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Mizmor Le-David: Studies in Jewish Languages



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Cover page: Sephardic neighborhood Ohel Moshe and Ashkenazic neighborhoods Mazkereth Moshe and Zichron Tuviya, Jerusalem, lithographic post-card printed *ca.* 1900 by A. L. Monsohn.

**Mizmor Le-David:
Studies in Jewish Languages**

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האקדמיה הלאומית הישראלית למדע
La Academia Nacional del Lado de Israel



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The National Authority for Ladino
הרשות הלאומית לתרבות הלאדינו
לש לשורשם: משפחתם של כלנו



מכון סלטי
SALT INSTITUTE
לחקר הלאדינו

המרכז למורשת יהדות שאלוניקי ויוון
SALONIKA AND GREECE JEWRY HERITAGE CENTER
IN MEMORY OF LEON REICHAU (1945-1986) ישיבת ירושלים



THE HEBREW
UNIVERSITY
OF JERUSALEM



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MIZMOR LE-DAVID:
STUDIES IN JEWISH LANGUAGES
PRESENTED TO PROF. DAVID M. BUNIS
ON HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

INTRODUCTION

Katja ŠMID, Ora (RODRIGUE) SCHWARZWALD
and Ofra TIROSH-BECKER (eds.)

It is our collective pleasure, editors and contributing authors alike, to present this book, *Mizmor le-David: Studies in Jewish Languages*, to our distinguished colleague, Prof. David M. Bunis, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday.

Prof. David M. Bunis is one of the world's foremost scholars of the Judezmo (Ladino, Spaniolit, Judeo-Spanish) language and its literature. In his studies Prof. Bunis has promoted an interdisciplinary approach, combining methodologies from linguistics, sociolinguistics, and Jewish studies to explore the many facets of the Ladino language and its culture. On the one hand he studies Judezmo as reflecting the unique experience of Sephardi Jews, and on the other he charts the traits this language has in common with other Jewish languages, such as Yiddish. His many publications, which include six monographs and more than one hundred academic papers, have become essential reading material for scholars in the broad field of Judezmo and Sephardic studies. The breadth of his academic work spans detailed linguistic characterizations of the language and

Judezmo in the context of Jewish languages, the geographic dialectology of Judezmo, Sephardic sociolinguistics, studies of the Hebrew component in Judezmo, and the contact between Judezmo and other languages that shared the same territory, including Slavic languages and Turkish. Over the years Prof. Bunis' research has progressed from empirical to theoretical aspects. While many of his early works were empirical in nature, dedicated to documenting and preserving the Ladino language that is on the verge of decline, his later works are more theoretical, dealing with subjects such as the Judezmo orthography as a religious and national symbol, and the theoretical implications of using a Hebrew component (Hebraisms) in Judezmo, Ḥakitia and Yiddish. His comparative studies of Judezmo and Yiddish have made a major contribution to the development of the field of Jewish interlinguistics.

Prof. Bunis' monographs are groundbreaking and have become an indispensable resource for every scholar in Judezmo and Sephardic studies. His first published book, *A Guide to Reading and Writing Judezmo* (New York: ADELANTRE! The Judezmo Society, 1975) has taught many people to read the cursive *soletreo* script traditionally used by Judezmo speakers. His *Sephardic Studies: A Research Bibliography* (New York: Garland Press, 1981) surveyed all the literature on Judeo-Spanish published until 1980; it is an important tool for every researcher in the field. His book *Judezmo: An Introduction to the Language of the Ottoman Sephardim* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1999) is a valuable grammatical description of this language. The book, which culminates twenty years of research, features the fundamentals of Ladino grammar together with a representative sample of authentic texts, a Judezmo-Hebrew/Hebrew-Judezmo dictionary, and extensive updated bibliography. The book's introduction offers a comprehensive discussion of the history of the Ladino language. The book is cast in the mold of Uriel Weinreich's iconic monograph *College Yiddish* that serves as a portal to Yiddish for laymen and scholars alike. Indeed, Prof. Bunis' grammar of Judezmo is an invaluable contribution to the preservation of Ladino and to its transmission to future generations, as it is a thorough gateway to the study of Ladino in universities.

Prof. Bunis also made seminal contributions to the study of the Hebrew and Aramaic component, which is a conspicuous trait common to many Jewish Languages. His exemplary book, *A Lexicon of the Hebrew and Aramaic Elements in Modern Judezmo* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press), published in 1993, was groundbreaking within the field of Jewish Languages. This book is a comprehensive dictionary of Hebraisms in Judezmo, with more than 3000 entries and many thousands of authenticated textual ex-

amples. This dictionary is the first of its kind, laying a lexicographic foundation to the study of the Hebrew and Aramaic component in other Jewish Languages. The dictionary is accompanied by a historical overview of the Hebrew component in earlier periods of Judeo-Spanish. To date, this *Lexicon* is considered a model for anyone wishing to compile a dictionary of Hebrew and Aramaic components in any Jewish Language.

His book *Voices from Jewish Salonika* (Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim and Thessaloniki Ets Ahaim Society, 1999) focuses on the uniqueness of Salonika (Thessaloniki) as the center of popular Sephardic culture and of what Prof. Bunis termed a 'Judezmo ideology' and Judezmism, a subject that was also discussed in several of his important papers. The book has two parts. The first part, which comprises 350 pages, includes a wide-ranging discussion of the linguistic, socio-historical, and culture-folkloristic aspects of Salonika's Judezmo culture, as well as a glossary. The second part, encompassing no less than 649 pages, is a scientific edition of extensive humoristic serial dialogues published in Salonika Ladino periodical journals between the two World Wars. The book was received with tremendous enthusiasm by the Salonika Jewish community as well as by scholars.

Prof. Bunis is also studying the Turkish component in modern Judezmo, exploring this topic from lexical as well as historical and sociolinguistic perspectives. The lexicon of the Turkish component in modern Judezmo, which Prof. Bunis is compiling, is expected to encompass the entire Ottoman period of Judezmo and include more than 5000 lexical entries. In two other monographs Prof. Bunis laid important bibliographic foundations for future research. His book *Yiddish Linguistics: A classified bilingual index to Yiddish serials and collections, 1913-1958* (New York: Garland Press, 1994), published together with Andrew Sunshine, compiles studies in Yiddish linguistics published between 1913-1958.

In addition to these monographs, Prof. Bunis published more than 100 research papers. In these papers he makes seminal contributions to many diverse topics within Ladino studies, including the names of this language, the development of Ladino language and literature over time and across lands, Judezmo dialectology in the Ottoman Empire and in Morocco, Hebrew traditions of the Ladino speakers, the Hebrew and Aramaic component as well as the Turkish and Balkan component in Judezmo, writing Ladino in Hebrew and Latin scripts, Judezmo sociolinguistics and literary genres, Ladino Bible translations, rabbinic literature in Judezmo, Judezmo lexicography, and more.

Prof. Bunis edited the volume *Languages and Literatures of Sephardic and Oriental Jews* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2009), which includes research papers on a variety of Jewish languages. Since 2010 he is co-editor, together with Prof. Ofra Tirosh-Becker, of the journal *Massorot: Studies in Jewish Languages and Language Traditions*. A double volume, vol. 21-22 of *Massorot* has recently appeared in 2022. He is also a co-editor (with Ivana Vučina Simović and Corinna Deppner) of *Caminos de leche y miel: Jubilee Volume in Honor of Michael Studemund-Halévy* (Barcelona: Tirocinio, 2018). Prof. Bunis is on the editorial boards of academic journals, including *El Prezente: Studies in Sephardic Culture*, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *Estudios Sefardíes*, *Caligrama: Revista de Estudios Románicos*, and the *Journal of Jewish Languages*.

Prof. Bunis has dedicated a significant part of his time to the teaching of the language and its dissemination. He has been teaching Ladino language and literature at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for more than 40 years and had taught some courses at Tel Aviv University as well. Prof. Bunis also taught Judezmo at universities abroad, such as Columbia University, the University of Pennsylvania, New York University, and the University of Washington at Seattle. Many of his students have become prominent academic scholars of Ladino language, literature, folklore, and history, holding senior positions at major universities in Israel and abroad. As a renowned scholar of Ladino, Prof. Bunis is a magnet for students worldwide who travel to Jerusalem for the opportunity to study with him. After returning to their home countries some of these students have become accomplished scholars in their own right.

In 2006 Prof. Bunis was awarded the Ben-Zvi Lifetime Award for his many contributions to the study and teaching of Ladino, and in 2013 he was awarded the prestigious EMET prize under the auspices of the Israeli Prime Ministers' office for his contributions to the investigation of Ladino. Prof. David M. Bunis' lifetime achievements place him on a pedestal of his own among the greatest Ladino scholars. He was appointed an academic corresponding member of the Royal Spanish Academy, and he is a member of the Ladino Academy in Israel. He is internationally acclaimed and has made a long-lasting impact on Judezmo and Sephardic studies and on the preservation of the language for future generations.

We are proud that the present book, *Mizmor le-David: Studies in Jewish Languages*, which includes 26 papers written by colleagues and scholars from all around the globe, discusses topics that are close to Prof. Bunis' heart: Judezmo, Jewish languages, languages in contact, the Hebrew component of Jewish languages, analyses of texts in Judeo-Spanish, and

the like. The book is trilingual—the Hebrew part includes six papers, the Spanish part holds six papers, and the English part consists of fourteen contributions. Unfortunately, Tracy Harris could not contribute a paper, but her words of appreciation to Prof. Bunis were integrated with ours above. We thank all the contributing authors for their effort and acknowledgement, and for their enthusiasm to participate in this gift that we present to Prof. Bunis on his seventieth birthday.

We would also like to thank the Editorial CSIC for including this book in their series of *Publicaciones de Estudios Sefardíes* in the collection *Estudios Bíblicos, Hebraicos y Sefardíes*. Our special thanks go to the Editorial CSIC editor, Isabel Martín Jiménez, for her diligent work and kind cooperation. We would also like to thank the language editors—Nicki Weinberg for English, Miriam Nahon for Spanish, and Bat-Sheva Vardi for Hebrew—for their invaluable contributions. The following organizations provided us with financial support: Moses Mendelssohn Akademie, Halberstadt, with the recommendation of our colleague, Michael Studemund-Halévy; The National Ladino Academy in Israel and The Salonika and Greece Jewry Heritage Center; The Ladino National Authority; The Salti International Institute for Ladino Research of Bar-Ilan University; and The Center for Jewish Languages and Literatures at the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Institute of Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in Israel. Without their help this project could not have been completed.



David M. Bunis

DAVID M. BUNIS – LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Ivri J. BUNIS

1. Books

1. *A Guide to Reading and Writing Judezmo*. New York: ADELANTRE! The Judezmo Society, 1975. 2d ed. 1976.
2. *Sephardic Studies: A Research Bibliography, Incorporating Judezmo Language, Literature and Folklore, and Historical Background*. New York: Garland Press and YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 1981 [rev. M. Boaziz, *Bulletin Hispanique* 88, 1 (1986), 269-270].
3. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Component of Judezmo: A Phonological and Morphological Analysis*. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1984 [Columbia University, 1981].
4. *A Lexicon of the Hebrew and Aramaic Elements in Modern Judezmo*. With a foreward by Shelomo Morag. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993.
5. (With Andrew Sunshine) *Yiddish Linguistics: A Classified Bilingual Index to Yiddish Serials and Collections, 1913-1958*. New York: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research and Garland Press, 1994.
6. *Judezmo: An Introduction to the Language of the Ottoman Sephardim*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1999 [in Hebrew].
7. *Voices from Jewish Salonika*. Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim-The National Authority for Ladino, and Thessaloniki: The Ets Ahaim Foundation of Thessaloniki, 1999 [in Hebrew, English, Judezmo].

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- 2-6. [With Ofra Tirosh-Becker] *Massorot: Studies in Jewish Languages and Language Traditions*. Jerusalem: Center for the Study of Jewish Languages and Literatures, The Mandel Institute, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, vol. 15 (2010); vol. 16-17 (2013); vol. 18 (2016); vol. 19-20 (2019); vol. 21-22 (2022) [in Hebrew].
7. [With Ivana Vučina Simović and Corinna Deppner] *Caminos de leche y miel: Jubilee Volume in Honor of Michael Studemund-Halévy*, vol. II, Language and Literature. Barcelona: Tirocinio, 2018.

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1. “Problems in Judezmo Linguistics”, *Working Papers in Sephardic and Oriental Jewish Studies* 1, 1-38. New York: The American Sephardi Federation, 1973.
2. “The Historical Development of Judezmo Orthography: A Brief Sketch”, *Working Papers in Yiddish and East European Jewish Studies* 2, 1-55 pages. New York: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 1974.
3. “Some Notes on Ester Morguez Algranti’s 9 Eylül: Poesias (Istanbul: Baykar, 1975)”. New York: ADELANTRE! The Judezmo Society, 20 July 1976.
4. “Response [to Dina Lida, ‘Ladino Language and Literature’]”, in *Jewish Languages: Theme and Variations*, edited by Herbert H. Paper, 93-102. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Association for Jewish Studies, 1978.
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8. “Types of Nonregional Variation in Early Modern Spoken Eastern Judezmo”, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 37 (1982): 41-70 [reprinted in *Serta gratulatoria in honorem Juan Régulo. Vol. 1. Filología*, 161-189. Universidad: La Laguna, 1985].
9. “Some Problems in Judezmo Linguistics”, *Mediterranean Language Review* 1 (1983): 103-138.
10. “Elements of Hebrew and Balkan Origin in the Terminology of Foodways in R. Eliezer ben Šem Tov Papo’s *Sefer Damesek Eliezer*: Judezmo Rabbinical Literature as a Linguistic and Folkloristic Resource-Part One”, *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Folklore* 5-6 (1984): 151-195 [in Hebrew].
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ENGLISH SECTION

A NEW CORPUS OF STUDY FOR THE EVOLUTION OF JUDEO-SPANISH: CONTEMPORARY JUDEO-SPANISH THEATER

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1. Presentation

Bunis (1982) showed how, in the early 20th century, satirical newspaper humorists used varieties of Judeo-Spanish and the languages spoken by Jews to characterize certain personages, depending on their social background or their role in the society. The *costumbrista* theater, to use an efficient Spanish category, used the same recourses as Sánchez (2013, 2015) has shown about the *galiparla del frankito* in Judeo-Spanish playlets.

At present, Judeo-Spanish theater is still very much alive in Istanbul, whether it be humorous skits, short plays, or musicals. Their study allows us to measure the evolution of multilingualism in Judeo-Spanish society, the new connotations of Judeo-Spanish and, above all, to see the current evolution of the language.

I have chosen some texts among those given to me by different authors or writing groups and compared them to two similar, but earlier, texts from the 20th century, while relying on previous editions and analyses of older plays (Romero 1979, 2006, 2008; Bunis 1982, 1999; Sánchez 2010, 2013, 2015).

I will not discuss again the abundance of phenomena found in the “dialogical genres” that imitate orality, which Sánchez has studied exten-

sively, such as the imperative *gerund* and the frequent association of a verb in the imperative, followed by *veremos*. I will consider the comparison with two older texts of the 20th century, that show interesting results concerning the evolution of the periphrastic future towards a synthetic form.

2. Contemporary theater in Istanbul: General characteristics

Community gatherings in Turkey are often the occasion for theatrical performances and singing concerts. Bilingual plays in Turkish and Judeo-Spanish are performed, preferably for a middle-aged audience. They are either written by authors in their own name or are the work of writing groups, which are mainly female. These short or long plays, partly musical, are in principle intended to be performed in the community by one of the amateur theater groups. The Jewish cultural club *Dostluk*, for example, and the troupe *Amigos para siempre* stage at least one play each year.¹ Some of them are performed only once, while others have become part of the repertoire and have been performed many times, such as *Kula '930*,² created in 1978, which has been performed 90 times in Turkey and abroad, and has been reworked several times up to now. Yitzhak Navon's *Bustan Sefaradi* (1970) can be considered the model for these nostalgic musical plays.

Romero (2008: 426) considers plays that meet at least one of the following criteria: to be written in Judeo-Spanish, to have been created by a member of the community, or to be intended for a Judeo-Spanish audience. She chronologically considers the period up to the 1940s of the 20th century. Among the themes, she differentiates between works with a specifically Judeo-Spanish theme, works with a Jewish theme, and works that are not specifically Jewish or “universal”.

Of these categories, only the first one can be found today: the Judeo-Spanish community in Turkey, its shortcomings, its customs, and its history are the only themes treated. As for the first of Elena Romero's criteria, there are few plays entirely in Judeo-Spanish.

¹ Developments in contemporary Judeo-Spanish theater in Turkey are documented in a recent study by Bihar Waldman (2009).

² https://www.salom.com.tr/arsiv/haber-105547-kula_930_on_stage_for_one_more_performance.html [consulted: 17-03-2023].

Our collection is chronologically situated in the last quarter of the 20th century and the first quarter of the 21st. Of these quite short plays, we can draw up a typology from the characteristics which they share:

- While not musical works, most contain songs and pieces of music from various sources (in different languages), sometimes created for the play and integrated with the dynamics of the text.
- The dominant theme is the nostalgic evocation of a bygone past or the satirical representation of the small foibles of the community seen by itself.
- The critical, satirical aspect and self-deprecation are the comic thrusts, which mobilize most of the processes already studied by Sánchez (2015) in the *géneros dialogales* ‘dialogical genres’ of the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th.
- The texts are written for a Judeo-Spanish audience and are performed in a community setting.
- They are, in their majority, written by women authors or women’s collectives.
- The plays are generally multilingual (mainly Turkish/Judeo-Spanish in varying proportions), but other languages may be present as well: French, modern Hebrew, or more frequently, English.³ The parents’ generation is presented as perfectly bilingual in Judeo-Spanish and Turkish.
- The Turkish is correct, except for the particular marking of a character. Thus, regional Turkish accents are noted, but especially the accents of minority communities, such as Greek, Armenian, Gypsy, or Jewish (in this last case, it relates to elderly people). The very particular Turkish of the Eastern European maids is also a comic device. Turkish is the ordinary language of the Jewish young people.
- In the passages in Judeo-Spanish, the vernacular is fluid and lively; it tends to be reduced to simple, ready-made phrases in the passages in Turkish. As we shall see below, the variable and hesitant spelling gives an impression of linguistic fluctuation. It is mainly due to the difficulty of writing down the spoken words, the lack of a shared standard, and the absence of language teaching.

³ In the plays that depict the society of “minorities”, whose action takes place in the summer rentals of the Princes’ Islands, we also find code-switching in Armenian and Greek.

- Judeo-Spanish is presented as the language of the older generations (parents, grandparents) but it is reserved for the family setting. In one of the cases presented, it connotes a socially marginalized character.

3. The corpus studied: Contemporary plays

Among the fifteen or so short, contemporary plays that have come to my attention, I have selected those with the most significant Judeo-Spanish parts in terms of the role of language or the length of the Judeo-Spanish text, and then compared them to older plays of the same genre, also performed in a community setting, but this time outside of Turkey.⁴

Soly Avigdor's monologue *Edirne Bülbül sefası* ('A Walk in the Bülbül Park of Adrianople') (manuscript dated 1998, Istanbul) is a long monologue reliving an afternoon by the lake in Adrianople with children and friends playing cards in the 1930s. It is the only text entirely in Judeo-Spanish (2419 words) (**IBS**).

The updated text of *Kula 930*, collective authorship (1978-2018)—The play itself will be distinguished from the traditional songs it contains. The comedy shows the inhabitants of the Jewish quarter of Kula in the 1930s and their little intrigues, their joys and their miseries (**Kula**).

La sal i la pimyenta, GKD collective (2000)—The comedy, which is bilingual Turkish/Judeo-Spanish, features three generations of a contemporary family that runs a Judeo-Spanish restaurant. It contrasts the spoiled youth with the industrious and hard-working parents and the generation of grandparents, whose destiny was torn apart by dramatic events (**SyP**).

Balat'dan Bronx'a ('From Balat to Bronx'), Beki L. Bahar's play (1991)—The story of two cousins who exchanged their destinies and their identity papers two generations ago, one leaving for America to marry an unknown fiancé, the other staying in the suburb of Balat for the love of a bandit. They meet again 50 years later, confronting their lives and memories between jealousy and idealization of the past. Their grandchildren, who meet on this occasion, comment on this reunion. Beki

⁴ After their presentation, the plays will be referred to by their abbreviated title in the rest of the article (**SyP**) *La Sal i la Pimyenta*; (**Kula**) text *Kula '930* (2008); (**Ch.Kula**) songs included in the play *Kula '930*; (**BB**) *Balat'dan Bronx'a*; (**IBS**) *Edirne Bülbül sefası*; (**OO**) *Otros tyempos otros uzos*; (**RoB**) *Un romanso en Balat*; (**KaH**) *Karışmayın hayatıma*; (**Bulis**) *Bulisa la refrandjiya*; (**NdeH**) *El nes de Hanuká*.

L. Bahar (1927-2011) is a well-known author, who has mainly written works in Turkish (**BB**).

Otros tiempos otros usos—Feride Arditi (*circa* 2000) is a series of satirical sketches with musical parts about the shortcomings of Judeo-Spanish people, especially in the relationship between parents and children (**OO**).

Un romanso en Balat—Eti Franko (Çerasi) (*circa* 2000) tells a story of thwarted love that took place in the Balat district in the 1950s. Eti Franko has written several plays, notably in Turkish (**RoB**).

Karışmayın hayatıma ('Don't meddle in my life')—produced by GKD⁵ collective, Donna Üçüncü Kasuto, Sima Tovi, Diana Gabay Viki Toledo (2004), presents the ridiculousness and shortcomings of the Jewish petty bourgeoisie of Istanbul. This play mocks the attitude to fashion, the clashes between generations, family life between tradition and modernity, and questions the status of the married woman, whom everyone criticizes but on whom the whole family relies⁶ (**KaH**).⁷

4. Compared plays

I compared this set of plays to two previous plays of the same nature: *Bulisa la refrandjiya*, 'Bulissa, the proverb-sayer', a short play broadcast by the Judeo-Spanish radio program in Israel. The typescript is dated 1953. It is the work of a journalist and author from Salonica, Shelomo Reuven, who was born in 1908, emigrated to Israel in 1935, and died in 1986⁸ (**Bulis**).

El nes de Hanuka 'The miracle of Hanukah' is a play in two scenes, sub-titled *Senas de la vida sepharadita de Oriente*, by Marco Habib. The typescript is dated 1939 and it was performed in Geneva the same year⁹ (**NdeH**).

⁵ For Göztepe Kültür Derneği, 'Göztepe culture society'.

⁶ On this topic, see Valentin (2010).

⁷ The texts of most of these plays have been deposited at the BULAC; available online: <https://www.bulac.fr/> [consulted: 24-03-2023]. A presentation, a brief analysis of the identity aspect, a summary and (for some plays) the translation of the parts into Turkish was provided by Emre Yavuz as part of his internship at Inalco for the Institut des Sciences Politiques de Grenoble.

⁸ This play, whose original typescript is in the H. V. Sephiha collection, was published by the magazine *Aki Yerushalayim* (cf. Reuven 1981).

⁹ This work is in the H. V. Sephiha collection with the indications given. The date given in the Sefardiweb entry (<http://sefardiweb.com/>), 1960, seems to be wrong.

To these two examples can be added the sub-corpus consisting of the traditional texts of the songs in the play *Kula 930*. Being older, they preserve earlier forms of periphrastic future (*Ch.Kula*).

5. Role and use of the languages

What marks most of the plays considered (*BB*; *SyP*; *OO*) is the expansion of the community framework to the diaspora: the family branches of the *Turkanos* ‘Jews of Turkey or more widely of the former Ottoman Empire’, established in Venezuela (*RoB*), USA (*BB*; *SyP* *OO*), Argentina (*SyP*) and Israel (*KaH*) play a role in the argument of the play. The diversity of the inhabitants of Istanbul is shown through the various forms and accents of Turkish, but they do not play a real role in the action; they rather participate in the general framework or in the use of humor.

French is no longer a community language but a marker of snobbery for slightly outdated characters (such as the accountant in *SyP*), a marker of politeness, a vestige used in the form of frozen code-switching. It is also present in the lines of the Armenian or Greek characters of Istanbul (*OO*).

In its role as a positive, modern social marker, sometimes connoting snobbery, English is the prerogative of the younger generations, code-switching is frequent among young people, *sweetie*, *mummy*, *wait!*, *With pleasure*, *oh my God!* One of the young women who appears in (*KaH*) announces her desire to see her child become bilingual in Turkish and English from kindergarten.

Sign of a distancing from the bad use of Turkish (accent, grammatical mistakes) of previous generations (grandparents in our plays), the varieties of Turkish marked by foreign languages play a full role in contemporary plays, emphasizing nostalgia for Greek or Armenian accents or modernity with the accents of maids from Eastern Europe, whose hesitant and faulty Turkish is a source of humor. Turkish and Judeo-Spanish spoken by the *Turkanos* in Israel appear in several plays, the marker put forward is the uvular pronunciation of <r>: [ʁ]; the accents of Turkish characters, Marzupan Bey of the Black Sea (*OO*), of the janitor Şerife of Anatolia (*KaH*) or the Gipsy accent (*BB*) and (*SyP*) also act as a marker for the characters. The accents highlight the recurring feature of Istanbul’s cosmopolitanism, a cosmopolitanism that changes or disappears in the case

of religious minorities and is more fantasized than real, giving the plays a nostalgic background.

Judeo-Spanish is spoken by elderly grandparents, couples between themselves (alternating with Turkish) or when addressing the older generation, but it is not used by anyone younger (under thirty). Jasmina (*SyP*), the American anthropology student, who comes to “study the culture of her ancestors” is interested in Judeo-Spanish cuisine. As far as language is concerned, she studied Turkish, as did Grace, the young American cousin in (*BB*). In the Turkish passages, there is code-switching in Judeo-Spanish, ready-made phrases, greetings, blessings, proverbs, or specific terms:¹⁰ *Lo ke manka es esto* (‘That’s all we need’); *El ke da en vida merese palo* (‘Who gives [to his heirs] in his lifetime deserves to be beaten’); *bivda, muerte en vida ez* (‘to be a widow is to be a dead woman alive’); *shabat alegre sinyor padre* (‘a good Shabat Mr. father’); *es koza buena* (‘it is a good thing’); *dota* (‘dowry’), *ashuguar* (‘trousseau’), *frojalda* (‘puff pastry’), *meza franka* (‘open table’). Often the Judeo-Spanish repeats what is being said in Turkish, or the Judeo-Spanish is repeated in Turkish shortly afterwards. Not all members of the audience who attend the performances are fluent in Judeo-Spanish, but they are expected to understand Turkish perfectly. The grandchildren of Grasya from Istanbul (*BB*) have “not even learned a song properly in Judeo-Spanish”, she says.

Contemporary Spanish is represented in the plays, either because one of the characters comes from a Spanish-speaking country and uses *gracias* (written down as in Castilian) or the marked form *Usted* unknown in Judeo-Spanish, terms specific to Castilian like *muletas* (‘crutches’), and pronunciations written down graphically *muher* (‘spouse’), *iho* (‘son’), *kasa* (‘house’) (*RoB*). Speaking contemporary Spanish is explicitly presented as a last resort for those who have lost Judeo-Spanish. Thus, Grasya insists to her grandchildren that their American cousin at least knows Spanish, and in America it is even taught in school, but the grandchildren object that Judeo-Spanish is not “real Spanish” but a language for gossiping in the markets. They make fun of their grandmother’s praise of Judeo-Spanish and take up the arguments usually used to denigrate it (poor, popular language, bad Spanish, spoken and not taught).

Hebrew, not surprisingly, connotes the religious environment, devout people, blessings or greetings, *hak sameah* (‘a good holy day’), *baruh ha Shem* (‘blessed be His Name’), *Hay haShem* (‘I take God as my witness’),

¹⁰ For code-switching in judeo-spanish see Harris (1999) and Varol (2008).

but modern Hebrew is also used. Judeo-Spaniards living in Israel or Judeo-Spaniards from Turkey who travel to Israel, usually young people, sprinkle their speech with modern Hebrew clusters or terms of address: *ima* ('mummy'), *aba* ('daddy'), *moadon* ('club'), *boker tov* ('good morning').

6. The spelling of the texts

The standard languages learned at school, such as Turkish and English, are written according to their respective graphic rules. It is not the same for French, which is no longer a community language learned at school. The spelling is subject to the same graphic codes as Judeo-Spanish: *Orevuar* ('Goodbye'), *un puan final* ('an end point'), *bonjur* ('good morning'), *silvuple* ('please'), or mixed: *avec grand plezir* (my pleasure). The rare occurrences in Greek or Armenian that characterize some characters are written down following the graphic rules of Turkish *ka* ('exclamation'), *gingamar* ('godson'). Hebrew is also written down approximately according to Turkish: *hak sameah* ('a good holy day'), *betah* ('certainly').

Judeo-Spanish texts follow different graphic standards. Older texts are often influenced by the French spelling. This is the case, for example, of the manuscript text of (*NdeH*).¹¹ (*Bulis*) is closer to the current standards of the *Aki Yerushalayim* magazine but retains features of the French spelling and has many variations.¹² Contemporary plays from Turkey generally follow the Turkish spelling.¹³ The authors' concern is to write down the spoken Judeo-Spanish as accurately as possible, which leads to particular choices, such as the use of the Turkish <ğ> to write down the uvular pronunciation [ɣ] of [g]. (*Kula*), (*IBS*) and (*BB*) follow a rather coherent and regular spelling, and the terms are broken down according to the usage of written Judeo-Spanish, respecting the pronoun enclisis with certain verbal forms and the usual crasis phenomena between complement pronouns (*melo*, *telo*) or between preposition, pronoun and connector (*deloke*, *por-loke*) or between preposition and article (*delos*, *alos*). Several texts (*SyP*), (*OO*), (*KaH*), (*RoB*) are written almost phonetically (velarization of [g] and sounding of [s] > [z] and [ʃ] > [ʒ] before a vowel). They show orig-

¹¹ Trigraph <tch> for [tʃ], <ch> for [ʃ], <c / qu> for [k], <ss> for [s], <ou> for [u].

¹² <ss> for [s], <ch> for [ʃ], <ou> for [u], <tch> for [tʃ].

¹³ <ç> for [tʃ], <ş> for [ʃ], <c> for [dʒ].

inality in morphological segmentation which, in the case of compound verb forms, reveals hesitation and/or reinterpretation of components, or particular crisis phenomena. They can be conducive in determining how the speakers/writers perceive the language and will therefore be taken into account in our analysis.

7. A case study: The morphological evolution of the periphrastic future

Bürki & Schmid (2006) worked on the synthetic future tense and the periphrastic future tense in a large-scale corpus of written Judeo-Spanish (36 texts, 184,000 words), covering the period from 1880 to 1930. Their observations concerning the morphology of the periphrastic future shows that it varies between *ir* / *yir*, with or without a preposition. There is a strong tendency for the preposition to disappear in front of infinitives beginning with a vowel and in persons where the auxiliary ends with a vowel (1st person, *vo* and 3rd person, *va*) (Bürki & Schmid 2006: 33). The authors do not notice any particular diatopic or diachronic variation, nor do they consider the types of texts or the influence of French as a source of variation (Bürki & Schmid 2006: 31). Among the texts they studied are numerous plays: several short works from Jerusalem (1902-1903) containing 6300 words, *El Angustiador* by Abraham Cappon from 1914 (21 000 words), and a set of short texts from Istanbul (1927-29), representing 6300 words. In this set, the authors found 142 forms of periphrastic future out of a total of 33,600 words: 78 times *ir a* + inf. and 64 times *ir* + inf. Regarding the analytical forms found in all the texts, the majority of the forms do not contain the preposition (especially in the 1st and 3rd persons singular), for phonetic reasons.

Bossong (1990: 91) for his part notes the contraction of *vo a* into *va* in spoken Judeo-Spanish in Greece in 1982, which was rare in written texts from the beginning of the 20th century, but seems to have expanded around 1930 (Bürki & Schmid 2006: 34). For Bossong, this is not a direct construction, but the emergence of a conjugational prefix, which is a sign of advanced grammaticalization resulting from the phonetic absorption of the preposition by the vowel *a* of the auxiliary *va a* > *v'a*. He notes that the evolution of Judeo-Spanish is less advanced than that of some Central American Spanish dialects, where the paradigm is phonetically uniform,

with the exception of *vamos a* which might become reduced by analogy (*cf.* Anderson 1979).

I myself had noticed in the 1980s, the contraction of *vo a* and *va a en va*, to the point of pointing it out in a teaching manual (Varol, 1998: 58).

López Izquierdo (2002: 7), who compared the uses of the synthetic future tense and the analytic future tense in “two varieties of non-standard contemporary Spanish”, Judeo-Spanish from Istanbul and Chicano Spanish from the southern part of the United States, concludes that regarding innovation in terms of:

- the extension of syntactic contexts
- the generalization of semantic values
- grammaticalization.

Judeo-Spanish has certainly evolved in the general direction detected for standard Spanish (i.e., Castilian), but that it goes much further.

8. Corpus analysis

In the theater texts we have examined, as is the case in the spoken language, the periphrastic future *ir + (a) + infinitive* occupies the most important place in Judeo-Spanish to express the future. The very recent dialogue texts are a good corpus to study the evolution of the future tense in Judeo-Spanish, when compared with the two previous dialogue texts and the songs of the play *Kula '930*.

The detailed results of the forms found in the contemporary texts and then in the two previous texts and the songs (*Ch.Kula*), are presented in the following tables:

TABLE 1. FIRST GROUP OF CONTEMPORARY PLAYS (1983-2022)

Person	Case	Common forms	Particular forms
YO	Ir a + cons. > va, iva + inf.*	(SyP) le va dar (2×); lo va dizir; va topar; va trayer (2×); no va pensar; te va bezar; teva bezar; lo va fuyir; yo voz va salvar; te lo va traer; te va kazar. (Kula) te iva demandar; te lo va dar; te va dar; va dizir; va goler; se la va dar; iva dizir (2×); no te va deshar; te va dizir; le iva demandar; meva kazar. (Ch.Kula) te va tomar; va pozar; yo va dar; me va murir; yo te va merkar; yo va bivir. (IBS) vos va dar. (OO) lokeva komer; loketeva dizir (2×); meva murir; Ati tevdar. (RoB) yo le vadar; yo losva deşar. (KaH) meva murir (2×); va komer. = 42	(Ch. Kula) vo kitar; vo pasar; kuando me vo murir. = 3
	Ir a + vow. [a] > va + inf. / v' + inf.	(SyP) me va azer hazina; yo v'avlar; te la va a ogar. (Kula) va azer (3×); iva azer. (Ch.Kula) va aferrar. (IBS) lo ke va azer; me va alevantar; me va asentar. = 11	0
	Ir a + other vow. > va + inf.	(SyP) me va estirar; me va ezmayarme. (OO) va ir a mirar (2×). (RoB) yo lova esperar. (Ch.Kula) me va echar. (KaH) me va entrar; meva ezmayarme (2×); mevairme. = 10	[supra (SyP) te la va a ogar]? (IBS) me vo ezmayar. = 1

Person	Case	Common forms	Particular forms
TU	Ir a + inf. > vas, vaz a + inf.	(SyP) te vas a kitar los ojos; ande vaza topar; vas a kedar; va za tomar [<i>sic</i>]; le vaz a darle; lo ke vas a trayer; la vaza konoser; la vas a konoser; vaz a vinir. (Kula) me vas a dar; no vas a beber; vas a kedar tadre; me ivas a dar; me vas a trayer; no vas a djugar; vas a tomar; te vas a kazar; lo vas a vazyar; no ivas a tener de menester. (Ch.Kula) vas a venir; vas a topar. (OO) vaza repozar; vaza parir. (RoB) ke vaza demandar. (IBS) la vaz a beber; te vas a kayer. (KaH) mevaza dar; tevasa komportar [<i>sic</i>]. = 28	0
	Ir a + vow. [a] > vaz + inf. / vas / vaz a + inf.	(Kula) me vas azer rizil. (Ch.Kula) te vas azer muy muy rika. (RoB) te va zazer [<i>sic</i>]. (KaH) mozvaz azer peleyar. = 4	(SyP) te vaz a azer. (Kula) no vas a avlar. = 2
	Ir a + other vow. > vaz a / vas a + inf.	(SyP) Tevaza eskalavrarte. (Kula) no te vas a ir; no te vas a olvidar; vaz a echar. (IBS) la vaz a eçar. = 5	0

Person	Case	Common forms	Particular forms
EYA / EL / IMP.	Ir a + cons. > va + inf. (notice 4 cases of maintaining the prep. a)	(SyP) le va dar; le va romper los guesos; seva yirse; seva gustar; batireyar moz va; se va bolar; ken seva pensar por ti?; Yene va salir pleto; ke bueno iva ser; moz va kaçar atodoz; me va bezar. (Kula) ya me iva kayer la nariz; lo ke te va vinir a la kavesa; mi ijo va salir doktor; si va ser lo mizmo; i el yokuş ke va suvir; ke va ser nuestro avenir?; de ken me va vinir a mi letra? No se si se va kreyer; la iva tomar de baldes; avinir bueno va tener Sarika; el djugo mos va ‘mostrar todo; te iva demandar una koza; se va yirse. (Ch.Kula) no se va saver; te va darte (2×); por suvenir te va kedar; ken me va yorame; ken me va kuzirme mi mortaja; ke va ser de mi?; el me va merkar sapatos. (BB) ke me va tomar? (OO) Şapat nova vinir; ya te va tomar. (RoB) ande se va kedar?; se va kedar; la otra vez keva vinir; va vinir aki; aken va kedar (la) erensya; nova topar novyo. (IBS) kualo se va yagladear?; voz va pizar; voz se va haminiyar los meoyos; non va ser koza; El me va ver; Kualo iva ser nuestro hal?; va vinir una luyva fuerte; se me va mojar la kavesa; me va bolar la permanant; va ser mas fasil; non se va murir. (KaH) Illa keva reparar las kozas de kaza; moz-va derrokar el apartamento. = 54	(Kula) djuro ke no se iva a kazar; (BB) me va akitar [sic] loka; ke va a dizir?; la va a deşar. = 4
	Ir a + vow. [a] > va + inf.	(SyP) komo va azer?; Ke va azer?; se va avrir; voz va ayudar; ya se va azer Şabat; kualo se va azer? (Ch.Kula) ya va [a]maneser; teva ‘zerte (2×); ken me va asenderme mi kandela?. (OO) komo va azer idare todo? (KaH) no save loke va azer!; (Bedia) teva avrir las çakras. = 12	0
	Ir a + other vow. > va + inf. / va ‘ inf.	(SyP) se va irse; (Kula) de ti se va ‘spantar; se le va ir; ya va estar mas mijor; Todo se va ‘nderechar. (IBS) Ke me va uydeyar. (KaH) meva embiyarme; Ande va estar. = 8	0

Person	Case	Common forms	Particular forms
MOZOS	Ir a + cons. > vamos a/ vamoz a + inf.	(SyP) ande va moz [<i>sic</i>] a topa un lugar; lo ke vamoza penar [<i>sic</i>] para topa; ya le vamos a dar (dota). (Kula) mos vamos a meter a avlar; vamos a ke-dar tadre (2×); ya vamos a ver; a kualo vamos a djuar (2×). (OO) los vamos atomar [<i>sic</i>] meza franka; les vamos adar [<i>sic</i>] la kamaretika; selovamos atrayer [<i>sic</i>] komo novyo. (IBS) ke mos vamos a dritir (KaH) no vamos a komer? = 14	0
	Ir a + vow. [a] > vamos + inf.	(SyP) va mozazer kaşkarikas [<i>sic</i>]; supa de lente- jas vamos azer? (BB) mos vamos azer rezil. = 4	(SyP) ke vamoza [<i>sic</i>] azer (IBS) mira lo ke vamos a azer. = 2
	Ir a + other vow. > vamos a + inf.	(SyP) agora vamos a emesar; vamos a ensender la lámpara. (IBS) ya mos vamos a ir (...) a dezayunar. = 3	0
VOZOS	Ir a + cons. > vaj a + inf.	(OO) vos paresyo ke me vaja kandireyar. (KaH) Ah! Ivajaver! = 2	0
	Ir a + vow. a >	0	0
	Ir a + autre vow. > vaj a + inf.	(SyP) lo vaja espartar el papa! = 1	0

Person	Case	Common forms	Particular forms
EYOS / EYAS / IMP	Ir a + cons > van a + inf.	(Kula) le van a dar (2×); mos van a ver. (Ch.Kula) 0 (BB) no vana ver [<i>sic</i>]. (OO) te vana deşar uzur? [<i>sic</i>]. (RoB) ke vana dizir [<i>sic</i>]; ke vana meter (...) vergis [<i>sic</i>]. (IBS) mos van a kayer todas. = 8	(SyP) todoz se va yirse [<i>sic</i>].
	Ir a + vow. [a] > van + inf.	(Kula) i a ti te van azer. = 1	0
	Ir a + other vow. > van a + inf.	(SyP) se van a irse. (OO) melo ivan a inçer el meoyo. = 2	0

* Common abbreviations: inf. = infinitive; cons. = consonant; vow. = vowel; prep. = pre-position; imp. = impersonal.

TABLE 2. SECOND GROUP: OLDER PLAYS: *NDeH* 1939 AND *BULIS* 1953

Person	Case	Bulissa la Refrandjiya	El Nes de Hanuka
YO	Ir a + Cons. > (Bulis) Vo + inf. (4) > (NdeH) Vo + inf. (1) Vo a + Inf. (4)	me vo dever meter; ya vo salir loka; me vo permeter; te vo topar empies. = 4	lo vo yamar. = 1 te vo a mirar; ke foston te vo a merkar; te vo a regalar; me vo a pensar. = 4
	Ir a + vow. [a] > (NdeH) Vo a + inf. Vo + inf. Va + inf.	0	Te vo a azer. = 1 No vo aser (for azer, <i>sic</i>) ké te va azer agora = 2
	Ir a + other vow. > (Bulis) Vo + inf.	Ya vo estar al lado; no me vo olvidar. = 2	0
TU	Ir a + cons. > (Bulis) & (NdeH) Vas a / vaz a + inf.	vas a dizir; vas a saver; me vas a dar i lisyones; no me vas a deshar? = 4	Vas a ver; ya vas a ver; vaz a disir agomel. = 4
	Ir a + Vow. [a] > (NdeH) Vas + inf. Vas a + inf.	0	Mos vas apiadar. = 1 No te vas a araviar. = 1
	Ir a + other vow. > (Bulis) Vas a + inf.	vas a empesar; no vas a entender; ya vas a empesar. = 3	0

Person	Case	Bulissa la Refrandjiya	El Nes de Hanuka
EL EYA IMP.	Ir a + cons. > (Bulis) & (NdeH) Va + inf.	te va suvir la mezada; se ia kemar la sena; todo va vinir al lugar; no va kedar ansina. = 4	Si vas [<i>sic</i>] ser ijo; me va naser (2×); se te va kumplir; te va salir vedra; te va kitar; ya va vinir; moz va dar mu- cho bueno (2×); va ser un sinyor; me iva naser; va rea- lizar tu dezero. = 11
	Ir a + vow. [a] > (Bulis)& (NdeH) Va + inf.	Bueno se va azer; ke ia akonteser? = 2	Mos va azer el Dyo este nes; se va apiadar el Dio. = 2
	Ir a + other vow. > (Bulis) Va + inf.	Todo se va eskapar. = 1	0
MOZOS	Ir a + cons. > (Bulis) & (NdeH) Vamos a + inf.	Vamos a kedar kon la boka al aver. = 1	No vamos a kedar proves; vamos a tener un ijo; mos vamos a morir. = 3
	Ir a + vow. [a] > (NdeH) vamos + inf.	0	Mos vamos alishterear. = 1
	Ir a + other vow. > (NdeH) vamos a + inf.	0	Vamos a ir al kal. = 1
VOZOS	Ir a + cons.	0	0
	Ir a + vow. [a]	0	0
	Ir a + other vow. > (Bulis) vash a + inf.	Vos vash a olvidar de los días de apretó. = 1	0
EYOS EYAS Imp	Ir a + cons.	0	Van a dizir; mo la van a tomar de la mano. = 2
	Ir a + Vow. [a]	0	0
	Ir a + other vow.	0	0

9. Classification of occurrences and remarks

The first general remark is that we can see numerous crasis phenomena in 4 of these texts (*OO*), (*RoB*), (*KaH*), (*SyP*).

TABLE 3. SUMMARY OF THE REMARKS ON THE CONTEMPORARY PLAYS

Person	Ir a + inf.	Ir + inf.	Remarks
YO	0	67 va/ v'/ vo / iva + inf.	In the songs only (<i>Kula</i>), 3 occurrences of <i>vo</i> ; everywhere else <i>va</i> / <i>iva</i> . 1 occurrence of <i>v'</i> before <i>azer</i> . Numerous phenomena of crasis including the verb: <i>lokeva</i> , <i>loketeva</i> , <i>meva</i> (6×), <i>teva</i> (2×), <i>lova</i> , <i>losva</i> or assimilating <i>va</i> to the infinitive verb: <i>tevdar</i> ; <i>va-dar</i> ; <i>v'avlar</i> ; <i>mevairme</i> ; on the other hand a problem of segmentation of the verb <i>aogar</i> : <i>te la va a ogar</i> ; shows that the awareness of the prepositional construction with <i>a</i> has not completely disappeared for this person.
TU	35 vas/vaz/ivas a + inf.	4 vaz/vas + inf.	Before the vowel [a] the preposition <i>a</i> is assimilated in 4 cases, while 2 others keep the hiatus. The phenomena of crasis indicate a certain difficulty in analyzing the amalgamated formants: <i>vaza</i> (5×); <i>mevaza</i> ; <i>tevaza</i> ; <i>tevasa</i> ; <i>mosvaz</i> ; and a possible identification of <i>va</i> as a future prefix in <i>va zazer</i> , even though a typo cannot be ruled out. The spelling <i>va za</i> seems to go in the direction of the emergence of a single prefix <i>va</i> as a future marker.

Person	Ir a + inf.	Ir + inf.	Remarks
EL/EYA	4 <i>va/ iva a + inf.</i>	74 <i>va / iva + inf.</i>	4 cases only of maintenance of the preposition, and the graphic division <i>me va akitar loka</i> should be noted. Here too we notice several crasis phenomena: <i>meva</i> ; <i>teva</i> ; <i>seva</i> (3×); <i>mozva</i> ; <i>nova</i> (2×); <i>keva</i> (2×). Before an infinitive that starts with the vowel [a] we can observe the problems of segmentation: <i>ya va maneser</i> (the etymological <i>a</i> of the verb is assimilated to the auxiliary <i>ir</i> or has disappeared), <i>moz va 'mostrar</i> (the prosthetic form of the verb, <i>amostrar</i> , is the most common - the apostrophe marks the awareness of an elision) and <i>tev 'azerte</i> which shows its disappearance. In front of a vowel other than [a], the elision of the initial vowel can also be seen in two cases: <i>se va 'nderechar</i> ; <i>se va 'spantar</i> . An interesting case is the passage of the auxiliary after the infinitive verb: <i>bati-reyar mos va</i> .
MOZOS	19 <i>vamos / vamo a + inf.</i>	4 <i>vamos / vamo + inf.</i>	It is probably here that we see the greatest evolution towards a new form of future. Certainly the cases with the preposition are much more numerous, as expected; but the spelling shows a real difficulty in analyzing the elements between auxiliary / preposition / infinitive verb form: <i>va moz a topar</i> ; <i>va mozazer</i> isolate a particle <i>va</i> lacking morphological marking; the text (<i>SyP</i>) shows a fluctuation before the verb <i>azer</i> : <i>vamos azer / va mozazer/ vamoza azer</i> ; and the breakdown fluctuates between <i>vamoza penar / vamos a em-pesar</i> ; <i>vamos a dar</i> ; <i>vamos a ensender</i> . (<i>OO</i>) directly equates the preposition <i>a</i> with the infinitive verb as a prefix <i>vamos atomar</i> ; <i>vamos adar</i> ; <i>selovamos atrayer</i> .

Person	Ir a + inf.	Ir + inf.	Remarks
VOZOS	3 <i>vaja</i> / <i>ivaja</i> + inf.	0	There are only 3 occurrences; none of them concerns an infinitive beginning with [a]; but we note in the 3 texts the crasis between auxiliary and preposition; and a difficulty in analyzing the form in auxiliary / preposition / infinitive verb in <i>ivajaver</i> .
EYOS/ EYAS	10 <i>van a</i> / <i>vana</i> / <i>ivan a</i> + inf.	1 <i>van</i> + inf. beginning with [a]	A non-tuned form not significant; the form fluctuates in several texts between a tracking of detached auxiliary / preposition / verb elements and syncrastic forms: <i>tevana</i> or <i>vana</i> + inf. (4×); sometimes in the same text.

TABLE 4. SUMMARY OF REMARKS ON THE OLDER PLAYS

Person	Ir a + inf.	Ir + inf.	Remarks
YO	5 <i>vo a</i> + inf.	10 <i>vo</i> / <i>va</i> + inf.	The occurrences with preposition all come from (<i>NdeH</i>) which is the oldest text; it also presents a variation on the form of the auxiliary <i>vo</i> / <i>va</i>. There is only one occurrence of <i>va</i> (out of 15) and it is before an infinitive beginning with [a] (<i>azer</i>) and it alternates in the same text with the form with preposition (<i>no vo aser; sic</i>). The most common form is without preposition but without a modification of the auxiliary. It is the avoidance of the hiatus that may have motivated the dominance of the forms without preposition.

Person	Ir a + inf.	Ir + inf.	Remarks
TU	11 <i>vas / vaz a + inf.</i>	1 <i>vas + inf.</i> starting with [a]	In the 2 nd person, all occurrences (or almost all) are with the form <i>vas</i> and the preposition. Only 1 occurrence out of two infinitive verbs beginning with the letter [a] comes from the text (<i>NdeH</i>) which shows a possible fluctuation in this case only.
EL EYA	0	21 <i>va / ia / iva + inf.</i>	Unlike the 2 nd person, the entire occurrences in both texts do not have the preposition. The phonetic process argument that the auxiliary form <i>va</i> absorbs the preposition <i>a</i> is valid here.
MOZOS	6 <i>vamos a + inf.</i>	0	The systematic presence of the preposition in auxiliary cases with 1 st person plural inflection confirms that it is the phonetic reason that determines the presence or absence of the preposition.
VOZOS	1 <i>vash a + inf.</i>	0	Only one occurrence is too weak to draw a conclusion; let us just note that we are still in the logic of a phonetic explanation here.
EYOS EYAS	2 <i>van a + inf.</i>	0	Same remark.

10. General conclusions

Generally speaking, the distinction of infinitives beginning with a vowel other than [a] is not relevant. They follow the case of infinitives beginning with a consonant.

The phonetic concern for the avoidance of hiatus is not absent, however, since there are very clear phenomena of elision (*yo va 'vlar*; *teva 'zerte*; *se va 'nderechar*; *se va 'spantar*; *moz va 'mostrar*). But the only argument of the elision of the preposition before a word beginning with [a] does not

hold, if we consider that in some cases, the 3rd person form of the verb *ir*, followed by the preposition:

- Does not have an elision (*se iva a kazar; me va akitar (sic) loka; ke va a dizir?; la va a deshar*).
- Or that the hiatus appears in some forms with or without a preposition (*te vaz a azer; no vas a avlar; vamos a azer; va azer* [4×]; *me va alevantar; me va asentar; va aferrar; me va azer*).
- Finally, the hiatus with vowels other than [a] is much more important in number than the elisions.

Besides, what we notice, especially because of the numerous crasis phenomena, is the difficulty to identify as independent morphemes a pronoun + an auxiliary + a preposition + an infinitive. This is particularly clear when the infinitive verb is impacted. This occurs in amalgamated forms (*vadar* (2×); *mevairme; ivajaver*). We also see, in several persons, the preposition merge at the head of the infinitive [especially in the text (**OO**) *vamoz atomar*], and there is a hesitation on the exact form of the verb, which joins the forms with a prosthetic *a-* (Varol 2008: 113).

We also notice that in the 1st person singular, the auxiliary *vo* + preposition is synthesized in all cases into a form *va*, as in the 3rd person singular. The present tense *vo* appears only in the older songs of the play, *Kula* '930 (**Ch.Kula**).

In a very large number of cases, the preposition *a* when present (in the 4 persons ending with a consonant) is joined to the auxiliary: *vaza* / *vasa* (8×); *vamoza* (2×); *vaja* (2×); *vana* (4×).

Other, rarer phenomena show the evolution towards grammaticalization and the loss of semantic meaning taken by the auxiliary. Firstly, the dissociation of the personal inflectional mark in the case of *vamos* and *vaz*, whether it becomes independent or merged with the infinitive verb or the preposition *a*, isolates a single prefix *va*: *va za; te va zazer; va moz; va mozazer*. We believe that the shift of the complement pronoun and auxiliary to the 3rd person behind the infinitive verb, *batireyar moz va* goes in the same direction.

Anderson (1979) gives the following forms as a Central American future tense paradigm: *yo vadormir; tu va:dormir; el/ella va:dormir; nosotros vamos a dormir; Uds va a dormir; ellos/ellas va a dormir*.

We can outline the following paradigm in modern Judeo-Spanish from Istanbul: *yo vadar; tu vazadar; el/eya vadar; mozos vamozadar; vozos vajadar; eyos/eyas vanadar*.

This shows that Judeo-Spanish, far from being a dead language, continues to innovate, here in the general sense of Spanish, but if the passage of the auxiliary behind the infinitive were to be repeated, we could end up with suffixed synthetic forms (**darva*, **darvas*, **darva*, **dárvamos*, **darvaj*, **darvan*) in accordance with what has already happened in the history of the Romance future. It is to be hoped that Judeo-Spanish will have enough time to achieve this.

This is a wish that David Bunis and his colleagues and friends share with me.

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PROPOSAL FOR A DATABASE OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC LOANWORDS IN JEWISH LANGUAGES AND ITS ASSOCIATED CORPUS¹

Sarah BUNIN BENOR

1. Introduction

David M. Bunis' (1993) *Lexicon of the Hebrew and Aramaic Elements in Modern Judezmo* is a treasure trove of information on Judezmo (also known as Judeo-Spanish, Ladino, etc.). The Lexicon presents 4500 Hebrew and Aramaic words used within Judezmo speech and writing, along with details of semantics, phonology, and morphosyntax, as well as derivative forms, example sentences, and bibliographic sources. Here is a sample entry of average length (Bunis 1993: 348):

¹ I'd like to thank David M. Bunis for many years of teaching, mentorship, and encouragement. I'm glad the editors of this volume gave me the opportunity to honor David in this way. I'm grateful to Benjamin Hary for his collaboration on a conference presentation on this material, from which many of the ideas and examples in this paper stem. Thank you to the member organizations of the Jewish Language Consortium and various individuals I consulted for their feedback on a grant proposal related to this idea. Thank you to Jonathan May for his answers to my questions about natural language processing and machine learning. And thank you to the editors and reviewers for their helpful feedback on earlier drafts of this paper.

2957. סיבה <sybh>. *sibá* f. ‘cause; reason’ (Moskona 1971:212; Rosanes 1930:286) [סיבות <sybwt> WH: *siboð* (informant, b. Thessaloniki)]. *El fwe sibá* ‘el fue la causa’ (Molho ms.). R: *aver si li diskuvrirá il *šex purké sibá fwe *zuxé a saver estu* ‘to see if the sheikh will divulge to him for what reason he was privileged to know this’ (Papo 1862:5b).

Expression: R: *por sibá ke* ‘because, by reason of the fact that’. R: *no si jugó il restu pur sibá ki fwerun *talmidim* ‘they did not perform the rest [of the play] because they were young pupils’ (Ko[n]fino 1862:9a).

Many entries are much longer. The entry for *mazal* spans more than six columns, including derived forms like *mazalona* ‘female magician’, *enmazalarse* ‘to become happy, fortunate’, and *mazaliko* ‘marriage partner, sparrow used in fortune-telling, lottery’, and expressions like *ní pesax sin maša ní meza sin mazal* ‘neither Passover without matzah nor a table without luck’.

This book is useful for students and scholars studying Judezmo, but it also provides information of interest to historians of Sephardic Jews and linguists analyzing the use of Hebrew around the world. In his preface to Bunis’ *Lexicon*, Shelomo Morag articulates the applications of this book and similar compilations. He writes that the “Integrated Corpus”—the set of Hebrew and Aramaic loanwords—in each Jewish language

portrays life in the community, of the individual and the public, in all of its aspects: learning and ignorance, wisdom and stupidity, happiness and misery. This corpus is largely tinged with traits of humour and, needless to say, is strongly linked with the domain of folklore. When examined profoundly it also yields data that are of relevance for the history and the sociology of the community. In some languages it reflects social stratifications and streams of ideology in the community (Morag 1993: 10).

Another important contribution of David M. Bunis is the comparative analysis of Jewish languages (e.g., Bunis 1981, 2008, 2009), especially his in-depth studies comparing the two most extensively studied Jewish languages, Yiddish and Judezmo (Bunis 1981, 2005, 2013, 2020). Bunis has compared many aspects of the Hebrew/Aramaic components of Yiddish and Judezmo, including the phonological and morphological realization of animate nouns and adjectives, which Hebrew/Aramaic words occur in each language, how they vary semantically, and how their occurrence correlates with speaker/writer, genre, and topic.

What if we were to extend Bunis-style Hebrew loanword lexicography and comparative analysis to other Jewish languages? It would be difficult

to match Bunis' rigor and thoroughness, which manifest in articles that are almost long enough to be monographs. But even a less comprehensive multilingual analysis would increase our understanding of Jews, language, and Jewish languages. In this article, I make the case for facilitating such analysis by building a corpus of spoken and written materials in many Jewish languages and linking it to a semi-automated comparative concordance/dictionary/database of Hebrew and Aramaic words in Jewish languages.

2. Why Hebrew loanwords?

Hebrew/Aramaic loanwords are just one feature that many Jewish languages share. Other common (but not universal) features include a Hebrew-based orthographic system, influences from other languages spoken by Jewish communities, archaic features, and migrated regional features (Weinreich 2008[1973]; Bunis 1982; Bar-Asher 2002; Hary 2009; Maman 2021). Ideally, comparative linguistic analysis of Jewish communities would address these and other common features, correlating the extent of their presence with various independent variables like openness of society, time from immigration, textual authority, and Jewish population concentration (Benor 2008; Benor & Hary 2018). Hebrew/Aramaic loanwords are conducive to this kind of comparative analysis because most Jewish communities study and recite a common canon of Jewish sacred texts and therefore share a common set of prospective loanwords. By comparing which words are used and how they are integrated, we can gain a better understanding of the commonality and diversity of Jewish languages.

3. Finding data

To conduct any comparative analysis of Hebrew/Aramaic words in Jewish languages, we need data. An easy way to find non-systematic data is by using dictionaries. One could begin with Maman's (2019) *Synoptic Dictionary of the Hebrew Component in Jewish Languages Based on the Collection of Shelomo Morag*, which presents data from decades of research on this topic, culled from scholars and informants who participated in Morag's regular meetings at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. We might add to this several dictionaries of Hebrew/Aramaic words in other Jewish

languages, including Judezmo (Bunis 1993), Haketia (Bentolila 2015), Moroccan Judeo-Arabic (Bahat 2002), Tunisian Judeo-Arabic (Henshke 2007), Judeo-Italian (Modena 2022), Yiddish (Niborski 2012), and Jewish English (Glinert 1992). To this we can add the set of online collaborative lexicons for contemporary Jewish varieties of Brazilian Portuguese, English, French, German, Latin American Spanish, Russian, and Swedish (Benor 2002-present). While these online lexicons include words from many languages, including Yiddish, Judezmo, and Judeo-Arabic, the words from Hebrew and Aramaic could be isolated using their filter functions.

This corpus of dictionaries would provide data on the presence of particular Hebrew/Aramaic words in multiple languages. But to conduct a more systematic, in-depth analysis, researchers need data on use—frequency, phonological realization, morphosyntactic integration, etc.—which is only partially available in some of these dictionaries. To find this data on a large scale, researchers would spend years tracking down bibliographic references and culling through texts. Information on phonology would not be available in most written sources, only in audio or audiovisual sources (such as the Jewish English Lexicon, which includes sound recordings for each entry) or linguistic studies that include phonetic transcription (e.g., Crews 1935; Bunis 1993). A possible limitation is that there are no such dictionaries for many Jewish languages, just scattered articles that focus on the Hebrew component of specific languages (e.g., Sabar 1999 on Jewish Neo-Aramaic; Krivoruchko 2001 on Judeo-Greek) or mention select words as part of a broader analysis of a particular language (e.g., Borjian 2019 on Judeo-Isfahani; Lomtadze & Enoch 2019 on Judeo-Georgian). One could also find data in edited volumes about the Hebrew/Aramaic component of multiple languages (e.g., Baumgarten & Kessler-Mesguich 1996; Morag, Bar-Asher & Modena 1999; Khan 2013) and comparative analyses that have data on particular languages (e.g., Weinreich 2008 [1973]; Birnbaum 1979; Bunis 1981; Wexler 1981; Mayer Modena 1986; Morag 1992; Szulmajster-Celnikier 1994; Bar-Asher 1998; Aslanov 2010).

One reason that we do not yet have comprehensive dictionaries of all Jewish languages—or even just of their Hebrew/Aramaic words—is that the compilation process is so labor-intensive. For example, Bunis' dictionary involved manually searching over 400 sources (many books, decades-long runs of several newspapers, and previous scholarship), eliciting spoken data from informants, and then transcribing all of this data into a unified Latin-letter system, translating much of it into English, and presenting it in a form accessible to the public—with citations for each attes-

tation and an index of 7130 distinct phonological forms. However, emerging technologies of machine learning and the methodologies of corpus linguistics can potentially expedite the lexicographic process. The techniques have advanced enough to automate much of the work of compiling dictionaries by linking them to texts (e.g., Janssen 2012, a POS Tagger for Grammatical Neologism Detection; Oz & Shani 2012, which trained Tesseract-OCR for Hebrew letters with nikud; Hermjakob, May & Knight 2018, a universal romanization tool; Bleaman 2022, tools for converting and transliterating multiple orthographic systems of Yiddish; see also Quintana 2020 on applying such tools to a Judezmo corpus).

To operationalize this for Jewish languages, I propose these steps:

- 1) Build a large corpus of written documents and transcribed spoken recordings in dozens of Jewish languages. This corpus would encompass existing corpora, such as for Judeo-Arabic, Judezmo, and Yiddish (e.g., Tirosh-Becker & Becker 2022; Quintana 2020; Yiddish Corpus n.d.), and various full-text collections not specifically crafted as corpora.² Beyond these, the corpus should include a representative sample of genres, time periods, and authors/speakers in each language, yielding a corpus of thousands of documents. Over time, the corpus should be expanded, eventually to include millions of documents—ideally all known texts and recordings in all Jewish languages.
- 2) Using metadata mapping, unify existing metadata systems, and add additional metadata. Metadata for each document should include language(s), original form (print, manuscript, audio, audiovisual), year of composition/recording, genre (rabbinic writing, periodical, belles lettres, Bible translation, interview, etc.), author gender, author status (rabbinic/lay), primary city/town where the author/speaker grew up, and location of publication/recording.
- 3) Digitize all manuscripts and printed materials that have not yet been digitized. To the extent possible, process them using OCR (Optical Character Recognition). This is likely to require development of new OCR programming for printed orthographies, handwritings, and page layouts not yet recognized.

² See partial list at www.jewishlanguages.org/resources [consulted: 28-04-2023].

- 4) Transcribe all audio and audiovisual material, using machine learning when possible and manually when the existing data is not sufficient to enable automation.
- 5) Using API, design an interface that will search all of the Hebrew-loanword dictionaries cited above, as well as Ma'agarim (n.d.), the Academy of the Hebrew Language's historical Hebrew dictionary/concordance/database for lexemes and present the unified results in one Hebrew-word database.
- 6) Using machine learning, tag all instances of Hebrew words in documents and transcriptions, linking them to the appropriate entry in this Hebrew-word database. Identify and unify multiple forms of particular words using phonological matching and morphological parsing algorithms, supplemented by manual coding.
- 7) Automatically translate Hebrew source entries (not the loanwords themselves) into English with the help of a Hebrew-English dictionary and transliterate Hebrew source entries into Latin letters using a romanization algorithm based on Biblical Hebrew phonology.
- 8) Create a user interface that enables searching and browsing words by Hebrew source word (with multiple spellings), source *shoresh* ('root'), where applicable, and English gloss of Hebrew word, as well as by source document according to language, location, time range, author gender, original form, and genre.
- 9) Create a backend that enables manual additions of entries and of information about each entry in each language.
- 10) Manually add additional entries and additional information about some entries, based on previous scholarship and suggestions from scholars and native speakers.

At its completion, this process should yield not only a large corpus of Jewish language material but also a concordance of Hebrew words in Jewish languages. The vision is that each entry will include the word in Hebrew letters, romanization of the Hebrew source form, English gloss of the Hebrew source form, all languages in the corpus in which that word appears, and all instances of that word in the corpus. The database will be searchable by the *shoresh* and by all morphologically inflected forms of the word, including those with non-Hebrew morphemes (such as *mazaliko*). The document tags will enable users to determine the locations, years, forms, and genres of the documents that use the word and some social traits of the author/speaker (gender, rabbinic/lay). The connection to the

Ma'agarim database will automatically tag each entry for all Hebrew/Aramaic sources in which it appears (*Torah, Siddur, Haggadah, Talmud Yerushalmi*, etc.).

4. Analyzing data

This database will enable researchers to explore questions about Hebrew/Aramaic loanword use in particular Jewish languages, as well as comparative questions regarding multiple Jewish languages. Researchers will be able to search for a particular word and determine which languages the word appears in. They might ask questions like these:

- Which forms of the *shoresh* ב.ר.ך. (*b.r.k.*) appear in which Jewish languages?
- Which Jewish languages use variants of פחד (*paḥad*) to refer to ‘fear’?
- Which Jewish languages use variants of ערל (*ʿarel*) to refer to ‘Christian’?

Because this database will be connected to a large corpus of written and spoken language of diverse genres, time periods, and authors/speakers, frequency analysis will be possible. We will be able to determine not only which words appear in which languages, but also how frequently those words appear in those languages. We will be able to quantify both types and tokens of the Hebrew and Aramaic component in each Jewish language (as represented in this corpus), and we can divide these numbers by the overall word count to analyze what percentage of the lexicon is made up of Hebrew/Aramaic words (see discussion in Mark 1954; Wexler 1981; Bunis 1982, 1993). We can extend this comparative analysis to sociolinguistic variation, comparing time periods, genres, and author/speaker gender, for example. We can also conduct a frequency analysis comparing Hebrew words to their non-Hebrew correlates. For example, we might determine whether Hebrew-origin euphemisms like *rouxoth* (‘airs, farts’) and *rimonim* (‘pomegranates, breasts’) in Judeo-Greek are used more or less than the Greek equivalents for ‘farts’ and ‘breasts’. Claims about frequency should be qualified depending on the corpus for that language. For example, if Judeo-Greek is represented only in texts and not in recordings

of spoken language, frequency analysis of Hebrew loanwords in Judeo-Greek must be limited to written language.

By clicking on the excerpts of text in which the word appears, site users will be able to learn more information about the semantics of each word and its morphosyntactic integration in each language. If the text has an associated audio recording, then analysis of phonological realization will also be possible. Here are some questions researchers might ask:

- In which languages does קהל (*qahal*) refer to synagogue?
- Which Hebrew/Aramaic loanwords are used in conjunction with semantically equivalent forms in the matrix language, known as etymologically multilingual tautological compounds (Zuckermann 2003; see discussion in Bar-Asher 1978, Mayer Modena 1986 and Tedghi 1995), e.g., Jewish Neo-Aramaic: *gintid gan- 'eden* 'Garden of Eden', Judeo-Arabic (Sefrou): *helluf-hazir* 'pig' *b-s-səmḥa w-əl-fərḥa* 'with great joy'.
- When are Hebrew words integrated directly (e.g., Western Yiddish *houleche* 'to go' < Heb. הולך *holekh*) vs. periphrastically (e.g., Juhuri *monuho bire* 'to die' < Heb. *mānuḥāh* מנוחה 'rest' + Tat *bire* 'to be')? How does this differ across language families, e.g., Iranian vs. Romance vs. Semitic?
- To what extent are nouns pluralized with Hebrew vs. matrix language morphology (e.g., Jewish English *lulavim* vs. *lulavs*)?
- What are the realizations of ש (*sayin*) in various Jewish languages (e.g., Judeo-Arabic [ʕ], Judeo-Georgian [q], Judeo-Italian [ŋ])?

Another line of inquiry is the sources of Hebrew/Aramaic words (see discussion of this regarding Judezmo in Schwarzwald 2020, for example). Researchers might ask: How many Hebrew/Aramaic words in each language also appear in the *Siddur*, *Torah*, etc.? To what extent are the meanings of those words different in various Diaspora vernaculars compared to the original Hebrew/Aramaic sources? If a particular word has similar meanings in multiple languages that differ from the Hebrew texts, we might look to spoken languages as a source of influence. If many Hebrew loanwords are used with forms and meanings similar to one Hebrew text (e.g., *Siddur*) but not another (e.g., *Mishnah*), we might draw conclusions about that text being more influential as a source of Hebrew loan words. However, it would be difficult to determine with certainty that a word came only from one particular source, as multiple sources of continuing influence are more likely. Analysis can also be conducted in the opposite direction:

going through a commonly recited Hebrew text like the *Shema* or the Passover *Haggadah* and determining how many of those words are found in Diaspora Jewish languages.

We might also look for words that are found in a Diaspora Jewish language but not in textual sources (as indicated by their absence in texts before the Modern Hebrew period in the Ma'agarim database). Examples include Jewish English *בת-מצוה* *bat mitzvah* 'girl's coming of age ceremony', Judezmo *בעל הבטחה* *balafata* 'optimist', and Yiddish *קבצנות* *kaptsones* 'poverty'—words we might consider native coinages rather than textual loanwords. We will also find Hebrew words in Jewish languages that are found only in the Modern period of Hebrew or only in that usage in the Modern period, such as *עליה* *aliyah* 'immigration to Israel' and *טיול* *tiyul* 'fieldtrip' in Jewish Swedish (Lebenswerd 2018; see also Held 2008 on Judezmo and Sabar 1975 on Jewish Neo-Aramaic, for example).

Using the database's filter functions, researchers will be able to conduct meta-analyses, answering questions like these:

- Inter-communal variation: How do the size of the Hebrew/Aramaic component and the presence of certain types of words correlate with independent variables, like the community's orientation to textual authority, Jewish education, and relations with non-Jews? For example, do communities that give more authority to rabbinic literature use more Hebrew words? Do Jewish groups that have better relations with their surrounding communities have fewer Hebrew-origin words for non-Jews?
- Inter-speaker variation: How do the number and types of Hebrew/Aramaic loanwords differ in speech and writing by women vs. men and rabbinic vs. lay writers? For example, are men and rabbis more likely than women and non-rabbis to use more Hebrew/Aramaic words and more words from the Talmud, such as *qal vahomer*?
- Genre variation: How do the number and types of Hebrew/Aramaic loanwords differ in material of different genres? For example, do Bible translations have few and rabbinic writings many? Does literary fiction have more than journalistic non-fiction? Do some words appear only in spoken and not in written language?

5. Challenges

The idea advanced in this paper is a complicated, expensive proposition. First, the technological challenges are significant. Automated processes like phonetic matching algorithms will require significant research and development by natural language processing experts. Programmers will have to develop and engage multiple OCR technologies to process different page layouts, orthographic systems, and handwriting—not a trivial task. Then they will need to find ways to automatically link the text in the written corpus with the Hebrew-word dictionary (which will combine print and online dictionaries of Hebrew words in Jewish languages with Ma’agarim). They will have to unify multiple spellings of the same Hebrew-origin word that stem from different Hebrew-letter orthographic systems, such as with or without *vav* or *yud* and with or without *niqqud* ‘diacritics indicating pronunciation’. I expect that programmers will develop and apply algorithms to address these issues to some extent, but some manual linking of words with divergent spellings may be necessary.

Relatedly, there are major challenges related to human resources and finances. The team must find people with the appropriate expertise—linguists, programmers, designers, information science experts, and people with reading ability in multiple languages—and find the funding to pay them to do the many layers of work necessary to make this idea a reality. Many person hours will be spent identifying materials, determining which are available publicly, and requesting permissions from scholars and publishers for those that are not. Funding will also be necessary to digitize existing dictionaries and incorporate them into the database and perhaps also to pay for the rights to use these dictionaries. When automatic speech recognition is not advanced enough to accurately transcribe a particular language (likely for these low-resourced languages), people with knowledge of each language and linguistic training will need to do this time-consuming work. Such people will also need to validate data generated automatically and to code manually what is missed. Library science and metadata experts will have to spend many hours creating mapping schema to link disparate information systems. Finally, a translator will need to be engaged so the user interface (not the entire database) will be available in both Hebrew and English.

Once these hurdles are overcome, there will be additional challenges. While there are thousands of texts in some Jewish languages, such as Yiddish, Judezmo, and Judeo-Arabic, other languages have less surviving written documentation. Some languages, like Judeo-Shirazi and Jewish

Neo-Aramaic, were rarely written and must be represented in the corpus primarily by transcriptions of recorded spoken data. Even languages that have some translations of sacred texts, such as Judeo-Georgian and Judeo-Greek, and languages that have some published books and periodicals, such as Bukharian and Juhuri, still require additional documentation to generate enough material to enable comparative analysis.

Spoken and written language differ significantly, and they likely use different Hebrew loanwords, representing different semantic domains. Therefore, data from spoken language, including documentation/sociolinguistic interviews and more naturalistic conversations, should be included in the corpus. Luckily, many fieldwork recordings and interview recordings exist, both in the collections of individual scholars and of various academic and documentation organizations, such as the National Library of Israel (including the National Sound Archives), Mother Tongue (Leshon Habayit, based in Israel), Endangered Language Alliance (New York), Wikitongues (worldwide), and the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Database (Cambridge, UK). The corpus team will have to transcribe these recordings and tag the Hebrew words so they will link to the appropriate entry in the Ma'agarim database.

In addition to the spoken speech samples already collected, additional documentation is necessary for many Jewish languages, especially Iranian languages like Judeo-Isfahani and Judeo-Kashani. Even languages that have significant amounts of data can be further documented in a standardized way. If interviewers followed Yehudit Henshke's protocol from Mother Tongue, they would likely obtain data with many Hebrew loanwords. They might ask about the following topics:³

- Lifecycle: pregnancy, childbirth, naming, circumcision, *zeved habat*, schooling, upbringing, *bar/bat mitzvah*, profession, courting, engagement, marriage, family life, illness, death, mourning.
- Jewish year cycle: traditions surrounding Shabbat, Rosh Hodesh, Rosh Hashana, Fast of Gedalia, Ten Days of Repentance, Yom Kippur, Sukkot, etc.
- Jewish society and community: gender roles, sayings and proverbs; songs/piyyutim, midrashim/stories/folktales, customs/beliefs re: evil eye, blessings, curses, etc., community council structure, educational facilities, charity associations, status and role of the

³ Adapted from www.lashon.org/en/node/189 [consulted: 23-03-2023].

speaker's family within the community, special events, relationships among families, relations with other communities, relations with non-Jews.

Another challenge is capturing all Hebrew loanwords that have been used by Jews, even with such a large corpus of written documents and interview transcripts. Some Hebrew loanwords are used primarily in particular spoken contexts, such as euphemism-laced lessons on marital relations or to maintain secrecy when a non-Jew nearby might understand their language. Such words would not generally be captured in general language documentation interviews or written texts. In these cases, explicit elicitation would be helpful. The gold standard in language documentation is to conduct the interview in the target language. But many interviewers do not have sufficient competency in that language, especially when that language is endangered. Instead, researchers might conduct their elicitation in a different language they have in common, such as Modern Hebrew, English, French, Persian, or Russian. They might ask how the interviewee referred to particular referents that are often expressed with Hebrew loanwords in many Jewish languages. Examples might include:

- Passover: Happy Passover, *seder* plate/table, *kosher* for Passover, *haroset*, God took the Israelites out of Egypt.
- Death: S/he died (and is it different for Jews and non-Jews?), phrase used after stating the name of someone who has died (e.g., *Salav hashalom* 'peace be upon him', *zikhrona livrakha* 'may her memory be for blessing'), phrase said to mourners (e.g., *Min hashamayim tenuhamu* 'may you be comforted from the heavens', *May you have a long life* [a Jewish English coinage]), cemetery, gravestone.
- Non-Jews: Non-Jew(s), specific groups of non-Jews (e.g., Muslims, Christians, Armenians), evil non-Jew(s), non-Jewish holiday, non-Jewish house of worship (e.g., church, mosque), Jesus, Mary, Muhammad.

If they do not offer a Hebrew word, the interviewer might explicitly ask if they used a particular Hebrew word. For example, after asking, "How did you refer to non-Jewish holidays?" they might follow up with, "Did you ever use the word *haga*?" If the answer is affirmative, they can request that the speaker use the word in a sentence. The transcripts of these elicitation recordings can be added to the corpus, and particular words can

be tagged as Hebrew/Aramaic and linked to the appropriate entries in the database.

Even with all of these layers of data, it is possible that scholars and speakers who were not interviewed will identify Hebrew words that they know are used in Jewish languages but are not yet represented in the database. Therefore, there should be a way for individuals to suggest the addition of a particular word, tagged with any information they can provide about semantics, morphosyntax, phonology, etc. All submissions would be moderated.

One issue with using spoken data from multilingual consultants is the possibility of influence from their other languages. Interviewees might be familiar with particular Hebrew words and phrases from Modern Hebrew, Jewish English, Jewish French, or other contemporary Jewish languages, and they might not recognize which of those words they used within the language being documented. For example, in Mother Tongue interviews, which were conducted in Israel, we see many instances of translanguaging—incorporating Modern Hebrew into interviews targeting languages like Judeo-Arabic and Jewish Neo-Aramaic. More broadly, the documentation of endangered languages is difficult when the only speakers available are semi-speakers. These issues should be identified with metadata. Each interview should include information about the language proficiency and additional languages of the interviewees.

Time is running out for native speaker involvement in this process, as most longstanding Jewish languages are seriously endangered—spoken natively only by the elderly. While the corpus building process is a desideratum, the more urgent step is documentation, including natural, conversational language but also explicit elicitation. To encourage speakers to identify themselves and be recorded, much advocacy is necessary, as many communities have little respect for—or even awareness of—their ancestral languages.

Another problem is researching pronunciation based on the corpus. If the corpus is solely written (including broad non-phonetic transcriptions of audio and video recordings), then researchers will not know how words are pronounced. Ideally, the written transcripts will be linked to their source recordings and each Hebrew word will be isolated and included as a sound file in the entry in the database. If this idea is too ambitious, another option is to use timestamps in the written transcripts, so researchers will be able to find the relevant word in the audio or video recording and can more easily analyze phonology.

A related issue is transcription. If the database is to be searchable by Latin-letter forms of Hebrew/Aramaic loanwords, decisions will need to

be made about which romanization systems to use. Some languages have standardized systems, such as YIVO's system for Yiddish and Aki Yerushalayim's for Judezmo. In addition, some texts are available only in Latin or other alphabets, such as Cyrillic or Arabic, but the transcription in these texts is not necessarily standardized. In the absence of advanced phonetic matching algorithms, the Hebrew loanwords in these texts will need to be connected manually to the Hebrew dictionaries. Each Hebrew-origin word will need to be tagged as Hebrew and linked to the appropriate Hebrew source word.

A final challenge involves the scope of the corpus. Theoretically, any speech or writing by Jews could be included; not only languages written in Hebrew letters, but also languages written in Latin, Cyrillic, and other alphabets, as well as languages that have not been written. But this approach could be too broad, as literary works by Jewish authors that have no Jewish topical content or distinctive linguistic features would be included. Perhaps the criterion for inclusion should be that the works are written by Jews for primarily Jewish audiences. And perhaps there should be a requirement for the work to have at least one Hebrew loanword; otherwise it would not contribute to the Hebrew loanword database. This would exclude works by Ethiopian Jews before the Modern era, as they did not study and recite Hebrew texts in diglossia with their primary languages. A related question would be whether to include language by contemporary immigrant groups in Israel, such as Ethiopian, French, and Russian Jews (Teferra 2018; Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael 2018; Perelmutter 2018; Hary & Benor 2018). Their speech certainly includes Hebrew loanwords and other evidence of contact with Modern Hebrew. However, I believe this type of Hebrew influence is beyond the scope of the database and should be reserved for a different research project.

Another inclusion question relates to the boundaries of the Jewish community: who is a Jew? If the project's answer to this is based in self-designation, then some groups with relevant language data might be excluded. For example, Karaite communities in Egypt and the United States consider themselves to be Jews (distinct from Rabbinic Jews), but some contemporary Eastern European Karaite communities consider themselves to be a non-Jewish Turkic ethnic group. Would the corpus then include language samples from Karaite Egyptian Judeo-Arabic but exclude Turkic Karaim, which also uses many Hebrew loanwords? Similarly, various groups of American Black Hebrew Israelites consider themselves Israelites and not Jews, and they speak English with many Hebrew words, pronounced distinctly from American Jews. Would the corpus include their language?

Gold (1981) takes an expansive approach to these questions, extending “Jewish intralinguistics” to the speech and writing of Jews and related groups, including people who are descended from Jews but do not consider themselves Jewish. I believe this project should also take an expansive approach.

A related question is whether to include Hebrew loanwords that have become part of non-Jewish languages. Several Biblical Hebrew words, such as *shibboleth*, *behemoth*, *amen*, and *hallelujah*, became part of English and other European languages without Jewish involvement due to influence from Greek and Latin Bible translations. These words would be included in the database if they were used in any texts in the corpus, but perhaps they would be marked with a special designation. More recently, Hebrew-origin words have become part of English, German, Dutch, Arabic, and other languages through contact with Jews who spoke those languages, sometimes through professional jargons (Hary 2009; Hary & Wein 2013; Benor 2022). These words would be included in the corpus because of their presence in Jewish-authored texts. Ideally there would also be notation in their entries of their use beyond Jewish communities—a step that requires a burdensome, additional layer of research.

A final question is whether to include names as entries. Jewish communities have used thousands of Hebrew-origin personal names, some from the Bible and others from rabbinic literature and post-biblical naming traditions. In the modern era, this practice expanded to include Modern Hebrew names. Hebrew words have also been used for surnames, including those derived from personal names, those related to Kohen and Levi, and those designating occupations, such as Melammed and Gabbai. Finally, many toponyms have biblical Hebrew origins, especially in the Land of Israel but also in the New World. Should all of these proper nouns be included in this project’s dictionary of Hebrew words? If they are used in the corpus, they will automatically be findable through a search. And if they are found in the dictionaries (Ma’agarim n.d., Maman 2019, etc.), they will be tagged as Hebrew loanwords. To capture Hebrew-origin names not found in the corpus, lists of personal names and surnames (e.g., Beider 2001, 2017) might be added. Toponyms, such as Bethlehem, and ethnonyms, such as Hittite, might not be as relevant, as most are not specific to the language of Diaspora Jews. However, some have acquired special meanings in Jewish communities, such as *Ashkenaz*, *Sepharadi*, *amaleq*, and *sedom va’amora* (see, e.g., Lowenstein 2000; Demsky 2018). Decisions will have to be made about which names should be included in the database.

6. Conclusion

This paper has laid out an ambitious proposal for creating a corpus of Jewish language materials and an associated database of Hebrew loan-words—a proposal filled with challenges. I hope that people with backgrounds in corpus creation and natural language processing will execute the idea so linguists like me will be able to address new research questions. This project will enable the kind of comparative research that David M. Bunis called for in 1981 and has conducted in many projects in the four decades since. Such research has the potential to increase our understanding of Jewish communities, their use of texts, their relations with local non-Jews and remote Jewish communities, and diversity according to gender and rabbinic status. It will enable us to compare Jewish communities of diverse locations and eras and to refine theories of language contact, including the influence of texts on spoken language (see Neuman 2009). And it will allow us to formulate theories about the relationships among language and ethnicity, migration, diaspora, and religion—theories that can be tested among other groups, such as Roma, Muslims, and African-Americans (Benor & Hary 2018; see comparative analysis in Wexler 1974, 1980, 1986; Stillman 1991; Benor 2010; Hary & Wein 2013). In short, if these challenges can be addressed, this project will yield benefits for linguistics, Jewish studies, and beyond.

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K^ṯDAY ‘WORTHY’: AN EARLY JEWISH LANGUAGE FEATURE OF THE ARAMAIC DIALECT OF TALMUD YERUSHALMI AND RELATED SOURCES FROM THE LAND OF ISRAEL IN THE BYZANTINE PERIOD*

Ivri J. BUNIS

1. Introduction

Jewish languages are distinctive languages which arose among Jewish groups in contact with speakers of the non-Jewish correlate languages. They display unique linguistic features that developed under the influence of Jewish religious life and texts, and generally existed in a diglossic relationship with Hebrew and Aramaic. The most commonly known and studied Jewish languages developed in the Middle Ages and later (Bunis 2009: 167; 2018). As names of some of these languages such as Yiddish and Judezmo indicate, a number of them were in fact called ‘the Jewish language’ by both the Jewish speakers and their non-Jewish neighbors (Bunis 2008). One major characteristic of Jewish languages is their Hebrew component, which is composed of the Hebrew terms employed in Jewish religious life, of borrowings from the Hebrew of Jewish canonical texts

* With great love and honor, I dedicate this article to my father, David M. Bunis, who has inspired and nurtured my passion for Hebrew and other Jewish languages. Professionally and personally, he is such an indispensable and wonderful teacher and guide.

such as the Hebrew Bible, the Talmud and other textual sources,¹ and of the Hebrew terms employed for Jewish religious life. The use of Hebrew elements reflects the prestige that the Hebrew language enjoyed among Jews as their national and religious language.

Varieties of Aramaic that are unique to Jews are known from late antiquity, i.e., from before the development of languages more widely recognized as ‘Jewish languages’, such as Judeo-Arabic, Judezmo and Yiddish. However, it has been a matter of debate to what extent late antique Aramaic dialects employed by Jews, such as the dialect discussed in the present article, should be categorized as Jewish languages (Myhill 2009: 178). Specifically, were those Jewish Aramaic dialects shaped by similar factors to those which operated on later Jewish languages, such as the prestige of Hebrew and the influence of Jewish life, or were the linguistic forces that shaped those dialects the same as those that formed non-Jewish dialects?

In the present article, I wish to highlight a distinctive Jewish feature of an Aramaic dialect from late antiquity: the Aramaic dialect that is found in Talmud Yerushalmi, also termed the Jerusalem—or Palestinian Talmud; and in contemporaneous rabbinic texts originating in the Land of Israel. This dialect is often designated as Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (JPA). The linguistic feature I shall highlight is unique to the Talmudic Aramaic dialect, vis-à-vis the neighboring non-Jewish dialects of Aramaic; and more generally reflects an explicit preference to use a Hebrew element from Rabbinic Hebrew, likely with a Jewish religious connotation, over an existing parallel in Aramaic.

In scholarly literature, the terms Rabbinic Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew often interchange. The corresponding Hebrew terms are לשון חכמים *lašon ḥaxamim* ‘the language of the sages’ and לשון משנה *lašon mišna* ‘the language of the Mishnah’. Rabbinic Hebrew is not confined to the Mishnah, as the term Mishnaic Hebrew might imply, but is also found in other works from the Tannaitic and Amoraic periods. Those two terms derive from the respective titles of the sages of the Mishnah and contemporaneous literature, the Tannaim, and of the Talmudim, the Amoraim. The end of the Tannaitic period is usually placed around the time of the compilation of the Mishnah by Rabbi Judah the Prince (R. Yehuda HaNasi), circa 230 CE. Rabbinic Hebrew continued to be used in the subsequent Amoraic period, as documented in the two Talmudim, i.e., the Jerusalem Talmud

¹ See, for example, Bar-Asher (1998: 153-154) for the sources for the Hebrew loans in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic.

and the Babylonian Talmud; and in related Palestinian midrashic literature. The Tannaitic period and beginning of the Amoraic period overlap with the Roman rule in Palestine (6-390 CE). The rest of the Amoraic period coincides with the Byzantine period, ending with the Arab conquest of the region (390-636 CE). The common use of the term Rabbinic Hebrew is due to the prominence of the Tannaitic and Amoraic rabbinic corpora. By a broader definition, however, the term Rabbinic Hebrew also includes non-rabbinic documents, such as the Bar-Kochba letters from around the year 130 CE, and texts from Qumran such as the Copper Scroll dated to the first century CE.

An essential difference sets apart the texts of the Jerusalem Talmud and its Babylonian counterpart from earlier Tannaitic literature, namely, the choice of languages used for their composition. Earlier Tannaitic literature is almost entirely in Rabbinic Hebrew, whereas the Talmudim are composed in Rabbinic Hebrew, as well as in distinct dialects of Aramaic.

It should first be noted that the origins and status of Rabbinic Hebrew have been a subject for scholarly debate in recent centuries (Bar-Asher 2014: 265; Cook 2017). In the nineteenth century, Abraham Geiger, considered to be the founding father of reform Judaism—which opposed or minimized the use of Hebrew in its variant of the Jewish liturgy and urged its replacement by the local state language—popularized the view that among the Jews of the Land of Israel, Hebrew had died out as a living, spoken vernacular during the Second Temple period, at least two hundred years prior to the compilation of the Mishnah, having been replaced by Aramaic and Greek, but had remained in use ‘as Latin in the Middle Ages, a religious scholarly language’ (Geiger 1845: 1). Perhaps Geiger’s view was grounded in assimilationist ideology no less than in linguistic facts.

Since that time, however, many scholars have come to view the Hebrew of the Mishnah and other Tannaitic texts as reflecting a form of Hebrew still in use as a vernacular in Palestine before the close of the second century CE, or perhaps sometime later. This shift began with Segal’s publication of his *Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Segal 1927), and was strengthened by a cluster of linguistic indications in recently-discovered contemporaneous documents. Perhaps the most central piece of evidence was the discovery of the Hebrew Bar-Kochba letters in the Judean Desert, which show many similarities with Tannaitic Hebrew. In any event it is clear that Hebrew and Aramaic had been in prolonged contact in the Land of Israel when Rabbinic Hebrew and its precursors were still in use as spoken vernaculars (Cook 2017: 8).

In some respects, the situation of language contact between Aramaic and Hebrew in that early period is comparable to the contact between later Jewish languages and the languages of earlier Jewish texts. The Babylonian Talmud is perhaps the most influential body of literature with respect to the formation of post-Talmudic, pre-modern rabbinic Judaism. Its influence on later Jewish culture and identity is manifold, with one particularly marked area being language. The linguistic impact of the Babylonian Talmud is reflected in numerous Hebrew and Aramaic elements that it contributed to post-Talmudic Jewish languages. The borrowing of those linguistic elements was largely the result of engagement with the text of the Talmud.²

In late antiquity, speakers of Talmudic Aramaic likewise engaged with Jewish texts, composed in Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew. In the Amoraic period, Jews engaged with central Jewish texts that had come into existence in the preceding Tannaitic period. Likewise, during the Tannaitic period itself, the redaction of the Mishnah around 230 CE and other Tannaitic works, such as the Tosefta and Sifra, was but the endpoint of a gradual process that had produced redacted works, even before 230 CE (Safrai 1987: 71). Thus, in both periods, core Jewish texts composed in Rabbinic Hebrew, with which Jews could engage, existed in Palestine. Engagement with earlier Tannaitic texts in Rabbinic Hebrew is the central practice of the Amoraim, i.e., the rabbinic sages of the Talmudim, who regularly analyzed the words of their predecessors, the Tannaim, and continued to discuss many of the same topics.

Contact between Hebrew and Aramaic in Amoraic and especially Tannaitic Palestine had the additional dimension, mentioned above, which distinguishes it from later Jewish languages. Whereas post-Talmudic Jewish language speakers engaged with the early classical Jewish sources as texts in “a religious scholarly [written] language”, to paraphrase Geiger, for many centuries prior to the redaction of the Tannaitic and Amoraic Rabbinic Hebrew texts, Hebrew and Aramaic were both used in the Land of Israel as *spoken vernaculars*. In the Roman period, a large portion of the Jewish Hebrew speaking population, perhaps the majority, spoke Hebrew and Aramaic bilingually (Fassberg 2020).

Despite the many centuries of contact between spoken Hebrew and Aramaic among bilinguals, and the availability and importance of Jewish

² A classic example is the lexicon of Talmudic origin in Yiddish, analyzed in detail by Weinreich (1973: esp. I, 222, 229-230) and discussed critically by Katz (1985: 89).

texts in Rabbinic Hebrew in Roman and Byzantine Palestine, many scholars downplay any Hebrew influence on Aramaic in the centuries leading up to the compilation of the Mishnah in the early third century CE, and later on in the Amoraic period, and assume almost unidirectional influence of Aramaic upon Hebrew (Cook 2017). Additionally, when Aramaic influence on Hebrew is discussed, Aramaic is often taken as a monolithic whole, which gradually pushed Hebrew out in the Land of Israel, even though the three respective Aramaic dialects of the Jews, Samaritans and Christians attested from the Byzantine period show many differences in grammar and lexicon. This approach overlooks the large degree of linguistic variation among the Aramaic dialects of the Land of Israel and the possible factors for this variation, such as the unique religious-ethnic identity of the Jewish speakers as opposed to the others.

In fact, in an article devoted to the influence of Hebrew on Aramaic in Palestine, David Talshir has argued that the Aramaic dialect of the Jerusalem Talmud and related Talmudic literature shows the smallest degree of Hebrew influence of all the Aramaic dialects of Roman and Byzantine Palestine (Talshir 1995). Talshir bases his analysis on lexical items culled from a list compiled by B. Jacob, published in 1902 (Jacob 1902).³ Talshir’s conclusion that Hebrew did not influence the Aramaic dialect of the Palestinian Talmud is based on a quantitative measure, namely, of the number of definitively Hebrew lexical items found in JPA. Talshir’s list is no doubt incomplete and, relying on Jacob’s article, is obsolete. More importantly, such a list which simply counts words, misses the important qualitative facets of the lexical items found in JPA, that distinguish it as a Jewish dialect.

A very different approach is taken by Steven Fassberg, who has emphasized the influence that Hebrew has had on Jewish Aramaic dialects in late antique Palestine (Fassberg 2020: 13-16).⁴ The extent and nature of the influence of Hebrew on Jewish dialects of Aramaic in late antiquity is still in need of elucidation, however, as opposing views such as those expressed by Talshir and others demonstrate. This question—specifically, the influence of Hebrew as the primary language of Jewish life in late antique Palestine—on Jewish Palestinian Aramaic is at the heart of the present article.

³ The list of lexical items employed for Talshir’s analysis is given in Talshir (1995: 592), notes 20-21.

⁴ See also Fassberg (2016) for a more general overview of Hebrew-Aramaic language contact and mutual influence in antiquity.

Some comments on the varieties of Rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic that are under discussion are necessary. The Hebrew of the Jerusalem Talmud is a form of Rabbinic Hebrew that largely continues earlier Tannaitic Hebrew. On the other hand, its Aramaic dialect (JPA) is closely related to neighboring Samaritan Aramaic and Christian Palestinian Aramaic, all members of Late Western Aramaic. This is reflected in their respective typologies, being much closer to each other in their lexicon and in most grammatical features, than to geographically more distant varieties of Aramaic, such as Syriac or Jewish Babylonian Aramaic.

Very little is known about the Aramaic dialect spoken by some, or perhaps many of the Tannaim and their Jewish contemporaries. Since Tannaitic works such as the Mishnah were composed almost entirely in Rabbinic Hebrew, they reveal very little about the Aramaic dialect of the Tannaitic sages, spoken bilingually, beside Hebrew. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the Aramaic found in the Jerusalem Talmud alongside Hebrew largely continues the Jewish Aramaic dialect of the Tannaitic period.⁵

In the present article, I aim to demonstrate that the interaction between Rabbinic Hebrew and JPA, in the Amoraic period and likely earlier in the Tannaitic period, caused JPA to develop differently from the two neighboring, non-Jewish dialects of Aramaic. Focusing on a single lexico-syntactic feature, I shall exemplify how its development typologically parallels developments that are known from later Jewish languages.

The lexical feature, which together with its syntax will be analyzed presently, is an item missing from Talshir's list. The item, כָּדַי *kʰday*, highlights the uniquely Jewish character of JPA, compared with the contemporaneous, non-Jewish varieties. It also illustrates the close ties between Rabbinic Hebrew, in both its Tannaitic and Amoraic layers, with the Aramaic of Talmudic literature of Palestine. Importantly, it is not simply the lexical item but its syntactic use, i.e., the lexicosyntax that is unique to JPA and Rabbinic Hebrew, which stand in contradistinction to the non-Jewish dialects. The form כָּדַי *kʰday*, whose origin is Hebrew without a doubt, does not occur at all in Christian Palestinian Aramaic or in Samaritan Aramaic, the two contemporaneous, non-Jewish dialects of Aramaic in Palestine.

⁵ A different view is expressed by Talshir (1995).

2. כִּדְי *k^əday* ‘worthy’: A lexical item unique to Rabbinic Hebrew and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic

In the Talmudic period, the form כִּדְי *kdy* signifying ‘worthy’, otherwise spelled כִּדְי *kdy*, is found solely in Rabbinic Hebrew and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of Talmudic literature (Sokoloff 2017: 268b). Spellings, whereby final *-ay* is represented by *-י* *-y* or *-יי* *-yy* are typical of texts composed in the Land of Israel (Kutscher 1963: 251-253), whereas in the Rabbinic Hebrew of the Babylonian Talmud the spelling is usually כִּדְאִי *kd’y*, which was adopted in many later Jewish languages and in Modern Hebrew. Since my focus is on Talmudic texts of Palestinian provenance, I shall employ the spelling כִּדְי *kdy*.

In Michael Sokoloff’s dictionary of JPA, he lists כִּדְי *k^əday* as a single element, defined in the latest edition as an adverb, and in the previous edition as an adjective (Sokoloff 2017: 268b; 1992: 251b). Both editions also list two separate syntactic functions, one being ‘with following infinitive’. The other function is that of a predicate in the latest edition, and that of an adjective in the previous edition. My analysis shows that these definitions require emendation.

Firstly, in all its occurrences כִּדְי *k^əday* functions as the predicate of a verbless clause, whether modified by a following infinitive, as in (1), or not. Secondly, as a predicate, it cannot be parsed as an adverb. Thirdly, כִּדְי *k^əday* is indeclinable, predicating singular (1a) and plural subjects (1b), and thus, is not an adjective. Unmentioned by Sokoloff is that in JPA, the subject of כִּדְי *k^əday* is always a human being.

(1) כִּדְי *k^əday* in JPA

a. With singular subject

לִית הוּא כִּדְי לַמַּחְמִי סַבַּר אִפִּי (Genesis Rabbah, 328)⁶

<i>lyt</i>	<i>hw’</i>	<i>kdy</i>	<i>lmḥmy</i>
not	he	worthy	to-see.INF ⁷
<i>sbr</i>	<i>pyy</i>	countenance.CS	my-face
‘He is not worthy to see the countenance of my face’.			

⁶ Unless stated otherwise, all rabbinic sources in the present article are cited according to the texts available on the *Maagarim* database of the Academy of the Hebrew Language, available online: <https://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il/> [consulted: 23-03-2023].

⁷ The following linguistic glosses are used in the present article: ADJ adjective; COMP complementizer; CS construct state; DEF definite article; DO direct object; F feminine; HEB

b. With plural subject

לית אנן כדײ מצלייא ומתענייא (y. Taʿ. 1:4 [64b])

lyt 'nn kdyy mšlyy' w-mt'nyy'

NEG we worthy pray.INF and-be.answered.INF

‘We are not worthy of praying and being answered’.

In Rabbinic Hebrew, in both its earlier Tannaitic layer (2a) and its later Amoraic layer (2b), the morphosyntax and semantics are the same as in JPA: it is indeclinable, and functions as the predicate of a verbless clause, predicating subjects of any grammatical number and gender, as has been noted already by Gabriel Birnbaum (2007).⁸ Unnoticed by previous scholars is that the subject of כדײ *kʿday* in Rabbinic Hebrew is most often a human being, as are all occurrences of כדײ *kʿday* in JPA.

(2) כדײ in Rabbinic Hebrew

a. Tannaitic Hebrew

ואומרין לפנייה דברין שאינה כדײ לשומען (m. Sot. 1:4)

w-ʿwmryn lpny-h dbr-yn š-ʿyn-h kdyy

and-say.PART.MPL before-her thing-PL REL-NEG-3FSG worthy

lšwm-ʿn

to-hear.INF-them

‘And they say before her things that she is not worthy of hearing’.

b. Amoraic Hebrew

לא היו כדײ לקבל את התורה (Genesis Rabbah, p. 809)

l' hyw kdyy lqbl 't h-twrh

NEG be.PAST.3MPL worthy receive.INF DO the-Torah

‘They were not worthy of receiving the Torah’.

Hebrew origin element; IMPERF imperfect; IMPRV imperative; INF infinitive; NEG negator; PART participle; PL plural; REL relativizer; SG singular. An additional abbreviation used in the article is: JPA Jewish Palestinian Aramaic.

⁸ I thank Prof. Yochanan Breuer for this reference.

3. The etymology and historical development of כַּדַּי *k^oday* ‘worthy’

The form כַּדַּי *k^oday*, which is found exclusively in Rabbinic Hebrew and JPA, should no doubt be derived from the combination of the preposition כ- *k-* with the originally nominal element יַי *day* ‘measurement, sufficient degree’ (Birnbbaum 2007: 31; Even-Shoshan 2003: 740a), in the absolute state. This origin explains its morphosyntax, namely, it is a prepositional phrase which does not decline for number and gender. Therefore, in its solely attested syntactic function, as the predicate of a verbless clause, it does not agree morphologically with its subject. Nonetheless, כַּדַּי *k^oday* has likely undergone a degree of grammaticalization. It is syntactically restricted to predicative function, and semantic bleaching of its constituent parts is indicated by its meaning of ‘worthy’, mostly restricted to humans, rather than ‘as enough, as sufficient’.

The originally nominal form יַי *day* occurs in various constructions and functions in Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew. By contrast, in Aramaic it is limited to specifically Jewish dialects, and only occurs in a small number of specific constructions. Thus, it is clearly a Hebrew element, borrowed into the Aramaic dialects in which it occurs. In Hebrew, the combination of יַי *day* with the preposition כ- *k-* is only one of several uses in which the form יַי *day* is found. In both Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew, the form יַי *day*, for instance, can appear without a preceding preposition. In Biblical Hebrew, the bare form appears to function as a fully nominal form and can be used, for instance, as the head of a nominal direct object (3a, b). In Rabbinic Hebrew, the use of יַי without a preposition continues (3c), but has become limited in the constructions in which it appears and is no longer found as a direct object. This decrease in syntactic function likely indicates grammaticalization of יַי *day*. The same uses without a preceding preposition are not found in any dialect of Aramaic.

(3) יַי *day* in Hebrew

a. Biblical Hebrew

וְהַעֲבַטְתָּ מִצְבֵּיטָּוּ דַּי מִחֲסָרוֹ (Deut. 15:8)

<i>w-h</i> ‘bʔ	<i>t</i> ‘byʔ-nw	<i>dy</i>	<i>mḥsr-w</i>
and-lend.INF	lend.IMPERF.2MSG-3MSG	measure.CS	deficiency-3MSG

‘[...] and you shall lend him as much as he is deficient’.

b. Biblical Hebrew

דְּבַשׁ מְצָאתָ אֵלֶּיךָ פֶּן־תִּשְׂכַּחַנּוּ וְהִקְאֵתוּ (Prov. 25:16)

<i>dbš</i>	<i>mš't</i>	<i>'kl</i>
honey	find.PAST.2MSG	eat.IMPRV.2MSG
<i>dy-k</i>	<i>pn</i>	<i>tšb 'nw</i>
enough-2MSG	lest	be.full.IMPERF.2MSG-3MSG
<i>w-hq 't-w</i>		
and-vomit.IMPERF.2MSG-3MSG		

'If you find honey, eat the amount sufficient for you, lest you be full from it and vomit it'.

c. Rabbinic (Tannaitic) Hebrew

דייך שתמלט את נפשך (Tosefta Sanhedrin 14:4)

<i>dy-k</i>	<i>š-tmlt</i>	<i>'t</i>	<i>npš-k</i>
enough-2MSG	that-rescue.IMPERF.2MSG	DO	self-2MSG

'It is sufficient for you that you rescue yourself'.

Moreover, in Hebrew in general and in Rabbinic Hebrew in particular, combinations of *dy* *day* with the preposition *-k* have additional meanings and functions besides that of a predicate signifying 'worthy'. The combination of *dy* *day* in its construct state form *dy dē* with the preposition *-k*; i.e., *k^{dē}* can serve as the head of an adverbial of degree, indicating 'a sufficient degree comparable with' (Ben-Yehuda 1980: 2263a). In this use, which is found both in Biblical (4a) and Rabbinic Hebrew (4b), the originally discreet semantic content of both the comparative preposition *k-* and the nominal form *day* 'measurement, degree' is relatively transparent. The form *k^{dē}* in the construct state is not found in any dialect of Aramaic.

(4) *k^{dē}* in Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew

a. Biblical Hebrew

וְהִכּוּ לְפָנָיו בְּיָדֵי רִשְׁעָתוֹ בְּמִסְפָּר (Deut. 25:2)

<i>w-hk-hw</i>	<i>lpony-w</i>	<i>k-dy</i>	<i>rš 't-w</i>
and.strike.PAST.3MSG-3MSG	before-3MSG	as-degree	evil-3MSG
<i>b-mspr</i>			
in-number			

'And [the judge] shall strike him [the guilty party in a dispute], a number [of strikes], as amounts to his evil'.

b. Rabbinic Hebrew

הנהגתמים לא הייבוי אויתן חכמ' להפריש אלא כדי תרומת מעשר [ו] חלה (Mishnah Demai 2:4)

<i>h-nḥtm-ym</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>hyyb-w</i>	<i>'wt-n</i>	<i>hkm'</i>
The-baker-PL	neg	obligate.PAST.3MPL	do-3MPL	sages
<i>lhpryš</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>k-dy</i>	<i>trwmt</i>	<i>m'sr</i>
tithe.INF	but	as-degree.CS	tithe	tithe
<i>w-ḥlh</i>				
and-dough.offering				

‘The sages have only obligated the bakers to tithe a measurement sufficient for the tithe of the tithes (*terumat hamma'aser*) and the dough offering’.

4. The form כדי *k^oday* in JPA as a borrowing from Hebrew

Let us return to the focus of the present article, namely, the form כדי *k^oday*, and how it illustrates the character of JPA as a Jewish language. I have shown in the previous section that the nominal form די *day* ‘measure’, contained within the original prepositional phrase כ+די *k-+day*, and other combinations of that form, such as *k^odē*, are well documented throughout the history of Hebrew but unknown in Aramaic. The form כדי *k^oday* itself is not found in any known dialect of Aramaic that was employed by non-Jews. Thus, with respect to the form כדי *k^oday* in JPA, i.e., its linguistic ‘matter’, it is without a doubt a borrowing from Hebrew. In what follows, I further examine how the meaning and function of כדי *k^oday* in JPA relate to its being a Jewish language feature.

5. The function of כדי *k^oday* in its Hebrew and Aramaic context

Considering the basic meaning of the bare form די *day*, namely, ‘(sufficient) measure’, together with the use of כדי *k^odē* as the head of an adverbial of degree (4), signifying ‘as sufficient for’, etc., it is reasonable to assume that כדי *k^oday* in its meaning of ‘worthy’, first documented in Tannaitic Hebrew, developed from the basic meaning of the prepositional phrase כ+די *k-+day* ‘as sufficient’, which was already found, albeit in the

construct form, in Biblical Hebrew. Although the form כִּדִּי *k²day* itself is doubtlessly Hebrew in origin, it is a separate question, whether that novel function as a predicate signifying ‘worthy’ is also a purely internal Hebrew development, or potentially, a calque of Aramaic. Sokoloff presents the former opinion,⁹ but without the support of research literature, which to the best of my knowledge, has not been published. This question requires examination, since calques are a well-known form of Aramaic influence on Late Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew (Kutscher 1964).

To answer that question, it is germane to examine which originally Aramaic forms have parallel functions to כִּדִּי *k²day* and its constituents, כ- *k-* + דִּי *day*. Such an examination also pertains to the question of the use of כִּדִּי *k²day* as a Jewish language feature. It turns out that Hebrew דִּי *day* is closely paralleled in meaning and function by the Aramaic form מִסַּת *missat* ‘(sufficient) portion, amount’, which is similarly nominal in origin (Sokoloff 2017: 282, 334-335). The earliest documentation of the Aramaic form is found in texts from the Achaemenid period, i.e., 6-4th centuries BCE, after which it occurs in various Aramaic dialects, used by Jews and non-Jews.¹⁰

Aramaic מִסַּת *missat-* is found in similar constructions to those of Biblical Hebrew דִּי *day*. It can appear on its own, in the construct state, either followed by a noun (5a), or with a possessive pronominal suffix (5b), both paralleling Biblical Hebrew (3a, 3b). The latter example is in fact the translation into Syriac of the Hebrew phrase in (3b), indicating that the Hebrew and Aramaic forms were considered parallels by the translator into Aramaic. Moreover, the form מִסַּת- *missat-* occurs once in the construct state in the Hebrew bible itself, in Deuteronomy 16:10, in the same use as *missat-* in Aramaic, and as דִּי *dē-* in Biblical Hebrew.¹¹

(5) Aramaic מִסַּת *missat* paralleling Hebrew דִּי *day*

a. Followed by a noun

מִסַּת כֶּסֶפָה זֶי הוּה בִּידִי (A2.2:4, papyrus from Egypt, 6th-5th centuries BCE) (Porten and Yardeni 1986: 12).

<i>mst</i>	<i>ksp-h</i>	<i>zy</i>	<i>hwh</i>	<i>b-yd-y</i>
measure.CS	silver-DEF	rel	be.PAST.3MSG	in-hand-1SG

‘The measure [equivalent to] the silver that was in my possession’.

⁹ See Sokoloff (2017: 268b), entry כִּדִּי and Sokoloff (2017: 282a), entry מִסַּת.

¹⁰ See entry *msh*, *mst*² on the website of the *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*; available online: <https://cal.huc.edu/> [consulted: 23-03-2023].

¹¹ I thank Dr. Aharon Glatzer for drawing my attention to this occurrence.

b. With a pronominal suffix

Syriac Peshitta to Prov. 25:16

m' d-škḥt dbš' mst-k 'kwl
 if SUB-find.PAST.2MSG honey enough-2MSG eat.IMPERV-2MSG
 ‘If you find honey, eat the sufficient amount for you’.

The parallelism between Hebrew *day* דַּי and Aramaic *missat-* is not limited to the bare forms. Like Hebrew *day* דַּי, Aramaic *missat-* can also follow the preposition of comparison *k-* (6), with *missat-* appearing in the construct state followed by a noun. The combination of *k-*+*missat-* in this function closely parallels Hebrew כְּדִי *k'dē* (4), which occurs in both Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew.

(6) The combination of *k-*+*missat* + noun in Aramaic

a. :תַּתִּיתִין יְתֵהוֹן לְלִינְאִי גִבֵּר כְּמִסַּת פּוֹלְחֵינָה: (Targum Onqelos to Num. 7:5)

w-tytyn yt-hwn l-lyw'-y gbr k-mst
 and-give.IMPERF do-3mpl to-levite.PL-DEF man as-measure.CS
pwlḥn-yh
 work-3MSG
 ‘[...] and you shall give them to the Levites, [to] each as much as he can work’.

b. גִּבֵּר כְּמִסַּת בִּרְכָתִיהָ בִּרְךְ יִתְהוֹן (Targum Neophyti to Gen. 49:28)¹²

gbr kmst brkt-yh brk yt-hwn
 man as.measure.CS blessing-3MSG bless.PAST.3MSG do-3MPL
 ‘[Every] one according to his blessing he blessed them’.

The distribution of this combination of *k-*+*missat-* in Aramaic, in contrast with bare *missat-*, is significant. Whereas bare *missat-* is found in various Jewish and non-Jewish Aramaic dialects, *k-*+*missat-* is almost entirely limited to Aramaic texts that are specifically Jewish in origin, such as the Jewish targums, and JPA of Talmudic literature. Moreover, the provenance of all the Jewish texts in which *k-*+*missat-* is found is in the Land of Israel, where Hebrew and Aramaic were in contact, an issue to which I return below.

¹² The manuscript is digitally available on https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Neofiti.1 [consulted: 23-03-2023].

After generally demonstrating the functional parallelisms between Hebrew *day* and Aramaic *missat-* as bare forms, as well as in the construct state, preceded by the preposition *k-*, we now come to an Aramaic form that specifically parallels Hebrew *k²day* in the meaning of ‘worthy’, which is at the center of the present article, shown above to occur in both Rabbinic Hebrew and JPA. The Aramaic parallel to Hebrew *k²day* ‘worthy’ is also based on the Aramaic form *missat-*, and as in the Hebrew form, the Aramaic parallel also comprises *missat* in combination with the preposition *k-*, i.e., *k²missat*, with the same meaning of ‘worthy’ (7). Aramaic *k²missat* also parallels Hebrew *k²day* syntactically, in its function as the predicate of a verbless clause. Example (7a) shows additional syntactic parallelism with *k²day* in Rabbinic Hebrew (2) and in JPA (1), whereby both *k²missat* and *k²day* are modified by an infinitive clause. Semantically, like most occurrences of Hebrew *k²day*, Aramaic *k²missat* predicates a human subject.

(7) Aramaic *k²missat* ‘worthy’, paralleling Hebrew *k²day*

- a. ארום כל [נפש] די כמסת למצום ולא צימה הך זמן יומא הדן ותשיצי מן גו עמה
(Targum fragment from the Cairo Genizah to Lev. 23:29)¹³
- | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|------------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>'rwm</i> | <i>kl</i> | <i>[npš]</i> | <i>dy</i> | <i>kmst</i> |
| behold | any | soul | REL | worthy |
| <i>lmšwm</i> | <i>w-l'</i> | <i>šym-h</i> | <i>hk</i> | <i>zmn</i> |
| fast.INF | and-NEG | fast.PART-FSG | as | time.CS |
| <i>ywm-</i> | <i>hdn</i> | <i>w-tšyšy</i> | <i>mn</i> | <i>gw</i> |
| day-DEF | this | and-be.destroyed.IMPERF.3FSG | from | within |
| <i>'m-h</i> | | | | |
| people-3FSG | | | | |
- ‘Any soul that is worthy of fasting and will not fast at the time of this day, shall be eliminated from among its people’.
- b. הא זעיר אנה ולית אנה כמסת מן כל חסדיא (Targum Neophyti to Gen. 32:11)
- | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| <i>h'</i> | <i>z'yr</i> | <i>'nh</i> | <i>w-lyt</i> | <i>'nh</i> |
| behold | small.ADJ.MSG | I | and-NEG | I |
| <i>kmst</i> | <i>mn</i> | <i>kl</i> | <i>ḥsd-y-</i> | |
| worthy | from | all | mercy-PL-DEF | |
- ‘I am small, and I am not worthy of all the mercies’.

¹³ Manuscript F, see Fassberg (1990: 16).

The distribution of the combination *k-+missat* in Aramaic, used as a predicate in the meaning of ‘worthy’, is also quite noteworthy. On the one hand, it is completely restricted to Aramaic texts of specifically Jewish origins, namely, the Palestinian targums. It is not found elsewhere in Aramaic, even in the contemporaneous texts in Samaritan and Christian Palestinian Aramaic, which are also of Palestinian provenance. On the other hand, it is absent from Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Jerusalem Talmud and Aggadic Midrash. This layer of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic is later, as well as more colloquial in nature, than the language of the Palestinian Targums.

6. Integrative Discussion: The wider context of כד״י *k^oday* ‘worthy’, a Jewish language feature of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic

Thus far, I have discussed the form and function of כד״י *k^oday* in Rabbinic Hebrew and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, and the related forms יד״י *day*, כד״י *k^odē* in Hebrew and *missat-*, *k^omissat* in Aramaic. I shall now present an integrative analysis, which highlights how the use of כד״י *k^oday* in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic is a Jewish language feature; and more generally, how this feature illustrates the character of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic as a Jewish language. I shall conclude with a few notes on the use of כד״י *k^oday* in later Jewish languages.

Hebrew and Aramaic had been in contact for centuries in the Land of Israel up until the Arab conquest in the 7th century CE. As I noted at the beginning of the present article, in scholarly discussions of the situation of Hebrew-Aramaic language contact during late antiquity, a widespread assumption among a large number of scholars of Hebrew and Aramaic in late antiquity is that linguistic influence went in a single direction, namely, Aramaic influenced Hebrew. This assumption is not illogical, as it accords with the reality that for many centuries Aramaic had grown in prestige and had become the dominant literary language, as well as the main spoken vernacular of a large portion of the population of the Land of Israel, and throughout the Near East.

Nonetheless, the example of כד״י *k^oday* ‘worthy’ in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Talmudic literature from Byzantine Palestine is a strong indication of influence in the other direction, namely, the influence of Hebrew in its Rabbinic Hebrew form on Aramaic, among Jewish speakers.

The form itself is without a doubt a borrowing from Hebrew. The existence of such a Hebrew borrowing within Jewish Aramaic from that period is significant because of the very context, in which this borrowing came about. Aramaic, as noted, had indeed become the dominant language of the area and had even replaced Hebrew as the spoken vernacular of Jews in the Land of Israel some time before the Arab conquest. Moreover, an Aramaic parallel, *k³missat-*, with the very same function as Hebrew כָּדַי *k³day* ‘worthy’ had already existed in the Aramaic dialects of the Jews of Palestine preceding the Talmudic period. Thirdly, not only was Hebrew כָּדַי *k³day* borrowed into Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, but no trace of its Aramaic parallel *k³missat-* is found in the latest layer of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, i.e., of Talmudic literature.

Regarding the meaning and function of Hebrew כָּדַי *k³day*, I have noted that only in Jewish Aramaic dialects originating in the Land of Israel, is Rabbinic Hebrew כָּדַי *k³day* mirrored by Aramaic *k³missat*. Whereas כָּדַי *k³day* is no doubt an originally Hebrew form, it is impossible to determine, in contrast with Sokoloff’s view, whether the meaning and function shared by Hebrew כָּדַי *k³day* and Aramaic *k³missat* originate in one or the other language (note 9 above). It is likely, however, by the distribution of both forms and of their function, which are limited to Rabbinic Hebrew, and to specifically Jewish Aramaic dialects of Palestinian provenience, that their meaning and function are at the very least a Jewish feature. If indeed the motivation to borrow the Hebrew form כָּדַי *k³day* into Jewish Aramaic had to do with its Jewish religious significance, as I suggest below, it is not improbable that the same motivation had driven the innovation of the meaning and use of *k³missat* as a predicate meaning ‘worthy’ in those Jewish Aramaic dialects.

It is clear, against that background, that the borrowing of Hebrew כָּדַי *k³day* ‘worthy’ into Jewish Palestinian Aramaic reflects a preference among Jewish speakers of Talmudic Aramaic to employ the Rabbinic Hebrew form over the originally Aramaic parallel *k³missat*. This preference indicates the prestige of Hebrew among its Jewish speakers, even when Hebrew was being supplanted as the everyday vernacular, or after its replacement had taken place. An additional motivation for the borrowing of the Hebrew form could have been a Jewish religious connotation of the meaning of כָּדַי *k³day* as ‘worthy’. Such a connotation is reflected in the various examples adduced above, both in Aramaic and in Rabbinic Hebrew. The prevalence of Hebrew borrowings related to Jewish religious reality is well documented in later Jewish languages (Tirosh-Becker 2015: 205-207). Within the context presented above, the borrowing of Rabbinic Hebrew

כדיי *k^əday* ‘worthy’ into Jewish Palestinian Aramaic may be seen as driven by the same type of motivation which led to the incorporation of other Hebrew borrowings in later Jewish languages.

7. Some notes on כדיי *k^əday* in later Jewish languages

The very form which was borrowed from Rabbinic Hebrew into Jewish Palestinian Aramaic in Late Antiquity came to constitute a part of later Jewish languages. The most likely source language for such later borrowings is Rabbinic Hebrew, and not Jewish Palestinian Aramaic. Compositions containing JPA, especially Talmud Yerushalmi, are unlikely candidates, as they were rarely studied among Jews in the Middle Ages and later. This is also indicated by the spelling כדאי *k^əday* typical of the Babylonian Talmud, which is used for this form in later Jewish languages, not כדיי *k^əday* as it is spelled in the Jerusalem Talmud.

An exact calque of the earlier Rabbinic Hebrew and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic usage is found in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic (8a). That example reflects the very semantics of Rabbinic Hebrew and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic כדיי *k^əday*, in the sense of ‘worthy’, a trait attributed to human beings. Its morphosyntax in (8a) also mirrors Rabbinic Hebrew and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic כדיי *k^əday*, whereby it functions as the predicate of a verbless clause and is itself complemented by a subordinate clause. By contrast, in Yiddish (8b), and in Baghdadi Judeo-Arabic of learned speakers, the form has been borrowed from Rabbinic Hebrew with a change in meaning and syntax (Weinreich 1990: 210a; Maman 2019: 362b). In both languages, it occurs as an adjective with the largely equivalent meaning of ‘worthwhile, advisable, profitable’, and not the human trait ‘worthy’, found in Rabbinic Hebrew, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic.

(8) כדאי *k^əday* in later Jewish languages

a. Moroccan Judeo-Arabic

אנא מאהוסי כדאי באס נקול למוסר

<i>'n'</i>	<i>m'hwsy</i>	<i>kd'y</i>	<i>b's</i>	<i>nqwl</i>	<i>l-mwsr</i>
I	NEG	worthy	COMP	say.IMPERF.1	DO-ethics.HEB

‘I am not worthy to speak of ethics’ (Bahat 2001: 256).

b. Yiddish

מקווה בע"ש איז כדאי צו גיין איין מייל צו א פוס

<i>mikve</i>	<i>beerev</i>	<i>shabes</i>	<i>iz</i>	<i>keday</i>	<i>tsu</i>
ritual.bath	on-Sabbath	eve	is	worthwhile	to
<i>geyn</i>	<i>eyn</i>	<i>mayl</i>	<i>tsu</i>	<i>fus</i>	
go	one	mile	on	foot	

‘It is worth walking one mile [to] a ritual bath on the eve of the Sabbath’ (Ben-Asher 1875: 287).

In Yiddish, *keday*, which was originally a prepositional phrase, but which had already undergone some grammaticalization in Rabbinic Hebrew and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, had developed into a fully-fledged adjective. The full morphological integration of the form *keday* in Yiddish (Bunis 2020) is demonstrated by its participation in fusion formations with derivational suffixes of Germanic origin, including the derived predicate adjectives *kedayik* ‘worthwhile’ (*keday* + *-ik*, cf. Ger. *-ig*; Glatstein 1956: 31 *a kedayik vort* ‘a worthwhile word’; Alterman 1982: 196 *kedayike tsveyflen* ‘worthwhile doubts’; Stutchkoff 1950: 455) and *kedayish* (*-ish* + *-er*, cf. Ger. *-isch* + *-er*; Harif 1969: 417 *a kedayisher frayndshaft* ‘a worthwhile friendship’); the corresponding attributive adjectives *kedayik* + case ending (e.g., MSG accusative *kedayikn* (*-ik* + *-n*, cf. Ger. *-ig* + *-en*; Kaplan 1964: 195 *zetst men aráyn dem kedayikn* ‘one puts in the most worthwhile one’) and *kedaye* (*-e*, cf. Ger. *-e*; Budzon 1894: 1 *ayn kedaye zakh* ‘a worthwhile thing’; Zeitlin 1967: 419 *hot er a rizn-levaye gehát, / befeyresh – a kedaye* ‘he had a huge funeral, / really – a worthy one’); the comparative adjective *kedayer* ‘more worthwhile’ (*-er*, cf. Ger. *-er*; *Di Arbayer Tsaytung* [New York, 23 February 1894], 4 *Volt kedayer gevén nit gebóyrn gevórn* ‘it would be more worthwhile not to have been born’); the superlative *kedayste* ‘most worthwhile’ (*-ste*, cf. Ger. *-ste*; Shargel 1981: 304 *Alterman iz efsher gevén dos kedayste* ‘Alterman was perhaps the most worthwhile’); and the derived substantives *kedaykeyt* ‘worthwhileness, utility’ (*-keyt*, cf. Ger. *-keit*; Bukharin 1920: 254 *di kedaykeyt fun azá ibergang* ‘the utility of such a transition’) and *kedayikeyt* (*-ik* + *-keyt*, cf. Ger. *-ig* + *-keit*; Stutchkoff 1950: 454), *kedayizm* ‘utilitarianism, opportunism’ (*-izm*, cf. Pol. *-yzm*, Fr. *-isme*; Ciemny 1971: 329 *vikukhim vegn kedayizm* ‘arguments about “utilitarianism”’), and *kedaynik* ‘opportunist’ (*-nik*, cf. Pol. *-nik*; Frymer 1981: 41 *farán a sakh kedaynikes* ‘there are a lot of opportunists’).

The sole example of the use of *kedáy* in Judezmo seems to be that documented by Bunis (1993, no. 1909 “No es keday” “It is not worthwhile”). Found in a c1957 personal letter by an immigrant from Izmir in Israel to his family in Turkey, it is apparently a borrowing from Israeli Hebrew. Given the incorporation of *kedáy* in the other major Jewish languages cited above, one wonders why the word played no role in Judezmo before this time.

The use of the form כדאי *k^əday* in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of Talmudic sources reflects the tendencies of Jewish speakers as early as late antiquity to shape their languages under the influence of Hebrew and Jewish religious life. The fact that כדאי *k^əday* is found in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic as well as in later Jewish languages highlights the continued history of its borrowing as an integral part of the Hebrew component of Jewish languages.

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RABBINIC DIPLOMACY IN COLD WAR SPAIN: SOLOMON GAON (1912-1994) AND THE ORIGINS OF A LADINO BLESSING

Allyson GONZALEZ

Standing before Prince Felipe VI, the former *hakham* (rabbi) of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews of the British Commonwealth found himself surrounded by cameras, journalists, and an elaborate royal entourage. It was 1990 and the “Sephardi Communities” of the world had just received the Prince of Asturias Award for Concord—Spain’s equivalent of the Nobel Prize.¹ Filling the role of historian, honored lecturer, and symbolic Sephardi, Solomon Gaon spoke to a vast audience apparently enraptured by the sight of the 77-year-old rabbi speaking Ladino. Gaon, too, seemed moved by the event, now preserved in video.² From the Campoamor Theatre in Oviedo, Gaon described the “affection for the old patria” that many Sephardim felt for Spain despite the infamous 1492 expulsion. Gaon’s native Ladino—second in “sanctity”, he said, only to Hebrew—had been partly given meaning by that history. Reflecting on his youth in Travnik, Yugoslavia, Gaon stressed that Ladino had pulsed with life: from daily use and ritual prayers in Judeo-Espanyol, *a la* Judezmo, by men and women, friends, and family, from Spanish romanzas to baby-naming ceremonies—until the Nazis ended much of that life.³

¹ Gaon spoke as the representative for Sephardi Communities (“Comunidades Sefardíes”), the collective group named by the award committee, but the prize was not given to Gaon as such.

² For the recording, see <https://www.fpa.es/es/premios-princesa-de-asturias/premiados/1990-comunidades-sefardies.html?texto=discurso&especifica=0> [consulted: 23-03-2023].

³ *Ibidem*.

Gaon's focus, however nostalgic for that past, had been decidedly tilted toward the present, as was his rendering of Ladino. Versed in multiple languages with a Ph. D. from the University College London, Gaon could have likely parsed for the audience some of the Slavic elements evident in Yugoslavian Judezmo for his Spanish audience.⁴ But “loanblends” and “fusion forms”—where morphemes of Serbo-Croatian, Turkish, and Hispanic origin collide, as described by David Bunis⁵ and others—would have complicated the singular resonance that Gaon seems to have contemplated. Europe in 1990, Gaon stressed, had once again become rife with xenophobia and antisemitism. Extending a blessing-plea to the Prince (now King) Felipe and the royal family, Gaon urged that *nueva Espanya* should forge a different path, befitting its former Golden Age—and in so doing, “may it be fruitful, and multiply”.⁶ Despite the novelty of the moment, and the biblical-like blessing, Gaon had issued a similar plea-benediction several decades before. Shortly after the death of Europe's longest personal dictator, Spain's Francisco Franco (r. 1939-1975), Gaon, too, had offered a blessing in Ladino, standing before a newly crowned King Juan Carlos, during a perhaps-equally uncertain time.



Figure. 1. Solomon Gaon at the Prince of Asturias Award, 1990.
Image courtesy of Princess of Asturias Foundation; copyright EFE-FPA.

⁴ Gaon received his B. A. (1940) and Ph. D. (1943) from the University of London, University College, studying English, German, Latin, and Greek; I thank Robert Winckworth, UCL Special Collections. Born Dec. 15, 1912, Gaon's rabbinic diploma is from Jews' College, London (1948); see Gaon, Dr. Solomon 1996: 197.

⁵ Direct borrowings from Slavic into Judezmo exist by the late sixteenth century, and Yugoslavian Judezmo elements were likely “widely employed by average speakers of the language” before the twentieth century (Bunis 2001).

⁶ “Ke fruchigue i muchigue”.

In the following pages, I trace some of Solomon Gaon's (1912-1994) actions on behalf of Jewish communities in Spain, noting his invocations of Ladino during the Cold War.⁷ I focus on three historical moments: the 1959 Sephardi Exposition in Madrid; the 1960s, as Gaon forged links between Francoist Spain and the major Sephardi institutions he represented; and, finally, during the approximate last decade of his life (1982-1994), as the fruits of his and others' work in Spain came to the fore. As one of the main leaders of Sephardi communities in the "postwar" period, Gaon served as the *hakham* of the Sephardi and Portuguese Jewry for Britain (1949-1977) and remained active in the World Sephardi Federation (WSF)⁸ and Union of Sephardic Congregations. In addition, he headed, for thirty years, the Sephardic Studies Program at Yeshiva University in New York, which claimed, by 1992, to have the largest Ladino collection outside of Israel (Serels 1992). One of the most globally recognized Sephardi figures in Spain, Gaon also navigated for more than three decades the country's changing political climate.

This piece examines the modern Sephardi-Spanish rapprochement during the Cold War, focusing on the actions of a single rabbinic figure. Working from largely unstudied primary materials, I argue that Gaon provided an unofficial but important form of Jewish diplomacy within the autocratic state. As the country followed an uncertain path from dictatorship to constitutional monarchy, Gaon played both discreet and visible roles in the push for civil and political rights in Spain. Crucially, I argue that, through these actions, the sanctioning of state leadership by a Sephardic authority became a conspicuous aspect of political transition in modern Spain—including, specifically, the use of Ladino as well as Ladino *neo*-benedictions. Gaon's supplications in Ladino, which had existed during the dictatorship, became re-signified and incorporated into the new political structure, a rabbinic validation for public view.

⁷ Coined by George Orwell, the "Cold War" here denotes the period between the 1947 Truman Doctrine and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, while recognizing its international and extended iterations.

⁸ "Sephardim Unite"; "Sephardi Beth Din".

1. Diplomacy and the Political History of a Blessing

In 1959, Spain held the World Sephardi Exposition in Madrid, deemed at the time a “soul-stirring and profoundly moving event” (Besso 1963). Housed at the National Library of Spain, the exposition intended to highlight the bonds between the Sephardim and Spain, then in its second decade of the Franco dictatorship. As explained by the library’s director, the event had been designed to “demonstrate the connection [...] as much as can be shown through books, manuscripts, documents, pieces of art as well as of domestic and ritual use, the most diverse objects of all kinds”. Such objects were intended to “serve as a testimony of the survival of a common bond, so very strong, which the vicissitudes of the times [...] have not been able to destroy” (Muñoz 1960: 139).

In many ways, the World Sephardi Exposition of 1959 had provided a remarkable display of Judeo-Spanish history and culture. While surveying the library’s five curated halls, visitors could examine manuscripts, *ketubbot* (wedding contracts), Torah scrolls, and other ritual objects and texts. Although early modern works were prevalent, the exhibition also included modern materials, from artwork to journalism—at least its non-socialist forms—with more than forty newspapers and journals, from Istanbul’s *La Boz* to Salonika’s Zionist *La Libertad*, and New York’s *La Vara*. Publications by pro-Sephardic Spanish leaders like Senator Ángel Pulido (1852-1932) and the scholar Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869-1968) were also included, along with texts published by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC), founded in 1940.⁹ The event was a notable success: nearly twelve thousand visitors passed through the halls of the National Library to view the display, which lasted from November 18 to December 19 (Olagüe de Ros 2012-2013: 81). Fueling its popularity was the fact that Franco authorities had promoted the exhibition in cinemas and theaters throughout Spain, part of the dictator’s official *No-Do* (Noticiario y Documentales) aired during the period.¹⁰

From the outset, the exhibition served as an ethno-linguistic thought project with concrete economic and political aims, albeit within a conservative Catholic framework. As part of the opening activities, the Minister

⁹ Records preserve the items displayed (Biblioteca Nacional de España, 1959) and their placement (Exposición 1959).

¹⁰ See www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-882/1485981 [consulted: 23-03-2023].

of National Education, Jesús Rubio García-Mina, a Falangist¹¹ and former university professor, expressly located the Sephardi exhibition within a larger context of Francoist social, national, and economic concerns. The modern Sephardim, Rubio declared, had managed to preserve a “dynamic tradition”—part of a shared approach toward spiritual and religious life, which Spain now desired to “recuperate” (*recupere*) from the Sephardim. It was this “connection” with respect to religious values, Rubio stressed, which had linked these two peoples and created a potential recovery of the “old Hispanic mode of understanding the fundamentally religious mode of life [...] before the modern crisis of rationalism” (Muñoz 1960: 141).

For Rubio, the modern Sephardim could serve as rejuvenating allies in the fight against anti-religious sentiment. This construction of a Francoist battle against rationalism and atheism was part of a complex and changing rhetorical system that took shape during the Spanish Civil War, which saw the overthrowing of the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1939) by the Franco military dictatorship in 1939. Part of what had given a durative power to the Franco regime over the years was that it often balanced opposing interests as a way of managing dissent (Boyd 1999). Thus, at one moment—a fleeting one—a philo-Sephardic gesture might play out within a contained institutional setting (e.g., World Sephardi Exposition); at another moment, however, a vast Judeo-Masonic conspiracy might be emphasized, which resonated politically and religiously with the Spanish right (Rohr 2008).

As imagined by Rubio, a limited alliance with the Sephardim was beginning to develop—where select Jewish actors might provide a conservative and economic response to the feared derailment of reason, while serving as participants in Spanish heritage tourism. Such work aligned with the Francoist project to overcome the extreme economic hardships of the post-Civil War years, in part by utilizing tourism as Spain’s largest source of foreign income (Pack 2007). The exhibition also squared with the new Stabilization Plan of 1959, when Franco’s failed autarkist policies became replaced with an economic liberalization plan (Townson 2007), approved by the conservative Spanish Cortes.

Within the exhibition’s broader framework, the Sephardim could exist as historically astute tourists, while experiencing the “singular satisfaction” of visiting streets and buildings once known by their ancestors. In the

¹¹ The Falangists were a fascist-influenced national political group in Spain. On Rubio’s appointment as a response to student discontent in 1956, see Payne 1999: 420.

meantime, Rubio noted that fellow Spaniards, i.e., non-Jews, could also benefit from the exhibition. By walking through the exhibition's halls and observing, for example, the preserved romanceros sung for years by the Sephardim, everyday Spaniards could experience the interconnections of "Spanish-Hebrew culture". These romanceros offered an "enchanted" (*encantado*) experience, and upon hearing them, listeners could feel almost under a spell by the voice (*hechizada su voz*) of a heroic figure—as though from the Sephardim—the very sounds once heard by the medieval Spain of Juan II and the Catholic kings.¹²

In the aftermath of WWII, Franco had struggled to remake the image of his regime by working to create distance between Spain and the Axis powers. In adopting a more centrally Catholic image, the country's fascist associations could be minimized, including its prior embrace of Nazi power—and such actions eventually paid off, as did a series of military concessions with the United States.¹³ By 1953, the U. S. would call Spain among its Cold War allies, a move that arguably helped to breathe new life into the dictatorship, as did its inclusion in the United Nations by 1955. Spain's long-term political trajectory remained uncertain, though, especially outside of the major powers. In the southern borderlands of the Cold War, for example, amid volatile Arab-Israeli relations in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), Franco frequently took a utilitarian and quixotic approach to Jewish diplomacy. By 1956, the Franco regime began to distinguish between Sephardi Jews, especially those with Spanish citizenship—including beyond the newly ceded Spanish protectorate in north Morocco—and the State of Israel (Rein 1997: 193). This new political lexicon had been partly motivated by the fact that Franco often exaggerated the impact that Jews had on the 'West', and on the U. S. in particular (Rein 2006), with the limits of that logic fraying in the MENA region.

One of the most visible figures at the "World Sephardi" exposition was *Hakham* Gaon of the British Commonwealth, whose numerous connections to the Iberian Peninsula had begun with his own education and training, and became variously renewed during his lifetime. As Gaon repeatedly noted during in life, his "saintly" teacher from Sarajevo, Dr. Moritz Levy (1879-1945), a leading rabbi of Bosnia, had served as a prominent corre-

¹² Rubio appropriates here from Menéndez Pidal's *Romancero Hispánico* (Muñoz 1960: 140).

¹³ Francoist National Catholicism stressed a 're-Christianization' by aligning Catholicism with Spanish nationalism (Callahan 2012: 382-383, 438, 628). For U. S. military and political enticements, see Bowen 2016: 134.

spondent with Senator Ángel Pulido, the main architect of early twentieth century philo-Sephardism in Spain (Gaon 1979-1982). Pulido featured an extensive profile of Levy in his writings—one of the many “venerable” Sephardim who offered a stable alternative to European revolutionary violence (Pulido 1905: 4). Pulido’s portrayals of the region’s Sephardim also seem to have influenced Levy’s own publication on the Sephardim (Rajner 2019; Levy 1911)—which uniquely preserved Bosnian *pinkasim* (communal ledgers) prior to Nazi destruction (Gaon 1995).

While delivering his first lecture in Ladino at the exhibition’s month-long conference, Gaon notably endorsed several aspects of the Hispanicized vision of the Sephardim. Spanish rabbis, he stressed, had “always accepted the most open interpretations” by accommodating to local conditions (Muñoz 1960: 146). At the same time, the Sephardi populace remained faithful to Ladino, including in the new State of Israel, where Gaon estimated that the language was still spoken by one million Sephardim—twice the amount tallied by Pulido in his own attempted Spanish-Sephardi rapprochement a half century before (Pulido 1905: 42-44). The lamentable “decadence” of the modern Sephardim had only emerged, Gaon said, with the imposition of Turkish by local schools (Muñoz 1960: 146). Of course, Sephardi life in late Ottoman domains and its successor states had been richly multilingual. Yet, within postwar Spanish borders, Gaon echoed the recent words of his contemporary, the Brooklyn College professor M. J. Benardete (1895-1989), a Sephardi Hispanist who also ascribed Sephardic decline to late Ottoman contexts (Benardete 1952: 121-132). This anti-Ottoman claim had been featured, along with Levy’s Bosnian history, among the many academic works recognized by the exhibition.

This was a moment of surprising contradictions between the Spanish state and a handful of Sephardi leaders—as the state sought to form new alliances with the Sephardim, and, in turn, the Sephardi leaders with the Francoist state, each with their own respective concerns. The idea for the 1959 exposition had developed in part from the World Sephardi Federation (WSF) (Olagüe de Ros 2012-2013: 81), founded roughly 35 years before at the fourteenth Zionist Congress in Vienna—part of a declared response to Sephardi marginalization in Palestine, and a desire to foster a Sephardic mythology with wide European appeal (Sharim 2013: 127-128). At the same time, the 1959 exposition dovetailed with Spain’s embrace of *Hispanidad*—the notion that a shared culture and language existed among Spain and its former subjects, a changing construction that assumed the

hues of a religious mission during the Franco years.¹⁴ Recuperating these various bodies, which included the Sephardim, meant that the weak state could still make claims about its “empire”, even after ceding its last colonial holding in Morocco (Rohr 2011).

At the helm of the WSF in Spain was Yahir Behar Passy, who spent several intense years working in the Iberian Peninsula. Behar not only played a key role in the exposition; two years later, he wrote his dissertation in Madrid with José Luis Sampedro, one of the scholars associated with the 1959 economic stabilization plan (Royo 2014: 138). This had been a heady time for Sephardic research in Spain. Within the span of a few years, amid the dictatorship, Spain witnessed the creation of the Institute of Sephardi Studies (IES) with the support of the WSF and the state-sponsored CSIC, which incorporated Hebraic and ‘Oriental’ studies into its earliest programming through the Arias Montano Institute.

Crucially, outside of these institutions, a diverse Jewish population had actively lived in modern Spain—beyond academic walls—and about which Gaon was keenly aware. His own wife, Regina Hassan, had lived in the peninsula until the dramatic evacuation of Gibraltar in the 1940s (“Obituaries” 1994). According to Gaon’s private records, about 3500 Jews, Sephardi and Ashkenazi, lived in the Spanish mainland in the 1950s—mostly in Barcelona and then Madrid—with smaller satellites in Valencia, Seville, Cordoba, and the Basque region, to say nothing of the former protectorate.¹⁵ Even before the Spanish Civil War, Jews had resided in the peninsula, extending in small numbers back to the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁶ Yet, as articulated by the Francoist Charter of the Spanish People in 1945, demographic minorities like Jews, Muslims, and Protestants would only be granted rights to private worship, while “external displays” outside the Catholic faith remained strictly prohibited (Rozenberg 2010: 192).

Nonetheless, despite such prohibitions, Gaon received the honorable King Alfonso the Wise award several months after the exhibition—directly from Franco (“Discours” 1193). This exclusive event, held in 1960, had been one of several exchanges between the *hakham* and the *Caudillo* (“The Leader”). During that same year, Gaon blessed the dictator in Ladino, along

¹⁴ For the “Hispanidad” reference, see Muñoz 1960: 139; for missionary contexts, see Großmann 2014.

¹⁵ Box 53A-file 9/Spain in the Solomon Gaon papers, Yeshiva University Archives (henceforth YUA), New York. I am grateful to archivist Deena M. Schwimmer for her help during numerous visits.

¹⁶ For Sephardi populations, see Ojeda-Mata 2013.

with the Francoist state, for offering refuge to Jews of the former Moroccan protectorate. The words of this benediction had been carefully chosen and were long-remembered by Gaon: “*May Spain be fruitful and multiply*” (*España que fruchigüe y muchigüe*).¹⁷ The country’s Jewish minorities had been prohibited from outward displays of Jewishness, and yet Gaon, with his blessing in Ladino, became positively sanctioned—and photographed, with images that apparently only later circulated (Gaón 1990). Never mind that the particular words used by Gaon seem to have been rarely used as a blessing in modern Ladino.¹⁸ Rather, the benediction had been, as Gaon later explained in 1990, the reconfiguration of a blessing spoken by his parents, prior to their tragic murder in the Shoah.¹⁹ When uttered by Gaon, this neo-Ladino blessing for the dictator—with its clear Genesis origins (Genesis 1:28)—had resonated in postwar Spain.

By 1960, rumors of a vacuum of Jewish leadership in Spain’s capital had emerged, as Behar’s impressive work began to wane—and Gaon was asked to fill the conspicuous space.²⁰ The Jewish communities in Spain may have been small, but a *hazzan* (cantor) was needed, or rather a *hazzan/mohel* (to perform circumcision)—a difficult task given the fact that, despite all of the pro-Sephardic rhetoric, Spain had a definitively mixed Sephardi-Ashkenazi population.²¹ Separately, a Jewish co-director was needed for the CSIC-affiliated Institute of Sephardi Studies to join its current director, Federico Pérez Castro, chair of Hebrew at the Complutense University of Madrid. It was proposed that Richard Barnett—president of the Jewish Historical Society of England, as well as the son of L. D. Barnett, who helped to build the Ladino collection at the British Museum—would make a strong candidate, although he would likely reject the post. As emphasized in an unsigned letter forwarded to Gaon, “we need someone who would be acceptable to the Spanish Government and who would be agreeable to the Institute from the point of historical knowledge”.²²

¹⁷ Gaón 1990. For Gaon’s blessing in Royal Spanish Academy politics, see Muñoz Solla 2021: 213; 211–217.

¹⁸ *Fruchigüe i muchigüe* occasionally appear in online Judezmo papers and texts extending to the late nineteenth century, but I have not found it as a blessing as such.

¹⁹ Gaon attributes the blessing to his parents in 1n1; for their murder, see Gaon 1995.

²⁰ Max Mazin to Gaon, April 30, 1960, Feb. 15, 1961, Box 54A-2/Spain, Gaon papers, YUA.

²¹ Mazin to Gaon, May 16, 1960, Box 54A-2/Spain, Gaon papers, YUA.

²² Unknown to Jacques Pinto, Dec. 22, 1961, Box 53A-10/Spain, Gaon papers, YUA. Iacob Hassán will eventually come to hold the post.

The 1960s were hectic years for the *hakham*, as he increasingly traveled from London to New York, having been hired as a visiting professor at Yeshiva University to form the early structure of what would become the school's Sephardic Studies Program (Serels 1992). Increasingly, Gaon's duties blurred the intellectual boundaries between Spain, England, Israel, and the U. S. Writing to Pérez Castro in English in 1963, Gaon explained that as the new chair of Yeshiva's Sephardic program, one of his tasks would be to help Sephardi congregations in the U. S. to organize themselves "on a truly Sephardi basis, so that they may themselves contribute towards the development of Sephardi tradition and preservation of the Sephardi past". Toward this end, Gaon needed Pérez Castro's support. Gaon wanted to build the Sephardi library at Yeshiva, for which he needed Madrid's Institute of Sephardi Studies—requesting to microfilm its entire collection of books and manuscripts on Sephardi history and literature.²³

In step with various local Jewish leaders in Spain, Gaon also worked to dilate Jewish-Christian relations during the 1960s. Gaon had long been involved in Jewish-gentile relations, having written his doctoral dissertation on the Spanish Catholic theologian Alfonso Tostado's (d. 1455) influence on Isaac Abravanel's *Perush ha-Torah*, an expulsion-era commentary on the Pentateuch (Gaon 1943). As a youth, Gaon's studies may also have been informed, it seems, by Jesuit secondary school learning in his native Travník ("Gaon, Dr. Solomon" 1996: 197). At the request of Max Mazin, the new president of Madrid's Jewish community, Gaon apparently contributed to the *Bulletin of Amistad Judeo-Christiana*, a publication for Christian-Jewish dialogue in Spain.²⁴

By 1962, Gaon's notable outreach included several private meetings with Catholic leaders in Spain—including Edward Rapallo, the Roman Catholic bishop of Gibraltar, on the importance of maintaining traditional Jewish law in the face of Christian-to-Jewish conversions. Gaon also met discreetly with the cardinal of Toledo, likely Enrique Plá y Deniel, regarding reforms to the Roman Catholic calendar. These discussions were to be kept "very confidential" so that the cardinal could "wield greater influence

²³ Gaon to Pérez Castro, July 1, 1963, Box 53A-10, Gaon papers, YUA. According to Deena M. Schwimmer, archivist for Yeshiva University, there is no known transfer of such items to the library.

²⁴ Box 53A/10-Spain, Gaon papers, YUA.

on the Ecumenical Council during the next meeting in Rome”.²⁵ Over the subsequent months, Mazin, often in conversation with Gaon, also worked to deepen Jewish-Christian relations in Spain. By 1964, Gaon wrote in optimistic delight at the changes emerging in Rome, from the Second Vatican Council, while cheering Mazin’s own work: “Now that the Vatican has made a statement on their relations with the Jews and other non-Christian denominations, the Bill for the freedom of worship [in Spain] will go through Parliament without much delay”.²⁶

Within several months of the Vatican Council’s announcement, the Jewish community of Madrid was granted recognition²⁷ and Gaon extended his profound appreciation in the Spanish-speaking press. By the summer of 1965, Gaon reiterated to a Spanish reporter the historic importance of Jews to Spain. In establishing a legal framework for Spanish Jews, Gaon stressed, the “Generalissimo” and his government will recuperate Spain’s former glory through “economic reconstruction [...] (and) cultural progress from scientific knowledge” (Barra 1965).

For Gaon, it seems, these were facts on the ground: the need to keep dialogue open and to deepen Jewish civil and political rights as well as community-building in Spain. The necessity for Jewish representation had required both direct and indirect communication with the Francoist powers, including, at times, acquiescing publicly to some version of the dictator’s universe. Ladino, when spoken, could serve as an ethno-linguistic bridge stretching across the centuries—at times, almost an enchantment—while echoing a cultural, economic, and moral conservatism that was vital to the Francoist state. These facets could exist under the scope of Ladino, even if other languages held more immediate purchase on Jewish daily life in Spain.

First and foremost, the legal recognition of non-Catholic religions had opened pressing questions about the day-to-day aspects of observant Jewish life in Spain, most of which circulated in Spanish. Almost immediately, Jewish students from the U. K. and the U. S. had expressed interest in studying in Spain. As Iacob M. Hassán, then-secretary of the Institute of Sephardi Studies, underscored in 1965, Gaon’s concerns about kashrut for these youth were more than relevant. Placing observant students into the homes of most Jewish families in Madrid, “certainly would not be suffi-

²⁵ For these meetings, see Gaon to the Mahamad, *et al.*, Sept. 28, 1962, Box 17-4, Gaon papers, YUA.

²⁶ Gaon to Mazin, Dec. 10, 1964, Box 53A-9, Gaon papers, YUA.

²⁷ April 7, 1965 letter in 53A-9/Spain, Gaon papers, YUA.

cient for an Orthodox American”.²⁸ By 1966, the desire for a rabbinic appointment grew, as did the need for a modern synagogue in Madrid, leading Gaon to field a range of new site-specific questions. What Madrid needed in particular, the Polish, (Belarus)-born Mazin relayed to Gaon, was a “*Kolboinik*”—a jack of all trades—a rabbi who was a *mohel* and a *shohet* (slaughterer). Or more readily: “Maybe a *Spanish*-speaking rabbi from Israel?”²⁹

As Jews from Arabic-speaking countries sought safe haven following the Six Day War, Gaon held the press from afar, while Mazin implored the Spanish embassy and foreign consulates in the hopes of securing their travel to Spain.³⁰ Gaon, who, by 1967, also served as president of the Union of Sephardic Congregations (“Sephardim” 1967), applauded the Francoist leadership to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, highlighting its “attempt to aid Jews in immigrating to Spain from Morocco and from Egypt and other Arab lands”. Gaon continued, noting that if “educational and spiritual facilities are made available, a Jewish cultural life can be rebuilt” (“Dr. Gaon” 1968).

For each new prominent event, Gaon frequently provided the needed Sephardic representation—lending a high-profile aspect to some given content, and with “ancient Castilian” words to match. As observed by a reporter of the period, Gaon began his speech in Ladino, but seemed to shift to modern Spanish, a code-switching that appeared to facilitate dialogue. Such was the case in 1971, at the opening of the Tránsito Museum in Toledo, when Gaon explained in Ladino and, apparently, Spanish, that the newly repurposed museum (the fourteenth century Halevi synagogue) symbolized the Abrahamic cooperation of medieval Spain. The event had modern-day resonance, the article noted, since “only such co-operation could bring peace in the Middle East and in the world” (“Sephardi Museum” 1971).

Just months earlier, in late 1970, the U. S. President Richard Nixon, too, had made a prominent visit to Spain, aware of growing Russian power in the Mediterranean, and with concerns about potential instability in Spain due to forthcoming regime change. At nearly eighty years old, Franco had remained a “bugbear” for much of the West. Always the pragmat-

²⁸ Hassán to Gaon, Dec. 21, 1965, Box 53A-9/Spain, Gaon papers, YUA. In this same letter, Hassán’s formal title appears as the “secretario” of the institute.

²⁹ Mazin to Gaon, Sept 22 and 27, 1966, Box 53A-9/Spain, Gaon papers, YUA. *Italics* mine.

³⁰ Mazin to Gaon, June 28, 1967, Box 53A-9/Spain, Gaon papers, YUA.

ic authoritarian, the *Caudillo* had designated the Bourbon Prince Juan Carlos I in 1969 to be his official heir, the first Spanish king in almost forty years. As the historian Stanley Payne observed at the time, the central question was whether Spain could become “the first major non-communist dictatorship able to institutionalize itself and survive the passing of its founder” (Payne 1971).

Following Franco’s death in 1975, Gaon joined a delegation of Sephardi leaders to meet with King Juan Carlos, and prepared they came. During the meeting, the delegation presented the king with the *sine qua non* of all Ladino texts³¹—a copy of the famed Ferrara Bible. This rare Jewish Bible, translated from Hebrew into Ladino and published in 1553, had been a gift from the Sephardi community in Amsterdam. Notably, the inclusion of this Ladino source was far from automatic or inevitable: Some sixty years before, Abraham S. Yahuda, the first Jewish professor to win a chair of Jewish studies in Spain, had presented King Alfonso XIII not with a Ladino text, but a medieval work in Judeo-Arabic, even though Yahuda was proficient in both (“Dr. Yahuda” 1914). Standing now before Juan Carlos with the Ferrara Bible in 1976, Gaon presented his chosen benediction: As previously uttered to Franco, the *hakham* blessed the new king in Ladino³²—presumably speaking the same neo-benediction in Ladino from Genesis 1:28 that Gaon had spoken to Franco in 1960—and which was later repeated again for the Prince of Asturias Award, before the king’s son, Prince Felipe, in 1990.³³ The words for the blessing had, after all, been pulled from the very first page of the Ferrara Bible, adapting the text’s language of “*be fruitful and multiply*” (*fruchiguad y muchiguad*).³⁴

Blessings aside, when the possibility of a new plan for Sephardi citizenship emerged only a few years later, in 1982, the *Hakham* Gaon fell conspicuously quiet. Under the new plan, Sephardi nationalization occurred after only two years of residency in Spain (Roth 1982). Gaon had historically celebrated the importance of Jews to modern Spain, and the 1982 naturalization plan seemed to resonate with that logic. Yet, in an article written for the U. S.-based *Sephardic Scholar* in 1982, Gaon sought to contain the moment by looking to pre-war Yugoslavia. Stressing the writings of his beloved teacher, Rabbi Dr. Levy, Gaon explained that Levy, in

³¹ *Sine qua non* particularly if Abrahamic links are to be made.

³² “King Carlos” 1976.

³³ See footnote 1.

³⁴ A variation of this phrase also appears in later texts, such as the Constantinople Bible from 1547; I thank the anonymous reader for the Constantinople reference.

his correspondence with the Spanish Senator Pulido, had never endorsed a world-reorienting return of the Sephardim to Spain. As Gaon underscored, for Levy, writing at the outset of the twentieth century, “there is no possibility that large Sephardi masses will ever be repatriated to Spain” (Gaon 1979-1982). While reasonable for smaller populations, the predominant Jewish homeland would always be in Palestine, in Eretz Israel, Gaon’s eventual burial grounds.³⁵

But much had changed since the Levy-Pulido exchange, as well as since Gaon’s first talk at the 1959 exhibition. By the 1980s, Spain had entered the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (1982) and joined the European Union (1986)—the same year that Israel and Spain established diplomatic relations (1986) after nearly four decades of marked dissent (Setton and Rein 2017). At the same time, Jewish life in Spain had changed dramatically, especially following the 1978 democratic constitution, with new civil rights, such as the freedom of religion, and the proliferation of Jewish organizations, from local branches of B’nai B’rith to the WSF, as well as the tripling in size of Spain’s Jewish community, totaling some 12,000 persons.³⁶ Yet, Spain had also become the site of a reinvigorated far-right, with numerous instances of Nazi sheltering and antisemitism, including, in 1980, the failed assassination of Mazin (Rozenberg 2010: 281-303), one of the country’s brightest Jewish lights.

These latter facts would be muted in 1992, during the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus’s arrival to the Americas. After more than a decade of planning,³⁷ in conjunction with almost two dozen countries, including the U. S. and Israel, the activities honoring the anniversary began. As one of the organizers of “Sepharad ’92”—the Sephardic component of the events—wrote in January 1989, “the (Spanish) government is determined to complete this job by 1992, no matter how daunting it may seem at present”.³⁸ By March 1992, King Juan Carlos donned a *kippah* in Madrid’s Beth Yaacov synagogue, founded in the Francoist period by a segment of Spain’s Jewish community, apparently in consultation with Gaon.³⁹ Standing before hundreds of guests, with newspapers and TV outlets on hand, Juan Carlos delivered a first-ever speech by a Spanish king in a modern synagogue in Spain. Eliding “Sephardim” with “Span-

³⁵ See <https://mountofolives.co.il> [consulted: 23-03-2023].

³⁶ Jan. 15, 1989 letter, Box 43-4, Gaon Papers, YUA.

³⁷ Real Decreto 735/1981.

³⁸ Jan. 15, 1989 letter, Box 43-4, Gaon papers, YUA.

³⁹ Gaon to Mazin, Dec. 10, 1964, 53A-9/Spain, Gaon papers, YUA.

ish-Jews”, the king stressed that their veritable “home” (*hogar*) existed in Sefarad, the Hebrew term for “Spain”. By upholding “constitutional norms”, Spain had “consecrated” diversity and freedom of religion through—the king emphasized—a “democratic system”.⁴⁰

During this highly covered event, Gaon once again blessed the Spanish leadership in Ladino, yet with some notable modifications. Praising Spain and Israel’s new relations as an example of peace and friendship for all nations, Gaon exalted the all-powerful divine, the “*Todopoderoso*”, to bless, protect, magnify, and exalt King Juan Carlos, Queen Sofia, and Prince Felipe. Gaon followed the basic trajectory of the “Prayer for the King and Royal Family”, commonly spoken in his former London congregation, in line with the tradition of his predecessor, Moses Gaster (d. 1939), the former *hakham* of the British Commonwealth (*Book of Prayer* 112). In accord with Spain’s constitutional monarchy, Gaon dilated his blessing—adding the terminology used for republics⁴¹—to include “*all those who govern* this great Reign of Spain” (*Reinado de España*).⁴² Gaon then ended his benediction with “be fruitful and multiply”—with final emphasis on Spain and its people.

During these many years, Gaon had spoken powerfully to Spain’s various leaders, as the country lurched in uncertain moments from dictatorship to constitutional monarchy. For Gaon, Ladino remained a beloved mother tongue from a world that had been largely destroyed. Throughout the Cold War, Spain had provided an opportunistic if warm reception for institutional developments in the study of Ladino and of the Sephardim—while also being implicated in their erasure (that “ancient Castilian” of “Spanish Jews”). At the same time, Gaon shared some of the conservative Catholic regime’s own values, most significantly, the desire to maintain clear lines between Jew and Christian, a constructive value, insofar as Jewishness had a place to exist.

Ironically, after three decades of work, it was during “Sepharad ’92”—at the ‘end’ of the Cold War—that Gaon found himself confronting his own erasure. Gaon and his blessings had been paralleled by a new fig-

⁴⁰ “Palabras de su majestad el rey a la comunidad israelita”, Casa de Su Majestad el Rey, March 31, 1992.

⁴¹ *Book of Prayer* 112n1-3.

⁴² See Gaon’s talk in “Programa: Visita de Sus Majestades los Reyes y del presidente del Estado de Israel a la Sinagoga ‘Beth Yaacov’ de Madrid”, March 31, 1992, Box 43-6, Gaon papers, YUA.

ure—the president of Israel.⁴³ Chaim Herzog’s highly publicized trip had marked the first visit of an Israeli president to Spain. As Herzog noted during his own talk before the king, his visit to Spain had marked the “historic reconciliation between the Jewish people and the Spanish (people)” (“Don Juan Carlos” 1992). Once again, the political rubric in Spain had shifted.⁴⁴ Gaon’s Ladino benedictions, which had carefully circulated just a few years before, now seemed ubiquitous—both necessary and unremarkable—a logical outcome of unofficial Jewish diplomacy in a symbolic monarchy striving to justify its social and political rationale.

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⁴³ *Ibidem*. According to the program, the current Israeli president and Israel’s First Lady entered and exited the synagogue with the king and queen; neither Gaon nor the Sephardi Yitzhak Navon (1921-2015), the former Israeli president, were given that directive.

⁴⁴ On the many controversies that will come to surround Beth Yaacov, including of an Ashkenazi president at the event, see Rozenberg 2010: 321-341.

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THE JUDEO-SPANISH OF SA‘ADI A-LEVI: *MIS MEMORIAS*

Bryan KIRSCHEN

1. Introduction

Editor, publisher, musician, and composer, Sa‘adi Besalel Ashkenazi a-Levi (1820-1903) lived during a period of great transition. Sa‘adi, as he will be referred to in this paper, documented the historical, cultural, and linguistic shifts of his native Salonica through his mother tongue, Judeo-Spanish. *Mis memorias* represents the first-known memoir in Judeo-Spanish, penned in the Sephardi cursive script, solitreo. This paper explores the life and language(s) of Sa‘adi, utilizing the transliterated version of his memoir as well as the original and digitized *aljamiado* manuscript (Rodrigue & Stein: 2012).¹

(Auto)biographical accounts of Sa‘adi’s life can be found throughout his memoir, the periodicals he edited, as well as scholarly works (Cohen 2019; Cohen 2020). While in many respects, we may consider Sa‘adi a Sephardic patriarch and leader of his lineage, milieu, and beyond, the Ashkenazi roots of his paternal side, which he traces to Holland, and his maternal side, to Italy, both complicate as well as illustrate the multifaceted layers of his identity. Sa‘adi’s memoir captures a glimpse into his life,

¹ Romanization of Sa‘adi’s memoir was provided in Rodrigue & Stein (2012) by Isaac Jerusalmi, primarily utilizing current conventions of the Israeli National Authority of Ladino’s *Aki Yerushalayim*; for more details on said norms, see Bunis (2019).

his roots, and the environmental as well as religious turmoil that defined his period, particularly his excommunication by religious leaders in Salonica in 1874. While Sa'adi considered himself an *'am 'ares* 'ignoramus' (18b),² due to his thwarted (religious) education, he was rather learned and skilled in a number of languages, something which he regularly downplayed throughout his memoir. In regard to Judeo-Spanish, his legacy is long-lasting, as "Sa'adi and his sons were pillars of the world of modern Ladino letters" (Rodrigue & Stein 2012: xxii). Upon Sa'adi's passing, his sons dedicated the initial pages of the January 16, 1903 edition of *La Epoca* in homage to their father (figure 1), under the titles *El fundador de la Epoca* ('The founder of *La Epoca*') as well as *Algunas notas* ('Some notes').³



Figure 1. *La Epoca*, 16 January 1903 ("El fundador de *La Epoca*" 1)

² When referencing a selection in Sa'adi's manuscript, this paper cites the *first* folio in which said word or phrase is found. Sa'adi's memoir, in *solitreo* (or *soletreo*), is entirely digitized and available for viewing on Stanford University Press's webpage: <https://www.sup.org/ladino/> [consulted: 23-03-2023]. Rodrigue & Stein (2012) have also indicated respective folia in their Judeo-Spanish romanization, as well as English translation.

³ This paper utilizes *La Epoca* instead of *La Epoka* since, above the masthead of the periodical in question, said romanization was included in print.

2. Sa'adi, his memoir, and his (last) request

In the years following Sa'adi's passing, *La Epoca* planned to publish selections from his memoir. The newspaper announced this news in Meruba and Rashi print, as well as in solitreo cursive characters, which was rather uncommon in periodicals. In regard to the latter, the elements in question were copied fragments from Sa'adi's writings. For example, on August 9, 1907, the following excerpt appears (figure 2): *Mis memorias* §16. – 'Kuando sera la ora buena vozotros estamparesh las memorias ke yo vos desho manuskritas, sin azer de menos sin deskuidarvos, i sin trokarlas'. Sa'adi a-Levi –testamento.⁴

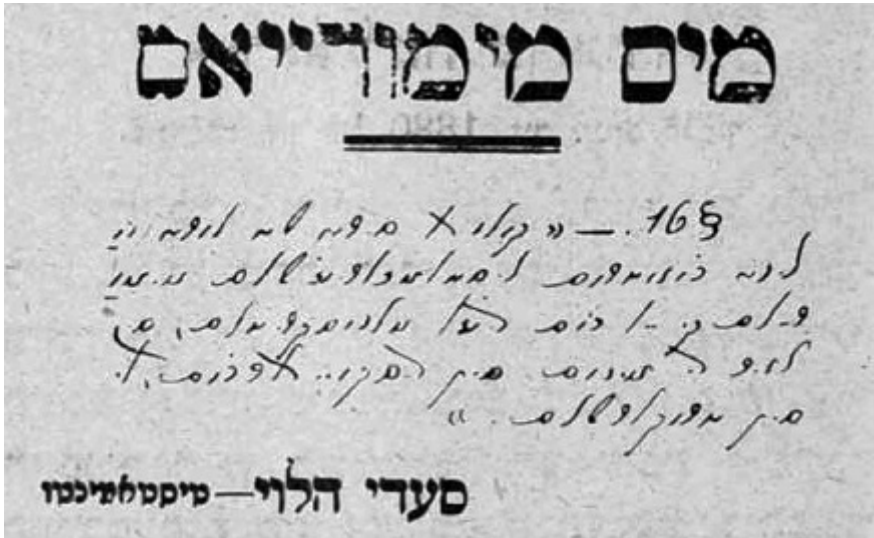


Figure 2. ("Mis memorias" 1)

This fragment, repurposed for illustrative purposes in the newspaper Sa'adi founded and edited, made it clear to readers that Sa'adi, in fact, wanted to share his memoir with the public. His desire is also accounted

⁴ 'My memoir: 'When it is the right time, you shall print my memoir, which I have handwritten for you, without doing anything less, without neglect, and without change. Sa'adi a-Levi –testament' ("Mis memorias" 1).

for in the memoir itself: *Mi ultima rogativa ke (es) ago amis ijos es de estampar esta estorya, temprano o tadre, kon todos los modos a non pasar mi enkomendansa sea en muestra estamperia, sea en Vyena o en Beogrado kon guadrar kopya en otro livro, i adovando algunas frazas i algunos byervos difisiles de turko o de leshon a-kodesh* (Rodrigue & Stein: 2012: 294).⁵

Placed at the end of Rodrigue & Stein's (2012: 148n.165) edition, the editors' note that this section was found as a loose fragment between pages of chapter 16 of Sa'adi's memoir. This piece clarifies that, while Sa'adi did not want his sons to change (*trokar*) what he wrote, he asked that they fix/repair (*adovar*) Turkish and Hebrew elements that might prove challenging to a wider audience. In an effort to explore Sa'adi's Judeo-Spanish without such redaction, however, the analysis to follow makes sole use of his solitreo writing as well as the transliterated memoir. Focusing on the original manuscript, as opposed to versions that appeared outside of his memoir, I seek to offer a more accurate portrayal of Sa'adi's Judeo-Spanish in the period in which it was written.

In regard to the actual writing of Sa'adi's memoir, it should be noted that the solitreo before our eyes is primarily that of a scribe.⁶ While Sa'adi's memoir covers decades of his life, most of it was written in the 1880s. During this period, Sa'adi lost his vision in his right eye and, in the decade that followed, became almost entirely blind in his other eye as well (Borovaya 2012: 89). As this would have impacted his ability to write down his memoir, Rodrigue & Stein (2012: liii) note that he made use of a scribe (or scribes), despite observing that, at various points throughout the memoir, "additions to the manuscript were made in the margin over the years by Sa'adi himself", as late as 1902. We even observe Sa'adi's "shaky handwriting" (Rodrigue & Stein 2012: 295n.9) in the following example, where he addresses details of Sultan Abdul Med-

⁵ Translations provided will come from Rodrigue and Stein's (2012) volume, with minor clarifications, where appropriate: "My last request from my children is to print this story as soon as possible and by all means, either in our printing press or in Vienna, or in Belgrade, so that (sic) not to transgress my request. After you have improved on some sentences and taken care of some difficult words in Turkish and Hebrew, be certain to keep a copy in book form" (Rodrigue & Stein 2012: 148).

⁶ See Bunis (1975), which has trained generations of scholars on how to decipher solitreo and build a skill set in this paleographic endeavor; for recent digital advances in regard to solitreo resources, see Berman (2009) and Kirschen (2020).

jid's visit.⁷ One can observe the difference in handwriting in the extract below (38b, figure 3):

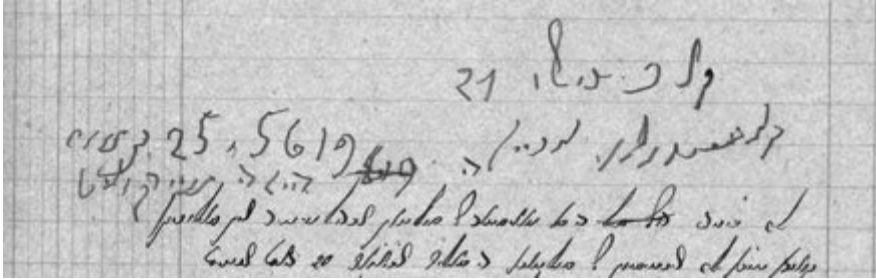


Figure 3. Two handwritings, one memoir (Chapter 21, folio 38b)

While we do not have further information about Sa'adi's scribe(s), we must recognize that this presents both a challenge and an opportunity in regard to linguistic analysis. Sa'adi's memoir, while providing a written account of many life experiences, also contains numerous instances of reported speech, or moments in which he remembers or assumes the linguistic production of a speaker. It is through Sa'adi's scribe that we read this memoir, representing not only the Judeo-Spanish of Sa'adi, but also his scribe's interpretation and representation of the language. In some respects, this might provide a clearer perspective as to Sa'adi's Judeo-Spanish, especially in regard to the solitreo transcription, which illustrates many of the contact-induced phenomena explored later in this paper.

3. The languages (and writing) of Sa'adi's linguistic milieu

The linguistic landscape and soundscape in which Sa'adi lived was common to Sephardic environs throughout the Ottoman Empire. The period in question, that is, the early-nineteenth until the early-twentieth century, demonstrates a number of changing and challenging ideological norms concerning the use of language, which interact with the cultural and po-

⁷ Sa'adi numbers this chapter as Chapter 21, despite the fact that there is already a Chapter 21 in his memoir.

litical shifts both internal and external to the Sephardic milieu. This section examines discussions surrounding language, as observed and reported by Sa'adi. Considering Judeo-Spanish, Hebrew, Ottoman Turkish, Italian, and French will shed light on how Sa'adi assessed the linguistic practices of his surroundings, while also determining how the allocation of these languages is rendered throughout his own Judeo-Spanish.⁸ While this section will review each of the aforementioned languages individually, within Sephardic realms, they are seldom in isolation. That is, the languages which Sa'adi spoke and ideologized were typically in contact with one another, both throughout his discourse as well as linguistic production.

3a. *Judeo-Spanish*

Throughout his memoir, we do not come across the term *djudeo-espanyol* 'Judeo-Spanish', but rather *espanyol* 'Spanish' or *ladino* 'Ladino'. This nomenclature is often demarcated according to spoken language versus sacred, primarily written language. As such, when Sa'adi describes the structure of *Talmud Tora* schooling, he describes that, after several years of instruction, students *pasavan a parasha kon ladino. En este melammed, embezavan los elevos la parasha en ladino, komo kantar sin entender lo ke estan dizyendo* (17b).⁹ This supports previous scholarship, such as Wexler (2006), which describes the unfamiliar nature of the calque variety of Ladino in that it sought to maintain Hebrew syntax through Judeo-Spanish vocabulary. After a number of additional years (or grades) of study, Sa'adi notes *vinian en la meza del haham ke meldava parasha i aftara entera en ladino* (17b).¹⁰ Additionally, Sa'adi mentions reading the following texts *en ladino*: *gemarikas* 'short tract, pamphlets', (19a), *Arba' ve-esrim* 'the Bible', (19a), and *el Zoar, los Tikkunim, el Hok le-Yisrael, el Sefer a-Berith* (47a). Sa'adi's exposure to many religious texts, thus, was aided by translated work in Ladino.

⁸ Henceforth, Ottoman Turkish will be referred to as Turkish.

⁹ 'After that, they advanced to *parasha* [the Torah portion] in Ladino with a teacher who taught them how to sing the *parasha* in Ladino without understanding what they were saying' (17b). Note that Jerusalem transcribes פרשה as *parasha* instead of the more expected *perasha*.

¹⁰ 'Until they reached the classroom of the *haham* who taught them the entire *parasha* and *haftara* [weekly prophetic portion] in Ladino' (17b).

The author of this memoir utilizes the term Spanish to refer to his spoken vernacular. The use of *espanyol* 'Spanish' appears in a variety of contexts, including a description of his wedding (28a), his dictation of notes (36b), his enjoyment of poetry (52a), and his composition of music (52b) in the language. For example, when Sa'adi describes his wedding, he notes that, due to his outfit making him appear more like *un imam ke vino de la Mekka* (28a),¹¹ his bride would have thought *ke non se avlar el espanyol, en turko, eya non save* (28a).¹² Another instance where we observe the use of *espanyol* is when Sa'adi describes Sultan Abdul Medjid's visit to Salonica, for which he was asked to compose three songs and train children to sing them. Sa'adi composed the first two songs in Hebrew, sung upon the arrival of the sultan, and one *en espanyol* 'in Spanish' for his departure.

3b. *Hebrew*

From his memoir, we learn a great deal about the religious training of young boys during Sa'adi's upbringing. Additionally, we learn the reasons for which Sa'adi did not continue his traditional Jewish schooling and advance his Hebrew. Sa'adi informs readers that boys began learning the Hebrew alphabet from as early as five to seven years of age, only one to two years after beginning their studies at *Talmud Tora* schools (17b). Learning Hebrew, thus, was a priority. Sa'adi details the inhumane conditions of his school, however, noting how one teacher in particular beat his students; complaining to parents only made things worse (18a). The teacher's response was nothing more than *la letra kon sangre entra* 'it takes blood to learn every letter' (18b).

Due to the aforementioned circumstances, Sa'adi comments that it was his teacher who caused him to leave the school 'ignorant' (18b) and *ya me konosko keso [sic] 'am aares enfrente de los savyos, i ke estudyaron byen en la lingua santa* (19a).¹³ Despite Sa'adi's self-assessment, readers will notice Hebrew elements throughout his memoir, which Rodrigue & Stein (2012: xlv) observe were "recited orally and frequently by rote on a daily basis, [and] constructed a fundamental template for oral and writ-

¹¹ 'An imam who arrived from Mecca' (28a).

¹² 'That I cannot speak Spanish, and she doesn't know Turkish' (28a).

¹³ 'I know that I am an ignoramus when compared to scholars who have studied the holy tongue in depth' (19a).

ten expression". Such a template was referenced throughout Sa'adi's memoir as either *ebayko* 'Hebrew' (or *lingua ebrayka* 'Hebrew language') or *leshon a-kodesh* 'Holy language/tongue (or simply *lashon* 'language/tongue'). While Sa'adi typically implemented the former set for wedding songs (11b, 44a, 51b) or teaching the language (44b), the latter were used in considering more religious or official works, such as *pizmonim* 'liturgical poems or songs' (12a), the previously-mentioned *Arba' ve-esrim* 'the Bible' (19a), the *kantes* 'songs' he wrote in honor of Sultan Abdul Medjid's arrival (52b), or the language used concerning the punishment toward Sa'adi ahead of his *herem* 'excommunication', circulating and signed throughout his community (57b).

Just like Sa'adi notes how many did not understand liturgical texts in Ladino, he also remarks that many were unfamiliar with *leshon a-kodesh* 'Hebrew'. Sa'adi tells us of the painstaking punishments religious leaders set forth on him: *Kitaron un papel de unas kondisyones aboresivles, eskrito en לשון [leshon a-kodesh, la lingua de santedad], i lo izyeron afirmar de todos los asistyente[s], tanto los hahamim, komo el puevlo, sin entender, ni estudiar todo lo kontenido* (57b).¹⁴ While we might imagine some just supporting the rabbinical leadership and signing their name without first reviewing the content of this statement, as might have been the case among the rabbinic faction who signed, it is safe to argue that *el puevlo* 'the lay people', which Sa'adi mentions, are those who signed *sin entender* 'without understanding' the text—and ramifications—in question. This is something we encounter once again in his aforementioned *ultima rogativa* 'last request', when he asks his children to replace some of the words in *leshon a-kodesh* 'Hebrew' and *turko* 'Turkish', which may prove challenging to readers.

3c. Turkish

While Sa'adi acknowledged that many of his readers might not be familiar with the Turkish elements used throughout his memoir, we might ask what his level of proficiency was in the language. Turkish is rendered

¹⁴ 'They proceeded to a prearranged place where they produced a statement in Hebrew stipulating horrible conditions to be signed by everyone present, both laypeople and rabbis, who had never read it beforehand or examined its contents' (57b); though the Judeo-Spanish romanization provided includes "*leshon a-kodesh, la lingua de santedad*", in brackets, Sa'adi's manuscript only provides the abbreviated letters.

throughout his memoir in one of two ways: either as entire words or phrases in the language or as elements adapted to the structure of Judeo-Spanish. Although Bunis (2013a: 120) notes that linguistic assimilation of Sephardim and other minority groups toward Turkish became a reality due to the establishment of the Modern Turkish Republic and ideologies surrounding its foundation, “in order to ensure their everyday livelihood and the maintenance of satisfactory relations with their neighbors and the official regime, most Jewish men, the majority of whom engaged in commerce, had to have a basic familiarity with popular spoken Turkish”. This was not always the case, however, as Sa’adi frequently notes in his memoir, especially among the rabbinic faction. For example, Sa’adi remarks that Rabbi Shaul *non savia una palavra en lingua turka* (5b).¹⁵ This was, in part, due to the fact that Rabbi Shaul could not stand the Turkish language, especially Turkish music (10b). This “aversion to Turkish music”, which served as the title of Chapter 7 in Sa’adi’s memoir, was so strong *a tanto ke el ke kantava kantigas en lingua turka, el lo metia en herem devista, non solamente kantiga turka, afillú un pizmon ke kantavan en el son i alguna kantiga turka* (11a).¹⁶ This disdain resulted in lack of knowledge of the language, as demonstrated in Sa’adi’s memoir. For example, when Chief Rabbi Asher Kovo met Sultan Abdul Medjid, Minister of War Riza Pasha introduced them and reportedly stated *syendo los ditos non konosen la lingua vuestra* (41b).¹⁷ Apart from Sa’adi’s familiarity with proverbs (64b) and pleas (13b), he was also well-versed in Turkish music. His expertise resulted in that *non avia ziafet o fyesta ke yo non fuera yamado por kantar, syendo antes de mi non avia en este ofisyo kantadores pertenesyentes i savidos en kantes ebraykos, i lo mezmo en turko* (51b).¹⁸ However, when a favorable decision was made for Rabbi Shaul by Turkish authorities (the *Vali* ‘governor’) concerning an excommunication he had carried out, Sa’adi explains that the Jewish people “who were impatiently waiting downstairs”, exclaimed, in Turkish, *Patishaimis chok yas-*

¹⁵ ‘Didn’t know one word of Turkish’ (5b).

¹⁶ ‘That he [Rabbi Shaul] would excommunicate anyone singing Turkish songs. Not only Turkish songs, but even a Jewish liturgical poem chanted in a Turkish mode or copying a known Turkish song’ (11a).

¹⁷ ‘Because these gentlemen do not know your language’ (41b).

¹⁸ ‘Due to the lack of qualified and knowledgeable singers of Hebrew and Turkish songs like me, there was no banquet or celebration to which I was not invited to sing’ (51b).

ha, Pasha efendimis chok yasha ‘Long live our Sultan; long live our Pasha Efendi’ (6a).¹⁹ This was prior to entering into song, in Hebrew.

Sa’adi’s working knowledge of Turkish, which he typically refers to as *turko* in his memoir or, at times, *trukuesko* (12a) or *trukesko* (14a), can be contextualized within the period in which he lived. While we might place Sa’adi’s Judeo-Spanish within the Early Modern Judezmo period, which Bunis (2013b: 426) notes spans from the late 18th century until World War I, it is important to note that some of the language that Sa’adi acquired was that of the previous period, or the Late Middle Judezmo Period, which had already experienced an “increased and more profound influence from Turkish”. Thus, Sa’adi’s Judeo-Spanish is representative of an ever-increasing amount of Turkish, from both that which he acquired and through continued contact with his native Judeo-Spanish over the course of his life. In fact, prior to the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, when Salonica was no longer Ottoman and became Greek, Bunis (1999a: 105) notes that “any major efforts to learn a local, non-Jewish language had been directed toward Turkish”. Sa’adi, of course, had passed a decade prior to this time, and would not establish strong contact with the Greek language, as did subsequent generations of Sephardim. Nevertheless, as subsequent sections reveal, his Judeo-Spanish still exhibits a number of properties demonstrative of contact with Greek.

3d. *Italian*

In reading Sa’adi’s memoir, the level of linguistic influence left by Italian on his Judeo-Spanish becomes clear. Minervini (2014) traces the impact and contact of Italian within and throughout Sephardic communities and the Judeo-Spanish language as early as the sixteenth century, noting its mark in Salonica in particular. The case of the Frankos, an Italian Jewish faction, provides an interesting case study in this regard. Sa’adi’s maternal ancestry, after all, descended from Frankos. As Rodrigue & Stein (2012: xxiv) observe, Frankos “could be ‘Judeo-Hispanicized’ to the point of taking on Ladino (rather than their native Italian) as a language of the home”. However, we also observe instances where Italian was preserved among the Frankos, such as in the case of Moïse Allatini, who works with

¹⁹ All Turkish elements will be transcribed in Judeo-Spanish and *not* in Ottoman Turkish or Modern Turkish orthographies, as found in Rodrigue & Stein’s (2012) romanization of Sa’adi’s memoir.

and protects Sa'adi throughout the latter's many trials and tribulations. In fact, at one point, Moïse asks that Sa'adi write down information for him as he dictated it, in Italian. Sa'adi notes *yamandome un dia en su kaza, entrandome en una kamareta, i me izo asentar en dandome pendola, tinta i papel. I me la izo kopyar en diktandome del italyano, azyendolo en letra espanyola* (36b).²⁰ Two points become clear with this information: first, that Sa'adi's *letra espanyola* must refer to his cursive solitreo handwriting and second, in agreement with Rodrigue & Stein (2012: 65n.75), that he understood enough Italian to understand and carry out Moïse's request.

3e. *French*

Sa'adi dedicates an entire chapter (22) of his memoir to the establishment of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU). The goal of this institution, as Sa'adi notes, was to *aklarar a los djidyos del Oryente i su program es de expandir la lingua franseza, i la lingua de el pais, i la lingua ebrayka* (44a).²¹ It is important to keep in mind, however, that Sa'adi was in his fifties when this network of schools came about in Salonica (1873) and he himself was not educated under the AIU. For this reason, as Borovaya (2012: 83) observes, "there is no evidence that he knew French". Recognizing the opportunity, however, Sa'adi founded *Le Journal de Salonique*, which appeared in Salonica as of 1895, and was maintained until 1911 by his children, who spoke the language.

Through Sa'adi's memoir, we also learn about an encounter with the aforementioned Riza Pasha, when he introduces two Frankos to the sultan. Of this experience, Sa'adi remarks *respondyo el Sultan kon una avla en franses, ke 'esta sivdad prosperara muncho'* (42a).²² As Rodrigue & Stein (2012: 75, n. 92), note "it is striking that the common language of communication between the sultan and these leading Frankos is French rather than Turkish". In addition to the role that French filled, in regard to education, it also served as a *lingua franca*, as in this important exchange between Jewish leaders and the sultan.

²⁰ 'He called me to his house, let me sit in one of his rooms, and gave me a penholder, ink, and paper. He had me copy that list as he dictated it from the Italian, and I wrote it in Spanish letters' (36b).

²¹ 'To enlighten the Jews of the Orient, and its curriculum was geared to spreading the French language, the national language of the country, as well as Hebrew' (44a).

²² 'The sultan answered in French, "This city will thrive greatly" (42a).

4. Judeo-Spanish in contact in Sa'adi's *Memorias*

Apart from the various factors contributing to contact between Judeo-Spanish and Hebrew, Turkish, and Italian and, to a lesser degree, French and Greek, the Judeo-Spanish of Salonica also exhibits a number of features that help distinguish it from other varieties of the language. This section considers such characteristics in an effort to understand how the multilingual landscape surrounding Sa'adi impacted his Judeo-Spanish. The glossary at the end of the Rodrigue & Stein (2012), compiled by Jerusalem, provides a wealth of information in regard to the rich lexicon that was common to Sa'adi's Judeo-Spanish tongue; the analysis to follow benefits greatly from this work. In Jerusalem's glossary, in addition to the meaning of a given entry, primarily for the lexicon of non-Spanish roots, we also find the source language from which said entries originate.

4a. *Hebrew*

Sa'adi's Judeo-Spanish demonstrates substantial use of Hebrew. As Rodrigue & Stein (2012: xliv) comment, at times, the rendering of these elements in the written text is "of dubious accuracy", yet this falls on the limitations of the scribe and not necessarily Sa'adi. However, Hebrew and Aramaic lexicon is utilized throughout the memoir, at times represented in meruba characters and at times in solitreo characters.

In Sa'adi's memoir, we find a number of abbreviations, including: a.y."a (איי"א) *ashem yishmeru amen*, 'May G-d protect him, amen' (39a); ḥ."r (ח"ר) *haham ribbi*, 'rabbi' (3b); n."e (ני"ע) *nishmato eden*, '[may] his soul [be] in Heaven' (32b); t."t (ת"ת) *Talmud Tora* school (15b); k"k (ק"ק) *keila kedosha*, 'holy temple' (49a), and l.sh"a (לש"ה) *leshon a-kodesh*, 'holy language/Hebrew' (57b). At times, a single diacritic is used (') while, at times, a double diacritic (") marks the abbreviation in question; sometimes, no diacritic is present. These, apart from the Spanish abbreviation s" ("ס) *sinyor* 'Mr'. (36a), to refer to certain people throughout the memoir, are among the most commonly used.

In addition to orthographic curiosities and abbreviations found in Sa'adi's memoir, there are other elements within that demonstrate ample points of Hebrew throughout his Judeo-Spanish. Periphrastic structures appear such as *dar shalom* 'to greet' (58a), though we find its non-periphrastic equivalent *saludar* in the text as well (53b). Another example of periphrasis, which also utilizes the verb *dar* 'to give' consists of *dar 'eduth*

'to testify' (54b), instead of 'testimonyar', which we do not find in the text. Also using the verb *dar*, we find *dar attarara* 'to issue a release; to exonerate' (60b). We also observe *echar haramoth* or, rather, *heremoth ke echa* 'to issue excommunications' (13a); the word *herem* 'excommunication' creates the word *enheremar* 'to excommunicate', formed by the Hispanic-based prefix *-en* and verbal suffix *-ar*. The verb *echar* 'to throw; to toss' is used regularly to create combined constructs; this can be seen in *echar(les) la parasha* 'to recite parasha' (18a), referring to the weekly Torah portion. Lastly, we find *azer* 'to do; to make' performing a similar function, as in the examples *azer una askama* 'to issue an agreement' (70b) as well as *azer un pesak* 'to pass a sentence'. Additionally, we find Spanish *ser* 'to be', followed by Hebrew *asur* 'forbidden' in the following constructs: *es asur de la Ley* 'it is forbidden by (Jewish) law' (16b) and *son asur de meldarlos* 'they are forbidden to be read' (58a). Apart from this, we observe *provaya*, which utilizes the Spanish-based and metathe-sized *prove* 'poor' and the Aramaic suffix *-aya*, to represent an entity or collective; thus, 'the poor people' (33b). These forms and thousands of additional Hebrew and Aramaic-based lexical items in Judeo-Spanish are accounted for in Bunis (1993).

4b. *Turkish*

Sa'adi's use of Turkish is widespread throughout his memoir. From entire phrases in the language to regularly-adapted lexicon, it is evident that Sa'adi, unlike the Jewish religious authorities at that time, demonstrated ample proficiency and interaction with Turkish vis-à-vis Judeo-Spanish, as well as contact with its speakers. Sa'adi's Judeo-Spanish is peppered with Turkish sayings, including *bir verirsan, ikiyi sayarum* 'pay me for one, I'll count it as two' (13a) and *takya dushtu, kyel yoruldu* 'his skullcap fell, his baldness appeared' (64b); while the Judeo-Spanish translation of both are provided in the romanized transcription in Rodrigue & Stein's edition, they do not actually appear in Sa'adi's solitreo manuscript. In another instance, Sa'adi strategically utilizes Turkish to plan his escape and free himself from two *kavazes* 'bodyguards' that were taking him to the governor's *konak* 'mansion', due to matters concerning excommunication. In Turkish, Sa'adi exclaims: *Allah, ne tutarsinin beni katil yibi, ben kyimsei oldurmedim, kyimseden chalmadim, kyimsenin irzina dokulmadim,*

kyonul verin, nerde isterseniz yidelim (13b).²³ These examples are demonstrative of Sa'adi's knowledge of Turkish, outside the confines of contact with Judeo-Spanish.

Sayings and sentences aside, Sa'adi's Judeo-Spanish includes a great deal of contact with Turkish. In particular, Turkish suffixes interact with the Judeo-Spanish lexicon throughout this memoir. Suffixation includes the morphemes *-dji* (or *-chi*), often denoting a person performing an occupation, *-li* adjectivizing a noun, often to indicate geographical origin, *-lik* marking nominalization, as well as *-achi* and *-ucho* signifying diminutives or augmentatives for names. The Turkish agent-marking suffix *-ci*, rendered in Judeo-Spanish as *-dji*, or in Hebrew-based characters as < ״ג >, according to Bunis (2013a: 152) was "widely reflected in the languages of all peoples in contact with the Ottomans". In Sa'adi's manuscript, we find the following instances: *davadji* 'plaintiff' (5b), *yapidji* 'builder; handyman' (16b), *boyadji* 'painter' (22a), *muabendji* 'court chamberlain' (40b), *sobadji* 'stove maker' (49a), *shekerdji* 'candy store owner' (49b), *arroz koladji* 'rice starcher' (65a), *yabandji* 'stranger; foreigner' (71a), all of which are connected to a Turkish base. However, we also find productive forms with this suffix, including *lokandadji* 'restaurant owner; caterer' (55a) and *prangadji* 'shackled prisoners' (30a), which include Italian bases. The suffix *-(t)chi*, which is also rendered as < ״ג > in *aljamiado* form has a similar function to *-dji*, although it appears after a voiceless consonant, as in *bekchi* 'watchman; guard' (69a).²⁴ While this suffix typically interacts with Turkish bases in Judeo-Spanish, as we observed with *-dji*, it can appear with non-Turkish bases as well; this is the case of *kalafatchi* 'repairman, typically of a boat' (68b).

Apart from the Turkish-based suffixes we find above, we also discover *-achi* and *-ucho*. In his examination of synchronic and diachronic diminutives and hypocoristics in Judeo-Spanish, Bunis (2003: 222) posits that *-achi* is "perhaps a fusion of the Spanish augmentative *-acho* and the Greek

²³ 'Allah, why are you holding me as if I were a murderer? I haven't killed anyone, I haven't robbed anyone, I haven't dishonored anyone, have mercy on me, and I will go wherever you want' (13b).

²⁴ While Jerusalmi is rather consistent in his romanization in regard to utilizing *-dji* following vowels or voiced consonants and *-chi* after voiceless consonants, he transcribes *kyetabtchi* 'bookseller; bookstore owner' (63a) utilizing the latter, despite the base of this word being *kyetab*; his use of *-t* is paired with *-chi*, and not the base. This is likely the result of the realization of the final root consonant in the Ottoman Turkish version of this word (i.e. کتابچی *kitapçı*, as seen in Jerusalmi's dictionary of the edited volume).

diminutive *-aki*, with the affrication of the palatalized *k'* in the latter, possibly under the influence of other Balkan diminutive suffixes, such as Turkish *-çik*, *-çe* and Bulgarian/Serbo-Croatian *-ča/-če*". This suffix emerges in the following Hebrew-based male names: *Yakovachi* (3b), *Liatchi* (14a), *Avramachi* (17a), *Hayyimachi* (44a), *Behorachi* (47a), and *Shemuelachi* (78a). Meanwhile, the Hispanic-based suffix *-ucho* performs multiple functions, including an augmentative, pejorative, or "it may add positive and/or ironic affect to personal names" (Bunis 2003: 228). Sa'adi's memoir includes the following examples with this suffix: *Izakucho* (17a), *Yishakucho* (17a), *Danielucho* (46b), *Hayyimucho* (53b), and *Avramucho* (60a).

The substantivizing Turkish suffix *-lik* renders a number of nouns in Sa'adi's memoir; in the examples to follow, it is utilized alongside a Turkish base. Examples with this suffix include: *harshlik* 'allowance; pocket money' (5a), *terdjumanlik* 'acting as an interpreter' (5b), *raatlik* 'quietude; ease' (18b), *altilik* 'six piaster coin' (22a), *boldjelic* 'abundance' (31b), *muzevvirlik* 'trickery; tale-telling' (35b), *haremluk* 'women's apartment' (39b), *disharilik* 'area outside the *haremluk* reserved for the men' (39b), *kyefsizlik* 'indisposition; sickness' (50a), and *tahsi[l]darlik* 'debt collection' (52b). This suffix can combine with the Spanish plural *-es* as in *aylikes* 'monthly salaries' (16b) and *chiflikes* 'farms' (81a). And while non-Turkish bases do not appear in Sa'adi's text, Bunis (2018: 195, 207) remarks that such examples exist, providing *purimlik* 'Purim gift' and *hanukalik* 'Hanuka present' to demonstrate points of contact with Hebrew-based words.

Finally, we find the Turkish adjectivizing suffix *-li* in the following instances: *bragalis* 'breech-wearing riffraff; lower-class individual' (65a), *kyenarli* 'with an edge' (65a), *aladjali* 'multicolored; striped' (65a), and *rutbeli* 'people with rank' (41b). This suffix regularly appears when referring to one's origin: *estambol(li)* (51b), of Istanbul, *selanikli*, of Salonica, and *shereslis*, of Serres (30a).

All of the aforementioned phenomena are in addition to a rich corpus of Turkish lexicon, embedded throughout Sa'adi's memoir and listed in the nearly sixty pages of Jerusalmi's glossary at the end of Rodrigue & Stein's (2012) edited volume. A few periphrastic structures that utilize Turkish forms alongside Spanish are also found in Sa'adi's text. The combination of Spanish *echar* 'to toss; to throw' and Turkish *arzuhal* 'petition' renders *echar arzuhal* 'to submit a petition' (62a). The combined structure of Spanish *tomar* 'to take' and Turkish *merak* 'worry' yields *tomar merak* 'to cause anxiety' (36a). An additional example includes Spanish *azer* 'to

do; to make’ followed by Turkish *azil* (or *aaz*) ‘dismissal’, resulting in *azer azil* ‘to dismiss from office; to fire’ (14b). Further examples include *meter a la idjra* ‘to start implementing’ (63a), which includes Turkish *idjra* ‘implementation’, *tener nazar* ‘to have esteem for’, which consists of Turkish *nazar* ‘look; observation; consideration’ (36a), *yevar sa’ar* ‘to experience worry; to go through hardship’, which utilizes Turkish *sa’ar* ‘worry; fear; hardship’ (70b), and *echar avai fîshek* ‘to display fireworks’ (40b), which is comprised of Turkish *avai* ‘aerial’ and *fîshek* ‘cartridge’.

4c. Italian

Lexical, syntactic, and phonological examples of Italian influence in Judeo-Spanish abound throughout Sa’adi’s memoir. From Italian-based lexicon to post-alveolar affricates, Sa’adi’s Judeo-Spanish is representative of his native nineteenth century Salonica. Lexicon that one will quickly identify from Italian include: *dirito* ‘right’ (1b), *dita* ‘this’ (56a), *may* ‘ever; never’ (36b), *esteso* ‘same’ (38b), *manko* ‘less’ (14a), *anke* ‘also; even if’ (44a), *espyegar* ‘to explain’, *masimamente* ‘maximally; above all’ (12a), *komunita* ‘community’ (31a), *penalita* ‘penalty’ (55b), *novita* ‘news’ (59a), *ma* ‘but’ (1a), and *pero* ‘but’ (3b). In regard to the latter two examples, *ma* ‘but’ is used almost entirely throughout Sa’adi’s memoir, but *pero* (Italian *però*) appears only once. In Jerusalem’s glossary found at the end of Rodrique and Stein (2012: 340), he notes “as opposed to Spanish *pero*, this conjunction is rarely used in Ladino where it was probably revived under Italian influence”. We must recognize, however, that many words that appear to derive from Italian may share similarities with words from other languages, as in the case of the aforementioned Italian *ma*, Turkish *ama*, Greek *μα*, and Spanish *mas* (as opposed to *más*), all which likely reinforce the use of *ma* over *pero* in Judeo-Spanish. While Minervini (2014: 95) carefully highlights the impact Italian has had on Judeo-Spanish, she considers similar instances: Italian *facha*, Greek *φάτσα*, and Turkish *faça* ‘face’ and Italian *lokanda*, Greek *λοκάντα*, and Turkish *lokanta* ‘restaurant’. Further, even the Italian suffix *-itá*, which competes with Spanish *-idad*, might result in the “hybrid form” *-itad* (Bunis 2017: 389) and can be traced to or reinforced by, in part, French *-ité*.

Sa’adi’s memoir reveals numerous cases where post-alveolar affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are maintained, due to Italian. In regard to /tʃ/, we find *chir-ka* ‘approximately; near’ (70a), *achetar* ‘to accept’ (78a), *dechidir* ‘to decide’ (12b), *kapache* ‘capable’ (21a), *sufichente* ‘sufficient’ (70a),

chirkolar 'circular; notice; flyer' (71a), *socho* 'associate' (35b), *prechizamente* 'precisely' (78b), *sempliche* 'simple' (56a), *fachas* 'faces' (57a), *komercho* 'customs; business' (39b), *sochyeta* 'society' (56a), and *enveche* 'instead of' (70b). In regard to the voiced pair, /dʒ/ also appears regularly throughout the memoir: *prodjeto* 'project' (55a), *relidjyon* 'religion' (1b), *priviledjos* 'privileges' (61b), and *madjo* 'May' (71a). We also come across an unexpected instance of *odjo* 'eye' (55a) instead of *oyo* (5a). As Judeo-Spanish retains voiced post-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ in intervocalic position, the affricate /dʒ/ is indicative of contact with Italian. Conversely, Bunis (2017: 381) notes that, as of the mid-19th century, contact with French "led to replacement, in the literary language of some writers" of /dʒ/ with /ʒ/, particularly in word-initial position. This change is not witnessed in Sa'adi's Judeo-Spanish, observed in *djudyos* 'Jews' (5b), *djuderia* 'Jewish population/quarter' (15b), *djoventas* 'young ladies' (6b), *djoyas* 'jewels' (17a), and *djurnal* 'newspaper' (53a).

Apart from phonological domains, which demonstrate contact between Italian and Judeo-Spanish, we also find a syntactic and semantic feature, which identifies not only contact with Italian but also a property of Salonican Judeo-Spanish. Bunis (2017: 393) posits that Italian *molto* 'very', as early as the 18th century, allowed Judeo-Spanish *muncho* 'many' to appear prior to adjectives, though functioning as an adverb. The use of the adjective *muncho* is utilized as an alternative to the adverb *muy* throughout Sa'adi's memoir. Examples include: *syendo muncho relidjyozo* 'being very religious' (2b), *muncho estrecha i eskura* 'very narrow and dark' (7b), *se avia echo muncho vyeja* 'she had become quite old' (19b), *era muncho amigo mio* 'he was a dear friend of mine' (37a), *es muncho poko* 'it is very little' (43a), *vinian a kostar muncho barato* 'would cost much less' (47a), *era muncho difichile* 'it was very difficult' (71b), and *es muncho kolay* 'it is very easy' (75b). While Sa'adi uses *muncho* in the adverbial sense in the aforementioned cases, thus prohibiting agreement in either number or gender, we also find ample examples where *muy* is used with a similar adverbial function. At times, we even find *mas muncho* 'even more', as in the following examples: *el ninyo sufria mas muncho* 'the child suffered even more' (18a), *kaji mas muncho terreno* 'almost even more land' (25b), and *kedaron mas muncho matados del trespizamyento* 'even more were killed from the stampede' (37b). Nevertheless, these examples illustrate an array of instances when Italian emerged throughout the linguistic construct of Salonican Judeo-Spanish, particularly throughout Sa'adi's idiolect.

4d. *Other languages: French and Greek*

While Hebrew, Turkish, and Italian permeate Sa'adi's memoir, to a lesser extent, we also observe French and Greek. In regard to French, we observe the following words: *broshura* 'pamphlet; booklet' (11a), *bulevar* 'boulevard' (80b), *deranshear* (for *deranjeer*) 'to bother, upset' (63a), *kokarda*, 'rosette; boutonniere' (43b), *marsh pye* 'foot-path' (80b), *mu-sandara* 'roof-window; dormer; attic' (58b), *madama* 'madam' (3a), *musyu* 'monsieur' (3a), and *tantela* 'lace' (65b). Yet, at times, as noted, determining the French or Italian origin of a word, or its Romance origin for that matter, can be challenging. In Rodrigue & Stein (2012: 326), Jerusalem observes that the Judeo-Spanish word for 'class' appears as both *klasa* and *klase*, noting possible French or Italian influence, as well as reinforcement from Spanish *clase*.

Though Greek would influence Judeo-Spanish in Salonica, especially in the initial decades following Sa'adi's passing (1903), we still observe an array of lexicon from this language. Examples with Greek origin noted in Jerusalem's glossary include: *almoranas* 'hemorrhoids' (69a), *apotropos* 'manager' (78b), *espati* 'shamrock' (66a), and *parea* 'group, company' (5b). Of course, several words, which have Greek equivalents or origins, also have similar, although not always identical corresponding forms in Turkish; examples include: *defter* 'notebook' (13a), *fener* 'lantern' (59a), *harta* 'map' (76b), *holera* 'cholera' (28b), *klis(y)a* 'church' (73a), and *sinires* 'borders' (76b). Other examples demonstrate points of contact with Greek as well as Italian, as in *kanistro* 'wicker basket' (1b) and *espa(n)go* 'strong, cord' (49b). This pan-mediterranean lexicon, although requiring further etymological analysis and precision, recognizes the various points of contact throughout Judeo-Spanish.

5. **Salonican Judeo-Spanish regionalisms**

Utilizing Bunis's (1999a) examination of regionalisms in Salonican Judeo-Spanish, this section considers several of the variety in question's more salient features. Sa'adi's features include: *a*) retention of initial [f-], *b*) palatalization of /k/, followed by a front vowel, *c*) the use of the epenthetic [-n] in *muncho* and *d*) placement of clitics alongside infinitives. Bunis's analysis of Moshe Cazes's *Tio Ezra i su mujer Benuta* across four Judeo-Spanish Salonican periodicals from a century ago, although after

Sa'adi's time, reflect multiple generations of speakers in contact and, thus, provides great insight into how the language has changed diachronically.

5a. Retention of initial [f-]

Latin derived *f-* does not appear in words such as *azer* 'to do' (5b), *avlar* 'to speak' (preface), *ijo* 'son', *ijos* 'sons, children', *ija* 'daughter', *ijas* 'daughters' (1a), *aldikera* 'pocket' (2a) or *ornero* 'baker' (48a). Quintana Rodríguez (2006: 97) notes that, in the 18th century, while Salonican Judeo-Spanish often retained [f-], *azer*, *avlar*, and *ijo* often existed alongside *fazer*, *favlar*, and *fijo* in that the latter were utilized in speech and the former in writing as well as in more learned circles. A plethora of instances in which Sa'adi *does* retain [f-] include: *se fue* 'he went' (1b), *el esfuenyo* 'sleep; dream' (2a), *fvero* 'iron' (3b), *afuera* 'outside' (6b), *afondo* 'deeper' (7a), *fuir* 'to escape' (9a), *fuersa* 'strength' (13b), *fuida* 'escape' (14a), *farinero* 'flour producer' (14a), *refuzar* 'to refuse' (14b), *los firidos* 'the afflicted one' (20a), *afalagar* 'to comfort; to calm down' (57a), *aformoziguados* 'beautified; decorated' (39b), *forno* 'oven' (48a), *fogera* 'fire' (48a), *me fayaron* 'they found me' (58b), *fuesas* 'graves' (72b), and *foja* 'page' (16a).²⁵ So, while some frequently-used words seem to have lost their retention of initial [f-], many others are retained in Sa'adi's Judeo-Spanish. Quintana Rodríguez (2006: 97) posits that the retention of [f-] in Salonica, as with other regions that preserve said phone, is demonstrative of settlement by Sephardim originally from areas outside of Castile, such as Portugal and Aragon, where the [f-] is similarly maintained in their respective languages.

Although rare, at other times we find the use of the letter < פ >, transcribed as an < h > preceding [we] and phonetically realized as velar [x] or uvular [χ]. While *fuerte* 'strong' (2b) appears regularly throughout the text, *huerte* (22b) also appears; similarly, we find both *esfuerte* 'fate', 'destiny' (18a) as well as *es.huerte* (56b).²⁶ And while Jerusalmi's transcription of both *esfuegro* 'father-in-law' (2b) and *kosfue[g]ro* 'in-law' (2b)

²⁵ This word is not accounted for in Jerusalmi's transcription in Rodrigue & Stein (2012); rather, it was found by the author at the bottom of folio 16a of the solitreo manuscript and appears in a different handwriting, likely that of Sa'adi himself.

²⁶ Although a dot is not provided in the original transcription, it is used here as a syllabic break, as suggested by *Aki Yerushalayim* conventions, to avoid reading this as voiceless post-alveolar fricative [ʃ] ('sh').

suggest the use of a < פ >, in the aljamiado version, the text is unclear; in fact, the latter utilizes a het < ה > where Jerusalmi suggests a < g >, most likely suggesting Sa'adi's scribe's misinterpretation of voiced velar fricative [ɣ] with its voiceless counterpart [x]. An untranscribed variant of the word *kos.huegras* 'in-laws' appears on the margin of page 80b, written in a different handwriting from the rest of the page, likely to be Sa'adi's; in this instance, we clearly observe the letter < ה > however, instead of < פ > for < f >.

5b. Palatalization of /k/

The realization of voiceless velar stop /k/ as palatalized [kʲ], transcribed in Hebrew characters as < קי > or in romanized form as < ky > experiences ample variation throughout Sa'adi's text. Given such variation, we must once again note the potential role of Sa'adi's scribe, recognizing his attention to detail in marking such a difference in the text, while also keeping in mind that we cannot be completely certain of the accuracy of each and every transcription within. Nevertheless, the variation we witness in this text demonstrates what Bunis (1999a: 84) refers to as "the general presence of vowel-breaking throughout verbal paradigms". Numerous instances conform to Spanish, both with the diphthong and without. In regard to the former, we find *kyero* 'I want' (67a), *kyere* 's/he wants' (12a), and *kyeren* 'they want' (35b), and in regard to the latter, we observe *kerer* 'to want' (11b), *kero* 'I want' (50b), *kere* 's/he wants' (16b) *keria* 'I or s/he wanted' (8b), and *kerian* 'they wanted' (54b). And while the preterite form of this verb differs between Judeo-Spanish and other Spanish varieties in regard to its morphological base, that is *kij-* for the former and *quis-* for the latter, we also find the similar use of the non-palatalized [k] in the following instances: *kije* 'I wanted' (19b) and *kijo* 's/he wanted' (10b). The use of post-alveolar /ʒ/ in Judeo-Spanish, preceded by a high front vowel, further allows for the following forms, which otherwise require a diphthong in the thematic vowel(s) in Spanish: *kijendo* 'wanting' (1a) and *kijeron* 'they wanted' (27b). And while all of the aforementioned forms might be expected, we observe several instances when /k/ is palatalized in Judeo-Spanish, though it does not occur in other varieties of Spanish. Examples include: *kyije* 'I wanted' (preface), *kyeria* 'I or s/he wanted' (36a), and *kyerer* 'to want' (50a). A feature of Greek, palatalization of /k/ can also be observed in a variety of other words, though not consistently: *kyen* 'who' (13a) but *ken* 'who' (4a), *makyinas* 'machines' (24a) but *makinas*

'machines' (47a), and *kiras* 'rents' (70b) but *kyiras* 'rents' (80b). Other instances when the palatalized form appears include *kyeza* 'church' (73a), *askyer* 'soldier' (72a), *shukyur* 'thanks' (64b), and *hukyumat* 'government; authority' (71a); these examples, from Turkish, demonstrate how the Salonican variety in question differs from other varieties of Judeo-Spanish, which do not exhibit palatalization in Turkish.

5c. Epenthetic [-n] in *muncho*

The inclusion of epenthetic *n* in the word *muncho* 'many' garners considerable discussion in regard to Judeo-Spanish. Bunis (2017: 419) notes that while *muncho* is common in Judeo-Spanish varieties of Istanbul and nearby areas, *mucho* is used in those areas in and near Salonica. Thus, it is no surprise to find examples of *mucho* (29a), *muchos* (81a), and *muchas* (35b) throughout Sa'adi's memoir. Despite these occasional occurrences, eight of which are accounted for in Sa'adi's text, more than one hundred examples exist, which demonstrate *muncho* (1a), *muncha* (10b), *munchos* (11b), and *munchas* (13a). As Quintana Rodríguez notes (2006: 218), the use of *mucho* and *muncho* within a given Sephardic enclave was not uncommon, observing that the former was often utilized in written form and the latter in oral production; she notes, however, that the abandonment of *muncho* did not take place prior to the end of the 19th century which, based on Sa'adi's memoir, is clearly the case. Again, even though we observe a clear preference for epenthetic *n*, we must also consider the role of Sa'adi's scribe in including the < ɲ > within the lexicon in question.

5d. Clitic placement

The final regional characteristic that this description will examine is in regard to clitics. Bunis (1999a: 84) notes the preference in the Judeo-Spanish of Salonica for the syntactic ordering of the clitic followed by the infinitive rather than the infinitive followed by the clitic, providing the example of *para te ver* instead of *para verte* 'in order to see you/ yourself'. In Sa'adi's memoir, we find numerous examples of the clitic followed by the infinitive, including: *para me yevar* 'to take me' (13b), *para lo salvar* 'to save him' (33b), *sin me lo amostrar* 'without showing it to me' (14a), *bushkaron de la vender* 'they tried to sell it' (51a), and *dele dar asaver*

nada ‘did not let him/her know anything’ (79b).²⁷ Although a feature present in Salonican Judeo-Spanish, Bunis (2018: 203) notes that this syntactic property is found in Northwest varieties of the language, such as those of the former Yugoslavia, Western Bulgaria, Romania, and Austria, placing “object and reflexive pronouns before verbal infinitives when following prepositions”. As Salonica is located in a “transitional or medial zone” in regard to Judeo-Spanish dialectology (Bunis 2018: 202), however, we also observe various instances where clitics follow the infinitive.²⁸ Examples include: *de dizirle* ‘to tell him’ (6a), *por azerme la konkorensya* ‘to compete with me’ (64b), and even the opposite case of the aforementioned example *para yevarme* ‘to take me’ (14a). Thus, while Salonica exhibits a number of features that help identify this variety of Judeo-Spanish, it also exhibits considerable variation, even within the idiolect that Sa’adi speaks.

6. Sociolinguistic considerations and conclusion

As this exploration of Sa’adi Besalel Ashkenazi a-Levi’s linguistic landscape concludes, a number of sociolinguistic factors should be considered. Several of the conditions discussed in Bunis (1982) and Kirschen (2018) are pertinent to the present discussion on variation, including geographical origin, socioeconomic status, education and literacy, gender, and age. While the previous section examined features commonly found in Salonica, this section considers geographical origin to the extent that it interacts with other factors. Earlier in this paper, we noted that Sa’adi’s maternal lineage, although of the Franko class, was not part of the upper echelon in Salonican society. Rodrigue & Stein (2012: xxiv) note that “unlike many Franko families, hers was poor and (perhaps not coincidentally) integrally embedded into her Sephardic surroundings”. As the editors note, the linguistic ramification of this was that Sa’adi’s family would keep Judeo-Spanish as their home language, while recognizing that Italian was, at least in part, both on the periphery and also of influence to his own mother tongue.

²⁷ In the example *dele dar a saver*, *de* is orthographically attached to indirect object *le*, as also found in the solitreo writing; similar combinations abound throughout Sa’adi’s memoir.

²⁸ For further discussion on Judeo-Spanish variation, based on central and peripheral zones, see Quintana (2006).

As we explored, Sa'adi's formal (religious) education was interrupted due to what can only be described as unbearable circumstances. So, while other young boys had the chance to develop literacy in *leshon a-kodesh*, Sa'adi regularly questioned his own aptitude. Despite his minimal exposure to Hebrew and Aramaic in the classroom setting, these languages are abundant throughout his Judeo-Spanish. And, as we consider education, we must recognize that schooling was not available to all youth. Though the *Talmud Tora* educated young boys, Sa'adi writes about the establishment of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in Salonica and how a modern and westernized education became available to both boys and girls. The creation of this French-based system of schools inevitably altered Sephardic ideology and linguistic practice; that is, to speak French represented advancement and opportunity. Though we find some traces of French throughout Sa'adi's Judeo-Spanish, he did not speak the language, and his memoir provides a window into Salonican Judeo-Spanish spoken prior to what would become a colossal shift in the linguistic structure and ideology of the language. Inclusion of French throughout periodicals sought to attract new readership, which Borovaya (2012: 127) notes "made readers feel like members of an elite club. They did not even have to be fluent in French to participate in this sociolinguistic game". Thus, while women and religious (male) leaders might not have been able to communicate effectively in Turkish, at least, based on Sa'adi's description of his wedding as well as the need for interpreters among the rabbinic faction, French was accessible and sought after.²⁹ We even observe that the sultan utilized French as a *lingua franca* with members of the Franko class, as opposed to Turkish.

The increased use of French must also be considered alongside one's age or at least generation. Bunis's (1999b) exploration of Moshe Cazes's *Tio Ezra i su mujer Benuta* and *Tio Bohor i su mujer Djamila* series provides a wealth of information as to how Judeo-Spanish might have been rendered across generations. While printed in periodicals *after* Sa'adi's passing, the multiple generations represented demonstrate clear differences in language. Bunis (1999b: 52) notes that "to all of the Saloniki Jews, the contrast between the old-fashioned 'Judezmo' of the conservative, older generation, and the 'Judeo-Espanyol frankeado' of the 'civilised' young people must have been striking". Through Cazes's characters, we

²⁹ For discussion on the role of Judeo-Spanish among women in the Balkans, see Filipović & Vučina Simović (2010).

observe the loss of some of the Salonican Judeo-Spanish regionalisms, explored in the previous section, while also noting how class, education, gender, and age rendered different degrees of contact with Hebrew, Turkish, Italian, French and Greek. In a similar fashion, aside from the cultural and historical perspective that Sa'adi provides readers during this important and transitional period in history, through his memoir, we also find a treasure trove of linguistic and sociolinguistic material that accounts for the Salonican variety of Judeo-Spanish.

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SEPHARDI BALLADS AS SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

Hilary POMEROY

1. Introduction

The frequently turbulent history of medieval Spain was recorded in anonymous chronicles or *crónicas* composed by minstrels. Some of the most exciting episodes survived as independent fragments, the ballads, narrating first-hand events that date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They enjoyed great popularity in all social classes including the court. Over the course of the fifteenth century those early *noticiero*, news-bearing, ballads were joined by a range of new novelesque ones dealing with a wide range of topics such as unhappy marriages, faithful and unfaithful love, seductive women, incest, the return of the husband from some distant land and tales of prisoners and captives. After the 1492 Expulsion from Spain, Spanish Jews took the ballads into the Sephardi Diaspora and continued to sing those medieval poems until well into the twentieth century. Many have remained remarkably faithful to their early congeners.

While Sephardi ballads have retained the structure, archaic language, formulas, symbols, use of dialogue and repetition, and openings *in medias res* that characterised the early songs, subtle modifications have occurred in a process of continual and ongoing re-creation. The retention and adaptation of the mainly mediaeval ballads in the Sephardi Romancero, together with new Sephardi creations, reflect the social, economic, and

historical situation of Sephardi Jews, as well as the values of those communities among which they lived in Spain and in the new diaspora, Eastern or Moroccan.

2. Ballads as Social Documents

Explaining the enduring popular allure of ballads Alan D. Deyermond has stated “a causa del perenne interés humano de sus temas, fueron bien recibidos en cualquier zona donde se presentaron” (“because of the enduring human interest of their themes they were well received wherever they were presented”) (1973: 229).¹ From poems designed to inform and give news, ballads developed into songs to accompany physical work and household tasks, to lull children to sleep, and to entertain. Yet despite the apparent simplicity of their format and plots, Hispanic ballads are deceptively complex and multi-layered, informing us about the cultural, social and historical background of the texts. Sometimes implied, at other times explicit, this information adds to our understanding of both Spanish and Sephardi society.

Several of the earliest Spanish ballads lived on well into the twentieth century in the Jewish quarters of Morocco and the former Ottoman Empire. These include the oldest poems, Epic ballads such as *El rey Fernando en Francia* (*King Fernando Invades France*) and Carolingian ballads such as *Rosaflorida y Montesinos* (*Rosaflorida and Montesinos*) and *Conde Claros y el Emperador* (*Count Claros and the Emperor*), all well known in the Sephardi repertoire. The social structure of medieval Spain and its rigid feudal system ruled over by an all-powerful king can be perceived in these songs as well as the dukes and counts and lesser ranks of the court.

Doubtless the subtleties of this social structure would not have been understood in the Sephardi households where they were sung, yet they reinforce for us a vivid picture of life in a feudal, hierarchical regime. The all-encompassing power of the ruling class is demonstrated, not only in frequently despotic behaviour, but is implicit in such social habits as food, dress and jewellery. The anthropologist Patricia Caplan’s statement that food is “intimately bound up with social relations, including those of power, of inclusion and exclusion” (1997: 3) could equally apply to dress. This is vividly illustrated in the earliest ballads, classified as belonging to the

¹ ‘My translation’.

Epic and Carolingian categories.² Likewise, the frontier ballads relating episodes that took place during the decades of intermittent fighting that made up the frontier wars, not only provide important historical information but also demonstrate the complexities of this hierarchical system. While the king was all powerful, he nevertheless relied on his knights for his personal protection and that of his kingdom, whereas in turn, the knights owed him allegiance for the sustenance that he provided. By referring to the food, represented metaphorically by bread, the king in the Epic ballad *Las almenas de Toro* (*The Battlements of Toro*) reminds his knights of their obligations to him: “Akí, akí, mis kavalyeros, / los ke del mi pan komyerash” (Armistead & Silverman 1971: 37, l.9). The reciprocal pact between monarch and courtiers is implied rather than stated in the Carolingian ballad *Roncesvalles* (*Roncesvalles*), where the feudal pact linking counts and dukes to a king’s court is evoked:

Si el gran conde lo save, en Fransia no vos dexa ir,
ni vos dan pan a comere, ni com las damas dormir.
(Armistead & Silverman 1994: 23, ll. 6-7)³

The king will not give his soldiers bread unless they continue the battle. That two-way arrangement between different social layers is also found in *Rosaflorida y Montesinos* (*Rosaflorida and Montesinos*), where Rosaflorida’s page feels obliged to agree to her request and carry her letters to her lover:

alli estaba un pagesito que asu mesa comio pane
yo os las llevare señora yo las tengo que llevare.
(Pomeroy 2005: 171, ll. 21-22)⁴

Pages occupied lower but often sensitive positions in the royal household. In several ballads, young pages acted as confidants of royalty and catalysts to the action. Loyal and steadfast, they could be sent on sensitive missions as in *Rosaflorida y Montesinos* (*Rosaflorida and Montesinos*), a ballad known only in the Moroccan tradition, where Rosaflorida entrusts

² For ballad categories and Spanish and English titles, see Samuel G. Armistead 1978.

³ For a detailed study of food references in the Romancero, see Pomeroy 2018.

⁴ I have retained the spelling and punctuation of Halia Isaac Cohen’s manuscript ballad collection (Pomeroy 2005).

her young page with delivering her love letters to Montesinos. In so doing, the page brings about the crucial first meeting between Rosaflorida and Montesinos.

Similarly, in *El Polo (Polo) + La infanta parida (The Princess Who Bore a Child)*, by distracting Polo from his suicidal thoughts, the page has an important role, facilitating Polo's recovery by *entertaining* him with this tale of a princess who, unbeknown to her mother, has given birth to several children (*La infanta parida*). There is, however, an almost complete absence of the lower classes and the peasant population upon whom the economy of the autocratic regime depended; and only an occasional sighting of such individuals as the peasants and millers responsible for feeding the nation.

Social rank is also evoked by references to clothing. These "provide important clues as to the ballads' general, social, historical, economic and cultural background. Clothing distinguishes an everyday situation from a special occasion, the commonplace from the ceremonial" (Pomeroy & Yiacoup 2017: 214). When in *Rey Fernando en Francia (King Fernando Invades France)* princess Urraca decides to defy her despotic brother, she is accompanied by a retinue of one hundred maidens, a tangible show of her strength, and deliberately puts on her most costly and showy clothing. Urraca's sumptuous attire not only bolsters her courage, but reminds Fernando of her high status:

Quitóse paños de siempre y de pascua se los vistió.
Cobizós'en mantón de oro; para ver qu'era esta ocasión.
(Armistead & Silverman 1986: 105, ll. 9-10)

Her preparations for the meeting, "changing from her everyday clothing to ceremonial dress makes clear her desire to show that she is an equal to her wilful cruel brother" (Pomeroy & Yiacoup 2017: 215), subtly emphasise Urraca's royal status.

Lavish clothing did not only express power but was also a tool for seduction. The impoverished count of *Conde Claros y el Emperador (Count Claros and the Emperor)* has pawned his weapons and needs rich apparel to woo Clara Niña. His uncle, the eponymous emperor, gives him the luxurious clothing appropriate for such a match:

Daldeš kamiza de seda, sirma 'i perla 'en su koyyar.
Daldeš ġaketa de sirma, ke la lavró al bel lunar.
(Armistead & Silverman 1971: 76: ll. 16-17)

The clothing worn by the Duke of Gandía, a well-known philanderer, suggests that he was on his way to some romantic encounter at the time of his murder:

Piedra lleva 'n su garganta, más de mil okas venía.
Anillo lleva 'n su dedo, cien prove rico s'hazía.
(Benmayor 1979: 31, ll. 7-8)

while at the same time reinforcing the social status his dress implies.

The female protagonists who sit patiently embroidering as they await the arrival of a loved one represent “el tópico de la hermosa bordadora, que figura en las escenas iniciales de muchos romances” (Armistead & Silverman 1977: 100). In *¿Por qué no cantáis la bella?* (*The Beauty Who Will Not Sing*) the faithful wife embroiders a shirt for her absent husband:

Bordando está un camisón, para el hijo de la reina.
Bordándole está con oro y pespunteándole con seda.
Entre puntada y puntada, una ajofar y una perla.
(Armistead & Silverman 1977: 99, ll. 6-8)

Condensed into this action are several ideas: an expensive garment, represented by the gold, silk and pearls, emphasising the high status of the intended recipient, the concept of faithful love with the princess faithfully awaiting her husband's return and the possible resumption of sexual relations that the reference to “camisón” implies: “su mención implica una alusión a la intimidad, al acto sexual” (Díaz-Mas 1994: 328, n. 11). Costly fabrics and jewels are not only symbols of status and social rank but also of military and sexual power. In her study of imagery and symbolism in the ballads, Edith Randam Rogers states that symbols have both an obvious and an implied meaning “even though the explicit information in the ballad was only about actions and tangible visible objects” (1975: 261). As Pomeroy and Yiacoup have pointed out:

Clothing references [...] connect modern-day readers or listeners to the ballads' protagonists despite chronological and social distance. They create a sense of empathy with otherwise distant figures such as kings, queens and nobles, who expressed the vulnerability we all experience through their reliance on attire that is both fragile, being made of fabric, yet at the same time powerfully demonstrative (Pomeroy and Yiacoup 2017: 220).

Princesses lovingly embroidered items of luxurious clothing, adorning them with pearls and expensive materials such as *sirma* (Tk. silver thread) and *clavedón* (Tk. gold thread), appropriate to the hierarchical and, in many cases hoped-for, intimate status of the intended recipient. We may assume that the significance of such activities would not have been lost on the young Sephardi women who, too, spent their days embroidering and preparing their trousseau. Their role in life might have been an apparently passive one, although as Rosalie Guzofsky has emphasised, women in ballads such as *Rey Fernando en Francia*, *Melisenda insomne* and *Rosa-florida y Montesinos* (*King Fernando Invades France*, *Sleepless Melisenda*, *Rosafiorida and Montesinos*), were not confined to a stereotype: “el personaje femenino se destaca como una mujer fuerte y resoluta, exhibe inteligencia ejemplar, se puede mostrar heroica ante adversarios formidables” (1990: 23).

The passive role of women in medieval, as well as in Sephardi and Middle Eastern society, is striking. Their marital status was decided by their father. Women were pawns, subject to a father's desire to increase his financial assets and prestige. They were used to create new strategic power alliances: "Marriages traditionally were—and in many instances still are—arranged by families. It was first and foremost a socio-economic arrangement" (Stillman 1981: 353). The queens and princesses wearing the sumptuous attire that was decorative proof of royal power were, too, subject to a king or father's will and any marriage alliance he might choose to impose. Marriage as a commercial institution continued down the hierarchical chain. Echoes of the feudal system of marriage as an economic and political arrangement continued to be practiced in Sephardi society. It is noteworthy that young women accepted this practice and did not hesitate to complain if their father had not found them a potential partner:

Triste estaba la Infanta, triste estaba de cada día,
porque no la casó el padre, ni el su cuidado tenía.
(Attias 1955: 99, ll. 1-4)⁵

The custom of parents or a marriage broker arranging a marriage continued in Sephardi society: "Before modernization, Salonika Sephardic parents arranged marriages for their children with the assistance of professional or amateur *kazamenteros* (marriage brokers)" (Bunis 1999: 144).

⁵ *El conde Alarcos (The Unfortunate Wife)*.

A prerequisite of any medieval marriage arrangement, the dowry that a bride would bring to the settlement, is mentioned in several ballads and played an important part in Sephardi marriages. The opening lines of *La expulsión de los judíos de Portugal* (*The Exile of the Jews from Portugal*) stress the importance of such a provision. Here, the Spanish king's unwed daughter does not lack the finances necessary for marriage but has imperiously rejected her many suitors':

I no's por falta de ašugares, ke de oro tien'el kozido.
No's por falta de kontado: sus vías da mi padre por migo.
(Armistead & Silverman 1979: 128, ll. 4-5)

No es por falta d'ajugares, que d'oro ya la hay cuído.
(Attias 1955: 153, ll. 7-8)

Unfortunately, the husband in *Vos labraré un pendón* (*I Shall Weave You a Pennant*) is a spendthrift who has spent his wife's dowry, as well as his own money, thus leaving the couple destitute: "Gastó lo sulyyo 'i lo mí'o, lo ke 'el mi padre me ddyó" (Armistead & Silverman 1971: 294, l. 2). In *La buena hija* (*The Good Daughter*), a father laments that he cannot supply his daughter with a dowry or trousseau and so will not be able to marry her off:

El mayor de mis pesares, hija, es que te veo grande;
ni tengo axuar que darte, ni dinero de endotarte.
(Bénichou 1968: 180, ll. 10-11)

Mention of this familiar topic must have resonated for the women singing the ballad, dependent as they were on family assets in order to marry.⁶ The provision of a dowry has continued to be an important part of Sephardi communal life, with various communities keeping a special fund, the *dotar* (dowry fund), available for impoverished brides.⁷

While attitudes to social mores are not stated or defined in the ballads, these are apparent in the words and actions of protagonists. Family honor

⁶ For a study of the importance of a dowry in 1960s and 1970s Istanbul, see Glazer 1979.

⁷ See Moises Orfali's study of dowry societies (2001). Dowry societies continue to play an important role in Sephardi communal life. The Jack Poyastro Matrimonial Fund, for example, is still active today at the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Holland Park, London.

is of supreme importance. In *Hero y Leandro* (*Hero and Leandro*), the unmarried youngest and third daughter is “in perdition”, presumably promiscuous, and is dispatched to a remote island:

las dos ya'[e]stan caídas la chica en pedrición.
El padre de vergüenza, a Rogos la mandó.

(Attias 1955: 159, ll. 3-6)

The queen in *La infanta parida* (*The Princess Who Bore a Child*) is concerned about rumors of her daughter's pregnancy. As usual in ballads, where so much is conveyed in words and action rather than description, she expresses her horror at this affront:

—Ay, hija, si tú estás libre, reina serás de Castilla,
Ay, hija, si no estás libre, serás en mal fuego ardida.

(Armistead & Silverman 1977: 151, 47B, ll. 4-5)⁸

The theme of adultery was a constant feature of the ballads with adulterous women occupying a specific category, *Adúlteras*. They were harshly punished “ya que la deshonra no se puede remediar con una boda precipitada, a la que se suele recurrir en los casos de doncellas atrevidas” (Anahory Librowicz 1989: 322). *Raquel lastimosa* (*Pitiful Rachel*), one of the most popular songs in the Moroccan oral tradition, has as its protagonist a faithful wife who, in its short versions, spurns a young man's amorous advances. In longer versions of the text, she does not reject her suitor. As was standard, it falls to the husband to punish the miscreant: “Con la interna ensendida, blancas piernas la quemó” (Armistead & Silverman 1977: 121, l. 17) as in another adultery ballad, *La adúltera* (á-a) (*The Adulteress*): “At the song's outcome the husband, as in many another Hispanic resolution of problems involving adultery, puts his wife to death” (Armistead & Silverman 1971: 202).⁹ This punishment is found in several other ballads such *Landarico* (*Landarico*) and *Bernal Francés* (*Bernal Francés*): “Punishment by death is practicably a *sine qua non* as a conclusion for Hispanic ballads concerned with female adultery” (Armistead & Silverman 1971: 223).

⁸ ‘Libre’ here is a euphemism for virginal. See Armistead & Silverman 1978.

⁹ See Anahory Librowicz 1989. For alternative readings of *Raquel lastimosa*, see Pomeroy 1999, reproduced in Pomeroy 2005: 45-52.

3. Ballads as Historical Documents

In his masterful study of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century frontier ballads, Angus MacKay commented “There seems to be a general agreement among scholars that these *romances noticieros* more or less date from the time of the events they describe” (1976: 15). The term *noticiero*, news-bearing, can, of course, refer to several types of ballads ranging from frontier ballads to those generally classified as historical ballads and ones about abduction. Indeed, while it is usual and expedient to refer to specific ballads by their designated category (Armistead 1978), this can be misleading because many ballads fit into overlapping categories. The content of several of the so-called frontier ballads relate events that can be corroborated, suggesting that they were created more or less at that time, and supporting MacKay’s argument. The frontier ballad *El alcaide de Alhama* (*The Commander of Alhama*) records the fall of Alhama to Christian forces on 28 February 1482 and is consistent with historical fact (Yiacoup 2013: 120-121). Its reference to the proposed beheading of the Moorish commander “que le corten la cabeza y se la enfilen en lanza” (Menéndez Pidal 1906: 1062, l. 3) demonstrates the brutal reality of war. Among the tactics employed to subjugate the enemy was that of the siege, a compelling reminder of the cyclical nature of warfare and a tactic still in use as sadly evident in Ukraine today. During the Spanish Reconquest and the decades of the fighting between Christians and Moors, towns were repeatedly besieged, causing allegiances to change and alliances to fluctuate, as in *Búcar sobre Valencia* (*Búcar at Valencia*):

Oh Valencia, oh, Valencia,	Valencia la bien cercada,
primero fuiste de moros	que de cristianos ganada,
y ahora, si Aláh me ayuda,	á moros seréis tornada.

(Menéndez Pidal 1906: 1061, ll. 1-3)¹⁰

Ballads relating episodes of history are not restricted to the early medieval period. Two post-Expulsion ballads present in both the peninsular and Sephardi traditions, *La muerte del duque de Gandía* (*The Death of the Duke of Gandía*) and *La muerte del príncipe don Juan* (*The Death of Prince John*), recount events that took place in 1497. The accuracy of their accounts suggest that they were composed while the events described were

¹⁰ See Sizen Yiacoup’s detailed study (2013).

still fresh in the memory. As Madeline Sutherland has pointed out “Like most *noticiero* ballads, *La muerte del duque de Gandía* was probably composed soon after the events it recounts” (1993: 167).¹¹ Although the text has undergone some modification Sephardi versions of *La muerte del duque de Gandía* closely follow contemporary accounts of the murder: “La descripción del homicidio dada por historiadores modernos coincide con el texto poético, tanto con las versiones antiguas como con las pocas que se han podido recolectar de la tradición oral” (Benmayor 1979: 33).¹² Intended to give immediate news of the brutal murder of one and the tragic death of the other, both poems have lived on in the oral tradition keeping alive events that would probably have otherwise been forgotten. While Benmayor posits that *La muerte del duque de Gandía* was originally created in Rome and taken from there by members of the Jewish community to Morocco and the Ottoman Empire, according to Armistead and Silverman, the ballad originated in Spain and was taken from there by New Christians to the Ottoman Empire. Both explanations are possible. The descriptions in Sephardi versions are generally consistent with historical fact, although in the Eastern tradition the significance of the heavy stone used to weigh down the body of the drowning duke had not been understood.¹³ From “vna piedra a la garganta con que el cuerpo le sumía” (Sutherland 1993: 169, l. 30), typical of Peninsular versions, in Sephardi versions the stone becomes a magnificent jewel: “Piedra lleva’n su garganta, más de mil okas venía” (Benmayor 1979: 31, 2a, l.7), consistent with and befitting the Duke’s high rank. *La muerte del príncipe don Juan* relates the untimely death, also in 1497, of Prince Juan, the heir to the Spanish throne. Here, once again, the ballad is faithful to contemporary accounts and the details it contains “no son de invención popular sino aspectos verídicos del drama” (Benmayor 1979: 27). Its function as an *endecha*, a lament sung at funerals and on *Tisha B’Av* the day commemorating the destruction of the Temple, may explain its longevity in the Sephardi tradition.¹⁴

The existence of exclusively Sephardi creations continues the early tradition of re-counting important historical events. Foremost amongst these is *La pérdida de don Sebastián* (*The Death of King Sebastian*), which gives a detailed account of King Sebastian of Portugal’s disastrous 1578 military

¹¹ For a comprehensive study of the background to the ballad’s events, see Madeline Sutherland 1993.

¹² See John Fyvie’s account, quoted in Benmayor 1979: 33, n. 1.

¹³ For a detailed account of the Duke’s death, see Sutherland 1993.

¹⁴ See Paloma Díaz-Mas 2011.

expedition to Morocco and the ensuing, overwhelming defeat of the Portuguese army by Moroccan forces. Here, too, contemporary accounts demonstrate that the Sephardi texts give a convincingly accurate description of the “Battle of the Three Kings”. Ballads such as this give a clear picture of the possible motives for warfare as illustrated here, for King Sebastian’s intention was not only to acquire booty, a common reason for war, but also to convert the local population, Muslim and Jewish alike, to Christianity:

—Vamos a Berbería, traeremos muchos ducados.
Traeremos moros y moras y judíos cautivados.

(Armistead 1990: II, 275, ll. 6-7)

Although not mentioned explicitly, Sebastian’s aim was to wage “un verdadero *jihād*, una guerra santa a favor del catolicismo” (Armistead 1990: II, 272-273). Fortunately for the Sephardi Jews living in northern Morocco, whose families had escaped forced conversion in Spain or Portugal, the Portuguese suffered devastating defeat and Sebastian was killed in battle. Doubtless well aware of the misfortunes that their fathers or grandfathers had experienced in Iberia, this deliverance from the oppressor was deemed a miracle and gave rise to the creation of a new Purim.¹⁵ The three extant versions of the *La pérdida del rey don Sebastián* were collected by Manrique de Lara in Tetuan in 1916 (Armistead 1978: I, 182-183).

A notable feature of the Sephardi Romancero, especially the Moroccan, is the preponderance of ballads concerned with piracy, abduction, and captivity: “experiences which were part of the common Moroccan Sephardic heritage” (Pomeroy 2005: 27). These no doubt reflected familiar events. Most are set in Morocco or Algeria. *Las tres cautivas* (*The Three Captive Girls*), *Melchor y Laurencia* (*Melchor and Laurencia*), *Leonisio de Salamanca* (*Leonisio of Salamanca*) and *La princesa rescatada* (*The Rescued Princess*) are unique to the Moroccan tradition. *La princesa rescatada* is set in the busy port of Tetuan, where musk, amber, and sugar are traded by Muslims, Jews and Christians, plus members of a fourth group, the Andalusians; a rare reference to the Muslims who left Spain either after the fall of the kingdom of Granada in 1492, “inmigrantes granadinos escapados de su país en plena campaña de conquista cristiana” (Vilar Ramírez

¹⁵ The *Purim de los Cristianos* continued to be celebrated in Tetuan until the late-nineteen fifties. Information kindly supplied by Professor Yaakov Bentolila (e-mail dated 23 March 2022).

1992: 213); or Moriscos, converted Muslims, who had remained in Granada and left after the 1609 Expulsion.

Whereas the captive princess turns out to be the daughter of the king of France (or Aragon depending on the version) and is sent back to her homeland, the treatment meted out to the captive in *El cautivo del renegado* (*The Captive of the Renegade*) is typical of the harsh conditions to which captured Christians were subjected in Morocco. It is not surprising that *El cautivo del renegado* circulated in various Spanish *cancioneros* during the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; a period of marked insecurity for the inhabitants of Spain's vulnerable Mediterranean coast, who lived in constant fear of abduction by raiding Barbary corsairs: "Defence against North African corsairs was a continuing preoccupation of those who dwelt on the Southern coasts. The affected communities had to maintain a constant state of preparedness against corsair attacks" (Friedman 1983: 50). The captive was taken to a slave market in either Jerez de la Frontera as in the *Pliegos Praga* (*Prague Chapbooks*) (Díaz-Mas 1994: 436, n. 65) or in Sephardi oral versions, to Vélez de la Gomera, an island off the coast of Morocco. Unlike the kidnapped princess of *La princesa rescatada*, who bravely confronts her captor and demands to be returned to her homeland, the humble captive is forced to follow a cruel work regime far from home:

el día a majar esparto,	la noche a moler sidera.
frenito en la mi boca	por que de ello no comiera.

(Pomeroy 2005: 269, ll. 8-9)

Moroccan versions of *Don Bueso y su hermana* (*Don Bueso and His Sister*) are set against a background of Spain's frontier wars: "Guerrean los moros en campos de oliva" (Armistead & Silverman 1977: 1.2). According to both Peninsular and Eastern readings, the girl is abducted by sea: "De las altas mares traen a la niña" (Attias 1955: 59, ll. 1-2).¹⁶ Armistead and Silverman have pointed out the possible relationship between the Austrian epic poem *Kudrun* (*Kudrun*) and Sephardi versions (1977: 800), an argument supported by Pomeroy in her study of the ballad (2005: 234-245). Indeed, the Eastern readings are in accord with the argument that *Don Bueso y su hermana* derives from *Kudrun*, where a princess is abducted at sea and eventually reunited with her brother, don Bueso.

¹⁶ See Pomeroy's study of the sea in Sephardi ballads (2011).

In our 2019 study of faith and violence in the Sephardi ballad Sizen Yiacoup and I wrote: “Methods of warfare that would have been thought of as vestiges of mediaeval times have become characteristic of the 21st century” (2019: 86). We little imagined that “sieges and the deliberate starving of entire populations” (Pomeroy & Yiacoup 2019: 86) would feature in warfare today, as in Ukraine. The sieging of a city, as shown in the frontier ballads, was one of the prime methods employed to bring about a city or kingdom’s surrender although later developments in warfare can be perceived in various ballads. In the Moroccan ballad *El Mostadi* (*El Mostadi*), El Mostadi’s army is no longer reliant on arrows and cross bows but uses more advanced military techniques, such as cannons, to bombard Tetuan. Here, as Samuel G. Armistead has commented, the ancient device of relating a historic event in ballad form has created “original, contemporary, *noticiero* poetry” (2014: 37).

4. Conclusion

Ballads are not just dramatic and exciting narrative poems that both inform, their original purpose, and entertain, a later development. While they are noted for their terse concise style, with messages and meaning conveyed in a few words and actions, they are not as simple as they may appear. Deeper meaning may be obscured by their apparently modest style. As with metaphors where meaning can be interpreted and inferred on an immediate level, they have additional significance that implicitly enlightens and informs us about the setting, social mores and attitudes of the protagonists and the creators of the ballads alike. Without specifically explaining medieval and Sephardi attitudes to society as conveyed in, for example, marriage and adultery, the motives behind a protagonist’s actions are suggested. As enlightening historical documents, they keep alive episodes not only of Spain’s distant past but also more recent events in Sephardi history and provide informative commentary that adds to our understanding of both Spanish and Sephardi society and Spanish and Sephardi history.

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THE HEBREW COMPONENT IN TWO RABBINICAL LADINO TRANSLATIONS FROM THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY*

Ora (RODRIGUE) SCHWARZWALD

1. Introduction

Two important Jewish books were published in Ladino *circa* 1568 at the Ya'abets printing house in Thessaloniki: *Meza de el alma* (*Shulḥan Hapanim*) and *Sefer Ḥovat Halevavot* 'Duty of the Hearts'. *Meza de el alma* is a translation into Ladino of the Hebrew book, *Shulḥan Arukh*, by Yosef Karo (1488-1575), and *Ḥovat Halevavot* is a Ladino version of Yehuda Ibn Tibon's Hebrew translation of an 11th century Judeo-Arabic book, written by Baḥye Ibn Paquda (*circa* 1050-1120), from Saragossa, Spain.

The extensive title pages of both works use Rashi script and describe why the books were written. Throughout both books, all Ladino translations are printed using square, vocalized letters.

Meza de el alma was written for men who wanted to study Jewish law but were not familiar enough with Hebrew to understand the *Shulḥan Arukh* in its original form. The translation is an edited version of laws stipulated by Karo, containing various modifications—additions and deletions—though it follows Karo's chapters and subdivisions. The book is comprised of four

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parts: *Orah Hayim*, *Yoreh de'a*, *Even Ha'ezer*, and *Hoshen Mishpat*. The first two parts are translated at more length than the subsequent two.

The publisher's name and the location of publication appear on the title page. Although the identity of the translator of *Meza de el alma* is not revealed, there is a reference to his first name, Meir, at the end of the Hebrew introduction, where it is stated that the author could have named the book *Me'ir la'areš kefi 'inyano ve'al šemo šel ma'atigo* 'Light on the Land, according to its contents and named after its translator' (a pun on the name *Me'ir* which also means 'light').¹ It was Dov Cohen who discovered the full name of the translator, Meir Benveniste (Ben Ban Benist) after intensive research (Cohen 2015).

Hovat Halevavot aims to instruct its readers about faith in God, morale, ethics, good behavior, and repentance, recognizing God as the one creator and designer of all things. The book is comprised of ten chapters, each of which is divided into several subchapters.

At the end of the title page of *Hovat Halevavot*, there is a short, four-line acrostic poem, each line of which begins with an initial of the translator's name <Š-d-y-q> Šadiq. His full name, Šadiq Formon, is indicated on the back of the title page. The translator explains the purpose of the book on this page and adds that, although the text was originally written in Arabic, he has translated it from Hebrew in order to make the content familiar to Ladino speakers. Formon is faithful to the original Hebrew text, but as he himself admits, some paragraphs are skipped, and the translation includes clarifications and additions.

Both books, written in 16th century Ladino, were translated from Hebrew and contain many Hebrew words. Bunis devoted a considerable section to the Hebrew component in these two books in the introduction to his book, *A Lexicon of the Hebrew and Aramaic Elements in Modern Judezmo*, but he did not bring quantitative considerations into the discussion (Bunis 1993: 20-32).

Hebrew had been used by the Jews as the language of education for generations. Hebrew and Judeo-Spanish existed diglossically where Hebrew was considered the high language and Ladino the low one (Ferguson 1959; Bunis 2013a, 2013b). Many Hebrew words had been incorporated into Ladino over the years. As the content of both books was religious in nature,

¹ Hebrew words are transcribed using the five vowels in the Judeo-Spanish pronunciation: *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*. The special Hebrew consonants are: *ʔ* = *alef*, *ʿ* = *ayin*, *ḥ* = *het*, *k* = *kaf*, *kh* = *kaf rafa*, *q* = *qof*, *š* = *tsadi*, *ś* = *sin*, *š* = *shin*, *v* = *vav* or *bet rafa*, *t* = *tet*.

it might be expected that each work contained a similar ratio of Hebrew words interwoven into the Ladino text.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the nature and extent of Hebrew word usage in each of these books, to compare their occurrences and explain the differences between them.

Corresponding numbers of pages were examined in both books: in *Meza de el alma*—*Dine Se'uda dining laws* (folios 27a-35a) and the beginning of *Yore De'a* (folios 92b-93b); in *Hovat Halevavot*—the beginning of chapter 1, *Hayiḥud* 'The Unity of God' (folios 12a-21a [folio 19 is missing]) and the end of chapter 6, *Hakeni'a* 'The Submission [to God]' (folios 92a-93a).

Two sample texts will be presented in section 2. Findings will be classified in section 3 as follows: common words used in both books (3.1), comparison of the number of Hebrew words and expressions used in each book (3.2), the distribution of Hebrew words (3.3), the use of Hebrew abbreviations (3.4), the status of Hebrew blessings and biblical citations (3.5), and the orthography of the Hebrew words within the texts (3.6). Conclusions will be given in section 4.

2. Sample texts

Here are two short excerpts of the texts:

2.1. *Meza de el alma*²

(1) *Estaba hamašal Re'uven lavándose las manos para comer y Ya'aqov estaba diciendo Hamoši y tenía kavana de sacar de ḥova de hamoši a los que oían y después se linpió Re'uven las manos y dišo 'al neṭilat yadayim no es estaño y sale de ḥova con la berakha de hamoši de Ya'aqov y no [h]a menester tornar a.dezir hamoši* (27b).

Translation: It was for example that while Reuben was washing his hands in order to eat, Jacob recited the blessing *hamoši* [before eating bread] and he intended to release [others of] the commandment by saying *hamoši*

² Ladino words of Spanish origin are spelled in the Spanish way, sometimes with *ç* representing Spanish *z*. For the special Judeo-Spanish phonemes, I use the following conventions: *z* = /z/ (Spanish *c*, *z* or *s*), *š* = /š/ (Spanish *j*), *ḡ* = /dʒ/ (Spanish *g* before *i* or *e*), *ḵ* = /x/ (Spanish *j*).

for all those who heard [it], and then Reuben cleaned his hands and said [the blessing] on washing his hands. It was not an interruption, and [therefore] he was released from the obligation [of saying] the blessing of Jacob's *hamoši*, and it was not necessary to say *hamoši* again.

This paragraph deals with timing: should Reuben have recited the blessing over the bread or not? According to Jewish law, one is required to wash one's hands before saying the blessing over bread. Also, one person can say the blessing over bread for all the people eating with him and thus, exempt them from doing so individually. The instruction here states that Reuben was exempt from saying the blessing over bread because Jacob had already said it, even though it was recited before he had finished washing his hands.

Although there are fourteen occurrences of Hebrew words in the example, some of these are repeated, meaning that only eight different Hebrew words are actually used: *ʿal neṭilat yadayim* '[the blessing] on washing hands', *berakha* 'blessing', *hamašal* 'the example, for instance', *hamoši* '[the blessing] He who takes out [bread from the earth]' ×4, *hova* 'obligation' ×2, *kavana* 'intention', *Reʿuven* 'Reuben' ×2, and *Yaʿaqov* 'Jacob' ×2.

2.2. *Ḥovat Halevavot*

(2) *Más nos aviza tres **mišvot** que son solamente pora onra con los miembros y dišo y atarlas[h]as por señal sobre tu mano y serán por **tefilin** entre tus ojos y escribir[h]as sobre ombrades de tu caza y en tus puertas, que son los **tefilin** del brazo y de la cabeza y la **mezuza**. Y todo esto es cavza para elenbrarnos del **ŠY"Ṭ** y de amarlo con corazón conplido y de tener deseo d.Él como dize el **pasuq** (13a).*

Translation: Moreover, it teaches us three commandments that are only related to the organs and it said: And tie them as a sign over your hand and they will be phylacteries between your eyes and write them on the thresholds of your house and on your doorposts (Deuteronomy 6: 8-9; 11: 18, 20), which are the phylacteries of the arm and of the head and the *mezuza*.³ And all this is in order to remind us about God and to love Him with a full heart and to desire Him as the [biblical] verse says.

³ A *mezuza* is a piece of parchment on which Hebrew verses from Deuteronomy 6:4-9 are written, which is placed into a decorative case and attached to the doorposts of Jewish houses.

This paragraph deals with the oneness of God and the way to achieve unity with him, in particular the commandments regarding phylacteries (*tefillin*) and *mezuzah*. There are six instances of Hebrew word usage here, but as one of these is repeated, only five different words are used: *mezuzah*, *mišvot* ‘commandment’, *pasuq* ‘biblical verse’, (el) *ŠY”T* abbreviation of (*ha*)*šem yitbarakh* ‘will be blessed’, meaning ‘God Blessed be He’, and *tefilin* ‘phylacteries’ ×2.

A quick comparison of these two short sample passages already demonstrates a difference between the texts; *Meza de el alma* contains more Hebrew words than *Hovat Halevavot*.

3. Findings

Linguists distinguish between type and token components of any text. Type is a single linguistic unit, and token refers to the frequency of type usage. For instance, in the sentence: *The man walking on the sidewalk is John’s father*, there are nine tokens but only eight types because the word *the* occurs twice. In the sample texts above, in section 2, there were 8 types and 14 tokens in *Meza de el alma* and 5 types and 6 tokens in *Hovat Halevavot*. In the pages examined in both books, the words *mišva* ‘commandment’ and *mišvot* ‘commandments’ are two types which reflect eight tokens in *Hovat Halevavot* and only five in *Meza de el alma* (see Table 1).

Hebrew expressions in this study are considered one type, even in cases where they include more than one Hebrew word. For example, *Moshe Rabenu* ‘Moses, the biblical leader (lit: Moses our Rabbi)’ in *Hovat Halevavot*, and *Rabenu Moshe* ‘Maimonides (lit: our Rabbi Moshe)’ in *Meza de el alma*, are each considered one type, even though they refer to different individuals, and even though each expression includes two words.

3.1. *Common Hebrew words used in both books*

Very few Hebrew words appear in both books, as can be seen in Table 1:

TABLE 1. HEBREW WORDS WHICH APPEAR IN BOTH
ḤOVAT HALEVAVOT AND *MEZA DE EL ALMA*

Hebrew word	<i>Ḥovat Halevavot</i>	<i>Meza de el alma</i>	Gloss
1. <i>ʔamen</i>	1	2	‘Amen’
2. <i>ʔElohenu</i>	1	5	‘our God’ ⁴
3. <i>gaʔava</i>	5	1	‘pride’
4. <i>ḥasid</i>	3	1	‘righteous’
5. <i>mišva</i>	1	4	‘commandment’
6. <i>mišvot</i>	7	1	‘commandments’
7. <i>Yiśraʔel</i>	4	2	‘Israel’ ⁵

Most of these words relate to religion: *ʔamen* is the confirmation said after a blessing, *ʔElohenu* is the God of Israel, *mišva* and *mišvot* always denote religious commandments, *ḥasid* is a righteous, observant Jew, and *Yiśraʔel* refers to the Jewish nation. Only the Hebrew word, *gaʔava*, is not necessarily connected to Judaism or to faith, although in all instances here, it refers to forms of negative behavior that Jews should avoid.

3.2. *Comparison of the number of Hebrew words and expressions used in each book*

Meza de el alma contains many more Hebrew words than *Ḥovat Halevavot*. A comparison of the types and tokens in the two books in our

⁴ The numbers represent single words. The word *ʔElohenu* also occurs eight more times within *Šemaʔ Israel* in *Ḥovat Halevavot*, and nine more times within various blessings which appear in *Meza de el alma*.

⁵ *Yiśraʔel* is also included four more times within blessings in *Meza de el alma*, as in *leʔamo Yiśraʔel* ‘to His nation Israel’, *meqadeš Yiśraʔel* ‘sanctifies Israel’, but not as a single word.

samples shows great discrepancy: the number of Hebrew types in *Ḥovat Halevavot* is 60; the number of types in *Meza de el alma* is 101. The number of tokens, as calculated by counting repeated occurrences of the same Hebrew words and expressions, shows an even greater discrepancy: 204 tokens in *Ḥovat Halevavot* as opposed to 540 in *Meza de el alma*. This means that not only is the number of Hebrew words and expressions greater in *Meza de el alma*, but that these also occur more frequently than in *Ḥovat Halevavot*.

Considering that types include compounds, whole Hebrew expressions, blessings and parts of blessings, the number of Hebrew types in *Meza de el alma* is much greater than in *Ḥovat Halevavot*. For instance: *hamoši leḥem min ha'areš* 'who brings forth bread from the earth' is considered as one type in my calculation, even though it includes four words and six types (*ha-* is a relative particle in *hamoši* and a definite article in *ha'areš*). The longest Hebrew expression which can be considered as one type in our sampled pages is the blessing that a guest says regarding the welfare of a house's owner (3). This contains 39 single words and is comprised of 36 types and 56 tokens—considered as one type in my calculation:

(3) *Yehi rašon šelo yevoš velo yikalem ba'al habayit haze lo ba'olam haze velo ba'olam haba veyāšliaḥ lekhol neḥasav veyihyu neḥasav mušlaḥim uqrovim la'ir velo yišloṭ šaṭan bema'aše yadav velo yizdaqeq lefanav šum devar ḥeṭ vehirhur 'avon me'ata ve'ad 'olam* (p. 35a).

Translation: May it be that the owner of this house will not be ashamed and humiliated neither in this world nor in the world to come and may all his possessions be successful and near the city, and Satan will not rule the labor of his hands, and may there not meet up with him any matter of transgression and sinful thought, from now and forever.

It is clear that the Hebrew words used in *Meza de el alma* are more varied in scope and in number than those featured in *Ḥovat Halevavot*. The number of the Hebrew words is determined by the contents of the books. Most of the text analyzed in *Meza de el alma* deals with religious Jewish rules and this includes examples of many Jewish terms and citations of blessings, which are not relevant to the subject matter of *Ḥovat Halevavot*. *Ḥovat Halevavot* also sometimes mentions some Jewish laws in Hebrew, such as *tefilin* and *mezuzah*, mentioned above in (2), as well as *sefer tora* 'the Bible, especially the Pentateuch' (92b), and some blessings;

however, it does not give detailed instructions concerning these laws because its content is more ethical, moral, and philosophical.⁶

3.3. *Distribution of words*

The most used Hebrew word in *Meza de el alma* is *berakha* ‘blessing’, with 167 tokens, while in *Ḥovat Halevavot*, the most frequently used Hebrew word is the abbreviation *ŠY"Ṭ* ([*el*] *Šem YiTbarakh*) ‘God blessed be He’ with 56 tokens.

Because Hebrew blessings and laws feature in both texts (as will be described below in section 3.5), as do abbreviations (discussed in 3.4), I have chosen to classify all remaining Hebrew words in each book into three categories: a. words relating to the religion; b. general words; c. proper names.⁷ These are the findings:

3.3.1. *Ḥovat Halevavot*

a. Religious words: *‘amen* ‘Amen’, *ḥakhamim* ‘wise men, rabbis’, *ḥasid*, *ḥasidim* ‘pious person-s’, *yeṣer haraʿ* ‘evil inclination’, *mezuza*, *mezuzot* ‘mezuzas’, *mišva*, *mišvot* ‘religious commandment-s’, *pasuq* ‘biblical verse’, *peraša* ‘biblical portion’, *sefer tora* ‘the Bible’, *ṣadiq* ‘saintly person’, *ṣedaqot* ‘charities’, *tefila* ‘prayer; morning prayer’, *tefilin* ‘phylacteries’.

There are thirteen different Hebrew words relating to Judaism used in the pages I examined, three of which appear in both the singular and the plural: *ḥasid*, *mezuza* and *mišva*. The words refer to commandments and to physical actions that Jews are instructed to perform (*mezuza*, *mišva*, *ṣedaqot*, *tefila*, *tefilin*, *‘amen*), to human characteristics (*ṣadiq*, *ḥasid*), and

⁶ The data presented above was gathered in 2017-2018. In 2021, I checked the folios 53a-b in both books: chapter 4, Faith in God, in *Ḥovat Halevavot*, and Sabbath Laws in *Meza de el alma*. I found in *Ḥovat Halevavot* 11 types, only three of which had not been mentioned before which represent 36 tokens. In *Meza de el alma* I found 21 types, nine of them not mentioned before, and they cover 82 tokens. The common word in both books on these pages is *mišva*, as found in Table 1. These additional findings strengthen the general conclusion that *Meza de el alma* has more Hebrew words, both in types as well as in tokens.

⁷ I consider proper names as part of the Hebrew inventory because in Spanish they are replaced by other names, e.g. *Moisen* or *Moises* instead of *Moše*, *Noe* instead of *Noah*.

to authorities and sources on which Jews should rely (*hakhamim*, *pasuq*, *peraša*, *sefer tora*). *Yeşer hara*⁶ refers to the evil inclination, which Jews should avoid.

b. General words: *de'a* 'concept, idea', *'edim* 'witnesses', *ga'ava*, *ga'avat* 'pride, pride of', *ga'avento* 'proud, egoistic person', *haqdama*, *haqdamot* 'introduction-s', *'olam* 'world', *şafon* 'north', *sofer*, *soferim* 'scribe-s'.

A total of eight Hebrew words appears in this category, two of which are given in both singular and plural forms: *haqdama* and *sofer*. All the words here are fairly broad in scope and could easily have been replaced by equivalent Spanish translations (e.g. *opinión* for *de'a*, *introducción* for *haqdama*, *mundo* for *'olam*, *norte* for *şafon*, *escribano* for *sofer*, and so on). However, as these words would have been commonly used in spoken Judeo-Spanish, they found their way into the written text.

c. Proper names: *'adam* 'Adam', *Moşe Rabenu* 'Moses our Rabbi', *Noah* 'Noah', *Şem Yitbarakh* 'God Blessed', *Yeša'ya* 'Isaías', *Yisra'el* 'Israel'.

Of the six proper names mentioned, four refer to biblical people, Adam and Noah from the book of Genesis, Moses from Exodus, and Isaías the prophet. *Yisra'el* refers to the name of the nation and to each member of the Jewish community. Although the compound, *el Şem Yitbarakh*, an honorific reference to God, only occurs once in the text, it appears many times in its abbreviated form (see 3.4 below).

3.3.2. *Meza de el alma*

a. Religious words: *'amen* 'Amen', *'avel* 'mourner', *berakha* 'blessing', *birkat mazon*, *birkat hamazon* 'grace after eating the meal', *dine se'uda* 'rules of meal, rules related to eating', *'Elohemu* 'our God', *gid hanaše* 'the thigh tendon', *goy*, *goyim* 'gentile-s', *havdala* 'Havdalah, the ceremony at the end of the Sabbath', *hakham* 'rabbi', *hala* 'hallah, Sabbath bread', *hasid* 'pious person', *hayim* 'to one's health', *hol hamo'ed* 'the days between the first and last day of Passover and Sukkot', *yom tov* 'holiday', *kaşer* 'kosher', *mişva*, *mişvot* 'religious commandment-s', *mo'ed* 'holiday', *niduy* 'banishment', *sidur* 'prayer book', *siman berakha le'olam* 'there is benefit, lit: blessed sign ever', *'amida* 'the Amidah prayer', *'avera* 'crime', *'avoda*

zara ‘idol worship’, *qiduṣ* ‘blessing over wine’, *rosh ḥodeš* ‘the beginning of a lunar month’, *šabat* ‘Sabbath’, *šeḥiṭa* ‘Jewish ritual animal slaughter’.

There are 28 words and expressions listed in this category, only two of which are given in both singular and plural forms (*goy*, *mišva*). Some of the words refer to events in the Jewish calendar (*ḥol hamo’ed*, *mo’ed*, *rosh ḥodeš*, *šabat*, *yom tov*) or to specific commandments (*‘amida*, *berakha*, *birkat (ha)mazon*, *dine se’uda*, *ḥala*, *havdala*, *ḥayim*, *qiduṣ*). A few of the words carry negative undertones (*‘avel*, *‘avera*, *‘avoda zara*, *goy*, *niduy*) and three also appear in *Hovat Halevavot* (*‘amen*, *ḥasid*, and *mišva*; see 3.1 above⁸). All the other words included here relate to Judaism in some way (*‘Elohenu*, *gid hanaše*, *šeḥiṭa*, *sidur*, *siman berakha le’olam*).

b. General words: *‘afilu* ‘even’, *ba’al habayit* ‘the landlord, the owner’, *behema*, *behemot* ‘animal-s’, *din*, *dinim* ‘law-s’, *ga’ava* ‘pride’, *hamašal* ‘the example’, *ḥaya* ‘beast’, *ḥazaqa* ‘tenure’, *ḥova* ‘obligation’, *kavana* ‘intention’, *keneged* ‘against’, *ma’arav* ‘west’, *min*, *minim* ‘kind-s, species’, *mizraḥ* ‘east’, *‘aniyut* ‘poverty’, *‘iqar* ‘main part, essence’, *revi’it* ‘fourth’, *sekana* ‘danger’, *se’uda* ‘meal’.

A total of nineteen Hebrew words and expressions fit into this category, three of which are given in both the singular and the plural (*behema*, *din*, *min*). These words could have been replaced by translated Spanish words (*aunque* for *‘afilu*, *pobreza* for *‘aniyut*, *obligación* for *ḥova*, *intención* for *kavana*, *por ejemplo* for *hamašal*, *peligro* for *sekana*, etc.), but most Jews would have been familiar with the Hebrew terms, because they occur either within blessings or known biblical passages, or because they had become fully integrated into the Judeo-Spanish lexicon. The word *din* meaning ‘law’ was used because in Judeo-Spanish *la ley* can refer to the Pentateuch as well as to the law.

c. Proper names: *Rabenu Moše* ‘Maimonides’, *Rav Rabenu ‘ašer*, *Rabenu ‘ašer* ‘our Rabbi Asher’, *Rab Rabenu Yona*, *Rabenu Yona* ‘our Rabbi Yona’, *Rav Rabenu Nisim* ‘our Rabbi Nissim’, *Re’uven* ‘Reuben, any person’, *Ya’aqov* ‘Jacob, any person’, *Yiśra’el* ‘Israel’.

⁸ Also, the word *ḥakham* occurs in *Meza de el alma*, and *ḥakhamin*, in the plural, in *Hovat Halevavot*.

Four of the seven occurrences of proper names here belong to well-known rabbis: *Rabenu Moše* is Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon, known as Maimonides (1135 or 1138-1204), the famous philosopher and interpreter of Jewish religious law, physician, commentator, and astronomer; *Rabbi Asher* is Rabbi Asher ben Yehiel, called *HaRo"Š* (circa 1250-1327), one of the most influential Talmudic scholars and interpreters of Jewish law; *Rabbi Yona* is Rabbi Yona ben Avraham Gerundi (1210-1263), also known as *Heḥasid* ‘the pious’, who wrote *Ša'are Tešuva* ‘The Gates of Repentance’; and *Rabbi Nisim* is Rabbi Nissim ben Reuven Gerundi (circa 1315-1376), called *HaRaN*, another well-known interpreter of Jewish law and commentator.

Two of the names signify any Jew: Reuben and Jacob. It has been a common practice in rabbinical discussions ever since the Talmud to refer to anyone (i.e. no one specific) by using the names of Jacob’s sons, most commonly Reuben and Simon, although Benveniste also utilizes the name Jacob. The name Israel is used here as it is in *Ḥovat Halevavot*.

Table 2 shows the distribution of Hebrew word usage (excluding abbreviations and blessings) in the two books.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF HEBREW WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS

Type of words	<i>Ḥovat Halevavot</i>	<i>Meza de el alma</i>
Religious	13	28
General	8	19
Proper names	6	7
Total	27	54

After excluding abbreviations and blessings, it is apparent that there is a big discrepancy in the usage of Hebrew words between the two books. Although *Meza de el alma* contains twice as many different Hebrew words and expressions as *Ḥovat Halevavot*, my research reveals that both books contain a similar proportion of proper names, however they are mostly rabbinical authorities in *Meza de el alma* and biblical characters in *Ḥovat Halevavot*.

Most of the Hebrew words used in both books relate to religion (13; 28), and non-religiously orientated words occur much less frequently (8; 19). While religious related words in *Meza de el alma* mostly refer to the

Jewish calendar and associated commandments, those in *Hovav Halevavot* are primarily concerned with the basic commandments which symbolize a connection to belief in God. Non-religious Hebrew words in both books are typically those which had become fused into Judeo-Spanish and originate from the Bible, prayer books, or halakhic literature.

3.4. *The use of Hebrew abbreviations*

Hovav Halevavot contains numerous Hebrew abbreviations, whereas *Meza de el alma* does not. Abbreviations found in *Hovav Halevavot*, along with their frequencies in the text, are listed here:

- (4) $\text{'}H$ = *'alav hašalom* ‘peace be upon him’ ×1
- (5) $B\text{'H}$ = *be'azrat hašem* ‘with the help of God’ ×1
- (6) $B\text{'H}Y$ = *be'ezrat hašem yitbarakh* ‘with the help of blessed God’ ×1
- (7) $D\text{'H}$ = *David 'alav hašalom* ‘David peace be upon him’ ×7⁹
- (8) $\text{HZ}''L$ = *hakhamenu zikhronam livrakha* ‘our sages blessed be their memory’ ×6
- (9) $\text{Š}''H$ = *Šelomo 'alav hašalom* ‘Solomon peace be upon him’ ×4
- (10) $\text{Š}''Y$ = *Šem yitbarakh* ‘God blessed’ ×1
- (11) $\text{Š}''T$ = *Šem yitbarakh* ‘God blessed’ ×56
- (12) YY = *Adonai* ‘God’ ×19

The nine abbreviation types in this list constitute 76 tokens, all of which occur as single-entity words. The only exception is God’s name, YY , which also appears as an abbreviation five more times within biblical citations or blessings (e.g. *ve'ahavta 'et YY* ‘and you shall love God’, or *YY 'ehad* ‘God is one’). The abbreviation of the expression *'alav hašalom* ('H) ‘peace be upon him, may he rest in peace’ in example (4) occurs on its own after the name *Moše Rabenu*, and is also ascribed to David in example (7) and to King Solomon in example (9). $\text{HZ}''L$ refers to the rabbinical sages, ‘blessed be their memory’, in (8). All the other abbreviations listed here relate to God: His name in (12) (YY), with His help in (5) and (6) ($B\text{'H}$, $B\text{'H}Y$), and ‘Blessed be He’ in (10) and (11) ($\text{Š}''Y$, $\text{Š}''T$).

The only abbreviation in *Meza de el alma* which occurs as a single word is ZL = *zikhrono* (or *zikhro*) *livrakha* ‘Blessed be his memory’ ×2.

⁹ One time it occurs without an abbreviation mark.

This appears without an abbreviation mark after referring to two rabbis, Rabbi Asher and Rabbi Nissim (mentioned above). In all other instances where these or any other rabbis are mentioned (for example Rabbi Yona and Maimonides), the abbreviation ZL does not appear.

Two other abbreviations only appear in *Meza de el alma* as constituent parts of blessings and not as separate single words:

- (13) *B²"Y* = *barukh ʔata YY* ‘Blessed are you God’ ×8
- (14) *ʔM"H* = *ʔElohenu melek haʕolam* ‘our God king of the universe’ ×7

These two abbreviations only occur within long blessings but do so inconsistently.¹⁰ Also, the abbreviation *YY* appears as a constituent part of Hebrew blessings five times, but never as a separate word.

It can clearly be seen that Hebrew abbreviations are very common in *Ḥovat Halevavot*, that they usually refer to God or to people who have passed away, and that they are very sparsely used in *Meza de el alma*.

3.5. *The status of Hebrew blessings and biblical citations*

Both *Meza de el alma* and *Ḥovat Halevavot* cite Hebrew blessings in Hebrew and as stated above, *Meza de el alma* features many more blessings than *Ḥovat Halevavot*. Several examples from *Meza de el alma* were given in section 2.1 (*hamoši* and *ʕal netilat yadayim*), in 3.2, and in 3.4 above but there are many more of these.

The following are examples from *Ḥovat Halevavot*, all of which refer to the *Shema* or to other prayers based on biblical passages:

- (15) *Šemaʕ Yiśraʔel YY ʔElodenu*¹¹ *YY ʔeḥad* ‘Hear, O Israel, Adonai [who is] our God, Adonai [is] one’ (12a, 14a) (Deuteronomy 6: 4). The first two words occur several more times.
- (16) *Naʕase venišmaʕ* ‘We shall do and listen’ (12a) (Exodus 24: 7)
- (17) *Veʔahavta ʔet YY* ‘And you shall love God’ (13a) (Deuteronomy 6: 5)

¹⁰ As recalled, these are not calculated using the standard type and token counting procedures. They are part of other types.

¹¹ On several occasions, the word for *ʔElohenu* is spelled using the letter *dalet* instead of *he*. See below.

- (18) *Vehaya ʔim šamoaʿ* ‘And it shall be if you continuously listen’ (13b) (Deuteronomy 11: 13)

As *Meza de el alma* mostly deals with Jewish law, it contains very few biblical citations, all of which are translated into Ladino. Here is an example which is not included in the texts I examined:

- (19) *Quién el varón el enveluntán vidas amán días por ver bien* ‘Who [is] the man who desires life, loves [many] days, for seeing good?’ (4a; a citation from Maimonides, based on Psalms 34: 13)

Contrarily, *Hovat Halevavot* is loaded with biblical quotations. Formon translates all of these into Ladino, although both the original Arabic as well as the subsequent Hebrew translations cite these verses in Hebrew. Here are two examples:

- (20) *Y esto asemeja a.lo que dezía D^ʿH puzi a YY aisco entra.mi de contino. Y dize más que siempre tengas cercana a.ti la coza en tu boca y en.tu lengua para hazerla* ‘And this resembles what David, peace be upon him, used to say: I always put God in front of me. And it says more: That you should keep the word very close, in your mouth and on your tongue,¹² [waiting for you] to do it’ (13a; based on Psalms 16: 8 and Deuteronomy 30: 14).

Como dize el pasuq Yo so primero y yo so postrero y afueras de mí no [h]ay Dio. Y dize mas Yo YY primero y con.los postremos Yo Él ‘As the [biblical] verse says: I am first and I am last, and except for me there is no God. And it says more: I Adonai [am] first and with the last ones I [am] He’ (15a; based on Isaiah 44: 6 and part of 41: 4).

Unlike blessings which are cited in Hebrew in both books, biblical citations are translated into Ladino. They are abundant in *Hovat Halevavot*, but rare in *Meza de el alma*. In all cases, these are translated into Ladino and contain very few Hebrew words (only YY in the examples given above). Contentions in *Hovat Halevavot* are based on biblical quotations, which are therefore frequently cited (although these are sometimes slightly paraphrased). As lines of reasoning in *Meza de el alma* are based

¹² The original Hebrew verse uses heart instead of tongue.

on the *Shulḥan Arukh*, the Talmud and other rabbinical sources, there is no need for much biblical citation.

3.6. *The orthography of Hebrew words within the texts*

Hebrew words are printed in both books according to their conventional spellings; thus, for instance, *mišvot* ‘commandments’ is spelled *mem*, *ṣadi*, *vav* and *tav* because this is the way in which it is traditionally written in the Bible. The vocalization system enables readers to distinguish *mašot* ‘matzahs’ from *mišvot* and *mišvat* ‘commandments, commandment of’, which are spelled using the same letters. The word *ʾafilu* ‘even though’ is always spelled with a *yod* after the *pe* because it is a Mishnaic word that does not occur in the Bible, and which had become completely fused into Judeo-Spanish.

In example (15) above, I cited the use of *ʾElodenu* ‘our God’ in *Ḥovat Halevavot* as it appears in “Shema Israel.” The letter *dalet* replaces *he* in order to prevent the letters YHWH (God’s name) appearing consecutively. This word is always spelled with *he* in *Meza de el alma*.

In the texts which I examined, I found that a few Hebrew words are cited using their Judeo-Spanish pronunciations, namely *sekana* ‘danger’ for the Hebrew *sakana* in *Meza de el alma* and *peraša* ‘biblical section’ for the Hebrew *paraša* in *Ḥovat Halevavot*. These words are typical of Judeo-Spanish and can also be found in the contemporary literature of other Jewish communities from Italy and Morocco, in addition to other examples such as *teqana* for *taqana*, and *beṭala* for *baṭala*.¹³

Ḥovat Halevavot also uses a fused Hebrew word, *gaʾavento* ‘proud person’, derived from the Hebrew *gaʾava* ‘pride’, with a Spanish ending which indicates a person. There are no instances of this Judeo-Spanish pronunciation or word formation in *Meza de el alma*.

4. Conclusion

This study compared the use of Hebrew words and expressions found in two Ladino books published in the sixteenth century. The main findings

¹³ See Bunis (1993: 350, 385) and Schwarzwald (1985: 191) and the references there. It is based on old Mishnaic tradition (Bar-Asher 2015: 1380-1385).

are as follows: The number of common shared Hebrew words is very small; *Meza de el alma* uses more Hebrew words than *Ḥovat Halevavot*; The number of Hebrew words relating to religion exceeds the number of non-religious Hebrew words in both books; Personal names are used differently in each book: more rabbis' names occur in *Meza de el alma*, more biblical names in *Ḥovat Halevavot*; *Ḥovat Halevavot* includes significantly more Hebrew abbreviations than *Meza de el alma*; More Hebrew blessings appear in *Meza de el alma* than in *Ḥovat Halevavot*; Hebrew words within Ladino translations of biblical verses are rare; A few Hebrew words reflect an independent Judeo-Spanish linguistic tradition.

As shown above in 3.1 and 3.3, most of the common Hebrew words in both books are part of the Jewish religious inventory. The abbreviation YY, which stands for the pronunciation of [Adonai], can be included as one of these. This is an abbreviation of God's name and only appears when prayers or biblical verses are cited in both books. Other than on these occasions, the Judeo-Spanish word *el Dio* 'God' is used.

There are two reasons why most Hebrew words are part of the Jewish inventory: a. they are irreplaceable with ordinary Spanish words; b. they had become an integral part of the Judeo-Spanish lexicon and became part of an intracommunal discourse (Bunis 1993: 15-51; Schwarzwald 2020). The fact that Hebrew words are rarely used in biblical citations in both books adheres to the general tradition of Ladino translations (Schwarzwald 1999): only the words that cannot be replaced by Spanish words or those whose translation is complicated are cited in the original language. Although most Hebrew words are spelled using Hebrew orthography, the spelling and vocalization system demonstrates that some of the words had become totally fused into Judeo-Spanish, while retaining the old linguistic tradition, as shown in 3.6.

The differences in the use of Hebrew words and expressions between these two books stem primarily from their disparate subject matters. *Meza de el alma* is a halakhic book and, therefore, contains more religious words, as can be seen in 3.3. It cites more Hebrew blessings and names of prayers, which are relevant for readers seeking to live a proper Jewish life, as shown in 3.2. The number of Hebrew words is much smaller in *Ḥovat Halevavot*, and it contains far fewer blessings, because it is a moral-ethical book and hardly seeks to instruct its readers about Jewish, everyday, practical laws.

As the subject matter of *Meza de el alma* is based on earlier halakhic literature, the rulings are given more validity as a result of citing well-known rabbis (see 3.3). *Ḥovat Halevavot* primarily draws its sources from the Bible; hence it quotes many more biblical verses and refers more

frequently to biblical characters. The use of abbreviations in *Hovat Halevavot* follows the widespread rabbinical tradition regarding how the name of God and significant individuals from the past are traditionally written (this is also the case in the earlier Arabic and Hebrew versions of the book). This practice is seldom implemented in *Meza de el alma* because God's name is only mentioned within blessings. Benveniste rarely uses abbreviations to refer to important, well-known individuals, as this is not a stylistic feature of the original *Shulḥan Arukh*.

My final conclusion is that although both books relate to Jewish tradition and were written at the same time using the same language, Ladino, they are different linguistically and this can be clearly seen by the use of the Hebrew component.

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THE BLESSINGS OF THE *AMIDAH* PRAYER IN THE JUDEO-ITALIAN, LADINO, AND PROVENÇAL TRADITIONS

Michael RYZHIK

1. Introduction

The *Amidah* may have been the most well-known Jewish text in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. According to the *halakha*, the *Shema* has to be recited only twice a day, while the *Amidah* has to be said three times a day. The various translations of the Siddur (e.g., the Yemenite *Tiklal*) contain translations of the *Amidah*, including translations into Romance Jewish languages like Judeo-Italian, Ladino (Judeo-Spanish), and Jewish Provençal. In this article, I would like to compare the translations of the *Amidah* in five Judeo-Italian translations of the Siddur (a critical edition of these translations is in preparation), with some representative Ladino and Provençal translations.

The blessings of the *Amidah* in the Judeo-Italian, Ladino, and Provençal translations are similar in many respects, because the three languages are interconnected, as are also the narratives of these three cultures. Generally speaking, all three traditions of translation are literal (according to the medieval *volgarizzamenti* tradition), but the Judeo-Italian translations are much closer to what can be called “normative” Judeo-Italian than the Ladino one to “living” Judeo-Spanish, and the Provençal translation to Judeo-Provençal. For example, the Hebrew participle is translated in Judeo-Italian as a verb in the present tense, while in the Ladino translation we find the present participle (with the suffix -n), which is artificial and mechanical in Judeo-Spanish and does not fit the syntax (Bunis 2021: 407; Schwarzwald 1989: 7-15; 2010). The Judeo-Provençal translation of the Siddur shows similar charac-

teristics (Baricci 2022: 47). Another difference is that the Hebrew component is richer in the Judeo-Italian translations than in the Ladino translation and especially in comparison to the Judeo-Provençal translation.

2. The texts

The Judeo-Italian translations discussed herein were described by the author previously (Ryzhik 2013).¹ They include three manuscripts of 15th century translations (Q1, Q2, Q3),² one printed edition (F = Fano 1506), and one 17th century manuscript (S).³

Q1, Q2, and Q3 are generally similar;⁴ F is closer to Q2 (not always), and Q1 is closer to Q3 (but not always). They are written in classical medieval Judeo-Italian, called by Sermoneta (1976) and Cuomo (1976) the “koinè centro-meridionale”. This dialect is similar to the type of Judeo-Italian described by Cuomo (1988) in her book on the translation of the Book of Jonah (yet not identical in various ways). The 17th century translation (S) is distinct in terms of its phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic characteristics.

For a Ladino translation, I used the 16th century Saloniki manuscript and translation published by Schwarzwald (2012b).⁵ In this article, I use the transliteration employed by Schwarzwald in that book (designated by the sigla SN, *Seder Nashim*).

For a Judeo-Provençal translation of the *Amidah*, I used the translation found in Ms. Roth, 32 Brotherton Library (Leeds), written at the end of the 15th century. This translation of the Siddur is described by Baricci (2022) and contains interesting linguistic phenomena. Baricci generously gave me her transliteration of the *Amidah* in this manuscript, which I use here (under the sigla PR), and for which I am profoundly grateful.

¹ For the first description of the Judeo-Italian translations of the Siddur, see Cassuto 1930.

² Q1 = Parma de' Rossi ital. 7, year 1484; Q2 = Ms. London 625 [Or. 2443], year 1483; Q3 = Ms. JTS Mic. 4076, cen. 15.

³ S = London Or. 10517, sec. 17.

⁴ See Ryzhik 2013.

⁵ The book also contains a very important chapter (pp. 28-52) by Aldina Quintana on the written language but it is dedicated to the language of the author of instructions and commentaries, not to the language of the translation itself. For the characteristics of the language of SN, see Schwarzwald 2012b.

As expected, all seven translations (F, Q1, Q2, Q3, S, SN, PR) are somewhat similar. As an example of this general similarity, I will cite the translation of a part of the second benediction of the *Amidah*, here recording the Judeo-Italian versions in both Hebrew characters and in transliteration⁶ (below, I will present sometimes only a transliteration, sometimes both), as well as the Ladino and Judeo-Provençal versions in transliterations:

Hebrew text: ומקיים אמונתו לישני עפר

English translation: 'and keeps his faith with those who sleep in the dust'

F: אַפֿירמא לה וויריטאדי סאָה אַקוּילי קי דורמינו אָה לה פּולוּוירָה

e afferma la ueretade soa a-quell/i che dormeno a la poluera

Q1: אַפֿירמא לליאַלטאדי סאָה אַקוּילי קי דורמינו גילָה טירָה

e afferma la-lialtade soa a-quell/i che dormeno nella terra

Q2: אַפֿירמא לוויריטאמינטו סאָו אַלידורמיטורי דלטיָה

e afferma la-uertamento suo alle-dormetore della-terra

Q3: אַפֿירמא לוויריטאדי סאָה אַקוּילי קי דורמינו גילפולֶוירָה

e afferma la-uertade soa a-quelli che dormeno nella-poluere

S: קונפֿירמא לה וויריטָה סאָה א' קוּילי קי דורמונו נִי לה פּולוּוירָה

conferma la uerita sua a' quel/i che dormono ne la poluere

SN: i afirman su verdad a adormientes de polbo

PR: e afermant sa fizeltat a dormentz de terra.

The following characteristics are evident:

- (1) F, Q1, Q2, Q3, SN, and PR use the same verb 'affermare / afirmare'. Only S uses 'confermare'.
- (2) F, Q2, Q3, S, SN use different derivates of the stem 'verità'; while Q1 and PR use 'lialtade / fizeltat'.
- (3) F, Q3, S and SN use the word 'poluere / polbo'; Q1, Q2, PR use the word 'terra'.

Two important conclusions can be drawn from this very limited example: (1) The general lexicon seems to be common enough in these Judeo-Romance translations that its variant distributions can be accidental and not dependent on the genetic relationship (some Judeo-Italian translations accord with Judeo-Spanish, while others with the Judeo-Provençal). (2) The similarity is evident only in this general, common lexicon; while the syntactic traits are very different: 'la verità sua' vs. 'su verdad'; 'quelli che dormeno' vs. 'adormientes / dormentz'. These differences will be discussed below.

⁶ The principles of the transliteration are delineated in Ryzhik 2013.

3. The use of the definite article

In Judeo-Italian translations, the use of the definite article is regular and follows the general rules in common Italian. In contrast, in SN and PR the use of the definite article depends entirely on its presence or absence in the Hebrew original. In other words: in SN and PR, the article is used only and always if it is present in the Hebrew original.⁷ The article is absent if there is no article in the Hebrew original. For example:

Hebrew text: ומביא גואל לבני בניהם למען שמו באהבה

English translation: ‘**and brings a redeemer to their children’s children for the sake of His name, in love**’

F: e fai uenire **lo** sconperatore a-**lle** filjoli de **li** filjoli loro per **lo** nome suo en amore
Q1 (and similar⁸ Q2 and Q3): e-fa uenire esconperatore a-**lli** filjoli de-**lli** filjoli loro per **lo**-nome suo con amore

S: e conduce scomperator a’ **li** filjoli de **li** filjoli loro per **il** nome suo con amore

SN: i trayen regmidor a hijos de sus hijos por su nombre kon amor

PR: e aduzent rezentment a enfanx de lur enfanx per son nom en amor.

In SN and PR, there is no definite article because this article is absent in the Hebrew original. Nevertheless, the Judeo-Italian translations are not the same: Only in F is the definite article used before the word ‘sconperatore’ (Judeo-Italian for ‘redeemer’) (Ryzhik 2013: 239-240).⁹ In other Judeo-Italian versions, there is no article before this word. This redundancy of a definite article is also present in other places in F, as we shall see below.

An even more ungrammatical feature is the repetition of the definite article before the noun (and the adjective) in the group adjective + noun, for example:

Hebrew text: האל הגדול הגבור והנורא אל עליון גומל חסדים טובים

English translation: ‘**the great, mighty and awesome God, God Most High, who rewards the good deeds**’

F: **lo** Det granno e barone e temuto Det Altissimo che remereti misericordii boni
Q1 (and similar Q2 and Q3): Det granne e barone e temuto Det Altissimo che remerita misericordie boni

⁷ For SN see Bunis 2021: 409.

⁸ Similarity with regard to the use of the definite article, but not with regard to other details.

⁹ See also Cuomo 1985: 111.

S: *Idio grande e potente e temuto Idio ecelso qual rimerita misericordie bone*
 SN: **el** Dio **el** grande **el** baragan i **el** temerozo Dio alto gualardonan merçedes buenas
 PR: **lo** Dieu **lo** gran, **lo** vasalh, e **lo** temoros, Dieu sobeira, guizardonant
 bonetats bonas.

Here we see that the definite article is repeated four times in SN, but also in PR, showing the affinity between SN and PR (as contrasted to the Judeo-Italian translations), which we have already seen and which we will also see further, below. A definite article is completely absent from these passages in Q1, Q2, Q3, and S, but it appears in F before Det, the classical Judeo-Italian word for God (Cuomo 1988). However, in ordinary Italian (and also in ordinary Judeo-Italian), the name of God (Dio) usually appears without a definite article. In Ladino translations, the definite article is used when it is present in the Hebrew original (הַאֵל) even though that conflicts with ordinary Judezmo syntax (Bunis 2021: 409). In F, the use of the definite article does not appear to be a function of simple correspondence to the Hebrew ה, as the definite article is used with the word גּוֹאֵל (in the previous passage discussed), despite the fact that there was no definite article in the Hebrew original. We can see the same tendencies in the following example:

Hebrew text: בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה ה' הָאֵל הַקְדוֹשׁ
 English translation: ‘**blessed are You Lord the holy God**’
 F: benedetto sii tu Domedet **lo** Det santo
 Q1 (and similar Q2 and Q3): benedetto tu Domedet Det santo
 S: laodato tu Sinjor Idio santo.
 SN: Bendičo tu YY **el** Dio **el** Santo.
 PR: bendig tu sant e benezet **lo** Dieu **lo** sant.

The definite article is absent in Q1, Q2, Q3, and S (following Italian grammar); it is repeated in SN and PR (contrary to Spanish and Provençal grammar), and it is found before God’s name *Det* in F (contrary to Italian grammar, but without the repetition as in SN and PR). It must be noted that in some cases, F is slightly similar to SN and PR.

4. The verbal copula

The second trait that is characteristic of the literal translations of SN and PR is the absence of the verbal copula (*ser, estar*).¹⁰ In contrast, the

¹⁰ For Ladino translations, see Bunis 2021: 407; for Judeo-Provençal, Baricci 2022: 49.

Judeo-Italian translations' use of the copula is very complex, and is according to context or to a particular tradition that can be used in the present tense or in the subjunctive mood (Ryzhik 2009).

The verbal copula is absent in the formula of benedictions (ברוך אתה ...ה'), for example:

Hebrew original: ברוך אתה ה' אלהינו [...] ואלהי יעקב
 English translation: 'blessed are You Lord our God'
 F: benedetto **sii** tu Domedet Det nostro [...] e lo Det de Ya'aqov:
 Q1: benedetto tu Domedet Det nostro [...] e-Det de-Ya'aqov
 Q2: benedetto **sie** tu Domedet Ded nostro [...] e Ded de-Ya'aqov
 Q3: benedetto tu Domedet Det nostro [...] e Det de-Ya'aqov
 S: lodato **sei** tu Sinjor Idio nostro [...] e Idio de Ya'aqov
 SN: Bendičo tu YY nueso Dio [...] i Dio de Ya'faqob
 PR: Bendič tu Sant Benezet, nostre Dieu [...] e Dieu de Yaakov.

In this case, as in other translations of this phrase (ברוך אתה ה'), the copula is absent in SN and PR, but also in Q1 and Q3. This is not in contrast to the normative language, since in such benediction forms (ברוך... אשרי...) the absence of copula is common, including in non-Jewish sources. Perhaps this is due to the influence of the Hebrew syntax of the Biblical text (Ryzhik 2009: 136).

There are other cases where the nominal sentence in Hebrew has to be translated with a copula, and the verbal copula appears in all Judeo-Italian translations (including Q1 and Q3, in which it is omitted in the translations of the form ברוך אתה ה') but is absent in SN and PR:

Hebrew text: אתה גבור לעולם ה' מחיה מתים אתה רב להושיע
 English translation: 'You are mighty in eternity, You resuscitate the dead and You are great to save'
 F: tu **si** barone a-senpre Domedet rabbefechi li morti. tu **si** granno a-saluare:
 Q1: tu-**si** barone a-senpre Domedet che arrabbefichi li morti. tu-**si** granne a-salvare
 Q2: tu **si** barone a-senpre Domedet abbefeca li-morti
 Q3: tu-**si** barone a-senpre Domedet che arrabbefichi li morti tu-**ssi** granne a-salvare
 S: tu **sei** potente in eterno Sinjor qual fa reuiuer li morti **sii** tu e padron a' saluare
 SN: Tu baragan para sienpre YY abediguan muertos tu grande por salvar
 PR: Tu vasalh a segle, <aviugant mortz> tu, gran a salvar.

In such a case, i.e., in cases of a simple attributive sentence, the verbal copula is obligatory according to Italian (and generally Romance)

syntax, and is present in all Judeo-Italian translations; yet, it is absent in SN and PR.

The absence of the copula, combined with the calque use of the definite article can lead to incomprehensible phrases in SN and PR. For example (in this case, F is similar to SN and PR):

Hebrew text: ברוך אתה ה' הטוב שמך

English translation: ‘**blessed are You Lord whose name is good**’

F: *benedetto sii tu Domedet lo nome tuo*

Q1: *benedetto tu Domedet che bono è lo-nome tuo*

Q2: *benedetto sije tu Domedet che-è bono lo-nome tuo*

Q3: *benedetto tu Domedet che bono è lo-nome tuu*

S: *lodato sii tu Sinjor qual è bono il nome tuo*

SN: *Bendičō tu YY el bueno tu nombre*

PR: *bendig tu sant e benezet lo bon ton nom.*

The Hebrew text is complex and means roughly ‘Blessed are you Lord, whose name is good’; the definite article ה functions here as a relative pronoun. Translations Q1, Q2, Q3, and S all add the copula ‘è’ in different places; Q1 is similar to Q3 as usual. SN and PR translate ה as a definite article without adding a copula, rendering the phrase incomprehensible.

5. Translation of the Hebrew participle in the present tense

Another trait that clearly distinguishes the Judeo-Italian from the Ladino and Judeo-Provençal translations is the translation of the Hebrew participle (*beynoni*). Judeo-Italian translations use different ways to achieve it, according to the demands of context (present tense, different *nomina agentis*, relative clauses) (Ryzhik 2019). In contrast, in the Ladino *sacre* text translations, the *beynoni* is rendered by its Ladino *calque*, an apocopated present participle (Bunis 2021: 407), and similarly in PR (Baricci 2022: 49).

Let us see an example from the *Amidah* translations:

Hebrew text: אל עליון גומל חסדים טובים וקונה את הכל וזוכר חסדי אבות ומביא גואל לבני בניהם

English translation: ‘**the Most High who rewards the good deeds and who acquires all and remembers the merciful deeds of the fathers and brings a redeemer to their children’s children**’

F: Det Altissimo **che remereti** misericordii boni e **aquesti** onne causa **arrencorda** li misericordii all'i patri e **fai uenire** lo sconperatore alle filjoli de li filjoli loro

Q1: Det Altissimo **che remerita** misericordie boni e **aquistatore** de-onne cavosa e **rincorda** li-misericordii delli patri e-**fa uenire** esconperatore alli filjoli delli filjoli loro

Q2: Ded Altissimo **remeretatore** de-misiricordee bone **aquistatore** de-onne caosa **arrincorda** li-misiricordii delli-patri [e **fa uenire**] esconparatore alli-filjoli delli-filjoli loro

Q3: Det Altissimo **che remerita** misiricordii bone e **aquistatore** de onne cavosa **arrencorda** la-misiricordia delli patri e **fao uenire** sconperatore alli filjoli delli filjoli loro

S: Idio ecelso **qual rimerita** misericordie bone et **aquistator** del tuto e **si ricorda** de li misericordie de li antichi e **conduce** scomperator a' li filjoli de li filjoli

SN: Dio alto **gualardonan** merçedes buenas **krian** lo todo i **membran** merçedes de padres i **trayen** regmidor a hijos de sus hijos

PR: Dieu sobeira, **guizardonant** bonetats bonas e **acaptant** lo tot e **renembrant** bonetatz de pairons e **aduzent** rezement a enfanç de lur enfanç.

We can see the variety of methods and the relative freedom by which the Judeo-Italian translations render the *beynoni*. The same Hebrew word may be translated into different Italian forms: גומל by **che remereti**, **che remerita**, **qual rimerita** or **remeretatore**; קונה by **aquesti** or **aquistatore**, and so on. In contrast, in the Ladino and Judeo-Provençal translations, we find only the ancient Romance participle: **gualardonan**, **krian**, **membran** and **trayen** in SN; **guizardonant**, **acaptant**, **renembrant** and **aduzent** in PR.

This is also the case when the subject is neither divine nor human; for example, the expression השנה הבאה עלינו לטובה is translated in PR:

Bendisi sobre nos, sant e benezet nostre Dieu, l'an aquest lo venent sobre nos a ben e totas especias de son blat.

6. Participle with a definite article that opens the relative clause

The *beynoni* with a definite article often serves as a relative clause. In such cases, Judeo-Italian translations of the *beynoni* use the relative pronouns corresponding to the Hebrew definite article and verb in the present tense, while SN and PR follow their usual literal translation style:

Hebrew text: ברוך אתה ה' המחזיר ברחמיו שכינתו לציון

English translation: 'blessed are You Lord who restores His presence to Zion in his mercifulness'

F (and similar Q1, Q2, Q3): benedetto sii tu Domedet **che fao tornare** nelli rappjitementi soi la *šekhina* soa a *Sijon*

S: laodato tu Sinjor **qual ritorna** la gloria sua a' *Sijon*

SN: Bendičo tu YY **el fazien tornar** su Šekina a Šiyon

PR: Bendig tu sant e benezet **lo fazent tornar** sa pauzanza a *Zion*.

In place of relative clauses, SN and PR use the literal construction 'definite article + participle'.

However, there are some special cases where the Ladino and the Judeo-Provençal use a way to translate similarly to the Judeo-Italian, like the translation of the word 'redeemer' (because it is a nominal use):

Hebrew text: ומביא גואל לבני בניהם

English translation: 'and brings a redeemer to their children's children'

F (and similar Q1, Q2, Q3): e fai uenire lo **sconperatore** a-lle filjoli de li filjoli loro

S: e conduce **scomperator** a' li filjoli de li filjoli loro

SN: i trayen **regmidor** a hijos de sus hijos

PR: e aduzent **rezement** a enfanx de lur enfanx per son nom en amor.

Judeo-Italian translations always use the term *scomperator* to translate the Hebrew גואל.¹¹ PR translates it as he always translates the Hebrew *beynoni*, namely by the present participle: *rezement*. However, SN uses another grammatical form of the verbal noun: *regmidor* (the usual Judezmo term for 'redeemer'). It means that SN saw in this participle a noun, a person who will bring redemption, according to the sense of the benediction, and not to a pure grammatical form.

Only in two cases do we find the use of the present tense in SN and PR; in the first case they translate an adjective and in the second they translate the *beynoni* that is very similar to an adjective. The first one is the adjective נאה in the ending of the eighteenth blessing:

Hebrew text: ברוך אתה ה' הטוב שמך ולך נאה להודות

English translation: 'blessed are You Lord whose name is good and to whom it is suitable to be thankful'

¹¹ See above.

F (and similar Q1, Q2, Q3): *benedetto sii tu Domedet lo nome tuo e a-ti è bello* a-lauodare

S: lodato sii tu Sinjor qual è bono il nome tuo e a' te **conuien** a' laodare

SN: Bendičo tu YY el bueno tu nombre i ati **konviene** por loar

PR: bendig tu sant e benezet lo bon ton nom, e a tu **tanh** a lauazar.

Here the classical Judeo-Italian medieval-Renaissance translation uses an adverb (*bello*) with a verbal copula. In the later Judeo-Italian translation, S uses the verb *convenire* 'be convenient' and the sense is adverbial (= good, well); so, also, do SN and PR. Instead of their usual ancient present participle (**konvienien*, **tant*), they use the verb in the present tense: **konviene**, **tanh** ('touches, is convenient'), in the same adverbial sense.

In this example, the exceptional use of the present tense, where there is no verb in the present tense in the Hebrew original, may be explained by the fact that נאה is not a *beynoni*. However, there is another example, in which the *beynoni* proper (דומה 'similar') is translated in the present tense only, in SN (PR follows the usual literal translation by the participle):

Hebrew text: מי כמוך בעל גבורות ומי דומה לך

English translation: 'who is like You Master of mightiness and who is similar to You'

F (and similar Q1, Q2, Q3): che e come ti patrone de baronii e **chi se-rassomilji a-ti**

S: che e come tu padron de le potenze e **chi si rassimilja** a' te

SN: kien komo ti duenyo de baraganias i kien **asemeja** ati

PR: Qui tal con tu, don de vasalhs, e qui **semblant** a tu.

All Judeo-Italian translations use the verb *rassimiliarsi*, 'to be similar'. PR translates in the usual present participle *semblant*. But SN uses the present tense instead of the expected participle: *asemeja*. It seems that in both cases, נאה = *konvien*, *tanh* and דומה = *asemeja*, the unusual translation can be explained by the adverbial sense of the translated word and the translated verbal form.

Another case of an unusual translation is the translation of the Hebrew substantive מָגֵן 'shield' by the participle in SN and PR, as if it were the Hebrew participle מְגִן. The Judeo-Italian translations render this word using their regular method of translating the Hebrew participle (Ryzhik 2019: 224-226). To illustrate:

Hebrew text: מלך גואל עוזר ומושיע ומגן. ברוך אתה ה' מגן אברהם

English translation: 'King, Redeemer, Helper and Savior and Shield. Blessed are You Lord Shield of Avraham'

F: re sconperatore aiutatore e saluadore e **scudiatore**. benedetto sii tu Domedet **che scudii Avraham**:

Q1 (and similarly Q2 and Q3): re esconperatore e aiutatore e salvatore e-**scudiatore**. benedetto tu Domedet **escudiatore** de *Avraham*.

S: re aiutator e saluatore e **scudo**. laodato sii tu Sinjor **scudo** de *Avraham*

SN: rey ayudan i salvan i **manparan**. Bendičo tu YY **manparo** de Abraham

PR: Rey ajudant e salvant e **amparant**, Bendig tu Sant Bendig, **amparalh** de *Abraham*.

We see that the classical Judeo-Italian translations (F and 15th century manuscripts) translate in various forms (verbal noun and relative clause), but always as if the Hebrew מִגֵּן was a participle. The later S translates by the substantive *scudo*. In contrast, like SN, PR translates two different occurrences of מִגֵּן in two distinct ways. This confirms the possibility that מִגֵּן could serve as a participle and was translated so in the first part of the blessing, where it follows two other participles (*ayudan i salvan* in SN, *ajudant e salvant* in PR), while it was translated as a substantive at the end of the blessing (*manparo* and *amparalh*), where it stands alone. Nevertheless, this case is surprising and exceptional, as these translations are literal and always translate the same Hebrew word in the same way. In this case, SN and PR seem to show more sensitivity to precise meanings in different contexts.

7. The place of the possessive pronoun

Thus far, the Judeo-Italian translations were less literal and less dependent on the Hebrew original and its linguistic traits than SN and PR (in the use of the definite article, of verb copula and in the translation of *beynoni*). In contrast, the place of the possessive pronoun is more independent in the Ladino and Judeo-Provençal translations.

In Judeo-Italian translations, the possessive pronouns always follow the noun, as a *calque* of the Hebrew, in which the possessive pronoun is added at the end of the noun. In contrast, in SN and PR the possessive pronoun precedes the noun, rendering the syntax more Spanish and more Provençal. For example:

Hebrew text: תַּקַּע בְּשׁוֹפָר גָּדוֹל לְחֵרֻתָּנוּ וְשֵׂא נֶס לְקִבְץ גְּלִיתָנוּ: בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה ה' מִקְבֵּץ נִדְחֵי עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל

English translation: 'Sound the great shofar for our liberation and raise the banner to gather our exiles. Blessed are You Lord who gathers the dispersed of His people Israel'

F (and similarly Q1, Q2, Q3): sona en corno granno alla **libertade nostra** e alza confal/one per fare aradunare li **decatiati nostri**. benedetto sii tu Domedet che raduni li spentiati **de lo popolo suo** *Isra'el*:

S: sona con il corno grande per **liberare noi**¹² e alza il stendardo per ridurre li **captiuata nostri** e riduna noi unitamente da li quatro cantoni de la tera. lodato sii tu Sinjor che riduci li spinti **del popolo suo** *Isra'el*.

SN: tanye kon *šofar* grande a **nuesa alhoria** i alça pendon por apanyar **nuesos katiberios** a una aina de kuarto arinkones de la tiera a nuestra tiera. Bendičo tu YY apanyan enpušados **de su pueblo** *Ísrail*.

PR: toca en corn gran a **nostra franqueza**, e leva bandiera a amasar **nostre caitiu** e amasa nos ensens de quatre angles de la terra a nostra. Bendig tu sant benezet amasant enfanz **de son pobol** *Israel*.

Baricci (in press) suggests that the different order (noun + pronoun) is impossible in Provençal (Jensen 1986: 127), and it seems that the same is true for Judeo-Spanish.

8. Peculiar translations of Hebrew words

These peculiar translations show some *ad hoc* decisions made by the translators, perhaps dependant on cultural or linguistic tendencies.

(1) Translation of the Hebrew קונה ‘acquires’.

Hebrew text: האל הגדול הגבור והנורא [...] וקונה את הכל

English translation: ‘the great mighty and awesome God [...] and acquires all’.

F: lo Det granno e barone e temuto [...] e **aquesti** onne cauosa

Q1 (and similarly Q2 and Q3): Det granne e barone e temuto [...] e **aquistatore** de-onne cavosa

S: Idio grande e potente e temuto [...] et **aquistator** del tuto

SN: el Dio el grande el baragan i el temerozo [...] **krian** lo todo

PR: lo Dieu lo gran, lo vasalh, e lo temoros, [...] e **acaptant** lo tot.

All the Judeo-Italian translations and PR use different forms meaning ‘buy’. In contrast, SN translates *krian*, ‘creating’. This translation is similar to the translation of the expression קונה שמים וארץ (Gn 14:19) found

¹² S understands the form לחרותנו as an infinitive with an object pronoun suffix?

in the Vulgate: *benedictus Abram Deo excelso qui creavit caelum et terram*. This understanding of קונה in this verse as ‘creator’ is found also in a comment of Rashi on this verse (Rashi: על ידי עשייתן קנאן להיות שלו [by their creating acquired them]), but perhaps the use of the same word as the Vulgate by SN is not accidental.

(2) Translation of Hebrew מודים, נודה, להודות ‘to confess, to be thankful’

The verb הודה is translated by different Romance lexemes in different places in the eighteenth blessing of the *Amidah*.

Hebrew text: מודים אנחנו לך [...] ולך נאה להודות

English translation: ‘we are thankful to You [...] and to You it is suitable to be thankful’

F (similarly Q2 and Q3): *confessemo* noi a-ti [...] e a-ti e bello a-lauodare

Q1: *confessemo* noi a-ti [...] e a-ti e (bono) [bello] a-rengraziare

S: *confesamo* noi a’ te [...] e a’ te conuien a’ laodare

SN: *atorgantes* nos ati ke [...] i ati konviene por loar.

PR: *lauanz* nos a tu [...] e a tu tanh a lauzar.

In all Judeo-Italian translations and in SN, the first מודים is translated by lexemes meaning ‘confess’. However, להודות, the last word in this blessing, is translated by the verb *laudare* / *loar* / *lauzar* ‘to glorify’ in almost all versions (except Q1). This word, להודות, is always translated in this way in F (Ryzhik 2022: 427), and it seems that the reason for this is the phonological similarity between להודות and *laodare* (Ibid.). In this case (in contrast to the case of מגן translations, see above), the translations of different occurrences of the verb הודה are harmonized in PR: *lauanz* [...] *lauzar*, contrary to all other translations, including SN.

9. Hebrew component

Generally speaking, there is a greater Hebrew component in the Judeo-Italian translations than in SN (there are many more Hebrew words in 15th century versions than in S).¹³ In PR, the Hebrew component is mostly absent (with some significant exceptions).

¹³ For the list of Hebrew components used in SN, see Schwarzwald 2012a: 257-261.

Let us first see the case in which Judeo-Italian translations and SN are similar:

Hebrew text: **על החסידים ועל הצדיקים ועל גרי הצדק**

English translation: ‘**to the pious, to the righteous and to the righteous converts**’

(SN: **על הצדיקים ועל החסידים [...] ועל פליטת בית חכמיהם ועל גרי הצדק** ‘**to the righteous, to the pious [...] and to the remnants of the house of our Sages and to the righteous converts**’).¹⁴

F: *per li ḥasidim e per li ṣaddiqim e per li pelegrini de justizia*

Q1: *sopre allī ḥasidim e-sopre allī ṣaddiqim e-sopre li gerim jušti*

Q2: *sopre le-misericordiosi e sopre le-jušte e-sopre (le-gerim) [le-pelegrini]*¹⁵
de-juštizia

Q3: *sopre li ḥasidim e sopre li ṣaddiqim e sopre li gerim de-juštizia*

S: *sopra li jušti e sopra li misericordiosi [...] e sopra li pelegrini jušti*

SN: *sobre los ṣadiqim i sobre los ḥasidim [...] i sobre eskapadura de kaza de sus ḥakamim i sobre pelegrinos de la justedad*

PR: *sobre los justz e sobre los bons e sobre pelegrins de justizia.*

We find *ḥasidim* and *ṣaddiqim* in most translations: F, Q1, Q3, and SN; *gerim* in Q1, Q2 (but see the marginal note) and Q3;¹⁶ *ḥakamim* is in SN (but only the Hebrew original of SN contains this word). Q1 and Q3 are the richest in Hebrew components, F and Q3 have somewhat fewer, and there is no Hebrew component in the translation of this phrase in S and PR. This is a good illustration of general tendencies.

In many cases, SN makes use of Hebrew components much less than the Judeo-Italian translations and (it seems) limits them to a more sacred lexical level (which is also often more difficult to translate). For example:

Hebrew text: **ואל תפלתם שעה [...] ואשי ישראל ותפלתם [...] ברוך אתה ה' המחזיר ברחמיו שכינתו לציון**

English translation: ‘**and turn to their prayer [...] and sacrifices of Israel and their prayer [...] blessed are You Lord who restores His presence (Shekhina) to Zion**’

F: *e nella tefilla loro ascolta [...] e li qorbanot de Isra'el e la tefilla loro inajino en amore receuirai [...] benedetto sii tu Domedet che fao tornare nellī rappjtitamenti soi la šekhina soa a Sijon:*

¹⁴ The Sephardic version of *Amidah* is different in this blessing.

¹⁵ *Le-gerim* is crossed out and *le-pelegrini* is written above the line.

¹⁶ For the translation of *gerim* as *pelegrini* see Ryzhik 2022: 428.

Q1: e all-**orazione** loro te-revolta [...] e-li *qorbanot* de-*Isra'el* e l-**orazione** loro inaina con-amore riceverai [...] benedetto tu Domedet che-fa tornare per li-pjatadi soi inaina la-*šekhina* soa en-*Sijon*

Q2: e alla-**orazione** loro te-revolta [...] e-le-*qorbanot* de-*Isra'el* e la-**orazione** loro en tenna [con amore] arreceva [...] benedetto sji tu Domedet che faje tornare per le-pjatade soje en najina la-*šekhina* soa en *Sijon*

Q3: e alla-*tefilla* loro te-revolta [...] e li *qorbanot* de *Isra'el* e la-*tefilla* loro inajino con amore receuerai [...] benedetto tu Domedet che-fa tornare per li-pjatade soi l-**albergamento** suu in *Sijon*

S: e ne li **orazioni** loro e ritorna la seruitu de li **sacreficii** alo oracolo de la casa tua e li **sacreficii** afocati de *Isra'el* e li **orazioni** loro tosto con amore aceterai [...] laodato tu Sinjor qual ritorna la **gloria** sua a' *Sijon*

SN: i asu **oraçion** reçibe i fas tornar el serbiçio a palaçio de tu kaza i **ofriçiones** de Ísrael i su **oraçion** aina kon amor reçebiras [...] Bendiço tu YY el fazien tornar su *Šekhina* a *Sijon*

PR: Bendig tu sant e benezet lo fazent tornar sa **pauzanza** a *Zion*.¹⁷

In this case, F is the richest in Hebrew components: *tefilla*, *qorbanot*, and *šekhina*. Q1, Q2 (*qorbanot* and *šekhina*), and Q3 (*tefilla* and *qorbanot*) have fewer and S has none. In SN we find only *šekhina*; perhaps because of its very sacred meaning. These are general tendencies, and there are some exceptions.

This also applies to the Hebrew words in translations of *Birkat ha-minim*. First of all, the word *malšinim*, which is translated only in S:

Hebrew text:¹⁸ וּלְמַלְשִׁינִים בַּל תְּהִי תְקוּהָ וְכָל הַזּוֹדִים כֻּלָּם כָּרַגַע יֵאָבְדוּ וְכָל אוֹיְבֶיךָ מְהֵרָה יִכְרְתוּ וּמַלְכוּת זָדוֹן מְהֵרָה תִּעְקַר וְתִשָּׁבֵר וְתִכְנִיעַ אוֹתָם בְּמַהֲרָה בְּיָמֵינוּ

English translation: 'and for the informers, there will be no hope, and all the villains let perish in an instant. And all your enemies swiftly will be cut down, and the kingdom of wickedness swiftly will be uprooted and broken, and cast them down swiftly in our days'

F: e alli-*malšinim* non sara speranza e tutti essi come ponto siano deperduti

Q1: e alli *minim* e li *malšinim*¹⁹

Q2: alle-*malšinim* non ci-sia speranza e-tutte le-*malšinim* tutte quante esse come uno ponto siano deperdute

Q3: e alli *malšinim* non sia speranza e tutti quanti essi come un ponto se-deperdanno

¹⁷ The first part of this blessing is missing in the manuscript.

¹⁸ I cite the Italian version; Sephardic and Provençal are somewhat different.

¹⁹ The rest is cancelled by the censor.

S: e ali **spioni** non ui sara *speranza* e tuti li **empii** come un mumento si diperdirano

SN: a-los **mešumadim** no sea *esperança* i todos los **erejes** i todos los **malšinim** kumo punto se deperderan

PR: Als **mesonzer** non sia *esperanza*, e totz los **aireis** e los **malsenh** e los **masorot**, totz con ora deperdan.

Only S translates the word *malšinim* (*spioni*); in all other versions, this word remains untranslated. In SN and PR other untranslated Hebrew words designate informers and traitors: *mešumadim* and *masorot*. The relative richness of Hebrew components in this blessing is perhaps connected to the taboo associations of these terms.

In many cases, a Hebrew word remains untranslated only by one textual witness, mostly in F, for example, the word *ישועה*:

Hebrew text: **ברוך אתה ה' מצמיח קרן ישועה**

English translation: ‘**blessed are You Lord who makes the horn of the salvation flourish**’

F: benedetto sii tu Domedet che fai fiorite la-fortezze de la *ješufa*:²⁰

Q1 (and similarly Q2 and Q3): benedetto tu Domedet che-*fà* florire corno de-**salvazione**

S: lodato sii tu Sinjor qual *fà* fiorir sinjuria di **salute**

SN: Bendičo tu YY ermolyečien reino de **salbačion**.

PR: Bendig tu sant benezet fazent germinar cabaleza de **salvazion**.

This is the case with less sacred words, for example in the translation of the word *שעה*. Only F uses *שעה*; all others²¹ translate it thus:

Hebrew text: **בכל עת ובכל שעה**

English translation: ‘**at all times and at each hour**’

F: en *onne* tenpo en *onni šafa* la pace toa.

Q1 (and similarly Q2 and Q3): enn-onne tenpo enn-onne **ora**

S: in onji tempo e in onji **ora**.

PR: en tot temps e en tota **ora**.

The reason for this use in F is not the possible alliteration with the *orazione* that may have Christian associations, as *orazione* is found sev-

²⁰ But in the first part of this blessing, F also uses the Italian words - la-fortezza soa ennalza nella **saluazione** toa che alla **saluazione** toa noi speremo tutta la-di (for **וקרנו תרומ** (בישיעתך כי לישועתך קוינו כל היום)).

²¹ There is no *שעה* in the Sephardi version, so the translation for it is absent in SN.

eral times in F. For example, ואני תפילתי לך 'and my prayer is to You' is translated אַי אַיִזוּ לֶה אֲרִי־צִיִּאוּנִי מִיָּאָה אַטִּי.²²

However, in some cases, even SN may be the only translation with a Hebrew component, for example in the translations of שופר:

Hebrew text: תקע בשופר גדול 'sound the great shofar'

F (and similarly Q1, Q2, Q3): sona en **corno** granno

S: sona con il **corno** grande

SN: tanye kon **šofar** grande

PR: toca en **corn** gran.

The reason for the use of the word *corno* by other translations may be its phonological similarity to קרן, which is a synonym of שופר and is often used instead of שופר.

10. Some short concluding remarks

Many general and particular traits distinguish the Judeo-Italian translations of the *Amidah* (chosen as a representative case of a prayer) from the Ladino and Judeo-Provençal translations. In most cases, Ladino and Judeo-Provençal versions are much more literal, and this style of translation often renders the results incomprehensible. This can be seen in the use of the definite article; the absence of verbal copula; the translation of the Hebrew participle using an ancient Ladino and Judeo-Provençal present participle; and other traits separately and together with these. At least in one way, the Ladino and Judeo-Provençal translations were less literal in the placing of the possessive pronoun added to the noun.

The use of Hebrew components is richer in classical (15th century) Judeo-Italian translations, and it varies from one Judeo-Italian translation to another. There are fewer Hebrew components in the Ladino translation, and it is almost completely absent from the Judeo-Provençal translation, the exception being the words for informer and traitor (that have taboo connotations) such as *malshinim*. The Judeo-Italian translations are freer and are written with more respect to vernacular, perhaps because of the importance accorded to language and its use in Italy.

²² In לבא לציון.

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OTTOMAN CANTORS OF THE *SIEKOLO AKLARADO*: LISTENING TO *HAZZAN* SHIMON UZIEL OF SALONIKA

Edwin SEROUSSI

1. Introduction

Considering the scarcity of sources about the lives of Ottoman cantors and their art in the past, it was a breakthrough to have located, around thirty years ago, a series of ten printed lectures in Judeo-Spanish titled “*Ḥazanim y ḥazanut del judaismo sefardí de Oriente*” (“*Ḥazzanim and ḥazzanut of the Sephardic Jewry in the East*”) in Tel Aviv at the home of the heirs of Cantor Shimon Shmuel Uziel (1896-1965) from Salonika. These lectures, from which nine have survived (the first one, the introduction to the series, is lost), were graciously given to me by Uziel’s daughter, Ms. Rozi Wolker, amid musical scores belonging to her father. The lectures are typewritten in Hebrew characters as was customary in Judeo-Spanish literature. A few years ago, I shared these Judeo-Spanish texts with my colleague and friend Prof. David Bunis, to whom this essay is dedicated with great affection and esteem. We decided to publish these precious documents together in the original language as well as in translation, a corollary to our continuing collaboration in the field of Sephardic studies. This short essay is an “appetizer” of the projected publication.

2. *Hazzan* and *hazzanut* between East and West

Conceptualizations of the office of the cantor in the late Ottoman Empire and of their systems of training and employment in the modern period challenge the crude binary divides between Sephardic and Ashkenazi models of cantorial music that still persist in the literature. Musical repertoires are not, from this thought-provoking perspective, the ultimate criterion for dividing *hazzanim* according to “ethnic traditions,” but rather performance practices, social status, employment patterns and a type of musical education. From this perspective, and from the information provided by Hazzan Uziel in his lectures, late Ottoman cantors appear exposed to models of Central and Eastern European *hazzanut* as these developed beginning in the late nineteenth century. These models include material as well as symbolic capitals, such as increasing monetary rewards for services, special attire, recording commercially and engaging in itinerant careers.

One question related to this proposed redrawing of the world of *hazzanut* is addressed here: How do Sephardic cantors, active in the former lands of the Ottoman Empire in Southeastern Europe, perceive themselves and their craft at the onset of the twentieth century? I argue that Sephardic cantors from the late Ottoman Empire started to perceive themselves as a class of their own. This self-perception emanates from the impact that modern perceptions of “cantorial self” had had on the aesthetic sensibilities of Jews of Ottoman lands (or lands that had recently seceded from Ottoman rule), most especially in the Eastern Balkans. Such sensibilities projected also into the ritual spaces they served, expressed in the construction of cathedral-like synagogues following European models, the adoption of formal choral music and in some cases, the use of Western musical notation (Seroussi 2016).

Locating information about the office of the cantor as a functionary of the Jewish community in the past can be achieved only in a fragmentary manner by searching texts scattered in the rabbinical literature, in the statutes of communities and random observations by travelers.¹ When one addresses the Ottoman Empire, such information is meager, in comparison to European sources. Moreover, since no musical notation was used by Ottoman Jews prior to the early twentieth century, it is also hard to tackle the repertoire of these cantors.

¹ The classic study by Landman (1972) remains one of the best sources on this subject.

3. Ottoman cantors

Before I address Uziel's Judeo-Spanish lectures, a word about the concept of "Ottoman cantors" is due. Why would one say "Ottoman" and not "Sephardic" cantors when addressing the singers of synagogues whose constituency had spoken mostly Judeo-Spanish for at least four centuries? Let me propose that due to historical, geographical, social and cultural circumstances, the concept of "Sephardic *hazzanut*" has no justification when applied to pre-modern contexts. There were at least four very distinctive branches of *hazzanut*, each claiming, with a degree of justification, the title "Sephardic": the Ottoman, the Arabic, the Spanish-Portuguese and the Andalusian. These branches could, in their turn, be subdivided down to the level of the microcosm of single synagogues. Put differently, the perpetual methodological question of building a research model from the top down or from the bottom upwards applies also to the study of Sephardic synagogue music.

Such intra-Sephardic fragmentation is expressed in Abraham Zvi Idelsohn's pioneer volumes (1923, 1929). From his first-hand experience in Palestine and later in Western Europe, Idelsohn was very much aware of the distinctive musical cultures of the different communities established by the Iberian Jews throughout the Mediterranean basin, the Middle East and Western Europe. In spite of this awareness, he clustered together in Volume 4 of the *Thesaurus* all the Ottoman and Arab musical traditions under the title "Orientalische Sephardim", leaving Volume 5 to the Moroccan (what I call Andalusian) tradition while a planned volume dedicated to the Spanish-Portuguese communities of Western Europe remained unpublished.²

In Volume 4, Idelsohn distinguished each piece as belonging to the Ottoman (represented by Salonika or by the old Sephardic community of Jerusalem's Old City) or the Arab (represented by Aleppo) traditions. This Aleppo/Saloniki-Jerusalemite or Arabic/Ottoman divide was a reflection of the map of Jerusalem synagogues in the first two decades of the twentieth century, most specifically of the synagogues established outside the walls of the Old City by new immigrants from Aleppo and Salonika as well as autochthonous Jerusalemites, who moved out from the Old to the

² His additional volumes dedicated to the "Oriental" Jewish communities, especially the one from Babylonia (i.e., Iraq, or more precisely Baghdad), show incipient traces of Sephardic features, the result of the multicultural encounter in Jerusalem.

New City. These new immigrants transferred their liturgical traditions and started to dominate the synagogue soundscapes of the new neighborhoods built outside the city's walls, overcoming the local Judeo-Spanish traditions of the Old City.

Considering this ecumenical liturgical encounter in early twentieth century Jerusalem (and Ottoman Palestine more broadly), one can see how “Sephardic *hazzanut*” became a construct of Jewish musical modernity, reflecting not only modern perceptions of intra-Jewish otherness but also the massive displacement of Jews of Sephardic origin throughout the twentieth century and their relocation in multi-ethnic communities, especially in Israel. The massive and all-inclusive ten-volume *Antología de la liturgia judeo-española* (1964-1980), compiled by Isaac Levy, is the culmination of this long process of downplaying the liturgical music locality, once all non-Ashkenazi Jews became “Sephardic”. Yet, late Ottoman cantors operated beyond the pale of these processes of Sephardic liturgical hybridization and homogenization in Jerusalem, whose main feature became, as we shall see, the reliance on the Arabic *maqāmāt*. Their distinction was not exclusively sonic, i.e., a *hazzanut* based on Turkish *makamlar* instead of Arabic *maqāmāt*, but, as suggested above, social and even technological.

4. Shimon Uziel's lectures

Shimon Uziel was born in Salonika in 1896. In 1929, he was appointed cantor of the Knesset Israel synagogue in Galata in Istanbul, as announced in the Judeo-Spanish newspaper *El Jugetón*.³

We have just learned that rabbi Shimon Shmuel Uziel has been confirmed as cantor of the synagogue (*oratorio*, in the original) Knesset Israel in Galata. As one can see in the photograph in the front page, Rabbi Shimon Shmuel Uziel is a young man of 32 years of age. He possesses a melodious voice, he is extremely precise in the reading of the *te'amim* (cantillation accents) of the Torah, and everyone in general is experiencing every week his value in the songs [of the prayers] as well as in his reading of the Torah. *El Jugetón* says to him, welcome, and wishes that his voice will always be good and God will not put shame on him.

³ Volume 21, No. 9, 5 Sivan 5689 (June 13, 1929). I thank Dr. Dov Hacoen from Bar Ilan University for this reference. The translation is mine.

In 1933, Uziel immigrated with his wife to Tel Aviv, as part of the large migratory wave of the early 1930s of former Ottoman Jews. In Tel Aviv, he continued his career as cantor as well as educator. He passed away in Tel Aviv on March 5, 1963. He sang, as he puts it in Lecture 4, in the greatest Sephardic synagogues of the former Ottoman Empire, those of Istanbul, Sofia, Ruse and Bucharest, what he called the “main countries of Sephardic Judaism, where Judeo-Spanish is spoken”. Uziel was also a fervent Zionist. For example, in Lecture 9, he stresses the hopes that the Sephardic Jews trapped in post-WW II communist Rumania will be allowed to join “our beloved homeland in Eretz Israel”.

The lectures were read live by Uziel (and thus reading them in this case became an act of listening) in the Judeo-Spanish radio broadcast of Kol Israel, the Israeli state radio. The transmission was held in 1951, for Uziel mentions (in the last lecture of the series that survived) that “three months” prior to the broadcast, there was an important World Sephardic conference. We can assume that Uziel was referring to the First Congress of the World Sephardi Federation, held in Paris on October 14-18, 1951. The Federation decided, according to Uziel, to support Sephardic *hazzanut* financially (Lecture 11), but he does not specify how. We do know, however, that the Federation financed recordings of displaced Sephardic cantors residing at that time in Paris, and the publication of Sephardic *hazzanut*, most notably *Liturgie séphardie*, edited by Ovadia Camhy (1959), the first comprehensive compilation of musical notations of this repertoire after Idelsohn’s.⁴

Uziel’s lectures were based, as he puts it in Lecture 4, on first-hand information, meaning that he met most of the cantors and musicians whom he mentions in the lectures and visited or sang in the places he describes. Put differently, there is a strong ethnographic foundation to his lectures. In his own words:

טוב'י איל פלאזיר אי איל אונור די אינטריסנירבוס אסטה אוי, אי קי לה פריזינטי
איס לה נובינה אי לה אולטימה די איסטי סיקלו, ב'וס די קיריד'וס אואיד'וריס אל סאנטו
קי מים פוסיב'יליד'אד'יס אי ריקורדוס מי פירמיטירון און טאבלו קאזי קומפליד'ו, די לה
סיטואסיון די לוס חזנים אי די לוס חזנות אין לוס פרינסיפאליס פאאזיס דיל ז'ודאאיזמו
ספרדי אה אידיומה ז'ודיאו איספאניול. איסטוס דיטאלייוס נון פ'ואירון טומאד'וס אין דינגון
ליב'רו די היסטוריה, פור לה סימפלי ראזון קי איליוס נון איגזיסטין, אי מאלורוזאמינטי,

⁴ The repertoire included in this collection is mostly based on the Southeastern European Ottoman tradition, as recorded by Reverend Eliezer Abinun, cantor of the Spanish-Portuguese synagogue of London, who was originally from Sarajevo.

דינגון היסטאריאנו ספרדי נון אבורדו, איסטי סוז'טו טאן אימפורטאנטי אין לה ב'ידה דיל ז'ודאאיזמו ספרדי, קומו פור איזימפייו איל סיליברי שלמה רוזאניס, קי אירה טאן סירקה די איסטו מאנאד'ירוס, אינה פור קואלו יו דוב'י אזיר און סירייו איספ'ורסו די מימורייה, פור ריקוז'יר טוד'וס לוס דיטאלייוס אי ריקורדוס, קי סון אינטיראמינטי פירסוניליס, אי טוד'ו לוקי ב'וס אב'לי אסטה אויי איס לוקי מיס אוז'וס ב'ירון אי מיס אואיד'וס אואירון, אין מי לונגה קאריירה די חזן ראשי אין לאס מאס פ'אמוזאס קהלות דיל באלקאן אי איל אוריניטי די א'בירופה, אנסי קי מיס נומירוזוס ב'יאז'ים די איסטוד'יוס אין קאז'י טוד'ה לה א'בירופה, אונדי פוד'י ריקוז'יר אימפריסיוניס אי איסטוד'יוס, אין לאס קומניד'אד'ים אוקסידינטאלאס, אי סוס אינסטיטוסיוניס דיל קולטו אי די פ'ילאנטרופיאה.

Hereby is our abridged translation of this passage:

I have had the pleasure and the honor of entertaining you... dear listeners [by] showing you a nearly whole picture of the cantors and the cantorate in the main countries of the Sephardic Jewry speaking the Judeo-Spanish language, and I have done it as thoroughly as I possibly could and as best as my memory could serve me. This data did not find place in any history books, and unfortunately no Sephardic historian touched upon such important a subject concerning the life of the Sephardic Jewry, such as the well-known Shelomó Rozanes [1862-1938] who was in close contact with these sources. And that is why I had to make the effort of summoning up my memory in order to put together all of the details and recollections, being absolutely personal: Everything I have told you until today is what my eyes have seen and my ears have heard throughout my long career as Chief Cantor at the most famous synagogues of the Balkans and Eastern Europe, as well as during my numerous study tours in almost the whole of Europe, where I could do research and gain impressions of the topic and the people in the Western Jewish communities and their worship institutions and philanthropic establishments.

Each lecture was ten minutes long (as he points out in Lecture 7). Uziel obviously addressed in his lectures a specific audience, the Judeo-Spanish speaking public with whom he had a very personal relationship, as is evident in his addressing the listeners with terms of endearment. The series of lectures was continued or perhaps expanded beyond the original plan due to the public's positive feedback (Lecture 4). Uziel intended to publish these lectures with the Ministry of Religion, a deed he obviously never accomplished. Finally, the lectures are significantly informed by the Holocaust (Lecture 7), that decimated many of the Sephardic communities of the Balkans, where Uziel officiated, most especially his home city of Salonika.

Uziel divided his lectures geographically. Within each geographical unit he surveyed the names and deeds of famous cantors, while also pro-

viding documentation regarding his own life and place in the network of Ottoman *hazzanim* that he describes. A map of cantorial music emerges from Uziel's discourse that is both lineal and syntagmatic. In other words, one can read his text (and indeed the whole series comprises one long text) horizontally, moving with the author from one location to another, from the center of the Ottoman lands to its peripheries. However, one could also read it vertically, paying attention to the network of relationships between cantors, between teachers and disciples, comparisons between cantors and synagogues, displacements, and other developments occurring simultaneously in several locations. For example, in different lectures Uziel stresses the exposure of the former Ottoman Jewish communities to social forces that weakened established religious traditions, such as Westernization and Zionism. Such a vertical reading is warranted because Uziel characteristically supplemented his lectures with materials that he forgot in previous ones or following questions from his listeners.

I assume that the lost opening lecture was programmatic and included a discussion of *hazzanut* in Uziel's home city of Salonika, a major Ottoman location that is mentioned in the rest of the lectures but not discussed in detail as one would expect. It makes sense that Uziel would open the series with his own home tradition. The second lecture, the first in our possession, describes the scene of *hazzanut* in Istanbul, the ex-capital of the Ottoman Empire as Uziel defined the city almost three decades after the founding of the modern Republic of Turkey. The defunct Ottoman Empire in which Uziel was born and educated in his early youth, with Constantinople/Istanbul at the center of its cultural life, was still alive in his memory. He emphasizes the centrality and size of the Jewish community of Istanbul as the main reason for selecting it as the point of departure for the rest of his lectures. From Istanbul, he moves to Edirne (2), Izmir (3), Sofia (4), Plovdiv (5), Belgrade (6), Sarajevo (7), Bucharest (8), Rustchuk (Ruse) and Craiova (9).

In each broadcast, Uziel speaks about the most distinguished cantors of one city, focusing on their training, pedigree and career, as well as on their conditions of employment, a subject that returns as a leitmotif in several lectures. I will only mention here, as an example, the richness of information that Uziel provides for the city of Edirne, which he considers as the main hub of Ottoman *hazzanut*, a center that supplied cantors to many cities across the Empire. Some of the cantors mentioned by Uziel are scarcely known, such as Itzhak Sayag or Eliezer Bekhar (or Bekhor) Nissim of the Portugal Synagogue of Edirne. This synagogue served as the seat of the *Maffirim*, the famous choir that became a school of classi-

cal Ottoman music in its Hebrew version (Jackson 2013; Seroussi 2009, 2012). Cantor Nissim, reports Uziel, was eventually hired by the large Sephardic synagogue of Rustchuk (Ruse) in Bulgaria, a rich community of merchants that provided its cantors full-time employment with good payment. Bekhar eventually became the Chief Rabbi of his adopted city.⁵

Among the other figures from Edirne mentioned by Uziel, about whom there is more information, are the cantor and composer of Ottoman classical music, Yehuda Benaroya, whom Uziel calls “abbir ha-ḥazzanim” (the prince of cantors);⁶ and Rabbi Israel Hasid, whom Uziel calls “a great *solfegeist*, composer and conductor”, who was hired by another prominent Sephardic synagogue, in Yambol, Bulgaria.

Uziel also refers to the cantors and composers from Edirne who resettled in Istanbul after the devastation of their city during the Balkan Wars and World War I. Chiefly among them is Moshe (Moiz) Cordova (1881-1965; see, Seroussi 2010), whom he mentions as the “musical editor” of the seminal collection of Ottoman Hebrew piyyutim, arranged according to the Turkish *makamlar* (musical modes), *Shirei Israel be-Eretz ha-Qedem* (“Songs of Israel in the East”, Istanbul, c. 1921). According to Uziel, Cordova collaborated in this publication with the printer, Binyamin Refael Bekhor Yossef—and Rabbi Bekhor Abraham Papo (1885-1960), whom he called “leader of the *Edirnelis* [Jews from Edirne in Istanbul]”. According to Uziel, Cordova attended two of the most important music schools of Ottoman Music during the last years of the Empire: Darul’elhan (1916-1926) and Dâru’t-tâlim-i Mûsikî Mektebi, which ceased its operations in 1931 (Özden and Salmani 2021: 249-253). Cordova settled in Tel Aviv in 1934, a year after Uziel; they maintained a cordial professional relationship in their new land, too. An announcement in the newspaper, *Heruth*, of September 16, 1951 advertises a live broadcast of the Selihot service by the “best cantors from the Balkan countries directed by Moshe Cordova and Shim’on Uzziel”.

Also mentioned among the *Edirnelis* are the poet, journalist and singer, Isaac Eliyahu Navon (1859-1952), who settled in Tel Aviv in 1929 (Seroussi 1991), Samuel Kemal Benatar, whom Uziel introduces as “the

⁵ Bekhar Nissim tutored cantor Abraham Bakhar (b. 1914) in Ruse around 1926. Bakhar later became a celebrated rabbi and cantor in Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Israel. See his memoirs in Comforty 2021: 55-57.

⁶ Benaroya, whose Turkish *nom de plume* was Yuda, is mentioned by Rosanes (1921: 4) and Galanti (1947: 126).

founder of the whole [Maftirim] choir”,⁷ the renowned kanun player and benefactor of cantors of Istanbul, David Bekhar (1918-March 23, 2012), from the Neve Shalom synagogue in Istanbul (Uziel mentions that he met Bekhar in Tel Aviv), and finally, the great singer and cantor, Haim Yapaci Bekhar (1853-1938; see Havassy, Seroussi and Bresler 2008). Better known as Haim Effendi, this figure is mentioned in Lecture 3 in a major digression from the topic of this lecture (the cantors of the city of Izmir). Uziel confesses to omitting Bekhar in the previous lecture by mistake. He provides an invaluable “real time” assessment of Haim Effendi’s unique status as cantor and singer, stressing his pivotal role as the pioneer of commercial phonograph recordings of Ottoman *hazzanut*, that were known “around the world”. Effendi’s recorded voice became legendary. Moreover, we learn from Uziel that Haim Effendi appeared at the Eliyahu Hanavi synagogue in Tel Aviv “years ago” (late 1930s, most likely the synagogue at the corner of Zevulun and Levinski Streets) when he was already a very old man (living at that time in Cairo), and left the congregation “amazed with his art”.

In connection to Edirne, Uziel also mentions *hazzan* Samuel Benaroya (1908-2003; see Seroussi 1998) who was, at the time when the lectures were written down, the cantor of the displaced Turkish Jews in Geneva, Switzerland. Uziel refers to Benaroya as *she’erit ha-pleta* “surviving remnant” of Edirne’s prestigious “academy of *hazzanim*”. Of course, we have to read this expression also in the post-Holocaust context. Cantor Benaroya eventually settled in Seattle, Washington.⁸

This comprehensive description of Ottoman *hazzanut* and *hazzanim* in the city of Edirne alone provides a sample of the rich texture of Uziel’s text. In other lectures, no less rich in information than the one on Edirne, Uziel vividly depicts live performing situations. For example, in the rich Lecture 3 on Izmir, in which Uziel focuses as expected on the great cantors and composers of that city, such as the members of the Algazi family (Salomon and his song Isaac; Seroussi 1989) and Santo (Shem Tov) Şikiar, he vividly describes the celebrations of *simḥat beit hasho’eva*, the water festival celebrated in the intermediate days of Sukkot, at the Beit Israel synagogue in Izmir. On the *bimah* in the synagogue, recounts Uziel, were Şikiar and Salomon Algazi (two tenors), and the young Isaac Algazi and

⁷ On the founders of the Maftirim see also, Anonymous, “Que devino el coro de los Maftirim?”, *La voz de Turkia* 1, no. 16 (March 15, 1940), p. 297.

⁸ I had the privilege of learning from Reverend Benaroya about the Maftirim choir in Edirne and Istanbul and Ottoman *hazzanut* in general during our recording sessions.

a choir with “the greatest musicians in Izmir”. In this festivity, Jews used to give their seats in the synagogue to non-Jews who came to listen to the best music show in town. Uziel remarks that the singing of the word *Barekhu* in the ‘*arvit* (evening) service on this festive event “lasted for a quarter of an hour”.

In contrast to the informative tenor of the series, Lecture 9 is polemical. It includes a critique of contemporary Sephardic *hazzanut* in Jerusalem. There is not a single “true Sephardic synagogue” left in Jerusalem, so claims Uziel, with the exception of Rabban Yochanan ben Zakkai, Istanbulis, Beit El, Eliyahu Hanavi, and Porat Yossef, all located in the Jewish quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem and active until May 28, 1948, when all Jews were evacuated. In Uziel’s opinion, in the new neighborhoods of the city of Jerusalem, outside the walls, there is “not a single Sephardic synagogue worth mentioning” for its cantorial art.

Of course, such a radical statement is rather surprising unless we notice that for Uziel, synagogues of Arabic-speaking Jews were not considered as truly Sephardic. He probably had in mind in particular those synagogues established by Jews of Aleppo (Syria) in Jerusalem, whose liturgy based on the Arabic *maqam* system gradually dominated Sephardic synagogues in the first half of the twentieth century. This ethnic differentiation sets the Ottoman Sephardic cantors as a class of their own. Their Turkish-tinged Judeo-Spanish style stands in Uziel’s view in opposition to what eventually became the so-called “Jerusalem Sephardic” style of *hazzanut*, whose basis was Middle Eastern Arabic music. Uziel stresses that the “Jerusalemite Sephardic cantors” (as he calls them) are proud “only of their voices and musical abilities. We can call them only *ba’alei tefillah* and not artistic or professional cantors [*hazzan oman*]”. Uziel points out that Great Rabbis of Jerusalem such as Elijah Moses Panigel (1850-1919) and Yaacov Meir (1853-1935) served as *ba’alei tefillah* and not as cantors.

This distinction that Uziel traces between *hazzan* and *ba’al tefillah* is based on formal training, development of vocal technique and appearance. It shows his internalization of aesthetic ideals borrowed from the modern European model of the cantor. For Uziel, leaders of prayer are not cantors even if they have good voices.

One of the exceptions that Uziel mentions of an untrained *ba’al tefillah* who deserved the title of cantor was Nissim Korkidi (1872-1937; see Zimmerman 1996). Described as an “exclusive pearl”, Korkidi was in Uziel’s opinion “among the great cantors of Israel that is worthy of the same high level of the learned cantors of Salonika, Istanbul and Izmir”.

Korkidi was born in Bergama, near Izmir, and in 1881, he moved with his family to Jerusalem, studying under Rabbi Hezekiyah Shabetai (1862-1955). In 1889, he married and settled in Jaffa, where he joined the “Kehillat Yaacov” Sephardic synagogue. Soon his voice attracted the congregants of this synagogue, and he became its main cantor. As a Jewish member of the Jaffa city council, Korkidi worked for the well-being and unity of the multi-ethnic Jewish community. A successful businessman, Korkidi was among the sixty-six founders of the new city of Tel Aviv. He was also one of the founders of the Great Synagogue in Tel Aviv, as well as of Ohel Mo’ed, the first “modern” Sephardic synagogue in Israel, established by the Chief Sephardic Rabbi of Mandatory Palestine and later the State of Israel, Rabbi Ben-Zion Meir Hai Uziel, in 1927. With the blessing of Rabbi Uziel, Korkidi also founded the first cantorial school of Sephardic *hazzanut* in Palestine/Israel, called Pirḥei Kehuna (“Cantorial Apprentices”) and established a boys’ choir that was active at Ohel Mo’ed. Korkidi provided this tuition-free school with continuous financial support. Uziel mentions that among Korkidi’s disciples were the Sephardic cantors, Mordecai Ninyo and Shealtiel Tziyon.

An important teacher of the school of Sephardic *hazzanut* in Tel Aviv mentioned by Uziel was Nissan Cohen Melamed (1906-1983; Zimmerman 1996), a Persian-born Jew raised and educated in Jerusalem, who studied in the 1930s under Shlomo Rosowsky at the Jerusalem Conservatory. Later on, Cohen Melamed became the head of the aforementioned Pirḥei Kehuna school of *hazzanut*. Also mentioned by Uziel in relation to the Ohel Mo’ed synagogue and the school of Sephardic cantors, was Raphael Yair Elnadav (1921-2012) who, at the time Uziel delivered his lectures, was “taking his first steps” in his cantorial career. Cantor Elnadav, of mixed Yemenite and Sephardic Greek stock, was considered a child prodigy. He was trained at the Jerusalem Conservatory in Western music theory and violin. Later on, when he moved to Tel Aviv, he studied classical Turkish music with the aforementioned Moshe Cordova. One can see again how displaced Ottoman Jewish musicians, such as Cordova and Uziel, established relations that changed the course of Sephardic *hazzanut*’s history. After meeting with Cordova and studying with him, Elnadav adopted the complex intonation of Turkish classical music performance as it applies to *hazzanut*. Only when he resettled in Brooklyn, New York, in the early 1960s to serve the Syrian Jewish community (after serving the Turkish Jewish community in Havana, Cuba),

did Elnadav return perforce to the Arabic style of Jerusalemite Sephardic *hazzanut*.⁹

Finally, an additional lecture (which I numbered 11) was found with the other nine lectures of the series, but it apparently does not really belong to the series. Titled “How to save the agonizing Sephardic [read: Ottoman Judeo-Spanish] *hazzanut*”, Uziel proposed a program to train *hazzanim* in “our enlightened century” (*nuestro siekolo aklarado*). Uziel asks: “why do young people distance themselves from the dignified and holy craft [of *hazzanut*] a phenomenon that does not happen among our Ashkenazi brethren who have important and plentiful resources in this trade?”

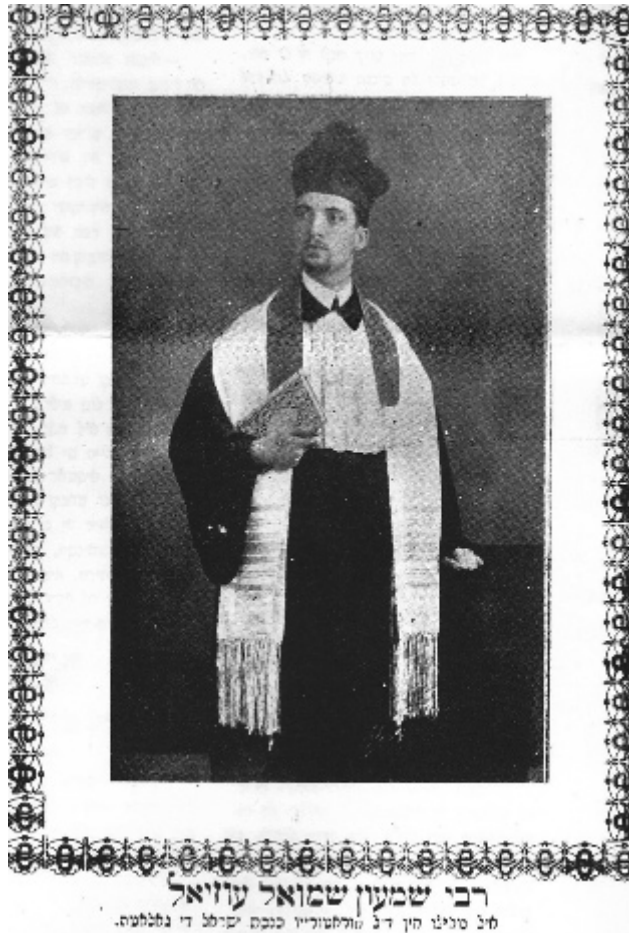
Uziel advocated in his lectures, and in fact also mourned, a model of Sephardic Ottoman *hazzanut* that was based on a unique cantorial paradigm that existed for a brief period around 1880-1940. This model, as detailed by Uziel, was based on the following precepts:

- 1) The cantorate is a professional trade. It was not recognized as such in traditional Sephardic communities until the late Ottoman period, when some congregations started to adopt Central European models of synagogue worship.
- 2) These models include all or some of the following features: simplification of recitatives based on the Turkish *makamlar*, the arrangement of traditional Sephardic melodies to suit Western aesthetics, new compositions and the use of formally trained choirs, consisting of children and men.
- 3) Cantors should be trained as professionals, in designated schools, under the tutelage of competent teachers.
- 4) Training could also include the mastering of Western musical notation.
- 5) Communities must pay cantors well (“salaries compared to those of the *anshei srara* [dignitaries, i.e., rabbis and other officials of the community]”) and respect them.

Such an approach to Sephardic cantors’ training and social status was found only in Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia and Istanbul. These “modern” Sephardic cantors, once graduated from their schools, even adopted the attire of the modern Ashkenazi cantors, the apparel, tallit and elevated cap,

⁹ All information provided to me by Cantor Elnadav in our encounter in his home in Brooklyn in October 2003 and in subsequent conversations.

as can be seen in the promotional picture of Uziel himself (his staged pose included). However, not all major Sephardic communities adopted this modernizing model. Uziel mentions the communities of Greece (by which he meant Salonika), Turkey outside of Istanbul, and above all, Palestine/Israel that, in his words, are “poor, morally and financially”. In Lecture 3, he states that “In Izmir and Salonika cantors needed to work in an additional profession, as rabbis or Hebrew teachers, unlike Istanbul. There is [in those places] an intellectual and professional decadence”.



5. Conclusion

One can see that Central European Ashkenazi models of *hazzanut* permeated the Ottoman Sephardic realm, changing dramatically the perception of the office of the cantor, his repertoire and technique of performance (that included formal choirs, a subject mentioned tangentially by Uziel in his lectures). Such a deep transformation in the perception of *hazzanut* and in the status of the *hazzan* started in the Turkish Sephardic community of Vienna in the early 1880s (Seroussi 1988) and rapidly spread to Southeastern Europe (Seroussi 2016). These transformations were accompanied by the construction of magnificent Sephardic temples in cities such as Bucharest, Ruse, Sofia, Plovdiv, Sarajevo, Belgrade and Edirne, several of them, ironically, in the pseudo-Moorish style of the great synagogues built in the late-nineteenth century in Central European urban centers.¹⁰ The Ohel Mo'ed synagogue in Tel Aviv, perhaps the only Sephardic synagogue in Israel to adapt aspects of the modern model proposed by Uziel, must be considered as a late expression of this architectonical (paradoxically in this case, a modernist Art Deco rather than Moorish style) and musical aesthetic.

From all the perspectives addressed by Uziel throughout his lectures, the history of Ashkenazi and late Ottoman *hazzanut* in Southeastern Europe emerge as more intertwined than what was commonly thought. These modern intersections invite a critical reflection of the crude Ashkenazi/Sephardic (or worse, European/Oriental) binary divide that still dominates musicological discourses about the Jewish liturgy. Moreover, the modernizing agenda of Ottoman Sephardic liturgical music, transpiring from Uziel's radio lectures, is not an isolated phenomenon but rather the sonic manifestation of the late Sephardic *Haskala* ("*siekolo aklarado*" in Uziel's Judeo-Spanish) in Southeastern Europe (Cohen and Stein 2010; Karkason 2021). Similar musical processes can also be detected in modernizing Sephardic synagogues of Algeria (Oran), Tunisia (Sfax) and Egypt (Alexandria), exposed to French and Italian colonial settings that facilitated musical exchanges with Jewish sanctuaries of metropolitan centers, such as Paris and Livorno.

¹⁰ The literature on this subject is now vast. For recent studies of specific synagogues relevant to this study see, Lozanova and Tasheva 2017 and Rajner 2021. For the Moorish style phenomenon see Kalmar 2001 and Krinsky 1996: 81-85.

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THE USE OF LADINO AND HEBREW IN THE SEPHARDIC *TALMUD TORAH* SCHOOL IN BELGRADE (1864-67)*

Katja ŠMID

Many studies shed light on the education of the Sephardim in modern schools of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in different Jewish communities throughout the vast Sephardic diaspora in the period between 1860 and 1940 (Benveniste 1982; Rodrigue 1983, 1989, 1990; Laskier 1983; Benbassa 1991, 1993; Molho 1993; Malino 1998, 2000). However, traditional Jewish primary education has received less scholarly attention so far. Some Sephardi authors, who were educated in the traditional way, described neighborhood primary schools called, in Ladino, *hevrás/havrás*, *meldares*, or *midrashim*,¹ as well as the communal *Talmud Torah* in Sara-

* This is an expanded version of the paper “Elementary Religious Education among the Sephardim of Belgrade in the Nineteenth Century”, presented at the 17th World Congress of Jewish Studies, held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 6-10 August 2017. Within the framework of my Marie Curie research project “Sephardi Halakhic Literature and Ladino Rabbinic Language”, carried out at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (2014-16), I started to examine Ladino books published in Belgrade. I cordially thank Prof. David M. Bunis, my host at the Hebrew University, for encouraging my research in this direction, and for the constant and generous guidance, help and support kindly offered by him in these productive and exciting years.

¹ For transcription of Ladino texts in this article, I use the method of the journal *Aki Yerushalayim*.

jevo (Maestro 1924), Izmir (Estrugo 1933: 61-64; 1958: 68-70), and Salónica (Molho 1950: 91-130).

Recently, other scholars have focused on primary sources in Ladino dealing with traditional Jewish education. In his article about sociolinguistic reflections based on the earliest Judezmo newspapers, Bunis (1993b: 53-54) offers a Romanization of the newspaper article, “La eskola nombrada Talmud Torá”, that was published in Rashi script in the periodical *Shaare Mizrah* (Gates of the East) in Izmir, in 1845 (33-35). He gives us a glimpse into the circumstances of the traditional Sephardic primary school in Izmir, including a description of the grades, number and age of the students, curriculum, registration fee, poor salary of the teachers, lack of rules in the Talmud Torah in Izmir, as well as some suggestions for improving this public institution; these include introducing an education tax paid by parents, free education for poor children, the appointment of inspectors to supervise the educational system, and teachers. These teachers would instruct pupils in writing Judezmo in the traditional *solitreo* script, Hebrew grammar, and mathematics. The newspaper article mentions ten private schools of Izmir (*dyes eskolas partikolares*) and tells the readers about the poverty of the Sephardim in this city, besides Talmud Torah public schools, to secure the education of boys of modest background (*los estudyos de nwestra eskola nasyonal*) (Bunis 1993b: 53).

Berenguer (2004) has studied a later Ladino text in Rashi letters, *Suvenires del meldar* (Souvenirs from a traditional Sephardic elementary school) from Izmir, 1920, a booklet written by the famous Sephardi journalist, Alexandre Benguiat (1869-1924), editor of the Ladino newspaper *El Meseret* and translator of several European novels into Judeo-Spanish (Barquín López 1998: 45-59; Berenguer 2004: 269; Phillips Cohen & Stein 2014: 94; Bunis 2021; Bunis 2023). This document is a vivid and satiric description of the *meldar*, transliterated in Latin letters by Berenguer (2004: 276-284) and partially translated into English by Olga Borovaya (Phillips Cohen & Stein 2014: 94-95).

1. The *Talmud Torah* school in Belgrade

In this article, I would like to draw attention to another Ladino testimony that sheds light on religious schools attended by Sephardi pupils, entitled *Una chika mirada sobre el Talmud Torá* (A Brief View of the

Talmud Torah), which was published in Belgrade in 1867 (16 *Iyar* 627).² Although it is subtitled '*Hakdamá* (Introduction), it seems to be an independent pamphlet, consisting of seven pages numbered in Arabic numerals, a rose-colored cover page, and a colophon on the last page (both without numbers), stating that it was published in the printing house of the Prince of Serbia (*Estanpado en la estanparía de el príntsipe de la Serbia*).³ Miloš Obrenović (1780-1860), the Prince of the Serbian Principality in 1815-1839 and 1858-1860, helped with the establishment of the first printing house in Belgrade in 1831, which after 1834, started to publish numerous books in Serbian, Old Church Slavonic, Russian, German, Latin, French, Italian, English, Wallachian, Bulgarian, Turkish, Arabic, Hebrew and Ladino (Lebl 1990: 14-21; Šmid 2015: 102-104).

As noted by Lebl (2001: 264), the Jewish school in Belgrade is mentioned already in the first written documents preserved from the 16th and 17th centuries, mostly in the wills of Jewish community members, who made bequests to the Talmud Torah. Lebl (1990: 109-110) and Rakić (1992: 326) refer to *Tsitsim ufrahim* (Belgrade, 1862), a book written in Hebrew by Rabbi Avraham Yitshak Pardo, who was appointed as Chief Rabbi between 1812 and 1830; it mentions the laying of the foundation stone for the construction of a new primary school (*bet hamidrash*) in Belgrade in 1818. The first Jewish school was entirely financed by donations until 1847, when the representative members of the Jewish community in Belgrade signed a request (in both Ladino and Serbian)⁴ that was accepted, to set up "The School Fund" to regulate Jewish schools under the responsibility of the Sephardic community (Sindik 1962; Rakić 1992: 328-329, 357; Lebl 2001: 266-267). The most important period for the reorganization and modernization of Jewish schooling begins in the sixties of the nineteenth century. In 1863 a new school building, the so-called *mildar*, was built on Solunska Street in Jaliya, the Jewish neighborhood of Belgrade; and a Jewish school for girls was inaugurated as well. The most important achievement of this educational reform was that the Jewish school in Bel-

² I found the pamphlet at the Münchener Digitalisierungs Zentrum (Digitale Bibliothek) of the Bayerische Staats Bibliothek: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/details/bsb10946008> [consulted: 24-03-2023].

³ In the scan of the document, the cover page and the last page seem to be a soft binding in a rose color, which would make the publication a pamphlet or booklet.

⁴ In his article, Sindik (1962: 100, 104-109) reproduced half of the original Ladino document and provided a translation into Serbian made by Moric Abinun, in order to compare the slightly different Ladino and Serbian versions of this important document.

grade became a self-governing body starting in 1864, and was ruled by statutes from 1866 on. Another relevant issue was the coordination of the Sephardic school with the Serbian school system (Sindik 1962; Rakić 1992: 331-336, 357-358; Lebl 2001: 197, 266-267; Dautović & Putnik 2017: 197-198).⁵

2. A report in search of an author

Una chika mirada sovre el Talmud Torá is a seven-page report written anonymously in Rashi Hebrew letters on 21 May 1867 by the head of the school. He published this document at the request of some friends who wanted to get his opinion publicly regarding the improvements needed at the Sephardic public religious school for boys in Belgrade (Alkalay 1867: 1; see Appendix). The name of the author of the text is not mentioned, but from the content of the report, we learn that he had been appointed head of the *Talmud Torah* in July 1864 (*En tamuz de 624 entri yo en sherut del T"t*) (Alkalay 1867: 4; see Appendix).

2.1. *Five teachers teaching five grades*

The author mentions four grades to which the fifth one was added on his initiative after 1864.⁶ Although the *Talmud Torah* traditionally starts at age three, he complains of the high number of three-year-old children accepted in the first grade, which makes it impossible to teach. Because of that, despite the teacher's efforts, only a few of them learned how to read. Therefore, he suggests admitting to the *Talmud Torah*'s first year school, boys who have reached at least the age of four.⁷ Moreover, he sets the beginning date of the school year and proposes to accept new pupils only in the first month, and list their name and age in a notebook. He fixes the end date of the school year as well. The objective is to teach the boys how to join syllables (*adjuntar*) and spell words, which traditionally is the first

⁵ About Jewish schools in Belgrade after 1865, see Rakić (1992: 339-358); Lebl (2001: 267-285); Vučina-Simović (2011); and Dautović & Putnik (2017).

⁶ As noted by Rakić (1992: 331, 334), in the academic year 1864-65 there were 6 elementary Jewish schools, with 610 male pupils and 14 teachers, in Belgrade.

⁷ According to Rakić (1992: 330) and Lebl (2001: 264), Jewish boys go to school by age three or four.

step in learning how to read Ladino texts written in Hebrew characters (Alkalay 1867: 1-2; see Appendix).

The author also includes in his report the names of four teachers in the years 1864 and 1867: Haham Tsevi in the first grade (for boys who are four to six years old);⁸ Shelomó Albahari in the second grade (for pupils who are six to eight years old); Hizkiyá Barúh⁹ in the third grade (for pupils who are eight to ten years old); Moshé Yosef Fintsi in the fourth grade (for boys who are ten to twelve years old); and the head of the school (without revealing his name), who teaches the fifth grade for advanced students (from twelve to fourteen[?] years old).¹⁰

2.2. *Talmud Torah curriculum and the uses of Ladino and Hebrew*

Obviously, the language of instruction in the Belgrade Talmud Torah was Ladino. The main objective was to teach pupils the basics for reading Hebrew letters so that they would be able to read and understand their first Ladino texts of religious instruction, as well as the Hebrew prayers.¹¹

According to the proposed curriculum, by the end of the first grade (a period of two years), pupils were expected to know the Hebrew letters and the vocalization signs (*letras i puntos*), as well as to read Ladino words in Hebrew script (Alkalay 1867: 1, 6; see Appendix).¹²

As for the second grade, the head of the school stresses the importance of knowing how to join syllables, criticizing the old method of teaching this skill (*kulanear un adjuntar danyado*) and suggesting a new—faster and more efficient—methodology that consists of reading each syllable by

⁸ The pupil's age is not explicitly mentioned in the report. It is implied that the curriculum for each grade was carried out in two years.

⁹ Lebl (2001: 267) gives a slightly different version of this name, namely, Hezkija Varon.

¹⁰ Two of them are included in a list from 6 June 1856 commented on by Lebl (2001: 267), who mentions the names and ages of six Jewish teachers from Belgrade: Jakov Danon (68), David M. Alkalaj (35), Hezkija Varon (40), Isak Almuzlino (39), Meir H. Koen (36) and Salomon Albahari (62).

¹¹ As noted by Rakić (1992: 327, 329-331), in 1860 the Ashkenazi Jews—who had come to Belgrade in the first third of the nineteenth century—complained to Prince Miloš about the difficulties of sharing communal services (in the synagogue, at school, etc.) with Sephardi Jews, who communicated mostly in Ladino. A school for Ashkenazi Jews was established in Belgrade in 1869.

¹² See two examples of syllabification exercise in Bunis (1975: 16-19) and more about Ladino textbooks teaching how to spell, in Wolfe (2011).

itself, and is based on general reading comprehension of the text (*el adjuntar nuevo el kual es korto i está dekolgado en tevi'ut 'ayin*). Other goals in the second grade included: daily reading of prayers with an explanation of each word in Hebrew and Ladino; learning basic notions of Hebrew grammar; learning the names of the musical accents in the Hebrew Bible as guides to the correct cantillation (*te'amim*); getting to know how to correctly read the words of the Biblical verses and sing along with these signs (*en la manera de nombrarlos i kantarlos i meldar las palavras*); and reading the weekly Torah portion in Hebrew and Ladino (*un séfer de perashá entero en lashón i en ladino*) (Alkalay 1867: 2-3, 6-7; see Appendix).

In the third grade, the head of the Talmud Torah recommends consolidating the reading of prayers and the weekly Torah portion in Hebrew and Ladino, as well as teaching pupils more Hebrew grammar (Alkalay 1867: 3, 6-7; see Appendix).

The curriculum of the fourth grade is particularly ambitious: to learn more Hebrew grammar; to read Ladino religious books containing moral and halakhic texts, books on the history of the Jewish people, and some representative books of Ladino literature. The author explains that students in this grade read the Jewish Bible (*Tana"h*) in Hebrew and Ladino—but without sufficient knowledge of Hebrew grammar to be able to understand it and to translate it to Ladino (*enladinar*).¹³ Another important objective to be reached in this grade is to learn to fluently recite Hebrew prayers in the synagogue, correctly pronouncing and accentuating the words; and also to read Ladino fluently (Alkalay 1867: 3-4; see Appendix):

The fifth grade was introduced by the unnamed director of the Talmud Torah, who established it with high expectations:

In Tammuz of 624¹⁴ I was appointed head of the Talmud Torah school, and for a short time its situation changed somewhat. Some of the lay members and supporters of the community¹⁵ were very glad because I promoted some of the students from the fourth to the fifth grade, a new grade that was added. There they managed to read four lessons: Gemara, grammar, *The Wondrous Adviser*,¹⁶ and Psalms in Ladino. The goal for students who

¹³ About the study techniques for the oral translation of the Bible into Ladino in the Sephardi religious elementary schools, see Bunis (1996: 339-340, 343-351).

¹⁴ Between 5 July and 2 August 1864.

¹⁵ For the definition of *yehidim* and *mishtadelim*, see Bunis (1993a: 242 § 1795, 333 § 2747).

¹⁶ *Pele Yo'ets* is one of the most successful ethical works of the nineteenth century. It was written in Hebrew by Eli'ezer ben Yitshak Papo (Constantinople, 1824), and trans-

attend this class is to learn the Sacred Tongue and its grammar, as well as to be able to explicate texts and, in short, to read and understand every book in the Sacred Tongue they open, which is certainly the highest level of the Talmud Torah school to be achieved (Alkalay 1867: 4-5; see Appendix).

2.3. *The challenges of Jewish education in modern times*

However, as the author of this report admits, the reality turned out to be very different, and unfortunately quite disappointing. He explains that before the beginning of the second year in the fifth grade, half of the students in his class had quit because they wanted to study in the fourth grade of the Serbian school and in the high school (*gimnazia*). State institutions were instructing students on how to earn a living, something every man needs. As a result, two thirds of his students left the Jewish religious school before starting the second year of the fifth grade, the last year of their primary education (Alkalay 1867: 5; see Appendix).

When pupils finished the Talmud Torah, they had often forgotten everything they had learned. Therefore, the head of the school suggests that they come to school every Sunday and on non-Jewish holidays in order to continue their education at this communal institution.

The author's views concerning the cooperation between Jewish religious and Serbian State schools were very optimistic and broad-minded. In his opinion, Jewish boys also need the civic education taught in Serbian schools to benefit from the progress of the Serbian State. For this reason, he proposes to appoint a Serbian teacher to instruct civic education to boys in the Jewish school in a way that would not affect their Jewishness, but would strengthen it instead (Alkalay 1867: 5; see Appendix).

Likewise, he was concerned about Jewish girls, who had been learning Serbian since 1864 but not receiving Jewish instruction. Therefore, he advised appointing a Jewish teacher in the Serbian school, to teach Judaism to Jewish girls (Alkalay 1867: 6; see Appendix).

lated into Ladino by his son, Yeudá ben Eli'ézer Papo; and published in two volumes (Vienna, 1870-1872 and Salonica, 1899-1900).

3. Ladino schoolbooks for children and the identification of the anonymous author from Belgrade

Thanks to the author's ambitious agenda and activities, intended to improve the Talmud Torah in Belgrade, we get to learn about the Ladino didactic materials used at the time.¹⁷ He complains of the lack of Ladino school textbooks for children and cites the only such Ladino textbook known to him, namely, *Séfer Tov veyafé*, written by David Haleví from Craiova and published in 1860 in Bucharest (Alkalay 1867: 4; see Appendix).¹⁸ The book opens with the author's introduction ('Hakdamat 'hamehaber, 2a-3a), and is organized in four sections: 1. The Fear of Heaven (Yir'at Shamáyim, 3b-11b); 2. Ethical behavior (Déreh érets, 12a-14b); 3. Watching over one's soul (Shemirat 'hanéfesh, 14b-19a); 4. Sayings of the Sages (Divré hahamim, 19a-21a), Bar mitsvá, 21a-22b, laws of the phylacteries (Dinim de tefilín, 23a-23b), the order of weekly Torah portions (Séder parashiyot, 24a-25a), wisdom and belief (Hohmá veemuná), 25a-26a, two interesting paratexts, and a poem, 26b-28a.

It is not just that the author of *Una chika mirada* was well aware of the need and urgency to provide Ladino books of instruction to Sephardic boys in Belgrade, he was already practicing at the time, his plan to supply this kind of books written by him. As noted in three conspicuous comments in the report, he already knew that his textbooks would see light soon:

This book [*Tov veyafé*] must be used until better ones will be known (*por tanto mos kale servirmos kon él fin el tienpo ke mos será konesido algún otro o otros mijor de él*) (Alkalay 1867: 4; see Appendix);

[...]

In this grade [the students] must read ethical texts, laws, Jewish history, basic rules of Jewish religion, [and] an overview of Ladino literature, but since we don't have the books for that purpose, this grade also cannot fulfil our expectations, I mean to say that with time everything which is necessary

¹⁷ For other textbooks in Ladino, see Gomel (2011); Bunis (2017); García Moreno (2019); and Cohen (2021: 471-482).

¹⁸ As stated on the cover page, it was brought to the printing house in Bucharest by Moshé David Alkala'y in his capacity as financial[?] supporter and proofreader (*traído a la estampa 'a[l]"y[adé] 'hamishtadel umagia 'hatsa'ir Moshé David Alkalay 'h[ashem]"y[ishmere'hu]*).

will be obtained (*kijendo dezir ke kon tiempo se resentará todo lo ke es demenester*) (Alkalay 1867: 4-5; see Appendix).

The solution for this is to look for books that contain ethical lessons, Jewish laws, history, rules of Jewish religion, [and] an overview of Ladino books (*El adoveo de todo esto es [...] ke se bushken los livros ke kontienen enbezamiento de musar, dinim, istoria djudezma, kelalim de la emuná djudezma, mirada korta sovre los livros djudezmos*) (Alkalay 1867: 5; see Appendix).

If we look at the production of Ladino books in Belgrade and its surroundings during these years,¹⁹ already in 1860 *Hinuh ne'arim*, a textbook written by David Moshé Alkalay was published in Belgrade (Lebl 1990: 101);²⁰ and a booklet entitled *Shemoná perakim miséfer Hinuh lashón 'ivri umavó 'hadikduk* was published by the same author in Bucharest—the same place and year as the already mentioned *Tov veyafé* by David Haleví. Although these books have much in common, and apparently their authors knew each other—surprisingly, none of the books by Alkalay is mentioned in the report *Una chika mirada sovre el Talmud Torá* (Belgrade, 1867).

Between 1868 and 1871, three important Ladino books of instruction for children were also published in Belgrade by David Moshé Alkalay.

Séfer Bou heshbón (Belgrade, 1868),²¹ an arithmetic textbook for primary schools in Ladino, consisting of 32 pages in Rashi Hebrew letters, and containing basic concepts of mathematics was organized in three chapters (*kontiene unos kuantos empesijos de heshbonot reglados en tres perakim*). The first chapter (1-10) contains basic arithmetic notions and its history, or better said, its origin (*en él se declara el kontenimiento djene-*

¹⁹ Lebl (1990) published a book with a detailed list of Hebrew and Ladino books published in Belgrade between 1837 and 1905. The first book published in the Belgrade printing house is Yehudá Shelomó Hay Alkalá'y's *Kuntrés Darhé no'am* (1839), a Hebrew grammar for Ladino speakers; see Lebl (1990: 62); Bunis (1996: 346, 356, 349-351; 2002; 2017); and Cohen (2021: 472 § 2676).

²⁰ Cohen (2021: 485 § 2761). Unfortunately, I have not been able to find a copy of the book so far.

²¹ The book can be found at the Münchener Digitalisierungs Zentrum (Digitale Bibliothek) of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/details/bsb10946006> [consulted: 24-03-2023]. It is bound with *Una chika mirada sovre el Talmud Torá* (Belgrade, 1867). The author's name is missing on the cover page of this book, too, but at least his name appears at the end of the book. Lebl (1990: 115) dates it to 5627/1867, which means that she did not see the copy of the book, on whose cover page the date of publication (1868) is clearly written with Arabic numbers.

ral de aritmética, notación i numeración i también istoria o por mejor dicho sus nasimiento); in the second chapter (10-27), the arithmetic operations in focus are addition, subtraction, multiplication and division (*en él se declara el kontenimiento de los kuatro kuentos de la aritmética los más inportantes: adjuntar [adisión], matrupikar [multiplikación], menguar [subtraksión] i espartir [división]*); and the third chapter (27-32) deals with the Rule of Three (*en él se declara el kontenimiento de el kuento nombrado “kuento de tres”*).

Three years later, the same author published *Livriko de primera klasa* (Belgrade, 1871), a textbook for the first grade, which seems to be the same booklet *Hinuh ne‘arim* (Belgrade, 1860) with a Ladino title instead of a Hebrew one (Lebl 1990: 126). It was reprinted in 1873, in Pressburg (Lebl 1990: 126-127).²²

Another book that saw light that same year was *Hinuh lashón ‘ivri: Gramátika para kriaturas chikas de klasa sigunda o tresera fin leksia 9* (Belgrade, 1871), Hebrew grammar instruction for the second and third grades of the primary school, written and printed by Moshé David Alkalay.²³ It consists of twenty-nine pages written in Rashi Hebrew letters, and contains nine lessons, including a brief alphabetical list of Hebrew roots and their Ladino equivalents (Bunis 1996: 346). The purpose of this work is described by the author in the following words:

La sistema del mi livriko es de anbezale [sic] palavras a enladinar a regla de la gramátika, lo kualo es a las kriaturas liviana-mente por anbezar i eyo es puerta i _entrada a _la gramátika i praktikasión a _la avla djudezma leshón ‘hakódes, la kuala es primera yave para la muestra Torá kedoshá. (Alkalay 1871b: [1b]).

‘The system of my booklet is to teach to translate words according to the grammar that is easy to learn by pupils and it is the door and the entry to the grammar and practice of the Jewish language, the Sacred Tongue [=Hebrew], which is the first key to our Holy Torah’.

These five books were written by Moshé David Alkalay (Belgrade,²⁴ 1834-Vienna, 1901), one of the pivotal educators in the nineteenth centu-

²² Cohen (2021: 472-473 § 2679). Unfortunately, I have not been able to see a copy of these two books.

²³ As noted by Bunis (1996: 346, 356), this book was also published in Vienna in 1872 and 1890. See also Cohen (2021: 472 § 2677, 2678).

²⁴ According to Blumesberger *et al.* (2002: 22) he was born in Sarajevo.

ry, who improved Jewish school education and published numerous Ladino books in the Serbian capital. It was in fact Moshé David Alkalay who was the principal of the Talmud Torah in Belgrade beginning in 1864 and the author of *Una chika mirada sovre el Talmud Torá*.

Moshé (ben) David Alkalay was introduced to the printing of Ladino and Hebrew books and to the instruction of Jewish youth in Belgrade by his father David (ben) Moshé Alkalay (Belgrade, 1814-Vienna, 1882).²⁵ He was one of the most prominent literary figures at the time: a writer, translator, typesetter, and commentator of numerous Jewish books published in Belgrade.²⁶ He was a teacher at the Talmud Torah in Belgrade from 1835 until 1862,²⁷ when he settled in Vienna, and taught at the Sephardic School.

Moshé (ben) David Alkalay continued his father's work and authored, translated, and published many works with his father, between 1859 and 1869. We find mention of the father, David b. Moshé Alkalay, and his son, Moshé b. David Alkalay, in the following publications issued in Belgrade: the Ladino translation of *Séfer Shévet Yehudá* (1859);²⁸ and Eli'ezer Yitshak Papo's *Séfer Bet tefilá* (1860);²⁹ as well as the following authored works *Séder Tikún se'udá* (1859);³⁰ *Séfer Hok leYisrael: Bamidbar* (1867);³¹ *Séfer Hok leYisrael: Vayikrá* (1868);³² and *Séfer Hok leYisrael: Shemot* (1869).³³

His father's move to Vienna and his position as the Talmud Torah principal since 1864 were certainly a turning point in Moshé David Alkalay's career. It seems that the report, *Una chika mirada sovre el Talmud Torá*, that he wrote in 1867, helped him to publicly manifest his ideas and educational projects for the future; however, it seems odd that he

²⁵ As noted by Blumesberger *et al.* (2002: 21) he passed away in 1892. We find his name on a list from 6 June 1856 commented on by Lebl (2001: 267), which included six Jewish teachers from Belgrade: David M. Alkalaj (35), although his age doesn't seem to be accurate. According to the date of his birth, in 1856 he would have been 42 years old.

²⁶ He is the author or translator of the following works in Hebrew and Ladino, published in Belgrade: *Hagadá de Pésah* (1841), the yearly prayer book *Séder 'Avodat haShaná* (1856), *Pirké Avot* (1858); *Séfer Hok leYisrael: Bereshit* (1861).

²⁷ According to Lebl (1990: 34) he left for Vienna in 1869.

²⁸ Lebl (1990: 90); and Muñoz (2014: 31, 59, 65, 104-106).

²⁹ Lebl (1990: 93).

³⁰ *Ibidem*, 91.

³¹ *Ibidem*, 117.

³² *Ibidem*, 119.

³³ *Ibidem*, 121.

did it anonymously. The report sheds light on his teaching career as well as his endeavors to improve the education of Jewish boys in the Serbian capital. In addition to the above-mentioned Ladino and Hebrew textbooks for the Jewish primary school, published between 1868 and 1875, Moshé David Alkalay also wrote and published a few religious booklets to be read on different Jewish holidays: *La grandeza del reino de Shelomó 'haméleh 'a[lav]"'h[ashalom] i su siya* (1868), a story to be read on the festival of Purim;³⁴ *La punta de la tempesta* (1871), legends and narratives about the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple;³⁵ *Séfer Haidrá rabá kadishá* (1872), a kabbalistic essay to be read for the celebration of Shavu'ot;³⁶ as well as *La istoria de Kolumbus* (1875),³⁷ a booklet about Christopher Columbus.

The rich production of Ladino and Hebrew books published by David Moshé Alkalay and Moshé David Alkalay between 1841 and 1875 in Belgrade demonstrates that:

Apart from the Hayyim Davitcho family, the Alkalay family was one of the leaders in the cultural and spiritual life of the Israeli community in Serbia and Belgrade in particular [...] The family was known throughout the region, in Sarajevo and Greece as well, for their cultural work, which included writing, translating, and printing Jewish books (Hrabak 2009: 434).³⁸

I hope that the present contribution will shed light on these two extraordinary literary figures that deserve to be studied more thoroughly in the future.

³⁴ The book can be found at the Münchener Digitalisierungs Zentrum (Digitale Bibliothek) of the Bayerische Staats Bibliothek: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb10946009> [consulted: 24-03-2023].

³⁵ Lebl (1990: 125).

³⁶ *Ibidem*, 128.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, 130.

³⁸ English translation of this passage taken from Scolnik (2013: 74).

4. Appendix

¹be‘[ezrat]"‘h[aShem]

Belgrado 16 iyar 627³⁹

Una chika mirada sovre el Talmud Torá
‘Hakdamá

Siertos amigos bushkaron de_mí ke dé a saver en publiko mi pareser sovre el adoveo de el Talmud Torá de muestra sivdad. Se entiende sin indjidear a la komune non en_la ekonomia i non en el sotsial. Yo non pudiendo refuzar sus palavra i astreviendo en la mersed del Patrón de el Mundo ke sontraerá provecho siendo tanbién los si'[nyores] rejidores de el kolel gustan de tomar en nota el pareser de los pertenesientes sovre adoveo de el Talmud Torá, por tanto sakrifisií algún tiempo por kumplir sus búshkida. I este es mi enpesar kon ayuda de el Patrón del Mundo.

1) En_la primera kamareta del Talmud Torá la kuala es gobernada del ‘hayashísh haham Tseví ‘h[aShem]"y[ishmere‘hu]. En eya ay este primo féler, ser, se resiven kriaturas chikas antes de kumplir 4 anyos i entraron en 5. I kon esto ay en esta kamareta una grande suma de kriaturas chikas, por la kuala grande suma es primurozo dito melamed de gastar su tiempo sin alkansar a meldar más ke a una partida muy chika. I kon esto se engrandesen las kriaturas fin 7 i 8 anyos sin ambezar afilú adjuntar.⁴⁰

El adoveo de dito féler me parese muy kolay i es ke se aregle:

[1.] Primo: ke kriaturas ke_non kumplieron 4 anyos i entraron en 5 ke non se resivan en el Talmud Torá.

2. Ke fin kavo de el anyo ambezen i vengán en el grado de al_kavo del adjuntar. I para saver kuándo es el kavo de_el /2anyo kale tanbién reglar i esta.

3. Ke las kriaturas seyan resividas solo en el mez fiksado i

4. Ke se noten en tefter el nombre i edad de_las kriaturas ke entraron en su kamareta.

2) En_la sigunda kamareta la kuala es gobernada de el ‘h[a]n[avón] u"m[e‘ulé] Shelomó Albahari ‘h[aShem]"y[ishmerehu]. En eya se engran-

³⁹ 21 May 1867.

⁴⁰ To join syllables, to spell the words.

dese i se krese el danyo del fêler notado ariva, siendo si en eya venían kriyaturas de 6 anyos anbezados en el grado de al_kavo del adjuntar a_la ora podían meldar aki lektsiones algo grandezikas. Ma en viniendo akí kriaturas de 7 i 8 anyos sin saver afilú adjuntar, a_la ora es primurozo dito melamed de anbezarles enos a-djuntar. I entre adjuntar i enpesijo de tefilá se krese la kriatura de 9 i 10 anyos i puede ser también i 11. Kon ke se topa ke_se gastó los anyos laavadón i si de ayinda ay i este fêler kulaneer un adjuntar danyado el kual es así su forma:

Vav patáh va tav hirik ti veti kon_la tav vatit pe patáh pa vatitpá lamed tseré le vatitpalé kon_la lamed vatitpalel.⁴¹

A_la ora ya se fueron los anyos laavadón. I kuánto i más si ayinda meldan en eya tefilá muchas vezes en una ojika i por ke diga presto lo desha dezir tan presto karar ke ahat lema‘la vesheva‘ lemata,⁴² estonses ya se charpeó i kere yorado ke kedó ‘am ‘haarets para toda la vida por des-hén!

El adoveo de dita kamareta es:

[1.] Primo: Kon las 4 reglas de ariva en número 1.

[2.] Sigundo: Ke se kulanee el adjuntar nuevo el kual es korto i está dekolgado en el tevi‘ut ‘ayin.⁴³ I también es kada ‘havará (sílava) por sí.

[3.] Tresero: Ke melden algo de tefilá i esto kada diya una ojika mueva i melden algo de ladino i esto kada una palavra en lashón i en ladino. I si puede ser algunos kelalim livianos de el dikduk, estonses es mucho mucho bueno. I kuando ke la kriatura ya pasó de un anyo melde los te‘amim⁴⁴ en la manera de nombrarlos i kantarlos i meldar las palavras. I así kontinuen unos 6 mezes i en el propio tiempo melde perashá en ladino en manera ke al_kavo del sigundo/³anyo ke melda en esta kamareta sea de edad de 7 anyos kumplidos entrados en 8 i sepa tefilá kon mucho repozo i algunos kelalim de dikduk i también los te‘amim i un séfer de Torá en lashón i en ladino sano.

⁴¹ I would like to thank Dr. Lilac Torgeman and Prof. David Bunis for helping me to interpret this passage.

⁴² Hb. lit. ‘once upwards and seven times downwards’, namely, one word clearly and seven muttered, in a wrong way, chaotically (cf. Mishnah Yoma 5 3, with regard to the drops of blood taken from the slaughtered bull and sprinkled on the Holy of Holies by the high priest).

⁴³ Hb. ‘discerning eye; a general impression’ (Bunis 1993a: 232 § 1675a).

⁴⁴ The musical accents written in Hebrew Bible texts as guides to correct cantillation (Bunis 1993a: 235 § 1713).

3) En la tresera kamareta del Talmud Torá la kual a es governada de el ‘h[a]n[avón]u”m[e‘ulé] Hizkiyá Barúh, ‘h[aShem]”y[ishmere‘hu], el danyo de los féleres notados ariva se krese i se engrandese en un grado muy grande, siendo si en eya venían kriaturas de 7 anyos i enbezados kefi deklarado en nume'[ro] 2. Sierto ke podían akí ambezar leksiones inportavles, enpero siendo akí vienen kriaturas de 9 i 10 anyos i puede ser i 11 kon non saver más ke un enpesijo de tefilá, a la ora es primurozo dito melamed de meldarles tefilá a la larga fin ke se engrandese de 13 anyos i 14 i sale de el Talmud Torá o ke alkansa a suvir a grado de meldar algo de perashá. I siendo es sin kelalim de dikduk delentodo le viene el tiempo de salir del Talmud Torá kon saver algo serka nada.

El adoveo de dita kamareta es klaro visto kon ke se areglen las kamaretas primera i sigunda en la manera deklarada en núme[ro] 1 i 2 i también se aregle de meldar en esta kamareta leksiones de dikduk.

4) Siendo ay algunas kriaturas ke kon sus buenas testas i kon algunas okasiones prevatas son badires de kitarsen algo kuantto de la dezventura notada ariva i eyos suven a la 4 kamareta, la kual a es governada de el ‘hehaham ‘hameromam Moshé b[en] k[evod] m[orenu] v[erabenu] ‘h[a]r[av]”r[ibí] Yosef Fintsi ‘h[aShem]”y[ishmerehu] i en eya meldan Tana”h en lashón i en ladino. I esto sierto es ke ya es algo bueno, ma ayinda ay mucho para ke sea kefi el demenester lo demanda.

Primo ke es sin dikduk i por tanto non se pueden enpatronar a enladinarlo si afilú meldarán 2 o 3 anyos.

2. Ke non abasta solo saver enladinar el Tana”h siendo es demenester ke la kriatura kuando sale de el Talmud Torá se yeve kon sí kapital de un poko de musar, de unos kuantos dinim, de un poko de istoria djudezma, de unos kuantos kelalim de la emuná djudezma, de una mirada korta sovre los livros ^{/4}djudezmos. I enriva de todo esto la manera de dezir las tefilot en el ka’hal kon repozo, destajar onde es de destajar, non destajar onde non es de destajar, non trokar el mile‘el por milerá‘ o el milerá‘ por mile‘el, i ansí komo estas i estas, i también el korimiento del meldado por ladino. I sierto es ke mankando todo esto también los talmidim de dita kamareta salen karov komo los de la tresera notado ariva en nume'[ro] 3 kon muy poka diferencia.

El adoveo de esta kuaterna kamareta es klaro visto ke es lo propio notado ariva en número 3 ser kon adovarse las kamaretas de antes i también de areglar ke se melde en esta kamareta:

1. Dikduk

2. Livros de ladino los kualos kontienen musar, dinim, istoria djudezma, kelalim de la emuná djudezma, mirada sovre los livros djudezmos i

3. Meldarles la tefilá kon repozo kualo kon ladino i kualo solo lashón kon deklararles el karar ke la testa de las kriaturas pueden reyevar. I anbezarles onde i por lo ke kale destajar onde i por lo ke es mile‘el o mile-rá‘ i asemejante a esto.

I por ser ke livros de ladino konponidos para kriaturas non me es konesido más ke el *Tov Veyafé*,⁴⁵ el kual es de su autor si[nyor] profesor David ‘Haleví ‘h[aShem]”y[ishmeherehu], por tanto mos kale servirnos kon él fin el tienpo ke mos será konesido algún otro o otros mijor de él.⁴⁶

5) En tamuz de 624⁴⁷ entrí yo en sherut del Ta[lmud]”T[orá] i por un poko tienpo se trokó algo kuantto el estado de el Talmud Torá. I unos kuanttos yehidim djunto kon los mishtadelim gozaron una buena kontentés siendo de akeas kriaturas de la kuartena kamareta suví unas kuantas a otra una nueva kamareta i se izo kamareta 5. En eya alkansaron a meldar 4 leksiones: Gemará, dikduk, *Pele Yo‘ets*, Te‘hilim en ladino. Kon el niet ke los ke enbezan en esta kamareta salgan de eya bien anbezados en leshón ‘hakódesh kon su dikduk i también konosidos en algo de ‘iyún i en korto kada livro de leshón ‘hakódesh ke avren lo sepan meldar kon entender, ke sierto es ke esto es el más grado alto del Talmud Torá. Ma ⁴⁵ayinda non abasta i ayinda non es kefi el demenester lo demanda, siendo también en esta kamareta kale ke se melde musar, dinim, istoria djudezma, kelalim de la emuná djudezma, mirada korta sovre los livros djudezmos, ma por ser ke livros prontos para esto non tenemos, por tanto también esta kamareta non puede gozar kontentés kumplida, otro ke solo kontentés asperada, kijendo dezir ke kon tienpo se resentará todo lo ke es demenester.

Por dezmazal i esta esperansa se fue en fumo siendo antes de enpesar el sigundo anyo la meatad de los talmidim ya salieron de mi kamareta porke kijeron anbezar la kuartena klasa serbeska i la gimnazia, shkolas ke kontienen anbezamientos ke trayen pan a sus savidores i es demenesterozo a kada ombre. I por lo propio antes de enpesar el sigundo anyo salieron del Talmud Torá los 2 tersios de la partida restada i así ke no restó para

⁴⁵ Published in 1860 in Bucharest.

⁴⁶ The author of this document, Moshé David Alkalay, published the following Ladino (text)books for the instruction of Sephardi boys: *Hinuh ne‘arim* (Belgrade, 1860); *Shemoná perakim miséfer Hinuh lashón ‘ivri umavó ‘hadikduk* (Bucharest, 1860, 1868 and 1871); *Séfer Bou heshbón* (Belgrade, 1868); *Livriko de primera klasa* (Belgrade, 1871 and Pressburg, 1873); and *Hinuh lashón ‘ivri: Gramátika para kriaturas chikas de klasa sigunda o tresera fin leksia 9* (Belgrade, 1871 and Vienna, 1872, 1890).

⁴⁷ Between 5 July and 2 August 1864.

el anyo tresero más ke uno de 6 ... I kon esto es ke toda akea lazdra i pena se fue a la vanidad siendo non alkansó dinguno de eyos a eskapar de enbezar afilú las leksiones ke ya uvieron en el Talmud Torá.

Ayinda tenemos de deklarar otro un féler. I es ke azemos una demanda i si afilú eskapavan de anbezar todo siendo ke non tienen reglado ke denpués ke salen de el Talmud Torá vengán a meldar siertas leksiones, sierto es ke todo lo ke anbezaron se lo olvidan denpués.

El adoveo de todo esto es:

1. Kon areglar ke las kriaturas salidas de el Talmud Torá vengán kada alhad i kada hagá i kontinuven sus leksiones de antes.

2. Ke se bushken los livros ke kontienen enbezamiento de musar, dinim, istoria djudezma, kelalim de la emuná djudezma, mirada korta sobre los livros djudezmos.

6) Siendo avlimos en los números de antes por la⁴⁸ primera de el dikduk en la kamareta sigunda, tresera i kuartena, i siendo sus gobernadores non lo anbezaron eyos mizmos el dikduk, por tanto me adevdo yo de dar siertas oras de ⁶leksiones de dikduk en las ditas kamaretas en el tiempo ke me lo entenderé kon los si'[nyores] rejidores del Talmud Torá.

7) Siendo adientro del anbezamiento demenesterozo entra también el anbezar las leksiones sivdadinas las kualas en muestra sivdad las kontiene la shkola serbeska, por tanto es demenester de travajar también por el adelantamiento serbesko i de prekurar a ke sea en manera ke non indjidee a lo djudezmo. Por tanto es demenester de amerinar a uno ke tenga el dito kargo sobre el adelantamiento serbesko sin indjidear al djudezmo. I, aderabá, sea el enbezamiento serbesko adientro del Talmud Torá enfortesimiento al djudezmo. I por lo propio, las ijikas ke enbezan serbesko sin djudezmo estos 3 anyos⁴⁹ lo kualo es koza sin poder afigurarlo kon karáker de ningún puevlo i kuantu i más kon karáker de puevlo djudezmo, por tanto es demenesterozo ke uno de los melamedim djidiós vaya a la shkola serbeska de las ijikas i les dé leksiones djudezmas.

8) Estas son las kozas inportavles por ENPESIO DEL ADELANTAMIENTO del Talmud Torá de muestra sivdad i en sumo son:

⁴⁸ The word "la" appears twice.

⁴⁹ Schooling for Jewish girls in Belgrade was introduced for the first time in 1864.

1. Ke se aregle ke en la kamareta primera non entren kriaturas muy chikas, i así ke se revidee dita kamareta i las ke son muy chikas ke se kiten afuera.

2. Ke fin kavo del anyo enpesado de el min fiksado todas las kriaturas ke restan en dita kamareta anbezen letras i puntos i adjuntar fin el grado de al kavo.

3. Ke las kriaturas se resivan solo mez de...

4. Ke en lo ke entran las kriaturas en la dita kamareta i lo propio en kada kamareta se nota en el tefter sus nombre i sus edad.

5. Se atine sovre la manera de el adjuntar porke non sea la forma vieja otro ke forma nueva.

6. Ke melden algo de tefilá kada día una ojika nueva kon mucho reposo i melden en ladino i esto kada palavra en lashón i en ladino.

¹⁷⁷. Anbezar algunos kelalim de dikduk muy livianos en la sigunda kamareta.

8. Ke al sigundo anyo ke están en dita kamareta melden los te'amim i esto nombren los te'amim i los kanten i denpués melden las palavras.

9. Ke se atine ke fin kavo de el sigundo anyo anbezen las kriaturas en dita kamareta un séfer de perashá entero en lashón i en ladino.

10. Ke se aregle de meldar en la kamareta tresera dikduk i en la kuartena se aregle de meldar dikduk i *Séfer Tov Veyafé* i tefilá algo en ladino i algo solo en lashón kon deklararles los akavidamientos ónde i por lo ké kale destajar o non destajar, ónde i por lo ké es mile'el o milerá'.

11. Ke se aregle ke las kriaturas salidas del Talmud Torá vengán kada alhad i kada hagá al Talmud Torá i melden kontinuvamiento de sus leksiones.

12. Ke se amerine de entre los melamedim ken ke tenga el kargo por el adelantamiento serbesko el kual sea sin indjidear al djudezmo. Otro ke, aderabá, sea kavza por enforteser al djudezmo.

13. Ke se aregle ke uno de los melamedim vaya a la shkola serbeska de la ijikas i les dé leksiones djudezmas.

9) Ayinda restan muchas kozas demenesterozas de las kualas ay muchas ke mankan también en resto de los lugares apropiados para Talmud Torá, enpero por enpesijo ya basta lo ke eskrivimos. I si enprezentará el Patrón de el Mundo ke aremos sigunda mirada sovre el Talmud Torá, estonses deklararemos algunas kuantas kozas otras be'e[zrat]"h[aShem]. I también estanparemos la avla del famozo b[e]né"M[oshe]⁵⁰ de Edirne

⁵⁰ Hb. lit. 'sons of Moses' (Bunis 1993a: 128 § 554).

tokante al Talmud Torá (si el autor dará la lisensia), siendo eya está yena de djevaires presiozos.

Utshalem ‘hamelahá beyom 33 la‘omer⁵¹ shenat berogez rahem t[i] zk[o]"r l[i]f[kudat]"k[atán].⁵²

¹⁸Estanpado en la Estanparía de el Príntsipe de la Serbia.

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⁵¹ Hb. ‘This work was finished on the 33rd day of the Omer’.

⁵² Hb. ‘in the year “in wrath remember mercy” (Habakkuk, 3:2)’, that corresponds to 1867.

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THE EASTERN SEPHARDIM'S RE-DISCOVERY OF SPAIN AND THE SPANISH LANGUAGE

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Today it is clear to most Sephardic Jews that their original roots lay in Portugal and Spain. Already in the Middle Ages, the Iberian Peninsula became known as *Sefarad*, a term still used in Modern Hebrew to refer to the Kingdom of Spain today.¹ Yet, the ways and intensity in which Sephardic Jews continued to remember their lost homeland after the expulsion from Spain in 1492, used to be different from place to place within the vast diaspora. Those in the Western Sephardic diaspora—including the Netherlands, Italy, France, Great Britain—had never been completely cut off from their Iberian roots and culture (Gerber 1994: 198). Also, the Jewish exiles settling down in North Africa, particularly the Haketia speaking communities in Morocco,² just across the Strait of Gibraltar, continued to

¹ The term *Sefarad* first appeared in the Hebrew Bible (Obadiah 1:20) and is probably identical with the city of Sardes, capital of the ancient kingdom of Lydia in Asia Minor. In the Latin Bible, *Sefarad* was translated into *Bosforo* (Bosphoros), referring to the strait separating Europe from Asia. In turn, Jewish commentators in the Middle Ages identified the Biblical *Sefarad* with the Iberian Peninsula (Lat. *Hispania*; Medieval Romance, *Spania*; Span. *España*), maybe because of the vague phonetic similarity of these two terms. Thus, in Medieval Aramaic *targumim* (translations of the Bible), we also find the expression *Espania* (אספניא). Today, the modern Hebrew word *Sefarad* (ספָרד) is almost exclusively used for modern Spain, see Bossong 2008: 13.

² For more information on Haketia, see Benoliel 1977, as well as Díaz-Mas 1992: 75 and Bunis 2008.

be loosely connected to their land of origin. For the Jews in the Eastern Sephardic diaspora, i.e., those finding refuge in the more distant Ottoman Empire,³ the situation turned out to be quite different. There, as will be discussed in this paper, the collective memory of Spain had a gradually fall into oblivion over time and was only revived in the 19th century. Such an assumption may appear bold and even scandalous to many Sephardic Jews and even scholars dealing with Sephardic history today. For example, the distinguished Israeli folklorist Tamar Alexander-Frizer ז"ל (1945-2023) (2008: 70) holds that since the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, also Eastern Sephardim have “to this day kept a historical, cultural, and emotional connection to the land of origin”.⁴ Alexander-Frizer (2008: 70-94) primarily sees this reflected in oral traditions such family legends and folk songs. Even in the 21st century, her assumption of a continuous emotional connection with Spain is shared by many Sephardic Jews. It seemingly proves itself true in regard to the testimonies made by the descendants of Sephardic Jews, who were invited to acquire full citizenship by the governments of Spain and Portugal in 2015. In fact, the motivations of many people who decided to apply for these citizenships can be described as deeply emotional, especially when referring as unjust, the expulsion of their ancestors from Spain (Goldschläger & Orjuela 2020: 7-8, see also McDonald 2021). It is statements like this one, made by Abraham B. Yehoshua ז"ל (1936-2022) (2010: 151-152), an Israeli author of Sephardic ancestry, that indeed allude to an unbroken collective nostalgia towards the lost homeland: “you [i.e., the Spaniards] succeeded in expelling us physically from Spain, but you will never succeed in expelling Spain from inside of us” (see also Goldschläger & Orjuela 2020: 7).

Such recent emotional testimonies notwithstanding, a continuous and sentimental connection to the land of origin over centuries appears to be quite implausible, when having a closer look at early modern sources in Judezmo, the traditional language of Eastern Sephardic Jews. Maybe the first contemporary scholar pointing to this fact was the Israeli linguist and honoree of this volume, David Bunis. In an insightful article published in

³ For more information about the history of Eastern Sephardic Jewry, see Díaz-Mas 1992: 38-50, Gerber 1994: 145-176, Benbassa & Rodrigue 2000; Bossong 2008: 92-103 and Ben-Naeh 2008.

⁴ Such “essentialist” approaches, trying to link Sephardic identity to a single origin or core value as, for example, the Sephardic Jews’ Iberian origin, are widespread among many Sephardic Jews, as well as scholars dealing with Sephardic history; see Stechauner 2019: 19-31.

1996 (229), in which Bunis traced back the modernization processes that Judezmo had gone through in the 19th century, he arrived at the conclusion that “contrary to popular belief” it seems that many if not most Ottoman Sephardim “had little or no awareness of, nor identified with, Spain or its modern language”. Bunis’ bald insight necessarily raises the question of how much early modern Eastern Sephardim then really knew about Spain and their Iberian past. Also, we may ask how Jews in the Eastern Sephardic diaspora eventually managed to reconnect to their Iberian heritage which, as Bunis implicitly suggests, must have been forgotten over the course of centuries. Indeed, these questions are not easy to answer and yet, they are a main concern of this paper. It goes without saying that Bunis’ groundbreaking work serves as a convenient point of departure for a deeper analysis of the Eastern Sephardim’s re-discovery of Spain and, as we will see, also the Spanish language. This article will provide a synthesis of Bunis’ major contributions on this topic, which he has published in a series of articles during the last few decades. Furthermore, I will also contribute my own findings to the analysis,⁵ which will deepen our understanding of the construction of Eastern Sephardic identity discourses in regard to their historical homeland. Here, I will also highlight the outstanding role of Sephardic and non-Sephardic intellectuals in Vienna, who significantly contributed to the Hispanic revival among Eastern Sephardic intellectuals in the 19th century. However, before turning to this crucial period of time, we will first have to look at the events that led to gradual oblivion of the Spanish homeland among Eastern Sephardic Jews in the first place.

Among the first Jewish refugees from the Iberian Peninsula, setting foot into the Ottoman Lands, the memories of the hardships of the expulsions from Spain and Portugal were still very vivid.⁶ However, as the

⁵ Parts of this article are based on my doctoral thesis (Stechauner 2019), which was co-directed by David Bunis.

⁶ A prominent example is Solomon ibn Verga’s (ca. 1460-1554) biographical book *Shevet Yehuda* (The Scepter of Judah), which was first published in Hebrew in Edirne in 1554. Ibn Verga belonged to the first generation of Jewish exiles from Spain, which makes his first-hand accounts about the expulsion from Spain and the massacre of the Jews in Portugal in 1506 particularly sweeping and vivid. However, we should not assume that the knowledge about this book was too widespread among the Sephardic masses in the Ottoman Empire, who usually had difficulties in reading and comprehending Hebrew texts. Also, the historiographical part of *Shevet Yehuda* was translated from Hebrew to Judezmo only in the early 1840s, which is why most Ottoman Jews had probably not been familiar with ibn Verga’s work and his accounts on Spain and Portugal until that time. Much earlier, *Shevet Yehuda* had already been translated into Yiddish (1591), Spanish (1640), and

American Jewish historian Jonathan Ray (2013: 141) claims, among the second and third generation of Iberian exiles, the collective traumas related to these forced displacements were more and more “preplaced by the imagined glory of the pre-exilic past”. Ray (2013: 141) further maintains that “the development of a shared language”—i.e., the koineization of Judezmo during the initial years of the post-expulsion era (see Quintana 2017)—was one of the most significant reasons for the subsequent emergence of a commonly shared Sephardic identity. As pointed out by the historians Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue (2000: 12), this was also a time when the much smaller “Italian and Ashkenazi congregations in Istanbul and Salonika gradually joined the dominant Sephardi community”, and most of them eventually adopted the Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew.⁷ In the long run, the autochthonous Romaniote (i.e., Greek-speaking) communities as well “underwent a gradual process of Judeo-Hispanization” which, with the exception of a few isolated centers, “completely assimilated into the Sephardi group” (Benbassa & Rodrigue 2000: 14; see also Fromm 2005).

While the 16th and 17th centuries were a period when the consolidation of a distinguishable Ottoman Jewish culture took place, this also seemed to be a time when particular memories about Spain—even its glorified image—gradually began to escape from the collective memory of the Eastern Sephardic Jews. As pointed out by Bunis (2011a) in his article “The Changing Faces of Sephardic Identity as Reflected in Judezmo Sources”, there are hardly any written accounts published by Eastern Sephardic Jews before the 19th century making any appreciative references to Spain or the Spanish language. Of course, there were exceptions, such as a few written sources mentioning Spain, which had been composed by rabbinical scholars. However, Bunis stresses the fact that whenever these rabbis referred to Spain, they did so “within discussions of religious customs and traditions distinguishing the Jews of *Espanya*, also referred to in their writings as *Sefarad*, from those of Germany and Eastern Europe, referred to as *Eškenáz*” (Bunis 2011a: 49). What becomes clear through these writ-

even Latin (1651), which is why the book was generally much better known among Ashkenazic and Western Sephardic Jews. See Verga 2006: 9, 171-174 and Lehmann 2005b: 177-180.

⁷ Yaron Ben-Naeh (2008: 372) further points out that “during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Ashkenazi Jews from central and eastern Europe continued to arrive in the Ottoman Empire”. Many of them established their own synagogues, which in some cases continued to exist until the modern era.

ings, Bunis concludes, is that most Sephardic rabbis in the Ottoman Empire seemed to have no particular “feeling of warmth or affection for Spain or for their everyday Iberian-origin vernacular”—or if they did have, “they certainly did not express them in their writings” (Bunis 2011a: 49).

As has already been mentioned above, there are many Sephardic Jews today, including scholars, that are convinced that there must have been a continuous, vivid, oral tradition among Eastern Sephardic Jews about their land of origin that was shared and passed on over generations. For example, in an extensive survey made by Tamar Alexander-Frizer (2008: 91), for which she collected popular folk tales told among Sephardic Jews in Israel in the 20th century, she found that many of these stories feature an “association with Spain”, which “is mostly reflected in the mention of place names in Spain”. However, despite the meaningful connections these stories definitely create, we lack—at least written—evidence whether the early modern transmitters of these stories actually knew where all these places were located. Also, most of these orally transmitted stories were only registered and recorded in the course of the 20th century; that is, at a time when the knowledge of the Iberian legacy of Sephardic Jews was already widespread. It is easily conceivable that when more and more Sephardic Jews became aware of their Iberian roots in the course of the 19th century, this regained knowledge was eventually linked to already existing popular folktales. Thus, the popular stories told among Sephardic Jews in the 20th century about their land of origin could also amount to a phenomenon which had been described by Eric Hobsbawm (1917-2012) and Terence Ranger (1929-2015) (1992) as an “invention of tradition”.

Following the hypothesis that Eastern Sephardic Jews in the early modern period had gradually forgotten and eventually re-discovered their Iberian past, it seems plausible that they were largely dependent on agents from outside their own traditional circles to regain that knowledge. Probably the first Eastern Sephardic and non-rabbinical intellectual referring to the Iberian past of Sephardic Jews was David ben Moshe Attias (18th century), a Sephardic Jew originally coming from Sarajevo but who spent most of his life in the Tuscan port city of Livorno. In 1778, Attias published *La Guerta de Oro* (The Garden of Gold), a guidebook meant for Ottoman Jews who intended to visit Western Europe (Lehmann 2005a: 51-76.). In his pioneering *Guerta*, which has been analyzed by Bunis (2011a, 2014) on various occasions, Attias frequently referred to the exceptional role of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews. However, Attias’ great awareness of the distinct history of Iberian Jewry seems to have been contingent upon his close contact with Italian and Western Sephardic mer-

chants in Livorno. Unlike their Eastern Sephardic counterparts, Jews in the Western Sephardic diaspora—including Italy—had been able to maintain close trade and even family connections with Portugal and Spain, including their colonies overseas (see Trivellato 2004 and Vance Roitman 2009). Thus, Attias was living in a Jewish environment where the memories of Spain were still very much alive. In his *Guerta*, Attias showed much effort to remind the Ottoman Jews of their Iberian heritage and the Spanish roots of their mother tongue. However, it is not clear how much resonance his historical and linguistic references had among his intended Ottoman Jewish readership. According to Olga Borovaya (2012: 10), we must assume that Attias' book remained largely unknown in the Ottoman Empire, for it was probably censored by conservative Ottoman rabbis, who used to control the Jewish book market until the mid-19th century. Yet, it seemed to have been the rabbis' ongoing loss of control over the local Jewish book market that made more and more Eastern Sephardic Jews aware of their Spanish roots only a generation later.

Apart from Attias, there have also been influential non-Jewish brokers, making even larger numbers of Ottoman Jews aware of their Spanish origins—especially in regards to their vernacular language. Two most important ones were the Protestant missionaries, William Gottlieb Schauffler (1798-1883) and Alexander Thomson (1820-1899). For many years, both toured the Ottoman Empire, as well as other parts of the Middle East, with the aim of evangelizing the Oriental Jews. The educational material they used, which also came to Bunis' (1996b: 228) attention, was especially designed for “Judezmo-speaking children in a language representing a compromise between Judezmo and Modern Spanish”. In addition, the abovementioned William Gottlieb Schauffler, an American missionary of German origin, published a new Judezmo translation of the Old and the New Testaments, which, as Bunis (1996b: 228-229) points out, “enjoyed widespread distribution among the Ottoman Sephardim”. In his memoirs, Schauffler (1887: 129) noted that he was well aware “that a translation of the Old Testament into the Hebrew-Spanish [language had] existed before”.⁸

⁸ Here, Schauffler was probably referring to Avraham ben Yiṣḥaq Asa's Ladino translation of the complete Hebrew Bible (Constantinople, 1739-1745, 4 volumes), and in addition Jacob Huli's (ca. 1698-1732) monumental work *Me'am Lo'ez*, which contains biblical texts, together with an elaborated translation into Ladino, as well as commentaries and glossaries, especially intended for readers having difficulties in reading and comprehending Hebrew. As pointed out by Matthias Lehmann (2005b: 32), the *Me'am Lo'ez* was extremely popular among Ottoman Jews and continued to be written even after Huli's

However, he found that the prior version was “not only frequently a mis-translation” and also the style in which they were written was “unnecessarily corrupt, and Hebraizing more strongly than seemed to [be] necessary” (Schauffler 1887: 129). Hence, for his own translations, he decided to go “farther in adapting the style to what might be considered respectable Spanish” (Schauffler 1887: 129).

Both Schauffler’s Judezmo Bible translations were printed in Vienna, where he and his family resided for a couple of years and where he even had the chance to present one copy of his work to the Austrian Emperor (Schauffler 1887: 172).⁹ According to Schauffler (1887: 130), the decision to have his “Hebrew-Spanish Bible” published in Vienna had to do with the fact that “there were no facilities for doing the work at Constantinople, or at the mission printing-office in Smyrna”.¹⁰ Both volumes of his Bible translation (Schauffler 1840, 1845) were ultimately printed by the Viennese publisher, Franz von Schmid (1811-1884), a Christian printer who had specialized in Hebrew printing. As a matter of fact, since the beginning of the 19th century, Vienna had become an important publishing place for all sorts of Hebraica, including Sephardica (see Studemund-Halévy & Collin 2008), which allowed Schauffler to have his Hebrew-Spanish Bible printed in the traditional Rashi script and in a fairly good quality.

However, not only Schauffler’s Bible translation, but also other Judezmo printed works that originated in Vienna, seemed to be responsible for raising the consciousness among Eastern Sephardim of their Spanish roots. Already in 1830, only a few years before Schauffler had decided to come to Vienna, Franz Sartori (1782-1832), an Austrian author and journalist, underlined the Habsburg capital’s important transregional role for Jewish—including Sephardic—prints. In his comprehensive historical and ethnographic study about the diverse languages spoken in the Habsburg Lands at that time, he noted that

also for the Turkish Jews books are being printed in Vienna, in a so-called mixed [and] corrupt Old Spanish language (Ladina [sic]). This language owes its existence to those Hebrews who, in the days of a very crude

death “by a dozen authors for more than a century and a half, with the last volume published in 1899”.

⁹ A copy of the thank-you note returned to Schauffler is archived in Austrian National Library.

¹⁰ Schauffler 1887: 130. Nevertheless, an edition of the translation also appeared in Izmir in the 1840s.

intolerance, fled from Spain to Turkey, in order not to be burned at the stake. They bequeathed the Spanish language, their mother tongue at that time, to the present generation, however, in a very degenerated form. In the meantime their co-religionists in Portugal escaped from similar persecutions to Holland, France and Italy. The Oriental Israelites and those in Holland, Italy and France had already been in possession of prayer books and psalms in the so-called Ladina. However, the Dutch, French and Italian Jews printed these translations in Ladina not for their own usage, for they have already adopted the local languages, but for the Jews in Turkey and the Barbary States [i.e., Middle and Western North Africa] (Sartori 1830: 335).¹¹

Not only was Sartori aware of Vienna's important role for the Turkish Jewish book market; as a scholar interested in languages, he also showed great interest in the linguistic and historical relations between the traditional language of Sephardic Jews and Modern Spanish. Furthermore, Sartori knew that the Jews in Turkey were using a special name for designating their language, which he referred to as "Ladina", the feminine singular form of the term Ladino.¹² When going into further detail about Vienna's role as trading and publishing center for Judezmo prints, Sartori also mentioned that up to the beginning of the 19th century, the Jews in Turkey had used to import most of their religious books from their Western Sephardic brethren living in Amsterdam, Livorno, or Venice. However, since

the year of 1814, [a certain] J. B. Heim [sic] took advantage of the political circumstances, in order to provide the Jews in Turkey with literary works of that [i.e., religious] kind. As all ports were blocked, all goods had to be transferred to Turkey via Vienna. Thus, since the Jews in Turkey could no longer purchase books from Holland or Italy, it was about time to publish such [books] in Vienna, in order to ship them [to Turkey], like all the other goods. This is how, in only half a century, a Hebrew book market has emerged [in Vienna], which is not only supplying the large Israelite populations in Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary and Galicia with all necessary texts and prayer books but also those in Turkey. [In turn, this has helped] the state not only to save millions of [florins] for more than 20 years but

¹¹ Written originally in German, translated by the author of this article.

¹² Obviously, Sartori was unaware of the fact that the term Ladino was often traditionally used only for handwritten or printed religious texts but not for the spoken vernacular of Sephardic Jews. For more information of the term Ladino vs. Judezmo, see Bunis 2011b: 25 and Díaz-Mas 1992: 75-77.

has also provided considerable sums from abroad [for our treasury] (Sartori 1830: 335-336).¹³

While Sartori was definitely right about Vienna's important role for Jewish prints in the first half of the 19th century—also for the Turkish book market—he failed to mention the actual reasons behind the, as he called them, “political circumstances” paving the way for Vienna's advancement in this sector. As a matter of fact, in 1800, the Austrian government had introduced a general ban, which forbade importing Hebrew books from abroad (see Schubert 2008: 72). The ban consequently forced the Austrian Jews to employ the services of local Jewish and Christian printers. This also explains why “J. B. Heim”—the Jewish editor and translator mentioned above by Sartori—provided his co-religionists in the Ottoman Empire with religious books printed in Vienna, rather than reselling imported books from Holland and Italy.

Although Sartori did not give us any more biographic details about this publisher, “J. B. Heim” can clearly be identified with the Sephardic author Israel Ben Hayim “de Belgrado” (probably b. 1755) (also Yisrael Bekhar Hayim “of Belgrade”), who was also the protagonist of an insightful article Bunis published in 1996. As Bunis (1996a: 151) points out, Ben Hayim de Belgrado “can be considered as one of the pioneers of Judezmo linguistics in the XIXth century”. In 1813, following the events of the First Serbian Uprising, Israel Ben Hayim was forced to flee from Belgrade to Vienna, where he continued his publishing work (Bunis 1996a: 153). There he published a considerable number of sacred books predominantly in Hebrew, but also a number of text books addressing rather secular matters.¹⁴ His multilingual schoolbooks for Sephardic boys, which also contain detailed instructions in popular Judezmo, carry an innovative maskilic thumbprint. Not least for this reason we may assume that Ben Hayim de Belgrado's works had been inspired by and modeled after similar works authored by German and Austrian *maskilim*, the agents of the *haskalah*, also known as the “Jewish Enlightenment”. Especially his book *Otsar Ha-Hayim* (The Treasure of Life, 1823) was structured in a way similar to the pedagogic works authored by the Habsburg *maskilim* Naftali Herz Homberg (1749-1841) and Peter (Perez) Beer (1758-1838) (see Stechauner 2019: 275). Bunis (1996a: 158) also mentions Judah Leib Ben-Zeev's

¹³ Originally written in German, translated by the author of this article.

¹⁴ For a list of Israel Ben Hayim's books published in Vienna, see Bunis 1996a: 166.

(1764-1811) *Talmud Lashon Ivri* (Talmud of the Hebrew Language)—a pioneering Hebrew grammar book, first published in Breslau in 1796 and republished by Anton von Schmid (1765-1855) in Vienna in 1806—as a possible template for Ben Hayim’s book. Anton von Schmid—father of the above-mentioned Franz von Schmid, who later published Schaffner’s aforementioned Bible translations—was Ben Hayim de Belgrado’s most important publisher in Vienna. Owing to these close affiliations, as well as the significance of his works—above all *Otsar Ha-Hayim*—Bunis (1996a: 158) holds that Israel Ben Hayim de Belgrado “was the first Judezmo speaker to bring the result of Ashkenazi Haskalah scholarship in various fields to a popular Sephardi readership” (see also Quintana 2013: 35-55).

In fact, Ben Hayim de Belgrado wrote his books not only for the rather small Sephardic community in Vienna, which hosted him for several years, but, as Bunis (1996a: 154) has pointed out, for “Judezmo speakers worldwide”—however, chiefly for those living in the Ottoman Empire and Italy. In two of his prayer books published in Vienna, Ben Hayim addressed his readership by using the Hebrew terms “*anšê Sefarad*” (people of *Sefarad*) or “*yoš’ve Sefarad*” (those dwelling in *Sefarad*) (Bunis 1996a: 154-155).¹⁵ However, when using the word *Sefarad*, he did not mean the Iberian Peninsula in general, nor the country of Spain in particular. In the fashion of early modern rabbis in the Eastern Sephardic Diaspora, Bunis (1996a: 154) holds, Ben Hayim used this term to refer “to the lands in which the descendants of medieval Spanish Jewry were to be found in his own time”. Nevertheless, in some of his educational books, we also find clear references to Spain and even to modern Spanish. Yet, these references did not stem from Hayim de Belgrado himself, but were added by his local Viennese publishers and collaborators at the beginning of his books. For example, in the Hebrew preface of his Bible translation published in 1813 (see Grünbaum 1896: 7), his editor and corrector Aaron Pollak (d. 1829) referred to the spoken language of the Sephardic Jews as “*lēšon Španyen*”¹⁶ *me’orav* (‘mixed language of Spain’))” (Bunis 2013: 40).¹⁷ In the German preamble of his Ladino translation of *Hokhmat Yehoshua ben Sira* (1818)—based on Judah Leib Ben-Zeev’s German translation by the same name published in 1806—his Viennese publisher, Georg Holzinger, described the language as written “*in gemis-*

¹⁵ Transcription by David Bunis.

¹⁶ The term ‘*Španyen*’ or *Shpanien* is directly derived from the German word *Spanien* for Spain.

¹⁷ Bunis 2013: 40. Transcription by David Bunis.

chter spanisch türkischer Sprache mit hebräischen Lettern” (mixed Spanish Turkish language in Hebrew letters) (Bunis 2013: 40).

Remarkable are not only the references to Spain and its language, which Hayim de Belgrado would probably not have made himself, but also the explicit labelling of Ladino (that is, Judezmo) not as a proper but a mixed language. Certainly, this judgmental label was based on strong maskilic assumptions. As pointed out by Moshe Pelli (2010: 29), most German and Austrian *maskilim* considered Yiddish a mixed or corrupted language “when compared to the purity of the German language”. For them, the use of Yiddish was tantamount to “the traditional Polish rabbis and the Melamdim’s (religious teachers) milieu imported from Eastern Europe” (Pelli 2010: 29). In Germany, it was not uncommon to assign these stereotypes also to Ottoman Jews. Thus, like their Ashkenazic coreligionists in Eastern Europe, Sephardic Jews in South Eastern Europe and Anatolia were often perceived as primitive and backward. For example, in 1840, the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* republished an article that was first published in *Magazin für Literatur des Auslandes*¹⁸ about the Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire, which maintains that “Jews in Turkey do not have a language of their own but only speak a corrupt Spanish dialect”.¹⁹ While Ben Hayim de Belgrado himself abstained from making such biased statements and comparisons—leaving it to his Viennese Ashkenazic collaborators to point to the obvious relation between Judezmo and modern Spanish, as well as to the mixed or corrupted condition of the Sephardic vernacular—subsequent generations of Sephardic intellectuals based in Vienna already made such comparisons. As pointed out by Bunis (2013: 58), already in the specimen issue of *Guerta de Istoria* (Garden of History), the first Judezmo periodical published in Vienna in 1864, its editor Shem Tov Semo (or Alexander Semo in German, 1810 or 1827–1881) “depicted the language he wrote in as *La avla ešpanyola savida a×todos* (‘The Ešpanyol language known to all’).”²⁰ Nevertheless, Semo stated that the language spoken by him and his designated readership “was

¹⁸ As already noticed by Bunis (2013: 40, n4), this article entitled “*Auszüge. Die Juden in der Türkei*” was first published in a journal by the name *Magazin für Literatur des Auslandes*, edited by Joseph Zedner (1804–1871); it was reprinted in two parts in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*. See also, *Magazin für Literatur des Auslandes* 8(122), October 11, 1839, 485–486.

¹⁹ *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 4(3), January 18, 1840, 39 (Originally written in German, translation by the author of this article); see also Bunis 2013: 40.

²⁰ Transcription and translation by David Bunis.

not the ‘real’, ‘grammatical’ Spanish tongue (*la avla vera gramatikala ešpanyola*)” as spoken in Spain (Bunis 2013: 58).

As more and more Sephardic Jews, outside the Habsburg capital as well, became aware of both their long-lost Spanish heritage and the linguistic relations between Spanish and their own vernacular language, many Sephardic journalists as well as readers of Judezmo newspapers simply referred to their mother tongue as “*espanyol*” (Spanish) or “*espanyol levantino*”. Already in *Sha’aré Mizraḥ* or *Las Puertas del Oriente* (The Gates of the East, 1845) from the Aegean port city of Izmir, the first Judezmo periodical ever published, its owner and editor Rafael Uziel (1816–1881) drew a distinction between “*la lingua espanyola levantina*” (the Levantine Spanish language) and “*la verdadera lingua espanyola*” (the real Spanish language) (Borovaya 2012: 32). Similar to Attias’ *Guerta de Oro*, which was published more than 70 years earlier, *Sha’aré Mizraḥ* can be described as “a semi-religious publication” which had largely been inspired by the Western European *haskalah* movement (Borovaya 2012: 32). The linguistic content of that paper has been thoroughly analyzed in an article published by Bunis in 2014. Already in the first issue of *Sha’aré Mizraḥ*, Bunis (2014: 150) holds, Uziel “felt the need to apologize to his readers for the ‘mučas faltas’ (many faults/errors) they would find in his paper”. In fact, he was not even sure whether his mother tongue was a real language and rather called it a “*dialeto*” (dialect), “mesklado munčo mas otras lingwas” (mixed with many other languages) (Bunis 2014: 150).²¹ Although there are many parallels between Uziel’s and Attias’ attitude concerning the degenerative state of their mother tongue, it is by no means certain if Uziel was even familiar with the above mentioned *Guerta de Oro*. At least there are no references to be found in *Sha’aré Mizraḥ* about Attias’ pioneering work. However, according to Borovaya (2012: 26) and Bunis (1993: 23), it is possible that Uziel had visited or even attended the *Talmud Tora* of Livorno, which might explain Uziel’s great receptiveness to Western European culture, as well as his knowledge about the Spanish roots of the Sephardic Jews. Bunis (1993: 11) further points to the fact that already in the first issue of *Sha’aré Mizraḥ*, “Uziel had intended to devote several articles in the periodical to the history of the Jews in Spain, and thus acquaint the young people with some of the glory of their past”.

²¹ Transcriptions by David M. Bunis. See also *Sha’aré Mizraḥ* 1(1), December 29, 1845, 1.

However, "at least in the issues of the paper that have survived, no such article was ever published" (Bunis 1993: 11).

Due to these developments in the early Judezmo press of informing the readers about the Iberian roots of the traditional vernacular of Sephardic Jews, more and more Jews in the Ottoman Empire began to identify Judezmo with the Spanish language. For example, in one of the first issues of *El Tiempo* (1872-1930), Istanbul's leading Judezmo newspaper, an anonymous reader from the city's outskirts declared that he was very pleased with the publication of this new "journal in *espanyol* [Spanish] for the advancement of our nation".²² Also, in one of the first issues of the Salonican newspaper *La Époka* (1875-1911), the editors, in response to the complaint of many readers that the paper was full of so many "words from foreign languages, which they do not understand", the editor replied that "the *espanyol* we speak in Turkey does not have the rules nor the words for a [proper] discourse, which makes it very difficult for us".²³

Although in the second half of the 19th century many Sephardic Jews in both the Ottoman and the Habsburg Empires were evidently aware of the Spanish roots of their mother tongue, only in Vienna did the word "*espanyol*" become a principally self-referential term, not only for designating their language but also their distinctive character as "Spanish" Jews. For example, when speaking of their own or other Sephardic congregations, the editors of *El Koreo de Viena* (1869-1883), Vienna's most important Judezmo newspaper also founded by Shem Tov Semo, sometimes referred to them as "*la sinagoga de los espanyoles*" (the synagogue of the Spaniards),²⁴ "*la komuné espanyola*" (the Spanish community),²⁵ "*bet akeneset espanyol*" (the Spanish synagogue),²⁶ "*nuestro templo espanyol*" (our Spanish Temple)²⁷ or "*K[ahal]"K[adosh] gadol espanyol*" (great holy Spanish community),²⁸ to name just a few examples. In contrast, the attribute "Spanish" was hardly ever used in such contexts in the Judezmo newspapers in the Ottoman Empire.

²² *El Tiempo* 1(5), October 9, 1872, 1.

²³ *La Époka* 1(7), December 13, 1875, 1.

²⁴ *El Koreo de Viena* 1(1), December 19, 1869, 6.

²⁵ *El Koreo de Viena* 1(2), January 15, 1870: 5. In reference to the Sephardic community of Vienna, this term was never used as an official designation. Especially before the Austrian authorities, the Viennese Sephardim preferred to refer to their congregation as the "Turkish-Israelite" community of Vienna.

²⁶ *La Política* (1), January 1, 1875, 1.

²⁷ *El Koreo de Viena* 11(42), November 5, 1880, 162.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

Furthermore, besides the popular term *djidyós levantinos* (Levantine Jews), when referring to their Sephardic brethren living outside the Habsburg capital, the Viennese editors and their correspondents also used rare expressions like “*espanyoles djidyós*” (Jewish Spaniards),²⁹ “*nuestros korelidjyonaryos espanyoles moradores en el oriente*” (our Spanish co-religionists living in the Orient),³⁰ or “*familyas djudykas espanyolas morantes en Serbya*” (Spanish Jewish families living in Serbia).³¹ In an article about the Jewish communities in Morocco, the editors of *El Koreo* even used expressions like “*los djidyós espanyoles, también sefaradim nombrados*” (the Spanish Jews, also known as Sephardim) or “*el trivu ‘djudyko espanyol’*” (the “Jewish Spanish” tribe), in order to distinguish the Spanish-speaking Jews in Northern Morocco from those speaking Arabic in the South.³² Again, in the Judezmo press published in the Ottoman Empire of that time, the words “Spanish” or “Spaniards” were hardly ever used for designating Sephardic Jews,³³ whereas in Vienna this was a common practice.

Certainly, the most ambitious journalist that gave much emphasis on the particular Spanish identity of Sephardic Jews was Yosef Kalvo (ca. 1800-1875), Shem Tov Semo’s fellow editor of his newspapers *El Dragomán* and *El Koreo de Viena*. In 1866/67, Kalvo published his own periodical with the programmatic name *El Nasiona*l. According to Kalvo’s opinion, the Sephardic—or rather “Spanish”—Jews constituted a distinctive group within the broader Jewish collective, a view which was also mentioned in the mission statement of his paper. Thus, in *El Nasiona*l’s specimen issue, Kalvo declared that he primarily intended to publish political news, moral and literary articles, and announcements “*tokantes a la nasyón israelit en djeneral i a nuestra eshpanyola en particular*” (concerning the Israelite nation in general and our Spanish one in particular).³⁴

Despite the great affection for and devoted service to his Spanish compatriots, Kalvo nevertheless felt a deep, cultural chasm between his fellow

²⁹ *El Koreo de Viena* 1(6), March 15, 1870, 6.

³⁰ *Ibidem*.

³¹ *El Koreo de Viena* 3(19), December 1, 1872, 6.

³² *El Koreo de Viena* 14(1), January 11, 1883, 2.

³³ In most Judezmo newspapers published in the Ottoman Empire, Sephardic Jews are simply referred to as “*djidyós*” (Jews), without using any additional determining attribute. Only in very rare cases is the expression “*sefaradim*” used when explicitly referring to Sephardic Jews. E.g., see *El Tiempo* 6(1223), August 20, 1879, 4; *La Époka* 23(1124), January 26, 1898, 4; *La Époka* 32(1598), July 5, 1907, 11.

³⁴ *El Nasiona*l 1 (*Probenummer*), November 16, 1866, 1-2.

Spaniards in the Ottoman Empire and their maskilic contemporaries in Western Europe. In an article published in the same issue of *El Nasional*, entitled “*El Sentimiento de Djudezmo*” (The Sense of Judaism), he regretfully noticed:

¿[sic] What did our Spanish nation dwelling in Turkey do for showing the world the sense of Judaism, which, as it is the case of our brethren in Europe, fans the flame of our heart? With disgrace we have to say: nothing or only very little.³⁵

As this statement shows, Kalvo had already joined in some of the patronizing maskilic and orientalist discourses of his enlightened Ashkenazic co-religionists, who had served him as cultural role models in the first place. Furthermore, what catches the eye in this text is the use of inverted question marks (¿) at the beginning of interrogative clauses. These punctuation marks are typical of modern Castilian orthography. However, they were introduced by the *Real Academia Española* (Royal Spanish Language Academy) only in 1754 (Cook & Singleton 2014: 84). Yet this was more than two and a half centuries after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain; such punctuation marks are totally absent in traditional Judezmo texts. Thus, the use of inverted question marks reveals that Kalvo was definitely familiar with modern Castilian and its orthography, which he sought to apply in this article.³⁶ Kalvo's knowledge of modern Spanish might not come as a surprise, for, as pointed out by Bunis,

those Viennese Sephardim who sought an acquaintance with their lauded linguistic “other”—so-called “real”, “pure” Spanish—could satisfy their desire through periodicals and books in that language, as well as through Spanish language manuals and dictionaries for German speakers, which were available in Vienna (Bunis 2013: 43).

Apart from modern Castilian, Kalvo was also well acquainted with the history of the Iberian Jews, as well as their fate after the great expulsions from Spain and Portugal. In an article published in *El Nasional* in 1867, he informed his readers about how the descendants of the Jewish refugees

³⁵ *Ibidem*, 5.

³⁶ The article “*El Sentimiento de Djudezmo*” published in the specimen was the only one in which Kalvo used inverted question marks.

from Spain gradually lost their traditional ability to preach (*predikar*) as they travelled further East:

When in the 14th [*sic*] century the Jews were uprooted from Spain, they tried to establish themselves in countries which for the most part resembled their homeland. They did so in order to preserve their customs, their speech and their habits in the best possible way. For having fallen victims to barbarism in their native land, they particularly settled down in Italy, for in this country they found a similar climate, a similar way of life and also a similar way of speech to that of their beloved Spain [...]. The famous historian [Meyer] Kayserling, when speaking about the development of preaching in Italy, maintains in relation to the Spaniards (Sephardim, page 134) that the Jews, who were coming to Italy after the Expulsion from Spain, were able to conserve their prayer rite (*avodá*), their habits, their [way of] preaching and their customs from Spain for a very long time. In the case of Turkey, the situation was different. The Jews, who after the terrible Expulsion from Spain settled down in Turkey, stayed true to the customs of their land and all in all they conserved the traditions of Spain, at least as well as they could. For there, they lived together with Muslims, they gradually adopted other customs and also modified their speech, by adopting words and phrases from the language of the country in which they were living. Thus, as we may see nowadays, our poor speech is nothing more than a pale image of the sweet and beautiful language of Spain. However, there is also one custom that the Jews of Turkey have lost for good, which is preaching! The way of preaching in Spain was very different from the one practiced in Turkey nowadays'.³⁷

In this article, Yosef Kalvo markedly praised the rich cultural heritage, as well as the language, which he assumed the Jews had taken with them from their "*kerida Espanya*" (beloved Spain). To Spain he not only explicitly referred as their "*tiera de su nasimiento*" (native land), but also as their actual "*patria*" (homeland). However, at the same time, he also expressed regrets concerning the decay and fading away of this legacy in the Eastern diaspora. As argued in his article, in Turkey, the Iberian exiles had lost both their traditional way of preaching and their "*dulse i ermozo idyoma de la Eshpanya*" (sweet and beautiful language from Spain), the latter gradually losing its original splendor by getting mixed up with local languages.

³⁷ *El Nacional* 1(45), October 23, 1867, 363.

Another interesting detail about this article is Kalvo's explicit reference to the German Jewish historian, Moritz Meyer Kayserling (1829-1905) and his seminal book, *Sephardim: Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien* (The Romanic Poetries of the Jews in Spain, 1859).³⁸ Kayserling was a renowned historian, particularly famous for his publications about Iberian Jewry and the history of so-called New Christians or *conversos*, that is, Spanish or Portuguese Jews, who had, under pressure, converted to Roman Catholicism. However, in Kayserling's time, *conversos* were most commonly known as *marranos* or *Marranen* in German.³⁹ According to the British historian, Cecil Roth (1899-1970) (2007: 42), Kayserling was in fact the first Jewish historian to consistently use primary sources in medieval Spanish and Hebrew and thus lay 'the basis of all subsequent treatments' dealing with Sephardic and Marrano history.

Kalvo's direct reference to Meyer Kayserling, whose books seemed to have enabled him to reconstruct the cultural and linguistic changes at the beginning of the Sephardic diaspora, definitely confirms Bunis' (1996b: 229) aforementioned assumption: namely, that Eastern Sephardic Jews in the 19th century generally knew very little about the Jewish history of Spain and the early stages of the diaspora. For this reason, those who were interested in that particular part of their history had to turn to other, usually non-Sephardic sources, such as the historiographic works of German *maskilim*, in order to make sense of their nebulous past. Fully aware of the Sephardic Jews' generally low awareness of their own history and heritage, Yosef Kalvo himself confessed in one of the last issues of *El Nacional* that

our detractors throw in our face that we have no history. However, in all the annals of the various nations are carved in indestructible letters the history of the Jews, during their stay in Spain and following their expulsion from that country. There have also been valiant men who preoccupied themselves with our fate and wrote about our conditions, and without mentioning more minor historians we shall cite only the illustrious [Heinrich] Graetz and [Meyer] Kayserling, who wrote about the Spanish Jews from their expulsion from Spain to the present times.⁴⁰

³⁸ For a detailed biography of Kayserling, including an overview of his most important works about Sephardic Jewry, see Schapkow 2011: 351-380.

³⁹ The German word *Marranen* stems from the medieval Spanish term *marranos* for "swines", which itself is of Arabic origin. See Primack 1998: 55-57 & Wilke 2016: 83.

⁴⁰ *El Nacional* 1(51), December 4, 1867, 411. Translation by Bunis 2011a: 67.

Heinrich Graetz (1817-1891), who Kalvo mentioned in the same breath with Meyer Kayserling, was yet another eminent German-Jewish historian dealing with the history of Iberian Jewry.⁴¹ Most of Graetz' historiographical accounts about the history of Sephardic Jews before and after the expulsion were published in his seminal multi-volume work *Geschichte der Juden* (The History of the Jews, see Graetz 1853, 1861a, 1861b), which Kalvo was seemingly familiar with.

Kalvo's homage to these two "illustrious" German Jewish historians was published in 1867 in an article with the title "*A los djidyós espanyoles ke en todo el mundo*" (To the Spanish Jews throughout the world), in which he purposefully aimed at making his Sephardic "*konnasyonales*" (compatriots) aware of their Spanish heritage.⁴² Due to its highly revealing content, the article has been discussed by Bunis (2011a: 45-75; 2013: 39-146; 2014: 143-179) on several occasions. Compared to other Judezmo sources, Kalvo's article is remarkable, insofar as it "documents a pivotal moment in the social development of the Levantine Sephardim". Bunis (2011a: 65) holds that Kalvo was obviously the first Judezmo author who, "following centuries of the absence [...] of any published expression of positive sentiment toward Spain which might or might not have existed among the Sephardim after the Expulsion, [...] voiced full identification with Spain and its 'glories'". In spite of his great affection for Spain, Kalvo did not fail to mention the bitter hardships his ancestors had gone through when being expelled from the Iberian Peninsula. Already at the beginning of his article—as it seems, directly inspired by Graetz' and Kayserling's vivid historiographic accounts—Kalvo reminded his readers that "it had been now 400 years since our forefathers, suppressed by a sinister and cruel destiny, were barbarously expelled from their dear and beloved homeland, *la hermosa Espanya* [beautiful Spain]!"⁴³ However, he also noted that

although Spain might have been a cruel stepmother to them, their eyes were constantly directed toward her, with the hope of stepping foot once more upon the land of their birth. In the meantime, they drew comfort from the

⁴¹ For a detailed biography of Graetz, including an overview of his most important works about Sephardic Jewry, see Schapkow 2011: 214-229.

⁴² *El Nacional* 1(51), December 4, 1867, 411-413. In the appendix of one of his articles, Bunis (2011a: 66-68) republished the entire text (originally in Rashi script) of "*A los djidyós espanyoles ke en todo el mundo*" in Latin characters.

⁴³ *El Nacional* 1(51), December 4, 1867, 411. Translation based on David Bunis 2011a: 65.

smooth sound of the sweetest of all languages, Spanish, and it seemed as if they were in Spain when they spoke it.⁴⁴

Although the longing for Spain and the veneration of its language might indeed have been very strong among the first generations of the Spanish exiles, Kalvo did not give any evidence proving that this was still the case among the Sephardic Jews of his time. Instead, he was well aware that the language spoken by Sephardic Jews in his days was definitely not the same one still spoken in their ancient homeland. Trying to explain the linguistic changes that his mother tongue had undergone in the course of four centuries, he regretfully stated:

But is it any surprise if our language is no longer pure and clean as that in Spain? The continuous mixing of our language with others, adversities of all kinds, as well as the indifference of past generations, caused this thing [...]. In our days, finding ourselves amongst more or less cultured peoples, we must with pain and shame hear the disapproval the other peoples throw in our face, saying that we are not a nation, since we do not have a language, or a literature, or a history.⁴⁵

Kalvo's fear that the Sephardic (or, rather, "Spanish") Jews would not be perceived as a distinct nation seems to be plausible for a journalist who happened to live in the political and social realm of the late Habsburg Empire. There, a group's vernacular language turned out to be the decisive criterion for being counted as a proper nation or—to use the legal nomenclature of the Habsburg authorities—a *Volksstamm*.⁴⁶ Thus, driven by the idea that a proper nation necessarily had to build its identity and continuing existence on a distinct language and literature, Kalvo ultimately declared:

Yes, our language is Spanish! Some say that we do not have a literature of our own: [however, this is] not true, with glory and grandeur we may appertain to the great and illustrious Spanish literature; in all the areas of the human sciences our compatriots in Spain wrote and are still writing, [Cervantes'] valiant and immortal work of Don Quijote, the comedies by

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 411-412. Translation based on David Bunis 2011a: 66

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, 412. Translation by David Bunis 2011a: 66.

⁴⁶ See article 19 in *Staatsgrundgesetz über die allgemeinen Rechte der Staatsbürger für die im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder* (RGBl. Nr. 142/1867), see also Baier 1983: 28.

[Pedro] Calderón [de la Barca], the *coplas*⁴⁷ by Fernández de Herrera, the sonnets by Lope de Vega [...] are indestructible monuments of the ancient literature of our [fellow] Spaniards, not to mention [also] the countless works from medieval and modern times.⁴⁸

According to Kalvo, his Sephardic compatriots—as actual Spaniards—should re-connect to and thus draw on the rich literary tradition produced in Spain, not only before, but also after the expulsion. By doing so, he thought, the Sephardic Jews would eventually be able to compensate for the great flaw of not having a proper, world-class, literary tradition of their own. In a similar fashion, like many German *maskilim* of his time, who were ardent admirers of Iberian Jewish notables such as Solomon ibn Gabirol (1021 or 1022-1070), Moses ibn Ezra (ca. 1055-ca. 1138), Judah Halevi (ca. 1075-1141), and Maimonides (1138-1204) (Efron 2016: 61); Kalvo further tried to convince his Sephardic co-religionists that there was “no need for us to collect alms [i.e., vocabulary] from other languages, if our own, the one spoken by the Rambam [Maimonides], [Abraham] Ibn Ezra and all the other sages of Spain, is so sweet, beautiful and abundant”.⁴⁹ By referring to these authoritative medieval Jewish figures, Kalvo obviously wanted to convince the religious and traditional-minded among his co-religionists, who must have been very skeptical of his proposition to reconnect to the language and literature of the Spanish Gentiles. However, unlike his maskilic German Jewish contemporaries, Kalvo did not seem to be aware that most of the famous medieval pundits he referred to were probably more proficient in Arabic and Hebrew than in proper Spanish. At least most of their works were originally composed in Arabic or Hebrew, and not in the popular Romance spoken on the Iberian Peninsula at that time (see López-Morillas 2000).

Despite the historical inaccuracies of some of his accounts, Kalvo purposefully built on them, in order to expose an ambitious master plan for modernizing his mother tongue, which he called ‘*La Redjenerasyon de Nuestra Avla!*’ (The Regeneration of Our Speech).⁵⁰ This plan went much further than merely encouraging his readership to face up to their almost forgotten literary legacy in Spain. At the end of his passionate article,

⁴⁷ A *copla* is a metric form of four verses, found in Spanish language literature, as well as in many Spanish folk songs. The same meter also appears in many traditional Sephardic folk songs. Díaz-Mas 1992: 105-112.

⁴⁸ *El Nacional* 1(51), December 4, 1867, 412.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 411.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, 412

Kalvo proclaimed that the vernacular commonly spoken by Sephardic Jews today should ultimately be replaced by modern Castilian Spanish. For implementing this plan on a large scale among Judezmo speakers worldwide, his own newspaper *El Nasiona* would serve as a kind of pioneering model:

El “*Nasiona*”, from the beginning of its second year of publication, has the intention of dedicating its last page (*daf*)⁵¹ to the study of *la verdadera lingua espanyola* [the real Spanish language], written in Latin characters, like the one spoken in Spain, our ancient homeland.⁵²

According to Bunis (2014: 159-166), Yosef Kalvo was apparently the first Sephardic intellectual openly promoting the replacement of Judezmo by Castilian, including the replacement of the traditional Hebrew alphabet by Latin script. This ambitious plan, however, was never put into action. *El Nasiona* never made it to the second year of its publication and ceased to exist after December 9, 1867. As an open letter in one of its last issues reveals, the paper did not reach a sufficient number of paying subscribers to ensure its continuation.⁵³

After the cessation of *El Nasiona*, Yosef Kalvo continued to work as editor and writer for *El Koreo de Viena*, which was first published by Kalvo's colleague and friend of many years, Shem Tov Semo, in 1869. They had already worked together in Semo's first political newspaper, the short-lived *El Dragomán*. Although Shem Tov Semo had hired Kalvo for his great journalistic talent and his creative use of the language's diverse linguistic registers, Semo's admiration for Kalvo had never led him to apply any of his colleague's ideas concerning the Castilianization or Romanization of his papers. In fact, what we observe in *El Koreo de Viena* and its supplements is that towards the end of his career, Yosef Kalvo seems to have abandoned his Castilianization scheme. His intention to publish parts and eventually all of his texts in Castilian in the Roman alphabet were never realized in *El Koreo*. Moreover, and according to Bunis (2013: 87), the fictional pieces Kalvo wrote then, especially the *Hidji* and the *Helvadji* series in his *Kartas Bovas* (silly letters)—a humoristic column

⁵¹ *Daf* (Hebr. דף, “page”).

⁵² *El Nasiona* 1(51), December 4, 1867, 412.

⁵³ *El Nasiona* 1(49), November 20, 1867, 391.

published in *El Koreo*'s supplement *El Trezoro de la Kaza*⁵⁴) The Treasure of the Home)—which seems to have been very popular among the readers, may be called the earliest skillful use of folk Judezmo for original fiction. For this reason, Bunis (2013: 87) thinks that, once he began working for Semo's *Koreo de Viena*, from a passionate "Castilianist" Kalvo became a kind of more pragmatic, yet still pioneering "Judezmist", using a language "perhaps closer to their everyday language in its higher percentage of Hebraisms, Turkisms and Balkanisms".

In the history of "popular Judezmism", this practice may be thought of as a turning point which, as it seems, had begun in Vienna. However, the reason for this development might have had less to do with Kalvo's own changing convictions but rather with the particular linguistic attitudes of his friend and colleague, Shem Tov Semo, the owner of *El Koreo de Viena*. According to Michael Studemund-Halévy (2010: 320), other than Yosef Kalvo, Semo had always "rejected the idea of abandoning Judezmo for Spanish". However, like Kalvo, Semo was very concerned about the status and the future of his mother tongue and the precarious status of their nationality as Sephardic Jews for not having a proper literature of their own. In an interview conducted by León Haim Tuvy (1860-1944), a Sephardic journalist from the Hungarian (now Romanian) town Brassó (Kronstadt; now Braşov), which was published in *Ilustra Guerta de Istorya* (Illustrated Garden of History) shortly after Semo's death, he declared:

I started to publish my newspapers with the aim of stimulating the appetite for literature, developing the national sentiments, enlightening my co-religionists about political and social questions and providing an essential and fine library for [my] readers.⁵⁵

Thus, for Semo it was not the abandonment of his mother tongue in favor of Castilian Spanish strengthening the national sentiments of his fellow co-religionists; rather, it was the production of high-quality texts in a modern popular Judezmo, including the translation of literary and historical classics from German and other European languages, in order to create "an essential and fine library" that his readers could take pride in.

⁵⁴ *El Trezoro de la Kaza* 1(4), February 15, 1871, 3-4; 1(5), March 1, 1871, 3; 1(6), March 15, 1871, 3-4; 1(7), April 1, 1871, 3-4; for a full transcription of these articles, see Bunis 2013: 121-132.

⁵⁵ *Ilustra Guerta de Istorya* 2(1), 1881: 19-20, in: Studemund-Halévy 2010: 321. Transcription by Michael Studemund-Halévy.

Even after the deaths of Shem Tov Semo and Josef Kalvo, their colleagues and collaborators carried on their wish to acquaint their readers with literary and historical topics, which the two of them had deemed necessary for the formation of the national character of their readership. For example, León Haim Tuvy published a number of articles in various of Semo's newspapers, which were later run by his sons, Moshe Haim (1851-1917) and Shabetay Semo (1857-1904). In 1882 and 1883, Tuvy released a series of articles in *El Koreo de Viena* based on Heinrich Graetz's monumental historiographic work about the history of the Jews.⁵⁶ Tuvy's "*Istoria de los Djidyós*" (History of the Jews), which, unsurprisingly, also deals with the history of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews before and after the expulsions, seems to be the first translation or rather translated summary of Graetz' History of the Jews into Judezmo, and definitely contributed to further disseminating the knowledge of Iberian-Jewish history among Sephardic Jews in and outside Vienna.

Along with Leopold Zunz (1794-1886), Abraham Geiger (1810-1874), and other representatives of the *Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (Science or Academic Study of Judaism), Heinrich Graetz belonged to the most important intellectual group promoting the recollection of a glorious Sephardic past, especially among German-speaking Jews (Efron 2016: 190-229). As pointed out by Bunis (2013: 42), the books of Heinrich Graetz predominantly helped "to create what amounts to the Sephardic supremacy myth", which in the course of the 19th century had become very popular among emancipated Jews across Germany and Austria. This cultural phenomenon had first been described by Ivan Marcus (1985), in his essay "Beyond the Sephardic mystique". It was later taken up by Ismar Schorsch (1989), who described it as "Myth of Sephardic Supremacy", and which he saw represented in various domains of German Jewish culture, such as synagogue liturgy and architecture, as well as literature and scholarship. As a boarder cultural and ideological phenomenon, the Sephardic supremacy myth has been also referred to as "Sephardism", which Yael Halevi-Wise (2012a: xiv) has defined "as a political literary metaphor used by Jewish and gentile novelists, poets, and dramatists [...] to explore their own pre-occupations with modern national identity"; as such, it can be compared

⁵⁶ Tuvy's series had already started in *El Koreo de Viena*'s 13th volume (1882), which unfortunately is not available anymore. It continued to be published in the paper's last volume (1883) and appeared in almost every issue of that year. E.g., see *El Koreo de Viena* 14(1), January 11, 1883, 3; *El Koreo de Viena* 14(2), January 18, 1883, 6-7.

with “orientalism, hispanism, medievalism, and other politicized discourses” during the long 19th century (see also Halevi-Wise 2012b: 8-12).

In fact, Yosef Kalvo and other journalists associated with the Viennese Judezmo press seemed to have been the first Eastern Sephardic intellectuals within the vast Judezmo speech community to become acquainted with Sephardist discourses through the works of German Jewish *maskilim*. What is once again worthwhile mentioning in this respect is that, like other Jews in the Eastern Sephardic diaspora, the Viennese Sephardim did not seem to have had an oral or written history of their own, helping them to reconstruct their own Iberian legacy; or at least, they never make mention of such inner-Sephardic sources that would provide evidence for a proper Sephardic historiography or a collective consciousness about Spain. Instead, Sephardic journalists, such as Yosef Kalvo and León Haim Tuvy, directly drew on the writings of the German Jewish historians, Heinrich Graetz and Meyer Kayserling, who obviously helped them to recover their own Iberian past; and this apparently proved to be extremely meaningful for them. Inspired by their Ashkenazic co-religionists, the Sephardic Jews of Vienna, in the second half of the 19th century, developed their own distinct and meaningful form of Sephardism, which they purposefully used both for celebrating their own Spanish heritage and for standing out against their German Jewish environment.⁵⁷ Even later on, at the turn of the 20th century, non-Jewish agents, most prominently the Spanish physician and senator Ángel Pulido Fernández (1852-1932), built on such Sephardist sentiments to re-connect Sephardic Jews to the modern country of Spain, as well as Spanish culture. At least at an initial stage of Pulido’s (1905: 299-300) Philo-Sephardic campaign, the Viennese Sephardim played a central role, as he noted that “with pride, they recall that the Spinozas [i.e., Baruch Spinoza and his family], [...] and many other scientific, financial and artistic eminences were descendants of Spain, and they maintain with glory the superiority of this [i.e., the Sephardic] race”.

The reconstruction of how Eastern Sephardic Jews in general and the Viennese Sephardim in particular managed to re-discover their ancient Spanish roots would have been unthinkable without David Bunis’ groundbreaking work. His important contributions help us to cast doubt on the widespread notion of the Eastern Sephardim’s everlasting consciousness of their Iberian homeland since the events of the expulsion. Even though

⁵⁷ For more information about the emergence of what I call “Sephardic Sephardism”, see Stechauner 2022.

for many this notion has become a kind of common-sense certainty—without any doubt, very important and meaningful to many Sephardic Jews today—it is nevertheless worth questioning and scrutinizing it. A critical investigation of Sephardist sentiments and their historical roots open up new perspectives about the inter-connectedness and interactions between Sephardic and Ashkenazic, as well as Jewish and non-Jewish agents. It also proves the fact that Sephardic individuals, as well as communities, have always been in constant and close dialogue with their immediate environment and the dominant discourses within them. This exchange has ultimately helped to forge discourses about Sephardic identity and heritage, particularly meaningful to past and present generations, longing to re-discover their historical roots.

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THE CORNER FOR TEACHING HEBREW IN A TRILINGUAL JEWISH JOURNAL FROM TRIPOLI, LIBYA

Ofra TIROSH-BECKER

1. Introduction

Jewish newspapers and journals published in North Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are a treasure-trove that sheds light on all walks of life in these Jewish communities at that time. In this paper, we chose to discuss a special section in a Jewish weekly newspaper *Haienu* published in Libya in the mid-twentieth century. The Jewish community in Libya has a long history. Jewish settlements in the area date back to the Greek colony of Cyrenaica in eastern Libya. After the Middle Ages, for three centuries, Libya was under the loose control of the Ottoman rule that was centered in Tripoli. In 1911, the country was colonized by Italy, who established two colonies (Tripolitania and Cyrenaica), later unified as the colony of Italian Libya. Under Italy's Fascist regime, which gained power in 1922, relations between the colonial authorities and the Jewish community gradually deteriorated, culminating in the 1938 Racial Laws in Italy. These laws' impact was soon felt in Libya as well, restricting access of Jews to public schools and to public offices. In 1942, the governor of Libya began sending its Jews to other countries, and opened a concentration camp in Giado. In 1943, Libya was occupied by the Allied Forces, and a British military administration took control of the country. However,

hostilities from the local Muslims ensued, with anti-Jew violence erupting in 1945 and in 1948. Between 1949 and 1952, mass emigration was organized by the Zionist organizations, enabling more than thirty-one thousands of the country's thirty-five thousand Jews to immigrate to the State of Israel (Hagag-Lilouf 2007: 31-32), ahead of the declaration of Libyan independence, in December 1951.

Hence, Libya constituted a multi-lingual environment that included Muslim Arabic, Berber, and Italian. For its Jewish population, it also included Judeo-Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic. As a result, Libyan Jews, in particular the Jews of Tripoli, lived in a state of *multiglossia*, using different languages for distinct purposes, and according to the circumstances. Their Judeo-Arabic (JA) was distinct from the Arabic of their Muslim neighbors, and was laced with Hebrew and Italian components. The Jewish dialects of Libya can be classified into two main groups: Coastal dialects and Mountain dialects. The *Coastal dialects* were used in the coastal towns from Benghazi to Zwara, including Tripoli. A slight difference in vocabulary exists between the eastern and western coastal dialects. The *Mountain dialects* were used in the mountain villages of southern Tripolitania, differing from the coastal dialects in many aspects (Yoda 2010). As Berber was the prevalent language in these mountain areas, the Jews of Yefren (Ifrane), a city of northwestern Libya, also spoke Berber as a second language (Goldberg 1974: 138; Yoda 2007: 115).¹

Zionist activity in Libya started shortly after the Italian colonization of Libya in 1911, leading to the formation of a local Zionist organization and the founding of Hebrew evening schools. In 1916, the *Circolo Sion* (Zion Circle) was established in Tripoli. Its founders published twenty articles in support of the Basel Program, the first manifest of the Zionist movement, and requested that members donate to the Jewish National Fund (Roumani 2010a; Lasker 2014: 263-265). The *Circolo Sion* also advocated reforms in Jewish education that drew disapproval from conservative community leaders, who opposed what they believed were steps towards assimilation. Nonetheless, in time, more schools were established in which Hebrew was taught alongside Italian and Arabic (Roumani 2010b). In 1931, the *Ben-Yehuda Society* for the promotion of spoken Hebrew was founded in Tripoli. The goal of this Society was to enable community members to read Hebrew periodicals from Eretz Yisrael. Therefore, they started Hebrew courses for adults and afternoon classes for children as well (Simon 2010b).

¹ On the Judeo-Arabic Dialect of this community see D'Anna 2021.

One of the Society's activities was publishing the weekly periodical *Limdu 'Ivrit* (Learn Hebrew) that appeared in Tripoli in 1933-1934 and was structured as a Hebrew language textbook (Tobi 2016: 79-84).² *Limdu 'Ivrit* promoted the study of Hebrew language and encouraged parents to send their children to evening classes at their Hebrew school *HaTiqva* (Goldberg 2020: 274-276).

2. The Journal *Haienu*

The trilingual, Hebrew—Judeo-Arabic—Italian, weekly journal *Haienu* was founded in Tripoli in 1949 by Frigia Zu'aretz (פריג'א זוארץ; 1907-1993), a Zionist leader of the Libyan Jewish community and the journal's first editor (Guedj 2021a: 289-291). The journal had an overarching goal to prepare the Libyan Jewish community for immigration to the newly formed State of Israel. It was published under the auspices of the Zionist organizations *Bnei Akiva*, *Brit Haluzim Datiyyim*, *Ben Yehuda Society* and *Keren Kayemet LeIsrael* (Jewish National Fund). Each issue of this trilingual journal held four pages, two pages in Hebrew script (first page in Hebrew and the second in Judeo-Arabic), and two pages in Italian. The demarcation between the Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic parts was not strict, as in some issues the Judeo-Arabic text starts already on the first page, and in others the Hebrew text flows into the second page. On rare occasions the journal issue was expanded to six pages, three in Hebrew script (Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic) and three in Italian (Zaruq 2014: 377, Simon 2013).³

The journal provided information about news and events in the young State of Israel; activities and achievements of the religious Zionist movement *HaPo'el HaMizrahi*; accounts of the activities of Libyan 'olim (immigrants), who have already immigrated to Israel; and stories of challenges faced by the 'olim after their arrival in Israel. Publishing the journal in the three languages used by Libyan Zionist Jews—Hebrew, Judeo-Arabic and Italian—reflected its editor's intention to reach the entire Libyan Jewish community. Its wide circulation, initially 3,500 copies a week (Zaruq 2014:

² Other didactic periodicals published by Libyan Jews were *Nitsanim* (1945-1948) and *Səmadar* (1948), see Tobi 2016: 80.

³ In 1944-1945, a similarly named journal, *Haienu – La Nostra Vita*, was published in Tripoli by the *Ben-Yehuda Society* and the *Halutz*. This short-lived periodical appeared twice a year, and was edited by Joseph Mimun, 'Amishaday Guetta and Abraham Naḥum. See Zaruq 2014: 377.

377), suggests that it could have indeed reached every Jewish household in Libya (35,000 Jews lived in Libya in early 1949, mainly in Tripoli and Benghazi). Zu'aretz himself edited the first 15 issues, before immigrating to Israel in late 1949. 'Amishaday Guetta (1906-1979) succeeded him as the journal's editor until his own immigration to Israel in 1951. The last few journal issues of *Haienu* were edited by Gavri'el 'Arbib (גבריאל ארביב).⁴ The journal ceased to appear in late 1951, after the vast majority of Libyan Jews had left Libya, and the remaining community members accounted for no more than ten percent of the population a few years earlier.

As a Zionist Journal with a goal to support the community's immigration to Israel, Hebrew was of paramount importance to its editors.⁵ Thus, they included in their journal Hebrew reading material at different levels of language proficiency. The Hebrew language page of the journal catered to those community members who already had a good command of Hebrew. The journal also included Hebrew language crossword puzzles, to challenge those whose mastery of Hebrew was above average, adding proverbs in Hebrew, e.g., 'The fool says what he knows, while the wise knows what he says' (הכסיל מגיד את אשר הוא יודע, החכם יודע את אשר הוא מגיד).⁶ Finally, the journal also included a weekly *Corner* for teaching Hebrew language to beginners, i.e., Judeo-Arabic speakers, as they made their first steps in acquiring Hebrew proficiency.⁷

3. The Corner for Teaching Hebrew

Being a journal of the religious Zionist movement in Libya, Hebrew was clearly at the forefront of its editors' priorities, especially with their immigration-focused goals. To support the community in their readiness for future immigration (*'aliyya*), the journal published a weekly Hebrew

⁴ On the 'Arbib family, see Simon 2010a.

⁵ An announcement of a Hebrew language evening course for children, who did not attend regular Hebrew schools, and for adults, managed by the local youth movement, appeared in *Haienu*, year 3, issue 23 (January 25, 1951). The announcement was published in both Judeo-Arabic and Hebrew.

⁶ *Haienu*, year 2, issue 26 (February 15, 1951).

⁷ Hebrew lessons appeared also in the Maghrebi Judeo-Arabic weekly journal *Hed Hamaarav* (הד המערב, סאוות אל מוגרב, הדר המערב) published in Jerusalem, 1958. The journal had a section titled 'Hebrew Lessons' (שעורים לעברית) in which it published lessons received from Brit Ivrit Olamit (ברית עברית עולמית). I would like to thank Dr. Lilac Torgeman for introducing this journal to me.

learning section under the heading, *The Corner for Teaching Hebrew (ruknat ta'lim al-'ivrit; רכנת תעלים לעברית)*. The *Corner* first appeared in the Journal's 31st issue (published March 16, 1950). The short Hebrew story that appeared in the first lesson had the title 'See you in Eretz Yisrael' (להתראות בארץ ישראל).

The editor accompanied the *Corner's* first lesson with a short Judeo-Arabic introduction, in which he explained why the publication of the Hebrew lessons had been delayed until then, and shared his advice as to how best to use these lessons to effectively learn Hebrew:

We promised our readers that we will allocate space in our journal for teaching Hebrew, but this was delayed due to lack of glyphs [with Hebrew punctuation signs], which we did not receive to date. To avoid further delay we decided to start now, using the glyphs that we have, until the new glyphs arrive. We recognize that learning this way is not easy, but nothing is hard to whoever has the will, God bless him. Hence, we ask our brothers to pay close attention to this lesson, and even after studying it they are advised to repeat it so that it is not forgotten. We also recommend that the learners do not skip any lesson because the lessons are linked to each other like a chain. Whoever misses one lesson will lose everything. We have great hope that whoever follows our lessons will learn [Hebrew] in a short time. In any case, we will be happy to hear from our brethren readers about anything that may seem difficult, and we will make an effort to solve it. We wanted to use [glyphs] with punctuation signs but this is not possible at this time. Our lessons are adopted from the book '*Ale* and they are intended for the '*olim* (immigrants).

Indeed, as clearly stated by the editor, all the Hebrew texts that appear in these lessons were taken from the 14th renewed edition of the book '*Ale! A Hebrew Language Textbook for Beginners* (עלה! ספר למוד השפה העברית למתחילים) by A. Ashman and A. Rozenzweig, published in Tel-Aviv in 1948 (Yavne publishing). Versions of this book, first published in 1936, served a basic Hebrew language textbook in Eretz Yisrael in the 1940s, and was reprinted in multiple editions through 1965. The attempt of the editor to obtain glyphs with Hebrew punctuation signs is understood as the book '*Ale!* is punctuated.⁸

The *Corner* thus focuses on teaching the contemporary Modern Hebrew spoken in Israel in the mid-twentieth century (cf. Tobi 2016: 87-88). The

⁸ Cf. other Hebrew language textbooks that were used by Hebrew teachers of the Ben-Yehuda group in Morocco, see Guedj 2021b: 181.

lessons in the *Corner* follow the order of the lessons in the original Hebrew book *'Ale*. These sequentially cover topics relevant to the journey of the new *'olim*: farewell to the family left behind, travel by sea, arrival in Israel, renting an apartment in the new country, etc. The overall structure of the *Corner's* lessons includes a short Hebrew story, often in the form of a dialogue, accompanied by a Judeo-Arabic translation or a glossary, and it concludes with two suggested exercises (*tadrīb* תדריב 'exercise'). These exercises include tasks, such as a request to re-read the Hebrew text, translate the Hebrew text into Judeo-Arabic, fill the blanks in a new Hebrew text with the missing words, or compose a completely new Hebrew story, based on the accrued vocabulary. Through the lessons, we see an evolution in the way the Judeo-Arabic translation is presented, most likely reflecting the growing Hebrew proficiency of the learners. In the first lesson, a full Judeo-Arabic translation appears immediately after the Hebrew story. From lesson 2 through lesson 21, the Hebrew text is followed by an Arabic glossary—'translation of new words' (*taržamat al-kalimāt aḡ-žudud*; תרג'מת אלכלמ'את אג'וד) —in which a Hebrew word is followed by its Judeo-Arabic counterpart. The following example is the first sentence of the Hebrew story in the 3rd lesson and the glossary that accompanies it:⁹

בלי דרכון על הספון של האניה רץ וקופץ ילד קטן.
 דרכון = פאסאפורט, רץ = יג'רי, וקופץ = וינגגז, ילד קטן = ולד צג'יר
 = Without a passport a small child is running and jumping on the ship's deck.

From lesson 22 onwards, the format changes again, and the Arabic equivalents are embedded within the Hebrew text in parentheses. Here is a sample text from lesson 22:¹⁰

עולה בעל משפחה (צאחב עילה) בא מאירופה לתל-אביב, רצה (חב) לשכור לו (ליכרי) דירה (סכנה) ברחוב יפה, קרוב לים. צריך היה למהר בדבר (ילזמו יכממל אדווא פיסע) כי לעת עתה (עלא דלחין) ישב בבית מלון (אוטיל) ושלם הרבה כסף (פלוס יאסר).
 = A newcomer ('*ole*) with a family arrived from Europe in Tel-Aviv and wanted to rent an apartment on a nice street near the sea. He had to hurry, because for now he was staying in a hotel and paying a lot of money.

⁹ *Haenu*, year 1, issue 34 (April 13, 1950).

¹⁰ *Haenu*, year 2, issue 22 (January 18, 1951).

Overall, 39 Hebrew language lessons were published in the *Corner*, from March 16, 1950 (year 1, issue 31) through July 5, 1951 (year 2, issue 42), all of them during the tenure of 'Amishaday Guetta as editor. They did not appear in the journal's last issues that were edited by Gavri'el 'Arbib.

4. Linguistic Analysis of the Judeo-Arabic Glossary

Some features of the Judeo-Arabic language in the translations and glossaries that appear in the *Corner* will be discussed below, according to the following aspects: orthography, phonology, morphology, morphosyntax, and lexicon. Each example includes the original Hebrew-character text (both Judeo-Arabic and Hebrew), a transcription of the Hebrew words, a phonemic transcription of the Tripolitanian Judeo-Arabic words, and is accompanied by a reference to the *Corner*'s lesson number, e.g., (כלאו אכלו) (Hb. 'axlu, JA klāw 'they ate'; #25), indicating that this example appeared in lesson 25.¹¹ At times an Arabic equivalent is provided for clarification.

4.1. Orthography

In general, Judeo-Arabic is written in Hebrew script. The orthography used in this journal is the customary North African Judeo-Arabic orthography: ב = *b* (*b*), ד = *d* (*d*), ה = *h* (*h*), etc. Diacritics are used to distinguish between the following characters: ֶ = *ġ* (voiced velar fricative), ֶ, ֶ = *z*,¹² ֶ = *š*, ֶ = *ḡ*. The character כ denotes both *k* and *x* (without distinction; unlike medieval JA orthography), although the final *k* is written as ך. Note that the orthography does not reflect specific phonetic realizations, such as the characteristic Libyan realization of the phoneme /t/ as the affricate [č] (= [tʃ]), because it is written using a Hebrew ת. As was customary, there are no special diacritics to denote the fricative interdental consonants *t̪*, *d̪*, *ḡ* as in most urban North African Judeo-Arabic dialects, they shift to

¹¹ Languages are abbreviated as Ar. = Arabic (unless indicated otherwise, this refers to Modern Standard Arabic), CA = Classical Arabic, Fr. = French, Hb. = Hebrew, It. = Italian, JA = Judeo-Arabic, and Sp. = Spanish.

¹² The Arabic character ڄ (pronounced *z̪* in Tripoli JA) is transcribed in this journal with a comma after the Hebrew character ֶ, i.e., ֶ. Keeping with a more customary transcription in this paper, we transcribe this character as 'ֶ.

their plosive counterparts *t*, *d*, *ḏ*. For example: (בדיחה) (Hb. *bədiḥa* JA *fədləka* < فُتْلَكَة 'a joke'; #35), (לשמור אותה) (Hb. *lišmor* 'ota, JA *l-nəḥfəḏ-ha* < لنحفظها 'to keep it'; #27). Doubling of a character indicates a *šadda* that is part of a verbal or a nominal pattern, e.g., (זוכר אני) (Hb. *zoxer* 'ani, JA *ana nətfəkkər* 'I remember'; #35), (הפועלים) (Hb. *ha-po'alim*, JA *əl-xddāma* 'the workers'; #26). For the transcriptions of the JA pronunciation, I consulted Yoda (2005; 2010).

In this journal's text, we see that both א and ה are used to denote a final *a* vowel, regardless of its origin. For example:

- (1) (אני) (Hb. 'ani, JA *ana* 'I'; #3), (הם) (Hb. *hem*, JA *hum-ma* 'they (Pl.)'; #4), (נפענו) (Hb. *nasa* 'nu, JA *mšīna* 'we rode'¹³; #25), (הבא לנו) (Hb. *havé lanu*, JA *žīb-lna* 'bring us'; #34).

This is true also for Arabic words that end with an *'alif maqṣūra bi-šūrat al-yā'* (ى):

- (2) (אלדי חתה) (Hb. *še-'aḥillu*, JA *əldi ḥtta*, Ar. حتى 'that even'; #25), (ורץ) (Hb. *və-rats*, JA *u-ž-ra*, Ar. وجرى 'and ran'; #23), (עלה) (Hb. *lə-'et 'atta*, JA *'la dəl-ḥīn*, Ar. عَلَى هَذَا الْحِين 'for now'; #29), (עלא) (Hb. *pit'om*, JA *'la ḡafla*, Ar. غفلة 'suddenly'; #39).

In the last example, *'la* (على) is transcribed as both עלה and עלא. The spelling עלא alongside the spelling עלי is documented already in medieval JA (Blau 1980: 24-25). In Neo-Judeo-Arabic, this word is typically transcribed עלא as reflecting the final vowel, *a*.

4.2. Phonology

/ʔ/

It is well known that the glottal stop /ʔ/ (*hamza*) has weakened in the North African JA dialects, regardless of its position in the word, initial,

¹³ Cf. in Tripoli JA *mša* means 'went', in Modern Standard Arabic it means 'walked' (Yoda 2005: 332).

medial, or final (Tirosh-Becker 2021: 260-261). This is true for this Libyan JA text as well. For example:

- (3) Initial *hamza*: נשאללה (JA *nšalla* < Ar. *ʿin šāʿa allah* 'إن شاء الله' 'God willing'; #1).
 (4) Medial *hamza*: בעל משפחה (צאחב עילה) (Hb. *baʿal mišpaḥa*, JA *sāḥəb ʿila* < Ar. *ṣāḥib ʿāʾila* 'صاحب عائلة' '[who that] has a family'; #21).

An omission of the *hamza* at the end of the word often leaves a final *a* vowel, which in this text is frequently transcribed with a ה (instead of א; cf. examples 1-2). This can occur both with nouns (example 5) and with verbs (example 6):

- (5) ארוחת ערב (עשה) (Hb. *ʿaruḥat ʿerev*, JA *ʿša* < Ar. *ʿašāʿ* 'عشاء' 'dinner'; #39), לארוחת-צהורים (ללגדה) (Hb. *la-ʿaruḥat tsohorayim*, JA *l-əl-ḡda* < Ar. *ḡdāʿ* 'غداء' 'lunch'; #26).
 (6) אקרא (JA *aqra*, Ar. *ʿiqraʾ* 'اقرأ' 'read!'; #1), אקרא (JA *aqra*, Ar. *ʿiqraʾ* 'اقرأ' 'read!'; #4) – both in the exercises' instructions, אתחיל (נבדה) (Hb. *ʿaṭhil*, JA *nəbda*, Ar. *ʿabdaʾu* 'أبدأ' 'I will start'; #29).

In some cases, the omission of the *hamza* at the end of the word leaves a semi-vowel that is doubled: אור (צ'ור) (Hb. *ʿor*, JA *dəww* < Ar. *dawʾ* 'ضوء' 'light'; #21), כלום (שיי) (Hb. *klum*, JA *šayy* < Ar. *šayʿ* 'شيء' 'something'; #7).

/h/

Loss of the glottal fricative /h/ before a vowel is characteristic of the Judeo-Arabic of Tripoli (Libya), where it is one of the most conspicuous differences between the city's Muslim and Jewish dialects, although it is sometimes altered to a voiced *h* (= IPA [ɦ]) (Yoda 2010; Yoda 2005: 75-79). This is especially noticeable in the demonstrative pronouns that are pronounced by the Jews of Tripoli without the initial *h*, e.g., the demonstrative pronouns for near deixis are *ādā* (SG.M), *ādī* (SG.F), *ādūn* ~ *ādūni* (PL.C) and in short form *ād*, similar to their pronunciations in the JA of Tunis and often also in the JA of Algiers (M. Cohen 1912: 346; D. Cohen 1975: 225; Yoda 2005: 127). The silencing of this *h* is reflected in a few examples in the *Corner*:

- (7) הנה (Hb. *və-hinne* JA *w-ādū* < Ar. وَهَذَا ‘and here’; #27), והנה (Hb. *hinne tsalaḥat*, JA *w-ādī šiniyya* < Ar. وَهَذِهِ ‘and here is a plate’; #25).

However, in most occurrences, demonstrative and other pronouns were written with an initial ה, as in the following examples:

- (8) זה (Hb. *ze*, JA *(h)ādā* ‘this’; #8), השנה הזו (Hb. *ha-šana ha-zo*, JA *(h)ād l-‘am* ‘this year’; #21), ואז (Hb. *və-‘az*, JA *w-(h)ādāk l-waqt* ‘and that time’; #26), כך (Hb. *kax*, JA *(h)āida* ‘so’; #26).

Nonetheless, this initial ה most likely reflects a ‘literary’ correction and not a real pronunciation of the initial *h*, because we also find in the *Corner* many examples for hypercorrections, where an initial ה was added to words that originally began with a glottal stop. Example (9) demonstrated such hypercorrections in the spelling of the colloquial interrogative words: *aš* ‘what’, that is spelled האש (instead of אש); and *əmta* ‘when’, that is spelled האמתה (and not אמתה).

- (9) מה עשה אביך (Hb. *ma ‘asa ‘avi-xa*, JA *aš ‘məl bū-k* ‘what did your father do?’; #39), כשהיה רעב (Hb. *kə-še-haya ra ‘ev*, JA *əmta kān ži ‘ān* ‘when he was hungry’; #39).

4.2.1. Sibilants

The distinction between the four sibilant phonemes /s/, /š/, /z/, and /ž/ that are maintained in the JA dialect of Tripoli (Yoda 2005: 17-20), is also observed in this text. When two sibilant phonemes appear within the same word, assimilation or dissimilation may occur. We encountered one such example in this text: מרה עזוזה (=זקנה) (Hb. *zəqena*, JA *mṛa ‘zūza* ‘an old woman’; #1) where Ar. *‘ažūza* (عجوزة) is pronounced *‘zūza* as a result of the assimilation of the *ž* to the nearby *z*. It is interesting that an assimilation is not reflected in the spelling שמש (Hb. *šemeš*, JA *šəms* ‘sun’; #21) even though this word is documented *səms* with an assimilation in the spoken JA dialect of Tripoli (Yoda 2005: 74). שמש could reflect a conservative spelling.

4.2.2. Spread of emphasis

Spread of emphasis is prevalent in all North African Judeo-Arabic dialects (Tirosh-Becker 2021: 262-263). In the examples below (example 10), we found spread of emphasis in both directions, affecting phonemes that precede or follow the emphatic Arabic consonants, e.g., *mən əl-yṣār* (< Ar. *mina-l-yasār* مِنَ الْيَسَارِ) and *rās-u* (< Ar. *ra'su-hu* رَأْسُهُ) where *s* > ṣ both before and after the *r*, which is pronounced emphatically in Tripoli JA.

- (10) (התפלא (סטענ'ב) (Hb. *hitpalle*, JA *stə'žab* < Ar. *'ista'žaba* اسْتَعْجَب 'was amazed'; #25), (פרד'י (פרצאתי) (Hb. *pird-i*, JA *fərsat-i* 'my mule' < Ar. *faras* فَرَس 'horse'; #26), (נוסעת (מצאפרה) (Hb. *nosa'at*, JA *mṣāfra* < Ar. *musāfira* مُسَافِرَة 'traveling (F)'; #3), (משמאל (מן) (Hb. *mi-smol*, JA *mən əl-yṣār* < Ar. *mina-l-yasār* مِنَ الْيَسَار 'from the left'; #7), (ראשו (ראצו) (Hb. *roš-o*, JA *rās-u* < Ar. *ra'su-hu* رَأْسُهُ 'his head'; #28).

/q/

The CA phoneme /q/ is realized in Libya as [q] and is spelled in this text using the Hebrew ק. In a single occurrence, we found a spelling that reflects a voiced realization [g]: וקופץ (וינגוז) (Hb. *və-qofetz*, JA *u-ynəggəz* < Ar. *wa-yunaqqizu* 'and skipping'; #3). The realization [g] is characteristic of nomad Muslim dialects, from which a few words were borrowed into urban dialects as well.

4.2.3. Vowels

Only limited insight into the vowel system can be gained from this unpunctuated Judeo-Arabic text. In medieval JA orthography the Hebrew *matres lectionis* א, ו, י are used to denote the long vowels *ā*, *ū* and *ī*, respectively. According to Yoda (2010), the vowel system of the Judeo-Arabic of Tripoli includes a single short central vowel *ə* and three long vowels *ā*, *ū*, *ī*.¹⁴ However, in the orthography of North African Neo-Judeo-Arabic, the Hebrew *mater lectionis* were often used to denote vowel quality rather

¹⁴ Yoda indicates that these vowels can also be realized as semi-long or even short vowels when they are unstressed (Yoda 2005: 45-46).

than quantity.¹⁵ In this text, the Hebrew *mater lectionis* ם was used to denote the quality of a short vowel *a* (example 11), despite the documented use of a single, short, central vowel *ə* in the spoken dialect:¹⁶

- (11) עולים אחדים (באעד לעולים) (Hb. *ro'e*, JA *naʕa* 'I see'; #24),
 (Hb. *'olim 'ahadim*, JA *ba'ḏ l-'olim* 'some immigrants';¹⁷ #7),
 (פלבלאדייה) בעיריה (Hb. *ba-'iriyya*, JA *f-al-baladiyya* 'in the
 municipality'; #39).

Hebrew *matres lectionis* are frequently used in transcribing Italian loan words to better reflect their pronunciation. Many such examples can be found in the *lexicon* section, below (examples 25-45).

4.3. Morphology

4.3.1. Verb conjugation

The conjugation of both 1SG and 1PL imperfect forms with a prefix *n-* is characteristic of Maghrebi dialects, i.e., *nəf'al* (1SG) and *nəf'lu / nɛf'lu* (1PL), in comparison to the CA conjugation *'af'alu* (1SG) and *naf'alu* (1PL) (Fischer and Jastrow 1980: 261-262). These Maghrebi forms are abundant in this JA text:

- (12) 1SG: שאוכל (אלדי נקדר) (Hb. *še-'uxal*, JA *əldi nəqḏər* 'that I will
 be able'; #27), אני רואה (אנה נשוף) (Hb. *'ani ro'e* JA *ana nšūf* 'I
 will see'; #3), זוכר אני (אנה נתפככר) (Hb. *zoxer 'ani*, JA *ana nət-
 fəkkər* 'I remember'; #35).

¹⁵ The Hebrew *mater lectionis* ן was sometimes used to reflect quality already in medieval Judeo-Arabic, see Blau 2002: 32.

¹⁶ The spelling with ם reflects a short *a* that may occur in the vicinity of emphatic or pharyngeal consonants, as in the first two examples: *naʕa* and *ba'ḏ*. There is no such consonant in the word *f-al-baladiyya*, which may be considered a more literary administrative word.

¹⁷ This word that includes the phoneme /ḏ/ is transcribed here with a ך (באעד) instead of a ך (באעץ). Nonetheless, we know that in this dialect it is pronounced *ba'ḏ* or *bə'ḏ* (بعض) (Yoda 2005: 316). Transcriptions of ض with ך sometimes appear in Neo-Judeo-Arabic texts. They appear in pre-Sa'adyanic Judeo-Arabic texts as well, see Blau & Hopkins. 2017: 26.

- (13) 1PL: נשאללה נתקאבלו פי ארץ ישראל (JA *nšalla natqāblu fi ereṣ yisrael* ‘God willing, we will see each other in Eretz Yisrael’; #1) – this JA sentence is a translation of the Hebrew sentence להתראות בארץ ישראל (Hb. *Lehitra’ot be-’erets yisra’el* ‘See you in Eretz Yisrael’).

4.3.2. The verbs ‘ate’ and ‘took’

The loss of the glottal stop leads to changes in the conjugation of a few verbs whose first radical is a glottal stop. Of special note are the CA verbs, *’akala* (أَكَلَ ‘ate’) and *’axaḏa* (أَخَذَ ‘took’), which have undergone a variety of changes in Arabic dialects (Fischer & Jastrow 1980: 67). Among the Jewish dialects of the Maghreb, there are three distinct paths of change with the perfect forms *kəl/xəd*, *kāl/xād* or *kla/xdā* (Tirosh-Becker 2021: 268). In the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Tripoli, the perfect forms are the latter, *kla* ‘ate’ and *xdā* ‘took’, which reflect a weak trilateral stem (Yoda 2005: 189). Such forms are documented in the *Corner*:

- (14) (מנין כדית) איפה לקחת (Hb. *’efo laqaḥta*, JA *mnīn xdīt* ‘from where did you take [it]?’; #21), אכלו (כלאוי) (Hb. *’axlu*, JA *klāw* ‘they ate’; #25), (בעד מא כלה¹⁸) לאחר שאכל (Hb. *lā’ahar še-’axal*, JA *ba’d ma kla* ‘after he ate’; #39).

4.4. Morphosyntax

4.4.1. The preverbs *qā’əd* and *ḥəbb*

In Arabic dialects, a variety of preverbs precede the imperfect form of the verb to denote aspects. In the JA of Tripoli and of Tunis, a durative aspect of an action that is taking place right now is denoted by preceding the imperfect form with *qā’əd* ‘lit. sitting’, or its short form, *qa*, e.g., *aš qa čə’məl* ‘what are you doing?’ (Yoda 2005: 193; cf. D. Cohen 1975: 136-137). Examples for the use of the preverb *qā’əd* (קאעֶד) are found in the *Corner* as well:

¹⁸ The transcription of *kla* as כלה, with the letter ה, is an additional example for the orthography discussed above (examples 1 and 2).

- (15) (אנה מוש קאענד נארה) (Hb. 'eneni ro 'e, JA *ana mūš qā'ad nara* 'I am not seeing'; #24), (אני שומע (קאענד נסמע) (Hb. 'ani šo-me 'a, JA *qā'ad nasma* 'I am hearing'; #21).

A desire for a future action or an intent is expressed in the JA of Tripoli (and Tunis) by preceding the imperfect verb with the preverb *ḥabb* 'to love, to want', e.g., *nḥabb nākāl ksasu* 'I want to eat couscous' (Yoda 2005: 194; cf. D. Cohen 1975: 137). In the *Corner*, we found one occurrence of the preverb *ḥabb* (חב), which was offered as a translation for the Hebrew word *ratsa* (רצה; 'wanted'):

- (16) (חב) לשכור לו דירה (Hb./JA 'ole... ratsa (*ḥabb*) liskor lo dira 'an immigrant... wanted to rent an apartment'; #22).

4.4.2. Relative marker

The relative marker commonly used in the Judeo-Arabic dialects of the central and eastern Maghreb (Algiers, Constantine, Tunis and Tripoli) is *alli*, and its abbreviated forms *lli* and *li*, which had evolved from the CA relative marker 'alladī (Tirosh-Becker 2012: 270-271). Nonetheless, in the JA of the *Corner* we find a consistent use of the invariable relative marker *aldi* (אלדי), which also evolved from the CA 'alladī:

- (17) (אלדי תג'יב) (Hb. ba-dereḥ ha-'ola, JA *fə-t-ṭrīq aldi tžīb* 'on the road that is going up'; #26), (אלדי מיום שירדתי (Hb. mi-yom še-yaradti min ha-'oniyya, JA *aldi nzəlt* 'from the day that I disembarked the ship' #25), בשעה שעוברת, (אלדי תתעדה) (Hb. bə-ša'a še-'overet... 'agala, JA *aldi tət'adda* 'when a cart is passing'; #26), (אלדי חתה) (Hb. še-'afillu, JA *aldi ḥtta* 'that even'; #25).

While the relative marker *aldi* is not used in colloquial Maghrebi JA, it is, however, characteristic of the literary language of the Jews of Tunis and of the elevated language of Bible translations (*šurūḥ*) from Constantine (Tirosh-Becker 2012: 416; D. Cohen 1975: 221). The relative marker אלדי is also used in a translation of the Passover Haggadah, according to the tradition of Libyan Jews, although in the instruction text that accompanies

the Haggadah, the relative marker that is used is the colloquial אַלִּי.¹⁹ The presence of the relative marker *əldi* in the journal *Ḥaienu* may suggest that the editor chose to publish his journal in a ‘literary’ register of JA, rather than a ‘colloquial’ register.

4.4.3. Demonstrative pronouns

As discussed above, in the context of the silencing of the glottal fricative /h/ before a vowel in the JA of Tripoli, the demonstrative pronouns for near deixis are *ādā* (SG.M), *ādī* (SG.F), *ādūn* / *ādūni* (PL.C) and in short form *ād*. For distal deixis, the demonstrative pronouns are *ādāk* / *dāk* (SG.M), *ādīk* / *dīk* (SG.F), *ādūk* / *dūk* (PL.C) (Yoda 2005: 127). These forms are present in the *Corner* sometimes, in their dialectal form, e.g., אָדָא (*ādā* ‘this’) and sometimes using an orthography that restores the original /h/ or reflects its voiced pronunciation [*h*], e.g., האָדָא ((*h*))*ādā* ‘this’. For additional examples, see Examples (7) and (8), above.

4.4.4. Genitive exponent

The genitive (possessive) exponent that is used in the *Corner* is *mta* ‘. It can appear before a noun, e.g., *mta* ‘ *əl-žbəl* ‘of the mountain’, or with a pronominal suffix, e.g., *mta* ‘-u ‘his’:

- (18) (פּדִישִׁיזָה מַתַּע הַגִּבְלָה) בְּמִוֶּרֶד הָהָר (Hb. *bə-morad ha-har*, JA *fə-dīšīza mta* ‘ *ha-žbəl* ‘down the mountain [lit. on the downward-slope of the mountain]’; #8), (לְבִאגָאֲלִי מַתַּעֲהוּ) מִטַּעֲנוּ (Hb. *miṭ‘ano*, JA *l-bāgālyo mta* ‘-hu ‘his baggage’; #6).²⁰

The exponent *mtā* ‘ is one of the prevalent forms used in Maghrebi Judeo-Arabic (the others are *mtā* ‘ / *ntā* ‘ / *tā* ‘, *dyāl*, and *di* / *d-*) (Ph. Marçais

¹⁹ ‘*Or Shalom: Passover Haggadah according to the tradition of Libyan Jews*. Bat-Yam 2008. The punctuation of these relative markers in this Haggadah are אַלְדִּי (*aldi*) and אַלִּי (*ali*), where the initial short vowel *a* is used instead of the expected central short vowel *ə*. On *əlli* and *li* in the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Tripoli, see Yoda (2005: 131).

²⁰ On the use of the pronominal suffix *-hu* see below. The spelling מַתַּעֲהוּ does not reflect a possible assimilation ‘*h* > *h*h’ which is common in other Maghrebi dialects (Tirosh-Becker 2021: 262). On the assimilation of other combinations of pharyngeals and the glottal *h*, see Yoda (2005: 67).

1977: 168-170, 223). Although the forms *mtā* / *ntā* / *tā* and *dyāl* are used interchangeably in the JA of Algiers, Constantine, and Tunis, we did not find any occurrence of *dyāl* in the JA of this text from Tripoli.

4.4.5. 3rd person pronominal suffix

In the spoken JA dialect of Tripoli, as in many other Maghrebi JA dialects, the 3Sg.M pronominal suffix after a consonant is *-u*, e.g., *žāb-u* ‘he brought it (M.)’ and the 3Sg.F pronominal suffix is *-a* (Yoda 2005: 117-119). We would have expected these suffixes to be reflected in Hebrew script as ו- (*-u*) and א- or ה- (*-a*), respectively. However, in the *Corner*, we consistently find the spelling ה- (*-hu*) and the spelling ה- (*-ha*) with a restored *he* (ה):

- (19) 3Sg.M pronominal suffix after a consonant: כספו (בפלוסהו) (Hb. *kasp-o*, JA *b-flūs-hu* ‘his money’; #38), בלבו (פי קלבהו) (Hb. *bā-libb-o*, JA *fi qalb-hu* ‘in his heart’; #27), בכובעו (פי ברטילתהו) (Hb. *bā-xova* ‘-o, JA *fi ḥaṭṭilat-hu* ‘in his hat’; #27), כמוהו (מתלהו) (Hb. *kamo-hu*, JA *mtal-hu* ‘like him’; #39).
- (20) 3Sg.F pronominal suffix after a consonant: לשמור אותה (לנחפצ'הא) (Hb. *lišmor* ‘ota, JA *la-nḥafḍ-ha* ‘to keep it [safe]’; #27).

The use of the pronominal suffixes *-hu* and *-ha* in this written journal is peculiar. It is noteworthy that the pronominal suffix ה- (*-hu*) also occurs in another Jewish journal from Tripoli, the journal *Deghel Sion* (דגל ציון ‘Flag of Zion’) that appeared from 1920 through 1924, and was the first Judeo-Arabic journal to be published in Libya (Zaruq 2014: 376). Examples for the use of this pronominal suffix in the journal *Deghel Sion* are: טליתו (תלית'הו) (*ṭallit-hu* ‘his prayer shawl’), פטירתו (פטירת'הו) (*paṭīrat-hu* ‘his passing away’) (Tirosh-Becker 2023). This suffix is also in common use in Judeo-Arabic journals that were published in Tunis, where the suffix ה- (*-hu*) is much more frequently used than the suffix ו- (*-u*), despite the fact that the latter is the one used in colloquial JA from Tunis (Daniel 2020: 105). It is possible that the Judeo-Arabic journals from Tripoli were influenced by the spelling that was common in Judeo-Arabic journals from Tunis.

When it appears after a vowel, the 3Sg.M pronominal suffix in the *Corner* is *-h*:

- (21) 3Sg.M pronominal suffix after a vowel: (ואלדיה) הוריו (Hb. *hora-v*, JA *wāldī-h* ‘his parents’; #29), (אסתערפו ביה) להכיר (Hb. *ləhakir*, JA *ista ‘rəfu bī-h* ‘to know him’; #25).²¹

4.4.6. The Hebrew construct infinitive *lif‘ol*

The Hebrew construct infinitive *lif‘ol* (לפעול) form is translated in the *Corner* in several different ways: (i) as a conjugated Arabic imperfect form (rarely a perfect form) in an asyndetic pattern, as in (22), (ii) a verbal noun (*maṣdar* مَصْدَر), as in (23), or (iii) an imperfect form preceded by *lām al-manṣūb* (مَنْصُوب ‘subjunctive’), as in (24). Examples:

- (22) Conjugated Arabic verbal form: (ילזמך תדפע) ואתה צריך לשלם (Hb. *və-’atta tsarix ləšallem*, JA *yəlzəm-ək tədfa* ‘and you have to pay’; #21), (כף נבדה נכדם) כאשר אתחיל לעבוד (Hb. *ka’ašer ‘athil la ‘avod*, JA *kīf nəbda nəxdəm* ‘when I will start to work’; #29), (מן גיר מא יאכל) מבלי לאכול (Hb. *mi-bli lə ‘exol*, JA *mən gīr ma yākul* ‘without eating’; #39), (אסתערפו ביה) להכיר (Hb. *ləhakir*, JA *ista ‘rfu bī-h* ‘they will know [it]’; #25).
- (23) Verbal noun: (יזם תנאדיית חממאל) יותר קל לעלות (אכתר סאהל ארכוב) (Hb. *yoter qal la ‘a-lot*, JA *aktər sāhəl ər-rkūb* ‘easier to go up’; #8), (יזם תנאדיית חממאל) צריך לקרוא לסבל (Hb. *tsarix liqro lə-sabbal*, JA *yəlzəm tnā-diyat ḥammāl* ‘[one] needs to call a porter’; #7).
- (24) Imperfect form preceded by *lām al-manṣūb*: (ליכנבר) לספר (Hb. *lāsapper*, JA *li-yxəbbə* ‘to tell’; #23), (לתערפ פיסע) להכיר מיד (Hb. *ləhakir miyad*, JA *li-ta ‘rəf fī-sa* ‘to recognize immediately’; #35), (לתעמל מתלהו) לעשות כמוהו (Hb. *la ‘asot kamo-hu*, JA *li-ta ‘māl mtəl-hu* ‘to do like him’; #39), (לנחפצ'הא) לשמור אותה (Hb. *lišmor ‘ota*, JA *lə-nḥəfḏ-ha* ‘to keep it [safe]’; #27).

4.5. *Lexicon*

The contact between Libyan Judeo-Arabic and other languages is reflected in the many loanwords from these languages embedded in the Judeo-Arabic lexicon. These are taken especially from Italian, with fewer loanwords from other Romance languages (French, Spanish), but also from

²¹ The Hebrew word להכיר was translated in parentheses by the phrase אסתערפו ביה.

Turkish (Yoda 2010; Maman 2014: 24-30; Bar-Asher 2016; Daniel 2020: 167-191). I even found a loanword from English.²²

4.5.1. Italian loanwords

The substantial period during which Libya was under Italian rule coincided with the introduction of Moderna in Libya. These processes have led to numerous Italian loanwords that were integrated into the local Judeo-Arabic varieties, often to fill lexical gaps in the semantic fields of government or technology, e.g., אלכומיסיון (*al-comisyon* ‘the committee’) from Italian *commissione*, טראספורטו (*transporto* ‘transportation’) from Italian *trasporto*. Multiple Italian loanwords are also found throughout the glossaries in the *Corner*, reflecting the prevalent place of these words in the Tripoli JA variety. Of note, while many of the Italian loanwords that appear in the glossary as translations for Hebrew words are required to convey specific semantic nuances, others are fairly standard and could have been replaced with suitable alternatives in the Judeo-Arabic lexicon. The use of these Italian loanwords in such cases reflects the extent of integration of the Italian component in the JA of Tripoli. Here are some examples of Italian loanwords that are used to depict a specific meaning:

- (25) The word *ḥarṭīla*, which reflects It. *berrettella*, is used in the JA of Tripoli to denote a ‘European hat’ (Yoda 2005: 318): (פי ברטילתו) בכובעו (Hb. *bə-xova* ‘-o, JA *fi ḥarṭīlat-hu* ‘in his hat’; #27).
- (26) Two separate loanwords are used in the *Corner* to translate the Hebrew word ‘*agala* (עגלה) ‘wagon, cart, carriage’) to convey the precise nature of the vehicle that is being referred to in the story:
 - a. The word *karrūsa* (כררוסה) is the JA equivalent of ‘*agala* (עגלה) in a Hebrew story set in Chelm (Poland), where the ‘*agala* is used to transport people (lesson #8).²³ The word כררוסה,

²² The English word *football* was found in an article published in the Journal *Haienu*: לעב אלפ'וטבול (*la'əb al-fūbul* ‘a football game’), see Tirosh-Becker (2023). This English word, pronounced *futbal*, was also documented in the JA of Qsar ṣ-ṣuq in south-east Morocco as one of the alternative words for football in that dialect, see Bar-Asher (2016: 41 fn. 49-51).

²³ Yoda transcribes this word *karrūṣā*, with an *ṣ* (Yoda 2010), but this is not reflected in the Hebrew script transcription found in the *Corner*.

related to It. *carrozza* Fr. *carrosse*, means ‘carriage’ and refers to a horse-drawn vehicle designed for private use and comfort. The person who drives the carriage is appropriately named *l-kārūsi* (לכרארסי ‘the carriage driver’). The word *karrūsa* (كَرُوسَة) has also been absorbed in Modern Standard Arabic (Milson 2023: 536).

b. The word *kārāṭūn* (כאראטון), as in *b-kārāṭūn-i* (בעאראטוני ‘in my cart’; #26), was used to translate the Hebrew ‘*agala* (עגלה) in a story about the early days of Tel-Aviv, describing a person who is driving his own ‘*agala* (עגלה) to his shack home. This was clearly not a fancy, horse-drawn ‘carriage’, but something simple like ‘a wagon’ or ‘a cart’. One of the meanings of Italian *carret-tone* is ‘cart’ (Yoda 2010).

- (27) The Hebrew word for ‘soup’ (מרק *maraq*) is translated in two separate occurrences (lessons 35, 39) by the JA word *brōdo* (ברודו), which is an Italian loanword that means ‘broth, bouillon’. It is interesting that the author preferred this word over more apparent translations, either the Arabic equivalent *šūriba* (شُورِبَة ‘soup’) or the Italian words for ‘soup’ (*la minestra, la zuppa* ‘soup’). However, the meal that is described in the story includes, in addition to soup, also meat patties, roast beef, or cooked beef. Evidently, in such a ‘beefy’ context, the editor thought that a ‘broth’ is the appropriate translation for Hb. *maraq*. It is interesting that the editor did not use the Arabic word *maraq* (مَرَق) that means ‘broth’ and is very similar to the Hebrew word *maraq* (מרק).²⁴

The spelling of many Italian loanwords in the journal reflects the pronunciation of the Italian word and not its spelling, thus indicating that these are transcriptions and not transliterations. In some words, there is an expected adaptation to Arabic phonology:

- (28) *oḥl* (אוטיל, Hb. בית מלון *bet malon*; #21, #39) ‘hotel’ from It. *hotel*, which is pronounced *otel*. The initial *h* is silent.

²⁴ In the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Tafilalt (Morocco), the words *l-mark* (למרק), *ṣ-ṣoppa* (< Sp. *sopa*; סופפה) and *l-ḥrira* (לחרירה) were used to denote ‘soup’. While *l-mark* and *ṣ-ṣoppa* were used interchangeably, the word *l-ḥrira* was reserved for a special local soup. A fourth word, *t-teskiya* (אתסקייה), denoted the soup in which Passover matzo were soaked (Bar-Asher 2016: 32-33).

- (29) *l-bāgālyo mta* 'hu- (להבאגאליו מתעהו), Hb. מטענו *miṭ'an-o*; #6) 'his baggage' from It. *bagaglio*, which is pronounced *ba'gaʕʕo*.
- (30) *bākko* (באככו), Hb. חבילה *ḥavila*; #6) 'package' from It. *Pacchetto*. As the *cch* in the Italian word is pronounced [kk] (*pakketto*) and the Italian *p* was adapted to Arabic [b], one would expect the JA pronunciation to be *bakkato* with a [t].
- (31) *bīnna* (ביננה), Hb. עט *et*; #6) 'a pen' from It. *penna* with an adaptation of *p > b*.
- (32) *kānābīr* (כאנאביר), Hb. ספה *sappa*; #24) 'sofa' from It. *canapé*, reflecting an adaptation of *p > b*. This word was also absorbed into Modern Standard Arabic Sg. *Kanaba* / *kanabāya* (كَنْبَاة / كَنْبَايَة) Pl. *kanabāt* / *kanabāyāt* (كَنْبَات / كَنْبَايَات) (Milson 2023: 548).

Italian loanwords with an Arabic female plural suffix *-āt*:

- (33) *ṭāss-āt* (טאססאט), Hb. מסיים *missim*; #21) 'taxes', where the Arabic feminine plural suffix *-āt* was added to the Italian loanword *tas-sa* ('tax') to create the JA plural form *ṭāss-āt* ('taxes').
- (34) *l-pirsian-āt* (לפירסיאנאט), Hb. התריסים *ha-trisim*; #21) 'the shutters', where the Arabic feminine plural suffix *-āt* was added to the Italian loanword *persiana* ('shutter, blind'). Note that the It. *p* was maintained in this loanword and not replaced with a [b], and see example 35 as well.

A selection of additional Italian loanwords:

- (35) *pāsāporṭ* (פאסאפורט), Hb. דרכון *darkon*; #3) 'passport' from It. *passaporto*.
- (36) *ḥaṭṭīk* (חאטריך), Hb. חשמל *ḥašmal*; #21) 'electricity' from It. *elettrico*, where the initial and final vowels of the Italian word were omitted upon absorption into JA.
- (37) *f-əl-klāsse* (פלכלאססי), Hb. מחלקה *maḥlaqa*; #29) 'in the class', in the sentence ישנתי במחלקה הרביעית (*yašanti ba-maḥlaqa ha-rēvi 'it*) 'I slept in the [ship's] 4th class [quarters]', from It. *classe*.
- (38) *əl-mūbilyā* (אלמוביליה), Hb. הרהיטים *ha-rahiṭim*; #24) 'the furniture' from It. *mobilia*. This word is also used in Modern Standard Arabic *mūbilyā* (مُوبِيلِيَا) (Milson 2023: 599).
- (39) *vālīṭza* (וואליג'ה), Hb. מזוודה *mizvada*; #6) 'suitcase' from It. *valigetta*.

- (40) *wə-kārāmīlli* (וכאראַמיללי, Hb. וסוכריות *və-sukaryot*; #25) ‘and [caramel] candies’ from It. Pl. *caramelly* (Sg. *caramellio*).
- (41) *l-kāmīryare* (לכאַמיריירי, Hb. מלצר *meltsar*; #38) ‘waiter’ from It. *cameriere*.
- (42) *sīgūro* (סיגורו, Hb. בודאי *bəvadai*; #39) ‘certainly, of course’ from Sp. *seguro* or It. *sicuro* ‘sure’.
- (43) *frīšk* (פרישק, Hb. טרי *ṭari*; #35) ‘fresh’ from It. *fresco*.
- (44) *f-sālīṭa* (פסאליטה, Hb. במעלה *bə-ma‘ale*; #8) ‘uphill’ from It. *salita* ‘climb’.
- (45) *f-dīšīza* (פדישיזה, Hb. במורד *bə-morad*; #8) ‘downhill’ from It. *discesa* ‘descent’, the JA transcription *dīšīza* captures the pronunciation of the Italian word.

4.5.2. Hebrew Component

Hebrew loanwords are a significant component of any Judeo-Arabic dialect, as well as of other Jewish languages. However, as the glossaries in the *Corner* aim to explain Hebrew words, it is not surprising that the editor refrained from using a Hebrew component in his glossary. Only two Hebrew words were included in the glossary: *ba‘d ha-šabbat* (בעד השבת, Hb. אחר השבת *aḥar ha-šabbat* ‘after the sabbath’; #28), (*h*)*ād l-‘ām mē‘ubbar* (האד לעאם מעובר, Hb. השנה הזו מעוברת *ha-šana ha-zo mē‘ubberet* ‘this year is a leap year’; #21). A few Hebrew words occur also in the instructions for the exercises that appear at the end of each lesson. These words are *ma‘amar* (מאמר ‘saying’; #6, 7), *ha-ši‘ur* (השיעור ‘the lesson’; #6).

5. Summary

The Zionist journal *Ḥaienu*, is a trilingual—Hebrew—Judeo-Arabic—Italian—weekly journal that was published in Tripoli (Libya) from 1949 through 1951, in parallel to the mass immigration of Libyan Jews to the newly formed State of Israel. Among its various sections, the journal *Ḥaienu* included a weekly Hebrew language lesson, named the *Corner for Teaching Hebrew*. The *Corner* included short stories and dialogues in Hebrew, their translations into Judeo-Arabic, or glossaries of the new Hebrew words with their Judeo-Arabic counterparts.

The language of the Judeo-Arabic glossaries of the *Corner* offers a porthole to the written journalistic Judeo-Arabic of Tripoli in the mid-twe-

ntieth century. A linguistic analysis of these Judeo-Arabic glossaries demonstrates that, alongside dialectal phenomena common to the spoken Judeo-Arabic of Tripoli, several features point to the editor's attempt to use a more literary register. Such a feature is the use of the relative marker *aldi* instead of the colloquial relative marker *alli*. The relative marker *aldi* is not used in colloquial Maghrebi Judeo-Arabic; rather, it is used in the translation of the Passover Haggadah from Libya, the elevated language of Bible translations (*šurūḥ*) from Constantine (Algeria), and in the literary language of the Jews of Tunis. Other language features that also point to the literary register used in the *Corner* are the corrections and hypercorrections of the glottal fricative /h/ that was lost before a vowel in the spoken dialect, and the use of the 3Sg.M pronominal suffixes הוּ (-*hu*) and -הָ (-*ha*), with words that end in a consonant. The latter is frequently used in Judeo-Arabic journals that were published in Tunis, and differ from the dialectal suffixes -*u* and -*a*, used in the spoken dialect of Tripoli. The linguistic analysis also demonstrated the prevalent role of the Italian component in the Judeo-Arabic of Libyan Jews, encompassing not only lexemes, for which there were no available Judeo-Arabic counterparts (e.g., terms of moderna), but also daily terms for which Arabic alternatives could have readily been found.

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A JUDEO-SPANISH ACCOUNT OF TRAVEL TO THE MIDDLE EAST FROM YUGOSLAVIA

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1. Introduction

The discussed account of travel from Yugoslavia to the Middle East was written in 1930.¹ Its author, Jacob Musafia, was at the time of writing a young man from a Sephardic family living in Zemun (Serbia). The 14-page text is written in Judeo-Spanish and transcribed in Roman alphabet, according to the current use of the Yugoslav Jews.² We discovered the manuscript in the archives of the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, while researching the Jewish community of Zemun. The museum's items regarding this small but important community have yet to be catalogued, and this is one of the reasons why Musafia's text has remained unknown until now.

Musafia's writing is worthy of attention for two reasons. Firstly, it is an addition to the relatively small corpus of original Judeo-Spanish texts

¹ Musafia, Jacob. *Uspomena iz mornarskog života. Putopis mornara broda 'Dalmacije' prilikom posete istoimenim nepoznatim krajevima. Put kroz Sredozemno more do Bejruta, Grčka, Egipat, Palestina, Sirija...*, Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade (manuscript, not catalogued).

² The use of the phonetic Serbian/Croatian transcription in Roman alphabet was already established among the Yugoslav Sephardim. This standard was adopted by Jewish periodical publications (newspapers and journals) such as the popular Sarajevo weekly *Jevrejski glas*.

from Yugoslavia dating from the period between the two World Wars. This was a time of transition involving linguistic assimilation, when the majority of Sephardic authors were writing in Serbo-Croatian (the dominant language of the country) and integrating into the Yugoslav cultural framework, while Judeo-Spanish was still alive as the language of the oral folkloric heritage and of everyday communication within the family circle and the Sephardic community. However, among the Sephardim, especially those of Sarajevo, there was also an effort to produce a modern literature in Judeo-Spanish, as exemplified in the writings of authors such as Abraham Cappon (Ruse 1853-Sarajevo 1930), Laura Papo (Sarajevo 1891-Sarajevo 1941), and others. Musafia cannot be counted among the representatives of 'new Sephardic literature', as his ambitions were not literary at all. He belonged to a much younger generation than Cappon and Papo, a generation that was more integrated into the Yugoslav cultural milieu. He used his native Judeo-Spanish language to describe an event—the travel to the Middle East and especially to Palestine—because of the unusual circumstances in which it occurred and the strong impact of this experience. This was the time when a number of Yugoslav Sephardic Jews, especially from the impoverished community of Monastir, were immigrating to Palestine and reporting on their experiences in letters sent to their families. At that time, a number of Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews were making aliyah to Palestine, in line with their Zionist ideology. Musafia was an exception in all three respects. Unlike Cappon and Papo, he didn't feel he was taking part in the making of modern Sephardic literature and he never published his travelogue. In contrast to fellow Jews, who perceived Palestine as an economic refuge and/or a Zionist ideal, he felt that Yugoslavia was his home country. Last but not least, within the corpus of Judeo-Spanish texts from this period, Musafia's writing is the only representative of a specific genre—the travelogue.

Musafia describes his encounters in several countries of the Mediterranean and Middle East: Greece (Corfu and Crete), Egypt (Alexandria), Palestine (Tel Aviv, Jerusalem), and Syria (Beirut).³ He visited these places, new and unknown to him, not as a tourist but as a sailor on the Yugoslav ship, 'Dalmatia'. The title of Musafia's text is given in Serbian, *Uspomena iz mornarskog života* ('Souvenir from a Sailor's Life'), and is

³ Lebanon is not mentioned because it was a separate entity (*État du Grand Liban* between 1920 and 1936; *République libanaise* between 1926 and 1943, even before the independence proclaimed in 1943).

followed by a commentary in the same language which reads: *Putopis mornara broda 'Dalmacije' prilikom posete istoimenim nepoznatim krajevima. Put kroz Sredozemno more do Bejruta, Grčka, Egipat, Palestina, Sirija...* ('Travelogue of a sailor of the 'Dalmatia' on occasion of his tour of unknown places. Journey through the Mediterranean Sea to Beirut, Greece, Egypt, Palestine, Syria...').⁴ The identification of the author is also in Serbian—*Napisao Jakob Musafia, mornar broda 'Dalmacija'* ('Written by Jakob Musafia, sailor on the ship 'Dalmatia')—as well as the chronological indications—*12. septembar—11. oktobar, 1930. god.* ('September 12–October 11 of the year 1930').

This poses the question of Musafia's use of various languages in his narrative. Serbian is used as a para-textual element indicating the title, author, topic, and dates. The narration itself is in Judeo-Spanish, which Musafia calls *Španjol* ('Spanish'). It is the Judeo-Spanish dialect of Sarajevo, where Jakob Musafia lived prior to moving to Zemun in 1928. All references and reminiscences in his text deal with Sarajevo rather than Zemun, where he had lived only two years before embarking on his voyage.

Dispersed in the narrative are isolated lexical items as well as sentences from other languages. Serbian is used in the para-textual elements mentioned above, and it also appears on the lexical level. Serbian words such as *paluba* ('deck'), *pivo* ('beer'), *sladoled* ('ice-cream'), *promet* ('traffic'), *usput* ('on the way'), *slaba* ('weak'), *krupna* ('large'), are used for filling in lexical gaps in the Judeo-Spanish language. Words from other languages (English, German, French) appear in his text in forms indicating the mediation of Serbian. Most of these are associated with modern life: *luk-sus* ('luxury'), *oficiris* ('officers'), *kino* ('movie theater'), *automobilis* ('cars'), *tramvaj* ('tram'), *kancelarija* ('office'), *roman* ('novel'), *lampa* ('lamp'), *pelc* ('fur'). A smaller number of words such as *podrum* ('basement'), *ahčinica* ('restaurant, tavern'), *čardak* ('structure erected on pillars'), *saraf* ('money changer'), and *hadžiluk* ('pilgrimage'), are borrowings from the Turkish language that could have been adopted by Judeo-Spanish directly or through Serbian mediation. Hebrew is also used. It appears both in the form of isolated lexical items with specific Jewish references (*lašon akodeš*, *ivri*, *keila*, *šamaš*, *tefilot*) and in brief dialogues the author conducted with fellow Jews whom he met on his travels. While Serbian and

⁴ All English translations of Judeo-Spanish and Serbian/Croatian quotes are by the author of this article.

Turkish are used mainly for denotational purposes, Hebrew had an additional connotational value associated with the author's religious and cultural identity. However, the narration itself is in Judeo-Spanish because it was Musafia's native, intimate language, as well as the vehicle of communication within his family.

The narrative is structured as a journal with chronologically dated entries describing life on the ship, the voyage, and places visited. The external frame is that of a letter, as indicated by the standard opening and closing formulas. In the opening, the author identifies the addressees as *Mis keridus gjenitoris* ('My dear parents'). The closing greeting is in line with the opening: *Vos abraza i beza a todos de korason, vuestro Buki* ('Hugs and kisses to all from the heart, your Buki').⁵ Although the letter is a convention often used in travelogues, in this instance, we are dealing with an actual letter rather than the conventional form often used in travelogues. In the last paragraph of the narrative, Musafia comments that he has written enough, and upon his return home, which is scheduled for December, he will tell his parents more about his voyage. The family history and the scant biographical data on Jacob Musafia reconstructed from his narrative, suggest that Musafia's writing was framed as an extended letter he sent (or planned to send) to his parents. However, the para-textual elements—indicating the genre (travelogue) and authorship—hint at his intention of publishing his writing, perhaps in a weekly publication such as the *Jevrejski glas* ('Jewish Voice'). The bibliography of this weekly publication⁶ shows it has never been published there; and there is no indication that it appeared in any other Jewish publication in Yugoslavia.

2. Family history

We know about Jakob Musafia's parents and ancestors from a manuscript containing the family tree of the Musafia family. Although the author of the family tree is not indicated, details of the text suggest that it was

⁵ "Buki" is signed. This is the author's nickname, as he was the first-born son (*bohor*; *buki* in Judeo-Spanish). Two lines following the greeting were illegible. We can only decipher the mention of *buen viaže* and *kunsiente de esta vižita* ('a good trip' and 'aware of this visit').

⁶ Bibliography of the *Jevrejski glas (1928-1941)* in Vidaković Petrov (2001: 280-305). The *Jevrejski glas* was published mainly in Serbian/Croatian, but included contributions (folksongs, articles, stories, poems) in Judeo-Spanish.

written by the young Musafia's grandfather, the elder Jacob Musafia, who relied on the genealogy his cousin Rafael Attias had sent him from Bucharest, in 1936. The manuscript highlights the author's interest in the past of his family, testifying at the same time to his good knowledge of the Serbian language.⁷

The young Musafia's ancestors from his mother's side are related to the family of Albert Attias, who moved from Italy to Sarajevo in 1812. One of his ancestors was the well-known Isak Zeki Effendi (Rafailović) Attias (Sarajevo 1845-Sarajevo 1916). The author's grandmother, Rebecca Attias, married Jacob Musafia (the author's grandfather) from Bosnia, in 1878. The family lived in Bijeljina (Bosnia) where Jacob Musafia worked as a clerk, but in 1885, they moved to Rosiore de Vede in Rumania, where Jacob Musafia assumed the post of Haham from his father-in-law Moshe Attias. Rebeca Attias and Jacob Musafia had two daughters (Blanca and Donna) and five sons (Isak, Moritz, Avram, Albert and Solomon). One of the sons, Isak Musafia, was the the young Musafia's father.

The extended Musafia family had branches living in Bosnia, Rumania, Dalmatia and Italy. The most outstanding figure in Split was Rabbi Jacob Amadeo Musafia, who inherited this post from his father and was beloved by the Sephardic community of Split. Abraham, Rabbi Musafia's son, was sent to study medicine at the University of Vienna. Later, however, he became a well-known professor of romance linguistics at this university, a counselor at the Austrian court, and he received numerous awards and decorations. Since he converted to Catholicism early on, he was known under the name Arturo Adolfo Musafia. He died in Florence in 1905.

The young Musafia's father, Isak Musafia, was born in Brčko (Bosnia), in 1882. His parents lived for a while in Rosiore de Veda (Rumania), where Isak began studying to be a rabbi. Later, he moved to Craiova (Rumania), where he started learning to be a watchmaker. In 1901, he transferred to Belgrade and then to Bosnia, where he married Blanca Musafia, his uncle's daughter. In 1904, they were living in Sarajevo where Isak Musafia opened a clock shop. They had five children: Jacob (Buki, the author of the travelogue), Avram, Rafael, Asriel and Moritz. In 1928, the family moved to Zemun,⁸ where Isak Musafia became Hacham in the Sephardic synagogue.

⁷ *Genealogija porodice Musafija* in Serbian and Rafael Attias, *Geneologia* in Rumanian (Jewish Historical Museum, manuscripts, not catalogued).

⁸ The Jewish community in Zemun was established in 1739, the majority being Ashkenazim, the minority Sephardim. They lived together in a separate quarter, actually a small street called *Judengasse*. The most famous and influential among the rabbis in Zemun

We don't know much about the life of Jakob Musafia—Buki. Almost everything we know is based on the autobiographical layer of his travelogue and from the information we have on his father. As the eldest son, Jacob Musafia probably received additional education in Hebrew language and history from his father. We know he spoke Hebrew fluently. The “papers of Isak Musafia”, preserved in the archives of the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, indicate that the author's father was well educated in Jewish theology and history and that he had literary ambitions.⁹ We can assume that he transferred some of this knowledge to his eldest son, who may have also inherited an interest in writing. We know that the language spoken at home was Judeo-Spanish, and that his father taught him Hebrew. He also learned Serbian in the public schools that he probably attended in Sarajevo and Zemun.

3. The voyage on the ‘Dalmatia’ and Musafia's travelogue

In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, military service was obligatory for all. In 1930, Jacob Musafia was enlisted to his military service. At that time, he could have been around 18 years of age. Musafia served in the navy, and was stationed on the ‘Dalmatia’, the oldest battleship in the Yugoslav

was Yehuda Hay Alkalay (Sarajevo 1798-Jerusalem 1878), who held this post for almost half a century. He came from Sarajevo to Belgrade, and then in 1825, moved to Zemun, where he taught in the Jewish school, prior to becoming a rabbi. Rabbi Alkalay reached out to both the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim. Among the latter were Theodor Herzl's grandfather and great-grandfather (Simon and Leopold Herzl).

⁹ Among these articles (in Judeo-Spanish and Hebrew), are speeches of Hacham Isak Musafia, delivered at weddings and other similar occasions. Among them are also farewell speeches for Sephardic youths, like his son Buki, on their departure for military service. There are also poems written by Isak Musafia in Judeo-Spanish and a collection of Sephardic proverbs. A list of books in the library of the Musafia's family, in Hebrew, Judeo-Spanish, Yiddish, and some Serbian/Croatian translations is included as well. While the Hebrew books are religious texts and commentaries, prayer-books, didactic, and historical books, those in Judeo-Spanish are mostly, but not exclusively, secular, and pertaining to popular and modern literature: *Komplas di Purim*, *Poesias* by M. David Gaon, *Poesias* by A. Capon (Sarajevo), *Las madres žudias de la epoka biblika, Ilustra guerta di istorija* (M. H. Šabetaj Šem Tov, Vienna 1864), *Trezoro di Jisrael* by J. M. Altarac, *Livro di pasatjempo* by M. A. Azriel from *Il trizoro di Jerušalajim*, three plays by Š. Džæn (Vienna), *Lus dos guerfanos* by E. Carmona, novellas by A. Kastro (Istanbul), *La iža maldiča* (a novel, Vienna), a book by Jisrael bohor Hajim from Belgrade (Vienna 1815), *Istorija di los Didjos* by S. Bernfeld (Belgrade 1891), a Hebrew textbook in Judeo-Spanish, etc.

navy. This ship was purchased from Germany after World War I, and later completely renovated and refurbished. Its new goal was to promote Yugoslav naval diplomacy.

The fact that young Jakob Musafia was posted on this particular ship was a privilege that reflected the esteem the Yugoslav military authorities had for Serbian Jews, mostly Sephardim, due to their role in the Serbian Army during World War I. This specific ship symbolized the growing strength of the new Yugoslav navy. The pride of the Yugoslavs was expressed in a poem dedicated to the 'Dalmatia', whose author, Rikard Kata-
linić Jeretov, was from Split.¹⁰ A newspaper clipping from 1930 (probably published in the Yugoslav daily *Politika*), attached by Musafia to his manuscript, describes 'Dalmatia's' tour of the Eastern Mediterranean in 1930. The article emphasizes that "Levantine nations" appreciated only those countries whose ships, both commercial and military, docked in their ports. The article purports that the 'Dalmatia's' tour in 1930 was "the most eloquent manifestation of the strength of our nation". Musafia shared the pride of his fellow Yugoslavs. However, for him, the tour of the Eastern Mediterranean held additional significance, because it was at the same time a pilgrimage to the land of his ancestors: *Jo sto kon este viaže muj kunteni, ser vidi abastante i vo tener un ermozu souvenir para la vida entera. Mi paresi todú esti un roman. Agora no mi si importa luke sto sirvjendo, kuandu savija ki es solu pur esti Hadžiluk* ('I am very happy with this voyage as I will have a beautiful memory of it for the rest of my life. All of this seems like a novel. Serving [in the navy] didn't matter [to me] as I knew this Pilgrimage would make it worthwhile').

In this statement, we can identify three key semantic elements of Musafia's travelogue: adventure, sharing the Yugoslav identity, and pilgrimage to Palestine as a focus of his Jewish identity.

The sense of adventure is a frequent component of travelogues. Visiting distant, foreign, and exotic lands appears also as a motivation for travel writing, because the voyage enables contact with a reality defined

¹⁰ Here is an excerpt from the poem expressing the revival of historical *uskok* fighters from Northern Dalmatia as predecessors of the modern Yugoslav navy: "*Noć je... tišina... / Iz morskih dubina / Ustaju Uskoci davni, / Mrtvi pomorci slavni...*" (The night is...silence / From the depths of the sea / Rise the ancient *uskoks* / The dead glorious seamen...). *Uskoks* were locals from northern Dalmatia and the hinterland, many of them Serbs, who had fled from Ottoman dominated regions and found refuge in this region dominated by Venice, who fought actively against the Turks in the skirmishes and battles that occurred in the borderland.

as the ‘other’. The temporary stepping out of the familiar world in order to observe the different world of the ‘other’ is an exciting project, sometimes bordering with a fantasy. By comparing his experience to “a novel” and referring to the distinction between reality and fiction, Musafia sought to highlight the power of reality to compete with imagination. A common element of travelogues is the description and interpretation, from the writer’s own point of view; of the ‘other’ reality that is viewed as a landscape. The latter can be natural (mountains, rivers, skies), cultural (cities, monuments, palaces, art); or human (people one observes, meets, talks to). Musafia focuses on all three elements, and, in rare instances, his description conforms with the standard view of a modern tourist describing landmark attractions and providing some historical background. Such is the description of the town and the royal palace in Corfu, the first port visited by the ‘Dalmatia’:

Jo sali unas kuantas vezis a la sevdat a mirar. En prima mi hue kon fjakar en Ahlej. Estu es 10 km longji di la sevdat i aji si topa el palasjo de la rena Elisabeta ki es del vježu Franz Josef. Despues de su muerte mirko el palasjo al Rej di il Deutschland Wiljem i aji si deskansava. Kuandu hue el atentatu en Saraj, il stuvu en esti palasjo. Il palasjo sta fraguadu in stilo vježu de la Gregaja il stil Pompejo i tani en la muj ermoza quarta monomentus di lus grandis di la historija de la Gregaja. El palasjo miri entero [...]. La sevdat sta muy interesante, paresi ki es el Japan. Las kaležas estrečas, las butikas meskladas muy interesante. Medja butika es por egzemplu ahčinica i la otra mejatad Berberaj. Estu es para arijir.¹¹

In this first description, there is a balance between the general view of the foreign topos and that of the specific Jewish part of the latter (following the above quoted description). However, as the narrative progresses, the balance is disrupted in favor of the Jewish sub-topos. Ultimately, Musafia’s

¹¹ “I went out several times to see the city. The first time I went in a *fjaker* [small carriage] to Ahlej [Achilleon]. This is 10 km away from the city where there was a palace built by Queen Elizabeth [Austrian Empress Sisi] that belonged to the old Franz Josef [Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph I]. Following his death, it was sold to the King of Germany, Wilhelm, who used it as a summer residence. He was there when the assassination [of Franz Ferdinand] in Sarajevo happened. The palace is built in the old Greek tradition in Pompeo style and has a very beautiful garden with sculptures of great people from the Greek history. I toured the whole palace [...]. The city is very interesting. It looks like Japanese. Narrow streets, mixed shops, very interesting. For example, half of a shop is a tavern, the other half is a barber shop. It’s funny”.

travelogue could be defined as a sequence of descriptions of Jews and Jewish life in various points in the Eastern Mediterranean, with Palestine positioned in the semantic center of the narrative. Consequently, his narrative is also a story about identity and Musafia's self-perception within the wider framework of Sephardic identity.

The narrative, however, also provides an interesting perspective on Musafia's attitude towards the Yugoslav homeland. Musafia was a member of an elite crew, consisting of 310 men: officers, students of the Naval Academy, servicemen, sailors, and a band of musicians. His specific duty was not to service the ship, but to manage the food and beverage supply. It was a technical but important position, due to the frequent official receptions hosted by the captain in the various ports of visit. Musafia was definitely proud of being included in the crew of the elite Yugoslav ship, especially in view of his Jewish, and not particularly high, social background.

Musafia's narrative offers a view of the relations between the Yugoslav crew and himself, as the only Jewish member. He mentions no trace of any form of discrimination. On the contrary, Musafia was happy to be treated as any other member of the crew and especially well by the captain. Except for the latter, Musafia describes the crew as a collective body without singling out any individuals. He takes pride in being part of the 'Dalmatia' and its mission of promoting Yugoslavia's image. It was a new state (established in 1918), which included in its borders both Central European Ashkenazim and Oriental Sephardim, who enjoyed equality with other majority ethnic groups. The establishment of Yugoslavia provided its Jewish population with an opportunity to identify with the supranational category of Yugoslavs, rather than with any particular group of the majority Slavic population (Serbs, Croats, Slovenes). This explains Musafia's very positive view of the Yugoslav homeland: it enabled the Jews to preserve and promote their specific identity within the Yugoslav multicultural framework.

In Musafia's mind, the paramount symbol of this was the Yugoslav navy uniform. The uniform identified the person wearing it as member of a structured entity; in this case, the Yugoslav state/military. Musafia's perception of the uniform manifests his attitude towards the country/homeland it represents. On the other hand, it opens the question of the relationship between two aspects of identity, one symbolized by the clothing (uniform) and the other by the body of the individual wearing it. While the uniform is a standardized, collective, and external symbol of the Yugoslav state common to all those wearing it, the individuals wearing it represent a di-

versity of ethnic, religious, and cultural traditions within the Yugoslav multicultural society. When he was once asked to come to the synagogue dressed in plain clothes instead of the uniform, Musafia refused, not because his duty was to wear the uniform at all times, but because it symbolized an element of his identity. The Jews he met in his travels interpreted the uniform as a sign of the positive status of Jews in Yugoslavia: *Si van maraviandu di ver en uniforma di marineru i ki avle en Ivri* ('They are amazed at seeing a man in a naval uniform speaking Hebrew'). The Jews in Palestine commented that they had no obligatory military service: *Se maravijaron munću de mi komu gjidjo ki sjervo en la marina di gera i lis di atinder ki sjervu jo ser es la obligasjon ansina. Aji es sirvir pur paras i paga, ma gjidjos no van. Solu policistis aj* ('They were very much amazed that I—as a Jew—was serving in the naval forces, when I explained that it was my duty. Over there, Jews join the military only if they are paid, but Jews are not interested in this kind of a job. There are only Jewish policemen').

The crew was impressed by Musafia's knowledge of foreign languages because wherever they docked, Musafia would be communicating with the locals. They thought he knew Greek and Arabic, not realizing he was speaking Hebrew and Judeo-Spanish with the local Jews. While they went to see the cultural attractions of each place, Musafia was more interested in visiting the synagogues. As Musafia's narrative evolved, the focus of his attention shifted from the description of the general landscape to that of the specific Jewish cultural and human landscape. Regarding the description of the first port of visit, i.e., Corfu, Musafia described both landscapes. This was his first contact with 'other' Jews, whom he describes in the following way:

Stuvi en el kvart di lus gjigjos. Aki aj gjigjos ki vinjeron di la Italiya antis di la Enkvizicion Španjola i tambjen i di la enkvizicion, ma avlan solu en talijanik, aheran di lu Gregu i eventual frances. Kuandu vini al Kaal, si maravjaron di ver mi. Mi djeron el livru. Hue arvit di noći di alhad. Mi djerun una rama del arvul, ki estu todus tinijan en la manu i kun estu dizin el arvit noći di alhad. Esti uzu vidi i en Egiptu. Kuandu skapimus arvit, mi si aridujaron kon dimandas diversas. Si maravijaron ki se avlar Lašon Akodeš. Aji savin solu las krijaturas i lus hahamim. Ja uvu i di Selanik i Smirna i pudi avlar tambjen en Španjol. Las mužeris ni asimežan gjudijas, paresi kris[t]janas [...]. El vinu di Korfu, no si puerdi kuntar kuantu ermozu i huarti es. Me akurdi ki una vez en kaza atras anjos en la agada bivimos ansina un vinu semižanti. Dulsi, ma kun un vazú no si puerdi mas kaminar dereću. La

rudoma di mas di un litru kosta serka 7-8 dinaris. Los gjidjos aki no son grandi aktuela gjenti. Lu mas merkaderis i aji tambjen provis i ki vendin korpas por las kajis. Kuandu arivimus en Korfu kon el vapor, lugu enpisonaron al vapor asuvir merkaderis i Gregus kon ropas i ofertas. Ja mus vinu i sarafis para trugar paras. Dimandua unu si aj gjigjos, mi respundjo ki ja aj i ki akel saraf es tambjen. Mi aseku onde isti i li digu ‘Šalom’. El mi mira i dizi ‘Ma, ata Jeudi’.¹²

Musafia provides similar descriptions of Jews living in Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Beirut, and Crete. The pattern of description of the Jewish landscape includes: their physical appearance, their dress, languages they speak, traditional and religious customs, and synagogues. He is interested not only in meeting them and getting to know them, their homes, shops and synagogues, but also in sharing their activities—prayer in the synagogue, celebration of Jewish holidays and meals in their homes. Not surprisingly, Corfu, Crete, Beirut, Jaffa and Tel Aviv hold a peripheral position in comparison with the centerpiece of his narrative: Jerusalem.

He went to Jerusalem in a car, together with several other members of the crew. Although he doesn’t mention their impressions, there was a key difference in their response to the landscape. For his fellow Yugoslavs, it was probably an exotic and foreign landscape. For Musafia, it was a symbol of his Jewish identity. He describes the fields on the way from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem as a paradisaical place with vineyards, date trees, fig

¹² “I went to the Jewish quarter. Here there were Jews who came from Italy prior to the Spanish Inquisition and also after it, but they speak only Italian, they know Greek and eventually French. When I went to the synagogue, they were surprised to see me. They gave me a book. It was a prayer for Saturday night. They gave me a tree branch that they all held in their hands and with this they say the prayer for Saturday night. I observed the same custom in Egypt. When we finished the Arvit, they surrounded me and asked me various questions. They were amazed I could speak Hebrew. Only the children and hachamim know Hebrew there. There were also some [Jews] from Salonika and Smirna and I could speak with them also in Judeo-Spanish. The women don’t look Jewish, they look like Christian women [...]. I cannot tell you how wonderful and tasty the wine of Corfu is. I remember on one occasion several years ago when we drank a similar wine for Pesah. Sweet, but after only one glass you could not walk straight. A carafe of over a liter costs around 7-8 dinars. The Jews here are not very rich people. Most of them are traders and there are also poor Jews who sell wicker baskets on the streets. When our ship arrived in Corfu, many merchants approached us selling clothes and other wares. Among them were money-changers. I asked one of them if there were Jewish money-changers, he said there were and pointed to one of them. I approached him saying ‘Shalom’. He looked at me and said ‘Oh you too are a Jew’” (Musafia, *Uspomena iz mornarskog života...*, 2).

trees, and Jewish settlements. The beauty of the landscape was overwhelming, especially because it was *todu muestru* ('all ours'). What was foreign and exotic to his fellow travelers, was for Musafia a familiar, albeit mediated image of a landscape identified as part of the ancient homeland, an image he was experiencing as a reality. This part of Musafia's journey, beginning with his encounter with the natural and agricultural landscape of the Promised Land, proceeded from a pre-existing concept to an impression based on the author's empirical experience, the two finally merging into a new idealized image. The subsequent description of the new, Jewish part of Jerusalem is realistic: traffic, cars and trams, paved streets, modern buildings, shops, Jews from all over the world: There were mostly Sephardim in Musafia's account, but also *Poljakus* ('Polish Jews'), standing out by their appearance and apparel. The perception of Jerusalem as a 'home' is reinforced by Musafia's encounter with his cousins from Sarajevo, the family of *tiju Šimon* ('uncle Šimon'), Hacham Merkado Romano, with whom he stayed overnight and went to a synagogue for prayer the next day. He describes in detail their home, their family members, the food, their conversations, and their shared memories of the days when they lived in Sarajevo. Meeting with young Sephardim from Skopje and Monastir, and later on with other cousins in Tel Aviv, also felt like being very much at 'home'.

However, the highlight of the segment Musafia wrote about Jerusalem was his visit to the Wailing Wall. Starting with a realistic description of the setting, as Musafia approaches the *Kotel Maravi*, it turns into a highly subjective experience, as if a nucleus of compressed emotions, which exploded into tears, pain, body trembling, remembrance of his parents and family members, and finally, consolation and peace of the heart and mind. As Musafia moves away from the Wailing Wall, his experience, as well as his descriptions, revert to reality and realism. In the entire narrative, the Wailing Wall is the culminating segment of the story. It is also the focal point of Musafia's subjective, inner journey, where the narrative of travel intersects with the spiritual and emotional essence of a pilgrimage. Musafia mentions the word *hadžiluk* ('pilgrimage') only in the closing sentences of his narrative, where he comments on his two-year long military service in the Yugoslav army. Musafia, the young Jewish conscript from Zemun (located on the Danube, far away from the Mediterranean), would never have expected it to provide him with the opportunity of travel, let alone the chance to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. This produced a strong motivation for writing about his journey. It was a formative event in the life of the young Yugoslav Jew, who was integrated into the Yugos-

lav milieu, but had preserved both his Jewish and specifically Sephardic identity.

4. Musafia and Poljokan: two approaches to travel writing on Palestine

In the 1930s, Musafia was not the only Yugoslav Jew who wrote a travelogue on Palestine. Isak (Braco) Poljokan (Banja Luka 1897–Drvar 1944) was another member of the Sephardic community in Sarajevo, who visited Palestine roughly at the same time as Musafia. Poljokan’s account titled “*Palestina. Impresije s puta*” (“Palestine. Impressions of a Journey”) was written in Serbo-Croatian. Unlike Musafia’s manuscript, Poljokan’s travelogue was published in 1933 (Poljokan 1933: 180–197). In the twenties and thirties, the heyday of Zionism, Palestine was a widespread topic in all segments of public opinion of the Yugoslav Jews—discussions as well as weekly publications appeared in Zagreb and Sarajevo such as *Židovska svijest*, *Narodna židovska svijest*, *Jevrejski život*, *Jevrejski glas* (*Jewish Awareness*, *Popular Jewish Awareness*, *Jewish Life*, *Jewish Voice*), and even in children’s magazines like *Ha Aviv* (*Spring*). The Ashkenazi-Sephardi discussion was conditioned by several factors:

(a) the difference in historical and cultural experiences; (b) two approaches to Zionism (political and cultural); and (c) political polarization. The coupling of political and cultural ideology, which worked for the long ago [linguistically] assimilated Ashkenazim, did not seem to work for the Sephardim, who had begun [linguistic] assimilation much later and had not yet completed it. Therefore, the Sephardim supported the Jewish state as a political goal but were reluctant to subscribe to the cultural goal—the creation in the Diaspora of a national culture based on the national language (Hebrew). In their view, the Judeo-Spanish language was a legitimate Jewish language with a long and rich cultural tradition, so the Sephardim were not willing to renounce it. On the contrary, they tried to renovate and preserve it despite being criticized for ‘cultural separatism’ (Vidaković Petrov 2013: 29, 34).

Sephardic intellectuals from Bosnia, who had been educated at Austrian or other European universities, where many of them received their doctorates, came back to Sarajevo as members of the Sephardic cultural elite. One of them was Dr. Poljokan, a prominent lawyer and an editor of

the *Jevrejski glas*, with a doctorate from the Sorbonne.¹³ Between Musafia and Poljokan there is not only a generational difference (Poljokan belonging to the generation of Musafia's father), but more importantly a difference in education level, social standing, and degree of integration into the Yugoslav milieu. As most travel writing is autobiographically determined (Pratt 2008: 31), these differences are manifested in three aspects: (a) type of travelogue, (b) frames of reference, and (c) language.

(a) Scholars studying travel writing have highlighted two basic types of non-fictional travelogues (Pratt 2008: 32). The first one is predominantly a record of the journey and mostly an account of the encounter with empirical reality. Musafia's narrative is closer to this traditional type. Poljokan's travelogue represents the second type, that is, a more modern type, in which the account of travel intersects with another genre—the essay. The modern type of travelogue seeks to construct an overall image of “the nation and the people”. It therefore includes extended observations, comments, interpretations, and associations, which point to a shift of emphasis from description to interpretation of reality.

(b) “The particular cultural, social, and intellectual frame of reference” (Wispinsky 1997: 25) shared by the writer and the reading audience he seeks to address, is an issue involving the profile of the writer, the communicative purpose of his writing, and his ideological perspective. As Musafia was a young man serving in the army as a conscript, he could have in mind only readership from his extended family, and perhaps from the social layer of the Sephardic community that had not yet been linguistically assimilated. He had yet to consider submitting his travelogue to one of the weeklies in Sarajevo that included contributions in Judeo-Spanish. Poljokan, being an established intellectual and writer, and an editor of the most important Jewish weekly published at that time in Yugoslavia, had a different communicative purpose in mind. Poljokan was addressing the highest intellectual layer of readership. The choice of language was in itself a determinant of the potential circle of readers. Poljokan's travelogue, written in Serbo-Croatian and published in the *Godišnjak* (‘Annual’) of Benevolencija and Potpora, appealed to linguistically assimilated Yugoslav Jews, many of whom were educated at European universities. Such education was possible thanks to grants provided by Benevolencija in Sarajevo and Potpora in Belgrade, two organizations promoting benefits of en-

¹³ Poljokan came from an outstanding Sephardic family of Banja Luka (Bosnia). He studied law in Vienna and Graz, and received his PhD from the Sorbonne.

lightenment and modernity, including Zionism as an ideology, designed to unite Jews. By writing in Serbo-Croatian, Poljokan could address both Sephardim and Ashkenazim, because it was the language they shared. Poljokan could also address non-Jewish readers, unlike Musafia, whose travelogue would have appealed to a limited circle of readership if it had been published. This minority group of Judeo-Spanish speakers sought to preserve and modernize the traditional language, but also integrate into their country's society. They also sought to connect with fellow Sephardim living in other countries (Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey, Palestine). Finally, they, too, supported 'the national home' in Eretz Israel.

While Musafia described the empirical reality, Poljokan wrote on agriculture, politics, and the epic of rebuilding the Jewish homeland. Poljokan's emphasis is on a revolutionary modernization of both outer reality (the Jewish national home in Palestine) and inner reality (the Jewish mind) rather than on the preservation of tradition. Musafia's attitude is the opposite: he emphasizes the preservation of religious tradition and traditional family life. The heyday of modern Zionism in Yugoslavia seems to have bypassed Musafia and his family, which remained more focused on tradition than on modern Jewish ideologies, regardless of whether they were politically leaning to a left or right wing, Zionist or communist. The Musafia family seemingly belonged to the section of Jewish population in Yugoslavia prone to integration, namely, living in Yugoslavia, preserving Jewish identity and traditions, and supporting the Jewish home in Palestine.¹⁴

This difference can be observed in the two authors' perception of religion. Musafia makes a point of visiting the synagogues in every city in order to pray with the locals. Poljokan writes about Jerusalem as a place where

¹⁴ "Integration was the dominant trend both in Serbia and Croatia in the pre-Yugoslav period. When Zionists began to organize in Croatia, they were initially opposed to the integrationists. In the early years of Yugoslavia, Zionism prevailed in Croatia. Integration in Serbia was different than in Croatia because it emphasized a Serbian 'patriotic spirit', which did not exclude the idea of a Jewish nation (Freidenreich 1979: 144). When Zionism began spreading from its focal point in Zagreb, the strongest reaction to its cultural aspect appeared in Sarajevo, which became the center of the Sephardic Movement. Belgrade remained open to various options: integration, Zionism (both traditional and modern), and so-called Sephardic cultural 'separatism' [...]. Coupled with the dire economic situation in Macedonia, the strongest emigration to Palestine was from the poorest Sephardic community—Bitola [Monastir]—where traditional Messianism blended with modern Zionism" (Vidaković Petrov 2013: 34-35).

all denominations are given the equal opportunity to fully develop that naïve romanticism, a common trait of all religions [...]. [Jews] wish to forget (and they succeed in doing so) the painful past of Jerusalem, leaving the opportunity to those who wish for death, to weep to the fill of their hearts at the Wailing Wall (Poljokan 1933: 196-197).

Musafia's perception of religion might have seemed to Poljokan as 'naïve romanticism', and perhaps this explains why nothing similar to Musafia's spiritual and emotional response to the Wailing Wall is found in the former's account. Musafia's inner journey was a religious pilgrimage, while Poljokan's was a "pilgrimage" dedicated to the modern Zionist ideal.

The two travelogues are very different, but at the same time they are complementary. Most records of travel to Palestine written by Yugoslav Jews in the thirties are basically variants of Poljokan's model. Musafia is, in fact, a precious exception. In fact, his travelogue is the only representative of this genre written in Judeo-Spanish. As such, it is an addition to the generic variety of Judeo-Spanish writing in the between-the-wars period, a contemporary travelogue reaching back to the older descriptions of travel found as segments in the published writings of rabbis traveling the Balkans, Central Europe, and the Middle East.

(c) Poljokan could express his intellectual interest in Palestine only in Serbian/Croatian or perhaps French or German. In contrast, Musafia's traditional, middle-class, Sephardic background explains his choice of Judeo-Spanish. Due to his father's religious upbringing and profession, he was not only religious, but also fluent in Hebrew. For Musafia, Hebrew was a living language in which he communicated with real people, and that is reflected in his narrative, featuring brief dialogues and Hebrew words and expressions. These are missing in Poljokan's narrative, where there is a shift of focus from Hebrew language (as oral communication) to Hebrew script (writing). However, Hebrew letters appear in his narrative as a semantic category (motif), not as script. The motif of "miraculous" Hebrew letters is a reference to their ritual and magical function. In addition, this motif is elaborated through memories of the past rather than references to the living present:

When you carry them deeply embedded in your subconscious from the first days of your childhood, from the times when you were a little boy in the dimly lighted 'meldarim', deciphering them for hours upon hours, accompanied by the monotonous chanting following some rule and rhythm

determined by a sharp stick of the old melamed. At night, tired of brooding over tattered prayer books, as soon as you fell asleep, light dreams would come carrying on their wings ancient stories and legends like dear and precious flowers from the meadow (Poljokan 1933: 186).

Poljokan also transforms ‘speech’ into a motif. He highlights the difference between the Jews of the Galut, engaged in “endless” and “sterile” intellectual discussions on Zionism, and the Palestine Jews (farmers, artisans and traders rather than intellectuals), focused on deeds rather than words: “Palestine works, it does not speak [...] as if it was a pity to waste a single word if what they said did not refer to some kind of positive work” (Poljokan 1933: 188-189). Musafia’s Palestine is quite the opposite—it is all the time in dialogue with the author. While Poljokan observes the collective human landscape from a distance, Musafia engages in direct communication with concrete individuals.

After the invasion of Yugoslavia by the Axis Powers, the country was dismembered and occupied, and the Nazi Independent State of Croatia was established. The latter occupied a part of Serbian territory including Zemun; very soon after, the Ustashes rounded up the Jews and deported them to the notorious Jasenovac death camp, where Jacob Musafia and his family perished. Poljokan managed to escape from Bosnia, also occupied by the Independent State of Croatia, to Split, a town in the Italian occupation zone. He left Split in order to join Tito’s Partisans. Poljokan was killed in the 1944 German offensive on the Supreme Headquarters of the Yugoslav Partisans, in the Bosnian town of Drvar (Operation Rösselsprung).

5. The travelogue context

The tradition of travel writing has a very long history, during which travelogues were constituted as a genre, hybrid in nature, and closely connected with other genres, such as memoir, biography, autobiography, and narratives of adventure. Its evolution has witnessed important shifts and changes in the Renaissance, the 18th century Age of Enlightenment, the 19th century of Romanticism, and the modern period.

Indeed, both European and American travel writing after the romantic period becomes resonant with the interactions between traveler and the world. This complex interplay between self and world, between the empirical and the sentimental, signals the beginning of the richest period of travel writing: the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This period

is often called *the heyday of travel writing*, because of both the depth and breadth of travel books that appeared between 1850 and 1930. The list of established writers who also published travel books during this period is enough to warrant attention (Blanton 2002: 19).

This holds true for Yugoslavia as well. Some of the most outstanding writers of Serbian literature in the between-the-wars period wrote travelogues in addition to their poetry, novels, and plays. Among them are Jovan Dučić, Stanislav Vinaver, Miloš Crnjanski, Rade Drainac, and women, such as Isidora Sekulić and Jelena Dimitrijević. Most travel literature was focused on Europe; few on non-European countries; even fewer on Palestine. Among the latter was the “Letter from Palestine” by Dučić, who was the Ambassador of Yugoslavia in Cairo, when the ‘Dalmatia’ docked in Alexandria.¹⁵ However, Dučić’s account of Palestine is a Christian view of the Holy Land. Travelogues on Palestine authored by Yugoslav Jews constitute a specific corpus, due to the different meaning and importance attached to it by Jews and Christians. This was obvious in Musafia’s account: while his fellow crewmen went to visit the Church of the Holy Resurrection (Sepulchre) and Bethlehem, Musafia went to the Wailing Wall and the synagogues.

Some travelogue scholars consider a nun from Southern Europe, whose name was Egeria (fifth century C. E.) as the predecessor of the long tradition of travel writing, which resulted in the establishment of this genre as we know it today. Mary B. Campbell as well as Casey Blanton purport that Egeria was “the first true travel writer” and that what “remains of her letter to her fellow nuns reveals a direct link with travel writing today” (Blanton 2002: 6). Her writing—an account of her pilgrimage to the Holy Land—anticipates a rich tradition of travelogues on the Holy Land, written by authors of the Christian tradition.

Many centuries later, Musafia used the same epistolary frame as Egeria. For many travelogue writers, especially modern ones, this was a technique that had become a convention. Not so for Egeria and Musafia, who addressed concrete readers in their ‘letters’—fellow nuns in one case, parents and cousins in the other. They both emphasize the personal aspect of travel writing, both in motivation for writing (expressing a strong emotional

¹⁵ Dučić appears prominently in the above-mentioned newspaper clipping Musafia added to his manuscript. The diplomat/writer hosted a banquet the embassy held for the captain and officers of the ship, as well as other guests, while the members of the Yugoslav Diaspora in Egypt hosted another banquet in Alexandria for all the sailors, including Musafia.

and spiritual encounter between self and world) and addressing readers who shared their interest in the experience of a very special place: the Holy Land for Egeria and the Promised Land for Musafia.

Musafia's travelogue appears both as very traditional and very modern. Traditional because he follows an old pattern of travel writing, modern because in the contemporary corpus of literary and other genres written in Judeo-Spanish in Yugoslavia, his was the only true travelogue.

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THE TREASURE METAPHOR IN SEPHARDIC DISCOURSES ON PROVERBS AND SAYINGS IN TERRITORIES OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES)

Ivana VUČINA SIMOVIĆ

1. Introduction

From the end of the 19th and in the early 20th century, a general depreciation of traditional culture urged the Sephardic elites, in what constituted the former Yugoslav lands, to declare that only the majority society and its language could satisfy their needs to engage in modern life. Thus, modern ideologies encouraged a cultural and linguistic assimilation and a progressive loss of traditional language and culture. Between the two world wars, and especially after WWII, these processes continued even more vigorously (Filipović & Vučina Simović 2014: 524-525; Jovanović 2020: 3). However, while embracing the beliefs in the supposed “primitiveness” and “backwardness” of patriarchal society (Bunis 1996; Filipović & Vučina Simović 2012), Sephardic intellectuals highly valued popular proverbs and sayings (and folklore in general) as manifestations of “popular wisdom” and “psychology” of their people (Baruh 1930/2007: 83; Díaz-Mas 2009: 100-101).

From a scientific perspective, proverbs and sayings form part of ethnolinguistic heritage of a community, with capacity to “show the ways in which a certain society adjusts or opposes to the changes, how it re-

acts, whether it changes only on the surface, or its deep and inside values change as well” (Pejović 2014: 214). What is more, proverbs and sayings, in their literal as well as in figurative meaning, are much more than mere cultural markers—they are (un)intentionally used in discourses to transmit community’s cultural memories and to (re)construct collective identities, ideologies and beliefs (Mandić 2020: 184-185). Herein, I argue that a study of metaphors in academic and publicist discourses on proverbs and sayings written by Sephardic authors during and after the assimilation period, can also contribute to our understanding of complex and dynamic relations that exist between discourses, identities and ideologies.

The present research is based on a qualitative analysis of the use of the TREASURE metaphor in expressing Sephardic authors’ attitudes and beliefs towards popular proverbs and sayings,¹ their loss, on one hand, and possibilities of their preservation for the future, on the other hand. Herein, I apply the terminology and the theoretical and methodological framework commonly used in sociolinguistics and in studies of culture of remembrance, critical disciplines involved in interpretative research of language and culture. To the above, I add the basic concepts of cognitive linguistic analysis of metaphors.

The primary sources² used in this research consist of selected utterances/ paragraphs from Jewish publications dating from the end of 19th to the end of 20th century. As availability was an important factor in this corpus creation, the analyzed texts originate mainly from Sarajevo and, to a lesser extent, from Belgrade.³ Due to an advanced cultural assimilation, the language of the texts was mainly Serbian or Serbo-Croatian, the majority language⁴, while

¹ Hereafter I refer to Sephardic proverbs and sayings only as proverbs. This decision is based on the fact that the authors whose discourse I analyze usually make no difference between them (e.g. Davičo 1892), nor did they separate them from paroemias that come from the Jewish written tradition (e.g. Anonym 12.02.1932; Danon 01.04.1939; Tutunović 2015: 26-27).

² I am very much indebted to the staff of the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, whose expertise and helpfulness made it easier for me to collect the necessary material.

³ The Sephardim in Belgrade accepted modern ideas earlier, and due to this fact, began to assimilate culturally before other communities in the region. For this reason, they were less interested in Sephardic folklore during the Yugoslav period. In the case of the communities in Bitola and Skopje, the modernity was accepted much later and developed slowly, so the maintenance of folklore was not an issue at the time (Vučina Simović 2016).

⁴ For data on language maintenance/shift, see Filipović & Vučina Simović (2012).

Judezmo⁵ and Spanish appear only sporadically in the corpus (Filipović & Vučina Simović 2012; Jovanović 2020: 9).

The following section is a brief overview of common social and cultural history of Sephardic communities in the territories of Former Yugoslavia⁶ (*Section 2*). After that, the theoretical and methodological framework (*Section 3*) and corpus (*Section 4*) are presented. Finally, a qualitative analysis is carried out directed at establishing correlations between metaphorical discourse, and modern ideologies and identities, the latter ones often declared responsible for fostering the loss of ethnic languages and the centuries-old cultural heritage.

2. Sephardic communities in the former Yugoslav lands

After the exile from the Iberian Peninsula (1492), a large number of Sephardic Jews found refuge in the Ottoman Empire. They settled in the Ottoman cities in a new environment that was multiethnic, but divided according to religion, tradition and language into special Muslim and Christian parts of the city (called *mahallah*) (Đurić-Zamolo 1977: 184; Rozen 2006: 257, 259). The Ottoman political and administrative system (*millet*) granted the Sephardim, as other non-Muslims, a certain degree of internal autonomy, in exchange for compliance with the authorities and regular payment of taxes and numerous tributes (Benbassa & Rodrigue 2004: 100-103; Rozen 2006: 257, 259; Vidaković Petrov 2009: 395-396).

During the Ottoman rule, Sephardic Jews had only sporadic contacts with members of other ethnic groups living in their immediate neighborhood, as was the case with all ethnic and religious groups in Ottoman cities at the time. They were allowed to establish a common cultural zone with their brethren from other regions and ample cultural and socio-economic networks of their own (Benbassa & Rodrigue 2004: 14-15). Despite that, they adapted to the environment to some extent and formed part of the “common cultural infrastructure” of the Empire (Rozen 2006: 259-260). This was confirmed by the local lifestyle (food, clothing, customs, etc.),

⁵ For a general view of Judezmo and its (socio)linguistic characteristics, see Schwarzwald (2018) and Bunis (2018).

⁶ The denomination Yugoslavia refers, in this paper, to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia (1918-1941) and to Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia/Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945-1992), established after WWII. Only few texts date from the times of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1992-2003). See Djokić (2013).

and Balkan cultural elements, present in the Sephardic language, Judezmo, and the Sephardic ethnic traditions (Vidaković Petrov 2009: 395; Vučina Simović 2016: 93).

The daily life and intellectual work in the Sephardic quarters were subordinated to strict religious rules and regulations of a patriarchal society. Under such conditions, the education was reserved for the boys and limited to the fundamentals of religious literature and the acquisition of the basics of Hebrew. At the same time, Judezmo and the oral literature created in this language were maintained for centuries (see Bunis 1992: 11-12; Vidaković Petrov 2014: 438).

After the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, Sephardic communities began to adopt European and local cultural and social models (Freidenreich 1979/2001: 26-40; Vidaković Petrov 2013: 23; 2014: 436). The process of the modernization of all communities basically went through the same stages, but at different points in time. As a consequence of this process, an increased number of members within Sephardi communities emigrated from the Jewish quarters. At the same time, the process of language shift from Judezmo to majority languages occurred (Bunis 2017: 224-228; Vidaković Petrov 2014: 435-436, 438; Vučina Simović & Filipović 2009; Vučina Simović 2016). The physical distance from the old neighborhoods also meant a detachment from cultural and religious milieu and changes in patriarchal order in the family and society. These were the main factors that influenced the cultural and linguistic assimilation to majority societies and a loss of centuries-old customs and oral literary forms in Judezmo. The latter was precipitated even more, due to the almost complete destruction of Jewish communities in Yugoslavia during the Holocaust.

3. Theoretical and methodological approach to metaphors in the discourse of the past

The present paper deals with the metaphor *TREASURE* used in the texts on proverbs by Sephardic authors from former Yugoslavia. In order to approach the ideologies and attitudes towards the past of their communities, I apply a theoretical and methodological approach of critical sociolinguistics,⁷ which promotes the application of qualitative analysis based

⁷ Critical sociolinguistics is chosen because it combines linguistic tools with sociological, anthropological, and other resources in order to provide an insight into an under-

on various ethnographic and anthropological methods and techniques (Filipović 2018: 63-64).

Furthermore, I argue that the analysis of metaphorical elements such as TREASURE provides for a better understanding of the function of memories among Sephardic authors from the 19th and the 20th centuries (Vučina Simović & Mandić 2019: 116, 138-139). For the purpose of discerning the main manifestations of culture of remembrance of Yugoslav Sephardim before and after WWII, I rely on J. Asmann's dichotomy between communicative memories, usually personal or generational, and cultural memories, which are assumed to be more lasting and transmitted to future generations (Assmann 2011: 5-6, 38-44, cited from Vučina Simović & Mandić 2019: 117). These two forms of memory, however, are not easy to alienate, since they are easily transformed from one to the other and vice versa (Ilić [Mandić] 2014: 233).

In the analysis of metaphors, I apply the basic conceptual and terminological framework of cognitive linguistics based on a claim that a metaphor "involves understanding one domain of experience [...] in terms of a very different domain of experience". Namely, the metaphor is defined "as a mapping [...] from a source domain [...] to a target domain" (Lakoff 1993: 207). Thus, it implies "observing or understanding one phenomenon as another (or one domain of experience as another)"⁸ (Klikovac 2008: 66).⁹ Consequently, in the present case study, the Sephardic proverbs are mapped as a target domain onto the knowledge about the concept of TREASURE as a source domain. Since the metaphorical expressions under study are not only communicative¹⁰ but also stereotypical, my interest is directed towards their realization. Special attention is paid to utterances and paragraphs in which they appear in different communicative contexts.

standing of the construction of individual and group identities as well as of other social and cultural phenomena that characterize them as members of a single community (van Dijk 2015: 352; Filipović 2018: 10, 20, 49, 63-65). For further information on critical sociolinguistics and its approach, see Filipović (2015: 14-17; 2018: 10).

⁸ *Videnje ili razumevanje jedne pojave kao druge (ili jednog iskustvenog domena kao drugog).*

⁹ All translations of quotations are by the author of this article, unless otherwise specified.

¹⁰ Herein, I consider the intentionality of the authors, by distinguishing rhetorical from communicative/linguistic metaphors, as well as strategies for their application (Steen 2008: 305-306). The authors' intentionality is also an important issue for the utterances in which the metaphors are realized, since their texts inevitably conform to the audience, regardless of whether it is intended or not (Ilić [Mandić] 2014: 30-31).

Additionally, I believe this metaphorical analysis illustrates the action of explicit and implicit concepts and ideologies in discourse construction (see Klikovac 2004: 15; Đurić & Ćirić 2015: 56).

4. The corpus

The present analysis is based on utterances/paragraphs¹¹ extracted from a Sephardic corpus from Former Yugoslavia, in which the TREASURE metaphor is mapped as a source domain to proverbs as a target domain. The selected texts were published mostly within Jewish periodicals (magazines and calendars),¹² collections of proverbs and sayings¹³ and memorials of cultural and beneficent associations¹⁴ dating from the end of the 19th to the end of the 20th century. They are either entirely dedicated to proverbs or simply provide specific comments on them.

The corpus is limited to native Judezmo speakers of both genders involved in the collection, documentation and dissemination of proverbs and/or other forms of oral literature that were characteristic of their family and community. It should be noted that among the selected authors, those from Bosnia and Herzegovina prevail, due to their strong activism in promoting Judezmo and Sephardic culture.¹⁵ All authors were professionally affirmed figures, influential not only in Jewish communities, but also in general Yugoslav society. Therefore, their narratives about the past

¹¹ The utterance is broadly defined as a unit of oral or written discourse, largely structurally autonomous yet contextualized (Ilić [Mandić] 2014: 29-31). At the text level, utterances can overlap with paragraphs. For a discussion on the utterance as a unit of discourse, see Haye & Larraín (2011).

¹² These periodicals include *Vesnik Jevrejske sefardske veroispovedne opštine* (Belgrade), *Jevrejski glas* (Sarajevo), *El Mundo Sefardi* (Vienna), *Jevrejski almanah* (Belgrade). Only few articles came from non-Jewish periodicals: *Otažbina* (Belgrade) and *La gaceta literaria* (Madrid).

¹³ These texts appeared in published collections of Sephardic proverbs and sayings (Kolonomos ed. 1976; Tutunović 1997; 2015).

¹⁴ *Spomenica 'La Benevolencije'* (Belgrade, 1924) and *Spomenica 400 godina od dolaska Jevreja u Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1566-1966* (Sarajevo, 1966).

¹⁵ Herein, I principally refer to a group of Sephardic intellectuals from Sarajevo who developed a specific form of Zionism under the name *Sephardic movement*. At the base of their program was the idea that Zionism should be accepted, but without losing the specific Sephardic identity and language, as its inseparable part (Vučina Simović 2016: 163-164).

can be considered dominant in the Jewish public discourse of their time (Vučina Simović & Mandić 2019: 124-125).

The major part of the corpus was written in the majority language, Serbian/Serbo-Croatian, and only occasionally in Judezmo and Spanish. This was due to language shift, which was already advanced at the time of their birth—in the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century (Vučina Simović & Filipović 2009; Vučina Simović 2016). Linguistically or stylistically, their texts in Serbian/Serbo-Croatian do not differ from writings of other Yugoslav authors of their times.

5. Proverbs in the Sephardic discourse about the past

5.1. *Modern ideologies related to Judezmo and traditional Sephardic culture*

One of the main characteristics of ideologies is their uniform character. The members of a speech community not only share them, but also express them in a similar way in speech, as well as in writing. Namely, they use similar, if not identical, lexical and metaphorical expressions (Vučina Simović 2016: 238). Without a doubt, Sephardic authors from Yugoslavia are no exception, thus their texts show the same consistency between ideologies and discourse.

There are plenty of examples that show that Sephardic intellectuals observed their native language through the lens of modern ideologies, which stigmatized non-standardized and non-national languages (Filipović & Vučina Simović 2014: 535). Namely, modern discourse on Judezmo stereotypes and common places prevailed with the intention to discredit this variety as a possible language of literacy, and even as a vehicle of daily communication (see Pulido 1905: 125). Therefore, the lexical elements and metaphors referring to Judezmo can be characterized not only as negative, but also as “linguicidal” (Vučina Simović 2011: 143).

Like the attitudes towards their ethnic language, the authors manifested negative attitudes towards the traditional Sephardic society, which was regarded from the modern perspective as “passive and obsolete” (Bunis 1996: 226-227). These ideas were typically expressed through Orientalist discourse, as in the fragment below:

Pet je vekova [...] prošlo; stari su se nazori i ideali, stari pogledi se petrificirali, sve se skalupilo, život je bio statika, o dinamici nije bilo ni izgleda. Stari svet, taj ukalupljen i šabloniziran, sa svim orijentalnim manirima, krajem prošlog veka počinje da se ruši, usled dodira sa zapadnom kulturom [Five centuries have past [...]; the old beliefs and ideals, the old worldviews became petrified. Everything was stiffened; the life became static; there were no chances for dynamics. That old world molded and patterned, with all its Oriental manners, at the end of the last century started to collapse due to the contact with the Western culture] (Kajon 1927: 30).

In contrast to negative perceptions of traditional life and culture, the proverbs and other forms of oral literature were regarded¹⁶ as “cultural treasure” despite the fact that they were created in a stigmatized language. The words of Haim Davicho (1892: 655) provide an excellent illustration of this phenomenon. According to him, Sephardic popular creations were “idyll” in a middle of “ditch water” of the Belgrade’s Jewish quarter. A similar formulation is to be found in Sarajevo in Laura Papo’s (1931/2005: 166) reminiscences about the past. When commenting on Sephardic romances, she paraphrased the celebrated Spanish collector of traditional texts, Manuel Manrique de Lara, claiming that the romances resembled “carnations and roses” (*klaveles i rozas*) in the “field of weeds” (*un kam-po de jervas malas*). Only later, when Sephardic heritage started to lose ground, the interest in traditional culture was followed by doubts about the objective validity of modernity and emancipation.

5.2. *Sephardic proverbs are TREASURE of the Sephardim*

A scholarly definition of a proverb offered by Bunis (2015: 17) focuses on its main characteristics, such as conciseness, sharp-wittedness, anonymity, and the fact that they are readily accepted and shared among the members of the same speech community. Similar formulations appear in the memories of Sephardic authors from Yugoslavia and confirm their awareness of formal characteristics of proverbs. However, I have observed that some lexical phrases and metaphors prove that they also shared in-group

¹⁶ Among the reasons that could explain the preference of proverbs were the fact that Romance and Hispanic scholars appreciated Sephardic oral literature and their interest gave it a considerable prestige. Besides, the insistence of these scholars on “pure Spanishness” (*Sp. castizo en su españolidad*) (Baruh 15.11.1928: 4) of Sephardic folklore resulted in the negligence of its numerous Jewish and local Balkan elements (Bunis 2015: 13-14).

attitudes and beliefs towards Sephardic proverbs. In this paper, I dwell upon the metaphor TREASURE, which is well documented in the corpus and representative of the collective cognitive model regarding the value of a common-thread cultural and religious tradition among the Sephardim.

When discussing the social and cultural values of proverbs, the authors frequently used the metaphor TREASURE along with the possessive form “our” as a common strategy for emphasizing the belief that these oral forms shaped the life cycle of the Sephardic/Jewish people and to their popular culture, as exemplified below:¹⁷

Naše *narodno literarno blago* [“our popular literary treasure”] (Anonym 12.09.1930: 3).

Bogatstvo naše *prostonarodne kulture* [“wealth of our popular culture”] (B. Pinto 25.10.1935: 3).

Naše *narodno blago* [“a treasure of our people”] (D. Danon 01.04.1939: 15).

Even the authors who claimed that the Sephardim took/brought this TREASURE from the Iberian Peninsula emphasized that its development continued in the Ottoman realm¹⁸ (B. Pinto 28.03.1930: 3; S. Kamhi 1966: 105; Tutunović 1992: 9; Kamhi & Papo 2000: n. p.). Therefore, as stated by S. Kamhi, the centuries-old use of proverbs made them a reliable source for the study of the social history of their communities:

Sa sociološkog gledišta poslovice su prava riznica i veoma pouzdan putokaz za određivanje socijalne strukture, društvenih prilika u kojima su živjeli, profesija kojima su se bavili i duševnih stanja u kojima su se nalazili Sefardi [From a sociological point of view, the proverbs are a real *treasury* and a reliable guide for learning about social structure, social conditions of life, professions and emotional conditions of the Sephardim] (S. Kamhi 1966: 120).

The collective and traditional spirit of Sephardic proverbs was also pronounced, especially in the prewar corpus, through anthropocentric metonymic representations,¹⁹ in which the authors claimed that proverbs “were circulating around as a living popular *treasure*” (kolaju kao živo narodno

¹⁷ All italics that appear in quoted utterances/paragraphs are mine.

¹⁸ This was unlike the common belief that Judezmo and traditional culture were “petrified” after the expulsion.

¹⁹ For anthropocentric metonymy, see Rasulić (2010: 51-52, 58-59).

blago) (S. Kamhi 1927: 6) being “mainly spread among the old Jewish houses” (*širile su se naročito po starim jevrejskim kućama*) (D. Danon 01.04.1939: 15).

In the same vein, the authors claimed that the proverbs indeed were the TREASURE used at large in Jewish neighborhoods, especially with the objective to express and transmit social knowledge (S. Kamhi 1966: 120) and “life experience of its dwellers” (*blago životnog iskustva njegovih stanovnika*) (Davičo 1892: 654). The following quotation, overloaded with lexical variants of similar meaning, illustrates the relevance of the “popular wisdom” among the Sephardim:

O narodnoj inteligenciji kad se govori, onda na prvo mesto dolazi negovanje i stvaranje narodnih pesama i romansa; narodnih poslovica, priča, izreka, anegdota i poslovica. Riznica je toga narodnog, umnog blaga, bogata, i vredno je i potrebno ispitati ga i beležiti [When we speak of the popular wisdom, we begin with the cultivation and creation of popular songs and romances; popular proverbs, stories, sayings, anecdotes and proverbs *[sic]*. The *treasury* of that popular, mental *treasure* is *rich* and worth of examination and annotation] (Kajon 1927: 26).

B. Pinto emphasized the spiritual value of proverbs claiming that the “*treasure* of proverbs” was employed in the past as a medium for verbalizing not only the popular philosophy of the Sephardim but also the “*rich* culture of the heart” (*bogata kultura srca*) of the old generations (B. Pinto 10.10.1930: 3).

5.3. *Memorization of proverbs as Sephardic TREASURE*

As documented above, the metaphor TREASURE was common in texts related to Sephardic proverbs and it proved to be an important element of Sephardic culture and identity. As illustrated bellow, this metaphor also played a significant role in the discourse regarding the loss of proverbs and/or their preservation for the future. It should be noted that the use of the metaphor TREASURE is context dependent—i.e., conditioned by socio-historical and ideological changes, which were constantly (re)shaping the approach to folklore (Jovanović 2020: 1). Therefore, distinguishing between the uses of the metaphor in the texts published before and after the Holocaust goes far beyond chronology.

Even before WWII, Sephardic intellectuals were concerned about the loss of oral heritage, which represented one of the many consequences of the acceptance of modern culture and lifestyle. However, the interest in preserving folklore that was constantly “fading away” (B. Pinto 28.03.1930: 4) was limited to a small number of enthusiasts active in this field²⁰ (Jovanović 2020: 9-11). An anonymous correspondent of the Jewish magazine from Sarajevo, *Jevrejski glas*, affirmed that it was common at the time to express regret for the loss of oral literature in the community (“it is a sad fact”, “unfortunately”, etc.):

No keremos, torna, lamenter por el deperdimiento del nuestro tesoro literario porke este kante triste es muj bien konosido a todos nuestros leedores [Therefore, we do not want to lament on the loss of our literary treasure, because all our readers know this sad song very well] (Nueva actividad de la Lira 12.02.1932: 7).

In fact, the author’s argument in favor of organizing folkloric events resulted in a critique of a general lack of interest in preserving ethnic language and culture:

Aki keremos solo saludar i rekonoser este paso de la ‘Lira’ porke lo tratamos komo una čika luz en nuestra skuridad kulturala [Here we want just to welcome and express our appreciation for the initiative of ‘La Lira’ because we see it as a sparkle in our cultural darkness] (Nueva actividad de la Lira 12.02.1932: 7).

Being witnesses to language shift and loss of Sephardic heritage, the authors were aware that only the old generations, particularly women, kept traditional language and culture alive:

Naše dobre tete i bakice (tijas i nonas) gajile su i čuvale ljubomorno skoro sa nekim pobožnim pijetetom, svo kulturno blago donešeno iz Španije [Our good aunts and grandmas (tijas i nonas) cultivated and kept with zeal, in a kind of religious commitment, all cultural treasures brought from Spain] (A. Pinto 1987: 20).

²⁰ This especially applies to the authors from Sarajevo, who were close to the ideas of the Sephardic movement between the two world wars. Namely, they considered that the annotation of folkloric forms was meant not only “to prevent popular creations to fall into oblivion” (*da se narodne starine otmu zaboravu*), but “to protect” both the Sephardic and Jewish identities of their community (Baruh 1924/2007: 65, 74-75; S. Kamhi 1927: 15).

Consequently, an argument may be constructed that certain authors' seemingly positive attitudes towards proverbs as "rare *treasure* of their home" (rijetku *dragocjenost* svoga doma) and "great and *valued* antiquities" (velike i *cenjene* starine) (D. Danon 01.04.1939: 15), actually (re)created the distance between traditional and modern generations. The same applies to their belief that this was a natural and inevitable process:

Karakteristično je da naročito stare jevrejske žene čuvaju i neguju te poslovice [...]. Ali je žalosna činjenica da nestankom tih starih žena i ljudi gubi i to naše blago, jer nove generacije napuštaju sve više španjolski jezik, te se tako naše poslovice i izreke sve više gube [It is characteristic that especially the old Sephardic women preserve and cultivate those proverbs (...). But it is a sad fact that this *treasure* of ours is vanishing together with these elderly women and men, because the young generations are progressively abandoning Spanish, and, in this way, our proverbs and sayings are losing ground even more] (D. Danon 1.4.1939: 15).

On the other hand, K. Baruh and other authors in the pre-WWII period held an affirmative discourse, claiming that folklore was still present in the Sephardic community and had lost only a little of "its vitality and authenticity" (Baruh 1930 cit. from B. Pinto 28.03.1930: 3). K. Baruh argued that even folkloric stage performances could convey generational and cultural memories and establish emotional links with the past:

Vi dok se možda malo uzbudite, sigurno će te se i smijati, ali Vas molim da Vaš smijeh ne bude podsmijeh; da se usred grohota pojavi i pokoja diskretna suza u očima—onako kao što činite kada slušate naše stare koje odavna niste vidjeli, jer žive u drugom svijetu; u drugom svijetu ideja i navika [You may laugh when you get a little excited, but I beg you not to mock; in the midst of laughter, shed a few discreet tears—as you do when you listen to our elders, whom you have not seen for a long time, because they live in another world; in a world of different ideas and habits] (K. Baruh 1930 cit. from B. Pinto 28.3.1930: 3).

The emotional component in the memories about proverbs became even more significant after the Holocaust. In the preface to the monograph *Proverbs and Sayings of the Sephardic Jews of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Ž. Kolonomos (1976) insisted, as previously did Baruh, that these popular forms were able to convey memories and reestablish the lost ties with family members, friends and compatriots, who perished in the Holocaust. Therefore, publishing and presenting collections of proverbs to the gener-

al public²¹ contributed to the process of overcoming personal and collective traumas:

Ovo izdanje na svoj način oživljava uspomenu na mnoge hiljade Jevreja čiji su deo folklornog blaga bile ove poslovice i izreke. Čitajući ih, sećamo se i svog detinjstva, roditelja, prijatelja i sunarodnika koji su nestali u vihoru ratova i progona (Kolonomos 1976: 7) [In a sense this publication keeps alive the memory of many thousands of Jews, whose folklore *treasure* included these proverbs and sayings. While reading them we remember our own childhood, our parents, friends and fellow citizens, who disappeared in the turmoil of wars and persecutions] (Kolonomos 1976: 20).

Different authors also displayed disparate attitudes regarding the possibility of the preservation of proverbs. For instance, S. Kamhi (1966: 120) expressed his pessimism, claiming that “the destiny of folkloric *treasure* of Bosnian Sephardim was *sealed* with the genocide” (*sudbina folklornog blaga bosanskih Sefarada zapečaćena je genocidom*). In his opinion the only future of the proverbs is to be found “in the documents of historians, linguists, musicologists and folklorists” (*u dokumentima istoričara, lingvista, muzikologa i folklorista*) (S. Kamhi 1966: 121). Similar allegations were pronounced by S. Pinto, who believed that “the immense *wealth* that could serve as a *precious* document of cultural history and creativity of Sephardic Jews from Yugoslavia perished along with the proverbs” (*propalo je neizmerno bogatstvo koje je moglo poslužiti kao dragocjeni dokument kulturne istorije i stvaralaštva sefardskih Jevreja Jugoslavije*) (S. Pinto 1958: 30-31).

Nevertheless, there were also authors who believed in the preservation of Sephardic proverbs, if not through generational transmission, then through their collection, documentation and dissemination, as suggested by Kolonomos (1976: 5).

In the last decade of the 20th century, the loss of Judezmo and its oral literature progressed due to a declining number of active speakers. This fact incited a change in the agenda for the preservation of Sephardic oral forms. Less optimistic than her predecessors, D. Tutunović (1997: 9-10), opted for “keeping a trace” of the traditions in her own family. The annotation of words and folkloric forms from her memory was at first intended for younger members of her family, and only later she decided to present

²¹ For a detailed analysis of the techniques applied to preserving Sephardic oral heritage, see Jovanović 2020.

them to a more general audience.²² Following the agenda of previous collectors, she felt obliged to fulfill her duty of transmission and “safeguarding the permanence of centuries-old popular creations” (*obezbed[i] trajnost viševjekovnom narodnom stvaralaštvu*) (Tutunović 2015: 15-16, 31).

The same insistence on memorization of proverbs on a micro level is characteristic of a booklet with an illustrative title “Preserved from the Oblivion” (*Sačuvano od zaborava*):

Ovom publikacijom željeli bismo pridonijeti spašavanju od zaborava ponečega iz toga velikog blaga. Građa nije prikupljena sustavno, već je nastala kao prisjećanja dvoje ljudi, Regine Kamhi i Jakova Pape, koji su u djetinjstvu i mladosti živjeli okruženi židovskošpanjolskom kulturom kao svakodnevicom [This publication aims to contribute to saving some of that great *treasure* from [falling into] oblivion. This material was not collected systematically, but was created out of recollections of two people, Regina Kamhi and Jakov Papo, who in their childhood and youth lived surrounded by Judeo-Spanish culture as part of their everyday life] (Kamhi & Papo 2000: n. p.).

6. Conclusion

The paper investigates the discourse on memories of proverbs in the texts of Sephardic authors from Former Yugoslavia, focusing on the TREASURE metaphor. The starting point of the present analysis is that, unlike Judezmo in the post-traditional Sephardic society, proverbs and other oral literary forms were considered positive manifestations of Sephardic/Jewish identity. The latter were even beyond the ethnic language maintenance and loss, especially in the post-assimilation period in which majority languages of the newly founded states in the Balkans left a permanent mark on the future of different Sephardic communities. No matter how stereotypical and seemingly superficial, the TREASURE metaphor proofed to be a valid object of research if addressed in relationship to its contextualized function and meaning in discourses about the cultural heritage of the Sephardim. The qualitative analysis presented herein was conducted on the level of utterances/paragraphs, units that proved to be formally structured yet relevant in terms of their contextualization.

²² As a result she published a dictionary (Tutunović 1992) and two collections of Sephardic songs, romances, proverbs and stories (Tutunović 1997; 2003).

The annotation of the corpus indicated that lexical variation of the studied metaphor consists of the following elements—TREASURE, TREASURY, WEALTH (*BLAGO/DRAGOC(J)ENOST, RIZNICA, BOGATSTVO*), of which the first is by far the most represented in the corpus. In contrast to a limited lexical variation, the realization of the metaphor in commemorative discourses occurs within various thematic and ideological contexts. In some contexts, it refers to continual values, while in others its meaning underwent considerable changes, showing consistency with the intentions of the speakers, their ideologies and identities.

Among the contexts that show no chronological dependence, the use of the metaphor TREASURE for emphasizing the authors' positive in-group attitudes towards the proverbs stands out. These consist of beliefs that the latter belonged to the Sephardic/Jewish people and that they are reflections of its intellectual and spiritual capacities. Other contexts, in which the metaphor appears, reveal its role in memorizing the proverbs. In both cases the authors' attitudes were ambivalent. On one hand, the corpus indicated an evident lack of real interest in proverbs and oral literature in general, which was already common in Sephardic communities before WWII. Moreover, the seemingly positive attitudes towards proverbs as "rarity" and "antiquities" and the insistence that they were used only among elderly generations supported the belief that it was impossible to preserve them for the future.

On the other hand, among the intellectuals there were also enthusiasts concerned with the preservation and documentation/memorization of proverbs (Jovanović 2020: 9-11, 177). Even more importantly, they were aware that proverbs were able to convey generational and cultural memories and establish emotional links with the past. The "therapeutic" effect of memories in proverbs became even more important after the Holocaust, when strategies for overcoming personal and collective traumas were much needed.²³ Thus, proverbs assumed the role of *sites of memory* (Fr. *lieux de mémoire*), special places or mnemonic practices in which "a sense of historical continuity persists", and thus, substitute "milieux de memoire, real environments of memory" (Nora 1989: 7):

²³ Díaz-Mas & Romeu Ferré (2011: 131-133) performed an analysis of lexical elements and semantic fields in which proverbs and sayings occupy an important role as cultural markers in the discourse of remembrance of post-Holocaust authors, who wrote in languages other than Judezmo.

Puede ser ke ay una balansa kozmika en la ke podemos kontar el mazal ke mos diyo una posibilidad de aver un kantoniko propio, onde podemos bushkar i topar una konsolasion en el pensamiyento de la muestra chikes. / Yo, muchas vezis fuygo en este kantoniko, i este livro es el resultado de mis fuyos de la realidad en el mundo ke es solo mio [Perhaps there is a cosmic balance to which we owe the chance to have our own little corner, where we can seek and find a consolation in a thought of our childhood. / I, myself often escape to that corner and this book is the result of my escapes from reality to a world that is only mine] (Tutunović 1997: 7).

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SPANISH SECTION

LAS PERÍFRASIS VERBALES EN JUDEOESPAÑOL MODERNO¹

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En el presente artículo se presenta un avance del análisis de las perífrasis verbales utilizadas en el corpus de más de medio millón de palabras elaborado en el marco del proyecto de investigación «Entre tradición y modernidad. El judeoespañol de Oriente entre 1880 y 1930» y realizado en la Universidad de Basilea bajo la dirección de Beatrice Schmid.²

En concreto, vamos a centrarnos en el estudio de algunas perífrasis de infinitivo, comenzando con las modales para continuar con las aspectuales. En el análisis tendremos en cuenta el estado de la lengua en el siglo XVIII a través de los relatos del *Me'am lo 'ez* de Éxodo, publicados por Aitor García Moreno en el libro *Relatos del pueblo ladinán* (2004), y de la obra *La güerta de oro* (Berenguer Amador 2017). Igualmente, intentamos señalar la evolución interna del sistema lingüístico judeoespañol, así como la influen-

¹ Una versión previa del contenido de este artículo se presentó en 2009 en el Congreso Internacional Los Sefardíes de Turquía y los Balcanes: Identidad y Mentalidades en Textos de los Siglos XIX y XX, organizado por el Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) en Madrid.

² Los detalles sobre la composición del corpus, así como la lista completa de las obras y las siglas correspondientes empleadas junto con los ejemplos citados a lo largo de este trabajo se encuentran disponibles en el siguiente enlace: https://iberoromanistik.philhist.unibas.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/iberoromanistik/pdf-Dokumente/Ladino/Siglas_Corpus.pdf [consulta: 27-03-2023].

cia de otras lenguas, especialmente del francés, con el que el judeoespañol comenzó a entrar en contacto a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX.

1. Perífrasis modales

1.1. <dever (de) + infinitivo>

Ya en textos del siglo XVIII aparecen testimonios de esta perífrasis, tanto con presencia de preposición como sin ella (García Moreno 2004: 257; Berenguer Amador 2017: 308). En el corpus del presente artículo es una de las perífrasis más frecuentes, sin embargo, y aunque la preposición *de* figura ocasionalmente, lo predominante es su ausencia: de los 865 casos en los que encontramos la secuencia <dever + infinitivo>, en 834 no hay mediación de preposición, en 30 aparece *de* y en uno *a*, probablemente debido a una errata. En porcentajes, esto quiere decir que más de un 96 % de las veces carece de preposición y que menos del 4 % figura con *de*.

Como ya se ha señalado en otros trabajos (Schmid y Bürki 2000: 160), no se observa ninguna diferencia de significado entre el uso de la perífrasis con preposición o sin ella; así, pueden encontrarse ejemplos claros en los que el significado con preposición es radical, es decir, expresa una obligación activa:

- (1) Tú *deves de matarme* agora para que ellos no lo hagan [BGn2,22].³
- (2) Me dijeron que *devía de asistir* el próximo otodafé ['auto de fe'] [APRn,13].
- (3) *Devemos de alegrarnos* de un semejante resultado [EPp83,158b].

Y otros en los que el significado es epistémico, es decir, expresa conjetura:

- (4) *Devía de arivar* que los jidiós de un país fueran aborecidos [AVp4,4b].
- (5) Aquea nave *devía de ser* el Argos [BGn3,19].

³ El sistema de transcripción es una ligera adaptación del usado en la revista *Sefarad*. Los grafemas que no aparecen en el listado siguiente se leen como en castellano seseante y yeísta: = [b], <ć, ś, ź> = [z], <ch, š> = [ʃ], <ġ, j> = [ʒ], <ĝ, ĵ> = [dʒ], <h> = [h] o [χ], <š> = [ts], <v> = [v] o [β].

- (6) Él no *deve de ser* rico visto que mora a cinco puntos de aquí [NCn,20b].

No obstante, también encontramos ejemplos sin preposición —mucho más numerosos— en los que la perífrasis presenta un significado radical:

- (7) Es que yo *devo abandonar* mi creencia, mi reliḡión y mi pueblo? No! No! Esto no *deve haċer* una verdadera hija de Yisrael [ANGt,39].
 (8) La Italia y la España non tienen las fuerzas por haċer las coŝas a la grande. Ellas *deven contentarsen* con un rolo [‘papel’] más modesto [AVp4,2b].
 (9) El Gran Rabino que *deve dar* la setencia o la nota [EOa,7].

O expresa conjetura:

- (10) Sí, *deve haver sido* él, sepáŝ antes de todo que vuestra mujer no estava nunca a Lion... [JJn3,9].
 (11) Todavía él *havía dovido despertarse* justo cuando el criminal quería meterle sobre la boca la riŝá [‘pañuelo’] embevida de cloroform... [JJn5,7].
 (12) Y como ya lo *devéŝ saver*, los ladrones, sean ellos los más hábiles [LXn,43].

1.2. <tener (a / de / que) + infinitivo>

En su conjunto, las perífrasis con *tener* son menos abundantes que las construidas con *dever*; la más frecuente de ellas es la que contiene la preposición *a* (81 ocurrencias); le sigue la forma con *de* (48 casos) y, por último, la que emplea *que* (37 ocurrencias).

Además de la anterior, en las dos obras citadas del judeoespañol del siglo XVIII aparece también la perífrasis verbal <tener (de / que) + infinitivo> (García Moreno 2004: 258; Berenguer Amador 2017: 308-310), y en nuestro corpus se suma la formada con la preposición *a*; si bien, y aunque todas ellas aparecen en castellano medieval, esta última «ha sido siempre de escaso empleo. Por el contrario, el portugués la ha conservado hasta nuestros días» (Yllera 1980: 115); por su parte, «Keniston no recoge ningún ejemplo con este valor en la prosa del XVI» (*ibidem*: 116). Al respecto, cabe señalar que la ausencia de casos con *a* en el judeoespañol del

siglo XVIII hace más que probable que el empleo de esta preposición se deba al influjo del idioma francés (Schmid y Bürki 2000: 160).

El significado de esta perífrasis es de obligación y no se observan diferencias entre los usos de unas u otras variantes. Presentamos algunos ejemplos a continuación:

Tener a:

- (13) Qué triste novedad *tengo a anunciarvos*, vuestro hijo, viene de morir! [YERh6,46a].
- (14) Sí, un día, yo *tuve a escoger* entre mí y mi honor, yo fui ovligado de sacrificar el uno por el otro [FABt,374c].
- (15) Al menos no vaš a *tener a vergüenzarvos* delante de ninguno [FABt,356c].

Tener de:

- (16) Octav, yo *tengo de pagarvos* una devda y yo lo hago de todo corazón [FABt,382a].
- (17) Qué menester *tengo de perder* mi tiempo a la vanidad y gastar mis palavras acerca de una oreja que no quiere oyir? [ANGt,12].
- (18) Y qué alegría *tendría yo de rovar...* [ESCt,12].

Tener que:

- (19) Empecemos de vós, bula ['doña'] Miriam (mostrando la serviciala) vós *tenéš que barer* en todos los lugares [ESCt,45].
- (20) Ninguno de mošotros no *tiene que haćer* sobre el tejado [NCn,12b].
- (21) Jac me prometió de venir a las 4 y ya son las cerca cinco, aínda ['todavía'] *tiene que venir* [TSt13,2b].

1.3. <haver { de / a / que } + infinitivo>

En el *Me'am lo'ež* del siglo XVIII aparece un único ejemplo con *haver* en forma personal (*se han de alevantar*) y otro en modo impersonal con incidencia directa (*no hay quitar*); por su parte, en *La güerta de oro* tan solo figura un caso de <hay + infinitivo> (*hay acavar*), que podría ser

<hay a + infinitivo> por fonética sintáctica; en esta obra hay también ejemplos de <hay (de / que) + infinitivo>.

En el corpus que analizamos en este artículo la situación es similar, todas las ocurrencias perifrásticas de este verbo son impersonales, con excepción de los cuatro siguientes casos:

- (22) La historia de los jidiós españoles después de la expulsión de España *ha de ser escrita* aínda [MUJc,1].
- (23) Con esta razón, si tu chica hija era grande, le *havías a dar* a casamiento un apoticario ['farmacéutico'] [HACt,38].
- (24) Impedís cuantas lágrimas de aqueos que *havían restar* güérfanos [SEHd,36].
- (25) *Havrá de saver*, señor, que hay dos meses que non have tuvido gana de comer [YCh4,3].

A continuación analizamos las formas perifrásticas con *haver* impersonal, que presentan variedad, pues entre el auxiliar y el infinitivo pueden aparecer las preposiciones *a* y *de*, así como la conjunción *que*. Veamos algunos ejemplos:

Haver de, la más abundante, con diecisiete casos:

- (26) Ma non *hay de deséesperar* [AVp4,3a].
- (27) *hay de espantar* que los Estados Unidos cerarán para los jidiós las puertas de este país [EJp6,43].
- (28) Lo mijor que *hay de haéer* por apañarlos ['cogerlos'], es de caminar al Dio y a la ventura [JJn6,5].

Haver a, un poco menos frecuente, que aparece en siete ocasiones:

- (29) No *hay a distingüir* un trabajo noble y un trabajo vil [SATd25].
- (30) Después de un troco ['trueque'] de vistas sobre lo que *havría a haéer* se formó una comisión de diversos mercaderes [JIDp25,11a].
- (31) *Hay a notar* que la más grande parte de los escritos de Šalom 'Alejem non son originales suyos [JIDp25,39b].

Haver que, muy escasa (3 casos) y siempre precedida de negación:

- (32) Non *hay que decir* otro que *El Far*⁴ fue en esta ocasión como el ĥorbán ['destrucción'] en el hecho de Mordejay y Hamán [EPp83,158a].
- (33) Si este cuento es verdad, no *hay que decir*, en poco tiempo la concurrencia que las máquinas, haċen al trabajo del hombre, se va aplicar a esta de las maimonas ['monos'] lavoraderas [YERp4,28a].
- (34) Muy bien, no *hay que fiar* en vośotras, ya vo ir ver yo mismo [GUEt7,16b].

2. Perífrasis aspectuales

2.1. <empezar a + infinitivo>

Para indicar el comienzo de una acción, en el *Me'am lo'ež* se utilizan las perífrasis *conpezar a* y *enpezar a*, aunque García Moreno solo menciona la primera en su estudio (2004: 257); y en *La güerta de oro* únicamente se usa *enpezar a* (Berenguer Amador 2017: 314-315). Esta misma perífrasis es la que aparece en los textos del corpus; y en algunas ocasiones, especialmente ante un infinitivo que empieza por *a*, la preposición se pierde por fonética sintáctica, como ocurre en el primero de los ejemplos que presentamos a continuación:

- (35) El nuevo ĵornal hebreo *Haor* que *empezó aparecer* en Yafo, publica una importante entrevista [NACp5].
- (36) El ojo ziedro ['izquierdo'], *empezó a avrir y a cerarse* sin quedar [BGn11,8].
- (37) Ellos *empezan a gritar* sin quedar, fin no dejarnos dormir la noche [LXn,43].

2.2. <meterse a + infinitivo>

Esta perífrasis se utiliza para expresar el principio repentino de una acción en un punto o momento, y de las dos obras del siglo XVIII emplea-

⁴ Se refiere al periódico *Le Phare du Bosphore*.

das como referencia, no aparece en el *Me'am lo 'ež* —no lo recoge García Moreno 2004: 257—, aunque sí en *La güerta de oro* (Berenguer Amador 2017: 315-316). Como allí se dice, la perífrasis existía ya en la lengua medieval, pero su empleo disminuyó en el siglo xv (Yllera 1980: 180), por lo que su uso, tanto en *La güerta* como en el presente corpus, probablemente se deba a la influencia de la perífrasis francesa <*se mettre à* + inf.> (Riegel, Pellat y Rioul 2009: 452).

También parece muy apropiada para expresar emociones, pues es muy frecuente que los personajes que aparecen en los textos del corpus se «metan» a llorar o a reír, como observaremos a continuación. Sin embargo, no se «meten» a gritar, sino que empiezan a hacerlo, como hemos visto en el apartado anterior. Ejemplos de esta perífrasis los tenemos en los casos siguientes:

- (38) El comiser de policía *se metió a burlar* [JJn5,10].
- (39) Ma ['Pero'] Pereš *se metió a llorar* y mientres más de diez puntos no se sintió ahí que un maúllo de lloros y suspiros [PINn,22].
- (40) Nik Carter *se metió a reír* de buen corazón del entusiasmo de su fiel colaborador [NCn,15a].

2.3. <continuar { a / de } + infinitivo>

En el siglo xviii, esta perífrasis se utilizaba para indicar una acción en su transcurso y, como en el caso anterior, no aparece en el *Me'am lo 'ež* (no lo recoge García Moreno 2004: 257) y sí en *La güerta de oro*, aunque solo en dos ocasiones y con la preposición *a* (Berenguer Amador 2017: 319). El uso de ambas preposiciones, con el mismo valor continuativo, parece proceder de la lengua medieval (Yllera 1980: 208). Presentamos varios ejemplos del mismo:

Continuar a:

- (41) Él *continuava a beber* beverajes ['bebidas'] sobre beverajes adientro la taverna [NCn,22b].
- (42) Jim Jakson *continuó a guadrar* la calladez [JJn5,13].
- (43) Ellos *puedrían continuar a vender* al mismo precio de antes [AVp13,4b].

Continuar de:

- (44) Ma la España *continuó de brillar* por sus poetas y sus filósofos [ESPc,11].
- (45) La lluvia *continuava de caer* siempre con fortaleza [BGn8,19].
- (46) Esta divina centella *continuará de quemar* entre nuestro esprito [EPp85,1074b].

2.4. <(no[n]) *mancar de* + infinitivo>

El valor de esta perífrasis es ‘no dejar de hacer algo’. No aparece en el *Me’am lo’eẓ*, pero sí en *La güerta de oro* (Berenguer Amador 2017: 316-317), donde hay influencia francesa, por lo que parece que «es calco del francés *ne pas manquer de faire quelque chose*» (Schmid y Bürki 2000: 159). Tanto en *La güerta* como en el presente corpus, es claramente mayoritaria la perífrasis negativa, con 37 apariciones:

- (49) Leónidas *no mancava de estar* mirando el día entero a los lavadores [BGn10,6].
- (50) Me queda a rengraciarvos [‘agradecer, dar gracias’] [...] por la propaganda que cada uno de vosotros *non mancó de haçer* en favor de la Sochietá [SATd,17].
- (51) Sus palavras *non mancaron de ovrar* el efeto que él havia esperado [EPp85,1073b].

Siendo estos dos los únicos ejemplos afirmativos:

- (47) Le *mancava de dar* tres puntos de la parte ziedra de la cabeza [BGn11,10].
- (48) El chico León *manca* un día *de ir* a la escola [YERp5,36a].

2.5. <*parvenir a* + infinitivo>

La perífrasis <*parvenir a* + infinitivo> no aparece en los textos del siglo XVIII analizados. Su valor fundamental es el de logro y sería equivalente al español <*llegar a* + infinitivo>, tratándose de una perífrasis de clara influencia francesa. Veamos algunos ejemplos de los 27 que aparecen en el corpus:

- (52) Estos misérvales *parvenieron a descuvrir* mi novio malgrado que ['aunque'] fuyía de ellos! [LXn,34].
- (53) Es ansí que *se parvino a equilibrar* más o menos el budgéto ['presupuesto'] [MEJd,16].
- (54) Non *parveniremos a creer* que lo areparavle viene de acomplirse [MAKd25,29].

2.6. <venir de + infinitivo>

La perífrasis <*acavar* + infinitivo> no se utiliza para expresar el pasado reciente, sino <*venir de* + infinitivo>, de clara influencia francesa y muy abundante (207 ocurrencias):

- (55) El degollado *venía de rebivirse*, el muerto estava agora vivo [BGn11,13].
- (56) Mi mujer llamada Hortensia, *viene de desaparecer* y yo estó seguro que ella fue matada! [JJn3,3].
- (57) — Ah!, mi amigo, qué triste novedad tengo a anunciarvos, vuestro hijo, *viene de morir*!
— Ah bah! Es imposivle, responde el otro, si mi hijo *venía de morir*, él no mancaría de escribirme [YERh6,46a].

3. Conclusión

Según lo expuesto anteriormente, este estudio presenta nuevos ejemplos de la evolución del judeoespañol referida al aspecto analizado, en lo que coincide con otros trabajos.

Por una parte, presenta una evolución interna propia que, en algunas ocasiones, coincide con el español estándar actual —como <*empezar a* + infinitivo>— y en otras difiere de dicha lengua —caso de <*continuar* { *a/de* } + infinitivo>—; por otra, es evidente la influencia del francés en varias de las perífrasis, como hemos visto, entre otras, en las últimas tratadas en esta comunicación: <*parvenir a* + infinitivo> o <*venir de* + infinitivo>.

4. Fuentes primarias judeoespañolas

- ANGt Abraham A. Cappon. *El Angustiador. Pieza teatral en tres actos*. Sarajevo, 1914.
- APRn. *El apresado de la Inquisición*, adaptado del francés por León. El Cairo, 1903-1904.
- AVp4. *El Avenir. Jornal político comercial y literario*. Salónica, año 1, 1897-1898, núm. 4.
- BGn [Novelas de Alexandr Ben-Guiat]. Según: Barquín López, A. (1997). *Edición y estudio de doce novelas aljamiadas sefardíes de principios del siglo xx*. Universidad del País Vasco.
- BGn2. *Cascambó*. (El Cairo) [Jerusalén, entre 1905 y 1912].
- BGn3. *La nave hechicera. Viaje muy curioso* (El Cairo) [Jerusalén, entre 1905 y 1912].
- BGn8. *La brigante*. Jerusalén, 1911-1912.
- BGn10. *Leónidas el nadador. Fato que se pasó en Marsella*. Jerusalén, 1911-1912.
- BGn11. *El muerto que está vivo. Fato racontado por un médico*. Jerusalén, 1911-1912.
- EJp. *El Eco Judaico. Organ del judaísmo búlgaro*. Sofía, año 1, 1901, núms. 4-6 [transcripción: Dora Mancheva].
- EOa. *Estatuto Orgánico de la comunidad israelita*. Estambul, 1913.
- EPp. *La Época. Revista política comercial y literaria*. Salónica, 1883/1884/1885.
- ESct. *El escaso. Comedia de Molier*. Estambul, 1881.
- ESpc Gabriel Arié. *Los judíos de España*. Esmirna, 1896.
- FABt [Georges Ohnet]. *El fabricante de fieros. Drama en cinco actos*, en: *El Telégrafo, edición de martes*. Estambul, año 14, 1892, núms. 44-48 (3.5-31.5.1892).
- GUet Herman Heyermans. *Gueto*, en: *La Nación*. Salónica, año 2, 1910, núms. 5-9 (mayo-julio de 1910).
- HACt. *El hacino imaginado. Comedia en tres actos de Molier*, traducido del francés por Š. Ben-Ataf. Sofía, 1903⁵.
- JIDp. *El Jidió. Puvlicación anual de la Organización Mižrahi de Salonico editada en colaboración de la Juventud Mižrahist en tišri 5686*. Salónica, 1925.
- JJn. *Las extraordinarias aventuras de Jim Jackson. El celebre poliz amator americano*. Salónica, s. a. [ca. 1910].
- JJn3. *La fineza de Jim Jackson*.
- JJn5. *Los dientes del asasino*.
- JJn6. *La banda a las manos ensangrentadas*.

⁵ Edición en: B. Schmid y Y. Bürki (2000): «*El hacino imaginado*»: comedia de Molière en versión judeoespañola. Edición del texto aljamiado, estudio y glosario. Basel: Romanisches Seminar (ARBA, 11), 43-109.

- LXn. *Aventuras del celebre poliz amator «Linx», el rey de los detectives: El baúl ensangrentado*. Salónica, 1925.
- MAKd Francés, Elí. «Impresiones de un viaje en Ereš Yisrael. Alocución pronunciada a la medurá organizada por los Derorim-Makabí el alḥad 7 setiembre 1925 al retorno de sus excursión en Palestina», en: *El Makabeo* (1925), pp. 10-19.⁶
- MEJd. *Puvlicación oficiala del Gran Rabinato de Turquía. Cuento-rendido de la junta del Mejłís-'Umumí tenida alḥad 22 tevet 5661 (31 decembre 1316-13 enero del 1901)*. Estambul, 1901.
- MUJc Moris Yiṣḥac Cohén. *La mujer ande los jidiós españoles de Oriente*. Salónica, 1911.⁷
- NACp. *La Nación. Revista judía independiente. Órgano del Club Dešintim*. Salónica, año 2, 1910.
- NCn. Nick Carter. *La terror del cuartier quínés a Niu-York*. Salónica, s. a. [ca. 1910] [transcripción: Julie Scolnik (Madrid)].
- PINn. Pinto de Amsterdam. *Cuento histórico judió*. Esmirna, 1901.
- SATd Sochetá Asistencia al Trabajo. [Discursos pronunciados en la Asamblea general el 22 de julio de 1899]: «Discurso del presidente»; «Discurso del secretario». Salónica, 1899.
- SEHd Sochetá 'Eš haḥayim. *Rendiconto de la Sochetá 'Eš haḥayim yb"š por los años 5651-5655 junto el discurso a la ocasión de el renovamiento del año 23 a su fundamento [...]*. Salónica, 1896.
- TSt13. Musiu Jac el parisiiano quiere espošar. Estambul (*El Jugueton*), 1929 [TSt = teatro sefardí = Según: Martín Heredia, María (1990): *El teatro sefardí: Edición de textos y estudio de la morfología derivativa nominal*. 2 vols. Tesis doctoral, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid].
- YCh4 Yoná, Ya'acob Abraham. *Cuentos hermosos de pasatiempo*. Salónica, 1914, pp. 1-8.
- YERh6. «Biervos por reír», en: *Yerušaláyim*, año 1 (1909), núm. 6, *vid.* YERp5.
- YERp5. *Yerušaláyim. Revista científica, literaria y humorística* (suplemento de *El Liberal*). Jerusalén, año 1 (1909), núm. 5.

⁶ Cf. Schmid, Beatrice (2006): «“Despertar la nostalgia de nuestra patria”: el relato de una excursión a Eretz Israel (1925)», en: *Sefardica*, vol. 16, Buenos Aires: CIDiCsef, 59-75.

⁷ Edición en: «Sala de pasatiempo»: *Textos judeoespañoles de Salónica impresos entre 1896 y 1916*. Basel, 2004 (ARBA-Acta Romanica Basiliensia, 14), 131-150.

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LOS SEFARDÍES DE MARRUECOS, ENTRE EL ESPAÑOL, EL FRANCÉS, EL HEBREO, EL ÁRABE Y LA HAKETÍA, EN UNA INFORMACIÓN DE LA REVISTA *ÁFRICA* (1929)

Paloma DÍAZ-MAS

En su número de junio de 1929 (época II, año V), la revista *África* publicó una carta de su corresponsal en Tánger en la que se tratan algunas cuestiones relativas a las lenguas habladas por los judíos del Protectorado español en Marruecos.

Recordemos que, desde 1912 hasta 1956, Marruecos estuvo bajo un doble protectorado español y francés. El Protectorado español incluía las regiones del Rif y Yebala, donde se encontraban las localidades con mayor población sefardí: Tetuán —que era la capital del Protectorado español—, Alcazarquivir, Larache, Arcila y Xauen; el Protectorado francés, por su parte, ocupaba la mayor parte de la zona sur de Marruecos e incluía ciudades como Fez —que fue capital desde 1912 hasta 1925—, Rabat —capital desde 1926 hasta 1956—, Marraquech o Agadir. Desde 1925, Tánger fue declarada ciudad internacional, bajo el condominio de España, Francia, Portugal, Reino Unido, Bélgica, Países Bajos, Estados Unidos y la Unión Soviética.

África fue una revista africanista, es decir, una de las publicaciones periódicas españolas que se imprimieron en Marruecos y en España dedicadas a tratar temas del Protectorado español. Se publicó en Madrid entre febrero de 1926 y junio de 1936 y era continuación de la *Revista de tropas coloniales*, editada en Ceuta entre enero de 1924 y enero de 1926 y fundada por dos militares que luego tuvieron un importante papel en el golpe de estado militar que dio origen a la guerra civil española: el general Gonzalo Queipo de Llano y Francisco Franco, que por entonces era teniente coronel y, a raíz de la Guerra Civil, implantó una dictadura que duró has-

ta su muerte en 1975. Franco fue el director de la *Revista de tropas coloniales* durante toda su existencia y de *África* hasta enero de 1929.¹

África dejó de editarse durante la Guerra Civil, a partir de 1942 se convirtió en una publicación oficial y, entre 1945 y su desaparición en 1978, fue una revista académica de periodicidad mensual del Instituto de Estudios Africanos del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC).

Aunque en sus orígenes fue una revista de información militar, *África* incluía contenidos mucho más amplios sobre cuestiones relacionadas con el Protectorado: crónicas de actualidad, artículos sobre historia de España y del Magreb, reseñas de libros, reportajes sobre el patrimonio cultural y artístico de Marruecos, sobre usos y costumbres, artesanía y folklore o información económica y social. Era una revista profusamente ilustrada, de cuidada tipografía, con fotografías de gran calidad y con excelentes grabados y dibujos, obra de artistas relevantes, entre ellos, el pintor Mariano Bertuchi.²

La colaboración a la que nos referimos —y cuyo texto editamos al final del artículo— es una «Crónica mensual de Tánger» enviada por el corresponsal de *África* en esa ciudad, Santos Fernández. Su tono es muy nacionalista —algo habitual en la literatura colonial en general y en la africanista española en particular— y está presidido por un patriotismo bastante influido por la ideología política del regeneracionismo, pues se orienta a proponer iniciativas políticas de mejora. Lo que nos interesa aquí son, sobre todo, las informaciones y los comentarios que ofrece sobre la situación lingüística de los sefardíes de Marruecos en 1929 y las actitudes de los españoles con respecto a las lenguas habladas por los judíos, así como respecto a los judíos mismos.

El punto de partida de la crónica es la negativa de Saul Mezan —al que se presenta como «presidente de una Asociación judía búlgara»—³ a participar en la LV Asamblea de la Sociedad de las Naciones que tuvo

¹ Información detallada sobre ambas revistas puede encontrarse en la Hemeroteca Digital de la Biblioteca Nacional de España; para la *Revista de tropas coloniales*: <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/details.vm?q=id:0004278726&lang=es> [consulta: 27-03-2023]; y para *África*: <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/details.vm?q=id:0003620784&lang=es> [consulta: 27-03-2023].

² Puede consultarse una biografía del pintor Mariano Bertuchi en el *Diccionario Biográfico Español* de la Real Academia de la Historia: <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/8630/mariano-bertuchi-nieto> [consulta: 28-03-2023].

³ Un resumen de la vida y obra del médico, escritor, periodista y luchador antifascista Saul Mezan (1893-1943) puede verse en el artículo de Paunouski (2009).

lugar ese mismo año en Madrid,⁴ alegando que el decreto de expulsión de los judíos en 1492 no había sido oficialmente derogado en España. Según cuenta el corresponsal, Mezan incluso envió un telegrama al general Miguel Primo de Rivera solicitándole la derogación expresa del decreto de expulsión.⁵

De entrada, la actitud de Santos Fernández resulta significativamente contradictoria: al tiempo que resta importancia a la acción de Saul Mezan —que califica de «pequeño incidente», magnificado por la prensa judía extranjera y, especialmente, por la francesa—, considera su actitud como una auténtica agresión —«La actitud del doctor Mezan parece francamente “agresiva”»—, una iniciativa malintencionada —«Parece advertirse, en efecto, el propósito de envenenar esta cuestión, trasladándola a un plano de disputas políticas, en el que no puede menos de agravarse y dificultarse, y dándole una publicidad internacional inoportuna y desagradable»— que, necesariamente, habría de suscitar la desaprobación de todos los españoles, «sean cuales sean sus ideas en política». A continuación, argumenta que, en la práctica, el decreto de expulsión está derogado por la Constitución y que en España los judíos pueden vivir y practicar su religión con libertad.

Algo de razón no le faltaba al corresponsal de *África*, ya que fue precisamente a principios del siglo xx cuando se constituyeron oficialmente las primeras comunidades judías en la España posterior a la expulsión⁶ y los judíos del Protectorado español tenían tantas libertades como los españoles no judíos. Además, entre los intelectuales y políticos españoles de los años veinte se dejaba sentir la corriente de filosefardismo español impulsada por la campaña del senador Ángel Pulido Fernández en ese período.

⁴ Como es sabido, la Sociedad de las Naciones (League of Nations, en inglés; o Société des Nations, en francés) fue un organismo internacional creado por el Tratado de Versalles en junio de 1919, cuyo objetivo era establecer las bases para la paz y la reorganización de las relaciones internacionales tras la I Guerra Mundial. Es considerada la antecesora de la Organización de las Naciones Unidas (ONU).

⁵ Miguel Primo de Rivera fue un militar que gobernó España con un régimen dictatorial desde 1923 hasta 1930, aunque el jefe del Estado seguía siendo, nominalmente, el rey Alfonso XIII. Puede consultarse un perfil biográfico de Primo de Rivera en el *Diccionario Biográfico Español* de la Real Academia de la Historia: <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/10241/miguel-primo-de-rivera-y-orbaneja> [consulta: 28-03-2023].

⁶ En 1913 se constituyó oficialmente la comunidad de Sevilla, aunque funcionaba de forma extraoficial desde los años ochenta del siglo xix; en 1918 se fundó la comunidad de Barcelona, si bien había culto en casas particulares desde 1916; en 1920 se estableció la comunidad de Madrid, aunque existía una sinagoga, llamada «oratorio», desde 1916. Más detalles y referencias bibliográficas en Díaz-Mas 2019b: 479 nota 2.

Esos sentimientos filosefardíes influyeron también en el corresponsal de *África*, pues resulta evidente que en todo su artículo subyace la intención de contraponer la actitud de Saul Mezan —al que considera un judío búlgaro y, por tanto, extranjero, supuestamente lleno de prejuicios contra España, influido por la leyenda negra y desconocedor de la verdadera situación española— con la figura de José Benoliel, «sefardí de pura cepa», intelectual, presidente de la comunidad judía de Tánger, director del Seminario Rabínico de la ciudad y académico correspondiente de la Real Academia Española.⁷ Lo que el autor de la crónica no parece saber es que Saul Mezan era también «sefardí de pura cepa», aunque no hubiera nacido en Marruecos, sino en los Balcanes, y no tuviera una relación tan estrecha con España como la que tuvo Benoliel.

Resultan interesantes las observaciones de Santos Fernández con respecto a dos instituciones educativas de Tánger, la escuela de la Alliance Israélite Universelle (fundada en 1863)⁸ y el Seminario Rabínico (fundado en 1925), incidiendo en su influencia en la situación lingüística de los judíos. En primer lugar, señala que la actividad de la escuela de la Alliance, en la que el francés era la lengua vehicular de la enseñanza, propiciaba que los judíos abandonasen el español en favor del francés.

El retroceso del uso del español como lengua de comunicación y de cultura entre los judíos de Marruecos fue una preocupación recurrente en la literatura colonial española, fuera cual fuera la ideología del autor. La expresó ya el propio Ángel Pulido e incidieron en ello, durante la época del Protectorado, autores con posiciones ideológicas tan dispares como Africano Fernández —seudónimo del fraile franciscano Ramón Fernández Lestón—, que publicó un libro de título tan significativo como *España en África y el peligro judío* (Fernández 1918), o el periodista liberal y filosefardí Manuel L. Ortega Pichardo (Ortega 1919), cofundador con Ignacio Bauer y Landauer de la Compañía Iberoamericana de Publicaciones.⁹

Todos los autores mencionados señalaban la muy diferente política lingüística de Francia y de España en el Protectorado: mientras las insti-

⁷ Datos sobre la biografía de Benoliel pueden encontrarse en Pulido (1905: 382-384), I. Laredo (1935: 262-265), A. Laredo (1978: 927-928), Israel Garzón (1994), Pimienta (2008) y Muñoz Solla (2021: 105-110 y 275-278); hay también un artículo en la Wikipedia en ladino: https://lad.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jose_Benoliel [consulta: 28-03-2023]. *Id.*, además, Díaz-Mas (2020-2021).

⁸ Sobre la historia de la Alliance Israélite Universelle, *vid.* Kaspi (2010); para las circunstancias de su implantación en Marruecos, *vid.* Laskier (1982).

⁹ Sobre el proyecto editorial de la Compañía Iberoamericana de Publicaciones, *vid.* López Morell y Molina (2012); algunos aspectos del tratamiento de los judíos en la prensa y la literatura africanistas han sido estudiados por Espinosa Ramírez (2013) y Díaz-Mas (2013, 2019a).

tuciones francesas parecían tener un plan establecido e invertían recursos materiales y humanos para difundir la lengua y la cultura francesas entre los judíos, consiguiendo así establecer relaciones clientelares con ese grupo de la población, la falta de voluntad política, de planificación y de inversión por parte de España provocaba el retroceso del español, incluso entre los judíos que lo tenían como lengua materna (o el judeoespañol, ya que los autores españoles, interesados en resaltar la identidad «española» de los sefardíes, no solían distinguir entre una variedad lingüística y otra o, como mucho, consideraban el judeoespañol como un dialecto del español). En la crónica que comentamos, el periodista señala que, aunque un tanto tardíamente, «el Gobierno Español parece decidido a prestar mayor atención a la enseñanza del español y a la influencia de lo español en esta ciudad. A partir de enero del año en curso vienen profesando en la Escuela de la Alianza israelita de Tánger tres maestros españoles».

Santos Fernández aporta también interesante información sobre el Seminario Rabínico de Tánger, que había sido fundado solo cuatro años antes y en cuyo plan de estudios se combinaban las materias religiosas orientadas a la formación de rabinos, *sohatim*, *mohalim* o *hazanim*, con las asignaturas habituales en la enseñanza occidental contemporánea (Historia, Geografía, Física y Química, Matemáticas) y el estudio de idiomas.

Entre las lenguas estudiadas se mencionan, por este orden: *a)* el español; *b)* el francés; *c)* el hebreo, como no podía ser menos en un seminario rabínico; y *d)* el árabe, aunque no aclara si lo que se enseñaba era solo el árabe marroquí —ya que había muchos judíos arabófonos en Marruecos— o también el árabe literal. Indica, además, que la biblioteca del Seminario Rabínico, formada con donaciones de instituciones públicas y privadas y de particulares, tenía libros «en hebreo, francés, español e inglés; pero los de mayor interés son los hebreos»; la omisión de la referencia a libros en árabe puede deberse a desconocimiento del autor o a que, en efecto, no se enseñaba árabe literal en el Seminario y, por tanto, no había libros en ese idioma en su biblioteca.

Al hablar del francés y del español, el cronista incide, nuevamente, en la desidia y falta de iniciativa de las autoridades españolas con respecto al fomento del estudio del español: mientras el Seminario contaba con seis profesores de francés —cinco de ellos pagados por el Gobierno de Francia—, la enseñanza del español dependía de una sola profesora voluntaria que, en el momento de redactarse la crónica, no estaba claro si había recibido un nombramiento oficial o no.

A continuación, Santos Fernández pasa a glosar y elogiar la figura de José Benoliel, que a la sazón era presidente de la comunidad judía de Tánger y director del Seminario Rabínico. Como era de esperar, señala su sol-

vencia intelectual y, sobre todo, sus relaciones con España; en primer lugar, reproduce parte de la semblanza que hace de él Ángel Pulido, en la que, entre otras cosas, resalta sus especiales relaciones con Portugal y España (Pulido 1905: 382). Y, seguidamente, el cronista proporciona alguna información adicional: alude a su condición de académico correspondiente de la Real Academia Española (RAE) y añade que «ha traducido en verso español los principales poemas de los poetas judíos de la Edad de Oro de la Literatura judío-española» y que «ha publicado varios artículos muy extensos sobre la gramática, léxico y peculiaridades del judeoespañol; seguramente este estudio es el más completo y atinado que sobre el tema se ha hecho y, por lo mismo, de consulta obligada para los que en estos asuntos quieren profundizar»; aunque se confunde de revista académica: su fundamental artículo —en varias entregas, una de ella póstuma: Benoliel 1926-1952— sobre el judeoespañol de Marruecos no se publicó en el *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, sino en el *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*. Por otra parte, resulta significativo que el cronista se refiera a la lengua de los sefardíes de Marruecos exclusivamente con el nombre de «judeo-español», sin mencionar el que le daban los propios hablantes (*haketía* o *hakitía*), pese a que Benoliel incluye ese glotónimo en el mismísimo título de su artículo: «Dialecto judeo-hispano-marroquí o hakitía».

Siguiendo a Pulido, el cronista pondera el poliglotismo de Benoliel al señalar que es «perfecto conocedor de los idiomas hebreo, español, francés, portugués, judeo-español y algunos otros que no recordamos». En efecto, Benoliel conocía bien la *haketía* por sus orígenes familiares; había recibido formación rabínica en una *yesivá*, había estudiado en la escuela de la Alliance Israélite Universelle de Tánger y se había formado como maestro en la École Normale Israélite Orientale de París, dependiente de la misma Alliance, lo que explica su dominio del hebreo y del francés; de hecho, ejerció durante toda su vida como profesor de esas lenguas. Desde niño tuvo mucha relación con España, y cuando escribía a sus correspondientes españoles (como Pulido o Menéndez Pidal), o redactaba sus artículos académicos, lo hacía en un español estándar sin apenas rasgos dialectales. En cuanto al dominio del portugués, hay que recordar que vivió durante cuarenta años (desde 1881 hasta 1921) en Lisboa, donde fue profesor de lenguas en distintas escuelas y traductor del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores de Portugal; durante ese tiempo debió de adquirir la nacionalidad portuguesa, cosa a la que se alude al final del artículo.

También siguiendo a Pulido, Santos Fernández menciona de pasada algo fundamental en las relaciones de Benoliel con España: su condición de estrecho colaborador de Ramón Menéndez Pidal, con quien cooperó en

la recolección de romances, publicó un artículo cofirmado (Menéndez Pidal y Benoliel 1905) e intercambió numerosa correspondencia. Fue precisamente Menéndez Pidal uno de los que propusieron a Benoliel como académico correspondiente de la RAE (Muñoz Solla 2021: 105 y 275); y el artículo sobre la haketía fue publicado en la revista oficial de dicha institución, precisamente cuando Menéndez Pidal era su director.

Esa relación con Menéndez Pidal pudo haber inspirado la propuesta que Santos Fernández expone a continuación: la creación de un Centro de Altos Estudios Sefardíes en Tánger, para cuya dirección propone justamente a Benoliel y cuyo objetivo sería estudiar «la Historia, la Literatura, la Ciencia sefardíes», argumentando que «un centro de este género, además, contribuiría no poco a prestar servicios estimables a la Historia de España, por lo que interesa tanto a los sefardíes como a las altas instituciones culturales españolas».

Del modo en que lo plantea Santos Fernández, no queda claro si la propuesta proviene del cronista o, más bien, del propio Benoliel, que en tal caso estaría solicitando, por vía indirecta, apoyo moral, logístico y económico de España para la creación de dicho centro. Pero, tal y como se propone, el proyectado Centro de Altos Estudios Sefardíes tendría un modelo que seguir: el Centro de Estudios Históricos, un organismo estatal de investigación creado en Madrid, en 1910, por la Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas y cuyo director era precisamente Ramón Menéndez Pidal.¹⁰ La relación de Menéndez Pidal con Benoliel puede estar, por tanto, en el trasfondo de esa propuesta de creación en Tánger de un centro de investigación sobre la historia y la cultura sefardíes.

Edición del texto «Crónica mensual de Tánger»

La actitud del doctor Saul Mezan

En Madrid se ha celebrado este mes una Asamblea por la Unión Internacional de Asociaciones pro Sociedad de Naciones. Y ello ha dado lugar a un pequeño incidente, del que se han hecho prolongado eco los periódicos judíos de Francia singularmente.

¹⁰ El Centro de Estudios Históricos era un organismo de investigación que cubría un amplio abanico de estudios históricos y filológicos, desde la lengua española y sus orígenes hasta las lenguas semíticas, la historia, la arqueología y el arte hispánicos o la filosofía; entre sus múltiples actividades se prestó también atención a la cultura sefardí. Sobre las iniciativas de Menéndez Pidal con respecto a los sefardíes puede verse la panorámica de Díaz-Mas (2015).

El doctor Saul Mezan, presidente de una Asociación judía búlgara pro Sociedad de Naciones, manifestó públicamente que no concurría a la Asamblea de Madrid, por haber sido expulsados los judíos de España en 1492 y no haber sido derogado el decreto de expulsión. Después, el mismo doctor mandó al general Primo de Rivera un telegrama, que reproducen también los periódicos judíos, rogándole que le confirmara la derogación del decreto de los Reyes Católicos.

Coincide esta actitud del doctor Mezan con el hecho de que este asunto de la expulsión de los judíos haya sido tratado recientemente en publicaciones hebreas. De una de ellas, tangerina y muy simpática, por cierto, dábamos cuenta en la carta del mes pasado.¹¹

La primera reacción que provoca la actitud del doctor Mezan es de desaprobación, tanto de su decisión de no ir a Madrid como de haber mandado al Presidente del Consejo el telegrama aludido. Y esta reacción la sentirán seguramente todos los españoles, simplemente como tales, sean cuales sean sus ideas en política. Parece advertirse, en efecto, el propósito de envenenar esta cuestión, trasladándola a un plano de disputas políticas, en el que no puede menos de agravarse y dificultarse, y dándole una publicidad internacional inoportuna y desagradable.

Todo el mundo sabe que el decreto de expulsión de 1492 se halla de hecho derogado, ya que en virtud de la Constitución del país nada se opone a que los judíos vuelvan a España y ningún obstáculo constitucional hay para que en España celebren culto. En cuanto al telegrama a que nos hemos referido, nadie podía esperar que el presidente del Consejo contestara sobre una cuestión tan conocida y liquidada de hecho. Los judíos fueron expulsados de España, como lo habían sido de otros países de Europa en épocas distintas. Y pueden actualmente volver a España y libremente comerciar, adquirir intereses y celebrar culto, de forma parecida a la en que pueden hacerlo en otras naciones. Bien sabido es que en algunas ciudades españolas, en las que hay establecidos judíos, existe también sinagoga. Y en Sevilla ocurrió el caso de que sevillanos católicos concurrieran, en ocasión en que la sinagoga se quemó, a la reedificación de la misma.

En realidad, la persecución de los judíos en España es un mito, un pasaje de la leyenda negra, tan desacreditada en todo el mundo a estas fechas. Legalmente la Constitución garantiza que puedan establecerse en nuestro país los hebreos y desarrollar sus actividades.

¹¹ En realidad, la carta aludida no se publicó en el número de *África* del mes anterior (mayo de 1929), sino en el de abril del mismo año. Allí, Santos Fernández comentaba la aparición de un periódico llamado *Adelante*, que había empezado a publicar en Tánger una asociación de jóvenes sefardíes. Según Muñoz Solla (2021: 105), en julio de 1929 Santos Fernández publicó en ese periódico judío una colaboración sobre José Benoliel.

Adviértase que censuramos lo que pueda tener de política la actitud del señor Mezan y lo que tiene de falso el fundamento de esa actitud. Lo cual no acusa en nosotros ninguna fobia, sino, por el contrario, vivo interés. La cuestión judía ha sido en muchos países de Europa, en diferentes ocasiones, un pretexto o si se quiere un instrumento de política interior. El pretender que venga a ser lo mismo en España puede ser por deseo de perturbación. La actitud del doctor Mezan parece francamente «agresiva». Y bien se sabe que toda agresión provoca una reacción no muy apropiada para crear un ambiente de conversación serena y de posible inteligencia. Al doctor Mezan le ha faltado tacto.

Porque nos interesa el asunto de los judíos españoles, y más particularmente de los de Marruecos, porque estamos persuadidos de que la civilización judía de la Edad Media es civilización española y la ciencia sefardí ciencia española, porque lo más apetecible sería que desaparecieran todos los equívocos y pudiera conseguirse una colaboración eficaz, por eso llamamos la atención acerca de gestos como el del doctor Mezan, que son, por lo menos, lo menos a propósito para resolver lo que por ventura no esté resuelto todavía y lo más inapropiado para lograr ese ambiente de ecuanimidad indispensable a toda conversación y acuerdo. Conviene que desaparezca, o que no se exploten, de una y otra parte, los prejuicios, las prevenciones, las leyendas; que el asunto sea tratado con mayor elevación, por cima de todo barullo o revuelta, de la que habrían quizá de aprovecharse los menos interesados en la cuestión.

Obrar

Lo que importa en este orden de cosas es obrar, no desaprovechar aquí ninguna ocasión en que pueda haber colaboración con los judíos y vigilar para que en las nuevas generaciones cuente el elemento español como elemento educativo y formativo. Esforzarse con realizaciones por conseguir una mayor comprensión y prepararse así para cuando llegue el momento oportuno plantear útilmente las cuestiones que deban plantearse, las cuales en realidad no son muchas ni en su solución hay gran dificultad, siempre que no sean envenenadas por una política tendenciosa y siempre que sean simplemente tenidos en cuenta los intereses nacionales.

Por eso creemos más práctico señalar lo que en Tánger, lugar de rivalidades, puede y debe hacerse en lo que respecta a hacer intervenir el elemento español en la enseñanza judía.

La Escuela de la Alianza

Los principales centros didácticos netamente judíos de Tánger son dos: la Escuela de la Alianza y el Seminario Rabínico.

La Escuela de la Alianza fue fundada en esta ciudad en 1863 (dos años antes lo había sido en Tetuán). Se da en ella enseñanza primaria y primaria superior. Esta institución, aunque es autónoma, está en todas partes más o menos bajo el patrocinio de Francia. En Tánger particularmente la influencia francesa hasta ahora no había tenido ninguna competencia y los jóvenes judíos que en la Alianza se han educado han ignorado por completo lo español. Al llegar a la edad madura se da en casi todos ellos el caso de conocer nuestro idioma con menos perfección que el francés, lo cual se demuestra en que, puestos a escribir lo hacen en el segundo muy correctamente y en el nuestro con alguna dificultad. Muchos hebreos son los primeros en confesar y en lamentar esta circunstancia. No pueden ignorar el español, porque es el habla nativa de sus padres, por consiguiente de ellos, y el habla de la calle, y porque sin él apenas es posible en Tánger la vida de relación. Pero ni han estudiado gramática ni se han familiarizado con libros españoles. Si este estado de cosas, nuestra ausencia, se hubiera prolongado una generación más, hubiera llegado el momento de que en los hogares judíos de Tánger, donde durante varios siglos se ha hablado el español, hubiera este sido sustituido por el francés. Esto es exactamente lo que ha ocurrido en las ciudades de la zona francesa en que había familias hebreas a la llegada de los franceses. Una sola generación ha bastado para que el idioma que había conseguido conservarse en las familias judías vivo durante varios siglos, haya sido desterrado, casi por completo, por el francés. Los de la nueva generación hablan en sus hogares y enseñan a sus hijos la lengua que aprendieron en la escuela.

Afortunadamente en Tánger no se ha dado ese caso todavía y creemos que ha sido atajado el peligro definitivamente porque el Gobierno Español parece decidido a prestar mayor atención a la enseñanza del español y a la influencia de lo español en esta ciudad. A partir de enero del año en curso vienen profesando en la Escuela de la Alianza israelita de Tánger tres maestros españoles.

El seminario rabínico

Fue fundado en 1925. La iniciativa, el allanamiento de las dificultades numerosas y no de escasa monta que en el camino se le interpusieron y la feliz realización de esta idea, pertenecen por entero a don Abrahara [*sic*] Guahnisch, judío español.

El fin e instituto del Seminario Rabínico es preparar para Marruecos rabinos, notarios, sacrificadores, ministros oficiantes, jueces y profesores de hebreo.

Las asignaturas que en él se enseñan son acomodadas al objeto primordial indicado: Biblia, Talmud, Comentadores, Chehita (para los sacrificadores),

Mila (para la circuncisión),¹² Teología, Legislación Rabínica, Historia Hebrea, Geografía Universal y de Palestina, Física y Química, Matemáticas, Dibujo y Canto; español, francés, hebreo y árabe.

La Biblioteca del Seminario tiene un gran interés para los investigadores, porque en ella figuran ejemplares rarísimos de alto valor documental e histórico. Está integrada por la Biblioteca del Talmud Tora, por otra ofrecida por la señora viuda de Bemergui, de Tetuán, por otra de la Asociación de Antiguos Alumnos de la Alianza israelita y por 300 volúmenes que donó el Ministerio de Instrucción Pública de España. Hay libros en hebreo, francés, español e inglés; pero los de mayor interés son los hebreos.

Los profesores son cuatro Rabinos, tres de ellos del Tribunal Rabínico de Tánger; seis maestros franceses y uno español. Es de justicia una advertencia: el único profesor español del Seminario Rabínico es doña Laura Martínez de España, la que al advertir, cuando se creó el Seminario, la carencia de profesores españoles y el escaso interés que parecía despertar este hecho en los elementos oficiales, se apresuró a ofrecerse generosa y desinteresadamente para regentar una cátedra. Quizá sin esta iniciativa particular todavía no hubiera un maestro español en el centro docente de que hablamos; en el día tenemos entendido que ya existe nombramiento oficial.

Simplemente por los datos que dejamos apuntados puede advertirse la importancia enorme de esta fundación. Los franceses lo han visto muy netamente y tienen en ella seis profesores, cinco de los cuales están remunerados por el Gobierno del Protectorado. Los españoles tienen uno solo, a pesar de que cuando los alumnos estudien la historia de la cultura y civilización judías, estudiarán en gran parte historia de la cultura y civilización españolas, y es por consiguiente asunto que nos interesa más que a nadie.

Intencionadamente hemos dejado para lo último al director del Seminario, que es al propio tiempo Presidente de la Comunidad judía de Tánger, don José Benoliel, Académico correspondiente también de la Real Española de la Lengua. El señor Benoliel es sefardí de pura cepa y es universalmente conocido en el campo de la Filología y en el de la Literatura. Incomparablemente mejor que nosotros pudiéramos hacerlo, ha presentado ante público español al señor Benoliel el doctor Pulido, con las líneas siguientes que copiamos de su libro «Españoles sin patria», página 382: «Tenemos especial gusto en presentar con alguna detención a don José Benoliel, figura distinguida, verdadero honor de su raza, descendiente de españoles, muy encariñado con los recuerdos y destinos de la patria de sus abuelos y significado como uno de los más brillantes discípulos de la Alianza. Perfecto conocedor de los idiomas hebreo, español, francés, portugués, judeo-español y algunos otros que no recordamos, sus aficiones literarias, su laboriosidad y su entusiasmo

¹² Mantenemos las grafías de los términos hebreos tal y como aparecen en el original.

por servir a las letras lusitanas y españolas le han llevado a publicar muchos y sobresalientes trabajos y a ayudar en los suyos a literatos españoles como don Ramón Menéndez Pidal, por ejemplo, prestando así inestimables servicios a nuestro idioma, los cuales es de creer premien de alguna manera nuestros Gobiernos y la Academia de la Lengua.

Nació en Tánger en septiembre de 1857 y poco después tuvo que refugiarse en España por la guerra hispano-marroquí de 1859, donde residió un año, parte en Algeciras y parte en Tarifa, y donde su padre hizo trabajos de ingeniería y pudo atender con ellos al sostenimiento de su familia. La hospitalidad que esta y otras de israelitas tangerinos hallaron en nuestra nación fue grata, tan pródiga en simpatías y consideraciones, que no se borró nunca de su mente, sin embargo de haberla apreciado siendo tan niño». ¹³

El señor Benoliel es autor de numerosas obras de Filología e Historia, publicadas unas e inéditas otras; es además un poeta exquisito que ha preferido para sus composiciones poéticas, de entre los idiomas que sabe, el francés y el portugués; ha traducido en verso español los principales poemas de los poetas judíos de la Edad de Oro de la Literatura judío-española; en el Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia ha publicado varios artículos muy extensos sobre la gramática, léxico y peculiaridades del judeoespañol; seguramente este estudio es el más completo y atinado que sobre el tema se ha hecho y, por lo mismo, de consulta obligada para los que en estos asuntos quieren profundizar.

Un Centro de Altos Estudios sefardíes

La destacada personalidad del señor Benoliel, puesto hoy al frente del Seminario Rabínico y de la Comunidad judía de Tánger, nos sugiere la idea de una posible creación en esta ciudad de un Centro de Altos Estudios Sefardíes. No ha podido realizarse antes esta idea, porque no ha habido ambiente propicio para ella; pero es innegable que a medida que van desenvolviéndose las Comunidades sefardíes de Marruecos y a medida que los sabios extranjeros, y algunos españoles en primera fila, van interesándose por estas cuestiones, se va también haciendo más necesaria una institución de este género, que estudie la Historia, la Literatura, la Ciencia sefardíes.

Es así mismo evidente que el Seminario Rabínico necesita este complemento para los que quieran profundizar en el conocimiento de las materias principales en aquel elementalmente enseñadas.

Un centro de este género, además, contribuiría no poco a prestar servicios estimables a la Historia de España, por lo que interesa tanto a los sefardíes

¹³ Acaba aquí la cita de Pulido (1905: 382), que Santos Fernández reproduce con ligeras modificaciones no relevantes.

como a las altas instituciones culturales españolas. Cuando se habla de los judíos españoles no se sabe más que hacer referencia al traído y llevado decreto de 1492 y a la intransigencia española, siendo así que en Toledo, Sevilla y Córdoba convivieron cristianos, judíos y musulmanes en un ambiente de inteligencia tan cordial como pueden haber convivido antes y después en cualquier otra ciudad o país. Y hubo libertad para producir obras de tales alientos y vida que no han sido superadas después en ninguna de las naciones que presumen de libres, transigentes y demás adjetivos. Tan cierto es todo esto que un Centro como el que proponemos, si llegara a crearse, habría tenido un antecedente único en otro que fundó en Sevilla un Rey de Castilla, don Alfonso X el Sabio.

Para la realización de una idea de esta índole es menester ante todo algo excepcional, pero con lo que en Tánger contamos: un hombre de probada y reconocida competencia, de autoridad indiscutida en las cuestiones que habían de ser objeto de investigación, estudio y enseñanza. Y por lo que a temas sefardíes se refiere, parece fuera de duda que difícilmente podría hallarse otro de la talla de don José Benoliel. Sus sabios compañeros de España y Portugal le prestarían además el concurso que necesitara para la realización y estamos seguros de que ni el Gobierno de España ni el de Portugal verían con indiferencia la obra. Hasta otra tendencia, más acentuada cada día, de la política exterior de España, la aproximación hispano-lusitana, está aquí interesada. Y precisamente en la persona del Sr. Benoliel, portugués de nacionalidad.

Santos Fernández
Tánger, 28¹⁴

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¹⁴ El número 28 podría referirse al día del mes en que acabó de escribirse la colaboración del corresponsal.

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UN DIÁLOGO FORTUITO ENTRE TRES PERIÓDICOS EN LENGUAS JUDÍAS: *HAYNT* (VARSOVIA) Y *LA RENASENSIA DJUDIA* (SALÓNICA) FRENTE A *AKSYÓN* (SALÓNICA)

Susy GRUSS

1. Introducción

Judíos sefardíes y judíos asquenazíes;¹ ¿qué supieron realmente los unos de los otros entre las dos guerras mundiales?, ¿qué tipo de diálogo, práctico o intelectual, mantuvieron las comunidades judías del este de Europa con las comunidades del Oriente?, ¿existió entre ellos una cierta rivalidad o una real intención de acercamiento hacia un mutuo reconocimiento?

El presente artículo se centra en el estudio de tres textos: uno, escandaloso por sus contenidos y tono de expresión, titulado «Sefardim i Ashkenazim, al Senyor Alberto Pipano² (Sofia)»; la carta abierta publicada en

¹ Se entiende por asquenazíes (singular *asquenazí*) los judíos oriundos de Asquenaz (Alemania), cuyas comunidades se desarrollaron en Europa oriental; mientras que los sefardíes son los expulsados de Sefarad (España) y Portugal, asentados en las tierras del extenso Imperio otomano y del norte de África.

² Autor de *El diccionario judeoespañol-búlgaro* (Pipano 1913); Mancheva (1998: 533) revela algunos datos sobre su personalidad. Según Yoav Paz, miembro del Moshav Tzur Moshé (Israel), Albert Pipano fue uno de los dos hijos del Gran Rabino de Sofia entre 1920-1924 y un ferviente activista sionista allegado a Jabotinski.

la página 2 de *Aksyón* el día 14 de noviembre de 1934, firmada por Shemuel Sa'adi Haleví;³ y sus respectivas respuestas, de repercusión casi inmediata, aparecidas en dos periódicos, uno de Salónica, *La Renasensia Djudia*, el día 16 del mismo mes; y el otro, en la página 2 de uno de los diarios más difundidos de Varsovia, *Haynt*, con el provocativo encabezado «Un teórico judío racista – un debate sin razón en la prensa sefardita», que vio la luz cinco días después.

2. La prensa judía en yidis y en judeoespañol

¿Qué entendemos por prensa judía? Según el sitio *Historical Jewish Press* (www.jpress.org.il), un proyecto monumental de la Biblioteca Nacional de Israel, en colaboración con la Universidad de Tel Aviv, que archiva actualmente más de un millón de páginas de periódicos en hebreo, francés, inglés, húngaro, etc. publicados entre los años 1843y 1987: «La condición primordial para que un periódico sea incluido en el sitio es el haber sido editado y escrito por judíos». Entendemos así, que el lenguaje del periódico no es un criterio esencial, salvo si se trata de una lengua judía, como el yidis o el judeoespañol, escrita en letras hebreas.

La prensa judía, en su variedad de idiomas, es una fuente de información de primer orden para la historia y la cultura de los judíos del mundo en el período moderno (Gothelf 1973). El objetivo de la plataforma tecnológica del sitio *Historical Jewish Press* es incorporar la mayoría de los periódicos y revistas judíos que fueron publicados en el pasado, materiales insólitos de difícil —o de casi imposible— acceso; al respecto, se han establecido secciones nacionales y lingüísticas con la esperanza de que el sitio incluya todas las comunidades judías del mundo y los periódicos que allí se publicaron. En el caso de la representación de publicaciones en yidis y en judeoespañol existe una desproporción, siendo más de 190 los titulares en lengua yidis⁴ y solo seis los periódicos en judeoespañol.⁵ No se trata de una cuestión cuantitativa de producción, ni tampoco de una causa netamente política, sino económica; el número de entidades y fondos internacionales que han financiado la sección de periódicos en yidis es

³ *Vid.*, más adelante, datos sobre su vida y obra.

⁴ <https://www.nli.org.il/he/discover/newspapers/jpress/all-sections/yiddish-press> [consulta: 27-04-2023].

⁵ <https://www.nli.org.il/he/discover/newspapers/jpress/all-sections/ladino-press> [consulta: 27-04-2023].

considerable. Daremos, a continuación, una breve reseña histórica sobre el nacimiento y el desarrollo de la prensa en las dos lenguas judías que nos incumben.⁶

El primer periódico conocido en yidis fue *Kurant* (Courier),⁷ editado en Ámsterdam el 1 de agosto de 1686 por el judío converso Moshé ben Abraham (Heller 1998: 123-132; Jacobs y Seligsohn 1905: 61; Pach 2007-2008). Hasta mediados del siglo XVIII no se tuvo noticia de nuevas publicaciones en yidis; a fines del siglo XIX, la prensa en dicha lengua fue jerarquizándose, tomando un carácter de periodismo profesional; y en los años veinte y treinta del siglo XX vieron la luz en yidis más de cincuenta periódicos diarios en el viejo y el nuevo mundo, además de cientos de publicaciones mensuales, quincenales o anuales de las diferentes organizaciones obreras, profesionales y políticas, así como publicaciones periódicas para niños, folletines coleccionables, etc. (Bar-El 2006; Cohen 2001, 2003, 2008; Greenbaum 2010; Novershtern [s. f]).

Entre los años 1915 y 1939, las publicaciones en yidis en Rusia tuvieron serios tropiezos, sin embargo, la prensa en ese idioma no cejó.⁸ El Holocausto europeo colapsó el mundo judío y su creación literaria;⁹ y, con posterioridad a la guerra, durante un tiempo se produjeron periódicos en yidis que sirvieron a los sobrevivientes (Florsheim 2020). Hacia los años sesenta del siglo XX, unos catorce títulos de prensa periódica seguían activos en Sudamérica, Norteamérica, Francia e Israel, de hecho, hoy en día algunos periódicos siguen publicándose en línea y otros pocos en papel (Greenbaum 2010).¹⁰

Dos grandes diarios en yidis, *Haynt* (Hoy 1908-1939) y *Der Moment* (El momento 1910-1939), se convirtieron en parte integral de la historia

⁶ Sobre el desarrollo de la prensa en judeoespañol y en yidis, *vid.* Stein 2000.

⁷ *Dienstagische Kurant* era editada dos veces por semana, los martes y los viernes; su aparición cesó el 5 de diciembre 1687.

⁸ La prensa publicada en la Unión Soviética de la preguerra se caracterizaba por su carácter oficial, no reflejando mayormente la vida judía en la URSS y siendo poco popular entre las masas judías.

⁹ En el ghetto de Varsovia, Polonia, se publicaron periódicos clandestinos en yidis; *vid.* <https://www.yadvashem.org/es/blog/the-jewish-underground-press-in-warsaw.html> [consulta: 29-03-2023]; uno de ellos fue el *Jugend Shtimme* (Voz de la juventud), del que el Institute for Jewish Research, YIVO de New York conserva algunos ejemplares.

¹⁰ Para más información, *vid.* la reseña de Avraham Novershtern en la sección periódicos en yidis: <http://www.jpresse.org.il/sections/Yiddish-he.asp> [consulta: 29-03-2023]; y en el sitio de La Autoridad Nacional para la Cultura Yidis: <https://Yiddish-rashuteleumit.co.il/he> [consulta: 29-03-2023].

de los judíos polacos (Netzer 2001; Bareket-Glanzer 2014); ambos jugaron un papel crucial en hacer de Varsovia uno de los centros de la cultura judía moderna del siglo xx hasta el Holocausto (Cohen 2015). *Haynt* fue un diario informativo muy respetado que contaba con una impresionante lista de colaboradores¹¹ y cuya circulación llegó a los 100 000 ejemplares. A partir de 1919 se convirtió en el órgano oficial de la Organización Sionista en Polonia y a lo largo de su vida generó y participó en debates sobre todos los aspectos de la vida judía, entre otros, sobre las relaciones entre los sefardíes y los asquenazíes (Finkelstein 1978; Nalewajko-Kulikow 2005).¹²

La prensa sefardí en aljamía hizo su aparición, en el último tercio del siglo xix, en los territorios del antiguo Imperio otomano y se extendió hasta la Segunda Guerra Mundial, siendo un género literario adoptado de Occidente por los sefardíes otomanos. Hasta principios del siglo xx, su desarrollo estuvo marcado por los condicionamientos históricos del mundo otomano y por las propias condiciones socioculturales de las comunidades sefardíes de los Balcanes. A partir de la Revolución de los Jóvenes Turcos en 1908, que acabó con la censura del sultán Abdul Hamid II e implantó derechos constitucionales como la libertad de expresión y de prensa, el periodismo sefardí gozó de una pluralidad ideológica y temática muy diversa, alcanzando una elevada productividad. En el segundo decenio del siglo xx, dos tercios del total de las publicaciones, de corta y longeva trayectoria, vieron la luz en Salónica (105 títulos), Estambul (45), Sofía (30) y Esmirna (23),¹³ así como en América del Norte, Jerusalén y localidades de Bulgaria, Grecia y Yugoslavia. La notable producción periodística, casi 300 títulos, y su influyente papel en la sociedad desaparecieron prácticamente tras la Segunda Guerra Mundial, debido principalmente a la emigración y al exterminio nazi, que disolvieron las comunidades sefardíes de los Balcanes (Gaón 1965; Levi 1982; Romero 1983, 1992: 177-219; Bunis 1993, 1999, 2013; Barquín 1997; Asenjo 2005; Díaz-Mas y Barquín 2007; Asuero y Gerson Şarhon 2007; Macías Kapón 2008; As-

¹¹ Hillel Zeitlin, David Frischman, Hersh Dovid Nomberg, Y. L. Peretz, Azriel Carlebach y Zusman Segalovich. Además, publicó novelas de autores renombrados, desde Sholem Aleichem hasta Israel Singer.

¹² Sobre el periódico *Haynt*, *vid.* la reseña de Avraham Novershtern: <https://www.nli.org.il/he/newspapers/hyt> [consulta: 29-03-2023].

¹³ Salónica fue el núcleo demográfico y editorial sefardí por excelencia (Gálvez 2012: 3).

torga 2012; Martínez Gálvez 2012; Rieder-Zelenko 2013; Sánchez Pérez 2014).

La Biblioteca Nacional de Israel, el Instituto Ben Zvi de Jerusalén, el Instituto Salti en la Universidad Bar-Ilán y la Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC, Madrid) conservan ricas colecciones que permiten el manejo directo de originales de periódicos de información generalista, satírica, cultural o política, como las correspondientes al movimiento obrero, el movimiento sionista y otras corrientes ideológicas.

El diario sefardí salonicense de orientación sionista *Aksyón* (1929-1940) fue fundado por el periodista Eliahu Barzilay y en septiembre de 1935 se unió a *La Prensa Libera* bajo el nombre de *Aksyón-Prensa reunifikada*. Desde 1936 estuvo encabezado por Eli Francés y Yosef Ángel —exdirector de *El Telégrafo*—, bajo cuya dirección tomó una orientación más sionista (Gaón 1965: 25). En 1937 fue el periódico más difundido en judeoespañol de Salónica y sus alrededores; según Gila Hadar (2006: 211), durante su período de apogeo se publicaron 4000 ejemplares por día, distribuidos en 3000 en la ciudad y 1000 fuera de Salónica. Finalmente, el periódico cerró sus puertas en 1940, tras un acuerdo con los editores de otro periódico salonicense, *Mesajero* (Gruss 2021: 125).

La otra publicación involucrada en el presente trabajo es *La Renasensia Djudia* —órgano semanal de la Federación Sionista de Grecia, Salónica, que vio la luz entre 1917 y 1937—, que fue dirigida, sucesivamente, por Yosef Uriel, Isaac Ángel y S. Ben Usillo. A largo de los años apareció, en letra *rashi*, con diferentes subtítulos y formatos (Gaon 1965: 118) y tuvo salida en varias casas editoras: Bezés, Eclair y Unión. Hasta su séptimo año de existencia se registraron tres series, aunque luego dejó de enumerarse de esa manera. Las series uno y dos incluían una o dos páginas en francés y, a partir del séptimo año, otra en griego.¹⁴

En comparación con la prensa en yidis, la prensa en judeoespañol fue más localista y nacional; siendo también más reducidas su edición y difusión. Por su parte, la prensa en lengua sefardí se sirvió de corresponsales y de viajeros eventuales, quienes aportaron noticias e información sobre el «gran mundo». Periódicos judíos —especialmente los provenientes de Londres, París y Viena— y, por supuesto, la prensa local griega les sirvieron también de fuentes fehacientes. Si bien la prensa sefardí fue un factor

¹⁴ The Bibliography of The Hebrew Book 1470-1960: <http://www.hebrew-bibliography.com/> [consulta: 29-03-2023].

decisivo en la transmisión del pensamiento moderno y enarboló objetivos seculares, siguió más aferrada a la tradición judía que la prensa en yidis (Romero 2007, 2008).

Podemos agregar, siguiendo a Stein (2006), que la familiaridad con las lenguas judías no se tradujo en desarrollos culturales simétricos; si bien las fuentes culturales en yidis y en judeoespañol fueron fructíferas en el período de entreguerras, estas lenguas no estaban destinadas a idénticos destinos. Las transformaciones en el mapa político y cultural de la Europa de entreguerras demostraron ser una bendición para el mundo cultural en yidis, siendo que, en ciertas áreas de la Europa del Este, los lectores en esa lengua eran cada vez más jóvenes, mientras que, en el Sudeste de Europa, los lectores del judeoespañol eran personas de más edad, pues los jóvenes optaban por las lenguas nacionales de los países en los que hablaban o por la lengua franca, el francés.

3. Un diálogo entre necios

Dos artículos, «ספרדים אי אשכנזים» («Sefardim i Ashkenazim») (*La Renasensia Djudia*, 16.11.1934: 1) y «Un teórico judío racista – un debate sin razón en la prensa sefardita» זינלאזע דיסקוסיע אין «ראשען טעארעטיקער» אידישע "ראשען טעארעטיקער" (Haynt, Varsovia, 22.11.1934: 2), traen a colación una crónica publicada en la página 2 del periódico *Aksyón* de Salónica tan solo unos días antes, el 14 de noviembre de 1934, cuyo título es «ספרדים אי אשכנזים» («Sefardim y azkenazim, al Senyor Alberto Pipano (Sofia)»).

El artículo está firmado por el «Muestro distinguydo kolaborador Sr. Shemuel Saadi Halevi, eks redaktor en kapo de “La Epoka”, desde París» y le precede un restringido prefacio; la «advertencia» puede interpretarse como una reivindicación de la libertad de prensa y la imparcialidad o, simplemente, como una cobertura a modo de «paraguas por si llueve» de *Aksyón*: «[Nuestro correspondiente] mos adresa la letra siguiente a la kuala mos azemos un dover de dar la ospitalita de muestras kolonas kuant¹⁵ ke non partajimos en ninguna manera su argumentasyon» (*Aksyón* 14.11.1934: 2).

Estas palabras podrían presagiar, quizás, la indignación de *La Renasensia Djudia* y de *Haynt* sobre el conflictivo artículo. *Haynt* critica abierta-

¹⁵ *Kuantonke*, corrijo por *kuanto ke*.

mente las posturas racistas del autor, mientras que *La Renasensia Djudia* responsabiliza y culpa al ente editor, es decir, a su rival *Aksyón*:

Kuando un djurnal «non partaja en ninguna manera la argumentasyon» de un korespondiente, kuando dos sovre tres de los patrones de este djurnal kombatieron siempre las famozas teorías de este korespondiente, kreimos ke la «Aksyón» se devia de echar al sesto el artikolo al tanto stup[i]do ke kalumniozo sovre «sefardim i ashkenazim» ke este individuo kono-sido por su aborision de los ashkenazim le adreso miercoles pasado. Mozotros kreemos ke el kuyido de la imparsialita non puede yir asta permeter la propagasyon de ideas non solo danyozas, ma kriminalas (*La Renasensia Djudia* 16.11.1934: 1).

El comentarista anónimo¹⁶ del *Haynt* eleva, por su parte, la pregunta sobre el desatino y la coyuntura de este tipo de publicaciones que debaten en público la irrisoria pregunta de «¿quiénes son mejores, los judíos sefardíes o los asquenazíes?» (*Haynt* 22.11.1934: 2).¹⁷

Más allá de la polémica ideológica sobre el separatismo y las controversias entre las dos grandes masas del judaísmo, nos ha sorprendido cómo las «noticias vuelan» convirtiendo a Sofía, Salónica, París y Varsovia en una red de comunicación intercomunitaria. Este «canal abierto» entre los periódicos judíos se consolida en el comentario del redactor del *Haynt*, quien realza el hecho de que estas declaraciones «provocaron un fuerte eco y varias protestas en público» entre los mismos sefardíes:¹⁸ «“La Renasensia Djudia”, el órgano de la organización sionista en Salónica, que luchó contra las tendencias separatistas en el mundo sefardí, publicó un artículo de protesta contra el comportamiento insensato y peligroso de Halevi» (*Haynt* 22.11.1934: 2).

A esta altura del «drama» periodístico, nos vemos en la obligación de presentar algunos datos biográficos y rasgos característicos de la personalidad del autor. Sabemos que Shemuel ben Sa'adi Leví, conocido también

¹⁶ Producto de un rastreo en el periódico *Haynt*, hemos detectado algunos correspondientes que se especializaron en las comunidades sefarditas de los Balcanes, del norte de África y del Medio Oriente: Vital Haim, Itzhak Shelomó, Aharón Halperin y A. S. Yehudá.

¹⁷ El texto en yidis:

טייל ספרדישע פובליציסטן האבען איינגעפונען די איצטיגע צייט פאר פאסיג אויפצונעמען א יוכא איבער די פראגע: וועלכע אידען זענען בעסער — די ספרדישע צי די אשכנזישע?

¹⁸ La cita en yidis:

"לה רינאסענסיא כודיא", דער ארגאן פון דער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע אין סאלאניקי, וועלכע האט המיר געקעמפט געגען סעפאראטיסטישע טענדענצען אין דער ספרדישער וועלט, איז ארויסגעטרעטן מיט א העפעמינען פראטעסט ארטיקל געגען די זנלאזע און געפעהרליכע בעהויפטונען פון הלוי.

como Sam Leví o Haleví (Salónica 1870-París 1959), fue un conocido periodista oriundo de Salónica, un personaje polemista y controvertido, un ferviente defensor del sefardismo y contrario a la corriente sionista. Fue redactor jefe en *La Época* (1875-1912) y, tras la muerte de su padre, Sa'adí Haleví,¹⁹ en 1903, ocupó su lugar como director de la empresa. Dirigió también el primer periódico francófono de la ciudad, el *Journal de Salonique* (1885-1910) (Guillon 2004, 2013), y dos periódicos en Zemun —localidad en el Imperio austrohúngaro—, *Le Rayon* en francés y *El Luzero* en judeoespañol (Borovaya 2011: 94-95). Además de su fecunda actividad periodística, fue autor de obras en judeoespañol (Romero 1992: 241), entre ellas, *Flama acendida [eshuenio que sonio Shemuel Sa'adi Leví]*, publicada en Salónica en 1922 (Romero 1992: 258); la novela social *Martirio, shenas de la vida* (Barquín 1999); *Los judíos de Salónica: algunas consideraciones sobre los orígenes y el pasado de los judíos de Salónica*, publicada en *Le Progrès*²⁰ en 1933; y su obra póstuma, *Salónica a fines del siglo XIX, memorias*, que contiene datos de gran interés sobre la época de su juventud (Barquín 1999: 452; Romeu 2012: 76).²¹ Ya en París, editó el anuario comercial de los judíos de Oriente, *Le Guide Sam* (1921-1930); en la década de 1930 publicó el periódico *Le judaïsme sépharade* y, durante la ocupación, trató de interceder en favor de sus correligionarios de Salónica. Poco tiempo después del final de la guerra, Sam Leví expresó el deseo de ver renacer de las cenizas al sefardí de Salónica como un nuevo ave fénix (Stein 2019). Por último, con el propósito de enaltecer los valores de la vida judía-sefardí, fundó los *Cahiers Séfardis*, que se

¹⁹ Sa'adi Haleví (1820-1903) fue un periodista, impresor y activo participante de la comunidad de Salónica, además de compositor e impresor de coplas sefardíes de contenido noticioso, satírico o relacionado con la celebración de festividades litúrgicas. Información tomada de la Sefardiweb del CSIC: <http://www.proyectos.cchs.csic.es/sefardiweb/node/266> [consulta: 30-03-2023]. Más datos en Cohen 2013, 2019; Rodrigue y Stein 2012.

²⁰ *Le Progrès de Salónica* fue uno de los periódicos de expresión francesa que surgieron a partir de 1900: *L'Indépendant*, *Le Journal de Salónica*, *La Liberté*, *L'Opinion* y un periódico probablemente destinado a la juventud, *L'école et la famille* (Morcillo Rosillo 2014).

²¹ Las memorias de Sam Leví, *Mes Mémoires*, fueron publicadas en *Tesoro de los Judíos Sefardíes*, 1961, vol. 4: v-xxvi; 1962, vol. 5: xlv-lxv; 1963, vol. 6; 1964, vol. 7: lxix-lxxxv; 1965, vol. 8: xlv-lxii; 1966, vol. 9: lxxviii-lxxiv; 1967-1968, vol. 10: lxxviii-lxxii y reeditadas últimamente (Leví 2000). Hemos detectado una edición inédita en judeoespañol publicada en *El Tiempo* de Tel Aviv entre el 29 de septiembre y el 2 de noviembre de 1961.

publicaron entre el 5 de noviembre de 1946 y el 16 de octubre de 1949 (Borovaya 2011: 96-97; Carasso 1997: 14).²²

Sin duda, Sam Lévy fue uno de los periodistas sefarditas más importantes de la primera mitad del siglo xx y el continuador de la tradición editorial y periodística de su familia (Rodrigue y Stein 2012: iv), considerado por muchos como «el decano de la prensa mundial judía», un verdadero «apóstol» del sefardismo (*La tribuna* 1947: 1; Borovaya 2011: 97).²³

Sabemos también que esta «karta avierta» de Leví, dedicada a su amigo Alberto Pipano, forma parte de una sección del periódico *Aksyón*, en la cual, intelectuales sefardíes, entre ellos Pipano, exponían regularmente temas de actualidad.²⁴ De la lectura del artículo se desprende que la postura radical del ser y del sentir sefardí de Leví hace que, en su discurso, discorde con la postura afable de su correligionario Alberto Pipano, quien confiere a los asquenazíes un estatus de igualdad frente a los sefardíes: «Los djidios formamos una rasa i ke los unos i los otros somos ermanos, ijos de un padre».

Leví utiliza argumentos históricos, manejados por el mismo Pipano, para confirmar la premisa de que existe una diferencia de comportamiento entre ambos grupos: «Te maraviyas i kondanas el akto indelikado del ingrato ashkenazi ke vino a komer el pan de los selaniklis i por rekom-pensa los indjurno en djurnales ajenos. Te atristas ke un selanikli fue ye-

²² Según Carasso, tuvo doce entregas trimestrales, compuestas por cuadernos de formato 225 × 145 mm y aproximadamente de 60 a 65 páginas cada uno. En sus páginas, Sam Leví publicó la historia de diferentes comunidades sefardíes, incluso las de aquellas devastadas por los nazis; fue pionero en difundir la lista completa de los sefardíes deportados de Francia, con apellido, nombre, fecha y lugar de nacimiento y última residencia conocida, así como testimonios de supervivientes de Auschwitz, de la revuelta de los prisioneros de Sobibor en octubre de 1943, etc.; Borovaya (2011: 96-97) hace alusión a la publicación como una verdadera «Enciclopedia sefardí». Tuvo una trascendencia importante en el mundo sefardí de la posguerra, siendo alabado en la primera página del bimensual en caracteres rashí *La tribuna djudia* de Salónica el 26 de marzo de 1947 (5 de Nisán 5707).

²³ Borovaya adopta esta denominación, otorgada por *La tribuna djudia*, para el apartado biográfico sobre Sam Lévy (2011: 89-97).

²⁴ En nuestro rastreo hemos encontrado algunas de estas «Letra de Sofia» firmadas por Alberto Pipano: «Literatura djudia española» (8.3.1934: 2), «El djudaizmo búlgaro delante una situasyon penivle» (13.11.1934: 2) y «Musa Shilush» (7.11.1934: 2). Lamentablemente, no hemos detectado la referida por Leví en su artículo y en la cual basa su propia «karta avierta»: «Si ay telepatia en el mundo. A las mil provas ke harvan nuestro esprito vino ajustarse tu ultima letra de Sofia a la 'Aksyón' sobre los sefardim i los ashkenazim».

vado a djuzgo por el Gran Rabino ashkenazi ke el Konsilyo komunal desho azer» (*Aksyón* 14.11.1934: 2).²⁵

En el debate intelectual, Leví apoya sus argumentos en dos hombres de letras europeos, no reconocidos precisamente como filosemitas, por no decir antisemitas, Voltaire²⁶ y Sombart:²⁷

Mas abasho akodras tu mizmo lo ke eskrivyo «Virgil Shumbert», un autor alman kristiano sovre los ashkenazim. Este viejo profesor de universita trae provas de la diferensia ke egziste entre los sefardim i los ashkenazim. El dize, kon provas en manos, ke los primeros son djente de onor i los otros «merkan kozas rovas i las venden por nuevas i de buena proviniensa: djuran de no kometer siertos aktos i no mantienen sus palavra, violan sus engajamientos i azen traisyon a la armada, a la patria i a todo» (*Aksyón* 14.11.1934: 2).²⁸

Es indudable que 1934, el año de producción del artículo, fue sumamente sensible para el mundo en general y el entorno judío europeo en particular: tras la muerte del presidente Hindenburg en el mes de agosto, Hitler se convirtió en el líder supremo, el Führer de Alemania, con el aval legal del referéndum nacional celebrado el día 19 del mismo mes; pocos

²⁵ Leví llega a pormenorizar con ejemplos: «Este es el uzo, la natura de los ashkenazis. Ya te olvidates komo mos pagaron los ashkenazis ke fuyeron de Rusia en 1892 i vinieron avrigarsen en Saloniko ande los resivimos en plantas de manos»; la expresión «aresivir en plantas de manos» significa «recibir con los brazos abierto» (Perez-Pimienta 2007: 355).

²⁶ En el ensayo sobre las costumbres y el espíritu de las naciones escrito en 1756, Francois-Marie Arouet Voltaire (1694-1778) asegura que los judíos siempre tenían intenciones de dominar al mundo y que, si habían sido esclavizados a lo largo de la historia, había sido por su propia culpa.

²⁷ Por lo visto se refiere a Werner Sombart, un economista y sociólogo alemán contemporáneo (1863-1941) considerado uno de los investigadores y pensadores de ciencias sociales más connotados del primer cuarto del siglo XX europeo. Entre otros, Sombart trató ampliamente el tema de los judíos y el capitalismo moderno en sus tratados *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (1911) y *Der Bourgeois* (1913). Sus relaciones con los nazis y la ideología del Tercer Reich fueron siempre ambivalentes.

²⁸ Respecto a este punto, no cabe duda de que el redactor del *Haynt* depuró el artículo en judeoespañol: «La última conclusión es que los judíos sefardíes están moral y éticamente muy por encima de los ashkenazim, son nobles, honestos y valientes etc. mientras que los judíos asquenazíes son lo opuesto a eso» (*Haynt* 22/11/1934: 2).

די לעצטע מסקנה איז אז די ספרדישע אידן שטעהען מאראליש און עטיש הימל הויך איבער די אשכנזים, זיי זענען נאבעל, עהרליך, מוטיג א.א.וו. בעת די טשכנזישע אידן זענען דער היפוך דער פון.

meses después se implantaron las leyes de Nüremberg.²⁹ La plataforma ideológica con la cual el Partido Nazi creció durante la década de 1920 y llegó al poder en 1933 no se reduce a lo expuesto por Hitler en *Mein Kampf* (*Mi Lucha*, 1925-1926), sino que cuenta con una lista de pensadores y científicos cuyas ideas acerca del antisemitismo, la eugenesia, la higiene racial, el concepto de la raza superior y el Lebensraum se incorporaron a lo que se convirtió en el nazismo (Lane 1974);³⁰ algunas «listas» incluyen el nombre de Werner Sombart.

Muy contrariamente a lo supuesto, parecería que las teorías pseudo-científicas sobre la clasificación de las razas, tan populares en la Europa de los años treinta, tuvieron eco en Leví; la mención de Sombart, el «autor alman kristiano sovre los ashkenazim», revela una elección tendenciosa por parte del autor. En sus ensayos, Sombart subraya el papel fundamental de los judíos en la génesis y la consolidación del capitalismo; claro está que los judíos que le sirvieron de modelo en el desarrollo de sus teorías fueron, indudablemente, asquenazíes. Sombart fue criticado de antisemita, ya que en su obra incluye numerosas descripciones de carácter físico y de comportamiento de los judíos, muy en sintonía con el espíritu positivista de los trabajos del siglo XIX y principios del XX (Blinder 2011: 211). Digamos que Leví se conformó con las «descripciones de comportamiento» de los asquenazíes haciendo hincapié en la conducta impecable de los sefardíes, ya que los «sefardim i los ashkenazim no deven ser “metidos en el mizmo sako”» (*Aksyón* 14/11/1934: 2).

Según Jean Carasso (2000: 4), Leví (*ca.* 1956) escribe en sus *Memorias* que al terminar su educación básica se autodeclaró «libre penseur intégral et raciste endurci», lo cual podría concordar con las posturas radicales expresadas;³¹ en su artículo trata de resguardarse de posibles acusaciones públicas alegando que, «si dezia yo estas palavras, me akuzarian de *mal-shinut* (‘calumnia’)», y alude a que este conflicto no pertenece al pensamiento moderno, sino que tiene sus raíces en la escisión de las dos etnias, consecuencia de la diáspora judía: «No, amigo mio, no es de un anyo aki ke la atmosfera se inuvlo. De kuando egzisten ashkenazis i sefardís, ke

²⁹ Leyes de carácter racista y antisemita en la Alemania nazi adoptadas por unanimidad el 15 de septiembre de 1935, durante el séptimo congreso anual del Reichsparteitag.

³⁰ Entre los filósofos y sociólogos más destacados nombraremos a Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), Karl Ernst Haushofer (1869-1946), Alfred Ernst Rosenberg (1893-1946) y Carl Schmitt (1888-1985).

³¹ Y agrega «bastante antirreligioso»; recordemos que su padre había sufrido el *herem* (‘anatema’) por haber cofundado el Club des Intimes de Salónica.

estos dos elementos se alzan el uno kontra el otro siendo no tienen la mizma konsepsion, la mizma mentalidad, la mizma psikolojia, ni el mizmo korason» (*Aksyón* 14.11.1934: 2).

El redactor de *Haynt* desacredita a Leví llamándolo «el teórico racial recién salido del horno»,³² y añade que los argumentos nacionalistas de Leví «van muy lejos» y lindan con teorías racistas abominables. Es muy probable que esta evaluación se deba a la siguiente declaración de Leví: «Yo dishe la mizma koza kon manko fineza, kon mas brutalidad: los ashkenazim son arianos i nosotros somos latinos. Apartenemos no a dos nasyonas diferentes, ma a dos rasas opuestas» (*Aksyón* 14.11.1934: 2).³³

Las palabras concluyentes de Leví no dejan mucho margen para un supuesto entendimiento entre los bandos: «Los sefardim se entienden presto entre elyos. Esto es verdad. Ma kon los ashkenazim es otro par de mangas» (*Aksyón* 14.11.1934: 2).³⁴

La Renasensia Djudia, por su parte, enfrenta este cuestionamiento desde una doble perspectiva, una se refiere explícitamente a las funciones que un órgano periodístico responsable debería cumplir:

Kreemos ke el rolo de la prensa, al menos de akeya prensa dir[i]jida por personas ke sav[e]n kuantu ridikulas i malvilientes son las af[i]rmasyonas tendiendo a opozar komo enemigos los sefardim i ashkenazim ke forman kualo ke digan, el mezmo i uniko puevlo, el puevlo djudyo, es de kombatir i non de permeter la propagasyon de kalumnias presentadas komo ideas ke kontrib[u]en a destruir la unita de la nasyon (*La Renasensia Djudia* 16.11.1934: 1).

³² He aquí la interpretación de la esencia de la frase en yidis:

דער פרישגעבאקענער ראסען טעארעטיקער מאכט נאך וויטערער אויספירהרען פון זיין אריגינעלער "טעאריע" ער מיינט נעמליך, אז "אשכנזים און ספרדים האבן נישט די זעלבע עהרען אויפפאסונג זיי האבען א פארשידענע מענטאליטעט, פסיכאלאגיע און מאראל".

³³ Citamos tal cual lo interpretan en yidis:

אשכנזים זענען אריער, או מיר זענען לאטינער. מיר געהערן אלזא נישט בלויז צו צוויי בעזונדערע פעלקער, נאך צו צוויי געגענטשעלטע ראסען.

³⁴ «Es otro par de mangas» es una expresión idiomática italiana utilizada en italiano coloquial y literario desde el siglo XIX. Su significado es «otra cosa, no comparable con la anterior»; no obstante, a menudo su intención es indicar que uno de los dos términos de comparación es mucho mejor o, por el contrario, mucho peor. Registrada por Perez-Pimienta (2007: 335).

La otra apunta a su visión ideológica como vocero del movimiento sionista de Grecia, específicamente, a la solución nacional propuesta para la totalidad del pueblo judío:³⁵

Ma kieremos profitar de la okazyon para relevar de nuevo komo lo tenemos echo a mas de una repriza [...], el m e n e s t e r de kultivar sentimientos de unyon i de buen entendimiento entre las dos ramas de nuestro pueblo, en el *Galut* ('diáspora') komo en Eres-Israel, a_fin ke kon el tiempo todas las diferensyasyones ke mos apartan despareskan i non se tenga en vista siempre ke la indivizibilida del pueblo djudyo (*La Renasensia Djudia* 16/11/1934: 1).

Tanto *Haynt* como *La Renasensia Djudia* entienden que las «declaraciones sin sentido y peligrosas de Leví»³⁶ «vienen oy dar armas a nuestros peores enemigos».³⁷

Es posible que las declaraciones de Leví, más allá de elevar prejuicios y preconceptos causantes de inadmisibles discordias entre los dos grupos étnicos, apuntaran a un reconocimiento de la diferencia en la igualdad, queriendo dar paso a nuevos paradigmas que alejasen al sefardí —como persona, paradigma y concepto— del sentido peyorativo para que fuese reconocido como un igual dentro de la sociedad judía mundial.

4. Conclusiones

A pesar de las graves palabras de Shemuel Sa'adí Leví, vemos que la prensa en judeoespañol refleja un acercamiento hacia sus correligionarios asquenazíes frente a los graves acontecimientos en el mundo judío en las décadas de 1930 y 1940. La defensa contra el antisemitismo, la solidaridad con las víctimas del nazismo y la actividad sionista crearon, al parecer, un

³⁵ *Haynt* remarca la lucha antiseparatista enarbolada siempre por *La Renasensia Djudia*:

"לא רענעסענסיא כודיא", דער ארגאן פון דער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע אין סאלוניקי, וועלכע האט תמיד געקעמפט געגען סעפאראמיטישע טענדענצען אין דער ספרדישער וועלט, איז ארויסגעארעאען מיט א העפטיגען פראטעסט ארטיקעל.

³⁶ Transcribo las palabras de clausura del artículo publicado en *Haynt*:

די זינלאזעאון געפהערליכע בעהויפטונגען פון הלוי.

³⁷ Hemos respetado los espacios entre las letras que enfatizan gráficamente la frase en *La Renasensia Djudia* (16.11.1934: 1).

espacio común para las colectividades judías, pero no llegaron a borrar las barreras que los dividían y separaban. Después del Holocausto y el establecimiento del Estado de Israel, se sumaron a las raíces históricas de las divergencias otros aspectos políticos abocados en defender, en cada grupo, la singularidad de su acervo cultural.

Los artículos de *Aksyón*, *La Renasensia Djudia* y *Haynt* son un vestigio de esa amplia cultura judía europea que, si bien no desapareció totalmente en la estela de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, dejó a los centros que habían reinado en el siglo XIX y hasta mediados del XX, ciudades como Salónica y Varsovia, borrados del mapa judío.

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LAS COPLAS SEFARDÍES DE PURIM DE CONTENIDO HISTÓRICO-BÍBLICO

Elena ROMERO

Cuando recibí la noticia de que iba a organizarse un libro de homenaje a mi siempre admirado David Bunis, especialista, entre otras muchas materias, en el estudio de la lengua sefardí, y tras aceptar la invitación a participar por parte de las personas encargadas de la edición, mi primer problema fue decidir el tema de mi colaboración. Finalmente, y teniendo en cuenta que yo no soy lingüista y que mis estudios e investigaciones siempre han versado sobre el estudio de la literatura sefardí, materia en la que llevo trabajando desde hace casi cincuenta años, he optado por el tema que a continuación desarrollo con la esperanza de que a David Bunis le interese.¹

1. Clasificación de las coplas de Purim

Ya en mi libro *Los yantares de Purim* (Romero 2011: 17-20) me ocupaba de la clasificación de las coplas sefardíes de Purim y de los diversos

¹ Quiero advertir que para la transcripción a letras latinas de palabras procedentes del hebreo y también para el judeoespañol aljamiado uso el sistema empleado por la revista *Sefarad* del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC, Madrid), en cuyas páginas finales se explican siempre las equivalencias gráfico fonéticas.

grupos de textos que tienen relación con tal fiesta, claramente diferenciados entre sí por su contenido.²

Uno de ellos lo constituyen las coplas que podemos denominar histórico-bíblicas del ciclo de la reina Ester, que se ocupan de poner en verso, de forma más o menos amplia, el relato del texto bíblico de *Ester*, valiéndose, en muchos casos, de las ampliaciones midrásico-legendarias del mismo.³

En 2021 publiqué el libro *La reina Ester en solfa. Coplas sefardíes de Purim sobre el libro bíblico de Ester. Edición y estudio de los textos*, dedicado a la edición y el estudio de este grupo de coplas, tema que voy a presentar muy brevemente en el presente artículo. Pensaba también incluir como ejemplos algunas estrofas de dichas coplas; pero, ante el número de páginas necesariamente breve fijado para las colaboraciones en este homenaje, he decidido prescindir de tales ejemplos, ya que siempre procuro atenerme a las indicaciones editoriales.

En *Los yantares de Purim* (Romero 2011: 19-20) también dejaba constancia de la lista general de veinte textos de coplas castizas establecida por Iacob M. Hassán en dos artículos,⁴ a los que yo misma (2011: 20) añadía un texto más.

A tenor de sus primeras ediciones, este es el corpus establecido por Hassán: once coplas impresas en el siglo XVIII, entre ca. 1700 y 1798, y nueve que nacieron a mediados del XIX, entre 1856 y 1896. Mediante * señalo los textos no consultados (12-14):

- 1 *Los milagros de Purim*: ca. 1700 (Hassán 2010, IX⁵; *Baecs* núm. 18a y ss.: 1760).
- 2 *La historia de Amán y Mardoqueo*: ca. 1720 (Hassán 2010, I; *Baecs* núm. 1a y ss.: ca. 1700).
- 3 *Manjares y dádivas de Purim*: 1739 (Hassán 2010, II; *Baecs* núm. 11d y ss.: 1745).
- 4 *La historia de Purim*: 1778 (Hassán 2010, V; *Baecs* núm. 24d y ss.).

² Romero 2014.

³ Al respecto, *vid.* los artículos de Romero 1982 y, especialmente, 1917.

⁴ Hassán 2007, 2008. En dicha lista renumera los textos ordenándolos cronológicamente, ordenación que difiere de la que él mismo hiciera en 1976, plasmada en Hassán (2010, cap. 3: 309-401), siguiendo a Attias 1958.

⁵ Esta numeración en romanos corresponde a la aludida de Hassán en la nota anterior.

- 5 *Breve historia de Purim*: 1778 (Hassán 2010, VI; *Baecs* núm. 24b y ss.).
- 6 *El triunfo de Mardoqueo*: 1778 (Hassán 2010, VIII; *Baecs* núm. 24a y ss.).
- 7 *La intercesión de Ester*: 1782 (Hassán 2010, III; *Baecs* núm. 25d y ss.).
- 8 *Gozo y alegría de Purim*: 1782 (Hassán 2010, X; *Baecs* núm. 25f).
- 9 *El ajuar de Amán*: 1797 (Hassán 2010, XVIII; *Baecs* núm. 31a y ss.).
- 10 *La caída de Amán*: 1798 (Hassán 2010, XI; *Baecs* núm. 34a y ss.).
- 11 *El testamento de Amán*: 1798 (Hassán 2010, XII; *Baecs* núm. 34d y ss.).
- 12 *La celebración de Purim*: *1855, 1856 (Hassán 2010, XIX; *Baecs* núm. 79a y ss.).
- 13 *El espejo de Amán*: *1855, 1856 (Hassán 2010, XXI; *Baecs* núm. 79c y ss.).
- 14 *El daleale de Purim*: *1855, 1856 (Hassán 2010, XX; *Baecs* núm. 79b y ss.).
- 15 *El Dio neemán*: 1860 (Hassán 2010, VII; *Baecs* núm. 91d y ss.).
- 16 *El casamiento de Amán*: 1861 (Hassán 2010, XIV; *Baecs* núm. 97c y ss.).
- 17 *La endicha de tía Bicha*: 1861 (Hassán 2010, XVI; *Baecs* núm. 97e y ss.).
- 18 *El retrato de Zeres*: 1862⁶ (Hassán 2010, XXII; *Baecs* núm. 99d y ss.).
- 19 *Nueva historia de Purim*: 1869 (Hassán 2010, XXIII; *Baecs* núm. 112a).
- 20 *La bebienda de Purim*: 1896 (no en Hassán 2010; no en *Baecs*).⁷

Entresaco ahora de tal lista los textos que responden al tema que aquí nos ocupa, es decir, las coplas de contenido histórico-bíblico, que presento a tenor de las primeras ediciones o manuscritos que conocemos. La numeración corrida (primer número) actual es mía, pero dejo constancia

⁶ Sobre su primera fecha de publicación, *vid.* Romero (2011, cap. 2: aprt. I.2.1, nota 15).

⁷ *Vid.* las salvedades que hacía a esta lista en Romero (2011: 20).

(tras barra inclinada) de los números correspondientes de la lista anterior, omitiendo ahora los datos bibliográficos arriba anotados entre paréntesis:

- 1/1 *Los milagros de Purim*: ca. 1700.
- 2/2 *La historia de Amán y Mardoqueo*: ca. 1720.
- 3/4 *La historia de Purim*: 1778.
- 4/5 *Breve historia de Purim*: 1778.
- 5/6 *El triunfo de Mardoqueo*: 1778.
- 6/7 *La intercesión de Ester*: 1782.
- 7/10 *La caída de Amán*: 1798.
- 8 *La maldad de Amán*: ca. 1800 (no en Hassán 2010).
- 9 *La salvación de Purim*: ca. 1850 (no en Hassán 2010).
- 10 *Asuero el loco*: ca. 1862 (no en Hassán 2010).
- 11/19 *Nueva historia de Purim*: 1869.
- 12 *La alegría de Purim*: 1907 (no en Hassán 2010).
- 13 *El fin de Amán*: ca. 1911 (no en Hassán 2010).

Como vemos por la lista previa, a las ocho coplas ya conocidas (núms. 1/1, 2/2, 3/4, 4/5, 5/6, 6/7, 7/10 y 11/19) podemos añadir ahora otras cinco: núms. 8-10 y 13, procedentes de sendos manuscritos; y la núm. 12 de un impreso.

2. Estado de la cuestión

Veamos ahora cuáles son los textos de esta lista de trece coplas histórico-bíblicas de Purim editados por la moderna erudición.⁸

Attias (1958: 346-367) hizo una edición ecléctica, con traducción al hebreo, del texto 3/4 *Historia Purim*, cuya edición crítica es imprescindible abordar de nuevo. Por su parte, Hassán (2010) ha llevado a cabo la edición crítica de las coplas 1/1 *Milagros* (533-571) y 2/2 *Historia Amán* (423-532). Y de la copla 4/5 *Breve historia* me he ocupado yo misma (1988: 81-90), a partir de su edición príncipes de Constantinopla 1778.

Así pues, mal que bien —es decir, en ediciones críticas (bien) o no (menos bien)—, la moderna investigación ha puesto en circulación tres de las coplas de Purim histórico-bíblicas, quedando diez de ellas todavía irre-

⁸ Romero (2011: 20-21).

dentas, entre las que se cuenta, por los motivos señalados, la mencionada 3/4 *Historia Purim*, laguna cubierta en Romero 2021.

Recuérdese que, según he mencionado, aquí solamente voy a ocuparme de lo que la moderna erudición ha determinado como *coplas*, dejando para otra ocasión el estudio y la edición de otros tipos de poemas cuyo contenido es también el histórico-bíblico del libro de *Ester*. Igualmente, quiero señalar que no puedo dedicarme ahora a señalar los numerosos pasajes midrásicos presentes en estas coplas, que nos indican la formación rabínica de muchos de sus autores. En Romero 2021 se señalan tales pasajes, cuyas fuentes hebreas aparecen recogidas y traducidas al español en otra de mis obras, *La Ley en la leyenda* (1989). Puede verse también la lista de midrasim anotada por Hassán (2010: 414), así como mi libro en colaboración con Purificación Albarral (Romero y Albarral 1913).

3. Esquemas estróficos

En general, las coplas del ciclo de la reina Ester se han escrito en variados esquemas estróficos. El más característico es el de la llamada noneta octohexasilaba, aunque, como bien reitera Hassán (2007: 421), no es el mayoritario de las veinte coplas —o veintiuna— del corpus general, y en el de las histórico-bíblicas solo lo encontramos en las denominadas 2/2 *Historia Amán* —de la que no me ocupo aquí— y 7/10 *Caída*, ambas del siglo xviii,⁹ así como en 9 *Salvación*, quizá del siglo xix.

Sí es mayoritario el de la estrofa zejelesca,¹⁰ en muchos casos con vuelta en -ó (siete u ocho textos),¹¹ los cuales adoptan el esquema del *pi-yut* considerado por los sefardíes como el más típico de Purim, cual es el que comienza «Mi kamoja veén kamoja» ('Quién como Tú y no hay como Tú'), del poeta hispano judío Yehudá Haleví, cuyo verso de vuelta acaba siempre en *lo* (hb. 'a él'). A este hay que añadir otros, como la *bacaśá* (piyut impetratorio) del sábado *Žajor* —el anterior a Purim— «*Ažkir ḥas-dé El neemán*» ('Recordaré las misericordias de Dios fidedigno'), de Abraham Ḥayón, etc. En nuestro corpus, tres textos responden al esquema de cuartetos zejelescas: *Historia Purim* (3/4), con vuelta en *no*, y *Triun-*

⁹ Respectivamente, *Baecs* núms. 1a y ss. y 34a y ss.

¹⁰ *Vid.* la bibliografía de Hassán (2007), núms. 1, 3-6, 8, 11, 13-18 y 20.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, núms. 1, 4-5, 8, 13 y 16-17, a los que, según Hassán, quizá haya que sumar su núm. 9.

fo (5/6) y *Fin* (12), con vuelta en -ó. Responde también a este esquema zejelesco la copla *Maldad* (8), ahora con versos largos separados en dos hemistiquios y vuelta en -dar.

A estos esquemas estróficos hay que sumar otros. La copla *Interce-sión* (6/7) está formada por octetas de rima *abab(cc)cxd*, el quinto verso con rima interna (o pie quebrado interior) y el octavo acabando siempre en *Yisrael*. El texto de *Asuero* (10), que nos ha llegado bastante descom-puesto, quizá estuviera formado en su origen por cuartetos de versos largos divididos en dos hemistiquios y con rima interna en el último verso. Y en cuanto a *Nueva* (11/19) y a *Alegría* (12), las forman cuartetos de rima alterna *abab*.

De todo ello y de otras cuestiones formales —como estribillos, acrósticos, etc.— me ocupo con mayor detalle en las respectivas introducciones a los diez textos editados en Romero 2021.

4. Autoría

Poco podemos añadir a lo ya anotado por Hassán (2007), quien ya recogía la autoría de los siguientes textos, cuyos nombres aparecen en sus respectivos acrósticos: *Historia Purim* (3/4), de Šemuel ben Yišḥac Araña (acróstico: estrs. 48-59, 61-68); *Caída* (7/10), de ¿Ažecrí? Asquenaží (acróstico: estrs. 23-34); y *Nueva* (11/19), de Šelomó Morduj (acróstico: estrs. 48-50). Siguen irredentos los nombres de los autores de *Triunfo* (5/6) e *Interce-sión* (6/7), y también desconocemos la autoría de cuatro de las coplas ahora añadidas a la lista: *Maldad* (8), *Salvación* (9), *Asuero* (10) y *Fin* (13); si bien sabemos que *Alegría* (12) la compuso Alberto Taragano, autor del que ya me he ocupado en otra ocasión.¹²

5. Las coplas

Veamos, muy brevemente, los aspectos más significativos de cada una de ellas. No repito aquí lo siguiente: resumo los sistemas estróficos ya señalados en el apartado núm. 3, salvo en el caso de la copla *Interce-sión* (6/7); omito los nombres de los autores que he señalado en el apar-

¹² Romero 2009.

tado núm. 4; y tampoco indico aquí la procedencia de los ejemplares que he usado para mi estudio, datos recogidos puntualmente en Romero 2021.

5.1. *Historia de Purim*

La copla que titulo *Historia de Purim* (3/4) es de contenido narrativo, siguiendo puntualmente el relato del libro de *Ester* con intercalación de abundantes motivos legendarios.

Tiene 127 o 134 estrofas de cuatro versos largos heterométricos, predominando los de entre nueve y catorce sílabas; la rima es de tipo zejelesco, con vuelta en -ó, que en todas las estrofas ocurre en la palabra *no*; y se han distinguido dos familias de versiones: A y B, cuyas diferencias se consignan en Romero 2021.

Hassán (2010, 2007), al ocuparse de *Historia Purim* (núm. V de su estudio), recoge un total de seis versiones primarias de ambas familias: tres editadas entre 1778 y 1923 más tres manuscritas, repartidas en tres de la familia A y otras tres de la B. En su bibliografía de ediciones modernas, es decir, secundarias, remite a otras dos: la ecléctica versión publicada por Attias (1958: 346-367, núm. 1) y la editada por Larrea (1952: vol. II, núm. CVII: 173-183), quizás a partir de un manuscrito latinado.

El número de versiones queda ahora ampliado a un total de nueve: tres impresas, siendo la más antigua de la familia A la publicada en letra cuadrada vocalizada en el libro *Coplas nuevas* (Constantinopla 1778); y de la familia B, la impresa en el libro *Šalmé simhá* (Liorna = 552 [1791-1792]) hs. 2a-14a, publicada por Lazar (1999: 275-293) con cambios que no tengo en cuenta, pues eran debidos a errores tipográficos,¹³ omisión y adición de palabras, malas lecturas,¹⁴ etc.; y seis manuscritas, siendo la versión más antigua de la familia A la aljamiada en el manuscrito titulado *Pižmonim veširim vetišbaḥot*, de David Bajar Mošé Hakohén (Sarajevo 1794-Venecia ¿?) fols. 165a-170b; y la más antigua de la familia B, la incluida en el mismo manuscrito fols. 154a-161a.

¹³ Como, entre otros muchos, el risible que, en el verso 36a, convierte el *no se me neaba* del texto original en *no se meava*. No sé nada de la falta de urinarios públicos en aquellos tiempos.

¹⁴ Algunas tan cómicas como la del verso 20c, donde el pobre Memuján pasa de *valiente* a *caliente* (sin comentarios).

5.2. *El triunfo de Mardoqueo*

El contenido de la copla que título *El triunfo de Mardoqueo* (5/6) es narrativo, pero parcial: no relata la historia de Purim completa, sino solo varios de sus episodios, y aun estos a veces de un modo tan desordenado que hacen incoherente el desarrollo argumental. Parece como si la intención no fuera narrar una historia, sino recordarla mediante fugaces alusiones a ciertos episodios de la misma, de todos conocidos. De entre estos, los tratados con mayor detenimiento son los relativos a la caída de Amán y al triunfo de Mardoqueo, especialmente a esto último, que se convierte en el centro de gravedad de la copla.

Tiene 46 (o 36 o 28 o 23) estrofas de cuatro versos, generalmente octosílabos. La rima es de tipo zejelesco, con vuelta en -ó, aunque no puedo ocuparme aquí de las complicaciones que plantea el estribillo de la copla. Se han distinguido cuatro familias de versiones: A, B, C (más C.1/A y C.1/B) y D, cuyas diferencias se consignan en Romero 2021.

Hassán (2010), al ocuparse de esta copla (núm. VIII de su estudio), precisa que está representada en nueve textos, cuatro impresos y cinco manuscritos de entre 1778 y 1884. El número de versiones queda ahora ampliado a catorce: cuatro impresas y diez manuscritas. El texto de la familia A nos ha llegado en ocho versiones: tres impresas, siendo la más antigua la del libro *Coplas nuevas* (Constantinopla 1778) hs. 1b-3b, en letra cuadrada vocalizada; y cinco manuscritas, siendo la versión más antigua la del manuscrito de Abraham Šemuel ben Daniel Berajá (Kazanlik 1812-1819) fols. 20b-23b. En Romero 2021 pueden verse las fechas de las otras familias de versiones.

5.3. *La intercesión de Ester*

El contenido de la copla que título *La intercesión de Ester* (6/7) es narrativo, pero, dada su corta extensión, el relato resulta parcial y está centrado en los episodios de la mediación de Ester entre el rey Asuero y el perverso Amán para lograr la salvación del pueblo judío.

Tiene doce estrofas de ocho (o nueve) versos de tendencia heptasilábica, salvo el quinto, formado por dos palabras (o sintagmas) que riman entre sí; de modo que si los consideramos como dos versos, la estrofa resulta tener nueve. Los cuatro primeros forman una cuarteta de rima alterna; sigue el citado quinto de rima interna, con el que rima a su vez el sexto; queda libre el séptimo, y el octavo tiene rima idéntica con el co-

respondiente de las demás estrofas. En esquema sería *abab(cc)cxd*, el quinto verso con rima interna (o pie quebrado interior) y el octavo acabando siempre en *Yisrael*. Esta palabra final de todas las estrofas parece revelar un verso de vuelta que llamara a un estribillo; pero no hay traza de él en las versiones escritas. En las orales, en cambio, parecen poder cumplir dicha función algunos versos finales de estrofa, que a veces aparecen unidos a los iniciales de estrofas distintas. Se han delimitado tres familias textuales: A, B y C.

Hassán (2010), a propósito de *Intercesión* (núm. III de su estudio), dice que está representada en ocho textos: dos impresos y seis manuscritos de entre 1702 y 1825. El número conocido por Hassán queda ahora ampliado a treinta y tres versiones: tres impresas y diez manuscritas; a las que hay que añadir lo siguiente: dos versiones pseudoorales, una de ellas cantada por Isaac Benabu (Gibraltar ca. 1945 + Londres + Israel) y grabada en Jerusalén el 11 de junio de 1979 por Susana Weich-Shahak (NSA Yc-1453/9); y otra cantada por Seti Benabu (Algeciras + Gibraltar + Melilla), grabada el 12 de mayo de 1980 por Susana Weich-Shahak (NSA Yc-1621/8), una supuestamente oral y diecisiete orales.

El texto de la familia A nos ha llegado en las siguientes diez versiones: tres impresas, siendo la más antigua la del libro *Soba' semahot* (Liorna 1782) fols. 24a-25a; el texto lo publica Lazar (1999: 268-271) con algunos cambios que no tengo en cuenta, ya que se deben a errores tipográficos, malas lecturas y a no ajustarse a la vocalización del texto aljamiado; y siete manuscritas, siendo la versión más antigua que he podido consultar la del manuscrito titulado *Pizmonim veširim vetišbaḥot*, de David Bajar Mošé Hakohén (Sarajevo 1794-Venecia) fol. 135a-b.

5.4. *La caída de Amán*

El contenido de la copla que titulo *La caída de Amán* (7/10) es narrativo, pero no desarrolla la historia de Purim completa, sino que se interrumpe bruscamente en plena humillación de Amán cuando está cumpliendo la orden del rey de honrar a Mardoqueo. El episodio cobra así singular relieve y toda la copla parece girar en torno al proceso de la caída de Amán.

Tiene 39 estrofas de nueve versos y rima purímica y se han delimitado dos familias de versiones: A y B (y B.1). En cuanto a la cronología y difusión de la versión A, conocemos textos impresos y manuscritos de entre 1798 y 1958. Por su parte, las dos versiones de la familia B vieron

la luz en 1938, ambas en el periódico de Salónica *El Riśón*: la A en 13/3 (8 veadar 5698 / 11 marzo 1938) pp. 1a-b y 4a; y la B.1 en 13/4 (15 veadar 5698 / 18 marzo 1938) p. 4a-c. Molho (1960: 155-163) publicó el texto de la familia A —fechando erróneamente la edición en 1799— con abundantes errores de lectura; posteriormente fue reeditado por Sala (1965, vol. II: 1.123-1.129).

Hassán (2010), a propósito de *Caída* (núm. XI de su estudio), precisa que está representada en veinticuatro textos, diecinueve impresos y cinco manuscritos de entre 1798 y 1938, de los que había podido consultar veintidós, los diecinueve impresos y tres de los manuscritos.

El número queda ahora ampliado a 74 versiones: veintiuna impresas, en las que sigue quedando irredenta la núm. *7 y se ha añadido una nueva, siendo la más antigua la impresa en el libro *Conplas de Purim* (Salónica 1798) hs. 1b-6b; y seis manuscritas, la más antigua titulada *Cantos de Purim*, de David Y. Alpuig (Oriente ca. 1800) fols. 4b-7b, 11a y 19a-21b, habiendo podido consultar ahora los manuscritos que Hassán conoció por referencias, pero no usó directamente, y añadir uno nuevo; una versión pseudooral y 46 orales.

5.5. *La maldad de Amán*

La copla que titulo *La maldad de Amán* (8) es un texto hasta ahora inédito y no tenido en cuenta por la moderna erudición.

Tras narrar el episodio del convite de Asuero y cómo Amán aconseja al rey que dé muerte a su desobediente esposa Vastí, pasa a narrar el odio de Amán contra Israel, lo que le lleva a comprar al rey su permiso para aniquilarlos. De tal destino libra Dios a Mardoqueo, a Ester y a todo su pueblo, acabando el malvado Amán ahorcado. La copla concluye con la incitación a comer y a beber hasta emborracharse.

Texto de seis estrofas de cuatro versos largos separados en dos hemistiquios de rima zejelesca y vuelta en *-dar*.

Hasta el momento, solo conozco el texto por el manuscrito denominado *Cobeš piyutim* (Oriente ca. 1800), quizá de Mośé ben Yiśḥac (cuyo nombre aparece en el fol. 137a) fol. 138b.

5.6. *La salvación de Purim*

La copla que titulo *La salvación de Purim* (9) es un texto hasta ahora inédito y no tenido en cuenta por la moderna erudición.

La larga copla consta de 94 nonetas octohexasílabas en la que se sigue de cerca el relato del libro de *Ester* con adición de diversos motivos legendarios.

Hasta ahora, solo conozco el texto por un manuscrito sin portada en el que, por toda referencia y por mano de Iacob M. Hassán, aparece escrito lo siguiente: «Ms. Hayim y Abraham Franco (Rodas 1867)», sin más precisión ni anotación de la biblioteca a la que pertenece. Describo el manuscrito en Romero 2021.

5.7. *Asuero el loco*

La copla que titulo *Asuero el loco* (10) es un texto inédito y no tenido en cuenta por la moderna erudición. Se centra en los siguientes episodios: el convite del rey Asuero, la muerte de Vasti, Ester convertida en reina, el encumbramiento de Amán y su oferta a Asuero para que le venda a los judíos y la pelea entre Ester y Mardoqueo, acabando bruscamente con la mención del ayuno y las súplicas de los judíos a Dios.

El texto tiene veintitrés estrofas. En mi edición me atengo a la presentación del original, cuyo estrofismo un tanto caótico puede describirse más o menos como sigue: cuartetos de versos largos que pueden partirse en dos hemistiquios de entre ocho y seis sílabas; suelen rimar los vs. *a-b*, quedar libre el verso *c* y rimar con rima interna los hemistiquios de los últimos versos. Quedan mancos los versos 1c, 8c y 9c; y parecen faltar el verso 15c y dos versos en las estrofas 16 y 23. Obviamente, el texto podría también analizarse como conjuntos de versos cortos, mayoritariamente de ocho versos y rima *xaxaxbb*.

Hasta ahora solo conozco el inédito texto por un manuscrito que fecho en Oriente *ca.* 1862 fols. 17a-18a.

5.8. *Nueva historia de Purim*

La copla que titulo *Nueva historia de Purim* (11/19) es un texto inédito y no tenido en cuenta por la moderna erudición. Relata la historia de Purim completa; ciertamente no con el despliegue de motivos midrásicos

que ofrecen las antiguas coplas *Historia Amán*, *Historia Purim* y *Milagros*; pero sí con una notable armonía en el desarrollo de los episodios y una habilidad expositiva que no hallamos en otras coplas. Contrasta con ellas también en el esquema estrófico, que no es aquí uno de los habituales en las *Coplas de Purim*, sino la cuarteta alterna. Sobre la copla *Nueva historia*, pueden verse las palabras de Hassán (2010, núm. XXIII de su estudio). Tiene cincuenta estrofas de cuatro versos, generalmente octosilábicos, de rima alterna *abab*.

El texto nos ha llegado en una única edición de Salónica, en el libro *Coplas nuevas de Purim* (Salónica 1869), tiempos en los que las coplas nuevas de Sa'adi Haleví gozaban de mayor popularidad y de un gran auge en sus ediciones: tal hecho debió mover a Šemuel Y. Nisim a exhumar las que —como se declara en portada— tenía en su poder desde tiempo antiguo. Cuán antiguo fuera ese tiempo no podemos saberlo.

5.9. *La alegría de Purim*

La copla que titulo *La alegría de Purim* (12) es un texto hasta ahora inédito y no tenido en cuenta por la moderna erudición. El breve texto se limita a reflejar algunos de los motivos esenciales del relato bíblico de *Ester* y a mencionar a sus principales protagonistas, abundando en loores a Dios y detallando cómo debe celebrarse la fiesta.

El texto consta de quince cuartetos de rima *abab*. Hasta ahora solo conozco el texto por la siguiente versión impresa en *El Avenir* 10/9 (Salónica, martes 12 adar 5667 / 26 febrayo 1907) p. 8b.

5.10. *El fin de Amán*

La copla que titulo *El fin de Amán* (13) es un texto hasta ahora inédito y no tenido en cuenta por la moderna erudición. El breve texto se centra en narrar unos pocos episodios del relato bíblico de *Ester*: Amán, con su dinero, le compra a Asuero el permiso para matar a los judíos; convencida por Mardoqueo, Ester acude a presencia del rey y le invita a compartir un banquete con Amán y, sin mediar más motivos, acusa a este de querer matar a su pueblo, por lo que se decreta su ahorcamiento.

Texto de nueve estrofas que son cuartetos de rima zejelesca con vuelta en *-ó(s)*, excepto las núms. 8 y 9, la última manca y mal rimada.

Hasta ahora solo conozco el texto por una versión manuscrita latinada en un manuscrito copiado en Sarajevo, en 1911, por M. Manrique de Lara.

6. A modo de conclusión

Para concluir mi artículo, quiero añadir algo curioso y risible en relación con algunas versiones orales de la copla *La caída de Amán*. Espero que a David Bunis le divierta y que se ría, después del aburrimiento que le habrá causado la pesadez bibliográfica de mi artículo.

Según muestran las versiones orales, las estrofas de la copla que mejor se han resistido al olvido tradicional son las que integran el pasaje de la entrada de Ester a presencia del rey (estr. 21-24) y, especialmente, la estrofa 11, que ha venido a convertirse en coplilla popular independiente, a menudo infantil.

He aquí el contenido de tal estrofa: tras el banquete al que ha sido invitado por Ester en compañía del emperador Asuero, Amán sale a la calle completamente borracho y pregunta a unos niños judíos con los que se encuentra sobre qué perícopa han leído ese día en la sinagoga, a lo que los niños contestan anunciándole su muerte. Dice así:

Kaašer se enborachó y salió afuera,
a los niños preguntó qué perasá era.
Diĵeron: —«Vaerá», «Vaerá el Abraham».
Tenemos un padre raĥmán,
que Él mos apiada y Hamán lo mata—.

El episodio, bien completo, bien solamente alguno de sus versos, se mantiene en veinticinco versiones, en una de las cuales, grabada en Bulgaria hacia 1920, leemos en sus versos 1a-f:

Y Hamán se enborachó y salió afuera,
a los niños apriguntó qué perasá era esta.
Le diĵeron: «Bueno» y se la guadró,

en los que no queda muy claro qué es lo que dan los niños por bueno y qué es lo que se guarda Amán. El asunto se esclarece a la vista de lo que leemos en la única estrofa de un texto grabado en Salónica en 2006:

Y Hamán se emborrachó y salió ahuera,
a los hijos preguntó: —¿La tenía buena?—.
Le dijeron: —Negra—. Él se la cortó,
a los perros la echó;
los perros mañcando, [la] mujer guayando,

siendo patente que lo que Amán ha preguntado a los niños es si tenía una buena picha; pero que, contrariado ante la respuesta de los niños, quienes le manifiestan que la tiene *negra* ('mala'), opta por cortársela y echársela a los perros, lo que provoca los gritos de su esposa, quien mala o buena parece que no quiere prescindir de ella.

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MOISÉS ALMOSNINO ANTE LA SUBLIME
PUERTA: CONSIDERACIONES ACERCA
DE SU *CRÓNICA DE LOS REYES OTOMANOS*
(SIGLO XVI)

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Para David Monson Bunis,
de orígenes aragoneses no probados,
pero cuando menos equívocos.

En este breve incurso analizaremos cómo percibe la figura del sultán Solimán *el Magnífico* el rabino Moisés Almosnino (Salónica 1518-1580) en su *Crónica de los reyes otomanos*.¹

¹ Unas anotaciones previas sobre este mismo tema fueron presentadas por Pilar Romeu en el I Encuentro Histórico Cultural Hispano-Turco-Sefardí (Ankara, 28-30 de noviembre de 2005) organizado por la Universidad de Ankara, la Asociación Cultural y de Amistad Ibero-Americana, la Embajada de España en Ankara y el Instituto Cervantes de Estambul.

1. Preliminar

Moisés Almosnino (Salónica 1518-1580) descendía de una familia judía aragonesa, de cuya existencia en Jaca tenemos noticia desde mediados del siglo XIII. En documentos del 2 de febrero de 1284 y el 30 de mayo de 1285 se nombra a Berzelay Albuxnino y a Jucef y Jacob Allmaxnino (Régne 1978: ns. 1277 i 1370), y en otro de 1310 se cita a Mayl Almosnino como residente en Jaca (Baer 1970, I: 163). Posteriormente, el proceso inquisitorial abierto el 6 de marzo de 1489 contra los abuelos de Moisés, Abraham Almosnino e Isaac Cogumbriel, finalizó condenándolos a la hoguera (Baer 1970, II: 484-509).

Moisés nació ya en la diáspora, pero es más que probable que la generación de sus padres formara parte de la comitiva de expulsados de la península ibérica a consecuencia del decreto firmado por los muy católicos reyes Fernando e Isabel en 1492. Los Almosnino pertenecían a la comunidad catalana de Salónica, que sufrió un pavoroso incendio en 1545 (Almosnino 1588: panegírico 28, fols. 218, 224). Baruj Almosnino, su padre, sufragó la reconstrucción y fue su presidente hasta su fallecimiento en 1563. Moisés ejercía en ella de rabino y también, con la ayuda de su padre, instruía a chicos desfavorecidos. Lo explicó en un panegírico (en 1553) con motivo de la donación pública a la comunidad de una biblioteca completa y dos ejemplares de la Torá en pergamino (Nehama 1936-1978, III: 111). Hacia 1570, la comunidad se escindió en dos —la Nueva y la Vieja— y surgió un conflicto: mientras se disponían a reparar los muros de la antigua sinagoga catalana, un nieto de Baruj se opuso a la obra porque sostenía que el edificio pertenecía a su familia y esta nunca había hecho donación (Nehama 1936-1978, III: 85); por entonces, hacía diez años (desde 1560) que Moisés ejercía en la comunidad portuguesa Livyat Hen, sostenida por la familia Mendes-Nasí. Moisés rindió su alma hacia 1580, no sin antes haber sido testigo de capitales acontecimientos históricos.

2. *La Crónica de los reyes otomanos*

Moisés Almosnino fue uno de los más significativos y prolíficos escritores judíos del siglo XVI y uno de los pocos que dejó escritas un buen

número de obras² en la lengua que usaban los judíos en sus relaciones personales y familiares; hoy la denominamos *prejudeoespañol* en el plano académico (Romero 1992: 18), pero él la nombraba de varias formas:³ *romance* («No me kyero 'eskuzar del trabaço de 'eskribir 'en *romanse*»⁴), *romance castellano* («Me demandastes un co(m)pe(n)dio brevisimo en *rom(a)nse castellano*»⁵), *franco* («Vóltose a mí [...] harab Mošé y dícame en *franco*»⁶) o, simplemente, *lengua no hebrea* («Me he extendido en ello en la *Epístola de la resurrección* que escribí [...] en *lengua no hebrea*»⁷). Como *romance* (= castellano) se denominaba a la lengua por oposición al latín; *franco* (= del occidente) es el nombre que se le daba en el ámbito sefardí en tierras de moros; y en lengua hebrea, *lešón la 'až* ('lengua extranjera') designaba la *lengua no hebrea* en cuestión, en este caso, la castellana. Si entre los miembros de la comunidad catalana de Salónica se hablaba también catalán, es un dato que presumimos, pero del que no tenemos constancia gráfica alguna.⁸

Almosnino tenía una sólida formación rabínica, pero gozaba también de una instrucción humanista al más alto nivel, como muchos de sus contemporáneos judíos. Fue un hombre públicamente activo y una figura notable, no solo en la vida de su ciudad, sino también en la capital del Imperio, donde participaba en acontecimientos sociales y se lo vinculaba a altísimas figuras de la corte. Aunque la mayor parte de sus escritos son de contenido filosófico-religioso, moralizante e instructor, escribió a petición de sus «señores y amigos» la *Crónica de los reyes otomanos*, entre el 11 de diciembre de 1566 y el 23 de septiembre de 1567, en Costandina (Constantinopla), mientras se encontraba allí formando parte de la comisión

² Impresas (Almosnino 1564, 1729, 1734) y manuscritas: *Tratado del Estrolabio*, escrito en Salónica entre mayo y junio de 1560 (Markova 1991, 1997; Borovaya 2017: 73); la *Crónica de los reyes otomanos*, escrita en Constantinopla entre 1566 y 1567 (Romeu 1998); y el *Canon de reloj de plata*, escrito en Salónica el 14 de julio de 1570 [inédito] (Markova 1997; Borovaya 2017: 73).

³ En los fragmentos copiados transcribimos según el sistema seguido por cada autor. En los restantes, y en nuestro estudio, seguimos el sistema propuesto por la *Revista Sefarad de Estudios Hebraicos y Sefardíes* del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC, España).

⁴ Zemke 2004: 89, en el fol. 13a del *Regimiento*.

⁵ Markova 1991: 439, en el fol. 1a del *Tratado*.

⁶ Romeu 1998: 218. En adelante, abrev. *Crónica*. Todas las citas a esta obra en el presente estudio refieren a las páginas del manuscrito empleado en esa edición.

⁷ La traducción del hebreo es nuestra. Almosnino 5348 [1588]: fol. 214b.

⁸ Romeu 2015.

negociadora, ante la corte del sultán, para frenar la subida de los impuestos que pagaba Salónica.

La obra consta de dos crónicas —*Crónica de la muerte de Suleimán I y la subida al trono de Selim II* y *Crónica del gobierno de Suleimán I*—, una narración descriptiva de la ciudad de Constantinopla —*Extremos y grandezas de Constantinopla*— y el relato histórico de la trascendental negociación que llevó a término —*Las negociaciones de la delegación de Salónica ante la corte de Suleimán I y Selim II*—, que se conserva en una única copia manuscrita aljamiada en la Biblioteca Ambrosiana de Milán (ms. X-126-sup., ant. Ms. III 32) —aunque sabemos que existieron, por lo menos, dos copias manuscritas— y no fue publicada en vida del autor. Una edición parcial y refundida fue editada en 1638 por Iacob Cansino en caracteres latinos, en la imprenta de Francisco Martínez en Madrid —71 años después de que Almosnino terminara de redactar la última parte de la *Crónica*—, y la tituló *Extremos y Grandezas de Constantinopla*.⁹ Ahora contamos con una edición crítica moderna de la copia manuscrita de la Ambrosiana, que contiene las cuatro narraciones (Romeu 1998).

El propósito del autor era narrar unos hechos históricos que él mismo conocía de primera mano o que recabó de personajes cercanos al entorno de la Sublime Puerta. Su información, en este sentido, constituye una notable contribución, pues su inteligencia crítica le permite interpolar opiniones personales de inestimable valor. Solo en una ocasión se vio forzado a utilizar unas crónicas turcas (*Tavarij 'Otmán*) que se hizo traducir al efecto por «un mi señor y amigo, buen letor y práctico en la letra y escritura turquesca» (*Crónica*, pág. 87): cuando incluyó una relación de los sultanes de la dinastía otomana en el Libro I, desde Otmán I (1299) hasta Selim II (1566).¹⁰ Ahí se permitió rebatir a otro cronista sefardí de la época, Yosef Hakohén (1496-ca. 1575), en su obra *Séfer dibré hayamim le-maljé Šarfát umaljé bet 'Otoman hatogar*¹¹ ['Crónica de los reyes de Francia y de los sultanes de la casa otomana'], que fue publicada en 1533:

[1] Que aunque algunos dicen que fueron doce y así lo escribió un moderno que se llama Yosef Hacoén, que hizo unas crónicas universales adonde entrepone también los reis del 'otmán, no es de darle avtoridad tanto en el número dellos como en los tiempos dellos que él describe, que en todo va muy erado (*Crónica*, pág. 87).

⁹ Palau y Dulcet (1948-1977: 8205); traducido al inglés por Borovaya (2017: 269-289).

¹⁰ *Crónica*, 33-34.

¹¹ Sobre el autor y su obra, *vid.* León Tello (1989: 9-35).

Lo que prueba que conocía esta y, probablemente, otras crónicas judías contemporáneas narradas al estilo episódico de las medievales, como la que completó en 1558 el mismo Hakohén, *‘Émeq habajá* [‘Valle del llanto’];¹² las contenidas en los *Relatos de viajes y epístolas de peregrinos judíos a Jerusalén (1481-1523)*¹³ y las de Abraham Zacuto¹⁴ (1452-ca. 1515), Šelomó ibn Verga¹⁵ (ca. 1460-1554), Eliyahu Capsali¹⁶ (ca. 1485-1555) y Guedalia ibn Yahya (ca. 1515-1587).¹⁷ A estas habría que sumar otras redactadas en un modo comprensivo al estilo moderno, como la que en 1533 publicó en portugués Samuel Usque (1521-ca. 1596) en Ferrara: *Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel*.¹⁸ Estas crónicas sefardíes muestran la profunda transformación que sufrió la vida judía de la época.

Salvo contadas excepciones, la crónica había sido entre los judíos un género literario poco frecuente; en cambio, las que florecieron a caballo entre los dos siglos, como consecuencia de las circunstancias históricas, son un tesoro documental de primera magnitud. Entre ellas, la obra histórico-sociológica de Almosnino puede ser considerada un verdadero clásico de la historiografía judía del siglo xvi.

3. Un breve inciso: lo «español» en la *Crónica de los reyes otomanos*

Durante el siglo xvi, el Mediterráneo fue escenario de cruentas luchas entre dos mundos aparentemente contrapuestos, divididos en dos sistemas políticos teóricamente diferentes: uno basado en la tiranía, el despotismo y la crueldad; el otro firmemente enraizado en la tradición humanista. Es idea común que el Renacimiento italiano forjó al hombre moderno, capaz de pensar autónomamente, lo que lo llevó a descubrir nuevos horizontes y nuevas formas de ver el mundo. Sin embargo, la actitud de los gobernados frente al poder era casi unánime: el ejercicio de poder era ineludible

¹² León Tello (1989).

¹³ Magdalena Nom de Déu (1987).

¹⁴ Zacuto (1566). O sea, se imprimió por vez primera el año que Almosnino comenzó su *Crónica*.

¹⁵ Cano (1991). La última parte la completó su hijo Yossef (¿? -1559) en el exilio oriental.

¹⁶ Capsali (1994).

¹⁷ Ibn Yahya (1587).

¹⁸ Usque (1553).

para mantener la estabilidad de los reinos. A ello se aplicaron fieramente, sin excepción, los grandes que dominaban el panorama político de la época: Maximiliano de Austria, Carlos I y Felipe II de España, Francisco I de Francia o Solimán *el Magnífico* en el Imperio otomano.

Pese a que durante todo el siglo xvi las relaciones entre los Austrias españoles y la corte otomana fueron intensas, solo hay una vaga referencia a lo español en la *Crónica*: cuando menciona al emperador Carlos V (1500-1558). Esta cita se reproduce como de pasada y sin intención precisa, como dato histórico formal:

[2] Y fue tanta su buena ventura que vino el emperador Carlo Quinto con una grosísima armada sobre Alđer; y no pudieron tomar puerto con un viento que les fue contrario, desbarató la más de la armada y se volvió sin ofender a la ciudad en un pelo. Y después tomó a Túnez con el castillo de La Goleta,¹⁹ que después vino sobre ella el mismo Carlo Quinto, que era emperador pasado, en persona, con grandísimo ejército y muy esforzado, y la tornó a recuperar (*Crónica*, pág. 128).

Almosnino sajó el cordón umbilical con la Península y silenció cualquier connotación sentimental con su pasado. No hay un solo epíteto para el glorioso emperador, lo que contrasta vivamente con el tratamiento de la figura del Gran Turco.

4. Moisés Almosnino ante la Sublime Puerta

Frente a la ausencia de referencias a la corte española o a lo español, la figura de Solimán es, en cambio, ubicua y encomiada sin ambages, especialmente en el segundo de los libros: la *Crónica del gobierno de Su-leimán I*. La cantidad y calidad de la información contenida en esta segunda crónica —aparte de algunas menciones de hechos ocurridos durante el gobierno de su padre Selim I, que fue quien conquistó para el Imperio la mayor parte de su territorio— es vital porque corresponde a sucesos coetáneos. Es conveniente recordar que Almosnino nació en 1518 y Solimán I comenzó a gobernar en 1520.

El interés de su exposición se centra en demostrar, en primer lugar, que todo lo referente al reinado de Solimán está en relación con el núme-

¹⁹ Fuerte de La Goleta, fortaleza próxima a la ciudad de Túnez, edificado por las tropas de Carlos V junto a las ruinas de Cartago.

ro diez, que es el número perfecto: las guerras en las que participó el sultán en persona fueron diez, como diez fueron sus ministros, capitanes de la armada, *beglar beguís* (tc. *beylerbeyi* ‘gobernador general’) y visires; y, en segundo lugar, que todas sus hazañas, incluso las más crueles, como dar muerte a sus propios hijos y nietos, fueron realizadas a fin de «paçificar y quietar el reino para que quedasse sin rezelo» (*Crónica*, pág. 205).

4.1. *La figura de Solimán*

La figura de Solimán ejerce sobre el autor auténtica fascinación. Ciertamente, si tenemos en cuenta que el público destinatario del texto era el judío o, a lo sumo, el converso —recordemos que los conversos fueron trasladándose a Oriente a lo largo del siglo xvi, sobre todo a Salónica, desde las penínsulas ibérica e italiana—, exaltar su magnificencia hasta el máximo parece ocioso; en cualquier caso, unos y otros serían lectores intelectuales y críticos, y de ningún modo podrían ser tachados de ingenuos. Aún así, Almoynino tiende a justificar cada acto del sultán con la finalidad de transmitir la necesaria actitud respetuosa y leal; es un mensaje de aceptación y acatamiento, incluso de lo que a ojos occidentales puede parecer una aberración. Ello no significa que no haya algunas apreciaciones adversas sobre el entorno cortesano, ya que en ocasiones expone conductas impropias, tanto de la Administración como de los súbditos —entre los que se incluyen los judíos— o del propio sultán.

Observemos algunos de los rasgos más sobresalientes de la caracterización de la personalidad del sultán, tanto en su vertiente positiva como negativa, aunque hay otros muchos aspectos relevantes.

4.2. *Atributos positivos*

La abundancia y prolijidad de atributos positivos, perfectamente asignables teóricamente a los monarcas «humanistas» de los sistemas políticos cristiano-occidentales, se reparte por doquier en la *Crónica*: «Singularísimo señor y rey absoluto» (pág. 163); «beatísimo señor generoso y mañanimo» (pág. 163); «beatísimo rey y gran señor estremado en su bondad y virtud y santos propósitos» (pág. 164); «suficiente en su cargo y gobierno del reino» (pág. 111); «de sutilísimo ingenio» (pág. 152); y, sobre todo, «ser justísimo y muy clemente y misericordioso» (pág. 163). Un persona-

je sensible a los acontecimientos, humano y cercano, un rey que incluso se emociona y llora en varias ocasiones:

[3] Y oídas por el rey estas sus últimas razones y graves sentencias con tan generosísimo ánimo, le vieron de lejos a el rey saltar las lágrimas de los ojos; y limpiándolas con su testimil [tc. ‘pañuelo’] se cubrió la cara (*Crónica*, pág. 99).

Que se funde en comunión espiritual con su Dios:

[4] Y púsose a decir sobre él allí su oración, acordándose el día que allí había de ser traído y supultado; onde dicen que traéndolo a la memoria, hizo allí su oración con muy perfecta devoción y muy recia contemplación, dando loores al Dio que le había hecho gracia de haber vista acabada aquella obra que tanto deseaba de ver, alargando con sus rogativas con abundancia de lágrimas que deramaba de sus ojos (*Crónica*, pág. 136).

Que ama:

[5] Y ella [Roxelana²⁰] dicen que por veces había rogado al rey que le diese licencia que apropiase para su sepultura un lugar en la marata [‘fortaleza’] que ella había mandado fraguar de su hacienda por su alma. Y él le respondió siempre que pues tan uniformes y aunados habían sido en vida, no era razón que fuesen espartidos en la muerte, a lo menos en el lugar de la sepultura (*Crónica*, pág. 136).

Que es bondadoso y virtuoso:

[6] En todo se mostró a mi ver este beatísimo señor generoso y mañánimo y ser todas sus cosas más que érvicas [prob. ‘heróicas’] y afábiles por su perfección infinita (*Crónica*, pág. 163).

Y extremadamente atento a las necesidades de sus súbditos, especialmente de los pobres y necesitados; por ejemplo, para abastecer de agua a la ciudad:

[7] [...] viendo este mañánimo rey la gran falta que había de agua para beber en Costandina y que pasaba la gente por ello trabajo, determinó de traer las aguas de este río (*Crónica*, pág. 143).

²⁰ La Rosa (m. 1558) de las crónicas europeas, fue la única esposa legal de Solimán I.

Para facilitar las comunicaciones:

[8] [...] por beneficiar a los que de ellas tienen utilidad, que comúnmente participan toda suerte de gente, como fueron sus últimas fraguas de maratas y fuentes y puentes y calzadas infinitas. Y más propriamente fue su principal intención socorer los pobres y necesitados, y así al respecto en otros tales (*Crónica*, pág. 160).

Suministrarles alimentos:

[9] Y de aquí sale comida para muchos pobres que ordinariamente van cada día a tomar su ración, afueras los estraordinarios, tantos cuantos se ofrecen, que le dan dos veces el día muy abundantemente de comer (*Crónica*, pág. 139).

Velar por su salud:

[10] [...] donde son proveídos [...] de todo lo necesario de médicos y boticarios que el rey tiene propriados allí con su ulafá [tc. 'paga, salario'], y así de medicinas de compuestos y simples de los mejores que son elegidos para la propia persona del rey (*Crónica*, pág. 139).

O, incluso, proporcionarles educación:

[11] Y este gran señor [...] hizo estos cuatro estudios grandes y universales [...] hay ordinariamente muchos oyentes y muy ecelentes estudiantes y sabios [...]. Lo que se lee en ellos [...] es comúnmente lo que ellos llaman *fic* [tc. 'jurisprudencia canónica'], que es la justicia legal [...] y de camino leen la gramática que conviene saber para entender sus escrituras, mezclado con alguna parte de lógica [...]. Y otro quinto estudio [...] en el cual se lee la teología de ellos [...] y ordenó otro sexto estudio que se lee en él medicina, y de camino alguna parte de física, para que multiplican los médicos en su corte y reino y que con el tiempo no tengan necesidad de servirse de estraños (*Crónica*, págs. 140-142).

Obtenemos así una imagen estereotipada que parece indicarnos cuáles serían los atributos del monarca «ideal», pero alejada de la realidad, ya que sabemos que el imperio de la tiranía, el despotismo y la crueldad, como manifestaciones primordiales del poder, se cebaron en los allegados del sultán. Existe un desfase objetivo entre realidad y ficción en este particular.

4.3. *Atributos negativos*

Entre los atributos negativos que se aplican a Solimán, la codicia y la crueldad captan el interés del autor. Aunque una sola vez se le tacha de codicioso:

[12] Y fue el caso que [...] estando este rey pasado [Solimán] en Macnasia²¹ siendo príncipe en mucha necesidad de dinero, pasando la hazná [tc. ‘hacienda, tesoro’] que venía de Miśráyim [hb. ‘Egipto’] para Costandina, puño mano en ella y tomó la cantidad que le era necesario para suplir a su despesa. Empero como el rey sultán Selim su padre era celoño de coña que se pudiese por alguna vía sospechar que tocaba al estado de su reinado, pareciéndole que era aquello desobediencia y principio de querer en el reino reñellar, recelando no procediese al delante, determinó de matarlo (*Crónica*, pág. 79).

Con todo, Almosnino justifica su actuación diciendo que tenía «mucha necesidad de dinero» y que lo hizo porque lo necesitaba, «para suplir su despesa».

El miedo en el entorno palaciego era proverbial en Constantinopla. Fratricidio, parricidio o infanticidio eran prácticas habituales inherentes al ejercicio del poder con el fin de asegurar «su reino y su persona» (*Crónica*, pág. 98), como dice el propio Almosnino. Pero lo que llama poderosamente la atención es que nadie se rebelara ante esa situación.²²

Por lo que respecta a la crueldad, aunque son muchos los fragmentos que podríamos invocar, destacaremos tres por su especial virulencia: el asesinato de su hijo mayor, Mustafá, el de su visir favorito, Ibrahim Pachá, y el de «sus hijos y nietos».

[13] Y como se escandelizó todo el pópulo [it. ‘pueblo’] en extremo y estaba toda la gente alborotada por la muerte de este príncipe, pareciéndoles coña enorme indebida y sin justicia por el estremado amor y la reverencia que todos le tenían, juzgando y diciendo públicamente que a él convenía el reino y era más merecedor dél que ninguno de sus hermanos, no pudiendo uno osando hablar cuenta el rey, hablaban a altas voças cuenta Rustam Paçhá,²³ que a la sazón era olí visir [tc. ‘gran visir’], pareciéndoles haber seído él la cavsa y perdiéndole la vergüenza, tanto que recelando el rey que

²¹ Magnesia, pequeña localidad cercana a Esmirna (Turquía).

²² Como señaló Bunes Ibarra (1989: 313, nota 176).

²³ Rüstem Pachá (m. 1561), gran visir durante el gobierno de Solimán I.

no le pusiesen las manos, que según se afirma no lo dejaran de hacer, mostró furia fingida cuenta él y lo privó de su estado; y puso a Aḥmat Pačhá²⁴ en su lugar por quietar la gente a la sazón, por ser dicho Aḥmat Pačhá el que mostró tener a dicho príncipe amor y amistad. Y con esto quedaron algo satisfechos y quietos, pareciéndoles que el rey se había fallado arrepentido de lo hecho (*Crónica*, pág. 66).

[...]

[14] Y porque tenía dada su palabra y espreso juramento, como habemos dicho, que no lo podía matar aunque se descubriese en él gravísima culpa por lo cual lo mereciese, demandó secretamente a su *muftí* [tc. 'jurisconsulto musulmán'], que es el mayor doctor de su ley, que buscasse qué remedio había para matar a uno que había jurado de no matar y merecía mil muertes por razón y justicia. A lo cual dicen que respondió el muftí que lo podía matar estando durmiendo, queriendo decir que como el sueño es parte de muerte, a matar un hombre durmiendo es matar al matado (*Crónica*, págs. 99-100).

[...]

[15] Porque allende de todo lo que de él habemos dicho y mucho más que dejamos de decir ni ninguno podrá acabar, se mostró su estremada y sacra virtud y ser todas sus cosas y intenciones purificadas a fin de puro bien, sin mistión de ninguna otra intención estrínseca en mostrarse tan cruelísimo carnicero en la carne de sus propios hijos y nietos, no solo los grandes de edad, que se podía sospechar o presumir que por serles desobedientes lo hacía, sino que también a los nietos inocentes mandó matar; donde mostró ser su sincera intención por pacificar y quietar el reino para que quedase sin recelo de lo que se temía con razón: que quedando dos a quien pretendiese el estado, viniesen a padecer sus súditos inpotentes para poder resistir; que fue cierto cosa y obra érvica, digna de perpetua memoria y felice fama y eterna gloria (*Crónica*, págs. 164-165).

El hecho que describe en el primer fragmento se justifica por boca del pueblo, que Almoynino secunda: «Pareciéndoles cosa enorme indebida y sin justicia [...] pareciéndoles que el rey se había fallado arrepentido de lo hecho». En el segundo se utiliza una argucia legal: «Como el sueño es parte de muerte, a matar un hombre durmiendo es matar al matado»; y en el último, aún reconociendo que el sultán es un auténtico «cruelísimo carnicero», lo justifica en aras de «por pacificar y quietar el reino», la meta por excelencia de todo gobernante.

²⁴ Ahmed Paşa Kara (m. 1555), gran visir durante el gobierno de Solimán I.

4.4. *Valoración*

La *Crónica* está contenida en un manuscrito aljamiado; por tanto, deducimos que es una obra pensada para uso entre los sefardíes. ¿Trataba Almosnino de adular al monarca, como hicieron otros escritores de la época, tanto cristianos como judíos, mediante dedicatorias y panegíricos difíciles de justificar, pero en los que subyacía la necesidad de ganar el favor de los poderosos? Directamente, no. De hecho, su redacción tuvo lugar en un momento delicado, mientras se estaban negociando en la corte los impuestos para Salónica. Estas negociaciones, en las que Almosnino participó, se revelaron largas y durísimas; en ellas hubieron de soportar incluso el maltrato físico. Por tanto, si las circunstancias eran radicalmente adversas, ¿es justificable su tono admirativo?

Hemos dicho, además, que la obra no llegó a publicarse en vida del autor, sino mucho después y en un contexto radicalmente diferente; por tanto, deducimos que no llegó a ejercer influencia directa alguna entre sus coetáneos, o que, al menos, esta influencia se redujo a un círculo privilegiado de lectores, a quienes con frecuencia cita y entre los que se encuentra el celeberrimo Yosef Nasí.²⁵ Lo que sí está claro es que, para redactarla, Almosnino se sirvió de sus contactos entre esa élite sefardí cercana al monarca.

5. La lealtad al monarca: posibles interpretaciones

Para justificar el tono de Almosnino haremos tres reflexiones previas.

En primer lugar, la admiración ante la Sublime Puerta no es una constante exclusiva de los autores judíos, pues idéntico tratamiento admirativo utilizan, no solo las fuentes coetáneas turcas, sino las occidentales. Sin embargo, la posición de Almosnino es única: vive como turco los entresijos de la política de su país, pero, en tanto sefardí, es un hombre europeo desde el punto de vista cultural; se erige en puente entre dos culturas, entre dos formas de entender la suprema misión de gobernar. De hecho, ninguno de los más conocidos cronistas o viajeros contemporáneos reunía ambas condiciones, ni entre los cristianos —por ejemplo, el autor del *Via-*

²⁵ A propósito de este célebre personaje, con relación a Almosnino, *vid.* Romeu (2004).

je de Turquía, el cronista Díaz Tanco, o el embajador Busbecq—²⁶ ni entre los judíos que ya hemos mencionado.

En segundo lugar, el *gan 'eden* (hb. 'paraíso') que describe Almosnino tiene sus raíces en el ideal de belleza renacentista. El espíritu renacentista influyó y afectó a los judíos hasta en el modo de concebir la vida, aunque fue en Italia donde mayor resonancia tuvo —Mantua fue el centro del movimiento de introducción del espíritu humanista en la enseñanza judía—,²⁷ pues, dado el estrecho contacto de los judíos y conversos italianos con los judíos de Salónica, los aires nuevos se dejaron sentir allí. Muchísimos intelectuales llegaron con ese bagaje a Salónica desde Italia: Samuel de Medina, Amatus Lusitanus, las familias de impresores Soncino y Bat-Šeba'... En este sentido, Almosnino se dejó influenciar por esa corriente y se sumó a ellos, reuniendo plenamente las condiciones de «intelectual a la moderna».

En tercer lugar, descartemos por idealista la impresión de que los judíos salieron de España e inmediatamente sintieron añoranza.²⁸ Al contrario, se integraron rápida y plenamente en un contexto social y político diferente y nuevo para ellos, esforzándose en convertirse en unos súbditos más de ese imperio que integraba un puzle de naciones. Solo en este discurso cabe la descripción de Almosnino: mirando al futuro y no al pasado, instando por su plena integración en la nueva sociedad otomana.

Por otra parte, desde el punto de vista literario, la obra de Almosnino se justificaría plenamente por comparación con obras coetáneas similares: al tiempo que recoge la tradición renacentista, con su mirada puesta en la Antigüedad clásica —a través de la cual los judíos llegaron a conocer mejor su propio pasado judeo-helenístico—, reafirma su posición como sabio judío en el seno de esta sociedad.

Seguramente, la clave para justificar esta admiración de Almosnino hacia el sultán reside en la necesidad de probar la legitimidad de la actuación soberana sin perturbar su conciencia judía. La preocupación por la legitimidad ha sido una constante en el mundo judío —desde la de Moisés hasta la de la propia existencia del actual Estado de Israel, pasando por la cadena de tradición de los sabios de la Mišná— y tiene que ver con la

²⁶ El *Viaje de Turquía* (García Salinero 1980), con las salvedades hechas a su autenticidad; sobre este extremo, *vid.* Mas (1967 I: 105-155); también Díaz Tanco (1947) y Busbequio (1610).

²⁷ Roth (1959: 312).

²⁸ Añoranza muchas veces idealizada en las llaves que decían poseer de sus casas de la Península; *vid.* Romeu (2020: 263-295).

concepción religiosa del mundo. Hay un caso sumamente llamativo, el del médico y rabino targarino Abraham Salom de Tárrega (siglo xv), que llega a refrendar la expulsión que decretaron los reyes Isabel y Fernando:

[16] Pues es indigno proceder por parte de un rey, por el mero hecho de ser rey, el conservar a una nación si no es de la misma religión, dado que el rey debe ser un factor que preserva a la religión y no un factor que la destruye. Y como la religión de aquella nación [los judíos] es diferente de la de la nación del rey, este tiene el deber de destruirlos. Pues la finalidad del rey es unir al pueblo de su reino y lograr que todas las opiniones coincidan con las suyas, y que no estén en desacuerdo con él (Kaplan 1996: 61).

En realidad, a la actuación soberana se le confiere solo un poder «temporal». Por esencia, el reino ideal judío pertenece a la esfera «espiritual» (*Y en sus días de los reyes estos alevantara el Dio de los cielos reyno que para siempre no sera dañado y reyno a pueblo otro non sera dexado, Daniel 2: 44*),²⁹ porque el único y verdadero soberano es Dios.

En el caso de Almosnino ante la Sublime Puerta, la legitimidad no opera en función del reconocimiento de la ley, sino de la lealtad personal. Esta lealtad y el respeto al poder establecido son también constantes que encontramos en los textos de los autores judíos y judaizantes hispanoportugueses de los siglos xvi y xvii, como han puesto de relieve los Profs. Díaz Esteban (1999 II: 498-503) y Den Boer (1996: 57-65), y es en ese contexto donde debemos encajar al autor.

6. En resumen

Almosnino fue un hombre de su tiempo, un rabino cabal de sólida formación humanista, cuya posición le permitió entrar en contacto con la élite sefardí del entorno de la Sublime Puerta. A su ruego escribió una *Crónica* en cuatro libros en los que plasma, entre otras cosas, su personal visión del entorno del Gran Señor.

Esta obra de Almosnino debe analizarse teniendo en cuenta otras obras judías y no judías de la época, pues presenta coincidencias con ellas que no pueden ser consideradas aisladamente, sino formando parte de una tradición enraizada tanto en la judía como en la renacentista cristiana.

²⁹ Versículo tomado de la *Biblia de Ferrara* (1553).

Hemos examinado sucintamente su percepción de la figura del sultán como detentador del caudillaje y hemos constatado que la lealtad y el respeto que manifiesta frente al poder establecido son constantes que podríamos relacionar con las propias de los textos literarios de los siglos xv al xvii, tanto de los autores judíos y judaizantes hispanoportugueses como de los no judíos, en cuyo contexto debe ser estudiada la obra histórica de Almosnino.

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EL TRADUCTOR-PROLOGUISTA EN EL POLISISTEMA LITERARIO OTOMANO-SEFARDÍ

Michael STUEMUND-HALÉVY

1. No hay libro sin prefacio

La inclusión en una obra de un prefacio del traductor reúne, en apariencia, la virtud de la cortesía junto con un afán didáctico, ya que el autor del mismo actúa en calidad de divulgador y educador que trata de guiar la lectura hacia un punto determinado y de animar al lector a seguir leyendo. En él pueden mezclarse desde opiniones, sentimientos, testimonios y consideraciones sobre la obra traducida hasta preguntas sobre el estatus del traductor, el papel de la traducción, su práctica y su lugar dentro del sistema literario o la función y la importancia de la literatura en la sociedad, además de reflexiones sobre la lengua desde la que se ha traducido y sobre la muerte o pervivencia del idioma al que ha sido vertido su texto.¹

En algunas ocasiones, este tipo de prefacios pueden ser utilizados por los investigadores como documentos de historia cultural y sociológica de la literatura, en sus intentos de recabar información sobre el proceso de traducción, sus normas o la postura ideológica de los traductores, revelándose útiles para valorar la influencia y repercusión de un texto en polisis-

¹ En lo sucesivo, cuando usemos prologuista nos estaremos refiriendo al traductor-prologuista.

temas literarios concretos, además de para analizar su dependencia del campo literario y artístico (Even-Zohar 1990; Genette 2001; Sardin 2007). Por un lado, ofrecen pistas sobre la visión que tienen los traductores acerca de su propio papel cultural y, por otro, muestran cómo el prefacio se convierte en un simple pretexto para saciar las aspiraciones y motivaciones del lector. Dado que, en lo que respecta a la literatura sefardí, no disponemos de estudios sobre epitextos referidos a ella —reseñas, entrevistas al autor, manuscritos anotados, memorias, correspondencia privada o diarios, catálogos de editoriales que nos proporcionen información sobre el contenido de la obra, etc.—, necesariamente tenemos que basarnos en todos los numerosos peritextos posibles que sirven como mediación entre la obra y el lector y para difundirla.²

El corpus de estudio que se ha manejado abarca, en concreto, 376 traducciones al judezmo —narrativa y drama— publicadas desde Viena hasta Izmir (Esmirna), reflejando la rica producción literaria en dicha lengua desde 1880 hasta 1940. A partir de ellas, hemos conseguido recopilar un corpus de 77 traducciones prefaciadas por sus traductores (Genette 2001; Sardin 2007; Taverna 2011; Hartama-Heinonen 1995).³

2. Los prefacios

El prefacio de un traductor debe ser considerado como un vínculo entre el autor, la obra y el lector para difundir su comprensión a los lectores. Lo poco que sabemos de los traductores y sus traducciones es lo que ellos comparten con nosotros exclusivamente en sus preámbulos (*prefasyon, prefasa, prefas, introduksyon, egzamen del libro, remarka*). Lo más usual es que el prologuista comente su propia traducción y nos muestre sus intenciones, motivaciones y estrategias —«Motivos i impulsos ke for-

² Tales como: cubierta, formato, nombre del autor, seudónimo, título, subtítulo, portada y contraportada, página de título, página dedicatoria, prefacio, advertencias, epílogo, poemas laudatorios, editor, tipógrafo y corrector, etc.

³ Según Ellen McRae (2012), que analizó los prólogos e introducciones de un corpus de 800 obras de ficción traducidas al inglés —solo el 20 % incluye algún tipo de prefacio—, llegó a la conclusión de que su función principal era promover el entendimiento mutuo entre culturas. Otras funciones secundarias descubiertas son la sensibilización de los lectores sobre el papel de los traductores y la mediación de estos en el texto original.

saron al autor or al trezladador de publikar esta or akelya ovra»—;⁴ y tampoco es raro que aproveche la oportunidad de desviarse del texto para ir un poco más allá del supuesto tema de su discurso y argumentar en apoyo de una causa más amplia, puede que totalmente diferente, pidiendo apoyo en la lucha por sus objetivos (pretexto para una manifestación): «Nos enpenyamos gastos solo i solo por kerer prokurar a kada kompartizano i a kada judyo, ke rekonose i save apresyar el lavoro penivle de sus luchadores nasyonales i pionires kultureles».⁵

Cuando el traductor (*trezladador*; *trezlador*) coloca un prefacio al frente de su obra traducida, por escueto que sea —«En kada ovraje i en kada trezlado es uzo de azer un prefasyo»—,⁶ hablamos de un alógrafo; sin embargo, si la traducción es el resultado de intervenciones masivas (omisiones) en el texto por parte del traductor o pseudotraductor (traducción ficticia), se trata de un prefacio autorial. El nombre del traductor o adaptador aparece en la última página del prólogo y es muy raro que lo termine con el título de «traductor», como hacen, por ejemplo, H. L. y M. B. en la novela *Los ke sufren por el onor (trezladadores)*.⁷ En muy contadas ocasiones, el traductor se identifica parcialmente mediante las iniciales de sus nombre y apellido [H. L., M. B., B. N., B. K.],⁸ se esconde detrás de un anagrama o *anonym* [Nirlafar = Rafael Farin]⁹ o se encubre (o se defiende) en un prefacio ficticio.¹⁰ Su obra puede ser producto de un individuo o, más raramente, de un equipo [*los trezladadores*],¹¹ y algunas veces añade los datos de su lugar de residencia y la fecha de realización [Jacob David Baruh, Kyustendil; Sofía, abril 1895].¹² Son una excepción las traducciones en las que aparecen varios prefacios, como, por ejemplo, en la

⁴ *Yveja-Nueva Tyera* [Theodor Herzl] (Plovdiv 1908: 1), reed. Studemund-Halévy y Collin (2014).

⁵ *Neshef Purim* [Nisim Natan Katalan] (Kazanlık 1909/10), reed. Studemund-Halévy y Collin (2014).

⁶ *Yveja-Nueva Tyera* 1.

⁷ *Los ke sufren por el onor* [Henri Conscience] (Tatar Bazardjik 1894), reed. Studemund-Halévy y Stulic (2015).

⁸ *La Deskonsolada* [Benjamin Barbé] (Plovdiv 1898), reed. Studemund-Halévy y Filiz Subaşı 2021).

⁹ *El Amor Victorioso*, comedia en tres actos por Nirlafar [= Rafael Farin] (Shumla 1924, MS), reed. Studemund-Halévy y Collin (2014).

¹⁰ *Kondanado o salvado por su ija o la Bilya dela muerte* [Mark Twain] (Izmir 1909/1910 o 1913).

¹¹ *La Deskonsolada* (Plovdiv 1898).

¹² *Los Dezventurozos* [Jacob David Baruh] (Sofía 1899), reed. Studemund-Halévy y Stulic 2015.

novela *La Deskonsolada*: con un prefacio alógrafo de los traductores [B. N., B. K], otro alógrafo auténtico [*Alexandre Dumas fils*] y un tercero autorial [Benjamin Barbé] de la edición original.¹³ Por último, cabe destacar que un prolífico traductor e ‘imitador’ de novelas como Aleksandr b. Giat tan solo reconoce una vez la obra original de la que procede su traducción: «Romanzo de Bernardin de San Pier imitado del frances por Aleksandr b. Giat».

El prefacio se caracteriza por ser breve —entre unos pocos párrafos y un máximo de ocho páginas— y casi exclusivamente precede a la novela, mucho más raramente al drama y casi nunca a las novelas publicadas en la prensa sefardí. Generalmente es monolingüe, aunque en los textos religiosos ocasionalmente pueda ser bilingüe (hebreo-judezmo)¹⁴ y una vez, incluso, aparezca en forma rimada: «Alegravos ermanos el meldador i el oidor i akosta nuestras orejas asentir los milagros ke mos izo nuestro kriador».¹⁵ Su inclusión no parece deberse al puro azar; en todo caso, las razones por las que a ciertos libros se les pusieron prefacios y a otros no son indiscernibles.¹⁶ Traductores tan prolíficos como Shelomo Israel She-rezli renunciaron siempre a él, mientras que Aleksandr b. Giat introdujo de vez en cuando un largo preámbulo, llamándolo «egzamen del livro».¹⁷ A veces, la necesidad de traducir mucho y rápidamente llevó a la realización de transcripciones colectivas, especialmente para los grandes ciclos de novelas; las mismas eran normalmente obra de hombres, muy raramente de mujeres: una de las pocas excepciones es la de la traductora Sara Siman Tov, nacida en Sérres, a la que el editor Benjamin R. b. Yosef menciona explícitamente en el prefacio de su traducción de la novela: «Tradusido por una sinyorita, kon la intensyon ke otras segyeran el eshemplo de la sinyorita Sara Siman Tov».¹⁸

El prologuista se dirige explícitamente a su público lector —«Ala dju-ventud, al puvliko, a mis korelijyonaryos, a nuestros fieles i lektors i lektrises, al publiko, karos konlutantes, a mis keridos lektors i lektorisas, a los ombres solo»—; busca el reconocimiento de sus lectores a cualquier

¹³ *La Deskonsolada* (Plovdiv 1898).

¹⁴ *Una mirada a los syelos o La puerta de la astronomia, para el uzo de las eskolas de los djudyos* (Kostandina 1849/1850).

¹⁵ *Sefer Alegria de Purim* [Yosef Shabtay haKohen Farhi] (Livorno 1902: 2).

¹⁶ Genette (2001); Dimitriu (2009); McRae (2012); Tahir-Gürçağlar (2002).

¹⁷ *El burako del infyerno* (Jerusalén 1911).

¹⁸ *Pol i Virjini*, «romanso trezladado del franses» por Sara Siman Tov de Seres [Jacques Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre] (Estambul 1901); *Pavlo i Virjiniah* (Jerusalén 1911/12).

precio y les agradece la confianza —«Enkorajado por el benevolente akolyo ke los sinyores i sinyoras akordan syempre a mis eskritos, me enkoraji a emprender la impresyon de este livro ke por seguro ara plazer a todos los lektores»—;¹⁹ llama la atención tanto sobre las cualidades de su libro —«Es un ovraje util i agradable»— como sobre su traducción; menciona el precio bajo —«Kon la chika suma de una lira»—; declara a los lectores su intención y motivación —«Es mi dezeo por meter en estampa algo de loke trezladi de las istoryas del mundo ke se topan estampadas en la avla nemtseska»—;²⁰ da las razones por las que ha traducido el libro al judezmo —«Nuestras orasyones son dichas en lingua ebrea, lingua ke elyos ignoran kumplidamente [...] en la epoka prezente ke el sintimyento relidjyozo esta byen aflakado i floshe»—;²¹ informa sobre la historia del desarrollo de su traducción y, por supuesto, busca el reconocimiento de sus lectores a cualquier precio —«Grasyas en ojos de mis si' ermanos— השם ישמר —los moradores dela Turkia ke avlan la avla eshpanyola [...] i por elyo avlo la avla eshpanyola savida atodos»—;²² no olvida señalar que se trata de un primer intento de traducción o publicación —«Meter en estampa este livriko chiko por una prova»—;²³ pide subscripciones por adelantado para poder publicar el libro —«Espero presto de resivir pronumarantes bastantes por poder presto meter en estampa el primo numero»—;²⁴ invita a comprarlo y leerlo —«En la englena de noche de alhad kon el fildjan de kave i kon el chibuk lo podran melder»—²⁵ y se dirige a sus futuros lectores pidiéndoles que se suscriban a la serie completa de inmediato —«El abonamyento kostara tres flor[in]es en esvantsikes al anyo i el porto dela poshta aparte»—.²⁶ Por último, si al lector no le gusta el libro,

¹⁹ *Poezias relidjyozas delas santas fyestas tradusidos [i] en espanyol ala intisyon delos sinyores i sinyoras ke no konosen el ebreo, editado por Eliya R. Karmona, direktor del jurnal «El Djugeton» (Estambul 1930).*

²⁰ *Napoleon [Primo] i el Ba'al Shem, tresladado del nemtsesko en eshpanyol del menor Shem Tov b. David Shabtai Shem (Viena 1864: 1), vid. Hein (1870).*

²¹ *Traduksyon libre de 35 poezias ebraikas de Rosh haShana, Kipur i Selihot, echo por Reuven Elia Israel (Rodes 1922; 1931).*

²² *Napoleon Primo i el Ba'al Shem (Viena 1864: 1).*

²³ *Ibidem.*

²⁴ *Ibidem; vid. Jak Loria, Dreyfus. Drama en sinko aktos i un apoteoz (Sofia 1903: 58-59).*

²⁵ *Ibidem.*

²⁶ *Ibidem.*

le aconseja: quémelo —«Ken kere ke los lea i los apresie, i ken no, los keme i esparza sus seniza al ayre»—. ²⁷

El prologuista ni siquiera siente la necesidad de declarar que él es el autor del texto prologado, porque el autor del prefacio es (casi) siempre el autor de la traducción y, para él, los límites entre la autoría y la traducción se vuelven borrosos; y raramente nos dice si es traductor-creador, traductor-filólogo, traductor profesional o traductor aficionado. Son muy pocas las ocasiones en las que el texto ostenta un prefacio que no esté escrito por el traductor. Como ejemplo, el editor Yosef Vidal Andjel pidió al autor Shemu'el Sa'adia Halevi que contribuyese con un breve prefacio autorial a su propio libro *La flama asendida*: «Me demandas de eskrivir una prefas para la chika ovra “Flama asendida” ke yo tuvi embarado oy djunto kuarto anyos i un mes, en agosto 1917, pokos dias despues del fuego ke destruyo Selanik». ²⁸

Cuando el traductor incluye un prefacio compuesto por él mismo, en cierto modo se considera autor (o coautor), entiende la obra como su propia creación (modo de apropiación) y asume oficialmente su paternidad, detrás de la cual desaparecen, por supuesto, el nombre del creador de la misma, el título original y la procedencia de la fuente, mientras que sí figura el suyo (*trezladado, adaptado, adaptado fidelmente, adaptasyon popularya, adaptasyon parfekta, imitasyon, reeskrito*). Así, el traductor Eliyahu Shem Tov Arditi, redactor administrador de la revista *La Epoka Literaria*, elogia efusivamente a la autora de la novela *La Madrasta* como «selebre eskrividera italyana ya konosida i apresyada en el mundo entero», ²⁹ pero oculta su nombre, Carolina Invernizio, muy apreciada por los lectores sefardíes por sus *romansos sosyales*. Igualmente, y aunque hasta once obras de Marcus Lehmann han sido traducidas al judezmo una o más veces, tan solo tres ediciones mencionan su autoría (Cimeli 2009; Cohen 2021); Shem Tov Semo de Viena, traductor del cuento *Napoleon Primo i el Ba'al Shem*, al menos nos informa, en la segunda página de su traducción, sobre sus fuentes —nombre del editor, lugar de publicación y título de la colección en la que encontró su texto—: «Treslado delos Sipurim de Praga adjunta-

²⁷ *Poezias* [Moshe David Gaon] (Jerusalén 1925).

²⁸ *Flama asendida* [Shemu'el Sa'adia Halevi] (Salónica 1921/22).

²⁹ *La Madrasta* [Carolina Invernizio] (Salónica 1902). Varias de sus novelas han sido traducidas al judezmo, por ejemplo, *La Pekadora* [*La Alborada* (Sarajevo) I, 1900 ff. [*La peccatrice* 1895]; *Las viktimas del amor* (Salónica 1909/10) [*Le vittime dell'amore*, Firenze 1889], etc.; vid. Ponchione y Saracco (2011).

do detras la prizyon de Napoleon i su muerte en Sankt Helena»;³⁰ los lectores de la tragedia *Itsig el korolado, sena dela trajedia Graf de Sharolé* nunca sabrán el nombre de su autor, el poeta austriaco Richard Beer-Hofmann;³¹ y Baruh Mitrani se niega a decirnos que el *savyo fransez* mencionado en la portada de su novelita *Eliezer o Nephtali* es el novelista y fabulista francés Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian.³²

Los prefacios suelen incluir referencias explícitas a los destinatarios, por ejemplo, dirigiéndose de modo explícito a su supuesto público: «Alos djovenos de mi edad, me ago un plazer de prezenstar oy estos modestos folyos»;³³ a mis korelidjyonaryos,³⁴ etc.». El prologuista concede gran importancia a la lectura de su texto —«Se roga la akdama de la meldar»—,³⁵ porque todo cuanto tiene que decir le parece de suma importancia para su público lector —«En verdad, todo loke diremos, tyene lugar para los lektores sefaradim»—,³⁶ toda vez que él se dirige directamente, y muy seguro de sus conocimientos lingüísticos y literarios, al lector en general. Al redactarlo, rara vez se olvida de añadir algunas aclaraciones útiles para orientar y sensibilizar a los lectores: «Primo ensenyar a todos la istorya. I segundo, divirtirlos en mizmo tyempo»;³⁷ justifica la selección de la obra y del autor: «Es un romanso ke puede meterse sin ningun espanto entre las manos de todas las familias, syendo el es limpyo i trajiko»;³⁸ se dirige a un público juvenil para reforzar el sentimiento nacional: «Semejantes romansos traeran grande provecho a los mansevos djudyos, en los kualos es menester ke se arebiba el sintimyento de nasyonalidad»;³⁹ él mismo clasifica su traducción como un *trezlado libero*, es decir, como adaptación intencionada, imitación y otras formas de importación literaria, y explica (en contadas ocasiones) la génesis del texto o destaca su importancia.

Ocasionalmente, los prefacios nos ofrecen también alguna escasa información sobre su motivación abiertamente egoísta y vana, aspirando al

³⁰ *Napoleon Primo i el Ba'al Shem* (Viena 1864).

³¹ *Itsig el korolado* [Richard Beer-Hofmann, *Graf von Charolais*, Viena 1905], *Rayos* I, 1, 1909; vid. Cristina Martínez Gálvez, *El periodismo sefardí ante su público*. Tesis doctoral, Universidad de Valencia, 2012, 119, nota 3.

³² *Eliezer i Naftali* [Baruh Mitrani] (Presburgo 1881).

³³ *Sharmes de Patria. Novella* [I. Burla] (Jerusalén 1927).

³⁴ *Traduksyon libre* (Rodes 1922; 1930/1931).

³⁵ *Napoleon Primo i el Ba'al Shem* (Viena 1864).

³⁶ *Yyeja-Nueva Tyera* (Plovdiv 1908).

³⁷ *Los memoares de la familia de David, romansos istorikos rekojidos segun la teoria Rekkendorf* [Abraham M. Tadjer], vol. 2 (Sofía 1899: 7).

³⁸ *Pol i Virjini* (Salónica 1911/12).

³⁹ *Los memoares*, vol. 2 (Sofía 1899).

reconocimiento de la comunidad científica: «Me da la esperansa ke propio savyos de Aostria, ke pasan por sus manos modos i modos de livros i manuskritos antigos, kuando la meldaran dita istorya rekonoseran mi lavoro»;⁴⁰ el prologuista solicita reconocimiento del público lector: «Kon el espanto ke non sere agradecido amis siniores leedores»;⁴¹ o está orgulloso de traducir a un autor, debido a su relativa fama y reconocimiento entre los sefardíes: «Selebre Viktor Hugo, el maestro dela literatura franseza».⁴²

3. Los traductores

En su calidad de «Pueblo del Libro», los traductores sefardíes querían ser reconocidos y respetados por otros pueblos: «Si queremos representar el *Pueblo del Libro* i ser preciados i respetados de otras naciones, entonces debemos dar a nuestro pueblo antes de todo *mantenimiento* intelectual».⁴³ Observaban con envidia a los judíos alemanes, su educación y su literatura, y querían emular su conocimiento de los libros: «Muestros ermanos los Eshkenazim estan siempre mas adelantados si en muestra ley o si en lashon hakodesh por razon ke de mucho tyempo elyos se akavidaron de azer todo modo de livro en lashon hakodesh i en sus elguengas [jargon]».⁴⁴ Para ganarse ese respeto, es decir, para poder estar a la altura de los asquenazíes, los turcos, los griegos, los armenios o los búlgaros en la producción literaria, los traductores se dedicaron especialmente a la traducción del canon literario europeo, con la finalidad de modernizar o, incluso, europeizar las literaturas nacionales, de proporcionar un mayor acceso a la literatura mundial y, claro está, dar forma a una nueva cultura estética judía a partir de fuentes ajenas: «No topimos mijor alyuda por arivar a este eskopo, ke kon el trezlado de livros ajenos».⁴⁵

El periodista Moise Franco se lamentaba de que no hubiera autores profesionales entre los judíos de Turquía y que los pocos que había fueran,

⁴⁰ *Güerta de Istorya* 1874, 2, col. A.

⁴¹ *La famia misterioza* [Jakim Behar] (Viena 1889: 3).

⁴² *Los vagabundos de Paris* [Victor Hugo], *El Meseret* VIII, 7, 1903/04: 3.

⁴³ *Jedermann. Or la vida de la persona, sus vicios, sus iluciones y sus desiluciones* (Sofía 1933) [Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Jedermann*, Berlín 1911].

⁴⁴ *Sefer hadash harishon. Kuentos de Yerushalayim, estampadas en tres lenguas* [David Bohor Yehuda b. Yehuda Nisim] (Jerusalén 1923); Cohen 2021: 218, nr. 1075.

⁴⁵ *Los ke sufren por el onor* (Tatar Bazardjik 1894), reed. Studemund-Halévy y Stulic (2015).

en su inmensa mayoría, jóvenes que ganaban su dinero como comerciantes y únicamente traducían libros para su propio placer. Para él, el traductor era un *amador* (traductor aficionado o debido a la oportunidad) que solo se había dedicado a esa actividad en una o dos ocasiones a lo largo de toda su vida, siendo las excepciones Ben-Zion Taragan y Shelomo Yisrael Sherezli, figuras clave en la difusión de la cultura judezma a principios del siglo xx, además de los vieneses [Alexander] Shem Tov Semo y sus hijos Moshe Haim y Aharon Shem Tov Semo o Isaak David Florentin de Salónica. El récord de textos traducidos, adaptados o reescritos lo ostenta el editor, novelista, dramaturgo, traductor y autoadaptador Aleksandr b. Giat, que, supuestamente, tradujo, adaptó o copió más de cincuenta novelas entre 1902 y 1914.

Un problema que emergió muy rápidamente fue el de la escasez de traductores adecuadamente formados para llevar a cabo el trabajo, por lo que cada nueva traducción sirvió para ir llenando ese vacío. El traductor solía ser un rabino o un profesor de religión (*maestro*) en una escuela judía, los miembros de un círculo literario (*los amantes de la lectura*),⁴⁶ el editor de un periódico (*redaktor-editor*), como Shem Tov Semo y David Fresco, o libreros e impresores (*estampadores*) como Efraim Melamed o Shelomo Yisrael Sherezli. Los traductores del tipo de Sherezli, Giat, Taragan y Florentin no estaban preocupados por la lengua judezma o la transmisión de la historia y la cultura sefardí, ni mucho menos por la educación y la moral de sus lectores. A diferencia de ellos, los autores y traductores búlgaros se preocuparon por el desarrollo del judezmo y por la contribución de la traducción para la formación de una lengua literaria.

Ya fuera traductor, periodista o editor, el prologuista se veía a sí mismo como un empresario cultural, un agente de traducción que combinaba varias funciones y hacía uso de sus diversas profesiones y de su papel de intermediario para lograr sus objetivos culturales, utilizando sus habilidades para influir en la selección de opciones para el repertorio cultural (Strauss 1994; Yağcı 2011, 2019; Demircioğlu 2005; Eruz 2010; Mignon 2021: xxii-xxiii).

4. Una literatura de traducción

Los principales impulsores del fenómeno del *boom* de la literatura sefardita en la década de 1880 solían ser los traductores. En efecto, a par-

⁴⁶ *Bukyeto de Istorias* (Viena 1904).

tir de ese momento, la literatura en lengua judezma se presentó como propia de la traducción, es decir, de adaptación de obras europeas en términos de inspiración, influencia o modelos de imitación. La dependencia de fuentes en lengua extranjera se convirtió en una característica de la ficción sefardí que tendía a recibir influencias más que a ejercerlas (Borovaya 2003; Kacprzak 2022). No importaba por donde se comenzara, en todo caso, había que copiar a los extranjeros o, más exactamente, había que traducirlos. Así, la tarea era simplemente satisfacer las necesidades de una literatura joven, de poner en uso su recién fundada (o renovada) lengua para el mayor número posible de tipos literarios, con el fin de hacerla funcional como lengua literaria y útil para un público emergente. Dado que una literatura emergente no puede crear inmediatamente textos importantes en todos los géneros, tipos, registros y rasgos estilísticos y temáticos, debe beneficiarse de la experiencia de otros. De Viena a Esmirna, las traducciones comenzaron a aparecer en una rápida sucesión y con gran éxito, formándose una colectividad transcomunitaria de traducción. Así fue como los traductores se enfrentaron a la dificultad de traducir de una lengua estandarizada, codificada y de gran prestigio (francés, alemán, inglés) a otra no estandarizada y no codificada (judezmo). Sin embargo, y a pesar de todas las dificultades, aceptaron el desafío y se pusieron en marcha con valentía y sin formación ni experiencia en el mundo de la traducción.

¿Cómo conocían los traductores las obras? Sencillamente, los libros que tenían éxito en París eran traducidos inmediatamente y leídos por todo el mundo. En este sentido, las influencias mutuas no eran nada infrecuentes, por lo tanto, la élite sefardí —educada en las escuelas de la Alianza— no necesitaba traducciones del francés, pues hablaba mejor ese idioma que el judezmo, y las librerías de Esmirna, Estambul y Salónica siempre tenían los últimos *bestsellers* llegados de Francia. En consecuencia, los traductores trabajaban principalmente para cubrir las necesidades lectoras de las clases bajas, como confirma el autor Elia Karmona cuando escribe: «Yo empesi a eskriver en un lenguaje popular ke mismo kriaturas i vyejas lo entendian i ansi mis chikas consejikas empesaron a tener yeno sukseso».⁴⁷

Durante ese período, los traductores raramente perdían la oportunidad de señalar el deplorable estado de la literatura sefardí, afirmando la falta de buena literatura y de buenos autores: «Mozotros los djidyos de Oryente kaji ke no tenemos ninguna literatura [...] esparzidos por el Oryente

⁴⁷ *Mi seten ofisyo* [Elia Karmona], *El Amaneser* VI, 75, 2011: 16.

[...] se amato esta sente[y]a».⁴⁸ Por consiguiente, esgrimiendo sentencias denigratorias, emitían informes condenatorios contra la avalancha de mala literatura sefardí —«Nuestra literatura espanyola es mas de prove, se puede dizir nula»—⁴⁹ o, no menos críticamente, de literatura mediocre —«I en editando este grande i ermozo romanso inchimos un grande vazio en muestra povera i flaka literatura»—,⁵⁰ culpando de ello a la imperfección del judezmo, a su pobreza léxica y a la miseria de un vocabulario siempre repetido, lamentándose, como David Fresco, de no tener a su alcance palabras que brindasen claridad y precisión: «El puevlo judio de Turkiya no tyene el inestimable dono de la ekspresyon, de la palabra, el no tyene lingua».⁵¹ De este modo, los traductores compartían con el maestro religioso Ya'akov b. Haim de Rusçuk su triste opinión sobre el deplorable estado de la literatura sefardí, que para él era la más pobre del mundo —«Una de las mas povres literaturas en el mundo es la djudio-espanyola. Es desplazyente de salir en publiko a konstatar esta verdad, pero el fakto kuantto ke sea amargo, torna es fakto»—.⁵² Partiendo de tales premisas, no resulta sorprendente que autores y traductores se desearasen por su profesión, puesto que tenían que traducir obras inferiores para lectores aburridos y desinteresados: «Munchos kapases eskritores i tresladadores vyendo ke sus penas no son apresyadas i rekompensadas del puevlo, se repyenten de sus entreprezas literaryas».⁵³ Así las cosas, a menudo renunciaban a escribir o a traducir para un público que ni apreciaba ni valoraba sus esfuerzos: «Sus indiferensya es tan manifesta, ke no ay ninguno ke save tomar la pendola en mano».⁵⁴

No obstante, los traductores buscaban una razón que explicase el miserable estado de la cultura del libro sefardí y hallaban una respuesta al problema en cuestión: para ellos, era evidente que la lengua y la literatura en judezmo habían llegado a una etapa de estancamiento y que la culpa del declive que sufrían se encontraba en el desinterés por la literatura creativa mostrado por sus correligionarios, los cuales, una o dos genera-

⁴⁸ *Los Dezventurozos* (Sofia 1899).

⁴⁹ *El respekto de padre i de madre. II: La mujer en la familya* [B. Moshe] (Sofia 1894: 3); *Los Maranos* [Ya'akov b. Haim] (Rusçuk 1896: 3), reed. Studemund-Halévy y Filiz Subaşı (2023).

⁵⁰ *La Portadera de Pan* [Xavier de Montépin] (Salónica 1922: 4).

⁵¹ *El Tyempo* XXIX, 62, 1901: 676.

⁵² *Los Maranos*, 3.

⁵³ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁴ *[Don] Abrabanel* [Aharon Menahem] (Rusçuk ca. 1900: 1A), reed. Studemund-Halévy y August-Zarębska (2020).

ciones más atrás, todavía podían satisfacer sus necesidades de lectura exclusivamente con los textos rabínicos. La crítica siempre se dirigía a un solo culpable: ese público lector apático, aburrido, desinteresado y, sobre todo, irrespetuoso frente a la nueva literatura —«Es devido ekskluzivamente a la apatia ke muestros ermanos mostran verso toda ovra ke aparese»— y que exhibía un desprecio insultante hacia los autores y los traductores: «Ke i el va ser mirado kon indiferensya i sangre fría».⁵⁵ No contentos con criticar de ese modo a sus lectores, también se permitían hacer lo propio con sus mismos colegas de profesión. Así, se manifestaban invadidos y sofocados por las malas traducciones, criticaban implacablemente la calidad mediocre de los libros y, en particular, de la literatura traducida, que tenía, por desgracia, un éxito increíble entre el público lector sefardí: «Aktualmente estamos asistiendo a una verdadera ofensiva de traduksyones de ovras mediokres i ke van a aumentar el numero de ovras sin valor trezladas en djudeoespanyol».⁵⁶ Según ellos, el público lector se abalanzaba sin pudor, cual jauría hambrienta, sobre la avalancha de mala literatura: «Roncharsen komo fambrentes sovre los romansos los mas banale[s] i los mas danyozos al esprito».⁵⁷ Otros traductores, en este caso de orientación sionista y partiendo del más rotundo rechazo a cualquier tipo de obra que excluyera temas y aspectos judíos, se mostraban convencidos de que sería necesaria una honda reflexión sobre las recientes ideas judías para poder dar a la literatura una nueva inspiración y orientación, por ejemplo, los textos sionistas: «Dar al publiko judyo en forma de romanso akelyas ideas ke son nasidas, kresidas i kochadas [maturadas] en su propio seno».⁵⁸ Y otras veces culpaban a la codicia y al mal gusto de los editores del deplorable estado de la literatura: «Los eksploatadores de sus paras, sovre todo entre los sfardim de Turkiya, auzaron a la masa sfardita a meldar solo romansos [...] los mas pervertados, los mas pasyonantes».⁵⁹

Para acabar con esta insostenible y vergonzosa situación y superar el terrible declive de la literatura traducida, los traductores exigían enérgicamente —aunque sin desarrollar un programa concreto y adecuado— la aplicación de un programa masivo y sistemático de traducción de obras de todas las generaciones, pueblos y lenguas, ya que la literatura es la

⁵⁵ *Los Maranos* (Rusçuk 1896: 3).

⁵⁶ *Romeo i Julyeta [Shakespeare]*, adaptado del francés por Jozef Moshe Karaso (Salónica 1922: 3-4), apud Romero 1993: 182; Cohen 2021: 341, nr. 1982.

⁵⁷ Hasid (1889).

⁵⁸ *Vyeja-Nueva Tyera*, 1.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*.

única capaz de desarrollar un hilo espiritual y moral: «Es un espejo, en el kual se asolombran todas manyas, uzos, kostumbres de akel puevlo en la epoka ke es eskrita la kompozisyon, i eya egzersa una grande influencia edukatrisa ke sonrie sus malas echas i alava las buenas».⁶⁰

Estaban firmemente convencidos de que solo podía conseguirse hacer avanzar a la literatura con el apoyo comprensivo de sus lectores: «I kon esto mos alyudaran a azer trezlados de livros mas enteresantes i alkansar nuestro eskopo»;⁶¹ por lo que no dejaron ninguna piedra sin remover para ganárselos, tanto para ellos como para los libros traducidos: «Dingun romanso [...] no alkanso la fama i el grado de espandimyento ke la “Portadera de Pan”»;⁶² que es exactamente lo que hace Aleksandr b. Giat cuando elogia su traducción de Manon Lescaut ante sus lectores con las siguientes palabras: «Manon Lesko es un verdadero i simple romanso de amor. Es un libro ke izo la gloria del autor ke no es otro ke un prete (papas)».⁶³ Los traductores trabajaban con la intención de despertar el interés y la atención de los lectores por la buena literatura —«Enraigar la amor por la lektura»—,⁶⁴ siendo conscientes de su responsabilidad y pidiendo incesantemente que sus lectores reconociesen su esfuerzo: «Veremos si el publiko de Vyena i de toda la Aostria, ansi ke todos nuestros ermanos avlando el espaniol entenderan i apriesiaran nuestros sakrifisios».⁶⁵ Podemos suponer que para la mayoría de los lectores, las traducciones no respondían a sus experiencias vitales, sino que aportaban imágenes de otro mundo. Así, el prefacio servía para destacar la importancia y el valor de su trabajo para mejorar la educación e instrucción de sus lectores —«La verdadera ganansia i paga por nozotros sera el profito ke tendra el puevlo de la

⁶⁰ *Los Dezventurozos* (Sofía 1899).

⁶¹ *Los ke sufren por el onor*.

⁶² El folletín social y sentimental *La portadera de Pan*, de Xavier de Montépin, fue traducido al judezmo (en dos ocasiones, 1895, 1922-1923) y al greco-turco: Konstantinopla 1885; [1] *La portadera de Pan*, trad. Viktor Levi, Konstantinopla 1895 [*La Porteuse de pain*, 1884]; [2] Salónica 1922/1923: *Portadera de Pan, romanso pasyonante al mas alto grado, adaptasyon fidela i komplida del fransez por Izhak D. Florentin*. Montépin comenzó a ser traducido al turco cuando la cultura de la novela aún no había echado raíces, y es el principal autor, con 95 obras publicadas en turco, seguido de Alexandre Dumas (43 publicaciones), Jules Verne (34) y Eugène Sue (32); vid. Yağcı (2011; 2019); Aylin de Tapia (2014); Petropoulou (2007).

⁶³ *Manon Lesko, romanso muy ezmovyente* [Antoine-François Prévost d'Exiles]. *Trezlado por Aleksandr b. Giat*. Folyeton puvlikado en *El Meseret* de Izmirna (El Cairo 1906: 1).

⁶⁴ *La Deskonsolada* (Plovdiv 1898).

⁶⁵ *Bukyeto de Istorias* (Viena 1904: 1).

lektura»—,⁶⁶ al igual que el entretenimiento y la educación —«Kyejendo divirtirvos i instruirvos en mizmo tyempo»—.⁶⁷ Los traductores pedían, incluso, comprensión para los libros malos o moralmente dañinos y prometían al lector la publicación (traducción) de textos mejores: «No dubitamos ke nuestros meldadores seran enduljentes verso nozotros, si esta istorya no esta byen aplikada, afin de enkorajarnos a otras ovras byen mejor».⁶⁸

Como traductores, hacían una valoración del «valor educativo» del libro: «El lektor piedra entender, kuinto es interesante i instruktivo el kuento ke mozotros tenemos el onor de prezentar delante de el»;⁶⁹ se trata de una ekselente ovra tuyendo una valor internasyonal en la literatura romaneska»;⁷⁰ y como buenos educadores, no olvidaban señalar que una buena educación e instrucción se ven fecundadas por los efectos benéficos de una buena lectura: «El lektor se syente dichocho en meldando en este mismo kuento los buenos rezultatos ke dyo una buena edukasyon i instruksyon!»;⁷¹ apoyándose en el interés de los jóvenes por la literatura: «Konosyendo la amor i el zelo dela djuventud oryentale (espanyola) sovre la letra».⁷² Para despertar el interés del lector y aficionarlo a la lectura, tampoco desdeñaban las ínfulas de grandeza: «Este romanso es una ovra de las mas punchantes, de estas ke entran asta adyentro del tutano i ke meten vuestro kuerpo i vuestros nyervos de ariva abasho»;⁷³ si los lectores se habían decidido por un género literario u otro y lamentaban la ausencia de uno mientras expresaban entusiasmo por la publicación del otro, los traductores hacían todo lo posible por satisfacer sus necesidades de lectura, anunciando de inmediato la publicación de nuevas obras: «Es por komblar dunke esta lakuna i por familyarizar nuestros korelijonaryos ke avlan el idyoma judeo espanyol, ke mos proponemos muy modestamente

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁷ *La vida de Nasredin Hodja* [Izhak Ya'akov Estrumsa] (Salónica 1911: 1); *vid. Les plaisanteries de Nasr-Eddin Hodja*, traduites du turc, Paris 1876; *La vida de Nasredin Hodja*, arreglado i editado por Anri She'altiel, Estambul 1923.

⁶⁸ *Los ke sufren por el onor* (Tatar Bazardjik 1894: 1).

⁶⁹ *Los Maranos* (Ruşçuk 1896), reed. Studemund-Halévy y Filiz Subaşı 2023.

⁷⁰ *La rika Julyeta, romanso kaptivante lyeno de emosyon i de grandes intrigas de amor; adaptasyon fidela por Izak Florentin* (Salónica 1922).

⁷¹ *Los Maranos* (Ruşçuk 1896).

⁷² *La famia misterioza* (Viena 1889: 3).

⁷³ *El Burako del infyerno* [Alexandre Dumas père], romanso trezladado por Aleksandr b. Giat (Jerusalén 1911: 2).

de empesar kon el drama de ISRAEL una serya de trezladados de dramas ezmovyentes, pasyonantes i sansasyonales».⁷⁴

Los traductores estaban verdaderamente entusiasmados, casi obsesionados con la idea de que, en su calidad de mediadores de la literatura, tenían que aportar algo al progreso y a la mejora de la lengua. Para lograr esos objetivos, traducían directamente del hebreo, el francés, el alemán, el italiano, el griego, el inglés, el turco, el ruso, el rumano o el yidis al judezmo (traducción directa), o bien a través del hebreo, el francés, el alemán o el griego (traducción indirecta, ecléctica o pasando por varios idiomas). Y, a pesar de todas sus deficiencias, en cada oportunidad subrayaban la importancia de la lengua materna que deseaban preservar, abogando por su regeneración y revitalización a través de la fuerza creativa de la traducción —estrategia de supervivencia de una lengua minoritaria y de regeneración de la literatura de difusión limitada a través de las traducciones—. ⁷⁵ Como propagandistas del judezmo, y como se desprende de los prefacios, estaban convencidos de la pervivencia de su lengua materna y de que la traducción literaria precedía claramente a la literatura original, es decir, que existía antes de que la creación original despegara. Además, no compartían la valoración tan negativa acerca del estado del judezmo del periodista y traductor David Fresco, que consideraba que era una jerga y que sus hablantes eran un pueblo sin lengua (*pueblo sin lingua*) y sin voz (*un pueblo mudo*);⁷⁶ ni tampoco la estrategia de Baruh Mitrani, que escribió novelas en judezmo, tradujo del francés o del hebreo a dicha lengua y, como sionista y hebraísta, la utilizó como medio estratégico para señalar, a través de sus libros, la necesidad de que el hebreo fuera la lengua nacional de todos los judíos.

Por otra parte, trabajaban en calidad de autónomos, es decir, por cuenta propia —«Desidimos de azer resivo brilyante a la propozisyon de nuestro konsivdadino [...], ke se dyo a la pena de azer la traduksyon de la sudicha komedia»—,⁷⁷ o para una revista que necesitara urgentemente

⁷⁴ *Israel. Drama muy ezmovyente en 3 aktos* [Henri Bernstein] (Salónica 1912); MS en solitreo (trezladado del original [por] Abraham Shelomoh, Rusçuk [Archivo Sofia, 1930]).

⁷⁵ A pesar del amplio reconocimiento, entre los historiadores de la cultura, del importante papel que ha desempeñado la traducción en la cristalización de las culturas nacionales, son relativamente pocas las investigaciones que han sido realizadas en este ámbito. Sobre la estrategia de pervivencia de una lengua minoritaria a través la traducción, *vid.* Eckkrammer (2020).

⁷⁶ *El Enstruktor*, 16.8.1888, 173; *El Tyempo* XXIX, 62, 1901: 675; *vid.* también Behar 1910: 3, 58-61.

⁷⁷ Kazanlik 1909/10.

nuevos textos para satisfacer la necesidad de sensacionalismo de sus lectores. La labor de traducción era realizada, en gran medida, por idealismo e interés personal en la preservación y en el desarrollo del judezmo —«Sostener muestra literatura djundayka»—,⁷⁸ más que por un despreciable afán de lucro —«No dezeamos del todo ganar de nuestra lazeria i es por esto ke venderemos estos livrikos al presio de koste»—,⁷⁹ y vendían su traducción mediante suscripción —«Espero presto de resivir pronumarantes bastantes por poder presto meter en estampa el primo numero»—.⁸⁰

La realidad de dicho trabajo, al igual que la creación de obras originales, era siempre problemática, porque el traductor y/o autor normalmente no podía vivir de su profesión. Baruh Mitrani, por ejemplo, inmerso constantemente en dificultades financieras, esperaba poder mantener a su familia con los ingresos derivados de la venta de la revista y de sus libros —«Aran una grande mitsva, de sostener mi famiya i mis kriaturas, ke mos topamos alas oras en grande apreto i si por sostener muestra literatura judaika»—, por lo que imploraba a sus lectores que los comprasen a fin de que otros semejantes pudieran seguirlos —«Tambyen rogo ke me agan saver si tyenen el gusto de resivir semejantes istoryas ermozas komo la ke meldaran en este livriko, por estampar mas semejantes»—;⁸¹ y «resiviran mi lavoro kon plazer, lo merkaran i no lo enprestaran a akelyos ke lya lo pueden merkar ansi mi daran koraje para kitar a luz i los 5 memoares primeros para ajustar la kolekshon entera».⁸²

Como ya hemos mencionado, los traductores se desesperaban a menudo por la pobreza léxica del judezmo (asimetrías léxicas entre el judezmo y el francés) y se quejaban de la insuficiencia de sus recursos lingüísticos actuales para satisfacer las necesidades del texto original, viéndose obligados a encontrar equivalentes lingüísticos para los nuevos conceptos, registros y tipos textuales y a recurrir a palabras en francés: «Syendo nuestra lingua jargona i flaka de palavras, fuimos ovligados de servirnos munchas vezes kon byervos fransezes entendidos oy por nuestras partes».⁸³ Además, describían las estrategias empleadas en la traducción de los términos específicos de la cultura, revelando los esfuerzos que habían reali-

⁷⁸ *Don Yosef i su ija* [Baruh Mitrani] (Viena-Presburgo 1878: 1).

⁷⁹ *Bukyeto de Istorias* (Viena 1904).

⁸⁰ *Napoleon Primo i el Ba'al Shem* (Viena 1864).

⁸¹ *Don Yosef i su ija* (Viena-Presburgo 1878: 1).

⁸² *Los memoares*, vol. 2 (Sofía 1899: 15).

⁸³ *La fidelidad de un moso* [Xavier de Maistre] (Sofía 1895: 1), reed. Studemund-Halévy y Stulic (2015).

zado para garantizar que el texto fuente fuera accesible para el público objetivo. De mala gana, o así parece, adaptaban su vocabulario literario al (supuesto) nivel de sus lectores —«Avlo la avla eshpanyola savida atodos»—,⁸⁴ hacían concesiones a su gusto y no se preocupaban de conservar el *sabor*; ni siquiera de modo rudimentario, a fin de que todo lector pudiera seguir con facilidad el texto sin distraerse demasiado.

Sabían de lo que eran capaces, coqueteaban con sus insuficiencias lingüísticas, eran conscientes de su falta de formación —«Tambyen nozotros trezladores no podemos tenerla por entero»—,⁸⁵ con timidez explicaban al lector por qué, a falta de una alternativa, se subordinaban a textos deficientes⁸⁶ y solicitaban consideración por su inexperiencia —«En eskapando la primera partida de nuestro trezlado rogamos de eskuzarnos por los yeros de estilo i de estampa ke toparon syendo por la primera ves entramos en esta karyera tan difisil»—.⁸⁷ Si no apreciaban su propia traducción, se veían forzados a escribir para el cajón del escritorio —«Ansi muchas vezes tomava la pendola, por eskrivir del uno o de lo otro ma munchas ovas kedaron sin esvelopo, por non tener el koraje de kitar aluz i publikarlas kon el espanto ke non sere agradecido amis siniores leedores»—,⁸⁸ pero si, por el contrario, los lectores mostraban interés por su obra y estaban convencidos de que el libro y su traducción les iban a gustar —«Este livro ke por seguro sera apresyado por todos los djudyos»—,⁸⁹ lo más habitual es que estuvieran dispuestos a continuar con su trabajo y prometiesen escribir o traducir más obras, siempre que los lectores se suscribieran a ellas o las comprasen: «Del resivo echo a nuestra primera ova dependera el suerte de las venideras [...] i esperamos ke este ultimo mos enkorajara a publikar i otras interesantes istoryas ke tenemos en manuskrito».⁹⁰ Los traductores estaban firmemente convencidos de que el público realmente anhelaba dicha literatura: «Solo espero, ke el koraje, tan dezeyado de parte de el publiko, me ara solisitar a lavorar enerjikamente en la literatura por adelante [...]. Solo repito ke el koraje de parte el publiko, su proteksyon ke eya mostrara, dara nuevas fuersas, enerjias por

⁸⁴ *Napoleon Primo i el Ba'al Shem* (Viena 1864).

⁸⁵ *Los ke sufren por el onor* (Tatar Bazardjik 1894).

⁸⁶ *Napoleon Primo i el Ba'al Shem* (Viena 1864).

⁸⁷ *Los ke sufren por el onor* (Tatar Bazardjik 1894).

⁸⁸ *La famia misterioza* (Viena 1889: 3).

⁸⁹ *Poezias relidjyozas delas santas fyestas* [Elia Karmona] (Estambul 1930: 1).

⁹⁰ *La fidelidad de un moso* (Sofía 1895: 1).

lavorar por adelante»;⁹¹ algo válido, por supuesto, si el libro había sido bien recibido por los lectores y había tenido éxito: «Si nuestro puevlo aze un buen resivo, nozotros estamos desidados de darles otros romansos tsionistos».⁹² Por ejemplo, D. A. Benjamin, el traductor de la novela *La Fidelidad de un Moso*, no solo estaba orgulloso de su primera obra, sino que prometía a sus lectores más traducciones en el caso de que la misma tuviera éxito: «Es el primer ovraje ke prezentamos alos onorados meldadores en la esperansa ke lo resiviran kon plazer i mos enkorajaran a kaminar adelante en el eskopo ke persegimos kon tanta ardor».⁹³

Por otra parte, había aficionados a la literatura que se reunían y formaban círculos de lectura para estimular la voluntad de leer —«Formimos aki en Viena una sosyedad kon el nombre de “Los amatores de la lektura”»—,⁹⁴ y para aumentar la demanda de buena lectura se tomaba en consideración la publicación de series de libros: «Nos disidimos de fondar una publikasyon de interesantes livros, soto el nombre “Biblioteka del puevlo” la kuala kontyendra en trezlado o orijinal los mas primorozos livros de literatura pura, relijyozidad i moral»,⁹⁵ una cuestión que no daba tregua al editor Efraim Melamed de Izmir, que anunciaba una colección de libros —«Kijendo azer interesar a poko a poko a la lektura nozotros empesaremos a publikar una seria de chikos livros konteniendo istoryas, romansos, novellas ke nozotros eskojeremos kon el mas grande kudy»—⁹⁶ y, para aumentar su atractivo, prometía ofrecerlos a un precio bajo: «Mozotros venderemos estos livros muy baratos afin ke kada uno pueda merkarnos sin tener muncho a dezgastarse».⁹⁷ En este sentido, los editores y traductores no solo buscaban sus lectores en Viena, sino en todos los países balcánicos: «Estamos konvensidos ke nuestros korelidjonaryos de Turkia i del ekstranjero bushkaran a alyudarnos en merkando este romanso».⁹⁸ Ante el floreciente mercado del libro en Oriente Medio, el prolífico traductor y editor Shem Tov Semo, de Viena, se atrevió a producir y publicar una traducción propia: «Mi koraje se enfortesyo de ver ke en el

⁹¹ *Los Dezventurozos* (Sofía 1899).

⁹² *Vyeja-Nueva Tyera*, 2.

⁹³ *La fidelidad de un moso* (Sofía 1895: 1).

⁹⁴ *Bukyeto de Istorias* (Viena 1904).

⁹⁵ *El respekto de padre i de madre* (Sofía 1894).

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁷ *Kondanado o salvado por su ija o la Bilya de la muerte* [Mark Twain] (Izmir 1909/10 o 1913).

⁹⁸ *Pol i Virjini* (Estambul 1901; Jerusalén 1911/12).

Oryent se estampan livrikos en ladino o en la avla eshpanyola tresladado del lashon akodesh». ⁹⁹ Dos generaciones después, el traductor del *Verter*, un clásico de la literatura alemana, pudo expresar, con gran alegría y orgullo, su optimismo por el afán e interés que mostraban sus correligionarios por la lectura, a los que dividía limpiamente en lectores masculinos, femeninos y jóvenes: «Todos, ombres, mujeres i mansevos dezean meldar komo dezean komer i durmir [...] kada uno a su manera. Ma una koza ke es del gusto de todas las edades, de toda la familia, son los ovrajes de biblioteka, los romansos, de kuentos de imajinasyon». ¹⁰⁰

5. Traducción

Las novelas extranjeras fueron las fuerzas conductoras de la modernidad y su traducción al judezmo constituyó una técnica conveniente para introducir entidad en una cultura que la necesitaba desesperadamente. El texto y sus características, la textualidad y la exhaustividad eran, en el mejor de los casos, secundarias (Toury 2012). La formación del judezmo como lengua literaria es un excelente ejemplo del papel fundamental que la traducción de obras en lenguas occidentales (canonizadas y no canonizadas) desempeñó en la modernización de la sociedad sefardí en el siglo XIX. A los textos traducidos, a los traductores y a los autores se les atribuyó la misión ambiciosa de formar un nuevo canon literario sefardí, llevar una cultura occidental a los judíos, actuar como modelo para la producción literaria, enriquecer la lengua sefardí, educar al público y abrirlo a la lengua nacional del país en el que residía. Sin embargo, por desgracia, los traductores no se mostraron aptos en ningún momento para ninguna de estas tareas. Tampoco surgieron traducciones que pudieran rivalizar con el original, ni traductores (y autores) que fuesen capaces de competir con los de yidis y hebreo en términos de calidad literaria.

La regla de oro de la traducción, esto es, acercarse lo más posible al original sin perder la libertad necesaria para conservar la fluidez de la lengua, no puede aplicarse al traductor-*amator* sefardí. Por tanto, no son traducciones respetuosas, y solo en muy contadas ocasiones pueden ser calificadas de fidedignas del libro original. Un buen ejemplo de traductor que respeta el texto que tiene que traducir, acortándolo casi a la mitad sin

⁹⁹ *Napoleon Primo i el Ba'al Shem* (Viena 1864).

¹⁰⁰ *Verter. Romanso muy renomado* [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe] (Salónica 1906: 3) Dickinson, 37-83.

quitar nada del original, es la novela *Una Ija de Israel*, escrita por Benedict Hause, antiguo profesor de religión judía.¹⁰¹ En ocasiones, los traductores no solo han traducido, sino que han omitido algunos elementos del texto fuente reduciendo drásticamente su extensión —de fuentes de hasta trescientas páginas se pasa a versiones de tan solo veinte—, suprimiendo palabras, detalles, frases, párrafos, capítulos y, a veces, incluso partes más consistentes de los originales con el fin de adecuar —lingüística, pragmática, cultural o ideológicamente— los textos traducidos a sus lectores; omisiones que pasan desapercibidas para el lector ordinario. En dichas ocasiones, los traductores no respetan el texto original, ni su contenido, tónica y estilo, ya sea por estrategia o por incompetencia; simplifican, cortan y reducen el texto —según ellos, para no aburrir al lector—, truecan los nombres de los protagonistas, trasladan la historia de un siglo a otro o la reubican en otro lugar; y sienten la necesidad de descristianizar —cuando se trata de un texto cristiano—¹⁰² o resefardizar el texto —cuando se trata de un texto asquenazí— con el objetivo de crear uno apropiado para el lector judío (Dimitriu 2004).

Eran varias las razones por las que los traductores recurrían a la omisión de ciertos elementos. A veces, no ofrecían al lector ni una traducción ni una adaptación, sino una verdadera trasposición y reubicación del marco espaciotemporal, es decir, trasladaban la acción a otra época y con otros protagonistas, desjudaizaban o descristianizaban la obra o daban a los personajes nombres típicos del lugar (traducción de localización) (Dimitriu 2009). Así, el autor-traductor Ya'akov b. Haim de Rusçuk rejudaza el entorno de los Marranos en la novela gótica *Les Mystères de l'Inquisition et autres sociétés secrètes d'Espagne*, basada en el *bestseller* mundial de Victor de Féréal, en el que la palabra «judía» solo aparece una vez, y reubica la acción, situada en la época del inquisidor Pedro Arbués, llevándola a la de su fanático predecesor Torquemada: «Este kuento, konosido kon el nombre Los Maranos trata dela vida de akeyos malorozos djidyos de Espanya, ke [...] konvertiran al kristianismo por forma, pero en sus kora-sones elyos torna restavan djidyos» (Strauss 2003: 63-64).¹⁰³ En su pieza teatral, Abraham Cappon reubica la acción y el lugar de una ciudad de

¹⁰¹ *Una ija de Israel* [Benedict Hause, *Entgegengesetzte Strömungen*, Eisenach 1884], *istorya interesante detras del nemtsesko*, trezladado de Aharon b. Shem Tov Semo, publicado dela redaksyon de *El Trezoro en Ruschuk* (Rusçuk 1894); reed. Studemund-Halévy y Filiz Subaşı (2023).

¹⁰² *Los Maranos* (Rusçuk 1896).

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*.

Galicia en otra sefardí: «*EL ANGUSTIADOR* es un ekstrakto del צורר ד'ד'ד'ד', yo transformi akelia istoria en una pyesa teatral, dandole un karakter oriental, de suerte ke todo el kontenido de la ovra puede atribuirse a una sivdad abitada por judios Sefaradim»;¹⁰⁴ y el (anónimo) autor de la novela *Mateo i Odoksia* —copiando con destreza la novela de gran éxito *El Conde de Montecristo*— traslada la acción, que originariamente tenía lugar en las Francia e Italia de la primera mitad del siglo XIX, a la época de los Jóvenes Turcos.

El modo más común de adaptación e imitación consistió en condensar y reducir la obra original. El prolífico traductor-adaptador Aleksandr b. Giat parece haber sentido la necesidad de justificar sus considerables omisiones de la novela *Manon Lesko*; como la novela es más larga que la mayoría de sus otras reescrituras, Giat promete conservar solo los pasajes importantes: «Esta es la istoria ke vamos a kontar i de la kuala vamos a suprimir los pasajes los manko menesterozos».¹⁰⁵

A los traductores les interesaba tan poco la fidelidad como a sus lectores y editores. Las traducciones se muestran, a menudo, como adaptaciones o imitaciones que pueden llegar a transponer y apropiarse del texto original en diversos grados. En el contexto de la literatura popular y sentimental, este procedimiento era considerado casi legítimo, al menos en el siglo XIX, y no solo era una práctica de los traductores sefardíes, sino una praxis particularmente común en las traducciones a las lenguas minoritarias de los Balcanes. El elevado número de imitaciones y adaptaciones llevaron a la pseudotraducción —copias que pretendían ser originales— y a la degradación del texto original; los autores y editores justificaban dicha práctica por la falta de textos literarios originales que pudieran satisfacer los gustos de un público inculto. A pesar de todas sus intervenciones en el texto, con cortes, omisiones, resúmenes de contenido, reubicación de los escenarios históricos y de sus protagonistas, añadidos, sustituciones —a veces recurrían a la censura de las alusiones irrespetuosas a la religión o sustituían un término católico por otro judío o neutro—, amplificaciones o reordenamientos, no sentían que traicionasen al autor y al texto, sino que se vían a sí mismos como autores o, al menos, como coautores, sintiéndose a gusto con las intervenciones en la composición y en el contenido del texto (Frei 1999).

¹⁰⁴ *El Angustiador* [Abraham Cappon] (Sarajevo, Bosnia 1914), extracto del cuento *Sorer haYehudim be'ir Grilov* de Mordehay D. Brandstetter sobre los judíos de Galizia.

¹⁰⁵ *Manon Lesko* (El Cairo 1906: 1); Romero 1993: 182.

6. La traducción indirecta

No existen estadísticas sobre el número exacto de obras literarias que han sido traducidas, retraducidas, reimpresas, adaptadas, imitadas o recordadas en su trasvase al judezmo, y tampoco sabemos si dichas traducciones son de primera o segunda mano o más bien traducciones ficticias, es decir, textos que se han presentado sin que hayan existido los correspondientes textos fuente en otras lenguas.

A la hora de traducir al judezmo, solía recurrirse al bilingüismo o al plurilingüismo, bien desarrollado en las clases educadas en el binomio mínimo judezmo-francés. Por ello, no es de extrañar que el intercambio literario más intenso se produjese entre el judezmo y el francés, el cual, en una determinada época histórica, desempeñaba un papel de importancia supranacional. Además, este hecho provocó un alto porcentaje de traducciones de segunda mano, es decir, traducciones de material literario ya traducido a través del francés. Sin embargo, este tipo no puede explicarse exclusivamente por el desconocimiento de la lengua de partida o por no poder disponer de la versión original, la traducción indirecta está estrechamente relacionada con las asimetrías de poder en las distintas lenguas y las culturas, es decir, el traductor partía de un texto original alemán y lo traducía, a partir de la transcripción francesa —una lengua considerada más elegante—, al judezmo —lengua de menor difusión, lengua jerigonza—, al igual que la literatura inglesa se tradujo al alemán a través de la mediación del francés en el siglo XVIII. Si un traductor tenía el mismo conocimiento de ambas lenguas y se servía de ellas, puede hablarse de «traducción ecléctica», procedimiento conocido desde la Antigüedad.

Algunos textos volvían a traducirse varias veces a un mismo idioma, fenómeno que puede denominarse con el término de «retraducción», es decir, nueva traducción de un texto ya traducido. La cuestión de la retraducción no puede desligarse de la del canon, hasta el punto de que resultan absolutamente interdependientes: al publicarse en versiones traducidas y retraducidas, adaptadas, imitadas y resumidas —en la prensa sefardí o como libros de plegarias—, las obras de la literatura no canonizada fueron elevándose gradualmente al mismo estatus que los libros canónicos, al menos a ojos del lector (Yağcı 2011; Strauss 2003: 62; Demircioğlu 2005; Eruz 2010; Mayorski 2021; Mignon 2021). Las razones que lo explican no son fáciles de dilucidar —motivos comerciales, razones literarias, traducciones envejecidas—, aunque puede haberse dado el caso de que los traductores posteriores a una versión se mostrasen críticos con las traducciones ya existentes y hubieran tratado de mejorarlas. Sin razón aparente, los traductores no hacían

referencia a la edición del libro de referencia utilizada y dejaban al lector sin saber si se trataba de una traducción del idioma original o de una de segunda mano; por ello, es conveniente saber en qué versión e, incluso, en qué edición(es) se basó el traductor-adaptador sefardí. Una respuesta definitiva a dicha pregunta solo puede proceder de un análisis textual comparativo, un tipo de estudio que aún está por hacer. Así, Rafael Farin, autor y traductor poliglota de Shumen, tradujo algunos textos de Sholem Alekhem al búlgaro y al judezmo, incluida la famosa comedia *Desparsidos i dispersados*. Sin embargo, Farin tradujo la obra del alemán, como se desprende claramente de la comparación del yidis con la versión alemana y de las versiones judezmas (manuscritas y editadas) (Studemund-Halévy 2019). Parece igualmente claro en el caso siguiente: el cuento *Die Jahrzeit*, de Leopold Kompert de Viena, fue vertido partir de la traducción francesa de Daniel Stauben (Ayala 2021).¹⁰⁶ El siguiente ejemplo es algo más complejo, porque en la primera portada —parcialmente bilingüe judezmo-búlgaro— del libro *Las memoares de la familia de David* no se ofrece el nombre del autor hebreo ni el título de su obra, sino que solo se indican el nombre del traductor, Abraham Moshe Tadjer, y la lengua original (*lashon akodesh*); la segunda portada nos dice que se trata de «romansos istorikos rekojidos segun la teoría REKKENDORF del si” Abraham S. Friedberg». La traducción de Tadjer parte de la versión hebrea de Friedberg, que a su vez se basó en el libro *Die Geheimnisse der Juden* del orientalista alemán Hermann Reckendorf (1825-1875),¹⁰⁷ el cual, por su parte, había tomado prestada, en gran medida, la obra *Les Mystères de Paris* de Eugène Sue, muy popular en el polisistema literario otomano. Igualmente, una novela de Mark Twain fue traducida del francés al judezmo —*Kondanado o salvado por su ija o la Bilya de la muerte*—;¹⁰⁸ y el rabino y periodista Baruh Mitrani de Adrianópolis publicó en 1881, en Presburgo, su novela histórica *Eliezer i Naftali*, que parte de la novela hebrea de Aharon Margoliot, cuyo texto remonta a otro del poeta francés Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian (1755-1794), sobrino de Voltaire y autor muy popular entre los sefardíes.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ *Die Jahrzeit* [Leopold Kompert, *Jahrbuch für Israeliten*, 1860/1861, Viena 1860: 240-296; Daniel Stauben, *Scènes du Ghetto*, París 1860: Levy; Albert D. Pipano, *Un Aniversario o El Kadish*, Sofia 1900, reed. Michael Studemund-Halévy y Stulic (2015).

¹⁰⁷ *Die Geheimnisse der Juden*, vols. 1-5, Leipzig 1856-57: Gerhard.

¹⁰⁸ *Kondanado o salvado por su ija o la Bilya de la muerte* [Mark Twain], (Izmir 1909/10 o 1913).

¹⁰⁹ *Eliezer i Naftali* (Presburgo 1881: «Afamada en todas las lenguas evropeas, trezlada de un trezlado libero de la nueva kopya en lashon hakodesh del famozo A/M/T por mi») [Jean Pierre Claris de Florian, *Éliezer et Nephtaly*, París 1801].

7. La traducción como proyecto pedagógico

Los traductores sefardíes miraban con inquietud el éxito de una mala literatura que supuestamente podría corromper a sus lectores y les advertían, especialmente a los jóvenes, de la influencia nociva de la misma: «El uniko mikrob ke kome el gusto por la lektura de nuestra joventud, son los trezladados agasantes, kompozisyones ratonadas, stilo latinizado».¹¹⁰ Así, presentaban sus novelas como manuales de buena conducta más que como mero entretenimiento. Según ellos, uno de los objetivos prioritarios de la educación era aprender a leer y a escribir para poder seguir leyendo y aprendiendo a lo largo de toda la vida —«El mejor servisyo ke iva a render a nuestros ermanos era de azerlos lo mas mucho melder»—,¹¹¹ y no solo novelas y obras de teatro, sino también estudios históricos —«La mejor koza provechoza por el embezamyento, es el konoser los pasados de los otros puevlos i de otros tyempos»— (Romero 1993),¹¹² porque, para ellos, una de las tareas más nobles y urgentes de la literatura era educar a los lectores e inculcarles la decencia: «Embeza la manera de komportarsen i da una lyena instruksyon a akelyos ke non la tyenen». Entonces, la tarea de un traductor consistiría, en resumidas cuentas, en escribir y traducir *romansos moralikos* —«Un estampador o un trezladador, tyene un sakro dover de perkurar a edukar al puevlo en kualunke okazyon ke se le prezen-ta»—,¹¹³ una combinación de didactismo moralista y entretenimiento agradable, ofreciendo a sus lectores buenos libros —«Los kualos embezan a tener una buena edukasyon»—,¹¹⁴ familiarizándolos con la literatura *moralika* —«Kunto es interesante i instruktivo el kuento ke mozotros tenemos el onor de prezen-tar delante de el!»—¹¹⁵ y, de paso, mejorando la lengua materna con las traducciones: «Ay una imensa obra de edukasyon, a akomplir, edukasyon ke asta oy non fue entependida seriamente i metodikamente por dinguño».¹¹⁶ Sin embargo, la buena literatura podía hacer aún más: otras de sus funciones eran las de difundir nuevas ideas útiles para el pueblo —«Uno de los puntos los mas importantes por el dezvelo-

¹¹⁰ *La Deskonsolada* (Plovdiv 1898: 3).

¹¹¹ *Bukyeto de Istorias* (Viena 1904).

¹¹² *Salvator i Paolina o el Korason, romanso interesante* [Shelomo Bajar Yosef] (Jerusalén 1911).

¹¹³ *La vida de Nasredin Hodja* (Estambul 1923).

¹¹⁴ *Los ke sufren por el onor* (Tatar Bazardjik 1894).

¹¹⁵ *Los Maranos* (Rusçuk 1896).

¹¹⁶ *Romeo i Julyeta* [Shakespeare].

pamyento moral es de meldar i saver kozas ke no le pasaron por la kavesa»¹¹⁷ y contribuir significativamente a la modernización, es decir, a la europeización del público lector. Cuando los traductores B. Natan y B. Krispin acometieron la traducción de la obra *L'Inconsolée*, un libro católico de la primera a la última página, lo hicieron con la esperanza de que ese *ovraje presyozo* familiarizase a los jóvenes con la buena literatura y los protegiese de influencias perjudiciales;¹¹⁸ y Aharon Shem Tov Semo, sin duda eligió la novela *Una Ija de Israel* porque en esa conmovedora historia el lector debía tomar conciencia de que era muy posible subsistir como judío asquenazí ortodoxo en la sociedad moderna.¹¹⁹

8. A modo de conclusión

Los cánones de la literatura traducida y de los autores favoritos eran esencialmente los mismos para turcos, griegos, armenios, búlgaros —especialmente entre las comunidades cristianas armenias y griegas ortodoxas— y judíos (Strauss 1994, 2003; Parker 1986; Eruz 2010; Mayorski 2021). En este sentido, las influencias mutuas no eran infrecuentes, de hecho, fueron casi inevitables. El francés, por supuesto, ocupó el primer lugar como lengua de origen de las novelas traducidas, mientras que las obras de autores ingleses, italianos o alemanes solían traducirse a partir de sus versiones francesas. La mayor parte de lo que se tradujo al turco, al armenio, al griego, al judezmo y a otras lenguas fueron obras de escritores que hoy están olvidados, pero que fueron extremadamente populares en su época.

La elección de los textos para traducir o adaptar al judezmo se produjo al azar, y la ausencia de obras verdaderamente importantes en el repertorio de las de ficción literaria importada de Europa occidental llevó la marca de una desconexión estética entre el público lector otomano y su homólogo de Europa occidental. Las obras que ya eran consideradas anticuadas en Occidente en el momento de su traducción al judezmo fueron una de las razones por las que la literatura de traducción sefardí y el lenguaje que transmitía dichos conceptos se fosilizaran literalmente. Así pues, el papel de la literatura traducida en la literatura receptora no era necesari-

¹¹⁷ *Salvator i Paolina o el korason* (Jerusalén 1911).

¹¹⁸ *La Deskonsolada* (Plovdiv 1898).

¹¹⁹ *Una ija de Israel* (Rusçuk 1894).

riamente innovador en un polisistema literario, sino que, a menudo, servía para confirmar un código establecido; por lo tanto, no es de extrañar que no se produjese ni una renovación del judezmo literario ni una literatura sefardí original. Así, esta última se convirtió en lo que había sido desde sus inicios: una literatura de traducción, de segunda mano, una literatura regresiva.

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ABSTRACTS

ENGLISH SECTION ABSTRACTS

A New Corpus of Study for the Evolution of Judeo-Spanish: Contemporary Judeo-Spanish Theater

Marie-Christine BORNES VAROL

In 1982, David Bunis noted the plasticity of Judeo-Spanish according to social variants, based on humorous dialogues found in Judeo-Spanish newspapers at the end of the 19th century. Today, Judeo-Spanish is still alive in multilingual plays performed in the community setting, where it is mixed with Turkish.

Comparing seven contemporary plays (1986-2019) with two plays from the previous period (1939, 1953), the paper examines the changes in the distribution and attributions of Judeo-Spanish (reduced place, increased symbolic value) in relation to other languages. It then focuses on the recent evolution of the Judeo-Spanish language by examining the case of the periphrastic future tense, a form well documented and studied by Bürki & Schmid ([2006] for the previous period, from 1880 to 1930). The detailed analysis confirms the progression of the periphrastic future towards a synthetic form: dominant disappearance of the preposition *a*, predominance of the unmarked form *va* in the 1st and 3rd person sg., prevalence of amalgamated forms, and a case of position of the modal auxiliary after the verb in the infinitive. This dynamics of Judeo-Spanish shows a language that is still very much alive, despite the obvious decline in its use.

Proposal for a Database of Hebrew and Aramaic Loanwords in Jewish Languages and its Associated Corpus

Sarah BUNIN BENOR

Among David M. Bunis' many contributions to the study of Jewish languages is his *Lexicon of the Hebrew and Aramaic Elements in Modern Judezmo* and his comparative work on aspects of Yiddish and Judezmo. This paper brings together these approaches by offering a plan for a multilingual corpus of Jewish languages around the world and throughout history, linked to a database of Hebrew and Aramaic loanwords used in those languages. While such work was previously conducted manually, at great expense of time, this data compilation will be partly automated, based on advances in natural language processing and machine learning. This paper presents a proposal for creating this database, including the logistic and academic challenges that must be addressed to accomplish this important work and the comparative research the project will enable.

***Kʿday* ‘Worthy’: An Early Jewish Language Feature of the Aramaic Dialect of Talmud Yerushalmi and Related Sources from the Land of Israel in the Byzantine Period**

Ivri J. BUNIS

Jewish languages are languages spoken by Jews which developed uniquely due to the linguistic influence of Jewish religious life and the central languages of Jewish religious texts, namely, Hebrew and Aramaic. The most well-studied Jewish languages, such as Judeo-Arabic, Judezmo, and Yiddish, which are recognized as clearly reflecting Jewish language features, developed in the Middle Ages or later, after the end of the Talmudic period in the 7th century CE. Even earlier, however, Jews spoke a variety of languages, which could potentially have developed into Jewish languages. Such languages included the Aramaic dialects spoken by Jews in the Land of Israel and elsewhere in the Near East, during the Roman and Byzantine periods (respectively, 1st-4th centuries and 4th-7th centuries CE). In contrast with later Jewish languages, however, it has been a matter of debate as to what extent the Aramaic of late antiquity Jews also

acquired features, under the influence of Hebrew and Jewish life, which distinguished them from Aramaic dialects spoken by non-Jews.

The present article aims to demonstrate that Talmudic Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, i.e., the language of Talmud Yerushalmi and similar rabbinic literature from Byzantine Palestine, was indeed a Jewish language. Focusing on the form כִּדַּי *kʿday*, the article shows how, in the Aramaic dialect of the Jewish authors of those texts, it was borrowed from Rabbinic Hebrew, being preferred over the native Aramaic form כְּמִסַּת *kʿmissat*, which had already existed, and which had a largely identical function. I interpret the adoption of Hebrew כִּדַּי *kʿday* as reflecting the prestige of Hebrew among Jewish speakers, and possibly a Jewish religious connotation that the Hebrew form had. The same Hebrew form was subsequently borrowed by several later Jewish languages as well.

Rabbinic Diplomacy in Cold War Spain: Solomon Gaon (1912-1994) and the Origins of a Ladino Blessing

Allyson GONZALEZ

In the second half of the twentieth century, Spain followed an uncertain path from dictatorship to constitutional monarchy. In this piece, I study how the *Hakham* Solomon Gaon offered an unofficial but important form of Jewish diplomacy within the autocratic state. Over the years, Gaon would play a complex role in the promoting civil and political rights in Spain, through discreet as well as direct means—often most visibly through his use of Ladino benedictions. Through a close study of the period, I argue that the sanctioning of state leadership by a Sephardic authority would become a conspicuous aspect of political transition in modern Spain, a rabbinic validation across changing regimes.

The Judeo-Spanish of Sa‘adi a-Levi: *Mis memorias*

Bryan KIRSCHEN

This paper examines the Judeo-Spanish of Sa‘adi Besalel Ashkenazi a-Levi (1820-1903). Born and raised in Salonica, Sa‘adi was a well-known editor, publisher, musician, and composer. While Sa‘adi’s Judeo-Spanish

is documented in a variety of texts, this article considers his memoirs, originally written in *solitreo* and transcribed in Roman characters (Rodrigue & Stein 2012). By undertaking a close reading of Sa'adi's work, this paper provides an overview of salient characteristics of his variety of Judeo-Spanish and points of linguistic contact with Ottoman Turkish, Hebrew, Italian, as well as other languages. Findings will be compared to the extensive literature on Judeo-Spanish dialectology and variation, amassed over the last half-century by scholars like Prof. David Bunis: guides to decipher the language in both *aljamiado* (Bunis 1975) and Romanized (Bunis 2019) forms, books documenting the language in the Ottoman Empire in general, and Salonica, in particular (Bunis 1999b); and comprehensive articles detailing the linguistic (Bunis 2017) and sociolinguistic (Bunis 2018) construct of the language. Together, this article sheds light on the aspects of Sa'adi's Judeo-Spanish common to his Salonican variety and his own idiolect of the language.

Sephardi Ballads as Social and Historical Documents

Hilary POMEROY

Spanish ballads, from which the Sephardi Romancero derives, were originally created to disseminate news of historical events. In the course of the fifteenth century, the political situation in Spain evolved and so, too, did the purpose of the ballads (romances). In courtly circles, and later, among the masses, they also provided entertainment while continuing to recount historical events when and as they occurred. This vast corpus of narrative poems with its dramatic plots and attractive and engaging protagonists, continued to be performed in North Africa and the Ottoman Empire until well into the twentieth century. It has given rise to extensive investigation, field work and scholarly studies, and has provided material for numerous dissertations. The focus of such work has usually been on literary aspects of the poems, although linguistic elements have also attracted attention.

Ballads, however, are not just entertaining creations sung to while away the hours, to accompany work and household tasks, to lull babies and children to sleep or, in certain cases, to serve a didactic purpose. They reflect and reveal the physical and geographical setting in which their creators lived as well as giving insights into Spanish and Sephardi life.

Subtle details provide glimpses of the social and political environment, the values that the creators and protagonists lived by, and evidence of the highly structured society found in Spain and the Sephardi diaspora. In this contribution, I will discuss the role of Sephardi ballads as social and historical documents that reinforce and complement sociological and historical studies.

The Hebrew Component in Two Rabbinical Ladino Translations from the Sixteenth Century

Ora (RODRIGUE) SCHWARZWALD

The article compares and contrasts the nature and extent of Hebrew words in two important Ladino Jewish books: *Meza de el alma* 'Shulḥan Hapanim', translated by Meir Benveniste into Ladino from Yosef Karo's Hebrew book, *Shulḥan Arukh*, and *Sefer Ḥovat Halevavot* 'Duty of the Hearts', Ṣadiq Formon's Ladino translation of Yehuda Ibn Tibon's Hebrew version of a work originally written in Judeo-Arabic by Baḥye Ibn Paquda.

The comparison shows that not all the Hebrew words in either book are religious in nature; commonly known Hebrew words are often used instead of Spanish ones. *Meza de el alma* contains much more Hebrew than *Ḥovat Halevavot*. While the most commonly used Hebrew word in *Meza de el alma* is *berakha* 'blessing', in *Ḥovat Halevavot*, it is the abbreviation *ŠY"Ṭ* ([el] *Shem Yiṭbarakh*) 'God Blessed'. *Ḥovat Halevavot* uses numerous Hebrew abbreviations whereas *Meza de el alma* hardly utilizes any. While *Meza de el alma* cites Hebrew blessings in full without any translations, their number in *Ḥovat Halevavot* is scarce. There are many translations of all biblical quotations, although both the Arabic original and its Hebrew translation similarly cited these in their Hebrew form. Both books print Hebrew words according to their conventional spellings, although some words are adjusted to correspond with Judeo-Spanish traditions. The discrepancy in Hebrew word distribution between the two books is a result of differences in subject matter.

The Blessings of the *Amidah* Prayer in the Judeo-Italian, Ladino, and Provençal Traditions

Michael RYZHIK

The translations of the *Amidah* in five Judeo-Italian translations of the Siddur are compared with some representative Ladino and Provençal translations of the Siddur. The blessings of the *Amidah* in these translations are similar in many respects, as the three languages and the three cultures are interconnected. In general, all three traditions of translation are literal (according to the medieval *volgarizzamenti* tradition), but in most cases, the Ladino and Judeo-Provençal versions are much more literal, and therefore this translation method often renders the result incomprehensible. This can be seen, for example, in the use of the definite article; the absence of verbal copula; the translation of the Hebrew participle using an ancient Ladino and Judeo-Provençal present participle; and other traits. The Judeo-Italian translations are freer and much more like the literary language, perhaps because of the great importance accorded to language and its use in Renaissance Italy.

Ottoman Cantors of the *Siekolo Aklarado*: Listening to *Hazzan* Shimon Uziel of Salonika

Edwin SEROUSSI

Cantor Shimon Uziel (1896-1965) of Salonika penned in the early 1950s in Tel Aviv a series of ten lectures in Judeo-Spanish titled “*Hazanim y hazanut del judaismo sefardí de Oriente*” (“*Hazzanim and hazzanut of the Sephardic Jewry in the East*”). He read these lectures, live, on Israeli radio—and their written version has survived. These lectures provide a rare glimpse into the networks of Sephardic synagogue cantors active in the Eastern Mediterranean during the late Ottoman period up until World War II. As an insider, Uziel describes, with great detail, a religious musical scene that was waning by the time he read his lectures. His text reads as a lament to a vanishing golden age of Sephardic cantorial art, disrupted by displacements, geo-political upheavals, and changing aesthetic sensibilities.

The Use of Ladino and Hebrew in the Sephardic *Talmud Torah* School in Belgrade (1864-67)

Katja ŠMID

Una chika mirada sovre el Talmud Torá (A Brief View of the Talmud Torah) is a seven-page-long report in Ladino, written anonymously in Hebrew Rashi letters, and published in 1867 in Belgrade, by the head of the religious Sephardi school for boys. This unique Ladino testimony gives us a glimpse into the circumstances of this traditional Sephardi primary school in Belgrade, between 1864 and 1867, including descriptions of the class levels and their teachers, age of pupils, curriculum, and Ladino textbooks—as well as some suggestions for improving the public institution.

A transcription of this Ladino pamphlet into Latin letters and its analysis provide information on the methodology and study techniques. These were used in reading and writing Ladino in Hebrew letters, learning basic notions of Hebrew grammar, understanding Hebrew prayers, the weekly Torah portion in Hebrew and Ladino, and their first Ladino texts of religious instruction; they shed light on the use of both the vernacular and the Sacred Tongue in this educational process.

The text is attributed to Moshé David Alkalay (Belgrade, 1834-Vienna, 1901), who was the principal of the Talmud Torah in Belgrade, starting in 1864. He was one of the pivotal educators of the nineteenth century, who improved Jewish school education—and one of the leaders of the cultural and spiritual life of the Sephardic community in the Serbian capital, known for his writings, translations and the printing of Jewish books.

The Eastern Sephardim's Re-Discovery of Spain and the Spanish Language

Martin STECHAUNER

The paper discusses the crucial question of how much Eastern Sephardim in the 19th century knew about their Iberian origins, including the Spanish roots of Judezmo. Some scholars hold that ever since the expulsion from Spain, Sephardic Jews have had a continuous emotional connection with their land of origin. However, many if not most Jews in the Eastern Sephardic diaspora had gradually lost their knowledge of, and thus also

their affection for Spain. One of the first scholars pointing to this fact was David M. Bunis. Analyzing early modern Judezmo sources, Bunis concluded that the descendants of the Jewish expellees from Spain in the Eastern Sephardic diaspora had hardly identified with Spain or the modern Spanish language. This only began to change during the 19th century, when Sephardic intellectuals, especially those in the realms of the Habsburg Empire, began to rediscover Spain as an historical and emotional point of reference. Proceeding from Bunis' groundbreaking work, the paper focuses on the crucial vectors of cultural transfer helping Eastern Sephardim to become aware of their almost forgotten Spanish past. In this regard, the paper draws attention not only to non-Jewish agents, but also to the agency of Ashkenazic *maskilim*, as well as Sephardic intellectuals in Vienna, thus playing a major role in this transference process. As a matter of fact, Sephardim living in the Habsburg capital city seemed to have been among the first Jews in the Eastern Sephardic diaspora to be intrigued by the so-called "Myth of Sephardic Supremacy". This myth had first become popular among German Jewish *maskilim* at the beginning of the 19th century. In some contexts, it later also appeared in the Viennese Judezmo press, which thus contributed to the Eastern Sephardim's re-discovery of Spain and the Spanish language.

The Corner for Teaching Hebrew in a Trilingual Jewish Journal from Tripoli, Libya

Ofra TIROSH-BECKER

The journal *Haienu*, is a trilingual—Hebrew-Judeo-Arabic-Italian—weekly journal published in Tripoli (Libya) from 1949 through 1951, under the auspice of the Zionist organizations *Bnei Akiva*, *Brit Haluzim Datiyyim*, *Ben Yehuda Society*, and *Keren Kayemet LeIsrael* (Jewish National Fund). The journal reported on Zionism, the State of Israel, the achievements of the *Mizrahi* movement in Israel, the activities of Tripolitan Jews in the newly established state, and other topics. Among its various sections, the journal *Haienu* included a weekly lesson named the *Corner for Teaching Hebrew* (רכנת תעלים לעברית). This section was dedicated to teaching contemporary Hebrew, relevant to those planning to immigrate to Israel. It included short stories and dialogues in Hebrew, their translations into Judeo-Arabic, and glossaries of new Hebrew words with their

Judeo-Arabic counterparts. This paper discusses this *Corner* from a variety of aspects, including a linguistics analysis of the Judeo-Arabic dialect reflected in it.

A Judeo-Spanish Account of Travel to the Middle East from Yugoslavia

Krinka VIDA KOVIĆ PETROV

The topic of this paper is a travelogue to the Middle East, written in Judeo-Spanish by Jacob Musafia, a young Sephardic Jew from Zemun, consisting of fourteen typewritten pages. This unpublished manuscript, titled *Souvenir from a Sailor's Life*, is important for two reasons: written in 1930, it is part of the relatively small corpus of original Judeo-Spanish texts from Yugoslavia dating from the period between the two world wars; and among them, it is the only representative of a specific genre—the travelogue.

The analysis is focused on the following issues: the family history of the author; attitudes towards the Judeo-Spanish language (Sarajevo dialect); the use of various other languages in the basic Judeo-Spanish text and in para-textual positions; the structure of the narrative (resembling a chronologically framed journal); the function of the external epistolary frame (a convention typical of the travelogue genre); dual identity markers (Jewish and Yugoslav) of discourse; displacement of semantic focus (from general to specific Jewish cultural landscape); comparison with a travelogue written by Musafia's contemporary, Braco Poljokan, in the Serbo-Croatian language; type of travelogue (classical versus essayistic); social impact on language choice; frames of reference; and elements of tradition and modernity.

The Treasure Metaphor in Sephardic Discourses on Proverbs and Sayings in Territories of Former Yugoslavia (19th and 20th Centuries)

Ivana VUČINA SIMOVIĆ

In this case study, I explored the presence of the treasure metaphor (*blago/dragoc(j)enost*) and its lexical variant treasury/wealth (*riznica/bo-*

gatstvo) in academic and publicist discourses on proverbs and sayings. The corpus consisted of memories of the past, in texts written from the end of the 19th until the end of the 20th centuries, by Sephardic authors from territories of former Yugoslavia.

The research was based on terminology and theoretical and methodological frameworks of sociolinguistics and studies of the culture of remembrance. Additionally, the basic concepts of cognitive linguistic studies of metaphor were applied. The qualitative analysis conducted focused on the use of the treasure metaphor on the level of utterances/paragraphs. The results show that the authors used this metaphor in discourse to express their positive, in-group attitudes towards the proverbs and emphasize that they considered them a continual value of Sephardic/Jewish people. On the other hand, the metaphor was found within various thematic and ideological contexts, in which its meaning underwent considerable changes and expressed the different ideologies and attitudes of the authors, as members of Sephardic communities.

In both cases, the analysis revealed a lack of real interest in proverbs and oral literature, especially before WWII. The seemingly positive attitudes towards proverbs as “rarity” and “antiquities” belonging to elderly generations actually supported the belief that their use had no future. However, in the communities there were still enthusiasts who were active in the preservation and memorization of Sephardic proverbs. They were aware that proverbs conveyed generational and cultural memories and could maintain emotional links with the past. After the Holocaust, the memories of proverbs also assumed the role of *sites of memory* (Fr. *lieux de mémoire*) in performing a mnemonic practice that contributed to overcoming personal and collective traumas.

SPANISH SECTION ABSTRACTS

Verbal Periphrases in Modern Judeo-Spanish

Ángel BERENGUER AMADOR

This article presents a preliminary view of the investigation of the verbal periphrases used in a corpus of more than half a million words prepared within the framework of the research project “Between tradition and modernity: The Oriental Judeo-Spanish between 1880 and 1930”, a corpus elaborated at the University of Basel under the direction of Beatrice Schmid. Specifically, the study is limited to some modal and aspectual periphrases. For the analysis, two Judeo-Spanish works from the 18th century have been considered in order to know the state of the language in this century. Examining later Judeo-Spanish works, an attempt is made to point out the internal evolution of the Judeo-Spanish linguistic system, as well as the influence of other languages, especially French, a language which Judeo-Spanish began to encounter in the second half of the 19th century.

The preliminary conclusion regarding verbal periphrases which Judeo-Spanish presents, on the one hand, is its own internal evolution, which in some cases coincides with current standard Spanish (such as <*empezar a* + infinitive>); in other cases, it differs from this language (as in the case of <*continuar* { *a* / *de* } + infinitive>); on the other hand, in several periphrases, the influence of French is evident, as in <*parvenir a* + infinitive> or <*venir de* + infinitive>.

The Sephardim of Morocco in a Chronicle of the Magazine *Africa* (1929): Interactions between Spanish, French, Arabic and Haketía

Paloma DÍAZ-MAS

In this article, we offer the edition of a chronicle published in the Spanish Africanist magazine, *Africa*, in May 1929, by its correspondent in Tangier, Santos Fernández; he makes some comments about the languages spoken by the Sephardim of Morocco and the formation received by Jews in two educational institutions in Tangiers: the School of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Rabbinical Seminary. The chronicle also offers a profile of José Benoliel, who at the time was president of the Jewish community of Tangier, Director of the Rabbinical Seminary, corresponding academician of the Royal Spanish Academy, and a collaborator with Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Santos Fernández's article ends by proposing the creation of a Center for Higher Sephardic Studies in Tangier, which was to be promoted by the authorities of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco and directed by Benoliel himself.

A Chance Dialogue between Three Newspapers in Jewish Languages: *Haynt* (Warsaw), *La Renasensia Djudia* (Thessaloniki) and *Aksyon* (Thessaloniki)

Susy GRUSS

The article analyzes a public dispute over the differences between Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews, illustrating a debate that continues to have relevance and consequences in the Jewish world until today. The exceptional dispute arose following the publication of a rather aggressive, scandalous article, entitled "Sefardim i Ashkenazim". The article, published in *Aksyon* on November 14, 1934, p. 2, was signed by a controversial journalist from Thessaloniki based in Paris, Shemuel Sa'adi Halevi.

Halevi's radical position regarding Sephardic Jews, their habits, and positions, was highly influenced by the pseudo-scientific theories on the classification of the races popular in Europe in the 1930s, and provoked immediate condemnation by the spokesman for the Zionist movement in Greece, *La Renasensia Djudia de Salónica* (November 16, 1934, p. 1).

Surprisingly, an imminent response was also published in one of the most widespread Yiddish newspapers in Warsaw, the *Haynt*. In the article “A racist Jewish theoretician—a debate without reason in the Sephardic press” (November 22, 1934, p. 2), the anonymous editor of *Haynt* discredits Haveli, judging that his nationalist arguments “go very far” and are rather racist.

Undoubtedly, the articles in *Aksyon*, *La Renasensia Djudia* and *Haynt* are a vestige of the dynamic ideological debate held in the European Jewish press until its disappearance during the Second World War.

The Sephardic Purim *coplas* of Historical-Biblical Content

Elena ROMERO

The article concentrates on Sephardic *coplas* of Purim of historical-biblical content, that is, the *coplas* which put into verse, more or less broadly, the biblical account of Esther, making use in many cases of legendary Hebrew additions to the biblical text. In previous studies I recorded the general list of eight already known Purim *coplas* corresponding to this content. In this article, I was able, among other things, to present five additional hitherto unknown texts, from printed, manuscripts, and oral versions; I also made a very brief presentation of my book, where I carried out the critical editing and study of ten texts of this group of *coplas*.

Moses Almosnino before the Sublime Porte: Reflexions about his *Crónica de los reyes otomanos* (16th Century)

Pilar ROMEU FERRÉ

Rabbi Moses Almosnino (Salonika 1518-1580), whose family traced back their origins in Jaca (Aragón, Spain), wrote the *Crónica de los reyes otomanos* between 1566 and 1567, in Costandina (Constantinople), while taking formerly part of a negotiation committee in order to get a tax cut that the city paid to the Imperial government. The whole work consists of two chronicles (*Crónica de la muerte de Suleimán I y la subida al trono de Selim II* and *Crónica del gobierno de Suleimán I*), a descriptive account of the city of Constantinople (*Extremos y grandezas de Constantinopla*),

and the historical account of the negotiation that marked the life of the Jews in the eastern communities (*Las negociaciones de la delegación de Salónica ante la corte de Suleimán I y Selim II*). It is preserved in a single handwritten copy—although we know that there was more than one—in Hebrew characters (*aljamiado*) in the Ambrosian Library (Milan, Italy). It is a work designed for use among the Sephardim, but it was not published during the author's lifetime; therefore, we do not know the influence or the reach that it could have among its contemporaries.

In this brief contribution, we will analyze one of the most interesting aspects of this work: the author's perception of the figure of Suleiman (whom he met and with whom the negotiations were taking place). He is directed by a great accumulation of bombastic and almost always positive epithets, in spite of recognizing that many of his acts were of extreme cruelty. Almosnino was a man of his time, an orthodox rabbi with a solid humanist training, whose position allowed him to come into contact with the Sephardic elite around the Sublime Gate. He gained respect from the established authorities, and his work could relate to the literary texts of the 15th to 17th centuries, both of the Jewish authors and Hispano-Portuguese Judaizers as well as that of non-Jews. In this context Almosnino's historical work should be studied.

The Translator-Prologuist in the Ottoman-Sefardi Literary Polysystem

Michael STUEMUND-HALÉVY

The present paper analyzes in a content analysis of translators' prefaces to literary translations into Judezmo, the strategic role allographic preface writers play in mediating translated texts, to target readers and explore the cultural and ideological contexts, which shape such prefaces, and also trace the contexts the writers of such prefaces (re)create.

HEBREW SECTION ABSTRACTS

The Mutual Influence of Languages in Contact: Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic in North Africa

Moshe BAR-ASHER

The Judeo-Arabic language in North Africa and the Hebrew language cannot be considered languages in contact, as Hebrew was not spoken by North African Judeo-Arabic speakers. This is also the case with all other Jewish languages. The speakers of all other Jewish languages did not speak Hebrew.

Even so, we cannot deny the existence of partial contact between the languages of the Jewish society and the presence of Hebrew in this society. Hebrew was the language of culture used by the educated elite; it was also the liturgical language used by all, including the Jewish masses. Torah study and the study of other Hebrew texts in the Jewish vernaculars also maintained continuous contact between Hebrew and Jewish languages. Indeed, while we cannot speak of direct contact of speech in the two languages, there are nevertheless meeting points.

In this study, I examine the results of the partial contact between Hebrew and the Judeo-Arabic language in North Africa. While I deal mostly with Judeo-Arabic, I do not disregard Muslim Arabic. I narrowed the examination to Morocco (but not only Morocco), and expanded the study of the contact between Hebrew and Arabic to a comprehensive study of four subfields: *a.* the influence of Hebrew on Judeo-Arabic; *b.* the influence of Hebrew on Muslim Arabic; *c.* the influence of Hebrew on the Arabic of the *Sharḥ*; *d.* the influence of Arabic on Hebrew.

In most regions of Morocco the mother tongue used by most Jews was Arabic, excluding either the Jewish communities that spoke Berber or Berber and Arabic, or the “Spanish” region in Northern Morocco, where the Jews spoke *Haketia* and Spanish.

The study of contact between languages was expanded to meeting points that are limited in scope. Even in translated *Sharḥ* texts with a great deal of contact points between languages, the contact is not between the spoken languages used as living languages by the Jewish community of the Maghreb, because Hebrew was not spoken.

The *Ezra baZarot* Association in Late Ottoman Edirne

Yaron BEN-NAEH

The social life of Ottoman Jews, their cultural context—both Jewish and Ottoman, and the linkage to the economic situation, are one of the subjects which constantly fascinate me. In honor of Prof. David M. Bunis, teacher and colleague, I wish to present here a Ladino-written statute of a Jewish association from mid-nineteenth century Edirne. The *Ezra baZarot* society offered mutual aid and loans but also gave a sense of belonging and cared for the member’s spirit: sponsoring a continuous study of *Torah* and fostering mutual supervision of religious and moral behavior. A close reading of the regulations and a comparison to similar contemporary Ottoman and post-Ottoman Jewish societies in the Balkans gives us some glimpses into Jewish lives on the eve of modernity. It reaffirms the continuation of traditional patterns of associations, the deep acculturation in Ottoman culture, and especially its guilds system, but also how Middle Eastern middle-class Jews coped within an economy in transition.

That Is Why They Called it “Haketia”

Yaakov BENTOLILA

In his article on the names of Jewish languages, David Bunis classified Haketia among the “popular” genres. As José Benoliel has pointed out in his book, the name Haketia came into use relatively late. In his opinion, Judeo-Arabic speakers coined it as the language of the “Hakitos”, a nick-

name of Yitzhak, to ridicule their Spanish-speaking brethren from the north. Our data confirm the assumption of a late label. As far as is known, the name Haketia was first documented in 1919, in a book by the Spanish journalist, Manuel Ortega. Based on various testimonies, I would like to claim that the label Haketia emerged among the Spanish-speaking Jews themselves, who, out of eagerness to adopt the prestigious modern language, developed a reluctant attitude towards the hybrid language spoken in their community. However, in recent generations, after the descendants of its speakers emigrated to Israel and other countries, Haketia has experienced increased popularity in academic and artistic contexts and gained recognition as the Jewish language of the Spanish Moroccans.

Hebrew Printing in Salonika: A Previously Unknown Chronology of the Bezes Printing House

Dov COHEN

The Bezes Printing House was established in Salonika, in 1888, by David ben Barukh Bezes; his sons and grandsons took over after his death in 1912. Considered to be one of the city's leading and most prominent printing houses during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Bezes Printing House was finally forced to close its doors as World War II and the decimation of the local Jewish community loomed.

In addition to their publishing endeavors, members of the Bezes family authored original Ladino works, translated from other languages into Ladino, and were noted publicists. During the course of its over fifty years of existence, the Bezes Printing House released nearly one hundred and fifty publications, spanning a wide range of genres, including both sacred and secular literature—such as prayer books and other liturgical works, Passover Haggadot, Ethics of the Fathers, belles-lettres, newspapers, almanacs, calendars, and assorted pamphlets. The printing house's stature was also reflected by the large number of Ladino newspapers it published—nearly two dozen—and some of them were even edited by members of the Bezes family themselves.

This article presents a previously unknown chronology, delineating the history and achievements of the Bezes Printing House, which was written by Barukh ben David Bezes in 1938. The chronology was written in Ladi-

no, using the *solitreo* script, and a transcription as well as photographs of the original are included in the appendices.

Although Salonika was a major center of Hebrew printing, no comprehensive study of the history of Hebrew printing in that city has been written, and to date, information about the printing houses, the publishers, the books, and the many newspapers that were printed there has yet to be collected. Thus, in addition to the aforementioned chronology, this article also surveys the available research pertaining to Hebrew printing in Salonika.

Variation in Judeo-Arabic in Light of Its Contacts with Other Languages

Aharon MAMAN

Variation in Judeo-Arabic is typical of other Judeo-languages with regard to their Jewish and Hebrew components. Yet the current Judeo-Arabic variation was preceded by two stages: the linguistic platform on which the Hebrew and Jewish elements were added was itself quite diverse before it spread, after the Islam conquests (even without considering the broad issue of the linguistic contribution of the Jewish tribes, Qainuqa^e, Nadir, And Qurayḍa, sitting in Hijāz at the time).

In the second stage, especially after the Islam conquests, Arabic dialects diversified, following their contacts with other languages.

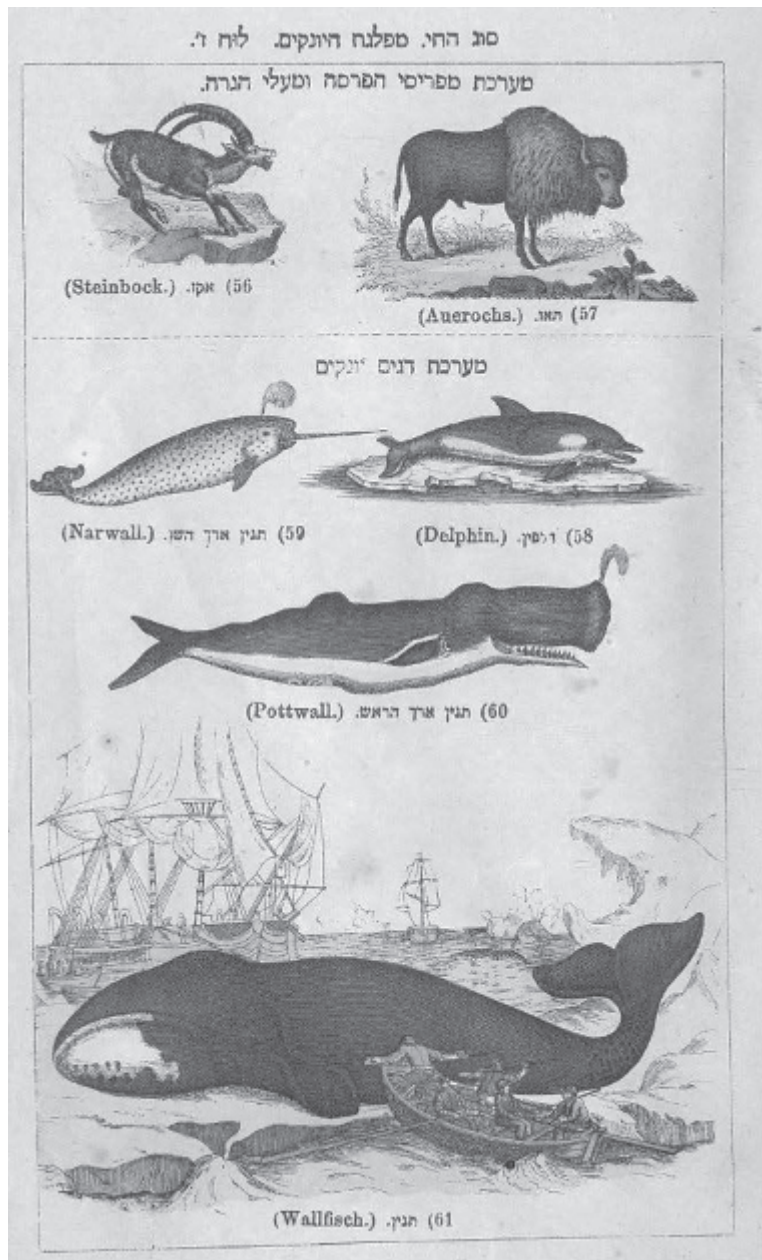
Thus, variations in modern-day Judeo-Arabic dialects stem primarily from the first two stages of Arabic diversity, the third stage being another ramification that has been added upon the former ones by virtue of the Hebrew and Jewish components that began with a general primary nucleus and later developed independently in each dialect.

Baleen and Siren: On the Provenance and Fate of Some Foreign Vocables from the Book *Tsel Olam* in Mendele's *Travels of Benjamin III*

Moshe TAUBE

The paper describes the different approaches by the Maskilic Hebrew publicist Sholem-Yaykev Abramovich and by his alter ego, the Yiddish

writer, Mendeley Moykher Sforim, towards the antiquated presentation of the Natural Sciences among the traditional Jewish society in Eastern Europe, in the nineteenth century. This is done by comparing Mendeley's treatment of the beliefs held by the hero of his satirical novel, *Travels of Benjamin III*, based on fantastic stories about sea-monsters and sea-maidens found in popular Jewish works, such as *Tsel Olam* with Abramovich's outright criticism of such works in his Hebrew adaptation, titled *Toldot ha-Teva*, of H. O. Lenz's *Gemeinnützige Naturgeschichte*.



איור התנין מתוך תולדות הטבע

אָבגרונטען און אלע וואָס האָבען אויף איהם געלאָגערט ווערען דערטרונקען". דערמיט טאָקי איז אַ שטאַרקע אַיזערנע ראיה צו יענע ווילדע חקרנים, וואָס האַלטען, אַז די גלופסקער אַיינוואוינער וואַקסען פֿון הינדיא"ה. זעגלענדיג פֿון דאָרט איבער דער פּיאַטיגנילעווקע אין די אַלטע יאָהרען, האָבען זיי מיט זיך פאַרשלעפט דעם **כליין"א**, וואָס האַלט זיך אויף באמת אין אינדיא"ה און וואָס זיין טבע איז נאָכצולויפֿען נאָך די שיפֿען. אַז בנימין האָט אַיינמאַל אַריינגעקוקט אין טייך, האָט ער דאָרט דערזעהן טיף אין וואַסער עפּיס מיני בעשעפעניש, אַקוראַט גלייך צו די געשטאַלטען פֿון ווייבער. נאָך גאַנץ לאַנג, זאָגט בנימין, האָב איך געלייענט אין ספרים, אַז אין וואַסער זענען דאָ ים־מענשען, און דער מחבר פֿון **"צל עולם"** זאָגט דערויף בתורת עדות אזוי: דער קאַפּ, דער גוף, דאָס פנים און די בריסט זייערע זעהען אויס ווי אַ בתולה און זינגען זעהר שטען און זיי הייסען **שריינ"א**. פֿון אַלטע אמתע מענשען, וואָס מען מעג זיי גלויבען אויפֿ'ן וואָרט, האָב איך אויך געהערט דערזעהלענדיג, אַז זיי האָבען אַליין געזעהן אַזעלכע **ים־מענשען** ביי קאַמעדיאַנטען, וואָס פֿלעגען געוועהנטליך נאָך דער קאַמעדיע זיי ווייזען יעדערען פֿאַר עטליכע גראָשען, נאָר היינט האָב איך עס דערלעבט צו זעהן מיט מיינע אייגענע אויגען. איך האָב מיט גרויס וואונדער געוויזען אויף די בתולות דעם ערל און ער האָט מיר געוויזען אויף עפּיס וועשינס, וואָס זענען געשטאַנען ביים ברעג טייך און געוואָשען גרעט. איך ווייז אייהם אונטען אין וואַסער, און ער ווייזט מיר אויבען אויפֿ'ן ברעג, און ווייל מיר האָבען איינער דעם אַנדערענס לשון נישט פֿערשטאַנען, האָט ער ניט געוואוסט, וואָס איך ווייז אייהם, און איך האָב ניט געוואוסט, וואָס ער ווייזט מיר, און איך האָב פֿון איהם מכה דעם גאָרנישט געקענט דערגעהן.

נספח 3

איורי הדגים היונקים ובהם התנין (=לווייתן) מתוך כרך א של "ספר תולדות הטבע" של ש"י אברמוביץ.

נספחים

נספח 1

המקור היידי (מהדורת 1910, עמ' 13):
פֿון יענער צייט אָן פֿלעגט בנימין מיט גרויס חשק זיך פֿערטיפען אין רבה בר בר חנה'ס נסיעות אויפֿ'ן ים און אין דער מדבר. ער האָט אויך דערטאָפט שפּעטער דעם ספֿר "אלדד הדני", דעם ספֿר "מסעות בנימין", וואָס ער האָט מיט אַ זיבען הונדערט יאָהר צוריק גערייזט ביז עק וועלט, דעם ספֿר "שבחי ירושלים" מיט הוספות און דעם ספֿר "צל עולם", וואס אין זיבען קליינע בלעטלעך איז ער פֿולל אַלע שבע חכמות און דערצעהלט חידושים ונפלאות פֿון דער גאַנצער וועלט און פֿון איהרע משונה-ווילדע בעשעפעניש.

נספח 2

המקור היידי (מהדורת 1910, עמ' 92–93):
פֿון זיינע נסיעות אויף דער פֿיאַטיגנילעווקע, דערצעהלט בנימין חידושים, וואונדערליכע זאַכען, וואָס האָבען אין דער וועלט אַ רעש אָנגעמאַכט. מיר וועלען דערפֿון דאָ נאָר אַ מקצת אַרויסשטעלען.
שיפענדיג זיך איינמאָל אויף דער פֿיאַטיגנילעווקע, האָט בנימין דאָרט דערזעהן איין דערמיט טייך אַ גאַנץ גרויסען אָרט, וואָס איז געווען גרין בעוואַקסען און מיט זיין גרינקייט די אויגען פֿאַרנומען. ער האָט געמיינט, דאָס איז אַ וויספע בעוואַקסען מיט גראַז אי מיט שמעקענדיגע קרייטעכצער. אַז ער האָט אַרויסגעשטעלט אַ פֿוס און שוין געוואָלט אַ שפרונג געבען אויף דער וויספע, האָט דער קאפיטאן פֿון דער לאַדקע איהם פֿלוצלינג אַ חאפּ געטאָן פֿון הינטען מיט אַ געשריי און אַ שללידער געגעבען איהם צוריק אין דעם שיפעלע מיט דעם גאַנצען כּח אַזוי, אַז ער איז אַ היבשע צייט געבליבען ליגען גאַנץ פֿארדולט. ער האָט מעהר נישט געהערט, ווי אַרום דעם שיפעלע קאָכט, רעשט זיך, גלייך ווי עס ראַנגעלט זיך מיט עפּיס, און עס גייט מיט גרויס מיה זיין וועג. און אַז ער איז שפּעטער צו זיך געקומען, האָט איהם דער ערל געזאָגט, ער איז געווען אין אַ גרויסער סכנה דעטרונקען צו ווערען אין דעם גרינקייט, וואָרום דאָס גרינקייט איז נישט קיין וויספע, ווי ער האָט געמיינט, נאָר דאָס איז נאָר דער צווייט, וואָס די פֿיאַטיגנילעווקע צוויטעט אַלע יאָהר.
איך אָבער, אַזוי שרייבט בנימין, האָב מיך נישט געקענט לאַזען [א] איינריידען, אַז דאָס זאָל זיין צווייט. אמת טאָקי, אַ ריח עפּיס האָט עס געהאַט, נאָר זינט איך לעב האָב איך נישט געהערט און אויך אין מיינע ספרים נישט בעגעגענט, אַז וואָסער זאָל צוויטען, ווען עס זאָל צוויטען, וואָלט דאָך דאָרויף בעדאָרפט וואַקסען דערנאָך עפּיס אַ מין פֿרי, וואָס מען מאַכט דאָרויף אַ ברכה בורא פֿרי המים! איך האָלט גאָר אין דער סברא, אַז דאָס איז דער משונה גרויסער ים-פֿיש **כליינ"א**, פֿון וועלכען ס'איז דאָ זעהר אַ שענער שמיעס אין דעם ספֿר "**צל עולם**" מיט די דאָזיגע ווערטער: "דער שרעקליך גרויסער פֿיש בעדעקט זיך מיט גראַז און מיט ערד, ביז ער זעהט אויס ווי אַ גרויסע וויספע, און אַ מאָל מיינען די [א] וואָס זעגלען אין ים, אַז דאָס איז אַ שענער באָרג, זיי שטעלען זיך דאָרויף, טהוען וואָס זיי בעדאָרפען, קאָכען מאַכלים, און אַז דעם פֿיש ווערט וואַרעם פֿונ'ם פייער, טוקט ער זיך אונטער אין די

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- מענדעלע 1920 אלע ווערק פון מענדעלע מוכר-ספרים, בעריכת נ' מייזיל, וואַרשאַ 1920.
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- עפשטיין תרנ"א א' עפשטיין, אלדד הדני: ספוריו והלכותיו במהדורות שונות על פי כתבייד ודפוסים עתיקים עם מבוא והערות, בצרוף מאמר על הפלשים ומנהגיהם, פרעסבורג תרנ"א.
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- קיפרווסר תשס"ח ר' קיפרווסר, "מסעות של רבה בר בר חנה", מחקרי ירושלים בספרות עברית כב (תשס"ח), עמ' 241–215.
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הקיצורים הביבליוגרפיים

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- אברמאווין תרמ"ט ש"י אברמאווין, "(מכתב אוטוביוגרפי עם רשימת ספריו)", ספר זכרון לסופרי ישראל החיים אתנו כיום: יאצור תולדותיהם ושמות ספריהם הכתובים בשפת עבר ונוגעים בעניני תורה וחכמת ישראל. נערך (בעריכת נ' סוקולוב וי"ח זגורודסקי) בבית מערכת האסיף. ווארשא תרמ"ט, עמ' 117–126.
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- בן זאב 1807–1808 י"ל בן זאב, אוצר השרשים, וינה 1807–1808.
- בן-צבי 1938 י' בן-צבי, מסעות ארץ ישראל לרבי משה באסולה (הנודע בשם 'הנוסע האלמוני מליוורנו משנת רפ"ב'). יוצא לאור עליפי כתב יד מקורי עלידי יצחק בן-צבי, ירושלים 1938.
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- וויינרייך 1928 מ' וויינרייך, בילדער פון דער יידישער ליטעראטורגעשיכטע פון די אנהייבן ביז מענדעלע מוכר-ספרים, ווילנע 1928.
- לנץ 1851 Lenz, Harald Othmar, *Gemeinnützige Naturgeschichte*. Gotha, 1851.

המין הראשון פרת הים... המין השני: בתולת הים (זעמאיד, דוגאנג) *Halicore*.

בשם "בתולת הים" אברמוביץ' מכנה את היונקים הימיים, שבנוסף הגרמני של לניץ קרויים: *Dugong (Seekuh, Seemaide)*,²⁹ ובלשון ימינו שמם 'תחש המשכן' (פרת ים, בתולת ים).³⁰

בכובעו האחר, כסופר קטירי הכותב בז'רגון, אברמוביץ' מקשר את בתולות הים עם אותם "בני ימא" שהוזכרו בדברי התלמוד ובפירוש רש"י, בשימו' בפי בנימין את המילים: "קראתי בספרים, שיש מיני בני אדם בים, ובעל ספר 'צל עולם' מעיד עליהם ואומר: ראשם, גופם, פניהם ושדיהם כדמות בתולה". דעתו הבלתי מחמיאה של אברמוביץ' על הספר "צל עולם" ועל ספרים אחרים כמותו, מובעת בלא כחל ושרק במבוא לחלק השני ("העוף") של "ספר תולדות הטבע":³¹

ואם לפעמים נסו לדבר על איזו מין שנים שלושה מלין הנה שפתיהם לא ברור מללו ודבריהם שאובים ממקור אכזב, היוצא מנהר דמיוניקדומים, להשקות צאן אדם הבורים, השואפים לספורים מפליאים ולדברים בודים לא היו ולא נבראו. בתוכם יתחשב "ספר צל עולם" אשר בצלו יחסו ספורי־שוא ואור האמת חשך באהלו.

נראה אפוא כי דמותו כפולת הפנים של המחבר – המשכיל העברי ש"י אברמוביץ' וסופר הז'רגון מנדלי – אפשרה לו כאן, באמצעות כמה לעזים, לנצל את עוקצה המעודן יחסית של הקטירה כדי להצביע על כמה מן הנגעים בחברה היהודית בת זמנו, שאותם הוקיע ביתר בוטות בכתיבתו המדעית, הפובליציסטית והספרותית, בידיש ובעברית כאחת.

dertheil aus dem Wasser erheben, so sind sie, von vorn und von Weitem gesehn, einem Menschen etwas ähnlich, und Reisende haben daher öfters geglaubt, Seejungfern u. dgl. Gesehn zu haben.

תרגום (שלי): "המשפחה הראשונה של הדגים היונקים: אוכלי עשב. לטוחנות יש כתרים שטוחים. על החזה ניצבים 2 דדים. הנחיריים נפתחים על החוטם, ולו שפם. כשהם עולים מהמים עם חלקם הקדמי, במבט מלפנים ומרחוק, הם דומים במקצת לאדם, ולכן נוסעים האמינו לא פעם שהם ראו בתולות ים וכדומה".

²⁹ לניץ 1851: 690. ³⁰ על היונק הימי ועל שמו העברי ראו ויקיפדיה, "תחש המשכן". ראו גם אילון גלעד, "חד־קרן, כלב או פרת ים – מהו תחש?", הארץ, 24.8.2013 (<https://www.haaretz.co.il/magazine/the-edge/mehasafa/>). (premium-1.2102822).

³¹ אברמאווין 1862: 2. מובא במהדורה (בהכנה) של גד פרוידנטל, מצוטט על פי אתר "מאגרים" של המילון ההיסטורי.

המילה השנייה שנעסוק בה היא **שריינ"א**, המציינת, כדברי בנימין, "מיני בני אדם בים", אשר לפי "צל עולם": "ראשם, גופם, פניהם ושדיהם כדמות בתולה ומשוררים בנעימות". לעז זה מציין כמובן את בתולות הים או בנות הים בלשון ימינו, והשם שריינ"א מוצאו במיתולוגיה היוונית, שם הוא שמן של הסירנות (Σειρήνες), המפתות את יורדי הים בשירתן. המילה והמושג נכנסו ללטינית המאוחרת²³ בצורה *sirena*, וממנה – לכל שפות אירופה; וגם במקורותינו היא ידועה בצורות רבות, בהן סרני, סירוני, סירונית וסילונית.²⁴ במיתולוגיה היוונית השם מציין יצורים שחציים אישה וחציים ציפור (כפי שהשתמרו בפסלים ובציורים), ואילו בספר "צל עולם" הוא מציין "דגים אשר ראשם גופם פניהם ושדיהם כדמות בתולה", תיאור שאינו מפתיע, שכן גם במקורותינו מוזכרים יצורים שחציים דג וחציים אישה.²⁵ כך למשל בדברי רש"י בפירושו לסוגיה התלמודית במסכת בכורות (ח ע"א). בסוגיה מובא: "הדולפנין פרין ורבין כבני אדם. מאי דולפנין אמר רב יהודה בני ימא...". ורש"י מבאר: "הדולפנין פרים ורבים מבני אדם, שאם בא אדם עליהם מתעברות הימנו. בני ימא – דגים שיש בים שחציין צורת אדם וחציין צורת דג ובלע"ז שריינ"א". ודוק: רש"י לא רק מזכיר את השריינ"א אלא גם מעוות בפירושו (כבני אדם < מבני אדם) את האבחנה הנכונה המובאת בתלמוד, שלפיה הדולפינים (כשאר היונקים הימיים), מזדווגים כדרך היונקים ולא כדרך הדגים.

הדולפין מוצג גם ב"ספר תולדות הטבע": "המין הרביעי הדעלפין (דעלפהין) Delphinus",²⁶ ולצד הערך ש"י אברמוביץ' הוסיף כוכבית המפנה להערה בתחתית העמוד: "בגמרא (בכורות, דף ס') הדולפינים פרים ורבים כבני אדם וכו' כן הוא הגירסא לפי בעל הערוך, אבל גירסת רש"י מבני אדם פ' אם בא אדם עליהן מתעברות ממנו (!)". סימן הקריאה שבו חתם את ההערה אינו מותיר מקום לספק בעניין דעתו על פירוש רש"י. גם בתולות הים מוזכרות ב"ספר תולדות הטבע":²⁷

מערכת היונקים התשיעית. דגים היונקים (פיזיזיגטעהירע) Cetacea
משפחת דגים היונקים הראשונה: אוכלי עשב (גראספרעסער) Herbivora
ראשי המלצות אשר לבעלי משפחה הזאת, המה שטוחים. על החזה יש להם שני דדים.
הנחירים נפתחים בקצה האף ויש להם שפם (שנורבארט). בעלותם מן המים ידמו מרחוק
בחלק גויתם הקדום לעין ראי כאדם. על כן האמינו פעמים רבות עובדי ארחות מים, כי חזו
בתולות הים וכדומה.²⁸

²³ למשל Sirenarum ora של הסירנות' אצל טרטוליאנוס (155–220 לספירה). ראו המילון הלטיני המקוון: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0059:entry=sirena>

²⁴ קאהוט תר"ן: 139.

²⁵ המעבר מאישה-ציפור לאישה-דג אירע באירופה בין העת העתיקה לימי הביניים, ומאז נתקבע הדימוי של בתולת ים שחצייה העליון אישה וחצייה התחתון דג (באין 2017: 23–25).

²⁶ אברמאווין 1862: 499.

²⁷ שם: 496–497.

²⁸ בנוסח המקור (לנץ 1851: 690):

Erste Familie der Fische: Säugethiere: Grasfresser. Herbivora
Die Backenzähne haben flache Kronen. An der Brust stehen 2 Tuter. Die Nasenlöcher
öffnen sich an der Schnauze, und diese hat einen Schnurrbart. Wenn sie sich mit dem Vor-

המילה **כליין** "א", המתארת את "הדג הגדול שבים" היא ללא ספק שיבוש של המילה **בליינא** (בלטינית *balaena* ובצרפתית *baleine*),¹⁷ מונח שמנדלי הכיר היטב, שהרי בשנת 1862 פרסם בלייפציג, בשמו האמיתי שלום יעקב אברמוביץ' את הכרך הראשון של "ספר תולדות הטבע", שהוא תרגום לעברית ועיבוד לספרו של הרלד אוטמר לנץ *Gemeinnützige Naturgeschichte*, ובו מנה את מיני הדגים היונקים,¹⁸ ובהם (המין השביעי): "התנין (וואללפיש)¹⁹ Balaena", ובסוף הספר אף הביא איורים להמחשה.²⁰ ב"ספר תולדות הטבע", השתמש ש"י אברמוביץ' בשם "תנין" לציון הלווייתן,²¹ כפי שהיה מקובל במאה התשע-עשרה, וזאת על סמך פירוש רש"י לבראשית א, כא: "וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַתַּנִּינִם הַגְּדֹלִים". רש"י: "התנינים – דגים גדולים שבים. ובדברי אגדה (פי' הספינה) הוא לווייתן...". ניתן להניח שמנדלי הבין היטב שהצורה **כליין** "א" היא שיבוש אך העדיף להותירה לצורכי הקטירה.

כאן עלינו לציין כי קיים גם נוסח יידי של הספר "צל עולם" שכותרתו "ספר ידיעת עולם". הוא נדפס פעמיים (בתע"ט ללא ציון מקום הדפוס, ובתפ"ח באלטונא), עוד לפני פרסום הנוסח העברי בשנת תצ"ז באמסטרדם. הנוסח היידי תורגם וקוצר מן הנוסח העברי (בכתב יד), כפי שעולה מן ההשוואה בין שני הנוסחים במהדורה (בהכנה) של גד פרוידנטל. בנוסח היידי ב"ספר ידיעת עולם" שם הדג הגדול הוא **בליינא**,²² אך מנדלי בכתבו את "מסעות בנימין השלישי" לא השתמש בנוסח זה (וספק אם הכירו), אלא תרגם ליידיש את המשפט כולו מן הנוסח העברי של "צל עולם", ובבואו לכתוב לאחר מכן את הנוסח העברי של "מסעות בנימין" ציטט את הקטע מ"צל עולם" כמות שהוא.

יעוין בו (ח"ב שער י'): הדג הגדול שבים וכו' ולרוב גדלו יגדלו עליו עשבים וקרקע עד ירָאָה אי גדולה, והר גדול, ולפעמים יסברו יורדי הים בדעתם להמתין שם, כי ידמה להם הר יפה, ועושים שם כל צרכם, ומבשלים מאכלים, וכאשר יחם לדג ויריח הדג האש על גבו, ירד וישקע עד תהום רבה, ויטבעו כל החושים עליו עכ"ל [עד כאן לשונו]. והוא לקוח מספור רבה בר בר חנא. יעוין ב"ב [בבא בתרא] (עג ע"ב) וחזוין ההוא כורא דיתבא ליה חלתא אגביה, וקדחא אגמא עילויה סברינן יבשתא היא וסלקינן ואפינן בשלינן אגביה וכד חם גביה אתהפך וכו' הוה טבעינן עכ"ל".

¹⁷ אף שבמקור הצרפתי של "צל עולם" שמו של הדג הגדול אינו מפורש.

¹⁸ אברמאווין 1862: 496–504.

¹⁹ שם: 504. את מיני בעלי החיים הציג אברמוביץ' בסדר קבוע: תחילה הציג שם עברי, אחריו תעתיק השם המקובל בלשון אשכנז (גרמנית באותיות עבריות), ולבסוף השם המדעי בלטינית.

²⁰ ראו נספח 3.

²¹ זאת, בצד השימוש במילה "תנין" לציון 'תמסח' (שאיילה מן הערבית تَمَسَح), שימוש שהיה קיים כבר בזמנו של מנדלי, אך הפך למשמע העיקרי של "תנין" בלשון ימינו. על גורלה של המילה "תנין" ראו מאמרו של אילון גלעד "כך קיבל התנין את שמו", "הארץ" 12.10.2015 (<https://www.haaretz.co.il/magazine/>) 12.10.2015. (the-edge/mehasafa-premium-1.2745462).

²² ראו הנוסח ביידיש בספר ידיעת עולם תע"ט, עמ' יח: אונ' גיבט גאר איין גרושין פֿיש דער היישט [בליינא] אונ' ווייל ער אזא גאר גרוש איז דז ער שטיל שטיט זא וואקסט אויף אים פֿיל גראז אונ' קומט ערד אויף אים אלו מן מיינט עז ווער איין גרושר אינזיל אין ים. אלו איין גרושר בערג און אופֿט קומן לייט צו פֿארין אויף דען ים ווען זיא אן דער אינזיל קומן מיינן זיא עז איז איין גרושר בערג זא גיהן זיא דרויף אונ' מֿכן פֿיאר אן דרויף אונ' קאכֿן אירי שפֿיז אונ' ווען דער פֿיש שפירט דז פֿיאר אלו אים ווארים ווערט זא לאזט ער זיך אין גרונד פֿון ים זא מוזין דיא לייט אלי פֿר זינקין.

בנימין השלישי מספר שאת המידע על הדגים מצא בספר "צל עולם" והוא מביא כלשונו שם ("כהאי לישנא") ואכן, בספר המוזכר, בשער "מן דגי ארץ אינד"א", המידע הזה מופיע:¹²

הדג הגדול שבים שמו **כלי"א**¹³ ולרב גדלו עליו עשבים וקרקע עד ידמה אי גדולה והר גדול ולפעמים יסובנו יורדי הים בדמותם להמתן שם כי ידמה להם הר יפה ועושים שם כל צרכם ומבשלים מאכלם וכאשר יחם לדג ויריה הדג האש על גבו ירד וישקע עד תהום רבה ויטבעו כל החונים עליו. ויש שם דגים אשר ראשם גופם פניהם שדיהם כדמות בתולה ומשוררים בנעימות ונקרא **שריינ"א**...

הציטוט מהספר "צל עולם" ששם מנדלי בפי הנוסע בנימין הוא אפוא מדויק למדי. הסיפור על הדג הגדול שיורדי ים חשבוהו לאי וחנו עליו, מזכיר בפרטים רבים אחד מסיפורי האגדה מלאי הגוזמאות המופיעים בתלמוד בשמו של האמורא רבה בר בר חנה.¹⁴ לעיל ראינו את דברי מנדלי שלפיהם במסגרת ההכנות למסעותיו, בנימין "היה שוקד בהתמדה יתרה על מסעותיו של רבה בר-בריה חנה בים ובמדבר", ומתוכם ניכר שמנדלי היה ער לדמיון בין סיפורי רבה בר בר חנה ובין הכתוב בספר "צל עולם", בדומה למשכילים יהודים אחרים במאה התשע-עשרה, ובהם יעקב רייפמאן,¹⁵ שראה באגדה על רבה בר בר חנה את מקור הסיפור על הדג הגדול ב"צל עולם".¹⁶

¹² שער י בחלק ב (מהדורת אמשטרדם 1733, דף י, עמ' א-ב).

¹³ בכל המהדורות של "צל עולם" שנדפסו בימי חייו של מנדלי הכתיב זהה.

¹⁴ מקבץ האגדות מופיע בבבלי, בבא בתרא עג ע"ב-עד ע"א. מפרשי אגדות התלמוד וחכמי ההלכה ניסו לעמוד על פשר סיפורים אלו, שהפרטים וההתרחשויות המתוארים בהם נראים כלקוחים מעולם הדמיון. היו שסברו שהם סיפורים שנועדו למלא צורך פדגוגי "לחידוד התלמידים"; היו שראו בהם סיפורים שטמונים בהם מסרים אבל הם אינם מובאים במפורש אלא דרך משלים וחידות; והיו שראו בהם תיאורים של חלומות או אפילו נבואות. להרחבה ראו מאמרו של הרב טוביה ליפשיץ, הכולל מובאות רבות והפניות לביבליוגרפיה עשירה (באתר "דעת": <https://daat.ac.il/daat/toshba/rababach/1.htm>). קיפרווסר (תשס"ח) דן בסיפורים אלו מן הזווית של תורת הספרות המודרנית, וראו גם כל הספרות המצוטטת שם.

¹⁵ יעקב רייפמאן (1894–1818) היה משכיל יהודי אוטודידקט שחי כל ימיו בעוני ונדד לפרנסתו בין הערים לובלין, זמושץ' ושרבשין (Szczepleszyn) שבמערב גליציה. הוא פרסם 23 ספרים (22 מהם ראו אור בחייו) ומאות מאמרים בכתבי עת למדעי היהדות ובמאספים שנתפרסמו בעיקר בגרמניה, והתכתב עם שד"ל, שטיינשניידר, גרץ ואחרים מגדולי הדור. בזיכרונותיו של תלמידו י"ל פרץ (פרץ 1920, 76, 83, XIII) הוא מוזכר בהערצה, ובסיפורו של יצחק באשעוויס-זינגער "אנדרוגינוס" (באשעוויס-זינגער 1975: 182), הוא מופיע (אומנם בהסתייגות המחבר המודה שהדברים מובאים מפי השמועה: "געזאגט האט מען"), בדמות 'האפיקורס' היושב בגינת ביתו בשבת ולומד תורה להנאתו בעודו מעשן סיגר. בקרב החסידים שרדפו את המשכילים יצאו לו מוניטין ככופר בעיקר (אף שהיה שומר מצוות [ראו הרשקוביץ תשכ"ד]). מרבית כתביו השתמרו בספריית חב"ד בניו יורק (chabadlibrary.org/catalog) וחמישה מחיבוריו מצויים באתר ספרי הקודש Hebrewbooks.org (בחיפוש: ריפמן יעקב).

¹⁶ כפי שמצא גד פרוידנטל, רייפמאן הצביע על סיפורי רבה בר בר חנה כעל המקור (אם כי מקור לא ישיר, ראו לעיל בהערה 11) של המסופר ב"צל עולם", כפי שעולה מביקורתו על הספר (הגרמני) "הזואולוגיה של התלמוד" של ל' לויזון (1858), שם (1861: 26) כתב: "בתולדות החיים הנמצאים בו [ר"ל ב"צל עולם"] יש דברים הלקוחים מספורי אגדות חז"ל אשר לרוב אינם כי אם משלים וחידות, וגם מספרי ממשלי משלים

נתמקד במאמרנו באחרון מבין הספרים שבנימין השלישי של מנדלי לקח עימו למסעו – "הספר 'צל עולם' הכולל כל שבע חכמות בשבעה דפים קטנים" – ונדון בשניים מגלגולי הלעז שהוא מצטט ממנו. בתיאור הפלגתו של בנימין השלישי על פני הנהר סירחון, מנדלי כותב:¹¹

מנסיעותיו על פני סרחון הנהר מרבה בנימין לספר חדושים ונפלאות, שעשו רעש גדול בעולם. ופה נזכיר רק קצתם:

כשהיה בנימין שט פעם אחת בסרחון ראה שם בלב הנהר מקום גדול ירוק כלו ונחמד למראה, כסבור שהוא אי מגדל דשאים ומיני בשמים נאים, וכשנשא את רגליו והיה מוכן לקפוץ מן הדוגית על האי, חפז עליו רבי-החובל בקול צעקה, מחזיק בו בערפו ומטילו לתוך הדוגית בכח רב מאד, עד שנשתטח על קרקעיתה ושכב מבולבל ומטורף ולא הרגיש כלום אלא קול שאון אצל הדוגית וסביבה נשערה מאד, כאלו היא נאבקה עם איזה פגע בדרכה ומתנהגת בכבדות מרובה. ולאחר שנתישבה דעתו עליו אמר לו הערל, שהיה בסכנה גדולה לטבוע באותו המקום הירוק, מפני שזה אינו אי עטוף דשאים, כמו שסבר בטעות, אלא ירוקה סרוחה מלבלבת, שהסרחון מבעבע ומתכסה בה בכל שנה.

אבל – אומר בנימין בספרו – לי לא נתקבלו הדברים שהיא ירוקה מלבלבת. אמת היא, ריח משונה היה נודף משם, אבל מעולם לא שמעתי וגם לא מצאתי בספרים שאני קורא, שהמים יהיו מלבלבים, ואלמלי הם מוציאים פרח היו גם מבשילים לאחר כן ועושים מין פרי, שמברכים עליו "בורא פרי המים!" ולי נראה בזה, שהוא **הכליין"א**, מין דג-הים המשונה, הגדול והנורא, שנכבדות מדובר בו בספר "צל עולם" בשער י' מן דגי ארץ אינדיא, כהאי לישנא: "הדג הגדול שבים שמו **כליין"א** ולרוב גדלו יגדלו עליו עשבים וקרקע עד יראה אי גדולה והר גדול, ולפעמים יסברו יורדי הים בדמותם להמתין שם, כי ידמה להם הר יפה ועושים שם כל צרכם ומבשלים ואוכלים, וכאשר יחם לדג ויריח הדג האש על גבו ירד וישקע עד תהום רבה ויטבעו כל החונים עליו". מכאן ראייה – אומר בנימין שם בספרו – ראייה עצומה להני חוקרי קדמוניות ובעלי סברא האומרים, שיושבי כסלון מוצאם ממדינת אינדיא. כשהפליגו אבותיהם לים והלכו משם ושטו על פני הסרחון גררו אחריהם את **הכליין"א**, הגדל בים אינדיא ודרכו, כידוע, לשוט אחרי הספינות.

פעם אחת נסתכל בנימין במצולות הנהר וראה שם במים מיני בריות ומראיהן כנשים. "זה כבר – כך מספר לנו בנימין – קראתי בספרים, שיש **מיני בני אדם בים**, ובעל ספר **"צל עולם"** מעיד עליהם ואומר: 'ראשם, גופם, פניהם ושדיהם כדמות בתולה ומשוררים בנעימות ונקראים **שריין"א**'. גם מפי זקנים וישישים, שיש לסמוך על דבריהם, שמעתי, כי הם בעצמם ראו **היפיפות של ים** הללו אצל המשחקים הנוודים, שמראים אותן לכל איש בשכר, ועתה ברוך ה' שהחייני והגיעני לראות הבריות הנאות האלה בעיני במקום חיותן. הייתי מראה עליהן באצבעי, מביט להערל בתמיה גדולה, והוא רמז לי על הנשים הכובסות, העושות מלאכתן במים מעבר הנהר. אני רומז כלפי המים מתחת והוא רומז כלפי מעלה לשפת הנהר, ומתוך שלא היינו מבינים איש את שפת רעהו לא ידע זה מה רמז אני מרמז לו, גם אני לא ידעתי מה הוא מרמז לי – ובכן לא יכולתי להציל מפיו דבר בענין נפלא זה".

לזהות את המחבר, ועם זאת צדק בהשערתי (שם: 26) שהכתרת "צל עולם" היא תולדה של שיבוש: השימוש בקיצור 'צל' נעשה לשם נקיטת לשון נקייה (בלשונו: "ואולי השמיטוהו מפני הכבוד"), וזאת משום שצלם הוא בלשון "ההמון" (היינו: ביידיש) 'צלב', והקיצור הובן כמילה "צל"; ואף הפנה (שם) לשורש צל"ם בספר "אוצר השרשים" של בן זאב (1807–1808).

¹¹ הנוסח העברי להלן הועתק מפרויקט בן-יהודה והובא כאן ככתבו וכלשונו. הנוסח היידי מובא בנספח 2.

בנימין, גיבור הרומן, מתכונן ליציאתו למרחקים, למסע שתכליתו חיפוש עשרת השבטים שאלכסנדר מוקדון הגלה אל מעבר להרי החושך; וכמו דון קישוט המקורי, הוא מעיין בספרים נושנים המספרים על מסעות לארצות רחוקות ועל אנשים ויצורים משונים החיים בהן, ובהם ספרים פרי עטם של נוסעים יהודים שהקדימוהו בחיפוש השבטים האבודים. וכך מתאר זאת מנדלי בנוסח העברי:⁵

וכיון שנתן בנימין דעתו על הנסיעה היה שוקד בהתמדה יתרה על מסעותיו של רבה בר בר חנה בים ובמדבר⁶ ומעמיק בהם בכל נפשו. אף זכה לקבלת הספר "אלדד הדני"⁷ והספר "מסעות בנימין"⁸, שנסע לסוף העולם שבע מאות שנה קודם לזמננו, והספר "שבחי ירושלים" עם הוספות,⁹ והספר "צל עולם"¹⁰, הכולל כל שבע חכמות שבבעה דפים קטנים – מדבר על הבריות הנוראות והמשונות ומספר חזושים ונפלאות שבכל העולם.

למהדורה נוספת בשנת 1899, ובשנת 2012 יצא כספר אלקטרוני. הנוסח הפולני אף זכה לתרגום צ'כי, כפי שעולה מעדותו של מנדלי עצמו (אבראמאוויץ תרמ"ט: 24): "ומלשון פולאנית ללשון טשעכית (ביהם [בוהמיה])". מידע זה, ללא פרטים נוספים, מביא גם נ"מ (נחמן מייזיל [שחתם שמו בראשי תיבות]; אני חב תודה לידידי יצחק ניבורסקי על הזיהוי) במהדורתו (מענדלעל 1920: כרך 9, עמ' IV [בהקדמה]); ראו גם מייזיל 1959: 31. עד כה לא עלה בידי למצוא את התרגום הצ'כי.

⁵ הקטע מופיע בסיום פרק א, ומצוטט מאתר פרויקט בן-יהודה <https://benyehuda.org/read/6408>. הנוסח היידי מובא להלן בנספח 1.

⁶ מסעותיו של רבה בר בר חנה הלא הם סיפוריו הפנטסטיים של האמורא בן המאה השלישית לספירה המובאים במסכת בבא בתרא (ע"ב–ע"ד ע"א) על דגי ענק וציפורי ענק שראה במסעותיו, ובהם סיפור אחד שבו נדון בהמשך.

⁷ הספר "אלדד הדני" הוא סיפורו של הנוסע בן המאה התשיעית שמוצאו על פי עדותו מ"ארץ החוילה" (בראשית ב, יא). לדבריו, במסעותיו שהביאוהו עד הודו, פגש כמה מן השבטים האבודים (נדפס עם תרגום ליידיש בפראג תרכ"ד; מהדורה מדעית עם מבוא והסברים פרסם אברהם עפשטיין בשנת 1891 [עפשטיין תרנ"א]).

⁸ הספר "מסעות בנימין" הוא ספר מסעותיו של הנוסע בן המאה השתיים-עשרה בנימין מטודלה, שגם הוא הגיע עד הודו. הספר ראה אור לראשונה בדפוס שונצינו בשנת ה'ש"ג ומאז נדפס פעמים רבות.

⁹ הספר "שבחי ירושלים" הוא ספר "מסעי איש נבון וחכם לא נודע שמו אשר היה בשנת רפ"ב לאלף השלישי וילך סובב בכל א"י" (דפוס ראשון ליוורנו תקמ"ה; מהדורות נוספות: לעמבערג תקנ"ט; ווארשא תקפ"ו; זולקוה תרכ"ב; לעמבערג תרכ"ב; ווארשא ת"ר; זיטאמיר תר"ך ועוד). מחבר הספר אשר "לא נודע שמו" הוא לאמיתו של דבר רבי משה באסולה (1480–1560), כפי שציין יצחק בן-צבי בכותרת המהדורה שפרסם בשנת 1938. יעקב ברוך, המביא לדפוס של המהדורה הראשונה, הוסיף לתיאוריו א"י (מהדורת ליוורנו, דף כו עמ' ב) גם "חקירות על עשרת השבטים ונהר סמבטיון מהרב הכותב" (שגם מהן מצטט מנדלי ב"מסעות בנימין השלישי").

ותוספות "לשלימות המלאכה" (דף כז עמ' א ואילך) מספר "מסעות בנימין" לר' בנימין מטודלה.

¹⁰ הספר "צל עולם", שהודפס לראשונה בעברית באמסטרדם בשנת 1733 וחזר ונדפס עוד עשר פעמים לפחות במאה התשע-עשרה (אלביום תשל"ב), ובו כ"ג דפים (ולא "שבעה דפים קטנים" כפי שהגזים מנדלי), יוחס במהדורות השונות "לרב הגאון והמקובל האלקי מתתיהו בן שלמה דלקארט" בן המאה השש-עשרה. גד פרוידנטל, במאמר שפרסם בכתב העת "דעת" (פרוידנטל 2021) ובמהדורת "צל עולם" (בהכנה), מוכיח כי נכונה טענתו של יעקב רייפמאן (1861: 27) שייחוס זה לדלקארט אין לו על מה שיסמוך. רייפמאן, שפסק (שם: 26) כי "רוב הספר הזה מלא הבלים מהבלי ימי קדם", לא ידע באותה עת לזהות את המחבר, אך קבע (שם: 27) "המחבר הזה לא השתמש בספרי חכמי עמנו מלבד התלמוד ולכן לא הזכיר כל מאומה מהם. ואולי לא היו עוד בימיו ספרים מחכמי עמנו על הענינים הכלולים בספרו הלזה והוא היה הראשון אשר חבר ספר על הענינים האלה". ואולם, כפי ששיער לראשונה צונץ (1841: 264), וכפי שמוכיח בפרטי פרטים גד פרוידנטל במהדורתו (בהכנה), לא מדובר במחבר יהודי אלא במתרגם יהודי אשר תרגם מן הצרפתית וערך וקיצר את הספר *L'image du monde* מאת המחבר בן המאה השלוש-עשרה Gossouin de Metz. רייפמאן לא ידע

כליין"א ושריינ"א – התנין ובתולת הים על מקורם וגורלם של לעזים אחדים מהספר "צל עולם" המובאים אצל מנדלי ב"מסעות בנימין השלישי"

משה טאובה

בשנת 1878 פרסם ש"י אברמוביץ' – שכבר אז יצאו לו מוניטין של סופר ופובליציסט עברי וגם של סופר יידי ("זשארגאן" בלשוננו; ב"תפקיד" זה התפרסם בשם העט מענדעלע מוכר ספרים)¹ – את הרומן הקטירי היידי הידוע "מסעות בנימין השלישי".² הספר זכה להצלחה גדולה ולמהדורות רבות. עוד בטרם הופיע בשנת 1896 תרגומו העברי שנעשה בידי מנדלי עצמו,³ יצא לאור בשנת 1885 תרגום של הספר לפולנית שנעשה בידי הפובליציסט האנטישמי קלמנס שניבסקי (הידוע בשם העט קלמנס יונזשה). המתרגם העניק לו את הכותרת "דון קישוט היהודי" (*Don Kiszot żydowski*).⁴

¹ על הנסיבות שבהן זכה שלא בטובתו לשם עט זה, ביוזמת ה"אר"ז" אלכסנדר צדכובים, עורך "קול מבשר", ראו וויינרייך 1928: 334–335; ארנסט 1936: 7–9.

² בנימין הראשון הוא הנוסע בנימין מטודלה בן המאה השתיים-עשרה מחבר "מסעות בנימין" (נדפס לראשונה בשנת 1543). בנימין השני הוא כינויו של ישראל יוסף בנימין (1818–1864), שהתפרסם בסיפורי מסעותיו במזרח שאליהם יצא בחיפושיו אחר השבטים האבודים. הסיפורים יצאו לאור לראשונה בצרפתית (1856), אחר כך בגרמנית (1858) ולבסוף בעברית בכותרת "מסעי ישראל" (1859).

³ התרגום הופיע בהמשכים בעיתון "פרדס" בעריכת י"ח רבניצקי. אני אסיר תודה לבני מר על מידע זה.
⁴ על התרגום הפולני סיפר לראשונה מנדלי עצמו (ראו אבראמאווין תרמ"ט: 24) ברשימת כתביו שערך לבקשת עורכי הלקסיקון "ספר זכרון לסופרי ישראל החיים אתנו כיום". קלמנס שניבסקי (1849–1898), הידוע בשם העט קלמנס יונזשה, תרגם לפולנית גם את הספר "די קליאטשע" שחיבר מנדלי (ראה אור בשנת 1873. שמו בנוסח העברי "סוסי"). והכתירו בכותרת *Szkapą*, וגם על תרגום זה העיד מנדלי (אבראמאווין תרמ"ט: שם). "ונעתק ללשון פולאנית מאת האדון קלעמענס יונאשע, נוצרי מלדה ומבטן 1886 Warszawa והעתקתו טובה". בשנת 1889 יצא ספרו של יונזשה *Nasi Żydzi w miasteczkach i na wsiach* "היהודים שלנו בעיירות ובכפרים", אשר מסכם את כתיבתו האנטישמית על היהודים בעיתונות הפולנית. תרגומו הפולני של יונזשה ל"מסעות בנימין השלישי" זכה להצלחה לא פחותה מן ההצלחה שזכה לה הנוסח היידי, וכן זכה

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ההבדלים בין להגי הערבית היהודית בימינו נובעים קודם כול משני השלבים הראשונים של התגוונות הערבית, ורק בשלב השלישי נוספה שונות על שונות מכוח הרכיב העברי והרכיב היהודי שהיה בהם גרעין ראשוני כללי, והוא הלך והתפתח באופן עצמאי בכל להג ולהג.

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לסדרת ביטויי "מה שלומך?" שראינו לעיל צריך להוסיף את השאלה *keišad kabodāx?* ('כיצד כבודך?') שהפנו זה לזה גברים בתימן בעברית (ממן תשע"ט: 374). דוגמה מטקסטים מאוחרים יותר יכול לשמש לנו השרח: למשל, הביטוי "מה נשתנה", שבפתח הקטע השני של ההגדה של פסח, תורגם ברוב קהילות מרוקו "אס נחייא" ¹⁵ ('מה ההבדל') ואילו במערב הפנימי נקטו "אס אלמענא" ('מה המובן'). ביטוי זה מתועד כבר בתרגום ההגדה בספר "חוקת הפסח" שנדפס בליוורנו במאה השמונה-עשרה ביוזמת ר' אברהם אנקווא מסאלי. ¹⁶ מזרחה משם תרגמו "במא תגיירת" ('במה נשתנתה') ובתימן – "מא כבר" ('מה עניין') (דורי תשנ"ד: כ).

נחמני, בספר על תולדות יהודי מרוקו שתרגם מצרפתית למוגרבית, השתמש בביטוי *emlū fih s-srāyæ* במובן 'עשו בו שמות'. אין ספק שהוא שאל את הביטוי ישירות מהשרח לשמות יב, יב או בעקיפין מציטוט הפסוק הזה בשרח ההגדה של פסח, שכן ההגדה היא הטקסט הפופולרי ביותר בתרבות ישראל (נחמני 1953: 19, 39). בשני המקרים הכוונה היא לכתוב "ובכל אלהי מצרים אעשה שפטים" ¹⁷ שתורגם *uf-īlah kəll māšər næmāl as-srāyæ* 'ואעשה צדק עם כל אילי מצרים'. כידוע, שפת השרח לא הייתה שפה מדוברת או תקשורתית אלא תרגום מילולי, *calque*, של טקסט קלסי.

השונויות נכונה גם לערבית היהודית. יש מילים וביטויים, ערביים או עבריים, שהם תלויי תרבות, ולכן הם ייחודיים ללהג זה או זה. לדוגמה: *məfa* (ובריבוי *mawāfi*) מציין בתימן ובעדן 'תנור חרסית קטן' בחצר, שנועד לאפיית כיכר לחם אחת או שתיים, ואילו במערב לא היה תנור מיניאטורי כזה, וממילא לא היה צורך בכינוי שיצינו. ¹⁸ בפיוט "מי כמוך" לשבת 'זכור' נקט ר' יהודה הלוי את השם "הדסה" ככינוי לאסתר, על פי המגילה. בתפוצות שונות תרגמו פיוט זה לערבית והבינו, בהתאם למדרש חז"ל, שהשם "הדסה" הוא 'הדס' שאליו הוצמדה הסיומת 'ה' לציון שם 'היחידה'. באלג'יריה ובמרוקו נקטו "אלריחאנה" ('ענף של הדס'), ובעיראק – "אליאסא". מגוון המילים בתרגום נעשה אפוא בהתאם למונחי הריאליה המקומיים ששימשו לציון צמח ההדס (תירוש-בקר תשס"ז: 339–342).

כללו של הדבר, השונויות בערבית היהודית במה שנוגע לרכיב היהודי ובייחוד העברי אופיינית גם ללשונויות היהודים האחרות. אבל לשונויות הזאת קדמו שני שלבים: לשון המצע שעליה נוספו הרכיב העברי והיהודי, כבר היא עצמה הייתה מגוונת למדי עוד לפני התפשטותה בעקבות כיבושי האסלאם, וזאת מבלי להיזקק לסוגיה הרחבה בענין תרומתם הלשונית של שלושת השבטים היהודים שישבו בחיג'אז, קינוקאע, נצ'יר, וקריצ'ה. בשלב השני, בעיקר לאחר כיבושי האסלאם, התגונו להגי הערבית בעקבות מגעיהם עם לשונות אחרות. לפיכך

¹⁵ שהוא ביטוי רווח בערבית המוגרבית ושיסודו בברברית.

¹⁶ תודה לידידי פרופ' יוסף תדגי על פרט ביבליוגרפי חשוב זה. בעבר הנחתי שהשימוש "אש אלמענא" חדר למערב הפנימי (צפרו, פאס ומכנאס) מנוסחי תוניסיה, שדרך הילוכם מערבה השפיעו גם על נוסחי אלג'יריה. ראו ממן תשע"ד: 295–296 (=ממן 1999: 134–135). תדגי העלה (בעקבות ההרצאה הנזכרת בהערת כוכבית לעיל) השערה שעד סוף המאה התשע-עשרה תרגמו גם במרוקו "אש אלמענא", כבשאר צפון אפריקה, אך כשהדפיסו לראשונה את תרגום ההגדה בקבלנקה בשנות העשרים או השלושים של המאה העשרים, המירו המתורגמנים את "למענא" ב"נחייא", שהייתה נפוצה יותר בלשון הדיבור. ועם זה דומה שהשאלה טעונה ליבון נוסף.

¹⁷ ובתעתיק: *ub-kāl ʿēlōhē mišrayim ʿeʿēše šafāṭīm*.

¹⁸ מילון פיאמנטה (עמ' 493) מצוטט אצל בן-ציון 2011.

המילה *tayhudiyyat* טבועה בחותמה של תצורה ברברית זו, והיא מילה יהודית הנושאת את המובן הייחודי של 'יהדות' כישות רוחנית, מבחינה דתית, תאולוגית ומוסרית.¹³ אשר לדוגמות מאוצר מילים: 'גֶזֶר' הוא "גזאר" בערבית המזרחית, אבל במגרב הוא *xizzo*, מן הברברית; 'סכין' מכונה בדרך כלל "ספין", אך בכמה דיאלקטים מגרביים משמשת המילה "אֶזְנוּי", השאולה מברברית.¹⁴

ואשר למשקע הרומאני, אף שעקבותיו נדירים הוא עדיין ניכר, למשל: 'משפחה' נקראת במזרח *ā-ila* (ובדיבור *ēla*), ובמרוקו – *qbila* (שבמקורה ציינה 'שבט'), ואילו בפי היהודים בעיקר *familia*, מורשת מהלטינית או מן ההיספאנית, בהקבלה מדויקת לשאילת אותה מילה בלשון חז"ל. הביטוי השגור בהגייתנו כ-*pamalia šel ma'la* ("פמליה של מעלה"; כגון בבלי חגיגה יג ע"ב), נתגלגל למעשה מן *familia šel ma'la* 'המשפחה השמימית'. הבדלים מרובים בין הלהגים מוצאים במונחי הריאליה, במיוחד במקרים שבהם באזור אחד משמשת מילה זרה ובאחר – מילה מקורית, כגון *lubyā* 'לשעועית' במערב ו-*fašulyā* (מאיטלקית *fagiolo*) בלוב ובמזרח. במזרח (בעדן) *fūrsek* (שמקורה מן הלטינית *persica*) 'לאפרסק', כנגד *xuxa* בלהגים אחרים; מילים שונות משמשות לציון 'גפרור': *kibrit* ('גופרית') בלהג אחד, ובאחרים *zalamit* (מהצרפתית *[le]s allumettes*) או *uqida* (מן השורש וק"ד, שמקבילו העברי הוא יק"ד).

כבר הרמב"ם ציין בפירושו למשנה הבדלים דיאלקטיים רבים בין מצרים למגרב (אנדלוסיה ומרוקו) במונחי הריאליה. המימרה שלו "וענדנא פי אלמגרב" (או "פי אלאנדלוס") ידועה ומפורסמת (בלא תשע"ד). לפניו, רבי יונה אבן ג'נאח (ספרד, אמצע המאה האחת-עשרה) ציין במילונו למקרא "כתאב אלאצול" מונחי ריאליה מקבילים המכוונים לאותו רפרנט בלהגים ערביים שונים, לדוגמה: 'לכוסמת' (כיום מזהה כ'כוסמין') מוצגות שלוש חלופות: *kirsinna* המשמשת באנדלוסיה, *kinit* – בסוריה ו-*jalban (julubban)* – בעיראק (נויבאואר: 327; באכר: 226).

ככלל, את תופעת השונות אפשר למיין לפי מגוון הלשונות שהערבית היהודית באה איתן במגע: אפשר – לפי חלוקה גאוגרפית-טריטוריאלית שהיא במובן מסוים גם להגית; אפשר לבסס את החלוקה על ההיבט הדיאכרוני, לפי המוקדם והמאוחר בזמן; ואפשר – על פי תחומי הלשון: הפונולוגיה, המורפולוגיה, התחביר, הלקסיקון והסמנטיקה. כמובן אפשר גם לשלב את כל המאפיינים הללו. אין כאן המקום לשרטט סכמה מלאה, אבל את הדוגמות שלעיל ושללהן אפשר למקם בנקל במרחב הווירטואלי של מקום, זמן ותחומי הלשון.

השלב השלישי בהתגוונות החל בשעה שלהגים אלו נעשו מדוברים בפי יהודים, מכוח המרכיב העברי הבסיסי המשותף ללשונות היהודים ששובץ בהן כחטיבה אחת, והוא הוסיף והתפתח בהשפעת המרכיב העברי המקומי שהתפתח בכל אחת מהן באופן עצמאי. למשל,

¹³ הינה דוגמה מהתרגום המוגרבי של ה'תניא', ספר האמונות היסודי של תנועת חב"ד, מעשה ידי ר' דוד בוסקילה: "את'תניא הייא מצחאף די לִי־מקצוד דיאלו למוסר די תיהודיית" ('התניא הוא ספר שנועד למוסר יהודי'; בוסקילה תשמ"ד: 20). מילה זו נוצרה בתוך הערבית היהודית.

¹⁴ אך לפי קולן 1993–1994: כרך 2, 259, כינוי זה לסכין הוא על פי מקום מוצאה: ג'נובה שבאיטליה.

אנשי כופה מכנים את ה־חֹק ('אריג') – باذروچ, ו־באזרוֹח היא בפרסית, והמילה חֹק היא ערבית. אנשי בצרה מכנים צומת של ארבע דרכים מربعة ('כוכב'), ואילו אנשי כופה מכנים אותו جهاز سوك, ו־جهاز سوك היא פרסית. הם מכנים את הפטוטר והגבעול הקטן وازار, ו־وازار הוא בפרסית. והם מכנים מלפפונים خیار, ו־خیار היא בפרסית. והם קוראים למצורע ويذي וזו מילה פרסית.

את עקבות השפעת הפרסית על הערבית היהודית הקדומה ניתן לאתר בלשונו של הקרא הירושלמי בן המאה העשירית דוד בן אברהם אלפסי. במילונו "ג'אמע אלאלפאט" הוא נוקט לעיתים קרובות את המילה הפרסית "הם" במובן 'גם'.¹² יחסי הגומלין בין הערבית לפרסית החלו מאז ראשית מגעיהן התרבותיים, ויש שהם מהדהדים גם בזמננו, כגון במילים שיועדו לציין 'חשמל'. כשביקשו בזמן החדש מילה מקומית לכנות בה את החשמל, שנעשה זה כבר חלק מהתרבות החומרית הפרטית והציבורית, נקטו דוברי הערבית במזרח דווקא את המילה הפרסית "כהרבא", ובאופן פרדוקסלי, הפרסים נוקטים לאותו עניין את המילה הערבית "בֶּרֶק". במגרב אימצו כרגיל במוצרי תרבות חדשים את המונח הצרפתי *électricité*, ובהגייה לא מהוקצעת – *trisinti*.

הבסיס השני למגוון הראשוני הוא אפוא הסובסטרט של השפות שהשפיעו על להגי הערבית בנסיבות משתנות, כמו הסובסטרט האנגלי בעדן או הסובסטרט הצרפתי בצפון אפריקה ובלבנון. לדוגמה: *inğil* מציינת 'מנוע' בעדן (בן-ציון 2011: 260, 294), והיא שיבוש מן *engine*; אך בצפון אפריקה ובמקומות אחרים משמשת במשמעות זו המילה *motor*, מן הצרפתית *moteur*; דומה ש־*inğil* הייתה עשויה לציין רכב במכניקה רק בסביבה תרבותית שבה הכינוי *inğil* ל'אוונגליון' לא שימש עוד ברקע, ומכל מקום לא בשימוש עממי. וכך גם *barqiyyat* או *bargiyyat* לעומת טלגרמה; ו־*brānda* 'מרפסת' לעומת *balcon* בצפון אפריקה.

במאה השמינית נתקלה הערבית במגרב בשתי שפות ששימשו שם, לטינית וברברית, והן הטביעו את חותמן על הדיבור המקומי במרוצת הזמן. הלטינית נדחקה לחלוטין על ידי הערבית, ואילו להגי הברברית עדיין מדוברים בהרי הריף והאטלס של מרוקו. לכן המצע הלטיני הקדום דל יחסית, מה שאין כן המצע הברברי, העשיר למדי. אחד המאפיינים של ההשפעה הכללית של הברברית על הערבית המוגרבית הוא אובדן התנועות הקצרות בהברות לא מוטעמות. תכונה זו יוצרת הבחנה דיכוטומית בין הערבית המזרחית למערבית: במזרח יגידו, למשל, *katabt*, ובמרוקו – *ktābt*. גם המורפולוגיה הושפעה, לדוגמה: התבנית השמנית *tafūliyyat*, כגון *tahmoriyyat* ('טיפשות') שנגזרה מן *ħmar* ('חמור'), היא תבנית שמנית קרברית להפשטה ומופיעה רק בלהגים שהמצע הברברי שלהם עשיר. גם

¹² ראו סקו 1936–1945, המבוא לג'אמע אלאלפאט', א, xliv–xlviii: שהפנה גם לפוזנסקי ולמאן (שם הערה 58); וראו בסל תשפ"א, הערות 25–26, שם הפנה למרגליות שסקר במהדורתו לפירוש יפת בן עלי לספר דניאל (עמ' א) רשימת מילים פרסיות והעיר גם על המילים הפרסיות שב"ג'אמע אלאלפאט".

אפילו נוסחאות ברכה ושאלות טריוויאליות כגון "מה שלומך?" חושפות מגוון ביטויים: במרוקו אנשים שואלים *aš xbarak?*, בעירק – *aš lúnak?*, במצרים – *iz záyyak?*, ובמקומות אחרים במזרח ובדרום – *kēf ḥālak?*. חלוקה מקבילה מתקיימת בפעלים: *qabida* לעומת *axada* ('תפס, החזיק'); *xaraj* לעומת *najbād* ('יצא'). ההדגמה כאן הוגבלה לאוצר המילים ולפרזיולוגיה, אבל הבדלים קיימים גם בתחומי לשון נוספים, ורבים מהם קיימים מקדמת דנא (אם כי ייתכן שאחדים מהם שייכים לקטגוריות שיוצגו להלן).

בשלב השני של ההתפתחות, הוסיפו הלהגים הערביים והתגונו עוד ככל שהתפשט הדיבור בהם ונעשו נחלת המקומיים והללו שילבו בלשונם החדשה אדסטרט מלשונם הקודמת, או ככל שהעמיק המגע של הדוברים, הישנים והחדשים, עם לשונות ותרבויות אחרות כספרסטרט, בין היתר בעקבות כיבושים חדשים של ארצות במרחב הדיבור הערבי. הדוגמות להשפעת המגע רבות, אפילו נסתפק בדוגמות מהמאות הסמוכות לזמננו: הלהג העדני שלאחר הכיבוש הבריטי (בן-ציון 2011), בייחוד בפרק הגלוסר), להגי לבנון והמגרב בעקבות הכיבוש הצרפתי (מרסה 1960: 582), הלהג הלובי לאחר הכיבוש האיטלקי (הכהן תשמ"ב: 166), ולהג צפון מרוקו בעקבות המגע עם הספרדית.

האסמכתאות והעדויות לשונות הניכרות מהלשונות החיות עצמן הן האידיאליות; אבל במה שנוגע לעידן שלפני ההקלטות או בלשונות ובלהגים שאין לנו מהם תעתיקים עתיקים, אין מנוס מלחפש את עקבות השונות בעדויות ובמסמכים קדומים או בטקסטים ספרותיים, למשל: בהמשך הפסקה שהובאה לעיל מתוך "כתאב אלביאן ואלתביין", אלג'אחט' מציין את שונות הלהגים בגין מגע בין לשונות שכנות, מלהג עיראקי מדובר שהיו מעורבות בו מילים פרסיות:¹¹

והוא מנה עשר מילים שאני זוכר מהן רק את אלה. הראיה – שאנשי מדינה שהתגוררו אצלם אנשים מפרס בימי קדם דבקו בכמה מביטוייהם, ולכן הם מכנים את *ה־בטיח* ('אבטיח') – *خربز*, הם מכנים את *ה־סימيط* ('שורות של לבנים, של אנשים או של דקלים') – *رزدق*, הם מכנים את *ה־מصوص* ('בשר שהושרה בחומץ ובושל') – *المزور*, והם מכנים את *ה־שטרנך* ('שחמט') – *الاشترنج* וכך בשמות אחרים, וכך אנשי כופה, המכנים את *ה־מסחה* ('את חֲפִיָּה') – *بال*, ו**באל** [היא] פרסית.

ולו דבק זה בשפתם של אנשי בצרה, מפני שהתיישבו במדינה הקרובה ביותר לפרס והרחוקה ביותר בארצות ערב, זה היה סביר יותר, שכן אנשי כופה התיישבו במדינה הקרובה ביותר אל הארמים והרחוקה ביותר בארצות ערב.

¹¹ ובמקור הערבי: *فقد عشر كلمات لم أحفظ أنا منها إلا هذا. ألا ترى أن أهل المدينة لما نزل فيهم ناس من الفرس في قديم الدهر علقوا بألفاظهم، ولذلك يسمون البطيخ الخربز، ويسمون السميط الرزدق، ويسمون المصوص المزور، ويسمون الشترنج الاشرنج، في غير ذلك من الأسماء وكذلك أهل الكوفة، فإنهم يسمون المسحاة بال، وبال الفارسية. ولو علق ذلك لغة أهل البصرة إذ نزلوا بأدنى بلاد فارس وأقصى بلاد العرب كان ذلك أشبه، إذ كان أهل الكوفة قد نزلوا بأدنى بلاد النبط وأقصى بلاد العرب. ويسمي أهل الكوفة الحوك البانروج، والبانروج بالفارسية، والحوك كلمة عربية. وأهل البصرة إذ التقت أربع طرق يسمونها مربعة، ويسمونها أهل الكوفة الجهار سوك، والجهار سوك بالفارسية. ويسمون السوق والسويقة وازار، والوازار بالفارسية. ويسمون القناء خيارا، والخيار بالفارسية. ويسمون المجدوم ويذي، بالفارسية.*

ובהגייה קולית – *gzar* או *hammar* או *kassæ* או *ndar*, או *ra'i* (באזור תאפילאלת); או *duwwæ* בלשון הסתרים;⁴ או *wagga*, ששימש למשל בקסבת תמנוגאלת (או תמלוגאלת) שליד העיירה אגדז בפאתי הסהרה, באמצע הדרך בין וארזואת לזגורה (מרוקו), כ-74 ק"מ דרומית-מזרחית למרקש.⁵

השונות הבסיסית נובעת מן הסתם מבחירה סגנונית בין חלופות (מילים וביטויים נרדפים). כך היא הבחירה בין *sulṭan* ל-*malik* ('מלך') או בין *ḥatta* ל-*walaw* ול-*waxxa* ('אפילו') ובין צמדי מילים וביטויים אחרים.

הינה כמה מילים וביטויים מהלהג הדרומי של עדן (להלן, הראשון בכל קבוצה) ו'מקביליהם' מהלהג המערבי בצפון אפריקה ובמיוחד במרוקו (האחרונים, באים אחרי מילת הניגוד): *biḍa'a* כנגד *sāl'a* ('סחורה'); *janbo* לעומת *qaddamo* ('לִידו'); *ḥaras* לעומת *ḥḍa* או *ḥḥa* ('שמר, פיקח על'); *ḥaka* לעומת *ḥḍar* ('דיבר'); *mḥašḥaš* לעומת *mḥammra* או *māquda* ('מאפה מתפוחי אדמה וביצים'); *mdalla* לעומת *mxənnət* ('מפונק'); *asad* לעומת *sbæ* ('אריה'); *ḥakīm* לעומת *ḥbib* ('רופא'); *aswad* לעומת *koḥl* ('צבע שחור') ועוד רבים.⁶

לפעמים ההבדל אינו בלקסמה אלא בצורתה, לדוגמה: בתימן *wālif* במוכן 'רגיל' נוטה בבניין הראשון, ואילו במרוקו – בבניין השני *mwəllaf* (בן-ציון 2011).⁷ לפעמים נוקטים אותו שם או אותו פועל אבל במשמעויות שונות, לדוגמה: *idām* הוא 'תבשיל דגים' בעדן (שם: 260), ובמרוקו – 'שומן מבושל'; *ḥṣal* מציין 'השיג' או 'צבר' במזרח (שם: 266), ו'נקלע לצרות' במערב.

במילים תנייניות או נגזרות ניתן להסיק שאותה מילה נוצרה במקומות שונים, ובכל אחד מהם – באופן עצמאי, למשל: *ṣahriyya* נגזרה בלי ספק מן *ṣahr*, 'חודש', והיא מציינת 'מחזור חודשי' בלשון נשות עדן (שם: 277), ובמגרב – (במבטא *ṣahriyya*) – 'משכורת חודשית'.⁸

הגיוון אינו מוגבל להבחנות בין הערבית המזרחית לערבית המערבית: הוא קיים גם בין מדינות שכנות או אפילו באותה מדינה, לדוגמה: המילה *dəbbuzá* מציינת 'קבוק' בתוניסיה (הטל תשנ"ט: יט),⁹ ובמרוקו היא תואר ל'אישה שמנה' – הבדל זה משמש גם בימינו להבעת לצון הדדי בין שתי הקהילות.¹⁰

⁴ את שלוש הדוגמות *ra'i*, *ndar* ו-*duwwæ* הזכיר לי בטובו פרופ' יוסף תדגי בעקבות הרצאתי הנזכרת בהערת הכוכבית לעיל. הדוגמה מלשון הסתרים היא מהערבית היהודית.

⁵ ביטוי זה ציטט באוזוני המשורר ארז ביטון מפי אביו המנוח.

⁶ בן-ציון 2011: 262 (בצ"ע), 265 (ג'נב, חרס, חפים), 266 (חפי, מחשחש), 269 (דלע).

⁷ מילון פיאמנטה מצוטט אצל בן-ציון 2011: 160 (אל"ף < ואלף).

⁸ ההבדלים בין מזרח למערב בהגייה, בשימוש הלשון ובאוצר המילים, כה גדולים עד שחלק מהבלשנים סבורים שאין מדובר בלהגים המובחנים זה מזה אלא בלשונות עצמאיות שונות.

⁹ אומנם גם בתוניסיה המילה "qəbūz" (צורת הזכר של המילה הנדונה) מציינת 'מקל עבה להלקאה' (שם), וייתכן שממנו התגלגלה המשמעות ל'שמנה' במרוקו. מכל מקום, בשימוש הממשי הפער הסמנטי הוא כמתואר לעיל.

¹⁰ דוגמה נוספת היא המילה *ma'on* המציינת 'כלי' בלהג תוניסיה (הטל תשנ"ט: ט: מב), ובכמה להגים ערביים-יהודיים במרוקו היא מציינת את 'איבר המין של האישה'. קולן (1993–1994: כרך 5, 1353, הוראה 6), מתעד את המילה במוכן 'אשכים' רק בצורת הריבוי *mwā'an* (כדימוי הלצי ל'כלי עבודה' – ההוראה התקנית הרגילה במוגרבת הכללית), אך מעברים סמנטיים כאלו רגילים למדי.

עוד לפני התפשטות האסלאם במאה השביעית. התלמוד הבבלי מכנה ערבי סתם של זמנו ומקומו 'טייעא', כגון "ההוא טייעא" (= 'ערבי אחד') (בבלי בבא בתרא עג ע"ב), כי אלו שהגיעו מחיג'אז לבבל באו משבט 'ט'יא' שישב בצפון ערב, אף שגם 'ערב' ו'ערביא' נזכרים כבר בלשון התנאים, כגון בברייתא: "אמר רבי עקיבא כשהלכתי לערביא היו קורין לדכרא יובלא" (בבלי ראש השנה כו ע"א).

נכון שהלהג של קורייש, שבטו של מחמד, נעשה לשון קלסית, ובמידה רבה הוא הקוינה בכל ארצות ערב עד היום, ובוודאי לשון הספרות והתרבות הגבוהה (רבין 1960: 566; כ'לפאללה 1960: 567). עם זה, הלהגים המדוברים שונים מאוד זה מזה, כי החברה הייתה מאורגנת שבטים-שבטים, כגון השבטים קייס, תמים, עבס, ענ'זה, תג'ליב, המדאן, עדנאן, אסד, ה'ד'יל ו'ז'רג' במדינה, שבט זובייך בתימן ורבים אחרים. למרוקו הגיעו בין היתר בני השבט הבדווי ב'נו הלאל לאחר שמרדו בכ'ליף של בגדאד במחצית השנייה של המאה העשירית, עברו למצרים ואחר כך לתוניסיה.² אינני מתיימר לומר שמספר הלהגים כמספר השבטים, אך מסתבר להניח שכך היה במציאות (פלייש 1960: 578).

אלג'אחט', איש בצרה של המאה התשיעית (נפטר בשנת 255/869), ציין בספרו "כתאב אלביאן ואלתביין" את תופעת ההתגוונות והדגים אותה. וזה לשונו:³

סח לי אבו סעיד עבד אל-כרים בן רוח: אמרו אנשי מכה למוחמד בן אל-מנאד'ר המשורר: אתם אנשי בצרה אין לכם לשון צחה, והצחות קיימת רק בפינו, אנשי מכה. השיב אבן אל-מנאד'ר: ביטוינו הם המחקים ביותר את ביטויי הקוראן, ורובם מותאמים לו; הציבו אפוא את הקוראן אחרי זה היכן שתרצו. אתם מכנים את הקצרה *برمة* ונוטים את ריבוי המילה *برام*, ואנחנו אומרים *قدر* ונוטים את ריבוי המילה *قدور*. אתם מכנים את החדר הבנוי מעל חדר אחר *عليه*, ומרבים את השם *علالي*, ואנחנו קוראים לזה *غرفة* ומרבים אותו *غرفات* וכן *غرف*. אתם מכנים את תפרחת הדקל *كافور* או *اغريض*, אנחנו קוראים לזה *طلع*.

לכל מילה שציין הביא אלג'אחט' בשם אבן אל-מנאד'ר ראייה מהקוראן להוכיח שלשון בצרה של זמנו הייתה צחה יותר.

והינה כמה דוגמות להבדלים בין להגים מהמדוברים בימינו בתוך מרוקו, שיש יסוד סביר להשערה שנוצרו עוד לפני שנעשו להגים יהודיים. הביטוי ל'ראה, ה'בט, הסתכל' שונה ממקום למקום: יש שאומרים *ra!*, יש שאומרים *šuf!*, ויש שאומרים *taṭalla!* או *xzər*.

² אבן כ'לדון (1988: כרך 6, 20) אמר עליהם שפלשו לתוניסיה כמו "ענן של ארבה": *وسارت قبائل دياب وعوف وزغب وجميع بطون هلال إلى إفريقية كالجراد المنتشر لا يمرون بشيء إلا أتوا عليه حتى وصلوا إلى إفريقية (=שבטי דיאב, עאוף וזאגב וכל מטות הילאל צעדו לאפריקה כמו ארבה פושט, ולא עברו במקום מבלי לכלותו, עד שהגיעו לאפריקה; al-maktaba.org/book/12320/3451).*

³ התרגום כאן ולהלן שלי. במקור: *حدثني أبو سعيد عبد الكريم بن روح قال: قال أهل مكة لمحمد بن المنذر الشاعر: ليست لكم معاش أهل البصرة لغة فصيحة، إنما الفصاحة لنا أهل مكة. فقال ابن المنذر: أما ألقاها فأحكى الألفاظ للقرآن، وأكثرها له موافقة، فضعوا القرآن بعد هذا حيث شئتم. أنتم تسمون القدر بـرمة وتجمعون البرمة على برام، ونحن نقول قدر ونجمعها على قدور، وقال الله عز وجل: وجفان كالجواب وقُدور راسيات. وأنتم تسمون البيت إذا كان فوق البيت عليه، وتجمعون هذا الاسم على علالي، ونحن نسميه غرفة ونجمعها على غرفات وغرف. وقال الله تبارك وتعالى: عُرِفَتْ مِنْ قَوْقَهَا غُرْفَتٌ مَبْنِيَّةٌ. وقال: وَهُمْ فِي الْغُرَفَاتِ آمِنُونَ. وأنتم تسمون الطلع الكافور والاغريض ونحن نسميه الطلع. وقال الله تبارك وتعالى: وَتَخْلُ طُلُوعُهَا هَضْبَةً. אלג'אחט' 2003: א, 40. <https://lib.eshia.ir/40889/1/40/%D8%A3%D9%84%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B8%D9%86%D8%A7>*

התגוונות הערבית היהודית לאור מגעיה עם לשונות אחרות

אהרן ממון

התגוונות הערבית היהודית מכוח מגעיה עם לשונות אחרות אינה תופעה ייחודית לה. התופעה מוכרת היטב גם מלשונות יהודים אחרות: מהידיש, מהספרדית היהודית, מהארמית היהודית ומן הסתם גם משפות אחרות (מייחל 2004: 121; שיטריט 2015). ידוע שהידיש המזרחית שבאה במגע עם הלשונות הסלוויות נבדלה מאוד מאחותה המערבית שלא באה במגע עימן (וקסלר 2002: 17–31); והספרדית היהודית של טורקיה והבלקנים שונה שוני מהותי מן החכייתיה של צפון מרוקו. הכול מכוח השפעת לשונות הסביבה: בלהגים שבמזרח – ניכרת השפעת היוונית והטורקית ועוד, ובלהגי המערב – השפעת הערבית.¹ כְּעִשׂוּרִים האחרונים נעשה מאמץ גדול לחקור את להגי הארמית היהודית שסכנת כליה מרחפת מעליהם, והממצאים של החוקרים יונה צבר, שמואל פסברג, ג'פרי כ'אן, חזי מוצפי, ארנולד ורנר ואחרים על הלהגים של צ'אלה, זאכו, סננדאג', אורמי, דהוק, עמידה ולהגי מקומות אחרים, מעידים על הבדלים ניכרים בין הלהגים, בדקדוק ובאוצר המילים, שנוצרו ללא ספק בהשפעת המגעים עם לשונות הסביבה (למשל, ורנר 2000; כ'אן 2002; מוצפי 2004; פסברג 2010; צבר תשע"ה). זה נכון כמובן לא רק לארמית היהודית החדשה אלא גם לארמית היהודית הקדומה, כפי שעולה מעיון, ואפילו שטחי, בהבדלים שבין ארמית התלמוד הבבלי לארמית הגלילית שבירושלמי, ששתיהן נחקרו ועודן נחקרות היטב (קוטשר תשל"ז). אך טבעי אפוא שגם הערבית היהודית תתגוון בהתאם לסביבה, אלא שבמקרה שלה התמונה מורכבת במיוחד, משום שהיא מגוונת במובהק כבר בנקודת המוצא: עוד לפני היווצרות השונות בערבית היהודית, כבר הייתה הערבית עצמה מפולגת ללהגים וְלִשְׁבָּטִים, תחילה בחיג'אז ולאחר מכן בכל מרחב הדיבור הערבי. הלהגים המדוברים במזרח, במערב, בצפון ובדרום, שונים כולם אלו מאלו, כיוון שכל אזור נכבש בידי שבט אחר, ולא הרי הלהג שבפי השבט הכובש במזרח כהרי הלהג של השבט ששם פניו דרומה וכו', וזאת

* גרסה ראשונה של מאמר זה הוצגה כהרצאה בכינוס הבין-לאומי על "לשונות היהודים: מגע בין לשונות", אוניברסיטת חיפה ו־University College London, שהתקיים בי"ז–י"ט באב תשפ"א, 26–28 ביולי 2021.

¹ השוו את בן-טולילה 2015 עם בונים 1993.

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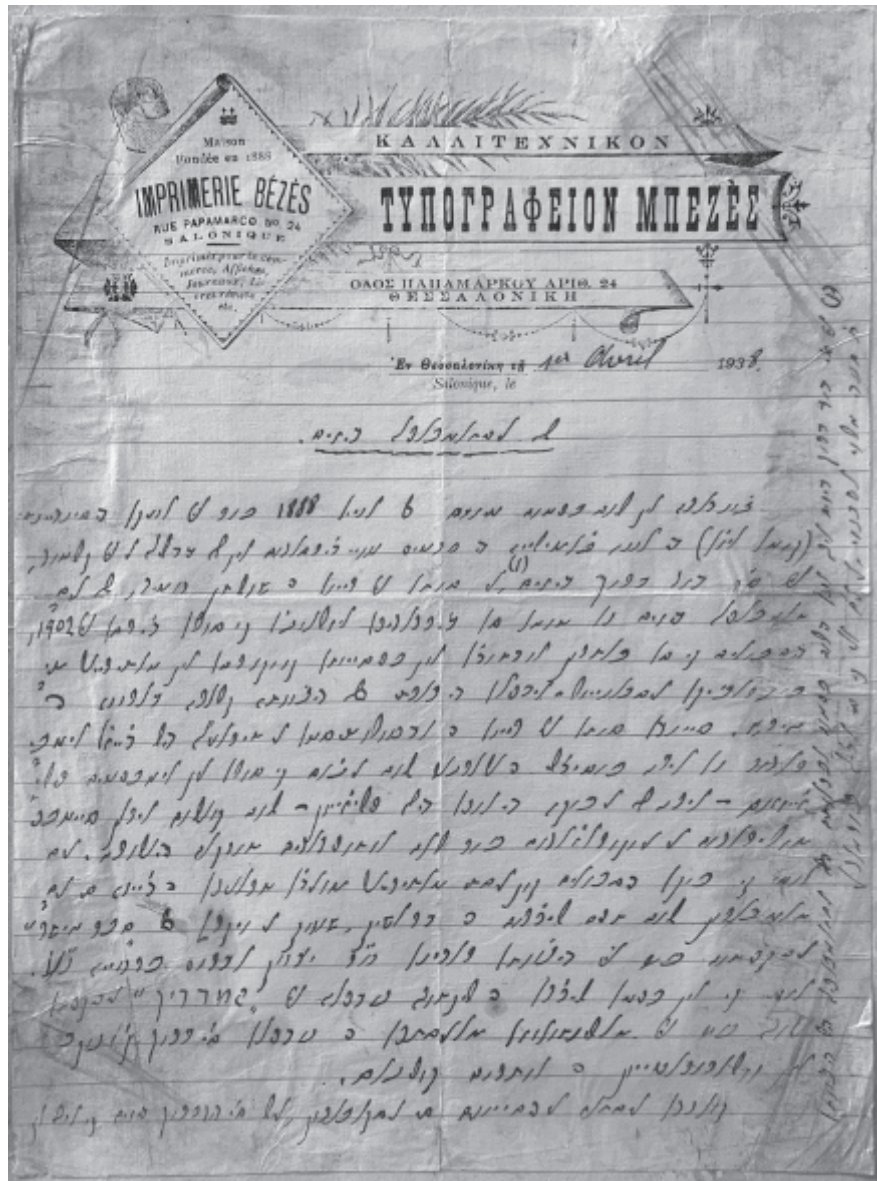
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[illegible]

נספח 2 – צילום המקור (מכון בן-צבי, אוסף תעודות, תיק 187, עמ' 1, 6)



איליב'וס דילה אליאנסה, דונדי סי' ברוך ביזיס אירה מיימברו, לה איסטאמפאריאה ביזיס, רינאסידה, סי רימיטיאה אל לאב'ורו, אי מיינטריס ג'ירקה דוס אניוס איסטאמפו אה אילייה סולה קאז'י טודה לה פרינסה ג'ודיאוראיספאניולה די סאלוניקו דיספואיס דיל אינסידיו, קומו: "איל אב'יניר" דיל סי' דוד יצחק פ'לורינטין, "לה איספיראנסה" <ציוניסטה>, "איל שאמאר" <אומוריטיקו>, "לה אקסיון", "אב'אנטי" [עמ' 5] "לה בוז דיל פואיב'לו" דיל סי' איזאק פ'לורינטין, אנסי קי "PRO-ISRAEL", איג'יטרי, איג'יטרי.

מה לאס קונדיסיוניס די לאב'ורו טרוקאן אינטיראמיני אל 1921, קון איל אריב'ו דילוס ריספ'וליידוס דילה קאטאטרופ'ה די אזייה-מינור, אי קון איל טרוקאמיניטו דילאס פופולאסייוניס די מאקיידינייה קי סורב'ינו מאס טאדרי. איל לאב'ורו אימפיוס אה קאמינאר מאס דיפ'יג'לימינטי, לה פ'ואירסה איקונומיקה דילה פופולאסייון ג'ודיאה סי אב'יאה מויי מוג'ו אפלאקאדו, סוב'רי טודו קון לה ריזיטניסיה פור איל שבת אי אין סיגואיטה אל אינסידיו איל שומאז'י אי לה קריזה אין איל קומירג'ו, מיטינדו אין אונה פוזיסיון מויי דיפ'יג'לי לה ב'ידה דילה איסטאמפאריאה.

אלורה, ב'ירסו איל 1926, אילייה סי אינקאמינה ב'ירסו לה גריסיזאסיון דיל מאטיריאל טיפוגראפ'יקו, דאנדו און מאס גראנדי לוגאר אלה לינגואה(?) גריגה, אי קונקורינדו קון סוקסיסו אלס אוטראס טיפוגראפ'יאס דיל מיזמו ג'יניר, טודו אין נו ניגליז'אנדו סו פארטידה ג'ודיאה. איס אנסי קי אין איסטה איפוקה סי איסטאמפארו דיב'ירסוס ליב'רוס אינסטרוקטיב'וס קומו אי איל "עדן הילדים" דילוס סי"ס אהרן אי ברוך נ' יעקב, אנסי קי איל מחזור די ראש השנה מנהג ספרד, אין איל אניי ה'תרצ"א.

די איסטונסיס אה אוי לאס אידיסיוניס דיב'ירסאס סון נומירוזאס אי ב'אריאדאס.

* * *

אי איסטו נו איס קי און מויי פ'לאקו בילאנסו דילה אקטיב'יטה דילה איסטאמפאריאה ביזיס, לה קואל אבראסה סירטאס איפוקאס [עמ' 6] אי סירטאס סיטואסיוניס, פאב'וריב'ליס אי דיזגראסיאדאס דילה ב'ידה דילה אגלומיראסיון ג'ודיאה די סאלוניקו. מה מאלגראדו טודו, מיינטריס איסטו פיריודו די ג'ירקה 50 אניוס, לה איסטאמפאריאה סוסדיג'ה נו קידו און סולו פונטו די לאב'וראר פור איל איספאנדימיניטו דילה אינסטרוקסיון אי איל סאב'יר אינטרי לאס דיב'ירסאס קלאסאס דילה פופולאסייון ג'ודיאה די סאלוניקו, סיאה פור סוס נומירוזאס אידיסיוניס, סיאה פור סוס ג'ורנאליס סירייוס אי אומוריטיקוס, דונדי איל אולטימו אין דאטה איס איל מויי קויידאדו "ג'וגיטון", קי אזיאה איל דיליסיו די סוס ליקטוריס, אנסי קי פור סוס נומירוזאס אוב'ראז'יס סקולאריאס, "בדרך", ספר שלישי דיל "תורה ומלאכה", הגדות, פרקים, איג'יטרי.

ברוך דוד ביזיס

סי קונטינוואו ג'ירקה דוס אניוס. {איל אירה ליטרארייו, אינסטרוקטיב'ו, אי נון פוליטיקו אי סו פ'ורמאטו אירה די 17.1/2-20 (?), אין 4 פאז'ינאס}.
ב'ירסו איל 1908, קון לה דיקלאראציע דילה ליברטאד קונסטיטוציעאל אין טורקיא, לוס לאב'ורוס דילה איסטאמפאריאה ביזיס טומארון און מאס גראנדי איזלאנג'ו אי סי אוריינטארון ב'ירסו לה בראנש קומירסיאל, פרופיאמינטי [] אימפרימינדו אפ'ישיס טיאטראליס אי טודוס לוס לאב'ורוס [עמ' 3] ספיסיאלים אל קומירג'ו, אין דיב'ירסאס לינגואס, קומו: טורקו, איספאניול, פ'ראנסיס, בולגארו, גריגו, סירבו אי רומאנו. איסטא סורטה די אקטיב'יטה סי קונטינוואו אסטא איל 1912, דאטה אין לה קואלה איל פ'ונדאטור דילה איסטאמפאריאה ב'יניאה סוביטאמינטי אה מואיריר אה אונה אידאד ג'וב'ינה <46 אניוס> אין יינה אקטיב'יטה. אלורה לה דיריקציע דילה טיפוגראפ'יאה פאסה אפ'יקטיב'יטי אין מאנוס די סו איז'ו מאייר <איל דישו דוס איז'וס, ברוך אי מויז, אנסי קי טריס איז'אס>.

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מה יא איס סאב'ידו קי אונה דיזגראציע נו אריב'ה נונקה סולה. איס אנסי קי אין לוס אולטימוס אַיז'יז דיל מיזמו אניו 1912, לה גירה באלקאניקה אינטרי לה טורקיא אי לוס איסטאדוס באלקאניקוס <גריג'ה, בולגאריאה אי סירביאה> אירה דיקלאראדה, אי ס'י ברוך דוד ביזיס אירה אנרולאדו סולדאדו אין לאס ארמאדאס טורקאס קי קומבאטייערן קונטרה לה סירביאה. פור און ב'ירו מילאגרו, דיספואיס די מויז דוראס אי פיניב'ליס איפרוב'אס, ב'ירסו לה מיטאד דיל אניו סיגואינטי, 1913, ס'י ברוך ביזיס טורנאב'ה סאלב'ו דילאס מונטאניאס דיל ארנאאוטלוק, אנדי לה ריטריטה פריסיפאטאד דיל ג'יניראל קארה סאאיד פאשה לו אב'יאה רוז'אדו, אי קון אונה ארדור מאס גראנדי די סימפרי, ריטומאב'ה לד דיריקציע דילה טיפוגראפ'יאה, דיריז'ידה מיינטריס סו אבסינטיה פור סו אירמאנו מויז – אזינדולה פרוגריסאר קאדה דיאה און פוקו מאס.

אי טודו איסטאב'ה אין יינו דיז'ילופאמינטי אין לוס [עמ' 4] פרימירוס אניוס דילה אוקופאציע אין אילינה, קואנדו ב'ינו לה גראנדי גירה אילה אוקופאציע די סאלוניקו פור לאס ארמאדאס אליאדאס היי מוס איסטאמוס אינקאמינאנדו ב'ירסו איל 1917 – איס לה קאטאסטרוף.

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סאלוניקו ג'ודיאו איס אינטרי איל 17 אי 18 אגוסטו רידואיזידה אין סיניזאס פור איל טיריב'לי אינסנדייו, קי טוב'ו באזאס אקסידינטאלאס אי פוליטיקאס אין מיזמו טיימפו. טודו קימו אי מואיסטרה איסטאמפאריאה טאמביין.

אי פור קולמו די דיזגראציע, ני און סולדו די סיגוריטה. איס היי קילה ב'ילונטאד די פ'ייר – דינייה אירינטיה [!] די סוס אגואילוס דילה פ'אמיליה ביזיס, איס מיטידה אה אונה דורה איפרוב'ה. סין דישארסין דיסקוראז'אר פור לה גראנדורה דילה קאטאסטרוף, לוס דוס אירמאנוס ביזיס סי רימטיין אה אזיר רינאסיר דילאס סיניזאס דילה ב'יז'ה טיפוגראפ'יאה, אונה נואיב'ה. אי גראסיאס אה סיירטוס קונקורסוס, אינטרי לוס קואלוס קאלי מאנסיינואר פארטיקולארמינטי אקיל די ס'י ז'וזיף נחמה, פריזידינטי דילה אסוסיאציע דילוס ב'יז'וס

נספח 1 – תעתיק של הכרוניקה

Salonique, le 1^{er} Avril 1938

לה איסטאמפאריאה ביזיס

פֿונדאדה אין לוס פרימוס מיזיס דיל אניו 1888, פֿור איל אוניקו דיסינדיינטי >קומו איז'ו⁶¹ די אונה פֿאמילייה די חכמים מויי ב'ירסאדוס אין לה ביבליאה אי איל תלמוד איל סי' [נייור] דוד ברוך ביזיס {איל סי' דוד ברוך ביזיס אירה אונז די לוס פרימוס אפראנטיס דילה איסטאמפאריאה דיל דיפֿונטו ח' [אם] סעדי הלוי אשכנזי, אי איס אאי קי סי אב'יאה פֿורמאדו} אי סוטו איל ריינו די שולטן חמיד, לה איסטאמפאריאה ביזיס נו טומו סו ב'ירדאדורו איסלאנג'ו קי סולו ב'ירסו איל 1902 דיספואיס קי סו פאטרון אובטוב'ו און פריסייוזו קונקורסו אין מאטיריאל טיפוגראפ'יקו איספאנייל-איבריא די פארטי דילה דיפֿונטה קלארה בארונה די הירש סיידו סוטו איל ריינו די אבסולוטיסמו אי טיראניאה דיל ב'יז'ו אימפיראדור נו אירה פוס'יב'לי די אלארגאר לוס איג'וס קי סולו אין אימפרימיר (?) ריליז'יוזוס – אירה לה אפוקה די אורו דילה ריליז'יון – לוס קואלוס איראן סימפרי טוליראדוס אי אינקוראז'אדוס פֿור לאס אוטורידאדיס טורקאס די אלורה. איס אנסי קי פוקו דיספואיס קון איסטי מאטיריאל מואיב'ו טראאידו די ב'ינה סי איסטאמפארון לוס טריס ליב'רוס די בראשית, שמות אי ויקרא דיל "ספר הישר" איסקריטוס פֿיר איל דיפֿונטו ראבינו ח"ר [חכם רבי] יצחק אברהם פרחייה נ"ע [נוחו עדן] אנסי קי און פרימו ליב'רו די ליקטורה עיבריאה, איל "המדריך", איסקריטו אלורה פֿור איל טאלינטואוזו מאאיסטרו די עבריא ס' ברוך י' יעקב אין קולאבוראסיין די אוטרוס קוליאס.

קואנדו איסטאס אידיסייוניס סי איסקאפארון איל סי' דוד ברוך ביזיס קי אירה אין [עמ' 2] מיזמו טיימפו און מאראב'יוזו איסקריב'ידור פולילגלוטה, אין אונה אפוקה אנדי לוס 90 פֿור סיין דיל פואיב'לו נו קונוסיאן ני מיזמו איל איספאנייל, איידאדו פֿור איל סי' שלמה י' סאנג'י, ליב'רירו אי אג'ינטי דיל ג'ורנאל "סטאמבול" די קונספלי אין סאלוניקו, איסקריב'יו אי איסטאמפו לאס "מיל אי אונה נוג'יס", "איל מונדו" די שלמה בכר יוסף, "פֿייראב'אנטי", "אילוסטרי גואירטה די איסטורייה", "ב'ירטיר", די Gouth [!], אין ג'ודיאוראיספאנייל, טריזלאדאדו אלורה פֿור סו ג'וב'ין איז'ו ברוך, אי אונה אינומיראב'לי אוטרה קוליקסיין די ליב'רוס, איסטוריאס אי ברושוראס לאאיקאס אי ריליז'יוזאס אנסי קי "אסתר אי אחשורוש" אין ב'ירסוס. ב'ירסו איל 1906, איל אידיטו טאמביין אונה ריב'יסטה אינסטרוקטיב'ה סימאנאל סוטו איל נומברי די "אפוקה ליטרארייה" אי קון לה קולאבוראסיין דילוס מויי קונוסידוס איסקריב'ידוריס די אלורה סי'ס [סנייוריס] אליהו ש"ט [שם-טוב] ארדיטי אי שלמה שלם >איל פואיטה, S.S., לה קואלה אובטוב'ו אינטרי טודה לה פופלאסיין ג'ודיאה די סאלוניקו אי לה פרוב'ינסייה, און ב'ירו סוקסיסו. אין לוס פרימוס מיזיס דיל 1908 סי אידיטו טאמביין און ג'יקו סימאנאל סוטו איל נומברי די "איל קונסיז'ירו", איל קואל אובטוב'ו און פֿראנקו סוקסיסו, אי דונדי לה אידיסיין

⁶¹ טקסט שבמקור הופיע בתוך סוגריים, נכתב בתוך סוגריים מזווים.

ההתנהלות על מי מנוחות לא האריכה ימים. למן הגעתם, בשנת 1921, של פליטי האסון שפקד את אסיה הקטנה, וחילופי האוכלוסין במקדוניה, כעבור שנתיים, דבר לא הוסיף להיות כשהיה: האמצעים הכלכליים שבידי האוכלוסייה היהודית ירדו פלאים, במיוחד בשל משבר השבת⁵⁹ והאבטלה שבאה בעקבות השרפה והמשבר המסחרי, ובית הדפוס נקלע למצב קשה מאוד.

לקראת שנת 1926, בית הדפוס פנה בעיקר אל הקהל היווני ופינה מקום נרחב לשפה היוונית ואף הצליח לעמוד בכבוד בתחרות עם בתי דפוס אחרים. בעיקר – ולא רק. גם בתקופה זו הקפידו שלא לזנוח את הצד היהודי. באותה תקופה נדפסו ספרי לימוד רבים, כגון "עדן הילדים" (1930~) מאת אהרן וברוך בן-יעקב והמחזור לראש השנה כמנהג הספרדים (תרצ"א, 1931).

זו אינה אלא סקירה קצרה על אודות פעילותו של בית הדפוס ביזיס, המקיפה כמה תקופות והתרחשויות – נעימות מכאן ומצערות מכאן⁶⁰ – בחיי הקהילה היהודית בסלוניקי. אך למרות הכול, במשך תקופה בת חמישים שנה בערך, בית הדפוס לא פסק ממלאכתו ופעל בהתמדה למען הפצת ההשכלה והדעת בקרב יהודי סלוניקי, בפרסומים רבים, בכתבי עת, רציניים והומוריסטיים כאחד, שהאחרון שבהם, המטופח מאוד "איל ג'וגיטון" (המשחק), הסב לקוראיו הרבים עונג במיוחד, ובספרי הלימוד הרבים, כגון "בדרך" ספר ג (1934), שהודפס עבור בית הספר "תורה ומלאכה", ובהגדות של פסח, קובצי פרקי אבות וכו'.

ברוך דוד ביזיס

1922), בעריכת ברוך דוד ביזיס, "לה ב'ירגה" (השבט, 1920), "איל ג'אקוטון" (סטירת הלחי, 1920–1922), "איל טריזורו" (האוצר, 1926), "לה נאסייון" (האומה, 1926–1927), "איל מארטיאו" (הפטיש, 1927), "קאנטים דיב'ירסוס" (מגוון שירים, 1929–1930), "איל ג'ילב'יס" (הבדחן, 1930) ו"לה ב'ירגה" (השבט, 1932). היו עיתונים שלא כל גיליונותיהם הודפסו אצל משפחת ביזיס אלא אחדים מהם בלבד (ואחדים במקום אחר): "איל מכביאו" (המכבי, 1912–1930); "לה רינאסינסייה ג'ודיאה" (התחייה היהודית, 1917–1937), "איל ג'ידיו" (היהודי, 1923–1937), "לה נאסייון" (האומה, 1931–1933) ו"המנורה" (1936–1938).

⁵⁹ בעקבות גזרת השבתון הכפוי ביום ראשון, שהוכרזה בשנת 1924.

⁶⁰ במקור: "פאב'וריב'ליס אי דיזגראסיאדאס", ולא ברור אם הכוונה ל"פאב'וריב'ליס", מלשון pavor, חרדה, איום, או ל"פאב'וריב'ליס", בסימון על האות פ"א, כלומר רצוי, נוח.

מקובל לומר שצרות באות בצרורות... בחודשים האחרונים של שנת 1912 פרצה מלחמת הבלקן, בין תורכיה למדינות הבלקן, כלומר יוון, בולגריה וסרבייה. ברוך דוד ביזיס גויס לשורות צבא תורכיה והשתתף בקרבות נגד סרבייה. לאחר ניסיונות קשים ומצערים, לקראת אמצע שנת 1913, ממש בנס, חזר ברוך ביזיס בריא ושלם מהמלחמה בהרי אלבניה ומהנסיגה החפוזה והמסוכנת מאוד בפיקודו של הגנרל קארה סאיד פאשה.⁴⁸ בלהט האופייני לו, הוא חזר לנהל את בית הדפוס, שבהיעדרו נוהל בידי אחיו מואיז, וקידם אותו מיום ליום. הכול התפתח היטב בשנים הראשונות של הכיבוש היווני, אז פרצה מלחמת העולם [הראשונה] וסלונקי נכבשה בידי בעלות הברית. התקדמו⁴⁹ לקראת שנת 1917, ואז אירע האסון: בימים 17–18 באוגוסט 1917, סלונקי היהודית נהפכה לאפר בעקבות שרפה נוראה שהתלקחה בשל פעולות מצד כמה גורמים שכולם פעלו בעת ובעונה אחת: יד המקרה וסיבות פוליטיות. הכול נשרף, לרבות בית הדפוס שלנו, ולמרבית האסון, לא קיבלנו פרוטה מהביטוח. כוח הרצון האיתן – מורשת מאבות אבותינו במשפחת ביזיס – הועמד אז במבחן גדול. שני האחים ביזיס לא התייאשו והחלו להקים מן ההריסות בית דפוס חדש. הודות לתמיכתם של כמה גורמים, שאת אחד מהם ראוי לציין במיוחד, הלא הוא מר ז'וזף נחמה,⁵⁰ נשיא האגודה של בוגרי בית הספר של חברת "כל ישראל חברים", שברוך ביזיס היה חבר בה, מלאכתם צלחה: בית הדפוס ביזיס שהוקם מחדש חזר לפעילות, ובמשך שנתיים ימים הייתה ההוצאה לאור של העיתונות בספרדית-יהודית באחריותו הבלעדית כמעט, והודפסו בו גיליונות העיתונים שחידשו פעילותם אחרי השרפה ובהם: "איל אב'ניר" (העתיד)⁵¹ בעריכת דוד יצחק פלורנטין, העיתון הציוני "לה איספיראנסה" (התקווה, 1915–1920),⁵² העיתון ההומוריסטי "איל שאמאר" (הקטירה, 1916–1925),⁵³ "לה אקסיין" (הפעולה, 1929–1940),⁵⁴ "אב'אנטי" (קדימה, 1911–1934) [עמ' 5], "לה בוז דיל פואיב'לו" (קול העם, 1911–1924) מאת איזאק פלורנטין,⁵⁶ וכמו כן העיתון *Pro Israel* (למען ישראל, 1917–1927)⁵⁷ ועוד.⁵⁸

⁴⁸ Kara Said Pasha פיקד על אחד הגדודים בצבא וארדר העות'מאני, שנחל מפלה בקרב "קומנובו", בחודש אוקטובר 1912.

⁴⁹ כאן כותב הכרוניקה עובר לגוף ראשון רבים.

⁵⁰ ז'וזף בן דוד נחמה (1881–1971) היה מחנך, סופר, מילונאי והיסטוריון סלונקאי.

⁵¹ העיתון הופיע בשנים 1897–1916, בבית הדפוס "עץ החיים". לכן מפליא שהכותב זוקף את הוצאתו לאור לזכות דפוס ביזיס. ראו הכהן 2021, מס' 3467.

⁵² ביטאון ההסתדרות הציונית. ערך: יוסף עוזיאל.

⁵³ נוהל בידי ליאון בוטון. נדפס בבית דפוס ביזיס רק בחלק מן התקופה (1919–1920).

⁵⁴ ככל הידוע, עד 1933 העיתון נדפס בבית הדפוס "פופולארה", ולאחר מכן בדפוס העיתון "אקסיין" עצמו (הכהן 2021, מס' 3497). לכן דברי הכותב אינם מובנים, אלא אם כן נניח שכונתו לעיתון אחר שאיננו מוכר במחקר ששמו כשם העיתון המוכר.

⁵⁵ עיתון סוציאליסטי, בעריכתם של אברהם בן-ארויה ואלברטו ארדיטי. ככל הידוע נדפס בדפוס "אוניון". הכהן 2021, מס' 3466.

⁵⁶ עיתון חדשותי פוליטי. שם הדפוס ביזיס אינו מופיע בגיליונות ששרדו. הכהן 2021, מס' 3513.

⁵⁷ שבועון ציוני. מלבד עמודים בודדים הכתובים לאדינו, כתב העת כולו כתוב צרפתית.

⁵⁸ מלבד העיתונים שנמנו כאן והעיתונים "לה איפוקה ליטראריה", "איל קונסיד'רו" ו"אילוסטרה גואירטה די איסטוריה", הנזכרים לעיל, ו"איל ג'וגיטון", המוזכר מייד בהמשך, בית הדפוס ביזיס היה אחראי לפרסומם של לא פחות מ-15 עיתונים נוספים: "איל ג'וב'ין ג'ודייו" (היהודי הצעיר, 1919); "איל בורלון" (המהתל, 1919–

לקראת שנת 1906 הוא הוציא לאור – בשיתוף פעולה עם הסופרים המפורסמים מאוד באותם ימים אליהו שם טוב ארדיטי ושלמה שלם, המשורר S.S. – שבועון מאלף בשם "לה איפוקה ליטיראריה" (התקופה הספרותית).⁴¹ השבועון זכה להצלחה רבה בקרב הקהילה בסלוניקי והסביבה.

בחודשים הראשונים של שנת 1908 החל בהוצאתו לאור של שבועון קטן – בן ארבעה עמודים שגודלם 17×20 ס"מ – בשם "איל קונסיז'ירו" (היועץ). גם שבועון זה זכה להצלחה גדולה, והוא התפרסם במשך כשנתיים.⁴² בשנת 1908, עם הכרזת החירות החוקתית באימפריה העות'מאנית, העבודה בבית הדפוס קיבלה תנופה של ממש: כעת יכלו המדפיסים להציע שירותיהם [גם] לענפי המסחר השונים ובמיוחד עסקו בהדפסת כרזות לתיאטרון ולבתי עסק [עמ' 3], במגוון שפות, ובהן תורכית, ספרדית[ייהודית], צרפתית, בולגרית, יוונית, סרבית ורומנית.⁴³ פעילות זו נמשכה עד לשנת 1912, עת לפתע פתאום, המייסד של בית הדפוס, איש נמרץ וצעיר, בן 46, נפטר.⁴⁴ הוא הניח אחריו שני בנים ברוך⁴⁵ ומואיז⁴⁶ ושלוש בנות.⁴⁷ ניהול בית הדפוס עבר בפועל לידי בנו הגדול.

⁴¹ מוסף ספרותי לעיתון "לה איפוקה". לדברי גאון, ארדיטי ניהל את העיתון ושלם היה האחראי. ראו גאון תשכ"ה, מס' 22. נראה שלא התקיים לאורך זמן. באייר תרס"ח החל פרסום של סדרה חדשה, באותו שם. הכהן 2021, מס' 3487–3486.

⁴² במחקר מוכר עיתון בשם זה, שגיליונו הראשון ראה אור בתרע"ג. ראו הכהן 2021, מס' 3702.

⁴³ כבר בשנת 1898 היה בית הדפוס ידוע בעיסוקו במגוון שפות, ומשום כך נקרא "איסטאמפאריאה פוליגלוטה דוד ב' ביזיז". ראו הכהן 2021, מס' 262.

⁴⁴ תאריך פטירתו של דוד ביזיס אינו מתועד במקור אחר.

⁴⁵ דוד ביזיס היה נשוי למזל (מטילדה) בת משה זארה. בנו ברוך (גם: בִּינְדִּיטוֹ, יליד 1890) היה פעיל בבית הדפוס שאביו הקים, וכמוהו כתב ותרגם וגם ערך עיתונים. בין התרגומים שלו: "ב'ירטיר" (1906); תרגום משותף שלו ושל אביו: "איל טיסטאמינטו" (הצוואה, 1908); בין העיבודים שלו: "לה ב'ינגאנסה די שמואל" (נקמתו של שמואל, 1921) ו"מאטאדירה די סו מארידו" (הרוצחת של בעלה, 1922), מסיפורי הבלש ז'ים ז'אקסון. קובץ סיפורים שערך בשם "איל אמור די רוזה" (אהבתה של רוזה, 1932) נדפס שוב לאחר מכן בשם "איל בוקיטו די פסח" (נָר לפסח, ~1935). ברוך היה נשוי לאסתר (אסְתֵרִינָה) אֶבְרָם, ולזוג נולדו שישה ילדים: דריו (דוד), ארמנדו (שלמה), שְׁרָל (שרל), מזל טוב, רחל ואלברטו. דריו וארמנדו לקחו חלק בניהול בית הדפוס המשפחתי ואף בעשייה הספרותית והפובליציסטית. רומן שכתב ארמנדו פורסם בקובץ "איל אמור די רוזה" הנזכר (על הרומן ראו לאחרונה: גֶרְסֵיָה־אֶרְנוֹלוֹ וסוֹבֶשִׁי 2021), שירים שלו התפרסמו בגיליונות העיתון "ג'וגיטון", בדרך כלל בשם העט "Bersam Andeso". בתקופת המלחמה ארמנדו הצליח להימלט להרים והשתתף בפעילות כוחות ההתנגדות ביוון באמצעות הפצת פרסומים. כל יתר בני משפחתו נשלחו למחנות ההשמדה. לאחר המלחמה, ארמנדו שב לעסוק בפעילותו כמדפיס, ובשנת 1948 הדפיס באתונה את הספר *Ki ómos óloi tous den péthavav* (ועדיין, לא כולם נספו) מאת הרופא הסלונקאי יצחק מטרסו, חיבור שנחשב לאחד החיבורים הראשונים על שואת יהודי יוון. ארמנדו נשא לאישה את מריה וגנה. אני מבקש להודות לד"ר אֶלְנִי בֶּנְהַמַּתֶּנָה, נכדתו של ארמנדו ביזיס, על הפרטים החשובים שמסרה לי על אודות בני משפחתה.

⁴⁶ מואיז בן דוד ביזיס (יליד 1893). פעל כמו"ל עם אחיו ברוך, ושמו מוזכר כמו"ל בשנת 1931 (ראו הכהן 2021, מס' 297–299, 462). היה נשוי לז'אן טובי ולזוג ארבעה ילדים: דריו (דוד), סטלה (אסתר), מטיקה (מזל) וז'אק (יעקב). סטלה עלתה לישראל עם יום טוב ארוך בעלה, והם היחידים שנותרו ממשפחתו של מואיז: כל יתר בני המשפחה נספו בשואה. אני מבקש להודות לעינת ריבק, נכדתה של סטלה ארוך, על פרטים חשובים שמסרה לי על אודות בני משפחתה.

⁴⁷ הבנות היו לוצ'יה, אשת אליעזר כהן, ויקטוריה, אשת מואיז מרכוס, ומארי, אשת מוריס סולם.

באומנות זו.³⁰ תחת שלטונו של עבדול חמיד [השני], בית הדפוס ביזיס לא הגיע לתפוצתו האמיתית, אלא רק לקראת שנת 1902, הודות לסיוע נדיב שבעליו קיבל מהברונית קלרה דה הירש,³¹ שאֶפֶר רכישה של כל הציוד הנחוץ להדפסה בעברית. תחת משטר האבסולוטיזם והעריצות של הסולטאן הנזכר, האפשרויות להרחיב את העסק היו מוגבלות למדי, שכן ספרי דת היו הספרים היחידים שהשלטון התיר להדפיס.³² תקופה זו הייתה תור הזהב של הדת. לאחר הגעתם של חומרי הדפוס החדשים מווינה,³³ נדפסו שלושת הכרכים של "ספר הישר"³⁴ עם פירושו של הרב המנוח יצחק אברהם הכהן פרחיה ז"ל,³⁵ לחומשים בראשית, שמות וויקרא, וגם הספר "המדריך" – הספר הראשון לקריאה בעברית – שנכתב אז בידי המורה המוכשר לעברית מר ברוך בִּיזִיס היה [עמ' 2] גם סופר רב־לשוני נפלא³⁶ – סגולה שבלטה במיוחד לאור הידיעה שתשעים אחוזים מן האוכלוסייה לא הכירו אפילו את הספרדית־היהודית. כאשר המהדורות הללו אולו, הוא נעזר באדון שלמה בִּיזִיס־אנג' (מוכר ספרים ששימש גם הסוכן בסלוניקי של העיתון Stambul מקונסטנטינופלה),³⁷ וכתב [כלומר, תרגם] והדפיס את הספר "לאס מיל אי אונה נוג'יס" (אלף לילה ולילה, ~1900), ואת הספרים "איל מונדו" (העולם) מאת שלמה בכר יוסף,³⁸ "פ'יוראב'אנטי",³⁹ "אילוסטרי גואיטה די איסטוריה" (גן הסיפור המהולל, 1910), "ב'ירטיר" (נְרִיטֶר) מאת Goethe שתורגם אז לספרדית־יהודית בידי בנו הצעיר ברוך (1906), ועוד אינספור אוספים של סיפורים, חוברות דתיות ושאינן כאלה, ומלבדם – "אסתר ואחשורוש" בחרוזים.⁴⁰

³⁰ ראו בהערה הקודמת.

³¹ הברונית קלרה דה הירש (1833–1899) תמכה בכמה וכמה מפעלי חסד ומוסדות בקהילת סלוניקי. בית חולים על שמה הוקם בעיר בשנת 1908. ראו הירש תשכ"ז; אמארייליו תשל"א: א: כז–קכח.

³² על התמודדות הסופרים ועורכי העיתונים עם הצנזורה בעת שלטונו של הסולטאן חמיד, ראו, בין היתר: רומרו 2007.

³³ לתיאור מפורט של תהליך רכישת הציוד הנחוץ להדפסה בעברית (בעיקר אותיות) בידי המדפיס סעדי הלוי־אשכנזי בשנת 1875, ראו רומרו 2007: 20–24.

³⁴ הספר, על שלושת חלקיו, נדפס בשנת 1898, ולא לאחר 1902, כדברי כותב הכרוניקה. למעשה, חלק בראשית נדפס בדפוס "עץ החיים", ורק שני החלקים האחרים נדפסו ב"דפוס פוליגלוטה דוד ב' ברוך בִּיזִיס". ראו הכהן 2021, מס' 262.

³⁵ ר' יצחק בן אברהם הכהן פרחיה (1856–1936), רב ומוהל ותיק בקהילה, הוציא לאור קובצי סיפורים בתוספת מוסר השכל (פרחיה תרמ"ד; פרחיה תרנ"א). חיבורים אחרים שהותיר בכתב יד נשרפו בדלקה שפרצה בסלוניקי בשנת 1917 (ראו מולכו תשל"ה: 631–632, מס' 1634).

³⁶ באחד מפרסומיו של דוד בִּיזִיס, המחבר מיידע את הקוראים שהוא נמכר אצל אביו ברוך בן דוד, בבית הספר [הפרוטסטנטי] של האב קרוסבי בסלוניקי. ייתכן שאת ידיעותיו בשפות זרות ביזיס רכש במוסד זה.

³⁷ בִּיזִיס־אנג' פעל בסלוניקי כמוציא לאור בשנים 1890–1911, בעיקר בתחום הספרות היפה.

³⁸ כלומר, ביזיס הדפיס את הספר. מספרו של שלמה בכר יוסף יהודה "איל מונדו", ידועות במחקר שלוש מהדורות: סלוניקי תרמ"א; ירושלים תרמ"ח; ירושלים תרס"ז. במהדורת תרס"ז נכתב "קוארטינה אידיסיין" (מהדורה רביעית). נראה אפוא שהמהדורה המוזכרת בכרוניקה אינה ידועה, וסביר להניח שהדפסה בסלוניקי בתקופה שבין השנים תרמ"ח–תרס"ז. ראו הכהן 2021, מס' 1964–1962.

³⁹ במחקר ידועות שתי מהדורות של הספר: קושטא 1873 [בשם: איסטוריה די לוס ריינוס די פ'ראנסייה (תולדות ממלכות צרפת)], וסלוניקי 1880 (ראו הכהן 2021, מס' 2565–2566). נראה אפוא שלפנינו אזכור למהדורה נוספת של הסיפור, שאינה ידועה במחקר, וגם היא ראתה אור אצל בִּיזִיס.

⁴⁰ כוונתו לחיבור "מגילת אסתר". הכהן 2021, מס' 2069.

מלבד הפרסומים עצמם, מעט מאוד ידוע על פעילותו של דוד ביזיס ועל תולדות בית הדפוס המשפחתי, ומכאן נובעת חשיבותו של המקור שיוצג להלן.

כרוניקה חדשה על אודות בית דפוס ביזיס

כרוניקה בלתי ידועה²⁷ שכתב ברוך בן דוד ביזיס (סלוניקי, 1890~ – אושוויץ, 1943), מעלה תרומה של ממש לידיעותינו על בית הדפוס המשפחתי, שאותו הקים אביו דוד ביזיס: על אודות בעליו ועל פעילותו ותוצריה, היינו הספרים שהופיעו בו במשך עשרות שנות קיומו. הטקסט נכתב על נייר מכתבים רשמי של בית הדפוס, שבראשו מופיע סמליל דו-לשוני. בצד הכתוב יוונית שם בית הדפוס: ΚΑΛΛΙΤΕΧΝΙΚΟΝ ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΝ ΜΠΕΖΕΣ (בית דפוס אומנותי ביזיס); ובצד הכתוב צרפתית: Imprimerie Bézès (בית דפוס ביזיס). בצד זה מצוינת השנה שבה נוסד בית הדפוס: 1888. הכרוניקה מדברת בעד עצמה, ולכן נציג כאן את תרגומה בתוספת הערות מבארות (התרגום שלי, ד"ה):²⁸

סלוניקי, 1 באפריל 1938

בית הדפוס ביזיס נוסד בחודשים הראשונים של שנת 1888, בידי דוד ברוך ביזיס, הצאצא היחיד למשפחה של רבנים, הבקאים מאוד במקרא ובתלמוד.²⁹ דוד ברוך ביזיס היה אחד מן השוליות בבית הדפוס של המנוח סעדי הלויאשכנזי ושם למד את רזי המקצוע והוכשר לעסוק

להתקיים עד לפלישת הגרמנים באפריל 1941 (עמנואל תשמ"ו: 244. עמנואל החליף בין שמותיהם של דוד וברוך ביזיס). נראה לי שנכון לקבל את דבריו של עמנואל, הזוכים לתימוכין מן העובדה שארמנדו ביזיס המשיך בעיסוק בדפוס גם לאחר המלחמה (ראו להלן, הערה 29).

²⁷ אוסף התעודות של מכון בן-צבי, תיק 187.

²⁸ שנת ההדפסה של כל פרסום שיוזכר מובאת בתוך סוגריים.

²⁹ ביזיס (גם: ביזיז, ביזיש) הוא שם משפחה נדיר וכמעט אינו מצוי במקורות שלפני המאה התשע-עשרה בכלל ובהקשר של סלוניקי בפרט. השם אינו מוזכר, לדוגמה, במפעלי התיעוד של בתי העלמין בסלוניקי (ראו עמנואל תשכ"ג–תשכ"ח; מולכו תשל"ה). אני מבקש לטעון שלפני דוד בן ברוך ביזיס, בני המשפחה נקראו בשמותיהם הפרטיים בתוספת שם האב בלבד, בלא שם משפחה, כפי שהיה נהוג בקרב משפחות רבות בסלוניקי. למעשה בעל הדפוס דוד בן ברוך ביזיס הוא הראשון שאימץ את שם המשפחה ביזיס, מסיבה שאינה ברורה. ברוב הפרסומים שבהם הוא מופיע כפועל בדפוס של סעדי הלויאשכנזי, בשנים 1883–1888 (ראו בהמשך הכרוניקה), הוא מוזכר רק כ"דוד בן ברוך" או "דוד בכר [=בן כבוד רב] ברוך", בלא שם המשפחה ביזיס (ראו לדוגמה: הלוי תרמ"ג; אבות תרמ"ד; כץ תרמ"ו). שמו מוזכר לראשונה בליווי שם משפחתו בתרגום המחורז שכתב למגילת אסתר, בשנת 1885. בעמוד השער באותו פרסום שמו מופיע כ"דוד בכר ברוך" אך במעטפת מופיע שם המשפחה (ראו ביזיס תרמ"ה). מתברר שאבותיו של דוד ברוך ביזיס, שבכרוניקה מתוארים כרבנים, עסקו למעשה בהדפסת ספרים בסלוניקי, והיו פועלי דפוס ומוציאים לאור. אביו של דוד ביזיס, מוזכר בפרסום משנת 1858, כפועל בדפוס של סעדי הלויאשכנזי ששמו "ברוך בן דוד [בן] משה" (בלא הכינוי ביזיס). את הפרסום הנזכר הביא לדפוס אביו (כלומר, סבו של דוד בן ברוך ביזיס), דוד בכר משה (ראו ספר הישר תרי"ח). אביו של דוד בכר משה הנזכר הוא משה [בן] דוד, שהוא ואחיו שלמה [בן] דוד פעלו בבתי הדפוס של אליהו פאראג'י ושל יצחק ג'אחון, בשנים 1842–1852 (ראו מחזור תר"ב; גדולת משה תרי"ב). אביהם דוד בכר משה הביא ספרים לדפוס בסלוניקי בשנים 1826–1828 (ראו מגילת איכה תקפ"ו; ספר הישר תקפ"ח).

ובין בספרות החול (כגון ספרות יפה, עיתונים, אלמנכים, לוחות שנה ועלונים למיניהם). חשיבותו של בית הדפוס באה לידי ביטוי גם במספרם הרב של העיתונים בלאדינו שנדפסו בו, שאחדים מהם, עריכתם נעשתה בידי בני משפחת ביזיס. מייסד בית הדפוס דוד בן ברוך ביזיס (1866–1912) היה נצר למשפחה של מדפיסים ופועלי דפוס. את הכשרתו המקצועית רכש בצעירותו אצל המדפיס הידוע סעדי הלויאשכנזי, ובתקופה זו החל גם לפרסם יצירות משלו.²³ ביזיס היה בקי במגוון לשונות, ומלבד פעילותו כמדפיס ועיסוקו בכתיבה, עסק גם בתרגום ללאדינו של חיבורים שנתחברו בשפות אחרות, ובהן עברית ויוונית ואף אנגלית, שפה שרכש, ככל הנראה, בבית ספר פרוטסטנטי בסלוניקי שנוהל בידי האב קרוסבי (1828–1904).²⁴ כאמור, יצירות פרי עטו החל ביזיס לפרסם כבר בתקופה שבה שימש שוליה בבית הדפוס של סעדי הלויאשכנזי. בשנת 1885, בטרם מלאו לו 20 שנה, הוא פרסם את "מגילת אסתר" – סיפור מחורז של מגילת אסתר בלאדינו (ביזיס תרמ"ה). עם הטקסטים הליטורגיים שתרגם מעברית ללאדינו נמנים הפיוטים "ידי רשים נחלשים" (1888) ו"יה שמך ארומך" (1896), שניהם מאת ר' יהודה הלוי, ו"עת שערי ציון" מאת יהודה עבאס (1898) (הכהן 2021, מס' 2135–2136, 2201). קובץ תפילות ופיוטים לימים הנוראים שאותו תרגם וגם ערך, יצא לאור בשם "מערכי לב" (1896) (שם, מס' 478). בשנת 1898 פרסם "ביוגראפיה די שרה דניאל נאחמולי" (ביוגרפיה של שרה בת דניאל נחמולי), על חייה של צעירה מן העיר לריסה שנפטרה בדמי ימיה (שם, מס' 2520). סביב 1900 תרגם ופרסם עיבוד של "מיל אי אוננה נוג'יס" (אלף לילה ולילה). לרגל מהפכת התורכים הצעירים, חיבר שיר בשם "ליברטאד, איגואלדאד, פראטירנידאד" (חירות, שוויון, אחווה, 1908) (שם, מס' 2068). באותה שנה פרסם גם חלק ראשון של רומן היסטורי בשם "איל טיסטאמינטו" (הצוואה), שעל תרגומו מאנגלית ועיבודו שקדו הוא ובנו ברוך.²⁵ בשנים 1910–1911, כשנה לפני מותו בטרם עת, פרסם שני חלקים מיצירתו של הסופר האיטלקי ג'וליו צ'יורה קרוצ'ה (1550–1609): "פלאספ'יג'אס גראנדיאוזאס די בירטולדו" (מהתלות של ברטולדו) ו"בידה די בירטולדינו" (חיי ברטולדינו), שאותם תרגם מיוונית (שם, מס' 1906–1907). לאחר פטירתו, ילדיו ונכדיו המשיכו לנהל את בית הדפוס, ופעילותו נמשכה עד סמוך לכיבוש העיר בידי הגרמנים, בשנת 1941.²⁶

²³ ביזיס מופיע כפועל בדפוס אצל סעדי הלויאשכנזי בשנים 1883–1888. ראו להלן, הערה 29. על סעדי הלויאשכנזי ראו הכהן תשע"ט.

²⁴ בשנת 1898 בית הדפוס נקרא "דפוס פוליגלוטה דוד ב' ביזיס" (ראו להלן, הערה 43). בשער אחד הספרים שראו אור בשנת 1910, שביזיס תרגמו מיוונית, נכתב שהוא "טראדוקטור פוליגלוטה" (מתרגם רב-לשוני).

ראו קרוסבי 1910. ייתכן שבבית ספר זה רכש את ידיעותיו גם בשפות אחרות.

²⁵ בסוף הספר "בידה די בירטולדינו" (1911) צוין שהחלק השני של "איל טיסטאמינטו" הולך ונדפס. לא ידוע אם חלק זה אכן יצא לאור. הכהן 2021, מס' 1510.

²⁶ אשר למועד סיום פעילותו של בית הדפוס: הספר האחרון המוזכר בסקירתו של ברוך דוד ביזיס נדפס בשנת 1934, אך למעשה ידועים במחקר פרסומים משנים מאוחרות יותר, ובהם חוברת מטעם חברת "מתנות לאביונים" (1935), "סדר הגדת ליל פסח" (1935; 1936; 1937), "סדר ראש השנה לתנוקות של בית רבן" (1936) ועוד. הכרוניקה עצמה נכתבה בשנת 1938, ואין בה אזכור להפסקת פעילותו של בית הדפוס, ונראה שבשנה זו עוד פעל. לדברי נחמה, הכרך השני של החיבור "מכתבי דודים מיי"ן" מאת ר' יהודה נחמה, ראה אור בבית הדפוס ביזיס בשנת 1939 (ראו קרקסון 2020: 158), ואילו לדברי עמנואל, בית הדפוס המשיך

פסח, שפע מידע על מהדורות מסלוניקי (יערי 1960; יודלוב 1997). פינץ-אלטבה התמקד בחקר הרומן בלאדינו מראשית המאה העשרים (פינץ-אלטבה 1977–1978). רומרו העמידה ביבליוגרפיה רחבת ידיים על מהדורות של שירי הקופלאס בלאדינו לסוגיהם (רומרו 1992). היא גם חקרה את סוגת המחזות בלאדינו והכינה ביבליוגרפיה בתחום (רומרו 1979, 2006). תחום עיתונות הלאדינו זכה להתעניינות מיוחדת ונעשו כמה ניסיונות להעמיד רשימה של כלל העיתונים שהופיעו, רובם מסלוניקי. עם החוקרים שעסקו בתחום זה נמנים גלאנטה, גאון, נשיא, רומרו ומשיח.²⁰ אחרים התמקדו בחקר העיתונות היהודית ביוון ובסלוניקי בפרט: איון חקר את עיתונות הלאדינו שראתה אור באיזמיר ובסלוניקי עד לראשית המאה העשרים (איון 1999). כרם חקר את התפתחות העיתונות בלאדינו בסלוניקי (כרם 2003; כרם 2005). והדר חקרה את העיתונות היהודית ביוון, שברובה הופיעה בסלוניקי (הדר תשע"ד, 2016).²¹

מידע על דפוסי לאדינו מסלוניקי מצוי גם בקטלוגים של בתי מכירות, לדוגמה גולדמן (1996), ותערוכות, לדוגמה פרץ (2000); שטודמונד-הלוי (2003), ובקטלוגים של ספריות ציבוריות בעולם, בהן הספרייה הלאומית בירושלים (יערי תרצ"ד; סילוה-רוזה תרצ"ו–תרצ"ז; אברמסקי תשי"ג–תשי"ד), ספריית הקונגרס בושינגטון (1959, 1963; פרלשטיין 2005), הספרייה של ישיבה יוניברסיטי בניו יורק (סרלס 1982), הספרייה של אוניברסיטת הרווארד במסצ'וסטס (רודריג 1992), הספרייה הבריטית בלונדון (טאהן 2006), ספריית בית הכנסת המרכזי בסופיה שבבולגריה (מוסקונה 1974) וארכיון המדינה שבעיר (קולן ושטודמונד הלוי 2009), הספרייה המלכותית בקופנהגן (היימן 1984) ועוד. הכהן הצביע על דפוסי לאדינו קדומים השמורים באוניברסיטת קיימברידג' שהם דפוסים קדומים מסלוניקי שנחשפו בגניזת קאהיר (הכהן 2009, 2020). גם ספרות פרטיות אחדות נחקרו וקטלוגים שלהן מציגים פריטים מודפסים כתובים לאדינו מסלוניקי.²² לאחרונה פרסם הכהן ביבליוגרפיה מקיפה על כלל תוצרי הדפוס ששפתם לאדינו, ובה קרוב ל-1500 פריטים שראו אור בסלוניקי (הכהן 2021).

בית הדפוס ביזיס בסלוניקי

בית הדפוס ביזיס היה אחד מבתי הדפוס שפעלו בסלוניקי בסוף המאה התשע-עשרה ובמחצית הראשונה של המאה העשרים, ומן הבולטים שבהם. מלבד עשייתם הנרחבת כמדפיסים, בני משפחת ביזיס כתבו יצירות ספרות מקוריות בלאדינו, תרגמו לשפה זו משפות אחרות ופעלו נמרצות בתחום העיתונות. במשך קצת יותר מחמישה עשורים – שנות קיומו של בית הדפוס ביזיס, הופקו בו קרוב למאה וחמישים פרסומים במגוון רחב של תחומים, בין בספרות הקודש (בהם סידורים ומחזורי תפילה, הגדות של פסח ופרקי אבות)

²⁰ למשל, גלאנטה 1935; מלכו 1939; גאון תשכ"ה; נשיא 2001; רומרו 2008 (ב). מאמרים קצרים וכלליים בנושא פרסמו יצחק ר' מלכו (מלכו תש"ו) וגימל (גימל 1987).

²¹ ראו גם פאפו 1999.

²² כך לדוגמה שרידי ספרייתו של מיכאל מולכו (ראו מולכו 1957; חסן 1973) וספרייתו של נסים לואיס לוי (בן-אור 2001).

לחקר הדפוס העברי בסלוניקי: כרוניקה לא ידועה על אודות בית הדפוס בִּיֻּנִיס

(רומא-פרה 2010, 2014 (א); אלברל 2014). רומא-פרה ההדירה את הספר "דיאלוגו דיל קולוראדו" (דרישה על השנית, 1601) מאת הרופא דניאל די אבילה-גאלייגו (1601) (רומא-פרה 2014 (ב)). גומל חקרה את הוראת השפה העברית על פי חמישה ספרי לימוד מסלוניקי (גומל תשס"ח).

ח. עיתונות

כהן-ראק העמידה דיסרטציה שעסקה בעיתון הסוציאליסטי "לה סולידארידאד אוב'ראדירה" (אחוות הפועלים, 1911–1912) וההדירה שבעה מגילונותיו (כהן-ראק 1986). פאנובסקי חקר את העיתון הרב-לשוני "סאלוניק" (1869–1877) (פאנובסקי 1993–1994). קוהרינג חקר את הקובץ "אלמאנאקו נאסיונאל" (אלמנך לאומי, 1913) (קוהרינג 2006). דורי העמידה דיסרטציה שנסבה על כתב העת "איל מכביאו" (המכבי, 1914–1930) (דורי תשס"ז). מרטינז-גלון חקרה את פורים" (הקערה של פורים) (1909–1910), מוסף סטירי לעיתון "איל אב'ניר" (העתיד) (מרטינז-גלון 2010). איון חקר את העיתון הסוציאליסטי "לה סולידארידאד אוב'ראדירה", הנזכר לעיל (איון 2011). הבסי חקרה את כתב העת "קאנטיס דיב'רסוס" (מגוון שירים, 1929–1930), שרובו הוקדש לשירי זמר (הבסי תשע"ה). צור העמידה דיסרטציה ובה הציגה את השנתון הציוני "איל ג'דייו" (1923–1937) (צור 2016).

קטלוגים ומחקרים בעלי אופי ביבליוגרפי מובהק, מתחום הלאדינו ותרבותה

אומנם דפוס סלוניקי נרשמו גם בביבליוגרפיות של הספר העברי,¹⁷ אולם הסקירה שלפנינו תתמקד במחקרים מתחום הלאדינו ותרבותה, הבולטים במגמתם הביבליוגרפית ויש בהם מידע על דפוס סלוניקי. כאלה הם לדוגמה עבודותיהם של קייזרלינג, גרונבאום, פרנקו, מולכו, בוניס, לוי, רומרו, הכהן ועוד.¹⁸ הינה דוגמאות למחקרים בעלי אופי ביבליוגרפי הכוללים מידע על יצירות כתובות לאדינו שראו אור בסלוניקי:¹⁹ כמה וכמה חוקרים ביקשו להקים תשתית ביבליוגרפית למהדורות של ספרי מקרא בלאדינו, שרבות מהן ראו אור בסלוניקי, ובהם מוראָלָה, לזר, משיח והכהן (מוראלה 1960; לזר תשכ"ד, 1994; משיח 2005, 2014; הכהן 2019). שורצולד חקרה מהדורות של פרקי אבות בתרגום ללאדינו, שרבות מהן הופיעו בסלוניקי (שורצולד תשמ"ט); בחיבורים המקיפים שערכו יערי ויודלוב על מהדורות של הגדות של

¹⁷ ראו לדוגמה: בן-יעקב תרל"ז–תר"ם; פרידברג תשי"א; פרידברג תשט"ז; יודלוב תשמ"ה; וינוגרד תשנ"ה ועוד.

¹⁸ למשל, קייזרלינג 1890; גרונבאום 1896; פרנקו 1897: 270–276; מולכו 1960; בוניס 1981; לוי תשמ"ב; רומרו 1992 (א); הכהן תשע"א.

¹⁹ הסקירה תיעשה לפי חלוקה תמטית, בסדר זה: תנ"ך, אבות, הגדה של פסח, סיפורת, שירה, תיאטרון ועיתונות.

פריאטור־פריאטור חקר את שירי הקופלאס בעניינו של המן הרשע, על בסיס שש מהדורות מסלוניקי (פריאטור־פריאטור 1999). קרסדו חקרה את שיר הקופלאס "איל אשוגאר די המן" (נדונייתו של המן הרשע), שהופיע בכמה מהדורות (קרסדו 1980). מוניוז־חיימנו חקרה שיר קופלאס לחג הפסח (1776) (מוניוז־חיימנו 1994). ספיוס־וירי ההדיר את שירי הקופלאס לחג השבועות (1786) (ספיוס־וירי 2005, 2015). מרטין־הרדיה חקרה שתי מהדורות של שירי קופלאס לחג החנוכה (1828, 1879) (מרטין־הרדיה 1981, 1998). דיאז־מאס, חסן ופרץ העמידו מחקרים על השיר "קופלאס די יוסף הצדיק", שכמה ממהדורותיו הופיעו בסלוניקי (חסן 1986; דיאז־מאס 1999; פרץ תשס"ו). רומרו וקרסדו חקרו את שירי הקופלאס מתחום המוסר, שרבים מהם נדפסו בסלוניקי (רומרו וקרסדו 1977; ולנטין 2006, 2007). רומרו העמידה מחקר מקיף על שירי הקופלאס מתחום המוסר שחיבר הרב חיים יום טוב מאגולה מאיזמיר, שחלקם התפרסמו בסלוניקי (רומרו 1998, 2003).¹⁵ רומרו העמידה מחקר מקיף על אודות שירי קופלאס הומוריסטיים, שרבים מהם התפרסמו בסלוניקי (רומרו 2008 (א)). אטיאש חקר את מפעלם הספרותי של המשוררים יעקב אברהם יונה ושלמה ח' שלם (אטיאש תשל"א־תשמ"א).¹⁶ הבסי חקרה את יצירותיהם של המשוררים צדיק גרשון ומשה קאזיס (הבסי 2000).

1. תיאטרון

ג'ירה חקר את המחזה "לוס מאראנוס" (האנוסים), מאת אלברט ברזילי (1934). רומרו חקרה את המחזה "טיאטרו מויי אלאב'אדו או איסטורייה די ח' בנימין" (מחזה מהולל מאוד או סיפורו של אדון בנימין) – תרגום ועיבוד של המחזה "הקמצן" מאת מולייר (1884) (רומרו 1982). סנצ'ס חקרה את המחזה "פארה מזל בואינו" (למזל טוב), מאת שלום עליכם (1931), בגרסתו בלאדינו ואת המחזה המקורי "בילאג'י" (פוחז) מאת אלברטו מולכו, שעסק בציונות הפוליטית (1930) (סנצ'ס 2005, 2011).

2. היסטוריה, מדעים ולימודי שפה

מולכו תרגם מלאדינו לעברית חלק מן החיבור "זכרון תימן" (1880) מאת דוד הלוי קאראסו, המבוסס על מסעו של המחבר לתימן (טובי תשל"ו). מוניוז־מולינה חקרה את הספר ההיסטוריוגרפי "שבט יהודה" מאת שלמה ח' וירגה, בתרגומו ללאדינו, שאחת ממהדורותיו נדפסה בסלוניקי (1850) (מוניוז־מולינה 2011). רפאל ההדיר את הספר "לה ב'ידה די אדולף חיתליר" [!] איל המן מודירנו" (חיי אדולף היטלר, ההמן המודרני, 1933) (רפאל 2015). אורפלי חקר את מהדורות הספר "יוסיפון", שחלקן ראו אור בסלוניקי (אורפלי 2016). רומאופרה חקרה וההדירה את החיבור "ספר רפואות" שראה אור בסלוניקי (1855~), ואלברל השוותה בין מהדורות סלוניקי של חיבור זה למהדורת איזמיר (1870).

¹⁵ ראו גם ברינאה והלדי־דילהרוזה תשע"ז.

¹⁶ על יצירתו ופרסומי של יונה, ראו גם ארמיסטאד וסילברמן 1972; קרסדו ורומרו 1981; חסן 1998.

לחקר הדפוס העברי בסלוניקי: כרוניקה לא ידועה על אודות בית הדפוס בִּינִים

חקר את דמותו של ר' משה אלמושנינו (1518–1580), ואת מפעלו הספרותי, הכולל את ספרו "הנהגת החיים" (1564) (מלכו תש"א, מלכו תש"ב (א), מלכו תש"ב (ב) (= מלכו תשכ"ז)).¹² שורצולד חקרה את תרגום הספר "חובת הלבבות", מאת ר' צדיק פורמון (~1568) (שורצולד 2008).¹³ שמיד חקרה את החיבורים, "דרכי האדם" (1843) ו"ספר הברית" (1847) (שמיד 2017, 2019).

ג. ספרי פולמוס, ספרות ימי הביניים, ספרות עממית ופולקלור

רומאופרה ההדירה את החיבור הפולמוסי אנטי־נוצרי, "פואינטי קלארה" (מעין צלול, ~1600) (רומאופרה 2006, 2007). רפאל־יוונוטה חקרה יצירות מימי הביניים שתורגמו ללאדינו, כגון "בן המלך והנזיר" (1849, 1880) ומהדורות שונות של סיפורי סנדבאד (רפאל־יוונוטה 2014). רומרו העמידה מחקר מקיף על מהדורות ספר "בן סירא" בגרסתו בלאדינו, שכמה מהן הופיעו בסלוניקי (רומרו 1994, 2001); והיא וג'רסיה־מורנו ההדירו בצוותא שני קובצי סיפורים – "סיפורי נוראות" (1885) ו"סיפורי פלאות" (1891) (רומרו וגרסיה־מורנו 2009). רומאופרה וזמקה חקרו את חיבורו של ר' משה אלמושנינו בעניין פתרון חלומות (1564) (רומאופרה 2004; זמקה 2004).

ד. סיפורת

רומאופרה ההדירה את הנובלה "סיימפרי ג'ודיאה" (יהודייה לתמיד, 1920) (רומאופרה 1997). רפאל חקר את הקובץ "ריקוליו ליטירארייו ג'ידיו" (מאסף ספרותי יהודי, 1920), שהופיע מטעם ארגון הנשים הציוניות "התחיה" (רפאל תש"ס). הכהן חקר ספרים מסלוניקי שתורגמו מיוונית ללאדינו, רובם מתחום הסיפורת (הכהן 2008). סקולניק ההדירה את סיפורי הבלש האמריקאי "נאט פינקרטון" שראו אור בהמשכים (1910–1912) (סקולניק 2014).

ה. שירה ופיוט

מחקרים רבים התמקדו בסוגת הקופלאס, הכוללת שירים על מועדי ישראל ועל דמויות מופת ביהדות, שירים מתחום המוסר ושירים היתוליים. אטיאש חקר את שירי הקופלאס לחג הפורים, שרבות ממהדורותיהם ראו אור בסלוניקי (אטיאש תש"ח).¹⁴ חסן חקר את השתלשלות הפרסום של שירי הקופלאס לחג הפורים שהופיעו בסלוניקי (חסן 2008).

¹² דמותו של אלמושנינו עמדה במוקד של כמה וכמה מחקרים נוספים ובהם מידע על חיבוריו, שחלקם ראו אור בסלוניקי. ראו גם בן־מנחם תש"ו; מולכו 1958; בניה תשנ"ז; בורובאה 2014.

¹³ על מקום הדפסת הספר ראו הקר תשל"ב: 488, מס' 174.

¹⁴ חסן כתב דיסרטציה על שירי הקופלאס לחג הפורים בלאדינו (חסן 1976). וראו גם חסן 2007; רומרו 2011; רומרו 2021.

מידע רב על הדפוס בסלוניקי – על ספרים ועיתונים וגם על בתי הדפוס והמדפיסים – ניתן לדלות ממאמרים רבים העוסקים במגוון רחב של תחומים, כגון לשון, ספרות, היסטוריה, פולקלור, ביבליוגרפיה ועוד, ובאחרים המתמקדים במחבר מסוים שיצירותיו פורסמו בסלוניקי. להלן רשימה של מחקרים ממוינת לפי תוכני הפרסומים:¹⁰

א. מקרא, ספרים חיצוניים, ספרות חז"ל וליטורגיה

ספיחה השווה בין גרסת התרגום ללאדינו של ספר ירמיה במהדורת סלוניקי 1568 לגרסה שבתנ"ך פרארה 1553 (ספיחה 1971). רומא-פֶּרָה חקרה את ספר "יהודית", מן הספרים החיצוניים, ואת "מגילת אנטיוכוס", מדרש אגדה לחנוכה, שהתפרסמו בכמה וכמה מהדורות (רומא-פֶּרָה 2019). שורצולד והכהן חקרו את המהדורה הראשונה של התרגום ללאדינו של פרקי אבות (~1570), שדפים ממנו חשף הכהן בגניזת קאהיר (שורצולד והכהן 2020). רומרו העמידה מחקר מקיף על סיפורים מדרשיים שנתחברו על דמותו של משה רבנו, שחלקם הופיעו בסלוניקי (רומרו 2015, 2017). זֶנָה פרסם מידע ראשוני על סידור תפילה בלתי ידוע בשם "תהלות ישראל" (1569) (זֶנָה תרצ"ד–תרצ"ה).¹¹ סידור התפילה המיוחד לנשים "סדר נשים" (~1565), שערך ר' מאיר בנבנשתי, עמד במוקד כמה ממחקריה של שורצולד (שורצולד 2010 (א); 2010 (ב); 2010 (ג); 2011; 2012; תשע"ב).

ב. פרשנות המקרא, הלכה ומנהג, ומוסר

גאון חקר את החיבור "מעם לועז" ואסף מידע על מהדורותיו, בהן מהדורות מסלוניקי (גאון תרצ"ג). גם מולכו חקר את סדרת הספרים "מעם לועז", שרבות ממהדורותיה הופיעו בסלוניקי (מולכו 1945). ריאָניוֹלֶפֶז חקרה את פירוש "מעם לועז" לספר ישעיה, מאת ר' יצחק אבא מאימיר (1892) (ריאָניוֹלֶפֶז 1999). רומא-פֶּרָה חקרה את המפתחות לספר "מעם לועז" והעמידה סקירה מקיפה של מהדורותיו, שרבות מהן הופיעו בסלוניקי (רומא-פֶּרָה 2016). היא גם העמידה מחקר מקיף על מהדורות הספר "מעם לועז" לספר יהושע, שחלקן הופיעו בסלוניקי (רומא-פֶּרָה 2000). אלפֶּרֶל חקרה את הסיפור על דבורה הנביאה המופיע בספר "לחם יהודה" מאת ר' יצחק אבא (1888), שנכתב בסגנון האופייני ל"מעם לועז" (אלברל 2011). לוי חקר את החיבור "שלחן הפנים", שמהדורתו הראשונה ראתה אור בשנת 1568, והכהן חשף את זהות מחברו ותיאר את מפעלו הספרותי (לוי תשנ"ד; הכהן תשע"ה). שורצולד השוותה בין שתי המהדורות של החיבור "שלחן הפנים", האחת מסלוניקי והאחרת מוונציה, ובין שתי המהדורות של "חובת הלבבות" (כנ"ל) (שורצולד 2017). בן-נאה חקר קובץ תקנות מסלוניקי מן המאה השמונה-עשרה (בן-נאה 2016). מלכו

¹⁰ ליד שמות היצירות שהודפסו בסלוניקי שעמדו במוקד המחקרים השונים המוזכרים בסקירה להלן, מצוינות השנים שבהן ראו היצירות אור.

¹¹ הדפים שתיעד זֶנָה, נרכשו לאחרונה בידי הספרייה הלאומית (מספר מדף: 4697A2022=0). ראו גם הכהן תשע"א: 181; הכהן תשע"ה: נה-נו.

ראה בספרייה הלאומית בירושלים (יערי תר"ץ). מולכו תרם רשימה מצומצמת של ספרים בלאדינו ורשימה מקיפה של עיתונים בשפה זו שראו אור בסלוניקי (מולכו תשכ"ז (א); מולכו תשכ"ז (ג)). העבודה המקיפה ביותר שנעשתה במטרה להעמיד רשימה שלמה ככל האפשר של חיבורים שהודפסו בסלוניקי, הוכנה בידי המורה וההיסטוריון מִירקאדו יוסף קובו (1870–1940). קובו, שפעל רבות באיסוף מידע היסטורי ופולקלוריסטי על אודות יהודי יוון בכלל ויהודי סלוניקי בפרט, הותיר רשימות רבות בכתובים ובהן רשימה המרכזת מידע ביבליוגרפי הכוללת קרוב ל-800 כותרים בעברית ובלאדינו שראו אור בסלוניקי, וגם סקירה על כמה וכמה מבתי הדפוס שפעלו בעיר.⁶ במחקר על אודות הדפוס העברי באימפריה העות'מאנית שפרסם בִּיִּזִיס בשנת 2001 הקדיש המחבר פרק לסלוניקי (בִּיִּזִיס נאה 2001: 86–92).

בין המחקרים והעבודות שעסקו בנושא, היו שהתמקדו בבתי דפוס מסוימים, לדוגמה: כתבה קצרה שהתפרסמה בעיתון "איל טיימפו" (התקופה) בקושטא, בשלהי 1900. הכותב, החותם בראשי התיבות הש"ר, מציג ריאיון שערך עם המדפיס והמשורר הסלוניקאי סעדי הלוי־אשכנזי (1819–1903) ובו מידע נרחב על תולדות בית הדפוס שירש מאבותיו (הש"ר תרס"א). ויש דוגמות נוספות: פריימן חקר את פעילות בית הדפוס סונצינו בקושטא ובסלוניקי (פריימן 1905: 22; פריימן 1907: 52–53). רוזאניס פרסם בעיתונות הלאדינו מאמר בהמשכים ובו פרטים נוספים על פעילותו של בית הדפוס של משפחת הלוי־אשכנזי הנזכרת (רוזאניס תרס"ז).⁷ בסקירה שערך מולכו על "תלמוד תורה הגדול" בסלוניקי, הוא ייחד סעיף לבית הדפוס שפעל במוסד (מולכו תשכ"ז (ב): 64). מהלמן חקר את תולדותיהם של כמה מבתי הדפוס שפעלו בסלוניקי בשנים 1578–1628, ופירט את הספרים שנדפסו בהם: אצל דוד אזוביב (14 כותרים), אצל מתתיה בת שבע ובניו (34 כותרים), ואצל האחים לבית שמעון (14 כותרים) (מהלמן תשל"א–תשל"ח).⁸ עמנואל הציג רשימה בת 92 כותרים שראו אור בבית הדפוס של קופת "עץ החיים" (עמנואל תשמ"ו: 247–248).⁹

מחקרים המבוססים על פרסומים מסלוניקי

רבים הם המחקרים שבהם ניתן לאתר מידע על דפוסי סלוניקי, בעברית או בלאדינו. ברם, בשל היקף המצער, נצמצם את הסקירה שנציג כאן למחקרים הנשענים על חיבורים ששפתם לאדינו בלבד.

⁶ אני מבקש להודות למר דוד אברהם רקנטי שהעמיד לרשותי את עיזבונו של קובו הכולל רשימות שכתב ומחברותיו. רשימותיו של קובו על דפוסי סלוניקי כוללות בעיקר ספרים, ומלבדם – עיתונים אחדים. ראו גם קובו תרפ"ט.

⁷ היה מקום לשער שראשי התיבות הש"ר בחתימת הריאיון עם סעדי הלוי־אשכנזי רומזים לשמו (שלמה רוזאניס), אולם השערה זו אינה סבירה משום שבהערה לריאיון הנזכר, נאמר שהכותב יושב בסלוניקי והוא בן משפחתו של המרואיין, ופרטים אלו אינם מתאימים לידוע על רוזאניס.

⁸ מהלמן גם תיאר את השתלשלות הדפסת התלמוד בסלוניקי באותה התקופה והצביע על ארבע־עשרה מהדורות של ספרי תלמוד שראו אור שם.

⁹ לרשימה קודמת ראו מלאך 1934: 37–38.

הדפוס העברי בסלוניקי – מצב המחקר

הסקירה הביבליוגרפית שנציג כאן מבקשת לתרום למחקר עתידי על הדפוס העברי בסלוניקי. לצד מחקרים רלוונטיים לתחום, הסקירה מורכבת ממגוון מקורות אחרים, כגון כתבות שהתפרסמו בעיתונות הלאדינו, רשימות בכתבי יד ועוד. הסקירה מתחלקת לשלוש חטיבות:

- א. מחקרים ועבודות שביקשו לשרטט קווים לפעילותו של הדפוס העברי בסלוניקי, ובהם מידע ממוקד על פעילות בתי הדפוס והספרים שראו אור בהם;
- ב. מחקרים המתמקדים בפרסומים – ספרים ועיתונים – שראו אור בסלוניקי;
- ג. קטלוגים ומחקרים בעלי אופי ביבליוגרפי מובהק מתחום הלאדינו והתרבות היהודית-ספרדית, שבהם מידע רלוונטי על תוצרי בתי הדפוס בסלוניקי.

מחקרים על אודות הדפוס העברי בסלוניקי: ספרים ובתי דפוס

אחד הניסיונות הראשונים להציג מבט כולל על פעילות הדפוס העברי בסלוניקי נעשה בידי המורה הסלוניקאי הרב בן-יעקב (1886–1943). סדרת הכתבות על תולדות הקהילה היהודית בסלוניקי שפרסם בעיתונות הלאדינו בראשית שנות השלושים של המאה העשרים, כוללת כמה וכמה פרקים בעניין הדפוס העברי בעירו והספרים שנדפסו שם (בן-יעקב 1931–1932).³ רוזאניס, בחיבור היסטורי רחב היקף, שרטט קווים כלליים לתולדות בתי הדפוס הראשונים שפעלו בסלוניקי.⁴ בספרו על אודות יהודי סלוניקי, עמנואל מתאר את התפתחות הדפוס העברי בעיר, עד למאה השבע-עשרה (עמנואל 1936: 237–241). חיבורו המונומנטלי של נחמה על תולדות יהודי סלוניקי, כולל מידע רב על ספרים מסלוניקי, מחבריהם ופעילות בתי הדפוס בעיר;⁵ וכמוהו מאמרו המקיף של עמנואל הסוקר את תולדות בתי הדפוס בסלוניקי בשנים 1512–1968, המלא וגדוש פרטים ומידע על בתי הדפוס, המדפיסים ופועלי הדפוס (עמנואל תשמ"ו).

בשנת 1924 פרסם אלמליח סדרת מאמרים ובה ביקש להעמיד רשימה של ספרים, עבריים בעיקר, שהודפסו בסלוניקי. רשימתו כוללת בסך הכול 421 כותרים שראו אור בשנים 1515–1893 (אלמליח תרפ"ד). ריבקינד ביקש להמשיך את מלאכת האיסוף, ובמאמר שפרסם בהמשכים שנים אחדות לאחר מכן, הוא הוסיף לרשימה עוד 250 כותרים (ריבקינד 1925, 1927, 1930). יערי המשיך את מלאכת קודמיו ופרסם רשימה ובה תיקונים לרשימותיו של ריבקינד, ומלבדם – תוספת לא מבוטלת של 69 כותרים, שאותם

³ סדרת הכתבות עסקה במגוון נושאים והיבטים. מידע מרכזי על הדפוס העברי מופיע בפרקים [1], [2], 11, 32, 33. מקצת ממצאיו של בן-יעקב חזרו והתפרסמו בתרגום לעברית. ראו בן-יעקב תשכ"ז.

⁴ ראו רוזאניס תר"ץ: 219–221, 226. כך גם בספרו של הברמן. ראו הברמן תשכ"ח: 123–124. מידע על כותרים שהופיעו בסלוניקי במאות שלאחר מכן מופרז בשאר חלקי ספרו של רוזאניס.

⁵ נחמה 1959–1978: (במיוחד) כרך 5, עמ' 234–237; כרך 6–7, עמ' 425–480. השוו גם סקירתו שהתפרסמה בעברית: נחמה תשמ"ו.

כמעט מייד עם התיישבותם של מגורשי ספרד בעיר.¹ בסלוניקי החלה פעילות זו רק כעבור כשני עשורים, ועם זאת מרכז הדפוס שהתפתח בה, הפך למרכז החשוב ביותר בכל מה שנוגע לספרים ולעיתונים בלאדינו, והוא מילא תפקידו נאמנה עד להחרבת הקהילה בידי הנאצים. קהילות איזמיר וקושטא זכו למונוגרפיות מחקריות, המתארות בהרחבה את פעילות הדפוס העברי בעריהן,² ולעומתן, על קהילת סלוניקי, למרות מרכזיותה בתחום הפצת הספר העברי, טרם נכתב מחקר מקיף שניתנת בו בימה מכובדת וראויה לתולדות הדפוס העברי שהתפתח בעירה. המידע על בתי הדפוס והמדפיסים שפעלו בסלוניקי ועל הספרים והעיתונים הרבים שהתפרסמו בה, טרם נאסף, והוא נותר מפוזר במגוון רחב של מקורות ומחקרים. המאמר שלפנינו מבקש אפוא לתרום נדבך נוסף לחקר תחום זה, בסקירה ביבליוגרפית ובחשיפתו של מקור ראשוני שיש בו פירוט רחב למדי של ספרים ועיתונים בלאדינו שראו אור בסלוניקי. בסקירה הביבליוגרפית שנציג מייד, נבקש להבליט את המאמצים שנעשו עד כה בשדה המחקר לאיסוף ולריכוז של מידע, הן על בתי הדפוס שפעלו בסלוניקי הן על היכול שהניב עמלם. נסקור גם מגוון רחב של מחקרים המחזיקים מידע רלוונטי על אודות הפריטים השונים שיצאו תחת מכבשי הדפוס שפעלו בעיר.

כחלק מאותו מאמץ, נציג כאן לראשונה מקור ייחודי המספר בהרחבה על תולדותיו של אחד מבתי הדפוס העבריים הבולטים שפעלו בסלוניקי בתקופה המודרנית: בית הדפוס בִּיזֵס. בית הדפוס נוסד בשנת 1888 בידי דוד בן ברוך ביזס, ולאחר פטירתו בשנת 1912 נוהל בידי בניו ונכדיו עד לסגירתו, ערב חורבנה של הקהילה במלחמת העולם השנייה. רבים מבני המשפחה, בניו ונכדיו של מייסד בית הדפוס, מצאו את מותם במחנות ההשמדה בפולין. מקור זה הוא כרוניקה שנכתבה בידי ברוך ביזס, בנו של מייסד בית הדפוס. תרגום עברי של הטקסט המקורי – הכתוב לאדינו, בכתב יד ספרדי קורסיבי (סוליטראו) – יובא בהמשך בליווי הערות, הרחבות וביאורים; ותעתיק ותצלום של המקור יוצגו בנספחים. שני חלקים למאמר הזה: הצגה וההדרה של המקור החדש על תולדות בית הדפוס ביזס וסקירת מצב המחקר על הדפוס היהודי בסלוניקי. נפתח באחרון.

¹ כבר בשנת 1493 האחים דוד ושמואל בן נחמיהש, מגולי ספרד, הדפיסו בקושטא את הספר "ארבעה טורים" לר' יעקב בן אשר. ככל הידוע, הספר העברי הראשון שראה אור בסלוניקי – חומש עם פירוש רש"י – נדפס בשנת 1513 בידי דון יהודה גדליה ובניו, שקודם לכן הדפיסו ספרים בליסבון. באיזמיר הוקם בית דפוס עברי רק בשנת 1658, בידי אברהם גבאי, שקודם לכן הדפיס בליוורנו שבאיטליה.

² בדוח מטעם מכון בן-צבי משנת תשי"ז נאמר שבין הספרים העומדים להופיע כלול חיבורו של אברהם יערי "הדפוס העברי בתורכיה", חיבור שאמור היה לראות אור בארבעה כרכים: אחד המוקדש לקושטא, אחד לסלוניקי, אחד לאיזמיר ואחד לשאר ערי האימפריה. ראו בנייהו תשי"ז: 18. דוד א' רקנטי מוסר שבשיחה עם יערי לפני פטירתו בשנת 1966, סיפר לו יערי שבידו בכתובים רשימה ביבליוגרפית של למעלה מ-3500 כותרים שנדפסו בסלוניקי (רקנטי תשל"ב-תשמ"ו: ב, 227). כאמור, למעשה רק מחקריו על קושטא ועל איזמיר ראו אור. על קושטא ראו יערי תשכ"ז (וראו גם הקר תשל"ב). על איזמיר, ראו יערי תשי"ט (וראו גם הכהן תשנ"ב-תשנ"ג). מחקרים מקיפים אלה נעשו על בסיס בחינת כלל הדפוסים שראו אור בשני המרכזים הללו והם כוללים רשימה מפורטת של אותם פריטים, תולדות בתי הדפוס ועוד.

לחקר הדפוס העברי בסלוניקי: כרוניקה לא ידועה על אודות בית הדפוס בִּינִיס

דב הכהן

אחד מזיכרונותי הראשונים הנוגעים לבעל היובל, ידידי פרופ' דוד מ' בוניס, קשור שלא במפתיע, לספרים בלאדינו. לפני כשלושה עשורים הזמנתי את פרופ' בוניס לביתי כדי שיתרשם מן הספרים והחבורות בלאדינו שעלה בידי להשיג במסעיי לאחת הקהילות בתורכיה. בתמונה הצרובה בזיכרוני אני רואה את פרופ' בוניס רכון על השולחן שעליו הונחו הספרים, מעיין בהם, בוחן אותם, רושם ומעתיק.

מחקריו הרבים של פרופ' בוניס על אודות השפה, הספרות והתרבות של דוברי הלאדינו, מבוססים רובם ככולם על טקסטים כתובים לאדינו שראו אור בדפוס – בספרים או בעיתונים – והם גדושים במידע ביבליוגרפי. לעיר סלוניקי מקום חשוב בעולם הדפוס העברי בכלל והדפוס בלאדינו בפרט. לא בכדי הוכתרה העיר בכינוי "עיר ואם בישראל". הספר שחיבר בעל היובל "קולות משאלוניקי היהודית" (בוניס תש"ס), המתמקד בחיי היהודים בקהילה זו, תורם גם הוא נדבך חשוב לידע שנאסף ומעשיר את התמונה הכוללת. והינה עמדה לפניי המשימה הנעימה לתרום מאמר לקובץ המוגש לו. חשבתי בליבי: 'אדם שליבו ועיתותיו נתונים לספרים בלאדינו ולקהילה שבה פרח העיסוק בהדפסתם, ראוי הוא שייכתב לכבודו מאמר שכל כולו מוקדש לספרים בלאדינו בהקשר של סלוניקי'. אמרתי ועשיתי.

הקדמה

סלוניקי, קושטא ואיזמיר נחשבו למרכזים הגדולים והחשובים ביותר של הדפוס העברי שפעלו בתחומי האימפריה העות'מאנית, בתורכיה ובבלקן. פעילות הדפוס בקושטא החלה



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J. Baumgarten, <i>Le Yiddish, histoire d'une langue errante</i> , Paris 2002.	באומגרטן 2002
D. M. Bunis, "The names of Jewish Languages: a taxonomy", <i>Il mio cuore è a Oriente, Studi di linguistica storica, filologia e cultura ebraica dedicati a Maria Luisa Mayer Modena</i> , Milan 2008: 415–433.	בוניס 2008
A. Bendelac, <i>Los Nuestros: Sejiná, letuarios, Jaquetía y Fraja, Un retrato de los sefardíes del norte de Marruecos a través de sus recuerdos y de su lengua (1860-1984)</i> , New York-Bern-Frankfurt-Paris 1987.	בן-דלאק 1987
A. Bendayán de Bendelac, <i>Diccionario del Judeoespañol de los sefardíes del Norte de Marruecos</i> , Caracas 1995.	בן-דלאק 1995
Y. Bentolila, "Alternances d'Hébreu et de Judéo-Espagnol dans un Daroush Marocain", <i>Vena Hebraica in Judaeorum Linguis</i> , edited by S. Morag, M. Bar-Asher and M. Mayer Modena, Milan 1999: 203-219.	בן-טולילה 1999
J. Benoliel, <i>Dialecto Judeo-Hispano-Marroquí o Hakitia</i> , Madrid 1977.	בן-עוליאל 1977
I. Benchimol, "La langue Espagnole au Maroc", <i>Revue des écoles de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle</i> 2 (1901): 126–133.	בן-שימול 1901
ד' גדג', אור במערב: התרבות העברית במרוקו 1956–1912, ירושלים תשפ"ב.	גדג' תשפ"ב
J. Veidlinger (ed.), <i>Going to the people: Jews and the ethnographic impulse</i> , illustrated edition (February 22, 2016).	וידלינגר 2016
נ"ה ויזל, דברי שלום ואמת, לא צויין מקום הפרסום 1782.	ויזל 1782
W. Labov, <i>The social stratification of English in New York City</i> , Washington 1966.	לבוב 1966

אפשר להניח במידה רבה של ודאות כי השם 'חכתיה' נתחדש בפהם של הצעירים ובני המעמד הבינוני בקהילה אי אז בסוף המאה התשע־עשרה או בשנים הראשונות של המאה העשרים, על רקע הלהיטות לאמץ את הספרדית המודרנית. אין זה מקרה כי מילה בעלת שורש ערבי דווקא היא שנבחרה לתייג בה את הניב. הרכיב הערבי בדיאלקט, יותר מכל תופעה אחרת, ייצג אצל שוחרי הספרדית ה"טהורה" את האופי ההיברידי של שפתם המסורתית.²² במחקר נהוג להגדיר חוסר נוחות מתופעות לשוניות המזוהות עם מאפיינים חברתיים נחותים במונח *linguistic insecurity* – 'חוסר ביטחון לשוני', מושג מיסודו של ויליאם לכוב (לכוב 1966: 475). אני חושב שהמושג הזה עשוי להסביר את ראשיתו של תהליך השינוי הלשוני שהתרחש אצל צעירים ושאר שוחרי קדמה ורווחה. חוסר ביטחון לשוני הוא תוצאה של "[...] תובנה אצל הדוברים שקיים פער בין האידיאלקט שלהם ושפה שהם רואים אותה כלגיטימית מפני שהיא משמשת אצל השכבה הדומיננטית...".²³ ברור הדבר, גם מן הדברים שהעלתה בן־דלאק משיחותיה עם המרואיינים שלה, כי לשם 'חכתיה' הייתה בתחילה משמעות מנמכה. רק ברבות הימים, כאשר בני הקהילות הללו היגרו ממרוקו לארצות אחרות, רק אז, ובמיוחד בקרב המהגרים שהגיעו לארצות שבהן לא הייתה הספרדית השפה העיקרית,²⁴ נסוג חוסר הביטחון הלשוני מפני עמדות מורכבות יותר. דור חדש קם, דור שלא ידע את תסביכי התקופה הקולוניאלית; והחכתיה עטתה יוקרה מסוימת בזכות תחר הדקדוק שקשר לה רפאל בן־אזרף בשעה שכינס את מאמרי בן־עוליאל בספר.²⁵ וגם, התרבות העממית הפכה זה כבר לדיסציפלינה ראויה למחקר, ומלומדים התגייסו לטפל בביטויים מגוונים שלה, כגון סיפורים, פתגמים ולשונות דיבור.²⁶ לבד מן העיסוק המחקרי בה, קמו לה לחכתיה אומנים וכותבים ברוכי כשרון.²⁷ בזכות יצירתם, שירתה החכתיה את הצורך בביסוס סולידריות קהילתית והזינה כיסופים לעבר יוקרתי מזומין. החכתיה החלה למלא תפקיד מגבש ומקנה זהות, ובכך התרוממה מז'רגון המזוהה עם אוכלוסייה מזדנבת והפכה ללשון היהודית של קהילות מרוקו הספרדית.

²² במקום אחר הראיתי כיצד נמנעו מלהזדקק למילים ערביות במשלבים פורמליים (לאדינו) של הספרדית היהודית בקהילת טיטואן (בן־טולילה 1999).

²³ "la prise de conscience, par les locuteurs, d'une distance entre leur idiolecte et une langue qu'ils reconnaissent comme légitime parce qu'elle est dans la classe dominante" (פרנקאר 1993: 13).

²⁴ רתיעה מן השימוש בשפה היהודית עשויה להתעורר כשזו מתקיימת בשכנות עם לשון יוקרתית ובין השתיים קיימת זיקה גנטית. דוברי חכתיה היו עשויים לחוש רתיעה כזאת בסביבה של דוברי ספרדית היספנית. כך חשו משכילים דוברי גרמנית שהסתייגו מן היידיש, כפי שעולה מן הדברים שציטט ז'אן באומגרטן מתוך "דברי שלום ואמת" של נפתלי הרץ ויזל: "אחינו שבארצות פולין ידברו עם אנשי ארצם כהוגן לשון פולוניא, אלה שמתחילה באו שמה מארצות גרמניא, עדיין יש בידם לשון אשכנז, אבל מסורסת ומבלבלת [כלומר יידיש], ואין זה חרפה להם, כי אנשי ארצם אינם מדברים בלשון ההיא, לבד אנחנו שבארצות האשכנזים אין לנו פתחון פה להצטדק על ערלת שפתינו, כי אנו דרים בין עמים המדברים הלשון הזאת על מכוה..." (ויזל 1782: 25 בתצלום שבספרייה הלאומית; באומגרטן 2002: 162).

²⁵ ראו לעיל, הערות 7 ו־8.

²⁶ ראו מה שכתב ג'פרי וידלינגר במבוא לוידלינגר 2016. אני מודה לד"ר אביעד מורנו שהפנה אותי לחיבור זה.

²⁷ רוב המעשה היצירתי בחכתיה התאפיין בהקשר הומוריסטי (ראו למשל לוי 1992); אותו מחבר כתב בכל זאת רומן אוטוביוגרפי בשני כרכים (לוי 2008 ו־2014); הגם שהרומן משופע בקטעים הומוריסטיים, כיוד הברוכה של לוי, אפשר לראות בו ניסיון מוצלח למדי להוכיח שאפשר לכתוב על נושא רציני גם בחכתיה.

העובדה שהמילה 'חכתייה' נעדרת מן הכתובים, אין פירושה שלא שימשה בעל פה. אורטגה ציין כי לשונם ההיברידית של יהודי צפון מרוקו "נקראת" (jerga... llamada) חכתייה.²⁰ הוזה אומר: כך היה נפוץ שמה. בפי מי? וממתי? בשונה מהשערת בן-עוליאל שייחס את המצאת הכינוי לדוברי הערבית היהודית, אני מבקש לטעון כי האחראים לחידוש השם 'חכתייה' היו דובריה, ושמה נכון יותר לומר שהוא נתחדש בפי עוזביה, וליתר דיוק בפי מי שדימו שהם עוזביה. לביסוס טענתי אביא להלן דברים שכתבה אליגריה בן-דלאק, בעבודת השדה שלה הראויה לכל שבח. בן-דלאק ראינה בשנות השבעים והשמונים של המאה הקודמת, למעלה ממאה וחמישים מסרנים, רובם מבוגרים שיכלו לזכור את המצב הסוציולשוני ששרר בעשורים הראשונים של המאה העשרים. ואלו דבריה (בתרגום שלי, יב"ט):²¹

לאורך שנים רבות, החכתייה, שלהערכתי, יהודי צפון מרוקו עצמם חשבוה לספרדית (הדגשתי, יב"ט) [...] הייתה בעבורם סמל לייחוסם הספרדי, שייחד אותם מיתר חלקי האוכלוסייה. היא הייתה דבק שגיבש אותם [...] וסיבה לגאווה. [...] החל בסוף המאה התשע-עשרה חל מהפך. בשעה שהשוו את לשונם עם זו של השכנים הספרדים ועמדו על ההבדלים בין השפות, כאשר החלו לאמץ את הספרדית המודרנית ואת הצרפתית [...] לרכוש השכלה ולשאוף לסטטוס חברתי, אז החלו לראות בחכתייה שפה של נעדרים השכלה, של בורים ובערים, של מעוכבים, לשון וולגרית, ולפי דעותיהם הקדומות, נחותה כמו הערבית [...] וגם [...] לשון שסימנה אותם כיהודים. עמדה כזאת שלטה בכיפה לאורך שנותיה של המאה העשרים, ובלטה מאוד עדיין אצל רבים מן המסרנים שראיינתי, בייחוד אצל המבוגרים יותר [...], רבים מהם הרגישו צורך למהר ולהכריז באוזני שאינם יודעים חכתייה כל עיקר, כי אצלם מעולם לא דיברו בה, לפי שהוריהם ואף הורי הוריהם אסרו להשתמש בה. עובדה זו הקשתה על עבודתי. לא היה קל למוטט מחסומים, לשחרר אמון ולהתיר את רסן הספונטניות של מרואייני באופן שיוציאו החוצה את כל החכתייה שהייתה אצורה בקרבם, מרכיב עומק של תרבותם ודיבורם, ביוזעין ובלא יודעין.

233): "... à Oran, les Juifs tétouanais vivaient repliés sur eux-mêmes. Ils n'aimaient pas contracter d'unions avec les Juifs oranais auxquels ils s'opposaient sur le plan culturel et religieux. Les premiers s'exprimaient 'haketia' ou 'tétouani' et les seconds échangeaient en judéo-arabe". הגב' אליסיה רז, המנהלת אתר במרשתת ושמו Voces de Haketia, קיבלה בדוא"ל מכתב ממר זאן-מישל מלק, תושב טקסס, ובו כתב לה את הדברים האלה: "I was aware that my mother's side of the family was 'tétouanais', having migrated from Tetouan, Morocco, to Oran in the 19th century. I recently learned (really just from Wikipedia) that there is a dialect of Ladino that is specific to Oran called 'Tetuani Ladino'. I don't know how, if at all, this dialect differs from the Haketia that you speak. I sent my mother, who is now 90, the link to one of your videos to see if the language you speak in the video (Haketia) is familiar to her. She said it was, but that she was not familiar with the term Haketia".

²⁰ השימוש בצורת הנקבה llamada (צורת הזכר llamado) מותאם למילה jerga ('ז'רגון') שמינה הדקדוקי נקבה. בספרדית כינויי הלשונות הם שמות תואר ממין זכר, הגורים משמות של עמים או ארצות: el español, el francés, el inglés וכו'. לחכתייה טופלים תווית יידוע ממין נקבה la jaquetia, ומכך משתמע שאיננה לשון 'נורמלית' כי אם jerga 'ז'רגון', כדברי אורטגה.

²¹ בן-דלאק 1987: 113–114. בהמשך בן-דלאק מביאה כלשונן שמונה מן העדויות המבטאות את העמדות האלה. הסימנים [...] ו--- משמשים לציון דילוג קצר או ארוך (בהתאמה).

- פסקואל מנאו (1857–1934), פילולוג ספרדי שחקר ולימד ערבית ועברית,¹¹ ביקר במרוקו כמה פעמים והתעניין בלשונות ששימשו בה. בשנת 1890 פרסם רשימה קצרה על לשונם של יהודי צפון המדינה, ובה כינה אותה "דיאלקט היספנו־עברי".¹² גם ברשימתו השם 'חכתי' אינו מופיע.
- יצחק בן־שימול, ככל הנראה בוגר הסמינר למורים של כ"ח,¹³ מכנה אותה פשוט "ספרדית". בדו"ח שפרסם בביטאון בתי הספר של כ"ח ב־1901 מופיעה המלצתו ללמד ספרדית בבתי הספר של הארגון הפועלים בקהילות של דוברי ערבית יהודית, וזאת כדי לעודד קשר חברתי־תרבותי בין בני קהילות אלו ליהודי טיטואן וטנג'יר, שלשון אימם היא "ספרדית";¹⁴ לדעתו, תרומה חשובה להצלחת המשימה עשויה לעלות מן העובדה שבקרב אותן קהילות חיות משפחות "שמוצאן מטיטואן או מטנג'יר המדברות באורח טבעי ספרדית בבתיהן".¹⁵
- בעיתון של אגודת בוגרי כ"ח בטנג'יר פורסמה הכתבה Roumis et forasteros, ומחברה מואיז נהון¹⁶ סקר בה את ההבדלים והאנטגוניזם שבין יהודי מרוקו "דוברי הספרדית",¹⁷ הם ה־roumis, לאחיהם דוברי הערבית, הם ה־forasteros; שני הכינויים נחשבו כינויי גנאי שביטאו ביקורת והסתייגות. מחבר הכתבה כואב את העוינות הזאת ומתאמץ להוכיח את חוסר ההיגיון שבה. מכל מקום, כל אימת שהוא מזכיר את לשונם של יהודי הצפון הוא מכנה אותה *espagnol*, ולא 'חכתי'.¹⁸
- יהודים שהיגרו מטיטואן לאלג'יריה החל במאה התשע־עשרה הביאו עימם את לשונם, שאותה כינו "טיטואנית" ולא 'חכתי'. באותם ימים השם 'חכתי' טרם בא לעולם.¹⁹

n'entendaient et ne parlaient que la haketia. Fallait-il déjà rebuter ces enfants? N'était-il pas plus logique, plus pédagogique de les initier d'abord à l'espagnol d'aujourd'hui?" (לייבו־צ"י 1984: 52). לייבו־צ"י צודקת, היה בוודאי הבדל בין הלשון שדיברו התלמידים לספרדית ההיספנית, אבל הרמן כהן לא חשב במונחים של שפות שונות. הוא ראה בלשון תלמידיו ספרדית משובשת, וסבר שלמוד כללי הדקדוק ירפא את תחלואיה. המונח 'חכתי' טרם נולד, מאחר שטרם נתגבשה התודעה שקיים תת־סוג של ספרדית הראוי להיות מובחן מן הלשון התקנית. השימוש שעושה לייבו־צ"י בשם 'חכתי' באותו הקשר הוא אפוא חוץ לזמנו.

¹¹ <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/47335/pascual-meneu-y-meneu> (נבדק בנובמבר 2021).

¹² "Dialecto hispano-hebreico" (מנאו 1890).

¹³ אולי הוא יצחק בן־שימול ששרה לייבו־צ"י מזכירה בין המדריכים של בית הספר של כ"ח בשנת 1868 (לייבו־צ"י 1984: 92).

¹⁴ "Les Israélites dont la langue maternelle a été l'espagnol" (בן־שימול 1901: 126).

¹⁵ "familles originaires de Tanger ou Tétouan et qui parlent naturellement l'espagnol chez elles..." (בן־שימול 1901: 130).

¹⁶ לעניין פעילותו של מואיז נהון, ראו גדג' תשפ"ב: 60–65, 71–75.

¹⁷ בעקבות דברי בן־שימול (לעיל, בהערה 15).

¹⁸ כגון "Les Israélites de langue espagnole" (בעמוד הראשון של הדו"ח), כתב העת *Association des anciens Elèves de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle* מיום 1 בינואר 1904 – מתוך אתר "עיתונות יהודית היסטורית", הספרייה הלאומית ואוניברסיטת ת"א (תאריך הורדה: 20 ביולי 2021).

¹⁹ גם הסופרת סילוויאן סרויה נכשלה בשימוש אנכרוניסטי במונח 'חכתי', כשציינה בשם זה את הלשון שדיברו בה אבותיה שהיגרו מטיטואן לאלג'יריה במאה התשע־עשרה (סרויה 2020; ספרתי 14 היקרויות, למשל בעמ' 20, 40, 96, 121, 233 ו־251). בכל זאת, במקום אחד היא מזכירה גם את השם "טיטואני" (שם:

אלה הנקראים פורסטיירוס, דהיינו, היהודים דוברי הערבית תושבי פנים מרוקו? על פי השערה זו, הספתייה, בגרסה ספתייה⁴, נקראה כך בהשראת הכינוי החכתי לשם הפרטי יצחק, 'חקיתו', היינו כדי לבטא הקטנה ('נמיכות') של היהודים דוברי הספרדית מן הצפון. הנתונים שבידנו תומכים בהנחתו של בן-עוליאל שהכינוי מאוחר יחסית. ככל הידוע השם 'חכתייה' מתועד לראשונה ב-1919 בספר שכתב מנואל אורטגה, עיתונאי ספרדי, על יהודי מרוקו: "אנשים מן המעמד הנמוך עדיין מדברים בז'רגון, תערובת של ספרדית וערבית, הנקרא חכתייה".⁵ אני משער שהשם 'חכתייה' חב את תפוצתו לסדרת המאמרים שכתב בן-עוליאל ואשר פורסמו בביטאון היוקרתי של האקדמיה המלכותית של ספרד⁶ בין השנים 1926–1952.⁷ עד אז, לבד מן המשפט היחיד שכתב אורטגה, שום אדם לא הוציא תחת קולמוסו את השם 'חכתייה', אפילו לא הבלשן הספרדי אמריקו קאסטרו: במאמר שפרסם שלוש שנים בלבד אחרי צאת ספרו של אורטגה (קאסטרו 1922), הוא מכנה את לשונם של יהודי צפון מרוקו "יהודית-מרוקנית" (judeo español-marroquí), "דיבור ספרדי במרוקו" (el habla sefardí en Marruecos) או "ספרדית-יהודית של אפריקה" (judeo-español de Africa), וזאת לאור הקרבה שזיהה בינה ובין הספרדית היהודית המזרחית, המעוררת לדעתו "עניין עצום בחקירתה" (שם: 145).

קאסטרו קרא ככל הנראה את ספרו של אורטגה, ובכל זאת לא נקט במאמרו את השם 'חכתייה'; מה לנו אפוא כי גלין על מחברים וכותבים שקדמו לו? ואכן איש מהם אינו מזכירו בהקשר שלכאורה השם היה יכול להופיע, כפי שיודגם להלן:

— באותה שנה, העיתון *La liberté* מצטט דברים שנכתבו בעיתון *Diario marroquí*, שלפיהם "הרבה יהודים מרוקנים מדברים ספרדית".⁸

— במכתב מ-1862 לעמנואל מנחם נהון, קונסול צרפת בטיטואן, כתב הרמן כהן, מורה בבית הספר כי"ח בעיר, כי התחיל ללמד את הלשון הספרדית, הואיל ולדעתו תימצא תועלת לתלמידיו אם ילמדו את כללי הדקדוק של שפתם שלהם.⁹ אם כן, את שפתם של תלמידיו אותו מורה מכנה "ספרדית".¹⁰

⁴ אליגריה בן-דלאק מציינת שכל המרואיינים שלה, בלי יוצא מן הכלל, גרסו ספתייה בתנועת [e] בין העיצור כ לעיצור ת; לדעתה הגרסה שבה משמשת התנועה [i] אפשר שהיא מייצגת נוסח ארכאי או אינה אלא "טעות מצידו של בן-עוליאל" (בן-דלאק 1995: xxxiv-xxxv). הערת העורכות: במאמרים אחרים השם מופיע בכתב המשקף את ההגייה בתנועה [e].

⁵ "El pueblo bajo aún se expresa en una jerga, mezcla de español y de árabe, llamada haquetia" (אורטגה 1919: 203).

⁶ *Boletín de la Real Academia Española de la Lengua*, vols. XIII, XIV, XV & XXXII.

⁷ כעבור שנים אחדות, כינס אותם רפאל בן-אורף בספר (בן-עוליאל 1977).

⁸ "beaucoup de juifs marocains parlent l'espagnol", העיתון *La liberté* מיום 23 ביוני 1922 – מתוך אתר "עיתונות יהודית היסטורית", הספרייה הלאומית ואוניברסיטת ת"א (תאריך הורדה: 20 ביולי 2021).

⁹ "J'ai commencé provisoirement mon enseignement par la langue espagnole, que je crois utile de leur enseigner pendant quelque temps, afin de leur donner quelques principes dans leur propre idiome" – מכתב הרמן כהן מיום 30 בדצמבר 1862, מתוך ארכיב כי"ח MAROC B25.31; אני מודה למר ז'אן-קלוד קופרמינץ, מבית כי"ח בפריז, שהואיל להמציא לי את תצלום המכתב.

¹⁰ שנים רבות אחר כך, שרה לייבוניצי קוראת לשפתם של תלמידי כהן בשם 'חכתייה', אגב דיון בתוכניתו של כותב המכתב ללמד ספרדית בתזמננו: "Hermann Cohn, se trouvait face à des auditoires qui

על כן קראו שמה 'חכתייה'

יעקב בן-טולילה

ברשימה זו, המוקדשת בידידות לפרופ' דוד בונים, אני מבקש להוסיף הערת שוליים למאמרו על מיון שמותיהן של לשונות יהודיות (בונים 2008), מאמר שבו זיכה אותנו בדיון מפורט, מתועד ומלומד, המקיף את רוב לשונות היהודים, ואולי אף את כולן. את הסעיף השני במאמרו ייחד בונים לשמותיהן הגנריים של הלשונות. לדעתו ראוי לחלק את השמות לשני סוגים: שמות המשקפים הסתייגות ושמות המביעים הזדהות. הראשונים, משתמעת מהם חוסר נוחות של הדוברים מן הלשון שהם מדברים, והיפוך הדברים באחרונים, שמצויים בהם כאלה המבטאים אפילו חיבה גלויה או סמויה (בונים 2008: 416–428). חלוקה מפורטת יותר ממיינת את שמות הלשונות לפי אזכור המסד הלועזי שלהן (כגון לגת אלערבי), המקום שהתרבות היהודית שביסודן צמחה בו (כגון ספניולית), או המקומות שבהם התרכזו קהילות דובריהן (כגון פויליש). יש שמות המשקפים כאמור יחס של חיבה (מאמע לושן, לשון שלנו) או של זילות (בגייטו). יש לשונות סתרים, ז'רגונים מקצועיים, משלבים ספרותיים (לאדינו) וכינויים מן המרחב האקדמי (ג'ודא-שפות), ויש שמות המציינים את היותה לשון המשמשת בפי יהודים (יידיש, ג'ודיזמו, ג'ידיו).

הספֶּתִּיָּה (*hakitia*) אינה משתייכת לשום סוג מן הסוגים האלה אלא לסוגות 'עממיות', "פחות או יותר נטולות ערך" (שם: 431)¹ או כסגנון המשמש לסיפור אגדות וסיפורים, כמשתמע מן השורש הערבי חכ"י ('לדבר'), כפי שכתב ראשון חוקרי החכתייה יוסף בן-עוליאל.² מן הראוי שנקרא שוב בפתיחת ספרו של בן-עוליאל. מחבר זה מציין שהכינוי 'חכתייה' נושא אופי עממי,³ והוא שואל: "האם השם חכתייה הוא השם האמיתי והמקורי של הדיאלקט, או [אולי] הוא כינוי, מאוחר יחסית, אשר ככל הנראה נתנו לו מעשה לועג

¹ ובלשונו: sometimes mildly disparaging.

² בונים מפנה לדיון אצל בן-עוליאל 1977: 3–4.

³ "Este dialecto [---] a que se da vulgarmente el nombre de Hakitia".



- מיטראני תר"א ר' רחמים מנחם מיטראני, מעם לועז, ספר יהושע, שאלוניקי תר"א. סבע-וולף תשס"ח ר' סבע-וולף, קונטרס שעות עניים [שועת עניים] בלאדינו (איזמיר 1847): עיון ז'אנרי ותמטי בקורותיו של פילוג חברתי פנים-קהילתי וביטוי בשני שירי קופלאס ספרדיים-יהודיים, עבודה לשם קבלת תואר מוסמך, אוניברסיטת בר-אילן, רמת גן תשס"ח.
- פאפו תשל"ח ר' אליעזר פאפו, דן ידן, מהדורת הרב עזרא בצרי, ירושלים תשל"ח. פלאג'י תרל"ז ר' חיים פלאג'י, רוח חיים, ח"ב, איזמיר תרל"ז.
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- בן־נאה תשע"ד י' בן־נאה, "תקנות קופת אורה ושמחה וישיבת אור ישראל, אסתאנבול תק"ף [1820] לערך", אסופה ליוסף: קובץ מחקרים שי ליוסף הקר, בעריכת י' בן־נאה ואחרים, ירושלים תשע"ד, עמ' 528–577.
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כגון בעזרת האל, שבח לאל יתברך, כן ירבה וכן יפרוץ, כפלי כפליים, וגם – השם יתברך. בטקסט הכתוב לאדינו נמצאו מילים עבריות נוספות שלהן לא מצאתי מכנה משותף – סיבה, קצבה, חשבון, תנאי, התלהבות, משתדלים, בקרוב, נאמן, הכרח, הקדמה וגם ספרים, אף שהכותב משתמש גם בלייב'רוס.

לסיכום, הקופה – מוסד כלכלי וחברתי שהופיע לכאורה רק בראשית המאה התשע-עשרה – אומנם ממשיכה את מסורת החברות היהודיות ומשלבת עשייה פילנתרופית עם עשייה דתית, אך ניכר שהיא נסמכת על מסורת הקופות של הקדשים מוסלמיים ושל הגילדות העירוניות שיהודים עות'מאנים הכירו מקרוב. הקופה שירתה צרכים משתנים של בני המעמד הבינוני בעידן של משבר ממושך בתחום המוניטרי – היא שימשה מכשיר חיסכון, אופצייה לקבלת הלוואות נוחות וגם תמיכה כלכלית ומורלית בהזדמנויות שונות. תקנוני הקופות, בהן "עזרה בצרות", הכתובים עברית ולאדינו, מגלים צדדים בדמותה המסורתית של החברה היהודית העות'מאנית בפרק האחרון לקיומה.²¹

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²¹ החברות הללו עמדו לנגד עיני מייסדי החברות המשכיליות שנוסדו באדירנה למן שנות השבעים ואילך. קרקסון (בדפוס) כתב על החברות המשכיליות והרחיב במיוחד בעניינין של חברת "מקווה ישראל" (1874) וחברת "דורשי השכלה" (1879). החברות שתיאר המשיכו את צורת הארגון וכמה מדפוסים הפעולה של החברות המסורתיות והקופות (שכירת מקום לימוד, העמדת ספרייה, פעילות פנאי משותפת, מגבית קבועה), בשינוי התכנים המתבקש. כינוס ומחקר של תקנוניהן ופנקסיהן של החברות לסיוע הדדי ושל החברות המשכיליות יסייעו בצירוף החיים החברתיים ועולמם המנטלי והתרבותי של היהודים שחיו ברחבי האימפריה העות'מאנית בערוב ימיה. עם חתימת הכרך, נוסף המידע הבא: חברת עזרה בצרות שגשגה וצברה רכוש משמעותי. נדל"ן שנמצאו בבעלותה נזכרים בתעודה משנת תרל"ג: כ"י אוג' קולומביה, ניו יורק X893 P651 (סרט מס' 52509) במכון לתצלומי כתבי יד שבספרייה הלאומית, ירושלים.

מחסור תמידי בכסף מזומן, עליית שיעורי הריבית ואינפלציה.¹⁸ בהיעדר מערכת בנקאות מודרנית ניתן היה אז לקבל הלוואה מקרנות הקדש, מקופות או מיחידים בעלי הון פנוי. מנגנון חיסכון נגיש ובטוח שאפשר לבני המעמד הבינוני לחסוך בהפקדות קטנות יחסית הנושאות ריבית – לא היה בנמצא. הרעיון החדשני של הרב מיטראני להשתמש לצורך כך בכספי המעשר או בחלק מהם, הגביר את הנכונות להשקיע כספים בקופה מתוך הבנת התועלת הרבה הטמונה במעשה: אקט של צדקה – החסד של העמדת הלוואות נוחות,¹⁹ מימון לימוד תורה, ביטחון מסוים בעריכת טקסים מכובדים במקרי פטירה והאפשרות ללוות כסף בריבית סבירה בעת הצורך. ב. דאגה לנשמות החברים – בחייהם ולאחר מותם – באמצעות לימוד תורה והקפדה על אדיקות וחיים מוסריים. הלימוד התבצע הן על ידי תלמידי חכמים עניים שילמדו במקום מיוחד, הן על ידי החברים שיתכנסו בלילות שבת, זמן הפנאי היחיד שאפשר בילוי בצוותא. כמו כן התחייב מניין חברים ללמוד לעילוי נשמה בעיתות אבל – ימי השבעה וימי הזיכרון (נראה שגם לימי צרה אלו רומז שם הקופה) וכסגולה בעיתות שמחה כגון הולדת בן.

יעקב ברנאי הציע כי המודל להקמת הקופה היה אירופי, כדוגמת בנק חיסכון לעניים שהוקם באנגליה ב-1810. סבורני שלקופה היו גם שורשים הנטועים בהווי העיר העות'מאנית. המילים "קופה" בעברית ו"קאשה" בלאדינו, הן תרגום המילה הטורקית-עות'מאנית "סנדיק", שמשמעה ארגון, קופסה וקופת מזומנים. את הסנדיק הכירו יהודים מסביבתם – קופות לעזרה הדדית (*avariz sandıkları*), קופות של גילדות (*esnaf sandığı*) וקופות לסיוע יתומים (*eytam sandığı*).²⁰ בקופות היהודיות נוסף כאמור תוכן דתי-רוחני, ובכלל נראה כי החברות בקופה, כמו בחברות הצדקה והחסד, סיפקה אפיק של בילוי 'כשר', והעניקה תחושת שייכות, תחושה שקשה לזלזל בה במציאות של עולם ישן והולך ומתערער. אי אפשר בלא הערה קצרה על הלשון. בדומה לשאר הרבנים בני המאות השמונה-עשרה והתשע-עשרה, כתב המחבר בעברית ובלאדינו – הג'ודיזמו המודרנית, במינוחו של בונים. בחלק הכתוב עברית שיבץ המחבר פעלים, פועלי עזר ומילות יחס בלאדינו: סיר חבר, סירה פרנס, סיראן איליוס, פור דיזירלו, פור דאר, מיטימוס, אקוז'יר. וגם המילה "קאשה" שולבה במילותיו, אף שלא נמנע מלהשתמש במילה "קופה". בכתיבתו בלאדינו שיבץ מילים עבריות – מושגים מהעולם התורני: מצווה, דינים, מצווה רבה, מעשר, פדיון, מוסר, מניין, פסוק, אנשי מעשה, ישיבת תלמידי חכמים ו"בשעת היין" (צירוף מעניין במיוחד הוא הצירוף הדו-לשוני "אומברי חשוב", כלומר אדם חשוב). עוד שכיחים איחולים בעברית

¹⁸ על אלו ראו פמוק 1999: 193–200; פרנקיס-סירט 2007; אקר, אל וביירקטאר 2014; זרינבף 2018; אקר ואל 2021. בקהילה הספרדית בבוקרשט נוסדה בשנת תר"ך חברה שמטרתה הענקת הלוואות. ראו: איסטאטוטס תרל"ג. העיסוק במצוות מעשר כספים מצריך בירור. לפי שעה לא ראיתי עדות לכך בספרות התורנית של התקופה. עם זאת מעניין כי דברים על גודל מצוות המעשר מצויים גם בספרון שהוציאה חברת שערי תשובה בעיר בלגרד באמצע המאה התשע-עשרה (ספר שערי תשובה, תר"ך או תרט"ו).

¹⁹ כפי שהדבר בא, למשל, לידי ביטוי בהצעה לייסד קופת הלוואות בסיליסטרה בשנת 1820: לעיל, ליד הערה 12.

²⁰ על אלו ראו יודוביץ' 1979; אהג'ן 2003: 10–15, 79–87.

ואחרי שחתמו כולם בשמחת הלב, אמרתי להם: דעו אחיי כי אדונינו חכמינו זכרם לברכה אמרו כי על המתנדב לקיים את מצוות המעשר הזאת להפריש מהונו עשירית ואחר כך להפריש מעשר מכל מה שהוא מרוויח. ואני חשבתי ואמרתי שאם אומר לכם זאת, שמא חס ושלום לא תיכנסו למצווה זאת, ולא תתממש ההתארגנות המבורכת הזאת.

מן הסיבה הזאת לא גיליתי לכם את העניין הזה, שכך אני מבקש מכם אחיי, אם אפשר שיעשה כל אחד פדיון מההון שלנו, ושכל אחד ישאיר כמה שנפשו חפצה, ולא כפי חשבון המעשר. ובעשות כל החברים השם עליהם יגן כך, ענו ברצון הלב: "אנו מוכנים לעשות את מצוותו", ומייד נתנו כל איש כחפץ נפשו, ונאספו בלילה ההוא יותר מחמש מאות גרוש, ובבוקר הושבנו תלמידי חכמים כדי שיקראו משניות, על פי התנאי, והתחלנו להלוות את הלוואות חן וחסד על פי התיקון [=התקנון] והלילה ההוא היה לנו ליל שמחה שלמה, וודאי שאנשים כאלה מבורכים הם מאת ה'.

והשבח לאל יתברך, כבר נוספו חברים השם עליהם יגן, כן ירבה וכן יפרוץ, ונעשו שלושה ימים של ישיבת תלמידי חכמים. וגם נקנתה כמות רבה של ספרים לישיבה הזאת. וגם גדל ההון להלוואות, כן ירבה וכן יפרוץ, ומן החברה הקדושה הזאת נתנו לי [חסר סכום] גרושים הלוואות חן וחסד, ויכולתי להתחיל להדפיס את הספר הזה. ויהי רצון מלפני השם יתברך, שתהיינה הצלחה וברכה בכל מעשיהם ויגדל שמם בעולם נצח סלה ועד אמן כן יהי רצון.

והיות שכבר פרסמתי את התקנון הטוב הזה, היה הכרח לפרסם חלק מן הדינים הנצרכים למצווה זאת. אך משום שהזמן קצר מאוד, שזהו סיום ההדפסה, ויש ספרים שידוע לי שמדברים בעניין זה, שלפי שעה אינם בידיי, אם כך אודיעם בע"ה בהקדמת החלק השני בקרוב בעזרת האל עם דינים חדשים רבים בע"ה אמן כן יהי רצון.

סיום שנת כתב [ההסכמה של] עזרה בצרות היא שנת התר"ו וסימן היה מעשה הצדקה שלום השקט ובטח עד עולם.

* * *

קופת "עזרה בצרות" נוסדה ביוזמת הרב מיטראני ואחרים בשנת 1846 באדירנה. הקהילה היהודית באדירנה מנתה אז כעשרת אלפים נפש והייתה מן הגדולות והמבוססות שבקהילות היהודים במחוזות המערביים של האימפריה העות'מאנית. הכנסות הקופה הגיעו מן החברים, כנראה בני המעמד הבינוני, בדמות תשלומי המעשר (או חמישית ממנו), שמילאו את מקום ההפקדות הקצובות בקופות אחרות, וכן רווחי הון, קנסות והיוון משפונות. הוצאותיה העיקריות של הקרן היו לצורך מימון לימוד התורה – שכירת בית מדרש, קניית ספרים ושאר הוצאות תפעול, ומשכורת ללמדנים.

שני אפיקי פעולה היו לקופה:

א. סיוע כלכלי בעת מצוקת אשראי – החברה העניקה הלוואות לטווח קצר בריבית סבירה (סכום ההלוואה ניתן ללווה במזומן) – מצרך חיוני לסוחרים ובעלי מלאכה בתקופה זו. המחצית הראשונה של המאה התשע־עשרה וימיו של סולטאן מחמוד השני (1808–1839) במיוחד, עמדו בסימן חוסר יציבות במערכת המוניטרית:

יהיו עשרה גרוש לשבוע מדי שב"ש [=שבוע בשבוע] לחיזוק לומדי תורה העומדים בצער הפרנסה ודחיקא להו מילתא לפי ראות עיניו של מעלת הפרנס נר"ו וילמדו משניות עם פירוש רבנו עובדיה מברטונורא ותוספות יום טוב ז"ל ויאמרו הלומדים לשם יחידי סגולה הח"מ ומעלת הפרנס נר"ו. ואם ח"ו ייפטר א' לאחר אורך ימים ושנים, בין נפטר בארץ ישראל בין בחוצה לארץ, יהיו לומדים מדי שבוע בשבוע ביום פטירתו ויאמרו לשם ייחוד ולעילוי נשמתו של הנלב"ע [=הנפטר לבית עולמן] עד מלאת לו שנה תמימה. ואח"ך [=ואחר כך] יחזרו לאיתנו הראשון. והיה הנשאר ממעות קופה הנזכרת יהיה מונח ועומד להלוואת חן וחסד למי שדחיקא ליה שעתא להלוותם במשכון עד משך זמן שישה חודשים רצופים, שאם ירצה ישלםם בבת אחת, ושאם ירצה יתנם לאט לאט בתוך הזמן הנזכר באופן שעד תשלום שישה חודשים יקים מצוות פריעת בע"ח [=בעל חוב]. ואם ח"ו עבר זמנו ולא פרע או כולו או מקצתו אזי הרשות נתונה ביד המשתדלים בקופה זאת למכור משכונו בשוקא חריפא בלי שומא והכרזה בלתי שום שאלת זמן ב"ד [=בית דין] כלל בפשטות ולא בד"ג [=בדרך גזומה] ויהיו הגבאים נאמנים למכור המשכון ולא יהיה ללווים פתחון פה באין פוצה פה ומצפצף כלל ועיקר. ועוד עלה בהסכמתנו שאם ח"ו אחד מאיתנו אינו רוצה להיות חבר בקופה הזאת, [כבר] נתחייב לתת מאה גרוש לקופה זאת בתורת קנס לדעת חכמי ספרד זלה"ה בפשטות ולא בד"ג. עוד הוברר שאם איזה יחיד שאיוותה נפשו לשכון בארץ ישראל או שעזב את העיר הזאת הרי הוא פטיר ועטיר מכל זה. עוד עלה בהסכמתנו לסדר מדרש בכל שבת קודש מדשב"ש [=מדי שבוע בשבוע] ולבוא כל היחידיים ולשמוע דברי תוכחות ומוסר מפי הדורש נר"ו. עוד עלה בהסכמתנו להוכיח במישור כ"א [=כל אחד] לחברו אם יראה ח"ו איזה דבר מגונה בחברו ולהוכיחו על פניו כמאמר הכתוב הוכח תוכיח את עמיתך. ואם ח"ו נתן כתף סוררת ולא רצה לשמוע [=לציית] החיוב מוטל עליו לומר לו למעלת הפרנס [=החיוב לומר לו מוטל על הפרנס] הי"ו והרשות נתונה לו מאיתנו הח"מ להענישו לפי ראות עיניו [!]. ואם לא יקבל העונש יהיה מובדל ומופרש מהח"ק זאת וייפרע הקנס המוטל על כך שלא רצה להיות חבר. ואם יחזור בתשובה ויקבל העונש אזי יהיה מבני עלייה אהוב למעלה ונחמד למטה. ותימשך הסכמתנו זאת עד ביאת הגואל בבי"א [=במהרה בימינו אמן]. ע"כ [=עד כאן] הגיעו כל התנאים והחיובים הנעשים בהסכמתנו באמת וישר בכל לשון ואופן היותר מועיל חזי ומספיק לפו"ד [=לפום דעתא] בכל מאי דתקינן חז"ל כו'. ודלא כאסמכתא כו' בביטול ובפיסול והכול לדעת הרשב"א כו' ומודים אנחנו הח"מ ואשר צווינו לחתום בעדנו היות אמת ויציב שקנו אחרים מידינו קניין גמור ומקובל במדל"ב [=במנא דכשר למקניה ביה] כתקנת חז"ל את כל תוקף על כל הנזכר לעיל דלא להשנאה והכול נעשה כהוגן וכתקנת חז"ל בכל אופן היותר מועיל לפי הדין. ויהא רעווא מן קדם אבונא דבשמיא על כל יחידי סגולה של החברה הקדושה הזאת ועל כל קהל עדת ישראל בזכות לימוד התורה הזאת וצדקתם תרום בכבוד ע"ג [=על גפי] מרומי במותב תלתא דתנו רבנן בני חיי ומזוני דשנים ורעננים וינטלם וינשאם כל ימי עולם כיר"א. והיה זה פה אדריאנופולי יע"א בחודש כסלו בא סימן שנות עולם.

וכאשר כיליתי לסדר את המכתב הזה, כינסתי יחד את כל החברים הי"ו בלילה אחד, וקראתי להם את המכתב, והסברתי להם חלק מן הדינים המפורשים בשולחן ערוך יו"ד סימן עמ"ר (כנראה טעות) במיוחד מן המצווה הזאת, באיזו מצווה נותנים את הכסף הזה ובאיזו אין נותנים. ואחר כך חתמו כולם בחשק רב ובשמחת הלב, ובלילה ההוא חתמו עשרים וחמישה, ונתנו סימן כ"ה תברכו את בני ישראל, כן יהי רצון אמן.

ושני בחורים השותפים בהתארגנות הזאת, כפי שנספר, נכנס בליבם דבר המוסר הזה והחלו לקיים את המצווה הזאת בשלמות רבה, והם זירזו את חבריהם שישלימו מניין של עשרה. ובאו שני הבחורים הללו אליי, ואני הייתי שקוע במלאכת הספר הזה, ואמרו לי: "אנו מבקשים שיניח את מלאכתו ושישמע את מה שנאמר, כי זאת מצווה גדולה". ואני אמרתי להם: "דברו יקיריי". וענו ואמרו: "דע כי מיום שהוכיח אותנו בעניין מצוות המעשר התחלנו לקיימה וכבר נעשינו מניין של עשרה אנשים שעושים כך, איש־איש, בעצמנו. וכעת, מה שאנו מבקשים ממנו [=מהכותב] שיעשה לנו כתב [הסכמה] ואנחנו נחתום עליו כראוי בעיניך". ובעשותם כך, בהתלהבות רבה כל כך ובשמחת הלב, כפי שהם אמרו זאת, אמרתי כי ודאי על כך דיבר הפסוק "עת לעשות לה' הפרו תורתך". כלומר, כאשר באה השעה לעשות דבר בעבור ה', בטל את [לימוד] תורתו. ומיד הנחתי את מלאכתי כדי לסדר איזה תקנון למצווה הזאת, ואחרי שחשבתי רבות, חיברתי את הכתב וזה לשונו:

אנחנו יחידי סגולה הבאים על החתום ואשר צוינו לחתום בעדנו, נדבה רוחנו לעשות קופה מחדש לתת כל אחד ואחד מדי חודש בחודשו למעשר הצדקה כאשר נבאר עד סוף עשר שנים רצופות בעזר ה' ואם יגזור ה' בחיים יימשך לעולם כיר"א [=כן יהי רצון אמן]. וייקרא שמה בישראל קופה של עזרת בצרות והינה בעת"ה נבאר שכך עלתה הסכמתנו כי אם מרצוננו וחפצנו הטוב והגמור להתנהג עלינו עפ"י התנאים והחובים אשר נבאר בכתב אחד לאחד. והסכמתנו זאת עשויה בינינו באמת וישר כתנאי בני גד ובני ראובן בהן קודם ללאו וכו' בכל חוזק ותוקף וייפוי כוח שבעולם ובכל לשון ואופן היותר מועיל חזי ומספיק לפו"ד [=לפום דינא] כהוגן וכתחז"ל. וראשית הכול הינה אנחנו ח"מ [=חתומי מטה] ואשר צוינו לחתום בעדנו נדבה רוחנו מרצוננו הטוב והגמור בלתי שום נדר ע"כ [=על כל] מה שנאמר בין בכתב בין בע"פ מה שנוציא מפינו בל נהיה נכשלים בעוון נדרים ח"ו. לתת תרומת מעשר דהיינו עשרה למאה למעשה הצדקה מכל רווח שיזמן השי"ת [=השם יתברך] אותנו בכל מעשה ידינו ועסקינו להיות המעות הללו מופרשות ועומדות למצוות הצדקה והייתה לבאר שאין אנחנו אומרים לתת בדקדוק עשרה למאה ממש אלא הן חסר הן יתר בל ניכשל ח"ו כנ"ל. מהיום אנו ממנים משתדלים וגבאים כדי לקבץ הקצבה אשר נבאר מכל היחידים הי"ו על ידם לטובים השניים ראשון לציו"ן עזרה בצרות כמוה"ר עזרה בכר מרדכי נר"ו [=נטריה רחמנא ופרקיה] המכונה חזקיה, שני בקודש יום טוב שני דרבנן ה"ה החכם המרומם ע"כ [=על כל] מעלות רם כמוה"ר יום טוב בן ארוליא נר"ו, שהם יהיו משתדלים בכל עסק הקופה הזאת לאסוף את הקצבה הזאת מכל היחידים הי"ו, וישימו את הכסף בקופסת הקופה בבית מעלת החכם השלם והכולל כמוה"ר רחמים מנחם מיטראני נר"ו, שיהיה פרנס כל ימי חייו לאורך ימים ושנים אמן. והן בעת"ה נבאר סדר הנהגת המעשר הנז"ל. טרם כול אנחנו יחידי סגולה נתחייבנו לתת לקופה זאת עשרים למאה מהמעשר שנוציא למעשה הצדקה. דהיינו אם יעלה הרווח שיזמן השי"ת לידינו ע"ס [=עד סך] אלף גרוש שהמעשר שלו הוא מאה גרוש, אזי החיוב מוטל לתת עשרים גרוש לקופה זאת, ואת הנשאר דהיינו שמונים גרוש, הרשות נתונה בידינו לכל אחד ואחד מהח"מ ליתנם לצדקה לכל מי שליכו חפץ. ואם באולי עשה חשבון בינו לבין עצמו שלא השלים חוקו דהיינו לתת השמונים גרוש הנזכרים, אזי נתחייבנו כל ח"מ [=חתומי מטה] לתת את הנשאר לקופה זאת. באופן שכך עלה בהסכמתנו ליתן כמו מעשר מהרווח איש כמתנת ידו כברכת ה' אשר נתן לו יצ"ו ה' אֱתָךְ את הברכה כיר"א וחפץ ה' בידינו יצלח כיר"א. ותכלית קופה זאת יתנהג ע"ז [=על זה] האופן דהיינו ממעות שייכנסו לקופה זאת

לו דיגו איסטו נו סיאה ח"ו ב'וס דיב'יש' די אינטראר אין איסטא מצוה אי נו סאלי לאורה איסטו ריז'ו טאן בינדיג'ו.

פור דיטה סיבה נו ב'וס דיסקוב'רי איסטו עניין קי אנסי ב'וס רוגו מיס אירמאנוס סי פואידי סיר קי אגאש' קאדה אונז פדיון די נואיסטרו קאב'דאל אי קי דיש' קאדה אונז לוקי אינב'ילונטה נואיסטרה אלמה אי נו כפי חשבון די מעשר. אי אין אזינדו טודוס לוס יחידים הע"י אנסי ריספונדירון קון קוב'דיסייה די קוראסון פרונטוס פור אזיר סו קומאנדו אי אין ליגו (צ"ל: לוגו) דארון קאדה אונז לוקי אינב'ילונטו סוס אלמאס אי סי אקוז'ו אין דיטה נוג'י מאס די קינייטוס גרוש' אי אלה מאנייאנה אסינטנמוס (צ"ל: אסינטימוס) תלמידי חכמים פורקי(ן) מילדין משניות סיגון איל תנאי אי אינפסימוס אנפריסטאר הלואה חן וחסד סיגון אל תיקון אי פ'ואי אה נזוטרוס אקיאה נוג'י אליגריאה קונפלידה אי סירטו אונה ג'ינטי איסטא מאנירה סון בינדיג'יס (צ"ל: בינדיג'וס) די איל שי"ת.

אי שבח לאל יתברך קי לייח פוז'ארון לוס יחידים הע"י כן ירבה וכן יפרוץ אי סי איזו טריס דיאס די ישיבת תלמידי חכמים. וגם סי טייני מירקאדו סומה די ספרים פארה דיטה ישיבה. וגם סי פוז'ו איל קאב'דאל די אינפריסטאר כן ירבה וכן יפרוץ אי די דיטה חברה קדושה מי דיירון גרוש' הלואה חן וחסד אי פודי אה אימפסאר אסטאנפאר דיטו ליב'רו. אי סיאה ב'ילונטאד דילאנטרי איל שי"ת קי טירנאן הצלחה אי ברכה אין טודוס לוס טראטוס אי סי אינגראנדיסקה סוס פ'אמאס אין איל מונדו נס"ו [=נצח סלה ועד] אכ"ר.

אי סיינדו לייח אביזי איסטו ריז'ו טאן בואינו איל הכרח אירה די אביזאר פארטידה די דינים קי סון די מיניסטיר פארה דיטה מצוה מה סיינדו איס לה אורה מויי קורטה קי לייח איס איל קאב'ו די לה איסטאנפה אי איי ליב'רוס קי סי קי אב'לאן אין איסטו ענין אה לה אורה נומי [!] סי טופאן אין לה מאנו קי אנסי בע"ה לוס אביזארי אין לה הקדמה די איל חלק שני בקרוב בעזרת האל קון מונג'וס דינים מואיב'וס בע"ה אכ"ר.

איל ביטריאמינטו די איל אנייו די לה קארטה עזרה בצרות איס שנת התר"ו וסימן והיה מעשה הצדקה שלום השקט ובטח עד עולם.

ולהלן הדברים בגרסה עברית

כעת נודיע על התארגנות שנעשתה לאחרונה בעירנו, כי ההתארגנות הזאת הייתה הסיבה להתחיל בכתובת ספר זה. ואני כותבה כדי שיראה הציבור ויעשה בדומה לה. ודעו כי בשעה שאמרתי דברי מוסר בין האנשים, אמרתי גם שמצוות מעשר גדולה מאוד, כלומר להפריש מעשר – עשירית – מכל מה שמרוויח. ואמרתי להם שבערים אחרות ראיתי אנשים רבים, אנשי מעשה, שמקיימים את המצווה הזאת ורושמים את כל מה שהם נותנים לצדקה. בסוף השנה הם עורכים את חשבון מה שהרוויחו ומוסיפים לחשבון המעשר על מה שכבר נתנו. ושמעתי מאיש חשוב אחד שמקיים את המצווה הזאת, ולילה אחד בהיותי עימו יחדיו בשולחן אחד, אמר בתוך היין [=במהלך הסעודה]: "אני מקיים את מה שציווה ה' יתברך להפריש מעשר מכל מה שאני מרוויח, ואם ה' יתברך מוצא נאמן ממני, שייקח את נכסיי". ואומנם אין ראוי לומר כך, אך משום שהיה בתוך היין אמר זאת; והשם יתברך הגדיל את הונו כפלי כפליים יותר ממה שהיה, כן ירבה וכן יפרוץ.

עד משך זמן ששה חדשים רצופים קי סי קירי לוס פאגה בבת אחת קירי קי לוס די לאט לאט בתוך הזמן הנז' באופן שעד תשלום ששה חדשים יק[י]ים מצות פריעת בע"ח [=בעל חוב] ואם ח"ו עבר זמנו ולא פרע או כולו או מקצתו אזי הרשות נתונה ביד המשתדלים בקופה זאת למכור משכוננו בשוקא חריפא בלי שומא והכרזה בלתי שום שאלת זמן ב"ד [=בית דין] כלל בפשיטות ולא בד"ג [=בדרך גוזמא] ויהיו הגבאים נאמנים למכור המשכון ולא יהיה ללו[ו]ים פתחון פה באין פצה פה ומצפצף כלל ועיקר.

ועוד עלה בהסכמתינו קי סי ח"ו אלגונו די מוזוטרוס נו קיז'ו סיר חבר די דיטה קופה נתחייב פארה דאר מאה גרוש לקופה זאת בתורת קנס לדעת חכמי ספרד זלה"ה בפשיטות ולא בד"ג. עוד הוברר קי סי אלגון יחיד שאו[ו]תה נפשו לשכון בארץ ישראל או קי סי אליב'אנטו די דיטה סיב'דאד הרי הוא פטיר ועטיר מכל זה. עוד עלה בהסכמתינו לסדר מדרש בכל שבת קודש מדשב"ש [=מדי שבוע בשבוע] ולבוא כל היחידים ולשמוע דברי תוכחות ומוסר מפי הדורש נר"ו.

עוד עלה בהסכמתינו להוכיח במ[י]שור כ"א [=כל אחד] לחבירו אם יראה ח"ו איזה דבר מגונה בחברו ולהוכיחו על פניו כמאמר הכתוב הוכח תוכיח את עמיתך. אי סי ח"ו נתן כתף סוררת אי נון קיז'ו איסקוג'אר החיוב מוטל עליו פור דיזירלו למע[ל]ת הפרנס הי"ו והרשות נתונה לו מאתנו הח"מ לה[ע]נישו לפי ראות עיניו [!]. ואם לא יקבל העונש יהיה מובדל ומופרש מהח"ק זאת ויפרע הקנס המוטל די איל קין נו קיז'ו סיר חבר. ואם יחזור בתשובה ויקבל העונש אזי יהיה מבני עליה אהוב למעלה ונחמד למטה.

ותמשך הסכמתינו זאת עד ביאת הגואל בבי"א [=במהרה בימינו אמן]. ע"כ [=עד כאן] הגיעו כל התנאים והחיובים הנעשים בהסכמתינו באמת וישר בכל לשון ואופן היותר מועיל חזי ומספיק לפו"ד [=לפום דעתא] בכל מאי דתקיננו חז"ל כו'. ו[ו]דלא כאסמכתא כו' בביטול ובפיסול ו[ה]כל לדעת הרשב"א כו' ומודים אנחנו הח"מ ואשר צוינו לחתום בעדינו היות אמת ויציב שקנו אחרים מידינו קגומ"ך [=קניין גמור ומקובל] בדל"ב [=במנא דכשר למקניה ביה] כתחז"ל [=כתקנת חז"ל] את כל תוקף ע"כ [=על כל] הנז"ל דלא להשנאה והכל נעשה כהוגן וכתחז"ל בכל אופן היותר מועיל לפי הדין. ויהא רעוא מן קדם אבונא דבשמיא ע"כ יחידי סגולה של החברה קדושה זאת וע"כ קהל עדת ישראל בזכות לימוד התורה הזאת וצדקתם תרום בכבוד ע"ג [=על גפי] מרומי במותב תלתא דתנו רבנן בני חיי ומזוני דשנים ורעננים וינטלם וינשאם כל ימי עולם כיר"א. והיה זה פה אדריאנופולי יע"א בחדש כסליו בא סימן שנות עולם.

אי אין אטימאנדו די אודרינאר דיטה קארטה לוס אפאניי אין אונה אה טודוס לוס יחידים הי"ו אונה נוג'י אי ליס מילדי לה קארטה אי ליס די אה אינטינדיר פארטידה די דינים קי איסטאן דיקלאראדוס אין שולחן ערוך יו"ד סימן עמ"ר אין פארטיקולאר די איסטא מצוה אין קי מצוה סי דאן איסטאס פאראס אי אין קואל נו סי דה. אי דיספואיס סי אפ'ירמארון טודוס קון מונג'ו גוסטו אי אליגריאה די קוראסון אי אין דיטה נוג'י סי אפ'ירמארון ב'ינטי אי סינקו פ'ורמאס אי מיטימוס סימן כ"ה תברכו את בני ישראל כיר"א.

אי דיספואיס קי סי אפ'ירמארון טודוס קון אליגריאה דה קוראסון ליס דיש'י סאב'י מיש אירמאנוס קי לוס סינייוריס חכמים ז"ל דיש'ירון קי אל אומברי קי אינב'ילונטה פור אפ'ירמאר דיטה מצוה די מעשר דיב'י די אפארטאר אל פרישיפיו די איל קאב'דאל דייו פור סיין אי דיספואיס קי אפארטה מעשר די טודו לוקי גאנה אי ליינו פינסי דיזיינדו קי סי

פור אורדינאר אלגון ריז'ו פארה דיטה מצוה אי דיספואיס די פינסאר דימאזיידה פינסי אודריני דיטה קארטה קי אנסי איס סו נוטה.

<כאן נפתחת פסקה חדשה ובה המחבר עובר לכתוב בעברית> אנחנו יחידי סגולה הבאים על החתום ואשר צוינו לחתום בעדנו נדבה רוחינו לעשות קופה מחדש לתת כל אחד ואחד מדי חדש בחזשו למעשר הצדקה כאשר נבאר ע"ס עשרה שנים רצופות בעזר ה' ואם יגזור ה' בחיים יימשך לעולם כיר"א [=עד סוף] ע"ס. וייקרא שמה בישראל קופה של עזרה בצרות.

והנה בעת"ה נבאר שכך עלתה הסכמתנו כ"א [=כל אחד] מרצוננו וחפצנו הטוב והגמור להתנהג עלינו עפ"י התנאים והחובים אשר נבאר בכתב אחת לאחת. והסכמתנו זאת עשויה ב[י]נינו באמת וישר כתנאי בני גד ובני ראובן בהן קודם ללאו [ו]כו' בכל חזק ותוקף ויפוי כח שבעולם ובכל לשון ואופן היותר מועיל חזי ומספיק לפו"ד [=לפום דינא] כהוגן וכתח"ל. וראשית הכל הנה אנחנו הח"מ ואשר צוינו לחתום בעדינו נדבה רוחינו מרצוננו הטוב והגמור בלתי שום נדר ע"כ [=על כל] מה שנאמר בין בכתב בין בע"פ מה שנוציא מפינו כל נהיה נכשול [!] בעון נדרים ח"ו. לתת תרומת מעשר דהיינו עשרה למאה למעשה הצדקה מכל ריוח שיזמן השי"ת [=השם יתברך] אותנו בכל מעשה ידינו ועסקינו להיות המעות הללו מופרשים ועומדים למצות הצדקה והיתה לבאר שאין אנחנו אומרים לתת בדקדוק עשרה למאה ממש אלא הן חסר הן יתר כל נכשל ח"ו כנ"ל. מהיום מיטימוס משתדלים וגבאים פור אקוז'יר הקצבה אשר נבאר מכל היחידים הי"ו על ידם לטובים השנים ראשון לציו"ן עזרה בצרות כמוה"ר עזרה ב' [כר] מרדכי נר"ו [=נטריה רחמנא ופרקיה] המכו' [נה] חזקיה שני בקודש יום טוב שני דרבנן ה"ה הח' [כס] המרו' [מם] ע"כ [=על כל] מעלות רם כמוה"ר יום טוב בן ארוליא נר"ו קי אילייס סיראן משתדלים בכל עסק הקופה הזאת פור אקוז'יר דיטה קצבה מכל היחידים הי"ו מיטיראן לה מונידה אין קאשה די לה קופה בבית מעלת הח' [כס] השי' [לם] והכ' [ולל] כמוה"ר רחמים מנחם מיטראני נר"ו קי איל סירה פרנס כל ימי חי' [י]ו לאורך ימים ושנים אמן. והן בעת"ה נבאר סדר הנהגת המעשר הנז"ל [=הנזכר לעיל] טרם כל אנחנו יחידי סגולה נתחייבנו לתת לקופה זאת עשרים למאה מהמעשר שנוציא למעשה הצדקה דהיינו אם יעלה הריוח שיזמן השי"ת לידינו ע"ס [=עד סך] אלף גרוש שהמעשר שלו הוא מאה גרוש אזי החיוב מוטל לתת עשרים גרוש לקופה זאת ואת הנשאר דהיינו שמונים גרוש הרשות נתונה בידינו לכל אחד ואחד מהח"מ [=חתומי מטה] ליתנם לצדקה לכל מי שלבו חפץ. ואם באולי עשה חשבון בינו לבין עצמו שלא השלים חוקו דהיינו לתת השמונים גרוש הנז' אזי נתחי' [י]בנו כל ח"מ לתת את הנשאר לקופה זאת. באופן שכך עלה בהסכמתנו ליתן כמו מעשר מהריוח איש כמתנת ידו כברכת ה' אשר נתן לו יצ"ו ה' אתך את הברכה כיר"א וחפץ ה' בידינו יצלח כיר"א. ותכלית קופה זאת יתנהג ע"ז [=על זה] האופן דהיינו ממעות שיכנסו לקופה זאת יהיה עשרה גרוש לשבוע מידי שב"ש [=שבוע בשבוע] לחיזוק לומדי תורה העומדים בצער הפרנסה ודחיקא להו מלתא לפי ראות עיניו של מעלת הפרנס נר"ו וילמדו משניות עם פרוש רבינו עובדיה מברטנורה [!] ותוספת יום טוב ז"ל ויאמרו הלומדים לשם יחידי סגולה הח"מ ומע' [לת] הפרנס נר"ו. ואם ח"ו יפטר א' לאחר אורך ימים ושנים בין נפטר בארץ ישראל בין בחוצה לארץ יהיו לומדים מידי שבוע בשבוע ביום פטירתו ויאמרו לשם יחוד ולעלוי נשמתו של הנלב"ע [=הנפטר לבית עולמן] עד מלאת לו שנה תמימה. ואח"ך [=ואחר כך] יחזרו לאיתנו הראשון והיה הנשאר ממעות קופה הנז' יהיו מונחים ועומדים להלוואת חן וחסד למי שדחיקא ליה שעתא להלו' [ו]תם במשכון

ביסס את חישוביו על מאה בעלי בתים שייתנו 25 גרוש (לפחות) מדי חודש ויתמידו בהפקדותיהם במשך 100 חודשים, ובסה"כ ההשקעה האישית של כל חבר תגיע לסך 2500 גרוש לפחות. כספי הקרן יושקעו בהלוואות לטווח קצר שיינתנו כנגד משכון ובריבית בשיעור הקרוב ל-10% בשנה. מראשית השנה השנייה יוגרלו מדי חודש בין החברים 500 גרוש, ו-500 נוספים יוקצו למימון ישיבה שבה ילמדו ת"ח עניים שיבחר הרב מיטראני, לזכות חברי הקופה החיים ולעילוי נשמת חברים שהלכו לעולמם באדירנה או בארץ ישראל. הפעילות המשותפת נשאה אופי תורני – לימוד משניות עם פירושי ברטנורא ותוספות יום טוב במסגרת 'מדרש'¹⁷ שיפעל בערבי שבתות. עוד הוזכרו בתקנון תוקפו שנקבע לעשר שנים ותוכחה הדדית בין החברים מתוך הקפדה על אדיקות ומוסריות. המחבר מעיד כי במעמד ייסוד החברה חתמו על התקנון עשרים וחמישה חברים, ובשנים שלאחר מכן הצטרפו חברים נוספים.

להלן דברי הרב מיטראני על קופת "עזרה בצרות" ותקנונה:

אגורה אביזארימוס און ריז'ו קי סי איזו בקרוב [!] אין מואיסטרה סיב'דאד קי די איסט'ריז'ו פ'ואי סיבה פור אינפיסאר דיטו ליב'רו. אי לו איסקריב'ו פורקי ב'יאן איל מונדו אי אגאן לו מיזמו. אונדי סאב'ריש' קי דיזינדו דברי מוסר אינטרי לה ג'ינטי דיש'י טאמביין קי לה מצוה די מעשר איס מויי גראנדי דהיינו די אפארטאר מעשר די טודו לוקי גאנה אין דיז'ו אונדו אי ליס דיש'י קי אין אוטראס סיב'דאדיס ב'ידי מונג'ה ג'ינטי אנשי מעשה קי אפ'ירמאן דיטה מצוה אי איסקריב'ין טודו לו קי דאן די צדקה אל קאב'ו די אנניו און חשבון לוקי גאנארון אי אג'וסטאן סוב'רי לוקי דיירון אה חשבון די מעשר. אי אולי(י) די און אומברי חשוב קי אפ'ירמה דיטה מצוה אי אונה נוג'י איסטאנדו ג'ונטו קון איל אי אונה מיזה דיש'ו בתוך היין לייז אפ'ירמו לוקי אינקומינדו איל ש"ת פור קיטאר מעשר די טודו לוקי גאנו אי סי איל ש"ת טופה מאס נאמן קי מי (קי מי) טומי מיס אזינדאס אי אאון קי נו איס ג'וסטו די דיזיר אנסי מה סיינדו סי טופו תוך היין לו דיש'ו אי איל ש"ת לי פוז'ו סו אזינדה כפלי כפלים מאס די לוקי טיניאה כן ירבה וכן יפרוץ.

אי דוס מאנסיב'וס קי סון משתדלים די דיטו ריז'ו סיגון דירימוס ליס אינטרו דיטו מוסר אין איל קוראסון אי אינפיסארון אפ'ירמאר דיטה מצוה מויי קומפלידה אי אילייס פ'ואירון סונטראינדו אה סוס אמיגוס אקי סי אג'ונטין מנין די דיז'ו פריסונאס. אי ב'יניירון דיטוס דוס מאנסיב'וס אמי אי לייז איסטאב'ה אינטרימיטידו אין לה מלאכה די דיטו ליב'רו אי מי דיש'ירון לי רוגאמוס קי דיש'י סו מלאכה אי קי מוס אויגה לוקי לי ב'אמוס אב'לאר קי איס מצוה רבה אי לייז ליס דיש'י אב'לה מיס קרידוס. אי ריספונדיירון דיזינדו קי סיפה קי די איל דיאה קי מוס דייו איל מוסר די ענין די לה מצוה די מעשר.

טומימוס אפ'ירמארלה אי לייז מוס איזימוס מנין די דיז'ו פריסונאס קי איסטאדוס אזינדו אנסי קאדה אונדו פור מוזוטרוס אי אגורה לוקי לי רוגאמס איס קי מוס אגה אונה קארטה אי מוס אפ'ירמארמוס אין ול ייסיגון לי קוב'ייני אין סוס אוז'וס אי אזינדו אנסי קון טאנטו התלהבות אי אליגריאה די קוראסון קומי לו דיש'ירון איסטונסיס דיש'י סיירטו קי סוב'רי איסטו דיז'ו איל פסוק עת לעשות לה' הפרו תורתך. קירי דיזיר קי קואנדו ב'ייני אורה פור אזיר קוזה פארה איל ש"ת באלדה ול יי. אי אין לוגי (=לוגו) דיש'י מי מלאכה

¹⁷ מעניין אזור ה'מדרש' כמקום הלימוד של אותם בעלי בתים, כמקבילה לישיבה הנזכרת במקורות אחרים.

אחת דהיינו דעשרים או ל' בני אדם נותנים בכל חדש סך קצוב ביד גזבר הקופה ומטילים גורל בכל חדש מסך מה ובגורל הגורל ע"ש [=על שם] אחד מהם יזכה בו לצורך נישואי הבת אשר לו.¹³ מטרת קופה זו היא אפוא מימון נדוניית הבנות, נטל כספי ידוע עד שלהי התקופה העות'מאנית.

בירושלים נוסדה בשנת 1830 קופה מטיפוס דומה, כנראה ביוזמת עולים ממערב אנטוליה.¹⁴ תקנון הקופה ("קאשה" בלאדינו) חייב מינוי שני גבאים ועימם גזבר ("קאשירו") להנהלת החשבונות של הקופה, וגביית גרוש אחד מדי שבוע מכל חבר. וכן נקבע בו שמדי שלושה חודשים תיערך הגרלה. סכום הזכייה נקבע ל-250 גרוש ("אריות"), וממנו יחויב הזוכה להשיב לקופה סך עשרה גרושים, כ'דמי טיפול'. הזוכה יוצא מרשימת המשתתפים בהגרלות עד אשר כל האחרים יזכו גם הם, ואז יתחיל סבב חדש. הסעיפים האחרונים בתקנון (טו-יז: עמ' קו-קז) עוסקים במחויבויות השייכות להווי הדתי – השתתפות בטקסים לכבוד חברים שהלכו לעולמם – בלווייה ובלימוד בבית האבל בשבעת ימי האבלות, ביום הפטירה (היום בשבוע) במשך אבלות 'שלושים', ובמועדים שייקבעו עד ישלמו ימי השלושים והשנה. חובת הלימוד חלה לא רק במקרי מוות: יחידים ממשמרתו של אבי הבן נדרשו להשתתף בליל הלימוד, הקרוי 'ליל משמרה', שהתקיים בביתו בערב שקדם לברית המילה.

קופת עזרה בצרות

בסוף חיבורו "מעם לועז" על ספר יהושע, הביא מחברו, הרב רחמים מנחם מיטראני מאדירנה, טקסט שעניינו קופה שנוסדה בעירו בשנת 1846 בהשראת דרשותיו.¹⁵ מיטראני נתמנה פרנס החברה לכל חייו, ולידו שימשו שני משתדלים ושני גבאים.¹⁶ הקופה העניקה הלוואות בריבית וגם סייעה במימון הדפסת הספר, ומעניין שהדבר נזכר רק בהסכמה שבסופו, שהעתקתה מובאת להלן, ולא בשער או בהקדמה. בתקנון התחייבו החברים להפריש לצדקה מעשר מכל רווחיהם, ולהפקיד חמישית ממנו, לפחות, בקופת החברה. קהל היעד היה אפוא בעלי בתים מן המעמד הבינוני ומעלה שהשתכרו יפה, באופן שגם חמישית מהמעשר שיפרישו מרווחיהם (היינו 2%) תניב סכום משמעותי. הכנסות נוספות תגענה לקופה מקנסות, מרבית שתיגבה מהלווים ומדמי מכירת משפונות שלא ייפדו. היוזם

¹³ פרץ תרכ"ז: חו"מ, דף סד ע"א.

¹⁴ בניהו תשנ"ה: קג-קח.

¹⁵ העתקה שלי מתוך מיטראני, דפים קסג ע"ב-קסד ע"ב (סוף הספר, אחרי המפתחות). העמוד האחרון, הכולל הלכות מעשר, מוכתר בכותרת "חומש ממצות מעשר". הטקסט נכתב בידי הרב בלאדינו ובעברית. תרגום החלקים בלאדינו נעשה בידי מתן שטיין ועל כך נתונה לו תודתי. הרב מיטראני ראה בייסוד חברה זו מעשה רב, וביקש בצוואתו שבהשכבות שייערכו לו יזכירוהו בתואר "מסדר הקופה של עזרה בצרות" (מיטראני תרי"א: דף ג ע"ב).

¹⁶ משתדלים וגבאים נזכרים בכתובות שע"ג קופות צדקה עשויות כסף מאסתאנבול: בכיתוב על קופת צדקה מתרל"ט נזכרים שני המשתדלים של החברה בשמותיהם (קלגסבאלד תשמ"ו: 36, פריט 59). שמות שלושת "המשתדלים של החברה קדושה של קייפג'יס" נחרטו על קופת צדקה שנמכרה בירושלים בבית המכירות 'קדם', מכירה 81 (21.7.21), פריט 207 המשתדלים של המורטאז'אס [=תכריכים] נזכרים ע"ג קופה במוזיאון ישראל. בכיתוב על קופה אחרת של הקייפג'יס נזכרים קבר באשי, גבאי וקאשירו (יהוס תשמ"ט: 58).

בעבר עסקתי בקופת "אורה ושמחה" שפעלה באסתאנבול⁹ מאז שנות העשרים. מאת חבריה התחייבו להפקיד בה בכל חודש סכום שנקבע, ולהתמיד בהפקדותיהם במשך מאתיים חודשים. רווחי ההון נועדו לממן החזקת ישיבה ואת סכומי הזכיה בהגרלה שתיערך בכל חודש (סכום הזכיה החודשי: 500 גרוש) בין החברים. התקנון מזכיר קופה שפעלה באותה עת ברובע פירי פאשא, שמטרתה אחת ויחידה: הגרלת כספים.¹⁰ "קופת אחים", שבין מפעלותיה שכירת תלמיד חכם שילמד תורה לזכות חבריה במקום שיוחד לכך, נזכרת בשאלה שזמנה לפני 1862: "מנהג עירנו יע"א [=יכוננה עליון אמן] הוה [!] דיש קופ' [ת] אחים כידוע. והנה ראובן הוא גבאי מקופה אחת מאלו, ושכר ת"ח אחד שילמוד עבור כוללות הקופה נז' שלשה לילות בשבוע ויטול הת"ח ס"מ [=סך מה] בכל ששה חודשים מהגבאי נז'. והגבאי נז' יחד לו בית ללמוד בה הת"ח נז', ישיבה קבועה שהיה להם לקופה נז'...¹¹ השימוש ב"מנהג עירנו", ובתואר "קופה אחת מאלו" רומז שהקופה היא מוסד נפוץ ומוכר. הכינוי "קופת אחים" הוא שם נרדף ל"חברה" ומעלה אסוציאציות לאחוות אחרות, מוסלמיות, במרחב העות'מאני.

הרב אליעזר פאפו, מחבר "פלא יועץ", שישב בסיליסטרה שעל גדות הדנובה, קרא בדרשה מראשית שנות העשרים להקמת קופה בשם "חסד ואמת", שמטרתה לשמש קרן שתעניק הלוואות כנגד משכונות בטוחים. בראשה יעמדו שני גבאים: האחד יהיה אמן על קבלת המשכונות, וידוא שוויים ושמירתם; והאחר – על מתן ההלוואות:¹²

...ונעשה קופה אשר נקראה בשם קופת חסד ואמת כי זה הוא בעצם חסד של אמת... וימנו שני גבאים מצווים ועומדים שאינם רשאים להלוות לשום אדם בלי משכון השווה יותר מן החוב כשבא לימכר בשוקא חריפא. וביד האחד יהיו המעות וביד האחד יהיו המשכונות, והמשכונות יהיו על אחריות הלווים. וגבאי המשכונות כשקבל המשכון יתן פתקא לגבאי המעות שיתן הסכום ויעשו קצבת ההלוואה, ומי שלוה שלא יחזור וילוה עד זמן קצוב מזמן הפירעון כדי שיהיה התועלת מגיע לכל הצריכים ללוות ולא יהיה תועלת הרבה לאנשים פרטים ואחרים בלא כלום, ובהגיע תור הפירעון ליתן ידיעה איזה ימים מקודם ואם לא יפרע ימכרו המשכון בשוקא חריפא בזמן הנועד...".

עקרון ההלוואה כנגד משכון השומר על ערך יציב וניתן להיוון מהיר עומד גם בבסיס התקנון של קופת "עזרה בצרות". מן הדרישה לאפשר לכל לוה לקבל הלוואה אחת בלבד כדי לאפשר לכל הנזקקים להלוואות ליהנות גם הם מכספי הקופה, ברי שהביקוש להלוואות היה רב.

קופה שפעלה בקהילה קטנה הרבה יותר, השוכנת בפריפריה של אסתאנבול – בעיר צ'נקלה או גליפולי – נזכרת בשאלה שנשאלה לפני 1867: "יחידי עיר אחת שתקנו קופה

⁹ כתיב זה הוא תעתיק המבוסס על שם העיר שנהג בתקופת האימפריה העות'מאנית (והוא שונה מן התעתיק המודרני: איסטנבול), והוא המשמש כאן וגם בהיקריות נוספות של שם העיר במאמר.

¹⁰ כלומר מעין 'לוטו'. תקנון קופת "אורה ושמחה". ראו לעיל, הערה 4.

¹¹ קמחי תרכ"ב: חו"מ, י, לא ע"ד. ככלל, הובאו המובאות ככתבן וכלשונן. זעיר שם זעיר שם הוספו סימני פיסוק כדי להקל על הקוראים לרוץ בקריאתם.

¹² פאפו תשל"ח: שכג, דרוש א' לשבת שקלים. השם "חסד ואמת" נזכר למשל כשמה של חברת סיוע לעניים שפעלה ברוסצ'וק מאז שנות השישים של המאה התשע־עשרה (קרן תשס"ה: 180–182).

בה ארגוני רווחה, חברה, תרבות ופנאי, אך לא ציין מאומה אשר למקורם ולשורשיהם, וייתכן שסבר שרובם ככולם גופים מודרניים.³

המידע על קופות – סוג של התארגנות חברתית בקרב יהודים במערב האימפריה העות'מאנית – מגיע משני מקורות: האחד הוא תקנוני יסוד של חברות מסוג זה ששרדו בכתבי יד, והאחר – אזכורים אקראיים ונדירים בספרות השו"ת [=שאלות ותשובות]. בעבר שרטטתי את דמותן של חברות החסד היהודיות, ולימים שיערתי שהקופות התהוו בראשית המאה התשע-עשרה כצורה חדשה של התארגנות חברתית מחייבת פחות, שעשייתה הוולונטרית מכוונת כלפי פנים בלבד ומטרתה המוצהרת לדאוג לחברה, שהם הם מוטביה הבלעדיים.⁴ אני מבקש להרחיב מעט בעניין זה מתוך התבססות על חומר הכתוב לאדינו ועברית.

בידנו תקנונים של שלוש קופות שנוסדו באיזמיר. נפתח בשתיים מהן: קופת "שם עולם" (1798) וקופת "חסד יִפְנָה" (1828). בשתייהן התאגדו עשרות חברים שהתחייבו לתת מדי שבוע גרוש אחד, ובתקנוניהן נקבע שאחת לשלושה חודשים תיערך הגרלה, והזוכה יקבל 250 גרוש. הכספים שנאספו בקופה שימשו קרן סיוע שהעמידה לרשות חבריה הלוואות בריבית, כנגד חפצי כסף או זהב ששימשו משכון. היא נוהלה בידי שני מנהלים (ריז'ידורים) – פרנס וגזבר – שנבחרו לכל חייהם, ושני גבאים שנתמנו לזמן קצוב, והיו זכאים להטבות מסוימות חלף טרחתם. כמו כן נבחרו וצורפו אליהם שני 'משדלים', והם המקבצים את הגרוש מן החברים.⁵ הקופה השלישית היא קופת "ארץ ישראל" שנוסדה באיזמיר בראשית שנת 1831, ואת תקנונה פרסם יעקב ברנאי.⁶ ניהולה נמסר לידי שני גזברים ממונים ושלושה פרנסים שיכהנו שנתיים. בתקנון נקבע שהפרנס-המשדל-המייסד – יישאר קבוע כל ימי חייו, ואחרי פטירתו ייכנסו במקומו בנו וצאצאיו. וכן נקבע שבמשך חמש שנים יפקיד כל חבר בקופה מאה גרוש לשנה (בארבעה תשלומים שנתיים), ובסך הכול יפקיד בה חמש מאות גרוש. ההון יושקע בהלוואה בריבית (בשיעור 10% לשנה) לכוללות הקהילה, ופירותיו נועדו לממן תמיכה שנתית בסך חמש מאות גרוש בחבר שישתקע בארץ ישראל. אלו שלוש קופות מוקדמות שפעלו באיזמיר וידועות בשמן; ולהלן יובא מידע על קופות נוספות שפעלו ברחבי האימפריה. יש ששמן ידוע, ויש שלא.

בשאלה שהופנתה לר' חיים פלאג'י (1788–1868) נזכרת קופה נוספת באיזמיר, שעליה נמנו מאתיים חברים. בתקנון קופה זו נקבעה שגרת הפעולה שלה: כל חבר מפקיד מדי חודש סכום קבוע ביד אחד משלושת הגזברים, והללו משקיעים את ההון המצטבר בהלוואה בריבית. בסוף כל חודש נערכת הגרלה, והזוכה מקבל את כל הסכום שהפקיד עד אותו חודש בתוספת רווח מסוים. אחרי שיזכו כולם, נקבע בתקנון, יחל מחזור הגרלות חדש.⁷ דומני שהריבוי היחסי של ידיעות על קופות באיזמיר מלמד על עוניים של רבים מיהודי העיר וממילא גם על המתחים החברתיים החריפים ששררו בקהילה.⁸

³ כרמי 1996; הקר 2006.

⁴ בן-נאה תשע"ד: (במיוחד) 539 ואילך. במאמר זה הוזכרה גם תופעת ההגרלות דוגמת 'לוטו'.

⁵ בכוונתי לפרסם את התקנונים במקום אחר בע"ה.

⁶ ברנאי תשמ"ח. התקנון אפשר חברות של נשים (רובן זקנות), כנראה משום הפרופיל הטיפוסי של העולים לארץ ישראל.

⁷ פלאג'י תרל"ז: חו"מ, סי' קכ, דף קח ע"ג.

⁸ על המתחים החברתיים באיזמיר ראו ברנאי תשמ"ב; לוי תשנ"ו; סבע-וולף תשס"ח.

על קופת עזרה בצרות אדירנה העות'מאנית המאוחרת

ירון בן-נאה

קופות יהודיות בתקופה העות'מאנית המאוחרת

עד שלב מאוחר יחסית לא זכה המבנה הארגוני של הקהילות היהודיות במרחב העות'מאני – לא בתקופה המוקדמת (המאות השש-עשרה–שמונה-עשרה) ולא במאוחרת (המאה התשע-עשרה) – לתשומת לב מחקרית, ועדיין חסרים אנו מידע רב על אודות ההווי החברתי בקהילות היהודיות באימפריה העות'מאנית, ובכללו מידע על התארגנויות וולונטריות שונות. הניסיון שעשה אברהם גלאנטי בשנות העשרים והשלושים לשרטט תמונה של הקהילות באנטוליה במפנה המאות התשע-עשרה–עשרים, היה חלקי. גלאנטי, ששלט בשפות הרלוונטיות וקרא כתבי יד עבריים ועות'מאניים, נדד בין קהילות ובחיפושיו הצליח למצוא ולאסוף מסמכים מקוריים רבים. הוא עיין בהם, ומתוך העושר שמצא בחר להתמקד במניית גופים ובעלי תפקידים.¹ חיי החברה והתרבות, ובכללם הגילדות היהודיות, לא העסיקו אותו כלל, וגם כשכתב על אודות מוסדות צדקה וחסד, לא הזכיר בדבריו את החברות של הגילדות ולא את הקופות.² בחיבור שפרסם ארול הקר בעקבות המחקר שערך על קהילת אדירנה במחצית השנייה של המאה התשע-עשרה, הוא הזכיר את העובדה שפעלו

¹ דברי גלאנטי על חברות הצדקה והחסד בבירה, מהן אזוריות ומהן כלל-עירוניות, מורים כי רובן עסקו בפילנתרופיה מסוגים שונים, ורק מעטות בתרבות. מלבד החברה קדישא שהתקיימה 'מאז ומתמיד', חברת החסד המוקדמת ביותר המוזכרת אצלו היא "מלבישי ערומים", שהוקמה לפני 1869. כמחצית מהחברות שציין הוקמו בשנות התשעים של המאה התשע-עשרה (גלאנטי 1985: 343–348). על גלאנטי ועל עבודתו ראו אלמליח תשי"ד וקלדרון 1983.

² דוגמת החברות המסונפות לגילדת הקאיק'יס, ראו: בן-נאה תשע"א. על החברות ראו בהרחבה: בן-נאה תשנ"ח. אין זה מן הנמנע כי חלק מעשרות החברות הפילנתרופיות שפעלו בערים הגדולות בשליש האחרון של המאה התשע-עשרה, היו קופות, דוגמת אלו שיתוארו להלן.



- מ' מרגליות (מהדיר), מדרש ויקרא רבה יוצא לאור על-פי כתבי-יד ושרידי הגניזה עם חלופי נוסחאות, הערות וביאורים, הדפסה שנייה, ירושלים תשל"ב.
- מרגליות תשל"ב
- Z. I. Sinaceur, *Le dictionnaire COLIN d'arabe dialectal marocaine*, 8 vols., Rabat-Paris 1992-1996.
- קולין 1992–1996
- "שיר השירים – תרגום רב סעדיה גאון בערבית" מובא תחת הכותר "תפסיר" (עם המקור במקרא, התרגום הארמי וטקסטים אחרים) בתוך י' קאפח, חמש מגילות, ירושלים תשכ"ב, עמ' כה–קכה.
- רס"ג תשכ"ב
- ש' שרביט, הפרק "האפולוגיה בלשון חכמים", פרקי מחקר בלשון חכמים, ירושלים תשס"ח, עמ' 60–71.
- שרביט תשס"ח

הקיצורים הביבליוגרפיים

- בהט תשס"ב י' בהט, המרכיב העברי בערבית הכתובה של יהודי מרוקו, ירושלים תשס"ב.
- בראשר תשנ"ט מ' בראשר, מסורות ולשונות של יהודי צפון אפריקה, מהדורה שנייה מורחבת, ירושלים תשנ"ט.
- בראשר תשס"ב, א, ב, ג מ' בראשר, לשון לימודים לרבי רפאל בירדוגו, כרך א: חלק א – פרקי מבוא, חלק ב – מהדורה לספר בראשית; כרך ב: חלק ג – מהדורת החיבור כולו; כרך ג: חלק ד – מבואות ומהדורת שרח ההפטרות, ירושלים תשס"ב.
- בראשר תש"ע מ' בראשר, לשונות מסורות ומנהגות: עיונים בלשונות, במסורות, באורחות חיים וביצירות של היהודים במגרב ועיונים בלשונות היהודים, ירושלים תש"ע.
- בראשר תשע"ט–תשפ"א מ' בראשר, "כתיבה ערבית במגרב והעברית שבה וממנה – מכתב אחד של רבי ישראל אביחצירא כדוגמה וכבניין אב", כרמלים יד (תשע"ט–תשפ"א), עמ' 141–156.
- בראשר תשפ"ג מ' בראשר, תרגומי המקרא בערבית יהודית מגרבית, כרך א: פרקי מבוא. כרך ב: השרח לספרים בראשית, רות, שיר השירים, איכה, אסתר. כרך ג: השרח לספרים שמות, ויקרא. כרך ד: השרח לספרים משלי, איוב, קהלת, ירושלים תשפ"ג.
- הנשקה תשס"ז י' הנשקה, לשון עברי בדיבור ערבי – אוצר המילים העברי בערבית המדוברת של יהודי תוניסיה: מילון ודקדוק, ירושלים תשס"ז.
- הנשקה 2013 (א) Y. Henshke, "Sociolexical Consideration of the Hebrew of Israelis of North African Origin", *Journal of Jewish Languages* 1 (2013), pp. 207-227.
- הנשקה 2013 (ב) י' הנשקה, "על לשון הפריפריה הישראלית: בין שיבוש לשאילה", מחקרים בלשון יד–טו (תשע"ג), עמ' 175–186.
- כ"י בן־הרוש Ms. 1825.1000 באוסף כתבי היד העבריים בספריית אוניברסיטת ייל, קונטיקט, ארצות הברית, והוא "שרח לכתובים לפי מסורות תאפילאלת [ותודגה] מרוקו קיבלו ומסרו רבי אברהם בן־הרוש". הועלה על הכתב בשנים תשמ"ה–תשמ"ו בידי בנו יוסף בראשר.
- כ"י פאס כ"י של שרח מקוצר למקרא, הוא כולל למעשה שני כתבי יד: פאס א – שרח לרוב ספרי המקרא, פאס ב – שרח ההפטרות (ראו בראשר, חקרי מערב: עיונים בלשונות ובמסורות, באורחות חיים ובתעודות של יהודי המגרב, ירושלים 2017, פרק י, עמ' 189–207).

41. עם זאת יש תחומי מפגש שבהם נתקיים מגע חלקי בין הערבית לעברית. בעיון שהצעתי הובאו ונידונו ארבעה תחומים כאלה. בשלושה מדובר בהשפעה חלקית של העברית על הערבית, ואלו הם:

- א. חדירת המרכיב העברי לערבית היהודית. קיומו של המרכיב העברי (והארמי) הוא אחד מהקווים המבחינים בין הלהג היהודי ללהג המוסלמי.
- ב. גלישת חלק קטן מהמרכיב העברי גם לערבית המוסלמית. כאן הודגמו תופעות בעלות אופי כללי – חדירת מילים לרוב הלהגים המוסלמיים. ויש תופעות המאפיינות יחידים, בשל המגע המוגבר שלהם עם יהודים היו קיימים בלשונם יותר יסודות עבריים מאשר בלשון הכללית. אפשר לקבוע שהיסודות האלה באים לידי ביטוי בעיקר בשיחות של אנשים אלו עם יהודים או על יהודים.
- ג. מגע מרובה הוא המפגש הצמוד בין העברית לערבית היהודית בחיבורים שיש להם שרץ, ובראשם חמשת הספרים של התורה. הנטייה למילוליות המאפיינת את השרץ מזמנת בו הרבה מקומות בטקסטים המתורגמים שמתגלות בהם בערבית תופעות מהדקדוק ומהסמנטיקה של העברית. לעיתים רחוקות יש פן יוצר בפעולתו של השרץ המביא אל הטקסט המתורגם בערבית חידושים משלו. כזאת ראינו בתרגום השם "מִזְיָג" בשם מזיג/ *mziḡ*.⁴⁰ ראוי לציין כי מה שנמצא בשרץ יש כיוצא בו גם בטקסטים אחרים שתורגמו מעברית לערבית, אבל לא בהיקף שנמצא בשרץ.⁴¹
- ד. וראינו גם השפעות מעטות של הערבית על העברית. הדברים ניכרים בעברית הכתובה וגם בעברית שהייתה המדוברת לעת מצוא במרוקו ובעברית המדוברת בארץ בפי יוצאי מרוקו. תינתן הדעת למבנה התחבירי המיוחד שהוצג והודגם לעיל.⁴²

42. כל ארבעת תחומי המגע הודגמו בנתונים מעטים. אין ספק שהמדגם מצומצם, במיוחד צמצמתי את ההדגמה בכל מה שנוגע להשפעת העברית על הדקדוק ועל הסמנטיקה של הלשון הערבית המשמשת בחיבורי השרץ. עם זאת לא היקף תוצאות המגע החלקי או המרובה הוא העיקר, אלא קיומן של תוצאות לשוניות פרי המגע.

43. ייאמר עוד דבר חשוב הראוי להדגשה: עניין המגע בין לשונות הורחב בעיון הזה לנקודות מפגש מצומצמות או מוגבלות בהיקפן. אפילו בטקסטים המתורגמים של השרץ שהמפגש מרובה מאוד בנקודות מגע, אין מדובר במגע של לשונות מדוברות החיות זו ליד זו בפיו של הציבור היהודי במגרב.

44. כל מה שנאמר ותואר בעיון הזה אפשר לאומרו על כל לשונות היהודים, או לפחות על רובן. לרוב הציבור שדיבר את הלשון או הלהג היהודי לא דיבר עברית, וידיעתו בה הוגבלה לידיעת הקריאה וליסודות העבריים שנכנסו ללשונו המדוברת. פעמים הרבה שהדוברים לא ידעו שכל היסודות העבריים אכן עבריים הם. אם כן כשאנחנו מדברים של מגע בין העברית ללשון היהודית, צריך לדעת שמדובר בהגדרה מצמצמת של המושג מגע בין לשונות.

⁴⁰ כמוצע בפירוט לעיל בהערה 33, וראו שם סעיפים §28–§30.

⁴¹ הדבר משתקף יפה בחיבורו של יעקב בהט (בהט תשס"ב). כלולים אצלו טקסטים מנותחים שתורגמו מעברית.

⁴² בריאשר תשע"ט–תשפ"א: §35–§39. וראו ההפניות שהובאו לעיל בהערות 37–38.

התואר הוא הנסמך: 'שם התואר של השם הפרטי', כגון **להביל די עבו/l-hbil-ḥbil** (מילולית: 'השוטה של עבו', עניינית: 'עבו השוטה').

36. תיעדתי את המבנה הזה בעברית בביטויים רבים מפי אנשים ונשים רבים יוצאי מרוקו, כגון "המשוגע של שמעון", היינו 'שמעון המשוגע', "הגנבה של רוזט גנבה לי הרבה כסף", כלומר 'רוזט הגנבה גנבה לי הרבה כסף'.³⁷ ייאמר כאן שתיעדתי אותו רק אצל הדור הראשון של העולים שהמיר את דיבורו הערבי כדיבור עברי באופן מלא או באופן חלקי. 37. הופתעתי מאוד כשמצאתי שהמבנה הזה נהג בפיהם של שני דוברים משכילים – מוסמכי אוניברסיטה, אחד מהם היה בעל תואר שני בחוג ללשון העברית. הבאתי שם שלושה היגדים ששמעתי מפי שניהם: "החמור של אריאל שרון, הוא אדם לא אמין", "העצלן של בני מוותר על תעודת בגרות", "החכם של שמעון פרס בונה מזרח תיכון חדש"³⁸. ברור שהמבנה הזה מבליט את שם התואר הניתן לשם הפרטי. הבאתו של שם התואר לראש ההיגד כנסמך בסמיכות מפורקת הופכת אותו לרכיב העיקרי בצירוף הסמיכות.

38. כבר ציינו חוקרים שהמבנה הזה ידוע גם בשפות אחרות. למשל הוא מבנה ידוע בצרפתית, כגון *le fou de Simon* (= "המשוגע של סימון" במשמעות 'סימון המשוגע') ובספרדית האיברית, כגון *el tonto de mi hermano* (= "הטיפש של אחי" במשמעות 'אחי הטיפש'). ונמצא פעם אחת בארמית היהודית בארץ ישראל ההיגד "הדין סבא דאבונן" (= "זה הזקן של אבינו" כלומר 'אבינו הזקן הזה'; זו הגרסה בקטע גניזה של ויקרא רבה י ט, פרשה יב, א).³⁹

39. אבל לא בבלשונות משווה אנחנו עוסקים כאן אלא בתוצאות המגע בין העברית לערבית היהודית במרוקו. הראינו כאן מבנה תחבירי בעברית מתורגם מערבית, שתועד אצל דוברי הערבית המגרבית כדיבורם העברי בארץ. אדגיש שלעת הזאת לא מצאתי אותו בטקסט כתוב, לא במה שכתבו כותבי עברית במרוקו ולא נתקלתי בו בכתיבה עברית שכתבו בארץ יוצאי מרוקו.

דברי התימה והערות סיכום

40. כאשר מדברים על מגע בין הערבית היהודית במרוקו והעברית, בעיקרו של הדבר אין לדבר על מגע של שתי לשונות חיות שדרו בכפיפה אחת. ברוב האזורים במרוקו לשון החיים שהייתה לשון האם של היהודים הייתה הערבית, ובמידה רבה היא הייתה הלשון היחידה שלהם. היא נתפלה לדיאלקטים רבים, אבל לא נפגעה המובנות בין הדיאלקטים. יש להוציא מכאן את האזורים שבהם דיברו הקהילות ברברית או ברברית וערבית כאחת ואת האזור "הספרדי" בצפון שהיהודים דיברו חפיתיה וספרדית.

³⁷ ראו בראש תשע"ט-תשפ"א: 150–152, §§ 25–32.

³⁸ ראו שם: 151, § 31.

³⁹ ראו מרגליות תשל"ב: רמה. גרסת קטע הגניזה מובאת באפרט של חילופי הנוסח.

ד. השפעת הערבית על העברית

31. העיון בטקסטים שכתבו חכמים וידענים במגרב בעברית מגלה עקבות של המגע עם הערבית שהייתה לשונם המדוברת. כיוון שהדברים ידועים אסתפק בדוגמות אחדות בלבד. "בית הכנסת" נקרא במגרב בפי דוברים רבים, הן בשמו הערבי *šla* (לרוב בצורה המיוחדת: *š-sla*), הן בשמו העברי "בית כנסת" (או בצורה המיוחדת: בית הכנסת). החיים בצוותא של השם הערבי והשם העברי הביאו לכך שבכתיבה העברית של כותבים רבים השם העברי הושפע מהערבית באשר למינו הדקדוקי. חכמים כתבו לרוב "בית הכנסת הגדולה", "בית הכנסת החדשה" וכיו"ב ולא "הגדול", "החדש" בהשפעת *šla* שהוא שם בנקבה. בשנות החמישים הראשונות של המאה העשרים קראתי מודעה זו במעברת הרצליה: "בית הכנסת שלנו נשרפה". מדובר היה בבית הכנסת של העדה המרוקאית של עולים שעלו מקרוב. אינני סבור שמינו הדקדוקי של הסומך "הכנסת" הוא שגרר את השימוש בנקבה, אלא זו תוצאה של השפעת שמו הערבי.

32. ועוד דוגמה: בידוע שבערבית במגרב (בארבע ארצות צפון אפריקה: מרוקו, אלג'יריה, תוניסיה ולוב) צורות המדבר והמדברים של זמן **יפעל** הן **נפעל**, **נפעלו**, כגון **נכתב**/*naktab* (= אכתוב), **נכתבו**/*naktbu* (= נכתוב). בהשפעת הערבית חכמים וידעני עברית במרוקו כתבו או אמרו לעיתים: (אני) נלך, (אנחנו) נלכו, (אני) נקרא, (אנחנו) נקראו. אני זוכר שבשיח לעת מצוא בעברית שמעתי מייד אחרי קום המדינה בעיירה שלי בהיותי במרוקו את השיחה הזאת בעברית: "אנחנו נלכו לארץ ישראל בקרוב", והשומע ענה: "גם אני נלך עוד מעט".³⁴

33. גם בדיבור של מבוגרים שעלו ממרוקו או בדיבור של ילדיהם שנולדו בארץ שמעתי לרוב "בית הכנסת שלנו נמצאת במקלט", "עד היום עבדתי ביער של הקרן הקיימת, ומהחודש הבא אני נעבוד בסולל בונה". ילדים רבים אמרו "עמוד" כשביקשו ממשהו לחכות. בערבית היהודית במרוקו שימשו שני פעלים מקבילים – *tsænna* (או *ssænna*)³⁵ וגם *uqaf* (אוקף) – בהוראה 'סָפֵה', 'סָמְתֵן'. והיו רבים ששימש בפייהם רק הפועל השני. הוא הפועל שהשתקף בדיבורם העברי של אומרי "עמוד".

34. פרטים כאלה ואחרים תועדו ונידונו במחקריה המצוינים של יהודית הנשקה על העברית בפריפריה. היא הגדילה להראות שהעברית הצבועה בתוצאות המגע עם הערבית שההורים דיברו משמשת אפילו בדור השלישי לעלייה לארץ. מכאן שיש להדגיש בנחץ את קיומו של סוציולקט בעברית המדוברת המיוחד לדור הצעיר בפריפריה. קביעת קיומו של הסוציולקט הזה ותיאורו נזקפים לזכותה של הנשקה.³⁶

35. אני מבקש להוסיף כאן שבמחקר שפרסמתי לאחרונה הצבעתי על מבנה ייחודי בעברית. תיעדתי אותו אצל הדור הראשון של דוברי עברית בארץ שעלו ממרוקו. מדובר במבנה תחבירי שהוא תרגום של מבנה מקביל בערבית. ליד המבנה 'שם פרטי ותוארו', כגון **עבו להביל**/*‘abbu l-hbil* (= 'עבו השוטה') נהג 'שם מבנה סמיכות מפורקת, ובה שם

³⁴ כך נהגו כמה מעשרת תלמידי החכמים בעיירה. בפגישות מזדמנות דיברו ביניהם עברית. לרוב זו הייתה לשון רבנית מהולה במילים זרות.

³⁵ בצורה זו העיצור [t] נידמה לעיצור התוכף [s].

³⁶ ראו למשל הנשקה 2013 (א), 2013 (ב).

המילוליות נקטו פועל אחר, הכוונה ללשון לימודים לרבי רפאל בירדוגו: **ותבית** *u-tbet*,²⁹ וכ"י פאס של משפחת אבן דנאן: **ותבת** *u-tabt* (= והתקיים).³⁰

27. לעיתים רחוקות הפגישה של הערבית והעברית בשרח מולידה השפעה של העברית על הערבית לא כתוצאה מתרגום מילולי. משתקפות בה תופעות ייחודיות אחרות. במחקריי בשרח גיליתי כמה דוגמות ייחודיות כאלה, ואביא דוגמה שהמילה הערבית מוחלפת במילה עברית או במילה דמוית עברית. ורק בחינה מעמיקה חושפת את ההמרה. בדוגמה שאביא ואדון בה משתקף גם פן יוצר בפעולתו של השרחן. היינו השרחן ממיר בכוונה תחילה או בהיסח הדעת בשל חוסר ידיעה מילה ערבית במילה עברית, ובמעשה ההמרה הוא יוצר מילה חדשה.

28. הינה הדוגמה שאני מכוון אליה: השם "מְזִיג" נקרה במקרא במופע אחד ויחיד: "שָׁרְרָה אֶנֶן הַסֶּהֶר אֶל יַחְסֵר הַמְּזִיג, בְּטֶנֶף עֲרֶמֶת חֲטִים סוּגָה בְּשׁוֹשְׁנִים" (שיר השירים ז, ג). רס"ג מתרגם את השם "הַמְּזִיג" במקבילה הערבית **אלמזיג** / **المزاج**,³¹ שעניינו 'מזג ותכונה של אדם'. לשם הזה יש חלופה מורפולוגית – השם **מְזִיג** / **مزيج** שעניינו 'מזיגה', 'תערובת'. בשרח תאפילאלת ותודגה הפסוק בשיר השירים מתורגם **צורתך תצ'וויר לקמר לאייס ינקס למזיג, בטנאך ערמאת לקמח מזרבא בלוורד**. לעניינו כאן חשוב התרגום של השם "הַמְּזִיג". הוא נכתב בכ"י בן-הרוש **למזיג** ונהגה בפי המסרן העיקרי ובפי מסרנים אחרים *l-mziḡ* בגימ' ל רפה.

29. מותרים אנחנו לחשוב שהצורה **למזיג** התגלגלה מתפסיר הגאון, ומשום מה הוחלף הכתיב **אלמזאג** בכתיב **אלמזיג**, או **אלמזיג** הייתה מלכתחילה גרסה חלופית בכתב יד של תפסיר הגאון. אבל השרחן שנטלה משם לא הכיר כנראה את הצורה והגה את הגימ' ל כגימ' ל רפה **למזיג** / *la-mziḡ* (= המזיגה [של יין]) ולא *la-mziḡ* כדרך הגיית העיצור **ג** בפי יהודי מרוקו. נראה שהשרחן ראה כאן שם עברי והחיל עליו שינוי דקדוקי.

30. כוונתי לשם הפעולה בעברית "מְזִיגָה"³² (כמילה שאולה השם היה נהגה *mziḡa* – השווה הנע התאפס).³³ מסתבר כי מאחר שבפסוק מצוי השם בזכר "מְזִיג", קטף השרחן את חתימת הנקבה בשם "מְזִיגָה" והפך אותה **מזיג** / *mziḡ*, כדי לקבל שם בזכר. ביצירת השם **מזיג** / *mziḡ* יצר השרחן שם השקול במשקל שם הפעולה של הבניין הראשון בערבית – משקל **פעיל** / *fi'il*. משקל זה רווח מאוד בערבית של השרחן וגם בערבית המדוברת. הצד היוצר בהמרת השם העברי בשם במשקל ערבי מתבטא בהפיכתו של השם "מְזִיגָה" לשם בזכר – **מזיג** – בהשפעת "מְזִיג" שהוא שם בזכר.

²⁹ בערבית היהודית של העיר מפנאס, עירו של רבי רפאל בירדוגו, צורות עיצורים נבקעים על ידי תנועות מלאות, למשל כאן הצורר [bt] נבקע על ידי התנועה המלאה [e] – **ותבית** *u-tbet*. ראו בראש תשס"ב, א, ב, ג.

³⁰ כידוע שני השורות האלה מציעים שרח מקוצר ולא טקסט רצוף. תרגום הפועל וְיָקָם מובא בשני השורות בפסוק הראשון משני הפסוקים הנזכרים (פסוק יז). ראו כ"י פאס.

³¹ ראו רס"ג תשכ"ב: קיא.

³² השם "מְזִיגָה" שנשאל לערבית כבר מתועד במשנה: "המוציא יין כדי מזיגת הכוס" (שבת ח, א).

³³ העיד לפניי המסרן כי תלמידי חכמים הכירו היטב את השם "מְזִיגָה" והשתמשו בו ולא השתמשו כלל בשם "מְזִיג". יתרה מזאת: היו שהשתמשו בו בהוראה המקורית 'הפשרת החריפות והחלשת הצבע של היין על ידי הוספת מים' וגם בהוראה מטונימית 'יין'.

העברית כפתה את עצמה על הערבית, ואנחנו מוצאים עטית־הא (עטית־הא/fit-ha) בכינוי החבור לנסתרת.

23. הינה דוגמה הפוכה: המשפט "וַיִּקַּח הָאִישׁ נָזֶם זָהָב בָּקָע מִשְׁקָלוֹ" (שם כד, כב) תורגם וכאד ראזל כרסת דהב מתקאל מיזאנו. גם כאן השרחן הלך אחרי העברית. השם "נָזֶם" תורגם כדבעי בשם העצם כרסא/xərʃa/ שעניינו בערבית היהודית 'עָגִיל' או 'נָזֶם'. כמתבקש השם בא בצורת הנסמך – כרסת/xərʃat/ או xərʃat²⁶ בעברית השם "נָזֶם" הוא שם שמינו זכר, לפיכך הכינוי החבור המוסב אליו בשם "מִשְׁקָל" הוא כינוי הנסתר – מִשְׁקָלוֹ. כנגד זה בערבית השם כרסא הוא שם ממין נקבה, לפיכך התבקש שהשם בכינוי החבור יתורגם מיזאנהא (מיזאנ־הא/mizan-ha = מִשְׁקָלָה) בכינוי הנסתרת, אך השרחן נקט מיזאנו (מיזאנ־ו/mizan-u = מִשְׁקָלוֹ) בכינוי הנסתר, לפי שהלך אחרי העברית.

24. דוגמה מסוג אחר מצויה בתרגום הביטוי "בָּאָר מִיָּם חַיִּים" (שם כו, יט) ביר דלמא נאבעין/bir dā-l-ma n-nab²⁷-in (= באר של המים הנובעים). כאן רואים שהשרחן היטיב לא לתרגם את שם התואר חַיִּים מילולית בתואר עאישין/ʿays-in²⁷ – צורת הרבים של עאיש (= חי). עם זאת מילוליות התרגום ניבטת מפרט אחר. השם מִיָּם בעברית נוהג כשם ברבים, משום כך שם התואר הוא בצורת הרבים – חַיִּים. לעומת זאת השם מא בערבית הוא שם ביחיד, ויש לצפות שהתואר יהיה ביחיד – נאבע/n-nab²⁸ ולא ברבים נאבעין.

25. ויש שינויים אחרים שחדרו לערבית כתוצאה מהתרגום המילולי. למשל המשפט "הָיָשׁ בֵּית אָבִיךָ מְקוֹם לָנוּ לָלֵךְ" (שם, כג) תורגם וואס תממא דאר בוך מוצ'ע אילינא נבאתו. כל מילה מתורגמת בדייקנות גמורה. כידוע, בעברית מצאנו שהמילית ב' חסרה לפני מילים הפותחות בעיצור ב"ת²⁸ קרוב לוודאי כתוצאה של תהליך הפלולוגיה. משום כך אפשר להבין את המבנה "הָיָשׁ בֵּית אָבִיךָ" במקום "הָיָשׁ בְּבֵית אָבִיךָ". לעומת זאת וואס תממא דאר בוך במקום וואס תממא פדאר בוך במילית פ'f הוא מבנה מוזר בערבית ונוגד את דקדוקה.

26. יש תרגומים מילוליים מדויקים (ליתר דיוק: "מדויקים") של מילים הכופים על המקבילות בערבית משמעויות שאין בהן, והשומע אינו מבין מה כוונת ההיגד. כך הוא למשל תרגומו של הפועל "נִיקָם" בשני פסוקים סמוכים (שם כג, פסוקים יז, כ) בפועל ווקף/u-wqff (= וָקַם). התרגום הזה הוא לכאורה מדויק, אך למעשה אינו מדויק. הקביעה הזאת תוסבר מקריאת הפסוק השני המובא בזה עם תרגומו בשרח: "וַיִּקָּם הַשָּׁדָה וְהַמְעָרָה אֲשֶׁר בּוֹ לְאַבְרָהָם לְאַחֲזֹת קָבֶר" – ווקף לפדאן ולפאף די פיה לאברהם ליראתת לקבר. אכן תרגומו הרגיל של הפועל "קָם" הוא וקף, אוקף/uqff, כאשר מדובר בפעולה פיזית, בעיקר כשהפועל מציין מעבר משיבה לעמידה. אבל כאן מדובר בהוראה מושאלת 'התקיים' (הקניין), ועל כן התרגום אינו מדויק. ואומנם שני עדים של שרח שיש בהם נטייה לסילוק

²⁶ נשמעת לרוב ההגייה xərʃat. בתעתיק xərʃat צרור העיצורים [ʃt] נבקע על ידי התנועה החטופה [ə]. ובתעתיק xərʃat – על ידי התנועה המלאה [a].

²⁷ זו ההגייה בפי רוב בני הקהילות במרוקו.

²⁸ כלומר בְּבֵית < בֵּית (ראו שרביט תשס"ח: 65–68).

19. בשיחות לא מעטות עם שורה של זקנים יוצאי מרוקן²² שהיו להם קשרי מסחר עם מוסלמים שם, הם ציינו בפניי שאפשר היה לשמוע ממוסלמים לא מעטים בכל ערי מרוקו ובכפריה שיח כמובא לעיל שהיה רצוף יסודות מהמרכיב העברי והארמי. כולם אמרו שזכרו ערבים רבים שהכירו יסודות עבריים רבים. מי שהיה להם קשר קבוע עם יהודים שילבו בדיבורם עם יהודים מילים רבות מהמרכיב העברי והארמי. דודי דוד תמ"ך אמר לי שאחד הקצבים הלא יהודים כינה יהודים וערבים בבית המטבחיים כאשר כעס עליהם בצירופים שנשאלו מהארמית: **סטרא אחרא, קלפא בישא**.²³ אף ציין שהערבי הזה הגה את הצירוף השני *kərba bisā*.
20. כללו של הדבר, נמצאנו למדים שיש יסודות שנכנסו לערבית המוסלמית הכללית, ויש יסודות ששימשו בפי יהודים. אבל אצל יהודים בלבד אפשר היה לשמוע יסודות עבריים לא מעטים. ללהגים המוסלמיים נכנסו רק יסודות מעטים ביותר והיו נחלת כלל הדוברים כמעט. קיצור הדברים: ככל שהמגע בין יהודים למוסלמים היה מרובה, היקף ההשפעה בתחום הזה גדל.

ג. השפעת העברית על הערבית בשרח

21. השרח המגרבי למקרא ולספרות אחרת, כמו כל תרגום של החיבורים האלה בלשון כלשהי ובכלל זה התרגומים ללשונות יהודים אחרות, זימן מגע מתמיד בין העברית לערבית היהודית במגרב בכל משפט של הטקסטים המתורגמים. במפגש הזה של שתי הלשונות נקל לראות השפעות של העברית על הערבית. כידוע, בשל העובדה שהשרח מריץ את המשפט העברי כלבושו²⁴ בלשון הערבית בתרגום מילה במילה, הוא מזמן תרגומים מילוליים לרוב. לעיתים קרובות המילוליות בשרח כופה על הערבית דרכי מבע של העברית בדקדוק ובמשמעויות המילים, ונמצאת הלשון המתרגמת מושפעת מהלשון המיתרגמת. אפשר למנות מאות רבות של דוגמות כאלה, ומוטב לדייק ולומר כי מדובר באלפי דוגמות. בעיון הזה אסתפק בהדגמה מהשרח לספר בראשית ואספח לה דוגמה מהשרח לשיר השירים.
22. הינה דוגמה ראשונה: הפסוקים "הַשֶּׁמֶךְ נָתַתִּי לָךְ וְהַמְעָרָה אֲשֶׁר בְּךָ נָתַתִּיךָ" (בראשית כג, יא) מתורגמות בשרח תרגום מילולי מדויק:²⁵ **לפדאן עטית אילאך ולכאף די פיה אילאך עטית הא**. התרגום הזה מביא אל הערבית שינוי בדקדוק. הינה פירוש הדברים: בעברית השם "מְעָרָה" הוא שם בנקבה, ועל כן הכינוי החבור בצורה נְתַתִּיךָ המוסב לשם מְעָרָה הוא הכינוי לנסתרת. לעומת זאת מינו הדקדוקי של השם **כאף/kaf** המתרגם את "מְעָרָה" הוא בזכר. משום כך ניתן היה לצפות שבמילה המתרגמת את הפועל נְתַתִּיךָ יהיה הכינוי החבור המוסב לשם **כאף** הכינוי לנסתר – **עטיתו (עטית-ו/fit-u)** = נְתַתִּיךָ, אבל

²² ובכללם דודי המנוחים אחי אבי: יצחק, דוד ויעקב וכן שמעון חיון, מנוחת כולם כבוד, יוצאי העירייה קצר אסוק.

²³ ראו בריאשר, תשנ"ט: 167, 30§; 171, 36§.

²⁴ מה שהגדרתי במקום אחר "המקרא כלבושו" (בריאשר תש"ע: 226–227, 12§).

²⁵ כל הדוגמות מהשרח מובאות מהכרך הכולל את השרח לספר בראשית ולארבע מגילות. ראו בר-אשר, תשפ"ג, כרך ב.

מענתהא 'חראם'. לי הוא בנאדם מליח וצאלח יקול: חמץ עלייא נרא בנאדם ז'יעאן ומא נופלושי (= יש אצלנו המילה הזאת חמץ, אצל היהודים היא הלחם אשר אינו נאכל בפסח שלכם, כי החמץ, ובערבית שלנו פירושה [של המילה הוא] 'אסור'. מי שהוא אדם טוב וצדיק יאמר: חמץ עליי שאראה אדם רעב ולא אאכיל אותו). לשאלתי איך הוא יודע מה משמעות המילה אצל היהודים ואצל המוסלמים, הלא כבר אין יהודים בעיירה עשרות שנים? ענה לי: "אנחנו משפחה ממראפש ולמדתי את זה מאבי, ואנחנו המוסלמים משתמשים הרבה במילה חמץ. אם תשאל מי שאינו יודע, יגיד לך שזו מילה ערבית מימים ימימה".

16. ויש גם שמות אחרים וגם פעלים, שתיעדתי מפי מוסלמים. אבל מדובר ביסודות שערכים מעטים בלבד מכירים. אדגים את הדבר במשפטים אחדים ששמעתי ורשמתי כלפני עשרים שנה. אומרם של הדברים היה מוסטאפה וד בושעאל, מוסלמי מבוגר בן עירית הולדת קצר אסוק¹⁸ שהיה שותף של יהודי במשך עשרות שנים: **חנא לגויים כא נצומו פרמדאן ונתום ליהוד כא תצומו פפבור ופתסעבאב, וענדכום חתא ציאמאת צגאר. ילא יז'י ענדכום עיד סכה כא תעסיו פולשי פסכה, וחתא ביסח כא תעידוה בסמחה ולפרחא ענד לחבאב ולמסבאחאת** (= אנחנו הגויים צמים ברמדאן ואתם היהודים צמים בכיפור ובתשעה באב, ויש לכם גם הצומות הקטנים. כאשר בא אצלכם חג הסוכות אתם עושים הכול בסוכה, וגם פסח אתם חוגגים בשמחה ובגילה אצל הקרובים והמשפחה).

17. נקל לגלות בשיחה הזאת שבעה שמות ופועל אחד עבריים: גויים (לגויים),¹⁹ פפור (פפבור), תשעה באב (ותסעבאב), סכה (סכה), פסח (ביסח), שמה (בסמחה), משפחה (ולמסבאחאת) והפועל עשה (תעסיו). ברור שאין הדוגמה הזאת מלמדת על כלל האוכלוסייה המוסלמית, אבל היא מלמדת היטב שבמקום שהיה מגע מתמיד, הושפע דובר הערבית המוסלמית מהערבית היהודית ובכלל זה מהרכיב העברי שבה.

18. בסוגריים יוער על כמה קווים במימוש המילים העבריות בפי מוסטאפה: (א) העיצור פ"א/p] מומש כצפוי כעיצור ב"ת/b]: **פבור** (> פפור), **ביסח** (> פסח), **מסבאחאת** (> משפחה). (ב) בערבית שלו קיים העיצור ש"ן [š]. מעידה על זה המילה **פולשי**. לעומת זאת במילים העבריות ששולבו בדיבורו השי"ן נהגה בפי היהודים סמ"ך [s], וכך קלט את המילים האלה. לפיכך כתבתיו בסמ"ך: **ותסעבאב, ולמסבאחאת** (גם את המילים שיש בהן ש"ן כתבתי בסמ"ך: **בסמחה, תעסיו**). (ג) שני שמות נהגו בפיו כהגייתם בפי רוב הדוברים היהודים, הכוונה לשם "סכה" שנהגה בפיו *sakka* ולצירוף "תשעה באב" שנהגה בפיו *tsə'bab*. והשם "משפחה" שנהגה *masbahat* מעיד שלא נקלט כצורתו. אין לדעת אם מוסטאפה שמע את השם בעיצור תי"ו כעיצור אחרון מפי יהודי ששיבש את הגיית השם או שנשתבש בפיו עצמו. (ד) גם הצירוף כפול הלשונית "בשמחה ולפרחא" שנהג בערבית היהודית²⁰ משולב באמירתו. (ה) את הפועל עשה בזמן **יפעל** נטה כפועל בערבית בגזרת ל"י הוא לא ביטא תעשיו אלא (תעשיו) < תעסיו.²¹

¹⁸ מאז שנות השישים של המאה העשרים העיירה הייתה לעיר ושמה הוסב לשם "ראשידייה".

¹⁹ בצורות המוצעות כאן בסוגריים מובאות הצורות כהופעתן בציטטה שהובאה מפיו של מוסטאפה.

²⁰ ראו מה שנאמר על הביטוי הזה ועל דומיו אצל בראש תשנ"ט: 158, 20§.

²¹ (א) כבר ציינתי לעיל שכתבתי את הפועל בסמ"ך במקום בשי"ן. (ב) מעניין ששמעתי את הפועל הזה משמש בפי ערבים לציון 'קיום יחסי מין', שבו השתמשו יהודים כתרגום של הפועל *עמל/mal* ששימש בהוראה זו.

את הצירוף "שלושת השבועות" הנוהג בארץ בפי יוצאי אירופה לתקופה שבין שבעה-עשר בתמוז לתשעה באב במקום הצירוף "בין המצרים" שנהג במגרב.¹¹ יכול אני להוסיף כהנה וכהנה דוגמות ליסודות עתיקים מימי הביניים היינו מסוף האלף הראשון, או מתקופה יותר מאוחרת לפני מאות בשנים וגם מהמאה העשרים ובמיוחד מאז קום המדינה, אך אני מסתפק במה שהבאתי. הצד השווה לכל התקופות הוא שאין מגע ישיר בין הדיבור בערבית לדיבור בעברית, אלא מדובר בשאיבה חלקית מטקסטים כתובים או מדרשות של חכמים ששילבו יסודות אלו בדרשותיהם או שיצרו צירופים חדשים בעצמם. ובדורות האחרונים צצו ונוספו יסודות לרכיב העברי בערבית היהודית בהשפעה מועטה של דוברי העברית בארץ.

ב. השפעת העברית על הערבית המוסלמית

12. אין להתעלם מהשפעה קלה של העברית על הערבית המוסלמית. קשרי יום יום בענייני מסחר ועבודה הובילו לחדירה של מילים מהרכיב העברי בערבית היהודית לערבית המוסלמית. פעמים שהיסודות שנשאלו לערבית המוסלמית לא רק נשתרשו בה אלא קיבלו משמעות חדשה. אדגים את זה בשתיים מהמילים שהובאו במילון קולין 1992-1996.¹³

13. הובא שם השם "טרפה" (*trefa*),¹² והוצעו לו שתי הגדרות: הגדרה א: 'בהמה שאינה כשרה למאכל'. ההוראה הזאת הודגמה בפסוקית **לבגרא כרז'ת טרפה**.¹³ מובאת שם גם החלופה **לבגרא תטרפת**.¹⁴ בצורת פועל במקום שם העצם **טרפה**. הגדרה ב: 'כל דבר או פעולה ללא תועלת או רווח', כגון **אלקאצ'ייא כרז'ת טרפה** שמשמעותו 'העניין יצא טרפה' כלומר 'העניין הוחמץ'. אמור מעתה: ההוראה הראשונה מתייחסת לעולם היהודי, וההוראה השנייה מעידה שהערבית המוסלמית העבירה את השימוש במילה לתחום הכללי.

14. ועוד דוגמה ממילון קולין: הובא שם גם השם "חמץ" (*hames*).¹⁵ אף השם הזה הוצעו לו שתי הגדרות. אך כאן הובאה תחילה ההוראה המושאלת של השם. הגדרה א: 'אסור' (לפי חוקת משה [כלומר התורה]¹⁶), כלומר 'אסור באופן מוחלט', 'דבר או פעולה שהדת היהודית אוסרת ליהודים'. הוא מביא משפט לדוגמה מהעולם המוסלמי: **חמץ עלייא נשרב א(ל)שראב (= אסור לי לשתות יין)**. ברור שמשפט כזה מתאים לדובר מוסלמי. הגדרה ב: באחרונה מובאת ההוראה 'לחם שאינו מצה (אסור בפסח)'.¹⁷

15. להרחבת התמונה אספר כי בהיותי במרוקו בשנת 2018 בראשידייה¹⁷ דיברתי עם ערבי בן כחמישים. בשיחתי איתו הוא אמר: **ענדנא האד לפלמא חמץ, ענד ליהוד הייא אלכובז לי מא יתפלס פביסה נתאעכום, עלא סבת לי כמר, ובלערבייא נתאענא**

¹² קולין (1992-1996): V, 1169. תעתיק המילה המובא כאן שונה במקצת מהתעתיק שהובא אצל קולין.

¹³ בדיון ב-13§-17§. כאן פישטתי את הדוגמות ממילון קולין (1992-1996) ומדיבורם של שני מוסלמים בהביאי אותם בכתב עברי.

¹⁴ מוצעת שם רק צורת הפועל, אך ברור שהכוונה לביטוי בשלמותו הכולל את הנושא לבגרא.

¹⁵ קולין (1992-1996): II, 375. אף כאן תעתיק המילה המוצג כאן שונה במקצת מהתעתיק שהביא קולין.

¹⁶ המובא בין הסוגריים המרובעים הוא תוספת שלי.

¹⁷ ראה את ההערה שאחרי זו.

במזרח – בסוריה ובתימן ובכל ארצות צפון אפריקה – מחזקת את הסברה שהשימוש בהוראה זו צמח באלף הראשון במזרח ומשם נתגלגל לכל הפזורה במזרח ובמערב.²

8. לא מן הנמנע שיסודות אחרים נכנסו לערבית היהודית במערב כבר לפני מאות בשנים. לפי דעתי לפני המאה החמש-עשרה, למשל: 'גשם חזק' כונה במערב בפי יהודים בשם "מבול" (בראשית ו, יז ועוד) או בצירוף "ארובות השמים נפתחו" (שם ז, יא).⁴ לפי ששני היסודות האלה מתועדים בערבית היהודית בכל ארצות צפון אפריקה, מותרים אנחנו להניח שמדובר ביסודות שחדרו ללהגים המדוברים לפני מאות בשנים, לפי דעתי לפני המאה החמש-עשרה. הם מושרשים בפי בני קהילות התושבים שחיו שם לפני בוא מגורשי ספרד. בשיחה עם חכם מהעיר דבדו במזרח מרוקו הוא אמר לי: "האם אתה יודע שבספר תרגמנו את השם מבול בשם הערבי **טופאן**, אבל לא קראנו לגשם חזק בשם הזה אלא בשם מבול,⁵ ואיני יודע כמה אנשים הכירו את המילה טופאן".

9. תיעדתי מפי חכמים וידענים בלא מעט קהילות במרוקו וגם באלג'יריה את ביטוי הגנאי "גוף נגוף", שהוא בעצם קללה שהוטחה באנשים נחותים ורעים.⁶ הביטוי לקוח מהפיוט "כתר מלכות" לרבי שלמה אבן גבירול, שהוכנס למחזור יום הכיפורים: "וְלֵב טָמֵא, אוֹבֵד וְנִדְמָה, וְגוֹף נְגוֹף מְלֵא אֶסְפָּסוֹף יוֹסִיף וְלֹא יִסּוֹף".⁷ ויש שיצרו חכמי המקום ביטויים כאלה בעצמם, כגון "אין אמונה בגוי אפילו ארבעים שנה בקבר",⁸ ששימש ברוב הקהילות במרוקו. והוא הדין ליסודות רבים בלשונות הסתרים.⁹

10. אפילו בשני הדורות האחרונים נכנסו יסודות מהעברית המדוברת בארץ לערבית היהודית במרוקו. המגע עם הארץ בשל בני משפחה שעלו לארץ ובשל ריבוי השליחים מהארץ וכן קשרים מגוונים עם הארץ יצרו מגע בין העברית החדשה המדוברת בארץ לערבית היהודית במרוקו. היהודים שם דוברי הערבית מאחלים כיום "חג שְׁמֵחַ" במקום מילי האיחול "מוֹעֵד טוֹב" שנהגו שם במשך דורות. כצפוי, שמעתי מנשים את ההגייה חג שְׁמֵיחַ (*hag samiyah*), ושמעתי גם את ההגייה כג שְׁמֵאֵךְ (*xag same'ax*). גם מילות האיחול "שְׁנֵה טוֹבָה" המירו בפי ידענים את מילי האיחול "תִּזְכְּנוּ לְשָׁנִים רַבּוֹת", ובפי נשים רבות המירו את נוסח האיחול בערבית **עקבאל עאם אכור** (= שנזכה לשנה הבאה).¹⁰ במחצית השנייה של המאה העשרים קוראים לארץ ישראל ולמדינת ישראל "לארץ"/*l-erets*¹¹ במקום "ארץ ישראל" או ליתר דיוק במקום השם "ירושלים", ששימש לא רק בפי השכבות העממיות אלא בפי כול כמעט ככינוי לארץ ישראל. ושמעתי מכמה ידענים בדיבורם הערבי

² ראו בראש תשנ"ט: 170, §33; 172, §36; 225–226, §37 ובמקומות נוספים לפי המפתח.

³ השם מופיע שם בה' הידיעה: המבול.

⁴ בנוסח המסורה: "וְנִדְמָה הַשְּׁמֵיחַ נִפְתָּחוּ".

⁵ בפי נשים ובפי גברים שלא ידעו קרוא, השם היה נהגה *nbbul* או *nəbbul*, ב-[n] במקום [m], והתנועה [a] נשמטה או נחטפה (ראו בראש תשנ"ו: 152, §9 והערה 22).

⁶ ראו שם: 154, §14.

⁷ זה הבית האחרון בפסקה הפותחת במילים "אלהי בושתי ונכלמתי לעמוד לפניך".

⁸ הביטוי הזה מופיע גם בנוסחאות שונות מעט, כגון "לא אמונה בגוי אפילו בקבר ארבעים שנה". הביטוי הזה מצוי גם בקרב דוברי הספרדית היהודית.

⁹ ראו למשל בראש תשנ"ט: 161–162, §3, וכן הנשקה תשס"ז: 155–156.

¹⁰ זה אינו תרגום מילולי.

¹¹ ושמעתי גם ההגייה *l-irīs*.

אפשר לדבר על מגע חלקי. תהליך כזה אירע לדוברי יידיש כשעברו לדבר ולכתוב עברית: הם העבירו לעברית, בלי משים, מבנים מן היידיש, כגון 'נעשה לי חושך בעיניים' שהוא תרגום של הביטוי ביידיש "ס'איז מיר געוורן פ'נסטער אין די אויגן"; או התשובה 'מושכים' במענה לשאלה "מה שלומך?" שאינה אלא התרגום של "שלעפט". ויש שעונים ביידיש "מע שלעפט זיך" (מע שלעפטצאך) – תשובה שהיא ליתר דיוק 'נגררים', 'נמשכים'. ויש ביטויים של אנשים של כל ימות השנה, כגון ציון הזמן בהיגד "השעה חצי ארבע" המתורגם מיידיש "הלב פיר א זייגער" המכוון לציין ש'השעה שלוש וחצי'. כידוע העברית החדשה הכללית, אני מדגיש העברית הכללית המוכרת, הייתה שופעת ועודנה שופעת השפעות שדוברי יידיש העניקו לה בכתב ובעל פה.

4. בעיון הזה אני מבקש לבחון את תוצאות המגע החלקי והגבולי בין העברית לערבית בצפון אפריקה. אדייק ואומר שבדברי על הערבית שם אני מתכוון בעיקר לערבית היהודית שם, אבל איני מסיע את דעתי מהערבית המוסלמית. לצורך הדיון צמצמתי את הבדיקה וגם הרחבתי אותה. צמצמתי את הבדיקה בעיקר למרוקו (אבל לא רק למרוקו), ובעיון במגע בין העברית לערבית במרוקו הרחבתי את העיון לדיון נרחב בארבעה תחומי משנה. מטבע הדברים כאשר יש מגע בין לשונות, ומגע מצומצם בכלל זה, יש לבחון את ההשפעה של כל אחת מהלשונות על הלשון האחרת.

5. אציין שהבדיקה של המגע בין הערבית היהודית לעברית נוגעת לשתי תקופות עיקריות – (א) ימי הביניים, ומדובר בכמה תקופות משנה בימי הביניים; (ב) המאות התשע-עשרה והעשרים. והיא נוגעת לשני מרחבים ברורים – (א) מרוקו, (ב) ישראל. בחקירת העליתי נתונים רבים ולא אוכל להדגים אלא מעט מהם. אבוא עכשיו לפרט את דבריי ולפרשם.

ארבעה תחומי מגע

א. השפעת העברית על הערבית היהודית

6. השפעת העברית על הערבית היהודית במגרב ניכרת היטב בנוכחות של העברית ברכיב העברי שבה. מאז ימי הביניים ועד הדור האחרון חדרו לערבית שבפי היהודים אלפי יסודות עבריים. החכמים והמשכילים דוברי הערבית היה להם מגע של קיימה עם העברית הכתובה ובמיוחד עם המקורות המשמשים בעבודת הקודש (ספרי מקרא ובראשם התורה וגם סידור התפילה והמחזוריים למועדים). גם לציבור הגברים הכללי, כדי לא לומר הדיוטות, היה מגע עם החומש, עם ההפטרות והמגילות ועם הסידור והמחזוריים. מחיבורים אלו הגיעו יסודות עבריים אל הערבית, ורבים מהם נשתנתה הוראתם. וכידוע יש יסודות עבריים שנוצרו בערבית היהודית קמה שיש ברוב לשונות היהודים אם לא בכולן.

7. יש יסוד סביר להניח שכבר בימי הביניים, לא מן הנמנע שכבר במאות האחרונות לאלף הראשון, נכנסו לערבית במגרב (לא רק במרוקו אלא בכל ארצות צפון אפריקה) מילים וביטויים עבריים. למשל הצירוף "הם המְדַבְּרִים" (שמות ו, כו) הופקע ממשמעותו הרגילה וקיבל את ההוראה 'הכסף הוא המדבר' והוא 'יענה את הכול'. העובדה שהביטוי שימש גם

השפעה הדדית של לשונות במגע: העברית והערבית היהודית בצפון אפריקה¹

משה בריאשר

הערות מבוא

1. את העיון הזה אני פותח בהבעת תמיהה, ושמא נכון יותר לומר בתמיהה גדולה. וזה דבר התמיהה: איך אפשר לדבר על הערבית היהודית בצפון אפריקה ועל העברית שם כעל לשונות במגע?! הלוא העברית לא הייתה לשון חיה בפיהם של דוברי הערבית ההיא. וברור שדבר זה תקף באשר לכל לשונות היהודים: כל דוברי לשון יהודית באשר הם לא דיברו עברית.

2. עם זאת אין לשלול קיום מגע חלקי או גבולי בין לשונות החברה היהודית לנוכחות של העברית בחברה הזאת. ברור כי נכון לדבר על הנוכחות של העברית ברוב לשונות היהודים, משום שהעברית הייתה לשון התרבות של השכבה המשכילה והייתה לשון התפילה של המוני בית ישראל. גם לימוד התורה ולימוד של טקסטים עבריים אחרים באמצעות הלשונות שבהן דיברו היהודים קיים מפגש ומגע מתמיד בין העברית ללשונות היהודים. אכן אין לדבר על מגע ישיר בדיבור בשתי הלשונות, אבל יש ביניהן נקודות מפגש. פעמים המפגשים האלה מצומצמים למדי ופעמים הם מצומצמים פחות. את תוצאות המפגשים האלה יש לבחון ולתאר בדקדקנות.

3. ואף זאת, כאשר מדברים על מעבר של דוברים מלשון אחת ללשון אחרת ודוברי הלשון האחרת משקעים יסודות מלשונם המקורית בלשונם החדשה, בדיבורם ובכתיבתם,

¹ המאמר הזה מציע נוסח מלא של הרצאת הפתיחה שנשאתי בכינוס על "לשונות היהודים: מגע בין לשונות", שארגנו פרופ' יהודית הנשקה כשהייתה באוניברסיטת חיפה ופרופ' לילי קאהן מיוניברסיטי קולג' בלונדון, שהתקיים בזום בי"ז-ט"ו באב תשפ"א (26-28 ביולי 2021). הוא מוגש בזה כמנחת ידידות לחוקרה הגדול של הספרדית היהודית ידידי דוד בונים.



HEBREW SECTION



תוכן החלק העברי

ט	משה בראש השפעה הדדית של לשונות במגע: העברית והערבית היהודית בצפון אפריקה
כג	ירון בן-נאה על קופת עזרה בצרות באדיקנה העות'מאנית המאוחרת
לט	יעקב בן-טולילה על כן קראו שמה 'חכמיה'
מז	דב הכהן לחקר הדפוס העברי בסלוניקי: כרוניקה לא ידועה על אודות בית הדפוס בייזנס
פה	אהרן ממן התגוננות הערבית היהודית לאור מגעיה עם לשונות אחרות
צה	משה טאובה כליינ"א ושריינ"א – התנין ובתולת הים: על מקורם וגורלם של לעזים אחדים מהספר "צל עולם" המובאים אצל מנדלי ב"מסעות בנימין השלישי"



קטיה שמיד
אורה (רודריג) שורצולד
ועפרה תירוש-בקר
עורכות

מזמור לדוד: מחקרים בלשונות היהודים

CONSEJO SUPERIOR DE INVESTIGACIONES CIENTÍFICAS
Madrid, 2023

PUBLICACIONES DE ESTUDIOS SEFARDÍES

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18. Elena ROMERO y José Manuel GONZÁLEZ BERNAL, *Me'am lo'ež Cohélet. Comentario sefardí al libro bíblico de Eclesiastés del rabino Salomón Hakohén*, 2020.

Mizmor Le-David: Studies in Jewish Languages brings together twenty-six essays by leading scholars in Jewish and Hispanic studies from the most prestigious universities and research centers of Israel, Europe and the United States. Their contributions focus on the languages, literatures, cultures, and history of the major ethnic sub-communities of the Jewish people in their rich diversity. Topics in the Hebrew language and Jewish Diaspora languages, such as Jewish Aramaic, Judezmo/Judeo-Spanish, Haketia, Yiddish, Judeo-Arabic and Judeo-Italian, receive detailed treatment.

Fourteen of the studies are in English and cover a wide variety of linguistic topics, such as the synchrony and diachrony of Judeo-Spanish from the sixteenth through twenty-first centuries, the Hebrew and Aramaic component in Jewish Languages, and the influence of Biblical Hebrew on Palestinian Amoraic Hebrew. Literary studies examine numerous genres cultivated by Jewish language speakers: proverbs and sayings, rabbinical writing, journalism, the memoir, historical writing, liturgical composition and music, ballads, travelogues, and contemporary drama. Most of the essays are devoted to Judeo-Spanish and its literature, but other Jewish languages, spoken in diverse Jewish communities throughout the vast Sephardic diaspora (Salonika, Vienna, Belgrade, Tetuan, and others) are also represented.

The book includes six contributions in Spanish by distinguished experts in Sephardic studies, who offer linguistic analyses of Judeo-Spanish verbal periphrasis and adverbial forms, literary studies of Sephardic Purim coplas of historical-biblical content, Judeo-Spanish chronicles about the city of Constantinople, a chronical from a Spanish Africanist review that presents us with an account of the languages and schools of the Sephardim of Morocco, a controversial polemic on the differences between Sephardim and Ashkenazim as waged on the pages of Ladino and Yiddish newspapers, and a depiction of Sephardic translators based on a close analysis of introductory paratexts in Ladino books from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Six of the contributions are in Hebrew. Written by some of Israel's leading Jewish language specialists, several of them assume a comparative, Jewish intralinguistic approach, examining the influence of languages in contact in the case of Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic in North Africa. Other studies focus on the use of the linguonym «Haketia» to denote the language of the Sephardim in Morocco; the types of variation encountered in Judeo-Arabic; foreign words appearing in two books composed in Hebrew and Yiddish; the Ladino used in a statute of a Jewish association in mid-nineteenth-century Edirne; and the importance of the Jewish printing houses in Salonika.

The contributions are brought together to honor Professor David M. Bunis of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, a leading, world-renowned scholar of Judezmo/Ladino, Yiddish and other Jewish languages, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday.

