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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Text

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 1  + ϩⲘⲠⲢⲀⲚ ⲘⲠⲚⲞⲨⲦⲈ ⲀⲚⲞⲔ ⲔⲨⲢⲀ ⲓ⌐ⲉ⌐ⲧ⌐ⲓ⌐ⲑ⌐
 2  ⲈⲦⲤϩⲀⲒ ⲚⲔⲞⲘⲎⲦⲞⲤ ⲌⲈ ⲈⲠⲒⲆⲎ ⲀⲒϢⲀⲌⲈ
 3  ⲚⲘⲘⲀⲔ ⲀⲔⲚⲀⲒ Ⲡ⌐ⲉ⌐ⲒⲎⲒ ⲦⲀⲢⲈⲒϢⲰⲠ ϩⲒ
 4  ⲞⲨ ⲚⲞⲨⲢⲞⲘⲠⲈ ⲌⲒⲚⲤⲞⲨⲌⲞⲨⲦⲀ�ⲨⲦⲈ
 5  ⲚⲈⲘ�ⲬⲒⲢ ϢⲀⲤⲞⲨⲌⲞⲨⲦⲀⲨⲦⲈ ⲚⲈⲘⲬⲒⲢ
 6  ⲚⲦⲀⲦⲒ̈ ⲠⲈⲨϢⲔⲀⲢ ⲚⲀⲔ ⲠⲢⲞⲤ ⲐⲈ ⲚⲦⲀⲚ
 7  ⲠⲞⲖⲔ ⲘⲚⲚⲈⲚⲈⲢⲎⲨ ⲈⲦⲈⲞⲨⲆⲈⲢϩⲀⲘ
 8  ⲘⲠⲀⲢⲀ ⲤⲚⲦⲈ ⲚⲈⲒⲰⲦ ⲔⲨⲢⲀ ⲤⲦⲞⲬ⌐ⲉ⌐
 9  ⲤⲈⲨⲎⲢⲞⲤ ⲘⲎⲚⲀ ⲚⲦⲀⲒⲎⲦⲈ^sic
10  ⌐ⲘⲘ⌐ⲞⲒ ⲈⲒⲤϩⲀⲒ ϩⲀⲢⲞⲤ +
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2 ⲔⲞⲘⲎⲦⲞⲤ: Crum ⲔⲞⲘⲈⲦⲞⲤ—8 ⲤⲦⲞⲬⲈ: read ⲤⲦⲞ<Ⲓ>ⲬⲈ—9 ⲚⲦⲀⲒⲎⲦⲈ: read ⲚⲦⲀ<Ⲥ>ⲎⲦⲈ

Translation

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

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

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

Commentary

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

-,7 ⲁ̣ϥ	ⲚⲎⲒ ⲤⲚⲀⲨ	"he (gave) me two
	Ⲛ[ⲗⲗ]ⲔⲒⲚⲞⲤ	bottles"
O.CrumST 219,2f. ⲦⲀ	ⲚⲎⲔ ⲦⲀⲒⲠⲈ	"and I (give) you
	ⲚⲈⲢϢⲒⲚ	the oipe of lentils"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ⲡⲁⲣⲁ in Coptic

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

e.g.   *O.Crum* 370,5–6: ϣⲁϥⲃⲁⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲛ "he is burdening us more than is fair"

| 2 | contrary to, against | malgré, contre | gegen, entgegen |

e.g.   *O.Crum* 40,4f: ⲁⲓⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲟϣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲓ ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲕⲉⲧⲟϣ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲛⲱⲛ "I left my district, I went to another district contrary to the rules"

| 3 | less | moins | weniger |

e.g.   *O.Crum* 405,3–5: ⲟⲩϩⲟⲗⲟⲕ/ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ . . . ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲕⲉⲣⲁⲧ/ "one gold solidus . . . less a keration"; *O.Crum* 462,3v: . . .] ⲛ̄ⲣⲧⲟⲃ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲥ̄ⲛⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϫⲉ "x artabas less two maje"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[43] E.g. ⲦⲈⲢⲎⲀⲘ ⲈⲦⲎⲀⲢⲰⲦ *P.MoscowCopt.* 29,26–27 'heavy dirham'; ⲦⲈⲢⲎⲀⲘ ⲈⲦⲞⲨⲞⳅ *CPR* II 236,19 'intact dirham'; ⲚⲀϬ ⲚⲦⲈⲢⲎⲀⲘ *MPER* V, p. 53 'large dirham'.

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

[45] *barā'a*: early instances (7th–8th cent.): *P.Bal.* 291,5 (ⲦⲠⲀⲢⲀ); 29 (ⲡⲡⲀⲢⲀ); later instances (9th–10th cent.): Ⳬⲓ ⲦⲀⲀⲠⲀⲢⲀ ⲚⲀⲂ *P.Ryl.Copt.* 377,9; ⳫⲓⲀⲀⲠⲀⲢⲀ ⲚⲦⲞⲦϤ *P.CrumVC* 49,13; ⲦⲀⲀⲠⲀⲢⲀ *P.CrumVC* 115,9.

[46] *dayn*: ⲠⲆⲨⲚ ⲆⲈ ⲦⲚⲰⲞⲞⲠ ⲚⲀⲔ ⲚⲎⲈⲦⲈⲘⲞⳅ ⲦⲀⲢⲚⲘⲀⲎⲔ ⲘⲘⲞⲟⲨ *P.Bal.* 102,14–15, "the debt, we are willing for you to pay it to you in full."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[51] A. Layish, "Mīrāth," in *EI²* 7:106–112; A. J. Wensinck and J. H. Kramers, "Mīrāth," in *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, Leiden 1941, 511–17.

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

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

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

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

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

[54] Fol. 17B,1.

[55] E.g. *P.Teshlot* 2,8 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲗϧⲁⲧ ⲉⲡⲏⲓ ⲧⲏⲣϥ "these are the borders of
this whole house"; *P.Teshlot* 3,15–16 ⲡⲁⲗϧⲁⲧ ⲛⲓⲓⲏϥ … ⲡⲁⲗϧⲁⲧ ⲛⲉϧⲏⲧ "the east-
ern border . . . the northern border."

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

[57] *P.Teshlot* 1,11 ⲧⲁⲧⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩⲣ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲥϧⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲉⲣ ⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲍⲱⲩ; similarly *P.Teshlot*
1,3; 3,18; 4,17; 5,15.

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

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

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

[59] "On his instructions (*bi-amrihi*) he has written," e.g. *P.Hamb.Arab.* 1,25 *kataba 'anhu bi-amrihi wa-maḥḍarihi*; cf. A. Grohmann, "Die Papyrologie in ihrer Beziehung zur arabischen Urkundenlehre," in *Vorträge des 3. Internationalen Papyrologentages in München vom 4.–7. September 1933*, Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 19, München 1934, 348. Re the problems of verb borrowing from Arabic to Coptic, see generally T. S. Richter, "Arabic loan-words in Coptic."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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