

NIKOLAOS GONIS & FEDERICO MORELLI

A REQUISITION FOR THE 'COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL':  
SPP VIII 1082 REVISED

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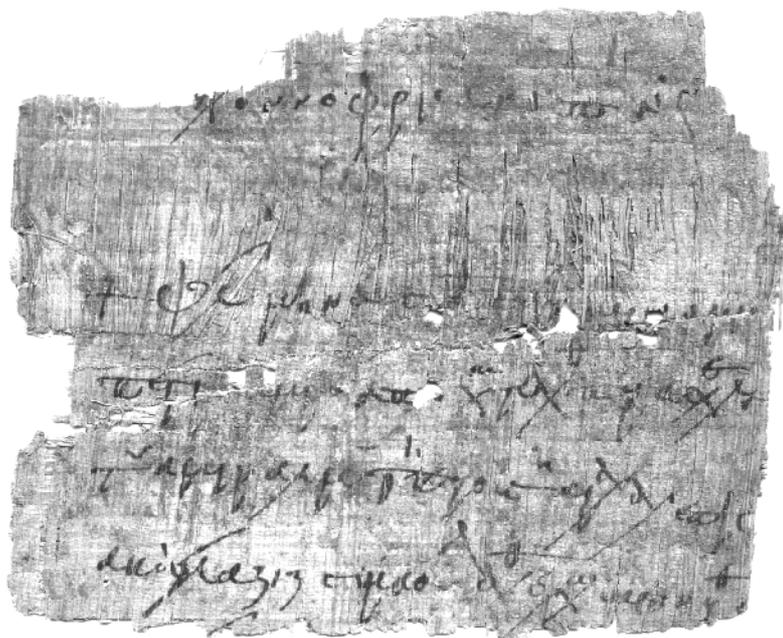


A REQUISITION FOR THE ‘COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL’:  
SPP VIII 1082 REVISED

Lines 2-5 of SPP VIII 1082 contain an *entagion* (demand note) of 687/8 or 702/3 (for the date see BL V 142). It concerns a requisition destined for the *amīr al-mu‘minīn*, the ‘Commander of the Faithful’, i.e., the Caliph. Mention also is made of the *κύμβουλος*, the Arab governor of Egypt, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān. Ed. pr. presented the papyrus as follows:

1 γίγνεται Ὀνοφορίου Ἄνουπ ἡμισμᾶτιον  
2 † Φλάουιος) Μηνᾶ σὺν <sup>θ(εῶ)</sup> παγάρχ(ης) ὑμῶν Ἀμμ[  
3 Πέτρο ὑμῶν ἀπὸ <sup>χω(ρίου)</sup> Τεχθ(ῶ)· παράχ(ε)τε λ(ό)γ(ω) λ[  
4 τοῦ αμιραλμ(ο)υ(μνιν) τῆ(ς) παρούση(ς) α(ι)νδ(ικτίωνος) δι(ὰ) ἐπι[τάλμ(ατος)  
5 Ἀβδελάζιζ συμβούλ(ου) δ(ο)θ(έντος) εἰ(ς) χω(ρίον) ὑμῶν ἀρ(ι)θ(μι-) γ[ο(μικμα-)]

The document as published raises a number of interesting questions. What was the nature of the requisition? What was the governor’s role in the exercise? And to whom was the *entagion* addressed? Closer study of the publication, as well as of the original, reveals that the text may be improved upon at several points. A new edition of the *entagion* is offered below.



- 2 † Φλάουιος) Μηνᾶ σὺν θ(εῶ) παγάρχ(ης) ὑμῶν Ἀμμ[  
3 Πέτρο ὑμῶν ἀπὸ χω(ρίου) Τεχθ(ῶ)· παράχ(ε)τε λ(ό)γ(ω) [δαπάν(ης) (?) ]  
4 τοῦ αμιραλμ(ο)υ(μνιν) τῆ(ς) παρούση(ς) α(ι)νδ(ικτίωνος) δι(ὰ) ἐπι[τάλμ(ατος)  
5 Ἀβδελάζιζ συμβούλ(ου) δ(ο)θ(έντος) εἰ(ς) χω(ρίον) ὑμῶν ἀρ(ι)θ(μι-) γ[ο(μικμα-)]  
6 [ ]' [ ] [ ] [ ]

‘Flavius Mena(s), by God pagarch, to you Amm- ... Petros (son of?) Amros, from the village of Techtho. Pay on account of the *dapane* for the *amīr al-mu‘minīn* for the present 1st indiction, by requisitioning order of the governor Abdelaziz, delivered to your village, ... *arithmi-nomisma*...’

The revision makes it clear that the requisition concerned money taxes. This was instigated by an order of the governor 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, which may have been addressed to the Heracleopolite village of Techtho, but almost certainly did not go further than the office of the local pagarch. The situation recalls some of the communications by the governor Qurra b. Šarīk to the pagarch of Aphrodito Basileios; cf. e.g. P.Lond. IV 1335.6-8 (709): ἐτάξαμεν διὰ τῆς διοικήσεώς σου διςχιλ[ία] ἀρτάβας σίτου καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐντάγια ποι[ήσαντες] τοῖς τῶν χωρίων ἐπέμψαμέν σοι 'we have ordered from your administrative district two thousand artabas of wheat, and having made out the *entagias* for these to the people of the villages we have sent them to you'. For a discussion of this practice, see generally H. I. Bell, 'The Arabic Bilingual Entagion', *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 89 (1945) 531-42.

A comment on line 1 may also be in place. This is apparently the last line, viz. the summary, of another *entagion* (it is separated from line 2 by a space of c. 2 cm). It was common practice that a number of *entagias* were written consecutively on the same sheet of papyrus, and were later cut up and sent off. In this case, the sheet does not appear to have been cut up, and the *entagias* were probably never dispatched; cf. e.g. SPP VIII 1199-1200 and X 197. It seems less likely that the office of the pagarch, where the *entagias* were drafted, had a practice of sending the uncut sheet(s) to the authorities of the village, and there the sheets were cut up and the *entagias* delivered to the individual taxpayers: it would be impossible to seal the summary without cutting the *entagion* from the sheet.

According to ed. pr. the papyrus comes from the area of Hermopolis. The same provenance is reported in Wessely's handlist, which also records the acquisition date, viz. 1887, which would seem to suggest a Hermopolite provenance, cf. P.Rainer Cent. pp. 6-7. But this is probably wrong. Line 3 refers to the village of Techtho, known to have been located in the Heracleopolite region, see further 3 n. para. 2, whereas there is no other evidence for a Hermopolite village of this name.

The writing is across the fibres. A clumsy *kollesis* runs horizontally 4 cm from the top edge (it is visible just under line 2). The back is blank.

2 Φλ(άουϊος) Μηνῶ. It is unclear whether this official has occurred elsewhere. He might be the same person as the κτήτωρ Menas son of Pusi, who issued the Heracleopolite *entagion* SPP VIII 1191; Fl. Petterios, a pagarch and κτήτωρ in the Fayyūm in the third quarter of the seventh century would provide a parallel.

Fl. Menas is one of the latest known Flavii in Egypt, cf. J. G. Keenan, 'The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt', *ZPE* 13 (1974) 302-03 n. 199 (several additional examples occur in Coptic papyri). The *gentilicium* Flavius was commonly borne by pagarchs in the seventh century, cf. K. A. Worp, CPR X pp. 154-55. It is remarkable that in the late seventh and eighth centuries this *gentilicium* is occasionally found with Muslim officials (cf. already CPR VIII p. 197): Fl. Atias ('Atīyyah b. Ġu'ayd?), pagarch of the Arsinoite and dux of Arcadia and the Thebaid, attested in 694-700); Fl. Saal (Sahal b. 'Abd Allāh), pagarch of Hermonthis in 724-725/6 (see W. C. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Theben* (1962) 234); and Fl. Ioseph son of Abeid (Yusūf b. 'Ubayd?), pagarch of Hermonthis in 749 (KRU 70). What lies behind the use of the *gentilicium* Flavius by Muslims is difficult to tell. Did they simply take over a time-honoured tradition? Or were they converted aristocrats? The latest recorded Egyptian Flavius is the Christian Fl. Comes son of Chael, *dioiketes* (pagarch) of Jême in 748/9-759 (see Till, op. cit. 235). (The statement by B. Salway, 'What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700', *JRS* 84 (1994) 144, that 'at opposite ends of over nearly a millenium and a half of historical evolution stand T. Flavius and Fl. Titus', unfortunately relies on the misreading of Atias' name in SB VI 9460, now CPR VIII 82.)

παγάρχ(ης). For a concise account on pagarchs in early Islamic Egypt, see A. Grohmann, 'Der Beamtenstab der arabischen Finanzverwaltung in Ägypten in früh-arabischer Zeit', in *Studien zur Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte Friedrich Oertel zum achtzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* (1964) 124-26.

Bell, loc. cit. 536, has pointed out that 'the title of the official issuing these individual *entagias* is not given, but in every case but one (UKF 1180 [= SB XX 14682], Παῦλος υἱ(ὸς) [...] he is an Arab'; Bell further argued that such *entagias* were issued by pagarchs, which generally holds true, although it has since emerged they could also be issued by a *dux*: this is the case with Ouoeith, *dux* of the Thebaid (attested in office in 686-88/89 or 656-58/59, less likely 671-73/74, see J. Gascou, K. A. Worp, 'Problèmes de documentation apollinopolite', *ZPE* 49 (1982) 91, cf. S. Daris, 'Due frammenti di epoca tarda', *ZPE* 120 (1998) 163), and with Fl. Atias, *dux* of Arcadia and the Thebaid (697-699/700, see CPR VIII pp. 189 ff.). SPP VIII 1082 is the earliest and only the second document of this kind in which the issuing official is expressly styled as pagarch (the other is SPP III 260, issued by Yaḥyā b. Hilāl, ἐπι(ε)ίμενος παγάρχ(ίας) Ἀρσιν[ο]ίτου, around 752). As for the issuing official's religious affiliation, there are certainly more Christians than Bell thought: besides Fl. Mena(s), cf. also the pagarch Fl. Petterios, the issuing authority of P.Mert. II 100 (669, cf. BL VIII 209), SPP III 254 (667), VIII 1085 (s.d.).

- ὁμῖν. How many were the addressees of this order? ὁμῖν is not conclusive, inasmuch as it is often used in *entagia* directed to individuals, see Bell, loc. cit. 537; but ὁμῶν in line 5 is not easy to explain away as a mistake, and might possibly suggest that the note had more than one recipient. Uncertainty also surrounds παρασχ<sup>ε</sup> in line 3, which may be resolved as either παράσχε(ς) or παράσχε(τε). The possibilities therefore are: (i) The taxpayers are two. The break at the end of line 2 has taken away the ending of the name of the first recipient and his patronymic; the second appeared in line 3, the genitive Πέτρου being a mistake for the dative, which is common. (ii) We are dealing with a single taxpayer, referred to by name + patronymic + papponymic, as e.g. in the *entagion* CPR XIX 26 (publication forthcoming); for the construction cf. SPP III 253.1-2 (668) - - ὁμῖν Μελιτίππῳ | παράσχε(ς).
- It is difficult to be sure whether the addressees of the *entagion* were individual taxpayers or village headmen (πρωτοκομηῆται, λαῶν), but the former possibility seems more likely.
- Ἄμμ[. Ἄμμ[ωνίφ is one possibility.
- 3 Ἀμρου: ὁμῖν ed. pr. Ἀμρου has every appearance of being a Greek version of the Arabic name 'Amru (cf. P.Lond IV 1441.55 n.). Juxtaposed with Πέτρου, an Arabic name may appear to cause difficulty, although the combination of Christian name and Arabic patronymic is not unattested; cf. e.g. CPR XII 32.38 ὠενογτε ἀπιδηλαλλ, SPP III 474.2 Πέτρος Μαλικ, XX 242v.36 Ἡλία Τερουντίου Ασσαν. There is of course a name Ἀμραμ, cf. P.Lond. IV 1460.150 (c. 709) Πέτρου Ἄμραμ ἀπὸ Τακυτίμο(υ), and here one could possibly read ἀμρα, but the expected second μ does not seem to be there; a supralinear υ seems the best reading.
- Τεχθ(ώ): Τεχθ( ) ed. pr., listed on the basis of this text in M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* (1979) 291; its location in the Hermopolites rests on Wessely's report that the papyrus comes from that region, cf. above introd. But a village named Τεχθω is known to have been located in the Heracleopolite nome, see M. R. Falivene, *The Heracleopolite Nome* (1998) 221-23; it is possibly to be identified with modern Daštūt. This is the latest dated instance of this sometime important village, first attested in Greek papyri in the third century BC. Another late (eighth-century) attestation of the village, similarly abbreviated, is furnished by P.Vindob. G 18880.7 (ed. pr. J. Diethart, *APF* 45 (1999) 62-63, cf. F. Morelli, 'P. Vindob. G 28018: un ἐντάγιον ... e un altro uguale: P. Vindob. G 759', *Tyche* 14 (1999) 222).
- λ(ό)γ(ω) [δαπάν(η)ς]: λ [ ed. pr. The restoration is likely, but not certain. For texts attesting the δαπάνη τοῦ ἀμυραλουμνιν, see T. M. Hickey, K. A. Worp, 'The Dossier of Patermouthios *Sidêrourgos*: New Texts from Chicago', *BASP* 34 (1997) 102 note to lines 3-4 (PERF 637 will appear as CPR XIX 28), and N. Gonis, <Korr. Tyche 338>, *Tyche* 14 (1999) 332 (on SPP X 204v.3). Add the Coptic P.Bal. 290.3, 8, 11, 14, 17, 20; cf. also the Arabic PSR 1.19f.
- Another, but rather remote, possibility would be to supply ἐπιταγ(η)ς. Compare P.Lond. IV 1434.77 δ[(ιὰ) ἐπ]ιτολ(η)ς - - λ(ό)γ(ω) ἐπιταγ(η)ς τοῦ δημο(σίου); for the interchange of the terms ἀμυραλουμνιν and δημοσίον in such contexts, see F. Morelli, 'Legname, palazzi e moschee. P.Vindob. G 31 e il contributo dell'Egitto alla prima architettura islamica', *Tyche* 13 (1998) 185 n. 64.
- 4 ἀμυραλμ(ο)υ(μνιν): ἀμυραλου(μνιν) ed. pr. τῆ(ς) παρούση(ς) α ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίωνος): τῆ παρούση α ἰ(ν)δ(ικτίονι) ed. pr. δ(ιὰ) ἐπιτ[τάλμ(ατος)]: δ(ιὰ) ἐπιτ[ ed. pr. Compare PERF 587 = CPR VIII 74.4 (698) δ(ιὰ) μέ(ρους) ἐπιτ(άλμ)α(τος) Αβδελαζιζ συμβούλ(ου) | ἐνεχθ(έντος) δ(ιὰ) Κομ(ᾶ) ἀνθ(ρόπου) Ῥαβια; cf. also CPR VIII 75.3 (c. 698) [restored], and P.Lond. IV 1416v.69 (732/3). ἐπιτ[τολ(η)ς] is another possibility, cf. P.Lond. IV 1434.26 (714-6) δ(ιὰ) ἐπιτολ(η)ς τοῦ συμβού(λου) (so already H. I. Bell, 'An Official Circular Letter of the Arab Period', *JEA* 31 (1945) 81 — not in BL).
- It is worth noting that the term ἐπιττάλμα, originally the official communication of a tax assessment and therefore a requisitioning order, see J. G. Keenan, 'Two Notes on P.Merton II 100', *ZPE* 16 (1975) 44 n. 6 with references, cf. CPR VIII 74.7 (docket), appears to have come to signify the tax assessment itself in Coptic tax-receipts; cf. OMH 292.4-6 ρΑΠΕΚΜΕΡΟΣ ἸΞΕΝΙΟΝ ΜΝΝΚΕΠΙΤΤΑΛΜΑ [ϺΙΤΕΙ]ΡΟΜΠΤΕ ΕΝΔΤΗ 'as your share of *xenion* and the other assessments in the ninth year' (similarly OMH 298.4-6, 307.1-2)
- 5 Αβδελαζιζ συμβούλ(ου). This is 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, Umayyad governor of Egypt in the period 65-86/685-704. We know four texts in Arabic which stem from the chancery of this governor: APRL 59 (as revised by W. Diem, 'Der Gouverneur an den Pagarchen. Ein verkannter Papyrus vom Jahre 65 der Hidschra', *Der Islam* 60 (1983) 104-11), a circular letter addressed to pagarchs in 65/684-85; and three *entagia*: one published by A. Merx, *Documents de paléographie hébraïque et arabe* (1894) 55-57 (cf. J. v. Karabacek, *WZKM* 8 (1894) 293-94), and PERF 582-583 (ed. W. Diem, 'Einige frühe amtliche Urkunden aus der Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (Wien)', *Le Muséon* 97 (1984) 111-16), issued in 65-85/684-704 and 79/698-9 respectively.
- δ(ο)θ(έντος): δ(ο)θ(έν) ed. pr. Resolved after ἐπιτ[τάλμ(ατος)] in the previous line. Cf. CPR VIII 74.4-5 (cited above, 4 n. para. 3), SPP VIII 1139.5 δοθ(έντων) ἀὐτ(ῶ) δι' ἄλλ(ο)υ ἐπιττάλμα(τος).
- εἰ(ς) χω(ρίον). Note that εἰ(ς) τ(ὸ) χω(ρίον) cannot be read.
- ὁμῶν ἀρ(ί)θ(μια) ν[ο(μίσματα)]. Ed. pr. only gives a drawing of this part of the text.
- 6 The presence of this line was not reported in the edition. What is visible are the apexes of fractions, apparently of solidi.