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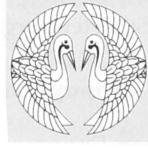
Front cover:

“Kakubha Rāginī”, watercolour, gouache, gold and ink on paper. Deccan, second half of the 18th century.
Album (*Muraqqa'*) X 3 in the Fabergé collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies,
fol. 20b, 7.6 × 11.5 cm.

Back cover:

- Plate 1.** “Gujarī Rāginī”, watercolour, gouache, gold and ink on paper. Deccan, second half of the 18th century. Same
Album, fol. 21a, 6.5 × 11.5 cm.
- Plate 2.** “Gūnkālī (Gūnkāri) Rāginī”, watercolour, gouache, gold and ink on paper. Mughāl, second half of the 16th
century. Same Album, fol. 24b, 11.5 × 12 cm.
- Plate 3.** “Kakubha Rāginī or Sorath Rāginī”, watercolour, gouache and gold on paper. Deccan, second half of the
18th century. Same Album, fol. 26b, 10.0 × 19.0 cm.
- Plate 4.** “Rāginī” (unidentified), watercolour, gouache and gold on paper. Deccan, second half of the 18th century.
Same Album, fol. 27a, 11.5 × 17.0 cm.

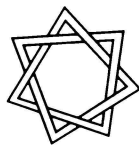
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PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

Elisabeth Zack

YŪSUF AL-MAGHRIBĪ'S EGYPTIAN-ARABIC WORD LIST. A UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT IN THE ST. PETERSBURG STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Introduction

The library of the Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg State University contains among its collection a unique manuscript (call number Ms O. 778) entitled *Daf' al-iṣr 'an kalām ahl Miṣr* ("Removing the Burden from the Speech of the People of Egypt"); hereafter referred to as *Daf' al-iṣr*. This manuscript dates to the beginning of the eleventh century A.H. (the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D.). The author of the work, Yūsuf b. Zakariyā b. Ḥarb al-Maghribī, died in 1019/1611. The importance of the manuscript lies in the fact that, to the best of my knowledge, it is the first dictionary of the Egyptian Arabic dialect. Moreover, the manuscript is the autograph. As far

as I know, there are no other copies of the work [1]. This unique manuscript is the subject of the Ph. D. research by the author of the present article. The research will consist of an edition of the text and a study of its contents.

This paper is an attempt to summarize the issues I intend to discuss in my Ph. D. research. I am going to highlight the following topics: (i) the life of the author of the work, Yūsuf al-Maghribī; (ii) the St. Petersburg copy of the work: its history and present form; (iii) the contents of the manuscript. It includes not only a dictionary but also poetry, anecdotes, and remarks on the culture and customs of the seventeenth-century Egypt.

Yūsuf al-Maghribī

Unfortunately, not much is known about Yūsuf al-Maghribī, except what we read about him in *Daf' al-iṣr*, and in the chapter in the *Rayḥānat al-'albā' wa zahrāt al-ḥayāt al-dunyā* dedicated to him by his friend al-Khafājī [2]. However, al-Khafājī does not provide many facts about al-Maghribī [3]. Yūsuf al-Maghribī was born in Egypt. His exact birth date remains unknown, but from what we know about his teachers, who are mentioned in different sources, we can deduce that he must have been born at the end of the sixties or beginning of the seventies of the tenth century A.H., which corresponds to the sixties of the sixteenth century A.D.

In his *Daf' al-iṣr*, al-Maghribī relates a very personal anecdote about his childhood, which gives us an insight into the background of his family (fols. 70a—71a). When al-Maghribī was about seven years old, he went with his father to al-Ḥijāz, where his father died and was buried in al-Baqī' (the cemetery of al-Madīna). Upon returning to Egypt, Yūsuf al-Maghribī stayed with his maternal uncles who were famous manufacturers of embroidered sword belts (*ḥamā'il al-suyūf*). Al-Maghribī had learnt this craft from them and worked for them. Every year they sold a huge amount of these belts to the caravans that came from the Sudan. In the evening, Yūsuf al-Maghribī would go to the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn to learn the Qur'ān. The language of the Qur'ān awoke his interest in grammar, and in the

evening, after his uncles were asleep, he studied by heart the *Alfiya*, the famous grammar of Ibn Mālik. He had to do this discreetly because one of his uncles was against his studies, stating that there were no scholars in the family, so why should he become one? Once, when a regular caravan from the Sudan did not arrive, al-Maghribī's uncles gathered their wares and set off to the Sudan. They left Yūsuf at home and entrusted their shop to him so that he could provide a living for himself and the family, but soon after they left, Yūsuf sold the shop, bought books for the proceeds, and joined al-Azhar University. His uncles never returned, and some reports reached al-Maghribī that they fathered so many children there that, according to the account, they had to drive them into the house with sticks in the evening.

Unfortunately, little is known about al-Maghribī's further career, although he mentions that he held a *wazīfa*, but he does not mention what kind of service it was (fol. 51a). He was also an intellectual who joined *majālis*, social gatherings where Muslim intellectuals discussed various topics. According to al-Maghribī himself, he was the author of approximately ten works, among which we find a translation from Persian of Sa'dī's famous *Gulistān*. None of those has come down to us except *Buḥyat al-arīb wa ḡhunyat al-adīb* ("The Desire of the Skillful and the Wealth of the Cultured") [4].

History of the manuscript

After the death of Yūsuf al-Maghribī, the manuscript of *Daf' al-īṣr* came into the possession of Muḥammad b. Abī al-Surūr al-Bakrī al-Šiddīqī (d. 1087/1646), who made its abridged version (see below). Then the manuscript passed into the hands of Yūsuf al-Malawī b. Wakīl (date unknown) and later came into the possession of the Egyptian scholar Muḥammad 'Ayyād al-Ṭanṭāwī (1810—1861) [5]. Al-Ṭanṭāwī played an important role as professor of Arabic at St. Petersburg University. He was born, as his name indicates, in a village in the neighbourhood of Ṭanṭa, in the Egyptian Delta. He first received his education in the local *kuttāb* and after that at al-Azhar University in Cairo. After he had finished his studies, he became a lecturer at al-Azhar. He also gave private lessons to foreigners, among whom we find, for instance, the famous Orientalist Edward William Lane (1801—1876). Two Russian diplomats, who studied with al-Ṭanṭāwī, succeeded in obtaining an invitation for him to teach Arabic at the

Institute of Oriental Languages in St. Petersburg when the post became vacant. He arrived in St. Petersburg in 1840. In 1847, he was appointed professor of the Arabic language at St. Petersburg University, and this position was kept by him until his death in 1861.

Al-Ṭanṭāwī has left us the important work entitled *Traite de la langue arabe vulgaire* (Arabic title is *Aḥṣan al-nakḥb fī ma'rifat lisān al-'arab*; the first edition appeared in 1848). It is one of the most interesting sources for our knowledge of the nineteenth-century Egyptian-Arabic [6]. Al-Ṭanṭāwī had brought with him to St. Petersburg about 150 manuscripts; among them there was *Daf' al-īṣr* by Yūsuf al-Maghribī. After Ṭanṭāwī's death, these manuscripts became part of the collection of the St. Petersburg University Library. Almost a century later, in 1968, al-Maghribī's *Daf' al-īṣr* was published in facsimile, with an introduction and indices, by 'Abd al-Salām Aḥmad 'Awwād [7].

Description of the manuscript

The manuscript under discussion in its present form consists of 134 folios; 18—25 lines per page. The manuscript's dimensions are 15.5 × 21.5 cm [8]. The manuscript is an autograph; it is the first draft, which is clear from corrections and comments made by al-Maghribī in the margins of the manuscript. We also encounter many times the word *unzur* in the margins when the author hesitates over the origin of a word, planning to consult his sources later. He wrote the text between Shawwāl 1014 and Jumādā I 1015/February—September 1606.

The St. Petersburg manuscript is in a good condition; only a few pages are slightly damaged (fols. 1a, 2a, 10a and 10b). However, eleven quires of the manuscript are missing—quires 3 to 13 inclusively. Originally, the manuscript contained 25 quires. The last quire consists of four leaves. Quire 3 ends with the entry قطرب (fol. 20b) and quire 14 starts with the entry حقف (fol. 21a) [10]. We also notice another irregularity in the 23rd quire: it consists of eight leaves (fols. 111a—118b) instead of usual ten. However,

there is no text missing, so one may assume that this must have been an error made by al-Maghribī himself.

According to Sharbatov, *Daf' al-īṣr* contains entries for 1,371 words (134 folios in all) [11]. Taking into account that 110 folios were lost, a simple calculation shows that the whole manuscript must have included almost 2,500 entries before part of the manuscript was lost.

What the missing part of the manuscript contained can be reconstructed to a certain extent thanks to another work, *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab fīmā wāfaqa lughat ahl Miṣr min lughāt al-'arab* ("The Brief Speech Concerning What Agrees in the Language of the People of Egypt with the Languages of the Arabs") by Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Surūr. This is a dictionary of Egyptian Arabic, based on *Daf' al-īṣr*, but it is an abridged version of it. Ibn Abī al-Surūr did not include in his work all the words of non-Arabic origin. He also left out most of the references to other dictionaries, anecdotes, etc. It is important that he based his work, written in 1057/1647, on the manuscript of al-Maghribī which was still complete at that time.

Manuscript's title

The title of the manuscript was at first *al-Faḍl al-'āmm wa-qāmūs al-'awāmm* ("The General Benefit Concerning the Dictionary of the Common People"), as can be read on fol. 2a. However, al-Maghribī erased this title on the folio and wrote down a new one in the margin: *Daf' al-īṣr 'an kalām ahl Miṣr* [12]. Elsewhere in the manuscript he gives the title as *Daf' al-īṣr 'an lughāt ahl Miṣr* (this title can be found in several places) [13], while we find the word *kalām*

in the work's title, instead of *lughāt*, only on fol. 2a. We cannot say with certainty which of the titles al-Maghribī preferred. However, the manuscript has become known under the title *Daf' al-īṣr 'an kalām ahl Miṣr*.

On fol. 111a, the author changes the old title, and on fol. 119a the new title appears without any sign of the author's correction, which proves that al-Maghribī changed the title in the process of writing the manuscript.

Manuscript's contents

1. Dialect words.

As was mentioned above, *Daf' al-īṣr* is an important source for our knowledge of Egyptian Arabic in the seventeenth century; there are only a few other sources of dialectal material from this period [14].

The dictionary follows the so-called "rhyme arrangement" which organises roots according to their final radi-

cals. The roots are given in alphabetical order, with the only exception: the letter *wāw* goes before *hā'*, unlike the current order of the alphabet, although it is common in the dictionaries of that time [15].

Al-Maghribī aimed at showing that Egyptian Arabic was in fact "correct" Arabic, as is already clear from the (second) title of his work. To prove this, he presents Egypt-

tian Arabic words and finds evidence for these words in the dictionaries of Classical Arabic. For this purpose, he uses mainly *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* of al-Firūzābādī, and to a lesser extent *al-Šihāḥ* of al-Jawharī, and some other dictionaries. In fact, he quotes from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* so often that he does not even find it necessary to mention the title or the author, simply indicating: *wa yaqūl...* ("and he says...").

Although I have qualified *Daf' al-iṣr* as a dictionary, and even though al-Maghribī names his work like this in the first title he gave to the book, it is not strictly speaking a dictionary; it is not an exhaustive list of the words used in Egyptian Arabic. Al-Maghribī describes certain words but leaves many unmentioned. He also does not explain the meaning of all the words he lists. He mentions, for example, a word and then adds that this word is not correct, because *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* says: ..., without offering an explanation of the meaning of the word. It remains unclear to me whether al-Maghribī considered these words generally known or he believed their meaning to be the same as is given in *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, and he therefore did not find it necessary to explain them. This is the point that needs further investigation.

It is interesting, al-Maghribī also indicates in which part of society some of the words are used. He writes, for example, that a certain word is used by peasants or country people (*ahl al-aryāf; ahl al-rīf; al-fallāḥīn*), by people from Upper Egypt (*al-Ša'īd*), by the upper class (*al-khawāṣṣ; al-khāṣṣa*), the common people (*al-'awāmm*), by women, little children, etc. Sometimes he mentions that a certain word is used by non-Egyptians, e.g. people from North Africa, al-Ḥijāz, the Levant, or by Turks, etc. It is possible that al-Maghribī changed the title from *al-Faḍl al-'āmm wa-qāmūs al-'awāmm* to *Daf' al-iṣr 'an kalām ahl Miṣr*, because he realised that the words mentioned did not belong to the 'awāmm alone and covered a much wider range of vocabulary.

Al-Maghribī does not focus only on the words of Arabic origin; he also tries to give an explanation for the words which he could not trace back to the Arabic language. It should be noted that he mastered both Persian and Turkish [16], of which he gives many proofs, and he traces back some words to these languages. Sometimes, his explanation is not correct, mainly because he does not realise that words can be subjected to certain phonetic changes.

As a source for Egyptian Arabic the St. Petersburg manuscript is of great importance. Not only does it give us an insight into the vocabulary of the language in the sixteenth — seventeenth centuries, but it gives us materials to the study of the dialect as it was spoken in this period (e.g. reference is made for cases where *dhāl* has become *dāl* and where the *hamza* has disappeared).

Conclusion

Despite the fact that Yūsuf al-Maghribī remains a rather obscure personality in Arabic literary history, his work *Daf' al-iṣr 'an kalām ahl Miṣr* can serve as a rich source for the history of the Arabic language as it was spoken in Egypt in the late sixteenth — early seventeenth century. It also enables us to make insight into the daily life of the Egyptians of the period. Given the exceptional value

2. Poetry.

Al-Maghribī was an accomplished poet, of which he gives many proofs in his *Daf' al-iṣr*. Often, when al-Maghribī describes a certain word, he quotes some lines of poetry containing this word. The quoted verses are either his own or by some famous poet (e.g. al-Mutanabbī is quoted several times). Sometimes, he cites some famous poem or song of his time. It happens that a word he describes inspires him to write some verses which show all the meanings of this particular word. His favourite genre is *mawwāl*, a type of poetry with a homonymous rhyme (the rhymed word is the same in each line, but has different meanings) [17]. Professor Olga Frolova dedicated several studies to al-Maghribī's poetry containing in *Daf' al-iṣr*, and I do not enter here into the details of the issue [18].

3. Culture and customs.

Daf' al-iṣr is also an important source of information about life in Egypt at the seventeenth century. For example, al-Maghribī includes in his work an interesting account about the introduction of tobacco in Egypt (fol. 16b):

"And among the events that took place in Egypt this year, which is the year 1014, is [the introduction of] a ḥab which became known under the name of 'tobacco' [19], whose smoke they breathe in (drink in the text — E. Z.). The use of it has increased now to the point that it is sold every day in a world which has crime (?), and it has become a general necessity to all nationalities (?) in special shops [20], and the idea appeared to open special houses for it like coffeehouses. I do not know any reliable information about it. They say that it came from the west [21]. It is praised in a long *qaṣīda* that I heard. I sipped a bit of its smoke after which something like dizziness came over me, and [it is] no wonder, because the smoke called *dukḥkh* [22] is close to it" [23].

Further in the text he again shortly mentions tobacco (fol. 75b):

"I heard something strange (...) that is that Shaykh al-Ziyādī gave a legal opinion that using the plant for smoking, which is a novelty in Egypt, at daytime during the fasting, does not invalidate the fasting. So I said, 'I ask God's forgiveness, there is no power and no strength save in God'".

This anecdote is cited to explain the word *radhl* ("low, despicable, base etc."). Al-Maghribī states that he finds this anecdote very suitable to be mentioned at the entry.

Besides anecdotes like these, the text contains other valuable information about various aspects of Egyptian life, e.g. clothing, food, musical instruments, etc. Al-Maghribī mentions as well many personal names, some of them are familiar to us and some are not.

of the information the manuscript kept in the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg State University provides, and the fact that only a facsimile edition has been published, the author of the present article is preparing its edition and critical study in order to make its contents accessible to a wider scholarly circle.

Notes

1. A. Müller and A. Socin do mention a copy of *Daf' al-iṣr* made by Heinrich Thorbecke, in Halle, Germany (see their “Heinrich Thorbecke’s wissenschaftlicher Nachlass und H. L. Fleischer’s lexikalische Sammlungen”, *ZDMG*, 45 (1891), p. 480, No. 124). Unfortunately, this copy remained inaccessible to me.
2. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Khafājī, *Rayḥānat al-albā’ wa-zahrat al-ḥayāt al-dunyā*. Taḥqīq ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilw (al-Qāhira, s. d.), ii, pp. 32–7.
3. Al-Muḥibbī (see his *Khulāṣat al-athar fī ‘yān al-qarn al-ḥādī ‘ashar* (al-Qāhira, A. H. 1290), iv, p. 501) gives al-Maghribī’s death date not mentioned by al-Khafājī.
4. According to Brockelmann (see *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1937–1942), Supplementband II (1938) p. 395), a copy of this manuscript is kept at the library of Gotha, Germany.
5. For more information about al-Ṭanṭāwī, see Ighnātiyūs Krātskhūfskī, *Ḥayāt al-shaykh Muḥammad ‘Ayyād al-Ṭanṭāwī*. Tarjama: Kulthūm ‘Awda (al-Qāhira, 2000) (dhākīrāt al-kitāba; 14). This is a translation of I. Krachkovsky’s work written in Russian: *Sheikh Tantavi, professor S. Peterburgskogo Universiteta (1810–1861)*, published in 1929.
6. See M. Woidich, “Das Kairenische im 19. JH.: Gedanken zu Ṭanṭāwī’s ‘Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire’”, *Dialectologica Arabica: A Collection of Articles in Honour of the Sixtieth Birthday of Professor Heikki Palva* (Helsinki, 1995), p. 271. — *Studia Orientalia*, edited by the Finnish Oriental Society, 75.
7. Yūsuf al-Maghribī, *Daf’ al-iṣr ‘an kalām ‘ahl Miṣr*, with an introduction and indices by ‘Abd al-Salām Aḥmad ‘Awwād (Moscow, 1968).
8. The facsimile is a slightly reduced photograph of the manuscript, approximately 83% of the real size.
9. Al-Maghribī states it on fol. 133a. However, on fol. 1a, l. 19, he writes: *dhalika fī awā’il dhī al-ḥijja ‘ām arba’at ‘ashar wa-alf* (i. e. April, 1606).
10. The publisher of the manuscript ‘Abd al-Salām Aḥmad ‘Awwād states in the foreword that after the missing part the entry ردف follows (see Yūsuf al-Maghribī, *Daf’ al-iṣr ‘an kalām ‘ahl Miṣr*, with an introduction and indices by ‘Abd al-Salām Aḥmad ‘Awwād, p. 11); however, this is not correct. Indeed, a word with the root ردف is mentioned: *ويقولون اي الشعرا ردف المحبوب كالحقف* (line 3), but the word which is explained here is *حقف*, which becomes clear from line four onward where different plurals of the word are given, and also from the fact that the next entry is the word *جلف* (fol. 21a, l. 9). Furthermore, the last word which is explained in the missing part has the root *حقف* (the quotation at the top of fol. 21a is from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, chapter *حقف*).
11. G. Sharbatov, “Makḥṭūṭa qāhiriyya farīda li-Yūsuf al-Maghribī”, *Abḥāth al-nadwa al-duwaliyya li-tarīkh al-Qāhira*, mārīs—abrīl, 1969 (1970), p. 310.
12. Ibn Abī al-Surūr erroneously quotes the title as *Raf’ al-iṣr ‘an kalām ahl Miṣr*. See Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Surūr, *al-Qawl al-muṭṭadab fīmā wāfaqa lughat ahl Miṣr min lughāt al-‘arab*. Taḥqīq Sayyid Ibrāhīm Sālim wa Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (al-Qāhira, 1962), p. 9. The error can be explained by the existence of a very similar title of the well-known book called *Raf’ al-iṣr ‘an quḍā’ Miṣr* by Abū al-Faḍl Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Asqalānī. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, who wrote an introduction to Ibn Abī al-Surūr’s work, was unaware of the existence of *Daf’ al-iṣr*, believing that it had been lost. He, therefore, refers to it as *Raf’ al-iṣr* (see Ibn Abī al-Surūr, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–2).
13. In the margins of fols. 51a, 81a, 91a, 101a, 111a, 119a, and 129a.
14. Other important sources for Egyptian Arabic from the same period are Yūsuf al-Shirbīnī (see Humphrey Taman Davies, *Seventeenth-Century Egyptian Arabic: A Profile of the Colloquial Material in Yūsuf al-Shirbīnī’s ‘Hazz al-Quḥūf fī Sharḥ Qaṣīd Abī Shādūf’*. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis. University of California, Berkeley, 1981); the above-mentioned work by Ibn Abī al-Surūr; and the Judeo-Arabic Geniza-documents described by Blanc. See H. Blanc, “Egyptian Arabic in the seventeenth century. Notes on the Judeo-Arabic passages of Darxe No’am (Venice, 1697)”, *Studies in Judaism and Islam* (Jerusalem, 1981), pp. 185–202.
15. See J. A. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography: Its History, and Its Place in the General History of Lexicography* (Leiden, 1965), 2nd photomech. repr., p. 48.
16. He does not mention where or how he learned these languages.
17. See P. Cachia, “The Egyptian mawwāl — its ancestry, its development, and its present forms”, *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 8 (1977), pp. 77–103.
18. See O. B. Frolova, “Egyptian folk songs in the unique manuscripts of the St. Petersburg University Library”, *Dialectologica Arabica: A Collection of Articles in Honour of the Sixtieth Birthday of Professor Heikki Palva* (Helsinki, 1995), pp. 87–93. — *Studia Orientalia*, edited by the Finnish Oriental Society, 75; *idem*, “Mavvali Iusufa Magribi” (“The mawwāl of Yūsuf al-Maghribī”), in *Pis’men-nye Pamiatniki Vostoka. 1975* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 163–7; *idem*, “K probleme sootnosheniia literaturnogo arabskogo iazyka i dialektov (na materiale koranicheskikh tsitat v slovara Iusufa al-Magribi)” (“To the problem of the correlation between literary Arabic and dialects: on the basis of the Qur’ānic citations in the dictionary by Yūsuf al-Maghribī”), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie; St. Petersburg Journal of Oriental Studies*, 9 (1997), pp. 280–4.
19. *Ṭābigha* (today called *tīghh*). ‘Abd al-Salām Aḥmad ‘Awwād did not include the word *ṭābigha* in his index of entries.
20. In the margin is added: “one *rafl* is sold for three gold pieces”.
21. Sharbatov is erring in rendering this word (see Sharbatov, *op. cit.*, p. 316).
22. Al-Maghribī probably means that the word for smoke (*dukkhh*) sounds like the word denoting dizziness (*dawkha*). He, therefore, establishes a link between the meanings of the two words.
23. One should note that smoking took spread in Egypt between the years 1601 and 1603 (see J. Kárpáti, *Turkish-Type Egyptian Pipes from the Material of the Hungarian Excavation in Theban Tomb 32* (Budapest, 1998), p. 16). Therefore, this account from the year 1606 can be considered as very early information on this innovation among Egyptians.