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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*⁴ 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 *bēhmēn* and *mēlon* (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*^-;
- (v) Abbreviation of one word is usually indicated by one dot placed over the last written letter, e.g. ינ = 'onça^h 'ounce', and, if the abbreviation stands for more than one word, two dots appear on the last letter written, e.g. ינ^ו (v. Glossary, s. *m*?.);
- (vi) A short diagonal stroke or a dot over ינ^ו 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.

VIa. Transliteration:

- א a or אָ, 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 a אָ (v. Section VII)
 - ב b; ('ב does not occur)
 - ג g; 'גְּ or ְ (v. Section VIb)
 - ד d; 'דְּ
 - ה h in initial and medial positions, a הָ 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 h
 - ט t
 - י vocalic e and i; y is equivalent to the semi-vowel ִ 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 ְ in non-Hebrew words; s in Hebrew words
 - ע e
 - פ p; 'פְּ /
 - ׂ s
 - ׁ q
 - ׂ r and r[r]
 - ׂ s (medially = O.Span. -s- and -ss-); 'ׂ ְ s
 - ׂ t; 'ׂ ְ 0
- 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 *v* by *s*, and states “It is difficult to see how the letter *v* ... could be interpreted as O.Span. *ss*, *s*. The modern Judeo-Spanish script gives a single interpretation to the consonant *v*, that of O.Span. *x*.” That is true only of purely *modern* Judeo-Spanish. Further, Besso condemns Llubera for transliterating *z* by *g̃* only, e.g. *ונזנָה* by *konsego* and *מַגְּזָה* by *mūga*, and is “surprised to see that Prof. Llubera omits the consonant *č*, O.Span. *z* with a diacritic mark [sic]”. The symbol *č* 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 *z* into *g̃* and *č*, but I considered it inadvisable to use *ž*. It is quite likely, though not certain, that my doctor pronounced *jōga^h*, *fīga^h*, *bermēgo*, *finōgo*, *quāgar*, etc., as *jōza*, *fīza*, *bermēzo*, *finōzo*, *kwāzar* 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 *g̃* in *al̄gōfar*, **gon̄golin* (cf. mod. Jud.-Span. *gün̄jili*; *gün̄ibre* ‘ginger’), *r[i]ḡla^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 *š*, it is possible to deduce the place of the stress. The doctor uses final *š* only when it is preceded by *yod* (ׁ), with the value of *unstressed e*, the semi-vowel *y* (ׂ) or to show the palatal nature of the preceding consonant (= Span. *ñ* or *ll*). On all these occasions the stress falls on the vowel preceding the consonant + *yod* + *a*. To exemplify, I quote (שִׁיאַת קָאשִׁיאַת (103r 19) *qašya²* *fiš[!twla]* ‘casia fistola’, מִידָּה (103v 18) *medya²* ‘media’, דִּילְיָה (104v 3) *delya²* ‘de ella’, אֲוָלְיָה (104v 4) *’olya²* ‘olla’, מִאֲטִירָה (105r 9) *maṭerya²* ‘materia’, רֹשֶׁה (105r 5) *rošēa²* ‘rósea’, גְּעַנְסָה (103v 16) *gün̄ṣya²* ‘juncia’, סְקַמְוִינָה (v. Glossary), but Span. *escamonea*.

When, however, שָׁה is written, the stress falls on the *yod*, viz. קוֹנְטִיאַה (103r 6) *qon̄ti²a^h* ‘contia, cuantia’, דִּיאַה (103r 16) *di²a^h* ‘dia’, שִׁיאַה (104v 11) *šēa^h* ‘sea’.

Could it be that this differential function of final *n* and *m* 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: *deš(fazer)*, *finožo*, *joža^h*, *fiža^h*, *fižoš*, *fyerba^h*, *Jarina^h*, *falyyada^h*, *fabaš*, *formig[a]š*, *forṭig[a]š* 'ortigas', including non-informative *de fu'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:

The bibliographical references used in this article have in the main already been listed in *Miscellanea Hispano-Judaica II*, *VRom.* 20 (1961), 13/14. To those the only additions are:

- Dozy: R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes*, 2 tomes, Leyde 1881;
- Laguna 1555 [1566]: *Pedacio Dioscorides Anazarbeo ... traduzido ... por el Doctor A. de Laguna*, Salamanca 1555 [and 1566];
- 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 rēbīṣiθ ['for quartan fever'] purga^h para^h la^h qwarṭana^h:
2. vi^ol[a]š, flor de qanṭu[’]ešo, alqohela^h šin polipodyo m[?]. ’o.; cirwell[a]š, ġuġub[a]š
3. m[?]. ’o.; ’epitimo hăši[’]o.; paśas m[!]— [?40] 4 ’o.; cuk[a]r 3 ’o.; finoġo, regaliz m[?]. 4 dr.;
4. šimyente de apyo 2 dr.; qorṭeza^h de mirabolanoš qebuliš ’i gariqwn m[?]. 4;
5. ruybarbo dr.; fagan ’eṣṭaš 3 melezin[a]š polboš ’i amašen l[a]š qon myel ’eṣ-
6. pumada^h ’i dešlean lo ’enla^h qozedura^h, la^h qwal venga^h ’en qonti[’]a^h de 3 panyilyaš;
7. ḥome la^h meetad qon la^h meetad dela^h diča^h maša^h.

No. 32

8. hazzālaθ dam, biṭṭūl ta[’]awa^h, hūlšaθ lēb, qerīrūθ hārō[’]š ['the running of blood, disappearance of appetite, weakness of heart, cold of the head'] para^h qor[r]imyento de šangre del syešo ’i privaçyon del
9. apeṭi^o ’i flaqeza^h del qoraçon ’i frialdad dela^h qabeça^h:
10. rošaš bermeğ[a]š 2 dr.; linalo[’]e ’i qaqa'bry ’i alğof[a]r m[?]. 2 dr.; qoral blanqo
11. ’i bermeğo ’i bēhmēn blanqo ’i bermeğo ’i ’espodyo ’i qulanṭro šeqo preparado
12. ’i aniš ’i šandaloš blanqoš ’i bermegoš [sic] ’i çinamomy ’i maçyaš ’i alm[a]štiqa^h
13. m[?]. hăši[’] dr.; paneś de ’oro ’i de plaṭa^h de qada^h ’uno 2; qarne de menbrilyoš 5 ’o.;
14. agu[’]a^h de alqohela^h 4 ’o.; ale[a]nb[a]r hăši[’] dr.; açuk[a]r blanqo liṭ. ’ahaθ; fagan lo al-
15. qorçaš qubyerṭaš qon foġa^h de ’oro ’i dela^h ’otra^h parte qon foġa^h de plaṭa^h;
16. ḥome delyoš ’el paċyenṭe ’una^h qada^h di[’]a^h ’i beba^h ’enšomo ’un poqo de mi n[ē]rd.

No. 33

17. lēqaddah[aθ] εim ... ['for fever with ...] para^h la^h fyebre qonṭinu^{2a^h} qon dešvari^{2o} ²ⁱ qešo ²ⁱ b[a]šqa^h:
18. pongan le ayuđaś ²ⁱ śinon fizyere byen, purgen le qonešto: vi^{2o}[a]ś
19. ²ⁱ 4 buzur friaś m². 4 dr.; čirwel[a]ś, gugub[a]ś [sic] m². 15; t[a]m[a]rb[i]ndi 2 ^{2o}; qašya² fiš[tlwa]
20. mondada^h ^{2o}; čumo de čer[r]aḡaś ²ⁱ de ber[r]oś ²ⁱ agu^{2a^h} rošada^h m². 2 ^{2o}; magna^h hăṣi ^{2o};
21. açuk[a]r blanqo 3 ^{2o}; ruyb[a]rbo 2 dr.; tome lo ^{2en} ḥreś veześ partiđo por ṭerčer[a]ś.

fol. 103v

No. 34

1. illūf ûbiṭṭūl ta²awa^h lěma²akhāl ['fainting and disappearance of appetite for food'] alqorçaś para^h ^{2el} dešmayo ²ⁱ amorṭe-čimyentō
2. ²ⁱ poqo ṭalanṭe de qomer:
3. rošaś 2 dr.; qoral blanqo ²ⁱ bermeḡo ²ⁱ śandalos blanqoś ²ⁱ bermeḡoś
4. ²ⁱ śimyentē de alh[a]baqa^h ²ⁱ gru²ešo de qoraçon de čyerbo m². dr.; al-
5. ḡofar ²ⁱ činamomy m². 2 dr.; aniś, almaştıqa^h m². hăṣi dr.; qarne de
6. menbrilyoś 2 ^{2o}; açuk[a]r ^{2o}čo ^{2o}; agu^{2a^h} de moradoś ²ⁱ vino blanqo
7. m². hăṣi panela^h; paneś de ²oro ²ⁱ de plāṭa^h m². 2; fagan lo alqorç[a]ś.

No. 35

8. lēyōledeθe mi-15 yōm εim qaddahaθ ['for the woman 15 days after childbirth with fever'] para^h la^h parida^h de 15 diaś qon fyebre qonṭinu^{2a^h}:
9. čumo de ber[r]oś ²ⁱ de čer[r]aḡaś ²ⁱ de granad[a]ś ²ⁱ agu^{2a^h} rošada^h m². panela^h; açuk[a]r
10. 3 ^{2o}; qu²ega^h faṣṭa^h qe qede ^{2en} 2 panel[a]ś; tome lo ^{2en} ḥreś manyan[a]ś.

No. 36

11. qaddah[aθ] hā'ðhezeθ kol yōm ['fever which attacks every day'] preparaṭibo para^h la^h çeçyon qotidiana^h;
12. finoğō verde 'i apyo verde 'i 'esqabyoşa^h verde m?. 2 'o.; grano de finoğō 'o.;
13. quşquṭa^h 4 dr.; şimyente de apyo 'i regaliz m?. 2 dr.; cuk[a]r 'i myel m?. 2 'o.;
14. qu'ega^h faştə^h qe qede 'en 8 'onçaś; ḥomelo 'en 4 veześ demanyana^h.

No. 37

15. ... ûθ hārē'ûθ ['... of the sight'] para^h flaqeza^h dela^h viştə^h deşpu'eş de fyebre;
16. ḥomen günçya' avelyanada^h 4 'o.; qorṭeza^h de mirabolanoś qebuliś 'o.; roşaś
17. hăşî 'o.; maçyaś 4 dr.; cuk[a]r peśo del ḥodo; fagan lo polbora^h; ḥome delyo
18. qada^h noče, al ḥyenpo del dormir, medya' qugareṭa^h [sic].

No. 38

19. ... hakkēlāyōθ ['... the kidneys'] para^h l[a]ş 'ulcer[a]ş qe şon lyyagaś 'enloś rinyoneś
20. 'i 'enla^h beşiga^h: almendr[a]ş dulçeś blanqead[a]ş 'i pinyoneś m?. 4 'o.;
21. ḡonğolin, qanyamoneś, fabaś şeqaś m?. 2 'o.; de l[a]ş 4 şimyenteś friaś

fol. 104

1. mondad[a]ş 'o. vahēşî; linu'eśo 'i şimyente de malba^h bişqo 'i de menbrilyoś
2. 'i zaraqaṭona^h, alkitira^h, goma^h arabiga^h, anaşy, ḥodo ḥoştado m?. hăşî 'o.;
3. şimyente de dormider[a]ş 'i de apyo 'i de verdolag[a]ş 'i de regaliş m?. hăşî 'o.;
4. açyenço 'i almaştıqa^h m?. 4 dr.; cuk[a]r lābān 20 'o.; fagan lo nu'egadoś;

5. ḫome delyoś qada^h di³a^h ²en ayun[a]ś qonṭi²a^h de medya²
³onça^h.

No. 39

6. lēhābī² šēna^h ['to bring on sleep'] melezina^h probada^h para^h
 ṭraer šu²enyo al qe non
7. pu²ede dormir qon gran ardor ²i šed ²i myedoś: ḫomen zeraε
 8. belenyo lābān vězeraε hǎzereθ vězeraε perāgīn m². 2 dr.
 vaḥēši; zeraε mēlon dešqaš-
9. qad[a]ś, vězeraε r[i]ğla^h m². dr.; ²opyo ²i ačafran m². hǎṣi dr.;
 mu²elan lo ḫodo
10. ²i amašen lo qon myel delo qwal den al paçyenṭe, qwanṭo
²una^h faba^h qon
11. š[a]rab de vi²[o][a]ś, qada^h manyana^h pašta^h [sic] qe du²er-
 ma^h; ²o amašen lo
12. ḫodo qon leče de muğer qe qri²e fiğa^h ²i pongan delyo biđ-
 milyaś ²enl[a]ś syeneś.

No. 40

13. kě²ēb hakkēsālī[m] ['pain of the loins'] para^h ²el dolor dela^h
²iğada^h qoşa^h probada^h:
14. ḫomaredeś dela^h ṭyer[r]a^h del[a]ś formig[a]ś qe ²elyaś ²ečan
 qon šuś pyeś de
15. fu²era^h 3 ²o.; farina^h de ²ordyo ²o.; malb[a]ś ²i forṭig[a]ś m².
 6 ²o.; šean qočaś
16. l[a]ś yerb[a]ś mučo ²en agu²a^h ²i mağad[a]ś byen, ²inqorporo-
 rando ²enelyaś l[a]ś ²oṭr[a]ś
17. melezin[a]ś molid[a]ś; fagan delyo ²enplašṭo ²i pongan lo
 sobrel lugar.

No. 41

18. vězeh lěfōsēš h[ā²eßen] ['and this to shatter the stone']
²eşprimenṭo para^h dešfazer la^h pyedra^h deloś
19. rinyoneś ²i ²ečar la^h ²en arena^h qon la^h ²orina^h; ḫomen
 9 granoś
20. de yedra^h mağadoś ²i qon vino blanqo qalyenṭe, dadoś
 abeber der[r]ama^h

fol. 104v

1. l[a]s pyedr[a]s čiqaś 'i grandeś 'i faze venir la^h 'orina^h po-deroşa^h menṭe.

No. 42

2. lā'ebeñ ['for the stone'] 'oṭro nissāyòn para^h 'ešṭo mešmo:
3. ḥomen šangre de lyebre 'i qemen la^h 'eso mésmo la^h pelyeġa^h delya²
4. qemada^h 'en 'olya² nu'eba^h 'i de ḥodo fagan polbora^h 'i si dyer en delya²
5. al paçyenṭe, 'eṣṭando 'enel banyo, medya² qučar qon medya² panela^h
6. de vino blanqo qalyenṭe 'en ayun[a]s, qyebra^h la^h pyedra^h 'i 'eča^h la^h de
7. fu'era^h.

No. 43

7. lā'ebeñ. la^h pyedra^h qe šale del qu'ero del 'omre
8. dađa^h abeber 'en ayuno qyebra^h la^h 'oṭra^h pyedra^h 'i faz byen mear.

No. 44

9. vězeh lā'ebeñ ['and this for the stone'] 'oṭro 'ešprimenṭo para^h 'ešṭo:
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 dada^h abeber muy a'ina^h faze šalyir la^h pyedra^h. m[a]s šila^h
12. pyedra^h del paçyenṭe fu'ere mučo grande 'i dura^h, še'a^h feča^h polbora^h del q[a]raqol
13. ḥodo, qe mučo 'eś bu'ena^h 'i probada^h, lo qwal beba^h 'en vino blanqo.

No. 45

14. vězeh lā'ebeñ. 'oṭro 'ešprimenṭo še-hū² měnusseh lězah hāeinyān ['which is tested for the same matter']:
15. čumo de arṭamiša^h medyo vašo bebiđo qada^h di'a^h 7 diaś marabilyoşa^h menṭe

16. qebranṭa^h la^h pyedra^h deloś rinyoneš ²i dela^h bešiga^h ²i la^h faze šalyir
17. por arena^h.

No. 46

17. vězeh [and this] ²oṭro: goma^h de cerezo muy fu'erṭe
18. menṭe qyebra^h l[a]ş pyedr[a]ş ²i deſfazel[a]ş bebiđo molido ²i ²en vino.

No. 47

19. vězeh [hak]kēlāyōθ ['and this (for) the kidneys'] para^h dolor deloś rinyoneš ²i bešiga^h [sic] bādūq;
20. ḥomen breṭoniqa^h ²un manođo ²i qu'egan lo mučo ²en agu'a^h ²i den delya²

fol. 105

1. abeber al ²enfermo qon myel ²i ²un poqo de pimyenṭa^h, lo qwal beba^h ²enl[a]ş
2. manyan[a]ş medya² panela^h qada^h vegađa^h tibyo.

No. 48

3. zeh lāhāzeh ['this for the chest'] noṭa^h de lamedor probado para^h la^h ṭoś šeqa^h ²i la^h
4. ronqedad² ²i qunple aloś ninyoš: ḥomen šimyenṭe
5. de menbriloš medya² ²o.; pongan lo ²en medya² liṭ, de agu'a^h rošea² ²i mene²en
6. lo byen fašta^h qe šalga^h la^h babaza^h ²i qu'elen lo qon ṭrapo ralo ²i bu'elban
7. qon la^h babaza^h medya² liṭ, de alfeniq ²i medya² ²o. de azeyṭe vi'olado ²i
8. qu'ega^h ḥodo ġunṭo fašta^h qe še ²ešpeše; ḥome delyo amenudo.

No. 49

9. vězeh lāhāz[eh] ['and this for the chest'] ²oṭro lamedor para^h la^h ṭoś ²i ²ešqupir maṭerya² qon
10. gran šed ²i ronqedad²: ḥomen açoſ[a]yf[a]ş 20, š[a]baṣṭyanos 40, figoš pašoš

11. 5, regaliş raido 'i paşaš 40 m². 'o., qulanṭro de pozo 5 dr.; qu²ega^h ḥodo
12. 'en 5 lit. agu²a^h faṣṭa^h qe qedē 'en 'una^h, 'en lo qwal byen qolado pongan
13. 4 'o. alfeniq 'i ḥorne aqozer faṣṭa^h qe śe²a^h m[a]š 'eṣpešo qe ś[a]rab
14. roṣado, qon lo qwal amašen 'eṣṭa^h qe śeṣige; ḥomen dell[a]š
15. pepiṭaš de qalabača^h 'i de melon 'i de pepinoš 'i de badehaš, ḥod[a]š
16. dešqorṭezadž[a]š, 'i śimyente de verdolag[a]š m². 4 dr.; alkī-θira^h 'i goma^h arabiga^h
17. 'i rebaçuç 'i nš' 'i śimyente de dormider[a]š blanq[a]š 'i almendr[a]š dulceš
18. m². 2 dr.; śe²a^h ḥodo molido byen 'i amašado qon lo šuṣodičo 'i fagan lo
19. granoš qomo avelyan[a]š; ponga^h 'uno bašo dela^h lengu²a^h, 'i qwando aqel
20. śe deſhizyere, ponga^h 'oṭro, qe m[a]rabiloša^h qoša^h 'eš para^h lo šobre
21. dičo 'i para^h loš ṭišiqoš 'i ḥodo mal de [p]ečoš qon ronqedad.

fol. 105v

No. 50

1. vězeh [lāḥā]zeh vělārē²a^h ['and this for the chest and the lung'] 'oṭro lamedor para^h la^h ṭoš běsibbaθ hārē²a^h věhaṭṭar-pěšā² ['on account of the lung and the fatty envelope (membrane)']
2. 'i para^h alibyanar 'el 'ešqupir: ḥomen regaliş raido 'i alfeniq
3. 'i śimyente de dormider[a]š m². 40 dr.; alkītira^h 'i rebaçuç 'i farina^h de
4. fabaš m². 20 dr.; almendr[a]š dulceš 'i goma^h 'i aniš 'i nš' m². 10 dr.;
5. śe²a^h ḥodo molido 'i amašado qon myel 'ešpumada^h; ḥome delyo ḥodo el di²a^h.

No. 51

6. vězeh qošer něšima^h věšiečūl ... q dam ['and this: shortness

- of breath and coughing ... blood'] para^h la^h angoştura^h del
reşolyo 'i mal del pulmon 'i al
7. 'eşqupir de şangre 'i maṭerya²: ḫomen farina^h de fabaś 'i
almendr[a]ś
 8. blanqead[a]ś m². 10 dr.; alk[i]tira^h blanqa^h 'i pepit[a]ś de
melon m². 7 dr.; si-
 9. myenṭe de dormider[a]ś 15 dr.; açapran [sic] dr.; t̄rebentina^h
5 dr.; ar[r]ope
 10. de mošṭo, qon qe še amašen l[a]ś dič[a]ś qoš[a]ś; ḫome delyo
amenudo.

No. 52

11. vězeh [lěša]lšēl hehāzeh bělī nezeq ['and this to loosen (purge)
the chest without damage'] melezina^h para^h purgar loš qe
tyenen toš 'i angoştura^h
12. 'enel reşolyo 'i 'eš qoşa^h qe non daria^h aloś fiğoś;
13. ḫomen vi'oleť[a]ś molid[a]ś 3 dr.; qaşıya² fiş[ṭwla] preparada^h
7 dr.; pongan la^h diča^h
14. qaşıya² fiş[ṭwla] 'en 2 'o. de ar[r]ope 'i fyerba^h şobrel fu'ego
manšo paştā^h [sic] qe
15. še qyera^h qwağar 'i 'eştonçes pongan 'enelyo l[a]ś dič[a]ś
vi'ol[a]ś molid[a]ś
16. 'i medyo dr. ç[a]qmunya² 'e 'i[n]qorporen lo ḫodo 'en 'uno;
'i 'eşto beba^h
17. lo 'en dos ḫom[a]ś deşfečo 'en agu²a^h qozida^h qon ğuğub[a]ś 'i
paşaś 40,
18. lo qwal ḫome ala^h 'ora^h qe l[a]ś purg[a]ś še šu'elen ḫomar.

No. 53

19. vězeh [lěša]lšēl qoşer něšima^h ['and this to loosen shortness
of breath'] 'enplaşṭo para^h la^h angoştura^h del reşolyo:
20. ḫomen farina^h de ḫrigo černiда^h 'i amašen la^h qon manṭeqa^h
de vaqaś
21. freşqa^h 'i fagan delyo 'enplaşṭo 'i pongan lo 'enşomo deloś
feçoś [= peçoś] qalyenṭe.
22. para^h

Glossary

abrikók v. *çirwel[a]ş*.

açafran, 104r 9 ‘saffron, *crocus sativus* L.’. Arab. *zaefarān* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, pp. 118 and 285). For mod. Judeo-Spanish forms, v. Crews, *VRom.* 20, 17/18.

açof[a]yf[a]ş, 105r 10 ‘jujube, *zyzyphus* L.’. Cf. mod. Jud.-Span. Morocco *assofaija* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 13, 232), Oriental (*a)sofáyfa*, *asofajya*, *asufajya*. See *ğuğub[a]ş*.

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. *aciendo*, *acienso*, *asensio*, mod. Span. *ajenjo* (*DCEC*).

’ahaθ v. *’ehād*.

a’ina^h, 104v 11. Cf. Morocco *aina* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 568), Oriental ~, though largely replaced by *presto* (Wagner, *VKR* 4, 235).

ale[a]nb[a]r, 103r 14. Arab. *eañbar*. Cf. Jud.-Span. *alambar*, Exod. 30, 24 (Ferrara Bible) ‘cassia or costus’, Salonica *ambér* ‘una flor’ = Turk. *eanber* *çiçeği* ‘yellow-flowered fragrant acacia dealbata’ (Redhouse, p. 1324a), 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 *alfeník* ‘very fine, slender’ (Crews, *VRom.* 14, 299).

alğof[a]r, 103r 10. Arab. *ğáwhar* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 189). Cf. mod. Jud.-Span. Morocco *ażżófar* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 13, 223).

alh[a]baqa^h, 103v 4 ‘sweet basil, *ocimum basilicum* L.’. Arab. *habaqa* > Span. *alfábega*, *albahaca*, Port. *aljavaca* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 256). First appears in Nebrija (*DCEC*). Cf. Oriental Jud.-Span. *alħabáka* (Wagner, *ZRPh.* 40, 546), Morocco ~ (Benoliel, *BRAE* 13, 214).

alkitira^h, 104r 2, 105v 3, *alk[i]tira^h*, 105v 8, *alki0ira^h*, 105r 16

'tragacanth, *astragalus clusii* B.'. Arab. *kaθīrā* > O.Span. *alquetira*, *alquitira* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 340), first appearing in Nebrija (*DCEC*).

alm[a]stiqa^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]s*.

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*). *alqorças*, 103r 14/15, *alqorç[a]s*, 103v 7. Arab. *qurṣa* > O.Span., Port. *alcorça*, Span. *alcorza* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 168).

albijána, *alveyana* v. *avelyan[a]s*.

ambér, *amberié* v. *ale[a]nb[a]r*.

anasón v. *anis*.

anašy, 104r 2, : *goma^h arabiga^h anašy*. Cf. *goma^h arabiga^h ... i nš*, 105r 17, *i goma^h i anis i nš*, 105v 4. Are *anašy*, *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)?

aniš, 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. *cirwel[a]s*.

apeñijo, 103r 9, but *apelite*, Gen. 6, 5 (Ferrara Bible), mod. Jud.-Span. ~ = Port. ~.

arrepsús v. *rebaçuç*.

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

asofáyfa, *asofafya*, *asufafya* v. *açoſ[ə]yſ[ə]ſ*.

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

babosa v. *q[ə]raqol*.

baðehaš, 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. *ăbaṭṭihím*; 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).

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

barqóqa v. *çirwel[a]ſ*.

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

babzoza v. *q[ə]raqol*.

bēhmēn blango ‘i bermeđo’, 103r 11 < Arab. (Persian) *bahman*. It is curious that a later hand should have pointed this word, because Turk. *behmen* ‘behen root, radix behen’, *aq* ['white'] *behmen* ‘root of *centaurea behen*’, *qızıl* ['red'] *behmen* ‘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 *stactice limonium* L. or, perhaps, *stactice catifolia* Smith.

bidmylyas, 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).

bišqo v. *malba^h* *bišqo*.

bretoniqa^h, 104v 20 'betony, *stachys betonica*'. According to Corominas (*DCEC*, s. *betónica*), *bretónica* is first recorded in 1537.

buzur, 103r 19 'meadow saffron, *colchicum autumnale* L.'. Arab. *buzūr* '*colchicum autumnale*', plur. of *bazr* 'pépin, noyau' (Dozy, p. 81a).

ç[a]qmunya[?], 105v 16 'scammony, *convolvulus scammonia* L.'. Probably equivalent to Arab. *saqmūnīyā* rather than to Span. *escamonéa* (*DAul*) < Latin (Greek). See Section VII.

çeçyon, 103v 11. Cf. O.Span. *cición*, *ceción*, *cesión* 'calentura intermitente que entra con frio' (*DCEC*, s. *cición*).

çer[r]ağ[a]ş, 103r 20, *çer[r]ağası*, 103v 9 'common sow-thistle, *sonchus oleraceus* L.' or '*sonchus arvensis* L.'. First appears as Mozarabic *şarrâlla* (*DCEC*, s. *cerraja*).

çerezo, 104v 17. O.Span. *cereso*, *cerezo* (*DCEC*).

**çicyon* v. *çeçyon*.

çinamomy, 103r 12, 103v 5. Cf. O.Span. *cinamomo*, first recorded 1438 (*DCEC*). Does our form result from a dissimilation or is *cinamomino* (Laguna 1555) in the mind of the writer?

çirwel[a]ş, 103r 2, 103r 19. This curious spelling (for expected **çiru'elas*) 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.

cuk[a]r v. *açuk[a]r*.

çumo, 103r 20. Mod. Span. *zumo*, mod. Jud.-Span. *sumo*.

čalgın v. *vi'ol[a]ş*.

dormider[a]ş, 104r 3. For modern Judeo-Spanish names of

- the ‘poppy’, including Salonica *durmidera*, see Wagner, *RFE* 34, 82, s. *paparuna*. See also *perāgīn*.
- dr.*, 103r 3 *et passim*, abbreviation perhaps of *drama* (v. *DCEC*, s. *dracma*) ‘dram, $\frac{1}{8}$ th part of a fluid ounce’. Cf. *medyo dr.*, 105v 16, so masculine.
- 'eħād* masc., *'ahaθ* fem., 103r 14 = Heb. ‘one [numeral]’. See *m²*.
- 'enšomo*, 103r 16 ‘thereupon’, ~, 105v 21 ‘on top of’. Cf. *en somo* ‘encima, arriba’ (*Cantar de Mio Cid*, 171), *en somo del alcácer* (*ibid.*, 1220).
- 'epitimo*, 103r 3 ‘lesser dodder, *cuscuta epithymum*’ < Gk. $\varepsilon\pi\iota\theta\mu\sigma\omega$ (*DCEC*, s. *tomillo*). The use of Heb. *taw* for Gk. θ is interesting.
- 'espodyo*, 103r 11. Cf. “del oro, y de la plata, y del plomo, se haze tambien Spedio” (Laguna 1566) < L. *spodium* (< Greek) ‘dross of metals, scoria; ashes of vegetable matter’.
- 'esprimento*, 104r 18, 104v 9 and 14, with the meaning of *nissāyōn*, q.v. The semi-popular form is curious.
- 'espumaða^h*, 103r 5 *et passim*. Cf. Oriental Jud.-Span. *eskumar* (Wagner, *RFE* 34, 51).
- 'esqabyoða^h*, 103v 12. First recorded in Nebrija as *escaviosa* (*DCEC*).
- falansa* v. *baðehas̄*.
- faz*, 104v 8, 3rd sing. pres. indic. of *fazer*, but *faze*, 104v 11.
- finoðo*, 103r 3 ‘fennel, *fæniculum vulgare*'. Cf. mod. Jud.-Span. Morocco *finojo* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 15, 190), Salonica *finožo*, Const. *inožo* (Crews, *PLPLS* 8, 6, s. *ȝinoyo*).
- forṭig[a]s̄*, 104r 15 ‘nettles’. For O.Span. *fortiga*, *hortiga* < *ūrtica* + *fortis*, v. *DCEC*, s. *ortiga*. Cf. mod. Jud.-Span. *ortiga*.
- gariqwn*, 103r 4 ‘*boletus igniarius* L. (?)’ or ‘*polyporus officinalis* L. (?)’. Is this directly Arab. *ȝāriqūn* 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]s̄*, 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. *ğuğub[a]ś*.

**ğunğolin* [*ȝwnȝwlyn*], 103v 21. I find no form in Spanish identical with this of the doctor, except a possible *ğunğulin*. Cf. Arab. *al-ğunğulān* > *ajonjoli* ‘sesamum indicum D.C.’ (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 375). Corominas (*DCEC*) derives *ajonjoli* from Granada Arab. *ȝonȝolil*, *ȝulȝulin*, and quotes *aljonjoli* (Nebrija), *ȝonȝoli* (Pedro de Alcalá, 1505). Molho (*Usos y costumbres*, p. 149) has Salonica *azeite de giungili* [*ȝunȝili*] ‘aceite de sésamo’.

ğuğub[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 Açufayfas, que los Barbaros llaman *Iuiubas*”. Covarrubias (ed. Riquer, Barcelona 1943), quoting Laguna, states “Las açufayfas llaman los bárbaros *jujubas*”. Since Laguna 1566 reads *Iacinto* ‘jacinto’, *Iasmin* ‘jasmin’, *Iudias* ‘judias’ (Jud.-Span. *ȝirgwelos*, *ȝurgwelos* [Wagner, *RFE* 34, 56, s. *fijones*]), *Iuncia olorosa* ‘juncia’ (Jud.-Span. *ȝunçya*², 103v of the present text), *Iunco* ‘junco’ (Jud.-Span. *ȝunko*), we must assume that Laguna’s *Iuiubas* represents something closely akin to our *ğuğub[a]ś*, presumably with proparoxytonic stress (v. F. Rodriguez Martín, *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 *azufaija*. It would be interesting, too, to know whether the doctor’s *ğuğub[a]ś* were identical with his *açof[a]yf[a]ś*.

*ȝunçya*² *avelyanaða*^h, 103v 16 ‘chufa, *cyperus esculentus*’.

**ğunğulin* v. *ȝonȝolin*.

ḥaṣi, 103r 3 *et passim* = Heb. ‘half’.

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

²inorporando, 104r 16. It may well be that one should read
²enorporando.

karpús v. badehaš.

lābān, 104r 4 and 8 = Heb. ‘white’.

liebre, lievre, lievro v. lyebre.

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

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

lyebre, sangre 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 *taušán* ‘hare, rabbit’ < Turk. *tavşan*.

m²., 103r 2 et passim, abbreviation of Heb. *mikol’ehād* ‘of (from) each one’, equivalent to Span. *de qada^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]š*, 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 pašaš *m[—]* presumably means ‘40 grapes’.

maçyaš, 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. *manā*), mod. Jud.-Span. *mágna* (Crews, *VRom. 16*, 236).

malb[a]š, 104r 15 ‘mallows, *malva sylvestris*’. See *malba^h* *bíšqo*.

malba^h bišqo, 104r 1 'marsh-mallow, *althaea officinalis*'.

mēlon, 104r 8, but *melon*, 105v 8. It is curious that a later hand should have pointed the *yod* to form *ē* since *melón* is alive among the Oriental Jews.

menekšé v. *vi²ol[a]š*.

mēnusseh v. *nissāyōn*.

merğān v. *qoral*.

mirabolanoš qebuliš, 103r 4, 103v 16. According to Corominas (*DCEC*, s. *mirística*), the word first appears in Laguna 1555 as *myraboláno*s or *myrobálano*s. See *qebuliš*.

morados, 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 celtica*'.

nissāyōn, 104v 2 = Heb. 'test, trial'. It is equivalent to *'esprimen̄to* used in prescriptions 41, 44 and 45. Cf. *mēnusseh*, 104v 14 'tested', formed from the same root.

nš², *nš²* v. *anašy*.

'o., 103r 2 *et passim*, abbreviation of *'onça^h*, 103v 14, 104r 5 'ounce'.

'omre, 104v 7. For this spelling, see Menéndez-Pidal, *Orígenes del español*³, Madrid 1950, § 58₁, p. 309/310.

'ordyo, 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 fol. 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* 'azuera' (*DCEC*, s. *paño*), 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 *panyilyaš*.

panyilyaš, 103r 6 'liquid measures'. This is presumably to be read as **pañillas*. Corominas (*DCEC*, s. *paño*) 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. *caleia* (Berceo, *Silos*, 483a), S. Leonese *kaléya* (Casado Lobato, *RFE*, Anejo 44, Madrid 1948, § 33), Jud.-Span. *kaleža*, *kalezón*; O.Span., Leonese, Jud.-Span. *luvia* ‘lluvia’, Span. *lacio* (O.Span. *llacio*), etc. See *panela*^h.

pelyeža^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 kaßer en su p.* ‘not to be able to contain oneself (for emotion)’, Sarajevo *piležu* (Baruch, *RFE* 17, 136).

perāgin, 104r 8 = Heb. ‘poppy’. See *dormider[a]s*.

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

polbos, fazer, 103r 5 ‘pulverize, grind to powder’. This may be the O.Span. singular *polvos* < V.L. **pūlvus* (*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. Rodriguez González, *Dicc. Encycl. Gallego-Castellano*, Vigo 1958/61), Bulg. *pulbarina* ‘polvareda’ (Wagner, *RFE* 34, 86/87), *pwlvwrym* [*polborin?*] ‘sablier’ (Chérézli).

polipodyo v. *alqohela*^h.

*polbo, polvora, *polborin, polborina* v. *polbora*^h, *polbos*.

pruma, pruna v. *cirwel[a]s*.

qanṭu'ešo, 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 nenúfar, yerua de agua' (*ibid.*), quoted in the *Tesoro Lexicográfico*?

q[ə]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* [*baboza*] 'caracol' (Estrugo, *Los Sefardíes*, La Habana 1958, p. 90).

qašya' *fiš[twla]*, 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* (*DAul*).

gebuliš, mirabolanoš, 103r 4, 103v 16. Cf. Laguna 1566: "De los Myrobalanos ... se suelen hallar cinco especies, conviene 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*.

qonči'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*).

qoral blanqo 'i bermejo', 103r 10/11. In Oriental Judeo-Spanish *koral(e)* is preserved in ballads, but *merğán* < Turk. (Arab.) *mercán* 'coral' (Redhouse, p. 1805b) is now the usual word.

qozer. 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. *qočaš*, 104r 15, cf. O.Span. *cocho* (Hanssen, *op. cit.*, § 267); but Past participle 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*.

qučareṭa^h, written as *gugareṭa^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. *kučarada*.

qulanṭro, 103r 11, ~ *de pozo*, 105r 11 ‘coriander, *coriandrum sativum*’. Cf. Jud.-Span. *simiente de culantro*, Exod. 16, 31 (Ferrara Bible), *kulantro* (Chérélis), 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 *ragalis*, used by one of my aged female informants, beside the normal *regalis* ‘liquorice’. It is now clear that Morocco Jud.-Span. *arrepsús* ‘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-*) > *arrepsús* by consonantal assimilation. Wagner (*loc. cit.*) had already conjectured that *arrepsús* 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 *regalis*, 104r 3, 105r 11, 105v 2.

Ig. González Llubera (*Coplas de Yoçef*, Cambridge 1935, p. XX) stated ‘in the transcription of Romance words *x* is not used except in one instance, *רַיְץ raiç* (Shem Tob C fol. 53), where it stands for O.Span. *ç*’. Since, for the sake of consistency, I am transliterating *x*, whether in Semitic or Romance words, by *s*, we now have a further example of final -ç being rendered by *r*. 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*.

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

r[i]ṛ̥la^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.

rošeа' 105r 5 = Span. *rósea*.

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

*ś[a]baṣtyanoś, 105r 10 'sebesten plum, *cordia myxa*'. The reading should perhaps be *ś[e]baṣtyanoś, 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 *ś*. His form is also likely to be closer to Arab. *sabistān* than that of Laguna.

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

sandaloś blanqoś ?i bermegoś [sic], 103r 12. Arab. *ṣandal* > Span., Port., Cat., Jud.-Span. *sándalo(s)* (Steiger, *Hispano-árabe*, p. 167).

sandia v. *badehaś*.

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

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

**s[e]baṣṭyanos* v. **s[a]baṣṭyanos*.

somo v. *'enšomo*.

syēso, 103r 8. Cf. mod. Bulg. Jud.-Span. *kara de syéso* ‘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. *ś[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 hindí* (*DCEC*, s. *támara*).

taušán v. *lyebre*.

tikia v. *tišiqoš*.

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

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

trinyóla v. *cirwel[a]ś*.

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

verdolag[a]ś, 104r 3, v. *r[i]ğla^h*.

vězeras v. *zerae*.

vi'ol[a]ś, 103r 2, *vi'[o]l[a]ś*, 104r 11, *vi'oletaś*, 105v 13 ‘violet, *viola odorata*’. The modern Oriental dialects call this flower *menekšé* < Turkish (Persian), though we have Salonica *þyoleta* ‘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, viéspera, 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 *çalgin* is played; this is a hispaniolized form, with epenthetic *-n*, of Turk. *çalğı* ‘any musical instrument’ (Redhouse, p. 708a).

vi'oleļaš v. *vi'ol[a]š*.

zaraqaṭona^b, 104r 2. Steiger (*Hispano-árabe*, p. 215) quotes

Arab. *bizr (bazr)qaṭūna* > Granada Arab. *zarcatona* 'zar(a)gatona, *plantago psyllium L.*'

zeraε, 104r 7 = Heb. 'seed of'. Cf. *vēzeraε*, 104r 8 *et passim* = Heb. 'and seed of'. *Zeraε* has the sense of Span. *granoš de ...*, 104r 20 *et passim*.

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