# AN ANECDOTE ABOUT A SKINFLINT: <br> A 14TH-CENTURY (?) ARABIC MANUSCRIPT WRITTEN IN HEBREW CHARACTERS 

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The text published here is part of the manuscript Firkovich Evr.-Arab. II 852, a fairly well preserved booklet which is dated to the 14th century by Victor Lebedev. ${ }^{1}$ The manuscript containing this anecdote, Hikāya li-ªhad min albuxalä’ (fol. 12-15), consists of 18 folios, $15 \times 11.5 \mathrm{~cm}$ in size, all written in Hebrew characters and by the same hand, in polycursive style. In the same booklet there are three other texts: Hikāyat al-harb bayn alṭuyūr wa-l-wuḥūs (fol. 1-12), Ḥikāya fi ḍamm al-nisā̀ (fol. 15-17), ${ }^{2}$ and Ḥikāya 'an bacd al-nahwiyya (fol. 17-18). ${ }^{3}$ This manuscript probably comes from the Old Karaite Synagogue in Cairo. It belongs to the collection of manuscripts acquired by Abraham Firkovich (1787-1874) in three parts in 1862-76, not only from the Karaite synagogue but also from the Geniza par excellence, i.e., the Rabbanite Ben 'Ezra Synagogue in Fustạt.t. The collection is preserved in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, previously known as the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library. ${ }^{4}$

[^0]MS Firkovich Evr.-Arab. II 852 is a typical example of a number of folkloric texts included in Firkovich's second collection in that it, apart from orthography, displays no specifically Judaeo-Arabic features. If a criterion for Judaeo-Arabic literature is, as defined by L. V. Berman, "that it not only be written in Hebrew letters but also that it contain Hebrew words and phrases which could not be normally intelligible to an educated contemporary reader of Arabic," the texts of this manuscript cannot properly be called pieces of Judaeo-Arabic literature. ${ }^{5}$ Instead, they are concrete evidence of the active interest shown by Cairene Jews in the popular culture of the majority population.

In broad outlines, in this manuscript the spelling of Arabic follows the Classical Judaeo-Arabic spelling, which is for the most part based upon the orthography of Classical Arabic and very largely an imitation of it. ${ }^{6}$ Although there are three Hebrew letters each of which is used as a counterpart of two Arabic letters, in the text published here diacritical marks appear nine times only: four times to distinguish ض from תקצי , איצא tqdy

 13b05, אפגארר Ilfjr 14a08; in other texts of the same manuscript, $\dot{\varepsilon}$ is occasionally written with $\mathfrak{i}$ ). In these cases the distinction is also phonemic: $/ \mathrm{d} / \mathrm{vs} . / \mathrm{s} /$, $/ \mathrm{x} /$ vs. $/ \mathrm{k} /$, and $/ \mathrm{j} / \mathrm{vs}$. $/ \mathrm{g} /$, respectively. In the remaining corresponding cases, no diacritical marks are needed, since the etymological interdentals in spoken Cairo Arabic had already become postdental stops.

The combination $\boldsymbol{\text { K }}$ / is as a rule written with the ligature $\vee$, not only in the definite article but in all positions. It is difficult to point out any consistent use for the symbol ", which in the present text occurs eight times. Most frequently it is

[^1]probably used in order to mark rhyme, as in 12a12 קוית עליה שהותה" וזאדת נאס qwyt 'lyh shwth" wz’dt 'lyh blyyth". In the passage 12b07 עליה בלייתה" " יתחתדון או נאס גלסון פי צגאמע יתפצלון n’s ythtdwn'w n’s j’lswn fy ’ljm‘ ytf̣̣lwn" the symbol obviously marks the end of a rhymed passage. Similarly, in או כאפר " ${ }^{\prime}$ 'w k'fr j'hd" 14a01 it clearly marks the end of a rhymed passage beginning on line 13 b 12 . On line 12 b 09 , the symbol has been written as if the words "m' 'xl' mn 'm'm' were supposed to be followed by rhythmical sequences rhyming in $-\bar{a} m$, but what follows is nothing but a long unrhymed list. In 12a11 וכאן לה מרה" wknn lh mrh" the symbol apparently marks a rhetorical pause before the important mention of the seven years' time that the skinflint had tried to keep his desire in check. When used in the passages ודכלה פי כמה" wdxlh fy kmh" 13a05 and ולא קאצד עליהם אחד" wl’ q’ṣd ‘lyhm 'ḥd" 13a08, the symbol probably marks a special emphasis. When considering the function of these kinds of punctuation marks or reading directions, one has to keep in mind that these texts belong to "loud literary culture," which implies that they were read aloud, irrespective of whether they were read in public or privately, and even the copyist of a written text probably read it aloud, i.e., dictated the text for himself.

## THE TEXT OF MS. FIRKOVICH EVR.-ARAB. II 852, FOL. 12A08-15A04

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 12a08 g grh' ' } y \text { ḍ } \\
& \text { גירהא איצא } \\
& \text { 12a09 hak'yh l’hd mn'lbxlp } \\
& \text { חכאיה לאחד מן צבכלא } \\
& \text { 12a10 qyl 'n } b^{\wedge} d^{7} \text { 'lbxl' ysthy lh rġyf xbz msqy bzyt } \\
& \text { קיל אן בעץ7 }{ }^{7} \text { צבכלא ישתהי לה רגיף כבז מסקי בזית } \\
& \text { 12a11 tyb wknn lh mrh" sbc snyn ysthyh flm }{ }^{2} \\
& \text { טיב וכאן לה מרה״ סבע סנין ישתהיה פלמא } \\
& \text { 12a12 qwyt ' lyh shwth" wz'dt }{ }^{\text {cly }} \text { blyyth }{ }^{\prime \prime} s^{\circ} r \\
& \text { קוית עליה שהותה״ וזאדת עליה בליתתה״ צאר } \\
& \text { 12a13 yhlm blrġyf wlzyt fy'lnwm'nh by'kl } \\
& \text { יחלם בלרגיף ולזית פי אנום אנה ביאכל }
\end{aligned}
$$

[^2]12 b 04 nfsh'n' klth fy $\mathrm{J}^{\prime} \mathrm{lqm}^{\prime} \mathrm{m}^{\prime}$ 'jdh' ml'nh נפסה אן אכלתה פי אחמאם אגדהא מלאנה
12b05 xlq w'lm w'n'klth fy 'lj' $m^{〔} m^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} x l^{\prime}$
כלק ועלם ואן אכלתה פי עגאמע מא אכלא

מן מצלי או גריב או נאס יתחתדון ${ }^{8}$ או נאס גלסון

פי א'גאמע יתפצלון״ ואן אכלתה פי אוזאויחה
12b08 flsyx wlx'dm ytlb mny sy w'n'klt fy
פלשיך ולכאדם יטלב מני שי ואן אכלת פי
12b09 'lmsjd m' ${ }^{\text {' } x l^{\prime} ~ m n ' m ' m " ~ w n ' k l t h ~ f y ~}$ אמסגד מא אכלא מן אמאם״ ואן אכלתה פי
$12 \mathrm{~b} 10 \quad$ 'l'sw'q'ly dk'kyn'l t b'xyn lm 'slm
לאסואק עלי דכאכין צטבאכין לם אסלם
12b11 mn'lsch'tyn w'lhr'fyš wn 'klth fy 'l'zq'
מן 'טשחאתין ואחראפיש ואן אכלתה פי עאוקא
12b12 fy'lh'r't lm'slm mn tfyly d'yr that 'lbyywt
פי צחאראת לם אסלם מן טפילי דאיר תחת צבייות
13a01 tm q'l fy nfsh wollh lm ['kl fy nfsh] ${ }^{9}$
תם קצ פי נפסה ואלה לם [אכל פי נפסה]
13a02 $y^{\prime} k l^{10}$ hdh 'lrġyf wilzyt ll fy sljb'nh
יאכל10 הדה צרגיף ולגיף ולית צא פי אגבאנה
13a03 w'ltrbh wbyn 'lmq'br 'lmnq! ${ }^{〔} h$ 'ldy
וארתרבה ובין אמקאבר צמנקטעה אוֹי
13a04 $m^{\prime} l h^{\prime} z^{\prime} y r f^{\rho} x d^{\prime} l$ rggy wlfh fy $x r q h$ wrbṭ $h^{11}$
מא להא זאיר פאכד צרגיף ולפה פי כרקה ורבטה"11
13a05 bxy! ${ }^{12}$ wdxlh fy $\mathrm{kmh}^{\prime \prime}$ wxrj mn $b^{\prime} b^{\prime}$ 'lmdynh wmšy
בכיט12 ודכלה פי כמה״ וכרג מן באב צמדינה ומשי

13a06 hty wṣl 'ly 'lqr'fh wdxl byn'ltrb wmšy
חתי וצל אי צקראפה ודכל בין אתרב ומשי
13a07 'ly'n wṣl' 'xrhm wtwsṭ qbwr' l' z'yr
אי אן וצל אכרהם ותוסט קבורא לא זאירא

[^3]13a08 lhm wl' q'ṣd 'lyhm'ḥd" tryq whm להם ולא קאצד עליהם אחד" טריק והם
13a09 d'trh fjls wqcd w'xd lnfsh reḥh דאתרה פגלס וקעד ואכד לנפסה ראחה
13a10 w'str'h tm 'xrj' $1 x$ xrqh $m n \mathrm{kmh}$ ואסתראח תם אכרג אלרקה מן כמה

13a11 wḥl 'lxyṭ wfr's'lxrqh w'xd'lrg̀yf bydh

13a12 wsmr kmh wrftr sh'ly 'lsm' wq'l ושמר כמה ורפע ראסה אי אסמא וקאל

13 b 01 'llh l' tqdy 'ly b'ḥd yrmqny wy'd 'lyy' אלה לא תקצּי עלי באחד ירמקני ויעד עלימא 13b02 lqmy tm smr ' $\mathrm{km}^{2 m h}$ whd'sn'nh לקמי תם שמר אכמאמה וחד אסנאנה

13b03 wj'l ytb 'ly nfsh mn hw'lywm mtly wqd'my וגעל יתעב עלי נפסה מן הו איו
13b04 rggyf'l'mh sxn 'byd sfff smyd n’dj clk רגיף עלאמה סכן אביץ שפאף שמיד נאצג עלך

13b05 mlj msqy zyt w'n' whdy $x^{\prime} l$ mn 'lḍywf w'lxṭ'r
 13b06 w'lqṣ'd w'ljyy'b'n qd'dmt 'lywm mn hdh ואקצאד ואגייאב אן קד עד עדמת אליום מן הדה
13b07 'lrǵyf ' $k$ 'dw'lrqyb w'lnm's w'lǵm'z w'llk'z ארגיף אעדו צרקקיב ואנמאס וא'גמאז ואללכאז
13b08 wolhm'z w' ${ }^{\circ} w^{\top}$ ny wolms ${ }^{\circ} k y$ w'lm ${ }^{\circ}$ nd ואלהמאז ואלעואני ואמשאכי ואלמעאנד
13b09 w'ls'yl w'lfqr w'lsḥ'tyn w'lms'kyn f ${ }^{\prime} n^{\prime}$

13b10 'lywm slṭn bl' sk fm' hw mtly wmn hw'ldy ציום סלטאן בלא שך פמא הו מתלי ומן הו אֹאי
13b11 ḥ'z bm' hazt wmn'ldy f'z bm' fzt 'w'ty bm' ${ }^{\prime} t y t^{13}$
חאז במא חזת ומן אֹדי פאז במא פזת או עו עטי במא עטית
13b12 rb slmny fyh mn q'ṣd me'nd'w rswl רב סלמני פיה מן קאצד מעאנד או רסול
13b13 mr'rd'w rq's mt'mr
מרארד או רקאץ מתאמר
14a01 'w'lq 'w'ny mḍd $d d$ ' $w$ k'fr j’hd" rb
או עלק עואני מצאצֹץ או כאפר גאחד״ רב

13 עטית 'tyt added in the margin.

14a02 slm rb slm tm'n'lbxyl md ydh'ly'lrg̀yf סלם רב סלם תם אן אבכיל מד ידה אי ארגיף
14a03 wksr mnh lqmh whṭh' fy fmh wmd $\dot{g} h^{\prime} w^{\top} r^{\prime} d$
וכסר מנה לקמה וחטהא פי פמה ומדגהא ואראד
$14 \mathrm{a} 04 \quad$ 'n $y b k^{c} h^{\prime} w^{\prime} d^{\prime} b b^{\star} d{ }^{\prime}$ 'lbxpl ${ }^{14}$ j'yz 'lyh fy
אן יבלעהא ואדא בבעץ צבכלאי14 גאיז עליה פי
14a05 dlk'lmk'n'lmnqt ${ }^{〔}$ wr'y hdh' $\operatorname{lbxyl}$ fy dlk
דלך צמכאן צמנקטע וראי הדה צבכיל פי דלך
14a06 '/mk'n'lmhjwr wqd'mh rg่yf msqy bzyt tyyb
אמכאן צמהגור וקדאמה רגיף מסקי בזית טי״ב
14a07 fq'l'ltfyly fy nfsh whq rby hdh mn'ltj'r פקץ צטפילי פי נפסה וחק רבי הדה מן צאגאר
14a08 'lbxl' 'lfj'r wm' $\rho$ 'ly hnh 'l 'nh

14a09 k'nt nfsh tṭlbh brǵyf ${ }^{\prime}$ 'lmh msqy כאנת נפסה תטאצבה ברגיף עלאמה מסקי
14a10 bzyt tyyb fj' 'ly hdh'lmk'n'lmnqt בזית טחב פגא אי הדה אמכאן \מנקטע
14a11 'lx'l hty y'kl'lrg่yf wyhrb mn'ln's


ולא יטעם מנה שי ואנה אתקאיס עליה ואתעב
14b01 bh $s^{x} h w^{\prime} n^{\prime x} r f^{\prime} n^{, 15} m^{\prime} y d w q n y ~ m n h$ בה סאעה ואנא אערף אנא15 מא ידוקני מנה
14b02 lb'bh fjं Itfyly hty waf qd'mh km' ht לבאבה פגא צטפילי חתי וקף קדאמה כמא חט
14b03 lqmh fy fmh wmdg $h^{\top} w^{\top} r^{\top} d y b l^{c} h^{3}$
לקמה פי פמה ומדגהא ואראד יבלעהא
14b04 'ltfyly d'rkh wq'l lh y' ${ }^{3}$ xy sl'm 'lyk צטפילי דארכה וקץ לה יא אכי סלאם עליך
14b05 wqd'sfr lwnh lm' rh w'nṭrb w'rd't
וקד אצפר לונה למא ראה ואנטרב וארדעת
14b06 mfṣslh wmtrqt bṭnh wmtġṣt fwodh מפאצלה ומתרקת בטנה ומתגצת פואדה
14b07 wzwrt 'ynyh wwqft 'llqmh fy fmh wm' ואזורת עיניה ווקפת צלקמה פי פמה ומא 14b08 qdr yrd'ly'ltfyly'lsl'm flm' r'h mnh קדר ירד עלי \טפילי אסלאם פלמא ראה מנה

This looks like a slip instead of הumber alfylyyh.
Probably a scribal error instead of אנה 'nh.

14b09 'ltfyly dlk' ${ }^{\prime}$ h'l $q^{\prime} l^{\prime}$ 'lfyyly y'xy'lsl'm

14b10 ll'h y'sy sl'm 'lyk q'l 'lbxyl jwz mn ללאה יא אכי סלאם עליך קץ צבכיל גוז מן
14b11 'ndk q'l'dy'ldy qd'mk xbz wzyt mn'lswq ענדך קצ אדי אדי קדאמך כבז וזית מן אסוק
 אשתרית פאתעאלג16 הו ולבכיל נצף יום ומאת

15a01 'lbxyl whw m' d'q 'lrġyf w'kl 'ltfyly 'lrgyf אבכיל והו מא דאק ארגיף ואכל צטפילי ארגיף
15a02 whdh mm' jry lh wm' ryn' mn'xb'rhm
והדה ממא גרי לה ומא ראינא מן אכבארהם
15a03 wsl'm g̀rh ${ }^{\text {² }}$
וסלאם גירהא
15a04 hk'yhfy dm'lns'
חכאיה פי דם צנסא
(12a08) There is another story, it is about a skinflint. It is told that a skinflint craved for bread dipped into good oil. Once he had been craving for it for seven years, and when his desire grew too strong to bear and his affliction increased too much, he started dreaming of bread and oil. He dreamt that he was eating (12b01) a loaf of bread dipped into finest oil, and when the matter grew too strong to bear, he bought that loaf of warm bread, dipped it into finest oil, sprinkled salt on it and started wondering where he would eat it.

He thought, "If I eat it in the bathhouse, I'll find the place full of people, and if I eat it in the Friday mosque, I'll not be left alone by someone who is praying, or a stranger, or people who are chatting, or people who remain sitting in the mosque, and if I eat it in the zawiya, the shaykh and the attendant will ask me to give some of it, and if I eat it in the quarter mosque, I'll not be left alone, but there is an imam there, and if I eat it in the bazaar close to the shops of the cooks, I'll not escape the beggars and riff-raff, and if I eat it in the alleys, in the living quarters, I'll not escape some sponger loitering in the shadow of the houses."
(13a01) Then he thought, "By God, I'll not eat this bread and oil anywhere else but at the graveyard amidst the graves, among the most remote tombs which are visited by no one." So he took the bread, wrapped it in a cloth, tied it with a string, put it in his sleeve, went out through the city gate and kept walking until he came to the Qarafa. He entered the graveyard and kept walking until he came to

[^4]the remotest grave, in the midst of graves which were not visited by anybody, nor did anybody take a course to that direction. It was a foreboding, obliterated path.

So he sat down and took his rest. Then he took the bundle from his sleeve, untied the string, unwrapped the cloth and took the bread in his hand. Then he rolled up his sleeve, raised his head towards heaven and said, (13b01) "O God, don't decree to let anyone notice me and claim a share of my titbit." Then he rolled up his sleeves, sharpened his teeth and started praising himself, "Who is today like me! In front of me I have a warm, white loaf of bread of best quality, bread of purest wheat, ${ }^{17}$ dipped into oil, and I'm alone, without guests, passers-by, pesterers, and tramps. Today I have repelled from this loaf of bread the spying enemy, the slanderer, the backbiter, the avaricious, the gossipmonger, the henchman, the tattler, the harasser, the beggar, the poor people, the mendicants, and the wretched. So today I certainly am the Sultan, and even he is not like me. Who is the man who has achieved what I have achieved? Who is the man who has won what I have won, or been given what I have been given? O Lord, grant it to me, don't let a harassing pesterer, or a messenger of devils, or a bossy civil servant, (14a01) or usurers' hirelings hanging around, or an ungrateful infidel have it! O Lord, grant it to me! O Lord, grant it to me!"

Then the skinflint stretched his hand towards the bread, broke from it a morsel, put it in his mouth, bit it, and was about to swallow it, but as it was, a skinflint ${ }^{18}$ happened to pass by him in this remote place. He saw the skinflint in this lonely place, and in front of him a loaf of bread dipped into finest oil. The sponger thought, "By the truth of the Lord, this is one of the greedy, shameless shopkeepers, and he has come here because he has started craving for choicest bread dipped in finest oil, and he has come to this desolate, deserted place in order to eat the bread and to avoid people, not to let anyone eat from it. I'll challenge and provoke (14b01) him for a while; I know that he'll not let me taste a bit of it. So the sponger came and stopped in front of him just as he put a morsel into his mouth, bit it and was about to swallow it. The sponger came up and said to him, "Peace upon you, brother!"

When the skinflint saw him, he turned pale. He was frightened, his joints got flabby, his stomach got upset, his heart cramped, his eyes squinted, the morsel stopped in his mouth, and he could not return the sponger's greeting. When the sponger saw what had happened to him, he said, "My brother, return the greeting, for God's sake, my brother. Peace be upon you!" The skinflint said, "Clear off!" The sponger said, "Give me of what you have in front of you, bread and oil which

[^5]you bought in the bazaar." So they quarreled half a day, he and the skinflint, and ( 15 a 01 ) the skinflint died without tasting the bread. The sponger ate the bread.

This is what happened to him and what we have seen from their stories, and peace be upon you.
[There is another story, a story about the dispraise of women.]

## COMMENTS

## Orthographic and phonetic features

One of the characteristic features of Arabic texts written in Hebrew characters is that they often display certain specifically Judaeo-Arabic counterparts of the Old Arabic sibilants. In the text published above there is a single instance of this peculiarity, viz. שמm שמיד $\varepsilon$ שinstead of $0 s$ in the 13 b 04 'whitened (flour)'.

The historical interdentals have as a rule been written with letters representing their postdental counterparts into which they were merged. No cases of their sibilant substitutes seem to appear, at least not for $\uplus$ and $\dot{j}$. As to the reflex of the etymological $\boldsymbol{b}$, it does not occur in the present text. However, in other texts included in this manuscript it is found, usually written with $צ s$, and in a few cases with $ט t$. The latter clearly mirrors the Arabic orthography and may be explained just as a casual deviation from the more common way to write $/ d /$, the equivalent of both the etymological $\dot{\nu}$ and $\dot{b}$ which in spoken Cairo Arabic-as in almost all dialects of Arabic-were merged. Another explanation cannot, however, be definitely excluded. In the texts included in this manuscript $t ~ t$ occurs three times as the equivalent of $\dot{b}$, whereas no instances of it as the equivalent of ض are found. Thus, in the latter function the two Hebrew characters do not seem to be interchangeable. ${ }^{19}$ One of the three instances occurs in Hikāyat al-harb bayn al-ṭuyūr wa-l-wuhūs, where both לחפט lhft 'llylly (sic) 'for the night watch' 02b04 and חאתפץ לדולתה h'fṣ ldwlth 'custodian of his master's affairs'
 'his (formal) speech' 06a12, and the third in Hikāya fi damm al-nis $\vec{a}$ ', where both 'Intr 'the appearance' 15b01 and nṣrt 'I noticed' 16a04 are found. Naturally, on the basis of these few occurrences no conclusions can be drawn as

[^6]to an underlying phonemic system. Yet it may be interesting to notice that in modern Cairo Arabic the three items concerned actually display the sibilant substitute $\underset{\sim}{\text { z }}$ (hafaza, nizā̄m, nazarar). ${ }^{20}$

The Classical Arabic demonstrative pronoun דלך dlk appears four times: $12 \mathrm{~b} 02,14 \mathrm{a} 05(2 \mathrm{x}), 14 \mathrm{~b} 09$, and is always written according to the conventions of Arabic orthography. This holds good of the orthographic shape of the particle nתי hty 13a06, 14al1, 14b02, as well as of the tertiae infirmae verbs: אשתרי 'stry 12b02; ובקי wbqy 12b03; ומשי wmšy 13a05, 13a0; וראי wry 14a05; גרי jry 15 a גיר 1302. The Arabic conventions are also followed in ${ }^{\prime} /{ }^{\prime} s^{2}$ 13a12. The first syllable of the demonstrative pronoun 'this' is here written defective according to the Arabic conventions, whereas the final letter here is always $n h$, which implies orthographical neutralization of the gender contrast.

The prepositions אלי (here written יאלי 'ly consistently follow the conventional orthography of Arabic. When followed by the pronominal suffix of the $1^{\text {st }} \mathrm{p}$. sing. ('alayya), it is written in two different ways, both עלי mirroring the Arabic orthography-and plene עליא 'lyy', in which the vowel of the pronominal suffix has been indicated in the consonant text. Characteristic of the lack of consistency, the two orthographic solutions even appear on the same line (13b01).

In addition to the pronominal suffix, the orthographic shape עליא 'lyy' also indicates the gemination of $y$. In the present text this is the rule, e.g., וגיm wljyyb 13b06. In בליתה blyyth 12a12, too, " yy clearly marks a geminated $y$, mirroring the Arabic orthography with sadda. In a single case only is " $y y$ used for a simple $y$ : रבייות 'lbyywt 12b12. Another instance may be אזאוחיה ${ }^{\prime} / z^{3} w y y h ~$ 12 b 07 , if pronounced azzāwya and not azzāwiyya. On the other hand, the geminated $y$ is only once written with one $>y$, viz. always 'something' $12 \mathrm{~b} 08,14 \mathrm{a} 12$, thus suggests that the word was pronounced $s i i_{i}$ rather than sayy.

The definite article is regularly written with the ligature $\rangle$. Only when preceded by preclitic particles ( $1 w$-, $9 f$-, $ב b$-) may the $\mathcal{K}^{\prime}$ of the article be omitted: ולזית wlzyt 12a13; בלרגיף blrġyf 12a13; ולשיך flšyx 12b08; ולכאדם wlx ${ }^{3} d m$ 12b08; ולבכיל wlbxyl 14b12. ${ }^{21}$ In most cases, the ligature $\vee$ is used in these cases, too: ולחראפיש wlhrfys 12b11; ואזית wlzyt 13a02; ואזית woltrbh




20 See, e.g., Martin Hinds \& El-Said Badawi, A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic. Beirut 1986; s.v.

21 See also Blau \& Hopkins 1984, p. 22.
 13a10, ואנטרב wntrb 14b05, which do not reflect the actual pronunciation, but follow the conventional orthography.

The use of the ligature is not restricted to the article only, but it is used for אלדי ; Jldy 13a03, 13b10, 13b11, 14b11; ק q q'l 12b03, 13a01, 14a07, 14b04, 14b09,

 combination אל פקאאל $f q^{\prime} l$ written without ligature 13 a12.

There is one case of develarization (tarqīq) of $d$, appearing twice: ומדגהא $w m d \dot{g} h^{\prime} 14 \mathrm{a} 03,14 \mathrm{~b} 03$. This is a well-known variant of the root $m d \dot{g}$ in modern Egyptian Arabic, too. In addition, it displays a very frequent third variant, $n d \dot{g},{ }^{22}$ in which $m$ has been partially assimilated to the following dental $d$. Instances of develarization are very common in Arabic texts written in Hebrew characters. However, it does not necessarily imply that the feature was a distinctive phenomenon of Jewish Arabic, because the texts written in Arabic characters can be supposed more often to cling to the orthographic standards of Arabic. ${ }^{23}$

## Grammatical, lexical and stylistic features

As is common in Middle Arabic texts, the relative pronoun is the invariable 'ldy 13a03, 13b10, 13b11, 14b11, which in this context can be regarded as an established semiliterary device rather than a hypocorrection.

By far the most conspicuous dialectal feature in the text published here is the b-imperfect: אנה ביאכל yḥlm fy 'lnwm [...] '...nh by'kl 'he dreamt [...] that he was eating' 12a13. Here it unambiguously denotes continuative action. Contrary to Spitta and Nöldeke, who saw the origin of the $b$-morpheme in the locative preposition $b i-,{ }^{24}$ I prefer tracing it back to the verb bag̀a 'to want' (yabǵ $\bar{i}$ $>y a b i>b i$-). In my opinion, this is the most natural way to explain the different phases in the development of the volitive verb to a preverb in different Northern and Eastern Arabian dialects as well as in Syrian (including Cypriot Arabic ${ }^{25}$ ) and

[^7]Egyptian Arabic. The continuative action has therefore scarcely been the primary function of the $b$-imperfect, as supposed by Davies, according to whom its use would have spread gradually from this primary function to secondary functions, such as the common present. ${ }^{26}$ In my view, it is actually more probable that the development followed another direction, viz. towards a relative tense system. ${ }^{27}$ In another text of the present manuscript, Hikāya fi damm an-nis $\vec{a}$, there is a nice example of the $b$-imperfect used in volitive and future function: ללכתאב צפחת ורק קלת קאים באשתרי $q$ קלת of paper for the marriage contract"' (16b14). ${ }^{28}$

Another well-known dialectal feature in verbal morphology is the use of Form I instead of the Classical Arabic Form IV, as well as the frequent hypercorrect or phonetically conditioned use of Form IV instead of Form I. In the present text, one occurrence of the dialectal Form I instead of Form IV is מנה מא ידוקני m' ydwqny mnh 'he'll not let me taste of it' 14 b 01 . A further case is the
 [...] 't! y bm' 'tyt 'Who is the man who has [...] been given what I have been given?' 13b11. The passives in this passage are most appropriately interpreted as hypocorrect forms, i.e., dialectal basic forms transformed into passives according to the apophonic pattern. The only additional occurrence of the "internal" finite passive voice in the present text is קיל qyl 'it is told' 12a10, a stereotyped form frequently occurring at the beginning of a narrative.

The verb 'arād appears twice in the Classical Form IV, first with the particle 'an: ואראד אן יבלעהא w'r'd 'n ybl'h' 'he was about to swallow it' 14a03-04, and then asyndetically, following the dialectal construction: ואראד יבלעהא word yblk ${ }^{2}$ 14b03. Here 'aräd is used as an auxiliary verb denoting imminent future, a use of common occurrence in Judaeo-Arabic as well as in other variants of Arabic, Classical Arabic included. ${ }^{29}$ Additional Form IV verbs in the text are אכר ${ }^{\text {'x xrj }}$ 'he took out' 13a10 and ואדרעת מפאצלה w'rd't mfsṣlh 'and his joints got flabby' 14b05-06. The graphical shape of $y!l^{\text {c }} m$ 'he feeds'14a12 does not disclose whether the verb is used in Form I or Form IV.

[^8]In the present text there is one instance of the reflexive morpheme of the type it-, a form commonly used in modern dialects of Arabic and well attested in Middle Arabic texts as well: פאתעאלג הו ולבכיל fot ${ }^{\circ}$ lj hw wlbxyl 'so they quarreled, he and the skinflint' $14 \mathrm{~b} 12 .{ }^{30}$ The orthographic shape ותוסט קבורא wtwst $q b w r$ ' and he was in the midst of graves' 13a07 does not necessarily imply that the form of the reflexive morpheme is $t(a)$-, because it may also be read witwassaṭ/witwassit, as shown by the Form VIII spellings ומתרקת wmtrqt (wimtaraqit) 'it got upset' 14b06 and ומתגצת wmtg̣ṣt (wimtagaaṣit) 'it cramped' ibid. On the other hand, the prothetic $\kappa^{\prime}$ may be written as well, as appears from the shapes of Form VII ואנטרב wntrrb 'and he was frightened' 14b05, 14b07, Form IX ואזורת עיניה w'zwrt 'ynyh 'his eyes squinted' 14b07, and Form X חאסתראח wistrh 'and he sat down' 13a10.

The generalized unshortened imperative $i \boldsymbol{i} j w z 14 \mathrm{~b} 10$, as well as the unshortened jussive לא תקצי l’ tqdy 13b01, are commonplace features in Middle Arabic texts.

The use of lam plus imperfect referring to present action, as in לם אסלם lm 'slm 'I'll not escape' 12 b 10 and 12b12, is a hypercorrection, here used side by side with $m \bar{a}$ plus imperfect, cf. מא אכלא m’ 'xlp 12 b 05 and 12b09, only a few lines before. The hypercorrect construction appears immediately after the two similar cases: [..... ואלה לם w'llh lm ['kl...] 'By God, I'll not eat' 13a01. Instead of being interpreted as a pseudocorrect use of the Classical nominative case, the form jolswn 12 b 06 may also be attributed to attraction to the imperfect forms יתחתדון ythtdwn (read: ythdtwn?) 12 b 06 and $y$ יתפצלון ytflwn 12b07. On the other hand, the phrase $f$ פי אין 'yn 12 b 03 is an obvious pseudocorrection of the underlying dialectal form fayn. ${ }^{31}$

In the lexicon a salient feature of Egyptian Arabic is found: 'idda 'to give',
 'ldy [...] 'ty bm' tyt $13 \mathrm{~b} 11 .{ }^{32}$

30 From the lexical point of view it is interesting to note that the meaning 'to dispute; to quarrel' does not seem to be common in modern Cairo Arabic, while it is well attested for Syria and Palestine. Hinds \& Badawi 1986: 'ifälig 1. 'to be treated medically.' 2. 'to be tackled, be dealt with, be treated.' 3. 'to be processed.' Cf. A. Barthélemy, Dictionnaire Arabe-Français. Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem. Paris 1935-54: ‘ālaj 1. 'disputer avec, se quereller avec (qqn)', 2 'discuter, débattre le prix de, marchander' D[amas], L[iban], B[eyrout]; זālaj 'discuter’ Jérusalem].
31 The monophthongization of the diphthongs $a w$ and $a y$ in Lower Egypt seems to be a relatively recent development. Blanc dates its incipient phase to the 17th-18th century, see Haim Blanc, "Egyptian Arabic in the Seventeenth Century. Notes on the Judeo-Arabic passages of Darxe No'am (Venice, 1697)." Studies in Judaism and Islam, Presented to Shelomo Dov Goitein on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. Ed. by Shelomo Morag, Issachar Ben-Ami and Norman A. Stillman. Jerusalem 1981. Pp. 185-202; pp. 194-196, 200.
32 For the geographical distribution of the two items at the present, see Peter Behnstedt \& Manfred Woidich, Die ägyptisch-arabischen Dialekte. Band 2. Dialektatlas von Ägypten.

In the passage 13a07-08 markedly classicizing style is used in order to dramatize the stinginess of the skinflint: ותוסט קבורא לא זאירא להם ולא קאצד קבורא $q b w r{ }^{\prime}$ should probably be read qubūran, whereas the final $z^{\prime}$ ' in $z^{\prime} r^{\prime}$ is either a scriptio plena of the Classical accusative morpheme $-a(z \bar{a}$ ira $)$ or a pseudocorrect morpheme -an (zä̉iran). Additional classicizing devices are the use of the particle qad in וקד אצפר לונה wqd 'ssfr lwnh 14b05 and אן קד עדמת איום מן הדה צרגיף צעדו ארקיב 'n qd'dmt 'lywm mn hdh 'lrg̀yf 'kdw'lrqyb 13b06-07, as well as the particle 'inna in the latter instance and in תם אן אבכיל מד ידה אי ארגיף tm 'n'lbxyl md ydh'ly'lrg่yf 14a02.

Although the conjunction $f a$ - does not belong to the vernacular dialect, its use cannot properly be regarded as resulting from an aspiration to write Classical Arabic. Rather, it is an established stylistic device of traditional oral literature. ${ }^{33}$ Its use is, however, far from being consistent. Thus, in the passage 12b07-08 the apodosis is introduced by $f a$-: ואן אכלתה פי אזאוייה פלשיך ולכאדם יטלב מני שי wn 'klth $f y^{\prime}$ ' $z^{\prime}$ 'wyyh $f l s y x$ wlx ${ }^{\prime} d m$ ytlb mny $s y$, whereas it is omitted in similar position on lines $12 \mathrm{~b} 04,12 \mathrm{~b} 05,12 \mathrm{~b} 09,12 \mathrm{~b} 10$, and 12b12. Another stylistic feature of the same category is the construction wa-idida $b i$-, which indicates an unexpected turn


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Plate 1. MS Firkovich Evr.-Arab. II 852 12a







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Plate 3. MS Firkovich Evr.-Arab. II 852 13a
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Plate 5．MS Firkovich Evr．－Arab．II 852 14a
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Plate 6. MS Firkovich Evr.-Arab. II 852 14b

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[^0]:    1 V. V. Lebedev, Arabskie sočinenija v evrejskoj grafike. Katalog rukopisej. Publičnaja Biblioteka imeni M. E. Saltykova-Ščedrina. Leningrad 1987; no. 453, p. 95.
    2 This is a zajal comprising 12 stanzas each of which is divided into five distichs. It is tentatively published in my paper "Hikāya fi damm al-nisä’, A Story in Dispraise of Women. A 14th-century(?) Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic Manuscript" in The Middle East-Unity and Diversity. Papers from the Second Nordic Conference on Middle Eastern Studies. Ed. by Heikki Palva and Knut S. Vikør. NIAS: Copenhagen 1993. (Nordic Proceedings in Asian Studies, No. 5); pp. 176-188.
    3 Heikki Palva, "An Anecdote about a Grammarian: A 14th -century (?) Arabic manuscript written in Hebrew characters." „Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten aramäisch, wir verstehen es! ". 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik." Festschrifi für Otto Jastrow zum 60. Geburtstag. Wiesbaden 2002; pp. 521-529.
    4 For general descriptions of the collection, see C. Starkova, "Les manuscrits de la Collection Firkovič conservés a la Bibliothèque Publique d'État Saltykov-Šcedrin." Revue des Etudes

[^1]:    Juives 132 (1975), pp. 101-117; Paul B. Fenton, Tentative Handlist of the Judaeo-Arabic Mamuscripts in the New Series of the Second Firkovich Collection. Jerusalem 1990. My involvement with the study of manuscripts belonging to this collection was from the very beginning due to the initiative of my friend and colleague Tapani Harviainen, who before the mid-80s already started investigating the possibility of studying manuscripts in the SaltykovShchedrin State Public Library. Since the successful start of the work in 1989, he led the project with admirable energy and enthusiasm. With his social disposition sharply differing from that of the skinflint of the present anecdote, he essentially contributed to the congenial atmosphere in which it was a pleasure to work, readily served by the friendly and competent staff of the Department of Oriental manuscripts of the library in St. Petersburg. It is a pleasure to thank all the members of the staff. I wish also to thank Mr. Saad Samuel Elfeshawy, M.A., for the discussions we had on several problematic details in the texts.
    5 L. V. Berman, "Judaeo-Arabic thought in Spain and North Africa: problems and prospects." Judaeo-Arabic Studies. Proceedings of the Founding Conference of the Society for JudaeoArabic Studies. Ed. by Norman Golb. Amsterdam 1997; pp. 33-43; p. 33.
    6 For the two basic spelling systems, see Joshua Blau and Simon Hopkins, "On Early JudaeoArabic Orthography." Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik 12 (1984), pp. 9-27.

[^2]:    7 3 7 בע $b \not \subset$ added in the margin.

[^3]:    8 Probably a slip instead of יתחדתון ythdtwn, if not Form V (not attested?) of hatada 'to remain'.

    10 Having crossed out the words אכל פי נפסט ${ }^{\text {א }}$ אl fy $n f s h$, the scribe has inadvertently changed the direct speech to indirect speech.
    11 ורבטה wrbth added in the margin
    bxy! added in the margin.

[^4]:    16 The second $N^{\prime}$ has been added above the line.

[^5]:    17 The word שמי Smyd is here used in its medieval meaning.
    18 Probably a slip instead of 'a sponger'.

[^6]:    19 A more extensive examination shows that $v t$ is sometimes used as the equivalent of $\dot{\sim}$ : "the spelling with $d \bar{a} d$ instead of Classical $z \bar{a}$ occurs frequently in every kind of Judaeo-Arabic text (whilst $\bar{a} \bar{a}$ instead of $\grave{a \bar{a} d}$ is much rarer [...])", Joshua Blau, The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic. A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic. Oxford 1965. $2^{\text {nd }}$ ed. Jerusalem 1981; p. 76. Instances of the latter kind are given in id., Diqduq ha-
     wḍyqt yd wž̌f, ויחת wolktẓnh’. See also Blau \& Hopkins 1984, pp. 19-21.

[^7]:    22 Hinds \& Badawi 1986; s.v. ndg.
    23 Blau 1965, p. 77.
    24 Wilhelm Spitta Bey, Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialektes von Ägypten. Leipzig 1880; p. 203; Theodor Nöldeke, Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. Strassburg 1904; p. 64.

    25 The established use of the $b$-imperfect ( $p$-) in Cypriot Arabic is conclusive evidence of its occurrence in sedentary dialects of Arabic spoken on the Syrian coast at least as early as the 12 th century, see, e.g., Alexander Borg, Cypriot Arabic. Stuttgart 1985. (=Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 47,4); pp. 76-80.

[^8]:    26 H. Davies, Seventeenth Century Egyptian Arabic: A Profile of the Colloquial Material in [...] al-Širbini 's Hazz al-Quhūuf. Unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1981; pp. 226, 229, 234, 236.
    27 In more detail: Heikki Palva, "Linguistic Notes on a Dialectal 17th-18th -century Egyptian Arabic Narrative." Oriente Moderno XIX (LXXX), n.s., $1 / 2000$. Studi di dialettologia araba, a cura di Lidia Bettini; pp. 83-97; the $b$-imperfect, pp. 86-89.
    28 Palva 1993, pp. 176-188.
    29 Joshua Blau, "On Some Auxiliary Verbs in Judaeo-Arabic." Studies in Judaica, Karaitica and Islamica, ed. by S.R. Brunswick. Ramat-Gan 1982; pp. 25-29. Reprinted in Joshua Blau, Studies in Middle Arabic and Its Judaeo-Arabic Variety. Jerusalem 1988; pp. 280-284.

[^9]:    Wiesbaden 1985 (=Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 50/2); Map 385. According to the map, both idda and 'ata are used in the Western part of the Delta as well as in the Nile Valley, whereas in Central and Eastern Delta only iddaladda is used.
    Cf., e.g., the syntax of the Egyptian Arabic narratives in Contes arabes modernes, recueillis et traduits par Guillaume Spitta-Bey. Leide \& Paris 1883.

