also Christides 1993, 72.

84. *CPR* 22.53 *verso*, line 14; *P.Lond.* 4.1392 (92/711), lines 1 and 4; and *P.Lond.* 4.1397 (ca. 90/709), line 6. See also Abū Ṣafīyya 2004, 106–7. The terms *kourson* and *prokoursarios* were not new terms. They were used in Byzantine regions on the eve of the Muslim conquests; see, e.g., the use of *prokourson* in the early 1st-/7th-century *Chronicon Paschale* (translated as “advance guard” by *Chronicon Paschale* 1989, 171).

85. *P.Apoll.* 9, 29, 30, and 45; *P.Apoll.Copt.* 5. Sailors on this type of ship (*nautokaraboi*) are mentioned in *P.Apoll.* 28, 52, and 83.

86. Fahmy 1966a, 125–27. See Morelli 1998, 167n4, for the reading *akatenarion* instead of *akation* (preferred by Harold I. Bell in *P.Lond.* 4).

87. Casson 1971, 153–54; Pryor and Jeffrey 2006, 164–65.

88. See *CPR* 22.44, commentary to line 7.

Papyri from Basileios's archive also attest to an increase of naval bases under the Marwanids. After successful territorial expansion in North Africa and the conquest of Carthage in 78/697–98, for example, the abovementioned caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 65–86/685–705) ordered his brother and governor in Egypt, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, to build an arsenal in Tūnis, a garrison town established on the site of an ancient settlement in the year 80/699–700. The Egyptian governor subsequently sent 1,000 Egyptians to build a fleet of 100 warships.⁸⁹ This fleet was not built for defensive purposes only. The caliph gave his brother the explicit order "to fight the Byzantines on land and sea and to invade their coasts."⁹⁰ It took some years before the fleet actually was put in action; 'Aṭā' b. Rāfi's 85/704 fleet reportedly was the first to set sail from Tūnis.⁹¹

Importantly, the enlargement of the fleet took place not only in recently conquered areas but also in areas where Muslim rule had existed for over 50 years. In Egypt, for instance, Tamiathis/Dimyāṭ (Damietta) is first mentioned in the late 1st/early 8th century as a naval center in addition to Alexandria, Fuṣṭāṭ, and Klyisma/Qulzum. In *P.Lond.* 4.1354, written in 91/710, Tamiathis/Dimyāṭ is the destination of food supplies for a naval expedition; the supplies were to be collected in the pagarchy of Aphroditō/Ishqūh. The account book *P.Lond.* 4.1449, dated to after 92/711, records that such supplies had been sent to Tamiathis/Dimyāṭ for an expedition in a 10th indiction year.⁹² Historical sources confirm the town's recently acquired military importance. The first Byzantine attack on the town allegedly took place in 90/708–9 (the town's *ṣāhib al-baḥr* Khālid b. Kaysān was reportedly captured during this attack);⁹³ a second attack occurred in 121/738–39.⁹⁴ The establishment of such naval centers as Tamiathis/Dimyāṭ under the Marwanids may well have been part of caliphal policies to defend their Mediterranean shores against such Byzantine attacks. Various Marwanid caliphs, including 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and al-Walīd, are recorded as having contributed to the (re)fortification of the Syro-Palestinian coast and the establishment of a *ribāṭ* network.⁹⁵ It stands to reason that these policies affected Egypt's Mediterranean coast as well. In addition to Tamiathis/Dimyāṭ, for example, Rashīd (Rosetta) came to house soldiers under the Marwanids, probably in addition to the soldiers who protected the mouth of the Nile at nearby Bolbythine and were equipped with castellated ships according to two documents from Basileios's archive.⁹⁶ During the caliphate of Marwān b. Muḥammad (127–32/744–50), Rashīd reportedly had its own military commander.⁹⁷

The coincidence of these changes indicates that the Muslim fleet in Egypt, as visible in the papyri, developed considerably in the wake of the Second Civil War and that this development must be considered directly related to the better-known Marwanid reforms. The impact of these reforms on the organization of the fleet can perhaps best be seen in the distribution of pay and supplies to the soldiers and sailors of the expeditions. In the Sufyanid period, pagarchs were

89. Al-Bakrī 1992, 2:695. In this regard, see also *P.Lond.* 4.1438 + 1484, dated to ca. 85–86/704–5. This fragment of an account book records (line 10) the collection of wages of skilled workmen sent to North Africa.

90. Al-Bakrī 1992, 2:695; al-Ḥimyarī 1975, 266; see also Muhammad 2008, 4–5. On other frontiers of the empire 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān initiated campaigns as well; see Robinson 2005, 69.

91. Eickoff 1966, 15; Pryor and Jeffreys 2006, 28.

92. See also Fahmy 1966a, 30–31.

93. Al-Ṭabarī 1879–1901, 2/2:1201; al-Maqrīzī 2002–3, 1:582.

94. Al-Maqrīzī 2002–3, 1:582.

95. Masarwa 2011, 161–67.

96. *P.Lond.* 4.1414.59 and 136 (first half of the 2nd/8th century); *P.Lond.* 4.1449.62 and 65 (92/711 or later). For castellated ships, see Casson 1971, 154. For soldiers stationed at the mouths of the Nile, see F. Morelli's references and discussion in *CPR* 22.44, commentary to line 8. The source (Wüstenfeld 1875, 1:30) for the observation made there that coastal guards were already appointed during the governorship of Maslama b. Mukhallad (47–62/667–82) is now known to be incorrect: Wüstenfeld mistook a *ṣāhib al-baḥr* for a coastal guard (see Bouderbala 2008, 328). Nonetheless, the conclusion is confirmed by a passage in al-Kindī's *Kitāb al-wulāt* (al-Kindī 1912, 38), which refers to soldiers stationed at Parallos/Burullus in the early 50s/670s; see also Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam 1922, 124.

97. Ibn Yūnus 2000, 1:119 [no. 311]. See Sijpesteijn 2004, 118–19, for the rise of Rashīd in the early 2nd/8th century.

charged with the maintenance of sailors sent on expedition, which they deducted from the tax quota. Their local treasuries provided the money with which food supplies were bought in local markets and from which wages were paid.⁹⁸ For example, SB 14.11917 (second half of the 1st/7th century), a letter sent from the bureau of the *dux* or the central administration in Fustāt, informs the pagarch Papas about the governor's order to send sailors "with their maintenance and equipment" (line 7). Because the Muslim army at that time was not yet professional, soldiers and their wages and supplies are entirely missing in these documents.⁹⁹ In Egypt, the first signs of the professionalization of the army, including the transformation of the military 'aṭā', "pay," from a pension to a salary, date from the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.¹⁰⁰ By the time of Qurra b. Sharīk's governorate over Egypt, the central authorities in Fustāt distributed the pay and supplies to soldiers participating in naval expeditions. In one document, Qurra orders the pagarch Basileios to collect tax money because "the time for the *muhājirūn* of Fustāt to receive their allowances and to go out to the raids (*koursa*) has now arrived."¹⁰¹ In contrast to the Sufyanid period, under the Marwanids, the central authorities often took charge of distributing supplies to sailors as well. The pagarchies had to supply the men and the requested items,¹⁰² although at times the men were sent together with their supplies.¹⁰³ In a letter probably dating from 91/710, the governor orders Basileios to quickly produce and send bread of good quality because, Qurra writes, "I have already ordered [the distribution of] the provisions (*qisma*) of the sailors of Egypt's ships and the ships of the people of Syro-Palestine and the provisions (*rizq*) of the warriors that sail on them."¹⁰⁴ In a similar way, pagarchies were now ordered to forward money for the wages of sailors to the central authorities in Fustāt instead of distributing the wages themselves.¹⁰⁵

This centralization of the administration helped the Marwanid authorities increase their grip on the province. Through censuses organized to inventory Egypt's cultivable land, livestock, and population and official demands to provide proof of having fulfilled fiscal obligations if one wanted to travel (administrative practices documented from the 80s/700s onward), for example, the authorities became more directly involved in Egypt's local administration and aimed, among other things, to secure more of the province's taxes.¹⁰⁶ Muslim pagarchs, who had stronger ties with the central authorities than their Christian colleagues did, were allowed more autonomy in their districts,¹⁰⁷ for instance, in the allocation of requisitions for the fleet among the local

98. *P.Apoll.* 52 and 83 (ca. 55/675). *P.Apoll.* 28, recording instructions by "the all-praiseworthy *amiras*" (line 3) on the payment of sailors going "to the sea" (line 6) only, suggests that this was official policy in that period. Unfortunately, the text is too fragmentary to allow for firm conclusions in this regard. On the identity of the *amiras*, see the literature mentioned in note 46 above.

99. Cf. Gascou 1979, 28 (commentary to line 5).

100. Crone 1980, 38 and 229n265; Sijpesteijn 2011, 259. On the changing of the concept of 'aṭā', see also Kennedy 2001, 76–78.

101. *P.Lond.* 4.1394 (89/708–9), lines 7–9; for more examples, see note 81 above.

102. In *P.Lond.* 4.1351 (91/710), Qurra requests that Basileios supply a messenger (*beredarios*) named Sa'īd with a boat to convey sailors and skilled workmen for an expedition to Fustāt. *P.Lond.* 4.1353 (91/710) contains an urgent demand to send supplies for the soldiers, sailors, and workmen to Alexandria. Qurra instructs Basileios in *P.Lond.* 4.1354 (91/710) to start collecting wheat and bread as supplies for an expedition and forward these to Tamiathis/Dimyāt. *P.Lond.* 4.1392 (92/710–11) contains an order to send butter to Alexandria for the *prokoursarioi*. See also SB 10.10455 (90/709); *P.Bal.* 181 (90–96/709–14); and *P.Lond.* 4.1355 (91/710), 1388 (90–96/709–14). See also Sijpesteijn 2013, 174–75.

103. Becker 1908, 149–50 [partially reprinted as SB 18.13218] (ca. 95/714): bilingual *entagion* for 2 1/2 sailors "intended for the *karaboi* and *akatenaria* of the *amir al-mu'minīn*," including their wages and maintenance. See also *P.Lond.* 4.1353 (91/710), 1388 (90–96/709–14) and 1464 (90–96/709–14), and the *entagion* published in Morelli 2017 (with commentary on its date).

104. Rāgib 1981, no. 1, lines 6–10. A distinction between *qisma* and *rizq* is made on purpose. The latter designates God-given means of subsistence that is to be received only by Muslims. See Mayerson 1994, 127.

105. The register *CPR* 22.55 (87/706–7), line 12, records the costs for the maintenance of a messenger named 'Abd Allāh who had come to Aphroditō/Ishqūh for the wages of sailors participating in an expedition. See also *P.Laur.* 4.192 (90/709; with Morelli 1995, 165–71) and *P.Lond.* 4.1337 (90/709), 1374 (92/711), and 1450 (90/709).

106. Sijpesteijn 2013, 92–111, especially 94–97.

107. Sijpesteijn 2013, 89–90.

communities. It is the governor's bureau in Fuṣṭāṭ that decided on the allocation of requisitions for the fleet among the local communities in Basileios's pagarchy.¹⁰⁸ In contrast to the Christian Basileios, however, Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā and Nājid b. Muslim were Muslim pagarchs in the first half of the 2nd/8th century who allocated such requisitions themselves.¹⁰⁹

This rationale also lay behind Qurra b. Sharīk's instructions to Basileios to keep a record of persons sent or hired for corvée labor in the arsenals or on the ships of the fleet and to demand guarantee declarations from those leaving the pagarchy for such reasons.¹¹⁰ Registers devoted to the local production of men, money, and/or goods for the arsenals and expeditions can, indeed, be found among early 2nd-/8th-century administrative documents from various places in Egypt.¹¹¹ Guarantee declarations were demanded to forestall the evasion of corvée labor.¹¹² In these documents, third parties (sometimes entire village communities; see the Theban *P.CLT* 6, dated to 105/724¹¹³) declared they would bear the costs of replacement in case a conscript deserted the tasks assigned to him.¹¹⁴ Such declarations concerning sailors and workmen in the arsenals appear in our documentary records in the Marwanid period. The majority come from Basileios's archive.¹¹⁵

Although the number of both narrative and documentary sources on Egypt's Marwanid fleet decreases toward the mid-2nd/8th century, the sources that are available give the impression that the fleet was up to some extent still active in the last years of Umayyad rule. During the governorate of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (in office only in 132/750), ships of the fleet were furnished with a special layer preventing them from catching fire when the Byzantines used the so-called Greek Fire.¹¹⁶ Both the *History of the Patriarchs* and the 4th-/10th-century historian Ibn Yūnus know of an expedition that was organized during 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's governorate;¹¹⁷ sources belonging to the Byzantine historical tradition, however, do not refer to an expedition after 127–28/745–46.¹¹⁸

4. Epilogue: Initial Disinterest and Regained Interest under the Early Abbasids

The Abbasids, who gained control over Egypt in 133/750, introduced a wholly different naval policy. Continuity characterized the initial years of their rule when they still had to establish

108. See *PLaur.* 4.192; *PLond.* 4.1336, 1337, 1353, 1354, and 1392; and *PRoss.Georg.* 4.5, in which Qurra b. Sharīk refers to demand notes he sent to Basileios; for examples of Qurra's actual demand notes for such requisitions, see Becker 1907, no. 8 = *PLond.* 4.1410; Becker 1907, no. 9 = *PLond.* 4.1408 = *PMudun* 32; Becker 1908, 149–50 [partially reprinted as *SB* 18.13218]; *P.Bal.* 181; *PLond.* 4.1348, 1371, and 1374; and *SB* 20.15100.

109. *CPR* 22.13 (Arsinoite/Fayyūm, 2nd/8th century); *SB* 8.9760 (Arsinoite/Fayyūm, 2nd/8th century); and *SPP* 8.1184 (Heracléopolis/Ihnās, 109/728).

110. *SB* 3.7241 = *PLond.* 4.1393 (91/710).

111. *CPR* 22.46 (Arsinoite/Fayyūm, 2nd/8th century) and 47 (Heracléopolis/Ihnās, 2nd/8th century); *PLond.* 4.1451 (probably 97/715–16), 1452 (90–96/709–14), and 1456 fragment A (early 2nd/8th century). The *PLond.* 4 documents come from Aphroditō/Ishqūh.

112. *PLond.* 4.1438 + 1484, dated to ca. 85–86/704–5, records that 41 conscripted sailors had evaded their duties by running away. Theophanes Confessor (1997, 546 [*anno mundi* 6209]) writes that in 97–98/716–17 conscripted sailors on an Egyptian fleet defected to the Byzantines. The unpopularity of this work is captured well in a passage in the *History of the Patriarchs* (1947–59, 3:70–71 [324–25]), where the *ṣāḥib al-kharāj* Usāma b. Zayd (in office 96–99/714–17 and 102–4/720–23) is said to have used conscription on the fleet as a threat to force monks to pay taxes.

113. Cromwell 2017, 41–42, 58.

114. For the contents of guarantee declarations, see Till 1950–57, 188–91; and Muhammad 2008, 15–19. On *P.CLT* 6, see also Berkes 2017, 171–72. *PLond.* 4.1565 (early 2nd/8th century), also a guarantee declaration, states the opposite: three village officials declare (among others) to have paid no contribution to the sailors going to Africa, at the rate of 3 solidi per sailor, because they lack the financial means thereto. See in this regard also *CPR* 4.17 = *SB Kopt.* 2.920 (Saqqara, 2nd/8th century), a legal document recording the transmission of the obligation to serve on a ship.

115. For the declarations from Basileios's archive, see Richter 2010, 205; and *P.HermitageCopt.* 18 (90/709). See also the above-mentioned *CPR* 4.17 and *P.CLT* 6 and *P.Gascou* 25 (Saqqara, first half of the 2nd/8th century).

116. *History of the Patriarchs* 1947–59, 3:119 [373].

117. *History of the Patriarchs* 1947–59, 3:149 [403]; Ibn Yūnus 2000, 1:385 [no. 1051].

118. Theophanes Confessor 1997, 466 [*anno mundi* 6238]; Nicephorus 1990, 141 [§ 68].

their power.¹¹⁹ For their conquest of North Africa, the Abbasid military authorities had a fleet organized in Alexandria by one al-Muthannā b. Ziyād al-Ḥaḍramī in 136/754 to transport the troops to Ṭarābulus.¹²⁰ This fleet is the last one we hear of in the 2nd/8th century and was no longer used for attacks on Byzantine territory.¹²¹ Interest in Egypt's naval infrastructures seems to have vanished almost completely soon after 136/754.¹²² The Umayyad governors' traditional visit to Alexandria was not taken over by the Abbasids; no Abbasid governor is known to have visited the city before the 150s/770s.¹²³ Similarly, the last known *ṣāhib al-baḥr*, 'Ayyāsh b. 'Uqba al-Ḥaḍramī, served under the Umayyad governor 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in 132/750.¹²⁴ The absence of references to *aṣḥāb al-baḥr* in historiography on the first decades of Abbasid rule confirms that no military fleets were organized in these years. Indeed, also (the admittedly few) papyri dated to the 130s/750s and 140s/760s lack references to an Abbasid navy. In addition to this disinterest in Egyptian naval matters, 3rd-/9th- and 4th-/10th-century sources write that the caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 136–58/754–75) had the Canal of the Commander of the Faithful blocked in 145/762–63 to quell al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's anti-Abbasid rebellion in the Ḥijāz by discontinuing Egyptian grain supplies to the region.¹²⁵ By contrast, early-Abbasid naval interest concentrated on the Syro-Palestinian coast,¹²⁶ where the caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī (r. 158–69/775–85), in al-Balādhurī's words, "examined the forts and cities of the coast, peopled and fortified them, and rebuilt those that were in need of being rebuilt."¹²⁷ Indeed, under the first Abbasid caliphs, *aṣḥāb al-baḥr* were appointed there as well.¹²⁸

The Abbasids regained interest in Egypt's fleet to some extent in the 150s/770s. Although the sources for this observation are few and far between, they all point again at naval activity around the same time. According to the *History of the Patriarchs*, the governor 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (in office 152–55/769–72) forced the Coptic patriarch and "all the bishops" to work for a year in the arsenal on al-Rawḍa.¹²⁹ The Greek document *CPR 22.22*, a register dated to 158/774–75, is the first papyrological attestation of *muhājirūn* in Klysmā/Quzum after *P.Lond.* 4.1416 (from 114–16/732–34).¹³⁰ And the first Abbasid governor of Egypt to visit Alexandria (for unknown reasons) was Manṣūr b. Yazīd al-Ru'aynī in 162/779.¹³¹ In the decades that followed, military organization in Egypt had a more defensive character. Probably from ca. 164/780 on, Egypt's chief *qādī*, seated in Fuṣṭāṭ, took financial care of poor soldiers and volunteer warriors stationed on Egypt's Mediterranean littoral,¹³² and we still hear of garrison commanders (*umarā'*) in Alexandria around 199/815.¹³³ But by and large, Abbasid interest in Egypt's naval infrastructures remained minimal until the Byzantines' successful and devastating attack on Tamiathis/Dimyāṭ in 238/853, after which, as is well known, the caliph al-Mutawakkil

119. For examples showing continuity, see, e.g., Kennedy 1998, 76; Sijpesteijn 2013, 213–14; Tillier 2014, 123–24; and Bruning 2018a.

120. Al-Kindī 1912, 102–3.

121. Cf. in this regard a 2nd-/8th-century document recently published by Khaled Younes (2017, no. 3) that refers to *bu'ūth* (possibly "expeditions") in line 14. The exact date of the document and the exact meaning of *bu'ūth* cannot be established at present.

122. See Fahmy 1966a, 106 (but cf. the following discussion on the Abbasids' regained interest in the 150s/770s); and Picard 2015, 252 and 258. Pace Kubiak 1970, 48–49, who argues for a lessened but continuous interest.

123. Bruning 2018b, 57.

124. Bouderbala 2008, 328. 'Ayyāsh b. 'Uqba's experience with organizing a fleet was needed in 136/754, when the Abbasids ordered him to collect grain for the troops sent to North Africa; see al-Kindī 1912, 103.

125. Al-Balādhurī 1866, 216; 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan Ibn Qudayd (d. 312/924), cited in both Ibn Duqmāq 1893, 4:120, and al-Maqrīzī 2002–3, 3:474. See also al-Maqrīzī 2002–3, 3:466.

126. Cf. Picard 2015, 92.

127. Al-Balādhurī 1866, 163 (trans. Hitti 1916, 251–52).

128. Mikati 2013, 53–54. See also Picard 2015, 263.

129. *History of the Patriarchs* 1947–59, 4:374 [488] and 377 [491] (see 370 [484] for the bishops).

130. An earlier reference to Klysmā/Quzum can be found in the very fragmentary *SPP* 10.11 (ca. 140/760).

131. Al-Kindī 1912, 121.

132. Al-Kindī 1912, 418–19, with the discussion in Bouderbala 2013, 48.

133. Al-Kindī 1912, 158.

(r. 232–47/847–61) ordered the province's coastal defense to be rebuilt or improved.¹³⁴ With the arrival of the Abbasids in the mid-2nd/8th century, then, the foundational epoch of Egypt's early Islamic fleet had come to an end.

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134. On this attack, see Fahmy 1966b, 140–44; see also the note in Rémondon 1953, 245–50. For al-Mutawakkil's reinforcement of Egypt's Mediterranean coast, see *History of the Patriarchs* 1943, 2/1:13–16; al-Kindī 1912, 202; Ibn Duqmāq 1893, 5:81; and al-Maqrīzī 2002–3. For subsequent naval policies in Abbasid Egypt, see Kubiak 1970, 58–66.

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*Adapting to New Realities:
Administration
and Bureaucracy*

Babylone-Fuṣṭāṭ dans les sources papyrologiques coptes

Anne Boud'hors

L'origine de cette étude se trouve dans la constatation, faite il y a quelques années déjà, que l'accès aux sources coptes mentionnant Babylone est difficile. Le répertoire de S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, ne contient en effet aucune notice concernant ce toponyme, et les différentes ressources électroniques dont disposent les papyrologues ne pallient pas ce manque¹. En 2014–15, une série de séminaires a donc été consacrée à passer en revue les textes coptes papyrologiques mentionnant Babylone-Fuṣṭāṭ et à examiner de plus près les pièces qui paraissaient les plus intéressantes. C'était une sorte d'aventure, dans une période et sur un terrain pour lesquels la bibliographie est énorme, impliquant non seulement une énorme masse de textes grecs, mais aussi toutes sortes de textes venant de régions dépendant du califat (en syriaque, arabe, etc.). Les résultats présentés ici ne constituent qu'un bilan partiel et modeste. C'est une recherche amenée à s'enrichir et à s'affiner, car plusieurs nouveaux textes récemment publiés, ou en cours de publication, sont venus grossir le dossier. Mon but, dans le cadre de cet ouvrage collectif, est d'essayer de montrer quelques apports spécifiques de la documentation copte. Certains sont déjà bien connus des grandes synthèses sur Babylone-Fuṣṭāṭ, d'autres moins. Après avoir fourni quelques informations sur l'état de la documentation, j'examinerai les différentes circonstances d'un voyage à Babylone, puis l'insistance sur la protection de Dieu pour un tel voyage.

1. État de la documentation

1.1. Méthodes de recherche

Une recherche dans le volet « Places » du portail Trismegistos donne des résultats décevants. Seules deux graphies sont identifiées (ΒΒΒΙΛΩΝ-ΠΔΒΙΛΩΝ). Sur les 301 attestations, 5 sont en latin, 3 en copte (*O.Crum* VC 115 ; *P.Col. Inv.* 552a ; *P.L.Bat.* 33 [= *P.Worp*] 64), 2 en arabe ; tout

1. C'est Audrey Dridi qui, en 2013, après un master 2 intitulé *Chrétiens et juifs dans l'espace urbain de Fuṣṭāṭ à l'époque pré-fatimide*, poursuivant ses recherches dans le cadre du doctorat, m'a fait part de sa préoccupation concernant l'accès à ces sources et donné l'idée de cette recherche. Voir aussi son intervention au colloque *Multilingualism and Social Belonging in the Late Antiquity and Early Islamic Near East* (New York, ISAW, 9–10 juin 2014) : « The case of Fossaton and Babylon during the first century of Islamic Egypt ». Je dois beaucoup à ses réflexions et questions. En plus des ouvrages cités dans la suite, j'ai tiré bénéfice de la thèse en cours de publication de Marie Legendre (Legendre 2014), où quelques-uns de ces textes sont utilisés et commentés. Enfin, je suis reconnaissante à Lajos Berkes, Esther Garel et Jean Gascoü de leurs précieuses remarques. Je reste évidemment seule responsable des faiblesses de cet article.

le reste est en grec. Si on interroge la banque de données de Bruxelles en mettant « Babylone » dans le champ réservé au contenu, on obtient 3 réponses : *P.Fay.Copt.* 22 (= *P.Lond.Copt.* 576) ; *P.Col. Inv.* 552a² ; *P.LouvreBawit* 38. Enfin, la recherche dans la *Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri* reste hasardeuse, dans la mesure où les graphies coptes, comme on le verra, sont susceptibles de nombreuses variations et n'ont pas été normalisées lors de l'encodage. Il est donc nécessaire de dépouiller les grands corpus de textes coptes et les publications récentes de textes documentaires.

1.2. Nombre de textes

Une liste d'une soixantaine de textes est fournie en annexe. Elle n'est certainement pas exhaustive, et est susceptible de s'enrichir rapidement au vu de l'intérêt actuel pour les textes de cette période.

1.3. Graphies

ΒΔΒΥΛΩΝ (graphie la plus attendue, qui se trouve, entre autres, dans *P.Gascou* 25), ΒΔΒΕΛΩΝ (*P.MoscowCopt.* 3), ΒΔΒΙΛΩΝ (*P.Heid.Kopt.* 21), ΠΔΒΥΛΩΝ (*P.Lond.Copt.* 691), ΠΔΒΥΛΟΝ (*CPR* 34.78), ΠΔΒΙΛΩΝ (*P.Worp* 64), ΠΔΒΙΛΟΝ (*P.Louvre Inv.* E 6893), ΠΔΒΕΛΩΝ (*P.KRU* 5 verso), ΠΔΒΕΛΟ(Ν) (*P.Ryl.Copt.* 258), ΠΔϸΕΛΩΝ (*P.Akoris* 61), mais aussi [Β]ΔΒΕΡΩΝ dans un papyrus d'Edfou (IFAO Copte jarre inv. 25) où la coloration dialectale apparaît assez forte, et où intervient un phénomène de « lambdacisme inversé », qui semble caractéristique de ce dossier.

1.4. Types de textes

La majorité des textes concernés sont des lettres, qui mentionnent en général un voyage à Babylone. Beaucoup sont peu utilisables, parce que fragmentaires et/ou allusives. Quelques textes juridiques font référence à des personnes en poste à Babylone ou envoyées à Babylone dans le cadre des réquisitions (reçus, garanties de comparution). Des listes et comptes sont également en rapport avec ces réquisitions ou avec des dépenses liées à un voyage à Babylone. Enfin, la stèle funéraire du moine Mèna (*SB Kopt.* 4.1953), datée de 869, précise qu'il est fils du défunt Chaël « homme de Babylone »³.

1.5. Provenances et dates

Les textes proviennent surtout de Moyenne-Égypte et du Fayoum. Six, dont un en grec, viennent de Bala'izah, quatre d'Aphroditô, quatre d'Apollônios Anô/Edfou ; enfin la liste comprend quelques textes thébains. Aucun de ces documents n'est attribuable à la période antérieure à la conquête. Quelques textes sont probablement datables de la période immédiatement postérieure à la conquête, comme *SB Kopt.* 1.36, procès-verbal d'audience d'Edfou, daté de 646⁴, ou d'autres que l'on peut rapprocher de dossiers déjà existants (voir plus loin § 2.1.2). Les textes des archives de Papas (Edfou) ont été attribués aux années 660–80⁵ ; ceux d'Aphroditô sont datables des débuts du 8^e siècle (vers 710). Une grande partie des textes sont d'ailleurs attribuables avec

2. Westerfeld 2013.

3. C'est, à ma connaissance, le seul témoignage épigraphique du nom de Babylone.

4. Edition princeps dans Schiller 1968. Connue sous le nom de papyrus Budge, ce document fait partie de l'ensemble connu comme les archives de Philémon et Thécla (al-Bahnasā/Oxyrhynchos) : voir Richter 2009, 40–43. T. S. Richter prépare d'ailleurs une nouvelle édition de ce texte.

5. Gascou et Worp 1982.

probabilité à cette période fin 7^e–début 8^e siècle. On bénéficie d'une date un peu plus précise pour *P.KRU* 5 (733 ou 748) et pour *P.KRU* 93 (770–80)⁶. Les documents du monastère de Deir Hammam, publiés dans les *P.Fay.Copt.*, ont été situés au 8^e–9^e⁷. L'écriture du P.Col. Inv. 552a, dont le texte a des parentés avec *P.Fay.Copt.* 22, correspondrait bien à cette période (majuscule bilinéaire tardive avec des traits de maniérisme). La stèle *SBKopt.* 4.1953 est datée de 869 (cf. ci-dessus). Enfin *P.Worp* 64, une lettre sur papier qui provient de Naqlūn, est datable des 10^e–11^e siècles⁸.

1.6. Babylone et Fuṣṭāṭ

Aux attestations de Babylone, il faut ajouter quelques rares occurrences de Fuṣṭāṭ (grec τὸ Φοσσᾶτον) dans les textes coptes : ΠΦΟCΔΤΟΝ (Louvre AF 12309⁹), ΠΕΦΩCΔΤΟΝ (*P.Ryl. Copt.* 371), ainsi qu'une mention dans *P.Heid.Kopt.* 8 (ΦΩCΔΤΟΝ) et deux autres dans P.Carlsberg 5010, 2–3, encore inédit¹⁰. Les attestations de τὸ Φοσσᾶτον dans les papyrus grecs sont aussi assez rares, en dehors des *P.Lond.* 4 et autres textes de la correspondance entre le gouverneur Qurra b. Šarīk et le pagarque d'Aphroditô, Basilios¹¹. La lettre publiée en appendice des *P.Ross.Georg.* 4¹² est datée de l'époque perse (619–29), ce qui en fait le seul texte antérieur à la conquête mentionnant τὸ φοσσᾶτον. Faut-il considérer cette mention comme la première attestation du site et la preuve que le toponyme existait déjà avant l'époque arabe ? Faut-il plutôt voir là simplement « le camp » (latin *fossatum*), qui renverrait au camp principal des Perses, installé dans le Fayoum (région d'où le texte provient)¹³ ? Dans l'ostracon copte du Louvre, il est rapporté qu'une femme nommée Katharôn s'est rendue à Fuṣṭāṭ (ΠΦΟCΔΤΟΝ). L'hypothèse — convaincante — de S. Bacot est que Katharôn est la grand-mère d'une certaine Kolodjé connue au 8^e siècle. Elle propose de dater l'ostracon de la 2^e moitié du 7^e siècle, période à laquelle les deux toponymes ont pu être en concurrence, sans qu'on puisse trop savoir s'il s'agit de désigner deux endroits différents¹⁴. Que ce soit en grec ou en copte, la concurrence semble avoir toujours été en faveur de Babylone, comme on le voit par exemple dans les archives de Papas, pagarque d'Edfou dans les années 670¹⁵. Un peu plus tard, la mention de Fuṣṭāṭ augmente dans les documents grecs d'Aphroditô¹⁶. Puis, tandis que dans les documents arabes, le nom de Babylone tombait

6. D'après Till 1962.

7. Schmelz 2009, 217.

8. Quelques fragments de lettres coptes sur papier conservés dans la collection de la Bibliothèque nationale du Caire (Dār el-Kutub) mentionnent Babylone.

9. Voir Bacot 1999.

10. Je dois cette information à Jennifer Cromwell, qui prépare la publication du document, et je l'en remercie vivement.

11. Il faut y ajouter *P.Heid.* 11.488 (Oxyrhynchos, milieu ou seconde moitié du 7^e siècle ; voir n. 37). Sur le caractère interchangeable des toponymes Babylone et Fuṣṭāṭ dans les textes grecs de cette période, cf. Butler 1914, 28–31 ; *P.Lond.* 4.1378, introduction : « This letter, compared with 1433,33, etc., shows that Babylon and Fuṣṭāṭ were convertible terms ».

12. P. 99–105.

13. Ce texte a été revu et discuté dans le cadre du séminaire de Jean-Luc Fournet (Collège de France) en février 2016. Voir son cours au Collège de France du 17 février 2016, disponible en ligne (<http://www.college-de-france.fr/site/jean-luc-fournet/course-2016-02-17-11h00.htm>). Sur les sens du mot latin, voir Kramer, « *fossatum* ».

14. Bacot 1999, 246. Le *P.Heid.Kopt.* 8 cité ci-dessus mentionne le duc de Thébaidé et concerne des réquisitions d'ouvriers, indices qui plaident pour une datation dans la seconde moitié du 7^e siècle.

15. *P.Apoll.* 6 (grec) porte εἰς τὸ Φοσσᾶτον, et il y a six attestations de Babylone dans les documents grecs, tandis que les textes coptes n'ont que Babylone (six mentions relevées jusqu'à présent). Pour Becker, « Bābalyūn », *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, « As far as we know from papyri, Babylon and Fuṣṭāṭ were still distinguished at the end of the first century. In Fuṣṭāṭ lived the Muhād̲j̲irūn, here their K̲h̲iṭāṭ were marked out. In Babylon were the great corn-merchants and the seat of the administration ».

16. En concurrence avec Babylone : l'index des *P.Lond.* 4 enregistre 14 attestations de τὸ Φοσσᾶτον pour plusieurs dizaines de Babylone ; *P.Lond.* 4.1335.4–5 ; 1378 ; 1407 ; 1435 ; *P.Ross.Georg.* 4.7 emploient les deux dans le même texte, ainsi que *SB* 1.5641, réquisition concernant du blé à fournir aux greniers de Babylone pour la garnison de Fuṣṭāṭ (sur la question des greniers, voir Butler 1914, 29 ; Morelli 1998, 189–90, ainsi que l'article de L. Berkes, J. M. S. Cowey et N. Vanthieghem dans ce volume). Aucun des deux toponymes ne semble mentionné dans les textes coptes de ce dossier.

en désuétude au profit de Fustât après le premier siècle de l'Hégire¹⁷, les documents coptes semblent n'avoir conservé que le premier. La mention de Fustât dans un texte copte devrait rester très exceptionnelle.

2. Aller et séjourner à Babylone

À partir de la conquête, Babylone-Fustât, nouvelle capitale en construction, devient manifestement un but de voyage, une destination de livraisons, un endroit où arrive et d'où part une abondante correspondance¹⁸. Il est donc normal d'en trouver de nombreuses mentions dans les textes coptes qui tournent autour de ces activités, même si elles sont moins nombreuses que dans les papyrus grecs, le grec restant encore largement la langue administrative dans les relations avec les conquérants. Les mentions dans les lettres sont certes souvent difficiles à interpréter, mais on peut retrouver dans certains textes les motivations d'un déplacement à Babylone.

2.1. Pour le service de l'administration arabe

2.1.1 Travail obligatoire (corvée)

Une des raisons d'employer le copte peut être le contexte monastique. Le monastère de Saint-Jérémie semble avoir joué un rôle particulier, peut-être en raison de sa proximité de la capitale et de son importance. Deux textes au moins attestent des tentatives de moines réquisitionnés comme travailleurs pour se faire remplacer moyennant finance : *CPR* 4.17, contrat passé avec le remplaçant pour un service de marin à Babylone ; *P.Gascou* 25, un document publié par Revillout et récemment réédité par Florence Calament, où quelqu'un garantit au monastère un remplaçant pour un service à faire à Clysmā/al Qulzum, autre « chantier » des débuts de la conquête, pour lequel de nombreux ouvriers étaient nécessaires. Dans ce second texte, deux des témoins sont l'économe et le prêtre (?) de Saint-Aaron de « Tpersis de Babylone », c'est-à-dire Giza. Quant à *CPR* 4.102, provenant probablement de Moyenne-Égypte, c'est une garantie de comparution pour une femme dont le mari a été emmené comme ouvrier à Babylone. Pourquoi veut-on s'assurer de cette femme ? En cas de fuite de son mari ? Parce que c'est elle qui est responsable des biens de son mari en son absence¹⁹ ?

2.1.2 Réquisitions

Un petit groupe de textes a été récemment constitué par Lajos Berkes à l'occasion de son édition du *P.Heid.Kopt.* 17²⁰. Ce texte est un reçu pour des briques et de la chaux. Il est adressé par trois personnages qui sont originaires de Moyenne-Égypte (deux sont ἀπθ, soit chefs de village) et se désignent comme ΝΕΠΙΣΤΙΚΟΚ ΝΒΔΒΕΛΩΝ ΝΠΤΟΨ ΝΨΜΟΥΝ, « les pistikoi de Babylone pour le nome de Schmoun (Ashmounein) ». Selon L. Berkes, « the three πιστικοί are very likely to have been the agents of the Arabs in the region of Hermopolis ». Je me demande si s'il ne faudrait pas supposer plutôt qu'ils se trouvent à Babylone en tant que « pistikoi » (agents

17. Becker, « Bābalyūn », *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*.

18. Et probablement un endroit où les métiers d'art trouvaient des débouchés : dans un récit d'Anastase le Sinaïte (2^e moitié du 7^e siècle), un certain Zacharie, habitant de Babylone est mentionné avec la profession d'orfèvre (Binggeli 2001, vol. 2, 513).

19. Les femmes étaient souvent emprisonnées pour servir de garantie pour leurs maris. Peut-être celle-ci a-t-elle été libérée sous caution, mais reste sous surveillance. Voir l'introduction de L. Berkes à la réédition de *P.Got.* 23 (<http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.got;23dgtl>).

20. Il s'agit du dossier d'un certain Georgios *meizōteros*.

administratifs) pour le district de Schmoun, puisqu'ils sont originaires de ce district ²¹. Les marchandises, qui sont probablement destinées au chantier de Fuṣṭāṭ, proviennent du domaine d'apa Iôhanês, originaire de Memphis mais résidant à Touho Nesouo (nome hermopolite). Les toponymes et les marchandises mentionnés rapprochent ce texte des archives de Senouthios l'*anystês* étudiées par F. Morelli ²² et permettent probablement de le dater de l'année 645. Le reçu est adressé à Georgios, qui est *meizoteros*, c'est-à-dire majordome ou intendant d'un personnage officiel (peut-être le pagarque d'Hermopolis, selon une hypothèse de L. Berkes). Georgios se trouve-t-il alors à Schmoun (d'où vient probablement le *P.Heid.Kopt.* 17) ? Dans un autre texte le mentionnant (*P.MoscowCopt.* 3), une garantie de comparution lui est adressée, dans laquelle il est spécifié qu'il réside à Babylone. L'un des garants est un certain Herminé, l'un des *pistikoi* de *P.Heid.Kopt.* 17, qui doit cette fois se trouver à Schmoun. Georgios est en tous cas en position supérieure par rapport aux *pistikoi*.

Le *P.Lond.Copt.* 1090 est un compte de contributions versées à Babylone pour diverses réquisitions en nature ²³. Il peut être daté de la même période, car il mentionne la maison d'Amr (ΓΗΛ ΔΒΡΟC).

2.1.3 Paiement des taxes et gestion des contribuables

Le *P.Ryl.Copt.* 321 est présenté ainsi par son éditeur : « Letter from Prashe, probably at Babylon, to the amir (*eukleestatos*), regarding tax-collection ». Marie Legendre, qui situe le texte au début du 8^e s., interprète cet amir comme le duc de Thébaïde, mais l'analyse récente de F. Morelli a montré que les deux titres n'étaient pas superposables ²⁴. La lettre a plusieurs objets. D'une part, « concerning those men that are with thee, that my lord take their payment and send it northward to me. For I am in difficulty because of them and in addition Mohammed, thy representative, is perturbed. I am in the utmost difficulty as to the payment ; and we were brought in and put in irons on this account ». Comme le dit M. Legendre, « ces hommes pouvaient être des fugitifs et leurs impôts n'avaient pas encore pu être collectés. Ce Prashe dit être en contact avec le gouverneur et un certain Muḥammad pour ce problème, ce qui montre également l'intégration de locaux et l'usage du copte pour régler les problèmes de la plus haute administration ». Puis l'expéditeur ajoute : « And as to the men of whom thou didst write northward to me, saying Send them south to me : the most glorious governor hath commanded to inscribe all the men of Babylon, from small to great ; so for this cause have we not been able to send them unto you ». L'amir réclame le retour de certains hommes. Est-ce pour qu'ils s'acquittent de leurs impôts ? Ou bien parce qu'il en a besoin pour autre chose ?

Le *SB Kopt.* 1.36 (daté de 646), un très long procès-verbal d'audience d'arbitrage à propos de la propriété d'une part de maison à Edfou, est aussi digne de mention ici, à cause des déplacements qu'il relate. Les partis en présence sont Iôhannês le diacre et Tsoker son beau-père ou beau-frère, contre Philémon et sa femme Thécla. Quelques années avant le litige, cette dernière a quitté sa maison avec deux de ses enfants et est partie s'installer à al-Fašn, dans la pagarchie cynopolite du nome oxyrhynchite, où elle est morte. À un moment de l'audience, le parti de Iôhannês produit de nouveaux témoins, à savoir un certain Pannoui, un certain Zacharia Peioeik et un certain Isak. Ils semblent avoir croisé Thécla à l'occasion de leurs voyages et elle leur a transmis messages ou documents. Ainsi Pannoui déclare-t-il (l. 149) qu'ayant quitté Babylone vers le sud, il a rencontré Thécla là où elle vivait et qu'elle lui a remis une lettre qu'il a apportée à Antinooupolis. De son côté Zacharia raconte que c'est en se rendant à Babylone avec un

21. N.B. Un « *pistikos* de Babylone » est aussi mentionné dans *P.Ryl.Copt.* 258 (compte).

22. *CPR* 30.

23. Les sommes sont petites, il s'agit d'un arriéré. Il semble que certains postes soient attribués à Clysmā (ΠΚΛΟΥCΜΕ).

24. Legendre 2014, 228 ; Morelli 2016.

document relatif au calcul et à la répartition de l'impôt (δικομομή) qu'il est passé à al-Fašn et y a trouvé Thécla (l. 154). Enfin Isak, qui venait au sud par la poste (ἀλλαγή), déclare qu'à al-Fašn, Thécla est venue le trouver et lui a confirmé le message transmis à Pannoui (l. 157). Selon Jelle Bruning, c'est à dessein que Thécla s'est adressée à ces gens-là, parce qu'ils étaient en contact avec l'administration arabe de Fustāt, et qu'une affiliation avec les autorités arabes avait (déjà) une certaine force légale²⁵. Je me demande si ce n'est pas forcer un peu l'interprétation du texte. Il est possible que Thécla se soit adressée à ces personnages, parce qu'ils étaient en voyage « officiel », ce qui leur permettait de se déplacer plus vite²⁶.

2.2. Aller à Babylone pour raisons commerciales

Un intendant s'est rendu depuis le Fayoum (?) jusqu'à Babylone pour veiller aux affaires de son maître et livrer du vin, probablement en bateau. Il lui écrit une lettre pour lui rendre compte du détail des opérations : c'est le sujet de *P.Gascou* 24 (= *CPR* 2.228). La lettre est datable du début du 8^e siècle, l'onomastique commence nettement à s'arabiser. Je cite ici le passage où les dépenses sont récapitulées, la plupart en vin, quelques-unes en espèces :

« Et voici les dépenses de vin : la barrière de la ville : 1 *diploun* ; le pont d'al-Lahūn : 1 *diploun* ; la taxe : 1 *diploun* ; le port de Babylone : 2 *dipla* ; Yūnus : 1 *diploun* ; et Yūnus m'a redemandé, parce que Ḥālid a pris 4 *dipla* et a payé un *mukūs* : 1 *diploun* ; Poustouli est venue dans le bateau : 2 *dipla* ; accostage bateau : 9 *dipla* ; Poustouli est allée chez elle : 330 *dipla* ; Lothé : 100 *dipla* ; ce que nous avons vendu : 300 *dipla* ; ta maison, vin et vinaigre : 141 *dipla* ; et j'ai trouvé que des marins avaient pris dix récipients aussi : 10 *dipla*. Voici la somme totale que j'ai trouvée : 903 *dipla*.

La taxe : 3 *milliarensia* ; le port : 1 *milliarensis* et 20 *folles* ; le transport en bateau : 1 sou 1/2 ».

Un autre compte relatif à un voyage à Babylone, moins spectaculaire, est le *P.Lond.Copt.* 159, qui se trouve au verso de *P.KRU* 5. Ce dernier est l'acte de vente d'un bien foncier, daté par W. Till de 733 ou 748. Il n'y a rien dans cet acte qui montre un lien particulier avec le verso. Pourtant, il semble que le verso a dû être inscrit au moment où ce document était encore dans des mains privées, donc avant de rejoindre les archives du bourg de Djémé conservées au monastère de Phoibammon²⁷ ? Le compte est en trois parties, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse de trois comptes différents, ce qui me paraît moins plausible. Certes, l'écriture varie d'une partie à l'autre, mais il est également difficile de dire s'il s'agit de mains différentes²⁸. La première partie concerne des équivalences monétaires et ne m'est pas très claire. La deuxième détaille les frais (Ⲭⲱ ⲁⲃⲠⲱ) du transport et du voyage, par bateau et chameau :

- prix du transport en bateau (ⲒⲬⲙⲉ ⲛⲬⲠⲟⲓ)
- ⲠⲬⲁⲢ ⲛⲁⲓⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ, qui désigne sans doute les frais de location d'un dépôt, peut-être une sorte de dépôt intermédiaire entre le voyage en bateau et le voyage en chameau
- ⲒⲬⲙⲉ ⲛⲬⲁⲙⲟⲩⲱ : prix du transport par terre en chameau
- ⲐⲬⲁⲉⲘ = taxe douanière (τέλος)²⁹
- Ⲓⲁ ⲡⲙⲉⲘⲟⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲁⲛⲁⲕ le dernier item, qui n'est pas sur le même plan que les autres, reste obscur ; il est apparemment constitué de deux mots abrégés³⁰

25. Bruning 2014.

26. Par ailleurs, comme me le rappelle Jean Gascou (communication personnelle), « l'affaire s'est soldée (en grec) en 647 auprès de la juridiction municipale d'Edfou (SB VI 8988), devant laquelle le *P.Budge* a été invoqué comme motif de dissolution du conflit. Aucune intervention juridictionnelle arabe ne se laisse saisir ».

27. Les choses sont bien claires dans *PKRU* 100, où l'acte concerne directement le monastère : le père fait établir l'acte de donation de son enfant au monastère et le remet à l'économe pour qu'il le mette dans la « bibliothèque du saint lieu ».

28. Je suis reconnaissante à Jennifer Cromwell de m'avoir fourni une photo de ce document.

29. On retrouve ce terme, toujours dans un contexte de transport, dans *P.Gascou* 24 et *O.Bawit* 84 : Ⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲡⲟⲩⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ.

30. Enregistrés dans Crum 1939, sous ⲙⲉⲘⲟⲩⲱ et ⲁⲛⲁⲕ.

La troisième partie est consacrée aux dépenses personnelles : denrées alimentaires, vin, pain, viande, avec peut-être une somme en dirhams. Ces dépenses sont probablement celles du voyage, auxquelles s'ajoutent celles du séjour sur place évoquées dans la dernière phrase : « Ce que j'ai dépensé pour moi à Babylone . . . ».

2.3. Aller à Babylone en visite

La lettre P.Col. Inv. 552a est adressée par un prêtre à un diacre et mentionne une visite à l'évêque de Babylone : « I inform your God-loving Paternity that it occurred to me that I should go north to Babylon so that I might visit the bishop »³¹. Comme le rappelle l'éditrice du texte, « The city was an episcopal see from at least the middle of the fifth century, as attested by the presence of a certain Kyros, bishop of Babylon, among the Egyptian bishops present at the Council of Ephesus in 449 »³². La langue de cette lettre présente une coloration dialectale qui la rattache à une région Fayoum — nord de la Moyenne-Égypte. Elle se rapproche sur ce plan, ainsi que par sa paléographie, de certaines pièces du dossier de Deir el Hammam, monastère du sud-est du Fayoum, et notamment du *P.Fay.Copt.* 22, lettre où il est aussi question d'aller à Babylone et où un évêque est mentionné, mais dont le détail reste difficile à comprendre.

Plus tard, au 10^e-11^e siècle, un moine écrit à un autre à Naqlûn (*P.Worp* 64). Il lui raconte son arrivée à Babylone et sa visite à sa mère, rendue possible par l'intervention bienveillante du patriarche (peut-être avait-il besoin de son autorisation pour entreprendre ce voyage et faire cette visite). Comme le relève J. van der Vliet, cette lettre se situe à un moment où le patriarcat avait déménagé d'Alexandrie au Caire.

Enfin une mention anecdotique de Babylone se trouve dans le *P.KRU* 93 (770-80), une donation d'enfant qui comprend un épisode particulier. Le père avait en effet promis de donner son fils au monastère si Dieu le guérissait d'une maladie grave. Mais une fois guéri, le fils s'est enfui et a gagné Babylone, où l'on n'a plus eu de nouvelles de lui pendant plusieurs années. Le père a de nouveau prié Dieu, qui a fait revenir son fils (le récit ne dit pas comment), et il l'a alors donné au monastère, lui et ses futurs enfants. La ville était donc ressentie comme suffisamment lointaine, grande ou peuplée, pour que quelqu'un puisse y disparaître. Est-ce pour le même genre de raison que la mention d'un voyage à Babylone est souvent accompagnée d'une expression particulière sur laquelle il convient maintenant de se pencher ?

3. À propos de l'expression « Dieu nous a guidés, nous sommes allés à Babylone »

Tous les types de voyages à Babylone évoqués plus haut semblent concernés par cette expression. La lettre de l'intendant qui se rend du Fayoum à Babylone pour veiller aux affaires de son maître et livrer du vin (*P.Gascou* 24) commence ainsi : « J'informe Ta Paternité que Dieu nous a guidés, que nous sommes entrés à Babylone et n'avons trouvé que du bien ». J. Krall, le premier éditeur de cette lettre conservée à Vienne, avait déjà repéré que cette formule se retrou-

31. La traduction de la suite, qui n'a pas d'incidence sur mon propos, devrait être corrigée comme suit : « Now, if God puts it into your heart that you come and we go, then God *and you* make the decision. If you are not able to come north, *send* us your greeting and we will take it north to the bishop ».

32. Westerfeld 2013, 177 ; cf. aussi Butler 1914, 13-14. Des textes grecs attestent aussi la présence d'un évêque de Babylone aux 6^e et 7^e siècles (voir notamment Binggeli 2001, vol. 2, p. 512 et note 134). Il s'agit d'évêques chalcédoniens. Peut-être l'évêché de Babylone était-il, jusqu'à la conquête, un évêché chalcédonien, ce qui pourrait aussi expliquer la présence d'une église dédiée au culte des saint Cyr et Jean, très en faveur chez les chalcédoniens (voir Shehaan 2015, 88 : l'église fut plus tard dédiée à sainte Barbara, et l'est toujours aujourd'hui ; sur le culte des saints Cyr et Jean, voir Gascou 2006a, 2006b, 18). Cependant, P. Grossmann estime que la seule église antérieure à la conquête pourrait être celle de Saint-Mercure, dans le monastère de Dayr Abu Sayfayn (Grossmann 1991, 320-21).

vait dans d'autres textes, notamment une lettre sur papier (inv. K 17305) qu'il éditait partiellement³³ (« Dieu m'a guidé, je suis entré à Babylone le dimanche », la raison du voyage semblant là aussi commerciale). Dans *CPR* 4.17, contrat passé avec un remplaçant pour un service de marin à Babylone, il est stipulé : « Dieu te guidera et tu iras (/ pour aller) à Babylone ». *P.PalauRib.Copt.* 9, probablement un contrat de cession d'un travailleur, contient cette précision : ΕΡΩΔΝΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΧΙ ΜΟΘΙΤ ΝΔΝ ΤΔΝΕΙ ΕΠ[, où il est tentant de restituer ΕΠ[ΔΒΥΛΩΝ] ou toute autre forme du toponyme (« Si Dieu nous guide, nous irons/pour aller à Babylone »). Une lettre copte fayoumique (P.Louvre E 6893), mentionne un déplacement que l'expéditeur, un ecclésiastique, a dû faire à Babylone, pour le compte de l'église, puis annonce un second déplacement, qui semble difficile : « Donc je me suis hâté de donner un dépôt à/de . . . pour aller à Babylone, soit 2 *tremissis*. Alors prie pour moi, que les saints de Dieu me guident pour (y) aller, par la volonté de Dieu »³⁴. La dernière partie de cette phrase est très proche d'une phrase relevée par Krall dans une autre lettre fayoumique de Vienne (inv. K 1037, inédite) : ΨΔΝΤΕΠΝΟΥΤΙ ΧΙ ΜΔΙΤ ΝΗΙ ΤΔΕΙ, « jusqu'à ce que Dieu me guide pour (y) aller ». Le *P.Lond.Copt.* 584 mériterait aussi d'être réexaminé, car on y lit aux lignes 8–9 : ΤΙΟΥΨ ΤΔΜΔΚ ΧΔΠΝΟΥΤ(Ι) ΧΙ ΜΔΙΤ ΝΕΝ ΔΝ. Υ ΒΔΔ ΚΔΔΟC, « je désire t'informer que Dieu nous a guidés, nous avons bien . . . »³⁵. Quant à *P.Bal.* 187, c'est une lettre dont l'auteur raconte avoir porté devant le gouverneur d'Égypte une requête pour être relevé d'un service obligatoire et avoir finalement été libéré : ΝΤΔΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΨ ΔΒΟΚ ΕΠΑΒΙΔΩΝ ΕΙΝΔΖΗ ΖΗ ΠΟΥΨ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, « I (?) went to Babylon being safe by the will of God . . . ». Dans cette dernière lettre, comme dans deux des lettres de Vienne (*P.Gascou* 24, inv. K 17305), la phraséologie semble influencée par celle de l'épistolographie arabe³⁶. Pourtant je ne suis pas parvenue à trouver dans les lettres arabes une expression qui puisse être à l'origine de celle qui nous occupe ici³⁷.

Babylone n'est cependant pas la seule destination dont la mention est entourée d'une telle précaution oratoire. Un texte inédit de Berlin, toujours en fayoumique, qui semble être une sorte de contrat, contient la phrase suivante : ΔΥΠΝΟΥΤΙ ΧΙ ΜΔΕΙΤ ΝΝΕΝ ΔΝΝΕΕΙ ΕΖΕΜΕΤC'Δ', « Dieu nous a guidés, nous sommes allés à Emèse »³⁸. Les deux contractants sont apparemment allés à Emèse pour faire établir leur contrat et l'ont rapporté en Égypte. Emèse, comme Babylone, est une capitale où l'on n'entre probablement pas sans une raison importante ni sans se soumettre à certaines formalités.

Conclusion

La fréquence importante du nom de Babylone-Fustât dans les documents coptes correspond d'évidence à l'émergence de la nouvelle capitale qui, du fait des exigences et des besoins des nouveaux maîtres du pays, devient en quelque sorte le but des déplacements et le centre d'une abondante correspondance. Elle correspond aussi au rôle croissant que joue la langue copte dans les affaires administratives après la conquête, à côté du grec³⁹. Dans les documents coptes

33. Krall 1892, 45–46.

34. Edition de la lettre dans Boud'hors et Calament 2015, 36–41.

35. Je remercie Esther Garel d'avoir attiré mon attention sur ce texte. Il faut peut-être envisager de lire ΔΝΠΟΥ, cette variante ΝΟΥ de l'infinitif ΕΙ se trouvant régulièrement dans *P.Gascou* 24. Il ne semble pas cependant que le nom de Babylone puisse se trouver dans la partie illisible de cette phrase.

36. Par les nombreuses incises concernant la volonté ou la protection de Dieu, notamment l'expression ΕΙΝΔΖΗ ΖΗ ΠΟΥΨ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, « je suis sain et sauf par la volonté de Dieu ». Cf. Grob 2010 et Delattre et al. 2012.

37. En revanche, un papyrus grec que m'a signalé Lajos Berkes, *P.Heid.* 11.488, pourrait être versé au dossier : il s'agit d'une réclamation pour des impôts qui tardent à être payés. L'expéditeur presse son correspondant d'envoyer le versement, faute de quoi, ὁ Ἐξὸς βοηθήσῃ, on l'enverra régler l'affaire à Fustât (τὸ Φοσσᾶτον).

38. Il s'agit du P.Berol. inv. 8122, dont Lajos Berkes a eu la grande amabilité de me signaler l'existence et la teneur.

39. Dans les textes coptes littéraires, en revanche, les attestations de Babylone restent fort rares En-dehors du *Martyre de*

antérieurs à la conquête, la capitale, Alexandrie, n'est que rarement nommée, et on voit bien que le copte est surtout utilisé à l'échelle locale.

Babylone est le plus souvent une destination de voyage. Voyage presque toujours forcé et apparemment hasardeux ou difficile, si l'on en croit les formules d'appui du type « Dieu nous a guidés ». Comme le rappelle Jacques van der Vliet dans son édition du *P.Worp* 64, les Egyptiens n'aimaient guère voyager, et Babylone, ville nouvelle, devait constituer une sorte d'aventure peu rassurante, même si les besoins du commerce la rendaient incontournable. Avec le temps cependant, il a dû se constituer une population chrétienne stable à Babylone-Fuṣṭāṭ, et certaines personnes pouvaient se dire « originaires de Babylone ». L'accès à cette population dans les textes coptes reste très limité, en dehors de mentions brèves, tels des témoins d'actes juridiques qui sont dits originaires de Babylone. Sur ce point, les sources arabes ont probablement plus à dire.

Annexe : Liste des documents coptes mentionnant Babylone

(les documents cités dans l'article sont précédés d'un *)

- CPR 2.133 (acte fragmentaire mentionnant Babylone)
- *CPR 2.228 (= *P.Gascou* 25, lettre)
- *CPR 4.17 (contrat de remplacement pour une corvée de marin)
- CPR 4.52 (reçu émis par un certain Apa Nilê, originaire d'un endroit situé au nord de Babylone)
- CPR 4.102 (= *SB Kopt.* 1.53, garantie de comparution pour une femme dont le mari a été emmené comme ouvrier à Babylone)
- CPR 4.110 (garantie de comparution dont un des témoins est originaire de Babylone)
- CPR 4.150 (quittance de loyer ; un personnage nommé en fin d'acte [témoin ?] est en lien avec Babylone)
- CPR 34.17 (liste nominale de paiements ; 2 des personnes semblent être à/ venir de Babylone)
- *CPR 34.78 (lettre [F] qui mentionne un voyage à Babylone)
- O.Crum* VC 115 (lettre sur papyrus en dialecte F ; contenu obscur)
- *O.Louvre AF 12309 (éd. S. Bacot, « Avons-nous retrouvé », lettre mentionnant un voyage à ϕΟCCΑΤΟΝ)
- **P.Akoris* 61 (lettre dans laquelle l'expéditeur dit être allé au nord, à Babylone)⁴⁰
- P.Bal.* 174 (fin d'acte ; l'un des témoins dit se trouver à Babylone)
- P.Bal.* 185 (fragment de lettre qui mentionne Babylone)
- **P.Bal.* 187 (lettre qui mentionne un voyage à Babylone pour une requête au gouverneur)
- P.Bal.* 240 (lettre à propos du paiement de taxes ; un voyage à Babylone est mentionné)
- P.Bal.* 352 (petit fragment de lettre)
- **P.Col. Inv.* 552a (éd. Westerfeld 2013 : lettre mentionnant une visite à l'évêque de Babylone)
- **P.Fay.Copt.* 22 (= *P.Lond.Copt.* 576, lettre qui contient au verso des comptes arabes ; il est question d'un voyage à Babylone)
- **P.Fay.Copt.* 53 (= *P.Lond.Copt.* 677, compte)

Jean de Phanidjoït, qui est franchement tardif (13^e siècle), je relève l'occurrence de Babylone dans un miracle de la *Vie de Matthieu le Pauvre*, où il est dit qu'une femme originaire d'Esna se trouvait à Babylone (Amélineau 1895, 728–30), et dans le *Martyre d'Apater et Iraï* (Hyvernat 1886–87, 91.24, 92.3, 96.6) : mention d'un moine (ΔΠΟΚΡΑΧΩΝ ΠΙΜΟΥΝΙΔΑΧΟΣ ΠΙΡΕΜΠΙΝΕΒΔΗ) qui habite au *kastron* de Babylone. Sur la possibilité que la ville ait été aux mains des chalcédoniens avant la conquête, voir ci-dessus n. 32.

40. Texte publié aussi par Jarry 1992. Le toponyme n'avait pas été identifié par l'éditeur, il l'a été par A. Delattre (séminaire EPHE du 16/11/2018).

- **P.Gascou* 25 (= *CPR* 2.228, lettre)
- **P.Heid.Kopt.* 8 (éd. L. Blumell, lettre ordonnant une arrestation et l'envoi d'ouvriers à Fustāt)
- P.Heid.Kopt.* 16 (éd. H. Belal, reçu de remboursement d'un *tremissis* prêté à Babylone)
- **P.Heid.Kopt.* 17 (éd. L. Berkes, reçu pour des briques et de la chaux ; dossier de Georges, le μειζότερος)
- **P.Heid.Kopt.* 21 (éd. R. Burchfield, déclaration ; dossier de Georges, le μειζότερος)
- P.Köln.Ägypt.* 2.52 (lettre concernant le travail obligatoire à Babylone)
- **P.KRU* 5 verso (comptes au verso d'un acte de vente)
- **P.KRU* 93 (donation d'enfant ; une fois guéri, l'enfant est parti à Babylone : l. 17)
- **P.Lond.* 4 (Aphroditô) (attestations dans 4 textes coptes : 1508, 1587, 1590, 1628)
[*P.Lond.Copt.* 459 (= *P.KRU* 5 verso)]
- P.Lond.Copt.* 546, texte 2 (lettre mentionnant le transport d'un objet à Babylone)
[*P.Lond.Copt.* 576 (= *P.Fay.Copt.* 22)]
- P.Lond.Copt.* 593 (lettre en dialecte F)
[*P.Lond.Copt.* 677 (= *P.Fay.Copt.* 53)]
- P.Lond.Copt.* 691 (compte de vin [coloration F] ; parmi les destinataires du vin figure † ΠΕΡΩΜΕ ΜΠΑΜΕΡΑ ΕΠΑΒΥΛΩΝ ΙΔ)
- **P.Lond.Copt.* 1090 (compte de réquisitions versées à Babylone)
- P.Lond.Copt.* 1102 (lettre qui mentionne « a Babylonian skin »)
- P.Lond.Copt.* 1117 (lettre ; contexte obscur)
- P.Lond.Copt.* 1122 r (lettre ; contexte obscur)
- P.Lond.Copt.* 1131 v° (au verso d'une lettre copte, compte en grec de chameaux envoyés à Babylone)
- P.Lond.Copt.* 1149 (lettre)
- P.Lond.Copt.* 1151 (lettre)
- P.Lond.Copt.* 1196 (fragment de lettre)
- **P.Louvre Inv. E* 6893 (édition Boud'hors et Calament 2015, lettre en dialecte F qui mentionne un voyage à Babylone)
- **P.MoscowCopt.* 3 (garantie de comparution adressée à Georges le μειζότερος ; cf. *P.Heid.*)
- P.MoscowCopt.* 8 (fragment de texte juridique en dialecte F)
- P.MoscowCopt.* 24 (lettre en dialecte F)
- P.PalauRib.Copt.* 9 (contrat de cession d'un travailleur)
- P.Ryl.Copt.* 121 (texte 2 : invocation initiale d'un acte, précisant « à Babylone »)
- **P.Ryl.Copt.* 258 (avec mention d'un *pistikos* de Babylone)
- **P.Ryl.Copt.* 321 (lettre concernant le recouvrement des impôts)
- **P.Ryl.Copt.* 371 (ΠΕΦΩΣΑΤΟΝ)
- P.Ryl.Copt.* 380 (fragment de lettre dont l'expéditeur se trouve à Babylone)
- P.Ryl.Copt.* 457 (fragment de scala)
- **P.Worp* 64 (lettre de Naqlūn mentionnant un voyage à Babylone ; papier)
- **SBKopt.* 1.36 (procès-verbal d'audience d'arbitrage)
- **SBKopt.* 4.1953 (stèle funéraire datée de 869)
- Documents inédits :
- *Archives de Papas : 6 mentions de Babylone ⁴¹
- **P.Vindob. Inv. K* 1037 (lettre mentionnant un voyage à Babylone)
- **P.Vindob. Inv. K* 17305 (lettre mentionnant un voyage à Babylone) ⁴²

41. Ce dossier, conservé à l'Ifao du Caire, est en cours d'étude par une équipe internationale dirigée par A. Boud'hors et Alain Delattre : voir Boud'hors et Delattre 2017.

42. Pour ces deux papyrus inédits de Vienne, voir Krall 1892, 42.

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The Overseers of the Barns of Babylon: Two Arabic-Greek Receipts

Lajos Berkes—James M. S. Cowey—Naim Vanthieghem

This chapter offers the edition of the Arabic-Greek fragment P.Heid.Inv. Arab. 304, part of a receipt issued at the barns of Babylon, and reconsiders the closely related document *SPP* 8.1345. We argue that the two texts may attest to the hitherto unknown office of the *catholicus* of the public barns at Babylon.

The Greek part of *SPP* 8.1345 (Aphrod. [?], 706) was first published by C. Wessely as *SPP* 8.1345, and the Arabic portion was described by C. H. Becker in *P.BeckerPAF* 16¹ and subsequently published by A. Grohmann as *P.Cair.Arab.* 4.286 (with corrections by H. I. Bell). The latter's text and translation reads:

[هـ من أهل مدينة [. .]]
[ة اردب وسبعة عـ[شر]
[ارد[ب قمح توفياها في الهري]
	لضريبة الطعالم سنة سبع و[ثمانين	
[وكتبه[عبد الله بن جرير في ذي القعدة]
	سنة سـ[بع وثمانين]

† ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ομαρ υἰὸς(ς) Αβιπ (καὶ) [καθολ(ικῶν) ὀρρ(ίων) Βαβυλῶνος ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀπό παραδεδώκ(α)τ(ε) ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τ(ῆς) παρού(σης) ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ε δ(ιὰ) Θε[

10 κώμη(ς) σί(του) ἀρτ(άβας) χιζ ω̅ ἑξακοσίας δέκα ἐπ[τὰ δίμοιρον
Φαωφι ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ς) ε

vac. ζ̅

γί(νονται) σί(του) ἀρτ(άβαι) χιζ ω̅

vac.

مبلغ[ها ست وسبع عشر وثلاثي اردب قمح

خيز ω̅

(Arabic) “[. . .] numbering among the people of the town of . . . [. . .] artabas and seven[en . . . artab]as of wheat, which they both have received in full in the barns [for the corn tax (*embole*) of

1. Becker 1906, 101–2.

the year] eighty-[seven], [and] ‘Abdallâh b. Ġarîr [has written it] in Dū’l-Qa’dah [of the year] eighty-[se]ven.”

(Greek) “In the name of God. ‘Omar, son of Abip, and [. . . the superintendents] of the public barns at Babylon, to you peo[ple of. . .] You have delivered to us for the present 5th indiction through the . . . [. . .] of the village 617 2/3 artabas of wheat, six hundred and sev[en]teen [and two-thirds] Phaophi of the 5th indiction. . . . 7 (?) . . . That makes 617 2/3 artabas of wheat.”

(Arabic) “[the amount] thereof (being) six hundred and seventeen and two-thirds of artabas of wheat.”

(Greek) “617 2/3.”

The preserved Greek portion (ll. 3–4) of P.Heid.Inv. Arab. 304 reads:

[Ου]βηειτ(α)λ(λα) καθ(ο)λ() ὄρρ(ι)
 []() . . . ()

This is clearly similar to the beginning of the Greek part (ll. 7–8) of *SPP* 8.1345.

† ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ὅμαρ υἱὸς(ς) Ἀβιπ (καὶ) [
 καθολ(ικῶν) ὄρρ(ίωv) Βαβυλῶνος ὑμῖν το[ῖς ἀπό

The genitive plural καθολ(ικῶν) ὄρρ(ίωv), “catholic barns,” was restored by Wessely in *SPP* 8.1345.8 and followed by Grohmann, who cited Bell.² Bell refers to the image of the text in Moritz’s paleography,³ “where the καθολικά ὄρρια are mentioned.” That the abbreviation of καθολ() ὄρρ() is resolved in the plural is certainly made likely by the doubling of the θολ sequence that was written on the papyrus καθ^ολ^ο. This resolution implies that ‘Umar, whose title is lost at the end of line 7, was an official in charge of the “catholic barns.” N. Gonis tentatively proposed the title ἐπικείμενος καθολικῶν ὄρρίωv for the overseer of the granaries.⁴ However, in line 3 of P.Heid.Inv. Arab. 304 the restoration of the genitive would be odd after a personal name. We would rather expect a title between the name and the καθολικά ὄρρια.

Apart from *SPP* 8.1345 and P.Heid.Inv. Arab. 304 only a writing exercise from the early Islamic period, P.Heid.Inv. G 2160 (published below in the Appendix) contains the abbreviation καθολ(ικ) ὄρρ(ι) Βαβυλ(ῶν)ος. However, this phrase is an isolated exercise and does not help us understand the abbreviation. It constitutes a further difficulty that only *SPP* 8.1345 and perhaps P.Heid.Inv. G 2160 mention the καθολικά ὄρρια Βαβυλῶνος,⁵ but there are several attestations of the ὄρρια Βαβυλῶνος.⁶

These difficulties disappear if we resolve καθολικοὶ ὄρρίωv in P.Heid.Inv. Arab. 304, which implies the existence of the hitherto unattested office of the *catholicus* of the barns at Babylon. This resolution seems to be inevitable in P.Heid.Inv. Arab. 304 but not in *SPP* 8.1345 and P.Heid. Inv. G 2160. We also need to consider that *catholici* might have been in charge of granaries called καθολικά ὄρρια, which would perhaps have been named after them: *SPP* 8.1345 and P.Heid. Inv. G 2160 may refer to these barns. In the case of *SPP* 8.1345 we may also reconstruct a title—

2. From *P.Lond.* 4.1335.4n.

3. An image is available in Moritz 1905, pl. 101 (scanned at <http://www.islamic-awareness.org/History/Islam/Papyri/enlp10.html>).

4. Gonis 2009, 207.

5. Cf., however, the writing exercise *CPR* 19.27.1, where between the name of the official and his title other words were placed: ϣ̣ σὺν Θε(εῶ) Νεγιδ υἱὸς(ς) Μουσλημ ὑμῖν Ἰωσήφ Δαμια(νοῦ) ἀπὸ λα(ύρας) Παρεμβολῆς ἐπικ(εῖ)με(νος) παραρχίας Ἀρσινότου νομοῦ. Similarly, it is also possible that P.Heid.Inv. G 2160 refers to the office.

6. See Morelli 1998, 187–89.

perhaps ἐπικείμενοι (as Gonis suggested)—in the lacuna before καθολ(ικῶν) ὄρρ(ίωv).⁷ If this is correct, it would suggest that the title of the officials changed over time.

What do we know about the officials in charge of the granaries of Babylon? The καί in *SPP* 8.1345.1 suggests that there were at least two officials issuing the receipt. Furthermore, the tax demand note *P.BeckerPAF* 10.4 (709) issued by Qurra b. Sharik to the inhabitants of Aphrodito refers to two overseers of the barns (*ṣāhibay al-hury*), while *P.Heid.Arab.* 1.3 refers to several overseers of the granaries.⁸ It is likely that the receipt was issued by two officials. As has been pointed out by Gonis, we do not know if the officials of *SPP* 8.1345 are distinct from the “amīr of the wheat of Babylon,” whose receipt is mentioned in *SPP* 3².474.⁹ One also needs to consider that the administrative structure of the granaries might have changed over time.¹⁰ The *catholici* in charge of the public barns of the Arab capital were surely high-ranking persons,¹¹ which may also explain why the text is bilingual. Although the recipients of the document most likely did not understand Arabic, the use of Arabic might have had an ideological importance,¹² or the receipt was supposed to be checked by Arab officials.

As mentioned above, the title *catholicus* has not been attested yet in the Islamic period. It is not surprising to find Muslim officials bearing Greek titles or honorifics in the 8th century.¹³ The office of the *catholicus* (lat. *rationalis*) was introduced in Egypt in 286 by Diocletian and replaced the διοικητής of the Roman period. As an imperial procurator residing in Alexandria he was in charge of a wide range of fiscal responsibilities throughout Egypt.¹⁴ This function was transformed in Egypt in the 5th century into the *comes largitionum* of the diocese.¹⁵ There are no instances for the title *catholicus* in the 5th century, but a handful of documents attest it in the 6th–7th centuries. It seems to refer to an official whose duties seem mostly to have lain in the area of collecting and transporting taxes in grain. They are sometimes styled as *comes* and *clarissimus* (λαμπρότατος), which indicates a relatively high rank on the local level.¹⁶ In *P.Ant.* 3.206 (Antin., 7th c.) the receipt of a *catholicus* is mentioned.¹⁷ A subheading of the *embole* account, *P.Oxy.* 16.1906.14 (Oxy., 6th–7th c.) runs: † ἔστιν τὸ μετρηθ(έν) μέτρ(ημα) Μηνᾶ καθολικ(ῶ).¹⁸ Similarly, *P.Oxy.* 16.1997 (Oxy., 6th c.) seems to be a receipt from a village scribe to a *catholicus* for 7,057 artabas of wheat.¹⁹ The title is still attested immediately before the Islamic period in

7. Cf. the titles πάγαρχος and ἐπικείμενος πάγαρχίας, the second of which is attested only in the Islamic period; see, for instance, *CPR* 19.27.1 mentioned above in n. 5.

8. *P.Heid.Arab.* 1.3.77–80: *fa-lā yaḥmilū ilā l-huryi illā | ʔa āman ṭayyiban fa-innī qad amartu | aṣḥāba l-huryi allā yaqbalū min | ahl al-arḍi illā dhālika* (“May they not bring to the barns anything else than good food. I have ordered the officials in charge of the barns not to accept from the people of the countryside except this [food]”).

9. *SPP* 3².474.3 (Ars., 7th–8th c.): δ(ιὰ) ἀπ(ο)δ(είξεως?) Μοζεειλ ἀμιρᾶ τοῦ σίτου Βαβυλῶ(νος).

10. Gonis 2009, 199 and 207–8.

11. Gonis 2009, 199 and 207–8.

12. Cf. Sijpesteijn 2007, 447: “Arabic was considered essential to the Islamic empire’s communication with its subjects right from the start, although the ‘message’ it conveyed was often less the immediate content of the text than its symbolic power. Arabic identified the new rulers and their triumphant religion, eventually penetrating into the remotest corners of the country. . . . The use of the *hijra* date in these earliest datable papyri similarly functions as a religious and political symbol.” This question is discussed in more depth in Sijpesteijn 2013, 217–57.

13. Cf., e.g., *CPR* 8.77.1 (Ars., late 7th–early 8th c.): † Φλ(άουιος) Ἀτίας σὺν Θ(εῶ) δούξ.

14. Lallemand 1964, 78–87. See also Delmaire 1989, 178–205; and Hagedorn 1985, 167–210.

15. Cf. Rouillard 1928², 138.

16. A good *comparandum* are the μείζοντες (maiores domus) of the Apion estates in the Oxyrhynchite nome of whom several are styled as *comes* or *clarissimus*; cf. Berkes 2017a, 101.

17. Lines 8–9: [έν]τᾶγι(ον) Θεοδώρου καθολικ(οῦ) | (ὑπὲρ) Βίκτορος Ἀμμωνιανοῦ νο(μίσματα) λε.

18. The editors suggest in the commentary that “the catholicus here was presumably a *rationalis rerum privatarum*,” which does not seem to be likely in light of the above discussion.

19. Line 1: † πρόσγραφ(ον(?)) ἔμοῦ Ἰωάννου γρα(μματέως) κώμ(ης) Σπανίας τοῦ λαμπροτάτου κυρίου Ἰωάννου καθολ(ικοῦ). We take that the genitive at the end of the line was meant as a dative, which would be a common mistake. This way we eliminate also the strange reference to a village “owned” by a *catholicus*; cf. Berkes 2017a, 8, esp. n. 34.

SPP 8.1111 (Ars., 631 [?]), where the *clarissimus comes*, the *catholicus* Kyros is mentioned.²⁰ He receives together with an *osprigites*—another official mostly connected to the collection and delivery of grain taxes²¹—5 solidi and 14 1/4 siliquae for the *naula* (freight charge) of the *embole*. All this seems to align well with the presumable function of the *catholici* in the Islamic period.²²

The provenances of the two receipts are not entirely certain. Bell²³ remarked concerning *SPP* 8.1345: “a bilingual document which may perhaps also belong to the Aphrodito collection.” His argument was taken over by Grohmann in *P.Cair.Arab.* 4.286. Both texts were likely written in Babylon after the delivery of the wheat and then returned to the site, where they were found. In the case of *SPP* 8.1345, this may well have been Aphrodito, considering the date of the text and the fact that several papyri from Cairo belong to the same archive. Also, line 4 mentions a κώμη, which must be the place from which the wheat was delivered. This very likely refers to Aphrodito, since official documents usually employ for other villages the term χωρίον at this time. It is intriguing that the Arabic (l. 1) employs the term *madīna*, “city,” instead of *qarya*, “village,” as in *P.BeckerPAF* 10.²⁴ On the whole, it seems very likely that *SPP* 8.1345 was found at Aphrodito as part of the Basilios archive.²⁵

In regard to P.Heid.Inv. Arab. 304, the fact that the Heidelberg collection contains several documents from Aphrodito may suggest that this papyrus was also found there. The inventory of the collection states that the document was gifted by Schott.²⁶ It likely belonged to the same lot as the Heidelberg Aphrodito papyri.²⁷ The close affinities of our document to *SPP* 8.1345 both in formulary and handwriting suggest that the two texts were written around the same time; thus, P.Heid.Inv. Arab. 304 likely dates to the late 7th or early 8th century.

***P.Christ.Musl.* 1: A Bilingual Receipt from the Overseers of the Barns at Babylon: *SPP* 8.1345 Reconsidered**

The above considerations and reexamination of the published plate make it worthwhile to present a reconsidered text of *SPP* 8.1345.²⁸ Besides some minor corrections in brackets and dotting, we offer new supplements. It also worth pointing out that the editions of the text have not considered the diacritical marks of the papyrus, which are common in official texts from the early Islamic period. Their presence and the professional character of the handwriting prove that the text was written by highly trained scribes—as is fitting at the office of the barns of Babylon. We find triangle-shaped signs above the end of ὀνόματι and Θεοῦ in line 1 and above the alpha of δέκα in line 1. There is also an oblique stroke above the sigma of Βαβυλῶνος in line 9. They seem to indicate punctuation and perhaps reading guides.

20. He is perhaps identical with his namesake, who is mentioned in the fragmentary *P.Lond.* 1.5299.6 (Ars., 6th c. [ed. pr.]): τοῦ κόμ(ιτος) Κύρου καθολικοῦ.

21. See the summary by Claudia Kreuzsaler, *SPP* 3².473.3n.

22. We could wonder whether there were already *catholici* in charge of the barns of Babylon in the Byzantine period. We can also remark that the papyri discussed above extend the survival of the office into the 7th–8th centuries; cf. Delmaire 1989, 205.

23. Bell 1908, 98.

24. *P.Becker PAF* 10.2: *min Qurra b. Sharik ilā ahl madīna Ishqūh* (“From Qurra b. Sharik to the people of the city of Ishqūh”). On the status of Aphrodito, see Marthot 2012, 487–90.

25. Its date also fits well with the time span of the archive; see Richter 2010, 196.

26. “Erworben: Geschenk Schott 1904.”

27. We are grateful to Andrea Jördens for confirming this suspicion in an email on 20 December 2017: “Das ist ein alter PSR, hat also auf jeden Fall vorher Reinhardt gehört, zumal Schott nicht selbst in Ägypten tätig war.”

28. The corrections are based on the image found in Moritz’s paleography reproduced below. The quality of the reproduction is generally high, but in some places (e.g., ll. 12, 15) very difficult to read.

-
- [من اهل مدينة اشد[قوه
 [من ست مائة اردب وسبعة عشر[ر
 [وثلثي اردب قمح توفياها في الهري
 [لسنة سبع وثمانين
 [وكتب عبد الله بن حرير في ذي القعدة
 [سنة سبع وثمانين
- 5
- † [
- † ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ. Οὐμαρ υἱὸς(ς) Ἀβιπ (καὶ) [N. N. υἱὸς(ς) N. N. *title* (?)
 καθολ(ικ) ὀρρ(ίων) Βαβυλωνος ὑμῖν το[ῖς ἀπὸ κώμης Ἀφροδιτῶ (?)
 10 παραδεδώκ(α)τ(ε) ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τ(ῆς) παρού(σης) ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ς) ε δ(ιά) Θε[. . .
 τῆς αὐτῆς]
 κώμη(ς) σί(του) ἀρτ(άβας) χιζ̄ ̄ ̄ ἑξακοσίας δέκα ἑπτ[ὰ διμοιρον
 μό(νας) (?).
 Φ[. . .] . [ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ς) ε .
 / ζ̄() ()
 γί(νονται) σί(του) ἀρτ(άβας) χιζ̄ ̄ ̄
 15 [ف]يها ست وسبع عشر وثلثي اردب قمح
 vac.
 χιζ̄ ̄ ̄

9 καθ^αθ^οο^ρο^ρ pap. 10 παραδεδωκ^τ (ω corr. ex ε) pap., επι^τπαρ^οινδ^οεδ pap. 11 κωμ^ισιαρ^τ pap.
 12 pap. 13 ζ̄ pap. 14 γισιαρ^τχιζ̄ ̄ ̄ pap.

(Arabic) “. . . through . . . from the people of the town of Ishqūh six hundred seventeen artabas of wheat and two-thirds, which they both have received in full in the barns for the year eighty-seven. Written by ‘Abd Allāh b. Jarīr/Ḥarīr in Dhū l-Qa‘da of the year eighty-seven.”

(Greek) “In the name of God. ‘Umar b. Ḥabīb and . . . *catholici* (?) of the barns/of the *catholic* barns at Babylon, to you of the village Aphrodito (?). You have delivered to us during the present 5th indiction through Theodorus (?), the . . . of the same village (?) 617 2/3 artabas of wheat, six hundred and seventeen and two-thirds. Ph . . . of the 5th indiction. . . 7 (?) . . . That makes 617 2/3 artabas of wheat only (?)”

(Arabic) “The amount thereof (being) six hundred seventeen artabas of wheat and two-thirds.”

(Greek) “617 2/3.”

- 1]a: The line probably renders in Arabic the Greek words in lines 10–11: δ(ιά) Θε[. . . τῆς αὐτῆς] κώμη(ς). The final *hā’* marks the end of the name of the village or city official who brought the amount of artabas that were paid. The name of the official was most likely introduced by the preposition ‘*alā yad*, which is the exact equivalent of the Greek διά.
min ahl madīnat Ish[qūh]: The name of the village or city apparently begins with an alif and a *sin/shīn*, which could lead us to restore either Ash[mūn] or Ish[qūh]. If we are right in assuming that the document was part of the Basilios archive, the second solution seems more appropriate.
- 2–3 [*min sitt mi’*]a irdab wa-sab ‘a ‘ashar | [*was-thulthay irda*]b qamḥ: The restoration of the amount is based on the Arabic summary. The preposition *min* is expected before the amount as in other receipts; see, for instance, *P.Khan Legal Document 3* and *CPR 26.37.3*.
- 4 [*li-sanat sab ‘ wa-]thamānīn*: Grohmann followed in his edition Becker’s restoration [*li-ḍarībat al-ṭa ‘ām sanat sab ‘ wa-]thamānīn* ([for the corn tax (*embole*) of the year]

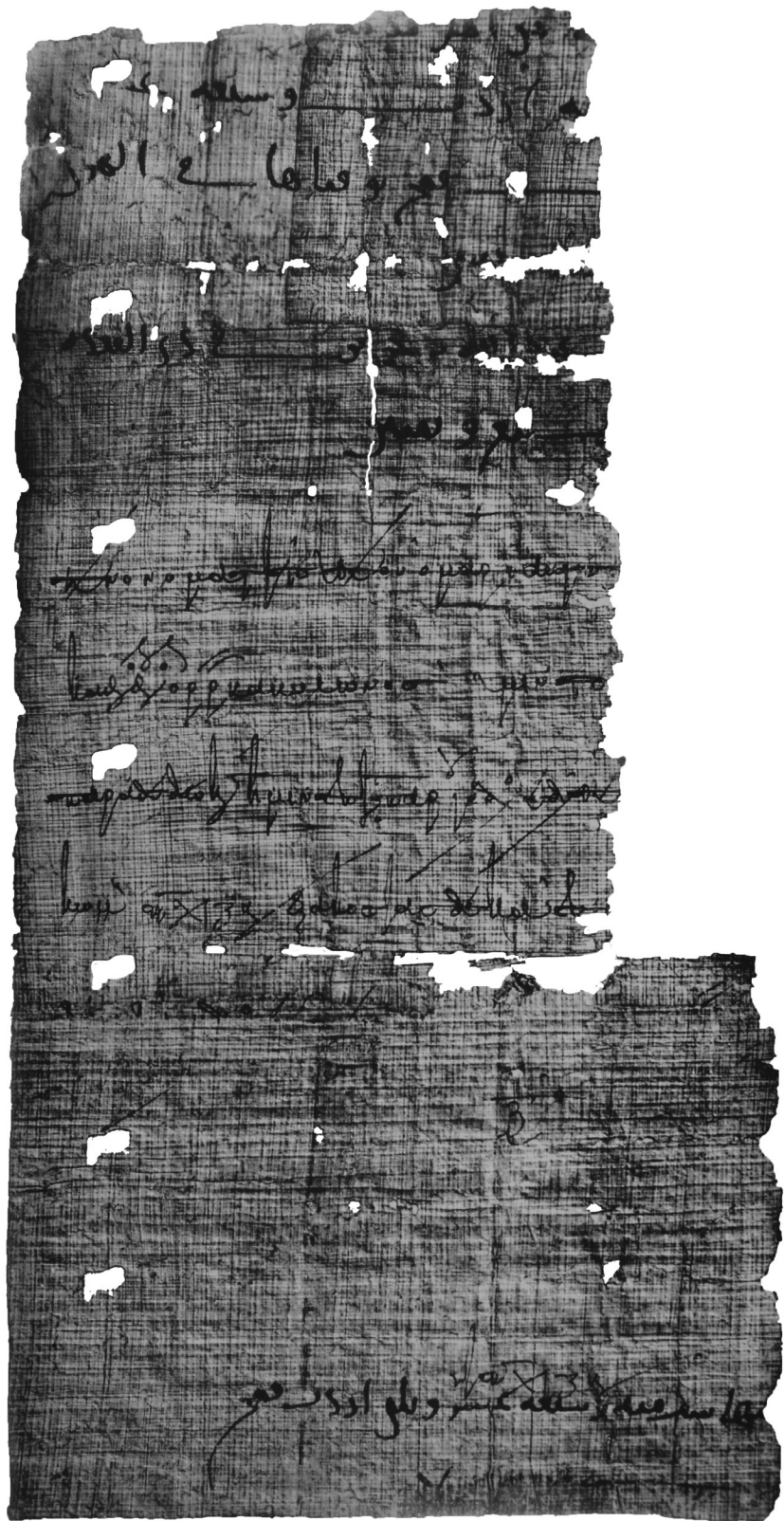


Fig. 4. *P.Christ. Musl. 1*

Image reproduced from Moritz 1905, Plate 101 (also scanned at <http://www.islamic-awareness.org/History/Islam/Papyri/enlp10.html>)

- eighty-[seven]), which is obviously too long for the available space in the right lacuna and does match with the Greek ἐπὶ τῆς παρούσης ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ς) ε.
- 5 [*wa-kataba*] ‘*Abd Allāh b. Harīr*: The patronym can be read as either Ḥarīr or Jarīr.
 - 7 The cross was not recognized in the *ed. pr.*
 - 8 Both the space, which is to be expected in the lacuna, and other considerations (see above) suggest that the document was issued in the name of a pair of officials.
 - 9 καθολ(ικ): Either καθολ(ικοὶ) ὄρρ(ίων) or ἐπικείμενοι (?) | καθολ(ικῶν) ὄρρ(ίων); see the discussion above.
 - 10 Θε[. . . τῆς αὐτῆς]: Perhaps Θε[οδώρου], but there are other options as well. We may expect a title or—less likely—just ἀπό in the lacuna.
 - 11 [. . . μό(νας) (?): It is common to have the appropriate form of μόνος after the total in fiscal documents of this date, but there are exceptions. The total was certainly followed by a short dating formula including the day, the month, and the indiction year in which the document was issued.
 - 12 Φ[. . .] [ἰνδ(ικτίων)ο(ς) ε : The first editor read Φαῶφι(ι) ἰνδ(ικτίου)ς ε [, but this is difficult to confirm on the image. We certainly expect an abbreviated form of Φαωφι, perhaps Φ(α)ω(φι), possibly introduced at the end of line 11 by the formula ἐγράφη μηνί. We might recognize a cross after the final epsilon (as we would expect), but the traces are unclear. The date of the Arabic equals 14 October–12 November 706, and Phaophi of the 5th indiction ran 28 September–27 October. Accordingly, the document was likely written sometime around 14–27 October 706, but we cannot be certain, since we sometimes find minor discrepancies in the dating formulas used in bilingual documents.²⁹
 - 13 ζ() (): The first letter might be a ξ as well. We do not know how to interpret the little wave under the letter: it is not entirely clear on the photo whether it is indeed ink. The reproduction also does not allow us to decide whether what seems to be a circle at the right end of the supralinear line is ink. If so, a possibility would be to read ζ(η)τ(ηθ) or ζ(ητη)θ(), but the resolution of the abbreviation (perhaps ζητηθήτω or ζητηθέν) and its exact meaning would remain uncertain.
 - 15 Grohmann reconstructed the summary as [*wa-mablaghu*]hā sittu mi`a wa-sab`at ‘*ashara wa-thulthay irdabb qamh*, which would be unusual in a document from the 7th–8th century. Besides, there is obviously a tooth before the suffix *-hā*, which rules out Grohmann’s restoration. All the extant Arabic summaries we have from this period are introduced by the words *fī-hā* (in it [*scil.* the receipt]) or *fa-jum`atu-hu* (and its total is); see, for instance, *P.Ness.* 3.61–66 as well as the unpublished *entagion* P.Carlsberg Inv. 570.

P.Christ.Musl. 2: Another Bilingual Receipt from the Overseers of the Barns at Babylon: An Edition of P.Heid.Inv. Arab. 304

The reconsidered text of *SPP* 8.1345 offers several parallels for the reconstruction of P.Heid.Inv. Arab. 304. The writing material is light brown papyrus of good quality. Only the left-hand margin is preserved. The text is written at right angles to the fibers. There are traces of what seem to be remnants of a protocol on the right-hand margin. The back contains traces of Greek writing that might have been part of the document’s docket.

P.Heid.Inv. Arab. 304
Aphrodito (?)

8.2 × 5.5 cm

late 7th–early 8th c.
Fig. 5

29. Casson 1938, 275–77.

] , []
 وكتب علي [ف]ي]
 [† ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ. *name* υἰὸς) *name* (καὶ) *name* υἰὸς) Οὐ]βηεῖτ(α)λ(λα) καθ(ο)λ(ικοὶ)
 ὄρρ(ίωv)
 [Βαβυλῶνος ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀπό]() . . ()

3]βηεῖτ^λ καθ^λθ^λ ορ/ρ/ *pap.*

(Arabic) “. . . and ‘Ali wrote this in [Month X of Year X.]”

(Greek) “[† In the name of God. N. N. son of N. N. and N. N. son of] ‘Ubayd Allāh, the *catholici* of the barns [at Babylon to you. . . .”

- 1 Just visible is a trace from a letter that finishes lower than most others: *mīm*, *nūn*, *wāw*, *rā* are possibilities.
- 2 *kataba* ‘Alī [f]i: Only the end of the extension of the tail of the *yā* remains.
- 3 †: The restoration of the cross is based on *SPP* 8.1345 but is not necessary; one could also imagine // at the beginning of the line.
 Οὐ]βηεῖτ(α)λ(λα): For the letter combination βη, cf. Οὐβηεῖδ (Οὐβεῖδ *ed. pr.*, but cf. plate 10) in *P.Rain.Unterricht* 50 (Heracl., 7th–8th c.), *passim*. The form of the raised λ differs from the raised lambdas over the two thetas of καθ(ο)λ(ικοὶ). For the spelling Οὐβηεῖτ, cf. *SB* 8.9748.1 (Ars., mid-7th c.). The same name can be found in *P.Heid.* 11.472.4 (Heracl., second part of 8th c.) as Οὐπηεῖδ’ ἀλλα.
- 4 [Βαβυλῶνος ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀπό . . .]: If our text does indeed come from Aphrodito (see introduction), we may supply after ἀπό: κόμης Ἀφροδίτω.

***P.Christ.Musl.* 3: Appendix: Greek Writing Exercises from an Early Islamic Administrative Office (P.Heid.Inv. G 2160)**

This fragment contains writing exercises and pen trials from an administrative office in the early Islamic period. Apart from meaningless strokes that are sometimes difficult to distinguish from actual letters, there are essentially three types of exercises. The phrase most frequently practiced is ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ, “in the name of God.” This invocation was introduced in the Islamic period and was common at the beginning of official documents, such as *entagia* (tax demand notes).³⁰ This phrase is practiced in minuscules, which is appropriate for the beginning of official documents. There are also several citations from Psalms written in cursive hands, some of them not attested as pen trials yet. These occur routinely in writing exercises from the early Islamic period.³¹ This is not surprising, since the basis of Greek education was constituted by learning the Psalms in late antique Egypt.³² Finally, there are some isolated phrases, of which the abbreviation καθολ(ικ) ὄρρ(ι) Βαβυλ(ῶνος) (l. 14) is of particular interest; however, we do not have enough context to decide whether καθολικὰ ὄρρια or καθολικοὶ ὄρριων is to be expanded. While the abbreviation on its own suggests the former, the above discussion strongly favors the second possibility.

The hands point to a date in the 7th or at latest early 8th century. Apart from the general

30. On this phrase, see most recently the summary in Berkes 2017b, 32–33.

31. See the evidence collected in Berkes 2014, 242n15.

32. Mavroudi 2014, 312.



Fig. 5. *P.Christ.Musl.* 2r

P.Christ.Musl. 2v

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paleographic impression, this hypothesis is supported by the presence of cursive hands that disappear quickly from administrative use in the 8th century. It is not entirely clear how many hands practiced. Our impression is that there were at least two different scribes practicing on the recto and the verso. We assume that both scribes practiced both in cursive and minuscule hands, switching between different styles. This is likely, but by no means certain: there might have been more scribes involved.

The papyrus is complete on the top and the left margin. The script runs parallel to the fibers on the front and against it on the back. *P.Heid.Inv.* G 2160 belongs to the “alter Bestand” of the Papyrus Collection of the University of Heidelberg.³³

P.Heid.Inv. G 2160

14 × 10.5 cm

late 7th–early 8th c.

Provenance unknown

Figs. 6, 7

Front

]...
 † δι. τ. ν. η' '... ρ. [
 ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθία τοῦ ὑψίστου
 ὁ πομπένον τὸν Εἰ[σ]ρ[α]ήλ
 5 vac. . π η ... † [
 ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ
 vac.
 ἐν ὀνόματι [
 ἐν ὀνόματι
 . ἐν ὀνόματι
 10] . [

33. We are grateful to Andrea Jördens for information on this papyrus in an email on 20 December 2017: “Alter Bestand” heißt folglich: Man weiß nichts über die Erwerbung, aber da man bei den wenigen späteren Erwerbungen, wenn ich recht sehe, gezielt erwarb, sollten auch sie aus dem Nachlaß Reinhardt stammen und über Schott in die Sammlung gekommen sein.”

Back

- (h. 2) φωνῆ μου πρὸς κύριον ἐκέκραξα καὶ vac. . [] traces
](upside down) Θεοῦ
]ε . vac. θ καθολ(ικ) ὄρρ(ι) Βαβυλ(ῶνος) π δ
 15 (upside down) vac. † κε() α ἐν ἀπο[] vac. ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ α
 (upside down) vac. οφω[
 (upside down) vac. ἐν ὀν[[ὀμα]]τι τοῦ Θε[εοῦ
 (upside down) τοῦ Θεοῦ ε[
 20 (upside down) οκυρ[]
] τοῦ Θε . οῦ
 23] . . [

3 l. βοηθεία 4 l. ὁ ποιμαίνων τὸν Ἰσραήλ, καθ^{ολ}ορ/ρ' βαβυ^λ pap. 15 x^e pap.

Front

“ . . . whoever dwells in the shelter of the Most High. . . . In the . . . In the name of God . . . In the name. . . . In the name. . . . In the name . . . ”

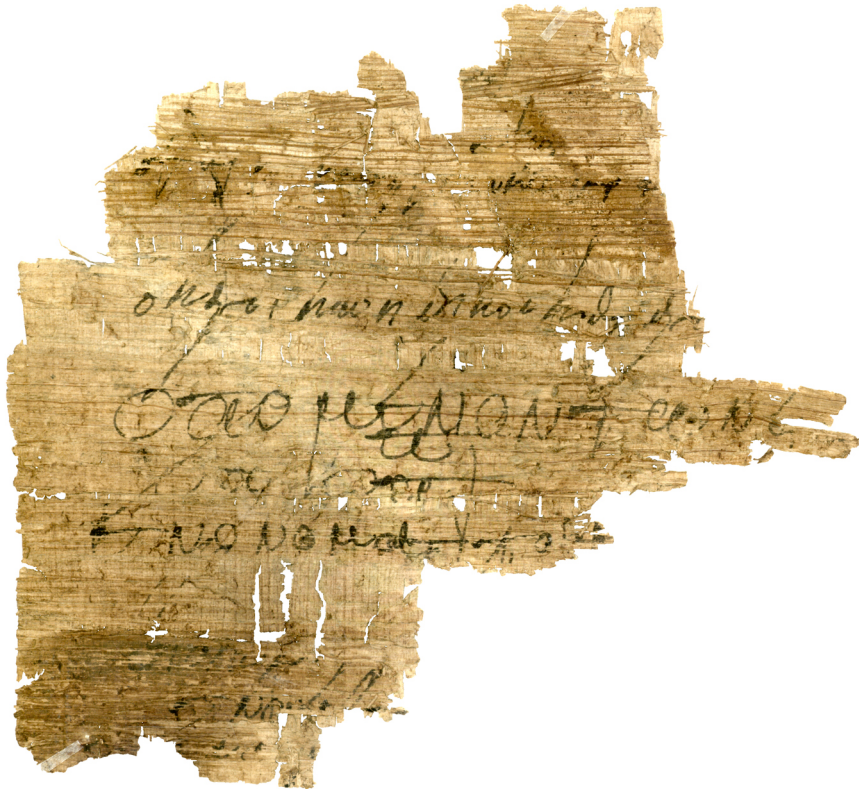


Fig. 6. *P.Christ.Musl.* 3r
 Copyright: © Institute for Papyrology Heidelberg

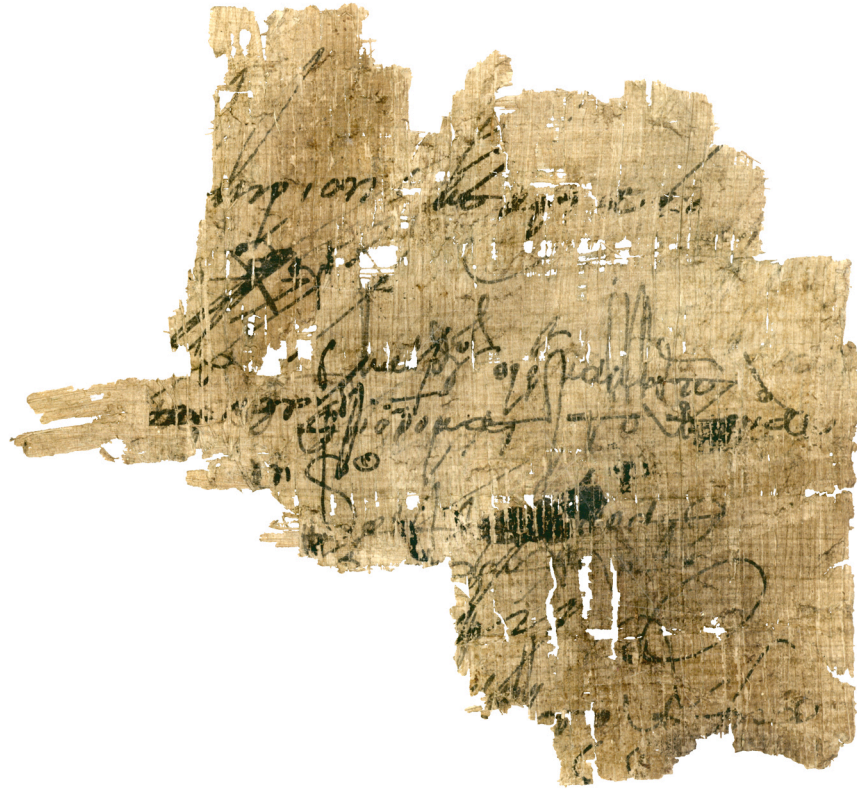


Fig. 7. *P.Christ.Musl.* 3v
Institute for Papyrology Heidelberg

Back

“... I cried to the Lord with my voice and ... (upside down) God ... *catholic(i?)* barns of Babylon ... (upside down) † *kentenaarion/keration* (?) 1, one ... In the name of God ... (upside down) In the name of God ... (upside down) of God ... of God ... ”

- 2 † δι τ υ: Probably διὰ τῶν or διὰ τόν (l. τῶν?). Διὰ τήν is less likely, since we would expect to see traces of the upper part of the eta. The context would suggest that this line should contain a citation of the Psalms, but we have not been able to match the traces with a meaningful word that could be part of a Psalm verse. Another option is that the scribe practiced an epistolary opening formula beginning with a phrase similar to διὰ τῶν παρόντων γραμμάτων.³⁴
- 3 The quotation is Ps. 90:1, which is one of the most commonly cited Psalm verses, also extremely popular in amulets.³⁵
- 4 ὁ ποιμῆνον τὸν Εἰ[σ]ρ[αήλ]: Quotation of Ps. 79:1: Ὁ ποιμαίνων τὸν Ἰσραήλ.
- 5 πη ... †: Read perhaps σὺν Θ(εῶ). In this case the second letter would be a lowly written upsilon with a theta on top of it.
- 9 The traces at the beginning of the line may be remnants of a cross.
- 11 The quotation is Ps. 3:5.
- 15 κε(): Probably κε(ντηνάριον) or less likely κε(ράτιον).
- 20 οκυρ[: Read perhaps ὁ κύρ[(ι)ος or ὁ Κῦρ[ος].

34. See the discussion of similar letter openers by Alain Delattre, *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 36.1n.

35. See Kraus 2007, 497–514.

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À propos de Ḥayyān b. Surayġ: Un surintendant des finances égyptien de l'époque omeyyade

Naïm Vanthieghem

Le surintendant des finances Ḥayyān b. Surayġ est une figure bien connue de l'histoire de l'Égypte omeyyade. Le personnage est mentionné autant dans les sources littéraires que par les sources documentaires, qu'il s'agisse des papyrus ou des poids en verre estampillés à son nom, et mérite une étude exhaustive. Dans cette brève note, j'aimerais revenir dans un premier temps sur le patronyme de ce haut fonctionnaire, puis sur sa carrière; je propose, dans un second temps, l'édition de deux lettres arabes envoyées par Ḥayyān b. Surayġ : la première, qui appartient à la collection Palau-Ribes de Barcelone, est adressée au pagarque 'Abd Allāh b. Šurayḥ ; la seconde, que conserve la collection de Lund, est malheureusement incomplète si bien que l'on ne sait pas à qui elle fut envoyée. Ces deux documents viennent augmenter le nombre des témoignages documentaires, en particulier papyrologiques, que nous avons du surintendant.

1. Un patronyme mal établi

Le patronyme du surintendant a, jusqu'à présent, toujours été lu Šurayḥ, nom courant dans l'anthroponymie arabe. On sait cependant combien la lecture des noms arabes est rendue difficile par l'absence récurrente de points diacritiques au-dessus ou en dessous des lettres homographes¹. C'est le cas du patronyme du surintendant dont il est ici question : en effet, en dehors de la graphie Šurayḥ qui est généralement retenue par les éditeurs et les historiens, on trouve, dans un manuscrit des *Futūḥ Miṣr* d'Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, la forme Surayġ². Pour trancher en faveur de l'une ou l'autre leçon, il faut se tourner vers les archives du pagarque Basileios, dont plusieurs documents transcrivent le nom du personnage. Ces papyrus, dont des lettres envoyées par le gouverneur Qurra b. Šarik, citent le personnage sous la forme Ἀειαν υἱὸς Σωραεικ³ ou

Je remercie Alberto Nodar Domínguez et Håkan Håkansson de m'avoir autorisé à publier ces documents. Une description sommaire de P.Palau-Ribes Inv. 1007 (TM 144265) est disponible en ligne à l'adresse <http://dvctvs.upf.edu/catalogo/ductus.php?operacion=introduce&ver=1&nume=176>; je remercie Amalia Zomeño de m'avoir aimablement procuré la photo de ce document, due à Sergio Carro Martín.

1. Voir par exemple la note de Tillier 2014, 415.
2. Il s'agit là de la variante du manuscrit BnF arabe 1686. La confusion entre les noms Šurayḥ et Surayġ est déjà relevée par Ibn Makūlā (cf. Ibn Makūlā, V, 121–23).
3. Cf. *PLond.* 4.1337.4–5 Ἀειαν υἱὸς Σωραεικ et 1450.2 Ἀειαν(υ) υἱ(οῦ) Σ[ω]ραεικ. La variante Σωραεικ se rencontre également dans *PLond.* 4.1464 ainsi dans l'*entagion* bilingue inédit P.Vindob. Inv. G 43234, 6.

Ἄειαν υἱὸς Σωραεῖγ⁴. Il revient à H. I. Bell d'avoir, le premier, compris en partie du moins quel nom arabe se cachait derrière ces deux orthographes grecques⁵. C'est cependant P. M. Sijpesteijn qui a proposé d'identifier le fonctionnaire arabe mentionné par les papyrus grecs avec le surintendant des finances bien connu⁶. Pour H. I. Bell comme pour P. M. Sijpesteijn, l'orthographe Σωραεῖκ et Σωραεῖγ rend le nom Šurayḥ. A. Kaplony, qui s'est récemment intéressé à la question l'orthographe des noms arabes mentionnés dans les textes grecs, rejette cette idée, considérant qu'il s'agit là d'une transcription du nom Šurayq⁷. Ces propositions posent l'une comme l'autre des problèmes. Dans l'hypothèse, en effet, où il s'agirait d'une transcription de l'anthroponyme Šurayḥ, on ne comprendrait pas pourquoi le son /š/ est rendu par un simple σ alors qu'en Égypte, en particulier à l'époque de Qurra, on recourt à la combinaison σζ pour rendre ce phonème⁸. On concevrait aussi difficilement pourquoi le /h/ serait adapté en grec au moyen d'un kappa ou d'un gamma, quand le phonème en question est normalement rendu au mieux par une voyelle, voire simplement pas transcrit du tout⁹. Plus important, enfin, on connaît plusieurs transcriptions grecques du nom Šurayḥ (Ζωρα, Σζουραε, Σζωραε¹⁰), mais aucune qui corresponde à Σωραεῖκ ou Σωραεῖγ. Quant à la proposition Šurayq, elle pose tout autant de problèmes : il faudrait admettre que le phonème initial /š/ a été rendu par un simple sigma, mais surtout que le *qāf* final ait pu être transcrit par un gamma, ce qui n'arrive jamais¹¹. Enfin, une telle transcription supposerait l'existence d'un autre haut fonctionnaire contemporain de notre surintendant et qui aurait eu à Fustāṭ des compétences du même ordre que ce dernier et un patronyme au rasm très, si ce n'est similaire. Au vu de ces difficultés, il paraît nécessaire de lire le patronyme Surayḡ. C'est le parti que je prends dans cet article.

2. La carrière de Ḥayyān b. Surayḡ

Les plus anciennes mentions de Ḥayyān b. Surayḡ se lisent dans trois papyrus grecs. Dans une lettre datée du 10 septembre 709, que Qurra b. Šarik adresse à Basileios, le gouverneur informe ce dernier qu'il a demandé à Ḥayyān b. Surayḡ de louer les services des marins que le district de Basileios aurait dû fournir pour le *cursus*. Il demande au responsable d'Aphroditō de lui faire parvenir au plus vite l'argent qui servira à couvrir le salaire de ces marins¹². À cette lettre, Qurra joint, sous la forme d'une courte comptabilité¹³ qui nous a été par bonheur conservée¹⁴, le détail de ce que le district d'Aphroditō devra payer. Dans une autre lettre datée de 709–10, dont on ne lit plus que le début, le même gouverneur indique à Basileios que Ḥayyān b. Surayḡ l'a informé des arriérés de différents impôts que le responsable du village doit encore au fisc. Le personnage apparaît sans doute aussi dans une autre lettre relative à des arriérés d'impôts¹⁵.

4. Cf. *PRoss.Georg.* 4.13.3 Ἄειαν' βε(ν) Σωρ'άειγ. La variante Σωραεῖγ est également attestée dans *PLond.* 4.1379.8 Σωραεῖγ β(εν) Θεμιμ.

5. Cf. *PLond.* 4, p. 7n4.

6. Sijpesteijn 2013, 90.

7. Kaplony 2015, 46.

8. Kaplony 2015, 5.

9. Kaplony 2015, 5.

10. Kaplony 2015, 45–46. Notons que la variante Ζωρα est peut-être une mauvaise lecture pour Σζωραε. A. Kaplony propose aussi de voir dans la forme qui se rencontre dans *PLond.* 4.1360, Σωρε, la transcription de Šurayḥ, mais le nom se lit dans l'endossement, qui est traditionnellement fort effacé, si bien que la lecture est sujette à caution.

11. Kaplony 2015, 6.

12. *PLond.* 4.1337.

13. Cf. *PLond.* 1337.7–1 δεχόμενος οὖν τὰ παρόντα | γρ'άμματα ἀπόστειλον διὰ πάσης' συντομίας | πρὸς τὴν ἔνδον τῆς παρούσης ἐπιστολῆς' γνῶσιν | τὸ χρυσίον τοῦ μίσθου αὐτῶν (« Quand tu recevras donc la présente lettre, envoie de toute urgence l'argent de leur salaire, suivant le compte qui se trouve à l'intérieur de la présente lettre »).

14. Cf. *PLond.* 4.1450. H. I. Bell indique que ce document s'est curieusement retrouvé à l'intérieur de la lettre *PLond.* 4.1339.

15. On y lit les mots suivants [- -] υἱ(οῦ) Σωραεῖκ | [- -] καταψηλάφησον μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας [περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου] | λοιπαδαρίου (« ... fils de Surayḡ ... examine avec toute la minutie nécessaire les dits arriérés »).

Son titre n'est précisé dans aucun de ces documents, mais il semble alors déjà exercer de hautes fonctions dans l'administration financière de Fustāṭ. Bien qu'al-Kindī indique que les fonctions financières étaient aux mains de Qurra b. Šarik, il serait tentant de penser que Ḥayyān exerça déjà du temps de ce gouverneur la fonction de surintendant des finances¹⁶. Cette hypothèse n'est pas aussi iconoclaste qu'il n'y paraît¹⁷. Al-Kindī réserve en effet le même sort au célèbre Usāma b. Zayd, dont il tait le nom quand il parle du successeur de Qurra, alors que l'on sait d'après *l'Histoire des patriarches* qu'Usāma occupa les fonctions de surintendants des finances entre 96/714 et 99/717¹⁸.

On ne sait ce que devint Ḥayyān du temps où Usāma b. Zayd était en fonction, mais il redevint surintendant au moment de l'accession au trône de 'Umar II (99/717–101/720)¹⁹. C'est peut-être de ce second mandat de surintendant que date un sauf-conduit arabe de Berlin émis au nom de Ḥayyān et rédigé en faveur d'une personne qui résidait au monastère de Saint-Jérémie de Saqqara²⁰. Son premier geste consista, d'après Ibn al-Kindī, à emprisonner Usāma b. Zayd²¹. D'après Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, le calife 'Umar II aurait imposé, durant le mandat de Ḥayyān b. Surayġ, que l'on cesse de prélever la capitation auprès de ceux qui se convertissaient à l'islam. La diminution de rentrées fiscales aurait contraint le surintendant à emprunter 20 000 dinars pour couvrir le paiement du 'aṭā'²². C'est peut-être ce manque à gagner qui amena le surintendant à transférer le paiement du foncier dû par des personnes décédées à leurs héritiers²³. Il resta manifestement en poste jusqu'au début du règne de Yazīd II (101/720–105/724)²⁴. Avant d'être remplacé au plus tard en 102/720–21, date à laquelle 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb entra en fonction.²⁵ On ne sait ce qu'il advint de lui après la prise de fonction de 'Ubayd Allāh. D'après Ibn al-Ġawzī, Ḥayyān b. Surayġ serait mort en 104/722–23, dans des conditions qui ne sont pas explicitées²⁶.

16. Je dois m'inscrire ici en faux contre les vues de P.M. Sijpesteijn, qui affirme : « Qurra b. Sharik wrote to Basileios that a certain Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ had informed him of a shortage in the payments made by his pagarchy. Ḥayyān b. Shurayḥ later became finance director (in office 99–103/717–23), but in this letter obviously held a lower office in the capital's financial administration »; cf. Sijpesteijn 2013, 90. Les compétences financières dont fait montre Ḥayyān dans le texte qu'elle mentionne sont cohérentes avec celles que l'on attribue aux surintendants des finances des époques ultérieures.

17. On prend en effet souvent comme parole d'évangile les informations données par al-Kindī, qui indique qu'avant le début du i^{er} siècle de l'hégire, les gouverneurs d'Égypte occupaient à la fois les fonctions de gouverneurs civils et d'administrateurs financiers ('*alā al-ṣalāt wa-l-ḥarāġ*). Voir par ex. Kennedy 1981.

18. Mawḥūb b. Maṣṣūr, 321–26. D'après cette chronique ecclésiastique, le personnage aurait durci les règles en matière de circulation des personnes, se montrant impitoyable à l'égard des voyageurs qui étaient pris sans sauf-conduit. Il aurait par ailleurs établi le premier recensement des moines (Mawḥūb b. Maṣṣūr, 322) ; sur cette question, voir aussi al-Qāḍī 2006, 399. Sur les hauts fonctionnaires absents de l'œuvre d'al-Kindī, voir en dernier lieu Tillier et Vanthieghem 2018 et Younes 2018.

19. Al-Kindī ne mentionne pas plus ce second mandat de Ḥayyān sous le gouverneur Ayyūb b. Šurāḥbīl (99/717–101/720) : il est néanmoins intéressant de constater dans la notice qu'il consacre à ce gouverneur que ce dernier ne fut nommé qu'à la tête l'administration civile ('*alā ṣalāt*), et non à la tête de l'administration financière (cf. al-Kindī, 68–69). En d'autres mots, al-Kindī avait probablement connaissance de l'existence d'un surintendant des finances, mais en ignorait le nom.

20. Cf. *PRagib Sauf-conduits* 1. Le document n'étant pas daté, on pourrait tout aussi bien avancer sa datation de quelques années et en placer la rédaction au moment où Qurra b. Šarik était gouverneur.

21. Ibn al-Kindī, 38.

22. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 156. Sur cette question, voir Sijpesteijn 2013, 192–94.

23. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 154–55 ; et al-Maqrīzī, I, 208 et II, 27. *L'Histoire des patriarches* suggère que c'était peut-être déjà le cas sous le gouverneur 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Malik (86/705–90/709) quand elle rapporte que l'on ne pouvait enterrer un mort avant d'avoir payé la *ġizya*, dont il était redevable (cf. Mawḥūb b. Maṣṣūr, 310). Le problème est que l'on ne sait si la chronique fait ici allusion au paiement du foncier ou de la capitation.

24. Comme l'attestent deux poids de verre estampillés à son nom qui mentionnent le calife Yazīd II ; cf. Balog 1976, n°62–63.

25. Sur la carrière de ce personnage, voir Abbott 1965 ainsi que Balog 1976, n°64–123. Il devint sans doute surintendant des finances vers 102/720–21 jusqu'en 116/734, date à laquelle il quitta le pays en laissant à son fils les rênes du pouvoir et se rendit dans la province d'*Ifriqiya* et d'Andalus, dont il devint le gouverneur général.

26. Ibn al-Ġawzī, VII : 89.

3. *P.Christ.Musl.* 4–5 : Deux lettres arabes du surintendant Ḥayyān b. Surayġ

P.Christ.Musl. 4 : Lettre du surintendant Ḥayyān b. Surayġ au pagarque de l'Hermopolite 'Abd Allāh b. Šurayḥ

Le présent document a ceci d'intéressant qu'il est adressé au pagarque 'Abd Allāh b. Šurayḥ au moment où ce dernier était à la tête de l'Hermopolite. Après les salutations d'usage, le surintendant fait savoir à 'Abd Allāh qu'il a vérifié ce qui incombait à l'Hermopolite pour le paiement de l'emboîlé (*ḍaribat al-ṭa'ām*). L'endossement précise que le surintendant demandait que l'on hâte le transport du grain vers les greniers (?). Sans doute Ḥayyān voulait-il que le grain, une fois amassé dans les greniers de 'Abd Allāh, parvienne au plus vite à Fuṣṭāṭ. Le texte n'est pas daté, mais comme on sait que Ḥayyān b. Surayġ fut surintendant entre 717 et 720, cette lettre a nécessairement été écrite quelque part entre ces deux dates. La présence au-dessus du texte de la dernière ligne d'un protocole permet de préciser cette datation : j'y déchiffre avec peine les mots *sanat 'ihdā wa-mi'a* (« an cent un »). Si ma lecture est correcte, la lettre daterait plutôt de 720.

P.Palau-Ribes Inv. 1007
Hermopolite

16,2 cm × 21,8 cm

101/720 ?
Figs. 8, 9

Coupon de papyrus de couleur brun clair, constitué de deux fragments non jointifs. La marge supérieure ainsi qu'une partie de la marge de gauche sont préservées. La marge de droite est perdue ainsi que quelques lettres — entre une et huit selon les endroits — tandis qu'on ne peut évaluer l'ampleur des pertes en bas. Le texte comporte huit lignes d'écriture, auxquelles il faut ajouter une ligne d'adresse en arabe et deux lignes d'endossement, l'une en arabe, l'autre en grec. L'écriture, élégante, est typique des écritures de chancellerie du VIII^e siècle; on pourrait la comparer à celles de la correspondance échangée entre Nāġid b. Muslim et 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd (*P.MuslimState*). Elle est pourvue de quelques points diacritiques.

[ب]ـبسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ↓
من حيان بن سريج الى عبد الله بن شريح سلم
[ع]ـليك فاني احمد اليك
[ا]ـلله الذي لا اله الا هو
[ل]ـذني
[ا]ـهل ارضك من الطعام [ذ]ـي 5
[ك]ـتبت ان يحمل وبيّن لك اما
[الطعام] [ذ]ـي [ي]ـحمله اليك [فقد] امرت

Au verso:

من حيان بن سريج (vacat) الى عبد الله بن شريح
[في] تعجيل حمل الطعام الى الامكين

[Αβδελ]λα υιὸς(ς) Σζουραε

verso 3 υι^o pap.

« (*en arabe*) Au nom de Dieu, le Clément, le Miséricordieux. De la part de Ḥayyān b. Surayġ à 'Abd Allāh b. Šurayḥ. Salut à toi et je loue Dieu pour toi en dehors de Qui il n'y a de dieu que



Fig. 8. *P.Christ.Musl.* 4r

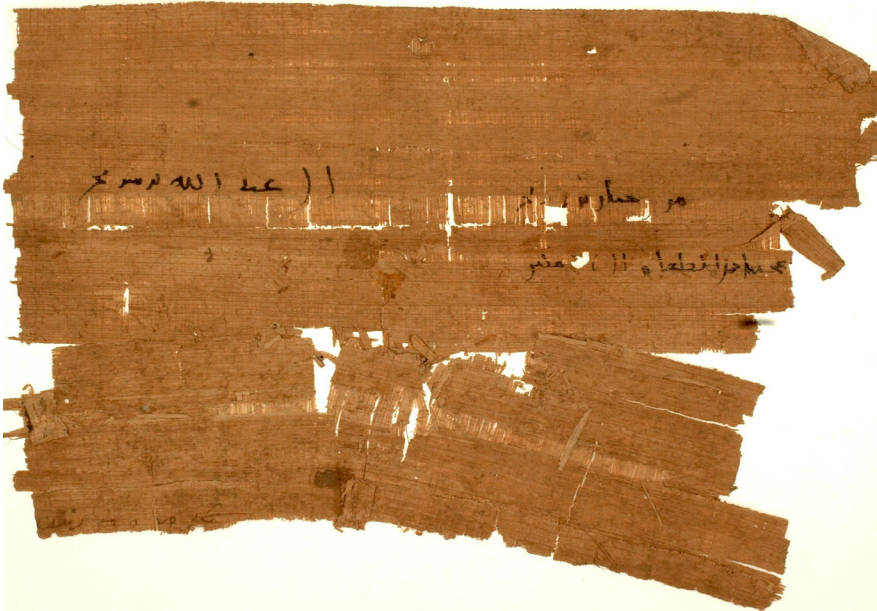


Fig. 9. *P.Christ.Musl.* 4v

Lui! Ensuite, j'ai examiné la quantité de blé que devaient les habitants de ta terre. Je t'ai demandé de (me) le faire porter et cela t'a été expliqué de manière claire. Quant au blé qu'on t'apporte, j'ai ordonné . . .

(*verso*) (*en arabe*) De la part de Ḥayyān b. Surayġ à 'Abd Allāh b. Šurayḥ. Pour que l'on hâte le transport du blé vers les lieux.

(*en grec*) 'Abd Allāh b. Šurayḥ »

- 5 [ʿamā baʿd fa-ʿinnī naẓar]tu : La combinaison d’une forme du verbe *naẓara* suivie du relatif se rencontre à plusieurs reprises dans la correspondance de Qurra b. Šarīk; cf. par ex. *P.DietrichTopkapi* 1.1.
- 5–6 [ʿamā baʿd fa-ʿinnī naẓar]tu a[lla]dī | [ʿalā ʿa]hl ʿarḍi-ka min al-ṭaʿām : Si ma restitution est correcte, cette phrase trouverait des formulations parallèles dans la correspondance de Qurra b. Šarīk. On verra par ex. *P.Qurra* 1.6–7 : ʿammā baʿd fa-nẓur alladī kāna | baqiya ʿalā ʿusqufkūrati-ka (« Ensuite, examine ce que doit encore l’évêque de ton district ») ainsi que *P.Heid.Arab.* 1.2.5.
- 6 al-ṭaʿām : Le mot *ṭaʿām* désigne ici le blé qui est versé au titre de l’embolè (*ḍarībat al-ṭaʿām*). Voir en dernier lieu sur cette question, Sijpesteijn 2013, 173.
- 8 [fa-qad] ʿamartu : On peut imaginer qu’à la ligne suivante on trouvait l’expression qui se lit dans l’endossement. On pourrait alors, *exempli gratia*, restituer le texte comme suit [fa-qad] ʿamartu | [bi-ta ʿġili ḥamlī-hi ʿilā al-ʿamākīn] (« J’ai ordonné d’en hâter le transport vers les lieux »).
- v 2 [fi] ta ʿġili ḥaml ṭaʿām ʿilā al-ʿamākīn : La préposition *fi* s’impose au début de l’endossement, comme en témoignent les résumés présents au dos de certaines lettres de Nāġid b. Muslim ou dans la marge supérieure de certaines missives grecques de Qurra b. Šarīk ; cf. par ex. *P.MuslimState* 2 ainsi que *P.Lond.* 4.1346 ; 1353 et 1355. L’expression qui se lit dans le résumé est similaire à celle que l’on trouve dans la lettre de Qurra à Basileios *P.Heid.Arab.* 1.3.7–8 : *katabtu ʿilay-ka fi | ta ʿġili ḥaml ṭaʿām al-hurī*. Si ma lecture est correcte, il faut comprendre le *rasm* الامكين comme une forme de pluriel du mot *makān*, dont le pluriel attendu serait *ʿamākīn* ou encore *ʿamkina* ; pour d’autres formes anormales de pluriel dans les papyrus, voir Hopkins 1984, 111, § 88. En l’absence de contexte, le sens de *makān* n’est pas clair : s’agirait-il de greniers pour stocker le blé ? On attendrait plutôt le terme *al-hurī*.

P.Christ.Musl. 5: Lettre du surintendant Ḥayyān b. Surayġ

L’état du document ne permet connaître tous les éléments qui y étaient rapportés. La lettre est adressée à une personne dont le nom n’est pas conservé, mais qui est manifestement un haut fonctionnaire, sans doute un pagarque. Après les salutations d’usage, le surintendant des finances mentionne tout au long de sa lettre un certain ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abū Umayya, qui pourrait avoir été maître des postes dans le Fayoum (*ṣāhib al-barīd*). Le destinataire se plaint manifestement auprès de Ḥayyān b. Surayġ de ce que ce personnage ne lui a pas remis quelque chose qui lui revenait, sans doute de l’argent. Le surintendant des finances recommande à son destinataire d’envoyer son messenger à ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abū Umayya et entreprend de le rassurer en lui disant que ʿUbayd Allāh b. Abū Umayya ne tentera nullement de s’emparer de ce qui revient au destinataire de la lettre.

Le texte n’est pas daté, mais comme on sait que Ḥayyān b. Surayġ fut surintendant entre 717 et 720, cette lettre doit avoir été écrite quelque part entre ces deux dates. La provenance fayoumique du texte peut être déduite du fait, d’abord, que la collection de Lund provient pour l’essentiel du Fayoum, ensuite de la présence, dans le compte rédigé au dos de la lettre en question, de noms ou titres typiquement fayoumiques comme Agounthos et *piakou*²⁷. Si le document provient du Fayoum, comme je le pense, et a bien été écrit vers 717–20, le pagarque à qui était adressé la lettre pourrait avoir été adressé à ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

P. Lund. Inv. 84
Fayoum

21,7 x 33 cm

vers 717–20
Figs. 10, 11

27. Je dois cette information à Lajos Berkes, que je remercie chaleureusement.

Coupon de papyrus de couleur foncée dont la marge supérieure et inférieure ainsi que celle de gauche subsiste. La partie droite du papyrus est endommagée, en particulier dans la partie supérieure et la marge de droite est perdue. Le texte comporte douze lignes d'écriture, auxquelles il faut ajouter une ligne d'adresse au verso. L'écriture, élégante, est typique des écritures de chancellerie du VIII^e siècle; on pourrait la comparer à celles de la correspondance échangée entre Nāġid b. Muslim et 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd (*P.MuslimState*). Elle est pourvue de quelques points diacritiques.

	[بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم]	↓
	[من حيان بن سريخ الى]	
	[سالم عليك فاني احمد]	
	[اليك الله الذي لا اله الا هو]	
	[اما بعد ف]	
	[الى عبيد الله بن ابي امية]	
	[صاحب]	5
	[البريد قد كتب الي]	
	[قد استوفاه ما ارسلت به]	
	[وتم] [ابعث رسولك الى عبيد الله يعطيك الذي]	
	[لك] [فان هو] [الذي كان قبض منه شيا دفعه اليك وو-	
	[في] [ته ب] [فسب] [طاط فسله عما بدا لك ولن]	
	[يم] [سك عبيد الله بالذي لك ان شا الله]	10
	[.] [.] [تقدم]	
	[السلام عليك]	
	[ورحمت الله وبركاته]	

Adresse au verso:

[من حيان بن سريخ الى]

4 pap. عليك 5 pap. البريد الي 6 pap. الذي 7 pap. ولن بدا فسله 9 pap. طاط فسله 10 pap. عبيد الله 11 pap. عبيد الله

« Au nom de Dieu, le Clément, le Miséricordieux. De la part de Ḥayyān b. Surayġ à . . . Salut à toi et je loue Dieu pour toi en dehors de Qui il n'y a de dieu que Lui! Ensuite, . . . 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abū Umayya . . . le maître (?) des postes m'a écrit . . . Il lui a payé en totalité ce que tu as envoyé . . . Envoie ton messenger à Ubayd Allah qu'il te donne ce qui te revient. Si c'est lui [*scil.* le messenger] qui reçoit quelque chose de sa part [*scil.* de la part de 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abū Umayya], il [*scil.* le messenger] te le remettra et tu t'en acquitteras à Fuṣṭāṭ et demande-lui ce qu'il te plaira et 'Ubayd Allāh ne mettra pas la main sur ce qui te revient, si Dieu le veut. . . tu arrives . . . La paix soit sur toi ainsi que la miséricorde de Dieu et ses bénédictions. (*adresse au verso*) De la part de Ḥayyān b. Surayġ . . . »

- 2 *min Ḥayyān b. Surayġ* : Le nom de l'expéditeur est assuré par la lecture de l'adresse. On ne peut que spéculer sur l'identité du destinataire. Étant donné qu'il s'agit d'une lettre du surintendant des finances, il est fort probable que le document ait été adressé au pagarque du Fayoum lui-même, peut-être 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ; voir la contribution d'Esther Garel et moi dans le présent volume.
- 4 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abī Umayya : Le personnage n'est pas connu par ailleurs, mais on peut supposer qu'il s'agit d'un personnage important de l'administration du Fayoum.
- 5 [*sāhib* a]l-barīd : La fonction de *sāhib a]l-barīd* est attestée jusqu'à présent dans *P.Cair. Arab.* 3.153.7 et *P.Heid.Arab.* 2.21.7-8. Sur le système postal dans les papyrus, voir l'étude récente de Bruning 2018. La lacune ne permet pas de dire avec certitude qui est ce maître des postes : s'agit-il de 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abū Umayya ou d'une autre personne ?

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Nouveaux textes sur les pagarques du Fayoum au VIII^e siècle

Esther Garel—Naïm Vanthieghem

Les pagarques du Fayoum du VIII^e siècle ont fait l'objet de nombreuses recherches depuis un siècle. Le plus connu d'entre eux, Yaḥyā b. Hilāl, fut identifié dans différents papyrus grecs et coptes par C. Wessely¹ ainsi que dans un papyrus arabe par J. von Karabacek². Une première étude lui a été consacrée par K. Worp en 1984, qui a pour la première fois rassemblé les différentes pièces de son dossier toutes langues confondues³. N. Gonis a soigneusement repris le dossier en intégrant les nouvelles pièces publiées depuis lors et en étudiant, dans le même temps, la carrière des prédécesseurs et des successeurs de notre pagarque⁴. Un autre pagarque a récemment fait l'objet d'une étude approfondie, Nāǧid b. Muslim, dont la correspondance avec l'un de ses subalternes, un certain 'Abd Allāh b. 'As'ad, est à présent publiée⁵.

Dans cet article, nous proposons une chronologie revue des pagarques du Fayoum ainsi que l'édition ou la réédition de pièces, écrites en copte et en arabe, qui permettent de l'affiner. Ces documents sont pour les uns des originaux (*P.Christ.Musl.* 6, 8–9 et 23–24), pour les autres des copies d'originaux, partielles ou *in extenso*, qui permettaient aux apprentis scribes de s'initier dans l'art de rédiger des documents (*P.Christ.Musl.* 7–14, 17–19 et 20).

1. La place du Fayoum dans le *cursus honorum* ?

Les étapes du *cursus honorum* dans l'administration arabe sont encore mal connues. Pour les pagarques dont on peut suivre la carrière, il est frappant de voir que certains entrèrent en fonction après avoir été, pendant plusieurs années, des fonctionnaires de rang inférieur dans la même province. C'est par exemple le cas de 'Abd Allāh b. Qays ou encore probablement de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl, dont on ne trouve aucune attestation, sinon dans le Fayoum. D'autres accédèrent à la

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1. SPP 10.172.
2. *PERF* 608, qui est réédité ici sous les numéros *P.Christ.Musl.* 8–10.
3. Worp 1984, 103–7.
4. Gonis 2004.
5. Sijpesteijn 2013.

fonction après avoir occupé le même poste dans d'autres *kūra*-s égyptiennes. Pour ces pagarques qui arrivaient à Arsinoé après avoir exercé la même fonction dans d'autres districts égyptiens, on peut se demander si une nomination dans le Fayoum ne représentait pas une forme de promotion. Notre impression est que le Fayoum constituait une étape importante dans les affectations d'un haut fonctionnaire arabe, à laquelle on n'accédait qu'en fin de carrière, après être passé par d'autres districts plus méridionaux. Ainsi, un personnage comme Nāğid b. Muslim passa d'abord par l'Hérakléopolite avant de devenir pagarque du Fayoum, tandis que 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān et Ḥālid b. Yazīd furent pagarques de l'Hermopolite avant de prendre la tête du Fayoum. Dans cette trajectoire sud-nord que suivait manifestement la carrière des pagarques égyptiens, comme en témoigne peut-être le destin de 'Abd Allāh b. Šurayḥ⁶, la promotion ultime consistait sans doute à obtenir un poste à Fuṣṭāṭ⁷. La province du Fayoum était alors, peut-être, pour bien des hauts fonctionnaires arabes, la dernière étape avant la capitale⁸.

2. De 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān à Yazīd b. Ḥālid : nouvel essai de chronologie des pagarques du Fayoum au viii^e siècle

Le premier pagarque du Fayoum que nous connaissons pour le viii^e siècle⁹ est 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (Αβδελλα υἱὸς Αβδεραμαν). Il n'est nulle part identifié comme pagarque du Fayoum, mais il est qualifié d'émir dans un document grec qui mentionne une série de fugitifs à mettre aux fers¹⁰ ; qui plus est son nom est repris dans un exercice d'écriture grec, où apparaissent également les noms de Nāğid b. Muslim et de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl¹¹. Deux textes arabes, malheureusement fort abîmés, pourraient lui être adressés¹². Il exerça, vraisemblablement avant prendre la direction du Fayoum, la charge de pagarque de l'Hermopolite vers 716–18, poste qu'il quitta au plus tard en 720¹³. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān occupa donc ses fonctions de pagarque du Fayoum quelque part entre 718 et la prise de fonction de son successeur Nāğid b. Muslim, qui ne put advenir qu'après 730.

Le pagarque Nāğid b. Muslim (Νεγιδ υἱὸς Μουσλημ) est de loin celui dont l'activité est la mieux documentée pour le viii^e siècle grâce aux lettres arabes que l'on conserve de lui¹⁴. On a bien du mal, en revanche, à situer dans le temps son activité en tant que pagarque du Fayoum¹⁵. Il ne put prendre la tête de l'administration du Fayoum, qu'après 729, car des *entagīa*, datés et

6. Abd Allāh b. Šurayḥ est responsable de la frontière nubienne dans *PLond.* 4.1332.23 et 1333.25, et il apparaît, le 28 octobre 718, comme pagarque de l'Hermopolite dans un *entagion* inédit de Baouīt, P.Louvain-la-Neuve Inv. Lefort 25, ainsi que dans la lettre arabe inédite P.Palau-Ribes Inv. 1007, publiée dans le présent volume (*P.Christ.Musl.* 4).

7. La carrière de Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh en est un bon exemple. Il fut représentant du gouverneur égyptien en charge des districts d'Aḥmīm et de Ṭaḥṭā vers octobre 775–octobre 776 (cf. *P.Cair.Arab.* 3.167), avant de devenir vicaire du cadī Ġawṭ b. Sulaymān à Fuṣṭāṭ en 757–58. Sur ce personnage, voir les belles pages qui lui sont consacrées dans Tillier 2017, 106–7.

8. M. Tillier observe des tendances similaires dans la nomination des cadis d'Irak ; voir Tillier 2009, 342–54.

9. Nous excluons momentanément le pagarque 'Awf b. Nāfi', attestés par *CPR* 22.11–12 et *SB* 28.16901, qui semble n'avoir été actif qu'au vii^e siècle.

10. *CPR* 22.35.1.

11. *SB* 18.13247.

12. Le premier est *P.Christ.Musl.* 5. Le second, dont on ne conserve plus que le prescrit, est le P.Vindob. Inv. A.P. 815 : « Au nom de Dieu le clément, le miséricordieux. À mon seigneur 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān de la part de son serviteur Ṭiyudur, le diacre, salut à toi ! Je loue Dieu pour toi en dehors de Qui il n'y a pas de Dieu » (*[bismi llāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm | [li-sayyidi] 'Abd Al]lāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān min 'abdi-hi Ṭiyudur al-šammās salām 'alay-ka | [fa-] inn[i] 'aḥmad 'ilay-ka llāh allādi lā ilāh 'illā huwa*).

13. Son nom apparaît dans une série d'*entagīa* inédits de la collection Lansing (P.Londres BM Inv. EA 10142, 10134 + 10128, 10135–10136, 10454, 10460 + 10127, 10462), qui seront publiés par A. Delattre et N. Vanthieghem dans un livre relatif aux *entagīa*.

14. Sijpesteijn 2013 ; voir le compte rendu critique de Vanthieghem 2016.

15. Sur la carrière de Nāğid b. Muslim, cf. Sijpesteijn 2013, 124–36.

émis en son nom, montrent qu'il fut pagarque de l'Hérakléopolite au moins de 728 à 729¹⁶. On considèrerait jusqu'à présent qu'il resta en poste jusque vers 750¹⁷, mais son mandat semble avoir pris fin au plus tard à la fin de l'année 743 : c'est en effet du 1^{er} février de cette année que date le dernier document émis en son nom¹⁸ et c'est aussi du mois de décembre 743–janvier 744 que date le premier document que l'on conserve au nom du pagarque Yaḥyā b. Hilāl (*P.Christ. Musl.* 7).

Yaḥyā b. Hilāl (Ιαειε υἱὸς Ηλαλ, ΙΑΞΙΕ ΠΩΗ ΝΞΙΛΔΛ) est attesté comme pagarque du Fayoum par les sources grecques, coptes et arabes : il est à ce titre appelé ἐπικείμενος παγ(αρ)χίας Ἀρσινοΐτου¹⁹ et ὑπουργός du gouverneur (*P.Christ.Musl.* 16) en grec, ΠΑΓΑΡΧΟΣ ΠΕΝΤΑΨ ΠΙΔΜ et ጊΥΠΟΥΡΓΟΣ du gouverneur (*P.Christ.Musl.* 16) en copte et, en arabe, *āmil* du surintendant des finances en charge du Fayoum (*P.Christ.Musl.* 11). Le plus ancien document qui atteste Yaḥyā b. Hilāl est une lettre originale (*P.Christ.Musl.* 6), adressée par un certain Abū al-Ḥakam qui fut sans doute après mai 740 surintendant des finances pour le compte du gouverneur Ḥanzala b. Ṣafwān (11 janvier 737–18 février 742). Comme Nāḡid b. Muslim était encore pagarque en 740, il est probable que Yaḥyā agit dans ce document comme chef d'un district du Fayoum au même titre que 'Abd Allah b. As'ad. Il apparaît ensuite dans la copie d'une lettre, précisément datée de décembre 743–janvier 744, qu'il adresse à deux responsables de la collecte de la *ṣadaqa* (*P.Christ.Musl.* 7). Il est mentionné dans la copie d'une lettre, adressée à un fonctionnaire du nom de Maymūn b. Maysara, qui conserve la date de décembre 744–janvier 745 ou de février–mars 745 (*P.Christ.Musl.* 8). Au dos de ce document figurent deux autres copies de lettres officielles, dont ne subsistent respectivement que la fin et le début. Dans la première (*P.Christ.Musl.* 9), Yaḥyā écrit sans doute toujours à Maymūn b. Maysara et lui ordonne, en recourant à l'expression typiquement judiciaire *'an tuḡmi ' bayna fulān wa-bayna fulān* (« de faire comparaître Untel avec Untel »), de faire comparaître les deux parties d'un litige. Quant à la seconde (*P.Christ.Musl.* 10), dont on ne conserve que le prescrit initial, elle n'apporte aucune information factuelle sur notre personnage. Ces documents anciens ne donnent malheureusement pas les titres et qualités de Yaḥyā, même si son intervention dans des affaires fiscales (*P.Christ.Musl.* 7) ainsi que dans une affaire judiciaire (*P.Christ.Musl.* 9), sphères qui relèvent toutes deux de la compétence d'un pagarque, suggère fortement qu'il était déjà en place comme pagarque du Fayoum au tout début de l'année 744. Les qualités de Yaḥyā sont spécifiées pour la première fois dans un document dont on conserve la copie, partielle ou presque complète, en quatre exemplaires (*P.Christ.Musl.* 11–14) dont nous fournissons ici la première édition : Yaḥyā y est présenté comme pagarque du Fayoum ayant travaillé sous la direction de 'Īsā b. Abū 'Aṭā' (*āmil 'Īsā b. Abī 'Aṭā' alā kūrāt al-Fayyūm*), qui fut surintendant des finances de l'Égypte du 19 août 743 au 5 mars 749. Yaḥyā b. Hilāl apparaît en sa qualité de pagarque pour la dernière fois dans la documentation papyrologique dans un document copte qui concerne le règlement des impôts de l'année 758–59 (*P.Christ.Musl.* 16). Il n'est assurément plus pagarque en 761, puisque la pagarchie du Fayoum échoit au plus tard le 4 novembre 761 à 'Abd Allāh b. Qays. Le destin de Yaḥyā, après une carrière de plus de vingt ans dans le Fayoum, nous échappe. Est-il resté dans le Fayoum où un document, daté d'août–septembre 785, le mentionne en tant que patron d'un certain Nāfi', résidant de Madīnat al-Fayyūm²⁰ ? Ou obtint-il un poste plus prestigieux, ailleurs en Égypte, par exemple à Fustāṭ ?

'**Abd Allāh b. Qays** (Αβδελλα υἱὸς Καις) n'est connu que par quelques documents, pour

16. *SPP* 8.1184 (16 mars 728) ; *CPR* 22.8 (729–30) ; et *CPR* 22.9 (4–13 juillet 729).

17. Cf. Sijpesteijn 2013, 124–25.

18. Il s'agit de *SB Kopt.* 2.912, qui est daté du 7 Mecheir de la 11^e année d'un cycle indictionnel et dont l'endossement — mal lu par son premier éditeur — indique le document fut envoyé par Nāḡid aux chefs des villages de village Arsinoé : † σὺν Θ(εῶ) Νε[γ]ιδ υἱ[ὸ]ς Μουσαλ(ημ) vac. μεῖζο(σι) χο(ρίου) Ἀρσινόης, « † Avec Dieu. Nāḡid, fils de Muslim aux *meizonas* de village Arsinoé ». Sur ce document, voir récemment Berkes et Vanthieghem 2020, 158–59.

19. Cf. entre autres *CPR* 22.18. 47 et *SPP* 3.260.

20. *Chrest.Khoury* 1.72.2.

l'essentiel fragmentaires. Avant de devenir lui-même pagarque du Fayoum, notre homme fut manifestement au service de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl, peut-être comme responsable d'un district du Fayoum à l'instar de 'Abd Allāh b. As'ad au temps de Nāğid b. Muslim²¹. Son statut de pagarque est établi par une lettre arabe qui lui est adressée²² et qui comporte l'endossement « l'émir du Fayoum » (ΠΔΜΕΡΔ ΠΙΔΜ)²³. On ne peut dire précisément quand 'Abd Allāh b. Qays entra en fonction. Son nom est associé à celui du gouverneur Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba dans *SPP* 10.169, qui mentionne la date du 8 hathyr de la 15^e année d'un cycle indictionnel : la combinaison de ces deux éléments permet de situer le mandat de pagarque de 'Abd Allāh b. Qays aux environs du 4 novembre 761²⁴. Aucun document ne vient nous renseigner sur le terme de son mandat, mais on sait qu'au plus tard le 21 mars 762, il avait été remplacé par Maymūn b. Ka'b.

Son successeur **Maymūn b. Ka'b** (Μαιμουν υἱὸς Χα(α)π, ΜΑΙΜΟΥΝ ΠΩΗ ΝΧΔ(Δ)Β), dont le patronyme était jusqu'à présent lu Χα(α)μ²⁵, apparaît dans un rappel à l'ordre qu'il adresse en copte à un contribuable (*P.Christ.Musl.* 17) et qui fut rédigé le 25 Phamenôth de la première année d'un cycle indictionnel. Il est également mentionné comme pagarque du Fayoum dans une lettre circulaire copte, datée du 25 Phaôphi de la deuxième année d'un cycle et envoyée à différents villages de sa province (*P.Christ.Musl.* 18). Il apparaît également, à ce titre, dans l'incipit de l'*entagion* grec publié dans *SPP* 10.64.4–5. En se fondant sur l'écriture et une expression qui se trouve au dos de ce document, N. Gonis suggère qu'il ne peut dater d'avant 750 et qu'il faut en conséquence placer le mandat de Maymūn b. Ka'b dans la seconde moitié du VIII^e siècle²⁶. Un exercice épistolaire arabe (*P.Christ.Musl.* 22), que nous publions ici pour la première fois, permet d'affiner les dates du mandat de Maymūn b. Ka'b : dans ce document Maymūn est qualifié d'agent (*'āmil*) du gouverneur d'Égypte Yazīd b. Ḥātim (762–69). Fort de cet élément et des dates fournies par les documents *P.Christ.Musl.* 17 et 18, on peut être sûr du fait que Maymūn occupa le poste de pagarque du Fayoum au moins entre le 21 mars 762 et le 23 octobre 763.

Son successeur probable est **Ḥālid b. Yazīd** (Χαλεδ υἱὸς Ιεζιδ). Il est cité comme pagarque du Fayoum par plusieurs documents arabes²⁷ ainsi que par des documents grecs²⁸. L'un de ces documents, le *CPR* 22.20.5–7, mentionne la collecte des impôts de la première année d'un cycle indictionnel qui coïncide avec le mandat de Ḥālid b. Yazīd. N. Gonis suggérait de placer cette première année en 762–63 ou en 777–78. Le document *P.Christ.Musl.* 23 désigne le pagarque Ḥālid b. Yazīd comme agent (*'āmil*) du gouverneur Mūsā b. 'Ulayy ; ce dernier ayant été en poste de septembre 772 à septembre 778, on peut exclure la première possibilité, qui était du reste peu probable puisque Maymūn b. Ka'b était encore en poste comme pagarque du Fayoum le 23 octobre 763. Il est difficile de dire si ce Ḥālid b. Yazīd doit être identifié avec le haut

21. C'est du moins ce qui transparaît à la lecture de P.Louvre Inv. EB0093, un document original daté de l'année hégirienne cent quarante- . . . (757–58), où l'on lit : ll. 3–4 [. . .] *kāna 'Abd Allāh b. Qays 'amarahu . . . min 'ahl Tarsāda* [. . .] | [. . .] *kāna ḡalik mawḡū' wa-['innā al-'āmil] Yahyā b. Hilāl sami'ahu wa-[. . .]* (« 'Abd Allāh b. Qays lui avait ordonné . . . des habitants du village de Tarsāda . . . en présence de ce dernier et le pagarque Yahyā b. Hilāl l'entendit et . . . »).

22. *P.Berl.Arab.* 2.23.

23. La lecture ΠΔΜΕΡΔΠΙΔΜ proposée dans l'édition a été habilement corrigée par N. Gonis ; cf. Gonis 2004, 193.

24. Outre le texte déjà mentionné par N. Gonis, le personnage est également mentionné dans le papyrus inédit et fragmentaire P.Vindob. Inv. G 41523 recto, l.

25. *CPR* 4.22c.1.

26. Pour l'identification de Maymūn dans ce texte, cf. Gonis 2009, 208.

27. Deux documents écrits sur un même coupon ont été publiés dans Rāğib 1978, 18–22 : il s'agit d'une lettre originale au dos de laquelle la copie d'une lettre a été exécutée en guise d'exercice pour un apprenti-scribe. La missive originale du recto présentait un problème de lecture que l'éditeur n'avait pu résoudre : l. 10, il lisait *bi-ğayr ḥaqq . . . Allāh 'ilay-ka 'āfiya* (« sans vérité. Que Dieu t'accorde la santé ! ») ; après examen de l'original, il s'avère qu'il faut lire *bi-ğayr ḥaqq 'albasā-ka llāh wa-'iyyā-ka 'āfiya* (« de manière injuste. Que Dieu te couvre ainsi que nous d'une santé excellente ! »). Une autre lettre du Louvre (P.Louvre Inv. E 6450), dont on ne conserve que le coin supérieur droit, fut adressée au pagarque Ḥālid b. Yazīd.

28. *CPR* 22.18 et 20. L'exercice inédit d'écriture P.Heid. Inv. Arab. 856 verso mentionne le personnage : on y lit le prescrit σὺν θε(ε)ῶ) Χαλεδ υἱὸς) Ιεζιδ μειζο(σι) χω(ρίου) Α . . . (nous remercions Lajos Berkes de nous avoir signalé ce document).

fonctionnaire homonyme attesté dans l'Hermopolite presque trente ans plus tôt²⁹ : la banalité du nom et du patronyme n'autorise aucune certitude.

Le nom de son successeur n'est pas assuré, mais un certain 'Ubayd b. Sa'id (Οβειδ υἱὸς Σειδ) apparaît dans un exercice d'écriture rédigé au dos d'une liste de quartiers³⁰. Ce personnage n'est pas autrement connu, mais un pagarque du nom de Sa'id b. 'Ubayd est mentionné vers 776–78 comme pagarque de l'Hérakléopolite dans un document arabe³¹. Serait-il envisageable que l'auteur de l'exercice grec d'écriture ait interverti le nom et le patronyme du pagarque ? Si tel est le cas, Sa'id b. 'Ubayd pourrait avoir été à la tête du Fayoum à la fin des années 770 et au début des années 780.

Vers 789–90, 'Abd al-Malik b. Salāma (Αβδελεμλεχ υἱὸς Σαλαμα), qui fut pagarque de l'Oxyrhynchite à une date inconnue³², devint pagarque du Fayoum. Il apparaît dans un registre de dépenses journalières, rédigé en grec³³, ainsi que dans un document arabe lacunaire écrit au dos d'un document copte³⁴, probablement un exercice d'écriture, qui mentionne l'arrivée d'un messenger envoyé par le calife, que serait venu accueillir un certain Rabī' et qu'aurait retenu un certain Maslama jusqu'à la pleine lune, c'est-à-dire au début du mois suivant. 'Abd al-Malik b. Salāma y est mentionné comme ayant chargé deux personnes d'une tâche dont on ne sait rien. Le document n'est pas daté, mais il y a de fortes chances que le Maslama mentionné dans le document doive être identifié avec le gouverneur d'Égypte Maslama b. Yahyā, qui gouverna le pays de février 789 à janvier 790³⁵.

Son successeur probable est un certain Muḥammad b. 'Alī ; ce personnage est attesté comme pagarque de la province sous le mandat du gouverneur Ishāq b. Sulaymān³⁶, qui fut en fonction d'octobre 793 à octobre 794³⁷. Il est suivi à la direction de la province par 'Uṭmān b. Yazīd, lequel apparaît dans un document arabe datable de 795–96³⁸. Le dernier pagarque du VIII^e siècle apparaît dans un document fort endommagé (*P.Christ.Musl.* 24). Seul son nom peut être déchiffré avec certitude, encore que l'on puisse le lire de diverses manières : **Sarġ**, **Sarḥ**, **Musarriḥ** ou encore **Muṣarriḥ**.

Restent à mentionner trois personnages qui furent vraisemblablement pagarques du Fa-

29. Ce personnage doit d'après P.M. Sijpesteijn avoir été actif l'Hermopolite dans la première moitié du VIII^e siècle ; cf. Sijpesteijn 2012. Un certain Ḥālid b. Yazīd s'adresse en effet au surintendant des finances al-Qāsim b. 'Ubayd Allāh (en poste de 734–42) dans une lettre trouvée au Dayr al-Balā'izah et publiée récemment, de manière incomplète, par F. Donner (*P.DonnerFragments* 3). En attendant une réédition par Petra Sijpesteijn, nous avons cru bon d'en donner une traduction fondée sur une nouvelle lecture du document : « Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. Au surintendant des finances al-Qāsim b. 'Ubayd Allāh de la part de Ḥālid b. Yazīd. Salut à toi ! . . . Dieu. Je loue pour toi Dieu en dehors de Qui il n'y a de dieu que Lui. Que Dieu préserve le surintendant et qu'Il le protège. Les gens du monastère d'Apa Anoup de la partie haute du district d'Uṣmūn m'ont demandé d'écrire au surintendant pour qu'il ordonne l'émission d'un sauf-conduit (*siġill*) pour l'un d'eux afin qu'il travaille . . . pour s'acquitter de sa capitation et obtenir de quoi vivre . . . ». La nature de la demande suggère que Ḥālid b. Yazīd occupa des fonctions importantes dans l'Hermopolite, comme par exemple celles de pagarque.

30. *SB* 28.17063. Le verso est décrit dans Worp 2004, 247.

31. *P.DiemFrueheUrkunden* 5.1–2.

32. Cf. l'inédit P.Col. Inv. 262. Nous devons cette information à Nikolaos Gonis, que nous remercions chaleureusement.

33. Cf. *CPR* 22.17.11–12 : σύν θεῷ κώδικον ἡμερολογίου τοῦ ἀγιοθε(ντος) χρυσικῶν δημο(σίω)ν ἰνδ(ικτίον)ο(ς) ἱγ ἔτου(ς) ρογ ἐπὶ Αβδελεμ(ελε)χ υἱο(ῦ) Σαλαμα ἐπικειμέ(νου) (« Avec Dieu, registre journalier du paiement des impôts de la 13^e année de l'indiction, [c'est-à-dire] de l'année 173, sous la direction du pagarque 'Abd al-Malik fils de Salāma »).

34. P.Palau-Ribes Inv. 368 verso ; ce papyrus est édité par A. Dridi dans Albarrán Martínez, Boud'hors et Delattre 2017, 132–34 (= *P.PalauRib.Arab* 2).

35. al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāt* [éd. R. Guest], p. 132–33.

36. al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāt* [éd. R. Guest], p. 136.

37. *P.DiemFrueheUrkunden* 4. Nous excluons provisoirement de la liste des pagarques du Fayoum Ġunāda b. al-Muṣ'ab qui est mentionné comme pagarque d'une province égyptienne sous le mandat du gouverneur 'Umar b. Mihrān en 792 (*CPR* 21.2). A. Grohmann lisait son titre [*hādā kitāb min*] Ġunāda b. Muṣ'ab 'āmil al-'amīr 'Umar | [b. Mihrān 'aṣlahahu llāh 'alā ḥarāġ kūrāt al-Fayyū]m . . . (« Ceci est un document de Ġunāda b. Muṣ'ab, agent du gouverneur 'Umar b. al-Mihrān — que Dieu le fortifie ! — pour les impôts du Fayoum . . . »), mais l'examen du papyrus révèle qu'il ne subsiste rien du nom de la province dont Ġunāda était pagarque.

38. *Chrest.Khoury* 1.66.

yom dans la première moitié du VIII^e siècle pour les deux premiers, et dans la seconde moitié du même siècle pour le dernier, mais qu'il est pour l'heure impossible de situer plus précisément dans la chronologie des pagarques. Le premier, un certain Ibrahīm b. Yaḥyā, est l'émetteur de deux *entagia* pour les habitants d'un quartier d'Arsinoé³⁹ et apparaît peut-être dans deux documents coptes⁴⁰. L'un de ces documents est daté du 10 Phamenôth de la sixième année d'un cycle indictionnel, ce qui pourrait correspondre au 6 mars 708, 723, ou 738. Le second haut fonctionnaire, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrahīm, est cité dans un inédit de Vienne, dont on peut proposer une datation paléographique dans la première moitié du VIII^e siècle⁴¹. Enfin, un certain 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī est connu pour avoir exercé des fonctions officielles dans l'Arsinoïte par deux exercices d'écriture grecs non datés⁴². S'il s'agit du même personnage que l'homonyme mentionné dans un contrat d'affermage arabe datable des années 791–92⁴³, comme le propose prudemment L. Berkes⁴⁴, ce pagarque doit avoir été en poste à la fin du VIII^e siècle. Gageons que d'autres documents permettront à l'avenir de préciser cette chronologie.

3. Éditions de textes coptes et arabes relatifs aux pagarques du Fayoum *P.Christ.Musl.* 6 : Début d'une lettre d'Abū l-Ḥakam à Yaḥyā b. Hilāl

Fragment de papyrus de couleur brun clair. Seul subsiste le coin supérieur droit du document ; la marge supérieure ainsi que celle de droite sont préservées. Le papyrus comporte les restes de trois lignes d'écriture à quoi s'ajoute la seconde moitié d'une adresse. L'écriture, ample et élégante, est légèrement inclinée vers la gauche ; elle peut notamment être comparée à celle de *P.Heid.Arab.* 2.1. Les lettres sont dépourvues de points diacritiques, à l'exception d'une lettre. Le document provient vraisemblablement de Madīnat al-Fayyūm même. Il a été acquis par le musée du Louvre auprès du révérend John Greville Chester en mai 1880, en même temps que les papyrus inventoriés E 6859 à 7112⁴⁵.

Un certain Abū l-Ḥakam écrit à Yaḥyā b. Hilāl une lettre dont on ne conserve que la *bas-mala* et le prescrit. La présence d'une adresse au verso invite à penser que nous ne sommes pas en présence de la copie d'une lettre, mais bien d'un original. L'identité d'Abū l-Ḥakam, dont le nom apparaît dans deux autres papyrus arabes⁴⁶, n'est pas claire : il n'est affublé d'aucun titre, mais la forme d'adresse interne employée ici *min fulān 'ilā fulān* (« De la part d'Untel à Untel ») suggère qu'Abū l-Ḥakam était l'égal ou le supérieur hiérarchique de Yaḥyā ; dans le cas contraire, le scribe aurait recouru à la forme *'ilā fulān min fulān* (« À Untel de la part d'Untel »)⁴⁷. Si Yaḥyā b. Hilāl était déjà pagarque à l'époque où cette lettre lui fut adressée,

39. SB 8.9760 (cf. *BL* 12.200) et *CPR* 22.13.

40. *CPR* 4.58 et *PLond.Copt.* 1.631; cf. *CPR* 22, p. 72.

41. P.Vindob. A.P. Inv. 8296. Le document a été décrit comme provenant de l'Hermopolite, mais il provient bien du Fayoum. Nous lisons [*bismi llāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*] | [*hādā kitāb min 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrahīm*] | [...] [*kūrāt al-Fayyūm* ...] | [...] [*ahl al-dīwān*] | [...] [*salām 'alay-kum*] | (« Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. Ceci est un document de 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrahīm ... du district du Fayoum ... les gens du *dīwān* ... Salut à vous ... »).

42. Cf. *CPR* 19.29.7 :] Βαβυλῶνος (I. Βαβυλῶνος) ἐπὶ Ἀβδελλὰ υἱ(οῦ) Ἀλῖ et *CPR* 22.19.4 : ἐπὶ Ἀβδελλὰ υἱ(οῦ) Ἀλῖ.

43. *CPR* 21.2.

44. Berkes 2018, 417–18.

45. *P.Marchands* 1, p. x–xi, n. 2.

46. Le premier P.Vindob. Inv. A.P. 88 a été publié en son temps par A. Grohmann comme s'il s'agissait de la lettre d'un marchand, puis a fait l'objet de quelques corrections de la part de W. Diem (cf. Diem 2011, 122–23). La lettre, qui est sans doute une copie, émane en réalité de quelqu'un qui avait manifestement des compétences fiscales comme le montre la présence du terme *al-ṭabl* (« levée ») ; en conséquence, il faut sans doute corriger la lecture d'A. Grohmann *ḥamsat 'atwāb* (« cinq pièces de tissu ») en *ḥamsat 'abwāb* (« cinq impôts »). L'autre papyrus, le P.Vindob. Inv. A.P. 11105, est à ce jour inédit, mais on lit clairement le début de l'adresse interne *li-Abī al-Ḥakam*.

47. L'adresse interne prend habituellement, aux VII^e–VIII^e siècles, la forme *min fulān 'ilā fulān* (« De la part d'Untel à Untel »). On inverse les constituants de cette adresse, par respect, quand on écrit à une personne d'un rang supérieur (cf. par exemple *P.Berl.Arab.* 2.23.2–3 ; *P.Kratchkovski* 2 ainsi que *P.Donner Fragments* 3.5).

Abū l-Ḥakam ne pouvait donc être qu'un pagarque ou un haut fonctionnaire de Fustāṭ. On ne connaît aucun pagarque de ce nom ; en revanche, un personnage nommé Abū l-Ḥakam b. Abū al-ʿAbyaḍ al-ʿAbsī, proche du calife Hišām (724–43), fut envoyé à Fustāṭ pour y exhiber la tête de Zayd b. ʿAlī, le fondateur du zaydisme⁴⁸. Cet événement aurait eu lieu le 13 mai 740, sous le deuxième mandat du gouverneur Ḥanzala b. Ṣafwān. Il n'est dès lors pas impossible que le Abū l-Ḥakam mentionné dans notre document ait exercé des fonctions officielles en Égypte autres que celles d'envoyé du calife Hišām. Il aurait par exemple pu exercer les fonctions de surintendant des finances : l'hypothèse serait d'autant plus séduisante qu'al-Kindī ne signale aucun surintendant ayant travaillé pour le compte du gouverneur Ḥanzala et que l'on sait que Ḥanzala n'exerça pas la double fonction de gouverneur et de surintendant, comme cela arrive parfois. Si nous avons raison, nous serions en présence de la plus ancienne attestation Yaḥyā b. Hilāl dans le Fayoum.

P.Louvre Inv. E 7061
Fayoum

9,5 × 13,8 cm

Vers 740
Figs. 12, 13

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم [الرحم-] [يم] ←
من ابي الحكم الى يحيى بن هـ [لل سلم عليك]
[ف-] [اني احمد ا] [لبك ا] [له] [الذي لا اله]
[الا هو]

Au verso :

[من ابي الحكم الى] يحيى بن هـ ↓

2 الي pap.

« Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. De la part d'Abū l-Ḥakam à Yaḥyā b. Hilāl. Salut à toi et je loue pour toi Dieu en dehors de Qui il n'y a de dieu que Lui . . . (*adresse, au verso*) De la part d'Abū l-Ḥakam à Yaḥyā b. Hilāl. »



Fig. 12. P.Christ.Musl. 6r

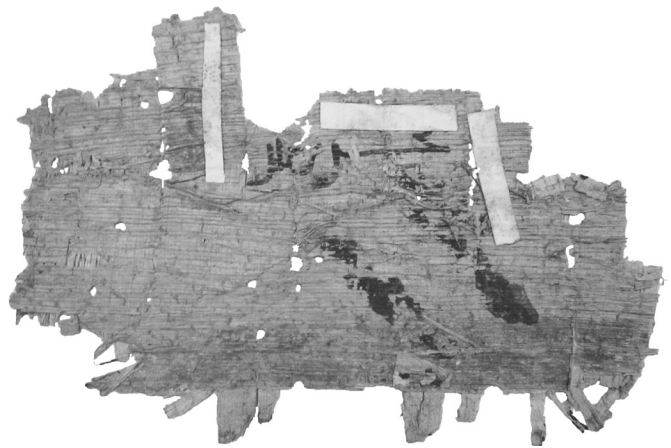


Fig. 13. P.Christ.Musl. 6v

48. Al-Kindī, 81.

P.Christ.Musl. 7 : Lettre de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl aux deux responsables de la ṣadaqa

Coupon de papyrus de couleur brun clair. Le papyrus est complet ; les marges, bien que particulièrement étroites, sont toutes conservées. L'écriture, non dépourvue d'élégance, manque souvent d'assurance dans l'exécution des traits ; aucune lettre n'est pourvue de point diacritique. Le document a été acquis par le musée du Louvre le 15 juillet 1879 en même temps que les papyrus inventoriés E 6377 B à 6762 ⁴⁹.

Il s'agit de la copie, exécutée par un apprenti scribe, de la lettre adressée par Yaḥyā b. Hilāl à deux responsables de la *ṣadaqa*. Le pagarque y demande à ses correspondants de bien vouloir collecter quatre cents *qintār*-s de lin dans un village du Fayoum. On notera que cette lettre, tout comme d'ailleurs le document *P.Christ.Musl. 8*, est précisément datée.

P.Louvre Inv. E 6420
Fayoum

13,6 × 7,4 cm

décembre 743–janvier 744
Fig. 14

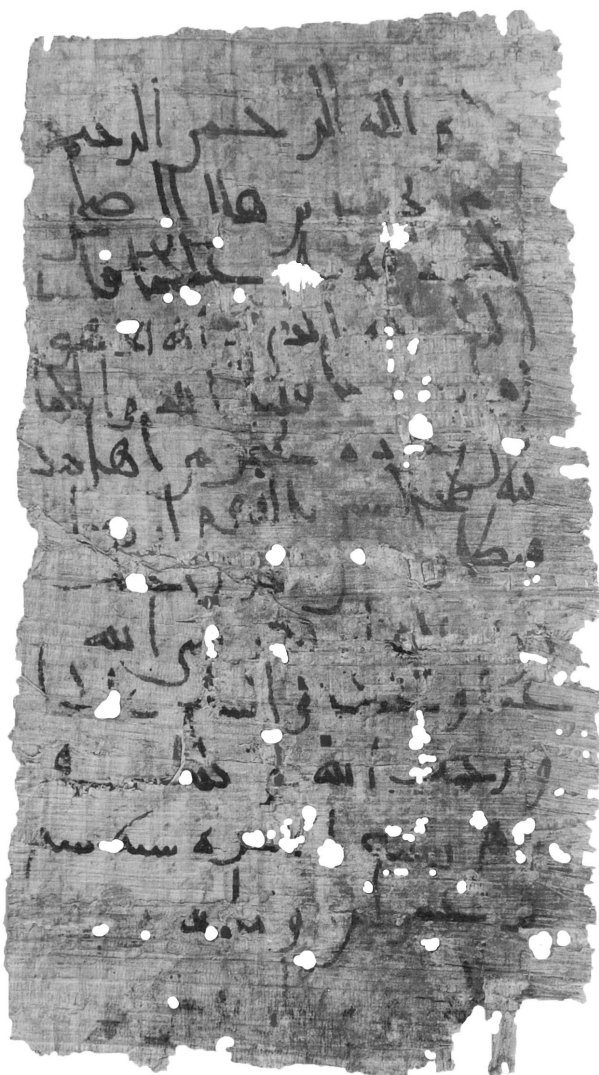
←

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
من يحيى بن هلال الى صحيبي
الصدقة سلم عليكممائي <احمد>
اليك [ا] الله الذي [ل] الله الا هو
اما بـ [عد] عافينا الله واياكما 5
ان [ت] جده تحضر من اهل مد
بنة طحا كبير بالفيوم اربعمائة
قنطار كـ [تا] ان [م] ما زرعت
ورضي الله
عنا وعك والسلم عليكمم
ورحمت الله وكتب في
شهر ربيع الاخرة سنة ست
وعشرين ومائة

« Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. De la part de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl aux deux responsables de la *ṣadaqa*. Salut à vous deux et je loue pour toi [*sic*] Dieu en dehors de Qui il n'y a de dieu que Lui. Ensuite, que Dieu nous protège ainsi que vous deux (de tout mal). Si tu [*sic*] le trouves, prélève [*sic*] auprès de habitants de la ville de Taḥā la grande dans le Fayoum quatre cents *qintār*-s de lin de ce qu'ils ont cultivé. . . . Et que Dieu nous agrée ainsi que vous deux. Le salut et la miséricorde de Dieu soient sur vous deux. Écrit au mois de *rabi*' II de l'année cent vingt-six. »

- 2–3 *'ilā ṣāhibay al-ṣadaqa* : C'est la première fois qu'un papyrus mentionne l'existence de responsables de la collecte de la *ṣadaqa*. À en juger par la copie de ce document, ces responsables étaient au nombre de deux par pagarchie au même titre qu'il y eut tout au long de la période abbasside deux agents fiscaux (*'āmilān*) pour chacune des provinces d'Égypte ; cf. Reinfandt et Vanthieghem 2016, 356–57. Leur tâche ne s'arrêterait manifestement pas à la collecte de la *ṣadaqa*, puisque leurs compétences sont ici requises pour prélever, sans doute au titre des impôts, une quantité de lin dans un village du Fayoum. Dans le papyrus inédit P.Vindob. Inv. A.P. 2796, le responsable de la collecte de la *ṣadaqa* n'est autre que l'agent en charge des terres improductives de l'Hérakléopolite : . . . *barā 'at [fulān b. fulān] | 'āmil [fulān b. fulān] | ḥafīzahū llā[h 'alā] | mawātī kūrat Ihn[ās li-suhūr] | sanat mi'atayn | 'innī qabaḍtu min-ka | šā'tayn ṣadaqatan | fa-man laqiyahu*

49. *P.Marchands* 1, p. xi.

Fig. 14. *P.Christ.Musl.* 7

min 'ummāl[ī] | fa-lā ya 'riḍ | lahu 'illā bi-ḥayr 'in [šā llāh wa-kutiba] | fī rağ[ab sanat mi'atayn] (« Quittance d'Untel fils d'Untel, l'agent d'Untel fils d'Untel — que Dieu le garde — en charge des terres improductives de la province d'Ihnās pour les mois |⁵ de l'année deux cents. J'ai reçu de ta part deux moutons au titre de la *ṣadaqa*. Celui de mes agents qui le rencontrera ne devra lui montrer que du bien, si Dieu le veut. Écrit en *rağab* de l'année deux cents »).

- 4–5 <'ahmad> 'ilay-ka llāh : Bien que la lettre s'adresse à deux personnes, le scribe alterne entre 2^e personne du singulier et 2^e personne du duel. Le scribe aurait dû écrire 'ilay-kumā.
- 5 'āfiyanā llāh wa-'iyyā-kumā : On attendrait la formule 'āfānā wa-'iyyā-ka, ce qui est du reste la forme normale que l'on rencontre en général dans les papyrus, mais le scribe semble avoir adopté une graphie 'āfiya pour la conjugaison du verbe 'āfā ; pour d'autres occurrences de cette forme, cf. *P.David-Weill Louvre* 11 recto. 4 ; *P.Haim Paper* 2.4 ainsi que le document *P.Christ.Musl.* 8.4. Il pourrait s'agir ici d'une notation archaïque du /ā/, bien attestée dans les manuscrits coraniques et également connu par l'épigraphie ; sur cette question, voir Hopkins 1984, 8.

- 6 'in [ta]ğid-hu taḥḍur : Comme dans le cas du syntagme 'ilayka, le scribe aurait dû conjuguer le verbe au duel et écrire 'in tağidāhu taḥḍurān.
- 6–7 madīnat Ṭaḥā kabīr bi-l-Fayūm : Nous n'avons pu trouver aucune attestation d'un village de Ṭaḥā kabīr, ni même de Ṭaḥā dans le Fayoum. On connaît en revanche de nombreux toponymes qui incluent l'élément Ṭaḥā, sans doute emprunté à l'égyptien *t3-whyt* (« le village, l'emplacement »), parmi lesquels on citera Ṭaḥā l-'a'mida et Tahanhur (cf. Peust 2010, 92). Il est étonnant que ce toponyme soit désigné dans notre papyrus comme une ville (*madīna*), alors qu'il s'agissait très vraisemblablement d'un village (*qarya*). Ce genre de confusion apparaît ailleurs dans la documentation papyrologique arabe : ainsi par exemple le village d'Aphroditô est-il occasionnellement désigné comme une *madīna* (cf. *P.BeckerPAF* 10.2).
- 8 qinṭār ka[ttā]n : La valeur du *qinṭār* pouvait varier en Égypte de 40 kg à plus de 100 kg selon les régions ; voir Hinz 1955, 24–25.
- 12 *rabī' al-'aḥira* : Le mois de *rabī'* est en principe traité comme un nom masculin dans les papyrus, mais il est parfois considéré, peut-être par analogie au mois de *ḡumādā*, comme un féminin ; pour des parallèles, cf. *P.Khurasan* 1.9 et *P.Cair.Arab.* 2.89.8.

P.Christ.Musl. 8–10 : Trois lettres de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl à Maymūn b. Maysara

Coupon de couleur brun clair, brisé en haut et en bas ; ne subsistent que les marges de gauche et de droite. L'écriture, ample, imite un peu maladroitement le style de chancellerie. Il comporte la copie, conservée partiellement en raison de l'état du document, de trois lettres arabes différentes qui étaient sans doute toutes adressées à Maymūn b. Maysara, un fonctionnaire arabe inconnu par ailleurs ⁵⁰. Le premier document (*P.Christ.Musl.* 8), daté de décembre 744–mars 745, est écrit au recto du coupon ; les deux autres (*P.Christ.Musl.* 9–10), dont la date est perdue, ont été rédigés au dos. Ces textes ont été décrits dès le XIX^e siècle par J. von Karabacek dans *PERF* ⁵¹. Ils ont ensuite fait l'objet d'une édition en bonne et due forme par les soins de K. Jahn avant d'être corrigés par Levi della Vida ⁵² et A. Grohmann ⁵³. Étant donné l'importance de ces textes, nous avons cru bon d'en proposer une nouvelle édition.

P.Christ.Musl. 8 : Lettre de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl à Maymūn b. Maysara (?)

Yaḥyā b. Hilāl adresse, probablement à Maymūn b. Maysara, ses salutations et loue Dieu en proclamant Son unicité. La lettre prend pour ainsi dire la forme d'une lettre phatique, c'est-à-dire d'une lettre sans contenu ou objet, qui ne comporte que des formules épistolaires générales et dont le seul but était vraisemblablement de maintenir le contact entre des personnes ⁵⁴. Si l'on voit bien l'utilité de telles lettres en contexte privé, il est difficile d'en voir l'usage dans un contexte administratif. Le plus probable est que l'apprenti scribe, qui recopiait ces documents en guise d'exercice, s'est ici contenté de copier certaines parties de la lettre originale qu'il avait sous les yeux en se concentrant sur le prescrit, les salutations initiales et finales ainsi que la date. Le contexte scolaire de production de ce texte est confirmé par la présence d'exercices d'écriture en grec qui consistent en une série d'anthroponymes.

50. Le seul Maymūn b. Maysara dont nous ayons pu trouver trace dans la littérature est un traditionniste qui aurait vécu à la fin du VII^e siècle.

51. *PERF* 608.

52. Levi della Vida 1944, 129–30.

53. *P.World*, p. 88.

54. Grob 2010, 106–7. Ces lettres sont aussi appelées lettres « déconcrétisées » ; cf. Fournet 2009, 50–51.

P.Vindob. Inv. A.P. 6318 recto (= *P.Jahn* 4)
Madīnat al-Fayyūm

9 × 23 cm

Vers décembre 744–mars 745
Fig. 15

[بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم] ↓
[م-]ن [يحي-]ى [ب-]ن [هل-]ل [الى ميمون بن ميسرة] سل-م عليك
فاني احمد اليك الله الذي [لا اله الا هو]
اما بعد عافينا واياك من السو كله
كتبت اليك ونحن كالذي تحب 5
من السلامة والصلاح والله محمود اسئل الله
والسلم عليك ورحمت الله وكتب
[في] [الا]ول [من س-]نة سبع [و]عشرين

« Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. De la part de Yahyā b. Hilāl à Maymūn b. Maysara. Salut à toi et je loue Dieu pour toi en dehors de Qui il n’y a de dieu que Lui ! Ensuite, que Dieu nous protège ainsi que toi de tout mal. Je t’écris alors que nous sommes, comme tu le souhaites, en parfaite et excellente santé — loué soit Dieu! — et je demande à Dieu. Le salut et la miséricorde de Dieu soient sur toi ! Écrit en . . . I de l’année cent vingt-sept. »

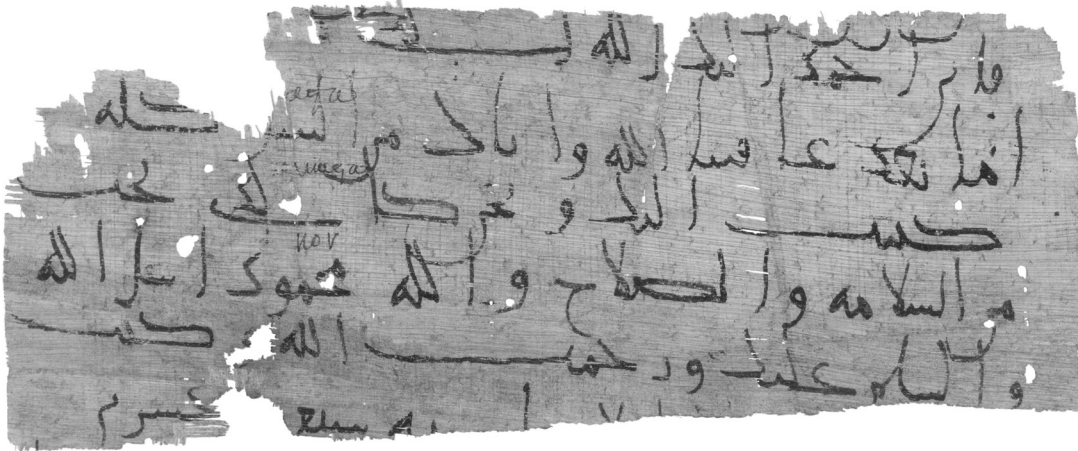


Fig. 15. *P.Christ.Musl.* 8

Copyright: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung

- 4 'āfiya-nā wa-'iyyā-ka : Sur cette variante de la formule usuelle 'āfā-nā wa-'iyyā-ka voir le commentaire au document *P.Christ.Musl.* 7.5.
- 6 'as'al Allāh : Le scribe n'a manifestement copié qu'une partie du texte qu'il avait sous les yeux. Dans les formules de salutations initiales, on s'attend habituellement à ce que le scribe formule l'objet de sa demande à Dieu, par exemple en disant 'asal Allāh la-ka l-'awn wa-l-'āfiya fī l-dunyā wa-l-'āhira (« Je demande pour toi à Dieu aide et bonne santé en ce bas monde et dans l'autre »), comme dans *P.DiemAmtlicheSchreiben* 3.10–11, ou encore 'asal Allāh tamām ni'mati-hi wa-dawām 'āfiyati-hi 'alay-ka (« je demande à Dieu qu'il complète sa faveur et prolonge son bienfait envers toi »), qu'on lit entre autres dans *P.David-Weill Louvre* 28.4.
- 8 [fi] al-'a[ww]al : L'éditeur a considéré que la lettre devait nécessairement avoir été écrite en ġumādā I 127, mais le papyrus permettrait tout aussi bien une restitution [fi rabī'] al-'a[ww]al.

P.Christ.Musl. 9 : Fin d'une lettre de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl (?) à Maymūn b. Maysara (?)

Saisi sans doute par un plaignant, Yaḥyā b. Hilāl écrit à l'un de ses subordonnés, peut-être Maymūn b. Maysara, pour lui demander de bien vouloir faire comparaître le plaignant et son adversaire et examiner leur affaire. L'un des deux plaignants est désigné par le terme *ṣāhib*, qui peut, comme le suggère N. Gonis, désigner un chef de village⁵⁵ qui dans le cadre judiciaire est employé de manière générique pour désigner un adversaire⁵⁶. La lettre se termine par les formules de salutations usuelles au VIII^e siècle *salām 'alay-ka wa-raḥmat Allāh* (« Le salut et la miséricorde de Dieu soit sur toi ! »).

Son intervention dans une affaire judiciaire suggère fortement qu'il était effectivement déjà en poste à cette date : comme l'a montré M. Tillier, les pagarques étaient en effet régulièrement appelés à jouer un rôle dans l'exercice de la justice à l'époque omeyyade comme au début de l'époque abbasside, soit qu'ils fussent directement saisis par un de leurs administrés, soit qu'ils fussent saisis par le gouverneur lui-même⁵⁷.

P.Vindob. Inv. A.P. 6318 verso (= *P.Jahn* 3)
Madīnat al-Fayyūm

9 × 23 cm

Vers décembre 744–mars 745
Fig. 16

← فان رايت يرحمك الله ان تجمع بينه وبين
صاحب[ه] فعلت
وسلم عليك ورحمت الله

2 *ṣāhibi*[hi] : *ṣāhib ed.*

« . . . Et si tu juges bon — puisse Dieu te prendre en pitié — de le faire comparaître avec son compère, fais-le ! Le salut et la miséricorde de Dieu soient sur toi ! »

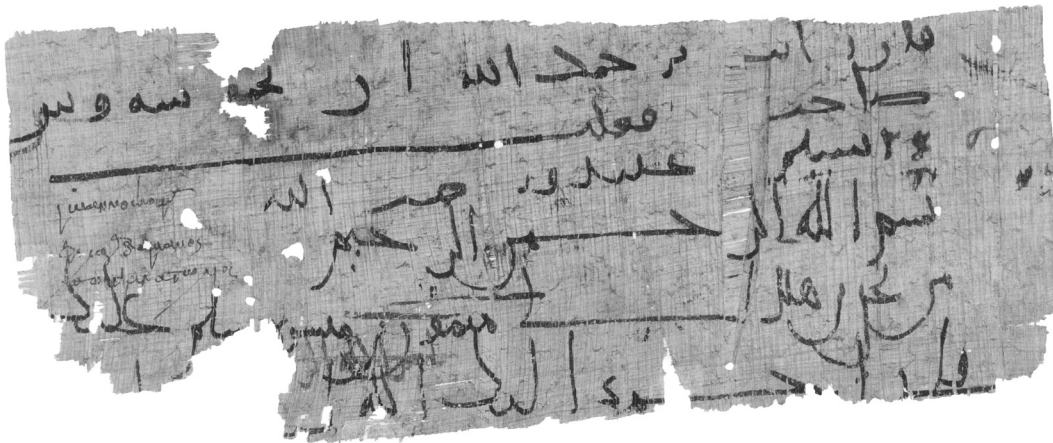


Fig. 16. *P.Christ.Musl.* 9–10

Copyright: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung

55. Gonis 2004, 190 ; voir aussi Sijpesteijn 2013, 144. L'usage est entre autres attesté pour Basileios, qui porte ce titre dans la correspondance arabe de Qurra b. Šarik.

56. Pour un exemple dans les papyrus, voir entre autres Tillier et Vanthieghem 2018.

57. Sur cette question, voir Tillier 2013, 2017, 50–77.

1–2 La formule de politesse *fa-`in ra`ayta . . . fa`alta* (« et si tu le juges bon . . . fais-le ») est typique du formulaire des pétitions arabes ; Khan 1990, 14–18. Aussi pourrait-on être tenté de croire qu'il s'agit d'une pétition plutôt que d'une lettre. Il ne faut cependant pas oublier que cette marque de civilité se lit aussi dans des lettres (cf. *CPR* 16.5.20). Notre document est très certainement une lettre, car on ne voit pas pourquoi Yaḥyā écrirait à un subordonné un ordre administratif sous la forme d'une pétition.

`an taḡma` baynahu wa-bayna ṣāḥibi[hi] : Comme l'a montré M. Tillier, l'expression *ḡama`a bayna fulān wa-fulān*, qui signifie littéralement « réunir Untel et Untel », est typiquement employé dans les papyrus en contexte judiciaire. Elle est couramment utilisée par le gouverneur Qurra dans les lettres judiciaires qu'il adresse à Basileios (cf. par exemple *P.Heid.Arab.* 1.10.4 ; 11.4 et *P.BeckerPAF* 2.9) ; sur ces lettres, voir Tillier 2017, 61–77.

P.Christ.Musl. 10 : Début d'une lettre de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl à Maymūn b. Maysara

Lettre de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl à Maymūn b. Maysara, dont on ne conserve plus que le début. Yaḥyā le salue et loue Dieu en proclamant son unicité. On ne sait rien de l'objet de la lettre.

P.Vindob. Inv. A.P. 6318 verso (= *P.Jahn* 3)
Madīnat al-Fayyūm

9 × 23 cm

Vers décembre 744–mars 745

Fig. 16

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ←
من يحيى بن هلال إلى ميمون بن ميسرة سلم عليك
فاني احمد اليك الله [لذ] ي [لـ]
[اله الا هو]

« Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. De la part de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl à Maymūn b. Maysara. Salut à toi et je loue pour toi Dieu en dehors de Qui il n'y a pas de dieu sinon Lui. . . . »

P.Christ.Musl. 11–14 : Trois exemplaires d'une quittance pour la *ṣadaqa* et un prescrit de lettre

Coupon de papyrus de couleur brun foncé. L'écriture, ample, reproduit de manière un peu gauche le style de chancellerie. Le coupon semble complet et a été utilisé pour écrire, au recto comme au verso, plusieurs exercices d'écriture rédigés successivement en arabe et en copte. Le papyrus a été acquis par le musée du Louvre auprès du révérend John Greville Chester en mai 1880, en même temps que les papyrus inventoriés E 6859 à 7112⁵⁸. Seuls les quatre textes, qui mentionnent le pagarque Yaḥyā b. Hilāl, seront édités ici. Trois textes (*P.Christ.Musl.* 11–13) sont probablement la copie, plus ou moins avancée selon le document, d'une quittance émise au nom de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl et datable des années 743–49. Le dernier (*P.Christ.Musl.* 14) est la copie partielle du prescrit d'une lettre adressée par Yaḥyā b. Hilāl.

58. Voir n. 45.

P.Christ.Musl. 11 : Copie presque complète d'une quittance pour la *ṣadaqa*

Yaḥyā b. Hilāl, présenté comme pagarque (*ʿāmil*) de ʿĪsā b. Abū ʿAṭā, délivre une quittance à un dénommé Ḥafṣ, le propriétaire d'un cheptel. Ce dernier s'est acquitté, par l'intermédiaire de Buḡtur — probablement le berger qui a pris en affermage le cheptel — du paiement d'un mouton au titre de la *ṣadaqa*, un taux qui s'applique à un cheptel comptant 40 têtes au plus. La mention du surintendant des finances de l'Égypte ʿĪsā b. Abū ʿAṭā, permet de dater l'original qui servit à la copie de ce document entre le 19 août 743 et le 5 mars 749. Il offre l'une des plus anciennes mentions du prélèvement de la *ṣadaqa* en tant que taxe, après l'*entagion* inédit P.Louvre Inv. E 8359 (Fayoum, octobre–novembre 730), où il est question de prélever vingt dinars au titre de la *ṣadaqa*, et *P.MuslimState* 8 (Fayoum, 730–43), une lettre de Naǧīd b. Muslim, exceptionnelle par son contenu qui énonce les principes théologiques justifiant le prélèvement de cette taxe. Notre texte présente une structure similaire à celle de *P.Cair.Arab.* 3.197, la seule autre quittance de *ṣadaqa* publiée à ce jour.

P.Louvre Inv. E 7065
Fayoum

18,1 × 20,5 cm

743–49
Figs. 17, 18

← بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
براة من يحيى بن هثل عامل الـ<مير> عيسى بن ابي
عطا على كورة الفيوم لحفص
الشر من شاة دفعها على يدي بقطر
الراعي صدق[ة] اربعين شاة . . . 5

« Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. Quittance de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl, l'agent (*ʿāmil*) du surintendant (*ʿamīr*) ʿĪsā b. Abū ʿAṭā en charge du district du Fayoum à Ḥafṣ al- . . . pour un mouton. Il l'a payé par l'intermédiaire de Buḡtur le berger comme *ṣadaqa* de quarante moutons . . . »

- 2-3 *al-ʿamīr ʿĪsā b. Abī ʿAṭā*: ʿĪsā b. Abū ʿAṭā fit, semble-t-il, carrière dans l'administration fiscale. Après un poste à Médine, il occupa le poste de surintendant des finances du 19 août 743 au 745 au 5 mars 749, mais fut démis de ses fonctions le 8 mai 745 par des militaires entrés en révolte contre le gouverneur Ḥassān b. ʿAtāhiya. Il réintégra ses fonctions le 14 octobre de la même année. ʿĪsā apparaît dans quelques documents arabes, dont un ordre adressé au maître des postes d'Ašmūn daté du 10 janvier 745 (cf. *P.Ragib Lettres de service* 1), dans un ordre de paiement daté du 18 octobre 749 et conservé chez al-Kindī (al-Kindi, 354) ainsi que dans des protocoles (*CPR* 3.116–18). Sur ce personnage, cf. al-Qāḍī 2007, 205–6.
- 3-4 *li-Ḥafṣ ḥ al- . . . (?)*: La lecture de ce qui suit le nom n'est pas claire. On aurait envie de lire *الشر/السر*, mais nous ne savons comment comprendre cette séquence.
- 4-5 Les sources littéraires, particulièrement les sources juridiques, nous apprennent que la *ṣadaqa* fut systématiquement prélevée à partir du règne du calife Hišām (r. 105/724–125/743). En Égypte, c'est le gouverneur ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb qui mit en application cette mesure. Elle frappait les chrétiens récemment convertis à l'islam ainsi que les immigrants arabes et semble être devenue une taxe à part entière pour compenser la baisse des recettes fiscales entraînée par la conversion des chrétiens à l'islam. Ceux-ci, une fois musulmans, ne devaient plus en effet s'acquitter de la capitation (*ǧizya*). La



Fig. 17. *P.Christ.Musl.* 11–14

ṣadaqa était prélevée usuellement en nature en prélevant un ou plusieurs moutons ou chèvres selon la taille des cheptels. Les chepteliers (*'arbāb al-māšiya*) avaient cependant le loisir de racheter leur *ṣadaqa* et de la payer en espèces sonnantes et trébuchantes comme le montrent les instructions contenues dans *P.Muslim State* 8.20–23⁵⁹ : le texte précise *fa-man raḍiya min 'arbāb | al-māšiya 'an yaštariya ṣadaqa mā katabtuhu | fa-dfa'-hā 'ilay-hi ba'da 'an taṭba'a-hā min ḡālik dīnār | bi-kull šāt al-mā'iz wa-l-ḡa'n* (« et celui des propriétaires de cheptels à qui il plaira de racheter la *ṣadaqa* de ce que j'ai indiqué par écrit, [prélève] de sa part en l'authentifiant un dinar par ovidé [dû], chèvre ou mouton »)⁶⁰. Sur la *ṣadaqa*, cf. Sijpesteijn 2007, 666–67 ; et Sijpesteijn 2013, 181–99. Quand elle était levée en nature, d'après le traité plus tardif d'Ibn Mammātī, 312, l'État prélevait un mouton toutes les 40 têtes sur les petits cheptels, c'est-à-dire sur ceux comptant moins de 120 têtes. Au-delà, on prélevait, outre cela, un mouton × l'unité de la centaine : ainsi, pour un cheptel comptant entre 121 et 200 bêtes, fallait-il s'acquitter de

59. L'éditrice avait lu *fa-man raḍiya min 'arbāb | al-ḡibāya 'an yastadiya ṣadaqa mā katabta-hu | fa-dfa'-hā 'ilay-hi ba'da 'an taṭba'a-hā min ḡālika danānir | fa-taḥmil sā'imāt al-mā'iz wa-l-ḡa'na* (« And whoever agrees from amongst the collectors of the tax-levy to hand over the *ṣadaqa* according to what you wrote give it to him after you have sealed it from this dinārs and] carry the free-[grazing] goats and sheep »).

60. Les auteurs remercient Lahcen Daaif d'avoir examiné avec eux ce passage problématique.

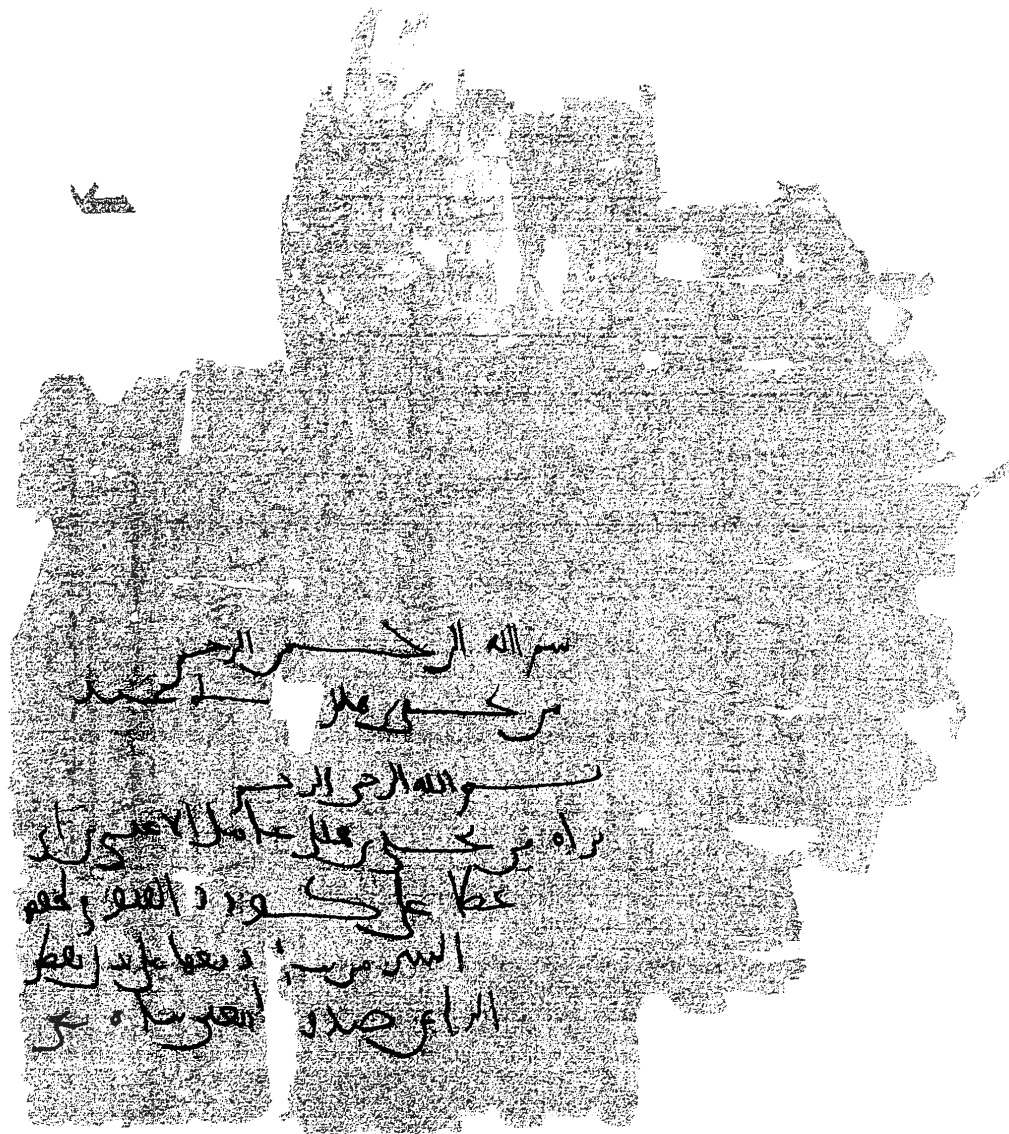


Fig. 18. *P.Christ.Musl.* 11 et 14 facsimilé

7 moutons (5 + 2 moutons), et, pour un cheptel de 201 à 300 têtes, 10 moutons (7 + 3 moutons).

- 5 Nous ne sommes pas sûrs de la manière dont il faut lire le mot qui suit l'expression *ṣadaqa `arba`in šāt*.

P.Christ.Musl. 12 : Copie partielle d'une quittance pour la *ṣadaqa* (?)

Le texte est probablement la copie du même document que celui mentionné dans le document précédent, mais le scribe n'en a recopié que les deux premières lignes. Il s'agit à tout le moins d'une quittance délivrée par Yaḥyā b. Hilāl, qui est présenté dans le document comme pagarque (*ʿāmil*) de ʿĪsā b. Abī ʿAṭāʾ.

P.Louvre Inv. E 7065
Fayoum

18,1 × 20,5 cm

743–49
Figs. 17, 19

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ↓
براة من يحيى بن هلال عامل الأمير عيسى بن ابي عطا

« Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. Quittance de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl, l'agent (*'āmil*) du surintendant (*'amīr*) 'Īsā b. Abī 'Aṭā. »

- 2 *al-'amīr* : Le scribe a manifestement été plus appliqué dans sa copie et a écrit ici *al-'amīr* en toutes lettres alors qu'il écrivait *al-'a* dans la version précédente.

P.Christ.Musl. 13 : Copie partielle d'une quittance pour la *ṣadaqa* (?)

Comme dans le cas du document précédent, il s'agit probablement de la copie du document *P.Christ.Musl.* 12, mais le scribe n'en donne que la première ligne et le début de la deuxième. Il

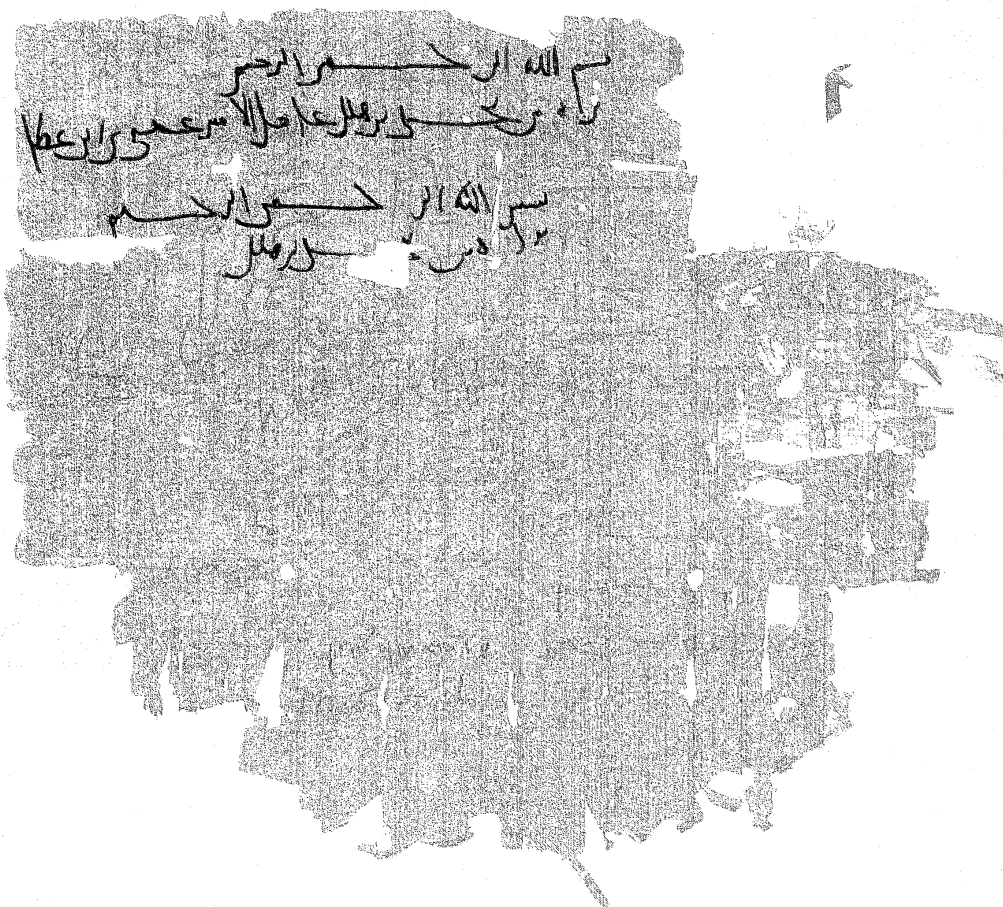


Fig. 19. *P.Christ.Musl.* 12–13 facsimilé

s'agit toujours d'une quittance émise par les bureaux de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl, dont le titre n'est cependant plus précisé.

P.Louvre Inv. E 7065
Fayoum

18,1 × 20,5 cm

743–49
Figs. 17, 19

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
براة من يحيى بن هلال ↓

« Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. Quittance de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl. »

P.Christ.Musl. 14 : Début d'une lettre

Comme dans le cas des documents précédents, ce document est probablement la copie d'un document original, mais le scribe n'en donne que la première ligne et le début de la deuxième. Il s'agit manifestement du début d'une lettre adressée par Yaḥyā b. Hilāl à une personne dont le nom commençait par la séquence 'Abd.

P.Louvre Inv. E7065
Fayoum

18,1 × 20,5 cm

743–49
Figs. 17, 18

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
من يحيى بن هلال [أ]لى عبد ↓

« Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. De la part de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl à 'Abd . . . »

P.Christ.Musl. 15 : Début d'un document grec émis au nom de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl

Ce fragment de document, en apparence insignifiant, conserve la première ligne d'un document grec émis du pagarque Yaḥyā b. Hilāl qui est présenté comme un agent (ὑπουργός) du gouverneur Abū 'Awn 'Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd. Il est difficile de dire s'il s'agissait d'un document d'ampleur plus large comprenant plusieurs lignes ou si le document comportait originellement une seule ligne. De la même manière, on ne peut dire quelle était la fonction du document : ce pourrait être aussi bien le début d'un document officiel que le début d'un exercice d'écriture.

Abu Awn ayant été gouverneur deux fois, respectivement entre le 1^{er} ša' bān 133/4 mars 751 et le 5 rabi' II 136/ 8 octobre 753 et entre ramaḍān 137/février–mars 755 et le 14 rabi' II 141/24 août 758⁶¹, notre document date au plus tôt de 751, au plus tard de 758.

P.Vindob. Inv. G 31075
Arsinoïte

3,5 × 16 cm

751–58
Fig. 20

Fragment d'un coupon de papyrus de couleur brun clair, dont la marge supérieure ainsi que celles de gauche et de droite sont conservées. Le texte est écrit au moyen d'une belle cursive grecque qui témoigne d'une certaine expérience du scribe qui a rédigé le texte.

61. al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāt* [éd. R. Guest], p. 101–2 et 105–6.

↓ σὺν Θεῷ). Ἰαειε υἱὸς) Ηλᾶλ ὑπουργὸς) Ἀβδελεμ[ε]λ[ε]χ υἱὸς) Ἰσειδ συμβούλου

« Avec Dieu. Iaeie, fils de Hêlal, agent d'Abdelmelech, fils d'Iseid, le gouverneur. »

1 σὺν^β *pap.*, υἱ^ο *pap.* (2x), ὑπουργ^ο *pap.*

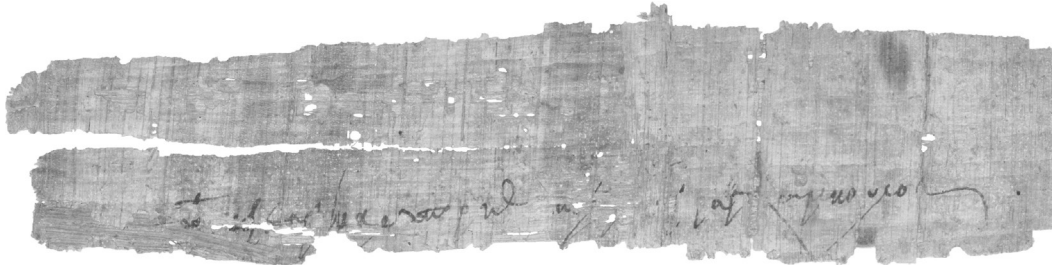


Fig. 20. *P.Christ.Musl.* 15

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- 4 ὑπουργός) Dans les textes grecs et coptes, ce terme est le plus souvent employé pour désigner des fonctionnaires de l'administration arabe (voir *CPR* 22.56.5, p. 269 ainsi que Förster 2002, 844). Un sauf-conduit, dont le formulaire est manifestement calqué sur celui des sauf-conduits arabes contemporains, montre que le terme est employé comme un strict équivalent du mot arabe *'āmil* : la clause finale des sauf-conduits arabes *fa-man laqiya-hu min 'ummāl al-'amīr* (« celui des agents de l'émir qui le rencontrera ») est rendue dans *Chrest. Wilck.* 24.5–6 ὅστις οὖν ὑπαν[τ]ήση αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὑπουργῶ[ν] τοῦ Ἰαμ[ρ]αλμ[ο]υμνὶν . . . (voir Gonis 2004, 190). Le terme *'āmil* désigne un pagarque à l'époque omeyyade et au début de l'époque abbasside, puis l'un des deux agents en charge des affaires fiscales dans chaque province (*kūra*) d'Égypte ; sur cette question, voir entre autres Reinfandt et Vanthieghem 2016, 356.

P.Christ.Musl. 16 : Lettre copte adressée à Yahyā b. Hilāl

La lettre copte publiée ici se trouve au recto d'un document grec publié par C. Wessely comme *SPP* 10.172. Du texte copte seules quelques phrases ont été éditées, par C. Wessely lui-même dans son édition du grec, puis par N. Gonis⁶². Le document paraît complet, même s'il y a çà et là quelques lacunes (ll. 5, 6, et 8) qui gênent la lecture. L'écriture est globalement bilinéaire, peu ligaturée et légèrement penchée à droite. Elle présente cependant quelques traits cursifs, notamment les ligatures λϵ et ϵι, et la forme du Η dans ψϵλϷΗ. Le Β est d'un module beaucoup plus grand que les autres lettres ; le ψ est écrit comme un ω et la barre oblique ajoutée après-coup. Il semble que l'écriture se fasse plus appliquée et moins cursive dans les deux lignes qui donnent le nom du pagarque et celui du gouverneur (ll. 3–5). La lettre, écrite en copte fayoumique, comporte les principales caractéristiques phonologiques de ce dialecte : lambdacisme (λϵΗ, δλΗΟΥ), vocalisme ϵ pour α (ϷϵϷ, ϷϷϵι, ΝϵΚ), δ pour ο (ϷδαιϷ, Τδψ, ϷδΟΥ), vocalisme ι de la finale non accentuée (ΚϵϷι, ΚΥΜι), phénomène d'apocope (Βδλ). La syntaxe ne présente

62. Gonis 2004, 189–90.

pas de fait notable, sinon la construction ΠΕ ΔΝΟΥΓΑΤΕΒ (l. 4), qu'il faut comprendre comme ΠΕΤΕ ΔΝΟΥΓΑΤΕΒ (cf. l. 7).

Fait exceptionnel, la lettre peut être précisément datée grâce à la mention des impôts de la douzième année de l'indiction et de l'année 140 de l'Hégire, c'est-à-dire de 758. La lettre est adressée au pagarque Yahyā b. Hilāl par deux de ses subordonnés, un certain Beliamin, fils de Pekōsh, le *lefpōshn* de Hōki, et le scribe Makari. Outre Yahyā lui-même, le document mentionne le gouverneur Mūsā b. Ka'b, en poste entre 758 et 759 (l. 4). En dehors de l'adresse interne qui occupe les cinq premières lignes, l'objet de la lettre est assez succinct : Beliamin et Makari, deux fonctionnaires de village, faisant suite à un ordre que le pagarque leur a adressé, informent Yahyā des sommes qu'ils ont collectées levée par levée et jour par jour et envoyées au *zygostatēs* Chaël. Il est difficile de comprendre quelle était la teneur de l'ordre initial du pagarque, compte tenu de la concision de l'expression et de la lacune de la l. 6. Il pourrait s'agir d'un *entagion*, mais l'emploi du parfait ΔΝΟΥΓΑΤΕΒ semble suggérer que les sommes ont déjà été versées et que le pagarque demande une précision les concernant. La brièveté de la lettre ainsi que sa fin (ΕΤΕ ΝΕΙ ΝΕ) donnent à penser que l'ordre accompagnait un document comptable contenant le détail des impôts versés. Au verso du document se trouve une note que nous interpréterions comme une note d'archivage.

La lettre a été réutilisée pour écrire une liste comportant le nom de deux *chōria* suivis d'anthroponymes (SPP 10.172). La récurrence des mêmes noms et l'absence de valeurs numériques invitent à voir dans ce document un exercice de chancellerie.

P.Vindob. Inv. G 12172 recto, verso
Arsinoïte

26,5 × 16,3 cm

758

Figs. 21, 22

r°

↓ (1^{re} main) † ΖΕΝ ΠΛΕΝ ΠΝΟΥΤΙ ΗΨΑΡΠ ΔΝΑΚ ΠΕ ΒΕΛΙΑΜΙΝ ΠΨΗ
ΝΠΕΩΨ ΠΛΕΒΨΩ Ν ΖΩΚΙ ΑΖΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΙ ΠΟΕΖ ΠΑ-
ΨΕΛΖΗ ΕΝΟΖΕΙ ΠΕΝΧΑΙΟ ΝΑΜΕΡΑ ΙΑΖΙΕ ΠΨΗ ΝΖΙΑΛΛ
ΠΑΤΑΡΧ(Ο) ΠΕΝΤΑΨ ΠΙΑΜ ΦΥΠΟΡΓΟΟ ΜΩΣΗ ΠΨΗ ΝΧΑΔΠ

5 ΠΧΗΜΠΟΛΟΟ ΠΚΕΖΙ ΚΥΜΙ ΧΕ ΕΠΙΤΗ ΔΠΕΝΧΑΙΟ Κ[ΕΛ-]
ΕΟΥΕΙ ΝΕΝ ΧΕ ΠΕ ΔΝΟΥΓΑΤΕΒ ΕΠΤΑΒΛΙΝ ΖΕ ΤΖ[3-4]
ΝΧΑΗΛ ΠΖΥΓΟ(ΣΤΑΤΗΟ) ΑΖΑ ΝΕΒΑΛΛΗΟΥ ΔΟΥΨ ΕΙ ΠΕΤΕ ΔΝΟΥΓΑΤΕΒ
ΕΠΤΑΒΛΙΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΒΛΙΝ ΑΖΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΖΑΟΥ [.] Ν [5-6]
ΒΑΛ ΝΕΚ ΖΕ ΝΕΔΗΜΟ(ΣΙΑ) Ι(Ν)Δ(ΙΚΤΙΟΝΟΟ) ΙΒ ΞΤΟΥ(Ο) ΡΜ ΕΤΕ ΝΕΙ ΝΕ † Ξγρ[± 5]

10 χ(ωρί) Ψκεω(ο)

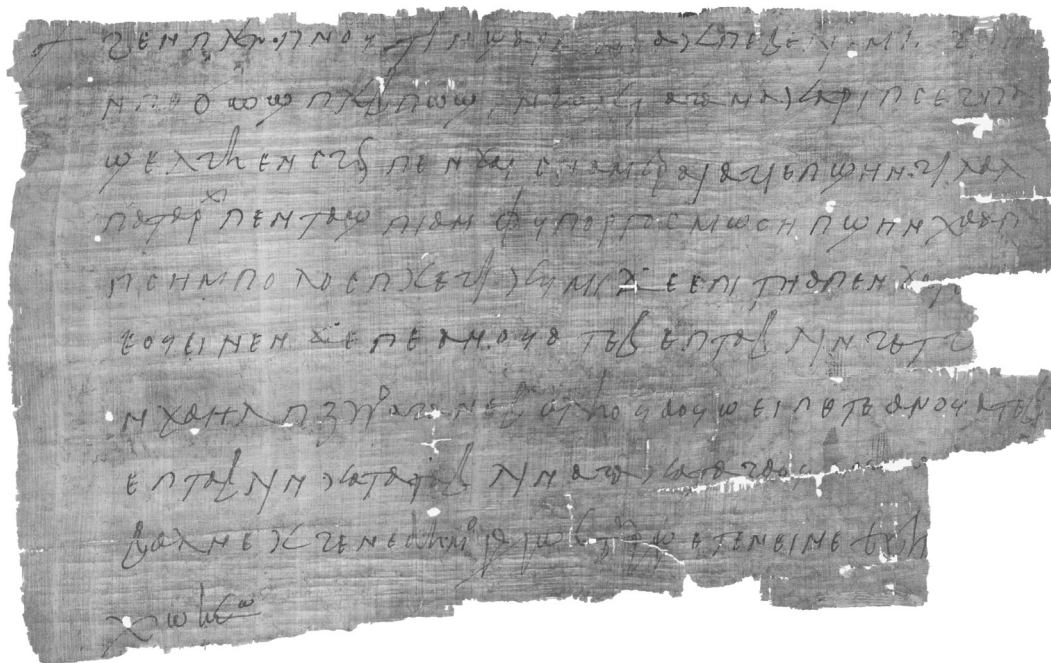
v° (tête-bêche) :

→ (2^{de} main) ἀπό χω(ρίου) Ψκεω(ο) (vacat) Αίγ(υ)π(τιακόν)

4 ΠΑΤΑΡΧ^x *pap.*, πάγαρχος, ύπουργός 5 σύμβουλος, έπειδή, κελεύειν 6 ΠΕ, l. ΠΕΤΕ^z, ταβλίον
7 ΖΥΓΟ^o *pap.*, ζυγοστάτης 8 κατά ταβλίον 9 δημ^o ιδ *pap.*, ετ^z *pap.* 10 χωκε^ω *pap.* 11 χ^ω *pap.*

« Au nom de Dieu d'abord. C'est moi, Beliamin, fils de Pekōsh, le *lefpōshn* de Hōki et Makari le scribe de . . . , nous écrivons à notre seigneur, l'émir Yahyā, fils de Hilāl, le pagarque de notre nome du Fayoum, l'agent de Mūsā, fils de Ka'b, le gouverneur de la terre d'Égypte. Notre seigneur nous a fait parvenir un ordre disant que ce que nous avons envoyé à la caisse locale du trésor public (*tablion*) est dans [. . .] de Chaël le *zygostatēs* et de ses collègues^z. Et voici ce que nous avons envoyé à la caisse locale du trésor public (*tablion*) levée par levée (*kata tablion*) et jour par jour (. . .) à toi pour les impôts de la 12^{me} année de l'indiction, année 140, c'est-à-dire ceux-ci. Écrit [. . .] du *chōrion* Hōkis.

(verso) Du *chōrion* Hōkis : . . . égyptien ».

Fig. 21. *P.Christ.Musl.* 16 r

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- 1 ΒΕΛΙΑΜΙΝ ΠΩΗ | ΝΠΕΔΩΨ ΠΛΕΒΠΩΨ Ν ΖΩΚΙ : Cette graphie du nom Benjamin se rencontre dans un autre document, *P.Ryl.Copt.* 217.13. On a ici une nouvelle attestation de la fonction villageoise de ΛΕΒΠΩΨΝ (ou ΛΕΜΠΩΨΝ) qui s'ajoute à la dizaine de mentions déjà connues (voir entre autres, *CPR* 4.18 ; *P.Mich.Copt.* 19 ; *BKU* 3.445.3). Ce titre, attesté uniquement en dialecte fayoumique, désigne un responsable de village, d'après les contextes d'emploi. Le terme apparaît quelquefois au pluriel, ce qui laisse penser que la fonction pouvait être collégiale (voir *CPR* 2.15.2–3 et *CPR* 4.205.2–3). Il est vraisemblablement l'équivalent des titres *ape* et *lashane* attestés en Moyenne et en Haute Égypte⁶³. Sur le papyrus, il y a un espace blanc avec une trace d'encre entre le Ψ et le Ν, dont on ne comprend pas bien la raison. Le scribe aurait-il voulu écrire ΠΛΕΒΠΩΨΝ Ν ΖΩΚΙ en omettant l'un des deux Ν ? Ou plutôt, le Ν- d'annexion étant régulièrement omis en dialecte fayoumique, ΠΛΕΒΠΩΨΕΝ ΖΩΚΙ ?
- 1–2 ⲁⲒⲁ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓ ⲠⲚⲉⲒ Ⲡⲁ|ΨⲉⲗⲒⲎ : La fonction du deuxième expéditeur de la lettre n'est pas claire et sa compréhension dépend de la façon dont on coupe la séquence ⲠⲚⲉⲒⲠⲁΨⲉⲗⲒⲎ. On doit probablement isoler le mot ⲚⲉⲒ (= S ⲚⲁⲒ) ; pour ce vocalisme du mot, rare en fayoumique, cf. *CPR* 4.1.12. Quant à ce qui suit, ⲠⲁΨⲉⲗⲒⲎ, on peut l'interpréter comme une indication d'origine, auquel cas deux personnes de localités différentes écriraient ensemble au pagarque, mais aucun toponyme de ce type n'est attesté. Par ailleurs un seul toponyme est mentionné dans la note du verso. On pourrait aussi voir dans ⲠⲁΨⲉⲗⲒⲎ une détermination du mot ⲚⲉⲒ, le terme ΨⲱⲗⲒ (« tracer une ligne, marquer, délimiter ») convenant bien pour le sens, mais beaucoup moins pour le vocalisme.
- 3–4 ΠΕΝΧΑΙϢ ΝΑΜΕΡⲁ ΙⲁⲒⲓⲈ ΠΩΗ ΝⲒΙⲁⲗⲗ | ΠⲁⲦⲁⲤΧ(ΟϢ) ΠΕΝⲦⲁΨ Πⲓⲁⲙ : Le terme πάγαρχος est orthographié fautivement ΠⲁⲦⲁⲤΧΟϢ ; pour une faute similaire, voir *P.Stras.Copt.* 12.6. Sur le titre arabe *amīr* — et ses translittérations grecque et copte — et

63. Garel 2020, 210–5.



Fig. 22. *P.Christ.Musl.* 16 v
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Nationalbibliothek,
Papyrussammlung

sa signification générique de « commandant », voir Morelli 2010, 158–59. Il est souvent employé seul en copte pour désigner le pagarque (*P.Ryl.Copt.* 115.6 ; 116.6), mais aussi des fonctionnaires situés à une échelle plus locale, particulièrement à Thèbes. La combinaison des deux titres, *amīr* et pagarque, ne se rencontre que dans quelques documents (*P.KRU* 50.3 ; *P.KRU* 70.3 et 106.5 emploient l'expression « *amīr* de la pagarchie »).

- 4–5 ΦΥΠΟΡΓΟΣ : Sur le terme grec ὑπουργός, cf. le commentaire *ad verbum* au texte précédent.

ΜΩΣΗ ΠΩΗ ΝΧΑΔΠ | ΠΧΗΜΠΟΛΟΣ ΠΚΕΖΙΚΥΜΙ : Mūsā b. Ka' b fut gouverneur d'Égypte entre août 758 et mars 759. Il est connu par une célèbre lettre arabe sur papyrus, qu'il adressa le 24 novembre 758 au roi nubien de Makurra pour se plaindre du mauvais traitement que deux de ses marchands avaient subi et du non-respect des termes du *baqt* (*P.HindsSakkoutNubia*). Il est également mentionné dans l'exercice d'écriture inédit P.Vindob. Inv. A.P. 2103⁶⁴ ainsi que dans le document administratif inédit, peut-être une quittance, P.Vindob. Inv. A.P. 489, qu'il adresse aux gens de Țarūt dans l'Hermopolite. Le terme σύμβουλος est le titre usuel pour désigner le gouverneur d'Égypte aussi bien dans les textes grecs que dans les textes coptes (cf. Morelli 2010), mais c'est la première fois qu'un texte précise qu'un gouverneur est σύμβουλος « de la terre d'Égypte » (ΠΚΕΖΙΚΥΜΙ).

- 5–6 ΕΠΙΤΗ ΔΠΕΝΧΔΙΟ Κ[ΕΛ] | ΕΟΥΕΙ ΝΕΝ ΧΕ : La restitution de Κ[ΕΛ] | ΕΟΥΕΙ n'est pas absolument certaine, mais appuyée par deux éléments : une trace d'encre est visible au-dessus de la lacune qui pourrait être la fin de la haste oblique supérieure du κ ; de plus, l'orthographe ΚΕΛΕΟΥΕΙ concorde avec la manière dont le scribe a écrit ΔΟΥΩ à la l. 8. Vu la construction générale de la lettre, la séquence introduite par ΕΠΙΤΗ n'est probablement pas une véritable subordonnée ; la conjonction sert simplement à marquer le rappel de la situation qui a mené à l'envoi de la présente lettre (ce que T. S. Richter appelle « recalling earlier events »⁶⁵). Le contrepoint et le sujet de la lettre arrivent à la l. 7 avec ΔΟΥΩ. Par ailleurs, vu l'emploi d'un parfait (ΔΝΟΥΔΤΕΒ) après ΧΕ, il est difficile de donner à ΚΕΛΕΟΥΕΙ le sens d'« ordonner ». On peut faire l'hypothèse que le sens du verbe, très courant dans les textes fayoumiques, s'est affaibli, ou qu'on l'emploie automatiquement quand il s'agit d'une notification venant d'un personnage de haut rang. Pour un tel usage, on comparera, par exemple, *CPR* 4.51.8–9 : ΡΔΨΙΔ ΠΩΕ ΝΧΑΛΕΔ ΠΕΥΕΚΛ[ΕΕΕΤ]ΔΤΟC [ΝΔ]ΜΙΡΔ ΝΤΙΠΟΛΙC ΤΔΙ | [ΨΜΟ]ΥΝ ΜΝ ΠΕΤΟΨ ΔΚΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΔΚΨΙ[ΝΕ] ΝCΔ ΠΖ[Ω]Β [ΝΤ]ΙCΕΤΙΩΖΕ⁶⁶ (« Rāšid b. Ḥalid, le gloriosissime émir de cette ville de Shmoun et du nome, a envoyé un ordre pour s'enquérir de l'affaire de cette aroure »). On pourra encore citer *CPR* 4.18, un document contenant la déclaration de cinq fonctionnaires de village (ΛΕΒΠΩΨΝ) qui certifient avoir agi selon les ordres de leur supérieur (ΔΙΕΙΛΙ ΚΔΤΔ ΘΗ ΝΤΔΠΑΧΔΕΙC ΚΕΛΕΥΙΝ, « j'ai agi comme mon maître me l'a ordonné »), où le verbe ΚΕΛΕΥΕΙΝ fait vraisemblablement référence à une circulaire du pagarque du Fayoum envoyée à ces responsables de village, que ces derniers devaient certifier avoir lue quand elle leur parvenait. Dans notre document, le verbe sert sans doute à introduire la citation d'une lettre, circulaire ou non, précédemment envoyée par le pagarque à Beliamin et à Makari (cf. Richter 2008, 764 : « Quoting earlier letters or personal communications »), dont le contenu est repris

64. Le texte est cependant trop chargé en écriture pour être publié de manière suivie. On y lit en tout cas les mots « au gouverneur Mūsā b. Ka' b » (*li-l- 'amīr Mūsā b. Ka' b*).

65. Richter 2008, 764.

66. Le premier éditeur avait lu ΡΔΨΙΔ ΠΩΕ ΝΧΑΛΕΔ ΠΕΥΕΚΛ[ΕΕΕΤ]ΔΤΟC [ΝΔ]ΜΙΡΔ ΝΤΙΠΟΛΙC ΔΙ[-] . Ν ΜΝ ΠΕΤΟΨ . . . , mais on distingue nettement sur la photographie disponible en ligne le *tau* du démonstratif ΤΔΙ ligaturé avec le sigma final du mot ΠΟΛΙC. Nous renvoyons pour ce texte à l'article de Nikolaos Gonis dans le présent volume, p. 127, n. 3.

au discours indirect, la première personne du pluriel renvoyant aux expéditeurs de la présente lettre.

- 6 ΠΕ ΔΝΟΥΧΤΕΒ ΕΠΤΑΒΛΙΝ : Il faut sans doute comprendre ΠΕΤΕ ΔΝΟΥΧΤΕΒ, comme à la l. 7. Le verbe ΟΥΩΤΕ est surtout employé dans les documents fayoumiques (cf. Crum 1939, 495), où il n'est pas rare qu'il ait ce sens technique d'« envoyer un versement » ; voir par exemple *P.Fay.Copt.* 23.7 : ΔΙΟΥΧΔΔΤΕ (νομίσματα) Ε ΕΤΠΩΛΙΟ, « j'ai envoyé 5 *nomismata* à la ville ». Si l'expression a le même sens qu'à la l. 7, nous comprenons que le pagarque leur a notifié que ce qu'ils avaient envoyé à la caisse était dans les mains (?) ou sous la responsabilité (?) du *zygostatès* et de ses collègues. Le sens exact de l'opération nous échappe, car en général le pagarque ne devait pas notifier ce genre d'opération, qui était la norme.

Le mot ταβλίον, et ses adaptations en copte (ΤΑΒΛΙΝ), désigne proprement la caisse locale du Trésor public (*sakella* / *bayt al-māl*) dans laquelle étaient d'abord versés les impôts, avant d'être transférés à Fustāt (cf. *P.Lond.* 4, p. 232, n. 4). Il est attesté dans cette acception dans quatre livres de compte d'Aphroditō du début du VIII^e siècle, *P.Lond.* 4.1420.4 et 157, 1421.6, 1423.1, 1481.1, où figure toujours la même expression : γί(νεται) τὰ ὀφείλ(οντα) ἀνυσθ(ῆναι) (καί) κ(ατα)βλ(η)θ(ῆναι) εἰς τ(ὸ) ταβλίον νο(μίσματα) Χ, (« Total des sommes qui doivent être perçues et versées au *tablion* : Χ *nomismata* »). C'est dans cette acception qu'il faut comprendre les rares occurrences du mot ταβλίον en copte (*pace* Förster 2002, 791, qui le traduit par « Liste, Brettchen ») ; cf. *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 1.52.5 et *SB Kopt.* 2.882, où il est question d'envoyer quelque chose au *tablion*, (cf. ll. 4–5 ΨΑΒΟΥΧΤΕΩ ΕΠΤΑΒΛΙΝ). La documentation copte conserve également un mot ΤΑΒΛΑ que H. Förster traduit par « document écrit sur tablette ou étiquette de momie » (cf. Förster 2002, 791). Il s'agit cependant d'une variante du mot *tablion*, comme le montre *P.Ryl.Copt.* 322, une lettre relative à la collecte des impôts dans les villages, où il est question de « trouver le loisir de venir chez quelqu'un et de trouver le loisir (d'aller) jusqu'à la *tabla* » (l. 4 : . . ΔΝ ΟΡΒΕ ΝΕΙ ΝΑΚ ΕΙΝΔΑΝ ΟΡΒΕ ΨΑ ΤΤΑΒΛΑ) ; plus loin l'expéditeur de la lettre précise « car ce pour quoi tu es en défaut dans la *tabla*, je ne cesserai pas de te bander les deux yeux jusqu'à ce que j'aie été payé par toi »⁶⁷ (l. 7 : ΕΠΙ ΠΕΤΕΨΑΚΨΩΩΤ ΝΜΟΚ ΖΗ ΤΤΑΒΛΑ ΜΕΙΛΟ ΕΙΤΙ ΜΑΚΛΑΒΙΝ ΕΠΕΚΒΑΛ ΟΝΔΥ ΨΑΝΤΙΠΛΗΡΟΥ ΝΜΟΚ). La variante ΤΑΒΛΑ apparaît avec le même sens dans *P.Ryl.Copt.* 401.8.

- 6–7 ΖΕ ΤΖ[3–4] | ΝΧΑΗΛ ΠΖΥΓΟ(ΟΤΑΤΗΟ) ΔΖΔ ΝΕΒΑΛΗΟΥ : Sur la fonction de ζυγιστάτης, voir Gonis 2000, 182, comm. à la l. 1. À l'époque arabe, il joue un rôle important dans la perception des impôts : il doit, entre autres choses, indiquer les montants à payer pour la capitation dans les pagarchies comme dans les villes (cf. *P.Bal.* 287). Voir aussi Roger Rémondon, *P.Apoll.* 83, l. 1, à propos du village d'Aphroditō : « la κώμη, par l'intermédiaire du pagarque, verse les taxes entre leurs mains, et eux-mêmes remettent ces contributions au Trésor (. . .). Ils apparaissent donc (. . .) comme des trésoriers-payeurs, relevant, contrôlant et transmettant les recettes ».

Le sens de ΝΕΒΑΛΗΟΥ pose problème. En principe ΔΛΗΟΥ (S ΕΡΗΥ) est employé pour former le pronom réciproque (Crum 1935, 59a). On peut lui donner un sens de possessif, « les siens » (d'où « ses collègues » ?), bien que tous les exemples suivent un verbe, ce qui n'est pas le cas ici. Voir cependant *CPR* 4.182.5–6 : ΔΖΔ ΝΕΨ ΤΕΝΙ ΒΑΛ ΕΠΕΝΑΛΗΟΥ ΝΨΕ ΙΝΕΖ ΕΝΕΝΕΖ ΔΖΔ ΠΕΤΕΙ ΒΑΛ ΕΠΕΝΑΛΗΟΥ ΕΒΕΤΙ ΔΡΙΘ(ΜΙΔ) ΙΒ, « et il ne nous sera pas permis de nous attaquer l'un l'autre, jamais, et celui qui at-

67. W. E. Crum traduisait « jusqu'à ce que je te le paie » ; le sens de l'expression « je ne cesserai pas de te bander les deux yeux » reste obscur.

taquera l'un d'entre nous devra payer 12 (*nomismata*) de compte ». Le premier emploi a clairement un sens réciproque, le sens du deuxième emploi est moins évident ; on pourrait l'interpréter comme un possessif : « l'un des nôtres ».

- 8 ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΒΛΙΝ ΔΩΔ ΚΑΤΑ ΖΑΟΥ : L'expression ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΒΛΙΝ ne se trouve dans aucun document publié, mais L. Stern mentionne un texte de Berlin, un contrat relatif à un certain Théodôre, dont il ne donne pas le numéro d'inventaire, et dans lequel une somme d'argent est dite avoir été enregistrée ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΒΛΙΝ ΨΑΝΤΕ ΤΕΒΛΑΜΠΙ . . . « selon le *tablion* jusqu'à ce que son année (soit écoulée) » (cf. Stern 1885, 34, dans le commentaire au texte n° IV [=SB *Kopt.* 2.882]). Le mot ΤΑΒΛΙΝ ne peut pas avoir le sens de « caisse locale du Trésor public » comme plus haut. Nous nous demandons s'il ne s'agit pas d'une réinterprétation du mot arabe *ṭabl*, lui-même emprunté au grec ταβλίον, dont le sens de « levée » tire sans doute son origine d'une confusion avec le mot grec (κα)ταβολή. L'expression ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΒΛΙΝ ΔΩΔ ΚΑΤΑ ΖΑΟΥ signifierait donc « par levée et par jour » ou « levée par levée et jour par jour ».
- 9–10 ἐγρ[± 5] χ(ωρί) ὠκεω(ς) : N. Gonis proposait de lire, au lieu du toponyme, un mois et un quantième : [Πα] | χω(ν) κε (cf. Gonis 2004, 190). Cette lecture nous paraît difficile en raison du ω qui surmonte le ε, ainsi que de la note du verso. On pourrait, *exempli gratia*, envisager une restitution ἐγρ[(ἀφ)η μ(η)νι x x ἐν] χ(ωρίω) ὠκεω(ς). Il existe deux autres attestations du χ(ωρίον) ὠκεω(ς) dans l'Arsinoïte : SB 6.9583.3 et 14 (liste fiscale du nome arsinoïte) ; SPP 10.169 verso. 5 (document en lien avec la fiscalité, 761). Même si l'on ne connaît pas la localisation précise de ce village, ces documents suggèrent qu'il se trouvait dans le sud Fayoum, non loin de la ville moderne d'al-Gharaq.
- 11 ἀπὸ χω(ρίου) ὠκεω(ς) (*vacat*) Αἰγ(υ)π(τιακόν) : La note du verso, dont le tracé est plus généreux, a manifestement été exécutée par une autre main. Il s'agit vraisemblablement d'une note d'archive indiquant que la lettre vient du *chôrion* de Hôkis et est écrite en copte. Une mention comparable se trouve dans SB 3.7240, un firman du duc de Thébaïde daté du 17 octobre 697, qui porte au verso une note : ΖΥΛΗΝΙΚΟΝ (Ἑλληνικόν), « grec ». L'éditeur de ce document, H. I. Bell, suggérait que la note aurait pu avoir pour fonction de distinguer le document d'une copie arabe. Cette hypothèse paraît moins vraisemblable dans le cas de notre lettre, puisqu'il ne s'agit pas d'un courrier officiel adressé par un fonctionnaire de haut rang comme dans SB 3.7240.

***P.Christ.Musl.* 17 : Rappel à l'ordre adressé par Maymūn b. Ka'b à un contribuable**

Coupon de couleur brun clair. Le document semble complet, même si sa surface est fortement abrasée. L'écriture est tracée perpendiculairement aux fibres. Elle est globalement bilinéaire, avec des lettres de plus grands modules (notamment le Β, parfois le Κ). Le nom de l'expéditeur et l'*origo* du destinataire, ainsi que la date finale sont écrits en grec, avec un net changement de style d'écriture. Le document est rédigé en dialecte fayoumique. Le verso est vierge.

Ce document est mentionné par J. Krall dans son édition de CPR 2.122 (= CPR 4.22c) et par N. Gonis⁶⁸. La nature du document est difficile à saisir ; il a souvent été considéré comme un *entagion*, mais il n'en est pas réellement un : son formulaire ne partage rien, ou si peu, avec les ordres de paiement connus. Le document mentionne cependant par deux fois des ordres de paiement, que le pagarque a fait parvenir au contribuable, et une fois un reçu que ce même

68. Gonis 2009, 208.

contribuable devra recevoir du collecteur local des impôts. Nous y verrions plutôt une forme de rappel à l'ordre : le pagarque a par deux fois envoyé un *entagion* au contribuable pour lui indiquer le montant de la capitation (*diagraphon*) dont il devait s'acquitter, mais, celui-ci n'ayant pas donné suite, Maymūn b. Ka' b revient à la charge en lui demandant de payer ce qu'il doit. Le *vacat* du début de la l. 2 suggère que le nom du destinataire avait été laissé blanc et qu'il s'agit d'un formulaire prérempli dont certaines informations, comme le montant et le nom du contribuable, étaient ajoutées *a posteriori* ⁶⁹. Il est remarquable que le terme emprunté au grec πιττάκιον, qui se rapprochait sans doute phonétiquement en copte du mot ἐντάγιον précédé de l'article masculin (ΠΕΝΤΑΓΙΟΝ), prend deux acceptions dans notre texte ⁷⁰. Il désigne aux ll. 5 et 8–9 proprement un « ordre de paiement », tandis qu'à la l. 6, il est employé dans le sens de « reçu » ou de « quittance ».

P.Vindob. Inv. K 44
Arsinoïte

16,5 × 11,8 cm

21 mars 762
Fig. 23

† σὺν Θ(εῶ) Μαίμουν υἱὸ(ς) Χαπ̄ ΕΒCΖΕΙ ΕΛΕΤΒ
(*vacat*) ἀπὸ χ(ωρίου) Πελκε() ΧΕ ΖΕΙ ΠΕ-
ΤΕ ΔΚΤΑΖΑΒ... [± 5]..

[ΜΔ]ἠ² ΔΙΟΥΔΑΝΖΟΥ ΒΑΛ ΕCΔΠ ΕCΝΑ[Υ]

5 [Τ]ΕΚΠΙΤΑΚΙ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΙ ΠΕ Δ(ο)θ(έν) διάγρα(φον)
ΤΙ ΝΠCΕΖ ΧΙ ΤΕΚΠΙΤΑΚΙ
ΜΔΝ ΜΕCΤΕΙ ΛΑΥΕΙ ΛΑΚ ΠΔΡ[Δ]
ΠΕΤΕΨΔΚΙΤΒ ΖΕ ΤΕΚΠΙΤΑ-
ΚΙ ΖΕ ΠΟΥΨ ΕΠΝΟΥΤΙ †

10 (*vacat*) ἐγρ(άφη) μ(ηνι) Φαμ(ενω)θ κε ινδ(ικτίωνος) α.

1 σὺν^θ *rap.*, υἱ^ο *rap.* 2 ἀπο^λ πελκε^ε *rap.* 3 l. ΔΒΤΔΖΔΚ ? 5 πιττάκιον, δ^θ διάγρα^α *rap.* 6 πιττάκιον 7 παρά 8 l. ΠΕΤΕΨΔΚΙΤΒ ? 8–9 πιττάκιον 10 εγρ̄ μ̄ φαρμ^θ ινδ̄ *rap.*

« Avec Dieu, Maymūn, fils de Ka' b, écrit à (*vacat*) du *chōrion* de Pelke . . . : voici ce qui t'a été assigné (. . .) je les ai fait apparaître deux fois (dans) ton *pittakion*, c'est-à-dire le *diagraphon* donné. Paie au scribe et prends ton *pittakion*. Du reste, tu ne me dois rien au-delà de ce que tu trouveras dans ton *pittakion*, par la volonté de Dieu. Écrit le 25 Phamenôth de la 1^{ère} année de l'indiction. »

- 1 Μαίμουν υἱὸ(ς) Χαπ̄ : La lettre finale du patronyme, traversée d'un long trait oblique, est écrite de la même manière dans le document *P.Christ.Musl.* 18. On pourrait y voir soit un bêta, soit un pi. Dans la première hypothèse, la barre oblique s'explique cependant difficilement. Nous préférons la seconde lecture où la barre oblique constituerait la barre transversale d'un pi minuscule : pareille graphie du pi est attestée dans le nom Apakyros mentionné dans *SB* 20.14582.5 (le nom en question avait été lu ἄπ(α) Πακύ(σιος) par le premier éditeur et a été corrigé tout récemment dans *Gonis* 2019, n° 5).

69. Sur ce phénomène, voir *Gonis* 2009, 197–99.

70. Le sens de ce terme n'est pas bien fixé dans les documents coptes, comme le soulignait déjà Anne Boud'hors : « πιττάκιον is a puzzling word : of its various meanings in Greek (tablet for writing, ticket, receipt, list, written message), Coptic seems to have kept the sense of “message” (this is the case of the Fayyumic attestation and of a Sahidic text from Antinoe), while two texts from Deir Balaizah may well have a more technical sense (something like “account” or “list”) » (Boud'hors 2017, 426).

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several lines of ancient Greek text. The text is written in a cursive hand and is partially obscured by damage and tear marks. The visible text includes:

ὁ ἀποστόλος ἰσχυρῶς ἐβίβλη
ἐπισημασθέντων τῶν
ἰσχυρῶν
ἰσχυρῶν καὶ τῶν
ἰσχυρῶν καὶ τῶν
ἰσχυρῶν καὶ τῶν
ἰσχυρῶν καὶ τῶν
ἰσχυρῶν καὶ τῶν

Fig. 23. P.Christ.Musl. 17

Copyright: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung

- 1–2 ΕΒCΖΕΙ ΕΛΕΤΒ | (*vacat*) ἀπὸ χ(ωρίου) Πελκε() : Il faut voir dans ΕΛΕΤΒ la forme fayoumique de la conjonction ΕΡΑΤΙ (S), qui introduit le nom du destinataire laissé en blanc ; voir à titre de comparaison *SBKopt.* 2.941.1, où l'adverbe est effectivement suivi d'un anthroponyme : ΕΙCΖΕΙ ΕΛΕΤΙ ΠΠΙΑΚΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ ΔΔΔ ΝΕΛΕΜ ΠΚΕΛΟΛ, « (...) écrit au diacre Ména et aux hommes de Pkelol ». Quant à la résolution de l'abréviation du nom de la localité, elle n'est pas évidente. On pourrait y reconnaître la localité de Πελεκήσις (voir Timm 1984–92, I, 430–31), ou le village de Κερκεσουχα, dont on aurait une forme grecque tirée du nom copte ΠΕΛΔΕCΟΟΚ ou de sa transcription arabe Bulḡusūq (voir Timm 1984–92, 1884–85 ; Peust, 2010, 30). Les deux toponymes sont situés dans l'ancienne *meris* d'Hérakleïdès et il est difficile de choisir entre l'un ou l'autre. Le seul argument qui plaiderait en faveur du second réside dans le fait de nombreux documents arabes y ont été mis au jour (cf. entre autres *P.Cair.Arab.* 2.105–12). À l'époque d'al-Nabulsī (1192–1262), le village de Bulḡusūq était une grande et belle bourgade où se trouvait une grande mosquée ainsi que les ruines d'une église. L'auteur notait qu'on n'y trouvait que quelques palmiers ainsi qu'un sycomore ; voir Salmon 1901, 70–71.
- 3–4 ΖΕΙ ΠΕ|ΤΕ ΔΚΤΔΖΔΒ : On a sans doute ici l'équivalent de l'expression traditionnelle des ordres de paiement ΝΔΙ ΝΕ ΝΤΑCΤΔΖΟΚ ΜΜΟΟΥ (par exemple dans *P.Ryl.Copt.* 117.3), « voici ce qui t'a été assigné ». Le verbe ΤΔΖΟ est attesté avec une diathèse active au sens de « payer », cf. *PKRU* 70.44 : ΕΙΤΔΖΟ ΝΨΟΜΤΕ ΝΚΕΡΑΤΙΝ ΕΔΔΜΙΑΝΟC, « j'ai payé trois *keratia* à Damianos ». La construction de ce verbe est d'ailleurs sujette à des variations, comme le montre *P.Ryl.Copt.* 331.3–4 : ΔΙΧΟΟΥCΙ ΝΑΚ ΤΕΠΕΚΝΑ ΤΔΖΟΝ ΕΠΠΙΟΥ ΝΖΟΛΟΚ(Ο)Τ(ΤΙΝΟC), « je l'ai envoyé pour que ta charité nous paie cinq *holokottinoi* ». S'il s'agit bien ici d'un rappel à l'ordre à un contribuable qui n'a pas payé, il est difficile de comprendre « voici ce que tu as payé ». On peut alors faire l'hypothèse d'une confusion entre le sujet et l'objet du verbe et lire ΔΒΤΔΖΔΚ (le rédacteur s'est d'ailleurs aussi vraisemblablement trompé à la l. 8 en écrivant ΠΕΤΕΨΔΙΔΙΤΒ au lieu de ΠΕΤΕΨΔΚΙΤΒ). La construction générale est comparable à celle du document *P.Christ.Musl.* 16.7–8 : ΔΟΥΨ ΕΙ ΠΕΤΕ ΔΝΟΥΔΤΕΒ | ΕΠΤΔΒΛΙΝ, « et voici ce que nous avons envoyé au *tablion* ».
- 4 ΔΙΟΥΔΝΖΟΥ ΒΔΔ : Même expression que *CPR* 4.22b.3 (ΔΙΟΥΔΝΖΟC ΒΔΔ ΝΗΤΝ), qui est aussi un ordre de pagarque (CΙΓΓΕΛΙΝ), bien que le texte soit très lacunaire.
- 6 ΧΙ ΤΕΚΠΙΤΔΚΙ : Pour une formulation similaire, cf. *BKU* 3.340.3 : ΝΚΧΙ ΠΕCΙΕΝΤΔΚΗΝ ΝΤΟΟΤΙ (« et reçois sa quittance de sa part » ; noter qu'ici et dans les deux exemples suivants, le mot ἐντάγιον prend le sens de reçu) ; *BKU* 3.506.15 : ΧΙ ΝΙΕΝΤΔΓΙΟΝ ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ, « et reçois deux les reçus » ; ainsi que *P.Clackson* 45. 18 : ΧΙ ΕΝΤΔΓΙΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕCΒΟΥΛΙΖΕ ΝΤΕCΙΒΟΥΛΔΔ (« reçois pour eux une quittance scellée de son sceau »). L'expression se trouve également en grec, par exemple dans les *entagia SPP* 8.1195.4 : δώσατε (καί) λάβα(τε) ἀπόδ(ειξι)ν (« donnez et recevez une quittance ») et *CPR* 22.7.5 : (καί) λάβε ἐξ αὐτ(οῦ) ἀπόδ(ειξι)ν (« et reçois de sa part une quittance »), ainsi que *SB* 28.17257.5–6. Les autorités arabes semblent avoir insisté lourdement pour qu'un reçu fût délivré à tout contribuable qui s'était acquitté de ses taxes : ainsi l'*Histoire des patriarches* (éd. B. Evetts), III, 74 rapporte-t-elle que le calife Hišām (r. 724–43) « ordonna qu'une quittance fût donnée à toute personne qui se serait acquittée des impôts afin que nul ne fût victime d'injustice et qu'aucune injustice ne survînt dans son royaume » (*tumma 'inna Hišām kataba 'ilā Miṣr ya'mur bi-'anna tudfa' li-kull-man yazan al-ḥarāḡ barā'a bi-smi-hi ḥattā lā yuzlam 'aḥad wa-la yakūn fī mamlakati-hi zulm*).
- 7–9 ΜΔΝ ΜΕΕΤΕΙ ΛΔΥΕΙ ΛΔΚ ΠΔΡ[Δ] | ΠΕΤΕΨΔΙΔΙΤΒ ΖΕ ΤΕΚΠΙΤΔ|ΚΙ : Il faut voir ici l'expression de la dette contenue dans la préposition Ε- (cf. Albarran et Boud'hors 2015,

187, ll. 8–10), sous sa forme pronominale apocopée $\lambda\lambda\kappa$ ($S \epsilon\rho\kappa$), et dans $M\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$ une forme de l'expression de la non appartenance ($S \mu\eta\tau\lambda\iota$), littéralement « je n'ai plus rien chez toi », d'où « tu ne me dois plus rien ». Vient ensuite la même formule que dans *P.Clackson* 45.21–22 : $\lambda\mu\omicron\gamma \eta\lambda\iota \dots \mu\mu\lambda\iota \delta\gamma \epsilon\rho\kappa \epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon \pi\epsilon\kappa\omega\delta\kappa\alpha\iota\eta\eta\epsilon\iota \eta\lambda\iota \zeta\mu \pi\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\eta$, « viens à moi (s'il) te (demande) plus que ce que tu trouveras dans ton *entagion* » ; *P.Bal.* 130 App 1.7 (= *P.Lond.* 1.440) : $\chi\epsilon\eta \eta\eta\epsilon\kappa\tau\iota \lambda\lambda\delta\gamma \pi\alpha\rho\alpha \tau\epsilon\kappa\pi\iota\tau\tau\alpha\kappa(\iota\omicron\eta)$, « afin que tu ne paies rien en dehors de ton *pittakion* » (de même dans *P.Bal.* 130 App 2.3, où le mot est masculin) ; voir aussi *P.Ryl.Copt.* 119.5–6 : $\epsilon\gamma\omega\delta\alpha\eta\alpha\mu\alpha\zeta\epsilon \mid \lambda\delta\tau\epsilon\iota\pi\iota\tau\tau\alpha\gamma\eta$, où il faut lire $\pi\alpha\rho\lambda\delta \tau\epsilon\iota\pi\iota\tau\tau\alpha\gamma\eta$.

P.Christ.Musl. 18 : Ordre du pagarque du Fayoum Maymūn b. Ka'ab

Le papyrus est de couleur brun clair. Seule la partie droite du document est conservée. Les marges supérieure et inférieure ainsi que celle de droite sont préservées. Le texte est écrit parallèlement aux fibres sur le recto. Le verso, anépigraphé, porte des traces de bandes foncées, probablement d'origine végétale. L'écriture est exercée et présente peu de ligatures. Elle est globalement bilinéaire, même si certaines lettres (ϵ , ι , ω) se prolongent loin au-dessus ou en-dessous de la ligne et que d'autres présentent un module plus ample (voir les β et les κ). La date et la liste finale sont écrites en grec. Le texte est rédigé en dialecte fayoumique.

Cette lettre circulaire, adressée par le pagarque aux autorités de trois villages du Fayoum et de sa capitale Arsinoé, a été publiée une première fois par J. Krall (*CPR* 2.122), puis éditée sommairement par W. Till, mais sous une forme tellement ramassée qu'il nous a paru utile de revenir sur ce texte, dont la lecture peut être affinée en maints endroits, et d'en proposer ici une nouvelle édition commentée. Le texte commence par une invocation à Dieu (l. 1) suivie immédiatement des titres et qualités de Maymūn, fils de Ka'ab. Vient ensuite le message dont la compréhension générale est fortement gênée par une lacune. Le document, qualifié de *sigillion*, se termine par la formule $[\epsilon\pi\eta\eta\omicron]\gamma\tau\iota \omicron\gamma\omega\omega$, immédiatement suivie d'une date. Après l'indiction, la chancellerie du pagarque a joint une liste, écrite en grec, pour récapituler le nombre de personnes concernées par son ordre dans quatre lieux du Fayoum. Quatre personnes devront venir du village de Tebetnu, quatre d'Arsinoé tandis que deux autres villages devront fournir respectivement deux et trois hommes. Ce sont en tout treize personnes que le pagarque demande de lui envoyer ; ce nombre est indiqué, après un *vacat*, dans le résumé qui se trouve au bas du papyrus et qui devait être à l'origine, comme il est usuel, scellé⁷¹. La mention de la ville portuaire de Klysmā (l. 10), d'où partaient les expéditions navales arabes en mer Rouge, d'un *pistikos*, dont une des fonctions consistait à encadrer les équipages réquisitionnés pour le *cursus* ou les travailleurs des arsenaux, ainsi que d'une série de treize hommes, invite à penser que notre texte concernait une réquisition par l'administration arabe d'hommes destinés à prendre part aux opérations militaires de l'empire ou à travailler dans les chantiers navals.

P.Vindob. K 1281 (= *CPR* 4.22c)

24,4 × 6,5 cm

23 octobre 763

Arsinoïte

Fig. 24

→ $[\dagger \zeta\epsilon \pi\lambda\epsilon\eta\eta] \pi\eta\eta\omicron\gamma\tau\iota \mu\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\gamma\eta\eta$
 $[\pi\omega\eta \eta]\chi\alpha\lambda\pi \pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\rho\chi(\omicron\omicron)$
 $[\pi\tau\alpha\omega \pi]\iota\alpha\mu \epsilon\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\iota \eta\epsilon\tau\iota-$

71. Voir Delattre et Vanthieghem 2016, 118.

- [ΜΙ ΕΤ]ΔΥΓΑΩ ΠΑΚΙΓΓΕΛΙ
 5 [ΧΕ ΖΗ ΤΟ]ΥΝΟΥ ΝΩΔΤΗΕΔΩ
 [ΠΑΚΙΓΓΕ]ΛΙ ΔΝΕΥ ΝΕΙΛΩΜΙ
 [.....] ΜΔΥ ΖΙΧΩ ΤΗΝΟΥ
 [.....] μακα() ΠΙΣΤΙΚΟΣ
 [.....] ΙΤΗΕΙΖΕ ΕΒΙ-
 10 [ΤΟΥ ΝΒ]ΤΑΥΑΥ ΠΚΛΟΥΣΜΑ
 [ΕΠΗΟ]ΥΤΙ ΟΥΩΩ. ἔγράφ(φη) μ(ηνι) Φαω(φι) κε ι(ν)δ(ικτίωνος) β
 [..... ὄν](όματα) β (*vacat*) χ(ωρίου) Τεβέτνυ ὄν(όματα) δ
 [..... ὄν(όματα)] γ (*vacat*) πόλεως δ
 (*vacat*)
 [γί(νεται) ὄν](όματα) ιγ

1 [† ΖΕ ΠΛΕΝ] : *om. ed.* 2 πάγαρχος, [ΠΩΗ Ν]ΧΑΔΠ ΠΑΓΑΡΧ(ΟC) : [-] χαδά ΠΑΓΑΡΧ^x *ed.*
 3 [ΠΤΑΩ Π]ΙΑΜ : [- Π]ΙΑΜ *ed.* 3-4 ΝΕΤΙ|[ΜΙ ΕΤ]ΔΥΓΑΩ : ΝΕΤΙ [-]ΥΔΩ *ed.* 4 σιγίλλιον
 5 [ΧΕ ΖΗ ΤΟ]ΥΝΟΥ : [- ΤΟ]ΥΝΟΥ *ed.* 6 ΚΙΓΓΕΛΙ *pap.*, σιγίλλιον 8 μακ^ς *pap.*, μακάριος,
 πιστικός 9-10 [5/6] ΙΤΗΕΙΖΕ ΕΒΙ|[ΤΟΥ ΝΒ]ΤΑΥΑΥ : [-]ΥΤ ΝΕΙΖΕΕΒΙ | [-]ΤΑΥΑΥ *ed.*
 11 ἔγρ^ς μ' φ^α *pap.*, ιδ^ς *pap.*, [ΕΠΗΟ]ΥΤΙ ΟΥΩΩ : [-] ΤΙΟΥΩΩ *ed.* 12 χ *pap.*, ον' *pap.*, ὄν(όματα)
 δ : ° Δ *ed.* 14 [γί(νεται) ὄν](όματα) ιγ : [-]ΙΓ *ed.*

« Au nom de Dieu. Maymūn, fils de Ka‘b, pagarque du nome du Fayoum, écrit aux villages qui auront lu mon ordre. Au moment où vous lirez mon ordre, veuillez à ce que ces hommes? (. . .) sur vous (. . .) Makarios? *pistikos* (. . .) de les prendre en charge pour les envoyer à Klysmā, si Dieu le veut. Écrit le 25 Phaophi de la 2^{ème} indiction. (. . .) : 2 personnes ; du *chôrion* de Tebetny : 4 personnes ; (. . .) : 3 personnes ; de la ville : 4 personnes. Total : 13 personnes. »

- 1-2 ΜΑΙΜΟΥΝ | [ΠΩΗ Ν]ΧΑΔΠ : On notera la forme particulière du pi, traversé par une ligne oblique. Le nom est écrit de la même manière (avec un seul Δ) dans le document *P.Christ.Musl.* 17.1. S'agirait-il de la même main dans les deux documents ?
 3-4 ΕΒCΖΕΙ ΝΕΤΙ|[ΜΙ ΕΤ]ΔΥΓΑΩ ΠΑΚΙΓΓΕΛΙ: Cette restitution s'appuie sur *BKU* 3.445, une lettre circulaire du pagarque similaire à notre document, adressée aux (chefs de) villages de sa circonscription : † ΖΗ ΠΛΕΝ ΠΝΟΥΤ Ι[-]| ΠΑΓΑΡΧ(ΟC) ΠΤΑΩ ΠΙΑΜ [ΕΒCΖΕΙ ΝΛΕC] | ΠΩΘΕΝ ΝΕΤΙΜΙ ΝΙ[Μ? ΕΤ]ΟΥΔΩ ΠΑCΙΝΓΕΛΛΙ ΜΕ ΝΕΛΑΝΕΙΖ ΕΤΕ . . . [Ε]| ΤΟΥΔΩ ΠΑCΙΝΚΕΛΛΕ <Μ>ΠΕΛΚΕΕΒ Ζ [-], « Au nom de Dieu, [*nom*], pagarque du nome du Fayoum, écrit aux *lefrôshn* de tous les villages qui lisent mon ordre et les (. . .) qui lisent mon ordre : ne laissez pas . . . » (pour d'autres exemples de circulaires émanant de pagarques dans l'Hermopolite, cf. Berkes 2017, 234-37). Au vu des traces, il n'est pas possible de restituer la même forme verbale ΕΤΟΥΔΩ que dans *BKU* 3.445, forme de relatif d'ailleurs inhabituelle avec expression du pronom sujet. C'est pourquoi nous proposons une forme de parfait relatif avec un sens de futur antérieur, « qui auront lu ».

Toutes les attestations du mot grec σιγίλλιον au sens de « mandat », « ordre » (ou de « laissez-passer ») sont répertoriées par F. Morelli dans *CPR* 22.1.4.

- 5 [ΧΕ ΖΗ ΤΟ]ΥΝΟΥ ΝΩΔΤΗΕΔΩ : Pour la restitution, voir le parallèle qu'offre *CPR* 4.22b.4. On remarquera la forme ΩΔΤΗΕ- pour ΩΔΤΕΤΗ-, plutôt caractéristique des textes de Moyenne-Égypte (cf. *P.Bala'izah*, p. 163-65).
 8 μακα() ΠΙΣΤΙΚΟΣ : S'il s'agit bien du nom Makarios ici, le scribe l'a écrit en style grec et de manière abrégée, comme souvent quand le terme est employé comme adjectif dans les souscriptions.

Les πιστικοί sont attestés dans les documents de l'époque arabe dans le contexte des réquisitions : l'une de leurs fonctions consistait à accompagner les cargaisons et les équipages qui devaient embarquer pour les expéditions militaires arabes ; sur cette question, voir Gasco 1979, 88 ainsi que le commentaire à CPR 22.54.7 et CPR 25.30.4.

- 9 [. . . .] .! TNEEIQE : Cette séquence n'est pas claire, mais doit être une qualification quelconque du *pistikos* et/ou un verbe qui gouverne EBITOY.
- 9–10 EBII [TOY NB] TAYAY PKLOYCMA : Les mentions de Klysmā dans les textes coptes sont relativement rares : *P.KRU* 68.41 (testament, Thèbes VIII^e) ; *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.1090.17 et 21, un compte de dépenses (*dianomē*) enregistrées à Babylone. Ce port, d'où partaient les expéditions navales arabes en mer Rouge, est cependant fréquemment attesté dans les papyrus grecs (voir *P.Lond.* 4, p. xxxii–xxxv).
- 11 [EBINO]YTI OYΩY : Ce type de précaution oratoire est courant dans les lettres de toutes les régions (voir *O.Frange*, vol. 2, p. 71). La formule usuelle est cependant ZM ΠΟΥΩY ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ (on pourra comparer avec la formule qui apparaît à la fin du document *P.Christ.Musl.* 17.9 : ZE ΠΟΥΩY EBINOYTI, « par la volonté de Dieu »). La tournure conditionnelle que prend la formule dans notre document s'explique sans doute par une contamination avec la formule arabe *'in šā llāh*, dont elle serait le calque.
- 14 [YI(NEAI) O]Y(OYATA) IY : Nous devons cette correction à Fritz Mitthof, que nous remercions vivement. Le grand espace vide laissé entre la fin du texte proprement dit et la dernière ligne laisse penser qu'il s'agit d'un résumé numérique, qui pouvait être scellé, comme on avait l'habitude de le faire pour les documents économiques émanant des autorités arabes. Le total 13 que l'on lit clairement se trouve d'ailleurs correspondre à la somme des quatre nombres donnés dans la courte liste des ll. 12–13 (2 + 4 + 3 + 4).

P.Christ.Musl. 19–21 : Trois lettres du Maymūn b. Ka' b

Coupon de papyrus de couleur brun foncé. Le document est presque complet, sinon que la partie inférieure paraît légèrement brisée. La surface est fort endommagée et une partie de la couche supérieure du papyrus a disparu. L'écriture, ample, est une pâle imitation du style de chancellerie. On n'y trouve aucun point diacritique, sinon une fois (*P.Christ.Musl.* 19.1). Le papyrus porte le début de trois textes différents qui ont été copiés par un apprenti-scribe à une date inconnue. Le papyrus provient vraisemblablement, comme la majorité des papyrus du Louvre, du Fayoum. Vu la nature de l'exercice, il paraît probable qu'il provienne de Madinat al-Fayyūm même. Le document a été acquis par John Greville Chester en juin–juillet 1879⁷².

P.Christ.Musl. 19 : Début d'une lettre de Maymūn b. Ka' b

La lettre est adressée par Maymūn b. Ka' b, qui est qualifié d'agent de Yaḥyā b. Hilāl. Le prescrit de la lettre originale n'a été copié que très partiellement : seul le mot *salām* de la formule *salām 'alay-ka* a été couché sur le papyrus. Elle aurait dû être suivie de la formule *fa-'innī 'aḥmad 'ilay-ka llāh allādī lā ilāh 'illā huwa* (« Salut à toi et je loue pour toi Dieu en dehors de Qui il n'y a de dieu que Lui »).

72. Les archives du Louvre précisent, à propos des lots E 6842 à 6847, que « Par décision du Ministre en date du [. . . illisible] 1879 rendue en suite d'un avis conforme du Conservatoire (Comité consultatif séances du 26 juin et 10 juillet 1879), le Musée égyptien a acquis de M. Chester les papyrus suivants au prix de 2500 francs ». L'information nous a été aimablement communiquée par Florence Calament, que nous remercions chaleureusement.

P.Louvre Inv. E 6842
Madīnat al-Fayyūm

10 × 9,5 cm

Vers 762–63
Fig. 25

← بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
من ميمون بن كعب [ع-] - [م-] ل يحيى بن
هليل سلم

1 *pap.* بسم

« Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. De la part de Maymoun b. Ka‘b, l’agent de Yahyā b. Hilāl. Salut. »



Fig. 25. *P.Christ.Musl.* 19–21: photo et facsimilé

***P.Christ.Musl.* 20 : Début d’une lettre Maymūn b. Ka‘b à ‘Abd . . . b. ‘Abd Allāh**

Maymūn b. Ka‘b écrit à un certain ‘Abd . . . b. ‘Abd Allāh. Comme dans les prescrits de cette époque, il le salue et loue Dieu en faveur de son correspondant et affirme qu’il n’y a pas de dieu en dehors de Dieu.

P.Louvre Inv. E 6842
Madīnat al-Fayyūm

10 × 9,5 cm

Vers 762–63
Fig. 25

← بسم الله الرحـ[م]-الرحيم
من ميمون بن كعب الى عبد[د] بن عبد الله
سل[م] ع[ل]ك ف[ل]ت[ي] [اح]مد اليك
الله [لذي] لا اله الا هو

« Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. De la part de Maymūn b. Ka‘b à ‘Abd . . . b. ‘Abd Allāh. Salut à toi et je loue pour toi Dieu en dehors de Qui il n’y a de Dieu que Lui. »

P.Christ.Musl. 21 : Début d’un ordre de paiement émis par Maymūn b. Ka‘b (?)

Le formulaire est comparable à celui d’autres ordres de paiement contemporains ⁷³ : après la *basmala*, le nom du destinataire est introduit par la préposition *‘ilā* ; l’objet du message est introduit par l’adverbe *‘ammā ba‘d*, suivi de l’impératif *fa-dfa‘* et du nom du bénéficiaire. L’ordre de paiement est adressé à un responsable de la viande qui devra remettre quelque chose, probablement de la viande, à un messenger appelé ‘Umar. Le nom de l’expéditeur n’est pas précisé, conformément à une coutume attestée par d’autres ordres de paiement ⁷⁴, mais puisque les deux autres documents copiés sur ce coupon ont été adressés par Maymūn b. Ka‘b, il est fort possible que cet ordre émane lui aussi du pagarque Maymūn.

P.Louvre Inv. E 6842
Madīnat al-Fayyūm

10 × 9,5 cm

Vers 762–63
Fig. 25

←
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الى [اللحم] صحب اللحم
اما بعد فادفع الى عم-[ر] رسولي []

« Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. Au responsable de la viande. Ensuite, livre à ‘Umar, mon messenger . . . »

- 2 *‘ilā [al-laḥm] ṣāḥib al-laḥm* : Le scribe a manifestement noté une première fois le mot *al-laḥm* par anticipation avant de se reprendre et d’écrire le mot *ṣāḥib*.

P.Christ.Musl. 22 : Début d’une lettre de Maymūn b. Ka‘b

Coupon de papyrus de couleur brun foncé, dont toutes les marges sont conservées. Le document comporte les restes de six lignes d’une écriture ample, qui tente d’imiter le style de chancellerie. On n’y trouve aucun point diacritique. Le document a été acquis par John Greville Chester en mai 1880, en même temps que les papyrus inventoriés E 6859 à 7112 ⁷⁵. Le papyrus provient vraisemblablement, comme la majorité des papyrus du Louvre, du Fayoum, et vu la nature de l’exercice, il paraît raisonnable de penser qu’il provient de Madīnat al-Fayyūm même.

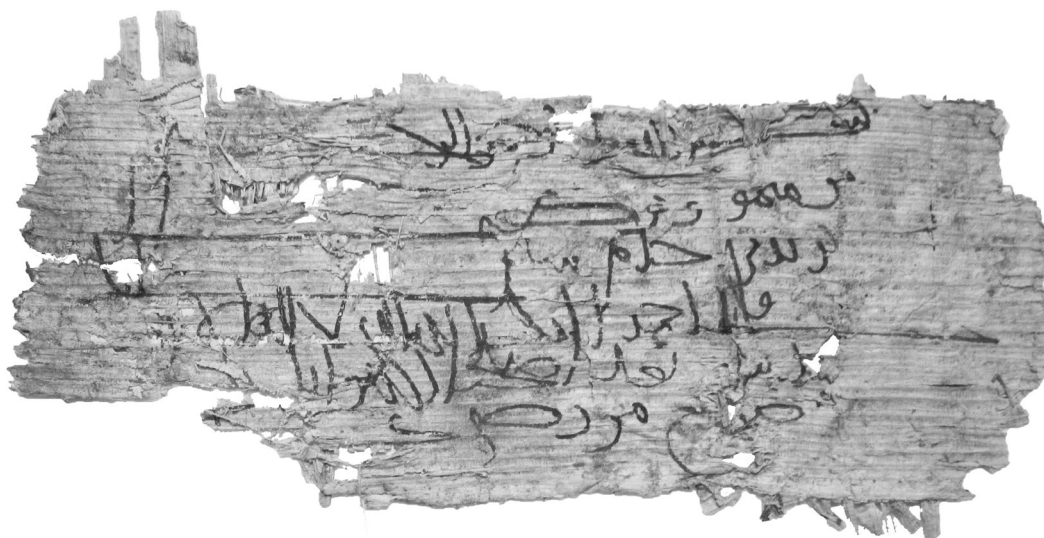
Maymūn b. Ka‘b écrit au gouverneur Yazīd b. Ḥātim qui fut en poste de 762 à 769. On notera que la forme épistolaire utilisée n’est pas conforme à celle que l’on attendrait de la part d’un subordonné qui s’adresse à son supérieur, a fortiori quand ce supérieur est le gouverneur d’Égypte ⁷⁶. Il le salue et loue Dieu en faveur de son correspondant, et affirme qu’il n’y a pas de dieu en dehors de Dieu. Le texte a été écrit au dos d’un fragment de sauf-conduit arabe dont la date n’est pas conservée.

73. On citera au nombre des parallèles, l’ordre *P.World*, p. 141 et *P.VanthieghemMiel* 1–3.

74. Cf. par ex. *P.World*, p. 139–43.

75. Voir la n. 72.

76. Voir la n. 47.

Fig. 26. *P.Christ.Musl.* 22

P.Louvre Inv. E 6866
Fayoum

7,1 × 12 cm

762–69
Fig. 26

← بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
من ميمون بن كعب الى
يزيد بن حاتم سلم عليك
فا [نك] ني احمد اليك الله الذي لا اله الا هو
5 اما بعد اصلحنا الله واياك [م]
صل [ا] ح من رضى عنه

« Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. De la part de Maymūn b. Ka‘b à Yazīd b. Ḥātim. Salut à toi et je loue pour toi Dieu en dehors de qui il n’y a de dieu que Lui. Ensuite, puisse Dieu nous conserver ainsi que vous de la même manière qu’Il conserve ceux qu’Il agréé. . . . »

P.Christ.Musl. 23 : Formulaire d’une quittance au nom du pagarque Ḥālid b. Yazīd

Coupon de papyrus de couleur brun foncé dont seule la marge de droite est conservée. La marge supérieure ainsi qu’une bonne partie de la *basmala* ont péri ; à gauche, outre la marge, il manque environ un tiers du texte tandis que les pertes en bas sont difficiles à évaluer. L’écriture, ample et élégante, est similaire à l’écriture de *P.DiemFrueheUrkunden* 6–7 ; les lettres ne sont pourvues d’aucun point diacritique. Ce document appartient à un type de formulaire de quittances arabes bien attestées dans la seconde moitié du VIII^e siècle ; elles étaient établies à l’avance, sans doute par centaines, de telle sorte que les receveurs, une fois la somme perçue, n’avaient plus qu’à compléter le nom du contribuable, son adresse et le nom des responsables en charge de la collecte⁷⁷.

77. Pour des exemples de ce genre de quittances, voir *P.DiemFrueheUrkunden* 6–7 ainsi que les inédits P.Cambr. UL Inv. Michael. B 12 ; P.Louvre Inv. E 6414 ; Inv. E 6440 et Inv. E B0115.

Fig. 27. *P.Christ.Musl.* 23

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Ces quittances ont ceci de particulier qu'elles servaient à la fois de preuve de paiement et de sauf-conduit, comme le montre la présence de la formule *fa-man laqiyahu min 'ummālī fa-lā ya 'riḍ lahu 'illā bi-ḥayr* (« Qui donc de mes agents le rencontrera ne devra lui montrer que du bien »), qui est systématiquement apposée à la fin.

Le texte est réparti sur quatre lignes d'écriture, la première étant particulièrement difficile à lire, car située juste sur la ligne de fracture du papyrus. Les trois premières lignes sont séparées de la suivante par un *vacat*, sensiblement moins généreux que celui que l'on trouve dans *P.Diem-FrueheUrkunden* 7. Cet espace blanc était destiné accueillir le nom et le patronyme du contribuable ainsi que le nom du village où il était domicilié. La dernière ligne de notre texte ne contient que les deux mots *wa-huwa* (« et il est »), suivis d'un espace blanc où devait être précisée la description physique plus ou moins développée du contribuable. Le texte a été réutilisé pour écrire un court texte grec⁷⁸.

Le formulaire de la quittance est établi au nom de Ḥālid b. Yazīd, dont il est précisé qu'il était à l'époque pagarque du Fayoum (*'āmil . . . 'alā kūrat al-Fayyūm*) pour le compte du gouverneur Mūsā b. 'Ulayy. Ce dernier ayant été en poste de septembre 772 à septembre 778, notre texte doit avoir été rédigé à un moment entre ces deux dates⁷⁹.

P.Vindob. Inv. G 12049
Fayoum

3 × 10 cm

772–78
Fig. 27

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ↓
هذا كتاب من خالد بن يزيد ع-امل الامير
موسد [] ي بن علي اصلحه الله على كورة الفيوم]
vacat
وهو (*vacat*)

« Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. Ceci est un document de Ḥālid b. Yazīd, l'agent du gouverneur Mūsā b. 'Ulayy — que Dieu le conserve! — en charge de la province du Fayoum (*vacat*) et il est (*vacat*). . . »

78. Ce texte a été publié dans *SPP* 10.49.79. Il faut par conséquent revoir la date de *SPP* 10.49 que son éditeur datait du VII^e siècle, mais qui date au mieux de la fin du VIII^e.

P.Christ.Musl. 24 : Début d'une quittance émise au nom du pagarque Sarḥ b. al-...

Coupon de papyrus de couleur brun clair dont seul le coin supérieur subsiste. La marge supérieure ainsi que celle de gauche sont conservées. À en juger par les parallèles, il manque environ un tiers du texte tandis que les pertes en bas sont difficiles à évaluer. L'écriture, ample et élégante, est similaire à l'écriture du document *P.Christ.Musl.* 23. Les lettres ne sont pourvues d'aucun point diacritique, sinon dans un cas (l. 4). La nature du document est difficile à préciser, mais il s'agit vraisemblablement d'une quittance ou alors d'un formulaire de quittance. Le papyrus a été acheté par le musée du Louvre auprès de J. Greville Chester en juin-juillet 1879⁸⁰ ; comme tous les documents publiés inventoriés sous ce numéro proviennent de Madīnat al-Fayyūm, il provient selon toute vraisemblance de cette ville⁸¹. Le formulaire de la quittance ou du formulaire est établi au nom d'un certain Sarḥ b. al-... , dont il est précisé qu'il était à l'époque pagarque (*ʿāmil*) pour le compte du gouverneur al-Layṭ b. al-Faḍl⁸². Ce dernier ayant été en poste entre le 9 décembre 798 et le 31 mai 803, notre texte doit avoir été rédigé quelque part entre ces deux dates.

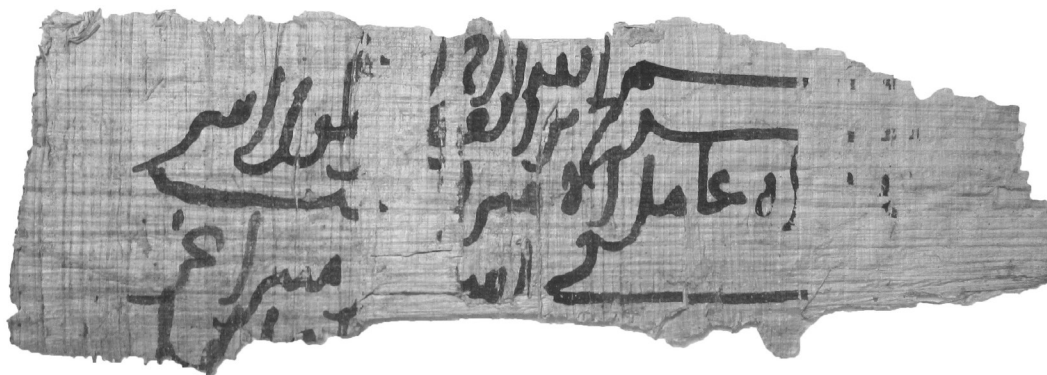


Fig. 28. *P.Christ.Musl.* 24

P.Louvre Inv. E 6842
Madīnat al-Fayyūm

3 × 8,7 cm

Vers 798–803
Fig. 28

[ب]سم الله الرحمن الرحيم [الر]حيم ↓
[هذا كتاب من] سرح بن العرم . مولى امير
[المومنين اعز الله بقاءه] عامل الامير اللـيـث
[بن الفضل مولى] امير المؤمنين اعز
[الله بقاءه على خراج كورة الفيوم وجميع] اعـمـالها 5

« Au nom de Dieu, le clément, le miséricordieux. Ceci est un document de Sarḥ b. al-... , client du calife — que Dieu fortifie son existence ! — et pagarque du gouverneur Layṭ b. al-Faḍl, client du calife — que Dieu fortifie son existence ! — , en charge de la province du Fayoum et l'ensemble de ses districts. . . »

80. Voir la n. 72.

81. Voir *P.David-Weill Marchand* (archives d'Abū Hurayra) et *P.VanthieghemTransition*, Annexe 1.

82. Sur ce gouverneur, voir al-Kindi, 139–41.

- 2 *Sarḥ b. al-* . . . : Plusieurs lectures du nom sont envisageables : Sarḡ, Sarḥ, Musarriḥ ou encore Mušarriḥ.
- 3–5 Pour la restitution de ces lignes, cf. entre autres *P.DiemFrueheUrkunden* 6–7.

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Rāshid b. Khālid: An Amīr in Middle Egypt under the Umayyads

Nikolaos Gonis

Rāshid b. Khālid (Greek Ῥασζιδ υἱὸς Χαλεδ; Coptic ΡΑΨΙΔ ΠΩΕ ΝΧΛΛΕΔ) is one of the best-attested Muslim officials in 8th-century Egypt. He occurs in more than a dozen texts from the regions of Heracleopolis and Hermopolis over a period of 13 years. Nonetheless, on present evidence it is impossible to ascertain his exact capacity in these places; the date of his presence in Hermopolis is also doubtful. A fresh look at his dossier¹ may throw light on the administrative history of the districts in which Rāshid served and offer insights into the little-known careers of ordinary civil servants of the early Caliphate.

Rāshid's function is explicitly stated in only two Coptic documents from Hermopolis, which call him “the most renowned *amīr* of this city of Shmun and its territory” (BL Or. 6201A(2).3–4,² ΡΑΨΙΔ ΠΕΥΚΛΕΕΣΤΑΤΟΣ ΝΑΜΙΡΑ ΝΤΙΠΟΛΙΣ ΤΑΙ Ψ[ΜΟΥΝ] ΜΝ ΠΕΣΤΩΨ); a similar phrase occurs in *CPR* 4.51.8–9.³ Such a designation indicates that he was the supreme authority in the district, which we commonly associate with the office of the pagarch. His presence in two other regions of Egypt, viz. the Heracleopolite and the Antaeopolite, once gave rise to the hypothesis that he became a *dux* of Arcadia and the Thebaid, with authority over a plurality of administrative districts.⁴ This supposition is problematic. Rāshid's activity in Heracleopolis, attested between indictions 2 and 7, does not overlap with his term of office in Hermopolis, which ran from indiction 8 to 14. There is no reason to assume that he wielded authority over two non-neighboring pagarchies concurrently, which would identify him with a *dux*. Besides, the single text thought to be Antaeopolite is more likely to be Hermopolite.⁵

Work on this chapter began in 2000, and some preliminary conclusions were communicated to colleagues over the years, but my understanding of some of the issues involved has since developed. It remained unfinished until I returned to it toward the end of 2017. I am grateful to Federico Morelli for checks of papyri at Vienna and to Lajos Berkes and Naim Vanthieghem for helpful comments on earlier drafts.

1. First assembled by Worp 1984, 100–101. Kruit 1994, 72n31, identified two further items referring to Rāshid (but his “BM Ms. Or. 6201 A and C” is a misunderstanding of Crum's “&c.” = “etc.”); *BKU* 3.417 was not mentioned in either article.
2. First cited in *P.Ryl.Copt.* 118 n. 3; published in Schenke 2014.
3. ΡΑΨΙΔ ΠΩΕ ΝΧΛΛΕΔ ΠΕΥΚΛ[ΕΕΣΤ]ΑΤΟΣ [ΝΑ]ΜΙΡΑ ΝΤΙΠΟΛΙΣ ΤΑΙ | [ΨΜΟ]ΥΝ ΜΝ ΠΕΣΤΩΨ (ΔΙ | [—] . Ν ΠΕΤΩΨ *ed. pr.*; for the reading, see Gonis and Schenke 2013, 374; and Garel and Vanthieghem in this volume at p. 109. The same phrase occurs in *P.Ryl.Copt.* 115.6; the name of the officeholder is lost, but it may be that this was Rāshid; the date clause refers to a first indiction (l. 2), but the text refers to “this fourteenth indiction” (l. 7), which could belong to the outer limit of Rāshid's time at Hermopolis. In *P.Ryl.Copt.* 199.1, the papyrus breaks off before the title is given (ΔΒΟΥ ΓΑΛΛ ΠΕΥΚΛΕΕ[ΣΤΑΤΟΣ] [ΝΑΜΙΡΑ]).
4. See Gascou and Worp 1982, 91; and Worp 1984, 101.
5. *P.Vatic.Copt.Doresse* 20, mentioned by MacCoull 1981, 192; the text contains a reference to a monastery of Apa Apollon, likely to be identified with the Hermopolite one of Apa Apollo (see Gonis 2000, 22–23). The text remains unpublished.

The only fixed point in Rāshid's chronology is *SPP* 8.1195, a demand (*entagion*) for the payment of *embole* (grain tax) of Hijra year 104 (= 24.6.722–9.6.723), indiction 7 (1.5.723–30.4.724). The overlap between the indiction and the Hijra year is the period 1.5.–9.6.723.⁶ The date of the text has not survived, but it should probably date from this period or shortly thereafter. Thus, it will be reasonable to assume that the dates of the other Heracleopolite documents featuring Rāshid are close to 723; that is, the indictions 2–5 mentioned in them should correspond to 717/18–721/2. On this basis, his Heracleopolite dossier, which with one exception consists of *entagia* written in Greek, may be tabulated in the following fashion:⁷

<i>SB</i> 18.13870 (<i>PERF</i> 581)	Mesore 3, ind. 1/2 ⁸	27.7.717/18
<i>CPR</i> 4.1 ⁹	Pachon 25, ind. 2	20.5.718
<i>CPR</i> 19.26 (<i>PERF</i> 578)	Hathyr 2, ind. 2	29.10.718
<i>SPP</i> 10.197	Payni 2, ¹⁰ ind. 3	27.5.719
<i>SPP</i> 8.1083	(ind. 5) ¹¹	(1.5.721–30.4.722)
<i>SPP</i> 8.1195	(AH 104, ind. 7)	(1.5–9.6.723)
<i>SPP</i> 8.1194 ¹²	<i>undated</i>	

Rāshid's Heracleopolite period partly overlaps with the activity of Zubayr b. Ziyāda, who on 31.8.719¹³ issued the bilingual *entagia P.Grenf.* 2.105–6 to inhabitants of a Heracleopolite village close to the Fayyūm border. When the function of the officials who issued *entagia* is known, these are governors, pagarchs, and one *dux*. Could it be that one of Zubayr or Rāshid was a pagarch and the other a *dux*? The evidence for *duces* in this period is very patchy,¹⁴ but it does not rule out the possibility. Or were they both pagarchs? There are precedents: following the conquest, two pagarchs were active in Heracleopolis, the one responsible for the northern part of the old nome, the other for the southern.¹⁵ This division is not attested after the middle of the century, though we may query whether it is reflected in the pair of Muslim officials who issued

- I assume that the Hijra year was calculated on the basis of the lunar count; according to the solar count, AH 104 = 7.725–7.726, which conflicts with the indiction. Even if a similar discrepancy is entirely conceivable, I do not see why one should not seek to avoid it. (The dating of the text to ca. 725 by Worp 1984, 100, relies on the assumption that the Hijra year is the solar, but this has been corrected tacitly in Worp 1985, 112.) I discuss the relation between Hijra years and indictions in Gonis 2009, 202–3.
- A date in brackets is not the actual date of the document but one referred to in the text. In the conversions to Julian dates I have assumed that the indiction year started on 1 May throughout Egypt (in this period).
- The date was read as Με() γ i(v)δ(ικτίονος) (l. 4; cf. Taf. Va); according to *ed. pr.*, Με() could stand for either Με(σση) or Με(χειρ), and the month day was not given. Με(σση) should be preferred: in a text of this date, Μεχειρ would be abbreviated as μ^χ. Then, γ i(v)δ(ικτίονος) would yield the expected indiction number (see the Appendix below), but in Heracleopolite *entagia* the number of the indiction normally follows i(v)δ(ικτίονος), the sole possible exception being *CPR* 22.9.4 (729). It seems more likely that γ, “3,” is the day of the month. The papyrus is broken after i(v)δ(ικτίονος), but a tiny low trace remains; following inspection of the original, F. Morelli describes it as follows (email of 22 January 2018): “si vede la parte inferiore di una lettera che non scende sotto il rigo: una linea o una curva.” This could be α or β, but not γ.
- On this document, see Garel 2018. Rāshid is not mentioned in the text but is identified by his seal; cf. the seal of *CPR* 19.26. The seals spell his name as راش, which has been the basis of its transliteration as Rāshid.
- On an image I read the day of the month as β (*α ed. pr.*).
- The reading of the indiction figure as ε (l. 2) is probable. The papyrus is in a bad state of preservation, and the edition is very problematic, but this will not concern us here.
- The Heracleopolite origin of this papyrus was suggested by Worp 1984, 100 (= *BL* 8.451). What remains is the beginning of an *entagion* in Greek, which suits Heracleopolis: Rāshid's Hermopolite *entagia* are in Coptic.
- For the date, see Gonis 2001, 225n4 (= *BL* 12.81).
- See Legendre 2016, 15 (a fuller treatment of the office in Legendre 2013, 119–73). The latest reference to the activity of a *dux* comes from *KRU* 10 (Djeme, 737; the date is after Cromwell 2017, 52–54): a property dispute was referred to the *dux* in faraway Antinoopolis, the traditional seat of the provincial governor (see Legendre 2013, 163; *pace* Cromwell 2017, 144, this *dux* cannot have been a “pagarch,” even if the use of the title were “antiquated” [similarly, Cromwell 2017, 190]). For the purported occurrence of a *dux* in a document of 716/17, which relied on a misreading, see Morelli 2016, 269.
- See Grohmann 1964, 125 (note that *PERF* 573 = *SB* 18.13771); and Sijpesteijn 2013, 139 with n. 124.

the bilingual receipt *PERF* 573 = *SB* á¹⁶ in 677 or 707, namely, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abi ‘Awf and ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Shu—.¹⁷ Yet this very text refers to a *kūra* of Ihnās (l. 4); even more, in 709 there is a single *kūra* of Ihnās, headed by a Christian: in *PERF* 592 = *P.GrohmannQorra-Brief* (11.10–8.11.709), Qurra b. Sharīk addresses “Menas,¹⁸ chief of Ihnās” (] *Mīnā* *ṣāḥibi* *Ahnāsa*).¹⁹ It may be safe to identify Rāshid as a pagarch, insofar as his association with the capital of the district over five years implies that he was the most senior administrator in the area. In a similar vein, Nājīd b. Muslim is generally regarded as and most probably was the pagarch of Heracleopolis/Ihnās in the late 720s, though no text identifies him as such.²⁰ It is only in 751/2 that we find a clear reference to a Heracleopolite “pagarch.”²¹ If Rāshid was a pagarch, what would the office of Zubayr b. Ziyāda be?²² I have considered whether he was a lower-ranking official with fiscal remit, such as those responsible for the *ḥayyiz* in 8th-century Fayyūm,²³ but this seems less likely: the bilingual *entagia* rather point to a higher authority.²⁴

We may now turn to the Hermopolite part of Rāshid’s dossier. All dated references to him contain indictional dates ranging from Phamenoth 25, indiction 8, to Pharmouthi 22, indiction 14. The Julian equivalents of these dates should not be very remote from the time of his presence in Heracleopolis; the problem is to which indiction cycle they should be assigned: 725–31 or 710–16. The following table lists the options available.²⁵

<i>P.Ryl.Copt.</i> 285	Phamenoth ²⁶ 25, ind. 8	21.3.710/725
<i>BKU</i> 3.339	(9. ind.), Pauni 22, ²⁷ ind. ?	ca. 710/725
<i>CPR</i> 4.5	(10 ind.)	(1.5.711/726– 30.4.712/727)
<i>BKU</i> 3.417	Mesore 3, ind. 10 ²⁸	27.7.711/726

16. The Arabic part is called *P.StoetzerSteuerquittungen* 2 in the Arabic Checklist. (APD reproduces the text of *ed. pr.*, which Ragheb 2013, 709n161, calls “inutilisable”; the *SB* version is slightly different.)
17. The names appear in line 9 of the Greek part, Αβδερ(αμαν) υιὸς(ς) Αβιαιουφ (καὶ) Αβδερ(αμαν) υιὸς(ς) Σζου[. . .]. The second person is named differently in the Arabic part, but there too the text is doubtful. The unread Greek name does not correspond to Salmān, as suggested in Ragheb 2013, 709: the reading Σζαλ reported in n. 160 is impossible. The letter after υ, if correctly read, is probably β, and the last is either an unusual λ or ζ; but there is ink under υβ and over λ/ζ, which complicates the picture. The same pair probably recurs in *SPP* 8.1198 (679 or 709), but only the first name survives.
18. Grohmann thought that Menas was the name of the addressee’s father, but N. Vanthieghem points out to me that this is doubtful: in the letters of Qurra to Basileios of Aphrodito and to Zacharias of Hermopolis (*P.Heid.Arab.* 1.10, discussed below), the names of the fathers of his correspondents are not given.
19. Possibly the same person recurs in *SPP* 3.448.1 (708): ἐνδ]οξοτάτω ἰλλου(στρίω) καὶ παγάρχ(ω) ταύ[της (name lost). For the phrase, cf. *P.Köln* 7.319.5: Φλ(αυίω) Φοιβάμμωι τῶ ἐνδοξοτάτω ἰλλουστρίω καὶ παγάρχ(ω) ταύτη(ς) Ἡρακλ(έου)ς π(όλεω)ς; this text is undated, but the script suggests a date in the second half of the 7th century.
20. Nājīd’s Heracleopolite dossier consists of *CPR* 22.8–9, *SB* 16.12857, and *SPP* 8.1184.
21. *CPR* 22.7.2: Α]βδελεμελεχ υιὸς(ς) λεζιδ ἐπι(κείμενος) τ(ῆς) παγ[α]ρχ(ίας) Ἡρακλ(έου)ς, “‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd, in charge of the pagarchy of Heracleopolis.”
22. We may also compare the case of Muḥammad b. Abū al-Qāsim, who issued *entagia* to persons of the same locality on the Arsinoite-Heracleopolite border a few years earlier, viz. *SB* 6.9262 (8.9.714) and 20.14234 (28.10.716) (see Gonis 2001, 225–26). But cf. below, n. 24.
23. Discussed in Sijpesteijn 2013, 137–40.
24. I owe this observation to N. Vanthieghem; the *entagia* of Rāshid, in contrast, were written only in Greek. On the other hand, the *entagia* of Muḥammad b. Abū al-Qāsim are Greek.
25. A potential addition is *P.Ryl.Copt.* 115; see above, n. 3.
26. Crum read Φ[ΔΜ]ᵉ κϵ ι³ η, but Φ[ΔΡΜ]ᵉ or Φ[ΔΡ]ᵉ (for the abbreviation, cf. *P.Mon.Apollo* 29.6) may also be considered, in which case the date would be 20.4.710/725. The reading of the indiction figure appears to be correct. (I have consulted a digital image.)
27. The edition prints the date clause as Π̄ η ΙΔ/[, but on the original I read the date of the month as Π(α)υ(υ) κβ. The earliest possible date is 16.6.710/725 (indiction 9).
28. New reading, made on the original and on a photograph: in place of Μᵉ/ ΜᵉϞᵉ(?) ι³/ι³ Θ, read μ’ μεϞᵉ γϣᵉ ι+, that is, μ(ηνὸς) Μεσο(ρη) γ ι(υ)δ(ικτίωνος) ι. The interpretation of the writing as ι+ is due to N. Vanthieghem; I had long taken it to be a malformed eta and thought the indiction figure was 8; either way, this may have serious implications for the dating of this dossier, as discussed in the Appendix below.

<i>P.Ryl.Copt.</i> 156	Tybi 16, ind. 11	11.1.713/728
BL Or. 6201A(2)	Pharmouthi 22, ind. 14	17.4.716/731
CPR 2.123	<i>undated</i>	
CPR 4.51	<i>undated</i>	
<i>P.Ryl.Copt.</i> 130 verso ²⁹	<i>undated</i>	

It appears that Rāshid served for at least five years in Heracleopolis and for at least six years in Hermopolis. In which region did he serve first? I had long entertained the thought that he moved from Heracleopolis to Hermopolis. The transfer to a more populous pagarchy such as Hermopolis could be regarded as a promotion. But I have now come to realize that there are strong indications that Rāshid was at Hermopolis before his move to Heracleopolis. A technical aspect in his *entagia*, discussed in the Appendix, might also favor an earlier date for his Hermopolite dossier.

A major problem is Rāshid's position in the administrative landscape of Hermopolis in the first quarter of the 8th century. As was first established by Grohmann, in the 8th century the area was divided into Upper and Lower Ashmūn (*a lā Ashmūn* and *asfal Ashmūn*).³⁰ This is first attested in *P.Heid.Arab.* 1.10 (7.3.–5.4.710), a letter of Qurra b. Sharik to Zacharias, *ṣāhib* of Upper Ashmūn.³¹ We next find administrators of the two districts of Ashmūn (their title is *āmīl al-amīr*) presumably in *P.Cair.Arab.* 3.174 (24.1.–22.2.722), where the passage is largely restored, and certainly in *P.Cair.Arab.* 3.175.2 (14.2.731) and several later documents. Besides the titles of officials, other texts show that the two districts were distinct in the eyes of the fiscal administration; cf., for example, *P.Ryl.Copt.* 325, which “relates to the taxes (διάγραφον) payable by the districts north and south of Shmoun.”³² A pagarchy-like entity is attested in *P.Lond.* 4.1461 fr. 2.14: εἰ(ς) τ(οῦ) νοτίου σκέλου(ς)³³ Ἐρμοῦ πόλ(εως), which is undated but surely of the early 8th century. The latest reference in Greek comes from *P.Monts.Roca* 4.75.2 (12.2.729): νοτ(ίτου) σκ(έ)λου(ς) Ἐρμοῦ πόλ(εως).³⁴

The evidence for the division into σκέλη predates the conquest,³⁵ but these were the districts of a single pagarchy. Senouthios, the administrator of the northern Hermopolite district in the 640s, receives orders directly from the pagarch Athanasios.³⁶ A single pagarchy is mentioned in *P.Ryl.Copt.* 338 = *SB* 1.5953.3: ἀπὸ παγ(αρ)χ(ί)ας Ἐρμοῦ πόλε(ως); and a pagarch in *BKU* 3.420.1: Φλ(αύιος) Ἰωάννης σὺν Θε(ῶ) πάγαρχ(ος) Ἐρμοῦ πόλ[ε(ως)];³⁷ both documents are undated but cannot be far removed from 700.³⁸ The partition of the pagarchy would have taken place by 710. But how does Rāshid, the “*amīr* of this city of Shmun,” fit into this scheme? Did he function as a kind of supreme authority, under whom the administrators of Upper and Lower Ashmūn operated?³⁹ There is no other evidence to support this idea. Qurra's letter to Zacharias

29. Ends of five lines of an account of taxes on land in the area of Hermopolis. To judge from an image, the first line ends ἐπὶ [Φ]λα(ουίου) Ῥαζιδ ἐν[δ(οξοτάτου)] ἀμῖρ(ᾶ) (the reading of [Φ]λα(ουίου) was suggested by L. Berkes).

30. Grohmann 1959, 43.

31. Lines 2–3: *Zakariyyā' ṣāhib Ushmūn al- 'ulyā*, “an Zacharias, den Vorsteher von Ober-Ushmūn.”

32. Line 4: [] ΠΔΙΔΚΡΑΦΟΝ ΝΘΗΡΩΜΘ ΠΘΜΖΙΤ ΠΘΜΟΥΝ ΜΗΠΡΗΘ ΠΘΜΟΥΝ, “the poll tax of the people in the north of Shmun and in the south of Shmun.”

33. Bell (*ed. pr.*) notes: “The genitive perhaps implies that παγαρχίαν is to be supplied or is accidentally omitted.” The entries immediately before and after refer to pagarchies.

34. Not Ἐρμοπολ(ίτου); see Gonis 2013, 273 (on *P.Poethke* 39).

35. See Gascou 1994, 60; and Azzarello 2013, 404.

36. See Morelli 2010, 18–19.

37. The reading Ἐρμοῦ πόλ[ε(ως)] is after Berkes 2017, 235.

38. *BKU* 3.420 is probably dated to or at any rate not later than 2 November 701 (Hathyr 6, ind. 14): a later date would not tally with the divided pagarchy, and the pagarch may be in contact with Zacharias, the *ṣāhib* of Upper Ashmūn in 710; see below, n. 41.

39. The closest parallels to this expression come from the Greek *SB* 8.9755.8 (642): Γαβαλᾶν τὸν ἀμῖρᾶν ταύτης τῆς Ἡρακλέους) π(ό)λεως); *SB* 8.9756.1 (653): Καεῖς ἀμῖρᾶς Ἡρακλέ(ους); *CPR* 36.15.2 (ca. 643/4): τοῦ εὐκλε(εστᾶτου)

(*P.Heid.Arab.* 1.10) shows a direct channel of communication between the governor of Egypt and the head of Upper Ashmūn, which would be difficult to imagine if Zacharias were subordinate to a local administrator. Zacharias was Christian; was there a parallel administrative universe, with Muslim and Christian officials in complementary roles, as attested in the pagarchies of Heracleopolis and Hermopolis shortly after the conquest, and at provincial level with Christian *duces* functioning alongside Muslim *amīrs* in the second half of the 7th century?⁴⁰ Or was Rāshid responsible for only one of the two districts, and the expression “*amīr* of this city of Shmun” is not technical and merely reflected the fact that he was based in the city?

Potentially important is *P.Ryl.Copt.* 285, a letter “referring to the taxes of certain villagers” sent by a certain Zacharias to Rāshid, whom he calls his “sincere friend.”⁴¹ This implies that Zacharias was a person of some standing.⁴² It is tempting to identify Zacharias with the *ṣāhib* of Upper Ashmūn.⁴³ *P.Ryl.Copt.* 285 is dated 21 March or 20 April 710 or 725 and is possibly contemporary to *P.Heid.Arab.* 1.10, which is dated 7 March–5 April 710. If that held, Rāshid’s Hermopolite activity could be placed in 710–16. In that case, he would overlap with Sufyān b. Ghunaym, who issued the bilingual tax receipts SB 16.13018 on 15 August 714.⁴⁴ The problem we saw with Zubayr b. Ziyāda in Heracleopolis would return.

If Zacharias were the *ṣāhib* of Upper Ashmūn, the southern part of the old Hermopolite nome, would Rāshid be responsible for Lower Ashmūn, the northern part? Given that his seat was in Hermopolis, this scenario would be difficult to reconcile with the fact that the city was not located in the north of the nome. Yet several texts link Rāshid with the north: *P.Ryl.Copt.* 285, discussed above, refers to people “in the north of Shmun” (ϨΝ ΠΕΜΖΙΤ ΝΩΜΟ[ΥΝ]); *P.Ryl.Copt.* 156 is an agreement addressed to Rāshid⁴⁵ by a person from a village “in the north of Shmun the city” (ll. 1–2, ΜΠΕΜΖΙΤ ΝΩΜΟΥΝ ΤΠΟΛΙC); BL Or. 6201A(2) is another document addressed to Rāshid by a man from a village “in the northern district of this city Shmun” (l. 2, ϨΜ ΠΤΟΥ ΝΕΜΖΙΤ ΝΤΙΠΟΛΙC ΤΔΙ ΨΜΟΥΝ), and *CPR* 2.123 is the beginning of an *entagion* issued by Rāshid b. Khālid to someone from the same area (l. 2, ΜΠΕΜΖΙΤ ΝΩΜΟΥΝ).

Whatever the exact nature and date of his Hermopolite office, Rāshid’s career appears to be paralleled by that of Nājīd b. Muslim, who at different times was in charge of the pagarchies of Heracleopolis and Arsinoe.⁴⁶ This looks like a professional civil service, already known in pre-conquest Egypt, especially in the earlier Roman period. In its bureaucracy, too, the new Muslim state ran a parallel course to that of the Romans.

ἀμῖρᾶ Ἐρμῶυ πόλε(ως) ; and *CPR* 36.50.2 (ca. 643/4): τοῦ ἀμῖρᾶ τῆς Ἀντινῶου. These officials were not pagarchs; cf. Morelli 2010, 17 and 24; and Legendre 2014, 105–6. The first of them coexisted with a pagarch of the northern district of Heracleopolis: SB 8.9755.1–2: παγάρχη τοῦ βορρῖνου σκέλους ταύτης τῆς Ἡρακλέ(έου)ς π(ό)λε(ω)ς. It would be more appropriate to compare the ἐπικείμε(νος) πόλ(ε)ως Ἀντι(νῶ)ου in an *entagion* of 726/7 (Gonis and Schenke 2013, 385), whose function was certainly that of a “pagarch.” Cf. also below, n. 41.

40. For the former, see Morelli 2010, 16–18; for the latter, Morelli 2016.

41. Lines 1–2: ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑC ΠΙCΖΔΙ ΜΠΙCΓΗΗCΙΟC ΜΦΙΛΟC | ΡΑΩΙΑ ΠΕΝΔ(ΟΞΟΤΔΤΟC), “Zacharias writes to his sincere friend Rāshid, the most glorious.” Crum transcribed the endorsement as ϩασζιδ ενδ αμῖρ τᾶ . ϩ . ζ[α]χ[α]ρ . . . † . . ϩυ απο? An image has allowed no progress. Only Ῥασζιδ ενδ(οξοτᾶτω) ἀμῖρ(ᾶ) is certain; I cannot make out ζ[α]χ[α]ρ, while in place of ϩ I read τ . ().

42. Cf. *P.Apoll.* 24.1, where a notary of the *dux* uses the expression γ[ν]ησιᾶ φιλιᾶ for Papas, the pagarch of Apollonos Anō; or *CPR* 30.18.4, where the same expression is used by a *scholastikos* for the Hermopolite pagarch Athanasios.

43. It is unclear whether Zacharias is known from elsewhere. *BKU* 3.409 is a letter addressed to Ioannes, *archon* (the pagarch of *BKU* 3.420?) by Zacharias. In *BKU* 3.401, Zacharias writes to Isidoros, *hieruus*, concerning tax matters. It may be a coincidence that in *P.Ryl.Copt.* 319 the pagarch Fl. Senouthios is represented through his son Zacharias; there is no reference to the area of his authority, but the document is Hermopolite. *P.Ryl.Copt.* 319 should be of the 8th century, if the protocol on the other side is bilingual.

44. For the date, see Gonis 2001, 226–27.

45. Named as ΔΠΔ [Δ]ΡΔΩΙΤ [. . .]ΔΜΙΡΔ. The name is unusual; Crum speaks of “Rashid (or Ar-Rashid)” and notes, “Perhaps ΔΠΔ for ΔΠΟΥ.” But Abū Rāshid is not what we expect. ΡΔΩΙΤ may easily be made out on an image, but everything else is uncertain: ΠΕΝΔ(ΟΞΟΤΔΤΟC) cannot be read.

46. Sijpesteijn 2013, 124–36. For other examples (not all of them certain), see 205–6.

Appendix: Some *Entagia* and Their Dates⁴⁷

Two of Rāshid's Heracleopolite *entagia*, *CPR* 19.26 (718) and *SB* 18.13870 (719), attest the familiar two-year gap between tax year and actual date that was first analyzed by L. Casson in his seminal article on tax-collection problems:⁴⁸ "The *entagia* and the *merismoι* which deal with the money taxes . . . are consistently dated two years later than the tax to which they refer." The explanation for this difference had been sought in the fact that the Arabs reckoned the tax years on the basis of the solar Hijra year, which was three years behind the lunar year at the beginning of the 8th century. Casson argued that "the difference between the tax-year and the date-year is due to the effort of the scribe to reproduce the discrepancy in the Arabic dates." We find the two-year gap also in other contemporary *entagia* from this area, viz. *SB* 20.14234 (716 [*BL* 12.225]) and *P.Grenf.* 2.105–6 (719).⁴⁹ Rāshid's Hermopolite *entagion* *BKU* 3.417 displays the same picture: it refers to the *diagraphon* of an 8th indiction and is dated Mesore 3, indiction 10.⁵⁰ The gap is not in evidence in the Heracleopolite *SPP* 10.197 (719), an *entagion* for a payment "for salary" for indiction 3,⁵¹ which is dated to indiction 3. This is not without parallels. In *SB* 18.13218, an *entagion* of Qurra dated to 713 (indiction 12), the demand concerns sailors "for the present indiction 12, for the cursus of indiction 13," and money for their salary and upkeep. Similarly, the Arsinoite *SB* 8.9760, issued "for the salary of sailors of indiction 6," is dated to indiction 5.⁵² It appears that for certain, extraordinary charges the tax years were calculated differently.

The use of these fictitious indictions appears to have been discontinued in the 720s. *P.Bal.* 130 App., an *entagion* from Djeme, refers to the *demosia* (including the poll tax) of indiction 7, (Hijra) year 105, and the *dapane* of indiction 8, year 106, and was issued in Tybi of indiction 7 (28.xii.723–26.i.724); there is nothing that reflects the difference between the lunar and solar counts of the Hijra year. The discrepancy is likewise absent from *SPP* 8.1184 (728), an *entagion* of Nājīd b. Muslim for the *demosia* of indiction 11 and the "salary of sailors," dated also to indiction 11.⁵³ The same applies to later texts, such as the *entagia* issued by Yaḥyā b. Hilāl: *SPP* 8.1199–1200 (744 or 761) are uniformly dated to the same indiction as that of the taxes.⁵⁴ Thus, it seems that the practice of introducing a one-⁵⁵ or two-year difference between tax years and

47. This appendix partly fulfills a promise given in Gonis 2001, 225n7: "All this seems to have changed in the third decade of the eighth century, as I intend to show elsewhere." Cf. also *CPR* 22.9 introd., 22.11 introd.

48. Casson 1938, 276 and 277–79. The point was further refined by Cadell 1967, 154–55.

49. The two-year gap is hardly in evidence in the receipts of this small archive. In *P.Berol.* 17181 (Poethke 2007, 7–8), Gregorios son of Menas grandson of Baouch () pays 2 solidi (in l. 2, for νό(μισμα) α read νο(μίσματα) β) for the *diagraphon* of indiction 1 on Choiak 8, indiction 3 = 4.12.719. This could be a late payment: in *SB* 18.13269, his brother Menas pays 2 solidi for indiction 2 on Payni 21, indiction 3 = 15.6.719 (in l. 2, for ινδ(ικτιονος) α . . . Παυ(νι) a read ινδ(ικτιονος) β . . . Παυ(νι) κα); and in *SB* 18.13268, three years later, he pays various taxes of indiction 5 on Phaophi 1, indiction 6 = 28.9.722. Another problem arises from these payments: *P.Grenf.* 2.106, an *entagion* for Menas's *diagraphon* of indiction 1, which amounts to 6 1/2 solidi, was issued on Thoth 2, indiction 3 = 31.8.719 (see *BL* 12.81); this postdates his payment for *diagraphon* of indiction 2 in *SB* 18.13269.

50. For the reading, see above, n. 28.

51. *Ed. pr.* has (ὑπέρ) μισ(θοῦ) γ ιν(δικτιονος), but the reading of the end of the line cannot be confirmed on the online image. On the original, F. Morelli reads αγγ', presumably ἄγγ(αρευτῶν), though the abbreviation would be unusual. The indiction is mentioned in line 5, in a part of the text that was drawn rather than transcribed by Wessely: read γ ι[(ν)δ(ικτιονος)].

52. See *CPR* 22.13 introd. (= *BL* 12.201).

53. See *CPR* 22.8 introd. (= *BL* 12.269).

54. Two other Hermopolite examples: *P.Ryl.Copt.* 117, issued by Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (cf. also *P.Ryl.Copt.* 378, *BKU* 3.418), refers to taxes of year 10, canon of 9, and is dated Hathyr 8, indiction 10 (date not earlier than 4.9.726?). *P.Mon.Apollo* 30 concerns the taxes of year 5 and is dated Pharmouthi 22, indiction 5 (17.4.722, 737, etc.).

55. We find a one-year discrepancy in the earlier *entagia* of Fl. Atias from Hermopolis, viz. *CPR* 4.3 (696), *CPR* 4.4 (698), and perhaps *CPR* 4.6 (703). (On these texts, see Cromwell 2013; the reading of the name of the official in *CPR* 4.6 is very

actual dates in *entagia* was relaxed, if it did not disappear altogether, toward the middle of the third decade of the 8th century. If *BKU* 3.417 dated to 27 July 725, it would be unique among the *entagia* of the period. It would be different if its date was 27 July 710, which would strengthen the argument for the chronological precedence of Rāshid's term of office in Hermopolis over that in Heracleopolis.

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uncertain, but I have no better alternative to offer.) More ambiguous is *SB Kopt.* 4.1781, which concerns taxes of years 3 and 4 and is dated Payni 1, indiction 5; but *SB Kopt.* 4.1782, issued by the same person (Apa Kyros), refers to taxes of years 4 and 5 and is dated to indiction 5.

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Western Thebes and the Arab Administration of Pre-Abbasid Egypt

Jennifer Cromwell

The late 7th and 8th centuries witnessed an increasing level of Islamization in Egypt, with the greater presence of Muslim officials in towns throughout the Nile Valley.¹ While Muslim officials are most visible in the documentation of central Egypt,² especially the Hermopolite nome, they occur in texts from other areas, and this study focuses on their appearance in the textual record of western Thebes, specifically from the village Djeme.

Djeme was built in and around the mortuary temple of Rameses III, Medinet Habu, on the west bank of Thebes.³ Approximately 1,500 texts have survived and been published from the village, mostly in Coptic and dating to the 7th and 8th centuries. This quantity of material is higher than for any other contemporary site, and the corpus therefore provides one of our best snapshots of life in an Egyptian, Christian village in postconquest Egypt. The texts record the daily concerns of villagers, in particular economic concerns: sales and disputes over property, loans, debt repayment, and so on. Changes introduced to the country by the new rulers are witnessed in Djeme in the large body of receipts for the new non-Muslim poll tax; approximately 500 individual receipts have been published to date (one-third of the total texts from the village).⁴ Muslim officials appear in a much smaller number of texts, as listed in Table 1. Note that the reading of the official's name in *P.KRU* 70 is corrected from Yūsuf b. 'Ubayd to Shukayr b. 'Ubayd.⁵

One omission from this table and the following discussion must be noted: *SB* 3.7240, a firman of protection (*sigillion*) issued by 'Atiyya b. Ju'ayd in 697 to the monastery of Apa Paul concerning their nonpayment of taxes (and referring to an earlier firman).⁶ While this document is vital for our understanding of the fiscal administration of Egypt and demonstrates that events in western Thebes were known to senior officials elsewhere in the country, my present concern focuses only on local officials.

These 15 texts dated between 724 and 749 provide information for the role of officials in

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1. For Islamization (as well as Arabization, i.e., the increasing use of Arabic), see Sijpesteijn 2007a, 2007b; see also the introduction to this volume, p. 6.
 2. See Legendre 2014b.
 3. For the village, see Hölscher 1954, 45–57; and Wilfong 1989, 2002, 1–22.
 4. On the tax receipts from Djeme, see the introduction to *O.Stras.Copt.* 27–66. Cromwell 2017, chap. 4, discusses taxation in the village in more detail and provides further references to the topic.
 5. See Berkes and Cromwell 2018.
 6. 'Atiyya is known from a number of Greek and Coptic documents in addition to *SB* 3.7240: *CPR* 3.3, 4, 6; *CPR* 8.72–84; *CPR* 19.17; *P.Gascou* 28; *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.23; *SB* 24.16219; and *SB Kopt.* 4.1783, 1785.

Table 1. Muslim Officials in Theban Documents

Text	Content	Official
<i>P.Bal.</i> 130 App. A	Tax demand	Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh
<i>P.CLT</i> 3	Request for travel permit for three monks	Unnamed, perhaps Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh
<i>P.KRU</i> 7	Sale of land	Sulaymān
<i>P.KRU</i> 8	Sale of a courtyard (following dispute)	Sulaymān
<i>P.KRU</i> 12	Sale of a house share	Alqama b. al-Ḥārith
<i>P.KRU</i> 13	Sale of a house share	Alqama b. al-Ḥārith
<i>P.KRU</i> 25	Sale of buildings (following dispute)	(1) ‘Amr (2) <i>amīr</i> (unnamed)
<i>P.KRU</i> 30	Sale of a house	Name lost
<i>P.KRU</i> 42	Settlement: division of a house	(1) Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh (2) ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (3) Ayyūb
<i>P.KRU</i> 45	Settlement: division of a house	Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh
<i>P.KRU</i> 47	Settlement: division of a house	Unnamed, but ‘Amr (the case is the same as that in <i>P.KRU</i> 25)
<i>P.KRU</i> 50	Settlement: land dispute	Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh
<i>P.KRU</i> 52	Settlement: theft of goods	Sulaymān
<i>P.KRU</i> 70	Testament of Tbasbes	Shukayr b. ‘Ubayd
<i>P.KRU</i> 106	Donation to the monastery of Apa Paul	Muḥammad

this region of Upper Egypt in the quarter century before the Abbasid period. In terms of their provenance, two of the papyri, *P.CLT* 3 and *P.KRU* 106, involve individuals from both Djeme and the monastery of Apa Paul. Beyond this corpus, few documents from western Thebes mention Arabs. If the identification of Qaṣr Shīma with *castrum* Djeme is correct, the Arabic *P.Hal. Inv. DMG* 3 (or *P.Liebrenz Quittung*) is an exceptionally rare document from the area. It concerns the property of the deceased Duquṣṭas, who died without heirs, and the property’s ultimate acquisition by her neighbor Bisanda Shanūda.⁷ Two Arabs (Yuḥannis b. ‘Abd Allāh and Sa’d b. Sa’id) and two non-Arabs act as witness.⁸ While this papyrus provides evidence for interactions between settled Muslims and local Egyptians in western Thebes, because of the uncertainty concerning the identification of the named Muslim official, I will not discuss the text further here.⁹ Only a small number of other texts may be relevant, but their provenance is uncertain and in most cases none of the individuals named can be identified as officials:¹⁰ *O. Vind. Copt.* 121 (an account that contains several Arab names)¹¹ and 315 (concerning sheep, three of which seem

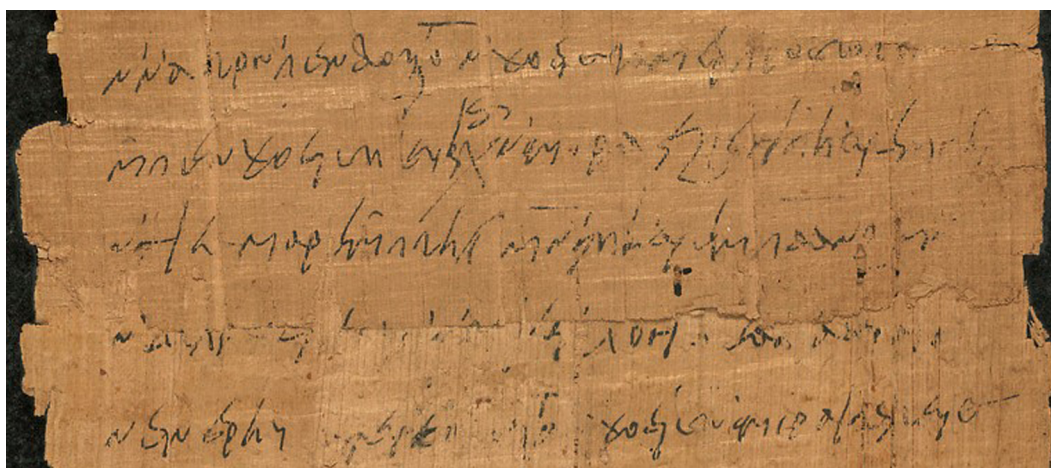
7. The text’s original edition in Liebreuz 2010 is now superseded by that in Vanthieghem 2019, whose interpretation I follow here.

8. On the identity of these individuals, see the discussion in Vanthieghem 2019.

9. Vanthieghem 2019, 210–11, suggests a possible identification with the official Σικερ υἱοῦ Αβιεδ, Shukayr b. ‘Ubayd, in *P.KRU* 70 (see Table 1). If correct, this Arabic document does not provide information of a previously unknown Muslim official but provides a second attestation of this pagarch.

10. I do not include here *P.CLT* 1, the bilingual Greek-Arabic protocol which names the governor of Egypt, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān. The protocol was attached to the papyrus roll at the time of its manufacture and bears no relation to the events recorded in the document itself. Other Arab names in Theban texts included in Legendre 2014b can be discounted, especially those based on biblical figures: for example, Maryam (ΜΑΡΙΑΜ) in *P.KRU* 116 is included (p. 420), but this Maryam is the wife of Papnoute son of Matthew and daughter of Daniel son of Pachom, as made clear by *P.KRU* 71—she certainly was not an Arab.

11. An account that contains several Arab names: Maṭrūḥ daughter of ‘Ā’isha, who is identified as Τῆσοῦϋε, “the Ethiopian” (ΜΩΤΡΩΖ Τῶε ΔΙϞϞ, ll. 2, 17, 19), Layth (Λῆθιτ, ll. 7 and 12), Muslim (ΜΩCΛΗΜ, l. 25), and Sa’id, who is a ΜΑΝΝΕΔΑΜΟΥΛ, “camelherd” (CΔΙΕΤ, l. 23). Note that Maṭrūḥ’s patronymic, ‘Ā’isha, is noted only after the first example (ll. 2–3) and not in the second and third occurrences of her name (as incorrectly noted in Legendre 2014b, 409). Layth in line 7 is identified

Fig. 29. *P.KRU* 25.15–19

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to have been taken or received by the *amīr*;¹² and *SB Kopt.* 2.803 (a letter in which the sender requests that the recipient send something to an Arab, Ḥakīm: ΤΙΝΟΟΥÇΙ ΝΑΚΙΜ, l. 7).

With the sources in place, what follows is divided into three sections: the identification of the officials, their names, titles, and roles; the chronology of these officials; and the situation elsewhere in Egypt, in order to better understand the situation in the Theban region. First, it is necessary to examine the officials who occur in *P.KRU* 25, as the relevant passage requires a new interpretation. The *editio princeps* of lines 15–19 is provided below, with abbreviations expanded; Fig. 29 shows this section of the document.

ΝΗΑΖΡΗ ΠΕΝΔΟΣΟΤ(ΑΤΟΣ) ΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΖΑΜΕΡ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕΥΚΛΕ(ΕΣΤΑΤΟΣ)
 ΝΑΜΙΡΑ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΙΠΗΨΕ ΜΠΗΙ ΝΤΚΑΜΑΡΕ ΜΠΖΗΤ ΜΗ ΤΠΗΨΕ ΜΠΑΔΗΖ ΜΗΝΙΣΑ ΠΡΩΨΕ
 ΝΔΙΚΔΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΑΝΔΑÇ ΜΗ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΔΤΕΥΡΕ ΠΕΝΔΟΣΟΤ(ΑΤΟΣ) ΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΑΜΙΡΑ ΚΕΛΕΥΕ

“... before our most esteemed lord ‘Amr, the representative of our lord the most glorious *amīr*, concerning half of the house (from the cellar of the northern side¹³) and half of the courtyard. After undertaking the sufficient process together, our most esteemed lord *amīr* Teure commanded. . . .”

as ΖΗ ΨΜΟ, “from Shmo,” a toponym that is not otherwise attested, but in line 12 as ΠΨΜΟ, perhaps “the foreigner” (i.e., ΨΜΜΟ). Note that the line numbers cited here are those given in the *editio princeps*, which counts the text on each face of the ostrakon as belonging to the same account. While the hand appears to be the same on each side (the hand on the internal face is smaller and more cramped, making paleographic comparisons difficult), there are some features that may suggest the potsherd was used for multiple, related texts. The account, following the line numbering of the *editio princeps*, begins on the external face of the sherd, is preceded by a double oblique stroke, and includes lines 1–13. The layout of the lines is entirely typical of an account, with the name followed by an abbreviation (μ, perhaps for μάτιον, i.e., ΜΑΔΧΕ, a grain measure) and a number. On the internal face of the sherd, two lines are written at the top, which are also preceded by a double oblique stroke, suggesting the start of a new text. After a space of a couple of centimeters, there is a horizontal line, followed by five lines of text (ll. 16–20), another horizontal line, and then the final six lines of text (21–26). The abbreviation μ(άτιον) occurs infrequently here, a range of goods is mentioned, and some entries run over multiple lines. These features indicate that more than one account was written on this sherd and it should be treated as bearing separate texts. Images of the ostrakon can be consulted on the online database of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (<https://onb.ac.at>).

12. This ostrakon can be attributed to Thebes at least on paleographic grounds, although the hand is a fairly typical unligatured majuscule that is not restricted to this region. The second line of the text refers to the *amīr* (ΑΜΙΡΑ), but the sherd is then broken and he is not identified further. A man Jacob son of Abraham appears, who may be identified as an Arab, Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm, based on the orthography of his patronymic (ΙΑΚΩΒ ΠΩΙ ΝΑΠΡΑΖΙΜ, l. 5).
13. MacCoull 2009, 83, translates this as “and the room north of the half of the courtyard,” but the syntax does not support this translation, which requires a scribal error. As *P.KRU* 47, the counterpart of this document, concerns shares in a house

The above translation follows the interpretation of the text's editor, Walter Crum, and Walter Till, who understood Teure as the name of the *amīr*.¹⁴ If correct, three different Muslim officials are involved: (1) 'Amr, representative of the *amīr*; (2) the *amīr* (unnamed); and (3) Teure, another representative of the *amīr*. The biggest issue (not withstanding that Teure does not appear to be an Arab name¹⁵) is why two representatives of the *amīr* should be involved in this case: the above translation necessitates a situation in which the dispute was brought before the official 'Amr but that a second official, Teure, issued the decision. The key point is the reading of ΤΕΥΡΕ on line 19, which is far from clear: ΤΕΥ seems certain, but there is insufficient space between these three letters and ΞΟ[†] for the seven letters transcribed in the *editio princeps* (ΤΕΥΡΕ ΠΕΝΔΟΞΟ[†]). The preservation of the papyrus at this point renders resolving this situation problematic. One possibility is that ΤΕΥ- is derived from δεύτερος, "second," referring to the *amīr*'s representative, 'Amr. However, such a specific usage of this term is not otherwise attested and should be discounted.

It is instead possible that the scribe, Aristophanes son of Johannes, garbled a formula that occurs elsewhere in his documents: ΜΝΙΝCΔ ΠΡΩΨΕ ΟΥΝ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΑΝΔΔΥ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΖΙΘΗ ΝΤΕCΕΝΔ(ΟΞΟΤΔΤΟC) ΝΤΟC ΚΟΜΕC ΠΔΙΟΙΚ(ΗΤΗC) ΔCΚΕΛΕΥΕ, "After undertaking the sufficient processes together before his honor, he, the *dioiketes* Comes commanded" (*P.KRU* 39.18–20 and 41.28–31; cf. similarly *P.KRU* 43.15–18). Based on these parallels, a possible emendation of the passage in *P.KRU* 25 is: ΜΝΙΝCΔ ΠΡΩΨΕ ΟΥΝ ΝΔΙΚΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΑΝΔΔC ΜΝ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ <ΖΙΘΗ> ΝΤΕCΕΝ[Δ]ΟΞΟΤ(ΔΤΟC) <ΔΠ>ΧΟΕΙC ΝΔΜΙΡΑ ΚΕΛΕΥΕ, "After undertaking the sufficient process together <before> his honor, <the> lord *amīr* commanded. . . ." Reading ΝΤΕCΕΝ[Δ]ΟΞΟ[†] is not especially problematic: the traces of the first letter certainly could be Ν rather than Δ, and only C is otherwise badly written. As in the three other cited examples a local official is involved; the peculiarities in *P.KRU* 25 may be explained simply by Aristophanes having to adjust the formula to incorporate a Muslim official. In this revised reading, the honorific title ἐνδοξότατος refers to 'Amr.

With Teure thus removed from the prosopographic record, eight Arab officials remain, plus possibly a ninth whose name is unfortunately lost. Three men occur in multiple texts: Alqama b. al-Ḥārith, Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh, and Sulaymān. Two other men clearly mark themselves as the representative of a more senior official, always the *amīr*: 'Amr in *P.KRU* 25 and 'Abd al-Rahmān in *P.KRU* 42. 'Abd al-Rahmān is also labeled an *amīr*, a designation that seems to be used as a generic title for all Muslim officials, not only the pagarch.¹⁶ In *P.KRU* 42, 'Abd al-Rahmān is one of three Muslim officials named in the document who appear in a hierarchical relationship, together with the village officials, the "great men" of the village (ll. 7–13):

ΕΡΕΠΕΝΔΟΞΟΤΔΤΟC ΝΧ[Ο]ΕΙC ΠΔΖΔΛ ΠΔΜΙΡΑ ΔΡΧΙCΘ(ΔΙ) ΕΧΗ ΠΕΝΚΑCΤΡΟΝ ΧΗΜΕ
ΔΝΕΝ ΠΕΝΖΩΒ ΝΔΖΡΜ ΠΕΝΔΟΞΟΤΔΤΟC ΝΔΜΙΡΑ ΑΒΔΕΡΖΟΜΔΡ ΠΡΟCΟΠΟΝ ΝΔΜΙΟΠ ΠΔΜΕΡΑ
ΔCΚΕΛΕΥΕ ΝΔΠΔ ΚΥΡΙ ΠCΟΝ ΝCΑΜΟΥΗΛ ΝΕΝΩΧ ΠΑΠΕ ΝΖΟΡΙΤ ΔCΤΗΝΟΟΥ ΝΗΟC ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΤ
ΕΝΔΙ ΝΕ ΝΩΖΕ ΠΖΥΓΟΥΜΕΝΟC ΜΕΝ ΘΩΜΔ ΝΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΜΝ ΖΔΡΩΝ ΝΔΝΔΡΕΔC ΜΝ ΠΙCΥΝΘΙΟC
ΝΨΥΡΟC ΠΕΚΩΤ

and courtyard only, I understand this passage as describing the half of the house in question. Till 1964, 123, ignores the mention of the cellar.

14. In *P.KRU* appendix IV "Eigennamen," Teure(?) is listed under Arabic names; Till 1964, 123: "der ἐνδοξότατος Herr Emir Teure." This understanding was also followed by Grohmann 1964, 132.

15. It is not included in Legendre 2014b.

16. Morelli 2016, 270: "il titolo arabo di emiro, che non indica in sé una carica determinata ma una posizione di comando per lo più con connotazioni militari."

“While the most esteemed lord *amīr* Sahl¹⁷ rules over our *castrum* Djeme, we brought our case before the most esteemed *amīr* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān,¹⁸ representative of the *amīr* Ayyūb.¹⁹ He commanded Apa Cyrus, the brother of the chief watchman Enoch, and he sent the great men, namely, the *hegoumenos* Nohe, Thomas (son) of Victor, Aaron (son) of Andreas, and the builder Pesyntius (son) of Psyros.”

The first official, Sahl—who is surely Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh—plays no part in the events recorded. He is named as the *amīr* in charge of Djeme itself; Sahl’s area of influence is discussed further below. Second is the official before whom the case was brought, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who is the representative of the *amīr* Ayyūb.²⁰ Ayyūb also plays no part in the decision-making process in this settlement, a division of a house between two brothers, and is mentioned only in hierarchical connection to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. As in *P.KRU* 25, the situation is that a lower-ranking Muslim official represents a senior official in mediating local disputes. The principal question concerning the officials named in *P.KRU* 42 is the relative position of Sahl and Ayyūb, as both men are mentioned only in passing. As Sahl appears in several documents, his position in the Theban administrative framework is well-known. However, Ayyūb appears only in this document.

More information is known about Sahl because in the prescript of *P.KRU* 50 his title is given as pagarch of Diospolis Magna (i.e., Thebes) and Latopolis. In fact, those officials who appear in prescripts are the ones about whom we know the most, although the level of information provided is not always consistent; for example, Sahl is named in the prescript of *P.KRU* 45 as well, but without titles. Table 2 presents the details derived from the prescripts. For three of the five named officials, Alqama, Muḥammad, and Shukayr, these prescripts constitute the only source of information for them. Yet, while there is no evidence of their involvement in any matter in Thebes, these prescripts are not without utility as they provide titles and locations: Alqama was *amīr*, presumably pagarch, of Hermonthis; Muḥammad was *amīr* of the pagarchy of Hermonthis; and Shukayr was *amīr* of the pagarchy of Hermonthis, the Three *Castra*, Contra Latopolis, and Memnonia (Djeme). It should be noted that the information regarding Sulaymān in *P.KRU* 7 is not actually taken from the text’s prescript, which names only the village *lashane*, but from the body of the document in which he is used as part of the dating criteria of the sale.²¹ This use of Sulaymān’s name may indicate that he was a senior official, perhaps a pagarch (perhaps of Hermonthis). The chronology of these officials and their areas of influence are discussed below.

In the four other documents in which a Muslim official appears (*P.KRU* 8, 25, 42, and 52), his function is as the decision-maker in disputes, as has already partially been discussed. After presenting the material, I return to the nature of their involvement, that is, what type of decision-maker they were (mediator, arbiter, or judge). In *P.KRU* 8, the widow Tanope seeks

17. In *P.KRU* Index IV, Πδζδλλ is suggested as a variant of Οδδλλ, that is, Sahl, which is how Till 1954, 131, also understood the name. Note that MacCoull 2009, 128, retains the spelling of Pahal. I have not been able to consult the original papyrus itself, which is in the Museum Borgiano, to check the text and the writing of the Arab names (see the following two notes for ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and Ayyūb).

18. Till 1954, 131, transcribes the name directly as Abderhamar, and MacCoull 2009, 128, as ‘Abd al-Homar; Legendre 2014b, 402, is tentative in her reading of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, but I feel confident in this understanding, especially in this text in which Arab names appear to have posed particular difficulties to the scribe.

19. Ayyūb is attested in several variants in Coptic: ΔΙΟΠ, ΔΙΟΥΠ, ΔΙΩΩΒ, ΙΥΟΠ (see Legendre 2014b, 408, for attestations). It is possible that the medial mu in the name here is an error and the name is not Amiop. Till 1954, 131, transcribed the name as it is, while MacCoull 2009, 128, omits the name from her translation (“representing . . . the *amīr*”) but notes (n. 7): “The proper name might be read as ‘Ayub.’”

20. It should be highlighted that the same epithet is used of both Sahl and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (ἐνδοξότατος). It is difficult to use epithets to distinguish between the ranks of Arab officials in the Theban material, although it should be stressed that while ἐνδοξότατος appears to be used generally, εὐκλεέστατος seems to be used only of the pagarch. No epithets are used in connection with Sulaymān in *P.KRU* 7 (although he is εὐκλεέστατος in *P.KRU* 8 and 52), Ayyūb in *P.KRU* 42, and Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh in *P.Bal.* 130 App. A (this omission of an epithet is standard in the addresses of tax demands).

21. Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh is referred to for the same purpose in *P.KRU* 42, as cited in the above quotation.

Table 2. Muslim Officials Named in Prescripts

Official	Text	
Alqama b. al-Ḥārith	<i>P.KRU</i> 12.3 <i>P.KRU</i> 13.3	ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) δεσπότη(ου) ἡμῶν Ἀργαμα υἱοῦ Ἐρδ εὐκλεε(στάτου) ἀμιρᾶ πόλις (l. πόλεως) Ρμω[ντ] δεσπότη(ου) ἡμῶν Ἀργαμα υἱοῦ Ἐρδ εὐκλε(εστάτου) ἀμιρᾶ Ἐρμό(ν)- θ(εως) πόλις (l. πόλεως)
Muḥammad	<i>P.KRU</i> 106.5–6	ἐπὶ Μαμῆτ ἀμιρᾶ εὐκλε(εστάτου) ἀμιρᾶ τῆς παραρχίας Ἐρμόνθεος (l. Ἐρμόνθεως)
Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh	<i>P.KRU</i> 45.3–4 <i>P.KRU</i> 50.3	ἐπὶ Φλαυίω Σαἶλ υἱῷ Ἀβδέλλα τῷ ἐνδ(οξοτάτω) ἀμιρᾶ † ἀπὸ παραρχί(ων) Διοσπ(ό)λλ(εως) ἕως Λάτω(ν πόλεως) ἐπὶ Φλαυίω Σαἶλ τῷ εὐκλε(εστάτω) ἀμιρᾶ ἀπὸ Διοσπόλλ(εως) ἕω(ς) Λάτω(ν πόλεως) παγάρχη
Shukayr b. ‘Ubayd	<i>P.KRU</i> 70.3–5	Φλαυίω (l. Φλαουίου) Σικερ υἱο(ῦ) Ἀβειδ εὐκλε(εστάτου) ἀμιρᾶ παραρχίας Ἐρμόνθεως καὶ Τριῶν Κάστρου καὶ Κονδρολάτων καὶ κάστρ(ου) Μεμνίων
Sulaymān	<i>P.KRU</i> 7.13–14	ΣΗ ΠΕΚΕΡΟC ΠΑΙ ΤΕΠΟΥ ΕΤΡΗ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΗΔΖΡΗ CΟΥΛΑΙΜΑΝ ΠΑΜΕΡΑ
Name lost	<i>P.KRU</i> 30.3	[. . . εὐκ]λε(εστάτου) ἀμιρᾶ πόλ[εως . . .]

arbitration against the second party, whose names do not survive, concerning the outstanding payment of the previously agreed-on sale price of a courtyard (ll. 3–6):

[ΔΗΝΕ]ΔΓΕ ΝΗΜΗΤΗ ΝΗΔΖΡΗ ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC CΟΥΛΕΙΜΑΝ ΠΕΥΚΛ(ΕCΤΑΤΟC) ΝΑΜΙΡΑ ΕΤΒΕ
ΠΕΝΜΕΡΟC ΝΑΗΖ ΠΡΟC ΘΕ ΟΥΝ ΝΤΑΝΠΕΙΘΕΙΜΗ ΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΕΑΤΕΤΗΤΙΚΕΤΙΟΥ ΝΤΡΙΜΗ(CΙΟΝ)
ΝΔΙ

“[We] sued each other before our lord Sulaymān, the most glorious *amīr*, concerning our share of (the) courtyard. According to what we argued together, you (pl.) gave another five *tremisses* to me.”

Sulaymān’s decision is not explicitly stated, but it is clear that it was in favor of the first party, as shortly thereafter the second party paid the remaining 5 *tremisses*. It is not stated how much had already been paid for Tanope’s share in the courtyard (the original price was presumably at least 2 *holokottinoi*²²).

Tanope appeared before Sulaymān a second time, as the second party rather than the first, together with Daniel son of Pachom in *P.KRU* 52. The two of them, or possibly only Tanope with Daniel supporting her with the case, are accused by the first party, Petros son of Comes, of stealing more than 10 *holokottinoi* worth of goods.²³ In this instance, Sulaymān delegated the case to the *dioiketai* of the village, Demetrios and Chael, who demanded the return of the property. This delegation is inferred, as the first party moves immediately from the *amīr* to the *dioiketai* (ll. 5–9):

ΔΙ[ΕΝ]ΔΓΕ [ΝΗ]ΤΗ ΝΗΔΖΡΗ ΠΕ[. . .²⁴]ΕΝΧΟΕΙ[C C]ΟΥΛΕΙΜΑΝ ΠΕΥΚΛ(ΕCΤΑΤΟC) ΝΑΜ[Ι]ΡΑ
ΕΤΒΕ ΖΕΝCΚΕΥΕ ΝΤΑΤΕΝΒΙΤΟΥ Ν[ΧΙ]ΟΥΕ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΜΠ[ΕΝ]ΗΙ ΔΗΠΑΡΑC[ΚΕΥ]ΔΖΕ ΜΜΩΤΗ
ΝΔΗΜΗΤΡ[ΙΟC] ΜΝ ΧΔ[ΗΛ] ΝΔΙΟΙΚ(ΗΤΗC) Τ[Δ]ΡΟΥΔΠΑΙΤΙ ΜΜΩ[Τ]Η ΝΤΗΡΑΙΤΕΙ ΤΗΡC

22. Courtyards, or shares thereof, are the object of sale in *P.KRU* 7 (specifically unoccupied, ΕΙΩΖΒΡΡΟΤΕ, land in the courtyard) and *P.KRU* 9 (one-third share). In each instance, the sale price is 5 *tremisses*. However, as plot sizes are not given, nor any further details, the relative value of these courtyards cannot be determined. For comparison, entire houses sold for 4 *nomismata* and 6 *nomismata* in *P.KRU* 15 and 14, respectively.

23. On Daniel’s possible role in this situation, see Cromwell 2014, 236.

24. Examination of the original papyrus suggests that the scribe erased a couple of letters here, perhaps an epithet (*editio princeps*: ΝΗΔΖΡΗΠΕΝ . . . ΕΝΧΟΕΙ[C]).

“I sued you(pl.) before our lord Sulaymān, [the] most glorious *amīr*, concerning the goods that you(pl.) stole from [our] house. We introduced you (pl.) to the *dioiketai* Demetrios and Chael, so that they may demand from you all the goods.”

However, it is subsequently demonstrated that Tanope and Daniel are unable to return the goods, and they are absolved from doing so.

The role of ‘Amr in *P.KRU 25* has already been discussed. This document is part of a dossier that concerns the properties in question and their owners, the sisters Abessa and Takoum.²⁵ Abessa, without Takoum’s permission, sold a number of properties (a house, courtyard, and workroom) to Daniel son of Isidoros. As she did not have the authority to sell the entire estate, and because Daniel was not happy with having to return it, Abessa took action to reclaim the properties, bringing her case before ‘Amr. In contrast to *P.KRU 8* and *52*, *P.KRU 25* explicitly states that it was ‘Amr’s decision for Daniel to return the properties for their original sale price. This return is recorded in two documents: *P.KRU 25* records the sale of half of the property to Abessa, who pays an extra 2 *tremisses* as a penalty for reverting the sale;²⁶ *P.KRU 47* records the sale of the other half to Takoum. In the second document, the section in which the official is named is mostly lost. The only surviving reference is to ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙΣ ΠΕΥΚΛ(ΕΕΕΤΑΤΟΟ) ΝΑΜΙΡΑ, “the representative of our lord, the most glorious *amīr*” (l. 11), but this must refer to ‘Amr.²⁷

The final settlement document, *P.KRU 42*, has also already been discussed in part. Here, the brothers Moses and Psate the sons of Joseph require a decision regarding a new house. As the above quotation shows, ‘Abd al-Rahmān delegates the case to local officials, who go to the house, determine its price, and divide it among the brothers. It is stated that they act in accordance with the command of the *amīr* (ΠΡΟΣ ΤΚΕΛΕΥΟΙΟ ΝΠΔΜΙΡΑ, l. 14). However, whether the outcome came directly from ‘Abd al-Rahmān or whether the local officials acted in his name only is not clear, and the reality may be obscured by formulaic rhetoric. Nevertheless, the act of delegation to local authorities, who can actually visit the property in question, is clear.

The third role in which we find Muslim officials is in a financial context, connected to taxation, a role in which Muslim officials are well attested in central Egypt and the Fayyūm, but is less prevalent in the Theban material (however, it should be borne in mind that the evidence from the regions is different and no archive of Muslim officials is known from Thebes). Only one text mentions an official directly by name: *P.Bal. App. A* is a tax demand issued in early 724 by Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh to Daniel son of Pachom (the second party with Tanope in *P.KRU 52*): Σὺν θεῶ Σααλ υἱὸς(ς) Ἀβδελλα ΠΟΙΟΔΑΙ ΝΔΔΝΗΗΛ ΠΩΝ ΠΔΩΩΜ.²⁸ The demand is for the poll tax (normally in western Thebes the *diagraphon*, but here the *andrisimos*) and two extraordinary taxes. A fragmentary demand written on the same day, *P.Bal. App. B*, does not preserve its address but was certainly from Sahl’s office and was written by the same scribe.

P.CLT 3 is a request for a travel permit for three monks from the monastery of Apa Paul to travel north to the Fayyūm. It is expressly stated that they have all paid their taxes for that indiction year. The request is addressed on the recto simply to the glorious *amīr* (ΕΥΚΛΕ(ΕΕΕΤΑΤΟΟ) ΝΑΜΙΡΑ), while on the verso the address contains a long string of epithets, but again no name, only *amīr*. This lack of a name occurs probably because this text is a draft or a copy of the petition that was sent to the official. And this explains why it was found in western Thebes—no

25. For the sisters and their families, see Wilfong 2002, 66–68.

26. This penalty is considerably lower than that stated in the final clauses of documents, which typically range between 10 and 36 *nomismata*.

27. The division that the sisters reached was clearly unsatisfactory, as they again sought mediation over the property, this time before local officials only. The result of the second division is recorded in *P.KRU 45* (Takoum’s share) and *46* (Abessa’s share).

28. Cromwell (forthcoming) examines the extant body of Coptic tax demands (*entagia*) from Egypt and the stylistic connections between the Theban demands and those from elsewhere in Egypt.

archive from the office of any of the Muslim officials discussed in this chapter has been found. Despite the lack of a name, the official in question is surely Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh, from whose office the tax demand *P.Bal. App. A* was issued and who was responsible for the fiscal administration of Thebes. *P.CLT 3* was written in 728, by the same scribe as the tax demands (Aristophanes son of Johannes), a scribe who must have been connected with Sahl’s office in some capacity.²⁹

In sum, for the most part, the surviving documents present only limited interaction between these Muslim officials and the inhabitants of Djeme. Most of the officials are named only in the prescripts of the documents. Sahl, beyond prescripts, is found only in the position of a fiscal administrator in connection with taxation: the tax demand *P.Bal. App. A* is written in his name, and *P.CLT 3*, the request for a travel permit, was most probably sent to him. The most active officials in the corpus are Sulaymān and ‘Amr, who appear in property disputes (*P.KRU 8, 42, and 52*). In *P.KRU 42 and 52*, the cases are delegated to local officials—in the case of the former, the text states that the decision is made in line with what ‘Amr determined. To these texts, another should be added: *P.KRU 10*. This dispute concerning a plot of land is escalated beyond the level of local Muslim officials and is taken to Antinoopolis, where it is presented to the *dux*: ΔΝΒΩΚ ΕΔΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΥ ΔΝΠΡΟCΕΛΘΕ ΝΠΕΝΧΘΕΙC [ΠΕΥ]ΚΛΕΕCΤΑΤΟC ΝΔΟΥΞ ΖΔ ΠΚΔΖ ΤΗΡCΙ ΕΤΜΔΔΥ, “We went to Antinoopolis and appeared before our lord, the most glorious *dux* concerning all of that land” (ll. 17–18). The name of this official is not included, nor is any title beyond the quite antiquated *dux*, but he must have been a very senior Muslim official, more important than the local *amīr*.³⁰ The *dux* reaches a decision, but after the parties’ return to Djeme the case is brought before village officials, the “great men,” as that decision was deemed unacceptable, rendering the whole journey redundant.³¹

This rejection of the *dux*’s decision leads back to the question of the role these Muslim officials played. While ‘Amr’s decision in the case of *P.KRU 25 and 47* was followed, the property division ultimately proved to be unsatisfactory and led to a later settlement. However, ‘Amr’s decision was followed at least in the first instance. For Arthur Schiller, there were no courts of law in Egyptian villages of this time (and for two centuries previously); rather, the decisions recorded in the Djeme documents are the result of mediation.³² Gladys Frantz-Murphy presented an opposite interpretation of the settlements involving Muslim officials: “Only Muslim courts had the authority to render a judicial decision which could be enforced.”³³ In this light, are the officials acting as arbiters (whose decision is binding, unlike that of mediators³⁴), or are they judges?

In each case, including *P.KRU 10*, the parties presented their case “before” (ΝΔΖΠΗ) the officials in question, indicating that they physically traveled to present their cases to them, presumably to Hermonthis. As the officials were not in Djeme, they often delegated the cases to village officials, especially if the properties needed to be inspected before a decision could be reached. Yet the decision was carried out in the name of the *amīr*, as is explicitly stated in *P.KRU 42*. That the *dux*’s decision was not upheld in *P.KRU 10* may not mean that it was not binding but that the situation was complex, involving multiple people (the original purchaser had passed away, leaving the land in the control of his heirs, but he had already sold half of the plot before his death). The document contains a long narrative component that records all of the complications faced during the dispute that led to the final sale. There is every possibility that the *dux*’s decision was intended to be binding, but his distance from the village in conjunction with the

29. Aristophanes son of Johannes also wrote *P.KRU 8, 25, 47, and 52*, that is, more than one-third of the 15 documents that mention Muslim officials; for the rest of Aristophanes’s dossier and his activities, see Cromwell 2017.

30. On the title *dux* and its distinction from *amīr*, see Morelli 2016 (based on evidence from the 7th-century Papas archive, Edfu, specifically *P.Apoll. 9*).

31. For more on *P.KRU 10* and the families involved, see Cromwell 2013.

32. Schiller 1971, 496–97.

33. Frantz-Murphy 1993, 101.

34. For the difference between mediators and arbiters, see Gagos and van Minnen 1994, 32.

(then unknown) fact that the plot of land was no longer intact ultimately rendered his decision untenable.

Therefore, the Muslim officials—pagarchs or their representatives—did have judicial authority in these cases. At the very least, they are arbiters, but as the cases discussed here were brought before them and their decisions were binding, they seem actually to have functioned above this level, as judges. In opposition to Schiller's thesis that "the courts are no more," the Djeme documents provide evidence for the existence of regional courts presided over by Arab officials,³⁵ to whom villagers petitioned when mediation within the village proved to be unsuccessful.

The archive of Nājid b. Muslim, pagarch of the Fayyūm from ca. 730 to 743, reveals the range of responsibilities and activities of a pagarch before the Abbasid period. While no comparable dossier exists for pagarchs in southern Upper Egypt, and while the Fayyūm is a more important region than the Hermonthite nome (economically and in proximity to the capital), Nājid's papers provide an important insight into the office.³⁶ His duties included managing the Fayyūm's taxes, monitoring and supervising subordinate Muslim officials, overseeing water supply and irrigation (vital to the Fayyūm), and local judicature. In addition, we see him in direct contact with the governor in Fustāṭ and get an idea of the size and composition of his personal staff.

One of the most perplexing questions concerning the officials occurring in the Theban textual material is the role of Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh. The tax demands show that he was responsible for taxation in the area, and the prescripts of *P.KRU* 45 and 50 label him as the *amīr* of the pagarchy, but there is no indication that villagers petitioned him concerning private disputes, taking their cases instead to the pagarch of Hermonthis.³⁷ However, the presentation of Sahl, and consequently our understanding of his role, is based on what limited and patchy evidence is available. While it is possible that Sahl was responsible for the fiscal administration of this region (and perhaps others) and responsibility for the judicial administration of the area in the 720s and 730s lay in Hermonthis, such an observation is not conclusive in the lack of further evidence concerning him and his office. The titles of Shukayr, discussed below, suggest that this division of responsibilities was consolidated in the 740s.

As seen in *P.KRU* 10, plaintiffs could take their case to a higher authority, should they possess the means to do so. It certainly must have been an expensive endeavor to travel to Antinoopolis to petition the *dux*. There is no evidence of a Theban case being escalated to Egypt's ultimate authority, the governor.³⁸

Returning to the Theban officials, Table 3 presents their dates, in chronological order, together with their titles. In most cases the officials can be dated securely, as a result of the strong prosopographic record of Djeme and the inclusion of absolute dates in some of the documents (*P.Bal.* 130 App. A is dated by the *hegira*). However, there are exceptions. None of the three documents involving Sulaymān contain dating criteria beyond a broad decade, the 730s. The date at the beginning of *P.KRU* 7 is broken and the year is lost (only 10 Paone survives), and the beginnings of both *P.KRU* 8 and 52 are lost. All three documents were written while Chael son of Psemo and Demetrios son of Leontios were *lashane* (*P.KRU* 7 and 8) and later *dioiketes* (*P.KRU*

35. As already proposed by Steinwenter 1920, 15; 1955, 53. Gagos and van Minnen 1994, 42, follow Frantz-Murphy (see n. 34 above) in recognizing the existence of courts in the early Islamic period.

36. His archive is published by Sijpesteijn 2013 (= *P.MuslimState*); see pp. 124–36 for a summary of his duties; for an update on his person, see the contribution by Esther Garel and Naïm Vanthieghem in this volume at p. 88–89. For the dossier of the Heracleopolite and Hermopolite pagarch, Rāshid b. Khālid, see the discussion below.

37. There remains uncertainty over the location of Sulaymān, but *P.KRU* 42 shows that Sahl and Ayyūb were contemporaneous pagarchs, suggesting that he resided in Hermonthis.

38. Tillier 2015 discusses the judicial role of the governor Qurra b. Sharik, on the basis of the Aphrodito material. Bear in mind that Tillier 2013, 21–22, notes that in the Byzantine period until the Sufyanid period the pagarch was the principal local judicial authority and was subordinate to the *dux* of the Thebaid. Subsequently, during the Marwanid period (and starting with Qurra), the *dux*'s role was replaced by the governor. However, *P.KRU* 10, which dates to either 722 or 737 (in Cromwell 2017, chap. 2, I argue for the later date), is evidence of the role the *dux* continued to play in Marwanid Egypt.

Table 3. Chronology of the Muslim Officials

Year ¹	Official	Text
724	Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh	<i>P.Bal.</i> 130 App. A
725/6	Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh (<i>amīr</i> over Djeme) 'Abd al-Rahmān (<i>amīr</i> , representative of Ayyūb) Ayyūb (<i>amīr</i>)	<i>P.KRU</i> 42
728	Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh(?)	<i>P.CLT</i> 3
Early 730s	Sulaymān (<i>amīr</i>)	<i>P.KRU</i> 7, 8, 52
733	Alqama b. al-Ḥārith (<i>amīr</i> of the pagarchy of Hermonthis)	<i>P.KRU</i> 12, 13
735	Muḥammad (<i>amīr</i> of the pagarchy of Hermonthis)	<i>P.KRU</i> 106
737/8	'Amr (representative of an <i>amīr</i>)	<i>P.KRU</i> 25, 47
740/1	Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh (<i>amīr</i> ; pagarch of Diospolis and Latopolis)	<i>P.KRU</i> 45, 50
749	Shukayr b. 'Ubayd (<i>amīr</i> of the pagarchy of Hermonthis, the Three <i>Castra</i> , Contra Latopolis, and Djeme)	<i>P.KRU</i> 70

1. Apart from where discussed in the text, these dates are those in Till 1962.

52) of Djeme. Chael son of Psemo appears by himself in this function in *P.KRU* 56 (date unknown), 12 and 13 (dated 733), 88 (dated 734), and 106 (dated 735). Based on this development of Chael's career, *P.KRU* 7 and 8 likely date to the beginning of the 730s (if not a year or two earlier), and *P.KRU* 52 is later but perhaps before *P.KRU* 12 and 13, at which date Alqama b. al-Ḥārith was *amīr* of the pagarchy of Hermonthis.

The main problem regarding this chronology concerns the dates of *P.KRU* 25 and 47, and then 45 (which concerns the same property at the center of the first two documents) and 50. Walter Till dated these texts to one indiction cycle earlier than I date them in Table 3. His main dating criterion was the presence of Sahl b. 'Abd Allāh in the prescripts of *P.KRU* 45 and 50. As Sahl was attested in *P.Bal.* 130 App. A, which is dated absolutely to 724, he placed all the documents in which he appears in this decade. However, based on my study of the career of Aristophanes son of Johannes, the scribe of *P.KRU* 25 and 47, I believe that they should all be dated to the later indiction cycle.³⁹ There is no obvious impediment to pushing back Sahl's dates to the late 730s: there is no other recorded pagarch of Diospolis, and in *P.KRU* 42, Sahl was *amīr* over Djeme, but Ayyūb was *amīr* elsewhere, perhaps Hermonthis. It is also worth emphasizing that Sahl in *P.KRU* 50 is presented as the pagarch of Diospolis (Thebes) and Latopolis (Esna), but there is no mention of Hermonthis, which lies between these two sites, in association with him.

When this chronology is presented differently, as in Table 4, and following the assumption that Ayyūb and Sulaymān were pagarchs of Hermonthis, we see a relatively quick turnover of officials here, with four different men holding this post over the course of a 15-year period (and three in only five or six years). In marked contrast, if my dating of the documents is correct, is Sahl's longevity as a pagarch in the region, although this is not exceptional elsewhere in Egypt; for example, see Nājid's abovementioned approximately 15-year tenure in the Fayyūm. This point raises a number of questions. We have only brief glimpses of Sahl, and he is mentioned in connection with Djeme and later Diospolis and Latopolis. Was he in control of all of these regions throughout this period, or was he initially in charge of Diospolis (and so also Djeme), and only subsequently did his area of influence expand to include Latopolis? As just noted, no extant evidence connects him with Hermonthis, so he was in charge of two noncontiguous areas. Immediately before the onset of the Abbasid period, Shukayr was in charge of a larger area: the east

39. Cromwell 2017, chap. 2. Frantz-Murphy 1993, 101, also dates them to 737/8; MacCoull 2009, 82, retains the date of 722/3 for *P.KRU* 25 but suggests the alternative 737/8 for *P.KRU* 47 (p. 85), failing to closely connect the two documents.

Table 4. Areas of Control of the Arab Officials

Year	Diospolis	Djeme	Hermonthis	Three <i>Castra</i>	Contra Latopolis	Latopolis
724		Sahl				
725/6		Sahl	Ayyūb?			
Early 730s			Sulaymān?			
733			Alqama			
735			Muḥammad			
740/1	Sahl					Sahl
749		Shukayr	Shukayr	Shukayr	Shukayr	

and west banks of Thebes, Hermonthis, and Contra-Latopolis (with no reference to Latopolis). This change might indicate that there was a restructuring of administrative boundaries toward the end of the 730s, with several areas consolidated under the control of one official, which may also have resulted in the above proposed consolidation of different administrative duties.

Returning to the quick succession of Hermonthis pagarchs, the movement of Arabs between posts is attested elsewhere. Contemporary to the Theban evidence is the case of Rāshid b. Khālid, who is attested over a ca. five-year period as pagarch of Heracleopolis (717/8–23)⁴⁰ and over a seven-year period as pagarch of Hermopolis. If Rashid was promoted from Heracleopolis to Hermopolis, a more populous and administratively more important region, then his dates in Hermopolis are 724–31.⁴¹ However, it cannot be discounted that he moved in the opposite direction, in which case his Hermopolite dates are 710–16.⁴²

A decade earlier, in the Aphrodito corpus, we find other, highly mobile Arab officials bearing the title *epikeimenos* (ἐπικείμενος). These officials oversaw a range of activities, connected with the highest levels of the administration, from building works to the problem of fugitives. ‘Abd Allāh b. Shurayḥ in 708/9 was stationed in Ptolemais (*P.Lond.* 4.1518) but in 710 was located much farther to the north in Kynopolis (*P.Lond.* 4.1542). In each text, he is named as the official responsible for delivering (παρίστημι) fugitives from the two respective nomes back to Aphrodito.⁴³ Marie Legendre sees in the *epikeimenoī* the first administrative figures imported to the valley from Fustāṭ and the beginning of direct state involvement outside the capital, establishing communication networks, extracting resources for large-scale imperial projects, and managing the provincial population.⁴⁴ It is in the following decade, between 710 and 720, that we see Arab officials replace with increasing rapidity the local elites. This process, unsurprisingly, started in the larger cities down the Nile Valley (for example, Hermopolis), before moving to smaller centers along the Nile. That the evidence for Arab officials in the Theban region does not begin

40. *SB* 18.13870 (717–718); *CPR* 4.1 and *CPR* 19.26 (718), *Stud.Pal.* 10.197 (719), *Stud.Pal.* 8.1083 (721/2), *Stud.Pal.* 8.1195 (723), and *Stud.Pal.* 8.1194 (undated).

41. In which case his dates are as follows: *BKU* 3.339 and *P.Ryl.Copt.* 285 (725), *BKU* 3.417 (726), *CPR* 4.5 (726/7), British Library Or. 6201 A(2) (731; published in Schenke 2014), *P.Ryl.Copt.* 156 (728), and *CPR* 2.123, *CPR* 4.51, and *P.Ryl.Copt.* 130v (undated).

42. On Rāshid’s career and the dating of his dossier, see Nikolaos Gonis’s contribution in this volume.

43. εἰς περὶ προσώπων ἡτὰρ παρ’ ἑστῆς ἡμοῦ γινώσκων ἡφ’ οἱ [2] ἡτ[η]ν δὲ βεβαίως πρὸς τὸν ἑστῆς (ἡμοῦ) ἀγὼν περὶ ἐπικείμενος ἡ [π]μ]δ ἐτῆμα, “Here are the people who were delivered from the nome of Psoi (= Ptolemais) by ‘Abd Allāh b. Shurayḥ, the Saracen and *epikeimenos* of that place” (*P.Lond.* 4.1518.6–8); [. . . φοιβ]δμηων πρὸς πμδ κριος εἰς ἐρεμιας παρὶ ἡτὰρ βεβαίως ἡπην ἡφ’ οἱ [π]επ]κίμενος ἐτῆμα ἡτῆς ἡμοῦ κρῶς παρ’ ἑστῆς ἡμοῦ ἡδην, “ [. . . Phoib]amon the son of the late Jeremias, whom ‘Abd Allāh b. Shurayḥ, the *epikeimenos* who delivers from the nome of Koeis (= Kynopolis), delivered to us” (*P.Lond.* 4.1542.10). ‘Abd Allāh b. Shurayḥ also appears in two Greek texts from Aphrodito, *P.Lond.* 4.1332.23 and 1333.25 (708), but without reference to the location of his office.

44. Legendre 2014a, 231–35.

until the mid-720s follows the geographically southward trend (as well as reflecting the lower position of Thebes in the administrative framework of Egypt).

In this light, the number of pagarchs at Hermonthis over a short period does not appear to be exceptional but representative of the movement of Arab officials between posts, as promotions or filling posts left vacant by others. In 749, Shukayr b. 'Ubayd was pagarch over a large contiguous area that incorporated Hermonthis, a town that is not mentioned in association with Sahl. Unfortunately, no evidence survives concerning how long Shukayr's tenure may have been or if his area of influence changed over time.

The Theban record provides a glimpse into the administrative structure of the area and how it developed in late Umayyad Egypt, as well as the roles played by Arab officials in village life. They are named as decision-makers—and I argue that they in fact functioned as regional judges—in a small number of property disputes. For the most part, though, their presence is restricted to prescripts, showing that their authority was understood by the villagers and the scribes who wrote these legal documents, even if they were not a common presence in town.

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*Naming Practices
and Language Change*

Remarques textuelles et méthodologiques sur les surnoms et sobriquets dans les papyrus tardifs (autour des P.Apoll.)

Jean Gascoü

Jean-Luc Fournet et moi-même avons, il y a dix-neuf ans, copié et collationné les papyrus grecs tardifs d'Edfou conservés à l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Cette opération a abouti à des publications d'inédits, mais aussi à de nombreuses remarques textuelles sur la partie grecque du dossier copto-grec communément désigné sous le nom d'archives de Papas, pagarque d'Edfou dans les années 660–80. Rappelons que l'essentiel des pièces grecques a été édité en 1953 au Caire par Roger Rémondon, sous le titre « Papyrus grecs d'Apollōnos Anō » (= *P.Apoll.*). La présente étude me donne l'occasion de publier ici, autour du thème indiqué dans mon titre, une sélection de nos corrections aux *P.Apoll.* J'ajoute des conjectures personnelles plus récentes, vérifiées d'après les originaux ou des images, qui porteront à l'occasion sur des pièces supplémentaires, autrefois éditées par moi-même, (*P.Apoll.* 108–10 r^o/v^o = SB 16.12428–31) et sur un papyrus du même fonds, mais conservé ailleurs, *P.Princ.* 3.140, dont la version à ce jour la plus fiable est SB 20.14282.

Je vais donc traiter des formules onomastiques des *P.Apoll.* et en particulier des surnoms (« Spitznamen »)¹. J'entends par surnoms des déterminations non-officielles, substitutives de la patronymie ou de l'ascendance en général, et tirées de la vie professionnelle, de particularités morales et physiques, ou d'autres champs encore, et qui peuvent parfois se substituer au nom propre lui-même². Autour des *P.Apoll.*, je mobiliserai d'autres sources papyrologiques, dont le rouleau copte bien connu *SBKopt.* 1.242 qui détaille des assignations de poivre à Edfou en 649 et fait peut-être partie de la trouvaille des *P.Apoll.*, et une oeuvre littéraire tardive, les *Miracles des saints Cyr et Jean* par Sophrone de Jérusalem.

1. Pour l'Égypte, la bibliographie n'est pas riche. Voir cependant Youtie 1969 ; mes remarques dans *P.Sorb.* 2.69, 54–56 ; Horak 1989, spécial. 105–7, où l'auteur donne aussi la bibliographie antérieure ; Broux 2015. On a une étude de cas par Derda 1986, 187–90. L'ouvrage anthropologique de Alford 1988, 82–85, montre surtout ce qu'il faudrait faire dans le domaine des nicknames pour le monde antique.
2. Le cas se présente dans l'étiquette de momie panopolitaine SB 1.3464 (CEM 2036). Dans un premier jet de la rédaction, l'ascendance de la défunte (nommée Sarapias) n'était indiquée que par la profession de sa mère, τῆς τὰ χαρτάρια. Le nom de la « femme au papyrus », Διοσκοροῦς, parvint ensuite au rédacteur qui le consigna au-dessus du nom/surnom, mais il aurait pu s'en passer (voir Borkowski et Gascoü 1994).

I. Les causes de la multiplication des surnoms à la fin de l'Antiquité

Louis Robert avait déjà noté pour l'époque impériale l'appauvrissement de l'onomastique traditionnelle. Cet appauvrissement s'est poursuivi au Bas-Empire du fait de la faveur de l'anthroponymie chrétienne qui a renouvelé, simplifié et nivelé les onomastiques locales³. Ce faciès onomastique résulte de pressions des autorités ecclésiastiques, comme le montre une anecdote de l'*Historia monachorum in Aegypto*. L'ascète Jean de Lycopolis, qui vivait à la fin du IV^e s., impose à un de ses visiteurs de donner à son fils nouveau-né le prénom de Jôannès (ἐπιθήσει αὐτῷ τὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ὄνομα)⁴. La doctrine de l'Église, dans cette matière, est exposée à la même époque par Jean Chrysostome, qui a écrit à plusieurs reprises sur la collation du nom⁵. Il préconise de donner aux enfants des noms bibliques, néotestamentaires, ou ceux de martyrs, d'évêques et d'apôtres. Sa pensée se résume ainsi : « Emparons-nous de la parenté des justes plutôt que de celle des ancêtres » (καὶ τὴν συγγένειαν ἀρπάζωμεν τῶν δικαίων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν προγόνων)⁶. En somme, il dévalorise les fiertés familiales et le sens lignager, qu'il estime sans doute paganisants. C'était sans doute aussi l'intention de Jean de Lycopolis, puisque son visiteur, un militaire de haut rang (*praepositus*), devait être attaché à ses ancêtres. On conçoit que cette doctrine niveleuse et égalitariste ait pu jouer contre la patronymie et les autres références à l'ascendance. De fait, comme l'ont noté les épigraphistes, la patronymie s'affaiblit dans les formules onomastiques chrétiennes⁷.

Une dernière cause semble être la disparition des statuts personnels, par exemple la classe des « gens du gymnase ». Dans la mesure où ces statuts impliquaient des devoirs, mais aussi des droits spécifiques héréditaires, comme des exemptions fiscales, qu'il fallait parfois justifier ou prouver, il importait de conserver et alléguer sa généalogie dans les démarches auprès de l'administration. La « fierté familiale » était intéressée. On conçoit que si les traditions généalogiques n'ont plus d'utilité sociale et juridique, d'autres principes puissent gouverner l'expression des identités individuelles.

Avec les *P.Apoll.*, nous sommes au terme de cette évolution. Réduit à ce qu'offre l'Écriture et le culte des saints, le stock onomastique d'Edfou est peu varié et à peine coloré par le culte d'un saint local mal connu nommé Sansnô⁸ : voici en effet la liste des noms attestés cinq fois ou plus, soit outre Sansnô (x 9), Abraham (x 5), Ananias (x 6), Apa Dios (x 6), Basileios (x 6), Géorgios (x 8), Isak/Isakios (x 5), Jôannès (x 13), Mènas (x 8), Paulos (x 5), Sévèros (x 9), Zacharias (x 6)⁹. Sur de telles bases, augmentent les homonymies. Comme les noms des parents sont puisés à la même source et ont moins de signification symbolique et sociale, ils ont moins de puissance discriminante, si bien que le surnom devient parfois l'unique discriminant d'une formule onomastique.

Voici un exemple tiré de deux lignes consécutives de SB 20.14282 v i.4–5 :

3. Il vaut ici la peine de citer Catherine Dobias-Lalou et Laurent Dubois : « Dans l'épigraphie chrétienne . . . le choix des anthroponymes, fortement influencé par le martyrologe, se restreint et l'on s'éloigne alors beaucoup des infinies possibilités de création onomastique des siècles précédents » (Masson 1990–2000 I, vi).
4. Ed. Festugière 1961, 12 ; la version latine de Rufin, *Patrologia Latina* 21, col. 303, ajoute que l'enfant doit être élevé à l'écart des païens ; j'ai utilisé, pour ce texte, les commentaires de Vuolanto 2016 (version en ligne, non paginée).
5. Voir notamment son *Discours sur la vaine gloire* aux §§ 47–50, Malingrey 1972, 144–48.
6. *Discours sur la vaine gloire*, § 50, Malingrey 1972, 144–48.
7. Catherine Dobias-Lalou et Laurent Dubois remarquent, Masson 1990–2000, vi, l'effacement de la patronymie dans les inscriptions chrétiennes, phénomène aisément constatable en Égypte dans la nombreuse série des épitaphes chrétiennes de Panopolis ou, comme me le fait remarquer Alain Delattre, dans l'épigraphie funéraire d'Antinoopolis.
8. Sur la vénération de Sansnô à Edfou voir l'invocation *O.Edfou* 3.476. Le Sansnô d'Edfou n'est pas pris en compte par Papaconstantinou 2001.
9. Noter cependant que les noms classiques restent en faveur auprès du patriciat local (nous avons ainsi, à l'époque, à Edfou et dans les environs Aristophanès, Puthiodôros, Platôn).

δ(ιὰ) Ἀνανίας Χυρτιπε (κεράτια) ις

δ(ιὰ) Ἀνανίας Ψωλ (κεράτια) αLd

Ananias est le premier des Trois Enfants sauvés de la fournaise, dont le culte était alors très populaire. Les deux homonymes de SB 20.14282 ne sont différenciés que par un surnom copte. Je ne sais pas ce que veut dire Χυρτιπε, mais Ψωλ signifie « dissipé » ou « pervers ». Noter que les surnoms sont en asyndète, sans les expressions introductives traditionnelles, comme ἐπικαλούμενος/-μένη, ου ἐπίκλην, ου ὁ /ή και. C'est souvent le cas dans les formules onomastiques tardives, à proportion de la banalité du surnom, et cela crée bien sûr des incertitudes d'interprétation¹⁰.

II. Lire et identifier les surnoms

Le premier pas, dans une étude de ce genre, est de mieux identifier les surnoms et au premier chef de les lire, puis d'en établir la forme. Voici une sélection de cas.

Dans *P.Apoll.* 74B.3 au lieu de δ(ιὰ) Σῆαπσειρη (Rémondon, *P.Apoll.*) nous avons lu δ(ιὰ) Σιαπσειρυξι. Le nom en question est un surnom tenant lieu de nom. Sous des déformations phonétiques banales, il comporte une allusion, sous une morphologie copte que je ne sais pas expliquer, à la σῦριγξ.

Dans *P.Apoll.* 77A.22 Rémondon a lu υἱ(ὸς) Ἄτρῆς Ἐραντ(), mais il n'existe pas de nom commençant par εραντ. D'autre part, Ἄτρῆς contrevient à la syntaxe puisque c'est un nominatif, alors que dans le même texte, d'après les formulations analogues de la l. A19 υἱ(ὸς) Ἄτρῆ Κάναχ et de la l. B14, υἱ(ὸς) Ἄτρῆ Κάναχ, le scribe emploie pour ce nom, soit le « short genitive » Ἄτρῆ, soit une forme indéclinée. Je propose donc la coupe υἱ(ὸς) Ἄτρῆ σεραντ(). La forme σεραντ() doit être un surnom, que je comprends comme σεράντ(α), soit une forme tardive 'latinisante' de τεσσαράκοντα, « quarante »¹¹. Un nombre pour un surnom ? C'est curieux, mais pas impossible. Il y a en tout cas en France des noms de famille (anciens surnoms) formés de la sorte, en particulier des Quarante, d'après l'annuaire du téléphone en ligne. Peut-être faut-il supposer de préférence un composé de σεράντα, comme Σεραντάπηχος attesté par Théophane pour deux aristocrates de la fin du VII^e et du début du VIII^e s¹².

La formulation de *P.Apoll.* 77A.3 Σανσνῶς Κυτ(οῦς) est erronée parce que mal coupée, car, dans les *P.Apoll.*, le premier de ces noms se présente à une exception près sous la forme non déclinée Σανσνῶ¹³. Je crois qu'il faut lire Σανσνῶ σκυτ(εύς), Sansnô, le corroyeur¹⁴.

Dans *P.Apoll.* 74A.6 δ(ιὰ) Παχομίου Ἰωάν(νου) nous lisons en réalité δ(ιὰ) Παχομ

10. La liste de « Spitznamen » introduits par des locutions caractéristiques dressée par Horak 1989, 105–7, comporte peu de textes byzantins.

11. Le τ est sûr. On a le nom de nombre σεράντα dans le texte tardif *P.Heid.* 4.333.11. Pour la forme, voir Feissel 1981, 143.

12. Ed. de Boor 1883, I, 474 et 476 (voir Feissel 1981, 143n83). Chez Théophane, il semble s'agir d'un nom de famille. Pour des dérivés de σεράντα/σαράντα, voir LBG VII, p. 1529. Dans un texte tardif récemment publié par Gonis 2015, n° 11, 341–42, le nom Τριαν[de la l. 6 pourrait éventuellement se référer à τριάντα (« trente »), ou à un composé formé sur ce mot.

13. Dans l'« exception », *P.Apoll.* 42.5, le premier jet du texte avait seulement Σανσνῶ, dans un contexte exigeant le génitif. La forme a ensuite été complétée par un τι supralinéaire, ce qui suggère soit le datif de Σανσνῶς (-ῶτος), soit un datif phonétique de Σανσνώτης (-ῶτου). Rémondon a opté pour une forme de Σανσνώτης (curieusement lemmatisée Σανσνώτης à l'index IV), mais puisqu'un génitif était attendu, je ne comprends pas l'intention du correcteur. Dans *P.Apoll.* 43.3 on n'a, en fin de ligne, que τὸν Σανσνῶ, si bien que la lemmatisation Σανσνῶς à l'index IV est incertaine. Σανσνῶ est indécliné dans SB 20.14282 v° ii.79 et r ii.52 et 59, et *O.Edfou* 2.323 et 3.476. Il n'est fléchi, sous les deux déclinaisons indiquées au début de cette note, que dans des actes notariés tardifs d'Edfou d'un niveau de langue plus exigeant (*P.Edfou* 1.2.2, 11 et 15 et SB 1.5114.7).

14. Pour d'autres σκυτεῖς dans notre dossier, voir SB 20.14282 v° i.22, r i.8. La corporation des σκυτεῖς est aussi attestée à Edfou en 649 par *SBKopt.* 1.242.79–80.

Ἰωά(ννου) Νοβα, c'est-à-dire que Rémondon a manqué le surnom 'ethnique', Νοβα, « le Nubien ». On l'avait déjà dans *P.Apoll.* 73A v° 43 : μηχανή Σενουθ(ίου) Νοβά(δος), où il faut maintenir Νοβα¹⁵.

Dans la comptabilité *P.Apoll.* 87.11, Rémondon lit π(αρὰ) Μάρκω Τ.α κ(). Nous lisons en fait π(αρὰ) Μάρκω τζαγκαρ(ίω). J'ai moi-même manqué ce terme dans *P.Apoll.* 109.4 (*SB* 16.12428)¹⁶ où la formule Ἰω(άννης) Τζαγκαρ() νο(μίσματα) β (κεράτια) ς fait allusion, comme l'a vu P. J. Sijpesteijn (*BL IX*), à un τζαγκάρ(ιος). Le payeur Ἰωά(ννης) porte un nom banal et donc abrégé. Son identité courante, comme celle du Markos de *P.Apoll.* 87, est définie par τζαγκάριος, qui est un technonyme signifiant « savetier » ou « cordonnier ». Le mot est surtout médiéval, mais il n'aurait pas dû m'échapper, ni au reste à Rémondon, puisque nous l'avons déjà pour 567/8 dans *P.Lond.* 5.1708.89 (τὴν τοῦ τζαγκαρίου τέχνην). La cordonnerie ou la terminologie de la chaussure est une des sources des surnoms : j'ai ainsi reconnu τζάνκη, « la Savate », comme surnom d'un certain Komitas, un aristocrate mentionné par *P.Fouad.* 86.13, et non pas un patronyme (éd.)¹⁷.

Dans *SB* 16.12429.14, la détermination πολικ() doit certainement se comprendre comme une abréviation et variante phonétique de πολυκωπίτης, « rameur ».

C'est peut-être un nom de métier qu'il faut reconnaître dans la détermination [δ(ιὰ) lac.] . . έξωπολιτ() de *SB* 20.14282 v° i.10. Je suis tenté de résoudre έξωπολιτ(ου), soit un synonyme d'έξωπυλίτης, mot désignant à l'époque tardive (plus spécialement à Aphrodite), les νεκροτάφοι, les fossoyeurs. Il se trouve que dans *SBKopt.* 1.242.59–60, figure une corporation d'artisans « creuseurs », ΤΚΟΙΝΟΤΗC ΝΕΝΩΜΕΥ ΝΒΟΛΒΕΛ. Parmi les explications éditoriales, je note celle de « fossoyeurs ».

Dans *SB* 16.12429.8 Σενουθ(ιος) κωφ(), j'ai manqué la forme κωφ(). Il faut bien sûr lire κωφός, « sourd », ou « sourd-muet ». Nous avons de nombreuses attestations du surnom κωφός, ainsi dans la plainte ptolémaïque *P.Tebt.* 2.283, avec le cas de Patunis ὁ ἐπικαλούμενον (l. -μενος) κωφον (l. -ός). Comme on sait, les traits physiques sont une source illimitée de surnoms, ainsi, dans les *P.Apoll.*, plusieurs individus sont qualifiés de βελε (Rémondon Βέλε), ce qui est une forme simplifiée du saïdique Βλλε, « aveugle ».

Si je me suis trompé, il faut aussi dire que ces déterminations ne sont pas toujours bien comprises, comme on le voit dans un papyrus comptable du VI^e/VII^e s., *SB* 20.14076.6 (Oxy.): † δ(ιὰ) Ὀννωφρίου [[Καλε]] \Χώλ[ου]/ ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) <ζυγῶ> νό(μισμα) α π(αρὰ) <κεράτια> β¹⁸.

Selon l'éd., la substitution de \Χώλ[ου]/ à Καλε corrige une erreur. Ce n'est pas vraiment une erreur, car χωλός, qui veut dire en grec « boiteux » ou « estropié », est l'équivalent du copte καλε (6λλε)¹⁹. Il semble que le scribe, pour distinguer Onnophris, porteur d'un nom alors assez banal, de quelque homonyme, a ajouté le surnom Καλε. Mais ce mot égyptien lui semblait sans doute trop rustique. Peut-être a-t-il cru faire honneur à Onnophris en substituant

15. Dans ce texte, l. B v°, 38, l'éd. a manqué une autre donnée ethnique qui, comme les Nubiens, n'est pas inattendue dans la région. Nous lisons en effet μ(η)χ(ανή) Πιαζ Βελζμου, le « champ des Blemmyes » au lieu de μ(η)χ(ανή) Πιαζ Λαζμου.

16. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, *Livre du centenaire 1880–1980*, 323–24. Cette édition est très défectueuse. J'en prépare une édition revue, que j'espère exacte, même si le sens comptable m'échappe encore.

17. Caractérisé parfois comme « familial » ou « populaire », le surnom, comme le note Broux 2015, 287, n'est pas pour autant un critère de distinction sociale, car il affectait tout le monde, jusqu'aux hautes classes byzantines, en particulier à Constantinople, mais, dans le cas des aristocrates, il a moins de chances d'apparaître dans le tout-venant des papyrus. Au cas du comte « la Savate », s'ajoute cependant celui du μεγαλοπρεπέστατος Ἰωάννης ἐπίκλην Ψιχελατος de *P.Rain.Cent.* 74.3–4. L'éditeur suggère « recouvreur de miettes » (peut-être a-t-il en vue les attributions fiscales de l'intéressé). On note encore l'alias Hiérax, difficile à interpréter, ajouté à la formule onomastique du consul Kyros en 441 (*P.Rain.Cent.* 94.1). Les évêques d'Alexandrie portaient souvent des surnoms, ainsi Pierre Monge (le « muet »), Timothée Salophaciote (« au turban agité »). J.-L. Fournet me signale le surnom polémique Psychapollon, « destructeur d'âmes » conféré au grammairien Horapollon par les chrétiens d'Alexandrie (*Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scholastique*, Kugener 1903, 32 [35]). Voir, pour des époques antérieures, les remarques de Broux 2015.

18. Publié par Sijpesteijn 1988, n° 1, 43–45.

19. J'ai reconnu Καλε dans *BGU* 19.2773.20, au lieu de Κιαλε éd. Voir l'entrée sur ce document dans la DDbDP.

la traduction grecque de son ἐπίκλην, ou encore a-t-il voulu montrer son aisance à passer de l'égyptien au grec. H. C. Youtie a déjà identifié une traduction de ce genre, à prétention érudite, dans un rouleau romain de Caranis ²⁰.

Si des mots comme τζαγκάριος, κωφός sont de sens clair, d'autres surnoms des *P.Apoll.* sont plus ambigus. Ainsi, dans *P.Apoll.* 77 A.10, Ἄπα Δῖος Κάλχε, la forme καλχε, qu'on a aussi pour un certain Pistōi dans *SB* 20.14282 v i.40 (Καλωε) et r° i.22 (Κάλχ[ε]), est peut-être une forme cortisée de χαλκεύς, avec métathèse d'aspiration. Même si les forgerons sont absents des *P.Apoll.*, leur corporation est attestée à Edfou par *SBKopt.* 1.242.137. Mais on ne peut exclure un rapport avec la plante κάλχη, car les surnoms tirés de végétaux, nombreux en général, sont présents dans les *P.Apoll.*, où nous avons dans cette gamme δ(ιὰ) Παπᾶ Κικί (*SB* 20.14282 v° ii.50), où κικί est une attestation, rare pour l'époque, du ricin, et κουκε (écorce, ou peut-être une variante de ΚΟΥΚ, noix de palmier doum) (*P.Apoll.* 77A.19 et B.32).

III. Les noms en -ᾶς

Rémondon n'a pas commenté cette catégorie de surnoms qui est représentée dans les *P.Apoll.* Ce sont des hypocoristiques de caractère populaire, étudiés de longue date par les linguistes et en particulier, ces dernières années, par Johannes Diethart ²¹. Leur liste ne cesse de s'allonger ²². Ils servent souvent à former des noms de métier. Louis Robert pensait en avoir identifié plusieurs dans les *P.Apoll.* Il comprenait *P.Apoll.* 7 4B.17 διὰ Παύλου Παστιλᾶ, non pas comme une allusion à Paulos fils de Pastilas (Rémondon, *P.Apoll.*, index IV, 228), mais à Παῦλος le pâtisier, παστιλ<λ>ᾶς ²³. Cependant, une révision du texte par E. Garel et moi-même (avril 2017) a éliminé cette lecture, à laquelle il faut substituer, sans explication évidente, πατσίλε[²⁴. J'ai cependant identifié καρπᾶς, marchand de fruits, dans *SB* 20.14282 r° i.27. De même Γεραμιδιᾶς (*P.Apoll.* 79.3), malgré une altération phonétique à l'initiale, peut se comprendre comme un nom de métier en rapport avec la fabrication des tuiles, κεραμίδες.

Plus difficile est le cas de Κοδᾶς (*P.Apoll.* 62.8). C'est sans doute une variante phonétique de κωδᾶς, surnom déjà attesté ²⁵, mais dont le sens précis est difficile à déterminer, car on peut en rapporter l'explication à plusieurs mots, comme κῶας et dérivés (« toison »), ou κῶδων « clochette », ou encore à la capsule du pavot (κῶδη). Même ambiguïté pour Ταλᾶς dans *P.Apoll.* 74.2 et 4 : δ(ιὰ) [Καλο]πησίου Ταλᾶ et δ(ιὰ) Καλοπησίου Ταλᾶ, dans *P.Apoll.* 77 A.20, Ταλᾶ Κουκέ, et dans un ostracon d'Edfou que j'ai publié dans les *Mélanges Cécile Morisson*, (ὑπὲρ) Ἰωά(ννου) Ταλᾶ ²⁶. Louis Robert a proposé « fileur », idée qui renvoie implicitement à ταλασιουργός ²⁷. Le mot peut encore être rapproché de τάλαρος ou ταλάριον, panier ou petit panier ²⁸. Rattacher avec Robert le nom Κανᾶ de *P.Apoll.* 74A.8 et 15 à κάνεον, corbeille ²⁹

20. Youtie 1973, 1035–41 ; voir aussi Derda 1986.

21. Voir Diethart 2006, 195–236.

22. Ils sont parfois manqués comme dans le texte de *P.Mon.Apoll.* 27.14, donné par la DDbDP, sans doute d'après l'index 8 du catalogue, δ(ιὰ) Κολλ(ού)θ(ου) ὀρβ(α)ροπώλου, « marchand de vesces », alors que l'éditrice a lu à juste titre ὀρβας, à interpréter, malgré les hésitations de l'éd., n. ad loc., ὀρβᾶς. Le contexte exigerait ὀρβᾶ, mais on trouve encore un surnom au nominatif à la l. 10, δ(ιὰ) Ἰωσήφ Χῶλος (ou χωλός), corrigé Χῶλου ou χωλοῦ par la DDbDP en apparat.

23. Robert 1960, 43n9.

24. Dans le même texte, B, 9, la formule διὰ Ἰσακίου ταπ(), en réalité ταπ [], peut se rapporter, si on suit Robert 1960, à un fabricant de tapis, ταπητᾶς ou ταπιτᾶς (ou encore ταπητάριος), mais la forme, incomplète ici, ne peut être établie.

25. *POxy.* 12.1519.4 (« marchand de peaux ») ; *SB* 16.12497.6.

26. Gascou 2010, 380 (pièce n° 16).

27. Robert 1960, 43n9.

28. On a ταλαρᾶς dans *P.Mich.* 8.978.1.

29. Robert 1960, 43n9. On peut encore songer à une forme simplifiée de κάνα, « roseau », dont un diminutif καννίον signifie « vase tubulaire ».

est problématique, car Κανᾶ peut être la forme ‘grecque’ du nom copte Καναχ ou Καναχ qu’on a aussi dans le dossier. Pour cette équivalence, on comparera, à propos d’un même individu, *P.Apoll.* 7 4A.8 δ(ιὰ) Μηνᾶ Κανᾶ et *SB* 20.14282 v° i.20 δ(ιὰ) Μηνᾶ Καναχ.

IV. Sur des noms de monastères de l’ouest alexandrin

En marge de cette étude, j’introduis une digression sur l’emploi des noms de métier en -ᾶς en toponymie. Plusieurs monastères de la bande littorale (Ταινία) à l’ouest d’Alexandrie entrent en effet dans cette onomastique.

Une épitaphe tardive de cette région, *Lef.* 14, conserve la mémoire du moine constantinopolitain (‘byzantin’) Geôrgios, du κοινόβιον τοῦ Μαφορᾶ. Jean Moschos mentionne aussi ce lieu à propos du moine Abba Théodôros³⁰. Ce dernier vivait dans la λαύρα τοῦ Καλαμῶνος, à vingt milles à l’ouest d’Alexandrie. Moschos situe cet établissement entre (ἀνὰ μέσον) l’ensemble monastique du XVIII^e mille, l’Ὀκτωκαιδέκατον, et le lieu-dit τοῦ Μαφορᾶ, sans doute notre κοινόβιον.

L’explication du toponyme Μαφορᾶ est aisée. Même si le mot *μαφορᾶς est un hapax, il s’agit sans doute d’un technonyme faisant allusion à un fabricant ou à un marchand de μαφόρια, pièces de vêtement communes en milieu monastique³¹.

J’ai noté un signum analogue au monastère de l’Ὀκτωκαιδέκατον lui-même. Le moine et théologien chalcédonien Anastase le Sinaïte relate qu’il eut à Alexandrie, vers 635–40, à l’arsenal local (ἐν τῇ φαύρικι τῇ δημοσίᾳ), une controverse avec deux monophysites sévériens, dont un certain Jean, moine de l’Ὀκτώκαϊδεκάτον, Ἰωάννης ὁ μοναχὸς ὁ λεγόμενος τοῦ Ζυγᾶ, ὁ τοῦ Ὀκτωκαιδέκατου³². Anastase semble établir une équivalence toponomastique entre les détermination ὁ . . . τοῦ Ζυγᾶ et ὁ τοῦ Ὀκτωκαιδέκατου. Le nom τοῦ Ζυγᾶ est une désignation alternative de l’Ὀκτωκαιδέκατον, ou, plus probablement, d’après ce qu’on sait de l’organisation des laures monastiques de la Ταινία, fait allusion à quelque κοινόβιον dépendant de l’Ὀκτώκαϊδεκάτον. Le nom τοῦ Ζυγᾶ est obscur, mais par rapprochement avec τοῦ Μαφορᾶ, on peut y voir le génitif d’un nouveau technonyme en -ᾶς, dont la base serait ζυγός ou ζυγόν. Chacun de ces mots a divers sens, mais, vu les conditions de l’époque, *ζυγᾶς a chance d’être une forme courte de ζυγοστάτης, peseur ou changeur de monnaie ou éventuellement ζυγοποιός, fabricant de balances³³.

Voici un dernier cas. S. Brock a récemment publié une lettre syriaque d’ambiance alexandrine³⁴. Elle a été rédigée à l’époque de l’évêque Timothée IV (517–535), et relate un débat entre les monophysites sévériens et julianistes. Elle mentionne au passage nombre de lieux et de personnes. Au § 24 elle fait état d’un toponyme Beth GR’, dont il est dit que c’était un monastère, et, de fait, l’élément sémitique beth, « maison » ou « lieu », peut facilement désigner un monastère³⁵.

Il se trouve que Jean Moschos a fait une visite ἐν τῷ ἐννάτῳ (lire Ἐνάτῳ, ensemble monastique du IX^e mille) ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ Τουγαρᾶ où il a rencontré le κοινοβιάρχης Ménas³⁶. Sur le modèle des formules τοῦ Μαφορᾶ et τοῦ Ζυγᾶ, je propose de corriger le texte en τοῦ Γαρᾶ

30. *Pré spirituel, Patrologia Graeca* 87, 3, col. 3029 § 162.

31. Voir Mossakowska-Gaubert 1996, 27–37 (une sorte de châle).

32. *Anastasi Sinaitae Viae dux*, Uthemann 1981, 159–60. Ce personnage était assisté d’un autre moine monophysite, un certain Grégorios, surnommé ὁ Νυστάζων, « le somnolent ».

33. Johannes Diethart m’a aimablement communiqué sa liste des composés avec ζυγός ou ζυγόν (ζυγάρχης, ζυγιατής, ζυγίτης, ζυγοποιός, ζυγοστάτης). Pour ζυγοποιός, il me renvoie à *SEG* 33.495 (LSJ Suppl.).

34. Brock 2014.

35. Voir <https://syriaca.org/geo/browse.html?view=type&type=monastery> (consulté le 9 octobre 2017).

36. *Pré spirituel, Patrologia Graeca* 87, 3, col. 3009 § 146 (la vieille traduction latine, in *eodem coenobio*, col. 3010, a omis Τουγαρᾶ).

et d'identifier le κοινόβιον de Moschos au Beth GR' de la lettre syriaque. Quant au toponyme τοῦ Γαρᾶ, il implique un nominatif *γαρᾶς. Une explication par les langues locales, égyptienne ou libyque, est difficile³⁷, car cette région était profondément hellénisée. J'interprète plutôt cet hapax comme une forme courte de γαροπῶλης, « marchand » ou « fabricant de garum », ou de tout autre composé faisant allusion au garum. À ce propos, J.-L. Fournet me communique aimablement un dipinto inédit sur amphore montrant que ce récipient, qui provient de la région d'après une allusion à saint Ménas, a servi à stocker du garum (*Brigham Young University* inv. 78).

En conséquence de cette digression il faut garder à l'esprit que dans les papyrus, et y compris dans les *P.Apoll.*, le surnom, quelle que soit sa signification particulière, peut être en fait un déterminant géographique. Je me suis expliqué là-dessus dans mon introduction à *P.Sorb.* 2.69 et je crois qu'Isabelle Marthot a détecté des cas analogues dans sa thèse sur les toponymes d'Aphrodite.

V. Conclusion : À quoi se réfèrent les surnoms?

Même si ce travail n'est qu'incomplet, je voudrais m'interroger sur ce qu'il pourrait apporter à nos connaissances sur le milieu humain d'Edfou au début de l'époque arabe, par exemple sur les activités artisanales, la société ou le fonds ethnique.

Je réponds dès à présent : rien de sûr.

C'est ici le lieu de rappeler qu'un surnom est avant tout un marqueur d'identité, mais même à ce titre, il est instable et pas essentiellement attaché à une personne. Un même individu peut changer de surnom au cours de sa vie, et donc changer en quelque sorte d'identité. Et c'est ce que montre le Miracle n° 43 des saints Cyr et Jean par Sophrone de Jérusalem. La pièce traite d'un certain Taurinos, du village d'Hèrakleion, près d'Alexandrie.

« Taurinos s'adonnait au métier de cloutier. Il avait contracté une infirmité des jambes pas banale, mais grave et dépassant "la parole qu'on fait entendre"³⁸. Car ces jambes avaient, si on peut dire, renié la qualité de jambe, et évoquaient les propriétés du cuir mort. Pour cette raison, elles avaient aussi valu à leur possesseur un nom tiré de leur désignation (ἐπωνυμία), car on cessa de le surnommer (ἐπονομάζειν) "cloutier" (ήλουργός), d'après son métier, et on l'appela, d'après ses jambes, "jambes-de-cuir" (λουρόπους). Sans doute était-ce à bon droit qu'on lui donnait un tel nom, car ses jambes avaient, non seulement les traits distinctifs du cuir, mais aussi, à la façon de ce matériau, étaient, pour le reste, dépourvues de force. L'autre raison, dit-on, c'est que son abandon du métier de cloutier, causé par ses jambes, lui avait valu un sobriquet tiré de sa maladie de jambes »³⁹. Une fois guéri par l'intervention des saints Cyr et Jean, Taurinos changea encore de surnom : ἄρτιος καὶ καλλίπους ἐγίνετο.

On voit que Taurinos fut d'abord nommé ήλουργός, c'est-à-dire qu'il y avait alors adéquation entre sa profession et son surnom, puis qu'en raison de sa maladie, on l'appela λουρόπους,

37. Brock 2014, n. ad loc., 62, rapproche, sans conviction, le village fayoumique médiéval de Gira. Notons simplement que tout le cadre de l'écrit syriaque est alexandrin.

38. *I Th* 1. 13.

39. Ταυρίνος (. . .) τὴν ήλουργικὴν τέχνην μετήρηχετο, τῶν ποδῶν τὴν ἀσθένειαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐκέκτητο, ἀλλὰ μεγάλην καὶ λόγον ἀκοῆς ὑπεραίρουσαν. Οὗτοι γὰρ τὸ τῶν ποδῶν εἶδος, εἰ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ἀρνησάμενοι, λῶρων ἐμιμοῦντο νεκρῶν ιδιότητα· δι' ὃ καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα κτήτορα, τῇ τούτων ἐπωνυμία πεποιήκασιν ὀνομάζεσθαι· τὸν ήλουργὸν γὰρ ἐπονομάζειν ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης ἐάσαντες, ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἐκάλουον λουρόποδα· καὶ τάχα καλῶς τοιοῦτω αὐτὸν ἐκάλουον ὀνόματι, ἐπεὶ περὶ οἱ πόδες οὐ μόνον τὸ τῶν λῶρων ἔσχον ἰδίωμα, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἦσαν λοιπὸν ἀνενέργητοι· καὶ ὅτι, φησὶν, τῆς ήλουργικῆς τέχνης διὰ τοῦς πόδας παυσάμενος, ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν ποδῶν ἐκαλεῖτο νοσήματος.

puis qu'après sa guérison miraculeuse, il reçut le surnom de καλλίπους, surnom qui est peut-être attesté dans un papyrus⁴⁰. Donc, trois identités successives.

Du moins, ces surnoms successifs ont-ils, à certains moments de sa vie, coïncidé avec une qualité réelle du personnage, encore que limitée dans le temps.

Mais ce n'est pas toujours le cas, comme le montre pour Edfou l'exemple suivant.

Dans *SBKopt.* 1.242, un responsable de la corporation des brodeurs de la cité, πλουμάριοι, un certain Abraham fils de Maita, porte aussi, l. 124–25, la qualité de μακελλάριος (ΠΜΔΓΚΕΛΛΑΡ/), « boucher ». Ces deux métiers n'ont aucun rapport. La profession actuelle d'Abraham, vu le contexte, était bien πλουμάριος, mais les raisons pour lesquelles le brodeur Abraham avait le surnom de « boucher » nous échappent. Peut-être était-il désigné dans les documents, soit comme πλουμάριος, soit comme μακελλάριος.

De même, dans *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67143.16, on a la formule Ἀπολλῶς ῥάπτῃς ὁ κ(αί) βαλανεύς. La vraie profession d'Apollōs était tailleur, ῥάπτῃς, alors que son surnom de βαλανεύς désigne tout autre chose, une profession en rapport avec les bains⁴¹. De même enfin dans le Miracle des saints Cyr et Jean n° 17, qui a trait à un aristocrate alexandrin appelé Jôannès. Comme il était très riche, il avait reçu l'appellation, προσηγορία, de χρυσώνης, certainement moins banale que Jôannès, à la fois plus distinguée et plus discriminante. Ceux qui fréquentent les papyrus tardifs savent que le mot χρυσώνης a un sens technique et institutionnel. Il désigne un agent public provincial chargé d'encaisser les recettes monétaires de l'État. Bien sûr, ces personnages étaient riches et représentaient peut-être le prototype du riche, mais, dans le cas présent, χρυσώνης n'est employé que par métaphore.

De même, dans la formule Γερόντιος ὁ καὶ Ληστής de *CPR* 14.9.8, on ne peut pas prendre au pied de la lettre la qualité répréhensible de ληστής. Peut-être ce surnom est-il employé ici par figure, mais y a-t-il même lieu de chercher une raison nécessaire ? Car il y a une sorte de gratuité du surnom comme on voit d'après le Miracle n° 58 des saints Cyr et Jean. Le héros de cette pièce est un certain Πέτρος ὁ Χάραξ, « Pétrōs, dit Charax ». Comme ce personnage était originaire de Charakmoba, aujourd'hui Kérak dans l'ancienne Arabie (Χαρακμῶβα, Χαραχμῶβα, Μωβουχαραξ), j'ai, dans ma traduction et mon commentaire de ce miracle, considéré Χάραξ comme un pseudo-ethnique de Charakmoba alors que l'ethnique de cette cité est en réalité Χαρακμῶβηνός⁴², mais comme l'auteur vante plus bas l'intelligence, la φρόνησις, du personnage, il se pourrait bien que la forme Χάραξ contienne une allusion à l'origine de Pétrōs, mais aussi, en vertu d'un sens figuré de χαράσσω, à son esprit « pointu » ou « pénétrant » (le mot χάραξ désigne communément un pieu ou un pal). Ainsi, le surnom de Pétrōs ne résulterait que d'une équivoque verbale, ou d'un jeu de mots. J'ajoute que χάραξ entre dans une catégorie d'appellatifs en -αξ, caractéristiques du langage « familier et expressif » selon les termes de Robert⁴³.

En somme, vu les conditions d'emploi que je viens d'évoquer et les précautions d'interprétation qu'elles impliquent, le surnom demeure une branche de l'onomastique, relevant plutôt de la philologie et de l'histoire de la langue grecque, que de l'histoire économique et sociale.

40. La μίσθωσις *P.Wash.Univ.* 1.17.8–9 (Oxy; 514) est adressée par Αὐρήλιος Ἰωάννης ἐπίκλην Καίλαπ . . . τει . Le surnom a été lu καλλαπ . . . τει par Gonis 2007, 271; d'après l'image en ligne (<http://omeka.wustl.edu/omeka/exhibits/show/papyri-collection/item/8054>), je crois qu'on peut lire Καλλα-|πόττει. Cette forme est corrompue, mais est peut-être à rapprocher de καλλίπους, à moins qu'il ne faille l'interpréter comme une déformation de καλαπόδιον, terme de cor-donnerie, Schusterleisten (LBG 4.744).

41. Ce cas jette un doute sur la valeur du surnom περιχύτης (encore un technonyme balnéaire) dans *P.Coll.Youtie* 2.92.15 et 40, car la fille du personnage ainsi surnommé était vendeuse de salaisons, profession qu'elle avait de bonnes chances d'avoir héritée de son père.

42. *Miracles des saints Cyr et Jean*, ed. Gascou 2006, 194n1165.

43. Robert 1964, 150–55. Robert en cite et discute un bon nombre, ainsi Στύππαξ, Λάλαξ, Σίλλαξ, Βλάξ. Horak 1989 discute aussi Τάραξ, qu'elle rattache à ταρασσω et qui, en tant que surnom, désignerait un « rebelle » ou un « turbulent ».

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Draft of a Late Coptic Letter

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P.Cair.Copt. 21 published below as *P.Christ.Musl.* 25 is part of the Coptic collection at the National Library and Archives of Egypt (Dār al-Kutub). This collection contains mainly Arabic papyri but includes a large amount of Coptic and Greek pieces as well. Although assigning a document to the category “Coptic” is not always straightforward, since many texts are bilingual (Greek and Coptic, Coptic and Arabic), one can estimate the number of Coptic texts to be about 200.¹

This papyrus belongs to the corpus of late Coptic letters, which date roughly from the mid-9th to the 11th centuries CE. This is the final phase of Coptic letter writing, which poses a number of problems of its own.² Late Coptic letters are of particular interest, since their study increases our knowledge of language use and the language shift from Coptic into Arabic in this period.³ Coptic letters of such a late date provide us with evidence of Coptic-speaking communities on the eve of the linguistic Arabization.⁴ A characteristic of late Coptic letters is that they are significantly different from the epistolography produced up to the 8th century. This genre is not well-known: The small number of published Coptic letters of the 10th and 11th centuries CE is clearly noticeable in comparison to the richness of similar documents of the 6th to 8th centuries.

P.Cair.Copt. 21 is a letter addressed to a woman called Trashe by a certain Zachaheu and is of particular interest for its remarkable blessing formulas. The papyrus shows several stages of use. The most plausible assumption is that it is a letter whose front (ID 3242) includes only greetings, while the back (ID 3241) seems to contain the actual message of the letter, located under the address (which may have been written in advance). This message is an urgent, almost desperate request that remains obscure in many aspects. On the front in the left margin, a line, almost illegible, was written in the direction perpendicular to the text. Traces of epistolary formulas are visible at the top of the back as well as on its left side, in the direction perpendicular to the fibers. These exercises are probably in the same hand as the letter, and the whole letter plus the isolated formulae could only be a rough draft. Besides, a *basmala* is written upside down between two lines at the bottom of the back. It is difficult to say whether this *basmala* is part of an earlier text or was added later.

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1. For more information and details about the Coptic collection of the Dār al-Kutub, see Boud'hors, Eissa, and Vanthieghem 2021.
 2. Van der Vliet 2013, 203.
 3. Delattre et al. 2012, 183–88.
 4. Richter 2008, 752.

All protagonists bear Christian names typical for the Fayyum/Middle Egypt: Zachaheu, Mouses, Iahannes, Tiheu, and Homise. The titles (ΤΔΜΔΥ, ΔΠΔ) and the blessing formulas may suggest a Christian context, although the latter seem to be influenced by contemporary Arabic phraseology. However, the usual Christian cross is here replaced by the sign //, which Sebastian Richter has demonstrated to be a sign of religious neutrality,⁵ and the presence of the *basmala* on the back could also point to a Muslim context. In sum, it seems to be difficult to draw any conclusion on the religion of the correspondents. It is also worth noting that all these names are found in *CPR* 12.23, except Trashe and Tiheu (but there is a Piheu). The latter document is a list of 20 people associated with payments in kind. The names are all Christian except three Muslim ones.⁶ One should consider the possibility that the people named in the letter are the same ones listed in *CPR* 12.23.

Zachaheu, the name of the sender, is very likely a feminine name, as is Tiheu (see the commentary below). This is what leads to reading ϩΙΤΝ ΤἘϩΩΗΡἘ, “from her daughter,” in the address, although the traces are not completely conclusive. On the other hand, if Trashe is identified as the recipient in the address, she is not named first at the beginning of the letter, and the person Zachaheu addresses is obviously a man (recto, l. 16 in the formula “peace be with you”; verso, l. 21 ϩΔϩΩΚ ἘΒΟΛ and l. 23 ΤἘΚΤΔΛΗΙ).

The papyrus is of light brown color. Parts of the two sides’ margins and the bottom margins are preserved on the right-hand side. The writing extends to the edge of the papyrus, and there is also vertical script on the margins of the left side: one cannot exclude that it is a remnant of an earlier use of the papyrus. Several fold marks are still visible. The papyrus is almost complete; only a small section from the lower left corner is missing, which affected the last five lines of the text where the ink is faded. Moreover, there are small holes in many places, but there seems to be very little loss of the text, since the scribe left ample space between the words.

The scripts on both sides are very similar, but the one on the back seems to be more sloping (cf. the scribe’s Π, ϩ, and Η). It is bilinear, slightly sloping, and employs ligatures: ϩ+Μ (recto, l. 1), Δ+Ι (recto, l. 2), Τ+Ι (recto, l. 9). The letter Ν has three shapes: the usual one, another similar to Η (recto, l. 14), and one almost reduced to a simple dot (see the line at the top of the verso). Β, ϩ, Χ are large and distinctive. Ψ is written in a special shape, its bottom left corner being curled (recto, ll. 4 and 7). The left stroke of the Κ is not connected to the right part. Ο is sometimes small. There is no superlineation, but Ι and some Υ regularly bear diaeresis marks, all over text (a single dot). The scribe often extends the horizontal part of the Τ as a space filler at the end of the line (recto, ll. 1, 4, 8, 11). There is a separating line between lines 10 and 11.

For this kind of proficient semicursive, see, for instance, *CPR* 12.4, assigned to the 9th century by the editor,⁷ as well as *CPR* 31.15 and 16. *CPR* 12.23, which contains the same names as our text, has also been attributed to the 9th century CE.

The language is Sahidic with some variations characteristic of the late period or influenced by the northern dialects: ΤΙ for † in (ΤΙΩΙΝἘ, ΤΙ ἘΜΤΟΝ),⁸ Ο for ΟΥ in (ΡΟΟΩ), ϩ for Β in (ϩΩϩ).⁹ These orthographic variations are widespread and do not favor a specific geographic location. They are nevertheless in line with Middle Egypt:¹⁰ many Coptic texts in the National Library and Archives of Egypt can be connected to this region.¹¹ As often in late documents, some prepositions are lacking, and the genitive particle Η- can be replaced with Ἐ-. The second

5. Richter 2003, 223–30.

6. ‘Abd Allāh, Ḥasan, and Sa’id.

7. Cf. also Hasitzka 1995, where the date is given precisely: 837.

8. Cf. *P.Bal.* 266.9.

9. Cf. *P.Bal.* I, pp. 93–94, § 66 (especially § 121 d).

10. See, for example, *P.Bal.*

11. Cf. Boud’hors, Eissa, and Vanthieghem 2021.

person of the conjunctive seems to be ΤΕΚ- and not ΝΓ- (verso, ll. 17 and 18), which is typical for late texts.¹²

P.Christ.Musl. 25

P.Cair.Copt. 21
Middle Egypt (?)

21.4 x 14.7 cm

9th–10th c. (?)
Figs. 30, 31

Recto (ID 3242)

↓

// ϸϻϻϻ Θ(εω) ϷΜ ΠΡΑΝ ΕΠΠΟΟΥΤΕ ΝΨΟΡΕΠ ΜΝ <Ν>ϷΩϸ ΝΙΜ ΔΝ[Ο]Κ

ΖΑΧΑΖΗΥ

ΕΙϸΖΑΙ ΕΙΨΙΝΕ <Ε>ΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΧΟΕΙϸ ΝϸΟΝ ΕΤΤΑΙΝΗΥ ϷΜ ΠΑϷ-

ΗΤ ΜΝ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ ΕΡΕΠΧΟΕΙϸ ΝΑϸΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΙ ϷΜ ΠΕ-

ϸΜΟΥ ΕΤΠΕ ΔΥΩ ΠΧΟΕΙϸ ΠΕ ΠΑΒΟ<Η>ΘΟϸ ΔΥΩ

5 ΕΡ<Ε>ΠΕΡΟΟΥ ΝΗΤΗ ΕΡΟϸ ϷΜ ΠΕϷΟΟΥ ΜΝ ΤΕΥΨΗ

ΔΥΩ ΔΝΟΚ ΖΑΧΑΖΗΥ ΕΙϸΖΑΙ ΕΙΨΙΝΕ <Ε>ΤΑΜΕΡΙΤ

ΝΧΟΕΙϸ ΝϸΟΝ ΤΨ'ΑΨΕ ΔΥΩ ΠΑϸΟΝ ΜΟΥϸΗϸ

ΔΥ[Ω] ΠΑϸΟΝ ΙΑϷΑΝΗϸ ϷΜ ΠΑϷΗΤ

ΜΝ ΤΑΨΥΧΗ ΔΥΩ ΤΙΨΙΝΕ <Ε>ΝΑΠΕ {ΤΗ}

10 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΨΕΝ ΕΠΚΟΥΙ ΨΑ ΠΝΟϸ ΠΟΥΑ

ΠΟΥΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΨΕ'ϸΡΑΝ ΔΥΩ ΕΡΕΠΠΟΥΤΕ

ΝΑΤΙ ΕΜΤΟΝ <Ν>ΤΕΨΥΧΗ <Ν>ΤΑΜΑΥ ΤΙϷΗΥ *vac.* ΔΥΩ

ΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΝΑΠΑ ϷΨΜΙϸΕ ΔΥΩ ... [

Ν. ϸ. ΤΑΜΑΑΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΨΕΝ ΕΠΚ[ΟΥΙ ΨΑ ΠΝΟϸ]

15 ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΚΑΤΕ ΠΕϸΡΑΝ ΤΙΡ[ΗΝΗ]

ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ϷΙΤΗ ΠΗΟΥΤΕ

Left margin *traces* ΤϷ *traces*

Verso (ID 3241)

→

Exercise ϷΜ ΠΡΑΝ ΝΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΝΨΟΡΕΠ ΜΝ ϷΩϸ ΝΙΜ ΔΝΟΚ ΖΑΧΑΖΗΥ

Address // ϸϻϻϻ Θ(εω) ... ΤΑϸϸ <Ν>ΤΑΜΕΡΙΤ ΝϸΟΝΕ ΤΡΑΨΕ ϷΙΤΗ

ΖΑΧΑΖΗΥ ΤΕϸ-

20 ΨΗΡΕ

Continuation of the letter:

// ϸ(ϻϻ) Θ(εω) ϸΑϷΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΡΨΙ ΔΝΟΚ ΟΥΧΗΡΕ ΜΠΕΡΚΑ ΠΕΙ-

ΝΟϸ ΝΨΙΠΕ {Ν}ΤΑϷΟΙ ΜΜΟΙ ΤΕΚ[...]Ϸ... ΤΕΚ-

ΤΙ ΤΑΠΑΝΕ ΤΕΚΤΑΛΗΙ ΕΤΑΜΗΤΕ ΨΑΝ-

ΤΑΜΟΥ ΔΡΤΙΠΟΥϸ ΤΗΜ ΔΡΤΙΠΟΥϸ Τ[

25 ΕΧΩΙ ΤΟΥ[2–3]ϸ[1–2] ϸΑ ΕΙΜΕ ϷΩϸ ϷΙΚΩΛ-

ΒΗΥ[.], ϸΙ [1–2] ΤΑΜΑΑΥ ΕΡΝΕϸΛΩϸ ΕΙϸ ΔΙ-

ΧΩϸ ϸ[ΒΟΛ] ΔΝΟΚ ΟΥϸΩΛΩΒΗ ΕΝϸΙΜΕ

12. See Richter 2016, 628–30.

traces . ƲⲒⲔⲔ . Ʋ . . . ⲁ . ⲁ . . . ⲛⲁⲕⲁ
 ⲛⲁⲉϥⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲓϥⲁⲙⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϥⲁⲛ
 30 vac. ⲁⲛⲛⲁⲗ . .

Exercise vac. traces ⲛⲱⲐⲠⲛⲓ ⲙⲏⲓ ⲗⲱ[ϥ]
 traces ⲁⲛⲓⲐⲠⲕ ⲗⲁⲭⲁⲗⲏⲥⲏⲥ ⲉⲓϥⲗⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲱⲛⲓⲛⲉ ⲉ traces
 Left margin ⲁⲛⲓⲐⲠⲕ ⲗⲁⲭⲁⲗⲏⲥⲏⲥ ⲉⲓϥⲗⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲱⲛⲓ[ⲉ] ⲉⲛⲁ[ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ

Between lines 29 and 30 upside down:

.. . . . بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم.
 traces

1, 21 σὺν Θεῷ, ὁ ἴσθι *pap.* 1 l. ἘΠΝΟΥΤΕ, μέν 3, 9, 12 ψυχὴ 4 βοηθός 5 l. ΡΟΟΥΨ 11, 15 κατὰ
 15 εἰρήνη 19 l. ΨΕΡΕ? 21 χήρα 23 δαπάνη 25–26 κολοβός

“// With God. In the name of God, before everything, I Zachaheu am writing to and greeting my beloved honored lord-brother from my heart and my soul. May the Lord bless me with the blessing of heaven. And the Lord is my help and (5) may the concern with Him be yours day and night. And I Zachaheu write and greet my beloved lord-sister Trashe and my brother Mouses, and my brother Iahannes from my heart and my soul. And I greet all the (10) headmen from the youngest to the eldest, one by one by name, and may God set at rest the soul of my mother Tiheu, and the soul of Apa Homise, and . . . my mother, all of them from the youngest to the eldest (15), one by one by name. Peace upon you through God.”

(*address*) “With God. . . . Give it to my beloved sister Trashe from Zachaheu, (20) her daughter.”

(*verso*) “With God. Move backward from me, I am a widow, do not let this big shame reach me, and . . . and pay the *dapane* and . . . me in my middle (?) until (= before?) I die. Artipous . . . Artipous (25) . . . on me . . . my mother . . . I am a crippled woman. . . .”

(*upside down, in Arabic*) “In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate. . . .”

- 1 ⲗⲁⲭⲁⲗⲏⲥⲏⲥ: This name is attested in *CPR* 12.23.5; it can be analyzed as a compound name (ⲗⲁⲭⲁ+ⲗⲏⲥⲏⲥ): see *CPR* 12 §13, esp. g; and Boud’hors and Calament 2015, 33 (on the name ⲁⲛⲁϥⲧⲟϥⲗⲏⲥⲏⲥ); these names are generally feminine.
- 1–3 Typical opening formula for postconquest Coptic letters, especially in the 9th CE onward; cf. Krall 1892, 24–26; and *P.Teschlot* 5 and 6.
- 3–5 This greeting formula contains remarkable initial blessings: ⲉⲣⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓϥ ⲛⲁϥⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲗⲙ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲧⲛⲉ and ⲛϫⲟⲉⲓϥ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲟⲛⲑⲟϥ ⲁϥⲱ ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉⲣⲟⲟϥ ⲛⲏⲧⲏ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲗⲙ ⲛⲉⲗⲟⲟϥ ⲙⲏⲧⲉϥϱⲏ. These are clearly influenced by contemporaneous standard Arabic formulas; cf. Grob 2010, 23–38. Although we find similar formulas (though with slightly different internal structure) in earlier texts from the Theban area, for example, of the type ⲛϫⲟⲉⲓϥ ⲉϥⲉϥⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ, their functional integration into the complete letter is quite different.
- 8 ⲓⲗⲗⲁⲛⲏⲏⲏⲥ is a variation of the frequently occurring name ⲓⲱⲗⲁⲛⲏⲏⲏⲥ; a ⲓⲗⲗⲁⲛⲏⲏⲥ occurs in *CPR* 12.23.10.
- 9 <ⲉ>ⲛⲁⲛⲉ {ⲧⲏ}: The mention of headmen (ⲁⲛⲉ) is not expected here. We wonder whether there could be a mistake. Was something like <ⲉ>ⲛⲁ ⲛⲉⲕⲏⲏⲓ (or <ⲉ>ⲛⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲏⲏⲏⲓ), “those of your house” intended?
- 12 ⲧⲓⲗⲏⲥⲏⲥ: For this compound proper name, see *CPR* 12 §13, especially g. Although it does not seem to be attested yet in Coptic texts, it can be interpreted as a female version of the male name ⲛⲓⲗⲏⲥⲏⲥ, especially common in the Fayyum. It is worth mentioning that ⲧⲓⲗⲏⲥⲏⲥ is very close to an Arabic proper name (تحية).

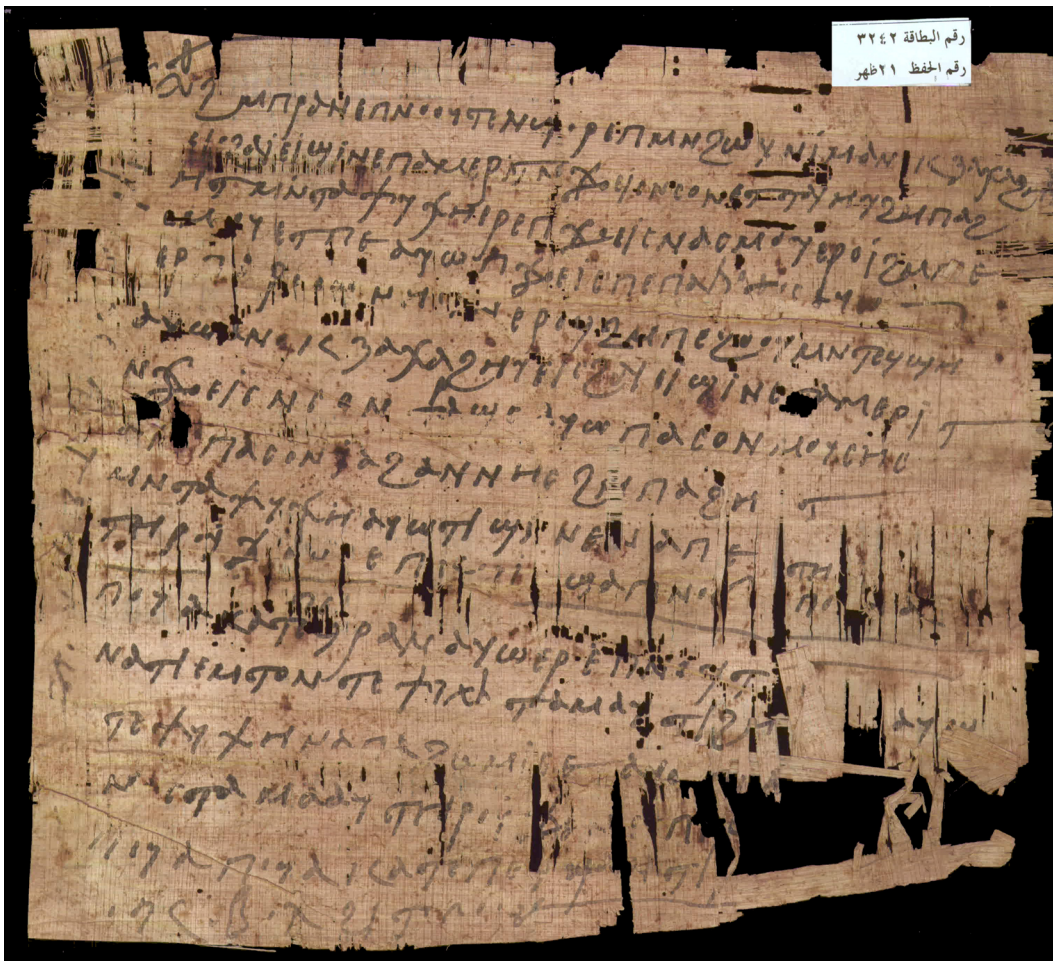


Fig. 30. *P.Christ.Musl.* 25 r

- 13 $\zeta\omega\mu\iota\sigma\epsilon$: Also attested in *CPR* 12.23.13, this name is frequent in the region between Memphis and Heracleopolis; cf. *NBCopt.*, s.v., and *TM Nam* 11606.
- 19–20 $\text{C}\Upsilon\eta\Theta(\epsilon\omega)$. . . : It seems that a tiny Υ and η are attached to the C , but in this case the signs afterward would be difficult to explain. Alternatively, we may read these signs as a N and a C , but in this case there would still remain one last letter to explain and the gap between the first C and the last two letters would be surprisingly extensive. The sign // is believed to be a sign of religious neutrality; see Richter 2003, 223–30. The addressee's name, $\text{TR}\alpha\omega\epsilon$, is also known from the 9th-century *CPR* 12.4.34. This name has a male version as well; see *CPR* 2.82 and *SBKopt.* 2.817.3.
- 21 Beginning of a new text, as indicated by the sign // and the invocation. However, it could be the continuation of the letter, introducing its actual content, the recto being dedicated to greetings.
- 21–23 The sender seems to be in serious trouble, perhaps in connection with the payment of a tax, and asks for help.
- 24 The meaning of this line escapes us: $\alpha\rho\tau\iota\pi\omicron\upsilon\zeta$ could be a proper name; cf. *CIRB* 718 (Kerch, 2nd–3rd c. CE), the limestone stela of Artipous daughter of Alkios, but the connection with what precedes is unclear.
- 25–30 It is again impossible to figure out the meaning of the damaged lines, except for the sentence $\alpha\text{NOK OYK}\omega\lambda\omega\text{BH NCIM}\epsilon$, “I am a crippled woman.”

Exercises: They all tend to reproduce the same epistolary formula: “In the name of God, before everything, I Zachaheu am writing to and greeting my. . .”

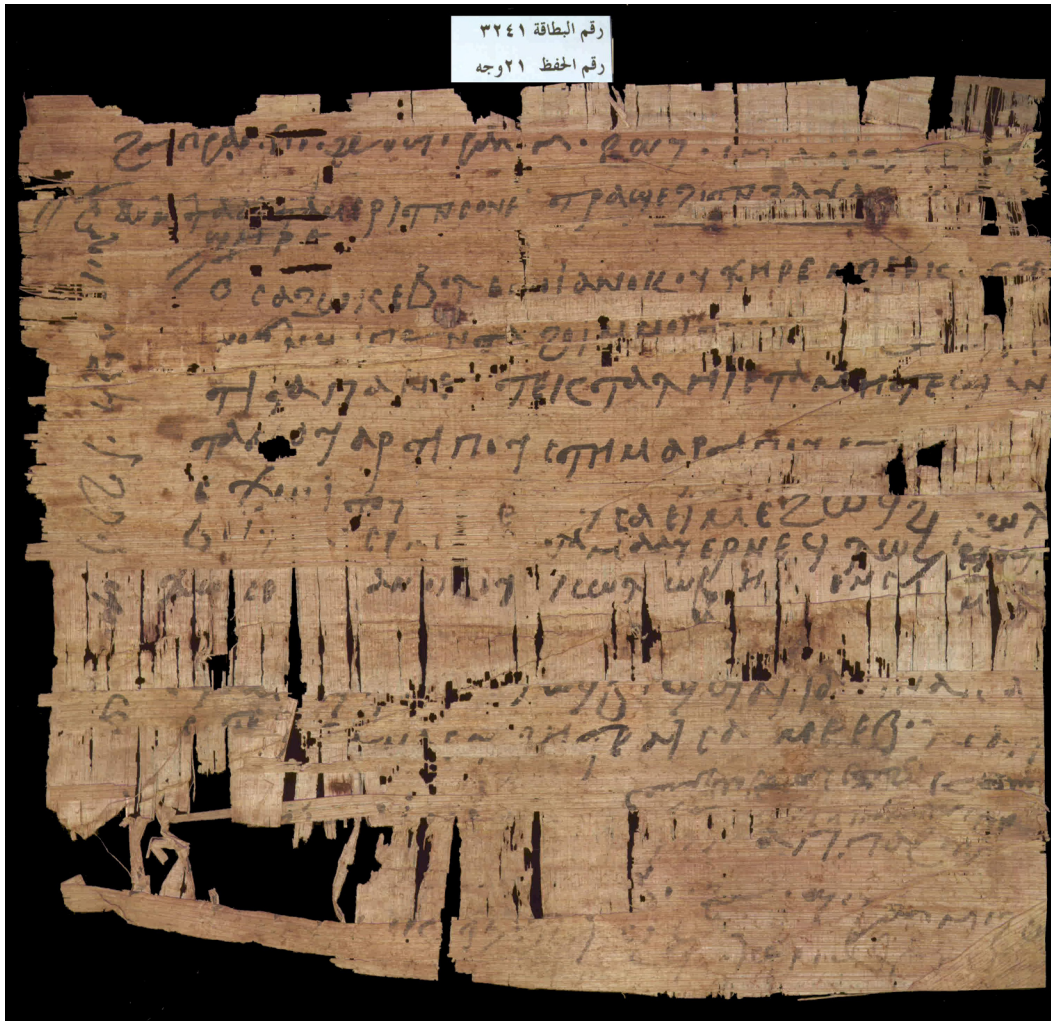


Fig. 31. *P.Christ.Musl.* 25 v

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Bilingualism and Mono-/Bigraphia at the Nexus of Magical Traditions: From Egyptian-Greek to Coptic-Arabic Magical Texts

Edward O. D. Love

Approach

In a volume concerned with “Christians and Muslims in early Islamic Egypt,” a reader would be right to wonder why this study will analyze both Egyptian-Greek bilingual magical texts from the Roman period and Byzantine period as well as Coptic-Arabic magical texts from the Islamic period.¹ First and foremost, my research into the nexus of forms of the Egyptian languages, and the various scripts used to write them, as well as the Egyptian versus Greek languages, in the magical tradition of the Roman period led to the investigation of comparable phenomena centuries later.² In the process of this research, it became clear that the millennia-long magical tradition extant in Egyptian textual culture attests the comparable linguistic and (ortho)graphic phenomena³ of bilingualism and mono-/bigraphia. These textual witnesses to magical practice reflect how these linguistic and (ortho)graphic phenomena directly impact who could practice magical texts, for whom, and into which milieus they could be transmitted. Bilingualism is the nexus between different language communities, the avenues through which they can interact in social, economic, textual, and religious spheres. Competency in a language, or its script, is a limiting factor in an individual’s ability to interact in a different linguistic sphere, or with a different textual culture. Thus, the literate individuals in a language community also constitute a script community, in and between which textual cultures could be transmitted.

1. Any study utilizing the term “magic” requires a study-specific clarification of this contentious term, which is provided in the section below on terminology. Collections of the most important recent studies on ancient magic include Meyer and Mirecki 1995; Mirecki and Meyer 2002; Faraone and Obbink 1991; Jordan, Montgomery, and Thomassen 1999; Schäfer and Kippenberg 1997; Jördens 2015; Bohak, Harari, and Shaked 2011; Shaked 2005; Graf 1997; Gordon and Simón 2010; and Flint 1999. For Egyptian magic, see Ritner 1993. For Ancient Jewish magic, see Bohak 2008. For Ancient Greek magic, see Faraone 1999 and Johnston 2008. For Coptic magic, see Kropp 1931.
2. That is, from Egyptian-Greek, to Coptic-Greek, and Arabic-Coptic. For a bibliography of scholarship on Egyptian-language magical texts from the Roman period, see Love 2016, 7n21. For a bibliography of scholarship on the Greek-language magical texts from the Roman period, see Love 2016, 7n22. For a *Sammelband* of Coptic magical texts and their bibliographies, see Meyer and Smith 1994. For magical texts from the linguistically diverse Cairo Geniza corpus, see Jacobs, Schäfer, and Shaked 1994, 1997; and Schäfer and Shaked 1999.
3. By extension of the meaning of “linguistic” as “of or pertaining to language”—“(ortho)graphic” is to be understood as “of or pertaining to the script(s) used in writing and the orthography/spelling of that writing.”

In order to consider how Christians and Muslims were or were not able to interact in the context of magical practice, the evidence for bilingual redactions of magical texts must be considered—listed in Table 5.⁴ Given the sparse nature of the evidence for bilingual magical texts throughout the history of the Egyptian-Coptic language, before the evidence from Islamic Egypt is treated, similar phenomena as attested in Roman- and Byzantine-period Egypt can be considered. This treatment highlights the broad typological similarities between the linguistic and (ortho)graphic factors influencing bilingual and mono-/bigraphic redactions of magical texts in Egypt from the 2nd to 10th/11th centuries CE to inform the diachronic processes that must have occurred repeatedly but for which there is only sparse synchronic evidence extant. Thus, this study demonstrates how far the extant sources may evidence how the nexus of bilingualism and monographia facilitated the engagement of bilingual Coptic Christian practitioners and Arabophone Muslim clients in the context of Egyptian magical practice in the Islamic period.

In Egypt during the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE a bilingual tradition emerged between various forms of the Egyptian language, primarily Demotic, preserved in the so-called Demotic magical papyri (*PDM*) and texts in the Greek language of the so-called Greek magical papyri (*PGM*), before traditional Egyptian scripts obsolesced. Thus, in the 4th century, the evidence is limited to Old Coptic⁵–Greek bilingual, Greek, Coptic, or Coptic–Greek bilingual magical texts. By the 5th century, magical texts are extant in either Coptic or Greek, with bilingual codices known, but by the time of the Arab conquest in the 7th century, Greek begins to obsolesce as a language utilized in magical texts. During the early Islamic period, the introduction of a new spoken, and thereby written, language among Egypt’s ruling class produced seismic shifts in the political, domestic, and ritual spheres—in many ways comparable to the consequences of Alexander’s conquest of Egypt centuries before. In the latter sphere, the impact was felt not only through the onset of the Islamification of Egypt but also through the introduction of a new language, its script, and the oral and textual traditions that accompanied it, into the tradition of Coptic magic. Thus, already in the 8th or early 9th century, Coptic–Arabic bilingual magical texts are preserved and presumably continued to be so alongside monolingual Coptic magical texts until around the 11th century (although extant evidence is limited). Therefore, it is evident that traditions of translation reoccurred over the centuries, allowing for the transmission of textual, and its accompanying figural, culture to outlive the scripts and language (form)s in which they were originally written,⁶ and thereby the cultural contexts in which they were originally embedded and from which they originally derived.

Given that the study of bilingualism in magical texts from Roman-period Egypt has only

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4. Interestingly, the role of bilingualism in the tradition of magical texts from Egypt manifests differently than in other spheres of textual culture in which bilingual texts are attested in Ptolemaic, Roman, Byzantine, or Islamic Egypt. While aspects of Coptic Christian textual culture were fully translated into Arabic, there is as yet little evidence that bilingual Arabic–Coptic magical texts were ever succeeded by full Arabic translations of Coptic magical texts. However, it should be stressed that the role of translation in the context of the bilingual magical texts treated in this study did not appear to be a transitional arrangement but that bilingual redactions were the desired product. For the most recent survey of the literature on bilingualism in Hellenistic Egypt, see Vierros 2012, 2014, 234–38. For studies on multilingualism in Egypt across a wider temporal frame, see Papaconstantinou 2010 and Mullen and James 2012. A formative work on bilingualism in the ancient world, including a chapter on Egypt, remains Adams 2003, while the formative work on bilingualism in the Egyptian magical tradition, and the inspiration and motivation for my own work, is Dieleman 2005.
 5. As treated on a prior occasion, Old Coptic refers more correctly to a writing system exhibiting a number of scripts rather than a distinct form of the Egyptian language (Love 2016, § 2.1.1). However, as a corpus, the Egyptian–Greek bilingual magical texts rendered in demotic rather than Old Coptic scripts are comparable yet dissimilar in certain facets.
 6. I have also argued that there is compelling evidence to suggest that traditionally Egyptian textual content could be transmitted via both translation into the Greek language and later translation—or, indeed, retranslation—into Coptic, as well as through a thus-far-underappreciated stream of transmission via transliterations of hieratic and Demotic texts into Old Coptic (Love 2016, § 2.3.5.2, 7.6–7.7). Both of these models provide viable routes through which textual and its accompanying figural culture could be transmitted from the Roman-period context of the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri (GEMP) into the Byzantine and Islamic period through continued (re)translation.

recently attracted significant scholarly attention,⁷ and that the bilingual magical texts of the Byzantine and Islamic periods have essentially never been studied beyond their initial publication, this study is novel not only in the typology of the sources treated but also in the way in which these sources will be considered. In order to analyze the diachronic patterns of how the aforementioned linguistic and (ortho)graphic factors influenced the magical tradition from the Roman to Islamic period, this study treats the bilingual and mono-/bigraphic magical texts extant during that temporal frame. This is coupled with a consideration of how the textual content of a magical practice, that is, its ritual instructions and invocations, inform whether a practice was practicable only by a literate practitioner or whether it could also have been undertaken by an illiterate client who commissioned the practice. Thus, the potential of linguistic and (ortho)graphic factors for facilitating the practice of magical texts in milieus distinct from their traditional context can then be considered. In the latter temporal frame, magical texts attesting individuals with Arabic or Arabized names are also treated to inform whether an Arabophone Muslim clientele could ever be hypothesized for the bilingual Coptic practitioners. Finally, other aspects of magical texts that transcended language traditions, such as the novel “magical scripts” of the Islamic period, also highlight the fluidity of transmission possible when magical traditions were translated between languages and thus how bilingualism and mono-/bigraphia both sat *at*, and served *as*, the nexus of magical traditions.

Terminology

While mono- and bilingualism denote fluency in one or two languages by mono-/bilinguals, mono- and biliteracy denote fluency in one or two scripts by mono-/biliterates. Digraphia, however, is utilized by extension of diglossia.⁸ Thus, although a text utilizing two scripts, for example, demotic and Greek or hieratic and demotic, will be typologized as a “bigraphic” text, “digraphia” serves to highlight when a script community⁹ uses two *distinct* forms of the *same* writing system to render one language (form), for example, hieroglyphs and hieratic to render Classical Egyptian. Thus, conventions that govern the use of scripts of the same writing system justify utilizing the term “digraphia,” where appropriate, just as conventions that govern the use of registers and/or varieties of the same language justify utilizing the term “diglossia.” In this study, Hellenization and Arabization are predominantly used to refer to the process by which the Greek and Arabic languages, and their associated textual cultures, came to influence the Egyptian language and its associated textual culture rather than the broader sociocultural and religious processes that impacted individuals and their communities.

As a matter of course, the interpretive lens utilized in this study stems from the author’s Egyptological perspective and approach and, with this, a familiarity and engagement foremost with Egyptian-Coptic-language sources from the Roman to Islamic period. This perspective is inherently also a limitation of this study, and the perspectives of Greek, Christian, and Islamic traditions also need to be brought to the interpretation of this novel corpus of bilingual sources

7. I.e., in Dieleman 2005 and Love 2016.

8. Matthews 2007, 105, defines diglossia: “The case in which a community uses two distinct forms of the same language, one acquired through education and appropriate to one range of contexts, the other acquired before formal education and appropriate to another.” This relates particularly to languages that have a “high” and “low” form: a modern example is *Hochdeutsch* compared to a dialect of German; a Roman-period example is Classical Egyptian written in hieratic or hieroglyphs compared to Demotic written in demotic. In this study, the “Demotic” language form is distinguished from the “demotic” script by capitalization.

9. Borrowed from Stephen Houston, for whom the script community “exists in relation to a writing system; it survives (i.e. as a distinct community) because the system is used and transmitted across generations (i.e. within that milieu)” (2008, 231–32).

to build future scholarly discourse on the magical tradition as attested in bilingual sources from Egypt.

Throughout this study, as alluded to previously,¹⁰ I use the term “magic(al)” not as a rejection of the increasingly popular term “ritual power” but so that the latter does not simply serve as a synonym for the former. The manipulation of ritual power in the Egyptian tradition, that is, *heka* (ḥk³) or *hik* (hyk), was possible in ritual practices of varied application.¹¹ Thus, in some cases, the ritual mechanics of magical practices from the Egyptian tradition were transmitted, or adopted, from ritual practices from other contexts. Hence, in the Egyptian context the manipulation of ritual power in ritual practices does not distinguish practices that other fields might delineate as (private) “magical” rather than (institutionalized) “religious.”

On a previous occasion, in a typology that I adhere to here, I have “defined” the nature of magical texts with reference to their ritual mechanics, and thus the form and focus of their interaction with the divine (Love 2016, 119–23 § 3.4.1). A magical text often consists of a combination of invocations by name, for task, aretalogical statements, *historiolae*, and mythical allusions (Love 2016, 121–22 §3.4.2.1 and notes therein). These mechanics were utilized to produce the interaction of a practitioner/(practitioner-)client with a deity/deities to achieve an outcome desired by the practitioner/client (Love 2016, 120). Of those forms of interaction, the “functional” forms are invocations for task and aretalogical statements: the former command a deity to undertake a task as an active “agent”; the latter are the means through which the practitioner acquires the efficacy by which to compel the deity/deities to comply with the former by identifying with a deity/deities. By comparison, the “facilitating” forms of interaction are invocations by name and *voces magicae* (magical names), in which deities perform the role of a “catalyst” by contributing to a practice’s efficacy without themselves being affected.¹² However, it is not the actual ritual mechanics of the magical practices within the corpus of bilingual magical texts considered that are analyzed in this study but the linguistic and (ortho)graphic factors affecting bilingual and tri-/bi-/monographic magical texts. Thus, an encompassing treatment of the definition of “magic” and the construction of this corpus can instead be limited to the rationale behind interaction with the divine as one intended to bring about an outcome desired by a practitioner/client and the linguistic and (ortho)graphic frames in which these were embedded.

As demonstrated by certain examples considered below, bilingualism and biliteracy were not necessarily the limiting factors for the clientele of a magical practitioner. In some ritual practices, the practitioner, the individual who undertakes the practice, and the client, the individual who benefits from the practice, are often distinct either by nature of the practice (e.g., an exorcism) or the textual content of the magical text (e.g., “until she comes to *him/NN*”). In instances when such a distinction is not expressed by nature of the practice or textual content of the magical text (e.g., “until she comes to *me*”), the individual who undertakes the practice is also its beneficiary and thus a practitioner-client. Furthermore, if a practitioner would undertake a practice for a client, and the client would then undertake the practice himself/herself, it is also possible to speak of a “primary” practitioner, the individual who could undertake the practice for his own benefit but transmits it to another, and a “secondary” practitioner, the individual who receives the text from another practitioner in order to undertake the practice himself/

10. Love 2016, 120n34.

11. Fundamentally, I treat the differentiation between ritual practices that were undertaken in the temple, in a funerary/mortuary context or in a “private” context, as one primarily of function and not of form, that is, a ritual practiced for the benefit of a deity/deities, and/or thereby the king/pharaoh, is a temple ritual; that practiced for the benefit of a deceased individual is a funerary ritual; that practiced for the benefit of a living individual to bring about a desired outcome in the lived experience of that individual is a “magical” ritual.

12. The roles of *historiolae* and mythical allusions, by comparison, are less easily typologized but do not need to be considered in any of the cited examples in this study.

herself.¹³ The principal value of the practitioner-client model is, therefore, to avoid linguistically deterministic outlooks—that the languages in which magical texts are written is defining and limiting on the individuals who could practice or benefit from them. Consequently, an understanding of practice *by* a practitioner and *for* a client allows one to draw out hypotheses with regard to the interaction of Christians and Muslims in the context of both the monolingual Coptic and bilingual Coptic-Arabic magical text tradition.

To understand how the synchronic evidence for particular magical texts in some, or perhaps the majority of, cases reflects a diachronic process of transmission over temporal and geographic frames, it is important to consider that each magical text had a textual history preceding and succeeding that of the extant manuscript.¹⁴ Thus, the original contextual milieu in which a magical text was produced/compiled and practiced and from which it was transmitted in one generation could have been different subsequently. For example, the translation of an Egyptian-language magical text into the Greek language by bilingual individuals within a temple priestly milieu facilitated the transmission of that text into, or the practice of that text for clients within, a distinct and solely Grecophone milieu. Likewise, the part translation of Coptic magical texts into Arabic made them accessible to, and practicable for, clients within a milieu quite distinct from that in which they had traditionally been produced/compiled and practiced. Therefore, throughout this study, as has been sought on a previous occasion, the “past,” “contemporary,” and “potential” practitioners of each of these bilingual magical texts are considered where possible.¹⁵ Similarly, a bilingual yet monographic text, a text in two languages but rendered in one script, has the capacity to be transmitted into script communities that may be monolingual but are nonetheless able to read and thus vocalize a text rendered in the script with which they are familiar. In short, bilingual texts—by their very nature—can be transmitted between more linguistic milieus than monolingual texts, while monographic bilingual texts could, in theory, be transmitted between even more linguistic milieus than those bigraphic bilingual texts.

Egyptian-Greek Magical Manuscripts

The aforementioned magical texts from the Roman period and late antiquity that exhibit both bilingualism and mono-, bi-, and in some cases even trigraphia, are commonly assigned by scholars to the synthetic corpus known as the Demotic and Greek magical papyri (*PDM* and *PGM*)—treated collectively here as the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri (*GEMP*).¹⁶ During the temporal frame in which the *GEMP* are principally attested (from the 2nd to 4th centuries CE), there was a relatively fluid tradition of translating magical texts to and from the Egyptian and Greek languages, as well as within forms of the Egyptian language and among scripts of the Egyptian writing system. The manuscripts on which these texts are preserved include everything from an ostrakon or loose leaf of papyrus (“activated texts” for the benefit of/targeting a named individual), to compilations of loose leaves of papyri, bookrolls, and codices, which can feature dozens of magical texts of practices from curses to practices for inducing sexual desire, divinations (i.e., those for foreknowledge), and exorcisms. During the Roman period (1st to 3rd centuries CE), literacy in the written Egyptian language and its scripts (demotic, hieratic, and

13. Love 2016, § 7.2.

14. With few exceptions, the magical practices preserved in the texts of the *GEMP* and later corpus of Coptic magical texts are without parallel in other manuscripts. Thus, what can be assumed to have been a tradition of transmission across generations, a diachronic process of transmission, is attested only through synchronically attested and isolated textual witnesses.

15. Love 2016, § 7.7.

16. Love 2016, introduction, §1.1.2. For a recent summary of this corpus and literature thereon, see Love 2016, §1.1.2, 7n21.

hieroglyphs) was maintained in the milieu of the bilingual temple priesthoods,¹⁷ outside which the dominant written idiom was the lingua franca of the Eastern Mediterranean: Greek. Hence, the production and practice of Egyptian and Egyptian-Greek bilingual magical texts are, in principle, restricted to the script communities who were Egyptian literates or Egyptian-Greek biliterates and therefore related to the temple priestly milieu.¹⁸ To avoid lengthy descriptions of the content of each practice, the following summaries treat the function behind each magical practice and the functional use of one or more languages and/or scripts in the composition of each text.

Demotic-Greek Magical Manuscripts

PDM xii/*PGM* XII¹⁹ is a bilingual papyrus bookroll of magical texts inscribed in Demotic and Greek, with some of the Demotic words exhibiting glosses in an alphabetic script known as Old Coptic.²⁰ The papyrus bookroll itself most likely dates to the late 2nd or early 3rd century CE and is thought to belong to the so-called Theban Magical Library,²¹ a substantial cache of magical manuscripts acquired in Thebes in the 19th century. The manuscript features 6 columns in Demotic among 17 in Greek, written on the back of the extraordinary Demotic work the Myth of the Sun's Eye (TM#55946). Of most relevance to this study are those bilingual composite practices,²² magical practices consisting of more than one section that could have been purposefully composed or subsequently redacted together during the textual history of that particular practice, whose ritual instructions are in Demotic but invocations are in Greek.

PDM xii. 135–46 + *PGM* XII. 474–79²³ is a practice for inducing sexual desire in which the ritual instructions for the tangible practice are rendered in Demotic (1/1–5; 1/12), whereas the *voces magicae* and an invocation to “the body of” NN, daughter of NN, to “burn” NN, daughter of NN (1/6–11), are rendered in Greek. Similarly, in *PDM* xii. 147–64 + *PGM* XII. 480–95,²⁴ another practice for inducing sexual desire, which follows the preceding example directly in the manuscript and is thus labeled *ke*, “another,” the ritual instructions are in Demotic (1/13; 1/29), while a set of *voces magicae* and invocations to “burn” the target “until she comes to me”²⁵ follow in the Greek script and language (1/14–28). In keeping with the malign magical practices of the first two examples, *PDM* xii. 119–34 + *PGM* XII. 469–73²⁶ is likely a practice for binding, with ritual instructions in Demotic with the outcome being to “harm/hurt/vex” NN (2/12–15; 2/21–24). The formula to be recited then follows in Greek (2/19–20). The first bigraphic element of these magical texts manifests in “these words,” the *voces magicae* (2/25–26), which are written in Greek script and transliterated into demotic. The final example from this manuscript is *PDM* xii. 76–107 + *PGM* XII. 453–65,²⁷ another malign magical practice for separation as indicated by the label *ke*. Once again, ritual instructions are given in Demotic (3/1–4; 3/12–19), importantly involving the inscription (but not recitation) of an invocation (3/5–6), to “separate” NN from

17. Love 2016, § 3.3 and references therein.

18. This milieu and its textual production constituted the basis of the aforementioned and formative study by Dieleman 2005.

19. P.Leiden I 384 = AMS 75 (TM#55954). For a bibliography, see Love 2016, 7n21.

20. For these Old Coptic scripts, see Love 2016, § 2.1.1.

21. Dosoo 2016, 270.

22. Typologized in Love 2016 as “meta-spells.” This has led to confusion among colleagues and therefore is replaced henceforth with the semantically cleaner term “composite practices.”

23. P.Leiden I 384 1/1–6 + 1/7–12; for a translation, see Betz 1986, 171.

24. P.Leiden I 384 1/13–14 + 1/15–30; for a translation, see Betz 1986, 171–72.

25. For the importance of these commands in refuting the theory of “transference” in practices for inducing sexual desire, see Love 2016, 163–6.

26. P.Leiden I 384 2/12–18; 2/21–27 + 2/19–20; for a translation, see Betz 1986, 171.

27. P.Leiden I 384 3/1–20 + 3/21–32; for a translation, see Betz 1986, 170.

NN (3/6–7). The medium for inscription as well as the “name” to be inscribed follows (3/7–9), rendered exclusively in Greek script (3/10), after which the invocations for task are repeated (3/11). Finally, the “names” (3/20), which are actually magical names in Greek script embedded within a Greek-language invocation, conclude the composite practice (3/21–32).

In the four bilingual composite practices of *PDM* xii/*PGM* XII, a clear trend is evidenced in which the Egyptian language is utilized to render the ritual instructions (and in the last case inscribe an invocation), while the invocations are rendered in the Greek language. The only slight exception to this rule is that some of the *vores magicæ* are transliterated into demotic as well as rendered in Greek script, allowing literates of either script to read them in addition to—as identified by Jacco Dieleman²⁸—producing a continuity of graphic form within the graphic matrix of both sections of ritual instructions and invocations. As a result, it can be envisaged that a bilingual practitioner of the composite practices in this manuscript could have served both an Egyptophone and Grecophone clientele. Indeed, certain practices must have had an exclusively Grecophone client when the practice itself required the recitation of an invocation for task in the first person, for example, “until she comes to *me*.” However, Egyptophone clients, who may not have needed to *understand* the textual content that was being recited, could also have been served when the invocations for task are in the generic third person, for example, “until she comes to *him/NN*.” Needless to say, it is also possible that practitioners utilized these practices exclusively for their own benefit and thus were practitioner-clients. However, practitioners could also have utilized these practices for the benefit of those individuals within their bilingual and biliterate language and script communities who would also have had the linguistic and (ortho)graphic skills required to access the textual content of both the ritual instructions and invocations.

PDM xiv/*PGM* XIV²⁹ is a bilingual (Egyptian-Greek) papyrus bookroll of magical texts inscribed in Demotic and Greek, with some of the Demotic words exhibiting Old Coptic glosses. This papyrus bookroll is also dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd century CE and is thought to belong to the so-called Theban Magical Library along with *PDM* xii/*PGM* XII.³⁰ Similar to the preceding manuscript, the bilingual composite practices of *PDM* xiv/*PGM* XIV are those whose ritual instructions are written in Demotic but whose invocations are rendered in Greek. Among its 29 recto and 33 (considerably shorter) verso columns are three bilingual composite practices.

PDM xiv. 93–114 + *PGM* XIVa. 1–11³¹ is titled “a casting for inspection that the great god Imhotep makes” and is thus a divination for acquiring foreknowledge. The first six lines contain the ritual instructions in Demotic for producing a “direct vision” subsequent to a theophany (4/1–7; 4/20–22), with the final instruction of the first section (4/1–4/8) being to “recite this spell in Greek” (4/9–19), culminating in a short ritual instruction in Greek to “say this three times” (4/19), which may have been thought part of the invocation itself. With the practitioner addressed in the second person, it is certain that the practitioner would acquire the foreknowledge himself. However, this could have been either for his own benefit or for a client’s. *PDM* xiv. 451–58 + *PGM* XIVb. 12–15³² is a practice for going before a superior who is less than favorable toward his employee, as well as a remarkable example of textual transmission and language fluidity, as first demonstrated by Dieleman.³³ These seven lines preserve the same practice, first in the Greek language (15/25–28) and then (as can be established from orthographic features

28. Dieleman 2006, 77.

29. P.Leiden I 383 + P.BM 10070 (TM#55955). This papyrus is also published as *PDM* xiv within the *PDM* corpus. For a bibliography, see Love 2016, 7n21.

30. Dosoo 2016, 270.

31. *P.London-Leiden* 4/1–8, 20–22 + 4/9–19; for a translation, see Betz 1986, 200–201.

32. *P.London-Leiden* 15/28–31 + 15/25–28; for a translation, see Betz 1986, 221.

33. Dieleman 2005, 127–39.

of the Demotic) translated into Demotic (15/28–31). Thus, although not a bilingual redaction and therefore bilingual composite practice, this composition demonstrates that certain practices could be freely translated between language frames and presumably that they were conceptualized as having efficacy in both. Importantly, it facilitated recitation and thus made the ritual practicable for either an Egyptophone or a Grecophone (practitioner-)client. The final example from *PDM* xiv/*PGM* XIV is the “spell to cause evil sleep” of *PDM* xiv. 675–94 + *PGM* XIVc. 15–27.³⁴ Ritual instructions in Demotic (23/2–6, 7–8) prescribe a ritual in which, if the given invocation is recited before the sun for four consecutive days, the outcome will be that the target will sleep, but if it is recited for seven days, the target will die (23/6–7). Following these instructions, “this spell that you should recite before the sun” is cited in Greek (23/9–20). Given the desired outcome of this malign magical practice is to cause sleep or even death to befall a target, clearly this practice would have been carried out by either a bilingual practitioner-client or by a bilingual practitioner for a client.

The examples from the *PDM* considered here demonstrate several notable facts about bilingualism³⁵ and bigraphia³⁶ at the nexus in the magical traditions of the Roman period. From the outset, because the majority of the magical practices inscribed on these manuscripts, and the *PDM* in general, are rendered in Demotic, the first language and language frame of the bilinguals who produced and practiced these extant manuscripts was Egyptian. Even so, it was clearly the case that Greek-language invocations were conceptualized as having equal (or in some cases perhaps even superior) efficacy.³⁷ In addition, while the bilingualism of these magical texts may have been due to the part translation of ritual instructions from Greek into Demotic, it could also have been that they were redacted together from two different sections to form a composite practice.³⁸ Nonetheless, a bilingual milieu must be envisaged for the past, contemporary, and potential practitioners of all of these magical texts, because a practitioner would need to have been able to read both Demotic and Greek fluently to practice them. There are, unlike in certain examples treated below, no monographic texts. A final consideration, however, is that for the cases in which the practitioner was not a practitioner-client, the practitioner could

34. *PLondon-Leiden* 23/1–8 + 23/9–20; for a translation, see Betz 1986, 232. For a discussion of this magical practice, see Dieleman 2005, 130–38.

35. *PDM* lxi = P. BM EA 10588 (TM#55956) (for a bibliography, see Love 2016, 7n21) is another bilingual (Egyptian-Greek) papyrus bookroll of magical texts, of unknown provenance, inscribed in Demotic, Greek, and Old Coptic and dating to the first half of the 3rd century. Although there are no bilingual composite practices in this predominantly Egyptian-language manuscript, Greek is used to write a prescription for an erection and in practices for inducing sexual desire, and Old Coptic is used to write some *voces magicae*, thus exhibiting trigraphia.

36. The mono-, bi-, and trigraphia exhibited by this corpus is most clearly demonstrated by P.BM EA 10808 (TM#108583); for a bibliography, see Love 2016, 7n21. This manuscript is a fragment of a papyrus bookroll excavated at Oxyrhynchus, dating to the late 2nd or early 3rd century CE; see Quack 2017, 64. It features one almost completely preserved column written in an Old Coptic script and a preceding column written in Greek script (when *voces magicae*) and Demotic; see Dieleman 2004. A further Demotic fragment of the latter column has also been recently found by Joachim Quack among the papyri fragments of the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Collection; see Quack 2017, 64. Quack's recent reappraisal of the second column as containing a practice to induce a lustful fever, rather than influenza, seems most likely, while the unpublished first column contains a practice to acquire a helper. Although the text is not technically bilingual, as the aforementioned sections of the second column, which are written in Greek script, are purely *voces magicae*, the distinction between the Egyptian-language sections written in Old Coptic and that written in demotic can be considered a diglossia, while the manuscript itself is trigraphic.

37. Dieleman 2005, 291.

38. Dieleman has understood from other bilingual or bigraphic texts in the corpus (see Dieleman 2005, 72, as summarized previously; see also Love 2016, 104–5 § 2.4.4.4) that magical practitioners were interested in maintaining the integrity of the source texts from which they copied. Thus, it could be understood that the ritual instructions were translated from the Greek language because their efficacy was inherent in the tangible ritual practices they prescribed, whereas the Greek-language invocations were maintained due to their efficacy being inherent in the words themselves. Equally, it could also be considered that this composite practice was redacted from two different sources into a new composition at some point during its textual history, combining the instructions of an established ritual practice with novel invocations, or vice versa.

undertake a magical practice for a client or, when the textual content made such possible, have a client recite an invocation which he/she may have approximated phonetically—even if it was opaque semantically.

Old Coptic–Greek Magical Manuscripts

Among the GEMP, there is also a small corpus of further bilingual Egyptian-Greek manuscripts that exhibit the use of Old Coptic scripts to render, alphabetically, different sections written in the Egyptian language.

*PGM III*³⁹ is in fact two papyri, *PGM III.1* and *III.2*,⁴⁰ forming a 3rd-century CE bilingual (Egyptian-Greek) archive of magical texts of unknown provenance written in Greek and Old Coptic. *PGM III.1* verso 4/22–6/44 comprises a sunlight divination⁴¹ consisting of sections in Egyptian (4/22–5/10; 5/11–21; 5/22–30; 5/31–6/2), which feature invocations by name, for task, and aretological statements to bring about a theophany; and a longer section in Greek (6/3–44), which features instructions for the preparation of the ritual and its paraphernalia. Comparable to the preceding manuscript in the *PGM III* archive, *PGM III.2* verso 1/28–1/37 likewise has a divinatory outcome,⁴² with Greek-language ritual instructions explaining that a series of aretalogical statements is to be recited before the sunrise (1/28–31), followed by a section in Egyptian specifying those aretalogical statements (1/32–34)—before further fragmentary Greek-language ritual instructions or annotations conclude the composite practice (1/35–37). While the practitioner-client relationship is the same in both of these examples as in the Demotic-Greek divinations treated above, unlike those divinations the invocations are in the Egyptian language whereas the ritual instructions are in Greek.

Two further bilingual composite practices from the *PGM III* archive have distinct desired outcomes. *PGM III.2* verso 2/10–3/4 features Greek-language ritual instructions (2/10–34) for the preparation of the ritual space and paraphernalia for this spell to read a sealed letter, while a subsequent Egyptian-language section (2/35–3/4) provides the first-person invocations by name and for task. These invocations indicate that the practitioner himself would acquire the ability to read a sealed letter, either for himself or for a client. *PGM III.2* verso 3/5–3/18 comprises three sections: the first in the Greek language (3/5–12) provides ritual instructions for the production of a lamella to be inscribed with Greek and Egyptian to bring about “memory” and, unlike the preceding examples, invocations by name and for task; the second in Egyptian are the invocations to be inscribed on the lamella and perhaps also to be recited seven times (3/13–15); the third in Greek (3/16–18) provides further ritual instructions to recite either the Egyptian, the preceding Greek, or both sets of invocations in a certain setting. Thus, both the practitioner(-client) and client would need to be bilingual to acquire the “memory” promised by the successful practice of this magical text; that is, unlike the above divinations, the practitioner could not have undertaken the practice on behalf of a client.

The final comparable manuscript is *PGM IV*,⁴³ a bilingual (Egyptian-Greek) papyrus codex of magical texts written in Greek and Old Coptic, dating to the end of the 3rd or early

39. P.Louvre E 2391 = P.Mimaut (TM#55956). For the translations of the magical practices of the manuscript when it was understood as one manuscript, see Betz 1986, 18–35.

40. See Love 2017.

41. For this newly identified practice within the typology of divinations, see Love 2016, 113n1, § 4.3. For a concordance of line numbers for *PGM III.1* and *III.2*, see Love 2017, 182, fig. 1.

42. As well as fitting the typology of magical texts in this section of that manuscript by following on from the monolingual sunlight divination *PGM III.2* verso 1/16–27.

43. P.Bibl.Nat.Suppl. 574 (TM#64343).

4th century CE, which is likely from the so-called Theban Magical Library.⁴⁴ Of the five bilingual composite practices of this codex, which is otherwise written entirely in Greek, a pattern of language use both similar and dissimilar to the previous examples is exhibited. First, the bilingual direct vision of *PGM IV. 5–51*⁴⁵ features nondescript *vores magicae* (5–10) preceding Egyptian-language invocations for that direct vision (11–25) and Greek-language ritual instructions for its preparation and practice (26–51). The following bilingual lamp divination of *PGM IV. 52–87* features multiple alternating Greek-language sections of ritual instructions (52–75, 78–81, 82–83, 84–86); invocations by name, for task, and aretalogical statements in the Egyptian language (76–77, 81–82, 83–84); and one concluding nondescript invocation (86–87). The third is a bilingual sunlight divination through a boy medium of *PGM IV. 88–93* featuring one Greek-language section of ritual instructions (88–91) and one Egyptian-language section of invocations by name and for task framed by aretalogical statements (91–93).⁴⁶

In each case, all the ritual mechanics of interaction with the divine are in the Egyptian language, whereas all the ritual instructions for the tangible practice of the ritual are in Greek. These bilingual divinations feature invocations for the practitioner to recite in the first person and ritual instructions addressed to the practitioner in the second person. Thus, in the bilingual direct vision of 5–51 and lamp divination of 52–87, the practitioner would acquire the foreknowledge for himself or for a client; and in the case of the sunlight divination of 88–93, through the boy medium, who would relay the foreknowledge to the practitioner or client via the practitioner.⁴⁷ Importantly for the considerations of this study, the bilingual divinations stem from a temporal frame and milieu predating the subsequent practice in which Egyptian-language or bilingual practices were overwhelmingly translated into, and thus redacted henceforth within, the Greek language. As a result, these examples mark the end point in a tradition of bilingualism for such practices that was short-lived and is not attested subsequent to the *PDM*.⁴⁸

The bilingual composite practice for inducing sexual desire of *PGM IV. 94–153* exhibits a similar pattern of language use.⁴⁹ First, an Egyptian-language section features a *historiola* (94–113) before another features invocations in the third person (for both the practitioner and client) to bring the target (114–22). Subsequently, an Egyptian-language section of invocations in the first person (and thus practiced by a practitioner-client) by name, for task, and aretalogical statements awaken the heart of the woman after the practitioner-client (123–31). Next, two Greek-language sections of ritual annotations follow; that is, if the practitioner experiences X, he should do Y, specifying how the ritual practice should or should not continue (132–37, 144–46). The latter is framed by two Egyptian-language sections of invocations: the first are in the third person and are invocations by name and for task, again to awaken the heart of the woman after the (practitioner-)client (138–43); and the latter is in the first person, invocations for task to enchant the woman toward the practitioner-client.

Thus, as are the preceding bilingual divinations, the invocatory sections are in the Egyptian language and the ritual instructions/annotations are in Greek. Given that the bilingual practice for inducing sexual desire includes invocations in the first person and ritual instructions in the second person, while also providing space in which the name of the target and client can be inserted, the purpose of this composite practice was clearly to allow it to be adapted for different applications. For instance, the invocations of 114–22, 123–31, and 147–53 could not have been practiced by a practitioner for the benefit of a client, and therefore the practitioner was a prac-

44. Dosoo 2016, 270.

45. Love 2016, § 1.2, § 4.1.

46. Love 2016, §1.3, § 4.2 and §1.4, § 4.3, respectively.

47. Love 2016, 229, § 7.2.1.

48. Love 2016, 149.

49. Love 2016, §§ 1.5–1.9, § 5.

itioner-client. The third section of invocations (138–43), by comparison, references neither the first person nor gendered pronouns referring to the target. Thus, the desired outcome is generic; it could be for the benefit of either a practitioner-client, if the practitioner simply inserted his name into the formula, or of a commissioning client, if the practitioner inserted the name of the client.⁵⁰ In addition, and comparable to the bilingual divinations, the bilingual practice for inducing sexual desire was likely redacted within a temporal frame and milieu preceding the later practice of translating Egyptian-language or bilingual practices solely into, and redacting these translations henceforth within, the Greek-language milieu.⁵¹ However, unlike the bilingual divinations, as discussed below, this composite practice is not the last example of a bilingual practice for inducing sexual desire from Egypt.⁵²

*PGM IV 1227–64*⁵³ is a bilingual exorcism comprising seven sections. A first Greek-language section (1227–30) provides ritual instructions regarding the Egyptian-language formula (1231–39) to be spoken over the head of the possessed client. Five further Greek-language sections follow: the first two are supplementary or substitutionary invocations (1239–45, 1245–48), whereas the final three are ritual instructions (1249–52, 1252–62, 1262–64) relating to aspects of the practice. Hence, this composite practice preserves three ritual methods, each of which was presumably conceptualized as exorcising a demon effectively, redacted together to either produce greater efficacy or to provide alternatives if the first (in Egyptian), or first two (in Egyptian and Greek), sets of invocations were unsuccessful. Thus, this composite practice could indeed have been practicable by a Grecophone who could have simply omitted the Egyptian-language section if he did not understand it, thereby allowing for potential practitioners of this composite practice to belong to a milieu that was not necessarily bilingual. Importantly, unlike the preceding bilingual composite practices of *PGM IV*, the Old Coptic script used in the Egyptian-language section of this composite practice is such that, with one exception, only Greek-derived graphemes are utilized to render the Egyptian language alphabetically. Thus, a practitioner did not, in theory, have to be literate in Old Coptic scripts to vocalize the Egyptian-language invocations of this “quasi-monographic” text, and therefore the entire composite practice would have been practicable by a Greek literate.⁵⁴

On balance, unlike the *PDM* whose past, contemporary, and potential practitioners must have, almost without exception, belonged to bilingual milieus, *PGM III.1*, *III.2*, and *IV* provide an insight into how bilingualism is not necessarily a limiting factor for the transmission into, and thus practice within, monolingual milieus who would have been able to approximate the vocalization of language sections rendered in alphabetic Old Coptic scripts—regardless of their perhaps semantically opaque Egyptian-language content. Thus, although the past, and presumably also the contemporary, practitioners of the bilingual practices of those manuscripts were embedded in bilingual milieus, the potential practitioners may have been monolinguals who took advantage of the “quasi-monographia” of the Greek and Old Coptic scripts.⁵⁵

50. Love 2016, 229–30.

51. Love 2016, 118.

52. Indeed, it could be understood that even though this composite practice was first embedded within a predominantly Egyptophone bilingual milieu, the rendering of the Egyptian-language sections in alphabetic Old Coptic scripts could have been a springboard for transmission. After all, by the 4th century the bilingual milieus of Roman Egypt were not Demotic-Greek but Coptic-Greek, and thus this composite practice would have been accessible to a larger language community than the Demotic-Greek bilingual divinations of a century earlier; see Love 2016, 188, § 2.3.5.2. “Through such a process, not only would texts from a textual culture that was once the exclusive preserve of Demotic and hieratic manuscripts in a temple priestly milieu have been ‘democratised’ by their rendering in OC scripts, they would also have been ‘desacralised’ by their transmission outside of this milieu—a transmission made all the more likely if such texts were legible to Coptic-literates”; see Love 2016, 90.

53. Love 2016, § 1.10, § 6.

54. Love 2016, 221–22.

55. It should be stressed, however, that this is really the case only for composite practices where the outcome of the practice

Coptic-Greek Magical Handbooks

The nexus between the predominantly pre-Christian milieus of the 3rd century and the predominantly Christian milieus of the 5th century CE is hard to pinpoint. Demotic-Greek bilingual and, at least the *Vorlagen* of, the extant Old Coptic-Greek bilingual magical texts are assumed to have stemmed from the temple priestly milieu, while a relatively robust assumption for the 5th century is that those script communities producing Coptic textual culture were Christian. Hence, having so far considered the bilingual milieus producing and practicing magical texts that predated and were contemporary with early Christian milieus, the Grecophone and Greek-literate as well as Coptic-Greek bilingual and biliterate milieus that can be traced from at least the 5th century onward can now be considered.

First and foremost it must be noted that the bilingual (Egyptian-Greek) and bigraphic (either Demotic- or Old Coptic-Greek) magical texts obsolesced in the 3rd and 4th centuries, respectively, and only by transliteration into Greek script did non-Christian Egyptian-language content survive⁵⁶ in the Greek-language magical texts of the 5th century onward.⁵⁷ This phenomenon had, in fact, a long history.⁵⁸ Within the Coptic-Greek bilingual milieus of the 5th century onward,⁵⁹ several witnesses to a renewed tradition of bilingualism in the magical tradition are attested.

P.Kell.Copt. 35⁶⁰ was excavated in Kellis and belonged to the textual culture produced by the Manichaean community that lived in the Dakhleh oasis during the 4th century CE. This reused papyrus was inscribed in ca. 365 CE and, while found with 16 other letters, is one of only two authored by Ouales and sent to Psai, the former being based in Dakhleh or another western oasis, and the latter being based in the Nile Valley at the time of writing. The recto of the papyrus features a correspondence between these two professional scribes from the Manichaean community, but before this begins, a practice for separation was inscribed.⁶¹ The aspect of most note here is that the first three lines of the separation itself are in the Greek language, and subsequently the text undergoes a code-switch at the end of line 3 into the Coptic language—continuing in the latter language for the rest of the practice. There is no discontinuity between these sections; indeed, the invocation continues seamlessly between these lines, and it could therefore

is clear from the textual content of their Greek-language sections, for example, the clarity in the Greek-language sections of both ritual instructions and invocations in the bilingual exorcism compared with the opacity of the Greek-language ritual instructions when not considered alongside the Egyptian-language invocations in the bilingual direct vision.

56. This is excluding the *voces magicae* that derive from the Egyptian-language or those Greek-language practices with Egyptian titles, for example, *PGM* XII 201 and 270, “a ring” (*w' gswr*), as well as 365, “a separation” (*w' prd*). For the former, see Quack 2013, 177–99; 2014, 434–71.
57. Consider the 5th-century papyri *PGM* LXXIX (*PPrag* 1.4 = TM#64344) and LXXX (*PPrag* 1.5 = TM#64345), of unknown provenance, which are similar “charm[s] to restrain anger” in which Greek-language ritual instructions and invocations by name and for task are complemented by Egyptian-language aretalogical statements.
58. Consider the 1st-century (ca. 76–100) *P.Oxy.* 65.4468 (TM#63180), a Greek-language text with almost exclusively Egyptian-language content and connotations, including the “Egyptian *logos*” at the end, “probably intend[ed] to protect from bad encounters”; see F. Maltomini, *P.Oxy.* 65.4468.20–25n. The 4th-century papyrus bookroll *PGM* I (TM#88396), likely from the so-called Theban Magical Library, features the “tested spell for invisibility” of 247–62, in which Greek-language ritual instructions are followed by Egyptian-language aretalogical statements rendered in Greek script (251–52); see Dosoo 2016, 270. The 4th-century papyrus bookroll *PGM* XXXVI (*P.Oslo* 1.1 = TM#64479), of unknown provenance, features the practice “to open a door” of 312–20. In this magical text, the practitioner must recite an identical formula first in the Egyptian language (314–15) and subsequently in Greek (316–17). For further discussion, see Love 2016, 220 § 6.5.2.
59. Although not magical in the sense of the preceding examples, which utilize aretalogical statements and *voces magicae*, consider *PGM* (2) 2 Christliches 21 (TM#64512), a 4th- or 5th-century papyrus amulet from the Fayyum. This manuscript exhibits a Greek-language, and Christian in content, practice for favor, luck, success (1–24), and protection (26–49). Notable is the postscript in Coptic with Greek features, which implores the saints to remember and pray for the scribe (50–53).
60. TM#85886; see Mirecki, Gardner, and Alcock 1997, 1–32.
61. For a recent study of this manuscript, see Love 2016, § 7.6.1.

be deduced that Ouales was translating a *Vorlage* from Greek into Coptic for the recipient. Certainly, such a practice would not be beyond the capacity, or an uncommon practice, of a scribe in such a trilingual community.⁶² Thus, in the same century in which *PGM IV* was compiled and produced, it is intriguing to consider the possibilities utilized by practitioners in quite distinct scribal milieus and, consequently, the possibility of transmission between language frames perhaps as inconsequentially as at the whim of a particular scribe. Whether the invocation of the first lines in Greek and consequently the latter in Coptic related to any particular efficacy, however, will have to be considered elsewhere, but the redaction of magical texts between Greek and Coptic during the 4th century CE is—through this text—established beyond doubt.

Michigan Ms. 136⁶³ is a 16-page parchment codex inscribed by multiple hands, acquired in the Fayyum,⁶⁴ which was initially dated on paleographical grounds by William Worrell to the 6th century, but seems more likely to date to the 5th, or perhaps even 4th century CE.⁶⁵ Although there are no bilingual composite practices in this codex, with a number of different practices as well as medicinal treatments preserved in either Coptic or Greek, the alternation between languages is at least notable. Worrell's lines 34–38 (codex lines 3/15–19) feature a remedy in which the medicinal instructions are in Greek but the ingredients to be used are in Coptic—thus predicating a bilingual practitioner. Such a requirement must also be understood for a practice for power, strength, and favor (Worrell's 115–24, codex lines 7/16–8/4), which can be described as Graeco-Egyptian in form only due to its rapid alternation between Greek and Coptic lexemes. Indeed, the bilingual nature of this parchment codex positions it as the first successor to the manuscript tradition of Egyptian-Greek bilingual papyri of the *PDM* and *PGM*.

P.Köln 10.425 is a 5th- or 6th-century papyrus, of unknown provenance, that was folded in antiquity and worn as an “amulet against fever.” The amulet's title and ritual instructions are in Coptic and were thus likely copied from those in a handbook of *Vorlagen*,⁶⁶ while the invocations to “heal Victor . . . from fever” are in Greek. Thus, comparable to multiple Demotic-Greek bilingual examples considered above, the ritual instructions were written in the Egyptian language, and the invocations, in Greek. Other contemporary examples of manuscripts produced by practitioners with access to master-copy *Vorlagen*, as extant in handbooks, are in the 5th- or 6th-century collection *Suppl. Mag. 2.96–98*⁶⁷ and *P. Università Statale Vogl. copt. 16*⁶⁸—a corpus of Aramaic, Coptic, and Greek fragments that “issue from the same magical workshop” and evidently served “a large and diverse clientele.”⁶⁹ Although the papyri are fragmentary, and there are no bilingual composite practices in this collection, the breadth of concerns dealt with by the magical practices that can be identified demonstrates the diversity of applications to which bi- and trilingual practitioners could apply themselves: whether iatromagical practices; charms for victory, favor, or business; or malign magical practices—a range unseen in the bilingual magical texts of the *PDM* and *PGM*.

A final example worth consideration is *P. Carlsberg 52*,⁷⁰ which preserves six fragments of the central bifolium of a quire from a Coptic-Greek bilingual parchment codex inscribed by one hand, dating to the 7th century.⁷¹ Although not preserving any bilingual composite practices,

62. For references to this, see Love 2016, 274n175.

63. TM#92874; see Worrell 1935, 17–37 #4; Meyer and Smith 1994, 83–90 #43.

64. Worrell 1935, 1.

65. Following feedback from C. H. Roberts, Paul Kahle even argued for a mid-4th-century dating, noting a form of ⲉ “made in two strokes” characteristic of 4th-century Fayyum manuscripts, which he cites; see *P. Bal.*, pp. 235–36n3. A reedition and treatment of this codex are being undertaken by Michael Zellmann-Rohrer and the author.

66. See G. Schenke, *P. Köln 10.425*, p. 226.

67. For editions and translations of these texts, see also Maltomini 1979, 55–122; Kotansky in Betz 1986, 318–22.

68. TM#102252; see Pernigotti 1979.

69. See R. Daniel 1992, *Suppl. Mag. 2*, p. 231.

70. TM#65321; see Lange 1932; Brashear 1991; and Meyer and Smith 1994, 237–9 #118.

71. Brashear 1991, 16.

these fragments feature a Coptic practice for a theophany so that everything the practitioner desires will occur, and a Greek practice also for a theophany—although the desired outcome is lost. Thus, the bilingual codex to which this manuscript once belonged further attests a bilingual practitioner who possessed a bilingual magical handbook and who could have flexibly utilized certain magical practices for both Coptophone and Grecophone clients. This text is therefore the last extant example of a phenomenon in the magical tradition that is no longer attested, and thus may well have ceased, following the Byzantine period.

Coptic-Arabic Bilingualism and Monographia

Following the Arab conquest, bilingualism in Egypt began to manifest in textual culture as Coptic-Arabic, increasingly departing from Coptic-Greek due to the obsolescence of the use of Greek as the language of the administration more broadly. One linguistic product of language contact in bilingual milieus is the adoption of loanwords into the spoken language and thus the transliteration of loanwords into the script of its written language. Not unlike the phenomenon attested in the Graeco-Roman Period in which Greek loanwords were transliterated in Demotic,⁷² nearly 100 published and unpublished Coptic texts exhibit transliterated Arabic loanwords—18 manuscripts of “scientific texts”⁷³ are known from the 9th to 11th centuries, as well as 80 documentary texts⁷⁴ from the 8th to 12th centuries.⁷⁵ The 705 CE declaration that Arabic was to be used exclusively for all administrative business⁷⁶ did not result in the immediate replacement of Greek as the chancellery language, but ultimately, by the 11th century⁷⁷ Arabic came to dominate, resulting in further language shifts. During the 10th century, Christian authors began to translate into, and write texts entirely in, Arabic⁷⁸—in line with the broad understanding that the shift in spoken languages from Coptic to Arabic had begun in parts of Egypt during the 10th century.⁷⁹ By the mid-11th century “the great process of ‘translating the tradition’ began its initial stage” and was completed by 1300 CE.⁸⁰ This is demonstrated by the fact that from the 12th century “biblical manuscripts are often bilingual,” while from the 13th century Coptic-Arabic dictionaries and Coptic grammars written in Arabic are also attested.⁸¹ Thus, it is broadly understood that Coptic milieus had been Arabized⁸² before 1300 CE.⁸³

Because utilizing Arabic loanwords within Coptic-language texts requires their transliteration into Coptic script, rendering loanwords can be characterized as limited instances of monographia.⁸⁴ However, this phenomenon is also exhibited in the wholesale transliteration

72. See, for example, Clarysse 1987, 2013, 1–24; and Egedi 2015, 1333–43.

73. The arithmetical, astrological, alchemical, and medical texts known reflect “a high esteem for Arabic natural science current in educated circles of Egyptian Christian society” (see Richter 2009, 433), not least because these texts would have been translated from Arabic; see Vycichl 1991, 215a, and the corpus and bibliographies compiled by Richter 2016, 150.

74. For the documentary texts known, which “reflect common commercial intercourse between wealthy Arabic and Coptic speakers,” see Richter 2009, 433; also see the corpus and bibliographies compiled by Richter 2016, 151–53.

75. Richter 2006, 496.

76. Atiya 1991.

77. Legendre 2014, 336.

78. Richter 2009, 418.

79. Worrell 1934, 134; Papaconstantinou 2007, 2012; Richter 2009, 404, 418.

80. Richter 2009, 418. See also Papaconstantinou 2012, 58–76.

81. Richter 2009, 418.

82. For this phenomenon, and the related phenomenon of Islamification, see MacCoull 1985, 1989; Décobert 1992; Björnesjö 1996; Rubenson 1996, 4–14; and important recent reevaluations by Richter 2009, 430–34.

83. Richter 2006, 465. O. H. E. Burmester insists that “even as late as the XIVth century, they [i.e., the Copts] would certainly have been able to read and to write Coptic characters,” without justification; see Burmester 1965–66, 52.

84. As noted by Sebastian Richter (2006, 495), not so dissimilar from Karshuni, in which the Arabic language was written in the Syriac alphabet, who indeed refers to a “Coptic-Arabic ‘Karshouni’”; see Richter 2009, 419.

of Arabic-language texts in Coptic script⁸⁵ and of Coptic-language texts into Arabic script:⁸⁶ the former phenomenon has been appraised as being a monographic form that “might have been appropriate for somebody accustomed to speaking Arabic, who nevertheless wanted (and was still able) to read and write Coptic”—relating to “the higher prestige of the Coptic *script* in certain fields of Christian religious practice” (emphasis added); the latter “must have been indispensable for somebody wanting to utter Coptic words if they were educated in Arabic only”—relating to the higher prestige of the Coptic (spoken) *language* in certain contexts.⁸⁷ Where such “higher prestige” ascribed to the Coptic language highlights a “diglossia,” then any such “higher prestige” ascribed to the Coptic, as opposed to Arabic, script would highlight a “digraphia.”

Thus, the linguistic and (ortho)graphic products of the Arabized Christian milieu are first the translation of Arabic texts, and the transliteration of Arabic words and phrases, into Coptic, followed by the wholesale translation and transcription of Coptic texts into the Arabic⁸⁸ language and script, respectively. These processes were undertaken to retain their semantic and phonetic value, respectively. In the Coptic magical text tradition, this trend is also exhibited by the use of Arabic nouns⁸⁹—such as for ingredients⁹⁰ but even for demons⁹¹—or the wholesale translation of ritual instructions into Arabic and limited translation or adoption of invocations in Arabic. The former linguistic and latter (ortho)graphic phenomena are exhibited by the two sources to be considered next.

Coptic-Arabic Bilingual and Bigraphic Magical Manuscripts

P.Bad. 5.123⁹² comprises two sheets of papyri originally constituting one vertical bookroll.⁹³ The manuscript was originally dated to the 8th century,⁹⁴ but could also be of the 9th century,⁹⁵ and

85. Consider the 13th- or 14th-century paper codex from the Monastery of St. Macarius, a work to instruct novices drawing on the *Apothegmata Patrum* and *Orations* of Esaias Abbas of Scete; see Sobhy 1926, 231. For a bibliography of this text, see Richter 2006, 495.

86. Consider the later *Theotokia*, “a manuscript of hymns in honor of the holy virgin.” For a bibliography of this text, see Richter 2006, 495.

87. Richter 2009, 419. Such phenomena can be compared to examples from elsewhere in the Near East. Consider the fragment of Psalm 78, discovered in Damascus, dating to the 8th or early 9th century, in which a “clumsy but word-for-word” translation from the Greek language into Arabic is retained in Greek graphemes; see Violet 1901. Bruno Violet compares that manuscript with an earlier tradition, attested by a fragment of a transcription of Psalm 46 in Hebrew into Greek; see Violet 1901, 482. Not dissimilar from the context of those Coptic texts in Arabic script, Violet concludes that it is most likely that such a text was for church or private use by an Arabized individual/within an Arabized community that did not understand Greek all that well/at all but wished to retain a transcription of the Greek—thus, the translation and transcription preserved both the semantic and phonetic information of the *Vorlage*; see Violet 1901, 487.

88. It is important to note, however, that translations of Coptic texts into Arabic were not made initially to benefit Arabized Christians but to introduce Christian theology into Arabic Islamic theology; see Richter 2009, 418.

89. Consider ΟΥΛΛΜΕΡΕ (11) of *P.Heid.Inv. Kopt.* 408; see Mößner and Nauerth 2015; and Beck 2019, 4.

90. Consider ΔΛΧΩΒΗΗ (44) on the 10th-century parchment *P.Bad.* 5.137 (TM#99576); see also Meyer and Smith 1994, 179–80 #86; and Mößner and Nauerth 2015, 310. Consider also those of the 10th-century parchment codex *P.Heid.Inv. Kopt.* 685 (TM#102074); see Meyer 1996, 116; and those in the 10th- or 11th-century paper codex *P.Cairo Egyptian Museum JdE* 42573 (TM#102268); see Chassinat 1955, 114–15.

91. Consider ΔΛΔΗΗ (12) of the 10th-century *P.Bad.* 5.141 (TM#102078); see also Mößner and Nauerth 2015, 309–10.

92. TM#102087. For images of this manuscript, see “Katalog koptischer Papyri” at <http://tinyurl.com/HeidelbergPapyrologie>. I am most grateful to Isabel Garrod for help with the Arabic of this manuscript.

93. Those deemed “magical” by the TM database that are not included in this section are *P.Vindob. K* 8679 (TM#91421), a parchment amulet or fragment (7.3 × 7 cm) complete with “Zaubercharaktere,” noted by Stegemann, 1934, 22, as exhibiting “Spuren von 2 Zeilen Text, arabisch (?)” corroborated by Till, 1935, 211, as “ganz sicher arabisch,” but unedited (for an image, see <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00004829>); and *P.Bad.* 5.136 (TM#102080) (see Mößner and Nauerth 2015, 307), as it is unclear—due to them never having been studied—what the Arabic lines on this text have to do, if anything, with the Coptic practices.

94. *P.Bad.* 5.123, p. 328.

95. Personal communication with Nāim Vanthieghem during a consultation of this manuscript at the conference “Christians

was perhaps acquired in the Fayyum.⁹⁶ The contents of this manuscript consist of practices for inducing sexual desire and curses,⁹⁷ that is, exclusively malign magical practices, whose ritual instructions are written in Arabic and invocations are in Coptic, with *figurae magicae* and *voces magicae* also part of the bilingual composite practices. Before each of these is considered, it is important to highlight that the ritual instructions in Arabic are often incompletely preserved; and although it is very likely from other sources in the Coptic magical text tradition that the *voces* and *figurae magicae* are to be inscribed onto a medium as part of each of the magical practices, it is often uncertain whether the invocations in Coptic are also to be inscribed on this medium, merely recited, or both. This discrepancy has, of course, considerable implications when the linguistic skills of the client are considered—in particular, for example, when appraising if an individual had to be able to recite an invocation in Coptic following the lead of the Coptophone practitioner.

Practice one is for separation. The ritual instructions in Arabic prescribe that the practitioner must inscribe the *voces magicae*, *figurae magicae*, and accompanying invocations (6–12) on an Aswan bowl,⁹⁸ which must then be deposited at the door of “the one you loved.” The invocation in Coptic follows (12–24) with invocations by name and for task that make the desired outcome of separation clear, although it is unclear if this invocation is also to be inscribed on the Aswan bowl alongside the *voces* and *figurae magicae*. In addition, although this is a practice for separation, the intention is clearly to separate a targeted woman who is in a relationship—evident from invocations such as to place “a vengeance is in the midst of NN and NN” (17–18)—so that she, subsequently, falls for the (practitioner-)client.⁹⁹

Practice two is for inducing sexual desire, the *voces* and *figurae magicae* of which are likely those elements prescribed by the ritual instructions in Arabic to be inscribed on parchment (25–27). Subsequently, an invocation in Coptic (34–42) makes the nature of the magical practice clear by reference to instilling “desire” (36). As in the previous practice, the assumption from the poorly preserved third line of ritual instructions about what to do with the parchment is to “bury it” (27), presumably at the door of the target.

Practice three is stipulated in the ritual instructions in Arabic (43–46) to concern “love” (46). Subsequent to an additional ritual practice, the practitioner is to inscribe again on parchment the cited *voces magicae* (47–49) and either bind this to his upper arm or that of the client or “bury it in the place where the desired passes by” (46). Importantly, this is a practice to presumably instill “love” and thus desire in a target for the (practitioner-)client that does not, unlike the preceding example, require invocations in any particular language.¹⁰⁰

Practice four is also for separation, whose ritual instructions in Arabic prescribe the inscription of an oyster shell regarding “the one who will be set free” (50–51), the target—presumably from the target’s existing relationship. The *charaktères*, *voces magicae*, and *figurae magicae* to be

and Muslims in Early Islamic Egypt” (30 September 2016).

96. Mößner and Nauerth 2015, 306.

97. Practice one (lines 1–24 divided into two sections by a register line between 5 and 6), practice two (lines 25–42, section 3 delineated by register lines between 24 and 25, and 42 and 43), practice three (lines 43–49, sections four and five divided by a register line between 46 and 47), practice four (lines 50–79 divided by a register line between 51 and 52), practice five (lines 80–88 delineated from the preceding and following by register lines between 79 and 80, and 88 and 89), practice six (lines 89–100 divided by a register line between 90 and 91), practice seven (lines 101–15), and practice eight (lines 116–24 delineated from the preceding by the register line between 115 and 116 and delineated by register lines between 119 and 120, and 121 and 122). The sectioning of this manuscript follows a new working edition that I have produced in response to that of Mößner and Nauerth 2015, 314–27.

98. For this particular piece of ritual paraphernalia, see van der Vliet 1991, 224–5.

99. The second-person address in this instance of “you loved” could either address the practitioner-client directly or be an instruction passed on to a client by the practitioner.

100. Even if the *voces magicae* were to be recited, these would only have been approximated in vocalization even by a Coptic literate, and thus could be understood to have been recited just as effectively by any illiterate taking the lead of the practitioner.

inscribed follow (52–56), and subsequently an invocation in Coptic (56–62) makes an analogy to Jesus who “came out from the house of NN, son of NN,” concerning “the offense/outrage and the quarrel/fight” (58–59) so that “the destructor and poverty” will go into the house of the target (“NN”). This allegorical departure of the target from the house (presumably of the husband or father) is supplemented by a curse on the other half of the relationship—as demonstrated by the invocation in Coptic to “take away the grace from his face all the days of his life” (62–63), among other elaborated curses (62–79).

Practice five is labeled in Coptic as a “repugnance”¹⁰¹ (ΒΛΟΨΟ) and a “destruction” (ΤΑΚΟ) (80) and features ritual instructions in Arabic to inscribe an earthenware bowl that is also to be deposited “at the door of the enemy” (81–83). The *voces* and *figurae magicae* that are to be inscribed follow, as does the invocation in Coptic—perhaps also to be inscribed—which clarifies the desired outcome of the practice as to “give separation, etc., in the midst of NN, son of NN” (87–88): that is, to target the male in that relationship and separate the two parties, with the two facing magical figures in the tableau to be inscribed even being labeled “NN, son of NN,” and “NN, daughter of NN,” respectively (86). Similarly, practice six is also for separation, whose ritual instructions in Arabic prescribe the inscription of a sheet that is to be “[laid] down at the door” (89–90) of the target. The invocation in Coptic that follows (91–100) specifies that it can bring “separation for a daughter from her father, a bride from her mother-in-law” (92–99) and gives “quarrel in the midst of NN <and> NN” (99–100).

Practices seven and eight constitute relatively ambiguous compositions because they do not utilize Coptic invocations or prescribe clear Arabic ritual instructions, unlike their predecessors. Both sections 11 and 12 feature ritual instructions in Arabic¹⁰² that prescribe the inscription of *voces* and *figurae magicae* upon, in the first instance, a parchment (101–2) and, in the second, an Aswan bowl (116–19), which are to be deposited at the door of the target;¹⁰³ the diagnostic directions of either “separation” or “binding,” that is, bringing together, do not feature. However, the implication of a second set of ritual instructions in Arabic in section 11 is that if the target “is a Copt (f.)” or “is a Muslim (f.)” (109–10), the second inscribed parchment to be produced, which is to be bound onto the (practitioner-)client, is to be slightly different.¹⁰⁴

P.Bad. 5.123 is remarkable not only due to its broadly applicable and partly novel textual content but also because it is essentially the only extant, or yet known, bilingual Coptic-Arabic magical handbook comparable to earlier, contemporary, and later examples in Coptic, and comparable to those earlier examples in Coptic-Greek and Demotic-Greek treated above. It attests a bilingual milieu featuring (a) practitioner(s) within anything from two to more than six generations from the Arab conquest.

These typologically similar magical practices exhibit a shared pattern in how they could be practiced. Given that the ritual instructions and invocations of practices one, two, four, five, and six do not feature any first- or third-person pronouns, those practices could have been undertaken by a bilingual practitioner-client or have been commissioned by an Arabophone or Coptophone client. In addition, because practice three required a bilingual practitioner only to prepare an amulet, and the practices of section 7 required a bilingual practitioner only to produce pieces of ritual paraphernalia (line 103, and sections 13 and 14), both could have been commissioned by any literate or illiterate Arabophone or Coptophone. Thus, unlike some of the

101. See van der Vliet 1991, 217–21.

102. It could be that the latter set of ritual instructions provides supplementary directions to the former, but only a reedition of the Arabic sections of this manuscript can clarify these ambiguous readings.

103. This is specified in section 12 as “the door of the one whom you have in mind” (118).

104. Unfortunately, this section of ritual instructions (105–15) is not well preserved, and thus the translation is obscure. The sense appears to be that “if it is a Copt (f.),” “the earring of her ear” is utilized in the ritual, whereas “if it is a Muslim (f.),” it is instead “the uppermost part of her *Halswurzel*,” perhaps the *Nesselblattglockenblume*.

bilingual magical texts of the GEMP treated above, in which first-person invocations stipulated that the practitioner also had to be the client of the practice, for example, “until she comes to *me*,” and thus that literacy and bilingualism predicated practice, the composite practices in *P.Bad.* 5.123 were more broadly practicable. In the case of practices for separation, where only the names of the two targets are required, it very much appears as if a client would have commissioned a practitioner to undertake the practice, presumably due to lovesickness and/or a lustful desire for one member of that relationship, or—in the case of practice six—to “release” a female from the custody of her father or mother-in-law. Therefore, given that these bilingual composite practices do not seem to reflect the patterns seen in the examples above, in which different languages are utilized to facilitate their practice by speakers of different languages, the linguistic and (ortho)graphic factors of relevance here appear to relate most directly to the bilingual milieu in which this manuscript was compiled and within which its contemporary and potential practitioners were/would be situated.

The pattern of one language being used exclusively for ritual instructions and another for invocations in bilingual composite practices has now been demonstrated for the Demotic-Greek, Old Coptic-Greek, and Coptic-Arabic examples. In the first case, it appeared that the ritual instructions had been translated into Demotic, while the Greek invocations had not; this was perhaps primarily for reasons of the efficacy inherent to those invocations, although the by-product was that the invocation could have been practicable by a Grecophone client if an Egyptophone practitioner then carried out the tangible ritual practice. In the second case, it appeared that archaic Egyptian-language invocations had been transliterated into Old Coptic scripts so they would not be translated into Greek; this was also perhaps primarily for reasons of the efficacy inherent to those invocations, although the by-product was again that the invocations, because they were written in an alphabetic script close to the Coptic and Greek alphabets, that is, were “quasi-monographic,” could have been approximately vocalized by both Greek and Coptic literates. The third case, however, appears more similar to the first than the second.¹⁰⁵ Given the extensive Coptic magical text tradition preceding the temporal frame in which *P.Bad.* 5.123 is attested, the most likely explanation for the bilingual nature of this manuscript is that the ritual instructions were translated from a Coptic *Vorlage* into Arabic, and the invocations—to retain their efficacy—were preserved in Coptic. If this manuscript is to be dated well into the 8th or to the 9th century, an Arabized Christian milieu who sought to translate the ritual instructions for reasons of clarity would be comparable to the Hellenized Egyptian milieus who produced the Demotic-Greek examples treated above. If, however, the manuscript is earlier, the translation of the ritual instructions into Arabic could instead have been made so that the bilingual practitioners were able to relay them to Arabophone clients more accurately. This latter hypothesis is, however, also viable even if the manuscript is to be dated later.

Considering that the ritual instructions of section II feature stipulations concerning how the ritual should be practiced differently depending on whether the target is a Copt or a Muslim, it is also possible that a bilingual practitioner could have been commissioned to undertake such practices by both Coptic and Muslim clients.¹⁰⁶ Admittedly, it is no less possible that exclusively Coptic clients could have targeted Muslims, and—within a bilingual Coptic-Arabic milieu—would have responded just as positively to ritual instructions relayed in Arabic as Coptic. However, the Arabic-language ritual instructions and the specifications of section II nonetheless highlight certain possibilities. Yet, ultimately, even this substantial bilingual manuscript and its

105. Principally because the Coptic invocations could not have been approximately vocalized by an Arabic literate in the way the Old Coptic invocations could have been by a Greek or Coptic literate.

106. Note also the remarkable, and apparently novel, utilization of elements of pigs in the tangible practiced ritual of practices one (3) and six (90) and in section 7 (118).

textual content cannot be utilized as strong evidence for an Arabophone clientele of bilingual Coptic practitioners.

The only other (potentially) bilingual Coptic-Arabic manuscript that inhabits the realm of such ritual practices is P.Vindob. K 11088,¹⁰⁷ a paper fragment of the 10th or perhaps as late as the 11th century featuring multiple “medico-magical” recipes and either from the Fayyum, Heracleopolis, or Ashmunein.¹⁰⁸ The first recipe (1–5) in the collection regards “a woman who is obstructed in giving birth,” and the practitioner must inscribe cited content so that “she will always give birth quickly” (2–4). The following line features individual Arabic graphemes that have been inscribed with notable space between each and four stars inscribed at irregular intervals between them.¹⁰⁹ Thus, although Hevesi read “Let the work of the evil leave” (بیرح عمل الشر) on the suggestion of Sándor Fodor—with the interpretation relating to an evil obstructing the birth¹¹⁰—this reading did not make use of all of the inscribed graphemes nor explain their iconic form. This form is much more reminiscent of *charaktēres*,¹¹¹ “magical signs,” than the format of any invocations to be recited—not least because many *charaktēres* were ultimately derived from Greek graphemes. Furthermore, every other recipe inscribed on the recto of this paper fragment exhibits the pattern of ritual instructions in Coptic above *charaktēres* that are to be inscribed, followed by a register line that divides each recipe from the following.

However, even if Krisztina Hevesi’s interpretation is not correct for the extant form of the recipe, it could be that this composite recipe was reinterpreted at some point in its textual history, and that at one point an Arabic invocation for task, which was cut short in redaction—hence the superfluous graphemes—had provided the efficacy for the practice to bring about its desired outcome. This example could therefore provide some evidence for a pattern of bilingualism opposite to that exhibited by *P.Bad.* 5.123, explained in two ways: a Coptic-language invocation was simply translated for application to an Arabophone clientele, or, more likely, this reference invokes aspects of, and thus was taken directly from, Arabic (textual) culture—especially given the implications of the four inscribed stars, as suggested by Sándor Fodor.¹¹² Hence, as a result of bilingualism, particularly of literate, Coptic communities by the 10th and 11th centuries, influences from Arabic textual culture could have been utilized within the magical tradition, a phenomenon that is not so apparent from the invocations of *P.Bad.* 5.123, which appear “Christian.”

The Arabized context of the production of many magical texts is also demonstrated by relatively common amulets against scorpion bites, which are known in Coptic and Arabic,¹¹³ as well as in compilations from the Cairo Genizah,¹¹⁴ while certain Coptic magical texts also exhibit evidence that they were produced in an Arabized context because they had been inscribed on reused Arabic manuscripts.¹¹⁵ Thus, although the bilingual practitioners embedded within the milieus that produced the Coptic-Arabic, as Demotic-Greek and Old Coptic-Greek, magical texts could have translated or transliterated elements of their magical practices into one or the other language to favor a particular clientele, the bilingual nature of these milieus already provides enough of a context in which bilingual redactions and compositions would be required,

107. Published in Hevesi 2015.

108. Hevesi 2015, 56, 78–9.

109. *س ح *ع م ل ا *ال س ر ال *. This can be compared to the stars inscribed between instructions for preparing amulets for easing urination and childbirth on T-S Ar.40.140, a loose leaf of paper from the Cairo Genizah; see <http://tinyurl.com/T-SAr40-140>.

110. Hevesi 2015, 58 and 63.

111. For a summary of various discussions of this phenomenon, see Brashear 1991, 79n4; Frankfurter 1994, 189–221; Dieleman 2005, 96–101; and the formative comments by Bonner 1950, 194–6.

112. Hevesi 2015, 63–4.

113. Consider the 10th-century *P.HermitageCopt.* 66 (TM#109329) and the 10th- or 11th-century P.Vindob. K 7110 (TM#91413); see Stegemann 1934, 19, 41, in addition to the numerous examples published as *P.Bad.* 5.161–6.

114. Consider, for example, T-S AS 143.26; see <http://tinyurl.com/T-SAS143-26>.

115. Consider the 10th- or 11th-century *P.Bad.* 5.136 (introduced above) and *P.Bad.* 5.132 (TM#102081).

and thus practiced without necessarily involving any monolingual “other.” Therefore, if this study is at all able to establish whether practitioners embedded in an Arabized Christian milieu could have been commissioned by a non-Coptic Arabophone clientele, some final sources must be considered.

Coptic-Arabic Bilingual and Monographic Magical Manuscripts

Although it has been suggested that Old Coptic–Greek magical texts could have constituted “quasi-monographic” redactions in which a Greek literate could have approximated the vocalization of the Egyptian-language invocations rendered in Old Coptic scripts (and if their being understood was of no consequence to the client), the only truly monographic redaction other than the Greek transliterations of Egyptian-language invocations treated above is the 10th- or 11th-century¹¹⁶ T-S 12.207.¹¹⁷ This practice for binding, inscribed on paper, is part of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection in Cambridge¹¹⁸ and, therefore, unlike all examples treated thus far, has something of a secure provenance.

Although at first sight nothing is more striking about the text in Coptic script than its apparently “scruffy” hand,¹¹⁹ on closer inspection it is clear that the first section of six lines would be more “phonetically familiar” to an Arabophone than a Coptophone. These lines in fact open with the *Basmala/Bismillāh*,¹²⁰ followed by an Arabic invocation, “May the tongue of the resentful Gharib bin Sit al-Kul¹²¹ be bound, so that the speaker is not able to speak,” “May his tongue be bound on behalf of Thijar bint Siti,¹²² through the power of these names here. Amen” (1–6)—rendered exclusively in Coptic transcription. Thus, the opening invocation in the Arabic language but Coptic script is framed in a format that would be characteristic of a prayer but without any such diagnostic religious content.

The second section is clearly delineated from the first by three lines of *charaktēres* and is an exclusively Coptic-language invocation in Coptic script to God (ΦΝΟΥΤΙ): “the one who bound heaven and earth” (7–8) and “the voice that was placed at the top of the wood” (i.e., the Cross, 24–25)—among other unmistakably Christian elements.¹²³ Most notable is the parallelism between the Arabic-language invocations for task in the first section and those in the Coptic language that follow, repeated twice: “bind the mouth and tongue of Charib, the son of Sit el-Kōl”

116. Given that no paper documents have been dated precisely to the 9th century at present, becoming more common during the 10th and dominating only in the 11th century, see Legendre 2014, 328; see also Vanthieghem 2015.

117. TM#99585; see <http://tinyurl.com/T-S12-207>; Crum 1902; Moritz 1903; Kropp 1931, 242–43; Blau 1988, 259–60; Meyer and Smith 1994, 197–99 #94.

118. These near 200,000 manuscripts and fragments come from a room within the Ben Ezra synagogue of Old Cairo (medieval Fustat), which housed texts no longer of functional use. This was not done to keep them as an archive but to prevent manuscripts inscribed with the name of God being profaned by misuse before they could be buried on consecrated ground. Although many of these manuscripts were produced in Egypt during the Middle Ages, some also presumably came from neighboring countries such as Palestine; see Naveh and Shaked 1998, 30. For a general introduction to the Cairo Genizah, see Kahle 1959, 3–13; and Reif 2000, 1–22.

119. Walter Crum’s description of this manuscript was rather disdainful: “It is written upon a strip of paper in a very unskilled, often ambiguous hand, which I cannot venture to date. The Coptic is sufficiently faulty to indicate a late period”; see Crum 1902, 329. Joshua Blau was equally disdainful of its Arabic: “The text is too short and careless for further phonetic analysis”; see Blau 1988, 260.

120. ΠΕΘΜΕΛΛΕ ΕΑΡΑΖΜΕΗ ΕΑΡΑΖΙΜ (بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم) (1).

121. It could be that these “names” are in fact pseudonymous, as they could be read “strange-man, son of the woman-of-everything.” I am most grateful to Jack Clift for his assistance with the somewhat ambiguous Arabic of this text.

122. As the preceding footnote states, it could be that these “names” are also pseudonymous, as they could be read “thick-one, daughter of my mistress.”

123. Consider also reference to the “seven unbroken seals” (26) in comparison to Revelation 5:1–4, as noted by Marvin Meyer; see Meyer and Smith 1994, 198.

(8–9, 20–21) so that he will not be able to “speak evil matters” (11–14) or “have the power to speak an evil word” (22) against the female servant Thējir, the daughter of Sete (11–14).

Multiple linguistic and (ortho)graphic factors must be considered here to draw out the identities of the past, contemporary, and potential practitioners as well as clientele of this remarkable magical text. First, as identified by Richter, preceding the Arab conquest the invocations that opened texts were often much longer and more diverse than the invocation “In the name of God,” which subsequently came to dominate. But this itself occurred because such an invocation was “unmarked by confession”; that is, as a monotheistic formula it related not only to the beginning of the *Basmala/Bismillāh* but also to Christian formulae.¹²⁴ Thus, this could be seen as a process of “acculturation,” as manifest by stylistic changes in language that occur relatively rapidly in comparison to the structural changes that Arabization exerted on Coptic texts.¹²⁵ After all, examples of this opening invocation are found in multiple genres of texts, whether magical as T-S 12.207 and P.Berol. inv. 5744 (treated below), medical,¹²⁶ accounts,¹²⁷ or other documentary texts,¹²⁸ as well as other magical texts from the Cairo Genizah.¹²⁹ But it is important to consider that the *Basmala/Bismillāh* in T-S 12.207 does not exhibit assimilation, suggesting that the scribe knew the orthographic form the *Basmala/Bismillāh* took in formal Arabic and thus that he was not transcribing “what he heard” or “what would be said” by a (practitioner-) client.¹³⁰

A comparable example of this phenomenon in the Coptic magical text tradition is the 12th-century parchment P.Berol. inv. 5744,¹³¹ which, according to Beltz’s published text, features the invocation ϨΝ ΠΡΑΝ ΝΑΛΛΑ, “In the name of Allāh (الله)” —rather than ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ, or similar. The fact that ΔΛΛΑ¹³² in this context must stand for ΠΝΟΥΤΕ in Coptic conceptions is made all the more clear by a subsequent invocation: “with the spirit (روح) of Allāh and the power of the Lord” (ΜΝ ΤΡΟϨ ΝΑΛΛΑ ΜΝ ΤΕΔΟΜ ΜΠΕΧΟΕΙC). Thus, according to Beltz’s published text, the Arabization of the name of God is attested, as are references to an Apa Peter (ΔΠΑ ΠΕΤΡΟC) and perhaps an angel (ΔΓΓΕ[ΛΟC])—diagnostic of an otherwise Christian context. Since the submission of this contribution, however, I have consulted the manuscript in the original and was unable to confirm any of these readings and thus consider them all to be doubtful to nonexistent.

124. Richter 2003, 216.

125. Legendre 2014, 340.

126. Consider *P.Ryl.Copt.* 106 (TM#111284).

127. Consider *P.Stras.Copt.* 67.

128. Consider *P.Lond.Copt.* 487; see Richter 2003, 214–23. Roger Bagnall and Klaas Worp, while not directly treating Greek renderings of the *Basmalla/Bismillāh*, noted “invocation formulae” in Greek-language texts produced by the Arab administration they considered include examples “clearly” “influenced by the Bismillah”; see Bagnall and Worp 2004, 99–100.

129. Consider T-S AS 143.229; see Naveh and Shaked 1998, 216–21 #2; pl. 33, two pages from an Aramaic magical handbook, the first of which opens with the *Basmala/Bismillāh*, preceding a practice for inducing sexual desire, but in this case written in Arabic script. The pattern of opening invocations beginning “In the name of” are not uncommon among Aramaic or Hebrew invocations in general, whether of God, a god, an epithet, or *voces magicae*; see Naveh and Shaked 1998, 221–36 #3, #4, #5, #6; and all those published by Schiffman and Swartz 1992, 64–164, respectively. For the magical tradition attested in the Genizah manuscripts, see Bohak 1999, 27–44; 2009, 324–42; and for a draft catalogue of these manuscripts, see Bohak 2010, 72.

130. That is, ϨΠΡΑϨΜΕΝ and ϨΠΡΑϨΜ could instead be expected. Thus, it does not seem the case here, with the exception of the voiceless rather than voiced bilabial stop rendered in ΠΕCΜΕΛΛΕ, as in documentary settings, the use of the Coptic script to transcribe Arabic was the result of a “technical constraint” of the scribe being less confident in Arabic than Coptic; see Legendre 2014, 329. Indeed, it was not simply the case there that the Coptic transcription exhibited pronunciation according to how a Coptic would have pronounced the Arabic; see Legendre 2014, 333.

131. TM#108881, see Beltz 1983, 63. This fact was raised most recently by Richter 2006, 497.

132. Perhaps transmitted as a *vox magica* in other contexts, for example, in the 10th-century parchment P.Louvre E 14.250 (TM#99997) ΔΛΔϨΔ (line 5); see Drioton 1946; and Meyer and Smith 1994, 218–22 #109. Distinct, but in the same vein as the potential utilization of other names transliterated from Arabic into Coptic, consider ΜΔΙΜΟΥΝ (ميمون) in *P.Bad.* 5 136 (introduced above), as suggested in Bilabel and Grohmann 1934, p. 389.

Nevertheless, other magical texts also attest the efficacy of the name of God as transmitted from Islamic tradition,¹³³ demonstrating how bilingualism facilitated an exchange of both textual and oral culture. This was in no small part due to the ubiquity of such expressions in Coptic-Arabic bilingual milieus, ultimately a result of the interest exhibited by Arabized Coptic Christians in Arabic Islamic theology.¹³⁴ Thus, it should be unsurprising that the name(s) of God¹³⁵ and the *Basmala/Bismillāh*—most commonly through the recitation of a Sura—are utilized in Arabic-language “Islamic magical texts,” whether in quotidian phylacteries¹³⁶ or to cure particular ailments.¹³⁷ However, that is not to say that use of the *Basmala/Bismillāh* is universal; there are phylacteries in which it is not invoked¹³⁸ and those involving the recitation of the *Shahāda*, as well as those with both.¹³⁹ Furthermore, there are examples of magical practices written in Arabic that do not involve the recitation of invocations but simply the ritual production and deposition of ritual paraphernalia,¹⁴⁰ which—it would be reasonable to assume—were practicable for Arabized Coptic Christians.

Returning to T-S 12.207, the implications of the fact that this magical text opens with the *Basmala/Bismillāh* and invocations for task in the Arabic language also suggest that the Arabic and Coptic languages were deemed equally or synergistically efficacious.¹⁴¹ This equity or synergy could be understood to have been conceptualized in either a predominantly Coptophone or Arabophone milieu for the following reasons. Given that the (ortho)graphic form of the Arabic-language section was such that it could have been vocalized by a Coptic literate, that is, monoliterate, the clientele of such a composite practice is broadened beyond one that was both bilingual and bigraphic. Even if the clientele was illiterate, at least one section, with both invocations by name and for task to bring about the desired outcome of the practice, could have been recited by either an Arabophone or Coptophone, following the practitioner. This demonstrates similarities with both the Demotic-Greek and Old Coptic-Greek bilingual composite practices treated above. In such a case, it would be considered that understanding the textual content of the entire practice was not a necessary prerequisite for a client and also that presumably the practitioner would recite the other section. In addition, it could also be considered that the inclusion of a Coptic-language section in such a bilingual composite practice would

133. Compare also the invocation “I adjure you by the great name of God, whose name no one knows except the camel” in a parchment amulet in the private Nahman collection (TM#98054); see Drescher 1950; and Meyer and Smith 1994, 115–16 #62. This, embedded in a phylactery for Philoxine, son of Euphueia, in which “the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ” (John 1:1) is cited, as are his words upon the cross (Matthew 27:46; Mark 15:34), is “presumably a reminiscence of the popular Arab belief that God has a hundred names of which ninety-nine are known generally but the hundredth only to a few prophets and said or, as here, to the camel”; Drescher 1950, 269n4.

134. Richter 2009, 418.

135. Consider *P.Bad.* 5.155 (TM#105695), a 10th-century, and *P.Bad.* 5.157 (TM#105697), an 11th-century, paper amulet constituted of the names of Allāh.

136. Consider the early example of the verso of *P.Bad.* 5.143 (TM#102091), a papyrus amulet of the end of the 7th or early 8th century, acquired in Cairo, in which elements from Suras 1, 112, 113, and 114 are redacted together and thus open with the *Basmalla/Bismillāh*. This is the case for numerous other later Arabic-language “magical texts”; see *P.Bad.* 5.144–50.

137. Consider the 10th-century papyrus amulet *P.Bad.* 5.161 (TM#105701), for the bite of a dog, in which lines 1–2 of Sura 112 are to be invoked.

138. Consider the 8th- or 9th-century papyrus amulet *P.Bad.* 5.151 (TM#105691) and the ca. 10th-century paper amulet *P.Bad.* 5.153 (TM#105693), which invoke Surah 112, lines 1–4 and 1–3, respectively. Consider also *P.Bad.* 5.158 (TM#105698), two slips of 11th-century paper constituting a “talisman” to protect Mas’ada, the daughter of Ḥasan, against *Qarīn* (قرين).

139. Consider the 8th- or 9th-century linen amulet *P.Bad.* 5.152 (TM#105692) from the Fayyum.

140. The 11th- or 12th-century paper *P.Bad.* 5.160 (TM#105700) exhibits a “chapter” (باب) “to bring the client the livelihood and sustenance he desires and that will satisfy him,” in which *charaktēres* and *voces magicae* are to be inscribed on a mummy bandage and deposited. The place of deposition, “a place in which the rival is,” makes clear that this beneficent outcome is to be at the expense of a target, whose name and that of the target’s mother, must also be inscribed on the mummy bandage.

141. Although the point should be raised that it does not appear impossible that either section could have been utilized in isolation and that each would have brought about the same desired outcome—the *charaktēres* following the Arabic section and succeeding the Coptic.

have had prestige both for a Muslim Arabophone client, who revered the “exotic” Coptic, and for a Coptic Arabophone client, who revered the “archaic” Coptic. This latter scenario also has similarities with that treated above for the Old Coptic–Greek composite practices, in which the Egyptian-language sections would have both looked and sounded archaic to contemporary practitioners and their clientele.

In addition to these considerations, however, it must also be stressed that it is quite uncertain what the ritual accompanying the production of this magical text, and its deposition,¹⁴² would have been. It could be that the client who had commissioned the practitioner to undertake the curse needed to play no part in the practiced ritual. If this were the case, the bilingual nature of the invocations may relate to the client witnessing the recitation of those invocations by the practitioner, which—consequently—would have been partly understood whether the client was an Arabophone or a Coptophone and considered efficacious on the whole due to the Coptic section’s “exoticness” or “antiquity.” Yet a final consideration is that the Arabic was transcribed into Coptic script because of the prestige or conceptualized efficacy of the Coptic script,¹⁴³ or even because the Arabic script was deemed unsuited to be utilized within the tradition of Coptic magic. Thus, the use of the Coptic script to render an Arabic-language section could instead solely be a result of the (ortho)graphic conventions governing the production of texts in Coptic scribal culture.

Furthermore, if the Arabic section is considered a later addition, it could be hypothesized that the past practitioners of this magical text were simply monolingual Coptophones. In that way, a contemporary practitioner would—due to the internal textual factors noted above—have been a bilingual biliterate, but a bilingual biliterate who could have served a clientele of either bilingual monoliterate Coptophones or monolingual illiterate Arabophones and Coptophones. However, given that this manuscript was apparently part of those found in the Cairo Genizah, it is possible that the exact context of this manuscript’s practice, aside from the practice of the text itself, must be considered as among a non-Coptic-speaking and thus non-Coptic-literate milieu. Thus, it is also possible to hypothesize that the addition of an Arabic-language section catalyzed a Coptic practitioner’s practice within a clientele distinct from the Arabophone/Coptophone Muslims/Christians considered thus far. Evidently, the Coptic magical tradition was not necessarily any more reserved to Copts in Islamic Egypt than the Arabic language was to Muslims.

Although the identity of the past, contemporary, and potential practitioners of this magical text has to be a Coptic literate, the clientele the practitioner served could clearly have transcended the Coptic-speaking Copt and Arabic-speaking Muslim dichotomy. After all, the linguistic and (ortho)graphic diversity of some communities in Islamic Egypt is astounding and is no more aptly illustrated than by the generations of communities that produced the manuscripts of the Cairo Genizah. These communities spoke Arabic, and also in certain cases Persian, while writing magical texts in Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, and Judeo-Arabic—some of which even included Greek-language sections.¹⁴⁴ This is a milieu whose magical tradition “follow[ed] in general the Palestinian tradition”¹⁴⁵ yet worked with Arabic translations of older Coptic texts or with bilingual sources, even though Coptic literacy and Coptophones are not known in this milieu.¹⁴⁶

142. As was seen in the treatment of *P.Bad.* 5.123 above, the end point of the majority of malign magical practices was their deposition at a location near their target(s).

143. This is in keeping with the continued patronage of the Coptic script in Coptic church textual culture up until today, even though bilingual redactions of biblical texts and translations into Arabic are known contemporary to this manuscript.

144. Consider, for example, T-S K 1.115, which features a Latin prayer in transcription (borrowed from a Christian thief-catching practice), a gnostic saying of Secundus the Silent Philosopher in Arabic, a praise of God in Hebrew, and a recipe for path jumping in Aramaic; see <http://tinyurl.com/T-SK1-115>; Jacobs, Schäfer, and Shaked 1997, 153–61; and Bohak 2006, 1–19. For Greek-Hebrew linguistic contacts in this context, see also Bohak 2014, 247–60.

145. Naveh and Shaked 1998, 30.

146. Bohak 1999, 36–37.

Thus, the bilingualism of T-S 12.207 demonstrates that the linguistic and (ortho)graphic facets of bilingual and monographic texts, respectively, meant they could have been transmitted, and thus utilized, outside the bilingual biliterate milieus in which they were produced.

On balance, while the unique nature of T-S 12.207 raises more questions than it answers, the possible sociocultural and religious factors that seek to explain the linguistic and (ortho)graphic decisions made in the production of this curse are at the same time testament to the complexities of the bilingual milieus that the Christians of Early Islamic Egypt inhabited. Moving to the question of direct contact between Christians and Muslims as attested by sources other than the bilingual magical texts treated thus far, a further few monolingual sources can now be considered.

Arabized Christian or Muslim Clients?

P.Berol. inv. 8503¹⁴⁷ is an 8th- or 9th-century parchment, of unknown provenance, exhibiting a Coptic curse against Mouflēhapahapani (ΜΟΥΦΛΗΠΑΠΑΠΑΝΙ), the son of Kin (ΚΙΝ/ΚΕΝ), so that he becomes inferior to ‘Abd Allāh (ΑΠΤΕΛΛΑΔ), the son of Telepfeū (ΤΕΛΕΠΦΗΥ/ΤΕΛΕΠΦΗΥ/ΤΕΛΕΠΟΥΗΥ), through becoming silent, confused, and weak. While the target of the practice is an individual with an Arabic name, as is the client, both the former and latter appear to be sons of mothers with Hellenic names. Thus, this could be a reason to suggest that they are more likely Arabized Christians than Muslims. By comparison, P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 544,¹⁴⁸ a parchment amulet of uncertain date and unknown provenance, features an invocation to remove the cold, chills, evil eyes, mania, and tears from Aḥmad (ΑΖΜΗΤ), son of Mariam (ΜΑΡΙΑΜ), “at the moment” the amulet is worn. In this case, the client has an Arabic name, as does his mother. However, it could be that Aḥmad is an Arabized Christian and that his mother’s name is rendered in its Arabic form, a name, Maria (ΜΑΡΙΑ) understandably popular among Christians. Thus, as is perhaps to be expected, and comparable to the uncertainty resulting from the study of bilingual magical texts above, a Muslim clientele for Coptic magical texts cannot be established from the sources with any level of certainty.

Scripturae Magicae

A supplementary mention must now be given to the elements of magical texts that do not concern their textual content but their “iconic” features, which also attest the transmission of magical traditions between different script communities, whether mono-, bi-, or multilingual or -literate. Such *scripturae magicae* (magical scripts), or such “magical use” of scripts,¹⁴⁹ can be interpreted alongside the “iconic” use of the Greek script from which many of the so-called *charaktēres* (characters) derive.

P.Bad. 5.133¹⁵⁰ is a piece of rag paper of the 10th century that, although looking at first like an amulet, is likely a loose-leaf handbook from a folio or codex preserving only four prescriptions on its recto. On the verso, *charaktēres* derived from Greek graphemes are inscribed in addition to a string of characters that are clearly derived from Arabic graphemes, on a register line of

147. TM#99586; see Kropp 1930, 243–7 #LXXV; Beltz 1984, 94–7; and Meyer and Smith 1994, 199–202 #95.

148. TM#98048; see Quecke, 1963, 248–54; and Meyer and Smith 1994, 101 #54.

149. They can be distinguished from written language by the fact that, while presumably encoding some efficacy or “meaning,” “magical scripts” do not encode semantic information by phonetic reference to a language.

150. TM#102082; see also Mößner and Nauerth 2015, 308. For images of this manuscript, follow the link provided for *P.Bad.* 5.123 in footnote 92.

sorts. *P.Bad.* 5.135¹⁵¹ is a 9th- or 10th-century parchment in three fragments, the rectos of the two largest of which exhibit characters clearly derived from Arabic graphemes, again on a line—perhaps fulfilling a supplementary “iconic” role to the curse they accompany. The 10th-century loose-leaf parchment *P.Bad.* 5.141¹⁵² is more illustrative insofar as the characters derived from Arabic graphemes, again on a line, are also inscribed alongside Coptic graphemes that must have an “iconic” function, as well as above a magical figure and its accompanying *vores magicae* and ritual instructions. Thus, they clearly belong to a tableau that is itself delineated by a register line from the invocation to ΠΧΔΧ ΝΔΛΔΗΝ. This name appears to mean “the demon (الجن) sparrow” but could also be understood as “the demon (الجن) head (i.e., headed)” (10–11) and is embedded in a practice “concerning well-being” through the names, powers, amulets, and figures, “so that you will complete for me the speech in defense, my tongue being upon NN and NN” (17–20). In addition, on page 17 of the 10th-century parchment codex P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 685, introduced above, three sections are divided by register lines,¹⁵³ the first of which constitutes exclusively a magical script made up of elements that resemble all at once Arabic, Coptic, Demotic, Greek, and Syriac.¹⁵⁴ Unfortunately, neither the following nor preceding magical practices provide ritual instructions that reveal whether these 10 lines are to be inscribed on a piece of ritual paraphernalia and deposited or worn by a client as part of a ritual.

Where such “magical scripts” are illustrative not only of the graphic influence of Semitic scripts on the Coptic magical text tradition but also of transmission between languages and script communities is again in the context of the Cairo Genizah. At the bottom of the recto of T-S K1.113,¹⁵⁵ following a list of magical names for each month of the Muslim year, a quadratic magical figure is inscribed, on the lines of which such a magical script is exhibited. Consider also T-S K5.7,¹⁵⁶ which is a loose sheet on which a sequence of magical signs in an undeciphered cipher are written, including some that feature Arabic consonants. Notwithstanding magical scripts that appear to derive predominantly from Semitic scripts, manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah also exhibit magical scripts that derive from Coptic—as *P.Bad.* 5.141 noted above. On page P4 verso of the parchment codex T-S K 1.143,¹⁵⁷ a “magical” application of Coptic graphemes is exhibited, while on P1 verso, a tableau of magical figures is annotated in places by groups of signs that appear to be garbled copies of Coptic *vores magicae*.¹⁵⁸ Inverted or otherwise-manipulated Coptic graphemes also make up compositions of magical script on the recto of T-S K 1.157,¹⁵⁹ a sheet of parchment inscribed with gynecological recipes. Furthermore, on a paper amulet T-S K 1.100,¹⁶⁰ for Abū l-‘Azz b. Baqā to attract people to his shop, several unmistakable ʔ and ʕ signs are inscribed, adapted into a composition alongside various other “magical signs.” As should be suspected, these examples demonstrate not only the reinvention of “magical ideas,” such as the derivation of *charaktēres* through the “magical application” of scripts, which first appeared in the Roman period, but also that the transmission of these magical scripts is compel-

151. TM#102084; see also Mößner and Nauerth 2015, 308–9. For images of this manuscript, follow the link provided for *P.Bad.* 5.123 in footnote 92.

152. TM#102078; see also Mößner and Nauerth 2015, 309. For images of this manuscript, follow the link provided for *P.Bad.* 5.123 in footnote 92.

153. This entire page was taken as two compositions by Meyer (“Spell with magical script, and drawing of Christ, with instructions” and “Spell for gathering”); see Meyer and Smith 1994, 98–9; and one composition by Mößner and Nauerth (“Christus als Spender aller guten Gaben, Seite 17”); see Mößner and Nauerth 2015, 346. However, it is unclear which of the practices the first section can be related to, whether preceding or following, with any certainty.

154. Various identifications to this effect have already been made; see Meyer 1996, 98; and Mößner and Nauerth 2015, 346.

155. See <http://tinyurl.com/T-SK1-113>.

156. See <http://tinyurl.com/T-SK5-7>.

157. See <http://tinyurl.com/T-SK1-143>.

158. Only ʔ[. . . appears clearly as a name; the others feature graphemes that have been inverted or altered in various supplementary ways.

159. See <http://tinyurl.com/T-SK1-157>.

160. See <http://tinyurl.com/T-SK1-100>; and Schiffman and Swartz 1992, 106–9, pl. 9.

ling evidence for the fluid process of translation and transmission between language traditions and their script communities.

A final example that demonstrates this beyond doubt is the recto of the paper bifolium T-S K 1.56,¹⁶¹ which was once part of the first and last two pages of a magical handbook. On those last two pages, the first section features recipes in Judeo-Arabic,¹⁶² while the second is a recipe for (causing) ophthalmia to be inscribed on paper with ink, pierced, and deposited (i.e., like a *defixio*), with the “power of these names” being those invoked to “strike” the target “with ophthalmia.” Most intriguing are the three lines of “these names” to be inscribed, which clearly resemble Coptic graphemes. The third line exhibits not simply a garbled “magical application” of the Coptic script but also that it was in fact copied directly from a meaningful Coptic *Vorlage* by nature of the reading “Christ is God” (Ϡⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲥ)—encoding “an invocation to Jesus Christ in a perfectly Jewish magical text.”¹⁶³ Gideon Bohak hypothesized that it is most likely that this Judeo-Arabic redaction was made from an Arabic translation of a magical text once written in Coptic, “given the lack of Coptic-Jewish linguistic contacts in medieval Egypt,” while also conclusively demonstrating that this must also have been the case for the preceding recipe on the very same page.¹⁶⁴ As a result, it is rather extraordinary to conceptualize the stages of transmission between the past monolingual practitioners in a Coptophone milieu, the supplementary translation of the ritual instructions and (most of the) invocations into Arabic within a bilingual Arabized Christian milieu, and how this facilitated its transmission to contemporary practitioners literate in Judeo-Arabic, among other written languages, who as a result had the potential to practice this magical text in a context quite removed from that in which its *Vorlagen* were practiced.¹⁶⁵ This example thus demonstrates a trend that has been predominant among the numerous bilingual or multilingual sources considered in this study: by the nature of the translation of one language into another language, or the transcription/transliteration of one script into another script, monolingualism to bilingualism and bigraphia to monographia also serve as the nexus of magical traditions by facilitating their transmission between language and script communities that may never otherwise have had access to each other’s textual culture and thus cultural practices.

At and as the Nexus of Magical Traditions

This study has surveyed sources that have not yet been brought together to address how the diachronic linguistic and (ortho)graphic phenomena of bilingualism and mono-/bigraphia in the temporal frames of the Roman to Islamic period can be traced through the relatively isolated synchronic evidence of bilingual and mono-/bigraphic magical texts from Egypt. Ultimately, this was done to inform the potential interaction between the magical traditions, their practitioners, and their clientele of the Coptic-Arabic bilingual milieus of Coptic Christians and the Arabophone milieus of Muslims in early Islamic Egypt. First, the limitations and future considerations of this study must be noted. I acknowledge that this study has neglected to seek out the particular script communities and thus identify potential contenders for the bilingual milieus, their practitioners, and clients, which are attested in documentary sources, to which the mod-

161. See <http://tinyurl.com/T-SK1-56>; Jacobs et al. 1994, 29–45; and Bohak 1999, 32.

162. Bohak 1999, 35–9.

163. Bohak 1999, 35–6.

164. Bohak 1999, 35–9.

165. Indeed, the contemporary practitioner “may have received it directly from Christian hands, but he is far more likely to have received it from a Muslim source without ever realizing that it was Jesus Christ whom he was invoking among the powerful ‘signs’ that were embedded in his *Vorlage*”; Bohak 1999, 37.

eled milieus suggested above could apply. Furthermore, this study has left open many important questions relating to script communities, including how many members there would/could have been in such bilingual script communities and what the institutional relationships that led to their education would have been. Approaching such questions would require a future marrying of the hypotheses here and the evidence provided by documentary sources. Furthermore, although this study has made no statements to the contrary, little has been made of the fact that the magical traditions attested by the isolated magical texts considered could evidence only an exclusively regional phenomenon—a limitation to interpretation compounded not only by the limited number of sources but also by the fact that almost all of the sources are unprovenanced. A future attempt to map these models to attest bilingual communities, with demonstrable interactions with Arabophone Muslims, would, for example, certainly facilitate a developed discussion about whether an Arabophone Muslim clientele can be envisaged for bilingual Coptic practitioners.¹⁶⁶

However, by bringing together bilingual, whether mono- or bigraphic, magical texts from the Roman to Islamic period, this study has demonstrated certain linguistic and (ortho)graphic phenomena that persisted in the magical tradition in Egypt. If a literate or illiterate clientele did not need to understand the textual content of a practitioner's invocations, then in theory the production of bilingual composite practices would have allowed clients to recite invocations in their own language, whether by reading or by reciting after the practitioner—as demonstrated for Demotic-Greek, Old Coptic-Greek, and Coptic-Arabic examples. Subsequently, if an invocation was rendered in transliteration/transcription, this allowed a literate in a language community other than that of the target language to at least approximate a vocalization of the invocations—as suggested for certain Old Coptic-Greek and demonstrated for Coptic-Arabic examples. Thus, both linguistic and (ortho)graphic factors served also *as* the nexus of magical traditions from the standpoint of the tangible practice of the texts by practitioners and their clientele. In addition, the translation of ritual instructions or invocations into another language facilitated not only their practice within other milieus but also their transmission into the textual culture of other milieus. Thus, the Coptic-Arabic bilingual example from the Cairo Genizah, with reference to the bi- and multilingual manuscripts of that magical tradition more broadly, and those containing transcribed Coptic elements, demonstrate that once textual content has been transmitted into a different milieu, it can be redacted into a new form that produces a distinct stage in its textual history. Thus, in such a multilingual and multiliterate community, these linguistic and (ortho)graphic factors were not just *at*, but *were*, the nexus of the magical traditions preserved in its textual culture.

On balance, this study demonstrates that through a consideration of a typology of sources over the *longue durée*, not only can patterns be identified that are informative in and of themselves, but suggestions can be made through reasonably robust parallels to other temporal, religious, and cultural frames. From these parallels, informed interpretations of what could appear to be an otherwise dishearteningly limited number of sources can be suggested through authentic reference to the cultural phenomena attested in preceding or subsequent communities in Egypt. Thus, as this study shows, in the case of the Hellenized Egyptians of the Roman and Byzantine periods and the Arabized Christians of the Islamic period, two such cultural phenomena are bilingualism and monographia *at* and *as* the nexus of magical traditions.

166. For comparable instances of this, see the modern cases <http://tinyurl.com/Exorcism24-9-12>; <http://tinyurl.com/Exorcism26-11-13>; and <http://tinyurl.com/Exorcism3-3-14>. Also see Love 2016, 203n37.

Publication number(s)	Inventory number	Trismegistos number	Date	Language(s)	Script(s)	Composite practices
<i>PDM</i> xii/ <i>PGM</i> XIV	P.Leiden I 384 verso = AMS 75 verso	55954	Late 2nd or early 3rd century	Demotic and Greek	Demotic, Old Coptic, and Greek	<i>PDM</i> xii. 76–107 (3/1–20) + <i>PGM</i> XII. 453–65 (3/21–32); <i>PDM</i> xii. 119–34 (2/12–18, 2/21–27) + <i>PGM</i> XII. 469–73 (2/19–20); <i>PDM</i> xii. 135–46 (1/1–6) + <i>PGM</i> XII. 474–79 (1/7–12); <i>PDM</i> xii. 147–64 (1/13–14) + <i>PGM</i> XII. 480–95 (1/15–30)
<i>P.Lon-don-Leiden</i> = <i>PDM</i> xiv/ <i>PGM</i> XIV	P.Leiden I 383 + P.BM 10070	55955	Late 2nd or early 3rd century	Demotic and Greek	Demotic, Old Coptic, and Greek	<i>PDM</i> xiv. 93–114 (4/1–8; 20–22) + <i>PGM</i> XIVa. 1–11 (4/9–19); <i>PDM</i> xiv. 451–58 (15/28–31) + <i>PGM</i> XIVb. 12–15 (15/25–28); <i>PDM</i> xiv. 675–94 (23/1–8) + <i>PGM</i> XIVc. 15–27 (23/9–20)
<i>PDM</i> lxi	P.BM EA 10588	55956	First half of the 3rd century	Demotic and Greek	Demotic, Old Coptic, and Greek	NA
NA	P.BM EA 10808	108583	Late second or early 3rd century	Egyptian and Demotic	Demotic, Old Coptic, and Greek	NA
<i>PGM</i> III = <i>PGM</i> III.1 and III.2	P.Mimaut = P.Louvre E 2391	55956	3rd century	Egyptian and Greek	Old Coptic and Greek	<i>PGM</i> III.1 Verso 4/22–6/44; <i>PGM</i> III.2 verso 1/28–1/37; <i>PGM</i> III.2 verso 2/10–3/4; <i>PGM</i> III.2 verso 3/5–3/18
<i>PGM</i> IV	P.Bibl.Nat. Suppl. 574	64343	Late 3rd or early 4th century	Egyptian and Greek	Old Coptic and Greek	<i>PGM</i> IV. 5–51; <i>PGM</i> IV. 52–87; <i>PGM</i> IV. 88–93; <i>PGM</i> IV. 94–153; <i>PGM</i> IV 1227–64
<i>PGM</i> LXXIX	P.Wessely Prag. Gr. I 18	64344	5th century	Egyptian and Greek	Greek	NA
<i>PGM</i> LXXX	P.Wessely Prag. Gr. I 21	64345	5th century	Egyptian and Greek	Greek	NA
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 65.4468	NA	63180	1st century	Egyptian and Greek	Greek	NA
<i>PGM</i> I	P.Berol. inv. 5025	88396	4th century	Egyptian and Greek	Greek	<i>PGM</i> I. 247–62
<i>PGM</i> XXXVI = <i>P.Oslo</i> 1.1	Oslo University Library P. 420	64479	4th century	Egyptian and Greek	Greek	<i>PGM</i> XXXVI. 312–20
<i>P.KellisCopt.</i> 35	P88 + P77B + P79 + P92.49	85886	4th century	Coptic and Greek	Coptic and Greek	NA
NA	Michigan Ms. 136	92874	4th or 5th century	Coptic and Greek	Coptic and Greek	NA

Publication number(s)	Inventory number	Trismegistos number	Date	Language(s)	Script(s)	Composite practices
<i>P.Köln</i> 10.425	P.Köln Inv. No. 10208 recto	69038	5th or 6th century	Coptic and Greek	Coptic and Greek	NA
<i>Suppl. Mag.</i> 2.96–98 + P. Università Statale Vogl. copt. 16	See Editions	65847, 92257, 92258, 92259, 92260, 92261, 92262, 65848, 65849, 65850, 65851, 65852, 65853, 65854	5th or 6th century	Aramaic, Coptic, and Greek	Aramaic, Coptic, and Greek	See Editions
NA	P.Carlsberg 52	65321	7th century	Coptic and Greek	Coptic and Greek	NA
<i>P.Bad.</i> 5.123	P.Heid.Inv. Kopt. 500+501	102087	8th or 9th century	Arabic and Coptic	Arabic and Coptic	1–24, 25–42, 43–49, 50–79, 80–88, 89–100, 101–15, 116–24
NA	P.Vindob. K 11088	—	10th or 11th century	Arabic(?) and Coptic	Arabic and Coptic	NA
NA	T-S 12.207	99585	10th or 11th century	Arabic and Coptic	Coptic	NA

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Underdots and brackets are not indicated. The Greek index does not include the article, *καί*, and cyphers. Arabic words are listed separately in those headings that contain also Greek/Coptic entries in order to avoid problems of alphabetical order. The Arabic index does not include *wa*, *fa-*, *ibn*, pronouns, and numbers, while years are only indexed under II (a) and the *basmala* under VI. The following abbreviations and conventions are employed:

f.	father
s.	son
(?)	uncertain reading
See Index X	See heading X in the index.
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XIV (B) ARABIC NAMES IN GREEK AND COPTIC TRANSCRIPTION

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ʿUbayd Allāh
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ʿUmar
Ομαρ 1.8
Yaḥyā
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Yazīd
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XIV (C) ARABIC WORD IN COPTIC TRANSCRIPTION

amīr
αμερα 16.3

