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. Typically these rituals with their strong (local) traditions and customs are measured against Muslim tradition and practice. 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 hadith 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, Muḥammad’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.
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 (درينجا) in the pagarchy of Ihnās (Heracleopolite) and deals with the annual assessment of taxes. It is dated 383 AH (26 February 993–17 January 994), during the rule of the Fātimid caliph Abū Maṃṣūr Nizār al-ʿAzīz bi-llāh (r. 975–996). Different agricultural products are mentioned such as ordīnāry 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 dayʿa of Drinja is registered first, followed by the actual measure

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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). The scribe used some abbreviations such as the letter \(nūn\) for \(niṣf\) (half) and \(فِدَا\) for \(فِدَا\).

\(^{4}\) For this system, see the description by al-Makhzūmī (d. 585/1189), *Kitāb Minhāj* 58–63 (cited in P.Khalili i, 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.
خارج أرض [ن] ألف وأربع مائة وتسعة وسبعين فدانا (ناء)
وربع وسدس

2.
الف ة تسع ة وسبع ة فدانا (ناء)

3.
[من]ن [ذ] لنك
وثلاثين وثن؟

4.
أربع مائة وستة دينار
و[ن]نصف [و] نصف
ثمن

5.
أربع مائة وخمس دينار
عن مائتي وسبعين فدانا كنان [و] نصف [و] نصف

Page 4 (Fig. 14.1, right side)

1.
[ثلاثاية وتسعة [واب] فدانا (ناء)]
ونصف وربع [و] وسط [و] س
كان ثلاث الفدان

2.
خمس عشر فدانا (ناء)
و وسط [و] نصف [و] نصف [و] نصف
عن سبعة وعشرين [و] نم و [نص] نم
الفدان

3.
[ما]ن تنق ونسمة ونص فدانا (ناء)
وثلاث وربع وسط س
الفدان

4.
[من]نن [و] نصف [و] نصف [و] نصف [و] نصف [و] نصف
عن ثلاثية وتسعة وسبعين فدانا وثن

5.
مئتي واحد [و] عشرين فدانا (ناء) وربع وسع وسدن؟
**P. Haun. Inv. Arab. 22**

Page 5 (Fig. 14.3, left side)

|   | سداح والكتان والقصب الفارسي [ ] 1 |
|---|-----------------------------------|
|   | عن ثلاثة فدادين [ ] 2 |
|   | تسعه دينار [ ] |
|   | عن فدانين وربع وسدس ومن كتان نصف وسدس ونصف خمس:
|   | الفدان |
|   | دينار واحد |
|   | خمس |
|   | ذلك الاناث | 4 |

Page 6 (Fig. 14.4, right side)

|   | مائتا وتسعة وثمانين فدا (نا) [ ] 1 |
|---|-----------------------------------|
|   | وثلث وخمس [ ] |
|   | أربعين فدا (نا) الساحل أربعة عشر فدا (نا) [ ] 2 |
|   | الخصر [ ر (ما) مائتا وعشر فدا (نا) ] 3 |
|   | عن ألف وخمس مائتا وثمانين فدا (نا) [ ] وثلث ونصف سدس [ ] |
|   | وريع وسدس |
|   | الأكرمة [ ] دينار عن ما تجده من سنة منه دينار |
|   | ونصف وربع (نصف) |

Page 7 (Fig. 14.4, left side)

|   | صحيح من ذلك 1 |
|---|-----------------|
|   | منه ما حمل إلى الحضره في دفعات شتى وما حمل إلى تقيف [ ] 2 |
|   | وأودع قبل [ ع]لى؟ إذان فقر؟ في مثنيه؟ الحمد لله |
من ذلك ما يضمنه حميد مذكور بن سلامة من سلخ يـ [ 3

بابة وأمشيئ تسعئة ونع (صف) فدا (نا) برجمة مائة وستة وخمسين فدا (نا) وسد [س]

. ونصف وثالث

لعنو وبِنق ثلاثي مائة وتسعة عشر [ماشية] فدا (نا) ونع (صف) وثلث وربع

ومن ذلك ما جمعت [هنا] وبعته وكبكت على مصدح واحد و[ ] مائة وسبعة وسبعين فدا (نا)

وثلث وربع وسكسن المالِح سٍقّ [ماشية] وسكسن ] .. [ 6

الغبن وثاني وثلاثي فدا (نا) [ ونصف وربع 

ومن ذلك [هنا] .. [ 8

Page 8 (Fig. 14.3, right side)

. [ 1

مائة دينار

من ذلك ما حمل إليه عينٌ [ 2

. نقداً لناصر؟ [ 2

ومنهما ما صح بعجه القاضي أسد الله [د] من زيد ولكن تسعئة وتسعين فدا (نا) 4

وثلاثين

سبعين فدا (نا) من ذلك ما حمل إليه عينٌ 5

وربع وسكسن دفعه [ ] 5

تسعة عشر فدا (نا) 6

اربع وثلاثي فدا (نا) قيد الوكل؟ ونصف وثلث عن عشرين فدا (نا) وربع وسبعه عن خمسة وثلاثي (فدا (نا) 6

دفعه [ ] 7

أحد عشر فدا (نا) عن اثنتين عشرة [ ] عن تسعة [ ] 8

ومن ذلك ما صرف جهات [ ] 9

والباقي [ ] عشرون وربع
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) Isḥāq, originating from Bā[d]is? and? ....
4 to which [are added] the prices of the materials, and Abū Rā[ḍī?] 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 estate.
7 ] to collect a sum from Ḥabīqa. It is one hundred, which should be added to
8 ] one hundred and sixty dinārs
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 faddān of flax and a half and a quarter faddān (comes) four hundred and six dinārs, 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 dinārs.
And from one faddân and a half and one half of an eighth of high quality flax (comes) one dinâr and a half and one half of an eighth.

Page 4

Thereof: from one hundred and seventeen faddâns and a half and one eighth, one third of the faddân of flax (comes) three hundred and nine? ... and a half and one quarter and one sixth [faddâns].

And thereof: from twenty seven and [one eighth] and [one half of an eighth] faddâns is fifteen faddâns [ ] and one sixth.

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 faddâns and one third and a quarter and one sixth.

Thereof: from three hundred and eighty nine faddâns and one eighth, flax: one faddân and half and one sixth? (is cultivated) two hundred and one faddâns.

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Folium, flax and calamus aromaticus (from) three faddâns (is) [ ] .. and one sixth and one half of an eighth.

Bakr, from two faddâns and one quarter and one sixth and one sixth of one eighth, flax: a half of a faddân (is) nine dinârs and one sixth and one half of one fifth.

The pure income of the faddân: A half and one half of an eighth (is) one dinâr and one fifth.

Thereof is now one thousand and three hundred and nine faddâns and a half and one fifth.

Page 6

The domains (are) one hundred eighty nine faddâns and a third and a fifth.

The [ ] forty? faddâns, the coast (is) forty faddâns

The conversion charge: from one thousand and five hundred and thirty three faddâns and a quarter and one sixth (is) one hundred and two dinârs and one third and one half of one sixth. The leguminous plants (are) one hundred and ten faddâns.

The rents (are) one dinâr and a half and a quarter. Of what were arrears from one year and a half, thereof (is) one dinâr.
It has been approved thereof
Thereof: what has been carried to the town in various payments, and what
has been carried to Thaqīf ...... and what has been deposited at ʿAlī. Now,
he has acknowledged its price. All Praise belongs to God [
Thereof: what is guaranteed by Ḥumayd Madhkūr ibn Salmī towards
Salkh? ...
Bābah and Amshīr: nine and a half faddān .. and a half and one third.
Baramhāt one hundred fifty six faddāns and one sixth.
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.
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.
Two thousand and one hundred and thirty one faddāns [ ] and a half and
a quarter. The good (lands) six hundred and ....

]. Cash for Nāṣr? one hundred dīnārs
] Vac.
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.
Thereof what has been carried in kind: seventy faddāns and one quarter
and one sixth.
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.
A payment concerning twelve ⟨ faddāns⟩ (the payment is for) eleven
faddāns. A payment concerning ....[(the payment is for) twenty? dīnārs.
Thereof what has been spent in (some) directions [ ] twenty one faddāns
[ ] and a quarter? [ 
The rest is twenty [ faddāns? ] and one quarter [
Commentary
Page 1

1. The term عﺎﻔﺗرا relates to the result of the survey usually referring to gross receipts (Frantz-Murphy, *The agrarian* 34 n. 4, 101, P.Khalili i, pp. 63ff. and cf. P.Cair.Arab. iv 265 and 266). A day’a is a rural property rarely extending beyond the area of a village, usually owned by a civilian and managed by a bailiff (wakil). If the holder of the day’a is a Muslim, he has to pay two kinds of taxes: first, the zakat that should be paid by all Muslims, taking the form of a tithe (‘ushr) (usually a fifth of the kharaj) (Lambton, *State* 215); secondly, the kharaj, which is a tax levied on agricultural lands and should be paid by Muslims and non-Muslims (Abū Yusuf, *Kharaj*, 41). In the Abbasid East, the day’a was administered by a different government office than that pertaining to kharaj lands (cpr xx, p. 186 n. 3). 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. 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. رﻛﺸﻟاوﻪﻠﻟﺪ考える, P.Cair.Arab. 1 i 54.2; كرﻋو ٢٥٤.)

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 fī is used to refer to the place itself. So, one may consider that Ihnās itself was at some distance to the day’a. 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: وكر مصر مصنوعة إلى مدنها لأن كل كورة مدينة مخصوصة بأمر من الأمور). The administrative district of kūrat Ihnās is not mentioned in lists other than the one cited by al-Maqrīzī (*Khitaṭ* 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-ṣughrā (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 sherd.” 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 هرقوسة, Haraqlūs (Maspéro et Wiet, Matériaux 28).

3. Ishāq is written with scriptio defectiva of the medial long a (Hopkins, Studies §10, a). The nisba can be restored as دابلا or رفلا. In P.Cair.Arab. III 270, 4 (3rd/9th century) we encounter also an Ishāq from Bādis. 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. The reading is uncertain.

5. 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 تاريخ (al-Makhzumī, Minhāj 61; al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat 8: 250 and al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ 3:458).

6. النوية 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. الأئمة (et passim): There is an oblique slight ripple of a stroke written above the letter sin of the word ستين which has no teeth, and the word دينار 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. 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 ālā* 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. 11*, p. 46ff.
name *usfur* (saffron), from *asfar*, yellow, has entered many languages through the mediaeval Andalusian pronunciation.

5. The reading of this line is uncertain.

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’). For the cardinal number ادفِدحا، دحاو, etc. see Hopkins, *Studies* § 91a.

Page 5

1. ساذجي. (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-ṭīb* 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* s.v. “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 الأضِاع.

3. The reading of *خضَر*, 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. *حضرَة* means the “town.” See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, sv. “حضر.”

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

the reading is uncertain. It seems that ʿAlī belongs to the tribe of Thaqīf. He acknowledges that he has received some of what has been collected from the *kharāj*. 
3. خليل: its diminutive name is خليل, 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. 1, p. 10. Here there is clearly mention of the production of the vineyards as well as the lotus tree (i.e. Nabq).

Nabāq 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 baʾtha in the sense of ‘dispatch,’ see P.Cair. Arab. IV 401.1–12.

Page 8

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 5/12 faddān has not been farmed.

7. the reading is uncertain. (فداَّنًا) should be added (cf. l. 6 on the same page).

9. الباقِ 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 hadith 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 [Father's name] رافع أن أباه هريرة أوصى أهله حذرو في ألا يظهروا عليه {طبيب} الطيب ولا يجعلوه في قطيعة حمراء

2 قال وقد بلغني عن أبي سعيد الحذري ميلة في القطيفة {أ} ضربهم الذي يقول خلف الجزارة استغفر الله لكم وأخبرني عن يحيى بن زيد -- عن أبي ؟ سعيد حفص بن ميسرة عن أبي [عمر الصحابي]

3 [والاسماء بن زيد عن عبد الرحمن][ب حرام بن الأسماع عن سعيد بن المسبوب أنه قال انظروا لرأجكم هذا الذي]

4 يقول استغفروا له غفر الله لكم ولا ينفعه O هذا وقال خارجة بن زيد]

5 بن ثابت أنه قال إذا صم من يقول في الجزارة أن استغفروا له غفر الله لكم O محمد ويتق وذلك عند الله [ ] مالا را [ ] أ قال قالت ذلك تابعية

6 [دعا [ ] وأبى] و [ ] O وما [ ] L ?]

Side B (Fig. 14.5)

1 وعمرو بن الحارث عن يقين بن الأشعث عن ابن يهود سعيد أن النبي قال العين تدعم

2 والقلب يجهز إلى الصراخ قال بكاني وكا النبي عليه [ ] بينه وقال البكاء من الرحمه والصراخ من الشيطان O وأخبرني عن ابن جرخ أن رسول الله قال تدعم العين ويجزى القلب ولا تقول ما يضحك الرج [ ] والمسلم على أهل القبور (vac.)
Translation

Side A

1] Rāfiʿ [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 Saʿīd 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 Ḥafṣ ibn Maysara on the authority of Yahyā ibn Zayd—on the authority of Abū Saʿīd [ʿUmar al-Šaḥābī] and Usāma ibn Zayd on the authority of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [4] ibn Ḥarmala al-Aslamī on the authority of Saʿīd 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

And ‘Amr ibn al-Ḥārith on the authority of Bukayr ibn al-Ashajj on the authority of Bisr ibn Saʿīd, that the Prophet said: “The eyes are shedding tears 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 from mercy and screaming is from the devil.” O And he reported to me on the authority of Ibn Jurayj that the messenger of God said: “The eyes are shedding tears and the heart is grieved and we will not say what enraged God.”

(vac.) And Peace is upon those who are in the graves.

Commentary

Side A

1. Rāfiʿ ibn Khadij (al-Dhahabi, Muqatanā 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, Muqtaṇā 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 Sa’d, Ṭabaqāt 4:325; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Istiʿāb 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 Rāfī’, 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 majmara (censer) (Ibn Abī Shayba, Muṣannaf 2:472 no. 11170).

Awṣā (أوسى L. أوصي) 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 Sa’d, Ṭabaqāt 5:342; 8:74).

Hadhirū fi allā yuẓhirū 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 ansār, 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 qaṭīfa ḥamrāʾ. When Rāfīʿ 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 mawlā6 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 (qaṭīfa) 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–

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6 It is said that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Awf (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).
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reported that Muḥammad said: “Wear white. It is purer and more wholesome, and shroud your dead in it” (al-Bayhaqī, Madkha, 3:402). ʿĀʾisha (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-Janāʿīz 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.

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī (d. 74/693) held the full name, Saʿīd ibn Mālik ibn Sinān. He was one of the prophet’s companions and transmitted many prophetic hadīths. (Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt 5:142). In spite of the statement in this text, it is said that Abū Saʿīd 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 Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt 5:142).

Ajdarra bihim alladhī yaqūlu khalfa al-janāza ʾistaghfarū lahu ghafara allāh lakum. For the restoration of this sentence, see the commentary to lines b4–5.

The negative sense of م孵ٔا is contradicted by hadīths 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).

Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī is Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī for whom see above in the commentary to a2. Ḥafṣ

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

ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar al-Ṣaḥābī is ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ibn Nufal, also known as Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 73/692), belonging to the tribe of al-ʿAdawī al-Qurayshī (cf. Juynboll, Encyclopedi̇a 10–11). He lived in Madīna and died in Marw. ʿAbd Allāh was renowned for his close observation of the Prophet’s actions as observed by ʿĀʾisha: “There was no one who followed the prophet’s footsteps as did Ibn ʿUmar.” He would only relate a hadīth 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 hadīth of the prophet than ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar (see Ibn Ḥajar, İṣāba no. 4825).” Yahyā ibn Zayd (d. 63/682) is Yahyā ibn Zayd ibn Thābit ibn al-Dahāk (Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt 5:264). He was killed at the battle of Ḥarra in 63/683 (Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt 5:236). His brother is Khārija ibn Zayd ibn Thābit, for whom see the commentary to b5. Abū Saʿīd is Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī for whom see above in the commentary to A2. Ḥafṣ
ibn Maysara al-Ka‘anī al-‘Asqalānī (d. 181/797) (al-Dhahabi, Muqtanā 1:422, no 4522; Juynboll, Encyclopedia 403). According to some scholars he came from the town of Ṣan‘ā in Syria while others identified it with the town with the same name located in Yemen (al-Bukhari, Tahrir al-Ṣaghīr 2:369; al-Mizzī, Tahdhib al-kamāl 7:73, no. 1417). He was considered a reliable source for hadiths. 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 ‘Abd al-Barr, Isti‘ āb 1:77; 3:1137–1140, and Fu‘ad 2003, 8, 161). Some weeks before his death, Muḥammad appointed Usāma, still quite young and inexperienced 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 ‘Aqṣa, 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 Abi Wahhāb ibn ‘Amr 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-Qurṭubī, Jāmiʿ 8:239; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Isti‘ āb 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 Muṭi‘ 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 Sa‘d, 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. 1193; 1194 and 1199; al-Bustī, Thiqāt 14:21 nos. 6975. In general the sahāba are said to have disliked the raising of loud voices at funerals (al-Bayhaqī, Madkhal 4:74 nos. 6974–6975).

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-Ijli,
Ma’rifat 1:330 no. 385). He was also a great faqīh who was being consulted on matters of Islamic law (al-Dhahabi, 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-Dhahabi, 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 فانعوه فانعوة, then prevent him, or فانعوه فانعوة, then stop him.

Side B
1. ʿAmr 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-Anṣari (al-Busti, Mashāhir 1:87 no. 1498; al-Īṣfahānī, Ḥilyat 2:540 no. 846). He lived in Egypt and he was known as faqīh al-dayār al-Miṣriyya. The well-known Egyptian scholar ʿAbd 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-Nīsābūrī, Mustadrak 1:2093). Bukayr ibn al-Ashajj (d. 115/733?) was also known as Abū ʿAbd 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 Saʿīd (d. 100/718) was born in Madīna. He was considered a reliable hadith transmitter and was also considered to be a šūfī (al-Īṣfahānī, Rijāl 1:96; al-Dhahabi, Siyar 5:113).

2–3. Wa bakā al-nabī ʿalā banīhi wa-qāla al-bukāʾ min al-rahma wa-l-ṣurākh min al-shayṭān. Bakā is written with an alif mamdūda instead of an alif maqsūra. It seems that the writer began to write الأبناء (the sons) but he changed his mind and wrote بنى (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-Bayhaqi, Madkhal 4:6941, 6943; Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad no. 25267; al-Nawawi, Sahih Muslim 2:110, and 6:224–225). This hadith is not known to have been

7 For an example of pre-Islamic funerary customs, note the lines of the poet Tarafa ibn al-ʿAbd (d. C.E. 569): “When I die, mention my qualities as befits me, and rend your garments for me, o daughter of Maʿbad. 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-Nawawi, Riyād 86).
transmitted on the authority of Bisr ibn Saʿīd but on that of Anas ibn Mālik (d. 93/712) (al-Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ no. 1220).

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

4. Tadmaʾu al-ʿayn wa yahzam 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. Muhammad entered upon his son Ibrāhīm as he was surrendering his soul (i.e., dying). Tears began to well up in the Prophet’s eyes. ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Awf said to him: “Even you, o messenger of God?” He said: “O, Ibn ‘Awf, 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. 14.2  *P. Haun. Inv. Arab. 21 verso. Courtesy of the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection.*
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.