

## Chapter 8

# Language Choice in the Qurra Dossier

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### 1. Prolegomena

#### 1.1 Brief reflection on language choice in spoken and written communication

In everyday spoken communication within multilingual contexts, it is the interplay between the speakers' linguistic competence and their awareness of language behaviour acquired by social experience that allows them to spontaneously make the appropriate language choices. By contrast, language choice within written communication is not directed by spontaneous decisions, and does not even depend on the author's own ability to master more than one language. Rather it is the result of premeditated consideration, depending on other conditions, and dealing with aspects other than direct communication. Considering that the exclusive benefits of spoken communication, such as a shared context of space and time and with it the possibility of accompanying and connoting linguistic utterances with paralinguistic and kinesic signals are lacking,<sup>2</sup> even

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Andreas Kaplony (Zurich), Arietta Papaconstantinou (Oxford), and Petra Sijpesteijn (Leiden), who kindly read a draft of this paper, saved me from making a number of mistakes, and contributed a number of good suggestions. In addition to the abbreviations for papyri mentioned in the List on p. 000, this article also uses: *P.BeckerPAF* = C.H. Becker, 'Arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 20 (1907) 68–104; *P.BeckerNPAF* = C.H. Becker, 'Neue arabische Papyri des Aphroditofundes', *Der Islam* 2 (1911) 245–68.

<sup>2</sup> See for instance D. Barton, *An introduction to the ecology of written language* (Cambridge, MA 1994), summarizing an abundant discussion in the fields of text linguistics and linguistic pragmatics; cf. also D. Biber, 'On the investigation of spoken/written differences', *Studia Linguistica* 40 (1986) 1–21; *id.*, *Variation across speech and writing* (Cambridge 1988); W.L. Chafe and J. Danielewicz, 'Properties of spoken and written language', in R. Horowitz and S.J. Samuels (eds), *Comprehending oral and written language* (New York 1987) 83–113; W.L. Chafe and D. Tannen, 'The relation between written and spoken language', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 16 (1987) 383–407; D. Gibbon, R. Moore and R. Winski, *Spoken language characterization: Handbook of standards and resources for spoken language systems*, II (Berlin–New York 1998); J. Miller and R. Weinert, *Spontaneous spoken language: Syntax and discourse* (Oxford 1998); D. Olson and N. Torrance, *Literacy and orality* (Cambridge 1991); A.-B. Stenström and K. Aijmer (eds), *Discourse patterns in spoken and written corpora*, Pragmatics and Beyond n.s. 120 (Philadelphia 2004); D. Tannen (ed.), *Spoken and written language: Exploring orality and literacy*, *Advances in Discourse Processes* 9 (Norwood, NJ 1984).

the primary communicative function of language use is more complicated, because it depends much more intimately on the availability of *lexical* and *textual* means of expression such as appropriate terminologies, rhetorical strategies, and genres, qualified to address issues in a way that meets to a reasonable extent both the author's intentions and the recipient's expectations.

Moreover, one should always keep in mind that language choice, like language use in general, has some aspects virtually unrelated to the basic communicative function of language. Language choice for performative speech acts,<sup>3</sup> for purposes such as magical speech and writing, messages of representation or of intimidation, may accept (or even be intended) to be incomprehensible to people, at least on a purely linguistic level. The least one can say is that elements of communication carried by spoken utterances or written texts in such a context are, or can be, of a peculiar sort.

### *1.2. The language situation of Egypt after the Arab conquest*

When a few thousand Arabs led by 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ conquered Egypt in 641 CE, they became rulers over a monolingual Greek-speaking elite, now deprived of power, and a mass of monolingual (or partly bilingual) Egyptian- (or Egyptian/Greek-) speakers; with their arrival, a basically trilingual language constellation emerged.<sup>4</sup> We do not really know, but can reasonably assume that oral communication between the Arabic-speaking newcomers and the Greek- and Coptic-speaking natives was initially practised within closely limited confines. Unavoidable events of language contact may have been professionally managed by a few multilingual individuals at narrow, overlapping margins of linguistically homogeneous, still-unchallenged speaker communities (cf. below, 6.). The fact that individual Coptic–Arabic bilingualism was at some point to become a more common, and eventually a widespread phenomenon is evident in the language obsolescence of Coptic and the language-shift to Arabic, a process that culminated in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, but whose beginnings are quite difficult to pin down. As has recently been argued,<sup>5</sup> social bilingualism among the bulk of the population

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J.R. Searle (ed.), *Expression and meaning: Studies in the theory of speech acts* (Cambridge 1979), and J.R. Searle, F. Kiefer and M. Bierwisch (eds), *Speech act theory and pragmatics* (Dordrecht 1980).

<sup>4</sup> See T.S. Richter, 'Greek, Coptic, and the "language of the *hijra*": Rise and decline of the Coptic language in late antique and medieval Egypt', in H. Cotton, R. Hoyland, J. Price and D. Wasserstein (eds), *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and linguistic change in the Roman Near East* (Cambridge 2009) 404–406. The use of Latin that had some importance in the fields of administration, military, and law during the first centuries of Roman rule over Egypt had become more and more marginalised at that time: B. Rochette, 'Sur le bilinguisme dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine', *CdE* 71 (1996) 153–68.

<sup>5</sup> See T.S. Richter, 'O.Crum Ad. 15 and the emergence of Arabic words in Coptic legal documents', in P. Sijpesteijn and L. Sundelin (eds), *Papyrology and the history of early Islamic Egypt*, *Islamic History and Civilization* 55 (Leiden 2004) 97–114, and Richter, 'Greek, Coptic, and the "language of the *hijra*":

and individual bilingualism may have emerged not all that soon in Egypt, certainly considerably later than in other regions of the Caliphate, such as Syria and Palestine.

### 1.3. *Aims of the present approach*

The evidence that will be dealt with in what follows, the Qurra dossier, concerns written communication in Egypt in the late first century of the *hijra*, and must be examined under the aforementioned theoretical and historical perspectives. It is a trilingual dossier, in fact the largest coherent group of texts, if not the only one, that includes all three written languages that were in common use in early eighth-century Egypt: Arabic, Greek, and Coptic.<sup>6</sup> So it offers a unique opportunity to study language choice in a given administrative context of that time on a larger scale. Even though the texts were published almost 100 years ago,<sup>7</sup> and the dossier has been used in virtually every work published since then and relating to administration and taxation in the early Caliphate, its cross-linguistic features and implications have not properly been dealt with hitherto. What I want to provide here is not new information, but a new approach – a synopsis of well-known bits of evidence under a particular, cross-linguistic perspective, focusing on issues such as how language choice worked to shape that dossier, why it worked in that way, and what more general conclusions can be drawn from it.

## 2. The pragmatic setting of the Qurra dossier: Administration and taxation in Umayyad Egypt

As language choice in the Qurra dossier is clearly and strongly related to clerks and offices at different levels of administration, and as the main concern of the vast majority of the texts is taxation, it seems imperative, at least briefly, to sketch the administrative structures and the organization of taxation in Umayyad Egypt. It is commonly held that the early Arab government in the former provinces of the Byzantine empire basically maintained the structures of administration as well as taxation that had been designed

<sup>6</sup> See the Appendix below, listing the editions of Qurra papyri. In terms of quantity, the largest part of the dossier is the Greek one (more than 200 items), followed by the Coptic (around 150 items), and the Arabic (around 50 items) parts. These proportions may partly have a practical reason, but they might also mirror the accident of preservation and not least the unequal state of edition (e.g., there is still a share of unpublished Arabic Qurra papyri in Russia, mentioned in *P.Ross.Georg.*, v, and in *P.Qurra*, 7; the Michigan collection also seems to be in possession of unpublished Arabic papyri probably belonging to the Qurra dossier: cf. *P.Qurra*, 9 and n. 34.

<sup>7</sup> For the Arabic part of the dossier the major contributions in terms of quantity are *P.Heid. Arab.*, *P.BeckerPAF*, and *P.BeckerNPAF*. A large part of the Greek and Coptic texts were edited by Harold Idris Bell and Walter Ewing Crum in 1910 as *P.Lond.* IV, only two years after their announcement by H.I. Bell, 'The Aphrodito papyri', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 28 (1908) 97–120.

by the Byzantine emperors, even while they introduced some small but significant changes.

The original reception of the administrative system as a whole by the Arabs went so far as to preserve a great part of Byzantine administrative and fiscal terminology, including official titles,<sup>8</sup> in administrative records written in Greek. Sometimes, however, the continuity of names and terms is only superficial,<sup>9</sup> covering up such changes as the substitution of elements of decentralization by elements of a new, excessive centralization: one of the main aims of administrative alterations in Egypt was to reduce the degree of decentralization that had been the overall tendency of Byzantine administrative legislation for centuries.<sup>10</sup>

It is the written communication between the different administrative levels from the top to the bottom as attested in the Qurra papyri, mainly concerning requisitions of taxes, labourers, craftsmen, and sailors, that sheds bright light on the underlying administrative structures:

For most purposes the chief unit was now the pagarchy, and the pagarchs were placed directly under the governor at Fustāṭ, the new capital. Every tax-requisition,

<sup>8</sup> Cf. A. Grohmann, 'Griechische und lateinische Verwaltungstermini im arabischen Ägypten', *CdE* 7 (1932) 275–84, and *id.*, 'Der Beamtenstab der arabischen Finanzverwaltung', in H. Braunert (ed.), *Studien zur Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte Friedrich Oertel zum achtzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* (Bonn 1964) 120–34.

<sup>9</sup> This is e.g. the case of the *eparchia*, the former main unit of administration, which continued existing as an administrative term and entity of any sort, but had little significance for administrative routine procedures.

<sup>10</sup> See H.I. Bell, 'The administration of Egypt under the Umayyad Khalifs', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 28 (1928) 278–86, and Grohmann, 'Der Beamtenstab', 132–33. Already Diocletian's administrative reform, the division of Egypt into three provinces, each administered by a *praeses*, was a step in this direction, but the supreme civil authority and military power were still concentrated in the hands of two officials, the *praefectus Aegypti* (being *primus inter pares* among the *praesides*) and the *dux Aegypti*. In the fifth century, violent attacks charged by nomad tribes as an Egyptian variety of what northern and south-western provinces of the Byzantine empire had to suffer from Goths, Huns, and Vandals, led to the division of the Thebaid, the southernmost province of Egypt, into two units, whereas the *praeses* of the lower Egyptian province was provided with the title and military supremacy of a *dux*. Finally by Justinian's administrative reform of 538 CE, conceptualized in *edictum xiii*, Egypt was turned into an agglomeration of largely unconnected provinces called *eparchiai*, each under a governor who enjoyed both civil and military power: see G. Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine* (Paris 1928) 15–24; *P.Lond.* IV, xvii–xxv; and Bell, 'The administration of Egypt', 279–80. It has been reasonably presumed that the defeat of the Byzantine military forces against the troops of 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ an opponent that was far from matching the Byzantine army in terms of quantity, had one of its reasons in the administrative and military dismemberment of Egypt at that time: see for instance J. Maspero, *L'organisation militaire de l'Égypte Byzantine* (Paris 1912, repr. Hildesheim–New York 1974) 114–32, and W. Liebeschuetz, 'The pagarch: City and imperial administration in Byzantine Egypt', *JJP* 18 (1974) 167–68.

however small, was notified in a separate letter from headquarters; and so far did the centralization extend that the repartition of the quotes among the units of the pagarchy was carried out not locally but at Fustāt, each letter from the governor being accompanied by demand notes addressed to the various villages, in which they were informed what their share in the total was to be. This arrangement was rendered possible by elaborate registers prepared locally at frequent intervals and sent or personally taken by the pagarchs to Fustāt, which minutely specified the tax-payers and the property in each pagarchy. The pagarchs were moreover frequently summoned to headquarters for information and consultation; and further each of them was required to keep at Fustāt a permanent representative, who could be consulted on occasion and who was held responsible for any default on the part of the pagarch whom he represented.<sup>11</sup>

It can hardly be doubted that the interplay between the headquarters at Fustāt, personalized by the Governor (in Greek *symbolos*, in Arabic *amīr*) acting as an agent of the caliph in Damascus, and the pagarchy level represented by the pagarch<sup>12</sup> (in Greek *dioikētes* or *pagarchos*, in Arabic *ṣāhib al-kūra*) formed the backbone of the Umayyad administration of Egypt. Administrative structures and units above<sup>13</sup> and beneath<sup>14</sup> the pagarchy did exist, but their importance seems to have been rather ephemeral or at least limited in comparison.

As for taxation,<sup>15</sup> the maintenance of the Byzantine system and terminology by the early Arab government seems to have been even more substantial. In the Qurra dossier,

<sup>11</sup> Bell, 'The administration of Egypt', 279–80.

<sup>12</sup> On the administrative status of the pagarchy and the chiefly financial functions of the pagarch in the fifth- to seventh-century Byzantine administration, see Rouillard, *L'administration civile*, 52–62; Liebeschuetz, 'The pagarch'; and E. Wipszycka, 'Les reçus d'impôts et le bureau des comptes des pagarchies aux VI<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècles', *JJP* 16/17 (1971) 105–16.

<sup>13</sup> Still there were *eparchiai* administered by officials bearing the title of a *dux*, whose main responsibilities now were probably jurisdictional and financial: see H.I. Bell, 'Two official letters of the Arab period', *JEA* 12 (1926) 270; *id.*, 'The Arabic bilingual entagion', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 89 (1945) 531–42; *id.*, 'The administration of Egypt', 281; Grohmann, 'Der Beamtenstab', 121–24; R. Rémondon in *P.Apoll.* 3; H. Cadell, 'Nouveaux fragments de la correspondance de Kurrah ben Sharik', *Recherches de Papyrologie* 4 (1968) 133–37; J. Gascou and K.A. Worp, 'Problèmes de documentation apollinopolite', *ZPE* 49 (1982) 83–95.

<sup>14</sup> Still there were the (*metro*)*poleis* of the pagarchies, their contributory villages, and the notables of the district, strikingly treated as separate taxation units in one of the Greek Qurra papyri (*P.Ross.Georg.* IV 6,9–10, cf. H.I. Bell's review of *P.Ross.Georg.* IV in *JEA* 13 (1927) 270, and Grohmann, 'Der Beamtenstab', 124–25), similar to the former subdivision of the Byzantine pagarchy into the *metropolis* under its *curia*, with its surroundings (ἐνορία) administered by the pagarch, and its autoprotract domains and villages.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. mainly Bell, 'The administration of Egypt', 282–84, and J. Gascou, 'De Byzance à l'Islam. Les impôts en Égypte après la conquête arabe', *JESHO* 26 (1983) 97–109; see also *P.Lond.* IV, xxv–xxxii; J. Baek Simonsen, *Studies in the genesis and early development of the Caliphial taxation system with special reference to circumstances in the Arab Peninsula, Egypt and Palestine* (Copenhagen 1988); L. Casson, 'Tax-collection problems in early Arab Egypt', *Transactions*

basically two categories of taxes occur, *dēmosia* (public) and *ekstraordina* (extraordinary). The *dēmosia* type included *chrysika dēmosia* (gold taxes) and *embolē* (corn taxes).

The *chrysika dēmosia* (gold taxes) type was divided into three sorts of concrete duties: land tax, poll tax, and *dapanē*. The first sort, land tax, called *dēmosia gēs* or simply *dēmosia*, was subject to alteration according to the kind of crop, the quality of the soil, and the yearly extent of the flood-fed irrigation. The second sort, poll tax, in Greek *diagrafē* or *andrismos*, in Arabic *jizya*, had to be paid by non-Muslim male subjects who had come of age (*dhimmi*). The third sort, called *dapanē* ('expenditure') was presumably destined to support officials.

The *embolē* type, consisting of wheat and barley, was divided into two classes: *embolē* for the granaries of Babylon, where the corn was stored for distribution to Arab settlers and for export, and an *embolē* also called *dapanē*, presumably a charge for the maintenance of the officials.

Beyond the requisition for regular taxes in money and kind (*dēmosia* and *embolē*), the subject most frequently dealt with in the Qurra dossier is compulsory service, the conscription of sailors for the raiding fleets of Egypt and of other provinces, and of labourers and craftsmen for shipbuilding and construction works in and outside of Egypt. Those requirements could concern either the manpower itself, or the wages and maintenance for the conscripts, or both.

Also with regard to taxation, the goal of the Arab government was to attain a higher efficiency by means of simplification and centralization. In the later Byzantine period, 'the taxes were not coming in. If the revenue was collected – and it looks as if the tax-payers paid a great deal – it failed to reach its destination. The various officials concerned handled matters in such a way that it was impossible to find out what had happened to the taxation.'<sup>16</sup> Within the small mesh of the Arab taxation system, irregularities were no longer possible, or at least, could no longer be concealed. There was only one intermediary between taxpayers, source of the revenue, and headquarters, its destination: namely the pagarch, who was in charge of collecting precisely specified figures of requisitions, apportioned up to the smallest communities of taxpayers, villages or units within them, all thoroughly specified, that scarcely permitted him to fail the governor's expectations.<sup>17</sup>

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*and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 69 (1938) 274–91; F. Hussein, *Das Steuersystem in Ägypten von der arabischen Eroberung bis zur Machtergreifung der Tūlūniden 19–254 / 639–868 mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Papyrusurkunden*, Heidelberg Orientalische Studien 3 (Frankfurt 1982); K. Morimoto, *The fiscal administration of Egypt in the early Islamic period*, Asian Historical Monographs 1 (Dohosa 1981).

<sup>16</sup> Liebeschuetz, 'The pagarch', 167. This is a claim already made in the preface of Justinian's *edictum xiii*.

<sup>17</sup> Often we find requests for tax arrears and instructions concerning fugitives both showing that the flow of revenues from bottom to top nevertheless was stagnant, but showing too that the headquarters kept an overview on what (and who) precisely was wanting, and who was indebted to pay for it.

### 3. The Qurra dossier: Text sorts, contents, and languages

#### 3.1 *The corpus of the Qurra dossier*

The papyri forming part of the Qurra dossier in the narrower sense,<sup>18</sup> now mostly kept in the papyrus collections of Cairo, Chicago, Heidelberg, London, Paris, Strasbourg, and St Petersburg, come from Kôm Ishqāw in Upper Egypt, a site situated halfway between Asyūt and Sohāg on the western bank of the Nile, roughly opposite the ancient site of Qāw al-Kabīr/Antaiopolis. The place was called Jkōw in Coptic (i.e. the Arabic Ishqāw) and *kōmē Aphroditēs* in Greek (or Aphroditō in Arabic times).<sup>19</sup> According to an earlier dossier from that very place connected with the personality of the famous bilingual notary Dioskoros,<sup>20</sup> dating from the sixth century CE, the status of *kōmē Aphroditēs* was that of a village (*kōmē*), enjoying *autopragia* (i.e., direct access to the governor in terms of taxation), but otherwise belonging to the *enoria* 'district' of Antaiopolis.<sup>21</sup> According to the evidence of the Qurra dossier from the Umayyad period more than a century later, the village had meanwhile gained a higher status, being now the residence of a pagarch, and itself the *mētropolis* of its surroundings.<sup>22</sup> The papyrus dossier, although it has reached us through papyrus traders with no information as to its archaeological context, must have been unearthed as a part of the pagarch's archive, since the vast majority of the documents has clear connections with him and his office.<sup>23</sup> Although it was archived in Aphroditō, the assemblage is composed of records drawn at three different levels of the administration: it contains documents drafted at the highest level, in the governor's office at Fustāt, as well as documents issued by local authorities from villages and monasteries in the surroundings of Aphroditō, the bottom level; and it also contains documents produced just there, within the pagarch's office, the medium level of administration. The corpus documents a period of time slightly longer than the man after whom it is

<sup>18</sup> There are some pieces of correspondence between Qurra and local officials of other provenances than Aphroditō, e.g. many of the *P.Apoll.* documents, which will not be dealt with here.

<sup>19</sup> About this site and the discovery of the papyri see the detailed introduction and discussion by Nabia Abbot in *P.Qurra*, 5–9; for the name of the site cf. also *P.Ross.Georg.* IV, 26–28.

<sup>20</sup> See L.S.B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphroditō: His work and his world* (Berkeley, CA 1988). Some Greek and Coptic documents attributed by MacCoull to the Dioscorus archive have been proved to date significantly later, cf. J.-L. Fournet, 'Une lettre copte d'Aphrodité (révision de SB Kopt. I 290)', *Études Coptes VIII*, Cahiers de la Bibliothèque copte 13 (Lille–Paris 2003) 163–76; R. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, 'Dating the Coptic legal documents from Aphroditē', *ZPE* 148 (2004) 247–52; and H. Förster and F. Mitthof, 'Ein koptischer Kaufvertrag über Anteile an einem Wagen. Edition von P.Vat.Copt.Doresse 1', *Aegyptus* 84 (2004) 217–42.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *P.Lond.* IV, xi–xv.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *P.Lond.* IV, xxi–xxiv, *P.Qurra*, 5–6, and the excursus in *P.Ross.Georg.* IV, 26–28.

<sup>23</sup> Thus the central instance and possessor of the extant documents was the pagarch; the usual designation of the dossier as 'Qurra correspondence' is properly misleading as it takes only one direction of the pagarch's (and the governor's) correspondence into account.

named was actually in office: Qurra ibn Sharīk was appointed governor of Egypt in Rabi' 1 of AH 90/January 709 CE and performed the duties of his governorship until AH 96/714 CE.<sup>24</sup> The great bulk of Greek, Coptic, and Arabic datable documents come from the eighth and ninth indictional years, respectively AH 90 and 91 / (708)/709–710/(711) CE,<sup>25</sup> but there are Greek and Coptic documents datable to the years before and after Qurra; the Greek tax accounts and registers in particular (see below, 3.4) are distributed over the whole period evidenced by the protocols (see below, 3.7),<sup>26</sup> namely from 705 or slightly earlier<sup>27</sup> until 721 or slightly later. A significant number of Coptic documents come from the last year(s) of Qurra's immediate predecessor 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Malik,<sup>28</sup> two Coptic documents<sup>29</sup> are dated to the 5th year of the indiction (706/7 CE), and two others<sup>30</sup> to the 1st year, which means they are to be dated either considerably before (701/2 CE) or shortly after (716/7 CE) Qurra's governorship. One of the bilingual *entagion* documents (see below, 3.3) is dated to the AH 95, in the month Hathyr of year 12 of the indiction, i.e. November 713 CE.

### 3.2 Arabic and Greek letters from the governor to the pagarch

A most typical sort of documents in the Qurra dossier is letters from the governor at Fuṣṭāṭ to the pagarch at Aphroditō. These letters are written in two of the three languages – they form the majority of the Arabic evidence, and a considerable portion of the Greek evidence within the dossier:

<sup>24</sup> For his biography, cf. *P.Qurra*, 57–69.

<sup>25</sup> For chronological issues connected with the Qurra dossier cf. Cadell, 'Nouveaux fragments', 138–59.

<sup>26</sup> The protocols of the eighth-century Aphroditō papyri bear evidence of the caliphs 'Abd al-Malik (685–705 CE), al-Walid (705–715 CE), Sulaymān (715–717), 'Umar II (717–720 CE) and Yazīd II (720–724), and for the governors 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān (685–705 CE), 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Malik (705–709 CE), Qurra ibn Sharīk (709–714 CE), 'Abd al-Malik ibn Rifā'a (714–717 CE), Ayyūb ibn Shurahbil (717–720 CE), and Bishr ibn Safwān (720–721 CE), cf. *P.Lond.* IV 1462.

<sup>27</sup> Such as *P.Lond.* IV 1448 from Thot of Ind. 2 = 703 CE.

<sup>28</sup> Greek letters *P.Lond.* IV 1332 and (its duplicate) 1333 dated from Khoiak of the 7th indiction year = December 708 CE, Coptic letters addressed to Qurra's predecessor 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Malik viz Epimachos, Basil's predecessor, as pagarch of Jkōw: *P.Lond.* IV 1496; 1512; 1518; 1520; 1521; 1530; 1613; and 1614. Also a Coptic letter addressed to the governor 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Malik viz. Basil as pagarch of Jkōw: *P.Lond.* IV 1581. Thirdly, Coptic letters addressed to the governor 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Malik through a pagarch whose name is not preserved: *P.Lond.* IV 1584; 1592.

<sup>29</sup> *P.Lond.* IV 1579 and *P.Lond.* IV 1589, the latter mentioning the 5th year of indiction *syn theō* 'with God', an expression usually referring to the *coming* year, so that the text itself might have been written still during the 4th year (= 705/6).

<sup>30</sup> *P.Lond.* IV 1593: Mesorē 1st ind. = 701 or 716 CE, a private legal document without recognizable relations to the pagarch's office; *P.Lond.* IV 1640 Athyr 1st ind. = 702 or 717 CE.



## List of documents

### *Arabic letters from the governor to the pagarch*

Letters from the governor to the pagarch concerning taxes, sailors, craftsmen, labourers, fugitives, &c.: *P.BeckerPAF* 3; *P.BeckerPAF* 4; *P.BeckerPAF* 5; *P.BeckerPAF* 6(?); *P.BeckerPAF* 7; *P.BeckerPAF* 12; *PCair.Arab.* III 146; *PCair.Arab.* III 147; *PCair.Arab.* III 148; *PCair.Arab.* III 149; *PCair.Arab.* III 150; *PCair.Arab.* III 151; *PCair.Arab.* III 152; *PCair.Arab.* III 153; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 1; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 2; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 3; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 4; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 5; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 12; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 13; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 14; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 15; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 16(?); *P.Heid.Arab.* I 17(?); *P.Heid.Arab.* I 18(?); *P.Qurra* 1; *P.Qurra* 2; *P.Qurra* 4; *P.Qurra* 5; *PRoss.Georg.* IV 27 I h; *PSorb.* inv. 2343; *PSorb.* inv. 2344; *PSorb.* inv. 2346+.

Letters from the governor to the pagarch concerning litigations of private persons, mostly relating to debts in money: *P.BeckerPAF* 1; *P.BeckerPAF* 2; *PCair.Arab.* III 154; *PCair.Arab.* III 155; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 10 (to the pagarch of Upper-Ushmün); *P.Heid.Arab.* I 11; *P.Qurra* 3.

### *Greek letters from the governor to the pagarch*

Letters from the governor to the pagarch concerning fees and taxes: *PLond.* IV 1335; *PLond.* IV 1338; *PLond.* IV 1339; *PLond.* IV 1340 (+ *PSorb.* inv. 2233); *PLond.* IV 1349; *PLond.* IV 1354; *PLond.* IV 1357; *PLond.* IV 1359; *PLond.* IV 1360; *PLond.* IV 1363; *PLond.* IV 1364; *PLond.* IV 1365; *PLond.* IV 1367; *PLond.* IV 1370; *PLond.* IV 1373; *PLond.* IV 1379; *PLond.* IV 1380; *PLond.* IV 1395; *PLond.* IV 1398; *PLond.* IV 1405; *PLond.* IV 1406; *PLond.* IV 1463; *PLond.* IV 1464; *PLond.* IV 1465; *PLond.* IV 1466; *PLond.* IV 1467; *PRoss.Georg.* IV 10 (+ *PLond.* IV 1387 + *P.Berol.* inv. 25039); *PRoss.Georg.* IV 11; *PRoss.Georg.* IV 12; *PRoss.Georg.* IV 13; *PRoss.Georg.* IV 14 (+ *PLond.* IV 1396); *PRoss.Georg.* IV 15; *PSorb.* inv. 2230b.

Letters from the governor to the pagarch concerning the enlistment of workmen, supplies for workmen and building materials: *PLond.* IV 1336; *PLond.* IV 1341; *PLond.* IV 1342; *PLond.* IV 1348; *PLond.* IV 1362; *PLond.* IV 1366; *PLond.* IV 1368; *PLond.* IV 1369; *PLond.* IV 1378; *PLond.* IV 1399; *PLond.* IV 1400; *PLond.* IV 1401; *PLond.* IV 1402; *PLond.* IV 1403; *PRoss.Georg.* IV 3 (+ *PLond.* IV 1334); *PRoss.Georg.* IV 4; *PRoss.Georg.* IV 7; *PRoss.Georg.* IV 8 (+ *PLond.* IV 1377); 9 (+ *PLond.* IV 1390); *PSorb.* inv. 2224; *PSorb.* inv. 2225.

Letters from the governor to the pagarch concerning the conscription of sailors and their supplies, the Kourson, and the arsenal of Klysmā: *PLond.* IV 1337; *PLond.* IV 1346; *PLond.* IV 1350; *PLond.* IV 1351; *PLond.* IV 1353; *PLond.* IV 1355; *PLond.* IV 1371; *PLond.* IV 1374; *PLond.* IV 1376; *PLond.* IV 1386; *PLond.* IV 1388; *PLond.* IV 1389; *PLond.* IV 1392; *PLond.* IV 1393 + BM inv.-n°. 2586; *PLond.* IV 1394; *PLond.* IV 1404; *PRoss.Georg.* IV 5; *PRoss.Georg.* IV 6 (+ *PLond.* IV 1391); *PSorb.* inv. 2226; *PSorb.* inv. 2232.

Letters from the governor to the pagarch concerning fugitives: *P.Lond.* IV 1332; *P.Lond.* IV 1333; *P.Lond.* IV 1343; *P.Lond.* IV 1344; *P.Lond.* IV 1361; *P.Lond.* IV 1372; *P.Lond.* IV 1381; *P.Lond.* IV 1383; *P.Lond.* IV 1384; *P.Lond.* IV 1385(?); *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 1 (+ *P.Lond.* IV 1382); *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 2; *P.Sorb.* inv. 2230a.

Letters from the governor to the pagarch concerning requisition for the governor's household: *P.Lond.* IV 1358; *P.Lond.* IV 1375.

Letter from the governor to the pagarch concerning litigations of private persons: *P.Lond.* IV 1356.

Letters from the governor relating to other affairs (fines, the postal system, and incerta): *CPR* XXII 52 (only the address formula preserved); *P.Lond.* IV 1345; *P.Lond.* IV 1347; *P.Lond.* IV 1352.

As can be seen, the vast majority of the letters concerns public law, namely the various requisitions made by the governor. Many of them form part of the routine procedure of the assessment and collection of taxes to which the Arabic–Greek *entagia* ('demand-notes') and the Greek and Coptic *merismos* and *diastalmos* lists also belong (cf. below, 3.3 and 3.4).

Most conspicuous is the existence of a small number of letters dealing with private law: the governor who had been appealed to by one of the two parties to a civil procedure ordered the pagarch to examine the claim of that party, and 'if his story is based on truth and he gives proof' (*P.BeckerPAF* 1) the pagarch was charged to procure justice to him. All these litigations seem to concern loans, the appealing party always being the creditor.

**The Arabic letters from the governor to the pagarch** have the address formula, 'In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate. From Qurra ibn Sharik, to the administrator [*ṣāhib*] of Ishqāw. I praise God, besides whom there is no other God! Now to proceed: ...'<sup>31</sup> After the final clause of the core or the letter – usually an encouraging sentence such as, 'Peace be upon the one who follows (God's) guidance!' – the documents regularly close with the identification of the scribe and the recording date in terms of the Muslim lunar calendar and the Muslim era: 'This was written by (the clerk) *NN* in the month ... in the year (of the *hijra*) ...'. On the verso, the letters usually have an address containing the sender's and the addressee's names, and a minute mentioning the main concern of the letter, both of them in Arabic. Exceptionally a Greek registration note is attested, which stated the date of the letter's arrival at the pagarch's office and the name of the courier (*beredarios*).<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *P.Qurra* 1, 1–6 and *passim*.

<sup>32</sup> *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 27 I h verso, having an Arabic docket of two lines and scarce remains of the Greek registration note, which have been restored by Jernstedt (cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* IV, 93). On the verso of *P.Qurra* 3, the two lines of the Arabic docket are followed also by a third one with illegible traces of Greek letters; Nabia Abbot writes (p. 49), 'The Greek line is much broken; its contents are doubtless similar to those of lines 1–2'. But this possibility seems less likely than that of a registration note as attested in *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 27 I h.

The Greek letters from the governor to the pagarch are introduced by the formula, 'In the name of God! Κόρρα son of (υἱὸς or, transcribing the Arabic term, βεν) Σζεριχ, the governor (*symbolos*), to Basilios, administrator (*dioikētēs*)<sup>33</sup> of Κōmē Aphroditō. We give thanks to God! And next: ....'<sup>34</sup> Obviously the invocation formula is neutralized in terms of religion, being merely monotheistic. The Greek letters end with a date according to the day and month of the Egyptian calendar and the indictional year. In contrast to the Arabic letters, the names of the Greek scribes are never mentioned. On the verso, the Greek letters also bear the address, e.g. Κορρα υ(ι)δ(ς) Σζεριχ σύμβουλος [space left for the cord] Βασιλείω διοικ(ητῆ) κόμη(ς) Ἀφροδ(ίτης); this is followed by a registration note added after their arrival, quoting the name of the courier<sup>35</sup> and giving an abbreviated account of the contents. What is even more interesting is that a significant number of Greek letters from Qurra to Basil has a *bilingual* docket on the recto side, just above the first line of the letter itself. The Arabic part mentions the sender ('From Qurra ibn Sharik') and the main concern of the letter that follows, while the Greek one only gives the latter,<sup>36</sup> as the Greek address 'Korra son of Szerikh, the governor, to Basilios etc.' was the matter of the subsequent first line of the letter itself. Unlike the registration note on the verso, these parts of the letters are not later additions, but belong to the original text written in the headquarters' office by the governor's clerks.<sup>37</sup>

There are some further diplomatic and palaeographic features worth mentioning, which have been observed and described by Bell, the editor of the largest collection of these documents, who wrote:

The Arabic letters, written in bold Kufic characters across the fibres of the papyrus, bore the Muhammedan formulae and were dated by the Hegira. ... The Greek letters, written by Christian clerks in the Dīwān, have no distinctively Muhammedan formulae and are dated merely by indiction. ... They too are written across the fibres, in a free, cursive hand with long upward and downward strokes, much linking of letters, and (apart from the dating clause) practically no abbreviations. Many have at the top minutes either in Greek or in Arabic, or both. The Greek minutes, as well as the schedules found at the foot of several documents, are written in a quite different hand from the letters themselves, small, compressed and upright, of the type known in vellum manuscripts as minuscule, and heavily abbreviated. At the foot of each

<sup>33</sup> The title *pagarchos* rather scarce, see e.g. *P.Lond.* IV 1359, 1.

<sup>34</sup> *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 2; similar in *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 3; 6; 7; 10; 12; 13; 14; *P.Lond.* IV 1335; 1336; 1340 (+*P.Sorb.* inv. 2233); 1341; 1344; 1346 and *passim*; *P.Sorb.* inv. 2226.

<sup>35</sup> In the most cases, the persons serving as *beredarios*, 'messenger', bear Arab names, cf. the column 'apporté le' of the table provided by Cadell, 'Nouveaux fragments', 142–50.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 10(+ *P.Berol.* inv. 25039); 12; 14; *P.Lond.* IV 1340 (+ *P.Sorb.* inv. 2233); 1346; 1353; 1355; 1356; 1359; 1360; 1362; 1368; 1370; 1375; 1378. Others seem to have received a Greek minute only. Probably these minutes belonged to the standard handling of Greek letters from the governor to the pagarch, but this cannot be proved since often the upper part of the letter is not preserved.

<sup>37</sup> As was confirmed by Bell in *P.Lond.* IV, xliii, 'these were written at headquarters'.

letter was a seal (*Untersiegelung*), and the whole, when completed, was rolled, tied up (perhaps with fibres of papyrus), and then no doubt sealed (*Versiegelung*). The address was then added, the Governor's name on one side of the seal, that of the recipient on the other. The docket (in minuscule script and with many abbreviations) which are often found on the verso beneath the address but the other way round were presumably written by a clerk in the pagarch's office, in order to facilitate ready identification of a letter in the files.<sup>38</sup>

Even though they differ in some formalities of cultural and religious significance, Qurra's Arabic and Greek letters to the pagarch basically share the same overall attitude and style as well as the whole spectrum of contents, so that the question arises of what their functional difference and their relation to each other were. As was already suggested by Bell, their relation might have been that of twins: 'Two copies of each letter were sent, one in Greek and one in Arabic.'<sup>39</sup> Although no single pair of letters written on the same day about the same issues in the two different languages has been confidently identified until now,<sup>40</sup> this hypothesis is the most convincing explanation for the existence of the two dossiers of letters. The lack of conclusive evidence might well be due to accidents of preservation, especially as the number of (preserved and edited) Arabic letters is considerably lower than that of Greek instances of that genre. If thus the letters from the governor to the pagarch form a sort of bilingual evidence, it is one of a peculiar sort: to receive a letter from the governor actually meant to receive two letters, one of them written in Greek and therefore rather easily comprehensible to the pagarch and his staff, the other one written in Arabic, thus not comprehensible (at least not to everybody), but nevertheless to be archived in the office. Considering how frequently such letters were sent from the headquarters, the effort of producing two copies of each in two different languages must have been considerable. What was the reason or purpose that justified such an increase of clerical work?

<sup>38</sup> Bell, 'The Arabic bilingual entagion', 532–33; cf. also *P.Lond.* IV, xli–xlv.

<sup>39</sup> *P.Lond.* IV, xlii; cf. Bell, 'The Arabic bilingual entagion', 533: 'Every such requisition was communicated in a letter from the Governor to the pagarch, or rather, in two letters, one in Arabic, one in Greek.'

<sup>40</sup> *P.Lond.* IV, xlii: 'As these are never duplicates in wording, it is clear that neither was a translation of the other, but that they were written independently. The general format is the same'; *ibid.*, n. 2 – Bell identified three supposed pairs of twins: Arabic letter *P.Heid.Arab.* I 1 and Greek letter *P.Lond.* IV 1349; Arabic letter *P.BeckerPAF* 3 and Greek letter *P.Lond.* IV 1345 or 1359; Arabic letter *P.BeckerPAF* 3, frgm. 4 and Greek letter *P.Lond.* IV 1398(?). But even the most certain identification has been doubted, cf. Cadell, 'Nouveaux fragments', 158 n. 12: 'L'identité de *P.Lond.* 1349 et de *P.Schott-Reinh.* 1, proposée par Bell dans *P.Lond.* IV, p. 22, à cause de la correspondance des thèmes et de la date (an 91, Rabi' I = 7 janv. / 5 févr. 710) a été discutée par Wilcken (Chrest., introd. au n° 284), qui finalement l'a rejetée'.

### 3.3. Demand notes from the Governor to the taxpayers (*entagia*)

If the governor's letters to the pagarch are bilingual texts in the sense that one message was recorded twice in two different languages *on two separate pieces of papyrus*, there is also one kind of text within the dossier, the demand notes from the governor to the taxpayers, that is bilingual in a more overt sense: they bear one text written twice in two languages on the same piece of papyrus. Although it does not contain the term, this type of document can reasonably be identified with the so-called *entagia* mentioned in some of the governor's letters to the pagarch.<sup>41</sup> Until now, almost 30 of these documents have been published, and there are several similar texts from Egypt<sup>42</sup> and Palestine<sup>43</sup> that are not part of this dossier:

#### List of documents

*Arabic–Greek entagia 'demand notes' (often only one of the both portions fully preserved)*

*P.Berol.* Ehnās-Ersatz 352;<sup>44</sup> *P.Cair.Arab.* III 160; *P.Cair.Arab.* III 161; *P.Cair.Arab.* III 162; *P.Cair.Arab.* III 163; *P.Lond.* IV 1407; *P.Lond.* IV 1408; *P.Lond.* IV 1409; *P.Lond.* IV 1410; *P.Lond.* IV 1411; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 5; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 6; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 7; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 8; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 9; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 22; *P.Heid.Arab.* Anhang a; *P.Heid.Arab.* Anhang b; *P.Heid.Arab.* Anhang c; *P.Heid.Arab.* Anhang d; *P.Heid.Arab.* Anhang e; *P.Heid.Arab.* Anhang f; *P.Heid.Arab.* Anhang g; *P.Heid.Arab.* Anhang h; *P.Heid.Arab.* Anhang i; *P.Heid.Arab.* Anhang k; *P.Heid.Arab.* Anhang l; *P.Heid.Arab.* Anhang m; SB XVIII 13218.

<sup>41</sup> Bell, 'The Arabic bilingual entagion', 531–32, quoted the following examples: *P.Lond.* IV 1335 – 'We have ordered from your administrative district 2000 artabas of wheat, and having made out the *entagia* for these to the people of the localities, have sent them to you'; *P.Lond.* 1354 – 'Let it not become known to us that there has been collected from the people of your administrative district any money ... at a lower rate than the valuation which we have inserted in our *entagia*'; *P.Lond.* IV 1369 – 'We have sent up to you quintals of iron for making nails for the frigates ... Receive such iron and apportion it among the localities in accordance with the tenour of our *entagia*, which we have sent to you'; *ibid.*, 531 – he gives an explanation of why the term *entagion*, otherwise in the Greek and Coptic papyri from Egypt meaning 'receipt', could be used here to designate quite another sort of statements.

<sup>42</sup> *CPR* XIX 26; *CPR* XXII 6; *CPR* XXII; *CPR* XXII 8; *CPR* XXII 9; *CPR* XXII 10; *CPR* XXII 11; *CPR* XXII 12; *CPR* XXII 13; SB XXVI 16797; SB XXVI 16797 from the Herakleopolites and the Arsinoites, dating to the decades around the Qurra papyri.

<sup>43</sup> Ed. by Bell, 'The Arabic bilingual entagion', 538–42, the *entagia* from 'Auja Khafir in Palestine are slightly earlier (dated examples from November 674 to February 677 CE) than those from Egypt, but otherwise resemble them strikingly.

<sup>44</sup> Edited in C.H. Becker, 'Papyrusstudien', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 22 (1909) 149–52, and H.I. Bell, 'The Berlin Qurrah papyrus', *APF* 5 (1909–1913) 189–91.

These *entagia* were brief business letters from the governor addressed to the inhabitants of the basic units of taxpayer communities – single districts of the town of Aphroditō, single villages, and the like – in order to inform them about their liability for certain requisitions of the very sorts that are dealt with in the letters to the pagarch: *dēmosia* and *embolē*, sailors, building materials, etc.<sup>45</sup> Some of what has been said on the difference between the Arabic and Greek letters from the governor to the pagarch is also true of the Arabic and Greek parts of the demand notes: the Arabic text starts with the *basmala*, followed by the address, ‘In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate! This is written by Qurra ibn Sharik, to the people of [the village, or the like]’; while the Greek text, always written beneath the Arabic one, has a merely monotheistic invocation: ‘In the name of God! Korra ben Szerikh, governor (*symbolos*), to you, the inhabitants of ...’. As in the letters, the name of the clerk is usually mentioned in the Arabic version but never in the Greek. The kind of script used for the Greek portion is the same that occurs in the minutes and registration notes of the letters to the pagarch, the minuscule-like style.

The delivery of *entagia* to the pagarch formed one further stage within the assessment procedure: ‘With every couple of letters concerning any requisition ... went the requisite number of *entagia*, one to each of the places within the pagarchy from which a contribution was required.’<sup>46</sup>

Again, we may wonder why Arabic texts were added to Greek ones to give information and instructions to recipients who themselves used not even Greek but Coptic to record their own letters and declarations (cf. below, 3.5 and 3.6) and were certainly unable to read Arabic.

### 3.4 Tax registers (*diastalmos*, *merismos*) and accounts

Further stages within the assessment procedure are evidenced by two sorts of *lists* called *diastalmos* ‘separation’, probably compiled at, or at least in collaboration with, the taxpayer communities and then forwarded to the pagarch, and *merismos*, ‘apportionment’, obviously drafted within the governor’s office. Both of them provide figures for the amounts of taxes that had been assessed by the *entagion* documents to the single taxpayer communities as broken down to the *individual* taxpayers living in, or representing, those communities. There are also a few Coptic accounts without any traceable connections to tax assessment or the like:

<sup>45</sup> E.g., *P.Heid.Arab. I Anhang* g, p. 111 (Greek part): ‘In the name of God. Qurra ibn Sharik, governor, to you the people of the monastery of St Mary in Kōmē Aphroditō. You share of the public taxes (*dēmosia*) of the 6th indiction, by the Arab reckoning being year 88, *solidi* 98, ninety-eight, and for corn-tax (*embolē*) wheat artabas 88, eighty-eight, net. Written in the month of Thot, 8th indiction. Total 98 *solidi*, 88 artabas of wheat’.

<sup>46</sup> Bell, ‘The Arabic bilingual entagion’, 533. For the eventual communication of the tax assessment to the single taxpayers after the *entagia* had been received at the pagarch’s office, cf. below, 6.3.

## List of documents

### Greek–Coptic tax registers (*diastalmoi*)

*P.HermitageCopt.* 24(?); *P.Lond.* IV 1552; *P.Lond.* IV 1553; *P.Lond.* IV 1554; *P.Lond.* IV 1555; *P.Lond.* IV 1556; *P.Lond.* IV 1557; *P.Lond.* IV 1558; *P.Lond.* IV 1559; *P.Lond.* IV 1560; *P.Lond.* IV 1561; *P.Lond.* IV 1562; *P.Lond.* IV 1563.

### Greek accounts and tax registers (*merismoi*) and accounts

*CPR XXII* 53–59; *P.Lond.* IV 1412; *P.Lond.* IV 1413; *P.Lond.* IV 1414; *P.Lond.* IV 1415; *P.Lond.* IV 1416; *P.Lond.* IV 1417; *P.Lond.* IV 1418; *P.Lond.* IV 1419 + *P.Berol.* inv. 25006<sup>47</sup>; *P.Lond.* IV 1420; *P.Lond.* IV 1421; *P.Lond.* IV 1422; *P.Lond.* IV 1423; *P.Lond.* IV 1424; *P.Lond.* IV 1425; *P.Lond.* IV 1426; *P.Lond.* IV 1427; *P.Lond.* IV 1428; *P.Lond.* IV 1429; *P.Lond.* IV 1430; *P.Lond.* IV 1431; *P.Lond.* IV 1432; *P.Lond.* IV 1433; *P.Lond.* IV 1434; *P.Lond.* IV 1435; *P.Lond.* IV 1436; *P.Lond.* IV 1437; *P.Lond.* IV 1438; *P.Lond.* IV 1439; *P.Lond.* IV 1440; *P.Lond.* IV 1441; *P.Lond.* IV 1442; *P.Lond.* IV 1443; *P.Lond.* IV 1444; *P.Lond.* IV 1445; *P.Lond.* IV 1446; *P.Lond.* IV 1447; *P.Lond.* IV 1448; *P.Lond.* IV 1449; *P.Lond.* IV 1450; *P.Lond.* IV 1451; *P.Lond.* IV 1452; *P.Lond.* IV 1453; *P.Lond.* IV 1456; *P.Lond.* IV 1457; *P.Lond.* IV 1458; *P.Lond.* IV 1459; *P.Lond.* IV 1460; *P.Lond.* IV 1461; *P.Lond.* IV 1468(?); *P.Lond.* IV 1469(?); *P.Lond.* IV 1470(?); *P.Lond.* IV 1471(?); *P.Lond.* IV 1472(?); *P.Lond.* IV 1473(?); *P.Lond.* IV 1474; *P.Lond.* IV 1475; *P.Lond.* IV 1476; *P.Lond.* IV 1477; *P.Lond.* IV 1478; *P.Lond.* IV 1479; *P.Lond.* IV 1480; *P.Lond.* IV 1481 and further fragments; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 18; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 19; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 20; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 21; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 22; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 23; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 24; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 27 II.

### Coptic accounts

*P.Lond.* Copt. 1631 (register of property of various kinds – vineyards, date palms, implements and vessels of metal, clothing, corn and further edible provisions – drawn up by the *proestōs* of a monastery); *P.Lond.* IV 1632 (an account of income and expenditure).

The documents called *diastalmos* comprise a form of Greek–Coptic bilingual texts. They are composed of a Greek part taking the form of a list, the *diastalmos* ('separation') proper, followed by a declaration of agreement in Coptic. In their Greek accounts, the individual taxpayers are quoted by name, and the amounts of their shares of the total of tax (in the preserved cases a duty called *xenion*) are specified. In the Coptic declarations,

<sup>47</sup> Ed. by R. Pintaudi and P.J. Sijpesteijn, 'Testi dell'VIII sec. d.C. provenienti da Aphroditō', *ZPE* 85 (1991) 279–300.

the agreement of the subjects to that *diastalmos* according to the *epistalma* ('assessment') as made by the governor is acknowledged by the authorities of the concerned unit, who also promise not to have burdened somebody with too much or too little of it. Usually one leaf of papyrus contains the *diastalmoi* and agreements of more than one taxpayer community, so that Crum already raised the question whether the preserved papyri might originally have formed part of one single codex.<sup>48</sup> Crum also made an interesting observation concerning the scripts used for the two parts of the entries of each taxpayer community: 'The Greek portion is generally in a clerkly hand, the Coptic in hands remarkably clumsy and unskilled.'<sup>49</sup> This feature points to a sort of cooperation between local personalities possessing a rather limited ability to write in Coptic, and professional Greek scribes, perhaps connected to the pagarch's office, being nevertheless in a position to communicate with the local population, thus probably able to speak or at least to read Coptic.

Also the majority of the Greek *merismos* accounts were codices, usually made up of quires of one double leaf (four pages).<sup>50</sup> All the entries consisting of the names of taxpayers and the figures of their shares of certain duties (mostly poll tax, land tax, *chrysika dēmosia*, and *embolē*) are written in the minuscule-like stylized Greek hand,<sup>51</sup> with a few but remarkable Copticisms. Since many of the entries contain Egyptian personal names and toponyms, there are occasional attempts<sup>52</sup> by the scribes to use the Coptic letters  $\omega$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\chi$ , and  $\sigma$ .<sup>53</sup> However, according to an observation by Peter Jernstedt, who edited Greek as well as Coptic papyri from Aphroditō, some of these attempts do not follow the regular way of writing these letters according to the manners of Coptic calligraphy, but resort to similarly shaped Greek ligatures. Jernstedt himself interpreted this phenomenon as an expression of the scribes' arrogance towards Coptic,<sup>54</sup> but (as is usually the case with arrogance) their disdain might only point to the fact that they were actually unable to write Coptic.

### 3.5 Guarantee declarations and the similar documents from the taxpayers to the pagarch and the governor

There is a considerable number of guarantee declarations issued by representatives of villages from the coptophone territory of the town of Aphroditō in favour of the

<sup>48</sup> *P.Lond.* IV, 468.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *P.Lond.* IV, xlv. In one case (*P.Lond.* IV 1429), remains of the original binding were still preserved. Only a few *merismos* accounts are written on papyrus scrolls *transversa charta*.

<sup>51</sup> Only *P.Lond.* IV 1428 contains one line (l. 2) in Coptic, seemingly the remains of a personal name: [...] .  $\text{ITPE } \text{ΠΩΗΝ}$  [...].

<sup>52</sup> Only h in *P.Lond.* IV 1420 and *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 23 and 24;  $\omega$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\chi$ , and  $\sigma$  in *P.Lond.* IV 1419 + *P.Berol.* inv. 25006.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *P.Lond.* IV, 177.

<sup>54</sup> *P.Ross.Georg.* IV, 76, comment on *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 22, line 6: 'Das  $\alpha$  ist mit der Ligatur für  $\epsilon$  bezeichnet, doch wohl weil den Schreibern echt-koptische Zeichen verpönt waren.'



public treasury (*dēmosios logos*), namely (*ētoi*) the governor, represented by (*bitoot*=) the pagarch:

### List of documents

*Coptic–Greek guarantee declarations (eggyētikē homologia) and similar documents concerning the production of, and supplies for, sailors and workmen*

*P.Lond.* IV 1454 (Greek list of sailors or labourers from the foot of Coptic contracts of surety); *P.Lond.* IV 1455 (Greek list of sailors or labourers from the foot of Coptic contracts of surety); *P.Lond.* IV 1494; *P.Lond.* IV 1495; *P.Lond.* IV 1496; *P.Lond.* IV 1497; *P.Lond.* IV 1498; *P.Lond.* IV 1499; *P.Lond.* IV 1500; *P.Lond.* IV 1501; *P.Lond.* IV 1502; *P.Lond.* IV 1503; *P.Lond.* IV 1504; *P.Lond.* IV 1505; *P.Lond.* IV 1506; *P.Lond.* IV 1507; *P.Lond.* IV 1508; *P.Lond.* IV 1509; *P.Lond.* IV 1510; *P.Lond.* IV 1511; *P.Lond.* IV 1512; *P.Lond.* IV 1513; *P.Lond.* IV 1514; *P.Lond.* IV 1515; *P.Lond.* IV 1516; *P.Lond.* IV 1517.

*Coptic–Greek guarantee declarations (eggyētikē homologia) and similar documents concerning fugitives*

*P.Cair.Arab.* III 164; *P.Lond.* IV 1518; *P.Lond.* IV 1519; *P.Lond.* IV 1520; *P.Lond.* IV 1521; *P.Lond.* IV 1522; *P.Lond.* IV 1523; *P.Lond.* IV 1524; *P.Lond.* IV 1525; *P.Lond.* IV 1526; *P.Lond.* IV 1527; *P.Lond.* IV 1528.

*Further Coptic–Greek guarantees*

*P.HermitageCopt.* 18; *P.HermitageCopt.* 19; *P.HermitageCopt.* 20; *P.HermitageCopt.* 25; *P.HermitageCopt.* 28; *P.HermitageCopt.* 29; *P.HermitageCopt.* 32(?); *P.HermitageCopt.* 34(?); *P.HermitageCopt.* 36; *P.Lond.* IV 1529; *P.Lond.* IV 1530; *P.Lond.* IV 1531; *P.Lond.* IV 1532; *P.Lond.* IV 1533; *P.Lond.* IV 1534; *P.Lond.* IV 1535; *P.Lond.* IV 1536; *P.Lond.* IV 1537; *P.Lond.* IV 1538; *P.Lond.* IV 1539; *P.Lond.* IV 1540; *P.Lond.* IV 1541; *P.Lond.* IV 1542; *P.Lond.* IV 1543; *P.Lond.* IV 1544; *P.Lond.* IV 1545; *P.Lond.* IV 1546; *P.Lond.* IV 1547; *P.Lond.* IV 1548; *P.Lond.* IV 1549; *P.Lond.* IV 1550; *P.Lond.* IV 1551.

*Other Coptic declarations to the dēmosios logos relating to tax assignment &c.*

*P.Cair.Arab.* III 165; *P.Cair.Arab.* III 166; *P.HermitageCopt.* 21; *P.HermitageCopt.* 22; *P.HermitageCopt.* 23; *P.HermitageCopt.* 26; *P.HermitageCopt.* 27; *P.HermitageCopt.* 30 *P.Lond.* IV 1564; *P.Lond.* IV 1565; *P.Lond.* IV 1566; *P.Lond.* IV 1567; *P.Lond.* IV 1568; *P.Lond.* IV 1569; *P.Lond.* IV 1570; *P.Lond.* IV 1571; *P.Lond.* IV 1572; *P.Lond.* IV 1573; *P.Lond.* IV 1574; *P.Lond.* IV 1575; *P.Lond.* IV 1576; *P.Lond.* IV 1577; *P.Lond.* IV 1578; *P.Lond.* IV 1579; *P.Lond.* IV 1580; *P.Lond.* IV 1581; *P.Lond.* IV

1582; *P.Lond.* IV 1583; *P.Lond.* IV 1584; *P.Lond.* IV 1585; *P.Lond.* IV 1586; *P.Lond.* IV 1587; *P.Lond.* IV 1588; *P.Lond.* IV 1589; *P.Lond.* IV 1590; *P.Lond.* IV 1591; *P.Lond.* IV 1592; *P.Lond.* IV 1604; *P.Lond.* IV 1610; *P.Lond.* IV 1613; *P.Lond.* IV 1614; *P.Lond.* IV 1617; *P.Lond.* IV 1618(?); *P.Lond.* IV 1624(?); *P.Lond.* IV 1625(?); *P.Lond.* IV 1629(?); *P.Lond.* IV 1630(?); *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 17 (Greek portion only).

*Coptic 'petitionary undertakings'* (paraklētikē homologia)

*P.Lond.* IV 1573; *P.Lond.* IV 1620; *P.Lond.* IV 1622; *P.Lond.* IV 1623; *P.Lond.* IV 1626.

*Coptic 'protest' (diamartyria)*

*P.Lond.* IV 1627 (a fragment, all details unclear).

While these documents are basically drafted in *Coptic*, all of them seem to have contained certain elements such as a dating formula, a list (*gnōsis*) of persons or things dealt with in the *sōma*, a completion note by the notary, and a docket on the verso that were written in *Greek*. Being placed at the beginning and the end of the documents, and set off from the *Coptic* text by calligraphic and diplomatic means, these *Greek* parts may have been sufficient to convey even to individuals who only spoke or read *Greek* an idea about what the concern of a given document was.

The documents usually start with a trinitarian invocation formula: 'In the name of the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the holy vivifying and consubstantial trinity in unity!', followed by an address formula like this: 'We, Apa Kyros (etc.), inhabitants of The Three Fields west of Jkōw, we write unto the *dēmosios logos*, namely (*ētoi*) our lord, the most marvellous (*paneuphēmos*) Korra, the most excellent (*hyperphystatos*) governor (*symbolos*), through you, most glorious (*endoxotatos*) lord, the master (*kyrios*) Basil, by God's will *illustrius* and *pagarchos* of Jkōw together with its farmsteads (*epoikion*) and its fields (*pedias*): Hail (*chaire*)!'<sup>55</sup> The deed proper consists of guarantee clauses on behalf of the village people, who promise to become surety or to be liable for producing workmen, reporting fugitives, etc. Although these texts are addressed to both

<sup>55</sup> *P.Lond.* IV 1494, 1–9. To the *dēmosios logos* viz. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Malik, Qurra's predecessor as governor of Egypt, through Epimachos, Basil's predecessor as pagarch of Jkōw: *P.Lond.* IV 1496; *P.Lond.* IV 1512; *P.Lond.* IV 1518, *P.Lond.* IV 1520; *P.Lond.* IV 1521; *P.Lond.* IV 1530; *P.Lond.* IV 1613. To the *dēmosios logos* viz. 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Malik the governor through Basil the pagarch: *P.Lond.* IV 1581. To the *dēmosios logos* viz. Qurra, through Basil: *P.Lond.* IV 1497; *P.Lond.* IV 1508; *P.Lond.* IV 1533; *P.Lond.* IV 1540; *P.Lond.* IV 1542; *P.Lond.* IV 1610. To Epimachos and Basil: *P.Lond.* IV 1592. The name of the governor (probably 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Malik) lost, the name of the pagarch Epimachos preserved: *P.Lond.* IV 1614. The name of the governor (presumably Qurra) lost, the name of the pagarch Basil preserved: *P.Lond.* IV 1545; *P.Lond.* IV 1565; *P.Lond.* IV 1570; *P.Lond.* IV 1574. The name of the pagarch lost; the name of the governor 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Malik preserved: *P.Lond.* IV 1584. The name of the pagarch lost; the name of the governor Qurra preserved: *P.Lond.* IV 1617. The names of both the governor and the pagarch lost: *P.Lond.* IV 1502; *P.Lond.* IV 1523; *P.Lond.* IV 1569; *P.Lond.* IV 1573; *P.Lond.* IV 1577; *P.Lond.* IV 1578; *P.Lond.* IV 1633.

the governor and the pagarch, all we know from the Aphroditō papyri is that the *latter* received and archived them. Whether or not copies of them actually arrived at Fustāṭ at the governor's office remains an open question. Unlike the Greek–Coptic *diastalmos*-accounts and agreements, these deeds of guarantee are drafted by a single hand (with the exception of the witness signatures); in fact a large number of all preserved items comes from a single scribe,<sup>56</sup> a man who calls himself Theodōros the *symbolaiographos* (cf. below, 5). As he worked for village authorities and private persons from various places, we may think of him as belonging to a central rather than a local institution and assume that he officiated at Aphroditō. He evidently mastered Greek as well as Coptic, but none of the purely Greek documents among the Aphroditō papyri that may have been produced in the pagarch's office seem to be from his hand.<sup>57</sup> Judging from his title, he worked as a private notary.

### 3.6 Other Coptic types of documents

Apart from legal documents formally addressed to the governor and/or the pagarch, the Coptic group of early eighth-century papyri from Kōmē Aphroditō/Jkōw also includes a number of private legal documents with no recognizable relation to public institutions, which may be related to the jurisdictional duties of the pagarch as known from the governor's letters to him (cf. above, 3.2), as well as a number of letters in some way related to the pagarch's office:

#### List of documents

*Coptic private legal documents without recognizable connections to the governor's or the pagarch's offices*

*P.HermitageCopt.* 33(?); *P.Laur.* V 194; *P.Lond.* IV 1593; *P.Lond.* IV 1594; *P.Lond.* IV 1595; *P.Lond.* IV 1596; *P.Lond.* IV 1597; *P.Lond.* IV 1598; *P.Lond.* IV 1599; *P.Lond.* IV 1600(?); *P.Lond.* IV 1605(?); *P.Lond.* IV 1608; *P.Lond.* IV 1609(?); *P.Lond.* IV 1611; *P.Lond.* IV 1612; *P.Lond.* IV 1619; *P.Lond.* IV 1621(?); *P.Lond.* IV 1628(?).

<sup>56</sup> *P.Lond.* IV 1454; *P.Lond.* IV 1455; *P.Lond.* IV 1494; *P.Lond.* IV 1497; *P.Lond.* IV 1499; *P.Lond.* IV 1504; *P.Lond.* IV 1509; *P.Lond.* IV 1511; *P.Lond.* IV 1515; *P.Lond.* IV 1518; *P.Lond.* IV 1519; *P.Lond.* IV 1521; *P.Lond.* IV 1544; *P.Lond.* IV 1549; *P.Lond.* IV 1565; *P.Lond.* IV 1591; *P.Lond.* IV 1595; *P.Lond.* IV 1596; *P.Lond.* IV 1599; *P.Lond.* IV 1610; *P.Lond.* IV 1633; *P.Laur.* V 194; *P.HermitageCopt.* 20; *P.HermitageCopt.* 33.

<sup>57</sup> *P.Lond.* IV 1454 and *P.Lond.* IV 1455, two lists of sailors or labourers bearing Theodoros's completion note, have been edited in *P.Lond.* IV among the Greek Qurra papyri, but are actually the *gnōsis*, 'list', 'from the foot of Coptic contracts of surety', as already mentioned by Bell.

*Coptic letters somehow related to the pagarch's offices*

*P.HermitageCopt.* 37; *P.HermitageCopt.* 38; *P.Lond.* IV 1633 (probably addressed to the pagarch – note the epithet *endoxotatos*); *P.Lond.* IV 1634 (addressed to Basil the pagarch, sent from the north, thus probably sent by the pagarch's agent resident at Babylon);<sup>58</sup> *P.Lond.* IV 1635 (a dated letter addressed to Basil the pagarch); *P.Lond.* IV 1636 (addressed to 'your lordship', i.e. the pagarch?); *P.Lond.* 1637; *P.Lond.* IV 1638 (presumably addressed to an agent of the pagarch at Babylon, thus a copy of the original letter?); *P.Lond.* IV 1639 (presumably addressed to an agent of the pagarch at Babylon, thus a copy of the original letter?); *P.Lond.* IV 1640 (sender and addressee lost in gaps; the governor [*symboulos*] 'Abd Allāh, the pagarch, a passport [*sigillion*], and taxes [*dēmosia*] are mentioned); *P.Lond.* IV 1641; *P.Lond.* IV 1642; *P.Lond.* IV 1643; *P.Lond.* 1644; *P.Lond.* 1645; *P.Lond.* 1646.

Of particular interest is the observation that persons probably working as agents of the pagarch at Babylon seem to have received Coptic letters (*P.Lond.* IV 1638 and 1639) and even to have used Coptic themselves to write letters to their master the pagarch down south in Aphroditō (*P.Lond.* IV 1634).

*3.7 Arabic–Greek Protocols*

A secondary phenomenon of Greek–Arabic bilingualism are so-called *protocols*, characters stamped on the 'end-papers' of papyrus scrolls.<sup>59</sup> These protocols used to contain religious formulae (*basmala*, *shahada*),<sup>60</sup> the name of the ruling Caliph and governor of Egypt, and the production date of the scroll according to the *hijra* year. Among the Qurra papyri, the occurrence of protocols is restricted to Greek *merismos* lists and Coptic guarantee declarations. However, as they properly form part of the writing material and have no particular connection with the texts eventually written on it, they might be left out of consideration here.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> This was already the assumption of Crum in *P.Lond.* IV 519.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. basically *CPR* III, parts 2–3: *Protokolle*.

<sup>60</sup> Greek registers, such as *P.Lond.* IV 1412 and the following documents (cf. especially the collection numbered as *P.Lond.* IV 1462) and Coptic guarantee documents, such as *P.Lond.* IV 1494ff., often contain remains of this: ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρώπου ἐλεήμονος οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ θεὸς μόνος Μαμετ ἀπόστολος θεοῦ – *bism Allāh al-rahmān al-rahīm lā ilāha illā Allāh waḥdahū Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*.

<sup>61</sup> For chronological implications of the protocols attested in our dossier, cf. above, note 26.

## 4. Linguistic interference phenomena in the Qurra papyri

### 4.1 Greek and Egyptian words transcribed in Arabic

The Arabic texts of the Qurra dossier contain a number of words of Greek and Egyptian origin. Most common instances are names of persons and places transcribed in Arabic, such as *binda bidyadis* ~ πέντε πεδιάδες ('Five Fields', a quarter of Aphroditō) or *Ishqāw* ~ *Jkōw*, the Coptic name of Aphroditō. At the time of the Qurra papyri, the early eighth century, Arabs in Egypt were still a demographic minority, so that all these onomastic sets continued to be dominated by traditional names: 'Wir sehen das Arabische hier noch fast ganz in der Periode der phonetischen Nachbildung des gehörten Namens.'<sup>62</sup> More significant with regard to the extent and the milieu of Greek–Arabic language contact is a number of common lexemes borrowed from Greek into Arabic, such as:

*al-justāl* αγουσταλις (suggestion from Andreas Kaplony, < *augustalis*, cf. Preisigke, Wörterbuch III 204), *P.BeckerNPAF* 3,27; *PERF* 592 (cf. Grohmann, 'Griechische und lateinische Verwaltungstermini', 278 + n. 3), who suggested κουαίστωρ [*quaestor*]).

*dīmūs* δημόσιον, *P.Heid. Arab.* I 3,41/42; 9,6 (a measure: *kayl al-dīmūs* = μέτρον δημόσιον, cf. Grohmann, 'Griechische und lateinische Verwaltungstermini', 276–77)

*qurīya* κουρία, *P.BeckerPAF* 4,5

*qulzum* κλύσμα, *P.BeckerPAF* 4,5

*kūm* κώμη, 'village', *passim*.

*kūra* χώρα, 'land', *P.Lond.* IV 1356,1 et *passim*.

*māzūt*, pl. *mawāzīt* μειζότεροι, 'village magistrate', *P.BeckerPAF* 9,4 et *passim*, (cf. Grohmann, 'Griechische und lateinische Verwaltungstermini', 280–81)

*mazīn* μασζιον (designation of a rough type of iron, unclear whether from Greek to Arabic or the other way round), *P.BeckerPAF* 9,3

*nawāṭīya* ναύτης, 'sailor', *P.Lond.* IV 1353,1; *P.Sorb.* 2344,7, et *passim*.

*nawla* ναύλον, a 'fare, freight', *P.BeckerPAF* 10,6; *P.Ross.Georg.* 10,1

The number of these borrowed lexical items is not only very small, but their semantic range is also closely limited to nouns somehow related to taxation and administration.

### 4.2 Arabic words transcribed in Greek and Coptic

Also the most frequent and usual type of borrowings from Arabic into Greek are transcriptions of personal names such as Κορρα βεν Σζαριχ, names of places outside Egypt such as Αλιραχ for al-'Irāq (*P.Lond.* IV 1447,78) or Αλμ(ε)δ(ίνα) for *al-Madīna* *P.Lond.* IV 1447,78a, and names of Arab tribes such as Σζουγα for *Shughā* (*P.Lond.* IV 1447,77), or Αλασδ for *al-'Azd* (*P.Lond.* IV 1441,87). Apart from those, we find a few common lexical items borrowed from Arabic, such as:

<sup>62</sup> *P.BeckerPAF* 107.

ἀμιραλουμνιν *amīr al-mu'minīn*, 'Commander of the faithful' (title of the Caliph), *P.Lond.* IV *passim* (cf. the partial translation in *P.Apoll.* 37,10: ἀμιρᾶ τῶν πιστῶν).

ἀμιρᾶς *amīr*, 'Commander' (a title), *P.Lond.* IV *passim*.

βεν *ibn*, 'son (of)', *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 2 et *passim*; *P.Lond.* IV *passim*, always as a component of personal names, but sometimes translated by *νίος* thus conceived as a common noun, not as a part of the proper name itself.

θεβεδ *thabat*, 'list' (cf. *P.Lond.* IV, 331; or derived from  $\sqrt{b}t$ , cf. *P.Lond.* IV 1353,1?), *P.Lond.* IV 1435,122.

μασιδα(ς) *masjid*, 'mosque',<sup>63</sup> *P.Lond.* IV *passim*; *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 3; *CPR* XXII 53,9.

μασζεπτ (*P.Lond.* IV 1414,12 et al.; *P.Heid.* G 530 + 4.21.22; *P.Vindob.* G 31,6) has been considered by Bell as an Arabic word meaning 'sewn leather',<sup>64</sup> but was rightly equated by Jernstedt<sup>65</sup> with **ΜΑΩΠΤ**, a word instanced few times in semi-literary and documentary Coptic texts where it designated something like a cable made of palm-tree fibres.<sup>66</sup> But the etymology of that term is still unclear, and it is an observation worth mentioning that it is found in a seventh-/eighth-century Coptic letter in Greek spelling *μασζε(ρ)τ*.<sup>67</sup> This makes it rather improbable that the word was originally borrowed from Coptic into Greek, although there is a phenomenon like 'returning emigrants' in the realm of lexical borrowing.

μασ(ζ)ιον (?) (a kind or form of unrefined iron, lumps or booms, etymology unclear, but the sequence -σζ- could point to an Arabic word<sup>68</sup>), *P.Lond.* IV 1369,20 u.ö.

μαυλεύς/μαυλεῖς *mawla*, pl. *mawālī*, lit. freedman, the regular troops of the Arab army, consisting of Muslims, were composed of *muhājirūn* and *mawālī*;<sup>69</sup> *P.Lond.* IV *passim*; *CPR* XXII 55,6.8

μησαχα *misāha*, 'survey',<sup>70</sup> *P.Lond.* IV 1441,90; *CPR* XXII 55,6.

<sup>63</sup> See F. Morelli, 'Legname, palazzi e moschee: P.Vindob. G 31 e il contributo dell'Egitto alla prima architettura islamica. Conto di materiali', *Tyche* 13 (1998) 173–78.

<sup>64</sup> *P.Lond.* IV 129: 'it seems likely that *μασζεπτ* ... means some kind of leather. ... Mr. Ellis suggests as just possible *musarrad*, which means "sewn leather".'

<sup>65</sup> *P.MoscowCopt* 56; cf. also Morelli, 'Legname, palazzi e moschee', 168.

<sup>66</sup> W.E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford 1939) 206a, also **ΜΑΩΠΤ** and **ΜΑΩΠΤ**; its gender is not fixed. Crum compared an Arabic word *mashāt*, 'one of a ship's cables.'

<sup>67</sup> *P.MoscowCopt.* 21.4.7

<sup>68</sup> Or should one think of the Coptic lexeme **ΣΜΑΧΕ**, **ΒΜΑΧΙ**, **ΜΑΧΙ** (< Egyptian *mḏḥ.t*, a feminine noun) 'axe, hatchet, pick' (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 213a), used here as a designation of unrefined lumps of iron? Cf. quite a similar formal relation between **ΜΑΑΧΕ** (< Demotic *mḏḥ.t*, a feminine noun), 'a measure of capacity', and its Greek transcription as *μάτιον*.

<sup>69</sup> C. Onimus, 'Les mawālī en Égypte dans la documentation papyrologique I<sup>er</sup>-V<sup>e</sup> s. H.', *Annales islamologiques* 39 (2005) 81–107.

<sup>70</sup> See *CPR* XXII, 263; T.S. Richter, 'Spätkoptische Rechtsurkunden neu bearbeitet (III): *P.Lond.Copt.* I 487, Arabische Pacht in koptischem Gewand', *JJP* 33 (2003) 217.

μωαγαρίτης/μωαγαρίται *muhājir*, pl. *muhājirūn*, lit. emigrant (the regular troops of the Arab army, consisting of Muslims, was composed of *muhājirūn* and *mawālī*<sup>71</sup>), *P.Lond.* IV *passim*; *CPR* XXII 55,13.

πα(σ)μαγδ (? – etymology and meaning unclear), *P.Lond.* IV 1347,15; 1434,59.249.  
 ρουζικόν *rizq* ‘allowance (in corn)’ (cf. *P.BeckerPAF* 10; *P.Lond.*, 5), *P.Lond.* IV 1335,5  
 (ρουζικόν τῶν μωαγαρίτων); 1404,7; 1407,2 and *passim*.

Again, the number of these borrowings is very small and, in almost all cases, semantically limited to terminological items of the new things/new concepts type,<sup>72</sup> which would have been difficult to translate.

The Coptic texts among the Aphroditō papyri are almost entirely free of borrowings from Arabic, with the exception of Arabic personal names. Actually no more than two lexical items can be identified: the strange spelling **NTINEI** for *ibn*, as occurring in a personal name,<sup>73</sup> and one instance of the title *amīr*, ‘commander’, spelled *amira* (*P.Lond.* IV 1603,2 in very fragmentary context), a spelling clearly showing that the word was not borrowed directly from Arabic, but taken from the Greek, where it had the stressed ending *-ᾱ/-ᾱ̃*, and was usually applied in the inflected form *ἀμῖρᾱ̃/-ᾱ̃* (genitive or dative).<sup>74</sup>

## 5. Scribes of the Qurra papyri

### 5.1 Notarii and their languages

As a matter of course, in written communication attested by the Qurra papyri involving three levels of administration and three different languages, clerks played a crucial role. The papyri in our dossier provide two different sorts of external evidence about them:

<sup>71</sup> Onimus, ‘Les *mawālī* en Égypte’.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. also the compilation of Greek (and Latin) administration terms attested in Arabic papyri and literary texts from the first- to the fourth century of the *hijra* in Grohmann, ‘Griechische und lateinische Verwaltungstermini’, 284.

<sup>73</sup> *P.Lond.* IV 1606,2: [... **Μ**] **Α** **Ζ** **Μ** **Η** **Τ** **Ν** **Τ** **Ν** **Ε** **Ι** **Α** **Π** **Ο** **Ζ** **Α** [...], perhaps the same individual called Μααμεδ υἱὸς Αβι Αβιβα in *P.Lond.* IV 1336.

<sup>74</sup> This is generally true of Coptic instances of that title. The most frequently attested form **ΑΜ(Ε)ΙΡΑ** and similar spellings (**ΑΜΕΡΑ**, **ΑΜΑΡΑ**, **ΑΜΕΡΑC** – all of them pointing to the stress on the *ultima* as in Greek) do also occur in eighth-century Theban papyri (*PKRU* *passim*) and ostraka (e.g. *O.Medin.HabuCopt.* 281,5; *O.Vind.Copt.* 384,8), in seventh-/eighth-century papyri from al-Ashmūnayn (e.g. *P.Ryl.Copt.* 115,6, 132,2 *et passim*) and Dayr al-Balā’izah (e.g. *P.Bal.* 122,5 *et passim*), as well as in an epigraphic instance (*Recueil de travaux* 15, 1893, 176) dated in 693 CE, cf. Richter, ‘O.Crum Ad. 15’, 107. Only a few tenth-century Coptic instances bear witness of a form directly borrowed from Arabic: **ΑΛΑΜΙΡ** *P.Lond.Copt.* I 487,8; **ΑΛΙΜΙΡ** *P.Lond.Copt.* I 659,6–7, cf. Richter, ‘Spätkoptische Rechtsurkunden’, 218 n. k.

texts in some way dealing with scribes, namely concerning their supplies, and texts mentioning the name of the scribe who has written them.

The first sort of evidence comes from the Greek accounts and registers (cf. above, 3.4). The term used to identify a person as a scribe was *notarios*, a title usually borne by professional clerks attached to public offices, who were concerned with administrative writings.<sup>75</sup> It is of particular interest to find *notarioi* distinguished by their language: an Ἀραβικὸς νοτάριος ('Arab notary') is mentioned in *P.Lond.* IV 1434,229 and *P.Lond.* 1447,140.190; a Γραικὸς νοτάριος ('Greek notary') occurs in *P.Lond.* IV 1434,301.311 and *P.Lond.* IV 1435,56.

The 'Arab notary' of *P.Lond.* IV 1447, 140 and 190 appears in a context that, as was suggested by Bell, 'concerns the δαπάνη ὑπουργῶν τοῦ ἀμυραλμουμνιν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ['supply for the servants of the Commander of the Faithful in Egypt'] several times mentioned in other registers, and consists of a list of names of persons with the amount of their δαπάνη, which is sometimes in kind and sometimes in money. Among these persons are included the Governor and his subordinates (such as attendants ..., *Muhājirun*, *mawālī*, notaries, artificers in the government service and so forth).<sup>76</sup> According to the nature of the account *P.Lond.* IV 1447, and also to the title Ἀρα(βικοῦ) νοτ(αρίου) τοῦ συμβούλου ('Arab notary of the governor') borne by our man, he might have held a position in the governor's office. As he was called by name Σωλεεμ υἱὸς Συμεαν ('Sulaym son of Sim'ān') we may assume he was an Arab by birth, and most likely a native speaker of Arabic.

The distinction of an 'Arab' notary implies the presence of Greek-writing notaries in the governor's staff, whose existence is overwhelmingly attested by the Greek letters and the *entagia* produced in the governor's office (cf. above, 3.2 and 3.3). But what about the many other notaries bearing Greek and Egyptian names who are mentioned in the same document<sup>77</sup> and elsewhere<sup>78</sup> in the registers and accounts of *P.Lond.* IV without, however, an explicit attribution of their language? Could the lack of linguistic specification, i.e. 'unmarkedness', mean as much as 'Greek notary, as goes without saying'? But then why is this specification made in the case of *P.Lond.* IV 1434,301?

*P.Lond.* IV 1434,229 deals with δαπάνη καὶ τροφή ἀλόγων Ἀραβικοῦ νοταρίου συνόντος ἐνδόξῳ παγάρχῳ ('maintenance of an Arab notary belonging to the famous pagarch and the keep of his [*sc.* that notary's] horses').<sup>79</sup> In *P.Lond.* IV 1434,301 and 311 and 1435,56, similar entries are made for a Γραικὸς νοτάριος. The Arab and Greek notaries quoted here thus belonged to the office of the pagarch, which seems especially interesting with regard to the Arab one. We do not know of Arabic documents produced in the pagarch's office, and even if there were some, we could not expect to find them,

<sup>75</sup> J. Diethart and K.A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten*, MPer 16 (Vienna 1986) 9; as was pointed out by them the title νοτάριος does not belong to the repertoire of titles born by private notaries (*tabelliones*) working for private chancelleries.

<sup>76</sup> H.I. Bell in *P.Lond.* IV 360. The document *P.Lond.* IV 1447 can be dated to c. 685–705 CE. *P.Lond.* IV 1434 is from 714–716 CE.

<sup>77</sup> *P.Lond.* IV 1447,137–141; 144; 187–192.

<sup>78</sup> *P.Lond.* IV, 582, index III.

<sup>79</sup> The document can be dated to c. 714–716 CE.



since they would have been sent to Fustāṭ and would be unlikely be found at the site of Aphroditō. But what we do learn is that there was competence in the pagarch's office to write and to read Arabic texts.

### 5.2 Scribal notes

The other type of evidence for clerks and scribes is limited to texts bearing a scribal note, such as the Arabic versions of letters from the governor to the pagarch (cf. above, 3.2) and the Coptic guarantee documents (cf. above, 3.5).<sup>80</sup>

Almost all the persons who designate themselves as scribes of Arabic letters from the governor to the pagarch (cf. above, 3.2) bear Arabic personal names: al-ṣalt ibn 'Adī,<sup>81</sup> Jarīr,<sup>82</sup> Khubaysh ibn Mas'ūd,<sup>83</sup> Khālīd,<sup>84</sup> Khalīfa,<sup>85</sup> Rāshīd,<sup>86</sup> Sarḥāb,<sup>87</sup> 'Abd Allāh (ibn Nu'mān),<sup>88</sup> 'Īsā,<sup>89</sup> 'Uqba,<sup>90</sup> 'Umayr,<sup>91</sup> Muslim (ibn Lubnān),<sup>92</sup> Walīd,<sup>93</sup> Yazīd;<sup>94</sup> they may all have been native speakers of Arabic.<sup>95</sup> Even more conspicuous is the case of a scribe writing in Arabic although bearing a Greek name: Basīl.<sup>96</sup> It would seem that he was an Egyptian who mastered oral and written Arabic as a second (or even third?) language, inasmuch as there is good reason to doubt that an Arab native would have borne a Greek name. So we could see him as one specimen of that type of cross-linguistic specialist who

<sup>80</sup> In some cases Greek accounts also bear a scribal note, e.g. *P.Lond.* IV 1448,1.

<sup>81</sup> *P.Heid.Arab.* I 3; *P.BeckerPAF* 2.

<sup>82</sup> *P.Cair.Arab.* III 147; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 1.

<sup>83</sup> *P.Heid.Arab.* I 3; *P.BeckerPAF* 2.

<sup>84</sup> Arabic: *P.Cair.Arab.* III 159.

<sup>85</sup> *P.Qurra* 4.

<sup>86</sup> *P.Cair.Arab.* III 160; 161; 162; 163.

<sup>87</sup> Arabic: *P.Cair.Arab.* III 157.

<sup>88</sup> *P.Cair.Arab.* III 156; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 2 and 4.

<sup>89</sup> *P.BeckerPAF* 4.

<sup>90</sup> Arabic: *P.Cair.Arab.* III 152.

<sup>91</sup> Arabic: *P.Cair.Arab.* III 146.

<sup>92</sup> Arabic: *P.Cair.Arab.* III 153; 154 and 155; *P.Qurra* 3; *P.Heid.Arab.* I 10 and 11; *P.BeckerPAF* 1; *P.Sorb.* 2346. The scribal notes of this scribe often include the name of a copyist: 'Muslim ibn Lubnān has written, *NN* as copied it'; the names of the copyist are al-ṣalt (*P.Cair.Arab.* III 154 and 155; *P.Qurra* 3), Sa'īd (*P.Heid.Arab.* I 10), and al-ṣalt ibn Mas'ūd (*P.BeckerPAF* 1; *P.Sorb.* 2346).

<sup>93</sup> Arabic: *P.Cair.Arab.* III 150.

<sup>94</sup> *P.Cair.Arab.* III 148, 151 and 158; *P.Sorb.* 2344.

<sup>95</sup> We do not know of converts changing their names at that early period of the Islamic history of Egypt.

<sup>96</sup> *P.Qurra* 2. As I understand from Andreas Kaplony, the reading of the scribe's name as Basīl is not beyond any doubt.

must have been so important for managing the everyday communication between the linguistically separated milieus of that time (cf. below, 6.2).<sup>97</sup>

The persons who designate themselves as scribes of Coptic deeds of guarantee (cf. above, 3.5) used to have Greek or Egyptian personal names, both of them pointing to Egyptian natives: Apollō son of Psoios (*Pshoi*) from the village (*epoikion*) Pakaunis (*P.Lond.* IV 1548; 1573); David son of Jacob, the priest (*P.Lond.* IV 1593); Eunikios the *nomikos agoras Babylōnos* (*P.Lond.* IV 1550); Hōrsiēse the mayor (*ape*), son of the late Sire (*P.Lond.* IV 1619); Iōannēs the *symbolaiographos* (*P.Lond.Copt.* IV 1513; 1594); Macarios (*P.Lond.* IV 1514); Makr[...] (*P.Lond.* IV 1621); Ouersenouphis son of Pamiās, the *hypodektēs* and *symbolaiographos* (*P.Lond.* IV 1495); Philotheos (*P.Lond.* IV 1546); Theodōros the *symbolaiographos* (*P.Lond.* IV 1454; 1455; 1494; 1497; 1499; 1504; 1509; 1511; 1515; 1518; 1519; 1521; 1544; 1549; 1565; 1591; 1595; 1596; 1599; 1610; [1633]; *P.Laur.* V 194; *P.HermitageCopt.* 20; 33); Victor son of Theodōsios the *s[ymbolaiographos]* (*P.Lond.* IV 1529). All of them may have been native speakers of Coptic insofar as the native language of Egypt seems generally to have been acquired as first language. However, regular insertions of Greek parts into the Coptic texts (cf. above, 3.5) point to the fact that these scribes were bilingual individuals, able to speak and also to write in Greek. Some of them bear the title *symbolaiographos*, identifying them as private notaries not attached to a public office but offering their services to private customers.<sup>98</sup>

## 6. Conclusions

### 6.1 The function of Arabic

The Arabic literary tradition knows of the introduction of Arabic as chancellery language in 87/705 CE,<sup>99</sup> four years before the governorship of Qurra ibn Sharik. The truth of this information both is and is not evidenced by the Qurra papyri. It *is* evidenced by the striking fact that all directives coming from headquarters have been drafted in Arabic – apparently by specialized clerks occasionally referred to as ‘Arab notaries’ in Greek documents. It *is not* evidenced insofar as probably all the messages having been written in Arabic and sent to the pagarch as well as to the taxpayer communities were accompanied by a Greek copy, which may have been the one that was read.<sup>100</sup> However, as we have also seen (cf. above, 5.1), there were Arab notaries not only in the governor’s

<sup>97</sup> However, it should not be concealed that the reading of that proper name is not absolutely certain (personal communication by Andreas Kaplony, Zurich).

<sup>98</sup> Cf. E. Sachers, ‘Tabellio’, in *Realenzyklopädie*, 2nd ser., vol. 4 (1932) 1847–63, and Diethart and Worp, *Notarunterschriften*.

<sup>99</sup> According to Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-a’shā*, I 40, quoted by W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten* (Hamburg 1928) 3.

<sup>100</sup> As a visible sign of having been used, the Greek letters bear a notice of receipt on their verso that is rarely found on the Arabic copies (cf. above, 3.2 + note 31).

office but also attached to the pagarch's staff. Thus the function of the Arabic versions of letters addressed to the governor and of the *entagia* documents addressed to the taxpayer communities throughout the pagarchy, but actually archived in the governor's office, may have been twofold. On the one hand they may have served as 'backup copies', in order to avoid misunderstanding about what the governor's wishes and demands actually were. On the other hand, these Arabic pieces of writing could have been sent forth as a kind of symbolic 'heralds', as messengers conveying the message of power: keeping local officials at a distance and reminding them of the true face of authority by the sheer appearance of the script and language of dominion.

## 6.2 *The function of Greek*

Although the trilingual Qurra dossier implies a trilingual language constellation, a situation of *social* trilingualism, it does not likewise imply the existence of trilingual speakers or writers, *individual* trilingualism: the sort of trilingualism as practised in and mirrored by the language choice of the Qurra papyri, and the interference phenomena found in them (cf. above, 4.), although pointing to Arabic–Greek and Greek–Coptic speakers, hardly indicates the existence of Arabic–Greek–Coptic speakers, and not even of Arabic–Coptic bilinguals.<sup>101</sup> Thus the overall impression, the model of language contact emerging from this evidence, is one of separate spheres or milieus of language use, linked by Greek as the dynamic means of cross-linguistic communication, functioning as a *lingua franca*:

ARABIC-SPEAKING MILIEU  
(GOVERNMENT AT FUSTĀṬ)  
Arabic–Greek ⇄ bilingualism  
HELLENIZED MILIEU  
(PROVINCIAL AND URBAN ELITE)  
Greek–Coptic ⇄ bilingualism  
COPTIC-SPEAKING MILEU  
(VILLAGES AND LOCAL ELITE)

Already in the early years after the Arab conquest of Egypt in 641 CE, the use of Greek declined rapidly in the sphere of private legal records, where it was partly replaced by Coptic. By contrast, in the realm of administrative records, Greek apparently remained indispensable and continued to be used during at least the entire eighth century.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>101</sup> While the second type of bilingualism is represented by Egyptian local forces, Andreas Kaplony suggested connecting the first type of bilingualism to (Christian or Muslim) officials coming from Syria.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. already K.A. Worp, 'Studien zu spätgriechischen, koptischen und arabischen Papyri', *BSAC* 26 (1984) 99–107, and the current research by Federico Morelli, e.g. in *CPR* XXII. In his unpublished paper 'Papyrus grecs d'époque arabe', given at the First International Coptic Summer

The extent of individual Egyptian–Greek bilingualism from the Macedonian conquest of Egypt onwards has long been debated; at present it is considered not excessively high.<sup>103</sup> However, if we look only at the quantity and semantic range of Greek loan-words in Coptic, we do have to admit a steady and long-lasting influence of a certain sub-set of ‘conductive’ Egyptian native speakers, who were more or less skilled in speaking and writing Greek.<sup>104</sup> On the contrary, there is hardly any reason to believe that language contact between Arabic- and Greek-speakers and individual Arabic–Greek bilingualism in early Islamic Egypt reached a considerable extent. Our written evidence would rather point to limited contact situations in terms of quantity, both in the case of functional domains and in that of individuals.

### 6.3 *The function of Coptic*

Written Coptic knew its widest spread during the first century after the Arab conquest of Egypt. Only then did it become a common means of recording private business and legal events, and a language of private representation in epigraphy. However, even then the validity of written Coptic outside the ecclesiastical and monastic realms was still limited to what could be called private affairs, while official and public documents continued to be drafted in Greek, or were already recorded in Arabic.

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School in Vienna, July 2006, Morelli suggested a late eighth-century dating for a number of documents that were dated significantly earlier in their original editions.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. especially E. Oréal, ‘Contact linguistique. Le cas du rapport entre le grec et le copte’, *Lalies* 19 (1999) 289–306; recent discussion of various sets of data in P. Fewster, ‘Bilingualism in Roman Egypt’, in J.N. Adams, M. Janse and S. Swain (eds), *Bilingualism in ancient society: Language contact and the written text* (Oxford 2002) 220–45; J. Dieleman, *Priests, tongues, and rites: The London–Leiden magical manuscripts and translation in Egyptian ritual (100–300 CE)*, *Religions in the Greco-Roman World* 153 (Leiden 2005); and Richter, ‘Greek, Coptic, and the “language of the *hijra*”’; for a theoretical framework cf. S.G. Thomason and T. Kaufman, *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics* (Berkeley, CA 1988) 65–109; F.W. Field, *Linguistic borrowing in bilingual contexts*, *Studies in Language Companion Series* 62 (Philadelphia 2002) 1–22; R. Appel and P. Muysken, *Language contact and bilingualism* (London 1987); R. van Hout and P. Muysken, ‘Modelling lexical borrowability’, *Language Variation and Change* 6 (1994) 39–62; and with regard to corpus languages, D.R. Langslow, ‘Approaching bilingualism in corpus languages’, in Adams, Janse and Swain (eds), *Bilingualism in ancient society*, 23–51.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Field, *Linguistic borrowing in bilingual contexts*, 3: ‘On the one hand, when there is casual contact between languages, i.e., among their speakers, lexical items may be borrowed where there is little or no extensive bilingualism. For instance, American English has borrowed many cultural items from immigrant groups, e.g. *kosher* from Yiddish, *pizza* from Italian, *sauerkraut* from German, *tortilla* from Mexican Spanish, *sushi* from Japanese, and so on. On the other hand, many studies of extensive borrowing, the result of intensive contact, assume that the requisite starting point is a subset of the total number of native speakers of the recipient variety who are also relatively proficient and perhaps equally skilled in the donor, who act as a kind of conduit for the diffusion of lexical items and other properties of the donor language’. See also Thomason and Kaufman, *Language contact*, 66.

In this respect, the Coptic texts of the Qurra dossier are exceptional inasmuch as they form part of a body of administrative writings. There are some further contemporary Coptic documents related to administrative procedures, such as a kind of individual tax assessment from the region of Ashmūnayn and elsewhere,<sup>105</sup> and the large dossier of tax-receipt ostraka from the Theban area.<sup>106</sup> But even so, the administrative use of Coptic was related to the bottom level of administration – single villages, monasteries, and so forth.

The Coptic documents extant in the Qurra dossier, the greater part of them being guarantee declarations issued by village people and typically addressed to ‘the most wonderful governor through you, most glorious lord, ... by God’s will pagarch of Jkōw’ (cf. above, 3.5), give us only one half of the correspondence between the representatives of villages and their authorities at Aphroditō and Fustāt to our knowledge. The *entagia* (cf. above, 3.3), issued by the governor in two versions, one in Arabic and one in Greek, formally addressed to the taxpayer communities, and probably sent along with the letters from the governor to the pagarch, were obviously kept behind and archived in the latter’s office. How eventually the tax assessments made by the governor were communicated to Coptic-speaking people throughout the pagarchy can be seen from the aforementioned Coptic tax demands instanced in a number of documents from the Ashmūneyn region,<sup>107</sup> the monastery Dayr al-Balā’izah,<sup>108</sup> and the town of Jēme,<sup>109</sup> but not from Aphroditō and its surroundings. Issued by the pagarch, they informed the addressee of ‘what has been allotted to you that you shall pay it in the assessment of the taxes’ (*nai ne ntabahok mmoou ngtaau hmpdiastalmos nndēmosion &c.*).

The use of Coptic, not unexpected in those parts of the Qurra dossier that served communication with the most humble subjects, seems rather striking when it comes to pieces of correspondence between the pagarch’s agents with the pagarch himself (cf. above, 3.6). If this really did happen,<sup>110</sup> the undeniable conclusion would be that both parties, the pagarch and his agent, were Coptic native speakers. The fact as such would seem to be of some significance in terms of social history. Under those circumstances, one would be very keen to know how oral communication between the pagarch’s agent and the *governor* was managed, or if those agents could have been Coptic–Arabic bilinguals or even trilinguals – just the sort of specimen lacking in the evidence of the written documents?

However, as we cannot hope to catch a glimpse of the dark side of the moon, we should content ourselves with the written evidence given to us in the unique Qurra

<sup>105</sup> An almost complete list of Coptic tax demands is provided in *P.Mon. Apollo* 43.

<sup>106</sup> See I. Poll, ‘Die διάγραφον-Steuer im spätbyzantinischen und früh-arabischen Ägypten’, *Tyche* 14 (1999) 237–74.

<sup>107</sup> E.g. *BKU* III 339; *CPR* IV,3 and 4; *P.Ryl.Copt.* 117, 118, 119, and 378.

<sup>108</sup> *P.Bal.* 131 and 402.

<sup>109</sup> *P.Bal.* 130, Appendix.

<sup>110</sup> We have no instance where both, sender and addressee, are preserved. On the base of our evidence, one may or may not believe Crum’s suggestion.

dossier, a source of knowledge about various aspects of the early Islamic society of Egypt that is unlikely to be exhausted soon.

## APPENDIX

## Editions of early eighth-century Aphroditô papyri according to languages

*Arabic papyrological evidence*

*Chrest.Khoury* 90, 91, 93, 94.

*P.BeckerNPAF* (all but nos. 7 and 12 are reedited in *P.Cair.Arab.* III; concordance in Checklist of Arabic Papyri, 145).

*P.BeckerPAF* (nos. 7, 12 and 14 have been re-edited in *P.Cair.Arab.* III; concordance in Checklist of Arabic Papyri, 145).

*P.Berl.Ehnās-Ersatz* 352.<sup>111</sup>

*P.Cair.Arab.* III 146–63 (all first edited in *P.BeckerPAF* and *P.BeckerNPAF*; concordance in Checklist of Arabic Papyri, 145).

*P.Heid.Arab.* I, partly re-edited in *Chrest.Khoury* I: n° 1 = *Chrest.Khoury* 90; n° 3 = *Chrest.Khoury* 91; n° 5 = *Chrest.Khoury* 93; n° 6 = *Chrest.Khoury* 94.

*P.Qurra* I–V.

*P.Ross.Georg.* IV, Arabic fragment n° 27, I, h

*P.Sorb.* inv. 2343, 2344, and 2346+.<sup>112</sup>

*P.Strasb.Arab.* = *P.Heid.Arab.* I, *Anhang*, a–m

*Greek papyrological evidence*

BM inv. n° 2586 (a re-edition of *P.Lond.* IV 1393 completed by this fragment).<sup>113</sup>

*CPR* XXII, 52–59.

*P.Berl.Ehnās-Ersatz* 352 (see above).

*P.Berol.* see *SB* XX.

*P.Cair.Arab.* III 160–63.

*P.Heid.* III, see *SB* I.

*P.Laur.* IV 192.

*P.Lond.* IV 1332–493.

*P.Ross.Georg.* IV, 1–27.

*P.Schott-Reinhardt* I, see *SB* I

*P.Sorb.*, see *SB* X

*SB* I 5638–5655 (= *P.Schott-Reinhardt* I = *P.Heid.* III 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 22 and a–m)

<sup>111</sup> Ed. in Becker, 'Papyrusstudien', 149–52 and Bell, 'The Berlin Qurrah papyrus' (see above, note 45).

<sup>112</sup> Edited by Y. Rhagib, 'Lettres nouvelles de Qurra b. Šarik', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 40 (1981) 174–85.

<sup>113</sup> Bell, 'Two official letters', no. 2.

*SB X* 10453–60 (= *P.Sorb.* 2224–26, 2230a+b, 2231–33).

*SB XVIII* 13218

*SB XX* 15100–102 (= *P.Berol. inv.* 25006, 25039, 25040 and 25041)

*Coptic papyrological evidence*

*P.Cair. Arab.* III 164–66.

*P.HermitageCopt.* 18–38, n° 36 consisting of no less than 26 fragmentary items.

*P.Laur.* V 194.

*P.Lond.* IV 1494–646.