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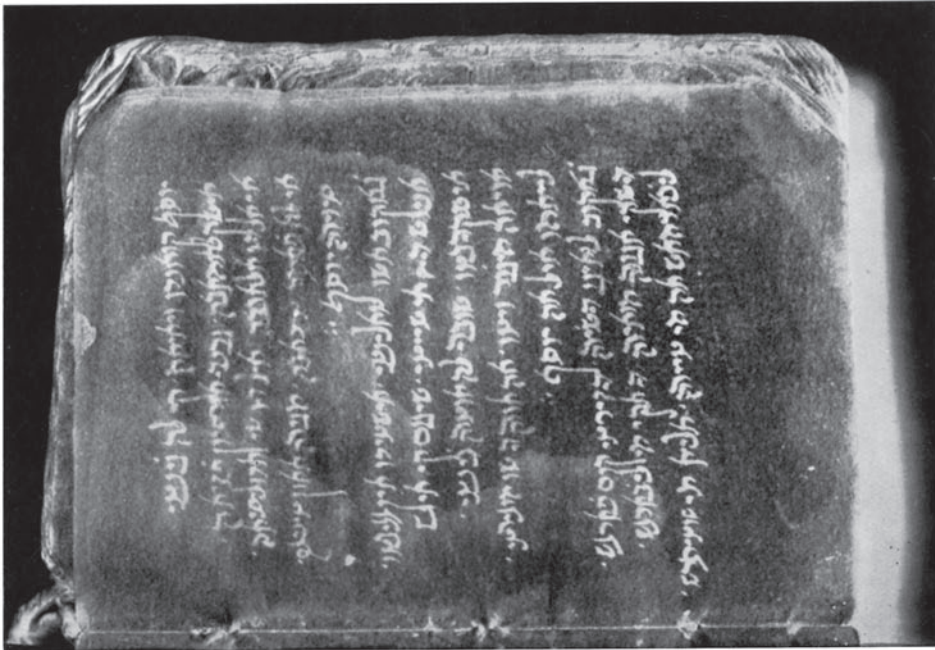
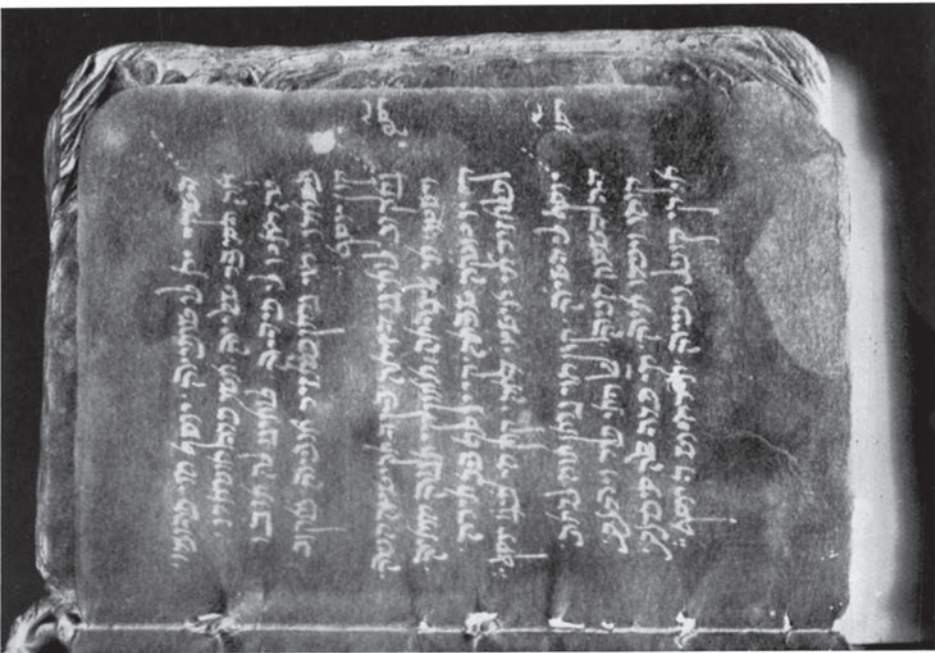
978-1-107-42143-1 - Coplas de Yoçef: A Medieval Spanish Poem in Hebrew Characters

Edited with an Introduction and Notes by IG. González Llubera

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COPLAS DE YOÇEF
A MEDIEVAL SPANISH POEM
IN HEBREW CHARACTERS

fol. 56^vfol. 54^v

MS. 3355, Cambridge University Library

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A MEDIEVAL SPANISH POEM
IN HEBREW CHARACTERS

Edited with an Introduction and Notes

by

IG. GONZÁLEZ LLUBERA

*Professor of Spanish in the Queen's
University of Belfast*

The "Coplas de Yoçef" is a fourteenth-century Spanish poem, the manuscript of which is in the University Library, Cambridge. It belongs to that very small class of works in which the words are Spanish, though written in Hebrew characters. In this edition the Hebrew text is printed opposite a transcription into roman character, with an English translation beneath.

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FRONTISPIECE

Two facsimiles of the MS. *folios 54v, 56v*

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FOREWORD

AN EDITION in Latin type of the present text appeared last year in the *Revue Hispanique*, vol. lxxxi (première partie), pages 424–33. This was preceded by a short notice in which a more complete account of the *Coplas*, which would include the text in Hebrew characters, was stated to be in preparation. I publish now the transcription in Hebrew type accompanied by the edition in Latin type and an English translation. Palaeographical notes have been provided, and the philological commentary has been enlarged. In a final section of parallels and sources the *Sepher ha-Yashar* and Old Spanish biblical versions have been quoted at length. The English version of the quotations from the *Yashar* is based on the New York edition (1840). This however has been revised and altered in accordance with the Warsaw Hebrew edition (1927). It is hoped in this way that the book may be useful both to Hispanists and students of Jewish literature.

The philological value of the text is somewhat diminished by the almost entire absence of vowel-points in the MS. In the circumstances my interpretation in so far as the vowels is concerned is necessarily conjectural. In the transcription of the consonants I have adhered to the system followed in the *Revue Hispanique*. But it has seemed convenient to adopt the symbol *ğ* for *ך*. Moreover, the present edition differs from the previous one in several points of textual interpretation (comp. lines 79, 108, 134 among others). In the transcription in Hebrew characters no emendations have been introduced, the square brackets merely denoting blurred or doubtful letters or signs in the MS. But the text has been printed in verse form, so as to include two haxasyllables in a line. In the edition in Latin type the text, besides being vocalised, has been emended whenever it has been deemed necessary. All additions and alterations are indicated by square brackets, and suggested suppressions by parentheses. The rejected readings are recorded in the footnotes.

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It is a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr Herbert Loewe, Reader in Rabbinic Literature in the University of Cambridge, who first brought to my notice the existence of the MS. I am deeply grateful to him for his generous assistance and continued interest in the progress of my work. I desire further to record my thanks to the editor of the *Revue Hispanique* for her consent to incorporate the text and some of the footnotes from my previous edition; to the officers of the Cambridge University Library, in particular to Dr E. J. Thomas, for providing me with photographs of the MS.; to Dr J. Leveen, of the Oriental Department of the British Museum; to Dr Pere Bohigas, of the University of Barcelona; and to Mr M. Welland, B.A., for his revision of the English rendering of the text. Finally, I must mark my sense of great obligation to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press for sponsoring the publication of the book.

IG. G. LL.

BELFAST

January 1935

ABBREVIATIONS

- AlexO = *El Libro de Alexandre*. BAE, vol. 57.
 AlexP = *El Libro de Alixandre*. Manuscrit esp. 488 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, publié par A. Morel-Fatio. Dresden 1906.
 Apol = *Libro de Apolonio*. Ed. C. C. Marden. I. Text and introduction. II. Grammar, notes and vocabulary. Princeton-Paris 1917–21.
 BAE = Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.
 BALba = Biblia traducida del hebreo al castellano por Rabí Mosé Arragel de Guadalfajara (1422–33?). Tomo I. [Madrid] 1920.
 BEsc = Biblia medieval romanceda. Según los MSS. Escorialenses I-j-3, I-j-8, I-j-6. Vol. I. Pentateuco. Ed. A. Castro, A. Millares Carlo, A. J. Battistessa. Buenos Aires 1927.
 BFerrara = *Biblia en lengua española*. Ferrara 5313 [1553].
 BProv = *Libro de los Buenos Proverbios*. Ed. Knust.
 DL = R. Menéndez-Pidal, Documentos Lingüísticos de España. I. Reino de Castilla. Madrid 1919.
 Duran = Documents aljamiats de jueus catalans. Extret del “Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya”, vol. v. Barcelona 1920
 Esther = Le roman provençal d’Esther, par Crescas du Caylar, médecin juif du xiv^e siècle. Ed. Neubauer-P. Meyer (Ro xxi, pp. 194ff.).
 FGz = *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*. Ed. C. C. Marden. Baltimore 1904.
 Gassner = Das altspanische Verbum. Halle 1897.
 GEst = Alfonso el Sabio, *General Estoria*. Primera parte. Ed. A. G. Solalinde. Madrid 1930.
 Grünbaum = Jüdisch-Spanische Chrestomathie. Frankfurt a.M. 1896.
 Hanssen = Gramática Histórica de la Lengua Castellana. Halle 1913.
 JRuiz = *Libro de Buen Amor*. Ed. Ducamin. Toulouse 1901.
 Knust = Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial. Tübingen 1879.
 MCid = *Poema de Mio Cid*. Ed. M. Pidal (*Cantar III*).
 Milagr = Berceo, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*. Ed. A. G. Solalinde. Madrid 1922.

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- Millàs = Documents hebraics de jueus catalans. Barcelona 1927.
- MPidal *Cantar* = *Cantar de Mio Cid*. Texto Gramática y Vocabulario. Madrid 1908–11.
- *Or* = *Orígenes del español*. Madrid 1926.
- MPolo = *El Libro de Marco Polo*. Ed. Knust-Stuebe. Leipzig 1902.
- PCG = *Primera Crónica General*. Ed. M. Pidal. Madrid 1906.
- PConst = חמשי חומשי תורה... תרגום המקרא בלשון יון ולשון לעז [Pentateuch, with Greek and Spanish translation in Hebrew script.] Constantinople 1547.
- RAlex = *El rrekontamiento del rrey Ališandre*. Ed. A. R. Nykl (RHi vol. 77).
- RArch = *Revista de Archivos*. Madrid.
- RFE = *Revista de Filología Española*. Madrid.
- RHi = *Revue Hispanique*. New York-Paris.
- Ro = *Romania*. Paris.
- SDom = Berceo, *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*. Ed. J. D. FitzGerald. Paris 1904.
- SGFr = *Spanish Grail Fragments*. Ed. Pietsch. I. Texts. II. Commentary. Chicago 1924–5.
- Shem TobC = [*Proverbios Morales*]. MS. Cantabr. Add. 3355, fols. 1–53.
- *E* = *Los versos del rabi don Santo*. MS. Escur. iv, 6, 21, fols. 1–86.
- *M* = *El libro del rab don Santob*. MS. Bca. Nac. Madrid, Bb-82, fols. 61–81.
- Staaff = *Étude sur le dialecte Léonais*. Uppsala 1907.
- VTTristan = *El cuento de Tristan de Leonis*. Ed. from the MS. Vatican 6428, by G. T. Northup. Chicago 1928.
- Wagenaar = *La négation en ancien espagnol*. Groningen 1931.
- Yashar = ד'הישר. Warsaw 5688 [1927].
- YuçufA — *Poema de Yuçuf* (MS. Acad. Hist.). Ed. Menéndez Pidal (RArch vi).
- *B* = *Poema de Yuçuf* (MS. Bca. Nac.). Ed. Morf. Leipzig 1883.
- ZRPh = *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*.

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INTRODUCTION

I

THE story of Joseph has been the subject of various paraphrases in prose and verse in the medieval vernaculars, apart from biblical translations.¹ In Spanish literature it occupies sixty chapters of the *General Estoria*,² appears under a Moorish garb in the *Poema de Yuçuf*³ and later “legends of Joseph”,⁴ and inspires among others two important plays in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century theatre.⁵

The fragments now edited bring to our notice the existence of a hitherto unknown Jewish “Yuçuf”. But the parallel between the

¹ For Latin versions, see Manitius, *Gesch. der latein. Lit. des Mittelalters*, I, 568. In view of the time of its composition and of its author’s nationality, the *Historia Joseph translata de arabico in latinum per fratrem Alfonsum Bonihominis Hispanum ordinis predicatorum* (1336) is of particular interest. This work remains unpublished to my knowledge (see Mussafia’s notice in *Sitzungsber. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. zu Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse*, xlviii, 265). The *Estoire de Joseph*, which dates from the later part of the twelfth century (see ed. Steuer, Erlangen 1902, p. 29), is one of the earliest vernacular renderings, whilst the ME “Jacob and Ioseph” belongs to the second half of the thirteenth century (ed. Napier, Oxford 1916). A MHG verse paraphrase was edited by J. Diemer in the Vienna *Sitzungsber.* xlvii, 636; xlviii, 339. The Catalan paraphrase by Joan Roiç de Corella is a good specimen of “valenciana prosa” (ed. Miquel i Planas, Barcelona 1913).

² Lib. viii, caps. 5–13, 16–26; ix, 1–15, 17–39, 43–7 (ed. Solalinde, vol. i, pp. 208–63).

³ Of uncertain date. Two MSS., one from the fourteenth, the other from the sixteenth century. The latter has been edited several times, among other scholars by H. Morf (Leipzig 1883); the former by Menéndez Pidal (RArch vi, 91, 276, 347).

⁴ MSS. at the Bca. Nac. Madrid. Transcription by F. Guillén Robles, *Leyendas de José, hijo de Jacob* (Bibl. Aut. Aragoneses, v), Zaragoza 1888.

⁵ For the history of the subject in sixteenth-century Spanish theatre, see Cañete, *Teatro español del siglo xvi*, pp. 107–212, and J. E. Gillet’s introduction to his edition of the *Comedia Josefina* by Micael de Carvajal (Elliott Monographs, xxviii, Princeton Univ. Press 1932). On Lope de Vega’s *Los Trabajos de Jacob*, see Menéndez Pelayo, *Estudios sobre el teatro de L. de V.* vol. i, pp. 164–75.

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Morisco and the Jewish works extends to aspects other than the identity of their main subject, and in this respect it is regrettable that the account of those episodes which would include in all probability important parallels to the former poem are missing in our MS. Both poems appear to have been written in the respective national scripts. Thus the MS. with which the present essay is concerned forms a valuable addition to the meagre amount of Hebrew *aljamiado* materials accessible to us, whilst within the field of Jewish Spanish literature generally it contains an important portion of the earliest poetical rendering so far known of that biblical story.¹

II

The MS. Add. 3355 in the Cambridge University Library² contains a defective copy of the *Proverbios Morales* by Shem Tob de Carrión, besides the fragments of the *Yoçef* now published. It is a paper codex of 61 leaves, 10 × 8 cm., written in single columns, as prose, 14 lines to the page as a rule. Some have 13 and a few 15 lines. The writing is by one hand throughout. In folios 54, 60 and 60v, scribblings in a rough and thick hand appear in the margin or in the blanks between portions of the text. The codex is unbound and imperfect at the beginning and at the end. The edges of the leaves are very worn. They have been recently numbered in pencil and are distributed into five quires.

The first quire (fols. 1–15 in the order of the present foliation) has 15 leaves. Fol. 15 is detached, but the catchword ל״א on the lower margin of the verso side corresponds with the beginning of the next page, thus showing that the first leaf of the quire is missing.

The second quire has 16 leaves (fols. 16–31). The catchword ל״א on fol. 31v fits in with the beginning of the following page.

The third quire is also of 16 leaves (fols. 32–47), but the catchword שׁ״א on fol. 47v does not correspond with the initial word of fol. 48.

The fourth quire contains 6 leaves only (fols. 48–53). In view of the

¹ Later Jewish Spanish versions include the following: *Comedia de la vida y sucesos de Joseph* by Işhaq Matitia Aboab, which has remained unpublished in a MS. from Amsterdam, dated 5446 (1686), according to *Notice de la bibliothèque de S. Sarphati* (Amsterdam 1866), no. 1881; *Coplas de Yoseph ha-Şaddiq* by Abraham de Toledo, Constantinople 1732; *Conplas de Yoçef*, in *Roscas de Purim*, Vienna 1866 (Grünbaum, p. 143).

² It was acquired by this library in 1896, from Jerusalem, as Dr E. J. Thomas kindly informs me. But I have been unable to establish the previous whereabouts of the MS.

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composition of the preceding quires, we can assume the loss of 10 leaves in the present one. The context shows, on the other hand, that it is incomplete both at the beginning and at the end.

The fifth quire has 8 leaves (fols. 54–61). It is also incomplete at the beginning and at the end. A careful inspection of the codex proves that this quire preceded the other four in the original arrangement.¹ This is shown by the direction of the binding strings, and is corroborated by the comparatively dilapidated state of fols. 53^v and 54, where the text is more blurred than in the rest of the MS., particularly on fol. 54^r, where several words have become illegible. Both leaves must have been left unprotected for a long period of time.

From the data given below it may safely be inferred that three quires have been lost at the beginning of the MS. It seems reasonable to suppose that the present fifth quire and those that preceded it were of 16 leaves, and that 4 leaves at the beginning and 4 at the end of that quire are now missing.

We may conclude that in the complete MS. the *Coplas de Yoçef* preceded the *Proverbios Morales*, and that the former work filled over 61 leaves. As to the latter, over four-fifths of the total number of stanzas in the Madrid MS. are extant in the present copy (fols. 1–53).² The fragments now edited comprise therefore the 8 extant leaves of the fifth quire (fols. 54–61, according to the present foliation).

The water-mark proves that the MS. probably belongs to the first half of the fifteenth century. The mark—a cart with two wheels—belongs to the period between 1413 and 1473. Mr Herbert Loewe, to whom I am indebted on this point, is inclined to date the make of the paper between 1430 and 1450.³

The fortunate circumstance that the scribe frequently states the

¹ In the preface to the edition which appeared in the RHi, lxxxi (1ère partie), 421, it was stated that a quire must be missing between the present fourth and fifth quires. I was not aware of the original arrangement of the MS. at that time.

² Namely 560 stanzas. A detailed account of the state of the text will appear in my edition of the *Proverbios*.

³ See Briquet, I, p. 229. Our mark—which occurs in fols. 11, 14, 26, 27, 34, 49—partly coincides with that of the Perpignan makes of 1412, 1432 (Briquet, no. 3527), partly with those of Barcelona, Montpellier, Perpignan, of 1429–61 (ibid. no. 3528). On the other hand the frame marks are alike throughout the MS. There is little doubt that all the paper in the codex is of one kind.

number of the stanzas allows us to calculate the approximate extent of the work. Two stanzas on fol. 54*v* are numbered 265, 266. The first stanza on fol. 54*r*—no break in the narrative being discernible in the immediately preceding ones—must be the 261st. The average number of stanzas per leaf being five, the 260 preceding stanzas must have filled 52 leaves, i.e. three quires of 16 leaves, and 4 leaves. Thus the present defective quire, when complete, would begin at stanza 241.

The context shows that a few stanzas at the most are missing at the end. The poem would thus end on the missing leaf following the present 61, bringing the total number of stanzas up to the 312 or thereabout.

The present text is a copy from an already defective MS. In two places (fols. 60 and 60*v*) the scribe has left a four-line blank, and in each case it is stated that a stanza is missing. Such omissions point to a dilapidated copy having existed from which the present one was made. That the copy was not only in a bad state of preservation, but was defective as well, is apparent from the fact that after l. 28 no indication is forthcoming from the scribe with regard to those stanzas that both the sequence of the narrative and the numbering show to be missing at that spot.¹

In conclusion, the present copy must be removed by at least two stages from the original version. Moreover, there is abundant proof of the corrupt state of the text: distorted lines (54–5), dittographies (e.g. l. 119), identical rime-words (146–7), and ll. 35, 46, 79, 108, 135, etc. show errors of transcription of one kind or another.

III

The handwriting of the MS. belongs to a cursive Spanish variety, of which examples are abundant from the later part of the thirteenth to the end of the sixteenth centuries. Our scribe's hand is not dissimilar to that of the British Museum MS. Sloane, 3029.² The main features of that hand are as follows:

1. Two types of **ס** are used: (a) The standard one, as in **סאני** (54*v*, l. 3), **סאני** (56*v*, l. 1). (b) A more cursive one, as in **סאני** (ibid. l. 6),³ which

¹ See note *in loc.*

² Margoliouth, *Catal. Hebr. and Samar. MSS.* III, pl. 11.

³ A similar type of **ס** is regularly used in a Barcelona charter of 1274 (Millàs, facs. 33); in the specimen from the fifteenth-century book of accounts of the Daroca synagogue (*Manuscr. árabes y aljamiados de la bca. de la Junta*, Madrid 1912, facs. 18, passim); and in the *Ordinació de la Claveria del call de Cervera* (1445), in Duran, pp. 9–14.

is sometimes practically indistinguishable from one of the varieties of נ in the MS. as in the second of אַיאִיל, l. 99. In the ligature ם (54 v, l. 2) the ם is notably deformed.

2. ן is of the usual cursive shape. It consists of two strokes of about the same length, one vertical, the other horizontal. They meet at a right angle towards the lower left end of the vertical stroke. The length and position of the horizontal stroke result in the following letter being written within the ן, as a rule, e.g. the ם of גאַקױב (54 v, l. 6); or the second ן of לוֹאִיגוּ (ibid.), etc.

3. The angular upper turning of the ך clearly differentiates this letter from the ך. The marked oblique falling from right to left of the vertical stroke, as in וינידו (54 v, l. 12), is characteristic of this script.

4. Besides the current type, ך adopts sometimes a shape not unlike Ar. ج. This is caused by the linking of that letter with a preceding ם, ם, as in טיניאה (56 v, l. 4).

5. ן may be linked to the lower left end of a preceding ב: ביבּו (54 v, l. 8).

6. ם may be reduced to a mere dot. In several instances this dot appears to be duplicated without any phonetic consequences, that is, the two stand for one letter. They may be placed so close together as to become almost indistinguishable from each other, as in the second ם of ריסיביר (54 v, l. 2).¹ Whenever two ם are meant, they are always separately written, and their shape is sufficiently stressed so as to make confusion impossible: comp. פּיריירה (54 v, l. 3), דייו (56 v, l. 7). When preceded by a ב, ך, or ך, the ם, ם are written within these letters: שביאה (54 v, l. 8), די שקי (ibid. l. 1).

7. The two varieties of ם used in the MS. are exemplified by מוי (54 v, l. 1) and מי (56 v, last line). Final ם is rounded like a ם in square script: קום (56 v, l. 11).²

8. The main varieties of ן used by our scribe may be studied in נונקה (54 v, l. 8), ויניירה (ibid. l. 13), גינטי (56 v, l. 1).

¹ That in such cases a single letter is meant becomes clear when we observe that so as to avoid confusion the two dots are joined by a stroke, whenever they are placed too far apart.

² This type of ם is also current in the charters published by Millàs, and Duran i Sampere.

9. The upper turning of ך is nearly always clearly rounded. On one or two occasions, however, the falling stroke is identical with that of a ך. This occurs in the ך of פֿראַבֿה, l. 79.

10. ן assumes the shape of an initial ן followed by ן. The only appreciable difference lies in the upper left stroke, which is roughly semi-circular in the case of the ן, but flatter in the ן: comp. ן in אִישׁ (56v, l. 7), and ן in גִּינְטִי (ibid. l. 8).

11. The various forms of ת are exemplified in אומִיל־דֵּאת and וִירֵדֵּאת (54v, ll. 10–11).

12. The diacritic mark over ב, ג, פ and ש is as a rule a dot. In a few instances, however, it appears as an acute accent: לִיִּוֵּרֵּאֲבֵּאן, l. 86; מוֹגֵּן, l. 126; or as two strokes, either parallel to one another, or in the shape of an inverted circumflex accent, as in פֿוֹאִירֵּטִי, l. 29; פֿאַזִּישׁ, l. 68. On final ף a stroke is always used. It does not possess, however, any diacritic significance.¹ It seems to be a cursive survival of the flourish that the upper ending of both ף and פ present in certain Spanish MSS. The mark over ש, denoting Sp *x*, is always placed on the left of that letter, and its position is not altered in our transcription.

The following signs are used to indicate the beginning and end of lines or stanzas: (a) A line of three or more dots (⋯) close to the initial letter of a word indicates the beginning of a stanza. (b) Three dots arranged in a triangle at the end of a word denote the conclusion of a stanza. (c) A single dot marks the end of a line.

IV

Romance orthographical symbols are represented in the MS. in accordance with the following principles:

1. In initial position, א stands for *a*, whenever it is not followed by ך or ך. This vowel is always expressed at the beginning, and often in the middle of a word: גִּוֵּרֵּאֲבֵּה *gūraba^h* 72, פֿראַבֿה *parava^h* 79; but

¹ Apart from the proper noun יוֹסֵּף, it appears in the word פֿרִינְסִיִּף (Shem TobC fol. 18, last line), which cannot be transcribed other than as *prinçep*. As to the former, the spelling shows that the Hebrew pronunciation was intended. It seems clear that with a Hebrew word there is no need for a diacritic representing a Spanish sound.

אירמנוש *erm[a]nos* 25. Its use in pretonic or posttonic position is less regular: פאזינדרו *faziendo* 79, אטאבוד *atabud* 84, פראבאן *paravan* 99, אמאבאן *amavan* 88; but פדרי *p[a]dre* 14, מנירה *m[a]nera^h* 22, פינשאן *pensar[a]n* 139. At the end of a word, א stands either alone, as in אייא *aya* 71, אלייא *alya* 67, יא *ya* 80, לא *la* 29; or followed by a ה: דיזיאה *dezia^h* 17. In אה *a^h*, the ה is never omitted, except when joined with the following word, as in איוסף *aYoçef* 116. As a rule, however, final *a* is not expressed, and its presence is indicated by ה: מנירה *maner[a]^h* 17, and passim. א is also used as a graphic device to denote the vocalic pronunciation of a ך or ם immediately following. In this connexion it always appears in words which begin with *i-*, *e-*, *o-*, *u-*: אי *i* 53, אירמנוש *ermanos* 24, אטראש *otras* 98, אושאבאן *usaban* 52. A similar function is fulfilled by א in the middle of a word, when ך and ם, or א and ך, both representing vowels, occur, either in hiatus, or forming a diphthong. In such words א is written between the two letters: לואיגו *luego* 17, און *aun* 18; but מוי *mu-i* 13, *mu* 16. Finally, when *ei* is meant, א is placed between the two י: ריא *re-i* 22, ויאאה *ve-i-a^h* 57, ריאיש *reis* 26.

2. ב = Sp *b*: בואינוש *buenos* 102, שבידיש *sabedes* 117. A diacritic mark on the ב denotes the consonantic value of OSp *v*, *u*: סיבירה *çivera^h* 55, קאבבה *kavava^h* 125. The omission of the mark when ב stands for the fricative is not rare. In several instances it is probably due to the scribe's carelessness, as in פבלאבה *fablaba^h* 126, אובו *obo* 109, etc. Other examples, however, point to confusion of the sounds *b* and *v*, and consequent orthographic vacillation.¹ It should be noticed that although Sp *v* is also rendered by ך, ב is more generally employed. This is always the case with the desinential *-v-* of the imperfect in the verbs in *-ar*.

3. ג = Sp postpalatal *g*: גישאבאן *gisavan* 97, מגירה *magera^h* 60. OSp *j*, also the affricate *ch*, are rendered by ג with a diacritic mark: גינטיש *gentes* 49, מוגאש *muğas* 98. Thus an early Romance spelling

¹ In about one-fourth of the total number of words in which fric. *v* has been rendered by ב the diacritic point has been omitted. (Comp. RArch vi, p. 114.)

of both the fricative *ʒ* and the affricate *č* by *g* is perpetuated in Hebrew transliteration.¹

4. $\daleth = d$: דִּישׁוֹ *dixo* 45, אִישְׁטִידוֹ *estido* 61, אַטאַבּוּד *atabud* 71. It is impossible to say if the dot which appears over this letter on three occasions (מֵרְסִידִי *merçed* 68, מַאֲנֵדְאִמִּינְטוֹ *mandamiento* 81, קוֹנְגּוּרָאדוֹ *konğurado* 90) has been intentionally used by the scribe.

5. With the single exception of הוֹרוֹ *horo* 7, הֿ is only used as a final letter. In this word it stands for Sp *h*.² At the end of a word its use in *aljamiado* is merely a survival of Hebrew orthography in words ending in הֿ, in which the consonant is a mere orthographic indication of the preceding vowel. In consequence, when at the end of a word in *-a*, it possesses no phonetic value in Hebrew transcription of Spanish sounds. This is corroborated in our MS. by those words in which final *a* is indifferently transcribed by אֿ- or אהֿ-.

6. וּ stands: (a) For the vowels *o, u*: שוֹרְדוֹ *sordo* 125, גּוּרָה *ğura*^h 69, אוֹשַׁבָּאן *usaban* 52, אוֹטְרַאשׁ *otras* 98; and for *u* in the diphthong *ue*: פּוֹאִרְטִי *fuerte* 29. (b) For the consonant *v*: אוֹיָאָה *avia*^h 63, סִוִּירָה *çivera*^h 44, וַאֲנִיָּאָר *vanyar* 82.³

7. ז = OSp *z*: דִּיזִיאָה *dezia*^h 17, דִּיז *diez* 159.

8. In Spanish words הֿ only occurs in הוֹרוֹשׁ *horos* 166 (comp. *horo* 7).⁴

9. Sp *t*, in initial and medial position, is rendered by טֿ: טִירַאשׁ *tieras* 49, גִּנְטִישׁ *ğentes* 49.

10. יֿ is used: (a) For the vowels *i, e*, in which case it fulfils a similar function to that of Hebr. י, when a *hîreq* or a *şere* is assumed in the preceding consonant: דִּישִׁירָה *dixera*^h 65, מֵרְסִידִי *merçed* 68.⁵ The diphthong *ie* is rendered by יֿ, whilst יֿאִ stands for *ei* (as noticed before); יֿאָ- at the end of a word—renders *-ia*; and יֿוֹ, *-io*: טִירָה *tiera*^h 29, רֵיֿאִ *re-i* 22, רֵיֿאִשׁ *reis* 26, דִּיאָה *dia*^h 138, אוֹסִיאָרָאן *oçiaran* 133,

¹ The adoption of one symbol for both sounds may be taken to imply an affricate pronunciation of OSp *j* (see MPidal *Or* § 8, 1–3). In JCatalan a similar symbol stands for both *ʒ* and *š* (Duran p. 7).

² The name יהודה is not taken into account.

³ In עשוֹ, וּ is rendered by *w* in the present transcription.

⁴ יֿצַחֵק has not been taken into account.

⁵ The vowel *e* is not always indicated, although such cases as אינטראר *ent[e]rar* 70 (comp. 94) must be ascribed to the copyist.

דין *Dio* 58. Clear cases of two יי representing a single vowel sound do not seem to occur in this part of the MS.¹ (b) The consonant *y* is rendered by one, less often by two יי: יא *ya* 152, יאזין *yazen* 70, ייאזי *yazie* 161, ייא *aya* 71.²

11. ל = *l*: לה *la*^h 15, סילוש *çielos* 69. The symbol *ll* is represented by ל followed by one or two יי, constantly one, if the palatal precedes a ו: ליאמר *lyamar* 64 (comp. ליאמר *Shem TobC* fol. 14, l. 17), קונטראליאדור *kontralyador* 106.³ In פוליאה *folia*^h 139, we have the perpetuation of the Romance spelling of the palatal by a single *l*; but לינארון 141 may be due to an oversight, as *lle-* is usually rendered by ליי (comp. לייגאדו *lyegado* *Shem TobC* fol. 4, l. 3).

12. מ = *m*: מישורה *mesura*^h 96, קום *kom* 3.

13. נ = *n*: נון *non* 127, וינדיאה *vendezia*^h 75. Palatal *ñ* is rendered by ני or ניי, thus reproducing the spelling *ny*: אניוש *anyos* 159, ואניאר *vanyar* 82.⁴

14. ס = OSp *ç*: סילוש *çielos* 69, אובדיסירון *obedeçeron* 102.⁵

15. In the Hebrew name עשו *Esaw* (109, and passim), only, the letter ע appears.

16. פ = *p*: פלאזיר *plazer* 20. With a diacritic it stands for *f*: פואירו *fuero* 52. Final ף occurs in the name יוסף *Yoçef*, where it stands for Hebr. *f*.⁶ The diacritic is not clear in פושורה *fosura*^h 71, פינאדו *finado* 91. It has doubtless been omitted in דיפינדיר *de-[f]ender* 6.

¹ See III, § 6. Two יי with the value of *e* occur in the Provençal Esther: גינולש *genols* 24, גינטא *genta* 34, etc.

² The spelling of *i* as first element of a diphthong, and consonantic *y* by יי, seems more general in PConst. Thus *dio* is rendered דייו in that work. In modern JSp orthography *i* in the diphthongs *ai*, *oi*, *ui*, *ia*, *io*, *iu*, is generally expressed by יי (see RHi i, 25). Comp. קובדיסיה *kobdiçia* *Shem TobC* fol. 23, קאמיו *kamio* *ibid.* fol. 31v.

³ The spelling ליי for *ll* perpetuates *ly* of Romance orthography (see MPidal *Or* § 5, 9). It also occurs in JCatalan (Duran p. 7), and in Esther it renders Prov. *lh*. In modern JSp ליי (= *y*) is general.

⁴ See MPidal *Or* § 4, 1. I find the same spelling in the transcription of a Catalan name in a thirteenth-century Hebrew charter (Millàs, facs. 28, 1).

⁵ Also in JCatalan (Duran p. 13, 6).

⁶ Had the scribe intended to reproduce a Romance spelling he would have written יוסיה.

17. צ occurs in יצחק *Yiṣḥaq* 114, 115. In the transcription of Romance words it is not used except in one instance, ראיץ *raiç*, (Shem TobC fol. 53), where it stands for OSp ç.

18. ק = *k*, namely the postpalatal stop: קונשיגו *konseġo* 25. In the Hebrew name יצחק I transcribe it by *q*.¹

19. ר represents both single *r* and trilled *r*, *rr*: רazon 9, טירר *tier[r]a^h* 29, פואירה *fuera^h* 56.² As this spelling also prevails in the transcription of Romance languages other than Spanish into Hebrew script, its adoption is merely a persistence of Hebrew orthographic usage.

20. ש = OSp *ss*, *s*. No special device is adopted by the scribe to differentiate the voiced and voiceless sounds: בישאבה *besava^h* 80, פושירון *pusieron* 103, שושגאבה *sosegava^h* 155, פשאשין *pasasen* 108. The addition of a diacritic mark on ש gives this letter the value of OSp *x*: דישו *dixo* 45.³

21. ת is used only at the end of a word,⁴ and represents the sound which OSp orthography transcribes by *th*, *t*, *d*: בונדאת *bondath* 119.⁵

22. The MS. is, as a rule, unpointed. The use of the vowel-points seems restricted to certain cases when confusion might arise, as in ויטו *ve tu* 122, אקי *ake* 150, or else to stress the pronunciation of certain vowels: וישטו *vistu* 18.⁶ Š^e*wa* has no phonetic significance. In view of the punctuation פיזירה *fizyera^h* 105, שונשאניוש *sonsanyos* 157, it may be surmised that the scribe had in mind an orthographic *y*, as the equivalent of a following *y* in Romance orthography.⁷

¹ ק is very often adopted for κ in the Talmudic transcription of Greek words (see Strack-Siegfried, *Lehrb. neuhebr. Spr.* § 5). כ does not occur in our MS. excepting the Hebrew word כאן (Shem TobC fol. 50v).

² Comp. MPidal *Or* p. 83. It is a well-known spelling in later orthography: *acorer* AlexP 176d, *desterado* Apol 130a, *caçura* JRuiz 114a, *deramo* VTristan, intr. p. 5, etc.

³ The diacritic mark always appears on the left of the ש, and I transcribe it accordingly.

⁴ Hebr. נפתלי *Naftali* 121, is not taken into account.

⁵ See MPidal *Cantar* II, § 85.

⁶ The vowel-points are in the same hand as the rest of the MS.

⁷ Š^e*wa* appears to be used here as in PConst. See also the JFrench poems edited by Blondheim (*Poèmes Judéo-Français*, Paris 1927, pp. 50ff.).

23. In accordance with prevalent usage in Romance orthography, certain prepositions are often written together with the following definite article, and also with certain pronouns and even nouns. Thus אלה *ala^h* 23, אלאש *alas* 49; אטי *ati* 31, אווש *avos* 119, אאיל *ael* 86, אאיליוש *aelyos* 56, אשו *asu* 14; אטודוש *atodos* 156; איוסף *a Yoçef* 11 (but *a^h Yoçef* 12, etc.; *a^h Ġakob* 100, etc.); דילה *dela^h* 47, קוניל *konel* 7, אינל *enel* 87, אינישי *enese* 138. Adherence to the prevailing usage is also shown in the spelling of adverbs of manner: סירטה מינטי *çierta^h mente* 31, אפרישוראדה מינטי *apresurada^h mente* 32; also the pronouns ווש אטרוש *vos otros* 117, and קון וושקון *kon vusko* 168 (comp. *kon nusko* Shem TobC fol. 42v).

The preceding analysis corroborates the adherence of Hispano-Hebraic transliteration to archaic Romance spellings (*ny, ly, mr*), which may be an indication of origin, inasmuch as such spellings lingered in dialectal regions, where the standard symbols *ll, nn, nbr* were not universally adopted till later. Taken as a whole, the orthography, as shown in the adoption of diacritic marks and also in the little use made of duplicated consonants functioning as a single Romance symbol, is more accurate and systematic than that of Caslari's Esther in Provençal.

V

The omission of the vowel-points in the MS. deprives us of some important data in the linguistic study of the text: we are unable to determine the nature of certain vowels, as the orthography is apt to represent by י both *e* and *i*, by ם, *o* and *u*. In such cases our interpretation is bound to be conjectural. On the other hand the comparative shortness of the present fragments precludes a comprehensive grammatical account. The following linguistic features, however, may be recorded:

- (A) 1. Monophthongization of secondary *au* occurs in *oçiar* 133.
2. Absorption of the first element of the diphthong *ie* by a preceding palatal is apparent in *koçentes* 51, *dekoçeron* 104.
3. The pointing of the scribe shows modification of the pretonic vowel in *fizyera^h* 105, *komidyera^h* 131.
4. Final ם is pointed ם = *u* in *ditu* 6, *maderu* 10, *vistu* 18.
5. Judging by the metre, hiatus occurs in *re-i* in 22, 92; *re-is* 104 (possibly also in 101); *mu-i* 13, 16, 21, 81, 156. Synaeresis must be

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effected in *reis* 26, *rei* 89; *mui* 75, 78, 143. Hiatus is confirmed by the metre or may be surmised in *se-er* 99, *se-ertemos* 146, *a-un* 18, 60; *priado* 81, 125; *enbi-ava^h* 11; *o-inavan* 100, *A-ibto* 5 and passim. Synaeresis is constant in the imperfect *-ie* (53, 37, 41, 139, 161); and also in *fue* 82, *Dio* 69, 58, 93; *vendiçion* 76.

6. Apocope of *-o* is shown in *kóm* 3, 147 (but *komo* 23, 37, 84, 102);¹ of *-e* in *sabte* 130.² Loss of *e* also occurs: (a) With the preposition *de* in combination with pronouns having initial *e*: *del* 142, *dese* 6, *desta^h* 22, 89, 109; *di*, if our interpretation is correct (see note to 8). (b) With *delante* + pron. *el*, and *entre* + *ellos*: 50, 71. (c) With the pronouns *me*, *te*, when proclitic to forms of the verb *aver* in the future tense: *sakarte* 7, *dezirte* 65, *levarmas* 67, *seertemos* 146. In the following words apocope is necessary: *grand(e)* 58, *levas(e)* 91, *tod(o)* 105 (but *todo* 42, 44), *testament(o)* 160, *kuand(o)* 149. See also *dizien* (note to 145). Enclitic forms of *me*, *le*, *se*, *te* are required by the metre in the following passages: *e t(e)* 6, *alya m(e)* 67, *ke l(e)* 91, *trayem(e)* 123, *muerto s(e)* 129. Aphaeresis may be suspected, on the same basis, in *do (e)stavan* 94, *aki (e)stava^h* 127 (comp. Apol. II, p. 8). There is a case of epenthetic *-e-* in *salderedes* (see note to 167).

7. Fricative pronunciation of initial *b* (after a vowel or *s*) is shown by the spellings *vendezia^h* 75, *vendiçion* 76, *vanyar* 82. The usual dissimilation of *b-* in *bivir* occurs in *bivos* 167. In *bibiera^h* 159, the diacritic point on the second *b* has been carelessly omitted by the scribe.

8. Initial *h-* appears once only (*horo* 7, which is transcribed with ה in 166).³ Etymological *f-* is always retained. The demonstrative *he* is rendered without any sign of aspiration.⁴

9. Intervocalic *b* is used in numerous instances as a fricative, instead of *v*. Thus against *çivera^h* 44, 45, we have *çibera^h*; against *avemos* 43, *ove* 110, *ovo* 15, 89, there is *abie* 53, *obo* 109, *abredes* 151; the desinential *-ava^h* (thus usually spelt) becomes *-aba^h* in 77, 126; *servientes* 97, 146 alternates with *servientes* 50. *kueba^h* only appears with *b*. The etymological intervocalic is kept in *atabud* 71, and the weakness of the fricative is shown in *priado* 81, 125, as against *privado* 13. Disappearance of *-g-* gives rise to the characteristic form *Aibto*.⁵

¹ See 3, note.² Also *diz* 69, 165.³ The orthography of PConst betrays a similar hesitation: הָרֵאָהֶ *hare*, שָׂרָאָהֶ *haras* (fols. 92a, 22, 28, etc.).⁴ See 146, note.⁵ See 5, note.

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10. There is no trace of dialectal treatment of the groups *pl, cl, ct, l't, c'l*, etc. that I can detect. Thus *lyamar* 73, *lyanto* 87, *lyenera*^b 68, *oços* 149, *kordoços* 150, *meçoria*^b 76, *konseço* 25, *koçentes* 51, etc. The archaic spelling *-mr-* predominates over *-mbr-*, *omres* 27, *famre* 29, *nomres* 74, *nomrada*^b 53, but *sembredes* 46, *sembravan* 49.¹ Whilst the popular form in *kativos* 166 and *kativerio* 163 is adhered to, the spelling *eskribto* 62 is constantly adopted.²

11. The Western spelling of final *n* by *m* is shown in *segum*.³ The fricative which Romance orthography represents by *-t, -d,* or *-th*, is transcribed by ך in words occurring at the end of a line. In the middle of a line the sound is rendered by a ך (= *d*): *atabud* 71, 84, *merçed* 68, 152. The evidence is too scanty to allow us to draw any conclusions from this practice.

12. The presence of epenthetic *-n-* in *sonsanyos* should also be mentioned here.⁴

(B) 1. The following data relating to nominal morphology should be mentioned: (a) The JSp form *Dio*.⁵ (b) The etymological plural *reis*, which is exclusively used.⁶ (c) The adjective *valiente* with desinential *-o*. This is very likely due to the assonance (comp. *doliente* 161, etc.), although in this case dialectal tendencies should be borne in mind.⁷

2. The earlier forms, *nos, vos*, of the personal pronoun seem to predominate in the language of the original over the compound ones, *nos otros, vos otros*. The latter appears twice (117, 120). Also the form *kon vusko* 168.⁸

3. Desinential *-d-* in the second person plural of the verbs is never lost: *sodes* 27, *despreçiedes* 28, *tomades* 150, *seredes* 166, etc. Imperfect *-ie* in verbs of the second and third conjugations persists in over one-third of the total number of examples. There are four instances of *-ie* (37, 53, 139, 161) against twelve of *-ia* in the third person singular. There also occurs *-iemos* 41. So that this aspect of the conjugation shows the forms in *ia* predominating over those in *ie*. As far as literary Castilian is

¹ Comp. *lumre, omre*, etc. Shem TobC (fol. 5, 20v respectively), alternating with *membrara*^b ibid. 13, etc. The spelling lingers still in PConst.

² Also in Shem TobC. Comp. *Aibto*.

³ See 62, note. Comp. *kom*, mentioned before.

⁴ See 157, note.

⁵ See 58, 59, 69, 93.

⁶ See 26, note.

⁷ See 131, note.

⁸ Comp. *kon nusko* Shem TobC fol. 48v (con *nosotros* E fol. 68).

concerned, this points to the fourteenth century.¹ Thematic *e* in a preterite of the first conjugation appears in *gastemos*.² Mention also should be made at this point of the analogical *dieste* 39. In view of the rime, the form *oira^b* 149 may be due to unintentional omission of a *ʿ*. It might also be taken as genuine.³

4. The presence of the preposition *pora^b* 148 might indicate that the period of composition of the poem was when its use prevailed in Castile.⁴

(C) 1. The definite article is omitted before the direct object, as in 28. Also with a prepositional complement, as in 10, 84. Or with collective nouns, 24. A characteristic feature is its use with *Dio* (58, 59, 69).⁵ In six instances it appears with a possessive adjective (7, 46, 47, 114, 121, 155) as against twenty-seven in which it is omitted.

2. *Nado* is used as a noun in 114. Two nouns linked by the copulative *e* may be separated by a verb, as in 76.

3. The well-known construction of descriptive adjective + *de* + noun occurs in *por malos de pekados*.⁶ The noun is separated from the adjective by a verb and its subject in *la^b gente el fizyera^b toda^b estar de fuera^b* 107.⁷ In *omres pastores* the second noun assumes an adjectival function.⁸ The numeral is placed after the noun in 62, 87.

4. The poet is predominantly *loista*: 75, 78, 135, etc. Comp. 91, 98, 102. In 99 there is a case of *lo* with dative. But a dittography may be suspected here, and in view of *le eran serbientes* 50, elision of *e* in *le* seems possible.⁹ In 133 *las gentes* is used as an indefinite.¹⁰

5. Personal *a* with the accusative of a transitive verb is the rule: 12, 64, 73. But comp. 107. This usage is extended to non-personal accusatives: *alas tieras sembravan* 49 (comp. 46), and may be ascribed to the literal interpretation of the Hebrew Bible, which reproduces in the vernacular the *nota accusativi* לֹא. This practice is corroborated by

¹ Hanssen § 234.

² See 42, note.

³ Whenever it occurs in Castilian texts it is a Leonicism (MPidal *Cantar* II, § 92, 4).

⁴ See MPidal *Cantar* p. 363; Hanssen § 726.

⁵ See 58, note.

⁶ See note to 42.

⁷ The position of the main verb in the phrase seems to be determined here by the internal rime.

⁸ See note to 27.

⁹ For *los dixera^b*, see note to 150.

¹⁰ Comp. MPidal *Cantar* II, § 147, 2.

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JSp sixteenth-century biblical translations. The construction *non pares mientes... nuestros pekados* also has parallels in later JSp.

The following features of tense usage are outstanding: (a) *dix* is equivalent to the perfect *dixo*, when a direct address is introduced, in 69, 165 (comp. Apol II, p. 17; JRuiz 992 d, etc.). (b) Pluperfect in *-ra* has its original meaning in *dixera^b* 105, *eğaran* 140, etc. It is more often used, however, as a preterite (13, 15, etc.), or as a descriptive imperfect, as in *dixera^b* 21, 65, 121; *respondiera^b* 92, 112, 116. It rarely appears as a subjunctive (160). (c) The perfect in 15, 89, 109, 161, and the modern form of the pluperfect subjunctive in 115, are used with the meaning of a preterite.

In two instances the verb is used in the plural with a collective subject in the singular: 36, 137 (but *dezie la gente* 37), whilst in 24 the lack of agreement between the plural subject and the verb is obviously due to attraction by a singular complement which precedes the verb.

Pronominal interpolation between the infinitive and the auxiliary verb in the future and conditional tenses takes place in 34, 65, 67, 68, 146 and 7 (where *sakarte* is preceded by a prepositional complement). On the other hand, in 44, 69 (where the subject precedes the verb) the complement pronoun precedes the infinitive.

The interpolation of the subject between the auxiliary verb and the participle in 115 is favoured by the rime. This also accounts for the position of the auxiliary after the participle in 26, 130.

The following types of verbal paraphrase occur: (a) With *fazer* + noun, as in *fazer oraçion* 58; *f. ġura^b* 69, 93; *f. merçed* 68, 36; *f. folia^b* 139; *f. buen talente* 40; *f. çerka^b* 135. (b) With *seer* + present participle, as in *s. serviente* 146, 50; *s. obediente* 99; *s. koğente* 51. (c) With *aver*, as in *a. fosura^b* 71; *a. enoğos* 151, etc. (d) With other verbs: *tomar kordoğos* 150; *dar respuesta^b* 128, etc.

6. In the formation of adverbs of manner the adjective is used either alone, as *privado* 13, 81; *çierto* 27, 87; *apresurado* 126; or with *mente*, as in 31, 32, etc. Other expressions of manner with a preposition include: *de mui buen coraçon* 78; *desta^b manera^b* 22, 89; *en mui fuerte manera^b* 143; *a^b buena^b ventura^b* 95; *de mano* 122; *por kuenta^b* 159. In 19 *nunka^b* is used in order to stress the negation. In what I consider the original reading in 106, *ende* has a pronominal meaning (comp. 139). As an adverb of place *i* appears in 53, 144. In *di* 8 it has perhaps a pronominal function. The demonstrative particle *he* occurs in 146.

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(D) 1. The position of the subject or of the complement in the phrase is often subject to metrical considerations. Thus the basis for internal rime is the verb in a great many cases. Or the main verb, if a subordinate clause is a component of the phrase. The convention by which the stanzas must end with a certain proper noun influences the construction of the phrase, particularly with regard to the position of the subject, as in 60, 72, 76, 80, 112, 156, etc. In some cases the internal rime and the compulsory ending of the stanza result in the subject and complement being placed after the verb—the latter affording an easy rime—as in 88, 92, 128, 156.

2. Apart from this, the subject is postponed to the verb whenever the phrase begins with a complement: 16, 24, 49, 98. There is indecision with regard to the imperative, as in 30, 35 (comp. 45, 96). Also with an enuntiative verb, as in *dezia^h la^h ġente* 30, *respondia^h Yoçef* 32; but *Yoçef dixo* 45, 129.

3. In 31 the subject precedes the verb, whilst the complement is placed between subject and verb (comp. 42, 44). A complete subordinate proposition separates them in 39.

4. The complement often precedes the verb: (a) Direct complement without preposition, as in 9, 34, 58, etc. (b) With *a^h*, as in 11, 49, 89. (c) Other prepositional complements: 24, 84, 137. The determinative is placed after the verb in 51, 152. The subordinate infinitive precedes the verb in one case only (73).

VI

The metre in the present fragments may be considered as the outcome of the disintegration of the tetrastich monorime Alexandrine. Whilst the framework of the old *quaderna via* is retained, the caesura has led to the introduction of the internal rime in the traditional scheme. Thus the Alexandrine is split into two hexasyllables¹ in the great majority of cases. A uniform internal assonance or rime for the hemistichs, and another at the end of the first three lines of the stanza, is used.

From the point of view of rime arrangement, our text furnishes a parallel example to certain portions of Messire Thibaut's *Li Romanz de*

¹ In the present remarks the French system of scansion has been adopted.

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la Poire.¹ Our poet, however, introduces the name of the protagonist at the end of each stanza, so that the stanza adheres to the following scheme: *ab : ab : ab : ac*.²

Taking the double line of 6 + 6 as a basis, we find that 26 out of 38 double lines, in which neither hiatus nor elision, apocope, or other similar prosodical phenomena arise, conform to the standard measure. These lines are the following:

10	28	40	45	65	82	112	145	166
24	34	42	49	72	84	114	148	168
25	38	44	55	80	97	124	155	

Of the remaining 12 double lines, one consists of 7 + 5 syllables, whilst lines 46, 48 and possibly 108 are marred by scribal errors. Eight double lines remain which are metrically unsatisfactory: 116, 128, 144, 153, 157 are of 6 + 5 syllables; whilst 35, 150, 160 are of 7 + 6, 6 + 7 and 6 + 8 syllables respectively.³

Hiatus is systematically used, even between identical vowels belonging to different words.⁴ Taking this principle into consideration, the following lines conform to the standard measure:

5	22	32	50	63	81	95	109	125	138	151
13	27	33	52	64	83	102	113	126	140	154
14	29	39	54	71	87	103	115	130	142	162
19	30	43	61	73	88	104	121	131	146	165
20	31	47	62	74	92	107	122	134	147	

This number could be increased to 55, if the suppression suggested in line 79 were adopted.

From the spellings previously recorded in V, § 6, it is clear that along with hiatus elision was also employed. In the following passages we may

¹ Lines 21–240 (ed. Stehling, Halle 1881). See also the editor's remarks in his introduction, p. 27. In fourteenth-century Spanish literature there are certain metrical combinations—more or less consistently adopted—susceptible of a similar interpretation. Such are, amongst other examples, stanzas 1059–67 in the *Libro de Buen Amor*.

² But stanza 301 in its present state deviates from this scheme.

³ Crasis between the final *a* of the hexasyllable and the initial of the octosyllable may be suggested in 150 (comp. FGz p. li).

⁴ See Hanssen § 101. Hiatus between identical vowels must be assumed, among others, in the following lines: between *a a*, 33, 39, 122; between *e e*, 29, 39, 62, 140; between *o o*, 27, 79, 109.

surmise similar pronunciations to those shown by the spellings in the MS.: *ferm(e)as* 68, *d(e) akesta^h* 17, 117; *d(e) aki* 66, 167; *aunk(e) agora^h* 18; *desk(e) atemaba^h* 77; *s(e) adoleçia^h* 59; *m(e) ovo* 90. Crasis is also exacted by the metre in the following: *meğoria^h avia^h* 76; *toda^h akesta^h* 164; *e enperadores* 101 (if hiatus in *reis* is assumed); *e el* and *lo obedientes* (if *lo* is genuine) 99; and either elision or crasis in *de enterar* 70, 94; *de estranyos* 158; *deske elyos* 85; *ke elyos* 86; *ke eran* 51; *sobre esto* 120; *ğente esklamava^h* 57; *ove eredado* 110. In the following passages, however, synaloepha is required in order to obtain metrical regularity: *horo e kito* 7; *Yehuda^h enbiava^h* 11; *la ove* (if *ke* is genuine) 110; *la ovo* 15; *padre ala^h* 23; *si es* 118; *değarlo alyi* 132; *lo enteraran* 135; *luego a^h* 141; *lo adoraron* 143; *su ermano* (see 106, note). In 132a probably we have a dittography.

If the preceding passages are added to those previously mentioned on p. xxii we may include the following amongst the regular lines in the text:

6	23	53	67	76	89	99	118	135	149
11	26	57	68	77	90	101	120	137	158
15	37	58	69	78	91	105	123	139	167
17	41	59	70	85	93	110	129	141	
18	51	66	75	86	94	117	132	143	

To the preceding the following hexasyllables belonging to lines which are damaged in the MS. should be added: 2b, 3b, and probably also 4b, 9b, 12a, 164b.

The following lines should be read as though consisting of 7 + 5 or 5 + 7 syllables: 16, 21, 156 (with disyllabic *mui*); 60 (hiatus between *a a*); 98, 133 (synaeresis in *-iaran*); 127 (synaloepha in *muerto aki*, aphaeresis or synaloepha in *aki estava^h*).

In lines 7b, 36, 56, 106a we are confronted with errors of transmission, as is suggested in the text. In 111a, *ke* is possibly spurious.

Finally, six lines remain, which in their present state seem to be irreducible to the standard measure: four (100, 136, 152, 159) are of 6 + 5 syllables; 119b cannot be scanned in view of the state of the text; 161 is perhaps a 7 + 6 line. In conclusion, fourteen at the most, out of 160 complete lines, do not adhere to the 6 + 6, 7 + 5 or 5 + 7 scheme.

With the exception of stanzas 262, 263, 284 and 290, rime at the end of the lines is regular.¹ At the end of the first hemistichs the following

¹ The rime in stanzas 262, 282 shows that *b* in *Aibto* was not pronounced. The words pointed with *šureq* in ll. 6, 10 seem to indicate a rime in *-u* at the end of ll. 5, 7, 9, 11.

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imperfect rimes occur : *fuerte* : *gente* (274); *muerte* : *dieste* : *gente* (276); *doliente* : *muerte* (309); *talente* : *siete* (282); *fuertes* : *diredes* (267); *mandamiento* : *muerto* : *enbuelto* (287); *esto* : *cierto* : *valiento* (299). This last word possibly indicates that assonance was lacking in the original and the desinence *-o* was substituted for *-e* in order to obtain the correct assonance.¹ This also applies to *era*^b 106.

Such instances, when considered together with the lines in which the metrical scheme deviates from the 6 + 6 standard measure, seem to prove that the poet was writing within the compass of the *quaderna via* and the structure of the Alexandrine with a variable pause lingers in his mind.²

The metre thus would show the process of transition between the Alexandrine and a type of hexasyllable that would spring from it. As far as metre is concerned our poem might be related to such divided Alexandrines as appear in the verse fragments of the *Chronica Troiana* (MS. Bca. Nac. I-i-99)³ or to certain distichs in the *Conde Lucanor*.⁴ The composition of the poem would then fall within the times to which these examples belong, namely the first half of the fourteenth century. Certain linguistic traits point to the thirteenth century. However, they do not seem sufficient in themselves to justify an earlier dating of the poem than the one suggested.

VII

Our poem probably originated in similar conditions to those that prompted the learned Crescas ben Joseph ha-Levi Caslari to redact a Provençal version of the story of Esther for the Purim celebrations. His avowed purpose was to provide a poetical narrative in the vernacular for those unacquainted with Hebrew.⁵ That Purim narratives in the middle

¹ Comp. *oira*^b 149.

² Apart from the passages quoted in the previous paragraph, the punctuation shows that the poem might originally have been written in long lines. Whereas the punctuation mark at the end of the long lines is but once missing, it has been omitted at the end of ten first hexasyllables.

³ A. Paz y Meliá, *Poésias intercaladas en la Crónica Troyana romanceada* (RHi vi, 68, 70).

⁴ Pp. 167, 249, 216 (ed. Knust). The metre in Shem Tob is susceptible of a similar interpretation.

⁵ Caslari wrote two poems on the story of Esther, one in Hebrew, the other in the vernacular. In the introduction to the former work the author states that he wrote the first rendering for the benefit of women and children unacquainted with Hebrew (see Ro xxx, p. 195).

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ages were not exclusively concerned with that subject is confirmed by later evidence, from the period when the so-called Purim-play took definite shape. Two of the works on Joseph mentioned before were probably written for that occasion. This is surely the case with a play concerning the sale of Joseph, by Bermann of Limburg, which was performed for the first time probably in 1713.¹

In the Spanish lands as in Provence a certain demand for Purim narratives in the vernacular must have existed from the time when the decadence of Hebrew culture made itself felt and Jews began to write in the Peninsular Romance languages.

On the other hand, the authorship of the Provençal Esther shows that such writings do not necessarily emanate from the pen of uncultured persons. The presentation of the subject and the style of the work were suited to the audience for which they were intended. A comparison between the Hebrew and the Provençal renderings of Caslari's Esther brings out this point. The former is written in that elaborate style which characterizes medieval Hebrew poetry, whereas the latter is devoid of strictly literary features.

Our poem was intended for a public similar to that for which the Provençal Esther was written. This explains in our poem the economy of proper names. Two place names only occur. Only the more familiar names of persons are mentioned. On the other hand, Pharaoh is 'el rei'; 'Ἡρώων πόλις—which the *General Estoria* renders 'la çibdath delos Sennores'—is merely 'la çibdath'; Hushim ben Dan is 'un sordo'. Neither the land of Canaan nor the cave of Machpelah is named.² Such omissions are not due to ignorance, as the nature of sources used by the writer abundantly proves.

A noteworthy feature is the absence of Hebraisms in the vocabulary, if a few proper names are excepted. This is also true of the Provençal Esther. Both works contrast in this respect with other Jewish productions in the vernacular, and also with Morisco literature in general.³

It would be unavailing to look for literary qualities in the poem, which

¹ See I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (London 1932), p. 285. It would seem as if the narrative poem were the precursor of the Purim-play.

² Caslari makes a wider use of proper names. Thus besides 'Susan, la grant ciutat' 73, we have *Fransa*, *Espanha* (324), *Anglaterra* (400), *Jerusalem* (270); 'Galen o dis' (161), with reference to a well-known aphorism, etc.

³ See Blondheim, *Poèmes Judéo-Français*, Paris 1927, pp. 33–4.