

## Two Amalgamated Ancient Bird Fables in Classical Arabic Literature and Their Shape in Later Popular Prose Tradition: A Comparative Study and Critical Edition

Dos fábulas antiguas en la literatura árabe clásica  
y sus formas en la prosa popular posterior:  
estudio comparativo y edición crítica

Amir Lerner

Tel Aviv University, Israel  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0172-7159>

This paper deals with a short narrative in Arabic which was quite well-known in a number of popular versions, documented in manuscripts of different origins (from Syria, Egypt and North Africa), beginning in the seventeenth century at the latest. It is a narrative describing how a little sparrow is trapped in a hunter's snare, and how, through stratagems and wittiness, it manages to escape its awful fate.

While the narrative occurs relatively frequently in late circles of popular storytelling, many of its substantive elements in different stylistic features, can be traced in Arabic classical medieval writings of Islamic East and West origins, in most cases as two distinct separate fables. The history of this narrative thus moves between the medieval classical literature and the pre-modern popular one. It even touches on the margins of the fickle history of the *Arabian Nights*.

In a recently published paper,<sup>1</sup> we examined a manuscript dated to the seventeenth century,

Este artículo estudia una corta narración en árabe muy conocida a través de diversas versiones populares documentadas en manuscritos de diferentes orígenes (Siria, Egipto y Norte de África), comenzando en el siglo XVII. La narración describe cómo un pequeño gorrión queda atrapado en la trampa de un cazador y cómo, mediante todo tipo de estratagemas y usando su ingenio, logra escapar de su terrible destino.

Si bien esta narración aparece frecuentemente en los círculos tardíos más populares, muchos de sus elementos esenciales, se pueden rastrear en los escritos árabes medievales clásicos de los orígenes islámicos de Oriente y Occidente, en la mayoría de los casos como dos fábulas distintas. La historia de esta narración se mueve así entre la literatura clásica medieval y la popular premoderna. Incluso toca los márgenes de la historia de las *Mil y una noches*.

En un artículo reciente se ha examinado un manuscrito datado en el siglo XVII que pre-

<sup>1</sup> Lerner, "The *Mawwāl* about the Snare and the Sparrow: A Late Medieval Colloquial Egyptian Verse Adaptation of Narrative(s) in Prose Rooted in Arabic Classical Literature", pp. 155-181.

that presents the entire plot as a colloquial Egyptian *mawwāl* with rhyme and meter. The present manuscript-based study is dedicated to an analysis of the narrative's popular adaptation tradition into prose.

*Key words:* “*Al-Ṣayyād wa-l-Fakḥkh wa-l-‘Uṣfūr*” (“The Hunter, the Snare and the Sparrow”), *adab*, Popular Literature, *Thousand and One Nights* / *Arabian Nights*.

senta toda la narración tal y como se encuentra con el ritmo y metro del dialect egipcio en el *mawwāl*. El presente estudio, basado en un manuscrito, analiza en cambio la adaptación de la narrativa popular a la prosa.

*Key words:* “*Al-Ṣayyād wa-l-Fakḥkh wa-l-‘Uṣfūr*” (“El Cazador, la Trampa y el Gorrión”), *adab*, Literatura popular, *Las mil y una noches*.

## The Hunter, the Snare and the Sparrow Narratives in Classical Arabic Literature

Two distinct and separate bird fables, which together form the frame of the complete narrative under discussion, have been preserved in medieval classical sources in Arabic.<sup>2</sup> One of these two (henceforth A) relates how a snare (*fakḥkh*) pretending to be a hermit manages to seduce and trap a hungry sparrow (*‘uṣfūr*) by seeds and words (and hence in part corresponds to the international tale type AaTh 245\*: The Birds Discuss the Trap / AaThUth 68\*: The Fox Jeers at the Fox Trap).<sup>3</sup>

Here is A as preserved by the Andalusian writer and poet Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi (d. 940):<sup>4</sup>

Yahyā b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz said: Nu‘aym told me in the name of Ismā‘īl, who quoted a descendant of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq,<sup>5</sup> may Allāh be pleased with him, in the name of Wahb b. Munabbih,<sup>6</sup> who said: A man of the Children of Israel set a snare and a sparrow came and descended by it. The sparrow said: “Why do I see you stoop?” The snare said: “I stooped for having prayed a lot”. The sparrow said:

<sup>2</sup> See Marzolph and van Leeuwen, *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, p. 446.

<sup>3</sup> See Uther, *The Types of International Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson*, vol. 1, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> *Al-‘Iqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, pp. 67-68, 218. A is found also in later sources such as Ibn Hibbān al-Bustī (d. 965), *Rawḍat al-‘Uqalā’ wa-Nuzhat al-Fuḍalā’*, p. 110; Ḥamd b. Muḥammad al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 998), *al-‘Uzla*, pp. 104-105; and Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (1066), *Shu‘ab al-‘Imān*, vol. 5, pp. 361-362. For more sources in Arabic and Persian, see Lerner, “The *Mawwāl*”, p. 156, n. 2. For medieval Judeo-Arabic versions, see below, n. 15.

<sup>5</sup> The first caliph of Islam (r. 632-634).

<sup>6</sup> One of a number of early sages who was claimed to have been a Jewish convert to Islam, or the son of a convert. He introduced early Muslims to Jewish traditions, with which he had a certain familiarity (d. 728 or 732).

“And why do I see your bones exposed?” The snare said: “Because I fast so much”. The sparrow said: “Why do I see this wool on you?” The snare said: “Because of my asceticism in this world I wear wool”. The sparrow said: “What is this cane you have?” The snare said: “I lean on it and use it for my needs”. The sparrow said: “And what is this seed in your hand?” The snare said: “This is a sacrifice. If a poor creature will pass by I will give it to it”. The sparrow said: “I am a poor creature”. The snare said: “So take it”. The sparrow then approached, grasped the seed, and immediately the snare held it by the neck. The sparrow began to shriek “*qa ʿī qa ʿī*”, which means “after you no hypocritical ascetic will ever seduce me again”.

The second fable (henceforth B) displays a conversation held between a lark (*qubbara/qunbura*; in other versions a *qumriyya* dove) and a hunter who had captured it, and the witty stratagem by which the bird manages to rescue itself. This fable corresponds to the international tale type AaTh 150: Advice of the Fox / AaThUth 150: The Three Teachings of the Bird.<sup>7</sup>

Here is B, also quoted from Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, independently of A:<sup>8</sup>

Dāwud b. Abī Hind [related] in the name of al-Shaʿbī: A man of the Children of Israel caught a lark [*qubbara*]. It asked: “What do you want to do with me?” He said: “I will slaughter you and eat”. It said: “By Allāh, I will not satisfy your desire for meat nor will I calm your hunger. However, I will teach you three wisdoms which will do you more good than eating me. I will teach you the first one while I’m still in your hand, the second when I’m on this tree and the third when

<sup>7</sup> See Uther, *The Types of International Folktales*, vol. 1, p. 103. See also Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, vol. 3, pp. 103-104 (14); vol. 6, pp. 110-111 (275); vol. 9, p. 30 (20); Campbell, “The Three Teachings of the Bird”, pp. 97-107; Marzolph, *Arabia Ridens: Die humoristische Kurzprosa der frühen adab-Literatur im internationalen Traditionsgeflecht*, vol. 2, pp. 92-93; idem, “Lehren: Die drei L. des Vogels”, *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, s.v.

<sup>8</sup> *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 68. See B also in later sources, such as *Bilawhar wa-Būdāsf* in Arabic (it is found also in the European literary complexity of the book), e.g., in Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn Bābawayhi’s (d. 991) version found in his *Ikmāl al-Dīn wa-Tamām al-Niʿma*, p. 552 (see also Zotenberg, *Notice sur le livre de Barlaam et Joasaph, accompagnée d’extraits du texte grec et des versions arabe et éthiopienne*, pp. 143-146; and Hommel, *Die älteste arabische Barlaam-Version*, p. 46); Maṣṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿĀbī (d. 1031), *Nathr al-Durr*, vol. 7, pp. 193-194; Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī (d. 1038), *Ḥilyat al-Awliyāʾ wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyāʾ*, vol. 4, p. 316; and Muḥammad Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), *Ihyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, vol. 3, p. 234. For more sources in Arabic, Persian, Syriac and Hebrew, see Lerner, “The *Mawwāl*”, pp. 156-157, n. 3. For versions in medieval Judeo-Arabic see below, n. 15.

<sup>9</sup> See ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī (ed.), *Rasāʾil Falsafiyya li-l-Kindī wa-l-Fārābī wa-Ibn Bājjā wa-Ibn ʿAdī*, p. 20.

I'm on this mountain". He said: "Give me [the first]". It said: "Do not regret what has slipped away from you". He then freed it, and when it was on the tree he said: "Give the second one". It said: "Do not believe that something that will not be, will be". It then flew up on the mountain and said: "O poor man, had you slaughtered me you would have taken a pearl weighing twenty *mithqāl* from my crow". He bit his lips in sorrow and then said: "Give the third one". It said: "You have already forgotten the first two! How, then, shall I teach you the third? Did I not tell you not to regret what has slipped away from you? But you were filled with sorrow over me when I slipped away from you. I also told you not to believe that something that will not be, will be, but you did believe. Indeed, with my bones and feathers I will not weigh twenty *mithqāl*, so how could I have something in my crow that weighed that much?"

The classical tradition has preserved in most cases two distinct narratives of an *Isrā'iliyyāt* type (stories about the Children of Israel). Yet, it seems that a less common tradition, in which both plots are intertwined (A+B), and the Jewish background is completely lacking, existed in medieval classical literature as well. The combined plot is presented in its complete form in an *adab* book titled *Fiḡar al-Ḥukamā' wa-Nawādir al-Qudamā'*. This piece was composed by a thirteenth century CE anonymous author from Syria,<sup>9</sup> a place which seems to have special significance for the evolution of the literary material discussed here,<sup>10</sup> as well as in its popular context (see below). The following is a translation of the story, contained in the chapter on the famous Greek physician Hippocrates (Buqrāt):<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The Syrian writer Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 1546/8), *al-Fulk al-Mashhūn fī Aḥwāl Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn*, p. 110, for instance, mentions a piece he wrote titled *Sharḥ al-Ṣudūr fīmā Ruwiya fī l-Fakhkh wa-l-'Uṣfūr*. According to Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 2, p. 482; and Conermann, "Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 955/1548): Life and Works", p. 124, his *al-Risāla fī l-Fakhkh wa-l-'Uṣfūr* is to be found in MS Alex. Fun. 183, 7. According to Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān, "Rasā'il Nādira", p. 365, Ibn Ṭūlūn's *Sharḥ al-Ṣudūr fīmā Ruwiya fī l-Fakhkh wa-l-'Uṣfūr* was found also in Aḥmad Taymūr Bāshā's library in Cairo (collection 315, 10), that was bequeathed after his death to Dār al-Kutub.

<sup>11</sup> Badawī, *Rasā'il Falsafiyya*, pp. 257-259. The complete narrative (A+B) is preserved also in late sources, e.g., 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Shubrāwī (d. 1758), *Kitāb 'Unwān al-Bayān wa-Bustān al-Adhhān wa-Majmū' Naṣā'ih fī l-Ḥikam*, pp. 39-40; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Shirwānī (d. ca. 1840), *Kitāb Naṣḥat al-Yaman fīmā Yazūlu bi-Dhikrihi l-Shajan*, pp. 194-195.

Hypocrates said: It is told that one day a man set a snare to catch birds. A sparrow noticed the snare, approached it and said to it: "O you! Why do I see you far from the road?" The snare replied: "My desire is to keep people far from me, so I will not harm them and they will be protected from me". The sparrow said: "And why do I see you residing in the soil?" The snare said: "I wanted to be humble". The sparrow said to him: "Why do I see you exhausted?" The snare answered: "I am exhausted from worshipping the Creator". The sparrow said to him: "And what is this rope on your shoulder?" The snare said: "It is the clothes of the ascetics". The sparrow said: "And what is the stick inside it?" The snare replied: "I lean on it and use it to drive away anything that wishes to harm me". The sparrow said to him: "And what is this wheat that I see by you?" The snare answered: "It is food of mine, which I keep for anyone who fasts and comes to me of a sudden, a traveler passing by or a hungry whom I'll feed with it". The sparrow said to him: "I am a traveler and hungry, and have just passed by you". It said: "Take it, bless you". The sparrow then approached it and wanted to take it with its beak, but the snare caught it by the neck. The sparrow said to it: "How evil of you to have chosen treachery and cheating, both of which are traits of the ignorant. For if all the ascetics were like you, there is no good in you nor in them and in all those who are led astray by you and your kind, or those who are deluded by the likes of you with their fancy phrases and false words". The sparrow did not notice that the snare's owner approached and caught it. The sparrow said to him: "Do with me as you wish, after you hear what I say to you and understand its meaning". The hunter said to it: "Say what you have to say". The sparrow said: "O you! Do you or any wise man doubt that eating me will not make you fat, will not satisfy you and will not be of any use?" The hunter said: "That is correct". The sparrow said to him: "If you decide not to harm me and to let me go, I will teach you three wisdoms that will benefit you and anyone else who hears them from me. One of them I will tell you while I'm still in your hand, the second when you release me and I will be before you, and the third when I fly away". When the snare's owner heard these things he was filled with wonder and said: "I am afraid lest you do not keep your word". It said to him: "I swear by Allāh the great that I will keep my word". The sparrow gave its oath and the hunter said to it: "Tell me the first wisdom of the three". The sparrow said: "O you! As long as you live do not regret or feel sorrow for what was but is no longer". After he heard its words he released it. It stood before him and said: "The second: As long as you live do not believe in anything that cannot be expected to be". Then it flew up, far from him, and stood. The hunter said to it: "Say the third!" The sparrow said: "By Allāh the great, I have never seen anyone more miserable than you, o man". The hunter said: "How is that?" It said: "For you have won wealth for yourself and your sons, but it is lost forever, fell out of your hand in the shortest time". The hunter said: "What is it?" The sparrow said: "By Allāh, if you had slaughtered me you would have found two precious stones in my craw, each weighing fifty *mithqāl*, worth the tax of the largest city that men have". Upon hearing this the hunter was beset by regret and sorrow. He bit his finger and said to it: "But you have misled me with your words". The sparrow said to him: "Did I not tell you not to regret or feel sorrow for what was and is no more?" He said: "Yes". The

sparrow said: "Did I not tell you not to believe in something that cannot be expected to be?" He said: "Yes". The sparrow said: "You fool! Woe unto you! No wise man will doubt that had you taken me and weighed me, with my feathers, flesh, blood, bones and all that is within me, all this would not have weighed even ten *mithqāl*. How therefore will you find inside me two gemstones each of which weighs fifty *mithqāl*? Why did you believe this and regret and grieved for having released me? And how will your regret and sorrow help you, now that you have no way to get me?" After that it flew away.

From the preceding it may be concluded that at first the classical sources absorbed two distinct fables, each of which consisted of a paragraph of no more than a few lines, but later seem to have come together to form a single, somewhat more substantial and developed narrative. Evidence for this may be adduced from the fact that in medieval Europe B was absorbed independently of A (whose presence in Europe at the time is so far not attested) and appears in a considerable number of Christian collections intended mainly for preachers.<sup>12</sup> First and foremost we mention B as it appears, perhaps also as an indication of the material's oriental origins, in the *Disciplina Clericalis*, of Petrus Alfonsi (d. first half of the twelfth century).<sup>13</sup> This converted Spanish Jew was acquainted with Arabic literature. He is also considered to have had a significant role in the introduction of ideas from the Muslim world into Europe. He acknowledges in his prologue: "I have compiled this small volume, taking it in part from the parables and counsels of the philosophers, in part from the parables and counsels of the Arabs, from tales and poems, and finally, from animal and bird fables".<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See, e.g., Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, esp. vol. 3, p. 104; Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits & légendes arabe*, pp. 276-277, n. 16; Campbell, "The Three Teachings of the Bird"; Marzolph, "Lehren: Die drei L. des Vogels", esp. colm. 884-885.

<sup>13</sup> Alfonsi, *The Scholar's Guide: A Translation of the Twelfth-Century 'Disciplina Clericalis'*, pp. 86-87 (22).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

## The Plot as Occurs in Late Circles of Popular Storytelling

In addition to the classical literary configurations surveyed above, a more popular literary tradition of the complete narrative (A+B) is documented in manuscripts of Syrian, Egyptian and North African *ḥikāyāt* anthologies in Arabic from the seventeenth century onwards.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, an important late *adab* piece apparently preserves an evidence for the existence of such popular adaptations of the combined story: In his *Kitāb Hazz al-Quḥūf bi-Sharḥ Qaṣīd Abī Shādūf* the seventeenth century Egyptian author Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Shirbīnī ridicules “*Kitāb al-Fakhkh wa-l-‘Uṣfūr*”,<sup>16</sup> while presenting his scornful opinion in the question of literary materials that were in common use among lower social strata, in this case the Egyptian peasants.<sup>17</sup>

The language of the classical versions of the two separate fables is a non-embellished standard *fuṣḥā*. The use of literary devices and artistic means in those texts is minimal. This is basically also true for the overall classical plot, yet here, as already noted, in addition to the amalgamation of the fables, the narrative and the dialogues are a little bit more substantial. In contrast to these all, and as will be demonstrated below, the popular versions are much more flexible in their structure and detailed in their content, and by far more vivid in their descriptions and dialogues. The Arabic in which those texts are written contains many colloquial characteristics and a number of corrupt linguistic forms, yet the authors have a clear tendency towards stylistic embellishment, and they occasionally integrate some rhymed prose and poetry into the prose sequence. In fact, the most prominent in this regard is probably the above mentioned colloquial Egyptian *mawwāl*, contained in the seventeenth century

<sup>15</sup> See Cachia, *Popular Narrative Ballads of Modern Egypt*, p. 121. Popular versions of this narrative were also circulating in medieval Judeo-Arabic. See Palva, “*Ḥikāya fī Ḍamm an-Nisā’*, a Story in Dispraise of Women: A 14th-Century (?) Egyptian Judeo-Arabic Manuscript”, p. 177; Kenat, “New Manuscripts Written in Late Judaeo-Arabic from the Firkovitch Collection – Description, Classification and Sample Texts”, unpublished PhD dissertation, pp. 144-158, 279-291.

<sup>16</sup> Humphrey Davies (ed.), Dudley (MA), Peeters, 2005-2007, vol. 1, p. 90; vol. 2, p. 92 (and also n. 7).

<sup>17</sup> See Lerner, “Arabic Literary Refinement and *The Arabian Nights*: The Seventeenth Century Neglected Case of al-Shirbīnī’s *Hazz al-Quḥūf*”, pp. 200-202.



BNF, ms. arabe, 3571, in which the narrative is found adapted into a sixty-one rhymed quatrains (see more details below).

Were we to distill the difference between the form of the plot as preserved in classical sources and that found in the manuscripts under discussion here, into a single metaphor, without of course detracting from the qualities of either, we would choose a raisin and a well-seasoned dish, both of which are tasty and worthy.<sup>18</sup> And since we are on the subject of food, it is particularly interesting to note the storyteller's creativity, especially where the hunter describes, in an amusing and intentionally exaggerated list, all the various dishes that could be prepared from the tiny bird he caught, in addition to the many utensils that could be made from its limbs. This list, by the way, is missing in the classical sources. The manuscripts indisputably share the same source, but the later creative stratum, in which every contributor used his own taste, knowledge and culinary lore, reflecting the unique material culture and *realia*, to which each of them had been exposed, is quite evident.

The manuscripts to be described below were created by various writers who dealt with *ḥikāyāt*, i.e., storytellers, compilers of tales,

<sup>18</sup> Here we share a similar insight from a slightly different perspective, as suggested by Hämaeen-Anttila, "Oral vs. Written: Some Notes on the Arabian Nights", pp. 184-192. Hämaeen-Anttila divides the literary materials in the *Arabian Nights* into three categories and focuses on the third category, which he defines as follows: "Stories the Classical forerunners of which are known, but which have been further developed in the Alf layla tradition". Hämaeen-Anttila compares briefly between "The Barber's Tale of His Second Brother" found in the "Hunchback's Tale" of the *Arabian Nights* (See Marzolph and van Leeuwen, *Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 117-118) and an anecdote that appears in the above-mentioned early *adab* work, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*. He suggests that through this kind of comparison it should be possible to analyze the literary tastes of those who shaped the literary materials before they entered the *Arabian Nights* and identify the literary devices which they used as they adapted these materials. In conclusion he states that (p. 191) "the classical version [of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi] is perhaps more refined with its subtle allusions and well balanced language, but the Alf Layla version gives a more vivid description of the poor victim's exasperation and anticipation of the pleasures expected". Hämaeen-Anttila's approach fits in quite well with our own case, and could perhaps also be extended to the margins of the *Arabian Nights* and to the relationship between popular works and classical literature in general. See also, e.g., Gerhardt, *The Art of Story-Telling: A Literary Study of the Thousand and One Nights*, pp. 39-41; Pinault, *Story-Telling Techniques in the Arabian Nights*, Irwin, *The Arabian Nights: A Companion*, p. 113; Sadan, "Hārūn al-Rashīd and the Brewer: Preliminary Remarks on the *Adab* of the Elite versus *Hikāyāt*: The Continuation of Some of the Traditional Literary Models, from the 'Classical' Arabic Heritage, up to the Emergence of Modern Forms", pp. 1-22.



and the like. Our examination of the manuscripts revealed quite clearly that those who created them drew from a common source, although probably only indirectly. It also became obvious that a characteristic trait of the evolution of the written versions of this material at the popular level was considerable freedom in its manipulation (beyond the various types of carelessness in transmission). In other words, writers of *ḥikāyāt* felt free to modify and enrich the narrative, the dialogues and the lines of verse as well as to embellish and add stylistic ornamentations in accordance with their personal tastes, the environment in which they lived and worked, their beliefs, their languages and their talents. This is almost completely absent in the classical versions. With the possible exception of the Jewish context in which the material appears (a context that disappeared, or was made to disappear, in some of the classical sources),<sup>19</sup> the writers here limited themselves to collecting and quoting two fables from classical works (whether written or oral, for example as heard in literary salons where literary materials were declaimed); in other words, what they did was to copy the material and place it inside their compositions to fit the literary topic of their choosing.

Because of the creative literary energy that characterizes some of the *ḥikāyāt* writers in a considerable number of manuscripts (see immediately below) and their lack of commitment to the source to which they had been exposed, to the author or to the contents, it makes no sense to produce a critical edition in which the various manuscripts are compared in detail in an attempt to discover and reconstruct the supposedly original version. Such an endeavor would be neither useful nor efficacious. We shall instead publish the text of the earliest manuscript (BNF, ms. arabe, 3667. See below), with accompanying comparisons and quotes from the others, especially in cases where such additions can contribute to understanding unclear passages in the main manuscript or where the *ḥikāyāt* writer's additions can teach us more about the plot in general, thier language,

<sup>19</sup> Perhaps due to the fact that at a relatively early stage Muslim wisdom literature in Arabic became ever more reluctant to assimilate *Isrā'īliyyāt* traditions (see, e.g., Kister, "Ḥaddithū 'an Banī Isrā'īla wa-lā Haraja: A Study of an Early Tradition", pp. 226-227, 238), or simply since the Jewish background was added to begin with by some of the writers in order to give these fables a touch of the legendary.

the material culture with which they were familiar, and their creative skills, as noted above.

Below is a detailed list of the manuscripts and other sources we used here:

BNF 3667 = BNF, ms. arabe, 3667 (supplément 1735), fols. 16a-19a. This manuscript is the basis for the present edition. It will be critically edited in full. It is dated 1089 AH, i.e., 1678 CE,<sup>20</sup> and hence the oldest of the dated manuscripts. To judge by certain vocabulary items (see below) it was apparently written in Syria. The writing is quite clear, although not very careful. Letter size and spaces between the words are not uniform. Each folio contains about fifteen lines of varying length of between eight and twelve words. The words are partially vocalized. The opening sentence as well as some occurrences of *qāla* and its subject, some diacritics and comma-like signs that separate sentences, embellishments, etc., are in ink of a different color. The spelling of *alif maqṣūra* is not consistent: Sometimes it appears as word-final *yā'*, sometimes as *alif* and sometimes in the way it is written today. The scribe also shows no consistency in writing the two diacritics over *tā' marbūṭa*. When the first part of a possessive construction ends in *tā' marbūṭa*, it is occasionally spelled as word-final *tā'* (بقرت بني اسرائيل، زكات اموالهم).<sup>21</sup> In addition to hypercorrections and evidence of non-standard language in general, there are plenty of indications of colloquial pronunciation in this manuscript, for example: ت → ث (كثير، احاديث، دات، ذلك، الذي، هدا، اخذ، دنب، ) د → ذ (التلا، حيت، توب، ثلاث، ) ض → ظ (ضهر، يقضان، حضي) ظ → ض (واندفة) د → ظ (عداب، ) ص (وسط). The verbs are also clearly reflect the colloquial pronunciation in certain cases, for example in the first person singular past of the first form geminate verb: شديت instead of شددت; or when a verb in the imperative mood, such as *taqaddam* in the fifth form, is preceded by a prosthetic *alif* - *itqaddam*.

AṢ = Anṭūn Ṣāliḥānī, *Ṭarā'if Fukāhāt fī Arba' Hikāyāt*, Beirut, al-Maṭba'a l-Kāthūlīkiyya, 1890, pp. 91-98. "*Hikāyat al-'Uṣfūr wa-l-Fakḥkh wa-l-Ṣayyād*" is the last of a total of four *hikāyāt* critically

<sup>20</sup> See de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, p. 626.

<sup>21</sup> Such inconsistencies in writing *alif maqṣūra*, *tā' marbūṭa*, etc., appear also in all of the other manuscripts. Our policy is to publish the texts without "correcting" them.

edited and published by Ṣāliḥānī based on a manuscript found in the university library of St. Joseph in Beirut. According to Ṣāliḥānī it is a Christian manuscript from the city of Aleppo that was written a little bit prior to the year 1782.<sup>22</sup> He reports that the title and the periods between sentences are written in red ink. The same *ḥikāya* was published by Ṣāliḥānī in the same year in an appendix (bearing the same title: “*Ṭarāʾif Fukāḥāt fī Arbaʿ Ḥikāyāt*”) to his (ed.) *Alf Layla wa-Layla*, Beirut, al-Maṭbaʿa l-Kāthūlīkiyya, 1888-1890, vol. 5, pp. 91-97. Ṣāliḥānī is known to have censored his edition of the *Nights* quite drastically.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, some differences between the materials in his critical edition of the manuscript and the version in his edition of the *Nights* show quite clearly that he believed in “improving” its style and “raising the level” of the Arabic in it.

Berlin 9066 = Berlin Staatsbibliothek, 9066 (pet. 110), fols. 49b-50b. The manuscript is not dated.<sup>24</sup> The writing is quite clear, although the letters are not always very carefully executed. The spaces between the words and the length of the lines are quite uniform. Each page has about twenty-one lines and each line between thirteen and fifteen words. In a few places there are ink smears. No title is given. The manuscript is rarely vocalized. As far as content is concerned, this manuscript is nearly identical with the below detailed Berlin 9105. For instance, in both manuscripts the hunter is said to be a resident of the city of Basra and not Baghdad, as in the rest of the manuscripts and other sources; A does not contain a conversation between the sparrow and the snare, but instead the dialog is held between the sparrow and the hunter who seduces it to eat the grains placed around the snare; in the end, the sparrow has mercy on the hunter, and so leads him to a certain tree undewhich a jar full of gold is buried.

Berlin 9105 = Berlin Staatbibliothek, 9105 (pet. 259), fols. 109b-112b. The manuscript was written in the year 1260 AH, i.e., 1844 CE.<sup>25</sup> As noted, it is nearly identical with Berlin 9066. It is quite clearly legible. The spaces between the words and the length of the lines are quite uniform, as are the sizes of the letters. Each page has

<sup>22</sup> See Ṣāliḥānī's preface, pp. 1-8.

<sup>23</sup> See, e.g., Marzolph and van Leeuwen, *Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, p. 545.

<sup>24</sup> See Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Handschriften der Königlischen Bibliothek zu Berlin. Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften*, vol. 8, p. 52.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

about fourteen lines and each line between nine and eleven words. The title is in ink of a different color. The manuscript is rarely vocalized. The manuscript contains only few examples of colloquial pronunciation: ص → س (سفق); ض → ظ (عظّ). Vocabulary of the colloquial Arabic appears here and there, for instance, the well-known شوي شوي, i.e., “slowly”, “gently”. As in BNF 3667, شديت appears instead of شددت, reflecting the colloquial pronunciation.

BNF, ms. arabe, 3571, see Lerner, “The *Mawwāl*”.

BNF 3637 = BNF, ms. arabe, 3637 (supplément 1723), pp. 725-739. The manuscript was written in the year 1772 CE,<sup>26</sup> presumably in Syria (see below, special vocabulary characteristic of Syria) by one ‘Abīd Rabbihi - a member of the Syrian community.<sup>27</sup> This is the manuscript from which Richard Francis Burton (d. 1890) translated his “History of What Befel the Fowl-let with the Fowler”.<sup>28</sup> In the 1780’s Dom Denis Chavis used this manuscript and other sources in fabricating in his handwriting his own *Nights* manuscript in Arabic (BNF, ms. arabe, 3616 [supplément 1716]). Some of the materials were used in his and Jacques Cazotte’s (executed in 1792) *Continuation des Mille et une nuits*, Genève, Barde, Manget & compagnie, 1788-1789.<sup>29</sup> The story dealt with here was not included in Cazotte’s *Continuation*, nor in Caussin de Perceval’s *Les Mille et une nuits, contes arabes, traduits en français par Galland: Continués*, Paris, Le Normant, 1806, eighth and ninth volumes, that contain a translation into French of stories directly from the original Arabic of the current manuscript (viz. BNF 3637). The manuscript is quite clearly legible and partly vocalized. The spaces between the

<sup>26</sup> De Slane, *Catalogue*, p. 621; Vajda, *Index général des manuscrits arabes musulmans de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris*, p. 378. See also Zotenberg, *Histoire d’‘Alā al-Dīn*; ou, *La lampe*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>27</sup> See Mahdi, *The Thousand and One Nights (Alf Layla wa-Layla) from the Earliest Known Sources*, vol. 3, pp. 55-56. Indeed, according to Joseph Sadan, “Jacques Cazotte, His Hero Xaïloun, and Hamīda the Kaslān: A Unique Feature of Cazotte’s ‘Continuation’ of the *Arabian Nights* and a Newly Discovered Arabic Source That Inspired His Novel on Xaïloun”, p. 45, n. 8, this manuscript “could have been written by a non-Arab hand or by someone who did not know how to hold and use an oriental pen”.

<sup>28</sup> *Supplemental Nights to The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, n.p., vol. 6, pp. 153-164. See the story also in Henning, *Tausend und eine Nacht*, vol. 22, pp. 118-126 (“Die Geschichte des Vogels mit dem Vogelsteller”).

<sup>29</sup> See, e.g., Burton, *Supplemental Nights*, vol. 6, pp. i-xiii; Mahdi, *The Thousand and One Nights*, vol. 3, pp. 51-61; Marzolph and van Leeuwen, *Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, p. 520.

words and the length of the lines are quite uniform, as are the sizes of the letters. Each page has about fifteen lines and each line between nine and twelve words.<sup>30</sup> The manuscript contains only few examples of colloquial pronunciation: ذ → د (دريتك، مبدور، اخدت، بدلت، س in the vicinity of *rā'* → ص (صفرة). The scribe marks vowels only very sporadically. He consistently uses brackets when writing *qāla*, *wa-qāla*, *thumma*, *shi'r* and in similar cases.<sup>31</sup>

BNF 3655 = BNF, ms. arabe, 3655 (supplément 1792), fols. 126b-131b. The manuscript is dated to the eighteenth century.<sup>32</sup> It is clearly Muslim and judging by certain vocabulary, it originated in Syria, perhaps Aleppo. The writing is clear, although not very careful. Letter size and spaces between the words are quite uniform. Each folio contains about nineteen lines of equal length, each line consisting of between six and eight words. The opening sentence as well as the words *qāla*, *fa-qāla*, the embroidering between verses, etc., are in ink of a different color. The manuscript contains only few examples of colloquial pronunciation: د → ذ (ابدلت المجهود، دبحتي).

BNF 3664 = BNF, ms. arabe, 3664 (supplément 1741), fols. 1b-10b. The manuscript is dated to the nineteenth century.<sup>33</sup> This is the manuscript from which René Basset translated his "Le fils du marchand, le filet et le moineau".<sup>34</sup> It is quite clearly Muslim. The script is stylized, although not always clear. Most of the words are vocalized. The script is North African, for example, the diacritic point of the letter *fā'* is written under the letter, while the letter *qāf* has one point above. When a letter has *shadda* and *kasra* both signs appear below the letter. The scribe usually writes case and mood endings, but occasionally errs. The letters and the spaces between the words are of uniform size. Each folio contains about twelve lines of uniform length, each with between five and eight words per line. The

<sup>30</sup> For more, see Burton, *Supplemental Nights*, vol. 6, pp. vi-vii.

<sup>31</sup> As can be seen below, highlighting phrases (esp. *qāla* or *qāla l-rāwī*) by means of brackets, different ink color or larger letters, is common in most of the manuscripts that are examined here. See, e.g., Pinault, *Story-Telling Techniques*, p. 14, who hypothesizes that it "served as a visual guide and marker alerting any reciter who glanced at the page of an imminent change in the narrative voice".

<sup>32</sup> See de Slane, *Catalogue*, p. 624.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp. 625-626.

<sup>34</sup> *Mille et un contes*, vol. 2, pp. 269-275. Basset briefly compared this manuscript with the other BNF manuscripts. See his error-laden summation, *ibid.*, pp. 276-277, n. 16.

opening sentence as well as the verbs *qāla*, *fa-qāla*, embellishments between verses, etc., are in ink of a different color. Relative to other versions this one makes more frequent use of rhymed prose, verses of poetry and quotes from Qur'ān. A nearly identical version, also North African, can be found in al-Bāhī al-Būnī (fl. during the nineteenth century), *Mi'at Layla wa-Layla wa-Hikāyāt Ukhrā*, Shuraybiṭ Aḥmad Shuraybiṭ (ed.), Algiers, al-Maktaba l-Waṭaniyya l-Jazā'iriyya, 2005,<sup>35</sup> pp. 37-41. This version is given here as part of the extra literary materials added by al-Būnī outside the framework of the *Hundred and One Nights* - a medieval composition of possibly North African origin.<sup>36</sup> The very small and insignificant differences between this version and BNF 3664 can be attributed to scribal errors.

BNF 5072 = BNF, ms. arabe, 5072, fols. 55b-58b. An eighteenth century Christian manuscript written in an Egyptian *naskhī* script.<sup>37</sup> The writing is quite clear, although the letters are not always very carefully executed, and it contains errors of spelling and substance. In a few places there are erasures and ink smears. Each folio contains about fifteen unequal lines, each with between nine and thirteen words. The *basmalla* and the opening sentence are written in larger characters, as are the phrase *qāla l-rāwī* and the word *shī'r* that introduces lines of poetry. *Hamza* without *kursī* following the letter *alif* is written as *alif mamdūda* (إ). The text contains numerous syntactic errors and hypercorrections. Among the characteristics of colloquial pronunciation are the following: س → ش; (تدبطني) د → ذ; (بنتضر، نضر، نضنوك، ) ض → ظ; (شجرة instead of شجرة، several times); (الضهر، عضم، عظام). As in BNF 3667 and Berlin 9105, the scribe uses here the colloquial شديت, yet in this case it is hypercorrected when vowelized شَدِيْتُ. The adverb كثير ("very much", "a lot") appears in the colloquial use before the verb (وَكثِير احب الفقرا...، وكثير صار عليها...). Although from Blochet's comments<sup>38</sup> it may be concluded that the

<sup>35</sup> Many thanks to Prof. Ulrich Marzolph for sending us a copy of this book.

<sup>36</sup> On the question of origin see, e.g., Bruce Fudge (ed. and trans.), *A Hundred and One Nights*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

<sup>37</sup> Thus, according to Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes des nouvelles acquisitions (1884-1924)*, p. 56. Note anyhow, that the story here begins in the Muslim *basmala*, what may lead one to the conclusion that the Christian scribe copied this section from a manuscript of a Muslim origin.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

manuscript is Egyptian, as also supported by the presence of typically Egyptian forms such as *معتاز* and *انقهر*, yet, such forms with the relevant meanings are attested in the Syrian dialect as well. Furthermore, the manuscript contains words that exist in the Syrian and are (apparently) absent from dictionaries and other sources containing colloquial Egyptian, for example the Turkish-derived *قيما*, a dish made from minced meat.

Cam. = Cambridge Add. 3491, fols. 9a-23b. The manuscript is not dated,<sup>39</sup> but according to Mark Muehlhaeusler,<sup>40</sup> it belongs to a group of manuscripts dated to the eighteenth century and brought most probably from Aleppo to Europe by Dr. Patrick Russell (d. 1805) in the year 1772.<sup>41</sup> It was bought by Frank Chance in 1862, and bequeathed to Cambridge Library after his death (1897). The opening here is Christian - *bi-ism al-Ab wa-l-Ibn wa-l-Rūh al-Qudus al-Ilāh al-wāḥid*. However, the text contains obviously Muslim elements, making it likely that the Christian compiler used a Muslim manuscript as his source. The manuscript is very clearly and carefully written. Each folio contains about ten lines, each with between six and eight words. On the top left-hand side of the *recto* the pages are numbered, from 1 to 16. In a number of places a later European hand (Patrick Russel? Frank Chance?) proposed corrections to the Arabic text, based on a comparison with another manuscript (to judge by the abbreviation “ms.” next to the correction). Many of the suggested emendations agree with the text in the undated Rylands Library of Manchester, Arabic 652 [137] (see below). In cases where not enough room is left for the next word, the scribe ends the line with the sign \* - a sort of *horror vacui*. The text is full of indications of colloquial pronunciation, for example *ت* → *ث* (بدلت، مبدور، اتخذهم، دهنك، الدبيح، دريتك، دوقني) *د* → *ذ* (متلي، ثيايه and more); *س* in the vicinity of *rā'* → *ص* (صفرة، تحصر) *ظ* → *ض* (يقضان). The scribe adds vowels only sporadically.

<sup>39</sup> See Browne, *A Hand-List of the Muhammadan Manuscripts, Including All Those Written in the Arabic Character, Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, pp. 333-334.

<sup>40</sup> “Oriental Tales in 18th-Century Manuscripts ... and in English Translation”, esp. pp. 189-190, 194.

<sup>41</sup> Or a year earlier, according to Mahdi, *The Thousand and One Nights*, vol. 3, p. 56.



Lerner, “The *Mawwāl*” = Amir Lerner, “The *Mawwāl* about the Snare and the Sparrow: A Late Medieval Colloquial Egyptian Verse Adaptation of Narrative(s) in Prose Rooted in Arabic Classical Literature”, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 63/1 (2018), pp. 155-181. A study and critical edition of a Colloquial Egyptian *mawwāl*, found in BNF, ms. arabe, 3571 (supplément 1918), fols. 1a-12b, dated to the seventeenth century CE. The piece is an adaptation of the narrative into sixty-one uniformly rhymed quatrains (aaaa) in the more or less *al-basīṭ* meter. It was written by ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Yūsuf al-Abbār, an unknown author whose name is given in the last quatrain. An almost identical text was published in phonetic transcription by Pierre Cachia.<sup>42</sup> His source though, was an incomplete late nineteenth or twentieth century CE booklet.<sup>43</sup>

Ry. = Rylands Library of Manchester, Arabic 652 [137], fols. 131b-140b. The manuscript is not dated.<sup>44</sup> The opening here is Christian - *bi-ism al-Ab wa-l-Ibn wa-l-Rūḥ al-Qudus al-Ilāh al-wāḥid*. However, exactly as in Cam., the contents are Muslim. The manuscript is very clearly and carefully written. Each folio contains about fifteen lines, each with between six and eight words. The story heading and the opening sentence were later highlighted with red ink, which was also used for the diagonal line through erased words, periods between sentences and, occasionally, also words preceding a quote or a line of verse (e.g., *shi’r*, *qāla*, etc.). In one case (fol. 137b) a later hand added a word. Vowel signs are added only very sporadically. As already noted above, this manuscript is very similar in all respects to Cam., down to the infrequent vocalization, inconsistency in writing word-final *yā’*, *alif maqṣūra* and *tā’ marbūṭa*. There is ample evidence for colloquial pronunciation in this manuscript too, also fully in line with Cam. Note that as Ry. is nearly identical with Cam. in every respect, the manuscript on which AŞ is based was also extremely close to these two. BNF 3637 is very similar to the three, but not identical. The four seem to be of Syrian origin.

<sup>42</sup> *Popular Narrative*, pp. 121-138.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 28, 121.

<sup>44</sup> See Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, pp. 889-890.

*Al-Ṣayyād wa-l-Fakh wa-l-‘Uṣfūr*

[BNF, ms. Arabe, 3667, 16a]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم /<sup>45</sup> نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه بكتابة قصة الصياد والعصفور / الله اعلم في الغيب واحكم وارحم فيما مضى وتقدم بما سلف من احاديث<sup>46</sup> / الزمان انه كان في بغداد رجل صياد وكان في صنعة الصيد / مقتات<sup>47</sup> وانه خرج ذات يوم واخذ معه ما يحتاج اليه من / آلة الصيد والافخاخ والاشباك ومضا الي بستان كثير / الاشجار علي الاغصان ياوي اليه جميع الطيور من كل مكان / ونصب فخه في التراب وجلس في مكان واختفا فيه واذا / بعصفور قد اقبل الي جانب الفخ وجعل يدور حوله وهو / يقول ما هذه الا خلقه عظيمه ثم نظر الي الفخ وهو منصوب / في التراب<sup>48</sup> فسلم عليه فرد الفخ عليه السلام وقال عليك / السلام ورحمة الله وبركاته اهلا وسهلا بالاخ الصديق / والصاحب الرفيق لا يكون لك عندي شيئا فقال العصفور / للفخ يا اخي اراك قد سكنت

<sup>45</sup> = New line in Ms.<sup>46</sup> ديت is written separately on the margins.<sup>47</sup> BNF 3637, p. 725; BNF 3655, fol. 126b; BNF 5072, fol. 55b; Cam., fol. 9b; Ry., fol. 131b.: معتاد. AŞ, p. 92: شاطر.

<sup>48</sup> This opening is very similar to the one found in AŞ, p. 92; BNF 3637, p. 725; Cam., fols. 9a-10a; Ry., fols. 131b-132a. Berlin 9105, fol. 109b (similar to Berlin 9066, fol. 49b) قيل انه كان في قديم الزمان رجل صياد من اهل البصرة وكان / اسمه عقاب ابي نسر فخرج يوم من / الأيام الى البرية يصطاد بالفخ / واذا قد جاء عصفور ملتح ريشه اربع لوان احمر ولون اصفر / ولون اخضر ولون وردى فلما رأى الصياد ذلك العصفور تعجب / منه ومن حسنه وجماله ثم ان العصفور عاد ينظر الى الفخ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم / صلى الله على سيدنا محمد / مجلس في شرح حال ابن التاجر / المذكور وشرح حال الفخ مع / العصفور / ذكر والله أعلم بغيته واحكم / فيما مضى وتقدم سلف من / احاديث الامم انه كان في قديم / الزمان وسالف العصر / والأوان فتى من / أولاد التجار وكان مؤلوعا بمصيد / الأطيار تعجبه بلغاتها في الأسفار / وصغيرها على الغدران والأنهار [2a] قال الراوي وكان ذلك الفتى لا ياوي / الا تحت ظل نخلة أو خلف شعبة / وجدار وكان لا يفتر عن المصيد ولو كان / في قيد من حديد قال ثم انه خرج / ذات يوم من الأيام على حسب العادة / وأخذ معه آلة الصيادة ومضى / إلى روضة من الرياض مدفقة الأنهار / كثيرة الأشجار قد كثر خيرها وترنم على / الأشجار طيرها وفي وسط الروضة ماء غزير وشجر كثير فجعل الفتى / يدور في تلك الروضة إلى أن أتاه شجرة / كبيرة كثيرة الأغصان ياوي الطير [2b] إليها من كل مكان قال الراوي فجلس الفتى / تحتها ونصب في التراب فخه خديعة / للأطيار وجلس في مكان واختفى فيه / ينظر إلى الفخ وإلى ما يقع فيه قال الراوي / فبينما هو جالس وإذا بعصفور يسمى / أبا رياح قد اقبل ونزل إلى جانب الفخ / ينظر إليه ويتعجب من صنعه ويقول / ما هو الا خلق عجيب والله إن / حديقته لغريب Note, that the hunter's identity here - the son of a merchant - is identical in the version found in the Egyptian *mawwāl* of BNF, ms. arabe, 3571 (Lerner, "The *Mawwāl*", p. 165). See also al-Būnī, *Mi'at Layla*, p. 37. BNF 5072, fol. 55b (and note, that the opening here seems to be a little disrupted. Similar to BNF 3655, fols. 126b-127a) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم / نبتدي بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه قصه ونكتب العصفور / وما فيها من العجايب المضحكة للسامعين / ذكر [و] الله [اعلم] بغيته وانعم فيما مضى وتقدم من احاديث الامم / انه كان من قديم الزمان وسالف العسر والاولان بمدينة بغداد رجل / صياد وكان بالصيد معتاد في بغط الايام قد قل ما في يده / من النفقة ثم اخذ فخه وخرج الي البرية ليصطاد شيئا من / العصافير فلم يزل يمشي في البرية حتي وصل الي تحت شجرة / عاليه فنصب الفخ تحتها وتباعدها عنها ثم جلس في مكانا ينتظر / الفخ حتي يصيد فيبينما هو جالس واذا بجوق من العصافير / قد نزلوا من الجوع فقتدم مقدم العصافير الي تلك السجده / ثم نضر الي الفخ وهو منصوب

الخراب وتباعدت من الاهل والاقارب<sup>49</sup> / فقال الفخ للعصفور يا اخي ما سمعت قول الشاعر حيث يقول [16b] بيت شعر<sup>50</sup> كون من الناس جانباً ودع [ب]سموك<sup>51</sup> راهباً فلا / تقول ان لي اخا وصديق وملان<sup>52</sup> قد صاحبتة وهو علي / الخير راتباً قلوب الناس كيف تجدهم كلهم عقارباً<sup>53</sup> فقال ايضاً / العصفور صدقت يا اخي الفخ ولاكن ما لي اراك مخبي / الظهر فقال من كثرة القيام والقعود والركوع والسجود اما / سمعت قول الشاعر حيث يقول بيت شعر ما يدخل الجنة / الا فتي قد اوهب له الله ما قد جني واقتري في الليل البهيم / ضهره من الركوع والسجود انحنا فقال العصفور صدقت / يا اخي الفخ ولاكن ما لي ارا هذا الحبل مشدود في وسطك / فقال الفخ اعلم يا اخي العصفور ما سمعت قول الشاعر لما بدا الشيب في مقرقي<sup>54</sup> شديت<sup>55</sup> وسطي في رضا خالقي لعل هو يغفر دنبا / مضي ويحسن الفعل علي ما بقي فقال العصفور صدقت / يا اخي الفخ ولاكن ما لي اراك قد لبست الشعر والصوف فقال ما / تعلم يا اخي العصفور ان ملبوس الفقرا والمساكين الصالحين / اما سمعت قول الشاعر حيث يقول لباسهم الشعر فطوبا لهم قد [17a] عرضوا عن لبس

<sup>49</sup> is written separately on the margins.

<sup>50</sup> BNF 5072, fol. 55b (similar to BNF 3655, fol. 127a): فقال العصفور اعلم يا اخي الفخ ان لي ولدين صغار قد خلقتهم [56a] وهم في الاوكار ويريدون [ر]زقي واني قد رايت عندك شيئاً من / القمح واشتهيته فقال الفخ يا اخي اعلم ان هذا القمح قد اشتريته / من خالص مالي لأفطر عليه لانه من جهة الحلال واريد أنصنق / منه علي الفقرا والمساكين فقال ايضاً الفخ يا اخي العصفور اني / انا رجلاً متخلّي وكثير احب الفقرا والمساكين فقال العصفور والله / يا اخي انا غريب وفقير ومسكين والطعمه لي حلال وثواب فقال / الفخ يا اخي العصفور أخاف انك تكون غنيّ ليس جوعان وانا / لم يبقا لي ثواب في طعمتي لك فقال العصفور حاشاً يا اخي ان كنت / اقدم اليك ان لم اكون جوعان فقال الفخ ان انت معتان وجوعان / فتقدم وخذ حاجتك فقالوا العصافير باجمعهم اننا محتاجين / ولكن نخاف من التقدم فقال الفخ من ايش تخاف يا مُقَدِّم / فقال منك يا فخ ومن انفرادك عن الخلق في هذه البريه فقال / الفخ Though mu'tāz, ما تعلم يا اخي ان الهزيمة من الناس هي غنيمه او ما سمعت / قول الشاعر اذ يقول هكذا شعر ("be in need") is typical of colloquial Egyptian (see Spiro, *An Arabic-English Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic of Egypt*, s.v.), it is in common use also in colloquial Syrian, and see Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire arabe-français: Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem*, s.v.; Khayr al-Dīn M. al-Asadī, *Mawsū'at Ḥalab al-Muqārana*, vol. 1, p. 170.

<sup>51</sup> BNF 3655, fol. 127b: يظنونك (BNF 5072, fol. 56a: (يَضُنُّوكَ). Cam., fol. 11b: يحسبوك.

<sup>52</sup> وفلان Should be.

<sup>53</sup> See similar verses in al-Ḥasan b. Mas'ūd al-Yūsī (d. 1691), *al-Muḥāḍarāt fī l-Adab wa-l-Lughā*, vol. 1, p. 352. Cam. fol. 12a (as well as Aṣ, p. 93; BNF 3637, p. 727; BNF 3664, fol. 4b; Ry., fol. 133a), has here an additional saying by the wise-fool Bahlūl (Berlin 9066 and Berlin 9105 lack): ما وقوفك بين القبور في هذا / المكان المقفور وما سبب بعدك من / الاهل والاقارب ومن الاخوان والاصحاب / فقال لهم [البهلول] ويلكم اني بين قوم ان اقمتم / بينهم يوم لا يودوني وان غبت / عنهم لا يدموني ولا يدكروني ولا يطلبوني / وصلبت بوحدتي حتى اني لو نظرت / الاهل استوحشت منهم ولو عاشوا [12b] ابواي من جديد وراموا صحبتي لغررت / عنهم.

<sup>54</sup> [Sic], meaning مقرقي ("my hair parting"), as in BNF 3655, fol. 128a and BNF 5072, fol. 56b (BNF 3637, Cam. and Ry., lack). Berlin 9066, fol. 49b: فبق الموقف: Berlin 9105, fol. 110a: فوق مرافقي.

<sup>55</sup> [Sic], as in Berlin 9105, fol. 110a, reflecting colloquial pronunciation (*shaddēt* or *shaddayt*, where *fuṣṣa* would have *shadadt*). And indeed, BNF 5072, fol. 56b, has here the vowelized (شَدَيْتَ). See, e.g., Vrolijk, *Bringing a Laugh to a Scowling Face: A Study and Critical Edition of the Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-Muḍḥik al-'Abūs by 'Alī Ibn Sūdūn al-Baṣbugāwī* (Cairo 810/1407-Damascus 868/1464), p. 145.



العصفور / لا زلت علي بحبك حتي رميتني بحبالك فقال له الفخ وقعك / الحرص وسو الطمع واخذعتك الحبه يا ابو الولع ابصرتها / بيضه مقشوره اردت ان تاخذها بالحدع<sup>63</sup> فصار في حلقك طوق / الردا وانصت يا هذا لمن قد وقع فقال العصفور اوقعني / حرصي علي مونتي وعذبي الجهل وسوء الطمع<sup>64</sup> فعند ذلك / اقبل ايضا الصياد وهو فرحان وخلص العصفور وصاح / الي ولده وقال له يا ولدي خذ هذا العصفور كتفه وادبجه واسلخه [18a] واندفه<sup>65</sup> وشقه شقتين واعمل لنا من الشقة الواحد لحم / قديد<sup>66</sup> لاجل الشتا<sup>67</sup> واعمل لنا من الشقة الاخرى نقوعه<sup>68</sup> / ولبنيه<sup>69</sup> وسفرجليه<sup>70</sup> وتفاعيه<sup>71</sup> وسماقيه<sup>72</sup> ورمانيه<sup>73</sup> وحنطيه<sup>74</sup> / وقرعيه<sup>75</sup> وبورانيه<sup>76</sup> واعمل لنا من صرته<sup>77</sup> واكتافه شرايح /

<sup>63</sup> Should be بالخدع.

<sup>64</sup> BNF 3664, fol. 8a: فَصَارَ / الْعَصْفُورُ يَصْبِيحُ وَيَقُولُ زَيْقُ زَيْقُ يَا زَنْدِيقُ / كَسَرْتُ الْعَظْمَ الرَّقِيقُ يَا عَالِمُ [8b] لَهُ الْفَخُّ إِنْ شِئْتُ قُلْ إِنْ شِئْتُ قُلْ إِنْ شِئْتُ قُلْ حَبِيقُ / مَا بَقِيتُ تَقِيقُ بِحَالِي / كُنْ بِي شَفِيقُ بِحُرْمَةِ الْبَيْتِ الْعَتِيقُ فَقَالَ [8b] لَهُ الْفَخُّ إِنْ شِئْتُ قُلْ إِنْ شِئْتُ قُلْ إِنْ شِئْتُ قُلْ حَبِيقُ / مَا بَقِيتُ تَقِيقُ يَا فَاجِرُ يَا زَنْدِيقُ وَقَعْتُ / فِي الْمَضِيقِ وَكَمْ تُحَايِدُ عَنِ الطَّرِيقِ / لَا يَنْفَعُكَ أَحٌ وَلَا صَبِيقُ إِلَّا أَنْ يَكُونَ لَكَ / أَجَلٌ وَثِيقُ شَعْرًا / كُنْ عَلَى حَذْرِكَ قَاعِدًا / مِثْلِي لِغَيْرِكَ قَدْ خَدَعَا / أَوْ مَا سَمِعْتَ مَقَالَتِي / إِذَا نَصَحَ جَادُ بِمَا صَنَعَا

<sup>65</sup> [Sic]. Colloquial pronunciation of *n.z.f.*

<sup>66</sup> I.e., "preserved (salted and dried in the sun) meat strips".

<sup>67</sup> Berlin 9105, fol. 111a (in resemblance to Berlin 9066, fol. 50a): ثُمَّ إِنْ الصَّيَادُ صَاحَ إِلَى / خذ هذا العصفور وامضني به الى سلفلق ابن مللق الطباخ / وقل له يذبحه ويملسه ويقسمه قال / واقبل الصياد نحو الفخ وخلص العصفور ونادا الي ولده / وقال يا ولدي خذ هذا BNF 5072, fol. 57b: العصفور ووديه الي امك وقول لها / ان تمضني به الي سلفلق القصاب وتقول له ان يذبحه ويشقه / شقتين وقول لها ان تملح الشقت الواحده وتخليها للشتي

<sup>68</sup> *Naqū'iyya* is not found in dictionaries, nor in cookbooks or studies on Arabic cuisine. Yet, as the following dishes are cooked with meat and a prominent product that gives the dish its name, one may expect it to be a dish of meat cooked with *naqū'*. According to the Lebanese scholar Buṭrus al-Bustānī (d. 1883), *Kitāb Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, Beirut, n.p., 1867-1870, s.v., *naqū'* is a dried apricot. See also Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire*, s.v., who adds that *naqū'* in Beirut denotes dried apricots. One may therefore assume that the meaning here is a dish of meat cooked with dried apricots, and that it was known in the region of Lebanon or Syria. Hence, one has here a possible indication about the manuscript's origin. Nevertheless, one has also to take into consideration the resembling forms given by BNF 3637, p. 733: نقعيه (or فقعيه) and if so, is it derived from the classical *naqī'a*, i.e., a meal on the return of a traveler? See, e.g., van Gelder, *Of Dishes and Discourse: Classical Arabic Literary Representations of Food*, p. 16; BNF 3655, fol. 129b and Cam., fol. 17b: ففاعيه (below, n. 82); BNF 3664, 9a: نقاعية (ibid.).

<sup>69</sup> *Labaniyya* is a dish of meat and yoghurt (لبن). See Rodinson, A.J. Arberry and Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery: Essays and Translations*, pp. 50, 322, 336, 475.

<sup>70</sup> *Safarjaliyya* is cooked with meat and quinces (سفرجل). Ibid., pp. 58, 344, 473.

<sup>71</sup> *Tuffāhiyya* is a dish of meat and (esp. sour) apples (تفاح). Ibid., pp. 44, 311, 352, 471.

<sup>72</sup> *Summāqiyya* is cooked with (esp. fat) meat and sumac (سماق). Ibid., pp. 46, 312-313, 327, 473.

<sup>73</sup> *Rummāniyya* is a meat dish cooked with sour pomegranates (رمان) juice. Ibid., pp. 45, 307, 315-316, 472. BNF 3637, p. 734, has here also قنبريسييه (this word is written very clearly, yet Burton, *Supplemental Nights*, vol. 6, p. 159, n. 3, for some reason reads "Kamburisiyah"). A *qanbarīsiyya* is a dish of dried yoghurt (*qanbarīs* and also *qalbarīs*), meat and rice. See Rodinson, Arberry and Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, p.

ممتدجه<sup>78</sup> واعمل لنا اضلاعه سنبوسك<sup>79</sup> واعمل لنا اضلاعه / افخاخ لصيد السمك والعصافير واعمل لنا ساقاته<sup>80</sup> صواري / للمركب واعمل لنا لنا<sup>81</sup> مجمته كوز لجلت الزيت<sup>82</sup> فعند ذلك / صاح العصفور باعلا صوته وقال للصياد يا مجنون انت / نايم ام

474, where this dish is derived in this case (*hapax legomenon*) by Charles Perry from a certain *Kitāb al-Ṭibākha*, which was probably written in Damascus in the fifteenth century (ibid., p. 469). According to the Lebanese (!) scholar al-Bustānī, *Kitāb Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, s.v., dried yoghurt is known also as *qanbarīsh*. See also Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, s.v.

<sup>74</sup> *Hinṭiyya* is a fat meat dish cooked with shelled wheat (حنطة). See Rodinson, Arberry and Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, pp. 54, 334-335.

<sup>75</sup> *Qar'iyya* is a meat dish cooked with gourds (قرع). Ibid., p. 474.

<sup>76</sup> The well-known *būrāniyya* dish was originally cooked with meat and eggplant. Because of the popularity it gained throughout the years (it is known also in Spain, the Balkans and in other places) it eventually came to denote a category of dishes prepared using a common technique. Thus, instead of eggplant, one may find for instance, gourd, courgette, spinach or mallow. See Marín, "Sobre Būrān y būrāniyya", pp. 193-207; Rodinson, Arberry and Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, pp. 27 (n. 2), 60, 62-63, 137 (n. 1), 239-250, 350-351, 471.

<sup>77</sup> سرته ("its navel"). See, e.g., Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.

<sup>78</sup> [Sic], meaning ممتدجة, i.e., some sort of "stuffed pieces of meat"? BNF 3655, fol. 130a, has here presumably شرايح وممقورة وريشه / حشو لأجل اللحم والمساند.

<sup>79</sup> *Sanbūsak* here is a flatbread or pancake that has been rolled up and stuffed with meat and then deep-oil fried. See Rodinson, Arberry and Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, pp. 382, 386-389.

<sup>80</sup> [Sic]

<sup>81</sup> [Sic]

<sup>82</sup> [Sic]. *Jillat al-zayt* may signify "a most excellent oil", "oil of highest quality".

See also immediately below. Berlin 9105, fol. 111a (in resemblance to Berlin 9066, fol. 50a): وعلى نصف الآخر قلية السماق ويصفي لنا من حوصلته / مفروكة الابيض ويعمل لنا مصارينه اوتار لأجل / القياس ومنافيره / مزاريب لأجل السطوح ورجليه مخاريط لأجل التتور وريشه / حشو لأجل اللحم والمساند.

*Qaliyya* is probably a fried (in the *miqlā* pan) dish of roast meat, here with sumac (سماق). Ibid., 357-358, and also 281, 343ff. *Mafrūka* is a dish of flour or semolina, milk, sugar and almonds. *Maḥārīth* are shovels with which the fire is stirred, e.g., inside an oven (*tannūr*). BNF 3655, fol. 129b: الشقة الثانية مهلبيه وكزبريه وفاختيه / وقرطمية وكمونيه / وسفرجلية وتفاحية وحصرميه / وبورانیه ونرجسيه وقلقاسيه وعصفوريه [130a] وماورديه وكافوريه وروميه /

وقفعايه ورومانيه وفارزیه وليمونيه وهنديه ومعرقيه وبخني / وزيرباج وكبب مقلية علي ارز مفلفل وششبرك / وشوه وست واعمل لنا افخاده واكتافه شرايح / وممقورة واعمل لنا من اضلاعه وصرتيه سنبوسك / واعمل لنا من معاليقه وكزشه جعل مغل واعمل / لنا سيقانه صواري للمراكب واعمل لنا مصارينه / نقائق محشيه واعمل لنا اضلاعه افخاخ لصيد / العصافير واعمل لنا مخالبه سنائير لصيد / السمك واعمل لنا منقاره ميزاب للسطح / واعمل لنا مجمته ظرف للزيت واعمل لنا ريشه / حشو للمخدرات واعمل لنا من لسانه سفوف / للعطش واعمل لنا جلده رق للطليل واعمل لنا / دم دمه اكلال للرمد واعمل لنا حوصلته زير / للماء واعمل لنا من سربسته قبة للموتي

*Muhallabiyya* is a dish of meat cooked with saffron and rice and sweetened with syrup, sugar or honey. See ibid., e.g., pp. 55, 335, 361-362. *Kuzbariyya* is a dish of meat and coriander (كزبرة). Ibid., pp. 137, 482. *Fākhiṭiyya* is not a made out of a ringdove (فاخته), but a meatball dish cooked in a sauce of fat meat and melted tail fat. Ibid., pp. 59, 346. *Qurṭūmiyya* is a dish of meat and safflower (قرطم). Ibid., p. 139. *Kammūniyya* is a meat dish cooked with cumin (كمون). Ibid., pp. 337, 340-341. *Ḥiṣrimīyya* is a dish of meat and



sour unripe grapes (حصرم) juice. Ibid., pp. 44-45, 313-314, 471. *Narjisiyya* is a meat and rice dish coated with egg yolk and egg white, and hence probably resembling the Narcissus flower (نرجس). Ibid., pp. 61-62, 137, 349. *Qulqāsiyya* is a dish of meat and taro (colocasia, قلقاس). Ibid., p. 474. *Asfūriyya* is a dish of boiled meat with rice and saffron. Ibid., p. 473. This dish is derived in this case (*hapax legomenon*) by Charles Perry from the aforementioned fifteenth century Damascan *Kitāb al-Ṭibākha*. *Māwardiyya* is not found in cookery books or studies on Arabic cuisine. It is obvious from here that it is a dish of meat cooked with rose-water (ماء ورد). See Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. It is mentioned without any description also by Ibn Sūdūn (d. 1464) in his *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-Mudhik al-'Abūs*. See Vrolijk, *Bringing a Laugh to a Scowling Face*, p. 73. *Kāfūriyya*, if the intention here is *mudaqqāqa kāfūriyya*, is a dish of chicken breasts and other ingredients, where camphor (كافور) here serves probably only as a proverbial image for whiteness. See Rodinson, Arberry and Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, pp. 135, 359-360. *Rūmiyya*, if in the sense of *labaniyya Rūmiyya* (i.e., “Greek”, “Byzantine”), is a meat dish with yoghurt, rice and vegetables. Ibid., pp. 138, 153, and also above, n. 69. *Fuqqā'iyya* (from فقاعة, “bubble”) is a dish of meat and egg yolk. Ibid., p. 317. *Fāriziyya* is written very clearly, yet impossible to identify. *Laymūniyya* is a dish of (esp.) chicken meat and lemon (ليمون) juice. Ibid., pp. 46-47, 174, 210, 316, 325-326, 362, 475. *Hindiyya*, i.e., *tamarhindiyya*, is a tamarind and meat dish known in medieval Cairo. See Lewicka, *Food and Foodways of Medieval Cairenes: Aspects of Life in an Islamic Metropolis of the Eastern Mediterranean*, p. 280. *Mu'arraqiyya*, if in the sense of *mu'arraq* or *mu'arraq Miṣrī*, is a dish of chicken cooked with chickpeas, thus according to Rodinson, Arberry and Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, pp. 134, 136. See also Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *Yakhnī* (or *yakhnā*, *yakhnā*), *yakhnā* here is a meat and vegetables ragout. Ibid., s.v. *Zirbāj* is a stew of meat, chickpeas, almonds and vinegar. See Rodinson, Arberry and Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, e.g., p. 43. *Shushbarak* or *shishbarak* is a dish of minced meat stuffed in dough in the shape of noodles served with yoghurt. Ibid. p. 473. *شوه* [Sic], meaning *shiwā* or *shuwā* (“roast”)? *ست* [Sic], if it serves here as abbreviation of *sitt al-nūba*, is a dish of chicken and purslane, or *sitt al-shana* (or *al-shani*), a dish of meat and taro (colocasia). Ibid., pp. 134-135, 359, 364. بمقورة: the word is not written clearly, but since *mamqūr* means “soused in vinegar and salt”, one may assume, if indeed the reading is correct, that it is a dish of meat cooked with vinegar, resembling the *mamqūriyya*, and see ibid., pp. 47 (and n. 4), 317-318. *جعل مغل* [Sic], meaning *جعل مغل*: According to al-Asadī, *Mawsū'at Halab*, vol. 3, p. 65, in Aleppo the *jaghl maghl* (but cf. vol. 4, p. 332 in which the term is vowelized *jaghal maghal*) was a dish of tripe or stomach mixed with other parts of the animal. Note, that the dish was also current in Egypt, and according to a description given by al-Shirbīnī, *Hazz al-Quḥūf*, vol. 1, p. 393, and vol. 2, p. 435, *jaghl maghl* (the transliteration is Humphrey Davies's, the editor) is a dish cooked by Egyptian peasants from an animal's tripe or stomach mixed with its offal. See also Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *Sarsaba* is not found in classical lexicography. In colloquial Arabic of Aleppo it denotes the spinal column. See al-Asadī, *Mawsū'at Halab*, vol. 4, p. 341; Jumāna Ṭāh, *Mawsū'at al-Amthāl al-Sha'biyya l-'Arabiyya*, Riyadh, al-Dār al-Waṭaniyya l-Jadīda, 1999, p. 565 (no. 2644); and also Muhammad Hasan 'Abd al-Muḥsin, *al-Adab al-Sha'bi fī Halab*, p. 140. BNF 3664, fol. 8b: [9a] العَصْفُورُ يَا وَلَدِي خُذْ هَذَا / وَامْضُ بِهِ إِلَى الْبَيْتِ كَتِّفَهُ وَأَذْبَحْهُ / وَنَتَّقْهُ وَاعْبُدْهُ وَأَطِيعْهُ وَاعْمَلْ مِنْهُ: / سَقَامِيَّةٌ وَحَصْرَمِيَّةٌ وَلَبْمُونِيَّةٌ وَبُورَانِيَّةٌ / وَمُرُورِيَّةٌ وَنَقَاعِيَّةٌ وَبَصْلِيَّةٌ مَقْلِيَّةٌ وَبَامِيَّةٌ / وَمُلُوحِيَّةٌ وَحُمَصِيَّةٌ وَقُولِيَّةٌ وَقُرْطُمِيَّةٌ / وَهَيْطَلِيَّةٌ وَقَمَحِيَّةٌ وَشَعْرِيَّةٌ وَشَرَابِيحُ / وَاعْمَلْ لَنَا أَيْضًا مَاءَ زِدِّيَّةً وَشَرَابِيحُ / وَخُوجِيَّةً وَنَقَاجِيَّةً وَتَمْرِيَّةً وَثَوِيَّةً / وَمَشْمَائِيَّةً وَرَحْمَانِيَّةً وَمُتَوَكِّلِيَّةً وَاعْمَلْ / مِنْ



مَصَارِنِهِ أَوْتَارُ الْقَوْسِ وَمِنْ رِيشِهِ حَشْوُ / لِّلْمَسَانِيدِ وَمُنْقَرُهُ مَوَازِيْبُ لِّلْمَطَرِ وَمِنْ / مَخَالِيهِ سَنَانِيرُ لِّلْمَمَكِ. *Siqāmiyya* is not found in cookery books, nor is it a dictionary word. Should one consider here an error for *summāqiyya* (a dish of meat and sumac), mentioned in some of the other manuscripts? See above, n. 72. *Marwaziyya* is a dish of meat, prunes, jujubes, raisins, spices and wine vinegar. See Rodinson, Arberry and Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, p. 326. Is *nuqā'iyya* a dish of meat and some sort of fruit (e.g., raisins) soaked in water for the purpose of extraction (*nuqā'a*)? See above, n. 68. *Başaliyya maqliyya* is a fried dish of meat and a large quantity of onions (بصل). See Rodinson, Arberry and Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, esp. p. 348. *Mulūkhīyya* is a dish of meat and mallow (corchorus, ملوخية). Ibid., pp. 361, 363, 475. *Himšiyya* or *himmišiyya* (etc.) in the current context is not found in cookery books, nor in dictionaries, but it is perhaps a dish of meat and chickpeas (حمص) or one named after the Syrian city of Homs (Emesa). *Fūliyya* is a dish of meat and fava beans (فول). Ibid., p. 474. *Hayṭaliyya* is a known pudding made of rice or wheat starch (amylum), milk and honey. In the current context - a dish containing meat - is not found in dictionaries nor in cookery books. *Sharābiyya* in the current context, is not found in cookery books, nor in dictionaries, yet from the semantics of the root *sh.r.b.*, one may consider it to be a meat soup or a meat and fruit syrup stew or the like. Basset, *Mille et un contes*, vol. 2, p. 274, translates "sorbet". *Khawkhīyya* is a dish of chicken and خوخ - apparently plums. See Rodinson, Arberry and Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, p. 135, and n. 4. Basset, *Mille et un contes*, vol. 2, p. 274, translates "du sirop de pêches". *Tamriyya* is a dish of meat and pitted dried dates (تمر). See Rodinson, Arberry and Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, pp. 353, 365. *Tūtiyya*, in the current context, is not found in cookery books or in dictionaries. It may be a dish of meat and mulberries (توت). Basset, *Mille et un contes*, vol. 2, p. 274, translates "de mûres". *Rahmāniyya* in the current context, is not found in cookery books or in dictionaries. *Mutawakkiliyya* - named after the tenth Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847-861) - is a dish of meat, taro (colocasia) and caraway. See Rodinson, Arberry and Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, pp. 137 and n. 3, 186-187, 280, 340. BNF 5072, fol. 57b: والشقة الثانية تعمل لنا منها سماقيه ولبنيه وتفاحيه وسفرجليه / وتعمل منها سكباچ وقيما / وططمماچ وتعمل لنا من كرشه كشكيه / ومن راسة تتوريه ومن ركيه / ومن ساقاته سلم ومن جلده / جراب ومن منقاره مز[ا]رب ومن زبله سبور لاجل التنور / وتعمل لنا من ضلأه فخاب لصيد العصافير ومن ريشه حشوا / Sibbāj is a dish of meat cooked with vinegar. Ibid., pp. 40, 71, 139, n. 5, 305-306, 328-329, 371, and also below (*shikbājiyya*). قیما (or قيمة) is not mentioned in classical lexicography or in cookery books. According to Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire*, s.v., and al-Asadī, *Mawsū'at Halab*, vol. 6, p. 285, *qīma* or *lahme qīma* is "minced meat". They also note that it is derived from Turkish, where indeed *qīma* means "minced", "chopped up", etc., and also specifically "minced meat". See Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, s.v. *Tuṭmāj* here is a dish of fried meat and noodles made out of rolled out dough (the noodles without the fried meat are also named *tuṭmāj*). See Rodinson, Arberry and Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, pp. 470, 473. See also below (*tuṭmājiyya*). *Kishkiyya*, as obvious from here, is a dish of meat with *kishk* - cracked wheat with yoghurt dried in the sun. See *ibid.*, pp. 139, n. 2, 322-324. *Tannūriyya* is a dish of meat left overnight in the oven (تُور). Ibid., e.g., pp. 69, 368. Cam., fol. 17b (similar to AS, p. 95; BNF 3637, pp. 733-734; Ry., fols. 136b-137a): يا ولدی خد هذا / العصفور وامضى للبيت وادبجه / واطبخ لنا منه كمنويه وليمونيه و / فقاعيه وحصرميه ورمانيه وططمماچيه [a18] وشكباچيه وششبرك وكشكيه / ورز وسماقيه / وقلیه وانجاصيه وتفاحيه و / مشمشيه وماورديه ولبنيه وعجيج وشرايح مقلیه / وكباب وبندقیه وما اشبه من / ذلك الطعامات واعمل مصارينه / اوتار للقسى و / ومناقيره مزاريب للسطوح / واعمل من جلده صفره للطعام واعمل / ريشه للمخدرات والوسايد

يقضان ام صاحي ام سكران والله العظيم لو كنت / بقرت بني اسرائيل ام كبش اسماعيل ام العنقا بنت الريح<sup>83</sup> / ما كنت فصلتني هذا التفصيل انا ما يحي<sup>84</sup> ولا لقمه واحده / والله العظيم يا صياد ان اكلتني لم اشبعك وان تركتني او / طلقنتني انفك وكان<sup>85</sup> الصياد اسمه سليمان ابن بادي / انصت الي السمع الي واستمع مني كلمة عجيبيه من لغاة<sup>86</sup> غريبه / ان

found in dictionaries, nor in cookery books or studies about Arabic cuisine. It is probably a dish of meat cooked with plums or pears (إنجاص or إجاص). *Mishmishiyya* is a dish of meat and dry apricot (مشمش), or dry apricot juice, or a dish of meatballs resembling apricots. Ibid., pp. 48, 58, 318, 243-244, 356-357. *Ṭuṭmājiyya* is probably a dish of meat with *ṭuṭmāj* noodles made out of rolled dough (see above in current note). *Shikbājiyya*, probably from *sikbāj* - a dish of meat cooked with vinegar. See above in current note. عجيج (*sic*), and also in Ry., 137a; AŞ, p. 95: وعجج; BNF 3637, p. 734: وعججيه. In this sense not found in dictionaries. Is it (*‘ajj* or *‘ujayj*) a small *‘ujja*, i.e., an egg, meat and flour omelet? See also Burton, *Supplemental Nights*, vol. 6, p. 160, n. 6, who finds it so in the manuscript, and suspects “*Ajñniyah* = a dish of dough”. *Bunduqiyya* is a dish of meatballs in the size of hazel-nuts (بنق) or with hazel-nuts. See Rodinson, Arberry and Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, pp. 66-67, 329, 354-355. As to *lakhdiyat*, BNF 3637, p. 734, has here اللخديات, which is the plur. of *khaddiyya* (pillow) known in *Shāmī* dialects of Arabic (!). See Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire*, s.v.; and also Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. It is interesting though, to find this form in C. Schiaparelli, (ed.), *Vocabulista in Arabico pubblicato per la prima volta sopra un codice della Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze*, pp. 92, 263, which is a thirteenth century CE Arabic-Latin and Latin-Arabic dictionary based probably on the dialect of the kingdom of Valencia (see, e.g., Colin, “*Iṣṭabl: [ii] Spain and the Maghrib*”, *EF*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.) and attributed to the Catalan Dominican theologian Ramón Martí (d. 1287).

<sup>83</sup> *Baqarat Banī Isrā’īl*: Corresponding with the account of the sacrifice of a cow by the children of Israel in Qur’ān 2: 67-73. *Kabsh Ismā’īl*: Corresponding with the story of the near-sacrifice of Abraham’s son in Islam. Al-‘Anqā’ is a legendary bird in Arab heritage. See Pellat, “*Ankā*”, *EF*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. BNF 5072, fol. 57b: لو كنت العنقا بنت / الرخ او ناقت صالح او كبش ابراهيم الخليل او بقرة بني اسرائيل. Al-Rukhkh is also a very well-known fabulous bird in Arab folklore. See, e.g., Marzolph and van Leeuwen, *Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, p. 694; idem, “*al-Rukhkh*”, *EF*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Nāqat Ṣāliḥ*: Based on Qur’ān 7: 73-79; 11:64-68; 17:59; 26:155-158; 54: 23-31; 91: 11-14, tradition tells that Ṣāliḥ was asked by the people of Thamūd to present proof for the righteousness of his prophecy, so he prayed to God and then an exquisite, good looking she-camel came out from a splitting rock. See, e.g., Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets in the Qur’ān and Muslim Literature*, pp. 47-48. Note that BNF 5072 is a Christian manuscript, so it is not to be wondered that he used *kabsh Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl* instead of *kabsh Ismā’īl*. Same goes to BNF 3637, p. 734, that has here الذبيح, which scribe, ‘Abīd Rabbihi, was a non-Arab and a member of the Syrian community and hence a Christian. Cam., fol. 18b: فلو كنت / العنقا بنت الحي او ناقت صالح او / كبش اسماعيل الذبيح او جاموس سمين / مليح او عجل السامري الفصيح. Tradition tells, based on Qur’ān 20: 83-98, that al-Ṣāmīr instilled life in the golden calf (of the biblical story) by scattering dust taken by him from beneath the foot of Gabriel’s horse. See, e.g., Rubin, “*Traditions in Transformation: The Ark of the Covenant and the Golden Calf in Biblical and Islamic Historiography*”, pp. 202-203.

<sup>84</sup> [*Sic*], meaning يجي.

<sup>85</sup> The word سليمان was written and crossed out.

<sup>86</sup> [*Sic*]

تكون عيداً نقياً فاترك الدنيا واطلب الاخره تحضاً<sup>87</sup> سلامه [18b] سلامه<sup>88</sup> وتحيه وتجد فيها قصورا ومقاصيرا رضىه وترا / الحور فيها شبه الشمس المضيه اليوم ستراجي قال لي / اما شقيه من بكاها علي عند فقدي اصبحت عليه غميه واعلمك / ايضا ثلاث كلمات تنتفع بهم في دنياك واخرتك وان / اطلقتني فاني ادلك علي بازين اشهبين وهم لي اصدقا في / بعض البساتين تبيعهم وتنتفع بتمنهم و[ك]دلك ادلك علي كتر / مال تعيش به الي عاقبة العاقبه فقال الصياد وانشد لعمر ك بيت شعر / ان عصفورا اذعني وخوفني من الناس الحميه وشوقني الي جنان عدن وعرفني باعمال نقيه / تم قال يا عصفور ما هي التلا<sup>89</sup> كلمات التي انتفع بهم فقال العصفور / الكلمة الاولى لا تندم علي ما فات [والتانية لا تفرح بما هو آت]<sup>90</sup> والتالثة لا تصدق الا بما / ترا عينك<sup>91</sup> فعند ذلك طاب قلب الصياد وحط العصفور / علي راحة كفه فطار العصفور وحط علي شجرة عالية فقال / له الصياد يا ابا جناح اين المطلب الذي قلت انك تدلني / عليه فقال العصفور والله ما قلت هذا الكلام الا ضحك عليك / حتي قلت من بين يديك قال الصياد فدلني علي بازين اشهبين [19a] فقال العصفور يا قليل العقل عمر ك رايت ام سمعت ان عصفور / يكون صديق باز ما اسرع ما بسيت<sup>92</sup> التلا كلمة التي قلت لك / لا تندم علي ما فات قال العصفور للصياد والله العظيم انك / لو دبحتني كنت وجدت في حوصلتي<sup>93</sup> جوهره قد لقط[ت]ها من / قصر الملك كسر<sup>94</sup> قال الصياد ارجع الي ولا تخاف وانا اصنع / لك قصص من الذهب الاحمر واطعمك السمسم المقشور / واسقيك مالورد<sup>95</sup> الممسك<sup>96</sup> عند ذلك انشد العصفور / وقال يا معاشرين

<sup>87</sup> Colloquial pronunciation of تحظى.

<sup>88</sup> [Sic]

<sup>89</sup> [Sic]

<sup>90</sup> The reconstruction is based upon all the other sources, except for Berlin 9105, Berlin 9066 and BNF 5072, and see below, n. 91.

<sup>91</sup> Berlin 9105, fol. 111b (in resemblance to Berlin 9066, fol. 50a): الكلمة الأولى لا تندم. على ما فاتك والتانية / لا تشهد الا بما رات عينك والتالثة لو ركضت ركض الغزال ما / يصيبك الا نصيبك الاول احسن / لمن اسأ اليك والتانية لا تصدق الا بما ترا عينك والتالثة لا / تندم علي فات

<sup>92</sup> Should be نسيت.

<sup>93</sup> [Sic]

<sup>94</sup> Kistrā Anūshirwān, the great Sassanid king (r. 531-579).

<sup>95</sup> [Sic]

<sup>96</sup> Berlin 9105, fol. 111b (in resemblance to Berlin 9066, fol. 50a): قال العصفور للصياد: يا مكار / يا عيار لا زلت تخدعني بمكر ك وحيلك حتى وقعتني في حبالك / وقد طلبت من الله ان يخلصني منك فقد خلصني الله وانا في حوصلتي / دره تسوى خزانه مصر سبع سنين قال فلما سمع الصياد كلام / العصفور سفق الكف علي الكف وعظ بهامه حتى كاد يقطعه وعاد / العصفور يتفلا والصياد يتحسر حسرة بعد حسرة فقال الصياد / يا اخا العصافير ما ترجع الي عندي وانا اطعمك السمسم ولب / الجوز واحط في حلقك طوق من [ال]ذهب الاحمر وفي رجل ك جناجل / من الفضة البيضاء واحطك بقفص من الفضة مرصع بالذر والجوهر / واحطك في بستان بنت الخليفة وعود تلعب علي الاشجار فقال / له العصفور هيهات هيهات ان كان يرجع الذي فات فما اسرع ما [112] نسيت ثلث كلمات الذي قلت لك عجب بنت الخليفة مرتك حتى / تامر ها هذا الذي اوصفته يا عيار يا مكار الحر نياك مره / بالاخرة منبوك انت نخاله ما عندك حتى تعمل هذا العمل بلاكن / ان الله لا يضيع اجر المحسنين وانا ما اضيع تعبك فقال الصياد / للعصفور تكون سالم انا قلبي يحبك يا اخا العصافير لآنك / صاحب راي ونعم التدبير احسن ما اروح ارمي نفسي في هذا البئر وعود تروح الي جهنم وبئس المصير فقال العصفور / احفر Janā'il = jalājil, i.e., تحت هذه الشجرة تجد جرة ملأه من الذهب الاحمر فهي / تكفيك طول عمر ك "small bells". See Spiro, *An Arabic-English Vocabulary*, s.v.; Aḥmad Taymūr, *Mu'jam*

الوادي لا تقربون هذا الوادي / لان فيه عابداً وصيادي يصطادكم بالفخ والمزراذي<sup>97</sup> / ومضي العصفور بحاله والصياد بقا ندمان علي ما فاته / كملت قصة الصياد والعصفور بعون الله تعالى

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*Taymūr al-Kabūr fī l-Āfāz al-‘Āmiyya*, s.v. *Balākin*, *Ballākin* or *Ballākinna* = probably *bal* + *lākin* (or *lākinna*), i.e., “and yet”, “but”, and consistently so in this manuscript; BNF 3655, fol. 130b: فقال الصياد ايش يكون من / هذا العصفور فاطلقه من يده ففز علي اعلي / الشجرة ثم قال يا صياد لقد فاتك مني / شي عظيم وفائدة جلييلة لو دبحتني اخذت / من حوصلتي جوهره تسوي خراج مصر القاهرة / فقال الصياد ان عدت اطعمتك السمسم / المقشور والفسنق واسقيتك المسك واجعلك [131a] في اعلا مكان قال فحن قلب الصياد عليه وفتح الفخ فطار العصفور / ووقف علي سجرة بالقرب من : BNF 5072, fol. 58a: الصياد ايهي ايش فاتك مني / لو كنت تدبحنني فكان وجدت في حوصلتي درة بقدر البيضة / تسوي خراج مصر فتحصر الصياد وانفهر علي ما فات وقال / للعصفور تعال الي عندي حتي اطعمك اللوز المقشر والعسل / المصفا فتحصن المقشور. Note, that the verb *inqahar* (“to be offended”, “grieved”) here is typical of colloquial Egyptian (see Spiro, *An Arabic-English Vocabulary*, s.v.), yet is known also in Syria, and see al-Asadī, *Mawsū‘at Ḥalab*, vol. 6, p. 267. [Sic], has the scribe here compounded أيها with أي?

<sup>97</sup> Or والزراذي. According to classical lexicography, summed, e.g., by Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v., *zirād* is “a cord in which the throat of a camel is compressed, in order that he may not eject his cud therefrom and bespatter his rider”. Berlin 9105, fol. 112a (in resemblance to Berlin 9066, fol. 50b): ثم ان العصفور طار وجاء الى اولاده وحكى لهم / الحكايه وما جرى عليه من اوله الى اخره فقالوا له الحمد لله رب العالمين / على سلامتكم ثم ان العصفور جعل يقول / اوصيكم [ب]الله يا اولادي لا تقربوا نحو ذاك الوادي / لنن فيه رجل صيادي قد ليس الصوف مع السواذي / كانه في حالة العبادي ولا يخلي رائج وغادي [112b] ثم ان الصياد حفر تحت الشجرة واخذ الجرة التي قال له العصفور / وانصرف الى اهله وعاد ياكلون من الذهب هو واولاده الى ان خلصت / الجرة ومات الصياد واولاده والحمد لله رب العالمين.

اوصيكم يا معشر الاولادي / لا تقربوا شفير ذاك الوادي / لان فيه عابدا صيادي : BNF 3655, fol. 131a: بولا عناية خالق بصطادكم بالفخ والازراذي [131b] اعانني عليه طول عمري / والرب خلصني من الانكادي / لولا عناية خالق العبادي / لمكن السكين من فواذي.

اوصيتكم يا / معاشرين الاولادي لا تقربون / الى هذا الوادي لان فيه رجلاً / صياد : Cam., fol. 23a: اصطادني بالفخ والاولادي / واقعنني وجاب سكينه حتى / يدبحنني واشتهى عنادي لكن / خلصني الحق منه حتى جيت [23b] اليكم يا اولادي.

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