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Cross-Cultural Parameters of Scribal Politesse in the Correspondence of Arab-Muslim Officials from Early Islamic Egypt*

Arabic writings and their cognates in early Islamic Egypt

In an often quoted papyrus letter palaeographically assigned to the ninth century (*P.AnawatiPapyrusChrétien*), the abbess Maryam wrote to her correspondents in Fustāt asking questions about their recent journey. This missive stands out for its many figures of Christian religious speech. The writer further marked her religious affiliation by drawing a cross next to the religiously unbiased opening invocation *bi-sm allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*. The letter is one of the first attestations of Arabic being used in an inner-Christian milieu¹ and forms one of a handful of specimens of its kind datable to the first millennium.² These documents herald the slow development of Arabic into a *lingua franca* for short and long-term exchanges across religious boundaries.³

At the time when Maryam was writing, about two hundred years had passed since the first Muslim armies had set foot in Egypt.⁴ From the mid-seventh to the early eighth centuries, Arabic writing and writings had remained an easily monopolizable prerogative of the slim, hegemonic Arab-Muslim transregional elite operating at the highest echelons of the administration. Lower administrative functions were, in principle, delegated to members of the subordinate and still largely non-Islamized and non-Arabized local elites who functioned as intermediate bodies in the relationship between the Arab-Muslim ruling group and its subjects.⁵ This binary system entailed the need for institutionalized vertical communication between individuals belonging to different ethnic and cultural groups and between users of separate

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1 The earliest paleographically datable Arabic Christian letters are *P.Mird* 45 and 46 (Khirbat al-Mird; VIII).

2 For a survey of first millennium Arabic letters ascribable to a Christian milieu, see Potthast (2019).

3 For Egypt, Richter (2009 and 2008) has suggested that the shift from Coptic to Arabic reached its turning point in the eleventh century.

4 On the Muslim conquest of Egypt, see Schmidt’s and Dar’s contributions in this volume.

5 On the systemic conflict of loyalties that this administrative structure entailed, see Papaconstantinou (2015).

languages. Sitting at this cultural cleavage are two overlapping but distinct scribal cultures of early Islamic Egypt. The Arab-Muslim military elite employed Arabic in everyday written communication.⁶ Arabic also began to take primacy in public promulgations although versions in local languages continued to be provided. The graphic distinctiveness and exclusivity of Arabic public texts entailed a symbolic articulation of the social difference between the milieu of the transregional Arab-Muslim imperial elite and that of the Greek-Byzantine Christian, Middle Persian Zoroastrian etc. regional elites.⁷ Arabic scribal culture was characterized not only by its distinctive script and the political prestige of its practitioners, but also by the fact that Arabic writing was practiced within a framework of recognizable formulaic and aesthetic conventions. These had deep roots in a “Semitic” tradition of the pre-Islamic Near and Middle East and were not derivatives from the politically dominant official scribal cultures of the lands the Arabs conquered.⁸ Whereas the public use of Arabic functioned as a symbolic demonstration of power, Arab-Muslim functionaries in Egypt and elsewhere continued to engage in more pragmatic top-down communication with local representatives in the official languages of the former Sasanian and Byzantine bureaucracy and even in local vernaculars (Greek and Coptic respectively in the case of Egypt).⁹ Though issued in a different language, these documents mimic the formal structure, the phraseology, and elements of the layout of coeval Arabic documents. A comparison of these “Arab-style” testimonies with their Arabic counterparts reveals that Muslim officials adapted and transformed Arabic formulaic elements in the shift from one language to another or, more precisely, from one readership to another.¹⁰

6 Webb (2016) has called into question the linguistic homogeneity of the conquerors, suggesting that the garrisoned Arabs, though probably able to understand each other, used quite different Arabic dialects in spoken communication.

7 On the use of the Arabic script as a visual symbol of authority, see Bierman (1998) 31–48, Edwards (1991), and Ettinghausen (1974).

8 On the origins and formal features of early Islamic documents, see Khan (1994), *id.* (2008), Diem (2008) 853–861, Grob (2010) 39–83, Sijpesteijn (2013) 222–229, Reinfandt (2015) 282–286, and Kaplony (2018) 316 and 344–354.

9 The functional interplay between Arabic, Greek, and Coptic in the chanceries of early Islamic Egypt is described by Richter (2013 and 2010); cf. Sijpesteijn (2010).

10 Not discussed in this article are bilingual Arabic/Greek protocols (see Grohmann [1924]) and documents displaying an Arab-style invocation and/or dated according to the Muslim era but otherwise not displaying formal Arabic influences e.g. Mu'āwiya I's Greek inscriptions at Hammat Gader and the Syriac graffiti at Kamed.

Formulaic features of “Arab-style” Greek epistolography

Early Islamic Arabic official writs first became tangible through the papyrus findings in Egypt and Syria. The structure of the oldest exemplars, dating back to the seventh and eighth centuries, is characterized by a distinctive prescript.

Virtually all Arab-Muslim¹¹ letters open with (A 1)¹² the invocation *bi-sm allāh al-rahmān al-rahīm* (so-called *basmala*) usually translated as “In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate.” The full invocation contains both *allāh* and *al-rahmān*, two common theonyms for a monotheistic God in pre-Islamic late antiquity in Arabia.¹³ *Al-rahīm* is possibly a further explicative apposition of *al-rahmān*.¹⁴ The invocation is followed by (A 2) the address following the format *min fulān ilā fulān* “from N.N. to N.N.” and (A 3) the salutation *salām* ‘*alay-ka/-kum*’ “peace be upon you,” which is omitted if the letter is addressed to Christians.¹⁵ The salutation is followed by the benediction consisting of (A 4a 1) the *ḥamdala* (a paraphrase of Qur’an 1:2) *aḥmadu ilay-ka allāh* ... “I praise God for your sake ...” and (A 4a 2) the first segment of the *shahāda*, the Muslim proclamation of faith (Q 59:22–23) ... *alladhī lā ilāh illā huwa* “... there is no god but He.” Arabic letters addressed to Christians drop (A 4b) the *ilay-ka* from the benediction. The Arabic prescript ends with (A 5) the transition formula *ammā ba’d* “as for after” opening the main body of the letter. Arabic letters usually end with (A 6a) the valediction *wa-l-salām* ‘*alay-ka/’alay-kum*’ (Q 6:54; 7:46; 13:24; 16:32; 28:55; 39:73) *wa-rahmat allāh* (Q 11:73) “peace and God’s compassion be upon you” when addressed to Muslims or with (A 6b) *al-salām* ‘*alā man ittaba’a al-hudā*’ (Q 20:47) “peace be upon who follows the Guidance” in the case of Christian addressees. Finally, official letters contain a (A 7) scribal note following the format *wa-kataba* “has written” followed by the scribe’s name and a date according to the Muslim era.

Christian civil officials serving under the aegis of Muslim rule in the seventh century continued to issue documents according to Byzantine conventions and their cor-

11 Arabic documents from the ninth century or later, written by Christians and Jews, open with a modified version of the *basmala* e.g. *bi-sm al-āb al-ibn wa-rūḥ al-quds* “In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost”; see Almbadth (2010) and Potthast (2019).

12 Abbreviated capital letters indicate a document’s typology, Arabic Epistolography (A), Arabic Coinage (AC), and Arab-style documents (AS) respectively. Letters following the hyphen indicate the language of Arab-style documents, Greek (Gr.), Sogdian (Sg.), Middle Persian (MP), Bactrian (Bc.), and Latin (Lt.) respectively. Arabic numerals indicate the relative position of a formula.

13 On theonyms in the Qur’an, see Böwering (2002) 316a–319a, s.v. “God and His attributes” and Kaplony (2018) 321–323. On *al-rahmān* (South Arabic *rhmn*) in particular, see Robin (2015) 153–171, Nebes (2010) 35–40, and Kaplony (2018) 321; cf. Crone (2010) 166–169.

14 Ambros/Procházka (2004) 305.

15 Cf. below AS-Gr. 4 and n. 27.

respondence lacks the distinctive features of coeval Arabic documents.¹⁶ But the Greek and bilingual letters sent by Muslim officials to their Christian subordinates in seventh- and eighth-century Syria and Egypt – whether alone or accompanied by Arabic versions¹⁷ – are quite different: their writers adhered closely to the formal typology of official Arabic letters. They open with **(AS-Gr. 1a)** the invocation *en onomati tou theou* “in God’s name” or **(AS-Gr. 1b)** *en onomati tou theou tou pantokratoros*¹⁸ “in the name of God, the Almighty.” Both invocations are used in documents issued by the chanceries of governors or dukes. Documents issued by the chanceries of pagarchs customarily use the invocation *syn theō* “with God” instead.¹⁹ The invocation is followed by the **(AS-Gr. 2)** address in the format N.N. to N.N., **(AS-Gr. 3)** the salutation *eirēnē soi*²⁰ or *hymīn*²¹ “peace to you” **(AS-Gr. 4)** the benediction *eucharistoumen* or *eucharistō tō theō* “we/I thank God” and **(AS-Gr. 5a)** the transition element *kai meta tauta* (in Egypt) or **(AS-Gr. 5b)** *epeita* (in Syria) “and afterwards.” At the closing, **(AS-Gr. 6a)** the greeting *eirēnē soi/hymīn*²² is repeated and in some letters expanded with **(AS-Gr. 6b)** the addition *apo tou theou*²³ which is probably intended to reflect the Arabic *wa-rahmat allāh*.²⁴ The salutation and valediction, in particular, are invariably omitted from the Arab-style letters in Greek sent by the governor of Egypt Qurra b. Sharīk (in office 709–714) to the pagarch Basileios between 709 and 711. Greek Arab-style letters often contain the **(AS-Gr. 7)** scribal note *egraphē* “it was written” and a date according to the indiction year or both the indiction year and the Hijrī year.²⁵

16 Luiselli (2008) 696. For a collection of early Islamic Greek letters by Christian officials lacking the Arab-style prescript, see Luiselli (2008) n. 127.

17 It is generally assumed that Greek letters dispatched to Christian officials were paired with a more “representative” Arabic copy. This was first hypothesized by Bell (1910) XLII, who also suggested a number of pairs (*P.Lond.* IV 1349 and *P.Heid.Arab.* I 1, *P.Lond.* IV 1359 or 1345 and *P.BeckerPAF* 3, and *P.Lond.* IV and *P.BeckerPAF* 3 frag. 4). The Greek and Arabic missives, however, differ markedly in wording; see Richter (2010) 214.

18 *P.Ness.* 63.5 (Nessana; 675); *P.Ness.* 71.r 1 (Nessana; late VII); *P.Ness.* 72.1 (Nessana; 684); *P.Ness.* 73.1 (Nessana; 683) (restored by the editor); *P.Ross.Georg.* V 11.r 1 (origin unknown/Egypt; VIII) (Fr. 1 *pantokratoros*), *PSI* XV 1570 (Edfu; 712).

19 Morelli (2001) 53–54.

20 *SB* I 4826.r 1 (Fayyūm; VII); *SB* VIII 9748.r 1 (Fayyūm; VII); *SB* VIII 9752.r 1 (Fayyūm; VII) (reconstructed by the editor).

21 *PSI* XV 1570.r 3 (Edfu; 712).

22 *P.Apoll.* 5.3 (Edfu; VII–VIII) (*eirēnē hymīn*); *P.Apoll.* 8.r 5 (Edfu; VII–VIII) (*eirēnē soi*); *P.Ness.* 70.r 9 (Nessana; 685) (*eirēnē soi*); *P.Ness.* 74.r 10 (Nessana; 685) (*eirēnē soi*); *PSI* XV 1570.r 13 (Edfu; 712) (*eirēnē hymīn*).

23 *P.Apoll.* 7.r 4 (Edfu; VII–VIII); *P.Lond.* V 1892; *P.Ness.* 68.r 6 (Nessana; 680); *SB* VIII 9748.r 5 (Fayyūm; VII); a further unpublished letter (*P.Vind. inv.* G 44498) only contains the segment *apo tou theou*; see Morelli (2010a) 42.

24 Luiselli (2008) 699.

25 For an (incomplete) survey of Greek and Coptic documents dated according to the Muslim era, see Worp (1985) 109–113. An integration of the list is provided by Bagnall/Worp (2004) 300 n. 1.

As the prescript and closing of Arab-style Greek letters are unparalleled in pre-Islamic Greek epistolography,²⁶ both can be considered as innovations brought by the Arabs.²⁷ Upon comparison, the Arabic and Arab-style Greek formularies are not identical. The Greek invocation (**AS-Gr. 1a** and **b**) is shortened and substitutes the binomial *allāh* and *al-raḥmān* (**A 1**) with the standard Greek term for the monotheistic God, *theos*. The variant *en onomati tou theou tou pantokratoros* (**AS-Gr. 1b**) further introduces an element absent from the Arabic model.²⁸ The concept of an omnipotent god is common to all Abrahamic religions and is neither specifically Muslim nor specifically Christian. The corresponding Arabic expression to the Greek *pantokratōr*, *allāh ‘alā kull shay’ qadīr* – though not encountered in early Islamic documentary sources – is in fact a phrase that occurs frequently in the Qur’an (e.g. Q 2:107). Given the language and the intended readership of the documents at issue, however, the immediate horizon of reference of the *pantokratōr* invocation would certainly have been quite different, as the epithet *pantokratōr* is recurrently used in the Greek versions of both the Old and New Testaments.²⁹ The Arab-style Greek *pantokratōr* invocation thus introduces a term rooted in the Christian tradition but hidden behind the façade of Muslim administrative jargon.³⁰

The Greek salutation *eirēnē soi/hymīn* (**AS-Gr. 3**) is closely modelled on the Arabic *salām ‘alay-ka/‘alay-kum* (**A 3**). It is noteworthy, however, that Arabic letters addressed to Christians omit the salutation, whereas it is occasionally found in seventh-century Arab-style Greek letters.³¹

The Greek benediction (**AS-Gr. 4**) is shortened and religiously neutralized as it lacks the Muslim proclamation of faith (**A 4a2**). The omission of the only element of the formulary *explicitly* hinting at the Muslim – or at least strictly monotheistic – identity of the sender sites the Arab-style Greek formulary in a non-definitional-monotheistic rather than in a specifically Islamic religious milieu.

Equally remarkable is the Greek valediction: whether in the short form *eirēnē soi/hymīn* (**AS-Gr. 6a**) or in the longer variant *eirēnē soi/hymīn apo tou theou* (**AS-Gr. 6b**), the Greek valediction³² is clearly modelled on the Arabic *wa-l-salām ‘alay-ka* (**A 6a**) rather than on the variant reserved for Christian addressees *wa-l-salām ‘alā man it-*

²⁶ Luiselli (2008) 692–697.

²⁷ A handful of seventh- and eighth-century Coptic letters also display formal characteristics that can be traced back to Arabic formal influences. These include the invocation *hm p-ran m-p-noute* “in the name of God,” the salutation *t-irēnē na-k/nē-tn* “peace to you” or *t-irēnē m-p-noute na-k* “God’s peace to you,” the transition element *mnsa nai* “after this,” and the valediction *t-irēnē na-k/nē-tn* “peace to you”; see Richter (2008) 763.

²⁸ I owe to Johannes Thomann (Zurich) the ingenious suggestion that the Greek *en onomati tou theou tou pantokratoros* may have been intended to recreate the metrical effect of the Arabic *bi-sm allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*.

²⁹ On *pantokratōr*, see Montevicchi (1956) particularly 418–430.

³⁰ Luiselli (2008) 698.

³¹ See above n. 21 and 22.

³² See above n. 23 and 24.

taba'a al-hudā (A 6b) despite all Arab-style Greek letters being addressed to Christians. The difference between the two greetings lies not so much in their religious associative potential (both wordings transcend religious affiliations in principle) but in the cultural difference between the (Muslim) sender and the (Christian) addressee which is accentuated by the Arabic formulation. This holds true for (A 6c) the variant of the formula encountered in the letter addressed by the governor Mūsā b. Ka'b (in office 758–759) to the ruler of Nubia (*P.HindsNubia* [Qasr Ibrim; 758])³³ *salām 'alā awliyā' allāh wa-ahl ṭā'ati-hi* “peace be upon the friends of God and those who obey Him.” The (A 6d) valediction on a letter sent by the governor Qurra b. Sharīk to the pagarch of Ihnās concerning Qusta “the *quṣṭāl*”³⁴ (*P.GrohmannQorra-Brief* [Fayyūm; 709]) *wa-l-salām 'alā muḥammad al-nabiy wa-rahmat allāh* “Peace and God’s Mercy be upon the Prophet Muḥammad” has, in contrast, an explicitly Muslim connotation.³⁵

In other words, while the formulaic structure of early Islamic Arabic letters to Christian officials tends to stress cultural diversity between the Muslim sender and the Christian addressee, the Arab-style Greek letters do not do so. Upon comparison, Arab-style Greek letters are, in fact, closer in formulary to Arabic missives between Arab Muslims than they are to Arabic missives dispatched to Christians. Accordingly, the religious tone of Arab-style Greek letters is non-denominational. The anti-Trinitarian *shahāda* (A 4a2) is omitted and the vocabulary is culturally neutralized. The dichotomy *allāh* and *al-rahmān* (A 1) which is only meaningful in an “Arabian” cultural background is eliminated from the Greek invocation and substituted with the biblical/Abrahamic terms *theos* and *pantokratōr* (AS-Gr. 1a and b).

Arab-style Greek letters also differ from their Arabic counterparts in their appearance. Arabic official epistolography before 800 is characterized by a distinctive layout using *alineae* and *vacats*³⁶ to divide the documents’ formulaic components into graphically separate layout blocks.³⁷ Arab-style Greek letters, on the contrary, are organized in a single continuous text block. The same difference is apparent in bilingual Arabic/Greek demand notes framed as short letters from Egypt (the so-called *entagia*). The Arabic invocation is separated from the rest of the text by an *alineae*, but the Greek one is not graphically set apart from the main body of the document. Specimens from Syria-Palestine show a closer correspondence between the layout of

³³ *P.HindsNubia* is discussed in greater detail in Schmidt’s contribution to the present volume.

³⁴ On the office of the *quṣṭāl*, see Grohmann (1964) 276–277. On the etymology of the term < Gr. *augoustalis*, see Kaplony *apud* Richter (2010) 209.

³⁵ I would like to thank Daniel Potthast (LMU) for calling the two formulas to my attention.

³⁶ On the graphic arrangement of Arabic papyrus letters, see Grob (2010) 187–200.

³⁷ In official Arabic epistolography (1) the *basmala*, (2) the address and the salutation, (3) the benediction, and (4) the transition formula and the main body of the text are typically singled out on the layout level. In some specimens (most notably in Qurra letters), the indented last line builds a further layout block. A comprehensive study of the layout and graphic features of Arabic documents on papyrus and paper is being undertaken by the Arabic Papyrology Database research group (Munich). I am indebted to the project’s members for giving me access to internal data.

the Arabic and Greek texts, with the invocation forming a separate layout block in both.³⁸ The same layout is apparent only in two examples we have from Egypt.³⁹

Arab-style Greek missives from Muslim officials furthermore employ crosses (✕) as beginning and end markers.⁴⁰ On eighth-century documents, crosses are frequently replaced by two oblique strokes (//) or, less frequently, by the two symbols € and ⱥ. These are commonly used in Arabic letters and in Greek and Coptic documents issued by Muslims. Richter, however, has convincingly shown that the use of these symbols transcended religious affiliation. They were, rather, components of an epistolary etiquette also employed by Christians when addressing Muslims and even, albeit rarely, in missives between (arguably) Christian correspondents.⁴¹ The meaning of the two strokes is unknown, though they might have an antecedent in a similar item (\\//)⁴² used as a paragraph and end marker in Sabaic legal documents.⁴³ The symbol // is not used consistently, however, and Greek tax demands issued by Muslim officials continue to display crosses and Christograms well into the eighth century.⁴⁴ In sum, though typologically discernible from the correspondence of Christian officials, Arab-style Greek chancery writings issued in the name of Muslim administrators generally maintained the overall appearance of Byzantine documents.⁴⁵ Explicit cultural affiliation with the Arab-Muslim milieu could be expressed by secondary visual markers like symbols or by the omission of crosses. This was, however, neither a mandatory nor a universal practice.

Arab officials, Roman honorifics

One particular aspect of how Arab-style Greek documents differed from the canons of Arabic epistolography pertains to the way Arab-Muslim officials are introduced and addressed in their Greek missives. On Arabic documents, the sender is common-

³⁸ *P.Ness.* 60–67 (Nessana; all dated between 674 and 690).

³⁹ *P.Heid.Arab.* I h and *P.Heid.Arab.* I f = *SB* I 5649 (Ishqawh; 709–710).

⁴⁰ As indicative examples, see *SB* XX 14443 (Ahnās; 643) issued in the name of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, *CPR* VIII 78 (origin unknown/Egypt; VII–VIII) issued in the name of ‘Aṭiya b. Ju‘ayd and *P.StoezerSteuerquittung* (Ushmūn/Hermopolis; 694 or 709) issued in the name of Sufyān b. Ghunaym.

⁴¹ Richter (2003) 223–230.

⁴² On this symbol, see Stein (2010) 31.

⁴³ The three slanting strokes used as paragraph marker in *P.Cair.Arab.* 39.27 (Egypt; 878), for instance, are strikingly resemblant of the one used in Sabaic documents; cf. e.g. *X.BSB* 107 (origin unknown; V).

⁴⁴ Examples of eighth-century Greek documents issued in the name of Arab officials and displaying crosses and/or Christograms are *CPR* XIX 27 (Fayyūm; 730–750) from the chancery of Nājid b. Muslim (in office c. 730–750) and *SPP* III 260 (Medinat al-Fayyūm; 753) from the chancery of Yaḥyā b. Hilāl (in office 745–761?). On Nājid, see in particular Sijpesteijn (2013) 124–136. On Yaḥyā, see Gonis (2004) 189–192 and Worp (1984) 103–107.

⁴⁵ This is not peculiar to papyrological documents. The Greek inscription of Mu‘āwiya I mentioned above also opens with a cross; see di Segni (1997) n. 54.

ly introduced by name and patronymic and his official function is mentioned only rarely.⁴⁶ In Arab-style Greek letters, in contrast, senders often give their names and titles (as was customary in the Byzantine tradition) or their names, patronymics, and titles.⁴⁷

Titles borne by Arab officials in Greek and Coptic documents from Egypt can be borrowed from the Arabic e.g. *amira/amiras*⁴⁸ or translated from Arabic e.g. *epikeimenos pagarchias* (< Arab. *ṣāḥib al-kūra*).⁴⁹ Some others are newly coined terms such as in the case of the Greek title of the Islamic governors, *symboloulos*.⁵⁰ Many more, however, have deeper roots in local practices. Noteworthy in this regard is the resilience of Roman honorifics in Greek and Coptic documents issued under Islamic rule, although they were now used more abitrarily than in the Byzantine period.⁵¹ The most blatant such example is the adoption of the Roman *gentilitium* turned honorific “Flavius.”⁵² The two Arab officials Flavius Atias, son of Goedos (‘Atiya b. Ju‘ayd),⁵³ and Flavius Ioseph, son of Abeid (Yūsuf b. ‘Ubayd), are known to bear it in Greek and Coptic documents issued by their respective chanceries. Other indirect evidence for the use of the same *gentilitium* by Arab officials comes from two Coptic documents mentioning one Flavius Saal, son of Abdella (Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh).⁵⁴ The adoption of a Roman *gentilitium* by Arab Muslims allows us to infer that the connotations of Byzantine usages had survived despite their original referential dimension having disappeared. The different use of titles in Arabic and Arab-style documents also bears witness to the existence of a janiform system of social etiquette: translations and borrowings of Roman honorifics are never found in coeval Arabic letters. Only when writing in Greek (and/or Coptic) did Muslim officials “pose” as Byzantine aristocrats.⁵⁵ A close parallel is provided by the use of the title *pērōz* “victorious” on

⁴⁶ Notable exceptions to this rule are the *entagia* of the governor ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān in which the issuing authority is introduced by name and patronym as well as by title both in the Arabic (‘*abd al-‘aziz b. marwān al-amīr*) and Greek (*abdelaziz uios marouan symboloulos*) versions. A survey of the *entagia* issued in the name of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz is provided by Delattre *et al.* (2013) 364–365 and Delattre/Vanthieghem (2016) 119.

⁴⁷ This discrepancy is already apparent in the Arabic and Greek versions of the pre-Islamic bilingual inscription of Ḥarrān, see Kaplony (2016) 391.

⁴⁸ On the use of *amira/amiras* in Greek and Coptic documents, see Morelli (2010b) 161–162 and Sijpesteijn (2013) 117–120.

⁴⁹ Gonis (2004) 190.

⁵⁰ On *symboloulos* and its origin, see Morelli (2010b) *passim*.

⁵¹ Papaconstantinou (2009) 452–454.

⁵² On the use of Flavius as a Roman-Byzantine honorific, see Keenan (1973) and Keenan (1974).

⁵³ On “Flavius Atias” and his archive, see Sijpesteijn/Worp (1983) 189–197, Cromwell (2013), Sijpesteijn (2013) 201–202, and Legendre (2016) 11–15.

⁵⁴ On the use of Flavius in Islamic times, see Sijpesteijn (2013) 202; Papaconstantinou (2009) 453–454, and Gonis/Morelli (2000) 194.

⁵⁵ This does not apply to the caliph, who is only incidentally referred to with a Greek title (*prōtosymboloulos*) in one papyrus (*CPR* VIII 82) and – *pace* Crone/Hinds (1986) – is otherwise always mentioned

Arab-Sasanian⁵⁶ coins minted in the former Sasanian territories. In the Sasanian ceremonial, the title *pērōz* was reserved for the Sasanian Kings of Kings; it is attested in the coinage of Kavād II and Visthām. But on coins minted in Islamic times, *perōz* is used in an attributive sense for Arab governors.⁵⁷ At the other end of the spectrum, non-Arabs could also be addressed with figures of speech usually reserved for Muslims. When the Muslim official Yazīd b. Aslam sent a letter (*CPR* XVI 4 [Ihnās; VIII]) to his colleague, the scribe Petosiris⁵⁸, he employed a hybrid formulary. In this missive, the benediction lacks the *ilay-ka* (A 4b) which was customary in letters addressed to Christians.⁵⁹ Yet unlike standard Arabic missives to Christian addressees, Yazīd's letter contains the salutation and the valediction generally reserved for Muslims (A 3 and A 6a). A similar case is attested by *PJahn* 12 = *Chrest.Khoury* I 98 (Fayyūm; VIII) in which one Umm al-Ḥakam writes to the Copt Mēnas Pekosh. Here, again, the benediction drops the *ilay-ka*, but the salutation and valediction generally reserved for Muslims (*al-salām* 'alay-ka) are used. It seems that unlike the pagarch Basileios, who had not yet mastered Arabic upon receiving Qurra's Arabic letters, the late eighth-century Copts Petosiris and Mēnas had gained mastery of the language of dominion and consequently enjoyed higher social recognition.

Parallel epistolographic traditions: The “Arabic” letters from Sogdiana

Evidence from other regions can help us contextualise these results in a broader framework. Outside Egypt and Syria, substantial bodies of documents issued by the Muslim authorities in languages other than Arabic are exceedingly rare. A precious exception is the Sogdian letter sent by the *amīr* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Šubḥ to the self-styled “king of Sogdia” Dēwāštich (706–722) and excavated in the Mount Mugh fortress in Tajikistan: Mugh 1.1 (Zarafshān; 722–723).⁶⁰ The formal structure of this letter closely resembles that of Arab-style Greek epistolography. The missive

with his Arabic title whether in Arabic or Greek: Arab. *‘abd allāh amīr al-mu‘minīn* /Gr. *abdella amir-almouminin*.

56 The designation “Arab-Sasanian” was introduced by Walker (1941). On the definition, see Album/Goodwin (2002) 1.

57 Gyselen (2002) 94–95. For the possible use of *pērōz* as a personal name in Arab-Sasanian numismatics, see Gyselen (2002) 72.

58 On the figure of Petosiris and on phenomena of cultural brokerage in early Islamic Egypt, see Reinfandt's contribution in this volume.

59 See above (A 4b).

60 On the archaeological context of the discovery and the edition history of the document, see Livshits (2015) 15–16 and Yakubovich (2002) 232–234.

opens with (AS-Sg. 1) the invocation “in the Name of God, the centre of creation”⁶¹ followed by the address (AS-Sg. 2) and the (AS-Sg. 3) benediction “honor/thanks to God” rendering the Arabic *basmala* (A 1) and *ḥamdala* (A 4a) respectively. Unlike its Greek counterparts, the Sogdian letter contains no transition formula linking the prescript to the body of the letter, and the loss of the lower part makes it impossible to ascertain the presence of the valediction and scribal note. Significantly, Mugh 1.1’s formal structure differs markedly from that of the other Sogdian letters from the same archive which do not display an introductory invocation and open with an address and an endophoric reference to the type of the missive (e.g. “a report/a message” etc.).⁶²

As regards the phraseology, a tendency towards the employment of non-denominational figures of religious speech with a connection to the local tradition can be noticed. The invocation “in the name of god, the creator”⁶³ (*pm’ m βγγ⁶⁴ δ’mδn’k*) (AS-Sg. 1) distances itself from the Arabic *basmala* (A 1). The epithet *δ’mδn’k* “creator,” “centre of creation” in particular, corresponds to the Middle Persian *dādār*⁶⁵ “creator,” one of the most recurrent attributes and theonyms of Ahura Mazdā in Zoroastrian literature.⁶⁶ The Middle Persian invocation *pad nām ī dādār* “in the name of the creator” is, in fact, a recurrent opening formula in Zoroastrian texts preserved in Middle Persian.⁶⁷ Due to the omission of the Muslim *shahāda* (A 4a2), the religious constellation of the formulary remains, moreover, vaguely monotheistic. In contrast to most Arab-style Greek letters, Mugh 1.1 is clearly influenced by Arabic epistolography in its layout. In most specimens of Sogdian letters from Dēwāštīch’s archive, the text appears in a continuous rectangular layout block. In four exemplars,⁶⁸ the second part of the address and the following line are inset so that they are visually distinguishable from the opening of the missive. In Mugh 1.1, on the contrary, the initial invocation builds a layout block graphically separate from the main body of the letter.⁶⁹ Another Sogdian letter from the same archive issued in the name of Sa’id b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, governor (*xm’yr* < Arab. *amīr*) of Khurāsān from 720 to 721, and ad-

61 The translation is based on the latest reedition of the text by Sims-Williams *apud* Livshits (2015); cf. Henning (1965).

62 For the other documents belonging to Dēwāštīch’s archive, see Livshits (2015) 52–53.

63 Translation according to Yakubovich (2002); see also Henning (1965) 249.

64 On the use of *βγ*-, lit. “lord,” as a theonym in Sogdian documents, see Henning (1965). Cf. Bailey *et al.* (1989) 401a–403b, s.v. “Baga.”

65 Cf. also Bud. Sog. *δ’mδr’k* “creator,” “master of creation” used as a eulogy in Sogdian Buddhist texts; see TSP 8: 61, 71, 75, and 190 and TSP 8 bis: 5 and 9.

66 Boyce (1985) 685a and Nyberg (1974) 60, s.v. “*dātār*”; cf. Kellens (1989).

67 Nyberg (1964) 1 and 18. The rarer variant *pad nām ī dādār weh abzōnīg* “in the name of the Creator, the Beneficent, the Bountiful” is probably a rendering of the complete Arabic invocation *bi-sm allāh al-raḥmām al-raḥīm*; see Nyberg (1974) 26.

68 Mugh A-14; Mugh Nov. 2; Mugh B-16 and Mugh B-15 (all undated).

69 Livshits (2015) 90, fig. 24.

dressed to one *wxshw*-(...),⁷⁰ the “chief priest of Samarkand,” also opens with the invocation *prn'm βyy δ'mδn'k*.⁷¹ The first line of the missive is broken by a lacuna after the invocation, but the remaining part of the address on the second line suggests that the invocation and address were separated by an *alinea* as in Mugh 1.1. The document was used to line a dagger's scabbard, and it is in a very poor state of preservation. The many lacunae hinder attempts to ascertain the presence or absence of other Arab-style formulaic features as well as further consideration of the document's layout.

A few years beforehand, the same Dēwāštīch had addressed an Arabic petition (*P.Krachiovsky* [Zarafshān/717–719]) to the *amīr* Jarrāḥ b. 'Abd Allāh (in office 717–719).⁷² The phraseology reveals some divergences from the Sogdian Arab-style missive described above. Unlike in Mugh 1.1, Dēwāštīch is not introduced with his royal title “King of Sogdia and ruler of Samarkand” but styles himself “*mawlā* (lit. “client”) of the *amīr*” instead. More notably, in *P.Krachiovsky*, the benediction includes the Muslim proclamation of faith (lines 4–5) signaling Dēwāštīch's recognition – at least *de iure* – of Islam.⁷³ This indicates that the omission of the *shahāda* in Mugh 1.1 does not mark a religious parameter *stricto sensu* but is an element of epistolary civility. Conversely, by issuing a petition in Arabic and adopting a Muslim *habitus*, Dēwāštīch placed himself – albeit in a lower position⁷⁴ – in the same cultural milieu as his patron Jarrāḥ, whose favors he was beseeching.

Parallel scribal traditions: numismatics

A) Pre-reform coinage (632–696)

Officially sponsored Arab-style textual sources from outside Egypt are almost entirely supplied by the field of numismatics. For the first 60 years of Islamic rule, Arab numismatics mimicked Byzantine and Sasanian traditions, following their formal conventions and general appearance and using the official languages of the Byzantine and Sasanian bureaucracies.⁷⁵ From 651 onwards, Arabic legends are encoun-

⁷⁰ The second part of the name is unreadable.

⁷¹ The text is edited by Livshit (1962) 221. An image of the document is provided by Livshit (2015) 204–205.

⁷² On Dēwāštīch's political manoeuvring, see Yakubovich (2002).

⁷³ It is worth mentioning that Sogdian coins issued in Panjikent during Dēwāštīch's rule contain invocations of the local goddess “Nana, Lady of Panj.” Grenet (1989) 176 and n. 34. For the interpretation of Nana as a goddess, see Henning (1965) 252 and n. 67 and 68.

⁷⁴ The lower social standing of Dēwāštīch in *P.Krachiovsky* is indicated not only by the generally rather humble tone of the missive and the qualification “client of the *amīr*” but also by the positioning of the sender's name after the addressee's one (line 2).

⁷⁵ For a synoptic overview of the main phases of early Islamic numismatics, see Album/Goodwin (2002) 4–34 and 77–98 and Heidemann (2009) 151–169.

tered with increasing frequency on Arab-Sasanian coinage both as validating marks concerning the quality of the coin, and in short religious invocations. Here, Arabic and Pahlavi legends build two independent components of the coins' formulary and are not mutual translations. From the 660s–670s on, Arab-Byzantine copper coinage minted in Greater Syria (so-called “Umayyad imperial coinage”)⁷⁶ displays bilingual Arabic/Greek legends consisting of validating marks and mint-names. When more elaborate Arabic invocations appear, they are not accompanied by Greek translations.⁷⁷

A Middle Persian rendering of the *basmala* in Pahlavi characters *pad nām ī yazdt* “in the name of God” (**AS-MP. 1**) can be seen on a bilingual Arabic/Middle Persian weight⁷⁸ and possibly on standing-caliph⁷⁹ coppers from the mint of Susa.⁸⁰ The same invocation is attested in a number of eighth-century Middle Persian documents from the so-called “Pahlavi archive”⁸¹ as well as in an early Islamic Middle Persian letter on papyrus.⁸² The Bactrian equivalent of the formula *pido namo iezid-aso* “In the name of God” (**AS-Bc. 1**)⁸³ is used in *BD I Y* (Balkh; 771–772)⁸⁴ a Bactrian edict from the bilingual Bactrian-Arabic archive of family of Bēk⁸⁵ issued by a local Turkish ruler. The Middle Persian and Bactrian rendering of the *basmala* parallels the Greek *en onomati tou theou* (**AS-Gr. 1a**) in that it expunges the distinctive binomial *allāh/al-*

⁷⁶ For the definition of “Umayyad imperial coinage,” see Album/Goodwin (2002) 74–75 and Goodwin (2012) 186. For an overview of the divergent terminology used by scholars to refer to the different phases of Islamic transitional coinage, see Schulze/Oddy (2012) 187–193.

⁷⁷ Such is the case e.g. of the *al-wafā' li-l-lāh* “obedience belongs to God” coins. On these coins, see Foss (2008) 35 and Milstein (1988–1989).

⁷⁸ Curiel/Gignoux (1976) 165–169.

⁷⁹ On the definition “standing-caliph,” see Album/Goodwin (2002) 74 and Schulze/Oddy (2012) 193.

⁸⁰ Gyselen (2000) 98, *ASCC* 40, and Treadwell (2008) 360 and n. 113. Based on the readings of Humbach (1966) 60 and (1967) 47 and *contra* Göbl (1967), the Pahlavi legends of a number (n. 211–216 and 244) of early Islamic Hunnic coin-emissions also feature the invocation *PWN SHM' ZY yazdt = pat nām ī yazdt* “In the name of God,” influenced by the Arabic *bi-sm allāh*. The readings are, however, doubtful.

⁸¹ Weber (2008).

⁸² Weber (2005).

⁸³ The invocation *pido namo iezid-aso* is not used in any other document from the same archive whether of legal, private, or literary pertinence; it reflects, rather, the influence of the Arabic *basmala*; see Sims-Williams (2007) 217, s.v. *iezid-*.

⁸⁴ On the era used in the Bactrian documents (starting point 223 CE) from the archive, see de Blois (2006) and Sims-Williams/de Blois (2018).

⁸⁵ The circumstances of the finding and acquisition of the Bēk family archive are obscure. From internal references, one can deduce that the archive was located in the area of Balkh. On this topic, see Sims-Williams/de Blois (2018) 12–13 and Khan (2007) 14–19. The Bactrian materials (about 150 documents/*BD I* and *II*) are mostly private legal documents and letters, plus a number of accounts and a handful of Buddhist literary texts. The oldest dated items reach as far back as the fourth century, while the most recent ones stretch into the late eighth century. The Arabic documents (33 documents/*P.Khurasan* and Khan [2008] fig. 7.2) fall into the timespan 755–777 and are (mostly) tax receipts and assorted legal documents.

rahmān (A 1) of the Arabic original in favor of the more locally rooted *yazd* “god.”⁸⁶ Furthermore, the Middle Persian translation of the *basmala* is reminiscent of the formula *pad nām ī yazdān* “in the name of the gods” encountered in the third century Mazdean Middle Persian inscription of Paikuli⁸⁷ and in the fourth-century Zoroastrian inscription of Meshkinshahr.⁸⁸ The resemblance between the two legends induced Gignoux to postulate a Persian origin of the Muslim invocation.⁸⁹ In the light of the evidence shown in this paper, one can tentatively assume that precisely the opposite is the case: that the Persian translation of the Arabic *basmala* may have been modelled to resemble formulaic usages rooted in local tradition.⁹⁰

B) Post-reform coinage

The reform of the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik in the year 77/696–697 gave Islamic numismatics its definitive form alongside its standard formulary consisting of Qur’anic paraphrases. The obverse side of reformed gold coinage displays the full proclamation of faith embracing the central legend (AC 1) *lā ilāh illā allāh waḥda-hu lā sharīk la-hu* “there is no god but God alone, He has no associate” and the marginal legend (AC 2) *muḥammad rasūl allāh* (Q 48:9) *arsala-hu bi-l-hudā wa-dīn al-ḥaqq li-yuḏhira-hu ‘alā al-dīn kulli-hi* (Q 48:28) “Muḥammad is God’s Messenger, He has sent Him with the guidance and the religion of truth so that He may proclaim it above all religions.”⁹¹ The reverse displays (AC 3) the text of Sura *al-Ikhlāṣ* (Q 112) in the central legend *allāh aḥad allāh al-ṣamad lam yalid wa-lam yūlad* “God, One, the Eternal He does not beget nor was begotten” and the executive marginal legend (AC 4) *bi-sm allāh ḍuriba ḥadhā al-dīnār bi-kadhā fī sanat kadhā* “in the name of God this *dīnār* was minted in so-and-so in the year so-and-so.”

Ironically, the first recorded use of this distinctive “Arab” formulary on coinage is not found on Arabic coins. In 72/691–692, when the Second Islamic Civil War was reaching its close, the Zubayrid⁹² governor of Sijistān, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmīr, minted Middle Persian coins featuring the Muslim *shahāda* in Pahlavi script:

⁸⁶ For some examples of the use of *yazd* in Sasanian epigraphy, see the references in Gignoux (1972) s.v. *yazd*.

⁸⁷ For the text of the Paikuli inscription, see Humbach/Skjærvø (1983).

⁸⁸ For the text of the Meshkinshahr inscription, see Frye/Skjærvø (1996).

⁸⁹ Gignoux (1979) and Gignoux/Algar (1990) 172a.

⁹⁰ The *basmala* more probably reflects Judeo-Christian influences; see Shaked (1992) 152–153.

⁹¹ On reformed dirhams, this legend is displayed on the reverse side and encompasses the extra bit *wa-law kariha al-mushrikūn* “... even if the ‘associators’ hate it.” For the determination of the reverse side on silver reformed coinage, see Bacharach (2010) 16.

⁹² On the strategies of Zubayrid propaganda, see Lynch (2014) and Foss (2013); cf. Treadwell (2012).

dōaftād
yazd-ew bē oy
any yazd nēst
Muḥammad paygāmbar ī yazd
 SK

“Seventy-two
 One God but He
 Another God does not exist
 Muhammad (is) the Messenger of God
 SK (= Sagastān)⁹³”

These coins not only feature an *ante litteram*⁹⁴ transposition of the complete *shahāda* but also embrace the all-epigraphic layout of the future reformed coinage. Even the disposition of the legends heralds the layout of the all-epigraphic coinage whereby the administrative information encloses the field legend.

Gradually, the new all-epigraphic Arabic coins supplanted Arab-Byzantine and Arab-Sasanian emissions throughout the empire. Latin coins minted at the western edge of the Muslim Empire in North Africa and Spain between c. 698 and 716 are exceptional in this respect, as they organically combine translations of the Arab formula with elements of pre-reform coinage. This hybrid nature is apparent already on visual grounds: gold emissions minted at the newly established main North African mint⁹⁵ are entirely epigraphic, following the model of the reformed Syrian series. The mint of the old Byzantine regional capital of Carthage, on the contrary, minted image-based gold coins with Byzantine iconography.⁹⁶

Arab-Byzantine Latin coinage has a few remarkable features. The arrangement of the legends is distinctive, to begin with: in Arabic reformed coinage, the *basmala* and *shahāda* are not part of the same legend, but on Muslim Latin coinage, they often appear together. As regards the legends themselves, renderings of the *basmala* (A 1) range from relatively faithful ones like (AS-Lt. 1a):

in nomine domini misericordis
 “In the name of the Merciful Lord/In the name of the Lord, the Merciful”

to unparalleled reformulations such as (AS-Lt. 1b):

in nomine tuo deus vivificans et misericors
 “In Thy name, o life-giving and merciful God”

⁹³ The first specimen of this kind was published by Mochiri (1981) from whom I reproduce both the Middle Persian text and the translation; Mochiri (1981) translates “doesn’t.”

⁹⁴ The Pahlavi epigraphic issues of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amir postdate by a year the earliest attestation of (a version of) the profession of faith found on a Arabic tombstone from Aswan, and are contemporary to the versions of the *shahāda* included in the Arabic legends of imitative Byzantine *solidi* and on the so-called “standing-caliph” gold coinage minted in Damascus, as well as in the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. On the earliest versions of the *shahāda*, see Bacharach/Anwar (2012).

⁹⁵ It is debated whether the main North African mint was an urban one or an itinerant mint; see Jonson (2015) 219.

⁹⁶ Bates (1995) 13.

The same holds true for renderings of the *shahāda*. Some adhere very closely to the Arabic model, among them the legend (**AS-Lt. 2a**):

non est deus nisi ipse solus cui socius non est

“There is no God but He (Himself) alone, Who has no associate”

or slight variations thereof. Parallel, freer reformulations of the profession of faith, however, are also very common such as (**AS-Lt. 2b**):

non deus nisi deus omnium creator

“There is no God but God, the Creator of all things”

Finally, some of the Latin phraseology is almost entirely unrelated in wording to the original Arabic model. This is the case in invocations like (**AS-Lt. 0a**):

deus eternus deus magnus omnium creator

“God the Eternal, God the Great, the Creator of all things”

or (**AS-Lt. 0b**):

deus dominus noster magnus eternus omnia noscens

“God our Lord, the Wise, the Great, the Eternal, the All-knowing”

and (**AS-Lt. 0c**):

Deus tuus Deus

“Your god is God”

The array of theonyms and divine attributes used on Arab-Byzantine Latin coinage has parallels in both biblical and Qur’anic usage.⁹⁷ For cultural and linguistic reasons, however, biblical vocabulary would have been much more recognizable to local users of the coins. Furthermore, biblical references go beyond terminological affinities. In fact, some of the Latin invocations which have no parallel in the Arabic model phraseology echo passages of the Latin Vulgata. The invocation *in nomine tuo* for instance is found in several passages in the Old and New Testaments,⁹⁸ but has only extra-Qur’anic Arabic parallels and never occurs on Arabic coinage.⁹⁹ *Deus tuus Deus* (**AS-Lt. 0c**) echoes Deuteronomy 7:9 *Deus tuus ipse est Deus*. One of the legends in particular, (**AS-Lt. 0d**) *Dominus quis tibi similis*, is a verbatim quote from the

⁹⁷ A list of the Qur’anic parallels to the theonyms and attributes used in Islamic Latin coinage is provided by Walker (1956) C.

⁹⁸ E.g. in Ps 43:9, Ps 53:3, Ps 88:17, Ps 115:17, etc., and in Mt 7:22 etc.

⁹⁹ The reported text of the treaty of Ḥudaybiya opens with the invocation *bi-smi-ka allāhumma* “in Thy name, oh God.” On Muslim traditions pertaining to the treaty, see Wensinck (1927) 102a–b, s.v. “Ḥudaybiya.”

Psalms.¹⁰⁰ In addition, the second part of the *shahāda* proclaiming Muḥammad's prophetic mission (**AC 2**) and the markedly anti-Christian Sura *al-Ikhlāṣ* (**AC 3**) are the only legends of the Arabic formulary which are never once referenced in the Latin version(s).¹⁰¹

Commenting on the Islamic Latin coinage from North Africa, Bates discusses "the difficulty that these provincial early Muslims had in composing an adequate version of the Muslim *shahāda*" and ascribes these difficulties to the remoteness of the region from the imperial capital in Damascus.¹⁰² While a comprehensive explanation for the high degree of variations in the Latin formulary of Islamic coins from the Maghreb is yet to be provided, the adaptations of Muslim phraseology must be contextualized within the broader trend attested in different regions of the Islamic Empire. Like other corpora of Arab-style documents, Latin adaptations of the *shahāda* (**AS-Lt. 2a** and **b**) and *basmala* (**AS-Lt. 1a** and **b**) use the omission or re-elaboration of explicitly Muslim-Arab elements to create an ambiguous or rather ambivalent transcultural non-definitional monotheistic framework.

Concluding remarks

The shifting parameters of social behavior evidenced in this contribution place themselves at the confluence of the Arab-Muslim elite's need to stress its exclusive cultural traits, on the one hand, and to deploy effective communicative strategies, on the other. Much like their Arabic counterparts, Arab-style documents were the prerogative of Arab-Muslim officials and used their formal structure and, to a lesser extent, their aesthetic appearance to convey an impression of authority to their recipients. Whereas the Arabic writings of Arab-Muslim officials from early Islamic Egypt stressed specific Arab-Muslim cultural traits by means of language, formulary, and even layout, their Arab-style Greek correspondence shares not only a common language but also a common non-denominational *religious* language and common parameters of scribal politesse with pre-Islamic Greek epistolography. This institutionalized practice of cultural ambivalence is not to be read as a statement of cultural identity but as a form of negotiation and communicative civility. The comparison with documents from Syria, North Africa, and Khurāsān further reveals that, despite adjustments to the specific regional contexts, the social behavior of the Arab-Muslim ruling group towards the local Christian elite in Egypt aligned with a more general attitude towards the non-Muslim regional elites of the empire. For members of the Arab-Muslim imperial elite confronted with a largely non-Arabicized and non-Islamized social environment, negotiating the most divisive aspects of their cultural iden-

¹⁰⁰ Ps 44:10, Ps 70:19, Ps 82:2, and Ps 88:9.

¹⁰¹ In bilingual Latin-Arabic issues minted between 716 and 719, the Muḥammad formula is only in the Arabic text, see Bates (1992); *BMC* II n. 184-J. 6; Miles (1950) n. 1 (a–f).

¹⁰² Bates (1995) 15.

tity to create more fluid channels of cross-cultural communication seems to have been an acceptable and maybe even a necessary compromise.

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