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POYZIKON AND ΠΟΓΑ IN THE POST-CONQUEST PAPYRI

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 100 (1994) 126–128

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ῥουζικόν and ῥογά in the Post-Conquest Papyri

The Arabic word *rzk* taken into Greek as ῥουζικόν (hereafter, *rzk*), 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 *P. Ness.* III. 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 *P. Ness.* III. 92, an official account or a day book dated to c. 685, *rzk* 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 *P. Ness.* 69, which lists quantities of wheat and oil, this document does not specify the nature of *rzk*. The editor translates the term as "grain supply."

In the Egyptian documents, the Greek word *rzk* is seen some 8 times: 5 in *P. Lond.* IV, once in *SB* I. 5641 (*P. Heid.* III 9), and twice in *P. Apoll.* H.I. Bell was the first to come upon the term in *P. Lond.* IV 1335.5, where, with the explanation provided by H.L. Becker, he noted that it was the equivalent of "Arabic *rzk*, the allowance made to Arab troops. The word for the similar allowance in money made from gold-taxes is ῥογά." 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 *rzk* as a food-allowance is made by Bell in his note to 1349.15-16, where the word ῥογά (hereafter, *roga*) appears. However, these definitions of *rzk* and *roga* are too restrictive. In his note to 1349.15, Bell calls attention to *BGU* 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, ῥουζικόν for corn ... ῥογά was the general term for the whole allowance but was also used for the money-allowance, while ῥουζικόν denoted corn, or perhaps provisions, only." In *SB* 5641.10, a bilingual similar to 1335, the word *rzk* is restored in the lacuna based on that document.

P. Apoll. 49 and 50, published in 1953, present quite a different view of the character of *rzk*. These two documents, unlike those of *P. Ness.* and *P. Lond.*, do not deal with food-stuffs, but rather with γονάχια, blankets or cloaks.¹ In 49, dated like 50 to 703-715, Kolluthos, a *notarios*, writes to Pappas, the pagarch of Antinoopolis regarding (line 5) "embroidered cloaks/blankets under the title of ῥουζικόν." Kolluthos, apparently acting for his pagarchy, cannot provide the requisitioned articles, and appeals to Pappas to produce them and

¹ The editor calls these γονάχια "prayer rugs," but see my article in *ZPE* 83 (1990) 141-142. In 95.B2 and 94.6, the editor believes that there is a mention of "the leather *rzk*" 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 (ῥουζικόν) und in Geld (ῥογά) 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 ῥουζικόν." 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 allotted 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 papirologico*) 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 δημόσια. 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 (δαπανημάτων, i.e., food) for my 342 comrades-in-arms and my 12 armorers; namely, 342 art. of wheat and 171 pints of oil and flour."³

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 ῥογεύειν, 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 διονομή. Liddell-Scott's *Greek-English Supplement* (1963, p. 131) cites only ῥογεύω, "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.

³*P. 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.