Two New Arabic Editions: A Land Survey from Ihnās and Ḥadīths Concerning Funerary Practice

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This article provides editions of two unrelated documents, one paper, the other papyrus, which were never studied previously. The first text is in fact a small codex consisting of two folded sheets of paper resulting in eight pages of text. It records the land holdings in the estate (*ḍayʿa*) of Drinja in the pagarchy Ihnās as measured in the survey of the year 383/993–994. A nice example of medieval record keeping, it can be used to examine administrative practice, preservation and archiving. Although publicly taxed *kharāj* land is mentioned in the text, there are also suggestions that it refers to a more privately managed or tax-farming context. Close examination could result in a better understanding of the relation between privately and publically held property, disentangling the often difficult to distinguish categories of farmed out, rented, managed or owned land.

The second text contains *ḥadīths* concerning funerary practice. Funerary practices have been vehemently discussed in Islam from its earliest history up to the modern period.¹ Typically these rituals with their strong (local) traditions and customs are measured against Muslim tradition and practice.² Bearing strong associations and intense emotions for believers they are a powerful tool in Islamic identity formation. Whether this papyrus fragment should be interpreted as taking part in this debate or simply as the part of the chapter on funerary practices in a regular *ḥadīth* collection cannot be determined at this point. It is written on an early papyrus and records some known and unknown traditions with the chains of transmitters going back to the prophet Muḥammad or his companions. Most of the traditions are well-known although the papyrus contains some variants in the text and in the *isnāds*.

1 For the medieval period, see for example Halevi, *Muhammad's*. For current debates, see for example Becker, *Islamic (Africa)*, Federspiel, *Persatuan* (Indonesia) and Abashin, *The logic (Central Asia)*. See also Anne Regourd's article in this volume.

2 Halevi, *Muhammad's*; Smith and Haddad, *The Islamic*.

1 Report of a Surveyor

P. Haun. Inv. Arab. 21; 22 Provenance Ihnās (left outlined) figs. 14.1–14.4
 No. 21 (30.9 × 17.2 cm.) 383AH (26 Feb. 993–17 Jan. 994 C.E.)
 No. 22 (30.9 × 21.1 cm.)

The two sheets of paper are brown and strong. They are each folded in half and written on both sides, forming eight pages of text. Sheet no. 22 is complete and measures 30.9 cm. (width) by 21.1 cm (length). No. 21 measures 30.9 cm. by 17.2 cm., so a stroke of 3.9 cm is missing at the bottom. There are large and small holes in the middle part of the sheets.

The handwriting in black ink is a clerical and skilled hand. Dacritical points are lacking. Since the ink had not completely dried before the scribe turned the page, a slight copy of the letters appears on the facing pages. Accordingly, it seems that although these sheets were part of a notebook they were not quired.³ We do, however, undoubtedly have successive leaves, with each sheet folded vertically down the middle producing conjoint leaves. The scribe started his writing on the outer page of the left-hand leaf of the first sheet, then continued on the inner page of the same leaf, first filling the right side then the left side of the page, moving to the right side of the outer page of the first leaf (all inv. Arab 21). He then moved to the outer page of the second leaf, where he started on the left side of the page repeating the same pattern as before ending on the right side of the outer page (all inv. Arab 22).

Page 1 is clearly the beginning of the book, as the title of the account appears on it, with pages 4, 5, 6 and 7 containing the bulk of the text. Page 8 seems to be the end of the document.

The document is a report of a surveyor concerning an estate called Drinja (درنجہ) in the pagarchy of Ihnās (Heracleopolite) and deals with the annual assessment of taxes. It is dated 383AH (26 February 993–17 January 994), during the rule of the Fāṭimid caliph Abū Maṣṣūr Nizār al-ʿAzīz bi-llāh (r. 975–996). Different agricultural products are mentioned such as ordināry flax (*kattān*) (p. 4, ll. 1, 5, and p. 5, ll. 1, 2) and flax of high quality (p. 3, l. 6), grapes, lotus fruit (both p. 7, l. 5), figs (p. 2, l. 6), pulse (*qaṭānī*), barley (*shaʿīr*), trefolium, cartamus (safflower) (all four p. 4, l. 3) folium and calamus aromaticus (both p. 5, l. 1).

Two major features may be noted in the structure of our document providing insights into agricultural record keeping. The real aggregate survey of the land of the whole *ḍayʿa* of Drinja is registered first, followed by the actual measure

3 For the structure of a codex, see Casson and Hettich, *Excavation* 3.

of farmed land. At the end of the document different payments are recorded in the names of different individuals (p. 8). In Egypt, the survey made at the time of the seasonal decrease of the Nile flood recorded not only the actual area of land involved but also the amount of work needed considering the degree of natural irrigation by the flood. On the basis of these two factors the amount of taxation that could be expected to be raised was calculated. At later stages the taxes due were adjusted based on the actual land worked and the measure in which crops grew.⁴ Notary practice can also be observed in the text. In the margin, next to some of the lines the balance of the estimated assessment is written (e.g. p. 3, l. 3 الموقوف). The scribe used some abbreviations such as the letter *nūn* for *niṣf* (half) and فدا for فدانا.

*P. Haun. Inv. Arab. 21*⁵

Page 1 (Fig. 14.1, left side)

1	ارتفاع الضيعة المعروفة بدرنجة
2	لسنة ثلث وثمانين وثلثمائة
	لله الحمد والمنة

Page 2 (Fig. 14.2, right side)

1	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
2	مـ[بد]ـغ مـ[ار]ـتفعت عقود الضيعة المعروفة بدرنجة من كورة أهناس
3	لسنة ثلث وثمانين وثلثمائة على ما ارتفعت به [مساحـ]ـة اسحق البـ[اد]ـسى [.....]
4	عليه الأسعار في المواد وأن [يتـ]ـحمل [..] الى ذلك من مال الإستدوال
5	على ألف الان ويتحمل في ذلك من مال الأوان والصرف على ما يتوفر بفضله
6	فيبقى ما يرجوا من نمو بعض التين وما يتحصل من كتان زرع الأوسية
7	[الى أن يعـ]ـرف مبلغ عند حبيقة وهو المائة فيضاف الى
8	[المائة وستين دينار]ـ(ر) ؟
9	[ونصف وثلث وسـ]ـد [سـ]

4 For this system, see the description by al-Makhzūmī (d. 585/1189), *Kitāb Minhāj* 58–63 (cited in *P.Khalili* 1, pp. 61 ff.); Frantz-Murphy, *The agrarian* 20–26.

5 In the edition *hamza* is added according to the rules of standard Arabic orthography.

Page 3 (Fig. 14.2, left side)

- 1 [مـ]ـن [ذ]ـلك
- 2 خراج أرض [...] ألف وأربع مائة وتسعة وستين فدا(نا)
- وربع وسدس
- 3 الملو[قـ]ـف ألف تسعة وسبعين فدا(نا)
- عن ثمن مائة وثلاث وثلاثين [ثين]
- 4 القـمـح أربع مائة وستة دينار
- عن مائتي واحد وسبعين فدا(نا) ونصف ونصف
- ونصف[فـ]ـن ونصف
- ثمن
- 5 مـنـه أربع مائة وخمس دينار
- عن مائتي وسبعين فدا(نا) كنان ونصفا وربع
- الفدان
- 6 ومـنـه دينار واحد
- عن فدان ونصف ونصفين كنان على
- ونصف ونصفين

Page 4 (Fig. 14.1, right side)

- 1 مـنـه ثلثاية وتسـ[عـ]ـة فـ[دـا]ـ(نا)
- عن مائة وسبعة عشر فدا(نا) ونصف وثمان
- كتان ثلث الفدان
- 2 ومـنـه خمس عشر فدا(نا)
- عن سبعة وعشرين و[ثمانـ]ـن و[نصف ثـ]ـن]
- [وسدس
- الفدان
- 3 القـطـائـي والشعير والقرط والقرطم
- [ما]ـئـتي وتسـ[عـ]ـة ونصف فدا(نا)
- عن أربع مائة وأربعة وأربعين ونصف وربع
- 4 مـنـه
- عن ثلثاية وتسعة وثمانين فدا(نا) وثمان
- مائتي واحد [وعشريـ]ـن فدا(نا)
- 5 كـتـان (و)احـد فـدا(ن) ونـصـف وربع وسدس؟

- 3 من ذلك ما يضمنه حميد مذكور بن سلمى الى سلخ يس [
- 4 بابه وأمشير تسعة ون(صف) فدا(نا) برمحات مائة وستة وخمسين فدا(نا)
- .. ونصف وثلاث وسد[س]
- 5 برمودة مائتي واحد وأربعين فدا(نا) لعنب ونبق ثلاثية وتسعة عد[شر] فدا(نا)
- ون(صف) ون(صف) وثلاث وربع
- 6 ومن ذلك ما جمع[سته] وبعثته وكتبت على مد سباح واحد وا [] مائة وسبعة وسبعين فدا(نا)
- وثلاث وربع وسدس
- 7 الفين ومائة واحد وثلاثين فدا(نا) الصالح ستم[اية و] سب[] ..
- [ونصف وربع
- 8 ومن ذ[لك] .. [

Page 8 (Fig. 14.3, right side)

- 1 . [
- 2 [. نقدا لناصر ؟
- 4 ومنه ما صح بجهة القاضي أسد الله [بـ] بن زيد وكتب تسعة وتسعين فدا(نا)
- وثلاثين
- 5 من ذلك ما حمل اليه عينه _____ سبعين فدا(نا)
- وربع وسدس
- 6 دفعة تسعة عشر فدا(نا) دفعة [.] اربعة وثلاثين فدا(نا)
- عن عشرين فدا(نا) وثلاث وربع قيد الوكيل ؟ ونصف وثلاث
- عن خمسة وثلاثين [فدا(نا)]
- 7 دفعة أحد عشر فدا(نا) دفع [ـ] اة عش [ـ] رين دينار (ا)
- عن اثني عشر عن تسع [
- 8 ومن ذلك ما صرف بجهات [وا] حد وعشرين فدا(نا)
- [ور] بع
- 9 البواقي [] عشرون
- ورب[ع]

Translation

Page 1

- 1 The result of the survey of the domain known as *Drinja*.
 2 For the year three hundred and eighty three. (vac.) To Him comes praise
 and He is generous.

Page 2

- 1 In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
 2 Amount of what resulted from the contracts of the domain known as
Drinja of the district of *Ihnās*.
 3 For the year three hundred and eighty three on what was aggregated of the
 gross from the survey of (the domain of) *Ishāq*, originating from *Bā[d]*is?
 and?
 4 to which [are added] the prices of the materials, and *Abū Rā[ḍi?]* should
 be charged for that from the circulated money
 5 on one thousand now and he will pay in that (case) from the current
 money and expenses on what is saved from its growth (or increase).
 6 So, the rest is what will be expected from growing some figs (trees) and
 what is collected from the flax (*kattān*) of the cultivation of the es-
 tate.
 7] to collect a sum from *Ḥabīqa*. It is one hundred, which should be added
 to
 8] one hundred and sixty *dīnārs*
 9] and a half and one third and one sixth
 10] ..

Page 3

- 1 (vac.) There from (vac.)
 2 *kharāj* land [] one thousand four hundred sixty nine *faddāns* and a
 quarter and one sixth.
 3 The situation (is) eight hundred and [thirty] three ... (from) one thousand
 and seventy nine *faddāns* and two thirds and one eighth.
 4 The wheat: from two hundred seventy one *faddāns* and a half and one
 half of an eighth (comes) four hundred and six *dīnārs*, and a half and one
 half of an eighth.
 5 Thereof: two hundred seventy *faddāns* of flax and a half and a quarter
faddān (comes) four hundred and five *dīnārs*.

- 6 And from one *faddān* and a half and one half of an eighth of high quality flax (comes) one *dīnār* and a half and one half of an eighth.

Page 4

- 1 Thereof: from one hundred and seventeen *faddāns* and a half and one eighth, one third of the *faddān* of flax (comes) three hundred and nine? ... and a half and one quarter and one sixth [*faddāns*].
- 2 And thereof: from twenty seven and [one eighth] and [one half of an eighth] *faddāns* is fifteen *faddāns* [] and one sixth.
- 3 The pulse, barley, trefolium and cartamus (safflower) from four hundred forty four and a half and a quarter (is) two hundred and nine and a half *faddāns* and one third and a quarter and one sixth.
- 4 Thereof: from three hundred and eighty nine *faddāns* and one eighth, flax: one *faddān* and half and one sixth? (is cultivated) two hundred and one *faddāns*.

Page 5

- 1 Folium, flax and calamus aromaticus (from) three *faddāns* (is) [] .. and one sixth and one half of an eighth.
- 2 Bakr, from two *faddāns* and one quarter and one sixth and one sixth of one eighth, flax: a half of a *faddān* (is) nine *dīnārs* and one sixth and one half of one fifth.
- 3 The pure income of the *faddān*: A half and one half of an eighth (is) one *dīnār* and one fifth.
- 4 Thereof is now one thousand and three hundred and nine *faddāns* and a half and one fifth.

Page 6

- 1 The domains (are) one hundred eighty nine *faddāns* and a third and a fifth.
- 2 The [] forty? *faddāns*, the coast (is) forty *faddāns*
- 3 The conversion charge: from one thousand and five hundred and thirty three *faddāns* and a quarter and one sixth (is) one hundred and two *dīnārs* and one third and one half of one sixth. The leguminous plants (are) one hundred and ten *faddāns*.
- 4 The rents (are) one *dīnār* and a half and a quarter. Of what were arrears from one year and a half, thereof (is) one *dīnār*.

Page 7

- 1 It has been approved thereof
 2 Thereof: what has been carried to the town in various payments, and what
 has been carried to Thaḳīf and what has been deposited at 'Alī. Now,
 he has acknowledged its price. All Praise belongs to God [
 3 Thereof: what is guaranteed by Ḥumayd Madhkūr ibn Salmī towards
 Salkh? ...
 4 *Bābah* and *Amshīr*: nine and a half *faddān* .. and a half and one third.
Baramhāt one hundred fifty six *faddāns* and one sixth.
 5 *Baramūdah*: two hundred forty one *faddāns* and a half. For grapes and
nabq (fruit of the lotus): three hundred and nineteen *faddāns* and a half
 and one third and a quarter.
 6 And thereof what I have collected and dispatched, and I wrote for a period
 of sufferance one and [] one hundred and seventy seven *faddāns* and
 one third and a quarter and one sixth of one eighth.
 7 Two thousand and one hundred and thirty one *faddāns* [] and a half and
 a quarter. The good (lands) six hundred and
 8 Thereof []

Page 8

- 1].
 2]. Cash for Nāṣr? one hundred *dīnārs*
 3] Vac.
 4 And thereof what has been approved for the judge Asad al-Allāh ibn Zayd
 and it has been recorded: ninety nine *faddāns* and two thirds.
 5 Thereof what has been carried in kind: seventy *faddāns* and one quarter
 and one sixth.
 6 A payment concerning twenty *faddāns*. Nineteen *faddāns* and one third
 and a quarter. A payment is paid on the account of the agent concerning
 thirty five [*faddāns*] (the payment is for) thirty four *faddāns* and a half
 and one third.
 7 A payment concerning twelve ⟨*faddāns*⟩ (the payment is for) eleven
faddāns. A payment concerning[(the payment is for) twenty? *dīnārs*.
 8 Thereof what has been spent in (some) directions [] twenty one *faddāns*
 [] and a quarter? [
 9 The rest is twenty [*faddāns*?] and one quarter [

Commentary

Page 1

1. The term ارتفاع relates to the result of the survey usually referring to gross receipts (Frantz-Murphy, *The agrarian* 34 n. 4, 101, *P.Khalili* 1, pp. 63ff. and cf. *P.Cair.Arab.* iv 265 and 266). A *ḍayʿa* is a rural property rarely extending beyond the area of a village, usually owned by a civilian and managed by a bailiff (*wakīl*). If the holder of the *ḍayʿa* is a Muslim, he has to pay two kinds of taxes: first, the *zakāt* that should be paid by all Muslims, taking the form of a tithe (*ʿuṣhr*) (usually a fifth of the *kharāj*) (Lambton, *State* 215); secondly, the *kharāj*, which is a tax levied on agricultural lands and should be paid by Muslims and non-Muslims (Abū Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, 41). In the Abbasid East, the *ḍayʿa* was administered by a different government office than that pertaining to *kharāj* lands (*CPR* XXI, p. 186 n. 3). درنجہ can be read as Drinja, Dranja or Drunja. This town, in the *kūra* of Ihnās, could not be identified.

2. Medial long *alif* is written with scriptio defectiva in the date (Hopkins, *Studies* §10, a).

3. لله الحمد والمنة: The addition of a religious formula between the *basmala* and the main text is often found in literary and documentary texts (see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, 1: xxxi. Cf. الحمد لله والشكر لله, *P.Cair.Arab.* I 54.2; والحمد لله كالمستحق).

Page 2

3. من seems to be corrected from في which makes better sense grammatically. *Min* refers to the distance from a place (Wright, *A grammar* III: 132d), while the preposition *fi* is used to refer to the place itself. So, one may consider that Ihnās itself was at some distance to the *ḍayʿa*. In Egypt, the term *kūra* was used in the early Arab period to refer to an administrative district that had a town at its centre (cf. al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān* 331: وكور مصر منسوبة إلى مدنها لأن بكل كورة مدينة). The administrative district of *kūrat* Ihnās is not mentioned in lists other than the one cited by al-Maqrīzī (*Khīṭaṭ* 1: 72), where the *kūra* of the town of Ihnās is said to have consisted of ninety-five villages plus some *kufūr*. Ibn Khurradādhbih also mentioned the *kūra* of Ihnās as one of the *kuwar Miṣr* (*Masālik* 81). For the frequent changes in the geographical extent of this administrative district which was combined with the administrative district of the *kūrat* al-Bahnasā at certain periods, see Grohmann, *Probleme* 381–394 and *P.Khalili* I 66. Two towns are known by the name Ihnās (Yāqūt, *Buldān* 1:409–410), the first is located in Middle Egypt on the westbank of the Nile (now called Ahnās al-madīna), the second was called Ihnās *al-ṣuḡhrā* (small Ihnās), and it was a large village in the *kūra* of al-Bahnasā. The town of Ihnās has been

known by many names. Today it is sometimes called Ihnasiyya Umm al-Kimām, meaning “Ihnās, mother of the sherds.” In Coptic it was called Hnēs/Ehnēs. Important since the early dynasties, its main god was Hershef assimilated by the Greeks to Heracles after which they called the city Heracleopolis Magna (see Maspéro et Wiet 1919, 28). The Arabic papyrus PERF 612 (dated 102/720) actually refers to it as هرقلوس, Haraq̣lūs (Maspéro et Wiet, Matériaux 28).

3. Iṣḥāq is written with scriptio defectiva of the medial long a (Hopkins, *Studies* §10, a). The nisba can be restored as الب[اد]سى or الف[ار]سى. In *P.Cair.Arab.* III 270, 4 (3rd/9th century) we encounter also an Iṣḥāq from Bādīs. There are traces of the bottom of about 5 letters at the end of the line. One may read وزادت which agrees with the rest of the sentence written on the following line.

4. وأن [يتد]حمل في ذلك أبو را[ضى]: The reading is uncertain.
الاستدوال: There is a half curve visible above the letter *lām*.

5. الصرف, the expenses, refers to a sum to be expended for the land. Grohmann translated this word as “conversion charge” (*P.Cair.Arab.* III 239.2) and “allowance for security” (*P.Cair.Arab.* III 283.3, 7) without explaining how he came to this meaning. The term فضل appears in *P. Khalili* I 2.14. Khan (*P.Khalili* I, p. 64) has noted that some other terms are used to express the survey increase such as زائد (al-Makhzumī, *Minhāj* 60, 61, and al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat* 8:251), إضافة (al-Nābulusī cited in Cahen, *Le régime* 16–17), and تأرجح (al-Makhzumī, *Minhāj* 61; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat* 8: 250 and al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ* 3:458).

6. الأوسية is the Arabic rendering of the Greek *ousia* (Grohmann, *Griechische* 281f.). Such estates had a special place in the social and economic life in Byzantine Egypt before the Arab conquest (Hardy, *The large* 113 ff.).

7. المئة وستين دينا (ر) (et *passim*): There is an oblique slight ripple of a stroke written above the letter *ṣīn* of the word ستين which has no teeth, and the word دينا (ر) is abbreviated.

Page 3

2. Around the end of the third/ninth century a legal discussion arose about the nature of *kharāj*. The final outcome of this discussion was that *kharāj* was considered as a rent on the land (Tabatabā'ī, *Kharāj* 201; Lambton, *State* 258) which had to be paid by whomever cultivated the land. After خراج أرض one should expect the kind of plant cultivated on the land, such as خراج القصب (see *P.Cair.Arab.* III 234.10).

3. وثلاثين وثن: the reading is uncertain.

4. *Kharāj* was assessed in cash from the end of the third/ninth century onwards, when an attempt was made to establish a unified system of accounting on the basis of the gold standard with a legal tariff for the exchange of the *dirham*. Hence the qualification *dīnār* in this line and in other places in the text.

6. *Kattān ʿālā* is fine flax (Latin *Linum usitatissimum*) contrasting the unqualified flax attested in other places in this text. The tax on flax in this text comes to one *dīnār* per *faddān*. For flax, see further *P.Cair.Arab.* II, p. 46 f.

Page 4

1. The number may be 319 or 329, or 339, etc., because there is a letter *wāw* after the number nine, we expect a multiple of ten. In the lacuna a qualification such as *faddāns* may be restored (cf. p. 4, ll. 2, 3, 4). It is to be noted that the flax here as well as in line 4 is not a fine flax (see note to p. 3, l. 6).

2. عن سبعة وعشرين و[ثم]ن و[نصفم]ن الفدان may be read.

3. القطاني (pulse) (s. *qaṭnīya*). Pulse is the common name for members of the *fabaceae* (*leguminosae*), a large plant family, also called the pea, or legume. Legumes were equally important as fodder and forage plants. The pulse family also provides dyes, medicines and other commercial items such as flavorings, fibres, etc.

Shaʿīr, barley (Latin *hordeum vulgare*, *hordeum distichon* and *hordeum irregulare*, see Hitchcock, *Manual* sv. “Barley”), is one of the most ancient of cultivated grains. Barley plants are annual grasses either harvested in winter or spring.

Qirt (Latin *trifolium alexandrinum* and *trifolium resupinatum*, see Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft* 213 ff.), trefoil, was the most common fodder for animals in Egypt according to al-Suyūṭī (see *al-muḥāḍara* 2: 231). Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam writes that trefoil was exempted from *kharāj* tax (*Futūḥ* 153), but in Arabic papyri we find assessments for this plant (*P.Cair.Arab.* III 231 n. 4). For *kharāj* on trefoil, see for example *P.Ryl.Arab.* VII 19.4, and *P.Cair.Arab.* IV 231.4 and commentary.

Qurṭum, safflower (Latin *Carthamus tinctorius*), is identified by Ibn Manẓūr *qurṭum* as saffron (*Lisān* sv. قرطم). Safflower is one of humanity’s oldest crops. The Arabic name lays at the origins of the general pharmaceutical name *flores carthami*. The Arabic name is derived from the verb *qarṭama* (to dye) in reference to the use of safflower flowers for textile dyeing. Its modern Arabic

name *uṣfur* (saffron), from *aṣfar*, yellow, has entered many languages through the mediaeval Andalusian pronunciation.

5. (و) (احد فدا (ن) ونصف وربع وسدس): The reading of this line is uncertain.

(و) (احد فدا (ن): the Kūfan grammarians allow the placement of the adjective of the cardinal number if the genitive is an object (see Ibn Hishām, *Shudhūr* 1: 216 "وللكوفيين كلهم في إجازة نحو الثلاثة الأثواب ونحوه مما المضاف فيه عدد والمضاف إليه معدود"). For the cardinal number احد، واحد، etc. see Hopkins, *Studies* § 91a.

Page 5

1. ساذج L. ساذج (Latin *folium*). This word is known to have been written with the *alif* as third or second letter. Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) describes the plant and its medicinal use (Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭib* s.v. ساذج).

Al-qaṣab al-fārisī (Latin *calamus aromaticus*) is a sort of reed, or sweet-scented cane, without branches, with a crown at the top, and beset with spines, about two feet in height, bearing from the root a knotted reddish stalk, quite round, containing in its cavity a soft white pith. It grows in Egypt, Syria, and India and is said to make the air scent while growing. When cut down, dried and powdered, it forms an ingredient in the richest perfumes and is used in medicine (see *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language* sv. "Calamus"). Frantz-Murphy translates the name of the plant literally as "Persian reeds" (*The agrarian* 34, 18).

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1. A careless curved joint line links the *alif* and *lām* so one can read the word as الأضياع.

3. The reading of الخ[ض]ر vegetables, is uncertain. After the article the letter may be *jīm* or *khāʾ*. Vegetables are frequently mentioned in Arabic papyri (see for example *P.Cair.Arab.* 111 266.7; 268.14). For *kharāj* on leguminous plants, see *PER. Inv. Ar. Pap.* 10151, 13.

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2. الحاضرة: means the "town." See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, sv. "حضر."

ثقيف: the reading is uncertain. Thaqīf is an Arab tribe living to the south-east of Mecca (Kister, Mecca 134).

فيل [ع] إلى الان فقر ثمنه: the reading is uncertain. It seems that 'Alī belongs to the tribe of Thaqīf. He acknowledges that he has received some of what has been collected from the *kharāj*.

3. *سلخ*: its diminutive name is *سليخ*, as recorded in al-Dhahabī, *Mushtabah* 271.

5. *Inab* are more frequently attested in the papyri as *kurūm*, vineyards. For viticulture, see *P.Cair.Arab.* I, p. 10. Here there is clearly mention of the production of the vineyards as well as the lotus tree (i.e. Nabq).

Nabaq are the fruits (cones) of the lotus, sidr or cedar tree. The lotus is a large hardwood tree, which can grow more than 5 meters high (Nour and Ahmed, *A chemical* 271–273) and bears a round and yellowish cherry-like fruit (al-Anṭākī, *Ṭadhkirat* 186 f.; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Jāmiʿ* 3: 4, 32). The fruit is used for food and as a medicine (Kamal, *The ancient* 305 ff.). The tree is mentioned in the Quran as a tree in the afterlife in whose shade the righteous will recline (Q 56:28).

6. For *ba'tha* in the sense of 'dispatch,' see *P.Cair.Arab.* IV 401.1–12.

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6. The payment should be for 20 *faddāns* but what has been paid was for only 19 *faddāns* and one third and one quarter, which means that $\frac{5}{12}$ *faddān* has not been farmed.

7. *اننى عشر*: the reading is uncertain. <فدا(نا)> should be added (cf. l. 6 on the same page).

9. *البواقي عشرون*: may be read.

2 Instructions Concerning Funerals

P. ACPSI 126 (P. Rag.) Provenance unknown (outlined left) figs. 14.5–14.6
15 × 8.5 cm. ca. 2nd / 8th century

The papyrus is broken off at the bottom, the left and right sides. It is damaged at the right and bottom sides, though the original margin has remained at the top. The papyrus, which was folded four times from left to right, is of light brown colour, fairly fine. A small piece measuring 5 × 0.8 cm and bearing about six upper halves of letters is torn off on side A.

The text was written on both sides of the papyrus, in black ink, in a neat, elegant hand pointing to the beginning of the second/eighth century. Diacritical points are rarely used. The side where the writing goes perpendicular to the fibres was written first, after which the scribe continued on the other side. There is a correction above line one which can be read while the superscript

of line three can only be partly read. The end of each *ḥadīth* is indicated with a circular sign.

The text was probably longer than the thirteen lines written on both sides of the papyrus. The writer presents the *aḥādīth* sometimes in his own words (A1), other times by citing them literally (B4). The text contains both prophetic and companions' *aḥādīth*, and all the transmitters are known in these traditions.

The place of discovery is unknown.

Side A (Fig. 14.6)

- 1 حدثنا [رافع أن أبا هريرة أوصا أهله حذرو في ألا يظهروا عليه {طيبا} الطيب ولا يجعلوه في
قطيفة حمراء]
- 2 [قال وقد بلغني عن أبي سعيد الخدري ميله في القطيفة [أ] ضريحهم الذي يقول خلف الجنازة
استغفروا له غفر الله لكم]
- 3 [واخبرني عن يحيى بن زيد ---- عن أبي ؟ سعيد حفص بن ميسرة عن أبي [عمر الصحابي]]
[وأسامة بن زيد عن عبد الرحمن]
- 4 [بن حرمله الأسلمي عن سعيد بن المسيب أنه قال انظروا لراجركم هذا الذي]
- 5 [يقول استغفروا له غفر الله لكم ولا ينبغي O هذا وقال خارجة بن زيد]
- 6 [بن ثابت أنه قال إذا سمع من يقول في الجنازة أن استغفروا له غفر الله لكم]
- 7 [محدث ويق] [وذلك عند الله [] مالا را [] O قال قال الـ]
- 8 [دعا [] O [] ويق] [و؟ ل]

Side B (Fig. 14.5)

- 1 وعمرو بن الحارث عن بكير بن الأشج عن بسر بن سعيد أن النبي قال العين تدمع
- 2 والقلب يحزن إياك الصراخ قال بكاني وبكا النبي على {الا} بنييه وقال البكا
- 3 من الرحمة والصراخ من الشيطان O واخبرني عن ابن جريج أن رسول
- 4 الله قال تدمع العين ويحزن القلب ولا نقول ما يسخط الرب
- 5 (vac.) والسلام على أهل القبور

Translation

Side A

- 1] Rāfi' [has reported that] Abū Hurayra commanded his family to be careful not to apply any perfume on him and not to shroud him in red velvet (after death) [
- 2] He said, and it has been reported to me, about Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī that he inclined towards the red velvet. The one who was behind the funeral harms them (the death) by saying: "Ask forgiveness [for him. May God forgive you."
- 3] And he reported to me on the authority of Ḥaṣṣ ibn Maysara on the authority of Yaḥyā ibn Zayd—on the authority of Abū Sa'īd [ʿUmar al-Ṣaḥābī] and Usāma ibn Zayd on the authority of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [
- 4 ibn Ḥarmala al-Aslamī on the authority of Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab that he said: "Look at your poet who [
- 5 says: "Ask forgiveness for him, God forgives you." This is not allowed." In addition to this, Khārija ibn Zayd [
- 6 ibn Thābit said that he said: "If it is heard that the man behind the funeral says: "Ask forgiveness for him, God forgives you [
- 7] being said [] he says [] and that is with God alone [] [] O. He said: "The one who [] said [
- 8] pray [] O. And [he] says [

Side B

- 1 And ʿAmr ibn al-Ḥārith on the authority of Bukayr ibn al-Ashajj on the authority of Bīr ibn Sa'īd, that the Prophet said: "The eyes are shedding tears
- 2 and the heart is grieved. Do not scream." He (also) said I wept and the Prophet wept for his sons, and he (the Prophet) said: "Weeping is
- 3 from mercy and screaming is from the devil." O And he reported to me on the authority of Ibn Jurayj that the messenger
- 4 of God said: "The eyes are shedding tears and the heart is grieved and we will not say what enraged God."
- 5 (vac.) And Peace is upon those who are in the graves.

Commentary

Side A

1. Rāfi' ibn Khadij (al-Dhahabī, *Muqṭanā* 1:214 no. 1944) died when he was 86 years old in 73/692 or 74/693 (al-Bustī, *Thiqāt* 3:121 no. 407). He lived and

died in Madīna (al-Dhahabī, *Muqtanā* 1:467 no. 1778). At the battle of Badr this companion from the Khazraj was deemed too young to fight (Juynboll, *Encyclopedia* 10). Abū Hurayra (d. 59/687) is the well-known companion and *ḥadīth* transmitter (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* 4:325; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb* 4:202; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia* 45–47). He appears very frequently in *isnāds* of *ḥadīths*. This *ḥadīth* is not known to have been transmitted on the authority of Abū Hurayra nor on that of Rāfiʿ, although both stipulated conditions in their will about how their body should be dealt with after their death. Abū Hurayra forbade the use of a *majmāra* (censer) (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf* 2:472 no. 11170).

Awṣā (أوصى L. أوصى) is written with *alif mamdūda* (Hopkins, *Studies* §12c). The verb *awṣā* was used in some *aḥādīth* in relation to red velvet and *rajaz* (see commentary to B4) (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* 5:142; 8:74).

Ḥadhirū fi allā yuḏhirū ʿalayhi al-ṭīb. Verbs signifying ‘to forbid,’ ‘fear,’ and the like, are followed by *an* with the subjunctive. The negative *lā* is sometimes inserted after *an* without affecting the meaning. Cf. *annī akhāfu allā yatrakanī*, “I am afraid he will not leave me,” or “I am afraid he will leave me” (Wright, *A grammar* 2 §15 a). *Al-ṭīb* refers to well-scenting fragrances. The use of essences in the treatment of the deceased body is described in several *ḥadīths*. In a *ḥadīth* narrated by Umm ʿAṭiyya, one of the *anṣār*, she said that Muḥammad instructed her when she was giving a bath to his deceased daughter saying: “Wash her three, five or more times with water and *sidr*, lotus, and sprinkle camphor on her at the end. When you finish, notify me.” (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* no. 1183). Ibn Masʿūd in another *ḥadīth* reported that the body of the deceased should be dried after washing with a clean cloth and some camphor should be applied to the *sujūd* parts (those parts of the body that touch the ground during prayer) (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* no. 6495).

Wa-lā yajʿalūhu fi qatīfa ḥamrāʾ. When Rāfiʿ ibn Khadīj died, his bed was covered in red velvet to the astonishment of the people (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* no. 16637). See also the commentary to line 2. After the Prophet’s death, his *mawlā*⁶ Shuqrān threw a red velvet *burda* (cloak) on the dead body because Muḥammad had disliked wearing another one (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* no. 967, and al-Rāzī, *Jarḥ* 6:164). It is also said that Shuqrān placed the red villous cloth (*qatīfa*) in the Prophet’s grave to prevent others from using it (Juynboll, *Encyclopedia* 523).

Based on the prophet’s burial and expressed preferences, the shroud normally used by Muslims consists of white cloths. Samura ibn Jundab (d. ca. 52–

6 It is said that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf (d. 32/652) either donated or sold Shuqrān, the Ethiopian, to the Prophet who set him free after the battle of Badr (al-ʿAsqalānī, *Qawl* 5:80).

53/672–673) reported that Muḥammad said: “Wear white. It is purer and more wholesome, and shroud your dead in it” (al-Bayhaqī, *Madkha*, 3:402). ‘Ā’isha (d. 58/678) reportedly said: “God’s messenger was shrouded in three garments of white Yemeni fabric, amongst which was neither a shirt nor a turban” (Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, *Kitāb al-Janā’iz* 20:3145). Children are shrouded in one to three pieces of cloth. Young females are shrouded in a shirt and two wraps. Males are covered by three pieces of cloth, and adult females in five.

2. Abū Sa’īd al-Khudrī (d. 74/693) held the full name, Sa’d ibn Mālik ibn Sinān. He was one of the prophet’s companions and transmitted many prophetic *ḥadīths*. (Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt* 5:142). In spite of the statement in this text, it is said that Abū Sa’īd al-Khudrī demanded that at his funeral no *rājaz* (see commentary on B4), or censer should be present, and that his body should not be carried on red velvet (Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt* 5:142).

A]ḍarra biḥim alladhī yaqūlu khalfā al-janāza ’istaghfarū lahu ghafara allāh lakum. For the restoration of this sentence, see the commentary to lines B4–5.

The negative sense of *أضرمهم* is contradicted by *ḥadīths* showing that the Prophet approved of the custom to ask for forgiveness of the deceased while following his funeral procession (*janāza*) (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* no. 2094).

3. The scribe began to write Abī as part of the name of Abū Sa’īd but then continued to write the name ‘Umar al-Ṣaḥābī. He then crossed out the name ‘Umar al-Ṣaḥābī and returned to write the full name of Abū Sa’īd without deleting Abī that he had already written and adding Sa’īd above the line. Between the name of Yaḥyā ibn Zayd and Abū Sa’īd there are traces of some illegible letters.

‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar al-Ṣaḥābī is ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ibn Nufal, also known as Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 73/692), belonging to the tribe of al-‘Adawī al-Qurayshī (cf. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia* 10–11). He lived in Madīna and died in Marw. ‘Abd Allāh was renowned for his close observation of the Prophet’s actions as observed by ‘Ā’isha: “There was no one who followed the prophet’s footsteps as did Ibn ‘Umar.” He would only relate a *ḥadīth* if he was completely sure that he remembered every word of it. One of his contemporaries said: “Among the companions of the Prophet, no one was more cautious about adding to or subtracting from the *ḥadīth* of the prophet than ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar (see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba* no. 4825).” Yaḥyā ibn Zayd (d. 63/682) is Yaḥyā ibn Zayd ibn Thābit ibn al-Ḍaḥāk (Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt* 5:264). He was killed at the battle of Ḥarra in 63/683 (Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt* 5:236). His brother is Khārīja ibn Zayd ibn Thābit, for whom see the commentary to B5. Abū Sa’īd is Abū Sa’īd al-Khudrī for whom see above in the commentary to A2. Ḥaḥṣ

ibn Maysara al-Kanʿanī al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 181/797) (al-Dhahabī, *Muqtanā* 1:422, no 4522; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia* 403). According to some scholars he came from the town of Ṣanʿāʾ in Syria while others identified it with the town with the same name located in Yemen (al-Bukhārī, *Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr* 2:369; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl* 7:73, no. 1417). He was considered a reliable source for *ḥadīths*. Usāma ibn Zayd (d. ca. 54/674) was the son of Zayd ibn Hārith, a manumitted slave and the Prophet's adopted son who became one of his companions (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb* 1:77; 3:1137–1140, and Fuʿad 2003, 8, 161). Some weeks before his death, Muḥammad appointed Usāma, still quite young and unexperienced at the time, at the head of a large expedition against Syria, which caused some of the leading muslims to complain. Usāma died in al-Jurf and was buried in Madīna (Vacca, *EI s.v.*).

4. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥarmala (d. 145/762) was a well-educated member of the Banū Mālik ibn ʿAqṣa, belonging to Madīna's élite (al-Bustī, *Mashahīr* 1:137 no. 1081). He reported on the authority of Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab (d. 94/712) as we have here and others (al-Maqdisī, *Aḥādīth* 4:233; al-Khurāsānī, *Sunan* 1:309 no. 1107). Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab is Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyab ibn Ḥazan ibn Abī Wahhāb ibn ʿAmr also known as Abū Muḥammad, belonging to the tribe of al-Quraysh. He lived and died in Madīna (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf* 7:19, 24; al-Qurtubī, *Jāmiʿ* 8:239; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb* 1:77; 3:1137–1140; al-Ṭabarī, *Bayān* 10:68).

The *rājiz* recites poems in the *rajaz* meter. According to different authorities, performing *rajaz* at funerals is forbidden in Islam. Abū Muṭīʿ narrated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥarmala was at a funeral when he heard a man saying: “Ask God's forgiveness for her, and Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib said: What is their poet saying? I commanded my wife not to call their poet (at my funeral)” (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf* 11:198; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* 5:141).

5. *Istaghfarū lahu ghafara allāh lakum wa-lā yanbaghī*. Correct would have been *istaghfarū lahu ghafara allāh lahu* as is mentioned in certain *aḥādīth*, such as: The Prophet came to them (his companions) and said: “Ask forgiveness for Māʿiz ibn Mālik.” They said: “May God forgive Māʿiz ibn Mālik” (al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan* 4:276). Cf. Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf* 2:474 nos. 11193; 11194 and 11199; al-Bustī, *Thiqāt* 1:405 no. 6975. In general the *ṣaḥāba* are said to have disliked the raising of loud voices at funerals (al-Bayḥaqī, *Madkhal* 4:74 nos. 6974–6975).

ولا ينبغي or ولا ينبغي. Although the word is dotted the reading is doubtful.

5–6. Khārija ibn Zayd ibn Thābit (d. 99/717 or 100/718) was a great traditionist who transmitted few *aḥādīth* (Ibn al-Qayṣarānī, *Tadhkirat* 1:91 no. 82; al-ʿIjlī,

Ma'rifat 1:330 no. 385). He was also a great *faqīh* who was being consulted on matters of Islamic law (al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 4:439–440). Khārija claimed that at the order of the Prophet he learned Hebrew so that he could “write and read the letters of the Jews,” in half a month (al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 17:467). He was one of the *anṣār*.

6. *Idhā sumi'a man yaqūlu fī al-janāza istaghfarū lahu ghafara allāh lakum*. We expect a sentence to follow such as فانهوه, then prevent him, or فامنعوه, then stop him.

Side B

1. 'Amr ibn al-Ḥārith, written with defective long a (see Hopkins, *Studies* §10 a), (d. 148/765 or 149/766) belonged to the tribe of al-Anṣarī (al-Bustī, *Mashāhīr* 1:187 no. 1498; al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat* 2:540 no. 846). He lived in Egypt and he was known as *faqīh al-dayār al-Miṣriyya*. The well-known Egyptian scholar 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahb (d. 197/812) was his most famous transmitter (Juynboll, *Encyclopedia* 11 n. 3). He was considered to be a reliable *muḥaddith*, famous for his knowledge of religious philology, as an eloquent narrator of poems and an orator (al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī, *Mustadrak* 1:2093). Bukayr ibn al-Ashajj (d. 115/733?) was also known as Abū 'Abd Allāh, as well as Abū Yūsuf al-Qurayshī al-Madanī al-Miṣrī, because he spent some time in Egypt. He lived in Madīna. Bisr ibn Sa'īd (d. 100/718) was born in Madīna. He was considered a reliable *ḥadīth* transmitter and was also considered to be a *ṣūfī* (al-Iṣfahānī, *Rijāl* 1:96; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 5:113).

2–3. *Wa bakā al-nabī 'alā banīhi wa-qāla al-bukā' min al-raḥma wa-l-ṣurākh min al-shayṭān*. *Bakā* is written with an *alif mamdūda* instead of an *alif maqṣūra*. It seems that the writer began to write الأبناء (the sons) but he changed his mind and wrote بنيه (his sons) without effacing the article. The Prophet begot four daughters and three sons, the latter of whom all died as young children. Muḥammad is said to have cried at the death of his children and grandchildren allowing tears and sadness to show but forbidding such pre-Islamic customs as tearing ones' clothes, slapping face and wailing loudly at someone's death.⁷ (al-Bayhaqī, *Madkhal* 4:6941, 6943; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* no. 25267; al-Nawawī, *Saḥīḥ Muslim* 2:110, and 6:224–225). This *ḥadīth* is not known to have been

7 For an example of pre-Islamic funerary customs, note the lines of the poet Tarafa ibn al-'Abd (d. c.e. 569): “When I die, mention my qualities as befits me, and rend your garments for me, o daughter of Ma'bad. Do not make me like a man whose aspirations are not my aspirations, who could not do what I could do, or play the role I play (al-Nawawī, *Riyād* 86).

transmitted on the authority of Bisr ibn Saʿīd but on that of Anas ibn Mālīk (d. 93/712) (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* no. 1220).

3. Ibn Jurayj (d. 150/767), in full, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Jurayj (al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 6:325, no. 138; Juynboll, *Encyclopedia* 212–225) is said to have been a *mawlā* of Umayya ibn Khālīd and to have been of Byzantine descent (al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 6:325–336).

4. *Tadmaʿu al-ʿayn wa yaḥzanu al-qalb wa-lā naqūlu mā yaskhiṭu al-rabb*. This is a part of the same *ḥadīth* discussed above (see note B2–3). It is set at the dying of Ibrāhīm, the Prophet's son. Muḥammad entered upon his son Ibrāhīm as he was surrendering his soul (i.e., dying). Tears began to well up in the Prophet's eyes. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf said to him: "Even you, o messenger of God?" He said: "O, Ibn ʿAwf, this is compassion." Then he wept some more and said: "The eyes shed tears, and the heart feels grief, but we will not say what enraged the Lord. And truly we are deeply grieved by your departure, o Ibrāhīm" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* no. 1578).

5. *Salām* is written with *defective* long a (see Hopkins, *Studies* §9 c). When visiting the tombs Muslims should say "peace be upon you, o people who inhabit the graves (three times), you are the predecessors and we are the successors" (al-Ṭabatānī, *Muʿjam* 8:129 no. 8178).

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FIG. 14.1 *P. Haun. Inv. Arab. 21 recto*. Courtesy of the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection. The *P. Haun.* collection is now housed together with the *P. Carlsberg* collection in Copenhagen, but the manuscripts retain their original inventory numbers.

FIG. 14.3 P. Haun. Inv. Arab. 22 recto. Courtesy of the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection.

FIG. 14.4 P. Haun. Inv. Arab. 22 verso. Courtesy of the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection.

FIG. 14.5 *P. ACPSI (= P. Rag.) 126 recto.*

FIG. 14.6 *P. ACPSI (= P.Rag.) 126 verso.*