

A Judeo-Spanish medical MS (ca. 1400-1450)

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Objektyp: **Article**

Zeitschrift: **Vox Romanica**

Band (Jahr): **22 (1963)**

PDF erstellt am: **16.07.2024**

Persistenter Link: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-19724>

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A Judeo-Spanish Medical MS (ca. 1400–1450)

I. Origin:

This MS was purchased, with two others¹, in 1896 from Wertheimer in Jerusalem by the Bodleian Library². All have been bound up together and are catalogued as MS Heb.e.63. They have been foliated by a later hand in Arabic numerals and the MS with which I am concerned consists of but three paper leaves, fol. 103^r to 105^v. Fol. 103 begins abruptly with prescription No. 31 and breaks off at the end of No. 53. That further prescriptions existed is proved by the appearance on a separate line of the catchword *para^h* at the end of fol. 105^v. The prescriptions were numbered in Hebrew characters by the author, but the letters denoting 48 and 49 have been lost in the binding process.

II. Date:

I am much indebted to Dr S. A. Birnbaum, formerly of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, an expert on Hebrew paleography and epigraphy, for having been kind enough to look at my photostats and to inform me that the hand is Spanish and probably belongs to the period between 1400 and 1450.

¹ One of these MSS is in Turkish in Hebrew characters and the other in Judeo-Spanish with many borrowings from older Turkish. M^{me} Irène Melikoff, the distinguished Turcologist, of the C.N.R.S., Paris, has helped me considerably with the latter MS and I hope that she and I will publish it in due course.

² I am grateful to that library for its hospitality, for providing me with photostats and for allowing me to publish this fragment.

III. Hebrew element:

At the beginning of almost every prescription its purpose is stated in often highly abbreviated Hebrew. Dr Samuel Stern of All Souls College, Oxford, gave up many valuable hours to explain and expand these words for me, as well as those in the body of the text. I here express my heartfelt thanks to him. Since the Hebrew element is for me of only secondary importance, I have usually not shown the presence of abbreviation. The English translation of any succession of Hebrew words is given in brackets; only isolated Hebraisms find their place in the Glossary.

IV. Pointing:

A later hand has pointed *bêhmên* and *mêlon* (v. Glossary), but no other vowel-points are used, whether in Hebrew or non-Hebrew words. I have added vowels throughout, but it is only in Spanish and Arabic words that I show when they were absent from the original text.

V. Punctuation and other signs:

- (i) Two strokes, not unlike //, are used to introduce further information and are roughly equivalent to a colon;
- (ii) A symbol, similar to a clover-leaf with its stalk, often shows the end of a prescription;
- (iii) The sign (has the double function of indicating the termination of a prescription and to denote abbreviation;
- (iv) Over letters having numerical value either a dot or ~ is written. A special sign is used for *mem* (= 40); v. Glossary, s. $m^{\overline{\quad}}$;
- (v) Abbreviation of one word is usually indicated by one dot placed over the last written letter, e.g. ם = 'onça^h 'ounce', and, if the abbreviation stands for more than one word, two dots appear on the last letter written, e.g. ם״ (v. Glossary, s. $m^{\cdot\cdot}$);
- (vi) A short diagonal stroke or a dot over פּשׁה; alters the quality of these letters (v. Section VIa). For convenience I write such modified letters with a following stroke ('), in accordance with one of the modern Judeo-Spanish practices.

V Ia. Transliteration:

- א *a* or *ʔ*, according to circumstances, i.e. whether it has vocalic force or acts as a carrier for *yod* and *vav*, or between two unlike vowels. Final א, for special reasons, appears as *aʔ* (v. Section VII)
- ב *b*; (ʔב does not occur)
- ג *g*; ʔג *ǰ* or *ǧ* (v. Section VIb)
- ד *d*; ʔד *ḏ*
- ה *h* in initial and medial positions, *aʰ* in final position
- ו vocalic *o* and *u*; consonantal *v*; *w* is used (i) for the semivowel *y*, (ii) in Hebrew words and (iii) when it is impossible to determine whether *o* or *u* should be written
- ז *z*
- ח *ħ*
- ט *t*
- י vocalic *e* and *i*; *y* is equivalent to the semi-vowel *j* and is also used when it is impossible to determine whether *e* or *i* should be written
- כ *k*
- ל *l*
- מ *m*
- נ *n*
- ס *ç* in non-Hebrew words; *s* in Hebrew words
- ע *ε*
- פ *p*; ʔפ *f*
- צ *ç*
- ק *q*
- ר *r* and *r[r]*
- ש *š* (medially = O.Span. -s- and -ss-); ʔש *ṣ̌*
- ת *t*; ʔת *θ*

N.B. The separation of *vav* (ו) into *o* and *u* and of *yod* (י) into *e* and *i* can at best be only conjectural, but to have rendered them throughout by *w* and *y* would have made tedious reading.

VIb. Comments on transliteration:

In a review of the edition of the *Coplas de Yoçef*, made by Ig. González Llubera (Cambridge 1935), Henry V. Besso (*Jewish*

Quarterly Review 28, 80/82) takes Llubera severely to task for transliterating ψ by *s*, and states “It is difficult to see how the letter ψ ... could be interpreted as O.Span. *ss*, *s*. The modern Judeo-Spanish script gives a single interpretation to the consonant ψ , that of O.Span. *x*.” That is true only of purely *modern* Judeo-Spanish. Further, Besso condemns Llubera for transliterating \imath by \check{g} only, e.g. קונשיגור by *konseĝo* and מוגה by *muĝa*, and is “surprised to see that Prof. Llubera omits the consonant \imath , O.Span. *z* with a diacritic mark [*sic*]”. The symbol \imath was not included in Llubera’s list of symbols because it did not occur in his MS, just as it does not in my own. I have myself ventured to separate \imath into \check{g} and \check{c} , but I considered it inadvisable to use \check{z} . It is quite likely, though not certain, that my doctor pronounced *foĝa^h*, *fiĝa^h*, *bermeĝo*, *finoĝo*, *qwaĝar*, etc., as *foža*, *fiža*, *bermežo*, *finožo*, *kwažar* respectively (approximately the form which these words have today in, for example, Salonica, Bosnia and Monastir), that is, in intervocalic position. But, it would be hazardous indeed to make a decision concerning the quality of \check{g} in *alĝořar*, **gonĝolin* (cf. mod. Jud.-Span. *ĝunĝilí*; *ĝinĝibre* ‘ginger’), *r[i]ĝla^h*.

VII. Graphic representation of stress (accent):

There are naturally no accents showing stress in the MS and I have added none in my transliteration. In a few words, however, written with final \aleph , it is possible to deduce the place of the stress. The doctor uses final \aleph only when it is preceded by *yod* (\imath), with the value of *unstressed e*, the semi-vowel *y* (\imath) or to show the palatal nature of the preceding consonant (= Span. \tilde{n} or *ll*). On all these occasions the stress falls on the vowel preceding the consonant + *yod* + *a*?. To exemplify, I quote (קאשיא פײש (103r 19) *qašya[?] fiš[ʔwla]* ‘casiafistola’, מדייא (103v 18) *medya[?]* ‘media’, דייליא (104v 3) *delya[?]* ‘de ella’, אוליא (104v 4) *’olya[?]* ‘olla’, מאטרייא (105r 9) *mařerya[?]* ‘materia’, רושיא (105r 5) *rošea[?]* ‘rósea’, גונשיא (103v 16) *ĝunçya[?]* ‘juncia’, סקמוניא $\{a\}$ *qmunya[?]* (v. Glossary), but Span. *escamonea*.

When, however, יאה is written, the stress falls on the *yod*, viz. קונטיא (103r 6) *gonṭi^a* ‘contia, cuantia’, דיא (103r 16) *di^a* ‘dia’, שיא (104v 11) *še^a* ‘sea’.

Could it be that this differential function of final \aleph and η was related to the pronunciation of Hebrew and Aramaic words among the Jews of Spain?

VIII. *Language et alia:*

From the linguistic point of view, I would go no further than to point out that Latin *f* is preserved: *deś(fazer)*, *finoġo*, *foġa^h*, *fiġa^h*, *fiġoś*, *fyerba^h*, *farina^h*, *falyyada^h*, *fabaś*, *formig[a]ś*, *fortig[a]ś* 'ortigas', including non-informative *de ju'era^h*, *fyebre* and the like. The appearance of *ordyo* 'barley' cannot, however, be without interest.

The author doubtless knew Hebrew, though some of it is clumsy, as I am informed by Dr Stern. Certain of the doctor's Arabic forms suggest that he could read Arabic and he may well have been using Arabic MSS.

The frequent use of plural *fagan* leads me to suppose that our doctor either had a plurality of apprentices and/or of students. Perhaps he held a Chair of Medicine; if so, where and when? That any part of his work survives, presupposes that he was someone of sufficient importance for exiles to take his writings with them, though the possibility cannot be excluded that he himself left Spain as a very old man.

IX. *Bibliography:*

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 Lane: E. W. LANE, *Arabic-English Lexicon ...*, London 1863/1874;
 PLPLS: *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (Literary and Historical Section)*.

Text

fol. 103

No. 31

1. lēqaddaḥaθ rēbīziθ ['for quartan fever'] purga^h para^h la^h qwarṭana^h;
2. vi'ol[a]ś, flor de qanṭu'eso, alqohela^h šin polipodyo m[?]. 'o.; çirwel[a]ś, ġuġub[a]ś
3. m[?]. 'o.; 'epitimo ḥāšî 'o.; paśas m[?] [?40] 4 'o.; çuk[a]r 3 'o.; finoġo, regaliz m[?]. 4 dr.;
4. šimyente de apyo 2 dr.; qorṭeza^h de mirabolanoś qebuliś 'i gariqwn m[?]. 4;
5. ruybarbo dr.; fagan 'eśṭaś 3 melezin[a]ś polboś 'i amašen l[a]ś qon myel 'eś-
6. pumada^h 'i dešlean lo 'enla^h qozedura^h, la^h qwal venga^h 'en qonṭi'a^h de 3 panyilyaś;
7. ṭome la^h meeṭad qon la^h meeṭad dela^h diča^h maśa^h.

No. 32

8. hazzālaθ dam, biṭṭūl ta'āwa^h, ḥūlšaθ lēḥ, qērīrūθ hārō'š ['the running of blood, disappearance of appetite, weakness of heart, cold of the head'] para^h qor[r]jimyente de šangre del syeśo 'i privaçyon del
9. apeṭiṭo 'i flaçeza^h del qoraçon 'i frialdad dela^h qabeça^h;
10. rośaś bermeġ[a]ś 2 dr.; linalo'e 'i qaqabry 'i alġof[a]r m[?]. 2 dr.; qoral blanqo
11. 'i bermeġo 'i bêhmên blanqo 'i bermeġo 'i 'eśpodyo 'i qulanṭro šeço preparado
12. 'i anis 'i šandaloś blanqoś 'i bermegoś [sic] 'i çinamomy 'i maçyaś 'i alm[a]šṭiqa^h
13. m[?]. ḥāšî dr.; panés de 'oro 'i de plaṭa^h de qada^h 'uno 2; qarne de menbrilyoś 5 'o.;
14. agu'a^h de alqohela^h 4 'o.; alε[a]nb[a]r ḥāšî dr.; açuk[a]r blanqo liṭ. 'aḥaθ; fagan lo al-
15. qorçaś qubyerṭaś qon foġa^h de 'oro 'i dela^h 'oṭra^h parte qon foġa^h de plaṭa^h;
16. ṭome delyoś 'el paçyente 'una^h qada^h di'a^h 'i beba^h 'ensomo 'un poqo de mi n[ē]rd.

No. 33

17. lēqaddah[aθ] ɛim ... ['for fever with ...] para^h la^h fyebre qonṭinu^a qon dešvari^o 'i qešo 'i b[a]šqa^h:
18. pongan le ayudaš 'i šinon fizyere byen, purgen le qonešto: vi^ol[a]š
19. 'i 4 buzur frias m^o. 4 dr.; ɕirwel[a]š, gugub[a]š [sic] m^o. 15; t[a]m[a]rh[i]ndi 2 'o.; qašya^o fiš[ɬwla]
20. mondada^h 'o.; ɕumo de ɕer[r]ağ[a]š 'i de ber[r]oš 'i agu^a rošada^h m^o. 2 'o.; magna^h ḥāšî 'o.;
21. aɕuk[a]r blanqo 3 'o.; ruyb[a]rbo 2 dr.; ɬome lo 'en ɬreš vezeš partiđo por ɬerɕer[a]š.

fol. 103v

No. 34

1. illūf ūbiṭṭūl ta'āwa^h lēma'ākhāl ['fainting and disappearance of appetite for food'] alqorçaš para^h 'el dešmayo 'i amortɕimyenɬo
2. 'i poqo ɬalante de qomer:
3. rošaš 2 dr.; qoral blanqo 'i bermeğo 'i šandaloš blanqoš 'i bermeğoš
4. 'i šimyente de alh[a]baqa^h 'i gru^oešo de qoraɕon de ɕerbo m^o. dr.; al-
5. ġofar 'i ɕinamomy m^o. 2 dr.; anis, almaštiqa^h m^o. ḥāšî dr.; qarne de
6. menbrilyoš 2 'o.; aɕuk[a]r 'oço 'o.; agu^a de moradoš 'i vino blanqo
7. m^o. ḥāšî panela^h; paneš de 'oro 'i de plaṭa^h m^o. 2; fagan lo alqorɕ[a]š.

No. 35

8. lēyôledeṭe mi-15 yôm ɛim qaddahaθ ['for the woman 15 days after childbirth with fever'] para^h la^h parida^h de 15 diaš qon fyebre qonṭinu^a:
9. ɕumo de ber[r]oš 'i de ɕer[r]ağaš 'i de granad[a]š 'i agu^a rošada^h m^o. panela^h; aɕuk[a]r
10. 3 'o.; qu^oega^h fašta^h qe qede 'en 2 panel[a]š; ɬome lo 'en ɬreš manyan[a]š.

No. 36

11. qaddah[aθ] hā'òhezeθ kol yôm ['fever which attacks every day'] preparatibo para^h la^h çeçyon qotidyana^h;
12. finoğo verde 'i apyo verde 'i 'eşqabyoša^h verde m[?]. 2 'o.; grano de finoğo 'o.;
13. quşquta^h 4 dr.; şimyente de apyo 'i regaliz m[?]. 2 dr.; çuk[a]r 'i myel m[?]. 2 'o.;
14. qu'ega^h faşta^h qe qede 'en 8 'onçaş; țomelo 'en 4 vezeş demanyana^h.

No. 37

15. ... ûθ hārē'ùθ ['... of the sight'] para^h flaqeza^h dela^h vişta^h deşpu'es de fyebre;
16. țomen ġunçya' avelyanada^h 4 'o.; qorțeza^h de mirabolanoş qebuliş 'o.; roşaş
17. hāşî 'o.; maçyaş 4 dr.; çuk[a]r peşo del țodo; fagan lo polbora^h; țome delyo
18. qada^h noçe, al țyempo del dormir, medya' qugareța^h [*sic*].

No. 38

19. ... hakkēlāyòθ ['... the kidneys'] para^h l[a]ş 'ulçer[a]ş qe şon lyyagaş 'enloş rinyoneş
20. 'i 'enla^h beşiga^h: almendr[a]ş dulçeş blanqead[a]ş 'i pinyoneş m[?]. 4 'o.;
21. ġonğolin, qanyamoneş, fabaş şeqaş m[?]. 2 'o.; de l[a]ş 4 şimyenteş friaş

fol. 104

1. mondad[a]ş 'o. vaḥcēşî; linu'eso 'i şimyente de malba^h bişqo 'i de menbrilyoş
2. 'i zaraqatona^h, alkitira^h, goma^h arabiga^h, anaşy, țodo țoştado m[?]. hāşî 'o.;
3. şimyente de dormider[a]ş 'i de apyo 'i de verdolag[a]ş 'i de regaliş m[?]. hāşî 'o.;
4. açyenço 'i almaştiqa^h m[?]. 4 dr.; çuk[a]r lābān 20 'o.; fagan lo nu'egadoş;

5. *ṭome delyoś qada^h di^ʔa^h ʔen ayun[a]ś qonṭi^ʔa^h de medya^ʔ ʔonça^h.*

No. 39

6. *lēhābi^ʔ sēna^h [‘to bring on sleep’] melezina^h probada^h para^h ṭraer śu^ʔenyo al qe non*
 7. *pu^ʔede dormir qon gran ardor ʔi śeḏ ʔi myedoś: ṭomen zerae*
 8. *belenyo lāḃān vēzerae ḥāzereḫ vēzerae perāgīn m^ʔ. 2 dr. vaḥēši; zerae mēlon deśqaś-*
 9. *qad[a]ś, vēzerae r[i]ḡla^h m^ʔ. dr.; ʔopyo ʔi açafran m^ʔ. ḥāṣī dr.; mu^ʔelan lo ṭodo*
 10. *ʔi amaśen lo qon myel delo qwal den al paçyente, qwanṭo ʔuna^h faba^h qon*
 11. *ś[a]rab de vi^ʔ[o][a]ś, qada^h manyana^h pašta^h [sic] qe du^ʔerma^h; ʔo amaśen lo*
 12. *ṭodo qon leçe de muḡer qe qri^ʔe fiḡa^h ʔi pongan delyo bidmilyaś ʔenl[a]ś śyeneś.*

No. 40

13. *kē^ʔēḃ hakkēsāli[m] [‘pain of the loins’] para^h ʔel dolor dela^h ʔiḡaḏa^h qośa^h probada^h:*
 14. *ṭomaredeś dela^h ṭyer[r]a^h del[a]ś formig[a]ś qe ʔelyaś ʔečan qon śuś pyeś de*
 15. *fu^ʔera^h 3 ʔo.; farina^h de ʔordyo ʔo.; malb[a]ś ʔi fortig[a]ś m^ʔ. 6 ʔo.; śean qočas*
 16. *l[a]ś yerb[a]ś mučo ʔen agu^ʔa^h ʔi maḡad[a]ś byen, ʔinçorporando ʔenelyaś l[a]ś ʔotr[a]ś*
 17. *melezin[a]ś molid[a]ś; fagan delyo ʔenplašto ʔi pongan lo śobrel lugar.*

No. 41

18. *vēzeh lēfōṣēṣ h[ā^ʔeḃen] [‘and this to shatter the stone’] ʔeśprimenṭo para^h deśfazer la^h pyedra^h deloś*
 19. *rinyoneś ʔi ʔeçar la^h ʔen arena^h qon la^h ʔorina^h: ṭomen 9 granoś*
 20. *de yedra^h maḡadoś ʔi qon vino blanço qalyente, daḏoś abeber der[r]ama^h*

fol. 104v

1. l[a]š pyedr[a]š čiqaš 'i grandes 'i faze venir la^h 'orina^h poderosa^h mençe.

No. 42

2. lā'eḅen ['for the stone'] 'oṭro nissāyōn para^h 'ešto mešmo:
3. ṭomen šangre de lyebre 'i qemen la^h 'ešo mešmo la^h pelyeḡa^h delya³
4. qemada^h 'en 'olya³ nu'eba^h 'i de ṭodo fagan polbora^h 'i ší dýeren delya³
5. al paçyente, 'eštando 'enel banyo, medya³ quçar qon medya³ panela^h
6. de vino blanço qalyente 'en ayun[a]š, qyebra^h la^h pyedra^h 'i 'eča^h la^h de
7. fu'era^h.

No. 43

7. lā'eḅen. la^h pyedra^h qe šale del qu'erro del 'omre
8. daḏa^h abeber 'en ayuno qyebra^h la^h 'oṭra^h pyedra^h 'i faz byen mear.

No. 44

9. vëzeh lā'eḅen ['and this for the stone'] 'oṭro 'ešprimenço para^h 'ešto:
10. 'enla^h qabeça^h del q[a]raqol grande abyerṭa^h šera^h falyyada^h 'una^h pyedra^h la^h qwal
11. še'a^h molida^h, 'i daḏa^h abeber muy a'ina^h faze šalyir la^h pyedra^h. m[a]š šila^h
12. pyedra^h del paçyente fu'ere muço grande 'i dura^h, še'a^h feča^h polbora^h del q[a]raqol
13. ṭodo, qe muço 'eš bu'ena^h 'i probaḏa^h, lo qwal beba^h 'en vino blanço.

No. 45

14. vëzeh lā'eḅen. 'oṭro 'ešprimenço še-hù³ mēnusseh lëzah hāḗinyān ['which is tested for the same matter']:
15. çumo de arṭamiša^h medyo vašo bebiḏo qada^h di'a^h 7 dias marabilyosa^h mençe

16. qebranta^h la^h pyedra^h delos rinyones^h 'i dela^h besiga^h 'i la^h
faze šalyir
17. por arena^h.

No. 46

17. vëzeh [and this] 'otro: goma^h de çerezo muy fu'erte
18. mente qyebra^h l[a]š pyedr[a]š 'i dešfazell[a]š bebido molido 'i
'en vino.

No. 47

19. vëzeh [hak]këlâyôθ ['and this (for) the kidneys'] para^h dolor
delos rinyones^h 'i besiga^h [sic] bādùq:
20. ÷omen bretoniqa^h 'un manoço 'i qu'egan lo muço 'en agu'a^h
'i den delya'

fol. 105

1. abeber al 'enfermo qon myel 'i 'un poço de pimyen'a^h, lo
qwal beba^h 'enl[a]š
2. manyan[a]š medya' panela^h qada^h vegada^h ÷ibyó.

No. 48

3. zeh lāhāzeh ['this for the chest'] no'a^h de lamedor probado
para^h la^h ÷os šeqa^h 'i la^h
4. ronqedad 'i qunple aloš ninyos: ÷omen šimyente
5. de menbrilyos medya' 'o.; pongan lo 'en medya' liq. de
agu'a^h rosea' 'i mene'en
6. lo byen fašta^h qe šalga^h la^h babaza^h 'i qu'elen lo qon ÷rapo
ralo 'i bu'elban
7. qon la^h babaza^h medya' liq. de alfeniq 'i medya' 'o. de
azeyte vi'olado 'i
8. qu'ega^h ÷odo ġunço fašta^h qe še 'espeše; ÷ome delyo amenudo.

No. 49

9. vëzeh lāhāz[eh] ['and this for the chest'] 'otro lamedor para^h
la^h ÷os 'i 'esqpir ma'erya' qon
10. gran šed 'i ronqedad: ÷omen acof[a]yf[a]š 20, š[a]baštyanos 40,
figos pašos

11. 5, regaliş raido 'i paśaś 40 m'. 'o., qulan'ro de pozo 5 dr.; qu'ega^h 'odo
12. 'en 5 li'., agu'a^h fašta^h qe qede 'en 'una^h, 'en lo qwal byen qolado pongan
13. 4 'o. alfeniq 'i 'orne aqozer fašta^h qe še'a^h m[a]ś 'eśpešo qe ś[a]rab
14. rośado, qon lo qwal amaśen 'ešta^h qe šeşige; 'omen del[a]ś
15. pepi'as de qalabaça^h 'i de melon 'i de pepinoś 'i de badehaś, 'od[a]ś
16. deşqor'ezad[a]ś, 'i śimyente de verdolag[a]ś m'. 4 dr.; alki-θira^h 'i goma^h arabiga^h
17. 'i rebaçuç 'i nś' 'i śimyente de dormider[a]ś blanq[a]ś 'i almendr[a]ś dulçeś
18. m'. 2 dr.; še'a^h 'odo molido byen 'i amaśado qon lo śuśodiço 'i fagan lo
19. granoś qomo avelyan[a]ś; ponga^h 'uno bašo dela^h lengu'a^h, 'i qwando aqel
20. še deşfyzere, ponga^h 'o'ro, qe m[a]rabilyośa^h qośa^h 'eś para^h lo śobre
21. diço 'i para^h loś 'iśiqoś 'i 'odo mal de [p]eçoś qon ronqedad.

fol. 105v*No. 50*

1. vēzeh [lāḥā]zeh vēlārè'a^h ['and this for the chest and the lung'] 'o'ro lamedor para^h la^h 'oś bēşibbaθ hārè'a^h vēha'ttar-pēśā' ['on account of the lung and the fatty envelope (membrane)']
2. 'i para^h alibyanar 'el 'eşqupir: 'omen regaliş raido 'i alfeniq
3. 'i śimyente de dormider[a]ś m'. 40 dr.; alkitira^h 'i rebaçuç 'i farina^h de
4. fabaś m'. 20 dr.; almendr[a]ś dulçeś 'i goma^h 'i aniś 'i nś' m'. 10 dr.;
5. še'a^h 'odo molido 'i amaśado qon myel 'eşpumada^h; 'ome delyo 'odo el di'a^h.

No. 51

6. vēzeh qōşer nēşima^h vēşieεùl ... q dam ['and this: shortness

- of breath and coughing ... blood'] para^h la^h angoštura^h del rešolyo 'i mal del pulmon 'i al
7. 'ešqpir de šangre 'i ma'erya': 'omen farina^h de fabaš 'i almendr[a]š
 8. blanqead[a]š m[?]. 10 dr.; alk[i]tira^h blanqa^h 'i pepit[a]š de melon m[?]. 7 dr.; ši-
 9. myen'e de dormider[a]š 15 dr.; a'apran [sic] dr.; 'trebentina^h 5 dr.; ar[r]ope
 10. de mošto, qon qe še amašen l[a]š dič[a]š qoš[a]š; 'ome delyo amenudo.

No. 52

11. v'ezeh [l'ěša]lš'el he'āzeh b'ēlī nezeq ['and this to loosen (purge) the chest without damage'] melezina^h para^h purgar loš qe 'yenen 'oš 'i angoštura^h
12. 'enel rešolyo 'i 'eš qoša^h qe non daria^h aloš fi'goš:
13. 'omen vi'olet[a]š molid[a]š 3 dr.; qašya' fiš[ʔwla] preparada^h 7 dr.; pongan la^h diča^h
14. qašya' fiš[ʔwla] 'en 2 'o. de ar[r]ope 'i fyerba^h šobrel fu'ego manšo pašta^h [sic] qe
15. še qyera^h qwa'ar 'i 'eš'onceš pongan 'enelyo l[a]š dič[a]š vi'ol[a]š molid[a]š
16. 'i medyo dr. č[a]qmunya' 'e 'i[n]qorporen lo 'odo 'en 'uno; 'i 'ešto beba^h
17. lo 'en doš 'om[a]š dešfe'eo 'en agu'a^h qozida^h qon 'u'ub[a]š 'i pašaš 40,
18. lo qwal 'ome ala^h 'ora^h qe l[a]š purg[a]š še šu'elen 'omar.

No. 53

19. v'ezeh [l'ěša]lš'el qošer n'ěšima^h ['and this to loosen shortness of breath'] 'enplašto para^h la^h angoštura^h del rešolyo:
20. 'omen farina^h de 'ri'go 'ernida^h 'i amašen la^h qon man'eqa^h de vaqaš
21. frešqa^h 'i fagan delyo 'enplašto 'i pongan lo 'ensomo deloš fe'eoš [= pe'eoš] qalyen'e.
22. para^h

Glossary

- abrikók* v. *çirwel[a]ś*.
- açafran*, 104r 9 'saffron, *crocus sativus* L.'. Arab. *zæfarân* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, pp. 118 and 285). For mod. Judeo-Spanish forms, v. Crews, *VRom.* 20, 17/18.
- açoſ[a]yf[a]ś*, 105r 10 'jujube, *zyzyphus* L.'. Cf. mod. Jud.-Span. Morocco *asofaija* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 13, 232), Oriental (*a*)*sofáyja*, *asofajya*, *asufajya*. See *ǧuǧub[a]ś*.
- açuk[a]r*, 103r 14, 103v 6, but *çuk[a]r*, 103r 3, 103v 13 and 17. Arab. *súkkar* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 139). Cf. mod. Jud.-Span. *asúka* fem., *asúk(w)ar* fem., *asúkre* masc., *asúkir* masc. (v. *DCEC*, s. *azúcar*, concerning gender).
- açyenço*, 104r 4 'wormwood, *artemisia absinthium* L.'. Cf. O.Span. *acienzo*, *acienso*, *asensio*, mod. Span. *ajenjo* (*DCEC*).
- ʔahaθ* v. *ʔehād*.
- aʔina^h*, 104v 11. Cf. Morocco *aina* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 568), Oriental ~, though largely replaced by *presto* (Wagner, *VKR* 4, 235).
- alε[a]nb[a]r*, 103r 14. Arab. *éanbar*. Cf. Jud.-Span. *alambar*, Exod. 30, 24 (Ferrara Bible) 'cassia or costus', Salonica *ambér* 'una flor' = Turk. *eanber çiçeǧi* 'yellow-flowered fragrant *acacia dealbata*' (Redhouse, p. 1321a), Const. *amberié* 'casse (fleur)' (Subak, *ZRPh.* 30, 132) = Turk. *eanberriyye* 'fragrant malvaceous plant, *abelmoschus moschatus* (Redhouse, *loc. cit.*).
- alfeniq*, 105r 7 and 13, 105v 2 'alfeñique'. Arab. *fānīd* > O.Cat. *alfení*, *alfenich*, etc. (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 135). Cf. mod. Salonica *alfenik* 'very fine, slender' (Crews, *VRom.* 14, 299).
- alǧoſ[a]r*, 103r 10. Arab. *ǧáwhar* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 189). Cf. mod. Jud.-Span. Morocco *ažžófar* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 13, 223).
- alh[a]baqa^h*, 103v 4 'sweet basil, *ocimum basilicum* L.'. Arab. *habaqa* > Span. *alfábega*, *albahaca*, Port. *alfavaca* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 256). First appears in Nebrija (*DCEC*). Cf. Oriental Jud.-Span. *alhabáka* (Wagner, *ZRPh.* 40, 546), Morocco ~ (Benoliel, *BRAE* 13, 214).
- alkitira^h*, 104r 2, 105v 3, *alk[i]tira^h*, 105v 8, *alkiθira^h*, 105r 16

- 'tragacanth, *astragalus clusii* B.'. Arab. *kaṭīrā* > O.Span. *alquetira*, *alquilira* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 340), first appearing in Nebrija (DCEC).
- alm[a]šṭiqa^h*, 103r 12, 104r 4 'mastic, *pistacia lentiscus* L.'. Arab. *maṣṭakā* > Span. *almáciga*, *almástiga* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 141), *almástica* in Palet 1604, Oudin 1607 (*Tesoro Lexicográfico*). Cf. later Jud.-Span. *almaciga* (Ferrara Bible), Const. *almásiga* (Wagner, *Konst.*, § 34, p. 107), Salonica *almásha* (Crews, *PLPLS* 8, N 119, p. 15), Bulg. *almáška* (Wagner, *RFE* 34, 74).
- almeša* v. *cirwel[a]ś*.
- alqohela^h*, 103r 14 'endive, *cichorium endivia* L.' < Arab. *kuḥajlā'* > O.Span. *alcohela* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 264). *Alcohela* is first used in 1419 (DCEC). *Alqohela^h šin polipodyo*, 103r 2 is presumably 'chicory, *cichorium intybus*'. The first use of *polipodio* appears to be that by Laguna 1555 (DCEC, s. *pie*).
- alqorçaś*, 103r 14/15, *alqorç[a]ś*, 103v 7. Arab. *qurṣa* > O.Span., Port. *alcorça*, Span. *alcorza* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 168).
- albiána*, *alveyana* v. *avelyan[a]ś*.
- ambér*, *amberié* v. *ale[a]nb[a]r*.
- anasón* v. *aniś*.
- anaśy*, 104r 2, : *goma^h arabiga^h anaśy*. Cf. *goma^h arabiga^h ... 'i nš'*, 105r 17, *'i goma^h 'i aniś 'i nš'*, 105v 4. Are *anaśy*, *nš'* and *nš'* connected? If so, are they to be linked with *něšā'*, *něšam* 'ein Pulver, das ... das Wachstum der Haare verhindert' (Jacob Levy, *Wtb. über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, Berlin/Wien 1924), *nāša'*, *nešem* 'plant, the sap of which is used as a depilatory' (Jastrow, p. 937b)?
- aniś*, 103r 12, 105v 4 'anise, aniseed, *pimpinella anisum* L.'. According to Corominas (DCEC), Span. *anis*, first appearing in 1492, is a borrowing from Cat. *anis*. Cf. Oriental Jud.-Span. *anasón* < Turk. *anisun*, vulg. *anason* (Redhouse, p. 232a).
- anniš* v. *çirwel[a]ś*.
- apeṭiṭo*, 103r 9, but *apelite*, Gen. 6, 5 (Ferrara Bible), mod. Jud.-Span. ~ = Port. ~.

arrepśús v. *rebaçuç*.

arṭamiśa^h, 104v 15 ‘mug-wort, *artemisia vulgaris* L.’. Cf. O.Span. *artemisa* and *allamisa* (DCEC).

asořáyfa, *asofafya*, *asufafya* v. *açof[a]yf[a]ś*.

avelyan[a]ś, 105r 19. Cf. Oriental Jud.-Span. Salonica *albiána*, Const. *abiána* (Wagner, *Konst.*, § 8, p. 93), Morocco *alveyana* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 571).

babosa v. *q[a]raqol*.

baḏehaś, 105r 14 ‘water-melon, *citrullus vulgaris* L., mod. Span. *badea*’. Arab. *baṭṭixa* > O.Span. *badeha* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 160). Cf. *Biblia Romanceada* (ed. Llamas) *badehas*, Num. 11, 5, but Ferrara Bible *las batehas*, a translation of Heb. *ābattihim*; mod. Jud.-Span. Morocco *jalansa* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 15, 188, Wagner, *VKR* 4, 242), Oriental *sandia* (*karpuz*) ‘pastèque’ (Chérézli), Salonica *karpús* < Turk. *karpuz* ‘water-melon, *cucurbita citrullus*’ (Redhouse, p. 1410a).

bādûq, 104v 19 = Heb. ‘tried out by experiment’. This note is often added in medical prescriptions (information from S. Stern); it is equivalent to Spanish [*qośa^h*] *probaḏa^h*, 104r 13, [*melezina^h*] *probaḏa^h*, 104r 6.

barqóqa v. *çirwel[a]ś*.

b[a]śqa^h, 103r 17. Cf. Salonica *eçar baskas* ‘être étouffé de chaleur’ (Crews, *PLPLS* 7, 221), *baskear* ‘be disgusted, annoyed’.

batehas v. *baḏehaś*.

baḏoza v. *q[a]raqol*.

bêhmên blanco ^{’i} *bermeĝo*, 103r 11 < Arab. (Persian) *bahman*. It is curious that a later hand should have pointed this word, because Turk. *behen* ‘behen root, *radix behen*’, *aq* [‘white’] *behen* ‘root of *centaurea behen*’, *qızıl* [‘red’] *behen* ‘root of the common meadow sage, *salvia campestris* or of the winter-cherry, *physalis flexuosa*’ (Redhouse, p. 416a) would, presumably, have been known to those using this MS. The *Enciclopedia Universal* (Madrid 1908/1955) describes *behén rojo* as *statice limonium* L. or, perhaps, *statice califolia* Smith.

biḏmylyś, 104r 12 ‘poultices, cataplasms’. It is likely that our word is a diminutive of O.Span. *bidma*, mod. Span. *bizma*. For these forms and *birma*, *bilma*, v. DCEC, s. *bizma*. Cf. Bos-

- nian Jud.-Span. *bilma* (Baruch, *RFE* 17, 135; Wagner, *RFE*, Anejo 17, p. 22).
- bişgo* v. *malba^h bişgo*.
- bretóniqa^h*, 104v 20 'betony, *stachys betonica*'. According to Corominas (*DCEC*, s. *betónica*), *bretónica* is first recorded in 1537.
- buzur*, 103r 19 'meadow saffron, *colcichum autumnale* L.'. Arab. *buzūr* '*colcichum autumnale*', plur. of *bazr* 'pépin, noyau' (Dozy, p. 81a).
- ç[*a*]qmunya', 105v 16 'scammony, *convolvulus scammonia* L.'. Probably equivalent to Arab. *saqmûnîyá* rather than to Span. *escamonéa* (*DAul*) < Latin (Greek). See Section VII.
- çecyon, 103v 11. Cf. O.Span. *cición*, *ceción*, *cesión* 'calentura intermitente que entra con frío' (*DCEC*, s. *cición*).
- çer[r]ağ[a]ś, 103r 20, çer[r]ağas, 103v 9 'common sow-thistle, *sonchus oleraceus* L.' or '*sonchus arvensis* L.'. First appears as Mozarabic *šarrálla* (*DCEC*, s. *cerraja*).
- çerezo, 104v 17. O.Span. *cereso*, *cerezo* (*DCEC*).
- *çicyon v. çecyon.
- çinamomy, 103r 12, 103v 5. Cf. O.Span. *cinamomo*, first recorded 1438 (*DCEC*). Does our form result from a dissimilation or is *cinanomino* (Laguna 1555) in the mind of the writer?
- çirwel[a]ś, 103r 2, 103r 19. This curious spelling (for expected *çiru'elaś) suggests the pronunciation *çirvelas*. The word appears not to have survived. For similar fleshy fruits with stones, we have Salonica *abrikók*, beside Greco-Turkish words (Crews, *VRom.* 14, 297), Morocco *anniš* 'albaricoque' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 571), Morocco *barqóqá* 'ciruela, pruna' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 576), Bosnia, Monastir, Karaferia *almeša* (Subak, *ZRPh.* 30, 154; Baruch, *RFE* 17, 146; Luria, *RHisp.* 79, 556; Wagner, *RFE* 34, 25); *pruna*, *pruma* (Wagner, *loc. cit.*, s. *almeša*). The origin of Salonica *trinyóla* 'large fleshy red plum' is to me unknown.
- çuk[a]r v. açuk[a]r.
- çumo, 103r 20. Mod. Span. *zumo*, mod. Jud.-Span. *sumo*.
- çalgín v. vi'ol[a]ś.
- dormider*[a]ś, 104r 3. For modern Judeo-Spanish names of

- the 'poppy', including *Salonica durmidera*, see Wagner, *RFE* 34, 82, s. *paparuna*. See also *perāgîn*.
- dr.*, 103r 3 *et passim*, abbreviation perhaps of *drama* (v. *DCEC*, s. *dracma*) 'dram, 1/8th part of a fluid ounce'. Cf. *medyo dr.*, 105v 16, so masculine.
- ²*ehād* masc., ²*aḥaṭ* fem., 103r 14 = Heb. 'one [numeral]'. See *m*².
- ²*enśomo*, 103r 16 'thereupon', ~, 105v 21 'on top of'. Cf. *en somo* 'encima, arriba' (*Cantar de Mio Cid*, 171), *en somo del alcácer* (*ibid.*, 1220).
- ²*epitimo*, 103r 3 'lesser dodder, *cuscuta epithimum*' < Gk. ἐπιθύμον (*DCEC*, s. *tomillo*). The use of Heb. *taw* for Gk. θ is interesting.
- ²*espodyo*, 103r 11. Cf. "del oro, y de la plata, y del plomo, se haze tambien Spodio" (Laguna 1566) < L. *spōdium* (< Greek) 'dross of metals, scoria; ashes of vegetable matter'.
- ²*esprimen̄to*, 104r 18, 104v 9 and 14, with the meaning of *nissāyôn*, q. v. The semi-popular form is curious.
- ²*espumaḏa^h*, 103r 5 *et passim*. Cf. Oriental Jud.-Span. *eskumar* (Wagner, *RFE* 34, 51).
- ²*esqabyoša^h*, 103v 12. First recorded in Nebrija as *escaviosa* (*DCEC*).
- jalansa* v. *baḏehás*.
- jaz*, 104v 8, 3rd sing. pres. indic. of *jazer*, but *jaze*, 104v 11.
- finoḡo*, 103r 3 'fennel, *fœniculum vulgare*'. Cf. mod. Jud.-Span. Morocco *finojo* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 15, 190), *Salonica finožo*, Const. *inožo* (Crews, *PLPLS* 8, 6, s. *ḡinoyo*).
- forṭig[a]ś*, 104r 15 'nettles'. For O.Span. *fortiga*, *hortiga* < *ũrtica* + *fortis*, v. *DCEC*, s. *ortiga*. Cf. mod. Jud.-Span. *ortiga*.
- gariqwn*, 103r 4 '*boletus igniarius* L. (?)' or '*polyporus officinalis* L. (?)'. Is this directly Arab. *ḡāriqūn* and so to be read as *gariqun*?—, or should we assume O.Span. *garico* + *n*? Cf. *agárico* < L. *agaricum* (< Greek), appearing in 1537 as *agárico*, and in 1495 as *garico* (*DCEC*).
- granad[a]ś*, 103v 9. Cf. Oriental Jud.-Span. Const., Smyrna *agranada* (Subak, *ZRPh.* 30, 158; Kurt Levy, *VKR* 2, 365), *Salonica mangrana*, Monastir *mangrane* (Luria, *RHisp.* 79, 540).

gugub[a]ś v. *ǰuǰub[a]ś*.

**ǰonǰolin* [*ǰwnǰwlyn*], 103v 21. I find no form in Spanish identical with this of the doctor, except a possible *ǰunǰulin*. Cf. Arab. *al-ǰunǰulān* > *ajonjoli* 'sesamum indicum D.C.' (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 375). Corominas (*DCEC*) derives *ajonjoli* from Granada Arab. *ǰonǰolil*, *ǰulǰulin*, and quotes *aljonjoli* (Nebrija), *ǰonǰoli* (Pedro de Alcalá, 1505). Molho (*Usos y costumbres*, p. 149) has Salonica *azeite de giungili* [*ǰunǰilil*] 'aceite de sésamo'.

ǰuǰub[a]ś, 103r 2, 105v 17, *gugub[a]ś*, 103r 19 (by omission of the diacritic marks). Corominas (*DCEC*, I, 353) quotes Span.-Arab. *zufáizafa* and compares Fr. *jujube*, O.Span. "yuyuba que Laguna en 1555 da como voz 'bárbara' ...". I have had access only to Laguna of 1566, which reads (p. 111) "las Açu fayfas, que los Barbaros llaman *Iuiubas*". Covarrubias (ed. Riquer, Barcelona 1943), quoting Laguna, states "Las açufai fas llaman los bárbaros *jujubas*". Since Laguna 1566 reads *Iacinto* 'jácinto', *Iasmin* 'jazmín', *Iudias* 'judías' (Jud.-Span. *ǰirgwelos*, *ǰurgwelos* [Wagner, *RFE* 34, 56, s. *fižones*]), *Iuncia olorosa* 'juncia' (Jud.-Span. *ǰunçya*?, 103v of the present text), *Iunco* 'junco' (Jud.-Span. *ǰunko*), we must assume that Laguna's *Iuiubas* represents something closely akin to our *ǰuǰub[a]ś*, presumably with proparoxytonic stress (v. F. Rodríguez Marín, *Dos mil quinientas voces castizas ...*, Madrid 1922, s. *jújuba*). Commenting on Fr. *jujube*, Pierre Fouché (*Phonétique historique du Français*, Paris 1961, III, 612) says "peut-être le mot vient-il de l'ancien espagnol ... *yuyuba* ... attesté chez Laguna en 1555". Does the form *yuyuba* really exist or is it a ghost-word? It still appears in the 1947 edition of the *RAE* dictionary, with the recommendation to see *azuñaija*. It would be interesting, too, to know whether the doctor's *ǰuǰub[a]ś* were identical with his *açof[a]y[fa]ś*.

ǰunçya? *avelyanada*^h, 103v 16 'chufa, *cyperus esculentus*'.

**ǰunǰulin* v. *ǰonǰolin*.

ḥāṣī, 103r 3 *et passim* = Heb. 'half'.

ḥāzereθ, 104r 8 = Heb. 'lettuce' (Jastrow, *Dict. of the Targumim ...*, New York/Berlin 1926, p. 447a).

²*inqorporando*, 104r 16. It may well be that one should read ²*enqorporando*.

karpús v. *badehas*.

lābān, 104r 4 and 8 = Heb. 'white'.

liebre, *lievre*, *lievro* v. *lyebre*.

linu²ešo, 104r 1. This probably represents O.Span. *linueso* [phon. *linuezo*], like *linuešo* 'linuezo, linaza' (Schmid, *Cancionero de Baena*, RH 35, Bern 1951, p. 105). See DCEC for further forms. Cf. mod. Jud.-Span. Salónica *azeyte de linoza* 'linseed-oil', *pápa de linoza* 'linseed poultice', Morocco *linazza* 'linaza' (Benoliel, BRAE 13, 232).

liṭ, fem., 103r 14 *et passim*, abbreviation of *litra* = *libra*. Cf. *medya² liṭ*, 105r 5 and 7.

lyebre, *šangre de*, 104v 3. The hare is ritually unclean and may not be eaten by Jews. There is, therefore, hesitation in its name in later Judeo-Spanish; cf. *la liebre*, Lev. 11, 6 (Ferrara Bible), but *el lievre* (Smyrna Bible 1838), *lievro* (*taušan*) 'lièvre' (Chérézli). The Oriental Spanish Jews now use *taušan* 'hare, rabbit' < Turk. *tavšan*.

m², 103r 2 *et passim*, abbreviation of Heb. *mikol²ehād* 'of (from) each one', equivalent to Span. *de cada^h uno*, 103r 13.

m[—], 103r 3. Heb. *mem* has the numerical value of 40 and the letter appears, followed by a sign of abbreviation similar to a capital Latin *L* lying on its side with the long stroke uppermost, as the heading of prescription No. 40 and also as the catchword at the foot of 103v to introduce *mondad[a]ś*, the first word of fol. 104r. The same sign in fol. 103r 3 suggests that we should read '44 ozs. of grapes', though the quantity is surprisingly large; cf. fol. 105r 11 where *paśaś m[—]* presumably means '40 grapes'.

maçyaś, 103r 12, 103v 16 'mace, outer covering of the nutmeg'. This is perhaps a singular form, of which Span. *macia*, beside *macis*, is a reformation. Cf. Engl. *mace*, a new singular, formed from Fr. *macis*.

magna^h, 103r 20. O.Span. *magna* (DCEC, s. *maná*), mod. Jud.-Span. *mágnā* (Crews, VRom. 16, 236).

malb[a]ś, 104r 15 'mallows, *malva sylvestris*'. See *malba^h biśgo*.

- malba^h bišqo*, 104r 1 'marsh-mallow, *althæa officinalis*'.
- mêlon*, 104r 8, but *melon*, 105v 8. It is curious that a later hand should have pointed the *god* to form *ê* since *melón* is alive among the Oriental Jews.
- menekšé* v. *viʔol[a]ś*.
- měnusseh* v. *nissāyôn*.
- merğán* v. *qoral*.
- mirabolanoś qebuliś*, 103r 4, 103v 16. According to Corominas (*DCEC*, s. *mirística*), the word first appears in Laguna 1555 as *myrabolános* or *myrobálanos*. See *qebuliś*.
- moradoś*, 103v 6. This apparently means 'blackberries' and is not the adjective of colour.
- myel* fem., 103r 5/6, 105v 5. Cf. *en panal del miel*, I Sam. 14, 27 (Ferrara Bible), *en panal de la miel* (Smyrna Bible 1838). For the distribution of masculine and feminine in Romance, v. *DCEC*, s. *miel*.
- n[ē]rd*, 103r 16 = Heb. 'nard, *valeriana cellica*'.
- nissāyôn*, 104v 2 = Heb. 'test, trial'. It is equivalent to *ʔésprimēto* used in prescriptions 41, 44 and 45. Cf. *měnusseh*, 104v 14 'tested', formed from the same root.
- nśʔ*, *nšʔ* v. *anaśy*.
- ʔo.*, 103r 2 *et passim*, abbreviation of *ʔonça^h*, 103v 14, 104r 5 'ounce'.
- ʔomre*, 104v 7. For this spelling, see Menéndez-Pidal, *Orígenes del español³*, Madrid 1950, § 58₁, p. 309/310.
- ʔordyo*, 104r 15 'barley'. Corominas (*DCEC*, s. *cebo*) states that L. *hōrdēum* now survives only in High Arag., Nav. *ordio*.
- panela^h*, 103v 7 and 10, 104v 5 'liquid measure'. In fols. 103v 9 and 105r 2 *panela^h* has the same meaning, but *ny* has been added, above the line, to original *pala^h*. Cf. Gal.-Port. *panela* 'azucla' (*DCEC*, s. *pañõ*), Brazilian 1. 'vaso no qual se fazem cozer os alimentos', 2. 'o conteúdo da panela' (Séguier, *Dicc. práctico ilustrado*, Rio de Janeiro [no date]). See *panyilyaś*.
- panyilyaś*, 103r 6 'liquid measures'. This is presumably to be read as **pañillas*. Corominas (*DCEC*, s. *pañõ*) lists *panilla*, first attested in 1585, which doubtless springs from our pres-

ent form by dissimilation of the palatal elements *ñ* and *ll*. That dialectal Spanish, that of areas not subject to scholarly inhibitions, objects to the presence of two palatals in a word is made clear by O.Span. *calcia* (Berceo, *Silos*, 483a), S. Leonese *kaléya* (Casado Lobato, *RFE*, Anejo 44, Madrid 1948, § 33), Jud.-Span. *kaleža*, *kaležón*; O.Span., Leonese, Jud.-Span. *luvia* 'lluvia', Span. *lacio* (O.Span. *llacio*), etc. See *panela*^h.

pelyeġa^h, 104v 3 'skin'. Later Judeo-Spanish appears to know only the dissimilated masculine *peležo*, e.g. *pelejo no comera*, Num. 6, 4 (Ferrara Bible), Salonica *peležo*, e.g. *no kaġer en su p.* 'not to be able to contain oneself (for emotion)', Sarajevo *piležu* (Baruch, *RFE* 17, 136).

perāgîn, 104r 8 = Heb. 'poppy'. See *dormider[a]ś*.

polbora^h, 103v 17, 104v 12 'powder, granules'. Corominas (*DCEC*, s. *polvo*) derives Cast. *pólvara* (first appearing ca. 1350 in the secondary sense of 'gunpowder') from Cat. *polvora* 'dust, powder', and this from L. **pŭlvĕra*. Cf. mod. Jud.-Span. *polvora* 'poudre à canon' (Chérézli).

polboś, *fazer*, 103r 5 'pulverize, grind to powder'. This may be the O.Span. singular *polvos* < V.L. **pŭlvus* (*DCEC*). In modern Judeo-Spanish we find *polbo* 'dust; flour'. Other formations are mod. Jud.-Span. Salonica *polborina* 'cloud of dust', e.g. *una polvorina ke mos sekava la eskupina* (written source), with which cf. Gal. *polvoriña* 'neblina polvorienta que según la creencia vulgar forman los *negrumantes*, entre cuyos remolinos se elevan a las nubes para producir los truenos' (E. Rodríguez González, *Dicc. Encicl. Gallego-Castellano*, Vigo 1958/61), Bulg. *pulbarina* 'polvareda' (Wagner, *RFE* 34, 86/87), *pwlwryn* [*polborín?*] 'sablier' (Chérézli).

polipodyo v. *alqohela*^h.

polbo, *polvora*, **polborín*, *polborina* v. *polbora*^h, *polboś*.

pruma, *pruna* v. *ġirwel[a]ś*.

*qanṭu*²*eśo*, 103r 2. There is no means of establishing whether this form is equivalent to O.Span. *cantueso* or *cantuesso* (v. *DCEC*, s.v.).

qaqabry, 103r 10. Could a connection be sought with *cacabum* 'vna planta venenosa, estringo' (A. R. Fontecha 1606), *cacabus*,

- cacabus veneris* 'la nenufar, yerua de agua' (*ibid.*), quoted in the *Tesoro Lexicográfico*?
- q[a]raqol*, 104v 10 and 12 'snail'. For the Jews this creature is unclean. The word has apparently been lost in Judeo-Spanish and we find only *la babosa*, Lev. 11, 30 (Ferrara Bible), Smyrna *bavosa* [*babozá*] 'caracol' (Estrugo, *Los Sejardies*, La Habana 1958, p. 90).
- qašya* 'fiš[*t*wla], 103r 19, 105v 13 and 14. On each occasion *qašya* 'fiš with a mark of abbreviation is written. Cf. Nebrija 1492 *casia fistula* (*Tesoro Lexicográfico*), *casia fistola* (DAut).
- qebuliš*, *mirabolanoš*, 103r 4, 103v 16. Cf. Laguna 1566: "De los Myrobalanos ... se suelen hallar cinco especies, conuiene à saber Citrinos, Chebulos, Indicos, Emblicos, y Belericos". Our older form corresponds more exactly with Arab. *kābulī* 'of Kabul'.
- qešo*, 103r 17. O.Span. *quero* 'aprieto' (DCEC, s. *quejar*), but Oriental Jud.-Span. *keša*.
- qonfi*'a^h, 103r 6, 104r 5. Corominas states "la forma fonética *contia*, corriente en el portugués medieval ... vale hoy en ast. 'cantidad justa', 'medida exacta'" (DCEC, s. *cuanto*).
- goral blanco* 'i *bermežo*, 103r 10/11. In Oriental Judeo-Spanish *korál(e)* is preserved in ballads, but *merǵán* < Turk. (Arab.) *mercan* 'coral' (Redhouse, p. 1805b) is now the usual word.
- qozér*. Pres. subj. *qu'ega*^h, 103v 10, 104v 20, cf. O.Span. *cuega* (Hanssen, *Gram. hist. de la lengua cast.*, Halle 1913, § 211); Past Part. *qočas*, 104r 15, cf. O.Span. *cocho* (Hanssen, *op. cit.*, § 267); but Past participial adj. 'en *agu*'a^h *qozida*^h, 105v 17. Cf. later Jud.-Span. *cocho en el forno*, Lev. 7, 9 (Ferrara Bible) 'baken'; Morocco *cozzer*, *cozzido* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 13, 218), *cocho* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 15, 50); Monastir *cochu* 'cooked' (Luria, *RHisp.* 79, 537), Const., Bulg. *kočo* 'baked of bread' (Wagner, *RFE* 34, 69). In Salonica *kočo* has many meanings, including those of 1. 'ripe (of fruit)', 2. 'cooked (of food)' and 3. fig. 'primed in, having great knowledge', 4. 'rich, possessing money'.

- qučar*, 104v 5 ‘spoonful’. Cf. Morocco *cuchar* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 15, 51), Oriental *kučara*.
- qučareta^h*, written as *gugareta^h*, 103v 18, by omission of the diacritic. The meaning is presumably ‘spoonful’. Cf. *cuchareta* ‘lo mismo que Cucharáda. Es voz antiquada’ (*DAut*); Palet 1604: ~ ‘petite cuillère’ (*Tesoro Lexicográfico*); mod. Jud.-Span. *kučarađa*.
- qulantrō*, 103r 11, ~ *de pozo*, 105r 11 ‘coriander, *coriandrum sativum*’. Cf. Jud.-Span. *simiente de culantro*, Exod. 16, 31 (Ferrara Bible), *kulantrō* (Chérézli), but *culandro* (Attias, *Romancero sefardi*, Jerusalem 1955, p. 228), influenced perhaps by Ital. *coriandolo*, Fr. *coriandre*.
- rebaçuç*, 105r 17, 105v 3 ‘inspissated juice of liquorice’ < Arab. *rubb as-sûs*. I believe that *rebaçuç* owes its *e* to the semantically similar *regaliz(a)* ‘liquorice’ and that mod. Span. *rabazuz* derives from our present form, and not directly from **robazuz* (*DCEC*, s. *orozuz*). As a parallel to *rebaçuç* > *rabazuz*, I cite Salonica *ragalís*, used by one of my aged female informants, beside the normal *regalís* ‘liquorice’. It is now clear that Morocco Jud.-Span. *arrepús* ‘orozuz’ (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 573; Wagner *VKR* 4, 237) springs, with the addition of the Arabic definite article, almost immediately from *rebaçuç*; I postulate **ar-rebaçuç* > **arrebçuç* (-*a*- lost perhaps because it appeared between the secondary and the main stress, as well as by dissimilation from initial *a*-) > *arrepús* by consonantal assimilation. Wagner (*loc. cit.*) had already conjectured that *arrepús* owed something to Arab. *rubb as-sûs*: there would appear to be no reason to see in it an alteration of *eurûq sûs* > *orozuz* (*DCEC*, *loc. cit.*).
- regaliz*, 103r 3, 103v 13, but *regaliç*, 104r 3, 105r 11, 105v 2. Ig. González Llubera (*Coplas de Yoçef*, Cambridge 1935, p. XX) stated “in the transcription of Romance words *ç* is not used except in one instance, *ר״א״ך raiç* (Shem Tob C fol. 53), where it stands for O.Span. *ç*”. Since, for the sake of consistency, I am transliterating *ç*, whether in Semitic or Romance words, by *ç*, we now have a further example of final -*ç* being rendered by *ç*. Our MS is of approximately the same period as that of

Shem Tob C (v. González Llubera, Santob de Carrión, *Proverbios Morales*, Cambridge 1947, p. 11). Had this final -ç affricate quality? Could we legitimately see in this passage of presumably affricate final -z to -ç the beginning of the loss of the affricate quality of O.Span. z (*dz*) and of ç (*ts*), which, with few exceptions, appear in later Judeo-Spanish as fricative z and s respectively? Referring to the loss of affrication in z and ç, Amado Alonso (*De la pronunciación medieval a la moderna en español*, ed. Rafael Lapesa, Madrid 1955, p. 97), quotes from Enrique de Villena, *Arte de trovar*, 1433, p. 174: "Quando es en fin de la diçion, del todo pierde el son de su propia boz: o suena menos que en el medio e por eso es dicha menos sonante". See *rebaçuç*.

reşolyo, 105v 6, 12 and 19 'respiration'. O.Span. *resollo*.

r[i]ğla^h, 104r 9 'purslane, *portulaca oleracea*'. Cf. Arab. *riğl* 'varieties of purslane' (Lane, I, p. 1046a), *riğla* 'plante croissant dans l'eau' (Belot, *Vocab. arabe-français*, Beyrouth 1898). I do not know whether the meaning is identical with that of *verdolag[a]ś*, 104r 3.

rośea 105r 5 = Span. *rósea*.

ruybarbo, 103r 5 and 21. First recorded as *ruibarvo* in Nebrija (*DCEC*). In fol. 103r 5, the doctor first wrote *rubarbw* and then added *yod*; cf. African Arab. *rubárbu* (Simonet, *Glos. de voces ibéricas y latinas*, Madrid 1888).

**ś[a]bašṭyanoś*, 105r 10 'sebesten plum, *cordia myxa*'. The reading should perhaps be **ś[e]bašṭyanoś*, the first attested form in Spanish, used by Laguna 1555 (*DCEC*, s. *sebestén*), but our author tends to use *yod* for *e* and *i*, though he very frequently omits *š*. His form is also likely to be closer to Arab. *sabistân* than that of Laguna.

śalyir, 104v 11 and 16 'come out'. O.Span. *sallir*.

śandaloś blancoś ʔi bermegoś [sic], 103r 12. Arab. *şandal* > Span., Port., Cat., Jud.-Span. *sándalo(s)* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 167).

sandia v. *bađehaś*.

ś[a]rab, 104r 11, 105r 13. This is presumably to be read as **şarab* < Arab. *ş*, whence O.Span. *xarope* and Span. *jarabe*.

For mod. Judeo-Spanish representatives of $\sqrt{\acute{s}-r-b}$, v. Crews, *VRom.* 20, 35/36.

*š[e]baštyanoš v. *š[a]baštyanoš.

šomo v. ʔenšomo.

šyešo, 103r 8. Cf. mod. Bulg. Jud.-Span. *kara de syeso* ‘cara de culo’ (Wagner, *RFE* 34, 65). Const. *el sieso* ‘Knoten im Darm’ (Subak, *ZRPh.* 30, 138) would appear to be a mistranslation.

*šarab v. š[a]rab.

t[a]m[a]rh[i]ndi, 103r 19 ‘tamarind, *tamarindus indica*’, Span. *tamarindo*, Oriental Jud.-Span. ∼. Our present form is presumably that of vulg. Arab. *támar hindi* (*DCEC*, s. *támara*).

taušan v. lyebre.

likia v. řišiqoš.

řišiqoš [phon. *tizikos* (?)], 105r 21. Cf. *la tisica*, Deut. 28, 22 (Ferrara Bible) ‘consumption’. But, mod. Jud.-Span. Const., Karaferia, Bulg. *likia* ‘tisis, hetiquez’ (Wagner, *RFE* 34, 97), Monastir *tiquie* (Luria *RHisp.* 79, 456), Salonica *tekia* (information of the late Samuel Levy).

řrebenřina^h, 105v 9 ‘turpentine’. Corominas (*DCEC*, s. *terebinto*) quotes Laguna 1555 *terebentina*, Nebrija *trementina*. There is obviously no means of deducing how our doctor pronounced his word.

řrinyóla v. řirwel[a]š.

vaḥēšî, 104r 1 *et passim* = Heb. ‘and a half’.

řerdolag[a]š, 104r 3, v. r[i]řla^h.

řězeraε v. zeraε.

viʔol[a]š, 103r 2, viʔo[l]a]š, 104r 11, viʔoleřaš, 105v 13 ‘violet, *viola odorata*’. The modern Oriental dialects call this flower *menekšé* < Turkish (Persian), though we have Salonica *byoleta* ‘*pumada*, scent’, doubtless from Fr. *violette*. Molho (*Usos y costumbres*, p. 62) states that Salonica *la viola* has the sense of ‘la noche que precede al día de la circuncisión’ and adds “es decir, vispera, en castellano antiguo”. This latter *viola* is, however, a survival of Span. *viola* ‘viol, viola [musical instrument]’. I am informed that at circumcision parties a *čalgín* is played; this is a hispaniolized form, with epenthetic -n, of Turk. *çalgr* ‘any musical instrument’ (Redhouse, p. 708a).

vi'oleťas v. *vi'ol[a]ś*.

zaraqatona^h, 104r 2. Steiger (*Hispano-árabe*, p. 215) quotes Arab. *bizr (bazr)qaťuna* > Granada Arab. *zarcalona* 'zar(a)gatorna, *plantago psyllium* L.'

zerae, 104r 7 = Heb. 'seed of'. Cf. *vězerae*, 104r 8 *et passim* = Heb. 'and seed of'. *Zerae* has the sense of Span. *granoś de ...*, 104r 20 *et passim*.

Leeds, April 1963

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