

# Ginzei Qedem

Genizah Research Annual



# Ginzei Qedem

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## Editorial Statement

We are pleased to present the eleventh volume of *Ginzei Qedem*, an annual publication devoted to Genizah texts and studies.

*Ginzei Qedem*'s purpose is to provide a specialized venue for the field of Genizah research, in the hope that research on and publication of Genizah texts will, in time, enrich both traditional and academic Jewish studies, as well as Islamic ones.

The diversity of Genizah research is displayed in this volume, as it represents many fields, including biblical studies and exegesis, Rabbinic literature of late antiquity, medieval Rabbinic and Karaite literature, liturgy, lexicography and more. The book review section contains a review article by Prof. Wout van Bakkum of Prof. Joseph Yahalom and Naoya Katsumata (eds.), *Yotserot of R. Samuel the Third*. Van Bakkum includes in his article a comprehensive evaluation of this creative figure in tenth-century Jerusalem.

During the last year, the fields of Genizah and Judaeo-Arabic research sadly lost one of their prominent scholars, Professor Bruno Chiesa of the University of Turin, who passed away in March 22, 2015. The next volume of *Ginzei Qedem* will be dedicated to his memory and honor his achievements. Colleagues and students are invited to send papers in tribute.

Contributions to *Ginzei Qedem* may be in Hebrew or English. Any substantial quotations in a language other than that in which the article is written must be accompanied by a translation, and articles in Hebrew must be accompanied by an English abstract.

Contributions and queries may be sent to the editor at [zvi56@ybz.org.il](mailto:zvi56@ybz.org.il).

# Fragments of Šelomo ben Mobārak's *Kitāb al-Taysīr* in the Taylor-Schechter Collection

José Martínez Delgado

## The work and the author

*Kitāb al-Taysīr*, *The Book of Facility*, is a Hebrew–Arabic biblical dictionary based on the methodology of the Andalusī Hebrew school. The lexicon covered in this dictionary is exclusively biblical, and the dictionary seeks to embrace this literary branch of the language in its entirety, including more than 1,200 Hebrew roots with their different meanings. The great contribution of the *Kitāb al-Taysīr* to the field of lexicography consists of giving solutions to problems that the lexicographer's predecessors had not been able to solve. However, the dictionary takes previous theories as its starting point. A detailed analysis of the contents of the dictionary reveals an enormous and meticulous collage of the most important medieval Hebrew dictionaries.

This dictionary was probably composed in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and must postdate the emergence of David Qimḥī's *Sefer ha-Šorašim*,<sup>1</sup> the last work mentioned in the corpus of this lexicon and the one that provided the model for adding a colophon for biblical Aramaic.<sup>2</sup>

\* This study was done under the auspices of the research project '*Recuperación y estudio del legado lingüístico judeo-árabe de al-Andalus*' (MEC Ref. FFI2014-51818-P).

1 Jo. Heinrich Raphael Biesenthal and Fürchtegott Lebrecht, eds., *Radicum liber, sive Hebraeum biblicorum lexicon, Sefer ha-Shorashim lē-David Qimḥī 'im ha-nimuqim me-Eliyahu ha-Levi ha-Ashkenazi* (Berlin: F. Impresis G. Bethge, 1847).

2 On this isolated section, see Aharon Maman, *Comparative Semitic Philology in the Middle Ages: From Sa'adiah Gaon to Ibn Barūn (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup>)*, trans. D. Lyons (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 20–21.



Therefore, the *Kitāb al-Taysīr* seems to fit in the period of “the diffusion of the Andalusī legacy” throughout the Mediterranean basin, being the only dictionary that we know of today composed in the south.<sup>3</sup> In fact, it shares numerous and important characteristics with its well-known contemporary, the anonymous dictionary from Provence.<sup>4</sup>

According to tradition, the *Kitāb al-Taysīr* was composed by a Karaite scholar known as Šelomo ben Mobārak ben Ša‘īr in Egypt, most likely in Old Cairo, and it is attributed to him in the list of Karaite scholars arranged by al-Hītī.<sup>5</sup> The full title of the work is preserved on the cover of the second part of the lexicon in one of the manuscripts (Firk. Ebr-Arab I 4512): *al-tānī min al-Taysīr fī ḥaṣr ḡawāmi ‘al-tafāsīr, The Second (part) of the (Book) of Facility, in the Abbreviated Compilation of Explanations (to the Writing)*. This dictionary was unknown until recently, and no catalogue or volume of Judaica has ever made any mention of it.<sup>6</sup>

- 3 The development of Andalusī Hebrew lexicography can be divided into six periods: 1. the pre-grammatical period (mid-tenth century); 2. the classical grammatical period (second half of the tenth century–mid-eleventh century); 3. the creative period (mid-eleventh century–twelfth century); 4. the period of diffusion (twelfth century); 5. the period of assimilation (thirteenth–fourteenth century); and 6. the period of decline (fifteenth century). See José Martínez Delgado, “Caracterización general de la lexicografía hebrea andalusí,” *Revista Española de Lingüística* 38.2 (2008): 103–28; cf. David Tene, “Linguistics Literature, Hebrew,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007) 13: 31–34.
- 4 Ángel Sáenz-Badillos, ed., *Un diccionario anónimo de Provenza (siglo XIII)* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1987).
- 5 George Margoliouth, ed., “Ibn al-Hiti’s Arabic Chronicle of Karaite Doctors,” *JQR* 9 (1897): 435: תם אלשיך שלמה בן מברך בן צעיר צאבה או צאחב אלהיסייר. Although his surname can be read “Meborak” according to tradition, the spelling of Ibn al-Hiti is defective, and I use the full spelling מבארך, which I found for this name in texts published by Jacob Mann in *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs: A Contribution to Their Political and Communal History Based Chiefly on Genizah Material Hitherto Unpublished* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969) 2: 141.
- 6 Only three notes on this work from recent centuries have survived. One appears in Alexander Harkavy’s *Sefer ha-galuy: Zikaron lē-riš’onim wē-lē-āḥaronim* (Saint Petersburg, 1891) 5: 131–32, which contains the *simanim*

### Identified copies

There is only one complete copy of the *Kitāb al-Taysīr*, which is in the Firkovich collection (Ebr I 77, 298 pages, fifteenth century) and contains the twenty-two chapters dedicated to the Hebrew language, although part of the introduction and the end of the colophon dedicated to biblical Aramaic are lost. In addition, I found another seven copies and thirty-eight fragments from the same collection in the microfilmed materials of the Jerusalem Institute for Microfilmed Manuscripts. I edited, studied, and translated all these materials from the Firkovich collection into Spanish in 2010.<sup>7</sup> The present article also includes another five fragments from the Taylor-Schechter Collection, which I identified between 2007 and 2009 during my visits to Cambridge University.

The manuscript tradition of the *Kitāb at-Taysīr* is a very rich one, almost unique for a practically unknown medieval work. It is not surprising that the Firkovich collection holds hundreds of fragmentary copies from dictionaries as important as the *Kitāb Ḥayyūḡ* and the *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* by Ibn Ǧanāḥ, among others. What is surprising is the abundance in this specific case: in the Firkovich collection alone, I have identified forty-six fragments of different sizes, which seem to reflect the existence of some twenty copies of this work.<sup>8</sup>

used for servile and radical letters as well as the sources gathered by the author, who is still anonymous, in a fragment from the introduction that has disappeared. However, this could be a mistake, and Harkavy might be referring to another author and work. Another appears in Moritz Steinschneider's "Zur Namenkunde, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Karaiten," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 31, no. 1 (1882): 325–26, which confuses data about the owner of the only known complete copy, Yosef ben Zedaka (Firk. I 77), catalogued as a "Rabbanite Dictionary." A final, unusual citation appears in Nēḥemya Allony's *Ya'āqov ben El'azar: Kitāb al-Kāmil* (Jerusalem, 1977), 11, No. 38; however, Allony did not have access to the text.

7 José Martínez Delgado, *Šelomo ben Mobarak ben Ša'ir, Kitāb at-Taysīr, El Libro de la Facilitación (Diccionario de Hebreo Bíblico en Judeoárabe); Edición, traducción, estudio e índices*, Colección Textos: Lengua hebrea 8/1 y 8/2 (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2010) (hereinafter KT).

8 Of these roughly twenty copies, two transmit the first recension of the

All the fragments clearly come from the Cairo Geniza. In fact, the chaotic state of the folios and the number of fragments that constitute a single manuscript (as in the case of Firk. Ebr. Ar. II 629, which are really fragments from two different copies kept as a single manuscript) can only be explained by their impact against the floor when they were discarded as material for library use and deposited, if not thrown, into the Geniza. When the ruined copies hit the floor of the Geniza, the pages came apart and fell out of order, as occurred with almost all of the works in this collection. The large number of copies of the *Kitāb al-Taysīr* allows us to trace the development of the book in both structure and format. The work was both prestigious and widely disseminated for at least 150 years. It was copied prolifically beginning in the late thirteenth century, reaching its moment of greatest splendour in the fourteenth century and then declining in the fifteenth century, when it was no longer copied and became lost in the Geniza. All of the copies appear to have been produced in the same workshop and used in the same library. It was certainly this shop that supplied the library of the Karaite synagogue in Cairo, which may explain how so many copies survived. Nevertheless, two basic families can be identified: those that divided the dictionary into two volumes and those that copied it as a compact, single-volume work.<sup>9</sup>

Apart from the work of the copyists, the manuscript tradition shows that the author elaborated two different recensions of the same work:

text and the rest the second or standard version. Moreover, seven of them are questionable, i.e., it is impossible to determine whether these seven fragments truly belong to independent copies from the microfilm.

- 9 In the original redaction, the author divided the dictionary into two parts, from 'alef to nun and from samek to taw, plus the colophon dedicated to biblical Aramaic. This division is preserved in copy Firk Ebr-Arab I 4512, which contains the cover of the second part. In a later period, copyists began a process of saving paper and they deleted the cover of the second part but pointed out the end of the first section and introduced the second with a Hebrew *basmala* (Firk Ebr-Arab I 4603). Finally, this division was totally lost, without leaving any trace at all, in the copies Firk Ebr-Arab II 620 and Firk Ebr I 77 (the only complete copy of the text).

the original recension, which remains only in some fragments,<sup>10</sup> and the definitive recension, which is the best preserved and the one that has been transmitted in most of the copies. The latter recension is more elaborated from a lexicographical point of view, as the examples in these pages show.

Along with the forty-six fragments from the Firkovich collection, other, shorter fragments have been identified dispersed among other collections. Some colleagues and friends of mine, including Professor Aharon Maman and the late Professor Friedrich Niessen, had already suspected that some loose pages in the collection of the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York and the Taylor-Schechter collection in Cambridge might have belonged to the *Kitāb al-Taysīr*. I identified the first fragments while visiting Cambridge to finish editing the *Book of Masculine and Feminine* by Mošeh Ibn Ġiqaṭelah.<sup>11</sup> These are fragments T-S NS 302.42 and T-S NS 302.4.<sup>12</sup> A few months later, Professor Friedrich Niessen began his translation of the *Kitāb al-Taysīr* into English and identified a new fragment: T-S Ar.31.105. The illness that eventually claimed his life was then beginning to take hold, forcing him to retire. It became impossible for him to continue the search for new fragments or even to study and edit the last fragment he identified.<sup>13</sup> After my last research stay in Cambridge in August 2009, I identified two new fragments (T-S Ar 5.50 y T-S Ar. 31.137). These five fragments are published, translated, and discussed for the first time in these pages.

10 These fragments are Firk Ebr-Arab I 2335 and II 330. For a brief description see KT I: 53–54. For differences between the two versions, see KT I: 26–30.

11 “El *Kitāb al-taḏkīr wa-l-ta'nīl* de Mošeh Ibn Ġiqaṭela (S. XI),” *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos (Sección de Árabe-Islam)* 57 (2008): 207–38.

12 These two fragments were previously published by Friedrich Niessen (ב"ר) and me in “Fragment of the Month” (February 2008) on the website of the Genizah Research Unit from Cambridge University. The English translation of fragments T-S NS 302.42 and T-S NS 302.4 was done by Dr. Niessen.

13 Professor Aharon Maman identified another fragment at the JTSA collection (ENA 2815.11). See Aharon Maman, *Otzrot Lashon: The Hebrew Philology Manuscripts and Genizah Fragments in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 2006).

I have no doubt that more fragments from the *Kitāb al-Taysīr* will continue to appear in the libraries holding fragments from the Cairo Geniza. I can only hope that my edition and the present article help to bring some order to Solomon Schechter's impressive work and the incredibly important Firkovich collection.<sup>14</sup>

### **Analysis of *Kitāb al-Taysīr***

The contents of *Kitāb al-Taysīr*, which are based on Andalusī Jewish school trends, present an enormous and meticulous collage of the most important medieval Hebrew dictionaries. This does not mean that Šelomo ben Mobārak was simply a compiler or transmitter. Far from it—his work and lexicographical contribution are obvious in both the macro- and micro-structures of his dictionary. On the macro level, he catalogues the lemmas following a semantic approach—never a morphological one—dropping from the corpus those roots that he considers superfluous or ambiguous. In this way, he merges the morphological theories developed by the Andalusī Hebrew School with the early Karaite tradition.

This dictionary may be considered a linguistic type, since its concern is signs, never things; in fact, following the Andalusī tradition, the *Kitāb al-Taysīr* does not study personal names or their possible etymologies,<sup>15</sup> casting aside the work developed by al-Fāṣī in this field. It tries to explain, in theory, the meanings of biblical words, or at least to offer a hint that helps to interpret certain words or forms. The definitions are strictly organized

14 My edition of the KT is based exclusively on all of the identified copies in the Firkovich collection. This selection criterion is rooted in both the importance and the size of the fragments and in the difficulty in gaining access to them today. The edition is diplomatic and reproduces the Firk. I 77 copy. It also contains an ample critical apparatus, which includes all the known variants.

15 The first author to omit personal names from his dictionary was Menaḥem ben Saruq, who claims that “some consonants **join** together in personal names, but there is nothing to learn from them because they are names, **not** voices”; see Ángel Sáenz-Badillos, *Maḥberet Mēnaḥem* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1986), p. 15\*:21–22 (hereinafter MM).

to exhibit the semantic and morphological evolution of the lemma in question by means of examples or testimonies (*šawāhid*), that is to say, biblical passages. The most complete copy of the *Kitāb al-Taysīr* preserves a fragment from the introduction. There, Šelomo ben Mobārak explains his methodology for composing the articles in his dictionary:<sup>16</sup>

וסלובי פיה אנני מתי וגדת אבא אלוליד רח"ל \ דכר לפטה פי כתאב אלאצול ולם  
יתרגמהא פאני \ לא אדכרהא ולא אדכר דלך אלאצל לה או מתי \ אחאל דלך עלי כתאב  
חרוף אללין או כתאב דואת \ אלמתלין פלא אדכרהא איצא לעדמהא אלתרגמ[ה] \ ומתי  
אחאל עלי גירהמא פאין [וג]ד[ת]ה קד תרגמה \ וד[כ]רתהא ואצללה ואלא תרכתהא  
[ואסתגנית במ]א \ דכרה ר' יעקב צאחב אלכאמל וגירה מן אלמתרג[מין].

My way here [is as follows]: When I have found that Abū-l-Walīd (ibn Ġanāḥ), God's mercy on him, quoted an expression in *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* but did not translate it, I do not mention it, neither do I quote this root. When [Abū-l-Walīd] indicated that this [is collected] in *Kitāb ḥurūf al-līn* or in *Kitāb dawāt al-mitlayn* (by Ḥayyūḡ), I do not quote it because there is no translation. When [Abū-l-Walīd] indicated that [such mention is] in other [works], if I found it translated, I quoted it with its root, but if not, I take it from R. Ya'āqob [ben El'azar], author of [*al-Kitāb*] *al-kāmil*, and from other translators.

### ***Kitāb al-Taysīr's* lexicographical sources**

The sources of this dictionary are of two types: first, the linguistic, or primary, source, that is, the received biblical text punctuated by the Masoretes; and second, the important secondary or metalinguistic sources, that is to say, works by other authors that Šelomo ben Mobārak had access to. The latter type of source is used more freely than the former, because the author accepts only what he considers valid. In general, the *Kitāb al-Taysīr* depends directly on Ibn Ġanāḥ's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*,<sup>17</sup> although it only focuses on the information relating to the meaning of terms, that is, the definitions.

16 KT 1r.

17 Edition by Adolf Neubauer, *The Book of Hebrew Roots by Abu 'l-Walīd Marwān Ibn Janāḥ* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875) (hereinafter KU).

Šelomo ben Mobārak's work consists of looking for the largest number of expressions previously defined and trying to offer one or several Arabic equivalents of biblical words. His methodology is to summarize the articles from Ibn Ǧanāḥ's dictionary but omit morphological, syntactic, and even exegetical data and sometimes merge what his predecessors understood as different roots under one lemma.

Thus, the *Kitāb al-Taysīr* discards the lemmas that the author considers useless because they lack a translation. Also, when an article by Ibn Ǧanāḥ lacks a translation, as is very often the case,<sup>18</sup> Šelomo ben Mobārak resorts to Yaʿāqob ben Elʿazar's *al-Kitāb al-Kāmil* in order to fill the gap and then returns to Ibn Ǧanāḥ's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*. There are in the *Kitāb al-Taysīr* seventy-three explicit and nominal allusions to this lost twelfth- or thirteenth-century work, which are introduced by the concise formula, "R. Yaʿāqob",<sup>19</sup> however, a meticulous analysis of the contents shows that there may be over two hundred quotations.<sup>20</sup>

The next example clearly shows the use that Šelomo ben Mobārak makes of his metalinguistic sources. For him, the main lexicon is Ibn Ǧanāḥ's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*. Although he was aware of its limitations and that Ibn Ǧanāḥ had different lexicographical aims, Šelomo ben Mobārak needed to use this and other sources to search for definitions and specific uses of the roots. One truly rich article provides an example of the exquisite selective process of Šelomo ben Mobārak:

Ibn Ǧanāḥ: אוב [KU 25:16-19]

אוב וידעני (Deut 18:11; 2 Chr 33:6). דרשו אל האובות (Isa 8:19). This is the

18 For a detailed account, see David Téné, *Sefer ha-Hassagah of Rabbi Jonah ibn Janāḥ in the Hebrew Translation of Obadyah ha-Sefaradi* (Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language and the Bialik Institute, 2006), 29.

19 I presented an edition of all these passages as "Nuevas alusiones al *Kitāb al-Kāmil* de Yaʿāqob ben Elʿazar (Edición, traducción y estudio)," *Sefarad* 69:2 (2009), 315–60.

20 See José Martínez Delgado, "A fragment of Jacob ben Eleazar's *al-Kitāb al-Kāmil* (Lexicographical section)," in *Judaeo-Arabic Culture in al-Andalus*, ed. Amir Ashur (Córdoba: Oriens Academics CNERU – CSIC, 2013), 121–52.

name for some of the practices, forbidden for us, which try to learn the hidden sciences, as they seek.

כאובות חדשים (Job 32:19). Jars.

Šelomo ben Mobārak: אוב [KT I: 76 and 78]

כאובות חדשים (Job 32:19): “skin-jars.”

אוב או ידעני (Lev 20:27). אל האובות (Isa 8:19) is the name of an activity in which one seeks knowledge of hidden things by means of divination.

R. Ya‘aqob said, And it was used metaphorically for a weak voice in והיה קולך (Isa 29:4). This is the indication that the voice of the אוב is weak. The compiler of this book said, I noticed that the teacher Mošeh ben Maimon mentioned the practice of the spiritualism (מעשה האוב) in his *Sefer meda’*, confirming R. Ya‘aqob’s opinion that אוב is a weak voice.

As for as the author of the *Egron*, he renders it with “spirit.”

To recap, the metalinguistic sources used by Šelomo ben Mobārak can be divided into two kinds: lexicographical, that is to say, other dictionaries, and not lexicographical, that is, exegetical comments or literary works that he would have had access to. The two main or direct sources, as Šelomo ben Mobārak states in his introduction, are Ibn Ġanāḥ’s *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* and Ya‘aqob ben El‘azar’s *al-Kitāb al-Kāmil*. However, the content of the dictionary shows that in fact it combines four major types of sources:

a) Textual sources: traditional texts such as the Mišnah,<sup>21</sup> the statements of the sages,<sup>22</sup> *piyyuṭ*,<sup>23</sup> and frequent examples from biblical Aramaic and Targum, along with many comparisons with the Arabic language.

b) Oriental sources:

b.1. Šelomo ben Mobārak quotes al-Fāsī, referred to as *ṣāḥib Agron*, “the author of the *Egron*,” fairly frequently. This is the case with sixteen roots.<sup>24</sup>

21 This is the case in the entries for the roots אבס, אגד, אור, ביב, דבש, דדה, דבהבי, פוט, לבב, כבש.

22 Quoted in שחט, בלס (2), עוף, עזב, צרך, בלם.

23 Under the root שנאן.

24 Roots טמה, חשמנים, הא, דיק, דבר, גלש, גהר, גה, אך, אחד, און, אזל, אוב, אהה, אגל.



Usually, Šelomo ben Mobārak accepts the Arabic equivalent offered by al-Fāsī, although in other instances, he reproduces his words literally.<sup>25</sup>

b.2. In one case, R. Hāy's opinion is quoted.<sup>26</sup>

c) Andalusī sources: These are the most frequently cited, and the dictionary itself closely follows the structure of the work of Andalusī authors.

c.1. Ibn Ġanāḥ, in all the quotations called *Abū-l-Walīd*. As far as I can judge, ninety percent of *Kitāb al-Taysīr* is based on *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*. Usually, the quotations are unattributed, since Šelomo ben Mobārak mentions Ibn Ġanāḥ explicitly to criticize him. We find this author cited in reference to twenty-one roots.<sup>27</sup>

c.2. Ya'āqob ben El'azar. This is the most quoted author, referred to as R. Ya'āqob. In general, he is mentioned to fill the semantic gaps of the *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, although in some cases he is also criticized. These references contain the only explicit grammatical notes contained in this dictionary. We find explicit quotations of the *al-Kitāb al-Kāmil* in seventy-three roots.<sup>28</sup>

c.3. RaDaQ. This author is quoted as David b. Yosef b. Qimḥī. When Šelomo ben Mobārak quotes him, he reproduces the original Hebrew text of *Sefer ha-Šorašim*. This happens in reference to five roots.<sup>29</sup>

c.4. Šemu'el ha-Nagīd, quoted as al-Nagīd.<sup>30</sup>

c.5. Yehudah Ibn Bil'am, quoted as ben Bil'am.<sup>31</sup>

25 This is the case of אחד and אך.

26 Under the root זלזלים.

27 Roots מגר, כסס, ישה, ירק, חתן, זלת, זון-זין, הרה, דחה, גג, בער, בלל, אתק, אסר, אגל, שבת, רגע, עוף, נקה, גוס, מלך.

28 Roots אפד, אפף, און, אמר, אכן, אחר, אחד, אזר, און, אזה, אוב, אגל, אבר, אבה, אפל, דלה, גת, גלל, גור-גיר, גדר, גג, בטן, בוש, אתק, אתה, אשר, אשם, אשש, ארם, ארב, אפל, יקר, יצת, יעז, ידע, טרח, טפף, חנן, חול, חדש, חבא-חבה, זלזלים, זקק, זעה, המה, הום, הדם, מתי, משה, משש, מרה, מרד, מקק, מסך, לוע, כרר, כפש, כסל, כסס, כס, יתר, ישר, ירש, ירע, פתה, פתת, פנה, פוז, פור, סרר, נדחנה.

29 Roots פרא, פנג, פלס, פלא, עלם.

30 Only under the root חול.

31 Only under the root חתת.

c.6. RaMBaM, quoted as Mošeh ben Maimon and cited as an unquestionable authority.<sup>32</sup>

c.7. The poet (*wa-qāla aš-šā'ir*). Under the root כנע, the following Hebrew sentence appears: שְׁאִי וְאַסְפִּי יוֹתֵר מֵאַרְץ כְּנַעַתָּה. The copy Firk I 77 attributes this to an anonymous poet, but Firk II 620 presents a very important variant: וְקָאֵל בֶּן שְׂרוּק (*sic!*). This is in fact not a verse but a passage from Menaḥem ben Saruq's *Maḥberet*.<sup>33</sup>

d) Islamic sources. In one case, Šelomo ben Mobārak quotes *ṣāḥib aš-ṣiḥāḥ* in a medical context. The quotation comes from the dictionary *Tāğ al-Luġa*, by al-Ğawharī.

We can draw two conclusions from this collation of sources:

a) In the first chapters of the dictionary, Šelomo ben Mobārak mentions his sources, but in later chapters he does not do this.

b) It is not at all clear whether Šelomo ben Mobārak had direct access to all the quoted works that are not mentioned in his introduction, namely, Šemu'el ha-Nagīd, Yehudah Ibn Bil'am, and R. Hāy. It seems that the material from these sources is extracted from Ya'āqob ben El'azar's *al-Kitāb al-Kāmil*, just as references to rabbinical literature and the Arabic dictionary *aš-ṣiḥāḥ* are taken from Ibn Ġanāḥ's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*. On the other hand, I am quite sure that Šelomo ben Mobārak had access to the works by al-Fāṣī, RaDaQ, and RaMBaM.

### **Ben Mobārak's lexicographical methodological techniques as reflected in these five fragments**

The *Kutub al-Taysir* (books of facilitation) constitute a well-known anthological genre in Arab literature, best known in the field of medicine, where summaries or "simplifications" of works by Avenzoar and Avicenna were notable. These anthologies were results of what has come to be called

32 Only under the root אור, but see צלם and cf. S. Munk and J. Joel, eds., *Dalālat al-ḥā'irīn* I:1 (Jerusalem: Azriel, 1930).

33 MM 51\*:9–12.

the “period of cultural decadence” (*‘aṣr al-inḥiṭāṭ*) and were sometimes (as in this case) brilliant attempts to provide the general public with access to the great works written in Islam’s centuries of greatest splendor. Considering that the core of Ben Mobārak’s analysis was an inventory of definitions previously established by the most famous Andalusī authors, his techniques are usually the same as those of his sources. Therefore, as noted above, in the cases when the *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* is not summarised, it is not certain whether the material is the author’s innovation or harvested from other sources. However, as a final product, the *Kitāb al-Taysīr* is a well-formed and valuable work. All of its articles are concerned with offering an Arabic term for each definition included. The arrangement of the entries tends toward a logical order that shows the semantic evolution of the root, seen, for example, in the root בנה (T-S Ar. 5.50) and the second definition of כפר (T-S Ar. 31.137). In general, when the examples allow, the entries usually follow the strict morphological hierarchy already established in the *Book of Hayyūḡ* in the mid-tenth century: perfect, imperfect, participle, imperative, infinitive, and nouns.

The same occurs in the case of comparative Semitic theory. There is no way to know whether the analyzed form reflects the author’s view or was taken from another source. In any case, Šelomo ben Mobārak reserves a very important place for comparative Semitics in his dictionary. Usually he compares Hebrew with Arabic, for root similarity (e.g., אמן in T-S NS 302.42) or even for a specific use of the root (e.g., כפר in T-S Ar 31.137) and derived words (e.g., בעל in T-S Ar 5.50). Less frequently but still often, Šelomo ben Mobārak compares Hebrew with biblical and targumic Aramaic (e.g., בעה in T-S Ar 5.50). Also frequent is the comparison of biblical Hebrew with rabbinic Hebrew (e.g., כפה in T-S Ar 31.137).

The *Kitāb al-Taysīr* contains three major types of basic definitions: proper, improper, and encyclopaedic. The proper definitions are those in which the law of synonymy can be applied, that is, where one or various Arabic equivalents are offered that can serve as translations for the terms included in the articles. These types of definitions are most common and are quite extensive, since the author usually offers between one and three

equivalents. The improper definitions are dedicated to words that do not have synonyms, since they do not represent meanings but rather signs, such as particles, as in the case of **אם** at the beginning of T-S NS 302.42. Finally, the encyclopaedic definitions designate beings or objects and contain the necessary specifications to recognize that being or object, as in the case of **התמוז** (Ezek 8:14): “it refers to a small idol equipped with eyes that shoot water using some kind of trick” (T-S Ar. 31.105).

### **Edition and translation of the five fragments of *Kitāb al-Taysīr* from the Taylor-Schechter Collection**

1. T-S NS 302.42 [6401]:<sup>34</sup> 17.2 × 12.8; 15 lines; paper; 1 leaf; slightly stained, rubbed, with several small holes; semi-cursive script with sporadic Arabic vocalization. *Kitāb al-Taysīr*, including **אם**, **אמה**, **אמל**, **אמן**, and **אמץ**. Parallel to KT 13v:6-15r:4/15r:4-15v:2.

The main difference from Firk. Ebr. I 77 is that this fragment adds the case of Nehemiah 10:1 in the root **אמן**. Linguistically, it tends to use full spelling, as in the case of **תאבתאת** (for **תבתה** in the 2010 edition) and the use of *yod* to reflect *alif maqṣūra* in **קי**. It uses more dialectical forms, such as **ללתי** for **לתי**, perhaps an attempt to reflect the reduplication of the classical *allatī*. It also contains an inexplicable **אלממה** /*al-mumah*/ where one would expect **אלאמה** in Arabic, like in the 2010 edition.<sup>35</sup> It shares the spelling **אלבלגא** with the 2010 edition for the classical *al-balāḡah*, which seems to reflect a standardized defective spelling in Judeo-Arabic (*al-blaḡah?*).

[1r] בציר ת[פסיר]ה בעד ותכון במעני פלמא אן כאן  
 כדא וכדא מ[ת]ל אם הרגם ודרשוהו אב ואם  
 לאמותם יאמרו אם חקיקה ועל<sup>36</sup> אעטם אלמדן  
 על אם בחור עיר ואם [בן]שראל ועלי אעטם אלטרק

34 The number in brackets corresponds with the description given by Aviahi Shvitiel and Friedrich Niessen in *Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections, Taylor-Schechter New Series* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

35 See n. 8.

36 2010 edition reads [ותקאל עלי] instead of ועל.

- 5 אם הדרך והאמה מזה והאמה מזה<sup>37</sup> דראע ומתלה<sup>38</sup>  
 עלי תמת[י]<sup>39</sup> אמת בצעק אמות הספים מלאבן  
 אלעתב. אמה עבד ואמה ותשלח  
 את אמתה וע[ם] אמהות לעיני אמהות עבדיו  
 וגם את בן האמה אלממה<sup>40</sup> והי אלממלוכה  
 10 **אמל** מה אמולה לבתך מצאעפה<sup>41</sup>  
 [הא]מלים כי אמלל אני אמללה י[ול]דת השבעה  
 אמללו מרום עם הארץ מענאה [אל]צעף ואלוהן.<sup>42</sup>  
**אמן** והאמין ביי למען יאמינו כי<sup>43</sup>  
 לא יאמין שוב מני חשך אל יאמן [ב]שוא נתעה  
 15 אינכם מאמינים בנים לא אמן במ<sup>44</sup> ואיש אמונים<sup>45</sup>  
 [1v] אמונים נוצר יי כי פסו אמונים בכל ביתי נאמן  
 הוא קריה נאמנה שלומי אמוני ישראל<sup>46</sup> נאמנה  
 ארץ<sup>47</sup> מע' אלתקה ואלאמאנה מסיר שפה לנאמנים  
 אלפצחא אלבלגא ונאמן בי[תך] וידום ויתבת ומן  
 5 הדא אלמעני<sup>48</sup> ואמנה על המשוררים גראיה דאימה<sup>49</sup>  
 כורתים אמנה עהד דאים תאבת<sup>50</sup> במקום נאמן  
 קוי<sup>51</sup> צלב גדולות ונאמנות תאבתאת<sup>52</sup> מסתחכמה  
 ותקול אלערב נאקה אמן ללתי<sup>53</sup> יומן עתארהא

- 37 2010 edition reads והאמה מזה instead of מזה והאמה מזה.  
 38 2010 edition reads ומתל instead of ומתלה.  
 39 2010 edition reads עלי סביל תמתיל instead of עלי תמת[י].  
 40 2010 edition reads אלאמא instead of אלממה.  
 41 2010 edition reads ומצאעפה instead of מצאעפה.  
 42 2010 edition reads מעני אלגמע אלצעף ואלוהאן instead of מעני אלגמע אלצעף ואלוהן.  
 43 2010 edition lacks כי.  
 44 2010 edition reads תאמן במ instead of בנים לא אמן במ.  
 45 2010 edition adds מי ימצא.  
 46 2010 edition reads יש' instead of ישראל.  
 47 2010 edition lacks נאמנה.  
 48 2010 edition reads אלמע' instead of אלמעני.  
 49 2010 edition adds גיר מנקטעה.  
 50 2010 edition reads קיל אמנה instead of וילדך קיל אמנה.  
 51 2010 edition reads קוא instead of קוי.  
 52 2010 edition reads [תבתה] instead of תאבתאת.  
 53 2010 edition reads אלתי instead of ללתי.

האף אמנם כי האמנם ישב אלהים וגם אמנה  
 10      אמן אמן חקיקה וחק ויהי ידיו אמונה באסתוא  
 כאשר ישא האומן ותשאהו אומנתו האמנים  
 עלי תולע באמנה אתו על צד תאמנה ואהיה  
 אצלו אמן אלחצאנה ואל האומנים אחאב וזראה  
 ואת הא[מנו]ת אשר צפה חזקיה<sup>54</sup> אלדעאים מעשה  
 15      ידי אמן צאנעה<sup>55</sup> אסתאד.      אמן

### Translation

[1r] [קעוללת אם קלה] בְּצִיר (Isa 24:13), to be translated “after.”

It may have the meaning “and after this happened,” like אִם הָרָגָם וְדָרְשׁוּהוּ (Ps 78:34).

אָב וָאָם (Ezek 22:7); לְאִמָּתָם יֹאמְרוּ (Lam 2:12), “mother,” in the proper sense of the word. It is also said of mighty cities: עַל אִם בָּחוּר (Jer 15:8); עִיר וָאָם (Jer 15:8); and of the main roads: אִם הַדֶּרֶךְ (Ezek 21:26).

וְהָאָמָה מִזָּה (Exod 26:13), “cubit”; and metaphorically: אָמָה בְּצֶעֶף (Jer 51:13). אֲמוֹת הַסָּפִים (Isa 6:4), “the posts of the door.”

### אמה

וְעַם הָאֲמָהוּת (Exod 2:5); וְתִשְׁלַח אֶת אֲמָתָהּ (Lev 25:44); עֶבֶד וָאָמָה (Sam 2 6:22); וְגַם אֶת בִּן הָאָמָה (Gen 21:13), “handmaid,”<sup>56</sup> i.e., slave-girl.

### אמל

כִּי אֶמְלֵל (Neh 3:34) with double *lamed*: מָה אֶמְלֵה לְבִתְךָ (Ezek 16:30); אֶמְלֵלָה יְלִדְתָּ הַשְּׂבָעָה (Jer 15:9); אֶמְלֵלָה יְלִדְתָּ הַשְּׂבָעָה (Ps 6:3); the meaning is “weakness” and “lowliness.”

### אמן

לֹא יֵאֱמִין שׁוֹב מִנִּי חֲשָׁךְ (Exod 4:5); לְמַעַן יֵאֱמִינוּ (Gen 15:6); וְהָאָמֵן בִּי (Job 15:22); אֵינְכֶם מֵאֱמִינִים בִּי (Deut 1:32); אֵל תֵּאֱמֵן בָּם (Jer 15:31); אֵל יֵאֱמֵן בְּשׂוּא נְתָעָה

54 2010 edition omits חזקיה.

55 2010 edition reads צאנע instead of צאנעה.

56 In the original אלממה; I follow the reading אלאמא from the 2010 edition.

12:6); וְאִישׁ אֱמוּנִים מִי יִמָּצֵא (Prov 20:6); [1v] אֱמוּנִים נֶצֶר יי (Ps 31:24); כִּי פָסוּ אֱמוּנִים (Ps 12:2); שְׁלָמִי אֱמוּנִי יִשְׂרָאֵל, קִרְיָה נֶאֱמְנָה (Isa 1:21); בְּכָל בֵּיתִי נֶאֱמֵן הוּא (Num 12:7); וְנֶאֱמֵן בֵּיתְךָ (Sam 2 20:19): its meaning is “trust” and “good faith.”

מְסִיר שִׁפָּה לְנֶאֱמָנִים (Job 12:20), “the eloquent” and “the well-spoken.”

וְנֶאֱמֵן בֵּיתְךָ (Sam 2 7:16), “he will endure” and “he will consolidate.”

From this is derived the meaning: וְנֶאֱמָנָה עַל הַמְשָׁרָדִים (Neh 11:23), “permanent daily wages.”

כְּרֶתִים אֱמְנָה (Neh 10:1), “everlasting pact.”

בְּמָקוֹם נֶאֱמֵן (Isa 22:23), “strong,” “firm.”

גְּדֹלֶת וְנֶאֱמָנוּת (De 28:59), “steady,” “continuous.” The Arabs say *nāqih amūn* for a she-camel to be steadfast, which is safe to stumble.

וְגַם אֱמְנָה (Gen 18:14); כִּי הָאֱמָנִים יֹשְׁבֵי אֵלֶּהִים (Kgs 1 8:27); אֱמֵן אֱמֵן (Num 5:22), “true, truly.”

וַיְהִי יָדָיו אֱמוּנָה (Exod 17:12), “straight.”

הָאֱמָנִים עָלַי תּוֹלַעַ (Sam 2 4:4); וַתִּשְׁאַהֲוּ אֱמָנָתוֹ (Num 11:12); כַּאֲשֶׁר יֵשָׁא הָאֱמֵן (Lam 4:5); וְאֶהְיָ אֶצְלוֹ אֱמֵן (Isa 60:4); עַל צֶדַח תֵּאֱמָנָה (Est 2:20); בְּאֱמָנָה אָתוּ (Prov 8:30), “bringing up a child.”

וְאֵל הָאֱמָנִים אַחְאָב (Kgs 2 10:15), “his viziers.”

וְאֵת הָאֱמָנוֹת אֲשֶׁר צָפָה (Kgs 2 18:16), “the pillars.”

מַעֲשֵׂה יָדַי אֱמֵן (Song 7:2), “artisan,” “master.”

אֱמָן

2. T-S Ar 5.50 [394]:<sup>57</sup> Judaeo-Arabic; Oriental square script; paper; 1 leaf; mutilated, badly stained, and rubbed; 22.1 x 14.1; 23 lines. *Kitāb al-Taysīr*, including בלע, בעט, בעה, בסר, בנט, בנה, במ, בלע. Parallel to KT 30v:5-31r:5/31r:9-31v:14.

There are very few differences from the text in the Firk. The Ebr. I 77 copy was used as the basis for the 2010 edition, except in the spelling of the citations in Aramaic under the root בעה, which were Hebraicized in this

57 The number in brackets corresponds with the description given by Colin F. Baker and Meira Polliack in *Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections, Arabic Old Series (T-S Ar. 1a-54)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

copy. Because of the poor condition of the fragment, it is not possible to provide more detail.

- [1r] [לבלתי הקריב] לב[לתי עבד בם] לילא יכון כד[א]<sup>58</sup>  
 [בם רק הבמות לא ס]רו רק בבמות ויקרא שמה  
 [במה אלביע על במו]תיך חלל על במתי עב  
 [אל]כדי וקד דכר פי שפיים בנה  
 5 מי האיש אשר בנה ובנה את היכל יי אבנה לי  
 [ויבן] את נינוה לבית הנבנה והגזרה והבניה  
 חקיקתהא אלבניאן חסד יבנה ובניתי לדור  
 ודור גם נבנו עושי רשעה אלתבאת תבנית  
 זכר תבנית המשכן תבנית האולם אלצורה  
 10 ואלהיה ויבן יי את הצלע צור בן בנים  
 בת בנות אולי אבנה ואבנה גם אנכי, אבן  
 ובנת בני הנביאים אלתלאמיד<sup>59</sup> בני האלהים  
 אוליא אללה בן קשת<sup>60</sup> בני אשפתו אלסהאם.  
 ובני רשף<sup>61</sup> אלשראר ועיש על בניה תנחם  
 15 בנאת נעש הילל בן שחר כוכב אלצבח  
 בן פרת יוסף בן פרת עלי [עין בנות צעדה]  
 [עלי שור אגצאן] מדושת וכן גרני אלתבן בקרן  
 [בן שמן] בן חיל בן בליעל בן נעות המרדות דו [סמן]  
 [דו באס דו פסק] דו אעוגאג בת [בבל בת מצרים]  
 20 [...] <sup>62</sup>  
 [...]  
 [...]  
 [...]  
 [1v] וראיתן על הא[בנים אלמתבר והו אלמוצע אלדי]

58 2010 edition adds וכלא.

59 2010 edition reads תלאמיד instead of אלתלאמיד.

60 2010 edition reads בן קשת instead of לא יברחיני בן קשת.

61 2010 edition adds יגביהו עוף.

62 See note 69, below..



יסקט פיה אלגנין מן בן ובני[ם אלפים בת יכיל אסם]  
 כיל בנט אבנט זנאר [בסר ובוסר גומל]  
 יחמוס כגפן בסרו הו אללקח מן אלתמאר אי [אלדי לס]  
 5 י[נצ]ג [הא]כל הבו[סר] אלחצרם בעה אם [תבעיון]  
 [בעיון] נבעו מצפוניו מגאנס ללסריאני  
 [ובעו] ודניאל בעה ודניאל על ובעה מענאה<sup>63</sup>  
 [אלטלבה ותרגו]ם ויבקש ובעא ומעני<sup>64</sup>  
 אכר מים תבעה אש אלנפאכאת ואלחאלבאת אלתי  
 10 תציר פי אלמא ענד גליאנה נבעה בחומה נפך  
 פי אלחאיט שחין אבעבועות נפאכאת פי אלגסם  
 {בעט} [ויבעט פֿאַבעט למה]<sup>65</sup> תבעטון תסתכפון ותזדרון  
 ואלאבעאט הו אלגלו פי אלגהל בעל בעלונו אדו'  
 אדונים ובעלה בעלו למואב כי יבעל בחור<sup>66</sup>  
 15 יבעלון בניך כי בועליך עושיך ולארצך  
 בעולה בעולת בעל וארצך תבעל כי<sup>67</sup>  
 אנכי בעלתי בכם בעל פיפיות בעליו עמו  
 חקיקתהא אלצחבה ואלאצחאב ואנכי בעלתי  
 [בכם] בדמת בהם וצקת באמרהם לגה פי [בחלה]  
 20 [בי ...]<sup>68</sup>  
 אלאצנאם ואלבעל ענד אלערב אלצנם [ער]  
 המבעיר את הבעירה דכרהא פי [...]

[1r] (Jer 34:9): “that it will not be so and so.” (Num 9:7): לְבִלְתִּי עֲבֹד בָּם; לְבִלְתִּי הִקְרִיב [1r]

63 2010 Edition reads 'ובעו דניאל וחברוהו; ודניאל על ובעה; ודניאל בעא מן מלכא, מענ instead of 'ובעו דניאל בעה ודניאל על ובעה מענאה.

64 2010 edition reads 'ומעני instead of 'ומעני.

65 2010 edition reads 'וישמן ישורון ויבעט, סמן פֿאַבעט. למה.

66 2010 edition adds בתולה.

67 2010 edition omits כי.

68 2010 edition reads 'ומע' אכר בעל פעור; שמות הבעלים.

בנה

על בְּמַתִּי עֵב (Isa 14:14), “large rocks”; it has been mentioned under שָׁפִיִּים.

בנה

בנט

69 2010 edition reads: **בַּת בָּבֶל** (Isa 47:1); **בַּת מִצְרַיִם** (Jer 46:11); **בַּת דִּיבּוֹן** (Jer 48:18); **בְּנוֹת עִירִי** (Ezek 27:6); **בַּת אֲשֻׁרִים** (Num 25:15); **בַּת צוּר** (Kgs 2 19:21); **בַּת צִיּוֹן** (Lam 3:51) is the plural. **וְיִלְכְּדוּ בְנוֹתֶיהָ** (Num 21:32); **וְזָאת תִּעְנֶה וְזָאת בְּנוֹתֶיהָ** (Judg 1:27), “the cities.” **לְעִלּוּקָה שְׂתֵי בְנוֹת** (Prov 30:15): indirect term for night and day. **בַּת הַיַּעֲנָה** (Lev 11:16). “the ostrich.”]

## בסר

יחמס כִּגְפָן בִּסְרוֹ (Job 15:33), is “the pollen,” i.e., what has not become ripe. וּבִסְרָה (Isa 18:5); וּבִסְרָה גִּמְלָה (Jer 31:29), “unripe and sour grapes.”

## בעה

וּבָעוּ מִצִּנּוֹ (Obad 1:6); similar to Aramaic וּבָעוּ (Isa 21:12); וּבָעוּ (Dan 2:13); וּבָעוּ (Dan 2:49); וּבָעוּ (Dan 2:16); its meaning is “to request,” and the *targum* of וּבָעוּ is וּבָעוּ.

Another meaning: מִיָּם תִּבְעָה אֵשׁ (Isa 64:1), “the bubbling and the evaporating” that develops in water when boiling. נִבְעָה בְּחוֹמָה (Isa 30:13), “a blast in the wall.” שְׁחִין אֲבַעְבֵּעֶת (Exod 9:10), “swellings in the body.”

## בעט

לָמָּה תִּבְעָטוֹן (Deut 32:15), “he became fat and exceeded.” וְיִשְׁמֹן וְיִבְעָטוֹן (Cf. 1 Sam 2:29), “you scorn and rebuke.” <In Arabic> exceeding (*‘ib ‘āṭ*) is being excessive in ignorance.

## בעל

כִּי יִבְעַל (Chr 1 4:22); בָּעָלוּ לְמוֹאָב (Deut 24:1); בָּעָלוּ (Isa 26:13); בָּעָלוּ אֲדָנִים (Isa 62:4); וּלְאַרְצָהּ בָּעָלוּ (Isa 54:5); כִּי בָעָלוּ עֲשִׂיָּהּ (Isa 62:5); בָּחֹר בְּתוֹלָה יִבְעָלוּ בְּנֵי (Gen 20:3); בָּעָלָהּ (Isa 62:4); וְאַרְצָהּ תִּבְעַל (Jer 3:14); כִּי אֲנֹכִי בָעָלְתִּי בָכֶם (Exod 22:14); its real meaning is “the owner” and “the owners.” אֲנֹכִי בָעָלְתִּי בָכֶם (Isa 41:15); אֲנֹכִי בָעָלְתִּי בָכֶם (Jer 3:14), “I became tired of them and weary of being their master”; a variant of בִּי בָחָלָה (Zech 11:8).

[...] <sup>70</sup> “the idols”; בָּעַל in Arabic is *ṣanam* (“idol”).

## בער

הַמְבַעֵיר אֶת הַבְּעִירָה (Exod 22:5), <in the *Book of Hebrew Roots*, Abū-l-Walīd> referred to it [...].<sup>71</sup>

70 2010 edition reads: Another meaning is בָּעַל פְּעִיר (Deut 4:3); שְׁמוֹת הַבְּעָלִים (Hos 2:19).

71 2010 edition reads: [in the fourth definition of this root, which is “to let cattle graze freely”; however, it is not derived from that, but from the first, which is “to set on fire”].

3. T-S NS 302.4 [6365]: 17 × 12.7; 15 lines with catchword and marginalia; paper; 1 leaf; slightly torn, rubbed; semi-cursive script with sporadic Arabic vocalization; Judaeo-Arabic, Hebrew. *Kitāb al-Taysīr*, including חבל, חבק, חבק, and חבש. Parallel to KT 62v:4-17/62v:17-63r:13.

This fragment is quite similar to copies ב' (Firk Ebr-Ar II 619 + II 629 + II 452), ג' (Firk Ebr-Ar II 620 + II 629 + II 268), and מ' (Firk Ebr-Ar II 336) in the 2010 edition.<sup>72</sup> Under the root חב the inclusion of Isa 53:5 and its definition is notable; this diverges from the reading in the 2010 edition, as other readings in the section from the 2010 edition show.

און; חבלי[ה]ן תשלחנה, אלחבל וְהָ[ו] צד[א] לעקר  
ומעני<sup>73</sup> אכר [בטר]ם יבוא חבל לה צירים  
וחבלים חבלי יו[לדה חבלי שאו]ל א[למכאן] ואלאוגאע  
ומעני<sup>74</sup> אכר רב החובל מלחין וחבליך<sup>75</sup> כי  
5 בתחבולות תעשה לך<sup>76</sup> ונבון תחבולות יקנה  
ותחבולות<sup>77</sup> רשעים אלתדביר ואלראי ואלמשורה.  
חבק עת לחבוק את חובקת  
בן הכסיל חובק את ידיו חבקו אשפתות  
וימינו תחבקנ[י] ועת לרחוק מחבק ותחבק  
10 חק נכריה אלמעאנקה.  
חבר חבורה תחת חבורה נמקו חבורתי  
[ובח]בורתו הרפא לנו אלגראחה ואלכדש<sup>78</sup> ונמר  
[חב]רבורתיו נְקֻטָּה ומעני<sup>79</sup> אכר כל אלה חברו  
מקצה בחוברת וארח לחברה חבר עצבים  
15 אפרים וחברת את חמש היריעות אתחבר

72 For a description of all of the fragments, see the introduction to KT, pp. 46–58.

73 2010 edition reads 'ומע'.

74 2010 edition reads 'ומע'.

75 2010 edition adds זעקת חובליך.

76 2010 edition adds מלחמה.

77 2010 edition reads תחבולות.

78 2010 edition omits [ובח]בורתו הרפא לנו אלגראחה ואלכדש.

79 2010 edition reads 'ומע'.



וְנִמְר חֲבִירָתִי (Jer 13:23), “dot.”

Another meaning: וְאָרַח (Exod 26:4); מִקְצָה בַּחֲבֵרֶת (Gen 14:3); כָּל אֵלֶּה חֲבֵרֵי (Job 34:8); וְחֲבֵרֶת אֶת חֲמֹשׁ הַיְרִיעֶת (Hos 4:17); חֲבִיר עֲצָבִים אֶפְרַיִם (Exod 26:9); וְהִתְחַבְּרָךְ [1v] (Cf. Dan 11:6); וְלִקְעַן שָׁנִים יִתְחַבְּרוּ (2 Chr 20:35); אֶתְחַבֵּר יְהוֹשָׁפָט (Ps 94:20); חֲבֵר אֲנִי (Ps 119:63); וְחֲבֵרִי (2 Chr 20:37); עִם אֲחֻזָּיהוּ (Isa 1:23); לְעֻמַּת מַחְבְּרָתוֹ (Job 40:30); יָכֹרוּ עָלָיו חֲבֵרִים (Exod 28:27); חֲבֵר (Hos 6:9), “friendship, friends, relationship.”

1) Chr 22:3), לְדִלְתוֹת הַשָּׁעִרִים וְלִמְחַבְּרוֹת (2) Chr 34:11); וְעֻצִּים לְמַחְבְּרוֹת “necklaces.”

עֲמָדֵי (Ps 58:6); חוֹבֵר חֲבֵרִים מַחְכֵּם (Deut 18:11); וְחֲבֵר חֲבֵר (Prov 21:9); וְגֵיִת חֲבֵר (Isa 47:12), “witchcraft, spells.”

In Prov 21:9, it has been interpreted also as “and a community house.”

#### חבש

וְאֶחָבֶשֶׁךְ בָּשָׁשׁ (Exod 29:9); וְחֲבִשְׁתָּ לָהֶם מִגְבָּעֹת (Ezek 27:24); בְּחִבְלִים חֲבִשִּׁים (Ezek 16:10); וְיִחַבֵּשׁ אֶת חֲמָרוֹ (Gen 22:3); פֶּאֶרֶךְ חֲבוּשׁ עָלָיְךָ (Ezek 24:17); סוּף חֲבוּשׁ (Jon 2:6); מַבְכֵּי נְהוֹת חֲבֵשׁ (Job 28:11), “pressure, impede.”

Another meaning, related the former: וְלִנְשָׁבֶרֶת לֹא חֲבִשְׁתָּם (Ezek 34:4); וְיִחַבֵּשׁ (Isa 30:26); בְּיוֹם חֲבֵשׁ יִי (Isa 61:1); לְחַבֵּשׁ לְנִשְׁבָּרֵי לֵב (Job 5:18); יִכְאִיב וְיִחַבֵּשׁ (Ps 147:3); וְלֹא חֲבֵשׁוֹ (Isa 1:6), mean “coerce.”<sup>83</sup>

Another meaning:

4. T-S Ar 31.137 [3044]: Judaeo-Arabic, Hebrew phrases; Oriental square script; paper; 1 leaf; 17.5 x 13.5; 15 lines. *Kitāb al-Taysīr*, including כֶּפֶה, כֶּפֶל, כֶּפֶן, כֶּפֶס, and כֶּפֶר. Parallel to KT 109:15-109v:10/109v:11-110:6.

This fragment is quite close to the copies א' (Firk Ebr-Ar I 4603 + I 2668 + I 2667) and ה' (Firk Ebr-Ar I 4511 + I 2614 + I 2840 + I 2841 + II 628 + I 2410 + II 468 + I 2637) in the 2010 edition.<sup>84</sup> Under the root כֶּפֶה, certain

81 2010 edition reads ומענאה.

82 2010 edition reads 'ומע'.

83 As in the 2010 edition, the original reads אלגבר, which could be interpreted as “reestablishment” from the context.

divergences from the reading in the 2010 edition are notable, as already shown by the readings in the apparatus, which are included here in a note.

- [1r] אסתכף אי מא אחמל אליה פי כפי ותקול אלערב  
אסתכפף אלסאיל אדא בסט כפֿה סאילא.  
כפה בסתר<sup>85</sup> יכפה אף יקלב  
אלגצב ויזילה<sup>86</sup> מגאנס לקול אלאואיל כופין את  
5 הסל לפני האפרוחים שיעלו ושירדו־ בשבת<sup>87</sup> ויסמי<sup>88</sup>  
אלמצרוע נכפה ויחסן דגא אן פֿסר<sup>89</sup> יכפה אף  
יקהרה ויגלבה<sup>90</sup> מן קולהם כופין אותו להוציא  
אי יקהרֶה עלי הדא ואיצא אין האיש כופה  
את אשתו ואיצא כופה לעשות בצמר  
10 כפל וכפלת את היריעה  
ותצאעף יהיה כפול מצאעף ותכפל חרב  
שלישיתה בכפל רכבו<sup>91</sup> כפלים בכל חטאתיה  
כפלין ואלכפל אלצעף כפן  
כפנה שרשיה אליו<sup>92</sup> חשרת ערוקהא אליה  
15 לשוד ולכפן תשחק<sup>93</sup> בחסר ובכפן אלגוע ה'  
[1v] כפס וכפיס מעץ יעננה קיל  
אלאגר כפר וכפרת אותה  
מבית ומחוץ בכופר קפר אליהוד והו אלחמ[ר]  
ומעני אכר וכפר אהרן כפר לעמד כי יום

84 For a description of all of these fragments, see the introduction to KT, pp. 46–58.

85 2010 edition reads מתן בסתר instead of בסתר.

86 2010 edition reads וזילה instead of ויזילה.

87 2010 edition adds אי יקלבון.

88 2010 edition reads ויסמון instead of ויסמי.

89 2010 edition reads תפסיר instead of פֿסר.

90 2010 edition reads יקהר instead of יקהר אלגצב ויקהרה.

91 2010 edition reads בכפל רסנו instead of בכפל רכבו.

92 2010 edition reads עליו instead of אליו.

93 2010 edition omits תשחק.

94 2010 edition adds הוא.

- 5 כפורים<sup>94</sup> אסתגפאר וגפראן אכפרה פניו אסכן  
 גצבה וכפר בריתכם ינקץ<sup>95</sup> ויחל לא תוכלי  
 כפרה נקצחא ופסכהא כופר נפשו אם כפר  
 יושת עליו<sup>96</sup> נתתי כפרך פדא ודיה ומע' אכר  
 וכפר העמונה נלינה בכפרים קריה וקרא<sup>97</sup> {ואלכפר}  
 10 ענד אלערב בפתח אלכאף אלקריה ומעני<sup>98</sup> אכר  
 אשכול הכופר כפרים עם נרדים קיל אלכאפור  
 וקיל דהן אלחנא והו מן אלטיב כפיר ותנין  
 אסד סחרי תרשיש וכל כפריה אגלאהא<sup>99</sup>  
 ועשית כפורת גטא וגשא דק ככפור כפור  
 15 כאפר יפזר אלדמק והו אתלג מע אלריח {ולכפורי}  
 הזהב

[1r] [It had been said that אָכַף לְאַלְהֵי מְרוֹם (Mic 6:6) is derived from על כָּף [Cf. Exod 29:24) and means “what] I carry in my hand,” i.e., “What I shall carry in the palm of my hand?” Arabs say *istakaff as-sā'il* when someone holds out his hand to beg.

#### כפה

אָפּ (Prov 21:14), “to reverse and to put away the rage”; similar to the sages' maxim שִׁיעָלוּ וַיִּרְדּוּ in *Shabbat* (2:18), i.e., “they reverse”; and they also called the epileptic נִכְפָּה. The best interpretation for אָפּ (Prov 21:14) is “he conquered and forced the rage,” from the (sages') maxim אֹתוֹ לְהוֹצִיא כּוֹפִין (Ketubot 7:9), i.e., “they forced him,” and also אֵין הָאִישׁ כּוֹפֶה אֶת אִשְׁתּוֹ (t. Ketubot 5:5) and אֵין הָאִישׁ כּוֹפֶה אֶת אִשְׁתּוֹ (Ketubot 5:5).

#### כפל

יְהִי כָפּוֹל (Exod 28:16), “you will double.” וְכִפְּלָתָ אֶת הִירֵיעָה (Exod 26:9),

95 2010 edition reads וינקץ.

96 2010 edition omits עליו.

97 2010 edition reads וקרי.

98 2010 edition reads ומע'.

99 2010 edition omits אגלאהא.



כפן

“hunger.” (Job 30:3) בְּחָסֶר וּבְכָפֶן (Job 5:22) לֶשֶׁד וּלְכָפֶן

כפס

וְכַפִּיס מִעֵץ יִעֲנֶנָּה (Hag 2:11); it has been said “baked brick.”

כפר

Another meaning: **כִּפּוּר לַעֲמֹד** (Deut 21:8); **וּכְפָר אֶהְיֶה** (Exod 30:10); **כַּפָּרִים** (Lev 23:28), “expiation and forgiveness.”

וְכָפַר בְּרִיחָם (Isa 28:18), “it is eliminated, it is annulled.” אָכַפְרָה פָּנָי (Gen 32:21), “I will calm his rage.” לֹא תוּכַלִּי כָּפְרָה (Isa 47:11), “he eliminated it, he cancelled it.”

יְתִיתִי כְּפָרָךְ (Isa 43:3); אִם כְּפָר יוֹשֵׁת (Exod 21:30); כְּפָר נִפְשׁוֹ (Exod 30:12); “rescue, blood money.”

Another meaning: וְכָפַר הָעִמָּנָה (Josh 18:24); נְלִינָה בְּכַפְרִים (Song 7:12), “village and villages”; in Arabic *kafr* with *fatha* in *kaf* is “village.”

Another meaning: **כְּפָרִים עִם נָרִידִים** (Song 4:13); **אֶשְׁכָּל הַכֶּפֶר** (Song 1:14); “camphor” has been suggested, as has “cream of privet,” which is a perfume.

(Ps 91:13), “lion.”

(Ezek 38:13), “its important people.”

וְעִשִּׂיתָ כִּפָּרֶת (Exod 25:17), “covering, layer.”

כָּפוּר כְּאָפֶר יָפוּר (Ps 147:16), “snowstorm,” which is snow with wind.

1) Chr 28:17) [...] וְלִכְפוּרֵי הַזֶּהָב

5. T-S Ar 31.105 [3012]: Judaeo-Arabic, Hebrew phrases; Oriental semi-cursive script; paper; 1 leaf; mutilated; 17.3 x 13.3; 17 lines. *Kitāb al-Taysīr*,

100 2010 edition reads **וְלִכְפֹּרֵי הַזֶּהָב בְּמִשְׁקַל לִכְפֹּר וְכִפֹּר** (Chr 1 28:17), “drawer and drawers.”

including תמה, תמו, תמך, תמל, תמר, תנה, תנך, תנר, תעב, תעה, and תעה. Parallel to KT 287v:13-288:10/288:11-288v:8.

The divergences from the reading are so insignificant that they cannot be related to any other specific copy.

- [1r] תתמה על החפץ ויתמהו האנשים והתמהו<sup>101</sup> תמהו  
ובתמהון לבב חשתי ולא התמהמהתי אם  
יתמהמה חכה לו ולא יכלו להתמהמה עד  
התמהמהם ויתמהמה ויחזיקו הו אלחירה ואלתוקף  
5 ואלאבטא תמו מבכות את התמוז יעני ותן  
דו עינין כאן יכרן מנהמא אלמא בצרב  
מן אלחיל תמך תמכת בי אף תמכתיך תמכו  
פלך תמכו בידם בי תמכה ימינך תמוך  
אשורי מתמוך בשחד ותמכיה מאשר אתה  
10 תומיך גורלי אלצבט ואלאמסאך אתמך בו מתל  
אחזיק בו<sup>102</sup> מתל החזקתיך תמל גם תמול  
גם היום תמול בואך מאתמול שלשום ואתמול  
עמי<sup>103</sup> מענאה אמס כאן שעבי יקאום אלעדו  
ת[מר] דמתה לתמר צדיק כתמר כפות  
[ת]מרים עיר התמרים כתומר מקשה  
[יושבת תח]ת תומר כרובים ותומורים כתימרות  
[עשן ותימורים אל] אליו נכלה ונכיל תנה  
[1v] גם כי יתנו גוים שם יתנו צדקות יי חקיק<sup>104</sup> אלתיסביח  
לתנות לבת יפתח הו אלנדב ואלרתא ומעני<sup>105</sup> אכר  
התנו אהבים אתנה המה לי אתנן זונה כי מאתנן  
זונה סחרה ואתננה וכל אתנניה ישרפו באש  
5 עטיה אלזאניה וגעלהא תנך על תנוך אזנם  
תנוך אוזן אהרן שחמה אלאדן תנר  
תנור וכירים ובתנוריק הו אלתינור

101 2010 edition reads התמהו.

102 2010 edition adds אף תמכתיך.

103 2010 edition omits עמי.

104 2010 edition reads חקיקתהא.

105 2010 edition reads ומע'.

תעב כי נתעב דבר המלך כנצר נתעב  
 נתעב ונאלח תעבוני רחוק ממני  
 10 תעבוני כל מתי סודי ותעבוני שלמותי לא תתעב  
 אדומי התעיבו עליה הו אלכרה ואלאסתקדאר  
 ואלאסתהגאן תעה תעה לבבי כצאן תעינו  
 תעיתי כשה אובד תעו מבטן ובשכר  
 תעו תעו במדבר ותלך ותתע אל ת[תע בנ]תיבות[יה]  
 15 תועה בשדה כי התעיתם<sup>106</sup> בנפש ה[תעו אותי אלהים]  
 ויתע מנשה את יהודה עמי מאשר[יך מתעים]  
 ורסן מתעה הו אלצלאל ואל[צלאל]

אם יתמהמה (Ps 119:60) חשתי ולא התמהמהתי (Deut 28:28) ויתמהון ללב [1r]  
 (Judg 3:26) עד התמהמהם; ולא יכלו להתמהמה (Hag 2:3) חכה לו  
 (Gen 19:17) is “perplexity, interruption, delay.”

#### תמז

(Ezek 8:14) מְבַכּוֹת אֶת הַתְּמוּזִי it refers to a small idol equipped with eyes  
 that shoot water using some kind of trick.

#### תמך

תִּמְכוּ בַיָּדִים (Prov 31:19) תִּמְכוּ פֶלֶךְ (Isa 41:10) אֶף תִּמְכְּתִיד (Ps 41:13) תִּמְכְּתִי בִי  
 (Cf. Exod 17:12); תִּמְכֶּה יְמִינְךָ (Ps 63:9) בִּי תִּמְכֶּה יְמִינְךָ (Isa 33:15); אֶתְּמָךְ בְּשֹׁחַד (Ps 17:5) תִּמְךָ אֲשֶׁרִי (Ps 63:9) בִּי תִּמְכֶּה יְמִינְךָ  
 (Ps 16:6) אֶתְּה תוֹמִיד גּוֹרְלִי (Prov 3:18) וְתִמְכֶּה מְאֹשֶׁר (Isa 42:1), identical to בּוֹ  
 הִחֲזִיקְתִּיד<sup>107</sup>, identical to בּוֹ.

#### תמל

מֵאֶתְמוֹל (2 Sam 15:20) תִּמּוֹל בּוֹאֶךְ (Exod 5:14; 1 Sam 20:27) גַּם תִּמּוֹל גַּם הַיּוֹם  
 (1 Sam 10:11) שְׁלָשָׁם (Mic 2:8) וְאֶתְמוֹל עָמִי it means “yesterday my people”  
 opposed the enemy.

#### תמר

עֵיר (Lev 23:40) כַּפֹּת תִּמְרִים (Ps 92:13) צִדִּיק כְּתָמֵר (Song 7:8) דְּמָתָה לְתָמֵר  
 (Jer 10:5) כְּתָמֵר מְקֻשָּׁה (Deut 34:3; Judg 3:13; 2 Chr 28:15) הַתִּמְרִים

<sup>106</sup> 2010 edition reads התעיים.

<sup>107</sup> 2010 edition adds אֶף תִּמְכְּתִיד (Isa 41:10).

ותימרים אל (Song 3:6); כְּתִימְרוֹת עֵשֶׂן (Ezek 41:18); כְּרוֹבִים וְתִמְרִים (Judg 4:5); תִּמְרָה (Ezek 40:31), “palm tree and palm grove.”

#### תנה

[1v] שָׁם יִתְנוּ צְדָקוֹת יי (Judg 5:11): its real meaning is “praise.” לְתִנּוֹת לְבַת יִפְתָּח (Judg 11:40) is “cry, lament.”

Another meaning: אֶתְנָה הָמָּה לִי (Hos 2:14); הִתְנוּ אֶהְבִּים (Hos 8:9); אֶתְנָה זֹנָה (Deut 23:19; Mic 1:7); כִּי מֵאֶתְנָה זֹנָה (Mic 1:7); סִחְרָה וְאֶתְנָה (Isa 23:18); וְכָל (Mic 1:7), “the payment to the harlot, the deal made with her.”

#### תנך

עַל תְּנוּךְ אָזֶן אֶהְרֹן (Exod 29:20), “the earlobe.”

#### תנר

וּבִתְנוּרֶיךָ (Exod 7:28), is “bread oven.”

#### תעב

נִתְעַב וְנִאָּלַח (Job 15:16); כִּנְצָר נִתְעַב (Isa 14:19); כִּי נִתְעַב דְּבַר הַמֶּלֶךְ (1 Chr 21:6); תִּעְבּוּנִי רַחֲקוּ מִנִּי (Job 19:19); תִּעְבּוּנִי שְׁלֹמוֹתִי (Job 30:10); תִּעְבּוּנִי רַחֲקוּ מִנִּי (Job 9:31); הִתְעִיבוּ עָלַי לָהּ (Ps 14:1) is “loathing, disgust, disdain.”

#### תעה

תָּעוּ (Ps 119:176); תָּעִיתִי כְּשֶׁה אֲבִד (Isa 53:6); כָּצֹאן תָּעִינוּ (Isa 21:4); תָּעָה לְבָבִי (Gen 21:14); וַתֵּלֶךְ וַתִּתַּע (Ps 107:4); תָּעוּ בַּמִּדְבָּר (Isa 28:7); וּבִשְׂכָר תָּעוּ (Ps 58:4); מִבְּטָן (Gen 37:15); תָּעָה בְּשָׂדֶה (Prov 7:25); אֵל תִּתַּע בְּנִתְיָבוֹתֶיהָ (2 Chr 33:9); וַיִּתַּע מִנְּשָׁה אֶת יְהוֹדָה (Gen 20:13); הִתְעוּ אֹתִי אֱלֹהִים (Isa 30:28) is “lost, missing.”