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AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON POYZIKON (AR. *RIZQ*)

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An Additional Note on 'Ρουζικόν (Ar. *rizq*)

In an earlier paper (*ZPE* 100 [1994] 126-128), this writer presented evidence on the meaning of ρουζικόν and ρογά in the post-Conquest papyri (also see *ZPE* 105 [1995] 260). Where both terms were concerned with the Muslim concept of *rizq*, *roga* was not restricted to money nor *rouzikon* to grain. In the documents cited, *rizq* represented an entitlement of Muslims, imposed on the population of the newly conquered lands, to be provided with the necessities of life, such as food and clothing, or with the money with which to purchase them.

In investigating the transition of Byzantine to Arab rule in Southern Palestine, I came upon three compelling citations of *rizq* in Balâdhurî's *Kitâb Futûh al-Buldân* (trans. P.K. Hitti) which set me to review the subject in documents from Egypt and Palestine. In addition to confirming the position taken in *ZPE* 100, a reexamination of the material indicates that *P. Ness.* 61-67 deserve to be classified as *rizq* documents rather than as *entagia*, and that *rizq* should be considered a distinct category, or a sub-category of *entagia*.

Further, the term *rizq* has to be taken literally, not generalized as "food allowance" but understood in an abstract sense and with a theological underpinning. The meaning of the word *rizq* is "provision" a noun derived from the verb *razaqa*, "to provide, to make provision for, to give for sustenance" (v. H.E. Kassis, *A Concordance of the Qur'an*, 1043-1044). Hence, the term can encompass anything which deals with a person's need or contingency. In many suras, the Qu'ran cites God (Allah) as the provider: "He outspreads and straightens His provision to Whomsoever He will." To a Muslim, God is the All-Provider who makes "provision" for his believers. In the early stages of the conquest, the needs of the occupying forces, as reflected in the several treaties, were modest, mostly having to do with food (wheat and oil), but as time went on, more articles, including money, fell under the title of *rizq*. This, of course, was particularly true in the rich province of Egypt, as can be observed in *P. Lond.* 1375 discussed below. It should also be noted that when the term is cited in Greek documents as *rouzikon*, it is always given in the singular and reflects its literal meaning of *rizq* as "provision". Now to Baladhuri.

A tradition preserved by Baladhuri (215, Hitti p. 338) on the terms imposed on Egypt by 'Amr ibn-al-'Âs (639-645) deals with two taxes, the poll-tax and land-tax (δημόσια), and, further, "he assessed on every adult, excepting the poor ... three *irdabbs* (artabs) of wheat and two *kists* (xestes) of oil, two *kists* of honey and two *kists* of vinegar, to be given as a subsistence allowance (*rizq*) to the Moslems, and gathered in the public house of provision [*dâr-ar-rizq*],¹ where it is to be divided among them ... and the inhabitants of Misr were required to

¹ Note the precise translation of *rizq* as "provision".

provide every one of the Moslems with a woolen upper gown, an upper cloak or turban, breeches, and a pair of shoes per annum. Instead of woolen gown a Coptic robe would do."

Another tradition (125/Hitti p. 191) covering Syria and Mesopotamia attributes the following to Caliph 'Umar (634-644): "... he ordered in the way of providing Moslems with wheat and oil that they give to every Moslem in Syria and Mesopotamia two *modii* of wheat and three *kists* of oil per month. He also assessed on them grease (animal fats?) and honey, the quantity of which I do not know." The same tradition goes on to say that 'Umar ordered "for every Moslem in Egypt per month one *irdabb* [of wheat], clothing, and the right of being entertained as a guest for three days."

Baladhuri records a similar tradition covering Syria and Mesopotamia (152/Hitti p. 234) to the effect that 'Umar "assessed on them a subsistence tax by which each Muslim in Syria and Mesopotamia would receive two *modii* of wheat and three *kists* of oil, and the right to be entertained as a guest for three days."

As can be observed from the above texts, despite differences in details, the phrases "subsistence allowance", "public house of provision", and "subsistence tax" embody the early Muslim concept of entitlement of support for those Arabs engaged in Allah's cause. They are the *Mûhadjirûn*, "Emigrants", a term related to the word *hidjra*. It was these Emigrants who initially overran the Roman provinces of the Near East who became the recipients of *rizq* or "provision" for their needs.

In the Greek papyri from Egypt, the term *Mûhadjirûn* (Μωαγαρίται) crops up numerous times in *P. Lond.* IV in connection with *rouzikon* and *roga*, less so in other collections. Although the term is treated in detail in relationship to the migration (*hidjra*) of Muhammad and his followers from Mecca to Medina in the year 622, there has been little discussion of it in later literature apart from brief explanations in papyrological notes. For example, the article on the word in the second edition of the *Enc. Isl.* does not go beyond the time of Muhammad. F. Donner (*Early Islamic Attacks*, p. 81) makes the point that the term "is not simply an honorific applied to early converts, but actual sedentarization (*hijra*) in Medina or elsewhere" (my emphasis). As for the Moslems cited above by Baladhuri, they are undoubtedly the *Mûhadjirûn*, the "Emigrants" (i.e., Muslim troops and settlers) who took over Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia and who were therefore entitled to have local communities provide them the allowance of food, clothing, and guest privileges cited by Baladhuri.

Turning to the question of whether the Nessana bi-lingual papyri (*P. Ness.* 60-67) should be classified as *entagia*, or specifically as *rizq* documents, the editor of the documents followed the classification provided by H.I. Bell who provided a provisional reading of the Greek text and who, at the time, was interested in the meaning of the word *entagion* in the late papyri (*PAPS* 89 [1945] 531-542). However, when the Arabic portions of the documents were translated, the word *rizk* appeared in *P. Ness.* 60, 61, 62 in the formula "Give quickly to so-and-so the *rizk* of the such-and-such months ... " The Arabic portions of *P. Ness.* 63-67 are broken and do not contain the word. However, *P. Ness.* 69, an account of *rouzikon*, is un-

doubtedly a summary of a number of similar bi-lingual requests for *rizq* for the ninth indication.

The *entagia* described by Bell are not limited to *rouzikon* or *rizq* (i.e., provision for the subsistence of Muslims), but to a variety of unrelated articles, such as palm beams, unrefined lumps of iron, and nails (pp. 531-532). It is true that these *P. Ness.* documents can fall under Bell's general definition of *entagia* as "demand-notes for taxes or services" but there are enough documents to be classified separately as "demand-notes for *rizk*". Bell, who had not seen any of the translated Arabic portions of the Nessana documents, anticipated their nature when he contrasted them with the Egyptian *entagia*, stating (p. 537) that in the latter "the object of the requisition is regularly stated, but this is not done in any of the 'Auja (Nessana) examples, which merely specify the amount required. Possibly the reason is that these requisitions were for some regularly recurring purpose, e.g., the *rizk*, or allowance in kind of the Muslims."

To the list of *rizq* documents we may add *P. Lond.* 1375, an order (*entagion*) to the community of Aphrodito for a substantial sum of money for the expenses of the Governor's household. Line 1, written in Arabic, reads "... the cost of maintenance (*rizq*) for the Governor, his dependents, and his subordinate officials" (K. Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration of Egypt*, p. 81). Of particular interest is that the money — *rizq* money — was designated not to purchase wheat or clothing but a wide variety of articles such as sheep, oil, boiled new wine, dates, onions, vegetables, poultry, vinegar, wine, raisins, and (fire)wood. The writer of the Greek text interprets *rizq* as δαπάνη, a catch-all word that is usually translated as "maintenance" but which may have more specific connotations as "food" or "provisions" (v. Lampe, *Patr. Grk. Lex.*). It is also apparent that the Governor's *risq* covered members of his household who were not Arabs.

In addition to *P. Lond.* 1375, we may also add *NPAF* 12 which again speaks (1.4) of the cost of *rizk* for an official's household. This document, unlike others in which the term appears Greek or in bi-linguals, is written completely in Arabic.

The following is a provisional list of *rizk/rouzikon* documents from Palestine and Egypt: *P. Ness.* 60 (674), 61 (675), 62 (675), 63 (675), 64 (676), 65 (676?), 66 (677), 67 (689), 69 (680/1), 92 (685); *P. Lond.* 1335 (709), 1375 (711), 1404 (?), 1407 (709), 1434 (714/716), 1435 (715/716); *P. Apoll.* 49 (703/715); *NPAF* 12 (719).²

The question of whether the obligation imposed on communities to provide for the subsistence of Muslims under the title of *rizq* continued late in the Umayyad period or under the Abbasids must be left to specialists in those fields.

² This list deals only with *rizq* or *rouzikon* documents that can be specifically designated as such. There are other Greek terms that were used to designate Arabic *rizq* but that also had a wider range of meanings, as for examples, ῥογά and δαπανημάτα (v. *ZPE* 100, 126-128), and δαπάνη.