

B. III, 9  
13 J 20, f. 11

10. A BOOK IS MADE

LETTER OF A SCRIBE TO HIS EMPLOYER (Al-Mahalla, ca. 1145)

The writer of this letter, Zakkay b. Moses, is known from documents dated 1127 through 1150 and wrote and signed himself legal deeds in al-Mahalla <sup>from</sup> in 1143 through 1147.<sup>1</sup> In this letter, too, we find him in that town. The recipient, a tax farmer who kept also a dyeing workshop, lived in a smaller town not far away from al-Mahalla, for he and a friend of his, a druggist, received their supplies from that provincial capital, as we also learn here.

Normally, a book was copied from a model provided or recommended by the customer who gave the order. When Zakkay writes that the book will comprise two volumes, because it is on parchment and its letters are bold, he refers to the model from which he copied. On first reading, I thought that Zakkay was only asked to supply missing pages. But nothing in the wording of the letter justifies such an assumption.

The Tafsir, that is, the Arabic translation by Saadya Gaon of the Five Books of Moses, written in Hebrew characters, which forms the object of this letter, comprises

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about 400 pages of thirty lines. Assuming that Zakkay could make ten pages a day, like his colleague, the Muslim judge, mentioned Med. Soc., II, p. 229,<sup>2</sup> and that the exchange rate of the dinar was approximately 1:40, as in Med. Soc., I, p. 381, secs. 55-57, he would earn  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 40 = 100$ : 40 days =  $2\frac{1}{2}$  dinars per day. This appallingly low remuneration of the scribes' work was the rule, see p. ( ), above.

It is also noteworthy that a discount (from 3 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  dinars) was granted during the work. The parchment was <sup>o</sup>an account of the employer; nothing is said about pens and ink.

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I am writing to my lord, the illustrious Kohen, may God prolong his life....<sup>3</sup>

REPORT ABOUT THE PROGRESS OF THE WORK

The preceding letter of my lord, in which you asked me to copy the Tafsir of the Torah, has arrived, together with the ten sheets of parchment. As soon as I had read the

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letter, which was forwarded to me by R. Solomon,<sup>4</sup> I set to work. I cut the parchments in the way I thought suited best and copied. The ten sheets were sufficient for about one third of the Torah. When R. Solomon was about to travel to Misr (Fustat), I informed him about the situation and said to him: "I need parchment for the completion of the work." Said he to me: "The Kohen's concerns are dear to me. I shall buy the parchments in Fustat and bring them with me and you will select from them what you need for your work." When he returned from Fustat, he brought the parchments, I selected the best of them and am now bent on completing the work.<sup>5</sup>

The Tafsīr will comprise two volumes, since it is on parchment and in bold letters. If you wish that it should be bound in al-Mahalla - for we have a bookbinder here - send us bindings<sup>6</sup> for two volumes. Otherwise, convey your wishes to your servant and to the elder Abu 'l-Murajjā R. Solomon. And please do not neglect the payment of the fee for I am in great [ ... ] on account of the work which I have undertaken for you because I h[old you in high esteem].<sup>7</sup>

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BUSINESS AFFAIRS OF COMMON FRIENDS<sup>8</sup>

R. Solomon told me that he had sent you w[ith] the hāvēr Ibn Tarīf<sup>9</sup> two packages of brazilwood<sup>10</sup> weighing ~~to~~ fourteen pounds and that he had sent to the elder Abu 'l- Alā' nine pounds of pepper and two pounds of ginger. Kindly confirm arrival. Also, R. Solomon sends with the bearer of these lines to the elder Abu 'l- Alā' three pounds less one quarter cinnamon and civet perfume<sup>11</sup> weighing 2-1/2 ounces.

R. Solomon wrote to the elder Abu 'l- Alā' and asked him to buy for him ten to fifteen mījārs<sup>12</sup> in addition to those he already has. Kindly let me know whether they have been purchased, for he intends to put in them some [ ... He will either fetch them] himself or send his messenger.

NOTE ABOUT THE COPYIST'S FEE

The completed sh[eets I shall leave here.]<sup>13</sup> If this is convenient to you, please send the fee. Otherwise, write your instructions to the elder Abu 'l-Murajjā<sup>14</sup> and he will pay out of his own money.

I had informed you in my first letter that the fee was 3 dinars, for the writing of this Tafsir is like the

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writing of a Bible codex, the only difference being that it needs no signs for the vowels.<sup>15</sup> But in view of the esteem in which I hold you, I remit from this half a dinar. You have sent me half a dinar through R. Solomon, the balance being 2 dinars. Please do not delay to remit them or to instruct R. Solomon to pay them for you and to charge you with them in addition to the price of the parchments.

Also, give him pleasure by honoring him with your orders; he is very grateful to you and gives much publicity to you and to the elder Abu 'l- Alā'.

#### CONCLUSION

Best regards to you, the elder Abu 'l- Alā', the teacher,<sup>16</sup> and to my lords, the masters, your boys -  
may they be blessed from Heaven.

And, please, [make] all of you an effort to get those mijārs.<sup>17</sup> Also, if you can find rennets,<sup>18</sup> please buy them and inform me about their purchase in a letter with the Muslim, the bearer of these lines, or anyone else whom you

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will find convenient. If you wish to send something with this Muslim, please do; he is trustworthy. And Peace.

Address (upside down, as usual)

To my lord, the elder Abu 'l-Bishr, his honor,  
greatness and holiness, our master and teacher Mevassēr ha-Kohen,  
son of R. <sup>וֹ</sup>Solmān, the taxfarmer in Bāb ...<sup>19</sup>

From his friend Zakkay, son of R. [Solom]<sup>20</sup>

(In another, irregular hand using book script)

To my lord, the elder Abu 'l-Bishr, with  
R. Mevōrākh b. Solomon.<sup>21</sup>

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The deed of 1147 (TS 13 J 3 f 6v) is translated on pp. (BII, 4) above.

<sup>2</sup>The source referred to there speaks of folios, (which consist of two pages). But since in Arabic, as in our script, the letters of one word are connected, while in Hebrew they are not, one can easily make in Arabic two pages in the time needed for one in Hebrew.

<sup>3</sup>Four lines of the usual phrases.

<sup>4</sup>See below.

<sup>5</sup>The preparation of hides to serve as writing material was a special art obviously not cultivated in al-Mahalla.

<sup>6</sup>Text: tāqāt, a Persian word ~~is~~ with various meanings in Arabic. This detail also shows that the recipient knew the measures of the book ordered. Since book covers, then as today, were of greatly different values, the proprietor had to make the choice himself.

<sup>7</sup>The same phrase occurs on verso, l. 7. The writer emphasizes that he had to neglect more lucrative work for copying this book. As TS 8 J 21, f. 9, shows, Zakkay was active in the olive oil trade.

NOTES

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<sup>8</sup>Because of the insecurity of communications, it was common practice to mention in letters ~~etc.~~ consignments sent, orders posted, and other business affairs of friends.

<sup>9</sup>About this "distinguished member" of the yeshiva see Med. Soc., II, p. 481, sec. 29.

<sup>10</sup>Ar. baqqam, a red dying stuff in wide use in the Middle Ages.

<sup>11</sup>Ar. zábada (from which English civet is derived). The quantity sent was worth about 10 dirhems (money), cf. TS 10 J 15, f. 22, where 100 dirhems (weight) cost 10-3/4 dinars (in Fustat, 1117). Many other quotations in India Book.

<sup>12</sup>Of the various meanings of this word, only "earthen vessel" fits here. See Wehr, Dictionary, p. 1050.

<sup>13</sup>This is a guess, based on the writer's remark above that he awaits orders concerning the binding.

<sup>14</sup>That is, R. Solomon, so often mentioned in the letter. He was a wholesale druggist and as such served also as a kind of banker.

<sup>15</sup> Hebrew and Arabic scripts contain no letters for vowels. In sacred books, such as the text of the Bible, special signs for the vowels are added.

<sup>16</sup> Ar. mv'callim. Obviously the only religious dignitary in the little locality.

<sup>17</sup> See n. 12, above.

<sup>18</sup> The membrane of the stomach of a calf is used for the preparation of cheese. Because of religious taboos, some people preferred to prepare cheese at home. These two postscripts are typical for a letter to a village: earthen vessels and rennets were to be had there.

<sup>19</sup> The name of the place seems to be written in another hand or perhaps only with another pen. The last four letters are not identifiable with certainty.

<sup>20</sup> Here something strange occurred: the writer wanted to replace the Arabic name <sup>a</sup>Solmān, of the recipient's father, by the Heb. Solomon but since everything was covered with writing, put it at the edge of the sheet, where it could be taken as the name of his own father, wherefore he deleted it. But there can be no doubt about the identity of Zakkay since his handwriting is known from numerous other manuscripts.

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<sup>21</sup>The Muslim messenger was unable to reach the addressee's place. He gave the letter to a Jewish acquaintance who might have been a respectable merchant, but not a scholarly person and who forwarded it with the man mentioned.

## cap. 9. A Book is made.

(Letter of a Scribe writes to his Employer)

(Al-Mahalla, (ca. 1145))

The writer of this letter, Zakhay b. Moses, is known from documents dated 1127 through 1150 and wrote and signed himself legal deeds in al-Mahalla in 1143 through 1147.

In this letter, too, we find him in that town. The recipient, a tax farmer who kept also a dyeing workshop, lived in a smaller town not far away from al-Mahalla, for he and ~~another man~~ a friend of his, a druggist, received their supplies from that provincial capital, ~~and sent from there~~.

Normally, a book was copied from ~~an offer, order was made for the copyist to~~  
~~book exactly according to a model provided or~~  
~~recommended by the customer who gave the order.~~  
 Therefore, when Zakhay orders that the book will consist of two volumes, because it is on parchment  
 and its letters are <sup>bold,</sup> ~~bold,~~ on first reading!

One might think that Zakhay was only asked to supply missing pages. But nothing in the wording of the letter justifies such an assumption.

The Tafsir, that is, the Arabic translation <sup>by Saadya Gaon</sup> of the Five Books of Moses, written in Hebrew <sup>gross</sup> which forms the object of this letter, ~~characterizes~~ consists about 400 pages of thirty ~~lines~~. Assuming that ~~the~~ Zakhay could make ten pages a day, like his ~~workman~~ colleague, the Muslim judge, mentioned Med.

he refers to the model from which he copies  
 to the model from which he copies  
 to the model from which he copies  
 to the model from which he copies

Soc. II, p. 229<sup>2/</sup>, and that the exchange rate was approximately 1:40, as in Med. Soc. T, p. 381, secs. 55-57, he would earn  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 40 = 100$  dinars<sup>3/</sup> 40 days =  $2\frac{1}{2}$  dinars per day. This appallingly low remuneration of the scribes' work was the rule, see p. (Or 1080) 200<sup>4/</sup> above.

It is also noteworthy that a ~~discount~~<sup>discount</sup> (from 3<sup>4</sup> to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  dinars) was granted during the work. The parchment was paid ~~no~~<sup>no</sup> on account of the employer; nothing is said about pens and ink.

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I am writing to my lord, the illustrious Kohen, may God prolong his life...<sup>5/</sup>

### Report about the Progress of the Work.

The preceding letter of my lord, together with the ten sheets of parchment,<sup>6/</sup> has arrived, in which you asked me ~~to do~~<sup>to copy</sup> ~~for you~~<sup>the</sup> Tafsir translation of the Torah, As soon as I had ~~immediately~~<sup>as</sup> ready the letter, which was forwarded to me by R. Solomon<sup>7/</sup>, I started work<sup>8/</sup> I cut the parchments I sat to

) in the way

Copied.

~~as~~ I thought suited best and started copying.

The ten sheets were sufficient for about one third of the Torah. When R. Solomon was about to travel to [Fustat] Misr, I informed him about the situation and said to him: "I need parchment for the completion of the work." Said he to me: "The Kohen's concerns are dear to me. I shall buy the parchments in Fustat and bring them with me and you will select from them what you need for your work." When he returned from Fustat he brought the parchments, I selected the best of them and am now bent on completing the work. <sup>5</sup>

The Tafsîr will comprise two volumes, since it is on parchment and in bold letters. If you wish that it should be bound in al-Mâkâla - for we have a bookbinder here - send us bindings <sup>6</sup> for two volumes. Otherwise, convey your wishes to your servant and to the elder Abu 'l-Nuwayŷa R. Solomon. And please do not neglect the payment of the ~~charges~~ <sup>fee</sup>, for I am in great [...] <sup>over account</sup> ~~desire~~ <sup>have undertaken</sup> of the work which I do <sup>for you</sup> because I hold you in high esteem].<sup>7</sup>

) Business Affairs of Common Friends <sup>8</sup>

T<sup>s</sup> 13 J 20, f. 11

4

R. Solomon told me that he had sent you  
w[ith] the hārēr Ibn Tarīf<sup>9</sup> two packages of  
brazilwood<sup>10</sup> weighing 14 pounds and that he had  
sent to the elder Abu'l-'Alā' <sup>nine</sup> pounds of  
pepper and <sup>two</sup> pounds of ginger. Kindly confirm  
parara arrival. Also, R. Solomon sends with  
the bearer of these lines to the elder Abu'l-'Alā'  
<sup>three</sup> ~~3~~ pounds less one quarter cinnamon and civet  
perfume<sup>11</sup> ~~weighing~~ <sup>weighing</sup>  $2\frac{1}{2}$  dirhems.

R. Solomon wrote to the elder Abu'l-'Alā'  
and asked him  
asking him to buy for him ten to fifteen  
~~extra goods~~ <sup>extra goods</sup> of the mijārs<sup>12</sup> in addition to  
those he already has. Kindly let me know  
whether they have been purchased, for he intends  
to put in them some [... He will either fetch them]  
himself or send <sup>by</sup> messenger.

#### Note about the Copyist's Fee

The completed sh[eets, I shall leave here.]<sup>13</sup>

If this is convenient to you, please send the  
fee. Otherwise, write to the elder Abu'l-Muwaṭṭa'<sup>14</sup>  
[your instructions] and he will pay out of his  
own money.

I had informed you in my first letter

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that the fee was 3 dinars, for the writing of this Tafsir is like the writing of a Bible codex, the only difference being that it needs <sup>signs for the 15<sup>th</sup></sup> vowels, punctuation. But in view of the esteem in which it holds you, I remit from this half a dinar. You have sent me half a dinar <sup>through</sup> R. Salomon, the balance being 2 dinars. Please do not delay to remit them or to instruct R. Salomon to pay them for you and to charge you with them in addition to the price of the parchments.

Also give him pleasure by honoring him with your orders; he is very grateful to you and <sup>gives much</sup> publicity to you and <sup>to</sup> the elder Abu 'l-Alâ'.

### Conclusion

Best regards to you, ~~and the~~ the elder Abu 'l-Alâ', the teacher <sup>16</sup> and to my lords, the masters your boys - may they be blessed from Heaven.

And please make all of you an effort to get those mijârs <sup>17</sup>. Also, if <sup>you find</sup> ~~can get~~ reprints <sup>18</sup> <sub>them</sub>, please buy and inform me about their purchase in a letter with the Muslim, the bearer of these lines, or any <sup>one</sup> else whom you will find convenient.

If you wish to send <sup>something</sup> with this Muslim, please do; he is trustworthy. And Peace.

/ Over

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Address (written down, as usual)

To my lord, the elder Abu'l-Bishr, his house,  
grey trees and holmen, our master and teacher,

Mevasser ha-Mekab, son of R. Salomon the

taxfarmer in Bab...<sup>19</sup> with regards to my

dear friend Zakhar, son of R. [Solom]<sup>20</sup>

(from another, irregular hand, reading book, script)

To my lord, the elder Abu'l-Bishr, with

regards to R. Mevorach b. Solomon.<sup>21</sup>

## Notes

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deed of ~~the~~

on pp. (B II, 4) above,

✓ The ~~extens~~ (TS 13j3 f 6v) is translated Tax for writing  
for lithography. Zabtaq R. Mass see Medover, p. 50.

✓ The source referred to there speaks of folios, <sup>(as 2nd)</sup>  
consist of <sup>our</sup> two pages). But since in Arabic, as in Latin  
script, the letters of one word are connected  
while in Hebrew they are not, one can easily  
make in Arabic two pages in the time needed  
for one in Hebrew.

✓ Four lines of the usual phrases.

✓ See below.

✓ The preparation of hides to serve as writing  
material was a special art obviously not  
cultivated in al-Makalla.

✓ Text: tagat, a Persian word with various meanings  
in Arabic. This detail also shows that the recipient  
knew the measures of the book ordered. Since bookcovers,  
then as today,  
were of greatly different values, the proprietor had to  
make the choice himself.

✓ The same phrase occurs on verso, l. 7. The writer

emphasizes that he had to neglect his regular work more lucrative for copying this book. As TS 8 J 21, f. 9, shows, Zakhay was active in the olive oil trade.

Because of the insecurity of communications  
<sup>8</sup> ✓ It was common practice to make mention in letters of consignments, orders posted, and other business affairs of friends, see Med. Soc. I, p. sent

✓ About this "distinguished member" of the yeshiva see Med. Soc. I, p. 481, sec. 29.

✓ Ar. baggam, a red dyeing ~~gum~~<sup>stuff</sup> in wide use in the Middle Ages.

✓ Ar. zabada (from which English civet is derived). The quantity went was worth about 10 dirhems (as money), cf. TS 10 J 15, f. 22, where 100 dirhems (weight) cost  $10\frac{3}{4}$  dinars (in Fustat, 1117). Many other quotations in India Book.

✓ Of the various meanings of this word, only "earthen vessel" fits here, ~~but I know this cognac only~~ see Wehr, Dictionary, p. 10508.

✓ This is a guess, based on ~~the writer's~~ remark above that he awaits orders concerning the binding.

✓ That is, R. Solomon, so often mentioned in the

letter. He was a wholesale druggist and as such  
was also acknowledged as banker.

✓ Hebrew and Arabic scripts contain no letters for  
vowels. In sacred books, such as the texts of the Bible,  
special signs for the vowels are added.  
In small print.

✓ Obviously the only religious dignitary in the  
little locality.

✓ See my above note in Arabic.

✓ The membrane of the stomach of a calf is used  
for the preparation of cheese. Because of the religious  
taboos, some people preferred to prepare cheese at home.  
These two postscripts are typical for a letter to a  
village: earthen vessels and rennets were to be had there.

✓ The name of the place seems to be written in  
another hand or perhaps only with another pen.  
The last four letters are not identifiable with  
certainty.

✓ Here something strange occurred: the writer  
wanted to replace the Arabic name Salman  
of the recipient's father by the Heb. Solomon.

in book form; everything was covered with gold leaf,  
 put it at the edge of the sheet, where it could be  
 taken as the name of his own father, wherefore  
 he deleted ~~The handwriting of~~ <sup>handwriting</sup> Labbagh b. Moos  
 & left ~~it~~ <sup>zakat</sup> well known from many stored manuscripts. But there  
 can be no doubt about the idea ~~of~~ <sup>zakat</sup> of the owner  
 also since his handwriting is known from numerous  
 other manuscripts.

21 The Muslim messenger was unable to reach  
 the ~~same~~ addressee's place; he gave the letter to a  
 Jewish acquaintance who forwarded it with  
 who might have been a respectable merchant, but  
 not a scholarly person and who forwarded it with  
 the man mentioned.

Employment

B. 10

9. מכתב של זכאי ברבי (משה) דיבין אלמחלה אל מבשר הכהן  
בעניין העתקת חפסיר תורה ופרטים מscribers של מכרם  
המשותף ר' שלמה (בערך 1145)

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- 1 כתאבי אליו מזלאי אלכהן אלאנו אטאל אלה בקאה
- 2 ואדים תאגידה ונעמאה ומן חסן אלחותפיק לא
- 3 אכלאה ובאן לה זמעה ולי וחתפם וגאזר פי ומייע
- 4 אמרה אניה נלי דלה נאלקאר עלייה סבחנה.
- 5 באן קד נצלני במאב מזלאי אולא מע אלעשרה רקוּק
- 6 וחו יאלטס נסן חפסיר אלתורה פאול מא זקפת
- 7 עלי אלכחאב עלי ייד ר' שלמה באדרת באלשגול
- 8 ופצלת אלרקוּק עלי מא חסן ענדוי וכחבת פבלג
- 9 אלשגול פי אלעשרה רקוּק אליו תלת אלתורה וענד
- 10 ספר ר' שלמה למדר אעלמתה באלאמר וקלת
- 11 לה אנה מהתחז אלדי רקוּק נבמל פיהא אלשגול פקאל
- 12 לי חאובה אלכהן ענדוי עזיזה אנה אשתרי אלרקוּק
- 13 מן מזר ואגיבתא מעי חנטקי מנהא האגנתך
- 14 וענד וצולה מן מזר גאב אלרקוּק פאנתקית
- 15 כיירהא ועוזמת עלי חכמייל אלשגול ואלחותפיק
- 16 יגי עלי קטעין גוועין בחכם בונה פי אלרקוּק
- 17 וגבא כטה פאן אכתרת חגלייפה פי אלמחלה
- 18 מהמא אלמגלו הינה פחנפדר לבא טאקה
- 19 לתגלייפה עלי קטעין ואן למ ואלא תעלם ב[אדמן]
- 20 גראך פיהא ואלשין אבי אלמרבא ר' שלם [ה]
- 21 ולא חפפל עגי פי אלאגדה לאנגדי ב[ין]

22 כתיר בראמה לשגלה לעטם מילצאר ענדין

23 ורכר לי י' שלמה אבה אנפה לך צ[חבה]

24 אלחבר בן טריף

**שולים (בצד ימין)**

קטעתי נבקם | וונחם י' רטלי | ואנפה לישיר | אבו אלעלא ט'

ארטאל פלפל | ורמלין גיגבייל | תעלמונה פ' | כתאבן בוגזולהם

וקו אנפה י' שלמה | לישיר אבו אלעלא | צחהה מוצל | הדת

אלאחרף | קרפה נ' | ארטאל | ביר רבע

**שולים (למעלה)**

וועוז דריהםין | וגבץ' זבדה | וכאנ' ל' שלמה |

קד כתב יפאל | אלשיך אבי אלעלא | אין ישורי לה | עשר

מוabiיד | או ט' מע אלדי | ענדיה פחתפוץ | תעלמונה | אין

**כאנט**

**עמדו ב'**

1 קד חצלה לאנה מעול יסוי פיה קליל [ ]

2 חן אן ירושל רסולה ואידי ייכל פון אלוד[פאטל] אבן

3 פאן סהיל עלייך אן תנפה ~~לעבנטן צא[פתח]~~ [חבא[הטבָּה]] אלוי אל

4 שין אבי אלמרגה במא חכתאר فهو ידפע פון ען[דה]

5 וקד בנת אעלמתק פ' אלכתאב אלאויל אן אלאגרא ~~אלא~~ ח[לאמת]

6 דנאניר לאן כתאהה הדא אלטפסיר פהו מטל כתאהה

7 מצחףليس יעוז אלא אלנקט ולפואען פונדי תרכבת

8 פון דילך נצף דיבר זבנת קד אנפהה לי עלי יד ל' שלמה

9 נצף דינר יתבקין דיבריין פלא תורברתא עני **[חכץ]**

10 אן כתאבן לו שילמה באן ידפעהה ענץ גיַיְיפָּהָא

11 אלוי תמן אלרכוק פכיזף לה בחאגה וכדמת לך נתו שאבר

12 כאשר כתיר לחזרתך וללשיך אבי אלעלא חכץ נפסך

13 באסלאמ ואלשיך אבי אלעלא אלסלאמ זאלמעלם

14 אלסלאמ ומואליי אלסודה אלפתיאן יבורךן מן השמיים

15 אלסלאמ זונשטיי מסעדתכם גמיע פִּי החזיל אלמנאניד

~~16 זאנטפק לכם אַיְלָה סְנֵפֶלְחָה~~ חחצלוּהָם וחלמוּבָּא

17 בחזוניהם פִּי כחאב צחהה הרא אלגוזי סונצל הדת לאחריך אן

18 מע מן יסהל זאנט חזרת לכם חאגה תענתוחה מע אלגוזי

19 פָּהָוּ חֲקָה וְשָׁלוּוּם

### הכתובות

יכל הרא אלכתאב אלוי מולאי אלשיך אבי אלבשר מחבן

~~כְּבָקָמְלָה וְרָא~~ מבשר הכהן בירל סלמאן נָעַז

בן אלעטאל **אלפָאַמָּן בְּבָבָבְ נְכוֹן**

גומף באזמיות יולדותיות בדולות

יכל הרא אלכתאב אלוי מולאי אלשיך אבי .....

אלבשר מע ר' מבורך בר שלמה(ז)

ש [ ] א