



The Sephardic Scholar

Series 3
1977—1978

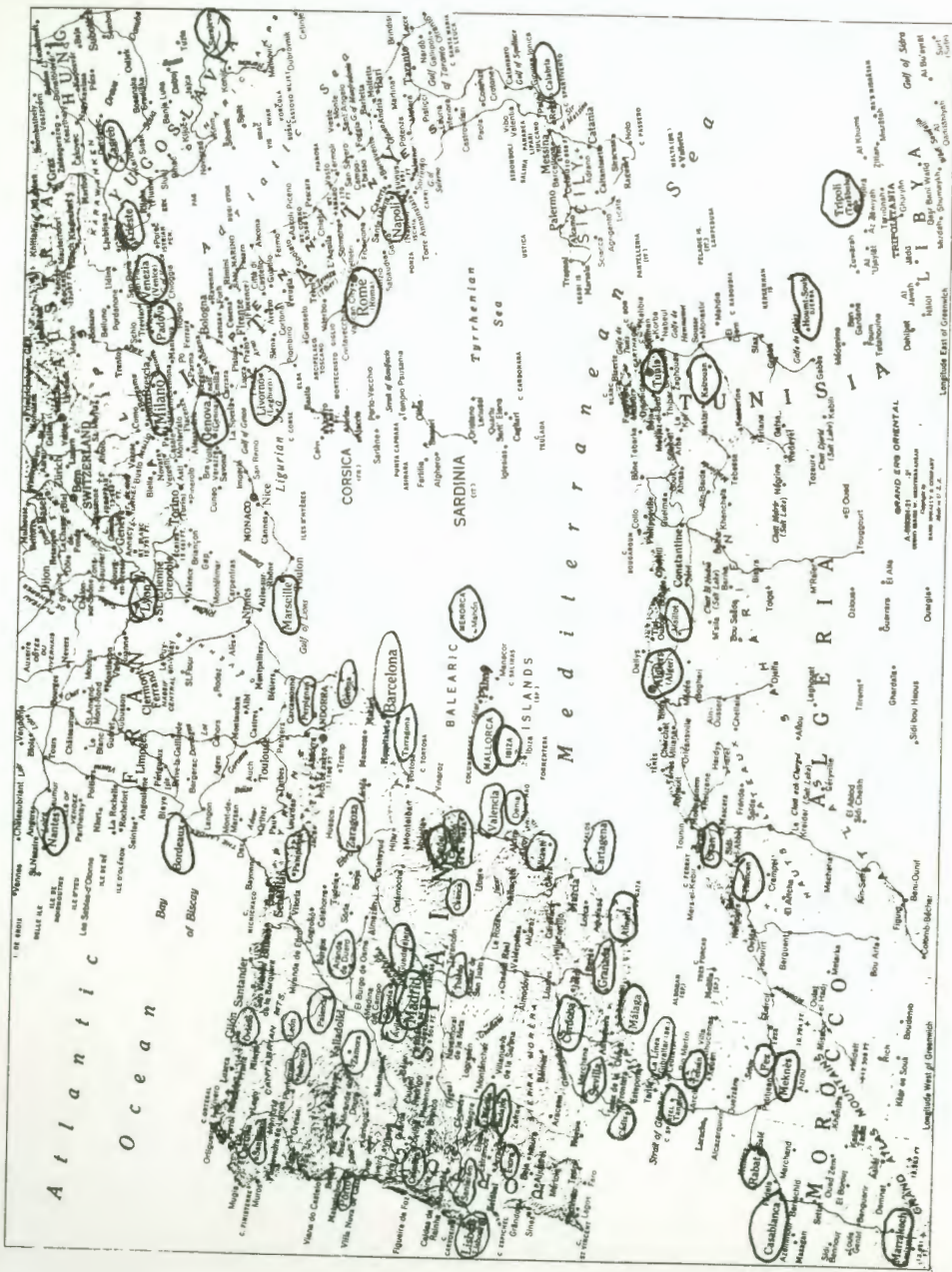
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RACHEL DALVEN

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Sephardic Scholar



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A publication dedicated to the advancement of the Sephardic heritage, and the recognition of its literature, customs and culture as it has been experienced in all lands of the Diaspora.

INTRODUCTION

The Sephardic Scholar is a Journal devoted exclusively to shedding light on the art, music, literature, language, history, religious customs and folklore of the Sephardim.

The question arises: how broadly has the term **Sephardim** been interpreted in the articles which appear in **The Sephardic Scholar**? As we members of the **American Society of Sephardic Scholars** apply the term **Sephardim**, it embraces all non-Yiddish speaking peoples whose pronunciation of Hebrew is Sephardic, whose group languages may vary widely (Judeo-Greek, Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Italian, Judeo-Persian, etc.), but whose liturgy and religious customs follow, in the main, the tradition of the Sephardim, even though they may not be or ever have been directly related by ancestry to the Iberian Peninsula. Thus, beside the scholarly articles representing aspects of the culture of the Spanish-speaking Jews of the Iberian Peninsula, we were fortunate to receive articles written by scholars innately and deeply immersed in studies representing the cultural identity of Sephardic communities in Greece, Libya, Syria, Turkey.

It is the sincere hope of the **American Society of Sephardic Studies** that some phase of the culture of other Sephardic communities scattered throughout the Diaspora, even as far as Cochin, India, will be represented in the pages of future issues of **The Sephardic Scholar**. Deeper knowledge and awareness of the Sephardic cultural experience in all parts of the world, will serve not only to bring us close to each other as Sephardim, but unite us more effectively as Jews.

Rachel Dalven
Editor-in-Chief

THE NAMES OF THE JANNINA JEWS

by Rachel Dalven

Probably nothing in diaspora history offers a more fascinating source of information on the origin, occupation, physical characteristics and character traits of the Jew than his given name, his surname and the nickname he is given by his coreligionists. Most varied and probably most interesting of all are the nicknames, which makes it impossible to give more than a sampling of these in any community.

Given Names

The original Greek-speaking Jews of Jannina, like the Sephardim, and unlike the Ashkenazim, name their children after living ancestors as well as those deceased. As one of my informants originating from Jannina explained, the reason for this practice is to make certain that the names of their parents and grandparents will be perpetuated. Inasmuch as longevity was not uncommon in Jannina, it was possible for a son and daughter to have passed the age when they would or could have children after the death of their parents. Thus they would no longer have the opportunity to perpetuate the names of their parents.¹

As is customary among orthodox Jews everywhere, the order of naming offspring generally follows the same pattern for both the girl and boy. The first born son is named after his paternal grandfather, the second son becomes the namesake of his maternal grandfather. The next son born is named after the paternal uncle, the one following him is named after the maternal uncle. The same order is followed for girls favoring the father's mother for the naming of the first born daughter.

However, in some instances, Hebrew given names are not necessarily those of relatives living or deceased. As Moisis points out, a son born during the month of Nisan (March-April), the month of miracles, is often named Nissim which is the plural of *nes* meaning

miracle. If he is born during Purim, he is generally given the name Mordechai; if a girl is born during this holiday, she is named Esther. The name Menachem (one who consoles) is often given to a son born during the first nine days of the Hebrew month of Av (July-August) to commemorate the period of mourning for the second destruction of the Temple of Solomon. During that period the passage read in the synagogue is from the prophet Isaiah (chapter 40): "Nahamou, nahamou ami" meaning "comfort ye, comfort ye my people." When the birth of a son follows another happy event which had occurred in the family, he may be given the name Simantov, meaning the lucky one. If it is a girl she is called Matzeltov (lucky one).

In some cases where a son has survived after a serious illness, the name which had been given to him at the circumcision ceremony is changed to Hayyim (Life) or Raphael (one who has been cured by God).² This is done by offering a special prayer before ten people to break the original verdict of the divine tribunal to end the life of the man. The man who has recovered is now considered to be another man.³

In cases where a married woman who has been barren for years, finally gives birth to a son, the newborn baby is named Rachamim (also shortened in Jannina to Mini), meaning a son born of God's compassion. If it happens that a woman gives birth to a son on Lag be'Omer (falling between May eleventh to June eighth), after many years of marriage, she "vows" to name her son Simeon, after Simeon ben Yohai, famous halakhist of the second century, "a man in whose favor miracles often were wrought."⁴

But whether the male given names perpetuate the names of forbears deceased or living, or they celebrate events or holidays, it is the tradition of all Jannina Jews to give their sons Hebrew names either biblical or historical. This is so, because the son is named officially at the ceremony of circumcision. Another reason is that the parents keep in mind that one day their sons will be called to the *teva* (the reader's desk) for Torah reading.

I found only three Greek male names listed in Matsa's compilation of Jannina names. Zoia, meaning Hayyim (Life), Rizos, derived from the Greek verb *rizono* (to become rooted or fixed), and Antzelos (Anghelos)⁵ reminding us of the Hebrew Malach. What is unusual about these Greek names is that when these men were called to read the Sefer, they were addressed by their Greek names.

The name Shemo, common in the province of Epirus and Corfu as far back as 1585, has an Italian ending, like the name Beso. It is in-

teresting to note that the Jannina rabbis of old did not associate this name with Shemuel.⁶

The given name of a man I knew in Jannina was Sabbetai, but he was always addressed as Hayirli, a Turkish word meaning good luck. Hayirli was his pet name because he was an only son. In time, however, he came to be identified as Hayirli rather than by the Hebrew name given to him at birth.

What is of particular interest about the male Hebrew names in Jannina, is that they are often Hellenized to fit the spoken idiom. Sometimes these Hellenized names differ so radically from the original Hebrew name that it is difficult to trace them to their source. It is possible that some of the differences found in the spelling and pronunciation of the Hellenized names may have been influenced by the variations commonly heard in the northern speech of Epirus. For example, Aarón becomes Arón, Aronákis, Arós, Harós, Nákias. Avraám is transformed to Avram, Avramákis, Avramís, Avramíkos, Avramóulis, Avramóulias, or the diminutives of this name: Mouúlis, Mouúlias, Míkos, Vámos, Mátch, the last of which is the shortened form of Avramátch, which is the way Avramákis is pronounced in Jannina.⁷ The endings *ákis*, *átch*, *óulis* and *óulias* are added as terms of endearment.

Behór, a Hebrew title given to indicate a first born son, is sometimes adopted as a given name and becomes Behoráki, Hór, Behoratchoúli. The name Behorópoulos, with the final Greek ending *poulos*, meaning the son of, was adopted in Jannina as a surname. In those cases where the title Behór is kept "hidden" the boy is known by the name given to him at the circumcision ceremony. However, it must be noted that there is a special responsibility that all Behorím must assume. On the day before Passover, all first born sons are obliged to fast in commemoration of the day in the time of Pharaoh when the Egyptian first born sons were killed while the Jewish first born sons (Behorím) were spared.⁸

In Jannina David becomes Dav'djón, Djón, Davis, Dávos, Davós, Davópoulos, Davoúlias, Tchón, Tchónias. Gavriél also becomes Gavriíl, Gavrél and Gavrilídes, which is adopted as a surname, although the Greek ending *idis* means the son of Gavriél.

My mother always pronounced my father's name which was Israel, as Yisráel or Yistrél; however, in Jannina Israel is also known as Yisraél, Télkos and Télia. My mother addressed her older brother as Jeoudá. When she spoke of him to others it was Jeoudás, but in Jannina, Jeoudá was also known as Jeoudákis, Jeoudoúlis, Jioudás, Jioúls, Gioúlis, Gioúlias. Yesoulá, unknown to the Ashkenazim, and

not included in the Standard Hebrew Dictionary, is a common name in Jannina. It may be related to the name Yehoshua. In Jannina Yesoulá becomes Youslás, Lás, Yousoúl's, Yousioúl's, Giousoúl's. My mother always addressed a younger brother of mine, named after my maternal grandfather, as Youslá. When she spoke of him to others, she referred to him as Youslás. None of us at home ever used the other variations heard in Jannina.

Another interesting bit of information offered by a native of Jannina is that during the years of the Turkish occupation of that city, some boys whose given name was Isaac were called Biro. Bir is an Albanian word meaning son; the Greek Jews added the o.⁹

Some male Hebrew given names of Jannina natives have been modernized. Avraám is now called Albértos. Hayyim has been changed to Victor. Yeshouáh has been changed to Salvator. Yiakóv is now Jack. Jeoudá is now known as Leon.

Female Given Names

The situation in the case of female given names is not as strictly traditional. A good many Jannina girls are still given Hebrew first names. Most familiar are Rachel, Esther, Sara, Hannah, Simcha, Hava (also Havoúla), Rifká, Tová. And like the boys' given names, some of these have also been Hellenized to fit the spoken idiom. My mother whose name was Esther, was never addressed by that name by her sisters or brothers. As I recall they generally called her Stér (the most affectionate), Steroúla or Estír. My maternal aunts, of whom there were six, were known to us children by one or two variations at most, depending on the context of my mother's reference to their names. She spoke of her sister Dina as D'noúla; another sister as Malkoúla, although in Jannina girls having the same name were also called Malká, Koúla, and Málko; her sister Simchá was Símhóu; another sister was Matzálo, though others in Jannina with the same name were also called Matzaltóv, Mazaltó and Tzoúla. My mother usually spoke of a younger sister as Hanoúla, although in Jannina she was also known as Hánnah, Hanésio, Hána, Anna, Annéta. It was the same with another sister whom my mother generally called Réfkou or Refkoúla, but in Jannina her sister was also known as Revékka, Rifka and Rívka. My own name Rachel was known both in Jannina and at home as Rahél, Rahíl and Rahelína, the feminine *ina* added as a term of endearment. My sister whose given name was Simchá is better known as Símhóu and Símhó, although a paternal aunt with the same name was known to us only as Aunt Simhoúla.

But not all Jannina girls were given Biblical names. Some of

them had Greek names. As Matsa points out, "in olden times, rabbis approved of Greek names for girls, providing these were translations of biblical or historical names. No Christian or Turkish names were sanctioned."¹⁰ Nevertheless, one girl's given name in his compilation is the Turkish Sultana, but this appears to be an exception.¹¹

In actuality, some of the Greek names were literal translations from the Hebrew: Matzaltóv, Matzálo, Mazaltó, Tzoúla, became Greek Eftychía, Efthymía and Kalomoira, all of which mean good luck. But we also encounter some old Greek names commonly used in the Byzantine Empire. Examples of these are Archónto (notable), Archontopoúla (daughter of a distinguished family); Chrysoúla (Goldie); Polychróno (long life). Kyrá (lady); Kaloríni (good peace); Miliá (apple tree) are others. Rizo, is the feminine counterpart of Rízos explained above; Stámo, from the verb *stamató* meaning to stop; and Pérna, meaning *pass over*, are Greek names which were created to change an existing situation. In the case of Stámo, it appears that her mother hoped that with the birth of this baby girl, she would stop giving birth to daughters and start giving birth to sons. Similarly, the name Pérna, was given to a baby girl with the hope that this daughter would help the mother to "pass over" giving birth to girls and start giving birth to boys.¹²

Also heard in Jannina are a number of girls' names which may be either of Spanish or Italian origin. Clára, Flóra, Fortúna, Falcóna, Fína, Grátsia, Rozína or Róza are both Spanish and Italian. Bímbo, (child), Rigína (queen) and Tzóia (from Gioia meaning joy), are Italian names. Speránza (hope), Delícia (delight), and Diamánta (diamond) are of Spanish origin. We know that there were Jews settled in Jannina who had emigrated to that city from southern Italy. We also know that although most of the Spanish Sephardim exiled from Spain settled permanently in Salonika and other Macedonian cities, a few did remain in Jannina and assimilated with the Greek-speaking Jews of that city; however, they continued to give their children Spanish or Italian names, thus offering us a clue as to their origin.

In the register of the municipality of Jannina, recorded after the Greek liberation, Matsa discovered some modern names which are not all Greek names. Examples of these are: Alíki, Elda, Joúli, Jean-néte, Jerusalím, Nélly, Leontína, Sándra, Sýlvia, Stélla, Mathíldi, Yiaphoúla.¹³ Rebecca has now become Erriétta; Esther has become Roúla (from Estheroúla); the Hebrew Léah is now Louísa; Míriam is now Máry, Mirétta or Mirándá.¹⁴

Married women were generally addressed by the husband's first

name with an added feminine ending. My mother was known as Yistréline, which was the dialectal pronunciation of my father's name Israel with the feminine ending *ina*. She spoke of the wife of Behór as Behóra or Behórova. She addressed as Bélova a neighbor whose husband's first name was Bélo. In these cases the *a* or *ova* are feminine endings added to their husbands' given names. The wife of Dr. Confina, the last president of the Jewish Council before the Holocaust was called Konfínova. In her case the feminine ending *ova* was added to their surname instead of the more customary given name of the spouse, probably to show her greater respect.

Surnames

The Jannina Jews had no surnames except for Cohen and Levy, identified with their Hebrew tradition. Thus, the name Cohen was originally the title given to the priests who were descendents of Aaron. In like fashion, Levi who was the son of Jacob, came to be used as a title to identify the "Levites" who assisted the Kohanim in the temple.¹⁵ As surnames, Jannina offspring were given the first name of the grandparent and the patronymic, which was the surname of the father. For example, a man whose surname was Hayyim named his son Isaac, after the child's paternal grandfather; the son's full name was thus Isaac ben Hayyim. If Hayyim had a daughter, whom he named Hannah, she would be known as Hannah bath Hayyim. When Isaac married and had a son, he named him after his father, and the son's name became Hayyim ben Isaac.¹⁶

There are several Jannina natives who have the same first and last names stemming from this tradition: Joseph Josephs, Isaac Isaacs, Ezra Ezra, David David. In some cases the ben or bar has been retained and added to the proper name; i. e. Benezra, Benzion, etc. When a father whose first name was Avraam died, leaving his wife pregnant, the son born posthumously was given the deceased father's first name as a surname as well as his first name. He could then be named Avraám bar Avraám.¹⁷

There were a number of Hebrew teachers in Jannina who attended to the spiritual needs of the community, when the city boasted of a Jewish population of 5000 or more, and had two large active synagogues and two smaller family synagogues. All these Hebrew teachers were addressed by the title of Aham, which is the way the Jannina Jews pronounce Hakham; very possibly the pronunciation Aham is the result of the Sephardic pronunciation which drops the *h* and the Greek where the rough breathing has been dropped. Well-known in Jannina until the time of the Holocaust

were Aham Avraám, Aham Yesoulá, Aham Yitsháq, Aham Michaél, Aham Dávos and others. These given names were used as their surnames. They were never known by any other name.

A statistical count from official listings found in the ledger of the Kahal Kadosh Yashan (Old Synagogue), for the years 1890-1910, shows no nicknames. However, two thirds of the community already had surnames, while the other third had patronymics which could be traced as far back as the sixteenth century.¹⁸ Surnames not derived from patronymics reveal a patchwork pattern of origins, both from other lands and other parts of Greece, although we cannot always trace the name to the exact city of origin.

Surnames Originating in Other Lands

A number of surnames in Jannina indicate Italian origin. Examples of these are: Arkátos, Bacólas, Bellélis (a name made famous by Lazarus Belleli (Menachem), Greek polyglot writer and philologist born in Corfu in 1862,¹⁹ Carráras, Cantós, Dóstis, Mátsas (a city in lower Italy), Kalamáras (an Italian place name). Kalónymos is also the name of a prominent family originally from Lucca, Italy, who took a leading part for many generations in the development of Jewish learning in Germany.²⁰ It is interesting to note that Benjamin of Tudela found a Rabbi Kalonymós (Hebrew pronunciation) at the head of the Jewish community in Narbonne, (in France) whom he describes as "the son of the great and illustrious Rabbi Todros of the seed of David, whose pedigree is established."²¹

More numerous perhaps are surnames of Spanish origin in Jannina. Albala (from the province of Coceres) probably comes from Albalag, with the *g* dropped. Isaac Albalag was a philosopher of the second half of the thirteenth century who probably lived in northern Spain or southern France.²² Alkalá (from Alcalá) is the Sephardic name of a prominent family of writers and translators living in Turkey in the latter part of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²³ According to Moisis, the name Battino is of Spanish origin and means an Ishmaelite.²⁴ Kamónto, another name of Spanish origin found in Jannina, Trikkala and Constantinople, recalls the renowned name Camondo, of a family of Turkish financiers and philanthropists of Spanish-Portuguese origin.²⁵ One of my informants originating from Constantinople, tells me that in the Galata section of the Turkish capital there is a place called "La Escalera de Camondo."²⁶

Other names of Spanish origin in Jannina are Confino, from the Spanish *con fino* meaning order; Nahmías, a well-known Spanish-

Jewish name which traces its origin to one of the most ancient and prominent families of Toledo,²⁷ Negrin, Saretas, Vide (life) Merkado (to pay ransom) Rousso (red). The name Sarfati (also Tsarfati), the Hebrew word meaning French, is identified with a Sephardi appointed in Jannina as director of the Alliance Israelite Universelle. Ashkenazi (Hebrew meaning German), was the name of another Sephardi who had settled in Jannina and assimilated with the Greek-speaking community.²⁸

Tepelenis, originated from Tepeleni in Albania. Politis, a name common among Greek Christians as well as the Jannina Jews, denotes that the forebears of the family either originated from Constantinople, or identified with that city through repeated visits for commercial reasons. Polis, which means city in Greek, was always used to identify Constantinople which was the *city par excellence*. Moisis relates the name Cabilli, well-known in Jannina, to Kabylia, a region in North Africa.²⁹

Surnames of Greek Origin

A man in Jannina was known by the name of Castorianós, because he was a native of Castória. Vrahorítis, a man still residing in Jannina, originally came to that city from the town of Agrínion, named Vrahóri at that time, a name possibly derived from Evraiohóri (a Jewish village). The name Kapsális, a Romaniot name, was made famous by several Jews originating in Crete. Eliezer Capsali was a Talmudist at Constantinople in the second half of the fifteenth century. Eljah b. Elkanah Capsali was a Turkish Talmudist and historian born at Candia about 1490; Elkanah b. David Capsali was a Turkish Talmudist and philanthropist of the second half of the fifteenth century.³⁰

A man who had visited the village of Katsanohorío came to be known as Katsanós. Malakákis was the name of a man who once visited the village of Malakási, near Jannina. Metsovítis who lived in Métsovo, came to Jannina only during the holidays; however, he belonged to the Jannina community because there were only two Jews living in Métsovo. A man named Kamáras was identified by the neighborhood in Jannina where he lived. Salaóras was known by the name of Salaóra, a village near Arta.

Surnames of Turkish Origin

Some surnames are derived from Turkish words although we do not know their origin. Hatzí, a Turkish word meaning pilgrim was adopted as a surname by both Jews and Christians who had made a

pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Hatzópoulos, with the Greek ending *poulos* meaning the son of, inherited the surname of a forebear who had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Hakím, another surname in Jannina, is the Turkish word for judge, magistrate or ruler. Kaplán, a Turkish word meaning tiger, is also a well-known Ashkenazi name.

Surnames of Hebrew Origin

A number of family names in Jannina are of Hebrew origin. According to Hartwig Hirschfield, the name Abdalá is the Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew Obadiah.³¹ It may also come from the word *havdalah* indicating the end of the Sabbath. Other familiar Hebrew surnames in Jannina are: Naphtali (a biblical name), Nahoum (full of comfort), Nissim (the plural of the Hebrew *nes* meaning miracle.), Matsil (to save), Sadok (from Zadok, of priestly descent known to have officiated in the Temple);³² Zakar (male); Goudelia from Gedaliah (meaning God is great), Yom'tov (holiday), Josephat from Jehosephat (meaning God will judge); Johanna, from Johannan (God has been gracious); Shíbbóleth or Shíbólías (stacks of wheat); Hasíd (the pious one); Hefétz (something desired) is also the name of a famous halakhist who lived toward the end of the tenth century.³³ Lel, another Hebrew name is the shortened form of Shemuel. Paritz is a Hebrew name with a number of meanings: squire, landowner; it also means violent, wild, cruel.

Nicknames

Despite the separate family names which predominated in the Jannina community, a good deal of confusion resulted from the similarity of Hebrew patronymics which were used legally as surnames. It became necessary to differentiate more distinctly between people, especially for legal purposes. As in other places, to meet this situation, the Jannina Jews invented nicknames or soubriquets, a tradition which is in practice in all of the province of Epirus. Not all nicknames became legal surnames for obvious reasons; however, in many cases the nicknames were pleasing enough to be adopted as legal surnames. For nicknames people resorted to three sources for clearer identification: occupations, physical characteristics and character traits.

Occupations

The Greek, Turkish or Hebrew nicknames of the Jannina Jews, stemming from occupations throw some light on the vocational composition of the community. A man named Konduratzis was a

shoemaker. *Kunduraci* is the Turkish word for shoemaker. Matsa's father was nicknamed *pramateftis*, a Greek word meaning tradesman. Another man named Matsa, unrelated to the other, was nicknamed *galatás* (one who sells milk), for he ran a dairy store. Both of these families kept the surname Matsa, but in the community they were more accurately identified by their occupation. The name Lagaris, which in Greek means a cleaner, goes back to the famous *lagarides* or dyers of Byzantine Greece. A man who made quilts was nicknamed *papomatás*, the Greek word for quilter. *Mayiás* must have had something to do with selling yeast; we use *mávia* to make dough rise. *Dragomános* is derived from the name of an ancestor who was probably a dragoman (*tercuman* in Turkish) or official interpreter in Turkish times. The family of *Kampanáris*, who adopted this as a surname, must have had something to do with bells. *Kampaná* in Greek is a large bell. One man was nicknamed *plátonas* because he ran a store located under a plantain tree. The name *Dalyan*, the surname of my family in Jannina (it was changed to *Dalven* in New York), is a Turkish word meaning fishnets or fishpond. My forebears may have had something to do with fishing, but *Dalian* was also the name of a river in Caria, an ancient district in southwest Asia Minor, bordering on the Aegean Sea.³⁴ This may have no bearing whatever to my name.

There are also some Hebrew nicknames derived from occupations, several of which have been adopted as surnames. *Moren* in Hebrew means "our teacher." *Samás* (sexton) and *Samasóulis* (little sexton) are self-explanatory. *Patish*, which was finally adopted as a surname, is the Hebrew word for hammer, although it is not known why this family was so nicknamed. It is interesting to note that when *Patish* was called to the *Sefer*, the rabbi who called him used the Hebrew name *Hefétz* which had been his surname.

A baker was nicknamed *baboker*, which in Hebrew means "in the morning." The story goes that he used to get up before dawn to bake *boubanatsa*, a cake made of cornmeal and honey, and generally eaten at breakfast. Although *baboker* sold black-eyed peas in the afternoon, it was his morning activity which impressed his coreligionists sufficiently to give him the appellation *baboker*. This never became a surname.

Physical Characteristics

Nicknames given because of some physical characteristic are more amusing than those derived from occupations. Most of these nicknames are Greek, since this was the maternal language of the

Jannina Jews. As I have stated, not all of these nicknames were adopted as surnames, but they remain vividly in the memory of the Jews originating from Jannina and now settled in New York. In some cases it is by the nickname that a coreligionist is remembered, and not recognized at all by his legal surname.

Best recalled among these nicknames denoting a physical characteristic are: *Arápis*, given to a man who was as dark as an Arab; *Galanós*, meaning blue-eyed, was the surname of my maternal grandmother's maiden name. *Gavomátas*, a word meaning blind, is a blend of Roumanian and Greek. *Kókkinos*, from the Greek meaning red, was adopted as a surname by an individual who was identified by his red hair. *Kókkinos* is also a very common name among the Greek Christians.

The man dubbed *Katsíkas*, from the Greek *katsíki* meaning goat, may have had a beard like that of a billy goat. *Phrýdis*, from the Greek *phrýdi* meaning eyebrow, was so nicknamed because of his bushy eyebrows. *Kútkhos*, from the Turkish *kucuk*, meaning small, must have been a very short man. *Kpaóúlias*, from the Greek *kapúlia*, meaning the hindquarters of a mule, was the nickname of the family of the poet Joseph Eliyia. It is no wonder that the poet preferred Eliyia as his legal name. A man who had a patch on his face was nicknamed *Mpaloménos* from the Greek word meaning patched. The nickname *Maraménos* was inherited because of some ancestor who may have appeared withered. *Sakátis*, a Turkish word meaning crippled, probably identified a person who may have been disabled in some way. A completely bald man was nicknamed *Gólios*, from the Greek word meaning a bird without wings. A mute was easily identified by the nickname *Vovós* which means mute in Greek.

There are a few Hebrew nicknames based on physical characteristics. *Gadól* was the name given to a man who was either tall or prominent. *Meerá*, from the Hebrew *mehera*, meaning fast, may have been given to a person who walked very fast.

Character Traits

But the most amusing of all nicknames, most of which are in Greek, are those which pertain to the character of the individual. *Anónios*, an alteration of the Greek word *Aónios*, meaning eternal, was the nickname given to a man who either boasted that he would live a very long life, or perhaps it applied to someone in his family who had outlived all others in the community. *Antrálas* was so nicknamed because he appeared giddy and distracted. *Bidhavás*, from the Turkish *bedavaci* (one who expects everything gratis) was

the name given to a man who always expected things either free of charge or ridiculously cheap. A man was dubbed Blétsas, a dialect word in Jannina, because he always kept his shirt open at the neck. The man known as Zárkos, must have appeared underdressed to his coreligionists. Zárkos in Greek means naked. Daimónios was so named because he was reputed to be clever.

A baker who once burned himself while baking sponge cake, a happening which became known in the community, was forever after known as Kaikas, from the Greek word *kaio* meaning to burn. Noikokiris, adopted as a surname, was reputed to be a good householder. Terlelides was a man who was considered to be slightly mad. Trelós in Greek means crazy, but in Jannina the r is often transposed with l in the spoken idiom. A man who had been captured by bandits and branded with a cross before he was released, was identified as Stavroménos, which means crucified in Greek. Kasidhas was the nickname given to a person who was either literally scurvy-headed or haughty and disdainful. Svólos, the Greek word meaning a clod or lump of earth, probably identified a stubborn fellow. Pitzirilo, adopted as a surname, is an Italian word meaning a little bit.

There are also Hebrew nicknames inspired by unusual character traits. A man who used to sell novelties was nicknamed Birour. Could it have been derived from the Hebrew *barur* meaning clear? We may be certain that the person nicknamed Gehenna was never called this name to his face. Hamétz (leaven) may have come by this name because he or one of his forebears had been discovered eating bread during the Passover holiday. A merchant was nicknamed Tzabiath, the colloquial rendering in Jannina of Tisha b'av. Some say it was because he always appeared gloomy, others that he would not have breakfast until he made his first sale. When I met this man, I was warned to be careful not to address him by this unflattering nickname, which obviously he never adopted as a surname. My maternal grandfather who was a merchant in Jannina, was nicknamed Kalchamira (so pronounced in Jannina). The night before the eve of Passover, after the proper benediction, one makes the statement in Aramaic beginning with the phrase: "Kal hamira de ika birshute dela hazitei udela biarte lehevei bat Vehashiv ke-afra de-arah." ("May all leaven in my possession which I have not seen or removed be annulled and considered as dust of the earth.") The story which has come down to us about Kalchamira, my mother's maiden name, is that her father used to examine material as closely as if he were searching for *hametz* (leaven). A more plausible reason may be that he was probably selected as one of the men in the community

called upon to help look for *hametz* in the homes of his coreligionists as a *mitzvah* (a praiseworthy deed in conformity with the commandments). It is possible that my maternal grandfather was one of those chosen.³⁵ Kalchamira was adopted as a surname, although it is spelled Colchamiro in the United States.

There are also some Turkish nicknames in Jannina. Lafazan, adopted as a surname, is the Turkish word for braggart. Beis is a Hellenized form of the Turkish bey. A man in Jannina was dubbed Beiskákas because he presumed to be an aristocrat when his manners were crude. According to one informant, the nickname *brakashá* consists of two Turkish words: *brak* (put) and *asha* (down). Brakasha used to peddle roasted chestnuts. The story goes that everytime a child tried to steal a chestnut, he would yell "brakasha!" In time he came to be known as Brakasha.³⁶

I am indebted to Irving Isaacs for telling me about Bakabis, the most curious of all Turkish nicknames. In Turkish the word is *bahabic*, which refers to one who bargains. In Jannina, the man who was dubbed *bakabis*, was discovered to be cheating the peasants from whom he purchased eggs. When it became known, the community composed the following ditty about him which Isaacs recalled for me in Greek and which I translate literally:

Bakabis is the unlucky man
without a pentara or obol³⁷
he goes down to the horsemarket
finds himself a one-legged woman
with a nose like a cup
her lips like an eggplant
and a mouth like a *cassata*.³⁸

There are, of course, many other surnames as well as nicknames created to distinguish members of the community. From the sprinkling given here, one or two objective conclusions may safely be drawn about the Jannina community as a whole. First is the fact that the Jannina Jews kept piously close to their Hebrew origins. Then, too, since their maternal language was Greek, most of the nicknames which they created imaginatively and with a relishing dose of humor, are in Greek. The Turkish nicknames also reveal that the Jannina Jews had friendly dealings with their conquerors. Again, although not all the surnames of the community are given here, it would appear that a considerable number of Jews of Spanish origin settled permanently in Jannina. But probably most apparent of all is the fact

that Jannina was a colorful community of many origins, all of whom were assimilated with the indigenous Greek-speaking Jews whom historians and researchers now identify as Romaniote Jews.

NOTES

1. Irving Isaacs, in an interview.
2. Asher R. Moisis. *I Onomatologia ton Evraion tis Ellados* (Athens, 1973)
3. Irving Isaacs, *ibid.*
4. Max Seligsohn, "Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai," in *Jewish Encyclopedia* Vol. 11, pp. 359-361.
5. Joseph Matsa. *Ta Onomata ton Evraion Sta Jannina* (Athens, 1955), pp. 97-98.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 99, n. 1.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
8. Isaacs, *ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. Joseph Matsa, in a letter to me in 1975.
11. Matsa, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
12. Matsa, in a letter to me.
13. Matsa, *op. cit.*, p. 100, no. 1.
14. Moisis, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
16. Isaacs, *ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. Matsa, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
19. Isidor Singer, "Lazarus Belleli (Menachem)," in *Jewish Encyclopedia* Vol. 2, p. 662.
20. Isaac Broyde. "Kalonymos," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 7, pp. 424-429.
21. Marcus Nathan Adler. *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, (New York, 1965), p. 2.
22. S. Horovitz. "Abalag" in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, p. 320.
23. John M. Shaftesley. "Alkalai" in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. 2, cols. 637-641.
24. Moisis, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
25. M. Franco. "Camondo," in *Jewish Encyclopedia* Vol. 3, pp. 521-22.
26. David Barocas, in an interview.
27. Meyer Kayserling. "Nahmias" in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 9, p. 145.
28. See "Ashkenazi" in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 2, pages 193-203.
29. Moisis, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

30. Louis Ginsberg "Capsali," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3, pp. 559-561.
31. Hartwig Hirschfield. "Abdala" in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, p. 43.
32. "Zadok," in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Vol. 16, col. 914 (ed.)
33. Louis Ginsberg. "Hafetz" in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 6, pp. 315-6.
34. *Panlexicon* (Greek) Vol. 4, p. 3142.
35. David Barocas, in an interview.
36. Sam Nahoum, in an interview.
37. *pentara*, a coin of five lepta, an infinitesimal amount.
38. *cassata*, a cheese patty, popular with Jannina Jews, as well as with the Spanish. The *cassata* is open at the top.

I wish to thank Professor Zvi Ankori of Jerusalem, currently occupying the Chair for the History of Jewry of Solonica and Greece at Tel Aviv University, for valued suggestions concerning the preparation of this paper. I also wish to thank Mr. Shlomo Avayou of Jerusalem who helped me with the meaning of many Turkish words.

ANTI-SEMITISM IN TIRSO DE MOLINA'S
BURLADOR DE SEVILLA

For Everett W. Hesse

By Joseph H. Silverman

There is in the second act of the *Burlador de Sevilla* an enigmatic passage which has constituted a small problem since the earliest publication of scholarly editions and translations of the play. Perhaps, since it would seem to have nothing to do with the personality of Don Juan, for it is really nothing more than an insignificant joke and, evidently, not too successful at that, no one has paid much attention to the passage. Or else, it was simply considered to be one of various defective sections of the play, characteristic of the poor state in which it has reached us.

Don Juan speaks with the Marquis de la Mota. In the original, the verses in question read as follows:

D. JUAN. ¿Qué casa es la que miráis?
MOTA. De don Gonzalo de Ulloa.
D. JUAN. ¿Dónde iremos?
MOTA. A Lisboa.
D. JUAN. ¿Cómo, si en Sevilla estáis?
MOTA. Pues, ¿aqueso os maravilla?
 ¿No vive, con gusto igual,

The material for this paper was first used in a course on Golden Age theater that I taught at Santa Cruz in 1968. At a symposium on the Don Juan theme held in Los Angeles on June 23, 1973, under the auspices of the California State University and the Del Amo Foundation, I read a Spanish version of the paper. It will appear in final form, considerably expanded and with detailed annotation, in the Spanish journal *Segismundo*. The historical data upon which my argument is based can be found in the works of Julio Caro Baroja, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, I.S. Révah, António José Saraiva, Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, and others. Specific references will be provided in *Segismundo*.

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lo peor de Portual
en lo mejor de Castilla?
¿Dónde viven?
En la calle
de la Sierpe, donde ves
a Adán vuelto en portugués;
que en aqueste amargo valle
con bocados solicitan
mil Evas que, aunque dorados,
en efeto, son bocados
con que el dinero nos quitan.
CATALINÓN. Ir noche no quisiera
por esa calle cruel,
pues lo que de día es miel
entonces lo dan en cera.
Una noche, por mi mal,
la vi sobre mí vertida,
y hallé que era corrompida
la cera de Portugal.

In the English of Walter Starkie it becomes:

DON JUAN. Whose house are you staring at?
MARQUIS. Why, that belongs
 To Don Gonzalo de Ulloa, where my fairest dwells.
DON JUAN. Where [shall] we go?
MARQUIS. To Lisbon.
DON JUAN. How if we
 Are still in Seville?
MARQUIS. So you are surprised?
 Why wonder if the dregs of Portugal
 Live on what's best in Spain?
DON JUAN. Where do they live?
MARQUIS. In Serpent Street you'll see Adam become
 A Portuguese to woo the thousand Eves
 Who haunt that sinful vale and offer us
 Forbidden fruits and wheedle us of gold.
CATALINÓN. I should not like to walk by night along
 That hellish street, for though by day you'll find
 All fragrant as the honeycomb, by night
 They void upon the street their filthy slops.
 One night, alas, I did become a target,
 And found I was befouled by Portugal.

Now it is worthwhile to examine some of the commentary that prestigious critics have written about these lines. For Américo Castro Lisbon is mentioned here in order to allude to the beautiful Portuguese women who must have lived on Serpent Street. Professors Hill and Harlan and later Professor MacCurdy observe that Lisbon is a street or district of Seville where, presumably, Portuguese prostitutes lived and practiced their trade. And this is affirmed despite the fact that there is no evidence at all of such a street or district ever having existed in Seville.

An outstanding translator of the play interprets the initial verses of the passage in this fashion:

- DON JUAN: What's the house you're gazing at?
 MARQUIS: That of Don Gonzalo de Ulloa.
 DON JUAN: Well, it's early yet. Where shall we go?
 MARQUIS: To Lisbon.
 DON JUAN: But we're in Seville!
 MARQUIS: Didn't you know that half the whores of Lisbon live in the best part of Seville?

Now, to be perfectly frank, I was unaware of the fact that Seville — famous for the dazzling beauty and sensuality of its women — should be in need of Portuguese prostitutes. But the aforementioned scholars must have known things that I in my innocence never learned.

The notes to the most recent critical edition, prepared by Gerald Wade, express with absolute clarity . . . or confusion the meaning that has been attributed to the passage during the last sixty some odd years. On the reference to Lisbon he writes:

Lisboa — Don Juan is surprised to hear Mota use the name in reference to a district or street of Sevilla, and since the former is a resident of the city and surely knows it thoroughly — especially its vice district — his surprise is an indication that Mota has adopted the name for his own and don Juan's amusement . . . He claims that Lisbon has sent some of its worst vice to Sevilla. We have found no record that Lisbon had in Spain an especially bad reputation for vice, and it might be suggested that Mota's besmirching of Lisbon's repute in favor of Sevilla's is in its own way the pot's calling the kettle black.

As for Serpent Street he states that "we have found no record that the street was noted for its vice although Mota's reference to it . . . is to that effect."

As Américo Castro and Bruce Wardropper have shown, the *Burlador de Sevilla* is much more than the dramatization of sexual and theological problems. It is at the same time a document of social protest, a criticism of corrupt nobility and a profound comment on the System and the abuses of power of a personal and Watergate-like nature. But let's return to our passage to see if the socio-historic orientations suggested by Castro and Wardropper can lead us toward a more reasonable interpretation.

Students of the play will remember that at the end of the first act the whirlwind pace of the action, the result of Don Juan's unbridled sexuality, is interrupted in order to present a eulogistic description of Lisbon as the eighth wonder of the world. The King asks Don Gonzalo: "Is Lisbon a fine city?" to which he responds: "It is the largest city in all Spain . . ." Yes, the largest city in Spain because — as is well known — between 1580 and 1640 Portugal was under the dominion of the Spanish crown. And to remember this small historical detail is to make possible the resolution of our enigmatic passage, in the following way. There was a large group of New Christians of Jewish origin, called simply *Portuguese*, who travelled back and forth with great regularity between Spain and Portugal. After the annexation of Portugal by Philip II, these Portuguese converts moved to Spain in ever increasing numbers until they were to constitute a class or sector of Hispanic society. The principal reason for this exodus is that those families that had amassed significant fortunes in Portugal saw the Spanish Empire as a rich new field for speculation and business deals of all kinds. Moreover, it was possible to live in Spain for a certain time without the fear of inquisitorial persecution, since the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions were autonomous entities. Having left Portugal out of fear or attracted by promising financial arrangements, the Portuguese converts, *los portugueses de la nación*, as they were called, trickled into Spain in small numbers, but — as the success of their endeavors became known — a large scale migration took place. Madrid, Seville, the ports of southern Spain in general as well as Hispanic America experienced a veritable invasion. In a communication from Lisbon dated 1633 we read that "In this city commerce is at an end and all businessmen of substance have moved to Madrid and Seville." According to Francisco Manuel de Melo "there are parishes in Lisbon from which more than 2,000 individuals have departed, all of them of great wealth, and they have gone with their families to live in Madrid or Seville." Speaking of this same period the great Portuguese historian Lucio d'Azevedo observes that "It was said that in Seville a quarter of the population

had been born in Portugal and that on certain streets Portuguese was spoken more frequently than the language of the country."

Given the inquisitorial context of Hispanic life, corrupt politicians of Philip III's regime took part in an obviously scandalous enterprise, by offering a general pardon to New Christians, which enabled many of them to be freed from prison, others to change their place of residence in Spain and still others to enter Spain easily from Portugal. This general pardon, which was most irritating to the intensely anti-Semitic masses and which was denounced by the Portuguese high clergy, was to initiate a new era in Spain; for with the death of Philip III and the ascendance to power of the Conde-duque de Olivares an even more intense campaign was carried on to attract Portuguese, — that is, New Christian, — capital to Madrid to help finance Olivares' exorbitant enterprises and to liquidate the debts of his disastrous failures. Needless to say, these philo-Judaic policies of the Conde-duque brought him little popularity. And the presence in Spain of so many opulent Portuguese of Jewish origin was the cause for frequent outbursts of hostility, envy and hatred. A typical example is the following:

This afternoon, while Don Francisco de Meneses was riding in a coach with Don Jorge Manuel to see the procession, there passed by close to them two Portuguese, Don Jacinto de Lemos, of the Order of Santiago of Portugal, and a brother of his, Fernando Manuel, a financier. Because the latter did not lift his hat to them, he [Meneses] called him, among other insults, a Jew. Fernando Manuel drew his sword, and the two hurled themselves out of the coaches. Meneses dangerously wounded Fernando Manuel and, placing his foot on the latter's face, and wishing to wound him again, he pierced his own foot with his sword . . . The pride with which these Portuguese businessmen [i.e., New Christians] go about Madrid is incredible. Those who in Portugal would not even dare to look at *caballeros* desire here, not only to equal them, but to exceed them.

That is to say, for a convert not to remove his hat was a display of arrogance, just as sitting down at the front of a public vehicle might have been so for a Negro in this country a few years ago.

And now let us recall our *Burlador* passage:

D. JUAN. ¿Dónde iremos?
 MOTA. A Lisboa.
 D. JUAN. ¿Cómo, si en Sevilla estáis?

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MOTA. Pues, ¿queso os maravilla?
 ¿No vive, con gusto igual,
 lo peor de Portugal
 en lo mejor de Castilla?

D. JUAN. ¿Dónde viven?
 MOTA. En la calle
 de la Sierpe. . . .

DON JUAN. Where [shall] we go?
 MARQUIS. To Lisbon.
 DON JUAN. How if we
 Are still in Seville?
 MARQUIS. So you are surprised?
 Why wonder if the dregs of Portugal
 Live on what's best in Spain?
 DON JUAN. Where do they live?
 MARQUIS. In Serpent Street . . .

As I have already suggested, after Madrid it seems that Seville was the city most populated by Judaizers and converts, and *sevillano* businessmen of Judeo-Portuguese origin enjoyed, among other things, a kind of monopoly on business with the Indies. These Portuguese, we learn, were the largest number of residents on Serpent Street; Serpent Street, in fact, was their center. Would it be excessive, then, to suggest that Tirso de Molina was alluding to this situation which was such a great source of irritation to the Spanish lower class? Isn't it likely that precisely when the number of inquisitorial trials was on the increase in Spain, one of King Philip IV's valets de chambre could write with dirge-like hyperbole: "Who can doubt that every single Jew remaining in Portugal or elsewhere will want to come here to live? Oh, woe unto the noble families of Castile! For if they were in danger when Jews lived in their midst, what will they do in the present trying circumstances?", isn't it likely, I repeat, that Tirso de Molina is giving voice to this same complaint, evoking this same insane reality?

So, going to Serpent Street was just like going to Lisbon, because on Serpent Street there lived what was for the intolerant and racist masses — that popular sector of the audience whose favor Tirso sought — "lo peor de Portugal," the worst element of Portugal, that is, the Jews and converts of Portuguese origin, whose great wealth and socio-economic influence had become internationally famous — or notorious.

In this way — with this caustic allusion — Tirso presents another

crucial element of the confused, dolorous and conflictive reality of XVIIth-century Spain. Serpent Street, nowadays the Street of Serpents, is a symbol of that contentious chaos and — without knowing any of the details presented here, but with the infallible historico-aesthetic sensibility of a great poet — Aquilino Duque, a *sevillano* by birth, wrote of Serpent Street:

¿Por qué no eres como eras?
 ¿Por qué aparentas rectitudes
 siendo toda revueltas y recodos
 en el fondo del alma?
 ¿Te arrastras por el polvo
 porque han talado el árbol de la ciencia
 y del bien y del mal, ángel caído,
 Sierpe en el corazón de la ciudad?

Why aren't you the way you once were?
 Why do you feign straightness
 when you're all twists and turns
 in the depths of your soul?
 Do you drag yourself through the dirt
 because they have cut down the Tree of Knowledge
 and of Good and Evil, you fallen angel,
 Serpent in the heart of the city?

Serpent Street, where as Tirso de Molina had said, one can see "Adán vuelto en portugués," Adam — the Hebrew 'man' — converted into a Portuguese or Christian Jew.

A Unique Collection of Sephardic Traditional Poetry: The Menéndez Pidal Archive in Madrid

by Samuel G. Armistead

The beginnings of the Judeo-Spanish collection of what is now the Menéndez Pidal Archive date from a time when Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869-1968) had hardly begun to form the enormous Pan-Hispanic ballad corpus, which was to become one of the most palpable testimonies in favor of his theory of the multiseccular continuity of Spanish culture. Unlike other areas, where Menéndez Pidal himself was able personally to participate in the collecting of ballads, documentation from the Judeo-Spanish communities had to be sought out exclusively by other individuals — disciples, friends, and even distant and personally unknown correspondents — all inspired by Don Ramón's erudition and unflagging enthusiasm. In the late nineteenth century, he started a veritable letter writing campaign in search of unedited versions of Judeo-Spanish ballads. As a result of this correspondence, Salomon Levy of Oran, M. Gañi of Rosiori (Rumania), and Dan S. Albachary of Vienna sent him a sampling of ballads gathered from the lips of aged women. Angel Pulido, Max Leopold Wagner, Father Rosendo Serra, Eugenio Silvela, and various other Western European investigators also contributed rare texts from Vienna, Karaferia, Edirne, Istanbul, Bursa, and Tetuán.

In 1904, Menéndez Pidal achieved his greatest success in correspondence with the various Sephardic communities by making contact with Mr. José Benoliel (1888-1937) of Tangier and Lisbon. Highly cultured and with a good knowledge of Spanish, Portuguese, French, Hebrew, and Arabic, Benoliel must have been an enormously creative and dynamic person. With his fine sensitivity and broad literary formation, as well as great intellectual curiosity and enthusiasm for Sephardic culture, Benoliel was to be an ideal co-worker in Menéndez Pidal's project for documenting the Moroccan

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Judeo-Spanish *Romancero*. Between 1904 and 1913, Benoliel kept up an intensive interchange of texts and letters with Menéndez Pidal. The extraordinary spirit and limitless energy of this admirable scholar — a veritable Sephardic *uomo universale* — is constantly reflected in the abundant correspondence on file in the Menéndez Pidal Archive: Among many other projects, Benoliel was teaching at various schools in Lisbon; editing a French-Portuguese dictionary; writing his own poetry and planning to translate Camoens and other Portuguese poets into Spanish, French, and Hebrew; had invented a machine to print the Braille system for the blind and had conceived of and constructed a unique device which was capable of printing five different alphabets. Professor, lexicographer, poet, and inventor, Benoliel must have taken an immediate interest in Menéndez Pidal's ballad project. He understood at once both its importance and its inherent problems. Benoliel deserves credit for having conceived, during the first years of this century, the idea of a massive and systematic ballad campaign, similar to those carried out later by Manuel Manrique de Lara and other investigators. Unfortunately, Benoliel himself was never able to put into effect his well thought out plan for visiting all the Moroccan Judeo-Spanish communities, but, even so, what he was able to accomplish in Tangier and among Sephardic emigrants in Portugal deserves the highest praise. Thanks to Benoliel, a total of 155 ballads from Tangier were acquired by Menéndez Pidal. Almost alone, Benoliel's texts constitute the first stage in the formation of Menéndez Pidal's Judeo-Spanish collection. His contribution in itself made possible the publication of Don Ramón's fundamental "Catálogo del romancero judío-español" (1906-1907).¹ Benoliel's ballads are, therefore, invaluable and his efforts contributed in many ways to enriching our knowledge of the Sephardic ballad tradition in North Africa.

To Don Manuel Manrique de Lara, the Menéndez Pidal Archive owes its greatest group of texts collected by a single individual. Manrique de Lara (1863-1929) — painter, composer, brilliant musicologist, naval captain and soldier — first contacted Menéndez Pidal in 1905, when he accompanied Don Ramón on a small ballad excursion to the village of Las Navas del Marqués (Avila) to learn effective collecting techniques and become fascinated with the field work in which he would soon be so successful.² In 1911, with a grant from the Centro de Estudios Históricos, Manrique undertook his extraordinary expedition to the Eastern Mediterranean, where he visited each of the major communities: Sarajevo, Belgrade, Sofia, Salonika, Istanbul, Izmir, Rhodes, Beirut, Damascus, and Jerusalem.

In 1915 and 1916, he carried out equally massive investigations in Morocco, visiting Tangier, Tetuán, Larache, and Alcazarquivir. He collected, sometimes under rigorous, uncomfortable, and even dangerous conditions, many hundreds of versions — almost 2,000 in all. When we consider the primitive conditions under which Manrique was obliged to work, — all the texts had to be laboriously copied out by hand — the statistics of his collection become doubly surprising and admirable. In the Eastern Mediterranean communities, in 1911, he interviewed 87 identifiable individuals and collected a total of 1,133 texts; in Morocco (1915-1916), he interviewed 55 informants and brought together another 839 versions. In addition, he copied or collected some 17 different collections of ballads and songs in manuscript form. Manrique also went through various collections of Hebrew *piyyutim* in search of ballad *incipits* and assembled a good number of these as indispensable documentation for the latent centuries of the Sephardic *Romancero*.³ Manrique added, in total, some 1,972 texts to the Menéndez Pidal collection, together with 354 precious musical transcriptions.⁴ Manrique's contribution makes up considerably more than three-fourths of the entire Judeo-Spanish collection at the Menéndez Pidal Archive. When, in addition, we take into account his vast, still uncatalogued field work in various areas of the Iberian Peninsula, Don Manuel Manrique de Lara emerges as one of the great heroes and champions of ballad studies, not only within the Hispanic area, but of general Pan-European balladry as well.

What might be called the "great epoch" of Menéndez Pidal's Judeo-Spanish collection ends with Manrique de Lara's copious field work in Morocco in 1916, but, all the same, a number of interesting contributions were to be made in subsequent years. In 1920, Don Ramón corresponded with the distinguished Sephardic scholar, Dr. Saül Mézan, of Bulgaria, who sent him a number of ballad texts. Subsequently Menéndez Pidal's Judeo-Spanish holdings did not grow again until some ten years later, when, around 1930, Mrs. Emma Adatto (Schlesinger) was to send him a series of interesting texts collected from Turkish and Rhodian Sephardic emigrants living in Seattle (Washington).⁵ On February 19, 1934, the Cuban scholar, José María Chacón y Calvo collected four ballads in the little Moroccan town of Arcila, whose repertory — the veritable black sheep of the North African sub-traditions — was neglected by all the major field trips of the first half of this century and continues even today to be almost as unknown as before.⁶ Around 1935, Professor Roberto Esquenazi Mayo sent in various songs which were part of a Sephardic festival in New York City and, in April 1937, he collected four

romances sung by Turkish Sephardic informants in Havana. On May 6, 8, and 12, 1935, Doña María Sánchez Arbós brought together a splendid collection of 23 ballads copied down by school children in Casablanca.

With the turmoil of the Spanish Civil War and the uncertainties of World War II, there were no new developments in the Judeo-Spanish collection until 1946, when Mr. Baruch Uziel interviewed in Tel Aviv a noteworthy ballad singer from Salonika, Mrs. Flor Tevet, who was about 60 years of age at the time. In April 1948, Diego Catalán carried out a brief, but very fruitful series of interviews, collecting from three informants in Tetuán a total of 32 texts, including various rare text-types. The last unedited Judeo-Spanish materials to enter the Menéndez Pidal Archive were the Salonikan texts, collected early in this century by Michael Molho and sent from Buenos Aires on July 15, 1957, and a partial transcription of the eighteenth-century manuscript ballads of David Behar Moshe ha-Cohen of Sarajevo, forwarded from Jerusalem by Moshe Attias on April 23, 1956.⁷

Together with the numerical abundance of its versions and the extreme rarity of some of its themes, one of the most important and valuable aspects of the Menéndez Pidal collection is the fact that it represents a chronological stage many decades older than that which is to be found — now often decadent and impoverished — in field work since World War II. At the beginning of the century, in the East and in Morocco, Manrique de Lara, Benoliel, and the other collectors were still in the presence of a fully vigorous tradition, a situation which is very different from that faced by Sephardic ballad collectors in more recent times. The vitality of that old tradition is reflected not only in the length and perfection of some of the individual versions, but also in the enormous and highly original repertoires of certain of the informants.

The collection's geographic scope is remarkably broad. It includes ballads from Vienna (Austria); Sarajevo, Belgrade, Istib (Yugoslavia); Sofia, Dupnitza, Tatar-Pazardjik, Plovdiv, Ruse (Bulgaria); Bucharest and Rosiori (Rumania); Salonika, Karaferia, Kastoria, Larissa, Rhodes (Greece); Edirne, Istanbul, Bursa, Tekirdag, Chanakkale, Izmir (Turkey); Beirut (Lebanon); Damascus (Syria), and Jerusalem (Israel); and in North Africa: Tangier, Tetuán, Arcila, Larache, Alcazarquivir, Casablanca (Morocco), and Oran (Algeria); as well as from Gibraltar. Such a wide geographic representation offers the ballad scholar a unique and irreplaceable research instrument. In combination with the vast, unedited collec-

tion of ballads from other Hispanic regions and the fine library of printed sources assembled at the Archive, the Judeo-Spanish collection provides us with an unequalled opportunity to study the processes of variation and poetic recreation which are the very essence of the traditional life of the Hispanic *Romancero*.

The texts brought together by Menéndez Pidal during a period of over sixty years — from the first three versions from Oran in 1896 to the last Salonikan ballads sent by Michael Molho in 1957 — constitute the largest and richest corpus of Judeo-Spanish traditional poetry in existence. There are a total of 2,150 texts of Judeo-Spanish *romances* and other narrative poems and 217 other songs of diverse types (cumulative songs; lyric songs; dirges; para-liturgical poems). Throughout his life, Don Ramón turned to the Sephardic *Romancero* as an indispensable component for the reconstruction of Pan-Hispanic balladry. His collection will stand as a lasting tribute to his own intellectual endeavors and to the arduous field work of those who were inspired by him. The brutal and massive destruction during World War II of Sephardic communities and the progressive acculturation of the surviving Sephardim make it a certainty that we will witness within a few years the total disappearance of the precious Hispanic heritage preserved by the Spanish Jews of the Diaspora as a living culture. "Last minute" explorations of the Sephardic *Romancero* carried out after the last World War have produced invaluable discoveries. These recent efforts, however, had they stood alone, would not have saved from oblivion the greater part of the traditional poetry of the Spanish Jews. Present and future explorers of the limitless "promised land" of the Judeo-Spanish traditional ballad will ever be indebted to their venerable predecessor: Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal.⁸

NOTES

1. R. Menéndez Pidal, "Catálogo del romancero judío-español", *Cultura Española*, 4 (1906), 1045-1077; 5 (1907), 161-199, and under the title: "Romancero judío-español" in *Los romances de América y otros estudios*, 6th ed. (Madrid: "Austral," 1958), pp. 114-179.
2. In *Judeo-Spanish Traditional Ballads from Jerusalem*, 2 vols. (New York, 1972-1975), I, 31-34, Israel J. Katz brings together indispensable information concerning the life and activities of M. Manrique de Lara.
3. For research on Eastern Judeo-Spanish ballad *incipits* used as tune indicators in Hebrew hymnals, see the latest publications of H. Avenary, "Cantos españoles antiguos mencionados en la literatura hebrea," *Anuario*

Musical, 25 (1971), 67-79, and the additional documentation discovered by M. Attias, *Cancionero judeo-español* (Jerusalem, 1972), pp. 9-17 and 364-354; for Morocco: S.G. Armistead and J.H. Silverman, "El cancionero judeo-español de Marruecos en el siglo XVIII (*Incipits* de los Ben-Zûr)," *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 22 (1973), 280-290, and by the same authors, with I.M. Hassán "Four Moroccan Judeo-Spanish Folksong *Incipits*," *Hispanic Review*, 42 (1974), 83-87.

4. An edition and study of all Manrique de Lara's transcriptions of ballad music at the Menéndez Pidal Archive are currently being prepared by Professor Israel J. Katz.

5. Cf. E. Adatto (Schlesinger), *A Study of the Linguistic Characteristics of the Seattle Sefardi Folklore*, M. A. thesis, University of Washington, Seattle, 1935.

6. See S.G. Armistead and J.H. Silverman, "El romancero judeo-español de Marruecos: Breve historia de las encuestas de campo," *Poesía: Reunión de Málaga de 1974* (Málaga, 1976), pp. 245-256.

7. Attias subsequently published David ha-Cohen's ballads in his article, "Zeror romansoth be-kt"y. shel Sarayevu," *Shevet va'Am*, 2 (7) (1973), 295-370.

8. Compare Menéndez Pidal's moving statement concerning the future of ballad studies in *Romancero hispánico (Hispano-portugués americano y sefardí)*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1953), I, xi: "Con [estos dos volúmenes] doy principio a la obra, mezclando a los antiguos entusiasmos juveniles la melancolía con que Moisés, al fin de sus días, desde la cumbre del Monte Nebo tendió la mirada sobre la fértil Tierra Prometida, sabiendo que no la disfrutaría él, sino sus sucesores."

I wish to thank my friend, Professor Herman P. Salomon, for valued suggestions concerning the preparation of the present article.

Two Elegies on the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain

by Herman P. Salomon

For Sephardim the deep mourning and fast observed on the ninth day of the month of Ab commemorates three disasters: the destruction of the First Temple and the Babylonian Exile of 586 B.C.E.; the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans and the end of the Jewish Commonwealth in 70 C.E.; and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492.

Spanish reminiscences are associated with the liturgy of this fast-day in most Sephardic communities.¹ The Spanish and Portuguese Congregations constituting the "Western Sephardim," however, have not adopted into their liturgy *qinot* (elegiac poems) referring specifically to the decisive tragedy of their history in Spain.² This is perhaps due to the fact that Menasseh Ben Israel (1604-1657), the famous rabbi who collated and first published the Sephardic liturgy in Hebrew for the use of the Spanish and Portuguese ex-Marranos in Amsterdam, did not have access to the two anonymous post-expulsion *qinot* which are the subject of this essay.³

I have succeeded in tracing the first of the two compositions to the fast-day ritual published in Venice by Giovanni Vendramin in 1638.⁴ The fact that I have not found them in any earlier edition⁵ does not necessarily indicate that either or both were not composed before the 17th century. The content of poems, a dialogue between exiled Spanish Jewry and God, echoes one of the ancient *qinot* which is a dialogue between Zion and God.⁶ Much more violent than the latter, the recent poems reflect the profound spiritual disarray which beset the Sephardic world throughout the 16th century due to the prolonged agony following the expulsion from Spain of 1492. The questions asked by the poet(s) reveal a blend of personal despair and national futility. Why were the Spanish Jews singled out for such

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cruel torment? If this was divine retribution, wherein lay their grievous guilt? These questions and the mood of purposeless suffering were expressed with intensity during the second half of the 16th century in the historical compilations of Samuel Usque (*Consolacám ás tribulaçoens de Israel*), Selomoh Ibn Verga (*Sebet Yehuda*), Yosef Hakohen (*°Emeq Habaka*).⁷

In the first of the two poems, the names of the Iberian cities and kingdoms from which the Jews were expelled during the final decades of the 15th century were not chosen at random. They indicate precise historical knowledge on the part of the poet. An edict of January 1, 1483, expelled the Jews from Seville. Six months later this edict took effect in Jerez de la Frontera.⁸ It was in Granada, on March 31, 1492, that Ferdinand and Isabella signed the edict of expulsion of the Jews from the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile. On June 18, 1492, a similar decree was issued ordering the expulsion of the Jews from Sicily, which was under the Aragonese crown. It is estimated that 37,000 Jews had to leave Sicily by the end of January, 1493.⁹

The second poem is even more reproachful towards God than the first. In the first poem, God has more lines than Israel (24 to 22). In the second, Israel and Zion have more lines than God (15 to 12). One might say: Israel takes the offensive. The theological implications of such outcries of revolted conscience are not at variance with the religious spirit of Israel, which imputed all national calamities to Providence, yet never accepted divine retribution untempered by justice and mercy.¹⁰ In the last stanza of the second poetical dialogue, God, as in His dialogue with Abraham, admits defeat, recognizing that His opponent argued his case better than He.

The form of the poems is rather complex. The first one consists of fourteen stanzas, which, except for the first two stanzas, have three lines. If we consider the first line to be the title, then the only irregular stanza is the second, consisting of six lines, three of which are taken up by the geographical names. The second poem consists of nine tercets and includes several echoes of the first poem, of which it is an outgrowth. A slightly changed context gives a verse of the second poem an entirely different resonance from a similar line in the first poem, attributing to Spain the epithet "glorious land." The poet thus makes us aware that Spain, for the Sephardim, is not just another "land of exile."¹¹

The intermixing of emotions, the continuous interplay between the various lands from which the Sephardim were expelled, to the point that certain phrases contextually directed towards the Holy

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כתב



דבר לאחת ביהא הרשתים

סדר

ארבע העניות

כפי סגנון ספרים יוצא

הלך שלישי

כחל בו תולדות ונחמת קודש לזכרו אמת : והשנה לזכור
 אב"ד י"ז אדר : והשנה ב' תמוז : והשנה ב' סיון : והשנה
 י"ד על השנה : וכן על כל השנה : והל' ספר יחוד :

אשר קראו על מלך בני ישראל והשנה יצאנו ממצרים
 ונחמנו ממצרים : והשנה יצאנו ממצרים : והשנה
 יצאנו ממצרים : והשנה יצאנו ממצרים : והשנה
 יצאנו ממצרים : והשנה יצאנו ממצרים : והשנה

השנה יצאנו ממצרים : והשנה יצאנו ממצרים : והשנה
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 יצאנו ממצרים : והשנה יצאנו ממצרים : והשנה

בני ציון

שנה אשרי העם שכבה לו קמץ

ELLA STAMPARIA BRAGADINA.
 CON LICENZA DE SUPERIOR

1930

לחשעה כאב

רנדולה לך אהוננו אני בעצמי ובכבודי ואכנה בית תפארת ובנעימה אעיר זמר	אבינו הנסול הזה קיינו אכתיר בחר לאומה כיס שנים קדומה על נבלי:
כי האב יסר בנו וישפוך עליו חרונו איכה תאמרו בן בני תורה נחתי כסיתי ההיתה בואת ידענו צור כי זמנו זכור כי עפר אנתו בסדרך	בימורי נקמה בעוז ואוחסה נגרי תצעקן ברננות אוהה צנכתם בענות הלא מרכסלא עלי: אליו נתים תלמד תורתך לא נעלם מידעתך לא סלחת אסרעינו: אבינו
שוב לסען רחמיך סלח כרוב חסדיך לטובה אחת יצא אחיכם גרושים ראיתי כי עורפיהם קשים ושילוחיהם הרסת בעברתך והרפת ארסחך לחמי תודה רבותי בתי מקדשי	רחום אלהי הצנאות פשעים וגם הטאות עשה כי לך קיינו: אבינו סאף שכי אל שכיח ארנו גראנאדה עולי: אליו מכצרי בת יהודה וגם בית העבודה לא רצית סירנו: אבינו בעבור הטאותכם אשר

לחשעה כאב

אשר אמתיו לקדשי בעבודתכם אמרה ציון מה פשעי עקרת את חוק סלעי השכנתי	אשר אמתיו לקדשי בעבודתכם אמרה ציון מה פשעי עקרת את חוק סלעי השכנתי
ציון כמשפט תשרה לא תחרשי עוד פשרה בנין אריאל	ציון כמשפט תשרה לא תחרשי עוד פשרה בנין אריאל
אל תרום בתי עיני כי נלה מסני:	אל תרום בתי עיני כי נלה מסני:
אחיב בנסול רגלי וביוסי ורגלי אין סלה בלשתי אור בהיר איד אפל בליל צדק איד נחם רב אבלי ויגוני סלאך סלויץ ילויץ ויאח צדיק רכט נאם אדני לאדוני בנים אל חור אחרון לשברון הלוחות ארון קדש תחכמוני:	אחיב בנסול רגלי וביוסי ורגלי אין סלה בלשתי אור בהיר איד אפל בליל צדק איד נחם רב אבלי ויגוני סלאך סלויץ ילויץ ויאח צדיק רכט נאם אדני לאדוני בנים אל חור אחרון לשברון הלוחות ארון קדש תחכמוני:

לחשעה כאב

כסם שחרב ביתך: ושא קנה על אחליה ואחלה:
חלופיה וזק עמי סרר אכנה רכדכם: נאם אלכש
והשיב את שכונתם: חוד היכלי אשמן נכסחיה:
כי מסן תמא חורח וזרחיה: כי מסני
אכש דגפול תה קיינו: אליו
כי האב נצל הנשים: לעשות גם נקמה
בשפוך עליהם חרונים: בעוף נחל זחמה:
לשמה עם יאכנו: גם בנינו: אבינו
בא תעקקי אלי כלם: חלונתים נאם ער
פחות השפתי ואחם: נבל זים ואחם ער:
בשמי ולא השתחם: שכלי אליהם סה חירבן:
יש ארם גרושים: ספירין ומשכליה
הבאר גרש פושטליה: הבאר גרש פושטליה
תשיליה ארוננו: גראנאדה עולי: אליו
ואם אנתו חסנו: ויה לך חסיה
הם צאנו גרשנו: חסר סה חסיה חלויס:
החכמים אשר בעינינו: ראינו:
החכמי ארם גרושים: סארץ שכי אל שכיח
ראיתי שרפם קשים: לא הקשכסם לישעיה:
הרסיה על זח לא: רחמי שללי: אליו
יש ארם חסרך: אר שפתי נכסחיה
כל חסיה חסרך: חסיה סיה אכ על גנים
רש פתנים תסלענה: שרוננו: אבינו

לחשעה כאב

אני ברחן לבות ארם
בסרם באזים ארם
ובחטאיהם הלא לקחתי
עוללי:

אני ברחן לבות ארם
בסרם באזים ארם
ובחטאיהם הלא לקחתי
עוללי:

נתת לענות הנשים
וחסטיסוס הפלבושים
ימסו גלות ואולחיה
הינו:

נתת לענות הנשים
וחסטיסוס הפלבושים
ימסו גלות ואולחיה
הינו:

אחם סריתם תורת
תני קנא קנאית
המאדנים על השלם:
סעלי:

אחם סריתם תורת
תני קנא קנאית
המאדנים על השלם:
סעלי:

האם אין סרפא וארונה
לכל עם יש מלכה
אויבט שסמו את
הנה גם אני נכבדי:

האם אין סרפא וארונה
לכל עם יש מלכה
אויבט שסמו את
הנה גם אני נכבדי:

ושלחתי לכם חדי
לקחתי וכל שכי
אם הרט פשע ועבירה
הנה יד יד חיה
שפחוד ותורחך
ידעתי שכי סללי
סגולת כדנים לוחם
חד שפסיהם
סר חסר אכותנו
על תמן לישעיה

ושלחתי לכם חדי
לקחתי וכל שכי
אם הרט פשע ועבירה
הנה יד יד חיה
שפחוד ותורחך
ידעתי שכי סללי
סגולת כדנים לוחם
חד שפסיהם
סר חסר אכותנו
על תמן לישעיה

על

תורה

Land seem to apply more logically to Spain, are perhaps the most appealing feature of these poems. A good example is the verse in the second poem:

Our neighbors raised their voices in our Sanctuary.

The verse contextually refers to the Babylonian or the Roman soldiers who stormed the Temple of Jerusalem but evokes an image of Spanish Christians, driven by curiosity into the deserted Spanish synagogues, the day after the departure of their Jewish neighbors. An effect which I have not been able to reproduce in translation is the pun on the Yebrew *'eres sebi 'el sibya* ("from a glorious land into captivity") in line 8, and the Spanish place names, Jerez u-Sevilla, in line 14 of the first poem.

An indication that the two poems may be by different hands is the fact that the same place names are spelled differently from one poem to the other, within the same edition.¹²

The tercets follow an *abab* rhyme scheme in their first four hemistichs. In the first poem the second hemistich of each third line often has only one word, rhyming alternately with the refrains *abinu* ("our Father") and *alalay* ("alas"). This rhyme scheme is less observed in the second poem. The poetic form(s) employed in the two poems do not have a parallel in the more ancient *qinot*. A thorough comparison, beyond the scope of this study, with Italian verse forms, might reveal the locale and the approximate date of composition.

Because of the fact, referred to above, that Menasseh Ben Israel did not include these *qinot* in his canon, they have not been translated into French, Italian, Dutch and English.¹³ Fast-day rituals for the Levantine Sephardic communities, published in Italy and later in Vienna, all have these two *qinot*, as well as other material of even more recent vintage. None of these books, however, includes a translation.¹⁴ I present, therefore, what I believe to be the first translation of these late additions to the Sephardic liturgy. The Hebrew text is reproduced for the reader's convenience. I have selected for reproduction the Venice 1736 edition as the most legible, although in the translation I have taken into consideration and sometimes adopted variant readings from earlier and later editions.

Alas, our Father, is this the yearned for recompense?

Who is the father who raises children
to take vengeance on them,
to pour anger on them,
with great and fuming wrath?
We have sat on the ground;
We have also wept.

Why do you all cry out against Me?
Your murmurings have reached Me.
In My kindness I have daily saved you from sufferings:
you yourselves are My witnesses.
But you have not kept to My ways, alas,
My children, will you feud with Me?

Your brothers went as exiles from Jerez and Seville.
I saw their stubbornness.
I brought on the expulsion from Castile
and Sicily, Aragon, Granada, My children.

But even if we have sinned, where are Your mercies?
If in anger You expelled us, tell us wherein the children sinned,
whose kindnesses we have seen
with our own eyes.

I took you from the Holy Land
as exiles into bondage.
I saw your stubbornness.
You did not heed Isaiah or Jeremiah.
Therefore, I had no mercy on you, My children.

We have pondered Your mercies
now that several years have passed.
But we, Your witnesses, daily ask anew;
Is this the way a father treats his children?
We have drunk the dregs of gall and wormwood.

I examine the hearts of men,
Their inner feelings and thoughts.
Before your days of misfortune came
I surely recognized your good deeds.
But did I not, My children,
Remove you for your own sins?

You ruled that our women be tortured,
young maidens and wives.

They were stripped of their clothes
and left naked for days and nights.

And we were shamed.

You have rebelled against My Torah
and have served other gods.

I was jealous

so I made you drink the bitter waters.

You have strayed from my ways.

Is there no cure and healing
for all our pains?

Each nation has its kingdom;

but the glory of our honor is fallen:

our enemies have destroyed our stronghold.

See, My Presence is in the midst of the nation,
children of exile.

Throughout your dispersion, I have revealed My
glory to you
each day and each night, My children.

If our sins and transgressions have increased,
yet we are Your people, the sheep of Your fold.

The hand of the Lord is against His flock's camp.

Have we rejected Your commandments and Your Torah?

I know that My Name is profaned
among the nations and peoples.

The chosen of priests and Levites,
the righteous, upright and pure
are laid waste.

No one spreads tents to shelter My flock.

Remember our ancestors; send us Redemption.

Ignore our evil ways,
our defiled souls.

Greatness is Yours, our Master.

Our Father: *this* is the yearned for recompense.

I Myself in my majesty will crown this nation
and build the House of My Glory as it was in years past.
With sweet melody I shall awaken a song on My lyre.

II.

Who is the father who tortures his child
with afflictions of vengeance,
who violently pours out his wrath on him?

We have sat on the ground;
we have also wept.

How can you speak thus, My children?
How can you shout against Me in anger?
I gave the Torah at Sinai
and you have brazenly abandoned it.

Was this not so?

Surely you are to blame, not I.

We know, our Rock, that we have rejected
the sweetness of the teachings of the Torah.

But remember: we are made of dust.

This fact cannot have eluded You.

If we have sinned, You have not forgiven us
according to Your compassion.

Relent for the sake of Your mercy,
Merciful Lord of Hosts.

Forgive our sins and errors

in the abundance of Your kindness.

Do this as a good omen,
for we trust in You.

Your brothers went out as exiles from
a glorious land into captivity.

I saw their stubbornness.

I brought on the expulsion from Castile
and Sicily, Aragon, Granada, My children.

In Your wrath, You destroyed the strongholds
of the daughter of Judah,

You burnt Your land and Your Temple.

You did not accept thanksgiving offerings
from our hands.

I destroyed My Temples because of your sins.

As I have told My holy ones:

I will dwell among you — when you serve Me,
as the prophet explained. (Woe unto Me!)

But Zion said: what is my sin?
 Even if the children have transgressed
 You have uprooted the strength of my might,
 the trees, the stones;
 Our neighbors raised their voices in our Sanctuary.

Zion will be redeemed by justice.
 for she has prevailed in her suit with God.
 No more will Mount Zion be ploughed like a field.
 The eyes of My congregation will see
 the moment of Israel's salvation,
 the building of the Temple Altar.

Notes:

1. Cf. Alan D. Corré, "The Spanish Haftara for the Ninth of Ab," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XLVIII, 1, July 1957, 13-34; Richard D. Abraham, "An Amsterdam Version of the Judeo-Spanish Haftara Paraphrase," *Romance Philology*, XIV, 3, February, 1961, 237-244; H.P. Salomon, "Hispanic Liturgy Among Western Sephardim," *The American Sephardi*, II, 2, 1968, 49-59.
2. It has been suggested that the *qina* "Boré 'ad 'ana," which has a Spanish version and a stanza referring to Christian persecution, may have been written on the occasion of the Spanish expulsion. This *qina*, now part of the Ninth of Ab liturgy, was formerly sung on the Sabbath preceding the Ninth of Ab. Cf. H.P. Salomon, *art. cit.*
3. Menasseh Ben Israel based his Spanish *Orden de los cinco Tahaniot del año* (Amsterdam, 1630) and his Hebrew *Seder 'arba' ta'aniyot* (Amsterdam, 1631), which were the models for all subsequent Sephardic fastday rituals published in Amsterdam, The Hague, London, Nice and Philadelphia, on earlier Venice editions (same titles). I have examined the Spanish one printed by Georgio Bizzardo in 1609 from the Leon H. Elmaleh Collection in the Sephardic Reference Room at Yeshiva University and the Hebrew one printed by Giovanni Caleoni in 1624 from the David Montezinos Collection in the Ets Haim Library of Amsterdam.
4. There is a copy in the Klau Library of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. I thank its librarians for their cooperation in sending me that copy. Davidson (*Thesaurus*) did not trace either poem further back than Venice, 1780.
5. There are to my knowledge no separate Sephardic fast-day rituals before the 17th century. I have examined Sephardic *Mahzorim* (Books of Prayers for the Liturgical Year) published in Venice in 1544 and in 1584 (Hebrew) and the Spanish *Libro de Oraciones*, Ferrara, 1552.
6. Cf. I. Leiser, *Services for the Fast Days According to the Sephardi Tradition*, London, 1965, 167-9.

7. I have borrowed a part of the preceding paragraph from Abraham A. Neuman, "The Shebet Yehudah and Sixteenth Century Historiography," *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume*, English Section, N.Y., 1945, 258.

8. Cf. F.Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, II, Philadelphia, 1966, 330-1.

9. Cf. S.W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, X, N.Y., 1965, 244; C. Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy*, Philadelphia, 1946, 254-5; Sergio Joseph Sierra, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, V. 14, cols. 1493-1496 "Sicily." The date of expulsion given in that article is erroneous.

10. Cf. Babylonian Talmud, *Gittin* 56b.

11. Although the second hemistich of line 14 in the first poem and of line 12 in the second poem are identical in the Venice 1736 edition which is reproduced here, the reading of both hemistichs varies from one edition to another. The reading I have adopted for the translation (*sebi 'el sibya*) occurs in the second poem in the Venice 1780; Leghorn 1825, 1840; and Vienna 1856 editions. As it stands in the Venice 1736 edition the hemistich reads: "from a land of bondage into captivity," which makes no sense in the first poem. The earliest edition of the first poem (Venice, 1638) gives the last word of the hemistich as *sibya*, corrected to *sebiya* in the Venice 1780, Pisa 1797 and later editions. According to this version, the entire verse should read: "I took you as exiles from the land of bondage into the Holy Land." This also makes no sense. It is precisely the poetic confusion between the Holy Land and Spain which accounts for these variants.

12. On the other hand, even within the first poem spelling of place names changes from one edition to the other. For instance, Venice 1638, line 10, gives *'aragon*. The same word in Venice 1736 reads *'ara'gwn*.

13. As stated above (note 5), they are not to be found in the Spanish translation which appeared in Ferrara in 1552. They are not in any subsequent separate editions of the Spanish translation of the fast-day ritual.

14. Both *qinot* on the expulsion from Spain may be found in the following editions which I have consulted: Venice 1736 (Ishac Foà); Leghorn, 1743 (Abraham Meldola); Venice, 1780 (Meshullam Ashkenazi Finzi); Pisa, 1797 (David Cezana); Leghorn, 1825 (Moses and Israel Palagi and Salomone Belforte); Leghorn, 1840 (Eli'ezer Menahem Ottolenghi); Vienna, 1844 (Franz, Edler von Schmid); Vienna, 1856, 1877, 1889 (J. Knoepfmacher); Leghorn, 1921 (Salomone Belforte); Vienna, 1931 (J. Schlesinger). (This last edition has been reprinted a number of times in Israel.) the one fastday ritual I have consulted which is accompanied by an Italian translation (Leghorn, 1845, Moses and Israel Palagi and Salomone Belforte) does not contain them.

I should like to express thanks to Dr. Marc D. Angel, for suggesting to me the subject of this essay and for his invaluable help with the analysis and translation of the poems. I should also like to thank Haham Solomon D. Sassoon for his excellent suggestions all of which I adopted.

From Bayonne to Bordeaux: Two Portuguese Letters of 1741

by Gérard Nahon

Editor's Foreword

Early in the 17th century, émigrés from the Iberian Peninsula established a Jewish congregation in Saint-Esprit, a suburb of Bayonne, in several towns near Bayonne and in Bordeaux. Services were held in private homes and makeshift synagogues. Until 1723 the Jewish presence in Southwestern France, although tolerated, was not officially recognized. Toward the end of the 17th century the community of Bayonne adopted the Hebraic designation of *Kahal Kados Nephusoth Yeuda* ("Holy Congregation Dispersed of Judah"). It had a reputation, during the 18th century, of relatively greater piety than the various synagogues of Bordeaux. The Bordeaux community, on the other hand, was supposedly more affluent than its Bayonne counterpart.¹

A number of scholars have claimed that Spanish, rather than Portuguese, was the exclusive Iberian language of the "Portuguese" New Christians (afterwards "Portuguese" Jews) who constituted the Bayonne and the Bordeaux communities.² It is an established fact that the official language of these congregations was Spanish until their adoption of French,³ in contrast with Sephardic Amsterdam, where congregational business was carried out in Portuguese until the adoption of Dutch.⁴

While working on his still unpublished thesis dealing with the Sephardim of Southwestern France,⁵ Monsieur Nahon encountered in the Departmental Archives of the Gironde two letters written in 1741 by Jacob Pereyra Brandon of Bayonne to David Lindo of Bordeaux. Both letters are written in Portuguese, albeit with an admixture of Spanish, as well as of French. These letters demonstrate that an important member of the Bayonne-Bordeaux communities

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used Portuguese for some personal correspondence. The two letters allow us not merely a glimpse of a relationship between individual Sephardim of Bayonne and Bordeaux during the 18th century, but they present a tableau of the often picturesque reality of Jewish life in these congregations. They are extremely precious items, inasmuch as the social and religious life of 18th-century French Sephardim is still practically unknown to Jewish historians. M. Gérard Nahon has graciously allowed *The Sephardic Scholar* to publish these letters for the first time, in advance of their publication as an appendix to his exhaustively researched doctoral thesis. In addition he has done fresh research on the author of the letters and has come up with fascinating data on Sephardic commercial enterprise in 18th-century France, an entirely new area of Jewish historical investigation. M. Gérard Nahon's article follows the annotated English translation, by the editors of *The Sephardic Scholar*, of the Portuguese letters. M. Gérard Nahon's article, in turn, is followed by the transcription of the full Portuguese text, accompanied by photographic reproductions of the original letters. We now present, in our English translation, the two letters from Jacob Pereyra Brandon of Bayonne to David Lindo of Bordeaux:

Bayonne, 19 September 1741

Mr. David Lindo

Dear Sir,

Until now I could not answer yours of the 13th instant, and since today is the eve of that most holy day⁶ (on which may the Lord seal you in the Book of Life⁷), there is no time to say anything but that your beloved Lindot⁸ is in good health and asks you and his beloved mother for your blessing with that of God which may cover us all. The child already goes to the Hebrew School of *Riby Daniel Albares Pereyra* who is the best teacher that we have here,⁹ and he gives promise of making progress every day because he has inclination and a good memory to which care will be applied.

In the same school and with another teacher he is learning to read French, and after the Festivals I shall speak with the dancing master, who lives in front of *Riby Daniel*, and he is a good dancer, so that he may begin to instruct him.¹⁰

The boy loves to go to *Congrega*¹¹ because he always "gets the bells"¹² which I purchase for him for a modest sum.¹³ And since, besides his great cleverness, he endears himself, he always goes with some one of my sons.

A David Lindo
 Bayona 1741

Como se he supora de tom elgado diafomy o e. (Lindot) em libro de vidas) nao ay tempo de desor outras cousa de m
 que eu quero Lindot fica se caude. e pede avmd e a sua
 queira say sua Bensaõ com a de Deus que nos cabem a
 todos; D.º Morino ha bay a escola hebraica de Riby Dico
 albans Pereyra, que he o millor mestre que aqui temos, e
 promete irã abansando todos os dias; por ther incuinadas
 boza memoria ad que de apricaadã cuidado;-
 na mesma Escola e uor outro mestre; aprende a leer franceis; e
 os vois de festas galasen ad da danza que vive de fronte deo. Ri
 e miel, e he bom Dançarim, p.º que comense a insinalo;
 D.º Bracas conta muito se ir a Congrega por e mpre ther os haing
 m. He sempre a pouca custo e como se fante de pasta sua ma
 m. so. so. se, e de a queren de continuo aroa ad lado de algun
 mas fides;
 ameyo Torres fica bom, e a feira foy detetar da Douana o pag
 a casa p.º e agal, e desembolsou o poste e direito, e
 m. de quando chegou aroa; achou de menos huma camin
 Nova; e pois o tal paqueteinha se dover, he processo
 que por loquemanto se abra ficado em Lina, e foy
 o que de presente se offere e ficar a obed.º de v.º Cafe
 p.º e.º m.º g.º

Jacob Pereyra Brandon

Friend Torres is in good health. Last Friday he went to take from the customs¹⁴ the package of clothing for the said youth.¹⁵ He disbursed the carrying charges and duties, which I am paying him and shall charge you. He found one new shirt missing. This package certainly came at the right time. It must have remained through an oversight in that city. This is all for the present, and remain in obedience to you whose life may God keep many years,

Your faithful servant,
 Jacob Pereyra Brandon

Bayonne, 18 December 1741

Mr. David Lindo

Dear Sir,

I trust that you continue to enjoy good health in the company of Madame and the rest of the family to whom my wife and I commend ourselves. My wife has again come down with ague. May the Lord cure her according to her need.

Lindot is well and every day he endears himself more to all by his ways and affability. As I advised our friend Medina, he has already started to write. He says the *semah* and *midah*¹⁶ every day like a man and within a week they will put him to the *perasah*.¹⁷ He never misses a day at *Congrega* and says he is already a better Jew than all Bordeaux. May God make him His servant and may you obtain from him and the others great satisfactions.¹⁸

The bearer of this letter will be, God willing, Riby Yeuda who was Haham of Alexandria and went to Amsterdam as *saliah* [emissary] from Jerusalem. He is a person of great merits and he came recommended to me from Amsterdam. As he knew of your kindness towards me and the reputation of your good heart, he asked me for a letter of recommendation which I could not refuse him. Thus I entreat you to sponsor him before the Gentlemen *parnases*¹⁹ so that he be well attended, which I expect from your benevolence.²⁰

By the same Riby Yeuda I am sending you a package marked D.L. which contains seventeen veal sausages for your lady wife, which you will be pleased to accept and I shall be most happy that she may find them to her liking. As the said Haham is about to leave there is no time to write further. May God guard your life many years,

Your faithful servant,
 Jacob Pereyra Brandon

Mr. David Lindo
 Bayonne
 Minha Estimada e contínuo en gosto boa saúde com
 companhia de sua mãe Senhora e mais família, em q' cop a
 minha mãe me recomendará; e minha mãe e mais
 alicar com saúde; e a mellosa e algum de acausos
 Lindo fica bom, e cada dia se está mais querendo de todos, por
 seus modos e afabilidade; e segum avisos do Sr. Medico
 já comensou a escrever; e dis alemah e mais todos os dias
 como tua homem, e dentro de dias o poram de Bessarab, não
 falta ninha dia a Congrega; e dis q' já he millor judeu q'
 todo Bord. e o favor da senhora e q' um me seja de la e de
 de mais grandes gostos; e
 O dador da presente carta me escreveu o Sr. Riby Lenda q' se
 Sr. H. de Alexandria e passou a amizade por Saliah de
 Jerusalaim; he pessoa de todos meitos, e me boya recomen-
 ado de Sr. Ambr. e como sabe a mercad q' um me seja
 e a reputação de seu bom Coraçao me pebu esta e
 Recomendação, o q' não me pude impedir, e assim me
 e simpico e diava patasiniarlos com os Sr. Rancos
 p' q' boya bem des pachabo o q' expao de sua benevolencia; e
 Sr. Riby Lenda, Remeto a um hum paquetto macado
 D L que Contem desivete e hoiaissas de Pitata para
 Sr. Ambr. Lenda, q' um d' e seu via de acausos de acausos
 e celebrary as achu de seu gosto e como Sr. H. H. e
 p' q' pater não ay tempo de ler mais largo de acausos
 e acausos
 Jacob Pereyra Brandon

When a merchant from Bordeaux declared bankruptcy, his accounts and papers were delivered to the judicature, consular jurisdiction, or Parliament of Bordeaux. Sometimes all his papers, commercial or otherwise, were seized and deposited in the judicial archives. These documents, all grouped together, may be found at present in the Departmental Archives of the Gironde where they have recently been excellently catalogued, thus allowing scholars to do systematic research among these myriads of documents.¹ Thanks to intelligent use of these documents, a number of important scholarly works have appeared concerning the careers of Bordeaux merchants of the first rank.² In this storehouse I have searched for letters originating in Bayonne and addressed to Jewish merchants of Bordeaux. I have mainly studied the Gabriel da Silva³ and the David Lindo⁴ collections. These correspondences allow us to deal with the relations between the two major Sephardic communities in pre-Revolution France. Indeed, certain of these letters contain matters of community and inter-community interest which may shed new light on French Sephardic history. The letters presented above in English translation and in the Portuguese original at the close of this article derive from the David Lindo collection. This collection probably entered the judicial archives after David Lindo, a Bordeaux merchant in wines and colonial wares, declared bankruptcy in 1742.⁵

The author of the two letters, Jacob Pereyra Brandon, was the head of an important Bayonne family which flourished throughout the 18th century. His birthdate is not known. His father was Duarte Lopes Pereira and his mother's name was Brandon.⁶ He was born in Vila Flor, Portugal.⁷ His wife, Rachel Rodrigues Brandon, died in 1751.⁸ The couple had at least thirteen children, seven boys (Moyzé, Samuel, Aaron, Salomon, Elie, Izacq, Abraham) and six girls (Sara, Ribca, Abigail, Judith, Hana, Mirian).⁹ Jacob Pereyra Brandon died, no doubt at a ripe old age, on February 18, 1752.¹⁰

Jacob's successful commercial career can be followed in great detail over a period of fifty years, one of the longest of all those known to us in the Bayonne Jewish community.¹¹ He traded in colonial wares, imported and exported on a large scale, carried out banking activities and dealt in maritime credit and underwriting.¹² He was the head of what was surely one of the most important business houses of Bayonne.

In 1696, when the bankrupt French treasury put "family heraldic arms" up for sale, Jacob Pereyra Brandon was "honored" with the obligatory purchase of a crest of gold with one side in crimson ("d'or à une face de gueules").¹³ In 1698 he was assessed the

ninth highest among Bayonne business men: 2,500 livres.¹⁴ On October 16, 1725, Jacob Pereyra Brandon gave his daughter Sara a dowry of 30,000 livres when she married Samuel Vaez Faro, a physician.¹⁵

He actively participated in the life of Congregation *Nephusoth Yeuda*. In 1721-2 he was a member of the Mahamad (Board of Trustees). His name, as *Parnas Presidente*, is the first of four dignitaries to whom Haham Ishac de Acosta dedicated his voluminous *Conjeturas Sagradas sobre los Prophetas Primeros*, printed in Leyden, the Netherlands, in 1721 or 1722 (see illustration). Pereyra Brandon and his colleagues must have exercised their functions for a number of terms, to judge by the words of the Haham: "haviendo V Mds. exercitado juntos su gobierno con general aplauso tan repetidas vezes, que ya les viene a ser como Arte natural el regir este K.K. . . ."¹⁶ (since your Honors have exercised your government with general applause so many times, that the government of this Holy Congregation has already become as a natural art for you . . .)

I have found a splendidly engraved stone in the middle of the ninth row of the old part of Bayonne's Jewish cemetery which bears his initials and title: "J.P.B. PARNAS."¹⁷

The person to whom the two letters were addressed is less well known than their sender. The Lindo Collection has still not been properly studied.¹⁸ A Manoel Vaes de Lindo signed the marriage contract of Jacob Pereyra Brandon's daughter Sara.¹⁹ During the eighteenth century a Claudine Lindo converted to Catholicism at the age of 17, became a nun in the Convent of Madeleine in Bordeaux and received an annuity of 200 livres from the king.²⁰ It appears that the family was Portuguese. Not only did Jacob Pereyra Brandon correspond in Portuguese with David Lindo, but the latter's wife's tombstone in the old Jewish cemetery of Bordeaux is the first one of only two out of 300 to bear a Hebrew and Portuguese inscription, the others all bearing Hebrew and Spanish or Hebrew and French ones.²¹

In the early 19th century the name Lindo was still considered to be "one of the most important Spanish and Portuguese names" of Bordeaux.²² It has not been possible, however, to establish a relationship between the Bordeaux Lindos and the famous 19th century Lindos of London and the West Indies.²³

From the linguistic viewpoint the letters, although influenced by Spanish, as well as French, suggest that the native language of the writer was Portuguese.²⁴ It is of course probable that Jacob Pereyra Brandon could have written Spanish with the same or greater ease, considering the proximity of Bayonne to Spain and his frequent

business transactions with that country. He may have used Portuguese out of courtesy towards his correspondent, David Lindo, who, as we have seen, seems to have had some special predilection for this language. It would be interesting to compare Pereyra Brandon's Portuguese style and spelling with Lindo's, but no Portuguese document by David Lindo is presently available to me.

These two letters may also confirm the impressions of Haham Joseph David Azulay (1724-1806) who travelled a number of times from the Holy Land to Bayonne and Bordeaux, to the effect that the Judaism of Bayonne was more profound than that of Bordeaux.²⁵ Why, after all, would young Lindo have been sent *en pension* to Bayonne to obtain a Jewish education? The boy remarks that his newly acquired religious practices had made him "a better Jew than all Bordeaux." Would the emissary from the Holy Land, had he not received Jacob Pereyra Brandon's recommendation, have been *a priori* less well received in Bordeaux than in Bayonne? Does the present of seventeen kasher sausages perhaps imply that the quality of kasher meat in Bordeaux was inferior to that of Bayonne, or even the absence of such meat in Bordeaux? These questions, suggested by the contents of the two letters from Bayonne to Bordeaux, point to the need for a comparative study of religious outlook and practices in the two great pre-Revolution Sephardic communities of France.

Notes

1. Cf. Arthur Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews*, New York, 1968, 54, 117, 159-161.

2. Cf. Georges Cirot, "Notes sur les 'Juifs portugais' de Bordeaux," *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, XI, 1933, 158-172; H.P. Salomon, "The Strange Odyssey of 'Bendigamos'," *The American Sephardi*, III, 1-2, September 1969, 69-78; Tomás L. Ryan de Heredia, "Yishac de Acosta's 'Israelitic Act of Belief,'" *Ibid.*, VI, 1-2, Winter 1973, 52-65.

3. Cf. Gérard Nahon, "Note sur les Registres des délibérations de la Nation Juive Portugaise de Bordeaux, 1710-1790," *Revue des Etudes Juives* (hereafter *REJ*), CXXIX, 1970, 239-243.

4. The transition from Portuguese to Dutch took place on June 8, 1815. Cf. S. Nunes Nabarro, "Tussentijds Verplicht Aftreden van Provisionele Parnassim," *Habinjan-De Opbouw*, vol. 26, no. 3, April 1973, 470.

5. "Communautés Judéo-Portugaises du Sud-Ouest de la France (Bayonne et sa région) 1684-1791." University of Paris, 1969.

6. The eve of *kipur* 5502.

7. The Portuguese wish has the traditional plural *vidas* (lives) which corresponds to the idiomatic Hebrew plural *hayim*. Cf. H.P. Salomon,

"Sephardi Terminology," *The American Sephardi*, VI, 1-2, 1973, 93-95.

8. The writer does not furnish the first name of the boy, whose last name he spells with a final "t" apparently as a French diminutive of endearment (cf. "Jeannot" for Jean). (Ed.)

9. Daniel Alvares Pereyra was a student of Bayonne's famous Haham Raphael Meldola who came from Italy in 1729 and remained in office until 1741, when he returned to Leghorn. Riby Alvares Pereyra addressed a query to Rabbi David Meldola of Amsterdam (Raphael Meldola's son) on October 2, 1734 (5 tisir 5495). Cf. David Meldola, *Dibre David*, Amsterdam, 1753, 28v-30v. He frequently appears in notarial documents from Bayonne. Cf. *Archives départementales des Pyrénées Atlantiques* (hereafter *Arch. Pyr. Atlant.*) III E 3929, 4206, 4651, 4658, 4672; *Archives de Bayonne*, BB 58. He died on January 5, 1767 (*Archives de Bayonne*, 337). His tombstone is mentioned by Henry Léon, *Histoire des Juifs de Bayonne*, Paris, 1893, 209.

10. A Jewish dancing master by the name of Quiros (first name unknown) was involved in 1759 in a quarrel with the municipal authorities of Bayonne regarding his right to live in the city itself, where most of his pupils resided, rather than in the "Jewish" suburb of Saint-Esprit across the Adour. Cf. *Archives de Bayonne*, GG 34; H. Léon, *Histoire*, etc., 67-8; A. Hertzberg, *op. cit.*, 110.

11. This designation for the synagogue corresponds to the Hebrew term *qahal*. (Ed.) The *congrega* here referred to was perhaps the private third-floor synagogue called "Brandon", to which the first specific reference occurs in 1752. Cf. H. Léon, *Histoire*, etc., 239; Hertzberg, *op. cit.*, 201.

12. Pereyra Brandon uses the Hebrew word with a Portuguese plural suffix "haims" which stands for *'es hayim* (tree of life), the official designation for the twin silver bells used for crowning the scroll of the *tora*. These are also sometimes referred to as *rimonim* (pomegranates). In Spanish and Portuguese synagogues it is customary to give small boys the *misvot* of removing and replacing the "bells" and the "band" of the *tora*, before and after the reading of the weekly portion. (Ed.)

13. Such "purchase" is unknown in the Spanish and Portuguese synagogues of Northern Europe and the Americas. Perhaps the *misvot* in Bayonne were sold at auction, as is customary in Italian and Oriental Sephardic synagogues. (Ed.)

14. Customs duties (or *droits d'octroi*: city tolls) were levied in pre-Revolution France on all goods shipped from one city to another. This abuse was one of those done away with by the French Revolution.

15. The word *sagal* (youth) is here interpreted in the Spanish sense of *zagal*. (Ed.)

16. "Midah" stand for *'amida* (silent supplication). If one may judge by this transcription, Pereyra Brandon's knowledge of Hebrew would hardly appear profound. (Ed.)

17. The Oriental Sephardic influence on Bayonne synagogue ter-

minology is apparent. Perhaps it came through Haham Meldola from Leghorn. The form *perasa* is unknown in Western Sephardic synagogues, where the more correct form *parasa* obtains instead. Cf. H.P. Salomon, "Sephardic Terminology," *The American Sephardi*, V, 1-2, Autumn 1971, 63-4. (Ed.)

18. This sentence contains the formulas still today used in the Sephardic synagogues of Amsterdam and Curaçao when the Hazan announces an offering in honor of a *bar-misva*. For Amsterdam ("*que Deus o faça seu servo*") cf. Jaap Meijer, *Encyclopaedia Sefardica Neerlandica*, Amsterdam, 1949, 211; for Curaçao ("*que vejam dele grandes gostos*") cf. Isaac S. and Suzanne A. Emmanuel, *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*, Cincinnati, 1970, 1094. (Ed.)

19. This familiar form of the Hebrew word *parnas* (trustee) with a Portuguese plural suffix was also popular in Sephardic Amsterdam. (Ed.)

20. The Bordeaux *parnasim*, named on March 19, 1741, were George Francia, Phelipe Lopes and one Brandon. Cf. *Archives départementales de la Gironde*, Série J, *Registre de la Nation Portugaise*, no. 84, f° 23.

1. Cf. Françoise Giteau and her collaborators, supervised by André Betge-Brezetz, *Archives départementales de la Gironde, Répertoire numérique du Fonds des Négociants (7 B 1001 to 3154)* (hereafter *Répertoire*), Bordeaux, 1960, III-IX.

2. Cf., for example, the excellent study by Jean Cavignac, *Jean Pelet, commerçant de gros 1694-1772, Contribution à l'étude du négoce bordelais au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1967.

3. The Gabriel da Silva collection (numbers 7 B 2021-2174) is dated 1728-1789. Cf. *Répertoire*, 32-35.

4. The David Lindo collection (numbers 7 B 1590-1623) is dated 1730-1742. Cf. *Répertoire*, 20-21. I have included a number of documents from these two collections in my above cited thesis, vol. II, 386-401.

5. David Lindo's bankruptcy is referred to in a published *factum* which begins as follows: "A juger en l'audience de la Grand-Chambre pour sieur David Lindo, négociant de Bordeaux . . . Contre sieur Benjamin Gradis." This *factum* is undated but Zosa Szajkowski (*Franco-Judaica, An analytical Bibliography of Books, Pamphlets, Decrees, Briefs and Other Printed Documents Pertaining to the Jews in France 1500-1788*, New York, 1962, 97b, no. 1124) indicates "[Bordeaux, 1741]." The document belongs to the private collection of L. Lopes in Lisbon. The documents in our collection derive from the year 1742. No doubt the liquidation was only effected in the latter year, although the proceedings may have begun during the previous year.

6. Cf. Henry Léon, *Histoire des Juifs de Bayonne*, Paris, 1893 [reprinted Marseille, 1976], 405. Léon gives no source for this information.

7. "Jacob Péreya Brandon originaire de Villeflor en Portugal,

demeurant à Bayonne, lequel s'est habitué dans le royaume depuis la déclaration du mois de may 1656 . . ." Cf. *Archives Nationales*, Paris, E 3706¹², no. 198, f° 5v. [Many of the Portuguese New Christians who adopted Judaism in Bayonne were natives of Vila Flor. Cf. Simon Schwarzfuchs, "Notes sur les Juifs de Bayonne au XVIIIe siècle," *REJ*, CXXV, 4, 1966, 353-364. Further information on the New Christians of Vila Flor may be found in Elisabeth Levi de Montezinos, "The Narrative of Aharon Levi, alias Antonio de Montezinos," *The American Sephardi*, VII-VIII, Autumn 1975, 62-83: 77 and bibliography in note 19. -Ed.]

8. Cf. *Archives de Bayonne*, Supplément GG Israélites 15 (3), 241-332. Her name is the first in the Jewish Burial Register (*Enregistrement des Enterrements*): "Le 26e may est décédée demoiselle Rachel Rodrigues Brandon femme de Jacob Pereyra Brandon, elle fut enterrée le 27e dito au simitière de la Nation Juive."

9. Various notarized deeds permit us to reconstruct this numerous progeny. We also have vital statistics concerning their death. A summons is presented to Jacob's son Izacq Brandon on March 13, 1720. (*Arch. Pyr. Atlant.* III E 4630). We have a marriage contract of October 16, 1725 between Moïse Vaez-Faro and Sara Pereyre-Brandon, "fille de Jacob Péreyre-Brandon et Rachel du même nom" (*ibid.*, III E, 4635). On November 4, 1760 Abraham de Jacob Pereyra Brandon made his last will and testament in favor of his brothers Moïse, Semuel, Salomon, Aron, Elie and his sisters Sara, Rica, Judith, Abigail and Hana (*ibid.*, III E 4672). He died the same day (*Archives de Bayonne*, 281). Ribca, Abigail, Judith and Hana made their last will and testament on November 28, 1765 (*Arch. Pyr. Atlant.*, III E 4566). Another daughter, Mirian, died on May 2, 1755 (*Enreg. Enterrements*, 261). Jacob Pereyra Brandon made his testament before Maître Laurent Delissalde, royal notary, around 1751. It is mentioned in the one made by his other daughters on November 28, 1765 (*ibid.*, III E 4566) and is probably extant in the file of Maître Delissalde (*ibid.*, III E 4177).

10. Cf. *Archives de Bayonne*, 243. Concerning Jacob Pereyra Brandon's children a number of facts have come to light. Through Abraham's last will and testament it appears he was a merchant and lived a long time in Amsterdam. Salomon Pereira Brandon was married to Ribca Vaz-Faro who gave him a daughter named Rachel on July 5, 1761 (*ibid.*, 41). He died on February 24, 1782 (*ibid.*, 328). Elie Pereira Brandon married Rachel Nounes on October 5, 1759 (*ibid.*, 129). She gave him eight children: Jacob (September 13, 1760), Rachel (December 23, 1762), Semuel (February 10, 1765), Sipora (July 26, 1767), a female child whose name is not mentioned (October 7, 1769), Abraham (November 21, 1773) and two more daughters whose names are not given (January 30, 1775 and November 15, 1776) (*ibid.*, 39, 46, 53n, 57, 63, 72, 77, 81). Elie Pereira Brandon died on July 6, 1788 (cf. *Arch. Bayonne*, Suppl. GG Israélites 17, 1.) He must have been born around 1722, since his death certificate specifies that he was "about sixty-six years old." The last wills of Ribca, Abigail, Judith and Hana indicate that they were professional

seamstresses. Hana died on October 6, 1782 and Judith on November 6, 1783 (*Enreg. Enterrements*, 323 and 325).

11. On January 18, 1695, he lent 500 livres "à la grosse aventure" to Pierre Hirigoyen, captain of the Ship *Saint Pierre* at 50% (*Arch. Pyr. Atlant.* III E 4103). On June 1 of the same year he received power of attorney from Giacomo Colombo, the captain of a Venetian ship (*ibid.*, III E 4031). On February 6, 1705, he protested a bill for 258 livres. On April 1, 1705, together with the Bayonne merchants Léon Rol, Jean Pinkener and Bertrand Fourans, his factor George Cardoze addressed a bill to Francisco Louis Francia of Bordeaux. On April 18, 1705, it appears that, by a bill of April 24, 1704, he sold merchandise to Spanish merchants for 170 écus. On April 28 he addressed a bill to the Letang heirs for a credit of 300 livres. On August 31, he was in partnership with Anthoine Alvares to deliver West Indian cocoa to Spain in exchange for 86 bales of wool. On June 30 he protested a bill for 1200 livres (cf., for all the bills of 1705, *ibid.*, III E 4428). On September 5, 1715, he replaced Abraham Atlas de Neyra as official receiver for the creditors of Abraham Sola (*ibid.*, III E 3789). On December 16, 1715, he was the receiver for the creditors of the widow Pinkeuer and of van Oosteram and he received a bill from Menacé Hazevedo, a Bordeaux merchant (*ibid.*, III E 4439). On October 13, 1717, as a "merchant banker," he gave power of attorney to Joseph Garcie Vaquedanco Tejado of Lombères in Castile (*ibid.*, III E 4627). On October 14, 1718, he received a bill from Dominguo de Guisla, merchant of La Palma, Canary Islands (*ibid.*, III, 4628). On November 28, 1719, he gave power of attorney for a bill drawn on Amsterdam by David Péreire Brandon (*ibid.*, III E 4629). On March 13, 1720, he protested a bill on Lisbon (*ibid.*, III E 4630). On January 26, Jacques Alexandre summoned him to collect 3,700 livres, 4 sols. On March 21, 1725, the latter summoned him to collect 306 livres, 4 sols, 6 deniers (*ibid.*, III E 4635). On January 19, 1725, in his capacity as a banker he was the receiver for some of the creditors of Abraham Solla (*ibid.*, III E 4156). On November 10, 1725, he protested a bill for 1,217 livres, 15 sols, against Pierre Gontaires. On November 27, 1725, he lent "à la grosse aventure" 2,700 livres at 25% on a ship named the *Saint Baptiste de Bayonne*, leaving for Martinique (*ibid.*, III E 4448). On January 4, 1745, he gave procuration to Maître Alboize, Attorney General and Seneschal of Carcassonne, to recuperate sums owed by one Bertrand. On September 30 of that year he gave power of attorney to Joseph Descascargue, notary at San Sebastián in Spain (*ibid.*, III E 4467).

12. The loans "à la grosse aventure" were, in fact, a form of maritime credit. Among the sums due to him I might mention 4,900 livres owed by one Marie Mendy, on March 22, 1723 (cf. Bibliothèque Municipale de Bordeaux, *factum* 395-2; cf. Z. Szajkowski, *op. cit.*, no. 766, 70). His activity as an underwriter is attested to by a brief (*factum*) against Jean Escoubet, a ship captain from La Rochelle, after 1719 (cf. *ibid.*, and Z. Szajkowski, *op. cit.*, no. 1091, 95, also no. 1092).

13. Cf. Henry Léon, *Histoire*, etc., 157-160; H.P. Salomon, "K.K.

Nefusoth Yehuda of Bayonne, France and the 'Sun King'." *The American Sephardi*, III, 1-2, 1969, 110-112. The Pereyra Brandon crest was registered in Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 32, 206, no. 123. It was reproduced in ms. fr. 32, 240, page 267 and published by H. Léon, *op. cit.*, illustration facing p. 160.

14. Arch. Nat., E. 3706¹¹, no. 289, f^o 1v. The assessment was, however, mitigated on May 18, 1700 to 833 *livres*, 6 *sols*, 8 *deniers*. Cf. Arch. Nat. E. 3706¹², no. 198, f^o 5v. Other Portuguese Jews of Bayonne were taxed far more heavily, e.g., Louis Mendez Dacosta, 2,000 *livres*. Cf. *doç*, *cit.*, f^o 4v.

15. Arch. Pyr. Atlant., III E 4635.

16. On Yshak de Acosta, cf. Tomás L. Ryan de Heredia, *art. cit.*, *supra*, note 31. Cf. also my article "L'Historia Sacra Real d'Yshak de Acosta (Peyrehorade, 1691)," in *Mélanges André Néher*, Paris, 1975, 331-345.

17. The stone was lying next to the tomb of Ishak Gomes Brito, dated 1 sivan 5464 (June 3, 1704). The purpose of the stone, which also bears the initials and title: "AB. G. GABAY," was no doubt the same as that of the one in the London Sephardic cemetery reproduced by Albert M. Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England*, London, 1951, 25. (Ed.)

18. Cf. *supra*, note 5.

19. Arch. Pyr. Atlant., III E 4635.

20. Cf. Théophile Malvezin, *Histoire des Juifs à Bordeaux*, Bordeaux, 1875, [reprinted Marseilles, 1976], 162.

21. Cf. Georges Cirot, *Recherches sur les Juifs espagnols et portugais à Bordeaux*, Bordeaux, 1908, 125; *id.*, "Notes sur les 'Juifs portugais' de Bordeaux," *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, XI, 1933, 159.

22. Cf. Th. Malvezin, *op. cit.*, 287.

23. Cf. Cecil Roth, "Lindo," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 11, 259-260.

24. The frequent substitution of a *b* for a *v* in the text of the letters, e.g., *bespora*, *libro*, *bay*, *abansando*, *bolbeu*, *Albares*, *bitela*, etc., is typical not only of Spanish speech but also of the Portuguese of northern Portugal. Similar substitutions of *b* for *v* may be found in the Portuguese writings of Amsterdam Sephardim, e.g., Menasseh Ben Israel, *Thesouro dos Dinim*, Amsterdam, 1645. (Ed.)

25. Cf. Arthur Hertzberg, *op. cit.*, 159-161; H.P. Salomon, *art. cit.*, *The American Sephardi*, III, 1-2, 1969, 74 and note 19.

Appendix: Original Portuguese Text of Letters

Archives départementales de la Gironde, 7 B 1595

Bayonna é 19 de 7 [tem] bre 1741

S^r David Lindo

S^r meu,

O passado não pude responder a de vmd de 13^e deste é como oje he bespora de tam sagr[a]dô dia (em q[ue] ô S[enho]r celle a vmd em libro de vidas) nao ay tempo de deser outra cousa se não que seu querido Lindot fica de saude, é pede a vmd é a sua querida may sua bensaõ com a de Deus que nos cubra a todos. D[it]^o menino ja bay a escola hebraica de Riby Daniel Albares Pereyra, que he ô millor mestre que aqui temos, é promete irá abansando todos os dias; por ther incrinasaõ é boa memoria ao que se apricará cuidado.

Na mesma escola é por outro mestre, aprende a léer françois, é depois de festas falarey ao da dansa que vive de fronte de d[it]^o Riby Daniel, é he bom dansarim, p[ar]^a que comense a insinalo.

D[it]^o rapas gosta muito de ir a Congrega por s[e]mpre ther os haims que lle compro a pouco custo, é como deixando de parte sua muita vivasidade, se dá a querer, de continuo anda ao lado de algum de meus filhos.

O amigo Torres fica bom, 6^a feira foy retirar da douana ô paqu[e]tte de roupa p[ar]^a d[it]^o sagal; é desembolsou ô porte é direitos, é em llos pagando cargarey a vmd; achou de menos huma camisina nova; é pois ô tal paquette vinha ao dever; he precisso que por esquecimento se abrá ficado em essa, q[ue] he tudo ô que de presente se offrese é ficar a obed [ienci]^a de vmd cuja v[id]^a g[uard]^e Deus mu[itos] a[nos]

Muy servidor de vmd
Jacob Per[eyr]^a Brandon

Bayonna é 18 x(em)bre 1741

S^r David Lindo

S^r meu

Estimarey vmd continue en gozar boa saude em companhia dessa m[inh]^a senhora é mais familla, em q[uae]^{ns} com a minha munto nos recomendamos; d[it]^a minha muller bolbeu a recair com maleitas; Deus a mellore segum se necessita.

Lindot fica bom, é cada dia se fas mais querer de todos, por seus modos é afabilidade; é segum avisey ao am[ig]º Medina; ja comensou a escrever; é dis a semah é midah todos os dias como hum homem, é dentro 8 dias ô poram de perasah, nao falta ninhuḿ dia a congrega; é dis q[ue] ja he millor judeu q[ue] todo Bord[eu]º ô fasa seu servo é q[ue] vmdº veijam delle é dos demais grandes gostos;-

O dador da presente será med[ian]ºe D[eu]º ô s[enho]º Riby Yeudá q[ue] foy H[a]H[am] de Alexandria é passou a Amst[erda]ºm por saliah de Yerusalaím; hé pessoa de todos meritos, é me beyo recomendado de d[it]º Amst[erda]ºm é como soibe a merced q[ue] vmd me faz é a reputasaõ de seu bom coração me pediu carta de recomendasaõ, o q[ue] naõ me pude impedir, é asim lle suprico se sirva patrosiniarlo com os s[enho]ºes parnases p[ar]º que baya bem despachado ô q[ue] espero de sua benevolensia.

Por d[it]º Riby Yeuda remeto a vmd hum paquette marcado D.L. que contem desisete choirissas de bitela para d[it]º s[enho]ºa sua esposa que vmd se servirá mandar receber é celebrarey as ache de seu gosto é como d[it]º s[enho]º H[a]H[am] esta p[ar]º partir naõ ay t[e]mpo de ser mais largo, cuja v[id]º g[uard]º D[eu]º mui[tos] a[nos].

Muy servidor de vmd
Jacob Per[eyr]º Brandon.

Don Quixote, *Converso*

Barbara Hillson Abramowitz

Examining the area of double meanings in Chapter 1, Part I of the *Quixote*, this paper builds on the work of Leo Spitzer (linguistic perspectivism), and Américo Castro (racial implications).¹ Cervantes himself is the third authority. He clearly explains his method of intentionally including multiple meanings in the names created in this chapter (as we shall see in the case of Rocinante). And he directs us to seek more levels of meaning (as we shall in the case of Don Quixote).

This study, therefore, analyzes the etymological, literary, historical, and sociological aspects of the toponym *de la Mancha*. Documentary evidence discovered in these disciplines, when added to a careful reading of the text, support the conclusion that this part of the name revealed most specifically Don Quixote's Jewish origins.

Cervantes intended to portray his immortal hero as a *converso*, a descendant of converts from Judaism to Christianity — also called a new Christian. He sketches quickly the picture of a guant, poor, low-echelon noble (an *hidalgo*) who is verging on fifty. He mentions the gentleman's dress, eating habits, and daily activities before his inordinate addiction to reading novels of chivalry. The plot is summed up briefly, and the rest of the chapter deals with names, the focus of our attention.²

Cervantes starts out in the very opening line by refusing to name the hero's hometown: "In a certain village of La Mancha, whose name I do not wish to recall . . ."³ To the question of "Where?" we get a partial answer: somewhere in a region of Spain called La Mancha. But the next words do tell us when the action took place. *No ha mucho tiempo* 'not long ago' means a short time before 1605, the publication date of Part I. We know, then, that we are dealing with Inquisition Spain. And from the scholarship of recent years, starting with Américo Castro, we know, too, that sixteenth century Spanish society was obsessed with the concept of *limpieza de sangre*

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'pure, old Christian blood'. Who had it and who did not, determined the professional and social structure of the country.⁴

The novel, then, is set at a time when all positions of prestige and power in the government, the universities, and the church were open only to those who could prove the "clean blood" of themselves and their forebears. Stephen Gilman cites the case, for example, of a candidate for a canonry in the Cathedral of Toledo, who submitted to the customary genealogical examination of his qualifications in 1616. Even a suspicion of *converso* lineage could finish aspirations to this most lucrative and exclusive of posts. An enemy accused him of having a blood relationship with the *converso* family of Fernando de Rojas, author of *La Celestina*. Two hundred and twenty seven witnesses were called and over 800 folios filled with their testimony. Such was the social insanity of the time.⁵

Because of this preoccupation with blood purity, a unique class struggle emerged. Humble peasant stock, it turns out, was the least tainted blood line in all of Spain. It was common knowledge that nobles, from King Ferdinand on down (his grandmother, Juana Henríquez, was a *conversa*), were intermarried with wealthy *conversos*. The haughty posture of the *villanos* 'peasants' in the Golden Age theatre, the facility with which they confront their noble overlords, and their obsession with honor is thus explained. Pure old Christian blood was their claim to superiority over the new Christians.

It is essential to keep in mind this historical background because the world of the *Quijote* is rooted as firmly in the contemporary society of the author as it is in his creative imagination.⁶ Understanding the *converso* problem helps us estimate the importance of the question "Who?" and of the author's evasive answer to it. Cervantes teases us instead of telling us directly the hero's name: "They say that his surname was Quijada or Quesada — for there is some difference amongst authors who write about this case, although by reasonable conjecture we can take it that he was called Quejana."

The imprecision as to the protagonist's name, added to the glaring omission of genealogical data (a standard procedure in all novels before this one), leads us to think that the author was heeding the warning in one of Quevedo's sonnets: "Don't seek out your ancestors — you may end up burned."⁷ The Quijada/Quesada/Quejana vacillation is viewed by Américo Castro as a veiled allusion to name changes and anonymity pursued by fearful new Christians. It is probable, he maintains, that the instability of the names hints ironically at the desire to avoid those names exposed to disgrace in the churches by order of the Inquisition.⁸

Accepting Castro's analysis, the picture of the anti-hero is thus complete — an old, poor, ridiculous *converso*. He dreams of becoming a hero. From too much reading, the narrative continues, and too little sleep, his brain dries up, he loses his wits, and decides to become a knight errant in order to win eternal name and fame.

He turns to the business of inventing new names for his horse and for himself, a name suitable for the noble steed of the valorous knight. This project took twelve days! He spent four days pondering what name to give his horse, described by the author as a *rocín flaco* 'a skinny old nag'. "It would be wrong, he reflected, for the horse of so famous a knight, a horse so good in himself, to be without a famous name."

Most importantly, he wanted the new name to tell who the horse was before and who he is now. Cervantes describes in some detail Don Quijote's creative process:

So, after many names he formed, erased, rejected, added, took apart, and remade in his memory and imagination, he finally decided to call him *Rocinante*, a name which seemed to him high-sounding, pleasing to the ears, and meaningful in that it expressed what he had been when he was a plain ordinary nag, before what he now is, which is the first and foremost of all nags in the world.

Insisting on preserving within the name the true nature of the beast, Don Quijote weds the unflattering description *rocín* 'nag' to a grandiloquent suffix *-ante*. But Cervantes tells us explicitly, with evident burlesque intention, that Don Quijote really had in mind the adverb *antes* 'before'. However, he stretches the word play one step further, and the suffix/adverb is also meant to have an adjectival force (*first*) so that, in effect he is the *foremost* horse of the kind he was *formerly*. So much meaning was packed into one component of one part of one name.

Though immersed in his illusory world, Don Quijote demonstrates that he is not out of touch with reality completely. He did not intend to ignore nor rewrite the history of his *rocín flaco*. It was no elite thoroughbred, and Don Quijote appears anxious to preserve an allusion to that humble, or perhaps infamous, origin. And he accomplished this by bending language to suit his purpose.

The same ingenuity is evident in the creation of his own name. And we find a similar awareness of self, a similar effort to have the invented name incorporate many levels of meaning, including a reference to who he was before he became a famous knight errant.

He spent, therefore, another eight days thinking about it, the text tells us. And finally he decided to call himself "Don Quijote, and that is no doubt why the authors of this true history . . . assumed that his name must have been Quijada and not Quesada, as other authorities would have it."

So, Don Quijote created his knightly name thinking of his "real" one. The *Quij-* of Quijote and the *Quij-* of Quijada are, of course, identical. And the *Quij-* of Quijote, in the same way as the *rocín* of *Rocinante*, points to who he was before.

In addition, Castro believes that with the name Quijada Cervantes was alluding directly to the *converso* origin of the protagonist, or that he had in mind a new Christian character. The name Quijada was an historical one, of a "known" *converso* family which figured in Cervantes' private life.⁹

Quijote was also an appropriate name because it fulfilled his desire to evoke the chivalric world he was entering. *Quijote* is, of course, a common noun denoting a piece of armor, the thigh guard, or *cuisse*. The suffix *-ote* has a chivalric ring, too. It reminds us of that famous knight called in Spanish *Lanzarote*. However, at the same time, the *-ote* serves an ironic function since it is a comic suffix normally used for contemptible and ridiculous things. And a tension is created between the belittling ending and exalted title that precedes the name.

As to the *don* in the name, by the mid-sixteenth century, complete abuse of the title was rife and its indiscriminate use led eventually to its rejection by many noble families. The class structure of the Middle Ages was breaking down. A new middle class was emerging and it was comprised of many *conversos*. The confrontation of old and new Christians was growing more militant as everyone was grasping for *honra* 'honor'. The arrogation of the title *don* and the pretentious name were symptomatic of that crumbling world order, and of the tensions of that "age in conflict" as Américo Castro calls it. Other characters in the *Quijote* show an awareness of the controversy over the *don* and believe that its adoption by Don Quijote is illegitimate.¹⁰

Don Quijote continues creating his new name:

Pero, acordándose que el valerosos Amadís no sólo se había contentado con llamarse Amadís a secas, sino que añadió el nombre de su reino y patria, por hacerla famosa, y se llamó Amadís de Gaula, así quiso, como buen caballero, añadir al suyo el nombre de la suya y llamarse "don Quijote de la Mancha," con que, a su

parecer, declaraba muy al vivo su linaje y patria, y la honraba con tomar el sobrenombre della.

But, reminding himself that the valorous Amadis had not been content with calling himself plain Amadis, but that he added the name of his kingdom and homeland (*reino y patria*) in order to make that *patria* famous, and called himself Amadis of Gaul; so, he decided like a good knight to add to his own name that of his *patria* and call himself don Quijote of La Mancha, with which it seemed to him, he clearly proclaimed his lineage and homeland (*linaje y patria*), and honored the *patria* by taking his surname from it.

Imitating the famous knight, Amadis of Gaul, Don Quijote has added a toponym to his surname. We have already noted the discord between the title *don* and the suffix *-ote*. The disparity between Gaul and La Mancha sustains the parody and underscores the *hidalgo's* mad concern for doing things *como buen caballero* 'like a good knight.'¹¹

The addition of *de la Mancha*, however, indicates not only where our hero is from, but also from whom. In the quasi-parallel phrases *reino y patria/linaje y patria*, the striking substitution of *linaje* 'lineage' for *reino* 'kingdom' makes us pause. Whereas *de la Mancha* clearly proclaimed his homeland, which is obvious, it also, he says, clearly proclaimed his lineage, which is curious.

Beyond the geographical and literary significance of this part of his invented name, there remains the sociological or historical. *Mancha*, literally "stain"; figuratively "dishonor", had a pejorative racial meaning which was widespread at the time of Cervantes. We have found that *mancha* was a common designation of the drop of Jewish (or Moorish) blood in one's veins and therefore of new Christian lineage. It signalled the absence of *limpieza de sangre*. Dictionaries, literature, historical documents, genealogical and theological treatises of the time all contain abundant examples of this usage of *la mancha*. Here are some which I came across.

The Covarrubias dictionary in 1610 defined *mancha*: "Latin *macula* 'spot', whatever falls on clothes or a surface which changes and spoils its own color. By allusion, it signifies all which tarnishes and dishonors whatever of yours was good, such as *mancha de un linaje* 'stain of a lineage'."¹²

The *Enciclopedia Universal*, under the *mancha* entry, lists: *No es mancha de judío*. It is a popular expression meaning that

whatever the infamy or dishonor may be, it is not as bad as that of being a Jew; i.e., "it is only a trifling thing" (Cassell's).

For Américo Castro, Cervantes' deep and moving references to *limpieza de sangre* and to lineage are a key to understanding the whole work (*Los casticismos* . . . , p. 100). In addition to Castro, Caro Baroja, Albert Sicroff, Domínguez Ortiz, Edward Glaser, Stephen Gilman and others have documented extensively the frequency of the insistence on the theme of *converso* lineage in Spanish literature of the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries.¹³ From popular poetry (*coplas del provincial*), to Quevedo, to books of jokes on the theme, the subject is treated. And the word *mancha* appears with regularity in this regard.

In the Golden Age theatre, we often find the literary medium which best echoes the voice of the people and the state of mind of the nation. In Guillén de Castro's *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, honor and racially clean blood are equated. A peasant girl says to the Marquis who is courting her: "How would it be for you to *manchar* 'contaminate' your royal blood with mine?" And he replies: "Since the *mancha* of your blood is of the soil and not of the [Inquisition] fire, it will never offend my blood."¹⁴

In Lope de Vega's plays the racially pure rustic boldly confronts the "tainted" nobility. In his famous plea before the king and queen, Lope's Peribáñez proudly declares: "I am a man, / although of the peasant class, / of clean, pure blood, / never *manchada* ['tainted'] by Jewish or Moorish blood."¹⁵ In Lope's *Laurel de Apolo* we are told that in the Biscayan mountains "Faith, blood, and loyalty were guarded, pure and clean and not *manchada* ['sullied']; maintained purer than snow."¹⁶

Aside from the peasant, only the Negro sees himself as uniquely free from the stigma of the *mancha*. Quevedo has a Negro play with the words and concepts: "Why don't the whites consider that if one of us is an *ink blot* 'borrón' among them, one of them is probably a *stain* 'mancha' among us."¹⁷

Everyone else lived in fear of the *mancha* — either of having it, or being accused of having it, or needing to prove not having it. The Inquisition had spies in every city, town, and hamlet spreading fear and alarm. Informers often saw a chance to appropriate jobs, money, and titles belonging to the impure. Mateo Alemán, author of the 1599 picaresque novel, *Guzmán de Alfarache* (and a *converso* himself), expresses his anxiety in the chapter in which Guzmán soliloquizes against the vanities of *honra* 'honor': ["Oh hap-

py art thou, carefree one . . . without fear of the *mancha* . . . Far removed from law suits, oblivious of legal proofs, free from false witnesses . . ." ([Buenos Aires: Ed. Sopena, 1941], II, 4, p. 81.)]

In addition to the literature of the Golden Age, historical documents also reveal how deeply ingrained was the concept and word *mancha* in the Spanish mentality. Caro Baroja reports that a letter written by Blanco White in 1798 shows the importance which was given even then to being "an old Christian, clean, unmixed with any bad race or *mancha*" (*Los judíos* . . . III, 29). Reflecting the language they found in historical records they examined, Caro Baroja and Albert Sicroff refer to the whole blood purity matter simply as *la mancha* (*Los judíos* . . . II, 29; *Les controverses* . . . , pp. 239, 241, 244). *La mancha* was the term used to describe the convert background of the Rojas family in the *expediente de limpiez* 'proof of cleanliness' of don Juan Francisco Palavesín y Rojas.¹⁸ The historian, Domínguez Ortiz, cites the following text: "There never was a Catalanese, male or female, however poor or needy, who was subjected to being married to a person *manchada* 'sullied' by Jews" (*La clase social* . . . p. 203).

Numerous genealogical treatises were published in the sixteenth century to aid the country's ancestor investigation. Drawing upon Inquisition records, researchers published a list of names, called *The Green Book of Aragón* which identifies families in that kingdom having impure blood. Writing in 1507, the author said that his book is about "Genealogies of *linajes manchados* 'stained lineages'; about the majority of those converted, penanced, and punished by the inquisition in that kingdom, in order to warn the noble and *limpios* 'clean'."¹⁹ The aim was to overthrow prominent families and indeed hundreds of families were affected. It was so successful that in 1560 a cardinal compiled *Blot on the Nobility of Spain*, another list of families with impure blood. He wrote about the eternal nature of that blot: "If being a Moor suffices to tarnish a lineage (without time limit), all the houses of Castille have been defamed and soiled on many sides, and thus in passing on *la mancha* it matters little how many generations later it is."²⁰

The theologians also had something to say about the *mancha*. Fray Augustín Salucio emphasized not only the permanence of the *mancha*, but the virulence of its toxin as well. In 1599 he wrote: "There is no plague in the world as contagious, and its air alone suffices to infect, and wherever the *mancha* enters, it cannot ever get out; the tiniest bit of yeast corrupts all the dough."²¹

When Don Quixote tells us that by adding *de la Mancha* to his name he clearly proclaimed both his homeland and his lineage, he is in effect calling himself "Don Quixote, Converso," or "Don Quixote of the Tainted Blood."²² With this kind of inheritance, the mad knight sallies forth into the country-side of sixteenth century Spain, armed with the ideals of chivalry and with the illusion that good deeds are worth more than good blood.

NOTES

1. See Leo Spitzer, "Linguistic Perspectivism in the *Don Quijote*" in his *Linguistics and Literary History* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1948). Spitzer studied Cervantes' use of proper names; the instability and variety of the names given to certain characters (and the variety of etymological explanations offered for these names). Ultimately, he connects Cervantes' linguistic ambivalences and his general spirit of relativism which has been recognized by most critics as characteristic of the novel.

Cervantes' refusal to make a choice of one name (and one etymology), he feels, is deliberate, conditioned by his desire to show the different aspects under which the character in question may appear to others. He examines other linguistic details such as common nouns and phrases, and sees them as further evidence of this relativistic attitude of the author.

Cervantes consistently offers multiple perspectives and possibilities for the given names and words that he uses. This linguistic tolerance led Spitzer to conclude that perspectivism informs the structure of the novel as a whole; we find it in Cervantes' treatment of plot and characters, of ideological themes, as well as in his attitude of distantness toward the reader. But the unity behind the perspectivism is the novelist-overlord. The only truth on which the reader may rely in the *Quixote* is the will of the artist who chose to break up a multifold reality into different perspectives. Cervantes uses linguistic perspectivism, Spitzer says, in order to assert his own creative freedom.

Américo Castro starts with the same preliminary observations as Spitzer, but, based on his own theories about the historical reality of Counter-Reformation Spain, establishes a connection between linguistic details and the whole work which add up to a completely different assessment of its historical significance. It is the role of the author as artist-dictator which captures Spitzer's attention. It is the author as artist-converso which captures Castro's. Castro believes that the *Quixote* was an invention made possible because Cervantes was a new Christian who lived and wrote in an age characterized by conflict between old and new Christians. See his *La realidad de España* 3rd. ed. (Mexico: Porrúa, 1966); also *De la edad conflictiva: El drama de la honra* (Madrid: Taurus, 1961); *Cervantes y los casticismos españoles* (Madrid: Alfaguara, 1966). In this book, Castro states

that a structural analysis of the work reveals that both Cervantes and his major character are new Christians (p. 164);

The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History (Berkeley: Univ. of Cal. Press, 1971).

2. The first and final lines of the chapter both contain the word *nombre* 'name'. Textual citations are from the Martín de Riquer edition of *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* (Barcelona, 1944), 2 vols, I, 1, pp. 35-40. English translations, unless otherwise noted in the text are by Barbara Abramowitz.

3. "En un lugar de la Mancha de cuyo nombre no quiero acordarme . . ." (I, Ch. 1, p. 35). Commentators have explained this famous salvo in terms of the author's intent, his style, and the great themes of the whole work. Some have emphasized the folkloristic quality and poetic atmosphere of the opening words. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel claims it is a simple story-telling formula as old as Herodotus and as modern as Boccaccio. She explains the troubling *no quiero acordarme* 'I don't wish to recall' as a simple variant of the usual *no me acuerdo* 'I don't recall'. See her "De cuyo nombre no quiero acordarme," *RFH*, I - (1939), 167-171.

Francisco Rodríguez Marín (*Quijote* ed. [Madrid: 1947], 10 vols., Appendix VI, vol. IX, pp. 76-84, and vol. I, p. 13, n. 5) discovered the very phrase *En un lugar de la Mancha* 'in a certain village of La Mancha' in an anonymous *romance 'ballad'*. He even conjectures that Cervantes may have been the author.

But it was Cervantes himself who insisted that omitting the name of the town was intentional. In his concluding words of *Don Quijote*, Part II, written ten years after Part I, he says in jest that the original author's purpose was to keep alive a contest among the villages of La Mancha to claim Don Quijote for its native son. As a result, no less than nine towns have been proclaimed the very one that Cervantes meant. Esquivias, the town where Cervantes married and lived for a while, currently is in the lead. Luis Astrana Marín is among those who give an autobiographical explanation for the reason why Cervantes didn't want to remember the name of the place. He says that because Cervantes is dealing with a live model known to residents of Esquivias, he is merely showing good taste in suppressing the name of the town. See his *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Madrid, 1952), IV, 25-26.

The imprecision relative to the place of Don Quijote's origin and name makes Casaldueño suspect that at that point the satire on chivalric literature begins. See Joaquín Casaldueño, "Explicando la primera frase del *Quijote*," *BH*, 37 (1934), 146-148. Also in his *Sentido y forma del Quijote* (Madrid, 1949), p. 45.

4. See Julio Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1961). Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social de los conversos en Castilla en la edad moderna* (Madrid, 1955).

Albert Sicroff, *Les controverses des Statuts de 'pureté de sang' en Espagne du XV^e au XVII^e Siècle* (Paris: Didier, 1960).

5. Stephen Gilman, *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1972), p. 39.
6. For a complete study on the curious intermingling of the historical and autobiographical on the one hand, and the fictitious and fanciful on the other, see Vicente Lloréns, "Historia y ficción en el Quijote," *PSA*, 28 (March, 1963), 235-258.
7. "Solar y ejecutoria de tu abuelo . . ." *Obras . . . de Quevedo*, ed. Astrana, *Obras en verso* (Madrid: 1943), p. 766. Quoted by Raimundo Lida, "Quevedo y su España Antigua," *RPh*, 17, No. 2 (Nov. 1963), p. 257.
8. *Cervantes y los casticismos españoles*, pp. 164-166. It was a well known fact then that people who changed their residence often in sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain were looking for places where their family ancestry was unknown. Bitterly satiric Quevedo had this to say on the subject: "In order to be a knight or hidalgo, even though you are a Moor or a Jew, pretend your handwriting is bad . . . and go where you are not recognized" (*Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, 23, 481).
9. Among others, Astrana Marín and Rodríguez Marín have suggested that there was a live model for Don Quijote by the name of Quijada. Their historical investigations have revealed that there was a Quijada family who lived in Esquivias, who fought hard to prove a *limpieza* 'clean blood' denied to them by public opinion, and that they were related by marriage to the family of Cervantes' wife. See Luis Astrana Marín, *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Madrid, 1952), 7 vols. IV, 15-46; Francisco Rodríguez Marín. "El modelo más probable del don Quijote," Appendix XL, 1947 *Quijote* ed., X, 132-149. See also his "Nuevos documentos cervantinos" in *Estudios cervantinos* (Madrid, 1947).
- Others who agree are Jiménez Serrano, *¿Quién fué don Quijote?* (Madrid, 1867); Apraiz, *¿Quién fué don Quijote?* (Vitoria, 1893). See *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada*, ed. Espasa Calpe, LXVIII, 327, for these and other references to the subject. See also Manuel Víctor García, "¿Quién fué don Quijote?" *El museo universal* (1867). His answer: Alonso Quijada Salazar, b. 1560, d. 1604, which Rodríguez Marín refutes. He offers instead an Alonso Quijada, second son of Juan Quijada and María de Salazar, born before, perhaps long before his father died in 1505, and who lived, along with Pero Pérez, in the first third of the sixteenth century, at a time when books of chivalry were at a peak of popularity, and who was known to be addicted to them ("El modelo más probable . . .," 148-149).
- As to their impure blood line, Astrana Marín says that in 1566 the Quijadas sought to prove their *hidalgo* status. They gave depositions as to their paternal ascendancy back to their grandparents, Juan Quijada and María de Salazar, who died in 1505 and 1537 respectively, and they finally received their certificate in 1569. But this didn't stop the rumors. Instead, from year to year the gossip grew in intensity among those who considered themselves of cleaner blood than the Quijadas (*Vida . . .* IV, 31-46).
10. Américo Castro attributes the beginning of the extension of *don* and *doña* to the concern of numerous fifteenth century *conversos* with their new

Christian identity (this would parallel their adoption of super-Christian names, such as those parodied in Chapter 1 of Quevedo's *El Buscón*: "Clemente Pablo, Aldonza de San Pedro, Diego de San Juan, Andrés de San Cristobal" (*La realidad histórica*, p. 361; 1954 ed., p. 514).

For the most complete study on the use of *don*, see John C. Dowling, "A Title of Distinction," *Hispania*, 41 (1958), 449-456. See also Hermann Iventosch, "Spanish Baroque Parody in Mock Titles and Fictional Names," *RPh*, 15, No. 1 (August, 1961), 29-39; and his "Onomastic Invention in the *Buscón*," *HR*, 29 (1961), 15-32.

11. There may be a further chivalric allusion in the etymological meaning of the common noun *mancha*. An ancient military meaning of *mancha* was 'lance' or part of the cuirass. Seen from this etymological perspective, our hero's name could be translated something like "Don Thigh-Guard of the Lance" or "Don Cuisse of the Cuirass." An important piece of early Spanish literature, *El libro de Alexandre* uses it this way (See ex. in *Enciclopedia universal* [Madrid, 1926], 32, 709).

On this same page, another ancient etymology of *mancha* is given, which is one Cervantes may have also intended. The origin of the geographic denomination *Mancha* is the Arabic *manxa*, a word which means *tierra seca* 'dried-up land'. The Arabs called *La Manxa* that region of Spain which was very arid. And we should also recall that the gentleman who lived there, and who took its name as part of his own, lost his wits and imagined himself a famous knight errant because his brain had *dried up* (*se le secó el cerebro* [I, Ch. 1, p. 37]). There well may be, then, in the toponym *de La Mancha* an allusion to the mad knight whose brain was a dried-up as the land he lived on, causing his name to be all the more significant.

(The theory that insanity resulted from a physiological drying-up process was propounded by the sixteenth century Spanish physician, Huarte de San Juan. Otis Green has demonstrated the undeniable influence of Huarte de San Juan on Cervantes in "El ingenioso hidalgo," *HR*, 25 (1957), 175-193.)

12. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, ed. Martín de Riquer (Barcelona: 1943), p. 784.

13. For Caro Baroja, Sicroff, and Domínguez Ortiz, see Note 1 above. Edward Glaser, "Referencias antisemitas en la literatura peninsular de la edad de oro," *NRFH* 8 (1954), 39-62; "Two Notes on the Hispano-Jewish Poet Don Miguel de Barrios," *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 4, fasc. i and ii (Jan.-June, 1965), 201-211.

Stephen Gilman, "The Case of Alvaro de Montalbán," *MLN*, 78 (1963), 113-125; "The 'Conversos' and the Fall of Fortune," in *Collected Studies in Honour of Américo Castro's Eightieth Year*, ed. M.P. Hornik (Oxford: 1965); "The Death of Lazarillo de Tormes," *PMLA*, 81, No. 3 (June, 1966), 149-166; "Retratos de conversos en la *Comedia Jacinta* de Torres Naharro," *NRFH*, 17, Nos. 1-2 (1963-1964), 20-39; "Mollejas el ortelano," in *Estudios dedicados a James Homer Herriott* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin, 1966);

Stephen Gilman and Ramón González, "The Family of Fernando de Rojas," *RF*, 78, No. 1 (1966), 1-26.

14. Quoted by Pierre Ullman, "A Theme of *Del rey abajo, ninguno*, and its Analogy with 'Limpieza de Sangre'," *RR*, 57, No. 69 (Dec. 1961), 32, no. 14.

15. *Peribáñez y el Comendador de Ocaña*, in *Cuatro Comedias*, ed. John M. Hill and Mabel M. Harlan (New York: Norton, 1941), p. 116.

16. Quoted in Rodríguez Marín 1947 ed. of the *Quijote*, VII, 80, n. 7.

17. Quoted by Américo Castro, *De la edad conflictiva*, p. 106.

18. Stephen Gilman and Ramón González, "The Family of Fernando de Rojas," 6.

19. Isidro de las Cacigas, ed., *Libro verde de Aragón* (Madrid: 1929), p. 157.

20. *Tizón de la nobleza: memorial de los linajes*, attributed to Cardinal Francisco y Bobadilla, ed. Antonio Luque y Vicens (Madrid, 1849).

21. "Discurso acerca de la justicia y buen gobierno de España en los estatutos de limpieza de sangre; y si conviene o no alguna limitación en ella." - Quoted by A. Sicroff, *les controverses . . .* p. 203.

Fray Salucio complained to the Grand Inquisitor that the enforcement of absurd "blood purity statutes" had led Europeans to believe that all Spaniards were of Jewish descent and to call them all "marranos." For more on this, see I.S. Révah, "La controverse sur les statuts de pureté de sang. Un document inédit: Relation y consulta del cardenal G[u]evara sobre el negocio de fray Augustin Saluzio (Madrid: 13 août 1600), *BH*, 73 (1971), 263-306.

22. The title of the first German translations of the *Quijote* reflect the "stained" meaning of *mancha*. In the editions of 1621, 1648, and 1669 *de la Mancha* was translated *aus Fleckenland* 'from stain land'. Published in Franckfurt, edited by Thomas Matthias Götzen, *Don Kichote de la Mantzscha* [apparently a transliteration] *Das ist: JUNCKER HARNISCH AUSZ FLECKENLAND* [apparently a translation; it is the main title, in heavy type centered on the frontispiece]. The 1683 and subsequent editions read: *Don Quixote von Mancha*. See Manuel Henrich, *Iconografía de las ediciones el Quijote* (Barcelona: Henrich, 1905), I, p. xvii; III, pp. 492, 493, 494 ff.; P. 501 ff. I am grateful to Raimundo Lida for suggesting this to me.

The Psychological Aspects of Sephardic Identity

by Metin B. Sevilya, M.D.

The Jewish people are made up of two main groups: the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim. As a symbol, these two groups together can be characterized as a pure gold disk, one face of which shows the Sephardim, the other the Ashkenazim. The Sephardim and the Ashkenazim are thus the two faces of the same pure gold disk. However, as a Sephardic Jew, I am going to discuss the identity of the Sephardim, the group to which I am proud to belong.

Unity of Man

Modern science tends to stress resemblances rather than differences among nations. When it comes to discussing the different groups in one nation having a common ancestry, a common history and the same religion, the stress should naturally fall more and more on resemblances, common goals and aspirations, all of which unite them as one people. If during twenty centuries of history, one group (either Sephardim or Ashkenazim) may appear to be superior to the other, or inferior to the other, this is because at times one group has lived in an unfavorable environment or has been out of touch with the main stream of civilization; otherwise, Jewish people are one united people.

Identity-Identical

In genetics, monozygotic (arising from one egg), as opposed to dizygotic (arising from two different eggs) refers to those species that are going to be identical. Thus we are referring to sameness and continuity.

When we speak in terms of psychology, we refer to something other than genetic identity. When a person incorporates within

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himself a mental picture of an object (a person) and then thinks, feels and acts in the same way as the original object (person) thinks, feels and acts, the process is called *identification*. The process is entirely unconscious. Identification is the most primitive method of recognizing external reality.

During this process of identification, a phenomenon of utmost importance must occur. For an individual to identify with an object (a person) he must love or admire the object (person). Otherwise, he would not want to be like that person, since one cannot identify with someone he dislikes. So here too, when we speak of identity, we are referring psychologically to a sense of sameness and continuity.

What are the traits, characteristics, skills of a person that gives his identity? This is what I am going to discuss now. In this way, perhaps we will be able to explain and understand better the concept of *identity crisis*, something we hear very often nowadays. Then I shall also attempt to discuss *individual identity* versus *group identity* and *Sephardic identity*.

In discussing *individual identity*, we must begin by asking ourselves what are the characteristics that give a person his own identity. It starts with his given name, his surname, his sex, body image, color of his skin, his race (such as Caucasian, Black, Yellow, etc.). Then come his country of birth, his nationality, and finally we come to his acquired skills and particular characteristics such as his maternal language, his religion, food habits, traditions (including superstitions), his behavior patterns, i.e., being generous or miserly, being a kleptomaniac or a pathological liar, handsome, ugly, perverse, homosexual, gambler, alcoholic, drug addict etc. In psychiatric nomenclature, all these different traits and habits constitute "personality traits." If these traits become exaggerated, appear anti-social, go against the moral code of our society, we call them "personality disorders."

Referring to *group identity*, it is absurd, for example, to identify Sephardic Jews with *yaprakes-dolmades* (stuffed vine leaves), or with the pumpkin seed eating habit, which unqualified people often seem to enjoy doing. It is equally absurd to describe Sephardic men as those who walk on the street with their wives always following them a few steps behind. These remarks are stereotypes resulting either out of prejudice or ignorance and only serve to ridicule the people who make them.

The problem of identity is a very complicated one and very deep-seated in the personality, and the characteristics of identity are not so easy to define in such simple terms. Pumpkin seed eaters, herring

or pickle eaters, sunflower seed eaters, etc., are not specific traits of any group of people and cannot be used to identify them. These are subjective neighborhood comments and nothing more. As a matter of fact, the significance of the Sephardic man walking on the street ahead of his wife and children, has nothing whatever to do with the analogy that is drawn in this country, to the Blacks in the South (hopefully in the past) who have had to sit in the back of the bus or sit in the last rows of a theater. The significance of this Sephardic tradition in Turkey is for the men to be in the vanguard; they are, as it were, *avant* scouts, opening the road and making certain that it is clear and safe for their women and children to pass. The meaning of this Ottoman Turkish tradition of the men walking ahead is a protective and positive one and cannot be construed as derogatory to women.

The Identity Crisis

The identity crises is the social role conflict as perceived by the person himself. It is a loss of the sense of personal sameness and historical continuity, and/or the inability to accept or adopt the role the person believes in and is expected of him by society. Identity crises are frequent in adolescence, triggered by a sudden increase of drives and sudden changes in the role teen-agers are obliged to assume either socially, educationally, or vocationally.

As a kind of compensatory reaction, young people can also be remarkably clannish. United, they feel better and stronger, and in order to keep their group together, they also become cruel in their exclusion of all those who differ in skin color, age or cultural background, in taste and often in aspects of dress and gestures. As members of a group, they have the feeling of belonging somewhere, someplace. In actuality, what they are missing most are their own families, their own homes, where they really yearn to belong. The dynamics of gang formation of youngsters in our society today is based mostly in their search for identity, the search for feelings of wishing to belong to a group of people, at the same time to help them alleviate the deep painful feelings of rejection.

Each identity crisis in the growing adolescent is caused by inner and outer conflicts. And each time he re-emerges from each crisis with an increased sense of inner unity, an increased sense of good judgement, and an increase in the capacity to *do well*, according to his own standards, and the standards of those who are significant to him. It is like a purifying experience.

I guess the constant crises of Jewish people through the cen-

turies, with their strong drive for survival, has endowed them with a stronger determination or identity — they have come out of each crisis stronger, more determined and more united.

Now we come to the discussion of group identity and Sephardic identity. As I have already stated, the struggles and the crises that the Sephardim have lived through during the centuries will also give us the clues and the understanding as to how they reached their Sephardic identity. For this we have to go to the very roots of the process of identification.

The word Sephardic indicates those Jews who lived in Spain until their expulsion in 1492, to countries bordering the Mediterranean such as North Africa, France, Italy, Greece, Turkey and the Israel of today. Now let us have a brief look into the history of the life of the Sephardim in Christian Spain. Before doing this, however, I would like to emphasize the coincidence of two events: the date of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 was also the year that Christopher Columbus discovered America. I wonder if there is any relationship between the two events which I assume there may very well be.

History of the Jews in Christian Spain

This period encompasses a life full of splendor and magnificence, ending unfortunately with the tragic downfall of Spanish Jewry by the end of the Middle Ages. The real trouble started in 586 when the Visigoth rulers changed from Arianism to another form of Christianity; namely, Catholicism. Since then, the situation of the Jews changed. A period of disturbances and persecutions with forced conversions began.

Moslem Spain

In Moslem Spain, Musa B. Mushair, the top commander of Arab armies in Northwest Africa, began to conquer southwest Spain in 712 and after occupying Seville, he did not leave behind Moslem soldiers to take care of the occupied territory; instead he mobilized the Jews of the city and established a garrison from among them. This was repeated in each city he occupied. In fact, the Jews rose up and volunteered aid to the Moslems in their war of conquest. This emphasizes a special character of this Jewish community which had no parallel in the history of other diaspora communities. In other lands Jews generally defended themselves only when attacked; whereas the Jews of Spain became accustomed to participate in wars and especially to defend the cities they inhabited. What was the

source of this trait? Surely it can only be attributed to their deep-rootedness and attachment to the soil. Another reason for their behavior in this case is that Spanish Jews did not look upon themselves as a stratum of foreign colonists, but as an indigenous element of their country (Spain), that had adopted the customs of their fellow citizens in the land and lived according to their ways. (a very healthy adaptation).

Another significant factor, was their mode of life and their economic status. Many of the Jews of Spain were villagers whose livelihood depended upon agriculture and who of necessity had to defend their lives and property by force. There are striking similarities and parallels between the Jews of Spain and the Jews of today living in Israel near the southern border of Lebanon in villages and kibbutzim such as Maalot, Metulla, etc., where they have to be constantly on the alert to defend their lives and property, although many among them were craftsmen who earned their livelihood by the work of their hands.

In other words, the character of the inhabitants of the land of which the Jews were an indigenous element on the one hand, and their social structure on the other, crystallized the warlike trait of the Jews of Spain. Thus a type of Jew who was unique in the history of Israel in the diaspora was created, whereas the Jews in most lands in the Moslem east and Christian Europe were a minority, tolerated, persecuted and at times utterly helpless.

The Jews of the Iberian peninsula were proud and courageous, ready to draw the sword and seize the spear to be on close terms with the kings and nobles of the land.

History of the Sephardim in the Diaspora.

Among the different countries, the Ottoman Turkish Empire was most important. The fifteenth century was a very glorious period for the Ottoman Empire. In 1453 the Turkish ruler Fatih Sultan Mehmed conquered Constantinople (Istanbul), capital of the Byzantine Empire. With this event, the Middle Ages came to an end and a new era began: the Renaissance. The Ottoman Empire dominated not only vast lands, but also the seas. Their armada under the leadership of Admiral Barbaros Harettin Pasha crossed the Mediterranean from one end to the other with no opposition whatever. It was Admiral Barbaros Harettin Pasha who transported the bulk of the Sephardim from Spain to Turkey and other conquered territories of the Ottoman Empire.

After the Jews were expelled from Spain, they began living in

lands around the Mediterranean such as those of the Ottoman Empire, France, Italy, Holland, North Africa and Palestine. Indeed, many of these exiled Jews emigrated to Palestine and added strength to the Jewish population there. These Spanish Jews took with them their Spanish dialect, Ladino, a mixture of Spanish and Hebrew, written in Hebrew characters.

Until the nineteenth century, the larger part of the Jewish population of Palestine was Sephardic. Besides living in the important communities in Safed, Jerusalem, etc., some Sephardic families led farmers' lives in faraway villages in Galilee. There were many famous rabbis among the Sephardim who became celebrated through their important writings on rabbinical subjects. During the years of Turkish rule in Palestine, the authorities recognized only the chief rabbi of the Sephardic community who had the title of Haham Bashi. The Jews conferred on him the honored title Rishon Le Tzion — first in Zion. Some well known rabbis in Spain emigrated to Palestine even before their expulsion in 1492. Among these were Rabbi Yehuda Halevi, the greatest Hebrew poet of the Middle Ages who emigrated to Palestine in the year 1140 and met his death facing the walls of Jerusalem. He is the one who said, "Ani bemaarav velibe Mizrach." (I am in the West but my heart is in the East." (Jerusalem). The Ramban — Rabbi Moshe ben Nahman (Nachmanides), the renowned Torah commentator went to Palestine from Spain in the year 1266 and laid the foundations of the Jewish community in Jerusalem.

Sephardic Identity

And now we find ourselves asking the question what is the Sephardic identity? What factors created the Sephardic identity under these circumstances? Well, the basic pattern of their life style can be characterized by constant changes and instability, changes in their environment, in their surroundings and changes in their everyday life, filled with insecurities, not knowing what the next day would bring. But how were they able to survive under so many stresses, so many crises with threats to their existence and survival? There are two important factors which shed some light on our question. First despite the constant changes and instability in their everyday lives, they were steadfast in their faith; their faith was strong, full of determination to preserve their identity as Jews; confident in their firm belief in themselves. Their motivation to preserve their identity as Jews was enormous and unshakeable. What was the source of their determination and self-confidence? As I have stated, they came out

of every crisis stronger, with greater resilience, and more and more determination. Each crisis was like a purifying experience; the more they were struck, the stronger and more united they became.

The second factor is their capacity for healthy adaptation. What is adaptation? How could they adapt to so many difficult conditions and situations? They did this by neutralizing the aggressive forces with *hohma* (wisdom). By so doing, they were able to preserve the *Vital Equilibrium*; that is to say, by means of a healthy adaptation, they were able to compromise psychologically between different conflicts (inner and outer conflicts), enabling them to adjust to their everyday life in their struggle for survival. Thus they had to adjust not only to the internal changes within their own land, but to the external changes taking place in the world. Indeed, it is of utmost importance to the era at the time of their expulsion from Spain in 1492. The whole world was changing with revolutionary forces of a new era, "The Renaissance". So it is in this light that we shall try to understand their problem of adaptation and the Vital Equilibrium.

Adaptation and the Vital Equilibrium

In the course of evolutionary development, all species have developed various mechanisms to adapt to the life condition confronting them. Some butterflies change their color, simulating the appearance of the flower on which they rest, so as to escape detection by their enemies. Since adaptation is very essential for life, man as the most highly developed species has developed anatomical and physiological means which protect him from his environment. At the same time, he also developed psychological devices to help him deal with his emotional needs and stresses. Although not at a conscious level, such defensive devices affect adaptation to protect oneself also from inner conflicts.

Such devices help a person to deal against extreme anxiety situations, help him to meet his emotional needs for love, affection and security. These protective mechanisms prompt the avoidance of approaching physical danger. In like fashion, the body through its biochemical processes, tries to maintain its physiological equilibrium, which in medicine we call *homeostasis*.

Man, through these unconscious psychological devices, tries to maintain a stability which will help him to preserve his identity, to feed his emotional needs and to enjoy life at a hedonic level of adaptation. The development of language as a means of communication with the development of the thinking process with sound judgment and reasoning (*hohma*), will assist him to adopt a "problem-solving

behavior" which is of utmost importance for human adaptive processes. This problem-solving behavior will, hopefully, be abundantly used in the attempt to neutralize aggressive and hostile forces coming from inner drives as well as from the outside world. By using the safety valves mentioned above, the individual who is flooded with strong drives and impulses will help himself by finding socially acceptable ways to discharge or to neutralize his impulses, at the same time keeping a harmonious equilibrium with his environment. In so doing, he preserves his integrity and identity.

The interaction between the individual and the outside world is manifested in the human being by *feelings, thoughts and gestures*, governed by the general principle of reciprocity and integration. In human behavior it manifests itself in the following way: the interaction between an individual and his environment is based on trying to get something out of each other; giving something to each other, and getting along with each other; the give and take of our everyday life. These adaptive processes are relatively satisfying to both individuals. This is described as a "good adjustment". If not properly and intelligently used, it is called "maladjustment".

It is by many modifications of this principle of give and take used with wisdom that will finally create a good adaptation in human behavior.

I believe that the Sephardim who have gone through continual crises for the last twenty centuries, have used the problem-solving behavior *par excellence*. They have succeeded in neutralizing many aggressive forces by their mastery in using the adaptive mechanisms. Thus they have manifested good judgement in dealing with their environment and have kept the vital equilibrium intact. It is by their mastery of using these adaptive devices that they have been able to survive and keep their identity to the present.

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The Piyyutim of the Jewish Community of Aleppo

by Rabbi Dr. Zvulun Lieberman

Hebrew poetry was already recorded literature at the dawn of our history. The Pentateuch contains many of the early lyrical expressions of our ancestors. Certainly man's greatest expression of religious, lyrical idiom is found in the matchless *Book of Psalms*, while *Song of Songs* remains enshrined in religious thought as the sacred, allegorical poem of G-d's love for Israel.

Over the centuries, Jewish creativity found expression in many forms of religious poetry, which continued to enrich and embellish the traditional liturgy. These sacred poems and penitential prayers (Selichot), beloved by the people, were quickly adopted to become an integral part of holiday and festival worship.

The Israeli poets of the Galilee, Yosi ben Yosi and the Kalir, were giants in the field, and Mesopotamian Jewry made its contributions through the works of Rabbi Saadia Gaon. With time, the center of creativity passed to the European continent.

Throughout the Middle Ages, Hebrew poets created new gems in verse and song. The Golden Age of Spain, with its chain of poetic luminaries, extended and brought the liturgical idiom to unparalleled heights. The never-equaled masters, Ibn Gabirol, Yehuda Halevi, Ibn Ezra, Shmuel HaNagid, Ibn Janach and so many others, remain to this very day, the pattern of accepted liturgical expression.

With the destruction of Sephardic communal life in Spain, the heritage of poetic tradition returned to Israel. The renaissance of Hebrew poetry within the kabbalistic mystique, found its birth in the holy city of Safed. Guided by the devout poetry and genius of Rabbi Luria (the Ari), his disciples created masterpieces of lyrical liturgy. Rabbi Solomon Halevi Alkabetz ("Lecha Dodi Likrat Kala") and Rabbi Israel Nadjara ("Ya Ribon Olam") were among the most respected names in a galaxy of metaphoric masters.

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The Jewish community of Aleppo continued this tradition of poetry with such masters as Rabbi Judah Samuel Abbas, composer of "Et Shaare Ratzon," and other liturgical pieces. In the nineteenth century, Aleppan Jewry produced Rabbi Raphael Anteby Taboush, a most outstanding poet, *hazzan*, and composer. Rabbi Anteby was blessed with an unusual talent for Middle Eastern music and poetry. His knowledge of Hebrew and his familiarity with Judaic scholarship were legendary. He listened carefully to the Middle Eastern tunes of his day, and composed Hebrew verses to these melodies. His purpose was twofold — the creation of Hebrew poetry, and the restraining of young Jews from singing secular verses in Arabic. His poems were set, therefore, in accordance with the *makamot* (modes) of the oriental, musical scale *rust, mahhor, adjam, nahavand, biyat, husseini, sava, siga, hajaz*). These supplications contain the outpouring of a Jewish soul, seeking G-d, forgiveness, and the salvation of Israel. One of the more famous *pizmonim* of Rabbi Raphael Anteby Taboush is "Ata El Kabir." This free translation is offered:

Thou art an exalted G-d, Compassion is Thy name. Take pity on a chosen people, for great is Thy compassion, without limitation or end . . . My soul thanks Thee, at all times and at all moments. Harken to my praise, O Faithful One! Have grace unto me through compassion . . . By day and by night, I shall not be silent. My tongue shall utter Thy righteousness. Desire, then, my speech as a sacrifice, and consider it in place of sacrifice and burnt offering . . . Behold, my Protector, the length of my exile. O! so many days; strangers and opponents have ruled over me. O! Speed the redemption. Glory and honor and strength shalt Thou give, to the son of David, Thy annointed, who gives forth song every morning, in a voice of song and praise. My G-d, bless and strengthen the righteous people; carry them on the wings of eagles to great heights."

The first letters of each paragraph spell in acrostic, Ani Raphael (I, Raphael).

The poetic traditions of Aleppo were brought to Congregation Magen David in Brooklyn by their first official cantor, Rabbi Moshe Ashkar, a student of Rabbi Raphael Anteby Taboush. He not only interpreted his many *pizmonim*, but took his rightful place as a composer of similar poetic works. Rabbi Ashkar composed these lyrics for special occasions — engagements, weddings, bar-mitzvahs, and dedicated these poems to the guest of honor. Not only were they set to the Middle Eastern musical modes, but this creative cantor was

able to produce adaptations to American music and even Ashkenazi music as well.

Rabbi Moshe Ashkar composed many lyrical works which were adopted by the community as semi-formal sections of the prayer. An example of Cantor Ashkar's works is the poem "Most Exalted G-d" ("El M'od Na'alah"). It is translated as follows:

Most exalted G-d, Whom I shall receive in song and praise, I shall enter His palace, as in the days of Moses and Aaron, I shall be brought to His dwelling place. If my cry could but ascend, and He would but hear my voice, and He would forgive my sin, and be of aid to me, hearkening unto my lips, and yet not perceiving my deeds. O G-d, exalt the bridegroom and his bride, in the merit of the great patriarch and his righteousness. Then shall the Queen Rachel rule, as King Solomon in his reign.

We note the allusions to members of the family, and the acrostic approach, spelling the name Elijah (the bridegroom).

The Use of Pizmonim Today in the Syrian Jewish Service.

Many of the original patrons and subjects of the poems of Rabbi Ashkar, the bar-mitzvah boys and grooms of a generation or two ago, are grandparents today. But the songs have been sanctified, and they are sung on special occasions. No sooner does the cantor announce the *hatan bar-mitzvah*, than the choir of Congregation Beth Torah or Shaare Zion, bursts forth in song with one of the many bar-mitzvah lyrics of the *pizmonim*. The same holds true for the call and announcement of *arus* (bridegroom). The father of a newborn baby girl, being called to the Torah, with the announcement of *Avi Habat*, will find his aliya accompanied by a special song, while the *Avi Haben* (father of a baby boy) will have his lyrics chosen from a section specially reserved from the circumcision ceremony.

The *Sefer Torah* is accompanied with the rendition of *pizmonim* by the choir. The *Sefer Hapizmonim* becomes the Syrian Jewish songster on the Saturday festive occasion known as the *sebet* or *mazah*. At the conclusion of the Sabbath service, and the bar-mitzvah boy's reading of the Torah, the congregation is invited to the home of the family, for the oriental-style, Sabbath *kiddush*. The table is laden with middle eastern delicacies — kibbee, pastel, lahmagin, tehina, humus, all types of meats and salads, with desserts of many assorted sweets, such as baklava. The highlight of this meal, in the Syrian community, is the singing of *pizmonim*, appropriate for

the Sabbath. The talented men of the community exhibit their cantorial skills, in the rhythmic, melodic, multitonal scale of Arabic music, with Hebrew lyrics.

Bakashot (Supplications)

In searching for the historical roots for the ceremonial singing of religious lyrics, one comes upon the beautiful custom of *bakashot* (supplication prayers of the Sabbath dawn). In the Aleppan synagogues of Israel, and in one or two congregations in Brooklyn, N.Y., the custom still abides, of greeting the Sabbath dawn with *bakashot*. They are sung in unison, to ancient melodies. Many of these works are anonymous today. They appear at the beginning of the book of *pizmonim*, but those poems whose authorship is still known to us, throw light upon the antiquity of this Sephardic custom. Amongst the more famous poets, whose creative quills have formulated these graceful verses, are Israel Nadjara of Safed, Abraham Ibn Ezra of Spain, Joseph Sutton of Aleppo, Shlomo Ibn Gabirol of Spain, Jacob Abadi of Aleppo, Samuel Murcia of Spain, Rabbi Isaac Luria, the Ari of Safed; David, the son of Jacob, Pardo; Rabbi Nissim Lopez.

This poem is attributed to Israel Nadjara, the student of Rabbi Isaac Luria of Safed.

I Will sing With strength, to Him Who searches the heart, and I will sing to the morning; daily shall I knock at His doors, and I shall come unto His sanctuary. I will relate His great miracles, and tell them in the morning. The heavens, like a tent were stretched forth by Him, and the earth below was spread out. The gates of the east shall be opened by Him in the morn. The sun runneth forth, by His command, like a man who goes forth to his wedding canopy. Noone can hide from his anger, from evening unto morning. By the light of the sun and its luster, man goes forth to his labor, to his work, and unto his travail, to arise in the morning. Come, send forth thy voice in song, which shall go forth for you, as a commemoration. before G-d, your Creator, with joy, together with the stars of the morning. For if you will sing His splendor in the night, by day He shall command to you His kindness. He shall give you of His glory, which shall fly to you by morning."

Thus we realize that the tradition of poetry, as formulated by the founding fathers of Sephardic Hebrew lyrics, has remained unto this day, a tradition in the Syrian Sephardic community, and is an integral part of its religious life, during public and private festivals.

The Customs of Libyan Jews

by Yishak Sabban

In memory of Alberto Fellus

The customs of Libyan Jews have much in common with the customs of the rest of North African Jewry and other Sephardic congregations. However, due to historic and geographic circumstances, they have developed several unique customs which are of special interest.

Rosh Hodesh Nisan

On the first night of Rosh Hodesh (New Moon) Nisan, called *Lel Lebesesa* ("The Night of the Mixture") by the Libyan Jews, the whole family gathers together at the father's house. The mother prepares a mixture called *besesa* made of roasted, ground and sifted wheat and barley to which is added sugar, almonds, and spices (coriander and cumin). The head of the family takes a key in his right hand and as he pours olive oil over the mixture with his left hand and stirs, he recites a Judeo-Arabic prayer.¹ The translation of this prayer is:

"The One (G-d) who opens without a key,
The One (G-d) who gives without complaint,
Bestow your blessings upon us and be influenced by our prayers.
May the coming year be better than this one."²

After this ceremony the mother takes a piece of jewelry, usually a ring or earring, and puts it into the mixture where it remains all night. At dawn the family eats from the *besesa* believing in it as a merit (*segulah*). Slouschz claims that this custom was brought by the Jews of the mountains of Libya to the captial, Tripoli.³ A similar custom is found in Algeria among the Jews of Tlemcen, and some inland towns.

What is the origin of this custom? Generally, the Jews of Libya

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used to make a similar *besesa*, not only on Rosh Hodesh Nisan, but also whenever they entered a new house. The Lel Lebesesa commemorates the erection of the tabernacle, which took place on Rosh Hodesh Nisan. The jewelry put in the *besesa* by the women reminds us of the piety of the Jewish women who did not want to donate their jewelry for the golden calf, but willingly contributed it to the tabernacle.

The belief that this ceremony commemorates the erection of the tabernacle is supported by the fact that among the Jews of Messalata, a very old town about 100 kilometers south of Tripoli, this evening is called Besesat Al-Markuma.⁴ According to Slouschz this name refers to the embroidery in the work of the tabernacle (Exodus 26, 36).⁵ Slouschz claims that the Jews of Msellata also light a candelabra on Rosh Hodesh Nisan to commemorate the candelabra of the tabernacle.⁶

Sabat Hagadol – The Sabbath Preceding Passover

The Jews of Libya read a special liturgical hymn on the sabbath preceding Passover. This hymn, Sabat Vegadol Nikreta (שבח וגדול נקראת) is found in the prayer book 'Ereb Pesah' (ערב פסח) by Rabbi Hayim Cohen.⁷ This hymn has the acrostic – Sa'adia Hazak (סעדיה חזק). The prayer book Lel Simurim (ליל שמורים) by Rabbi Meborak Baranes, however, which is structured similarly to Ereb Pesah by Rabbi Hayim Cohen, does not include this hymn.⁸ Nor is it mentioned by Slouschz⁹ or Elamliach.¹⁰ At the present time, the author of this beautiful hymn is still unknown.¹¹

This hymn relates the miracles of redemption from Egypt, and also tells about the paschal sacrifice. It expresses the hope that God will continue to perform miracles in our time and that we will be redeemed. Since this hymn appears for the first time in 'Ereb Pesah' by Rabbi Hayim Cohen and is not mentioned in previous works, we can assume that the custom of reciting this hymn began at the end of the nineteenth century.

Paschal Sacrifice

It is the custom among Libyan Jews to buy a sheep to be slaughtered in commemoration of the paschal sacrifice and to be used for the hagada plate. Elmaliach claims that in Libya in 1923 the custom was to slaughter one sheep for each person.¹² This seems exaggerated, since he mentions that in 1923 more than one thousand sheep were slaughtered in Tripoli; however, the population of Jews

there was far greater than one thousand. No other source was found to confirm or refute this claim of one sheep slaughtered per Jew.

A remnant of the paschal sacrifice is found among the Jews of Messrata, Libya. During the time of the temple, the Jews used to bring a sheep or goat as a paschal sacrifice, which would be slaughtered on the eve of Passover from the third hour in the afternoon. It would be roasted and eaten in Jerusalem outside the Temple. Since the destruction of the Temple, our sages prohibited us from offering any holy sacrifice and, therefore, the paschal sacrifice was abolished. In its place the hagada service was established. However, until they emigrated to Israel, the Jews of Messrata were accustomed to slaughter a sheep for each family on the eve of Passover as a symbol of the paschal sacrifice. They would roast it but would not eat it until the second day of Passover.¹³

Masot

The Jews of Libya used to bake fresh masot each day. Rabbi Abraham Adadi notes that the Libyan women were very industrious and diligent in baking masot each day. When the Passover oven was heated for the first time for the making of the masot, they threw in the shankbone (זרוע) from the previous year, and the palm branch (לחב), the myrtle (חדס) and the willow branch (ערבה) from the previous sukot.¹⁴

The three masot for the hagada were marked with one, two or three thumb marks symbolizing, respectively, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

The Hagada

For the hagada plate the Jews of Libya use a large basket decorated with flowers and green leaves. Along with the traditional items of the hagada plate, it includes a large number of hard boiled eggs, one for each member of the family. Some people even include eggs in memory of the members of the family who have died. These eggs are then given to charity. In addition to the shankbone (זרוע) a piece of roasted liver and lung from the sheep is included.

During the hagada at 'יחץ' (breaking the middle masa at the hagada), the youngest member of the family puts half the masa of the afikomen, wrapped in a towel, over his shoulder and runs out. The rest of the family shouts joyfully after him – "thief, thief". When he returns, he is asked where he has been and he answers, "in Egypt". Then he is asked, "Where are you going?". He replies, "to

Jerusalem". Then all the family sing "לשנה הבאה בירושלים" ("Next year in Jerusalem").¹⁵ Afterwards they begin to read the hagada.

The Shulkhan Aroukh explains that the hagada plate should be taken off the table to enable the children to see it and ask questions about it.¹⁶ Among the Libyan Jews the plate is not only raised, but the mother and father also lift the plate over the heads of the whole family as they recite 'מה נשתנה' (why is this night different from all other nights). At one time the women would whistle a special festive whistle called in Judeo-Arabic "zaghruta". The stealing of the afikomen (אפיקומן) and the glass for Eliyahu are not practiced at the Libyan hagada.

Another unique element is a special rice dish that is cooked on the eve of Passover. The Libyan family eats from this dish and sets aside a portion which is left uncovered. It is believed that eating from this dish the next morning is a preventive measure offering protection from future danger.

In the Haggadah of the Jews of Libya and Jerba, after the passage: "But Jacob and his children went down to Egypt", (יעקב ובניו ירדו מצרימה, Joshua 24,4) there appears a story in Arabic jargon about how Abraham became a monotheist. After the hagada is completed, the Song of Songs is read, and the service is concluded with a jolly Judeo-Arabic song, "Let me get drunk at the celebration of my great-grandfather."¹⁷

The 'Omer Salt

On the second night of Passover (in Israel on the first night of hol hamoed — the intermediate days of the feast), the sexton of the synagogue distributes a piece of crystalline salt. Each congregant puts the salt in his pocket, takes it out at arbut (evening prayer) and holds it in his hand while blessing the counting of the 'omer (benedictions) —

This crystalline salt may symbolize the 'omer sacrifice, as it is written: "with all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt" (על כל קרבנך, Leviticus 2, 13). This custom originated in Libya as a reminder to count the 'omer.¹⁸

There is a tradition that if you throw a piece of masa from the afikomen and salt from the omer into a stormy sea, it will calm down. Noy brings a folktale about this miracle, in which it is said that a Jew saved the town of Messrata by using the salt from the 'omer.¹⁹ Rabbi Hayim Cohen in 'Ereb Pesah' says that the salt from the 'omer is like a cameo against sickness and evil eye.²⁰ The salt is also a symbol of the everlasting covenant of salt with God (Numbers 18, 19).

Special Customs of the Jews of Messalata

The Jews of Messalata and the Jews of the mountains (Jebel, also known as Gharian and Tigerna) have a strange custom on the first two days of Passover. Even though it is stated at the beginning of the hagada that everyone in need is welcomed (כל דכפץ ייתי ויכול), these Jews lock the doors of their home on the first two days of Passover, and do not accept any guests. Apparently this custom is a remnant from the Almohads in the 12th century when the marranos of North Africa celebrated Passover secretly lest an informer reveal that they were observing Passover.²¹

In the town of Messalata there also were families that would not taste wine during Passover, and fulfilled the mitsvah to have four cups of wine by using raisin juice (they would cook the raisins and use the water from the raisins).

The Blessing of Trees

The Libyan Jews are very strict in observing this custom, and no Jewish family, rich or poor, would miss this ceremony. The blessing of the trees is celebrated elaborately. During the intermediate days of Passover, until the beginning of the month of Iyar, one or several families together prepare food and drinks and go with all their children and relatives to the fields and orchards outside the city. There they spend the whole day singing, dancing and picnicking. After eating, the men gather together and with concentration of thought bless the trees, say kadish and collect money for charity. In the twentieth century this includes collection of money for the Keren Kayemet Le Israel. At sunset they return home singing.

In the past the Arabic owners of the fields and orchards were happy to receive the Jews at this time, since they believed that they also would be included in the blessing recited by the Jews.

Rabbi Meborak Baranes offers a mystical interpretation of this celebration, and claims that it refers not only to the blessing of the harvest, but, more importantly, to the purification of the soul (תקן נשמות).²²

Tikun (Night Liturgy) on the Seventh Day of Passover
Libyan Jews, particularly the Jews who settled in the mountains, study the night liturgy on the night of the seventh day of Passover.²³ Like most Sepharadim, on this night they do not sleep, but stay up studying and reading the Torah, Prophets, Gemara and Midrash. By attending this night liturgy the community has the satisfaction of fulfilling the commandment "and thou shall tell thy son on that day"

(והגדת לבנך ביום ההוא, Exodus 13, 8). When they arrive at the song about the crossing of the Red Sea the Jews of the town, including newborn babies, congregate at the synagogue, where this passage is sung by all. This custom is preserved even now among the Libyan Jews who have emigrated and settled in Uza and Shalva in southern Israel.

Children's Hagada

On the eighth day of Passover the children of the Libyan Jews perform their own hagada. Each family has small pots and plates for the children to celebrate this occasion called "Taklit" (mixture). The small children gather together and read the hagada. In this way they imitate their parents and prepare themselves to be observant Jews.

In the afternoon, the children go from door to door asking for spices and sweets while chanting a Judeo-Arabic poem.²⁴ The spices mentioned in this poem are used in preparing the *maimuna*.²⁵ It is noteworthy, that by this custom they hint that the end of Passover is approaching.

Prayers on the Eighth Day of Passover

On the last day of Passover the Libyan Jews read the Song of Songs with the Arabic translation and Targum Yehonatan, all with a special melody.²⁶ Each sentence is read and translated.

The haftara on the eighth day is from Isaiah and describes Sennacherib's attempt to defeat Judea. The Libyan Jews read this with the Arabic translation. Usually the rabbi lectures the congregation about the miracle of the defeat of Sennacherib.

Afternoon of the Last Day of Passover

The climax of Passover arrives during the afternoon of the eighth day when the streets of Tripoli are filled with thousands of pedestrians. The girls are dressed in their best clothes. This reminds us of the 15th of Ab and Yom Kipur about which it is written "young men raise your eyes and see".²⁷

During the time of the Italian mandate in Libya, the ruler would visit the Jewish congregation on this day.

Lel Elkas Walnuwar

The evening of the eighth day of Passover is called "lel elkas walnuwar" (night of romaine lettuce and flowers). On this evening the head of the family comes home with romaine lettuce and flowers.

When he enters the house he pats each member of the family with the lettuce and flowers. The mother blesses everyone with the wish — "akbal dyer" — "let us hope we'll live for next year". The romaine lettuce symbolizes success and fertility.

Similarly, on this evening engaged young men send baskets ornamented with flowers and filled with sweets, oranges and romaine lettuce to their fiancée and are received with much joy.

Maimuna

Immediately after Passover, the Libyan Jews celebrate the *maimuna*. They bake bread containing the spice cumin, one for each member of the family. Before they put the bread in the oven, a whole egg is placed on top of the dough. This bread is eaten with hard boiled eggs. Other foods customary at the *maimuna* are scrambled eggs with a special kind of sausage called *merkhez* and dried meat called *kadid*.

Hirshberg discusses the origin of the custom of the *maimuna* among the Jews of Fez, Morocco.²⁸ He says that there are several reasons for this celebration according to Rabbi Yosef Ben Nayim of Fez. One explanation is that the first redemption was in the month of Nisan, and it is believed that the last redemption will also be in Nisan. After Passover little of the month of Nisan remains and still the redemption has not arrived. Therefore, the Libyan Jews celebrate the *maimuna* to express the belief that they will still be redeemed in the month of Nisan.

Another explanation is that during Passover the joy of the holiday is not complete, and the full Hallel (Psalms 113-118) is not read after the first two days of Passover. The reason for this is that we should not rejoice while the Egyptians are drowning, as it is written in the Gemara, "My creatures are drowning in the sea and you wish to utter song?"²⁹ Therefore, the *maimuna* comes to complete the joy of the holiday.

On the day following Passover, Maimonides' father, Rabbi Maimon died. Since a jubilation (הילולא) is not permitted during the month of Nisan, the *maimuna* is a sort of substitute for the 'jubilation' (הילולא, mourning rite).

Between Passover and Pentecost

During the seven weeks between the beginning of Passover and Pentecost the children in Libya prepare all kinds of drinks — lemonade, sodas, and syrup. On these Saturdays they announce their

"merchandise" and "sell" the drinks for nuts and sweets. These drinks are called *labsus*. Frigia Zuares assumes that since the Torah is compared to honey ("Honey and milk are under thy tongue, דבש וחלב תחת לשונך, Song of Songs 4, 11), therefore, the children are given sweets and nuts to remind them to anticipate the celebration of the acceptance of the Torah which is Shabu'ot.³⁰

References

1. Abraham Elmaliach, *Mizrach Umaarab*, (Jerusalem 1929) Vol. 3, 52.
2. The original in Judeo-Arabic:
 יא פ' תאח בלא מפתח
 יא עטאי בלא מנה
 תרוקנה ותרוק מנה
 עקבאל דאיייר כ' יר מן סנה
3. Nahum Slouschz, *My Travels in Libya*, (Tel Aviv, 1943) I, 238.
4. Frigia Zuares et al, *The Jews of Libya*, (Tel Aviv, 1960) 374-5.
5. Nahum Slouschz, *op. cit.*, 238-40.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Rabbi Hayim Hacoheh, *Ereb Pesah*, 1844, 54-5.
8. Rabbi Meborak Baranes, *Lel Shimmurim*, 1896.
9. Nahum Slouschz, *op. cit.*
10. Abraham Elmaliach, *op. cit.*
11. Professor E. Fleisher, Hebrew University, an authority in Jewish liturgic hymns, has stated in a letter to the author that apparently this hymn was composed by a Libyan poet, since no other reference was found.
12. Abraham Elmaliach, *op. cit.*, 54-55.
13. Nahum Slouschz, *op. cit.*, I, 90.
14. Rabbi Abraham Adadi, "Makom Shenahagu", in *Vayikra Abraham*, (Leghorn, 1865), 121-2.
15. Indeed there is a similar custom throughout all North Africa, however, the escapee is called "thief" only here.
16. Shulkhan Aroukh, *Orah Hayim*, Siman 443, 6.
17. The author's knowledge of the existence of this custom is from his parents' home and from inquiries made among Libyan Jews.
18. Frigia Zuares, *op. cit.*, 376.
19. Dov Noy, *Jewish Folktales from Libya*, AG7 (Jerusalem 1965), 53-55.
20. Rabbi Hayim Hacoheh, *op. cit.*, 210.
21. Nahum Slouschz, *op. cit.*, I, 237.
22. Rabbi Meborak Baranes, *op. cit.*, 16a, b.
23. In Hebrew: חקך ליל שביעות

24. The Judeo-Arabic poem:

הא טאר-ונה, הא לגממה
 האדי חוש (שם בעל הבית)
 יאעטינה ויבראכנה

25. Maimuna — in a sense is common to most Sepharadim, especially to North African Jews. But in contrast to the Morrocon Jews, for example, the Libyan Jew refers to maimuna as a custom of eating special bread and other food.

26. Targum Yehonatan ben Uziel, Aramic translation of Prophets and writings of the Bible.

27. Ta'anit, p. 26.

28. H.Z. Hirshberg, *The Jews in North Africa*, (Jerusalem, 1965) 71-72.

29. Sanhedrin, p. 39.

30. Frigia Zuares, *op. cit.*, 380.

THE ROMANSO, 1900-1933: A Bibliographical Survey

by David Fintz Altabe

Although much has been written regarding the Judeo-Spanish language and its literature, relatively few studies mention the existence of novels written in Ladino by the Sephardic Jews of the Ottoman Empire. Michael Molho's comprehensive work, *Literatura sefardita de Oriente* (Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, 1960), contains only two paragraphs on the novel or "romanso" as it was called in Judeo-Spanish. Without going into detail regarding this genre, other critics, such as Djaen, Jopson, and Spitzer, generally conclude that the novels were mainly translations from the French and of scant literary merit.¹ I believe, however, that in view of the large number of such works listed in the bibliographies mentioned below, the 'romansos' deserve a more thorough analysis, both quantitatively and qualitatively. This present survey is statistical in its approach. Its aim is to determine the true nature of the Ladino novel.

For the purpose of this study, I have chosen to limit myself to the novels listed in the *Catalogue of Judeo-Spanish Books in the Jewish National and University Library* [of Jerusalem] published by Abraham Yaari in 1934. This is by no means a complete list of the works published, for we find that Besso's bibliography of *Ladino Books in the Library of Congress* includes a number of novels not listed by Yaari.² The catalogue printed by Sherezli, a Ladino novelist and bookseller in Jerusalem, gives additional titles.³ The seven part bibliography of works held in the Sephardic Reference Room of Yeshiva University compiled recently by Rabbi M. Mitchell Serels also contains romansos not listed elsewhere. Furthermore, there are titles listed on the back pages of Judeo-Spanish novels which are not found in any bibliography. Thus, one would have to cross index these various lists in order to attempt to determine the number of

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novels that were actually published in book form. I say, "in book form," because romansos appeared in the various periodicals which appeared in the Judeo-Spanish speaking communities, which, for one reason or other, were never printed separately. We assume that only the most popular works were published as books after their audience appeal had already been tested. The Yaari catalogue is the most extensive listing of Ladino books, and has the advantage of being categorized according to genre.

There are 263 works listed by Yaari under the category of "sip-purim" meaning stories or novels. In analyzing these, I find that nine are reeditions; thus, the total indicated in the table below comes to 254 works.

Table I gives the number of works listed as translations, the immediate source of the translations, those which appear to be original works, and the year of publication divided into four main periods. There is no title listed as having been published from 1914 to 1920. We assume that this is so because of World War I and its aftermath. It may have been because of the chaotic conditions of the time or a definite suppression of all publication.

TABLE I

	1920-33	1908-14	1900-08	Before 1900	Total
Originals	46	33	33	3	115
Translations from French	35	14	11	3	63
Hebrew	9	8	12	6	35
Greek	7	-	1	-	8
English	4	3	1	-	8
German	-	2	2	-	4
Italian	2	-	-	-	2
Russian	1	-	-	-	1
Turkish	1	-	-	-	1
source unknown	7	2	4	1	14
Anthologies	1	-	2	-	3
Totals	113	62	66	13	254

The designation "source unknown" represents those works which are indicated as translations on the title page, but fail to mention from which language they were translated. It often happens that even when the language of the original is stated, the title and author of the original are not. Of the fourteen works, I would venture to say that eight are from French, five from Hebrew, and one from German, basing my opinion on the title and place of publication.

It should be pointed out that the word "adaptado" is often used instead of "trezladado", meaning that the works are adaptations rather than exact translations in such cases. They are in many cases abridged versions of the originals. Thus, the Judeo-Spanish edition of Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, published in Jerusalem in 1912 comes to twenty pages. Victor Hugo's, *Les Misérables*, appeared in a 119 page summary in New York, published by the periodical *La Amerika* in 1931. One might wonder why such liberties were taken with classics like these while a work of relatively lesser importance, Eugène Sue's, *Les mystères de Paris* filled no less than 3,000 pages in its Judeo-Spanish translation in 1891.

I have classified adaptations and summaries as translations in the chart. Also, works such as Maxim Gorky's, *Childhood*, which came to Judeo-Spanish through French, as indicated on the title page, have been classified according to the language from which they were translated, rather than the language of the original.

The table reveals the following information:

1. The majority of the works in all periods, except before 1900, were original.
2. The most productive years of publication were those between 1920 and 1933, a time when many of the scholars who were writing studies on the Judeo-Spanish language were predicting its demise. It may be that this period represents the swan song of Judeo-Spanish literature.
3. After French, the greatest number of translations were made from Hebrew. Indeed, in the period before 1900 and between 1900 and 1908, translations from Hebrew exceed those from French.
4. There was a heightening of translations activity in the period between 1920 and 1933, in that slightly less than 50% of the works are original, whereas the reverse is true for the previous years, except for before 1900. One might expect that as time passed, translations would have played a lesser role in the literary activity of the writers.

5. Although the majority of the translations come from either French or Hebrew, there also exists works which were translated from English, German, Greek, Italian, Russian, and Turkish. While one is not surprised to find translations from Greek, Italian, and Turkish, considering the proximity in which the Sephardic Jews of the Balkans and the Near East lived with these languages, the popularity of English works does strike one as unusual.
6. There are no adaptations into Judeo-Spanish of works of Spanish literature. It may be that such novels may have circulated in the original, or that there was little interest in them. We know from Angel Pulido's, *Españoles sin patria*, that he had been in contact with some of the major literary figures and intellectuals of Levantine Sephardic milieu. He was encouraged to send book and periodicals to the area, which he did. According to the recipients who wrote to Pulido, these works were read with interest; the language, Modern Spanish, seemed strange, but not unintelligible. The style of some Judeo-Spanish writers seems to have been influenced by it, but by and large, the average Sephardic Jew, had little exposure to the Castilian language or its literature.⁴

Among the works of French literature translated into Judeo-Spanish are the following:

- Bernadin de Sain Pierre. *Paul et Virginie*. Jerusalem, 1912. 23 pages (Yaari No. 561)
- Dumas, A. (père). *Le comte de Monte Cristo*. Salonica, 1926. 2 v. 344: 353: 503 pages (Yaari No. 492). also New York, 1928. 659 pages (Yaari No. 493)
- Dumas, A. (fils). *La dame aux camélias*. (in narrative prose). Salonica, 1922. 304 pages (Yaari No. 494)
- Hugo, Victor, *Les misérables*. New York, 1921. 119 pages (Yaari No. 497)
- Lamartine, A. *Grazièlla*. Izmir, 1913. 157 pages (Yaari No. 520)
- Ponson du Terrail. *Henri Quatre: Sa première jeunesse*. Jerusalem, 1912-1915. 9 v. 1,920 pages. (Yaari No. 578)
- Prevost Abbé (Antoine François). *Manon Lescault*. Jerusalem, 1905. 82 pages (Yaari No. 609)
- Sue, Eugène. *Les mystères de Paris*. Istanbul, 1891. 3,000 pages

(Yaari No. 565) also Salonica, 1922. 2 v. 304:268 pages (Yaari No. 566)

Xavier de Montepin. *La portadera de pan*. (J.-Sp. title). Salonica, 1922, 1923. 4 v. 398: 398: 396: 370 pages (Yaari No. 539)

Zola, Emile. *Nantas*. Jerusalem, 1904. 53 pages (Yaari No. 499)

Verne, Jules. *Michel Strogoff*. Istanbul, 1890. 174 pages (Besso No. 280)

Note that the last entry does not appear in Yaari, but in Besso's bibliography. I have not bothered to list works by lesser known French authors, such as, Assolant, Bouloz, Decourcelle, Gaborieau, Sales, and Valrose, nor of less important works by the authors listed above, although these are not many. The vast majority of the works designated on their title pages as originating from the French do not, as I mentioned before, indicate the original titles or the authors, making them difficult to trace.

Goethe's *Werther* is the only major novel translated from German; the other three are on Jewish themes by lesser known writers. The American novels are mainly detective stories recounting the adventures of Nick Carter or Nat Pinkerton. Two works that are not, are Upton Sinclair's *Oil!* and *100%: The Story of a Patriot*. The summary of *Gulliver's Travels* is the only novel of English literature. Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* and *Romeo and Juliet* appear in narrative prose renditions.

Of the translations from the Greek, most of these appeared in Salonica after 1920 when the city had become part of Greece. One work translated is the novel *Condemned* by Konstantinos Theotokis, two others are of Russian origin. *Genoveva* is the title of an adaptation from the Greek which was published in Salonica in 1922 and in Istanbul in 1923. *Vaninka Germayelof*, published in 1904 in the periodical *El Meseret* of Izmir and later separately in Jerusalem was a 26 page adaptation of a Russian work. A more extensive translation of a Russian novel that came to Judeo-Spanish via Greek is that of *El barkero del Volga* by Ivan Belugin (or Bilogin). This three volume work totaling 588 pages dealing with the Russian revolution is the story of the leader of a band of partisans who falls in love with a young girl of the aristocracy because of her sympathy with the lot of laborers along the Volga. Apparently the novel had been made into a film because the book contains reproductions of film still photographs.

A fairly complete translation of *The Arabian Nights* (832 pages) was made into Judeo-Spanish from the French. Works of Russian literature which appeared in French that were translated were, in addition to Gorky's *Childhood* mentioned above, Leo Tolstoy's, Polikushka, and *Cement*, a novel of post-Revolutionary Russia by Feodor Gladkov. The sole work of Russian literature which was translated directly from the original was *The Brothers Karamazov* by Dostoyevsky.

A work of Tolstoy's also came into Judeo-Spanish via the medium of Hebrew. Its title in Judeo-Spanish is *Ozo vazio* meaning the greedy one (possibly the tale, *How Much Land Does a Man Need?* The translation is only 16 pages in length. It was published in Jerusalem in 1895. Another translation of interest is that of the modern Hebrew novelist, Yehuda Burla. He was of Sephardic origin, born in Izmir, and spoke Judeo-Spanish, but wrote all his works in Hebrew. His novel listed, *Šarmes de patria*, deals with Jewish settlement in Palestine in the twentieth century. A number of Haskalah works dealing with the life of the Jews in Spain prior to 1492 were also translated from Hebrew, for example, Ludwig Philippon's, *La ermoza Hulda de Espanya*, which was originally written in German, *Don Miguel San Salvador* by Abraham Loeb Shalkovich who used the pseudonym, Ben Avigdor, and *Don Yosef, Primo Ministro de Espanya* whose author is not given. Other Haskalah authors whose works were translated were: Judah Leib Gordon, Samuel Gordon, Theodore Herzl, Pesah Kaplan, Abraham Mapu, Nahum Schaikewitz, Kalman Schulman, and Nissan Turov.

The Judeo-Spanish novel had its development in the press which inserted serialized translations from novels in other languages. These serials served a twofold purpose; they brought the readers into contact with modern literature, and they helped sell newspapers by keeping interest alive from issue to issue. When a serialized work was successful, it was bound separately and sold as an independent volume. Most of the books were published in this way, and the authors and translators were also directors of periodicals. Fortunately for our purposes, Yaari's catalogue mentions the periodicals responsible for the publication of many of the novels. The title pages of these also indicate the periodical with which the author or translator was affiliated. I have listed below the major ones.

TABLE II

City	Periodical	Editor	literary activity
Istanbul	El Tiempo	David Fresco	translations from French, English, and Hebrew
	El Telegrafo El Gugeton La Guerta de estorias	Isaac Gabay Elia R. Karmona	Trans. from French Original works Literary supplement
	El Tiempo El Punçon La Voz del pueblo El Avenir El Liberal	Isaac David Florentin Jean Florian	Trans. from French Trans. from French
Izmir	El meseret	Alexander Ben Guiat	Trans. from French, English, original works
Jerusalem	Ha Zvi	Ben Zion Taragan Shelomo Israel Sherezli	Trans. from Hebrew Trans. from Hebrew, French, original works
	Guerta de Jerusalem El Liberal El Trezoro Jerusalem	Sherezli Hayim Ben Atar Mošeh A. Azriel	Literary collection Tr. from Heb. Tr. from Heb.
Cairo	La Vara	Abraham Galante	Original works
New York	La Amerika		Tr. from French
	La Vara		Tr. from French

The publisher, Benyamin Behor Yosef, was active in Istanbul as a translator and author as well, but there is no journalistic activity associated with his name. Sherezli in Jerusalem, maintained a bookstore and his catalogue and price list is a source of information in this area. It contains 191 titles in Ladino, mostly "romansos", i.e. novels, and 69 in Hebrew. He also published a two volume Judeo-Spanish-French pocket dictionary.⁵

In pursuing this serialized method of publication, the authors and periodicals involved were following the established pattern of the French feuilletonists of the early nineteenth century. Among the first of these were Eugène Sue and Ponson du Terrail. It is worthy of note that among the first novels to be translated were those of these authors. As indicated above, Sue's *Les mystères de Paris* appeared in Istanbul in 1891 translated by David Fresco, and Ponson du Terrail's, *Henri Quatre* in 1912 by Sherezli of Jerusalem.

The authors of the Jewish Enlightenment also had many of their first works printed in the Jewish Press, before seeing them in book form. Indeed, the early Haskalah writers were known as "measfim" the gatherers, taking their name from *Ha-measef*, the monthly journal they published.⁶ A later "maskil", proponent of the Enlightenment, Kalman Schulman (1821-1899) translated Sue's *Les mystères de Paris* into Hebrew. It was one of the first romantic novels to appear in the newly vitalized language.⁷

The feuilletons were also a common literary medium in Turkish, and many translations and original works of modern Turkish literature made their first appearance in these. We do not know how many Sephardim were able to read the Turkish press; we can assume by the criticism of both Turkish nationalists and Sephardic assimilationists that their number was not high, but there were some intellectuals who could do so. The schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle introduced Turkish into their curriculum at a very early stage of their development.

Thus, we see patterns in the development of the Ladino novel that parallel similar literary innovations elsewhere. To some extent, these processes may have been consciously copied, nevertheless they also reflect the natural growth of literature and of the commercial enterprise and techniques that makes publication possible.

The large number of translations were possible only because of the familiarity of many of the writers with foreign languages. It is obvious that these men of letters were interested in bringing to their brethren the fruits of their reading experience in French, Hebrew, English, etc. Sometimes, their motivation was religious, zionistic,

socialistic, or humanistic, meaning by that term, the desire to spread knowledge of the humanities. In many cases, the aim may have been simply to entertain by re-telling a good story, one of love and adventure and intrigue that would delight the reader. Speaking to many Sephardim who were already young adults when they left Turkey and the Balkans immediately before or after World War I, they have told me that those who wished to do serious reading would turn to the masterpieces of French literature in the original, or to religious works in Hebrew. The Judeo-Spanish novels were designed for light reading. They were the literature of the masses. The movie industry was in its infancy, radio and television did not exist. One bought a penny novel and read it for an evening's entertainment. It is mainly this need that was filled by this popular genre.

The adjectives that appear on title pages, which were used by the authors or the publishers to describe their works, and promote them by giving the prospective reader an idea of the contents, are as follows: "atrayerente", "divertente", "dramatiko", "ekstraordinario", "ezmoviente", "interesante", "istoriko", "kuriozo", "moderno", "moraliko". "palpitante", "sansasional", "santimental", "savrozo", "tražiko", "verdadero", or "de amor", "de aventuras". "de brigandaje", "de dolor", "de drama", "de eroizmo", "de krimenes salvažes", "lyenos de intriga", "de pasion", "de la vida ġudiya", etc.

These adjectives tell us that the novels are love stories, detective stories, stories of Jewish life in various countries — ancient Israel, Austria, France, the Orient, Poland, Russia, Spain, etc. There are historical novels, gothic novels, romantic pulp stories, tales of adventure, of lurid crime, and of gambling and other vices — themes that are constants in literature, and continue to delight the average reader.⁸

It hoped that this brief survey will provide future researchers into this area with more concrete data on which to base their conclusions. The statement made by some critics that the novels are mainly French translations has been proven untrue. As seen in Table I, these comprise only 25% of the total. New studies based on more accurate information may bring about other revelations. One thing that remains to be done is a critical revalorization of some of the major authors and their works in order to reach a more careful assessment of their literary merits.

FOOTNOTES

1. Articles by Sabetay Djaen, N.B. Jopson, and Leo Spitzer relating to Judeo-Spanish linguistics and literary style appear in Volume VII of the magazine *Judaica*, which was published in Buenos Aires in 1939. The entire issue is devoted to Sephardic studies.

2. Of the 289 entries listed in Besso's bibliography, one hundred and twenty are novels, forty three of which are not included in the Yaari Catalogue. See Henry V. Besso, *Ladino Books in the Library of Congress*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1963).

3. Shelomo Israel Sherezli, *Katalogo de la livreria S.I.S. de livros en žudeo-espányol i en ebreo*, (Jerusalem: Imp. de Sherezli, 1914). This catalogue contains 69 titles in Hebrew, and 191 in Judeo-Spanish, most of which are novels. Kayserling's, *Biblioteca española — portuguesa-judaica* was published in 1890 and contains few novels.

4. Angel Pulido y Fernandez, *Españoles sin patria*, (Madrid, 1905), pp. 109-125. These pages contain a review of Pulido's first book *Los israelitas de origen español y el idioma castellano*, (Madrid, 1904) and a general discussion of which language merited cultivation by the Jews of the Orient: Spanish, French, Hebrew, Turkish, or Judeo-Spanish. Rabbi Abraham Cappon of Yugoslavia wrote to Senator Pulido (p. 93), attributing the corruption of Spanish partly to the inadequacy of the Hebrew alphabet to represent vowel sounds clearly. Rabbi Cappon is the author of several plays written in Judeo-Spanish. His style reflects a conscious effort to modernize the language.

5. S.I. Sherezli, *Nouveau petit dictionnaire Judeo-Espagnol-Français*, 2 v. (Jerusalem, 1898-99).

6. Meyer Waxman, *A History of Jewish Literature*, vol. III, (New York: Yoseloff, 1960), pp. 119-120.

7. Waxman, p. 310.

8. Speaking of Ladino literature in general, the noted Sephardic scholar, Henry V. Besso, quoting Moses Franco in his opening remarks, states the following:

"Judeo-Spanish literature has undergone a notable change in the 19th century. For a long time, in the past, the Rabbis seemed to have had a monopoly, as it were, of the literary productions both in Judeo-Spanish and in the Hebrew language." As in the preceding three centuries, the Sephardim of the Orient had produced in the 19th century a vast rabbinical literature. But the non religious writers, the lay writers, began to take over and take away what used to be the prerogatives of the rabbis . . . These new writers in their own way wanted to moralize and educate the public.

Henry V. Besso, "Ladino literature: Bibliografía de libros en Ladino", *Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebreos*, XII-XIII, 2, (Granada: Univ. de Granada, 1963-64), p. 193.

the quote is from Moses Franco, *Essai sur l'histoire des Israélites de l'Empire Ottoman*. (Paris: Durlacher, 1897) p. 269.

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Family Tree of the "Guerco", Stock Character in Judeo-Spanish Ballads

Royce W. Miller

The most remote ancestor of the "guerco" is the "Horkos" of Hesiod. In his well-known work *Works and Days*,¹ the author, in attributing certain characteristics to each day, speaks of the fifth day, and says that one must avoid doing things related to oaths on that day, since it is the birth day of "Horkos" (whose name means "oath"). Horkos is the son of Eris (whose name means "contention"); the *Erinyes* (or Furies) were present at his birth; thus, this day is a day filled with ominous portents and must be respected.

Horkos, God of the oath, is one of the Gods of the underworld, and is in charge of those who have broken their oaths. Sometimes, in his classical role, he is also one of the Gods of the dead, in the role of the one who, in mercy, kills those who have been mortally wounded.²

This brings us to a later ancestor, the "horcus" of Latin literature, the implacable God of Hades. In Virgil's *Aeneid*,³ the name sometimes seems applicable to the chief God of Hell, and other times seems to refer to Hell itself.

As the literary offspring of the Greek Horkos and the Latin *Horcus* migrated to other parts of the world, they acquired new characteristics without losing entirely their Greek and Latin distinctiveness.

In the Germanic world, we find the *orcneas* of Beowulf, a spirit associated with malevolent spirits; this one may be considered a spirit of the woods or a monster of the sea. In our own generation, many of us have traveled in our imagination to the land of the *Orks* in the books of Tolkien.

In the Latin world, the *orc* is not greatly different from the Germanic one. For example, we may look at the *orc* in *Orlando Furioso*

by Ariosto, from whom Rogero saves Anglica; this one is a monster who comes from the depths of the ocean.

Of special interest is the *huerco/uerco/güerco/güercho(?)* in the Judeo-Spanish tradition.

This *huerco* is not unknown in the Spanish Peninsular tradition: Juan Ruiz, the Arcipreste de Talavera, Juan de la Cueva, and the *Romancero*, all refer to the *huerco* as the devil, or the angel of death, always in a repugnant or horrifying sense.⁴

The Judeo-Spaniards refer to him in their ballads and their proverbs: "If you see the *huerco*, your face will always look that way"⁵ says one proverb. Another says that a woman in labor has power over the *huerco*.⁶

In the ballad of Philomena (a version of the ancient legend of Procne and Philomela) the word *huerco* is used as an epithet, when the evil brother-in-law is mistreating Philomena ("What kind of *huerco* are you?" etc.⁷) Some versions use the word *diablo* (devil) at this point.

In the ballad "La muerte ocultada" ("Secret Death"), the *huerco* fights with the protagonist for his soul.

Uezo wounded the *Huerco* in his heel,
The *huerco* wounded Uezo in his will;
Uezo wounded the *huerco* with his sword,
The *Huerco* wounded Uezo in the fabric of his soul . . .⁸

In another ballad, which seems to be a variant of the preceding one, the *huerco*, still an infernal being, has a house and family in the poet's imagination:

In Oficio's house
They weep and lament;
In the *huerco's* house,
they make happy music and clap their hands.⁹

This *huerco* has added another diabolical function to his mission of robbing souls from earth, that of poisoning the waters:

The *huerco* passed this way
To poison the waters . . .¹⁰

In one Judeo-Spanish ballad the *huerco* is transformed into *puerco* (pig) (an easy association, given the similarity of the words, and the repugnance of both):

He saw the *puerco* befouling the river;
Don Hueso got up and fired a shot (shot an arrow?)
It hit the *puerco* in his heel,
But wounded don Hueso in his heart . . ."

In other ballads, the *huerco* is clearly the angel of death without other roles. He speaks:

"Enough words, enough excuses,
I am to carry away one hundred souls
Before daybreak;"

or

"I am *Death*, who separates
Brother and sister,
Husband and wife;
I gather them up
And take them where they can never be seen again."¹²

The connection between this *huerco* and the classical one has not been lost. For example, in the "Death of Prince John", the famous ballad on the death of the son of Ferdinand and Isabella, we see:

While they were saying these words,
the *puerco* arrived;
He stood in front of them,
and spoke in haste:
"Don't look at yourself, son of the King,
I came to take your soul."
"I will give you all my possessions,
if I may keep my soul".
"A curse on your possessions,
and on anyone who might want them."
While these words were being uttered,
the son of the King died.¹³

In variants on this ballad, the *huerco* does not appear in person, but is, at least, still clearly in his role as God of the Underworld:

The *huerco* wants no payment
nor money when you are in your coffin¹⁴
The *huerco* is swift,
and can enter through a locked door.¹⁵

This brief study of the word *horcus*, with its development within the Judeo-Spanish tradition, shows currents which are seen throughout the *Romancero*. There is the continuation of pre-Exilic traditions. This conserving tendency links us with an antiquity which is sometimes lost in the Peninsular tradition. Nevertheless, we see here, as elsewhere, the creative genius of folk literature, adding new dimensions to traditional situations.

NOTES

1. Cf. *Pémptas d'exaléasthai erei, haleraí te kai ainaí. En pémpiti gár phasin Erinyas amphispoleúein Órkon yeinómenon ton Eris teke, pim epiórkios* — quote from Hesiod, *Days and Works*, (Gr. ed.)
2. Cf. *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* (Ed. Loach), N.Y.: Funk and Wagnalls, 1950, entry under "Orcus".
3. *Aeneid*, Book 9, verse 527: . . . quisque virum demiserit Orco.
Book 6, verse 273: . . . in faucibus Orci.
Book 8, verse 296: . . . te ianitor Orci.
4. Summarized by Menéndez Pidal, Ramón, *Los Rmances de América*, Buenos Aires; Espasa-Calpe, 1948, 158 note.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino, *Antología de poetas castellanos*, IX, Madrid: CSIC, 1945, 387.
8. Menéndez Pidal, *op. cit.*, 157.
9. Attias, Moshé, *Romancero sefaradí*, Jerusalem: Instituto Ben-Zewi, Hebrew University, 1960, ballad 60.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Menéndez Pidal, *op. cit.*, 158.
12. Larrea Palacín, Arcadio de, "El cantar de la muerte y las endichas [sic] judeo-hispánicas", *Sefarad* XV (1955), 145.
13. Molho, Michael, *Literatura sefardita de Oriente*, VII of Biblioteca Hebraicoespañola, Madrid: CSIC, Inst. Arias Montano, 1960, Endecha 2, 178-9.
14. Attias, *op. cit.*, ballad 82.
15. Idem, romance 85.





