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Arie Schippers

A Comment on the Arabic Words in the *Maqre Dardeqe*

What is the scope of a multilingual Biblical (Hebrew-Italian-Arabic) Dictionary published three centuries after Abraham Ibn 'Ezra (1089-1164)? The Dictionary was printed in Italy in the end of the 15th century, and probably written one century earlier. As is known, Abraham Ibn 'Ezra, visited Italy and other European countries, and was very much a representative of Judeo-Arabic culture, which was dying out in Spain, Provence and Italy. In a certain respect, he can be considered as the link between the traditions of East and West. Besides his disagreeing with the poetry and the Bible commentators of Western Europe, he revered Sa'adyah Ga'on's works which were representative of the Judeo-Arabic culture of the East. The text below observes carefully a Biblical dictionary with Arabic words, and tries to determine and to discuss the extent of its belonging to the Judeo-Arabic traditions of the East, and its relationship with the Western European tradition.

Among the Hebrew incunables or early printed works, which were printed nearly exclusively in Italy, our attention was drawn to a Hebrew-[Napolitan]-Italian-Arabic work entitled *Maqre Dardeqe* (henceforth: MD), 'The One who Teaches the Holy Writ to Children'. Just as the commentary on the Pentateuch by Ibn 'Ezra, a book that bears the name and the place of the printer, the incunable containing MD was printed by Jacob Ashkenazi Gunzenhauser of Naples. All the incunables are registered in a series of articles published between 1924 and 1931, under the title *Thesaurus Typographiae Hebraicae Saeculi XV.*

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The date of print is stated in a small poem added at the end of the incunable which reads, 'that now at the beginning of the month Elul of the year 5248 of Creation, every scholar has to ascend the high and accumulated mountain in order to find the way and the path where the foot can proceed rightly.' The first of Elul of 5248 coincides with the 8th of August 1488. The date of the composition seems to be 1395, according to the interpreted passage in the preface of the incunable, which mentions the expulsion of the Jews from France as having happened in the year of the composition of the dictionary. Here is spoken of the year kalah garesh yegaresh (Ex. 11:1). This indication by means of mnemotechnical words (נַגְּשֶׁת) has been used elsewhere in a respect to the second expulsion of the Jews from France in 5155=1395, namely in the Hebrew work entitled Annales of Persecution by Prophet Levi of Perpignan.

Little is known about the author, apart of his deduced name, which was apparently Peres, and was found in an acrostics in the introductory poem. Another acrostic in the poem that follows gives us the name of Yehiel. According to a suggestion by Neubauer, the author must be a certain Peres Trebot, Catalan or French, a miserable person, who lived in exile and perhaps had found refuge in Naples. In a note to an Oxford codex (canon. Or. 24n. 1137 f. 142), which contains a prayer book based on the Catalan rite, a Peres Trebot is mentioned as the author of the MD.

The Aramaic words MD are borrowed from the Talmud. In the Preface of the incunable, whenever the Chapters of Gittin and Yevamot are mentioned, these words occur. The word dardaq exists also in Arabic in the sense of child. The meaning of maqre is the ‘One who teaches the Holy Writ’. A number of other dictionaries also are written under the name MD.

What can be the aim of a dictionary of this title? Primarily, this dictionary is built to be accessible for those who do not know yet the system of Semitic dictionaries, and the severe linguistic criteria of the disposition of the radices [roots], such as we find in the dictionary of

3 Adolf Neubauer, Additions et Rectifications. REJ IX (1884). p. 316.
David Qimhi. Thus, the MD tends to be a compromise between the
traditional Semitic triradical system and a non-grammatical arrangement,
which is useful for beginners.

The lexicon established in the dictionary was borrowed almost
completely from Hebrew Bible. Words taken from outside the Bible are
ךְָד, in the sense of לֵשׁ ד 'convenient, allowed to be eaten', and the root נָּד
'piercing pearls and stringing them=making a poetical composition'. In
addition, other roots such as מֶכֶּר, דְבָּר, מֶסֶךְ acquire non-Biblical
meanings such as 'Toscana', 'Spain', 'Latin', and 'France'. There are
also some quotations from the Talmud. All other quotations are from the
Bible, including the Aramaic versions by Yonathan and Onqolos. It is not
surprising that because of the important role of the Bible in MD, quo­
tations of famous exegetic biblical commentaries are found, such as those
by Rashi (Shelomoh bar Yishaq, who lived in Troyes, 1040-1105) and
David Qimhi (Provence; 1160-1235).

To give an idea of what the pages looked like, Appendix I shows a
transcription of the upper part of p. 90 according to the page numbers
marked with pencil in the copy of MD in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in
Milano. It runs from אני to וְכָנִי. The Hebrew roots are on the right,
followed by a translation into Italian, and then a translation into Arabic
and examples from the Bible. Some of those examples are followed by
the opinions of Rashi, David Qimhi and 'our rabbis' (often Aramaic from
early periods), and sometimes by the targumim of Yonathan and Onqolos.
In an occasional note is included that 'there are also some others who
explain [yesh mefareshim] this root'. The Biblical quotations of the first
five Books of Moses by their parashor and other books by their name, are
broadly indicated before the end of each line [the outer left side]. In many
cases, other meanings of the roots are also given, introduced by the abbre­
viation of the expression רָדָא לֵשׁ ('other meaning'). In these cases, the
Italian and Arabic equivalents are given again. Because the dictionary has
a function for children who are still unable to recognize the triradical
roots (especially those that have a weak or double component), there are
entries deliberately mentioned under the wrong root. Sometimes this is
corrected by the abbreviation of the expression: 'Look under such-and-
such root'. Under every letter of the Hebrew alphabet, the triradicals are
mentioned first, while the quadriradicals are mentioned at the end of the
letter. This can be seen on the page of Appendix I, which shows the end of the letter Ϝ (the quadriradicals), and the beginning of the letter Ϟ (triradicals).

Various suggestions and unjust suppositions are made on the kind of Romance language into which the Hebrew roots are translated. The first few bibliographers, such as Wulfius and Marchand, did not know even by approximation what the identity of this language was.⁵ They only knew that it was a foreign language. De Rossi is the first to recognize the language as a variety of Italian, without specifying it.⁶ Steinschneider says in the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library that MD is a Hebrew-Romance-Arabic dictionary, quoting De Rossi for support.⁷ Schwab made an attempt to transliterate the Italian words in his REJ article of 1888, but he did not take into account the phonetic oscillations of the Italian dialect.⁸ Thus, he makes numerous errors, as mentioned in Ascoli’s article in the Vessilio Israelitico of 1890.⁹ In more recent times, Umberto Cassuto¹⁰ has accurately determined the particular variety of the Romance language of the dictionary, and included this document between the Jewish documents of southern Italy. Although every Jewish community spoke its dialect, the Jews of southern Italy in their mutual contacts, spoke a kind of Southern Jewish Italian common language (koinê) which consisted elements of various Southern dialects. Throughout its development, this language was Toscanized [i.e. undergone the influence of the literary language of Florence and its surroundings] so that Giuliana Fiorentino’s conclusion,
therefore, appear to be justified in her statement that the language is literary Italian with a varnish of centro-meriodional dialectal phonetics.\textsuperscript{11}

Looking at the spelling, the appearance and the phonology of the Romance words of this centro-meriodional \textit{koiné}, it becomes clear that there is a considerable degree of inconsistency in the representation of words with the same meaning and Latin origin. Apparently different dialects and alternative forms within one dialect were used side by side. Naturally, this is something that a modern scholar would not expect and has caused much embarrassment in the past.

The importance of MD for the Italian dialectology was noticed twenty years ago by Maria Corti\textsuperscript{12} and Giorgio Petrocchi\textsuperscript{13}, who used it in their publications on Jacopo de Jennaro and Masuccio Salernitano.\textsuperscript{14} In many cases, Arabic follows the Italian, but when no Arabic equivalent exists, a blank is left open in order to be filled later on. In his \textit{Jüdische-deutsche Chrestomatie},\textsuperscript{15} Gruenbaum has devoted some remarks to the kind of Arabic which MD contains. He examines the first few pages, checking whether the Arabic words can be found in one of the Arabic versions of the Pentateuch, by Sa’adyah Ga’on\textsuperscript{16} the one so-called Arabs Erpenii.\textsuperscript{17} It is thus that he comes to the following conclusions:\textsuperscript{18}

\textit{In Maqre Dardeqe} and the Arabs Erpenii the word ‘river’ has been translated with \textit{wddin}. The word for Hebr. \textit{ge} (i.e. ‘valley’) has been rendered with \textit{Khandaq}. Also conform to the Arabs Erpenii. However, in \textit{Maqre Dardeqe} the synonymous words \textit{biq’ah} and \textit{’emeq} are explained with

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11} Giuliana Fiorentino, Note lessicali al Maqre Dardeqe, \textit{Archivio Glottologico Italiano} XXIX (1937), pp. 138-160, especially p. 139.
\item \textsuperscript{12} Maria Corti, \textit{Piero Jacopo de Jennaro: Rime e lettere}, a cura di [...], Bologna 1956, pp. CXXXI et passim.
\item \textsuperscript{14} In her recent publication, Luisa Cuomo shows us in the bibliography that she is preparing various articles on the Italian of the MD, cf. Luisa Cuomo, \textit{Una traduzione giudeo-romanesca del libro di Giona}, \textit{Beilufe zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie}, Band 215, Tübingen 1988.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Max Gruenbaum, \textit{Jüdische-deutsche Chrestomathie}, 1882, pp. 521 ff.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Moses Zucker, \textit{’Al Targum Sa’adah Ga’on la-Torah}, New York 1958.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Thomas Erpenius, \textit{Pentateuchus Mosis, arabico}. Leiden 1622.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Gruenbaum, op. cit. (n. 15), p. 525.
\end{itemize}
‘valley’ and khandaq, whereas Sa’adyah and the Arabs Erpenii translate these words with marj and buq’ah.

On page 534, Grünbaum criticizes Steinschneider’s comment stated in Fremdsprachliche Elemente: “The Arabic in the dictionary is essentially derived basically from a Bible translation, because the words appear many times in declined form and are torn out of their context”. Grünbaum rejects this opinion, arguing that the only thing, by which this dictionary distinguishes itself from others, is that sometimes the Italian and Arabic words do not appear in their simple form, but in their derived form. Then again, it is nothing but a translation of a certain Hebrew form in which the word appears in the quoted Biblical passage. Grünbaum does not really favor the idea that an Arabic version was the origin of the Arabic words of Maqre Dardeqe. He also demonstrates clearly that neither Arabs Erpenii nor Sa’adyah, the two most well known versions, contributed to these items in the Dictionary.

It will be difficult, therefore, to establish the source of the Arabic words in the Dictionary. Perhaps they derive from translations which are, as yet, unknown. Moreover, other Hebrew-Arabic compilations could be used. We can not exclude the possibility that a document in Arabic vernacular may have been used for the Arabic. So we find nakun for seraio (I will be); ‘alish for perche (Why); fi-an anti for dove sei tu (Where are you); khadh for prese (He took); kal for manuca, manga (He ate). All these forms are vernacular. The infinitives of the verb ending in -an also seems dialectal. This can be a representation of the infinitive accusative, although in many cases a ‘u’ is chosen as the primary vocal [such as qutlan and fiathan], which is unusual, except for Jewish Cairene, a dialect of Maghreb origin.

As for the spelling of the Arabic, a kind of plane scripture is used: e.g. the word shawk is rendered by two waw’s, the short vowel ‘u’ sometimes is written by waw, e.g. in the word ‘uddah which also contains the

printing error: r instead of d]. Unlike Classical Arabic, which uses normally a shaddah, double consonants are sometimes, but not always, rendered by two consonants. Some representations could stand for a Western Arabic dialect, in which we see the shift of the accent to the end of the word. One example is khadim, ‘servant’, rendered by اَلَّام [khâdim], and khadam, ‘servants’, rendered by اَلَّام [khâdam]. Thus, there may be some links with the so-called shurûh-literature, a literature of vernacular Biblical translations in Morocco. However, the rendering for the word ‘to see’ in the lexicon is not vernacular. Here the word tamyîz, ‘to discern’, is used. Of course, in dialect, the word for ‘seeing’ poses a problem, because the classical ‘d’â is often represented in the vernacular by شَف، yishâf. Is the use of tamyîz a case of neutrality between the two levels? This usage is not confirmed in dialects, nor is it common in Classical Arabic.

Thus, the question remains concerning the Arabic public to which the vocabulary was directed. In most cases, the Arabic fits in with the Italian. Sometimes, however, it renders another aspect of the Hebrew word, as we will see in the case of the equivalent of ‘the enemies lying in an ambush’, 21 represented in Italian by guardare ‘looking’, and in Arabic by ‘enemies’. 22 Generally speaking, the readability of the Arabic not only suffers from unusual and inconsistent 23 spelling, but also from many misprints (e.g. merging r and d). The Arabic in MD was perhaps added by another hand. The surprising fact that (under the letter alef) the Arabic is missing at numerous points, makes us wonder whether some of the Arabic was not added later and based on the Italian. It is unclear whether the manuscript on which the vocabulary was based, later underwent alterations and modifications.

The two following examples demonstrate that the person who translated into Arabic misinterpreted the Italian - a fact obvious from the

21 See our comment on Appendix III ad e. Complementary rendering.
22 In addition to this, Erpenius observed in the Preface to his edition of the Arabic Pentateuch directed to the benevolent reader (benevolo lectori) that the expression in kana instead of in as a translation of se (if) belongs to the characteristics of Judeo-Arabic which is found in the Arabic translations of the Bible made by Jews in Morocco.
23 E.g. rendering both the emphatic and non-emphatic s by a ; inconsistent rendering of emphatic and non-emphatic t; the use of Hebrew ð for khâ as well as k.
inaccuracies in the translation and the lack of contextual verification: (a) The Hebrew root הָּפָא was translated into Italian with pennà ('wing'). However, the Arabic translator read that fine ('end'=fine). As Arabic translation is given nahâ, niha ['limit, forbid, terminate'], and then the word rishah [Arabic for 'feather'] is added [also Rashi is quoted: noseh i.e. 'feather']; (b) The Hebrew biq'ah (בֵּית, p. 2ב') is rendered in Italian with colla ('hill'=colle) or according to the comment of David Qimhi: a hill resembles a mountain, but is not as high as that.' The Arabic translation for this Hebrew root is lahîqa ('sticking, hanging on') and expresses colla in the sense of 'glue'.

Below I have presented a contrastive analysis between the Arabic of MD and that of Sa'adyah Ga'on's translation (SG's translation), using the examples from a non-narrative book such as the Psalms. We chose the Psalms as we felt it could offer us another perspective than that of the Books of the Pentateuch. In our view, the Pentateuch is too small a basis to work out a comparison. Therefore, we have turned to a book of a very different character, a poetical book such as the Psalms. For reasons of brevity, we will concentrate on the most significant cases of the Psalm quotations in the second part of the MD.

The translations in MD might be listed in three categories: identical translations, translations by means of synonyms, and different translations. There are fairly few instances where approximately identical Arabic words are used to render the Hebrew of the Psalms, but they are not very frequent (Appendix II). In the 21 examples of Appendix II we see cases with the same root such as qarn, muqarranah: qulaymi qalam: ta'wiji 'awajtu, but very few identical words such as ghanam, thalj, dunya, nakhlah.

Cases with identical meaning but different wordings are far more frequent. In the 61 examples given in Appendix III we see different cases of more or less identical meanings. We can distinguish five cases:
(a) MD and SG use different words with the same meaning. Both sources use substantives and adjectives, so that they are easy to compare. One of the remarkable cases is SG's translation of the clouds in Ps. 18:12. Whereas MD reads: ñ Arab. sa' tab | ghamâm; SG translates ghyam al-
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*shawahiq,* and thus retains the flavour of the original wordings: ‘*ave she-ha*qim, although the Semitic roots and meanings of the words *shawahiq* and *shehaqim* are not related. In his translation, however, he maintains the sound of the words. MD in this case gives just two words for ‘clouds’. (b) MD and SG use different words with the same meaning, though *without corresponding grammatical categories.* Thus, we see how an adjective can correspond with a noun in the case of *saw;* or a noun with an imperative in the case of *saw.* Another remarkable case is that of *tyy* [Ps. 146: 9]: MD *quwwah;* SG *ya’dud.* The reason for this is that SG tries to imitate the word of the original *ye’oded,* which is of a different Semitic root, but has more or less the same sound. The Arabic in MD gives the flat notion ‘force’ here, whereas the meaning is ‘to give force, support’, or according to the King James Version: ‘he *relieveth* the fatherless and widow’. According to a better rendition, the Revised Version, it is: ‘he *upholds* the widow and the fatherless’.

(c) MD and SG use other words and different meanings, yet somehow in context, they have a common semantic background. The cases are all remarkable. All the same, it is quite clear, that SG’s translations in context are more useful in fathoming the meaning of a certain verse. Thus MD renders all the words that mean ‘thoughts’ with *hisâb* and rightly so [cf. *saw;* Ps. 73:3]. However, in some case [cf. *saw;* Ps. 10:7 ‘lie’] *hisâb* is too incomplete a translation. An exception is perhaps SG’s rendering of ‘longing after’ [cf. *saw;* Ps. 119: 40]. In it, SG’s rendition [*qad shi’tu, ‘I wanted’*] is less precise and less strong than MD’s one [*shahwah, ‘longings’*]. In the case of *saw* [Ps. 91:6], both MD [*‘cutting off’*] and SG [*‘death’*] give variants of the underlying meaning, which must be ‘destruction’. In the case of *saw* [*‘arrows’, Ps. 76:3(4)] SG gives two meanings of the word in one [*‘the fire of the bows’*].

There are also two cases in which SG probably makes a concession to the sound of the Hebrew words in rendering them into Arabic [cf. his rendition of *saw al-samawah,* Ps. 106:14]. It resembles the Hebrew word *shemamah.* In the case of *saw* [Ps. 122:6] SG uses the same Semitic root *SLA* [*yusa’llu ‘comfort, console, dispel’*] as represented in the Hebrew [*SHLH*]. A special case is that of the word for ‘looking [after]’ [cf. *saw, Ps. 41:1(2)]. All the words meaning ‘seeing, looking’ are rendered in MD with *tamyîz* ['discerning'].

*for the original Hebrew words*
(d) **One-word rendition** in MD, elaboration in SG. This stems from the fact that SG is a translation and MD a lexicon. The possibilities of a free translation are used by SG in descriptions such as the concept of ‘will’ or ‘purpose’ described by ‘what is in the mind of my enemies’ [שֶׁלֶם, Ps.27:12]; or the concept of ‘rest’ ‘silence’ described by ‘it gives my mind back to me’ [מוּט, Ps. 23:3].

(e) Complementary rendering in MD and SG with an underlying meaning. This is the case in the entry רֶפֶש [Ps. 54:5(6)], where ‘the enemies are lying in an ambush, looking towards us’. SG translates only the concept of enemies with a description: *mudmirî sharr*, those ‘who foster evil’. In contrast, the Italian translation [i.e. *guardare*], in explaining רֶפֶש, looks to the concept of nw which means ‘looking’. The Arabic translation of MD, looks more or less to the same meaning as SG, namely ‘enemies’ [א’דא’]. Here is a clear discrepancy between the Italian on the one hand and the Arabic on the other. SG also uses the Arabic word *sharr* because it resembles the (Semitically unrelated) Hebrew root SHRR.

The following 11 cases show how many discrepancies exist between both traditions: that of MD and that of SG. They offer insight into certain idiosyncrasies in SG’s translation with respect to MD. At times, MD presents interpretations by Rashi which are not supported by the context. Comparing MD with SG, we distinguish the following cases:

A. Obscure passages which both MD and SG render in different ways

(1) The phrase *NaSHSHeQu BaR* [Ps. 2:12] was interpreted differently by MD and SG. Under בָּר we find *desideriao* ['he wished'] and the Arabic *shawq* ['longing']. However, SG does not translate with ‘wishing’ or ‘longing’, but ‘equipe’: “Equipe the pure ones [pureness] to obey Him”.^25

(2) **Under בָּב** we find usually the translation ‘furnace’ in the context of Ps. 12:7 which says: ‘as silver tried in a furnace of earth’. But MD gives the meaning *loco scoperto* ['open/uncovered place'] for *‘alil, and also the concept of ‘uncovered’* in Arabic [*kashfan*]. SG, however, translates some kind of furnace, more precise ‘In the furnaces, i.e. what the custom is of the people of the countryside’, whose Arabic equivalent is *bawtaqah*. The

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25 Cf. Christian translations into English: ‘Kiss the Son, lest he be angry’ [King James Version]; ‘Kiss his feet, lest he be angry’ [Revised Version].
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translation is explained in his commentary: 'I found the profession of melting metal being exercised according to different methods, and hereto belongs what I said as a translation of ba-'alil la-ares: in the furnace or what the custom of the people of the land was namely melting therein'. Thus the two variants are 'as silver tried in an uncovered place' or 'as silver tried in the furnace according to the people of the earth i.e. the customs of the local people'.

(3) *Under nnv* [Ps. 11:3] MD gives the interpretation 'net' [Italian: *rete*; Arabic *shabakah*] which would give the translation: 'If the nets be destroyed'. Qimḥi is quoted by MD as a support: *reshet*, *megudah* ['net']. Rashi is quoted to support another meaning of the word: *yesod* ['foundation']. In the comments on the Psalms however, it is Abraham Ibn 'Ezra, who supports the meaning *megudah*, while David Qimḥi mentions the meaning *yesod*. However, Rashi offers no specific comment. SG translates 'fundaments' ['If the foundations be destroyed']. He comments: 'I explained *hash-shatot* as foundations because I supposed that the root of the word comes from *wa-yashet* which originally means “he laid down” and “laid down” namely the fundament'.

B. Typical translations of MD based upon Rashi, not supported by SG

(1) *Under твор* we find the phrase *E'BoR BaS-SaKH* [Ps. 42:5] usually rendered as: ‘I am going through the group of men’, and translated by SG: *kuntu a'bur fi zalal* ['I was going through shadows']. MD however translates *conto*, Arabic *hisbah* ['bill, check'], which is supported by Rashi’s *heshbon*. Looking in Rashi’s comment however, we find both meanings: it can be *heshbon* and a group of *bene adam* [i.e. ‘men’]. MD is eager to present all possible meanings under all possible root combinations, fake or really existing.

(2) *Under -toggler* we find in MD ‘closing’ [Italian *ciughimento*; Arabic *ghulqan*]. Here we find Rashi’s interpretation of Psalm 32:8: ‘I close my eye upon you.’ Rashi wants to use the meaning of the *hapax* used in Proverbs 16:30 (‘He shutteth his eyes to devise froward things’). All the same, ‘closing the eye’ may be used to mean ‘nodding, hinting with the

26 Cf. ‘I had gone with the multitude’ [KJV]: ‘I went with the throng’ [RV].
eye'. Sa'adyah translates: 'I will show you the way which one should go'.

(3) Under נַפֵּה we find in MD 'street, way' [Italian strade, Arabic تَرِق]. This is Rashi's explanation of 'eqeb in Ps. 119:112 which he explains identically with Song of Songs 1:8: mesillasah ['way']: 'I have inclined my heart to perform thy statutes forever on the way/on their ways' (Rashi's comment: 'al netivotam ['on their ways']). Normally, it is rendered as an accentuation of the notion 'for ever'. Sa'adyah translates: 'I have inclined my heart so that I performed your commands until eternity forever'.

C. Typical [standard] translations by SG, not supported by MD

(1) Under ṣelāh we find the rendering of selah [Ps. 3:3; 84:5] in MD as 'always' [sempre, dāyim]. Sa'adyah Ga'on, however, consistently translates through the whole text of the Psalms: sarmada, which means 'Eternal God'.

(2) Under יַלְו we find in MD 'thoughts, reflexions' [Italian pensimenti; Arabic hisāb] based upon Rashi's mahshabah. But SG renders al-murayiin 'hypocrites' referring to persons: scepticals, homines divisi animi, dubitatores, skeptikoi.

(3) Under נִיַּו we find in MD 'unsheathing' [Italian sguanao; Arabic taslīt]. The passage of Ps. 129:6 is usually translated with: 'Grass upon the housetops which withereth afore it growth up'. MD lists as Rashi's rendering of the meaning: qodem yesi'ato: 'before it came out' [in Rashi's comment itself we find a slightly different paraphrasing]. Thus, according to MD, the meaning would be 'before people unsheathed it' or 'pulled it out'. SG has a totally different opinion, and he translates: 'They will be like grass of the roofs that the wind of the coming of summer has dried' and explains in his commentary: 'I explained sheqadmat with "the wind of before summer" from ṭāḥ ha-qādim (East wind) and I connected it with summer because there is no ṭāḥ al-qabīl that dries things in winter.'

27 Cf. 'I will guide thee with mine eye' [KJV]; 'I will counsel you with my eye upon you' [RV].
29 Cf. KJV: cf. 'The grass on the housetops, which withers before it grows up' [RV].
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Shalaf for “summer” is a word of extensive usage by the common people.

(4) Under ṣan with reference to Nahum 2:7[8] and Ps 68:25[26], we find in MD ‘beating’, Italian battino and Arabic durban. Rashi comments: meqishot yado ‘al libbo ['the damsels playing with the timbrels']. But SG does not like emancipated women. He translates: ma' fiṭyān mudaffifin ['young men slaying on the timbrels']. He comments: ‘I explained ‘alamot as fiṭyān ["young men"] because poetry is only recited by Levite men. I did not find that it was unlawful for our forefathers to use a feminine noun [for masculine] from time to time. So they made the masculine feminine such as harot ha-gil'ad which are harim and 'ittim mezummanot and the like'.

D. Special interpretations in both MD and SG

(1) Under ṣr [Psalm 132:18] we find in MD ‘looking, discerning’ [Italian sgarra; Arabic tamīz], allegedly based upon Rashi re'ayah, hashqafah. This is rendered according to Song of Songs 2:9: "Showing himself, looking through’. However, in Rashi’s Psalm comment we do not find this explanation. Normally, the translation of Ps. 132:18 would be ‘flourishing, shedding luster’, or fully translated ['His enemies will I clothe with shame; upon himself his crown shall flourish/shed its luster’]. MD’s variant of the last part of the verse would be: ‘He shall show/see himself with his crown’. Contrary to MD, SG’s translation reads: ‘His enemies will I clothe with shame and I will bind him with his crown’. In the second hemistich SG sticks to the first person, although it is not in the text.

Conclusions

As a complement to Grünbaum’s comparison with reference to the Pentateuch (see above), the investigation with reference to the Psalms proves the same independence of MD from SG, in spite of the fact that the influence of SG’s translation was considerable on Ibn ‘Ezra, who visited Italy before the MD came into being. MD, however, mainly consulted Rashi, who ignored SG’s works. The conclusion is that there are very few Arabic renderings in the Psalms which both MD and SG’s translation
have in common. In many of the cases where they more or less agree about the meaning of a Psalm verse, they use synonyms. In other cases, there are different views on how to translate passages. SG also provides his translation with scholarly notes to defend his translation. In some cases, he even tries to give his translation a flavour of the original text by looking for Arabic words that sound like the original Hebrew word. MD leans heavily on Rashi's and other's comments in defending a particular translation. Of course, the comparison between MD and SG is somewhat unbalanced from the beginning. After all, SG's words are taken from the context of a translation, whereas MD often gives uncontextual forms.

However, the main difference between the Arabic of the MD and SG's translation is clearly one between vernacular and literate. Whereas the Arabic of MD has no consequent spelling, SG's transcription of the Arabic is according to a scientific and systematic spelling. His language is literate Arabic except for some of the imperatives (where hamzas sometimes get lost, which in Classical Arabic is not preferable). On the other hand, MD's vernacular Arabic perhaps shows some characteristics of Western Arabic dialects. The Arabic dialect in MD may go back to one of the vernacular Bible translations in the Maghreb30 which are considered as stemming from a tradition other than that of SG's translation.31

In many cases the Italian also plays a role, which means that the provider of the Arabic words may also have looked at the Italian. In some cases, he might have consulted existing translations of the Hebrew into vernacular Arabic. This may have contributed to the deviation from SG.

One problem still remains: towards what kind of children was the MD possibly geared? Were there still many Arabic-speaking Jews around in Southern Italy, who passed by coming from the other side of the Mediterranean, Jews who wanted to educate themselves and their children?

30 In modern times they are called *shurūḥ*-works, dealt with by David Doron (Bar Ilan University). See also notes 22 and 32.
A Comment on the Arabic Words in the *Maqre Dardeqe*

That may have been the case. This question can probably shed more light upon by comparing Moroccan Jewish Bible translations with MD.\(^{32}\)

### Appendix I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>מִלָעַץ</td>
<td>grillo</td>
<td><em>jarād</em></td>
<td>cf. Lev. 11:20 [the bald locust].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מִלָעַץ</td>
<td>grista</td>
<td><em>munawwir</em></td>
<td>cf. Cant. 2:13 [and the vines [with the tender grape]; comm.: what is not anymore flower, and not yet fruit (grape-vine) is called 'semadar'.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מִלָעַץ</td>
<td>rami</td>
<td><em>far‘</em></td>
<td>cf. Cant 7:9 [I will take hold of the boughs thereof]; comm. On the branches and the twig, branch, bough.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מִלָעַץ</td>
<td>ascelle</td>
<td><em>janāḥ</em></td>
<td>cf. Lev. 11:9 [fins and scales]; our rabbis say: 'the organ of flying'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מִלָעַץ</td>
<td>Spagna</td>
<td><em>‘Arabināna</em></td>
<td>cf. Obadyah 20 [Sepahrad]; Targum Yonatan: Aspamyah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מִלָעַץ</td>
<td>ciecarie</td>
<td><em>‘amiyan</em></td>
<td>cf. Gen. 19:11 [And they smote with blindness]: Rashi: strike with blindness; 2 Kings 6:18; Rashi: desease of astonishment of the observer, he does not know what he sees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מִלָעַץ</td>
<td>spine</td>
<td><em>shawk</em></td>
<td>cf. Isa. 55:13 [Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree]: comm. 'thorns'; Qimḥi explains 'all kinds of lesser and meaner grasses or plants'. Now we achieved the letter <em>samekh</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מִלָעַץ</td>
<td>grossezze</td>
<td><em>saḥāb</em></td>
<td>cf. Ex.: 19:9 [in a thick cloud]: Rashi explains 'in the thickness of the cloud'. Therefore Lamentations 2:1 [covered ... with a cloud]. You should look at the root עֵבר.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{32}\) Ofra Tirosh Becker, *Le glosse arabe della stesura italiana del Maqre Dardeqe* [in Hebrew], *Italia* IX (1990), pp. 37-77, shows convincingly, the possible link of the Arab words of the MD with Western [Maghreb] Arabic dialects.
other meaning: 
nubi  

ghamām  
[clouds]  
cf. 1 Kings 18:44 [a little cloud like a man’s hand]; in the meaning of ‘anan; and this is also the explanation of Ps. 18:11-12 (2 Samuel 22:12) [thick clouds of the skies].

other meaning:  
trabo  

arkān  
[beams]  
cf. Eze. 41:26 [the side chambers of the house, and thick planks]; Rashi the meaning of qorah [beam]; cf. Habakuk 2:6 [that ladeth himself with thick clay]; in the language of oy rabbis it is called ‘marish’.

servo  

khādim  
[servant]  
cf. Ex. 21:2 [If thou buy an Hebrew servant Ex. 21:6 [he shall serve him for ever].

other meaning:  
lavorare  

khadam  

cf. Ge. 4:2 [a tiller of the ground]; Eccl. 5:8-9 [the king (himself) is served by the field]; so some explain Ex. 20:9 [six days shalt thou labour].

other meaning:  
pecunia  

fasl  
[=fils? ‘money, Possession’]  
cf. Job 34:25 [he knoweth their works]; Gen. 26:14 [great store of servants].

other meaning:  
seminare  

zar ‘irr  

cf. Isa. 19:9 [they that work in fine flax]; Rashi explains it in the meaning of ‘givers/yielders/sewers of seeds’]

ingrossare  

khashūna  

cf. Deut 32:15 [thou art grown thick]; cf. 1 Kings 12:10 [My little (finger) shall be thicker] in the sense of thickness; you should look at the root ‘B and ‘YB; Rashi also explains like that, cf. In the woods are covered thickets to hide yourself.

maschit  

taslīf  
[loan]  
cf. De. 15:8 [thou shalt surely lend him]; according to Rashi: ‘loaning to
A Comment on the Arabic Words in the Maqre Dardeqe

[loan, pledge]

other meaning: 
raqm (sic!)=rahn
[owning, morgaging']

cf. De 24:11 [he shall bring out the pledge abroad unto thee], in the sense of MSHKWN ['loan, pledge'].

other meaning: 
pegna

ta'nnj=ta'wil
[to break, to distort]

cf. Joel 2:7 [they shall not break their ranks]; Rashi explains: they have no likeness, and so he explains: they shall not break their ranks.

Appendix II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>SG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>move</td>
<td>move</td>
<td>rahlàn</td>
<td>rih, rahil aw 'âsif [Ps. 55:9]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colpa</td>
<td>colpa</td>
<td>dhunûb [tunûb sic!] al-dhanb [Ps. 78:38]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stancamento</td>
<td>[tired]</td>
<td>'aštahân</td>
<td>arq 'aštah [Ps. 143:6]; 'aštihat / maftah laghbah [overfatigued desert]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tiredness]</td>
<td>[thirsty]</td>
<td>[Ps. 63:2]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affiebilire</td>
<td>to 'wilj</td>
<td>in'awajtu [I was bent] [Ps. 38:7]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weaken</td>
<td>penna</td>
<td>qulaym</td>
<td>qalam [Ps. 45:2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[little pen]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aperimento</td>
<td>futhan</td>
<td>taffah [Ps. 104:28]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pegro</td>
<td>ghanâm</td>
<td>al-ghanâm [Ps. 8:7 (8)]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chia</td>
<td>idem. = q'ah</td>
<td>al-qûq [Ps. 102:6 (7)]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[qiqah / 'i'ah]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nida</td>
<td>'uashsh ['unsh sic!]</td>
<td>y'uashshish [Ps. 104:17]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uccidere</td>
<td>qîlân</td>
<td>qatala [Ps. 139:19]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(emphatic t!)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corne</td>
<td>qurîn</td>
<td>muqarranah [Ps. 69:31 (32)]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carne</td>
<td>lhâm</td>
<td>lahmana [Ps. 78:27]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cudere</td>
<td>suddàn</td>
<td>insadda [Ps. 63:11 (12)]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neve</td>
<td>thalî</td>
<td>al-thalî [Ps. 68:14 (15)]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fornire</td>
<td>funiyyan</td>
<td>fanâ [Ps. 91:8]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[condurre a termine, 'to destroy']. A.S.]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>SG</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מלח</td>
<td>pace</td>
<td>salâm</td>
<td>salâmah [Ps. 7:4 (5)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יד</td>
<td>falsiat</td>
<td>bâṭl</td>
<td>bâṭlan [Ps. 119:86]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יחר</td>
<td>tacere</td>
<td>sukkât</td>
<td>yaskutûna [Ps. 107:30]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>באכ</td>
<td>monda</td>
<td>dunyâd</td>
<td>al-dunyâ [Ps. 24:1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מornado</td>
<td>abbisio</td>
<td>ghumur</td>
<td>al-ghamr [Ps. 92:12 (13)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>רב</td>
<td>datello</td>
<td>nakhur</td>
<td>al-nakhlah [Ps. 92:12 (13)]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Appendix III**

Hebrew    Italian          Arabic                  SG

לָעַל | ferri | ḥadâvid | khâlî‘in khuffî [taking off my shoes, my boots] [Ps. 108:9] |
| dolce | fiaccibile | ladhdhâd | nî‘mah [grace, sweetness] [Ps. 141:6] |
| נפש | viladontate | aghrâd | lã tusallimu-nilâ mà fi nafs a‘dâ‘i [Ps. 27:12] |
| נש | volontate | al-ghamr | on the day of the war |
| armio | ‘uddah | fi yawm al-ḥarb [on the day of the war] |
| סכן | vento, sifo | hâwâ | equipment weapon and shield |
| חמר | intermittare | tázawwâra | ‘awâsîf / zawâbî’ [Ps. 83:16] |
| רטי | pagnata | bûrmah | jâl [Ps. 38:11] |
| [=bagnata] | | qîd r al-hamîm [Ps. 60:10, 108:10] |
| חל | perdona | kafira | al-maghfara [Ps. 130:4] |
| עין | forza | quwwâti | tâ‘iqi / mu‘âmiî [Ps. 18:3, 31:4, 71:3] |
| הסכ | spunzolao | mûsakkîn [pacifier] | musannîd [Ps. 145:14] |
| או | apoijio | maskân [dwelling, abode] |
| כש | comforata | taqwijyâh | musannîd [Ps. 104:15] |
| עב | grossezzé / salute | ghamâm | ghaym al-shawâ‘îq [Ps. 18:12] |
| נעמ | sempre | dayyim | ilâ-l-abad [132:14] |
| עד | forza | quwwâh | ya‘dûd [Ps. 146:9] |
| עלי =/head | torto | ta‘wîj | al-jawr [Ps. 58:3] |
A Comment on the Arabic Words in the *Maqre Dardeqe*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suscita</td>
<td>naban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemici</td>
<td>t'adduww</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mantare</td>
<td>liffan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[to wrap]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>destruijere</td>
<td>qu'ân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[to destroy]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allegare</td>
<td>farhan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fatiga</td>
<td>ta'b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accupare</td>
<td>ghamaqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[deepen]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umile</td>
<td>mustakhdi'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cieli</td>
<td>samâ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cridare</td>
<td>siyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[without emphatic]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuotare</td>
<td>tafarrugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[making void]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aperimento</td>
<td>fu'ihan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pegro</td>
<td>ghanam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sciecco [dry]</td>
<td>nashaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[oscurità/occulte?]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canali</td>
<td>qanawât [?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ramo</td>
<td>far' [branch]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dizvalimento</td>
<td>fizarâ [?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[z=s impura]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xô</td>
<td>khusâz [being low]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagliare</td>
<td>qu'ân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interaba</td>
<td>takhtîr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf. trave</td>
<td>[to make something great, important?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frecce o</td>
<td>nishâb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sajiête</td>
<td>[arrows]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rete</td>
<td>shabakah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jinestra</td>
<td>lazzînâh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[alzanâdâh?]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alzare</td>
<td>'uly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>requia</td>
<td>hudû</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*Ps. 57:9*  
*Ps. 139:20*  
*Ps. 104:2*  
*Ps. 102:25*  
*Ps. 149:5*  
*Ps. 90:10*  
*Ps. 92:6*  
*Ps. 22:27*  
*Ps. 68:4 (5)*  
*Ps. 42:1 (2)*  
*Ps. 141:8*  
*Ps. 104:28*  
*Ps. 8:7 (8)*  
*Ps. 68:8 (7)*  
*Ps. 39:6*  
*Ps. 42:7 (8)*  
*Ps. 80:11 (12)*  
*Ps. 83:16 (17)*  
*Ps. 95:10*  
*Ps. 91:6*  
*Ps. 104:3*  
*Ps. 76:3 (4)*  
*Ps. 31:4 (5)*  
*Ps. 120:4*  
*Ps. 89: 9 (10)*  
*Ps. 23:3*
Pensamento

Hisáb

Muğmarát qulübi-him [Ps. 73:3]

Guarda

Tamyiz

Mushrif [Ps. 41:1 (2)]

Presento

Mahabah

Tuḥafan / hadýd [Ps. 72:10]

Reposare

Hudâ

Yusallâ [Ps. 122:6]

Abbrusare

Hûrran

Wa-qad khallaw al-nâr [Ps. 74:7]

Desolao

Khurban

Al-samâwh [Ps. 106:14]

Aguzzati

Musbakîn

Masnânah [Ps. 120:4]

Odio

Bughdan

Innî ashna’-hum [Ps. 139:21]

Dormimento

Nawm

Al-sinah [Ps. 132:4]

Schiaba

Khâdim

Al-ammah [Ps. 123:4]

Rascione

Hukûma

Aqî [Imperative] [Ps. 43:1]

Confine

Tukhm [=takhm]

Bayn ĵurâqal-bîlûd [Ps. 68:13 (14)]

Guardare

A’ðâ’

Muğmirî shârî [Ps. 54:5 (6)]

Bimtagliero

Harrâb

Mustadâra-hum [Ps. 3:6 (7)]

Pensiero

Hisáb

Afkâri [Ps. 94:19]

Guilio

Shahwah

Qad shîtu [Ps. 119:40]

Penciere de

Hisáb

Afk [lie] [Ps. 10:7]

Ignanno

Tumman

Yafnâ [Ps. 104:35]

Fornire

[=condurre a termine, to destroy]

Adiemptio

Sawi [worth]

Al-sîghah wa-l-istiqânâh [Ps. 25:21]

Fùkâ

Tadwîr

Min aqstå al-samå makîrâju-hâ wa-
muntahâ-hâ ilå-l-aqstå [Ps. 19:6 (7)]