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POYZIKON AND POFA IN THE POST-CONQUEST PAPYRI

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'Ροζίκικν and 'Ρογά in the Post-Conquest Papyri

The Arabic word ṭrζkeleton (hereafter, ṭrζk), makes a relatively brief appearance in post-Conquest documents, notably in two papyri from Nesesana, a town in Southern Palestine near the border of Sinai. In Π. Νεσ. ΙΙΙ. 69, dated to 680/1(?), the word is found in the heading of an account which the editor translates as "food tax" and "food-allowance for Arab troops." In Π. Νεσ. ΙΙΙ. 92, an official account or a day book dated to c. 685, ṭrζk appears, if the resolution of the abbreviation is secure, 10 times along with the names of men, some of whom serve as guards, and the authorization for their movement. Unlike Π. Νεσ. 69, which lists quantities of wheat and oil, this document does not specify the nature of ṭrζk. The editor translates the term as "grain supply."

In the Egyptian documents, the Greek word ṭrζk is seen some 8 times: 5 in Π. Λονδ. IV, once in ΣΒ I. 5641 (Π. Ηείδ. III 9), and twice in Π. Απόλλ. Η.Ι. Bell was the first to come upon the term in Π. Λονδ. IV 1335.5, where, with the explanation provided by H.L. Becker, he noted that it was the equivalent of "Arabic ṭrζk, the allowance made to Arab troops. The word for the similar allowance in money made from gold-taxes is ṭρογά." This document and two others (1404.7 and 1407.2) dealt specifically with wheat for the Muhajirun of Fustat; two other accounts (1438.165 and 1435.122) dealt with unspecified requisitions. A similar statement regarding ṭrζk as a food-allowance is made by Bell in his note to 1349.15-16, where the word ṭρογά (hereafter, roga) appears. However, these definitions of ṭrζk and roga are too restrictive. In his note to 1349.15, Bell calls attention to ΒΓΥ 304.11, where roga is used for wheat rather than money. In 1433.17, roga is used in connection with wheat and not with money. Bell comments that "in the letters (roga) is used only of the money-allowance, ṭροζίκικλον for corn … ṭρογά was the general term for the whole allowance but was also used for the money-allowance, while ṭροζίκικλον denoted corn, or perhaps provisions, only." In ΣΒ 5641.10, a bilingual similar to 1335, the word ṭrζk is restored in the lacuna based on that document.

Π. Απόλλ. 49 and 50, published in 1953, present quite a different view of the character of ṭrζk. These two documents, unlike those of Π. Νεσ. and Π. Λονδ., do not deal with food-stuffs, but rather with γονάχτε, blankets or cloaks. In 49, dated like 50 to 703-715, Kolluthos, a notarios, writes to Pappas, the pagarch of Antinoopolis regarding (line 5) "embroidered cloaks/blanks under the title of ṭροζίκικλον." Kolluthos, apparently acting for his pagarchy, cannot provide the requisitioned articles, and appeals to Pappas to produce them and

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1 The editor calls these γονάχτε "prayer rugs," but see my article in ΖΠΕ 83 (1990) 141-142. In 95.Β2 and 94.6, the editor believes that there is a mention of "the leather ṭrζk" in a list of a number of products. In my view, both readings should be "reddish leather."
to let him know the cost. *P. Apoll.* 50 is another appeal to the official of Antinoopolis, one of several, to hasten the delivery of the requisitioned articles. ²

Also published at a later date is CPR VIII, 74, dated to 698, an order to the community of Dikaiu of the Arsinoite pagarchy, to deliver 150 art. of wheat (line 3) for 643 people, representing a portion of the "roga" totaling 1264 art. The document ends with the statement, "If you do not have the wheat, provide the men with 1 normal solidus per 20 art. The editor translates roga as "Roga-Steuer" and comments (p. 209) that the Arabic colonists in Egypt "zu ihrem Unterhalt ein regelmässiges Stipendium in Naturalien (ρουζικόν) und in Geld (ρυγά) bekamen. In unserm Dokument wird jedoch, wie auch in *P. Lond.* IV. 1433.1 (vgl. *P. Lond.* 1349.15 Amm.) die Roga-Steuer in Naturalien geliefert."

The earliest appearance of roga crops up in two pre-Conquest documents from Oxyrhynchus, one having to do with a quantity of grain, and the other with money or provisions for soldiers. *P. Oxy.* XVI 1913, a list of expenditures for estates, dated to c. 555?, mentions (col. III.60) a baker who "supplies the service of our master and the allowance (roga) of his retinue, in accordance with the account held by him of 1,132 art. 4 choen of corn by canc. measure." The editor has this note on the term roga (p. 173): "usually a money allowance, but sometimes corn, for which the technical term was ρουζικόν." Was the editor aware that this Arabic word was not in use in pre-Conquest Egypt?

*P. Oxy.* XVI. 2012 is a fragmentary receipt, dated to 618, for the purchase of a large amount of barley. Line 3 mentions "the soldiers' roga", which may either refer to the alloted pay of the soldiers, or more likely, to the provisions (i.e., the barley) for the soldiers which was represented by the sum of money.

To date, the word rzk has surfaced only in the papyri. It has not appeared in Greek and Latin literary sources, or in any lexicon outside of Preisigke's *Wörterbuch*, (and its supplements by E. Kießling and W. Rübsam and in S. Daris' *Spoglio lessicale pepirologico*) where it is listed, along with roga, as a military term. In Arabic, however, the word is very common. The range of its meanings is broad and not limited to an allowance for food. E.W. Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon* (I.3.1076-77), among its many citations, defines the word as "subsistence-money, pay or allowances to the army; gift; the means of subsistence; the support and growth of the body which God sends to mankind and animals." In the papyri of the early Conquest period, the meaning of the term was influenced by the view expressed in the *Qu'ran* that God is the provider—the All-provider—of the means of existence for the believer, i.e., the man of Allah, a Muslim. (See the many citations for the noun and verbal forms of rzk in H.E. Kassis, *A Concordance of the Qu'ran*, pp. 1043-46). Hence, from the Muslim point of view, rzk is an entitlement of an adherent of Islam for sustenance in its broadest sense. It not only encompasses food, or money with which to purchase food, but also, as reflected in *P. Apoll.* 49, clothing, as well as other necessities. It is an entitlement imposed on a

² It should also be noted here that money was acceptable as foodstuffs and other articles. In the Nessana rzk account, *P. Ness.* 69.12-13, 27 1/6 solidi was paid out as the price of 407 modii of wheat and 407 pints of oil.
non-Muslim population by right of conquest on behalf of Allah's cause. Rzk is not an established tax in the sense of a poll-tax or δημόσιο. Of course, from a non-Muslim perspective, rzk may have been perceived as a tax, or at best, an ad-hoc levy.

A good example of a call for rzk can be seen in CPR 557 (Études de Papyrologie I, 1932, p. 44), dated to 643, shortly after the conquest of Egypt. The word rzk is not used, since, undoubtedly, it would have little meaning to the Greek-speaking population at this early date. The document was written only in Greek. This is its substance: "In the name of God. I, the emir Abdullah, to Christophoros and Theodorakis, pagarchs of Heracleopolis. Provide sustenance (δαπανημούσω, i.e., food) for my 342 comrades-in-arms and my 12 armorer; namely, 342 art. of wheat and 171 pints of oil and flour."

Roga, unlike rzk, has a long history in post-Classical Latin and Greek. Du Cange's Gloss. Graec. (II, cols. 1302-03) gives as its meaning Roga, Donativum, Honorarium, Stipendium…praeterea sumitur pro militum stipendiis. Under the verb form ὀγονεῖν, Du Cange cites Rogas dare, Erogare, Dare. Sophocles' Greek Lexicon (p. 971) and Lampe's Patristic Greek Lexicon (p. 212), citing Leontius Neopolitanus and Gregentius Tapharensis among others, give the meaning of roga as "largess, dole, alms." Sophocles derives roga from Latin erogatio, the equivalent of διανομῆ. Liddell-Scott's Greek-English Supplement (1963, p. 131) cites only ὀγονῶ, "pay in kind, fr(om) Lat. erogare", based on a reading in P. Masp. 76.8 (see also line 4 and note).

Latin roga is defined by Du Cange in Gloss. Lat. (VI, pp. 204-05) as Donativum honorarium, quod Proceribus et Magistratibus, atque adeo etiam ab Augustis, vel Clero a Summis Pontificibus erogare solet… praeterea nomine donatum stipendium quod militibus erogatur…Eleemosyna. These among other related meanings.

There is no difficulty in perceiving that the term roga, both in Latin and Greek had a range of meanings derived from a (clipped?) form of erogatio, "expenditure" or "disbursement." Roga could cover a disbursement for a gift, for soldier's pay, for charity, or for a grant. In most instances roga represented a disbursement of money, but, depending on the recipient's need, it could be in kind (e.g. food). Rzk, on the other hand, was a more limited term: it represented a disbursement granted to Muslims as a theologically authorized entitlement. Imposed on non-Muslims, the disbursement was, as pointed out above, for necessities and could take the form of food, money, clothing, etc. However, in the post-Conquest documents, the term roga was used in place of rzk if the scribe, or the recipient of the requisition, was not sufficient familiar with the meaning of the Arabic word.

3P. Ness. III. 60-67, treated by the editor as "entagia," are undoubtedly requisitions for rzk even though the word is not mentioned in these seven documents. H.I. Bell has mentioned this as a possibility in PAPS 89 (1945) 537.