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**THE MARKETS OF JERUSALEM IN THE EARLY MUSLIM PERIOD – LOCATION,
INTERPRETATION, AND THE CREATION OF A NEW URBAN ZONING**

Gideon Avni

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Abstract While the urban development of Jerusalem in the Roman and Byzantine periods was characterized by a monolithic religious and cultural appearance, the city underwent a gradual process of transformation following the Islamic conquest. It culminated, for the first time in its long history, in the formation of a new urban zoning, demarcating the physical precincts of its three communities, the Muslim, the Christian and the Jewish. As shown in an early Muslim tradition by Ibn al Murajjā, the linear markets of Jerusalem served as the division lines between the communities. The refined evaluation of the crystallization of ethnically oriented quarters and the division of lands between the Christian, the Muslim and the Jewish communities is based on abundant archaeological findings and on new interpretation of this early tradition on the markets of Jerusalem.

Keywords division of lands, Ibn al Murajjā, Jerusalem, linear markets, religious communities, urban transformation

DOES AN AL-TAFSĪRIYYA REALLY EXIST IN THE QUR'ĀN?

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and

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Abstract This article aims to disentangle *an al-tafsīriyya* through the dual perspective of linguistics and translation. According to traditional grammarians of Arabic, *an al-tafsīriyya* has the sense of the particle *ay* “that is” and can introduce a direct quote, an elucidation or an explanation. Modern scholars agree that *an al-tafsīriyya* is similar to a colon in the Western punctuation system. However, as Ibn Hishām observed, *an al-tafsīriyya* does not elucidate what precedes it, so that translating *an al-tafsīriyya* as a colon indicating direct speech is inaccurate. Here, we suggest another function of *an al-tafsīriyya*, which can be preceded by two different groups of verbs in the past tense: verbs of saying and verbs with no indication of saying, both of which are followed by an imperative form. In this view, *an al-tafsīriyya* functions as a neutralized particle that introduces a verbal complement, which can be regarded as quasi-direct speech and not the direct object. We show that a ‘nonfinite to-clause’ (e.g., “We revealed to the Disciples to believe in me”) is the best way to translate *an al-tafsīriyya*, because both the complementation of the verb and the feature of quasi-indirect speech are embedded in a non-finite to-clause.

Keywords *an al-tafsīriyya*, direct speech, neutralized particle, non-finite to-clause

**THE MARKETS OF JERUSALEM AFTER THE ARAB CONQUEST IN LIGHT OF AN
EARLY MUSLIM TRADITION**

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Abstract In the paper I discuss an early Arabic tradition that relates to several important aspects related to the history, particularly the geographical history of Jerusalem during the first two centuries after the Arab-Islamic conquest. It is reported in the most important book on the merits of Jerusalem, Hebron and (greater) Syria (*Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-'l-Khalīl wa-'l-Shām*) by al-Musharraf b. al-Murajjā (d. after 1052), and I tend to date it to the Umayyid period, that is, between the end of the 7th to the mid of the 8th centuries CE. According to this tradition, three streets-cum-markets existed in Jerusalem already in the Byzantine period. Immediately after the conquest of Jerusalem, the big central market was expropriated from the hands of the Christians in the city. It seems highly plausible that the markets that are mentioned in the tradition are identical to the three present-day markets, which were constructed over the Roman-Byzantine central *Cardo* of Jerusalem dividing it into three streets.

Keywords Early Islamic Jerusalem: geographical history, markets, governors, literature in praise of Jerusalem, transition from Byzantium to Islam

JOSHUA BLAU (1919-2020) AND THE STUDY OF ARABIC

Simon Hopkins

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

SYNOPSIS

Transylvania – Austria – Palestine – Israel	3. The lexicon of Judaeo-Arabic
I. Blau's approach to research	4. The character and status of Judaeo-Arabic
1. Philological principles	5. Judaeo-Arabic literature
2. Comparative approach	6. Arabicized Hebrew
3. Scholarly caution vs. imagination	7. Collected articles on Judaeo-Arabic
4. Exchanges of scholarly opinion	V. Ancient South-Palestinian Christian Arabic (ASP)
II. Classical Arabic	VI. Neo-Arabic and modern Arabic dialects
III. Middle Arabic	VII. Modern standard Arabic
IV. Judaeo-Arabic	In conclusion
1. The grammar of Judaeo-Arabic	
2. Early Phonetic Judaeo-Arabic Spelling (EPJAS)	

The late Professor Joshua Blau, who died on 20th October 2020, was one of the great Semitists of the 20th and early 21st centuries, a scholar who made massive contributions in particular to the study of Arabic and Hebrew in all their ancient and modern varieties.¹ He served for many years as Professor of Arabic Language and Literature at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and was a frequent contributor to this journal, of which volumes 15 (1992) and 16 (1993) with the theme “Studies in Semitic Linguistics” were published in his honour.

¹ A full bibliography of Blau's writings “כתבי פרופ' יהושע בלאו” by O. Tirosh-Becker, G. Birnbaum, Y. Hopkins and L. Mohar, and has been published by the Academy of the Hebrew Language in a special issue of *Ha'Ivrit* 69 (2022): 125-185. References in the following pages are to the numbered items of this bibliography.

Most of Blau's articles have been assembled in five volumes of collected writings:

Studies in Middle Arabic and its Judaeo-Arabic Variety (Jerusalem 1988) [no. 338]

עיונים בבלשנות עברית = *Studies in Hebrew Linguistics* (Jerusalem 1996) [no. 403]

Topics in Hebrew and Semitic Linguistics (Jerusalem 1998) [no. 431]

בלשנות עברית = *Hebrew Linguistics* (Jerusalem 2013) [no. 507]

בלשנות ערבית = *Arabic Linguistics* (Jerusalem 2017) [no. 520].

Many of the items mentioned in the present article have been reprinted, translated, revised or combined (and often substantially recast) in one of these collections; details can be found in the afore-mentioned bibliography and are mostly not repeated here.

**VESSELS IN THE DESERT:
THE IMAGERY OF SEAFARING AND SHIPWRECK IN THE QUR'ĀN***

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Abstract *This paper studies the various mentions of ships, sea-voyages, sea trade and storms on the sea and their theological and rhetorical significance in the Qur'ān. It departs from the prevailing approach of a historical anchoring of the imagery towards a study of the navigation motifs as re-formulations of a widespread imagery in pre-Islamic poetry, late antique theological literature and visual depiction. It argues that the literary character of the Qur'ānic text cautions against a purely historical reading of it and instead emphasizes the significance of the literary context and rhetorical means. Based on Hans Blumenberg's groundbreaking philosophical work on the metaphor of shipwreck as a metaphor of existence the paper tackles the use of seafaring references in the cause of the Qur'ānic proclamation and pursues the interconnection of the imagery with its use and function in pre-Islamic poetry, in Jewish and Christian writings, in the psalms and material culture.*

Keywords *Late Antiquity, metaphor, pre-Islamic poetry, Qur'ān, seafaring, shipwreck*

* This article is a revised and extended version of a paper presented at the fourteenth international colloquium "From Jāhiliyya to Islam" in Jerusalem, 2019. I would like to thank the organizers and participants for their open ears, precious questions and helpful comments. Special thanks go to Yohanan Friedmann, Christian Robin, Christian Lange, Guy Ron-Gilboa, and Iyas Nasser. My sincere thanks go to the reviewers who have helped me greatly to improve this article through their detailed feedback and valuable advice. I am especially grateful to Talia Trainin for her valuable assistance in improving the language and content of this paper. Translations of Qur'ānic verses are based on Arthur Arberry's translation, at times modified.

**PHONETIC, ANALYTIC AND SUBSTITUTE WRITING:
PATTERNS AND PITFALLS IN S.D. GOITEIN'S YEMENI ARCHIVE***

Ori Shachmon and Tom Fogel
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Abstract The archive of the late S.D. Goitein, stored at the Ben-Zvi Institute in Jerusalem, contains hundreds of hand-written transcribed texts in Yemeni-Arabic dialects, that were recorded in the early 1950s from Jewish immigrants from Yemen to Israel. In this essay we follow the evolution of the texts in this archive, pertaining to the trail from the oral narration to the written version. We propose to analyze each of these texts as a *spiral narrative event*, during which the story is told, re-told and recorded several times and in diverse manners, until it assumes its final, polished form. This multi-stage process is demonstrated via a sample story, told by an immigrant from the province of Ibb in Lower Yemen. We examine the *triangular relationship* between the researcher, the assistant and the informant, and propose that this triangle may account for the gaps between the original transmission and its written reproduction. We define three strategies employed by the Yemeni assistant in transcribing the materials, namely *Phonetic Writing*, where allophones find their way into the transcript; *Analytic Writing*, revealing the assistant's familiarity with Judaeo-Arabic writings; and *Substitute Writing*, where forms in the informant's speech are replaced by their correlatives in the assistant's own dialect. Finally, we point to several pitfalls that may hinder an accurate linguistic analysis of the texts, and propose ways to avoid them.

Keywords Arabic dialects, folktales, Goitein, oral narration, transcription, Yemen

* The study presented here follows from our ongoing survey of Yemeni Arabic in Israel. The project was initially supported by the E'eleh BeTamar Association, then continued with a grant from the Israel Science Foundation (Grant 1009/18).

Preliminary findings of this project were presented by both authors at the 7th International conference on Jewish Languages at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem in (June 2019); and by the first author at the 13th Conference of the International Association of Arabic Dialectology, at Akaki Tsereteli State University in Kutaisi, Georgia (June 2019).

We extend our gratitude to the Ben-Zvi institute in Jerusalem for approving the publication of scanned extracts and photos from the Goitein Archive, and to Dr. Lavi Shay and the staff of the Ben-Zvi Library for their courteous service and willingness to help at all times. Special thanks are due to Frank H. Stewart of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for his thoughtful comments on an earlier draft of this article.

THE SAMARITANS AND EARLY ISLAMIC IDEAS

Adam J. Silverstein

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Abstract This article considers the interaction between Samaritan and early Islamic ideas. By focusing on a number of case-studies, it is argued that in addition to the ‘usual’ recourse made to Jewish and Christian materials in accounting for aspects of early Islamic culture, religion, and thought, Samaritan materials also deserve consideration in these contexts. First, it is suggested that there were reasonable channels of transmission for Samaritan ideas into seventh century Arabia. Second, it is argued that there are enough historiographically-acceptable materials on which to draw in examining Samaritanism on the eve of Islam. And third, it is argued that these Samaritan materials may contribute to our understanding of such early Islamic ideas as the identity of ‘Uzayr, the notion of *taḥrīf*, the Qur’ānic portrayal of Joseph, the identity of the Qur’ān’s Sabians, and the traditions that relate the ‘Āshūrā’ fast in Medina during the Prophet’s lifetime to Pharaoh and Moses.

Keywords ‘Āshūrā’, Ezra/‘Uzayr, Joseph, Samaritans, *taḥrīf*, Sabians, Yom Kippur

THE EARLY CIRCULATION AND LATE ADOPTION OF THE “PACT OF ‘UMAR”
(*SHURŪṬ ‘UMAR*)

Luke Yarbrough
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Abstract This article reassesses the early evidence relating to the notorious “Pact of ‘Umar” (*Shurūṭ ‘Umar*), proposing the following account: *Shurūṭ ‘Umar* was most likely put into circulation in Kūfa or—less probably—Ḥimṣ in the early- to mid-second/ eighth century. It then circulated among scholars in relative obscurity for at least two centuries more. It was first proposed to a Muslim ruler as an authoritative, enforceable document in the late third/early tenth century, but there is no evidence that it was enforced until the later fifth/eleventh century at the earliest. It follows that *Shurūṭ ‘Umar* was not the foundational reference point for the notional or effective regulation of non-Muslim populations in early Islam.

Keywords *ahl al-dhimma*, Islamic history, Islamic law, *isnād* analysis, Pact of ‘Umar