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Sociohistorical and Linguistic Layers of Arabic in
Medieval Cairo:
The Case of Judaeo-Arabic

With Editions and Translations of Karaite Manuscripts of Judaeo-Arabic
Popular Literature on Biblical and Qurʾānic Prophets

Supplemented with Arabic Transliteration



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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is based on a number of unpublished Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts written by the indigenous Karaite Jews of Egypt who lived in the Jewish Quarter of Cairo during the early modern era. These 17th- through 19th-century manuscripts, all of which seem to have been copied from earlier archetypes, display narratives about Biblical and Qurānic prophets in poetry and prose. The narratives are adaptations of Jewish and Islamic sacred folklore, Biblical and Qurānic exegetic material and medieval Arabic poetry which seem to have been transmitted orally before acquiring their present shape. Whereas the material exhibits features typical for the spoken variety employed in Cairo today and the normative language of Classical Arabic, the texts also hold many remnants of medieval Arabic linguistic features which have fallen out of contemporary spoken or literary use, or which can be considered non-standard or pseudo-correct.

This dissertation argues that Arabic vernacular features were initially adopted by the Jewish community during times of prosperity and a high level of rapprochement between Jews and Muslims, then, at a later stage during times of hardship, became maintained and fossilized in the dialect of the Jews. Many of these features appear to have been preserved by the Jewish Egyptian community, mainly due to its initially strong social, cultural and linguistic integration into society towards the peak of the so-called Islamic golden age around the 11th and 12th centuries, and later its equally strong segregation from the overall society when under Mamlūk and Ottoman rule, a situation which seems to have persisted until the days of Muḥammad °Alī in the early-19th century. For this reason, whereas old features have fallen out of use in the variety of the overall society in Cairo, it is natural to believe that some of these have been preserved in the oral and literary heritage of the indigenous Karaite Jewish community.

Moreover, this dissertation discusses how language features such as these prove to correspond to dialects which are historically and demographically relevant to that of Cairo, as well as to waves of migration and other significant societal changes which have taken place in Egypt and Cairo since the Islamic conquest and until early modern times. As the title

indicates, it attempts to identify and reconstruct historical and demographical layers of the Arabic language employed all through this period in Egypt, predominantly in Cairo, and to offer possible explanations for the emergence and development of particular written and spoken features — of a particular medieval vintage.

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MAPS



Map 1: Reference map of the Western Islamic world during medieval times.



Map 2: Reference map of the Eastern Islamic world during medieval times.



Map 3: *Reference map of Egypt.*

TECHNICAL NOTES

0.1 Transliteration and Transcription

In order to accommodate readers who are not accustomed to Hebrew letters, notably the ‘Arabist’ readership in the fields of Middle Arabic, dialectology, sociolinguistics and the like, Judaeo-Arabic words and phrases appearing in this dissertation are supplemented with transliteration in Arabic script, and occasionally also Latin script.¹ For the same reason, an Arabic transliteration of all the annotated and translated editions has been included in the appendix. Here, Hebrew graphemes have been transliterated with their Arabic equivalents letter by letter. Consider the following example:

אנא אפעל פי כל מא תקולו בש אנתום שורו עלאיא ואנא אקבל מנכום

Supplemented by the Arabic transliteration, the same sentence will appear as in the example below:

אنا افعل في كل ما تقولو بش انتوم شورو علایا وانا اقبل منکوم

I will do whatever you say with what you advise me, and I will favour with you

Notwithstanding, some Hebrew signs do not always have equivalents in the standardized Arabic scripts today nor can all the Arabic letters be represented by Hebrew equivalents unless one adds diacritic marks. I have therefore found it necessary to adopt a system of transliteration in which a few signs which differ from the orthographic tradition of Modern Standard Arabic. One is the below dot (◌◌), employed to denote *imāla*,² and which

¹ A detailed distribution of letters and diacritics are given in 4.1, below.

² This *imāla*-sign has been adopted from the system of the 8th-9th-century Qur²ān transmitter Imām Warsh (d. 812). Even though most Arabic speaking countries today use the Modern Standard Arabic (Ḥafṣ) system in print, most of the Qur²āns which are printed in North- and West Africa are printed in Maghribī-styled Warsh

transliterates Hebrew *šere* (◌ֶ e). Another is the above dot (◌◌), employed to denote emphatic *a*, and which transliterates Hebrew *qameṣ* (◌ֶ a). Also, when appearing in final position, the letter *yod* / *yā*³ has been transliterated with *alif maqṣūra* (ﺀ) in order to reflect the bivalent case of final *i* versus *a*.³ Further details on this issue is offered in the paragraphs following 4.1, below.

As (Judaeo-)Arabic and Hebrew-Aramaic content occasionally appear together, parts reflecting the latter have been highlighted in bold letters and preserved in their Hebrew-Aramaic shape in the parts which otherwise reflect Arabic transliterations. I have done this in order to distinguish between the two, as illustrated in the example below:

לי ולדאן פאיאהום נקרב בן הערלה או בן המילה⁴

Supplemented by the Arabic transliteration, the same sentence will appear as in the example below:

לי ולדאן פאיאהום נקרב בן הערלה או בן המילה

I have two sons. Which one of them shall I sacrifice, the one with the foreskin or the one who is circumcised?

All citations and examples from the manuscripts include the Judaeo-Arabic word or phrase in question, followed by a letter-by-letter transliteration in Arabic, and the respective manuscript's indicated digit, followed by folio and line number,⁵ and finally a translation of the word or phrase in English in 'single quotation marks'. This is illustrated in וכח עוצית וכח 'how I acted in disobedience and how I fornicated!' In cases where I have found it necessary, the Hebrew and Arabic signs may also be followed by a letter-by-letter transliteration in Latin script, viz. *الله تعالى* אלה תעאלי **ll̥h t̥olē 52/passim* 'God, Exalted (be He)', or by a tentative reconstruction of the word as it was most likely pronounced, put between brackets in Latin script and/or marked by *, viz. *الله تعالى* אלה תעאלי *

(see Mumin and Versteegh 2013:7; Warren-Rothlin 2013:261ff). It is relevant to note also, that the Warsh method of recitation was the most widespread in Medieval Spain (see Harvey 2008:145).

³ Note also that the Hebrew graphemes *aleph*, *yod* and *vav* might reflect a number of alternative variants of their respective shapes according to Arabic orthography — especially concerning the many variants of *hamza* such as ء و ئ آ إ أ etc. — all depending on their position within the word or the intended purpose of use.

⁴ Here, the Hebrew content mirrors that of *Pirqa de-Rabbi Eliezer* 31:56.

⁵ Folio and line numbers are included in the text (subscripted and in grey colour), corresponding to the original manuscripts. The standards which are used to denote *recto* and *verso* folios are as follows: For Hebrew, א = *recto* and ב = *verso*; for Latin, a = *recto* and b = *verso*; for Arabic, و = *recto* and ظ = *verso*.

**allāh taʿālē* 52/*passim*. In the latter cases, I have tried to illustrate the pronunciation according to my own understanding.

I have used Latin script when dealing with names of letters and grammatical, cultural or religious terms, and when illustrating sound changes, names of particles, morphophonological processes, verbal and nominal patterns and in other situations where it has been found necessary. With only a few moderations, all standards are according to those provided in Fischer and Jastrow's *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*.⁶ Some of these moderations include the use of a hyphen when indicating morpheme boundaries such as *al-*, *wa-* and *fa-*. As a rule, pausal forms are preferred over contextual forms, meaning that case endings are as a rule omitted. Rendering of the initial *hamza* has also been avoided in these terms. This means, for example, that *ʿArāʾisu l-Majālisi fī Qiṣaṣi l-ʿAnbiyāʾ* is transcribed *ʿArāʾis al-Majālis fī Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*. Latin transcription of Hebrew is made according to *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (EHLL) standards for Modern Hebrew transcription.

In the case of names, titles and other lexical items, this dissertation frequently makes use of more than one system of transliteration and transcription; here, choices are simply based on practical and aesthetic considerations. Unless appearing in specific references, then names, titles and other lexical items of Arabic, Persian, Turkish or Hebrew origin have been written according to their fixed or conventional English (or International) spelling. Whereas some parts of this work are relevant only to students and scholars acquainted with Judaeo-Arabic and Arabic, other parts are written for a broader audience, e.g. from the fields of sociology, linguistics, theology, literary criticism and various other disciplines in the humanities. For this reason, transcription and translation has been rendered accordingly to accommodate the readership; whereas precise and scientific considerations have been made in some cases, practical aesthetic considerations have been made in others. This dichotomy can be illustrated in the bivalent rendering of Arabic *ghayn* versus *ḡayn*. In some cases I write *Maghrib* 'Northwest Africa', whereas in other cases I write *ʿitḡasal* / *yitḡisil* 'to be washed'. The same is true, *inter alia*, for the transcription of initial *hamza* (al-Andalus 'Andalusia' versus *ʿarāda* 'to want'), the fricative unvoiced sibilant (*midrash* 'tale' versus *muwašṣaḥ* '[poetic genre]') and the voiceless velar fricative (*Ibn Khaldūn* versus *mufaxxam* 'emphatization, velarization').

⁶ Fischer and Jastrow 1980:11ff.

As this dissertation is exclusively based on written sources, phonetic and phonemic notations have mostly been avoided.⁷ Whereas Classical Arabic content is usually rendered in Arabic script, a system of Latin transcription has been used to render the different varieties of Egyptian Arabic, including non-standard variants and Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic.

0.2 Reading Guidelines for the Annotated and Translated Editions

I have followed a principle of rendering signs as they appear in order to convey any possible signs of non-standard or vernacular penetration in the material. There are some signs, primarily *geresh* (') and *gershayim* ("), which have been applied by the scribes to indicate quotation or paraphrase, line shift, full stop, apostrophe, hyphenation and other modifying signs. It should be noted that Haim Blanc, upon encountering the several ways in which the *gershayim* sign was being employed, termed this sign a 'multi-purpose diacritic gershayim' which leaves it to the reader to decide its precise value.⁸ In this spirit, mainly for aesthetic reasons and due to a somewhat inconsistent system of diacritic signs throughout the different manuscripts, many signs have been simplified in the editions into a simple typographical 'bullet', the Arabic zero sign (•). It will therefore be the reader's task to decide for which purpose these are applied. All other changes have been pointed out in the apparatus. Technical symbols found in the annotated and translated editions of chapter 5 are presented below:

- ' *geresh*, indicating the shortening of a word.
- " *gershayim*, indicating the shortening of a phrase.
- Arabic zero, added by the editor to indicate multiple kinds and constellations of dots and hyphens appearing throughout the manuscripts. These indicate quotation or paraphrase, line shift, full stop, apostrophe and other modifiers.
- ! ! possible error in the scribe's transmission of the text.
- ? ? doubt about what is written; letter suggested between symbols.
- ... whole word or part of a sentence missing.
- .. part of word missing.
- ליתא *leta* (Aramaic) 'there is none (like it)' (when a word or phrase is not attested in respective manuscript).

⁷ When they appear, however, phonetic symbols are indicated between [square brackets], and patterns of stress (when not made evident by a long vowel) are indicated with an acute accent above the vowel, as in *yaktúbu* 'they wrote'.

⁸ Blanc 1981:187, n. 6.

0.3 Some Issues in the Translation of Manuscripts

The translation of the content attested in the manuscripts aims at making the writings of the Karaite Jews of Egypt and their oral and literary heritage available to a broad English-speaking audience. I endeavour to present enjoyable versions of each narrative in idiomatic English which remain true to the Arabic origin of its content.

The content of the source texts was transmitted by Arabic-speaking Jews in the Judaeo-Arabic language, and fluctuates between Arabic and Hebrew nomenclature. It mirrors traditions which may be regarded as both Jewish and Islamic at the same time. The apparent nuances which emerge in a context like this may be important to the readership for many reasons, and it is only natural to expect the target text to mirror this. The sociolinguistic situation of the Arabic-speaking Jews of Egypt in general, and the scope of this work in particular, very often make common English spellings of proper nouns and terms insufficient; whereas variants of the names of Biblical figures such as *Abraham* and *Solomon* merely conform to a Hebrew-English nomenclature employed in the Judaeo-Christian tradition, our material makes use of the ‘Arabic’, or perhaps ‘Sephardi’ nomenclature and pronunciation,⁹ and should therefore be rendered accordingly. More often than not, the source texts provide proper Arabic names such as *Ibrāhīm* and *Sulaymān*, rather than the Judaeo-Christian variants *Abraham* and *Solomon* or the Hebrew *Avraham* and *Shlomo*.¹⁰ Yet, the observant reader will notice that the Judaeo-Arabic texts sometimes alternate between Hebrew and Arabic names. Throughout our material we find use of *Moshe* alongside *Mūsā*, *Abraham* alongside *Ibrāhīm*, and *Elohim* alongside *Allāh*. Likewise, the translations make use of different names, abbreviations and epithets of God, such as *Allāh*, *El*, *Ilāh*, *Elohim*, *YVY*, *the Truth*, *the Lord*, etc., according to each respective item in the source text.

Whereas the translation of proper nouns and terms is primarily literal elsewhere, I have taken the liberty of translating the rest of the content in a relatively unconfined and ‘free’ language. This I have done in order to increase readability of the target text and to improve its overall aesthetic appearance. Some Arabic content has been very challenging to translate into proper idiomatic English, particularly passages containing poetry. In order for the language to

⁹ Throughout our material, we must assume that there is a preference for *b* over *v* in the pronunciation of Hebrew words. In Hebrew, the letter בּ פ can be pronounced either as a stop *b* or as a fricative *v*; however, it is always pronounced *b* by Egyptian Jews in words of Hebrew origin, viz. *Abraham* instead of *Avraham* and *Yaʿqūb* instead of *Yaʿqūv* etc.

¹⁰ That said, many proper nouns such as *Jerusalem*, *Egypt*, *Caliph*, *Jordan*, *Babylon*, *Pharaoh*, and *Judah* have been rendered in the conventional spellings of Biblical English or Qurʾānic English.

remain ‘free’, idiomatic and correct, the result has often turned out ‘flat’, with little or no rhythm or rhyme remaining in the target text. This latter issue is perhaps one of the most obvious weaknesses of the overall English translation, but it is simply unavoidable. In cases where the content or style is obscure and not possible to understand, I signalled this by writing a question mark between brackets.

All through the translations I have incorporated parts of — and made annotations in reference to — the Hebrew Bible and the Qurʾān. In these cases, references have either been written in parenthesis or mentioned in the footnotes next to the item in question. All translations from the Hebrew Bible are adapted from that of the Jewish Publication Society’s 1917 edition. Verse numbering and abbreviations are according to the standards of EHLL. For the translation of Qurʾānic material, I have used Arthur J. Arberry’s *The Koran Interpreted* and have made only slight modifications to his original translation. As for any other translations made throughout the work, all of them are my own unless otherwise indicated.

The manuscripts also display large sections which correspond to extra-canonical sources. Among these we find, *inter alia*, the Talmud,¹¹ the Prophets’ tales of al-Kisāʿī, al-Thaʿlabī and al-Ṭabarī, *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer*, *Sefer ha-Yashar*, *Sefer ha-Zohar*,¹² the writings of Moses Maimonides,¹³ various *ḥadīth*-collections,¹⁴ and the like. Much of this literature has been translated into English, and has been very useful — sometimes essential — in the translation of the present material. Many words and fixed phrases have been adopted from these translations, as will quickly become evident for the experienced reader. These sources and a selection of other primary sources, all of which appear in the following dissertation, can be found in the list of abbreviations below.

¹¹ References to formulae resembling the Talmud have been cross-checked with the available resources on Wikisource online. See https://he.wikisource.org/wiki/%D7%AA%D7%9C%D7%9E%D7%95%D7%93_%D7%91%D7%91%D7%9C%D7%99.

¹² References to formulae resembling *Sefer ha-Zohar* have been cross-checked with the available resources on Wikisource online. See https://he.wikisource.org/wiki/%D7%A1%D7%A4%D7%A8_%D7%94%D7%96%D7%94%D7%A8.

¹³ References to formulae resembling the Maimonides’ *Mishne Torah* have been cross-checked with the available resources on Mechon Mamre online. See <http://www.mechon-mamre.org>

¹⁴ References to formulae resembling *ḥadīth* literature have been cross-checked with the available resources on <https://sunnah.com>.

0.4 Abbreviations

- Friedlander, *P.R.E.* = Friedlander, Gerald. 1916. *Pirkê De Rabbi Eliezer. According to the text of the manuscript belonging to Abraham Epstein of Vienna. Translated and annotated with introduction and indices by Gerald Friedlander.* London: Kegan Paul.
- Futūḥ Miṣr* = Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam. 1922. *Kitāb futūḥ miṣr wa-l-maḡrib wa-l-ʿandalus*, ed. by Charles Torrey. New Haven: Yale University Press.
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- MS *Chapira* = Chapira, Bernard. 1920. “Légendes bibliques attribuées à Kaʿb el-Ahbar”. *Revue des études juives* 70, 37-43.

MS *Strasbourg* = A manuscript holding ‘The Story of King Sulaymān the Wise and the Ant’ قصة الملك سليمان الحكيم مع ملكة النمل Discussed in 3.2, below. (url: <http://www.odabasham.net/رواية/62509-قصة-الملك-سليمان-الحكيم-مع-ملكة-النمل> accessed October 2016.) See 3.2, below.

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Other abbreviations which have been employed in the present dissertation are as follows:

d.	died in the year of	MS; MSS	manuscript; manuscripts
lit.	literary meaning	PBUH	peace be upon Him
sic.	thus was it written	n.	footnote
f.	and the following page	pl.	plural
ff.	and the following pages	Q	Qur‘ān
MHBPE	may He be praised and exalted	Qṣ	<i>qiṣṣa</i> / <i>quṣṣa</i> ‘story, tale’

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation aims to identify, investigate and classify a number of sociohistorical and linguistic layers of the Arabic language which are attested in the oral literary heritage of the Arabic-speaking Karaite Jews of Cairo. It is based on manuscripts exhibiting Judaeo-Arabic popular literature on Biblical and Qurʾānic prophets which at some point has been transcribed from an oral form, representing a number of social, cultural and religious traditions rich with layers of Arabic language history. Although the material was copied sometime during late-medieval and early modern times, the content that they display is likely to have been transmitted from a set of archetypes, or *vorlagen*, which may predate our copies by as much as five centuries; whereas the manuscripts were most likely copied between the 17th and 19th centuries, the archetypes from which they stem point to the so-called Classical Judaeo-Arabic period, approximately between the 10th to 14th centuries.¹ The material bares evidence of the relatively high level of harmonious relations between Muslims and Jews which developed during the period of Arab Islamic rule in Egypt, North Africa, Spain and elsewhere in the western Mediterranean basin. These relations culminated in the complete Arabization of Jews living under Muslim rule, a development which seems to have strongly affected and influenced the cultural and linguistic environment in which they lived. In Egypt, the Karaites have always been regarded as an integral part of the Jewish community, one in which a larger Rabbanite community was usually the dominant group in terms of size. However, besides the general division of Egyptian Jews into separate groups according to the congregations or synagogues to which they belonged, it is clear that the social, cultural and ethnic distinctions between the groups were less important.

As the renowned Judaeo-Arabic scholar Joshua Blau writes, the Jews of Egypt were influenced by Islam and Arabic on all levels of life — socially, culturally and linguistically.² This is particularly true of the Karaite community of Cairo during the 10th and 11th

¹ On the periodization of Judaeo-Arabic, see Khan 2011 online; Hary 2009:34.

² Blau 1999a:19, 43ff.

centuries.³ Based on sources dating back to the 12th century, Blau argues that the spoken variety of Egyptian Jews can be identified with the Maghribī dialect group (North Africa west of Egypt), and that it had found its way to Egypt due to intensive migration. This view has been argued also by some dialectologists such as Manfred Woidich and Peter Behnstedt.⁴ Jonathan Owens, however, refuses the general view that the Maghribī dialects have spread into areas of Egypt due to migration, and holds that such migration has never been clearly attested, or that it must have happened at least prior to the beginning of the 16th century. According to him, there is comparative linguistic and historical evidence in support of a contrary development, namely that some particularly Maghribī features originated in Egypt and spread to North Africa from there.⁵ As Owens points out, and with which I agree, much of the challenge here lies in how we choose to define dialectological labels vis-à-vis historical linguistic ones. There are without doubt many potential pitfalls when investigating a dialect from both a diachronic and synchronic point of view. In the course of this dissertation, we shall touch upon this field, namely that of sociohistorical linguistics, and shed light on language features serving as remnants for reconstructing parts of the Egyptian Arabic past.

Although many of the issues discussed throughout this dissertation have been treated thoroughly by scholars of Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic, some of these deserve to be repeated and in some cases revised in light of the historical and sociolinguistic treatment of this particular treatise. In this connection I will offer some important, preliminary research questions: Do the various features which are attested in our corpus of texts reflect a particular Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic variety, that is, pertaining to one specific group, or are they remnants of an earlier Cairene vernacular which was shared by a larger speech community than merely that of the indigenous Jews or of the Karaites in particular? Although we know very little about the actual speech of the Muslim majority of the Egyptian population up until the mid-19th century,⁶ Blau argues that the variety spoken by Jews most probably differed from that of their Muslim neighbours.⁷ Moreover, to what degree do these features correspond to the dialect of modern-day Cairo, and accordingly, what can they tell us about features employed in Cairo during medieval and early modern times? To what degree do any of the particular features identified here correspond to other dialects, in particular those which are historically and demographically relevant to that of Egypt or Cairo?

³ Baron 1952-1983 v:257ff., 268.

⁴ Woidich 1993:354; Behnstedt 1998:87.

⁵ Owens 2006:28.

⁶ See 1.2, below, and Miller 2005:914f.

⁷ Blau 1999a:14, 54ff.

For the time being, we are not yet ready to fully grasp and reconstruct the linguistic nature of the historical varieties of spoken Arabic. Accordingly, this dissertation does not intend to offer a thorough description of spoken Cairene Arabic as it was employed in medieval and early modern times, nor of the Jewish Arabic variety of that time;⁸ rather, it identifies and analyses some problematic but important topics in the Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic language history in Egypt upon which further research may be based. More precisely, this dissertation presents a sociohistorical and linguistic study of the Arabic attested throughout the manuscripts in question. It will compare and discuss the different manners in which the material in question relates to many of the historical and contemporary Arabic dialects which have links to that of Cairo.

This investigation largely confirms the view of Blau, namely that Maghribī linguistic presence is strong in Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic. Yet, I endeavour to expand on this view, but also to provide nuance to his idea of a separate Jewish dialect, at least concerning the time when Egypt was under Arab rule, and argue that large parts of the ethno-religious communities during medieval times stood closer to each other, culturally and linguistically, than has been previously maintained. In the course of my investigation, I have encountered an increasing amount of clues of heavy Islamic cultural influence, of strong acculturation to Arabic oral and literary traditions, and of Arab migration history, which is evident by the many and widely shared dialectal isoglosses. I believe that, in sum, these clues reflect important layers — not necessarily of the historical background of a particular Jewish communal variety, but — of the general history of the Arabic language.

Similar to the question of whether the Jewish dialect employed in Cairo during medieval times was different or alike that of their Muslim co-inhabitants, it is very difficult to state accurately whether or not the varieties of the Karaite and the Rabbanite Jews of Cairo were once the same, or to what extent they may have differed. It is also difficult to know whether the various features presented in these texts reflect the discourse of mere individual expression, of the small Karaite congregation, of the larger Jewish community which included also the Rabbanites, of a certain socio-economic class (irrespective of ethnic, regional, religious or doctrinal denomination), or of the overall society of Muslims, Jews and Christians in Cairo or in the Nile Delta. That said, based on the findings which will be discussed in the following chapters, it is reasonable to assume that the Jewish community in general — and

⁸ Those interested in a more comprehensive description of the Judaeo-Arabic language may gain more insight by consulting Joshua Blau's *A grammar of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic* (1980) in Hebrew or *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic* (1999a) in English.

the Karaites in particular — of Cairo/Fuṣṭāṭ adopted and retained in their oral literature a number of cultural and linguistic traits from Islamic rule during medieval times, many of which have been preserved long into early modern times. All across the Islamic empire, Jewish communities adopted Arab language and culture to such an extent and with such zest that we may speak of complete linguistic assimilation. I believe — and it is an essential precondition for the present dissertation — that much living discourse from this formative period became fossilized and continued to surface in the transmission of oral literature long after it had fallen out of use among the overall majority of the population. I also believe that remnants of such fossilized language are especially noticeable in manuscripts written in the Judaeo-Arabic language due to their interesting and advantageous orthographic characteristics. Accordingly, by examining a number of Judaeo-Arabic oral literary manuscripts which were copied in Cairo sometime between the 17th and 19th centuries, I shall use my findings to reconstruct some linguistic layers of Arabic which most likely go back to the period between the 10th and 14th centuries.

Social ties between Muslims and Jews in Egypt are believed to have been relatively strong over long and uninterrupted periods of time, a rapprochement which seems to have somewhat culminated during the Fāṭimid era. The character of the language, not to mention the different genres, voices and traditions attested throughout our corpus, strongly suggest that the variety employed therein was once in use by — or mirrored that of — a much larger speech community than solely that of the Jews in Cairo. In this context, examining the texts and the sociolinguistic situation of the Karaites may prove particularly valuable, as some strata of this community presumably maintained even stronger relations with the Arab elite and followers of the Islamic faith than did their Rabbanite neighbours and the Jewish population in general.⁹

The Jewish community of Cairo/Fuṣṭāṭ must have witnessed largely the same social and demographic processes as did their non-Jewish neighbours. Whether long or short in duration, these processes were characterized by external and internal factors affecting the sociolinguistic situation in the city such as warfare, change of rulers, growth and decline in population size, social, cultural and economic prosperity, trade, impoverishment, and a series of deadly plagues. Yet, the most important factor of all seems to have been the constant influx of migrants. Because this dissertation subscribes to the idea that language change is affected primarily by large social and demographic processes such as those mentioned, and above all

⁹ Stillman 1998:200ff.

by the migration and resettling of people, I have devoted much attention to situate my findings within the history of migration to and from Cairo, and within research made in the field of dialectology.

One last, but equally important point in addition to those posed above, is the significance of societal inclusion and exclusion of ethno-religious minority groups. The general hypothesis pursued is that when minority groups are included into the society as a whole, they tend to adopt many of the majority's cultural and linguistic features. However, when the minority is excluded from the majority, the development of the minority's language will take on a separate development than that of the majority. And, whereas some features are preserved in the language of the minority, these may become obsolete among the majority. With time, these features, which are now only found among the minority, may thus reflect relics of a shared, but obsolete linguistic past.

I attempt to describe layers of the Arabic language embedded in time and place by reconstructing features employed in Cairene Arabic during medieval times, particularly focusing on those features which are believed to have fallen out of use or suppressed as non-standard when compared with Classical Arabic conventions and the dialect of Cairo today. During this three-year project, I have tried my best to navigate between the content of my selected corpus and the vast amount of available sources for the history of the Arabic language to which the corpus may be compared. Accordingly, this dissertation attempts to integrate the fields of sociohistorical linguistics, dialectology and Judaeo-Arabic. There are without doubt many shortcomings, mistakes, and generalizations throughout this work, for which I take full responsibility.

1.1 Key Concepts

In the following chapters there are some terms which need clarification. One should, nonetheless, be careful when making generalizations based on divisions such as Eastern versus Western, sedentary versus Bedouin, Old versus New, standard versus non-standard, written versus spoken etc.; even celebrated grammarians such as Sībawayhī were criticized for making overly broad generalizations about to the geography and regional characteristics of the Arabic dialects of his time, particularly for his strict tribal divisions such as Hījāzī versus

Tamīmī, or on regional divisions such as Ḥijāz versus Najd or Yemen; these divisions ignore more than half of the actual dialects extant in the relevant time and place.¹⁰

1.1.1 Old Arabic

The term Old Arabic is used to describe the Arabic varieties of the Arabian Peninsula before Islam. This language comprises different styles and registers, such as the elevated poetic language often referred to as the ‘poetic koine’, as well as those of the different regional and social, mutually intelligible dialects. Although there are already some implicit opinions in this relatively broad definition, I am not interested in supporting either view concerning the many conflicting theories about the origins of the Arabic dialects, nor is this the right time to do so. Regardless of any such proposed modes of language transmission, I simply endeavour to identify the existence of Old Arabic forms which have been preserved alongside Classical Arabic (see below) and the spoken variants which have developed into the Arabic dialects of today.

1.1.2 Cairene Arabic

Whereas Manfred Woidich employs the term ‘Egyptian Arabic’ for the dialect spoken in Cairo, I will use the term ‘Modern Cairene’ or ‘Cairene’. I have done this because it is the history of the dialect of Cairo which is investigated here — sometimes opposed to varieties employed elsewhere in Egypt. Woidich describes this Egyptian Cairo Arabic as a dialect of the Central Nile Delta which is widely understood in the Arabic-speaking world. By means of its status, it is considered a standard variety (as will be discussed below). It contains features pertaining to a number of dialects, some of which are spoken in areas of Middle Egypt, however it is mainly influenced by dialects spoken in adjacent areas within the Delta. According to Woidich, the modern Cairene dialect has probably developed as a result of a levelling process which occurred after the mid-19th century due to significant changes in the city’s demographic environment.¹¹ In the present dissertation Cairene Arabic will serve as one of the standards according to which our findings are compared (in addition to Classical Arabic, see below).

¹⁰ Al-Jundī 1965:35 *apud* Cadora 1992:5.

¹¹ Woidich 1994:506; 2006:1; Blanc 1974.

1.1.3 Classical Arabic

Classical Arabic is understood as a predominantly literary variety which emerged from or is related in some way to Old Arabic, and which became codified and spread throughout the Islamic empire during Umayyad and ʿAbbāsīd rule. Classical Arabic is also, along with features which may be characterized as representative of Old Arabic, typical for the language of poetry, grammatical treatises, the Qurʾān and other religious Islamic literary material.¹² The literary norms of Classical Arabic are the result of a process which was enforced by the general acceptance of a standardized, single, authoritative version of the Qurʾān, namely that of Caliph ʿUthmān in the first half of the 8th century.¹³ It is understood that these norms were further cultivated and shaped by Qurʾānic commentators and grammarians such as Sībawayhī (8th century) and Ibn Mujāhid (10th century).¹⁴ In addition to Cairene Arabic, Classical Arabic will serve as the norms according to which our findings are compared. Accordingly, features which do not correspond to the norms of Classical Arabic nor Cairene Arabic are thus classified as either Old Arabic, non-standard Cairene (see below), or pseudo-Classical / pseudo-correct.

1.1.4 Use of the Standard versus Non-standard Dichotomy

The terms ‘standard’ and ‘non-standard’ should be defined here so that we may distinguish between features which either correspond or do not correspond to the norms of a given dialect. Concerning the historical aspect of the terms, these will be discussed in greater detail in 1.2. As a short preliminary note, however, it is relevant to mention that whereas a feature which has fallen out of use over time may be regarded as medieval or pre-modern from a chronological point of view, it may from a synchronic point of view be regarded as non-standard. As indicated above, the term standard is used to describe dialect forms which are commonly perceived as standard and are attested in relevant dictionaries and grammars. Accordingly, the term non-standard is used to describe forms which are *not* commonly perceived as standard *nor* attested in relevant dictionaries and grammars. In the following dissertation, this dichotomy is exclusively concerned with the dialect of Cairene Arabic and according to the definitions given in the classification of that concept above.

¹² Fischer 1982 i:37ff.

¹³ Versteegh 1984:10.

¹⁴ See Ferguson 1959:616f; Owens 2006:38.

1.1.5 Middle Arabic and the Issue of Pseudo-correct Features

Even though questions surrounding the subjects of Middle Arabic and pseudo-correct features have not been treated directly in this thesis, it is however necessary to establish their relation vis-à-vis Classical Arabic language and the dialects. Joshua Blau, who has written extensively on this subject, defines Middle Arabic in the following way:

— “Middle Arabic texts constitute a whole range of styles with infinitely varied mixtures of Classical and [vernacular]¹⁵ elements. Alongside texts reflecting Classical Arabic with only slight [vernacular] admixture, others are written in some kind of slightly ‘classicized’ [vernacular] Arabic, and between these two extremes all the possible varieties of mixture occur. As a rule, the writers wanted to write in the language of prestige, viz. in Classical Arabic [...] Yet in the course of time, a certain mixture of Classical and [vernacular] elements came to be thought of as a literary language in its own rights, employed even by authors who were well able to write in a ‘more Classical’ language. So some authors employed a ‘more Classical’ language when they addressed higher layers of their audience, but a more vernacular style when writing for lower strata”¹⁶

In view of this observation, it should be stressed that the understanding of the term Middle Arabic has later shifted from one identified with a chronological stage in history, to one belonging to a particular literary style. According to this view, Wolfdietrich Fischer defines the term Middle Arabic as “all those texts written by authors who are not able to reach the high standard of educated Classical Arabic or who do not intend this” (Fischer 1991:432f.)

Since the study of Middle Arabic analyses the degree in which a given text *is not* Classical Arabic, it is important to acknowledge its distinct heterogeneity, or as Jérôme Lentin puts it, “its linguistically (and therefore stylistically) mixed nature, as it combines standard and colloquial features with others of a third type, neither standard nor colloquial” (Lentin 2011 online). In addition to the advantageous prospect of identifying features belonging to the modern spoken dialects in Middle Arabic texts, the same is of course true for identifying features which have fallen out of use or have been suppressed as non-standard today. But these deviating forms reflect not only dialectal features from earlier times, but also so-called

¹⁵ Here Blau employs the term ‘Neo-Arabic’, which I for reasons of simplicity have changed to ‘vernacular’.

¹⁶ Blau 1981:188.

pseudo-correct features whose use stems from a desire to write Classical Arabic.¹⁷ It is therefore necessary to distinguish between the constant alternation of Classical, various dialectal forms and such pseudo-corrections.¹⁸ Geoffrey Khan notes that “it is difficult to distinguish between, on the one hand, a genuine dialectal form that is at an earlier stage of diachronic development than the corresponding form in the modern dialects and, on the other hand, forms that are pseudo-literary phenomena” (Khan 2011 online). On this challenge, Blau offers a rule of thumb, which stresses that one needs to examine every text and its respective style and register independently. If a conspicuous feature is employed consistently throughout a text, we are justified in considering it a spoken feature (or perhaps a pseudo-correct feature which has become standardized). However, if a feature appears only once we should consider the possibility that it is a pseudo-correction.¹⁹

1.1.6 The Maghribī Arabic Dialect Group

A significant part of the features investigated here can be classified as belonging to the so-called Maghribī or Maghrebine dialect group, one which I will also consider as the basis for a group sometimes referred to as Western Arabic or the pre-Hilālī type. The distinction between the Maghribī and the Egyptian dialect group may have been more blurred than they appear today, as indicated by various linguistic findings from Medieval Egypt and throughout this dissertation. The Maghribī dialects are generally understood to comprise both historical and contemporary varieties in the region of North Africa; in this dissertation the term will predominantly encompass the following dialects and dialect groups: Some dialects which are believed to have developed in newly established towns in the western Mediterranean basin following the Muslim conquests in the late-7th century,²⁰ such as that of Spain²¹ and some northern, predominantly urban dialects of North Africa. Also the Arabic dialects once

¹⁷ Blau defines pseudo-correct features as original Middle Arabic forms which have been ‘corrected’ because of the author’s desire to write Classical Arabic. As a consequence, non-existent forms may emerge, forms which are neither Classical nor living vernacular (see Blau 1999a:27f.).

¹⁸ Pseudo-corrections are forms which are neither Classical Arabic nor colloquial, and are sometimes divided into hyper-correct (‘too corrected’) and hypo-correct forms (‘not corrected enough’ or ‘half-corrected’). In general terms, the notion of pseudo-correct features points to vernacular forms that have been ‘corrected’ because of the author’s desire to write Classical Arabic. As a consequence, a number of new and incorrect forms have come into being which are neither Classical nor spoken dialect (see by Blau 1999a:19ff.)

¹⁹ Blau 1999a:33, 51ff.

²⁰ Marçais 1977: viii.; Walker 2013:4.

²¹ Corriente 1977.

employed in Malta²² and Sicily,²³ which were culturally and linguistically dominated by Arabs approximately between the 9th and 12th centuries,²⁴ are considered to be of the Maghribī or Western type.²⁵ This dialect group may remind of what Jeffrey Heath terms an old urban-type Arabian dialect. It is a type which is believed to have developed in Fes comprising many features from Spanish Arabic from Córdoba as well as that of Qayrawān, characteristic of old northern Moroccan Arabic.²⁶ The dialects of this type have generally fallen out of use throughout the Maghrib today, except in certain places and within particular speech communities where they have been practiced into the 20th century, such as the dialect of the Jews of Tunis and Algiers.²⁷ Heath, among others, distinguishes between this northern, sedentary type on the one hand, and the central, nomadic type which was brought over by Bedouin tribes of Hilāl and Sulaym in the early 12th century on the other;²⁸ thus the term pre-Hilālī may also be used about the northern sedentary type.

Some typical isoglosses identified with the Maghribī or Western Arabic are the merging of the contrast between sibilants and the so-called *nekteb - nektebu* paradigm. There are of course many problems with this generalization, as with the latter verbal paradigm, which is also employed in Chadian Arabic as pointed out by Jonathan Owens.²⁹ In fact, he argues that some features characteristic of today's group of Western Arabic dialects did not originate in the Maghrib but in Egypt.³⁰ An interesting aspect connected to this is the question of whether the Maghrebī Arabic dialects represent the speech of early Arab settlers of a predominantly Arabian and Yemenite origin.

The case of the early Islamic Maghrib may not reflect the situation in Egypt down to the last detail, but there are without doubt many similarities between the two. Similar to what happened with the newly established cities of Qayrawān and Tangier, Cairo/Fuṣṭāṭ grew out of a permanent Muslim military outpost where Arabs were garrisoned and where these settlers were more or less linguistically confined for generations.

²² Maltese is a separate Semitic-Romance (mostly Arabic-Romance) language which is considered to comprise elements of both Eastern and Western Arabic. Historically it belongs to the North African dialect group, a region from which it was cut off in the 13th century after being under the rule of Arabs since 870 (see Aquilina 1959:351).

²³ D. Cohen 1970:136.

²⁴ Agius 1996:27; Aquilina 1959:351.

²⁵ All the above mentioned dialects, and the Maghribī group to which they may be ascribed, are discussed in Fisher and Jastrow 1980:22f., 32f.

²⁶ Heath 2002:23.

²⁷ See e.g. Heath 2002:10; D. Cohen 1964–1975; 1978; M. Cohen 1912.

²⁸ Heath 2002:6. See also Fischer and Jastrow 1980:31f.

²⁹ Owens 2006:28.

³⁰ Owens 2006:28.

1.2 Pre-Modern Cairene Features

In his study on 20th-century spoken variety features of the Jewish community of Cairo, Haim Blanc³¹ perceives the dialect employed by non-Muslim religious groups in Cairo as more or less the same as the Muslim variety, because he recorded little variation that correlated with religious affiliation. In his view, the variety employed by indigenous Egyptian Jews in Cairo and Alexandria was merely a non-standard variety, if a separate variety at all. Elements of this non-standard Cairene are believed to have fallen into disuse over time, and to have been retained only by Jews in Cairo; however, these same features occur in a number of non-Jewish varieties outside of Cairo, and only a selection of Jews in Cairo did in fact employ this variety. Therefore, he made a point of not labelling it ‘Jewish Cairene’, but rather ‘non-standard Cairene’.

After Blanc’s study, the notion of a distinct urban Jewish variety employed in the cities of Cairo and Alexandria, namely a ‘spoken Egyptian Jewish Arabic’, has been significantly strengthened, thanks particularly to the work of Gabriel Rosenbaum.³² His study of the spoken Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic is based on data elicited from informants who are or were still familiar with their spoken Egyptian Arabic variety, and aims to identify features found exclusively in the spoken variety of the Jewish community in Egypt.

The paragraphs above raise important questions about the history of the Cairene Arabic variety, as old communal dialects in traditional Arab cities have often been regarded as among the most important indicators of sociolinguistic diversity. I believe it is important to distinguish between the definitions of Blanc on the one hand, and those of Rosenbaum on the other, most importantly because their investigations were based on material gathered in the second half of the 20th century, a time in which the Cairene dialect had gone through a process of levelling which emerged in the mid-19th century. During this period, a reinforcement of Arabic language and culture had been introduced to Egypt and the Arab world through the *nahḍa*, and the country had witnessed a rapid improvement in the social status and integration of Egyptian Jews. During the mid-19th century, a historical process of modernization began in Egypt, bringing about a significant change in the social and demographic organization of the country in general and of Cairo in particular.³³ As a result of

³¹ Blanc 1964; 1974.

³² Rosenbaum 2002a; 2002b.

³³ Abu-Lughod 1971.

these factors, some of which will be discussed below, there must have followed a degree of levelling of the old Cairene variety.³⁴

From a synchronic, ethno-religious point of view, Rosenbaum's definition of the variety he recorded as distinctively Jewish is correct when one recognizes that many Jews in Cairo proved to be employing a number of features distinct from those of their Muslim and Christian neighbours. From a diachronic, dialectological point of view, however, I believe Blanc's definition is also correct because while, like Rosenbaum, he addresses many of the same features which have been preserved by Jews in Cairo, he also emphasises to a greater degree the fact that these features³⁵ are "attested for earlier usage but have disappeared from what may be called 'standard Cairene'" (Blanc 1974:206), and that these are distributed in several varieties outside Cairo. Whereas Blanc's research establishes the fact that there are certain indigenous communities and certain geographical areas of Egypt in which earlier forms of speech characterized as 'non-standard Cairene' are still practised, Rosenbaum's research confirms the notion that the Jewish community of Cairo has had a natural predisposition to preserve such forms. Accordingly, I will argue that we should regard certain forms, not only as non-standard Cairene, but also as possible relics of a pre-modern variety employed in Cairo.

Manfred Woidich, as well as Blanc and other scholars, have postulated that societal changes following the mid-19th century produced a levelling of the pre-existing urban vernacular in Cairo.³⁶ Conversely, it is understood that this levelling did not occur at the expense of the old vernacular to the degree that it did in many Arab cities, such as in Baghdad.³⁷ The main argument for this is that since the migrants came predominantly from neighbouring sedentary rural areas where the spoken variety was close to that of Cairo, no significant levelling, or Bedouinization for that matter, took place. But information about the Cairene Arabic dialect before 1850 is generally lacking, as has been pointed out by Catherine Miller.³⁸ And as we shall see, the societal changes which occurred during the 19th and early 20th century were immense. For these reason, and others which will become clear in the following paragraphs, the mid-19th century will serve as the *terminus ad quem* or the chronological limit up until which we employ the term pre-modern.

³⁴ Woidich 1994:506; 2006:1; Blanc 1974.

³⁵ In particular, Blanc investigates the spread of the Western *nekteb - nektebu* paradigm.

³⁶ Woidich 1994:506; 2006:1; Blanc 1974.

³⁷ Miller 2004:182, 186.

³⁸ Miller 2005:914.

During the 19th and early 20th century, the rural population settling in Cairo seems to have had the most decisive influence on the levelling of the Cairene variety.³⁹ In 1835 Cairo suffered from a severe plague and the city lost at least one third of its population; afterwards, the urban population was largely replenished by foreigners and migrants from the countryside and Upper Egypt.⁴⁰ Many of these migrants came from Munufiyya and Daqahliyya in the Nile Delta, where they speak a sedentary rural variety close to Cairene Arabic.⁴¹ Following this period, Egypt underwent changes affecting nearly all levels of society. These changes were essentially driven by improved means of communication and education, and by agricultural and urban reforms. The most important infrastructural changes were the building of roads, railways and telegraph communications, the opening of the Suez Canal, reforms of the country's administrative system, and the establishment of a national post office.⁴² In 1846 the population of Cairo numbered around 250,000, whereas in 1907 it had nearly tripled to 670,000. The next forty years, in which the Modern Cairene variety is believed to have had its most formative period,⁴³ migration to the cities rose significantly and its population reached a total of approximately 2.5 million.⁴⁴

A new Egypt, characterized by an expanding economy and favourable conditions for foreign merchants, saw migrants pouring into the country from the surrounding regions. The numbers of migrants increased throughout the 19th century and did not halt until the 1920s. Migrants typically came from Greece, Italy, North Africa, Armenia and the Levant. During the 19th century, the Jewish migrants among them were mainly Sephardi and Oriental Jews, whereas in the early 20th century Ashkenazi Jews fleeing from persecution in Eastern Europe also arrived in Egypt.⁴⁵ As a consequence, a division within the Jewish communities grew evident, a division in which religious doctrine, culture, nationality and ethnicity became more dominant than they had been before. The second and third generations of these immigrants became part of a middle- and upper-class cosmopolitan culture, unlike their indigenous coreligionists, who remained mostly in the poor *Ḥārit il-Yahūd* or the Jewish Quarter, and still engaged in traditional occupations of small trade and craftsmanship.⁴⁶

³⁹ Miller 2005:914. The process of levelling stagnated following the 1950's (see Miller 2005:914).

⁴⁰ Abu-Lughod 1971:83.

⁴¹ Miller 2004:186.

⁴² See Abu-Lughod 1971:83ff.

⁴³ See Abu-Lughod 1971.

⁴⁴ OUCC-Cedaj, Cairo *apud* Miller 2005:908.

⁴⁵ Krämer 1989:8, 11.

⁴⁶ Krämer 1989:14.

With the constant influx of migrants, the linguistic situation which played out in the school system was initially characterized by a somewhat chaotic mixture of different background. Whereas indigenous Egyptian Jewish children spoke Arabic, the new immigrants spoke Ladino, French, Italian, Turkish and Yiddish, depending on their countries of origin. The following passage, written by a teacher at a Cairo Alliance school in 1913, illustrates this perceived diversity of Cairene Jews, along the lines of language, ethnicity, culture and social class:

— The majority of our children are made up of indigenous Jews, indolent and lazy, who speak Arabic; of a great portion Ashkenazim with a lively intelligence who are the jewel of our schools and who insist on retaining their German dialect [i.e. Yiddish]; and of a minority of Spanish Jews, lively and alert, who have almost all come from Turkey and who at home speak Ladino.⁴⁷

Immediately before Egyptians began adapting to the modern developments of the late 19th century, the whole Jewish community of Egypt consisted of no more than 5,000–7,000 individuals.⁴⁸ These were Rabbanite, Karaite and Samaritan Jews who were more or less assimilated in the old Egyptian lifestyle, language and popular beliefs;⁴⁹ yet, they were reported to have kept strictly to their own people on most occasions. The orientalist Edward William Lane, even though mistaken in his estimate of the population size, depicted the situation of the Egyptian Jews of the early-19th-century Jewish Quarter of Cairo in the following, gloomy way:

— There are in this country about 500 Jews [...] most of whom reside in the Metropolis [i.e. Cairo], in a miserable, close and dirty quarter, intersected by lanes, many of which are so narrow as hardly to admit of two persons passing each other in them [...] In their dress, as well as in their persons, they are generally slovenly and dirty. The colors of their turbans are the same as those of the Christian subjects. The women veil themselves, and dress in every respect, in public, like the other women of Egypt. The Jews have eight synagogues in their quarter in Cairo; and not only enjoy religious toleration, but are under a less oppressive government in Egypt than in any other country of the Turkish Empire.

⁴⁷ Quoted in Krämer 1989:86f.

⁴⁸ Landau 1969:4.

⁴⁹ Krämer 1989:13.

[...] Like the Copts, and for the like reason, the Jews pay tribute, and are exempted from military service. [...] Not long ago, they used often to be jostled in the streets of Cairo, and sometimes beaten merely for passing on the right hand of a Moslim. At present they are less oppressed; but still they scarcely ever dare to utter a word of abuse when reviled or beaten unjustly by the meanest Arab or Turk; for many a Jew has been put to death upon a false and malicious accusation of uttering disrespectful words against the Kkooran⁵⁰ or the Prophet. [...] The Jews of Egypt generally lead a very quiet life: indeed, they find few but persons of their own sect who will associate with them.⁵¹

The transformation into modernity in Egypt came rather quickly, and it is reasonable to assume that the increasing propensity for multiculturalism was the beginning of the end of traditional Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic language and culture. Egypt's new migrants had brought money, higher education, foreign languages and foreign dialects of Arabic as well as a resilient modern and cosmopolitan rationale, and Cairenes began adapting to a culture in which the lifestyle of the newcomers had become increasingly important. There can be little doubt that Egyptians during this period of modernization, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, were introduced to customs and values which had a marked effect on a range of issues, from the way they dressed to the language in which they communicated. For it must have been in the course of such vast social changes that language features of yesterday's (pre-modern) spoken variety of Cairo gradually faded out, that some of these became suppressed as non-standard, and that many characteristic features of today's modern Cairene emerged.

In the following chapters we shall focus on features of Cairene Arabic which should be regarded as pre-modern according to the discussion above, and which predominantly belong to medieval and early modern times. I believe that these features belonged to a variety which was not only employed by many indigenous Arabic-speaking Egyptians of Jewish descent, but also by a significant number of non-Jews. It remains, however, to carefully survey a selection of the historically most significant demographical impacts between the early Islamic period and early modern times, most notably those which may have most severely affected the sociolinguistic situation in Egypt and Cairo, and to identify and reconstruct some stages of social and linguistic change.

⁵⁰ Sic.

⁵¹ See Lane 1836 ii: 344ff. *apud* Landau 1969:148ff.

1.3 The ‘Cairo-Ramla Manuscripts’

— The Arabic of the Geniza records somehow is a world by itself, because the very fact that it was written in a script other than the classical Arabic by persons who had not in their childhood memorized the Koran, the holy book of Islam, made for greater independence from the traditional grammar and vocabulary. Therefore the Geniza papers reflect the living language, and they constitute, in their great variety of styles and local idioms, a first-rate source for the history of the Arabic language.

*Shlomo Dov Goitein*⁵²

On the whole, the material discussed here consists of manuscripts written in Judaeo-Arabic and most likely copied between the 17th and 19th centuries.⁵³ They are part of what I will refer to as the ‘Cairo-Ramla manuscripts’⁵⁴ because they come from a collection of manuscripts which were kept in one of the synagogues in the Jewish Quarter of Cairo. Today they are in the custody of the Jewish Karaite community formerly based in Cairo, Egypt, which is now based in the city of Ramla, Israel. As far as I am aware, none of the present manuscripts have been edited or published before. They include a number of narratives about Biblical and Qurʾānic figures in literary pieces, or belles-lettres, of prose and verse, all of which seem to reflect oral traditions which have been transcribed into written form. Some of them are adaptations of Jewish and Muslim folk tales and exegetic material from medieval times, whereas others are lyrical compositions reminiscent of the poetic traditions identified with genres which are believed to have developed mainly in Persia, the Arabian Peninsula and Muslim Spain. It is relevant to mention that belles-lettres and other kinds of prose are difficult to date, as they have most probably been subject to copying and editing over a long period time.

The selected manuscripts, seven in total, contain both fragments and complete versions of five narratives, some of which are identical or nearly identical to each other. The texts are occasionally vocalized with signs resembling the Hebrew Tiberian tradition,

⁵² Goitein 1967-1988 i: 16.

⁵³ This information is according to the dating provided by the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts (IMHM) at the Israeli National Library in Jerusalem.

⁵⁴ The manuscripts discussed here are in the custody of the Karaite community in Ramla, Israel. Microfilm copies of all the manuscripts are available at IMHM upon request. I am grateful to the Karaite Community in Ramla and the IMHM for granting me permission to copy and work on these manuscripts.

although the signs seem to be of a somewhat unconventional Sephardi type.⁵⁵ They are all copied on small, folded sheets of paper, about 20 by 15 centimetres in size. Each manuscript comprises somewhere between 10 and 20 folios with each folio containing 15–25 lines of text. All manuscripts have been preserved in relatively good, legible condition. They are written in quite similar kinds of script, all of which are typical of a Sephardi cursive style which appears to have evolved out of an ‘Eastern script’ influenced by Arabic cursive.⁵⁶ The different hands attested in our seven manuscripts resemble various degrees of cursiveness, ranging from the fairly ‘extreme cursive’ to ‘book hand’ styles. Their paleographic features do not fit into strict categories,⁵⁷ but correspond, to varying degrees, with the following styles attested by Ada Yardeni in her *Book of Hebrew Script*: One ‘Eastern’ hand identified with manuscripts from 12th-century Fustāṭ and a number of ‘Sephardi’ hands identified with manuscripts from 11th-century Qayrawān or Egypt,⁵⁸ 14th-century Fes and Spanish cities such as Villaón and Toledo in the 12th and 15th centuries.⁵⁹ Not only do our manuscripts seem to have been transferred from already extant written versions rather than from dictation or memory,⁶⁰ they also give the impression that they imitate the historical and geographical setting from which their archetypes stem. Moreover, and as we shall see, these orthographic characteristics fit well with the general idea of a strong historical and demographic link between Egypt and the western Islamic empire during medieval times.

Based on their paleographic and orthographic features, most of these manuscripts appear to be copies which go back no earlier than the 17th century. Yet, whereas later additions and changes may have been made to these copies, the archetypes of most of these works are indeed very old. The manuscripts bear evidence of Judaeo-Arabic culture and language at its peak, that is, the Classical Judaeo-Arabic period between the 10th to 15th

⁵⁵ See 4.1.1.1, below.

⁵⁶ See Yardeni 1991:252.

⁵⁷ In an email correspondence, Malachi Beit-Arie informs me that comprehensive paleographic studies have only dealt with medieval manuscripts until the mid-16th century, and that no categories have yet been established for early modern manuscripts such as the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts.

⁵⁸ The manuscript treated by Yardeni (1991:252) here was written by Naharay ben Nissim (ca. 1025–1098). He was a representative of the Babylonian congregation and leader of the community in Qayrawān. He later migrated to Egypt (see Ackerman-Lieberman 2010), where he served as a leader (see Bareket 1999:20).

⁵⁹ See Yardeni 1991: 89, 221, 247ff.

⁶⁰ Whereas the archetypes seem to have been initially written down from an originally oral source (see e.g. 1.4; 1.6; 3; 4.1, below), the particular manuscripts at hand were all most probably transferred from an earlier copy. Many cases affirm this notion, most notably those in which the scribe has confused one Hebrew cursive grapheme with a similar one, such as ז - ר (52/4b:6); ה - ה (52/7a:2); ו - ג (45/passim); ו - י (45:9a:17; 59/passim); ר - ד (45:9a:17); ת - ק (45/10a:2); כו - מ (59/1b:2); ק - ה (45/2a:2); ז - ג (46/4a:7); ל - ר (46/4a:7); ד - ק (8/5b:1) etc. There is also evidence of duplications of text (see e.g. 46/10a:11–12, 10a:20–22; 23/3a:17) in which the scribe has written the same sentence twice, one following the other on the next line.

centuries, in which we can identify an array of interesting sociolinguistic features which have journeyed along Islamic civilization throughout the western Mediterranean basin.

The composition of these narratives — most notably in their use of language — reflects an array of stages in the history and development of the Arabic language. As will be thoroughly presented in chapter 3, the origins of ‘*The Ibrāhīm-Nimrūd Legend*’ and ‘*King Sulaymān, the Ant and the Impenetrable Palace of Shaddād ibn ‘Ād*’ stem from various Muslim narrators, some of whom had a Jewish background and whose ancestors belonged to tribes in the south-western region of the Arabian Peninsula during pre-Islamic and early Islamic times. ‘*The Binding of Yiṣḥāq*’ seems to have been influenced by a tradition of Hebrew and Judaeo-Arabic commentary which developed in Muslim Spain, and was most likely used for ceremonial purposes by a Maimonidean *nagid*, or community leader, in 14th/15th-century Egypt. ‘*The Poem of Zakariyah’s Murder*’ bears witness to the poetic tradition of the *musammaṭ*, a genre which is believed to have originated in medieval Spain, or arguably in Persia at an earlier stage. And finally, the chain of events in ‘*The Song of Yūsuf*’ adheres to the Qur’ānic *sūra* and the Biblical passage about that prophet. It displays a more intricate style of Arabic poetry than featured in the other narratives, and which is characterized by either the Andalusian *muwašṣaḥ* or the Yemenite *ḥumaynī*. Not surprisingly, all the manuscripts presented here exhibit narratives which have been transmitted over a long period of time, having been subject to religious, cultural and linguistic adaptation and change during the centuries of their transmission.

The manuscripts bear evidence of oral traditions that have been transmitted by Jews, Muslims and Christians alike throughout the Arab world over the course of history. They are narratives which have been nurtured by Islamic thought and Arabic language, and contain a variety of literary genres and themes intended to portray important events in the lives of prophets and patriarchs, all of whom figure within the universe of Jewish and Islamic sacred literature. The narratives in question come in the form of prose or poetry, or a combination of the two. Naturally, the genre, style and register of these oral traditions were influenced by the various societies, cultures and traditions in which they were transmitted, predominantly societies in which an Arabic-speaking Muslim elite, and with time a Muslim majority, came to dominate political and intellectual life. As a result of being acculturated to the sociolinguistic environment of their rulers, narrators of these Judaeo-Arabic legends seem to have initially adopted an eastern Islamic mode of expression and stylistic innovation, and with time to have displayed them with the utmost verbal confidence and with the cultural garb of an emerging, independent western Islamic world.

1.4 Expressions of Styles and Local Idioms

In the following paragraphs, I will make some observations regarding the thematic content, linguistic style and compositional structure, or the *living discourse*, attested in the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts. I will demonstrate that much of this living discourse corresponds to genres, styles, voices and traditions which may be fixed in approximate time and place throughout the Islamic empire. Together these general linguistic observations make up a suitable framework for investigating the historical and demographical layers of the evolution of Arabic in Egypt. In other words, I seek to investigate the present material in terms of social history, that is, as a cultural product embedded in a certain time and place.⁶¹ The details surrounding this aspect are further developed in the philological survey of chapter 3.

I am convinced that our corpus of narratives shares advantages with the novel — or perhaps with belles-lettres in the sense of all ‘aesthetic’ works of fiction, drama and poetry — most importantly because it provides a strong sense of linguistic idiosyncrasy, aesthetic qualities and originality. This advantage is described by Mikhail Bakhtin as *raznorečie*, translated ‘multidiscursivity’ or ‘heteroglossia’, and stands for the multiplicity of socio-ideological discourses or speech genres.⁶² Alternatively, as the renowned Genizah scholar Shlomo Dov Goitein would perhaps express the same view, it is a language whose great *variety of styles and local idioms* makes it indispensable for investigating the history of the Arabic language.⁶³ Our five prophets’ narratives offer a significant amount of Goitein’s notion of ‘styles and local idioms’, or, alternatively, of Bakhtin’s ‘speech genres’, as we shall discuss in the following paragraphs.

In the genre of formal language we find that some of the manuscripts offer idiosyncratic, non-standard or ethno-religious interpretations of a style corresponding to certain universal literary standards of formulaic language. One legend begins with an introductory formula, more precisely an invocation in praise of God. While resembling the typical Islamic introductions⁶⁴ of medieval Arabic literary works, it is written in a manner which differs significantly from the standard form. The formula also reflects some kind of

⁶¹ In this sense, the approach here is in line with the general view of the literary theorists Michael Bakhtin and Raymond Williams, both of which argued examining literature in the context of the societies in which it was composed.

⁶² Bakhtin 1981; 1986:60ff.

⁶³ See Goitein 1967-1988 i:16.

⁶⁴ It should be noted that *today* these introductions are understood as particularly Islamic. However, at the time it was written, this kind of formula was most probably employed quite frequently among Muslim and non-Muslim writers alike.

Muʿtazilite influence, and displays similarity with the introduction of Yefet ben ʿElī al-Baṣrī in his work on the Book of Proverbs.⁶⁵ It begins with a list of divine attributes of God such as *al-wāḥid* ‘the Unique’ and *al-ḥayy* ‘the Living One’, both of which are central dogmas in the Muʿtazilite doctrine, and which correspond to the introduction of our manuscript.⁶⁶ Other expressions of formal language are seen in phrases reflecting Qurʾānic and extra-Qurʾānic content, in which the linguistic style proves to derive noticeably from the standard version. A similar, formal speech genre, perhaps of a more archaic kind, is attested in a number of poems and decrees throughout the narratives, some of which seem remarkably ancient in content, style and structure. It remains, of course, to establish to what degree these formal passages represent actual contemporary language usage — that is, whether they reflect the language of the time and place which they claim to represent — or whether they are mere idiosyncratic reconstructions. The narratives also feature classical panegyric poems of ancient Persian, Medieval Spanish and Yemenite origin. Some of these allude to the myths of ancient civilizations of pre-Islamic Arabia, and are written in a demanding and archaic language that will challenge even the best trained of translators.

Another distinct speech genre — perhaps one more relevant for a sociolinguistic study such as this one — is the oral style that reoccurs throughout the narratives. This oral style becomes evident from the large number of dialogues, full of expressions reflecting the living language of speech. In fact, Bakhtin’s most important measures of a heterogeneous language lie in the rejoinders of everyday speech. But the dialogues appearing throughout the narratives show only one side of the oral character of the texts; in addition, there is an underlying, general tone of oral performance throughout the whole corpus: As far as I have understood the background and content of these manuscripts, the narratives are all intended to be performed before an audience. According to Blau, the average Jewish intellectual and general Jewish population probably preferred listening to homilies and sermons rather than reading them.⁶⁷ The situation cannot have been any different with the Muslim and Christian populations, as the level of literacy among these groups most probably mirrored that of the Jews to a certain degree. It is reasonable to assume that our prophetic narratives were typically recited in class, during sermons, as part of a prayer or speech, in public or semi-public storytelling sessions

⁶⁵ See Sasson 2010:253f.; Sasson 2016.

⁶⁶ The introduction of Yefet ben ʿElī al-Baṣrī reads, אלה אלקדים אלו אחד אלהי אלקאדר אלהים אלעזיז ואהב אלהכמה לנוע, אלאנסאן אלה القديم الواحد الحى القادر الحكيم العزيز واهب الحكمه لنوع الانسان ‘the Pre-existent Lord, the Unique, the Living One, the Omnipotent, the Wise, the Mighty, the One Who Bestows wisdom upon mankind.’ Sasson’s translation (2010:253f.).

⁶⁷ Blau 1999a:38.

and the like, all of which required the material to be promptly uttered. The material continuously exhibits formulas that reflect the act of an oral performance, such as ‘let me begin with something that happened a long time ago,’ ‘the narrator said *so-and-so*’ and ‘thus it came to an end, fulfilling the story of *such-and-such*, [the end of] which only God knows!’ Furthermore, the narratives seem to have been recorded and performed in a language adapted to the dialect and social-ideological sphere of the storyteller and his audience. As will be demonstrated throughout this dissertation, and particularly in the linguistic analysis, the character of this particular dialect and social-ideological sphere is in fact situated in late medieval Egypt, yielding a popular — and perhaps widely distributed — narrative style which has absorbed many traits of western Islamic language and culture.

I believe that, if we are in possession of a language corpus which proves to be substantially heterogeneous, we may with some confidence succeed in reconstructing parts of linguistic history, simply by making analogies between the language of that very corpus and the sociolinguistic reality — the living discourse — of the timespan and geographic area which the narratives entail. Accordingly, with enough representative data we will be able to situate the material’s approximate linguistic nature in time and place. Most likely, such a methodological approach will arouse the critical sense of any devoted Arabist or Semitist; for example, there are many pitfalls in comparing numerous bundles of dialectal isoglosses, and no fewer in drawing conclusions according to the similarities among them. The vast chronological aspect of such comparisons makes the matter even more complicated. It is without doubt a bold attempt, and the reader should be appropriately cautious, as the data presented and discussed here cannot be accurately fixed in time and place down to the last detail. However, in order to understand more about the historical development of the Arabic language, and especially that of the Egyptian variety, we must dare to discuss the complex issue of the emergence and the various historical layers of dialects such as the one employed in Cairo. The characteristics and nature of the Cairene dialect before modern times and the degree of levelling and koineization which has taken place since its emergence cannot be fully understood, as there are very few sources which may describe or let us reconstruct its various linguistic layers in the time preceding 1850. But fortunately, we have much literature on history, sociolinguistics and dialects which, if applied correctly and carefully to our Cairo-Ramla manuscripts, may help us understand parts of the emergence and development of the Arabic language in Egypt and the surrounding areas.

1.5 The Advantageous Case of Judaeo-Arabic: Middle Arabic in Hebrew Script

When studying the historical development of the Arabic language — in this case focusing on the non-standard Cairene dialect type — Arabic material written in Judaeo-Arabic may prove extraordinarily rewarding. The most important reason for this is that the writing of much Judaeo-Arabic material deviates from the strict conventions of Classical Arabic. Somewhat opposed to these conventions, written Judaeo-Arabic reflects a less constricted, more heterogeneous language which scholars have termed Middle Arabic.

Just like so many other religious communities around the world, the Jews of Egypt wrote in a script hallowed by their own ethno-religious background. For long periods, they wrote their Arabic mother tongue in the Hebrew script, in which they had been instructed at home, in their local synagogue or in community schools. The practice of writing Arabic in a script other than Arabic was by no means confined to Jews; it was also customary, for example, among Christians, some of whom wrote their Arabic in Syriac letters.⁶⁸ One should not forget that in pre-modern times, schools and other educational institutions were generally much more defined by the practices of their respective ethnic and religious communities than they are today. This was probably the case for most people who learned to read and write in medieval and early modern times; their language in general, and their orthographic traditions in particular, were permeated by the literary heritage of their respective religious denominations.

For the sociolinguist, anthropologist, philologist, theologian, historian and the like, the phenomenon of one language written in the script of another can be an exceptionally practical tool for carrying out research. This is especially true with text specimens that differ from the various written norms of the ‘dominant’ script system; the language of an Arabic narrative rendered with Hebrew characters may reveal features which are not visible when written in conventional Arabic, and the more it differs from the written norms of Arabic, the more features it will reveal. As Khan points out, some genres which have been transmitted down to early-modern times⁶⁹ orally before being preserved in text, such as some North African *shurūh*⁷⁰ and Yemenite poetry and folk literature, is often “free of the disguise of orthographic

⁶⁸ See Goitein 1967-1988 i:15.

⁶⁹ Khan writes ‘down to modern times’.

⁷⁰ A brief discussion on the *sharḥ*-genre is offered in 3.3, below.

practices [and had, e.g. in Yemen] a more dialectal base than the contemporary written Judaeo-Arabic” (Khan 2011 online).

Judaeo-Arabic texts — and especially those of our Cairo-Ramla manuscripts — are often found to be more influenced by a somewhat phonetically-oriented orthography than texts written in Classical Arabic; they display a writing system in which words are spelled more in accordance with how they are pronounced.⁷¹ As will be discussed in the linguistic analysis of chapter 4, our Judaeo-Arabic material is simply written in a language where many vowel and consonant alternations occasionally become visible, and in which one may accordingly identify phonological — and in turn, morphosyntactic — deviations from the orthographic norms of Classical Arabic. If done correctly, this will give us a better understanding of the dichotomy between the standard and non-standard features of written and spoken Egyptian Arabic from earlier times. In the following chapters, we shall see that many such phonological reflections consistently indicate correspondence to dialects which are historically or demographically related to that of Egypt and Cairo. Moreover, in the process of identifying such features, it has become clear to me that it is on the realm of morphophonology that we should essentially rely. Considering, however, that all the studied material appears exclusively in writing, the challenge remains to successfully distinguish features of the classical or pseudo-correct type from those reflecting spoken vernacular.

1.6 In Search of the Language of the *‘āmma*

Judaeo-Arabic texts come in different orthographic shapes and with very different attitudes towards conventional Arabic spelling. Whereas some texts mirror normative Arabic to the last point, others appear to neglect the conventions of written Arabic to a large degree. Counting on this observation, it is reasonable to suggest that the more Judaeo-Arabic texts deviate from the standard conventions of written Arabic, the more important they become for the purpose of our study. Likewise, the more dialect traits they display, the more useful they are for our purpose. In order to find such deviations and dialectal content in writing, we should probably look at the stylistic genres which strive to perform living language and which at the same time seek the attention of the *‘āmma*, or the common people.⁷² Historically, the narratives about the Biblical and Qur’ānic figures have spread orally, passed down from one generation to the

⁷¹ See e.g. Khan 2006:51ff.

⁷² As Jonathan P. Berkey notes, “Medieval Egyptian society, like most, was deeply hierarchal [...] The standard term for ‘common people’ was *‘āmma*, but this word really only acquired meaning negatively, in opposition to *khāssa* [‘elite’ and the *‘a‘yān* ‘notables’]” (Berkey 1998:386).

next, and have been shaped to fit a broad and partly illiterate audience. In this sense, it is natural to assume that the liturgical or ceremonial fundamentals of the narratives have sometimes been replaced by popular folkloristic elements throughout their history of transmission. As Nelly Hanna notes on colloquial writing in 17th-century Cairo, “the spread of a form of writing that was close to the spoken word may also be considered as a manifestation of the concerns and the language of the ordinary person” (Hanna 2003:128). Colloquial or semi-colloquial language became widespread in writing and became an important trend in written culture.⁷³ Popular culture, which had long been preserved only in the realm of oral tradition thus penetrated the literature,⁷⁴ and became even more accessible to the common people. Most certainly, such genres include oral prose and poetry, most notably in the narration of folk tales and other popular narratives. It is clear that in order to find the most suitable corpus for the reconstruction of dialects, one should pay close attention to examples which potentially exhibit a particularly low level of correctness in their style and register.

It would be incorrect to describe our corpus as purely dialectal. However, there are undeniably large portions of spoken vernacular reflected in our material, and especially evident in its reflections of phonology and morphology. Much of this popular language is characterized by features which Hinds and Badawi regard as belonging to *‘āmmiyyat al-‘ummiyyīn*⁷⁵ or *popular language*⁷⁶ and Manfred Woidich’s notion of ‘substandard’.⁷⁷ Federico Corriente, when studying the Arabic dialects of medieval Spain and the evolution of early Arabic features, paid close attention to the mistakes of the low and ‘uneducated’ classes. On the spoken language of these people and the esteem in which they held it, he found that “its speakers were aware of the personality of their dialect and not a bit ashamed of it, to the point that they sometimes preferred it over Classical Arabic for purposes such as folk poetry and proverb collections” (Corriente 1977:8). In this connection, Goitein notes that the Arabic variety attested in the medieval materials of the Cairo Genizah do not reflect any particular Jewish dialect, but rather “the language of the time and the country and social[-ideological]⁷⁸ group to which the writer belonged” (Goitein 1967–1988 i:16). His comment indicates, for example, that a Jewish doctor who worked in a 12th-century Alexandrian hospital probably

⁷³ Hanna 2003:128.

⁷⁴ Hanna 2003:119f.

⁷⁵ Hinds and Badawi 1986: viii f.

⁷⁶ The term is employed by Hinds and Badawi (1986: viii ff.) and is described as exhibiting a particularly *low level of correctness* in its style and register.

⁷⁷ Woidich 2006.

⁷⁸ My square brackets.

had more in common with his Muslim or Christian fellow doctors than with any random Jewish coreligionist who happened to be, say, a maker of shoes or a silk-weaver.⁷⁹

Based on its background and linguistic nature, the same may be said about our material: It is likely not the language only of a distinct group of Jews, but rather a representative of a regional *lingua franca* employed by a much larger group, preferably those who travelled considerably within the Mediterranean basin. Moreover, Goitein poses the same questions as Blau, and asks “whether the various groups and individuals [...] were representative of their countries of origin or domicile, of the world of Muslim civilization, or of Mediterranean society as a whole” (Goitein 1967–1988 i:74). In fact, Heikki Palva, who has investigated texts similar to those attested in the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts,⁸⁰ argues that although they are written in Hebrew letters, they do not exhibit a particular Judaeo-Arabic language; rather they reflect a “narrative style used by storytellers in the cities of Lower Egypt in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries” (Palva 2007:395).⁸¹ As we are working here on (the limited amount of) seven manuscripts, we must of course account for the possibility that the idiosyncrasies of a few writers may give a somewhat incorrect impression about the linguistic features in question. For example, it is well known that many religious scholars had been imported from neighbouring countries, and may well have brought with them the variety from where they came.

1.7 ‘Old Rural Features’ in the pre-1850 Dialect of Cairo

Migration from rural and provincial areas, notably those of Upper Egypt have played an important role in the formation of the urban dialect of Cairo and its many suburbs due to its relatively large impact on the demographic growth. In a study which attempts to measure the degree of such impact and dialectal levelling to which Upper Egyptian migrants contributed in Cairo, Catherine Miller finds that the picture of Cairo is severely blurred when we sought to study the development which took place before modern times. She notes that “we lack deep knowledge of pre-1850 Cairene Arabic [as] all pre-nineteenth century data are based on written sources, Arabic or Judaeo-Arabic, including materials in Middle Arabic [...] or materials in literary colloquial [which do not provide] a real picture of the spoken varieties especially at the phonological level” (Miller 2005:914).

⁷⁹ Goitein 1967-1988 i:71.

⁸⁰ Palva 2007; 2008.

⁸¹ For this narrative-style variety, Palva suggests the term ‘pre-19th century Spoken Egyptian Arabic’.

Upper Egypt stretches from the immediate south of Cairo, southwards approximately 600 miles along the Nile River to the southern outskirts of Aswān.⁸² There are mainly two reasons for why it is important to consider the dialects of Upper Egypt when studying that of pre-1850 Cairo. One reason is that many North African Arabs who migrated to Egypt share a common origin in Upper Egypt. Whereas many people living here began moving westwards in the 11th century, many North Africans later moved back to Egypt again, especially to Cairo.⁸³ Another reason is the issue concerning the Upper Egypt features attested in earlier varieties of Cairene, and the fact that Upper Egyptian dialects are so well represented in popular oral literature;⁸⁴ many features which are well attested in descriptions of the older Cairene variety have later come to be considered as popular, non-standard and even rural.⁸⁵ In the case of our material we could contemplate that many such ‘old typical Cairene’ features have gained this status. Some examples are the presence of stress of the primary and the non-primary type, pausal *imāla*, merging of sibilants, *nekteb* imperfect in the 1st person singular, vowel elisions in unstressed syllables, and interrogative *kīf* / *kēf*.⁸⁶ Miller believes this process — which she refers to as a process of marginalization or elimination of non-standard Cairene features — has come about as a consequence of “a higher normative pressure due to the spread of education, social mobility and mass media” (Miller 2005:915).

We do not know whether the ‘old typical Cairene’ features were in fact rural features which were brought to popular areas of Cairo or whether they were initially Cairene and later adopted by the migrants coming from rural areas in Upper Egypt — and as a result of this became regarded as rural. That said, the dichotomies treated here, that is, standard versus non-standard, urban versus rural, and popular versus educated, are all severely blurred.⁸⁷ In fact, many features which were common in both rural and Cairene are today considered non-standard and have fallen out of use in the latter dialect.

1.8 The Karaite Community: A Distinct Group of Old-City Dwellers

— The investigation of marginal, minority religiolects or language varieties such as Judaeo-Arabic and Maltese makes it easier to understand the diachronic development of Arabic in general. In fact, such investigations

⁸² Khalafallah 1969:11.

⁸³ Owens 2006:18.

⁸⁴ Miller 2005:913.

⁸⁵ Miller 2005:914.

⁸⁶ These particular features are treated in chapter 4.

⁸⁷ See Miller 2005:916.

open a small window onto Arabic continuum in general and can explain some of its historical developments, as well as the development of Arabic dialects throughout history, since the periphery so often points to the center.

*Benjamin Hary*⁸⁸

It is believed that up until the mid-20th century, when most of the Jewish community of Egypt left the country, Jews had lived in Egypt since before the Islamic expansion. It is not clear exactly how the particular sect of the Karaites found its way to Egypt, but we know that the movement was firmly established in Fustāṭ by the 10th century.⁸⁹ The term Karaites stems from the Hebrew *qara'im*, *bene* (or *ba'ale*) *miqra'*; Arabic *qarā'iyyūn*, usually translated as 'readers of the Scripture'.⁹⁰ Muslim accounts from the 10th century describe them as 'those who avow justice (*ʿadl*) and unity of God (*tawḥīd*).'⁹¹ The Karaite doctrine rejects the authority of Jewish post-biblical tradition and rabbinic works, and recognizes the books of the Hebrew Bible alone as the authority in matters concerning religious law and theology. Whereas some scholars have drawn parallels between Karaite ideology and doctrine and that of the Jewish Sadducees and Essenes, who also rejected the idea of an oral law, others have compared it to the Islamic school of the Mu'tazila⁹² and circles such as the Kalām.⁹³ It may be argued that Karaism is, in essence, "a result of the intellectual and social ferment in the Jewish community of the Muslim empire" (Nemoy 1978:603).

The Karaite doctrine appears far more restrictive than that of the Rabbanites, notably in its laws regarding inheritance, diet, Sabbath, ritual cleanness, calendar and levirate marriages.⁹⁴ This sense of restriction was also apparent in the condemnation of the practice of writing prose prayers and versed hymns as complements to Biblical verses, which the Rabbanites did. Socially speaking, however, this apparent animosity was not present to the same degree. Intermarriage between Karaites and Rabbanites is reported to have been quite normal in Egypt during the 10th and 11th centuries,⁹⁵ and Karaites frequently visited and participated in the activities of rabbinic courts.⁹⁶ From this period on, it was customary for the Egyptian community leader to serve as the official spokesman of both the Karaites and the

⁸⁸ Hary 2009:44.

⁸⁹ Goitein 1967-1988 ii:7.

⁹⁰ Nemoy 1978:603.

⁹¹ See Sasson 2010:253; Sasson 2016.

⁹² A brief overview can be found in Sasson 2010:255. On the Mu'tazila, see Gimaret 1993:786ff.

⁹³ On the various theological schools of the Kalām and the influence of Mu'tazilism on Jewish thought, see Gardet 1971:1142ff.

⁹⁴ Nemoy 1978:607.

⁹⁵ Goitein 1967-1988 ii:7; Nemoy 1978:607.

⁹⁶ Rustow 2004:390, 397 apud Stroumsa 2009:40.

Rabbanites.⁹⁷ In addition, as so explicitly illustrated by our sources, Karaite texts are filled with prose, verse and commentary, not to mention the numerous allusions to Jewish works which must be regarded as of the rabbinic type. In fact, Karaites were learned in the rabbinic lore of the Mishna and Talmud and in the medieval works of renowned Rabbanite scholars such as Naḥmanides, Abraham ibn Ezra, and leaders of the Maimonidean dynasty — even though one would perhaps expect Karaites to reject this kind of extra-Biblical rabbinic activities.⁹⁸ Whereas there were different opinions among Karaites regarding the practice of referring to rabbinic material, it may seem that the main reason for doing so was driven by a desire to fully understand the arguments of the Rabbanites, and to properly distinguish their own writings from that of their opponents.⁹⁹

In general terms, the Jews of 19th- and 20th-century Cairo constituted three separate linguistic communities. These were groups of newly arrived multilingual Sephardi Jews and Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim, and of indigenous Karaites and Rabbanites. The latter group consisted of Arabic-speaking Jews who mostly resided in the Jewish Quarter of Cairo and employed a dialect which we may refer to as indigenous to Cairo. By contrast, many middle-class, multilingual and partly Europeanized Sephardi Jews did not typically live in the Jewish Quarter and rarely spoke Arabic in their homes, nor did the Ashkenazim, who predominantly spoke Yiddish. Out of the approximately 80,000 Jews living in Egypt by 1948, about 20,000 were indigenous and substantially monolingual speakers of (Judaeo-)Arabic.¹⁰⁰

According to Versteegh's notion of an 'old dictum of areal dialectology', it is argued that varieties at the periphery always preserve the oldest forms.¹⁰¹ Historically these were forms which, most importantly, were less subject to innovations due to the growing influence of Classical Arabic and "the sphere of influence of the Islamic empire" (Versteegh 1984:30). It would perhaps be incorrect to equate our Judaeo-Arabic variety directly with the ancestral and isolated status of Arabic in the 'old dictum' such as the Arabophone periphery of standard Maltese, Cypriot Maronite Arabic and the Arabic dialects of Central Anatolia.¹⁰² However, the Jewish Egyptian community fits the framework of a peripheral Arabophone language community in the way that they have been, at times, strongly isolated from the larger society, and consequently left traces in their literary heritage which exhibit exhibiting fossilized Old

⁹⁷ Baron 1952-1983 v:274f.

⁹⁸ Baron 1952-1983 v:253.

⁹⁹ Tirosh-Becker 2003:319f.; 2011.

¹⁰⁰ Beinun 1998:2ff.

¹⁰¹ Versteegh 1984:30.

¹⁰² See Versteegh 1984:30.

Arabic forms as well as dialectal features which have fallen out of use in the modern Cairene dialect. There are indeed areas in Egypt — and many more in the country's proximity — where old features have been preserved in a similar manner, for example in many of the oases in the Western Desert, or in some areas of the northern coastline of the Kafr el-Sheikh region.¹⁰³ The indigenous Arabic-speaking Jews of Cairo — most notably the Karaite community, due to their unique, somewhat monolithic background vis-à-vis the ethnologically mixed Rabbanites — represent a sociolinguistically distinct group of indigenous old-city dwellers. For whereas the Muslims of Egypt soon came to be a rather composite mass of social and ethnic communities,¹⁰⁴ Jewish communities preserved portions of medieval cultural heritage due to their relatively small number and the somewhat restricted impact of their social services — which following the 14th century were provided almost exclusively by and for themselves.

1.9 Selected Strata of Egyptian Arabic Language History

— Between globalization and the village lies the city, with its extraordinary complexity that challenges the poorly skilled linguist.

*Catherine Miller*¹⁰⁵

As argued above (and as shall be thoroughly treated in chapter 4), the dissertation focuses on a selection of linguistic features, predominantly those which deviate from Modern Cairene and Classical Arabic. These deviations are represented in a range of corresponding features in some varieties and dialects outside Cairo, from a diachronic as well as a synchronic point of view. Thus, in view of the vast history and wide geographical distribution of the content attested in our manuscripts, my approach is at least threefold.

First, the various findings in the present material are expected to reflect usage connected with early Islamic rule in Egypt, a period which was strongly influenced by the language of the Arabian tribes — mainly southern and most probably sedentary Yemenites later to be known as the *jund* — who settled in Fustāṭ following the Islamic conquest. In every new town where Arab tribes settled, it should be expected that the dialect of the prevailing tribe would determine the conditions for the further development of the local variety. The situation seems to have been the same regardless of whether the influence came with Bedouin

¹⁰³ See Woidich 1993; Wilmsen 2011 online.

¹⁰⁴ See Goitein 1967-1988 i:72f.

¹⁰⁵ Miller 2005:945.

or with sedentary urban tribes.¹⁰⁶ Although the process of levelling within a city is not always in favour of the already existing urban dialect,¹⁰⁷ I believe we should expect at least some traces of the linguistic character of the earliest varieties employed in Cairo. The period in which the city was still known as Fustāṭ and still under the influence of the Yemenite *jund* is especially interesting. Due to their long lasting political and cultural importance, there are reasons to believe that the ancient communal dialects of these settlers potentially became the basis of the new standard employed in Fustāṭ.

Second, it is expected that our findings reflect vernacular traits which are influenced by or corresponding to regions in proximity of Cairo and Egypt, most notably the western Mediterranean basin. This connection predominantly concerns Medieval Spain, North Africa, Malta and Sicilia, and is identified with Egypt's increasingly important cultural and economic role in the western Islamic empire during medieval times and the waves of mainly Maghribī migrants to Egypt, most notably those who came in the 10th, 13th and 15th centuries. Also, the influx of North African tribes to Egypt which happened following the Fāṭimid period (10th century) and during the 13th and 15th centuries is especially felt in areas of the Nile Delta of Lower Egypt, the western Oases and Upper Egypt.¹⁰⁸

Third, there is much material in our data characteristic of the non-standard Cairene variety described by Blanc,¹⁰⁹ as well as features which correspond to contemporary non-Cairene varieties in Egypt. There are also studies which describe some pre-modern features which were employed by the rural population Lower Egypt, most of which go back to the 17th century, and with which we can compare our findings.¹¹⁰ In this connection, migration from Upper Egypt to Cairo during the 19th and early 20th century seems to have had quite a significant impact on the development of the modern urban dialect of Cairo. Another study provides what must be expected to be features of 17th-century Cairo.¹¹¹ Whereas some features attested in our material may have fallen out of use among the majority of speakers in Cairo long before the 19th century, many of the same features correspond to the varieties employed in Upper Egypt today and in Cairo before 1850.

¹⁰⁶ Blau 1999a:11.

¹⁰⁷ See Miller 2004:180.

¹⁰⁸ Miller 2005:912.

¹⁰⁹ Blanc 1974.

¹¹⁰ Such features are primarily found in Davies 1981.

¹¹¹ See Zack 2009.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

— Since linguistic contact can only be the consequence of the contact of the speakers, we will have to search in places in which we know that such contacts have taken place, whether peacefully or belligerently, by migration or by conquest.

*Manfred Woidich*¹

In the following chapter, I endeavour to relate linguistic data to historical migration and other social changes of substantial demographic significance.² In order to expand and complement the findings in our material, I will draw upon different works relevant for the history and sociolinguistic situation of Egypt. This has been done to ensure that the analysis of the historical circumstances presented in this chapter go hand in hand with the analysis of the philological aspects of chapter 3 and linguistic features of chapter 4.³ It remains, thus, to scrutinize the most important social and demographical developments which took place during these centuries and to determine the sociolinguistic effect that they had on the Arabic language of Egypt, particularly the features which prove to have been employed by the Jews of Cairo.

We shall now review some important factors in the historical background of the Jewish community in Egypt. This part will focus on the early period characterized by the cultural domination of the Yemenite *jund*, a period in which the Jews of Egypt became Arabophone. It also considers the important role which their community played in the Egyptian and Mediterranean society in the course and aftermath of this process, especially following some large waves of migration. Finally, the chapter attempts to uncover some of the most important factors which may have led the varieties of some ethno-religious communities of Cairo first to split.

¹ Woidich 1997:191.

² See Versteegh 1984; Owens 2006.

³ This general approach is adopted from that of Versteegh (1984:44).

In this connection, we should also attempt to tackle Joshua Blau's question of whether the Jewish Arabic dialect in Egypt once belonged to the same type as the Muslim. He convincingly argues that the 12th-century Judaeo-Arabic vernacular of Egypt as a whole belonged to the Maghribī group of dialects, more precisely of the northern urban type,⁴ but he has not established whether Christians and Muslims in Egypt employed the same dialect as the Jews or not.⁵ This northern, urban type is often compared with that of Muslim Spain and the old sedentary urban dialects of old North African cities such as Tripoli in Libya (which is almost falling into oblivion); Qayrawān and Tunis in Tunisia; Algiers, Constantine and Tlemcen in Algeria; and Old Fes, Rabat, Salé, Tangier and Tetouan in Morocco.⁶ Blau suggests that "had the Muslim and Christian dialects of Egypt belonged to the Maghribī type, one would have expected to find some traces of it in their Middle Arabic writings: at present there exists, however, as far as I know, no such indications in Muslim and Christian Middle Arabic. This argument is, certainly, an *argumentum ex silentio*, nevertheless the assumption of an Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic dialect different from that of the Gentile neighbours seems the simplest explanation of the facts known so far" (Blau 1999a:58). In the present material, I have not found Muslim Egyptian writings of a particular North African nature *per se*, but the large number of Arabo-Muslim voices and literary genres throughout the material indicates a rather strong influence of Islamic social-ideological discourse and gives reason to believe that Muslim and some non-Muslim communities once employed the same dialect type. As Blau points out,

— It is very difficult to state *a priori* whether or not the Jewish dialects differed from those of their Muslim (and Christian) neighbours. There were enough factors to promote the formation of Middle [i.e. New]⁷ Arabic dialects for use only by Jews. Although there was a constant and profound mutual influence between Jews and Muslims in the social, cultural and religious spheres, one must not forget that it was in general the symbiosis not of individuals, but of communities.⁸

⁴ This group is discussed in 1.1.6, above.

⁵ Blau 1999a:56f.

⁶ Miller 2011:987.

⁷ Blau initially regarded Middle Arabic as "the missing link between Classical Arabic and the Modern Arabic dialects" (Blau 1988:38), albeit altered his view after some time. Eventually he considered Middle Arabic as representing the language of medieval texts composed of alternating elements of Classical Arabic, post-Classical Arabic, Arabic dialects and pseudo-correct elements in constantly varying degrees (see Blau 1999b:225; 2002:14).

⁸ Blau 1999a:54.

Historically, the common perception regarding the linguistic situation of the Jews in Egypt argues that the Rabbanite vernacular exhibited a distinctive Jewish variety, whereas the Karaite vernacular was virtually identical to that of the Muslims.⁹

As has been argued already, I believe that a significant amount of the Judaeo-Arabic cultural and linguistic features appearing in our material are representative not only of the speech among a Jews, but that of a larger group of Arabic-speaking individuals, that is, Muslims, Christians and Jews, who all came to be Arabophone and intermediaries of Islamic civilization. As Versteegh argues, “at the beginning of the Islamic era, after the conquests had run their course, there was no linguistic difference between converted and non-converted inhabitants of the newly conquered Islamic territories” (Versteegh 2017:78). And as observed by Corriente, these dialectal divergences which emerged in the first Arabic settlements of the Islamic empire were probably quite salient in the beginning, but levelled with other varieties after some time, especially in urban areas.¹⁰ It is understood that the Arabic employed by the indigenous (non-Arab) lower classes had crept into the Arabic of the upper strata of the urban societies by the 9th century, in some cases even as early as the 7th century.¹¹ In fact, complaints and anecdotes about incorrect speech among the common people, i.e. *lahn*, appeared during the very earliest years following the Arab conquests.¹²

I also believe that any major difference between the speech of Jews who dwelled in Cairo and the overall Muslim majority of that city must have been created at a later stage. Accordingly, I argue that the differences between the minority and majority vernacular must have depended on the level of inclusion or isolation in which the minority, i.e. the Jewish community, lived vis-à-vis the overall society. The chapter traces societal and demographic changes which have taken place during medieval times, predominantly in Egypt and the western Mediterranean basin — all of which have affected the sociolinguistic situation of the indigenous Jews of Cairo/Fuṣṭāṭ.

2.1 The Early Urban Development of Fuṣṭāṭ and its *Khiṭṭas*

Since ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ led the Muslim conquest of Egypt in the mid-7th century and established his garrison on the eastern side of the river Nile, to be known as the city of Fuṣṭāṭ

⁹ See Khan 2011 online. Scholars have not yet been able to map the degree to which the Rabbanite and the Karaite spoken varieties may have differed, but Blau suggest that linguistic usage among Rabbanite and Karaite authors in 10th-century Egypt was alike (see Blau 1982:25).

¹⁰ Corriente 1977:7.

¹¹ See Blau 1999a:7f., 19; Fück 1950:57.

¹² Fück 1950:15, 36.

and later Cairo, the area has been subject to tremendous social and demographic change. In order to properly investigate the possible medieval features of the Arabic variety employed in Cairo/Fuṣṭāṭ, we should therefore recount a brief history of the city which became the main cultural, religious, administrative and military centre of a vast region. Throughout this historical outline, we will attempt to connect the various demographic events which have taken place in Cairo/Fuṣṭāṭ, Egypt and its geographical vicinity, with the sociolinguistic situation of Jews (and to some extent other ethnic and religious groups) who dwelt among Arab Muslims.

Our earliest and most important source of information for the early development of Fuṣṭāṭ is Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam’s *Futūḥ Miṣr* (d. 871). Another important source is the more recent historical work of al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442), *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ*, which comprises two works by the early historian Abū ʿAmr al-Kindī (d. 873), *Kitāb al-Wulāt* and *Kitāb al-Quḍāt*, on the history of the early days of Islam in Egypt. These historians tell of the establishment of Fuṣṭāṭ, which, quite similarly to other Islamic camp-capitals such as Kūfa and Baṣra, was founded during the first century after the *Hijra*¹³ and divided into parcels according to tribal affiliation, the so-called *khiṭṭas*.¹⁴ There emerged an Arabic-speaking elite of settlers in Fuṣṭāṭ, represented mainly by two parties of different Arabian tribal affiliations. The first party, usually referred to as *Ahl al-Rāya* ‘People of the Standards’, belonged to the tribe of Quraysh from Mecca and to the *Anṣār*, which was made up of tribes from Medina and represented predominantly by the two tribes Banū Aws and Banū Khazraj. Among *Ahl al-Rāya* were also a number of companions of the Prophet who were not affiliated directly with the tribes of Quraysh and the *Anṣār*. Together, yet consisting of no more than five hundred men, this one party of Arabs was given *khiṭṭas* directly adjacent to the newly founded Mosque of ʿAmr, where they settled down. Subsequently, parcels of land adjacent to those of *Ahl al-Rāya* were divided among a second party of settlers, much more numerous than the former and consisting mainly of Yemenite and south-western Arabian tribes and sub-tribes.¹⁵ In particular, this party has been described as belonging to the tribes of Ḥimyar (including Maʿāfir), Azd (including Ghāfiq), Kinda (including Tujīb)¹⁶ and a large tribal group known as Ḥaḍramawt.¹⁷ The aforementioned al-Kindī offers the following account of the decision to divide Fuṣṭāṭ into parcels of land:

¹³ Kubiak 1987:7

¹⁴ Guest 1907:81.

¹⁵ Kennedy 1998:64.

¹⁶ Kubiak 1987:61ff. See also Kennedy 1998:64.

¹⁷ Kubiak 1987:78.

— And when ʿAmr returned from Alexandria, and abode at the place of his tent, the tribes closed in on another and disputed for places. Then ʿAmr gave charge of the *khiṭṭas* to [the leaders of] Tujīb, [...] Ghuṭaif, a branch of Murād, [...] Khawlān, [...] and Maʿāfir. And it was these who settled the people and divided between the tribes. This was in the year 21.

*al-Kindī*¹⁸

Members of the south-western Arabian tribes formed what would later become the powerful *wujūh* families and the *jund*¹⁹ of Egypt, who “dominated the political and intellectual life of Muslim Egypt for the first two Islamic centuries” (Kennedy 1998:64). Due to the continuing influx of immigrants who came to live with friends and relatives who were part of the *jund* between 640 and 670, the population of Arabs in Fustāṭ increased from approximately 15,000 to 40,000 during that period. As a consequence, the newcomers who settled in the *khiṭṭas* of their respective tribes contributed to upholding and strengthening the notion of tribal subdivision in the city. These waves of immigration continued throughout the whole period of Umayyad rule in Damascus (circa 661–750), yet, after some time the structural links within the tribal division were not present to the same degree.²⁰

In the history of the Arabs following the advent of Islam, these southern Arabian tribes have been identified in various terms as Qaḥṭānites,²¹ ‘Yaman’ or Yemenites, and are often described as being rivals of the northern Arabian tribes identified as ʿAdnānites, Muḍarites, ‘Qays’ or Syrians.²² The number of migrants from the latter group is said to have grown considerably, due to the close administrative ties between Fustāṭ and the Umayyad caliphs in Damascus. Yet, these were predominantly from the group of Qaysites who had been supportive of the Umayyads, and who had migrated to Fustāṭ. They were later ordered by Caliph Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (691–743) to resettle in the eastern Delta in order to avoid clashes with the Yemenite elite which dominated the capital.²³

Whereas many tribes formed *khiṭṭas* by themselves, others found it necessary to band together with other tribes or their own sub-tribes to form *khiṭṭas*, as *Ahl al-Rāya* had done. Furthermore, large tribes were subdivided into two or more lest they grow too large;

¹⁸ See al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* i:297; translation adapted from Guest 1907:51.

¹⁹ The term *jund* denotes a military division or an armed troop.

²⁰ Kubiak 1987:78.

²¹ Attribute of the name Qaḥṭān, which is also known as Yoktan according to Hebrew Bible tradition.

²² See Kennedy 2016:79.

²³ Kubiak 1987:83.

according to A. R. Guest, the bodies represented in the *khiṭṭas* were always kept within certain numerical limits and were continuously divided according to their military strength.²⁴ In fact, it may seem, following Guest's arguments, that a number of military units — and subsequently *khiṭṭas* — represented different parts of Arabia not only in the early encampments of Fuṣṭāṭ, but throughout Egypt for as much as three centuries.²⁵

In order to better manage Fuṣṭāṭ, the Caliph reportedly ordered the new Egyptian military garrison to be established on the eastern side of the Nile. The reason is said to have been his belief that water should not divide the two cities of Medina and Fuṣṭāṭ, hence ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's celebrated message to ʿAmr: *lā tajʿalū baynī wa-baynakum māʾ* 'let there be no water between us.'²⁶ The strategic position of Fuṣṭāṭ allegedly made it accessible to the central government and to the Caliph living in Ḥijāz; if necessary, a courier riding a relay camel could reach Medina in less than a week.²⁷

Besides the ordinary administrative and military control exercised by the caliphate in the east, *Ahl al-Rāya* and the Yemenite *jund* exerted a strong influence on cultural and religious matters in the city for generations.²⁸ Despite the repeated transfer of power between different rulers during the first centuries of early Islamic Egypt, the companions of the Prophet and their followers are believed to have persisted as the main source of religious tradition, with the Mosque of ʿAmr remaining its centre of learning, all the way up to the 11th century.²⁹ A particular example of the cultural and political domination by the Yemenite *jund* of Fuṣṭāṭ is the tightly knit oligarchies of the many families coming from that region. The most prominent among those were Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥudayj, Khawlān, Maʿāfir and al-Lakhm. The influence of these dynasties seems to have been unaffected by the transition of power from Medina to Kūfa in 656 and to Damascus in 661; in fact, the *jund* remained influential after the ʿAbbāsids took control of Egypt around 750 and held on to power until the beginning of the 9th century.³⁰ They constituted the local ruling class of Egypt until as late as 816, when their palace in Alexandria was attacked. Three years later their senior leader was drowned in the Nile by the ʿAbbāsīd governor al-Sarī ibn al-Ḥakkām.³¹

²⁴ Guest 1907:59f.

²⁵ Guest 1907:59.

²⁶ See Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*: 91

²⁷ Kubiak 1987:59. These calculations are based upon the information given in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*: 304.

²⁸ Kubiak 1987:95.

²⁹ Kubiak 1987:95.

³⁰ Kennedy 1998:67.

³¹ Kennedy 1998:81.

In the centuries following the Islamic conquest, Fustāṭ was absorbed into other urban conglomerates of the larger metropolis known as Miṣr. These were the settlements and administrative centres of al-ʿAskar (8th century, founded by the ʿAbbāsids), al-Qaṭāʿi (9th century, founded by the Ṭūlūnids) and finally al-Qāhira (10th century, founded by the Fāṭimids). In general terms, we may say that Fustāṭ absorbed both of the former two,³² and that it was only later that the seat of power moved from Fustāṭ to al-Qāhira (Cairo). This development was triggered by several factors, the most decisive probably being the great drought and plague in Fustāṭ which lasted from about 1066 to 1072. This ‘great calamity’, as it has been termed by medieval authors, marked a turning point in the urban development of Miṣr, as thousands of people were forced to move from Fustāṭ to Cairo.³³ We also know that Fustāṭ was repeatedly vandalised by a number of conquering armies as part of marking the transition of power from one administrative centre of Miṣr to another. It may seem that in parallel with the process of Muslims moving to Cairo, Jews started buying land from the Christians who had remained in the *khiṭṭa* of *Ahl al-Rāya* in Fustāṭ.³⁴

2.2 Arabization of Jews and Other Non-Arabs in Early Islamic Egypt and Fustāṭ

— Jewish activities in their writings contain a common element: the Jews appear as loyal aides of the Arabic rulers, performing various and even important services, and the Jew is always present in a favorable light.

*Eliyahu Ashtor*³⁵

Little is known of the situation of the Jewish inhabitants of Fustāṭ, or even in Egypt, during the early Islamic period. There were definitely groups of indigenous Jews living there, as is evident from the number of Jewish synagogues and cemeteries which are found to have existed in and around Fustāṭ at that time.³⁶ According to Norman A. Stillman, Jews (as well as Christians) had inhabited a few neighbourhoods right next to the old Byzantine fortified area when the city fell to the Muslim army, no more than half a kilometre³⁷ away from where the

³² Kubiak 1987:10f.

³³ Kubiak 1987:11f.

³⁴ Stillman 1998:202.

³⁵ Ashtor 1973:67.

³⁶ Kubiak 1987:84. The Muslim invaders of Alexandria reported to have encountered 40 000 Jews when entering the city, but modern scholarship insists that these numbers are highly exaggerated (see Stillman 1998:198).

³⁷ My estimations here are based on the geographical reconstructions presented in Kubiak 1987:95.

military elite of *Ahl al-Rāya* had settled.³⁸ The quarter was known by the names Qaṣr al-Rūm, Qaṣr Edom and Qaṣr al-Sham.³⁹ Even though sources are somewhat scant, Jewish presence seems to have been quite significant throughout Egypt by the time of the Islamic conquest. There existed more than ninety Jewish villages or villages in which Jews had dwelt during Antiquity, a fact which has been proven by documentary material from the Cairo Genizah.⁴⁰ These settlements, or *yishuvim*, were all under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Gaon and the Great Court in Jerusalem.⁴¹

No more is known about when exactly the Jews of Egypt began to adopt the linguistic and cultural traits of their new Muslim rulers. We know, however, that groups of non-Arab Muslims and slaves of various ethnic backgrounds were increasingly absorbed into the tribal social system of the Arab settlers,⁴² a process which must have also affected the many indigenous Jews living in Fuṣṭāṭ. Whereas urban Egyptian Jews most probably adopted the Arabic language immediately after the Islamic invasion,⁴³ we may with much certainty say that Jews living in areas outside the main cities became completely Arabophone sometime during the 10th century. Our most solid evidence for this is Saadia (Gaon) ben Joseph al-Fayyūmī's (882–942) translation of the Hebrew Bible into Arabic,⁴⁴ a process which was most likely carried out in order to accommodate the increasing amount of Arabic speakers in need of a Bible written in a language that they could understand. This is also the period when the main centre of Jewish life is believed to have shifted from Alexandria to Fuṣṭāṭ.⁴⁵

The gradual levelling of cultural differences among the tribal traditions living within the urban setting of Fuṣṭāṭ constituted an essential first step of Arabization, a process which began already in early Umayyad times.⁴⁶ This was followed by another important development in the Arabization of Egypt, one of much larger demographical and geographical scale than the former. The indigenous rural, non-Arab population outside the cities had generally been left alone since the Islamic expansion into the country,⁴⁷ but during the 8th

³⁸ Stillman 1998:202. See also Bierman 1998:349.

³⁹ Stillman 1998:202; Bareket 1999:29.

⁴⁰ See Golb 1965:253ff.; Golb 1974; see also Goitein 1967–1988 i:17. There was even a tribe of newly converted Jews among the Muslim invaders called the Banū Rūbīl, which was given its own *khittā* in the northern outskirts of Fuṣṭāṭ. Their origin is obscure, but they are believed to have come from a non-Bedouin background (see Kubiak 1987:63).

⁴¹ Bareket 1999:14f.

⁴² Kubiak 1987:93.

⁴³ Blau 1999a:19.

⁴⁴ See Blau 1992:31ff.

⁴⁵ Blau 1999a:19ff.; Kubiak 1987:84.

⁴⁶ Kubiak 1987:97.

⁴⁷ Versteegh 1984:63f.

century large groups of Arabic speakers began to settle outside the two major urban centers of Alexandria and Fustāṭ for the first time.⁴⁸ Arab tribesmen in Egypt are reported to have begun moving out of the cities towards the end of Umayyad rule (circa 750). A large number of the Arabs who settled in rural areas before this were sedentized Bedouins and other Arab tribes who had been living in the cities, but who were encouraged to resettle in villages from which the indigenous population had fled due to hopeless living conditions.⁴⁹

In the beginning of the 8th century, Arabic replaced Coptic as the administrative language. It was a process that affected not only Copts, but all groups of non-Muslims, including Jews; it meant that people of all classes and religious denominations began embracing Arabic culture and language to a larger degree than before — many even converting to Islam — perhaps in order to remain influential,⁵⁰ or simply out of practical, social or personal reasons on which one may only speculate. Following the Islamic conquest, Arabic was spoken only by a minority consisting of the new Arab rulers, and as was the case in most newly settled areas of the Islamic empire, the wider society of Egypt did not become fully Arabized for some time. At the time of these dynasties, as was the situation up until late medieval times, the majority of Egyptians did not live in the cities, but rather in the countryside. In addition to the Jewish communities based in Cairo/Fustāṭ and the port cities of Alexandria, Rosetta and Damietta, Jews were also living in Upper Egypt, Fayyūm and throughout the Nile Delta.⁵¹ By the mid-9th century, most of Lower Egypt had become fully Arabized. This process was triggered in part because the indigenous population became acculturated to the language, culture and religion of the elite in Fustāṭ, and in part because of the continuous influx of Bedouin tribes, most notably Banū Hilāl and Banū Sulaym.⁵²

2.3 Waves of Migration to Fustāṭ

Following the 9th century, economic ties between the regions of Andalusia, North Africa and Egypt strengthened significantly, and the position of the travelling merchants became more important than it had previously been. In fact, so important became the commercial networks that merchants and financiers — Sunni, Shiite, Jewish and Christian, irrespective of religious denomination — were able to join the ranks of notables in Fustāṭ and even began holding

⁴⁸ Kennedy 1998:75.

⁴⁹ Versteegh 1984:65.

⁵⁰ See Kennedy 1998:72.

⁵¹ Goitein 1967–1980 i:20.

⁵² Humphreys 1998:447, 449.

government positions.⁵³ Due to rapid economic growth and the reestablishment of the Indian and Mediterranean trade routes which had withered away during the 6th century, not to mention the caravan routes connecting Egypt to Aghlabid Tunisia (800–909) by land, Fustāṭ became a regional economic power. The city came to serve as a connecting point for Spain and North Africa including Sicily and Malta in the west, and the Levant, Mesopotamia and the Arabian Peninsula in the east. According to documentary material in the Cairo Genizah from this period, Jewish merchants played a significant role in Egypt's expanding economy and the country's commercial ties with the neighbouring regions.⁵⁴ At this point, Egypt also began playing a more important role in the overall Islamic world. In fact, around the time when Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn took power in Egypt (9th century) and up until the end of Mamlūk rule (16th century), Fustāṭ and subsequently Cairo remained one of the most important cultural, educational and political cities of the Islamic empire. People living in the Mediterranean basin around the time of the Ṭūlūnid dynasty in Egypt enjoyed an unusual degree of freedom of movement, and migration to Egypt increased significantly, especially of people coming from Tunisia.⁵⁵

Encouraged by the prosperity subsequent to the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in 969, Jewish migrants from many different countries began pouring into Egypt. This wave of migration continued long into the 11th century,⁵⁶ and Jews reportedly came from all directions. Circulation of peoples and ideas throughout the Mediterranean basin remained frequent and unhindered during this period, even during times of political unrest and war between dynasties. First they came as merchants and pilgrims, but after some time they settled down permanently, bringing their families with them.⁵⁷ Among the migrants were also kings, emirs, notables and scholars of various kinds, such as judges, Qur'ānic readers, traditionalists, poets, ascetics and Sūfis. These people, some of whom have even been included in extensive lists of outstanding émigrés composed by Arab writers, are said to have played a vital role in the transmission of culture in the Mediterranean region.⁵⁸

Impoverished by war and tempted by the developing trade between the Fāṭimid state and its neighbours, communities of various backgrounds in Mesopotamia began abandoning their lands in search of new opportunities in the west. Many of these communities initially

⁵³ Bianquis 1998:87, 119.

⁵⁴ Bianquis 1998:87.

⁵⁵ Sanders 1998:162.

⁵⁶ Bareket 1999:5.

⁵⁷ Goitein 1967–1988 i:32.

⁵⁸ Chejne 1974:150f.

desired to settle in Spain which had long thrived with security under the Umayyads,⁵⁹ but it seems that the many opportunities in Fāṭimid Tunisia and Egypt attracted more and more people to settle there. The largest and most persistent group of Jewish immigrants to Fuṣṭāṭ was that coming from Mesopotamia, a group commonly known as ‘Babylonians’ from places in the east such as Baghdad, Mosul, Basra, Tustar and Khorasan.⁶⁰ Because of its easy accessibility and the growing economic prosperity of Egypt, many people from North Africa also came to settle in the country.⁶¹ These North Africans were descendants of easterners who had just recently left Mesopotamia and settled in North Africa, in the early 10th century, to take part in import and export trade, and who followed their Fāṭimid rulers to Egypt after the conquest in 969.⁶² This group, collectively referred to as Maghribīs, settled mainly in the Tunisian cities Qayrawān, al-Mahdiyya and Gabès before turning to Egypt, where they continued to preserve their own, distinct Maghribī character.⁶³ In addition to those, Jewish migrants who settled in Fuṣṭāṭ reportedly also came from Fes in Morocco, Barqa in Libya, several cities in Algeria, not to mention Sicily and Spain.⁶⁴ Immigrants also came from a number of cities and settlements in the Levant such as Gaza, Jerusalem, Tiberias, Tripoli, Damascus, Harran and Raqqā, and from Istanbul/Constantinople.⁶⁵ There was also much migration within Egypt, most notably people resettling in Fuṣṭāṭ. People mostly came from close-by towns in the Nile Delta, but also from Alexandria in the north, Fayyūm in central Egypt and Qūṣ in the south.⁶⁶

Knowledge migrated with the vast number of Jewish traders who travelled within the countries of the Mediterranean basin. In all places where Jews dwelt, even the smallest of towns in the Egyptian countryside — institutions tended to appoint foreign scholars to positions such as preachers, teachers and cantors. These were predominantly from the Levant, but occasionally they came from more distant places, such as southern Europe.⁶⁷ There are also numerous examples of friendly ties between Jews in Fuṣṭāṭ on the one hand and Jews in

⁵⁹ Ashtor 1973:223f., 382. See also Goitein 1967–1988 i:30.

⁶⁰ Bareket 1999:5f.

⁶¹ Goitein 1967–1988 i:32; Sanders 1998:168.

⁶² Bareket 1999:6, 19.

⁶³ Bareket 1999:21.

⁶⁴ Bareket 1999:6. Out of the roughly 3000 Jews who lived in Alexandria, most are believed to have been migrants from the west (see Sanders 1998:168).

⁶⁵ Bareket 1999:4ff.

⁶⁶ Bareket 1999:8.

⁶⁷ Goitein 1967–1988 i:53f.

North Africa and Spain on the other; here, ‘diplomatic’ marriages were arranged between the families of notable merchants and local leaders of the various Jewish communities.⁶⁸

Towards the end of Fāṭimid rule in Egypt in the 12th century, Fustāṭ had grown into a city with a large and diverse population, with a majority consisting of Sunni Muslims, Christians and Jews. On this note, Paula A. Sanders writes that “[Fustāṭ] was, by all accounts, a booming metropolis, an open city where people came and went with ease, whose rhythms were determined partly by the ritual calendars of its religious communities and partly by the comings and goings of ships and caravans” (Sanders 1998:166f.). During these thriving economic times people, goods, wealth and knowledge circulated along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, a large share of which passed through Egypt on its way from one side of the Islamic empire to the other.

2.4 Jewish Absorption of Arabic and Islamic Culture

Apart from some very unfortunate cases, it is believed that Jews and Christian generally were treated well and granted a relatively high degree of religious freedom under early Muslim rule in Egypt.⁶⁹ In fact, Jews and Christians, at least those belonging to the higher strata of their respective communities, played a decisive role in the regional growth and prosperity of trade networks across borders, even between dynasties and empires which were hostile to one another.⁷⁰ Following the late 10th century, Jews and Christians came to hold prominent positions in the administration of Egypt. In increasing numbers, they took part in the economic, legal and administrative affairs of the Arab rulership, and many served in the Fāṭimid government, in the army, or as members of the Caliph’s entourage.⁷¹

Not only did these people embrace the outward cultural and linguistic attributes of the Arabic society; some also became immersed in their leaders’ particular religious practices and doctrines.⁷² One example of this is the Iraqī-born Jew Yaḳūb Ibn Killīs, who converted to Islam and was appointed vizier around the year 988 after assisting the Fāṭimid Caliph al-

⁶⁸ Goitein 1967–1988 i:48.

⁶⁹ Jewish and Christian subjects were obliged to wear distinctive marks on their clothing, at least during certain periods (see Sanders 1998:160). At one point their churches and synagogues, including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, were destroyed at the orders of the Fāṭimid ruler known as al-Ḥākīm bi-Amr Allāh (d. 1021). Shortly after this incident he surprisingly permitted these holy places to be rebuilt (see Lane-Poole 1968:92ff.).

⁷⁰ Sanders 1998:162.

⁷¹ Bareket 1999:22f.

⁷² Sanders 1998:170.

Muʿizz in conquering Egypt.⁷³ Many Jews, notably the Karaites, had also begun adopting Muʿtazilite Islamic concepts such as theodicy and human free will already in the 9th century. This newly emerged ‘Jewish Muʿtazila’ soon dominated Jewish theological thinking, and central Muʿtazilite concepts such as the importance of God’s oneness (*tawḥīd*) emerged and would continue to resonate among Jewish thinkers in Egypt for centuries. Whereas Muʿtazilite ideas remained central among the Rabbanite community until the mid-12th century, the Karaite community preserved its doctrinal outline at least until the 17th century.⁷⁴

Concerning the Karaites, it is not known exactly how or when their community or their doctrine was firmly established in Egypt. It is known, however, that by the 10th century, they were vibrantly present in Egypt and living side by side with the Rabbanite community.⁷⁵ During the 10th and 11th centuries many Karaites arrived in Egypt, most of whom came with the wave of migrants from Mesopotamia via the Maghrib. Among these were rich merchants and people who stood close to the Muslim rulers.⁷⁶ There was an extraordinary absorption into Arabic culture within Karaite circles,⁷⁷ in particular during their ‘golden age’ after many new members had arrived from Mesopotamia.⁷⁸ Many Karaites came to be a part of the wealthy elite, either working as merchants or holding positions in the governments of the Ṭūlūnids (9th-10th centuries) and the Fāṭimids (10th-12th centuries).⁷⁹

2.5 The Jewish *Yishuvim* of Cairo

As it is not clear exactly where the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts were written or where they were stored before they were brought to Israel in the mid-20th century, we shall mention briefly the three most significant congregations, or *yishuvim*, in Cairo. Whereas much is known about the history of two Rabbanite congregations, the Babylonian and the Palestinian, especially during the Fāṭimid period, less is known about that of the Karaites. What is certain, however, is that these three groups were strongly influenced by each other and often acted as one indistinguishable unit.

Sometime during Fāṭimid rule, the Caliph recognized the authority of a Jewish community leader in Egypt, known by the Arabic term *raʿīs al-yahūd* and the Hebrew *nagid*,

⁷³ See Bareket 1999:1.

⁷⁴ Schmidtke 2014.

⁷⁵ Goitein 1967–1988 ii:7.

⁷⁶ Bareket 1999:10.

⁷⁷ Blau 1999a:43.

⁷⁸ See Baron 1952–1983 v:257ff., 268; Bareket 1999: vii.

⁷⁹ Stillman 1998:200.

as the supreme representative of Jews in Egypt.⁸⁰ This event marked the independence of the Egyptian Jewish community from the Palestinian Gaon, the Great Court and chief academy of which it had been under jurisdiction for so long. Even though the Palestinian congregation, by means of this recognition, held a somewhat formally higher position with the Fāṭimid rulers than did that of the Babylonian, whose academies were located in Ṣūra and Pumbedita, the latter did not seem to lose any substantial influence within the community. The leaders would be responsible for members of all the three congregations and groups of Jews in Egypt, that is, the Palestinian and Babylonian Rabbanites and the Karaites.⁸¹ Even though there was much struggle and disagreement between the different groups, they generally viewed themselves as a single unit, a view which extended somewhat to the Karaites as well.⁸² This was also the way they were perceived by the Fāṭimid rulers. Individuals could move from one congregation to the other as they pleased,⁸³ and some Rabbanites reportedly even joined the Karaite congregation.⁸⁴ In cases where it was necessary to distinguish between the different groups, the Rabbanites — consisting of the Palestinian and the Babylonian congregation — would call themselves *al-jamāʿa* ‘the community’, whereas the Karaites were referred to as *al-ṭāʾifa* ‘the sect’.⁸⁵

Correspondence in the corpus of 11th-century Cairo Genizah is almost completely dominated by letters documenting relations with Tunisia and Sicily, which had been kept in the Genizah of the (Palestinian) Ben Ezra synagogue in Fustāṭ. For that reason there is a general lack of documents representing other synagogue-communities such as the Babylonian, and letters concerning the vast Spanish trade market which prevailed during the same period.⁸⁶ The absence of such material is in fact quite surprising because we know that there was much direct traffic between Egypt and Spain during that period, and that Spanish goods filled the markets of Fustāṭ.⁸⁷ Goitein argues that Spanish material does not appear as frequently as the Tunisian in the Genizah of the Palestinian synagogue in Fustāṭ because these were not stored together, but rather in separate synagogues. Either the documents which came with Spanish Jews were kept in the other major synagogue in Fustāṭ, notably that of the

⁸⁰ Stillman 1998:204.

⁸¹ Stillman 1998:202ff.

⁸² Stillman 1998:204.

⁸³ Bareket 1999:100ff.

⁸⁴ Bareket 1999:131.

⁸⁵ Bareket 1999:101.

⁸⁶ Goitein 1967–1988 i:18, 21f.

⁸⁷ Many family names employed by the merchants in their letters, such as Andalūsī, Fāsī, Iṭrābulusī, that is, coming from Andalusia, Fes and Tripoli, respectively, were most likely misleading. Most of these were in fact from the Tunisian port cities of Qayrawān and al-Mahdiyya (see Goitein 1967–1988 i:20).

Babylonian community, or they were not stored at all. After all, Spanish Jews who historically had pledged their allegiance to the Jewish academies of Babylon most probably had relations with the Babylonian congregation when doing business in or moving to Fustāṭ. Throughout Egypt, Spain and North Africa, Jewish communities fostered connections with the Babylonian academies.⁸⁸ The Babylonians once had a synagogue in Cairo, vibrant and lively according to Goitein, but it has since the 16th century entirely disappeared.⁸⁹ The Karaite community also had its own synagogue, one by the name Rab Simḥā, located in the Karaite Jewish Quarter of Fustāṭ.⁹⁰

Goitein argues that much of the reason for the overwhelming presence of North African letters in the Cairo Genizah was the brutal act of the Fāṭimid ruler al-Ḥākim, who ordered the destruction of all Jewish and Christian holy places. The Palestinian congregation of Jews in Fustāṭ appealed for economic assistance to the Jewish center in Tunisia, whose community during that time was an important center of thought. The Egyptian plea was heard, with the result that a large number of Tunisian Jews joined the Palestinian synagogue and with time became among its most prominent members. To this, Goitein convincingly argues that the idea of a permanent *genizah* might in fact have resulted from a tradition which was introduced to the synagogue by the very same group of people.⁹¹

But it was not only the Tunisians who helped the deprived Palestinian community in Fustāṭ, but also Egyptian Rabbanites and wealthy and powerful Karaites,⁹² a great number of whom had arrived along with the waves of migration from Mesopotamia during the 10th and 11th centuries. As we learned earlier in this chapter, the steady migration of people from Iraq and Iran to Egypt during this period had led to the growth of the Babylonian community in Fustāṭ. With time, the community grew so significantly in size that it even absorbed immigrants coming from other areas.⁹³ As had long been the situation for the Palestinian congregation, there were strong and close ties between the Babylonian leaders in Egypt, who occasionally also served as the overall community leader, and their respective ruling bodies in Jerusalem and Pumbedita.⁹⁴

In Muslim Spain, ties between Spanish and Babylonian Jewry had reached its peak already by the 8th and 9th centuries, and it was common for Jews to apply to the heads of the

⁸⁸ Ashtor 1973:126; Bareket 1999:5ff.

⁸⁹ Goitein 1967–1988 i:21.

⁹⁰ See al-Qudsī 2002:194. See also Goitein 1967-1988 i:18.

⁹¹ Goitein 1967–1988 i:21.

⁹² Bareket 1999:11.

⁹³ Bareket 1999:5.

⁹⁴ Bareket 1999:95f.

academies of Šūra and Pumbedita when in need of religious advice. In a matter of three centuries after the Muslim conquest of Spain, the Babylonian academies had become the center of Jewish thought at the expense of the Palestinian. Eliyahu Ashtor writes that “culturally speaking, Spain was more or less a colony of Babylonian Jewry, and followed Babylonian Jewry in every respect, and even imitated them in the pronunciation of Hebrew” (Ashtor 1973:139). As a result, the Babylonian Talmud pushed the Palestinian Talmud aside.⁹⁵ When the Spanish Jewish community wanted to ask the Babylonian academy about legal or religious matters, a letter would be sent to Qayrawān, where the official representative of the academies was positioned. From there the documents were usually sent to Fustāṭ, and later dispatched to Babylonia via Palestine.⁹⁶ It is only natural to assume that much of this correspondence was copied by the various communities and synagogue congregations as they passed from one city to another. Towards the end of the 10th century, the epicentre of Jewish thought gradually shifted from Pumbedita in Babylonia to Spain,⁹⁷ a development marking the high level of independence of the Jewish Spanish community.

Until this point, we have reviewed some important societal developments which took place in Egypt and Fustāṭ during the early Islamic era. In particular, these are represented by the cultural and political domination of Yemenite in the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries and the first major wave of Jewish merchants and other migrants to Egypt primarily during the 10th and 11th centuries. These developments took place during long periods of relatively stable relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in the Islamic empire, especially in Egypt and its neighbouring lands to the west. This formative period laid the foundations for a beginning — and with time, the very apogee — of popular religious belles-lettres in medieval Egyptian Jewry. We shall now turn to another important part of the content of our material, namely its many possible connections with Spain. For, as we shall discuss extensively in the next chapter, it is clear that much of the content in the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts was inspired by traditions of a particular Spanish or western Mediterranean origin.

2.6 Muslim Conquest throughout the Western Mediterranean

The period following the 7th century was one of vast Muslim expansion into North Africa, Spain and the western Mediterranean basin, and we know that Yemenite tribal presence and influence also grew strong here. The *jund* played an imperative role in the Muslim generals

⁹⁵ Ashtor 1973:123f.

⁹⁶ Ashtor 1973:127.

⁹⁷ Ashtor 1973:238.

Ḥassān ibn al-Nuʿmān⁹⁸ and Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr's⁹⁹ conquest of the territories to the west of Egypt and of the Iberian Peninsula. Here, the emerging ruling class was made up almost exclusively of Arabs of Yemenite descent.¹⁰⁰ Among the newcomers to Spain were also a number of Muḥammad's companions of the second generation, the *Tābiʿūn*, who contributed to the spread of Islamic thought. They were accompanied by Qurʾānic memorizers, traditionalists, poets and linguists.¹⁰¹ Throughout North Africa and Spain, the new Arab conquerors would settle in urban areas close to the military garrison which they had founded. After conquering and settling Spain, the Southern Arabs of Yemenite stock were accompanied by the Northern Arab Qaysites.¹⁰² Throughout most of the western Islamic empire Arab tribesmen generally remained in the cities up until the invasion of the Arab Bedouins of Banū Hilāl and Sulaym in the 11th century.¹⁰³ It should be noted that even though many people moved to the countryside after this period, the tendency to settle in urban environments remained strong.

The Muslim conquerors of Spain, notably Ṭāriq bin Ziyād and the aforementioned Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr, succeeded in collectively mobilizing the Jews who were already living in the Spanish districts and cities which they invaded. The invaders established garrisons among the Jews, who had long suffered from oppression under the ruling Visigoths, and continued to the next city as soon as these garrisons were functional.¹⁰⁴ Every time the Muslim armies succeeded in conquering a new district and breaching the walls of its provincial capital, they would make use of its Jewish inhabitants; the victorious Muslim commanders gathered all the Jews who lived in each district and settled them within its largest city. They were moved into houses which had recently been abandoned by people fleeing before the arrival of the Muslim armies and set them to administer the city.¹⁰⁵ This is a highly interesting point which raises many sociolinguistic questions: Were the Jews, many of whom came to live in the cities, the first natives of the Iberian Peninsula to adopt the language of their new Muslim rulers? And as subjects incorporated into the administration, how early did they become fully Arabized?

Immediately after the Muslim conquest of Spain, Jews who paid the *jizya*, the special tax which was levied on non-Muslims, were awarded the status of protected *dhimmīs*;

⁹⁸ Ḥassān ibn al-Nuʿmān [...] ibn ʿĀmir ibn ʿAzd (see *al-Bayān al-Muḡrib* i:34). The general was also known as Ḥassān ibn al-Nuʿmān al-Ġassānī.

⁹⁹ It is said that he was either from the Lakhm tribe or that of Bakr ibn Waʿil (see *al-Bayān al-Muḡrib* i:39).

¹⁰⁰ See Walker 2013:4.

¹⁰¹ Chejne 1974:152.

¹⁰² Chejne 1974:111.

¹⁰³ Versteegh 1984:64.

¹⁰⁴ Ashtor 1973:20.

¹⁰⁵ Ashtor 1973:23.

although Jews and Christians experienced persecutions from time to time as well as restrictions concerning the conduct, clothing and profession,¹⁰⁶ they were given religious freedom and lived more or less as free men. The news reached the Jews of North Africa, many of whom had fled from Spain under the Visigoths just a few decades earlier, and a wave of migration to the Iberian Peninsula began. Large numbers of Jews, Arabs and Berbers gathered in Spain during this early period. Jews from the coastal cities of North Africa, including Alexandria, reportedly migrated westwards and into Spain. Most likely, the strong commercial ties between these coastal cities only served to enforce these waves of migration.¹⁰⁷ Non-Muslims became a natural part of Islamic society and many were after some time Arabized to the extent that they were no longer distinct from their Muslim neighbours.¹⁰⁸ As Anwar G. Chejne comments, “Andalusians [of Christian, Muslim and Jewish origin] became united in language and custom but remained faithful to their ethno-religious affiliation” (Chejne 1974:110).

Islamic presence in the western Mediterranean was not confined only to the mainland of Egypt, North Africa and Spain, but also included Sicily and Malta. Malta came under Muslim rule in 870, and was settled by Arabic speakers until it was cut off from the Arab world in the 13th century.¹⁰⁹ The Muslim conquest of Sicily was completed by the beginning of the 10th century, when the emir of Aghlabid Tunisia, Ibrāhīm II, consolidated his power on the island.¹¹⁰ Several Muslim raids were carried out in the surrounding region during this period, during which Corsica, Sardinia and the Maltese islands was seized by Muslim invading armies. Immediately after the capture of the southwestern city of Mazara, Berbers and Arabs from North Africa began settling in Sicily and on the surrounding islands. The number of migrants increased rapidly during the Fāṭimid era, with most of them settling in the cities of Mazara and Palermo. The latter became a center of trade, connecting Christian Europe to Islamic North Africa. Sicily fell to the Normans towards the end of the 11th century, but the Muslim population on the island remained relatively large for an additional century and a half.¹¹¹ In addition to the large group of Berbers who settled in Sicilia, newcomers were mostly Arabs of Arabian, Andalusian and Yemenite descent. The Arab settlers — who can generally be divided into two separate ethnic groups, namely Southern Arabian and Northern

¹⁰⁶ See Versteegh 1984:61.

¹⁰⁷ Ashtor 1993:31.

¹⁰⁸ Chejne 1974:153.

¹⁰⁹ Aquilina 1959:351.

¹¹⁰ Agius 1996:27.

¹¹¹ Agius 1996:26ff.

Arabian tribes — made up the elite of landowners and bureaucrats.¹¹² It is generally assumed that migration among these settlers followed a pattern typical for Arab settlement elsewhere throughout the Islamic empire;¹¹³ a process of cultural and linguistic Arabization slowly spread from the military garrison towns, which after some time had become popular urban centers, to the sedentary areas in the countryside. In line with Ferguson's notion of the emergence of an Arabic koine,¹¹⁴ Dionisius Agius argues that an initial process of levelling took place within these military camps, creating a linguistic uniformity of the dialects which had formerly been varieties spoken by Arabs of a significantly heterogeneous tribal background.¹¹⁵ He argues that whereas the elite largely practiced Classical Arabic, a Sicilian Arabic creole emerged among the uneducated, 'common' people, neo-Muslims and other non-Arabs, and that they spoke a variant of the Maghribī dialect, close to that of the North African tribes who had settled in Sicily.¹¹⁶

The Jews of Sicily, who are understood to have accommodated much better to the Arabo-Islamic culture and language than did their Christian co-inhabitants, played an essential role in the ongoing trade with the Levant, Egypt, North Africa and Spain. After the Muslim conquest, Jews from Italy, Egypt and North Africa began settling the urban parts of Sicily in large numbers and contributed to a significant influx of oriental goods through their growing mercantile influence on the economy.¹¹⁷ Palermo became a center of commerce, linking Europe to the coastal cities of the Mediterranean Islamic empire.¹¹⁸ The location of Sicily and Malta — geographically positioned between the two centers of the eastern and the western Islamic empire, not to mention their close proximity to the North African mainland — made them favourable spots for travellers and merchants on their way to either side of the Mediterranean basin.

2.7 An Emerging Western Islamic Independence

There is reason to believe that the Jews of Egypt continued to be influenced by early Islamic thought after the shift of power from Damascus to ʿAbbāsīd Baghdad during the 8th

¹¹² Agius 1996:47ff.

¹¹³ Versteegh 1984:62ff.

¹¹⁴ Ferguson 1959.

¹¹⁵ The tribes of (Southern Arabian) Qaḥṭānite background were predominantly Šaʿrān, Kalāʿa and Āl Balawīn, whereas those of (Northern Arabian) Muḍarite background were Banū Tamīm, Kināna and ʿAzza (see Agius 1996:103).

¹¹⁶ Agius 1996:107.

¹¹⁷ Goitein 1967–1988 i: 10ff., 207, 326; ii:68.

¹¹⁸ Agius 1996:57f.

century.¹¹⁹ When the Umayyad leadership in Damascus was overthrown by the ʿAbbāsids in 749, the only known survivor of the former house was the young prince ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I. Together with a faithful servant, he fled through Palestine, Egypt and North Africa. From here they sought support from the Yemenite tribes in Spain who were living in a country torn by civil war. They believed they had found a saviour in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, one who could challenge the increasing political and military dominance of the Qaysites.¹²⁰ Much thanks to the support of the Yemenites, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān quickly rose to power, and became emir in the year of 756. He established a dynasty which ruled Muslim Spain for the next three centuries, until 1031, and whose legacy left a permanent cultural mark on the entire Mediterranean region. Under the newly established emirate of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, immigration to Spain increased after having been set back by a period of political unrest. Jews were no exception, as conditions for newcomers had again improved significantly. These Jews came predominantly from North Africa but also from other parts of the Islamic empire, such as Syria.¹²¹

An important turn for the independence of Islamic culture and religious practice in Spain came just a year after the inauguration of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, when the emir cursed the ʿAbbāsīd flag and forbade the mentioning of their caliph during Friday prayers.¹²² Another turn came in 774, when his son Hishām, who was well learned in Qurʾānic studies and the tradition of the Prophet, displaced the Damascene law school of al-Awzāʿī and made that of the Mālikī school official legal doctrine.¹²³ From this period on, the indigenous people of Spain became increasingly acculturated to Arabic language and Islamic customs, most notably in the southern areas.¹²⁴ During the rule of al-Ḥakam I, the grandson of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Spain saw the first significant wave of migrants leaving Spain. A failed revolt against the emir resulted in the expulsion of around fifteen thousand rebels who were mainly expelled to North Africa and Alexandria. After occupying the city for some time they were driven out again, this time from Egypt, and settled in Crete. Back in Spain this period saw the renewal of fighting between Yemenites and Qaysites, most notably in Merida (833), Toledo (829) and Algeciras (850).¹²⁵ Muslims of Arab stock had long made up the upper class of Spain, whereas Muslims of Spanish (non-Arab) descents were long treated as second class citizens.

¹¹⁹ See Chejne 1975:293.

¹²⁰ Chejne 1974:14.

¹²¹ Ashtor 1973:50f.

¹²² Chejne 1974:15.

¹²³ Chejne 1974:19.

¹²⁴ Chejne 1974:163.

¹²⁵ Chejne 1974:20.

During the reign of Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (912–961), however, they were allowed to have a share of the wealth, and positions in the government administration. Over the centuries of an Islamic emirate and caliphate in al-Andalus, the well-established interreligious relations and apparent harmony between Christians, Jews and Muslims was challenged many times. Especially challenging was the situation for the arabized Christians, the so-called *mozarabs* or the *mustaʿrabs*, as they were torn between their fellow Muslim and Jewish Arab neighbours on the one hand, and their coreligionist Christians living in the kingdoms of Northern Spain on the other.

Much due to ethno-religious divisions such as these, but perhaps best illustrated by the Arab tribal struggle for political and military power, the 11th century marks the beginning of the end of the Arab Muslim rule in Spain. Crusaders and Christian tribes from the north raided cities as far south as Seville and Granada, and in 1085 the city of Toledo fell to Alfonso VI.¹²⁶

2.8 The Emergence of a Sephardi Community in Egypt

In the centuries following the Muslim conquest of Spain, the area was politically and culturally dominated by a few thousand Muslim Arabs. The result was a bilingual situation where Romance and Arabic were spoken simultaneously in large parts of the Iberian Peninsula up until the 11th and 12th centuries. In the the 13th century, the Muslims of southern Spain were defeated by the Catholic kingdoms and became confined solely to the kingdom of Naṣrī in Granada. It is believed that as a reaction to this defeat, Romance language and culture became identified with Christianity, and the Muslims of this region became monolingual speakers of Spanish Arabic.¹²⁷ The dialect which developed here was spoken by natives of southern Spain as late as the early 16th century, when the Moriscos were expelled and took shelter in North Africa.

Around the 11th and 12th centuries, the Berber Murābiṭūn movement, succeeded by the even more powerful Berber kingdom of the Muwaḥḥidūn, or the ‘Almohads’ in the 12th–13th centuries), emerged from the south-western corner of the Maghrib and conquered vast territories. The latter kingdom conquered not only Morocco and large parts of southern Spain, but also the eastern parts of the Maghrib, penetrating as far as the Libyan city of Tripoli.¹²⁸ Goitein suggests that these developments encouraged and brought about the very peak of migration of middle-class people from the west to the east. This particularly affected Christian

¹²⁶ Chejne 1974:67.

¹²⁷ Corriente 1977:6f.

¹²⁸ Goitein 1967–1988 i:40f.

and Jewish subjects, whom the Almohad rule left with the choice between converting to Islam and death.¹²⁹ The emergence of the Sephardi community in Egypt is associated with this specific development, and particularly with the arrival of Moses Maimonides in the 12th century. He fled from fanaticism and intolerance under the Almohads in Spain and North Africa but was largely appreciated in the Fāṭimid and later Ayyūbid courts of Cairo.¹³⁰ Whereas migrants settling in Cairo in the following period were mostly associated with Turks, Circassians and people of Tatar origin, Egypt and Cairo witnessed much immigration also from North Africa and Spain.¹³¹

The 12th century marks the beginning of a long and extensive period of Jewish and later Muslim exodus from Spain. The various factors contributing to this are too numerous to elaborate on here; nevertheless, 1492 stands out as the year when this phenomenon reached its peak, due to the ‘Edicto de Granada’, establishing the expulsion of all Jews from the Catholic kingdoms of Spain. The majority of Jewish refugees in this period spread throughout the Ottoman Empire, most notably Istanbul where they soon outnumbered the local Byzantine Jews,¹³² but also Egypt — where the practice of welcoming refugees from the west peaked around the time of Almohad rule in North Africa.¹³³ Others found refuge in northern Mediterranean cities, such as Livorno, Venice and Ancona.¹³⁴ The larger share of Spanish Muslims made their way to North Africa, most notably to Ceuta, Tangiers, Tetouan, Fes, Salé, Tlemcen and Tunis,¹³⁵ where they were said to have contributed enormously to intellectual life in their new countries, and to have brought with them much of their Andalusian identity.¹³⁶

Concerning the Spanish Jews who fled to North Africa, Jeffrey Heath offers two possible interpretations of the linguistic effect these had on their new surroundings. One suggests that they brought a variety of Spanish Arabic with them; another suggests that they spoke Judaeo-Spanish upon arrival and with time adopted the local Arabic vernacular of the Moroccan Jews. Heath favours the second view, and argues that very few of the Spanish refugees spoke Arabic.¹³⁷ As far as Egypt goes, influx of Jews and Muslims from Spain to Egypt was reportedly not enough to affect the general demographic situation, where the

¹²⁹ Goitein 1967–1988 i:41f.

¹³⁰ Chejne 1974:309; Stroumsa 2009:8f.

¹³¹ Goitein 1967–1988 i:67f.

¹³² Hacker 1982:123.

¹³³ Goitein 1967–1988 i:19, 41f.

¹³⁴ Segre 1992; Ravid 1992:157;

¹³⁵ Chejne 1974:108.

¹³⁶ Chejne 1974:108f.

¹³⁷ Heath 2002:11.

population was slowly decreasing, but the immigrants did nonetheless, “in many ways enrich Egyptian society and culture” (Berkey 1998:381). The number of Maghribī scholars at the al-Azhar Mosque grew larger during this period, the reason for which was not necessarily that Maghribīs and other ‘westerners’ were so numerous — they constituted a relatively small group compared to migrants from the Levant, Mesopotamia and Anatolia — but because they were highly educated.¹³⁸ It is reasonable to assume that also the Spanish Jews, or *Sephardim*, were wealthier and more educated than the local Egyptian Jews, as was the situation, for example, in Morocco.¹³⁹

Hary speaks of an increasing need within some Jewish communities for separation from their Muslim and Christian neighbours following the expulsion of Jews from Spain, “sometimes with active encouragement by the authorities” (Hary 2009:33). The refugees therefore settled in areas such as the *mellahs* in Moroccan towns and Ḥārit il-Yahūd in Cairo. Hary believes the Arabic employed by Jews, as a result, developed in another direction than did non-Jewish varieties in the region.¹⁴⁰

2.9 The Segregation of the Jewish Community of Egypt during Mamlūk and Ottoman Times

In the 12th century, the social and legal status of Jews in Egypt slowly began to deteriorate, a phenomenon which would last long into late medieval times. The period witnessed a drastic drop in the Jewish population as well as in their influence, on which Stillman comments: “The Mamlūk period marks the nadir of medieval Egypt Jewry. The community would recover somewhat with the arrival of Iberian exiles at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century and with the new prosperity that came in the wake of the Ottoman conquest. However, it would not be until the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century that Egyptian Jewry would enjoy again, albeit for a limited time, the kind of wealth and influence that it had known during the heyday of Fatimid rule” (Stillman 1998:210).

Whereas the dynasty of the Fāṭimids had facilitated for a ‘golden age’ of Jewish life in Egypt, the arrival of their Ayyūbid successors set off the Jewish community’s gradual deterioration in terms of their role in the Egyptian society and administration. During this

¹³⁸ Petry 1981:160f.

¹³⁹ Heath 2002:10.

¹⁴⁰ Hary 2009:33.

period the number of Jews who worked in the state bureaucracy decreased significantly, and their positions were no longer as influential as they had been during Fāṭimid rule. There was also a stricter enforcement of the so-called Pact of ʿUmar, according to which Jews and Christians were obliged to wear a yellow mark on their turbans and cloaks. That said, subjects from the upper class are generally believed to have been able to evade such rules.¹⁴¹ During the early period of the 12th century, the head of the Palestinian *yeshiva* and his followers had settled firmly in Fuṣṭāṭ.¹⁴² Later, in the mid-13th century, the city was devastated by a series of fires, and the majority of Jews left Fuṣṭāṭ to settle in Cairo.¹⁴³ Here, four synagogues were established.

Even though Jews still held important positions in the Ayyūbid administration, their numbers decreased significantly during this period, as did their general influence on state matters. This development escalated under Mamlūk rule, under which sumptuary laws were reintroduced and enforced for Jews and Christians. Other native Arabs were also affected by the strict laws of the Mamlūks, and were not allowed to dress like the ruling military caste.¹⁴⁴ In many ways the Mamlūks must have appeared as strangers by the native Egyptians, bringing with them foreign names and titles and a Turkish lingua franca. Even though they had much in common with the Mamlūks, for example in terms of religious education, almost no native Egyptians adapted the language of their rulers.¹⁴⁵ Jews were obliged to wear the yellow colour and Christians the blue, as had been the practice also earlier under Ayyūbid rule. *Dhimmīs* had to put on a neck-ring when entering the public baths, so that they could be recognised as non-Muslims when undressed,¹⁴⁶ and *dhimmī* women were not allowed entrance to the public baths of Muslim women.¹⁴⁷

The developments throughout the Mamlūk era, beginning in 1250, mark an important turn in — and a somewhat end to — our historical survey. From this point on we may assume that the Jewish community of Egypt became a significantly more introverted group than it had been before. It is reasonable to assume that the Jewish communities no longer served the governments, contributed to commerce and participated in matters of public interest to the degree that they had done during Arab rule. Most likely, the sociolinguistic development from this point onwards was shaped by changes coming from within the Jewish community rather

¹⁴¹ Stillman 1998:207.

¹⁴² Sanders 1998:166.

¹⁴³ Goitein 1967–1988 i:19.

¹⁴⁴ Stillman 1998:208f.

¹⁴⁵ Berkey 1998:394.

¹⁴⁶ Stillman 1998:209.

¹⁴⁷ Stillman 1998:209.

than by the former cultural elite of Arabs who had become dependent on the administrative and mercantile services of Jews, and who had been replaced by the Mamlūks. Goitein describes 13th-century Egypt as a period in which liberal thought and tolerance changed into fanaticism and intolerance, in which the country was dominated by forces of an alien background.¹⁴⁸ Unlike some earlier conquerors and rulers of Egypt, the Mamlūks were never absorbed into the indigenous population which they ruled,¹⁴⁹ nor were the Jews incorporated in social, legal and administrative affairs of the state to the degree they had been under Arab rule. It could be added here, that the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts exhibit very little influence from Turkic or Turkish language and culture. Admittedly, Turkish troops were very prominent and played a central role as early as in the administration of the Fāṭimid state,¹⁵⁰ however, they do not seem to have left any significant mark on the material studied for this dissertation. Similarly, there are also very little attested influence from Kurdish language and culture even though Kurds once made up a significant amount of soldiers in Egypt, for example as cavalymen serving in in the army of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.¹⁵¹

The declining social status of the Jews in Egypt during this period can be illustrated by a tragic happening in Cairo in 1301. The haughty behaviour of a Christian subject had provoked the authorities, who swiftly demanded stricter laws towards *dhimmīs*. Reportedly, Muslim mobs throughout Egypt and Syria took the law into their own hands, and destroyed a number of churches, synagogues and the homes of many Christians and Jews.¹⁵² The writings of one Obadiah da Berinoro, a European passing through Egypt on his way to Jerusalem, tell of a Jewish representative from the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Fuṣṭāṭ who sold off a number of sacred scrolls and codices to foreigners and non-Jews from the synagogue, and converted to Islam in order to avoid being persecuted.¹⁵³ Another source from 1301 states that every Jewish man was required to wear a yellow turban when appearing in public, whereas another source from 1354 states that the Jews and Christians of Egypt had to wear yellow leather boots marked by one black and one red shoe garter.¹⁵⁴ Clifford E. Bosworth emphasises, however, that these laws were most likely enforced only sporadically. Notwithstanding, these restrictive laws were not abandoned until the reign of Muḥammad °Alī, in the early 19th

¹⁴⁸ Goitein 1967–1988 i:29.

¹⁴⁹ Abu-Lughod 1971:31.

¹⁵⁰ Sanders 1998:157.

¹⁵¹ See e.g. Chamberlain 1998:226

¹⁵² Braude and Lewis 1982:7.

¹⁵³ Stillman 1998:209.

¹⁵⁴ Bosworth 1982:48.

century. The city of Cairo's once thriving commercial economy gradually gave away to other cities in the Mediterranean Basin.

It may seem that the decline in the status of Jewish subjects in Egypt occurred together with the general deterioration in the fiscal situation of Egypt and the city of Cairo. And even though developments throughout the 15th century offered a temporary revival of the situation in Cairo, this was nevertheless the time when the city lost its position as the unrivalled center of east-west Mediterranean commerce to wealthy European cities in Italy and Portugal,¹⁵⁵ not to mention Istanbul.¹⁵⁶ There are of course not only gloomy depictions of this city during this period. For example, upon his arrival in Cairo in 1382, the renowned scholar Ibn Khaldūn was purportedly overwhelmed by the city's magnitude; by that time, Cairo was still the major urban center in the western and central Mediterranean basin and the seat of orthodox Islamic civilization.¹⁵⁷ But with time, even Ibn Khaldūn's 'magnificent' Cairo had to give in to the increasingly high demands and expenses of the sultans, its high caste and its unproportionally large number of retired Mamlūk officials.¹⁵⁸ During the 14th century, the city was struck by Mongol invasions and severe political instability, not to mention the deadly bubonic plague which reached Egypt and took around 200,000 lives in Cairo alone.¹⁵⁹ It is understood that Cairo reached rock bottom during the 14th and into the 15th century, a period in which central markets were closed down for lack of consumers and large residential areas were deserted or turned into slums.¹⁶⁰ Along the Nile and the coast of the Red Sea, several towns such as Qūṣ, Qina and Quṣayr, which had become important commercial centers of during the Fāṭimid era, saw their trade wither away. Consequently, the military and commercial elite who was based here left for other places, and the towns grew increasingly unproductive.¹⁶¹

Jews had been emigrating from Spain since the end of the 14th century, but their numbers increased dramatically in the last decade of the 15th century, following the expulsion from Spain.¹⁶² We know that there was strong linguistic segregation between Jews and Muslims in many urban centres of Morocco following this period. Many of these settled in walled-off ghettos known as *mellahs*, a situation which resulted in enduring and sometimes

¹⁵⁵ Abu-Lughod 1971:49; Hanna 2003:60.

¹⁵⁶ Petry 1981:35.

¹⁵⁷ See e.g. Petry 1981: xxi f.

¹⁵⁸ Petry 1981:26.

¹⁵⁹ Abu-Lughod 1971:37.

¹⁶⁰ Abu-Lughod 1971:39f.

¹⁶¹ Petry 1981:49.

¹⁶² See e.g. Hacker 1982:123.

increasing differences in the Jewish versus the Muslim varieties over time.¹⁶³ Blau notes that from the 15th century and onwards, especially in the Maghrib, a rift grew evident between Jewish and Muslim culture.¹⁶⁴ Jews in Egypt also showed less interest in Arabic civilization than they had before, and widened the gap between the two cultures by gradually replacing Judaeo-Arabic with Hebrew in their writings.¹⁶⁵ This also led to a situation where their writings in Judaeo-Arabic began appearing conspicuously more dialectal, or perhaps communal, in its style and register, and it would be used for the most part when communicating with the lower classes of the Jewish population.¹⁶⁶ The Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517 found a local Jewish population whose position in society had been declining steadily for some centuries already, a time in which the Babylonian synagogue in Fustāṭ is believed to have disappeared entirely.¹⁶⁷

Brunot and Malka assume that the dialects of the Jews and Muslims were identical up until the establishment of these *mellahs*, and from that point on gradually split into two distinct varieties.¹⁶⁸ David Cohen, who generally disapproves of the term ‘Judaeo-Arabic’, holds that “the retention in Jewish usage of characteristics which had disappeared or been transformed in neighbouring Muslim speech patterns was often due to the greater resistance of the Jews to certain sociocultural pressures. Thus in numerous places where nomads had become part of the sedentary population their linguistic influence had operated with much greater force on the Muslims than on the Jews” (D. Cohen 1978:300f.). Not far from this idea, we can see the notion of a similar preservation in Jewish varieties in Catherine Miller’s views on the old sedentary dialects spoken in the urban centres of the early Islamic empire. These are, according to Miller, “associated with the initial phase of Arabization/urbanization in the first centuries of the expansion of Islam (7th–10th centuries) are considered to have kept the most innovative features. They are still found in a number of Arab cities, often retained by small groups of old-city dwellers and, in most cases, surviving as variants/variables rather than fully discrete varieties” (Miller 2011:985). Ottoman rule over the non-Muslim communities, characterized by the *millet* system¹⁶⁹ which in principle gave each major religious community protection as *dhimmīs* and a large degree of communal autonomy, can have reinforced the segregation of the ethno-religious communities from the overall society.

¹⁶³ Heath 2002:10f.

¹⁶⁴ Blau 1999a:229.

¹⁶⁵ Hary 2009:36.

¹⁶⁶ Blau 1999a:229, 249; Vajda 1978:703; Khan 2011 online.

¹⁶⁷ Goitein 1967–1988 i:21.

¹⁶⁸ Brunot and Malka 1940b:1 *apud* Blau 1999a:55; Heath 2002:10f.

¹⁶⁹ See Braude and Lewis 1982:12.

As we have seen in this overview, the time following the early Islamic period saw an increasing degree of rapprochement between the Arab ruling class and the ethnic and religious minorities, laying the foundations of a completely Arabized Jewish community in Fustāṭ-Cairo. Following many centuries of a relatively stable situation of coexistence with Muslims and Christians, in which sedentary and urban Jews had somewhat direct access to the Arab rulers and elites, the different ethno-religious groups split again. The Jews living under Mamlūk and Ottoman rule gradually lost social and political influence, and seem to have grown increasingly introvert as a community. The introvert-extrovert dichotomy here argued, although largely generalized in the context of this dissertation, serves to explain how and why some cultural and linguistic features which go back to the ‘apogee’ of Arab Muslim rule in Egypt appear to have survived and to have been fossilized in the written material of Jews throughout the medieval period and into early modern times. We do not know exactly to what degree Jews adjusted culturally and linguistically to the larger society during Arab rule in Egypt, or exactly to what extent their spoken variety may have split with that of the majority. But we know that strong linguistic integration and acculturation took place a few centuries into Islamic rule in Egypt — a period which saw several large waves of migration, particularly from the Islamic West — and that segregation between Jews and Muslims later grew diametrically, during Mamlūk and Ottoman times. In fact, the status of the Jews in Egypt did not improve before the mid-19th century, during the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī.¹⁷⁰ In the next chapter, I shall establish that Jews of medieval Egypt — either in limited groups or collectively — at one point adopted Arabo-Islamic cultural and linguistic traits with such devotion that they could easily mirror the intricate works of Arabic belles-lettres. It illustrates the degree in which the Jewish community of Cairo/Fustāṭ once adapted to the discourse attested in the literary genres and styles, voices of authority and other particular traditions of their Arab Muslim rulers.

¹⁷⁰ See e.g. al-Qudsī 2002.

CHAPTER 3

PHILOLOGICAL ASPECTS:

GENRES, STYLES, VOICES AND TRADITIONS

— The two great civilizations to which the Arabs — and hence Islam — were heirs were the civilization of the ancient Israelites, as recorded in the Qurʾān and in Muslim tradition, and the civilization of ancient Iran. These two civilizations, in turn, must be connected with each other, must be shown as two strands which intertwine, genealogically and historically, and give rise to pre-Islamic civilization which was to be transformed by the coming of Islam.

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One thing that makes the history of the Arabic language so interesting is its evolution and development into a language of religion, state and culture. The vast history and contextual background of the Judaeo-Arabic narratives studied here draw clear and definite lines for navigating the chaos of our knowledge of the Arabic past. By focusing on the particular time and place of these narratives' history and their mirroring of traditions, we may expand our understanding of what preoccupied Arabs in the areas of culture, religion, mythology and literature. These Judaeo-Arabic narratives embody not only the very colours of Jewish life in the Islamic world, but also those of Arab societies and minds; they transcend traditional ethno-religious boundaries and mirror a cultural and intellectual environment under the aegis of Islam. We are here especially concerned with the development of Arabic culture and language over time, which have been subject to continuous evolution and waves of standardization, most notably following the Islamic conquest of the Middle East, North Africa, Spain and other areas in the western Mediterranean basin. When Islamic rule was established in Egypt in the 7th century, it was based on a sharp division between the ruling Arab Muslim elite and the newly conquered indigenous Egyptians. With time, the latter, who were neither

¹ In al-Ṭabarī, *History* ii: xi (from the translator's foreword).

Arabs nor Muslim, gradually adapted to the language, culture and faith of imperial Islam. They gradually became part of a culture which broke down the barriers between the earlier inhabitants and the new Muslim elite. Jews living throughout the Islamic empire gradually began mastering the intricacies of the written and spoken Arabic language; whereas some wrote in some kind of ‘semi-classicized’ Arabic variety — texts such as these are today identified with the term Middle Arabic — others were able to or chose to write in flawless Classical Arabic.² The oral and literary heritage attested in our texts suggest that the Jews of Egypt, Rabbanites as well as Karaites, went through stages of periodically strong acculturation to the society shaped by the Muslim Arab elite, in which ethnic barriers were let down and rulers and ruled alike came to see *them* as *us*. The content of our material suggests that during certain periods of Islamic rule in Egypt, the Egyptian Jews adopted Arab and Islamic culture with such an enthusiasm and zest that they preserved it and kept living by it long into the periods of Mamlūk, Ottoman and European colonial rule.

The events that these Judaeo-Arabic narratives tell of, as well as their content, style and language, draw unmistakable historical patterns. They represent ancient and medieval traditions of recording oral religious and folkloristic literature such as Jewish *midrash* and *aggadah*, Arabian and Andalusian poetry, pre-Islamic and Islamic lore and medieval exegesis. In the following chapter we will investigate a corpus alive with the cross-cultural interchange between Muslims and Jews that was taking place in Egypt throughout medieval and early modern times. I attempt to establish a set of focal points in time and place for the origin of our narratives based on the correspondence between historical and linguistic evidence. We shall find that many of our narratives display a particular side of the Judaeo-Arabic literary heritage, one characterized by a strong influence by and acceptance of Arabic language and Islamic culture. At this point, it is relevant to note that most of the present texts are devoid of any kind of explicit apparatus or reference to Biblical or Qurānic content, and they very rarely make mention of many of the voices, traditions, works and genres to which they so strongly allude; I have merely identified them myself. For this reason, I suspect that a large amount of interesting allusions may have gone unnoticed — and I invite the experienced reader to help identify more of these.³

² See Blau 1999a:26f.

³ It is beyond the scope and aim of this dissertation to present and comment on all the various mentions of the prophets in question or all extant versions from the earliest known sources and up to today. The aim is rather to trace and identify parts coinciding with the narrative of the particular versions presented. Thus, parts which are only distantly related with the version in question have been disregarded in the analysis below.

On this apparent rapprochement between Jews and Muslims, Blau notes that “sometimes the most hallowed matters of Judaism are denoted by terms borrowed from Islam” (Blau 1999a:159). To his *prima facie* surprise, he found that some Jewish writings are filled with terms such as *al-rasūl* denoting Moses, *qurʿān* denoting the *miqra* ‘the Hebrew Bible’, *sayyidnā al-khalīl* denoting Abraham and *rasūl Allāh* denoting Elijah.⁴ In our narratives, we find a similar tendency of borrowing from Islam, most importantly content corresponding to the Qurʿān, to the traditions from among the *Ṣaḥāba* and the *Tābiʿūn*.⁵ Blau emphasises that Arabic and Islamic material which was copied or quoted by Jews may give an idea of what preoccupied Muslims and Jews alike, and represents important cultural, ideological and linguistic common grounds in their daily life.⁶

Before presenting the similarities between the content, style, voices, religious discourse and genres attested throughout the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts and that of various Arabic and Islamic sources, it is important to stress that comparisons are made on a somewhat Arabo- and Islamo-centric basis; for example, I frequently argue that this-and-this feature identified in our narratives resembles so-and-so in Arabic, Islamic or Qurʿānic literary or oral tradition. Nonetheless, this is not to say that they are the same or to argue that one springs out from the other. For example, much of the content attested in the narratives seems to stem as much from pre-Islamic monotheistic faith in Arabia as from Islam itself. The same is true for some genres of prose and poetry exhibited in the narratives, the origin of which is as uncertain as the rest of the field of Arabic language history. Some scholars such as Hamilton A. R. Gibb even argues that the religious vocabulary of the Qurʿān presupposes the existence of a ‘common fund of religious terms’ with a monotheistic reference, and presumes the existence of a style of religious discourse which was established already in pre-Islamic times.⁷ Many unquestionable Islamic elements appear throughout the material. It is supported by the fact that much nomenclature can be traced back to traditionalists such as Abū Hurayrah, Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿUmar, and even to contents of the Qurʿān, but it does not make it exclusively Qurʿānic or Islamic *per se*.

⁴ Blau 1999a:159.

⁵ On the subject of Qurʿān knowledge among Jews, see Lazarus-Yafeh 1991.

⁶ See Blau 1999a:36.

⁷ Gibb 1962:278.

3.1 'The Ibrāhīm-Nimrūd Legend' (*Qṣ Ibrāhīm*)

The two manuscripts (MS) 46 and (MS) 52⁸ each present a similar, fragmented version of קצת 'The Story of Ibrāhīm the Friend', also known as 'the Ibrāhīm-Nimrūd Legend' (otherwise shortened to *Qṣ Ibrāhīm*).⁹ The thematic content and chain of events attested in this legend can be identified with that of some typical Jewish and Muslim prophetic legends about the patriarch Abraham (*Ibrāhīm*), and stem from medieval times, most likely Muslim Spain. Our two 18/19th-century manuscripts contain a traditional narrative written in plain, unrhymed and partly colloquial prose; they draw upon the legend of Ibrāhīm and his battle with the mighty king Nimrod (*Nimrūd* or *Namrūd*). It takes place in Babylon, or *madīnat ʿIrāq*, and recalls Nimrūd's dream visions of a young boy who will bring him and his nation to destruction. Afraid of losing his power, he orders all new-born babies in his kingdom to be slain, and the pregnant mother of Ibrāhīm is forced to conceal her pregnancy and give birth in secret. She finds a cave, where she leaves the infant by himself. When she comes back for him after some days, he has grown, learned to speak and even found himself becoming a monotheist. There follows Ibrāhīm's conflict with Nimrūd and the dispute with his father Teraḥ over the worshiping of idols, in which Ibrāhīm calls for them both to submit to one true God. The fragment contained in MS 46 exceeds MS 52 in length by a few paragraphs, and ends in the part where Ibrāhīm is about to convince an elderly lady to embrace monotheism. According to the traditional Muslim and Jewish narrative, this takes place right before Nimrūd orders Ibrāhīm to be thrown into the burning furnace.

Numerous editions and versions of this narrative are found in Jewish and Muslim sources, in oral tradition as well as in apocryphal-pseudographic literature. In Adolph Jellinek's collection *Bet ha-Midrash* (1853-1878) we are presented with a reprinted Hebrew legend which closely resembles the Judaeo-Arabic version found in *Qṣ Ibrāhīm*. According to Jellinek himself, the legend in question first appeared in a collection of *midrashim* in Istanbul

⁸ MSS 46 and 52 are listed in the databases of IHMH under call number F 38846 and F 38852, respectively. For MS 46, see http://aleph.nli.org.il:80/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000189310&local_base=NNL01 or http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS000189310#; for MS 52, see http://aleph.nli.org.il:80/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000189316&local_base=NNL01 or http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS000189316 (accessed December 2017).

⁹ In the annotated and translated edition presented in chapter 5 (and in the Arabic transliteration included in the appendix for those who are not accustomed to Hebrew script), MS 46 functions as our base text whereas MS 52 has been included in the below apparatus on the same page. This is because I have found the two manuscripts to be so orthographically diverse that both should be included.

circa 1580,¹⁰ entitled **מעשה אברהם** ‘The Tale of Abraham (lit. The Deed of Abraham)’.¹¹ This version was later translated into German by Henrietta Szold and subsequently into English by Louis Ginzberg, who included it in his famous collection *The Legends of the Jews* (1909–1928). In a 1937 article, Joshua Finkel presents a parallel version of these which is based on a 17th/18th-century manuscript belonging to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America,¹² and convincingly proves it to be a translation of the Hebrew version from Istanbul.¹³ Another, similar version is presented by Haggai Ben-Shammai, who offers a compilation of a total of six fragments.¹⁴ On the origin of this particular narrative, Finkel claims that the 16th-century Istanbul edition was originally translated from an Arabic archetype,¹⁵ and Heinrich Schützinger notes that a version similar to that of *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* is said to have been located at the library of the synagogue in Fustāt.¹⁶ In fact, Max Grünbaum and the above-mentioned Jellinek also believed that the manuscript was transmitted from an Arabic version written at an earlier stage. They support their claim by pointing to its specific Hebrew wording, which shows close similarity to the Arabic work of Ibn Kathīr.¹⁷ The apparent translation of the word **كافر** ‘infidel’, rendered in the Hebrew version as **כופר** (**كوفر**), is clearly influenced by Arabic when compared with the more common Hebrew **רשע**.¹⁸

In a series of two articles, Bernard Chapira presents a fragment of a manuscript which is believed to be a 12th-century Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic version of the same story.¹⁹ Just like in our narrative, the traditions recorded in the manuscript edited and published by Chapira (also abbreviated MS *Chapira*) are attributed to the traditions of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār (presented below). Here, Chapira convincingly proves it to be the Arabic archetype on which the Hebrew 16th-century Istanbul version was once based, a fact which becomes evident from the parallel

¹⁰ See also Finkel 1937. This archetype, translated to English via Hebrew (via Judaeo-Arabic, see below), appears in Ginzberg 1909-1928 i; Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* i: xv ff.; Finkel 1937:387.

¹¹ Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* i:25ff.

¹² Finkel does not give any further reference to the manuscript.

¹³ Finkel 1937:389f.

¹⁴ Ben-Shammai 1993. These are British Library, Or. 10435 (Gaster 1328); ~ Or. 10836 (Gaster 1321); Bibliothèque consistoriale, Paris, in Alliance Israélite, Geniza VIII.c; a one-page fragment in Chapira 1920:1, Cambridge University Library, T-S Arabic 46.45; ~ T-S Arabic 46.5 (*apud* Ben-Shammai 1993:115).

¹⁵ Finkel 1937:387ff. He bases this conclusion on evidence from Jellinek himself (see *Bet ha-Midrash* i: xvi), and later Grünbaum 1893.

¹⁶ Schützinger 1961:192.

¹⁷ The 16th-century Hebrew version reads **צלם שאין בו תועלת לא לעצמו ולא למי שקנהו לעובדו** ‘an idol wherein there is no profit, not for itself nor for him who buys it for himself to worship’, whereas the version of Ibn Kathīr reads **من يشتري ما يضره ولا ينفعه** ‘who will buy something that harms him and does not profit him?’ (*apud* Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* i: xvi.)

¹⁸ See Grünbaum 1893:130f; Jellinek *Bet ha-Midrash* i: xvi. Ginzberg also supports the possibility of the origin being Arabic (see Ginzberg 1909-1928 v:209).

¹⁹ Chapira 1919; 1920.

chain of events and the amount of literal Arabic-Hebrew translation, such as קאלו לה קום ארהל 'and they said to him, "Let us depart and leave this country."'²⁰ When compared with the existing fragments of the 12th-century MS *Chapira*, it becomes clear that it is the same version as that presented in *Qṣ Ibrāhīm*. The most important grounds for this claim are the large number of closely corresponding passages, reoccurring themes and linguistic features as becomes clear in the translated and annotated edition of *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* in chapter 5; only a few variations in the order of events and other minor details distinguish the two versions from each other.

3.1.2 The Traditions and Legacy of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār the Ḥimyarite

— Not only were Yemenite Jews the most Jewish of Jews, Yemeni Arabs were also among the most Arab of Arabs.

*Shlomo Dov Goitein*²¹

It is clear that the archetype of *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* originates in the traditions of someone who was well versed in both Jewish and Islamic material. As Schützing points out in his investigation of the narrative contained in *Qṣ Ibrāhīm*, the Judaeo-Arabic transmission shows no sign of discomfort with its distinctive Islamic undertones.²² It therefore makes sense that the traditions cited throughout *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* stem from an authority who 'keeps a foot in both camps'. That figure is Abū Ishāq ibn Mātiʿ ibn Haysuʿ (or Haynūʿ) al-Ḥimyarī al-Aḥbār, known as Kaʿb al-Aḥbār. On several occasions the text reads 'Kaʿb al-Aḥbār has said [so and so],' a notion which is confirmed by several Muslim recordings of the same narrative.²³ According to Muslim tradition, Kaʿb al-Aḥbār was originally a Jewish rabbi from the Yemenite tribe of Ḥimyar.²⁴ He came to Medina during the caliphate of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and accompanied the Caliph to Jerusalem, where he became a convert to Islam in the year 638 (17 after the *Hijra*). He allegedly never met the Prophet Muḥammad in person, but is nevertheless considered to be one of the earliest important converts from Judaism to Islam, not to mention the oldest authority on Judaeo-Islamic traditions.²⁵

²⁰ This argument was put forward in *Chapira* 1919:89f.

²¹ This quote came to my attention when reading the introductory chapter of M. Wagner's 2009 study of Yemenite vernacular poetry.

²² Schützing 1961:192.

²³ On the account of Ibrāhīm's birth and following battle with Nimrūd, see, *inter alia*, the *Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʿ*-collections of al-Thaʿlabī, Ibn Kathīr and al-Kisāʿī.

²⁴ Schmitz 1978:316f.

²⁵ Schmitz 1978:316f.

Although we do not know much about their popularity, the shared Jewish legacy of this seemingly Muslim legend may serve to explain how Ka'b al-Aḥbār's traditions came to be so welcomed in Jewish circles throughout the medieval Islamic empire. It offers an intriguing insight into the apparent link between Egyptian Jewry on the one hand and the traditions of Muslim rulers in Egypt on the other. Hybrid material such as this confirms, as pointed out so many times before, how significant an influence Islamic thought once practiced on medieval Jewry in the Middle East, North Africa and Spain. In the early days of Islam, authorities and common people alike became interested in learning more about Jewish Scriptures in order to get a better understanding of the Qurʾān and the traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad. It is no secret that the Qurʾān is filled with allusions to Jewish (and Christian) tradition and its beloved patriarchs. Soon after the rise of Islam, Muslim writers and scholars started adopting narratives about the Children of Israel, in principal, material of a 'Jewish' origin. A tradition of Jewish and Islamic interreligious translation and transmittance emerged, and Jewish sacred material began appearing in Muslim garb throughout the newly established Islamic empire. These were often narrated by Muslim authorities whose ancestry went back to the Jewish tribes of the Arabian Peninsula, notably those of Yemenite stock, and whose knowledge of Biblical and Talmudic legends was extensive. Accordingly, many Muslims immersed themselves in materials from Jewish tradition. The practice was even encouraged by the Prophet Muḥammad, and according to tradition he was in fact quite fond of the literary heritage of the Israelite people. One particular *ḥadīth* reads:

— The Prophet of Allāh, may the prayers and peace of Allāh be upon him, has said, 'Narrate from the Children of Israel for there is no harm in that.'

*Abū Hurayrah, as recorded by Abū Dāwūd*²⁶

Particularly interesting in this context are the narratives in which we find that popular Islamic and Jewish works have merged and exercised influence on each other. From a position somewhere in between the traditions of Jewish *midrash* and *aggadah* (Jewish lore) and the Islamic *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (The Stories of the Prophets) emerged the so-called *isrā'īliyyāt* — 'Israelite tales', which was adopted into Islamic tradition.²⁷ As Marc S. Bernstein notes, the *isrā'īliyyāt* genre "highlights the open acceptance and acknowledgement of originally

²⁶ See Abū Hurayrah (in Sunan Abī Dāwūd 25:3654): قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَدَّثُوا عَنْ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ وَلَا حَرَجَ

²⁷ See Vajda 2012.

Biblicist traditions [in the realm of Islamic exegetic tradition], introduced by Jewish or (to a much lesser extent) Christian informants, or by actual converts to Islam” (Bernstein 2006:8).

Much of the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts mirror content which is borrowed from Jewish sources such as *the Talmud* (3rd–5th centuries), *Genesis Rabbah* (4th–6th centuries), and most notably the later medieval works of *Pirqa de-Rabbi Eliezer* (most likely composed in the 8th century) and *Sefer ha-Yashar* (date unknown; printed in Venice in 1625), as will be discussed in more detail in the passage dealing with *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq*, below. There can be no doubt that Kaʿb al-Aḥbār had deep knowledge of a closely related kind of legends. In modern times, we find that many such legends have been collected in anthologies such as *Bet ha-Midrash* (1853-1878), *Sefer ha-Aggadah* (1903), *Otzar Midrashim* (1915), the English *the Legends of the Jews* (1909-1928).

3.1.3 The Role of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār in the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*

There are no available collections of *isrāʾīliyyāt* directly attributed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, but he is repeatedly cited in the traditions of the *Ṣaḥāba* (Companions) of the Prophet Muḥammad, as well as in those of the *Tābiʿūn* (those who were born after the passing of Muḥammad but who were contemporaries of the companions) and other well-known collectors of tradition. Among the companions who cited Kaʿb most frequently were Abū Hurayrah, another descendant of the Old Yemenite kingdoms of Ḥimyar, and Ibn ʿAbbās, the learned cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad and ‘father of Qurʾānic exegesis’.²⁸ These two companions were both students of Kaʿb and considered authorities on the traditions surrounding the *isrāʾīliyyāt*.²⁹ For example, we find evidence of Kaʿb’s influence on the two in the *tafsīr* literature of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr. Here, al-Ṭabarī mentions several occasions in which Ibn ʿAbbās asks Kaʿb about the meaning of a Qurʾānic verse.³⁰ Ibn Kathīr notes, *inter alia*, that ‘perhaps Abū Hurayrah obtained this from Kaʿb for he used to sit and converse with him very often [...]’³¹ Not only did these authorities cite Kaʿb al-Aḥbār; their own traditions are also found throughout *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* and *Qṣ Sulaymān*, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter.

It was not until the 10th century that these scattered prophetic traditions and ‘Israelite’ materials were collected into one independent work. The narratives were thus separated from

²⁸ Ibn ʿAbbās is considered one of the greatest scholars of the *Ṣaḥāba*. During the reign of the first Umayyad Caliph Muʿāwiyah I he resided in Hijāz but frequented in the courts of Damascus. See Veccia Vaglieri 1960a:40f.

²⁹ Thackston 1978:377.

³⁰ A review of more than a dozen occurrences is listed in Twakkal 2007:70.

³¹ The passage in Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* v:198 reads *ولعل أبا هريرة تلقاه من كعب. فإنه كثيراً ما كان يجالسه ويحدثه*; translation adapted from Twakkal 2007:46.

the earlier genre of ‘universal chronologies’ such as that of al-Ṭabarī³² (*Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-l-Mulūk*, 10th century), which mentioned the prophets only sporadically. Traditions concerning the prophets, many of which were considered *isrāʿīliyyāt*, were instead incorporated into the particular exegetic genre of *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* ‘The Stories of the Prophets’. The genre was inaugurated through the work of al-Thaʿlabī³³ (*Arāʾis al-Majālis fī Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, 11th century), which was the first of its kind and was derived directly from Qurʾānic commentary. Later it was found in the somewhat more popular collection of al-Kisāʾī³⁴ (*Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, ca. 12th century). There are many works from within this genre which correspond to the versions found in our manuscripts, either directly or indirectly, but the anthology of al-Kisāʾī stands out as one of the most influential works with regard to the narrations of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār.

Aside from the traditions of Wahb ibn Munabbih (presented below) and the aforementioned Ibn ʿAbbās, Kaʿb al-Aḥbār himself accounts for most — if not all — of the authorities cited in the work of al-Kisāʾī; in fact, Kaʿb is the only source of tradition on the topic of Ibrāhīm’s birth and the struggle between him and Nimrūd in al-Kisāʾī’s version of the legend. The following passages exhibit some of the nomenclature employed in the traditions of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, and demonstrate the occasional, but very close, similarity between the Judaeo-Arabic version of *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* and the Arabic version of al-Kisāʾī.

Qṣ Ibrāhīm reads:

קאלת לה יא ולדי ולך רב אכר גיר אלמלך אלנמרוד קאל להא נעם יא אמי אללה אלסמאואת
ואלארץ רב אלמשרק ואלמגרב ורב אלנמרוד אבן כנען

قالت له يا ولدي ولك رب اخر غير الملك النمرود قال لها نعم يا امي الله السماوات والارض رب
المشرق والمغرب ورب النمرود ابن كنعن

She said to him, “My child, do you have a lord other than King Nimrūd?” He said to her, “Yes, my mother, Allāh of Heaven and Earth, *Lord of the East and the West* (Q 73.9), Lord of Nimrūd son of Canaan.”

MS 52/5a:17–5b:2³⁵

³² Muḥammad Jarīr al-Ṭabarī.

³³ Abū Ishāq Aḥmad al-Thaʿlabī.

³⁴ Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallah al-Kisāʾī (see Brinner 1998:453), also known as Ṣāḥib Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ (see Nagel 1986:176).

³⁵ This part is rendered more or less identically in MS 46/5b:2–4.

Whereas al-Kisāʿī reads:

وقال يا ولدي ألك ربّ غير نمرود وله مملكة الارض شرقها وغربها

And [father Terah] said, “My child, do you have a lord other than Nimrūd? One who rules both East and West of the Earth’s kingdom?”

al-Kisāʿī³⁶

According to the traditions recorded in the work al-Ṭabarī and al-Thaʿlabī, however, it is not Kaʿb al-Aḥbār but rather the companions Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn Masʿūd, and the narrators of later vintage such as al-Suddī and Ibn Ishāq, who are mentioned in the *isnāds* (chains of transmission). Consider, for example, the following passage is from *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* as narrated by Kaʿb:

فانزعز انزعاز ان عزيما ادعا بالامرا والعلوما وارباب الفهم واخبرهوم بما جرى لو

فانزعز انزعاز ان عزيما ادعا بالامرا والعلوما وارباب الفهم واخبرهوم بما جرى لو

He was greatly disturbed and called upon the emirs, the wise and the masters of understanding and informed them about what had happened to him.

MS 46/2a:11–12

Al-Ṭabarī, however, attributed the corresponding passage to Ibn ʿAbbās and Ibn Masʿūd. It reads:

ففرع من ذلك فرعا شديدا فدعا السحرة والكهنة والقافة والحازة فسألهم عنه

He became very frightened about this and called upon the magicians and soothsayers, the prognosticators and physiognomists, to ask them about it.

al-Ṭabarī³⁷

As we can see, a significant degree of influence from the Islamic cultural environment, discourse and terminology is visible throughout. The Hebrew Bible offers very few details

³⁶ al-Kisāʿī:131; translation adapted from Thackston 1978:139.

³⁷ al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* i:236; translation adapted from al-Ṭabarī, *History* ii: 53.

about Ibrāhīm’s early life and his battle with Nimrūd; the Qur’ān presents a slightly more detailed picture of Ibrāhīm’s childhood, however only in scattered fragments which are presented without a cohesive narrative. In contrast, *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* offers a narrative which exhaustively covers this part of the patriarch’s life. We find herein occasional paraphrases of the Qur’ān, such as when Ibrāhīm discovers true faith by reflecting on the elements of the sky (Q 6.76–77) and when he appeals to the people in the marketplace to worship only one god (Q 26.69–76 and Q 19.42). The example below illustrates a case in which *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* paraphrases the *sūra* of al-An’ām:

פלמא אסרק אלצו ונצר אלשמס קד אסרקת נורהא קאל הדא רבי פלמא אזלאמת אלשמס קאל
אדלם יהדיני רבי לאכון מן אלקום אלזאלמין

فلما اسرق الضو ونضر الشمس قد اسرقت نورها قال هذا ربي فلما ازلامت الشمس قال اذلم يهديني
ربي لاكون من القوم الزالمين

When the light shone and [Ibrāhīm] could see the sun, and its light was shining, *he said*, “*This is my Lord*” (Q 6.76).³⁸ But when the sun darkened, *he said*, “*If my Lord does not guide me I shall surely be of the people gone astray*” (Q 6.77).³⁹

MS 46/4b:7–10

Whereas the legend resembles a popular-literary process which took place in the Arabian Peninsula, in which Muslim religious authorities adopted ancient Jewish tradition and made it available to the common people, it is also a typical representative of oral material which circulated in the western Islamic empire and was later expressed in the style and register of the dialects of that region. On the one hand, it seems likely that the archetype attested in *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* acquired its present shape in an Islamic environment, and that it was most probably written by an Arabic-speaking Muslim. On the other hand, the section corresponding with the Qur’ānic chapter 6.76 (above) also corresponds to the motives of a particular medieval Jewish apocryphal source written in Hebrew, namely *Sefer ha-Yashar*.

It would not be surprising if the archetype of *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* proves to stem from a Spanish source. In fact, in the findings presented in the linguistic analysis, it becomes clearer and clearer with each detail that there is a strong presence of Western Arabic features in our

³⁸ Q 6.76 reads قَالَ هَذَا رَبِّي ‘he said, “This is my Lord”’.

³⁹ Q 6.77 reads قَالَ لئن لم يهْدِنِي رَبِّي لَأَكُونَنَّ مِنَ الْقَوْمِ الضَّالِّينَ ‘he said, If my Lord does not guide me I shall surely be of the people gone astray’.

material. As shall be discussed in the context of *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq*, the aforementioned book *Sefer ha-Yashar* reportedly found its way to Córdoba sometime during the 11th century, when Spain was under Muslim rule. Here we find the only available Jewish depiction of Abraham becoming a monotheist⁴⁰ by observing the heavenly bodies⁴¹ — which again serves to complicate the puzzling spiral of Jewish and Islamic oral interchange. The passages, which are here rendered in the English translation, read:

Qṣ Ibrāhīm

When the light shone and he could see
the sun, and that its light was shining,
he said, “This is my Lord” (Q 6.76).
But when the sun darkened he said,
*“If my Lord does not guide me I shall
surely be of the people gone astray”*
(Q 6.77).

MS 46/4b:7–11

Sefer ha-Yashar

And in the morning when it was light
and the sun shone upon the earth as
usual, Abram saw all the things that
the Lord God had made upon earth.
And Abram said unto himself, surely
these are not gods that made the earth
and all mankind, but these are the
servants of God.’

Sefer ha-Yashar:20b

3.2 ‘King Sulaymān, the Ant and the Impenetrable Palace of Shaddād ibn ‘Ād’ (Qṣ Sulaymān)

In the introduction of this legend, MS 31 reads “this is the story of Sulaymān’s arrival at the palace of Shaddād son of ‘Ād and what miraculous things of complete perfection he saw” (31/1a:1–7). Along with MS 23,⁴² these two 17th/18th-century manuscripts exhibit similar

⁴⁰ Patai 2013:3.

⁴¹ The passage in *Sefer ha-Yashar*:20a-20b reads as follows: וירא אברם את השמש בארץ ויאמר אברם אל לבו אך עתה השמש הזאת אשר זרחה על כל הארץ הוא האלהים ולו אעבוד [...] ויחשך עליו הלילה [...] וירא אברם את הירח ואת הכוכבים לפניו ויאמר אך עתה הנה זה אלוה אשר ברא כל הארץ וכל האדם והנה עבדיו אלה הם לפניו [...] ויהי בבקר ויאר היום ותזרח השמש על הארץ כמשפט : וירא אברם את כל הדברים האלה אשר עשה יי אלהים בארץ : ויאמר אברם בלבו אך עתה אין אלה 'and Abram saw the sun shining upon the earth, and Abram said unto himself surely now this sun that shines upon the earth is God, and him will I serve. [...] And night darkened over him [...] And Abram saw the stars and moon before him, and he said, surely this is the God who created the whole earth as well as man, and behold these his servants are gods around him [...] And in the morning when it was light and the sun shone upon the earth as usual, Abram saw all the things that the Lord God had made upon earth. And Abram said unto himself, surely these are not gods that made the earth and all mankind, but these are the servants of God’ (translation adopted from Noah, *Sefer ha-Yashar*:22f.).

⁴² As these two manuscripts are near identical, MS 23 serves as the base text of the annotated and translated edition presented in chapter 5, whereas the occurrences in which MS 31 deviates are included in footnotes.

versions of a legend about King Solomon (*sayyid Sulaymān*, *Sulimān* or a close variant of this) who discovers a magnificent but completely abandoned palace in the middle of the desert (otherwise shortened to *Qṣ Sulaymān*).⁴³ There is a striking resemblance between the background of *Qṣ Sulaymān* and that of *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* (above), in that both allude to a number of Qurʾānic verses and, as we shall see below, draw on the narrations of the same authority. Our legend is a traditional narrative written in a fairly colloquial style which revolves partly around Sulaymān’s encounter with the Queen of the Ants, as depicted in the Qurʾānic chapter *al-Naml*,⁴⁴ and partly around Sulaymān’s discovery of the hidden palace of Shaddād ibn ʿĀd, the beauty of which is said to have resembled the gardens of Paradise. *Qṣ Sulaymān* also features passages which imitate pre-Islamic prose, including nearly a dozen longer and shorter *qaṣīdas* (‘odes’) reminiscent of stone inscriptions from Ḥaḍramawt and written in lamentation of the ‘lost Arab nation’ of ʿĀd and Thamūd (*Tahmū*), who were punished for their disbelief in God. This legend and the myths surrounding the palace of Shaddād ibn ʿĀd and the notorious lost city Iram of the Pillars (*Iramḍāt al-ʿImād*) have occupied historians of all times. In his *al-Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldūn affectionately wrote:

— When Shaddād heard a description of Paradise, he said, “I shall build something like it.” And he built the city of Iram in the desert of Aden over a period of three hundred years. He himself lived nine hundred years. It is said to have been a large city, with palaces of gold and silver and columns of emerald and hyacinth, containing all kinds of trees and freely flowing rivers. When the construction was completed, Shaddād went there with the people of his realm. But when he was the distance of only one day and night away from it, God sent a clamor from heaven, and all of them perished. This is reported by al-Ṭabarī, al-Thaʿālibī, al-Zamakhshari and other Qurʾān commentators.

*Ibn Khaldūn, al-Muqaddimah*⁴⁵

⁴³ MS 23 and MS 31 are listed in the databases of IHMH under the call numbers F 38823 and F 38831, respectively.

For MS 23, see http://aleph.nli.org.il:80/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000189287&local_base=NNLMSS or http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS000189287; for MS 31, see http://aleph.nli.org.il:80/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000189295&local_base=NNLMSS or http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS000189295 (accessed December 2017).

⁴⁴ See Q 27.15–19.

⁴⁵ Translation adapted and slightly modified from that of Rosenthal (see Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddimah* i:25).

On the whole, *Qṣ Sulaymān* tells of the palace of Shaddād ibn ʿĀd and the nations of Thamūd and ʿĀd which once lived there. These nations have preoccupied Jews and Muslims for ages, and a number of legends have emerged from the mysteries behind their vanishing and the palace in which they are believed to have dwelt. The manuscripts in question offer no references to a specific narrator, nor does the text make explicit mention of any of the authorities which have been cited or paraphrased. In order to investigate the historical background of this legend, we must therefore rely on records of the same version as they appear in other manuscripts and editions. *Mimekor Yisrael*, a collection of Jewish midrashic legends, ascribes one version of this legend to a Jewish 11th-century manuscript of *Midrash va-Yosha* held at Cambridge University,⁴⁶ and notes that it draws upon the Qurʾānic ‘Sūra of the Ant’.⁴⁷ To date, the version most similar to that of our legend, however, is a 16th-century Arabic manuscript in the custody of the University of Strasbourg which has been made available online by Jaafar al-Kange Dandachi (henceforth referred to as MS *Strasbourg*).⁴⁸ This version shows close similarity to that of *Qṣ Sulaymān*, although there are also some differences between the two versions, most probably due to its oral transmission over time. Large parts of the story in MS *Strasbourg* are ascribed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār.⁴⁹ Moreover, he is also the only authority cited in the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* collection of al-Kisāʾī for the parts which correspond to *Qṣ Sulaymān*.⁵⁰ A similar version of the legend, one which is found in Mirkhond’s *Rawdat al-Ṣafāʾ* (15th century), is also ascribed to Kaʿb and was recorded by the aforementioned Wahb ibn Munabbih (d. ca. 725).⁵¹

Wahb, a student of Ibn ʿAbbās, was well versed in Judaeo-Islamic tradition. His mother was a Ḥimyarite and his father a Persian knight who migrated to Yemen. Historically, it is not clear whether Wahb was born a Muslim or whether he converted from Judaism to Islam.⁵² In a book attributed to the narrations of Wahb, *Kitāb al-Tījān fī Mulūk Ḥimyar* (The Book of Crowns on the Kings of Ḥimyar), a collection of legends from Ḥimyaritic times,⁵³ there are many parallels with the content of *Qṣ Sulaymān*. The collection portrays the pre-

⁴⁶ An edition and a general introduction to this manuscript can be found in Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* v: xi; 22ff.

⁴⁷ Bin Gorion 1990:45.

⁴⁸ See *قصة الملك سليمان الحكيم مع ملكة النمل* ‘The Story of King Sulaymān the Wise and the Ant’ (url: <http://www.odabasham.net/رواية/62509-قصة-الملك-سليمان-الحكيم-مع-ملكة-النمل/>) (accessed October 2016.)

⁴⁹ In one of many references to Kaʿb, MS *Strasbourg* reads, *قال: أنه لما أعطي سليمان* ‘It was told by Kaʿb al-Aḥbār who said: “Sulaymān was given ...”

⁵⁰ See al-Kisāʾī:285.

⁵¹ Mirkhond, *Rawdat al-Ṣafāʾ* part 1, vol. ii:80 reads, “Wuhub Bin Muniah [Wahb ibn Munabbih] relates a tradition of Kaʿb-ullākhbār [Kaʿb al-Aḥbār], that when Sulimān [Sulaymān] [...]”

⁵² Seligsohn 1906:455f.

⁵³ The collection was composed by the Egyptian scholar Ibn Hishām, who was also of Southern Arabian origin. See Ibn Hishām 1928.

Islamic kingdom of Ḥimyar and relates early folklore about the glories and achievements of the Yemenite kings.⁵⁴ In one of the stories, a character by the name of Hamaysa^c bin Bakr enters the cave of Shaddād ibn ^cĀd together with his companion. The motives are very similar to those of our Judaeo-Arabic narrative, in which Sulaymān and his companion enter the *palace* of Shaddād. Many similarities follow, most notably the warning written on a plaque next to the entrance gate; a number of two-column poems written in silver on golden plaques at the entrances to the different pathways; specific kinds of ornaments and decorations such as gems, dinars, minerals and rubies; and a written decree from Shaddād himself in which he proclaims his magnitude and how he ‘slayed a thousand enemies and rode a thousand horses’.

3.2.1 Traditions from Among the *Ṣaḥāba*

As we have seen, much content in *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* and *Qṣ Sulaymān* operate within the sphere of some traditionalists of early Islamic times. Besides the ever-evident Yemenite influence demonstrated above — notably by means of the traditions of Ka^cb al-Aḥbār, Abū Hurayrah and Wahb ibn Munabbih — we can also identify the influence of other authorities from among the *Ṣaḥāba*. I have not established a common geographical or demographical denominator for these authorities, but they seem nevertheless to have played a part in the dominion of *Ahl al-Rāya* ‘People of the Standards’ in Fustāṭ during the early years of Islam in Egypt, or to have mingled with the ruling elites and the second Caliph of the Rāshidūn Caliphate, ^cUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who reigned from 634 to 644. The practice of tracing the origins of Islamic creeds and other common phrases is problematic, especially in the cases of the *ḥawlaqa* and the *tahlīl* (see below). However, the occurrences deserve to be mentioned — and its contents discussed — in order to begin classifying the social, demographic, cultural, doctrinal and even communal spheres in which this particular nomenclature has been taken into use. Examples throughout some of our narratives thus illustrate the Islamic cultural environment’s significant influence on Jewish spiritual life in early Islamic and medieval Egypt. By comparing our material with the social and historical backgrounds of these Muslim authorities, we can get an idea of the vast Arabo-Islamic tradition to which the Jews of Egypt had been acculturated.

For example, *Qṣ Sulaymān* paraphrases one tradition going back to the Caliph’s son ^cAbdallāh ibn ^cUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb,⁵⁵ reading كلکم راع وکلکم مسئول عن رعیتہ ‘every one of you is

⁵⁴ Conrad 1998:335.

⁵⁵ On ^cAbdallāh ibn ^cUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, see Veccia 1960b.

a shepherd and every one of you is responsible for his flock.⁵⁶ It parallels the passage of *Qṣ Sulaymān* in which Sulaymān speaks with the Queen of the Ants. Consider the following paragraphs:

תם תמשא סלימאן ואכד ביד וזיריהו אסף בן ברכיה ואקבל עלי ואדי אנמל ונאדא וקא איהו
 אנמל מן מנכום אקאילה איהו אנמל אדכולו מסאכנכום לא יהלככום סלימאן וגנודהו ואדא
 בנמלה סודא עלי צכרה הודא קאלת יא נבי אלה אנא אקאילה דלך קא סלימאן פמא חמלך עלי
 דלך אקול ואנא סאיר בין אסמאואת ואארץ קאת יא נבי אלה אעלם אן כול ראעי יסא ען
 רעיייתהו ואנא מלכת הדא אנמל פי הדא אואדי

تم تمشا سليمان واخذ بيد وزيره اسف بن بركيه واقبل على وادى النمل ونادا وقال ايها النمل من
 منكم القايله ايها النمل ادخولو مساكنكم لا يهلككم سليمان وجنودهو وادا بنمله سودا على
 صخره هودا قالت يا نبي الله انا القايله ذلك قال سليمان فما حملك على ذلك القول وانا ساير بين
 السماوات والارض قالت يا نبي الله اعلم ان كول راعي يسال عن رعيتيهو وانا ملكت هذا النمل في
 هذا الوادى

Sulaymān then continued by foot, took the hand of his vizier Asaf ben Berechiah and approached the Valley of the Ants. He called out and said, “O ants, which one of you said, *Ants, enter your dwelling-places, lest Sulaymān and his army crush you?*” (Q 27.18). And lo, a black ant on a rock said, “O prophet of Allāh, I am the one who said that.” Sulaymān said, “And what made you say that, when I am but travelling between the heavens and the earth?” She said, “Know this, o prophet of Allāh, that *every shepherd bears the responsibility for its flock*, and I am the queen of the ants in this valley.

MS 23/2a:19–2b:10

There are also some passages in *Qṣ Sulaymān* which correspond to the traditions of the aforementioned Abū Hurayrah. According to one particular *ḥadīth* he had asked the Prophet Muḥammad what paradise was made of, to which Muḥammad replied, *لِبِنَّةٍ مِنْ فِضَّةٍ وَلِبِنَّةٍ مِنْ ذَهَبٍ* ‘[it is] made of a brick of silver and a brick of gold’.⁵⁷ The same formula appears in a passage of *Qṣ Sulaymān*:

⁵⁶ See ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Umar (in, *inter alia*, in Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim i:283, 300, 653).

⁵⁷ See Abū Hurayrah (in Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidī 38:2714).

קא אראוי וגעל סיידנא סלימאן יסיר איאם וליאלי ולמא כאן מן מודת אחדי עשר יום וכאן
אשרף עלי קצר מן אדהב אאחמר עלי אבנא ואסע אפנא והו לובנה מן אפצה ולובנה מן אדהב
פקא סולימאן יא ריח אצע אבסאט עלי וגה אארץ פוצעהו

قال الراوى وجعل سييدنا سليمان يسير ايام وليالى ولما كان من مودت احدى عشر يوم وكان اشرف
على قصر من الذهب الاحمر على البنا واسع الفنا وهو لوبنه من الفضة ولوبنه من الذهب فقال
سوليمان يا ريح اضع البساط على وجه الارض فوضعوه

The narrator said: And Sulaymān set out on a journey days and nights. When eleven days had gone, he came to a palace of red gold, loftily erected with a vast courtyard made of a brick of silver and a brick of gold. So Sulaymān said, “O wind, let the carpet fall upon the face of the earth!” And thus it did.

MS 23/3b:12–18

The tradition of another two *Ṣahābīs*, namely the aforementioned Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿUbāda ibn al-Ṣāmit, is attested in the use of a particular variant of the popular, so-called *ḥawlaqa*, that is, ‘There is neither might nor power except with Allāh, the Sublime, the Magnificent.’⁵⁸ The passage in *Qṣ Sulaymān* reads:

ולמא סארת מקאבלה וגההו קא להא אסאך אאן קא אסא ולא חול ולא קוות אא באלה אעליי
אעטים קא יא נמלה הל סמעתי פי קדים אזמאן הל אעטא אחד מן אמלוך מתל מא אעטאני
אנא מן אמלוך

ولما سارت مقابله وجهه قال لها اسالك الان قال اسال ولا حول ولا قוות الا باله العليى العظيم
قال يا نملة هل سمعتى فى قديم الزمان هل اعطا احد من الملوك مثل ما اعطانى انا من الملوك

When [the Queen of the Ants] stood face to face [with Sulaymān], he said to her, “Now I will ask you”, and continued, “I ask, and there is neither might nor power except with Allāh, the Sublime, the Magnificent. O ant, have you heard that He bestowed upon any king in ancient times the like of what He has bestowed upon me?”

MS 23/3a:9–13

Another popular Islamic creed attested in our material is a variant of the so-called *tahlīl*, reading ‘There is no god except the one Allāh. He has no partner with

⁵⁸ See Ibn ʿAbbās (in Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidī: 48:201); ʿUbāda ibn al-Ṣāmit (in Sunan Ibn Mājah: 34:52).

Him.⁵⁹ This popular Islamic concept is identified with the traditions of, *inter alia*, Abū Hurayrah, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, ʿUbāda ibn al-Ṣāmit and ʿAbdallāh Ibn ʿUmar. A version closely resembling this *tahlīl* occurs several times in *Qṣ Ibrāhīm*, one of which reads:

חיניד פרפעו עלא זָהרו וחטו עלא באב מדינת אַעראק פלמחת עין וקא לה המלאך גבריאל
אדכול אי וצט אמדינה ונאדי בצות עאי וקול לא אלה אא אלה סב' ות' אדי פי אסמואת
אעאלייה ואאראצי אסאפלה והוא אואחד אאחד אפרד אצמד לא ואד ולא ולד

חיניד פרפעו עלא זָהרו וחטו עלא באב מדינת אַעראק פלמחת עין וקא לה המלאך גבריאל אדכול
אדי וצט אמדינה ונאדי בצות עאי וקול לא אלה אא אלה סב' ות' אדי פי אסמואת העליות
ואראציות אסאפלה והוא אואחד אאחד אפרד אצמד לא ואד ולא ולד

Then, he took him up on his back and brought him to the city gate of Iraq in the twinkling of an eye. The Angel Gabriʿel said to him, “Enter in the midst of the city and call out with a loud voice and say, ‘There is no god but Allāh, Glorified and Exalted be He, Who is in the high heavens and the low lands. *He is the Only, Single, Eternal One. He neither begets nor is born* (Q 112).

MS 46/7b:21–8a:4

3.2.2 On the Possible Role of South-western Arabian Societies in the Corpus of the Qurʾān

Yet another somewhat unsettled but highly interesting issue emerging from some of our texts is the consistency in the use of a certain chronologically and possibly also geographically restricted material of the Qurʾān. As we have seen, both *Qṣ Sulaymān* and *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* reflect the tradition of predominantly south-western Arabian Muslim authorities, some of which were of Jewish background before they converted to Islam. In addition, the Qurʾānic content which the narratives occasionally incorporate or mimic involves specific *sūras* which invariably reflect the Prophet Muḥammad’s revelations from his period in Mecca. In our narratives, all the attested Qurʾānic paraphrases seem to go back to material recorded during the first years in which the Prophet Muḥammad started receiving revelations, that is, when he was still

⁵⁹ See e.g. Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī and Abū Hurayrah (in *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn* 16:1419 and *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidī* 7:909); Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (in *Bulūḡ al-Marām* 16:1542); ʿUbāda ibn al-Ṣāmit (in *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidī* 48:45); ʿAbdallāh Ibn ʿUmar (in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* 1797).

situated in Mecca. This may be no more than a direct result of investigating Qurʾānic material which deals with the history of the prophets — which is, as far as I am aware, treated only in the Meccan *sūras* — but I will, nonetheless, offer a brief discussion on the issue.

One should be careful to rely completely on the order of the *sūras* and the groups in which they have been categorized by some scholars; however, they have a certain chronological and even geographical validity which may prove valuable for situations the Qurʾānic content featured in our material. Even though they do not always agree in detail, most Qurʾānic scholars — Muslim and Western alike — agree that the *sūras* of the Qurʾān can be divided into a Meccan and a Medinan part according to when and where they were revealed. These are valuable and important tools for understanding the spiritual and dogmatic ideas which seem to have occupied the Prophet at various points of his life. For us, they may reveal important historical and geographical details about the social-ideological discourse of language in which Muḥammad and his followers were immersed. In general, the Meccan *sūras* are more numerous and shorter than the Medinan, and are occupied with spiritual, religious inspiration, the Prophet and the attributes and oneness of God, whereas the Medinan *sūras* deal mostly with dogmatic, legislative and practical issues.⁶⁰

Paraphrases found in the narratives of our material correspond to parts of the *sūras* 6, 19, 21, 26, 27, 30, 73, 89 and 112.⁶¹ These, as do the corpus of Meccan verses in general, deal mostly with common monotheistic values such as tolerance, spirituality, and submission to the word of Allāh, which must have been imperative for Muḥammad's proselytizing of Islam among the hitherto powerful and influential Jewish and Christian tribes in the area. It is only natural to assume that these tribes, many of which converted to Islam during Muḥammad's time, would probably have rejected religious thought and practice which did not fall within an already familiar discursive paradigm. What is more, the consistency of the Meccan verses in our legends may also comply with the claim made by Chaim Rabin, that the Prophet, when situated in Mecca, learned about the Hebrew Bible from local Jews whose spiritual centre was Zafār in Yemen rather than from those connected to Tiberias in Palestine.⁶² This gives reason to believe that Muḥammad's knowledge of the Bible came from oral communication with Jewish and Christian acquaintances who were predominantly based in the south-western (rather than northern) regions of the Arabian Peninsula. Baron notes that the distinction between Biblical records on one hand and Jewish *aggadah* ('tales') and other legends on the

⁶⁰ See e.g. Nöldeke 1860.

⁶¹ These are all indicated in editions of chapter 5. On the classification of Meccan *sūras*, see Nöldeke 1860:59ff.

⁶² Rabin 1951:53. He bases his assumption on the fact that Muḥammad and the Meccans must have learned a lot from Yemen during the early period of Islam.

other may not have always been clear to Muḥammad or to his Jewish and Christian acquaintances,⁶³ or to the Muslim authorities of Jewish background presented above.

It is difficult to assert whether these findings in fact represent a register of traditions confined within a particular geographical area and chronological stage, that is, that ranging from Mecca to the south-western Arabian Peninsula and belonging to the earliest sources encountered by the Prophet. Likewise, it is difficult to prove that such-and-such traditions were told in Jewish and/or Christian circles. For all we know, they appear this way merely because they deal with events in the lives of prophets, which is a central part of the chronologically early *sūras* of the Qurʾān. For it is clear that Qurʾānic reflections on the universal chronicle and the prophetic figures, a great number of which are known from Biblical traditions, are treated exclusively in the Meccan *sūras*.

Notwithstanding, as has been demonstrated, our sources bear evidence of Jewish storytellers who, in various ways — reluctantly or not — cite traditions connected with Muslim authorities such as Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, Wahb ibn Munabbih, Abū Hurayrah, Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿUmar, ʿUbāda ibn al-Šāmit, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī and Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī. They also cite popular passages from the Qurʾān. Altogether, references such as these mirror a particular social-ideological discourse which spread in the early days of Islam, and which prevailed (also) in Arabic-speaking Jewish circles for several centuries. The very same discourse bears evidence of connected social and religious factors, some of which are strongly associated with the language — not only of the ruling class of Muslims, but also of the Jewish minority.

3.2.3 The pre-Islamic *Qiṭʿa* and *Qaṣīda*

When looking into the literary genres of our material, we find additional evidence of the local Egyptian Jews' immersion in the Arabic language, Islamic popular nomenclature and of Qurʾānic representation. *Qs Sulaymān* includes a large portion of Arabic poetry, more precisely the genres of the *qiṭʿa* and the *qaṣīda*. Most of the verses consist of a repeated set of lines in monorhymed (represented by *a*) or double-rhymed (represented by *b*) sequences (*bayt*, pl. *ʿabyāt*) following the structure of *(b)a*, *(b)a*, *(b)a*, *(b)a*, etc.⁶⁴ The structure is illustrated by the following schemes:

⁶³ Baron 1952–1983 iii:82f.

⁶⁴ See Stoetzer 1998:737.

..... (b) a] bayt
 (b) a] bayt

 (b) a] bayt
 (b) a] bayt

 (b) a] bayt
 (b) a] bayt
etc.

Otherwise they are simply composed in a continuing line of sequences, as follows:

..... (b) a] bayt
 (b) a] bayt
 (b) a] bayt
 (b) a] bayt
etc.

The number of sequences varies from poem to poem. Those featured in *Qṣ Sulaymān* never exceed ten lines and may thus not be considered proper *qaṣīdas*, but rather *qiṭʿas*. Such monorhymed stanzas go back to the pre-Islamic Arabian verse, which is perhaps best known from the works of Imruʿ al-Qays, the king’s son from the tribe of Kinda.⁶⁵ Presented below is a typical example of this form of poetry found in our material. Here, Sulaymān and his vizier find an inscription at the entrance of the palace of Shaddād ibn ʿĀd. Consider the opening lines of the poem:

סכננא בפנא אקצרי • סנין מא עדדנאהו •
 בדלנא אדור באתברי • פמעדומון וגדנאהו •

 سكننا بفنا القصرى • سنين ما عددناهو •
 بدلنا الدور بالتبرى • فمعدومون وجدناهو •

We dwelt in the palace’s courtyard for countless years.

We turned this era into annihilation. Destructed we found it.

⁶⁵ On Imruʿ al-Qays, see Jacobi 1998:395.

The characteristics typical for these kinds of *qaṣīdas* and *qiṭʿas* go back to ancient times, and their integral themes mirror a time preceding Islam by as much as a millennium. Some of the poetic compositions exhibited in *Qṣ Sulaymān* show striking similarity in subject, treatment and vocabulary to allusions of former encampments known from pre-Islamic Ṣafaitic, Thamūdīc and Liḥyanic inscriptions and graffiti going back to the 1st through the 7th centuries B.C.⁶⁶ In fact, ancient inscriptions have been found in the Yemen area which may be linked to the nation of ʿĀd the Second. Discovered by archaeologists on the coast of Ḥaḍramawt near Aden in 1834,⁶⁷ they display Old South Arabian⁶⁸ script (rendered in Arabic script for the occasion, below) similar in form and thematic content to that of *Qṣ Sulaymān* and the poem presented above. Consider the following lines:

عنيناً زماناً في عراصة ذا القصر
بعيش غير صنك ولا نزر

يفيض علينا البحر بالعمد زائراً
فانهارنا مبرّعة يجر

We dwelt at ease for ages within the courts of this palace,
a life without straits, and above want.

Rolled in upon us the sea with brimming tide;
Our rivers flowed with copious fall.⁶⁹

Parts of *Qṣ Sulaymān* illustrate a very typical feature in the tradition of the Classical Arabic poetry, namely the final sound (*rawīy*) repeated in the rhyme of every line. Interestingly, the most frequent type of *rawīy* is that which is pronounced with pausal forms of final long vowel *-ū*, *-ī* or *-ā*, a kind of rhyme usually referred to as a *qāfiya muṭlaqa* ‘loose rhyme’.⁷⁰ Examine the example below:

⁶⁶ On this kind of written material, see Zwettler 1978:103.

⁶⁷ Forster 1871 ii:90f.

⁶⁸ Also known as Epigraphic South Arabian.

⁶⁹ Source text and translation are adopted from that of Forster 1871 ii:90f.

⁷⁰ Zwettler 1978:103f.

- כם מן מליכון להו גנודן • יתבעהו אֶזֶיל ואמירו •
- חדאה חאדי אמנאיה • פארתחל עסכרון כתירו •
- ופארקו מא בנוה רוגמן • ואקפרת מנהם אקצורו •
- کم من ملیکون لهو جنودن • یتبعهو الخیل والامیرو •
- חדاه حادی المنایه • فارتحل عسکرون کتیرو •
- وفارقو ما بنوه روغمن • واقفرت منهم القصورو •

O how many kings there were to whom warriors, horses and emirs belonged!

The fate of death came to him, so many warriors departed.

They reluctantly left behind what they had built, and so the palaces became deserted.

MS 23/12a:9–11

Harris Birkeland suggests that the *qāfiya muṭlaqa*, when used in poetry, is evidence of a chronological stage of the development of Arabic in which final short vowels had not yet fallen out of use,⁷¹ or in which there was little or no distinction made between final vowels in context and in pause.⁷² It should be stressed, however, that by the end of the 7th century, in actual recitation the final vowel was mostly left unpronounced. By then the process of *īrāb* disappearing in speech had likely been completed already in most spoken dialects.⁷³ These stages are discussed further in the linguistic analysis of chapter 4.

3.3 ‘The Binding of Yiṣḥāq’ (*Qṣ Yiṣḥāq*)

MS 45 contains the narrative commonly known as ‘The Binding of Yiṣḥāq’⁷⁴ (otherwise shortened to *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq*).⁷⁵ It is designated with the hybrid Hebrew-Arabic title *‘aqīdat al-sayyid Yiṣḥāq abinu* ‘The Binding of our Master Yiṣḥāq our Father’, but the mixed appearance of this title does not reflect the rest of the manuscript, the content of which is mostly separated into distinctive Arabic and Hebrew portions. This 18/19th-century manuscript is a Judaeo-Arabic *tafsīr*, a Biblical commentary revolving around the patriarch

⁷¹ Birkeland 1940:14.

⁷² Birkeland 1940:104.

⁷³ Zwettler 1978:105.

⁷⁴ Whereas the word translates ‘binding’ in Hebrew, the Arabic cognate *‘aqīda* can also mean ‘faith’ or ‘creed’.

⁷⁵ MS 45 is listed in the databases of IHMH under the call number F 38845.

See http://aleph.nli.org.il:80/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000189309&local_base=NNLMSS or http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS000189309 (accessed December 2017).

Abraham's (occasionally rendered *Abrahām*) near sacrifice of his son Isaac (*Yiṣḥāq*). The content is reminiscent of the type of texts known as *sharḥ* (pl. *shurūḥ*), in which Hebrew and Aramaic sacred material have been translated into Judaeo-Arabic. Whereas these texts are often perceived as reflecting word-by-word translations of the source texts, it has been demonstrated that the *sharḥ* composers also strived to maintain a language in the target text which closely adhered to the local spoken variety of the readership.⁷⁶

The narrative includes verbatim references to more than a dozen other canonical books such as Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Samuel, Isaiah, Hosea, Psalms and Job. In addition to the traditional Biblical narrative, *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq* includes a number of well-known additional aspects treated in Jewish and Islamic exegetic literature, such as the struggle between Ishmael (*Yishma'el*) and Eliezer (*Eli'ezer*), Satan's (*Shayṭān*'s) encounter with Abraham and Yiṣḥāq, and the precursor to the passing away of Abraham's wife Sarah. This way, we may say that it takes the form of a midrashic legend and is supplemented with citations from the Hebrew Bible and commentary literature. The commentaries are connected to the chain of events presented in the Genesis 22, and expand on this chapter with a selection of anecdotes and translations from the Talmud and other passages from rabbinic literature in Hebrew and Arabic.

The narrative is comparable in substance to a number of *midrashim* and other works of rabbinic literature, including some material on mysticism. This material seems to have originated — or acquired their present shape — in Muslim Spain, later to have figured in the literary heritage of the Maimonidean dynasty of Egypt. As will be discussed below, this manuscript was most probably transmitted from a larger collection of homilies and commentaries composed by David II ben Joshua Maimonides in Cairo during the 14th century.

3.3.1 On David II Maimonides and the Andalusian Tradition in Egypt

Qṣ Yiṣḥāq is unquestionably aimed at an Arabic-speaking Jewish readership, as is evident from its vast amount of Arabic commentary and sometimes lengthy explanations introducing the Hebrew Biblical verses. The introductory formula offers little information on the author or background of the manuscript, except that it has been transmitted or translated from the work of a 'distinguished' or 'renowned' individual by the name of David. It reads:

⁷⁶ Hary 2009: xxiii f. See also Bar-Asher 1998:3ff., Khan 2011 online; Tirosh-Becker 2012.

נבתי בכתאבת עקידת א סייד יצחק אבינו עיה' בא ערבי ויהי מנקולה מן כתאב הרב
המובהק רבינו דוד עיה'

نبتدی بکتابت عکیدت ال سیید یصحق اבינו عیه' بال عربی وهی منقوله من کتاب הרב
המובהק רבינו דוד עיה'

We hereby start the writing of 'The Binding of Sayyid Yiṣḥāq, our Father' PBUH in Arabic, which is transmitted⁷⁷ from the book of 'the Distinguished Rabbi, *rabbenu David*', PBUH.

MS 45/1a:1–8

Notwithstanding, the narrative's literary style, including a number of discernible elements such as word choice and paraphrases, suggest a particular tradition and reveal several authorities and literary works upon which the material of *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq* may have been based. In part, it resembles the writings of some Jewish Sephardi authorities of medieval Muslim Spain, namely Abraham ibn Ezra (1089–1167), Moses ben Naḥman, also known as Naḥmanides (1194–1270), and Rabbi Moses ben Maimon, also known as Maimonides (ca. 1135–1204). Other parts are borrowed from Jewish sources such as the Talmud (3rd–5th centuries), *Genesis Rabbah* (4th–6th centuries), and most notably the later medieval works of *Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer* (most likely composed in the 8th century) and *Sefer ha-Yashar* (date unknown; printed in Venice in 1625).

Our discussion below will look into a number of historical, geographical and cultural aspects concerning the content of *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq*, and suggests that the original author of the text, referred to as 'the Distinguished Rabbi, *rabbenu David*,' was none other than David II ben Joshua Maimonides (14th/15th century) — fifth-generation descendant of the celebrated Moses Maimonides and the last member of the Maimonidean dynasty in Egypt who held the position of *nagid* in the Jewish community. There are many indicators of Medieval Spanish and a particular Maimonidean influence in *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq*. For example, the attribute describing Abraham, namely 'the pillar of the world' (*‘amudo šel ‘olam*), parallels Maimonides' code of religious law, *Mishne Torah*.⁷⁸ Moreover, the text displays at least one verbatim paraphrasing

⁷⁷ Note that the word *manqūl* may also mean 'translated'.

⁷⁸ *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq* reads מנהו אברהם אבינו עיס' עמדו של עולם 45/2b:5 'from him comes Abraham our Father PBUH, the pillar of the world'. Maimonides' passage, which is taken from *Sefer ha-Madda* under the chapter *Avodah Zarah* 1:8 reads עמדו של עולם, שהוא אברהם אבינו עליו השלום 'the pillar of the world, who is Abraham our Father, peace be upon him'. See <http://www.mechon-mamre.org/i/14.htm> (accessed 25 December 2015).

of Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary on Genesis 22.2,⁷⁹ and one of Naḥmanides on the same verse, in which he quotes the work of *Pirque de-Rabbi Eliezer* (henceforth *P.R.E.*).⁸⁰ In fact, the version attested in *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq* exhibits many passages which appear to be Arabic translations of the Hebrew text in *P.R.E.*, or perhaps of the material on which *P.R.E.* was based; our text is unquestionably influenced by *P.R.E.*, or at least by the main themes and the chain of events upon which the narrative is drawn. The two texts are very much alike in their various expansions on the 'Binding of Isaac' narrative. The following example is one of many that illustrate the extent to which the two texts correspond, here rendered in their respective English translations:

Qṣ Yiṣḥāq

P.R.E.

And the ministering angels cried aloud and wept, and said before Him PBUH, "O Sovereign of the Universe! Your name is gracious, and full of compassion, and Your tender mercies are over all Your works. Your great alms are like a high mountain as it is said, "*Thy righteousness is like the mighty mountains*" (Ps. 36.7). Have mercy upon Yiṣḥāq, O Sovereign of the Universe! For he is a human being, and is bound before Thee like an animal," as it is said, "*Man and beast Thou preservest, O LORD*" (Ps. 36.7).

The ministering angels said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all worlds! Thou art called merciful and compassionate, whose mercy is upon all His works; have mercy upon Isaac, for he is a human being, and the son of a human being, and is bound before Thee like an animal. "O Lord, Thou preservest man and beast"; as it is said, "*Thy righteous is like the mighty mountains; thy judgments are like a great deep: O Lord thou preservest man and beast*" (Ps. 36.7).

P.R.E. 31:58⁸¹

MS 45/9b:7–13

In his introduction to the English translation of the work, Gerald Friedlander notes that "the text adopted for translation is a valuable unedited MS. belonging to Abraham Epstein of

⁷⁹ The passage in *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq* (45/8b:13) parallels Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary on Gen. 22.2, on the use of אחד ההרים 'one of the mountains'. It reads, "בהר המוריה" 'and Shlomo built the Temple on Mount Moriah'.

⁸⁰ *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq* (45/8b:7–8) here corresponds to Naḥmanides' commentary on Gen. 22.2, on the use of המזבח 'the altar'. It reads הוא המזבח שהקריבו בו הראשונים 'the altar whereon the first ones [of old] had sacrificed'.

⁸¹ Translation adopted from that of Friedlander, *P.R.E.*:228.

Vienna [... It] is probably the work of a Spanish scribe of the twelfth or thirteenth century” (Friedlander, *P.R.E.*: xiv), and adds that he has also studied several Cairo Genizah manuscripts for his translation. Even though *P.R.E.* enjoyed considerable popularity in Jewish circles, the only complete manuscripts apparently extant have been found either in Spain or in Fustāt.⁸² It is not known exactly when or by whom the work was composed, but according to Friedlander there is reason to believe that it happened during the first half of the 9th century.⁸³ More recent sources, such as the Ma’agarim database of Academy of Hebrew Language, date *P.R.E.* to before the 9th century.⁸⁴ From a strictly hypothetical point of view, we can assume that parallel Arabic versions spread in the very same Jewish circles, as many Jews living under Muslim rule did not necessarily speak or understand Hebrew properly. Scholars differ on the question of whether the text of *P.R.E.* originated in Palestine or in Babylon, but seem nonetheless to agree that it was originally written in an “Arabian atmosphere” and with “clear indications of contact with Mohammedan material” (Friedlander *P.R.E.*: liv). The large amount of Hebrew content in the text fits well with the historical and geographical setting in which it by all accounts was written, as Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic texts are believed to have become gradually more influenced by the Hebrew language by the 15th century.⁸⁵

Another influential work which corresponds to the narrative of *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq* is the Hebrew midrashic collection *Sefer ha-Yashar*. According to Mordecai Manuel Noah, who was the custodian, editor and translator of its manuscript, *Sefer ha-Yashar* allegedly found its way to Córdoba around the 11th century.⁸⁶ According to an epistle in the Berliner Nachrichten, Leopold Zunz argued that *Sefer ha-Yashar* could be traced to 11th- and 12th-century Spain, and that it had been written by a ‘talented Hebrew’.⁸⁷ It is also believed that in 1625 it was transferred to Venice in order to be printed.⁸⁸ Similar to *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq*, *Sefer ha-Yashar* offers a number of passages about the role of Satan — for example, when trying to

⁸² Friedlander, *P.R.E.*: xiv ff. Unfortunately, Friedlander fails to provide a detailed description of all the *P.R.E.*-manuscripts that he came across.

⁸³ Friedlander, *P.R.E.*: liv.

⁸⁴ See <http://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il> (accessed February 2018). I am grateful to Prof. Ofra Tirosh-Becker for pointing this out to me.

⁸⁵ See e.g. Hary 2009:33.

⁸⁶ Noah, *Sefer ha-Yashar*: iii ff.

⁸⁷ See <http://nazarenespace.com/group/bookofjasher/forum/topics/the-book-of-jasher-the> (accessed July 2017).

⁸⁸ See Noah, *Sefer ha-Yashar*: v. The preface of the book states that it was found by an officer of Titus in the ruins of an old house in Jerusalem during the Roman siege in the year 70 (see Noah, *Sefer ha-Yashar*: xv.). This claim, however, does not concern the scope of this thesis, and is therefore left undiscussed. For the same reason, the various views surrounding its non-canonical status are not discussed here.

prevent Abraham from offering Yiṣḥāq,⁸⁹ when attempting to make Yiṣḥāq revolt against his father⁹⁰ or when lying to Sarah about the death of her son.⁹¹ Another parallel can be seen in the part where Yiṣḥāq insists that his father bind him firmly in order not to profane the sacrifice. The parallel passages below illustrate the degree of similarity in the depiction of the latter event, here rendered in their respective English translations:

Qṣ Yiṣḥāq

Yiṣḥāq said to his father, “Tie me well and bind me firmly, lest the dread of the knife and of death, and the intense fear of death, as your hand strikes, and [thereby] I start trembling. By the divinity of my father, verily, lest the strength and heat of the knife, as you perform and execute the yet unresolved sacrifice [lead me to] forsake the sacrifice”.

MS 45/8b:15–9a:3

Sefer ha-Yashar

And Isaac said to his father, bind me securely and then place me upon the altar lest I should turn and move, and break loose from the force of the knife upon my flesh and thereby profane the burnt offering.

Sefer ha-Yashar:45b⁹²

Based on the arguments provided above, it is evident that our anonymous author employs much of the same discourse and many of the plots and exegetic interpretations which correspond to those of *P.R.E.* and *Sefer ha-Yashar*, and also shows some influence from the writings of Abraham ibn Ezra, Maimonides and Naḥmanides — all of whom are rooted in Muslim Spain in the period between the 11th and the 13th century. Thus, there seem to be reasonable grounds for assuming that the original author of *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq* was acquainted not only with the Aramaic and Hebrew scriptures of the so-called Amoraim (3rd–6th centuries), most notably the Talmud and *Genesis Rabbah*, but also with the Arabic and Hebrew commentaries of the Jewish Sephardi authorities of Andalusia and other influential works from that area. As we shall see in the linguistic analysis of chapter 4, observations on the linguistic nature of the manuscript largely confirm this view. Our findings offer significant subsidiary points to support the view that *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq* and the hitherto anonymous book of ‘the

⁸⁹ See 45/6b:14–7a:10; *Sefer ha-Yashar*:44b–45a.

⁹⁰ See 45/6b:14–7a:10; *Sefer ha-Yashar*:45a.

⁹¹ See 45/7b:9–8a:3; *Sefer ha-Yashar*:46b.

⁹² Translation adopted from that of Friedlander, *P.R.E.*:227.

Distinguished Rabbi David' stem from 14th/15th-century Egypt and that the author is the last representative of the Maimonidean *negidim* in Egypt,⁹³ David II ben Joshua Maimonides, who was active circa 1335–1415.

David II Maimonides was the head of the Egyptian Jewry, and renowned for his vast knowledge on the issues of ethics, exegesis and popular homily.⁹⁴ It is possible that the text of *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq* constitutes a version of a part in the larger work known as *Midrash Rabbi David*, which was a collection of Judaeo-Arabic sermons on the weekly portions of the Torah.⁹⁵ In tribute to his Sephardi Maimonidean heritage, he was influenced by the works of Ibn Sīna, Abraham ibn Ezra, and his forebears Moses and Abraham Maimonides. He was also influenced by the Jewish Sūfī movement that had arisen in 13th-century Egypt.⁹⁶ In fact, both our anonymous author and David II Maimonides quote the mystical work of *Sefer ha-Zohar*.⁹⁷ Much of his literary heritage suggests that he enjoyed close contacts with the Sūfīs of Cairo, and that he continued to maintain an interest in Islamic doctrine.⁹⁸ For unknown reasons, David was exiled from Egypt and took up residence in Aleppo and Damascus for some years. According to Paul Fenton, the large amount of preserved manuscripts attributed to him indicates that the work of David II Maimonides was still highly popular in the 15th–16th centuries.⁹⁹

3.4 'The Poem of Zakariyah's Murder' (*Qṣ Zakariyah*)

In MS 8, the Biblical figure known as Zechariah ben Jehoiada (*Zakariyah* or *Zechariah*) recalls the story of his own martyrdom and the destruction of the Temple in a poem entitled *قصت ال سييد زكريه كقضت ا سييد زكريه* 'The Story of Sayyid Zakariyah' (otherwise shortened to

⁹³ The period of successive Maimonidean *negidim* (heads) of the Jewish community in Egypt was maintained for nearly three centuries, from 1138 to 1375 (see Fenton 1984:40).

⁹⁴ Fenton 2013b:275.

⁹⁵ Another 'David Maimonides', namely David I ben Abraham Maimonides (1222–1300), the grandson of Moses Maimonides, is reputedly the author of these works. See Fenton 2013a:273.

⁹⁶ See Fenton 1984:2.

⁹⁷ For example, *עולה תמימה* 'a perfect burnt-offering' (45/5b:15) appears in an Aramaic passage found *Sefer ha-Zohar*, namely *מאי טעמא איל, בגין איל דיצחק דהוא עולה תמימה, והאי אתחזי לקרבא לאשלמא כלא* 'why a ram? Because of the ram of Isaac, who was a perfect burnt-offering, and this also was brought to make the sacrifice complete' (*Sefer ha-Zohar: Shemini* 37a; translation adapted from Sperling, *Sefer ha-Zohar* iv:399). *Sefer ha-Zohar* is believed to have been edited and published by the Spanish rabbi and kabbalist Moses ben Shem Tob de Leon (d. 1305). Similar to the case of *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq*, it is natural to assume that *Sefer ha-Zohar* have adopted much of the content which are to be found in both *P.R.E.* and *Sefer ha-Yashar*.

⁹⁸ Fenton 1984:45.

⁹⁹ Fenton 1984:2. We note here again that the National Library of Israel dates our particular manuscript to the 18th/19th century.

Qṣ Zakariyah).¹⁰⁰ This 17th/18th-century manuscript holds an elegy composed in 13 verses of strophic rhyme which tell of the coming of a saviour and the final days in which the Temple will be rebuilt. Zakariyah declares that he has been sent from the Lord to tell prophecies, but his people turn against him and murder him in the Temple Courts. The name ‘ben Jehoiada’ never occurs in the poem, but according to the Biblical account on Zakariyah which appears in the Books of Chronicles (2 Chron. 24.20), he was the son of Jehoiada the High Priest. Zakariyah accused his king, Jehoash of Judah, and his people of having forsaken God. Following these accusations, Zakariyah was stoned to death at the command of the king in the court of the Temple (2 Chron. 24.21). The poem of *Qṣ Zakariyah* also alludes to the Talmud (Sanhedrin 96b), which tells of a captain under the command of Nebuchadnezzar who, during the siege of Jerusalem, found the ‘boiling’ bloodstains of Zakariyah. After having tried to wash these away with the blood of women and children, he was informed that the blood had belonged to someone who had once prophesied the destruction of the Temple and had therefore been slain.

Most likely, this story features the same figure as that of the Gospel of Matthew and that of the historical accounts of al-Ṭabarī (as recorded by Ibn Ishāq). In these two narratives, however, the protagonist is identified with Zechariah son of Berechiah,¹⁰¹ and Yaḥyā, the son of Zakariyā,¹⁰² respectively. The poem reaches its finale by foretelling that the people should obey once more the *Word of Allāh*, so that the Temple can be rebuilt and so that ‘*he who walks with the dead*’ will be revived.

3.4.1 The Genre of the *Musammaṭ*

Somewhat related to the pre-Islamic genres of the *qaṣīdas* and *qitʿas* (found in *Qṣ Sulaymān*), another Arabic genre of strophic poetry is attested in *Qṣ Zakariyah*, namely the *musammaṭ*. This poetic form dates from the end of the 8th century and is characterized by an initial string of lines that rhyme with each other followed by a final line that rhymes with the final line of every verse (e.g. *aaaaab*, *cccccb*, *dddddb* etc.).¹⁰³ In his work on Spanish Hebrew poetry and its Arabic literary tradition, Otto Zwartjes finds the *musammaṭ* to be either an original Arabic

¹⁰⁰ MS 8 is listed in the databases of IHMH under the call number F 38922. See http://aleph.nli.org.il:80/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000189272&local_base=NNLMSS or http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS000189272 (accessed December 2017).

¹⁰¹ Matt. 23.35.

¹⁰² al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* i:590ff.

¹⁰³ Stoetzer 1998:737.

form of poetry or a Persian genre adopted by Arabs sometime in the 9th century. The origin of the *musammaʿ* has been intensely studied by both Muslim and Western scholars, and the question of whether it emerged in Andalusia or was borrowed from the works of Persian poets has become a matter of debate.¹⁰⁴ Ibn Khaldūn considered this type of poetry to be non-classical and argued that the genre was adopted by Arab poets of mixed Arab and non-Arab parentage — the so-called *muwalladūn* — denoting Muslims of mixed Berber, Arab and Iberian origin living in Andalusia.¹⁰⁵ In 11th-century Spain, Jews belonged to the oldest indigenous group among the population, although they were not always considered ‘Andalusians’ by the other groups. As Schippers notes, “some of them had in fact migrated in more recent times from Northern Africa and the Orient” (Schippers 1994:45).

In particular, *Qṣ Zakariyah* includes a poem structured according to the strophic type *musammaʿ murabbaʿ* (‘a four-fold *musammaʿ*’), following the structure *aaab, cccb, dddb* etc., as illustrated in the two stanzas below:

• אתנבית בכראב א בית • וא מקדש אי חבית • וקולת להום באדי רית •
 • ולם עאדו יצדקוני •
 • הום כֵּאֲפו מולאהום • רוסאהום ואגלאהום • ומוסה קא חין ראהום •
 • קליל כמאן ירגמוני •
 • اتنبیت بخراب ال بیت • وال مقدش الی حبیت • وقولت لهوم بالدی ریت •
 • ولم عادو یصدقونی •
 • هوم خالفو مولاھوم • روساهوم واجلاھوم • وموسه قال حین راهوم •
 • قلیل کمان یرجمونی •

I told prophecies about the destruction of the Temple and the Holiness that I held so dear.

I told them what I had seen, // and still they would not believe me.

They disobeyed their master, their leaders, their distinguished ones. And Mūsā said, when he saw them, // “They are almost ready to stone me.”¹⁰⁶

MS 8/3b:1–6

¹⁰⁴ Zwartjes 1997:24ff.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Khaldūn 1958 iii:414 *apud* Zwartjes 1997:24f.

¹⁰⁶ The wording here, ‘They are almost ready to stone me,’ is adopted from the English translation of Exod. 17.4.

As the poem seems to reflect both Eastern and Western traditions, it is challenging to trace the structure attested in *Qṣ Zakariyah* back to the practice of one particular geographical area. Moreover, the subject matter is not unique to a particular tradition; its panegyric theme represents the rather widespread genre of expressing lament and admiration for a beloved figure. On the one hand, it may reflect the theme of the Persian *Marsiya* (Arabic *marthiya* or *rithā*, which translates as ‘praise’ or ‘elegy’), which has its roots in pre-Islamic Arabia and Iran, and was composed primarily to commemorate a deceased person, first and foremost Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, panegyric poetry and praise of rulers, priests and other heroes occupied a special place among Arabs in pre-Islamic times. Poets who frequented Lakhmid and Ghassānid courts embraced the *rithā*, one of many themes which were later transferred to the Islamic panegyric.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, the Hebrew *piyyuṭ*, which originated in Palestine during the 4th through 6th centuries, has since its emergence been linked to midrashic literature,¹⁰⁹ encompassing narratives such as the one found in *Qṣ Zakariyah*. These *piyyuṭim* were in turn adopted and developed by the Jewish ‘major poets’ of Muslim Spain¹¹⁰ — and, in the case of poetic lamentation and mourning, particularly by the work of Yehuda Halevi. That said, there are few conclusions to be drawn on the historical and geographical origin of this genre, notwithstanding this particular poem.

Qṣ Zakariyah is accompanied by two parallel poems in our Cairo-Ramla manuscripts, one of which is written in Hebrew and Arabic (MS 61) and the other almost exclusively in Arabic (MS 57).¹¹¹ When taking the isolated case of our manuscripts into consideration, my general impression is that Arabic is used significantly more than Hebrew for poetic writing. It may be a coincidence, but it should nonetheless be mentioned because — regarding the general notion that Arabic-speaking Jews almost exclusively wrote their poetry in Hebrew¹¹² — the strong presence of Arabic poetry in our material seems to challenge this. In fact, Blau modified this point in his revised edition of *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*, and noted that there was indeed an upper class of Jews who were more assimilated to Arabic and who wrote poetry in Arabic. He writes that, “to this class belonged those Karaites [...] as well as people who enjoyed and, if gifted enough, even wrote Arabic poetry” (Blau 1999a:231). Our last manuscript (discussed below) also comes in the shape of

¹⁰⁷ On the notion of Arabian women’s poetry and the origin of the *marthiya*, see Nicholson 1907:126f.

¹⁰⁸ Meisami 1998:482.

¹⁰⁹ Tannebaum 1993:12 *apud* Levitt 2001:47.

¹¹⁰ See Levitt 2001:47ff.

¹¹¹ Note that these are, however, not included in the annotated and translated edition of chapter 5.

¹¹² See e.g. Blau 1999a:22ff.

Arabic poetry written by such ‘gifted’ people, of an even more advanced kind than the *musammaʿ*.

3.5 ‘The Song of Yūsuf’ (*Qṣ Yūsuf*)

MS 59 exhibits a poetic literary piece about Joseph (*Yūsuf*) son of Jacob (*Yaʿqūb*) and is titled قول قصة يوسف كولد קצצה יוסף ‘The Saying of Yūsuf’s Story’ (otherwise shortened to *Qṣ Yūsuf*).¹¹³ This 18/19-century manuscript exhibits a poem consisting of 24 strophic verses and was most likely performed as a song or hymn. We shall see below that it is composed in a style typical of 9th-century Andalusian and/or 13th-century Yemenite poetry. *Qṣ Yūsuf* recalls the story of Yūsuf, who was sold as a slave to a caravan of Arab nomads (*aʿrāb*) by his jealous brothers, and who became a vizier in the province of Egypt (*iqlīm miṣr*). In general, it conforms to the storyline presented in the Book of Genesis 37 through 42 and the Qurʾānic *sūra* of Yūsuf (Q 12); in particular, it parallels parts of a Yūsuf narrative appearing, *inter alia*, in Judaeo-Arabic and Arabic literature, as well as in a 16th-century copy written in Spanish Aljamiado attributed to Wahb ibn Munabbih (briefly introduced above).¹¹⁴ In fact, according to Marc S. Bernstein’s in-depth study of a number of Judaeo-Arabic legends about Yūsuf, the overwhelming majority of the traditions cited in the many extant versions are attributed to the traditions of Wahb.¹¹⁵ In the same study Bernstein presents a version of a Karaite manuscript copied in Cairo in 1836 containing a narrative about Yūsuf, which is now in the custody of the Judah L. Magnes Museum in Berkeley, California. It includes a short passage which resembles the first verses of *Qṣ Yūsuf* almost down to the last detail; in this Magnes text, Serah, the niece of Yūsuf, is depicted as reciting a short song in praise of what happened to Yūsuf up to the point where he is sold by his brothers.¹¹⁶ Whereas this text stretches over some five verses, our version of twenty-four seems to be an extended version of the very same song.

¹¹³ MS 59 is listed in the databases of IHMH under the call number F 38929.

See http://aleph.nli.org.il:80/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000189325&local_base=NNLMSS or http://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS000189325 (accessed December 2017).

¹¹⁴ For a survey of some extant versions of the Yūsuf legend (however, not presented as a song), see e.g. Bernstein 2006:24f.; Edzard 2012. The term ‘Aljamiado’ denotes the use of Arabic script to transcribe Romance languages.

¹¹⁵ Bernstein 2006:25.

¹¹⁶ Bernstein 2006:131f.

3.5.1 The Andalusian *Muwaššah* and *Zajal* Genres, and the Yemenite *Ḥumaynī*

Even though the author or source of the poetry found in *Qṣ Yūsuf* remains unknown, not to mention that the text lacks information on its whereabouts, the apparent structures of stanzas and rhyme nevertheless provide some clues about its past. These clues predominantly indicate the geographical area, historical period from which its poetic tradition may have originated.

First, the structural composition of *Qṣ Yūsuf* is characterized by segments typical of the Andalusian genre of the *muwaššah*. Compared with the genres of the *qiṭʿa* and the *qaṣīda* (found in *Qṣ Sulaymān*, above), the *muwaššah* appears rather intricate in its structural composition. Various forms of it are believed to have sprung from genres of Arabic poetry, notably the *musammaʿ* (found in *Qṣ Zakariyah*, above) in Andalusia during the 9th century.¹¹⁷ Recent discoveries of a corpus containing numerous bilingual poems — mainly Arabic-Romance, Hebrew-Arabic and Hebrew-Romance — have nonetheless sparked the debate on whether it instead developed as a result of contact with European poetry.¹¹⁸ Lourdes L. Alvarez argues that the *muwaššahāt*, which are generally composed as songs in a non-classical form rather than as poems, were generally not included in the *diwāns* of the most celebrated Andalusian poets because they were too often “deemed unworthy of inclusion in tomes of lofty verse” (Alvarez 1998:563).

The *muwaššah* is composed of an initial prelude (the *maṭlaʿ*) of varying structure and rhyme, followed by three rapid strings of internal rhyme (the *ḡuṣn*), and the final closing rhymes (the *qufl*).¹¹⁹ Its structure is illustrated by the following sample rhyme scheme:

¹¹⁷ Stoetzer 1998:737.

¹¹⁸ Alvarez 1998:563.

¹¹⁹ The structure of the verses in *Qṣ Yūsuf* varies only in the *maṭlaʿ*, in which it alternates between *ababab*; *ababa*; *abab*; *aaa*; and even *a*.

..... a b a b a b] <i>maṭla^c</i>
..... c c c] <i>ḡuṣn</i>
..... d d] <i>qufl</i>

At first glance, and according to the combination of familiar segments (*maṭla^c / ḡuṣn / qufl*),¹²⁰ the poem — or song — in *Qṣ Yūsuf* appears to be a variant of the Andalusian *muwaššah*. Due to its occasional popular form and vernacular content, it could also be argued that it is a *zajal* rather than a *muwaššah*. On the relationship between the two genres, Ibn Khaldūn wrote that “*muwaššah* poetry spread among the Spaniards. The great mass took to it [and] the common people in the cities imitated them. They made poems of the [*muwaššah*] type in their sedentary dialect without employing vowel endings. They thus invented this new form which they called *zajal*.”¹²¹

Second, there is another variant of the *muwaššah* which may also be identified in the structure of *Qṣ Yūsuf*, namely that of the Yemenite *ḥumaynī*. This branch of poetry is characterized, more or less, by the same three sections identified above, but it also possesses its own regional flavour. The Syrian scholar Majd al-Afandī argues that whereas Levant and North African poetry is mainly composed in Classical Arabic, Yemenite poetry retains its vernacular language to a much greater degree. As al-Afandī draws attention to the total lack of inflections (*iʿrāb*) and to the use of incorrect, ungrammatical language (*lahn*),¹²² his argument must have implied that Andalusian poetry employs vernacular language only in a single, limited passage known as the *kharja* (which is the final refrain of a *muwaššah*), whereas *ḥumaynī* poetry employs vernacular features all through the composition. According to Mark Wagner, who has studied the work of the early-modern Yemenite scholar ʿAbdallah al-Ḥibshī, the *ḥumaynī* genre emerged as a result of the cultural continuity between the Egyptian Ayyūbid and Yemenite Rasūlid courts during the 13th century.¹²³ A somewhat controversial hypothesis put forward by the contemporary Yemenite writer Aḥmad al-Shāmī — yet supporting our general notion of a strong Yemenite cultural influence throughout the early Islamic rule in Egypt, North Africa and Spain — suggests that the southern Arab tribes

¹²⁰ The scope of this study limits the possibility for elaborating any further on the structure, history, dissemination and various debates concerning the Andalusian *muwaššah*, not to mention the issue of the *kharja*. For more on this topic, see e.g. Corriente & Sáenz-Badillos 1991.

¹²¹ *Apud* Chejne 1974:234.

¹²² These points are listed in M. Wagner 2009:14, in which David Semah’s (1988) translation of terms has been adopted.

¹²³ M. Wagner 2009:13.

of Qaḥṭān had already preserved Yemenite *ḥumaynī* poetry when they and the Umayyad forces conquered the Iberian Peninsula in the 8th century.¹²⁴ M. Wagner points out that this type of poetry may have been composed for the musical rituals of Yemenite Sūfīs long before Ibn Falīṭah (d. 1332/1333) — who is identified as the first practitioner of this genre, and who is said to have collected them and named them by the term *ḥumaynī*. According to al-Shāmī, it was the rejection of Sūfīs as heretics, largely enforced by denouncing their practice of dancing and singing in performing love poetry, that contributed to the deliberate neglect of *ḥumaynī* history beyond the *dīwān* of Ibn Falīṭah.¹²⁵

In the sample below, *Qṣ Yūsuf* displays an apparent influence from *ḥumaynī* poetry, not only in terms of its structural composition (*ababab, ccc, dd*), which it shares with the *muwašṣaḥ* and *zajal* genres, but also by means of its deliberate use of ‘incorrect’, ‘ungrammatical’ and ‘uninflected’ language althrough the verse:

למא אצבחה מן מנאמו מרגוף • נאדא לגמיע א עאם • קא האתו לי חכים אן מערוף • בשדת
 אַמנאמאת עאם • וקאם סלחדאר פּרעון • קא פי אסגן ראיתו קאעד •
 קדו פציח • ונטקו פציח • וכלאמו צחיה •
 קא רכבו עלי אמסן מרכוב • יפסר מנאם אן מצעוב •
 لما اصبح من منامو مرجوف • نادا لجميع ال عالم • قال هاتو لي حكيم ان معروف • بشدت
 المنامات عالم • وقام سلحدار فرعون • قال في السجن رايتو قاعد •
 قدو فصيح • ونطقو فصيح • وكلامو صحيح •
 قال ركبو على امسن مركوب • يفسر منام ان مصعوب •

When he woke up from his dream he was trembling, and called upon all the people. “Get me a renowned wiseman, one who can interpret nightmares!” The Pharaoh’s *silāḥdār* rose up and said, “In the prison I have seen him atone!
 His stature is flawless, his words are eloquent, and he speaks the truth.”
 He said, “Bring him to me this evening to interpret this difficult dream!”

MS 59/3b:3–9

¹²⁴ The presence and influence of these tribes in the western Islamic empire have been thoroughly discussed in the previous chapter.

¹²⁵ For more on this subject, see M. Wagner 2009:16ff.

CHAPTER 4

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

— Linguistic history is written in small steps, incremented via individual case histories.

*Jonathan Owens*¹

Primarily, this description will serve as a contribution to the compilation of a grammar of Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic. The following chapter builds on Joshua Blau and Simon Hopkins' pioneer work on Judaeo-Arabic (Blau 1980; 1988; 1999a; 2006; Blau and Hopkins 1985; 1987; 2017) and follows in the line of works which touch upon the particular field of Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic, such as that of Khan (1992; 2006; 2007 et. al.), Hary (1992; 2009), Rosenbaum (2002a; 2002b), Palva (2000; 2007; 2008) and E. M. Wagner (2010).

Secondarily, this chapter describes features employed by Jews in medieval and early-modern Cairo relative to Arabic dialects which are in some way relevant to Cairene Arabic. Thus, our material has been compared to many historically and demographically associated varieties, predominantly in the western Mediterranean basin, i.e. the so-called northern, urban Maghribī dialects of North Africa (Marçais 1977), notably those which are or have been practiced by the Jews of Morocco (Heath 2002), Tunisia (D. Cohen 1964-1975; 1978) and Algiers (M. Cohen 1912). Included here are also the dialect bundle employed in Medieval Spain (Corriente 1977) and Sicily (Agius 1996), as well as the modern Semitic- or Arabic-Romance language of Malta (Aquilina 1959). The present material has also been compared to some dialects in Egypt, such as that of Upper Egypt, the Nile Delta and of the oases in the Egyptian Western Desert, as well as in some isolated dialects along the northern coastal line of Kafr el-Sheikh, Daqahliyya and Damietta (Khalafallah 1969; Behnstedt and Woidich 1985; Woidich 1993; Behnstedt 1998; a summary is offered in Wilmsen 2011 online). Of equal importance are studies of earlier stages of Egyptian speech, most notably concerning the 17th through early-20th centuries (Davies 1981; Zack 2009; Blanc 1964; 1973; 1981). Dialects of a

¹ Owens 2006:32.

somewhat more distant vicinity have also been included, some of which are connected with the South-western Arabian Peninsula. Most important are comparisons to the ancient varieties of western Arabia (Rabin 1951), but I have also included some contemporary dialects from that region (Ingham 1994; al-Azraqi 1998; Alqahtani 2015). I have also made comparisons with some dialects located in the periphery of the Arabic speaking world, such as that of Sudan and Afghanistan (Owens 2006; Reichmuth 1983). My findings have been cross-checked with publications on the Modern Cairene variety (Harrell 1957; Hinds and Badawi 1986; Woidich 2006) and a selection of some seminal works such as *Dialektatlas von Ägypten* (Behnstedt and Woidich 1985), *Handbuch der Arabischen Dialekte* (Fischer and Jastrow 1980) and *A linguistic history of Arabic* (Owens 2006).

A large number (if not all) of the features investigated here are features which in some way deviate from Classical Arabic conventions or which are used in free variation with these. It should therefore be stressed again, that the analysis and findings concern mostly non-standard material or that which deviates from Classical Arabic conventions and from the Modern Cairene variety. Throughout the material there is a high degree of heterogeneity, but there is also a striking amount of data which reveals a language which seems to have gone through a process of standardization. This is evident by the frequent appearance of non-standard vocalic patterns (or vocalisms), patterns of stress, pausal and medial forms, mergers of consonants, particles, interrogatives, relatives, demonstratives, verbal paradigms, negations etc.²

4.1 Orthography, Phonology and Morphology: Oral Content in *Plene* Script

The perhaps most conspicuous linguistic feature of Judaeo-Arabic is the orthography with which it renders Arabic content. Similar to much Judaeo-Arabic material written during early modern times,³ the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts quite frequently display a language in which some sounds become visible in the orthography. Therefore, these manuscripts can unveil

² In the occasions where there are spellings which appear unfamiliar to the repertoire of modern-day Cairene, these have sometimes been cross-checked with late 19th and early 20th-century Egyptian Arabic dictionaries and grammars. These are Cameron (1892), Spiro (1895), Vollers and Burkitt (1895), Nallino (1900) and Willmore (1905). The references used for cross-checking Classical Arabic features are the Arabic-English dictionary of Hans Wehr (1979) and the database of al-Bāḥiṭ al-ʿArabī. This incorporates *Lisān al-ʿArab*, *Maqāyis al-Luġa*, *aṣ-Ṣaḥḥāḥ fī l-Luġa*, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥiṭ* and *al-ʿUbāb az-Zāxir*. See <http://www.baheth.info>. Occasionally I have also cross-checked with Blau (2006).

³ Khan 2011 online.

unique Arabic linguistic traits that are usually difficult or impossible to detect in conventional Arabic script. Although the orthographic conventions of our manuscripts cannot be compared to the phonetic spelling typical of the Early Judaeo-Arabic period (before the 10th century),⁴ there are nonetheless many examples of written forms which resemble the manner in which the writers pronounced their Arabic. As has been argued by e.g. Khan, texts written during the Late Judaeo-Arabic period (roughly 15th-19th centuries), the time in which the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts were copied, display occasionally strong local dialectal components compared with earlier periods, and a largely phonetic nature in terms of orthography.⁵

Some of the most interesting findings in the present study revolve around the large share of sounds which appear to have been intentionally or unintentionally marked. In addition to a number of somewhat unambiguous phonological features which are visible in the orthography, for example the presence of final *imāla*, a number of vocalic patterns which have become obsolete in the Modern Cairene variety, a process of despirantization, and the pronunciation of the emphatic consonants, I will argue that there are cases which also display *plene* written stress, accent or prolongation by means of *matres lectionis*. These vowels spelled out in such a consistent manner and exhibit so many similarities with dialects which are historically related to that of Cairo, that it is only natural to look for new and alternative ways of classifying them.

Before analysing the various ways in which Judaeo-Arabic orthography may unveil oral phonological representation in the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts, consider the manuscripts' following distribution of letters and diacritics:⁶

⁴ The issue of phonetic spelling during this period is discussed in e.g. Hopkins 2004:236; Blau 1980:20ff.; 2002:21f.; Bar-Asher 1998:22; Khan 2011 online; Blau and Hopkins 2017. Note, however, that Late Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic orthography is not phonetic to the same degree as the orthography described in the earlier Judaeo-Arabic sources (see Khan 1992:237). For example, in early materials, the definite article is by rule always spelled *al-* even when assimilated with the following letter in pronunciation. Khan also stresses the fact that “vocalization of these texts does not systematically reflect a purely dialectal form of Arabic [...] including those with a high degree of dialectal features” (Khan 2016:37), as these texts may also exhibit pseudo-Classical features.

⁵ Khan 2011 online.

⁶ Latin transcriptions (concerning the purely Arabic content) are according to that of Fischer and Jastrow 1980:11ff.

א	א	ʾ / a	ט	ظ	z
ב	ב	b	ע	ع	ʿ
ת	ת	t	ג	غ	ġ
ת	ת	<u>t</u>	ק	ق	q
ג	ג	j (ǰ / g)	כ	ك	k
ה	ח	ħ	ל	ل	l
ז	خ	x	מ	م	m
ד	ד	d	נ	ن	n
ד	ז	<u>d</u>	ה	ه	h
ר	ר	r	ו	و	w / u
ז	ז	z	י	ی	y / i
ס	ס	s	◌ِ	◌َ	a
ש	ש	š	◌ֿ	◌ֹ	a
צ	ص	s	◌ֿ	◌ֻ	e
צ	ض	<u>d</u>	◌ֿ	◌ֵ	i
ט	ط	ṭ	◌ֿ	◌ُ	oh
ט	ظ	z	◌ֿ	- / ◌ֹ	ə / zero
ע	ع	ʿ	◌ֿ	أ	-an
ג	غ	ġ	◌ֿ	ة / ت	-a(h) / -(a)t
פ	ف	f	◌ֿ		
צ	ض	<u>d</u>	◌ֿ		
ט	ط	ṭ	◌ֿ		

The distribution of Judaeo-Arabic letters and diacritics appearing in the investigated manuscripts and throughout this dissertation, with their respective Arabic and Latin equivalents.

4.1.1 Vowels

4.1.1.1 Vocalization

Our manuscripts are full of cases in which Classical Arabic short vowels are written in *plene* script by means of *matres lectionis*, that is, where vowel *a*, *i* and *u* are represented by *alif*, *yā*?

and *wāw*, respectively. The same texts also exhibit, in varying degree, a system of vocalization which renders not only the latter three short vowels, but also vowel phonemes which are not part of the orthographical inventory of phonemes in Classical Arabic, such as *e*, *o* and *a*. Of special interest is the vocalization system attested in one of the manuscripts containing *Qṣ Ibrāhīm*, MS 52, because it displays so many of these alternative, ‘non-Classical’ vowels in its vocalization system. Because the system of vocalization in this manuscript reflects Arabic phonemes with Hebrew orthography, it is however necessary to identify which particular reading tradition that has been employed. It is equally necessary to find out whether or to what degree this particular tradition reflects Arabic quality and quantity of vowels, syllable structures and stress.

MS 52 displays a set of vocalization signs which seems to convey the five vowel phonemes *a*, *ā*, *e*, *i*, and *o*. Moreover, these vowel phonemes may be lengthened if followed by *alif*, *yāʾ* or *wāw*. The system does not make use of any ultrashort vowels except perhaps for the ‘mobile’ realisation of *shewa* (◌◌◌). As will be discussed below, it seems to be the case here that the graphemes are representative of one reading tradition whereas the pronunciation is representative of another. Consider the distribution of vowel phonemes and the supposed realization of these below:⁷

<i>pataḥ</i>	◌◌◌ = <i>a</i> (◌◌◌◌ = <i>ā</i>)
<i>qameṣ</i>	◌◌◌◌ = <i>a</i> (◌◌◌◌◌ = <i>ā</i>)
<i>šere</i>	◌◌◌ = <i>e</i> (◌◌◌◌; ◌◌◌◌◌ = <i>ē</i> ; ◌◌◌◌◌ = <i>ie</i>) ⁸
<i>hireq</i>	◌◌◌ = <i>i</i> (◌◌◌◌ = <i>ī</i>)
<i>ḥolam</i>	◌◌◌◌◌ = <i>-oh</i>
<i>shewa</i>	◌◌◌ = bivalent <i>ə</i> / <i>zero</i> or univalent <i>zero</i>

The distribution of vowel phonemes in the vocalization of Qṣ Ibrāhīm contained in MS 52.

4.1.1.1.1 ‘Simple Tiberianized Babylonian’ Reflecting a Sephardi Reading Tradition

Firstly, based on their graphic appearance, the signs here are unquestionably of the Tiberian type. They represent a limited set of six signs, that is, they comprise only a few signs out of an

⁷ In the following discussion, which deals with the orthographic system and representation of Hebrew diacritics, the ‘Arabist’ readership who are not acquainted with the Hebrew alphabet are referred to the distribution of Judaeo-Arabic letters and diacritics (above).

⁸ The combination *šere* + *alif* reflecting *imāla* is treated in Lebedev 1965 *apud* Blanc 1981:185.

otherwise complicated vocalization system. For this reason, the system of ours could be termed ‘Simple Tiberian’. But with the exception of a sign denoting vowel *u* (which is anyhow quite often represented by *mater lectionis wāw*), the system seems nevertheless to imitate some kind of Arabic vowel inventory rather than a typical Hebrew or Aramaic system. This inventory seems to align better with the phonemes of the Babylonian tradition than with those of the Tiberian, for the most part the phonemes identified with ‘Simple Babylonian’.⁹ The most important reason for this assumption is that the manuscript displays a limited set of vowel phonemes (*a, ʔ, e, i* and *o*) without shortened or lengthened allophones.

Shelomo Morag, on the account of Paul E. Kahle’s *Masoreten des Ostens*, offers a concise description of the Babylonian vocalization system — divided into one ‘complicated’ and one ‘simple’ — both of which evolved in the Babylonian academies of Šūra and Pumbedita. When comparing this simple system with the one employed in MS 52, it can be argued that *pataḥ* (◌ַ *a*) replaces the Tiberian *segol* (◌ֿ *e, ei*), *qameṣ* (◌ֻ *a*) represents either a local variety in the Babylonian tradition or has been influenced by Aramaic, and the *shewa* sign (◌ְ) represents a bivalent *ə / zero*.¹⁰ Even though this bivalent use of *shewa* is mostly characteristic of the Tiberian and Complicated Babylonian systems,¹¹ it occurs in a few texts vocalized in Simple Babylonian which are understood to have been affected by Tiberian interference.¹²

Notwithstanding the limited available data of this one manuscript, one could hitherto classify this system as some sort of ‘simple Tiberianized Babylonian’. There has been proposed a number of such hybrid systems, in which the graphemes are representative of one tradition whereas the pronunciation is representative of another. One example of this is the widely accepted Palestino-Tiberian system; another is that of Yemenite-Tiberian.¹³ There is little doubt that the impact or vestiges of non-Tiberian vowel systems has been strong at certain times, and, as Khan notes on the issue, “we know from numerous Hebrew Bible manuscripts that in the medieval period Bibles vocalised with Tiberian signs were read with a non-Tiberian pronunciation” (Khan 2010:216). The reason why the scribe has employed this somewhat simplified or hybrid system is unknown. It may reflect lack of expertise on behalf

⁹ Morag 1972:30f.

¹⁰ Morag 1972:30. An example of this bivalent *schewa* is attested in לְאַחַד לַיְלִים לִיִּטְלָבוֹחַ 52/6a:1 ‘in order to search for him’. Here, we see that the diacritic denotes either epenthetic *-ṭlab-*, *-ṭalb-*, *-ṭalab-* on the one hand, or clustered *-ṭlb-* on the other.

¹¹ Morag 1972:30.

¹² Morag 1972:31; Kahle 1913:167.

¹³ Sáenz-Badillos 1993:93, 103.

of the scribe, calligraphic preferences, or a particular tradition from a particular period and the realization of this at a certain point in history.¹⁴

Secondly, it is not improbable that the simplified and somewhat hybrid system attested here is related to a Sephardi type reading tradition. For example, a number of Biblical fragments from the Cairo Genizah dating back as early as the 8th to 9th centuries are found to exhibit a Sephardi vocalization indicated by Palestinian (supralinear) signs. The system here is regarded as being close to what would come to be the traditional Sephardi system of pronunciation.¹⁵ The texts follow a vocalization system of just six graphemes, five vowels and *shewa*, and it is believed that pronunciation of *šere* (◌ֿ *e*) / *segol* (◌ֿ *e, ei*) on the one hand and *qameš* (◌ֿ *a*) / *pataḥ* (◌ֿ *a*) on the other hand have levelled. Interestingly, the same Sephardi reading tradition, with its similar limitations and the same levelling of vowel phonemes, is also found in later Genizah texts, for example written in Ottoman Egypt (16th to early 20th century).¹⁶ Unlike the early Biblical fragments, this system is represented by Tiberian (sublinear) signs. On this, Khan notes that that the levelling of pronunciation “indicate[s] that the Tiberian vowel signs were not being used with their original Tiberian phonetic values. The reason for this is doubtless that by the period this manuscript was written the original Tiberian pronunciation of the Tiberian vowel signs had been forgotten. The only pronunciation that the scribe could assign to the vocalization is the Sephardi type reading tradition that had become the exclusive pronunciation of Hebrew in Egypt by the Ottoman period” (Khan 2010:215).

In our manuscript we find the same tendency, namely Tiberian vowel signs which are not being used in accordance with their original Tiberian phonetic values. But our findings and those of Khan also differ significantly. For example, our manuscript never displays *segol*, and preserves a clear phonological distinction between *a* and *a*. These features, which are typical for the Palestinian type of pronunciation, were widespread in Jewish communities of the western Mediterranean basin and Europe up until the 14th century, and are believed to be the origin of the modern Sephardi pronunciation.¹⁷ If the observations above are correct, our findings represent an early stage of this development.

¹⁴ See Sáenz-Badillos 1993:88f.

¹⁵ See Sáenz-Badillos 1993:89.

¹⁶ Khan 2010:215.

¹⁷ Khan 2010:207.

4.1.1.1.2 The Representation of Vowel Signs

On the one hand, *qameṣ* (◌ ָ) represents a low back rounded vowel, and, on the other hand, *pataḥ* (◌ ַ) represents an open front unrounded vowel. Both vowels seem to have been affected by their phonetic environment, one which can be characterized as either emphatic or non-emphatic.¹⁸ There is also a distinction between *šere* (◌ ֶ) and *hireq* (◌ ִ). Listed below are some examples illustrating the manner in which different vowel phonemes are represented in the vocalization system of MS 52:

pataḥ (◌ ַ) — *וַיִּשְׁאַל וַאֲסַאֵל* *wiṣʾal* 52/6a:16 ‘so ask!’; *וַהֲזִיחַ וְהִזְחָה* *wahaz(z)oh* 52/10b:13 ‘and he shook it’.

qameṣ (◌ ָ) — *וַיִּרְא וְלֹא יִרְא וְלֹא יִרְא* *yrā wlā ywrā* 52/6a:8-9 ‘He sees and is not seen’; *וַלְפָּתָה וּלְפָּתָה* *wlʿfatoh* 52/3b:17 ‘so she wrapped him’.

šere (◌ ֶ) — *וַיִּסְרֶה וַיִּסְרֶה* *sīreh* 52/6a:17 ‘custom, conduct’; *וַיִּחַתַּף וַיִּחַתַּף* *wʾxtfē* 52/4a:14 ‘it disappeared’.

hireq (◌ ִ) — *וַיִּבְרַח אֱבְרָהִם* *ʾbrhim* 52/3a:14 ‘Ibrahim’; *כִּי־כִי־כִי* *kīf* 52/8b:12 ‘how’; *וַיִּרְחַח וַיִּרְחַח* *firḥ* 52/2a:11 ‘he became happy’; *וַיִּמְדֵּי וַיִּמְדֵּי* *lmwḏi* 52/2b:1 ‘the place’; *וַיִּסְבַּח וַיִּסְבַּח* *wsīc* 52/2a:3 ‘large, wide’; *וַיִּלְד וַיִּלְד* *wlid* 52/10a:2 ‘he was born’; *וַיִּנְא וַיִּנְא* *wiʾn* 52/2b:17 ‘and I’; *וַיִּסַּרְת וַיִּסַּרְת* *sirt* 52/10a:3 ‘you moved, marched’; *וַיִּנְי וַיִּנְי* *wiʾin(n)y* 52/9a:9 ‘indeed I (am)’; *וַיִּנְי וַיִּנְי* *ntī* 52/3a:8 ‘you (feminine)’.

ḥolam (◌ ֹ) — *וַיִּחַלְתָּ וַיִּחַלְתָּ* *xltoh* 52/3b:17 ‘she left him’; *וַיִּקְבַּלְתָּ וַיִּקְבַּלְתָּ* *wqbltoh* 52/3b:9 ‘and she kissed him’.

shewa (◌ ְ / zero) — *וַיִּלְטֹבְהוּ לְאַחַדְבָּה* *liʾaṭlāboh*¹⁹ 52/6a:1 ‘in order to search for him’; *וַיִּסְמְהוּ וַיִּסְמְהוּ* *salmoh* 52/3b:8 ‘kept him safe’; *וַיִּמְסְכוּ וַיִּמְסְכוּ* *miskoh* 52/10b:13 ‘he took him’.²⁰

¹⁸ The issue of emphasis is discussed in connection to the merging of sibilants, in 4.1.2.2, below.

¹⁹ Alternatively **liʾaṭlboh* or **liʾaṭalboh*.

²⁰ In Egypt, elision of a vowel in an unstressed syllable (vCvC > vCC) as in *salmoh* and *miskoh* here, is typical for the area of Daqahliyya and in Upper Egypt south of Asyūt (see Behnstedt and Woidich 1985: map 65f.).

The assumption that the vocalization system of MS 52 resembles a Babylonian phonological tradition (rendered in Tiberian orthography) coincides well with the other Spanish features already attested in the manuscript, features which will be discussed in detail below. As mentioned in the the previous chapter, we know that the Babylonian synagogue in Fustāt was in use up until the 16th century and that Jews of Spanish descent most probably held closer ties with that particular synagogue than with those of the Palestinians.²¹ As we are dealing here with Karaite material, it is reasonable to assume that the vocalization system in question was in use not only in Babylonian Rabbanite circles, but also among Karaites.

4.1.1.2 *Vowel Quantity: On the Possible Assignment of Word Stress*

As expected, many examples in the manuscripts investigated here display writing of *matres lectionis* *a*, *i* and *u* — particularly the latter — of what would be considered short vowels according to Classical Arabic conventions. Whereas most scholars, including Joshua Blau considers this orthographical feature to be a possible reflection of the inconsistency of short vowels in certain dialects of Arabic,²² Esther-Miriam Wagner notes that the appearance of *matres lectionis* in Judaeo-Arabic sources may not be purely a matter of orthography, but may in fact “indicate morphological change and/or vernacular interference” (E. M. Wagner 2010:52f.). In the following paragraphs I expand on these observations, and argue for an even broader understanding of some cases of *matres lectionis*. As indicated in the beginning of this chapter, I will present examples which support a view that these plene written vowels may also reflect stress and prolongation in certain forms.

As observed by Harris Birkeland, who concludes on the basis of Haim Blanc and Jean Cantineau’s findings, pronunciation of Classical Arabic is influenced by the local dialects and stress patterns vary with locality. Based on the vast number of factors pointing in the direction of Western Arabic influence in our investigated data, I have reviewed some historically related dialects in this region when investigating the vast number of unexpected and unconventional rendering of *plene* written vowels which appear in our material.

In the case of Spanish Arabic, Federico Corriente suggests that a number of sources exhibit a system of ‘marked’ (i.e. *plene* written) vowels. According to him, some vowels seem to have been employed irrespective of phonemic quantity in Old Arabic or Classical Arabic orthography, but rather reflect the native speakers’ intention to provide a writing system for

²¹ Goitein 1967-1988 i:21.

²² Blau 1999a:72.

their own dialect.²³ Corriente, who bases his explanation on the investigations of Hoenerbach,²⁴ classifies some categories which may explain the character of such marked vowels. The categories of characteristics attested in Spanish Arabic sources²⁵ which seem to correspond to the findings in the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts are listed below:

- a) Marking stress (as in *fa^cál / fa^cāl* and *yaf^cúl / yaf^cūl*)
- b) Reflecting pseudo-correct features, often resulting from hesitation between one form and another (as in *xādim* versus *xadīm*).
- c) Reflecting a mere vowel-marking device irrespective of stress.
- d) Unveiling relics of Old Arabic dialects, that is, preferring one pattern over another (as in *Cv:Cv:C mūrād* over *CvCv:C murād*).

As can be observed in the categories above, only a few out of the total occurrences of such marked vowels reveal significant quantitative phonemic value, such as stress or prolongation. As indicated, marked vowels may well reflect vowel irrespective of stress, such as suffixed unstressed vowels, as in ריתו ריתו **ryt-u* ‘I saw him’, לו לו **l-u* ‘he has; for him, to him’. In such cases, the vowel is merely an orthographic spelling device replacing Arabic *-h*.²⁶ The same is also true for many Judaeo- and Middle Arabic texts,²⁷ as well as those of ours. Notwithstanding, when historically and demographically contextualized, a large number of our examples also fit into the categories of vowel stress and prolongation. In Judaeo-Arabic scholarship, the discussion concerning the markedness of these particular *plene* written vowels seems somewhat unexplored, or at least not to have been completely resolved.

The apparent markedness of the vowels put forward in the various examples below correspond to findings made in a number of studies on varieties of the Western Arabic type or which are relevant to the dialect of Cairo. After investigating vowels which have been marked in some ‘unconventional’ or ‘non-Classical’ way or the other in Spanish Arabic, Sicilian Arabic, standard Maltese, and in some dialects in the Egyptian Western Desert and along the country’s northern coastline, I find that these are similar on many levels to those appearing in the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts. In fact, all our manuscripts exhibit such ‘marked’ vowels written in *plene*. One could argue that our manuscripts are based upon a written norm heavily influenced by a Western Arabic stratum or that they simply reflect an earlier stage of the

²³ Corriente 1977:60f.

²⁴ See Hoenerbach 1956:15.

²⁵ See Corriente 1998:54f.

²⁶ See Corriente 1977:62.

²⁷ See Blau 1999a:71, 130.

stress pattern in Cairene Arabic, perhaps as relics of an Old Arabic dialect. Whatever reason lies behind, it is relevant to note here that none of the works above rely exclusively on Judaeo-Arabic sources; rather, they are mostly based on reconstructions of Romance-Arabic and Muslim material, or on contemporary usage. In the case of Spanish Arabic, Corriente investigates Andalusian proverbs and the Arabic works of poets such as Ibn Quzmān (11th/12th century) and Ibn ʿĀṣim (14th/15th century). Agius bases much of his research on the Arab grammarian Ibn Makkī's (11th/12th century) collection of what he considers to be common language mistakes in Sicilian Arabic, and Aquilina describes the sociolinguistic situation and spoken language of modern-day Malta. And finally, works within the field of Egyptian dialectology describe modern dialects (which are predominantly Muslim), many features of which are believed to reflect dialectal forms of an earlier stage in the diachronic development of some dialects spoken in Egypt. When comparing the abovementioned material with that of ours, we find not only similar tendencies and characteristics but also identical items.²⁸

Similar to Spanish Arabic, our material displays numerous examples of *plene* written vowels possibly marking stress or prolongation in closed syllables,²⁹ characteristic of the pattern *Cv:C*, *Cv:CC*, and *mv:CtvCvC(a)* (participle of stem VIII). These vowels are predominantly represented by vowel *u*.³⁰ This inclination towards marking vowel *u* seems to have been triggered either by the sonorous nature of the vowel itself, or by a phonemic environment characteristic of labial or sonorous (*b, f m, n, l* and *r*) and/or emphatic (*q, ḥ, ḍ*) consonants. Whether these sonorants also function as emphatic alternants of their respective homorganic phonemes (*b, f, m, n, l, r*)³¹ or if their phonetic characteristics are at all important for the process witnessed here, is not clear, as we do not possess any data on the actual phonetic nature of the dialect base of these manuscripts. But it is conspicuous, nevertheless, to find this particular markedness of vowel *u* in such a reoccurring and consistent manner. In the examples below, special attention is paid to evidence of *matres lectionis* in cases which are felt as particularly 'marked' and which appear to be in violation of what would be the

²⁸ The Spanish and the Sicilian corpora both display *yadxūl / yadxūl* 'he exits', *jīha / jīha* 'side', *fūm / fūm* 'mouth' and *yaqtūl / yaqtūl* 'he kills'.

²⁹ See Corriente 1977:62.

³⁰ As becomes evident in the following examples, there are numerous active and passive participles in which *u* of the initial syllable *mu-* has been written in *plene* script. These are not only characteristic of the pattern *Cv:C*, but also in patterns of open syllable *Cv:*, as illustrated in e.g. מועיין מועיין 45/8b:12 'specific; designating'; מוכרמה מוכרמה 45/9b:15 'blessed'; מוֹחַלְד מוֹחַלְד 45/11a:8 'eternal'; מוֹחַבָּא מוֹחַבָּא 45/11a:14 'hidden'; מוֹקַאבְלָה מוֹקַאבְלָה 23/3b:1 'vis-a-vis, facing' and perhaps מוֹתַלְע מוֹתַלְע 45/2a:4 'overlooking' and מוֹתַכַּר מוֹתַכַּר 45/11a:15 'remembered'.

³¹ The issue of emphasis will be discussed in 4.1.2.2, below.

expected pattern of stress or prolongation vis-à-vis Classical Arabic spelling or Modern Cairene Arabic pronunciation. Examples from our material are listed below:

Cv:C — 8/5b:7 *passim* 'forgiveness'; 8/5b:7 'you attacked me'; 11a:16 'different'; 23/1a:6 'evidence'; 23/2a:2 'place; spot'; 23/2a:2 'place; spot'; 52/5a:9 'my excuse'; 23/2a:2 'place; spot'; 46/2b:7 'the woman; wife'; 46/2b:7 'the woman; wife'; 46/3b:4 'she brought him'; 46/3b:11 'her months (of pregnancy)'; 46/3b:11 'her months (of pregnancy)'; 45/5b:16 'his boys'; 45/5a:3 'my neck'; 59/2b:15 'beauty'; 45/6b:3 'with him'; 23/10a:7 'deprived'; 46/2b:4 'room; courtyard'; 23/10a:7 'deprived'; 46/2b:4 'room; courtyard'; 46/3b:11 'her months [of pregnancy]'; 46/3b:11 'her months [of pregnancy]'; 46/8b:15; 9a:3 'chair; throne'; 45/3a:6 'to his mother'; 45/3a:6 'to his mother'; 45/4a:1 'the nations'; 23/7a:4 'entwined'; 45/6a:5 'his mouth'; 23/1b:13 'and their width'; 23/3b:16; 4a:11-12 'a brick of gold and a brick of silver'; 23/7a:3; 5a:17 'o mother of mine!'; 46/5a:15; 5a:17 'o mother of mine!'; 10b:13 'bars'.

Cv:CC — *passim* 'width'; 45/6b:8 'bread'; 23/2b:10 'might, magnitude'; 23/3b:6 'one third'; 23/4b:14 'corner'; 8/7b:7 'al-Quds; the Holiness'; 8/3b:7 'the brave ones'; 8/3b:7 'the brave ones'; 8/7b:7 'al-Quds; the Holiness'.

mv:CtvCvC(a) — 8/6a:4 'impairing'; 23/9b:14; 45/5b:3 'waiting'; 45/5b:10; 5b:13 'rising'; 23/4b:15 'thinking'; 45/7b:3 'classifying'; 45/10a:6 'honourable'; 45/9b:10 'elevated'; 45/10a:6 'honourable'; 45/9b:10 'elevated'; 45/10a:6 'forgiver'.

³² The *fu^ul*-pattern is discussed in 4.3.2.1, below.

³³ But 52/2a:16 'its width'.

In addition to the patterns observed above, there are many lexemes which seem to have retained a pattern similar to the characteristic Old Arabic pattern $Cv:Cv:C$, as is the case for many similar Classical Arabic patterns today. These are frequently attested in our material in items such as *yāqūt*, *dībāj*, *tābūt*, *nīrān*. Interestingly, our material displays significantly more items characteristic of this vowel notation than are normally found in the Classical Arabic lexicon. Examples of such items in the singular are as followed:

$Cv:Cv:C$ — الهيجان אלהיגאן 46/3b:6 ‘camel rider’; *passim* قودام קודאם ‘in front of, before’; عوقاب עוקאב 23/*passim* ‘falcon; eagle’; توراب תוראב 23/9a:9 ‘dirt; dust’; ايدام אידאם 8/3a:13 ‘my intention’; 23/*passim* دوخان דוכאן ‘fat’; 45/6b:7 ‘astonishing; strange’; عاجيب עאגיב 46/8b:5 ‘astonishing; strange’; 46/2b:3 ‘wide’; 46/2b:3 ‘wide’; 59/3a:9 ‘his slaves; servants’; 45/11a:2-3 ‘in the bravery of some of his contemporaries’; 23/3b:17 ‘Sulaymān’; 46/4b:9 ‘but, however’.

A similar, seemingly Old Arabic pattern is also visible in broken plural patterns such as that of $CvCv:Cv:C$ (*fa‘ālīl*), which has been preferred over $CvCv:CvC$ (*fa‘ālil*), as illustrated below:

$CvCv:Cv:C$ — 23/9b:18 مقاصير מקאציר 46/3a:8 ‘consciences’; 46/3a:8 ‘consciences’; 23/9b:18 ‘chapels’.

All these characteristics are occasionally found also in the 12th-century MS *Chapira* from Fustāt, which holds the oldest known archetype of our *Qṣ Ibrāhīm*. For example, we find herein the same cases of marked (Classical Arabic short) vowels written in *plene* script according to the $Cv:C$ pattern, in *كونت كونت* ‘I was’,³⁴ *الدوننيا الدوننيا* ‘the world’,³⁵ and *مالك مאלך* ‘king’,³⁶ and according to the $Cv:Cv:C$ pattern, in *صوغاركم صוגاركم* ‘your little ones’.³⁷ The $Cv:Cv:C$ pattern has also been treated briefly by Palva in a description of a 17th/18th century Karaite text. He suggests that the marked vowel *a* here is not necessarily just a reflection of

³⁴ MS *Chapira*:37.

³⁵ MS *Chapira*:37.

³⁶ MS *Chapira*:38.

³⁷ MS *Chapira*:40. Interestingly, the manuscript also exhibits a very early use of the attribute *صوغيير صوغيير* MS *Chapira*:40 ‘small’, a vocalic pattern which corresponds to modern usage.

short vowel written in *plene* script, but that it may imply that the first syllable was regarded as being long, viz. *ġāsūl* ‘detergent’.³⁸ Corriente holds that it was optional to mark a short vowel followed by a consonant in Spanish Arabic,³⁹ and — in view of the representation of consonant clusters and stress patterns in Upper Egyptian Arabic — some of these forms may be said to express stress of the primary and the non-primary type.⁴⁰ If these are in fact reflexes of marked vowels in one way or the other, we may wonder whether they came to Spain after having emerged in Egypt and the Maghrib, or if they came into use in Spain at a later stage and migrated to Egypt the other way around.

As mentioned above, we find the same kind of seemingly misplaced, *plene* written vowels also in Sicilian Arabic⁴¹ and the Romance-Arabic based language of standard Maltese. The structure and phonology of these varieties offer some interesting points of view regarding the same patterns of stress that we are encountering in our material. Joseph Aquilina notes that there has been a need among some Maltese grammarians to use *accent aigu* to mark the quantity of a short vowel followed by only one consonant in the same syllable.⁴² Additionally, in the exceptional case of *u* in Maltese he finds that the vowel *u* is always prolonged when followed by only one consonant and that the quantity of it varies with emphasis and tempo of the expression. When we then find in Maltese that *u* remains long even when the word is morphologically lengthened (*būt* ‘pocket’ > *būtna* ‘our pocket’),⁴³ these observations corresponds well with the examples above characteristic of the pattern *Cv:C*. The same grammarians reportedly use *accent grave* to mark the quantity of a short vowel followed by more than one consonant in the same syllable.⁴⁴ In this case vowel *u* always remains short.⁴⁵ In strict theoretical terms, this would correspond well to the examples above characteristic of the pattern *Cv:CC*. That said, it is not fully clear why there would be a need to mark the quantity of the short vowel in words following this particular pattern when it could have been done simply by omitting it from the word. Aquilina underlines that phonetic difference in Maltese does not lie in the length of vowels, but rather the length in the consonants following it.⁴⁶ Whereas the ordinary long vowels are as a rule always stressed, vowels which have been

³⁸ Palva 2007:400.

³⁹ Corriente 1977:62.

⁴⁰ Khalafallah 1967.

⁴¹ Sicilian Arabic has patterns corresponding to the pattern (Classical Arabic *CvC* >) *Cv:C*, similar to those presented above (see Agius 1996:204ff.).

⁴² Aquilina 1959:7.

⁴³ Aquilina 1959:38.

⁴⁴ Aquilina 1959:7.

⁴⁵ Aquilina 1959:38.

⁴⁶ Aquilina 1959:7.

pharyngealized or velarized are often prolonged, but do not necessarily bear the main stress of the lexeme in which they occur.⁴⁷ If the words presented above do in fact indicate both primary and secondary stress, the similarity with dialects of Upper Egypt⁴⁸ may offer some explanation.

It is difficult to draw any conclusions from this, but it is nonetheless clear that the orthography of the Maltese variety indicates a kind of stress, accent or prolongation, and makes distinctions between the quantity of consonants by marking the preceding vowels. It is also highly interesting that vowels which have been pharyngealized or velarized in Maltese are generally prolonged and tend to carry a sort of secondary stress side by side with the primary stress of the word.⁴⁹ In any case, our findings provide an important basis for investigating further the connection between *plene* written vowels and the issue of accentuation, vowel quantity and patterns of stress in some lexemes. We shall deal further with this question in relation to possible evidence in our material of the tendency to ultima stress in verbs.

4.1.1.2.1 *Possible Reflections of Verbs with Patterns of Word-final Stress*

Before analysing specific examples, I will briefly discuss the origin of stress according to the typical patterns attested in some dialect groups of Arabic. In general terms, we may divide between one ‘Eastern’ pattern of stress which is accentuated towards the beginning of the word (word-initial or trochaic stress), and another ‘Western’ pattern which is accentuated towards the end of the word (word-final, iambic or oxytone stress). Examples illustrating this dichotomy (although perhaps too general a split) are ‘word-initial’ *kátab* in the dialects of e.g. Cairo, Damascus, and Jerusalem, versus ‘word-final’ *katáb* in some dialect dialects of the Maghreb, Ḥaḍramawt and Ḍofār.⁵⁰ This dichotomy presupposes an earlier intermediate stage, e.g. **rikīb* of *rkeb* in modern-day Maghreb.⁵¹

One of the most interesting similarities between our material and some of the Western Arabic dialects are verbs in which the syllables towards the end of the verb have been prolonged or stressed by means of a vowel written in *plene* script. As mentioned, this tendency is typical for some dialects of North Africa⁵² as well as for Spanish Arabic.⁵³ We

⁴⁷ Aquilina 1959:18.

⁴⁸ Khalafallah 1967.

⁴⁹ Aquilina 1959:18.

⁵⁰ See Fischer and Jastrow 1980:57ff, according to which the dialects exhibiting ‘word-final’ stress patterns are regarded as exceptions.

⁵¹ See e.g. Birkeland 1954:26.

⁵² Marçais 1977:24ff. See also Watson 2011b:6.

know that word-final stress is found in Egypt, where it can be heard in some isolated dialects of Burg Miġżil close by Rosetta and Burg Burullus close by Bałfīm along the northern coastal line of the Kafr el-Sheikh region, in eastern Daqahliyya between Shirbīn and Damietta,⁵⁴ as well as and in the western oases of Farafra, Dakhla and Kharga (viz. *baqára* ‘cow’).⁵⁵ In most of these dialects, however, oxytone stress or prolongation can be heard also in verbs. Whereas verbs mostly receive stress on the penultima, which is typical for Burg Miġżil, Burg Burullus and the relevant areas of eastern Daqahliyya (*darábu* ‘they hit’), they receive stress on the final syllable in Farafra (*širīb* ‘he drank’)⁵⁶ and prolongation in western Dakhla (*širēb* ‘he drank’; *aktūb* ‘I write’).⁵⁷ In the case of these Egyptian oases, it has been suggested that the variants might have come as a result of hyper-generalization following the linguistic influence that came with the invasions of Banū Sulaym during their migration back eastwards, coming from the Maghrib around the 17th century.⁵⁸ However, they may well reflect remnants of pre-Hilālī (i.e. pre-Bedouinized) Arabic, as Behnstedt have already suggested for the isolated areas of Burg Miġżil and Burg Burullus, mentioned above.⁵⁹

Based on comparisons with Maltese, Birkeland dates the stage of the oxytone stress pattern treated here to no earlier than the 8th century, when Arabic came to Spain.⁶⁰ He further argues that the issue of stress was never treated by the early Arab grammarians,⁶¹ and that patterns of stress, indeed, must have developed at a later stage. He holds that the development of systems of stress took place at the same time as the processes of shortening and elision of vowels, during the transition from Arabic at an earlier stage into what is today the modern dialects.⁶² Accordingly, Birkeland proposes that the stress pattern we know today must have occurred after the final glottal stop had disappeared from the modern dialects — as in Classical Arabic *ḥamrāʾ* versus colloquial *ḥámra* ‘red (f.)’.⁶³

In fact, it has been demonstrated that the accepted stress in Classical Arabic is not necessarily based on genuine tradition, but influenced from dialectal pronunciation; principles governing the placement of stress in Classical Arabic — the common description of which

⁵³ Corriente 1977:75, 100.

⁵⁴ Wilmsen 2011 online.

⁵⁵ Woidich 1993:345, 352.

⁵⁶ Woidich 1993:345.

⁵⁷ Woidich 1993:345, 352.

⁵⁸ Woidich 1993:354.

⁵⁹ Behnstedt 1998.

⁶⁰ Birkeland 1954:39; Cantineau 1960:120.

⁶¹ Birkeland 1954:13.

⁶² Birkeland 1954:36ff. Note that Charles A. Ferguson agrees on the all the points presented here, considering them ‘fairly convincing’ (see Ferguson 1997:46f.).

⁶³ Birkeland 1954:13.

was formulated in an article by the Dutch orientalist known as Thomas Erpenius in the mid-17th century — are claimed to have been influenced by Syro-Lebanese pronunciation.⁶⁴ Whereas Carl Brockelmann holds that this is the dialect group which resembles that of traditional Classical Arabic accentuation of stress the most,⁶⁵ Mayer Lambert argues that it is in fact the Maghribī dialects that have preserved the most original patterns of stress, a position which is also held by Theodor Nöldeke.⁶⁶ Blau, who provides a thorough account of the main studies dealing with the issue of stress following this discussion, finds that there is a general acceptance towards the view of Lambert, however without being able to draw any definite conclusions.⁶⁷ Birkeland also supports the notion of the Maghribī (word-final) stress pattern being the closest relative to the traditional one, and argues that there are firm grounds to support the view that “the Arabs wandering westwards after Muhammed adhered to this pattern, which was ‘changed’ [at a] later [stage]” (Birkeland 1954:41). He also advocates, with the support of Blau,⁶⁸ that the more recently developed eastern stress system was superimposed on the older western one.⁶⁹ In fact, as Blau convincingly demonstrates, the Arabic of southern Palestine and Syria in the first centuries of Islam made use of a stress pattern which, “generally, though not in all particulars, corresponded to the ancient Maghribī” (Blau 1972:483).⁷⁰

If the above observations and discussion are correct it is plausible that our Judaeo-Arabic sources (and many others) exhibit patterns of stress or prolongation, and that these patterns correspond to a number of peripheral dialects in Egypt and in the western Mediterranean basin, both historically and in dialects which are still spoken. In this connection, the findings presented may shed new light on our knowledge of accentuation and stress in Arabic language history in general, and the Egyptian and some western Arabic dialects in particular. As we shall see, it is possible to demonstrate that much of what may reflect patterns of stress in our material belong to the western Arabic or Maghribī branch. In the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts, prolonged or stressed syllables are predominantly found in the imperfect tense, viz. *yṭlūb* / *yṭlūb* ‘he requests’, *tnṣūr* / *tnṣūr* ‘it overlooks’, *tqtūl* / *tqtūl* ‘you kill’, but is occasionally also attested in the imperative, viz. *ʾndūr* / *ʾndūr* ‘look’ and in the

⁶⁴ Lambert 1897 *apud* Blau 1972:476.

⁶⁵ Brockelmann 1908-1913 i:82.

⁶⁶ Lambert 1897:409 *apud* Blau 1972:476; Nöldeke 1875:224. For a more recent study on the issue of stress and the metrical structure of Arabic, see Angoujard 1990.

⁶⁷ Blau 1972:476f.

⁶⁸ Blau 1972:478.

⁶⁹ Birkeland 1954:41.

⁷⁰ It is relevant to mention here that a notion of oxytone stress is attested with Bedouins in Syria and Iraq (see Brockelmann 1908-1913 i:85f.).

perfect tense, viz. *nwārt* / *nwárt* ‘it lit up’ and *ʔzlāmt* / *ʔzlámt* ‘it darkened’. As discussed above, writing of vowel *u* in *plene* seems to have been triggered by a phonemic environment of predominantly labial, sonorous or emphatic sounds. The phenomenon is consistently found throughout our corpus, and appears in all the manuscripts.

4.1.1.2.2 Imperfect Tense **yf^uūl* / *yf^uúl*

Occurrences in the imperfect tense are the most frequent. They display stress on the final syllable (or penultimate syllable when followed by a suffix) and are dominated by *u*-type (*yf^uūl* / *yf^uúl*) verbs. A number of the verbs are attested in the following examples:

indicative (*u*-type) — بطلوبو יטלובו 45/2a:13 ‘they request’; يتروك יתרוך 45/5b:2 ‘he leaves’; תקתול תקתול 45/7a:6; 7a:15 ‘you kill’; תאחוד תאחוד 45/7a:3 ‘you take’; יבלוג יבלוג 45/10a:9 ‘he reaches’; يضجور יצגור 45/11a:5 ‘he is displeased’; תקעוד תקעוד 52/2a:6 ‘she sits; ~ remains’; انضور אנצור 46/3a:11; 23/5b:18; 8/6b:1 ‘I see’, תנטור תנטור לא לא אנצורך 45/3b:2 ‘it observes; ~ sees; ينظور ינטור 23/2b:15 ‘he sees’, ידכול ידכול 45/4a:16; 46/7a:8; 52/10b:2 ‘he enters’; وتخرج ותכרוג 45/9a:2 ‘and you exit’; וירשודנא וירשודנא 45/14a:7 ‘and he guides us’; ويغفور ויגפור 45/14a:10 ‘and he makes lean’; תהטול תהטול ויחכום ויחכום 46/4a:13 ‘and He will guard you’; 45/9a:16 ‘it pours’; تهتول تهتول ויעבור ויעבור 46/5a:18 ‘and He will rule’; فليحفور פליחפור 23/6b:4 ‘so let him dig’; ويعبور ويعבור 23/6b:5 ‘he will pass through’; يفروك יפרוך 23/6b:13; 6b:17 ‘he rubs’; ويرموق ويرמוק 23/10b:18 ‘glance; stare’; تاخود תאחוד 59/5a:1 ‘you take’.

The same prolonged or stressed vowel (also here dominated by *u*) can also be seen in a few cases of the imperative. Consider the examples of the *u*-type (*yf^uūl* / *yf^uúl*) below:

imperative (*u*-type) — قال يصحق لاييه يا ابي اربوطني קא יצחק לאביה יא אבי ארבוטני גייד 45/8b:15-16 ‘Yiṣḥāq said to his father, “Tie me well”’; راحو الملايكة لربنا انضور من قومك אנצור מן קומך לאגלנא וא צמאן הו עלינא פקא להום אתרכוני 8/6b:1-3 ‘the angels turned to our Lord, “For our sake, take a look at your nation. We must safeguard [it].” But He said to them, “Leave me!”’

There are very few occurrences of verbs in the imperfect displaying a type other than the *u*-type and oxytone stress at the same time. Only one unambiguous occurrence of the *i*-type (*yf^ēil* / *yf^ēil*) verb is attested. This could nonetheless be explained by the overall lack of these types in Arabic. This occurrence of an *i*-type verb in the imperfect tense is presented below:

imperfect (*i*-type) — يسجدو יסגידו 46/10a:24 ‘he bows down to him’.⁷¹

The 12th-century MS *Chapira* displays one occasion of the *plene* written *u*-type verb with stress or prolongation on the final syllable, viz. ادخول אדכול ‘enter’.⁷² Also two *i*-type verbs exhibiting the same phenomenon are attested, in למין נעייד למין נעביד ‘to whom do I worship?’⁷³ and תחייב תחייב ‘you love’.⁷⁴

Similar ‘marked’ vowels written in *plene* script, reflected in verbs as well as other items, are also attested in much early-modern material from Egypt.⁷⁵ For example, in a 17th/18th-century Karaite Judaeo-Arabic short story from Cairo, we may find such marked orthographical shapes, viz. אהוב אהוב ‘I like’. Here, Palva acknowledges the possibility that the orthographical shape may reflect actual pronunciation.⁷⁶ In other cases, such as ופתחה ופתחה ‘and she opened’,⁷⁷ he suggests that the spelling is merely a slip of pen. This observation brings us to the question of whether we may also speak of an intended, *plene* written oxytone stress also in the perfect tense.

⁷¹ Note that this vocalic pattern is a reflection of old or non-standard usage, in which the preference of vowel *i* over *u*, contrast that of Modern Cairene. The standard form is *yasgud* / *yusgud* according to Hinds and Badawi 1986, but *yisgid* according to Spiro 1895.

⁷² MS *Chapira*:40.

⁷³ MS *Chapira*:37.

⁷⁴ MS *Chapira*:38.

⁷⁵ From a strictly phonemic perspective, it would not be surprising if also writers of Egyptian Arabic (written in the Arabic script) made use of *plene* written vowels to convey manners of pronunciation, or perhaps even stress. Whether or not they were actually intended to do so is as uncertain as the other point discussed here, but examples are anyhow attested in some modern writing, such as the mid-20th century play *Khamsa wa-Khmēsa* of Silimān ‘Azīz. Here we find *plene* written *a* in the perfect tense, viz. هو عمالك أيه ‘what did he do to you?’ (see Farnawani 1981:56), in which ‘Azīz seems to have had a desire to stress the penultimate syllable following the stress pattern intended by the writer. Occasional use of similar ‘marked’ vowels is attested also in the works of modern Egyptian folklorists and playwrights such as Shawqi ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm (b. 1934), Nu‘mān ‘Āshūr (1918-1987), Fathī Rīdwān (1911-1988) and Maḥmūd al-Sa‘dānī (1928-2010). Examples are ما تفتوش كلمة *ma tiftūš kilma* ‘not a [single] word escapes him’, شوفت له حاجة *šuft^l lu ḥāga* ‘I brought him something’ and بنتك روجه *bintak ruḥra* ‘your daughter as well’ (see El-Farnawani 1981:131).

⁷⁶ Palva 2007:400.

⁷⁷ Palva 2007:401.

4.1.1.2.3 *Perfect Tense fa^cāl / fa^lāl*

Besides the imperfect tense there are a few examples of verbs in the perfect tense displaying the same apparent oxytone stress pattern. They appear in our material as illustrated below:

perfect tense — فلما ازلامت الشمس فلما ازلامت الشمس 46/4b:8 ‘when the sun darkened’; هو الذي خلائك هو ادي زلائك 52/4a:2 ‘He is the one who created you’; ونوارت المغارا ونوارت المغارا 46/4a:2 ‘and the cave lit up’; واجدت واغدت 46/3b:14 ‘she found’.

4.1.1.3 *Vowel Quality*

Our material may also reflect vowel quality by means of *plene* written vowels and vocalization signs, most notably revealing the vowels patterns of certain lexemes and verbs, the so-called *imāla* and diphthongs.

4.1.1.3.1 *On Some Non-standard Vocalic Patterns*

Some dialectal vocalic patterns reflect variable or inconsistent use of short vowel quality, a feature which is especially evident in Judaeo-Arabic texts. For example, in the writings of Moses Maimonides (d. 1204) one finds a not infrequent use of vowel marks for *u* and *i* instead of *a*.⁷⁸ To a certain degree this situation corresponds to that of ours, as such vowel alternations appear quite often. Yet, the general impression throughout the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts is that there is a preference of *u* (which may occasionally become > *a* and > *o*) over Modern Cairene *i*, a tendency which corresponds to varieties of 17th-century Egyptian,⁷⁹ as well as in the work of several scholars in the field of medieval and early modern Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic.⁸⁰ We know, based on the findings of E. M. Wagner, that *plene* written (short) *u* is attested frequently in Egyptian epistolary writing from the 11th, 13th centuries, and in both Egypt and Maghrib during the 18/19th centuries.⁸¹ As expected, *plene* written (short) *i* also occurs in these letters, but in a less frequent manner, and *plene* written (short) *a* is even more rare. Commenting on 18th/19th-century Judaeo-Arabic letters from Egypt, she notes that “*plene* writing of short *u* is very common in most letters and almost obligatory in some” (E. M. Wagner 2010:54). Likewise, according to Hary the feature is typical of early modern

⁷⁸ Blau 1999a:72f.

⁷⁹ See Davies 1981:108; Zack 2009:96f.

⁸⁰ See e.g. Blau 1980:21; 2002:32; Blau and Hopkins 1987:135; Khan 1991:226; Rosenbaum 2002a:37; Hary 1992:248; 2009:101 and E. M. Wagner 2010:57.

⁸¹ E. M. Wagner 2010:52ff.

Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic orthography.⁸² Some typical example reflecting this kind of alternation are, *inter alia*, variants such as כובארכום כובארכום 46/8a:9 ‘your elders’ and צוגארכום 46/8a:9 ‘your minors,’ both of which are still employed in Modern Cairene, and correspond to Classical Arabic كِبَارِكُمْ and صِغَارِكُمْ.⁸³

Similar to many other Judaeo-Arabic texts, our material also exhibit many vocalic patterns which seem to have become obsolete or suppressed as non-standard in Modern Cairene Arabic. Consider the following examples, all of which show preference for vowel *u* over *i* and *a*:

**quṣaṣ* in קוּצֶץ 46/2a:3 ‘stories’; **il-ʿumraʿah* in الاومراه اأومراه 46/2b:7 ‘the woman, the wife’;⁸⁴ **muḥabbathu* 45/11b:5 ‘His love, His affection’; **surdāb* in سورداب 23/passim ‘cellar, escape route’; **ruḡman* in وفارقو ما بنوه روغمن وفارقو ما بنوه روغمن 23/12a:11 ‘and they reluctantly left behind what they had built’;⁸⁵ **urḍ* in وعورضهو ستين ميل وعورضهو ستين ميل 23/1b:13 ‘(it being) sixty miles wide’;⁸⁶ **lubna* in ولوبنه من افצה ولوبنه من افצה 23/3b:16, 4a:11-12 ‘a brick of gold and a brick of silver’;⁸⁷ **uẓm* in فخشيت ان ينظور الا عوظم مملكتك فخشيت ان ينظور الا عوظم مملكتك 23/2b:15-16 ‘so I feared that if they saw your vast kingdom rule’.

4.1.1.3.2 *Imāla in the Medial and Final Position, and Remnants of the ‘Heavy Type’*
Imāla, or the raising of *a* towards *e* and *i*,⁸⁸ is heard in most modern dialects, where it predominantly occurs in the medial position, viz. *bāb* > *bēb* ‘door’. *Imāla* may be appear in the form of a moderately raised *e* but occasionally also by a heavily raised *ie* and *i*. The former type, moderate *imāla*, which is typical of Modern Cairene, is attested several times in the version of *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* featured in MS 52, in which vocalization — *ṣere* (◌*e*) — reflects

⁸² Hary 1992:248; Hary 2009:101.

⁸³ The pattern *fuʿ(ʿ)āl* corresponding to Cairene *fi/aʿ(ʿ)āl* is attested in 17th-century Cairene, according to Zack (2009:96) as well as in 17th-century ‘peasant’ Egyptian according to Davies (1981:1, 122f.).

⁸⁴ The apparent epenthesis taking place in the example above is typical for Egyptian Arabic, in which the vowel of the first syllable in some cases is omitted and prefixed to the first radical (see Willmore 1905: ix) viz. *marʿa* > (>*mrʿa*) > *imraʿa* (> *ʿumraʿa*). The variant ‘mara’ is considered rather derogatory in Cairo (see Hinds and Badawi 1986:815), however not in Upper Egypt. Note, however, that this variant is not attested in any of the respective Egyptian Arabic dictionaries and grammars. An alternative, yet plausible explanation for the variant can be derived by analogy from a discussion in Hary (2009:101), where he suggests the vocalic pattern *mura-* ‘the wife of’ derived from Cairene *mrāt-*, hence the shift *mura(h)* > *ʿumra(h)*.

⁸⁵ This variant is attested in Cameron (1892), which also offers the variant *raḡm*.

⁸⁶ This variant is attested in Nallino (1900).

⁸⁷ The saying has *labna* in Egypt and *labina* according to tradition of Abū Hurayrah (in Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidī 38:2714).

⁸⁸ The *imāla*-phenomenon is widespread throughout the Arabic speaking world, and its earliest historical attestations date back to Old Arabic (see Levin 1971:9ff.).

the pronunciation of *e*. Consider the following examples, exhibiting *imāla e* in medial position:

medial (moderate *e-*) *imāla* — פלמא אתו איה אגיוש ואעסאכר נצרו אחגאב וכאפו מן היבה (yielding **higēb*) 52/8a:13-14 ‘when the troops arrived, they saw the barrier and became afraid of Ibrāhīm’s endowment’; פלקמה בהאמיה אימנה ואיסרא פאכרג לה אלה תעאי מן אבהאים; فلقمه بهاميه اليمنه واليسرا فاخرج له الله تعالى من البهائم الواحد لياً ومن اواحد لبأ ومن اااكر شهدأ (yielding **il-behēyim*) 52/4a:9-11 ‘he fed him with his right and left thumb. And out of one thumb came milk, and out of one thumb came honey’.

Now and then, we encounter a heavier degree of *imāla*, reflected by \bar{i} and *ie*. This becomes visible from the use of *hireq* (◌ *i*) preceding $yā^o$ and of *šere* written below the letter $yā^o$ (◌ *ie*),⁸⁹ respectively, and may reflect shifts such as $\bar{i} < \bar{e} < ay$, $i < e < a$ and $ie < \bar{a}$. Some of these are illustrated in the following examples:

medial (heavy, *i-* / *ie-*) *imāla* — פאתנצף פיהא אברהים עיאם' וגסל ידיה ורגליה ואהמא (yielding **wi-riglīh*) 52/4b:2-3 ‘so Ibrāhīm PBUH washed himself in [the spring]. He washed his hands, feet and the top of his head’; וגלסו אוזרא ואבטרקה ואאמארא מע לאגנאד עלי כראסיהם פארסל אי כלף; وجلسو الوزرا والبطرقة والامارا مع الاجناد على كراسيهم فارسل الى خلف ابراهيم ابينا ابراهيم ابنا ابراهيم ابنا (yielding **ibīnā* / **ibīnā*) 52/10b:8-9 ‘the viziers, generals, emirs and soldiers sat down on their chairs, and [Nimrūd] sent for Ibrāhīm our Father’; פכאפת ליאיעלם (yielding **lie-ye^elem*) 52/3a:6a:16-3b:1 ‘she became afraid lest the king Nimrūd would know of it [...]’.

Regarding the shift $\bar{i} < \bar{e} < ay$ that we see in the first example **wi-riglīh* ‘his two feet’, Blanc argues that since the 1830’s (and probably even at an earlier stage), larger and larger parts of Egypt moved towards monophthongization of *ay* (> \bar{e}).⁹⁰ In a commercial letter located in the Cairo Genizah dating back to 1807, Khan has found this *plene* written \bar{i} corresponding to \bar{e} , where Classical Arabic (and apparently earlier varieties of Egyptian Arabic) has diphthong

⁸⁹ It is relevant to remind that *hireq* (◌ *i*) is transcribed with *kasra* (◌ *i*) in the Arabic transliteration, and *šere* (◌ *e*) with the Arabic Warsh below dot used for denoting *imāla*, as there are no equivalent diacritic (denoting vowel *e*) in the orthographic tradition of Modern Standard Arabic.

⁹⁰ Blanc 1981:195.

ay.⁹¹ Today, ‘Classical Arabic’ items such as *bayt* ‘house’ is *bēt* in most of Egypt and the entire Sudan, whereas it is *bīt* in most Tunisian, Algerian and Moroccan dialects.⁹² According to Corriente, *imāla* was during its final stage in Muslim Spain frequently found reflected by *i*. He argues that the feature was common long before the 12th century, and that it affected even words affected by *tafxīm*.⁹³ Even Classical Arabic words which were adopted by the Spanish Arabic dialect required this shift *i > e* (including those in proximity of Cantineau’s inhibiting contour sounds, see below), such as *ibēde* < **ibāda* ‘worship’ and *iztiguē* < *istiwā* ‘agreement’.⁹⁴

Another example above exhibits the shift *i < e < a*, where we have (pausal **ab >*) **eb* ‘father’ which becomes **ib(-inā)* ‘our father’ in medial position. In Alexandria and central parts of the Nile Delta today, we find the similar tendency of rising *ē* towards *ī*,⁹⁵ a feature which is also similar to the ‘*kilāb > klīb*’-*shibboleth* of the Jewish communal dialect of Baghdad.⁹⁶ This heavy kind of *imāla* also corresponds, on an occasional basis, to Spanish Arabic, which had items such as (*kān >*) *kān* ‘he was’⁹⁷ and (*bāb >*) *bīb* ‘door’⁹⁸ as well as to Maltese, which has this feature as a result of influence from Tunisia.⁹⁹

The above case of **ibīnā* corresponds to a morphophonological feature of Maltese and eastern Libyan Arabic; here, the ‘heavy’ *ie-imāla*, which corresponds to the ‘moderate’ *e-imāla* in Modern Cairene, occurs only in stressed syllable.¹⁰⁰ However, when it is prolonged and loses its original position of stress, it changes to *e* or *i*, as in the singular *diexel* ‘going in’ which becomes *dexlīn* or *dixlīn* in the plural.¹⁰¹ This may explain the shift from **éib* which becomes **ibīna*.

Our last example **lie-ye^elem* ‘lest he would know’ appears to be a reflection of the same, Maltese and Eastern Libyan phenomenon.¹⁰² The *ie-imāla* here appears in a position where it maintains its original position of stress (in **lie-* which corresponds to the Cairene conjunction *la-* ‘lest’). If this is in fact a representation of the *ie*-form, it corresponds to the monophthongal variant of *imāla* which Owens suggests was the one interpreted by Sībawayhī

⁹¹ Khan 1992:226.

⁹² Owens 2006:220; Fischer and Jastrow 1980:56.

⁹³ Corriente 1977:24.

⁹⁴ Corriente 1977:24.

⁹⁵ Behnstedt and Woidich 1985: map 35.

⁹⁶ See Blanc 1964:42.

⁹⁷ Corriente 1977:24, n. 6.

⁹⁸ In the dialect of Granada (see Fischer and Jastrow 1980:55).

⁹⁹ See Fischer and Jastrow 1980:33, 55.

¹⁰⁰ Owens 2006:216. See also Fischer and Jastrow 1980:250.

¹⁰¹ Aquilina 1959:68.

¹⁰² It has fallen out of use in all other modern Arabic varieties (see Owens 2006:201).

and which is similar to the Old Arabic form.¹⁰³ In his conclusion, Owen asks how it can be that one variety, such as that of eastern Libyan Arabic, can have \bar{i} and ie -reflections at the same time.¹⁰⁴ Given that all our above examples are correlative features of the same process it could seem that this is also the case also for our material.

The observant reader will have noted that the second example above displays not only the medial *imāla*, but also an example of the phenomenon when appearing in the final position (على لّٰي, yielding **alē* ‘on’). *Imāla* in the final position, i.e. the case of word-final a / \bar{a} represented by e / \bar{e} , has fallen out of use in Modern Cairene, a process which is believed to have been finalized sometime during the 19th century.¹⁰⁵ Davies found pausal *imāla* in his 17th-century material, however only in cases following the consonants b , k and f .¹⁰⁶ Here, he quotes Blanc, who argues that “the spelling with /-h/ in place of *alif* [in words subjected to pausal *imāla*] is of an essential pausal nature” (Blanc 1973-4:388).¹⁰⁷ In the text of MS 52, as has been demonstrated above, it is not the spelling with h , but rather vocalization that reveals *imāla*. In his 20th-century data, Blanc found that pausal *imāla* was confined to rural dialects, and was heard only when the preceding consonants are neither emphatic, nor guttural, (and in certain dialects) nor labial.¹⁰⁸ This kind of pausal *imāla* is frequent in MS 52, and occurs when following the consonant f , as attested by Davies. But even so more, it occurs after the labial l and guttural h . Consider the following occurrences of *imāla* in the final position are attested in the following examples:

pausal *imāla* — فلما فلّما وّلّعت ابونا ابراهيم عيه شي اّضات امّغاره من نور وّغهو امّكرم
 (yielding **fa-lam(m)ē*) وضعت ابونا ابراهيم عيه شي اّضات المغاره من نور وجهو المكرم
 52/3b:5-7 ‘so when she bore Ibrāhīm the Friend PBUH the cave lit up from the
 light of his noble face’; واختفا نورها واّكتفّاء نورها (yielding *wi-xtefē nūrhā*) 52/4a:14-
 15 ‘and its light disappeared’; الله تعالى اّله تعاّلي (yielding **allāh ta^cālē*) 52/passim
 ‘God, Exalted (be He)’; فلم تزل تكتم امرها حتى كملت اشهرها وحاجت ولادتها فخافت ليّايعلم بها ليّاياعلم بها
 فلم تزل تكتم امرها حتى كملت اشهرها وحاجت ولادتها فخافت ليّايعلم بها ليّاياعلم بها
 (yielding **hat(t)ē* and **bi-hē*) 52/3a:16-3b:1 ‘so she continued to hide

¹⁰³ Owens 2006:226, 228.

¹⁰⁴ Owens 2006:229.

¹⁰⁵ Blanc 1973-4:378 *apud* Zack 2009:95f. See also Behnstedt and Woidich 1985: map 35; Versteegh 2001:160.

¹⁰⁶ Davies 1981:81f.

¹⁰⁷ Humphrey Davies’ translation.

¹⁰⁸ Blanc 1973-4:376 ; see also Behnstedt and Woidich 1985: map 35ff.

the matter until she completed her months and needed to give birth. She became afraid lest the king Nimrūd would know of it [...].

In the case of North Africa, Philippe Marçais recorded heavy *imāla* reflex in final position in many areas in Tunisia: In the villages of Sahel, in the region Nefzaoua, the port city of Gabès, and the region of Fezzan in the south-east.¹⁰⁹ The pausal *imāla* in general, and the latter example **hattē* in particular is an ancient feature, as Rabin noted, “the particle *hattā* ‘until’ was in the Yemen pronounced with *imāla*, i.e. *hattē*” (Rabin 1951:40). We also know that pausal *imāla* was pronounced by Algerian Jews,¹¹⁰ and the feature might well have found its way into Egyptian Arabic as a result of migration (or it spread westwards from Egypt).

Medieval Spanish Arabic has not only a very frequent reflex of regular *imāla*, but also “cases where *imāla* does happen in spite of a generally inhibiting contour [...] called *tafxīm*” such as in *azadeca* < *aṣ-ṣadāqa* ‘alms’, *ribete* < *ribāt* ‘strip’ and *acered* < *aṣ-ṣirāt* etc. (Corriente 1977:23). According to Cantineau, an inhibiting contour is characterized as sounds in the proximity of velarized or pharyngolaryngeal *d, t, ṣ, z, q, x, ġ, ʿ, ḥ, ʾ*; of *h* and *p*, and when being close to velarized reflexes of *r, l* and sometimes even *w*.¹¹¹ With the exception of *p*, the same seems to be true for the ‘inhibitors’ noted by Behnstedt and Woidich for Egypt.¹¹² In fact, *imāla* occurs once in this kind of inhibiting contour in MS 52, as illustrated in the example below:

imāla occurring in an ‘inhibiting’ contour — نَعِمٌ نَعِمٌ (yielding **ne^cem*) 52/5a:13 ‘yes’.

Additional occurrences in MS 52 of *imāla* are as follows:

هل هي حامل! لا هل هي حامل! لا (yielding **em lē*) 52/3a:13-14 ‘[...] whether she is pregnant or not’; فقالوا يا ملك الزمان مهما شئت افعل فقاؤ يا ملך אזמאן מהמא שית אפעל (yielding **mahmē*) 52/1b:17-18 ‘so they said, “O King of time, whatever you desire, do thus!”; قالت يا سيدي يلحقني كآت يا سيدي ילחקני פי כל עאם מראץ יסמי רוח אהיגאן (yielding **ʾisam(m)ē*) 52/3a:10-11 ‘She said, “My master, a sickness named the camel rider’s wind seizes me every year”’; فإذا فإذا

¹⁰⁹ Marçais 1977:14-15.

¹¹⁰ D. Cohen 1978:300.

¹¹¹ Cantineau 1963:23.

¹¹² Behnstedt and Woidich 1985: map 35ff.

וכאנת סירה ענדהם אן אי מן סגד ללנמרוד לא ; ; 23/6b:6 ברכה ברכה 52/2a:6 ‘so if’
 וכانت סירה ענדהם אן אי מן סגד ללנמרוד לא יرفع راسه حتى يادن له ירפע ראסה חתי יאדן לה אַמלך
 الملك (yielding **sīre(h)*) 52/6a:16-6b:1 ‘for it was a custom with the kings that
 whoever prostrated before the king, would not raise his head before the king had
 permitted him’.

4.1.1.3.2 *Diphthongs: Reflexes of -iw / -iu*

Yet another feature attested in our material corresponding to the Western dialect group, is the occasional use of the diphthong ending *-iw / -iu*, employed today in the Moroccan variety.¹¹³ This feature has been attested in an 11th-century Judaeo-Arabic text from Fustāṭ, in which the use of the diphthong is considered by Blau to stem from someone who had come from the Tunisian city of al-Qayrawān.¹¹⁴ Also worthy of mentioning is E. M. Wagner’s investigation of epistolary medieval and early modern writings from Egypt and the Maghrib, in which the diphthong *-iw / -iu* occurs predominantly in the 11th century.¹¹⁵ Blau considers it to be typical Maghribī feature in Mediaeval Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic,¹¹⁶ and Corriente proves that the diphthong was also accepted in Spanish Arabic, and even attributes it to a South-Arabian subtract.¹¹⁷

The use of *-iw / -iu*, as opposed to Classical Arabic > *-ū* is attested in *Qṣ Zakariyah* and displays the 3rd person plural, as illustrated by the following examples:

ומא 8/4a:12 ولم رضيو يسمعوني وולם רציו יסמעוני
 8/1b:6 وما رضيو يرحموني רציו ירחמוני
 ويحيو ساير ال ويحيو ساير א אמואת
 8/7b:8-9 (yielding **yiḥiw*) אמوات ‘they will revive He who walks with the dead’.

A similar feature is the use of suffixed pronoun *-iyū / -iyuh*, which is heard in most dialects today, including Modern Cairene,¹¹⁸ but which violates Classical Arabic spelling conventions. It is attested in *Qṣ Yūsuf* and *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* as demonstrated below:

¹¹³ See Heath 2002:187; Fischer and Jastrow 1980:70, 275f.; Caubet 1993.

¹¹⁴ See Blau 1980:91; 1999a:61f. The letter was published in Mann 1921:454f.

¹¹⁵ E. M. Wagner 2010:89.

¹¹⁶ Blau 1999a:62, 67.

¹¹⁷ Corriente 1994:42.

¹¹⁸ In addition to Cairene, it is heard also in the Arabic of (Bedouin) Negev Arabic, of Omdurman in Sudan, and of Ristāq in Oman (see Fischer and Jastrow 1980:69f.).

الواحد فى رايو مضروب والآخر فى رايو متعوب اواحد فى رايو مضروب وااخر فى رايو متعوب
 (yielding **raʿyu* / *rāyu*) 59/3b:22-4a:1 ‘the first one he found beaten, the last one
 he found worn out’; وقرو بانى ابراهيم عبدو خليل وقررو بانى ابراهيم عبدو خليل وقررو بانى ابراهيم
 وقررو بانى ابراهيم وقررو بانى ابراهيم وقررو بانى ابراهيم وقررو بانى ابراهيم وقررو بانى ابراهيم
 (yielding **nabiyyu*) 46/8a:11 ‘confess that I am Ibrāhīm, His servant,
 the Friend, His prophet and His messenger!’; نبيوه نبويه (yielding **nabiyuh*)
 52/10b:16.

4.1.1.4 *Relics of Early Arabic Pausal Forms*

A pausal form is the form in which a word appears at the end of a sentence, a phrase or before a pause or stop in the flow of speech, as opposed to a contextual form which is the form of a word when appearing in the middle of a sentence or e.g. in a genitive construction.¹¹⁹ The phenomenon is especially evident in Classical Arabic, where the notion of pausal versus contextual forms is often practiced. It is generally accepted that Old Arabic context forms gradually came to disappear in many of today’s modern dialects, and that they were replaced by pausal forms over the course of time.¹²⁰ Yet, some scholars hold that the pausal nature of many dialects may, in fact, have emerged not by evolving from a pause/context system as is attested in Classical Arabic and gradually into a preference towards pausal forms, but rather directly from Old Arabic dialects which employed only pausal forms.¹²¹ Without supporting either view, we will nevertheless attempt to identify and characterize the findings concerning pausal and contextual forms in our Cairo-Ramla manuscripts, some of which are most conspicuous of nature.

4.1.1.4.1 *Accusative -an and Genitive -in Spelled with nūn Plene*

Occasionally we find a number of forms reflecting typical, unambiguous endings according to established Classical Arabic rules. These are represented by accusative *-an* and genitive *-in* written in *plene* script with *nūn* or plene written vowel + *nūn*, and seemingly employed in a position of pause. Consider the examples below:

¹¹⁹ Hoberman 2011 online.

¹²⁰ Hoberman 2011 online.

¹²¹ See Owens 2006:96ff.

فجات الى وادى ودخلت الى المغارا פגאת אי וואדי ודללת אי אמגארא ולם וגדתו אבדן פצרלת ובכיית
 46/5a:2-3 ‘she came to the valley and went into the
 cave, but could not find her son (at all). So she cried out and wept [...]’; ואכד יצחק
 45/4a:14-15 ואخذ يصحق ولدهו ومضا طابيعن فى حق الله تع’ ולדהו ומצא טאיען פי חק אלה תע’
 ‘and he took his son Yishāq and proceeded, in compliance with the truth of Allāh,
 MHBE’; 46/5b:9-10 قالت لهو اننى اخبرك بامرן وهو عجيب וקאת להו אנני אכברך באמרן והו עגיב;
 10 ‘she said, “Truly, I will tell you about something amazing”’;¹²² בקלבן
 8/1b:1-2 ‘I came to you with a mournful heart’; ופחה פרחאן
 46/2b:8-9 ‘he became very happy (lit. ~ a great joy)’.¹²³

4.1.1.4.2 Accusative Ending -ā

There are also examples of similar phrases where the *-an* has been shortened to *-ā*. In the version of *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* contained in MS 52, accusative ending *-an* is consistently marked with a two-dotted *alif*. This occurs consistently in lexemes such as 52/3a:1 שיא ‘thing’; 52/3a:2; 5a:6 ‘never’; 52/3b:7 ‘joyous’; 52/6b:13; 10a:4 ‘a day’, and appear altogether sixteen times throughout the manuscript. In fact, so careful was the scribe to render the spelling *-an*, that he even (hypercorrectly) marked the accusative indefinite object in 52/4a:11 לבא ‘milk’. However, some items appearing in the same manuscript lack the marker, in pause as well as context position, indicating the accusative ending *-ā*. Consider the examples below:

وامر بل زينه فى المدينة ايضاً لما نضرهم ואמר בל זינה פי אמדינה איצא למא נצרהם אסייד אברהים
 52/7b:16-17 ‘also, he ordered for the city to be decorated. When Master
 Ibrāhīm the Friend, saw [...]’; ותחת יד כל קאיד אף כדאם איצא נשיר עליך תרסל לה מן בעץ;
 52/7a:4-6 ‘and under the control of every commander are also one thousand servants. We advise
 you to send for him some of your servants [...]’; פרח פרחאן עציים;
 52/2a:11 ‘he became very happy (lit. ~ a great joy)’.¹²⁴

¹²² Note that the parallel passage of MS 52 (see example below) has no nunation, viz. בامر وهو عجيب באמרן והו עגיב. 52/5b:10.

¹²³ Note that the parallel passage of MS 52 (see example below) has the ending *-ā*, viz. פרח פרחאן עציים. 52/2a:11.

¹²⁴ Note that the parallel passage of MS 46 (see example above) has the ending *-an*, viz. פרח פרחאן עזים. 46/2b:8-9.

In this particular case this spelling indicates that at one point the word may have been pronounced *ʿayḏā* rather than *ʿayḏan*, perhaps as a result of being in pausal position. According to Blau this form is attested in a 13th-century Egyptian manuscript of *Pirqe Avot*.¹²⁵ The feature of accusative *-a* (or *-ā*) preserved in pause is also found occasionally in Egyptian 19th-century sources.¹²⁶ It is also attested in the Ancient West-Arabian variety of Azd (situated between Yemen and Hijāz).¹²⁷ One should of course not dismiss the possibility that *ʿayḏā* is merely reflecting the Classical Arabic pausal reading *-an* > *-ā*, but it is, nonetheless, an interesting observation of an ending which might reflect a chronological stage in which the pausal form has been semented. Even though we do not always know exactly whether an ending reflects *-ā* or *-an* elsewhere in our manuscripts, we know that among the early Qurʾānic reciters, the two were used interchangeably.¹²⁸

It is in place to draw the attention to the observations of Birkeland on these pausal forms, which he identifies with an earlier stage of the Egyptian Arabic language. In the syllable structure of Classical Arabic, all words end in a long syllable, i.e. the final sound is either a long vowel or a consonant. It is understood that in the case of indefinite singular nouns, sounds were omitted or reduced according to the following development: nominative *-un* was dropped (yielding *kalbun* > *kalb*); genitive *-in* was dropped (yielding *kalbin* > *kalb*); and the accusative *-an* was reduced to *ā* (yielding *kalban* > *kalbā*).¹²⁹ Birkeland further notes that, except for a few relics of contextual forms and cases in which pausal forms were impossible, all dialect forms have their basis in such old pausal forms.¹³⁰ The same stage of transition may be seen in the fossilized relics of Arabic in today's Maltese language, in which we find *ʿabda* 'none' for *ʿabadan* 'for ever' and *ḡāda* 'tomorrow' for *ḡadan*.¹³¹ When looking into other examples in the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts, they give the impression of being in a stage of transition between the old and the new (modern dialectal) pausal forms. So when moving on to the other cases of pausal forms throughout our material, developments concerning this apparent transitional stage become even more conspicuous.

¹²⁵ Blau 1999a:171.

¹²⁶ This has been pointed out, *inter alia*, in E. M. Wagner 2010:49 and Hary 1992:89.

¹²⁷ Rabin 1951:56.

¹²⁸ Other examples such as *ابدا* 45/10a:13 'at all, never' may also be examples of this feature, however it is not possible to know whether the final *alif* reflects *-ā* or merely an orthographic variant of *-an* in this manuscript, as nunation is never indicated. For example, in one manuscript we find *ومشى بو اي عنند املك انمرود* 46/8b:4 'so he went with him to King Nimrūd in pursuit of advice, and said [...]' (without diacritics), whereas the manuscript mentioned above has diacritic marks on both endings, viz. *مبشراً* 52/9b:15 and *مبشراً*.

¹²⁹ Birkeland 1952:9.

¹³⁰ Birkeland 1952:10.

¹³¹ Aquilina 1959:344.

4.1.1.4.3 Accusative *-ā* and *-an* Used Interchangably

There seems to be a tendency among some scribes towards using both forms, namely *-ā* and *-an*, in the same text. The scribes of the two manuscripts containing *Qṣ Sulaymān*, MS 23 (and the more or less identical MS 31), we find the following parallel practices *خجلا* and *خجلن* and *خجلن* ‘ashamed’, both of which are employed in non-pausal position:

אטרק סלימאן *خجلن* and 23/3b:8-9 اطرق سليمان *خجلا* من كلامها اترק סלימאן *خجلا* מן כלאמהא
23/2a:12 اطرق سليمان *خجلن* من كلامهו מן כלאמהו ‘Sulaymān bowed his head, ashamed
by its words’.

4.1.1.4.4 Omitting *-an* (or *-ā*) and *-in*

There are also occurrences where the scribe has omitted final *-an* (or *-ā*) and *-in* completely. All the cases seem to appear in a position of context. Consider the following examples:

النمرود انمروود וקע מגשי עלא וגהו **magšīyan > (magšīyā >) magšī* ‘unconscious’, as in
46/9a:16 وقع مغشى علا وجهو **qā'idan > (qā'ida >)*
qā'id, as in 46/5a:5-6 وجدت ولدها قاعد مقيم فيها ووجدت ولدها קאעד מקים פיהא **mayyitan > (mayyitā >)*
mayyit, as in 23/7b:1 فخر مييت ومال التاج عن راسو اتهاغ عن راسو פכר מיית ומא
**kaṭīran > (kaṭīrā >)* *kaṭīr* 46/3b:2-3; 52/3a:6-7 كبر بطنها واتغير لونها كثير כבר בטנהא ואתגזיר לונהא כתיר
**b(i)-amrin > b(i)-amr*, as in 52/5b:9-10 وقالت لهو اننى اخبرك بامر وهو عجيب وكأت لهو אנני אכברך באמר והו עגיב
‘she said, “Truly, I will tell you about something amazing”’.¹³²

The same trait is attested in a colloquial 15th-century text from Cairo, viz. ועלא אצהארך כלכם
‘and to all your wife’s relatives, all,’¹³³ not to mention in modern-day Maltese, viz. *deyyem* ‘always’ for *dā'imān* etc.¹³⁴ Blau considers it to be a living, spoken

¹³² Note that the parallel passage of MS 46 (see example above) has nunation, viz. *بامرن وهو عجيب بامرهن وهو عגיב* 46/5b:10.

¹³³ Gottheil and Worrel 1927:131 (line 18) *apud* Blau 1999a:170.

¹³⁴ Aquilina 1959:344.

feature, an argument he supports by the fact that it is regularly employed in modern Bedouin dialects.¹³⁵

4.1.1.4.5 Separated 'tanwīn' and the Particle *ʾan* / *ʾin*

Besides the various attestations of indefinite markers such as *-an*, *-in*, *-ā*, the same feature is also attested with the particle *ʾan* or *ʾin* separated from the indefinite word, as in *fī yawm ʾin/ʾan wāhid* 'one day' (more examples are presented below). According to Blau, the emergence of the independent particle *ʾan* comes from the accusative *tanwīn* ending which is separated from the word and no longer functions as an indefinite article, but rather as a "morpheme indicating that the noun to which it is affixed is followed by an attribute" (Blau 1999a:174f.).¹³⁶ The feature is frequently attested in Judaeo-Arabic sources from the 10th century and onwards.¹³⁷ Blau and subsequently E. M. Wagner (whose nomenclature has been mainly applied here) distinguish between three different categories of the independent particle *ʾan* appearing in in their data.¹³⁸ These are *ʾan* + attributive adjective and *ʾan* + attributive clause, both of which are attested in our material, and *ʾan* + attributive noun which is lacking here.

In dialects of the eastern part of Libya, as well as in the earliest Spanish Arabic documents, indefinite (ultimate) constituents are often marked with the particle *ʾan*. Here, these connecting particles are sometimes attached to the first constituent, as in e.g. *baytan kabīr* 'a white house', and sometimes separated, as in *bayt an kabīr*.¹³⁹ The separate *tanwīn* is believed to have been brought into Egypt by Arab tribes sometime during the 7th and the 8th century and into Spain in the 8th century.¹⁴⁰ The similarities between the Spanish Arabic material and that of ours is remarkable in that they both display the same inconsistent use of the separated particle — as if the particle has fallen out of use in one context, but has been firmly retained in another. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the feature seems to disappear from Spanish Arabic in later texts.¹⁴¹ Whereas no epistolary Judaeo-Arabic

¹³⁵ Blau 1999a:170.

¹³⁶ Note that some scholars, such as Owens (2006:106), oppose the idea of the independent particle *ʾan* / *ʾin* being relics of the system of case endings.

¹³⁷ Baneth 1945-1946.

¹³⁸ Blau 1999a:175; E. M. Wagner 2010:186.

¹³⁹ See Fischer and Jastrow 1980:96 and Corriente 1977:121, respectively.

¹⁴⁰ Owens 2006:105.

¹⁴¹ Owens 2006:105.

manuscripts from the Maghrib exhibit this kind of separate *tanwīn* *ʿan*, the feature is quite frequently employed in 11th-century Egyptian sources.¹⁴²

It is not only in Western dialects that one finds parallels to this somewhat independent *tanwīn*, but also across the Arabian Peninsula. For example, particle *ʿin* is attached to the modifier also in the dialects of Najd¹⁴³ and Rwala.¹⁴⁴ The examples from here are similar vis-à-vis those of ours (listed below), viz. *bēt-in kibīr* ‘a big house’ and *jiz²-in minh* ‘a part of it,’ and is even found in adverbial expressions such as *maṭal-in* ‘for example.’¹⁴⁵ The same feature has also been attested in Abha and the Tihāmī Qaḥṭānī dialects of the south-western Arabian region of ʿAsīr.¹⁴⁶ Here, the suffix *-u* is used in both pausal and non-pausal position while the suffix *-in* is used only in non-pausal position. The suffix *-in* is used only in non-pausal position, thus *ḥafl-in kabīr-u* ‘a large party’ and *ṭawb-in ʿaswad* ‘a black gown.’ As far as Munira al-Azraqi’s investigation goes, the dialect in Abha does not exhibit the suffix *-u* but employs *tanwīn -in* or *-inn* when an indefinite noun is followed by an adjective, as in *manti maratin sanʿah* ‘you are a good woman’ and *šayyin šēn* ‘something bad’.¹⁴⁷ On its frequency and reasons for employing (or not employing) the *tanwīn*, she notes that it “does not occur in pause even if followed by a word in the next phrase. And this is why *at-tanwi:n* is not always used. Some people are quiet, calm, cool and make frequent pauses in their speech. Others like to overwhelm their speech by using many nouns and adjectives with *tanwi:n* without pauses between them. Thus we can listen to a story full of *tanwi:n* by one person and hear the same story from another person with less *tanwi:n*” (al-Azraqi 1998:76). Even though the particle described above follows the preceding noun without pause, it is employed according to the manner pointed out by Blau and E. M. Wagner on the use of particle *ʿan* in the Cairo Genizah¹⁴⁸ (alternatively pronounced *ʿin*).¹⁴⁹

In addition to those mentioned above, separate *ʿan* / *ʿin* is heard in dialects of a somewhat geographically peripheral character, such as in the Arabic dialects of Afghanistan¹⁵⁰ and Uzbekistan.¹⁵¹ It is also attested in the dialect of Shukriyya in Eastern

¹⁴² E. M. Wagner 2010:186.

¹⁴³ See Ingham 1994:49; Versteegh 2001:149.

¹⁴⁴ Fischer and Jastrow 1980:96.

¹⁴⁵ The examples are taken from Versteegh 2001:149.

¹⁴⁶ Alqahtani 2015:49; al-Azraqi 1998:72.

¹⁴⁷ al-Azraqi 1998:72.

¹⁴⁸ Blau 1999a:175; E. M. Wagner 2010:186.

¹⁴⁹ Ørum 2017:118.

¹⁵⁰ Ingham 1994:115

¹⁵¹ Fischer and Jastrow 1980:96.

Sudan,¹⁵² where it was brought by migrants coming from Egypt sometime after the beginning of the 14th century.¹⁵³ It is not only sedentary varieties that use separate *ʿan* to connect an indefinite noun and a modifier, but also Bedouin varieties, such as that of the Northern Arabian Peninsula and the Syrian-Iraqi desert.¹⁵⁴ Consider the following examples:

فانجعز انجعاز ان عزييم فانגעז אנגעזאז אנ עזימ 46/2a:12 (and employed in a similar fashion in 52/1b:13) ‘he was greatly disturbed’; ובכת בכה אנ שדיד; וכיף יכון מולוד טפל צגיר יסיר מסירה ארבעין יום פי יום אנ 52/4b:7 ‘and she wept bitterly’; 52/10a:6-7 ‘how can a new-born, a little child make a trip of forty days in only one?’; נזלו מכאן אנ מצעוב; זעק בצות אלמלהוב 59/2a:7-8 ‘they came to an unpleasant place’; 59/2b:4-5 ‘he cried out with a flaring voice, and his tears became shed drops’; באעו כעבד אנ מגלוב; 59/2b:12 (and employed in a similar fashion in 3a:5) ‘they sold him as a helpless slave’; 59/3b:4-5 ‘get me a renowned expert!’; קא רכבו עלי אמסן מרכוב יפסר מנאם אנ מצעוב قال ركبو على امسن; 59/3b:8 ‘he said, “Bring him to me this evening to interpret this difficult dream!”’; ويسير بهي لاي موضعان ان ويسير بهي لاي مؤضعان ان يريد; 23/2a:1-2¹⁵⁵ ‘[...] taking him wherever he desired’;

4.1.1.5 *Prolonged Vowels of the Pausal Position in Poetry*

According to the phonological conventions of Classical Arabic, a word can never end in pause. The result is either that the short vowel is omitted, prolonged, or a final *-h* is fixed to the end.¹⁵⁶ Although the rule seems to be quite regularly violated throughout the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts, it is meticulously followed in almost all the passages involving poetry. One example here of pausal, prolonged *-ū* is presented below:

• יא אבן אדם לא יסכר בכך אאמלו • יוקצא עליך אדא אמלתהו אאגלו •

¹⁵² Reichmuth 1983:190; Fischer and Jastrow 1980:96.

¹⁵³ Owens 2006:105.

¹⁵⁴ See Blau 1999a:176, 202.

¹⁵⁵ Note that the particle here does not appear in MS 23 but in in the parallell text of MS 31 (derivations from MS 23 are given in the apparatus).

¹⁵⁶ Birkeland 1940; Retsö 1994. Owens (2006:231), however, does not mention the suffixed *-h*, but maintains that Sibawayhī heard an invariable final *-n* (viz. *ʿasā-ka* > *ʿasā-kan* ‘your fear’) in the dialect of Banū Tamīm.

פמא תהני בשי כאן קד גמעו • בל כלפו אדאר ואלהלין וירתחלו •

• يا ابن ادم لا يسخر بك الاملو • يوقضا عليك ادا املتهو الاجلو •
• فما تهني بشى كان قد جمعو • بل خلفو الدار والاهلين وارتحلو •

O son of Adam, fortune will not deceive you. The instant of death will be forced upon you.

You will have no pleasure, they have already gathered. And they have left the homes and families behind and departed.

23/8b:3-6

For the Tihāmī Qaḥṭānī dialects of the south-western Arabian region of °Asīr, Khairiah Alqahtani demonstrates that one finds *-u* in pause, and either *-u* or *-in* when in context. She does not reject, however, that there might be a hitherto unknown and more specific phonological rule governing non-pausal usage.¹⁵⁷

In addition to the prolonged *-ū* in pause, the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts also display prolonged *-ī* in pause. This becomes particularly evident in the passage **min yawmin ʿila yawmī* ‘from one day to the other’. Consider the following passage:

הדא סבילך מן יומן אא יומי • בפרחת אנאים אמסרור באנומי •
• לא תעגבן לקומן פי אורא סעדו • לא שך תונקל מן קומן אאקואמי •

• هذا سبيلك من يومن الا يومى • بفرحت النائم المسرور بالنومى •
• لا تعجبين لقومن فى الورا سعدو • لا شك تونقل من قومن الاقوامى •

This is your path, from one day to the other. As [it is] with the joy of the sleeping one, the delightful sleeps.

There is nothing astonishing with nations rejoicing in what has passed. There is no doubt that [the joy] will be passed on from nation to other nations.

23/8b:9-12

¹⁵⁷ Alqahtani 2015:49.

4.1.1.5.1 Length of Final Vowel and the Old Arabic Pronominal Suffixes

The pausal and prolonged *-ū* also occurs after the suffixes *-hum* and *-tum* (> *-humū*; *-tumū*). Although having been blurred by a somewhat inconsistent orthographic representation, the pronominal suffixes *-humū/-himū* and *-umū/-imū* ‘them’ is attested, this time also in poetry appearing in *Qṣ Sulaymān*. Consider the examples below:

• ולמא מלכת אמוֹלךְ ואֵליל ואלוא • פאבעדהמו גֵרֵבן ופרקתמו שרקא •

• ولما ملكت الموالك والخيل واللوا • فابعدهمو غرین وفرقتمو شرقا •

So when I had ruled over kings and horses and brigades. I will send (?) them westwards,
and I (?) dispatched them eastwards.

23/8b:19-9a:1

• כֵּלַת מִנְהוּמו עֲרֻצָּאת אֶקְצוֹר • וְכָאנוּ בֵּהָא מוֹסְכֵנִין אֲנַעַם •

• خلت منهومو عرضات القصور • وكانو بها موسكنين النعم •

The vastness of the palace stranded them. And inside they became deprived of grace.

23/10a:6-7

It is not easy to assert any historical or geographical focal points for these suffixed pronouns, but they seem, nonetheless, to correspond to Western Arabic dialects which have preserved forms with oxytone stress.¹⁵⁸ These examples seem also to correspond to the case of the suffix *-kumū*, attested in a Medieval Judaeo-Arabic text from Egypt. For this particular case Blau argues that the form, which he could only find in one particular text, is not dialectal, but a hypercorrect¹⁵⁹ form which has been shaped by the use of *-kū* and *-kum*, both of which are used side-by-side in the speech of Egyptians.¹⁶⁰ I believe, however, that our pronominal suffixes *-humū / -umū* should also be considered as relics of Old Arabic forms,¹⁶¹ notably corresponding to the Old Arabic sedentary dialects of Mecca, Medina, the cities of greater

¹⁵⁸ Blau 1972:482.

¹⁵⁹ Blau uses the term ‘hyper-urbane’.

¹⁶⁰ Blau 1980:60f.

¹⁶¹ Assumed by, *inter alia*, Brockelmann (1908-1913 i:309f.) and Birkeland (1940) *apud* Owens 2006.

Yemen, al-Ḥīra and the Ghassānid regions.¹⁶² Also relevant are other observations on this pronominal suffix, which characterize it as being retentions of archaic forms which are found in ancient poetry.¹⁶³ As far as I can understand these are, if not reflections of Old Arabic forms, essentially correspondent with the suffixed pronouns *-kmw* and *-hm(w)* which are found, *inter alia*, in the Old South Arabian language of the Sabaeans.

4.1.1.6 *Remarks on the Issues of Stress, Prolongation and Context-versus-Pausal Forms*

Based on our observations regarding stress, prolongation and the context and pausal forms, we may suggest some arguments, all of which are in accordance with observations made by relevant scholars and grammarians of Arabic. First, even though we possess only written evidence, it is plausible that our examples indicate particular stages in the development of the pausal forms in Old Arabic, and that these seem to have been practiced in one way or the other when our manuscripts acquired their shape. This claim is supported by the observations of Birkeland (1940) who based his arguments on the work of Sībawayhī, and will be demonstrated below. Second, it is obvious that the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts exhibit a number of different stages of this supposed development; not surprisingly perhaps, many passages including poetry predominantly mirror the early chronological stages, whereas passages of prose mirror stages of a later vintage. This would of course only be expected from a stylistic point of view, but when taking into consideration Birkeland's description of the development of pausal forms in Old Arabic, we can identify many of the same stages in our material, according to the list presented below:¹⁶⁴

- A. Final short vowels, *-u*, *-a* and *-i* all present: *kātib-u*, *kātib-a*, *kātib-i*.
- B. Development of *rawm* 'labialization', giving full final *-a*, and reduced *-u* and *-i*: *kātib-a*, *kātib-u/i*.

¹⁶² Admittedly, both Bedouin and sedentary varieties of Old Arabic are believed to have employed these pronominal suffixes. But whereas the sedentary dialects mentioned above had no vowel elision between the preposition and the suffix, viz. *bi-humū* and *bi-hunna*, the Bedouin dialects practiced a slightly heavier degree of vowel elision, viz. *bi-himū/u* and *bi-hinna*. Hence, because our material rarely exhibits processes of vowel elision such as the 'Bedouin type' *alay-him* and *bi-him*, but rather displays a lack of progressive assimilation such as the 'sedentary type' *alay-hum* and *bi-hum*, it is reasonable to identify our findings with the process corresponding with that of the 'sedentary type'. See Cadora 1992:24; Versteegh 2001:39, 41.

¹⁶³ Fleisch 1968:138.

¹⁶⁴ The list and taxonomy employed here have been adapted from that of Owens 2006:22.

- C. Development of *ʔišmām* ‘rounding and fronting’, leading to *-a* and *-i*, with *-u* represented only by voiceless realization: *kātib-a*, *kātib-i*, *kātib-ʔ*.
- D. Development of *taḍʕif*, i.e. doubling of final consonant as compensation for loss of final vowels: *kātibb*.
- E. All final vowels are lost = *sukūn*: *kātib*.

As illustrated above,¹⁶⁵ a complete set of final vowels (partly corresponding to stage A) is attested in the poetry of *Qṣ Sulaymān*, in which *plene* written *-ū*, *-ā* and *-ī* are all employed to convey rhyme in the pausal position. The development of *rawm*, the full final *-a* (corresponding to stage B), is attested in several items.¹⁶⁶ Our findings regarding the preservation of accusative and genitive *tanwīn*¹⁶⁷ indicate a stage in which final *-u* is in the process of disappearing (corresponding to stage C). The complete loss of all final vowels (corresponding to stage E) are without doubt the most frequent, a process which can be illustrated by the separated *tanwīn ʔan / ʔin* and the complete omitting of case endings.¹⁶⁸

Nevertheless, the most interesting findings regarding the development of these Old Arabic pausal forms are the apparent evidence of *taḍʕif* (corresponding to stage D). According to Sībawayhī, this process is characterized by a geminate pronunciation of the final consonant. So instead of *kātib* with stress on the initial syllable, we have *kātibb*, in reality putting stress on the last one, viz. *kātibb*. As was discussed in 4.1.1.2, many of the verbs investigated seem to exhibit a typically Western pattern of oxytone stress, likely exhibiting an earlier stage of the modern dialects. Such unconventional patterns of stress — when compared with those of Classical Arabic and the Modern Cairene variety — are attested not only in verbs, but also in nouns. Based on the appearance of these nouns, however, it is very difficult to draw final conclusions; they do not convey stress on the last syllable, nor do they adhere to any other particular stage out of those fashioned by Birkeland above. But if we consider Sībawayhī’s notion of *taḍʕif* as a process where loss of final vowels is compensated by changing the position of stress, or by prolonging or stressing an unstressed syllable *CvC* (> *Cv:C* / *Cv:CC*), the noun patterns which have been examined may very well be interpreted as being representative of stage D. As we have demonstrated above, this process corresponds closely with that of Maltese, where vowel *u* is always prolonged when followed by only one consonant (and where the quantity of it varies with emphasis and tempo of the expression).

¹⁶⁵ In 4.1.1.5.

¹⁶⁶ In 4.1.1.4.2.

¹⁶⁷ In 4.1.1.4.1.

¹⁶⁸ In 4.1.1.4.4; 4.1.1.4.5.

Here, vowel *u* remains long even when the word is morphologically lengthened (*būt* ‘pocket’ > *būtna* ‘our pocket’),¹⁶⁹ making it particularly ‘visible’. Maltese also makes distinctions between the quantity of consonants by marking the preceding vowels, a process which again reminds of Sībawayhī’s notion of *taḍʿīf*. Furthermore, vowels which have been affected by pharyngealization or velarization in Maltese are generally prolonged and tend to carry a sort of secondary stress side by side with the primary stress of the word.¹⁷⁰ This would correspond to the sonorous and emphatic environment of the examples attested throughout 4.1.1.2.

There are still many unanswered questions in these discussions regarding the pausal forms and patterns of stress. For example, whereas Birkeland attempts to establish chronological stages in the historical development of pausal forms in Old Arabic, the observations of Sībawayhī were entirely synchronic and representative of his own time.¹⁷¹ The discussion on the significance and chronological developments of these case endings goes beyond the limits of this dissertation, and deserve a separate investigation. But our findings nevertheless support the notion of natural coexisting systems of case and caseless forms, and most likely also of more than one system governing stress patterns in the one and same variety. They advocate for a general understanding that the presence of a heterogeneous style within a particular variety, say, exhibiting both high (case-bound) and low (caseless) stylistic differences at the same time, has been in use since long before the wake of Islam.¹⁷² As Owens notes in this connection, “[the evidence] point to a relatively profound dialect differentiation present at that early era. *Imāla* and *non-imāla* forms were clearly coexistent, as were various ways of marking participles, marking the linkage between noun and modifier [with *ʿan* / *ʿin*], and so on. The broader implication is that diversity found today among the Arabic dialects can mirror diversity already present in pre-diasporic times” (Owens 2006:165). It should be mentioned, of course, as we learned in the introductory chapter,¹⁷³ that Sībawayhī likely made many overtly broad generalizations about the characteristics of Old Arabic dialects. Another point of uncertainty is that Birkeland’s observations are reconstructions of a clearly ‘idealized’ Classical Arabic language, and that Old Arabic forms

¹⁶⁹ Aquilina 1959:38.

¹⁷⁰ Aquilina 1959:18.

¹⁷¹ As pointed out by Owens 2006:23. See Birkeland 1940:31.

¹⁷² This point is of a speculative character, and is not necessarily essential to my overall these. That said, it deserves to be brought into light and discussed for the sake of supplementing the debates concerning the origin of pausal forms and stress patterns in Old Arabic as well as the development of the diglossic situation in the Arabic language. For a more comprehensive approach on this debate, see the discussion of Owens (2006:118ff.) on the views of Carl Vollers and the possible caseless, West Arabian Qurʾānic variety of Abū ‘Amr ibn ‘Alāʾ among the traditions of *Qirāʾāt* ‘methods of recitation’.

¹⁷³ In 1.9.

may well have deviated from these. Accordingly, they should be open to alternative interpretations.¹⁷⁴ Also, it is not exactly clear what triggers the apparent patterns of stress attested in our manuscripts. Based on our available examples, it may be triggered by a phonetic environment of emphatic or sonorous sounds, or one affected simply by the presence of vowel *u*.

4.1.2 Consonants

4.1.2.1 *Despirantization of Interdental Fricatives*

As has been attested in medieval Judaeo-Arabic material as well as in modern dialects,¹⁷⁵ the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts occasionally display a process of interdental fricatives which have turned into plosives or corresponding sibilants. Even though this process was most likely strongly present at the various points in which our manuscripts acquired their shape, our respective scribes rarely distinguish between fricatives and plosives, that is, between $\text{ד} > \text{ד}$ and $\text{ד} > \text{ד}$ or $\text{ד} > \text{ד}$ and $\text{ד} > \text{ד}$. However, the scribe of the *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* version contained in MS 46 has made distinctions between some fricatives and sibilants, that is, between $\text{ד} > \text{ד}$ and $\text{ד} > \text{ד}$ on the one hand, and $\text{ד} > \text{ד}$ on the other. Consider the examples below:

$\text{ד} > \text{ד}$ — זכרת זכרת 46/4b:16 ‘she remembered’; אל אזכיא א אזכיא 45/2b:2-3 ‘the bright ones’.

$\text{ד} > \text{ד}$ — עזים עזים 46/passim ‘great, powerful’; פי נזר 46/6b:2 ‘view’; נזר נזר 46/8a:12 ‘and he saw his father’; הזלמין אזלמין 46/4b:10 ‘the wrongdoers’; אזלמת אזלמת 46/4b:8 ‘it darkened’.

Another feature indicating despirantization is the occasional confusion of the interdental $\text{ד} > \text{ד}$ and $\text{ד} > \text{ד}$. These sounds appear to have been merged or to have shifted from an affricate or a sibilant to plosive pronunciation, as in $\text{ד} > \text{ד}$ 46/6a:10 ‘you see him’; $\text{ד} > \text{ד} > \text{ד}$ 46/6b:15 ‘loose garment’; and $\text{ד} > \text{ד} > \text{ד}$ 52/7b:1 ‘little, small’. There are also signs of despirantization where sounds or graphemes appear to have been confused, as in $\text{ד} > \text{ד}$ 52/passim ‘little, small’; $\text{ד} > \text{ד}$ 23/10a:8 ‘and Death

¹⁷⁴ See Owens 2006:23.

¹⁷⁵ See Blau 1999a:76f.

executed their pleasure’; ($d > z$) אֶשְׂטְנַן מֵא גֵטְרָהוּם אַ שְׂטַן 45/6b:14 ‘then Satan turned against them’.¹⁷⁶ These latter examples are perhaps only expected in material such as this and in the dialect of modern-day Egypt.

4.1.2.1.1 *On the Interdental of the Relative Particle alladī - illadī - aldi - əldi*

Similar to much written Judaeo-Arabic material, the manuscripts at hand generally display lack of variation in the use of relative pronouns; in fact, reflections of Classical Arabic *alladī* (or a variant of it) are almost invariably employed (reflecting plosive *d* — *alladī* — being the most frequent), regardless of gender, number and case. The feminine *allatī* (or a variant of it) is the only exception in our material; however, it is part of a passage alluding to content in the Qurʾān.¹⁷⁷ The fact that it was written in such a ‘correct’ manner when rendering Qurʾānic material indicates that the remaining majority of ‘incorrect’ cases of the relative are employed intentionally. Invariable use of the relative *alladī* (or a variant of it) is frequently found in other Judaeo-Arabic sources. Scholars such as Blau and Khan discuss the issue, according to whom the relative has generally been regarded as fossilized and as a mere particle due to its frequent detachment from the main clause.¹⁷⁸ Examples illustrating this point are widely attested in all the manuscripts, some of which appear as follows:

الانسان يمتحن رفيقوه لكونه لم يعلم الذي في آانسآن يمتحّن رفيقوه לכונה לה יעלם אַדיּ פי קלבהי
 45/12a:7-9 ‘Man puts his companion to the test because he does not know
 that which is in his heart’; לה יבקא אמראה חמלה חתה תחצר בין ידיך טאעא פי קלב אחגרה
 46/2b:4-5 ‘there will be no remaining pregnant women unless they have appeared before
 you and shown obedience in the middle of the courtyard that you will build’;
 46/2a:3 ‘with the writing of stories that happened a long time ago’; הום אַדיּ אכלוּני הום אכלוני
 8/3b:9 ‘they are the ones who ate me’.

Fortunately for the purpose of our study, the scribe of *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq* did in fact distinguish between all four interdentals *d*, *ḏ*, *t* and *ṭ* in such a thorough manner that the manuscript

¹⁷⁶ On the merging of *d* and *z*, see e.g. Ferguson 1959; Blau 1999a:76.

¹⁷⁷ The passage reads אַנא שדאד אבן עאד אַדיּ בנית ארמלאת אעמאד אַתיּ לה יוכלק מתלהא פי אבלאד
 23/12a:1-3 ‘I am Shaddād ibn ʿĀd, who built *Iram of the Pillars*, the like of
 which was never created in the land (Q 89.7-8)’.

¹⁷⁸ See e.g. Blau 1980:226f.; 1999a:87f., 109f.; Khan 2006:56.

reflects actual phonemic distinction between the four sounds. Interestingly, whereas the manuscript consistently distinguishes between the two letters ד̣ and ד, the demonstrative is consistently spelled with a dental stop, plosive אדי (45/*passim*). Two selected pairs illustrate this degree of consistency very clearly: אדי occurs two times whereas אדי occurs thirty-five times; likewise, דאך 'that' occurs twenty-one times whereas דאך occurs only once. This supports Blau and Hopkins' suggestion that the demonstrative in some cases was pronounced *alladī* (or *illadī*) or perhaps *aldi* (or *aldī*), as was revealed in a number of 12th/13th-century vocalized letters from the Cairo Genizah.¹⁷⁹ Similar and consistent shifts from fricative *d* to plosive *d* is attested also elsewhere in *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq*, as in אַחַד אַחַד 'take' and דבַּח דבַּח 'slaughter', both of which the manuscript has almost invariably rendered with the plosive. Other fricatives, as in אַתְּדַכֵּר 'remember' and דִּהַב 'go, leave,' have been preserved.

E. M. Wagner lists three possibilities for the form *aldi*, namely that it may be (a) the pseudo-archaic, written *koine* of the Arabic speaking Jewish communities, sometimes vocalized *illadī*, (b) reflecting an artificial literary form or the Egyptian reading tradition, or that it is (c) a pronunciation characteristic of early-modern Maghribī Judaeo-Arabic.¹⁸⁰ In line with her suggestion, D. Cohen found use of *aldi* among Jews in the eastern parts of the Maghrib.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, the phenomenon seems to have been even more widespread than suggested by the latter two; Eksell argues that that today's North African *d*- and *dyāl* forms "go back to intermediate forms such as *aldi* and *addi*, and that these were relative pronouns related to *alladī* and similar forms" (Eksell, 2006:84 [my italics]). Moreover, *alladī* as a universal relative is attested in Spanish Arabic sources such as in the colloquial poetic writings of Ibn Quzmān (11th-12th centuries) and Pedro de Alcalá (15th-16th centuries).¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ Blau and Hopkins 1985.

¹⁸⁰ E. M. Wagner uses the term Late Maghrebī Judaeo-Arabic. Even though it is somewhat speculative, it could be suggested that the 'plosive' variant of *alladī* here reflects an initial influence from Yemen. It may have found its way to Egypt through Spain and the Maghrib, or it may have been retained there since the very early Islamic days. It could be an adapted use of *alladī*, which was in use among Banū Hudhayl (presumably in Ḥijāz) and in areas of Yemen in pre-Islamic times (see Rabin 1951:39), and employed without distinction for number or gender. On *dī* in the pre-Islamic Yemenite variety, Rabin notes that "it is also used in the colloquials of the Maghrib, where Yemenite influence is strong" (Rabin 1951:39).

¹⁸¹ D. Cohen 1978:302.

¹⁸² See Petri Hispani, *Alcalá:33 apud Corriente* 1977:98.

4.1.2.2 *Merging of the Sibilants s - š - ṣ in the Environment of tafxīm, tarqīq and Surrounding Sonorants*

Our material displays sibilants which we should describe as *appearing* either emphatic or non-emphatic. This does not, however, necessarily mean that emphasis is the underlying reason for their appearance; based on their heterogeneous appearance, we may argue that they are merely orthographical alternants reflecting a set of sibilants which merges into one indistinguishable sound when in a particular phonetic environment. These sounds may well have undergone a process of *tafxīm* or *tarqīq* as a result of being affected by neighbouring emphatic sounds, but sonorants seem to have an equally important role in this process, as becomes evident in some of the examples below. In fact, sonorants sometimes seem to be the only factor triggering the merging of sibilants. On the kind of evidence and discussion provided below, an opinion may be expressed that the merger of sibilants was strongly influenced by or corresponded to the phonetic nature of the North African, Spanish, Sicilian and Maltese dialects of Arabic and may have spread with migrants from these areas coming to Egypt. These mergers are widespread in the Nile Delta, most of which are heard in the areas of Qalyūbiyya and Manufiyya.¹⁸³ Mergers are also attested along the banks of the Nile, long into the southern parts of Upper Egypt,¹⁸⁴ as well as in the oases of Fayyūm,¹⁸⁵ Farafra and Dakhla.¹⁸⁶ The varieties of the latter two areas have shown to maintain features of the Bedouin variant of Banū Sulaym.¹⁸⁷ According to the findings of Behnstedt, it is also likely that the first Arabs who settled in some of these oases were tribes coming from the Maghrib, bringing with them a dialect resembling a Spanish Arabic type.¹⁸⁸

Throughout Corriente's sketch of the Spanish Arabic dialects, merging of sibilants is found in proximity of emphatic and sonorous sounds. Generally throughout North Africa, these merges are related to the proximity of sonorants *l*, *r*, *n* and *w*, as well as to a general 'confusion' of sibilants, especially among Jews.¹⁸⁹ According to D. Cohen's study on the variety employed by the indigenous Jews of Tunis, the various processes of merging are associated with (emphatic) *q*, *t*, *r*, *l* and (non-emphatic) *r*.¹⁹⁰ We shall discuss further the

¹⁸³ Behnstedt and Woidich 1985: map 411.

¹⁸⁴ Behnstedt and Woidich 1985: map 410.

¹⁸⁵ Behnstedt and Woidich 1985: map 410.

¹⁸⁶ Woidich 1993:343.

¹⁸⁷ Woidich notes, however, that "one should not take everything that is derived in this context at face value" (Woidich 1993:355).

¹⁸⁸ Behnstedt 1998:88ff.

¹⁸⁹ Marçais 1977:10, 23.

¹⁹⁰ D. Cohen 1964-1975ii:21ff.

geographical distribution of these mergers and their role in the case of our Cairo-Ramla manuscripts below. We will also discuss how these in turn may provide some valuable insights to the issue of the Egyptian *jīm* / *gīm*. But before that, we shall first look into the phenomena of *tarqīq* and *tafxīm*.

As has already been illustrated, many cases of sound change in our material seem to have been triggered by a process of emphasis or non-emphasis spread, also known as *tafxīm* and *tarqīq*. According to my own understanding, the terms *tafxīm* ‘make emphatic, velarized, pharyngealized’ and *tarqīq* ‘make thin, soft, make non-emphatic’ have two related meanings: They may *describe sounds as they appear* either as emphatic or as non-emphatic, or they can be used to *describe the process of a shift* from an emphatic to a non-emphatic sound or the other way around. Both purposes of use describe sounds which *are* or *become* coarticulated by a contraction¹⁹¹ (in the case of *tafxīm*) or a release (in the case of *tarqīq*) of the upper pharynx, also referred to as a process of *velarization* or *develarization*.

When describing emphatic and non-emphatic sounds as they appear in Classical Arabic, scholars such as William Gairdner (1925), Roman Jakobson (1957) and Jean Cantineau (1960) employ the term *tafxīm* as a cover term for the emphatic (*mufaxxam*) consonants *t, ṣ, ḍ* and *ẓ*, sounds which can be easily contrasted or juxtaposed with their non-emphatic (*muraqqaq*) equivalents *t, s, d* and *z*.¹⁹² In general, consonants such as the velars *q, x* and *ġ* and the allophonic forms *b, m, n, r* and *l* are also regarded as emphatic, but scholars do not always agree entirely on the classification, probably as a result of the varying regional influence on the phonetic nature of Classical Arabic.¹⁹³ When dealing with these allophonic forms, Salman al-Ani notes that the “occurrence, number, and spreading depend, to a varying degree, on the social levels of speaking and the geographical region” (al-Ani 2008:600). When describing the process of spread of emphasis or non-emphasis, we may say that sounds are partly affected by their phonetic environment as a result of an additional articulation of the ‘usual’ sounds. This means that in a process of *tafxīm* or *tarqīq*, sounds change into their emphatic or non-emphatic equivalents, respectively, with which they are homorganic and with which they share manner of articulation. All Arabic varieties except Maltese make use of this

¹⁹¹ See Bakalla 2009:421f.

¹⁹² This is in line with Sībawayhī’s classification of the four emphatics, reflecting the phonetic feature which he refers to as *ʾitbāq* ‘closing, contraction’, as opposed to *infītāḥ* ‘opening, release’ (see Al-Nassir 1993:50).

¹⁹³ Sībawayhī recognizes the three velars *q, x* and *ġ* together with the emphatic consonants *t, ṣ, ḍ* and *ẓ* as part of a larger group of *mustaʿliya* ‘elevated (towards the velum)’ consonants. They have in common that they prevent *imāla* (see Al-Nassir 1993:51).

kind of coarticulation of emphasis in one way or another.¹⁹⁴ There are a number of different specifications pertaining to each particular variety and group of dialects when describing the phonological nature and spread of emphasis in Arabic; the rules governing one variety may differ from the rules governing another.

The phonology of emphasis and the process of emphasis spread in Modern Cairene Arabic have been widely studied; among the most important works are those of Richards S. Harrell (1957), Walter Lehn (1963), Ellen Broselow (1976) and Robert Hoberman (1989).¹⁹⁵ The phonology of emphasis spread in this dialect is underlyingly associated with words carrying the so-called primary emphatics *t*, *ṣ*, *d* and *z*.¹⁹⁶ Other emphatic consonants in Cairene are the so-called secondary emphatics *r*, *l*, *k*, *b*, *m* and *q*, which can appear as independent segments in words regardless of the appearance of primary emphatics in neighbouring positions. The secondary emphatics have the predisposed nature of catalysing spread of emphasis to neighbouring segments, albeit with limited distribution.¹⁹⁷ According to Harrell's findings on emphasis spread in Cairene Arabic, it may spread from a single syllable to the whole word, in both directions.¹⁹⁸ Hoberman, when effectively summing up Broselow's language-specific rules on the domain of emphasis spread in Cairene Arabic, states that progressive emphasis spreads from an emphatic syllable to the following syllable (even across word boundaries) if the emphatic syllable is closed and the vowel of the following syllable is low.¹⁹⁹ Regressive emphasis spread, however, is not restricted by vowel quality or syllable structure. It simply spreads from an emphatic syllable to the preceding syllables, albeit only in the same word.²⁰⁰

The different sibilant mergers attested in our material are presented below, illustrating the phonetic environment in which they emerge. As will become apparent, it is not always clear whether the mergers are triggered by an environment of emphasis or by one of sonorants. It is surprising, however, that all occurrences of the sibilant merger except one (in *Qṣ Sulaymān*) are found in the two manuscripts of *Qṣ Ibrāhīm*. At first glance, many of these sibilants seem affected by their neighbouring sounds in the direction of becoming either

¹⁹⁴ The following contrasting pairs occur in all of the major Arabic dialects: *t* - *t*, *ṣ* - *s*, *d* - *d*, *z* - *z*, *l* - *l* and *r* - *r* (see Lehn 1963:29f). The same applies to the art of *tajwīd*, the various acknowledged rules governing oral recitation of the Qurʾān, where these, including *x* and *ġ*, are the only letters which are allowed to be pronounced with emphasis (see Nelson 2001:23).

¹⁹⁵ Khalafallah's (1969) study is on the Upper Egyptian variety may also be of importance to this discussion.

¹⁹⁶ Harrell 1957:70ff.; see also Broselow 1976: xiii f.

¹⁹⁷ Harrell 1957:72.

¹⁹⁸ Harrell 1957:70ff.

¹⁹⁹ *Low*, also referred to as *open*.

²⁰⁰ Broselow 1976:45f.; Hoberman 1989:73, 83.

mufaxxam or *muraqqaq*, however, when studying them all together, we find that they seem to be employed in free variation. In other words, we may say that a process of *tafxīm* or *tarqīq* affects neighbouring sounds, yet we cannot explain why this process comes into effect only on an occasional basis. Examples of the emphatic and non-emphatic reflection (and occasional, inconsistent use) of the sibilants *s* and *ṣ* are attested as follows:

s < > *ṣ* — פסארו יסמעו 46/10a:1 ‘and he began listening’ (but ימשי יצאר ימשי אדחול אלי וצט אמדינה); ויסאר ימשי אדחול אלי וצט אמדינה in 46/9b:11 ‘and he began walking’); אבני לך מוצע ואסיע טול פרצך; אבני לך מוצע ואסיע טול פרצך 46/7b:22-8a:2 ‘enter in the midst of the city’); אבני לך מוצע ואסיע טול פרצך 46/2b:2-3 ‘build for yourself a large place which is one *farsakh* long and one *farsakh* wide’); ויחרצך בעינה אדי מא ויחרצך בעינה אדי מא 52/4a:3 ‘and He will guard you with His own eyes which do not sleep (but ויחרוסך ויחרוסך in 46/4a:13); ויצרבון בא אצואת; ויצרבון בא אצואת 8/7b:8 ‘and they will crack the whips’.

These mergers are common throughout Egypt and the Arabic speaking world today. Yet, a more uncommon, albeit comparable pair of alternants is *š* and *ṣ*. Similar to the examples presented above for *s* and *ṣ*, these are used interchangeably and in a seemingly inconsistent manner. The apparent emphatic and non-emphatic reflections of the sibilants *š* and *ṣ* can be seen in the following examples:

š < > *ṣ* — תסגדו ללאצחאן וללצנמ 46/8a:17-18 ‘[my father, how can you] prostrate before individuals and idols?’ (but ללאצחאן וללצנמ in 52/9b:9); תמ חצר בינהום אציתאן אבלים אלעין פי צפה עאבד תמ חצר בינהום אציתאן אבלים אלעין פי צפה עאבד 46/6b:14-15 ‘thereupon, the cursed Ṣayṭān Iblīs appeared in the form of a worshipper’ (but אשיטאן אשיטאן in 46/7a:10); מצואר משנוע מעמול מן עוד יאבס לא יקדר מצואר משנוע מעמול מן עוד יאבס לא יקדר 46/10a:18-19 ‘[an idol,] shaped and manufactured, and made from a dried out stick that is not able to answer to itself’.

The manuscripts also display other mergers of sibilants which are of the same kind, however, many of these seem to have no connection to emphasis,²⁰¹ but rather to a sonorous phonological environment.²⁰² Among these we find:

فلما اسرق الضو ونضر الشمس قد فلما اسرك اذو ونذر اسمس قد اسركت نورها — $s < > \check{s}$
 46/4b:7-8 ‘when the light shone, [Ibrāhīm] could see the sun, and that
 its light was shining’ (but السمس اسمس and اسرق اسرك in 52/4a:16; الشمس اسمس in
 23/2b:14); فقا ابراهيم الخليل كيف اشير; 46/7b:13-14 ‘so Ibrāhīm the Friend said, “How do I follow
 (lit. move behind) them, o Angel Gabri’el?”’ (but اسير اسير in 52/8b:12); قا كعب
قال كعب ااحبار ان ابراهيم عيهشي في ما بين ما هو في تلك المغاره وحده فاشتحوش وبكا
 52/4a:3-6 ‘Ka^{ab} al-
 Aḥbār has said that Ibrāhīm, peace be upon him, while being inside that cave all
 alone, he was abandoned and cried’ (but فاشتحوش فاشتوحس in 46/4a:15); نفسه نفسه
 (which might be a reflection of the Hebrew cognate נפש nefesh) 46/8b:2, 10a:19
 ‘his soul’ (but نفسه نفسه in 46/10a:21, 10a:22).

Due to the limitation that comes with investigating sounds based on observing the mere orthography of a manuscript, there lies an inevitable (graphemic) neutralization of the sounds in the letters, which makes it impossible to draw definite conclusions. Nevertheless, the merges of voiceless $s < > \check{s}$, $\check{s} < > s$, and $\check{s} < > s$ (occasionally voiced $s < > z$ ²⁰³) are all attested in one orthographical way or the other, as illustrated above.

When attempting to describe the phonological processes identified in the examples above, most notably those reflecting emphasis in one way or the other, one could argue that shifts such as $\check{s} > s$ or $s > \check{s}$ likely involve a process of *tafxīm* or *tarqīq*; for example, the shift attested in مشنوع مشنوع 46/10a:18 ‘manufactured’ could be understood as having been triggered by progressive *tarqīq* $\check{s} > s$ followed by the merger $s < > \check{s}$, hence مسنوع < مشنوع < مصنوع < مشنوع مصنوع. Likewise, اصخاص اصخاص 46/8a:17 ‘persons; individuals’, could

²⁰¹ This is in accordance with the $s < > \check{s}$ merger attested in the pre-modern variety of the Jews of Tunis (see D. Cohen 1964-1975ii:21f.)

²⁰² Admittedly, there is also a possibility of Hebrew/Aramaic orthographic influence here, however grapheme ש reflecting s is very rare if not completely absent in 18/19th Judaeo-Arabic sources (see E. M. Wagner 2010:36, 40) and would only be expected to appear in Hebrew-Arabic cognates, such as *lišon / lisān*; *šamayim / samā*’; *šalom / salām* etc.

²⁰³ The shift $s > z$ is attested in بالمهندزين باللمه ندين 52/2a:13 ‘by/with the engineers’. Most probably the shift is not necessary part of the examples illustrating the merging of sibilants; rather, it is simply reflecting voiced $s > z$ as a result of the cluster (*-ndis-*) *-nds-* (> *-ndz-* > *-nz-*).

be understood as having been triggered by regressive *tafxīm* preceded by the merger $\check{s} < > s$, hence אצכא < אסכא < אשכא אצכא < اصخاص < اسخاص < اشخاص. Nevertheless, as we have seen above there are numerous examples which prove to be inconsistent with the general notion of spread of emphasis or non-emphasis such as the merger $\check{s} < > s$. Rather, this occasional, yet significant merger — or one could perhaps say confusion or instability²⁰⁴ — of sibilants seems to occur not only in the environment of the primary and secondary emphatics, but also together with sonorants.

No general phonological rule for Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic on this process of merging has hitherto been suggested; the examples above are nonetheless evidence of phonological behaviour which is attested in dialects which are connected socially, demographically and historically with that of medieval and early-modern Cairo; our evidence indicates an influence from or a correspondence with Western dialects, notably those of the Maghrib, Muslim Spain, Sicily and Malta. Marçais notes that these types of mergers are typically found in the Jewish North African dialects,²⁰⁵ in which *s*, *ʃ*, *z* and \check{s} , in addition to \check{z} (*jīm*), is realized as one intermediate sound between *s* and \check{s} when voiceless, and as *z* and \check{z} when voiced.²⁰⁶ He notes, however, that in addition to the general ‘confusion’ of sibilants,²⁰⁷ sonorants such as *l*, *r*, *n* and *w* also trigger a process of sibilant merging in its surrounding environment.²⁰⁸ According to Corriente’s findings in the low registers of Spanish Arabic there are instances of the merger *s* with *z*, *s* with *ʃ* and *s* with \check{s} .²⁰⁹ These were maintained also in the high register, but often resulted in hypercorrect usage when appearing in writing.²¹⁰ Khan notes that the phonological merger of *s* with \check{s} is found, *inter alia*, in the Jewish dialect of Fes in Morocco may be traced back to the immigration of North African Jews into Egypt from medieval times and onward.²¹¹ On this note, it is also argued that the merger of non-emphatic sibilants among Jews was very frequent in Tangier, Fes and Cairo.²¹² The merger of *s*, *ʃ* and \check{s} correspond

²⁰⁴ See D. Cohen 1964-1975ii:25.

²⁰⁵ Marçais uses *maghrébin*, a term in which he includes the dialects of Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

²⁰⁶ Marçais 1977:10. The manuscripts show only one occurrence of \check{z} reflecting *jīm*. See 4.1.2.3, below.

²⁰⁷ Marçais 1977:10.

²⁰⁸ Marçais 1977:21ff.

²⁰⁹ See Corriente 1977:48ff. For example, he finds the dissimilation of \check{s} into *s* in a 15th-century proverb collection of Ibn ʿĀšim, where it is attested in the vicinity of *jīm*, in words such as *sijār* ‘trees’, *tisajjaʿ* ‘you encourage’ (see Corriente 2013:27).

²¹⁰ We may compare the Spanish Arabic case with that of Modern Hebrew, in which non-Semitic influence has caused the dissimilation of \check{t} and *t* into *t*, *q* and *k* into *k*, and ʿ(*ayn*) and ʔ(*alef*) into the latter, a process which has caused confusion among most many speakers.

²¹¹ Khan 2011 online. See also Blau 1999a:251.

²¹² See M. Cohen 1912:24f.; Brunot and Malka 1940a: viii.

directly with findings in our material,²¹³ and indirectly with the case of *g* (as will be discussed below). Whereas D. Cohen describes these mergers as being a feature which marked the difference between Jews and Muslims in early modern Tunisia, he nonetheless claimed that this ‘instability of sibilants’ is nothing uncommon in the Arabic language, and was practiced by speakers from Granada and Tunis during the 14th century as well as among Moroccan Berbers.²¹⁴ Heath has recorded the merger of *š* with *s* and *z* with *ž*, among Muslims today in the Moroccan city of Meknes.²¹⁵ All the more interesting, Corriente notes that the occasional dissimilation of some sibilants, while being a common feature in many Arabic dialects, occurred, above all, in Spanish Arabic.²¹⁶ In some sources from this area we find examples of *š* merging with *s*, and *s* with *š*, both of which took place already before the 11th century.²¹⁷ The finding of such shifts confirms the obvious fact that a large scale movement of people must have travelled and resettled in between Spain, North Africa and Egypt. In this view, Cohen remarks that the shift *š* > *s* is found among Jews in Tunis, and suggests that it could have occurred as a result of Sephardi (and to some extent Italian) immigration.²¹⁸ Not surprisingly, perhaps, the mergers are also frequent in the varieties of Medieval Sicilia and in Malta, both of which had been settled by Arabic speaking tribes from Spain and North Africa²¹⁹ and in which all kinds of seafarers from that region frequented.

4.1.2.3 *Reconstructing the Egyptian gīm / žīm*

The observable sibilant mergers and the general tendency towards a process of despirantization (discussed above) are interesting for multiple reasons. Not only do these indicate a set of characteristics of the phonetic realization of sibilants and interdental in Cairo in medieval times, but they may also indirectly disclose the manner in which *jīm* was pronounced, that is, whether it was pronounced as a velar stop or as an affricate. First, the indications in *Qš Ibrāhīm* towards *jīm* being pronounced *g* (or a variant close to it) fit well with the general tendency in our Cairo-Ramla manuscripts towards a coalescence of many fricative dentals with their corresponding plosives in the general development of the Egyptian

²¹³ There are no attestations *z* (when in a voiceless environment) merging with these sibilants in our material. However, E. M. Wagner (2010:33) has recorded the merging of *z* with *š* in *رصفك رصقك* ‘your life support’ in her 15th/16th-century letters.

²¹⁴ D. Cohen 1978:300.

²¹⁵ Heath 2002:22f.

²¹⁶ Corriente 2013:27.

²¹⁷ Corriente 1977:49f.

²¹⁸ D. Cohen 1964-1975i:11 *apud* Corriente 1977:50.

²¹⁹ Agius 1996:183ff., 286ff.

phonemes, that is \underline{t} , \underline{d} and \underline{d} with t , d and \underline{d} , respectively.²²⁰ Second, the instability of the mergers discussed above ($s - \underline{s} - \underline{\underline{s}}$) includes $j\bar{m}$ in almost all the corresponding Western variants which have been compared here,²²¹ — all the dialects consulted show either [ʒ] or [dʒ] as their primary reflex of $j\bar{m}$ — however, this is not the case in the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts. Third, the $j\bar{m}$ is seemingly never affected directly by surrounding sibilants, as can be observed in cases such as سجد سجد ; عجوز لعجوز ; $\text{السمنجين اأسمننجين}$; اسمنجون اأسمنجون ; جيش جيش ; تجهزو التجهزو . It is relevant to note here, nevertheless, that Moroccan may exhibit g as a secondary reflex, when the phoneme is in the proximity of sibilants.²²² Fourth, in one case of metathesis in the manuscript $j\bar{m}$ seems to have been indirectly affected by (but has not merged) in the proximity of z , in انزعج انزعج ‘he was greatly disturbed’.²²³ Although there is no way to prove that this is the case here, we may argue that the $j\bar{m}$ is only slightly or only indirectly exposed to merging with z . Accordingly, we may suggest that this particular shift most likely reflects an initial palatalized form of g , [gʸ] or [dʸ].

In another manuscript, *Qš Yūsuf*, the archetype of which is probably of a somewhat later vintage than that of *Qš Ibrāhīm*, we find our only visible occurrence of affricated $j\bar{m}$ (most probably pronounced $\underline{\underline{z}}$) in the place of g when in the proximity of z . The merger can only be explained by the apparent correspondence to the word *jurza* (pl. *juraz*) ‘bundle (of hay)’, in $\text{قذ رايت في منامي كولنا بنزرز زرزہ}$ *qđ raīṭ fī manāmī kulnā bnnzzrzz rzzrh* ‘I saw in my dream, all of us were binding sheaves’. The use of both g and $\underline{\underline{z}}$ in the same register has been reported to concern some native speakers of Arabic,²²⁴ but it is nevertheless interesting that the two manuscripts seem to reflect two different pronunciations of the $j\bar{m}$, or more correctly, a varying degree of $j\bar{m}$ ’s prospect of merging with z when in its proximity.

²²⁰ This tendency is argued i.e. by Birkeland (1952:54). I agree with the view of his, that the pronunciation of $j\bar{m}$ in Egypt has varied from place to place (see Birkeland 1952:53f.), but I disagree with him arguing that “it can scarcely be maintained that the dialects of Lower and Upper Egypt have developed from two different old Arabic dialects [and] must have as a basis one and the same Egyptian Arabic dialect” (Birkeland 1952:54); this I consider to be too swift of a generalization. The dialects of Egypt have evidently been affected by many different strata, coming from the East and the West, by the varieties of sedentary as well as Bedouin tribes, not to mention the dialects’ individual developments over time.

²²¹ See Kaye 1972:64; Corriente 2013:27.

²²² See Caubet 1993:12; Heath 2002:133, 136. In Moroccan, this is seen in words such as *glas*, *gza* and *gīš*, and may reflect the situation of our examples as well. Examples are taken from Woidich and Zack 2009:45.

²²³ Most likely, the usage attested here is a result of metathesis of انزعج ‘to feel worried, be annoyed, disturbed’ carrying either the same or a similar semantic meaning. No items connected with the root consonants j - \underline{c} - z appear in any of the relevant dictionaries or grammars. We know that the passage corresponds to traditions recorded by al-Thaʿlabī and al-Ṭabarī, reading $\text{ففرع من ذلك فرعا شديدا}$ ‘he was greatly disturbed from that’ (see al-Thaʿlabī:41; al-Ṭabarī 236). Although j - \underline{c} - z and f - z - \underline{c} seem quite similar and may be a result of confusion or a deliberate sound shift, it is more plausible that it reflects a metathesis of انزعج .

²²⁴ See Kaye 1972:32, n. 1.

Due to the apparent lack of sibilants affecting the *jīm* in *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* (except from indirectly by means of metathesis with *z*), and the one case of *jīm* merging with *z* in *Qṣ Yūsuf*, it may be suggested that the letter was most likely pronounced as a velar stop *g* [g] or, perhaps more likely, a slightly palatalized alternant [gʲ] or [dʲ].²²⁵ This latter pronunciation of *g* is reminiscent of that which was described by Rabin as a voiced and ‘purely palatal’ *g* for the dialect of Yemen; by Rossi, Maltzan and Cantineau as a ‘squeezed’ or ‘soft’ *g* for the dialect of Ṣan‘ā and a number of varieties of North-Arabian Bedouins, all used in free alternation with *g*. Other Arabic dialects of Yemen, not to mention the Ethiopic and South-Arabian language, had only *g*.²²⁶ Corriente holds that “there can be little doubt that the ‘Yemenites’ who came to Spain, brought along their characteristic non-affricate *gīm* [...] This pronunciation was characteristic of E[pigraphic] S[outh] A[rabian], in contrast with North Arabian, and was still general in Yemen during the Abbasid period” (Corriente 1977:50, n. 68).²²⁷

In his investigation of the Egyptian *jīm*, Hary recognizes the supralinear dot of the *gimel*-grapheme in Judaeo-Arabic texts, *ḵ*, as a diacritic reflecting palatalization or affrication of *jīm* into [ʒ] or [dʒ].²²⁸ Even though I am not fully convinced about the methodological validity for drawing this parallel,²²⁹ our MS 46 — that is, one of the manuscripts holding *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* — does in fact not exhibit such dots. Furthermore, Hary concludes that the pronunciation in 11th-century Egypt, at least among Karaites, was *g*,²³⁰ and it is known that they sometimes even rendered the letter *kāf* to indicate *jīm*.²³¹ The pronunciation of *jīm* as *g* in Egypt was most probably introduced as early as the 7th or 8th century,²³² and according to Hary the realization of *jīm* has gone through stages of fronting (represented by *gʻ*) and affricate palatalization (represented by *ǧ*), before stabilizing as a velar stop (represented by *g*) in the 19th-20th centuries. He demonstrates a linear development of the phoneme according to the following diagram: *g* (6th-7th century) > *g/gʻ/ǧ* (8th-11th century) > *ǧ* (12th-17th century) > *ǧ/g* (17th-19th century),²³³ a view which is supported by Blanc.²³⁴ The tendency that we

²²⁵ Both Hary (1996) and Woidich and Zack (2009:42) support the notion of *g* being pronounced with partial palatalization.

²²⁶ Rabin 1951:31. This came to my attention after reading the discussions of Kaye (1972).

²²⁷ See also Corriente 2013:27.

²²⁸ Hary 1996:154.

²²⁹ I believe orthographic and mere graphemic representation may not necessarily provide such information; the supralinear dot on the *gimel*-grapheme may simply be a system of e.g. mirroring or indicating the dot of Arabic *ḵ*.

²³⁰ Hary 1996:159.

²³¹ See Khan 1990:4.

²³² Kaye 1972:42; Hary 1996:153.

²³³ Hary 1996:153.

find in our manuscript — of a preference towards the velar stop *g* — therefore seems to have come a century too early or some centuries too late in time. To explain this view, one should remember that our manuscript seems to reflect either the orthographic nature of the time when its archetype was written, around the 12th century, or that of the time in which it was copied, sometime during the 18th-19th centuries.

In a revisited investigation of the *g/ž*-question, Woidich and Zack demonstrate that the velar stop possibly goes back to as early as the 15th century, and that it was far more widespread in the 18th century than has earlier been suggested.²³⁵ I will argue that the phoneme has been treated in different ways in Cairo not only from time to time, but also between people or classes of people. In fact, such a ‘non-linear in time’ variation has already been suggested by Woidich and Zack, emphasising the variation between classes of people and/or the variation in different regions, and not necessarily a general shift from one sound to the other throughout the whole population. One early group of people who employed the velar stop and brought it to Egypt were arguably the Arabian tribes who settled in Fuṣṭāṭ in the 7th century.²³⁶ It should be mentioned, however, that my assumptions are based predominantly on the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts. Other sources, such as those studied by E. M. Wagner (2010), Hary (1996) and Davies (1981), all exhibit what may well be reflections of an affricated *jīm*. An important point made by Woidich and Zack is that variation between *g* and *ž*, in this example reflected by [dʒ], occurred together in the accounts of a Venetian physician who visited Egypt in the 16th century. Here, the word *xalīj* ‘canal’ was written twice with a *g* and elsewhere with *z*.²³⁷ Other important 17th-century Egyptian Arabic sources such as Yūsuf al-Mağribī’s *Dafʿ al-Iṣr ʿan Kalām Ahl Miṣr*²³⁸ and Yūsuf Širbīnī’s *Hazz al-Quḥūf*²³⁹ also confirm that use of *g* was widespread before the 19th century. According to Woidich and Zack’s study, which is partly based on arguments put forward by Behnstedt, it could be argued that whereas most of the Nile Delta had switched to affricated *jīm* due to increasing Bedouin influence, speakers living in areas along the medieval trade route connecting Cairo and Damietta would preserve velar stop *g*.²⁴⁰ Accordingly, Woidich and Zack suggest that *g*

²³⁴ Blanc 1981.

²³⁵ Woidich and Zack 2009:49, 51.

²³⁶ On this particular argument, see Woidich and Zack 2009:44.

²³⁷ Woidich and Zack 2009:51.

²³⁸ See Zack 2009:84ff.

²³⁹ See Davies 1981.

²⁴⁰ See Behnstedt 1978:65; Woidich and Zack 2009:55.

has been present in Lower Egypt since the Islamic conquest in the mid-7th century,²⁴¹ a notion which was initially postulated by Blanc.²⁴²

To conclude so far, we have seen that metathesis or harmony of *jīm* towards *ž* only takes place indirectly by means of metathesis with *z*, but in no direct or indirect manner when in proximity of the other sibilants *s*, *š* and *ṣ*. To illustrate again, whereas Spanish Arabic has dissimilation between *š* and *jīm* when in proximity of each other,²⁴³ this does not seem to be the case for the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts. The discussion above could indicate that *jīm* in our material was not pronounced as an affricated *ž* because it is never confused with *s*, *š* and *ṣ* when in proximity of these. It was rather pronounced as a velar stop *g* or a slightly palatalized variant of it, viz. [g^y] or [d^y], due to the fact that it was affected to the degree that it would cause metathesis (and merging, in the case of *Qṣ Yūsuf*) only in the proximity of *z*. That said, there is yet much material to be investigated before drawing a final conclusion.

4.1.2.4 *On the Heterogeneity of Liquids*

An occasional heterogeneity in the realization of liquids can be found in the present material. It is a common process in the world's languages, as the sounds are both articulatory and perceptually similar. It is heard in Modern Cairene variants, many of which are considered old fashion, low prestige, non-standard or even incorrect. These are items such as *banzīma* < *banzīna* 'petrol station', *mubayl* > *mubayn* 'mobile' and *silsila* > *sinsila* 'necklace'.²⁴⁴ It is commonly attested in some varieties of the Western Mediterranean basin during medieval times, such as Spanish²⁴⁵ and Sicilian Arabic,²⁴⁶ as well as in some modern dialects of the northern and urban type in Morocco.²⁴⁷ Lexical items from the pre-modern variety spoken by the Jews of Tunis also exhibit much of the same kind of heterogeneity in the pronunciation of liquids, in *finžān* > *fanžāl* 'cup', *badinžān* > *baytānžāl* 'aubergine', *silsila* > *šānšla* 'chain'.²⁴⁸

In the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts, this kind of liquid heterogeneity is represented by the shifts illustrated in the examples below:

²⁴¹ Woidich and Zack 2009:55. See also Zack 2009:84ff. See also Behnstedt and Woidich 1985: map 8.

²⁴² Blanc 1965.

²⁴³ Corriente 2013:27.

²⁴⁴ Examples are taken from Håland 2018:27ff. On the phonological behaviour of these liquids, see e.g. Spitta-Bey 1880:26f. See also Ørum 2017:91f., on the variants *silsila* > *sinsila* 'chain, shackle', *riḡlēhum* > *liḡlēhum* 'their (two) feet, legs' and *kuṭr* > *kuṭl* 'abundance'.

²⁴⁵ Corriente 1977:52.

²⁴⁶ Agius 1996:196

²⁴⁷ Heath 2002:148f.

²⁴⁸ D. Cohen 1975:44.

$l > r$ — 46/5a:14 *طربتو* *טרבתו* ‘I searched for him’.

$r > l$ — 46/8b:8 *العصر ألباح* *אבאח אעצר* ‘yesterday afternoon’; 46/5a:3; 52/4b:10 *يا ليت شعري يا ليت شعري* ‘I wish...!, oh my dear!’

$r > n$ — 52/10b:6 *كشابين* *כשאבין* ‘kashmere’.

On the shift $l > r$, only one example is not sufficient for drawing conclusions; however, in a 19th-century Karaite manuscript in the custody of Rabbi Yosef Algamil which has been treated in another work of mine, the shift appears several dozens times.²⁴⁹ Here, as is also the case in our example, l becomes r predominantly when affected by emphasis,²⁵⁰ however some shifts may also have come as a result of assimilation.²⁵¹

4.2 Morphological and Morphosyntactic Features

4.2.1 Demonstratives

The most frequent demonstratives throughout the present material are those usually identified with Classical Arabic such as *hādā* / *hādihī* ‘this’ on the one hand, and *dālik(a)* / *tilk(a)* ‘that’ on the other. These appear in various shapes, among which those exhibiting a grapheme corresponding to \daleth are employed most frequently, yielding possible **hādā* and **dālik(a)*. Nonetheless, *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq* in MS 45, which distinguishes between the fricative and the plosive interdentals,²⁵² invariably employs the fricative variants. The various shapes of the demonstratives appear as illustrated below:

variants of *hādā* / *hādihī* — *هذا* *הדא*; *هده* *הדה*; *هاده* *האדה*; *هادا* *האדא*; *هاده* *הדה*; *هذه* *הדה*; *هذه* *הדה*; *هذه* *הדה*;

هده *הדה*.

variants of *dālik(a)* / *tilk(a)* — *ذلك* *דאך*; *ذلك* *דאך*; *ذلك* *דאך*.

²⁴⁹ Ørum 2017:85. The shift is prevalent in Algeria (see e.g. Marçais 1977:254f.; Tirosh-Becker 1988:86).

²⁵⁰ Examples are *arrāh* for *aḷlāh* ‘God’, *ṭarab* for *taḷab* ‘he requested’, *ittarra* for *ittalla* ‘he looked’, etc.

²⁵¹ For example, Classical Arabic *brṭīl* ‘bribe’ is rendered *ברטייר* (see Ørum 2017:87). As emphatic pronunciation of the l would usually have been prevented by the preceding \bar{i} , an alternative suggestion to how this could have been realised is *partīr*, a variant which is attested in Spanish Arabic (see Corriente 1977:52).

²⁵² See 4.1.2.1, above.

In a corpus of mediaeval letters from Egypt and the Maghrib we find that the variants corresponding to Classical Arabic usage, namely *hādā* and *dālīka*, were the most used demonstratives in the material dating back to the 11th-century. Also here we find ambiguous orthographical reflection of Classical Arabic *d*, that is, represented both by *d* and *ḏ*.²⁵³ Although this does not necessarily say anything about the actual sound of this interdental, there is still a possibility that it had more than one common pronunciation. This apparent heterogeneity is also true for the early modern Judaeo-Arabic findings of Hary.²⁵⁴ On an occasional basis, demonstratives are employed irrespective of gender, number and case, as in the following examples appearing in *Qṣ Sulaymān*:

23/1a:1 'this is the story of Sayyidnā Sulaymān'; 23/4a:6 'this world'; 23/7b:6 'These are the homes of the nation of Tahmū's (Tham-ūd's) covenant'; 23/passim 'these versed lines'; 23/9a:6 'these words'.

Aside from these, the manuscripts show surprisingly few occurrences of the Modern Cairene demonstratives *da*, *di* and *dōl*,²⁵⁵ all of which are attested e.g. in Blanc's study on the 20th-century Jewish spoken vernacular in Cairo.²⁵⁶ The demonstrative *da* occurs only three times in total, all denoting the close reference and following the noun, whereas *di* is never attested. Other demonstratives are also attested, reflecting the (Classical Arabic) distant reference *dāka*, are *dīk(a)* and *dāk(a)*, all of which precede the noun in our material. Consider the examples below:

لاجل *دا* يجي عليكم زمن فيه لا اگل *دا* יגי עליכום זמן פיה תקצר ידוכום חין יגי א עדו עליכום — *da* — 8/5a:1-2 'because of that, a time will come, in which your hands will become restrained, a time when the enemy comes for you'; *דא* חבל וاما ابرهيم اخذ الصنمين وربط *דא* חבל ופי רקבת *דא* חבל 46/9b:11 'Ibrāhīm, however, took the two idols, tied to the neck of *the first one* a rope, and in *the second one*, a rope'.

²⁵³ E. M. Wagner 2010:125.

²⁵⁴ Hary 2009:247.

²⁵⁵ See Woidich 2006.

²⁵⁶ Blanc 1974:216.

dīk(a) and *dāk(a)* — بعد ديك ال انوار داك العز كولو مار بعد ديك ا انوار داك اعز كولو مار — 8/5b:10-11 ‘after those rays of light, all that glory went away’; داك حين قال له ابوه داك اليوم ايوم يا يوسف تروح للمرعه ابצר لي كبر داك اقوم وااانام وهياا ترعب 59/2a:3-5 ‘then, one day his father said to him, “You shall travel to the grazing land. See for me what goes on in that nation and with its cattle, and [whether] they are procreating”’.

As shown by E. M. Wagner, *hādā* and *dālika* are the most frequently used pronouns in her 11th- and 13th-century epistolary material, a tendency which continued at least until the 16th century.²⁵⁷ In the same material she also finds an occasional use of *dāka*. This indicates that although our manuscripts — physically speaking — stem from the early-17th century or later, they exhibit a linguistic content which predates the time in which they were copied.

Based on the observations above, it is plausible to believe that the archetype from which *Qṣ Sulaymān*, *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* and *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq* were copied may stem from as early as the 12th centuries or even before. None of the manuscripts seem to display a significant degree of demonstratives which had become frequent in 17th-century Egyptian Arabic, such as the use of *di* (*iš-šugl di* ‘this work; this piece of handcraft’), the elision of the vowel in *da* (*da il- > d-il- / di-l-*), or the preposed, invariant demonstrative in combination with the definite article (*d-il-/di-l-labka* ‘this confusion’).²⁵⁸ The presence of *dā* is according to Blau attested in Egyptian in Judaeo-Arabic texts from the 13th and the 15th century, here used both before and after the noun. It is also attested in the same manner in one 11th-century text from Palestine, a feature Blau considers to be representative of the ‘Egyptian-Palestinian-Syrian’ dialect group.²⁵⁹

According to the findings above, our two remaining narratives, *Qṣ Yūsuf* and *Qṣ Zakariyah*, which display *dīk(a)* and *dāk(a)* four times in total, probably stem from archetypes of a more recent date. In the situation of Modern Cairene, Classical Arabic *dāka* has been maintained in the shape of *dek*, and its use today is restricted to only a few fixed forms such as *dek-en-nahār* ‘the other day’.²⁶⁰ According to Fischer, the case of a demonstrative preceding the noun is typical for poetry, particularly that which was composed during the early Mamlūk period (13th/14th century).²⁶¹ However, the particular use of *dīk(a)* and *dāk(a)*

²⁵⁷ E. M. Wagner 2010:75.

²⁵⁸ Interestingly enough, it should be noted that Davies dates the demonstrative in combination with definite article back to the 13th century, drawing on examples from the Cairo playwright Ibn Danyāl (in which Davies quotes Fischer 1959:63).

²⁵⁹ Blau 1999a:66f.

²⁶⁰ Doss 1979:350.

²⁶¹ Fischer 1959:64 *apud* Doss 1979:352. See also al-Jammal 1966.

are also found in the 17th-century treatise of Yūsuf aš-Širbīnī, in which they are representative of the speech in Lower Egypt, in Cairo, and in Shirbīn in the region of Daqahliyya.²⁶²

4.2.2 Interrogatives

The non-standard Cairene features described by Blanc has retained the interrogative particles *ʿēš* / *ʿš* ‘what’, *lēš* / *līš* ‘why’ and *kēf* / *kīf* ‘how’, which have fallen out of use in Cairo today.²⁶³ Variants of these are, however, still employed invariably throughout Upper Egypt along the river banks of the Nile, and in the oasis of Dakhla.²⁶⁴ They are also heard in most Bedouin dialects throughout Rmēlāt and Sawarkah in the Northern Sinai.²⁶⁵

In our material, *איש איש* and *כִּיפ כִּיפ* are attested quite frequently whereas *ליש ליש* appears only one time.²⁶⁶ Consider the examples below:

איש איש 45/5b:11 *איש* ראיט פי זהו הגבאל איש ראיט פי זהו הגבאל ‘what did you see in that mountain?’; *ליש* 8/5a:5 *ליש* יא רב אנקטע יאסי *ליש* יא רב אנקטע יאסי ‘why, o Lord, was my desperation so severed?’; *כִּיפ* תרא מא אחסן הדא אקצר ואעלאה ולו כאן מן אחרג לכאן עגיב *כִּיפ* תרא מא אחסן הדא אקצר ואעלאה ולו כאן מן אחרג לכאן עגיב *כִּיפ* ‘look! How astonishing and beautiful that palace is! Had it been made but out of stone it would have been amazing. And how much more beautiful it is then, when it is made out of silver and gold!’

It is difficult to assert whether *kēf* or *kīf* here reflects a non-standard Cairene (or particular Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic) feature, some kind of ‘Syrianism’²⁶⁷ or merely Classical Arabic; it is however relevant to note that *kēf* was widely distributed in 17th-century Egyptian,²⁶⁸ and is in agreement with the findings of Tomiche and Rosenbaum on Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic.²⁶⁹

²⁶² See Doss 1979:353.

²⁶³ See Blanc 1974:216. See also Rosenbaum 2002a:38. The use of *ʿēš* is attested already in medieval Judaeo-Arabic (see Blau 1961:65; 1980:65), and was common in the 17th century (see Davies 1981:278f.). See also Tomiche 1968:1180.

²⁶⁴ See Behnstedt and Woidich 1985: map 182, 187, 188.

²⁶⁵ De Jong 2000:174f.

²⁶⁶ *ליש ליש* appears in *Qš Zakariyah* (MS 8).

²⁶⁷ See Blanc (1974:215), who includes the use of *ʿēš*. Blanc did however not regard *ʿēš* and *kēf* / *kīf* to necessarily be a reflection of Syrian or Palestinian origin.

²⁶⁸ Davies 1981:321.

²⁶⁹ Tomiche 1968:1180; Rosenbaum 2002:38.

According to Rosenbaum’s findings on 20th-century spoken Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic, *ʿēš* is usually placed at the beginning of the phrase instead of at the end.²⁷⁰ Zack’s findings on the 17th-century spoken Cairene vernacular confirms that it was in use at an earlier stage, however her material only displays interrogative *iš* (sic) having the function of a subject.²⁷¹ The interrogatives *ʿēš* / *ʿīš* and *lēš* / *līš* (or a shorter variant of them, perhaps *ʿeš* / *ʿaš* and *leš* / *laš*²⁷²) are attested in the 12th-century MS *Chapira*-version corresponding with that of *Qṣ Ibrāhīm*. Here we find *גרא פיה אש* *ʿand what is the trick?*,²⁷³ *איש הי החילה ואיש הי אחילה* *ʿwhat happened to it?*²⁷⁴ and *לש למ قدر يخالص نفسو من الحرمييه לש לם קדר יכאץ נפסו מן אחרמייה* *ʿ[if it was in fact a god,] how could it not be able to free itself from the thieves?*²⁷⁵ The variant *aš* is fairly common in Jewish Moroccan dialects. Surprisingly, however, it is not attested very frequently in the northeaster areas, as would perhaps be expected, and in urban areas it is only attested in Fes. Rather, it is mainly heard in the dialects on the Atlantic coastline and southwards.²⁷⁶

4.2.3 The Verb

4.2.3.1 The *fuʿul*-Pattern

There are several examples of verbs conforming to the *fuʿul*-pattern, which has become a somewhat *shibboleth* of the Jewish Egyptian Arabic variety.²⁷⁷ The pattern displays the apparent shift from *fiʿil* to *fuʿul*, a feature which Rosenbaum argues is a result of spoken Jewish Egyptian Arabic preference of *u* over Modern Cairene *i*. Accordingly, a Jewish speaker will prefer *xulus* ‘come to an end’ over *xiliš*. The *fuʿul*-pattern is attested throughout medieval, early-modern and modern Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic sources.²⁷⁸ According to Hary, the *fuʿul*-pattern is a result of the internal passive *fuʿila* and the stative *faʿula* merging into the pattern *fuʿul*. Moreover, he argues that root consonants in an emphatic environment trigger the use of *fuʿul* whereas a non-emphatic environment triggers *fiʿil*. Towards the end of the 19th

²⁷⁰ Rosenbaum 2002a:38.

²⁷¹ Zack 2009:109.

²⁷² See the discussion of the Maghribī character of *ʿaš* / *ʿāš* in Blau 1999a:62.

²⁷³ See MS 46/7b:4 and MS 52/8b:1.

²⁷⁴ See MS 46/10a:12.

²⁷⁵ See MS 46/10a:19

²⁷⁶ Heath 2002:477.

²⁷⁷ See Rosenbaum 2002a.

²⁷⁸ See Khan 1991:226; Rosenbaum 2002a:37; 2002c:127ff.; Hary 1992:280ff; 2009:101; E. M. Wagner 2010:57; Ørum 2017:107.

century, many variants following the pattern *fu^ul* were replaced by *fiⁱl*.²⁷⁹ He suggests that the *fu^ul*-pattern indicates intransitive verbs, and ‘low grade’ control and stative verbs, and that it represents an older form of Cairene Arabic.²⁸⁰ In addition to appearing in Judaeo-Arabic material, it is also attested in the 17th-century variety described by Davies and Zack.²⁸¹ The *fu^ul*-pattern is also attested in Maltese, a variety in which the pattern may convey a state of passivity, suffering or undergoing the effect of an action.²⁸² Regarding the findings in our material, it should be noted that whereas most verbs reflect the shift *fiⁱl* > *fu^ul* in variants which are considered non-standard in the Modern Cairene dialect, other may reflect internal passives, or may not necessarily be reflections of non-standard variants (such as *qurub* ‘get closer’). Consider the examples below:

فعدت فعند دلخ لوزوب سليمان 46/3b:4 ‘she brought him and said’; كيف بوطول كيه بوطول ا كوربان 23/2a:9 ‘then, Sulaymān got angry’; ال قوربان 8/5b:2 ‘how could the sacrifice be worthless?’; 46/3b:5 ‘it got bigger’; 23/5a:15 وهو بوط على القصر واقتلع بالنسر وهوبوت على ا كوربان 46/3b:11 ‘he dived onto the palace and pulled the second eagle out’; 23/8a:5 ‘how I terrorized and oppressed’; 23/8a:7 ‘how I acted in disobedience and how I fornicated!’; 46/3b:10 ‘she finished’; 23/11b:7-8 ‘and the smoke died out’.

4.2.3.2 *The nekteb-nekteb(!)-Paradigm*

Many varieties of Western Arabic display the so-called *nekteb* - *nektebu* paradigm, as opposed to the varieties of the Eastern group, which display *akteb* - *nekteb*.²⁸³ This dichotomy illustrates the symptom of Egypt’s role, and particularly that of the Nile Delta, as a transitional area between Eastern and Western Arabic, as the region takes use of both variants. The *nekteb*-paradigm is regarded as one of the most marked features of the Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic, and of the non-standard Cairene variety described by Blanc,²⁸⁴ and its earlier

²⁷⁹ Hary 1992:280ff.

²⁸⁰ Hary 2009:117.

²⁸¹ Davies 1981:108; Zack 2009:96f.

²⁸² Aquilina 1959:258f.

²⁸³ Blanc 1974:206.

²⁸⁴ Note that even though the *nekteb* - *nektebu* imperfect serves as an exclusive Jewish communal feature within Cairo, it occurs in Lower as well as Upper Egypt, in urban as well as rural areas, in sedentary as well as Bedouin varieties, and in *gāl*-dialects as well as *qāl*-dialects (see Blanc 1974:211).

attestation in Judaeo-Arabic goes back to the 12th century.²⁸⁵ In Muslim Egyptian sources it is attested in the Mamlūk period (during the 13th century) and onwards.²⁸⁶ It occurs in modern, non-Western dialects as well, such as that of Najd, Ḥaḍramawt and Yemen, as well as in Yemenite Judaeo-Arabic.²⁸⁷

In the Cairo-Ramla manuscript we find examples of 1st person singular *nekteb*, albeit no occurrences of plural *nektebu*. Consider the use of singular *nekteb* in the following examples:

עלא אי אל جبل נְקִיבְהוּ עלא אי א גבל נְקִרְבְהוּ 45/3b:1-2 ‘on which mountain will I sacrifice him?’; 45/4b:16 لَقَدْ كُنتَ نَمَانَعُ ذَلِكْ لَقَدْ كُنتَ نَمَانَعُ ذَلِكْ; 45/3a:3 فَايَاهُومُ نَقْرِبُ פאיאהום נְקִרְב; ونمضى الا هر هموريه نقرب قودامهو ونعلمهو ناكودهو ونمضي آا هر الموريا نقرب قودامهو نعلماهو 45/8a:11-13 ‘I will take him and proceed to Mount Moriah, sacrifice before Him and teach him [...]’; فكمثل ما امرنى فى تقريبهى كذلك نريدهو هو الذى ينهينى عن ذلك حتا نمتنع عن نمتنع عن تقريبهى 45/11b:13-15 ‘the way that He commanded me to sacrifice him, thus is my will, He is [also] the one Who prevents me from this, so that I abstain from sacrificing him’; لما لمتا غيت ونصحتكم ايآء عسا نصلحكم عند ما ادبثكم قومتو لى طعتونى 8/2a:13-15 ‘when I came and guided you, I was hoping to give you guidance. When I taught you morale you attacked me and stabbed me’; ما نستاهل منهم بعد ما ننصحهوم يعملو بى نقمتهم لما انهوم هلكونى لمتا انهوم هلكونى 8b/6b:13-15 ‘I was not not worthy of them. After I had given them advice, they took their vengeance out on me, that time when they annihilated me.’

Whereas reflections of singular *nekteb* are quite frequent throughout the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts, there is a general lack of evidence for the use of plural *nektebu*. It is plausible that we see here neither a paradigm of Western *nekteb* - *nektebu* nor Eastern *akteb* - *nekteb*, not even the so-called intermediate *akteb* - *nektebu*.²⁸⁸ Rather, based on an argumentation *ex silentio*, i.e. lack of evidence, we seem to have a case of *nekteb* serving for both singular and plural. Consider the use of plural *nekteb* in the following examples:

²⁸⁵ Blau 1999a:119.

²⁸⁶ Blanc 1974, as noted by Blau (1999a:250) in his addenda and corrigenda.

²⁸⁷ See Blau 1999a:120.

²⁸⁸ See Behnstedt 1978:69, map 6; Behnstedt and Woidich 1985: map 211.

فقال اسف يا نبي الله نطوف حول هذا القصر فكلأ اسف يا نبي آله يا نبي آله نطوف حول هذا القصر 23/4a:7-8 ‘and Asaf said, “O prophet of Allāh, let me (us?) walk around this palace’; نشير عليك ان ترسل اليه من نشير עליך אן תרסל אליה מן בעלך כדאמך יאתו בו אי בין ידיך; 46/6b:8-9 (and employed in a similar fashion in 52/7a:5-7) ‘we advise you to send for him from some of your servants, to bring him before you’; وفى ال وפי א מונתטר אועד א חק תע’ אן נחן לם נקים פי שדה אכתר מן יומין; 45/5b:3-5 ‘and during his waiting, the Truth MHBE promised that we would not be in distress longer than two days’; هوذا ننظور اذس؟ سمع هوذا ننظور אד סמע א אנסאן בחרוב ופתן וורוד עדו וחר’ב? ה; 45/11a:9-11 ‘indeed we will see then; People have heard of wars, civil strife and the arriving of an enemy and [the following] battle [with him]’; ويرشودنا آآ شريعتهى بحيث تخير محبتهاى فيما لكى نصير جميعنا عارفين بخالقنا بذآلقنا 45/14a:7-9 ‘and he will point us to His right path, and guide us to His law, to where His love takes place in us, in order for all of us to become aware of our Creator’; وقالو 59/3b:19-20 ‘and the children of Ya‘qūb said to their father, “To Egypt we must travel”’.

These findings parallel the tendency throughout the corpus of epistolary writings from Egypt and Maghrib in the Cairo Genizah. Here, one finds frequent examples of *nekteb*, but very few of plural *nektebu*.²⁸⁹ Hary has, nonetheless, found many occurrences of *nektebu* in early modern sources from Cairo.²⁹⁰ For this apparent paradigm, Blau suggests that it is representative of an earlier stage, that is, *akteb* – *nekteb* > *nekteb* – *nekteb* > *nekteb* – *nektebu*. He assumes that the use of singular *nekteb* in the Maghrib originated before plural *nektebu* through the development of *akteb* with preceding *ʾana*. Then, because *nekteb* was used both in the singular and the plural, the plural *nektebu* was formed by analogy with the plurals *yektebu* / *tektebu*.²⁹¹ That said, and as Versteegh convincingly argues, it is not certain which one of the two forms was developed first.²⁹² Blanc believes the *nekteb* – *nekteb* paradigm to be a sign of a ‘stabilized intermediate dialect’. During his investigation he did not come across this paradigm personally, but recorded it in the 17th-century work of Yūsuf al-Šīrbīnī.²⁹³

²⁸⁹ The only exception are the 13th-century letters from Maghrib. See E. M. Wagner 2010:77 ff.

²⁹⁰ Hary 2009:119.

²⁹¹ Blau 1999a:120.

²⁹² Versteegh 1984:108 n. 17.

²⁹³ Blanc 1974:210f., 213f.

Blau points out the same absence of the plural *nektebu* and argues that North African writers would avoid using the plural form because they considered it to be too much of an unfamiliar item outside the Maghrib.²⁹⁴ He holds that the paradigm reflects typical 12th-century Maghribī usage, and adds that the plural *nektebu* is attested only in some occasional works, for example in that of Isaac Alfasi (11th-century) who frequented in Algeria, Morocco and Spain, as well as in the Egyptian *nagid* David ben Abraham Maimonides' (13th century) *Pirqa Avot*.²⁹⁵

The absence of plural *nektebu* in a text as 'recent' as the 18th/19th century is a bit surprising. Most likely this observation confirms that these texts are generally written down from older archetypes and display a more archaic content than the language of their own time. Viktor Lebedev recorded the *nekteb – nekteb* paradigm in a 17th-century Karaite text;²⁹⁶ and Maimonides' 12th-century writings also indicate preference towards the paradigm.²⁹⁷

4.2.3.3 *Anaptyxis fa^cal(i)t in the 2nd Person Singular*

Whereas the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts frequently exhibit verbs conjugated akin to Cairene, 1st and 2nd person singular *fa^calt / fa^calti* and 3rd person singular *fa^cal / fa^calit*, there is also one verb exhibiting anaptyxis *fa^calit* in the 2nd person singular. This epenthetic vowel is as attested in many Arabic dialects in the 1st and the 2nd person, however not in Modern Cairene. This single occurrence, **takallamit* 'you spoke', is presented below:

يا ولدى كيف كبرت ومشيت يا ولدى كيف كبرت ومشيت
 ותכלמית ותרערעת וגשית ותכלמית פי עשרין יום
 46/5a:15-17 وترعرعت وغشيت وتكلميت فى عشرين يوم
 'O child of mine, how have you grown up to walk, come into youth, become aware and speak in twenty days?'

4.2.3.4 *Human Plural Conjugated in the Feminine Singular*

Similar to the somewhat non-standard character of many of the presented demonstratives, relatives, negators, there are also many cases in which human plurals have been conjugated by means of a feminine verb in the singular. Consider the examples below:

²⁹⁴ Blau 1999a:53.

²⁹⁵ Blau 1999a:59f., 119f.

²⁹⁶ Lebedev 1965, *apud* Blanc 1981:200.

²⁹⁷ Blau 1999a:251.

אנמא הו גוהר טחנתהו אמלוך על; 59/1b:20 'and his brothers say'; ואخوتו تقول ואכותו תקול
 23/7b:15-16 'for it could only be انما هو جوهر طحنته الملوك على قديم الزمان קדים אזמאן
 from gems which the kings grinded during the old days'; אבאדהום אמות למא אתא ולם;
 23/10a:10-11 'when ابادهوم الموت لما اتا ولم تجن كوتر وتهمو ادهجم תגן כותר ותהמו אדהגם
 Death arrived, he annihilated them. They could not reap [the fruits of their]
 abundance, and [the nation of] Tahmū collapsed'.

4.2.3.5 *The b-Imperfect*

The *b*-imperfect is not attested at all in Classical Arabic, but widely in a number of Arabic dialects. It is attested in Christian Arabic sources as early as the 9th century, in Judaeo-Arabic in the 12th century, and in Muslim sources in the 13th century.²⁹⁸ This aspectual prefix is attested a few times in *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* and *Qṣ Yūsuf* where it can be said to express habit and present progressive meaning. Consider the following cases:

59/1b:18 'I saw in قد رايت فى منامى كولنا ينرز زرزة קד ראית פי מנאמי כולנא בנרז זרזה
 תם אנו והו בינאדי פי אאסואק פי נזר אבו תרח; 'I saw in my dream, all of us were binding sheaves';
 52/9b:1 'and employed in יבנאדי فى الاسواق فنضر ابيه ترح واخيه هرن ואזו הרן
 (and employed in a similar fashion in 46/8a:11-12) 'then, while calling together [the people] in the
 marketplace, he saw his father Teraḥ and his brother Haran'.

A parallel phrase seems to be attested in the 12th-century MS *Chapira*, in אאסואק ב?..? תם אנה ב?..? 'then, while calling together (?) in the marketplace'. That said, the content following the supposed *b*-imperfect here was not legible to the editor at the time. It seems that, in accordance with Khan's observations on the *b*-imperfect, its use in Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic is more restricted than in Modern Cairene.²⁹⁹

4.2.3.6 *On Some non-Classical Verb Patterns*

Occasionally, we encounter some non-conventional verb forms when compared with the conventional Classical Arabic stems I to X. Many, but not all, of these belong to the Modern

²⁹⁸ See Blau 1999a:121; Davies 1981:235.

²⁹⁹ Khan 1992:238.

Cairene stems I to III / t-I to t-III.³⁰⁰ For example, the text of *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* exhibits the verb أجابوه *ajāwūh* ‘they answered him’, attested in the following passage:

شوروا عليه بما فعل شوروا على ايها بما افعل بهدا المولود اجابوه وقالو لو انتا مولنا والاهنا
 46/6b:4-5 (the verb is employed in a similar fashion in 52/7a:1) “Advise me on what to do with this new-born!” They answered him and said, “You are our master and our God”.

Most likely, the verb pattern visible in the item أجابوه *ajāwūh*, reflects assimilation of the *t*-infix to the following consonant (*itgāwibūh* > *iggāwibūh*).³⁰¹ The pattern is attested in Modern Cairene, on which Fischer and Jastrow comment, “this state has changed only insofar as the stems [which are] formed with *t*-prefix tend to act as a regular passive to the corresponding verbs without a prefixed *t*. This tendency is strongly developed in the dialects from Egypt to Tunisia” (Fischer and Jastrow 1980:71, my translation). Interestingly, the pattern is also attested in the Qurʾān Codex of the aforementioned Ibn ʿAbbās, a renowned collector of *isrāʿīliyyāt*, and one who was “interested in utilizing Jewish [...] material for the elucidation of the Qurʾān” (Jeffrey 1937:193). There is not necessarily a link here, but it is nonetheless interesting to note that whereas the standardized Codex of ʿUthmān reads *wa-ttabaʿaka*,³⁰² the Codex of Ibn ʿAbbās reads *wa-ʿatbāʿuka*, a form which adheres to the Tunisian and Egyptian variant of today and deviates from the Classical Arabic verb patterns.

A similar verb form in the material of ours is يحتالو *ihṭāwū* ‘they quarrel’,³⁰³ appearing in *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq* and resembling that of the pattern attested in the example above. We can assume that the pattern reflects the metathesis *yifāʿil* > *yiftāʿil* (*yiḥṭāwilū*) or perhaps some kind of stem t-XIII *yiftaʿwil* (*yiḥṭawwilū*) in the imperfect tense. The example is presented below:

³⁰⁰ On the notion of *t*-stems, see Woidich 2006:67.

³⁰¹ On the assimilation of *g* with the definite article in Egyptian Arabic, see e.g. El-Farnawani 1981:155. The suggestions appearing here come with a certain challenge, because they possibly reflect a *t*-infix, a feature which often expresses some sort of reciprocity. Alternative suggestions are that it may reflect a hypercorrect stem III or II reflecting initial prosthetic *alif*, viz. *ʿifāʿal* or *ʿifaʿal* (yielding **igāwibūh*, *ʿigawwibūh* or similar). Another suggestion is that it is a reflection of the stem XIII *ifʿawwal* (yielding **igawwwabūh* > *igawwabūh*).

³⁰² See Jeffery 1937:203. Q 26.111 according to the Codex of ʿUthmān reads *قَالُوا أَتُؤْمِنُ لَكَ وَاتَّبَعَكَ الْأَرْذَلُونَ* ‘they said, ‘Shall we believe thee, whom the vilest follow?’. The pattern is discussed in Fischer and Jastrow (1980:39) as typical for the development from Old Arabic forms into new, viz. *taṭāʿaba* > *ittāwab* ‘to yawn’.

³⁰³ The verb يحتالو *ihṭāwū*, if interpreted as reflecting the (Classical Arabic) stem VIII (يحتالوا), may mean ‘they resort to tricks, they deceive’. The translation here, ‘Eliʿezer and Yishmaʿel began to quarrel’, is made by analogy with Friedlander’s English translation of a passage in *P.R.E.* 31:57 which displays a similar version of the quarrel between the two brothers, viz. the Hebrew *נכנס תחרות בין אליעזר ובין ישמעאל* ‘contention arose between Eliezer and Ishmael’ (Friedlander, *P.R.E.*:225).

פפי רואח אברהם ויצחק צארו אליעזר וישמעאל יחתאולו ישמעאל יקול אאן אברהם יקרב יצחק על
 ففى رواج ابرهم ويصحق صارو اليعزر ويشمعال يחתاولو // **גבי המזבח** ואנא **בכור** וכונת גומלת מאהו
 45/6a:6-7 ישמעאל יקול אלן אברهم יקרב יצחק על **גבי המזבח** ואנא **בכור** וכונת גומלת מאלהו
 ‘upon Abraham and Yiṣḥāq’s departure, Eli’ezer and Yishma’el began to quarrel,
 when Yishma’el said, “Now that Abraham is offering Yiṣḥāq on the altar, I will be
 the first-born and (will inherit) all his wealth!”’

Another interesting pattern appears in *Qṣ Ibrāhīm*, most probably reflecting a non-standard variant of Classical Arabic اشتحش ‘he was abandoned’, namely 52/4a:5.³⁰⁴ When compared with Classical Arabic usage, we find here a metathetic process of *-awḥ-* > *-aḥw-*, that is *ištawḥaš* > *ištaḥwaš*, along with the sibilant shift *s* > *š*, that is *istaḥwaš* > *ištaḥwaš*. The verb is illustrated in the passage below:

قال // קא קעב אאחבאר אן אברהים עיהשי פי מא בין מא הו פי תלך אמגארה וחדה פאשתחוש ובכא
 52/4a:3-6 **Ka’b** al-Aḥbār has said that meanwhile, Ibrāhīm PBUH was inside that cave all alone.
 He was abandoned, and he wept’.

In addition to the ones mentioned above, we also find a variant of the stem X, where the prefix *ist-* seems to have gone through a process of metathesis (> *ist-*). Consider the following use of (*istanzal* >) *itsanzal*:

واتسنزلو بعد عزن من معاقلهم **ואתסנזלו** בעד עזן מן מעאקלהום ואוסכנו חופרון יא בים מא נזלו
 23/9a:19-9b:1 ‘after that (?) they descended from their strongholds, and were put to rest in grave holes. O misery how they fell!’³⁰⁵

4.2.4 Negation Particles: On the Use and Variants of *lam* and *laysa*

4.2.4.1 Invariable Reflections of *lam*

The use of *lam* (or variants of it) is widely attested in written Judaeo-Arabic material at least since the 9th century. It has been used according to Classical Arabic rules — that is, *lam* + imperfect in the apocopate, negating a past action — but also in violation of these. For

³⁰⁴ اشتحش אשתחוש in 46/4a:15.

³⁰⁵ The translation is discussed in the annotated and translated editions of chapter 5.

example, *lam* + perfect negating a past action is occasionally attested in the 13th century and became frequent during the 18th/19th century. The use of *lam* + imperfect has also been employed to negate present actions, a feature which it is attested as early as the 9th century, however most frequently in 18th and 19th century material. In parallel with the two latter cases, *lam* is attested for nominal negation, occasionally in early material and more frequently in later.³⁰⁶

The question of whether *lam* may have been a natural part of speech has been investigated by a number of scholars, however there is a general lack of reliable sources. E. M. Wagner provides a thorough discussion on the topic in which she argues for the possibility of *lam* having been employed in vernacular speech, however, never as a regular negation particle, and surviving only as a quasi-literary element. She stresses the fact that all the evidence supporting this notion are solely based on written sources, and that, therefore, “any absolute statement about *lam* in the spoken varieties of the early Islamic period and the Middle Ages is bound to be flawed” (E. M. Wagner 2010:142). She finds that the use of *lam* as an invariable negation particle did not appear in epistolary writings until in the 18th/19th centuries,³⁰⁷ but we know that Hopkin’s descriptions of some 9th-century Muslim Egyptian papyri, as well as the 12th-century MS *Chapira* which parallels our *Qṣ Ibrāhīm*, both display such cases of *lam*.³⁰⁸ The same is true for the Judaeo-Arabic corpus of translated sacred Hebrew and Aramaic texts (*shurūh*), namely that it begins to appear in the early modern period.³⁰⁹

Many modern scholars have treated the issue,³¹⁰ all of whom maintain in one way or another that there is a possibility that *lam* have been regularly employed at an earlier stage of a spoken variety. Admittedly however, the majority of these are generally sceptical towards the possibility of *lam* having been a natural part of any spoken variety; the most prevalent view is that it has come as a result of pseudocorrect, classical or some kind of quasi-literary usage.³¹¹

E. M. Wagner points out that *lam* + imperfect was used to negate present actions not only in Jewish material, but also among Muslims, for example in a work of non-standard

³⁰⁶ A systematic overview of the various usages is provided in E. M. Wagner 2010:134ff.

³⁰⁷ E. M. Wagner 2010:135.

³⁰⁸ Hopkins 1984:153; the relevant part in MS *Chapira* corresponds to that of *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* contained in MS 46/10a:19, as presented in the apparatus.

³⁰⁹ Hary 2009:94.

³¹⁰ See Ṭaṭṭāwī (1848:94), Spitta-Bey (1880:169), Landberg (1883: *passim*), Brockelmann (1908-1913 ii:53), Driver (1925:166), Corriente (1977:144), Blau (1980:142), Davies (1981:302f.), Lentin (1997:763), Rosenbaum (2002b:591ff.), Khan (2006:40) Arnold (2006-2007 *apud* E. M. Wagner 2010:144) and Hary (2009:214)

³¹¹ See e.g. Blau 1970:95; Hary 1992:314; Hopkins 1984:153; Khan 1991:231f.; E. M. Wagner 2010:144.

Muslim Arabic from the 13th century.³¹² Khan notes that *lam* as a negating particle is unlikely to correspond to the spoken variety, but that it may have its roots in an earlier period of the development of the variety, possibly an Arabic dialectal literary language that was in general use in Ottoman Egypt.³¹³ Hary, who has investigated the translation of Biblical Hebrew to Judaeo-Arabic in the 18th and 19th centuries notes that negation particle *lam* may be used to negate nouns, pronouns and prepositions in what he refers to as ‘un-Arabic’ constructions.³¹⁴ This is also attested in a medieval Egyptian letter from Fustāt, in which *lam* has been used to negate a pronoun.³¹⁵ That said, Hary does not exclude the possibility of colloquial usage, and points to the findings of Rosenbaum.³¹⁶ In fact, following a discussion on the likely pseudo-classical or pseudo-correct nature of its usage,³¹⁷ Rosenbaum proposes that *lam* has been used for expressing both emphatic and non-emphatic negation in colloquial Egyptian Arabic as recent as the 20th century.³¹⁸ As stressed by E. M. Wagner, however, all these findings should be observed with some caution, as the evidence is based exclusively on written material.³¹⁹

Corriente’s investigation of the Spanish Arabic dialect bundle does not exclude the possibility that *lam* may have been part of the colloquial repertoire, even though he stresses its status as ‘an obvious classicism’. For the Western Arabic dialect group, Agius describes *lam* as being “often a classicism and in some places a hypercorrection which may have been a remnant of an earlier vernacular structure” (Agius 1996:154). A number of renowned Spanish poets such as Ibn Quzmān (11th-12th centuries) and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī (13th century) employ *lam* + perfect for negating an action in the past. An example from the latter writer reads *lam niġammaḍ ṭūl al-layl* ‘I could not sleep a wink in the whole night’.³²⁰

In our material, the rules of Classical Arabic are violated much more frequently than they are observed. Note that the examples below do not reflect cases in which *lam* is followed by a verb in the apocopate, according to Classical Arabic conventions of negating past actions; rather, they illustrate a predominant, non-standard employment of negation particle *lam* to negate past, present and modal future actions.³²¹ Consider the examples below:

³¹² E. M. Wagner 2010:146.

³¹³ Khan 2006:40.

³¹⁴ Hary 2009:214.

³¹⁵ ‘and if you don’t (...)’ (see Gottheil and Worrel 1927:20 *apud* Blau 1999a:106).

³¹⁶ See Hary 2009:95.

³¹⁷ On this discussion, see e.g. Hopkins 1984:153; Khan 1991:231f.

³¹⁸ Rosenbaum 2002b:591.

³¹⁹ E. M. Wagner 2010:142f.

³²⁰ Corriente 1977:144; 2013:126.

³²¹ On the similar use of *lam*, see e.g. Blau 1980:142; Khan 1991:231f.; 2006:40, 56f., Hary 1992:294f.; 2009:215ff.; E. M. Wagner 2010:135. On the use of *lam* + imperfect being used to express a modal future, see Lentin 1997:773.

that whoever prostrated before the king, would not raise his head before the king had lent him his ears';³²³ פאוול אמתחאן אן אמתחנהו ב'ה' א חק תע' פהו אן יפארק א אהל וא פאוול אמתחאן אן אמתחנו ב'ה' אל חק תע' פהו אן יפארק קראבה וא מוטן ויסאפר אא מכאן לם יעלמהו 45/2b:8-11 אל אהל ואל קראבה ואל מוטן ויסאפר אלא מכן לם יעלמהו 'and the first test to which the Truth MHBE put him, was that he give up his family, relatives and home country and travel to an unknown place'.

The findings above correspond to those of the 12th-century *MS Chapira*, both examples of which parallel passages in *Qṣ Ibrāhīm*, namely מן אחרמייה לש למ קדר יכאז נפסו מן אחרמייה 'if it was in fact a god,] how could it not be able to free itself from the thieves?' and מן אחרמייה לש למ קדר יכאז נפסו מן אחרמייה 'it did not know how escape the thieves'.³²⁴ The same use of *lam* is also attested by Blau in the 13th-century material of the Egyptian *magid* David ben Abraham Maimonides.³²⁵

Our findings suggest that *lam* in some cases is followed by a verb in the imperfect structured according to an oxytone stress pattern.³²⁶ The phenomenon, which is also present in Spanish Arabic,³²⁷ is illustrated in the examples below (indicated with an underline):

לם יתרוך א צדיק פי שדה אכתר מן תלאת — לם יתרוך א צדיק פי שדה אכתר מן תלאת *lam* + imperfect retaining oxytone stress — 45/5b:2-3 לם יתרוך א צדיק פי שדה אכתר מן תלאת אים 'the Truth MHBE] did not abandon the righteous one in distress longer than three days'; ואנני לם אכרוג ען שי מן 45/7b:3-4 ואנני לם אכרוג ען שי מן 'I have abandoned but nothing of what he has commanded me'.

The particle is also employed once to negate copula, as in the example below:

46/3b:4 לם אנה חבלה 'I am not pregnant'.

³²³ But *וכאנת סירה ענדהם אן אי מן סגד ללנמרוד לא ירפע ראסה חתי יאדן לה אמלך* in 52/6a:18-6b:1. *ראסה חתי יאדן לה אמלך*

³²⁴ *MS Chapira*:37; *MS 46/10a*:19.

³²⁵ Blau 1999a:106.

³²⁶ See 4.1.1.2.1.

³²⁷ An example is the writings of Alcalá (15th-16th century) in which we find *lem yuqláq xéi* (sic) 'nothing was created' (see Corriente 2013:126).

4.2.4.2 *Invariable Reflections of laysa*

Laysa is usually identified with the existential (or copula) negator in Classical Arabic, and with the set of rules and conventions following its restricted use. As Clive Holes notes, “the dialects have generally preserved variants of the construction with *mā*, whereas *laysa*, except in a few archaic dialects of Arabia, is saliently nonspoken (and therefore to most users’ minds more correct) form” (Holes 2004:242). Holes and other dialectologists have illustrated that *laysa* occurs in spoken varieties of Arabic, most notably in the Arabian Peninsula.³²⁸ Besides being used as a verbal negator in some dialects (see below), it is employed also in Classical Arabic, such as in the *ḥadīth* literature, as well as in the writings of al-Ghazālī (11th/12th century) and Ibn Khaldūn (13th/14th century).³²⁹ Dialect reflexes of *laysa*³³⁰ are attested, *inter alia*, in Yemen as *līs*, *lays* and *lās*,³³¹ and in south-western Saudi Arabia as *līs* and *lays*.³³² Historically, it is attested in the Arabic vernacular writings of Muslim Spain, reflecting *lis*, *līs* and occasionally *lās*, *lays* or *līš*.³³³ In the latter dialect the particle is frequently found preceding the perfect tense, imperfective tense and nominal sentences.³³⁴

In these dialects there is a general use and distribution of *laysa* (or variants of it) as a particle of verbal negation with the suffixes appearing as object pronouns of the negating particle. In other words, *laysa* only rarely exhibit morphological contrast, i.e. they are not used morphologically and syntactically as a verb; rather, it has become invariable in living speech³³⁵ occurring as an uninflected negation particle — and should accordingly be considered thus. As many scholars have shown, there is widespread use of the negation particle *laysa* in Middle and Judaeo-Arabic sources, where it is frequently employed without distinction for number or gender, in cases such as **laysa ʔihna* and **laysu yiʔraf*.³³⁶ Uninflected *laysa* in the imperfect tense is typical of 11th century North African and Egyptian epistolary writings, and on average the second most frequently employed negation particle in negation of present actions.³³⁷

³²⁸ See e.g. Holes 2006:26.

³²⁹ See Wilmsen 2016:351ff.

³³⁰ For a comprehensive list, see Wilmsen 2016:336.

³³¹ Behnstedt 1985: 170 map 117.

³³² al-Azraqi 1998:141f.

³³³ Corriente 1977:140; Wilmsen 2016:341.

³³⁴ Corriente 1977:144.

³³⁵ See Blau 1999a:305ff.

³³⁶ Examples are taken from Hary 2009:213f.; see also Lentin 2011 online.

³³⁷ E. M. Wagner 2010:138.

In an article introducing a notion of the ‘Croft’s cycle’ in Arabic, David Wilmsen investigates the Arabic varieties listed above, which use reflexes of the negator *laysa*.³³⁸ We will not go into the many details surrounding Croft’s (1991) proposal, however the process may be characterized by a process of succeeding stages in which the semantic role of the negative existential particle changes over time. It may be of interest to the reader that if we consider our data in view of Wilmsen’s evaluations of *laysa* as a verbal negator, we find similarities with data recorded in collections of 12th-century *zajal* and in 13th-century folk proverbs from Spain.³³⁹ Much of the negation found in *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq*, which is the only manuscript of ours exhibiting use of *laysa*, correspond to the intermediate stage C of Croft’s cycle, in which the use of existential particle *laysa* has become more or less identical with that of the other verbal negators *lā*, *lam* (discussed above) and *mā*. In other words, the particular manner in which this reflex of *laysa* is employed throughout this narrative, arguably pronounced *līs* or a variant close to this, corresponds to the usage in Spanish Arabic.

Presented below are some examples taken from *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq*, illustrating cases in which *laysa* has been employed as an uninflected verbal particle:

Evidence of uninflected *laysa* — לִּים לְךָ טָאעָה וְלֹא —
 لما ختتك ابيك كان عومرك تمان ايام وليس لك طاعه ولا مقدره انك מקדרה אנך תכאף ולא תמאנע
 45/4b:9-11 ‘when your father circumcised you, you were eight days
 old, when you did not possess obedience, nor the ability to refute or oppose’;
 וכאנת אל סת שרה עליהא אסלאם משגופה בחוב יצחק אא גאית מא יכון וא נסואן לִים עקולהון בנסבת עקול
 وكانت ال ست شره عليها السلام مشغوفه بحوب يصحق الاغايث ما يكون وال نسوان ليس ا رגא
 45/7b:14-17 עקולהון بنسבת עقول אל رجال ‘Lady Sarah, peace be upon her, had a
 passionate love for Yiṣḥāq up until what happened (?) and women’s intellects do
 not equal that of men’.

פליס אעלמהו פליס אעלמהו אא אי א בלד ירוח איהא — *laysa* + perfect negating past actions —
 45/3b:7-8 פליס אעלמהו אא אי א בלד ירוח איהא ‘He did not let him know to which land he were to
 go’; וכذاک هنا פליס אעלמהו تعالی الجبل الی یقرب וכדלך הנא לים אעלמהו תע’ אגבל אדי יקרב עליה;
 45/3b:10-11 ‘and here thus, He MHBE did not let him know of the mountain
 upon which he was to sacrifice’; לִים כּוֹלְצוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן מִצְרַיִם אֲזָלְתָּהּ א השתחוויה;
 45/13a:16-17 חולצו ישרא מן מצר אא בזכות א השתחוויה אל בזכות אל השתחוויה

³³⁸ Wilmsen 2016.

³³⁹ See Tchobanova 2005:508 *apud* Wilmsen 2016:338.

from Egypt but by virtue of prostration?; ובית המקדש נפסהו לים כולק אא לל השתחוויה; // ובית המקדש נפסהו לים כולק אל לל השתחוויה // 45/13b:1-2 ‘and the Temple itself was created only through the merit of prostration’; פלמא נטר א שטן אנהו לים יקדר יכאדע; פלמא נטר אל שטן אנהו לים יקדר יכאדע אברמה בלא יצחק פתרכהום ומצא אא ענד שרה 45/7b:9-1 ‘when Satan saw that he was not able to deceive neither Abraham nor Yiṣḥāq, he left them and proceeded to Sarah’.

ולیس بقا لك عندهو ולیس בקא לך ענדהו אורת — *laysa* + perfect negating a present action — 45/6a:11 ‘you have nothing left with him to be inherited’.

אנצרף עני ואזהב לאנני לאמך — *laysa* + imperfect negating present and future actions — 45/7a:7-9 אברמה אנצרף עני ואזהב לאנני לאמך ולیس אסמע ליס אסמע קא להו אברמה ‘Abraham replied and said to him, “Go away, leave! For I am *Lamk*, I do not hear”’; ולیس יخلص אל حق ע ישראל מן אל // וליס ילזך א חק תע ישראל מן א גלות אא בסבבהו; 45/13a:14-15 וליס ילזך א חק תע ישראל מן א גלות אא בסבבהו ‘for the Truth MHBE will only redeem Israel from the diaspora but on account of himself’.

In view of the discussion above, it should not go unmentioned that the invariable use of *laysa* in a text such as *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq* may well be a result of the tradition of translating sacred texts from Hebrew, also known as *sharḥ* (see 3.3, above). For example, invariable *layš* can be found in the *sharḥ* tradition of the Jewish community of Constantine in Eastern Algeria.³⁴⁰ It is not impossible that *laysa* have been used as a verbatim translation i.e. of the Hebrew negation particle אין.³⁴¹

4.2.5 Other Pronouns and Particles

4.2.5.1 Relative *illī* and *al-* / *il-*

Although *alladī* (or a variant of it) is the prevailing relative employed in our material (see 4.1.2.1.1 above), *illī* (or a variant of it) is occasionally also attested in in *Qṣ Zakariah* and *Qṣ Yūsuf*. This particle is heard in most parts of the Nile-valley, almost everywhere in the Arabian Peninsula, in Syria, in dialects of Iraq, as well in most rural and urban North African

³⁴⁰ See Tirosh-Becker 2012.

³⁴¹ See Hary 2009:218.

dialects.³⁴² There are only a few available examples, but it is most likely used invariably, that is, as a mere particle and irrespective of the gender, number and case of the preceding noun. The two occurrences (one of which is used alongside *allaḏī*) are:

59/2a:6-7 راه الملك وقال لو اراك ارقت؟ اللي وراك راه املך وكأ لو اراך ارقت؟ أي وراך
 ‘The angel saw him and said to him, “I can see you. I have foreseen what lies behind you’;
 انتبيت بخراب ال بيت تنبيت بخراب ا بيت وا מקדש אי חבית וקולת להום באדי רית;
 8/3b:1-2 وال مقدش الى حبيت وقولت لهوم بالدى ريت
 ‘I told prophecies about the destruction of the Temple and the Holiness that I held so dear. And I told them what I had seen’.

There are also examples of *al-* or *il-* in the position of the relative, occurring two times in *Qṣ Sulaymān*. According to Jan Retsö, many dialects use this as a relative marker, for example in Mesopotamia (employing *il-*, *al-* and *la-*), Chad, Sudan, and among Bedouins in Northern Israel (employing *al-*).³⁴³ Retsö considers this kind of clausal complementation to be relevant to the historical development of both Maghribī and Mesopotamian varieties, and that it is the case also in other Semitic languages such as Aramaic, Akkadian and Sabaean.³⁴⁴ Consider the following examples:

23/2b:6 يا نبي الله انا القايله ذلك يا نبي آله انا اكايلاه دلخ
 ‘o prophet of Allāh, I am the one who said that’;
 23/4a:3-4 قيريت كونت اعلم ليمين كان هذا القصر ومين البناء ومين يعرف صحبهو
 ‘I wish I had known to whom this palace belongs, and who built it, and who is known to his master’.

4.2.5.2 *Future Particle rāyih*

There are surprisingly few future particles in the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts. As I have found only two future particles throughout the whole corpus, it seems that the future tense is expressed mostly by means of the verb in the imperfect tense. Whereas *Qṣ Sulaymān* exhibits

³⁴² An overview is presented in Retsö 2004:264f.

³⁴³ Retsö 2004:265f.

³⁴⁴ Retsö 2004:270f.

one occurrence of the Classical Arabic variant *sa-*,³⁴⁵ the shortened form of *sawfa*, *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq* makes use of the variant *rāyih* to indicate the future tense. Consider the following example:

ولما ذا توافق ابيك في الجهل ورايح ولما ذا توافك ابيك في اذاهل ورايح תקתול נפסך ללא צרורה
 45/7a/14-16 'why did your father foolishly agree to murder
 you for no reason?'

According to a comparison of relevant dialects made by Zack, this variant is today heard in Jordan, Mecca, in some sedentary urban areas of Palestine including Jerusalem, and in Baṣra.³⁴⁶ The particle is considered to be a grammaticalized variant of the participle *rāyih* 'going' (> 'going to do') and most likely represents an early stage of the development of similar variants, that is, (*rāyih* >) *rāḥ* / *raḥ* > *ḥa-* > *ha-* > *ʿa* > *ʿa* etc.³⁴⁷

In this connection, it is interesting to note that some Arabic dialects make use of a subordinate or some kind of purpose clause to may express the future tense, as shall be discussed in the following paragraph.

4.2.5.3 *Subordinate and Future baš*

Spanish and Moroccan Arabic use *baš* / *biš* 'so that, in order to', the meaning of which has developed from an earlier stage into the modern 'for, with what'.³⁴⁸ For example, Corriente lists the example *aš naʿmal baš naṭnī ʿalayk* 'what shall I do [in order] to praise you'.³⁴⁹ Also Maltese³⁵⁰ and the Muslim dialect of Tunis³⁵¹ have this subordinate, reflected by *biāš* and *bāš*, respectively. These variants, as do the particle *māšī* in the Jewish dialect of Algiers,³⁵² express near future or the meaning of 'going to'.

Two occurrences of *baš* (or a variant of it) are found in *Qṣ Ibrāhīm*, of which one corresponds to the early meaning 'with what' and the other expresses movement, 'going to' and a sense of near future. The examples are listed below:

³⁴⁵ תומ קאלת להו יא נבי אלה סיגרא לך פי טריקך חדית עגיב ואמר גריב
 23/3b:9-11 'then [the ant queen] said to him, "An amazing event, something strange, will soon befall you on your path"'

³⁴⁶ For the respective works and references, see Zack 2011 online.

³⁴⁷ Zack 2011 online.

³⁴⁸ Corriente 1977:135, n. 229.

³⁴⁹ Corriente 1977:135.

³⁵⁰ Vanhove 2000:237 *apud* Zack 2011 online.

³⁵¹ Fischer and Jastrow 1980:75.

³⁵² M. Cohen 1912:258 *apud* Zack 2011 online.

אנא אפעל פי כל מא תקולו בש אנתום שורו עלאיא
 46/2a:16-2b:2 'I will do whatever you say with what you advise me, and
 I will favour with you';
 יא אברהים מא לך האגה לא פי זאד ולא פי ראהלה ולא פי גיש ולא פי;
 يا ابراهيم لا تكاف من دالك ما لك בש עסאכר אסתוי אנתה עלה ז'הרי ואנא בעין א'ת' אחצ'רך ענדהום
 حاجه لا فى زاد ولا فى راحله ولا فى جيش ولا فى عساكر بش استوى انتہ עלہ ضہرى وانا بعين الله تعالى
 46/7b:17-19 'o Ibrāhīm, do not fear. You do not have anything; no
 provisions, no camel, no armies and no soldiers. You shall (?) sit on my back and
 I will bring you to them, by the will of Allāh MHBE!'

4.2.5.4 *Partitive or Indefinite Quantifier šī*

Qš Ibrāhīm and *Qš Sulayman* both display use of the particle *šī* in cases which appears to be used to denote the function of a partitive or an indefinite quantifier. The particle *šī* here denotes a vague, to some extent indefinite quantity to the noun that it precedes. The feature is found in Syro-Lebanese (Cowell 1964:467), Moroccan (Harrell 1965:147; Caubet 1993:186) and Yemenite (Watson 1993:190) dialects.³⁵³ Davies has found *šī* in 17th-century Egyptian Arabic and argues that it can be understood as an indefinite qualifier indicating the meaning 'some' or 'a', that is, "an indefinite collectivity of a certain unspecified amount" (Davies 1981:272). This kind of indefiniteness can even be observed in Classical Arabic, where it is found in fixed compositions such as *بعض الشيء* 'somewhat, to some degree' and *شيء من* 'a quantity of some'. Listed below are examples from the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts, one reflecting the latter composition, *shay' min*, and the other reflecting 'indefinite collective' as argued by Davies:

23/4b:12-13 فقال لهم سليمان فهل رايتوم شي من الطير فقاؤ להם סלימאן פהל ראיתום שי מן אטיר
 חיניד אגתמעו פי; "Did you see some kind of a bird?";
 حينيد اجتمعو فى دالك الموضع من داؤך اموؤع من انسا اؤبאלه شي كتير ما يو علم عددهوم آا ا'ت'
 46/2b:16-3a:2 'then they gathered in that
 place, a large number of pregnant women whose amount is unknown to anyone
 except Allāh, Exalted be He'.

³⁵³ A more extensive overview and discussion is presented in Wilmsen 2014:51.

4.2.5.5 *Emphasiser qad*

There are two conspicuous cases in which the particle *qad* (or a variant of it) ‘already’ is used in violation of Classical Arabic rules; it is employed not only when preceding a verb, but also in nominal sentences. Consider the following sentences:

תום אן סיידנא סלימאן רפע אסתר בידהו ווצל אא אקובה וארא פי אקובה קבר עטים ועליה תום
بيدهو ووصل الا القوبه توم ان سييدنا سليمان رفع الستر اذيباغ وقَدْ علا עליהا التوراب من طول الزمان ومرور الليالي والايام
وارا فى القوبه قبر عظيم وعليه توم الديباج وقد علا عليها التوراب من طول الزمان ومرور الليالي والايام
23/9a:6-10 ‘then Sulaymān lifted the cover with his hands, and arrived at the
dome, in which he saw a magnificent tomb. On top of it was a silk brocade,
covered with dust from the duration of time, from the passing of days and nights’;
פלמא אשרפת איום פי עוטם ממלכתך ונטרת אנה אידך פראית אאנס ען ימינד ואגן ען יסארך ואוחש
فلما اشرفت بين يديك والامر على راسك وقَدْ اذقت اغنحتها بعزهاا ببعف لלא يقع عليك حد
اليوم فى عوظم مملكتك ونظرت انا اليك فرايت الانس عن يمينك والجن عن يسارك والوحش بين يديك
23/2b:10-14 ‘I witnessed
the magnitude of your rule today. I looked at you, and I saw the men to your right
and the jinns to your left and the beasts in your hands and the birds flying above
you. And they had conjoined wings lest the sun’s cutting edge would fall upon
them’.

There is not enough evidence to draw conclusions, however, knowing that contemporary Southern Arabian dialects employ the particle in nominal sentences,³⁵⁴ our two cases deserve a brief investigation. For example, the contemporary dialect of Abha in the region of ‘Asīr makes use of the particle *gid* (derived from the classical *qad*) in nominal sentences.³⁵⁵ According to al-Azraqi, “*gid* can precede a predication structure to emphasise the information that is held in the predication. It mainly assures the change and the result that happened or will soon happen” (al-Azraqi 1998:101). Directed by some examples provided by Goitein, Blau found this to be a special feature of Yemenite texts dating back to the 12th century. It is known that 19th-century Yemenite Judaeo-Arabic and other contemporary Southern Arabian

³⁵⁴ See Blau 1999a:65.

³⁵⁵ al-Azraqi 1998:99ff.

dialects employ the particle in nominal sentences.³⁵⁶ Also Spanish Arabic makes use of *qad*, in which it is used in a similar manner, that is, as a mere emphatic marker.³⁵⁷

4.2.5.6 *Prepositional ṣuḥba*

It is also worth mentioning the use of the particle *ṣuḥba(t)*, employed to convey the meaning ‘with’. The preposition, which is attested as late as in a 19th-century Judaeo-Arabic commercial letter from Egypt,³⁵⁸ appears two times in *Qṣ Yiṣḥāq*, as illustrated below:

فعند ماخذ ابرهم صوحبتهو ال **اش** وال **عצים** // פענד מאכד אברהם צוחבתהו א **אש** וא **עצים**
45/6b:3-4 ‘Then Abraham brought with him the fire and the wood’;
وابرهم **עיה** لم رجع من **הר המוריה** // רגע מן **הר המוריה** וצוחבתהו יצחק אא **בזכות** א **השתחוויה**
45/13b:3-5 ‘Abraham PBUH returned from Mount Moriah with Yiṣḥāq, only but through the merit of prostration’.

4.2.5.7 *Interrogative and Exclamatory wa-*

In *Qṣ Sulaymān* and *Qṣ Ibrāhīm* there are also cases in which the particle *wa-* has been used as an interrogative. These interrogatives seem to be variants of the Classical Arabic ^ʿ*a-wa-* and ^ʿ*a-* used for introducing a question, or of *fa-kayfa bi-* used to express an exclamatory remark. Consider the examples below:

قالت لو يا ولدى **ولك** رب اخر غير الملك النمرود **قأت** لو **يا** ولدى **نلך** **רב** אכר גיר אמלך אנמרוד
46/5b:2-3; 52/5a:17-18 ‘she said to him, “My child, do you have a lord other than King Nimrūd?”’;
ولو كان من الحجر **لکان** ولو **כאן** מן אחגר לכאן עגיב פכיף **נהו** מן אפצה ואדהב;
23/4a:1-3 ‘if [the palace] been made but out of stone it would have been amazing. Just imagine then, how much more beautiful it is when it is made out of silver and gold!’;
قد طوفت **קד** **טופת** חולהו ולם ארא **נלהו** באב;
23/6a:3-4 ‘I have been around [the palace] and have not seen whether it has a gate’.

³⁵⁶ See Blau 1999a:65.

³⁵⁷ As illustrated by Corriente 1977:129.

³⁵⁸ Khan 1992:233.

4.2.6 On the Ambiguity of Dialectal versus Classical Arabic Content

There are many Arabic words appearing in our corpus which may be regarded as reflecting Classical Arabic. But as some dialectologists of Egyptian Arabic, notably Liesbeth Zack, have demonstrated, there are many such Classical items which have been in use at an earlier stage of the Cairo Arabic variety but which have fallen out of use today. The Cairo-Ramla manuscripts exhibit much of the same variants as in the 19th-century spoken Egyptian provided by Zack.³⁵⁹ A selection of these are *arād* ‘to want’³⁶⁰ (today *‘āwiz/‘āyiz*); *‘ata* ‘to give’;³⁶¹ *min šān* ‘for, in order to’;³⁶² *mara* ‘woman’ (today only used pejoratively in Cairo); *kitīr* ‘very’ (today *‘awī*);³⁶³ and *raʿa* ‘to see’ (today *šāf*).³⁶⁴

Concerning the latter verb *raʿa* ‘to see’, some non-standard variants **arēt / rēt / rayt* are visibly attested in our material. Below are two examples from *Qṣ Yūsuf*:

59/2a:6-7 *راه الملك وقال لو اراك ارؤيت؟ اللي وراك رאה املך وكأ لو اراך ارؤيت؟* ‘the angel saw him and said to him, “I can see you. I have foreseen what lies behind you”’; 8/1b:4-5 *وريت ال يوم فورقتكوم وريت ا يوم فورقتكوم*; ‘today I saw your diversity’; *انتبيت بخراب ال بيت وال مقدش الى اتنبيت بکرااب ا بيت و ا مکدش ائ حبيت وکولت لهوم באדי ریت* 8/3b:1-2 ‘I told prophecies about the destruction of the Temple and the Holiness that I held so dear. And I told them what I had seen’.

What is more, by looking at the rhyme of the verse of the latter example above, we can confirm that the verb, at least for this particular case, was pronounced without a glottal stop. It corresponds to the variant attested e.g. in Maltese, as illustrated by *ma rajtu qatt* ‘I have never seen him’.³⁶⁵ Consider the verse below:

• *אתנבית בכראב א בית • וא מקדש אי חבית • וקולת להום באדי רית •*
• *ולם עאדו יצדקוני •*

³⁵⁹ See Zack 2016:564f.

³⁶⁰ Appears sporadically in 52 and 8; *passim* in 45, 46 and 23.

³⁶¹ 59/3b:12; 23/*passim*

³⁶² 46/5b:7 *משנך* and 46/5a:18, 10:26; 52/5a:15 ‘because; because of’.

³⁶³ 46/3b:3; 52/3a:7 *كبر بطنها واتغير لونها كثير כבר בטנהא ואתגזיר לונהא כתייר* ‘her belly had grown and her complexion had severely changed’.

³⁶⁴ Appears in all manuscripts.

³⁶⁵ Sutcliffe 1960:197.

• اتنبیت بخراب ال بیت • وال مقدش الی حبیت • وقولت لهوم بالدی ریت •
• ولم عادو یصدقون •

I told prophecies about the destruction of the Temple and the Holiness that I held so dear.
I told them what I had seen, // And still they would not believe me.

MS 8/3b:1-3

Although very difficult (or impossible) to prove, this may well support the notion of our corpus exhibiting an even earlier stage of in the development of Cairene Arabic, namely that exhibiting influence of particular Yemenite features. As Palva notes, using the examples of Behnstedt:

— Contrary to most sedentary dialects of Arabic, the dialects spoken in the southern parts of the Arabian Peninsula do not result from developments that have taken place as a consequence of the spread of Arabic to the Fertile Crescent and to the African continent. Therefore, they exhibit many archaic features not found in the more leveled dialects of the other parts of the Arabic-speaking world. Among them, the following are attested in different parts of Yemen: the relative pronoun *allaḏī*, *mā* ‘what?’, *ayna* ‘where?’, *ata* ‘to come’, *ams* ‘yesterday’, *ma^ʔ*, *mā^ʔ* ‘water’, and reflexes of **ra^ʔā* ‘to see’.³⁶⁶

4.2.7 Other Obsolete and Non-standard Features

Finally, I have provided a short list of some remaining features which have become obsolete or suppressed as non-standard in the speech of modern-day Cairo. Consider the examples below:

59/2a:7-8 ‘from this point on you will become weary’³⁶⁷; 46/7a:2 (see also 52/7a:18) ‘what is that fright and concern?’; 46/9a:7 ‘the generals’; 46/10a:16 ‘how can you be an old, foolish woman, and not have a brain that you

³⁶⁶ Palva 2011 online; examples are from Behnstedt 1985.

³⁶⁷ This apparent ‘Syrianism’ *hōn* is also attested in the oasis of Farafra as *hawn* (see Behnstedt and Woidich 1985: map 174).

use?';³⁶⁸ 'what do you want with him?' 46/10a:4 'ما تريدى بو ما تريدى بو';
 אורני וגעיד; 'the souls of Abraham and Yiṣḥāq' 45/6a:6 'رواح ابرهم ويصحق ويصحق
 اورنى وجعيك (≈ Cairene *warrīnī wag'ik*) 46/3b:7 'show me where it hurts (lit.
 show me your pain)'; 'o Knower of secrets' 52/2b:12 'يا عالم بالاسر يا عالم بالاسر (≈ *asrār*)
 'because, because of' 46/5a:18, 10:26; 52/5a:15 'because, because of' (and מנשך
 'because of you' 46/5b:7 'because of you'); 'for me/because of me' 8/5b:13 'لاجلانى
 لاجلانى (≈ *asrār*) 52/2b:12 'o Knower of secrets'; 'how old are you?' 23/5a:7; 5b:10
 'كم لك تعيش من العومر كم لك تعيش من العومر'; 'I swear, o Prophet' 23/5a:10 'وعيشك
 يا نبي وعيشك يا نبي'; 'I held a thousand servants and I ruled over a thousand armies'
 23/12a:4 'واقطننت الف جاريه وملكت الف جيش (≈ *iqтанаšt*) 'I held a thousand servants
 and I ruled over a thousand armies'.

³⁶⁸ These two occurrences, of preposition (*bi-hī / bi-hū >*) *bū* is very interesting in the way that they both
 indicates a vowelless pronunciation of Classical Arabic *bi-*. E. M. Wagner encountered a similar issue, of
 emphatic / appearing in the word **b(i)-llāh* (E. M. Wagner 2010:37). In order to explain the emphatic character
 of / in *bi-llāh*, she suggests that this reflects a blend form of *wa-llāhi* and *bi-llāhi*. This may well be, but it is also
 possible that this vowelless variant the preposition is the reason for the emphatic character of /, viz, **ba-llāh /*
b-a'llāh or perhaps even **bu-llāh / b-u'llāh*.

CHAPTER 5

ANNOTATED AND TRANSLATED EDITIONS

THE IBRĀHĪM-NIMRŪD LEGEND

קצת אברהים² אכליל¹ א1

בשם יוי אל עולם נעשה ונצליה נבתי אלן³ בכתאבת קוצץ אדי גרי פי קדים אזמאן
לאנבייא עלי ה' קצת אברהים אכליל⁴

אבתי פי מא גרי פי קדים אזמאן לאבונה אברהים אכליל⁶ עלי אסלאם מע אמלך אנמרוד
כזא א'ת' קאו אן קבל מא ינולד אברהים אכליל פכאן אנמרוד⁸ אלעין כאפר משרך בא'ת' וכאן
ידעי פי נפשה בלאאהייה⁹ ובאנו אהל זמאנה עבדין לאצנאם תם אן אמלך אנמרוד¹⁰ חלם חלאם
וגד פי באן ינולד ולד יכון הלאכה והאלך¹¹ קומה ויבסר מדהבה
פאנגעז אנגעזאז אן עזים אדעא¹² באאומרא ואעולמה וארבאב אפהם ואכברהום במא גרי¹³
לו פקא להום שורו עלא יא כיף יכון אעמל ואתדביר¹⁴ חנינד שארו עלא ראיי ואחד ואתפקו פקאו
יא מלך¹⁵ אזמאן כל מא תשא אפעל יא סיידנא אמלך פקא להום¹⁶ אנא אפעל פי כל מא תקולו בש
אנתום שורו עלאייא² א2 ואנא אקבל מנכום פקאו לו יא מלך אזמאן אבני לך מוצע³ ואסיע טול
פרצץ ועורץ פרסך ותנאדי פי סאיר⁴ מולכך ובלאדך באן לה יבקא אמראה חמלה חתה תחצר⁵ בין
ידיך טאעא פי קלב אחגרה אדי תבניהא

בשם יוי אל עולם יתברך שמו נבתי אלן² בכתאבת קצת מה גרי³ לאבונה וסיידנא אברהים אכליל ע'אס' מע⁴ אנמרוד אלעין תם
קול⁵ אבתי פי מה גרי⁶ פי קדים אזמאן לאברהים אכליל ע'אס' מע אמלך⁷ אנמרוד כזאה א'ת' קאו אן קבל אן ינולד⁸ אברהים אכליל
פכאן אנמרוד כאפר משרך ב א'ת'⁹ וכאן ידעי פי נפסה בא אלאהיה ובאנו אהל¹⁰ זמאנו עאבדין אאצנאם תם אן אמלך אנמרוד¹¹ קרי פי
סירה וגד פיהא באן ינולד ולד¹² יכון הלאכה והאלך קומה ואנפסאד מדהבה¹³ עלי ידה פנגעז אנגעזאז אן ע'צים¹⁴ אדעא באאמרא ואעלמא
וארבאב אפצל¹⁵ ואכברהום במא גרי פקאל להום שירו עלייא כיף¹⁶ יכון אעמל ואתדביר חנינד אתשאורו¹⁷ עלי ראי ואחד ואתפקו פקאו
יא מלך אזמאן¹⁸ מהמא שית אפעל יא סיידנא קא להם¹ א2 אנא אריד אדבר פי שי אפעלה ואנתום שירו² עלאייא ואקבל מנכום קאו לה
יאמלך אזמאן³ אבני לך מוצע וסיע טול פרסך וערץ פרסך⁴ ותנאדי פי סאיר מלכך ובלאדך באן לא יבקא⁵ אמראה חמלה חתי תחצר בין
ידיך טאעא⁶ פאךא חצרה תקעוד פי אחוגרה פאדא⁷ אנתמעו גמיעהם פיהא

1a The story of Ibrāhīm the Friend

2a *In the name of YWY,¹ the Everlasting El, shall we labour and succeed.* We hereby start the writing of stories that happened a long time ago with prophets, *peace be upon them*: The story of Ibrāhīm the Friend.

Let me begin with something that happened a long time ago with our father Ibrāhīm the Friend [of God], peace be upon him, and with King Nimrūd,² a disgrace [before] Allāh, may He be Exalted (MHBE). They have told that before Ibrāhīm the Friend was born, the cursed Nimrūd was a polytheist, a disbeliever in Allāh MHBE and he was claiming to be divine-like and that the people of his time should worship idols.³ But then King Nimrūd dreamt a dream in which he found that a boy would be born, one who would be his destruction, one who would ruin his nation and corrupt his belief.⁴

He was greatly disturbed and called upon the emirs, the wise and the masters of understanding, and informed them about what had happened to him. He said, “Advise me on what I can do and on what will be the plan!”⁵ So they advised of a common view and said, “O King of time, whatever you desire, do thus, O master of ours, the King.” He said to them, “I will do whatever you say with what you advise me, 2b and I will favour with you.” They said to him, “O King of time, build for yourself a large place which is one *farsakh*⁶ long and one *farsakh* wide, and call out throughout your kingdom and your land, that there will be no remaining pregnant women unless they have appeared before you and shown obedience in the middle of the courtyard that you will build.

¹ As in many of the writings of the tenth century Karaite teacher and exegete Yefet ben ʿElī al-Baṣrī, the tetragrammaton יהוה YHWH is occasionally represented by יי YWY (see Sasson 2010:39).

² Some Muslim sources identify Nimrūd with the Persian king ʿAḥḥāk, a variant of the Persian al-Azdahāq (see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* i:194), whereas others have claimed that he was an official of ʿAḥḥāk (loc. cit. 233). According to the same sources, he is claimed to be of Yemenite descent by the Yemenites themselves as well as by the Persians (loc. cit. 194).

³ al-Kisāʿī:125 : ثم امره نمرود ان يقرب له قربانا ففعل ذلك واخذ الناس في عبادة الاصنام
⁴ al-Thaʿlabī:41 : فقالوا له : إنه يولد في بلدك هذه السنة غلام يغير دين أهل الأرض ويكون هلاكك وزوال ملكك على يديه [...] وقال السدي : رأى نمرود في منامه كأن كوكبا طلع فذهب بضوء الشمس والقمر حتى لم يبق لهما ضوء [...] هو مولود يولد في ناحيتك في هذه السنة ، فيكون هلاكك وهلاك ملكك وأهل بيتك على يديه

⁵ al-Thaʿlabī:41 : ففزع من ذلك فزعا شديدا ، فدعا السحرة والكهنة والقافة وهم الذين يخطون في الارض وسألهم عن ذلك; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* i:236 : ففزع من ذلك فزعا شديدا ، فدعا السحرة والكهنة والقافة والحازة ، فسألهم عنه

⁶ *Farsakh* is derived from the historical Iranian unit *parasang*, and which more or less equals the English unit league.

וְכָלִי 6 עֲלֵיהֶם אֲדִיִּיאת וָאָדָא וְלִדְתָּ וְאֲחַדְהָ מִנְהוּם אֲנִתִּיָא 7 תְּטַלְקָהָ וָאָדָא וְצִעַת אַאוּמְרָאָה דְכֵר יוֹדְבַח עֲלֵהָ 8 צָדֵר אָמוּ פִּעֲנַד מָא שְׁמַע אֲמֶלְךְ הָאָדָא אֲשׁוּרָה פִּרְחָ 9 פִּרְחָאן עֲזִים וְאֲעִגְבוּ רֵאִיִּהוּם אֲפֹאֲסֵד וְקִבֵּל שׁוֹרְתָהוּם 10 וְאֲנַעַם עֲלֵיהֶם

וָאָדַעָא בְּלִמְהִנְסִין וְאֲצוֹנָאָע מִן סָאִיר 11 אֲבִלְאָד פִּלְמָא חֲצֵרוּ בֵּין יָדִין אֲמֶלְךְ פִּקָּא לְהוּם 12 אֲבִנּוּ לִי חֲגֵרָה טוֹלְהָא פִּרְסָךְ וְעוֹרְצָהָא פִּרְסָךְ פִּקָּאוּ 13 נַעַם יָא מֶלֶךְ אֲזִמָּאן פִּפְעֵלוּ כִּמָּא קָא לְהוּם פִּלְמָא 14 כְּלָצוּ אֲמוּצָע נָאָדָא וָאָמֵר אֲמֶלְךְ פִּי גִמִּיעַ בְּלָאָדָא 15 בָּאן לִם יוֹבְקָא אֲמֵרָאָה חֲאֲמֵלָא חֲתִי תַחֲצָדֵר בֵּין יָדִין 16 אֲמֶלְךְ אֲנִמְרוּד חִינִיד אֲגַתְמַעוּ פִּי דָאֲךְ אֲמוּצָע מִן 2 אָס 3 אֲנִסָא אֲחִבְאֵלָה שִׁי כְתִיר מָא יוֹעֵלִם עֲדָדְהוּם אָא אִיתִּי סִוִּיתִּי 3 פֹּאֵמֵר עֲלֵהָ אֲדִיִּיאת וְקָא לְהוּם אֲאֵמְרָאָה אֲדִי תוֹלַד דְכֵר 4 יוֹדְבַח עֲלֵי צָדֵר אָמוּ וָאָמָא אֲאֵמְרָאָה אֲדִי תוֹלַד אֲנִתִּיָא 5 יַעֲתִקָהָ וְתִרְגַּע אָא אֵהֲלָהָ

קָא כְעֵב אֲאֲחִבְאָר אָן קַתֵּל 6 פִּי הָאָדָא אֲחֲגֵרָה סִבְעִין אָף גִּוְלָאִם חִינִיד בַּעַד דָּאֲךְ 7 צָגַת אֲמֵלְאִיכָה בֵּין יָדִין אָרְב וְקָאוּ יָא רַב אֲעֵלְאֲמִין יָא 8 עָאִם אֲאִסְרָר וְאֲצִמְאָרִיר וְאֲאֲפִכָאֵר מָא תֵרָא מָא 9 פִּעַל הָדָא אֲכָאֲפֵר אֲלַעִין כִּיִּף אֲטָגָא וְטִנְמֵרֵד חִינִיד 10 אוּחָא אִיתִּי עֲלֵי אֲמֵלְאִיכָה וְקָא לְהוּם יָא מִלְאֲכִיתִי וְיָא 11 כֹּל מָא פִּעֵלָה הָדָא אֲכָאֲפֵר אָנָא נָאֲצָר וְכִיִּף לָא אֲנָצוּר 12 וָאָנָא פִּי אֲמִנְצָר אֲאֵעֵלָא וְלָא יִכְפִּי עֲנִי שִׁי אָא וְעִזְתִּי 13 וְגִלְלֵתִי אָא אוּרִי הֵל לַעִין אֲמִלְעוֹן שִׁי מִן עֲגָאִיבִי 14 לִם יִקְדֵר אַחַד עֲלֵיהָ גִירִי אֲבָדָא קָא כְעֵב אֲאֲחִבְאָר 15 אָן אוּם אֲבֵרְהִים זוּגַת תֵרַח חִבְלַת וְדִכְלַת פִּי אֲשֵׁהוּר 16 אֲחִבֵּל פֹּאֲקָא אִיתִּי עֲזוּ וְגִל אֲרַחְמָא וְאֲשִׁפְקָא פִּי קִלְבָהָא 2 אָס 3 קִבֵּל אָן תוֹלַדָא

וְכֹל עֲלֵיהֶם 8 אֲקוּאֲבֵל וָאָדָא וְלִדְתָּ וְאֲחַדְהָ מִנְהֵם אֲנִתִּי 9 תְּכַלְעַ עֲלֵיהֶם וְאֲטַלְקָהָ וָאָדָא וְצִעַת 10 דְכֵר יוֹדְבַח עֲלֵי צָדֵר אָמָה פִּלְמָא סִמַּע 11 אֲמֶלְךְ קוֹלְהֵם פִּרְחָ פִּרְחָא עֲצִים וְאֲעִגְבָה 12 רֵאִיִּהֵם אֲפֹאֲסֵד וְקִבֵּל מִשׁוֹרְתָהֶם וְכַלְעַ 13 עֲלֵיהֶם וָאָדַעָא בְּאֲלִמְהִנְדוּזִין וְאֲצוֹנָאָע 14 מִן סָאִיר אֲבִלְאָד פִּלְמָא חֲצֵרוּ בֵּין יָדִיהָ 15 קָא לְהוּם אֲבִנּוּ לִי חֲגֵרָה טוֹלְהָא פִּרְסָךְ 16 וְעוֹרְצָהָא פִּרְסָךְ פִּקָּאוּ נַעַם יָא מֶלֶךְ 1 אֲזִמָּאן פִּפְעֵלִי כִּמָּא קָא לְהוּם פִּלְמָא כִּמְלוּ אֲמוּצָע 2 נָאָדָא פִּי גִמִּיעַ בְּלָאָדָה בָּאן לָא תְּבִקָא אֲמֵרָאָה 3 חֲאֲמֵל חֲתִי תַחֲצָר בֵּין יָדֵי אֲמֶלְךְ אֲנִמְרוּד חִינִיד 4 פִּגַּתְמַעוּ פִּי תִלְךְ אֲמוּצָע מִן אֲנִסָא אֲחוּאֲמֵל שִׁי 5 כְתִיר מָא יוֹעֵלִם עֲדָדְהֵם אִי אֵלָה תַעֲאִי פּוֹכֵל 6 עֲלֵיהֶם אֲקוּאֲבֵל וְקָא לְהֵם אֲאֵמְרָאָה אֲדִי תַצֵּעַ 7 אֲנִתִּי יוֹכְלַע עֲלֵיהָ וְתִרְגַּע אִי אֵהֲלָהָ וְאֲלָדִי 8 וְוָצֵעַ דְכֵר יוֹדְבַח עֲלֵי צָדְרָהָא קָא כְעֵב אֲאֲחִבְאָר 9 אָן קַתֵּל פִּי תִלְךְ אֲחֲגֵרָה כָּאִם אָף גִּלְאִם 10 קָאוּ אָנְהֵם סִבְעִין אָף חִינִיד בַּעַד דָּאֲךְ 11 צָגַת אֲמֵלְאִיכָה וְקָאוּ יָא רַב אֲעֵלְאֲמִין יָא 12 עָאִלִּם בְּאֲאִסְרֵר וְאֲצִמְאָרִיר וְאֲאֲפִכָאֵר מָא תֵרָא 13 מָא פִּעַל הֵל כָּאֲפֵר הֵל לַעִין כִּיִּף אֲצָגָא 14 וְאֲתִנְמֵרֵד חִינִיד אוּחָא אֵלָה תַעֲאִי אֲלִי 15 אֲמֵלְאִיכָה וְקָא לְהֵם יָא מִלְאֲכִיתִי כֹּל מָא 16 פִּעֵלָה אֲנִמְרוּד אָנָא נָאֲצָר וְכִיִּף לָא אֲרָאָה 17 וָאָנָא פִּי אֲמִנְטָר אֲאֵעֵלָא וְלָא יִכְפִּי עֲנִי 18 כָּאֲפִיָּה אָא וְעִזְתִּי וְגִלְלֵתִי? אָא אוּרִי הֵל כָּאֲפֵר 1 אָס 3 הֵל מִלְעוֹן שִׁיָּא מִן עֲגָאִיבִי מָא לִם יִקְדֵר אַחַד 2 עֲלֵיהָ גִירִי אֲבָדָא קָא כְעֵב אֲאֲחִבְאָר אָן אָם 3 אֲבֵרְהֵם זוּגָה תֵרַח עֲלִקַת וְדִכְלַת פִּי אֲשֵׁהוּר 4 אֲחִמֵּל פֹּאֲקָא אֵלָה תַעֲאִי עֲזוּ וְגִל אֲרַחְמָה 5 וְאֲשִׁפְקָא פִּי קִלְבָהָא קִבֵּל אָן תוֹלַדָה

Leave them to the midwives. If any of them gives birth to a girl, let her go. But if the woman gives birth to a boy, he is to be slaughtered on the chest of his mother. When the king heard this advice he became very happy. He was delighted by their immoral vision. He approved of their advice and was gracious towards them.

So he sent for technicians and experts from throughout the land. When they were in the presence of the king, he said, “Build me a courtyard which is one *farsakh* long and one *farsakh* wide.” And they said, “Yes, o King of time,” and did what he had told them. When they had finished the place, the king called out and ordered, in his entire country, that “No pregnant woman will be spared unless she has appeared before King Nimrūd!” Then they gathered in that place, ^{3a} a large number of pregnant women whose amount is unknown to anyone except Allāh, Exalted be He. And he ordered the midwives and said to them, “If a woman who gives birth to a boy, he will be slain on her chest. Now, if a woman gives birth to a girl, set her free and she will return her to her family.”

Ka‘b al-Aḥbār has said that seventy thousand boys were murdered in that courtyard.⁷ The angels were astonished before the Lord and said, “O Sovereign of the Universe, o Knower of secrets and thoughts. Do You not see what that evil disbeliever have done? How tyrannical and despotic he is?” Then Allāh MHBE revealed to the angels and said to them, “In whatever that disbeliever has done, I have insight! How can I not see, when I am in the highest of places? Nothing is kept hidden from me. I swear by my glory and majesty. I see everything! This cursed outcast is something from among my [created] wonders. No one has power over him but Me, into eternity!” Ka‘b al-Aḥbār has said that the mother of Ibrāhīm, the wife of Terah, got pregnant and went into the months [of pregnancy]. Allāh MHBE, Almighty and Exalted, put compassion and sympathy in her heart ^{3b} before she gave birth.

al-Kisāʿī:127⁷ : فان ولدت غلاما قتله وان ولدت انثى ابياها فلم يزل كذلك حتى ذبح في سبع سنين مائة الف من الاطفال.

פאכפת אמראהא ען בעלהא חתי כבר 3 בטנהא ואתגיייר לונהא כתיר פסאהא בעלהא וקא להא 4
 אנתי חבלה פאכפת ענו וגובתו וקאת לם אנא חבלה 5 פקא להא מאך אתגייירתי וכוברת בטנך פקאת
 יא סידי 6 אן ימסכני פי כל עאם מרץ יסמה ריח אהיגאן קא 7 להא תרח אורני וגעיך פאורתו ווץע
 ידו עלא בטנהא 8 לם יעלם אן כאנת חבלה או לא חנינד אנקא אית' 9 אברהים מן בטנהא ולם ערף
 אנהא חבלה פקא 10 להא צדקתי פלם תזא חתה כתמת אמרהא חתה כומלת 11 אושהורהא וקורבת
 ללולאדה פכאפת לילה ליעלם 12 בהא אמלך אנמרוד פכרגת מן אמדינה ומשיית 13 אי אן וצלת אי
 ואדי מן בעץ אאודייה ומשיית פיהא 14 פואגדת מגארא פדכלת איהא
 פלמא נדאהא אטלק 15 טלעת עלא צכרה וטלקת ופרג אית' עליהא וולדת בי 16 אברהים
 אכליל פלמא וצעת סיד אברהים אכליל 2 א4 עיה' ונוארת אמגארא מן נור וגהו אמכרם פפרחת בה 3
 פרחאן עזים כיף סלמך אית' מן אנמרוד וקבלתה בין 4 עיניה וקאת לה יא סידי כיף ולדתך מן בטני
 פי זמאן 5 אכוף אעזים האדא אדי אנקתל פי סבעין אלף 6 גולאם ואנא כאייפה לה ידרי בכ אמלך
 אנמרוד אבן 7 כנען ויקתלך כמא קתל גילך ולא כן תמות יא ולדי 8 הנה ולא ידרי בכ אנמרוד ולא
 אנצורך מדבוך עלא 9 צדרי תם אנהא אכדת טרחתהא ושקתהא נצפין ולפתה 10 פי אנצף אואחד
 ואטרחת בנצף אתאני וכלתו 11 פי אמגארא ורגעת אי מנזלהא וקאת אודעתך למן 12 לם תכיב ענדו
 אודאייע הוא אדי כלקך וידברך 13 באחסן אתדביר ויחרוסך בעינו אדי לם תגפל 14 ולם תנאם

פאכפת אמרהא ען בעלהא חתי כבר 7 בטנהא ואתגיייר לונהא כתיר פסאהא 8 בעלהא וקא אנתי חאמלה אגאבתה 9 וקאת לא פקא להא
 פמאך אתגייירתי 10 וכבר בטנך קאת יא סידי ילחקני 11 פי כל עאם מראץ יסמי רוח אהיגאן קא 12 להא תרח אורני פאורתו פוץע ידה 13
 עלי בטנהא ליעלם הל הי חאמל אם 14 לא חנינד אנקל אלה תעאי אברהים 15 מן בטנהא ולא ערף אנהא חאבל פקא 16 להא צדקתי פלם תזא
 תכתם אמרהא 17 חתי כמלת אשהרהא וחאגת ולאדתהא 18 פכאפת ל'איעלם בהא אלמלך 1 א3 אנמרוד פכרגת מן אמדינה ומשת פיה 2 פוגדת
 מגארה פיה פדכלת אליהא 3 פלמא גאהא אטלק טלעת עלי צכרה 4 וטלקת ופרג איתע' ענהא פפרגו אקריב 5 ווץעת סיידנא אברהים עיאם'
 פלמא וצעת 6 אבונא אברהים עיהש' אצאת אמגארה 7 מן נור וגהו אמכרם פפרחת בה פרחא 8 עטים כיף סלמה אלה תעאי מן אנמרוד 9
 וקבלתה בין עיניה וקאת לה יא סידי 10 כיף ולדתך פי זמאן הל כוף אעטים 11 אדי קתל פיה אלמלך אנמרוד סבעין 12 אלף גולאם מן גיהתך
 ואנא כאיפה 13 לילא ידרי בכ אלמלך אנמרוד אבן כנען 14 ויקתלך כמא קתל גירך ולכן תמות יא 15 ולדי הנא ולא אנצורך מדבוך עלי 16
 צדרי תם אנהא אכדת מקנעתהא ושקתהא 17 נצפין ולפתה פי אנצף אואחד וכלתה 18 פי אמגארה ורגעת אי מנזלהא 1 א4 וקאת אודעתך למן
 לא תכיב איה אודאייע 2 הו אדי כלאקך וידברך באחסן תדביר 3 ויחרצך בעינה אדי מא תנאם

So the woman hid her matter for her husband until her belly had grown and her complexion had severely changed. Her husband asked her and said to her, “Are you pregnant?” She concealed her belly, answered him and said, “I am not pregnant”. So he said, “What is the matter with you then? You have changed and your belly has grown.” She said, “My master, a sickness named the camel rider’s wind seizes me every year.” Teraḥ said to her, “Show me where it hurts.” So he put out his hand on her belly, not knowing if she was pregnant or not.” At that moment, Allāh, Exalted be He, transferred Ibrāhīm from her belly, and he couldn’t know that she was pregnant. He said, “You speak the truth.” So she continued [to hide the matter] until she completed her months and was approaching birth. And she became afraid lest the king Nimrūd would know of it, so she left the city and walked until she arrived in one of the valleys. She wandered in it, found a cave and got into it.⁸

When labor pains came near, she went onto a rock cave and let go, and Allāh MHBE emptied her, Exalted be He, and she bore Ibrāhīm the Friend. When she bore Ibrāhīm the Friend, ^{4a} *peace be upon him* (PBUH),⁹ the cave lit up from the light of his noble face and she rejoiced with him greatly, “How Allāh, Exalted be He, kept him safe from Nimrūd!” And she kissed him between his eyes, and said to him, “O master, how I bore you from my belly in times of great fear. This is the one for which seventy thousand boys were killed. I was worried, lest King Nimrūd son of Canaan would know of you and kill you the way he killed your generation. You did not die here, my child. Nimrūd did not come to know of you. I did not have to see you slain on my chest!” Then she took her veil, split it in two halves, wrapped him in the one half and covered herself with the second. She left him in the cave and returned to her home.¹⁰ She said, “I bade you goodbye, together with the One by Whom you will not be forsaken. He is the One who created you, and will direct you in the most excellent way, and guard you with His own eyes, which do not overlook nor sleep.”

⁸ al-Tha‘labī:42 : فأمر نمرود بذبح الغلمان ، فلما دنت ولادة أم إبراهيم عليه السلام وأخذها المخاض خرجت هاربة مخافة أن يطلع عليها فيقتل ولدها

⁹ al-Tha‘labī:42 : لما وجدت أم إبراهيم الطلق خرجت ليلة إلى مغارة كانت قريبة منها فولدت فيها إبراهيم عليه السلام

¹⁰ al-Tha‘labī:42 : وأصلحت من شأنه ما يصنع بالمولود ، ثم سدت عليه المغارة ورجعت إلى بيتها

קא כעב אאחבאר אן אברהים **עליהי** 15 פי מא בין מאהו פי דאך אמגארא וחדו פאשתוחס 16 ובכא פנצ'ר אית' אי וחדתה למא סמע בכאה פאוחא 17 להו אית' אי אס' גבריא אמלאך אן יהבט מן אסמא 2 34 אי אברהים **עיהי** פלקמו באהמייה אימנא ואיסארא פאכרג 3 אית' מן אבאהם או אחד לבן ומן אבאהם או אחד עסל ולמא 4 מדי עשרת איאם משא תם אן למא גא עליה אליל 5 ראי אכואכב קד אזהרת קא הדא רבי פלמא גאבת 6 אכואכב ואכתפא נורהום קא אברהים אנה לם אעבד 7 מן יגיב ויחצ'ר פלמא אסרק אצ'ו ונצ'ר אשמס 8 קד אסרקת נורהא קא הדא רבי פלמא אזלאמת 9 אשמס קא אדלם יהדיני רבי לאכון מן אקום 10 אזאמין פענד דאך הבט אי אמלאך גבריא וקא לה 11 אסלאם עליך יא אברהים פרד עליה אסלאם פסאו 12 אברהים וקא לו מין אנתה פקא לו אנה אמלאך 13 גבריא חנינד פאנבע לה אית' עין מא חלוה קוי 14 פאתנצ'ף פיהא אברהים וגסל ידיה ורגליה ואהמו 15 אית' פקעד יצלי וידעי אי אית'

קא כעב 16 אאחבאר אן אום אברהים זכרת אבנהא ואפתכרתו 17 ובכייית וכרגית תטלכו לם תעלם אן כאן חי 2 א5 או מאיית פגאת אי ואדי ודכלת אי אמגארא ולם וגדתו אבדן 3 פצרכת ובכייית וקאת יא לית שערי יא ולדי אכלך 4 אסבע או אדיב אפתרסך תם צארת תמשי פי אברארי באכיייה 5 מגמומה צארכה חתה גאת אי מוצ'ע ווגדת ולדהא קאעד 6 מקים פיהא פאתקדמת אי וקאת לה אסלאם עליך יא סידי 7 פרד עליהא אסלאם פקא להא אברהים מא חגתך יא האדי 8 אחורמה

קא כעב 4 אאחבאר אן אברהים **עיהשי** פי מא בין 5 מא הו פי תלך אמגארה וחדה פאשתחוש 6 ובכא פנצ'ר אית' אי וחדתה למא סמע בכאה 7 פאוחא אלה תעאי אי סיידנא גבריא אל 8 אמלאך אן יהבט מן אסמא אי אברהים 9 ע'אם פלקמה בהאמיה אימנה ואיסרא 10 פאכרג לה אלה תעאי מן אלבהאים 11 או אחד לבא ומן אאכ'ר שהדא ולמא 12 מצ'י לה איאם משא תם אן למא גא עליה 13 איל ראי אכואכב קד אזהרת קא הדא 14 רבי פלמא גאבת אלכואכב ואכתפא 15 נורהא קא אברהים אנה לא אעבד מן 16 יגיב פלמא אשרק אצ'ו ונצ'ר אסמס קד 17 אשרקת אנוארהא קא הדא רבי פלמא 18 אטלמת קא אדא לם יהדיני רבי לאכון 19 מן אקום אצ'אלין פענד דאך הובט איה 20 אסייד גבריא חנינד פאנבע לה אללה 2 תעאי מא חלוה פאתנצ'ף פיהא אברהים 3 ע'אים וגסל ידיה ורגליה ואהמא אללה 4 תעאי פקעד יצלי וידעי אי אלה תעאי 5 קאל כעב אאחבאר אן אברהים **עיהשי** 6 זכרתה 11 אמה ואפתכרת פיה 7 ובכת בכא אן שדיד וכרגת פי טלבה 8 לתעלם אן כאן חי או מאיית פגאת אי 9 אואדי ודכלת אלי אמגארה ולם וגדתה 10 הנאך פצרכת ובכת וקאלת יא לית שערי 11 יא ולדי אכלך אסבע או אדיב אפתרסך 12 תם צארת תמשי פי אברארי באכיה 13 האימה צארכה חתי גאת אי מוצ'ע 14 ווגדת ולדהא אברהים מקים פיהא 15 פאתקדמת איה וקאת לה אלסלאם 16 עליך רד עליהא אגואב פקא להא 17 ומא חגתך יא איהו אחורמה

¹¹ זכרתה MS 52 : corrected on the basis of MS 46

Ka'ḇ al-Aḥbār has said that meanwhile, Ibrāhīm *PBUH* was inside that cave all alone. He was abandoned, and he wept. Allāh, Exalted be He, saw his loneliness. When He heard his weep, He revealed to the Angel Master Gabri'el that he descends from heaven down ^{4b} to Ibrāhīm *PBUH*. He fed him with his right and left thumb. Out of one thumb came milk, and out of one thumb came honey,¹² and when ten days had passed, he walked. *When the night came, he saw the stars shining,*¹³ *he said, "This is my Lord"* (Q 6.75-76) But when their light disappeared and vanished, he said, "I do not worship that which comes and goes." When the light shone and he could see the sun, and that its light was shining, *he said, "This is my Lord"* (Q 6.76).¹⁴ But when the sun darkened he said, "If my Lord does not guide me I shall surely be of the people gone astray" (Q 6.77).¹⁵ Then, the Angel Gabri'el was set down to him, and he said to him, "Peace be upon you, o Ibrāhīm," to which he replied, "Peace." And Ibrāhīm asked him and said, "Who are you?" He said to him, "I am the Angel Gabri'el." Then, Allāh, Exalted be He, caused a fresh spring of water to flow out for him, and Ibrāhīm *PBUH* washed himself in it. He washed his hands, feet and the top of his head, sat down to pray and called for Allāh MHBE.

Ka'ḇ al-Aḥbār has said that the mother of Ibrāhīm remembered her child. She wept and went out to search for him, not knowing whether he was alive ^{5a} or dead. She came to the valley and went into the cave, but could not find her son. She cried out, wept and said, "Oh my dear! My son, did a beast eat you, or did a wolf ravish you?" Then she started walking in the prairie, crying, worried and screaming, until she got to a place and found her child sitting therein alive. She approached him and said, "Peace be upon you, o Master of mine." "Peace," Ibrāhīm replied to her and said, "What is your errand, o maiden?"

¹² al-Tha'labī:42 : فوجدته يمص من أصبع ماء ، ومن أصبع لبننا ، ومن أصبع عسلا ومن أصبع تمرا ، ومن أصبع سمنا
¹³ al-Tha'labī:42 : كانت تلك الليلة في آخر الشهر فتأخر طلوع القمر فيها ، فرأى الكوكب قبل القمر

¹⁴ The Qur'ānic references found in this passage are also attested in al-Tha'labī:42; al-Kisā'i:130; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* i: 237).

¹⁵ *Sefer ha-Yashar*:20a-20b : וירא אברם את השמש בארץ ויאמר אברם אל לבו אך עתה השמש הזאת אשר זרחה על כל הארץ הוא האלהים ולו אעבוד [...] ויחשך עליו הלילה [...] וירא אברם את הירח ואת הכוכבים לפניו ויאמר אך עתה הנה זה אלוה אשר ברא כל הארץ וכל האדם והנה עבדיו אלה הם לפניו [...] ויהי בבקר ויאר היום ותזרח השמש על הארץ כמשפט : וירא אברם את כל הדברים האלה אשר עשה יי אלהים בארץ : ויאמר אברם בלבו אך עתה אין אלה אלוהות אשר עשו את הארץ וכל האדם כי אם עבדי אלהים המה

פקאָת להו אנא כונת האמלה מן בעלי פאכפית 9 אמרי מן בעלי טול מא אנא חבלה פענת גאני אטלק גית אי 10 ואדי האדה וולדת דכר פפזעת עלי מן אמלך אנמרוד 11 לה יקתלו פלמא חאנת אשוקה פי קלבי פגית אי אטלבה 12 פלם ראיתו אבדן פי אמגארא קא להא אברהים מן מדת 13 כאם יום ולדתי הנה פקאָת לו מרת איום עשרין יום 14 וגית איום טרבתו לם וגדתו יא ולדי אן עדרי ואצח 15 פקאָת להא יא אימי אנא הו ולדך פקאָת לו יא ולדי כיף 16 כברת ומשית ותרערעת וגשית ותכלמית פי עשרין 17 יום קאָת להא נעם יא אימי תעלמי פי האדא אוגוד אאה 18 עזים אשאן יפעל מא ישא ויחכום מא ישא יסמע וירא 25 2 והו לא יורא ופי אמנצור אאעלה קאָת לו יא ולדי ולך רב 3 אכר גיר אמלך אנמרוד פקאָת להא נעם יא אימי אאה 4 אסמואת ואאראצי רב אמשרק ואמגרב ורב אנמרוד 5 אבן כנען חנינד למא סמעת כלאם אבנהא פקאָת 6 לו אנת אולד אדי כאן יכאף מנך בלא שך ואנת 7 אדי קתל מנשנך אמלך סבעין אף גולאם

ואנת 8 אדי וצולך באנך תאתי להדא אעאלם וכלתה ורגעת 9 אי מנזלהא פלמא גא בעלה תרח פסאָתו וקאָת להו 10 אנני אכברך באמרן והו עגיב ואכפיתו מנך וכתמת 11 דאך אי האדא אוקת מא הדא אכבר פקאָת להו אנני 12 כונת חמלה מנך בולד דכר ואכפיתו מנך וענד 13 מא גית אי אולאדה פכרגת אי ואדי פוגדת פי 14 מגארא פדכלת וולדתו פיהא ותרכתו פיהא מדת 15 עשרין יום פלמא שוקת איה גית אי אמגארה 16 לאטלבה מנהא פמא וגדתו הנאך פככית עליה 17 צרכת ודרת פי אבראיה ואנא באכייה צארכה

קאלת 18 לה אנני כנת האמל מן בעלי פולדת 1 25 1 דכר פפזעת עליה מן אמלך אנמרוד לילא 2 יקתלה פלמא חאנת וולדתו פכרגת אגלי 3 ואדי מן בעץ אאודייה פוגדת פיה מגארה 4 פדכלת איהא ווצעתו פיהא ורגעת אגלי 5 מנזלי חנינד פאן למא אשתקת אי נצרתה 6 גית אטלבה פלם ראיתה אבדא פי 7 אמגארה קא להא אברהים מן מדת 8 עשרין יום גית פי טלבתה אלאן 9 פקאלת לה יא ולדי אן עודרי ואצח 10 פקאָת להא יא אימי אנא הו ולדך 11 פקאלת לה יא ולדי כברת ואנתשית 12 ואתנענשת ואתרערעת ומשית 13 תכלמת פי עשרין יום קאָת להא נעם 14 יא אימי תעלמי פי הדא אוגוד אלה 15 עצים אשאן יפעל מא ישא וכיף ישא 16 יסמע וירא והו לא ירא ופי אמנטר 17 אאעלא קאלת לה יא ולדי ולך רב 18 אכר גיר אמלך אנמרוד קאָת להא 25 1 נעם יא אימי אלה אסמאואת ואארץ רב 2 אמשרק ואמגרב ורב אנמרוד אבן כנען 3 חנינד למא סמעת כלאם אבנהא פקאָת 4 לה אנת אולד אדי כאן יכאף מנך תחקיק 5 בלא שך ואנת אדי קתל לאגלך אמלך 6 אנמרוד סבעין אף גלאם ואנת אדי וצפונך 7 באנך תאתי להדה אעאלם וסייבתה 8 וכלתה ורגעת אי מנזלהא פלמא גא 9 אבוה תרח פסאָתה וקאָת להו אנני 10 אכברך באמר והו עגיב ואכפיתו 11 מנך וכתמת דאך אומר אי הדא 12 אוקת קאָת להא מא הל כבר קאלת 13 אנני כונת האמלה מנך בולד דכר 14 ואכפיתו מנך וענד מא חאנת 15 וולדתי כרגת אי ואדי פוגדת פיה 16 מגארה ווצעתה פיהא ותרכתה מדת 17 עשרין יום פלמא אשתקת איה 1 25 1 גית אי אמגארה לאַטְלְבָה פיהא פמא 2 וגדתה הנאך פככית עליה וצרכת 3 ודרת פי אבריה ואנא באכיה צורכה

She said to him, “I was pregnant from my husband, so I hid my matter from him for as long as I was pregnant. In hardship the delivery came to me, and I came to this valley and gave birth to a boy. I sought refuge for him from King Nimrūd, lest he would kill him.

When longing drew near in my heart, I came to search for him. But I could not find him in the cave at all.” Ibrāhīm said to her, “How many days ago did you give birth here?” She said to him, “Today, twenty days have passed. I came today searching for him but could not find him. O son of mine! My excuse is crystal clear!” He said to her, “O mother of mine, I am him, your child.” She said to him, “O child of mine, how have you grown up to walk, come into youth, become aware and speak in twenty days?” He said to her, “Yes, mother of mine, you know that in this world there is a god of powerful nature! He does what He desires, and rules what He desires.¹⁶ He hears, He sees ^{5b} and He is not seen, and is in the highest of places.” She said to him, “My child, do you have a lord other than King Nimrūd?” He said to her, “Yes, my mother, Allāh of Heaven and Earth, *Lord of the East and the West* (Q 73.9), Lord of Nimrūd son of Canaan.”¹⁷ When she heard what her son said, she said to him, “You are undoubtedly the boy he feared. And you are the one for whose sake the king murdered seventy thousand boys.

And you are the one [of] whose coming to this world [they spoke].” She left him and returned to her house. When her husband Teraḥ came, she asked him and said, “Truly, I will tell you about something amazing. I have hidden this from you, and kept it a secret until now.” She said to him, “Truly, I was pregnant from you with a baby boy and hid him from you. When birth came, I went out to a valley where I found a cave. I got into it, gave birth to him inside and left him there for twenty days. I longed for him, and I came to the cave to search for him, but I could not find him there. So I wept for him and went back into the wilderness weeping and screaming.

¹⁶ See e.g. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* ii:107, where Ibrāhīm is reported saying *لأنه يحكم ما يشاء كما أنه يفعل ما يريد* ‘because He does what He desires and rules what He wishes.’

¹⁷ *al-Kisāʾ:131* : فارتعد تاريخ من كلامه وقال يا ولدي ألك رب غير نمروذ وله مملكة الارض شرقها وغربها

פגית 18 אי בעץ מן אמואצע פוגדתו הנאך והו קד אנתשא 2 א6 ומשא ותרערע ותכלם וקא
 אן אאה מוגוד פי אסמואת ואארץ 3 רב אמשרק ואמגרב ירא ולא יורא והו פי אמנצר אאעלה חנינד
 4 למא סמע בעלהא תרח דאך אכלאם קא להא אכתמי חתה 5 אמצי אי אמלך אנמרוד ואעלמה בדאך
 אאמר וכאן בעלהא 6 תרח להו מנולה עזימה ענד אמלך תם אנו חצר לענד אנמרוד 7 ותכטא ארקאב
 אנאס וסגד בין ידין אמלך פקא להו אנמרוד 8 ארפע ראסך ואסא ען האגתך וכאנת עאדה ענד
 אמלוך אן 9 אי מן סגד קודאם אמלך למ ירפע ראסה חתה יאדן לו 10 אמלך פקא לו אנמרוד ארפע
 ראסך ואסא ען האגתך תוקצה 11 פגובהו תרח אבי אברהים וקא לה יא מלך אזמאן אנני 12 אתית
 איך נאצחא ומבשרא ומכבארה קא לה מה הו אלכבר 13 פקא להו אכבארוך בדאך סאבק באן ינולד
 ולד פי אעאם 14 יכון תלאף נפסך ויפסד מדהבך ואנתה קתלת מנשאנו 15 סבעין אף פהו ולדי ואן אמו
 חבלת בהו ווצעתו כארג אמדינה 16 פי מגארא תם עאודת אי חתי תפתקדו ותנצורו פוגדתה 17 קד
 משא ותרערע ותכלם פי עשרין יום וקא לאמה 2 א6 אן לה רב פי אסמא ירא ולא יורא והו באמנזר
 אאעלה חנינד 3 למא סמע אמלך אנמרוד דאך אלכבר צרך צרכה עזימה 4 וקאם וקעד וקא ללוזרא
 שורו עלאייה במא אפעל בהדא 5 אמולוד אגאובה וקאו לו אנתא מולנא ואאהנא אמלך כף 6 תפזע
 מן מולוד טפל צגיר ואנתא לך אף וזיר יד כל 7 וזיר אף אמיר

4 פגית אי מוצע מן אמואצע פוגדתה 5 הנאך והו קד אנתשא ומשא וכבר 6 ואתרערע ותכלם וקא אן אלה מוגוד 7 פי אסמאואת ואארץ רב
 אלכלאיך 8 מן משרקהא למגרבאה רב ירא ולא 9 יורא והו באלמנצר אאעלא חנינד למא 10 סמע תרח דאך אכלאם אקבל עליה וקא להא 11
 אכתמי דאך חתי אמצי אי אמלך אנמרוד 12 ואעלמה בדאך אאמר וכאן תרח לה 13 מנולה עטימה ענד אנמרוד תם אנה 14 חצר ענד אמלך
 אנמרוד ותכטא ארקאב 15 אנאס וסגד בין ידיה פקא לה אנמרוד 16 ארפע ראסך ואסא ען האגתך וכאנת 17 סינה ענדהם אן אי מן סגד
 ללנמרוד 1 א6 לא ירפע ראסה חתי יאדן לה אמלך פקא 2 לה אנמרוד ארפע ראסך ואסא ען האגתך 3 תקצא פגאובה תרח אבי אברהים
 אלליל 4 וקא לה יא מלך אזמאן אנני אתית איך 5 נאצחא ומבשרא קא לה במה דא אתיתני 6 קא פמא אכברוך בדאך באן יולד ולד 7 פי
 אעאלם יכון תלאף נפסך ואפסאד 8 מדהבך עלי ידה וקתלת סבעין אף 9 גלאם לאגלה פהו ולדי ואן אמה חמלת 10 בה ווצעתה כארג אמדינה
 פי מגארתה 11 תם עאודת איה חתי תפתקדה ותנצרה 12 פוגדתה קד משא וכבר ואנתשא 13 ותרערע ותכלם פי עשרין יומא וקא 14 לאמה אן
 לה רב פי אסמא מסכנה ירא 15 ולא יורא והו באמנצר אאעלא חנינד 16 למא סמע אמלך אנמרוד דאך אלכבר 17 צרך צרכה עטימה וקאם
 וקעד וקאל 18 ללוזרא שירו עלייה במא אפעל בהדא 1 א7א אמולוד אגאובה וקאלו לה אנת מולאנא 2 ואאהנא 18 כף תפזע מן מולוד טפל טגיר
 3 ואנת לך אף וזיר ותחת יד כל וזיר אף 4 אמיר

¹⁸ ואאהנא MS 52 : corrected on the basis of MS 46

Then, I came to [search in] a few places and found him there. He had grown, ^{6a} was walking, had come into youth and spoke, and said that there is a god in Heaven and Earth, a *Lord of the East and the West* (Q 73.9). He sees but is not seen. And He is in the highest of places.” When her husband Teraḥ heard that statement, he said to her, “Hide until I have gone to King Nimrūd and consulted that matter with him.” For her husband Teraḥ had an astonishing house close by the King. Then he appeared before Nimrūd, proceeded through the crowd of people and prostrated himself before the King.¹⁹ Nimrūd said to him, “Raise your head and ask for your matter,” for it was a custom with the kings that whoever prostrated before the king, would not raise his head before the king had permitted him. So Nimrūd said to him, “Raise your head and ask for your matter.” And Teraḥ, father of Ibrāhīm, did what he was told, answered him and said, “O King of time, I have come to you with advice, a pursuit and information.” He said to him, “What be so that information?” So he said to him, “They have informed you of this before, that there will be born a boy this year, who will destroy your soul and corrupt your religion, and for whose sake you killed seventy thousand. He is my son, and his mother was pregnant with him and have birth to him in a cave outside the city. Then she went back to him, in order to see him and feel the loss. She found that he was walking, had come into youth and spoke in twenty days.²⁰ He said to his mother ^{6b} that he had a lord in heaven who can see but is not seen, and that He is in the highest of places.”²¹ Thereafter, when King Nimrūd heard this, he screamed out loud, rose up and sat down, and said to his viziers, “Advise me on what to do with this new-born.” They answered him and said to him, “You are our master and our god, the King. How come you’re afraid of a little child’s birth when you have a thousand viziers, and under the control of every vizier are one thousand emirs?

¹⁹ al-Kisāʾī:131 : ثم قام تاريخ واتي الى نمرود وسجد له.

²⁰ al-Kisāʾī:131 : وقال ايها الملك ان الولد الذي كنت تخاف منه فانه هو ولدي.

²¹ al-Kisāʾī:131 : انه يزعم ان له رباً سواك.

ותחת יד כל אמיר אף אקיד ותחת 8 כל יד אקיד אף כדאם איצא נשיר עליך אן תרסל 9 איה מן בעץ
 כדאמך יאתו בו אי בין ידיך פהו צגיר 10 חקיר מקהור פקא להום יא קום הל סמעטו פי סאיר 11
 אעאם באן מולוד אבן עשרין יום חכא ומשא ותכלם 12 ואתשא וקא אן לו אאה רב פי אסמא ירא
 והו לם יורא 13 והו באמנזר אאעלא קא פאתחיירו ען רד אגואב 14 ותעגבו אקום פי כלאמה
 תם חצר בינהום אציטאן 15 אבליס אלעיין פי צפה עאבד לאבס צראעא מן צוף 16 פאתכטא
 אנאס גמיעהא בין ידי אמלך אנמרוד אלעיין 17 וכר וסגד קודאמה פקא לה אנמרוד ארפע ראסך 2 א7
 פלמא רפע ראסה קא יא אייהו אסייד מה הל פזע ואגזע מן מולוד 3 טפל צגיר אנא אשיר עליך
 באמרי וראיי פקא לה אמלך 4 אנמרוד מא הו אראי ואשור אדי תשיר בה עלייה קא לו תפתח 5
 כזאיין אסלאח ותעטי מנהום לאגנאדך וקואדך מע אאמרא 6 אהל ממלכתך וילבסון אסלאח ובעד
 דאך תבעת עסכרך 7 להדא אמולוד פלמא ינזור דאך אעסאכר מע אגיוש ואאמרא 8 אדי לך פיפזע
 מנהום וידכול תחת אמרך וטעתך ויעבד 9 מעבידך ויסגד לך ויאמן²²
 קא כעב אאחבאר אן אמלך 10 אנמרוד למא סמע כלאם אבליס אשיטאן אלעיין פקבלו 11
 וחסן ענדו²³ חנינד פרק אסלאח עלה עסאכרו ואמרהום 12 בארכוב עלי אכיל וארסלהום לי אברהים
 אכליל עיה' ואמר 13 בא זינה פי אמדינה איצא²⁴

ותחת יד כל אמיר אף אקיד ותחת 5 יד כל קאיד אף כדאם איצא נשיר עליך 6 תרסל לה מן בעץ כדאמך יאתו בה אלי 7 בין ידיך פהו טגיר
 חקיר מקהור פקאל 8 להום יא קום הל סמעטו פי סאיר אעאלם 9 באן מולוד עשרין יום חכא ומשא ותכלם 10 ואתשא וקא אן לה רב פי
 אסמא ירא והו 11 לא יורא והו באמנזר אאעלא קא פאתחיירו 12 ען רד גואבו אקום פי כלאמה תם חצר 13 בינהם אשטן אבליס אעיין פי
 צפה עבד 14 לאבס צראעה מן צוף פאתכטא אנאס 15 גמיעהא בין ידי אמלך אנמרוד וכר וסגד 16 קודאמה פקא לה אנמרוד ארפע ראסך 17
 ואסא ען חאגתך פלמא רפע ראסה קא יא 18 אייהו אלסייד מא הל פזע ואגזע מן מולוד 1 טפל צגיר אנא אשור עליך באמרי 2 וראיי פקא
 לה אמלך אנמרוד מא הו אראי 3 ואשור אלדי תשיר בה עלייה קאל לה 4 תפתח כזאין אסלאח ותעטי מנהום לאגנאדך 5 וקואדך מע אאומרא
 אהל ממלכתך וילבסון 6 אסלאח ובעד דאך תבעת עסכרך להדא 7 אמולוד פלמא ינצר דאך אעסאכר מע אגיוש 8 ואאומרא אדי לך פיפזע
 מנהום וידכל תחת 9 אמרך וטעתך ויעבד מעאבידך ויסגד לך 10 ויאמן קא כעב אאחבאר אן אמלך 11 אנמרוד למא סמע קול 12 אבליס
 אשיטאן אעיין קבלה וחסן ענדה 13 כלאמה חנינד פראק אסלאח עלי עסאכרה 14 ואמרהם בארכוב עלי אכיל וארסלהם 15 אי אבינא אברהים
 אכליל עליה אסלאם 16 ואמר בל זינה פי אמדינה איצא

²² MS Chapira:38 [...] ויעבד מעבודך

²³ MS Chapira:38 : קאל כעב אאחבאר אן נמרוד קבל מ[...]

²⁴ MS Chapira:38 : ואמר עסאכרה באל רכוב עלי כילהם ופרק עליהם אסלאח ואלעדד ואמרהם באל זינא ובעתהם אלי אברי ע"ס

When in the trust of every emir are one thousand commanders, and under the control of every commander are also one thousand servants? We advise you to send for him some of your servants, to bring him before you. He is little, helpless and defeated.” He said to them, “O people, have you ever heard of a new-born child of twenty days, who talks, walks, speaks and has grown up? He said that he has a god, a lord who is in the heavens. He said that He sees and He is not seen, and that He is in the highest of places.” They were baffled from the reply and astonished by his words.

Thereupon, the cursed *Şayṭān Iblīs* appeared in the form of a worshipper, dressed in a woollen garment. He advanced in between all the people and before the evil King *Nimrūd* and prostrated himself before him. *Nimrūd* said to him, “Raise your head.”^{7a} When he looked up, he said, “O master, what is that fright and concern about the birth of a little child? I will advise you with my instruction and my opinion.” So King *Nimrūd* said to him, “What be so this opinion and advice that you suggest for me?” He said to him, “Open the weapon vault and give from it to your soldiers and commanders, including the emirs of your kingdom who carry arms. After that, send your soldiers to the new-born. When he sees those soldiers with the army and emirs that are with you, he will be frightened from them, so that he will come under your orders and obedience, and he will worship your temples, bow down for you, and believe.”

Kaʿb al-Aḥbār has said that King *Nimrūd*, when he heard the words of the evil *Şayṭān Iblīs*, he agreed and was content with him. Then, he handed out arms to his soldiers and ordered them to ride the horses, and sent them for *Ibrāhīm the Friend PBUH*. Also, he ordered for the city to be decorated.

למא נזרהום אסי' אברהים 14 אכליל אקבלו עליי צרך' אי אית' ובכא וקא פי טלבתה 15 בדאך יא מכליך אמזלום מן אזאם ואצעיף מן אקוי 16 כלצני מן אקום אזלמין יא רבי 25 פסמע אית' בכא ונזר אי 17 בעין רחמתו וארסל אי אמלאך אמרסול גבריאל ואתגלה 18 עליה אית' וקא לו לה תכאף יא אברהים והנה אנכי עמך 19 הודא ענאיתי מעך ואחפזך אין מא תרוח ואין מא תגי 20 ואנזרך עלה מן יעאדיך 26 פקא כעב אאחבאר אן אית' עז וגל 21 אמר אמלאך גבריאל אן יצרב חגאב בין אברהים ובין אגיוש 22 פלמא אתו איה אגיוש ואעסאכר נזרו אחגאב וכאפו 27 מן היבת אברהים 27 ורגעו אי אמלך אנמרוד וקאו לו ען 3 דאך אן אברהים תחצן עלינא מא לנה טאקה עלי פקאל 4 להום אמלך וכיף יכון אעמל ואיש אחילה 28 פקאו לו יא 5 מלך תגלב פי הדא אבלד 29 פקום בנה מן הדא אבלד 6 וולי פי מדינה גירהא 30 פקא להום נעם תם אנהום תגהזו 7 ללרחיל פאכדו אזאד ונפק עליהום ואמרהום בארחיל 8 פסאר אמלך אנמרוד מע וזראה ואגנאדה אי מדינה 9 תוסמה מדינת אעראק 31

למא 17 נצרהום אסייד אברהים עאיס' אקבלו 18 עליה צרך' אי אלה תיע' ובכא וקא פי 19 טלבתה כדאך יא מכליך אמטלום מן 1 אטאלאם ואצעיף מן אקוי בל צני מן אקום 2 אטאמין יא רבי יא סאמע אזעקאת יא מטפי 3 אהב תסמע זעקתי ותטפי להבתי פסמע 4 אלה תעאי בדעא אברהים איעס' ונצר איה 5 בעין ארחמה ושפק עליה ורחמה וארסל 6 איה גבריאל אלמלאך ואתגלא עליה אית' 7 וקא לה לא תכאף יא אברהים • והנה 8 אנכי עמך • יעני הודא ענאיתי תכון 9 מעך ואחפצך אין מא תרוח ואיידך 10 ואנצרך עלי גמיע מן יעאדיך קאל 11 כעב אאחבאר אן אלה תעאי עז וגל 12 אמר גבריאל אן יצרב חגאב בין אברהים 13 ובינהם פלמא אתו איה אגיוש ואעסאכר 14 נצרו אחגאב וכאפו מן היבה אברהים 15 עיהשי' ורגעו אי אמלך אלנמרוד וקאלו 16 לה ען דאך אן אברהים תחצן עליה מא 17 לנה טאקה לה קא אמלך כיף יכון 1 אעמל ואיש אחילה פקאו לה יא מלך תגלב פי 2 הדא אבלד פקום ארחל בנא מנהא וולי אלי 3 מדינה גירהא פקא להם נעם תם אנהם 4 תגהזו ללרחיל פאכדו אלזאד ונפק עליהם 5 ואמרהום בארחיל פסאר אמלך אנמרוד מע 6 וזראה ואגנאדה אי מדינה אעראק

25 MS Chapira:38 : פלמא ראהם אברא' עאיס' אקבלו וגאו אליה בכא וצרך' בין ידיו אללה וקאל פי יא מכליך אלמצלום מן אלצאלם
ואלצעיף מן אקוי כלצני מן אלקום אלכאפרין

26 MS Chapira:38-39 : פסמע אללה עז וגל בלאה יצר אליה בעין ארחמה ובעת אליה גבריאל עיה קאל לה מא הדא אלכא ואלפזע
יא אברא' מא תעלם אן אללה? אלק אדנאי ואלאכרה אלסמאואת ומא פיהא ואלארץ ומא עליהא פלא תכאף אנא מעך אין מא? ותו והו
מאיידך ונאצרך עלי גמיע אעדאך

27 MS Chapira:39 : אמר גבריאל אן יצרב בינהום ובין אברא' חגאב פלמא אתו אליה אגיוש ואלעסאכר ואלאמרא נצרו אלי דלך
אלחגאב כאפו

28 MS Chapira:39 : ורגעו אלי נמרוד קאלו לה אנה קד תחצן עלינא ותגלב עלי הדא אלאמר וכיף יכון אעמל ואיש הי אחילה

29 אבלד MS 46 : corrected on the basis of MS 52 אכלאם

30 MS Chapira:39 : קאלו לה קום ארחל בנה מן הדא אבלד אלי גירהא

31 MS Chapira:39 : פקאל להם נמרוד אנא ארחל תם אנה תגהזו אלי ארחיל פשד זאדו וזואדי ונפק פי עסאכרה ואגנאדה ואמראה
וקואדה ואמרהום בארחיל ואלמסיר וסאר נמרוד מע ואגנאדה ואמראה אלי אקלים אלעראק

When Master Ibrāhīm the Friend, saw them in front of him, he shouted to Allāh MHBE, wept, and called out, in his request, “O saviour of the oppressed from the injustice, saviour of the weak from the powerful. Save me from the nation of the oppressors, o Lord of mine!” Allāh MHBE heard his cry and saw him with the eyes of His mercy. He sent for the Angel Messenger Gabri^oel, and Allāh MHBE revealed Himself and said to him, “Do not fear, o Ibrāhīm. And, *behold, I am with thee* (Gen. 28.15), this is my care for you. I will guard you wherever you go and wherever you come, and I will protect you from whoever your enemy may be.” Ka^ob al-Aḥbār has said that Allāh MHBE, Almighty and Exalted, ordered the Angel Gabri^oel to make a barrier between Ibrāhīm and the troops. When the troops arrived, they saw the barrier and became afraid of ^{7b} Ibrāhīm’s endowment. They returned to King Nimrūd and told him about this, that “Ibrāhīm overcame us.” So the king said to them, “How can this be? And what be so his trick?” They said, “O king, he has got the upper hand in this land, lead us from this land and flee to another city.” And he said to them, “Indeed.” Then they prepared for departure. They took provisions and he laid out money for them, and ordered them to travel. Then King Nimrūd moved along with his viziers and soldiers to a city called the city of Iraq.

וגמיע אולדהום ונסונהום ואמלהום ¹⁰ אכדו מעהום אי אן וצלו ³² חנינד ארסל א'ת' המלאך גבריא ¹¹
 אי אברהים אכליל קא לו קא א'ת' רבך ורב אמשרק ורב אמגרב ¹² ורב אכלאיך כולהום קום
 אילחק אנמרוד אי מדינת אעראק ³³
¹³ פקא אברהים אכליל כיף אשיר יא מלאך גבריא אלי ¹⁴ כלפהום ולה מעי זאד ולה ראחלה
 ולא עסאכר ולא ¹⁵ גיש ולא אמיר ולא וזיר ולא כזאין ולא סלאח ולא לבס ¹⁶ והום מעהום אגיוש
 ואעסאכיר אעזימה ³⁴ קא לה אמלאך ¹⁷ גבריא יא אברהים לא תכאף מן דאך מא לך חאגה ¹⁸ לא פי
 זאד ולא פי ראחלה ולא פי גיש ולא פי עסאכר ¹⁹ בש אסתוי אנתה עלה צהרי ואנא בעין א'ת'
 אחצרך ²⁰ ענדהום ³⁵ פפעל אברהים אכליל כמתל מא קא לה ²¹ המלאך גבריא חנינד פרפעו עלא
 צהרו וחטו עלא ²² באב מדינת אעראק פלמחת עין ³⁶ וקא לה המלאך ²³ גבריא אדכול אי וצט
 אמדינה ונאדי בצות עאי וקול לא אלה אא ³ אלה סב' ות' אדי פי אסמואת אעאלייה ואאראצי
 אסאפלה והוא ⁴ אואחד אאחד אפרד אצמד לא ואד ולא ולד

וגמיע ⁷ אולאדהם ואמואלהם אי אן וצלו חנינד ארסל ⁸ אלה תעאי גבריא אלמלך אי אבונא אברהם ⁹ אכליל ע'הש' קא רבך ורב אמשרק
 ואמגרב ¹⁰ ורב אכלאיך כלהא קום אילחק אנמרוד ¹¹ אי מדינה אעראק קא אברהים אכליל ¹² כיף אקום אסיר יא גבריא אלי כלפהם ולא ¹³
 מעי זאד ולא ראחלה ולא עסכר ולא גיש ¹⁴ ולא אמיר ולא וזיר ולא כזאין ולא סלאח ¹⁵ ולא לבס והם מעהם אגיוש אעטימה ¹⁶ ואעסאכר
 קא לה גבריא יא אברהים ¹⁷ לא תכאף מן דאך מא לך חאגה לא פי ¹⁸ זאד ולא ראחלה ולא גיש ולא ראחלה ¹⁹ ולא עסכר אסתוי עלי צהרי
 ואנא ¹ אחצרך ענדהם פפעל אבונא אברהים ע'אס' כמתל ² מא קא לה גבריא חנינד פלמחת עין מחטה ³ עלי באב מדינה אעראק פקא לה
 אדכל אי ⁴ וצט אמדינה ונאדי בצוט עאי וקול לא אלה ⁵ אא אלה סבחאנה ותעאי אדי פי אסמואת ⁶ אעאליה • ואאראצי אספלה • והו
 אואחד אאחד • אפרד אצמד • לא ואד • ולא ולד •

³² MS Chapira:39 : באמואלהם ואהלהם ואולאדהם
³³ MS Chapira:39 : פארסל אללה עז וגל גבריאלי ע'ה' אלי אברא' ע'ס' אנ'א קאל ל'ך אללה רבך ורב אלמשרק מ'גרב אילחק עדוך
 נמרוד אלי בלד אלעראק
³⁴ MS Chapira:39 : פקאל אביר' לגבריאלי יא חביבי גבריאלי כיף וראהם ולא מעי זאד ולא ראחלה ולא גיש ולא אמרא ולא כזאין ולא
 סלאח והם מעהם אגיוש ואעסאכר ואל סלאח ואלזאד ואלראחלה
³⁵ MS Chapira:39 : קאל לה גבריאלי 'א' א' אבר'א' לא תכאף מא לך חאגה לא ב'זאד ול'א בראחלה ולא בעסאכר ולא בגיוש אסתוי עלי
 צהרי ואנא אודיך להם
³⁶ MS Chapira:39-40 : פקאם אבריא' ע'אס' ואסתוא' עלי צהר' גבריאלי ע'ה' פמא טרפת עין לבצר אל'א' והו חטו עלי צהרה וודאה
 ל' לעראק

They took with them most of their children, women, wealth until they arrived. Then, Allāh MHBE sent the Angel Gabri³el to Ibrāhīm the Friend. He said to him, “Allāh MHBE, *Lord of the East and the West* (Q 73.9), Lord of all creatures, has said, ‘follow Nimrūd to the city of Iraq.’”

Ibrāhīm the Friend said, “How do I follow them, o Angel Gabri³el, when I do not have provisions, nor a camel, nor soldiers or an army. I do not have an emir, or a vizier, or a vault, or arms, and no clothes, while they have tremendous armies and soldiers. The Angel Gabri³el said to him, “O Ibrāhīm, do not fear. You do not have anything. [You have] no provisions, no camel, no armies and no soldiers. You shall (?) sit on my back and I will bring you to them, by the will of Allāh MHBE!” So Ibrāhīm the Friend did what Gabri³el had told him. Then, he took him up on his back and brought him to the city gate of Iraq in the twinkling of an eye. The ^{8a} Angel Gabri³el said to him, “Enter in the midst of the city and call out with a loud voice and say, ‘There is no god but Allāh, Glorified and Exalted be He, Who is in the high heavens and the low lands. *He is the Only, Single, Eternal One. He neither begets nor is born*³⁷ (Q 112).³⁸

³⁷ Lit.: ‘He is not a parent, neither a child.’

Q 112 ³⁸ : قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ.

לא וזיר ולא אמיר 5 לא שביה ולא נזיר והוא רב אעלאמין ורב אנמרוד אבן 6 כנען ואנא אברהים
 עבדו כליל עבד א' ורסולו ונאביו³⁹ 7 תם דכל אברהים אכליל אי וצט אמדינה ונאדה בצוט עאי 8 פי
 אאסואק גמיעהא וחרתהא ואשוואקהא ושוארעהא וקא קולו 9 מעי גמיעכום כובארכום צוגארכום
 ונסואנכום ואולאדכום 10 וקולו לא אאה אלא וחדה לא שריך להו בי מולכהו⁴⁰ 11 וקרו באני
 אברהים עבדו כליל ונבייו ורסולו⁴¹ 12 תם אנו 12 והו בינאדי פי אאסואק פי נזר אבו תרה ואכו הרן
 פקא לו 13 גבריאל יא אברהים קול לאביך ולאכיך אשהדו 14 וקרו בדאך אן אית' ואחד פרד צמד לא
 אאה אלא הוא 15 ולא שריך לו פי מלכהו⁴² 16 פענד דאך תקדם איהום אברהים 16 אכליל וקא להום יא
 אבי ויא אכי כיף תעבדו מכלוק 17 מתלכום מן אתראב ותסגדו ללאצכאץ וללצנם אדי 18 לא יסמע
 ולא ינטק ולא ימשי ולא יקשע אדי הו מעמול 18 2 מן כשב יאבס יצר ולא ינפע ולא ירד ענכום אדא
 ולא ען נפשה

ולא וזיר • ולא 8 אמיר • ולא שביה • ולא נטיר • והו רב אעלאמין 9 ורב אנמרוד אעין • ואני אנא אברהים עבדו 10 עבד אית' ורסולו
 ונבייה וכלילה תם 11 דכל אברהים עיהשי אי וצט מדינה אעראק 12 ונאדא בצוטא עאיא פי אאסואק • גמיעהא 13 וחארתהא ושוארעהא •
 וקא קולו מעי 14 גמיעכום כבירכום טגירכום ונסאכום 15 מע בניכום ובנאתכום קולו לא אלה אלא 16 אלה וחדה לא שריך להו פי מלכה וקרו 17
 באני אנא אברהים כלילה ונבייה 18 1 ועבדה תם אנה והו בינאדי פי אאסואק 2 פנצר אביה תרה ואכיה הרן פקא לה 3 גבריאל יא אברהים
 קול לאביך אשהדו 4 וקרו בדאך אן איתע' ואחד פי מלכה לא 5 אאה אא הו ולא שריך להו ולא רפיק לה 6 ולא וזיר להו ולא מדבר להו ולא
 מעין לה 7 ענד דאך תקדם איהום אברהים וקא להם 8 יא אבי ויא אכי כיף תעבדון דון אלה תעאי 9 מכלוק מתלכום מן אתראב ויסגדו
 ללאשכאץ 10 וללצנם אדי לא יסמע ולא יקשע ולא 11 ינטק ולא ימשי ולא לה מנפעה לאנו הו 12 מעמול מן כשב יאבס יצר ולא ינפע 13 ולא
 ירד ענכום

³⁹ MS Chapira:40 : וקאל לא אדכול² פי אלמדינה ו¹ קול קולו מעי² לא אללה? אלא אללה אדי הו פי אלסמאואת אלעליה ופי אלארץ
 אלס² פ' לה והו אלאחד אלפרד אלצמד אלדי ליס לה לא ואלד ולא וולד ולא נאיב ולא וזיר ולא שביה ולא נציר והו רב אעלאמין גמיעהם
 ורב נמרוד ואני אנא א' בר² עבד אללה וכלילה ונביה
⁴⁰ MS Chapira:40 : פדכל אבריא' עיא'ס אלי מדינת אלעראק ווקף פי ואסואקהא ופי שוא' רעהא? ופי חארתהא ונאדא באעלי צות וקאל
 קולו מעי גמיעכום כבארכום וצוגארכום ונסאכום ורגאלכום בניכום ובנאתכום לא אלה אלא אללה וחדה לא שריך להו פי מלכה
⁴¹ MS Chapira:40 : וק' ולו אני אנא אבריא' עבדה וכלילה ונביה
⁴² MS Chapira:40 : תם אנה ב'...? אלאסואק והו וגד אבוה תרה ואכוה הרן קאל לה גבריאל יא אבריא' קול לא' ב'ין? ולאכוך אשהדו
 וקרו באן? לא אללה אלא אללה וחדה לא שריך לה? פי מלכה

He is neither a vizier nor an emir, there is nothing resembling [Him] nor any supporter. He is Lord of the Universe and Lord of Nimrūd son of Canaan, and I am Ibrāhīm, His servant, the Friend, servant of Allāh, His messenger and His prophet.” Then, Ibrāhīm the Friend went into the midst of the city. He called out with a loud voice in the entire marketplace and its neighbourhoods, and in the markets with all their alleys and said, “Say with me, all of your elders, little ones, women and children, say, ‘There is no god but the only Allāh. He has no partner with Him in his sovereignty.’⁴³ Confirm that I am Ibrāhīm, His servant, the Friend, His prophet and His messenger!”⁴⁴ Then, while calling together [the people] in the marketplace, he saw his father Teraḥ and his brother Haran. The Angel Gabri’el said to him, “O Ibrāhīm, say to your father and brother, ‘Witness and confirm in this, that Allāh MHBE is One, Single and Eternal. There is no god but He. He has no partner with Him in his sovereignty.’”⁴⁵ Then, Ibrāhīm the Friend approached them and said to them, “My father, my brother, how can you worship a creature from the nature like yourself, and prostrate before individuals and idols? An idol which does not hear nor utters;⁴⁶ which does not walk nor breaks up; which is made ^{8b} out of dry wood; which does harm and does not have any profit?⁴⁷ It does not defend you, neither does it defend itself!”⁴⁸

⁴³ See e.g. Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī and Abū Hurayrah (in *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn* 16:1419 and *Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidī* 7:909); Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (in *Bulūḡ al-Marām* 16:1542); ‘Ubāda ibn al-Ṣāmit (in *Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidī* 48:45); ‘Abdallāh Ibn ‘Umar (in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* 1797): لا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ: ‘There is no true god except Allāh. He is One and He has no partner with Him [...]’.

⁴⁴ al-Kisā’ī:133f. ونادى باعلى صوته يا قوم قولوا لا اله الا الله واني ابراهيم رسول الله.

⁴⁵ See Abū Hurayrah (loc. cit.)

⁴⁶ Q 19.42 : إِذْ قَالَ لِأَبِيهِ يَا أَبَتِ لِمَ تَعْبُدُ مَا لَا يَسْمَعُ وَلَا يُبْصِرُ وَلَا يُغْنِي عَنْكَ شَيْئًا.

⁴⁷ Q 26.72-73 : قَالَ هَلْ يَسْمَعُونَكَ إِذْ تَدْعُونَ أَوْ يَنْفَعُونَكَ أَوْ يُضُرُّونَ.

⁴⁸ al-Tha‘labī:42 : جعل يصنع الأصنام ويعطيها إبراهيم ليصرفها فيذهب بها إبراهيم عليه السلام فينادي: من يشتري ما يضره ولا ينفعه: -al-Kisā’ī:132 : وكان إبراهيم يخرج ومعه غلمان ومعها الصنمان فيقول من يشتري ما لا يضر ولا ينفع: al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* i:233, 237 من يشتري ما يضره ولا ينفعه

3 פענד מא סמע האדא אכלאם אבו אכדו מן ידו ואתא בו אי מנזלה 4 ומשי בו אי ענד אמלך אנמרוד
 מבשרא ונאצחא וקא לו יא איאהו 5 אמלך אכברך באמרן והו עאגיב פקא לו אמלך אתכלם פקאל 6
 תרח אבו אברהים אכליל אולד אדי אנת הרבת מנו קד גא 7 ואנת למא סרת למדינת אעראק פי
 ארבעין יום חתי וצלתהא 8 אא קד סאתו מתי סאפר פקא לי אבאלח אעצר וכיף יכון 9 מולוד טפל
 צגיר יסיר סופר ארבעין יום פי יום ואחד⁴⁹ 10 חנינד למא סמע אמלך אנמרוד דאך אכבר ואקול
 צרך 11 צרכה עזימה ותפכר פי אחואלו וקאם וקעד ואדעא באוזרא 12 ואלאמרא פחצרו קודאמה
 פסאהום וקא שירו עליי במא כיף 13 אפעל בהל מולוד פקד לחקנה אי הנה פקאו אוזרא יא אייהו 14
 אמלך נשיר עליך באנך תזיין אמדינה באפכאר אמלבוס 15 אעזים ותנצוב כורסי ממלכתך ותאמר
 אסדאת אן יזינו 16 באזינה ותאתי באברהים אי בין ידיך פאדא נצר דאך אזינה 17 וממלכתך אחסנא
 ואלעזימה פידכול תחת טעתך ויקצי 18 פי מא שית קאו פאעגבו דאך אשור איצא פאמר באן 19 ינאדי
 פי מדינה אעראק בא זינה פי אאסואק ואשווארע 20 א9 באחולי ואדיבאג ואחריר ואכשאמיר בא
 אסמנגון וא ארגואן 3 חנינד אן אמלך אנמרוד 21 ג?לס עלא כורסי אדי לו וקעדו אוזרא 4 ואבטרקא
 ואלאמרא מע אאגנאד עלא כראסיהום פארסל 5 כלף אברהים אכליל ע'יה'
 חנינד חצר אברהים בין ידין 6 אמלך מע אבי תרח ותכטא ארקב אוזרא ואלאמרא 7
 ואלאבטרקא גמיע אי אן וצל אי כורסי אמלך אנמרוד

אדא ומסך בידה ואתא בה 14 אי מנזלה ומשי פי אחין מסרעא אלי 15 ענד אמלך אנמרוד נאצחא ומבשרא 16 וקא לה יא אייהו אמלך אכברך
 באמרא 17 והו עגיב פקא לה אתכלם קא יא מלך 2 אולד אדי אנת הרבת מנה אדי ולך לי 3 קד גא הנא ואנת למא סרת למדינה 4 אעראק
 ארבעין יומא חתי וצלתהא 5 אא קד סאתה מתי סאפר פקא לי 6 אבארח סחר וכיף יכון מולוד טפל צגיר 7 יסיר מסירה ארבעין יום פי יום
 אן ואחד 8 חנינד למא סמע אנמרוד דאך אכבר 9 ואקול צרך עזימה ותפכר פי 10 אחואה וקאם וקעד ואדעא באלוזרא 11 ואלאמרא
 פחצרו קדאמה פסאהום וקא 12 שירו עליי במא אפעל באמולוד פקד 13 לחקנה אי ההנה פקאו אוזרא יא אייהו 14 אמלך נשיר עליך באנך
 תזיין אמדינה 15 באפכר אמלבוס אעזים ותנצב כרסי 16 ממלכתך ותאמר אסדאת אן יצארו 17 פי אזינה ותאתי באברהים אי בין ידיך
 18 פאדא נצר דאך אזינה וממלכתך ועצמהא 2 וחסנהא ידכול תחת טעתך ויתבעך פי 3 מא שית אקוא פאעגבו דאך אשור איצא 4 פאמר
 באן ינאדי פי מדינה אעראק בא זינה 5 פי אאסואק ואשווארע באחלי ואדיבאג ואחריר 6 ואכשאבין ואסמנגין וארגואן • חנינד אן 7 אמלך
 אנמרוד גלס עלי אכרסי אדי לה וגלסו 8 אוזרא ואבטרקא ואלאמרא מע אאגנאד 9 עלי כראסיהום פארסל אי כלף אברהים אבינא 10 ע'אס'
 חנינד חצר אברהים בין ידיה מע אבוא 11 תרח ותכטא ארקב אוזרא ואלאמרא 12 ואבטרקא גמיע אי אן וצל כרסי אמלך 13 אנמרוד

49 MS Chapira:40 : פתקדם אב'רא' עאס'...? יא אבי ויא אכי...? אלהא מכלוק?...?

When his father and brother heard those words, they took him by the hand and brought him to his house, and went with him to King Nimrūd in pursuit of advice, and he said to him, “O King, I will inform you of an astonishing matter.” “Speak,” the king said to him. So Teraḥ, father of Ibrāhīm the Friend, replied, “The boy that you feared of has come. Whereas you, when travelling to the city of Iraq, walked for forty days until you arrived; I asked *him* when *he* departed, to which he replied, ‘Yesterday afternoon.’ How can a new-born, a little child make a trip of forty days in only one? Then, when King Nimrūd heard these news and sayings, he screamed out loud, worried about his situation. He rose up, sat down and called for the viziers and emirs. They presented themselves before him, and he asked, saying, “Advise me, how should I deal with this new-born. He has followed us here.” The viziers said, “O King, we advise you that you decorate the city with the most dressed up pride and put up your kingdom throne. Command the gentlemen to be embellished with decoration, and take Ibrāhīm before you. And if he sees the decoration and your great and beautiful kingdom, he will come under your obedience and do whatever you desire.” And they admired that advice. So he ordered and called for the city of Iraq to be decorated, in markets and in the streets ^{9a} in pieces of jewellery, brocade, silk, cashmere in light yellow and purple. Then, King Nimrūd sat down on his throne. The viziers, generals, emirs and soldiers sat down on their chairs,⁵⁰ and he sent for Ibrāhīm our Father *PBUH*.

Thereupon, Ibrāhīm stood before the king, with his father Teraḥ and came forth. All the viziers, emirs and the generals beheld until he had reached King Nimrūd’s throne.

⁵⁰ al-Kisāʾī:131 : ففزع نمرود من ذلك وارتعد ودعا بالوزراء والبطارقة واجلسهم في مجالسهم.

תם 8 מסכה בידו אכרימה והזו ונאדה באעלא צות וקא יא 9 אלה בך אסתענת ועליך אתוכלת
 ואשהד עליי אנני אנא 10 אברהים עבדך ונבייאך ומתברי ענך יא נמרוד יא לעין 11 יא כאפר באלה
 ובאיאתו ובאנבייא וברסולו וקולו מעי 12 כולכום לא אלה אא אלה ס'וית' וחדו לא שריך להו 13 פי
 מולכהו וקר בוחדנייתו וקוו צותו אברהים וצרך 14 צרכה עזימה פענד דאך פכרת אמלוך מן עלא
 מנאברהא 15 ואנמרוד מן עלה כורסי ווקעת אאצנאם עלא אארץ 16 ואמלך אנמרוד וקע מגשי עלא
 וגהו פלמא אסתפאק 17 קא לאברהים הדא צותך ואלא צות אאהך פקא לו אברהים 19 תעסת יא
 כאפר יא לעין הדא צות עבד מן עביד אית' 2 תם קא אנמרוד יא אברהים אאהך אאהא עצים שדיד
 אסלטאן 3 איצא אדעא בתרח אבו אברהים פקא לו כוד ואדך אברהים 4 מא לנא טאקה עליה⁵¹
 תם אן אכדו אבו אי מנזלה ואקאם 5 ענדו אי אן צאר לו מן אעמר עשרין סנה חיניד למא 6
 כבר ואנתשה קא לו אבו תרח יא ולדי אעלם אנני 7 בקית שיך כביר ואנא מא לי טאקה עלה ביע 8
 אאצנאם יא אבני כוד אנתה צנמין ואכיך הרן צנמין 9 ואטלעו בהום אי אסוק ביעוהום פאכד הרן
 אצנמין 10 וראח בעהום וגא ואמא אברהים אכד אצנמין ורבט 11 פי רקבת דא חבל ופי רקבת דא
 חבל וצאר ימשי פי 12 אאסואק וינאדי ויקול יא מין ישתרי שי יצרו ולא 13 ינפעו ויגרהום כלפה
 עלי וגההום ויקול יא מן ישתרי 14 שכץ יודיה עלי אנאר יא מן ישתרי מעבוד להו 15 עינין ולא
 יקשע ולהו אדאן ולא יסמע ולהו פם 16 ולא ינטק בהו ולהו ידין ולא ימסך בהום שי⁵² 10 & 1 ולהו
 רגלין ולם יכטי בהום כטוה ואחדה פסארו יסמעו 2 כולהום ויאנטו לקולו ויתעגבו פיה פי אאסואק
 ואשוארע 3
 חיניד אתקא עגוז גלסה עלה קרעה אטריק פקאלת 4 יא אברהים אבוך פין פקא להא מא
 תרידי בו פקאלת 5 לו אבוך נאצחה פי ביעו לאני

תם מסכה בידו אכרימה • וקזה 14 ונאדא באעלא צות וקא יא אלה בך 15 אסתענת • ועליך תוכלת ואשהד עלייא 16 אנני אנא אברהים
 עבדה • ונבייה וכלילה • 17 יא נמרוד יא לעין יא כאפר באלה 18 ובאיאתה ובאנביאה וברסולה וקול מעי לא
 (end of MS 52 fragment)

⁵¹ MS Chapira:39 : מא לנא טאקה עליה ומא לנא חאגה בהק אל להם
⁵² בהום שי : MS : בהום שי וליס

Then, he took him by his noble hand, shook it, and called out with the loudest voice and said, “O Allāh, in You I turn to for help, and in You I trust. Confess before me that I am Ibrāhīm, Your servant and Your prophet! I renounce my bond with you, o Nimrūd, o evil, o disbeliever in Allāh, disbeliever in His miracles, His prophets and His messenger! And say with me, all of you, ‘There is no god but Allāh, Glorified and Exalted be He, Him alone has no partner with Him in his sovereignty, and confess his oneness and power. His voice is Ibrāhīm.’” He screamed out loud and then the kings fell from their pulpits and Nimrūd from his throne. And the idols fell to the ground, and King Nimrūd fell unconscious down on his face. When he woke up, he said to Ibrāhīm, “Is that your voice, or the voice of your god?” So Ibrāhīm told him, ^{9b} “You are wrong, o disbeliever, o evil one! This is the voice of one of Allāh’s servants MHBE.” Then, Nimrūd said, “O Ibrāhīm, your god is great and strong.” The Sultan called for Teraḥ, father of Ibrāhīm, and said to him, “Take your son Ibrāhīm, we cannot endure him.”

So his father took him to his house and lived with him until he was twenty years of age. Thereupon, he aged and got ill, and his father Teraḥ said, “My son, you must know that I have become an old man, and I do not have the strength to sell the idols. My boy, take two idols and your brother Haran two idols. Go to the marketplace and sell them.” Haran took the two idols, went out, sold them and came [back]. Ibrāhīm, however, took the two idols, tied to the neck of the first one a rope, and in the second one, a rope, and started walking in the marketplace, calling out, “O who will buy something that harms him, that does not profit him?”⁵³ while dragging them behind him face down and saying, “O who will buy a person to whom he can put an end on the fire? O, who will buy a godhead idol who has two eyes, but does not drive away [evil]. It has two ears, but does not hear. It has a mouth, but does not speak [with it]. It has two hands, but it does not grab anything [with them]. ^{10a} It has two legs, but does not take even one step [with them]. All of them began listening, jumped from what he was saying and were astonished by it around in the markets and the streets.

Then, he met an old woman sitting on the side of the road, and she said, “O Ibrāhīm, where is your father?” He said to her, “What do you want with him?” She said to him, “Your father advised him to sell it, because I

Q 21.66 ⁵³ قَالَ أَفَتَعْبُدُونَ مِن دُونِ اللَّهِ مَا لَا يَنْفَعُكُمْ شَيْئًا وَلَا يَضُرُّكُمْ.

אשתרית מנו אלאה ⁶ עזים כביר פקא אברהים ע'א' הודא אאצנאם מעי ⁷ אשתרי מנהום מא תרידי
 פקאת לו מא אריד אא ⁸ אגודהום ואכברהום מן אחסנאך אסתכייר לי אאפכר ⁹ פיהום
 פגאובהא אברהים ע'א' וקא מא אערף אחד ¹⁰ מנהום פי כיר אבדן פקאת לו אכתאר פקא להא ¹¹
 אצנם אדי אשתריתי מן אבי וכונתי ⁵⁴ ¹² תסגדי לו ותעבדי פיין ראה ⁵⁵ פקאת יום ¹³ רחת פי אחמאם
 וכליתו פי אבית מקים פדכלו ¹⁴ אחראמייה אי אבית וסרקו וראחו ואכדו גמיע מא ¹⁵ פי אבית ⁵⁶
 פקא להא אברהים כיף תכוני עגוז כבירה גאהלה ¹⁶ ומא לכי עקל תעיסי בו פקאת לו אנא לי עקל
 ותצויר פקא ¹⁷ להא אן כאן לכי עקל ותצויר מא כונתי תעבדי צנם אצם ¹⁸ אבכם אכרס מצואר
 משנוע מעמול מן עוד יאבס לא ¹⁹ יקדר ירוד ענה ולא ען נפשו ולא ען צחבו ⁵⁷ קאת לו איש ²⁰ יכון
 אדליל פי האדא אאמר קא להא יא עגוז יא גאהלה לא כאן ²¹ ירוד ען נפסה אדא פמא כאן סרקו
 אלצוץ מן ביתיך ⁵⁸ האגתיך
 ולאכן יא לעינה ²³ כיף תדעי אנו אאה עזים יא כאפרה ואאלאה הוא ינסרק ²⁴ ואאלאה אדי
 ינסרק לא כיר פי ולא כיר פי אדי יעבדו ויסגידו ²⁵ לו פקאת למן אעבד גירו פקא להא אברהים
 ע'ה' אנה ²⁶ אהדיכי עלא אאה ואדילך עלא עזים אשאן אואחד ⁵⁹

(end of MS 46 fragment)

⁵⁴ MS : Corrected duplication אשתריתי מן אבי וכונתי! אשתריתי מן אבי וכונתי!
⁵⁵ MS Chapira:37 : [...] נפע לא פי אלכביר ולא פי אל צוגייר לא לנפסהום ולא ללגיר וקאל להא אלצנם אלכביר אדי אשתרתי אמס
 מן אכוייה גרא פיה אש
⁵⁶ MS Chapira:37 : קאלת להו גו אלחרמייה בליל וסרקו ואנא כונת לסע פי אלחמאם
⁵⁷ MS Chapira:37 : קאל להא אן כאן כדה כיף תעבדי ללצנם אן אפעלו לנפסו לם ערף יכליץ מן אלחרמייה פי כיף יערף יכאלץ אלגיר
 מן אזייתוהם ארוחי יא עגוזה יא מגנונה וכיף תקולי אן אלצנם אדי תעבדי הווא אללה אן כאן אללה לש לם קדר יכאלץ נפסו מן
 אלחרמייה אלא הווא צנם אדי לים להו נפע לא לנפסו ולא ללגיר
⁵⁸ MS : Corrected duplication לא כאן ירוד ען נפסה אדא פמא כאן סרקו אלצוץ מן ביתיך! ולא כאן ירוד ען נפסה אדא פמא כאן
 סרקו!
⁵⁹ MS Chapira:37 : פי קאלת להו אן כאן כדה יא אברהם בכלאמך למין נעביד קאל להא אעבדי לאללה אל אלאהאת וסיד אל אסיייד

bought a large and magnificent god from him.”⁶⁰ Ibrāhīm PBUH said, “I have the idols indeed. Buy which one of them you want.”

She said to him, “I only want but the best and biggest out of them. From your goodness, show me which one of them is the most splendid.” Ibrāhīm PBUH answered and said, “I do not know a good one out of them at all.” She said to him, “Pick one.” He said, “The idol that you bought from my father that you bowed down to and worshipped, where is it?” She said, “One day, I went to the hamam and left it in the house where I live. Thieves came into the house, stole, went away and took with them most of the things in my house,”⁶¹ So Ibrāhīm said to her, “How come you be such an old, foolish woman, and not have a brain that you use?” She said, “I have a brain and I have an imagination.” He said to her, “If you had a brain and an imagination, you would not worship a deaf, mute and dumb idol, shaped and manufactured, and made from a dried out stick that is not able to answer to itself, nor to its possessor.” She said to him, “What is the evidence for this?” He said to her, “O old woman, ignorant you, if it could have saved itself, then the thieves would not have stolen your things from your house!”⁶²

“But, o evil woman, how can you claim that it is a great god, o disbeliever? It is stolen. There is no good in a stolen god. And there is no good in the one who worships and bows down before it either!” She said to him, “Then who may I worship, other than it?” Ibrāhīm PBUH said to her, “I will guide you to Allāh MHBE and lead you to the Magnificent, the One.” [...]

⁶⁰ al-Kisāʾī:133 : ثمّ جاءت الى ابراهيم عجوز وقالت يا ابراهيم بعنى صنما فاخرج لها الصنمين وقال اختري هذا الكبير فهو اكثر حطبا ووقودا فقالت ما اريده للوقود وانما للعبادة

⁶¹ al-Kisāʾī:133 : كان لي اله وسرق في جملة ثياب كثيرة

⁶² al-Kisāʾī:133 : فقال ابراهيم ان الها لا يسرق ولو كان الها لحفظ ثيابك ونفسه ايضا لكن لو عبدت ربّ السموات والارض لردّ عليك ثيابك

**KING SULAYMĀN, THE ANT,
AND THE IMPENETRABLE PALACE OF SHADDĀD IBN ʿĀD**

קצת סיידנא סלימאן

1 א 1 הדא קצת סיידנא סלימאן¹ 1 ב 1 באסם אלה ארחמאן ארחים² 2 אחמד ללה צאחב אעזה ואכמא
 ואקודרה³ 3 ואגלאל² • ואמנה ואאפצל • ואבהא ואכמאל • 4 אחמדהו עלי כל חאל אמא בעד
 5 פאן אלה תע' כץ כול נבי בפצילה⁶ 6 ומועגזה ובורהאן וביאן • ואן אלה תע' עז וגל⁷ 7 נגא
 אברהים מן נאר אנמרוד וגעלהא⁸ 8 עליה בארדן וסלאם • ווהב לדאוד עלמן⁹ 9 עטימן ואעטא
 לסלימאן מולכן לא¹⁰ 10 ינבגי לאחד מן בעדהו וסכר³ לו אאנס¹¹ 11 ואגן ואוחש ואטיר ואריח ואהואם
 וסאיר¹² 12 מא כלק אלה תע' ואעטאה בוסאט טולהו¹³ 13 סתין מיל • ועורצהו סתין מיל • וגעל לו¹⁴ 14
 סלימאן עליה אסלאם • ארבע וזרא וזיר¹⁵ 15 מן אאנס • וזיר מן אגן • וזיר מן אוחש • וזיר¹⁶ 16 מן
 אטיר • פאמא וזיר אאנס פאנהו אסף¹⁷ 17 בן ברכיה⁴ • ואמא וזיר אגן • פאנהו אדמרייא⁵ • 18 ואמא
 וזיר אוחש הו אאסד יעני אלסבע • 19 ואמא וזיר אטיר הו אעקאב יעני אנסר⁶ • 1 א 2 וכאן אריח
 יחמל אבסאט ויסיר בהי לאי² 2 מוצעאן יריד⁷ •

קא אנאקל ובינמא סיידנא³ 3 סלימאן סאיר פי אהוא פתעגב בנפסהו וקא⁴ 4 פי סרהו תרא
 אועטא אחד מן אמלוך מתל⁵ 5 מא אעטאני • סכר לי אאנס ואגן ואטיר⁶ 6 ואוחש ואהואם וסאיר מא
 כלק אלה תע' קא⁷ 7 פאחוא אלה אבסאט אנהו ימיל פמא פאנקלב⁸ 8 מן עליה ארבעת אאף רגל
 פהולכו גמיען⁹ 9 ומאתו פענד דלך גוֹצוּב סלימאן עלי¹⁰ 10 אריח וקא להו אסתוי פקא יא נבי אלה
 אסתוי¹¹ 11 אנת מע אלה חתא אסתוי אנה מעך פענד¹² 12 דלך אטרק סלימאן כגלן מן כלאמהו
 וסאר¹³ 13 ובינמא הו סאיר ואדא הו מר בואדי אנמל¹⁴ 14 ואדא בנמלא תנאדי יא איהו אנמל
 אדכלו¹⁵ 15 מסאכנכום לא יהלככום סלימאן וגנודהו⁸ •

¹ הדא קצת סיידנא סלימאן : MS 31 האדא קצת וצול סיידנא סלימאן אא קצר שדאד אבן עאד ומה ראה פיה מן אעגאייב עלא אתמאם
 ואכמא ואחמד ללאה עלא כול קא אמין אמין אמין

TRANSLATION: 'This is the story of Sulaymān's arrival at the palace of Shaddād son of 'Ād and what miraculous things of complete perfection he saw. Praise be to God, to everything. And he related, "Amen, amen, amen."'

² ואגלאל : MS 31 ליתא

³ וסכר : MS 31 וצכר

⁴ ברכיה : MS 23 : corr. on the basis of MS 31

⁵ אדמרייא : MS Strasbourg : درمياط; Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash v:22* רמיראט

⁶ יעני אנסר : MS 31 ליתא

⁷ לאי מוצעאן יריד : MS 31 לאי מוצעאן אן יריד

⁸ אדכלו מסאכנכום לא יהלככום סלימאן וגנודהו : Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash v:22* הכנסו לבתיכם שלא ישחיתו אתכם היילותיו של
 שלמה המלך

The Story of Sayyidnā Sulaymān

^{1a} This is the story of Sayyidnā Sulaymān ^{1b} In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. May Allāh be praised, Lord of Power and Perfectness, Lord of Splendour, Grace and Beauty, the Most Eminent, Lord of all that exists. May He be praised the full measure of His praise. And to proceed.

Allāh, may He be Exalted (MHBE), endowed every prophet with eminence, miracle, evidence and explanation. Allāh MHBE, Almighty and Exalted, saved Ibrāhīm from the fire of Nimrūd and brought it upon him in Jordan. And let it be done with that. And He bestowed Dāwūd great knowledge, and gave Sulaymān dominion to an extent that no man has seen ever since, to make him rule over men, jinns, beasts, birds, the wind, every walking animal and the rest of what Allāh has created MHBE. He gave him a carpet sixty miles long and sixty miles wide. He appointed for Sulaymān, peace be upon him, four viziers. One among men, one among the jinns, one among the beasts and one among the birds. The human vizier was Asaf ben Berechiah, the jinn vizier was Dimriyah,⁹ the beast vizier was Assad the lion and the bird vizier was °Uqāb the eagle. ^{2a} And the wind carried the carpet, taking him wherever he desired.

The narrator has said that once while travelling through the air, Sulaymān was feeling proud and said to himself, “I wonder if any king has been blessed the way that He has blessed me. He has made me rule over men, the jinns, the birds, the beasts, every walking animal and the rest of what Allāh has created MHBE.” It has been said that Allāh ordered the carpet to twirl. He twirled it so that it turned upside down, and that forty thousand men all perished and died. Then, Sulaymān got angry with the wind and said to it, “Return!” It answered him, “O prophet of Allāh, you must return yourself to Allāh before I can return to you.” Then Sulaymān bowed his head, ashamed by its words.

It happened on a journey as he was moving about in the Valley of the Ants, that one ant suddenly called out, “*Ants, enter your dwelling-places, lest Sulaymān and his army crush you*” (Q 27.18).¹⁰

⁹ Arabic Dimriyah; Damariyah; Dimiryāt, in Hebrew Biblical tradition known as Ramirāt.

¹⁰ Q 27.18 reads, يَا أَيُّهَا النَّمْلُ ادْخُلُوا مَسَاكِنَكُمْ لَا يَحْطَمَنَّكُمْ سُلَيْمَانُ وَجُنُودُهُ وَهُمْ لَا يَشْعُرُونَ ‘Ants, enter your dwelling-places, lest Solomon and his host crush you, being unaware!’

16 קא אראוי פאכד אריח כלאמהא ואלקאה 17 פי אודהן סלימאן פאכד בזמאם • אלריח 18 ואמרהו באהובט עלי נשד ואדי אנמל 19 עלי אגבל אדי ללוואדי • תם¹¹ תמשא סלימאן 20 ואכד ביד וזירהו אסף בן ברכיה ואקבל עלי 2 ואדי אנמל ונאדא וקא איהו אנמל מן 3 מנכום אקאילה איהו אנמל אדכולו¹² 4 מסאכנכום לא יהלככום סלימאן וגוודהו • 5 ואדא בנמלה סודא עלי צכרה הודא קאלת 6 יא נבי אלה אנא אקאילה דלך • קא סלימאן פמא 7 חמלך עלי דלך אקול ואנא סאיר בין אסמאואת 8 ואארץ • קאת יא נבי אלה אעלם אן כול ראעי 9 יסא ען רעייתהו ואנא מלכת הדא אנמל פי 10 הדא אוואדי פלמא אשרפת איום פי עוטם 11 ממלכתך ונטרת אנא איך פראית אאנס ען 12 ימינך ואגן ען יסארך ואוחש בין ידיך ואטיר 13 עלא ראסך וקד אצקת אגנחתהא בעצהא 14 בבעץ ללא יקע עליך חר אשמש¹³ וכאן אנמל 15 פי אתסביח ואתקדים • פכשית אן ינטור אלא 16 עוטם ממלכתך פישתגלו ען דכר אלה 17 פתוהלך אנת ונוהלך נחן מעך • פקא סלימאן 18 יא נמלה אסאך ען מסאה פקאת אנמלה יא 19 סלימאן אעגב אן יכון אסאיל עזיז עלא 20 א 3 ממלכתהו ואמסאול חקיר עלא מרתבתהו • 2 קא פאמר סלימאן אנמלה פרופעת עלא 3 ראחתהו פוצעהא בין ידיה • וקא אסאך אלאן 4 פקא למא דלך קאת לאנך¹⁴ כביר אקדר 5 כתיר אגאה ולו¹⁵ וקע עלייא בעץ אתואבך 6 וגאב שכצי ען בצרך בל ארפעני עלא 7 ראחתך לאכון מקאבלה וגהך ואסאני ען 8 מא בדלך • קא פרפעהא סלימאן עלא ראחתהו 9 ולמא סארת מקאבלה וגההו קא להא אסאך 10 אאן קא אסא ולא חול ולא קוות אא באלה 11 אעליי אעטים •

¹¹ תם : MS 31 תום

¹² אדכולו : MS 31 אדכולו

¹³ אשמש : MS 31 אשמס

¹⁴ corr. פקא למא דלך קאת לאנך : MS 23; MS 31 קאת לו פקא למא דלך קאת לאנך

¹⁵ ולו : MS 23 : corr. on the basis of MS 31

The storyteller has said that the wind took the words of the ant and casted them upon Sulaymān's ears. ^{2b} So he seized the reins of the wind and ordered it to go down to land on the creation of the Valley of the Ants, which was upon the mountain of the valley. Sulaymān then continued by foot, ^{2b} took the hand of his vizier Asaf ben Berechiah and approached the Valley of the Ants. He called out and said, "O ants, which one of you said, *Ants, enter your dwelling-places, lest Sulaymān and his army crush you?*" (Q 27.18). And lo, a black ant on a rock said, "O prophet of Allāh, I am the one who said that." Sulaymān said, "And what made you say that, when I am but travelling between the heavens and the earth?" She said, "Know this, o prophet of Allāh, that every shepherd bears the responsibility¹⁶ for its flock,¹⁷ and I am the queen of the ants in this valley. I witnessed the magnitude of your rule today. I looked at you, and I saw the men to your right and the jinns to your left and the beasts in your hands and the birds flying above you. And they had conjoined wings lest the heat of the sun would fall upon them. The ants were in the middle of submission and praising the Lord, so I feared that if they saw your vast kingdom rule, they would be distracted from invoking Allāh, and that you would be destroyed, and we would be destroyed along with you." And Sulaymān said, "O ant, I will ask you about a matter", upon which the ant said, "O Sulaymān, how remarkable it is that the one asking is respected in his ^{3a} kingdom, and the one who is asked is below his level." It has been told that Sulaymān entrusted the ant, and she was picked up in his hands. He held her before him and said, "Now I will ask you." She then said, "You are of such great divine and vast dignity! Had but some of your garment fallen upon me, my figure would have disappeared from your sight. Now pick me up in your hands to be at level with your face. Then you may ask me whatever you wish. It has been told that Sulaymān held her up in his hands. When she stood at face to face with him, he said to her, "Now I will ask you", and continued, "I ask, and there is neither might nor power except with Allāh, the Sublime, the Magnificent."¹⁸

¹⁶ In view of the translation, see MS *Strasbourg*: كلّ ملك مسؤول عن رعيته 'every king is responsible for its flock' (my translation).

¹⁷ See 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar (in, *inter alia*, in Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim i:283; 300; 653): كلكم راعٍ وكلكم كلكم راعٍ وكلكم مسؤول عن رعيته 'every one of you is a shepherd and every one of you is responsible for his flock'.

¹⁸ Ibn 'Abbās (in Jāmi' al-Tirmidī: 48:201); 'Ubāda ibn al-Ṣāmit (in Sunan Ibn Mājah: 34:52): لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله: العلي العظيم

קא יא נמלה הל סמעתי פי 12 קדים אזמאן הל אעטא אחד מן אמלוך 13 מתל מא אעטאני אנא מן
אמלוך קאלת 14 אנמלה מא אדי אועטית אנא קא סכר 15 אלה לי אאנס ואגן ואטיר ואוחש ואריח
וגמיע 16 מא כלק אלה תע' פקאת אנמלה אנת 17 אועטית אנא אועטית 19 אכתר מנך יא סלימאן 18
וקד סכר לי אלה תע' גמיע מולכך כולהו 19 וסכרך לי חתא חמלתני עלא ראחתך ובקית 3 1
מוקאבלה וגהך פצרת אופא מנך ואעטאני 2 אלה תע' יא סלימאן אתני עשר כרדוס מן 3 אנמל לא
יעלם עדדהום אא אלה תע' ולו 20 4 טהר מנהום עלא וגה אארץ כרדוס ואחד 5 ליגטו 21 גמיע אארץ
ומן עליהא ואנת לו הלך 6 תולת גסמך ואנת למ כאן ענדך כבר • 7 ותאניה יא נבי אלה ערפת מן
אנת פי 8 קבצתהו פאנהו עטים • קא פאטרק סלימאן 9 כגלא מן כלאמהא • תום קאת להו יא נבי 10
אלה סיגרא לך פי טריקך חדית עגיב 11 ואמר גריב פקא סלימאן ללאה אאמר מן קבל 12 ומן בעד •
קא אראוי וגעל סיידנא סלימאן 13 יסיר איאם וליאלי ולמא כאן מן מודת 14 אחדי עשר יום
וכאן אשרף עלי קצר מן 15 אדהב אאחמר עלי אבנא ואסע אפנא 16 והו לובנה מן אפצה ולובנה מן
אדהב פקא 17 סולימאן יא ריח אצע אבסאט עלי וגה אארץ 18 פוצעהו • תום אכד יד וזירהו אסף בן
ברכיה 19 פי ידהו ותמשא נחו אקצר והו יתעגב ויקול 1 א4 1 תרא מא אחסן הדא אקצר ואעלאה ולו
כאן 2 מן אחגר לכאן עגיב פכיף והו מן אפצה 3 ואדהב פיארית כונת אעלם לימין 22 כאן הדא 4
אקצר ומין אבנאה ומין יוערף צאחבהו ולמין 5 הו אאן תום קא לוזירהו יא אסף תרא מא אחסן 6
הדא אארץ והי לא תסמע פיהא חס חסיס 7 ולא תרא פיהא אניס פקא אסף יא נבי אלה 8 נטוף חול
הדא אקצר פלא יוכלו מן סאכן 9 יסכנוהו או קאטן יקטוניהו קא פאכד סיידנא 10 סולימאן ביד וזירהו
ודאר יטוף חול אקצר 11 פוגדהו גמיעהו לובנה מן אדהב ולובנה 12 מן אפצה ולם יגד להו באב
אבדא

19 אנא אועטית MS 23 : corr. on the basis of MS 31 אנת אועטית אנא אועטית

20 ולו MS 23 : corr. on the basis of MS 31 ולא

21 ליגטו : MS 31 ליגטי

22 לימין : MS 31 למין

O ant, have you heard that He bestowed upon any king in ancient times the like of what He has bestowed upon me?” She said, “The one who has been blessed is but me!” He said, “Allāh has made me rule over men, the jinn, the bird, the beast and the wind, and the all that Allāh has created MHBE.” So the ant said, “I have been blessed more than you, o Sulaymān. Allāh MHBE has made me rule over your entire kingdom, and made me rule over you to the extent that you willingly raise me up in your hand; to the extent that I stood ^{3b} face to face with you, which made me even more complete than you. Allāh MHBE has given me, o Sulaymān, twelve *kurdus*²³ of ants of which number only Allāh knows MHBE. If but one of these *kurdus* appeared on the face of the earth, they would cover it all up from top to bottom. And if a third of your body had perished, you wouldn’t even know what had happened. Moreover, o prophet of Allāh, I have learnt who you are from His grip, and He is Magnificent indeed!” Sulaymān then bowed his head, ashamed by her words. Then she said to him, “An amazing event, something strange, will soon befall you on your path.” And he said, “*To Allāh belongs the Command before and after*” (Q 30.3).

The narrator said: And Sulaymān set out on a journey for days and nights. When eleven days had gone, he came to a palace of red gold, loftily erected with a vast courtyard made of a brick of silver and a brick of gold.²⁴ So Sulaymān said, “O wind, let the carpet fall upon the face of the earth!” And thus it did. Then he took his vizier Asaf ben Berechiah by his hands and moved towards the palace. Amazed he said, ^{4a} “Look! How astonishing and beautiful that palace is! Had it been made but out of stone it would have been amazing. Just imagine then, how much more beautiful it is when it is made out of silver and gold! I wish I had known to whom this palace belongs, and who built it, and to whom its owner is known, and to whom it belongs this day.” Then he said to his vizier, “O Asaf, Look! How beautiful this place is! It does not evoke a single sound of voice, and in which no man is seen.” And Asaf said, “O prophet of Allāh, let us walk around this palace, for there must for sure be one resident residing, one dweller dwelling!” It has been said that Sulaymān took his vizier by his hand and started moving around the palace. He found it all a [made of] a brick of gold and a brick of silver,²⁵ but he could not find an entrance gate.

²³ The *kurdus*, similar to the ancient Roman military unit cohort, was introduced during the reign of the Umayyad Caliph Marwān II (740-750) (see Syed and Akhtar 2011:46).

²⁴ See Abū Hurayrah (in Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidī 38:2714): لَيْبَةٌ مِنْ فِضَّةٍ وَلَيْبَةٌ مِنْ ذَهَبٍ

²⁵ See Abū Hurayrah (loc. cit.).

פקאל 13 סולימאן מתל הדא אקצר מא יכון להו 14 באב פלאבוד להדא אקצר אמר עגיב 15 וחדית גריב וגרק סיידנא סולימאן פי 16 בחר פכרו • וקא לא אלה אא אלה מן קבל 17 ומן בעד ובינמא הו מופתכר פי אמר 18 דלך אקצר

ואדא קד אקבל עליה אדמרייא 19 וזיר אגן וקא יא נבי אלה אסלאם עליך פקא 20 סולימאן ועליך אסלאם מא חאגתך יא דמרייא 2 פקא יא נבי אלה אנא נאתיך בחדית הדא אל 3 קצר עלא חקיקתהו תום אקבל עליה אדמרייא 4 עלא אגן אטיארה וקא אריד מנכום אן 5 תרתפעון עלא אעלא הדא אקצר ותנזלו 6 איה ותבצרון מא פיה ותאתוני בחדית צחיה 7 פאגאבוה פי אוקת באסמע ואטאעה תום 8 אנהום ארתפעו פי תלך אסאעה ורגעו • וקאו 9 יא נבי אלה אנא ארתפענא פי אלהוא 10 וארדנא באהבוט אא אקצר פכאן שי ירודנא 11 וצאדן יצודנא וגאשיתן תגשי אבצארנא פלם 12 נקדר עלא דלך פקא להם סלימאן פהל 13 ראיתום שי מן אטיר פקאו נעם יא נבי אלה 14 ראינא עלי כול רוכן מן ארכאן אקצר נסר 15 מועמר ונסרה תזוק אפראכהא

קא אראוי 16 פדעא סיידנא סלימאן באעוקאב וזיר אטיור 17 וקא להו אמרתך באן תחצור לי באנסר יא 18 עוקאב פאגאב באסמע ואטאעה • וארתפע 19 אעוקאב מן וקתהי וסאעתהי חתא גאב ען 20 אעין • תום אנהו נזל פאבצר נסר עטים אלכלקה 2 האיל אצורה פאקתלע בהי ואוקפהו בין ידין 3 סיידנא סולימאן ולמא וקף אנסר בין ידין 4 סלימאן נאדאה אסלאם עליך יא נבי אלה פקא 5 סלימאן ועליך אסלאם ורחמת אלה יא אכא 6 אנסר מא אאסם קא אאהיף פקא להו יא אהיף 7 כם לך תעיש מן אעומר קא סובע מאית 8 סנה ופי הדא אקצר רזקני ואדי קא להו יא אכא 9 אנסר פהל סמעת פיה חס חסיס או ראית 10 פיה אונס אניס קא להו ועישך יא נבי אלה 11 מא אערף מא תקול בל ואדי מעי פי 12 אבורג אתאני פאסתדעי בהי איך פלאבוד 13 מא יכון להו עלם בדלך • פקא סלימאן

“A palace like this, which does not have an entrance gate must hold something amazing, must hold a marvellous story,” said Sulaymān, and drowned in the sea of his own thoughts. And Sulaymān said, while thinking about this palace, “There is no god but Allāh, there has never been nor will there ever be.”

Then Dimriyah, vizier of the jinns, approached him and said, “O prophet of Allāh, peace be upon you.” And Sulaymān ^{4b} said, “Peace be upon you. What is your request, o Dimriyah?” So he said, “O prophet of Allāh, we will bring you the story of this palace!” Then he approached the flying jinns and said, “I want you rise to the top of this palace, and go down into its bottom to see what is inside it, and bring forward a truthful story.” So they answered him immediately, “We hear and obey!”²⁶ Thereafter, they immediately rose and came back, saying, “O prophet of Allāh, we have flown around and have wanted to fly down into the palace, but something pushed us back. Something prevented us and darkness obscured our sight,²⁷ so we were unable.” So Sulaymān said to them, “Did you see some kind of a bird?” “Yes, o prophet of Allāh,” they said, “We saw on each one of the palace’s corners a grand eagle and an eagle pushing around her eaglets.”

The narrator said: So Sulaymān summoned ‘Uqāb, vizier of the birds, and said to him, “I have ordered you to bring me the eagle, o ‘Uqāb.” And it answered, “We hear and obey!” and ‘Uqāb then rose immediately until it could not be ^{5a} seen. Then it dived down, and a magnificently and astonishingly shaped eagle appeared. He pulled [the eagle] out and laid him before our master Sulaymān. And when the eagle stood before Sulaymān, he said, “Peace be upon you, o prophet of Allāh,” and Sulaymān said “Peace and Allāh’s mercy upon you, o eagle friend. What is your name?” “Ahīf”, he said. So he said to him, “O Ahīf, how long have you lived?” “Seven hundred years. And in this palace my father raised me,” he answered. “O eagle friend, have you heard there a single sound or seen a single man?” “I swear, o prophet of Allāh, I do not know of what you are speaking. But I have my father in the second tower. Summon him, and he will surely have some knowledge about that.” So Sulaymān said,

²⁶ This formula is found by and large in the traditions of ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Umar and Abū Hurayrah (in Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī 7144, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim 1839a, Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidī 23:39, Sunan Abī Dāwūd 2626 et. al.): على المرء المسلم السمع والطاعة ‘it is obligatory upon a Muslim to listen and obey’.

²⁷ In view of the translation, see MS *Strasbourg*: كأن راد يردني أو صاد بصدني أو غاش يغشي على بصري ‘as if something brought me down or something prevented me or something darkened my sight’ (my translation).

עלייא 14 בהי פארטפע איצא לעוקאב חתא גאב ען 15 לעין • והובוט עלי אקצר ואקתלע באנסר 16
 אתאני ואתא בהי אי ענד סלימאן פקא להו 17 מא אסמך קא אסמי אאגיד פקא להו וכמ לך 18 עלא
 גנב הדא אקצר קא תוסע מאית סנה 19 קא להו סלימאן הל ראית פי הדא אקצר אניס 20 אם סמעת
 פיה חסיס אם תערף להו באב • פקא 2 להו לא ואלה יא נבי אלה ולאכן ואדי מעי 3 מוקים פי
 אבורג אתאת אסתדעוה איך פלא 4 יכלי מן עלם הדא אקצר פקא סלימאן עלייא 5 בהי פארטפע
 אנסר ולעוקאב גמיעא גואבו 28 ען אעיון אאנס 29

תום אקבלו ומעאהום נסר עטים 7 בצורה האילה ולמא וקף בין ידין סידנא 8 סלימאן סלם
 עליה פרד אסלאם וקא להו יא 9 אכא אנסר מא אאסם קא אסמי אמעמר 10 קא להו כם לך מן
 לעומר קא אלף ומאיתין 11 סנה ופי הדא אקצר רזקני 30 ואדי פקא להו 12 סלימאן יא אכא אנסר הל
 ראית פי הדא א 13 קצר אניס אם סמעת פיה חסיס אם תערף 14 להו באב קא נעם יא נבי אלה אערף
 להו באב 15 עטים והו במרצע מן אדהב אאחמר ואמא 16 קולך הל סמעת פיה חסיס אם ראית פי
 אניס 17 ועישך יא נבי אלה אן לי פי הדא אקצר זמאן 18 טויל וכול מא ארדת אן אנטור איה או
 אשרף 19 עליה מאנע ימנעני ענהו או שי ירודני או 1 א 6 גאשיתן תגשי בצרי פלא אקדר עלא דלך
 ולא 2 אערף להו כבר פקא סלימאן יא אכא אנסר 3 תערף אן להו באב עטים ואנא קד טופת חולהו 4
 ולם ארא ולהו 31 באב פקא להו יא נבי אלה באבהו 5 טמסתהו אאריאח ומרת עליה אעואם כתיר 6
 פאנטמס וכופי • קא פאמר סלימאן אריח אן 7 יכרג מנהו סלכה תמור בגואנב אקצר ולא 8 תודיה
 תום תכשף אבאב ותטהרו •

קא אראוי 9 ובעד קליל כשף אריח פראו באב עטים מן 10 אדהב וקפלהו מן אפצה פקא
 סלימאן הדא 11 אבאב פכיף אדכול אא אקצר תום נטר אא 12 אקפל ואדא עליה מכתוב באפצה
 אביצא 13 אביאת שער תום 32 יקול

28 גואבו : MS 31

29 אאנס : MS 31

30 רזקני : MS 31

31 ולהו : MS 31

32 תום : MS 31

“Go fetch him for me,” and ‘Uqāb rose until he was out of sight. Then he dived onto the palace, pulled the second eagle out and brought him before Sulaymān. He said to him, “What is your name?” “Agīd”, he said. So he said to him, “How long have you lingered beside this palace?” “Nine hundred years.” Sulaymān said to him, “Have you seen a single man or heard a single sound in this palace? ^{5b} Or do you know if it has an entrance gate?” He said, “No, I swear, o prophet of Allāh. But I have my father here with me, who dwells in the third tower. Summon him, for he must certainly have some knowledge about this palace.” So Sulaymān said, “Go fetch him for me,” and ‘Uqāb and the eagle rose together and disappeared from man’s sight.

Then, they approached him together with a magnificently shaped eagle. And when the eagle stood before Sulaymān, he greeted him. “Peace,” he replied and said, “O eagle friend. What is your name?” “My name is al-Mu‘ammar,” he said. “How long have you lived?” “One thousand two hundred years. And in this palace my father raised me,” he answered. Sulaymān said to him, “O eagle friend, have you seen a single man or heard single sound or in this palace? Or do you know if it has an entrance gate?” The eagle said, “Yes, o prophet of Allāh, I know of a magnificent entrance gate, embellished with red gold. And about what you speak, whether I have heard single sound or seen a single man. By your life, o prophet of Allāh, I have been in this palace for a long time, but every time I wanted see or come close, a hinder prevented me from doing so. Something held me back or ^{6a} darkness obscured my sight, and I was unable. Neither do I know it very well.” So Sulaymān said, “O eagle friend. You [say that you] know that it has a magnificent entrance gate. Yet, I have been around it and have not seen whether it has a gate.” So he said to him, “O prophet of Allāh, the winds have covered its entrance up. Many years have passed since, and my fear has been blurred. It has been said that Sulaymān ordered the wind to take away the parts along the sides of the palace from the passing of time without damaging it, and the entrance gate was revealed.

The narrator said: After some time the wind discovered, and they could see, a magnificent gate made of gold with a silver lock. Sulaymān said, “That gate... How may one enter the palace?” Then he glanced at the lock, on which it was written in white silver verses of a poem, saying,

- 14 סכננא בפנא אקצרי • סנין מא עדדנאהו •
 15 בדלנא אדור באתברי • פמעדומון וגדנאהו •
 16 דהמנא אגוע יא קומן • בשי מא אטקנאהו •
 17 תרכנא אקצר ללנסרי • וסיע אתורב סכננאהו •
 18 פמן יסא ען אלקצרי • ומן אסס בבניאהו •
 19 פלא תסא ען אקצרי • פמבני קד וגדנאהו •

6ב1 קא אראוי ווגד מכתוב עלי אפרדה אואחדה 2 מן אבאב בא פצה

לא ידכול אא הדא אקצר אא 3 נבי או ולי מן אוליאת אלה תע' ואדא דכל 4 פליחפור ען ימין
 אבאב ויכרג מנהו מפתאח 5 אקצר פיפתח ויעבור אא קצר מליח ואסע 6 אפנא עאי אבנא
 פירא ברכה מן איאקות 7 וירא מולך עטים וירא פי וסט אקצר קובה מן 8 אזמרוד אאכצר
 ולהא ארבעה אבואב ואדא 9 אראד אכרוג מן אקובה יעדל עלא אגאנב 10 אאיסר פירא סתת
 עשר מקצורה מן אדהב 11 אאחמר מלאנה מן אדור ואגוהר ויעד 12 אאבואב פאדא אא עשרין
 באב ואיאה אן יגלט 13 פי אעדד תום ירא עקרב מן אדהב פיפרוך 14 דלך אעקרב ימין פיופתח
 להו באב ען מקצורה 15 חיטאנהא מן אזמרוד אאכצר ופרשתהא מן 16 אדהב פיעד עשר
 טואבק פאדא וצל אא חאדי 33 17 עשר פירא עקרב מן אפצה תום יפרוך אעקרב 18 אפצה שמא
 פיופתח להו באב סורדאב ען אחדי 19 ועשרין דרגה פינזל פי דלך אסורדאב וינזל 1 א7 תחת
 אארץ פי טלמה עטימה פמן כאן ימכנהו 2 צו פיאכוד מעהו תום יבאן פיהא צו וינתהו דלך 3
 אצו אנאר 34 עטים משבך בקוצבאן אדהב ואפצה 4 מורצע באנואע אדורר ואגוהר וירא סריר
 מן 5 איאקות אאצפר וקואימהו מן אזמרוד 6 אאכדר ועליה צנמ מן אבלור אאביץ ותחתהו 7
 זיבק יכיל אאנסאן באנהו ינצור איה ופי 8 עונקהו סלסלה מן אדהב ופי אסלסלה לוח מן 9
 אזמרוד ופיה מכתוב • למן באן הדא אקצר 10 ומן בנאה ואלה אעלם •

³³ חאדי : MS 31 אחאדי

³⁴ אנאר : MS 23; MS 31 : corr. on the basis of 23/10b:13 אאנהר

We dwelt in the palace's courtyard for countless years.

We turned this era into annihilation. Destructed we found it.

Hunger took us by surprise, o nation! With something we could not endure.

We left the palace to the eagles. Wide spread with dust we inhabited it.

For he who asks about the caste, and of who founded its building.

Do not ask about the palace, for it was already built when we found it.

^{6b} The narrator said: And he found it written on one door leaf on the door in silver,

No one may enter this palace, except for a prophet or a *vali* of the provinces of Allāh MHBE. So if he enters, let him dig to the left of the door and pull out the palace's key. Then, he will open up and pass through, into a beautiful, loftily erected palace with a vast courtyard. He will see a small pond of precious stone, a magnificent possession, and in the middle of the palace a green emerald dome with four doors. If he wishes to exit the dome, he shall turn to the very left hand, and he will see sixteen chambers made of red gold inlaid with pearls and gems. He will count the doors until he has (?) reached twenty doors. He should be careful not to miscount! Then he will find a golden scorpion. He will rub that scorpion on the right side, and a door will be opened, leading to a chamber with walls of green emerald and tiles of gold, counting ten floors. Upon arriving at the eleventh, he will see a silver scorpion. Then he will rub the silver scorpion on the left side, and a door to a secret passage will be opened, leading to twenty-one steps. He will pass down into that passageway and descend ^{7a} under the ground, into vast darkness. But who could bring it to light? (?) So he will bring it with him. (?) Then, a light will appear which will put out this light, a magnificent fireplace (?), entwined with golden and silver bars and embellished with pearls and gems. And he will see a throne of yellow precious stones with legs made of green emerald. On it stands a white crystal idol with an underside made of quicksilver. It gives people the impression that it looks right at you. Around its neck is a golden chain, and on this chain is an emerald plaque inscribed, "To the one who built this palace... And the one who built it, only Allāh knows!"

קא פאמר סלימאן ¹¹ באחפר ען ימין אבאב פחפר ואדא הום בתאבות ¹² מן אזוגאג פאכרג מנהו
אמפתאח ופתח ¹³ אבאב אאול ודכלו אא דהליז פלוקיהום באב ¹⁴ תאני ועליה מכתוב אאביאת •
יקול שער •

¹⁵ קד כאן צאחב אקצר פי דעתן • ¹⁶ פי טל עישן תכאף אאוסד מן באסו •
¹⁷ פבינמא הו מסרורן בנעמתהי • ¹⁸ פי מגלס אלהו משגולון בגולאסו •
¹⁹ אד גאה פי בגתתן מא לא מורד להו • ¹⁷ פכר מיית ומא אתאג ען ראסו •
² אדכול אא אקצר ואנטור עוטם וחשתהו • ³ מא צאר אוחשו מן בעד גולאסו •

⁴ קא ופתח אבאב אתאני ודכל אא דהליז ואדא ⁵ הו בבאב תאת ועלא אבאב מכתוב שער •

⁶ הדא מנאזל אקואמא עהד תהמו •
⁷ פי טיב עישן עזיזן מא לאוכטרו •
⁸ צאחת בהום נאיבאת אדהר פאנקלבו •
⁹ מותא פלא עין תנטרהום ולא אתרו •

¹⁰ קא אראוי ופתח אבאב ודכל אא אקצר עאלי ¹¹ אבנא ואסע אפנא ופיה ברכה מן איאקות ¹²
אאחמר וללברכה סתת עשר אנבוע תמאניה ¹³ דהב ותמאניה פצה ופי אברכה מרמי מן ¹⁴ אדקיק
והו שפאף אביאין פקא סלימאן יא אסף ¹⁵ תרא מא אחסן הדא אדקיק אנמא הו גוהר ¹⁶ טחנתהו
אמלוך על קדים אזמאן וטנו אנהו ¹⁷ יגניהום ען אקמח ויקוותהום פלא יפיד שי מן ¹⁸ דלך

It has been said that Sulaymān ordered the right side of the door to be dug, and so it was. And suddenly, they [found] a glass chest, and he pulled out the key and opened the first door. They entered into a hallway and a second door appeared before them. Written on it were verses, the poem saying,

The master of this palace formerly dwelt in delight.
 Whilst life went on, lions feared his courage.
 And meanwhile, happy with his life of ease.
 In the court of his god, they are occupied with his throne (?).
 Then suddenly came upon him, something not (?) destined for him.
^{7b} He dropped dead,³⁵ and the crown fell from his head.
 Enter the palace, see its splendour and desolation!³⁶
 It did not become more desolated after they had seated.

It has been said that he opened the second door and entered a cellar, when suddenly he was at the third door, on which a poem was inscribed,

These are the homes of the nation of Tahmū's³⁷ covenant.
 In great honour they lived; A life during which they were never put in danger.
 The vicissitudes of time passing cried out to them, but they were overthrown with death.
 And no eye can see them or even the trace of them.

The narrator said: So he opened the door and passed inside to the palace, loftily erected with a vast courtyard. Inside was a pond made of red ruby with sixteen wells, eight out of gold and eight out of silver. And inside the pond was a layer of whitish transparent powder. And Sulaymān said, "Look, o Asaf! How beautiful that powder is! For it could only be from gems which the kings with time ground, with which they believed they would no longer be in need of wheat, and which would nourish them. It was all in vain.

³⁵ In view of the translation, see MS *Strasbourg*: فخرٌ ميبأً وزال التاج عن رأسه 'so he dropped dead and the crown fell from his head' (my translation).

³⁶ In view of the translation, see *Mimekor Yisrael*:48, 'Enter the citadel, look around and wonder!'

³⁷ The name probably refers to Thamūd, a nation which is mentioned several times in the Qur'ān. There is a general lack of information about Thamūd, however, it appears to have been an ancient civilization in Arabia, the downfall of which are mentioned e.g. in Q 7.78. See also Retsö 2003:*passim*.

תום קא אן סלימאן ראח אא אברכה פנטר ¹⁹ עלא גאנבהא מכתוב האדי אאביאת יקול שער

- כאם קד וקפת במא וקפת • ² וכם קראת במא קראת • ¹ א8
- וכם אכלת וכם שרבת • ⁴ וכם לבסת אנאעמאת •
- וכם טוגית וכם בוגית³⁸ • ⁶ וכם התבת אמוחציאת •
- וכם עוצית וכם זנית • ⁸ וכם רכבת אמונכראת •
- לא תאמנון בהדה • ¹⁰ פאגמע אכרהו אשתאת •
- ובאנני בך קד פוקדת • ¹² וסאת ענך פקיל מאת •

¹³ קא וואדא פי וסט³⁹ אקצר קובה מן אזמורוד אאכזר ¹⁴ להא ארבעת אבואב פתקדם אא אבאב
אאול ¹⁵ וארא עליה מכתוב הדא אאביאת יקול שער

- עגבת למן יבני עלא אארץ מנזלא • ¹⁷ ועמא קלילא קברהו פוקהא יובנא •
- אדא מא בנא רוכנן ותם בנאהו • ¹⁹ תהדם צרוף אדהר מן עומרהו ורוכנא •

¹ א8 קא ותקדם אא אבאב אתאני וארא עליה הדא ² אאבואת יקול שער⁴⁰

- יא אבן אדם לא יסכר בך אאמלו • ⁴ יוקצא עליך אדא אמלתהו אאגלו •
- פמא תהני בשי כאן קד גמעו • ⁶ בל כלפו אדאר ואאהלין וארתחלו •

⁷ תום קא אנהו תקדם איצא אא אבאב אתאת ⁸ וארא הו עליה מכתוב הדה אאבואת יקול שער

³⁸ וכם טוגית וכם בוגית MS 23 : corr. on the basis of MS 31

³⁹ וסט : MS 31

⁴⁰ יקול שער : MS 31 ליתא

It has been said that Sulaymān went to the pond where he had seen right next to it, these verses of poem inscribed, saying,

^{8a} How much I endured! How much I read! How much I ate and drank! How I wore fine array!⁴¹

How much I terrorized and oppressed! How much I acted in disobedience, and how much I fornicated! How much I pursued the forbidden

You do not believe in such, for the last bit of the assembly is scattered. And to me, you have been lost. I asked for you, but it was said that you were dead.

It has been said, that then, in the middle of the palace was a green emerald dome with four doors. He approached the first door and saw that it was written on it these poem verses, saying,

I was astonished by he who built a home on this place, that on which his tomb would soon be built.

Had he not built a corner stone and completed its building, the misfortunes of his life would be torn down and [along with] his cornerstone.

^{8b} It has been said that he approached the second door and saw on it these poem verses, saying,

O son of Adam, fortune will not deceive you. The instant of death will be forced upon you.

You will have no pleasure, they have already gathered. And they have left the homes and families behind and departed.

It has been said that he approached the third door, and saw that it was written on it these poem verses, saying,

⁴¹ In view of the translation, see *Mimekor Yisrael*:48, 'How I toiled, how I ate, how I drank, and how I wore fine array, how much I trembled , and how much I feared.'

- 9 הדא סבילך מן יומן אא יומי • 10 בפרחת אנאים אמסרור באנומי •
 11 לא תעגבן לקומן פי אורא סעדו • 12 לא שך תונקל מן קומן אאקואמי •
- 13 קא תום תקדם איצא אא אבאב אראבע וארא 14 הו עליה מכתוב הדא אאביאת יקול שער
- 15 תזווד מן אדוניה קלילא פמא תבקה • 16 וכוד צפאהא עמא מצא ודע אעתקה •
 17 ולא תאמנון אדהר אדי קד אמנתהו • 18 פלא יבק לי ורא ולם יצע לי חקה •
 19 ולמא מלכת אמולך ואכיל ואלוא • 1 א 9 פאבעדהמו גרבן ופרקתמו שרקא •
 2 איתאני רסול אמות מן כול גאנבן • 3 פהא אנא פי דל קבר אשקא במא אקא •
- 4 קא אראוי פלמא קרא סיידנא סולימאן הדא אאביאת 5 בכא הו ווזירהו אסף בן ברכיה ותעגבו מן
 הדא 6 אלפאט ובלאגת אמענא וכגלו פי אנפוסהום
- 7 תום 7 אן סיידנא סלימאן רפע אסתר בידהו ווצל אא 8 אקובה וארא פי אקובה קבר עטים
 ועליה תום 9 אדיבאג⁴² וקד עלא עליהא אתוראב מן טול אזמאן 10 ומרור אליאי ואיאם פרפעהו
 סלימאן בידהו 11 וארא קד צאר קוטע ונזל בעצהו עלא בעץ מן 12 כותרת אסנין ואאעואם אדי מצת
 עליה פתקדם 13 אא ראס אקבר וארא ענד ראסהו לוח מן אזמורוד 14 אאכצר ועליה מכתוב הדא
 אאביאת יקול שער •

⁴² תום אדיבאג : MS 31 תו²מ³ מן אדיבאג

TRANSLATION

This is your path, from one day to the other. As [it is] with the joy of the sleeping one, the delightful sleeps.

There is nothing astonishing with nations rejoicing in what has passed. There is no doubt that [the joy] will be passed on from nation to other nations.

It has been said that he approached the forth door and saw that it was written on it these poem verses, saying,

Take a small share of [what you find in] life, for it will not be spared. Take but the pure from that which has passed, and let go of the rest.

Do not rely on the eternity that I have promised, lest [my nation] will not live forever, lest [my nation] will lose its virtue!

So when I had ruled over kings and horses and brigades, ^{9a} I will send them westwards, and I (?) dispatched them eastwards.⁴³

The messenger of death came to me from every angle. For it is me who lies in that tomb, suffering with what I must withstand!

The narrator said: So when Sulaymān read these lines, he and his vizier Asaf ben Berechiah wept, astonished by those words and the greatness of their meaning. And they became embarrassed of themselves.

Sulaymān lifted the cover with his hands, and arrived at the dome, in which he saw a magnificent tomb. On top of it was a silk brocade, covered with dust from the duration of time, and from the passing of days and nights. Sulaymān picked it up with his hands and saw that it had become torn, and it fell apart from the many years that had passed. He approached the top of the tomb where he saw a green emerald plaque inscribed with these poem verses, saying,

⁴³ In view of the translation, see MS *Strasbourg*: ولَمَّا مَلَكْتَ الْخَلْقَ وَالْمَلِكَ وَالْوَرَىٰ وَبِعْتَهُمْ (؟) غَرِبًا وَشَمَّتَهُمْ شَرْقًا 'so when I had ruled over creation and mankind, I sent them westwards (?), and dispatched them eastwards' (my translation).

- 15 אין אמלוך ואבנא אמלוך • 16 ומן קד אגיוש בחזם אראי מא פעלו •
 17 באתו עלי קולל אגבא תחרוסהום • 18 גולת⁴⁴ ארגאל פלא⁴⁵ תמנעהום אקוללו •
 19 ואתסנזלו בעד עזן מן מעאקלהום • 19 א ווסכנו חופרון יא ביס מא נזלו •

2 קא אראוי ולמא סמע סיידנא סלימאן עליה אס' 3 הד² א אאבו² את וערף קדר מעאניהא צרף צרכה
 4 עטימה ווקע מגשי עלא אארף סאעא מן אזמאן 5 והו לא יערף אגאיב מן אחאצר תום אנהו אפאק
 6 מן גשותהו ולמא אפאק אקבל עלא וזירהו 7 אסף בן ברכיה וקא להו יא אסף לקד כאן צאחב 8
 הדא אקצר מלך אדוניא פיא ליתני אעלם מן 9 צאחב⁴⁶ הדא אקצר ואמולי עליה וכיף כאן 10 חדיתהו

קא תום אנהו אכד וזירהו⁴⁷ וגעל 11 ידור אקובה⁴⁸ ימין ויסאר וכלף וקודאם ואדא 12 קד
 טהר עליהום אבדאן בלא רוס ורוס בלא 13 אבדאן וקום עלא שכל אכלאב וקום עלא 14 שכל
 אסבאע ואשכל מוכתלפה כארגה ען 15 צורת לאנסאן ואשתעלת אניראן מן כול 16 גאנב ומכאן
 פענד דלך אכד סלימאן ביד 17 אסף וכרגו מן דלך אקובה והום יתעגבו גאית 18 אעגב ען מא ראו
 וקא וגעל יפתח אמקאציר 19 פוגדהא מלאנה גוהר ודנאניר ומעאדן ויאקות 10 א 1 ודכאיר
 תעגז ענהם אמלוך ואאכאסרה 2 פתעגבו מן דלך גאית אעגב ולמא וצלו אלא 3 אעשרין ואראהום
 בעקרב מן אדהב כמא 4 תקדם אקול ופוקהא צפיחה מן אדהב מכתוב 5 עליהא באפצה הדא אאביאת
 • יקול שער •

⁴⁴ גולת : MS 31 גולת

⁴⁵ פלא : MS 31 פלם

⁴⁶ מן צאחב : MS 31 מן הו צאחב

⁴⁷ אכד וזירהו : MS 31 אכד ביד וזירהו

⁴⁸ ידור אקובה : MS 31 ידור פי אקובה

Where are the kings and their sons? And who dissolved (?) the armies in spite of all [they knew] they could accomplish?

They have become the *cursed* (?) of the mountains. The strongest of men guard them but cannot deprive them from their *curse* (?).

After that (?) they descended from their strongholds,⁴⁹ ^{9b} and were put to rest in grave holes. O misery how they fell!

The narrator said: And when Sulaymān heard these lines and understood the strength of their meaning, he screamed out loud and fell unconscious on the ground for an hour of time. Not knowing how long he had been absent, he woke up from his unconsciousness after a while. When he did, he approached his vizier Asaf ben Berechiah and said to him, “O Asaf, the owner of this palace ruled the world! I wish I knew who owned it, who was its lord, and that I knew how it came to be.

It has been said that he then took his vizier and began searching the dome right and left, in the back and in the front. Suddenly, bodies without heads and heads without bodies appeared, as well as people shaped like dogs and people shaped like lions and other forms unlike the shape of humans. And fire burst from everywhere and from every angle. Then, Sulaymān took Asaf’s hand and left the dome, astonished and distressed of what they had seen.

And it has been said that they started opening the chapels and found them full of gems and dinars, minerals and rubies; ^{10a} treasures which could make even the Kings and *Khosrows*⁵⁰ numb. They were astonished and distressed by that. Then they came to the twentieth [door] where a scorpion of gold appeared before them, as had been foretold. Above it was golden plate on which these poem verses were written in silver, saying,

⁴⁹ In view of the translation, see MS *Strasbourg*: أين الملوك وأبناء الملوك. مضوا تحت التراب برغم الرأي ما فعلوا. where are the kings and the sons of the kings? They remained under the dirt despite what they had done. Where are the armies under whom the lowland and the mountain trembled. They became (?) the summit (or more probably from Hebrew *qolel* ‘cursed’) of the mountains that guard them and descended into holes, o misery, descended they did!’ (my translation).

⁵⁰ Arabic *kasra* (here in the plural *akāsira*) ‘Khosrows’, in Persian tradition known as Anushiruwān. Khosrow is the name of one of the most renowned emperors of the Sasanid Empire.

- 6 כֹּלֵת מְנַהֲמוּ עֲרִצָּאת אֶקְצוֹר • 7 וְכַאֲנוּ בְּהַא מוֹסְכְּנִין אֲנַעַם •
 8 וְקַד נִגְזָן אֲמוֹת לְדַאֲתָהוּם • 9 וְמַא שִׁיד מִן בְּנַא אֲנַהֲדַם •
 10 אֲבַאֲדָהוּם אֲמוֹת לְמַא אֲתַא • 11 וְלַם תְּגִן כּוֹתֵר וְתַהֲמוּ אֲדָהֶגֶם •
 12 וְצַאֲרוּ אֲלֵא אֲאֲרִיץ פִּי בְּטִנְהַא • 13 וְכַאֲנוּ עֲלֵא טְהַרְהַא פִּי אֲחַכְּם •
 14 פּוֹלוּ כּוֹנַת עֲאִינְתָהוּם פִּי אֲתַרַא • 15 תַּרַא אֲדוֹד פִּי לְחַמְהוּם אֲחַתְּכֶם •
- 16 קַא אֲרַאוּי פִּלְמַא⁵¹ קֵרַא סִיידְנַא סְלִימַאן הַדַּא 17 אֲכַלְלַם צַאֲר אֲצִיַא פִּי עֵינִיָּה מִתַּל אֲטֵלַאִם 18
 וּבְכַא בּוֹכַא שְׂדִיד מַא עֲלִיָּה מִן מְזִיד וְכַדְלִךְ 19 וְזִירָהוּ אֲסַף בְּכַא מִן שְׂדַת מַא גְּרַא עֲלִיָּה תוּם 10-1 אֵן
 אֲמִלֶךְ סְלִימַאן פֶּרֶךְ עֶקְרַב אֲדָהֶב לְלִגְאֲנַב 2 אִימִין פֶּאֲנַפְתַּח לְהוּ בַּאֲב אֵא קַאעָה⁵² חִיטְאֲנַהַא 3 מִן
 אֲדָהֶב וּפְרִשְׁתָּהַא⁵³ מִן אֲפִצָּה אֲבִיִצָּא וְלֵהַא 4 אַעֲמַדָּה מִן אֲזִמּוֹרוֹד וְאַעֲמַדָּה מִן אֲפִצָּה 5 וְאַעֲמַדָּה מִן
 אֲדָהֶב פֶּעַנְד דְּלִךְ תְּקַדֵּם סִיידְנַא 6 סְלִימַאן וּפֶרֶךְ⁵⁴ מְנַהַא עֲשֵׁרִין טַאֲבַק וְלִמַּא וְצַל 7 אֵא אֲטַאֲבַק
 וְאַחַאֲדִי וְאַעֲשֵׁרִין וְאַדַּא הוּ בַּעֲקֶרַב מִן אֲפִצָּה 8 אֲבִיִצָּה פֶּפְרַכְהַא אֵא אֲגַאֲנַב אֲאִיסֵר כְּמַא תְּקַדֵּם 9
 אֲקוֹל פֶּאֲנַפְתַּח לְהוּ בַּאֲב עֵן סוֹרְדַאֲב אַחַדִּי וְעֲשֵׁרִין 10 דְּרַגָּה מִן אֲזִמּוֹרוֹד אֲאֲכֻצֵּר פְּנוֹל סְלִימַאן
 וְאַשְׁמַעָה 11 וְקוֹדַאֲמַהוּ פֶּאֲנַטְפַת פִּלְם יִדְרוֹן אִין יִמְצוֹן וְאַדַּא הוּם 12 בְּצוּ יְלוּח לְהוּ מִן בַּעִיד פֶּגְעֵלוּ
 יִתְבַּעוֹנְהוּ אֵא אֵן כְּרַג 13 בְּהוּם אֵא נַאֲר עֲטִים מִשְׁבַּךְ בְּקוֹצְבַאן אֲפִצָּה וְאַדָּהֶב
 14 וְאַדַּא הוּם בְּסִרִּיר מִן אֲזִמּוֹרוֹד אֲאֲכֻצֵּר וְקוֹאִימַהוּ 15 מִן אֲדָהֶב אֲאַחְמֵר וְעֲלִיָּה צַנֵּם מִן
 אֲבַלּוֹר מִרְצַע 16 בַּאֲנוֹאֵע אֲדוֹרֵר וְאַגּוֹהֵר וְלֵהוּ עֵינִין יִלְמַעִין פִּי 17 אוּם רַאֲסֵהוּ פֶּקַא סְלִימַאן לוֹזִירָהוּ
 יַא אֲסַף מַא תַּרַא 18 אֵא הַדַּא אֲצַנֵּם בַּאֲנַהוּ יִרַאנַא וִירְמוֹק בַּעִינִיָּה 19 אֲנַחּוֹנַא פֶּקַא אֲסַף יַא נְבִי אֵלֵה
 הַאֲדִי טְלַמְסַאֲת 11 א 1 עֲמַלְתָּהַא אֲחּוֹכְמַא אֲאַקְדַּמִּין אֲפִלְאַפְסָה פִּי קִדִּים 2 אֲזִמַּאן פְּנוֹטֵר אִיָּה סְלִימַאן
 תַּאֲנִיַא וְקַעַד אֲנוֹטֵר 3 אִיָּה פֶּרַאֲהַ לּוּח מַעֲלַק פִּי עוֹנְקָהוּ פֶּעַנְד דְּלִךְ 4 קַדֵּם אִיָּה וְאַרַאֲד יַאֲכוֹד אֲלוּח מִן
 עוֹנְקָהוּ וְאַדַּא 5 הוּ יִדוֹר עֲלֵא כּוֹרְסִיָּהוּ בְּדוֹרַאן אֲרַחַא וְכִרְגַת 6 אֲנַאֲר מִן עֵינִיָּה וְאַדּוֹכְאֵן מִן מְנַאֲכִירוּ
 וְאַרְתַּפַּע 7 אֲצַנֵּם אֵא אַעֲלַא אֲקוֹבָה וְצֶרֶךְ בְּצוֹת עֲאִי וְנַאֲדַא 8 בְּצוֹת

51 corr. פלמא : MS 23, MS 31 פלא

52 באב אא קאעה : corr. on the basis of MS 31 MS 23 : באב אקאעה

53 ופרשתהא : MS 31 ופרשהא

54 ופרך : MS 31 ופך

The vastness of the palace stranded them. And inside they became deprived of grace.
 For Death executed their pleasure. And that which they had erected was destroyed.
 When Death arrived, he annihilated them. They could not reap [the fruits of their]
 abundance, and [the nation of] Tahmū collapsed.
 They fell onto Earth into her womb. They laid on her back for judgement.
 For had you seen them [lying] in the soil you would have seen the worms eating through
 their flesh.

The narrator said: So when our master Sulaymān read these words, a light shone in his eyes like a tyrant, and he wept bitterly till he could weep no more. And likewise, Asaf his vizier cried from the misery that had afflicted him. Then, ^{10b} King Sulaymān rubbed the golden scorpion on the right side, and a door opened for him, leading to a hallway with walls of gold and tiles of white silver. It had columns of emeralds, columns of silver, and columns of gold. Then, Sulaymān came forward to a hallway leading to (?) twenty floors. When he came to the twenty-first floor, there was a white silver scorpion there. He rubbed it on the left side, as had been foretold, and a door opened for him leading to a secret passage with twenty-one steps of green emerald. Sulaymān descended, when suddenly the torch in front of him went out, and they did not know where to go. But suddenly a light flashed from afar and they started following it, until they came out to a magnificent fire entwined with bars of gold and silver.

And they were standing next to a throne of green emerald with pillars made of red gold. On it was a crystal idol embellished with pearls and gems. It had two eyes sparkling in the meninx of its head. Sulaymān then said to his vizier, “O Asaf, wouldn’t you say, by looking at that idol, that it watches us and that it looks as if starring right at us with its eyes?” And Asaf said, “O prophet of Allāh, that is a glare ^{11a} which the oldest of the wise [Greek] philosophers made in the past.” So Sulaymān looked at it again and kept on looking, when he [suddenly] saw that a plaque was hanging from its neck. He moved closer and wanted to grab the plaque from its neck. Then, when he twisted its pedestal around like a quern, fire came out of its eyes and smoke came from its nose. The idol rose up high inside the dome and screamed in a loud voice, calling out,

יא אולאד אבליס ויא אצחאב אמעאקל 9 ואתיגאן הדא סלימאן אבן דאוד עליה אסלאם 10 אדי דלת
 להו אאנס ואגן ואטיר ואוחש ואהואם 11 וסאיר מא כלק אלה תע' והו קד אתא איכום 12 ליאכוד
 מלככום וידהב עזכום ויהדם רוכנכום 13 פאקתלוה וריחו אאנס מנהו קא פענד דאלך 14 צרכת אגאן
 מן כול גאנב ומכאן וטהרו עלא 15 סלימאן אבדאן בלא רוס ורוס בלא אבדאן ועלא 16 שכל אכלאב
 ואסבאע ואנואע מוכתלפה 17 וארתפע אדוכאן ועלא דוכאן וקאמת אזלאזל 18 וקרקעת אארץ
 ואתזולת • קא אראוי פענד דלך 19 צרך סיידנא סלימאן עליה אסלאם צרכה עטימה 11 ב 1 בגלאל
 וקא יא אולאד אבליס ויא לעין אגיש 2 אכסיס אנא סלימאן אבן דאוד עליה אסלאם 3 מלכת אאנס
 ואגן ואטיר ואוחש ועזת אלה 4 אעזה אזלייה לאעדבכום אשד עדאב 5 אקסמת עליכום באצוור
 אמחרקאת ובאאסמא 6 אמוצופאת אן תזאו צאגרין ולא יכון לכום נאצר 7 איום אדין פענדהא
 אנטפת אניראן וכומוד אל 8 דוכאן וסוקוט אצנמ מן אעלא אמכאן בין ידין 9 סיידנא סלימאן וולת
 אשיאטין הארבין ואא אנגאה 10 טאבין תום תקדם סיידנא סלימאן אא אצנמ 11 ואכד אלוח מן
 עונקהו וצעד מן אסורדאב וכרג 12 מן אקצר

וגלס עלי סריר מולכהו ונאדא 13 באצחאבהו ווזראה וארבאב דולתהו ולמא 14 אגתמעו רפע
 אליהום אלוח פלם יקדרו עלא 15 קראתהו פאטרק אא אארץ ואדא קד אקבל 16 עליה מן צדר
 אברייה גולאם שב אצפר אלון 17 יתובא עלא קציב מן אכיזראן פלמא וצל 18 אא סלימאן קא לו
 סלאם עליך יא נבי אלה 19 האת אלוח פאכדהו וקראה ובכא וקא הדא 12 א 1 באיונאנייה והו יקול

אנא שדאד אבן עאד אדי 2 בנית ארמזאת אעמאד אתי למ יוכלק מתלהא 3 פי אבלאד רכבת
 אף גואד ומלכת אף מן א 4 בלאד ואקתצנת⁵⁵ אף גאריה ומלכת אף גיש 5 וקתלת אף מלך
 ולמא אתאני אמות פלם 6 יגני עני שי אא פאעתברו יא אולאיא אלאבאב

“O children of Iblīs! O lords of sanctuaries and crowns! This is Sulaymān son of Dāwūd (peace be upon him), he who men, the jinns, the birds, the beasts, every walking animal and the rest of what Allāh has created serve, MHBE! He has come to take your possessions, to steal your power and to destroy your corner stone. You must kill him and free the people from him!” It has been said that then, demons screamed from everywhere and from every angle. As more smoke spread out, bodies without heads and heads without bodies appeared before Sulaymān in the shape of dogs and lions and other sorts. Then followed an earthquake and the ground rumbled and shook. The narrator said: Then Sulaymān, peace be upon him, screamed out loud ^{11b} and saying in splendour, “O children of Iblīs! O despicable army of cursed, I am Sulaymān son of Dāwūd, peace be upon him, I have ruled over men, jinns, birds, and beasts. The power of Allāh, the eternal power will punish you the most severe way. I swear, by the images of the burned and by the prescribed names, that you will remain disgraced ones. And you will have no protector on the Day of Resurrection!” Then, the fire stopped, the smoke died out and the idols grew silent before Sulaymān. And the shayṭāns turned away and fled, crying for redemption. So Sulaymān approached the idol and took the plaque of its neck. He got out of the passageway and left the palace.

He sat on the throne of his rule, and called for the companions, viziers and lords of his empire. And when they had all gathered, he held up the plaque before them. But they were not able to read it, so he bowed towards the ground. But suddenly, a young yellow-skinned boy from the heart of the desert wilderness approached him, limping along with the help of a stick. When he reached Sulaymān he said, “Peace be upon you, o prophet of Allāh. Give me the plaque.” He took it and read, then wept and said, “This is ^{12a} in Greek, and it states,

I am Shaddād son of ʿĀd, who built *Iram of the Pillars, the like of which was never created in the land* (Q 89.7-8). I rode upon a thousand horses and ruled over a thousand lands and held a thousand servants. I ruled over a thousand armies and I slew a thousand kings. But when Death came to me I could not prevail against him.⁵⁶ So be but warned, o *men possessed of minds!* (Q *passim*)”

⁵⁶ In view of the translation, see *Mimekor Yisrael*:48, ‘Yet when the Angel of Death came for me, I could not prevail against him.’

7 תום קלב אלוח וארא עלא טהרהו מכתוב 8 יקול שער •

9 כם מן מליכון להו גנודן • יתבעהו אכיל ואאמירו •

10 חדאה חאדי אמנאיה • פארתחל עסכרון כתירו⁵⁷ •

11 ופארקו מא בנוה רוגמן • ואקפרת מנהם אקצורו •

12 קא אראוי פלמא סמע סי' סלימאן דלך 13 אכלאם בכא ותאסף תום אנהו רד כול 14 שי מכאנהו

ואכד מן אמעאדן 15 ואאחגאר מא לאק עליה ורגע 16 ללבסאט ואסר לחא סבילהו והדא 17 מא

אנתהא אופא מן סירת 18 קצר שדאד ואלה אעלם

19 תם 20 ואחמד ללאה עלי אתמאם ואכמא • **ושלום על ישראל** 21 •

אמן נצח סלה⁵⁸

⁵⁷ כם מן מליכון להו גנודן יתבעהו אכיל ואאמירו • חדאה חאדי אמנאיה • פארתחל עסכרון כתירו : MS 31 כם מן מליכון להו גנודן •
⁵⁸ ירת? הו עסכרון כתירו • חדאה חאדי אמנאיה • פארתחל אכיל ואאמירו •
ושלום על ישראל • אמן נצח סלה : MS 31 ליתא

TRANSLATION

Then he turned the plaque and saw a poem written on its back, saying,

O how many kings there were to whom warriors, horses and emirs belonged!
The fate of death came to him, so many warriors departed.
They reluctantly left behind what they had built, and so the palaces became deserted.

The narrator said: So when Sulaymān heard those words, he wept and grieved. Then he returned everything to where it came from, took but from it what befitted him of stones and minerals. He returned to his carpet and roamed his usual path. And thus it came to an end, fulfilling the story of Shaddād's palace. Only Allāh knows.

The End. Praise be to Allāh, to completeness and perfection. *Peace be upon Israel.*
Amen. Eternity. Selah.

THE BINDING OF YIṢḤĀQ

עקידת א סייד יצחק אבינו

1 ו א 1 נבתי בכתאבת עקידת 2 • א סייד יצחק אבינו • 3 עיה¹ בא ערבי והי 4 מנקולה מן • 5
 כתאב הרב 6 המובהק² 7 רבינו 8 • דוד עיה¹ 10 •
בשם • ייצ³ אל עולם • 2 יתברך שמו של מלך מלכי המלכים 3 היק'ביה⁴ א אאה א
 ואחד א 4 אחד א פרד א צמד ואגב א וגוד מעדן 5 א כרם וא גוד כלאק כול מוגוד א 6 ואחד אדי לא
 יתנא א חי א באקי אדי 7 לא יובנא א מודרך אדי לא יתמענא 8 אמותנזה ען א זוגה וא ולד א באקי
 9 עלא מרור א דהר וא אזמנה וא מדד 10 א דאים א תאבת אא א אבד אדי שהד² ת² 11 א עקול
 ברבובייתהו ואקרת א קלוב 12 בוחדאנייתהי ואעתרפת א נפוס 13 באזלייתהי ואזיאדה פי תסמחהי
 14 א ראפה וא רחמה וא עפו ענד א נקמה 15 גמד א ארץ וא רכ² זהא פי א מא ואדאר 16 עליהא
 אפלאך א סמא ואגב א מוגודא 17 ומועדמהא ומו² נ² יר א מונירא ומועתמהא
 18 נאדא א כלאק לעבאדתהי ואמרהום⁵ בא 19 סלוך פי טאעתהי וארשדהום אא א צואב 2
 וערפהום אנהום אדא אטאעוה⁶ גאו גזיל 3 א תואב וא ע² ת² וזה פלהום א שקא וא עזאב 4 לאנהו תע'
 מותטלע עלא סאיר אפעא 5 א עבאד ל² ..? כא פי כול אחדן מנהום במא 6 יפעלהו מן כיר או פסאד
 ומן מחבתהו 7 תע' פי ישרא ומעזתהו להום ושרפיית 8 אצלהום ודכרהו לברית אאבות אברהם 9
 יצחק ויעקב פאנהו תע' יחון אותם 10 וירחמם ולא ישחיתם ולא ישליכם מעל 11 פניו •

¹ עיה' : עליו השלום

² המובהק : MS הומבהק

³ is here used for the tetragrammaton ייצ

⁴ היק'ביה' : הקדוש ברוך הוא

⁵ ואמרהום : MS ואמררום

⁶ אטאעוה : MS אטאעוק

The Binding of Sayyid Yiṣḥāq our Father

^{1a} We hereby start the writing of ‘The *Binding of Sayyid Yiṣḥāq, our Father*’, *peace be upon him* (PBUH), in Arabic, which is transmitted⁷ from the book of ‘the Distinguished Rabbi, *rabbenu David*’ PBUH.⁸

^{1b} *In the name of YYS, the Eternal El. Blessed be His name, the King, King of Kings. The Holy One, blessed be He, the Unique Single Ilāh, the Indivisible, the Individual, the Everlasting, the Reason for existence, the Benefactor of generosity and bounty, the Creator of all being. The Single One, Who cannot be doubled. The Living One, the Infinite, Who is not made.*⁹ He is the Understander, Who does not [need to] examine. He refrains from having a wife and a child. He is the one who remains when fate, fortune and times have elapsed. He is the Never-ending, the One who endures into eternity. He Whom the intellects have witnessed in His divinity, and Whom the hearts have safeguarded in His oneness. He Whom the souls have acknowledged in His eternity and in the enhancement in His kindness. He is the Possessor of compassion, and the Relief from vengeance. He solidified the Earth, embedded it in water and set in motion the orbits of the sky. He is the very Reason for existence and He is its annihilator. He is the Enlightenment and the Darkening of illumination.

The Creator summoned His worshippers and commanded them to ^{2a} behave in obedience with Him, and He directed them to righteousness. He let them know that if they obey Him, He will have much repentance. But if they are insolent towards Him, they will experience suffering and punishment. Because He, may He be exalted (MHBE), is looking over the worshipper’s deeds to make judgements (?) over every one, from whatever upright or immoral action they conduct. And from His love of the people of Israel MHBE and His regard for them and their honourable origin, and the remembrance of Him in the *covenant of the Patriarchs Abraham, Yiṣḥāq and Ya‘qūb*. *So He was gracious unto them MHBE, and had compassion upon them, and would not destroy them,*¹⁰ *neither cast He them from his presence* (Talm. *Shabbath* 55a).

⁷ The word *manqūl* may also mean ‘translated’ depending on the context.

⁸ The question of the identity of *David* to which is alluded here is discussed in chapter 3. The hitherto most plausible estimate is David ben Joshua Maimūni (also known as David II Maimonides, active ca. 1335–1415).

⁹ See Q 112.

¹⁰ See Deut. 4.31: ולא ישחיתך ‘He will not destroy thee’.

12 קא עליהום א סלאם אן אכטר א 13 צדיקים יטלובו מן אלה תע' אן 14 ימתחנהום
 ויכתבריהום לעלמהום מן 15 נפוסהום לאנהום תמכן מנהום א 16 מחבה וא שגף באלה תע' ואנהום 17
 יצבורו לאמתחאנאתהי כמה קא ה' 18 צדיק יבחן וכמא תגד כאן אב תראח מן 2 מונשא א אנביא
 ואוול א אתקיא ואכיר א 3 אזכיא ואשרף א עאבדין ואפכר א זהאדין 4 עמרת א עאם וא גיאה א
 מקצודה 5 מנהו אברהם אבינו ע'ס' עמדו של עולם • 6 פאמתחנהו א חק תע' ב' א נסיונות א 7
 עטימה והו צאבר לגומלתהום ולם סאף 8 ען שי מנהום ולא ראדד •
 פאוול אמתחאן 9 אן אמתחנהו ב'ה' א חק תע' פהו אן יפארק 10 א אהל וא קראבה וא מוטן
 ויסאפר אא 11 מכאן לם יעלמהו כמה קא להו א חק 12 תע' לך לך מארצך וממולדתך וגו ואכד 13 א
 אמתחאן אדי אמתחנהו בהי והו אשדהום 14 ואצעבהום ואעטמהום אדי אמרהו א חק 15 תע' בתקריב
 א ולד א חביב ולבח א 16 נסל א לביב וחרק א אבן א וחיד א פריד 17 כמה קא ויהי אחר הדברים
 האה וגו 18 ויאמר קח נא את בנך • קא אברהם בין 2 ידיה תע' יא רבון העולמים לי ולדאן 3
 פאיאהום נקרב בן הערלה או בן המילה 4 קא להו א חק תע' א ולד א וחיד לך כמה 5 קא את
 יחידך • קא אברהם בין ידיה תע' 6 יא רבון העולמים הוא וחיד לאומהי 7 והוא יחיד לאומהי קא
 להו א חק תע' אדי 8 אנת מבאג פי מחבתהי כמה קא אשר 9 אהבת • קא אברהם בין ידיה תע' יא
 10 רבון העולמים אחדן י' כ' רה ולדהו אנא 11 אחב אאתנין קא להו א חק תע' יא 12 אברהם לא
 תטיל א כלאם את יצחק 13 והעלהו שם לעולה •

They have told, peace be upon them, that most of the righteous ones have requested from Allāh MHBE that He put them to a test for their knowledge about themselves, so that they can consolidate the love and infatuation to Allāh MHBE, and withstand His tests, as it is said, “*The LORD* ^{2b} *trieth the righteous*” (Ps. 11.5). As it is related, Father Terāḥ was from the origin of the Prophets. He was the first of the trustworthy and the last of the bright. He was the most honourable of the worshippers and the most glorious of those devoted [to God] in the life span of the World and of what is intended. From him comes *Abraham our Father* PBUH, *the pillar of the world*.¹¹ So the Truth put him to the test with great trials. All the long he was patient in all of them and what had happened earlier; he never rejected [his fate].

And the first test to which the Truth MHBE put him, was that he give up his family, relatives and home country and travel to an unknown place, as the Truth MHBE had said to him, “*Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, etc.*” (Gen. 12.1). And he took on the test to which He had put him. It was the most severe, most difficult and greatest of tests that the Truth MHBE had prescribed him, that of sacrificing his beloved son, slaughter the sensible offspring, and burn his only one son, as He said, “*It came to pass after these things, etc.* (Gen. 22.1), *and He said, ‘Take now thy son’*” (Gen. 22.2). And Abraham said before Him MHBE, “*O Sovereign of the Universe, I have two sons. Which one of them shall I sacrifice, the one with the foreskin or the one who is circumcised?*”¹² The Truth MHBE said to him, “*Your only son,*” as it is said, “*Thine only son.*” (Gen. 22.2). Abraham said before Him MHBE, “*O Sovereign of the Universe, this one is the only of his mother, and that one the only of his mother*”¹³ The Truth MHBE said to him, “*The one that you love the most*”, as it is said, “*Whom thou lovest*” (Gen. 22.2). Abraham said before Him MHBE, “*O Sovereign of the Universe, is there anyone who hates the son of his? I love but the both of them!*” The Truth MHBE said to him, “*O Abraham, say no more. Even Isaac. And offer him there for a burnt-offering*” (Gen. 22.2).

¹¹ See Maimonides, *Mishne Torah Sefer ha-Madda, Avodah Zarah* 1:8: עמודו של עולם, שהוא אברהם אבינו עליו השלום ‘the pillar of the world, who is Abraham our Father, peace be upon him’ (<http://www.mechon-mamre.org/i/14.htm> (accessed January 2016).

¹² See *P.R.E.* 31:56.

¹³ See *P.R.E.* 31:56.

קא בין ידיה תע' 14 יא רבון העולמים אנא טאיע לאמרך 15 ואנת אדי רזקתהו לי ואנת אדי
 טלבת 16 אכדהו ותמגיך עלא א דואם למ 17 ינקטע כמא קא א נבי ה' נתן וה' לקח 18 וגו ולאכנ
 יא רבון העולמים עלא אי א 2 גבל נקרבהו קא להו פי א מכאן אדי תנטור 3 א שכינה חאה פיה
 ננטורך ותקול לך 4 הלא מקום המזבח פקרבהו הנאך כמא 5 קא על אחד ההרים אשר אומר איך
 • 6 והוא לתקוית אאמתחאן לאן ענד מא קא 7 להו א חק תע' לך לך מארצך פליס 8 אעלמהו אא אי
 א בלד ירוח איהא 9 חתא יהדי רועהו בל קא להו א הארץ 10 אשר אראך וכדלך הנא ליס אעלמהו
 11 תע' אגבל אדי יקרב עליה בל קא להו 12 על אחד ההרים אשר אומר אליך • והוא 13 לכי
 יערפנא תמכון אברהם פי א מחבה 14 ומובאלגתהו פיה פיהא ושגפהו בא כלאק 15 תע' פלדלך אסמהא
 אוהבי ודלך באנהו 16 לו קא להו א כלאק תע' קרב ולדך פי 17 הוא א חאצר וקאם הו פי
 חינהי 18 א 1 קרבהו לקד כאנו א אומם יקולו אנהו קאם 2 בוג'ה'גת א תרדמה אדי כאן פיהא וקרבהו
 3 והו פי גיר חיזי וכאנו יקולון לו רגע לעקלהי 4 למ קרב שי ולדלך טוול להו אחק תע' פי 5 מסאפת
 א טריק חתא יעלמו אן אברהם 6 עיה' אקאם א יום אאוול וא תאני וא תאת 7 חתא וצל אא א מכאן
 והו מוצר עלא אמרהי 8 תע' ולא ראגע ולא תוכר ולא תמנע ולא 9 הר ההר אחד השכינה וקא אמס
 ואנת 10 תקול לי כי ביצחק יקרא לך זרע ואיום 11 תקול לי קח נא את בנך כל אגתהד
 וקאם 12 מן באכר א נהאר ושד בהי מתנהו 14 בידהי 13 כמא קא וישכם אברהם בבקר
 ויחבוש 14 את חמורו ואכד יצחק ולדהו ומצא טאיען 15 פי חק אלה תע' פי סאיר

Abraham said before Him MHBE, “O *Sovereign of the Universe!* I obey Your command, for You are the one Who blessed me with him. And you are the one Who requested that I take him. Your praising is endless and will never halt.” As the prophet said, “*The LORD gave, and the LORD hath taken away,* ^{3b} *etc.*” (Job 1.21). “But, O *Sovereign of the Universe!* On which mountain shall I sacrifice him?” He said to him, “In the place where you can see the *Shekinah*,¹⁵ where I can see you. And say to yourself, ‘This is *the place of the altar*’ and sacrifice him there”, as it is said, “*Upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of*” (Gen. 22.2). And this was to certify the covenant. Because when the Truth MHBE said, “*Get thee out of thy country*” (Gen. 12.1), He MHBE did not let him know to which land he were to go until his soul would be guided. Instead, He said, “*Unto the land that I will show thee*” (Gen 12.1). And here thus, He MHBE did not let him know of the mountain upon which he was to sacrifice. Instead, He said, “*Upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of*” (Gen. 22.2), in order to let us know of Abraham’s capability of loving, and his vast affection and infatuation for the Creator MHBE. Therefore it is named *Ohavei*, and that is because it belongs to Him. The Creator MHBE said to him, “Sacrifice your son right now. Undertake his offering in this hour!” ^{4a} The Nations have said that he had been acting as if *asleep* when he had offered him; that he had been in another sphere. And they used to say, “Had he returned to consciousness, he would not have sacrificed anything.” Therefore, the Truth *MHBE* extended the distance of the path, so that He could let him know that Abraham PBUH would continue on the first, second and third day until arriving, remaining determined on [fulfilling] His command MHBE. He did not turn, nor did he delay or refuse, nor *Mount Hor* (?), *one of the Shekinah* (?). And yesterday he said, “You will tell me that ‘*for in Isaac shall seed be called to thee*’ (Gen. 21.12) and today you tell me ‘*Take now thy son*’ (Gen. 22.2), in the most diligent manner.”

He rose in the break of day and saddled its back with his hands, as it is said, “*And Abraham rose early in the morning, and saddled his ass*” (Gen. 22.3). And he took his son Yiṣḥāq and proceeded, in compliance with the truth of Allāh MHBE, and he continued to be

¹⁵ *Sakīna*, or the Hebrew *Shekhina* is commonly understood as the presence of God in a spiritual sense. See *P.R.E.* 31:57; whereas our manuscript reads *אֵל שְׂכִינָה* ‘In the place where you can see the Shekhina’, *P.R.E.* reads *בְּכָל מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר תִּרְאֶה אֶת כְּבוֹדִי עוֹמֵד* ‘In every place where thou dost see My glory abiding’ (*P.R.E.* 31:57; translation is adopted from that of Friedlander, *P.R.E.*:223).

פרחאן באמרהי ¹⁶ כמתל מן יאכוד ולדהו וימצי בהי אא ¹⁷ בית המשתה בששון ושמחה כמא קא
¹ ⁴ וישכם אברהם בבקר • ולדלך חצל להו ² רופעת שאן פי א עאם ומלוך א ארץ ³ ורוסאהא
אמוקימין פיהא יקולון להו נשיא ⁴ אלהם ¹⁶ אתה בתוכנו וענהו קא דוד עיהי ⁵ נתת ליראך נס
להתנוסס

וא סבב ⁶ פי הדא א נסיון לאן ישמעא כאן יעאיר ⁷ יצחק עליה א סלאם ויקול להו אנא
מקבול ⁸ מרצי אכתר מנך יא יצחק ולדך כאן ⁹ למא כתנך אביך כאן עומרך תמאן ¹⁰ איאם וליס לך
טאעה ולא מקדרה אנך ¹¹ תכאף ולא תמאנע ואמא אנא יקול ¹² ישמעא ען נפסהי כאן עומרי וקת
כותנת ¹³ תלאתת עשר סנה ואמתלת אדי אמר ¹⁴ בהי אחק תע' אברהם אבינו עיהי חד'ת' א
¹⁵ ח'דיד ולא ראדדת ולא כאלפת ולו אזדת ¹⁶ לקד כונת נמאנע דלך קא להו יצחק ¹⁷ יא ישמעא
אמא אנת אמתחנך פי עצו ¹ ^{א5} מן אעצאך ואמא אנא ¹⁷ יקול א סייד יצחק עיהי ² ען נפסה לו אמר א
חק תע' אברהם אבי ³ אנהו ידבחני לקד כונת אמד עונקי לל ⁴ דבח פי מחבתהו תע'

וצאר יצחק עיהי ⁵ מתאם מן כלאם ישמעא ויקול בין ידיה ⁶ תע' יא רבון העולמים בחנני
הי' ונסני ⁷ פתטלע א חק תע' עלא צמיר יצחק ⁸ ואמתחן אביה פיה כמא קא ויהי אחר ⁹ הדברים
האה קאו עליהום א סלאם ¹⁰ אחר דברי ישמעא ליצחק • וכאן עומר ¹¹ יצחק עיהי פי דאך אוקת
סבעה ותלאתין ¹² סנה אדי לו שא מכלאפה כאן כא'ף? ¹³ אכתר מן ישמעא אדי כאן עומרהו ¹⁴ למא
כותן תלאתת עשר סנה פחיניד ¹⁸ חצל ¹⁵ ליצחק רופעת א שאן ועטמת א מקדאר ¹⁶ ענד ישמעא
וגירהו ולם וגד ישמעא ¹⁷ לנפסה ענד יצחק גואב •

ביום השלישי ¹ ^{א5} וישא אברהם את עיניו א חק תע' ישתבח ² ויתעלה לם יתרוך א צדיק
פי שדה אכתר ³ מן תלאת איאם ופי א מונטטר אועד א ⁴ חק תע' אן נחן לם נקים פי שדה אכתר ⁵
מן יומין ופי א יום א תאת יחצל א פרג ⁶ וא כלאץ כמא קא יחוננו מיומים ביום ⁷ השלישי יקימנו
וגו

¹⁶ Abbreviation denoting *Elohim*.

¹⁷ אנא : MS אנת
¹⁸ פחיניד : MS פחיגיד

delighted by His command. Like one who takes his boy and proceeds with him to *the house of feasting, happily and with pleasure*. It is said, ^{4b} “*And Abraham rose early in the morning*” (Gen. 22.3). Therefore, he attained prominence from around the world, and kings and leaders of the Land and those living there came and told him, “*Thou art a mighty prince among us*” (Gen. 23.6). David PBUH has said about him, “*Thou hast given a banner to them that fear Thee*” (Ps. 60.6).

The reason for this *trial* is that Yishmael had blamed Yiṣḥāq, peace be upon him, saying, “I am more beloved than you, Yiṣḥāq. When your father circumcised you, you were eight days old, when you did not possess obedience, nor the ability to refute or oppose. But I,” Yishmael said about himself, “was thirteen years old when I was circumcised.”¹⁹ I obeyed what the Truth had commanded MHBE. Abraham our Father PBUH sharpened the knife, and I didn’t resist nor refute. Had I been older, I would have opposed it (?).” Yiṣḥāq told him, “But you, O Yishmael. He put you to the test with one ^{5a} of your body parts. But I,” Yiṣḥāq said about himself PBUH “if the Truth MHBE commanded my father Abraham to sacrifice me, I would put out my neck for the sacrifice in love of Him MHBE.”

Yiṣḥāq PBUH had become deeply afflicted by Yishmael’s remark, saying before Him MHBE, “O Sovereign of the Universe! *Examine me, O LORD, and try me*” (Ps. 26.2). So the Truth MHBE saw Yiṣḥāq’s heart, and tested Abraham our Father accordingly, as it is said, “*And it came to pass after these things*” (Gen. 22.1). They have said, peace be upon them, “*After Yishmael’s words to Yiṣḥāq*” (Talm. *Sanhedrin* 89b). Yiṣḥāq’s age PBUH was thirty seven years old at that time. If he had wanted to oppose him, he could have resisted so much more than Yishmael, who was thirteen years old when he was circumcised. So Yiṣḥāq attained prominence and appreciation with Yishmael and others, for Yishmael could no longer find for himself an answer to Yiṣḥāq[’s argument].

On the third day ^{5b} *Abraham lifted up his eyes* (Gen. 22.4). The Truth MHBE, Praised and Adored [be He], did not abandon the righteous one in distress longer than three days. And during his waiting, the Truth MHBE promised that we would not be in distress longer than two days. On the third day comes relief and salvation, as it is said, “*After two days will He revive us, on the third day He will raise us up, etc.*” (Hos. 6.2).

¹⁹ The passage in which Isaac and Ishmael are contending corresponds to parts of *Genesis Rabbah* 55.4.

פלדלך קא הנא ביום ⁸ השלישי וישא אברהם את עיניו וגו ראה ⁹ גורא שכינה עלא א גבא
 ועמוד גמאם ¹⁰ מונתצב מן א ארץ אא א סמא פקא ¹¹ ליצחק יאולדי איש ראית פי הדא א גבא ¹²
 קא להו ראית נור עטים ועמוד גמאם ¹³ מונתצב מן א ארץ ללסמא פפהם ¹⁴ אברהם אבינו עיהי אן
 ולדהו ¹⁵ כאמל מתלהו ואנהו ונרצה ²⁰ לעולה תמימה ¹⁶ פקא לאיעזר וישמעא אתנין גולמאנהו ¹⁷
 אדי כאנו מעהו איש ראיתו קאו להו למ ¹⁸ ראינא שי קא להום אנתום כא בהאים ² פליס לכום
 אקאמה אא ענד א בהאים ³ כמא קא א נץ שבו לכם פה עם החמור ⁴ עם הדומה לחמור •
 ונשתחיה ונשובה ⁵ איכם אנתקהו פומהו אנהום ירגעו א ⁶ אתנין
 פפי רואח אברהם ויצחק צארו ⁷ איעזר וישמעא יחתאולו ישמעא יקול ⁸ א אן אברהם יקרב
 יצחק על גבי המזבח ⁹ ואנא בכור וכונת גומלת מאהו קא ¹⁰ להו איעזר אנת טרדך ובעתך לל ¹¹
 ברייה וליס בקא לך ענדהו אורת ואנא ¹² עבדהו וכדמתהו פי א ליל ואנהאר ¹³ פאנא אדי אורתהו
 ורוח הקודש תנאדי ¹⁴ ותקול לא זה יורש ולא זה יורש כמא ¹⁵ קא רבות מחשבות בלב איש
 ועצת ה' ¹⁶ היא תקום וכמא קא עוצו עצה ותופר ¹⁷ דברו דבר ולא יקום כי עמנו א פמא ¹⁸
 ירת אברהם אא יצחק והו אדי ינתחל ² במאהו כמא קא אנץ תחת אבותיך ³ יהיו בניך •
 פענד מאכד אברהם צוחבתהו ⁴ א אש וא עצים וחמל א עצים עלא ⁵ יצחק כמא קא ויקח
 אברהם את עצי ⁶ העולה וישם על

²⁰ ותרצה : this appears in P.R.E. 31:57 as

So therefore He said here, “*On the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes, etc.*” (Gen. 22.4) He saw the faith of the Shekinah upon the mountains; a pillar of clouds rising up from the ground and into the sky. He said to Yiṣḥāq, “My son, what did you see in that mountain?” He said to him, “I saw a strong light and a pillar of clouds rising up from the ground and into the sky.” Then Abraham our Father *PBUH* understood that his son was complete just like himself, and that he *had been accepted for a perfect burnt-offering.*”²¹ So he said to his two boys Eli’ezer and Yishma’el who were with him, “What did you see?” They said, “We have not ^{6a} seen anything.” He said to them, “You are just like cattle, so you remain but with the cattle,” as the Scriptures reads, “*Abide ye here with the ass* (Gen. 22.5), it is a people like unto an ass (Talm. *Kiddushin* 68a), *and we will worship, and come back to you*” (Gen. 22.5). His own mouth thus informed him that the two would return.²²

Upon Abraham and Yiṣḥāq’s departure, Eli’ezer and Yishma’el began to quarrel,²³ when Yishma’el said, “Now that Abraham is offering Yiṣḥāq *on the altar*, I will be the first-born and [will inherit] all his wealth!”²⁴ Eli’ezer replied to him, saying, “It is *you* who he has dismissed and driven out into the wilderness! You have nothing left with him to be inherited. Now, I am his servant and have served him day and night. Therefore *I* am the one that inherits him,” whereupon the *Holy Spirit* cried out and said, “*Neither this one, nor that one shall inherit,*” as it is said, “*There are many devices in a man’s heart; But the counsel of the LORD, that shall stand.*” (Prov. 19.21) and “*Take counsel together, and it shall be brought to nought; Speak the word, and it shall not stand; For God is with us*” (Isa. 8.10). Only ^{6b} Yiṣḥāq inherits Abraham, and he is the one who takes over his wealth. As the Scriptures read, “*Instead of thy fathers shall be thy sons*” (Ps. 45.17).

Then Abraham brought with him the *fire* and the *wood* and carried the *wood* onto Yiṣḥāq, as it is said, “*And Abraham took the wood of the burnt-offering, and laid it upon*

²¹ The use of עולה תמימה ‘a perfect burnt-offering’ appears in Aramaic passage found in *Sefer ha-Zohar*, namely מאי טעמא איל, בגין איל דיצחק דהוא עולה תמימה, והאי אתחזי לקרבא לאשלמא כלא ‘Why a ram? Because of the ram of Isaac, who was a *perfect burnt-offering*, and this also was brought to make the sacrifice complete’ (*Sefer ha-Zohar*: Shemini 37a; translation adapted from Sperling, *Sefer ha-Zohar* iv: 399.)

²² This (‘His own mouth,’ etc.) is partly a translation of a section appearing in Midrash Tanhuma: *Vayeira* 23.

²³ The verb יחתאולו יחתאולו, if interpreted as being in the stem VIII, literally may mean ‘they resort to tricks’. The translation used here, ‘Eli’ezer and Yishma’el began to quarrel’, is made by analogy with the Friedlander English translation of *P.R.E.* 31:57, ‘contention arose between Eliezer and Ishmael’ (Friedlander, *P.R.E.*:225).

²⁴ *P.R.E.* 31:57 displays a similar version of the contention between Ishmael and Eliezer.

יצחק בנו • פקא 7 יצחק לאביה יא אבי איש יפיד א אידאם 8 בגיר כובז כמא קא הנה האש²⁵
 והעצים 9 ואיה השה לעולה • קא להו אברהם אהים 10 יראה לו השה לעולה בני אנת יא יצחק
 11 שיה העולה א קורבאן א מורצי • פק² י בא עליו יצחק וראח בלב שלם 13 כמא קא וילכו
 שניהם יחדיו זה לעקד 14 וזה ליעקד²⁶

פענד מא גטרהום א שטן 15 עלא תלך א נייה א כאלצה א מוטיעה 16 לאמר א כאלק תעי
 פאראד אנהו יערבב 17 אותם ותשכל בצורת שיך טאען פי א 1 א 7 סן דאת בהגה עטימה ווגה חסן
 וגא 2 וקף אמאם אברהם וקא להו יא שיך 3 טענת פי א סן ודהב עקלך כיף תאכוד 4 ולד וחיז פריד
 עזיז חסן א כולק וא 5 כלקה מתל הדא א צבי א מליח א חסן 6 ותקתולהו ותעדמהו והדא ליס הוא
 רצא 7 כאלקך בל א שיטאן כייילך קא להו 8 אברהם אנצרף עני ואדהב לאנני 9 לאמך²⁷ ליס אסמע
 וען פעל אמר כאלקי 10 לם אמתנע כמא קא יגער הי בך השטן

11 פתרכהו וגא אא ענד יצחק תשכל להו 12 בצורת שאב צביח א וגה חסן א מנטר 13 וקא
 להו יא צבי אן כאן אביך שיך ודהב 14 עקלהו פיכון אנת פיך עקל ולמא דא 15 תואפק אביך פי
 אגהל וראיח תקתול נפסך 16 ללא צרורה • קא להו יצחק יא גאהל אנת 17 תצעדני ותסתגלפני
 בכטאבך א 17 1 מכאדעה לל גאהל איס אן אלה הו אדי 2 כלקני ואחיאני והו אדי ימינני והו א חאכם
 3 עליי והו א מו² פ² תצל בי ואנני לם אכרוג 4 ען שי מן אדי אמר בהי פאנצרף ענא 5 ואדהב כמא קא
 ויגער הי בך השטן 6 הבוחר בירושלים • לאו גמיענא מתפקין 7 עלא ייחוד שמו של היקביהי
 ועלא אמתתא 8 אואמרהי כמא קא אנן וילכו שניהם 9 יחדיו ליחד שמו •

²⁵ האש MS : (corrected on the basis of Gen. 22.7) באש

²⁶ זה לעקד וזה ליעקד MS : (corrected on the basis of *Genesis Rabbah* 51.4) זה לעקד וזה ליעקד

²⁷ לאנני לאמך MS : לאנני לך לאמך

Isaac his son” (Gen. 22.5). And Yiṣḥāq said to his father, “O Father, of what use is the fat without bread?” as it is said, “*Behold the fire and the wood; but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering?*” (Gen. 22.7). Abraham said to him, “*God will provide Himself the lamb for a burnt-offering, my son* (Gen. 22.8), O Yiṣḥāq, you are the *lamb for the burnt offering* of the gratifying communion.” *Yiṣḥāq accepted it* and went off with *a heart at peace*, as it is said, “*So they went both of them together* (Gen. 22.8), one to bind and the other to be bound” (Genesis Rabbah 51.4).

Then, Satan turned against them, against the sincere and obedient intention of the Creator’s command MHBE. He wanted to *confuse them*, and appeared in the image of an elder ^{7a} of glorious majesty and a handsome face. He came and stood before Abraham, and said to him, “O sheikh, you have become old, and you have lost your mind! How can you take an only child, an exceptional, precious and healthy creature such as that handsome and beloved young boy, and kill and execute him? That is not the will of your creator, but rather Shaytān who is deceiving you!” Abraham replied and said to him, “Go away, leave! For I am *Lamk*,²⁸ I do not hear. As for the command of my creator, I will not abstain,” as it is said, “*The LORD rebuke thee, O Satan*” (Zech. 3.2).²⁹

So he left him and came to Yiṣḥāq, and appeared before him in the image of a handsome, good-looking young man, and said to him, “O little boy, verily your father was a wise man, who has but lost his mind. Thus you must also have some sense! Why did your father foolishly agree to murder you for no reason?” Yiṣḥāq replied, saying, “You fool, approaching me and disregarding me with your misleading and ^{7b} ignorant speech. Is Allāh not the one Who created me and gave me life, and the one Who will take it from me? He Who is my ruler, He Who dimensions me? I have abandoned but nothing of what he has commanded me. So go away, leave us!” as it is said, “*The LORD rebuke thee, O Satan, yea, (the LORD) that hath chosen Jerusalem*” (Zech. 3.2). If we all can agree on the oneness of the Holy One’s name, blessed be He and on abiding His commands, as the Scriptures read, “*And they went both of them together*” (Gen 22.6), to make His name unique.”

²⁸ Arabic Lamk, in Biblical tradition known as Lamech.

²⁹ The part of the MS where Satan tries to prevent Abraham from offering Isaac, is attested in *Sefer ha-Yashar*:44b-45a.

פלמא נטר א שטן ¹⁰ אנהו ליס יקדר יכאדע אברהם ולא יצחק ¹¹ פתרכהום ומצא אא ענד
 שרה וקא להא ¹² איס תעלמי אן אברהם קד ז'הב עקלהו ¹³ ו'...? דם ואכד יצחק ולדך דבחהו וקרבהו
¹⁴ עלא א מזבח וכאנת א סת שרה עליהא ¹⁵ אסלאם משגופה בחוב יצחק אא גאית ¹⁶ מא יכון ³⁰ וא
 נסואן ליס עקולהון בנסבת ¹⁷ עקול א רגא פלמא סמעת א סת שרה ¹⁸ א כלאם א שטן אתצרכת
 אעצאהא ואנחלת ² פראיסהא ואנפטרת וכרגת רוחהא ומאתת ³ ולדלך יקול פי מא בעד **ויבא**
אברהם לספוד ⁴ לשרה ולבכותה • קאו זכרם לברכה ⁵ **מהיכאן בא מהר המוריה בא** •
 וכאן אברהם ⁶ **עיה' למא קא להו א חק תע' קח נא את בנך ⁷ את יחידיך** וכאנת שרה
 מעלקת א קלב ⁸ ביצחק פבקא אברהם מתחייר כיף יכון ⁹ אכדהו מנהא פקא להא אעלמי אין ולדך
¹⁰ צאר עומרהו סבעה ותלאתין עאם ולם ¹¹ יעלם **דרך העבודה** כיף היא נאכודהו ¹² ונמצי אא **הר**
המוריה נקרב קודאמהו ¹³ ונעלמהו **דרך העבודה** פאכדהו מנהא ¹⁴ בגיר רצאהא וראחו והי כאשיה
 עליה מן ¹⁵ עוארץ א טריק פענד מא גא א שטן ¹⁶ קא להא אן אברהם קרבהו **על גבי המזב? בת?** ¹⁷
 חיניד ³¹ דארכהא א מות ועלא לסאנהא ¹⁸ קא א נבי עליה א סלאם **נפשי יצאה ² בדברו ³²** •
 פלמא וצלו אמכאן כמא קא ³ **ויבואו א המקום אשר אמר לו האלהם ⁴ ויבן שם אברהם**
את המזבח בהא א ⁵ תעריף ליעלמנא אן כאן הנאך **מזבח ⁶ ואנהדם** והו א **מזבח** אדי קרבו עליה ⁷
קין והבל ונח ובניו כמא קא **את המזבח ⁸ שהקריבו בו הראשונים** פכאן אברהם ⁹ **עיה' יחוול** להו
 א חגארה אברהם כאנהו ¹⁰ יבני

³⁰ אא גאית מא יכון : MS אאגאית מא יכון

³¹ חיניד : MS חיניד

³² **נפשי יצאה בדברו** : MS (corrected on the basis of Song 5.6) **נפשי יצאה בדרכו**

When Satan saw that he was not able to deceive neither Abraham nor Yiṣḥāq, he left them and proceeded to Sarah and said to her, “Are you not aware that Abraham lost his mind, took your son Yiṣḥāq, killed him and sacrificed him on an altar?” Lady Sarah, peace be upon her, had a passionate love for Yiṣḥāq to the utmost and women’s intellects do not equal that of men. So when Lady Sarah heard the words of Satan, her organs parted and she lost her mind. Her soul broke apart and perished, and she died.³³ Therefore, it is later said, “*and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her*” (Gen. 23.2). They have said, *may their memory be blessed*, “In fact he came from Mount Moriah” (Genesis Rabbah 58.5).³⁴

At the time when the Truth *MHBE* said, “*Take now thy son, thine only son,*” Sarah had been heart-dependant on Yiṣḥāq. So Abraham was uncertain about how to take him away from her. He said to her, “Know this, that your son has become thirty seven years of age, and has not learned about the *way of service* and how it is conducted. I will take him and proceed to *Mount Moriah*, sacrifice before Him and teach him the *way of service*.”³⁵ So he took him from her against her will and went off. She worried for him and for the obstacles in his path. So when Satan came and said to her, “Abraham has sacrificed him *on the altar*,” death overtook her and her tongue ascended.³⁶ The prophet, peace upon him, has said, “*My soul failed me when he spoke*” (Song 5.6).

Then they arrived to the place, as it is said, “*And they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham built the altar there*” (Gen. 22.9). And in this lies the instruction to inform us that *an altar* was [placed] there and [subsequently] torn down. It is the *altar* whereon *Cain, Abel, Noah and his sons* made sacrifice,³⁶ as it is said, “*The altar whereon the first ones [of old] had sacrificed*.”³⁷ Abraham *PBUH* was moving stones (?) as if building a

³³ For the conversation between Satan and Sarah see *Sefer ha-Yashar*:46b-47a or Ka‘b al-Aḥbār’s account of the conversation, related by him to Abū Hurayrah (in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* i:265f.). Note that Sarah’s death is in this manuscript a result of grief, whereas *Sefer ha-Yashar* holds that it came at a later stage and rather as a result of ecstatic joy.

³⁴ A similar passage appears in the Midrash Tanhuma: *Vayeira* 23.

³⁵ See *Sefer ha-Yashar*:44a.

³⁶ See *P.R.E.* 31:57.

³⁷ See *P.R.E.* 31:57. The passage also resembles that of Naḥmanides’ commentary on Gen. 22.2, on the use of המזבח ‘the altar’, reading הוא המזבח שהקריבו בו הראשונים ‘the altar whereon the first ones [of old] had sacrificed’ (see

https://he.wikisource.org/wiki/%D7%A8%D7%9E%D7%91%D7%9F_%D7%A2%D7%9C_%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%AA_%D7%9B%D7%91 (accessed January 2016).

בית לערס ולדהו ויצחק ע'ה' צאר 11 פרחאן כאנהו יבני בית ערסהי ופי דלך 12 א מכאן א מועיין
 בוני בית המקדש כמא³⁸ קא א נץ וייבן שלמה את הבית בהר 14 המוריה • ויערוך את
 העצים ויעקוד את 15 יצחק בנו קא יצחק לאביה יא אבי ארבוטני 16 גייד וכתפני מליח לילא מן
 הול א סכין 17 וא מות ושדת מוכאפתייהי ותכבט פי 9 א 1 ידאך ונציר נזלזל ברבוב אבי אן מן קוות 2
 חרארת א סכין ותצרב ותכרוג א דבאחה 3 ג'יר מעולה ונפסל לקרבן תום קא להו 4 יצחק יא אבי
 אמי שרה צאמת עליי א ליל 5 וא נהרא חתא נטרתיני פיד אלה עליך יא 6 ואדי כוד קליל מן רמאדי
 פי צורה וודיהא 7 להא לעל אנהא תבקא תסתשקהא ותשם 8 ראיחתי ותתזכרני ותתסלא עני ויא
 אבי 9 אדא עררתהא במותי לא תערפהא והי 10 ואקפה עלא סטח ולא ענד ביר לילה תרמי 11 רוחהא
 מנהו ותמות

תום בעד דלך געל 12 אברהם א חטב עלא א מזבח ואכד יצח²ק² 13 ולדהו חביבת לבהו עזיז
 נפסהו ורבט 14 ידאה ורגלאה וכתפהו ווצעו עלא א 15 חטב ומד ידהו א ימין ואכד א סכין 16
 ועינאן³⁹ יצחק תהטול בא דמיע ובכו בוכא 17 סדיד⁴⁰ ופרח באנטיאעהום לאמר כ'אקהום 9 ב 1 ותלך
 אדמוע אדי הטלת עלא א מזבח 2 כאנהא מחפוזה מכתובה בין ידיה תע' 3 יתזכרהא אחק תע' פי
 כול וקת תוערין 4 אעמאנא בין ידאה כמא קא א נבי שימה 5 דמעתי ב'ה'ב' 41 וא חק תע' יתרומם
 ויתעלה 6 ינטור א אב עוקד וא בן נעקד בכל לב 7 ובכל נפש

ומלאכי השרת צועקים ובוכים 8 וקאו בין ידיה תע' יארבון עולמים אסמך 9 רחום וחנון

³⁸ כמא : MS כמא כמא

³⁹ Corrected duplication : ועינאן² ועינאן

⁴⁰ MS סרור

⁴¹ This is most probably an abbreviation of the part of Ps. 56.8, reading: **בנאדך הלא בספרתך** 'into Thy bottle; Are they not in Thy book?'

house for a wedding of his son. And Yiṣḥāq *PBUH* became delighted as if he was building a house for his wedding. The *Holy Temple* was built in that particular place, as the Scriptures reads, “*Shlomo built the Temple on Mount Moriah,*⁴² and [Abraham] *laid the wood in order, and bound Isaac his son*” (Gen. 22.9). Yiṣḥāq said to his father, “Tie me well and bind me firmly, lest the dread of the knife and of death, and the intense fear of death, ^{9a} as your hand strikes, and [thereby] I start trembling. By the divinity of my father! Verily, lest you strike and *the sacrifice will have become forsaken.*”⁴³ Then Yiṣḥāq said to him, “O father, my mother Sarah fasted for from me, day and night, until she saw me in the hands of Allāh. You must, o father of mine, take some of my ashes in a shape and give it to her. It might still give her hope, when she can still smell my scent; when she can still remember me and find peace. O father of mine, if you have dishonoured her by my death, do not let her know when standing on the terrace or by a well, lest she throws herself into it and dies.”

Then, Abraham laid the wood in order on the altar. He took his beloved and precious son Yiṣḥāq, tied his hands, legs and shoulders and laid him on the wood. He stretched out his right hand, took the knife. Tears were pouring from Yiṣḥāq’s eyes, and he wept bitterly, while he rejoiced given their obedience to their creator. The tears fell on the altar as if observed and destined before Him MHBE. The Truth MHBE remembers them every time our deeds are demonstrated before Him, as the prophet said, “*Put Thou my tears into Thy bottle; Are they not in Thy book?*” (Ps. 56.8). The Truth MHBE, *Adored and Exalted [be He]* [was] beholding the father binding *whole-heartedly* and the son bound *whole-heartedly* (*P.R.E.* 31:58) and *with all [his] soul*.

And the ministering angels cried aloud and wept, and said before Him *PBUH*, “O Sovereign of the Universe! Your name is gracious, and full of compassion,⁴⁴ and Your tender

⁴² See 2 Chron. 3.1. The passage resembles that of Ibn Ezra’s commentary on Gen. 22.2, on the use of אחד ההרים ‘one of the mountains’, reading "בהר המוריה את הבית" ויבן שלמה את הבית "בהר המוריה" (see https://he.wikisource.org/wiki/%D7%90%D7%91%D7%9F_%D7%A2%D7%96%D7%A8%D7%90_%D7%A2%D7%9C_%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%AA_%D7%9B%D7%91 (accessed January 2016).

⁴³ See *Sefer ha-Yashar*:45b.

⁴⁴ See Ps. 145.8.

ורחמך על כל מעשיך וצדקאתך ¹⁰ עטימה מתל א גבל א מורתפעה כמא ¹¹ קא צדקתך כהררי א פארחם יצחק יא ¹² רבון העולמים לאנהו⁴⁵ אדם ונעקד לפניך ¹³ כבהמה כמא קא אדם ובהמה תושיע ה' ¹⁴ פלמא וצלת א סכין אא ענד יצחק כרגת ¹⁵ נפסוהו א מוכרמה מן כוברת א פזע ¹⁶ וענד מא סמע כטאב א בארי תע' לאבר²הם¹⁷ והו יקול להו א תשלח ידך א הנער וא ת'עשה² ¹⁰ א ¹ לו מאומה פרגעת נפסוהו איה ואנחלת ² תכאתיפהו ווקף⁴⁶ עלא רגלאיה ועלם יצחק ³ עיה' אן מצירהו תע' יחיי אאמואת כדלך ⁴ ואפתתח וקא ה' ממית ומחיה ובארך ⁵ וקא ברוך אתה ה' מחיה המתים • פא ⁶ נאטר ינטור וא מועתבר יעתבר וא עאקל ⁷ יתעלק ויגול בפכרהי ויתטלע לעטמת א ⁸ אשיא א מקצורה מן א אנסאן פי עבאדת ⁹ אלה תע' ולאי חד יבלוג אדי יריד יכון ¹⁰ מוחב ללה תע' חק א מחבה

וימתתל ¹¹ קולהו תע' ואהבת את ה' אלהך פאן לו וצל ¹² א אנסאן פי אבלג חד יכון לם ימכן אנהו ¹³ יצל לדרגת אברהם ויצחק אבדא מן כאן ¹⁴ יקף יצלו בין ידין אלה תע' ויקול מא תתן ¹⁵ לי ואנוכי הולך ערירים וקא איצא הן לי ¹⁶ לא נתתה זרע אחק תע' יקול להו הבט ¹⁷ נא השמימה וספור הכוכבים וגו וקא ¹⁰ ב ¹ להו איצא לזרעך נתתי את הארץ הזאת וגו ² וקא להו איצא שרה אשתך יולדת בן והקימותי ³ את בריתי אתו וגו

ורזקהו להו תע' והו טאען ⁴ פי א סן אבן מאית סנה וקא להו כי ביצחק ⁵ יקרא לך זרע וכאן ענדהו עזיז חביב ⁶ לביב יכאף עליה מן עין תנטורהו תום ⁷ יאכודהו ירוץ תחתהו א חטב ויכתפהו ⁸ ויוצעהו עלא א חטב וימד ידהו ויאכוד ⁹ א סכין לידבחהו וכדלך יצחק איצא שאב ¹⁰ עומררהו סבעה ותלאתין סנה והו פי קוות ¹¹ שבובייתהי ואבתדא אקבא זמאנהי ¹² ימד עונקהו

⁴⁵ לאנהו : MS לטנהו
⁴⁶ ווקף : MS וותף

mercies are *over all Your works*.⁴⁷ Your great alms are like an elevated mountain as it is said, “*Thy righteousness is like the mighty mountains*” (Ps. 36.7).⁴⁸ Have mercy upon Yiṣḥāq, O *Sovereign of the Universe!* For he is a *human being, and is bound before Thee like an animal*,⁴⁹ as it is said, “*Man and beast Thou preservest, O LORD*” (Ps. 36.7). When the knife touched Yiṣḥāq’s neck, his blessed soul departed out of great fear. But when he heard the Creator’s MHBE message to Abraham saying, “*Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing* ^{10a} *unto him*” (Gen. 22.12), his soul returned, the ropes were dissolved and he stood up on his feet. And Yiṣḥāq PBUH knew that in this manner, He will revive the dead MHBE. He opened (his mouth) and said, “*The LORD killeth, and maketh alive etc.*” (1 Sam. 2.6). And he blessed and said, “*Blessed are You, Lord, giver of life to the dead!* For the Seeing sees; the Honourable honours; the Understanding is devoted and committed in his mind; He watches over the majesty of Man’s modesty (?) in worshipping of Allāh MHBE; over anyone who strives; over he who wants to be a lover of Allāh MHBE, the Truth of Love.”

His words MHBE take as example, *And thou shalt love the LORD thy G-d* (Deut. 6.5). Had Man reached his outmost, he had never reached the level of Abraham and Yiṣḥāq. He went and (?) brought himself before Allāh MHBE, saying, “*What wilt Thou give me, seeing I go hence childless*” (Gen. 15.2), said also, “*Behold, to me Thou hast given no seed*” (Gen. 15.3), whereupon the Truth MHBE said, “*Look now toward heaven, and count the stars, etc.*” (Gen. 15.5). ^{10b} He added that, “*Unto thy seed have I given this land, etc.*” (Gen. 15.18), and said to him, “*Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son; [...] and I will establish My covenant with him, etc.*” (Gen.17.19).

He blessed him MHBE when he was still an elderly man, one hundred years old, and said to him, “*For in Isaac shall seed be called to thee*” (Gen. 21.12). For he was dear, beloved and sensible to him; he fears for him, from [but] an eye looking at him. So he takes him. And he lays the wood under him. And he binds him and places him onto the wood. He stretches out his hand and takes the knife to slaughter him. Yiṣḥāq is but a young man, thirty seven years old at the peak of his youth, and his time was starting to approach. He stretches out his neck

⁴⁷ See Ps. 145.9.

⁴⁸ See *P.R.E.* 31:58.

⁴⁹ See *P.R.E.* 31:58.

ללדבח וכלאה ומא טאיעין 13 ללה עז וגל ברגולייאתהום⁵⁰ סארין פרחין 14 ליס ענדהום פי זלך
 תאתיר ולא מראדדה 15 ולא מכאבה ולא מומאנעה
 פכול מן 16 יקול אנהו יריד יעבד אלה תע' במחבת 17 פיעתבר זלך זלך ויעתמדהו אדי לו
 1 א11 כולף שכץ מנא בעטיית נצר מאלהו 2 ללה תע' או יכתלף בבוטאת בעץ 3 זמאנהי או בשקא
 גסמהי פי מחבתהי 4 תע' מן גיר אנהו יביח נפסהו וולדהו לל 5 קתל פלקד כאן יצגור ויתקלם מע
 עלמהו 6 אן אחוא הדא א וגוד זור ובאטל וליס 7 לל אנסאן פיה מא ולא ולד ולא דואם פמן 8 אראד
 יציר להו שי מו'כ'לד פי דאר א 9 אכרה פיודעהו ענד אלה תע'
 הודא ננטור 10 אד סמע⁵¹ א אנסאן בחרוב ופתן וורוד 11 עדו וחר'ב'ה תתפק פיהום אנהו
 יכבי 12 מאהו תחת א ארץ ופי מטאמיה וכבאיא 13 והו לא יעלם הל תכלץ נפסהו ו'י'עדם 14 א מא
 או הל יקתל ויציר א מא מוכבא 15 מותזכר למן לא כאן יריד אנהו יתברם 16 עליה מנהו בדרהם
 פרב פי חיאתהי 17 פאזי יכבי מן מאהי שי ענד אלה תע' 11ב1 וידעהו ענדהו פמצמון להו אנהו יציר
 מוכבא 2 להו ולנסלהו אא א אבד ולהו אן יתשבה 3 באברהם אבינו ע'יה' אדי קרב ולדהו ללה 4 תע'
 וצאר להו ענדהו 'ב'כ'ירה פי קרב א שכץ 5 מנא א מא עוץ אולד ובאג פי מוחבתהו 6 תע' פי חצל
 להו א כיר א דאים דו כתב פי 7 ספר א חיאה ויציר קריב מן אלה תע' •
 לאן 8 אברהם אבינו ע'יה' ענד מא נאדאה א מלאך 9 מן א שמים וקא להו א תשלח ידך א
 הנער 10 קא אברהם מן הו אנת קא להו אנא מלאך 11 ה' קא להו אברהם אעלם אן אחק תע'
 בדאתהי 12 א מועטמה הו אדי קא לי קת נא את בנך 13 פכמתל מא אמרני פי תקריבהי כולך 14
 נרידהו הו אדי ינהיני ען זלך חתא נמתנע 15 ען תקריבהי חיניד⁵² ויקרא מלאך ה' א אברהם 16
 שנית מן ה שמים לכננהו לם רצי יקבל 17 מן אאוול תום אן אחק

⁵⁰ ברגולייאתהום : MS ברולייאתהום

⁵¹ אד סמע : MS אד'ס' סמע

⁵² חיניד : MS חיגיד

for the slaughtering and let[s Abraham make the sacrifice]. As long as they obey Allāh, Almighty and Exalted in all their manhood, they will be happy and with content. They have in this neither influence, nor prevention or disappointment, nor have they anything against it.

For anyone who says that he wants to worship Allāh MHBE with love, he must consider that as such; he must depend on it—that which someone among us opposes—in granting him with a gift of wealth (?) to Allāh MHBE. Either this, or he will dispute the bravery of some of his contemporaries or his body's suffering in his love for Him MHBE, without allowing himself and his son to be killed. Then he will be curtailed (?) with his knowledge. The conditions of that generosity were false and void, and were not made for mankind. Here was wealth, but no child and no abiding. For he who wants to make for himself something eternal in Paradise, let him leave it with Allāh MHBE.

Indeed we will see then; People have heard of wars, civil strife and the arriving of an enemy and [the following] battle [with him]. During these [wars] you will reach an agreement with them; that he will hide his wealth beneath the ground in loose soil and hidden. He does not know whether his soul will be redeemed and wealth disappear, or whether he will be killed, and the wealth will become hidden, and [the wealth] remembered only by he who did not want to be bothered [even] with a *dirham*. For *he* is a Lord in my life! For the one who hides from his wealth something belonging to Allāh MHBE ^{11b} and calls for it, it is guaranteed that it will be hidden from him and his offspring for eternity. One must imitate Father Abraham *PBUH*, who sacrificed his son to Allāh MHBE. For it came upon him *a first-born son*; in a sacrifice of a person among us, the wealth is the compensation for the child. And he attained His love MHBE; he attained an eternal blessing, of which is written in the Book of Life, “And he will come close to Allāh MHBE.”

Because when the angel was calling unto him out of *heaven*, saying, “*Lay not thy hand upon the lad* (Gen 22.12),” father Abraham *PBUH* said, “Who are you?” He replied and said, “I am the angel of *the Lord*.” Abraham said to him, “You know that it was the Truth in His glorified Self MHBE Who said, ‘*Take now thy son*’ (Gen. 22.2). The way that He commanded me to sacrifice him, thus is my will, He is [also] the one Who prevents me from this, so that I abstain from sacrificing him.” *And the angel of the LORD called unto Abraham a second time out of heaven* (Gen. 22.15), but he was not content with the first [one's command]. So the Truth

תע' תכלא בדאתהי 12 א 1 א מועטמה ופתח להו אבואב א סמא ושק 2 א ערפל ותראיא להו בנורהי א מעטם וקא 3 להו יא אברהם בי נשבעתי נאם הי' כי יען 4 אשר עשית את הדבר הזה וגו כי ברך 5 אברכך וגו והזה א נבואה כאנת אעלא 6 דרגא וצל אליהא אברהם פי א נבואה תום 7 קא אברהם בין ידיה תע' יא רבון העולמים 8 אאנסאן ימתחן רפיקהו לכונהו לם יעלם 9 אדי פי קלבהי ואמא פאנך מוטלע עלא 10 א אסראר עאם מא פי א צמאיר וא 11 אפכאר ותעלם גמיע אדי פי קלבי מן גיר 12 אן תמתחנני קא להו יא אברהם כי עתה 13 ידעתי כי ירא אלהם אתה ולם פעלת 14 דלך אא חתא נערף גמיע א אמם אא 15 א חד אדי בלגתהו אנא מן א מחבה ויתבת 16 ענדהום צחת א נבואה כמא קא כי עתה 17 ידעתי כי ירא א אלהם אתה לכל באי העולם 12 ב 1 והודא א איל כלקתהו לך מששת ימי בראשית 2 בין ה שמשות ויכון פדו ען ולדך יצחק פכודהו 3 קרבהו ואנא אחסב לך פאנך קרבת יצחק • 4 ופי כול סנה מתל הדא א נהאר והו יום 5 ראש השנה א פציל ענד אפתקאדי א'ע'מא 6 א עבאד אתלזכר לאולאדך ישרא זכות 7 הדיה א עקידה ונחסב להום כאנהום ואקפין 8 יעקדו עצמן לפני •

פרפע אברהם עיניה 9 ווגד א איל משתבך בין א אשגאר קאו 10 זכרם לברכה אן א איל כאן גארי גאי יתקרב 11 עוץ יצחק פוקף א שטן עארצוהו פי א 12 טריק חתא יבטל קרבן יצחק כבתתניה 13 הו ען א טריק תשבכת קרונהו בין א אשגאר 14 וקף אכדהו אברהם וקרבהו לעולה תחת 15 בנו • וקאו זכרם לברכה אן דלך א איל 16 לם יכרוג מן גומלת גסדהו שי לבטלה 17 רמאדהו פהו יסוד המזבח הפנימי גידיו 13 א 1 עומל מנהום עשרה נבלים של כנור אדי כאן 2 דוד ינגן בהם ומצירהום ינגנו בו במקדש 3 לימות המלך המשיח כקולהי בנבל עשור 4 זמרו לו •

MHBE withdrew His glorified ^{12a} Self, opened the doors of Heaven for him, split the fog and appeared before him with His glorified light. He said to him, “O Abraham, *by Myself have I sworn, saith the LORD, because thou hast done this thing, etc.* (Gen. 22.16), *that in blessing I will bless thee, etc.*” (Gen. 22.17). And this prophethood was of the highest level of prophethood that Abraham attained. Abraham said before Him MHBE “O *Sovereign of the Universe!* Man puts his companion to the test because he does not know that which is in his heart. And concerning you. You are acquainted with secrets, a master of consciences and thoughts, and You know all that is in my heart, [even] without putting me to the test.” He replied, saying, “O Abraham, *for now I know that thou art a God-fearing man* (Gen. 22.12). I did it but out of love, and, to the extent that I did, only in order to know of all of people.” As it is said, “*For now I know that thou art an God-fearing man for all mankind,*”⁵³ ^{12b} And the ram that I created for you in the six days of Creation at the twilight, will be a compensation for your son Yiṣḥāq.⁵⁴ So take it and sacrifice it, and I will value you as if you sacrificed Yiṣḥāq. And every year on this day, which is the virtuous day of *Rosh Hashana*, when I evaluate the deeds of mankind, I remind your children, Israel, about the good deed of this binding. I will value them as if standing *before Me and binding themselves*.

And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and found the *ram* caught up in between the trees”⁵⁵. They have said, *may their memory be blessed*, that the *ram* ran and came to be offered up instead of Yiṣḥāq.⁵⁶ Satan caught hold of his offering in the pathway, so that the sacrifice of Yiṣḥāq would become void, as in a repetition (?). And in the pathway, he entangled its horns in between the trees.⁵⁷ And Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up *for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son* (Gen. 22.13). They have said, *may their memory be blessed*, that from that *ram*, nothing came forth which was useless. Its ashes were the *foundation of the inner altar*, ^{13a} *and ten harp strings were made from its sinews, whereupon David played.*⁵⁸ And its intestines *will be played upon in the Temple for Messianic times as it is said*, “*Sing praises unto Him with the psaltery of ten strings*” (Ps. 33.2).

⁵³ The statement, with the exception of the last part, **לכל באי העולם** ‘for all mankind’, resembles that of Gen. 22.12.

⁵⁴ See *P.R.E.* 31:58.

⁵⁵ See Gen. 22.13.

⁵⁶ See *P.R.E.* 31:58.

⁵⁷ A similar version of the incident with Satan and Abraham can be found in *Sefer ha-Yashar*:46b.

⁵⁸ See *P.R.E.* 31:58.

עורו של איל הו א אזור אדי 5 לאיאן זכרו לשוב קרנהו א יסאר הו אדי 6 תקע בהי א חק תע' וקת מעמד הר סיני 7 כקולהו וקול שופר חזת מאוד וקרנהו א 8 ימין אדי אכבר מן א יסאר מצירהו תע' 9 יתקרב בהי לעתיד לבוא וגמע בהי נפוצי 10 ישראל מן ארבע גיהאת א עאם ויגו 11 ויסגדו ללה תע' פי ירושלים כמתל מא 12 אועד א חק תע' וקא והיה ביום ההוא יתקע 13 בשופר גדול לאן א השתחוויה לנא 14 בהא אגד עטים ענד אלה תע' וליס יכלץ 15 א חק תע' ישראל מן א גלות אא בסבבהו 16 וליס כולצו ישראל מן מצר אא בזכות א 17 השתחוויה כקולהי ויאמן העם וישמעו כי 18 פקד ה' ובית המקדש נפסהו ליס כולק 2 אא לל השתחוויה בקו רוממו ה' אלהם 3 השתחוו להר קדשו

ואברהם עיה' למ רגע 4 מן הר המוריה וצוחבתהו יצחק אא 5 בזכות א השתחוויה כמא קא ונשתחווה 6 ונשובה איכם פרגע איהום הו ויצחק 7 ולדהו בפרח וסרור לכון א חק תע' 8 רצה קורבנהו ופדה יצחק בנו כמא קא 9 וישב אברהם א נעריו • וקד ערפנא 10 א חק תע' אן בזכות אברהים אדי מצא 11 חן לפניו במדבר ובהר המוריה וכלץ 12 יצחק בנו מן החרב ומן השרפה כולך 13 יכלצנא נחן ישראל אולאדהו מחרב חבלי 14 המשיח ומחרב מלחמת גוג ומגוג 15 ונכרוג מנהו שדידין ויהדא מענא ויסתקר 16 • כאטרנא • פהו תע' למען שמו הנכבד והנורא 1 א 14 א א נאזר בגבורה יקרב דלך גמיעהו פי 2 איאמנא ויורינא א משיח עיאנא ויגמענא 3 אא בלאדנא וירוף עלינא וירחמנא ויכתר 4 אעראדנא וישמל ענאיתהו בנא ויתבת 5 ועדהו לנא כמא קא ופניתי איכם • 6 וילהמנא אא

The ram's skin [was] the loincloth belonging to *Eliyān*,⁵⁹ may he be remembered for good. Its left horn [was the one] within the Truth MHBE blew upon Mount Sinai,⁶⁰ as it is said, “*And the voice of a horn exceeding loud*” (Exod. 19.16). The right horn, which is larger than the left, is destined [by Him] MHBE to arrive in the future to come, and collect the scattered people of Israel *from the four corners of the earth, etc.* (Isa. 11.12), and to prostrate before Allāh MHBE in Jerusalem, as the Truth MHBE has promised, saying, “*And it shall come to pass in that day, That a great horn shall be blown*” (Isa. 27.13). Because in our prostration is a great reward with Allāh MHBE. For the Truth MHBE will only redeem Israel from the diaspora but on account of himself. And Israel were only saved from Egypt but by virtue of prostration, as it is said, “*And the people believed; and when they heard that the LORD had remembered*” (Exod. 4.31). And the Temple itself was created only through the merit of prostration.⁶¹ It is said, “*Exalt ye LORD, And worship at His holy hill*” (Ps. 99.9).⁶²

Abraham PBUH returned from Mount Moriah with Yiṣḥāq, only but through the merit of prostration, as it is said, “*And we will worship, and come back to you*” (Gen. 22.5). Then he and his son Yiṣḥāq came back to them with pleasure and joy over the Truth's existence MHBE. He was pleased with the offering and sacrifice of his son Yiṣḥāq. As it is said, “*So Abraham returned unto his young men*” (Gen. 22.19).

The Truth MHBE has taught us that from Abraham's good deed, before whom He found grace in the wilderness and on Mount Moriah, his son Yiṣḥāq was saved from the sword and from the fire. In the same way, we will be saved, our children Israel, from *the swords of the birthpangs of the Messiah, and of the swords of the War of Gog and Magog.* And from this war, we will drive out the bad, and they will be guided on the right way, together with us, and our mind will be at ease. And [therefore], for the sake of His honourable and awesome name, *girded about with might*, (Ps. 65.7) He will sacrifice it all in our days, and makes the Messiah appear before us. And He will gather us into our land and suddenly appear before us, have mercy with us, honour us and enfold us in His providence. And He affirms his promise to us, as it is said, “*And I will have respect unto you*” (Lev. 26.9). And He will inspire us to

⁵⁹ Arabic (?) Eliyān, in Biblical tradition known as Elijah.

⁶⁰ See P.R.E. 31:58.

⁶¹ See P.R.E. 31:59.

⁶² On prostration (*השתחוויה*) and its great reward with God, see *Genesis Rabbah* 56.2.

טאעטהי וידלנא אא 7 הדאיתהי וירשודנא אא שריעתהי בחית 8 תציר מחבתהו פינא לכי נציר
 גמיענא 9 עארפין בכאקנא כבירנא וצגירנא 10 ויגפור דנובנא וימ²ס²י אוזארנא ויקלב 11 לנא א חק
 תע' א אתראח אא סרור 12 ואפראח ויעזי קלוב באפתנא במגי 13 א משיח א גוא ובנין האריא
 ויקבץ 14 נפוצות יאודה וישראל ויתבת מא ועדהו 15 לנא קאילן • 16 הנה אנוכי שולח לכם 17 את
 איאן הנביא 14ב 1 לפני בא יאם ה' 2 הגדול והנורא 3 והשיב לב 4 אבות 5 על 6 בנים ולב בנים
 על 7 אבותם אמן •

8 וכן יהי רצון ונאמר אמן •

TRANSLATION

obey Him and point us to His right path, and guide us to His law, to where His love takes place in us, in order for all of us, young and old alike, to become aware of our Creator. He forgives our sins and makes lean our burdens. The Truth MHBE turns our sadness into joy and delight, and comforts the hearts in our illness in the coming of the Messiah, the Saviour, in the *building of the Ariel and in collecting of the scatters of Judah (?) and Israel*. He will reinforce what He has promised us, saying, *Behold, I will send you [Eliyān] the prophet before the coming of the great and terrible day of the LORD. And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers* (Mal. 3.23). Amen.

And thus shall be His will. Amen.

THE POEM OF ZAKARIYAH'S MURDER

1 א1 ה'הי קוצת א סייד 2 זכריה ע'ה' 3 בא כמא

- 1 אב1 אסמעו קולי אנא זכריה • רוחו ואבכו 2 עלייא • אבהאתכום בא עניה •
בתעמיד 3 קתלוני •
- 4 טלב קלבי פרחתכום • ורית א יום 5 פורקתכום • עמלו בי נקמתהום •
6 ומא רציו ירחמוני •
- 7 גית לכום בא נציחה • כאיף וקוע א 8 פציחה • באקוא צחיחה •
מא דומתו 9 תסמעוני •
- 10 ופי גמיע מא כונת אקול • מן רבי 11 אנא מרסול • ואנתו תרכתו א מעקול •
12 ומא קולתו תקבלוני •
- 13 לו סמעו אקואי • וקבלתו 14 אמתאי • כאן א אאה א עאי •
15 ירחם א עא וא דוני •

- 1 א2 קולת אנא נבי מסכין • וגית לכום 2 בקלבן חזין • קומתו לי בא סכאכין •
3 ופי קלבי טענתוני •
- 4 יא הל תרא איש כאן דנבי • למא טענתוני 5 פי קלבי • פיכום רבי חס בי •
6 מתל 6 מא צלמתוני •
- 7 פאתנבית בקול אלה • עסא ירצא 8 עליכום אלה • פכאפתו קול אלה •
9 וקומתו לי קתלתוני •
- 10 אא תצליחו פי דל איאם • תרכתו כאק 11 א אנאס • ועבדתו א אצנאם •
12 ולא 12 קולתו תתבעוני •
- 13 למא גית ונצחתכום • איאך עסא 14 נצלחכום • ענד מא אדבתכום •
15 קומתו לי טענתוני •

1a 1 This is the complete story of Sayyid Zakariyah, peace be upon him (PBUH)

1b 1 Hear my voice, I am Zakariyah. Mourn and weep for me. Your forefathers are in distress. // Deliberately (?) they killed me.

4 My heart pleaded your joy. Today I saw your diversity. They took their revenge out on me, // and would not show me mercy.

7 I came to you with guidance, fearing that a disaster would occur. In truthful words, // while you listen to me.

10 And to all what I have said. From my Lord I am sent. You renounced the reasonable, // and did not say you approved of me.

13 If you had heard my words and accepted my lessons, the Exalted Ilāh, // would have forgiven the oppressor and the oppressed.

2a 1 I said, "I am a poor prophet" and came with a saddened heart. You attacked me with knives, // and in my heart you stabbed me.

4 I wonder, what was my sin? When you stabbed me in my heart, my Lord felt *me* within *you*, // in the way which you falsely accused me.

7 For I told prophecies with the Voice of Allāh. He could have approved of you. But you disobeyed Allāh's Word, // turned against me and killed me.

10 Did you not make amends (?) during those days? You abandoned the Creator of mankind and worshipped idols. // you did not say, "Follow me."

13 When I came and guided you, I was hoping to give you guidance. When I taught you morale, // you attacked me and stabbed me.

- 1 כב 1 אתגמעו עלא קתלי • ומא עמלו 2 פי חד מתלי • אסתהזו בפעלי •
 3 ובעדהא גדפוני •
- 4 קאמו עלייא בגמעהום • ואודאני 5 תסמעהום • פי דמי מא אטמעהום •
 6 עלא וגהי סחבוני •
- 7 קולת להום איש דנבי • חתא יעדבני 8 רבי • אחסב כיר פי קלבי •
 9 והומא שר עאמלוני •
- 10 בקית אטלוב כירתהום • למא כפרת 11 אומתהום • צנעו בי נקמתהום •
 12 ברחמתהום רחמוני •
- 13 לא תגדרו בי יא קום • כליתו עטמ 14 כום • לאבד מא יגיכום יום •
 15 פיה 15 תבקו תדכרוני •
- 1 כ3 1 בקית קודאמהום מרמי • עלא א ארץ 2 מטרוח גסמי • אתלונת תובהום בדמי •
 3 יא ריתהום דפנוני •
- 4 כלאו דמי פאיר • מן גסמי בקא 5 סאיר • צאר א בדו עליהום גאיר •
 6 כמבהום גדרוני •
- 7 יא קום ארגעו ללה • וכאפו מן 8 כלאם אלה • אתת¹ עליכום אשרי •
 9 דמעיי פאצי מן גפוני •
- 10 למא ראית נכבתהום • ארדת אני 11 ונצחהום • חתא לא נרא חסרתהום •
 12 והומא שר גאזוני •
- 13 יא מא להום אתענית • כם מן וצייה 14 אוצית • מוראדי לו להום אשפית •
 15 לו יכון מן עיוני •

- 2b 1 They flocked together to murder me. They had never done to anyone what they did to me. They mocked my deeds, // and then they blasphemed me.
- 4 They attacked me, all of them, while my ears could hear them. In my blood was that which filled them with greed. // With my face down they dragged me along the ground.
- 7 I asked them, “What is my sin, so that my Lord tortures me? I value the good in my heart!” // But they did evil to me.
- 10 I kept seeking the good in them. When their nation became infidels, they made *me* their revenge. // With the mercy of theirs, they showed me mercy.
- 13 Do not betray me, o people! You have abandoned your eminence! Certainly, the day will come, // in which you still remember me.

- 3a 1 I lied before them, thrown on the ground, my body discarded. Their garment got stained with my blood. // O how I wish they had buried me.
- 4 They made my blood pump, and out of my body it ran. They did what they want with me (?). // Like an animal they betrayed me.
- 7 O people, come back to Allāh! Fear the Word of Allāh! Evil has come to you (?).
// My tear runs from my eyelid.
- 10 When I saw their disaster, I wanted to give them guidance, so that I do not see their shame. // But [with] evil they rewarded me.
- 13 O, how much I cared for them! How many directions and advice I gave! I wish I could heal them, // even if it was [on the expense] of my eyes.

- 1 ב3 אתנבית בכראב אל בית • ואל מקדש 2 אל חבית • וקולת להום באדי רית •
 3 ולם עאדו יצדקוני •
- 4 הום כלאפו מולאהום • רוסאהום 5 ואגלאהום • ומוסה קאל חין ראהום •
 6 קליל כמאן ירגמוני •
- 7 צאחת אל קודם יא אחבאבי • בעדכום 8 אל נוח דאבי • דאימא כאן פי חסאבי •
 9 הום אדי אכלוני •
- 10 קאלת ציון והי תנוח • באל אסיאף אל 11 ארואח תרוח • והלא אל נבי צאר מטרות •
 12 פאנכום אחזנתוני •
- 13 פי צחן בית אל מקדש • ואנא מרמי 14 מנדאס • צארו ינדבו אל נאס •
 15 ולם קדרו ישילוני •
- 1 א4 רוחנא אל עזרה ודעינא • איש דנבנא 2 חתא ארתמינא • וסכנו פיך אעדאנא •
 3 קום עשו אל מלעוני •
- 4 קאלת אל עזרה מא אוצעכום • יאמא אל 5 נבי נצחכום • נגסתוני בפעאילכום
 6 ען מא תטהרוני •
- 7 זכריה צאר פי אל חאראת • בכי עלא 8 אל מגאראת • ליש תחרקו אל תוראת •
 9 ומן אל מקדש תכרגוני •
- 10 אל חגארה חואלייא • עלא ראסי 11 ורגליא • ואזעק יא מואלייא •
 12 ולם רציו יסמעוני •
- 13 דבחו שבאב מע אטפאל • ודם אל נבי 14 מא זאל • ויקול יא רב לא תגפל •
 15 ען אדי ספכוני •

TRANSLATION

- 3b 1 I told prophecies about the destruction of the Temple and the Holiness that I held so dear. I told them what I had seen, // and still they would not believe me.
- 4 They disobeyed their master, their leaders and their distinguished ones. And Mūsā said, when he saw them, // “They are almost ready to stone me.”²
- 7 And the brave cried out, “O my beloved ones. After you, lamentation became my habit!” I was always prepared for it; // [prepared for] those who ate me.
- 10 The people of Zion said in lamentation, “By the sword, the souls will depart.” And this prophet was cast down. // For you saddened me.
- 13 In the open court of the Holy Temple, while I was thrown to the ground, the people started mourning, // and could not get me up.
-
- 4a 1 We went to the Temple court and called out, “What is our sin? We even lay prostrate. And our enemies dwelt inside you, // the cursed nation of Esau!”
- 4 The Temple court said, “What principles do you have? O how much the prophet guided you! You dirtied me with your actions, // instead of purifying me!”
- 7 Zakariyah came to the [town] quarters. He wept by the caves. Why do you burn down our the heritage, // and from the Holiness you throw me out?
- 10 The stones surrounds me, [hitting] my head and my legs. So I scream out, “O Master! // They did not want to listen to me!”
- 13 They slaughtered children and youth, while the prophet’s blood remained. He said, “O Lord, do not be unmindful, // of those who shed my blood!”

² Translation of the latter phrase is according to that of Exod. 17.4. See 6b:5-6 (below).

- 1 ב4 קתלו חבאה ומורצעת • והתכו אעראלן 2 א בנאת • יא מא גאהום נכבאת •
 3 יאריתהום אטאעוני •
 4 גא אל עדו אליהום • בחמלה הגם 5 עליהום • סורעה בכת עיניהום •
 6 כמא אנהום אבכוני •
 7 קאו ישראל כפרנא • וצלמנא 8 אנפוסנא • נחן אדי כאלפנא •
 9 כביר ועא ודוני •
 10 קא אל נבי והו ינוח • מנכום קלבי 11 מקרוח • כליתוני מטררוח •
 12 יא ריתכום דפנתוני •
 13 יהויאש מא ערף פצלי • וכאן פרחאן 14 פי קתלי • למן אשתכי דולי •
 15 ובאל קווה אקהרוני •
- 1 א5 לאגל דא יגי עליכום • זמן פיה 2 תקצר ידוכום • חין יגי אל עדו עליכום •
 3 ואנא מא תגדוני •
 4 יום מותי רפעת ראסי • לל ואחד 5 כאלק אנאסי • ליש יא רב אנקטע יאסי •
 6 וא אעדא צלמוני •
 7 אין אבי ינצורני • יגי אל יום יקבלני 8 עסא 3 אנו יכלצני •
 9 מן אעדא קתלוני •
 10 למא אנהום אנצאבו • ען אוטאנהום 11 גאבו • הום אדי קד עאבו •
 12 טנו אנהום גלבוני •
 13 כלת אל דיאר מנהום • וא עז רחל 14 ענהום • גא אל עדו טלבהום •
 15 מתל מא טלבוני •

- 4b 1 They killed pregnant women and wet nurses. They tore apart the girls' innocence. O how they brought their disaster upon themselves! // I wish they had obeyed me.
- 4 The enemy came to them, and attacked them. Soon their eyes cried, // just like they had made *me* cry.”
- 7 The people of Israel said, “We have turned against God and neglected ourselves. We are the ones who turned away, // the old, the rich and the poor!”
- 10 The prophet said, crying mournfully, “From you, my heart has been wounded. You left me tossed on the ground. // I wish you had buried me.”
- 13 Yahuyāsh⁴ did not know of my virtue, and he was pleased with my murder. To whom will I complain about my humiliation? // And with force they degraded me.

- 5a 1 Because of that, a time will come, in which your hands will become restrained; a time when the enemy comes for you, // and when you will find me no more.
- 4 On the day of my death, I raised my head towards the One, the Creator of mankind. Why, o Lord, was my desperation so severed? // Why did my enemies treat me so unfair?
- 7 Where is my father looking over me? The day will come when He accepts me! He could have rescued me // from the enemies that killed me.
- 10 When they became afflicted, they wandered from their homelands. They are the ones who had been faulty. // They thought they had defeated me.
- 13 Their homes were emptied, and their honour departed from them. The enemy came for them, // the way *they* had come for *me*.

⁴ The name refers to King Jehoash of Judah, as mentioned in 2 Kings and 2 Chron.

- 1 כב 1 ואמא מקדש⁵ סולמאן • זעק וצרף² לל רחמן • כיף בוטול אל קורבאן •
 3 וא אעדא דכלוני •
- 4 וא היכל יא אגואד • אנרסא בתוב⁵ אל חדאד • בעד אל נור יא אסיאד •
 6 בא צלאם קד בסוני •
- 7 יא חסרתי עלא אל שולחן • ואל מדבח⁸ מע אל קורבן • יא מא גא מנהום גופראן •
 9 כתיר לל עא ואל דוני •
- 10 בעד דיך אל אנואר • דאך לעז כולו¹¹ מאר • גא אל עדו עלינא גאר •
 12 ולא בלגת מצמוני •
- 13 הדא גזאיא מנהום • לאגלאני¹⁴ ננצחהום • מא האן עלייא גלותהום •
 15 והום פרחו וצגוני •
- 1 כב 6 1 להום ביינת אל מצמון • באן אל אמר² הדא יכון • יא אגואד ללה ארגעון •
 3 ואנעטפו ואתבעוני •
- 4 לאן אלה מונתקס גיור • הו יעלם⁵ גמיע אל אמור • לאבד אן עליכום תדור •
 6 ותבקו תשתהוני •
- 7 יא קום אעבדו מולאכום • הו אדי⁸ אנואכום • יכלצכום מן אעדאכום •
 9 וארסלני תטיעוני •
- 10 הדא אל קול קול אלה • ארסלני לכום¹¹ אלה • אתנבא בקול אלה •
 12 לזמכום¹² תקבלוני •
- 13 הדא נוצחי איכום • אשרחתו מא בין¹⁴ ידיכום • ואל חסאב עליכום •
 15 יום אדי תעצוני •

- 5b 1 And concerning Sulimān's Temple. He screamed and shouted to the Merciful,
 "How could the sacrifice be [so] worthless? // How could the enemies enter
 inside me?"
- 4 And the *Haykal*,⁶ o noble men, was restored in the smith's garb. After the light,
 o great masters, // with darkness they crushed me.
- 7 How unfortunate! How I am pained by [what happened to] the Table [of the
 showbread], and by the slaughter and sacrifice! O so much forgiveness came
 from them, // so much for the old, the rich and the poor!
- 10 After those rays of light, all that glory went away.⁷ The enemy came to us to
 persecute, // but my pledge was not enough.
- 13 That is my punishment from them, because I had given them advice. I did not
 appreciate them leaving for exile, // even though they had rejoiced and agitated
 against me.
- 6a 1 I explained for them in essence, that *this will happen*. O noble men, to Allāh
 you must return. // Turn around and follow me.
- 4 Because Allāh impairs a jealous man. He knows everything! You must make a
 turn, // and begin longing for me.
- 7 O people, worship your master! He who intended to rescue you from your
 enemies, // he who sent me [so that you would] obey me.
- 10 This voice is the Voice of Allāh! Allāh sent me to you. I told prophecies with
 the Voice of Allāh. // You should have accepted me.
- 13 This is my sincere advice to you. I have laid open what you have before you,
 and you are held responsible, // the day on which you refused to obey me.

⁶ The *Haykal* here denotes 'the holy place' or 'the Temple'.

⁷ Here, מאר probably corresponds to the root consonants *m-r-r* 'to pass; depart; go on' (rather than *m-w-r* 'to move from side to side' or *m-y-r* 'to provide').

- 1 ב6 ראהו אמלאיכה לרבנא • אנצור מן 2 קומך לאגלנא • וא צמאן הו עלינא •
 3 פקא להום אתרכוני •
- 4 קא אלה אנא אדרי • הדא א קום 5 מכלף אמרי • וקא משה א עברי •
 6 עוד מעט וסקלוני •
- 7 הום קתלו אורייה • והום חבסו 8 ירמיה • פקא ואנא זכריה •
 9 מתל א עבד באעוני •
- 10 יא רבי אנקומהום נקמה • ולא יתרחם 11 עליהום רחמה • סלתוהום ביד אומה •
 12 כמא אנהום נקמוני •
- 13 מא נסתאהל מנהום • בעד מא 14 ננצחהום • יעמלו בי נקמתהום •
 15 למא אנהום הלכוני •
- 1 א7 למא זאד א בלא עליהום • חנת א קלוב 2 עליכום • וקא אלה איהום •
 3 ארגעו 3 לי ואעבדוני •
- 4 וציון צארת תקול • יא חסרתי דל ענא 5 יטול • וא עדו בלג א מאמול •
 6 יום אדי פארקתוני •
- 7 קלב טאמע לרגעתכום • מתא אפרח 8 בפרחתכום • יעסא אלה יפרג ענכום •
 9 ותגו לי תזורוני •
- 10 טובו יא עבאד אלה • עסא יפרג 11 ענכום אלה • ואתבעו קול אלה •
 12 ותעאלו אסכנוני •
- 13 יגמעכום מן א בלדאן • ויבני א מדבח 14 כמא כאן • ותקרבו א קורבאן •
 15 וא כהנים יכדמוני •

- 6b 1 The angels turned to our Lord, “For our sake, take a look at your nation. We must safeguard [it].” // But He said to them, “Leave me!”
- 4 Allāh said, “I am the one whose orders this people will follow!” And *Moshe* the Hebrew said, // “*They are almost ready to stone me*” (Exod. 17.4).
- 7 They killed Uriyah and they imprisoned Yirmiyah. So he said, “And I am Zakariyah.” // Like a slave they sold me.
- 10 O my Lord, take revenge on them! Do not show them mercy. [...] (?) in the hand of its mother (?) // Like they took their revenge on me.
- 13 I am not worthy of them. After I had given them advice, they took their vengeance out on me, // That time when they annihilated me.
-
- 7a 1 When they made things worse, the hearts felt sympathy with you. And Allāh said to them, // “Come back to me and worship me.”
- 4 And the people of Zion began saying, “How I am pained by the distress! The pain will be prolonged and the enemy will get what they wished for, // The day on which you left me!
- 7 A heart is craving for your return, when I will be happy for your joy. May Allāh set you free. // And you will come to me and visit.
- 10 Repent, o servants of Allāh! May Allāh set you free. Obey the Voice of Allāh, // And come dwell by my side!
- 13 From the lands He will bring you together, and build the altar as it once was. You will make offerings, // While the *Kohanim* are serving me.

- 1 ב7 נרגו מן אלה רבנא • יבני לנא מקדסנא • 2 וירסל לנא מוגיתנא •
- 3 מע א אבות ינגדוני •
- 4 סאת א ואחד א קהאר • כ'אק א ליל 5 וא נהאר • יחיי א אמואת 6 כמא יכתאר •
- 7 וירגע א קודס מסכוני •
- 8 ויצרבון בא אצואת • ויחיו סאיר א 9 אמואת • וא בנין וא בנאת •
- 10 ויקול א אב הדא אבני •

TRANSLATION

- 7b 1 We plead to Allāh our Lord, that He will build our Temple for us. That He
will send us our saviour. // Together with the *Fathers*, they will help me.
- 4 I asked the One, the Almighty, the Creator of night and day, He who gives life to
the dead as He chooses, // will al-Quds return to be my homeland?"
- 8 They will crack the whips and revive He who walks with the dead, together with
the sons and daughters. // And the father will say, "This is my son."

THE SONG OF YŪSUF

ב1 קול קצה יוסף •

- 2 כאן יוסף מליח¹ 3 פי עצרו² • ולא אחד⁴ מתלו באגמל • דכר אכתאב ען עמרו² •²
- 5 אבן סבע תעשר סנה אכמל • גמיע⁶ אעלום פי צדרו² • ובתאג אנבוה אתכמל •
- 7 ולא פי אכותו • אחד נסבתו • ולא רתבתו •
- 8² ס² אבע גיל לגדו מחסוב • שביה אלחמאד⁹ אמנסוב •
- בית •
- 10² כ² אן יעכוב ידלל יוסף לאנו לנסלו מחתאג • 11 הו דאים בקלקו ילטף ואכסאה תואב מן¹²
- דיבאג • אסראר אלה מה תוכשף מן יכוץ¹³ חד אעגאג •
- ראה פי אמנאם • עליה אס² לאם² • 14 ופסור אכלאם •
- באנו פוק כרסי מנסוב • 15 לו יסגדו אולאד יעקב •
-
- 17 אצבח לאכותו יתפאכר ברסם אמנאם יתהגה • 18 קד ראית פי מנאמי כולנא בנזרו זרזה •
- 19 ז² רזת² הום² גמיע תתאכד • ואנא זרזתו פי עזה •
- 20 ואכותו תקול • עלינא יטול • עבו לו רחול •
- א2 1 יוסף ענד אבונא מחבוב • מא יכרג ולא² פי מלעוב •
-
- 3 חין קא לה אבוה דאך איום² • יא יוסף תרוח⁴ ללמרעה • אבצר לי כבר³ דאך אקום • 5
- וואגנאם והייא תרבע • מן ענדו כאן פי אנום • 6 מא יעלם באיש יסתדעא •
- ראה אמלך • 7 וקא לו אראך • אר² ית² אי וראך •
- מן הון טלעו⁸ א² מתעוב • נזלו מכאן אן מצעוב •

¹ מליח : MS כוליה

² ס² אבע גיל לגדו מחסוב • שביה אלחמאד אלמנצוב • MS : ס² אבע גיל לגדו • מחסוב שביה אלחמאד אלמנצוב •

³ כבר : MS כבר

1b 1 The Saying of Yūsuf's story

2 Yūsuf was beautiful in his era, and not a single one was like him in beauty. The Scripture makes mention of his life. Seventeen years of age he had attained all knowledge in his heart. And with the crown of prophesy he had become complete.

// And none among his brothers had his attribution nor his quality.

// Seventh generation descendant from his grandfather he counts, and appears upright.

10 Ya'qūb used to spoil Yūsuf, because he needed him to beget offspring. Always worried for him and gentle with him, so he bestowed upon him a garment out of silk brocade. The secrets of Allāh will not be revealed, except for he who sees through the dust.

// He foresaw in a dream, peace be upon him, and he interpreted the words,

// of himself upon a majestic throne, and before him prostrated the children of Ya'qūb.

17 He began bragging to his brothers upon what the dream portrayed: "I saw in my dream, all of us were binding sheaves. Every of its sheaves assumed their position. I am its sheaf, mighty and powerful."

// While his brothers said, "He is talking down on us! Prepare for him to disappear,

// 2a for Yūsuf is cherished by our father. He never goes out, not even when he is playing."

2a 3 Then, one day his father said to him, "You shall travel to the grazing land. See for me what goes on with this people and with their cattle, and [whether] they are procreating." [And absent] from him he had a dream, [in which] he did not know what he was called to do.

// The angel saw him and said to him, "I can see you. I have foreseen what lies behind you.

// From this point on they appeared tired, and came to an unpleasant place."

- 10 חין אקבל עליהם קאו² • צאחב אמנאמאת¹¹ אקבל • ועלי קתלו אחתלו • והו
ענדהום⁴ מתגפל • ראו פי אמנטר פי חאו² •²
- קאו דל¹³ אכלאם מא יעמל אלכביר⁵ • עליכום אשיר •¹⁴ האת גרמו פי אביר •
דלו ביוסף מדעוב •¹⁵ קעד פי אביר מכתף מרבוט •
-
- 17 חין גלסו יתגדו • כל ואחד לקתלו אתהיה •¹⁸ ורפע לעיון ואהתדו • וצאבו
אקואפל גאיה •¹⁹ יהודה קצד פי ביעו • קא עסי אלה יחיה •
²⁰ נבעת אתגאר • מן בין אחגאר • בגיר²¹ אכתיאר •
טלעו ביוסף מרבוט • באעוה²² לתגאר אלכרוב •
-
- 23 למא גא ראובן ללביר • ומא צאב יוסף¹ אתאם • קא כיף יכון אתדביר² • ואיש
אקול² לאבי ואיש אתאכלם • דבחו לעתיד⁶ באסכין גמזו קמיצו באדם •
יוסף אבצרו •⁴ לאבוה אלכברו • אדיב אכסרו •
זעק בצות⁵ אמלהוב • צאר דמועו כקטר אן מסכוב •
-
- 7 ויוסף מצת בו אאעראב • ואקיד אכל⁸ מן לחמו • וקלבו אמסיכין קד דאב • חין⁹ אקבל
עלי קבר אמו • שא עינו לרב¹⁰ אאראבאב • מא אחד יעלם איש פי¹¹ עלמו •
ולמא וצל • אי אקלים מצר •¹² בקא פי חצר •
באעו כעבד אן מגלוב •¹³ לא חילה פי יד אמגלוב •
-

⁴ The MS has 'Allāh' written in the margins.

⁵ יעמל אלכביר : MS יעמל ם אלכביר
⁶ אעתיק : MS אעתיק

10 When he came to them they said, “The Lord of dreams has come!” And to kill him they conspired. He was not aware. In this view they saw him.

// They said these words, “Whatever the oldest [brother] does, [so] I advise you [to do]. Throw his body into the well.”

// They playfully lowered Yūsuf, and he sat in the well with his hands tied behind his back.

17 When they sat down for supper, every one of them prepared for his killing.

They lifted their eyes and discovered that the caravans were coming. Yahūda had intended to sell him. He said, “Perhaps Allāh will keep him alive?

// We will send [him to] the tradesmen from in between the stones, with no choice [of resisting],

// they took Yūsuf up, hands tied together, and sold him off to tradesmen of *kharrūb*.⁷

23 When Reuben came to the well, [and] saw what had happened to Yūsuf, ^{2b} he was tormented. He said, “How shall I plan this? What will I say to my father? And in what manner will I say it?” They slaughtered an old sheep with a knife, and dipped his shirt in blood.

// Yūsuf they had seen, to his father they informed, had been torn apart by wolves.

// He cried out with a flaring voice, and his tears became shed drops.

^{2b} 7 So the Arab nomads departed with Yūsuf, while shackles ate into his flesh.

And his poor heart melted. He then came by the grave of his mother. His eyes aimed for the Lord of Lords. No one can know of what He knows.

// When he arrived in the province of Egypt, he was still at unease.

// They sold him as a helpless slave. Nothing clever could be done for the helpless one.

⁷ *Kharrūb*, also known as *carob* or the *locust bean pod*, is a bean which was used primarily as a sweetener and known to have been popular among the ancient Egyptians. The word seems to be related to the Akkadian *kharubu*, Aramaic *kharubha* and Hebrew *ḥarūb*.

15 ויוסף לו מנצ'ר מחסון תתוה אאומם 16 פי חוסנו • ואלה כאן לו פי אעון מא 17 כלא
 • אענאיאת ענו • אשתראה סלחדאר 18 פרעון וענדו בקא מתל אבנו •
 • וחין 19 נטרתו • יא קום גוזתו • מליח חבתו •
 • קאת לו תכון מצחוב • ואלא תרכתך מעטוב •
 •

1 3א וכל מא כאן ענהא מבעוד • באדן אלה להא מא 2 תקארב • וסייב קמיצו משרוע •
 • פי ידה אוולאד 3 הארב • אסתאדו סמע באמסמוע • קא דל אמר 4 מא הו ואגב •
 • ענהא אבעדוה • ולא תעדבוה 5? • פי אסגן אקעדוה •
 • כעבד אן מחכום • הדא גרא 6 פי זמאן איוב •
 •

8 ופרעון כאן מלך פי איאמו • פי עלום אא מלך 9 יקרא וגזב עלי כודאמו 2? •
 • וארמהום פי קער 10 אחפרה • 8 וצברו עלי אחכאמו חתי ינצרו 11 איש יגרא •
 • מנאם אבצרו • פיה אתחיירו • יוסף 12 פסרו •
 • קא אנת תכלץ מוהוב • ואלאכר תאת 13 יום מצלוב •
 •

15 ויוסף חכא לסאקי גמיע מא גרא לו כולו 16 עלי יד אלה יכון כלאצו ומן עמל כיר כאן
 • לו אנא אסאך • ובתוסל ליד • תקול ללמלך •
 • 18 מן ענדו כרג יא אנסאן 2? • נסאה אעזיז 19 ארחמאן •
 •

⁸ פי עלום אא מלך יקרא וגזב עלי כודאמו • וארמהום פי קער אחפרה • : MS פי עלום אא מלך יקרא • וגזב עלי כודאמו וארמהום פי קער אחפרה •

15 And Yūsuf had a handsome appearance, upon whose beauty the nations were startled. Allāh gave him support, and he was never in lack of care. The *silāḥdār*⁹ of the Pharaoh purchased him, and with him he became like a son.
 // When she saw him, o people, the wife of his. Firmly she loved him.
 // She said to him, “You shall be my escort, or else I will let you be destroyed.”

3a 1 And every time he was apart from her, and with the help of Allāh, she did not come near him. He could leave his shirt untied. He had the [opportunity] to escape. His master heard of these sayings, and he said, “Those things are not needed.
 // Make him stay away from her; do not torture him. In prison you shall put him,
 // sentenced to be a slave.” This happened in the times of Ayyūb.

8 The Pharaoh was a king during these days. About the wisdom of Allāh, the king would read. He raged against his servants, and put them into the bottom of the pit. They had patience with his passing of judgement, so that they would see what would happen next.
 // In a dream he saw it. He became astonished. Yūsuf interpreted it.
 // He said, “You will survive with good fortune, and the other one will be crucified on the third day.”

15 And Yūsuf told the cupbearer everything that had happened to him. “From Allāh his salvation will come, and from good deeds it will come.
 // If I ask you, and implore: Tell [it] to the king.”
 // From it he came out, o [a free] man [you are]! [For] the Strong and Compassionate had made [the king] forget.

⁹ *Silāḥdār* is a military-administrative title denoting the function of an ‘arms-bearer’. Historically, the *silāḥdār* functioned as one of the most trusted personell in the Sultan’s palace, and chief of the weapon’s arsenal. The title goes back to the medieval Turko-Persian empire of the Seljuks, whoes organization of state kept to that of the Persians and the ‘Abbāsids, and It was later employed by both the Mamlūks and the Ottomans (see Har-El 1997:609f.).

20 סבחאן אעאם באאשיא מא אסעד עלי אלה 21 אתוכל • וסבב לפרעון ראיא פיהא
 ינדהש 22 ומתאמל • סבע בקראת מצריה 23 ירעו פי קרט אמחפל •
 וסבעה אכר • 24 בעדהום חצר • שנעיין אמנצר •
 אחוסן ענהא 33 ב1 מבעוד • ו'א'קאם מן מנאמו מרעוב •

3 למא אצבח מן מנאמו מרגוף ? • ? נאדא 4 לגמיע א עאם • קא האתו לי חכים אן 5
 מערוף ? • ? בשדת אמנאמאת עאם • וקאם 6 סלחדאר פרעון ? • ? קא פי אסגן
 ראיתו קאעד •

7 קדו פציה • ונטקו פציה • וכלאמו צחיה •
 8 קא רכבו עלי אמסן מרכוב • יפסר 9 מנאם אן מצעוב •

11 למא לאק עליה אתפסיר ? • ? קא אלה 12 עטא לך אנצר • ואולבס כאתמי 13 האדא
 ואתפכר ? • ? עלי אהל אפכר • פי 14 ארציי ומלכי קום סיר ואתוזר • עלי אקלים
 15 מצר •

הו סיידך • והו איידך • וקוא ידך •
 16 תלם אמגל אמוהוב • וחסך תציע אלבלוב •

18 חין ולא ארכא ושאע אגלא פי אאקטאר • 19 וקאו אולאד יעקוב לאבוהום נחנא
 למצר 20 נתספר • חין דכלו מן אאבואב • קא 21 אנתם דואסיס אכבאר •
 בקו ואקפין • 22 ומתוקפין • והם כאיפין •
 אואחד פי ראיו 4 א1 מצרוב • ואאכר פי ראיו מתעוב •

20 Praise be to the Knower of everything. In Allāh I trust. And to the Pharaoh he brought about his view, by which he was astonished and on which he contemplated. Seven Egyptian cows are grazing in the field.

// And another seven, already dead (?), dreadfully looking.

// Beauty is for them ^{3b} [something] remote. Terrified he woke up from his dream.

3 When he woke up from his dream he was trembling, and called upon all the people. “Get me a renowned wise man, one who can interpret nightmares!”

The Pharaoh’s *silāḥdār* rose up and said, “In the prison I have seen him atone!

// His stature is flawless, his words are eloquent, and he speaks the truth.”

// He said, “Bring him to me this evening to interpret this difficult dream!”

11 When he presented him with the interpretation he said, “Allāh has given you victory. Wear this ring of mine, this will honour the honourable ones. In my land and in my reign, rise up, set out and become Vizier of the province of Egypt.

// He is your master. He is your support. And the strength of your hand.

// Collect the good crops, and remove the thorns from the sprout.”

18 Then, fortune turned and the crops spread throughout the land. And the children of Yaʿqūb said to their father, “To Egypt we must travel.” When they passed through the gates he said, “You are conspirators of tales!”

// Afraid they stood upright before him.

// The first one appeared beaten. ^{4a} The last one appeared worn out.

3 קאלו יא מלך תנסבנא • למן הו ללאצנאם 4 עאבד • אתנשר רגל תנצ'רנא ² • ² כולנא 5
 מן אבן ואחד • אכונא אצ'גיר צ'אע מנא • 6 ואלאכ'ר ענד אבונא קאעד •
 ונחנא הדא 7 מא מנא אדא • פי טול אמדה •
 מן חבנא 8 צאר מחבוב • ומן בג'צנא צאר מבג'וץ •

10 אן כנתו תעמלו אכ'ירה ² • ² אחדכום יכון הון 11 מודוע • ואנתו תודו אמידה •
 לאולאדכום 12 לאגל אגוע • אבוכום עלם באסורה ² • ² וקלבו 13 אמסיכין מודוע

תצדקו אימין • בעהד 14 איקין • גובו בנימין •
 יבקא כלאמכום 15 ג'יר מכדוב • ותמשו עלי דל אסלוב •

17 רגעו והום יתבאכו אלה באדנוב ואכ'דנא • 18 ואחכו אמור לאבוהום האכדא ארגל
 19 נאשדנא • ווגדנא אצ'רר מא אנפכו 20 ואכ'ד אכונא מנא •
 קא יוסף אנתבר • 21 שמעון אנצבר • תרא איש אכ'בר •
 פי 22 צדורהום דקן אטוב • כל ואחד מנהום 23 מלהוב •

1 34 פצ'מנו אצבי באתחקיק • בעד אן כאן אבוה 2 מאנעהום • וראחו גמלה באתצדיק
 • מא צדק 3 כ'ף יקשעהום • פלמא אתו ללצדיק • ואכ'דו 4 אהדאיאת מעהום •
 חין נטר אכ'וה • אבן 5 אמו ואבוה • וא'יה קדמוה •
 אשתעל פי קלבו 6 מלהוב • וצאר דמעו פוק כ'דו מסכוב •

3 They said, “O, king, you consider us as one who worships idols. A man has been displaced. Take a look at us, we are all the same offspring. Our youngest brother has disappeared from us, and the other one is with our father.

// We are here, and none of us has made any harm, in the vicissitude of time.

// He who loves us becomes beloved, and he who hates us becomes hated.

10 If you make good things, one of you will be protected here. You want [food on the] table for your children lest they starve. Your father knew of the whole picture, but his poor heart held on to it.

// “You will be truthful, and certainly honest, [but only] if Benyamīn says so.

// Then your words will remain undisputed. And thus you will go.”

17 They returned, crying, “Allāh has punished us.” They told the story to their father, “Thus the man ordered us. We discovered the harm that had happened, and he took our brother from us.

// Yūsuf said, “Raise your voice!” Shim‘ūn was patient. You shall see what has happened.

// In their hearts a brick [painfully] struck, and every one of them was aflame.

4b 1 And they joined the young one with an agreement [of keeping him safe], after his father had denied them. And they went all together in good faith. He could not believe how he could scatter them (?). So when they came to the Righteous, they brought with them gifts.

// When he saw his brother, [Benyamīn] the son of his mother and of his father, and they presented him before him,

// his heart broke out in lament, and tears upon his cheek were shed.

8 וקא ללדי פי אמנזל אדבח לי • גנם מע 9 כרפאן • ואגמע אגמיע פי ? • ? קאעה והיו
 10 אטעאם ללציפאן • למא אקבל עליהם קאו 11 כלו אחד מנא רגפאן •
 • אעלמנא יא סיד • 12 איש מנא יריד • ואכדנא עביד •
 • קא לאוחק 13 אמעבוד • אלה באבו מקצוד מקצוד •

15 אגלס אגמיע פי קאעה • דהשו למאדא 16 יצנע • ואכרג אכולע פי סאעה ווהבת
 להום 17 צאר ידפע • גלסו מעו פי טאעה • חתי 18 יבצרו איש יצנע •
 • איש אצבחו חקיק • מצו 19 ללטריק • אראח אן יעיק •
 • תהמהום בכאס 20 אמשרוב • ואראח רדהם מן קל יוב •

22 אתקדם עליה מן באעו בסיף מגרד 1 א 5 ללחרב • כיף תאכוד בתאעו ותם לך עלינא 2
 באצרב • קא אמאנאת צאעו • 3 אלא אחרמכום תגוזו אדרב •
 • קא נחנא 4 רגא • מא לנא מתא • ואן ארדת א קתא •
 • נצייר דל אקלים מכדוב ? • ? וצור אמדינה 6 מקלוב •

7 ויוסף זעק ואתלהף • ואתלהף מן גמיע 10 8 מא גרא לו כולו • ובאכותו אתעארף • 9
 • ופיה אעלאמאת צאבו • ופרעון ערף 10 באסירה • קא יוסף אתת לו אחבאבו •
 • אתת אכותו • והום נסבתו • ויא פרחתו • 11
 • רד אלה אחביב 11 ללמחבוב • 13 ורד אלה אחב ואגתמע יוסף ביעקוב

14 • כמלת 15 על שם 15 ב 1 נשלמה

¹⁰ ויוסף זעק ואתלהף • מן גמיע : MS ויוסף זעק ואתלהף • ואתלהף מן גמיע
¹¹ רד אלה אלה אחביב : MS רד אלה אלה אחביב

8 So he said to those who were inside, “Slaughter for me a sheep and a lamb (carrying a lamb?). Gather the assembly in the hall and prepare a meal for the two guests.” When he came to them they said, “Every one of us are trembling.
// Inform us, o master, what does he want from us? And why did he take us as slave?”

// He said “To the worshiped One, we seek, we seek, the door to Allāh.”

15 He sat the assembly in the hall. They were marvelled by what he had prepared. At that point he brought a basket (?) and gave the presents back to them. They sat with him in obedience, to see what he would do,
// and what would be the truth. They went to the path, and released them from the arrest.

// He accused them of [stealing the glass] for drinking, and returned them to Qalyūb.

22 The one who had sold him (?) approached him with a sword ready ^{5a} for battle, (saying,) “How come you have taken the belongings [of the king] and then he hit us (?) with a stroke.” They said, “The trusts (?) have been lost.” “Allāh may forbid you or He may punish you.”

// They said, “We are men, like of which there are none. If you want to fight,
// we will make this whole province shredded (?), and the walls of this city turned upside down.”

7 Yūsuf screamed and lamented. He lamented from all which had happened with him. And he acknowledged his brothers. He understood the signs, and the Pharaoh knew about the story. Yūsuf said, “His beloved ones have come!”

// His brothers came, the relatives of his, o how happy he was!

// Allāh returned the loved one to the beloved. Allāh returned the love, and Yūsuf met Ya^cqūb.

The End. *In the name of.* ^{5b} Complete.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY

In the course of writing this dissertation, I have navigated in between many academic fields as well as within a seemingly endless array of available secondary sources. There is no doubt that much more needs to be done in connection with the findings above. However for the time being, my hope for is that the generally wide scope of this sociohistorical and linguistic investigation has made clear the central role that the field of Judaeo-Arabic can play in the study and reconstruction of earlier stages in the history of the Arabic language.

The vast Islamic expansion which took place during the 7th and 8th centuries laid the foundation for many centuries of continuous migration of people from the Arabian Peninsula into the Mediterranean basin. As scholars in the field of Arabic language history have so firmly established, many linguistic and cultural remnants of this era are found scattered along the path of this historical expansion. Such remnants migrated mainly along with the movement of people, through Egypt, the Maghrib, into the Iberian Peninsula and elsewhere in the former Islamic West, and are today found essentially in dialects which have been isolated in some way or have remained in some kind of periphery vis-à-vis the development of the standardized or levelled dialects spoken by the majority of people today — in terms of their geographic position, strict demographic division, ethno-religious or communal denomination, or other factors. Whereas I have argued that we can identify even some of the earliest stages of the Arabic language in Egypt, that is, exhibiting the speech of the early Yemenite settlers in Fustāt, it is important to acknowledge the vast time which has passed since this initial period. Most likely, the chronological stages of Arabic attested in this dissertation reflect features of a somewhat later, medieval and early-modern vintage, not to mention that most features discussed are found in manuscript copies which merely *mirror* the language of an earlier stage. I have compared findings with a large amount of available data, and found that our material largely corresponds to sources ranging from the 10th to 14th centuries, and predominantly to areas in and around the Mediterranean such as those mentioned above. However, as do all languages and their various contemporary spoken dialects, the history of

Cairene Arabic undoubtedly hold linguistic layers which have developed at one point, and which have been maintained and employed continuously for centuries, possibly up until a point in time far more recent than previously assumed. I have devoted much time and attention to situate our material within a given time and place — a process which comes with much uncertainty and an imminent danger of favouring findings which confirm my hypothesis. But in view of the historical and sociolinguistic circumstances of the material, its different genres, voices and traditions, and the various linguistic features attested, our many observations and findings all together serve to establish a relatively clear understanding of time and place.

Chapter 2 has established some grounds for assuming the first layers in the history of the Egyptian dialects, and particularly that of Cairo. During the first centuries following the Islamic conquest, Fustāṭ was socially and culturally dominated by Yemenite tribes for centuries, while subjected to the rule of Umayyad and ʿAbbāsīd Caliphates which were located in Mesopotamia and the Levant (2.1). This period saw the beginning of the Arabization of Jews and other non-Arab indigenous groups of Egypt (2.2). With time, Egypt and other Arabic speaking societies in the western Mediterranean basin gradually grew independent from the Jewish and Islamic centres in the East. Illustrating this independence is the cultural, religious, administrative and military influence which the exiled Umayyad Caliphate in Spain (8th-11th centuries) and the Fāṭimid Caliphate in Tunisia and Egypt (10th-12th centuries) eventually came to exercise throughout the Islamic World and in the Mediterranean. Likewise, the Jewish communities and different congregations of these societies also grew independent of their respective academies in Mesopotamia and the Levant (2.5; 2.6; 2.7). It is believed that Jews throughout Egypt were Arabophone at least by the 10th century (2.2; 2.4). Around this period, the country also received large waves of migrants, who predominantly came from Mesopotamia and the Maghrib, settling in Cairo/Fustāṭ and in a number of provincial towns in Lower Egypt, along the northern and eastern coastlines and in the Nile Valley (2.3). It is not surprising, then, to find that our corpus appears as having been strongly influenced by ‘Sephardi’ palaeography — some examples of which appears to have evolved out of an ‘Eastern script’ influenced by Arabic cursive — and are reminiscent of manuscripts from e.g. 12th-century Fustāṭ, 11th-century Qayrawān, 14th-century Fes, and Villaón and Toledo in the 12th and 15th centuries (1.3). As a consequence of this large wave of migration, the Jewish community of Egypt grew significantly more heterogeneous in terms of the regional background and religious denomination of its members. The Karaite community in Egypt was also firmly established during this period, a process which was

enforced by the high number of migrants to Egypt. While the Jewish community of Egypt during this period grew significantly independent from the academies to the East, Egyptian Karaism gained a particularly strong sense of independence; many of the communities' members held high positions in the Fāṭimid government, and as a result became strongly integrated into Arabic and Islamic culture (2.4; 2.5). It may seem that this 'golden age' of Judaism in Egypt and the Islamic world left a strong linguistic and cultural stamp, parts of which were maintained and fossilized in the oral and literary traditions of the Jews in Egypt. In this chapter, I have argued that these features prevailed in the same oral and literary tradition long into early-modern times, most probably due to a process of Jewish disintegration in Egypt which is believed to have begun sometime during Mamlūk times and lasted until the early 19th century (2.8; 2.10).

In Chapter 3, I have analysed the content of our selected manuscripts from the corpus which I have termed as being part of the Cairo-Ramla collection. I have attempted to situate the different manuscripts in time and place according to the genres, styles, voices and traditions which they exhibit, not to mention according to the many archetypes and other works which prove to correspond with the manuscripts of ours. The archetypes of most of our manuscripts seem to stem from archetypes which have been composed in an environment strongly influenced by Arabic literary practices and Islamic thought (3.3; 3.4; 3.5), or to have originated from the narrations of Muslim authorities with a Jewish background and a Southern Arabian origin (3.1; 3.2). Some predominant figures in this connection are Wahb ibn Munabbih, Abū Hurayrah and, above all, Kaʿb al-Aḥbār. These Muslim authorities enjoyed considerable popularity in Jewish circles in Egypt, but also in other places such as Spain. In addition to evidence which situates much of our material in 12th to 14th-century Cairo (3.1; 3.3.2), the legacy of their works, and the influence they practiced on the oral and literary tradition of popular religious belles-lettres, seem to have been particularly obvious also in manuscripts from 11th to 13th- and 16th-century Spain (3.1.3; 3.5.1). In some of these narratives there is also a strong influence from some Hebrew *midrashim* of a somewhat apocryphal character which are believed to have been composed in Muslim Spain and later found their way to Egypt or other places in the Ottoman Empire (3.1.3; 3.3; 3.3.1). The genre attested in these works indicates a strong Islamic influence by means of its reference to the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* literature (3.2.1; 3.2.2), immersion into Arabic poetic genres including the *qiṭʿa* and *qaṣīda* (3.2.3), the popular Andalusian *zajal* and *muwašṣaḥ* or possibly the Yemenite *ḥumaynī* (3.5.1), as well as the *musammaṭ murabbaʿ* (3.4.1). Some works are composed according to literary traditions of commentary and resemble the genres of *tafsīr* and *sharḥ*

(3.3), whereas others follow a more traditional narrative, written partly in colloquial prose and resembling the popular genre of the so-called *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* (3.1; 3.2).

Chapter 4 investigates a number of linguistic findings throughout the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts in view of the previous chapters. In general, I have demonstrated a strong Western Mediterranean presence of features throughout the whole material, and that these correspond to various stages of the developments of dialects and varieties in the medieval period. I have also offered some new and some alternative ways of analysing problematic issues in the field of Judaeo-Arabic and Arabic sociohistorical linguistics. Observations, findings and analysis of these subjects have focused predominantly on non-standard features according to the definition given in the introductory chapter (1.1.4) and mainly on the realm of morphophonology. Most of these findings have proven to correspond with dialects which are somewhat historically related to that of Cairo, such as Medieval Spanish and Sicilian Arabic, Standard Maltese, varieties throughout the Maghrib, dialects located in various ‘peripheral’ areas of Egypt, 17th-century peasant and urban Arabic, medieval and early modern Judaeo-Arabic, Old Arabic forms, not to mention contemporary and historical varieties employed in the South-western Arabian Peninsula (*passim*).¹ Among the findings, I consider the following to be worthy of repeating:

- The representation of vowel signs according to a somewhat ‘Simple Tiberianized Babylonian’ system, most notably regarding *ṣere* (*e*) and *qameṣ* (*a*), which reveal *imāla* and the emphatic character of *a*, respectively (4.1.1.1) (unfortunately, I have not succeeded in finding corresponding material).
- The possibility of *plene* written vowels marking stress and/or prolongation, most notably revealing some apparently Old Arabic vowel patterns possibly carrying one primary and one secondary stress, and the (4.1.1.2) and reflecting verbs in which stress or prolongation lies on the final syllable (4.1.1.2.1-3). Some concrete examples are

¹ In view of the many linguistic levels attested throughout the Cairo-Ramla manuscripts and their relation to dialects and dialect groups relevant to that of Egypt, I wish I could have devoted more attention to the Levant and the effect which its Syro-Lebanese dialect group may have had on the speech of Jews in Cairo over time. There is no doubt that migrants to Egypt have come not only from the Arabian Peninsula and areas of the Maghrib and Spain — as it might perhaps be the impression throughout some parts of this dissertation — but also in large numbers from the Levant. For example, migration from the Levant to Egypt was extensive during the 15th century, especially from Damascus and Aleppo, and came to represent some 30 percent of the non-native residents of Cairo (see Petry 1981:51). The same is true for different Mesopotamian and Bedouin varieties, which have, undoubtedly practiced much influence on the Arabic dialects of today in general, and that of medieval Egypt and Cairo in particular. Bedouin influx to Egypt has come in successive waves across history, even since before the Islamic conquest and is particularly evident in the Nile Delta and throughout the Nile Valley (see Miller 2005:912).

forms such as **tūrāb* ‘dirt’, **mūrād* ‘intention’, **ġūlām* ‘boy’ etc., as well as verbs in the imperfect, imperative and perfect tense such as **tuqtūl* / *tuqtūl* ‘you kill’, **unḏūr* / **unḏūr* ‘look’ and **azlāmit* / **azlāmit* ‘it darkened’, respectively.

- Remnants of ‘heavy’ *imāla i* and *ie*, *imāla* in the final position, and *imāla* in an ‘inhibiting contour’, viz. **ibīnā* ‘our father’; **lie-ye^clem* ‘[she became afraid] lest he would know of [...]’; **fa-lammē* ‘so when’; **ḥattē* ‘until’; **em lē* ‘[whether...] or not’; and **ne^cem* ‘yes’ (4.1.1.3.2).
- Old Arabic pausal forms, exhibiting accusative ending *-ā* and *-an* interchangeably, as in **xaglā* and **xaglan* ‘ashamed’ appearing together in the same manuscript (4.1.1.4.3). Similar forms have also been attested by means of particular variants such as **ayḏā* ‘also’ and **farḥā* ‘joyous’ yielding what could be considered a stage of transition between old and modern pausal forms (4.1.1.4.2; 4.1.1.4.3). There are also cases in which accusative *-ā* or *-an* have been dropped completely in adverbials, viz. **waqa^c maġšī* ‘he fell down unconscious’ and **faxxar mayyit* ‘he dropped dead’ (4.1.1.4.4). There are also many interesting examples illustrating the use of the separated *tanwīn an* or *in*, as in **la-^aayy muḏ^cān an(/in)* *yirīd* ‘to wherever he may desire’ and **wi-bikit bukā an(/in)* *šadīd* ‘she wept bitterly’ (4.1.1.4.5).
- Pronunciation of the plosive interdental *d* in the relative pronoun, viz. **alladī*, *illadī*, *aldi* or the like, as opposed to e.g. **itdakkār* ‘remember’ and **dahab* ‘go, leave’ (4.1.2.1.1).
- Support of the Egyptian *gīm* / *žīm* being pronounced as a velar stop [g] or a slightly palatalized variant [g^y] or [d^y] (4.1.2.3).
- Frequent employment of negation particle *lam* to negate past, present and modal future actions (4.2.4.1).
- Use of particles such as the future particle *rāyih*, the subordinate and future *baš*, the partitive or indefinite quantifier *šī*, and the emphasizer *qad* (4.2.5.2-5).
- Ambiguous dialectal versus Classical forms and the possible remnants of archaic ‘Arabian Peninsular’ features in speech, in items such as **arād* ‘to want’, **aṭa* ‘to give’, **min šān* ‘for, in order to’, **ra^a* ‘to see’ etc., or close variants of these (4.2.6).

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APPENDIX:

**ARABIC transliteration of the annotated
and translated editions**

THE IBRĀHĪM-NIMRŪD LEGEND

١ أو ٢ قصت ابراهيم الخليل

٢ **בשם יי אל עולם נעשה ונצליה** نبتدى الان ٣ بكتابت قوصص الدى جرى فى قديم الزمان لانبييا
עלי ה' ٤ قصت ابراهيم الخليل

٥ ابتدى فى ما جرى فى قديم الزمان لابونه ابراهيم الخليل ٦ على السلام مع الملك النمروذ خزا
 ات' ٧ قالو ان قبل ما ينولد ابراهيم الخليل فكان النمروذ ٨ اللعين كافر مشرك بات' وكان يدعى فى نفسه
 بلا لاهيه ٩ وبانو اهل زمانه عبيد لاصنام تم ان الملك النمروذ ١٠ حلم حلام وجد فى بان ينولد ولد يكون
 هلاكه وهالك ١١ قومه ويبسر مدهبه

فانجعز انجعاز ان عظيم ادعا ١٢ بالاومرا والعولمه وارباب الفهم واخبرهوم بما جرى ١٣ لو فقال
 لهوم شورو علا يا كيف يكون العمل والتدبير ١٤ حينيد شارو علا رايبى واحد واتفقو فقالو يا ملك ١٥
 الزمان كل ما تشا افعل يا سييدنا الملك فقال لهوم ١٦ انا افعل فى كل ما تقولو بش انتم شورو علايا ١٧
 وانا اقبل منكوم فقالو لو يا ملك الزمان ابني لك موضع ٣ واسيع طول فرسخ وعورض فرسخ وتنادى فى
 ساير ٤ مولك وبلادك بان له بيقا امراه حمله حته تحضر ٥ بين يديك طاعا فى قلب الحجره الدى تبنيهها

١٧ **בשם יי אל עולם יתברך שמו** نبتدى الان ٢ بكتابت قصت مه جرى ٣ لابونه وسييدنا ابراهيم الخليل ع'الس' مع ٤ النمروذ اللعين تم قول ٥
 ابتدى فى مه جرى ٦ فى قديم الزمان لابرهم الخليل ع'الس' مع الملك ٧ النمروذ خزا ات' قالو ان قبل ان ينولد ٨ ابرهم الخليل فكان النمروذ كافر
 مشرك ب' ات' ٩ وكان يدعى فى نفسه بال لاهيه وبانو اهل ١٠ زمانو عابدين الاصنام تم ان الملك النمروذ ١١ قرى فى سيره وجد فيها بان ينولد ولد
 ١٢ يكون هلاكه وهالك قومه وانفساد مدهبه ١٣ على يده فنجعز انجعاز ان عظيم ١٤ ادعا بالامرا والعلماء وارباب الفضل ١٥ واخبرهم بما جرى فقال
 لهوم شيرو علييا كيف ١٦ يكون العمل والتدبير اتشاورو ١٧ على راي واحد واتفقو فقالو يا ملك الزمان ١٨ مهبا شيت افعل يا سييدنا قال لهم ١٩
 انا اريد ادبر فى شى افعله وانتمو شيرو ٢ علييا واطبل منكوم قالو له ياملك الزمان ٣ ابني لك موضع وسيع طول فرسخ وعرض فرسخ ٤ وتنادى
 فى ساير ملكك وبلادك بان لا بيقا ٥ امراه حامل حتى تحضر بين يديك طاعة ٦ فاذا حضرة تعود فى الحوجره فاذا ٧ اجتمعو جميعهم فيها

1a The story of Ibrāhīm the Friend

2a *In the name of YWY,¹ the Everlasting El, shall we labour and succeed.* We hereby start the writing of stories that happened a long time ago with prophets, *peace be upon them*: The story of Ibrāhīm the Friend.

Let me begin with something that happened a long time ago with our father Ibrāhīm the Friend [of God], peace be upon him, and with King Nimrūd,² a disgrace [before] Allāh, may He be Exalted (MHBE). They have told that before Ibrāhīm the Friend was born, the cursed Nimrūd was a polytheist, a disbeliever in Allāh MHBE and he was claiming to be divine-like and that the people of his time should worship idols.³ But then King Nimrūd dreamt a dream in which he found that a boy would be born, one who would be his destruction, one who would ruin his nation and corrupt his belief.⁴

He was greatly disturbed and called upon the emirs, the wise and the masters of understanding, and informed them about what had happened to him. He said, “Advise me on what I can do and on what will be the plan!”⁵ So they advised of a common view and said, “O King of time, whatever you desire, do thus, O master of ours, the King.” He said to them, “I will do whatever you say with what you advise me, 2b and I will favour with you.” They said to him, “O King of time, build for yourself a large place which is one *farsakh*⁶ long and one *farsakh* wide, and call out throughout your kingdom and your land, that there will be no remaining pregnant women unless they have appeared before you and shown obedience in the middle of the courtyard that you will build.

¹ As in many of the writings of the tenth century Karaite teacher and exegete Yefet ben ʿElī al-Baṣrī, the tetragrammaton יהוה YHWH is occasionally represented by יי YWY (see Sasson 2010:39).

² Some Muslim sources identify Nimrūd with the Persian king ʿAḥḥāk, a variant of the Persian al-Azdahāq (see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* i:194), whereas others have claimed that he was an official of ʿAḥḥāk (loc. cit. 233). According to the same sources, he is claimed to be of Yemenite descent by the Yemenites themselves as well as by the Persians (loc. cit. 194).

³ al-Kisāʿī:125 : ثم امره نمرود ان يقرب له قربانا ففعل ذلك واخذ الناس في عبادة الاصنام
⁴ al-Thaʿlabī:41 : فقالوا له : انه يولد في بلدك هذه السنة غلام يغير دين اهل الأرض ويكون هلاكك وزوال ملكك على يديه [...] وقال السدي : رأى نمرود في منامه كأن كوكبا طلع فذهب بضوء الشمس والقمر حتى لم يبق لهما ضوء [...] هو مولود يولد في ناحيتك في هذه السنة ، فيكون هلاكك وهلاك ملكك وأهل بيتك على يديه

⁵ al-Thaʿlabī:41 : ففرع من ذلك فرعا شديدا ، فدعا السحرة والكهنة والقافة وهم الذين يخطون في الارض وسألهم عن ذلك; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* i:236 : ففرع من ذلك فرعا شديدا ، فدعا السحرة والكهنة والقافة والحازة ، فسألهم عنه

⁶ *Farsakh* is derived from the historical Iranian unit *parasang*, and which more or less equals the English unit league.

وخلى ٦ عليهم الدييات وادا ولدت واحده منهم انتبيا ٧ تُطلقها ٧ وادا وضعت الامراه ذكر يودبح ٨ عله
صدر امو فعند ما شمع الملك هادا الشوره فرح ٩ فرحان عزيز واعجبو رايبهوم الفاسد وقبل شورتهم ١٠
وانعم عليهم

وادعا بلمهنسين والصوناع من ساير ١١ البلاد فلما حضرو بين يدين الملك فقال لهوم ١٢ ابنو لى
حجره طولها فرسخ وعرضها فرسخ فقالو ١٣ نعم يا ملك الزمان ففعلو كما قال لهوم فلما ١٤ خلصو
الموضع نادا وامر الملك فى جميع بلادا ١٥ بان لم يوبقا امراه حاملا حتى تحضر بين يدين ١٦ الملك
النمرود حينيد اجتمعو فى ذلك الموضع من ١٧ و١٨ النسا الحباله شى كثير ما يوعلم عددهوم الا ات
س'وات ١٩ فامر عله الدييات وقال لهوم الامراه الذى تولد ذكر ٤ يودبح على صدر امو واما الامراه الذى
تولد انتبيا ٥ يعتقها وترجع الا اهلها

قال كعب الاحبار ان قتل ٦ فى هادا الحجره سبعين الف غولام حينيد بعد ذلك ٧ ضغت الملايكة
بين يدين الرب وقالو يا رب العلامين يا ٨ عالم الاسرار والضمائر والافكار ما ترا ما ٩ فعل هدا الكافر
اللعين كيف اطغا وطمرد حينيد ١٠ اوحا ات' على الملايكة وقال لهوم يا ملايكتى ويا ١١ كل ما فعله هدا
الكافر انا ناضر وكيف لا انضور ١٢ وانا فى المنظر الاعلا ولا يخفى عنى شى الا وعزتى ١٣ وجللتى الا
اورى هل لعين الملعون شى من عجايبى ١٤ لم يقدر احد عليه غيرى ابا قال كعب الاحبار ١٥ ان اوم
ابرهيم زوجت ترح حبلت ودخلت فى اشهور ١٦ الحبل فالقا ات' عز وجل الرحما والشفقا فى قلبها ١٧
قبل ان تولدا

وخل عليهم ٨ القوابل وادا ولدت واحده منهم انتبى ٩ تخلع عليهم واطلقها وادا وضعت ١٠ ذكر يودبح على صدر امه فلما سمع ١١ الملك قولهم فرح
فرحا عظيم واعجبه ١٢ رايبهم الفاسد وقبل مشورتهم وخلع ١٣ عليهم وادعا بالمهندزين والصناع ١٤ من ساير البلاد فلما حضرو بين يديه ١٥ قال لهوم
ابنو لى حجره طولها فرسخ ١٦ وعرضها فرسخ فقالو نعم يا ملك ١٧ الزمان ففعلى كما قال لهوم فلما كملو الموضع ١٨ نادا فى جميع بلادها بان لا
تبقا امراه ١٩ حامل حتى تحضر بين يدي الملك النمرود حينيد ٢٠ فاجتمعو فى تلك الموضع من النسا الحوامل شى ٢١ كثير ما يعلم عددهم الى اله تعالى
فوكل ٢٢ عليهم القوابل وقال لهم الامراه الذى تضع ٢٣ انتبى يوخلع عليها وترجع الى اهلها والذى ٢٤ ووضع ذكر يودبح على صدرها قال كعب الاحبار
ان قتل فى تلك الحجره كام الف غلام ٢٥ قالو انهم سبعين الف حينيد بعد ذلك ٢٦ ضجت الملايكة وقالو يا رب العلامين يا ٢٧ عالم بالابير والضمير
والافكار ما ترا ٢٨ ما فعل هل كافر هل لعين كيف اضغا ٢٩ وانتمرد حينيد اوحا الله تعالى الى ٣٠ الملايكة وقال لهم يا ملايكتى كل ما ٣١ فعله النمرود
انا ناضر وكيف لا اراه ٣٢ وانا فى المنظر الاعلا ولا يخفى عنى ٣٣ خافيه الا وعزتى وجلالتى ٣٤ الا اورى هل كافر ٣٥ هل ملعون شياً من عجايبى
ما لم يقدر احد ٣٦ عليه غيرى ابدأ قال كعب الاحبار ان ام ٣٧ ابرهم زوجة ترح علققت ودخلت فى اشهر ٣٨ الحمل فالقا الله تعالى عز وجل الرحمه ٣٩
والشفقه فى قلبها قبل ان تولده

⁷ تُطلقها : MS תְּטַלְקָהּ (u). Displaying the only occurrence of the diacritic *qibbūš* (u).

Leave them to the midwives. If any of them gives birth to a girl, let her go. But if the woman gives birth to a boy, he is to be slaughtered on the chest of his mother. When the king heard this advice he became very happy. He was delighted by their immoral vision. He approved of their advice and was gracious towards them.

So he sent for technicians and experts from throughout the land. When they were in the presence of the king, he said, “Build me a courtyard which is one *farsakh* long and one *farsakh* wide.” And they said, “Yes, o King of time,” and did what he had told them. When they had finished the place, the king called out and ordered, in his entire country, that “No pregnant woman will be spared unless she has appeared before King Nimrūd!” Then they gathered in that place, ^{3a} a large number of pregnant women whose amount is unknown to anyone except Allāh, Exalted be He. And he ordered the midwives and said to them, “If a woman who gives birth to a boy, he will be slain on her chest. Now, if a woman gives birth to a girl, set her free and she will return her to her family.”

Ka‘b al-Aḥbār has said that seventy thousand boys were murdered in that courtyard.⁸ The angels were astonished before the Lord and said, “O Sovereign of the Universe, o Knower of secrets and thoughts. Do You not see what that evil disbeliever have done? How tyrannical and despotic he is?” Then Allāh MHBE revealed to the angels and said to them, “In whatever that disbeliever has done, I have insight! How can I not see, when I am in the highest of places? Nothing is kept hidden from me. I swear by my glory and majesty. I see everything! This cursed outcast is something from among my [created] wonders. No one has power over him but Me, into eternity!” Ka‘b al-Aḥbār has said that the mother of Ibrāhīm, the wife of Terah, got pregnant and went into the months [of pregnancy]. Allāh MHBE, Almighty and Exalted, put compassion and sympathy in her heart ^{3b} before she gave birth.

al-Kisāʾī:127⁸ : فان ولدت غلاما قتله وان ولدت انثى ابياها فلم يزل كذلك حتى ذبح في سبع سنين مائة الف من الاطفال.

فاخفت امراها عن بعلها حتى كبر ٣ بطنها واتغير لونها كثير فسالها بعلها وقال لها ٤ انتى حبله فاخفت
 عنو وجوبتو وقالت لم انا حبله ٥ فقال لها مالك اتغيرتى وكوبرت بطنك فقالت يا سيدى ٦ ان يمسنى فى
 كل عام مرض يسمه ريح الهيجان قال ٧ لها ترح اورنى وجعيك فاورتو ووضع يدو علا بطنها ٨ لم يعلم
 ان كانت حبله او لا حينيد انقال ات ٩ ابرهيم من بطنها ولم عرف انها حبله فقال ١٠ لها صدقتى فلم تزال
 حته كتمت امرها حته كومت ١١ اوشهورها وقوربت للولاده فاخفت ليله ليعلم ١٢ بها الملك النمرود
 فخرجت من المدينه ومشيت ١٣ الى ان وصلت الى وادى من بعض الاوديبه ومشيت فيها ١٤ فواجدت
 مغارا فدخلت اليها

فلما نداها الطلق ١٥ طلعت علا صخره وطلقت وفرغ ات ١٦ عليها وولدت خى ١٧ ابرهيم الخليل
 فلما وضعت سيّد ابرهيم الخليل ١٨ ٢٠ ٢١ ونوارت المغارا من نور وجهو المكرم ففرحت به ٢٢ فرحان
 عزيز كيف سلمك ات ٢٣ من النمرود وقبلته بين ٢٤ عينيه وقالت له يا سيدى كيف ولدتك من بطنى فى زمان ٥
 الخوف العزيز هادا الذى انقتل فى سبعين الف ٢٦ غولام وانا خاييفه له يدرى بك الملك النمرود ابن ٢٧ كنعن
 ويقتلك كما قتل جيلك ولا كن تموت يا ولدى ٢٨ هنه ولا يدرى بك النمرود ولا انضورك مدبوح علا ٢٩
 صدرى تم انها اخدت طرحتها وشقتها نصفين ولفته ٣٠ فى النصف الواحد واطرحت بنصف التانى وخلتو
 فى المغارا ورجعت الى منزلها وقالت اودعتك لمن ٣١ لم تخيب عندو الوداييع هوا الذى خلقك ويدبرك
 ٣٢ باحسن التدبير ويحروسك بعينو الذى لم تغفل ٣٤ ولم تنام

٦ فاخفت امراها عن بعلها حتى كبر ٧ بطنها واتغير لونها كثير فسالها ٨ بعلها وقال انتى حامله اجابته ٩ وقالت لا فقال لها فمالك اتغيرتى ١٠ وكبر
 بطنك قالت يا سيدي يلحقنى ١١ فى كل عام مرض يسمى روح الهيجان قال ١٢ لها ترح اورينى فاورتو فوضع يده ١٣ على بطنها ليعلم هل هى
 حامل ام ١٤ لا حينيد انقل الله تعالى ابرهم ١٥ من بطنها ولا عرف انها حامل فقال ١٦ لها صدقتى فلم تزال تكتم امرها ١٧ حتى كملت اشهرها وحاجت
 ولادتها ١٨ فاخفت لياياعلم بها الملك ١٩ النمرود فخرجت من المدينه ومشت فيه ٢٠ فوجدت مغاره فيه فدخلت اليها ٢١ فلما جاها الطلق طلعت على
 صخره ٢٢ وطلقت وفرغ اتع ٢٣ عنها ففرجو القريب ٢٤ ووضع سيدينا ابرهيم ع الم ٢٥ فلما وضعت ٢٦ ابونا ابرهيم ٢٧ ٢٨ ٢٩ اضات المغاره ٣٠ من نور
 وجهو المكرم ففرحت به فرحاً ٣١ عظيم كيف سلمه الله تعالى من النمرود ٣٢ وقبلته بين عينيه وقالت له يا سيدي ٣٣ كيف ولدتك فى زمان هل خوف
 العظيم ٣٤ الذى قتل فيه الملك النمرود سبعين ٣٥ الف غولام من جبهتك وانا خاييفه ٣٦ ليلا يدرى بك الملك النمرود ابن كنعن ٣٧ ويقتلك كما قتل غيرك
 ولكن تموت يا ٣٨ ولدى هنا ولا انضورك مدبوح على ٣٩ صدرى تم انها اخدت مقنتها وشقتها ٤٠ نصفين ولفته فى النصف الواحد وخلته ٤١ فى
 المغاره ورجعت الى منزلها ٤٢ وقالت اودعتك لمن لا تخيب اليه الوداييع ٤٣ هو الذى خلقك ويدبرك باحسن تدبير ٤٤ ويحرصك بعينه الذى ما تنام

So the woman hid her matter for her husband until her belly had grown and her complexion had severely changed. Her husband asked her and said to her, “Are you pregnant?” She concealed her belly, answered him and said, “I am not pregnant”. So he said, “What is the matter with you then? You have changed and your belly has grown.” She said, “My master, a sickness named the camel rider’s wind seizes me every year.” Teraḥ said to her, “Show me where it hurts.” So he put out his hand on her belly, not knowing if she was pregnant or not.” At that moment, Allāh, Exalted be He, transferred Ibrāhīm from her belly, and he couldn’t know that she was pregnant. He said, “You speak the truth.” So she continued [to hide the matter] until she completed her months and was approaching birth. And she became afraid lest the king Nimrūd would know of it, so she left the city and walked until she arrived in one of the valleys. She wandered in it, found a cave and got into it.⁹

When labor pains came near, she went onto a rock cave and let go, and Allāh MHBE emptied her, Exalted be He, and she bore Ibrāhīm the Friend. When she bore Ibrāhīm the Friend, ^{4a} *peace be upon him* (PBUH),¹⁰ the cave lit up from the light of his noble face and she rejoiced with him greatly, “How Allāh, Exalted be He, kept him safe from Nimrūd!” And she kissed him between his eyes, and said to him, “O master, how I bore you from my belly in times of great fear. This is the one for which seventy thousand boys were killed. I was worried, lest King Nimrūd son of Canaan would know of you and kill you the way he killed your generation. You did not die here, my child. Nimrūd did not come to know of you. I did not have to see you slain on my chest!” Then she took her veil, split it in two halves, wrapped him in the one half and covered herself with the second. She left him in the cave and returned to her home.¹¹ She said, “I bade you goodbye, together with the One by Whom you will not be forsaken. He is the One who created you, and will direct you in the most excellent way, and guard you with His own eyes, which do not overlook nor sleep.”

⁹ al-Tha‘labī:42 : فأمر نمرود بذبح الغلمان ، فلما دنت ولادة أم إبراهيم عليه السلام وأخذها المخاض خرجت هاربة مخافة أن يطلع عليها فيقتل ولدها

¹⁰ al-Tha‘labī:42 : لما وجدت أم إبراهيم الطلق خرجت ليلة إلى مغارة كانت قريبة منها فولدت فيها إبراهيم عليه السلام

¹¹ al-Tha‘labī:42 : وأصلحت من شأنه ما يصنع بالمولود ، ثم سدت عليه المغارة ورجعت إلى بيتها

قال كعب الاحبار ان ابراهيم **عليه السلام** ^{١٥} فى ما بين ما هو فى ذلك المغارا وحدو فاشتوحس ^{١٦} وبكا فنضر
 ات' الى وحدته لما سمع بكاه فاوحا ^{١٧} لهو ات' الى الس' جبريال الملاك ان يهبط من السما ^{١٨} الى
 ابراهيم **عليه السلام** فلقمو باهميه اليمنا واليسارا فاخرج ^{١٩} ات' من الباهم الواحد لبين ومن الباهم الواحد غسل
 ولما ^{٢٠} مدى عشرت ايام مشا تم ان لما جا عليه الليل ^{٢١} راي الكواكب قد ازهرت قال هذا ربى فلما غابت ^{٢٢}
 الكواكب واختفا نور هوم قال ابراهيم انا لم اعبد ^{٢٣} من يغيب ويحضر فلما اسرق الضو ونضر الشمس ^{٢٤} قد
 اسرقت نورها قال هذا ربى فلما ازلامت ^{٢٥} الشمس قال اذلم يهدينى ربى لآكون من القوم ^{٢٦} الزالمين فعند
 ذلك هبط الى الملاك جبريال وقال له ^{٢٧} السلام عليك يا ابراهيم فرد عليه السلام فسالو ^{٢٨} ابراهيم وقال لو
 مين انتة فقال لو انا الملاك ^{٢٩} جبريال حينيد فانبع له ات' عين ما حلوه قوى ^{٣٠} فاتنصف فيها ابراهيم
 وغسل يديه ورجليه والهمو ^{٣١} ات' فقعد يصلى ويدعى الى ات'

قال كعب ^{٣٢} الاحبار ان اوم ابراهيم زكرت ابنها وافتكرتو ^{٣٣} وبكبيت وخرجت تطلبو لم تعلم ان
 كان حى ^{٣٤} او مايبت فجات الى وادى ودخلت الى المغارا ولم وجدتو ابدن ^{٣٥} فصرخت وبكبيت وقالت يا
 ليت شعرى يا ولدى اكلك ^{٣٦} السبع او الديب افترسك تم صارت تمشى فى البرارى باكييه ^{٣٧} مغمومه
 صارخه حته جات الى موضع ووجدت ولدها قاعد ^{٣٨} مقيم فيها فاتقدمت الى وقالت له السلام عليك يا
 سيدى ^{٣٩} فرد عليها السلام فقال لها ابراهيم ما حجتك يا هادى ^{٤٠} الحورمه

قال كعب ^{٤١} الاحبار ان ابراهيم **عليه السلام** ^{٤٢} فى ما بين ما هو فى تلك المغاره وحده فاشتوحس ^{٤٣} وبكا فنضر اتع' الى وحدته لما سمع بكاه ^{٤٤} فاوحا الله
 تعالى الى سييدنا جبريال ^{٤٥} الملاك ان يهبط من السما الى ابراهيم ^{٤٦} ع'الم' فلقمه بهاميه اليمنه واليسرا ^{٤٧} فاخرج له الله تعالى من البهايم ^{٤٨} الواحد لياً
 ومن الاخر شهيداً ولما ^{٤٩} مضى له ايام مشا تم ان لما جا عليه ^{٥٠} الليل راي الكواكب قد ازهرت قال هذا ربى فلما غابت الكواكب واختفا ^{٥١} نورها
 قال ابراهيم انا لا اعبد من ^{٥٢} يغيب فلما اشرق الضو ونضر الشمس قد ^{٥٣} اشرفت انوارها قال هذا ربى فلما ^{٥٤} اظلمت قال ادا لم يهدينى ربى لآكون
 من القوم الضالين فعند ذلك هوبط اليه ^{٥٥} السييد جبريال حينيد فانبع له الله ^{٥٦} تعالى ما حلوه فاتنصف فيها ابراهيم ^{٥٧} ع'الم' وغسل يديه ورجليه
 والهوا الله ^{٥٨} تعالى فقعد يصلى ويدعى الى الله تعالى ^{٥٩} قال كعب الاحبار ان ابراهيم **عليه السلام** ^{٦٠} زكرته ^{٦١} امه وافتكرت فيه ^{٦٢} وبكت بكا ان شديد
 وخرجت فى طلبه ^{٦٣} لتعلم ان كان حى او مايبت فجات الى ^{٦٤} الوادى ودخلت الى المغاره ولم وجدته ^{٦٥} هناك فصرخت وبكت وقالت يا ليت شعرى
^{٦٦} يا ولدى اكلك السبع او الديب افترسك ^{٦٧} تم صارت تمشى فى البرارى باكيه ^{٦٨} هايمه صارخه حتى جات الى موضع ^{٦٩} ووجدت ولدها ابراهيم
 مقيم فيها ^{٧٠} فاتقدمت اليه وقالت له السلام ^{٧١} عليك رد عليها الجواب فقال لها ^{٧٢} وما حاجتك يا ايهو الحورمه

¹² زكرته MS 52 : corrected on the basis of MS 46

Ka'ab al-Aḥbār has said that meanwhile, Ibrāhīm *PBUH* was inside that cave all alone. He was abandoned, and he wept. Allāh, Exalted be He, saw his loneliness. When He heard his weep, He revealed to the Angel Master Gabri'el that he descends from heaven down ^{4b} to Ibrāhīm *PBUH*. He fed him with his right and left thumb. Out of one thumb came milk, and out of one thumb came honey,¹³ and when ten days had passed, he walked. *When the night came, he saw the stars shining,*¹⁴ *he said, "This is my Lord"* (Q 6.75-76) But when their light disappeared and vanished, he said, "I do not worship that which comes and goes." When the light shone and he could see the sun, and that its light was shining, *he said, "This is my Lord"* (Q 6.76).¹⁵ But when the sun darkened he said, "If my Lord does not guide me I shall surely be of the people gone astray" (Q 6.77).¹⁶ Then, the Angel Gabri'el was set down to him, and he said to him, "Peace be upon you, o Ibrāhīm," to which he replied, "Peace." And Ibrāhīm asked him and said, "Who are you?" He said to him, "I am the Angel Gabri'el." Then, Allāh, Exalted be He, caused a fresh spring of water to flow out for him, and Ibrāhīm *PBUH* washed himself in it. He washed his hands, feet and the top of his head, sat down to pray and called for Allāh MHBE.

Ka'ab al-Aḥbār has said that the mother of Ibrāhīm remembered her child. She wept and went out to search for him, not knowing whether he was alive ^{5a} or dead. She came to the valley and went into the cave, but could not find her son. She cried out, wept and said, "Oh my dear! My son, did a beast eat you, or did a wolf ravish you?" Then she started walking in the prairie, crying, worried and screaming, until she got to a place and found her child sitting therein alive. She approached him and said, "Peace be upon you, o Master of mine." "Peace," Ibrāhīm replied to her and said, "What is your errand, o maiden?"

¹³ al-Tha'labī:42 : فوجدته يمص من أصبع ماء ، ومن أصبع لبننا ، ومن أصبع عسلا ومن أصبع تمرا ، ومن أصبع سمنا
¹⁴ al-Tha'labī:42 : كانت تلك الليلة في آخر الشهر فتأخر طلوع القمر فيها ، فرأى الكوكب قبل القمر

¹⁵ The Qur'ānic references found in this passage are also attested in al-Tha'labī:42; al-Kisā'i:130; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* i: 237).

¹⁶ *Sefer ha-Yashar*:20a-20b : וירא אברם את השמש בארץ ויאמר אברם אל לבו אך עתה השמש הזאת אשר זרחה על כל הארץ הוא האלהים ולו אעבוד [...] ויחשך עליו הלילה [...] וירא אברם את הירח ואת הכוכבים לפניו ויאמר אך עתה הנה זה אלוה אשר ברא כל הארץ וכל האדם והנה עבדיו אלה הם לפניו [...] ויהי בבקר ויאר היום ותזרח השמש על הארץ כמשפט : וירא אברם את כל הדברים האלה אשר עשה יי אלהים בארץ : ויאמר אברם בלבו אך עתה אין אלה אלוהות אשר עשו את הארץ וכל האדם כי אם עבדי אלהים המה

فقالته لهُو انا كونت حامله من بعلى فاخفيت ٩ امرى من بعلى طول ما انا حبله فعنت جانى الطلق جيت الى ١٠ وادى هاده وولدت ذكر ففزعت على من الملك النمرود ١١ له يقتلو فلما حانت الشوقه فى قلبى فجيت الى اطلبه ١٢ فلم رايتو ابدن فى المغارا قال لها ابراهيم من مدت ١٣ كام يوم ولدتى هنه فقالت لو مرت اليوم عشرين يوم ١٤ وجيت اليوم طربتو لم وجدتو يا ولدى ان عدرى واضح ١٥ فقال لها يا امى انا هو ولدك فقالت لو يا ولدى كيف ١٦ كبرت ومشيت وترعرت وغشيت وتكلميت فى عشرين ١٧ يوم قال لها نعم يا امى تعلمى فى هادا الوجود الاله ١٨ عزيم الشان يفعل ما يشا ويحكوم ما يشا يسمع ويراه ١٩ وهو لا يورا وفى المنصر الاعله قالت لو يا ولدى ولك رب ٢٠ اخر غير الملك النمرود فقال لها نعم يا امى الاله ٤ السموات والاراضى رب المشرق والمغرب ورب النمرود ٥ ابن كنعن حينيد لما سمعت كلام ابنها فقالت ٦ لو انت الولد الذى كان يخاف منك بلا شك وانت ٧ الذى قتل منشك الملك سبعين الف غولام وانت ٨ الذى وصولك بانك تاتى لهذا العالم وخلته ورجعت ٩ الى منزلها فلما جا بعله ترح فسالتو وقالت لهُو ١٠ اننى اخبرك بامرنا وهو عجيب واخفيتو منك وكتمت ١١ ذلك الى هادا الوقت ما هدا الخبر فقالت لهُو اننى ١٢ كونت حمله منك بولد ذكر واخفيتو منك وعند ١٣ ما جيت الى الولاده فخرجت الى وادى فوجدت فى ١٤ مغارا فدخلت وولدتو فيها وتركتو فيها مدت ١٥ عشرين يوم فلما شوقت اليه جيت الى المغاره ١٦ لاطلبه منها فما وجدتو هناك فبكيت عليه ١٧ صرخت ودرت فى البرايه وانا باكيه صارخه

قالت ١٨ له اننى كنت حامل من بعلى فولدت ١٩ ذكر ففزعت عليه من الملك النمرود ليلا ٢٠ يقتله فلما حانت ولادتو فخرجت الى ٢١ وادى من بعض الاوديه فوجدت فيه مغاره ٤ فدخلت اليها ووضعو فيها ورجعت الى ٥ منزلى حينيد فان لما اشتقت الى نضرته ٦ جيت اطلبه فلم رايتو ابدأ فى ٧ المغاره قال لها ابراهيم من مدة ٨ عشرين يوم جيت فى طلبته الان ٩ فقالت له يا ولدى ان عدرى واضح ١٠ فقال لها يا امى انا هو ولدك ١١ فقالت له يا ولدى كبرت وانتشيت واترعرت ومشيت ١٢ تكلمت فى عشرين يوم قال لها نعم ١٣ يا امى تعلمى فى هذه الوجود الله ١٤ عظيم الشان يفعل ما يشا وكيف يشا ١٥ يسمع ويراه وهو لا يورا وفى المنظر ١٦ الاعلا قالت له يا ولدى ولك رب ١٧ اخر غير الملك النمرود قال لها نعم يا امى الله السموات والارض رب ٢٠ المشرق والمغرب ورب النمرود ابن كنعن ٣ حينيد لما سمعت كلام ابنها فقالت ٤ له انت الولد الذى كان يخاف منك تحقيق ٥ بلا شك وانت الذى قتل لاجلك الملك ٦ النمرود سبعين الف غلام وانت الذى وصفونك ٧ بانك تاتى لهذا العالم وسببته ٨ وخلته ورجعت الى منزلها فلما جا ٩ ابوه ترح فسالتو وقالت لهُو اننى ١٠ اخبرك بامرنا وهو عجيب واخفيتو منك وكتمت ذلك الامر الى ١١ هدا الوقت قال لها ما هل خير قالت ١٢ اننى كونت حامله منك بولد ذكر ١٣ واخفيتو منك وعند ما حانت ١٤ ولدتى خرجت الى وادى فوجدت فيه ١٥ مغاره ووصته فيها وتركته مدة ١٦ عشرين يوم فلما اشتقت اليه ١٧ جيت الى المغاره لاطلبه فيها فما ٢٠ وجدته هناك فبكيت عليه وصرخت ٣ ودورت فى البريه وانا باكيه صورخه

She said to him, “I was pregnant from my husband, so I hid my matter from him for as long as I was pregnant. In hardship the delivery came to me, and I came to this valley and gave birth to a boy. I sought refuge for him from King Nimrūd, lest he would kill him.

When longing drew near in my heart, I came to search for him. But I could not find him in the cave at all.” Ibrāhīm said to her, “How many days ago did you give birth here?” She said to him, “Today, twenty days have passed. I came today searching for him but could not find him. O son of mine! My excuse is crystal clear!” He said to her, “O mother of mine, I am him, your child.” She said to him, “O child of mine, how have you grown up to walk, come into youth, become aware and speak in twenty days?” He said to her, “Yes, mother of mine, you know that in this world there is a god of powerful nature! He does what He desires, and rules what He desires.¹⁷ He hears, He sees ^{5b} and He is not seen, and is in the highest of places.” She said to him, “My child, do you have a lord other than King Nimrūd?” He said to her, “Yes, my mother, Allāh of Heaven and Earth, *Lord of the East and the West* (Q 73.9), Lord of Nimrūd son of Canaan.”¹⁸ When she heard what her son said, she said to him, “You are undoubtedly the boy he feared. And you are the one for whose sake the king murdered seventy thousand boys.

And you are the one [of] whose coming to this world [they spoke].” She left him and returned to her house. When her husband Teraḥ came, she asked him and said, “Truly, I will tell you about something amazing. I have hidden this from you, and kept it a secret until now.” She said to him, “Truly, I was pregnant from you with a baby boy and hid him from you. When birth came, I went out to a valley where I found a cave. I got into it, gave birth to him inside and left him there for twenty days. I longed for him, and I came to the cave to search for him, but I could not find him there. So I wept for him and went back into the wilderness weeping and screaming.

¹⁷ See e.g. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* ii:107, where Ibrāhīm is reported saying لأنه يحكم ما يشاء كما أنه يفعل ما يريد ‘because He does what He desires and rules what He wishes.’

¹⁸ al-Kisāʾ:131 : فارتعد تاريخ من كلامه وقال يا ولدي ألك رب غير نمروذ وله مملكة الارض شرقها وغربها

فجيت ١٨ الى بعض من المواضع فوجدتو هناك وهو قد انتشا ٢٦ و٢٧ ومشأ وترعرع وتكلم وقال ان
الاه موجود فى السموات والارض ٣ رب المشرق والمغرب يرا ولا يورا وهو فى المنصر الاعله حينيد ٤
لما سمع بعلمها ترح دالك الكلام قال لها اكنمى حته ٥ امضى الى الملك النمروود واعلمه بدالك الامر وكان
بعلمها ٦ ترح لهو منزله عزيمة عند الملك تم انو حضر لعند النمروود ٧ وتخطا ارقاب الناس وسجد بين يدين
الملك فقال لهو النمروود ٨ ارفع راسك واسال عن حاجتك وكانت عاده عند الملوك ان ٩ اى من سجد قودام
الملك لم يرفع راسه حته يادن لو ١٠ الملك فقال لو النمروود ارفع راسك واسال عن حاجتك توقضه ١١
فجوبهو ترح ابى ابرهيم وقال له يا ملك الزمان اننى ١٢ اتيت اليك ناصحا ومبشرا ومخباره قال له مه هو
الخبر ١٣ فقال لهو اخباروك بدالك سابق بان ينولد ولد فى العام ١٤ يكون تالف نفسك ويفسد مدهبك وانت
قتلت منشانو ١٥ سبعين الف فهو ولدى وان امو حبلت بهو ووضعته خارج المدينة ١٦ فى مغارا تم عاودت
الى حتى تفتقدو وتنضورو فوجدته ١٧ قد مشأ وترعرع وتكلم فى عشرين يوم وقال لامه ٢٦ ط ٢ ان له رب
فى السما يرا ولا يورا وهو بالمنزر الاعله حينيد ٣ لما سمع الملك النمروود دالك الخبر صرخ صرخه
عزيمة ٤ وقام وقعد وقال للوزرا شورو علاييه بما افعل بهدا ٥ المولود اجابوه وقالو لو انتا مولنا والاهنا
الملك كيف ٦ تفزع من مولود طفل صغير وانتا لك الف وزير يد كل ٧ وزير الف امير

٤ فجيت الى موضع من المواضع فوجدته ٥ هناك وهو قد انتشا ومشأ وكبر ٦ وترعرع وتكلم وقال ان الله موجود ٧ فى السموات والارض رب
الخليق ٨ من مشرقها لمغربها رب يرا ولا ٩ يورا وهو بالمنصر الاعلا حينيد لما ١٠ سمع ترح دالك الكلام اقبل عليه وقال لها ١١ اكنمى دالك حتى
امضى الى الملك النمروود ١٢ واعلمه بدالك الامر وكان ترح له ١٣ منزله عظيمه عند النمروود تم انه ١٤ حضر عند الملك النمروود وتخطا ارقاب
الناس وسجد بين يديه فقال له النمروود ١٦ ارفع راسك واسأل عن حاجتك وكانت ١٧ سبيرة عندهم ان اى من سجد للنمروود ١٦ ط ١ لا يرفع راسه حتى
يادن له الملك فقال ٢ له النمروود ارفع راسك واسال عن حاجتك ٣ تقضا فجابوه ترح ابى ابرهيم الخليل ٤ وقال له يا ملك الزمان اننى اتيت اليك ٥
ناصحا ومبشرا قال له بمه دا اتيتنى ٦ قال فما اخبروك بدالك بان يولد ولد ٧ فى العالم يكون تلاف نفسك وافساد ٨ مدهبك على يده وقتلت سبعين الف
٩ غلام لاجله فهو ولدى وان امه حملت ١٠ به ووضعته خارج المدينة فى مغارته ١١ تم عاودت اليه حتى تفتقده وتنضره ١٢ فوجدته قد مشأ وكبر
وانتشا ١٣ وترعرع وتكلم فى عشرين يوماً وقال ١٤ لامه ان له رب فى السما مسكنه يرا ١٥ ولا يورا وهو بالمنصر الاعلا حينيد ١٦ لما سمع الملك
النمروود ذلك الخبر ١٧ صرخ صرخه عظيمه وقام وقعد وقال ١٨ للوزرا شيرو علييا بما افعل بهدا ١٩ المولود اجابوه وقالو له انت مولانا ٢
والاهنا¹⁹ كيف تفزع من مولود طفل ظغير ٣ وانت لك الف وزير وتحت يد كل وزير الف ٤ امير

¹⁹ والاهنا MS 52 : corrected on the basis of MS 46 والاحنا

Then, I came to [search in] a few places and found him there. He had grown, ^{6a} was walking, had come into youth and spoke, and said that there is a god in Heaven and Earth, a *Lord of the East and the West* (Q 73.9). He sees but is not seen. And He is in the highest of places.” When her husband Teraḥ heard that statement, he said to her, “Hide until I have gone to King Nimrūd and consulted that matter with him.” For her husband Teraḥ had an astonishing house close by the King. Then he appeared before Nimrūd, proceeded through the crowd of people and prostrated himself before the King.²⁰ Nimrūd said to him, “Raise your head and ask for your matter,” for it was a custom with the kings that whoever prostrated before the king, would not raise his head before the king had permitted him. So Nimrūd said to him, “Raise your head and ask for your matter.” And Teraḥ, father of Ibrāhīm, did what he was told, answered him and said, “O King of time, I have come to you with advice, a pursuit and information.” He said to him, “What be so that information?” So he said to him, “They have informed you of this before, that there will be born a boy this year, who will destroy your soul and corrupt your religion, and for whose sake you killed seventy thousand. He is my son, and his mother was pregnant with him and have birth to him in a cave outside the city. Then she went back to him, in order to see him and feel the loss. She found that he was walking, had come into youth and spoke in twenty days.²¹ He said to his mother ^{6b} that he had a lord in heaven who can see but is not seen, and that He is in the highest of places.”²² Thereafter, when King Nimrūd heard this, he screamed out loud, rose up and sat down, and said to his viziers, “Advise me on what to do with this new-born.” They answered him and said to him, “You are our master and our god, the King. How come you’re afraid of a little child’s birth when you have a thousand viziers, and under the control of every vizier are one thousand emirs?”

²⁰ al-Kisāʾī:131 : ثم قام تاريخ واتي الى نمرود وسجد له.

²¹ al-Kisāʾī:131 : وقال ايها الملك ان الولد الذي كنت تخاف منه فانه هو ولدي.

²² al-Kisāʾī:131 : انه يزعم ان له رباً سواك.

وتحت يد كل امير الف اقيد وتحت ٨ كل يد اقيد الف خدام ايضا نشير عليك ان ترسل ٩ اليه من بعض خدامك ياتو بو الى بين يديك فهو صغير ١٠ حقير مقهور فقال لهوم يا قوم هل سمعتو فى ساير ١١ العالم بان مولود ابن عشرين يوم حكا ومشا وتكلم ١٢ وانتشا وقال ان لو الاله رب فى السما يرا وهو لم يورا ١٣ وهو بالمنزر الاعلا قال فاتحييرو عن رد الجواب ١٤ وتعجبو القوم فى كلامه

تم حضر بينهم الصيطان ١٥ ابليس اللعين فى صفة عابد لابس ضراعا من صوف ١٦ فاتخطا الناس جميعها بين يدي الملك النمروذ اللعين ١٧ وكر وسجد قودامه فقال له النمروذ ارفع راسك ١٧ فلما رفع راسه قال يا ابيهو السييد مه هل فزع والجزع من مولود ٣ طفل صغير انا اشير عليك بامرى ورايى فقال له الملك ٤ النمروذ ما هو الراى والشور الذى تشير به عليه قال لو تفتح ٥ خزايين السلاح وتعطى منهم لاجنادك وقوادك مع الامرا ٦ اهل مملكتك ويلبسون السلاح وبعد ذلك تبعت عسكريك ٧ لهذا المولود فلما ينزور ذلك العساكر مع الجيوش والامرا ٨ الذى لك فيفزع منهم ويدخل تحت امرك وطعتك ويعبد ٩ معبيدك ويسجد لك ويامن 23

قال كعب الاحبار ان الملك ١٠ النمروذ لما سمع كلام ابليس الشيطان اللعين فقبلو ١١ وحسن عندو 24 حينئذ فرق السلاح عله عساكرو وامرهم ١٢ بالركوب على الخيل وارسلهم لى ابراهيم الخليل ١٣ وامر ١٣ بال زينه فى المدينة ايضا 25

وتحت يد كل امير الف قايد وتحت ٥ يد كل قايد الف خدام ايضا نشير عليك ٦ ترسل له من بعض خدامك ياتو به الى ٧ بين يديك فهو ظهير حقير مقهور فقال ٨ لهوم يا قوم هل سمعتو فى ساير العالم ٩ بان مولود عشرين يوم حكا ومشا وتكلم ١٠ وانتشا وقال ان له رب فى السما يرا وهو ١١ لا يورا وهو بالمنزر الاعلا قال فاتحييرو ١٢ عن رد جوابو القوم فى كلامه تم حضر ١٣ بينهم الشطن ابليس العين فى صفة عيد ١٤ لابس ضراعه من صوف فاتخطا الناس ١٥ جميعها بين يدي الملك النمروذ وخر وسجد ١٦ قدامه فقال له النمروذ ارفع راسك ١٧ واسال عن حاجتك فلما رفع راسه قال يا ١٨ ابيهو السييد ما هل فزع والجزع من مولود ٣ طفل صغير انا اشور عليك بامرى ٢ ورايى فقال له الملك النمروذ ما هو الراى ٣ والشور الذى تشير به عليه قال له ٤ تفتح خزايين السلاح وتعطى منهم لاجنادك ٥ وقوادك مع الامرا اهل مملكتك ويلبسون ٦ السلاح وبعد ذلك تبعت عسكريك لهذا ٧ المولود فلما ينزور ذلك العساكر مع الجيوش ٨ والامرا الذى لك فيفزع منهم ويدخل تحت ٩ امرك وطاعتك ويعبد معابيدك ويسجد لك ١٠ ويامن قال كعب الاحبار ان الملك ١١ النمروذ لما سمع قول ١٢ ابليس الشيطان العين قبله وحسن عنده ١٣ كلامه حينئذ فراق السلاح على عساكره ١٤ وامرهم بالركوب على الخيل وارسلهم ١٥ الى ابينا ابراهيم الخليل عليه السلام ١٦ وامر بل زينه فى المدينة ايضا

23 MS Chapira:38 : [...] ويعبد معبودك

24 MS Chapira:38 : قال كعب احبار ان نمروذ قبل م[...]

25 MS Chapira:38 : وامر عساكره بال ركوب على خيلهم وفرق عليهم السلاح والعدد وامرهم بال زينا ويعتهم الى ابر'ع'س

When in the trust of every emir are one thousand commanders, and under the control of every commander are also one thousand servants? We advise you to send for him some of your servants, to bring him before you. He is little, helpless and defeated.” He said to them, “O people, have you ever heard of a new-born child of twenty days, who talks, walks, speaks and has grown up? He said that he has a god, a lord who is in the heavens. He said that He sees and He is not seen, and that He is in the highest of places.” They were baffled from the reply and astonished by his words.

Thereupon, the cursed *Şayṭān Iblīs* appeared in the form of a worshipper, dressed in a woollen garment. He advanced in between all the people and before the evil King *Nimrūd* and prostrated himself before him. *Nimrūd* said to him, “Raise your head.”^{7a} When he looked up, he said, “O master, what is that fright and concern about the birth of a little child? I will advise you with my instruction and my opinion.” So King *Nimrūd* said to him, “What be so this opinion and advice that you suggest for me?” He said to him, “Open the weapon vault and give from it to your soldiers and commanders, including the emirs of your kingdom who carry arms. After that, send your soldiers to the new-born. When he sees those soldiers with the army and emirs that are with you, he will be frightened from them, so that he will come under your orders and obedience, and he will worship your temples, bow down for you, and believe.”

Kaʿb al-Aḥbār has said that King *Nimrūd*, when he heard the words of the evil *Şayṭān Iblīs*, he agreed and was content with him. Then, he handed out arms to his soldiers and ordered them to ride the horses, and sent them for *Ibrāhīm the Friend PBUH*. Also, he ordered for the city to be decorated.

لما نزرهوم الس' ابراهيم ١٤ الخليل اقبلو علي صرخ الى ات' وبكا وقال في طلبته ١٥ بدالك يا مخلص
المزجوم من الزالم والضعيف من القوى ١٦ خلصنى من القوم الزلمين يا ربي²⁶ فسمع ات' بكا ونزر الى
بعين رحمتو وارسل الى الملاك المرسل جبريال واتجله ١٨ عليه ات' وقال لو له تخاف يا ابراهيم
והנה אנכי עמך ١٩ هودا عنايتي معك واحفرك اين ما تروح واين ما تجي ٢٠ وانزرك عله من يعاديك²⁷
فقال كعب الاحبار ان ات' عز وجل ٢١ امر الملاك جبريال ان يضرب حجاب بين ابراهيم وبين الجيوش
٢٢ فلما اتو اليه الجيوش والعساكر نذرو الحجاب وخافو ٢٣ من هيبته ابراهيم²⁸ ورجعو الى الملك
النمرود وقالو لو عن ٣ ذلك ان ابراهيم تحصن علينا ما لانه طاقه على فقال ٤ لهوم الملك وكيف يكون
العمل وايش الحيله²⁹ فقالو لو يا ٥ ملك تغلب في هذا البلد³⁰ فقوم بنه من هذا البلد ٦ وولى في مدينه
غيرها³¹ فقال لهوم نعم تم انهوم تجهزو ٧ للرحيل فاخذو الزاد ونفق عليهم وامرهوم بالرحيل ٨ فسار
الملك النمرود مع وزراه واجناده الى مدينه ٩ توسمه مدينه العراق³²

لما نضرهم السييد ابراهيم ع'الس' اقبلو ١٨ عليه صرخ الى الله ت'ع' وبكا وقال في ١٩ طلبته كدالك يا مخلص المظلوم من ٢٠ الظالم والضعيف
من القوى بل ضعى من القوم ٢ الظالمين يا ربي يا سامع الزعقات يا مطفى ٣ الهب تسمع زعقتي وتطفى لهيتي فسمع ٤ الله تعالى بدعا ابراهيم
ال'عس' ونضر اليه ٥ بعين الرحمه وشفق عليه ورحمه وارسل ٦ اليه جبريال الملاك واتجلا عليه ات' ٧ وقال له لا تخاف يا ابراهيم ٨ **והנה אנכי
עמך** ٩ يعنى هودا عنايتي تكون ٩ معك واحفضك اين ما تروح وايبديك ١٠ وانصرك على جميع من يعاديك قال ١١ كعب الاحبار ان الله تعالى عز
وجل ١٢ امر جبريال ان يضرب حجاب بين ابراهيم ١٣ وبينهم فلما اتو اليه الجيوش والعساكر ١٤ نضرو الحجاب وخافو من هيبه ابراهيم ١٥ **ע'הש'** ورجعو الى الملك النمرود وقالو ١٦ له عن ذلك ان ابراهيم تحصن عليه ما ١٧ لانه طاقه له قال الملك كيف يكون ١٨ العمل وايش الحيله فقالو له يا
ملك تغلب في ٢ هذا البلد فقوم ارحل بنا منها وولى الى ٣ مدينه غيرها فقال لهم نعم تم انهم ٤ تجهزو للرحيل فاخذو الزاد ونفق عليهم ٥ وامرهم
بالرحيل فسار الملك النمرود مع ٦ وزراه واجناده الى مدينه العراق

²⁶ MS Chapira:38 : فلما راهم ابراهيم ع'الس' اقبلو وجاوا اليه وبكا وصرخ بين يدين الله وقال في يا مخلص المظلوم من الضالم والضعيف من
القوى خلصنى من القوم الكافرين
²⁷ MS Chapira:38-39 : فسمع الله عز وجل بلاه يصير اليه بعين الرحمه وبعث اليه جبريال ع"ه قال له ما هذا البكا والفرح يا ابراهيم ما تعلم ان
الله...؟..الك الدنيا والاخره السماوات وما فيها والارض وما عليها فلا تخاف انا معك اين ما...؟..وت وهو ما يدك وناصرك على جميع اعداك
²⁸ MS Chapira:39 : امر جبريال ان يضرب بينهم وبين ابراهيم حجاب فلما اتو اليه الجيوش والعساكر والامرا نضرو الى ذلك الحجاب خافو
²⁹ MS Chapira:39 : ورجعو الى نمرود قالو له انه قد تحصن علينا وتغلب على هذا الامر وكيف يكون العمل وايش هي الحيله
³⁰ البلد MS 46 : corrected on the basis of MS 52 الكلام
³¹ MS Chapira:39 : قالو له قوم ارحل بنه من هذا البلد الى غيرها
³² MS Chapira:39 : فقال لهم نمرود انا ارحل تم انه تجهز الى الرحيل فشد زادو وزوادى ونفق في عساكره واجناده وامراه وقواده وامرهم
بالرحيل والمسير وسار نمرود مع واجناده وامراه الى اقليم العراق

When Master Ibrāhīm the Friend, saw them in front of him, he shouted to Allāh MHBE, wept, and called out, in his request, “O saviour of the oppressed from the injustice, saviour of the weak from the powerful. Save me from the nation of the oppressors, o Lord of mine!” Allāh MHBE heard his cry and saw him with the eyes of His mercy. He sent for the Angel Messenger Gabri^oel, and Allāh MHBE revealed Himself and said to him, “Do not fear, o Ibrāhīm. And, *behold, I am with thee* (Gen. 28.15), this is my care for you. I will guard you wherever you go and wherever you come, and I will protect you from whoever your enemy may be.” Ka^ob al-Aḥbār has said that Allāh MHBE, Almighty and Exalted, ordered the Angel Gabri^oel to make a barrier between Ibrāhīm and the troops. When the troops arrived, they saw the barrier and became afraid of ^{7b} Ibrāhīm’s endowment. They returned to King Nimrūd and told him about this, that “Ibrāhīm overcame us.” So the king said to them, “How can this be? And what be so his trick?” They said, “O king, he has got the upper hand in this land, lead us from this land and flee to another city.” And he said to them, “Indeed.” Then they prepared for departure. They took provisions and he laid out money for them, and ordered them to travel. Then King Nimrūd moved along with his viziers and soldiers to a city called the city of Iraq.

وجميع اولدهوم ونسونهوم واملهوم ١٠ اخدو معهوم الى ان وصلو³³ حينيد ارسل ات' هملاك جبريال ١١ الى ابرهيم الخليل قال لو قال ات' ربك ورب المشرق ورب المغرب ١٢ ورب الخلايق كولهوم قوم يلحق النمرود الى مدينه العراق³⁴

١٣ فقال ابرهيم الخليل كيف اشير يا ملاك جبريال الى ١٤ خلفهوم وله معى زاد وله راحله ولا عساكر ولا ١٥ جيش ولا امير ولا وزير ولا خزائن ولا سلاح ولا لابس ١٦ وهوم معهوم الجيوش والعساكر العزيمه³⁵ قال له الملاك ١٧ جبريال يا ابرهيم لا تكاف من دالك ما لك حاجه ١٨ لا فى زاد ولا فى راحله ولا فى جيش ولا فى عساكر ١٩ بش استوى انتة عله ضهرى وانا بعين ات' احضرك ٢٠ عندهوم³⁶ ففعل ابرهيم الخليل كمتل ما قال له ٢١ ملاك جبريال حينيد فرفعو علا ضهرو وحطو علا ٢٢ باب مدينه العراق فلمحت عين³⁷ وقال له ملاك ٢٣ جبريال ادخول الى وسط المدينه ونادى بصوت على وقول لا الله الا ٢٤ الله سب' وت' الذى فى السموات العاليه والاراضى السافله وهوا ٢٥ الواحد الاحد الفرد الصمد لا والد ولا ولد

وجميع ٧ اولادهم واموالهم الى ان وصلو حينيد ارسل ٨ الله تعالى جبريال الملك الى ابونا ابرهيم ٩ الخليل **עֲלֵי שָׁמַיִם** قال ربك ورب المشرق والمغرب ١٠ ورب الخلايق كلها قوم النمرود ١١ الى مدينه العراق قال ابرهيم الخليل ١٢ كيف اقوم اسير يا جبريال الى خلفهم ولا ١٣ معى زاد ولا راحله ولا عسكر ولا جيش ١٤ ولا امير ولا وزير ولا خزائن ولا سلاح ١٥ ولا لابس وهم معهم الجيوش العظيمه ١٦ والعساكر قال له جبريال يا ابرهيم ١٧ لا تخاف من دالك ما لك حاجه لا فى ١٨ زاد ولا راحله ولا جيش ولا راحله ١٩ ولا عسكر استوى على ضهرى وانا ٢٠ احضرك عندهم ففعل ابونا ابرهيم ع'الس' كمتل ٢١ ما قال له جبريال حينيد فلمحت عين محطه ٢٢ على باب مدينه العراق فقال له ادخل الى ٢٣ وسط المدينه ونادى بصوت على وقول لا الله ٢٤ الله سبحانه وتعالى الذى فى السموات ٢٥ العاليه ٢٦ والاراضى السفله ٢٧ وهو الواحد الاحد ٢٨ الفرد الصمد ٢٩ لا والد ٣٠ ولا ولد ٣١

³³ MS Chapira:39 : باموالهم واهلهم واولادهم
³⁴ MS Chapira:39 : فارسل الله عز وجل جبريال ع' الى ابر' ع'س' انذ' قال انذ'ك الله ربك ورب المشرق م'غرب الحق عدوك نمرود الى بلد العراق
³⁵ MS Chapira:39 : فقال اب'ر' لجبريال يا حبيبي جبريال كيف وراهم ولا معى زاد ولا راحله ولا جيش ولا امرا ولا خزائن ولا سلاح وهم معهم الجيوش والعساكر وال زاد والراحله
³⁶ MS Chapira:39 : قال له جبريال 'ي'ا' ابر' لا تخاف ما لك حاجه لا 'يزاد ولا' ابراحله ولا بعساكر ولا بجيوش استوى على ضهرى وانا اوديك لهم
³⁷ MS Chapira:39-40 : فقام ابر' ع'اس' واستوا' على صهر' جبريال ع'ه' فما طرفت عين لبصر ال' وهو حطو على 'ضهره ووداه ل' لعراق

They took with them most of their children, women, wealth until they arrived. Then, Allāh MHBE sent the Angel Gabri^ʿel to Ibrāhīm the Friend. He said to him, “Allāh MHBE, *Lord of the East and the West* (Q 73.9), Lord of all creatures, has said, ‘follow Nimrūd to the city of Iraq.’”

Ibrāhīm the Friend said, “How do I follow them, o Angel Gabri^ʿel, when I do not have provisions, nor a camel, nor soldiers or an army. I do not have an emir, or a vizier, or a vault, or arms, and no clothes, while they have tremendous armies and soldiers. The Angel Gabri^ʿel said to him, “O Ibrāhīm, do not fear. You do not have anything. [You have] no provisions, no camel, no armies and no soldiers. You shall (?) sit on my back and I will bring you to them, by the will of Allāh MHBE!” So Ibrāhīm the Friend did what Gabri^ʿel had told him. Then, he took him up on his back and brought him to the city gate of Iraq in the twinkling of an eye. The ^{8a} Angel Gabri^ʿel said to him, “Enter in the midst of the city and call out with a loud voice and say, ‘There is no god but Allāh, Glorified and Exalted be He, Who is in the high heavens and the low lands. *He is the Only, Single, Eternal One. He neither begets nor is born*³⁸ (Q 112).³⁹

³⁸ Lit.: ‘He is not a parent, neither a child.’

Q 112 ³⁹ : قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ.

لا وزير ولا امير ٥ لا شبيهه ولا نزيير وهو رب العالمين ورب النمرود ابن ٦ كنعن وانا ابراهيم عبدو خليل عبد ا' ورسولو ونابيو⁴⁰ ٧ تم دخل ابراهيم الخليل الى وسط المدينة وناده بصوت عالي ٨ فى الاسواق جميعها وحرثها واشواقها وشوارعها وقال قولو ٩ معى جميعكم كوباركوم صوغاركوم ونسوانكوم واولادكوم ١٠ وقولو لا الاله الا الله وحده لا شريك لهو بى مولكهو⁴¹ ١١ وقرو بانى ابراهيم عبدو خليل ونبيو ورسولو⁴² تم انو ١٢ وهو بينادى فى الاسواق فى نزر ابو ترح واخو هرن فقال لو ١٣ جبريال يا ابراهيم قول لابيك ولاخيك اشهدو ١٤ وقرو بذلك ان ات' واحد فرد صمد لا الاله الا هوا ١٥ ولا شريك لو فى ملكهو⁴³ فعند ذلك تقدم اليه ابراهيم ١٦ الخليل وقال لهوم يا ابى ويا اخى كيف تعبدو مخلوق ١٧ متلكوم من التراب وتسجدو للاشخاص وللصنم الذى ١٨ لا يسمع ولا ينطق ولا يمشى ولا يقشع الذى هو معمول^{٤٨} ٢ من خشب يابس يضر ولا ينفع ولا يرد عنكم ادا ولا عن نفسه

ولا وزير ٥ ولا امير ٥ ولا شبيهه ٥ ولا نظير ٥ وهو رب العالمين ٩ ورب النمرود العين ٥ واني انا ابراهيم عبدو ١٠ عبد ات' ورسولو ونبيو وكليله تم ١١ دخل ابراهيم الى وسط مدينة العراق ١٢ ونادا بصوتاً عالياً فى الاسواق ١٣ وحرثها وشوارعها ١٤ وقال قولو معى ١٤ جميعكم كبيركم ظغيركم ونساكم ١٥ مع بنيكم وبناتكم قولو لا الله الا ١٦ الله وحده لا شريك لهو فى ملكه وقرو ١٧ بانى انا ابراهيم خليله ونبيو ١٨ وعده تم انه وهو بينادى فى الاسواق ١٩ فضر ابيه ترح واخيه هرن فقال له ٢٠ جبريال يا ابراهيم قول لابيك اشهدو ٢١ وقرو بذلك ان ات' واحد فى ملكه لا ٢٢ الاله الا هو ولا شريك له ولا رفيق له ٢٣ ولا وزير له ولا مدبر له ولا معين له ٢٤ عند ذلك تقدم اليه ابراهيم وقال لهم ٢٥ يا ابى ويا اخى كيف تعبدون دون الله تعالى ٢٦ مخلوق متلكوم من التراب ويسجدو للاشخاص ٢٧ وللصنم الذى لا يسمع ولا يقشع ولا يمشى ولا له منفعة لانو هو ٢٨ معمول من خشب يابس يضر ولا ينفع ٢٩ ولا يرد عنكم

⁴⁰ MS Chapira:40 : وقال لا ادخول^٢ فى المدينة و^٣ قول قولو معى^٤ لا الله^٥ الا الله الذى هو فى السماوات العليه وفى الارض السافله وهو الاحد الفرد الصمد الذى ليس له لا والد ولا ولد ولا نايب ولا وزير ولا شبيهه ولا نضير وهو رب العالمين غميعهم ورب نمرود وانى انا ابراهيم^٦ عبد اللا وخليله ونبيو

⁴¹ MS Chapira:40 : فدخل ابراهيم الى مدينة العراق ووقف فى واسواقها وفى شوارعها^١ وفى حاراتها ونادا باعلى صوت وقال قولو معى جميعكم كباركم وصوغاركوم ونساكم ورجالكم بنيكم وبناتكم لا الله الا الله وحده لا شريك لهو فى ملكه

⁴² MS Chapira:40 : وقولو واني انا ابراهيم^١ عبده وخليله ونبيو

⁴³ MS Chapira:40 : تم انه ب... الاسواق وهو وجد ابوه ترح واكوه هرن قال له جبريال يا ابراهيم قول لابيك^١ ولاكوك اشهدو وقرو بان^٢ لا الله الا الله وحده لا شريك له^٣ فى ملكه

He is neither a vizier nor an emir, there is nothing resembling [Him] nor any supporter. He is Lord of the Universe and Lord of Nimrūd son of Canaan, and I am Ibrāhīm, His servant, the Friend, servant of Allāh, His messenger and His prophet.” Then, Ibrāhīm the Friend went into the midst of the city. He called out with a loud voice in the entire marketplace and its neighbourhoods, and in the markets with all their alleys and said, “Say with me, all of your elders, little ones, women and children, say, ‘There is no god but the only Allāh. He has no partner with Him in his sovereignty.’⁴⁴ Confirm that I am Ibrāhīm, His servant, the Friend, His prophet and His messenger!”⁴⁵ Then, while calling together [the people] in the marketplace, he saw his father Teraḥ and his brother Haran. The Angel Gabri’el said to him, “O Ibrāhīm, say to your father and brother, ‘Witness and confirm in this, that Allāh MHBE is One, Single and Eternal. There is no god but He. He has no partner with Him in his sovereignty.’”⁴⁶ Then, Ibrāhīm the Friend approached them and said to them, “My father, my brother, how can you worship a creature from the nature like yourself, and prostrate before individuals and idols? An idol which does not hear nor utters;⁴⁷ which does not walk nor breaks up; which is made ^{8b} out of dry wood; which does harm and does not have any profit?⁴⁸ It does not defend you, neither does it defend itself!”⁴⁹

⁴⁴ See e.g. Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī and Abū Hurayrah (in *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn* 16:1419 and *Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidī* 7:909); Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (in *Bulūḡ al-Marām* 16:1542); ‘Ubāda ibn al-Ṣāmit (in *Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidī* 48:45); ‘Abdallāh Ibn ‘Umar (in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* 1797): لا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ: ‘There is no true god except Allāh. He is One and He has no partner with Him [...]’.

⁴⁵ al-Kisā‘ī:133f. ونادى باعلى صوته يا قوم قولوا لا اله الا الله واني ابراهيم رسول الله.

⁴⁶ See Abū Hurayrah (loc. cit.)

⁴⁷ Q 19.42 : إِذْ قَالَ لِأَبِيهِ يَا أَبَتِ لِمَ تَعْبُدُ مَا لَا يَسْمَعُ وَلَا يُبْصِرُ وَلَا يُغْنِي عَنْكَ شَيْئًا.

⁴⁸ Q 26.72-73 : قَالَ هَلْ يَسْمَعُونَكُمُ إِذْ تَدْعُونَ أَوْ يَنْفَعُونَكُمُ أَوْ يَضُرُّونَ.

⁴⁹ al-Tha‘labī:42 : جعل يصنع الأصنام ويعطيها إبراهيم ليصرفها فيذهب بها إبراهيم عليه السلام فينادي: من يشتري ما يضره ولا ينفعه: - al-Kisā‘ī:132 : وكان إبراهيم يخرج ومعه غلمان ومعه الصنمان فيقول من يشتري ما لا يضر ولا ينفع: al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* i:233, 237 من يشتري ما يضره ولا ينفعه

٣ فعند ما سمع هادا الكلام ابو اخدو من يدو واتا بو الى منزله ٤ ومشى بو الى عند الملك النمروود مبشرا وناصحا وقال لو يا اياهو ٥ الملك اخبرك بامرنا وهو عاجيب فقال لو الملك اتكلم فقال ٦ ترح ابو ابراهيم الخليل الولد الذى انت هربت منو قد جا ٧ وانت لما سرت لمدينة العراق فى اربعين يوم حتى وصلتها ٨ الا قد سالتو متى سافر فقال لى البالغ العصر وكيف يكون ٩ مولود طفل صغير يسير سوفا اربعين يوم فى يوم واحد⁵⁰ ١٠ حينئذ لما سمع الملك النمروود ذلك الخبر والاقول صرخ ١١ صرخه عظيمه وتفكر فى احوالو وقام وقعد وادعا بالوزرا ١٢ والامرا فحضرو قودامه فسالهم وقال شيرو علىي بما كيف ١٣ افعل بهل مولود فقد لحقته الى ههنا فقالو الوزرا يا ايهو ١٤ الملك نشير عليك بانك تزيين المدينة بافخار الملبوس العزيم وتنصوب كورسى مملكتك وتامر السادات ان يزينو ١٥ بالزينة وتاتي بابرهم الى بين يديك فاذا نضر ذلك الزينه ١٦ ومملكتك الحسنه والعزيمه فيدخل تحت طعتك ويقضى ١٨ فى ما شيت قالو فاعجبو ذلك الشور ايضا فامر بان ١٩ ينادى فى مدينه العراق بال زينه فى الاسواق والشوارع ٢٠ وبالحولى والديباج والحريير والكشامير بال اسمنجون وال ارجوان ٢١ حينئذ ان الملك النمروود^٢ خلس علا كورسى الذى لو وقعدو الوزرا ٤ والبطرقا والامورا مع الاجناد علا كراسيهوم فارسل ٥ خلف ابراهيم الخليل ٦ حينئذ حضر ابراهيم بين يدين ٦ الملك مع ابى ترح وتخطا ارقب الوزرا والامورا ٧ والابطرقا جميع الى ان وصل الى كورسى الملك النمروود

ادا ومسك بيده واتا به ١٤ الى منزله ومشى فى الحين مسرعاً الى ١٥ عند الملك النمروود ناصحاً ومبشراً ١٦ وقال له يا ايهو الملك اخبرك بامرنا ١٧ وهو عجيب فقال له اتكلم قال يا ملك ٢ الولد الذى انت هربت منه الذى ولد لى ٣ قد جا هنا وانت لما سرت لمدينة ٤ العراق اربعين يوماً حتى وصلتها ٥ الا قد سالتو متى سافر فقال لى ٦ البارح سحر وكيف يكون مولود طفل صغير ٧ يسير مسيرة اربعين يوم فى يوم ان واحد ٨ حينئذ لما سمع النمروود ذلك الخبر ٩ والقول صرخ صرخه عظيمه وتفكر فى ١٠ احواله وقام وقعد وادعا بالوزرا ١١ والامورا فحضرو قدامه فسالهم وقال شيرو علييا بما افعل بالمولود فقد ١٢ لحقنا الى ههنا فقالو الوزرا يا ايهو ١٤ الملك نشير عليك بانك تزيين المدينة ١٥ بافخر الملبوس العظيم وتنصب كورسى ١٦ مملكتك وتامر السادات ان يتظاهرون ١٧ فى الزينه وتاتي بابرهم الى بين يديك ١٨ فاذا نضر ذلك الزينه ومملكتك وعظمتها ١٩ تحت طاعتك ويتبعك فى ٢ ما شيت اقوال فاعجبو ذلك الشور ايضا ٣ فامر بان ينادى فى مدينة العراق بال زينه ٤ فى الاسواق والشوارع بالحلى والديباج والحريير ٦ والكشابين والسمنجين والرجوان ٥ حينئذ ان ٧ الملك النمروود جلس على الكرسي الذى له جلسو ٨ الوزرا والبطرقه والامورا مع الاجناد ٩ على كراسيهوم فارسل الى خلف ابراهيم ١٠ عالس حينئذ حضر ابراهيم بين يديه مع ابوا ١١ ترح وتخطا ارقب الوزرا والامورا ١٢ والبطرقه جميع الى ان وصل كورسى الملك ١٣ النمروود

⁵⁰ MS Chapira:40 : فتقدم اب'را، عاس...؟ يا ابى وبيا اخى...؟ الله مخلوق...؟

When his father and brother heard those words, they took him by the hand and brought him to his house, and went with him to King Nimrūd in pursuit of advice, and he said to him, “O King, I will inform you of an astonishing matter.” “Speak,” the king said to him. So Teraḥ, father of Ibrāhīm the Friend, replied, “The boy that you feared of has come. Whereas you, when travelling to the city of Iraq, walked for forty days until you arrived; I asked *him* when *he* departed, to which he replied, ‘Yesterday afternoon.’ How can a new-born, a little child make a trip of forty days in only one? Then, when King Nimrūd heard these news and sayings, he screamed out loud, worried about his situation. He rose up, sat down and called for the viziers and emirs. They presented themselves before him, and he asked, saying, “Advise me, how should I deal with this new-born. He has followed us here.” The viziers said, “O King, we advise you that you decorate the city with the most dressed up pride and put up your kingdom throne. Command the gentlemen to be embellished with decoration, and take Ibrāhīm before you. And if he sees the decoration and your great and beautiful kingdom, he will come under your obedience and do whatever you desire.” And they admired that advice. So he ordered and called for the city of Iraq to be decorated, in markets and in the streets ^{9a} in pieces of jewellery, brocade, silk, cashmere in light yellow and purple. Then, King Nimrūd sat down on his throne. The viziers, generals, emirs and soldiers sat down on their chairs,⁵¹ and he sent for Ibrāhīm our Father *PBUH*.

Thereupon, Ibrāhīm stood before the king, with his father Teraḥ and came forth. All the viziers, emirs and the generals beheld until he had reached King Nimrūd’s throne.

⁵¹ al-Kisāʾī:131 : ففزع نمرود من ذلك وارتعد ودعا بالوزراء والبطارقة واجلسهم في مجالسهم.

تم ٨ مسكه بيدو الكريمه وهزو وناده باعلا صوت وقال يا ٩ الله بك استعنت و عليك اتوكلت واشهد على
 اننى انا ١٠ ابرهيم عبدك ونبيياك ومتبرى عنك يا نمروود يا لعين ١١ يا كافر بالله وبآياتو وبانبييا وبرسولو
 وقولو معى ١٢ كولكوم لا الله الا الله س'وت' وحدو لا شريك لهو ١٣ فى مولكهو وقر بوحدنييتو وقوو
 صوتو ابرهيم وصرخ ١٤ صرخه عزيمه فعند ذلك فخرت الملوك من علا منابرها ١٥ والنمروود من علا
 كورسى ووقعت الاصنام علا الارص ١٦ والملك النمروود وقع مغشى علا وجهو فلما استفاق ١٧ قال
 لابرهيم هدا صوتك والا صوت الاهك فقال لو ابرهيم ١٨ تعست يا كافر يا لعين هدا صوت عبد من عبيد
 ات' ٢ تم قال النمروود يا ابرهيم الاهك الاها عظيم شديد السلطان ٣ ايضا ادعا بترح ابو ابرهيم فقال لو
 خود والدك ابرهيم ٤ ما لنا طاقه عليه⁵²

تم ان اخدو ابو الى منزله واقام ٥ عندو الى ان صار لو من العمر عشرين سنه حينيد لما ٦ كبر
 وانتشه قال لو ابو ترح يا ولدى اعلم اننى ٧ بقيت شيخ كبير وانا ما لى طاقه علا بيع ٨ الاصنام يا ابنى
 خود انتة صنمين واخيك هرن صنمين ٩ واطلعو بهوم الى السوق بيعوهوم فاخذ هرن الصنمين ١٠ وراح
 بعهوم وجا واما ابرهيم اخذ الصنمين وربط ١١ فى رقبت دا حبل وفى رقبت دا حبل وصار يمشى فى ١٢
 الاسواق وينادى ويقول يا مين يشتري شى يصرو ولا ١٣ ينفعه ويجرهم خلفه على وجههوم ويقول يا من
 يشتري ١٤ شخص يوديه على النار يا من يشتري معبود لهو ١٥ عينين ولا يقشع ولهو اذان ولا يسمع ولهو
 فم ١٦ ولا ينطق بهو ولهو يدين ولا يمسهك بهوم شى⁵³ ١٧ ولهو رجلين ولم يخطى بهوم خطوه واحده
 فسارو يسمعو ٢ كولهوم ويانطو لقولو ويتعجبو فيه فى الاسواق والشوارع ٣
 حينيد التقا عجوز جلسه علا قرعه الطريق فقالت ٤ يا ابرهيم ابوك فين فقال لها ما تريدى بو
 فقالت ٥ لو ابوك ناصحه فى بيعو لاني

تم مسكته بيدو الكريمه ٥ وهزه ١٤ ونادا باعلا صوت وقال يا الله بك ١٥ استعنت ٥ و عليك توكلت واشهد علييا ١٦ اننى انا ابرهيم عبده ٥ ونبيوه
 وخليه ٥ ١٧ يا نمروود يا لعين يا كافر بالله ١٨ وبآياته وبانبياه وبرسله وقول معى لا
 (end of MS 52 fragment)

⁵² MS Chapira:39 : ما لنا طاقه عليه وما لنا حاجه بهق ال لهم
⁵³ بهوم شى : MS بهوم شى وليس

Then, he took him by his noble hand, shook it, and called out with the loudest voice and said, “O Allāh, in You I turn to for help, and in You I trust. Confess before me that I am Ibrāhīm, Your servant and Your prophet! I renounce my bond with you, o Nimrūd, o evil, o disbeliever in Allāh, disbeliever in His miracles, His prophets and His messenger! And say with me, all of you, ‘There is no god but Allāh, Glorified and Exalted be He, Him alone has no partner with Him in his sovereignty, and confess his oneness and power. His voice is Ibrāhīm.’” He screamed out loud and then the kings fell from their pulpits and Nimrūd from his throne. And the idols fell to the ground, and King Nimrūd fell unconscious down on his face. When he woke up, he said to Ibrāhīm, “Is that your voice, or the voice of your god?” So Ibrāhīm told him, ^{9b} “You are wrong, o disbeliever, o evil one! This is the voice of one of Allāh’s servants MHBE.” Then, Nimrūd said, “O Ibrāhīm, your god is great and strong.” The Sultan called for Teraḥ, father of Ibrāhīm, and said to him, “Take your son Ibrāhīm, we cannot endure him.”

So his father took him to his house and lived with him until he was twenty years of age. Thereupon, he aged and got ill, and his father Teraḥ said, “My son, you must know that I have become an old man, and I do not have the strength to sell the idols. My boy, take two idols and your brother Haran two idols. Go to the marketplace and sell them.” Haran took the two idols, went out, sold them and came [back]. Ibrāhīm, however, took the two idols, tied to the neck of the first one a rope, and in the second one, a rope, and started walking in the marketplace, calling out, “O who will buy something that harms him, that does not profit him?”⁵⁴ while dragging them behind him face down and saying, “O who will buy a person to whom he can put an end on the fire? O, who will buy a godhead idol who has two eyes, but does not drive away [evil]. It has two ears, but does not hear. It has a mouth, but does not speak [with it]. It has two hands, but it does not grab anything [with them]. ^{10a} It has two legs, but does not take even one step [with them]. All of them began listening, jumped from what he was saying and were astonished by it around in the markets and the streets.

Then, he met an old woman sitting on the side of the road, and she said, “O Ibrāhīm, where is your father?” He said to her, “What do you want with him?” She said to him, “Your father advised him to sell it, because I

Q 21.66 ⁵⁴ : قَالَ أَفَتَعْبُدُونَ مِن دُونِ اللَّهِ مَا لَا يَنْفَعُكُمْ شَيْئًا وَلَا يَضُرُّكُمْ.

اشتريت منو الاله ٦ عزيم كبير فقال ابراهيم ع'ال' هوذا الاصنام معي ٧ اشترى منهم ما تريدي فقالت لو ما اريد الا ٨ اجودهوم واكبرهوم من احسناك استكبير لي الافخر ٩ فيهوم فجاوبها ابراهيم ع'ال' وقال ما اعرف احد ١٠ منهم في خير ابدن فقالت لو اختار فقال لها ١١ الصنم الذي اشتريتي من ابي وكونتي⁵⁵ ١٢ تسجدي لو وتعبدى فين راح⁵⁶ فقالت يوم ١٣ رحى فى الحمام وخليتو فى البيت مقيم فدخلو ١٤ الحراميه الى البيت وسرقو وراحو واكدو جميع ما ١٥ فى البيت⁵⁷ فقال لها ابراهيم كيف تكونى عجوز كبيره جاهله ١٦ وما لكى عقل تعيسى بو فقالت لو انا لى عقل وتصوير فقال ١٧ لها ان كان لكى عقل وتصوير ما كونتى تعبدى صنم اصم ١٨ ابكم اخرس مصوار مشنوع معمول من عود يابس لا ١٩ يقدر يرود عنه ولا عن نفسو ولا عن صحبو⁵⁸ قالت لو ايش ٢٠ يكون الدليل فى هادا الامر قال لها يا عجوز يا جاهله لا كان ٢١ يرود عن نفسه ادا فما كان سرقو اللصوص من بيتك⁵⁹ حاجتيك
ولاكن يا لعينه ٢٣ كيف تدعى انو الاله عزيم يا كافره والاله هو ينسرق ٢٤ والاله الذى ينسرق
لا خير فى ولا خير فى الذى يعبدو ويسجدو ٢٥ لو فقالت لمن اعبد غيرو فقال لها ابراهيم **ع'ال'** انا ٢٦
اهديكى علا الاله واديلك علا عزيم الشان الواحد⁶⁰

(end of MS 46 fragment)

⁵⁵ MS : Corrected duplication اشتريتي من ابي وكونتى! اشتريتي من ابي وكونتى!
⁵⁶ MS Chapira:37 : [...] نفع لا فى الكبير ولا فى ال صوغير لا لنفسهوم ولا للغير وقال لها الصنم الكبير الذى اشترت من امس من اخوييه
جرا فيه اش
⁵⁷ MS Chapira:37 : قالت لهو جو الحرميه بلبل وسرقو وانا كونت لسع فى الحمام
⁵⁸ MS Chapira:37 : قال لها ان كان كده كيف تعبدى للصنم ان افعلو لنفسو لم عرف بخلص من الحرميه فى كيف يعرف يخالص الغير من
ازبيتهم اروحي يا عجوزه يا مجنونه وكيف تقولى ان الصنم الذى تعبدى هووا الله ان كان الله لش لم قدر يخالص نفسو من الحرميه الا هووا
صنم الذى ليس لهو نفع لا لنفسو ولا للغير
⁵⁹ MS : Corrected duplication لا كان يرود عن نفسه ادا فما كان سرقو اللصوص من بيتك! ولا كان يرود عن نفسه ادا فما كان سرقو!
⁶⁰ MS Chapira:37 : فى قالت لهو ان كان كده يا ابرهم بكلامك لمين نعيبد قال لها اعيدي لالله ال الالهات وسيد ال اسبياد

bought a large and magnificent god from him.”⁶¹ Ibrāhīm PBUH said, “I have the idols indeed. Buy which one of them you want.”

She said to him, “I only want but the best and biggest out of them. From your goodness, show me which one of them is the most splendid.” Ibrāhīm PBUH answered and said, “I do not know a good one out of them at all.” She said to him, “Pick one.” He said, “The idol that you bought from my father that you bowed down to and worshipped, where is it?” She said, “One day, I went to the hamam and left it in the house where I live. Thieves came into the house, stole, went away and took with them most of the things in my house,”⁶² So Ibrāhīm said to her, “How come you be such an old, foolish woman, and not have a brain that you use?” She said, “I have a brain and I have an imagination.” He said to her, “If you had a brain and an imagination, you would not worship a deaf, mute and dumb idol, shaped and manufactured, and made from a dried out stick that is not able to answer to itself, nor to its possessor.” She said to him, “What is the evidence for this?” He said to her, “O old woman, ignorant you, if it could have saved itself, then the thieves would not have stolen your things from your house!”⁶³

“But, o evil woman, how can you claim that it is a great god, o disbeliever? It is stolen. There is no good in a stolen god. And there is no good in the one who worships and bows down before it either!” She said to him, “Then who may I worship, other than it?” Ibrāhīm PBUH said to her, “I will guide you to Allāh MHBE and lead you to the Magnificent, the One.” [...]

⁶¹ al-Kisāʾī:133 : ثمّ جاءت الى ابراهيم عجوز وقالت يا ابراهيم بعنى صنما فاخرج لها الصنمين وقال اختري هذا الكبير فهو اكثر حطبا ووقودا فقالت ما اريده للوقود وانما للعبادة

⁶² al-Kisāʾī:133 : كان لي اله وسرق في جملة ثياب كثيرة

⁶³ al-Kisāʾī:133 : فقال ابراهيم ان الها لا يسرق ولو كان الها لحفظ ثيابك ونفسه ايضا لكن لو عبدت ربّ السموات والارض لردّ عليك ثيابك

**KING SULAYMĀN, THE ANT,
AND THE IMPENETRABLE PALACE OF SHADDĀD IBN ʿĀD**

قصت سييدنا سليمان

١ هذا قصت سييدنا سليمان¹ ١٥ باسم الله الرحمان الرحيم ٢ الحمد لله صاحب العزه والكمال والقودره
 ٣ والجلال² ٥ والمنه والافضل ٥ والبها والكمال ٥ احمدهو على كل حال اما بعد
 ٥ فان الله تع' خص كول نبى بفضيله ٦ وموعجزه وبورهان وبيان ٥ وان الله تع' عز وجل ٧ نجا
 ابرهيم من نار النمرود وجعلها ٨ عليه باردن وسلام ٥ ووهب لداود علمن ٩ عظيمين واعطا لسليمان
 مولكن لا ١٠ ينبغى لاحد من بعدهو وسخر³ لو الانس ١١ والجن والوحش والطير والرياح والهوام وسائر ١٢
 ما خلق الله تع' واعطاه بوساط طولهو ١٣ ستين ميل ٥ وعورضهو ستين ميل ٥ وجعل لو ١٤ سليمان عليه
 السلام ٥ اربع وزرا وزير ١٥ من الانس ٥ ووزير من الجن ٥ ووزير من الوحش ٥ ووزير ١٦ من الطير
 ٥ فاما وزير الانس فانهو اسف ١٧ بن برخيه⁴ ٥ واما وزير الجن ٥ فانهو الدمرييا⁵ ٥ ١٨ واما وزير
 الوحش هو الاسد يعنى السبع ٥ ١٩ واما وزير الطير هو العقاب يعنى النسر⁶ ٥ ٢٠ وكان الريح يحمل
 البساط ويسير بهى لاي ٢١ موضعان يريد⁷ ٥
 قال الناقل وبينما سييدنا ٣ سليمان ساير فى الهوا فتعجب بنفسهو وقال ٤ فى سرهو ترا او عطا احد
 من الملوك مثل ٥ ما اعطانى ٥ سخر لى الانس والجن والطير ٦ والوحش والهوام وسائر ما خلق الله تع'
 قال ٧ فاحوا الله البساط انهو يميل فمال فانقلب ٨ من عليه اربعت الاف رجل فهولكو جميعن ٩ وماتو فعند
 ذلك غوضوب سليمان على ١٠ الريح وقال لهو استوى فقال يا نبى الله استوى ١١ انت مع الله حتا استوى انا
 معك فعند ١٢ ذلك اطرق سليمان خجلن من كلامهو
 وسار ١٣ وبينما هو ساير وادا هو مر بوادى النمل ١٤ وادا بنملا تنادى يا ايهو النمل ادخلو ١٥
 مساكنكوم لا يهلككوم سليمان وجنودهو⁸ ٥

¹ هذا قصت سييدنا سليمان : MS 31 هادا قصت وصول سييدنا سوليمان الا قصر شداد ابن عاد وما راه فيه من العجايب علا التمام والكمال والحمد للاه علا كول قال امين امين امين

TRANSLATION: 'This is the story of Sulaymān's arrival at the palace of Shaddād son of ʿĀd and what miraculous things of complete perfection he saw. Praise be to God, to everything. And he related, "Amen, amen, amen."'

² والجلال : MS 31 **ליתא**

³ وسخر : MS 31 **וסחר**

⁴ برخيه : MS 23 : corr. on the basis of MS 31 برقيه

⁵ الدمرييا : MS Strasbourg : درمياط; Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* v:22 **רמיריאט** (رميراط)

⁶ يعنى النسر : MS 31 **ליתא**

⁷ لاي موضعان يريد : MS 31 لاي موضعان ان يريد

⁸ ادخلو مساكنكوم لا يهلككوم سليمان وجنودهو : Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* v:22 **הכנסו לבתיכם שלא ישחיתו אתכם היילותיו של שלמה המלך**

The Story of Sayyidnā Sulaymān

^{1a} This is the story of Sayyidnā Sulaymān ^{1b} In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. May Allāh be praised, Lord of Power and Perfectness, Lord of Splendour, Grace and Beauty, the Most Eminent, Lord of all that exists. May He be praised the full measure of His praise. And to proceed.

Allāh, may He be Exalted (MHBE), endowed every prophet with eminence, miracle, evidence and explanation. Allāh MHBE, Almighty and Exalted, saved Ibrāhīm from the fire of Nimrūd and brought it upon him in Jordan. And let it be done with that. And He bestowed Dāwūd great knowledge, and gave Sulaymān dominion to an extent that no man has seen ever since, to make him rule over men, jinns, beasts, birds, the wind, every walking animal and the rest of what Allāh has created MHBE. He gave him a carpet sixty miles long and sixty miles wide. He appointed for Sulaymān, peace be upon him, four viziers. One among men, one among the jinns, one among the beasts and one among the birds. The human vizier was Asaf ben Berechiah, the jinn vizier was Dimriyah,⁹ the beast vizier was Assad the lion and the bird vizier was °Uqāb the eagle. ^{2a} And the wind carried the carpet, taking him wherever he desired.

The narrator has said that once while travelling through the air, Sulaymān was feeling proud and said to himself, “I wonder if any king has been blessed the way that He has blessed me. He has made me rule over men, the jinns, the birds, the beasts, every walking animal and the rest of what Allāh has created MHBE.” It has been said that Allāh ordered the carpet to twirl. He twirled it so that it turned upside down, and that forty thousand men all perished and died. Then, Sulaymān got angry with the wind and said to it, “Return!” It answered him, “O prophet of Allāh, you must return yourself to Allāh before I can return to you.” Then Sulaymān bowed his head, ashamed by its words.

It happened on a journey as he was moving about in the Valley of the Ants, that one ant suddenly called out, “*Ants, enter your dwelling-places, lest Sulaymān and his army crush you*” (Q 27.18).¹⁰

⁹ Arabic Dimriyah; Damariyah; Dimiryāt, in Hebrew Biblical tradition known as Ramirāt.

¹⁰ Q 27.18 reads, يَا أَيُّهَا النَّمْلُ ادْخُلُوا مَسَاكِنَكُمْ لَا يَحْطَمَنَّكُمْ سُلَيْمَانُ وَجُنُودُهُ وَهُمْ لَا يَشْعُرُونَ ‘Ants, enter your dwelling-places, lest Solomon and his host crush you, being unaware!’

١٦ قال الراوى فاخذ الريح كلامها والقاء ١٧ فى اودهن سليمان فاخذ بزمام ٠ الريح ١٨ وامر هو بالهوبط على نشد وادى النمل ١٩ على الجبل الذى للوادي ٠ تم¹¹ تمشا سليمان ٢ ظ ١ واخذ بيد وزير هو اسف بن برخيه واقبل على ٢ وادى النمل ونادا وقال ايهو النمل من ٣ منكوم القايله ايهو النمل ادخلو¹² ٤ مساكنكوم لا يهلكوم سليمان وجنودهو ٠ ٥ وادا بنمله سودا على صخره هودا قالت ٦ يا نبى الله انا القايله ذلك ٠ قال سليمان فما ٧ حملك على ذلك القول وانا ساير بين السماوات ٨ والارض ٠ قالت يا نبى الله اعلم ان كول راعى ٩ يسال عن رعيتهو وانا ملكت هذا النمل فى ١٠ هذا الوادى فلما اشرفت اليوم فى عوظم ١١ مملكتك ونظرت انا اليك فرايت الانس عن ١٢ يمينك والجن عن يسارك والوحش بين يديك والطير ١٣ علا راسك وقد الصقت اجنحتها بعضها ١٤ ببعض للا يقع عليك حر الشمس¹³ وكان النمل ١٥ فى التسبيح والتقديم ٠ فخشيت ان ينظور الا ١٦ عوظم مملكتك فيشتغلوا عن ذكر الله ١٧ فتوهلك انت ونوهلك نحن معك ٠ فقال سليمان ١٨ يا نملة اسالك عن مساله فقالت النمله يا ١٩ سليمان العجب ان يكون السائل عزيز علا ٢٠ مملكتهو والمساول حقير علا مرتبتهو ٠ ٢ قال فامر سليمان النمله فروفعت علا ٣ راحتهو فوضعها بين يديه ٠ وقال اسالك الان ٤ فقال لما ذلك قالت لانك¹⁴ كبير القدر ٥ كتير الجاه ولو¹⁵ وقع علييا بعض اتوابك ٦ وغاب شخصى عن بصرك بل ارفعى علا ٧ راحتك لاکون مقابله وجهك واسالنى عن ٨ ما بذلك ٠ قال فرفعها سليمان علا راحتهو ٩ ولما سارت مقابله وجههو قال لها اسالك ١٠ الان قال اسال ولا حول ولا قوت الا باله ١١ العلى العظيم ٠

¹¹ تم: MS 31 توم

¹² ادخلو: MS 31 ادخلو

¹³ الشمس: MS 31 الشمس

¹⁴ corr. فقال لما ذلك قالت لانك: MS 23; MS 31 قالت لو فقال لما ذلك قالت لانك

¹⁵ ولو: MS 23: corr. on the basis of MS 31 ولا

The storyteller has said that the wind took the words of the ant and casted them upon Sulaymān's ears. ^{2b} So he seized the reins of the wind and ordered it to go down to land on the creation of the Valley of the Ants, which was upon the mountain of the valley. Sulaymān then continued by foot, ^{2b} took the hand of his vizier Asaf ben Berechiah and approached the Valley of the Ants. He called out and said, "O ants, which one of you said, *Ants, enter your dwelling-places, lest Sulaymān and his army crush you?*" (Q 27.18). And lo, a black ant on a rock said, "O prophet of Allāh, I am the one who said that." Sulaymān said, "And what made you say that, when I am but travelling between the heavens and the earth?" She said, "Know this, o prophet of Allāh, that every shepherd bears the responsibility¹⁶ for its flock,¹⁷ and I am the queen of the ants in this valley. I witnessed the magnitude of your rule today. I looked at you, and I saw the men to your right and the jinns to your left and the beasts in your hands and the birds flying above you. And they had conjoined wings lest the heat of the sun would fall upon them. The ants were in the middle of submission and praising the Lord, so I feared that if they saw your vast kingdom rule, they would be distracted from invoking Allāh, and that you would be destroyed, and we would be destroyed along with you." And Sulaymān said, "O ant, I will ask you about a matter", upon which the ant said, "O Sulaymān, how remarkable it is that the one asking is respected in his ^{3a} kingdom, and the one who is asked is below his level." It has been told that Sulaymān entrusted the ant, and she was picked up in his hands. He held her before him and said, "Now I will ask you." She then said, "You are of such great divine and vast dignity! Had but some of your garment fallen upon me, my figure would have disappeared from your sight. Now pick me up in your hands to be at level with your face. Then you may ask me whatever you wish. It has been told that Sulaymān held her up in his hands. When she stood at face to face with him, he said to her, "Now I will ask you", and continued, "I ask, and there is neither might nor power except with Allāh, the Sublime, the Magnificent."¹⁸

¹⁶ In view of the translation, see MS *Strasbourg*: كلّ ملك مسؤول عن رعيته 'every king is responsible for its flock' (my translation).

¹⁷ See ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿUmar (in, *inter alia*, in Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī and Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim i:283; 300; 653): كلكم راعٍ وكلكم كلكم راعٍ ومسئول عن رعيته 'every one of you is a shepherd and every one of you is responsible for his flock'.

¹⁸ Ibn ʿAbbās (in Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidī: 48:201); ʿUbāda ibn al-Ṣāmit (in Sunan Ibn Mājah: 34:52): لا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله: العليّ العظيم

قال يا نملة هل سمعتى فى ١٢ قديم الزمان هل اعطا احد من الملوك ١٣ مثل ما اعطانى انا من الملوك قالت
 ١٤ النملة ما الدى او عطيت انا قال سخر ١٥ الله لى الانس والجن والپير والوحش والريخ وجميع ١٦ ما
 خلق الله تع' فقالت النملة انت ١٧ او عطيت انا او عطيت¹⁹ اكثر منك يا سليمان ١٨ وقد سخر لى الله تع'
 جميع مولك كولهو ١٩ وسخرك لى حتا حملتنى علا راحتك وبقيت ٢٠ موقبله وجهك فصرت اوفامك
 واعطانى ٢ الله تع' يا سليمان اتنى عشر كردوس من ٣ النمل لا يعلم عددهوم الا الله تع' ولو²⁰ ٤ ظهر
 منهوم علا وجه الارض كردوس واحد ٥ ليغطو²¹ جميع الارض ومن عليها وانت لو هلك ٦ تولت جسمك
 وانت لم كان عندك خبر ٧ ٠ وتانيه يا نبى الله عرفت من انت فى ٨ قبضتهو فانهو عظيم ٠ قال فاطرق
 سليمان ٩ خجلا من كلامها ٠ توم قالت لهو يا نبى ١٠ الله سيجرا لك فى طريقك حديث عجيب ١١ وامر
 غريب فقال سليمان للاه الامر من قبل ١٢ ومن بعد ٠

قال الراوى وجعل سييدنا سليمان ١٣ يسير ايام وليالى ولما كان من مودت ١٤ احدى عشر يوم
 وكان اشرف على قصر من ١٥ الذهب الاحمر على البنا واسع الفنا ١٦ وهو لوبنه من الفضة ولوبنه من
 الذهب فقال ١٧ سوليمان يا ريخ اضع البساط على وجه الارض ١٨ فوضعهو ٠ توم اخذ يد وزيرهو اسف
 بن برخيه ١٩ فى يدهو وتمشا نحو القصر وهو يتعجب ويقول ٢٠ ترا ما احسن هذا القصر واعلاه ولو
 كان ٢ من الحجر لكان عجيب فكيف وهو من الفضة ٣ والذهب فياريت كونت اعلم ليمين²² كان هذا
 القصر ومين البناه ومين يوعرف صاحبهو ولمين ٥ هو الان توم قال لوزيرهو يا اسف ترا ما احسن هذا
 الارض وهى لا تسمع فيها حس حسيس ٧ ولا ترا فيها انيس فقال اسف يا نبى الله ٨ نطوف حول هذا
 القصر فلا يوخلو من ساكن ٩ يسكنوهو او قاطن يقطنوهو قال فاخذ سييدنا ١٠ سوليمان بيد وزيرهو ودار
 يطوف حول القصر ١١ فوجدهو جميعهو لوبنه من الذهب ولوبنه ١٢ من الفضة ولم يجد لهو باب ابا

¹⁹ انا او عطيت MS 23 : corr. on the basis of MS 31 انت او عطيت انا او عطيت

²⁰ ولو MS 23 : corr. on the basis of MS 31

²¹ ليغطو : MS 31 ليغطي

²² ليمين : MS 31 ليمين

O ant, have you heard that He bestowed upon any king in ancient times the like of what He has bestowed upon me?” She said, “The one who has been blessed is but me!” He said, “Allāh has made me rule over men, the jinn, the bird, the beast and the wind, and the all that Allāh has created MHBE.” So the ant said, “I have been blessed more than you, o Sulaymān. Allāh MHBE has made me rule over your entire kingdom, and made me rule over you to the extent that you willingly raise me up in your hand; to the extent that I stood ^{3b} face to face with you, which made me even more complete than you. Allāh MHBE has given me, o Sulaymān, twelve *kurdus*²³ of ants of which number only Allāh knows MHBE. If but one of these *kurdus* appeared on the face of the earth, they would cover it all up from top to bottom. And if a third of your body had perished, you wouldn’t even know what had happened. Moreover, o prophet of Allāh, I have learnt who you are from His grip, and He is Magnificent indeed!” Sulaymān then bowed his head, ashamed by her words. Then she said to him, “An amazing event, something strange, will soon befall you on your path.” And he said, “*To Allāh belongs the Command before and after*” (Q 30.3).

The narrator said: And Sulaymān set out on a journey for days and nights. When eleven days had gone, he came to a palace of red gold, loftily erected with a vast courtyard made of a brick of silver and a brick of gold.²⁴ So Sulaymān said, “O wind, let the carpet fall upon the face of the earth!” And thus it did. Then he took his vizier Asaf ben Berechiah by his hands and moved towards the palace. Amazed he said, ^{4a} “Look! How astonishing and beautiful that palace is! Had it been made but out of stone it would have been amazing. Just imagine then, how much more beautiful it is when it is made out of silver and gold! I wish I had known to whom this palace belongs, and who built it, and to whom its owner is known, and to whom it belongs this day.” Then he said to his vizier, “O Asaf, Look! How beautiful this place is! It does not evoke a single sound of voice, and in which no man is seen.” And Asaf said, “O prophet of Allāh, let us walk around this palace, for there must for sure be one resident residing, one dweller dwelling!” It has been said that Sulaymān took his vizier by his hand and started moving around the palace. He found it all a [made of] a brick of gold and a brick of silver,²⁵ but he could not find an entrance gate.

²³ The *kurdus*, similar to the ancient Roman military unit cohort, was introduced during the reign of the Umayyad Caliph Marwān II (740-750) (see Syed and Akhtar 2011:46).

²⁴ See Abū Hurayrah (in Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidī 38:2714): لَيْبَةٌ مِنْ فِضَّةٍ وَلَيْبَةٌ مِنْ ذَهَبٍ

²⁵ See Abū Hurayrah (loc. cit.).

فقال ١٣ سوليمان مثل هذا القصر ما يكون لهو ١٤ باب فلابود لهذا القصر امر عجيب ١٥ وحديث غريب
وغرق سييدنا سوليمان فى ١٦ بحر فكرو ٠ وقال لا الله الا الله من قبل ١٧ ومن بعد وبينما هو موفتكر فى
امر ١٨ ذلك القصر

وادا قد اقبل عليه الدمرييا ١٩ وزير الجن وقال يا نبى الله السلام عليك فقال ٤ ظ ١ سليمان وعليك
السلام ما حاجتك يا دمرييا ٢ فقال يا نبى الله انا ناتيك بحديث هذا ال ٣ قصر علا حقيقتها توم اقبل عليه
الدمرييا ٤ علا الجن الطياره وقال اريد منكوم ان ٥ ترتفعون علا اعلا هذا القصر وتنزلو ٦ اليه وتبصرون
ما فيه وتاتونى بحديث صحيح ٧ فاجابوه فى الوقت بالسمع والطاعة توم ٨ انهوم ارتفعو فى تلك الساعه
ورجعو ٠ وقالو ٩ يا نبى الله اننا ارتفعنا فى الهوا ١٠ واردنا بالهبوط الا القصر فكان شى يرودنا ١١
وصادن يصودنا وغاشيتن تغشى ابصارنا فلم ١٢ نقدر علا ذلك فقال لهم سليمان فهل ١٣ رايتوم شى من
الطير فقالو نعم يا نبى الله ١٤ راينا على كول روكن من اركان القصر نسر ١٥ مو عمر ونسره تزوق
افراخها

قال الراوى ١٦ فدعا سييدنا سليمان بالعوقاب وزير الطيور ١٧ وقال لهو امرتك بان تحضر لى
بالنسر يا ١٨ عوقاب فاجاب بالسمع والطاعة ٠ وارتفع ١٩ العوقاب من وقتهى وساعتهى حتا غاب عن ٢٠
العين ٠ توم انهو نزل فابصر نسر عظيم الخلقه ٢ هائل الصوره فاقتلع بهى واوقفهو بين يدين ٣ سييدنا
سوليمان ولما وقف النسر بين يدين ٤ سليمان ناداه السلام عليك يا نبى الله فقال ٥ سليمان وعليك السلام
ورحمت الله يا اخا ٦ النسر ما الاسم قال الاهيف فقال لهو يا اهيف ٧ كم لك تعيش من العومر قال سوبع
مايت ٨ سنه وفى هذا القصر رزقنى والدى قال لهو يا اخا ٩ النسر فهل سمعت فيه حس حسيس او رايت
١٠ فيه اونس انيس قال لهو وعيشك يا نبى الله ١١ ما اعرف ما تقول بل والدى معى فى ١٢ البورج الثانى
فاستدعى بهى اليك فلابود ١٣ ما يكون لهو علم بذلك ٠ فقال سليمان

“A palace like this, which does not have an entrance gate must hold something amazing, must hold a marvellous story,” said Sulaymān, and drowned in the sea of his own thoughts. And Sulaymān said, while thinking about this palace, “There is no god but Allāh, there has never been nor will there ever be.”

Then Dimriyah, vizier of the jinns, approached him and said, “O prophet of Allāh, peace be upon you.” And Sulaymān ^{4b} said, “Peace be upon you. What is your request, o Dimriyah?” So he said, “O prophet of Allāh, we will bring you the story of this palace!” Then he approached the flying jinns and said, “I want you rise to the top of this palace, and go down into its bottom to see what is inside it, and bring forward a truthful story.” So they answered him immediately, “We hear and obey!”²⁶ Thereafter, they immediately rose and came back, saying, “O prophet of Allāh, we have flown around and have wanted to fly down into the palace, but something pushed us back. Something prevented us and darkness obscured our sight,²⁷ so we were unable.” So Sulaymān said to them, “Did you see some kind of a bird?” “Yes, o prophet of Allāh,” they said, “We saw on each one of the palace’s corners a grand eagle and an eagle pushing around her eaglets.”

The narrator said: So Sulaymān summoned ‘Uqāb, vizier of the birds, and said to him, “I have ordered you to bring me the eagle, o ‘Uqāb.” And it answered, “We hear and obey!” and ‘Uqāb then rose immediately until it could not be ^{5a} seen. Then it dived down, and a magnificently and astonishingly shaped eagle appeared. He pulled [the eagle] out and laid him before our master Sulaymān. And when the eagle stood before Sulaymān, he said, “Peace be upon you, o prophet of Allāh,” and Sulaymān said “Peace and Allāh’s mercy upon you, o eagle friend. What is your name?” “Ahīf”, he said. So he said to him, “O Ahīf, how long have you lived?” “Seven hundred years. And in this palace my father raised me,” he answered. “O eagle friend, have you heard there a single sound or seen a single man?” “I swear, o prophet of Allāh, I do not know of what you are speaking. But I have my father in the second tower. Summon him, and he will surely have some knowledge about that.” So Sulaymān said,

²⁶ This formula is found by and large in the traditions of ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Umar and Abū Hurayrah (in Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī 7144, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim 1839a, Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidī 23:39, Sunan Abī Dāwūd 2626 et. al.): على المرء المسلم السمع والطاعة ‘it is obligatory upon a Muslim to listen and obey’.

²⁷ In view of the translation, see MS *Strasbourg*: كأن راد يردني أو صاد يصدني أو غاش يغشي على بصري ‘as if something brought me down or something prevented me or something darkened my sight’ (my translation).

علييا ١٤ بهى فارتفع ايضا العوقاب حتا غاب عن ١٥ العين ٠ وهبوط على القصر واقتلع بالنسر ١٦ التانى وانا بهى الى عند سليمان فقال لهو ١٧ ما اسمك قال اسمى الاجيد فقال لهو وكم لك ١٨ علا جنب هذا القصر قال توسع مايت سنه ١٩ قال لهو سليمان هل رايت فى هذا القصر انيس ٥٧ ام سمعت فيه حسييس ام تعرف لهو باب ٠ فقال ٢ لهو لا والله يا نبى الله ولاكن والدى معى ٣ موقيم فى البورج التالت استدعوه اليك فلا ٤ يخلى من علم هذا القصر فقال سليمان علييا ٥ بهى فارتفع النسر والعوقاب جميعا غوابو²⁸ ٦ عن اعيون الانس²⁹

توم اقبلو ومعاهوم نسر عظيم ٧ بصوره هاييله ولما وقف بين يدين سييدنا ٨ سليمان سلم عليه فرد السلام وقال لهو يا ٩ اخا النسر ما الاسم قال اسمى المعمر ١٠ قال لهو كم لك من العومر قال الف ومايتين ١١ سنه وفى هذا القصر رزقنى³⁰ والدى فقال لهو ١٢ سليمان يا اخا النسر هل رايت فى هذا ال ١٣ قصر انيس ام سمعت فيه حسييس ام تعرف ١٤ لهو باب قال نعم يا نبى الله اعرف لهو باب ١٥ عظيم وهو بمرصع من الذهب الاحمر واما ١٦ قولك هل سمعت فيه حسييس ام رايت فى انيس ١٧ وعيشك يا نبى الله ان لى فى هذا القصر زمان ١٨ طويل وكول ما اردت ان انظور اليه او اشرف ١٩ عليه مانع يمنعى عنهو او شى يرودى او ٢٠ غاشيتن تغشى بصرى فلا اقدر علا ذلك ولا ٢١ اعرف لهو خبر فقال سليمان يا اخا النسر ٢٢ تعرف ان لهو باب عظيم وانا قد طوفت حولهو ٤ ولم ارا ولهو³¹ باب فقال لهو يا نبى الله بابهو ٥ طمستهو الارياح ومرت عليه اعوام كثير ٦ فانطمس وخوفى ٠ قال فامر سليمان الريح ان ٧ يخرج منهو سلخه تمور بجوانب القصر ولا ٨ توديه توم تكشف الباب وتظهو ٠

قال الراوى ٩ وبعد قليل كشف الريح فراو باب عظيم من ١٠ الذهب وقفلهو من الفضه فقال سليمان هذا ١١ الباب فكيف الدخول الا القصر توم نظر الا ١٢ القفل وادا عليه مكتوب بالفضه البيضا ١٣ ابيات شعر ثوم³² يقول

²⁸ غوابو : MS 31 و غابو

²⁹ الانس : MS 31 الناس

³⁰ رزقنى : MS 31 يوزقنى

³¹ ولهو : MS 31 لهو

³² ثوم : MS 31 ليه

“Go fetch him for me,” and ‘Uqāb rose until he was out of sight. Then he dived onto the palace, pulled the second eagle out and brought him before Sulaymān. He said to him, “What is your name?” “Agīd”, he said. So he said to him, “How long have you lingered beside this palace?” “Nine hundred years.” Sulaymān said to him, “Have you seen a single man or heard a single sound in this palace? ^{5b} Or do you know if it has an entrance gate?” He said, “No, I swear, o prophet of Allāh. But I have my father here with me, who dwells in the third tower. Summon him, for he must certainly have some knowledge about this palace.” So Sulaymān said, “Go fetch him for me,” and ‘Uqāb and the eagle rose together and disappeared from man’s sight.

Then, they approached him together with a magnificently shaped eagle. And when the eagle stood before Sulaymān, he greeted him. “Peace,” he replied and said, “O eagle friend. What is your name?” “My name is al-Mu‘ammar,” he said. “How long have you lived?” “One thousand two hundred years. And in this palace my father raised me,” he answered. Sulaymān said to him, “O eagle friend, have you seen a single man or heard single sound or in this palace? Or do you know if it has an entrance gate?” The eagle said, “Yes, o prophet of Allāh, I know of a magnificent entrance gate, embellished with red gold. And about what you speak, whether I have heard single sound or seen a single man. By your life, o prophet of Allāh, I have been in this palace for a long time, but every time I wanted see or come close, a hinder prevented me from doing so. Something held me back or ^{6a} darkness obscured my sight, and I was unable. Neither do I know it very well.” So Sulaymān said, “O eagle friend. You [say that you] know that it has a magnificent entrance gate. Yet, I have been around it and have not seen whether it has a gate.” So he said to him, “O prophet of Allāh, the winds have covered its entrance up. Many years have passed since, and my fear has been blurred. It has been said that Sulaymān ordered the wind to take away the parts along the sides of the palace from the passing of time without damaging it, and the entrance gate was revealed.

The narrator said: After some time the wind discovered, and they could see, a magnificent gate made of gold with a silver lock. Sulaymān said, “That gate... How may one enter the palace?” Then he glanced at the lock, on which it was written in white silver verses of a poem, saying,

- ١٤ سكننا بفنا القصرى • سنين ما عددناهو •
 ١٥ بدلنا الدور بالتبرى • فمعدومون وجدناهو •
 ١٦ دهمنا الجوع يا قومن • بشى ما اطقناهو •
 ١٧ تركنا القصر للنسرى • وسيع التورب سكنناهو •
 ١٨ فمن يسال عن القصرى • ومن اسس بينياهو •
 ١٩ فلا تسال عن القصرى • فمبنى قد وجدناهو •

١٦٦ قال الراوى ووجد مكتوب على الفرده الواحده ٢ من الباب بال فضه

لا يدخل الا هذا القصر الا ٣ نبى او ولى من اوليات الله تع، وادا دخل ٤ فليحفور عن يمين الباب ويخرج منه مفتاح ٥ القصر فيفتح ويعبور الا قصر مليح واسع ٦ الفنا على البنا فيرا برکه من الياقوت ٧ ويرى مولك عظيم ويرى فى وسط القصر قوبه من ٨ الزمرود الاخضر ولها اربعة ابواب وادا ٩ اراد الخروج من القوبه يعدل علا الجانب ١٠ الايسر فيرا سنتت عشر مقصوره من الذهب ١١ الاحمر ملانه من الدور والجوهر ويعد ١٢ الابواب فادا الا عشرين باب واياه ان يغلط ١٣ فى العدد توم يرا عقرب من الذهب فيفروك ١٤ ذلك العقرب يمين فيوفتح لهو باب عن مقصوره ١٥ حيطانها من الزمرود الاخضر وفرشتها من ١٦ الذهب فيعد عشر طوابق فادا وصل الا حادى³³ ١٧ عشر فيرا عقرب من الفضه توم يفروك العقرب ١٨ الفضه شمال فيوفتح لهو باب سورداب عن احدى ١٩ وعشرين درجه فينزل فى ذلك السورداب وينزل ٢٠ و١٧ تحت الارض فى ظلمه عظيمه فمن كان يمكنه ٢١ ضو فياخود معهو توم بيان فيها ضو وينتهو ذلك ٢٢ الضو النار³⁴ عظيم مشبك بقوضبان الذهب والفضه ٢٣ مورصع بانواع الدورر والجوهر ويرى سرير من ٢٤ الياقوت الاصفر وقوايمهو من الزمرود ٢٥ الاخدر وعليه صنم من البلور الابيض وتحتهو ٢٦ زبيق يخيل الانسان بانهو ينصور اليه وفى ٢٧ عونقهو سلسله من الذهب وفى السلسله لوح من ٢٨ الزمرود وفيه مكتوب • لمن بان هذا القصر ٢٩ ومن بناه والله اعلم •

³³ حادي : MS 31 الحادي

³⁴ النار 23/10b:13 MS 23; MS 31 : corr. on the basis of

We dwelt in the palace's courtyard for countless years.

We turned this era into annihilation. Destructed we found it.

Hunger took us by surprise, o nation! With something we could not endure.

We left the palace to the eagles. Wide spread with dust we inhabited it.

For he who asks about the caste, and of who founded its building.

Do not ask about the palace, for it was already built when we found it.

^{6b} The narrator said: And he found it written on one door leaf on the door in silver,

No one may enter this palace, except for a prophet or a *vali* of the provinces of Allāh MHBE. So if he enters, let him dig to the left of the door and pull out the palace's key. Then, he will open up and pass through, into a beautiful, loftily erected palace with a vast courtyard. He will see a small pond of precious stone, a magnificent possession, and in the middle of the palace a green emerald dome with four doors. If he wishes to exit the dome, he shall turn to the very left hand, and he will see sixteen chambers made of red gold inlaid with pearls and gems. He will count the doors until he has (?) reached twenty doors. He should be careful not to miscount! Then he will find a golden scorpion. He will rub that scorpion on the right side, and a door will be opened, leading to a chamber with walls of green emerald and tiles of gold, counting ten floors. Upon arriving at the eleventh, he will see a silver scorpion. Then he will rub the silver scorpion on the left side, and a door to a secret passage will be opened, leading to twenty-one steps. He will pass down into that passageway and descend ^{7a} under the ground, into vast darkness. But who could bring it to light? (?) So he will bring it with him. (?) Then, a light will appear which will put out this light, a magnificent fireplace (?), entwined with golden and silver bars and embellished with pearls and gems. And he will see a throne of yellow precious stones with legs made of green emerald. On it stands a white crystal idol with an underside made of quicksilver. It gives people the impression that it looks right at you. Around its neck is a golden chain, and on this chain is an emerald plaque inscribed, "To the one who built this palace... And the one who built it, only Allāh knows!"

قال فامر سليمان ١١ بالحفر عن يمين الباب فحفر وادا هوم بتابوت ١٢ من الزوجاج فاخرج منهو المفتاح
وفتح ١٣ الباب الاول ودخلو الا دهليز فلوقيهوم باب ١٤ تانى وعليه مكتوب الابيات • يقول شعر •

١٥ قد كان صاحب القصر فى دعتن • ١٦ فى ظل عيشن تخاف الاوسد من باسو •

١٧ فبينما هو مسرورن بنعمتهى • ١٨ فى مجلس اللهو مشغولون بجولاسو •

١٩ اد جاه فى بغتتن ما لا مورد لهو • ٢٠ فخر مبيت ومال التاج عن راسو •

٢ ادخول الا القصر وانظور عوظم وحشتهو • ٣ ما صار اوحشو من بعد جولاسو •

٤ قال وفتح الباب التانى ودخل الا دهليز وادا • هو بيباب تالت وعلا الباب مكتوب شعر •

٦ هذا منازل اقواما عهد تهمو •

٧ فى طيب عيشن عزيزن ما لاوخطرو •

٨ صاحت بهوم نايبات الدهر فانقلبو •

٩ موتا فلا عين تنظر هوم ولا اترو •

١٠ قال الراوى وفتح الباب ودخل الا القصر عالى ١١ البنا واسع الفنا وفيه بركه من الياقوت ١٢ الاحمر
وللبركه سنتت عشر انبوع تمانيه ١٣ ذهب وتمانيه فضه وفى البركه مرمى من ١٤ الدقيق وهو شفاف
البياض فقال سليمان يا اسف ١٥ ترا ما احسن هذا الدقيق انما هو جوهر ١٦ طحنتهو الملوك عل قديم
الزمان وظنو انهو ١٧ يغنيهوم عن القمح ويقوتهم فلا يفيد شى من ١٨ ذلك

It has been said that Sulaymān ordered the right side of the door to be dug, and so it was. And suddenly, they [found] a glass chest, and he pulled out the key and opened the first door. They entered into a hallway and a second door appeared before them. Written on it were verses, the poem saying,

The master of this palace formerly dwelt in delight.
 Whilst life went on, lions feared his courage.
 And meanwhile, happy with his life of ease.
 In the court of his god, they are occupied with his throne (?).
 Then suddenly came upon him, something not (?) destined for him.
^{7b} He dropped dead,³⁵ and the crown fell from his head.
 Enter the palace, see its splendour and desolation!³⁶
 It did not become more desolated after they had seated.

It has been said that he opened the second door and entered a cellar, when suddenly he was at the third door, on which a poem was inscribed,

These are the homes of the nation of Tahmū's³⁷ covenant.
 In great honour they lived; A life during which they were never put in danger.
 The vicissitudes of time passing cried out to them, but they were overthrown with death.
 And no eye can see them or even the trace of them.

The narrator said: So he opened the door and passed inside to the palace, loftily erected with a vast courtyard. Inside was a pond made of red ruby with sixteen wells, eight out of gold and eight out of silver. And inside the pond was a layer of whitish transparent powder. And Sulaymān said, "Look, o Asaf! How beautiful that powder is! For it could only be from gems which the kings with time ground, with which they believed they would no longer be in need of wheat, and which would nourish them. It was all in vain.

³⁵ In view of the translation, see MS *Strasbourg*: فخرٌ مِيناً و زال التاج عن رأسه 'so he dropped dead and the crown fell from his head' (my translation).

³⁶ In view of the translation, see *Mimekor Yisrael*:48, 'Enter the citadel, look around and wonder!'

³⁷ The name probably refers to Thamūd, a nation which is mentioned several times in the Qur'ān. There is a general lack of information about Thamūd, however, it appears to have been an ancient civilization in Arabia, the downfall of which are mentioned e.g. in Q 7.78. See also Retsö 2003:*passim*.

توم قال ان سليمان راح الا البركه فنظر ١٩ علا جانبها مكتوب هادى الابيات يقول شعر

- ١٨ كام قد وقفت بما وقفت ٠ ٢ وكم قرأت بما قرأت ٠
- ٣ وكم اكلت وكم شربت ٠ ٤ وكم لبست الناعمات ٠
- ٥ وكم طوغيت وكم بوغيت³⁸ ٠ ٦ وكم هتبت الموحضيات ٠
- ٧ وكم عوصيت وكم زنيت ٠ ٨ وكم ركبت المونكرات ٠
- ٩ لا تامنون بهده ٠ ١٠ فالجمع اخر هو الشتات ٠
- ١١ وباننى بك قد فوقدت ٠ ١٢ وسالت عنك فقيل مات ٠

١٣ قال وادا فى وسط³⁹ القصر قوبه من الزمورود الاخضر ١٤ لها اربعت ابواب فتقدم الا الباب الاول ١٥ وارا عليه مكتوب هذا الابيات يقول شعر

- ١٦ عجبت لمن بينى علا الارض منزلا ٠ ١٧ واما قليلا قبر هو فوقها يوبنا ٠
- ١٨ ادا ما بنا روكنن وتم بناهو ٠ ١٩ تهدم صروف الدهر من عومر هو وروكنا ٠

١٨ ظ قال وتقدم الا الباب الثانى وارا عليه هذا ٢ الابوات يقول شعر⁴⁰

- ٣ يا ابن ادم لا يسخر بك الاملو ٠ ٤ يوقضا عليك ادا املت هو الاجلو ٠
- ٥ فما تهنى بشى كان قد جمعو ٠ ٦ بل خلفو الدار والاهلين وارتلحو ٠

٧ توم قال انهو تقدم ايضا الا الباب الثالث ٨ وارا هو عليه مكتوب هذه الابوات يقول شعر

³⁸ وكم طوغيت وكم بوغيت MS 31 : corr. on the basis of MS 23 : MS 23 وكم طوجيت وكم بوجيت

³⁹ وسط : MS 31 وسط

⁴⁰ يقول شعر : MS 31 : ליתא

It has been said that Sulaymān went to the pond where he had seen right next to it, these verses of poem inscribed, saying,

^{8a} How much I endured! How much I read! How much I ate and drank! How I wore fine array!⁴¹

How much I terrorized and oppressed! How much I acted in disobedience, and how much I fornicated! How much I pursued the forbidden

You do not believe in such, for the last bit of the assembly is scattered. And to me, you have been lost. I asked for you, but it was said that you were dead.

It has been said, that then, in the middle of the palace was a green emerald dome with four doors. He approached the first door and saw that it was written on it these poem verses, saying,

I was astonished by he who built a home on this place, that on which his tomb would soon be built.

Had he not built a corner stone and completed its building, the misfortunes of his life would be torn down and [along with] his cornerstone.

^{8b} It has been said that he approached the second door and saw on it these poem verses, saying,

O son of Adam, fortune will not deceive you. The instant of death will be forced upon you.

You will have no pleasure, they have already gathered. And they have left the homes and families behind and departed.

It has been said that he approached the third door, and saw that it was written on it these poem verses, saying,

⁴¹ In view of the translation, see *Mimekor Yisrael*:48, 'How I toiled, how I ate, how I drank, and how I wore fine array, how much I trembled , and how much I feared.'

- ٩ هذا سبيلك من يومن الا يومى ٠ ٠ بفرحت الناييم المسرور بالنومى ٠
١١ لا تعجبين لقومن فى الورا سعدو ٠ ١٢ لا شك تونقل من قومن الاقوامى ٠
١٣ قال توم تقدم ايضا الا الباب الرابع وارا ١٤ هو عليه مكتوب هذا الابيات يقول شعر
١٥ تزوود من الدنيا قليلا فما تبقا ٠ ١٦ وخود صفاها عما مضا ودع العتقا ٠
١٧ ولا تامنون الدهر الذى قد امنتهو ٠ ١٨ فلا يبق لى ورا ولم يضع لى حقا ٠
١٩ ولما ملكت المولك والخيل واللوا ٠ ٢٠ فابعدهمو غربن وفرقتمو شرقا ٠
٢ ايتانى رسول الموت من كول جانين ٠ ٣ فيها انا فى دل قبر اشقا بما القا ٠

- ٤ قال الراوى فلما قرا سييدنا سوليمان هذا الابيات ٥ بكا هو ووزيرهو اسف بن برخيه وتعجبو من هذا ٦
الالفاظ وبلاغت المعنا وخجلو فى انفوسهوم
٧ ان سييدنا سليمان رفع الستر بيدهو ووصل الا ٨ القوبه وارا فى القوبه قبر عظيم وعليه توم
٩ الديباج⁴² وقد علا عليها التوراب من طول الزمان ١٠ ومرور الليالى والايام فرفعهو سليمان بيدهو ١١
وارا قد صار قوطع ونزل بعضهو علا بعض من ١٢ كوترت السنين والاعوام الذى مضت عليه فتقدم ١٣
الا راس القبر وارا عند راسهو لوح من الزمورود ١٤ الاخضر وعليه مكتوب هذا الابيات يقول شعر ٠

⁴² توم الديباج : MS 31 توم[?] من الديباج

TRANSLATION

This is your path, from one day to the other. As [it is] with the joy of the sleeping one, the delightful sleeps.

There is nothing astonishing with nations rejoicing in what has passed. There is no doubt that [the joy] will be passed on from nation to other nations.

It has been said that he approached the forth door and saw that it was written on it these poem verses, saying,

Take a small share of [what you find in] life, for it will not be spared. Take but the pure from that which has passed, and let go of the rest.

Do not rely on the eternity that I have promised, lest [my nation] will not live forever, lest [my nation] will lose its virtue!

So when I had ruled over kings and horses and brigades, ^{9a} I will send them westwards, and I (?) dispatched them eastwards.⁴³

The messenger of death came to me from every angle. For it is me who lies in that tomb, suffering with what I must withstand!

The narrator said: So when Sulaymān read these lines, he and his vizier Asaf ben Berechiah wept, astonished by those words and the greatness of their meaning. And they became embarrassed of themselves.

Sulaymān lifted the cover with his hands, and arrived at the dome, in which he saw a magnificent tomb. On top of it was a silk brocade, covered with dust from the duration of time, and from the passing of days and nights. Sulaymān picked it up with his hands and saw that it had become torn, and it fell apart from the many years that had passed. He approached the top of the tomb where he saw a green emerald plaque inscribed with these poem verses, saying,

⁴³ In view of the translation, see MS *Strasbourg*: ولَمَّا مَلَكْتُ الْخَلْقَ وَالْمَلِكَ وَالْوَرَى وَبَعَثُهُمْ (?) غَرْبًا وَشَمَّتَهُمْ شَرْقًا 'so when I had ruled over creation and mankind, I sent them westwards (?), and dispatched them eastwards' (my translation).

١٥ ابن الملوك وابنا الملوك ٠ ١٦ ومن قد الجيوش بحزم الراى ما فعلو ٠
 ١٧ باتو على كوكب الجبال تحروسهوم ٠ ١٨ גולגולת⁴⁴ الرجال فلا⁴⁵ تمنعهوم ال كوكب ٠
 ١٩ واتسنزلو بعد عزن من معاقلهوم ٠ ١٥٩ واوسكنو حوفرون يا بيس ما نزلو ٠

٢ قال الراوى ولما سمع سييدنا سليمان عليه الس' ٣ هد^١ الابو^٢ ات وعرف قدر معانيها صرخ صرخه ٤
 عظيمه ووقع مغشى علا الارض ساعا من الزمان ٥ وهو لا يعرف الغايب من الحاضر توم انهو افاق ٦
 من غشوتهو ولما افاق اقبل علا وزيرهو ٧ اسف بن برخيه وقال لهو يا اسف لقد كان صاحب ٨ هدا
 القصر ملك الدنيا فيا ليتنى اعلم من ٩ صاحب⁴⁶ هدا القصر والمولى عليه وكيف كان ١٠ حديثهو ٠
 قال توم انهو اخذ وزيرهو⁴⁷ وجعل ١١ يدور القوبه⁴⁸ يمين ويسار وخلف وقودام وادا ١٢ قد ظهر
 عليهم ابدان بلا روس وروس بلا ١٣ ابدان وقوم علا شكل الكلاب وقوم علا ١٤ شكل السباع واشكل
 موختلفه خارجه عن ١٥ صورت الانسان واشتعلت النيران من كول ١٦ جانب ومكان فعند ذلك اخذ سليمان
 بيد ١٧ اسف وخرجو من ذلك القوبه وهوم يتعجبو غايت ١٨ العجب عن ما راو
 وقال وجعل يفتح المقاصير ١٩ فوجدها ملانه جوهر ودنانير ومعادن وياقوت ٢٠ وديكابر تعجز
 عنهم الملوك والاكاسره ٢ فتعجبو من ذلك غايت العجب ولما وصلو الا ٣ العشرين وارهوم بعقرب من
 الذهب كما ٤ تقدم القول وفوقها صفيحه من الذهب مكتوب ٥ عليها بالفضه هدا الابيات ٠ يقول شعر ٠

⁴⁴ جولت : MS 31 غولت

⁴⁵ فلا : MS 31 فلم

⁴⁶ من صاحب : MS 31 من هو صاحب

⁴⁷ اخذ وزيرهو : MS 31 اخذ بيد وزيرهو

⁴⁸ يدور القوبه : MS 31 يدور في القوبه

Where are the kings and their sons? And who dissolved (?) the armies in spite of all [they knew] they could accomplish?

They have become the *cursed* (?) of the mountains. The strongest of men guard them but cannot deprive them from their *curse* (?).

After that (?) they descended from their strongholds,⁴⁹ ^{9b} and were put to rest in grave holes. O misery how they fell!

The narrator said: And when Sulaymān heard these lines and understood the strength of their meaning, he screamed out loud and fell unconscious on the ground for an hour of time. Not knowing how long he had been absent, he woke up from his unconsciousness after a while. When he did, he approached his vizier Asaf ben Berechiah and said to him, “O Asaf, the owner of this palace ruled the world! I wish I knew who owned it, who was its lord, and that I knew how it came to be.

It has been said that he then took his vizier and began searching the dome right and left, in the back and in the front. Suddenly, bodies without heads and heads without bodies appeared, as well as people shaped like dogs and people shaped like lions and other forms unlike the shape of humans. And fire burst from everywhere and from every angle. Then, Sulaymān took Asaf’s hand and left the dome, astonished and distressed of what they had seen.

And it has been said that they started opening the chapels and found them full of gems and dinars, minerals and rubies; ^{10a} treasures which could make even the Kings and *Khosrows*⁵⁰ numb. They were astonished and distressed by that. Then they came to the twentieth [door] where a scorpion of gold appeared before them, as had been foretold. Above it was golden plate on which these poem verses were written in silver, saying,

⁴⁹ In view of the translation, see MS *Strasbourg*: أين الملوك وأبناء الملوك. مضوا تحت التراب برغم الرأي ما فعلوا. where are the kings and the sons of the kings? They remained under the dirt despite what they had done. Where are the armies under whom the lowland and the mountain trembled. They became (?) the summit (or more probably from Hebrew *qolel* ‘cursed’) of the mountains that guard them and descended into holes, o misery, descended they did!’ (my translation).

⁵⁰ Arabic *kasra* (here in the plural *akāsira*) ‘Khosrows’, in Persian tradition known as Anushiruwān. Khosrow is the name of one of the most renowned emperors of the Sasanid Empire.

- ٦ خلت منهومو عرضات القصور ٧ وكانو بها موسكين النعم ٨
 ٨ وقد نغض الموت لداتهم ٩ وما شبيد من بنا انهدم ١٠
 ١٠ ابادهوم الموت لما اتا ١١ ولم تجن كوتر وتهمو ادهجم ١٢
 ١٢ وصارو الا الارض فى بطنها ١٣ وكانو علا ظهرها فى الحكم ١٤
 ١٤ فولو كونت عاينتهم فى الترا ١٥ ترا الدود فى لحمهم احتكم ١٦

١٦ قال الراوى فلما⁵¹ قرا سييدنا سليمان هدا ١٧ الكلام صار الضيا فى عينيه مثل الظلام ١٨ وبكا بوكا شديد ما عليه من مزيد وكذلك ١٩ وزير هو اسف بكا من شدت ما جرا عليه توم ٢٠ ان الملك سليمان فرك عقرب الذهب للجانب ٢ اليمين فانفتح لهو باب الا قاعه⁵² حيطانها ٣ من الذهب وفرشتها⁵³ من الفضة البيضاء ولها ٤ اعمده من الزمورود واعمده من الفضة ٥ واعمده من الذهب فعند ذلك تقدم سييدنا ٦ سليمان وفرك⁵⁴ منها عشرين طابق ولما وصل ٧ الا الطابق والحادى والعشرين وادا هو بعقرب من الفضة ٨ البيضاء ففركها الا الجانب الايسر كما تقدم ٩ القول فانفتح لهو باب عن سورداب احدى وعشرين ١٠ درجه من الزمورود الاخضر فنزل سليمان والشمعه ١١ وقودامهو فانطفت فلم يدرون اين يمضون وادا هوم ١٢ بضو يلوح لهو من بعيد فجعلو يتبعونهو الا ان خرج ١٣ بهوم الا نار عظيم مشبك بقوضبان الفضة والذهب

١٤ وادا هوم بسرير من الزمورود الاخضر وقوايمهو ١٥ من الذهب الاحمر و عليه صنم من البلور مرصع ١٦ بانواع الدورر والجوهر ولهو عينين يلمعين فى ١٧ اوم راسهو فقال سليمان لوزير هو يا اسف ما ترا ١٨ الا هدا الصنم بانهو يرانا ويرموق بعينيه ١٩ النحونا فقال اسف يا نبى الله هادى ظلمسات ٢٠ عملتها الحوكما الاقدمين الفلاسه فى قديم ٢ الزمان فنظر اليه سليمان تانيا وقعد النظر ٣ اليه فراه لوح معلق فى عونقهو فعند ذلك ٤ قدم اليه واراد ياخود اللوح من عونقهو وادا ٥ هو يدور علا كورسييهو بدوران الرحا وخرجت ٦ النار من عينيه والدوخان من مناخيرو وارتفع ٧ الصنم الا اعلا القويه وصرخ بصوت عالى ونادا ٨ بصوت

51 corr. فلما : MS 23, MS 31

52 باب الا قاعه : MS 23 : corr. on the basis of MS 31

53 وفرشتها : MS 31

54 وفرك : MS 31

The vastness of the palace stranded them. And inside they became deprived of grace.
 For Death executed their pleasure. And that which they had erected was destroyed.
 When Death arrived, he annihilated them. They could not reap [the fruits of their]
 abundance, and [the nation of] Tahmū collapsed.
 They fell onto Earth into her womb. They laid on her back for judgement.
 For had you seen them [lying] in the soil you would have seen the worms eating through
 their flesh.

The narrator said: So when our master Sulaymān read these words, a light shone in his eyes like a tyrant, and he wept bitterly till he could weep no more. And likewise, Asaf his vizier cried from the misery that had afflicted him. Then, ^{10b} King Sulaymān rubbed the golden scorpion on the right side, and a door opened for him, leading to a hallway with walls of gold and tiles of white silver. It had columns of emeralds, columns of silver, and columns of gold. Then, Sulaymān came forward to a hallway leading to (?) twenty floors. When he came to the twenty-first floor, there was a white silver scorpion there. He rubbed it on the left side, as had been foretold, and a door opened for him leading to a secret passage with twenty-one steps of green emerald. Sulaymān descended, when suddenly the torch in front of him went out, and they did not know where to go. But suddenly a light flashed from afar and they started following it, until they came out to a magnificent fire entwined with bars of gold and silver.

And they were standing next to a throne of green emerald with pillars made of red gold. On it was a crystal idol embellished with pearls and gems. It had two eyes sparkling in the meninx of its head. Sulaymān then said to his vizier, “O Asaf, wouldn’t you say, by looking at that idol, that it watches us and that it looks as if starring right at us with its eyes?” And Asaf said, “O prophet of Allāh, that is a glare ^{11a} which the oldest of the wise [Greek] philosophers made in the past.” So Sulaymān looked at it again and kept on looking, when he [suddenly] saw that a plaque was hanging from its neck. He moved closer and wanted to grab the plaque from its neck. Then, when he twisted its pedestal around like a quern, fire came out of its eyes and smoke came from its nose. The idol rose up high inside the dome and screamed in a loud voice, calling out,

يا اولاد ابليس ويا اصحاب المعازل ٩ والتيجان هذا سليمان ابن داود عليه السلام ١٠ الذى دلت لهو الانس والجن والطير والوحش والهوام ١١ وسائر ما خلق الله تع' وهو قد اتا اليكوم ١٢ ليأخود ملككوم ويذهب عزكوم ويهدم روكنكوم ١٣ فاقتلوه وريحو الناس منهو قال فعند ذلك ١٤ صرخت الجان من كول جانب ومكان وظهرو علا ١٥ سليمان ابدان بلا روس وروس بلا ابدان وعلا ١٦ شكل الكلاب والسباع وانواع موختلفه ١٧ وارتفع الدوخان وعلا دوخان وقامت الزلازل ١٨ وقرعت الارض واتزلزلت ٢٠ قال الراوى فعند ذلك ١٩ صرخ سييدنا سليمان عليه السلام صرخه عظيمه ١١ظ١ بجلال وقال يا اولاد ابليس ويا لعين الجيش ٢ الخسيس انا سليمان ابن داود عليه السلام ٣ ملكت الانس والجن والطير والوحش وعزت الله ٤ العزه الازلييه لاعدبكوم اشد عذاب ٥ اقسمت عليكم بالصوور المحرقات وبالاسما ٦ الموصوفات ان تزالو صاغررين ولا يكون لكوم ناصر ٧ اليوم الدين فعنها انطفت النيران وخومود ال ٨ دوخان وسوقوط الصنم من اعلا المكان بين يدين ٩ سييدنا سليمان وولت الشياطين هاربين والا النجاه ١٠ طالبين توم تقدم سييدنا سليمان الا الصنم ١١ واخذ اللوح من عونقهو وصعد من السورداب وخرج ١٢ من القصر وجلس على سرير مولكهو ونادا ١٣ باصحابهو ووزراه وارباب دولتهو ولما ١٤ اجتمعو رفع الليهوم اللوح فلم يقدر و علا ١٥ قراتهو فاطرق الا الارض وادا قد اقبل ١٦ عليه من صدر البرييه غولام شب اصفر اللون ١٧ يتوبا علا قضيب من الخيزران فلما وصل ١٨ الا سليمان قال لو سلام عليك يا نبى الله ١٩ هات اللوح فاخذهو وقراه وبكا وقال هذا ١٢,١٣ باليونانيه وهو يقول

انا شداد ابن عاد الذى ٢ بنيت ارمذات العماد التى لم يوخلق مثلها ٣ فى البلاد ركبت الف جواد ومكنت الف من ال ٤ بلاد واقتصنت⁵⁵ الف جاريه ومكنت الف جيش ٥ وقتلت الف ملك ولما اتانى الموت فلم ٦ يغنى عنى شى الا فاعتبرو يا اولايا الالباب

⁵⁵ واقتصنت : MS 31 واقتصنت

“O children of Iblīs! O lords of sanctuaries and crowns! This is Sulaymān son of Dāwūd (peace be upon him), he who men, the jinns, the birds, the beasts, every walking animal and the rest of what Allāh has created serve, MHBE! He has come to take your possessions, to steal your power and to destroy your corner stone. You must kill him and free the people from him!” It has been said that then, demons screamed from everywhere and from every angle. As more smoke spread out, bodies without heads and heads without bodies appeared before Sulaymān in the shape of dogs and lions and other sorts. Then followed an earthquake and the ground rumbled and shook. The narrator said: Then Sulaymān, peace be upon him, screamed out loud ^{11b} and saying in splendour, “O children of Iblīs! O despicable army of cursed, I am Sulaymān son of Dāwūd, peace be upon him, I have ruled over men, jinns, birds, and beasts. The power of Allāh, the eternal power will punish you the most severe way. I swear, by the images of the burned and by the prescribed names, that you will remain disgraced ones. And you will have no protector on the Day of Resurrection!” Then, the fire stopped, the smoke died out and the idols grew silent before Sulaymān. And the shayṭāns turned away and fled, crying for redemption. So Sulaymān approached the idol and took the plaque of its neck. He got out of the passageway and left the palace.

He sat on the throne of his rule, and called for the companions, viziers and lords of his empire. And when they had all gathered, he held up the plaque before them. But they were not able to read it, so he bowed towards the ground. But suddenly, a young yellow-skinned boy from the heart of the desert wilderness approached him, limping along with the help of a stick. When he reached Sulaymān he said, “Peace be upon you, o prophet of Allāh. Give me the plaque.” He took it and read, then wept and said, “This is ^{12a} in Greek, and it states,

I am Shaddād son of ʿĀd, who built *Iram of the Pillars, the like of which was never created in the land* (Q 89.7-8). I rode upon a thousand horses and ruled over a thousand lands and held a thousand servants. I ruled over a thousand armies and I slew a thousand kings. But when Death came to me I could not prevail against him.⁵⁶ So be but warned, o *men possessed of minds!* (Q *passim*)”

⁵⁶ In view of the translation, see *Mimekor Yisrael*:48, ‘Yet when the Angel of Death came for me, I could not prevail against him.’

٧. توم قلب اللوح وارا علا ظهر هو مكتوب ٨. يقول شعر ٠

٩. كم من مليون لهو جنودن يتبعهو الخيل والاميرو ٠

١٠. حاده حادي المنايه ٠ فارتحل عسكرون كثير و⁵⁷

١١. وفارقو ما بنوه روغمن ٠ واقفرت منهم القصورو ٠

١٢. قال الراوى فلما سمع سي سليمان ذلك ١٣. الكلام بكا وتاسف توم انهو رد كول ١٤. شى مكانهو واخذ من المعادن ١٥. والاحجار ما لاق عليه ورجع ١٦. للباسط واسر لحال سبيلهو وهذا ١٧. ما انتها الوفا من سيرت ١٨. قصر شداد والله اعلم

١٩. تم ٢٠. والحمد لله على التمام والكمال ٠ **وشلوم عل ٢١. يשרا ٠**

امן نצח סלה⁵⁸

⁵⁷ كم من مليون لهو جنودن يتبعهو الخيل والاميرو ٠ حاده حادي المنايه ٠ فارتحل عسكرون كثير و: MS 31 كم من مليون لهو جنودن ٠
٢١. يשרا ٠ امן نצח סלה : MS 31 لיתא
⁵⁸

TRANSLATION

Then he turned the plaque and saw a poem written on its back, saying,

O how many kings there were to whom warriors, horses and emirs belonged!

The fate of death came to him, so many warriors departed.

They reluctantly left behind what they had built, and so the palaces became deserted.

The narrator said: So when Sulaymān heard those words, he wept and grieved. Then he returned everything to where it came from, took but from it what befitted him of stones and minerals. He returned to his carpet and roamed his usual path. And thus it came to an end, fulfilling the story of Shaddād's palace. Only Allāh knows.

The End. Praise be to Allāh, to completeness and perfection. *Peace be upon Israel.*

Amen. Eternity. Selah.

THE BINDING OF YIṢḤĀQ

The Binding of Sayyid Yiṣḥāq our Father

^{1a} We hereby start the writing of ‘The *Binding of Sayyid Yiṣḥāq, our Father*’, *peace be upon him* (PBUH), in Arabic, which is transmitted⁷ from the book of ‘the Distinguished Rabbi, *rabbenu David*’ PBUH.⁸

^{1b} *In the name of YYS, the Eternal El. Blessed be His name, the King, King of Kings. The Holy One, blessed be He, the Unique Single Ilāh, the Indivisible, the Individual, the Everlasting, the Reason for existence, the Benefactor of generosity and bounty, the Creator of all being. The Single One, Who cannot be doubled. The Living One, the Infinite, Who is not made.*⁹ He is the Understander, Who does not [need to] examine. He refrains from having a wife and a child. He is the one who remains when fate, fortune and times have elapsed. He is the Never-ending, the One who endures into eternity. He Whom the intellects have witnessed in His divinity, and Whom the hearts have safeguarded in His oneness. He Whom the souls have acknowledged in His eternity and in the enhancement in His kindness. He is the Possessor of compassion, and the Relief from vengeance. He solidified the Earth, embedded it in water and set in motion the orbits of the sky. He is the very Reason for existence and He is its annihilator. He is the Enlightenment and the Darkening of illumination.

The Creator summoned His worshippers and commanded them to ^{2a} behave in obedience with Him, and He directed them to righteousness. He let them know that if they obey Him, He will have much repentance. But if they are insolent towards Him, they will experience suffering and punishment. Because He, may He be exalted (MHBE), is looking over the worshipper’s deeds to make judgements (?) over every one, from whatever upright or immoral action they conduct. And from His love of the people of Israel MHBE and His regard for them and their honourable origin, and the remembrance of Him in the *covenant of the Patriarchs Abraham, Yiṣḥāq and Ya‘qūb*. *So He was gracious unto them MHBE, and had compassion upon them, and would not destroy them,*¹⁰ *neither cast He them from his presence* (Talm. *Shabbath* 55a).

⁷ The word *manqūl* may also mean ‘translated’ depending on the context.

⁸ The question of the identity of *David* to which is alluded here is discussed in chapter 3. The hitherto most plausible estimate is David ben Joshua Maimūni (also known as David II Maimonides, active ca. 1335–1415).

⁹ See Q 112.

¹⁰ See Deut. 4.31: ולא ישחיתך ‘He will not destroy thee’.

١٢ قال عليهم السلام ان اكثر ال ١٣ صديقيم يطلوبو من الله تع' ان ١٤ يمتحنهم ويختبرهم
 لعلمهم من ١٥ نفوسهم لانهم تمكن منهم ال ١٦ محبه وال شغف بالله تع' وانهم ١٧ يصبورو
 لامتحانتهى كما قال **ה' ע'ז' ١** **צדיק יבחן** وكما تجد كان اب تراح من ٢ مونشا ال انبيا واوول ال اتقيا
 واخير ال ٣ ازكيا واشرف ال عابدين وافخر ال زهادين ٤ عمرت ال عالم وال جياه ال مقصوده ٥
אברהם אבינו ابينو ع'س' **עמדו של עולם** ٥ ٠ فامتحنهم ال حق تع' **ב'אל נסיונות** ال ٧ عظيمه وهو
 صابر لجوملتهم ولم سالف ٨ عن شى منهم ولا رادد ٠
 فاوول امتحان ٩ ان امتحنهم **ב'ה'י** ال حق تع' فهو ان يفارق ١٠ ال اهل وال قرابه وال موطن
 ويسافر الا ١١ مكان لم يعلمه كما قال لهو ال حق ١٢ تع' **לך לך מארצך וממולדתך** וגו' واخذ ١٣ ال
 امتحان الی امتحنهم بهى وهو اشدهوم ١٤ واصعبهم واعظمهم الی امرهو ال حق ١٥ تع' بتقريب ال
 ولد ال حبيب وذبح ال ١٦ نسل ال لبیب وحرقت ال ابن ال وحید ال فرید ١٧ كما قال **ויהי אחר הדברים**
האלה וגו' ١٨ **ויאמר קח נא את בנך** ٠ قال ابرهم بين ٢ يديه تع' **يا ربון העולמים** لى ولدان ٣ فايهوم
 تقرب **בן הערלה** او **בן המילה** ٤ قال لهو ال حق تع' ال ولد ال وحید لك كما ٥ قال **את יחידך** ٠ قال
 ابرهم بين يديه تع' ٦ **يا ربון העולמים** هذا وحید لاومهى ٧ وهذا وحید لاومهى قال لهو ال حق تع' الی
 ٨ انت مبالغ فى محبتى كما قال **אשר** ٩ **אהבת** ٠ قال ابرهم بين يديه تع' ١٠ **ربון העולמים** احدن
י'כ'ره ولدهو انا ١١ احب الاتنين قال لهو ال حق تع' ١٢ **يا ابرهم** لا تطيل ال كلام **את יצחק** ١٣ **והעלהו**
שם לעולה ٠

They have told, peace be upon them, that most of the righteous ones have requested from Allāh MHBE that He put them to a test for their knowledge about themselves, so that they can consolidate the love and infatuation to Allāh MHBE, and withstand His tests, as it is said, “*The LORD* ^{2b} *trieth the righteous*” (Ps. 11.5). As it is related, Father Terāḥ was from the origin of the Prophets. He was the first of the trustworthy and the last of the bright. He was the most honourable of the worshippers and the most glorious of those devoted [to God] in the life span of the World and of what is intended. From him comes *Abraham our Father* PBUH, *the pillar of the world*.¹¹ So the Truth put him to the test with great trials. All the long he was patient in all of them and what had happened earlier; he never rejected [his fate].

And the first test to which the Truth MHBE put him, was that he give up his family, relatives and home country and travel to an unknown place, as the Truth MHBE had said to him, “*Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, etc.*” (Gen. 12.1). And he took on the test to which He had put him. It was the most severe, most difficult and greatest of tests that the Truth MHBE had prescribed him, that of sacrificing his beloved son, slaughter the sensible offspring, and burn his only one son, as He said, “*It came to pass after these things, etc.* (Gen. 22.1), *and He said, ‘Take now thy son’*” (Gen. 22.2). And Abraham said before Him MHBE, “*O Sovereign of the Universe, I have two sons. Which one of them shall I sacrifice, the one with the foreskin or the one who is circumcised?*”¹² The Truth MHBE said to him, “*Your only son,*” as it is said, “*Thine only son.*” (Gen. 22.2). Abraham said before Him MHBE, “*O Sovereign of the Universe, this one is the only of his mother, and that one the only of his mother*”¹³ The Truth MHBE said to him, “*The one that you love the most*”, as it is said, “*Whom thou lovest*” (Gen. 22.2). Abraham said before Him MHBE, “*O Sovereign of the Universe, is there anyone who hates the son of his? I love but the both of them!*” The Truth MHBE said to him, “*O Abraham, say no more. Even Isaac. And offer him there for a burnt-offering*” (Gen. 22.2).

¹¹ See Maimonides, *Mishne Torah Sefer ha-Madda, Avodah Zarah* 1:8: עמודו של עולם, שהוא אברהם אבינו עליו השלום ‘the pillar of the world, who is Abraham our Father, peace be upon him’ (<http://www.mechon-mamre.org/i/14.htm> (accessed January 2016).

¹² See *P.R.E.* 31:56.

¹³ See *P.R.E.* 31:56.

قال بين يديه تع' ١٤ يا ربون העולמים انا طابع لامرك ١٥ وانت الדי رزقتهو لى وانت الذى طلبت ١٦ اخدهو وتمجيدك علا ال دوام لم ١٧ ينقطع كما قال ال نبى ه' נתן וה' לקח ١٣ וגו' ولاكن يا **רבון העולמים** علا اى ال ٢ جبل نقربهو قال لهو فى ال مكان الדי تنظور ٣ ال **שכינה** حاله فيه ننظورك وتقول لك ٤ هذا **מקום המזבח** فقربهو هناك كما ٥ قال **על אחד ההרים אשר אומר איך** ٦ ٠ وهذا لتقويت الامتحان لان عند ما قال ٧ لهو ال حق تع' **לך לך מארצך** فليس ٨ اعلمهو الا اى ال بلد يروح اليها ٩ حتا يهدى روعهو بل قال لهو **א לארץ** ١٠ **אשר אראך** وكذلك هنا ليس اعلمهو ١١ تع' الجبل الדי يقرب عليه بل قال لهو ١٢ **על אחד ההרים אשר אומר אליך** ٠ وهذا ١٣ لكى يعرنا تمكون ابرهم فى ال محبه ١٤ وموبالغتهو فيه فيها وشغفهو بال خالق ١٥ تع' فلذلك اسمها **אוהבי** وذلك بانهو ١٦ لو قال لهو ال خالق تع' قرب ولدك فى ١٧ هذا ال وقت ال حاضر وقام هو فى حينهى ١٨ قربهو لقد كانوا ال اوام يقولو انهو قام ٢ بوج^٢ه^٢جت^٢ ال **תרדמה** الדי كان فيها وقربهو ٣ وهو فى غير حيز وكانو يقولون لو رجع لعقلهى ٤ لم قرب شى ولذلك طول لهو الحق تع' فى ٥ مسافت ال طريق حتا يعلمو ان ابرهم ٦ **ע'ה'** اقام ال يوم الاوول وال تانى وال تالت ٧ حتا وصل الا ال مكان وهو موصر علا امرهى ٨ تع' ولا راجع ولا توخر ولا تمنع ولا ٩ **הר ההר אחד השכינה** وقال امس وانت ١٠ تقول لى **כי ביצחק יקרא לך זרע** واليوم ١١ تقول لى **קח נא את בנך** كل اجتهد

وقام ١٢ من باكر ال نهار وشد بهى متنهو¹⁴ بيدهى ١٣ كما قال **וישכם אנבהם בבקר ויחבוש** ١٤

את חמורו واخذ يصحق ولدهو ومضا طابعن ١٥ فى حق الله تع' فى ساير

¹⁴ متنهو : MS متهو

Abraham said before Him MHBE, “O *Sovereign of the Universe!* I obey Your command, for You are the one Who blessed me with him. And you are the one Who requested that I take him. Your praising is endless and will never halt.” As the prophet said, “*The LORD gave, and the LORD hath taken away,* ^{3b} *etc.*” (Job 1.21). “But, O *Sovereign of the Universe!* On which mountain shall I sacrifice him?” He said to him, “In the place where you can see the *Shekinah*,¹⁵ where I can see you. And say to yourself, ‘This is *the place of the altar*’ and sacrifice him there”, as it is said, “*Upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of*” (Gen. 22.2). And this was to certify the covenant. Because when the Truth MHBE said, “*Get thee out of thy country*” (Gen. 12.1), He MHBE did not let him know to which land he were to go until his soul would be guided. Instead, He said, “*Unto the land that I will show thee*” (Gen 12.1). And here thus, He MHBE did not let him know of the mountain upon which he was to sacrifice. Instead, He said, “*Upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of*” (Gen. 22.2), in order to let us know of Abraham’s capability of loving, and his vast affection and infatuation for the Creator MHBE. Therefore it is named *Ohavei*, and that is because it belongs to Him. The Creator MHBE said to him, “Sacrifice your son right now. Undertake his offering in this hour!” ^{4a} The Nations have said that he had been acting as if *asleep* when he had offered him; that he had been in another sphere. And they used to say, “Had he returned to consciousness, he would not have sacrificed anything.” Therefore, the Truth *MHBE* extended the distance of the path, so that He could let him know that Abraham PBUH would continue on the first, second and third day until arriving, remaining determined on [fulfilling] His command MHBE. He did not turn, nor did he delay or refuse, nor *Mount Hor* (?), *one of the Shekinah* (?). And yesterday he said, “You will tell me that ‘*for in Isaac shall seed be called to thee*’ (Gen. 21.12) and today you tell me ‘*Take now thy son*’ (Gen. 22.2), in the most diligent manner.”

He rose in the break of day and saddled its back with his hands, as it is said, “*And Abraham rose early in the morning, and saddled his ass*” (Gen. 22.3). And he took his son Yiṣḥāq and proceeded, in compliance with the truth of Allāh MHBE, and he continued to be

¹⁵ *Sakīna*, or the Hebrew *Shekhina* is commonly understood as the presence of God in a spiritual sense. See *P.R.E.* 31:57; whereas our manuscript reads *אֵל שְׁכִינָה* ‘In the place where you can see the Shekhina’, *P.R.E.* reads *בְּכָל מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר תִּרְאֶה אֶת כְּבוֹדִי עוֹמֵד* ‘In every place where thou dost see My glory abiding’ (*P.R.E.* 31:57; translation is adopted from that of Friedlander, *P.R.E.*:223).

فرحان بامرہی ۱۶ کمتل من یاخود ولدهو ویمضی بهی الا ۱۷ **בית המשתה בששון ושמחה** كما قال ۱۸
 ۱ **וישכם אברהם בבקר** ۰ ولذلك حصل لهو ۲ روفعت شان فی ال عالم وملوك ال ارض ۳ وروساها
 الموقيمين فيها يقولون لهو **נשיא** ۴ **אלהם** 16 **אתה בתוכנו** وعنهو قال دود **ע'ה'** ۵ **נתת ליראך נס**
להתנוסס

وال سبب ۶ فی هذا ال **נסיון** لان يشمعאל كان يعاير ۷ يصحق عليه ال سلام ويقول لهو انا مقبول
 ۸ مرضى اكثر منك يا يصحق وذلك كان ۹ لما ختنك ابيك كان عومرك تمان ۱۰ ايام وليس لك طاعه ولا
 مقدره انك ۱۱ تخالف ولا تمنع واما انا يقول ۱۲ يشمعאל عن نفسهى كان عومرى وقت خوتنت ۱۳ ثلاثت
 عشر سنه وامثلت الدى امر ۱۴ بهى الحق تع' ابرهم ابينو **ع'ה'** حدت! ال ۱۵ **ح'ديد** ولا راددت ولا
 خالفت ولو ازدت ۱۶ لقد كونت نمانع ذلك قال لهو يصحق ۱۷ يا يشمعאל اما انت امتحنك فى عضو ۱۸
 من اعضاك واما انا 17 يقول ال سييد يصحق **ع'ה'** ۲ عن نفسه لو امر ال حق تع' ابرهم ابى ۳ انهو يدبحنى
 لقد كونت امد عونقى لل ۴ دبح فى محبتهو تع'

وصار يصحق **ع'ה'** ۵ متالم من كلام يشمعאל ويقول بين يديه ۶ تع' يا **ربون העולמים** **בחנני** **ה'**
ונסני ۷ فتطلع ال حق تع' علا ضمير يصحق ۸ وامتنن ابيه فيه كما قال **ויהי אחר** ۹ **הדברים** **האלה** قالو
 عليهم ال سلام ۱۰ **אחר דברי ישמעאל ליצחק** ۰ وكان عومر ۱۱ يصحق **ع'ה'** فى ذلك الوقت سبعة
 وتلاتين ۱۲ سنه الدى لو شا مخالفه كان خالف^ف? ۱۳ اكثر من يشمعאל الدى كان عومرهو ۱۴ لما خوتن
 ثلاثت عشر سنه فحينيد^د 18 حصل ۱۵ ليصحق روفعت ال شان وعظمت ال مقدار ۱۶ عند يشمعאל وغيرهو
 ولم وجد يشمعאל ۱۷ لنفسه عند يصحق جواب ۰

ביום השלישי ۱۹ **וישא אברהם את עיניו** ال حق تع' يشتبح ۲ ويتعله لم يتروك ال صديق
 فى شده اكثر ۳ من ثلاث ايام وفى ال مونتظر اوعد ال ۴ حق تع' ان نحن لم نقيم فى شده اكثر ۵ من يومين
 وفى ال يوم ال تالت يحصل ال فرج ۶ وال خلاص كما قال **יחוננו מיומים ביום** ۷ **השלישי** **יקימנו** **וגו**

¹⁶ Abbreviation denoting *Elohim*.

¹⁷ انا : MS انت
¹⁸ فحينيد : MS فحييد

delighted by His command. Like one who takes his boy and proceeds with him to *the house of feasting, happily and with pleasure*. It is said, ^{4b} “*And Abraham rose early in the morning*” (Gen. 22.3). Therefore, he attained prominence from around the world, and kings and leaders of the Land and those living there came and told him, “*Thou art a mighty prince among us*” (Gen. 23.6). David PBUH has said about him, “*Thou hast given a banner to them that fear Thee*” (Ps. 60.6).

The reason for this *trial* is that Yishmael had blamed Yiṣḥāq, peace be upon him, saying, “I am more beloved than you, Yiṣḥāq. When your father circumcised you, you were eight days old, when you did not possess obedience, nor the ability to refute or oppose. But I,” Yishmael said about himself, “was thirteen years old when I was circumcised.”¹⁹ I obeyed what the Truth had commanded MHBE. Abraham our Father PBUH sharpened the knife, and I didn’t resist nor refute. Had I been older, I would have opposed it (?).” Yiṣḥāq told him, “But you, O Yishmael. He put you to the test with one ^{5a} of your body parts. But I,” Yiṣḥāq said about himself PBUH “if the Truth MHBE commanded my father Abraham to sacrifice me, I would put out my neck for the sacrifice in love of Him MHBE.”

Yiṣḥāq PBUH had become deeply afflicted by Yishmael’s remark, saying before Him MHBE, “O Sovereign of the Universe! *Examine me, O LORD, and try me*” (Ps. 26.2). So the Truth MHBE saw Yiṣḥāq’s heart, and tested Abraham our Father accordingly, as it is said, “*And it came to pass after these things*” (Gen. 22.1). They have said, peace be upon them, “*After Yishmael’s words to Yiṣḥāq*” (Talm. *Sanhedrin* 89b). Yiṣḥāq’s age PBUH was thirty seven years old at that time. If he had wanted to oppose him, he could have resisted so much more than Yishmael, who was thirteen years old when he was circumcised. So Yiṣḥāq attained prominence and appreciation with Yishmael and others, for Yishmael could no longer find for himself an answer to Yiṣḥāq[’s argument].

On the third day ^{5b} *Abraham lifted up his eyes* (Gen. 22.4). The Truth MHBE, Praised and Adored [be He], did not abandon the righteous one in distress longer than three days. And during his waiting, the Truth MHBE promised that we would not be in distress longer than two days. On the third day comes relief and salvation, as it is said, “*After two days will He revive us, on the third day He will raise us up, etc.*” (Hos. 6.2).

¹⁹ The passage in which Isaac and Ishmael are contending corresponds to parts of *Genesis Rabbah* 55.4.

فلذلك قال **הנא ביום** ٨ **השלישי וישא אברהם את עיניו וגו ראה** ٩ **גורא שכינה** על אל גיבאל
 وعمود غمام ١٠ **מונטصب** من ال ارض الا ال سما فقال ١١ **ليصحق** ياولدى ايش رايت فى هذا ال جبال ١٢
 قال لهو رايت نور عظيم وعمود غمام ١٣ **מונטصب** من ال ارض **للسما** ففهم ١٤ **ابرهם** ابينو **עיהי** ان
 ولدهו ١٥ **كامل** متلهو وانهو **ונרצה**²⁰ **לעולה תמימה** ١٦ **فقال** לاليعزر ويشمعאל **انتين** **גולמאנהו** ١٧ **الدى**
كانو معهو ايش رايتو قالو لهو لم ١٨ **راينا** شى قال لهوم **انتوم** **كال** **בהימ** ٢ **فليس** **لكوم** **اقامه** **الا** **עند** **אל**
בהימ ٣ **كما** **قال** **אל** **نص** **שבו** **לכם** **פה** **עם** **החמור** ٤ **עם** **הדומה** **לחמור** ٥ **ונשתחזה** **ונשובה** ٥ **איכם**
انتقهو **פומهو** **انهوم** **ירגעו** **אל** ٦ **انتين**

ففى رواح ابرهם **ويصحق** **صارو** ٧ **اليعزر** **ويشمعال** **يحتاولو** **يشمعאל** **يقول** ٨ **אל** **ان** **ابرهם** **يقرب**
يصحق **על** **גבי** **המזבח** ٩ **ואנא** **בחור** **וקונת** **גומלת** **מאלהו** **قال** ١٠ **להו** **اليعزر** **انت** **טרדك** **وبعثك** **لل** ١١
برييه **وليس** **بقا** **لك** **عندهو** **اورث** **وانا** ١٢ **عدهو** **وخدمتهو** **فى** **ال** **ليل** **والنهار** ١٣ **فانا** **الدى** **اورثهو** **وروح**
הקודש **تنادى** ١٤ **وتقول** **לא** **זה** **יורש** **ולא** **זה** **יורש** **كما** ١٥ **قال** **רבوت** **מחשבות** **בלב** **איש** **ועצת** **הי**
היא **תקום** **וכמא** **קא** **עוצו** **עצה** **ותופר** ١٧ **דברו** **דבר** **ולא** **יקום** **כי** **עמנו** **א** **פמא** ١٨ **ירت** **ابرهם**
الا **יصحق** **وهو** **الدى** **ינתחל** ٢ **בمالהו** **كما** **قال** **النص** **תחת** **אבותיך** ٣ **יהיו** **בניך** ٥
فعند **ماخذ** **ابرهם** **صوحبتهو** ٤ **אל** **אש** **وال** **עצים** **وحمل** **אל** **עצים** **עلا** ٥ **يصحق** **كما** **قال** **ויקה**
אברהם **את** **עצי** ٦ **העולה** **וישמ** **על**

²⁰ ותרצה : this appears in P.R.E. 31, p.57 as

So therefore He said here, “*On the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes, etc.*” (Gen. 22.4) He saw the faith of the Shekinah upon the mountains; a pillar of clouds rising up from the ground and into the sky. He said to Yiṣḥāq, “My son, what did you see in that mountain?” He said to him, “I saw a strong light and a pillar of clouds rising up from the ground and into the sky.” Then Abraham our Father *PBUH* understood that his son was complete just like himself, and that he *had been accepted for a perfect burnt-offering.*”²¹ So he said to his two boys Eli’ezer and Yishma’el who were with him, “What did you see?” They said, “We have not ^{6a} seen anything.” He said to them, “You are just like cattle, so you remain but with the cattle,” as the Scriptures reads, “*Abide ye here with the ass* (Gen. 22.5), it is a people like unto an ass (Talm. *Kiddushin* 68a), *and we will worship, and come back to you*” (Gen. 22.5). His own mouth thus informed him that the two would return.²²

Upon Abraham and Yiṣḥāq’s departure, Eli’ezer and Yishma’el began to quarrel,²³ when Yishma’el said, “Now that Abraham is offering Yiṣḥāq *on the altar*, I will be the first-born and [will inherit] all his wealth!”²⁴ Eli’ezer replied to him, saying, “It is *you* who he has dismissed and driven out into the wilderness! You have nothing left with him to be inherited. Now, I am his servant and have served him day and night. Therefore *I* am the one that inherits him,” whereupon the *Holy Spirit* cried out and said, “*Neither this one, nor that one shall inherit,*” as it is said, “*There are many devices in a man’s heart; But the counsel of the LORD, that shall stand.*” (Prov. 19.21) and “*Take counsel together, and it shall be brought to nought; Speak the word, and it shall not stand; For God is with us*” (Isa. 8.10). Only ^{6b} Yiṣḥāq inherits Abraham, and he is the one who takes over his wealth. As the Scriptures read, “*Instead of thy fathers shall be thy sons*” (Ps. 45.17).

Then Abraham brought with him the *fire* and the *wood* and carried the *wood* onto Yiṣḥāq, as it is said, “*And Abraham took the wood of the burnt-offering, and laid it upon*

²¹ The use of עולה תמימה ‘a perfect burnt-offering’ appears in Aramaic passage found in *Sefer ha-Zohar*, namely מאי טעמא איל, בגין איל דיצחק דהוא עולה תמימה, והאי אתחזי לקרבא לאשלמא כלא ‘Why a ram? Because of the ram of Isaac, who was a *perfect burnt-offering*, and this also was brought to make the sacrifice complete’ (*Sefer ha-Zohar*: Shemini 37a; translation adapted from Sperling, *Sefer ha-Zohar* iv: 399.)

²² This (‘His own mouth,’ etc.) is partly a translation of a section appearing in Midrash Tanhuma: *Vayeira* 23.

²³ The verb יחתאולו יחתאולו, if interpreted as being in the stem VIII, literally may mean ‘they resort to tricks’. The translation used here, ‘Eli’ezer and Yishma’el began to quarrel’, is made by analogy with the Friedlander English translation of *P.R.E.* 31:57, ‘contention arose between Eliezer and Ishmael’ (Friedlander, *P.R.E.*:225).

²⁴ *P.R.E.* 31:57 displays a similar version of the contention between Ishmael and Eliezer.

יצחק בנו • 0. فقال يصحق لابيه يا ابي ايش يفيد ال ايدام 8. بغير خوبز كما قال הנה האש²⁵ והעצים 9. ואיה השה לעולה • 0. قال لهו ابرهم آהים • 10. יראה לו השה לעולה בני انت يا يصحق 11. שה העולה אל قوربان אל מורضى • 0. פק'י? בא עליו יצחק וراح בלב שלם 12. كما قال וילכו שניהם יחדיו זה לעקד 14. וזה ליעקד²⁶

فعند ما غظرهوم ال شطن 15. علا تلك ال نبيه ال خالصه ال موطيعه 16. لامر ال خالق تع' فاراد انهو יערבב 17. אותם وتشكل بصورت شيخ طاعن فى ال 18. سن ذات بهجه عظيمه ووجه حسن وجا 2. وقف امام ابرهم وقال لهو يا شيخ 3. طعنت فى ال سن وذهب عقلك كيف تاخود 4. ولد وحيد فريد عزيز حسن ال خولق وال 5. خلقه مثل هذا ال صبى ال مليح ال حسن 6. وتقتولوهو وتعدمهوه وهذا ليس هو ارضا 7. خالقك بل ال شيطان خبيلك قال لهو 8. ابرهم انصرف عنى واذهب لاننى 9. لامك²⁷ ليس اسمع وعن فعل امر خالقى • 10. لم امتنع كما قال יגער ה' בך השטן

11. فتركهوه وجا الا عند يصحق تشكل لهو 12. بصورت شاب صبيح ال وجه حسن ال منظر 13. وقال لهو يا صبى ان كان ابيك شيخ وذهب 14. عقلهوه فيكون انت فيك عقل ولما ذا 15. توافق ابيك فى الجهل ورايح تقتول نفسك 16. للا ضروره • 0. قال لهو يصحق يا جاهل انت 17. تصعدنى وتستغفانى بخطابك ال 18. مخادعه لل جاهل ليس ان الله هو الذى 2. خلقنى واحيانى وهو الذى يميتنى وهو ال حاكم 3. على وهو ال مو'ف'تصل بى واننى لم اخروج 4. عن شى من الذى امر بهى فانصرف عنا 5. واذهب كما قال ويגער ה' בך השטן 6. הבוחר בירושלים • 0. לאו جميعنا متفقين 7. علا ייחוד שמו של ה'ק'ב'ה' ועלא امتתל 8. اوامرهى كما قال النص וילכו שניהם 9. יחדיו ליחד שמו • 0.

²⁵ האש (MS : corrected on the basis of Gen. 22.7)

²⁶ זה לעקד וזה ליעקד (MS : corrected on the basis of Genesis Rabbah 51.4)

²⁷ لاننى لامك : MS لاننى لك لامك

Isaac his son” (Gen. 22.5). And Yiṣḥāq said to his father, “O Father, of what use is the fat without bread?” as it is said, “*Behold the fire and the wood; but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering?*” (Gen. 22.7). Abraham said to him, “*God will provide Himself the lamb for a burnt-offering, my son* (Gen. 22.8), O Yiṣḥāq, you are the *lamb for the burnt offering* of the gratifying communion.” *Yiṣḥāq accepted it* and went off with *a heart at peace*, as it is said, “*So they went both of them together* (Gen. 22.8), one to bind and the other to be bound” (Genesis Rabbah 51.4).

Then, Satan turned against them, against the sincere and obedient intention of the Creator’s command MHBE. He wanted to *confuse them*, and appeared in the image of an elder ^{7a} of glorious majesty and a handsome face. He came and stood before Abraham, and said to him, “O sheikh, you have become old, and you have lost your mind! How can you take an only child, an exceptional, precious and healthy creature such as that handsome and beloved young boy, and kill and execute him? That is not the will of your creator, but rather Shayṭān who is deceiving you!” Abraham replied and said to him, “Go away, leave! For I am *Lamk*,²⁸ I do not hear. As for the command of my creator, I will not abstain,” as it is said, “*The LORD rebuke thee, O Satan*” (Zech. 3.2).²⁹

So he left him and came to Yiṣḥāq, and appeared before him in the image of a handsome, good-looking young man, and said to him, “O little boy, verily your father was a wise man, who has but lost his mind. Thus you must also have some sense! Why did your father foolishly agree to murder you for no reason?” Yiṣḥāq replied, saying, “You fool, approaching me and disregarding me with your misleading and ^{7b} ignorant speech. Is Allāh not the one Who created me and gave me life, and the one Who will take it from me? He Who is my ruler, He Who dimensions me? I have abandoned but nothing of what he has commanded me. So go away, leave us!” as it is said, “*The LORD rebuke thee, O Satan, yea, (the LORD) that hath chosen Jerusalem*” (Zech. 3.2). If we all can agree on the oneness of the Holy One’s name, blessed be He and on abiding His commands, as the Scriptures read, “*And they went both of them together*” (Gen 22.6), to make His name unique.”

²⁸ Arabic Lamk, in Biblical tradition known as Lamech.

²⁹ The part of the MS where Satan tries to prevent Abraham from offering Isaac, is attested in *Sefer ha-Yashar*:44b-45a.

فلما نظر ال شطن ١٠ انهو ليس يقدر يخادع ابرهم ولا يصحق ١١ فتركهوم ومضا الا عند شره
 وقال لها ١٢ اليس تعلمی ان ابرهم قد ذهب عقلهو ١٣ و...? دم واخذ يصحق ولدك دبجهو وقربهو ١٤ علا ال
 مزبح وكانت ال ست شره عليها ١٥ السلام مشغوفه بحوب يصحق الا غایت ١٦ ما يكون³⁰ وال نسوان
 ليس عقولهن بنسبت ١٧ عقول ال رجال فلما سمعت ال ست شره ١٨ و١٩ كلام ال شطن اتضربت اعضاها
 وانحلت ٢ فرايسها وانفطرت وخرجت روحها وماتت ٣ ولذلك يقول فی ما بعد **ויבא אברהם לספוד** ٤
לשרה ולבנותה ٥ قالو **זכרם לברכה** ٥ **מהיכאן בא מהר המוריה בא** ٥

وكان ابرهم ٦ **עיה'** لما قال لهو ال حق تع' **קח נא את בנך** ٧ **את יחידך** وكانت شره معلقت ال
 قلب ٨ **ביصحق** فبقا ابرهم متحبير كيف يكون ٩ اخذهو منها فقال لها اعلمی اين ولدك ١٠ صار عومرهو
 سبعة وتلاتين عام ولم ١١ **يعلم** **דרך העבודה** كيف هيا ناخودهو ١٢ ونمضى الا **הר המוריה** تقرب
 قودامهو ١٣ ونعلمهو **דרך העבודה** فاخذهو منها ١٤ بغير رضاها وراحو وهي خاشيه عليه من ١٥
 عوارض ال طريق فعند ما جا ال شطن ١٦ قال لها ان ابرهم قربهو **על גבי המזבח**? ١٧ **חיניד**³¹ داركها
 ال موت وعلا لسانها ١٨ **ظ** ١٩ قال ال نبی عليه ال سلام **נפשי יצאה** ٢ **בדברו**³² ٥

فلما وصلو المكان كما قال ٣ **ויבואו אל המקום אשר אמר לו האלהם** ٤ **ויבן שם אברהם את**
המזבח بها ال ٥ تعريف ليعلما ان كان هناك **מזבח** ٦ وانهدم وهو ال **מזבח** الדי قربو عليه ٧ **קין והבל**
ונה ובניו كما قال **את המזבח** ٨ **שהקריבו בו הראשונים** فكان ابرهم ٩ **עיה'** يحوول لهو ال حجاره
 ابرهم كانهو ١٠ **יבני**

³⁰ الا غایت ما يكون : MS الا غایت ما يكون

³¹ חיניד : MS חיניد

³² **נפשי יצאה בדברו** : MS (corrected on the basis of Song 5.6) **נפשי יצאה בדברו**

When Satan saw that he was not able to deceive neither Abraham nor Yiṣḥāq, he left them and proceeded to Sarah and said to her, “Are you not aware that Abraham lost his mind, took your son Yiṣḥāq, killed him and sacrificed him on an altar?” Lady Sarah, peace be upon her, had a passionate love for Yiṣḥāq to the utmost and women’s intellects do not equal that of men. So when Lady Sarah heard the words of Satan, her organs parted and she lost her mind. Her soul broke apart and perished, and she died.³³ Therefore, it is later said, “*and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her*” (Gen. 23.2). They have said, *may their memory be blessed*, “In fact he came from Mount Moriah” (Genesis Rabbah 58.5).³⁴

At the time when the Truth *MHBE* said, “*Take now thy son, thine only son,*” Sarah had been heart-dependant on Yiṣḥāq. So Abraham was uncertain about how to take him away from her. He said to her, “Know this, that your son has become thirty seven years of age, and has not learned about the *way of service* and how it is conducted. I will take him and proceed to *Mount Moriah*, sacrifice before Him and teach him the *way of service*.”³⁵ So he took him from her against her will and went off. She worried for him and for the obstacles in his path. So when Satan came and said to her, “Abraham has sacrificed him *on the altar*,” death overtook her and her tongue ascended.³⁶ The prophet, peace upon him, has said, “*My soul failed me when he spoke*” (Song 5.6).

Then they arrived to the place, as it is said, “*And they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham built the altar there*” (Gen. 22.9). And in this lies the instruction to inform us that *an altar* was [placed] there and [subsequently] torn down. It is the *altar* whereon *Cain, Abel, Noah and his sons* made sacrifice,³⁶ as it is said, “*The altar whereon the first ones [of old] had sacrificed.*”³⁷ Abraham *PBUH* was moving stones (?) as if building a

³³ For the conversation between Satan and Sarah see *Sefer ha-Yashar*:46b-47a or Ka‘b al-Aḥbār’s account of the conversation, related by him to Abū Hurayrah (in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* i:265f.). Note that Sarah’s death is in this manuscript a result of grief, whereas *Sefer ha-Yashar* holds that it came at a later stage and rather as a result of ecstatic joy.

³⁴ A similar passage appears in the Midrash Tanhuma: *Vayeira* 23.

³⁵ See *Sefer ha-Yashar*:44a.

³⁶ See *P.R.E.* 31:57.

³⁷ See *P.R.E.* 31:57. The passage also resembles that of Naḥmanides’ commentary on Gen. 22.2, on the use of המזבח ‘the altar’, reading הוּא הַמִּזְבֵּחַ שֶׁהִקְרִיבוּ בוֹ הָרֵאשׁוֹנִים ‘the altar whereon the first ones [of old] had sacrificed’ (see

https://he.wikisource.org/wiki/%D7%A8%D7%9E%D7%91%22%D7%9F_%D7%A2%D7%9C_%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%AA_%D7%9B%D7%91 (accessed January 2016).

בית לערס ולדוהו ויבשח ע'יה' صار 11 فرحان كانهو بينى بيت عرسهى وفى ذلك 12 ال مكان ال
 موعيين بونی בית המקדש كما³⁸ 13 قال ال نص וייבן שלמה את הבית בהר 14 המוריה 15 ויערוך
 את העצים ויעקוד את 15 יצחק בנו قال یصحق لابیة یا ابی اربوطنى 16 جیید وکتفنى ملیح لیلا من
 هول ال سکین 17 وال موت وشدت موخافتیهی وتخبط فی 19 و 18 یداک ونصیر نزلزل بربوب ابی ان من
 قוות 2 حرارت ال سکین وتضرب وتخرج ال دبאحه 3 غیر מעולה ונפסל לקרבן תوم قال لهו 4
 یصحق یا ابی امی شره صامت علیی ال لیل 5 وال نهرا حتا نظرتنى فید الله علیک یا 6 والدى خود قلیل
 من رمادی فی صوره وودیها 7 لها لعل انها תبقا تستشקה ותשמ 8 رایحتى وتتذכرنى وتتسلا عنى ویا ابی 9
 ادا ערرتها بموتى لا تعرفها وهى 10 واقفه علا سطح ولا عند بیر لیله ترمى 11 روحها منهو وتموت
 תوم بعد ذلك جعل 12 ابرهم ال حطب علا ال مزبج واخذ یصدق³⁹? 13 ولدوهو حبیبیت لبهو عزیز
 نفسهو وربط 14 یداه ورجلاه وکتفهو ووضعو علا ال 15 حطب ومد یدهو ال یمین واخذ ال سکین 16
 ועینان³⁹ یصحق تهطول بال دمیع وبکو بوکا 17 سدید⁴⁰ وفرح بانطیاعهوم لامر خالقهم 18 67 1 وتلك
 الدموع الدى هطلت علا ال مزبج 2 كانها محفوظه مكتوبه بین یدیہ تع 3 یتذکرها الحق تع 4 فی کول وقت
 תועرض 4 اعمالنا بین یداه كما قال ال نبی שימה 5 דמעתי ב'ה'ב' 41 وال حق تع 6 יתרום ויתעלה 6
 ینظור ال اب עוקד وال בן נעקד בכל לב 7 ובכל נפש
 ומלאזי השרת צועקים ובוכים 8 وقالו بین یدیہ تع 9 יארבון עולמים اسمک 9 رحوم وحنون

³⁸ MS : كما كما

³⁹ Corrected duplication : ועینא³⁹? ועینان

⁴⁰ MS : سرور

⁴¹ This is most probably an abbreviation of the part of Ps. 56.8, reading: **בנאדך הלא בספרתך** 'into Thy bottle; Are they not in Thy book?'

house for a wedding of his son. And Yiṣḥāq *PBUH* became delighted as if he was building a house for his wedding. The *Holy Temple* was built in that particular place, as the Scriptures reads, “*Shlomo built the Temple on Mount Moriah,*⁴² *and [Abraham] laid the wood in order, and bound Isaac his son*” (Gen. 22.9). Yiṣḥāq said to his father, “Tie me well and bind me firmly, lest the dread of the knife and of death, and the intense fear of death, ^{9a} as your hand strikes, and [thereby] I start trembling. By the divinity of my father! Verily, lest you strike and *the sacrifice will have become forsaken.*”⁴³ Then Yiṣḥāq said to him, “O father, my mother Sarah fasted for from me, day and night, until she saw me in the hands of Allāh. You must, o father of mine, take some of my ashes in a shape and give it to her. It might still give her hope, when she can still smell my scent; when she can still remember me and find peace. O father of mine, if you have dishonoured her by my death, do not let her know when standing on the terrace or by a well, lest she throws herself into it and dies.”

Then, Abraham laid the wood in order on the altar. He took his beloved and precious son Yiṣḥāq, tied his hands, legs and shoulders and laid him on the wood. He stretched out his right hand, took the knife. Tears were pouring from Yiṣḥāq’s eyes, and he wept bitterly, while he rejoiced given their obedience to their creator. The tears fell on the altar as if observed and destined before Him MHBE. The Truth MHBE remembers them every time our deeds are demonstrated before Him, as the prophet said, “*Put Thou my tears into Thy bottle; Are they not in Thy book?*” (Ps. 56.8). The Truth MHBE, *Adored and Exalted [be He]* [was] beholding the father binding *whole-heartedly* and the son bound *whole-heartedly* (*P.R.E.* 31:58) *and with all [his] soul.*

And the ministering angels cried aloud and wept, and said before Him *PBUH*, “O Sovereign of the Universe! Your name is gracious, and full of compassion,⁴⁴ and Your tender

⁴² See 2 Chron. 3.1. The passage resembles that of Ibn Ezra’s commentary on Gen. 22.2, on the use of אחד ההרים ‘one of the mountains’, reading "בהר המוריה" את הבית "ויבן שלמה את הבית" (see https://he.wikisource.org/wiki/%D7%90%D7%91%D7%9F_%D7%A2%D7%96%D7%A8%D7%90_%D7%A2%D7%9C_%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%AA_%D7%9B%D7%91 (accessed January 2016).

⁴³ See *Sefer ha-Yashar*:45b.

⁴⁴ See Ps. 145.8.

ورحمك **על כל מעשיך** ١٠ عظيمه مثل ال جبل ال مورتفعه كما ١١ **צדקתך כהררי א** فارحم يصحق يا
 ١٢ **רבון העולמים** لانهو⁴⁵ **אדם ונעקד לפניך** ١٣ **כבהמה** كما قال **אדם ובהמה תושיע ה'** ١٤ فلما
 وصلت ال سكين الا عند يصحق خرجت ١٥ نفسهو ال موكرمه من كوبرت ال فزع ١٦ وعند ما سمع
 خطاب ال بارى تع' لابر[?] هم[?] ١٧ وهو يقول لهو **א תשלח ירך א הנער וא ת'עשה?** ١٨ **לו מאומה**
 فرجعت نفسهو اليه وانحلت ٢ تكاتيفهو ووقف⁴⁶ ٤٦ **علا رجلايه وعلم يصحق** ٣ **ע'ה'** ان مصيرهو تع' يحيى
 الاموات كذلك ٤ وافنتح وقال **ה' ממית ומחיה وبارك** ٥ وقال **ברוך אתה ה' מחיה המתים** ٥ قال ٦
 ناظر ينظور وال موعتبر يعتبر وال عاقل ٧ يتعلق ويجول بفكرهى ويتطلع لعظمت ال ٨ اشيا ال مقصوره
 من ال انسان فى عبادت ٩ الله تع' ولاى حد يبيلوغ الذى يريد يكون ١٠ **موجب لله تع' حق ال محبه**
 ويمتثل ١١ قولهو تع' **ואהבת את ה' אלהך** فان لو وصل ١٢ ال انسان فى ابلغ حد يكون لم يمكن
 انهو ١٣ يصل لدرجت ابرهم ويصحق ابا من كان ١٤ يقف يصلو بين يدين الله تع' ويقول **מא תתן לי**
ואנוכי הולך ערירים وقال ايضا **הן לי** ١٦ **לא נתתה זרע الحق** تع' يقول لهو **הבט** ١٧ **נא השמימה**
וספור הזוכים וגו وقال ١٨ **לשו ايضا לזרעך נתתי את הארץ הזאת וגו** ٢ وقال لهو ايضا **שרה**
אשתך יולדת בן והקימותי ٣ את בריתי אתו וגו
 ورزقهو لهو تع' وهو طاعن ٤ فى ال سن ابن مايت سنه وقال لهو **כי ביצחק** ٥ **יקרא לך זרע**
 وكان عندهو عزيز حبيب ٦ لبيب يخاف عليه من عين تنظورهو توم ٧ ياخودهو يروص تحتهو ال حطب
 ويكتفهو ٨ ويوضعهو علا ال حطب ويمد يدهو وياخود ٩ ال سكين ليذبحهو وكذلك يصحق ايضا شاب ١٠
 عومر هو سبعة وتلاتين سنه وهو فى قוות ١١ **شبوبييتهى** وابتدا اقبال زمانهى ١٢ **يمد عونقهو**

٤٥ لانهو : MS لطنهو
٤٦ ووقف : MS ووقف

mercies are *over all Your works*.⁴⁷ Your great alms are like an elevated mountain as it is said, “*Thy righteousness is like the mighty mountains*” (Ps. 36.7).⁴⁸ Have mercy upon Yiṣḥāq, O *Sovereign of the Universe!* For he is a *human being, and is bound before Thee like an animal*,⁴⁹ as it is said, “*Man and beast Thou preservest, O LORD*” (Ps. 36.7). When the knife touched Yiṣḥāq’s neck, his blessed soul departed out of great fear. But when he heard the Creator’s MHBE message to Abraham saying, “*Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing* ^{10a} *unto him*” (Gen. 22.12), his soul returned, the ropes were dissolved and he stood up on his feet. And Yiṣḥāq PBUH knew that in this manner, He will revive the dead MHBE. He opened (his mouth) and said, “*The LORD killeth, and maketh alive etc.*” (1 Sam. 2.6). And he blessed and said, “*Blessed are You, Lord, giver of life to the dead!* For the Seeing sees; the Honourable honours; the Understanding is devoted and committed in his mind; He watches over the majesty of Man’s modesty (?) in worshipping of Allāh MHBE; over anyone who strives; over he who wants to be a lover of Allāh MHBE, the Truth of Love.”

His words MHBE take as example, *And thou shalt love the LORD thy G-d* (Deut. 6.5). Had Man reached his outmost, he had never reached the level of Abraham and Yiṣḥāq. He went and (?) brought himself before Allāh MHBE, saying, “*What wilt Thou give me, seeing I go hence childless*” (Gen. 15.2), said also, “*Behold, to me Thou hast given no seed*” (Gen. 15.3), whereupon the Truth MHBE said, “*Look now toward heaven, and count the stars, etc.*” (Gen. 15.5). ^{10b} He added that, “*Unto thy seed have I given this land, etc.*” (Gen. 15.18), and said to him, “*Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son; [...] and I will establish My covenant with him, etc.*” (Gen.17.19).

He blessed him MHBE when he was still an elderly man, one hundred years old, and said to him, “*For in Isaac shall seed be called to thee*” (Gen. 21.12). For he was dear, beloved and sensible to him; he fears for him, from [but] an eye looking at him. So he takes him. And he lays the wood under him. And he binds him and places him onto the wood. He stretches out his hand and takes the knife to slaughter him. Yiṣḥāq is but a young man, thirty seven years old at the peak of his youth, and his time was starting to approach. He stretches out his neck

⁴⁷ See Ps. 145.9.

⁴⁸ See P.R.E. 31:58.

⁴⁹ See P.R.E. 31:58.

للدبح وخلاه وما طاعين ١٣ لله عز وجل برجولياتهم⁵⁰ سارين فرحين ١٤ ليس عندهم في ذلك تاتير ولا مرادده ١٥ ولا مكابه ولا مومانه

فكول من ١٦ يقول انهو يريد يعبد الله تع' بمحبت ١٧ فيعتبر ذلك ذلك ويعتمدهو الدى لو ١٨ و١٩
خولف شخص منا بعطيت نصر ماللهو ٢ لله تع' او يختلف ببوطالت بعض ٣ زمانهى او بشقا جسمهى فى
محبتهى ٤ تع' من غير انهو يبيح نفسهو وولدهو لل ٥ قتل فلقد كان يضجور وينتقم مع علمهو ٦ ان احوال
هذا ال وجود زور وباطل وليس ٧ لل انسان فيه مال ولا ولد ولا دوام فمن ٨ اراد يصير لهو شى مو^٩ خلد
فى دار ال ٩ اخره فيودعهو عند الله تع'

هوذا ننظور ١٠ اذ سمع⁵¹ ال انسان بحروب وفتن وورود ١١ عدو وحر^{١٢} به تتفق فيهوم انهو يخبى
١٢ مالهو تحت ال ارض وفى مطاميه وخبايا ١٣ وهو لا يعلم هل تخلص نفسهو و^{١٤} عدم ١٤ ال مال او هل
يقتل ويصير ال مال موخبا ١٥ موتذكر لمن لا كان يريد انهو يتبرم ١٦ عليه منهو بدرهم قرب فى حياتهى
١٧ فالذى يخبى من مالهى شى عند الله تع' ١٨ و١٩ ويدعهو عندهو فمضمون لهو انهو يصير موخبا ٢ لهو
ولنسلهو الا ال ابد ولهو ان يتشبه ٣ بابرهم ابينو **עֵי ה'** الدى قرب ولدهو الله ٤ تع' وصار لهو
عندهو ^٥ **ב' זירה** فى قرب ال شخص ٥ منا ال مال عوض الولد وبالغ فى موحبتهو ٦ تع' فى حصل لهو ال
خير ال دايم دو كتب فى ٧ سفر ال حياه ويصير قريب من الله تع' ٨

لان ٨ ابرهم ابينو **עֵי ה'** عند ما ناداه ال ملاك ٩ من ال **שמים** وقال لهو **א תשלה ירך א הנער**
١٠ قال ابرهم من هو انت قال لهو انا ملاك ١١ **ה'** قال لهو ابرهم اعلم ان الحق تع' بذاتهى ١٢ ال موعظمه
هو الدى قال لى **קח נא את בנך** ١٣ فكمثل ما امرنى فى تقريبهى كذلك ١٤ نريدهو هو الدى ينهينى عن
ذلك حتا نمتنع ١٥ عن تقريبهى حينيد⁵² **ויקרא מלאך ה' א אברהם** ١٦ **שנית מן ה שמים** لكنهو لم
رضى يقبل ١٧ من الاوول ثوم ان الحق

⁵⁰ برجولياتهم : MS برولياتهم

⁵¹ اذ سمع : MS اذ^٥ سمع

⁵² حينيد : MS حينيد

for the slaughtering and let[s Abraham make the sacrifice]. As long as they obey Allāh, Almighty and Exalted in all their manhood, they will be happy and with content. They have in this neither influence, nor prevention or disappointment, nor have they anything against it.

For anyone who says that he wants to worship Allāh MHBE with love, he must consider that as such; he must depend on it—that which someone among us opposes—in granting him with a gift of wealth (?) to Allāh MHBE. Either this, or he will dispute the bravery of some of his contemporaries or his body's suffering in his love for Him MHBE, without allowing himself and his son to be killed. Then he will be curtailed (?) with his knowledge. The conditions of that generosity were false and void, and were not made for mankind. Here was wealth, but no child and no abiding. For he who wants to make for himself something eternal in Paradise, let him leave it with Allāh MHBE.

Indeed we will see then; People have heard of wars, civil strife and the arriving of an enemy and [the following] battle [with him]. During these [wars] you will reach an agreement with them; that he will hide his wealth beneath the ground in loose soil and hidden. He does not know whether his soul will be redeemed and wealth disappear, or whether he will be killed, and the wealth will become hidden, and [the wealth] remembered only by he who did not want to be bothered [even] with a *dirham*. For *he* is a Lord in my life! For the one who hides from his wealth something belonging to Allāh MHBE ^{11b} and calls for it, it is guaranteed that it will be hidden from him and his offspring for eternity. One must imitate Father Abraham *PBUH*, who sacrificed his son to Allāh MHBE. For it came upon him *a first-born son*; in a sacrifice of a person among us, the wealth is the compensation for the child. And he attained His love MHBE; he attained an eternal blessing, of which is written in the Book of Life, “And he will come close to Allāh MHBE.”

Because when the angel was calling unto him out of *heaven*, saying, “*Lay not thy hand upon the lad* (Gen 22.12),” father Abraham *PBUH* said, “Who are you?” He replied and said, “I am the angel of *the Lord*.” Abraham said to him, “You know that it was the Truth in His glorified Self MHBE Who said, ‘*Take now thy son*’ (Gen. 22.2). The way that He commanded me to sacrifice him, thus is my will, He is [also] the one Who prevents me from this, so that I abstain from sacrificing him.” *And the angel of the LORD called unto Abraham a second time out of heaven* (Gen. 22.15), but he was not content with the first [one's command]. So the Truth

תע' תכלא בזאתהי 12 ו 11 אל מועצמה ופתח להו אבואב אל سما ושק 2 אל ערפל וטראיא להו בנורהי אל מעظم
 וקאל 3 להו יא אברם בי נשבעתתי נאם ה' כי יען 4 אשר עשית את הדבר הזה וגו כי ברך 5 אנרכך
 וגו וזה אל נבואה קאנת אעלא 6 דרגא ושל אליהא אברם פי אל נבואה תומ 7 קאל אברם בין ידיה תע' יא רבון
 העולמים 8 האנסאן ימתחן רפיקהו לכונוהו למ יעלם 9 אלדי פי לביהי ואמא פאנק מופלע אלא 10 אל אסראר
 אלאמ מא פי אל זמאיר ואל 11 אפאר ותעלם אמיע אלדי פי לבוי מן גיר 12 אנ תמתחני קאל להו יא אברם
 כי עתה 13 ידעתי כי ירא אלהם אתה ולמ פעלת 14 זלק אלא חתא נערפ אמיע אל אמ אלא 15 אל חד אלדי
 בלגתהו אלא מן אל מחבה וינתב 16 ענדחום שחט אל נבואה קמא קאל כי עתה 17 ידעתי כי ירא אלהם
 אתה לכל באי העולם 18 ו 17 ו 16 ו 15 ו 14 ו 13 ו 12 ו 11 ו 10 ו 9 ו 8 ו 7 ו 6 ו 5 ו 4 ו 3 ו 2 ו 1
 פדו ען ולדק יסחק פחוּדו 3 קרבהו ואלא אכסב לך פאנק קרבת יסחק 4 5 ופי קול סנה מלל הזה אל
 נהאר וחו יום 6 ראש השנה אל פזייל ענד אפנאדי א' ע' מאל 7 אל אבאד אדזכר לאולאדק ישראל זכות 7
 הזהי אל עקידה ונחסב להום קאנוהום ואפנין 8 יעקדו עצמן לפני 9

פרע אברם עיניה 9 וווד אל איל משתבך בין אל אשאר קאלו 10 זכרם לברכה אנ אל איל קאן
 גאר יגאי יתקרב 11 עוז יסחק פוּקפ אל שטן ארזבהו פי אל 12 פריק חתא יבטל קרבן יסחק
 קיבתייה 13 חו ען אל פריק תשבכת קרונהו בין אל אשאר 14 וקפ אדחו אברם וקרבהו לעולה תחת 15
 בנו 16 וקאלו זכרם לברכה אנ זלק אל איל 17 למ יכרוג מן גומלט גסדחו שי לבטלה 18 רמאדחו פהו
 יסוד המזבח הפנימי גידיו ו 13 ו 12 עומל מנוהם עשרה נבלים של כנור אלדי קאן 19 דוד ינגן בהם
 ומסירחום ינגנו בו במקדש 20 לימות המלך המשיח כקולהי בנבל עשור 21 זמרו לו 22

MHBE withdrew His glorified ^{12a} Self, opened the doors of Heaven for him, split the fog and appeared before him with His glorified light. He said to him, “O Abraham, *by Myself have I sworn, saith the LORD, because thou hast done this thing, etc.* (Gen. 22.16), *that in blessing I will bless thee, etc.*” (Gen. 22.17). And this prophethood was of the highest level of prophethood that Abraham attained. Abraham said before Him MHBE “O *Sovereign of the Universe!* Man puts his companion to the test because he does not know that which is in his heart. And concerning you. You are acquainted with secrets, a master of consciences and thoughts, and You know all that is in my heart, [even] without putting me to the test.” He replied, saying, “O Abraham, *for now I know that thou art a God-fearing man* (Gen. 22.12). I did it but out of love, and, to the extent that I did, only in order to know of all of people.” As it is said, “*For now I know that thou art an God-fearing man for all mankind,*⁵³ ^{12b} And the ram that I created for you in the six days of Creation at the twilight, will be a compensation for your son Yiṣḥāq.⁵⁴ So take it and sacrifice it, and I will value you as if you sacrificed Yiṣḥāq. And every year on this day, which is the virtuous day of *Rosh Hashana*, when I evaluate the deeds of mankind, I remind your children, Israel, about the good deed of this binding. I will value them as if standing *before Me and binding themselves.*

And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and found the *ram* caught up in between the trees⁵⁵. They have said, *may their memory be blessed*, that the *ram* ran and came to be offered up instead of Yiṣḥāq.⁵⁶ Satan caught hold of his offering in the pathway, so that the sacrifice of Yiṣḥāq would become void, as in a repetition (?). And in the pathway, he entangled its horns in between the trees.⁵⁷ And Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up *for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son* (Gen. 22.13). They have said, *may their memory be blessed*, that from that *ram*, nothing came forth which was useless. Its ashes were the *foundation of the inner altar*, ^{13a} *and ten harp strings were made from its sinews, whereupon David played.*⁵⁸ And its intestines *will be played upon in the Temple for Messianic times as it is said*, “*Sing praises unto Him with the psaltery of ten strings*” (Ps. 33.2).

⁵³ The statement, with the exception of the last part, לְכֹל בְּאֵי הָעוֹלָם ‘for all mankind’, resembles that of Gen. 22.12.

⁵⁴ See P.R.E. 31:58.

⁵⁵ See Gen. 22.13.

⁵⁶ See P.R.E. 31:58.

⁵⁷ A similar version of the incident with Satan and Abraham can be found in *Sefer ha-Yashar*:46b.

⁵⁸ See P.R.E. 31:58.

עורו של איל הו אל אזור הדי ֵ ליליאן זכרו לטוב קרנשו אל יסאר הו הדי ֶ תעע בהי אל חק תע' וקת
 מעמד הר סיני ַ כקולשו וקול שופר חזת מאוד וקרנשו אל ָ ימין הדי אכר מן אל יסאר מסייר הו
 תע' ֹ יתקרב בהי לעתיז לבוא וקע בהי נפוצי ְ ישראל מן ארבע גיהות אל עאלמ ויגו ֱ ויסגדו
 לל תע' פי ירושלים קמל מא ֲ אועד אל חק תע' וקל והיה ביום ההוא יתקע ֳ בשופר גדול לן אל
 השתחוויה לנא ִ בהא אד עזימ ענד אלל תע' וליוס יללס ֵ אל חק תע' ישראל מן אל גלות אל בסבישו ֶ
 וליוס חולשו ישרל מן מטר אל בזכות אל ֶ השתחוויה כקולשו ויאמן העם וישמעו כי ַ וקד
 ה' ובית המקדש נפשו ליוס חולק ָ אל לל השתחוויה בקו רוממו ה' אללם ֹ השתחוו להר קדשו
 ואברם ע'ה' למ רגע ִ מן הר המוריה וסוחבתו יכח אל ֵ בזכות אל השתחוויה קמל קל
 ונשתחווה ֶ ונשובה אליכם פרע אליומ הו ויכח ַ ולדשו בפרח וסרו לכו אל חק תע' ָ רשו
 קורבנשו ופדו יכח בנו קמל קל ֹ וישב אברהם א נערו ְ
 וקד ערפנא ְ אל חק תע' אן בזכות אבריו הדי מצא ֱ חן לפניו במדבר ובהר המוריה
 וכלס ֲ יכח בנו מן החרב ומן השרפה כזלכ ֳ יללסנא חן ישרל אולדשו מחרב חבלי ִ
 המשיח ומחרב מלחמת גוג ומגוג ֵ ונרוג מנשו שדידין ויהדא מענא ויסתר ֶ ְ חטרנא ְ פשו
 תע' למען שמו הנכבד והנורא ִ א נאזר בגבורה יקרז זלכ גמיעשו פי ֲ אימנא ויורינו אל משיח
 עינא ויגענא ֳ אל בלדנא ויפופ עלינא וירחמנא ויקטר ִ ארדנא וישמל ענאיתשו בנא ויתבת ֵ ועדשו לנא
 קמל קל ופניתי אליכם ְ וילמנא אל

The ram's skin [was] the loincloth belonging to *Eliyān*,⁵⁹ may he be remembered for good. Its left horn [was the one] within the Truth MHBE blew upon Mount Sinai,⁶⁰ as it is said, “*And the voice of a horn exceeding loud*” (Exod. 19.16). The right horn, which is larger than the left, is destined [by Him] MHBE to arrive in the future to come, and collect the scattered people of Israel *from the four corners of the earth, etc.* (Isa. 11.12), and to prostrate before Allāh MHBE in Jerusalem, as the Truth MHBE has promised, saying, “*And it shall come to pass in that day, That a great horn shall be blown*” (Isa. 27.13). Because in our prostration is a great reward with Allāh MHBE. For the Truth MHBE will only redeem Israel from the diaspora but on account of himself. And Israel were only saved from Egypt but by virtue of prostration, as it is said, “*And the people believed; and when they heard that the LORD had remembered*” (Exod. 4.31). And the Temple itself was created only through the merit of prostration.⁶¹ It is said, “*Exalt ye LORD, And worship at His holy hill*” (Ps. 99.9).⁶²

Abraham PBUH returned from Mount Moriah with Yiṣḥāq, only but through the merit of prostration, as it is said, “*And we will worship, and come back to you*” (Gen. 22.5). Then he and his son Yiṣḥāq came back to them with pleasure and joy over the Truth's existence MHBE. He was pleased with the offering and sacrifice of his son Yiṣḥāq. As it is said, “*So Abraham returned unto his young men*” (Gen. 22.19).

The Truth MHBE has taught us that from Abraham's good deed, before whom He found grace in the wilderness and on Mount Moriah, his son Yiṣḥāq was saved from the sword and from the fire. In the same way, we will be saved, our children Israel, from *the swords of the birthpangs of the Messiah, and of the swords of the War of Gog and Magog*. And from this war, we will drive out the bad, and they will be guided on the right way, together with us, and our mind will be at ease. And [therefore], for the sake of His honourable and awesome name, *girded about with might*, (Ps. 65.7) He will sacrifice it all in our days, and makes the Messiah appear before us. And He will gather us into our land and suddenly appear before us, have mercy with us, honour us and enfold us in His providence. And He affirms his promise to us, as it is said, “*And I will have respect unto you*” (Lev. 26.9). And He will inspire us to

⁵⁹ Arabic (?) Eliyān, in Biblical tradition known as Elijah.

⁶⁰ See P.R.E. 31:58.

⁶¹ See P.R.E. 31:59.

⁶² On prostration (*השתחוויה*) and its great reward with God, see *Genesis Rabbah* 56.2.

طاعتھی ویدلنا الا ٧ هدایتھی ویرشودنا الا شریعتھی بحیت ٨ تصیر محبتھو فینا لکی نصیر جمیعنا ٩
 عارفین بخالقنا کبیرنا وصغیرنا ١٠ ویغفور ذنوبنا ویمسئی اوزارنا ویقلب ١١ لنا ال حق تع' ال اتراح الا
 سرور ١٢ وافراح ویعزی قلوب بافتنا بمجی ١٣ ال مشیح ال جوال ובنین האריא ויקבץ ١٤ נפוצות
 יאודה וישרא' یتبت ما وعدھو ١٥ لنا قایلین ١٦ ٠ הנה אנוכי שולח לכם ١٧ את איאן הנביא ١٤
 לפני בא יאם ה' ٢ הגדול והנורא ٣ והשיב לב ٤ אבות ٥ על ٦ בנים ולב בנים על ٧ אבותם אמן ٠

٨ וכן יהי רצון ונאמר אמן ٠

TRANSLATION

obey Him and point us to His right path, and guide us to His law, to where His love takes place in us, in order for all of us, young and old alike, to become aware of our Creator. He forgives our sins and makes lean our burdens. The Truth MHBE turns our sadness into joy and delight, and comforts the hearts in our illness in the coming of the Messiah, the Saviour, in the *building of the Ariel and in collecting of the scatters of Judah (?) and Israel*. He will reinforce what He has promised us, saying, *Behold, I will send you [Eliyān] the prophet before the coming of the great and terrible day of the LORD. And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers* (Mal. 3.23). Amen.

And thus shall be His will. Amen.

THE POEM OF ZAKARIYAH'S MURDER

١ و ١ هذھی قوصت ال سیبید ٢ زکریه لا ١٧، ٣ بال کمال

- ١٥ ١ اسمعو قولی انا زکریه ٠ روحو وابکو ٢ علییا ٠ ابهاتکوم بال عنیه ٠
بتعمید ٣ قتلونی ٠
- ٤ ٤ طلب قلبی فرحتکوم ٠ وریت ال یوم ٥ فورقتکوم ٠ عملو بی نفمتهوم ٠
٦ وما رضیو یرحمونی ٠
- ٧ ٧ جیت لکوم بال نصیحه ٠ خایف وقوع ال ٨ فضیحه ٠ باقوال صحیحه ٠
٩ ما دومتو ٩ تسمعونی ٠
- ١٠ ١٠ وفی جمیع ما کونت اقول ٠ من ربی ١١ انا مرسل ٠ وانتو ترکتو ال معقول ٠
١٢ وما قولتو تقبلونی ٠
- ١٣ ١٣ لو سمعتو اقوالی ٠ وقبلتو ١٤ امتالی ٠ کان ال الیه ال عالی ٠
١٥ یرحم ال عال وال دونی ٠
- ١٦ ١٦ قولت انا نبی مسکین ٠ وجیت لکوم ٢ بقلبن حزین ٠ قومتو لی بال سکاکین ٠
٣ وفی قلبی طعنتونی ٠
- ٤ ٤ یا هل ترا ایش کان دنبی ٠ لما طعنتونی ٥ فی قلبی ٠ فیکوم ربی حس بی ٠
٦ مثل ٦ ما ضلمتونی ٠
- ٧ ٧ فاتنبیت بقول الله ٠ عسا یرضا ٨ علیکوم الله ٠ فخالفت ٦ قول الله ٠
٩ وقومتو لی قتلونی ٠
- ١٠ ١٠ الا تصلیحو فی دل ایام ٠ ترکتو خالق ١١ ال اناس ٠ وعبدتو ال اصنام ٠
١٢ قولتو تتبعونی ٠
- ١٣ ١٣ لما جیت ونصحتکوم ٠ ایاک عسا ١٤ نصلحکوم ٠ عند ما ادبتکوم ٠
١٥ قومتو لی طعنتونی ٠

1a 1 This is the complete story of Sayyid Zakariyah, peace be upon him (PBUH)

1b 1 Hear my voice, I am Zakariyah. Mourn and weep for me. Your forefathers are in distress. // Deliberately (?) they killed me.

4 My heart pleaded your joy. Today I saw your diversity. They took their revenge out on me, // and would not show me mercy.

7 I came to you with guidance, fearing that a disaster would occur. In truthful words, // while you listen to me.

10 And to all what I have said. From my Lord I am sent. You renounced the reasonable, // and did not say you approved of me.

13 If you had heard my words and accepted my lessons, the Exalted Ilāh, // would have forgiven the oppressor and the oppressed.

2a 1 I said, "I am a poor prophet" and came with a saddened heart. You attacked me with knives, // and in my heart you stabbed me.

4 I wonder, what was my sin? When you stabbed me in my heart, my Lord felt *me* within *you*, // in the way which you falsely accused me.

7 For I told prophecies with the Voice of Allāh. He could have approved of you. But you disobeyed Allāh's Word, // turned against me and killed me.

10 Did you not make amends (?) during those days? You abandoned the Creator of mankind and worshipped idols. // you did not say, "Follow me."

13 When I came and guided you, I was hoping to give you guidance. When I taught you morale, // you attacked me and stabbed me.

- ١ ظ ٢ اتجمعوا علا قتلى • وما عملو ٢ فى حد متلى • استهزوا بفعلى •
 ٣ وبعدها جدفونى •
- ٤ قاموا علييا بجمعهم • واودانى • تسمعهم • فى دمي ما اطمعهم •
 ٦ علا وجهى سحبونى •
- ٧ قولت لهوم ايش ذنبى • حتا يعدبنى ٨ ربي • احسب خير فى قلبى •
 ٩ وهو ما شر عاملونى •
- ١٠ بقيت اطلبو خيرتهم • لما كفرت ١١ اومتهم • صنعوا بي نعمتهم •
 ١٢ برحمتهم رحمونى •
- ١٣ لا تغدرو بي يا قوم • خليتو عظم ١٤ كوم • لابد ما يجيكم يوم •
 ١٥ فيه • تبقو تدكرونى •
- ١٣ و ١٠ بقيت قودامهم مرمى • علا ال ارض ٢ مطروح جسمى • اتلونت توبهم بدمى •
 ٣ يا ريتهم دفنونى •
- ٤ خالو دمي فاير • من جسمى بقا • ساير • صار ال بدو عليهم جاير •
 ٦ كمبهم جدرونى •
- ٧ يا قوم ارجعوا لله • وخافوا من ٨ كلام الله • اتت¹ عليكم الشرى •
 ٩ دمعى فاضى من جفونى •
- ١٠ لما رايت نكبتهم • اردت انى ١١ ونصحهم • حتا لا نرا حسرتهم •
 ١٢ وهو ما شر جازونى •
- ١٣ يا ما لهوم اتعنيت • كم من وصييه ١٤ اوصيت • مورادى لو لهوم اشفيت •
 ١٥ لو يكون من عيونى •

¹ اتت : MS الت

TRANSLATION

- 2b 1 They flocked together to murder me. They had never done to anyone what they did to me. They mocked my deeds, // and then they blasphemed me.
- 4 They attacked me, all of them, while my ears could hear them. In my blood was that which filled them with greed. // With my face down they dragged me along the ground.
- 7 I asked them, “What is my sin, so that my Lord tortures me? I value the good in my heart!” // But they did evil to me.
- 10 I kept seeking the good in them. When their nation became infidels, they made *me* their revenge. // With the mercy of theirs, they showed me mercy.
- 13 Do not betray me, o people! You have abandoned your eminence! Certainly, the day will come, // in which you still remember me.

- 3a 1 I lied before them, thrown on the ground, my body discarded. Their garment got stained with my blood. // O how I wish they had buried me.
- 4 They made my blood pump, and out of my body it ran. They did what they want with me (?). // Like an animal they betrayed me.
- 7 O people, come back to Allāh! Fear the Word of Allāh! Evil has come to you (?).
// My tear runs from my eyelid.
- 10 When I saw their disaster, I wanted to give them guidance, so that I do not see their shame. // But [with] evil they rewarded me.
- 13 O, how much I cared for them! How many directions and advice I gave! I wish I could heal them, // even if it was [on the expense] of my eyes.

- ٣ ظ ١ اتنبيت بخراب ال بيت • وال مقدش ٢ الى حبيت • وقولت لهوم بالدى ريت •
 ٣ ولم عادو يصدقونى •
- ٤ هوم خالفو مولا هوم • روساهوم • واجلاهوم • وموسه قال حين راهوم •
 ٦ قليل كمان يرجمونى •
- ٧ صاحت ال قودم يا احبابى • بعدكوم ٨ ال نوح دابى • دايمه كان فى حسابى •
 ٩ هوم الدى اكلونى •
- ١٠ قالت صيون وهى تنوح • بال اسياف ال ١١ ارواح تروح • وهذا ال نبى صار مطروح •
 ١٢ فانكوم احزنتونى •
- ١٣ فى صحن بيت ال مقدش • وانا مرمى ١٤ منداس • صارو يندبو ال ناس •
 ١٥ ولم قدرو يشيلونى •
- ١٦ و١ روحنا ال عزره ودعينا • ايش دنينا ٢ حتا ارتمينا • وسكنو فيك اعدانا •
 ٣ قوم عشو ال ملعونى •
- ٤ قالت ال عزره ما اوضعكوم • ياما ال • نبى نصحكوم • نجستونى بفاعيلكوم
 ٦ عن ما تطهرونى •
- ٧ زكريه صار فى ال حارات • بكى علا ٨ ال مغارات • ليش تحرقو ال تورات •
 ٩ ومن ال مقدش تخرجونى •
- ١٠ ال حجاره حواليا • علا راسى ١١ ورجليا • وازعق يا مواليا •
 ١٢ ولم رضيو يسمعونى •
- ١٣ دبحو شباب مع اطفال • ودم ال نبى ١٤ ما زال • ويقول يا رب لا تغفل •
 ١٥ عن الدى سفكونى •

TRANSLATION

- 3b 1 I told prophecies about the destruction of the Temple and the Holiness that I held so dear. I told them what I had seen, // and still they would not believe me.
- 4 They disobeyed their master, their leaders and their distinguished ones. And Mūsā said, when he saw them, // “They are almost ready to stone me.”²
- 7 And the brave cried out, “O my beloved ones. After you, lamentation became my habit!” I was always prepared for it; // [prepared for] those who ate me.
- 10 The people of Zion said in lamentation, “By the sword, the souls will depart.” And this prophet was cast down. // For you saddened me.
- 13 In the open court of the Holy Temple, while I was thrown to the ground, the people started mourning, // and could not get me up.
-
- 4a 1 We went to the Temple court and called out, “What is our sin? We even lay prostrate. And our enemies dwelt inside you, // the cursed nation of Esau!”
- 4 The Temple court said, “What principles do you have? O how much the prophet guided you! You dirtied me with your actions, // instead of purifying me!”
- 7 Zakariyah came to the [town] quarters. He wept by the caves. Why do you burn down our the heritage, // and from the Holiness you throw me out?
- 10 The stones surrounds me, [hitting] my head and my legs. So I scream out, “O Master! // They did not want to listen to me!”
- 13 They slaughtered children and youth, while the prophet’s blood remained. He said, “O Lord, do not be unmindful, // of those who shed my blood!”

² Translation of the latter phrase is according to that of Exod. 17.4. See 6b:5-6 (below).

- ٤ ظ ١ قتلو حباله ومورضعات • وهتكوا اعراض ٢ ال بنات • يا ما جاهوم نكبات •
 ٣ ياريتهم اطاعوني •
 ٤ جا ال عدو اليهم • بحمله هجم • عليهم • سورعه بكت عينيهوم •
 ٦ كما انهوم ابكوني •
 ٧ قالو يشرال كفرنا • وضلما ٨ انفوسنا • نحن الدى خالفنا •
 ٩ كبير وعال ودوني •
 ١٠ قال ال نبى وهو ينوح • منكوم قلبى ١١ مقروح • خليتونى مطروح •
 ١٢ ريتكوم دفتونى •
 ١٣ يهوياش ما عرف فضلى • وكان فرحان ١٤ فى قتلى • لمن اشتكى ذولى •
 ١٥ وبال قووه اقهرونى •
- ١٥ لاجل دا يجى عليكم • زمن فيه ٢ تقصر يدوكوم • حين يجى ال عدو عليكم •
 ٣ وانا ما تجدونى •
 ٤ يوم موتى رفعت راسى • لل واحد • خالق الناسى • ليش يا رب انقطع ياسى •
 ٦ وال اعدا ضلمونى •
 ٧ اين ابى ينضورنى • يجى ال يوم يقبلنى ٨ عسا³ انو يخلصنى •
 ٩ اعدا قتلونى •
 ١٠ لما انهوم انصابو • عن اوطانهوم ١١ جابو • هوم الدى قد عابو •
 ١٢ انهوم غلبونى •
 ١٣ خلت ال ديار منهوم • وال عز رحل ١٤ عنهوم • جا ال عدو طلبهوم •
 ١٥ مثل ما طلبونى •

- 4b 1 They killed pregnant women and wet nurses. They tore apart the girls' innocence. O how they brought their disaster upon themselves! // I wish they had obeyed me.
- 4 The enemy came to them, and attacked them. Soon their eyes cried, // just like they had made *me* cry.”
- 7 The people of Israel said, “We have turned against God and neglected ourselves. We are the ones who turned away, // the old, the rich and the poor!”
- 10 The prophet said, crying mournfully, “From you, my heart has been wounded. You left me tossed on the ground. // I wish you had buried me.”
- 13 Yahuyāsh⁴ did not know of my virtue, and he was pleased with my murder. To whom will I complain about my humiliation? // And with force they degraded me.

- 5a 1 Because of that, a time will come, in which your hands will become restrained; a time when the enemy comes for you, // and when you will find me no more.
- 4 On the day of my death, I raised my head towards the One, the Creator of mankind. Why, o Lord, was my desperation so severed? // Why did my enemies treat me so unfair?
- 7 Where is my father looking over me? The day will come when He accepts me! He could have rescued me // from the enemies that killed me.
- 10 When they became afflicted, they wandered from their homelands. They are the ones who had been faulty. // They thought they had defeated me.
- 13 Their homes were emptied, and their honour departed from them. The enemy came for them, // the way *they* had come for *me*.

⁴ The name refers to King Jehoash of Judah, as mentioned in 2 Kings and 2 Chron.

- ٥ظ ١ واما مقدش⁵ سولمان • زعق وصرخ ٢ لل رحمن • كيف بوطول ال قوربان •
 ٣ وال اعدا دخلوني •
- ٤ وال هيكل يا اجواد • انرسا بتوب • ال حداد • بعد ال نور يا اسياذ •
 ٦ بال ضلام قد بسوني •
- ٧ يا حسرتى علا ال شولحن • وال مدبح ٨ مع ال قورين • يا ما جا منهوم غوفران •
 ٩ كتير لل عال وال دونى •
- ١٠ بعد ديك ال انوار • داك العز كولو ١١ مار • جا ال عدو علينا جار •
 ١٢ ولا بلغت مضمونى •
- ١٣ هذا جزايا منهوم • لاجلانى ١٤ ننصحهم • ما هان علييا جلوتهم •
 ١٥ وهوم فرحو وضجونى •
- ١٦ لهوم بيينت ال مضمون • بان ال امر ٢ هذا يكون • يا اجواد الله ارجعون •
 ٣ وانعطفو واتبعونى •
- ٤ لان الله مونتنفس غيور • هو يعلم • جميع ال امور • لايد ان عليكم تدور •
 ٦ وتبقو تشتهونى •
- ٧ يا قوم اعبدو مولاكوم • هو الذى ٨ انواكوم • يخلصكوم من اعداكوم •
 ٩ وارسلنى تطيعونى •
- ١٠ هذا ال قول قول الله • ارسلنى لكوم ١١ الله • انتبا بقول الله •
 ١٢ لزمكوم تقبلونى •
- ١٣ هذا نوصحى اليكوم • اشرحتو ما بين ١٤ يديكوم • وال حساب عليكم •
 ١٥ يوم الذى تعصونى •

5b 1 And concerning Sulimān's Temple. He screamed and shouted to the Merciful,
 "How could the sacrifice be [so] worthless? // How could the enemies enter
 inside me?"

4 And the *Haykal*,⁶ o noble men, was restored in the smith's garb. After the light,
 o great masters, // with darkness they crushed me.

7 How unfortunate! How I am pained by [what happened to] the Table [of the
 showbread], and by the slaughter and sacrifice! O so much forgiveness came
 from them, // so much for the old, the rich and the poor!

10 After those rays of light, all that glory went away.⁷ The enemy came to us to
 persecute, // but my pledge was not enough.

13 That is my punishment from them, because I had given them advice. I did not
 appreciate them leaving for exile, // even though they had rejoiced and agitated
 against me.

6a 1 I explained for them in essence, that *this will happen*. O noble men, to Allāh
 you must return. // Turn around and follow me.

4 Because Allāh impairs a jealous man. He knows everything! You must make a
 turn, // and begin longing for me.

7 O people, worship your master! He who intended to rescue you from your
 enemies, // he who sent me [so that you would] obey me.

10 This voice is the Voice of Allāh! Allāh sent me to you. I told prophecies with
 the Voice of Allāh. // You should have accepted me.

13 This is my sincere advice to you. I have laid open what you have before you,
 and you are held responsible, // the day on which you refused to obey me.

⁶ The *Haykal* here denotes 'the holy place' or 'the Temple'.

⁷ Here, מאר probably corresponds to the root consonants *m-r-r* 'to pass; depart; go on' (rather than *m-w-r* 'to move from side to side' or *m-y-r* 'to provide').

- ٦ ظ ١ راحو الملايكه لرينا • انصور من ٢ قومك لاجلنا • وال ضمان هو علينا •
 ٣ فقال لهوم اتركوني •
 ٤ قال الله انا ادري • هذا ال قوم • مخلف امرى • وقال **משה** ال عبرى •
 ٦ **עוד מעט וסקלוני** •
 ٧ هوم قتلو اوريبه • وهوم حبسو ٨ يرميه • فقال وانا زكريه •
 مثل ٩ ال عبد باعوني •
 ١٠ يا ربى انقومهوم نقمه • ولا يترحم ١١ عليهم رحمه • سلتهوم بيد اومه •
 ١٢ كما انهوم نقمونى •
 ١٣ ما نستاهل منهوم • بعد ما ١٤ ننصحهم • يعملو بى نقمتهوم •
 ١٥ لما انهوم هلكونى •
- ١٧ ١ لما زاد ال بلا عليهم • حنت ال قلوب ٢ عليكم • وقال الله اليهوم •
 ارجعو ٣ لى واعبدونى •
 ٤ وصيون صارت تقول • يا حسرتى دل عنا • يطول • وال عدو بلغ ال مامول •
 ٦ يوم الدى فارقتونى •
 ٧ قلب طامع لرجعتكوم • متا افرح ٨ بفرحتكوم • يعسا الله يفرج عنكوم •
 ٩ وتجو لى تزورونى •
 ١٠ توبو يا عباد الله • عسا يفرج ١١ عنكوم الله • واتبعو قول الله •
 ١٢ وتعالو اسكنونى •
 ١٣ يجمعكوم من ال بلدان • ويبنى ال مديح ١٤ كما كان • وتقربو ال قوربان •
 ١٥ وال **כהנים** يخدمونى •

TRANSLATION

- 6b 1 The angels turned to our Lord, “For our sake, take a look at your nation. We must safeguard [it].” // But He said to them, “Leave me!”
- 4 Allāh said, “I am the one whose orders this people will follow!” And *Moshe* the Hebrew said, // “*They are almost ready to stone me*” (Exod. 17.4).
- 7 They killed Uriyah and they imprisoned Yirmiyah. So he said, “And I am Zakariyah.” // Like a slave they sold me.
- 10 O my Lord, take revenge on them! Do not show them mercy. [...] (?) in the hand of its mother (?) // Like they took their revenge on me.
- 13 I am not worthy of them. After I had given them advice, they took their vengeance out on me, // That time when they annihilated me.
-
- 7a 1 When they made things worse, the hearts felt sympathy with you. And Allāh said to them, // “Come back to me and worship me.”
- 4 And the people of Zion began saying, “How I am pained by the distress! The pain will be prolonged and the enemy will get what they wished for, // The day on which you left me!
- 7 A heart is craving for your return, when I will be happy for your joy. May Allāh set you free. // And you will come to me and visit.
- 10 Repent, o servants of Allāh! May Allāh set you free. Obey the Voice of Allāh, // And come dwell by my side!
- 13 From the lands He will bring you together, and build the altar as it once was. You will make offerings, // While the *Kohanim* are serving me.

- ٧١ نرجو من الله ربنا • بينى لنا مقدسنا • ٢ ويرسل لنا موعيتنا •
مع ٣ ال **انوت** ينجدوني •
٤ سالت ال واحد ال قهار • خالق ال ليل • وال نهار • يحيى ال اموات ٦ كما يختار •
ويرجع ٧ ال قودس مسكونى •
٨ ويضربون بال اصوات • ويحيو ساير ال ٩ اموات • وال بنين وال بنات •
١٠ ويقول ال اب هذا ابني •

TRANSLATION

- 7b 1 We plead to Allāh our Lord, that He will build our Temple for us. That He will send us our saviour. // Together with the *Fathers*, they will help me.
- 4 I asked the One, the Almighty, the Creator of night and day, He who gives life to the dead as He chooses, // will al-Quds return to be my homeland?"
- 8 They will crack the whips and revive He who walks with the dead, together with the sons and daughters. // And the father will say, "This is my son."

THE SONG OF YŪSUF

١ ظ ١ قول قصة يوسف •

- ٢ كان يوسف مليح^١ في عمرو^٢؟ ولا احد^٤ متلو باجمل • ذكر الكتاب عن عمرو^٢؟ •
 ابن سبع عشر سنه اكمل • جميع^٦ العلوم في صدور^٢؟ • وبتاج النبوه اتكمل •
 ولا في اخوتو • احد نسبتو • ولا رتبتو •
 سد^٢ابع جيل لجدو محسوب •^٢شبيهه الحماد^٩ المنسوب •
 • بيت •

- ١٠ ك^٢ان يعكوب يدلل يوسف لانو لنسلو محتاج • ١١ هو دايم بقلقو يلطف واكساه تواب من
 ١٢ ديباج • اسرار الله مه توكشف من يخوض^{١٣} حد العجاج •
 راه في المنام • عليه السد^{١٤}لام^٢ • وفسور الكلام •
 بانو فوق كرسى منسوب • ١٥ لو يسجدو اولاد يعقب •

- ١٧ اصبح لاختو يتفاخر برسم المنام يتهجه • ١٨ قد رايت في منامي كولنا بنزرز زرز •
 ١٩ ز^٢رزت^٢هوم^٢ جميع تتاخذ • وانا زرزتو في عزه •
 ٢٠ واخوتو تقول • علينا يطول • عبو لو رحول •
 ١٢ يوسف عند ابونا محبوب • ما يخرج ولا^٢ في ملعوب •

- ٣ حين قال له ابوه داك اليوم^٢؟ • يا يوسف تروح^٤ للمرعه • ابصر لى خبر^٣ داك القوم • •
 والاغنام وهيبا تربيع • من عندو كان في النوم • ٦ ما يعلم بايش يستدعا •
 راه الملك • ٧ وقال لو اراك • ار^٢يت^٢ الى وراك •
 من هون طلعو^٨؟^٢ متعوب • نزلو مكان ان مصعوب •

^١ مليح : MS كوليج

^٢ سد^٢ابع جيل لجدو محسوب • شبيهه الحماد المنسوب • MS : سد^٢ابع جيل لجدو • محسوب شبيهه الحماد المنسوب •

^٣ خير : MS كبير

1b 1 The Saying of Yūsuf's story

2 Yūsuf was beautiful in his era, and not a single one was like him in beauty. The Scripture makes mention of his life. Seventeen years of age he had attained all knowledge in his heart. And with the crown of prophesy he had become complete.

// And none among his brothers had his attribution nor his quality.

// Seventh generation descendant from his grandfather he counts, and appears upright.

10 Ya'qūb used to spoil Yūsuf, because he needed him to beget offspring. Always worried for him and gentle with him, so he bestowed upon him a garment out of silk brocade. The secrets of Allāh will not be revealed, except for he who sees through the dust.

// He foresaw in a dream, peace be upon him, and he interpreted the words,

// of himself upon a majestic throne, and before him prostrated the children of Ya'qūb.

17 He began bragging to his brothers upon what the dream portrayed: "I saw in my dream, all of us were binding sheaves. Every of its sheaves assumed their position. I am its sheaf, mighty and powerful."

// While his brothers said, "He is talking down on us! Prepare for him to disappear,

// 2a for Yūsuf is cherished by our father. He never goes out, not even when he is playing."

2a 3 Then, one day his father said to him, "You shall travel to the grazing land. See for me what goes on with this people and with their cattle, and [whether] they are procreating." [And absent] from him he had a dream, [in which] he did not know what he was called to do.

// The angel saw him and said to him, "I can see you. I have foreseen what lies behind you.

// From this point on they appeared tired, and came to an unpleasant place."

١٠ حين اقبل عليهم قالو^٢،^٢ صاحب المنامات ١١ اقبل • وعلى قتلوا احتلوا • وهو عندهوم^١
 ١٢ متغفل • راو فى المنظر فى حالو^٢،^٢
 قالو دل ١٣ الكلام ما يعمل الكبير^٢ • عليكوم اشير • ١٤ هات جرمو فى البير •
 دلو بيوسف مدعوب • ١٥ قعد فى البير مكتف مربوط •

١٧ حين جلسو يتغدو • كل واحد لقتلوا اتهيه • ١٨ ورفع العيون واهتدو • وصابو القوافل
 جايه • ١٩ يهوده قصد فى بيعو • قال عسى الله يحيه •
 ٢٠ نبعث التجار • من بين الحجار • بغير ٢١ اختيار •
 طلعو بيوسف مربوط • باعوه ٢٢ لتجار الخروب •

٢٣ لما جا راوبن للبير • وما صاب يوسف ٢٤ ظ ١ اتالم • قال كيف يكون التدبير^٢،^٢ وايش
 اقول ٢ لابي وايش اتاكلم • دبجو العتيد^٣ ٣ بالسكين غمزو قميصو بالدم •
 يوسف ابصرو • ٤ لابوه اخبرو • الديب اكسرو •
 زعق بصوت • الملهوب • صار دموعو كقطر ان مسكوب •

٧ ويوسف مضت بو الاعراب • والقيد اكل ٨ من لحمو • وقلبو المسيكين قد داب • حين ٩
 اقبل على قبر امو • ثبال عينو لرب • ١٠ الارباب • ما احد يعلم ايش فى ١١ علمو •
 ولما وصل • الى اقليم مصر • ١٢ بقا فى حصر •
 باعو كعبد ان مغلوب • ١٣ لا حيله فى يد المغلوب •

¹ The MS has 'Allāh' written in the margins.

² يعمل الكبير : MS يعمل م الكبير
³ العتيد : MS العتيد

10 When he came to them they said, “The Lord of dreams has come!” And to kill him they conspired. He was not aware. In this view they saw him.

// They said these words, “Whatever the oldest [brother] does, [so] I advise you [to do]. Throw his body into the well.”

// They playfully lowered Yūsuf, and he sat in the well with his hands tied behind his back.

17 When they sat down for supper, every one of them prepared for his killing.

They lifted their eyes and discovered that the caravans were coming. Yahūda had intended to sell him. He said, “Perhaps Allāh will keep him alive?

// We will send [him to] the tradesmen from in between the stones, with no choice [of resisting],

// they took Yūsuf up, hands tied together, and sold him off to tradesmen of *kharrūb*.⁴

23 When Reuben came to the well, [and] saw what had happened to Yūsuf, ^{2b} he was tormented. He said, “How shall I plan this? What will I say to my father? And in what manner will I say it?” They slaughtered an old sheep with a knife, and dipped his shirt in blood.

// Yūsuf they had seen, to his father they informed, had been torn apart by wolves.

// He cried out with a flaring voice, and his tears became shed drops.

^{2b} 7 So the Arab nomads departed with Yūsuf, while shackles ate into his flesh.

And his poor heart melted. He then came by the grave of his mother. His eyes aimed for the Lord of Lords. No one can know of what He knows.

// When he arrived in the province of Egypt, he was still at unease.

// They sold him as a helpless slave. Nothing clever could be done for the helpless one.

⁴ *Kharrūb*, also known as *carob* or the *locust bean pod*, is a bean which was used primarily as a sweetener and known to have been popular among the ancient Egyptians. The word seems to be related to the Akkadian *kharubu*, Aramaic *kharubha* and Hebrew *ḥarūb*.

١٥ ويوسف لو منضر محسون تتوه الاومم ١٦ في حوسنو • والله كان لو في العون ما ١٧ خلا
العنايات عنو • اشتراه سلحدار ١٨ فرعون و عندو بقا مثل ابنو •
و حين ١٩ نظرتو • يا قوم جوزتو • مليح حبتو •
٢٠ قالت لو تكون مصحوب • والا تركتك معطوب •

١٣ وكل ما كان عنها مبعود • بادن الله لها ما ٢ تقارب • وسييب قميصو مشروع • في يده
اوولاد ٣ هارب • استادو سمع بالمسموع • قال دل امر ٤ ما هو واجب •
عنها ابعده • ولا تعدبوه ٥، ٦ في السجن اقعده •
كعبد ان محكوم • هدا جرا ٦ في زمان ايوب •

٨ وفرعون كان ملك في ايامو • في علوم الاملك ٩ يقرا و غضب على خودامو ١٠، ١١ وارمهوم
في قعر ١٠ الحفره ٥، ٦ وصبرو على احكامو حتى ينضرو ١١ ايش يجرا •
منام ابصرو • فيه اتحييرو • يوسف ١٢ فسرو •
قال انت تخلص موهوب • والاخر تالت ١٣ يوم مصلوب •

١٥ ويوسف حكا لساقى جميع ما جرا لو كولو ١٦ على يد الله يكون خلاصو ومن عمل خير كان
١٧ لو انا اسالك • وبتوسل ليك • تقول للملك •
١٨ من عندو خرج يا انسان ١٩، ٢٠ نساها العزيز ١٩ الرحمان •

⁵ في علوم الاملك يقرا و غضب على خودامو • وارمهوم في قعر الحفره • : MS في علوم الاملك يقرا • و غضب على خودامو وارمهوم في قعر الحفره •

15 And Yūsuf had a handsome appearance, upon whose beauty the nations were startled. Allāh gave him support, and he was never in lack of care. The *silāḥdār*⁶ of the Pharaoh purchased him, and with him he became like a son.
 // When she saw him, o people, the wife of his. Firmly she loved him.
 // She said to him, “You shall be my escort, or else I will let you be destroyed.”

3a 1 And every time he was apart from her, and with the help of Allāh, she did not come near him. He could leave his shirt untied. He had the [opportunity] to escape. His master heard of these sayings, and he said, “Those things are not needed.
 // Make him stay away from her; do not torture him. In prison you shall put him,
 // sentenced to be a slave.” This happened in the times of Ayyūb.

8 The Pharaoh was a king during these days. About the wisdom of Allāh, the king would read. He raged against his servants, and put them into the bottom of the pit. They had patience with his passing of judgement, so that they would see what would happen next.
 // In a dream he saw it. He became astonished. Yūsuf interpreted it.
 // He said, “You will survive with good fortune, and the other one will be crucified on the third day.”

15 And Yūsuf told the cupbearer everything that had happened to him. “From Allāh his salvation will come, and from good deeds it will come.
 // If I ask you, and implore: Tell [it] to the king.”
 // From it he came out, o [a free] man [you are]! [For] the Strong and Compassionate had made [the king] forget.

⁶ *Silāḥdār* is a military-administrative title denoting the function of an ‘arms-bearer’. Historically, the *silāḥdār* functioned as one of the most trusted personell in the Sultan’s palace, and chief of the weapon’s arsenal. The title goes back to the medieval Turko-Persian empire of the Seljuks, whoes organization of state kept to that of the Persians and the ‘Abbāsids, and It was later employed by both the Mamlūks and the Ottomans (see Har-El 1997:609f.).

٢٠ سبحان العالم بالاشيا ما اسعد على الله ٢١ اتوكل • وسبب لفرعون رايه فيها يندهش ٢٢
 • ومتامل • سبع بقرات مصريه ٢٣ يرعو في قرط المحفل •
 • وسبعه اخر • ٢٤ بعدهوم حضر • شنعين المنصر •
 الحوسن عنها ٣ ١ مبعود • و١؟ قام من منامو مرعوب •

٣ لما اصبح من منامو مرجوف ٢؟ ٢؟ نادا ٤ لجميع ال عالم • قال هاتولى حكيم ان • معروف
 • ٢؟ ٢؟ بشدت المنامات عالم • وقام ٦ سلحدار فرعون ٢؟ ٢؟ قال فى السجن رايتو قاعد •
 ٧ قدو فصيح • ونطقو فصيح • وكلامو صحيح •
 ٨ قال ركبو على امسن مركوب • يفسر ٩ منام ان مصعوب •

١١ لما لاق عليه التفسير ٢؟ ٢؟ قال الله ١٢ عطا لك النصر • واوليس خاتمي ١٣ هادا واتفخر
 • ٢؟ ٢؟ على اهل الفخر • فى ١٤ ارضى وملكى قوم سير واتوزر • على اقليم ١٥ مصر

• هو سييدك • وهو اييدك • وقوا يدك •
 ١٦ تلم المغل الموهوب • وحسك تضيع اللبلوب •

١٨ حين ولا الرخا وشاع الغلا فى الاقطار • ١٩ وقالو اولاد يعقوب لابوهوم نحنا لمصر •
 • نتسفر • حين دخلو من الابواب • قال ٢١ انتم دواسيس اخبار •
 بقو واقفين • ٢٢ ومتوقفين • وهم خايفين •
 الواحد فى رايو ١ ٣ مضرروب • والاخر فى رايو متعوب •

20 Praise be to the Knower of everything. In Allāh I trust. And to the Pharaoh he brought about his view, by which he was astonished and on which he contemplated. Seven Egyptian cows are grazing in the field.

// And another seven, already dead (?), dreadfully looking.

// Beauty is for them ^{3b} [something] remote. Terrified he woke up from his dream.

3 When he woke up from his dream he was trembling, and called upon all the people. “Get me a renowned wise man, one who can interpret nightmares!”

The Pharaoh’s *silāḥdār* rose up and said, “In the prison I have seen him atone!

// His stature is flawless, his words are eloquent, and he speaks the truth.”

// He said, “Bring him to me this evening to interpret this difficult dream!”

11 When he presented him with the interpretation he said, “Allāh has given you victory. Wear this ring of mine, this will honour the honourable ones. In my land and in my reign, rise up, set out and become Vizier of the province of Egypt.

// He is your master. He is your support. And the strength of your hand.

// Collect the good crops, and remove the thorns from the sprout.”

18 Then, fortune turned and the crops spread throughout the land. And the children of Yaʿqūb said to their father, “To Egypt we must travel.” When they passed through the gates he said, “You are conspirators of tales!”

// Afraid they stood upright before him.

// The first one appeared beaten. ^{4a} The last one appeared worn out.

٣ قالوا يا ملك تنسبنا • لمن هو للاصنام • عابد • انتشر رجل تنضرننا^٢،^١ كولنا • من ابن
 واحد • اخونا الصغير ضاع منا • والآخر عند ابونا قاعد •
 ونحننا هذا^٧ ما منا ادا • فى طول المده •
 من حبنا^٨ صار محبوب • ومن بغضنا صار مبغوض •

١٠ ان كنتو تعملو الخيره^٢،^٢ احدكوم يكون هون^{١١} مودوع • وانتو تودو الميده • لاولادكوم
 ١٢ لاجل الجوع • ابوكوم علم بالسوره^٢،^٢ وقلبو^{١٣} المسيكين مودوع •
 تصدقو اليمين • بعهد^{١٤} اليقين • جوبو بنيمين •
 بيقا كلامكوم^{١٥} غير مكدوب • وتمشو على دل اسلوب •

١٧ رجعو وهوم يتباكو الله بالدنوب واخذنا • ١٨ واحكو الامور لابوهوم هاكدا الرجل^{١٩}
 ناشدنا • ووجدنا الضرر ما انفكو^{٢٠} واخذ اخونا منا •
 قال يوسف انتبر • ٢١ شمعون انصير • ترا ايش الخبر •
 فى^{٢٢} صدور هوم دقو الطوب • كل واحد منهموم^{٢٣} ملهوب •

٤٤ ظ ١ فضمنو الصبى بالتحقيق • بعد ان كان ابوه^٢ مانعهوم • وراحو جمله بالتصديق • ما
 صدق^٣ كيف يقشعهوم • فلما اتو للتصديق • واخذو^٤ الهدايات معهوم •
 حين نظر اخوه • ابن • امو وابوه • واليه قدموه •
 اشتعل فى قلبو^٦ ملهوب • وصار دموعو فوق خدو مسكوب •

3 They said, “O, king, you consider us as one who worships idols. A man has been displaced. Take a look at us, we are all the same offspring. Our youngest brother has disappeared from us, and the other one is with our father.

// We are here, and none of us has made any harm, in the vicissitude of time.

// He who loves us becomes beloved, and he who hates us becomes hated.

10 If you make good things, one of you will be protected here. You want [food on the] table for your children lest they starve. Your father knew of the whole picture, but his poor heart held on to it.

// “You will be truthful, and certainly honest, [but only] if Benyamīn says so.

// Then your words will remain undisputed. And thus you will go.”

17 They returned, crying, “Allāh has punished us.” They told the story to their father, “Thus the man ordered us. We discovered the harm that had happened, and he took our brother from us.

// Yūsuf said, “Raise your voice!” Shim‘ūn was patient. You shall see what has happened.

// In their hearts a brick [painfully] struck, and every one of them was aflame.

4b 1 And they joined the young one with an agreement [of keeping him safe], after his father had denied them. And they went all together in good faith. He could not believe how he could scatter them (?). So when they came to the Righteous, they brought with them gifts.

// When he saw his brother, [Benyamīn] the son of his mother and of his father, and they presented him before him,

// his heart broke out in lament, and tears upon his cheek were shed.

٨ وقال للدى فى المنزل ادبح لى • غنم مع ٩ خرفان • واجمع الجميع فى ^٢، ^٢ قاعه وهيو ١٠
 الطعام للضيفان • لما اقبل عليهم قالو ١١ كلو احد منا رجفان •
 اعلمنا يا سيد • ايش منا يريد • واخذنا عبيد •
 قال لاوحق ١٣ المعبود • الله بابو مقصود مقصود •

١٥ اجلس الجميع فى قاعه • دهشو لمادا ١٦ يصنع • واخرج الكولع فى ساعه ووهبت لهوم
 ١٧ صار يدفع • جلسو معو فى طاعه • حتى ١٨ يبصرو ايش يصنع •
 ايش اصبحو حقيق • مضو ١٩ للطريق • اراح ان يعيق •
 تهمهوم بكاس ٢٠ المشروب • وراح ردهم من قل يوب •

٢٢ اتقدم عليه من باعو بسيف مجرد ٥٠ ١ للحرب • كيف تاخود بتاعو وتم لك علينا ٢
 بالضرب • قال الامانات ضاعو • ٣ اللا احرمكوم تجوزو الدرب •
 قال نحنا ٤ رجال • ما لنا متال • وان اردت ال قتال •
 نصيبر دل اقليم مخدوب ^٢، ^٢ • وصور المدينة ٦ مقلوب •

٧ ويوسف زعق واتلهف • واتلهف من جميع ٧ ما جرا لو كولو • وباخوتو اتعارف • ٩
 وفيه العلامات صابو • وفرعون عرف ١٠ بالسيره • قال يوسف انتت لو احبابو •
 انتت اخوتو • وهوم نسبنتو • ويا فرحتو •
 ١٢ رد الله الحبيب^٨ للمحبوب • ١٣ ورد الله الحب واجتمع يوسف بيعقوب

١٤ • كملت ١٥ **על שם** ٥٥ **נשלמה**

⁷ ويوسف زعق واتلهف • من جميع : MS ويوسف زعق واتلهف • واتلهف من جميع
⁸ رد الله الله الحبيب : MS رد الله الله الحبيب

8 So he said to those who were inside, “Slaughter for me a sheep and a lamb (carrying a lamb?). Gather the assembly in the hall and prepare a meal for the two guests.” When he came to them they said, “Every one of us are trembling.
// Inform us, o master, what does he want from us? And why did he take us as slave?”

// He said “To the worshiped One, we seek, we seek, the door to Allāh.”

15 He sat the assembly in the hall. They were marvelled by what he had prepared. At that point he brought a basket (?) and gave the presents back to them. They sat with him in obedience, to see what he would do,
// and what would be the truth. They went to the path, and released them from the arrest.

// He accused them of [stealing the glass] for drinking, and returned them to Qalyūb.

22 The one who had sold him (?) approached him with a sword ready ^{5a} for battle, (saying,) “How come you have taken the belongings [of the king] and then he hit us (?) with a stroke.” They said, “The trusts (?) have been lost.” “Allāh may forbid you or He may punish you.”

// They said, “We are men, like of which there are none. If you want to fight,
// we will make this whole province shredded (?), and the walls of this city turned upside down.”

7 Yūsuf screamed and lamented. He lamented from all which had happened with him. And he acknowledged his brothers. He understood the signs, and the Pharaoh knew about the story. Yūsuf said, “His beloved ones have come!”

// His brothers came, the relatives of his, o how happy he was!

// Allāh returned the loved one to the beloved. Allāh returned the love, and Yūsuf met Ya^cqūb.

The End. *In the name of.* ^{5b} *Complete.*

