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Jofre (Jaufre): the circulation of Arthurian romances among late medieval Catalan Jews

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ABSTRACT

The Arthurian legends have long attracted scholarly attention. In contrast, research on the reception of Arthurian works among Jews during the Middle Ages has been relatively limited. This study reconstructs nearly five hundred verses of the Occitan romance *Jaufre* written in Hebrew script and contextualizes its reception among Catalan and Jewish audiences. It is generally believed that this Occitan-Arthurian work is related to the court of King Jaume I. However, to this day no manuscript of clear Catalan origin has been found. The fragments in Hebrew characters from Girona display some linguistic traits that clearly testify to a more Catalanized version of this renowned Occitan work. The protagonist of the romance is also referred to in Catalan, *Jofre* rather than *Jaufre*. This work is evidence of the reception of Arthurian legends among late medieval Iberian Jews, and more particularly among the Jews of Catalonia during the fourteenth century.

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This is a first publication of the reconstruction of nearly five-hundred verses of the Occitan romance *Jaufre* in Hebrew script from Hebrew fragments of the Historical Archive of Girona (AHG).¹ Scholarly literature now generally concurs that the King of Aragon to whom this Occitan-Arthurian work is dedicated to is King Jaume I.² While, some researchers relate the author directly to King Jaume I's court, or to the close circles of his son, Infante Pere,³ to this day no Catalan version of this work has been found.⁴ The fragments in Hebrew script are first and foremost Occitan in their character. Nevertheless, some of the linguistic traits of the text in Hebrew letters clearly testify to a more

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¹Girona, Arxiu Històric Girona, various fragments between MS FH 71.1–71.36, in the notary's book Gi 11, 17 *hebreu* (11r–17v) of the Historical Archive of Girona. See Esperança Valls i Pujol, "Els fragments hebreus," 267. In this context, I use the terminology "Hebrew fragments" or "Hebrew manuscripts" to refer to manuscript written in Hebrew script, whereas the language could be Hebrew or not (i. e. Occitan in this case).

²Arthur, *Jaufre*, x–xvii; Espadaler, "El Rei d'Aragó i la data del Jaufre," 203–4; 207; Espadaler, "El final del Jaufre i, novament, Cerverí de Girona," 324; Espadaler, "La cort del plus onrat rei," 335–53; Lee, "L'elogio del rei d'Aragona nel 'Jaufre,'" 1054–55; Lee, "Jaufre," 508; 515. The dating of the work is still debated. Espadaler, "El Rei d'Aragó i la data del Jaufre," 207 as well as in his following works, dates the work around 1272. Lee, "Jaufre: Genre boundaries and ambiguity," 515–6, dates it to 1282, or possibly to the mid-1240s.

³Antònia Carré, *Narrativa catalana medieval en vers, (el Jaufre i L'espill de Jaume Roig)*, 94–6; Cabré, "Trobadors i cultura trobadoresca durant el regnat de Jaume I," 932–6.

⁴For the vast circulation of other Arthurian works in Catalonia, see Gracia, "Arthurian Material in Iberia," 11–32, and especially pp. 11–4; Lucía Megías, "The Surviving Peninsular Arthurian Witnesses," 33–4.

Catalanized version, or Catalan coloring of this renowned Occitan work. This work also testifies for the reception of Arthurian legends among Jews in general, and more particularly among the Jews of Catalonia.

1. Description of the fragments from Girona

More than a thousand Hebrew fragments in the Historical Archive of Girona (AHG) were extracted from book bindings of notarial registers, mainly from the second half of the fourteenth century (and some from the fifteenth century). Since the discovery of this trove of Hebrew documents more than a decade ago, the AHG works on the restauration and cataloging of these fragments.⁵ Valls describes the following documents as “eight fragments in poor condition, written in a fine semi-cursive handwriting characteristic of Catalan territories in the fourteenth–fifteenth century”.⁶ As the author explains, this text is very fragmented and thus raises difficulties in reading. Despite the hardship in deciphering these fragments, she asserts that this is apparently a lyrical text written in verse, containing many Occitan traits that characterize the troubadours’ writing. Moreover, due to repeated occurrence of the name *Jofre* she deduces that this text might “make reference to *Jaufre* of the Arthurian literature”.⁷ Valls refrains from analyzing the text, and suggests a partial transcription of the fragments.

Valls’ intuitions were correct. They are confirmed through a careful reading of the Hebrew fragments, which allowed me to reconstruct some of the missing parts of the puzzle. Piece by piece the image has been revealed and I have been able to locate the precise origin of the text as no other than the Occitan romance *Jaufre*. The eight fragments catalogued as such by the AHG, are better described as the remains of 25 fragments from different folios of the codex that were used for book binding, and hence were glued together and were difficult to separate. Descephering the fragments allowed me to patch together the pieces of the scattered fragments, to reconstruct some of its parts, and finally, to compare it to specific verses from the other known manuscripts.

Most of the Hebrew fragments extracted from the notarial book bindings from Girona are dated some twenty-five years earlier than the notarial register they bound. The date of the notarial register is 1395–1396 and it is safe to estimate that the fragments were copied somewhere between 1370 and 1405.⁸

The existence of an unknown version of Arthurian *Jaufre* in Hebrew characters is of great importance. The AHG’s fragments comprise the remnants of three non-consecutive parts of the work. The first part is compatible with lines 1886–2181 (295 fragmented lines) of the Provençal-Occitan manuscripts; the second, with lines 2779–2871 (almost 100 fragmented lines) and the third part is with the end of the work (lines 9830–9926, nearly 100 fragmented lines).

⁵Perani, “A 2009 updated overview on the ‘Girona Genizah’,” 137–73. Esperança Valls Pujols’ recent dissertation is dedicated to the cataloging and analysis of these documents. Valls i Pujol, “Els fragments hebreus”.

⁶Valls, “Els fragments hebreus,” 267.

⁷Ibid.

⁸See Valls, *ibid.*, 79–80. In a few cases the Hebrew fragments were later than the notarial registers. This could be explained by the fact that the binding was made from time to time, by the end of the year or whenever needed, a few years after writing it.

Jaufre, with its 11,000 verses, is the only Arthurian romance that has survived in Occitan.⁹ It tells the adventures of Jaufre (Sir Griflet), one of King Arthur's Knights of the Round Table. The two existing complete manuscripts of *Jaufre* and six fragments belong to two branches, Occitan and Italian:¹⁰

- Ms. A, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français, 2164, fols. 1–110 (end of the thirteenth century–beginning of the fourteenth), copied by two copyists from Languedoc and Provence. The antigraph is believed to go back to a Catalan area,¹¹ and together with fragments *e*, *f*, *g*, and *h* they form the Occitan branch.
- Ms. B, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français, 12571, fols. 1–31, (end of the thirteenth century–beginning of the fourteenth), copied by a copyist from Northern Italy.¹² Together with fragments *c* and *d* they form the Italian branch.

The six fragmentary manuscripts of this work do not contain the lines that the Hebrew manuscript presents.¹³

While, the fragments in Hebrew characters reflect the original Occitan version, it also has clear Catalan or Catalanized linguistic traits. Most importantly, this work serves as a missing link regarding the reception of Arthurian legends among Jews.

There is some evidence for the circulation and reception of chivalric novels among Iberian Jews. For example, in the fifteenth century a court Jew wrote a letter in *Romance* (probably referring to Castilian) to Castilian nobles where he praises chivalry and knighthood.¹⁴ Pero Ferruz is one of the few and one of the early Iberian authors who mention *Amadís de Gaula* already around 1400.¹⁵ While Ferruz also wrote a poem where he dialogues with the rabbis of Alcalá, it remains unclear if he was a convert.¹⁶ Some Jewish converts in Valencia ca. 1500 also used to sing some *Coples de Merlin* “Coplas of Merlin”.¹⁷ The love of chivalric romances perpetuated among Sephardic Jews also after the Expulsion. During the sixteenth century, the *Amadís de Gaula* was

⁹For a general background on the diffusion of Arthurian tradition in Provence and Languedoc see Gaunt and Harvey, “The Arthurian Tradition in Occitan Literature,” 528–45.

¹⁰Lee, “*Jaufre*: Genre boundaries and ambiguity,” 506; Lee, *Jaufre, Biblioteca Medievale Testi*, 43–4. On-line version of the edition (2002) in Rialc (*Repertorio informatizzato dell'antica lirica catalana*), <http://www.rialec.unina.it/jaufre-i.htm>; Carré, *Narrativa catalana medieval en vers (El Jaufre i l'Espill de Jaume Roig)*, 93.

¹¹Lee, *Jaufre*, 43.

¹²In this work, I have relied on the more recent edition of *Jaufre*, ed. Lee. Several editions were made in the past: *Jaufre*, Breuer, *Jaufre. Ein altprovenzalischer Abenteuerroman des 13 Jahrhunderts*; *Jaufre*, ed. Brunel, *Jaufre: roman arthurien du XIIIe siècle en vers provençaux*. See also *Jaufre*, Lavaud and Nelli, “*Jaufre*,” 17–618; and the partial edition of “Roman de Jaufre,” in *Lexique roman*, ed. François Just Marie Raynouard (Paris, 1836–44), 1:48–173. (incomplete). All of these are taken into consideration in Lee's edition.

¹³See in Lee, “*Jaufre*: Genre boundaries and ambiguity,” 506; *Jaufre*, ed. Lee. *c* = Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3206 (*chansonniere L*), verses 2633–2644, 3743–3828, 3877–3922, 7141–7987; *d* = New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 819 (*chansonniere N*), verses 7405–7688; *e* = Nîmes, Archives départementales du Gard, F (001) 083, pièce 3, notaire de Vallerauge, verses 8214–8376, 9041–9206; *f* = Nîmes, Archives départementales du Gard, F (001) 083, pièce 4, notaire de Bagnols-sur-Cèze, verses 328–491; *g* = Rodez, Archives départementales de l'Aveyron, 50 J, fonds Balsa de Firmi, verses 5583–5599; 5610–5632; 5923–5941; 5961–5976; *h* = Barcelona, Institut Municipal d'Història, B-109, verses 6020–6030; 6048–6058; 6074–6081; 6102–6112; 6737–6746; 6769–6779; 6801–6810; 6831–6841.

¹⁴Gutwirth, “Creative Ambiguities and Jewish Modernity,” 71–2.

¹⁵Gutwirth, “Dialogue and the City, circa 1400: Pero Ferruz and the Rabbis of Alcalá,” 52.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 43–67.

¹⁷Gutwirth, “Archival Poetics,” 638.

translated into Hebrew by a Sephardic Jew, Yaakov de Algaba, in Istanbul,¹⁸ and the figure of Amadís repeatedly appears in modern ladino popular ballads.¹⁹

The only known Arthurian work that was translated into Hebrew is the unfinished Hebrew translation of *Mort Artus* (1279), telling the story of King Arthur's death. It was translated in northern Italy from an Italian source, which is now lost.²⁰ As Drukker points out:

Although only a single fragment remains, this text stands as important evidence of the exposure of Jews in Italy to the surrounding Christian culture and their appreciation of and involvement with it. This short story is also an important component of late medieval Hebrew literature and the product of an ongoing linguistic, literary and cultural exchange between Jews and Christian in southern Europe in the thirteenth century.²¹

Indeed, these five hundred fragmented verses in Hebrew characters from the mid-fourteenth-early fifteenth century are a vital example of Jewish involvement in the cultural life of Christian Catalonia. The fragments are not only a testimony to another unknown Catalanized version of this work, but also evidence for the existence of a Jewish readership of Arthurian legends in the Occitan-Catalan area. It is a clear demonstration of the great diffusion of Occitan culture in Catalonia, also among the Jews of the area.

The routes of Jewish migration went back and forth between Provence, Languedoc, Catalonia and Spain. Many Languedocian Jews fled to nearby Catalonia and Provence after the order of expulsion in 1306. Conversely, after the attacks on the Jewish quarters in Catalonia in 1391, Catalan (as well as Aragonese and some Castilian) Jews sought asylum in Provence.²²

The variation in this Hebrew manuscript, in comparison to the manuscripts of Paris, is relatively small. This Jewish copyist was probably of the thriving Jewish community of Girona, who relied on a version quite similar to the Paris manuscript. The existence of fragments from three different parts of the work indicate that this Jewish copyist probably copied the whole manuscript, presumably without making rough additions or omissions. The resemblance to the two Parisian manuscripts is clear in terms of both the word order and the content. In many cases, however, the Jewish copyist renders a more Catalanized version than the known Occitan one(s) we have at hand. In a few instances, the versification itself also varies from the known version of the Paris manuscripts.

2. The Catalanized version of *Jaufre* in Hebrew script

First, it is worth noting that the use of the Hebrew script illustrates some of the differences between the writing traditions of Catalan and Provençal Jews. The Jewish copyist of *Jofre*

¹⁸Ashkenazi, "Hacia una nueva lectura del Amadís de Gaula en hebreo," 167–86; Wacks, *Double Diaspora in Sephardic Literature*, 182–205. See also a seventeenth-century example of a Judeo-Spanish chivalric novel, Markova, "Un fragmento manuscrito de una novela de caballerías en judeo-español," 159–72.

¹⁹Armistead, "Amadís de Gaula en la literatura oral de los sefardíes," 27–32.

²⁰Leviant, *King Artus*. See also Drukker, "A thirteenth-century Arthurian tale in Hebrew," 114–29. There are also Yiddish and Hebrew-German versions of Arthurian legends. Warnock, "Widwilt," 512–3; Landau, *Arthurian Legends*.

²¹Drukker, "A Thirteenth-century Arthurian tale in Hebrew," 129.

²²Up until the Battle of Muret (1213), the Count of Barcelona had direct control over most of Provence and Languedoc. Upon the expulsion of Jews from France in 1306, many of the Jews of Montpellier first found their way to Perpignan and nearby cities, at least as a passing point. Norman Roth, "Spanish Provence," 537–9. On the interchanges between the Jews of Provence and France and the Jews of the Crown of Aragon and Castile see Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry*, 263, 301–7. For example, some Provençal and French rabbis immigrated to the Crown of Aragon, such as R. Shelomo Zarfati from France who settled in Majorca at the invitation of Jucef Faquim, or the Ashkenazi R. Asher ben Yehiel who emigrated from France to Toledo, *ibid.*, 302.

generally tends to a transliteration of the Occitan verbal conjugation of the second person in plural by $\text{שׁט-} /-\text{tš}/$ that reflects Catalan $-ts$, while in Provence, the tendency is to use $\text{טז-} /-\text{tš}/$, to reflect Occitan $-tz$. This is only a general tendency and we cannot conclude that in fourteenth-century Girona, a Jewish copyist would not have also resorted to $\text{טז-} (-tz)$. Moreover, in Catalonia we find little use of $\text{צ} /s/$ to render c/ζ , unlike the widespread use thereof in Hebrew manuscripts from Provence.

Another characteristic found both in Provence and in Hebrew documents from the archives of Girona, but not in other parts of Catalonia, is the rendering of $/z/$ by a *daleth* with *rafe*: $\text{ד} (d)$. In the other Catalan documents, ז is also used for rendering z -. This testifies to a phonetic process, which is also present in examples from Girona, regarding both Latin $-C^{E,I}$ -, $-CY$ -, $-TI$ - and Latin $-D$ -. In the Hebrew manuscript of *Jofre*, we find for instance Occitan *pes*, *peis* ($< petz < \text{Lat. pes}$) “foot (pl.)” rendered by פידיש *pydyš* (line parallel to 1937; 1989; 2029; 9862), פידיש *pydyš* = *peðes/peðzes/pezes* (line 2094), or פידש *pydš* = *peds* (line 1890). More interestingly, on one occasion we find the form פיבש *pybš* = *peus* (line 2002). *Peu* is definitely a Catalan form. It seems that the different forms testify to the internal phonetic process in Catalan $ts > dz > \delta > w$. This is a testimony of the phase dz or δ in Catalan, which is hardly ever documented.

These pieces of evidence demonstrate that this phonetic process was still at work even at the end of the fourteenth century, at least in Girona. The forms *pedes* and *peds* are not documented in Occitan sources.²³ In Catalan, there are only two cases of *peds* documented in the *Diccionari de textos catalans antics* (DTCA) and the *Corpus informatizat del català antic* (CICA), from the *Homilies d'Organyà* (late twelfth-early thirteenth century). The form *pedes* is even more surprising in that it is difficult to explain the reinsertion of *e* in *-des*. This form resembles the Latin nominative plural *pedes*, but in fact, it seems to be the result of an internal development in Catalan (or Occitan) itself. It should be noted that in medieval Aragonese, intervocalic $-d-$ tends to be conserved and the form *pedes* is documented, alongside examples such as *frida*, *paradiso*, *concludiendo*, *sedient*, *crudel*, etc. Some cases of the conservation of $-d-$ were detected in modern-day Aragonese speech.²⁴

In addition, intervocalic $-s-$ $[z]$ is also rendered by פרידון *pyrydwn* (line parallel to 1903; 1992) or פרידון *pyrydwn* (line parallel to 1913) for *prison* “prison”. There is, however, an example from the manuscript where the copyist writes פריישון *pyryšwn* = *perison* (line parallel to 1939). This leads me to the conclusion that the pronunciation would either be $[\text{pridzon}]$ or $[\text{prizon}]$ = *prison*.

The Catalan coloring is also visible in the name of the main protagonist *Jaufre* that is rendered according to Catalan pronunciation גופרי *Jofre* and never גאופרי *Jaufre*. Other Catalan characteristics are attested in the verbal conjugation. Sometimes, the Catalan morpheme of the third person plural $-an$ or $-en$ replaces the Occitan $-on$ (line 2098, Oc. *foron* vs. Heb.Ms. *foren*; line 2101: Oc. *eron* vs. Heb.Ms. *eran*). In the third person singular, in one instance the Catalan perfect form replaces the Occitan one (line 2173, Oc. *vol* / Heb.Ms. *volc* “[he] wanted”).

There are also some examples of fluctuation between the Occitan feminine plural morpheme $-as$, vs. the Catalan one, $-es$. While in Occitan the plural feminine marker is $-as$, in

²³See for example in the *Corpus des Troubadours* (Institut d'Estudis Catalans) http://troubadors.iec.cat/cerca_d.asp, or the *Rialc* (*Repertorio informatizzato dell'antica lirica catalana*), <http://www.rialec.unina.it/sommario.htm>.

²⁴Alvar, *El dialecto aragonés*, 176–77; Zamora Vicente, *Dialectología española*, 173.

the Hebrew version of *Jaufre* we find the Catalanized form, in the few extant examples: דאנסיש *d'nsys* = *dances* (*danses*) instead of *dansas* “dances” (Jofre: 9829). See, however, the mixed solution לשקדינייש *lšqdynyš* = *las-cadenes*, with no *mater lectionis* in the feminine plural article, to mark an *a* (or *ə*) and final *yod+shin* in the noun vs. *las cadenas* “the chains” (Jofre: 2001).

Let us also mention the use of forms, such as Catalan *molt* instead of Occitan *mout* (2836), Cat. *cel* (2811) instead of Oc. *ciel*, or *matei*[[x]] in the Hebrew manuscript instead of Oc. *eis* (2784). Here the Hebrew version prefers the Catalan forms over the Occitan ones. The form *eis* (< Lat. *ipse*, *a*, *um*) is not used in Catalan, but rather *mateix* (< Lat. *met* + *ipse*). We also notice the repeated substitution of:

- Oc. *denan* / *denant* > Cat. *devant* (דיבאנט *dyb'nt* 2841; 2004).
- Oc. *enantz* > Cat. *enans* (איננש *'ynnš* 1921; 2176 אננש *'nnš* = *anans*).
- Oc. *dintz* > Cat. *dins* (דינש *dynš* 1965)

“God” is written twice as דיב *dyb* (9864; 9925), which seems to transcribe Cat. *Déu*; and twice as דייב *dyyb*, which stands for *Dieu*. It is interesting to notice that in one of these examples the Occitan form is in fact the nominative *Dieus*. However, the Hebrew manuscript transcribes it as דייב *dyyb* (1984; 2079).

It is precisely in marking the cases that the Hebrew manuscript demonstrates a lack of stability. This is obviously the result of the fact that Catalan does not mark the case, whereas Occitan alongside Old French were the only Western Romance languages to mark cases. Thus we find the Oc. *cavallier* (line 1938: *Per que ls cavallier seran soltz*) in the subject case in the plural, with the Catalan plural morpheme in [...]*rque els cavalliers*²⁵ *ser*[...] in the Hebrew manuscript. A similar example is apparent in line 1955 with the name *Jofre*: Oc. *dis Jofres*; Cat. *dis Jofre* (דיש גופרי *dyš gw̄p̄ry*). However, the nominative form of *Jofre* is maintained, for example in line 1927 where the Hebrew manuscript reads *dis Jofres* (דיש גופריש *dyš gw̄p̄ryš*). The same is true for the dative anaphoric of the 3rd person pronoun subject *il* (*ilh*) in Occitan, converted into Catalan sg. *li* (line 1979). Or the pronoun of the 3rd person plural, also *il*, is translated as the Catalan pl. form *els* = *ells* (line 2082). In another case, in line 2178: Oc. *s'el li puet* > *si'l pot* (שילפוט *šylpwṭ*), we see the Catalan verbal form *pot* vs. the Occitan one *puet* “can”. In Hebrew characters, one syllable is also omitted. It seems that the omitted part is that of the 3rd pers. pronoun (Oc. *el*, Cat. *ell*), rather than the dative *li* (Oc. and Cat.). Occitan *E s'el li puet esser de prop*, means “And if he can get near him”, but in the Catalanized version, the pronoun “he” was perceived as redundant and the copyist wrote only the verb. This omission might have also interfered with the syllabic scheme of the verse.

All these phenomena demonstrate the divergence of Catalan from Occitan in the fourteenth century,²⁶ and the gradual continuum that connects these two very similar Romance languages.

²⁵The spelling of the word in Hebrew script could also be transcribed as the Catalan *cavallers*.

²⁶On the similarities and the *shibboleth* cases that distinguish between Provençal (or Occitan) and Catalan see for example, Coromines, *El que s'ha de saber de la llengua catalana*, 17–24; Rohlf, “Catalan, Provençal, Gascon et espagnol,” 7–17.

3. Difference of version: lexical choices, order and content

At times, the Hebrew manuscript presents a different version, with the selection of a different lexeme or a different reading (the line number of the Paris manuscripts is marked):

- 2085: Oc. *totz luec* “all places” / Heb.Ms. *trop locs* “many places”. *Trop* “many; too many” is attested instead of *totz* “all”.
- 2078: Oc. *tan desiros* “so desirous/anxious” / Heb.Ms. *tant anujó[[s]]* [=Oc. *enujos*, Cat. *enutjós*] “so annoyed”.
- 1964: Oc. *los avia pres* / Heb.Ms. *els tenia prés* “he had them caught”. Here, the auxiliary verb varies between *aver* and *tener*. Moreover the *acc.* or the pronoun of direct object is replaced, instead of the Occitan *los* in the Heb.Ms. We find *els*, which is a relatively modern form in Catalan. Medieval texts from Catalonia generally favored the older forms *lo*, *los*, and the more modern ones became common during the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries.
- 2102: Oc. ... *mantenent entratz* “... meanwhile they [have] entered” / Heb.Ms. [...] *mantenon pujats* (מנטנון פוגאטש *mntnwn pwgʻtš*) “... meanwhile they [have] gone up”. Note also how the Hebrew script might reflect the pronunciation of *mantenent*.
- 2807: *portat* / Heb.Ms. *levat* both meaning “brought, taken” (Oc. and Cat. *portar*, *llevar*).
- 9866: Oc. *Non fui mais tan pres de morir*. / Heb.Ms. *[N]o-fui anc pus pres de-morir* “I have never been so close to dying”.
- 2861: Oc. *pulcella* / Heb.Ms. *pucera/pocera* (פוטירה *pwsyr*) “maiden”. *Pocera* is not documented in Occitan and Catalan dictionaries. The most similar documented forms in Occitan dictionaries are: *porcela* (Levy, *Petit dictionnaire*; Raynaud); *pucela*; and *pulcela*. The form in the Hebrew manuscript might also be a transcription of the copyist’s pronunciation of the word, wherein *l* and *r* in Occitan and Catalan are sometimes interchangeable.²⁷
- 2863: Oc. *Franc cavallier, onratz e pros*, “Loyal knight, honored and virtuous” vs. Heb.Ms. *E-dis-li franc cavallier*²⁸ *onrat e-[...] “And he told him: Loyal knight, honored and virtuous”, wherein the *verbum dicendi* is added before the quote. In some instances, as in this case the different reading in Hebrew script implies different verse lengths and the different syllable counts causes hypermetry.*

In a couple of instances, the version of the Heb.Ms is a bit different in content or order (marked in *italics*; more prominent differences are also underlined):

²⁷Moll, *Gramàtica històrica catalana*, §120, §106; Anglade, *Grammaire de l’ancien provençal ou ancienne langue d’oc*, 302–3; Fernández González, *Gramática histórica provenzal*, 197–8; Ronjat, *Grammaire historique des parlers provençaux modernes*, part I, vol. 2, §300.

²⁸The spelling of the word in Hebrew script also concords with the Catalan form *cavaller*.

- 1903–5:

Oc.	Heb.Ms.
1903 " <i>E mas prisons e mas cadenas.</i>	<i>En-prizon en-grans caden[...]</i>
1904 <i>E aiso," dis, "a moutas penas."</i>	<i>Aiçò [lo]-di[s] a-malas penas</i>
1905 " <i>Doncx," dis Jaufre, 'totz los veirai</i>	<i>[...] dis J[.]fre: los rendré</i>
1906 <i>E poisas deliurar los ai</i>	
<p>"[I have thirty-five knights ...] with more prisons and more chains and that', he said, 'with great pain', 'Well then', said Jaufre, 'I will see them all and set them free'"²⁹</p>	<p>"... in prison in massive chains.' and he said that with great [lit. bad] pain, 'Well then,' said Jaufre, 'I will get them back'"</p>

- 2051–6:

Oc.	Heb.Ms.
2052 <i>Totas las armas ...</i>	<i>Tot lor arnès [...]</i>
...	...
2056 <i>E tot lor arnes voluntiers.</i>	<i>E-tot [...]</i>

Here, line 2052 of the Oc. manuscript reads: 'all the weapons', vs. the Heb. Ms. 'all of their harness'. Interestingly, this line of the Hebrew manuscript *E tot lor arnes*, is registered in line 2056 of the Oc. manuscript. However, the Occitan version has an additional versification in Ms. A: *E totas sas armas* 'and all their weapons'. While line 2056 cannot be reconstructed in the Hebrew source – it seems that these two sentences were somewhat interchangeable in the different traditions of this work.³⁰

- 1987–9:

Oc.	Heb.Ms.
1987 <i>Qu'eu n'ai pres per totz venjamentz</i>	<i>[... e]u-n-ai sacsonest [?] [...]</i>
1988 <i>Ab ma spaza d'aquest serventz,</i>	<i>[...] n-ai [m[a]s] en-gran [...]</i>
	<i>[...]quest serven</i>

In line 1987, the Hebrew manuscript registers *n'ai sacsonest* (=possibly related to *sacsar*, *sacsejar* "to shake, throw or to move something rapidly from one side to another") "I have thrown[?] them away" and not *n'ai pres per totz venjamentz* "I have taken vengeance for everyone", which again implies different meter of the verse. Eventhough the next two lines are extremely fragmentary, it seems that the Hebrew version adds two extra lines, which are omitted in the Occitan manuscripts.

In some examples, there is a change in the morpheme of the third person:

- 2031: *Seiner, volentier anaren* / Heb.Ms. *[...]nyer volentiers [i] a[n]arem* "My lord, we'll go with pleasure.". Moreover, in the Heb. Ms., the Catalan takes the pronominal clitic *anar-hi* "to go, leave" vs. *anar* "to go" in Occitan.
- 2032: *e diren* / Heb.Ms. *e-lui direm* "and we will tell".

²⁹ *Jaufre*, trans. Arthur, 37, interprets this as "I have been torturing twenty-five knights in heavy chains."; "I will go to find them at once," said Jaufre, "and set them free." However, from the Hebrew version we might understand the "great pain", as meaning "said it with great pain", rather than referring to the imprisonment with heavy chains, and "with great pain."

³⁰ *Jaufre*, trans. Arthur, 40 (lines 2040–2043), translates both as "trappings."

The change of the third person plural morpheme from *anaren* and *diren* to *anarem*, *direm* could be explained by the existence of a different version. Most probably, however, a paleographical misreading of the Latin script might have caused this, either by the Jewish copyist or by a prior copyist of the Occitan work in Latin script. In any case, the *m/n* confusion was extremely common in Gothic scripts of the period, particularly, given the fact that the same abbreviation represented both sounds.³¹ In line 2027, there also seems to be a *c/t* confusion (Oc. *cuidet* / Heb.Ms. *cuidec*), which was common in the Latin script of the time.

In some examples, there is a change in the emphasis of the pronoun from the second person plural to the first person plural:

- 2033: Oc. *Tot cho que vos en avetz dit* “all that you have said” / Heb.Ms. *ço qu^{ens} avets dits* “all that you have said to us”.

Here the shift is from second to first person. Probably due to the reinterpretation of the adverbial pronoun *en* as the Catalan dative (1st pers.pl.) *ens*. It will be noted that *ens* is more modern than *nos*. *Nos* is the form that was most commonly documented in medieval Catalan, and *ens* became the prevailing form from the fifteenth century. The meaning however, stays the same, thus also a different version could be considered.

- 2007: Oc. *Seignor, ve-us nos en ta merce* / Heb Ms. *Senior, vet nos a-ta* [/l]’My lord, we are at your mercy’. Here there is an omission of *us* “for you, for yourself” in the Hebrew manuscript. In both versions, the translation would be the same, or literally “My lord, see us here at your mercy”. However, the form in the Occitan manuscripts *ve-us* is the 3rd pers.sg. of the verb *veire/vezer* “to see” accompanied with a *dativus ethicus*. It is followed by the subject pronoun *nos*. The Heb.Ms. simplifies the sentence: the Catalan form *vet* is preferred, and the *dativus ethicus* is omitted.

At times it is the tense that changes:

- 2084: Oc. *diseron* “they said” / Heb.Ms. *dizen* (דיינן *dydyn*) “they say”. It will be noted that in this case, while ms. B reads *diseron* (past simple form), Ms. A (Breuer) reads *dizon* (present form). The form in Heb.Ms. is the Catalan present form. Alternatively, here too, the difference might have resulted from the abbreviation in the Latin script. The abbreviation *er* is common in Gothic scripts of the period and could have been overlooked or misinterpreted by the copyist of the manuscript in Latin script, or later by the Jewish copyist who might have directly consulted a Latin-script version.
- 1899: Oc. *Que tengatz* “have (2nd pers.pl. of subj. pr.)” / Heb.Ms. *Que tengu[ess]ets* (2nd pers.pl. of subj. imperft.).
- 9830: Oc. *vera* “to see (3rd pers.sg. of the ind. fut.)” / Heb.Ms. *ve* “to see (3rd pers.sg. of the ind. pr.)”.

It seems that passing from one writing system to another is also an excuse for shifting from one language to another. In this double and parallel transformation, the analysis

³¹An alternative explanation might be found in Occitan morphology. The conjugation in Occitan of *amar* “to love” in the plural, for example, is: *amam; amatz; aman/amon*. However, in some dialects of Languedoc, Provence and other places, *-m* becomes *-n* (*amam* > *aman*). In some dialects there was a lack of distinction in the pronunciation of the final nasal. Grandgent, *An Outline of the Phonology and Morphology of Old Provençal*, 52; 131.

of the clitics, and in fact the whole deictic system stands on rocky ground and is unstable. This suits Cyril Aslanov's notion that for Jews (and Muslims as well), all that was not the sacred language stands under one category, that of *la'az*.³² This lack of distinction of one Romance language from the other gives even greater place for variance in Jewish texts. While any medieval text is inherently characterized by variance,³³ the medieval text in Romance in Hebrew characters seems to have an even greater degree of variation.

In conclusion, through a meticulous reconstruction, the bookbindings of the Historical Archive of Girona revealed nearly five-hundred verses of a previously unknown Catalanized version of the Occitan Arthurian romance *Jaufre* in Hebrew script. The manuscript witness from around 1370–1405 should be added to the Catalan bookshelf of Arthurian works that circulated in the late Middle Ages. It is a direct testimony of Catalan readership of the romance, giving way to the possible existence of other Catalan versions of *Jaufre* (or *Jofre* in Catalan, as here appears). Arthurian texts aroused great enthusiasm in the Catalan royal house during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as inferred from the registers of Arthurian books bought, loaned, given and asked to be translated.³⁴ The Catalan predilection of Arthurian texts is also attested among the nobility and among merchants that held the books in their libraries.³⁵ The Catalanized version in Hebrew script might have been copied and read by a Jewish courtier or by a member of the elite Jewish strata of late medieval Girona. This is a unique demonstration of the reception of the chivalric, and particularly of Arthurian legends among Jewish audiences in both sides of the Pyrenees, also in Iberian Peninsula.

In light of this, I propose that (1) the Jewish copyist used a copy of *Jaufre* lost today, which for the main part was similar to the known Paris versions, and yet not identical. Eventhough there are only fragmentary pieces from three different parts of the work, in all likelihood the entire work was copied. (2) Time and time again, the Jewish copyist or the one before him, consciously or not, preferred Catalan or Catalanized forms over the Occitan forms. (3) The existence of a Hebrew-letters version of the Arthurian romance of *Jaufre*, confirms the circulation of chivalric novels among Iberian Jews, and particularly in late medieval Catalonia. This is an outstanding illustration of Jewish integration and wide cultural and intellectual contacts with the Christian surroundings.

Edition: Jofre (Jaufre)

In this edition the Hebrew transliteration and its transcription,³⁶ appear side-by-side with the parallel edition of the known Occitan manuscripts. The English translation is based on Ross G. Arthur's translation with minor changes. Linguistic and stylistic variances, as well as difference of order or versification, are marked in italics. The purpose of the transcription into Latin characters is to reflect the rendition of the Hebrew text as closely as possible, without making it unreadable.

Graphic signs used in the edition of the text:

³²Aslanov, "Quand les langues romanes se confondent ... La Romania vue d'ailleurs," 12–3; 17–26; 37–8; 40–1.

³³Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant*.

³⁴Gracia, "Arthurian Material in Iberia," 13.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶Various fragments between AHG FH 71.1–71.36 in the notary book Gi 11, 17 *hebreu* (11r–17v), Historical Archive of Girona. Partial edition can be found in Valls, *Els fragments hebreus*, 791–817.

- [abcd] Square brackets mark doubtful readings. When the reading is even less clear a question mark is also added **abcd**[?].
- (**abcd**) Parentheses include some interpretative proposals lacking in the text, including the elaboration of abbreviations. In the English translation, these are used for additions that improve the sense of the text.
- Additions in the manuscript above the line are inserted between \abcd/.
- Exceptional forms (in terms of medieval Catalan or Occitan) or forms that might cause confusion are indicated in the footnotes. Among these are the forms with initial *h*-.

Some exceptional traits: װ is used both to represent the expected *v*, as well as to render *u* in the diphthongs *au*, *iu*, *eu*, and are transcribed as such in the relevant cases. In other manuscripts in Catalan in Hebrew script, this *u* is generally represented by ן (without *rafe*).³⁷

The use of an *aleph* or the lack of any *mater lectionis* to represent *e* (mainly in cases of a clear [ə]) is quite systematic,³⁸ hence I simply transcribe these as *e*, without an explicative footnote. This is also very common in the the relative *que* (ק), which is agglutinated to the following word. For example, in line 1921, Heb. קווינגא *qwwyng'* (*ca·venga*) = *que venga*. This could also be influenced by Oc. and Cat. *car* “inasmuch, since, because”, and its abbreviated form *c'*, before a vowel in Occitan.



Figure 1. Collection of Hebrew manuscripts of the Arxiu Històric de Girona, Gi 11, 17 (16 a) [=FH 71.33]. Verses 2030–2035; 2792–2799; 2817–2822.

³⁷See Baum, “Judeo-Catalan, Jewish multilingualism”.

³⁸It is found in more than 40 cases in these short fragments.



Figure 2. Collection of Hebrew manuscripts of the Arxiu Històric de Girona Gi 11, 11 (5a') [=FH 71.11/71.12]. Verses 1906–1925.



Fragments hebreus. Gi 11, 17 (3a)

Figure 3. Collection of Hebrew manuscripts of the Arxiu Històric de Girona Gi 11, 17 (3a) [=FH 71.5]. Verses 2074–2087; 2093–2103.

The transcription follows the following lines (except in particular cases) (Figures 1–3):³⁹

Consonants

Heb. letter	Transcription	IPA equivalent
ב	b	b, v, β
בּ	v	v
ג	g (before a, o, u), gu (before e,i); j	g; ɕ, ʒ
גּ	j (before a, o, u), g, j (before e,i)	ɕ, ʒ,
ד	d	d
דּ	z, d (rare)	ð, dʒ
ד (ח)	v	v
ז	z	z
ט	t	t
י	y	y
ל	l	l; ʎ
לּ	ll	ʎ
מ	m	m
נ	n	n
ס	c (before e, i), ç (before a, o, u and final position)	s; ʃ [ts]
פ	p, f	p, f
פּ	f	f
ק	qu (before e,i), c (before a, o, u)	k
ר	r; rr	r; r
ש	s	s, z

Vowels

Heb. letter	Transcription	IPA equivalent
Ø	a; sometimes e	a; e, ə, ε
א	a; sometimes e	a; e, ə, ε
ה	in final position a	a
ו	o; u	o; u
או	o; u	o; u
י	e; i	e; i
אי	e; i	e; i

Diphthongs

Heb. letter	Transcription	IPA equivalent
וא	ua	wa
ואי	ue	we
אב, יב, וב / אב, יב, וב	au, iu, eu	aw, iw, ew

³⁹These transcription criteria follow to great extent the work of Coloma Lleal Galceran and de Déu, *Aljamías hebraicoaragonesas (siglos XIV-XV)*, 87–92.

Parallel to lines 1886–2181

1. Lines 1886–1890 (FH 71.1–71.2, fragment 4)⁴⁰

English translation (based on Ross G. Arthur, ⁴¹ p. 37, 1873)	Jaufre (ed. Lee, Rialc) 1886–1890	Transcription FH 71.1–71.2 (frg. 4)	Text FH 71.1–71.2 (frg. 4)
Weakly he cried for mercy. "By the God I adore," said Jaufre, "a thief has no right to find mercy, and I will find none for me!" With that, he cut off both his feet'	1886 Mas que quer merce a gran pena. 1887 Dis Jaufre: "Per Dieu, cui aor, 1888 Ja non aurai de <i>raubador</i> 1889 Merce, ne non la deu trobar." 1890 E vai l'andos los peis trencar.	//[...]r[a]n pena //[...]qui-a/ [...] de-robador //[...]n la-deu troba[r] //mdos los pezs //[...]//	// [...]ר[א]ן פינא // //[...]קיא[...] //[...]דרובדור //[...]לדיב טרובא[ר] //מדות לוש פידש //[...]//

2. Lines 1893–1905 (FH 71.21 + FH 71.1, frg. 3)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 37, 1873–1895)	Jaufre (Rialc) 1893–1905	Transcription FH 71.1–71.2 (frg. 3) + FH 71.21	Text FH 71.1–71.2 (frg. 3) + FH 71.21
"... don't go fighting with knights. It's time for you to get another job, for you've been at this one too long. But I'm upset that I cut off your feet without asking first if you have any knights imprisoned." "My lord," said the soldier, "I have a house near here where I have been keeping thirty-five knights in heavy chains." That he said with great pain. "Well then, I will go and get them back" ⁴²	1893 Ne-us conbatatz ab cavallier, 1894 E aprenetz autre mestier, 1895 Que aquest avetz pron tengutz. 1896 Mas greu m'es, car non ai saubut, 1897 Enantz que-ls pes toutz vos ages, 1898 S'avetz negun cavallier pres, 1899 Que <i>tengatz</i> en vostra prison. 1900 "Seiner, ben ai una maison," 1901 Dis lo servent, 'aqui de lai, 1902 On .xxx. e .v. cavalliers ai 1903 <i>E mas prisons e mas cadenas.</i> 1904 <i>E aiso, 'dis, 'a moutas penas.</i> 1905 " <i>Doncx, 'dis Jaufre, 'totz [...] dis-].fre: los rendre los veirai</i>	//cava// //m[.]s // //[en]// //ar no [n]-ai [sab] // //s-tols vos// Si-avets negun cav[a]ller p// Que- <i>tengu[es]ets</i> // vostra p// Senyer, ben-ai [u.]a mai// Dis lo-servent [.].qui de-la// On [...]nt e-cinc cavalliers ⁴³ // En-prizon en-grans caden[...] Aiso [lo]-di[s] a-malas penas dis-].fre: los rendre	//קבא// //מ[.]ש// //[ינ]// //אר נו [נ]אי [שב]// //שטולש בוש// שיאביטש נגון קב[א]לייר פ// קטינג[יש]טש// בושטרא פ// שנייר בינאי א[.]א מאיי// דיש לושרוונט [.]קי דילא// און [...]נט אסינג קבאליירש // אינפרידון אינגראנש קדינ[...] איישו [לו]די[ש] אמאלאש פינאש [...]דישג[.]פרי לוש רנדראי

⁴⁰Henceforth the word fragment = frg. Some of the fragments have to be rotated in order to assure a correct reading.

⁴¹Since this translation of Ross G. Arthur is based on Ms. A, rather than Ms. B, as in the edition I have followed (Rialc) there are some discrepancies in the order and content of the lines. Thus the translation into English is based on Arthur's translation with some amendments with accordance to the Hebrew manuscript. The reference to Arthur's translation is marked according to the numbers in parenthesis at the beginning of the paragraph in his translation, from which I have quoted. Thus, the number (1895) starts a whole paragraph; and the next paragraph begins with (1904), etc.

⁴²In the known Occitan edition *veirai* "I will see [them]". In Arthur, 37 (1895), the translation is: "I will go to **find them** at once ... and set them free."

⁴³The spelling of the word in Hebrew script also concords with a Catalan spelling *cavallers*.

3. Lines 1906–1925 (FH 71.11 /71.12, frg.2 + frg. 1)

English translation(based on Arthur, p. 37–38, 1895–1904)	Jaufre (Rialc) 1906–1914	Transcription FH 71.11 /71.12 (frg. 2)	Text FH 71.11 /71.12 (frg. 2)
"and I will set them free, since it's not right for you to keep them." So he rode off to there, To the house that was open. Keeping quiet about what had happened, he asked the dwarf who was the porter, "Where are the thirty-five knights who have been imprisoned?" said Jaufre.	1906 E poisas diliurar los ai, 1907 Car no-s taing que vos los tengatz. 1908 Ab <i>tan el s'en es lai anatz</i> 1909 A la maison, qu'i fon uberta. 1910 E demandet a gran cuberta 1911 A un nanet, <i>qu'era</i> portiers: 1912 "O son .xxxv. cavalliers," 1913 Dis Jaufre, "qu'en prison estan?" 1914 Atrestan leu respon lo nan:	//s [deliu] ⁴⁴ [...] //[s te-t[anie]n[?] ⁴⁵ que-vos los [teng ...] [...] a[.]tant el se-n-es anats [...]l[...] que-fo-[u]ber// [...] [...]fo p[ortiers] [...]nt e-ci[.c] // [...] perizon e// [...]spo[.] //	// [דליב] [...] [ש טאנין] [?] קיבוש לוש [טנג ...] [א...]טנג איל שניש אנאטש [...]ל[...] קיפוא [...]ביר[.] [...] [...] [פ]ו פורטיירש [נט א]ט[.ק] // [...] פירידון א/ [...]שפון[.] //
The dwarf replied:			
English translation(based on Arthur, p.38, 1904–1914)	Jaufre (Rialc) 1915–1925	Transcription FH 71.11 /71.12 (frg. 1)	Text FH 71.11 /71.12 (frg. 1)
"Knight, I think you're very bold for daring to come in here. You're not being brave, but rather foolish and mad for coming here; I don't know how you did it! Go away! I'm giving you good advice. Leave before my master comes. He'll either kill you dishonorably or do something worse!" Jaufre started laughing, and said, ...	1915 "Cavallier, ben tenc per ausar, 1916 Car anc sains ausens entrar; 1917 Mas aisso non es ardimenz, 1918 <i>Ainz</i> es follia e non sentz, 1919 Car <i>cai</i> venguist, e no-m sap bon. 1920 <i>Vai</i> t'en, per bon conseil t'o don, 1921 <i>Enantz</i> que venga mon seignor, 1922 C'aucira ti a desenor, 1923 O ti <i>fara</i> trop pietz d'aucire." 1924 E Jaufre comenset a rire 1925 E a <i>li dit</i> tot en rizen:	//[lir]// Car// [...] <i>Ans</i> es follia e-n// Car <i>sai</i> venguist// <i>Vag</i> -te-n par bon [... n] [...] <i>Enans</i> que-venga [...r] C-aucir ti-a// O-t <i>faria</i> tr// E-Jofre començ// E <i>a-li</i> dit tot a//	//[ליר]// קאר // [...] אנש איש פוליאה אינ- קאר שאי ווינגישט// וואג[?][טין פר בון [...] איננש קווינגא קאבסיר טיאה// אוט פאריאה טר// איגופרי קומינס// אי אל דיט טוט א//

4. Lines 1935–1949 (FH 71.31/71.32, frg. 1)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 37–38, 1924–1933)	Jaufre (Rialc) 1935–1949	Transcription FH 71.31/71.32 (frg. 1)	Text FH 71.31/71.32 (frg. 1)
"You'll never see your lord again, after the damage I have done him. I cut off both his feet, and the knights will be freed And you'll go to prison – unless you escape it, for a small ransom: will you agree to go where I send you?" "My lord," said the dwarf, "by my faith, I'll do whatever you wish to	1935 "Ton seignor non veras ja mais, 1936 Car ieu l'ai mes en gran pantalais, 1937 Qu'ieu <i>los ai</i> amdos los pes toltz. 1938 Per que-ls <i>cavallier</i> seran soltz, 1939 E tu seras <i>en ma prison</i> , 1940 Mas a paucas de reenzon 1941 Escanparas, se vols anar 1942 Lai on ieu te voll inviar."	//[...]/ //[...]/ //ai-[o ...]dos los [p]edes// [...]rque <i>els cavalliers</i> ⁴⁶ ser[...]/ [E-t]// seras <i>en-peris</i> [on] //[.]pau[ca]s de-re/[.] //e-vols a[...] //volre e[...]/	//[...]/ //[...]/ //איילן[... דוש לו]ש [פ]דיש// [...] [איט]// שראש אינפרייש[ון] [.]פאב[ק]ס דרי[.] [...] [.]בולראי א[.]

(Continued)

⁴⁴*Deliu*, Heb. דליב *dlyb* (*daliu*).⁴⁵*Te-t[anie]n*, Heb. ט[טאנין] *t[te]nylyn* (*ta-t[anien]*) = probably *te tenian*.⁴⁶See n. 43.

Continued.

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 37–38, 1924–1933)	Jaufre (Rialc) 1935–1949	Transcription FH 71.31/71.32 (frg. 1)	Text FH 71.31/71.32 (frg. 1)
command, since this has happened to my master.	1943 “Seiner,” dis lo nan, ‘per ma fe,	//[.]n par ma-fe	[...]ן פר מפ
Today, you’ll rescue many doleful knights from great sorrow, and thanks to you they’ll find joy once more.	1944 leu ferai so que-m <i>mandes</i> be,	//que-m- <i>ma[n]dets</i> be[...]	//קיממ[נ]דיטש בי[...]
As for me, I was forced to stay here;”	1945 Pueis aissi es de mon <i>seignor</i> ;	//s de-mon <i>senior</i>	//דימון שניור
	1946 E traies oi de gran tristor	//[...] gran [...]	//[...]גראן[...]
	1947 Est cavalliers, que son <i>dolentz</i> ,	//son <i>dolen</i>	//שון דולין
	1948 E seran uei per vos <i>jausentz</i> .	//[.] <i>auzen</i>	//[ג]אבדין
	1949 Ez ieu qu’estava en gran forsa,	//gra//	//גרא//

5. Lines 1954–1974 (FH 71.4, col. 2)⁴⁷

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 38–39, 1933–1962)	Jaufre (Rialc) 1954–1974	Transcription FH 71.4 (col. 2)	Text FH 71.4 (col. 2)
“... everything you wish to command.”	1954 So que <i>volres</i> mandar ni dir.’	[...]s <i>volrets</i> [...]r [n]e-dir	[...]ש בולריטש [...]ן נדייר
“Then lead the way,” said Jaufre, “and take me to the knights.”	1955 “Doncx,” dis <i>Jaufres</i> , “ <i>mena-m primiers</i>	[...] dis <i>Jofre me[tat(?)]</i> p [erim ...]	[...]דיש גופרי מיטט(?)] פירימ [...]
“Gladly, my lord,” said the dwarf. He led the way, and took him into a room where thirty-five worthy knights, sad and sorrowful, were cruelly imprisoned:	1956 Ez <i>enseigna-m</i> los cavalliers!”	[...]s[<i>enya-m(?)]</i> los cavalliers ⁴⁸	[...]ש[יניאם(?)]] לוןש קבאליירש
the soldier had defeated and captured them one by one.	1957 “Voulientiers, seiner,” dis lo nan.	[...]nan	[...]נאן
Jaufre entered and greeted the knights, but not one of them could reply; they began to weep, and all of them moaned between their teeth, “Curse the hour when that wicked soldier was born who has captured such good knights!”	1958 E senpre il se mes <i>denan</i>	[...]van	[...]באן
When Jaufre said, “Knights, why ever are you weeping?” they replied, “You fool!” they said “only an idiot would ask why we are crying ...”	1959 Et a-l menat en una sala,	[...]nat e[n] [...] sala see note above	[...]נאט אינ[] שאלה
	1960 On estavan en prison mala	[...]tavan en-peri[zlon] mala	[...]טאבאן אינפירי[ד]ון מאלא
	1961 Tristz e marritz e <i>consiros</i>	[...] e-marrits e [<i>polordos</i>] ⁴⁹	[...]אימריטש אי[פולורדוש]
	1962 .xxx. e .v. <i>cavallier pros</i> ,	[...] <i>cinc cavalliers</i> ⁵⁰ tots [<i>ben</i> ...]	[...]סינק קבאליירש טוטש [בני ...]
	1963 Que-l servent avia <i>conques</i> ;	[...]nt avia <i>conquest</i>	[...]נט אויאה קונקישט
	1964 Un a un <i>los avia pres</i> .	[...] <i>els tenia prez</i> [.]s	[...]אילש טניאה פריד[.]ש
	1965 Ab tant Jaufre es <i>dintz</i> entratz	[...]fre es <i>dins</i> en[...]	[...]פרי איש דינש אינ[...]
	1966 Et <i>a-ls cavalliers saludatz</i> ,	[...] <i>llers a saluda</i> [d]s	[...]ליירש אה שלודא[ד]ש
	1967 Mas negun no-i vol mot sonar,	[...]v[olgueren] mot sonar	[...]ב[ולגרין] מוט שונאר
	1968 Qu’enans so prenon a <i>plorar</i>	[...]re]non a-polo[rar(?)]	[...]ר[ינון] אפולו[ראר(?)]]
	1969 E dizon totz entre lor <i>dentz</i> :	[...]s entre los <i>dens</i>	[...]ש אינטרי לוש דינש
	1970 “Mala fon anc nat est <i>serventz</i> ,	[...]aquest <i>servent</i>	[...]אקישט שרווינט
	1971 Que tant bos <i>cavalliers</i> a pres!”	[...] <i>cavallier</i> ⁵¹ a pres	[...]קבאלייר אה פריש
	1972 Mes mantenent lor dis <i>Jaufres</i> :	[...] dis-Jofres//	[...]דישגופריש//
	1973 “Cavallier, e perque-us <i>ploratz</i> ?”	[...] perque-us plora[...]	[...]פירקיבש פלורא[...]
	1974 “Va, fol,” dizon els, ‘ben es fatz,	[...]n-es fat[...]	[...]ניש פא[ט]

⁴⁷Henceforth the word column = col.⁴⁸See n. 43.⁴⁹*Polordos*, Heb. פולורדוש *pwlwrdwš*, probably related to Cat. *plorós*⁵⁰See n. 43.⁵¹See n. 28.

6. Lines 1978–1996 (FH 71.3/ 71.4, col. 1)

[illegible]

7. Lines 2000–2007 (FH 71.3/ 71.4, col. 2)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 39, 1988)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2000–2007	Transcription FH 71.3/ 71.4 (col. 2)	Text FH 71.3/ 71.4 (col. 2)
And the dwarf took two hammers and started cutting the chains. Each man got up and they all went to kneel before Jaufre, entrusting	2000 E-l nan pres un martel deliure, 2001 <i>Ab</i> que las cadenas trenques. 2002 <i>Puis ve-l vos totz levatz en Puis cascun en-peus</i> [...]	E-el-nan pres [...] [.]p-que las-cadenes tren[q ...]	אאילנאן פריש [...] [...]פקי לשקדיניי [ט]רינ[...] פויש שקסון אינפיבש [...]

(Continued)

⁵²The English translation of the known Occitan manuscripts is “I have taken vengeance for everyone”.

⁵³Cho. The form *cho* (*passim*) is the one found in the edition of the Occitan manuscripts. However, the forms *czo*, *ço*, where in fact the common forms.

⁵⁴This line is added in the Hebrew manuscript and not attested in the exiting manuscripts.

⁵⁵This line is added in the Hebrew manuscript and not attested in the exiting manuscripts.

⁵⁶This line is added in the Hebrew manuscript and not attested in the exiting manuscripts.

Continued.

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 39, 1988)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2000–2007	Transcription FH 71.3/ 71.4 (col. 2)	Text FH 71.3/ 71.4 (col. 2)
themselves to him to do as he commanded.	<i>pes,</i> 2003 <i>E puis son tutz agenoiatz</i>	[E]-son sa ⁵⁷ tots agenol[...]	[אז]שון שא טוטש אגניול[...]
They said to him, with one voice: "My lord, we are at your mercy"	2004 <i>Denant Jaufre e-s son liuratz</i> 2005 <i>A lui per far son mandamen.</i> 2006 <i>E dizon tuit comunalmen:</i> 2007 <i>'Seignor, ve-us nos en ta merce,</i>	[D]evant Jofre e son liu[...] A-lui par far son <i>manda</i> [me]nt [E-di]zen tuit comen[...] Senior, vet nos a-ta [...]	[ד]באנטגופרי אי שון [ליב]... אלווי פר פאר שון מנדא[מ]נט [אידי]ד'ן טויט קומינא[...] שניור ב'ט גוש אטא [...]

8. Lines 2017–2021 (FH 71.35, frg. 1)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 39, 2004)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2017–2021	Transcription FH 71.35 (frg. 1)	Text FH 71.35 (frg. 1)
"... I will not set you any task; I only want to send you all to the court of good King Arthur	2017 <i>Ne non man a negun ren metre,</i> 2018 <i>Mas sol que totz vos voill trametre</i>	//[...]-met// //vos vol tramet[.]//	//[מ]ט[...] //[בוש בול טרמיט[.]//
to tell him how i delivered you and released you ... "	2019 <i>En la cort del bon rei Artus.</i> 2020 <i>E voill que li contatz cascus,</i> 2021 <i>Con ieu vos ai totz deliuratz</i>	//b[o.] r[.]i Artus [...] //[...]us [...] //deliu[r]ats//	//[ב]ו[.] ר[.]י ארטוש [...] //[...]וש [...] //[דליב[ר]אטש//

9. Lines 2024–2029 (FH 71.6, col. 1)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 39, 2004)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2024–2029	Transcription FH 71.6 (col. 1)	Text FH 71.6 (col. 1)
"... his excuse for defeating and capturing you, just because you passed along the path, and how he thought he'd defeated me, and what payment I gave him, cutting off both his feet."	2024 <i>Ni per qual razon vos avia</i> 2025 <i>Pres ni vencutz per sa sobriera,</i> 2026 <i>Car pasavatz per la cariera,</i> ⁵⁸ 2027 <i>On mi cuidet</i> ⁵⁹ <i>aver vencut,</i> 2028 <i>Ni qual loier li n'ai rendut,</i> 2029 <i>Car toutz li ai amdos los pes.'</i>	[...]s avia[a] Pr[...] sa-sobr[e]r[ia] [... ar passavets par la-...] [...] cuidec aver vencut [...] [l]oguer n-a r[...] [...] li-ai [lo]s-pezes [...]	[...]אביא[ה] פר[...]שובר[ר]יא[ה] [...]אר פסאבטיש פר ל[...] [...]קווידיק אביר ווינקוט [...]לוגייר נא ר[...] [...]ליאי [ל]ושפדיש [...]

10. Lines 2030–2035 (FH 71.33, frg. 3, col. 1)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 40, 2020)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2030–2035	Transcription FH 71.33 (frg. 3, col. 1)	Text FH 71.33 (frg. 3, col. 1)
At once each man replied, "My lord, we'll go with pleasure, and we will recount all that you have said, in the court of the king. But	2030 <i>Ab tant cascuns repon apres:</i> 2031 <i>'Seiner, volentier anaren</i> 2032 <i>En la cort del rei e diren</i> 2033 <i>Tot cho que vos en avetz</i>	[...]p-tan cascu[...]sp[os] //[...]nyer volentiers [j] ⁶⁰ a[n]arem La-cort del-rei e-lui direm [...]ço que-ns avets dits	[...]פטאן קשקו[...]שפ[וש] [...][נ]ייר בולינטיירש א[...] [נ]ארים לאקורט דילריי אלווי דירם [ס]קונש אביטש דיטש

(Continued)

⁵⁷Sa, Heb. ש' s', probably = ça.⁵⁸Cariera = carriera.⁵⁹The different forms Oc. *cuidet* / Heb.Ms. *cuidec* might reflect a c/t confusion in the Latin script.⁶⁰l = hi.

Continued.

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 40, 2020)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2030–2035	Transcription FH 71.33 (frg. 3, col. 1)	Text FH 71.33 (frg. 3, col. 1)
since you have been so good to us, continue, please, ...	dit; 2034 Mais puis <i>tant</i> nos avetz <i>servit</i> , 2035 Servetz nos mais, s'il a vos <i>platz</i> ,	//pus ta[n] nos avets <i>servits</i> //si-a-vos <i>pla[yets]</i>	//פוש טאן] נוש אביטש שרביטש //שיאבוש פלאיטש]

11. Lines 2048–2060 (FH 71.6, col. 2) + FH 71.33, frg. 2, col. 2)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 40, 2035–2043)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2048–2057	Transcription FH 71.6 (col. 2)	Text FH 71.6 (col. 2)
"... the soldier [took from them], and then we will take to the road at once without fail."	2048 Lo serventz, et pueis en la via 2049 Nos metren senpres <i>senes</i> falla.'	Lo serv[...].t puis en-la via [...].res <i>tota</i> fala	לושרוירן[...].ט פרויש אינלא וויאה [...].רש טוטה פאלא
"Go, with the help of God," said Jaufre, "and for love of me, give them all their trappings!" "I'll do it at once," said the dwarf, and he went most willingly to the stable and brought back the horses and all their trappings, in haste.	2050 "Ara doncx vai, se Dieus te valla," 2051 Dis Jaufre, 'et aporta lor 2052 <i>Totas las armas</i> , per amor! 2053 "Ades," dis lo nan, "o farai." 2054 E pueis vas l'estable s'en vai	[...]us te-vala Dis-J[...] aporta-l[o][...] <i>Tot lor arnes</i> [...] [.]des, [...]s-lo-na[...] [...] pui[s] va[y]s l'e[...]	[...]בש טיבאלא דישג[...].אפורטאל[ן][...]טוט לור ארניש [.]דיש [...]שלונא[...].פויניש] וואייש לי [...].איאמ[...].לור ל[...].איטוט [...].טא[...]
Each vassal mounted ...	2055 Et amenet totz lor destriers 2056 <i>E tot lor arnes</i> ⁶¹ volontiers. 2057 Ab tant sont puiaitz li vassal,	E-am[...] lor l[...] E-tot [...] [...] ta[...]	[...].לור ל[...].איטוט [...].טא[...]
English translation (based on Arthur, p. 40, 2035–2043)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2056–2060	Transcription FH 71.33 (frg. 3, col. 2)	Text FH 71.33 (frg. 3, col. 2)
[Each vassal mounted] his steed And took back his own equipment Jaufre accompanied them ...	2058 Cascun en son coren caval, 2059 Et en an pres lor garnimentz. 2060 E Jaufre vai totz belamentz	Cascun// [...].an prez// //[Jof]//	קשקון// [...].אן פריד// //[גופ]//

12. Lines 2074–2087 (FH 71.5, col. 1)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 40, 2057–2072)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2074–2087	Transcription FH 71.5 (col. 1)	Text FH 71.5 (col. 1)
... and they proceeded along the road. Jaufre dismounted, and resaddled his horse, for his strongest wish was to carry on his search for Taulat.	2074 E pueis tenon lor dreitz cami. 2075 Apres <i>ve-us</i> Jaufre <i>avalat</i> , 2076 E a ben son caval cinclat, 2077 Per <i>cho</i> que vol cercar cojos 2078 Taulat, de que es <i>tan desiros</i> .	[...]s ten[...] [.p]res [ven]i-us Jofr [...].[levat] E a ben s[on] caval [...] [Par-ço-que] [...]ca [...] Taulat [...] que-es <i>tant anuj</i> [o ...] ⁶³	[...]ש טיגן[...] [פ.]ריש [ונ]יבש גופר[...] [ליבאט] איאה בין ש[ון] קבאל [...]פוסוקין] קא[...] טבלאט [...]קיאיש טנט אנוג[...]
"Gentlemen," he said, "God speed! I have been much delayed on you account, and now I can stay no longer." They all bowed to him and said,	2079 E dis: "Barons, a Dieu siatz, 2080 Que per vos me son trop tardatz, 2081 E ara n'i puesc plus estar." 2082 Ez <i>il li van totz sopleiar</i> : 2083 "Seiner, la vostra gran merce,"	[...]ns a-Dieu siats [...] [v]ozatres me-son t[...] [...] [a.a] [...]utj ⁶⁴ mai es [ar] Ez-els li-van tuit a-sopleiar Senyer la-vostra gran mercè Ço-dizen[?] tuit a-Jofre	[...]נש אדייב שיא[טש] [...].[ב]ודאטריש משון ט[...] [...].[א.א] [...]וטג מאי איש [אר] אד[ן]לש ליוואן טוויט אשופליי [ר] שנייר לבושטרא גראן מרסי

(Continued)

⁶¹E tot lor arnes, E todas sas armas (+1 line) in ms. A.

Continued.

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 40, 2057–2072)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2074–2087	Transcription FH 71.5 (col. 1)	Text FH 71.5 (col. 1)
"My lord, great thanks! The story of your service to us and your conquest of the soldier will be recounted far and wide."	2084 <i>Cho diseron</i> tuit a Jaufre, 2085 "Car en totz <i>luec</i> sera retraic 2086 Lo <i>servizi</i> que-ns ⁶² avetz faic, 2087 E del <i>servent</i> qu'avetz vencut."	Car en-trop <i>locs</i> sera re [...] Lo-s[...] <i>zi</i> que-ns avets f [...] E-d[...] <i>nt</i> [...]	[סודיין(?) טוייט אגופרי קאר [א]נטרופ לוקש שרא //[רי] לוש[...] <i>די</i> קינש אביטש פ[...] א[ד] [...] [...]נט[...]

13. Lines 2093–2103 (FH 71.5, col. 2)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 41, 2078–2085)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2093–2103	Transcription FH 71.5 (col. 2)	Text FH 71.5 (col. 2)
... as for the soldier, he didn't go anywhere, with his ripped-off arms and his sliced-off feet! Once Jaufre had gone, all the knights mounted up and proceeded, all with one will, toward Cardueil. When they arrived, they found the king in an orchard, with only twenty-five knights, since the others had gone away. When they entered the orchard, where they found the king ...	2093 Et es lo <i>serventz</i> <i>remansutz</i> , 2094 Los <i>pes</i> totz e-ls <i>brasses</i> ronputz. 2095 E-ls <i>cavalliers</i> son <i>tuitz</i> <i>puiatz</i> , 2096 Can Jaufre si <i>fon</i> d'els <i>lonjatz</i> , 2097 C'uns vas l'autre <i>non</i> <i>ac</i> orgoill. 2098 E can <i>foron</i> dedentz <i>Cardoill</i> , 2099 Trobero-l ⁶⁵ rei en un <i>vergier</i> 2100 Ab sol .xxv. <i>cavallier</i> , 2101 Que-ls <i>altres</i> s'en <i>eron</i> <i>anatz</i> . 2102 Mas el son <i>mantenent</i> <i>entratz</i> 2103 El <i>vergier</i> , on lo rei <i>trobaron</i> ,	E lo-ser[...] Los <i>pedes</i> to[...] <i>ts</i> ? [...] [...] <i>bra</i> [ces] ⁶⁶ // E-ls <i>cavalliers</i> son <i>pujats</i> Can Jofr[...] <i>fo</i> d'els <i>lunyas/lonyas</i> ⁶⁷ [sens] [...] Can <i>foren</i> ded[...] <i>do</i> [r] [...] <i>robero</i> [...] [...]r[ei] [...]n <i>vergier</i> [...] <i>p-sol</i> [...]ta un <i>cavaller</i> Qu[...] <i>a</i> [u]tres <i>se-n-eran</i> <i>a</i> [...] [...]a]t// [...] <i>mantenon</i> <i>pujats</i> Al-verger [o]n lo-re//	[אי] לושייר[...] לוש פידיש טו[ל]טש [...] [ל]בר [סנ] // איל[נ]ש קבאליירש שון פוגטש קאן גופר[...] <i>פו</i> דילש לונייאש [שינש] [...] קאן פורין דד[...] <i>דון</i> [ר] [...] <i>רוביר</i> [...] [...]r[...] <i>רי</i> [...]ן וורגיר [פשו]ל [...]טא און קבאלייר ק[...] <i>ש</i> א[ב]טריש שנירא א //[א]ט[...] [...] <i>מנטנן</i> פוגאטש [...] <i>אלוורגיר</i> א[...] <i>לורי</i> //

14. Lines 2165–2181 (FH 71.1–71.2, frg. 1)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 42, 2152– 2156)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2165–2181	Transcription FH 71.1–71.2 (frg. 1)	Text FH 71.1–71.2 (frg. 1)
"... and tell me no lies. When did you see him?" "We saw him on Tuesday, early in the morning, safe and sound, laghing with joy, for [doing] all that you wish. But he was in such a hurry that he didn't want to stop anywhere until he could take	2165 E no m'en mentatz, cora-l <i>vis</i> ? 2166 E l'un s'es sus levatz e dis, 2167 E dis al rei en son latin: 2168 'Nos lo vim ⁶⁸ dimartz ben <i>matin</i> , 2169 San e sal, riçen e <i>joios</i> . 2170 E tramet nos aici a vos ⁶⁹ 2171 Per totas <i>vostras</i> voluntatz. 2172 Mas el s'es tant fort <i>estruntatz</i> ,	E no-me-menta // [...] [novod]?// San e-s[a] [...] [jo]os// Per totas <i>vostres</i> // Mai el s-es tam-fort//	אי נוממינטא // //[...] [נובוד]?// שאן איש[א] [...] [גול]ש // פר טוטש בושטריש // מאי איל שש טמפורט //

(Continued)

⁶²*Que-ns*, in ms. A (Breuer): *que-uos* (+1 line).⁶⁵*Trobero-l*, in ms. A (Breuer): *Troberen lo* (+1 line).⁶⁶*L-bra[ces]*, Heb. [ל]בר[סש] [l]br[ss] ([l]-bra[ças]) = *les braces* or *els braços*.⁶⁷*Lunyas/lonyas* = Cat. *llunyats*⁶⁸*Vim*, in ms. A (Breuer): *ueim*.⁶⁹This line is missing in the Hebrew manuscript.

Continued.

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 42, 2152–2156)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2165–2181	Transcription FH 71.1–71.2 (frg. 1)	Text FH 71.1–71.2 (frg. 1)
vengeance for the shame Taulat gave you	2173 Que non <i>vol</i> en luec estancar,	Que-n[o]-s <i>volc</i> en-loc [...]//	קנ[ו]ש בולק אינלוק [...]//
the other day. Before he returns, he'll search until he's found him.	2174 Entro que vos puesca venjar 2175 De l'onta, que-us fes l'autre jorn	[E]ntro que-us pus[...]// De-l[o]n[t]a que-u//	[א]ינטרו קיבש פוש[...] דיל[א]נ[ט]ה קיב [...]//
If he can get near him, he will fight, and that's sure to be quite a battle!"	2176 Taulat. Et <i>enantz</i> ⁷⁰ qu'el s'en torn,	[...]t [<i>enans</i>] [qu ...]//	[[...]ט אננש] ק [...]//
"LORD God glorious father ..."	2177 Quera-l tant entro qu'el lo trop. 2178 E <i>s'el li puet</i> esser de prop, <i>E si-l-pot</i> [es ...]// 2179 <i>Conbatra-s</i> ab el senes faila, <i>Combtra-s</i> // 2180 Que ja non ira sens batailla.' Que-ja //	Quera-l [...]// E si-l-pot [es ...]// <i>Combtra-s</i> // Que-ja //	קיראל [...]// [י] שילפוט א'ש [...]// קומבטראש[...] קגא[...]
	2181 ' <i>Seigner</i> Dieus, paire glorios, <i>seni[or]</i> '//	<i>seni[or]</i> //	שני[ור]//

Parallel to lines 2778–2871

15. Lines 2778–2790 (FH 71.32, frg. 1, col. 1)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 52, 2768–2778)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2778–2290	Transcription FH 71.32 (frg.1, col. 1)	Text FH 71.32 (frg.1, col. 1)
He sent them all outside and stayed behind alone, fastening his gleaming helmet and moving toward the window.	2778 E pueis manda-ls en totz eissir, 2779 Ez el reman tot solamen. 2780 Pueis laça son elme luzen 2781 Ez es vengutz a la fenestra. 2782 Ez a vista <i>laintz</i> la testa	[...][...] Ez-el-rom[...] E-puis/pueis las[...] Ez-es vengut[...] E-a vista <i>lains</i> la-t[...].ta	[...]ל[...] אדילרומ[...] אפוייש לאש[...] אד'יש ווינגוט[...] איאה ווישטא לאינס לט טא[...]
As soon as he saw the head, which was an elegant and well-made piece of work, he took it away, and sat for a moment on a bench.	2783 Azaut'e bella e ben <i>faicha</i> , 2784 Ez aqui <i>eis</i> el la n'a tracha 2785 E va la en un banc pausar.	[.]z[.]auta [e] bella e-ben <i>faicha</i> Aqui <i>matei</i> [.] ⁷² el la-n-a [...].ta E-va-la [e ...]un banc p[.]u [...]	[.]דבטא א[.]בילא איבין פאייטא אקי מטיי[.] איל לנא[...].טא איבאלא א[...].ן באנק פ[.]ב [...]
Then he struck it sharply, and split it in half.	2786 E pueis va sus tal colp donar, 2787 Que tota l'a per mieg partida.	[...] va sus tal colp donar [...] a-par-mig pa[r]tid[a]	[...] בא שוש טל קולפ דונאר [...] אפרמיג פ[ר]טיד[ה]
The head leapt up and cried out and hissed and threw itself around. It seemed as if all the elements ⁷¹ ...	2788 E la testa sail sus e crida 2789 E siba e mena torment, 2790 <i>Que par que tuit le alement</i>	//[...]ta [...]s[...] [...].em[...] [...] [<i>c-azer</i> (?)] <i>tot</i> l[o] [<i>canta</i>]ment	[...]ש[...].טא [...].יפ[...] [...]קאדיר טוט ל[ו] קנטמינט

16. Lines 2792–2799 (FH 71.33, frg. 2, col. 1)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 53, 2778)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2792–2799	Transcription FH 71.33 (frg. 2, col. 1)	Text FH 71.33 (frg. 2, col. 1)
All of the stones and beams clashed against each other, fell	2792 E non roman piera ni fusta, 2793 Que l'uns ab l'autre no-s combata	[...] ni-[fu]sta [...]	[...]ני[פן]שטא [...]

(Continued)

⁷⁰*Enantz*, in ms. A (Breuer): *enatz*.⁷¹According to the Hebrew version: [...] *tot lo* [*canta*]ment "[...] all of the singing".⁷²Hebrew seems to stand for מטייש *mtyyš* = Cat. *mateix* "same".

Continued.

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 53, 2778)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2792–2799	Transcription FH 71.33 (frg. 2, col. 1)	Text FH 71.33 (frg. 2, col. 1)
against Jaufre and struck him hard	2794 E que sobre Jaufre non bata	[...] sobre Jof[...]/no-bata	[...] שוברי גופ[] [נובאטא]
that he would be totally dismayed	2795 E no-l fera de tal mesura,	[...]Jera de-tal mezura	[...] ירא דיטאל מדורא
if it didn't stop soon.	2796 Que <i>gran vertu er</i> , ⁷³ <i>si o dura.</i>	<i>De-merabella si-u</i> ⁷⁴ <i>dura</i>	דמראבילא איש שיב דורא
It grew dark, and thunder and rain	2797 Ez es escur e tona e plou.	Ez-es es[ur] [...]na e[...]	אדיש איש[קור] [נא אי [...]]
came, buy Jaufre didn't budge; he	2798 E Jaufre esta que no-s mou,	[...] esta que-no-s-mou	[...] אישטא קנושמוב
just put his shield over his head.	2799 Antz met l'escutz sus en la testa.	//[s met] l-es[.]ut sus en-la-testa	//[ש מיט] ליש[.]וט שוש אנלטישטא

17. Lines 2806–2808 (FH 71.32, frg. 1, col. 2)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 53, 2778)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2806–2808	Transcription FH 71.32 (frg. 1, col. 2)	Text FH 71.32 (frg. 1, col. 2)
... that it took everything away. It almost took Jaufre away too, and would have, if he hadn't called on God.	2806 Que tot ne porta entrenantz, 2807 C'a <i>pauc</i> Jaufre non a portat, 2808 Se non aghes ⁷⁵ Dieu reclamant.	Q[...] Qu[e]-[po.] p[...] [...] n-ages [...]cia[mat]	[...] ק[...] [ק]י[פ]ו. [פ]... [ליבאט] [נאגיש] [קל]מאט[...]

18. Lines 2809–2822 (FH 71.33, frg.1) + (FH 71.33, frg. 2, col. 2)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 53, 2778–2809)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2809–2822	Transcription FH 71.33 (frg. 1)	Text FH 71.33 (frg. 1)
There was so much dust and noise and smoke that you couldn't see the sky. Then the rocks and thunderbolts began to fall all around ant the whole curse was gone with the wind.	2809 E levet tan grant polveriera, 2810 Tal <i>tabuis</i> e tal fumadiera, 2811 Que non pogratz lo <i>ciel</i> vesser. 2812 E pieras prendon a caser 2813 E lants e fousers mout soven. 2814 Ez anet s'en ab aquel ven	[le]vas tan-g// [a]-tabust e-tal[...] //[...]ograts lo-ce[...] //[...]/ ⁷⁶ [...] [...] [...]	//[ליבאש] [טנג] //[...]טבושט אי[ט]אל[...] //[...]וגראטש לוס[.]ל //[...] //[...] //[...]
English translation (based on Arthur, p. 53, 2778–2809)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2815–2822	Transcription FH 71.33 (frg. 1 + 2 merged)	Text FH 71.33 (frg. 1 + 2 merged)
Nothing was left of the house, not even the foundations: it was as if nothing had ever been there. Jaufre was sill there, exhausted and so battered and beaten	2815 Tota aquella maldicion, 2816 Que non reman de la maison 2817 Fundamenta ne nulla res, 2818 Plus que si anc ren non aghes. 2819 E Jaufre reman tot <i>causat</i> , ⁷⁷ 2820 Que tant fo feritz e <i>machatz</i> ,	//t[a]// //Que-no re[...] [f]undament[a] ne-[...] Pus que-si-[a] // [...]ages E-Jofre r//ma[.] [tot] cas[at]s Que-tant//[f]o-fe[rit]//[ma[ca]ts	//[ט] [ה] [ט] // //קינור[...] [פ]ונדמינט[א] ני[...] פוז קשי[א] // [...]ages איגופרי ר/מא[...] קיש[א] [ט] [ש] קטאנט/[פ] [פ] [ריט] מאקטש

(Continued)

⁷³Er, an archaic form of the future in Oc.: *er, ers, er*⁷⁴Si-u, Heb. שִׁיב *syb* (si-v). This demonstrates the neutralization of *o* in *u* characteristic of the eastern dialects of Catalan.⁷⁵Aghes = Oc. *agues* (passim).⁷⁶This is followed with about three faded lines.⁷⁷Causat, in ms. B (Rialc): *cassat*; in ms. A (Breuer): *causat*.

Continued.

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 53, 2778–2809)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2809–2822	Transcription FH 71.33 (frg. 1)	Text FH 71.33 (frg. 1)
that he scarcely knew what to do. He went over to one side, ...	2821 C'a pena se pot consel dar. 2822 E va s'en una part gitar,	C-a-pen[a.]/[...]. c[.]se[.] // E-v[...]/[t] [git]/	קאפנינא. [...] קושין. // איב[...]. ט[גיט] //

19. Lines 2829–2845 (FH 71.31, frg. 2, col. 1)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 53, 2809– 2834)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2829–2845	Transcription FH 71.31 (frg. 2, col. 1)	Text FH 71.31 (frg. 2, col. 1)
... the house and the spell. They ran up and found him lying there quite exhausted. "Noble knight, how are you?" said the maiden, smiling at him.	2829 La maison ab l'encantamen. 2830 E son ves el vengut corren 2831 E troban lo jazen tot las:	//[...].en //[...].ng[ut] [...] el corren //[...].roban [...] tot-las	[...]ין [...].נג[וט] [...] 80 איל קורין [...].רובאן [...] טוטלאש
Politely and courteously, he replied, "I have no serious wounds, and no mortal blow, but I have suffered greatly. I need to rest a little while." The young girl kissed his mouth, his eyes, his face, and then turned toward the woman who was right in front of him. "Woman, have you found your baby?"	2832 'Franc cavallier, e con estas? 2833 Dis la pulcella tot rizen. 2834 Ez el li <i>respon</i> ben e gen: 2835 'Non ai <i>plaga</i> ni colp mortal, 2836 Mas <i>mout</i> aurai sofert gran mal, 2837 E voil m'aici un pauc pausar.'	[...].va[...] [que-n]-estas [...].[en]-rizen //[Ez-78] [...] [respos] ben e-gen Non-ai <i>playa</i> [...] [c]olp mortal Ma[.] [mo]/t-a// [s]ofert gran mal //[...].auc pausa/ //[...].[re] [...] E[ls] <i>uls</i> 79 e-la-cara //el se-regara //[s] [...] <i>devant</i> denan: //ton <i>emfan</i> //bostra merce //[s] dis-el: <i>part-t</i> // //ba[...]//	[...]בא [...] קינאישטאש [...].[ינ]רידין [...].[רשפוש] בין איגין נונאי פלאיאי [...] [ק]ולפ מורטל מא[.] [...] מולטא // [ש]ופרט גראן מאל [...].אבק פבדא// [...].[רי] [...] איל[ש] אולש אילאקארא //איל שרינארא //[ש]ן. דיבאנט // טון אימפאן //בושטרא מרסי //[ש] דישיל פרט// //בא //
"Yes, my lord, thanks to you." "By your faith, the," he said, "take this beautiful young maiden ..."	2840 Ez ab aitant el se regara 2841 Ves la femna que-s vi 2842 "Femna," dis el, "as ton <i>enfan</i> ?" 2843 "O ieu, seiner, vostra merce." 2844 "Ara," dis el, ' <i>donc per ta</i> fe, 2845 T'en vai ab aquesta pulçella,		

20. Lines 2851–2871 (FH 71.31, frg. 2, col. 2)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 53–54, 2834–2863)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2851–2871	Transcription FH 71.31 (frg. 2, col. 2)	Text FH 71.31 (frg. 2, col. 2)
"... tell him of your adventure, and give him best wished on my behalf." Then he asked for his horse,	2851 Vostra ventura em per se, 2852 E faitz li-n gracias da part me! 2853 Pueis a son caval demandat, 2854 E <i>senpre lo l'a</i> amenat	//[b.st]/a-bentura em-per-s[...] E-f//[...] gr [...]s part[...] Pu[i]s [...] son caval demandat E-[s] <i>empre an</i> [lui] amenat	[...]ב.שט[...].אבינטורא אמפירש[...] איפ[...].גר [...]ש פרט[...] פון[.]יש [...] שון קב־אל דמנדאט אי[ש]מפרי אן [לויי] אמינאט

(Continued)

78 Ez, Heb. אד 'd (ad), wherein the *rafeh* sign is not clearly shown (*אז for az).

79 Uls = ulls.

80 There is one missing word. Perhaps containing [ש.].

Continued.

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 53–54, 2834– 2863)	Jaufre (Rialc) 2851–2871	Transcription FH 71.31 (frg. 2, col. 2)	Text FH 71.31 (frg. 2, col. 2)
and the woman who had been watching it brought it at once; She had already let it feed on the fresh grass. She gave him his lance, and he saddled his horse again, and was just about to mount up when the maiden came toward him, modest and tearful. And said to him: Noble knight, so glorious and bold, will you not accompany us to the place where you want to go?" "I will not, for I can not. It would delay me too much. I will have no happiness, no joy of any sort, not even any rest, until I have caught up with him!"	2855 La femna, que <i>garat l'avia</i> , 2856 <i>Que l'ac faitz passer tota</i> <i>via</i> 2857 <i>De bel'erba fresca e</i> <i>creguda</i> , 2858 E pueis a-l sa lansa renduda. 2859 Ez vai lo caval recinglar, 2860 Pueis s'apareilla de <i>puar</i> . 2861 E la <i>pulcella</i> venc <i>denan</i> 2862 Tot humilmen e tot ploran: 2863 ' <i>Franc</i> cavallier, <i>onrat</i> e pros, 2864 E <i>non anaretz</i> vos ab nos 2865 Lai, on nos voletz <i>enviar</i> ?' 2866 'Non ieu jes, que non o <i>puesc</i> far, 2867 Car tarzar mi poria trop, ⁸¹ 2869 Que ja enantz non aurai ben 2870 Ne alegrier de nulla ren 2871 Ne pausa, tro l'aia trobat,	La-f[...] <i>qu-a-gra[da]t</i> l-avia <i>Que l-ac</i> [... y] [... a] <i>via</i> [...] <i>Paisser de-l'erba f[re]sca e-cr</i> [egud]a/] E-pui s-a-l sa-lança renduda A-el va el-caval recinglar E-puis s-aparela <i>pujar</i> E-la <i>pocera</i> [...] <i>dev[a ...]</i> Tot umilmen a-tot p[ol ...] <i>E-dis-li franc</i> cavallier ⁸² <i>onrat</i> e[...] <i>E-no erets</i> vos ap-nos La on // volets <i>enviar</i> [...] <i>pusc</i> far Ca-tar// [...] trop Que-ja// Ne-alegr// Ne-pauz//	לפ[...] קאגר[דא]ט לא[וויאה] קלאק [...] ייט [...] ה וויאה פאיישיר דליריפא פ[ריש]קא אקר [יגוד/ה] איפווי שיאל שלנסה רינדודה אאיל ווא אלקבאל רסינגלאר איפוויש שפרלא פוגאר אילא פוסירא [...] דיב[א ...] טוט אומילמין אטוט פ[ול ...] אידישלי פרנק קבאלייר אונרט אי [...] אינו איריטש בוש אפנוש לא און //בוליטש אימביאר [...] פושק פאר קאטר // [...] טרופ קינא// ניאליגר// ניפאבד//

Parallel to lines 9829–9926

21. Lines 9829–9832 (FH 71.35, frg. 2)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 173, 9779–9815)	Jaufre (Rialc) 9829–9832	Transcription (FH 71.35, (frg. 2)	Text (FH 71.35, (frg. 2)
No one ever saw such a feast, and dances and chansons de geste. Everyone was listening to the minstrels and in the room the food ...	9829 E <i>dansas e</i> ⁸³ <i>cançons de</i> <i>jesta</i> : 9830 Jamais non <i>vera</i> hom <i>tal</i> <i>festa</i> . 9831 E <i>tuitz escoltavon</i> joglars 9832 Per la sala, si que-ls manjars	[...mai] [...] [ve- <i>o</i>]m <i>aital</i> fes[...] <i>Dances de-ca</i> (n)ços ⁸⁴ <i>e-de-je</i> // ⁸⁵ <i>E-tuyt escoltav[en]</i> // [...]la-sal[...]	[...מאי] [...] [ב[א]א]ם אייטל פיש[...] דאנסיש דיקבסוש אידיגי// איטוייט אישקולטאב[ין]// [...] לשל[...]

⁸¹Line 28 is omitted from the Hebrew manuscript: *Aintz seguirai cel que non trop* "for I must pursue the man I haven't found yet".⁸²See n. 28.⁸³*Dansas e, dautras* (-1 line) in ms. A (Breuer).⁸⁴*Ca(n)ços*, Heb. קבסוש *qbswš* (*cavços*), copying mistake for *cançons*.⁸⁵The order of line no. 9829 and 9830 is reversed in the Hebrew manuscript.

24. Lines 9892–9900 (FH 71.36, frg. 1, col. 1)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 174, 9875–9885)	Jaufre (Rialc) 9892–9900	Transcription FH 71.36 (frg. 1, col. 1)	Text FH 71.36 (frg. 1, col. 1)
... but they did not go out with the king for fear of upsetting him. Then Kay the seneschal said to them “My lords, let’s be ready to help the king if we see that he needs it, and not wait until we are called.” “There’s no need for you to tell us that,” said everyone. “We would do it even if we knew that it would lead to our death!”	9892 Mas non son ab lo rei issitz, 9893 Que an paor que no-l fos mal. 9894 Ab <i>aitant</i> Quex, lo <i>senescal</i> , 9895 Dis: ‘ <i>Seinor</i> , siam apercebut, 9896 Que-l bon rei si’acoregut, 9897 Se veziam que ops li fos, 9898 <i>Que no-i atendesem semos!</i> 9899 E cascuns dis: “No-us o cal dir, 9900 Se tuitz i sabiam morir.”	[...] a[p]-lo-rei i[...] ⁹¹ [...] no-fos [...] [...]n Qu[e]cs lo-senesca[l]... [...] <i>cavalliers</i> ⁹² siam ap[...] [...] [...] [veziam] [...] op]s [li-fos] [...] [...] [casc...] [dis] [...]uz-o-c[...] [...]	[...] א[פ]לוריי א' [...] [...] נפוש [...] [...] ק[י]קש לושנישק[ל] [...] [...] אקב[ל]אליירש שיאם אפ[...] [...] [...] [בדיאם] [...] ופ[ש] ליפוש[] [...] [נודיש(?) טוטש] [...] [...] [קשק...] דייש[] [...] בד[ן]ק[...] [...]

25. (Probably parallel to) lines 9924–9926 (FH 71.36, frg. 1, col. 2)

English translation (based on Arthur, p. 174, 9905)	Jaufre (Rialc) (Probably lines 9924–9926)	Transcription FH 71.36 (frg. 1, col. 2)	Text FH 71.36 (frg. 1, col. 2)
... lamenting most wildly: “LORD God, Father!” said Gawain. “What shall we do, where shall we go? ...”	9924 E mout salvajament se plainon: 9925 ‘Sener <i>Dieu</i> Paire, que farem,’ 9926 So dis Galvan, ‘e on iren?	[...]s[...]tja// [...]r <i>Deu</i> P[.]// [...]dis Galvan-[...]n [...]	//ש[...]טנא[...] //[...]ר דיב פ[.]// [...]דיש גלבנ[.]א[...]

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⁹¹This fragment is preceded by about nine unreadable lines.

⁹²See n. 43.

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