A SEVENTH/EIGHTH-CENTURY LIST OF COMPANIONS FROM FUSTĀT*

It would have been possible to present almost any kind of papyrus for Klaas’ Festschrift. In his publications, Klaas covered practically every terrain of papyrology in all periods, but one genre stands out: lists. Written on papyrus or reconstructed from published papyri, Klaas found them everywhere. This Arabic papyrus, dating from the first or second Muslim century (seventh/eighth century C.E.) contains a list of names and addresses of Arab residents of Fustāt. I offer it in honour of Klaas’ omnivorous papyrological attitude and his support for the developing field of Arabic papyrology.

The papyrus discussed here lists sixteen ‘companions’ divided in three groups, of eight, three and five individuals whose names are separated by horizontal lines. The residence of each individual is identified through a street, building, or khitṭa, tribal city quarter. The addresses are mostly all known and are located in Fustāt, the Arab capital of Egypt established at the site of the Roman settlement of Babylon, modern-day Cairo. The individuals named on the list are not known from other papyrological or narrative sources, although in two cases their family members (a son and a father) are known. It is not clear whose companions they were or what groups they represent. Some general observations can nevertheless be made. As far as the residences can be located, they can all be found in al-Ḥamrā’ district, especially al-Ḥamrā’ al-Dunya and al-Ḥamrā’ al-Wusṭā, north of the ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ mosque on the banks of the Nile, and south/south-east of the mosque, all close to the central district, indicating the settlers’ relatively high status and early arrival. All the tribal affiliations mentioned in the text, either in the form of nisbas or when describing an ‘address’ belong to South-Arabian tribes who in our earliest sources are said to have come with the conquering armies to Egypt.1

The list is obviously the product of some kind of registration, perhaps a census or an attempt at identifying and locating certain individuals. The registration seems too precise and the number of people involved too large and diverse to be limited to a private enterprise and the papyrus seems rather to be the result of an official initiative. On the other hand, it is obviously not an exhaustive list of all (male) Arab residents of Fustāt or even part of it. We can probably exclude the possibility that they are to be identified with the so-called ‘Companions of the Prophet’. Lists of these contemporaries of Muḥammad who emigrated to the different provinces of the Islamic Empire and took part in the conquests exist, but our men are not mentioned amongst them. Caliphs too had companions and lists of them living in the provinces are attested in our sources.2 Again the names on our papyrus do not figure

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* I should like to thank Patricia Crone and Lennant Sundelin for their comments on drafts of this article. Any remaining faults are, of course, my own.
2 For example, the ten šaḥīḥa of the caliph Abū al-ʿAbbās (r. 132/749) who received fiefs in Egypt (AL-KINDI, Kitāb al-Wulāt, p. 101).
amongst them. The text on the recto side of the papyrus is complete and does not seem to have continued beyond the borders of the papyrus, while the verso side is blank. The list-making of which our papyrus is the result seems nevertheless to be related in some way to the institution of the ḏīwān, the personnel register on the basis of which pensions were distributed to the Muslim fighters in Egypt at this period. The presence of a farrier in the list supports a military context.

When the Arabs established their control over Egypt with the conquest of Alexandria in 642 C.E., they maintained the local administrative system in place as well as its personnel. Greek and Coptic continued to be the most important administrative languages for at least a century, and even longer at the village level. Nevertheless, Arabic was also used immediately as an administrative language and Arabic scribes worked at the chancery of the capital and, with the increasing number of Arab officials working at lower administrative posts, also in the smaller settlements of the country.

What language was used to write up the ḏīwān, Greek or Arabic, has been the subject of long debates in contemporary studies and medieval Arabic sources. On the one hand, the registering of soldiers and other individuals for the purpose of paying them or for other goals was obviously not newly introduced by the Arabs in Egypt. Our papyrus, on the other hand, shows that from a very early period onwards administrative documents were (also) kept in Arabic. The papyrus is now located in the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago. It was acquired in Egypt from unknown provenance.

OI 17656**
1st-2nd A.H. / 7th-8th A.D.
Fustāṭ

Dark brown papyrus written in black ink with a medium thick pen perpendicular to the fibres. The original cutting lines are preserved on all four sides, but the fibres are somewhat damaged on the left and top sides. One fibre has come off in the middle of the papyrus affecting one or two letters in every line. There are some other small holes where papyrus fibers have disappeared. There are some diacritical dots written. In two places a horizontal line is written (between lines 10 and 11, and 13 and 14). The verso is blank.

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

نسبة الصحية

عبد الرحمن بن أبي رق ومزله عبد مسجد القران

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** I would like to thank professors Wadad al-Qādī and Fred Donner for their permission to publish this papyrus, and Raymond Tindell for his help during my work in the Oriental Institute papyrus collection.
علي بن سالم ونجلة عبد سوق البرير
محمد بن أبي يوسف ونجلة عبد حمام سهل
ابن أبي أحمد بن دار محمد بن عبد الله
سعود
عمر بن صالح ونجلة في سوق وردن
محمد بن موسي بن تميم ومانزهه عند دار فضل
ساهل بن حصب وممانزهه سفينة بن يه
هشام بن حبيب ابي رباح ونجلة عند كتاب طلليب

حكيم بن عبد الله بن حكيم الأسدي في الأسدي
سعيد بن عطا بالله عند ركن اصطلح الحكيم
عبد الله بن أبي سليمان ونجلة بسجاعة

يونس بن أبي سمر السعافر وأمانة في بني سريع السعافر
المفضل بن عامر الأفاهي يسكن الزند
كبير بن سعيد بن سريع التميمي ونجلة عند نسبت
البيطر
عبد الله بن يزيد سماه به ويسكن في سماه
عبد الله بن أبي الكود ونجلة عند سفينة بن ياه بن
عند كلب بن أبي الكود

10
10
10
10
10
'In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
Naming the companions.
‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Wāthiq, and his house is at the mosque of Qurūn.
‘Alī b. Sālim, and his house is at the Barbar market.
Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, and his house is at the Sahl bathhouse.
Ayman b. Ibrāhīm, and his house is at the house of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’īd.
‘Umar b. Ṣāliḥ, and his house is in the Wardān market.
Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Taḥmīm, and his house is at the Fudayl house.
Sahl b. Ḥāṣīb, and his house is in the roofed passageway Ibn Yanna.
Hishām b. Ḥabīb Abī Rīyāḥ and his house is at the school Ṣulayb.
Hakīm b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥakīm al-Asdī, and (he lives) among the Asd.
Sa’īd b. ‘Āṭa’ al-Balī, and (he lives) at the corner of the Hakām stable.
‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Sulaymān and his house is with the Shuja‘a.
Yazīd b. Abī Samr al-Ma‘āfīrī [and] his house is with the Banū Sarī‘ al-Ma‘āfīr.
15 Al-Muṣafādāl b. ‘Āmir al-Rafā‘ī lives in Zabd.
Kāthīr b. Sa’īd b. Shurayh al-Tujībī, and his house is near (that of) Ishāq.
the farrier
‘Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-[Sab]ā‘ī lives in Sabā‘.
‘Abd Allāh b. Abī al-Kanūd, and his house is near the covered passage Ibn Bāba
at (the house of) Kayl b. Abī Kanūd.’

2 The saḥāba refer generally to the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad,4 but the word can mean any group of associates. It remains unclear whose companions the men mentioned in this papyrus were. It is written with defective long ā (cf. S. HOPKINS, Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic, Oxford, 1984, § 10.a).

3 Wāthiq is written with a defective long ā (cf. HOPKINS, Grammar, § 10.i). The thāʾ is lost in the lacuna, while only the long dipping tail of the qāf is visible under the lacuna. Compare the final qāf in sāg in line 3. This is the way in which the qāf was written in papyri dating from the seventh and eighth centuries (cf. P. Khalili I, introduction).

— The Qurūn mosque was located in Fustāṭ in al-Ḥamrā al-Wustā,5 west of the sāg al-Wardān (see below, the commentary on line 8),6 and next to the granaries where the wheat for the army was stored.7 It was built together with a house and a bath house at the

5 AL-KINDĪ (d. 350/961), Kitāb al-qudāt, edited by R. GUEST, Governors and Judges of Egypt (Leiden, 1912), p. 528; IBN DUQMAQ (d. 810/1407), Kitāb al-inšār li-wāṣiṭat ‘iḍā al-ansār, edited by K. VOLLERS, Description de l’Égypte (Cairo, 1893), v. 4, p. 86.
order of the grandson of 'Amr b. 'Abi 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fihrī, who had obtained the area as an ʾiqtāʾ from the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (r. 65/685-705) or obtained the area as a khīṭā at the time of the conquest. Other individuals continued to work on the mosque and at least one fire necessitated restoration work. The mosque got its name because its pillars looked like horns (wa-innama summiya bi-masjid al-qurān li-anna arkānahu ka-l-qurān).

This market is generally known in the narrative sources as ʾsāq Barīrī, but at least in one source it is attested with the article. The Barīrī market was designated by the qāḍī Kaʾb b. Ḍinnā (in office 23/643) to settle members of the Barīrī tribe. It was located in Fustāt, north of the mosque of 'Abd Allāh which was north of 'Amr b. al-ʾĀṣ mosque and also owned a house in Damas-cus. The important market of the ʾsāq al-Barīrī was located in Fustāt, but its precise location is not known.

The house of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Saʿd is not known, nor is this individual mentioned in the sources. The ʾayn in Saʿd is written rounder than other forms of this letter in the text, but the name cannot be read differently.

The ʾsāq al-Wardān was named after the Armenian Abū ʿUbayd Allāh al-Rūmī (d. 53/672), a mawla of 'Amr b. al-ʾĀṣ. He was a muḥaddith transmitting traditions from his mawla 'Amr b. al-ʾĀṣ and had witnessed the conquest of Egypt. He had received many properties and streets as ʾiqtāʾ from the caliph Muʿāwiyya (r. 661-680) amongst which the property that became the ʾsāq al-Wardān, and also owned a house in Damascus. The important market of the ʾsāq al-Wardān was located in Fustāt north of the

7 IBN DUQMAQ, Intisār, v. 4, pp. 11-12.
8 IBN `ABD AL-ḤAKAM, Futūḥ Miṣr, p. 134; IBN DUQMAQ, Intisār, v. 4, p. 86.
9 IBN `ABD AL-ḤAKAM, Futūḥ Miṣr, p. 135; IBN DUQMAQ, Intisār, v. 4, p. 86.
10 IBN DUQMAQ, Intisār, v. 4, p. 86.
11 IBN QUTAYBA (d. 276/889), al-Imāma wa-l-siyāsā, ed. 'A. Shīrī (s.d. s. l.), v. 2, p. 100. Ibn Qutayba writes that the market continued to have this name in his time (summiya ʾsāq al-barīrī ʾlā al-yawm).
14 AL-KINDĪ, Kitāb al-Quḍṭāt, p. 407; IBN DUQMAQ, Intisār, v. 4, p. 32; S. DE NOYER, Décrite le Caire. Fustāt-Miṣr d’après Ibn Duqmāq et Maqrīzī (Cairo, 1992), SQ1, located on map 1 at E XIII.
16 IBN `ABD AL-ḤAKAM, Futūḥ Miṣr, pp. 112, 121. Sahl b. 'Abd al-ʾAzīz is mentioned in a papyrus. See P.M. SIMPESTEIN, ‘An Early Umayyad Papyrus Invitation for the ḥajj’, Journal of Near Eastern Studies, forthcoming, where the hammām Sahl is also discussed.
17 In IBN DUQMAQ, Intisār, v. 4, p. 32 his kunyā is described as Abū ʿUbayd.
mosque of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ\textsuperscript{22} and east of the masjid al-Qurṭūn in al-Ḥamrah’ al-Dunyā. At least one church was located in the market,\textsuperscript{23} as well as a bathhouse,\textsuperscript{24} and a mosque.\textsuperscript{25}

The Dār Fudayl is not mentioned as a landmark in the literary sources.

Sahl is written quite differently here from the way in which this name is written in line 5, but this reading seems the only fitting one. The šin is written without teeth as a straight horizontal line and the upper and lower half of the medial hā’ seem to have been written separately. The saqfāt Ibn Yanna was named after Ibn Yanna, standard bearer of the Hamrah’.\textsuperscript{26} The Banū Yanna were one of the groups of Byzantines that formed ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ’ conquering forces. Together with Persian troops they formed the ‘tribe’ al-Ḥamrah’ after which the khitṭa where they settled is named.\textsuperscript{27} The khitṭa of the Banū Yanna was located in al-Ḥamrah’ al-Wustā’.\textsuperscript{28} The diacritical dots written on the papyrus ensure this reading of the name.\textsuperscript{29} This covered lane was located in Fusṭāt in al-Ḥamrah’.

Schools are already indicated in the descriptions of earliest Fusṭāt,\textsuperscript{30} but this particular one is not known in the sources. The horizontal line after this line and after line 13 obviously distinguish different subgroups, of eight, three and five individuals respectively, but it is not clear what differentiates them.

The Banū Asad, a large north Arabian tribe affiliated with the Kināna, took part in the conquest of Iraq and to a much lesser extent of Syria, but are not known to have participated in the conquest of Egypt.\textsuperscript{31} It is unlikely therefore to find anyone in Fusṭāt with this nisba at this time. A more likely identification is the following. Asd is a variant form of the name of the large south-Arabian tribe of Azd.\textsuperscript{32} They participated in the conquest of Egypt and also partook in the conquest of North-Africa.\textsuperscript{33} They were settled in the Laff,  

\textsuperscript{22} Ibn Duqmāq, Intisār, v. 4, p. 32. Cf. Denoix, Caire, located on the map at E X-XI.
\textsuperscript{23} al-Maqrizī, Khiṭṭat, v. 2, p. 517.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ Misr, p. 100.
\textsuperscript{25} Known as Ḥubbat Sūq Wardān (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ Misr, p. 118).
\textsuperscript{27} Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ Misr, p. 129.
\textsuperscript{28} al-Maqrizī, Khiṭṭat, v. 1, p. 298.
\textsuperscript{30} For example a kutṭāb Isma’īl is used in describing the khitṭa of Azd (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ Misr, p. 117) and Lakhm (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ Misr, p. 120).
\textsuperscript{32} Written with šin for zayn, this is the less common and linguistically less correct form according to al-Sam‘ānī (d. 1166) (al-Ansāb (Beirut, 1988), v. 1, pp. 137-138). Cf. Ibn al-Kalbi (d. 203/819), Ṯanḥarat an-nasāb, edited by W. CaskaEL, Das genealogische Werk des Hisham Ibn Muhammad al-Kalbi (Leiden, 1966), v. 2, pp. 41-43. See also the variant sād in one of the manuscripts of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ Misr, as noted by Torrey on page 184 n. 7.
\textsuperscript{33} The sub-tribe of Ganth joined with seven hundred troops (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, Futūḥ Misr, p. 184; Kubiak, Fusṭāt, p. 62).
al-Hamrā‘ al-Dunyā and al-Hamrā‘ al-Wustā μητατ,³⁴ and received many properties as μητατ.³⁵ Mu‘awiyah is said to have favoured them as tax administrators.³⁶

Balī was a sub-tribe of the south Arabian tribe of Quḍā‘a who participated in the conquest of Egypt when they played a privileged role through their relation with ‘Amr via his grandmother, a Balīyya.³⁷ They were settled in the μηττα al-Hamrā‘ al-Dunyā,³⁸ encompassing the area south of the sūq al-Wardān up to the masjīd al-Qurṭūn.³⁹ At the order of the caliph ‘Umar b. al-Khuṭṭāb (r. 634-644) a number of them immigrated to Egypt from Syria, increasing the total number of Balī in Egypt.⁴⁰ The ʿistabl al-Hakm probably refers to the stable that al-Ḥakām b. Abī Bakr b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz built on a piece of land he bought from al-Azd.⁴¹

The Shujā‘a were settled in the Laftī μηττα which was located towards the north-east of the ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ mosque.⁴² A zuqāq al-Shujā‘a was located near the mosque al-Qurṭūn in al-Hamrā‘ al-Wustā.⁴³

The bottom part of the final ṭa‘ can be seen extending below the lacuna caused by the disappeared papyrus, as can part of the wāw. The large tribe of Ma‘āfir, a sub-tribe of the Yemeni Himyar tribe, was settled first close to the ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ mosque, but then asked to be moved to less crowded areas further away from the Nile in the μηττα called after them incorporating the Māṭūn mountain, south-east of the mosque.⁴⁴ The Sarṭī was a sub-tribe of the Ma‘āfir.⁴⁵

The banū Riḍā‘a had taken part in the conquest of Egypt and some of them played a role in the administration under ‘Amr b. al-ʻĀṣ.⁴⁶ Al-Zabd is a district in the Yemen.⁴⁷ Possibly some immigrant Yemeni tribesmen named their new residence after a district in their home country?

Tujīb, the sub-tribe of the South Arabian tribe of Kinda, formed an important element of ‘Amr’s conquering troops. They gave their name to an area in the city where they were

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³⁶ IBN ‘ABD AL-ḤAKAM, Futūḥ Misr, p. 125.
⁴⁰ One third of the tribe of Quḍā‘a was supposed to leave which constituted exactly the Banū Balī (IBN ‘ABD AL-ḤAKAM, Futūḥ Misr, p. 116).
⁴¹ IBN ‘ABD AL-ḤAKAM, Futūḥ Misr, pp. 117-118.
⁴² AL-SAM‘ANĪ, Ansāb, v. 3, p. 403.
⁴³ AL-MAQRIZI, Khīṭat, v. 1, p. 296; IBN DUQMAQ, Intisār, v. 4, pp. 3-4; KUBIAK, Fustāt, p. 98.
⁴⁴ IBN DUQMAQ, Intisār, v. 4, p. 20.
⁴⁶ AL-SAM‘ANĪ, Ansāb, v. 3, p. 252.
⁴⁷ IBN ‘ABD AL-ḤAKAM, Futūḥ Misr, p. 112.
⁴⁸ YĀQŪT, Mu‘jam, v. 3, p. 914; IBN ‘ABD AL-ḤAKAM, Futūḥ Misr, p. 3, n. 8. Yāqūt mentions that besides referring to two mountains in the Yemen, this name is also the name of a village in Qimşrīn belonging to the Banū Asad and an area west of Baghdad (Mu‘jam, v. 3, p. 914) and he gives also the alternative reading al-Zand (Mu‘jam, v. 3, p. 914).
settled, south of the ‘Amr b. al-‘Āş mosque.\textsuperscript{49} Ishāq is written with defective long ā (cf. HOPKINS, Grammar, § 10.1). The name Shurayh can also be read as Surayj.\textsuperscript{50}

‘Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Sabī‘ī can perhaps be identified with ‘Abd Allāh b. Yazīd son of a mawla of Saba’ who was the chief judge of Egypt from 100/718 to 105/723.\textsuperscript{51} Alternatively he might have been the father of Azhar b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Sabā‘ī, a known ḥadīth transmitter who died in Cairo in 205/820.\textsuperscript{52} The Saba’, originally from the Yemen, were known as a mostly Egyptian tribe,\textsuperscript{53} whose khitā was located in Fustāt between those of al-Ma’āfīr, Hadramawt and the desert.\textsuperscript{54} The Saba’ had their own mosque in their khitā.\textsuperscript{55} Saba‘ī is written with an alif as kurṣī for the hamza against a ya’ according to Classical Arabic.

While ‘Abd Allāh and Kayl sons of Abū al-Kanūd are not known, a Dār Ibn Abī al-Kanūd was located in Fustāt.\textsuperscript{56} In spite of the rareness of this name two individuals living in the second half of the seventh-century in Egypt are called thus.\textsuperscript{57} A Sa‘d b. Mālik b. al-Kanūd lived during the governorship of Muhammad b. Abī Hudayfa (in office 655-656)\textsuperscript{58} and a Tha‘laba Abī al-Kanūd was a known Egyptian ḥadīth transmitter.\textsuperscript{59}

An Ishāq al-Bayṭār appears in P. Cair. Arab. 252 (3rd/9th century). Grohmann knew of only one other mention of this profession in the papyri, namely in a third/ninth century list of landholdings where a Hārūn al-Bayṭār appears (PERF 681).

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\textsuperscript{49} AL-SAM‘ANI, Ansāb, v. 1, p. 448.
\textsuperscript{50} IBN AL-KALĪBĪ, Gamharat, p. 519.
\textsuperscript{51} AL-KINDI, Kitāb al-Qudāt, pp. 337-340.
\textsuperscript{52} AL-SAM‘ANI, Ansāb, v. 3, p. 211.
\textsuperscript{53} AL-SAM‘ANI, Ansāb, v. 3, pp. 209-211.
\textsuperscript{54} AL-MAQRIZI, Khītāt, v. 1, p. 298; IBN DUQMĀQ, Intisār, v. 4, p. 4; IBN ‘ABD AL-ḤAKAM, Futūḥ Mīṣr, p. 126.
\textsuperscript{55} IBN ‘ABD AL-ḤAKAM, Futūḥ Mīṣr, p. 127.
\textsuperscript{56} IBN ‘ABD AL-ḤAKAM, Futūḥ Mīṣr, p. 118.
\textsuperscript{57} I was able to find only two other instances of the name Kanūd, referring once to a woman from the Arabian tribe of Huzayna (IBN AL-ATḤIR, d. 630/1233, al-Kāmil ft al-ta‘rkh, edited by C. J. TORNBERG, Leiden, 1867, v. 2, p. 242) and a Abū al-Kanūd who was an Arabian poet (CASKEL, v. 2, p. 369).
\textsuperscript{58} Vocalised so by SAYYID (AL-MAQRIZI, Khītāt, v. 2, p. 335). In AL-KINDI he is mentioned without his kanyā (Kitāb al-wulāt, p. 15).
\textsuperscript{59} Vocalised so by TORREY (IBN ‘ABD AL-ḤAKAM, Futūḥ Mīṣr, pp. 121, 305).