

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

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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*[—];
- (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*^²);
- (vi) A short diagonal stroke or a dot over ם, ף, ץ 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 *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 *ǵ* or *ǰ* (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 *ʃ*
- ק *q*
- ר *r* and *r[r]*
- ש *š* (medially = O.Span. -s- and -ss-); ʔש *š*
- 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 ש by *s*, and states "It is difficult to see how the letter ש ... could be interpreted as O.Span. *ss*, *s*. The modern Judeo-Spanish script gives a single interpretation to the consonant ש, that of O.Span. *x*." That is true only of purely *modern* Judeo-Spanish. Further, Besso condemns Llubera for transliterating ג by *ǵ* only, e.g. קונשגור by *konseǵo* and מוגה by *muǵa*, and is "surprised to see that Prof. Llubera omits the consonant ז, O.Span. *z* with a diacritic mark [*sic*]". The symbol ז 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 ג into *ǵ* and *č*, but I considered it inadvisable to use *ž*. It is quite likely, though not certain, that my doctor pronounced *foǵa^h*, *fiǵa^h*, *bermeǵo*, *finoǵo*, *qwaǵar*, 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 *ǵ* in *alǵořar*, **gonǵolin* (cf. mod. Jud.-Span. *ǵunǵilí*; *ǵinǵibre* 'ginger'), *r[i]ǵla^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 ם, it is possible to deduce the place of the stress. The doctor uses final ם only when it is preceded by *yod* (י), with the value of *unstressed e*, the semi-vowel *y* (*i*) 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*^h. To exemplify, I quote (קאשיא פיש (103r 19) *qašya* *fiš[twla]* 'casiafistola', מדיא (103v 18) *medya* 'media', דיליא (104v 3) *delya* 'de ella', אוליא (104v 4) *'olya* 'olla', מאטריא (105r 9) *mařerya* 'materia', רושיא (105r 5) *rošea* 'rósea', גונשיא (103v 16) *ǵunčya* 'juncia', סקמוניא *ç[a]qmunya* (v. Glossary), but Span. *escamonea*.

When, however, יא is written, the stress falls on the *yod*, viz. קונטיא (103r 6) *gonťi'a^h* 'contia, cuantia', דיא (103r 16) *di'a^h* 'dia', שיא (104v 11) *še'a^h* '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)*, *finoĝo*, *foĝa^h*, *fiĝa^h*, *fiĝoś*, *fyerba^h*, *farina^h*, *falyyada^h*, *fabaś*, *formig[a]ś*, *fortig[a]ś* '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:*

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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 rēḥīziθ ['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' [ʔ40] 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 'eštaś 3 melezin[a]ś polboś 'i amašen l[a]ś qon myel 'eś-
6. pumaḍa^h 'i dešlean lo 'enla^h qozedura^h, la^h qwal venga^h 'en qonṭi'a^h de 3 panyilyaś;
7. ṭome la^h meetad qon la^h meetad dela^h diča^h maša^h.

No. 32

8. hazzālaθ dam, biṭṭul ta'āwa^h, ḥulšaθ lēḥ, qērîrûθ hārō's ['the running of blood, disappearance of appetite, weakness of heart, cold of the head'] para^h qor[r]imyento de šangre del syeśo 'i privaçyon del
9. apeṭito 'i flazeza^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 bēhmēn blanqo 'i bermeġo 'i 'eşpodyo 'i qulanṭro šeço preparado
12. 'i aniś 'i šandaloś blanqoś 'i bermegoś [sic] 'i çinamomy 'i maçyaś 'i alm[a]ştīqa^h
13. m'. ḥāšî dr.; paneś de 'oro 'i de plaṭa^h de qada^h 'uno 2; garne 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 poço 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]oş 'i agu^a roşada^h m^o. 2 'o.; magna^h ḥāšî 'o.;
21. aɕuk[a]r blanqo 3 'o.; ruyb[a]rbo 2 dr.; ɬome lo 'en ɬreş vezeş partido por ɬerɕer[a]š.

fol. 103v

No. 34

1. illūf ūbiṭṭūl ta'āwa^h lēma'ākhāl ['fainting and disappearance of appetite for food'] alqorçaş para^h 'el deşmayo 'i amortē-ɕimyento
2. 'i poqo ɬalante de qomer:
3. roşas 2 dr.; qoral blanqo 'i bermeğo 'i şandaloş blanqoş 'i bermeğoş
4. 'i şimyente de alh[a]baqa^h 'i gru'ešo de qoraçon de ɕyerbo m^o. dr.; al-
5. ġofar 'i ɕinamomy m^o. 2 dr.; anis, almaştiqa^h m^o. ḥāšî dr.; qarne de
6. menbrilyoş 2 'o.; aɕuk[a]r 'oço 'o.; agu^a de moradoş 'i vino blanqo
7. m^o. ḥāšî panela^h; paneş de 'oro 'i de plaṭa^h m^o. 2; fagan lo alqorɕ[a]š.

No. 35

8. lēyōledeθe mi-15 yôm ɛim qaddaḥaθ ['for the woman 15 days after childbirth with fever'] para^h la^h parida^h de 15 dias qon fyebre qonṭinu^a:
9. ɕumo de ber[r]oş 'i de ɕer[r]ağas 'i de granad[a]š 'i agu^a roşada^h m^o. panela^h; aɕuk[a]r
10. 3 'o.; qu'ega^h faşta^h qe qede 'en 2 panel[a]š; ɬome lo 'en ɬreş 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. finoğõ verde 'i apyo verde 'i 'eşqabyoşa^h verde m'. 2 'o.; grano de finoğõ 'o.;
13. quşquta^h 4 dr.; şimyençe 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; tomelo 'en 4 vezeş demanyana^h.

No. 37

15. ... ûθ hārē'ûθ ['... of the sight'] para^h flaqeza^h dela^h vişta^h deşpu'es de fyebre;
16. tomen ġunçya' avelyanada^h 4 'o.; qorçeza^h de mirabolanoş qebuliş 'o.; roşaş
17. hāşî 'o.; maçyaş 4 dr.; çuk[a]r peşo del todo; fagan lo pol-bora^h; tome delyo
18. qada^h noçe, al tyenpo del dormir, medya' qugareta^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 şimyençeş friaş

fol. 104

1. mondad[a]ş 'o. vaḥçēşî; linu'eso 'i şimyençe de malba^h bişqo 'i de menbrilyoş
2. 'i zaraqatona^h, alkitira^h, goma^h arabiga^h, anaşy, todo toştado m'. hāşî 'o.;
3. şimyençe de dormider[a]ş 'i de apyo 'i de verdolag[a]ş 'i de regaliş m'. hāşî 'o.;
4. açyenço 'i almaştıqa^h m'. 4 dr.; çuk[a]r lāḥān 20 'o.; fagan lo nu'egadoş;

5. ʔome delyoś qada^h di^{ʔa}^h ʔen ayun[a]ś qonʔi^{ʔa}^h de medya^ʔ
ʔonça^h.

No. 39

6. lēhābi^ʔ sēna^h ['to bring on sleep'] melezina^h probada^h para^h
ʔraer su^ʔenyō al qe non
7. pu^ʔede dormir qon gran ardor ʔi šed ʔi myedoś: ʔomen zerae
8. belenyo lābān vēzerae ḥāzereθ vēzerae perāgīn m^ʔ. 2 dr.
vaḥēšī; zerae mēlon deśqaś-
9. qad[a]ś, vēzerae r[i]ḡla^h m^ʔ. dr.; ʔopyo ʔi açafran m^ʔ. ḥāšī dr.;
mu^ʔelan lo ʔodo
10. ʔi amašen lo qon myel delo qwal den al paçyente, qwanʔo
ʔuna^h faba^h qon
11. ś[a]rab de vi^ʔ[o][a]ś, qada^h manyana^h pašta^h [sic] qe du^ʔer-
ma^h; ʔo amašen lo
12. ʔodo qon leçe de muḡer qe qri^ʔe fiḡa^h ʔi pongan delyo bid-
milyaś ʔenl[a]ś syeneś.

No. 40

13. kēʔēb hakkēsālī[m] ['pain of the loins'] para^h ʔel dolor dela^h
ʔiḡada^h qośa^h probada^h:
14. ʔomaredeś dela^h ʔyer[r]a^h del[a]ś formig[a]ś qe ʔelyaś ʔečan
qon suś pyeś de
15. fu^ʔera^h 3 ʔo.; farina^h de ʔordyo ʔo.; malb[a]ś ʔi forṭig[a]ś m^ʔ.
6 ʔo.; šean qočaś
16. l[a]ś yerb[a]ś mučo ʔen agu^{ʔa}^h ʔi maḡad[a]ś byen, ʔinqorpo-
rando ʔenelyaś l[a]ś ʔotr[a]ś
17. melezin[a]ś molid[a]ś; fagan delyo ʔenplašto ʔi pongan lo
sobrel lugar.

No. 41

18. vēzeh lēfōšēš h[āʔēben] ['and this to shatter the stone']
ʔešprimenʔo para^h deśfazer la^h pyedra^h deloś
19. rinyoneś ʔi ʔeçar la^h ʔen arena^h qon la^h ʔorina^h: ʔomen
9 granoś
20. de yedra^h maḡadoś ʔi qon vino blanco qalyente, dadoś
abeber der[r]ama^h

fol. 104v

1. l[a]ś pyedr[a]ś čiqaś 'i grandes 'i faze venir la^h 'orina^h poderosa^h mente.

No. 42

2. lā'eḇen ['for the stone'] 'oṭro nissāyōn para^h 'ešto meśmo:
3. ṭomen šangre de lyebre 'i qemen la^h 'ešo mėsmo la^h pelyeḡa^h delya^h
4. qemada^h 'en 'olya^h nu'eba^h 'i de ṭodo fagan polbora^h 'i šī dýeren delya^h
5. al paçyente, 'eštando 'enel banyo, medya^h quçar qon medya^h panela^h
6. de vino blanco qalyente 'en ayun[a]ś, qyebra^h la^h pyedra^h 'i 'eča^h la^h de
7. fu'era^h.

No. 43

7. lā'eḇen. 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. vēzeh lā'eḇen ['and this for the stone'] 'oṭro 'ešprimenṭo 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]ś šila^h
12. pyedra^h del paçyente fu'ere mučo grande 'i dura^h, še'a^h feča^h polbora^h del q[a]raqol
13. ṭodo, qe mučo 'eś bu'ena^h 'i probaḏa^h, lo qwal beba^h 'en vino blanco.

No. 45

14. vēzeh lā'eḇen. 'oṭro 'ešprimenṭo še-hū^h mēnusseh lēzah hāšinyān ['which is tested for the same matter']:
15. çumo de arṭamiša^h medyo vašo bebiḏo qada^h di'a^h 7 dias marabilyoša^h mente

16. qebranta^h la^h pyedra^h deloš rinyoneš 'i dela^h bešiga^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]kělāyōθ ['and this (for) the kidneys'] para^h dolor
deloš rinyoneš 'i bešiga^h [sic] bādūq:
20. ðomen breṭoniqa^h 'un manoğo 'i qu'egan lo mučo 'en agu'a^h
'i den delya'

fol. 105

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

No. 48

3. zeh lāḥāzeh ['this for the chest'] noṭa^h de lamedor probado
para^h la^h ṭoš šeqa^h 'i la^h
4. ronqedad 'i qunple aloš ninyoš: ðomen šimyenṭe
5. de menbrilyoš medya' 'o.; pongan lo 'en medya' liṭ. de
agu'a^h rośea' 'i mene'en
6. lo byen fašṭa^h qe šalga^h la^h babaza^h 'i qu'elen lo qon ṭrapo
ralo 'i bu'elban
7. qon la^h babaza^h medya' liṭ. de alfeniq 'i medya' 'o. de
azeyṭe vi'olado 'i
8. qu'ega^h ṭodo ġunṭo fašṭa^h qe še 'ešpeše; ṭome delyo amenudo.

No. 49

9. vëzeh lāḥāz[eh] ['and this for the chest'] 'otro lamedor para^h
la^h ṭoš 'i 'ešqupir maṭerya' qon
10. gran šed 'i ronqedad: ðomen acof[a]yf[a]š 20, š[a]bašṭyanoš 40,
figoš pašoš

11. 5, regaliş raido 'i paśaś 40 m'. 'o., qulan'ro de pozo 5 dr.; qu'ega^h 'todo
12. 'en 5 liṭ. agu'a^h faṣṭa^h qe qede 'en 'una^h, 'en lo qwal byen qolado pongan
13. 4 'o. alfeniq 'i 'torne aqozer faṣṭa^h qe še'a^h m[a]ś 'eśpešo qe ś[a]rab
14. rośado, qon lo qwal amaśen 'eṣṭa^h qe šeṣige; 'tomen del[a]ś
15. pepiṭaś de qalabaça^h 'i de melon 'i de pepinoś 'i de baḏeḥaś, 'tod[a]ś
16. deśqorṭezad[a]ś, 'i śimyente de verdolag[a]ś m'. 4 dr.; alki-ṭira^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 'todo molido byen 'i amaśado qon lo śuśodiço 'i fagan lo
19. granoś qomo avelyan[a]ś; ponga^h 'uno bašo dela^h lengua^h, 'i qwando aqel
20. še deśfizyere, ponga^h 'oṭro, qe m[a]rabilyośa^h qośa^h 'eś para^h lo śobre
21. diço 'i para^h loś 'iśiqoś 'i 'todo mal de [p]eçoś qon ronqedad.

fol. 105v*No. 50*

1. vēzeh [lāḥā]zeh vēlārē'a^h ['and this for the chest and the lung'] 'oṭro lamedor para^h la^h 'toś bēṣibbaṭ ḥārē'a^h vēḥaṭṭar-pēšā' ['on account of the lung and the fatty envelope (membrane)']
2. 'i para^h alibyanar 'el 'eśqupir: 'tomen 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 'todo molido 'i amaśado qon myel 'eśpumada^h; 'tome delyo 'todo el di'a^h.

No. 51

6. vēzeh qôşer nēšima^h vēšiezēul ... 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 maṭerya': ṭomen 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. myenṭe de dormider[a]š 15 dr.; aṣapran [sic] dr.; ṭrebentīna^h 5 dr.; ar[r]ope
 10. de mošto, qon qe še amašen l[a]š dič[a]š qoš[a]š; ṭome delyo amenudo.

No. 52

11. vēzeh [lēša]lšēl heḥāzeh bēlī nezeq ['and this to loosen (purge) the chest without damage'] melezina^h para^h purgar loš qe ṭyenen ṭoš 'i angoštura^h
12. 'enel rešolyo 'i 'eš qoša^h qe non daria^h aloš fiḡoš:
13. ṭomen vi'oleṭ[a]š molid[a]š 3 dr.; qašya' fiš[ṭwla] preparada^h 7 dr.; pongan la^h diča^h
14. qašya' fiš[ṭwla] 'en 2 'o. de ar[r]ope 'i fyerba^h šobrel fu'ego manšo pašta^h [sic] qe
15. še qyera^h qwaḡar 'i 'ešṭonṣeš pongan 'enelyo l[a]š dič[a]š vi'ol[a]š molid[a]š
16. 'i medyo dr. ṣ[a]qmunya' 'e 'i[n]qorporen lo ṭodo 'en 'uno; 'i 'ešto beba^h
17. lo 'en doš ṭom[a]š dešfečo 'en agu'a^h qozida^h qon ḡuḡub[a]š 'i pašaš 40,
18. lo qwal ṭome ala^h 'ora^h qe l[a]š purg[a]š še šu'elen ṭomar.

No. 53

19. vēzeh [lēša]lšēl qōšer nēšīma^h ['and this to loosen shortness of breath'] 'enplašto para^h la^h angoštura^h del rešolyo:
20. ṭomen farina^h de ṭrigo ṣernida^h 'i amašen la^h qon manṭeqa^h de vaqaš
21. frešqa^h 'i fagan delyo 'enplašto 'i pongan lo 'enšomo deloš fečoš [= pečoš] qalyenṭe.
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.

açof[a]y[f]a]ś, 105r 10 ‘jujube, *zyzyphus* L.’. Cf. mod. Jud.-Span. Morocco *assofaija* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 13, 232), Oriental (a)*sofáyja*, *asofajya*, *asufajya*. See *ğuğub*[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]n**b**[a]r, 103r 14. Arab. *éanbar*. 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. 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).

alğof[a]r, 103r 10. Arab. *ğáwhar* (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. *alhábáka* (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]šṭīqa^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).

albīána, *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 nś'*, 105r 17, *'i goma^h 'i aniś 'i nś'*, 105v 4. Are *anaśy*, *nś'* and *nś'* 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. *cirwel[a]ś*.

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

arrepsús v. *rebaçuç*.

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

asoṯáyfa, *asoṯafya*, *asuṯafya* v. *açof[a]yf[a]ś*.

avelyan[a]ś, 105r 19. Cf. Oriental Jud.-Span. Salonica *alḫiána*, Const. *abḫiána* (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. *baṭṭīḫa* > 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. *ābattīḫīm*; mod. Jud.-Span. Morocco *jalansa* (Benoliel, *BRAE* 15, 188, Wagner, *VKR* 4, 242), Oriental *sandía* (*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 *ečar baskas* ‘être étouffé de chaleur’ (Crews, *PLPLS* 7, 221), *baskear* ‘be disgusted, annoyed’.

batehas v. *baḏehaś*.

baḇoza 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*.
- breṭoniqa*^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. *saqmûnîyâ* 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 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 *šarrâlla* (*DCEC*, s. *ceraja*).
- cerezo, 104v 17. O.Span. *cereso*, *cerezo* (*DCEC*).
- *çiçyon 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]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 *annîš* 'albaricoque' (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 571), Morocco *barqóqâ* '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*.
- čalgín 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.
- ʔehād* masc., *ʔahāθ* fem., 103r 14 = Heb. 'one [numeral]'. See *mʔ*.
- ʔenśomo*, 103r 16 'thereupon', ~, 105v 21 'on top of'. Cf. *en somo* 'encima, arriba' (*Cantar de Mio Cid*, 171), *en somo del alcácer* (*ibid.*, 1220).
- ʔepitimo*, 103r 3 'lesser dodder, *cuscuta epithymum*' < Gk. ἐπιθύμων (*DCEC*, s. *tomillo*). The use of Heb. *taw* for Gk. θ is interesting.
- ʔespodyo*, 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'.
- ʔesprimen̄to*, 104r 18, 104v 9 and 14, with the meaning of *nissāyôn*, q.v. The semi-popular form is curious.
- ʔespumaḏa^h*, 103r 5 *et passim*. Cf. Oriental Jud.-Span. *eskumar* (Wagner, *RFE* 34, 51).
- ʔesqabyoša^h*, 103v 12. First recorded in Nebrija as *escaviosa* (*DCEC*).
- ʔalansa* v. *baḏehaś*.
- ʔaz*, 104v 8, 3rd sing. pres. indic. of *ʔazer*, but *ʔaze*, 104v 11.
- ʔinoḡo*, 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*).
- ʔor̄ṭig[a]ś*, 104r 15 'nettles'. For O.Span. *ʔortiga*, *hortiga* < *ūrtica* + *ʔortis*, 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. *ǵuǵub[a]ś*.

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

ǵuǵub[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* 'jázmin', *Iudias* 'judías' (Jud.-Span. *ǵirgweilos*, *ǵurgweilos* [Wagner, *RFE* 34, 56, s. *fižones*]), *Iuncia olorosa* 'juncia' (Jud.-Span. *ǵunçya*?, 103v of the present text), *Iunco* 'junco' (Jud.-Span. *ǵunko*), we must assume that Laguna's *Iuiubas* represents something closely akin to our *ǵuǵub[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 *azuñai fa*. It would be interesting, too, to know whether the doctor's *ǵuǵub[a]ś* were identical with his *açof[a]y[fa]ś*.

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

**ǵunǵulin* v. *ǵonǵolin*.

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

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

²*in*qorporando, 104r 16. It may well be that one should read ²*en*qorporando.

karpús v. *badchaś*.

lābān, 104r 4 and 8 = Heb. 'white'.

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

*linu*²*eśo*, 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. *medya*² *liṭ*, 105r 5 and 7.

lyebre, *śangre 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. *tavşan*.

*m*², 103r 2 *et passim*, abbreviation of Heb. *mikol*²*eḥād* 'of (from) each one', equivalent to Span. *de cada*^h ²*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. *manā*), 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. *vi'ol[a]ś*.
měnusseh v. *nissāyôn*.
merġán v. *qoral*.
mirabolanoś qebuliś, 103r 4, 103v 16. According to Corominas (*DCEC*, s. *miristica*), 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 celtica*'.
nissāyôn, 104v 2 = Heb. 'test, trial'. It is equivalent to 'ésprimento used in prescriptions 41, 44 and 45. Cf. *měnusseh*, 104v 14 'tested', formed from the same root.
nś, *nš* v. *anaśy*.
ʔo., 103r 2 *el passim*, abbreviation of *ʔonça^h*, 103v 14, 104r 5 'ounce'.
ʔomre, 104v 7. For this spelling, see Menéndez-Pidal, *Orígenes del español*³, 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. *pañó*), 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. *pañó*) 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*, *kaležón*; O.Span., Leonese, Jud.-Span. *luvia* 'lluvia', Span. *lacio* (O.Span. *llacio*), etc. See *panela*^h.

pelyeğā^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 kaβer en su p.* 'not to be able to contain oneself (for emotion)', Sarajevo *pīležu* (Baruch, *RFE* 17, 136).

perāgīn, 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 polvoriente 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), *pŭlvwryn* [*polborín?*] 'sablier' (Chérézli).

polipodyo v. *alqohela^h*.

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

pruma, *pruna* v. *çirwel[a]ś*.

qanṭu'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* [*baboza*] 'caracol' (Estrugo, *Los Sefardies*, 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).
- 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*.
- qonṭi* '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 *bermeḡo*, 103r 10/11. In Oriental Judeo-Spanish *koral(e)* is preserved in ballads, but *merḡán* < Turk. (Arab.) *mercan* '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. *qočas*, 104r 15, cf. O.Span. *cocho* (Hanssen, *op. cit.*, § 267); but Past participial adj. 'en *agu*'a^h *qoziḏa*^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*.

qulanťro, 103r 11, ~ *de pozo*, 105r 11 ‘coriander, *coriandrum sativum*’. Cf. Jud.-Span. *simiente de culantro*, Exod. 16, 31 (Ferrara Bible), *kulanťro* (Chérézli), but *culandro* (Attias, *Romancero sefardi*, Jerusalem 1955, p. 228), influenced perhaps by Ital. *coriandolo*, Fr. *coriandre*.

rebačuť, 105r 17, 105v 3 ‘inspissated juice of liquorice’ < Arab. *rubb as-sūs*. I believe that *rebačuť* 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 *rebačuť* > *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. *arrepśús* ‘orozuz’ (Benoliel, *BRAE* 14, 573; Wagner *VKR* 4, 237) springs, with the addition of the Arabic definite article, almost immediately from *rebačuť*; I postulate **ar-rebačuť* > **arrebčuť* (-*a*- lost perhaps because it appeared between the secondary and the main stress, as well as by dissimilation from initial *a*-) > *arrepśús* by consonantal assimilation. Wagner (*loc. cit.*) had already conjectured that *arrepśús* owed something to Arab. *rubb as-sūs*; there would appear to be no reason to see in it an alteration of *eurûq sūs* > *orozuz* (*DCEC*, *loc. cit.*).

regaliz, 103r 3, 103v 13, but *regaliť*, 104r 3, 105r 11, 105v 2. Ig. González Llubera (*Coplas de Yočef*, Cambridge 1935, p. XX) stated “in the transcription of Romance words *ץ* is not used except in one instance, *ץאץ raiť* (Shem Tob C fol. 53), where it stands for O.Span. *ç*”. Since, for the sake of consistency, I am transliterating *ץ*, whether in Semitic or Romance words, by *ť*, we now have a further example of final -*ç* being rendered by *ץ*. 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*.

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

r[i]ġla^h, 104r 9 'purslane, *portulaca oleracea*'. Cf. Arab. *riġl* 'varieties of purslane' (Lane, I, p. 1046a), *riġla* '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]baśtyanoś*, 105r 10 'sebesten plum, *cordia myxa*'. The reading should perhaps be **ś[e]baśtyanoś*, 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. *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. *baḏehaś*.

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

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

*š[e]baštyanoš v. *š[a]baštyanoš.

šomo v. 'ensomo.

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 hīndi* (*DCEC*, s. *támara*).

taušan v. lyebre.

likia v. ṭišiqoš.

ṭišiqoš [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).

ṭrebentīna^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.

trinyóla v. çirwel[a]š.

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

verdolag[a]š, 104r 3, v. r[i]ḡla^h.

včzeraε v. zeraε.

vi'ol[a]š, 103r 2, vi'o[ll[a]š, 104r 11, vi'oleḷaš, 105v 13 'violet, *viola odorata*'. The modern Oriental dialects call this flower *menekšé* < Turkish (Persian), though we have Salonica *byoleta* 'pumađa, 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. *çalgı* 'any musical instrument' (Redhouse, p. 708a).

vi'oleṭaš v. *vi'ol[a]š*.

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

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

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