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ARTÍCULOS

The Hebrew Root *ʾ-m-n* and its Derivatives *hɛʾĕmīn* and *nɛʾĕman* in both Medieval Spanish and Ladino Translations of the Bible

La raíz hebrea *ʾ-m-n* y sus derivados *hɛʾĕmīn* y *nɛʾĕman* en las biblias españolas medievales y en las traducciones bíblicas al ladino

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Abstract

The Hebrew root *ʾ-m-n* is related to a number of different words found in the Hebrew Bible, for instance, *hɛʾĕmīn* 'believe, trust, confide, be sure', *nɛʾĕman* 'was trustworthy', *ʾemūn* 'trust', *ʾĕmūnā* 'faith, belief, trust', *ʾĕmɛṯ* 'truth', and *ʾāmen* 'amen'. The purpose of this paper is to examine, contrast and compare various translations of the derivatives of this root, *hɛʾĕmīn* and *nɛʾĕman/ nɛʾĕmān*, which appear in both medieval Spanish and in Ladino versions of the Bible from the 16th century onwards, and to explore the extent to which these translations are diverse in their interpretations. This comparison enables us to establish the claim that Ladino versions of the Bible developed independently and are not based on earlier medieval Spanish translations.

Keywords: Hebrew; Ladino; Medieval Spanish; Bible translations.

Resumen

La raíz hebrea *ʾ-m-n* está relacionada con una serie de palabras presentes en la Biblia escrita en hebreo, por ejemplo, *hɛʾĕmīn* 'creer, confiar, estar seguro', *nɛʾĕman* 'ser confiable', *ʾemūn* 'confianza', *ʾĕmūnā* 'creencia, confianza', *ʾĕmɛṯ* 'verdad', y *ʾāmen* 'amen'. El propósito de este artículo es examinar, contrastar y comparar las diferentes traducciones de los derivados de la raíz, *hɛʾĕmīn*, *nɛʾĕman* y *nɛʾĕmān*, que aparecen tanto en las biblias en español medieval como en las versiones de la biblia en ladino a partir del siglo XVI, y explorar hasta qué punto estas traducciones intervienen en sus distintas interpretaciones. Esta comparación nos permitirá establecer y afirmar que las versiones de las biblias en ladino se desarrollaron en forma independiente a las escritas en español medieval y que estas no se basan en traducciones previas.

Palabras clave: hebreo; ladino; español medieval; traducciones bíblicas.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Hebrew root *ʾ-m-n* is extremely productive. The following list, presented in Hebrew alphabetical order, provides all of the words derived from this root that appear in the Bible along with their frequencies of occurrence[1]:

אוֹמֵן *ʾōmen* (×7) 'trainer, educator'

אָמוֹן *ʾāmōn* (×1) 'apprentice, educator'

אָמוּן *ʾemūn* (×1) 'confidence, loyalty, faithfulness, trust, security, fidelity, firmness'

אֱמוּנָה *ʾĕmūnā* (×51) 'confidence, honesty, faith, belief, trust'

אֱמוּנִים *ʾĕmūnīm* (×7+1) 'confidence, honesty, faith, belief, trust' + 'created'

אֹמֶן *ʾómɛn* (×1) 'faith, confidence, trust, fidelity'

אָמֵן *ʾāmen* (×30) 'Amen, so be it, surely'

אֲמָנָה *ʾămānā* (×2) 'covenant, treaty, trust, faith, credit'

אָמְנָה *ʾåmnā* (×2+1) 'in trust, truly' + 'education'

אָמְנָם *ʾåmnām* (×9) 'indeed, truly, surely'

אֻמְנָם *ʾumnām* (×5) 'indeed, truly, surely'

אֱמֶת *ʾĕmɛt* (×124) 'truth, certainty, honesty, faithfulness'

הֶאֱמִין *hɛʾĕmīn* (×51) 'believe, trust, confide in'

נֶאֱמַן *nɛʾĕman* (V) (×13+1) 'be found true, trustworthy, firm' + 'be nursed'

נֶאֱמָן *nɛʾĕmān* (ADJ) (×31) 'faithful, trustworthy, loyal, reliable, trustee, sure'

Only two verbs appear in the list: *hɛʾĕmīn* and *nɛʾĕman*. Most of the words featured are nouns: *ʾāmōn, ʾemūn, ʾĕmūnā, ʾĕmūnīm, ʾómɛn, ʾămānā,* and *ʾĕmɛt*; three are restrictive adverbials, *ʾåmnā, ʾåmnām,* and *ʾumnām*; two are participial-adjectives *ʾōmen* and *nɛʾĕmān*; and one is the confirmation word *ʾāmen*. As can be seen from the list, the root is ambiguous and some of its forms are polysemic. The majority of meanings are semantically related to trust and belief, while others suggest training and upbringing – *ʾōmen* (×7), and one occurrence each of *ʾāmōn, ʾåmnā, ʾĕmūnīm,* and *nɛʾĕman*.

Is there a semantic connection between these two distinct meanings? I very much doubt that this is the case as it is akin to erroneously claiming that *creer* and *criar* in Spanish are connected etymologically and semantically because of their phonetic similarity.

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[1]   According to the Responsa Project 25 (2018), a total of 269 words which appear in the Bible are formed using this root. However, I have excluded 57 of these from the list: personal names such as *ʾamnōn* 'Amnon' and *ʾāmōn* 'Amon', place names such as *ʾămānā* 'Amana' (a river in 2 Kings 5:12, and a location in Song of Songs 4:16), the word *ʾomnōt* (2 Kings 18:16) that refers to pillars or to doorsills, Aramaic words, the word *hāʾāmōn* (Jeremiah 52:15) spelled with *aleph* instead of *he* referring to 'crowd', and *vəʾēyminā* 'and I will turn right' (Genesis 13:9) which is derived from the root *y-m-n*. Of the remaining 212 words derived from the root *ʾ-m-n*, I have deducted a further eleven occurrences that relate to upbringing. In the following list some of the words take this meaning, too.

Other than the verb *hɛʾĕmīn*, the participial-adjective *nɛʾĕmān*, and the verb *nɛʾĕman*, which appear relatively frequently throughout the Bible, the most recurrent words derived from the root *ʾ-m-n* are *ʾĕmɛt* (×124), *ʾĕmūnā* (×51), and *ʾāmen* (×30). The translations of *ʾĕmɛt* and *ʾāmen* do not show as many varieties in translations as the words *hɛʾĕmīn*, *nɛʾĕmān*, and *nɛʾĕman*. *ʾĕmɛt* is nearly always translated as *verdad~verdat* or rarely as *verdadero/a*, while *ʾāmen* is copied in the translations exactly as it appears in Hebrew. It is only the word *ʾĕmūnā* which is translated in a variety of different ways ranging from *verdad*, *fe*, *fieldad* to *justicia*, *oración*, *seguranza*, *leal mientre* and more. However, an analysis of the translation of this word is beyond the scope of this article.

My interest in the root *ʾ-m-n* originally stemmed from an analysis of the verb *hɛʾĕmīn*, which in Modern Hebrew can mean 'believe', 'believe in' or 'trust', and occasionally also 'think'. Similar and more elaborate meanings (other than 'trust'), can be found in biblical Hebrew (BDB, 1907; Koehler & Baumgartner, 1967-1990; Kaddari, 2006). As a result of my interest, I started researching the instances in which this verb appears in a number of medieval and Ladino translations of the Bible, and was impressed by the variety of ways in which it and associated words including the verb *nɛʾĕman* and the adjective *nɛʾĕmān* were translated. The results of my research are presented below.

In this article I will contrast and compare various translations of the words *hɛʾĕmīn* and *nɛʾĕman-nɛʾĕmān*, both of which are derived from the root *ʾ-m-n*, as they appear in medieval Spanish manuscripts and Ladino translations of the Bible, and to subsequently explore the extent to which these translations are interpretive. The importance of comparing parallel texts for clarifying grammatical and lexical issues is a methodological issue which has previously been explored by Hispanic biblical researchers (e.g., Morreale, 1963; Enrique-Arias, 2012, 2013). Interest regarding the relationship between various medieval Spanish and Ladino biblical translations and the origins of the latter have been discussed at some length since the 18th century, and a number of approaches have been developed (e.g., Rodríguez de Castro, 1781; Llamas, 1944; Amigo 1983, 1990; Lazar 2000: ix-xxxiv; Pueyo Mena, 2008; among others). A comparison between medieval Spanish and Ladino biblical translations will enable us to add some insights into the connections, if any, between these translations.

2. Sample Examples

Initially, I will present three examples of verses which feature two instances of words related to the root *ʾ-m-n*. In the first two cases, the active verb *hɛʾĕmīn* and the passive-resultative *nɛʾĕman* appear close to one another. The third example features the nouns *ʾĕmūnā* and *ʾómɛn*. Abbreviations of the medieval translations are taken from the Corpus

Biblia Medieval (Enrique-Arias & Pueyo Mena, 2008-)[2]. The Ladino post medieval Jewish translations are taken from the Ferrara Bible published in Latin-script in 1553, abbreviated here as FR (Lazar, 1992a), and from the Bible printed using Hebrew-script published in Constantinople and Thessaloniki between 1540-1572 (Lazar, 2000) and subsequently in 1744 (Lazar, 1992b), abbreviated here as CS (this version does not include translations of Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel or Chronicles). To facilitate comparison, I have used Lazar's Latin-script transliteration of CS.

(1) אִם לֹא תַאֲמִינוּ כִּי לֹא תֵאָמֵנוּ [ʾim lo *ṯaʾămīnū* kī lo *ṯeʾāmenū*] (Isaiah 7:9) 'If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established'[3]
Fazienda: si non *creyeredes* non *seredes creudos*
E8/E6: Si nolo *crouieredes*; non *duraredes*
GE: silo non *creyeredes* non *duraredes* uos
E3: sy non *creedes* non *seades creydos*
E7/E5: si non lo *creyeredes* non *seredes creidos*
E4: sy nonlo *creedes* non *seredes creydos*
BNM: sy non *creedes* ca non *soys creydos*
RAH: sy lo non *creyerdes* es por que non *ssoys creyentes*
Arragel: sy non lo *creyerdes* es por que non *soys creyentes* [non premanesçeredes]
FR: si no *creyerdes*, {es} por que no *sodes firmes*
CS: si non *creerdes*, que non *sodes firmes*

In example 1, all the translations, medieval Spanish and Ladino, use the verb *creer* 'believe' in various orthographic and grammatical forms in order to represent the verb *heʾĕmīn* (*ṯaʾămīnū*) as appears in the Corpus medieval[4]. For the translation of the verb *neʾĕman* (*ṯeʾāmenū*), most of the medieval Spanish Bibles use this same verb in its passive form, *ser + creído* 'be believed', except for GE and E8/E6 which utilize the verb *durar* (*duraredes*) 'last, survive, endure'. Contrarily, both Ladino translations opt to use the compound *ser firme* (*sodes firmes*) 'be steady, secure', which is closely related to GE and E8/E6 in meaning. These translations are based on the traditional Jewish homily as characterized by RaDaK (Rabbi David Kinḥi, 1160-ca. 1235) who says: תאמנו - ענין קיום כמו מימיו נאמנים [teʾāmenu -

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ʿinyan qiyum kemo memav neʾemanim]⁵ 'the word *teʾāmenū* – a matter of existence as in "its waters are sustained"'⁶.

(2) הַאֲמִינוּ בַּה׳ אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְתֵאָמֵנוּ הַאֲמִינוּ בִנְבִיאָיו וְהַצְלִיחוּ [*haʾămīnū* byhvh (*baʾdonāy*) *ʾĕlohexɛm wəteʾāmenū haʾămīnū* binḇīʾāv vehaṣlīḥū] (2 Chronicles 20:20) 'Believe in the Lord your God; so shall ye be established. Believe His prophets; so shall ye prosper'
E8/E6: *Creet* en uuestro seynnor dios & *seredes segurados creet* alos sus prophetas & tornan vos todos bienes
GE: *creet* en Nuestro Señor Dios, e *seredes seguros* de nuestros enemigos que vos non podran mal fazer, e podredes vos con todos ellos, e *creet* a los profetas de Dios, ca todo bien vos verna
E3: *creed* enel señor vuestro dios & *seredes fieles creed* en sus profetas & averedes prouecho
E5/E7: & *confiad* enel señor vuestro dios & *sed confiantes confiad* enlos sus profetas & aprouesçeredes
EV: *confiad* enel Señor vuestro dios & *sed confiantes confiad* enlos sus profetas & aproueçeredes
E4: *creed* enel señor vuestro dios & *confirmar vos hedes creed* ensus profeçias & prosperaredes
BNM: *creed* enel señor vuestro dios & *confirmar vos hedes creed* ensus profectas & prosperaredes
Arragel: *creed* firme mente enel señor vuestro dios & *seredes seguros* & *creed* enlos sus prophetas & preualesçeredes
FR: *creed* en A. vuestro Dio y *seredes fieles*; *creed* ẽ sus prophetas, y prosperaredes
CS: ---⁷

The distribution of these various translations is quite different in example 2, although the same verbs are used in the Hebrew verse, *hɛʾĕmīn* (*haʾămīnū* ×2) and *nɛʾĕman* (*teʾāmenū*). The verb *hɛʾĕmīn* in both instances is translated in most versions, medieval Spanish as well as in the Ferrara Bible, by the verb *creer*; however, E5/E7 and EV translate the verse using the verb *confiar* 'trust', which is a more accurate rendition of the Hebrew root *b-ṭ-ḥ*. The way in which the verb *nɛʾĕman* is translated is much more varied: *ser segurado* (×1), *ser seguro* 'be sure' (×2), *ser fiel* 'be faithful' (×2, including FR), *ser confiante* 'be trusted' (×2), *haber confirmar* 'will confirm' (×2). The choice of words used to translate this verse is relatively interpretive in the medieval Spanish translations.

Both verses in the examples postulate a request using the active verb *hɛʾĕmīn* and a passive result utilizing the verb *nɛʾĕman*. In spite of syntactic similarities, the translations are not consistent. The medieval Spanish translations demonstrate grammatical and lexical

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⁵   *Memāv nɛʾĕmānīm* is a citation from Isaiah 33:16, which is translated similarly in Ladino by (*sus aguas*) *firmes* (FR, CS), while the medieval translations opt for a variety of other translations: *fieles* (E8/E6, GE, BNA, RAH), *verdaderas* (E4, E5/E7), *çiertas* (E3).

⁶   RaDaK's explanation is based on the Aramaic translation (*Targum Jonathan* to the Prophets) which says: *la ṯiṯwayəmūn* 'will not be sustained'. A similar explanation of this verse which dates from the 17ᵗʰ century subsequently appears in Metsudat David and Metsudat Ṣiyon (Responsa Project 25, 2018).

⁷   In a translation from Izmir, 1838, one finds: *creed, seredeš firmes*, as in example 1 above.

variability showing a great degree of semantic interpretation. This is especially true for example 2. However, the Ferrara translation is inconsistent in the translation of the passive resultative verb: *sodes firmes* in example 1, but *seredes fieles* in example 2 (like E3) based on the traditional interpretations 'be faithful': *tihyu bene ʾĕmūna* by Rashi and *tihyū nɛʾĕmanim* by RaDaK.

The third example involves two nouns which derive from the same root *ʾ-m-n*.

(3) עֵצוֹת מֵרָחוֹק אֱמוּנָה אֹמֶן [ʿeṣōt merāḥōq *ʾĕmūnā ʾómɛn*] (Isaiah 25:1) 'Thy counsels of old are faithfulness and truth'
E8/E6: cuedamientos antigos *fieles amen*
GE: los cuydados antigos *fieles uerdadera mjentre*
E3: consejos de lexos *fialdat de verdat*
E5/E7: los conseios de lexos tuyos *son fieles & verdaderos*
E4: los consejos de lexos tuyos *son fieles & verdaderos*
BNM: consejos de lexos, *lealtad & firmeza*
RAH: conssejos de lueñe & *son certeficados ciertamente con fe de uerdat*
Arragel: conseios antigos de lueñe *ffe de verdat*
FR: consejos de lexos, *verdad firme*
CS: consejos de lešos, *verdad firme*

The traditional Jewish interpretation of the Hebrew expression *ʾĕmūnā ʾómɛn* is 'strongly confirmed'. The duplication of the root *ʾ-m-n* serves as a stylistic means of strengthening the notion of confirmation, and also occurs in the repetition of other roots[8].

Similar to Example 1, there is a clear distinction between Ladino and medieval Spanish translations of the expression *ʾĕmūnā ʾómɛn*. Both Ladino translations use the words *verdad* 'truth' and *firme* 'firm, steady' in literal translation, meaning that the truth exists and is sustained, which is similar to the traditional accepted meaning of this expression, 'firm truth' (as in the interpretations by Ibn Ezra, RaDaK, Alshekh). Unlike the Ladino versions, the medieval Spanish translations vary greatly: *ʾĕmūnā* is translated as the adjectives *(son) fieles* 'faithful, reliable, trustworthy' and *son certeficados* 'certified', in addition to *fialdad* 'faith, trust', *lealtad* 'loyalty, trustworthiness', and *fe* 'faith' which are nouns. The word *ʾómɛn* is translated in an even greater variety of ways: *amen* (!), *verdadera mientre* 'truly', *de verdad/verdat* 'of truth, truely', *verdaderos* 'true', *firmeza* 'firmness', *ciertamente con fe de verdat* 'surely with true faith'. Although these translations denote the basic meaning of the original Hebrew expression, they prove to be free renditions incorporating a variety of lexical options.

Examples 1 and 3 show a resemblance between in both the Ladino FR and CS translations and demonstrate the degree to which these differ from medieval Spanish

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8   See for instance: Abraham Ibn Ezra (ca. 1090-ca. 1167) like *ʿuzzī umaʿuzzī* 'my strength and my stronghold' (Jeremiah 16:19), from the root *ʿ-z-z*.

versions. Example 2 shows inner lexical variation in the FR translation although this is nonetheless literal.

3. THE FINDINGS

I will concentrate now on the translations of the two verbs related to the root *ʾ-m-n*, *hɛʾĕmīn* and *nɛʾĕman*, in addition to the participial-adjectival forms *nɛʾĕmān*, and will then conclude by giving a summary of the findings.

3.1. *hɛʾĕmīn*

Besides the two instances of *hɛʾĕmīn* presented above in examples 1 and 2, I examined an additional 17 more verses[9]. Here is the distribution of their occurrences:

(4-6)

הֶאֱמִין *hɛʾĕmīn*: (4) כִּי לֹא־הֶאֱמִין לָהֶם (Genesis 45:26) 'for he believed them not'; (5) וְלֹא־הֶאֱמִין סִיחוֹן אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל (Judges 11:20) 'But Sihon trusted not Israel'; (6) מִי הֶאֱמִין לִשְׁמֻעָתֵנוּ (Isaiah 53:1) 'Who hath believed our report'

Fazienda: *creye* (4)
GE: *creye* (4); *quiso* (5); *crouo* (6)
E3: *qujso creer* (4); *creo* (6)
AJ: *quiso creer* (4)
E19: *creyo* (4); *quiso* (5)
E5/E7: *pudo creer* (4, 6); *quiso* (5)
E4: *creo* (4); *aseguro* (5); *pudo creer* (6)
Arragel: *qujso creer* (4); *consyntio* (5); *creyera* (6)
FR: *creya* (4); *creyo* (5, 6)
CS: *creyo* (4, 5); *creyera* (6)

(7-8)

הֶאֱמַנְתִּי *hɛʾĕmantī*: (7) לוּלֵא הֶאֱמַנְתִּי לִרְאוֹת (Psalms 27:13) 'unless I had believed that I would see'; (8) הֶאֱמַנְתִּי כִּי אֲדַבֵּר (Psalms 116:10) 'I believed, therefore have I spoken'

GE: *creo* (7); *crei* (8)
E3: *crey* (7); *creya* (8)
E5/E7: *toue confiança* (4); *confio* (8)
E4: *creo* (7); *crey* (7)
Arragel: *quiero & creo* (7); *creo* (5)
FR: *creyera* (7); *crey* (8)
CS: *creo* (7, 8)

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9   For *hɛʾĕmīn* I sampled the 17 verses presented here in addition to examples 1 and 2 above in section 2 (out of 51), and 10 for the adjectival *nɛʾĕmān* presented in 3.3 below (out of 31).

(9-11)

וְהָיָה אִם־לֹא *yaʾămīnū* יַאֲמִינוּ: (9) אִם־לֹא יַאֲמִינוּ לָךְ (Exodus 4:3) 'if they will not believe thee'; (10) יַאֲמִינוּ (Exodus 4:9) 'if they will not believe'; (11) וְגַם־בְּךָ יַאֲמִינוּ (Exodus 19:9) 'and believe thee for ever'

Fazienda: *crouieren* (9, 10), *creeran* (11)

E3, E4, FR: *creyeren* (9, 10), *creeran* (11)

E19: *creyeren* (9, 10), *creeran* (11)

E5/E7: *qujsieren creer* (9), *quisieren creer* (10), *creeran* (11)

Arragel: *crean* (9), *qujsieren escuchar* (10), *creeran* (11)

CS: *creeran×3*

(12-13)

פֶּתִי יַאֲמִין *yaʾămīn* יַאֲמִין: (12) פֶּתִי יַאֲמִין לְכָל־דָּבָר (Proverbs 14:15) 'The simple believeth every word'; (13) הֵן בַּעֲבָדָיו לֹא יַאֲמִין (Job 4:18) 'He put no trust in His servants'

E8/E6: *cree* (12)

GE: *cree* (12); *son estable* (13)

E3: *cree* (12); *crehe* (13)

E5/E7: *se enfia* (12); *fia* (13)

E4: *cree* (12); *confia* (13)

Arragel: *cree* (12); *son estabiles* (13)

FR, CS: *cree* (12, 13)

(14) וְהֶאֱמִינוּ *(wə)heʾĕmīnū* וְהֶאֱמִינוּ: וְהֶאֱמִינוּ לְקֹל הָאֹת הָאַחֲרוֹן (Exodus 4:8) 'that they will believe the voice of the latter sign'

Fazienda: *creerã*

E3, E4, E5/E7, Arragel, CS: *creeran*

E19: *creran*

FR: *creyeran*

(15) הֶאֱמַנְתֶּם *heʾĕmantɛm* הֶאֱמַנְתֶּם יַעַן לֹא־הֶאֱמַנְתֶּם בִּי (Numbers 20:12) 'Because ye believed Me not'

Fazienda: *creyestes*

E8/E6: *creyestes*

GE: *crouiestes*

E3, E19: *creystes*

E4: *crestes*

Arragel: *qujsiestes creer*

FR, CS: *creistes*

(16) מַאֲמִינִם *maʾămīnīm* מַאֲמִינִם וּבַדָּבָר הַזֶּה אֵינְכֶם מַאֲמִינִם בַּה' אֱלֹהֵיכֶם (Deuteronomy 1:32) 'Yet in this thing ye did not believe the Lord your God'

E8/E6: *creyestes*

GE: *quisistes creer*

E3, E4: *creedes*

E19: *quesistes creer*

E5/E7: *creystes*

Arragel: *credolos*

FR, CS: *creyentes*

(17) וַיַּאֲמֵן (way)yaʾămen וַיַּאֲמֵן אָכִישׁ בְּדָוִד (1 Samuel 27:12) 'And Achish believed David'
    E8/E6: *tenie*
    GE: *creo*
    E3: *enfiose*
    E19: *enfiosse*
    E4: *fiaua*
    Arragel: *creya*
    FR, CS: *creyo*

(18) תַּאֲמֵן *taʾămen* אַל־תַּאֲמֵן בָּם (Jeremiah 12: 6) 'believe them not'
    E8/E6, GE, E3, E5/E7, E4, Arragel, FR, CS: *creas*

(19) וַיַּאֲמִינוּ (way)yaʾămīnū וַיַּאֲמִינוּ אַנְשֵׁי נִינְוֵה בֵּאלֹהִים (Jonas 3:5) 'So the people of Nineveh believed God'
    GE, E8/E6: *crovieron*
    E3, E5/E7, E4, Arragel, FR, CS: *creyeron*

(20) הֶאֱמִינוּ *heʾĕmīnū* וְלֹא־הֶאֱמִינוּ בְּנִפְלְאוֹתָיו (Psalms 78:32) 'and believed not in His wondrous works'
    GE, E3, E4, Arragel, FR: *creyeron*
    E5/E7: *confiaron*
    CS: se *enfeuziaron*

There are only three case in which exactly the same translation is used for all the versions that I examined: *creerán* (11, 14) in Exodus 19:9 (H: *yaʾamīnū*) and with some orthographic varieties, in Exodus 4:8 (H: *(wə)heʾĕmīnū*), and *creas* (18) in Jeremiah 12:6 (H: *taʾămen*). Although the verb *creer* is predominantly used in all translations, several spelling and morphological varieties are utilized depending on the morphological form of the original Hebrew: *crehe, creer, creerã, creeran, creran, creyeran, creyestes, creystes, crestes, creistes, creedes, credolos, creyentes, creo, creya, creyo, creas, creyeron, poder creer, quesistes creer*, as well as *crouo, crouieren~crovieron, crouiestes*[10].

Some other verbs are occasionally used in some instances: *asegurar* (5) in E4: *confiar* (8, 20) in E5/E7 and (13) in E4, and *tener confianza* (7) in E5/E7; *tener* (17) in E8/E6; *querer* (5) in GE, E19, E5/E7; *consentir* (5) in Arragel; *enfeuziar* (20) in CS; *fiar* (13, 17) in E5/E7, E4; *enfiar* (12) E5/E7, (17) in E3, E19; *sere stable* (13) in GE; *querer escuchar* in (10) in Arragel); *querer & creer* (7) Arragel, all of which accord with the diversity of meanings that *creer* conveys[11]. It appears

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[10] The form *crovo* attested in Old Spanish (Cejador y Frauca, 1929: 29, 117; Corominas & Pascual, 1981-1991, vol. 2: 235) is analyzed as the preterit form *crovo* of the verb *creer*. It occurs in CICA (Catalan Corpus) as the verb *croure* attested to in the 13th Century. The form *crovo* and other derivatives appear in E8/E6 in example 1 above (in section 2), as well as in GE in the examples cited here in (6, 15), in Fazienda (9, 10) above, and again in GE and E8/E6 in (19). I found 58 equivalent instances of these verb forms in CORDE, all of which date from ca. 1200 to ca. 1275, (most of these appear in the biblical translation E6). I would like to thank Dr. Ilil Baum for her assistance in this matter. According to Prof. Cyril Aslanov (personal communication), the forms *creeire/creoire/creire/croire* were attested to in Old French as well.

[11] See the various meanings in *DLE* (2014: s.v. *creer*).

that E5/E7, and to a lesser degree E4 and Arragel, do not always opt for the verb *creer* for the translation of *hɛʔĕmīn* and use other verbs to convey the meanings of the Hebrew verb.

It is clear that the lexical variety is greater in the medieval Spanish translations of the Bible than in their Ladino equivalents. The Ladino versions employ identical translations which are slightly different from the medieval Spanish translations in seven of the 17 examples (5, 12-13, 15-18). These versions all use the verb *creer*, except for in one instance (20) in which CS uniquely utilizes the verb *enfeuziar*. In other cases, each of the Ladino translations concords morphologically with at least some of the medieval Spanish translations, usually with E3 and E4, and occasionally also with Arragel.

3.2. *nɛʔĕman* (v)

Two translations of the verb *nɛʔĕman* have already been presented in examples 1 and 2 in section 2 above where the medieval Spanish translations show greater diversity than the Ladino equivalents. Both examples above also demonstrate inconsistencies between the medieval translations of the similar form (*teʔāmenū*). As the translations of *nɛʔĕman* are so varied, I am going to describe them here in more detail.

(21) *wəyeʔāmənū* וְיֵאָמְנוּ דִבְרֵיכֶם (Genesis 42:20) 'so shall your words be verified'
Fazienda: *E ouo esto a seer*
GE: *si me dezides uerdad*
E3, E19, FR: *seran creydas*
E4: *& averiguar se han*
E5/E7: *creeremos*
Arragel: *seran bien creydas*
CS: *seran creidas*

(22) *wənɛʔman* וְנֶאְמַן בֵּיתְךָ (2 Samuel 7:16) 'And thine house [and thy kingdom] shall be established [for ever]'
Fazienda: *e fiel sera*
GE: *e [la tu compaña] sera fiel*
E8/E6, Arragel: *& fiel sera*
E3, E19: *E firme sera*
E5/E7: *E seras tu firme*
E4: *E sera firme*
FR: *Y firme [tu casa]*
CS: *Y fiel [tu caza]*

(23) *yeʔāmɛn* יֵאָמֶן נָא דְּבָרְךָ (1 Kings 8:26) 'let thy Word, I pray thee, be verified'
Fazienda, FR: *sea afirmada*
E5/E7: *cunpla se*
E3, E19: *afirmense*
E4: *confirmese*

GE: *firmeste*
Arragel: *confirma*
CS: *sea fiel*

(24) *nɛʾĕmānū* מַיִם לֹא נֶאֱמָנוּ (Jeremiah 15:18) 'wand as waters that fail'
GE: *desleales*
E3: *non son fieles*
E5/E7, E4: *non son verdaderas*
Arragel: *non çiertas*
FR: *no fueron fieles*
CS: *non firmes*

(25) *nɛʾɛmnā* וְלֹא־נֶאֶמְנָה אֶת־אֵל רוּחוֹ (Psalms 78:8) 'whose spirit was not stedfast with God'
E3: *se enfio*
E4: *creyeron,*
GE, Arragel: *creyo*
E5/E7, FR: *fue fiel*
CS: *se afirmo*

(26) *nɛʾɛmnū* וְלֹא נֶאֶמְנוּ בִּבְרִיתוֹ (Psalms 78:37) 'neither were they steadfast in his covenant'
E5/E7: *confiaron*
GE: *son avidos fieles*
E3: *creyan*
Arragel: *eran bien creyentes*
FR: *creyeron*
CS: *se afirmaron*

(27) *nɛʾɛmnū* עֵדֹתֶיךָ נֶאֶמְנוּ מְאֹד (Psalms 93:5) 'thy testimonies are very <u>sure</u>'
GE: *son creibles,*
E3: *son verdaderos*
E5/E7: *son fieles*
E4: *son de creer*
Arragel: *creybles*
FR: *son fieles*
CS: *se afirmaron*

(28) *yeʾāmen* וְעַל־בֵּיתוֹ יֵאָמֵן עַד־עוֹלָם (1 Chronicles 17:23) 'and concerning his house be established for ever'
E8/E6: *sea confirmado*
GE: *firmese*
E3, E5/E7, E4, FR: *sea firme*
Arragel: *la confirmes*

(29) *wəyeʾāmen* וְיֵאָמֵן וְיִגְדַּל שִׁמְךָ עַד־עוֹלָם (1 Chronicles 17:24) 'that thy name may be magnified for ever'
E8/E6: *Et dure*
GE: *por que dure*
E3, E4: *& sea firme*

E5/E7: *E afirmese*
Arragel: *& permanesca*
FR: *Y sea firme*

(30) *yeʾāmen* יֵאָמֵן דְּבָרְךָ עִם דָּוִיד (2 Chronicles 1:9) 'let thy promise unto David my father be established'
E5/E7: *sea acabada*
GE: *cumplasse*
E3: *afirmese*
E5/E7: *aberiguaste*
E4, FR: *sea firme*
Arragel: *plegate çerteficar*

(31) *yeʾāmen* יֵאָמֵן דְּבָרְךָ אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ לְעַבְדְּךָ לְדָוִיד (2 Chronicles 6:17) 'let thy word be verified, which thou hast spoken unto thy servant David'
E8/E6: *afirmada sea*
GE, FR: *sea firme*
E5/E7: *verdadera*
E4: *confirme se*
Arragel: *plegate çierta fazer*

The translations are not the same, although some of the Hebrew forms are identical in all of the various biblical verses, e.g., *yeʾāmen* (23, 28, 29, 30, 31), *nɛʾĕmānū~nɛʾɛmnū* (24, 26, 27). Unlike the frequent use of the Spanish verb *creer* in the translation of *hɛʾĕmīn* above (section 3.1), the use of the verb *creer* in the translation of *nɛʾĕman* is quite rare. Only in one of the verses does the verb *creer* occur in several of translations of Genesis 42:20 (21), although three of the translations utilize different expressions which relate to truth and verification: *si me dezides uerdad* 'if you told me the truth' (GE), *& averiguar se han* 'and will be verified' (E4), and *E ouo esto a seer* 'and this will have to be' (Fazienda)[12]. In three other cases the verb *creer* only appears occasionally (Psalms 78:8 (25); 78:37 (26)[13] and 93:5 (27)): *creyeron* (E4), *son creibles* (GE), *creyo* (GE, Arragel), *creybles* (Arragel), *creyan* (E3), *creyeron* (E4, FR).

In all the other verses, the base form *firme*, especially *ser + firme* 'secure, stable', appears alongside *firmar*, *afirmar* and *confirmer* (about 30 occurrences in examples 22-31). The other relatively common expression which occurs about 10 times is *ser + fiel* 'be faithful, trustworthy' (22-27) as well as *enfiar* (25) and *confiar* 'trust' (26) which share the same etymological source. The meaning 'truth' is found six times in these examples, three times in *verdadero/a* (24, 27, 31), once in *verdad* (21) and twice more in the verb *averiguar* (21, 30).

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[12] These translations are based on Onkelos *veyithamnun* 'and will be reliable', and Rashi's *yitʾamətu veyitqayəmu* 'will be verified and sustained'.

[13] CS translates the verb *ḥāṭəʾū* 'they sinned' at the beginning of this verse as *creyeron*.

Additional lexical choices found in the medieval Spanish translations include: *cumplir* 'complete' in (23, 30) GE and E5/E7; *leal* 'loyal' in *desleal* in (24) GE. The words *cierta* 'sure' (24, 31), *certificar* 'assure' (30) and *permanecer* 'remain' (29) only appear in Arragel. GE and E8/E6 are unique in their use of the verb *durar* (*dure*) 'last, survive, endure' in (29), as also used in example 1 in section 2 above. The adjective *acabada* 'finished, complete' only appears once in E5/E7 in (30).

Unlike the relative uniformity in which *heʾĕmīn* is translated above, Ladino FR and CS only translate the same way in Genesis 42:20 (21), as in E3 and E19. Although the Ladino FR and CS translations of *neʾeman* in other conjugations demonstrate internal inconsistencies, the distribution of words is more limited than in the medieval Spanish translations. FR uses *firme* ×5, *fiel* ×3, *creer* ×2 and *ser afirmada* ×1, whereas CS uses *afirmar* ×3, *fiel* ×2, *firme* ×1 and *creer* ×1 (CS does not include Chronicles, so it is only translated seven times). In several cases FR agrees with E3, E4 and once with GE, but CS is different from these. In example (22) FR and CS are unique in translating the verb as an adjective, which is unlike all the medieval Spanish translations, probably because of the context which is similar to (33) below, relating to a 'house'.

Although the words *creer*, *afirmar* and *ser firme*, and *fiel* are the most frequently used, there are a large number of other lexical choices utilized in the medieval Spanish translations: Arragel's version shows independent translations in most cases, and occasionally demonstrates long interpretations. The various translations conform to the three major meanings of the verb *neʾĕman* in the Bible as reflected by the traditional homily: 1. was stable, durable and consistent; 2. was reliable, truthful; 3. was verified (Koehler & Baumgartner, 1967: 61; Kaddari, 2006: 51).

3.3. *neʾĕmān* (ADJ)

The adjective *neʾĕmān* is a derivative of the *nifʿal* template which takes the participle form. In three of the ten sample verses, the adjective is translated as *fiel* 'faithful, loyal' in all the versions that I examined (Numbers 12:7; Hosea 12:1; Nehemiah 9:8). Although *fiel* is most dominantly used in the other seven verses, the different translations represent this diversely as can be seen as follows:

(32) *hanneʾĕmān* הַנֶּאֱמָן (Deuteronomy 7:9): *verdadero* (E3, E19, E4, Arragel); *fuert & fiel* (E8/E6); *fuerte & fiel* (GE); *fiel* (E5/E7, FR, CS)

(33) *neʾĕmān* נֶאֱמָן (1 Samuel 2:35): *leal* (E5/E7); *fiel* (E8/E6, GE, E3, E19, E4, FR, CS)

(34) *neʾĕmān* נֶאֱמָן (1 Kings 11:38): *firme* (E3, E19, E4, FR); *verdadera* (E5/E7); *fiel* (E8/E6, GE, CS)

(35) *nɛʔĕmānā* נֶאֱמָנָה (Isaiah 1:21): *fidel* (Fazienda); *verdadera* (E5/E7, E4); *fiel* (E8/E6, GE, E3, Arragel, FR, CS)

(36) *nɛʔĕmān* נֶאֱמָן (Jeremiah 42:5): *fe* (E8/E6, GE); *fiel* (E3, E5/E7, E4, Arragel, FR, CS)

(37) *nɛʔĕmānā* נֶאֱמָנָה (Psalms 19:8): *verdadero* (E8/E6, E3); *fiel* (GE, E5/E7, E4, Arragel, FR, CS)

(38) *wənɛʔĕman-rūaḥ* וְנֶאֱמַן-רוּחַ (Proverbs 11:13): *leal* (E8/E6); *fiel* (GE, E3, E5/E7, E4, Arragel, FR, CS)

In most cases the Ladino translations are similar and opt to use *fiel* with the exception of 1 Kings 11:38 (34) in which FR uses *firme* 'steady' in the translation of *bayit nɛʔĕmān* 'a sure house', as is also the case for a number of the medieval Spanish translations only in this verse. The other frequently used adjective in the medieval Spanish translations is *verdadero* 'truthful' (32, 34, 35, 37), although this also occasionally translated as *leal* 'loyal' (33, 38), *fe* 'faith' (36), or *fidel* 'loyal' (35)[14]. As discussed in the previous descriptions of the verbs *hɛʔĕmīn* and *nɛʔĕman*, the lexical variety used in medieval Spanish translations is far greater than that used in Ladino versions.

4. DISCUSSION

Although I examined all the words derived from the root *ʔ-m-n* which feature in the Hebrew Bible, I have only presented a sample of three derivatives – the verbs *hɛʔĕmīn* and *nɛʔĕman* along with the participial-adjective *nɛʔĕmān*.

The verb *hɛʔĕmīn* is conjugated using the *hifʕil* template which has a straightforward connotation in Hebrew: it is an active template, mostly transitive, and occasionally causative (Gesenius, 1910: 144-149; Joüon & Muraoka, 2011: 148-152; Waltke & O'Connor, 1990: 433-446). The verb *nɛʔĕman* and the adjective *nɛʔĕmān*, on the other hand, take the *nifʕal* template which is extremely ambiguous in Hebrew. It can be active, reflexive, inchoative, resultative, and passive (Gesenius, 1910: 137-139; Joüon & Muraoka, 2011: 138-140; Waltke & O'Connor, 1990: 378-395; Siebesma, 1991). In general, the passive of the *hifʕil* transitive template in Hebrew is *hufʕal*, e.g., *hiškiḇ* 'lay, put to bed' – *huškaḇ* 'was laid, was put to bed'. The *nifʕal* form of this root *š-k-ḇ* is *niškaḇ* 'lie down' which is resultative or inchoative.

Causative transitive verbs in Hebrew are followed by a direct object, which, when definite, is preceded by the accusative marker *ʔet*, e.g., וְאֶת-בְּנָהּ הַמֵּת הִשְׁכִּיבָה בְחֵיקִי [wəʔɛt bənāh hammet hiškīḇā bəḥeqī] 'and (she) laid her dead child in my bosom' (1 Kings 3:20)[15].

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14   And see other variations in the example not included at the sample, fn. 4 above.

15   Definiteness is defined by the following conditions: 1. a noun preceded by the definite article *ha-*; 2. proper name; 3. Inflected noun.

Passivizing this verb is possible as in וְהֻשְׁכַּב בְּתוֹךְ עֲרֵלִים [wəhuškab bətōk ʿărelīm] 'and he shall be laid in the midst of the uncircumcised' (Ezekiel 32:32).

Out of the 51 times that the root *ʾ-m-n* occurs taking the *hifʿil* template, it only uses the accusative marker once in the entire Bible *ʾɛt* – in Judges 11:20: וְלֹא־הֶאֱמִין סִיחוֹן אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבֹר בִּגְבֻלוֹ [wəlo hɛʾĕmīn Sīḥōn ʾɛt yiśrāʾel ʿăbor bigbulō] 'But Sihon trusted not Israel to pass through his borders' (example 5 in section 3.1). In all the other 50 cases it does not possess a direct object. In 24 verses, the complement is preceded by the particle *bə-* 'in'[16], in 14 verses by the particle *lə-* 'to'[17], in 7 there is a sentence complement starting with *kī* 'because, that'[18], in three verses there is no complement at all[19], and in one verse the complement starts with the infinitive form[20]. Additionally, there is one instance of a nominalized participle in subject position with no complement[21]. In cases where the complements are not direct objects (with or without the accusative marker), automatic transformation to a passivized form never occurs.

The verb *hɛʾĕmīn* in *hifʿil* does not have a passive *hufʿal* form. The use of the root *ʾ-m-n* in *nifʿal* gives translators a wide range of interpretative possibilities; at times they translate it as an active verb, other times as passive, reflexive, resultative or inchoative. The result is an assortment of morphological selections as well as a mixture of lexical varieties depending on the context.

The fact that Ladino translations concord with each other only once when interpreting the use of the word *nɛʾĕman* (in Genesis 42:20; *wəyyeʾāmənū* (21): *serán creidas/creydas*), is not accidental. After checking the distribution of the translations of these verbs and other words formed using the root *ʾ-m-n*, I found that the FR and CS translations of the Pentateuch and the *Haftarot*[22] resemble each other much more closely than they do for translations of other books in the Bible or to medieval Spanish translations of the same text. The explanation is simple: Jews traditionally read one portion of the Pentateuch (peraša) and a *Haftara* each week every year from one *Simḥat Tora* to the next[23]. Other parts of the Bible would have

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[16]   For instance, example 2 in section 2; examples 11, 13, 15-20 in section 3.1.

[17]   For instance, examples 4, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14 in section 3.1.

[18]   For instance, example 1 in section 2; example 8 in 3.1.

[19]   Exodus 4:31; Job 15:22; Job 29:24.

[20]   Example 7 in section 3.1.

[21]   Isaiah 28:16; הַמַּאֲמִין לֹא יָחִישׁ [hammaʾămīn lo yāḥīš] 'he that believeth shall not make haste'. The verb *creer/crover* is used by all versión except for E4 that uses *criar*: *qui crouiere* (E8/E6), *qui creyere* (GE), *el que creyere* (E3), *el quelo creyere* (E5/E7, Arragel), *el quelo criare* (E4), el creyen (FR), el que cree (CS).

[22]   *Haftara* (pl.: *haftarot*) is a paragraph from the Prophets read on the Sabbaths and on Holidays after reading the portion of the Pentateuch.

[23]   *Simḥat Tora* is the festival that celebrates the final reading of the Pentateuch and its starting to read it from the beginning on the 22nd of the month of *Tishre* [around September] in the Jewish calendar.

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been less read, less known and therefore also less translated. As is widely acknowledged, no Ladino translations in Hebrew letters of the five scrolls (*megillot*) were published until the 18th century, even though these are integral parts of the liturgy and read throughout the year on special holidays and probably also existed in the oral tradition[24]. Moreover, as they served no liturgical function, the biblical books of Ezra, Nehemiah and Daniel, as well as Chronicles were not translated into Ladino using Hebrew letters until the 19th century as they served no liturgical function.

The Ladino translations are very literal in nature. Translators were very careful not to change or modify anything from the original text for fear of profaning the Holy Scriptures. These versions are word-for-word textual translations which carefully follow the original Hebrew syntactic structure. Syntactical strictness led in turn to lexical rigidity, so the lexical variety in the Ladino translations is consequently relatively limited. As can be seen in the in the examples above, *hɛʔĕmīn* is always translated using the verb *creer* with only one exception (*enfeuziar* in CS). Translations of the verb *nɛʔĕman*, the adjectival *nɛʔĕmān* as *(ser) fiel*, and to a lesser degree *(ser) firme* (including *afirmar*) are widespread. Ladino translation literalness is not a feature of medieval Spanish translations, and lexical choice flexibility is therefore far greater in them.

Syntactic and lexical flexibility can also be demonstrated in the following two full verses, as partly presented in section 2 above (cf. examples 1 and 2 in sections 2):

(39) Isaiah 7:9: וְרֹאשׁ אֶפְרַיִם שֹׁמְרוֹן וְרֹאשׁ שֹׁמְרוֹן בֶּן־רְמַלְיָהוּ אִם לֹא תַאֲמִינוּ כִּי לֹא תֵאָמֵנוּ 'And the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and the head of Samaria is Remaiah's son. If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established'

    a. *Y cavevera de ʔEfrayim Šomrō, y cavecera de Šomrān hijo de Rĕmalyah; si non creerdes, que non sodes firmes* (CS)

    b. *& la cabeça de efraym es samaria & la cabeça de samaria es el fiio de remolias sy non lo creyerdes es por que non soys creyentes [non premanesçeredes]* (Arragel)

Arragel adds the definite article *la* to *cabeça*, the pronoun *lo*, the copulative *es*, and renders the Hebrew word *kī* as *porque*. The translation of the last verb in the verse is explained by an additional word, and Arragel changes the Hebrew names of *Šomron* to *Samaria* and *Remalya* to *Remolias* (39b). CS's translation is very literal. It keeps the Hebrew names, does not include any further additions and translates the Hebrew word *kī* as *que* (perhaps because of its phonetic similarity). The word *cabecera* is used instead of *cabeza* to relate to the leaders of these two geographic locations (39a).

(40) 2 Chronicles 20:20: וַיַּשְׁכִּימוּ בַבֹּקֶר וַיֵּצְאוּ לְמִדְבַּר תְּקוֹעַ וּבְצֵאתָם עָמַד יְהוֹשָׁפָט וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמָעוּנִי יְהוּדָה וְיֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם הַאֲמִינוּ בַּיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְתֵאָמֵנוּ הַאֲמִינוּ בִנְבִיאָיו וְהַצְלִיחוּ: 'and they rose early in the morning,

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[24]   The Song of Songs was repeatedly translated and published in Amsterdam using Latin script from the 17th century onwards for ex-Converso communities.

and went forth into the wilderness of Tekoa; and as they went forth Jehoshafat stood and said: Hear me, O Judah, and ye habitants of Jerusalem; Believe in the Lord, your God, so shall ye be established; believe his prophets, so shall ye prosper'

a. *Y madrugarõ por la mañana, y salierõ a disierto de Tekoah; y en su salir, estuuo Yehosaphat, y dixo: oídme Yehudah y habitadores de Yerusalaim; creed en A. vuestro, Dio y seredes fieles; creed ẽ sus prophetas, y prosperaredes* (FR)

b. *E leuantaron de mañana & salieron al desierto de tacoa E en saliendo parose josafat & dixo oyd me los de juda & los pobladores de iherusalem & confiad enel señor vuestro dios & sed confiantes confiad enlos sus profetas & aprouesçeredes* (E5/E7)

In addition to lexical differences (*madrugar~levanter*, *estar~parar*, *habitadores~los de*, *habitadores~pobladores*, *ser fiel~ser confidante*; *creer~confiar*; *prosperar~aprovechar*), the name of God is also given in different ways (*A*[donay]*~señor*; *Dio~dios*). E5/E7 adds *los* before *sus*, while FR does not, and also affixes the connective "*&*" to the beginning of the second part of the verse (which does not appear in the original Hebrew). As in the previous example, FR transliterates Hebrew names (*Yehosaphat, Yehudah, Yerusalaim*) whereas E5/E7 uses Spanish equivalents (*josafat, juda, iherusalem*).

These two short examples demonstrate further the differences between medieval Spanish and Ladino biblical translations, which will be further elaborated in the final section of this article.

5. Conclusions

The results of the comparison thus far show that the Ladino translations resemble each other much more closely than the medieval Spanish equivalents and also more than the medieval Spanish translations resemble each other. In a few verses, Ferrara (and sometimes Constantinople) resembles E3. This occasional resemblance does not prove that early Ladino translations were based on medieval Spanish translations, or specifically on E3 (Lazar, 2000: ix-xxxiv). After all, the use of Spanish words is common to all the translations and the interpretations of the verbs and adjectives depend on both contextual and traditional explanations.

The relationship between medieval Spanish and Ladino post-medieval translations of the Bible have been discussed extensively by a number of researchers. Initial studies described a number of Hispanic Bible features: scope – which parts of the Bible were translated and preserved; location – where the texts were found and written; authorship – who the translators were; sources – translation from the original Hebrew or from Christian-Latin renditions; interpretation – based on Christian understandings, the Vulgate or Hebrew traditional homily; intended readership – the target readership population. These early descriptions of Hispanic Bibles also included Ladino translations of the Bible which were

published shortly after the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain, Constantinople 1547 and Ferrara 1553 (Rodríguez de Castro, 1781; Scio de San Miguel, 1857; Blondheim, 1925; Llamas, 1940, 1943, 1944, 1949; Lazar 1964, 2000: ix-xxxiv; Berger, 1977; Hassán & Berenguer Amador, 1994). The common consent was that several of the medieval Spanish Bibles were written by Jews but that these had been carefully scrutinized by the Christian authorities. It was thought that the readership would have been predominantly Christian, although in some cases it might also have been Jewish. Moreover, all of these studies linked the Ladino translations, especially Ferrara to earlier medieval Spanish translations, even claiming that these were most probably their original sources.

Later research continued to explore these issues, but scholars slowly began to recognize the distinction between Ladino and medieval Spanish biblical translations. Textual and linguistic considerations led researchers to the conclusion that not only had Ladino Bibles developed independently of the medieval Spanish equivalents, but also that they were based on an ancient oral Jewish tradition of reading the original Hebrew text and translating it verse by verse (Morreale, 1960, 1962, 1963, 1969; Gutwirth, 1988; Pueyo Mena, 2008; Enrique-Arias, 2008; Pueyo Mena & Enrique Arias, 2013; Bunis, 1996; Del Barco, 2004). This Jewish translating tradition is based on the halakhic instruction *šnáyim miqra veʾeḥad targum* 'twice reading the Bible and once the Aramaic translation' (Talmud Bavli, Berakhot, 8a)[25]. Aramaic translations of the Bible (Targum Onkelos, Targum Jonathan) were used by the Jews when Aramaic became their everyday spoken language, so that biblical text would be accessible to community members who did not speak Hebrew. The tradition of translating the Bible orally word-by-word was a common practice in Jewish communities in the diaspora, adopted by the Sephardic populations throughout Spain and subsequently in the diaspora.

The reason why the Ferrara Bible seems to more closely resemble medieval Spanish Bibles than the Constantinople Bible is not only a matter of orthography. It was written by and for a unique group of Jews who returned to Judaism after being baptized (the former *conversos*, *anusim*) (Hassán & Berenger Amador, 1994). As this community lived geographically nearer to Spain and also kept closer commercial, diplomatic and familial ties with their Iberian relatives, their use of Spanish was consequently closer to the norms used in Iberian Spanish than the expelled Jews in the eastern Mediterranean. This also explains some of the differences between the Ferrara and Constantinople Bible.

In my previous comparisons of medieval Spanish and Ladino translations of the Hebrew Bible, I discovered the following important differences, some of which have been previously

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25   Although this phrase originally meant that a person should read the portion of the Pentateuch (*peraša* in Sephardic tradition) twice a week and the Aramaic translation once a week, it later came to refer to each single verse.

observed by the above mentioned scholars: Ladino translations of the Bible tend to be very literal, word-for-word renditions of the original Hebrew text, while their medieval Spanish equivalents are much more freely written and do not adhere to the strict syntactical structure of the Hebrew. I also found considerable differences in how God's name, proper names and many other lexical items were traditionally translated (Schwarzwald, 2010, 2012, 2015). My conclusion was that medieval Spanish versions of the Bible could not have been the source for later Ladino translations. The resemblance between the different Ladino translations cannot be coincidental. Translations had existed as an oral tradition closely connected to the original Hebrew text for centuries before the expulsion from Spain, and were subsequently printed in the middle of the 16th century (Gutwirth, 1988; Bunis, 1994, 1996; Hassán, 2004; Pueyo Mena, 2008: 210-212, 237).

The root ʾ-m-n and its derivatives enable the researcher to examine the wide range of meanings in Hebrew and the way in which these are interpreted in both medieval Spanish and in Ladino. The body material for this study is of much greater scope than the previous researches as it focuses on a specific lexical-semantic issue, and thus might have ultimately led to different results.

The remarkable volume of words derived from the root ʾ-m-n paved the way for rich Spanish translations. All the words listed above which derive from this root convey an assortment of meanings in Hebrew, as do their equivalents in Spanish, English and many other languages. Words such as [ʾĕmūnā] *fe* '(religious) belief', [ʾĕmɛt] *verdad* 'truth', [ʾemūn] *confianza* 'trust', [hɛʾĕmīn] *creer* 'believe', and so on suggest numerous connotations in both Hebrew and Spanish, which means that translators were therefore able to choose from a variety of meanings to best suit what they were trying to express. In all the examples given, the range of word choices available in the medieval Spanish translations is wider and freer than those provided by the Ladino translations. This fact, together with the strong resemblance between the Ladino translations as opposed to the medieval ones strongly suggest that the medieval ones did not serve as the source for the Ladino translations which developed from a strict oral literary tradition.

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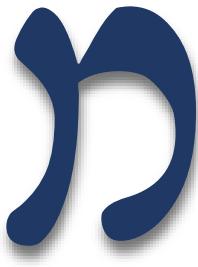
Glosas léxicas en un silabario judeoespañol del siglo XX: ¿Recurso aclarador de préstamos o instrumento ideológico?

Lexical glosses in a twentieth-century Judeo-Spanish spelling book:
Loanword clarification resource or ideological instrument?

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Resumen

En este artículo abordaremos el fenómeno de las glosas léxicas, a partir de los ejemplos que nos ofrece el texto sefardí *Nuevo silabario espanyol* (Salónica, 1931), editado por la librería Ovadia Shem Tov Naar, y trataremos de demostrar cómo la misma selección de las voces pseudoglosadas e, incluso, su contenido responden a una motivación más ideológica que lingüística. El análisis del *Nuevo silabario espanyol*, realizado principalmente desde un punto de vista léxico, nos muestra de primera mano el renacer del interés por los valores tradicionales religiosos –auspiciado por los grupos sionistas, ya entrado el siglo XX– tras el proceso de occidentalización y secularización del mundo judío-sefardí.

Palabras clave: judeoespañol; glosas léxicas; *ephemera*; método de enseñanza; *Nuevo silabario espanyol*.

Abstract

This paper is focused on the phenomenon of lexical glosses, taking into consideration the examples contained in the Sephardic text *Nuevo Silabario Espanyol* (Thessaloniki, 1931), edited by the Ovadia Shem Tov Naar bookstore, and we will try to demonstrate how the selection of pseudo-glossed voices and even their content respond to a more ideological than linguistic motivation. The analysis of the *Nuevo Silabario Espanyol*, tackled mainly from a lexical point of view, shows us first-hand the rebirth of the interest in traditional religious values –promoted by the Zionist groups, already begining the twentieth century– after the process of westernization and secularization of the Jewish-Sephardic world.

Key words: Judeo-Spanish; lexical glosses; *ephemera*; teaching method; *Nuevo Silabario Espanyol*.

1. INTRODUCCIÓN

Cuando se examina la huella lingüística de cualquier pueblo, lo usual es que la atención se dirija, sobre todo, hacia la literatura (ya sea en forma oral o escrita). Tanto es así que, todavía hoy, muchos desconocen la existencia de una profusa amalgama de textos no literarios –originados en ambientes muy diversos y dispares entre sí–, que están llenos de información.

El caso sefardí no iba a ser diferente. Los comentarios bíblicos como el *Me'am Lo'ez*, las traducciones de la Biblia, la poesía paralitúrgica, las canciones y las coplas o los géneros adoptados[1] (novela, teatro, periodismo, poesía de autor) han sido ejes de atención prioritarios para los investigadores dedicados al estudio de la lengua y cultura judeoespañolas.

Solo en muy contadas ocasiones se ha mostrado interés por los *ephemera sefardíes* (Díaz-Mas, 2010), textos fugaces –por su escasa durabilidad y conservación– que han sido creados por los propios judíos sefardíes para múltiples aplicaciones. Estos humildes impresos, indispensables para el desarrollo de la vida cotidiana, abarcan una tipología muy variada: desde folletos propagandísticos, catálogos de productos, toda clase de etiquetas y tarjetas, hasta manuales de instrucciones, silabarios y cartillas de lectura, estatutos de asociaciones e, incluso, propaganda política de carácter sionista (2010: 105-111).

En muchos de ellos, se advierten los cambios socioculturales y de mentalidades producidos por el advenimiento de nuevas ideas, en las últimas décadas del siglo XIX y las primeras del XX. Constituyen, pues, un testimonio directo –de incuestionable valor– acerca del proceso de occidentalización y modernización de los sefardíes asentados en los territorios del antiguo Imperio otomano.

En el presente artículo analizaremos el fenómeno de las glosas léxicas, a partir de los ejemplos extraídos de un silabario judeoespañol, y trataremos de demostrar cómo la misma selección de las voces pseudoglosadas e, incluso, su contenido responden a una motivación que va más allá de lo estrictamente lingüístico.

Como corpus de trabajo para esta investigación, me sirvo del texto sefardí *Nuevo silabario espanyol*[2], aparecido en Salónica en 1931.

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1   Nos hacemos eco de la clasificación recogida en Romero (1992: 22-23).

2   Consulto el ejemplar de la Biblioteca del Museo Sefardí de Toledo, disponible en línea en <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=442054>.

2. Un sistema educativo moderno: el *Nuevo silabario espanyol*

La apertura del mundo sefardí hacia Occidente, sobre todo, hacia la cultura francesa, que se puso en marcha a mediados del siglo XIX, favoreció la publicación de un considerable número de libros judeoespañoles de carácter pedagógico: varias gramáticas hebreas para usos escolares; diversos manuales dedicados a la enseñanza de otras lenguas, como el francés, el alemán, el turco, el inglés o el yidis; y una serie de cartillas de lectura destinadas a que los niños aprendieran a leer y escribir, con fluidez, en judeoespañol (Romero, 1992: 198-199).

A ellos hay que añadir los muchos silabarios difundidos por las misiones protestantes de la Iglesia Escocesa, establecidas en las principales ciudades del Imperio otomano desde la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. En su afán evangelizador, pusieron en circulación multitud de textos de diversa índole dirigidos a los sefardíes convertidos y a los que se pretendía convertir (Saba-Wolfe, 2011). En cualquier caso, no es el contenido doctrinal de estos silabarios el que nos interesa –de momento–, sino el hecho de albergar lo que Romero denomina «el nuevo talante del mundo sefardí» (1992: 198).

Precisamente, la novedad del *Nuevo silabario espanyol* –y uno de los motivos que nos impulsa a abordarlo aquí– consiste en que refleja algunos de los cambios educativos y de mentalidades que trajo consigo la fundación de escuelas occidentales en las comunidades sefardíes del oriente mediterráneo.

El texto insiste en su portada en que aplica una «metod pratika i moderna», lo cual es claro indicio de que las metodologías educativas tradicionales, sumamente memorísticas y sujetas a la religión, comenzaban a tambalearse[3]. Téngase en cuenta que muchas de las escuelas no eran ya las tradicionales, controladas por rabinos, sino las modernas –las de la *Alliance Israélite Universelle*–, en cuyos planes formativos figuraban todavía las asignaturas religiosas, pero también otras de inspiración occidental.

El *Nuevo silabario espanyol* vio la luz en «Saloniko ['Salónica'], 5691-1931, en la estamparia ['imprenta'] Bezes, kaye Papamarku, nu. 24» y fue «editado por la libreria Ovadia Shem Tov Naar, kaye Ermu», especializada en la edición de silabarios y manuales de enseñanza en judeoespañol. A modo de subtítulo, leemos: «metod pratika i moderna por el ensenyamiento de_la lingua djudeo-espanyola kompozado segun las muevas metodes modernas de lenguas estranyeras» (portada).

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[3]   Para mayor información sobre los métodos de enseñanza entre los sefardíes, véase Madrid Álvarez-Piñer y Díaz-Mas (2016), donde también se hace referencia al *Nuevo silabario espanyol*.

El texto ocupa 41 páginas, numeradas en arábigos y está escrito en aljamía hebraica[4], con caracteres *rashí*, a excepción de los títulos de cada relato y sección en que se usan caracteres cuadrados (*merubá*). La versión que manejamos consta de dos partes: las *lisiones* ('lecciones', pp. 1-21) y el *Primo livro de lektura* (pp. 22-41).

Las veintiuna *lisiones* presentan ejercicios destinados a la enseñanza de la lengua sefardí mediante la formación de palabras y oraciones simples, a partir de la combinación de letras y sílabas separadas por un espacio en blanco. Cada *lision* sigue la secuencia empleada habitualmente en las cartillas de lectura para el aprendizaje de las capacidades lectoescritoras: en primer lugar, aparecen letras sueltas del alefato hebreo; a continuación, sílabas; después, palabras; y finalmente, oraciones. Las dos últimas líneas de cada hoja están reservadas para la enseñanza del alefato en caracteres cuadrados (*merubá*), mientras que el cuerpo del texto –salvo dichas líneas– se muestra con caracteres *rashí.* Además, todas las *lisiones* tienen en común la aparición de ilustraciones en la parte superior derecha o izquierda.

Por su parte, el *Primo livro de lektura* cuenta con dos secciones: las *Primas lekturas fachiles* (pp. 22-35) y el apartado *Muestras fiestas* (pp. 36-40). Las *Primas lekturas fachiles* incluyen quince narraciones, de unas 14-17 líneas cada una, que relatan experiencias de la vida cotidiana. Nombrados –por orden de aparición– y con la indicación entre paréntesis del número de la página en que se encuentran, los relatos son: I. *La manyana* (p. 22); II. *Un buen elevo intelijente* (p. 23); III. *Primo dia de eskola* (p. 23); IV. *Un elevo respetuozo* (p. 24); V. *El chiko haragan* (p. 25); VI. *Un ijiko desreglado* (p. 26); VII. *Un ijiko rekonosiente* (p. 27); VIII. *Un elevo onesto* (p. 28); IX. *Kale ayudar al sufriente* (p. 29); X. *El chiko ke kiere meldar* (p. 30); XI. *El provecho del lavoro* (p. 31); XII. *Un korason piadozo* (p. 32); XIII. *Kale ayudarmos unos kon otros!* (p. 33); XIV. *Los ke sembran kon lagrimas rekojen con kantes* (p. 34); y XV. *El mentirozo no es nunka kreido* (p. 35).

Como se desprende de los propios títulos, muchos de los relatos presentan un contenido moralizante. En ellos, el niño sefardí irá observando y asumiendo las bondades y defectos del ser humano en general: así pues, se alaban virtudes como la honestidad (IV, VIII), el sacrificio (X, XI, XIV), la generosidad (IX, XII, XIII) o la humildad (IV); también, se censuran tachas como la mentira (XV) y la holgazanería (V, VI).

El último apartado del *Nuevo silabario espanyol* está dedicado, íntegramente, a las festividades judías y demás conmemoraciones del calendario litúrgico hebreo. Este se abre

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4   Para la edición del texto y la presentación de ejemplos, sigo el sistema de ortografía del judeoespañol y de transcripción de textos aljamiados, denominado «grafía de *Aki Yerushalayim*». Este método, que prescinde de toda clase de signos diacríticos, ha sido reconocido –recientemente– por la Autoridad Nasionala del Ladino i su Kultura (ANL). Una descripción pormenorizada acerca de dicho sistema puede encontrarse en Álvarez López (2017).

con una descripción acerca de *El repozo de Shabat* ('sábado', p. 35), día sagrado entre los judíos. La sección se completa con los comentarios relativos a las fiestas de *Rosh Ashana* ('Año nuevo', p. 36), *Yom Kipur* ('Día del Perdón o de la Expiación', p. 37), *Hag Asukot* ('Fiesta de las cabañas', pp. 37-38), *Hanuka* ('Fiesta de las luminarias o Consagración', pp. 38-39), *Purim* ('Fiesta de la salvación', p. 39) y *Hag Apesah* ('Pascua', p. 40).

El texto se cierra con una invocación a Dios (p. 40). Se incluye, además, un anuncio comercial (p. 41) con datos sobre la venta de un «grande asortimento ['surtido'] de istorias, romansos i novelas en djudeo-espanyol» de la librería salonicense.

3. La procedencia del léxico

Si en el anterior epígrafe hemos explicado las características más relevantes del *Nuevo silabario espanyol*, situándolo en el contexto de innovaciones educativas y progresos metodológicos que tuvieron lugar en aquellos años, centraremos ahora nuestro interés en el estudio de la procedencia del léxico contenido en él.

En contra de la concepción ampliamente extendida que percibe la lengua de los sefardíes como una especie de español anquilosado, desprovisto de cambios y evoluciones, los hechos evidencian que, al soporte hispánico, se adhieren numerosas voces y estructuras procedentes de diversos fondos léxicos: en un primer momento, el judeoespañol toma préstamos del hebreo y del turco; recientemente, del francés y del italiano; y, en menor grado, de lenguas balcánicas como el griego moderno o el búlgaro. El contacto que los sefardíes establecieron con otras culturas durante los más de cinco siglos transcurridos desde la expulsión justifica tales influencias (García Moreno, 2004: 356; Schmid, 2008: 62).

En el *Nuevo silabario espanyol* se documentan alrededor de 120 voces extranjeras. La mayoría de préstamos proviene del hebreo (61), por su estatus de lengua de la comunidad judía. Cabe destacar, por su abundancia y frecuencia de aparición, los hebraísmos vinculados con el mundo tradicional religioso judío[5]: *Bet Amikdash* (hb. בית המקדש 'Templo de Jerusalén', p. 37), *korban* (hb. קרבן 'sacrificio', p. 40), *alel* (hb. הלל 'himno', p. 40), *hamets* (hb. חמץ 'pan leudado', p. 40), *koen* (hb. כהן 'sacerdote', p. 37), *lulab* (hb. לולב 'hoja de palmera utilizada en la festividad de Sukot', p. 38), *mezuzot*[6] (hb. מזוזה 'pergamino', p. 41), *nes* (hb. נס 'milagro', p. 39), *piyutim* (hb. פיוט 'canción litúrgica', p. 36), *keila* (hb. קהילה 'sinagoga', p. 37), *shofar* (hb. שופר 'instrumento de viento litúrgico', p. 36), *suka* (hb. סוכה 'cabaña', p. 37) y *selihot* (hb. סליחה 'oración penitencial', p. 38).

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[5] Para el significado de las voces judeoespañolas, consulto el *DHJE*, accesible en línea.

[6] Desde el punto de vista morfológico, nótese que en los hebraísmos se mantienen los morfemas de plurales hebreos, *-im* para el masculino y *-ot* para el femenino.

También llaman la atención los numerosos vocablos tomados del turco (28). La expulsión de los judíos de Castilla y Aragón, en 1492, y del Reino de Portugal, en 1497, ocasionó una caravana de miles de judíos, que fueron a parar, entre otros destinos, a las tierras del Imperio otomano. Semánticamente, los turquismos del *Nuevo silabario espanyol* pertenecen a la esfera de la materialidad: *boya* (tc. *boya* 'pintura, color', p. 19), *chini* (tc. *çini* 'plato', p. 7), *chanta* (tc. *çanta* 'bolsa, cartera', p. 12), *defteres* (tc. *defter* 'cuaderno', p. 19), *kunduria* (tc. *kundura* 'zapato', p. 26), *kilifes* (tc. *kılıf* 'estuche', p. 41), *raki* (tc. *rakı* 'licor anisado', p. 6), *uda* (tc. *oda* 'habitación', p. 4), *vizir* (tc. *vezir* 'visir', p. 39), *yaka* (tc. *yaka* 'cuello de una prenda', p. 19) y *yeviz* (tc. *yemiş* 'nuez', p. 12). Buena parte de estos turquismos los comparte el judeoespañol con otras lenguas balcánicas; resulta, pues, muy complejo precisar si se trata de turquismos directos (Schmid, 2008: 64).

Por otro lado, ya desde el siglo XVI, en el léxico sefardí va penetrando un destacado número de italianismos. Como es sabido, los sefardíes levantinos establecieron importantes relaciones comerciales y culturales con las comunidades judías del Imperio otomano. Tal razón podría estar detrás de la aparición –en nuestro silabario– de palabras como: *kampión* (it. *campione* 'muestra', p. 20), *kapo* (it. *capo* 'jefe', p. 37), *komercho* (it. *commercio* 'aduana, peaje', p. 7) o *molo* (it. *molo* 'muelle, puerto', p. 3). Otros italianismos son: *activita* (it. *attività* 'actividad', p. 25), *balo* (it. *ballo* 'baile', p. 6), *karo* (it. *caro* 'amado', p. 31), *kuantita* (it. *quantità* 'cantidad', p. 32), *doveres* (it. *dovere* 'deber, obligación', p. 22), *nono* (it. *nonno* 'abuelo', p. 5), *penina* (it. *plennino* 'plumilla', p. 5) o *reushir* (it. *riuscire* 'triunfar, tener éxito', p. 34).

Igualmente, encontramos varias formas que pertenecen a categorías gramaticales distintas al sustantivo, como por ejemplo: *kualunke* (it. *qualunque* 'cualquier, ra', p. 38), *presto* (it. *presto* 'con brevedad', p. 14) o *soto* (it. *sotto* 'debajo', p. 30).

Muy nutrido es, también, el conjunto de galicismos que acoge nuestro texto. El influjo del francés en la lengua y cultura judeoespañolas es un hecho sobradamente acreditado. El sefardí accede al mundo no judío de Occidente por medio de la cultura gala. La literatura tradicional va a convivir, desde mediados del siglo XIX en adelante, con géneros adoptados (novela, teatro, periodismo, poesía de autor) de inspiración, esencialmente, francesa (Romero, 1992: 178).

A ello hay que sumar la instauración en las comunidades sefardíes de Oriente de las escuelas de la *Alliance Israélite Universelle* –a partir de 1860–, que tiene como consecuencia el avance de la educación tradicional, de corte profundamente religioso, a una de cuño occidental con metodologías modernas y la enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras como principal novedad[7].

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7   La lengua de enseñanza en las escuelas de la *AIU* era, generalmente, el francés.

Así pues, por medio del francés, el sefardí nombra y expresa las nuevas realidades, como se desprende de los galicismos integrados en el *Nuevo silabario espanyol*: *asortiment* (fr. *assortiment* 'surtido', p. 41), *bagaje* (fr. *bagage* 'equipaje', p. 12), *champanya* (fr. *champagne* 'champán', p. 16), *chapeo* (fr. *chapeau* 'sombrero', p. 7), *elevo* (fr. *élève* 'alumno', p. 13), *estranyera* (fr. *étrangère* 'extranjera', p. 1), *gante* (fr. *gant* 'guante de piel', p. 18), *madam* (fr. *madame* 'señora', p. 10), *portefolio* (fr. *portefeuille* 'portafolio', p. 28), *sezon* (fr. *saison* 'estación', p. 9), *taksas* (fr. *taxe* 'impuesto', p. 38) o *vakanza* (fr. *vacances* 'vacaciones', p. 25).

Por último, notamos la presencia de algún que otro arabismo. Por lo general, están vinculados con la vida cotidiana: *alkuzica* (ar. *alkúza* 'vasija, jarra', p. 38), *haragan* (ar. *ḫará kán* 'vago', p. 22), *hazino* (ar. *ḥazín* 'enfermo', p. 28) y *redoma* (ar. *raṭúma* 'botella', p. 4). Pese a que seguimos el criterio adoptado por el *DLE* sobre la adscripción de tales términos al árabe hispánico, es preciso señalar que muchos de ellos ya habían aparecido en textos castellanos anteriores a 1492.

4. LAS GLOSAS DEL *NUEVO SILABARIO ESPAÑOL*

El fenómeno de las glosas léxicas arranca, prontamente, en el mundo hispánico, con las conocidas *Glosas silenses* y *Glosas emilianenses* (siglo X), en las que copistas de códices antiguos introdujeron una serie de comentarios marginales o interlineados, en latín, romance y vasco, con el fin de solventar dificultades del sentido de voces y expresiones, ya irreconocibles en aquellos tiempos.

En el caso del ámbito sefardí, aunque la práctica de glosar viene también de antiguo, el recurso a la glosa ha estado especialmente presente en los textos impresos[8] desde mediados del siglo XIX, con diversas funcionalidades. Generalmente, se ha empleado para la aclaración léxica de palabras por medio de sinónimos que pertenecen a diversos fondos léxicos; otras veces se ha usado para resaltar la forma del mensaje con cierto retoricismo; y no son pocos los ejemplos en los que la glosa nos ofrece una verdadera exégesis, repleta de erudición, que bien podría pertenecer a cualquier manual enciclopédico de la época. También, entre dichas glosas, se advierten numerosos procesos de incorporación léxica (García Moreno, 2010: 76). En todo caso, el análisis de las glosas nos proporciona informaciones lingüísticas y metalingüísticas, que nos permiten conocer, de primera mano, el idiolecto del glosador y la propia configuración del léxico sefardí.

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[8]   Sobre el fenómeno de las glosas léxicas en textos sefardíes impresos, véanse los trabajos de García Moreno (2010, 2013a y 2013b), Hernández Socas, Sinner y Tabares Plasencia (2014), Subaşı (2016) y Álvarez López (2018). Salvo la última referencia –que se centra en las glosas léxicas a pie de página en la revista *Aki Yerushalayim*–, todos los demás trabajos prestan especial atención a las glosas parentéticas.

4.1. Análisis de las glosas

Teniendo en cuenta todo lo expuesto hasta el momento, en este estudio hablaré de *glosa* en un sentido menos estricto: como aclaración de determinadas voces que pueden resultar confusas o de difícil comprensión. En el *Nuevo silabario espanyol* se manifiestan hasta once casos concretos de aclaraciones léxicas.

La primera cuestión que se nos plantea a la hora de analizar nuestro corpus de datos se refiere a la forma de los términos glosados. Así, cabe señalar que los recursos empleados para introducir las glosas son, fundamentalmente, la aposición y la coordinación.

Bien sabido es que la relación llamada aposición se establece, siempre, entre dos unidades de la misma categoría gramatical, que son correferentes. En el *Nuevo silabario espanyol*, todas las glosas que se hallan en aposición son explicativas por cuanto aparecen entre comas. Estas separan los dos elementos apositivos en grupos entonativos diferentes, lo que viene a constituir una «aposición bimembre o fonéticamente escindida» (Fernández Fernández, 1993: 154). Tal es el caso de los siguientes ejemplos:

(1)   En el diez del mez de tishri es Yom Kipur, dia del grande pardon para todo el puevlo djudio. [p. 37]

(2)   Kuando muestro grande templo, el Bet Amikdash, egzistia en muestra vieja kapitala, Yerushalaim, el koen gadol, kapo del servisio relijiozo, azia kon grande pompa todo el servisio i en este dia solo le era permitido de entrar en el lugar el mas sakro del Bet Amikdash, ande se topava el Aron Akodesh. [p. 37]

(3)   La fiesta de Sukot es 9 dias. 2 dias primeros son por el repozo: non es permitido de azer ningun lavoro; i los 5 otros Hol Amoed, medias fiestas. [pp. 37-38]

(4)   El de siete dias es Oshana Raba, dia santo i sublime ke en_el se seyan setensias para todo el mundo. [p. 38]

O bien los elementos que se encuentran en aposición ya no se asocian por medio de una coma, sino de una raya:

(5)   En estos 8 dias no puedemos komer ni tener en muestras kazas ninguna koza levdada – hamets. [p. 40]

En lo que respecta a las glosas introducidas por nexos coordinantes, advertimos hasta cinco casos en los que se emplean conectores explicativos para toda clase de aclaraciones léxicas. Especial atención merece la voz *maror* (11) 'hierbas amargas'. El esclarecimiento de dicha palabra se lleva a cabo mediante la coordinación disyuntiva de dos voces tenidas por semejantes. Veamos los ejemplos:

(6)   La palavra Shabat kiere dezir 'repozo'. [p. 35]

(7)   En el primo i segundo dia de tishri, azemos la fiesta de Rosh Ashana, lo ke kiere dezir la fiesta del empezijo de_la mueva anyada. [p. 36]

(8)   Esta fiesta se yama tambien Yom Azikaron: kiere dezir 'dia de membrasion', siendo en estos dias el Dio rekodra todos los ombres delantre el tribunal eternel por djuzgar kada uno segun sus buenas o malas ovras ke aze entre el anyo. [p. 36]

(9)   En el kinze del mez de tishri tenemos Hag Asukot, kiere dezir 'la fiesta de_las kavanyas', en rekodro de_la morada ke estuvieron muestros padres kuarenta anyos en el midbar. [p. 37]

(10) Los 4 dias otros son Hol Amoed, kiere dezir 'medias fiestas'. [p. 40]

(11) Cuando egzistia muestro Santo Templo en Yerushalayim, el 14 nisan serka la tadre, azian un sacrifisio yamado korban Pesah, del kual komian la karne la noche de Pesah con matsa i yervas amargas o maror. [p. 40]

Por otro lado, si atendemos al contenido de tales formas, notaremos que los mecanismos usados para glosar las voces son: la equivalencia, la paráfrasis y la traducción.

Cuando el autor del silabario estima que un término que ha utilizado puede resultar ininteligible para el público infantil sefardí, agrega a continuación una palabra de significado parecido, como se observa en los siguientes casos: en el ejemplo (6), la forma *Shabat* viene glosada por la voz *repozo* y, en el ejemplo (11), se hace uso de la expresión *yervas amargas* para explicar la voz *maror*. Allí, los términos tomados por desconocidos quedan aclarados mediante la aparición de su correlato habitual en judeoespañol. En ningún caso se establece una relación sinonímica; más bien podrían tenerse por formas equivalentes.

El *Nuevo silabario espanyol* nos arroja, también, varios ejemplos en los que se recurre a la paráfrasis, esto es, la explicación o interpretación de un término para hacerlo más comprensible. Esta práctica es frecuente en todo el texto: (1) *Yom Kipur* (*dia del grande pardon para todo el puevlo djudio*); (2) *Kohen gadol* (*kapo del servisio relijiozo*); (4) *Oshana Raba* (*dia santo i sublime ke en_el se seyan setensias para todo el mundo*), o (7) *Rosh Ashana* (*lo ke kiere decir la fiesta del empezijo de_la mueva anyada*).

En otros casos, las voces consideradas enrevesadas se traducen literalmente del hebreo al judeoespañol, como en (8) *Yom Azikaron* ('dia de membrasion'); (9) *Hag Asukot* ('fiesta de las kavanyas'), o (3) y (10) *Hol Amoed* ('medias fiestas'). A veces, cuando el significado no parece claro, la traducción se complementa con un pequeño comentario del vocablo: en el ejemplo (8) se aclara que durante la celebración de *Yom Azikaron*, «el Dio rekodra todos los ombres delantre el tribunal eternel por djuzgar kada uno segun sus buenas o malas ovras ke aze entre el anyo». Por su parte, en el ejemplo (9) se especifica que *Hag Asukot* se celebra «en rekodro de_la morada ke estuvieron muestros padres kuarenta anyos en el midbar».

Incluso en el ejemplo (4), aunque no se trate de un caso de traducción directa, se aporta abundante información para clarificar el término que se glosa: así, sobre el *kohen gadol*, es decir, el *kapo del servisio relijiozo*, se dice que «azia kon grande pompa todo el servisio i en este dia solo le era permitido de entrar en el lugar el mas sakro del Bet Amikdash, ande se topava el Aron Akodesh».

Estas definiciones, que realizan perfectamente la función de esclarecer los préstamos, bien podrían estar tomadas –por su extensión– de las entradas de cualquier enciclopedia de la época.

5. LA RAZÓN DE LAS GLOSAS

Dejando a un lado el interés que pueda suscitar el significado de los términos glosados, el análisis de las glosas léxicas contenidas en nuestro texto arroja importantes informaciones.

En primer lugar, no deja de resultar curioso que todas las voces y expresiones glosadas procedan de un mismo fondo léxico, lo cual nos indica que la etimología no influye, de ningún modo, en la decisión de que una forma aparezca como glosa o como forma glosada. Todos los ejemplos incluidos en el silabario corresponden a hebraísmos. Esto nos lleva a pensar que el recurso a la glosa presenta «carácter subjetivo»[9], ya que es el autor del silabario el que resuelve qué voces requieren aclaración.

En segundo lugar, no solo es notable aquello que se glosa, sino también todo lo que no se glosa. En ese sentido, no registramos –en ninguno de los ejemplos– lo que se ha dado en llamar *neologismos romances* (García Moreno, 2013a: 106), a pesar de que el texto está plagado de voces tomadas del francés. Esto evidencia que los galicismos, incorporados desde la segunda mitad del siglo XIX al fondo léxico del judeoespañol, ya se hallaban integrados. Por tanto, en el *Nuevo silabario espanyol*, la tónica unánime es glosar los elementos no romances y, más concretamente, los procedentes del hebreo.

En tercer y último lugar, debemos destacar el contenido doctrinal que muestra el léxico glosado, sobre todo, en lo relativo a la vida religiosa de los judíos. Y es que, efectivamente, todas las formas glosadas aluden en sus definiciones a festividades y demás conmemoraciones del calendario litúrgico hebreo.

Por su propia condición de judío, el sefardí de educación tradicional conoce estos hebraísmos glosados tan bien como su forma en judeoespañol. Teniendo en cuenta que la

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[9]   El carácter subjetivo del recurso a la glosa lo constata, asimismo, García Moreno (2010: 76) en su estudio sobre las glosas léxicas en la novela sefardí *La hermosa Hulda de España* (Jerusalén, 1910), obra de David Fresco.

liturgia judía se expresa siempre en hebreo, cuesta pensar que términos tan básicos como los vinculados con la religión requiriesen algún tipo de explicación. No debemos perder de vista que lo religioso, tanto para el judío en general, como para el sefardí en particular, domina todos los actos de la vida.

6. CONCLUSIONES

Volviendo sobre la cuestión que da título a este artículo, podríamos concluir que el autor del silabario solo decidió glosar –por su especial complejidad– el conjunto de hebraísmos analizados, pensando que el resto de préstamos serían comprendidos, sin problemas, por los niños sefardíes; y para ello se valió de recursos como la equivalencia, la paráfrasis o la traducción.

Sin embargo, sospechamos que la inclusión de glosas en el *Nuevo silabario espanyol* podría responder a un propósito que va más allá de lo estrictamente lingüístico. A nuestro entender, la determinación de introducir glosas para aclarar ciertos hebraísmos de índole religiosa podría venir motivada por la propia conciencia ¿sionista? del autor de hallarse ante un instrumento apropiado para el fomento de las tradiciones judías, en un momento en que el mundo sefardí se ve amenazado por el proyecto evangelizador de las misiones protestantes.

De esta forma, la misma selección de las voces pseudoglosadas e, incluso, su contenido, estarían determinados por las convicciones y doctrinas del autor del silabario. La glosa superaría así los límites de su cometido lingüístico (no funcionando, exclusivamente, como aclaración del componente léxico) para erigirse en una poderosa herramienta ideológica.

A partir de todo lo expuesto, sería interesante abordar el estudio de otros silabarios sefardíes –cercanos en el tiempo y en el espacio–, a fin de determinar si la inclusión de glosas y, sobre todo, el fondo de las mismas, responden, de nuevo, a motivaciones extralingüísticas. Solo reuniendo un vasto corpus textual tendremos la ocasión de averiguar si estamos (o no) ante una tendencia suscitada por ciertas voluntades, una cuestión sobre la que intentaremos arrojar luz en futuras investigaciones.

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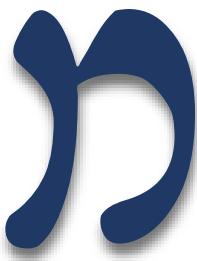
Carro Triumphal:
Pizarro, Genres and Jewish Historiography in 17th c. Amsterdam

Carro Triumphal:
Pizarro, los géneros y la historiografía Sefardí en la Ámsterdam del siglo XVII

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Abstract

In this article there is an attempt to offer a new reading of the work entitled *Cesáreo carro triumphal: En que gloriosamente campean por el orbe las invencibles armas del Maximo Emperador Leopoldo I. de este nombre, por la feliz restauración de la real fortaleza de Buda, conquistada en 2 de sept. de 1686* by Antonio Pizarro de Oliveros. Its components paratexts and ideas are analyzed. An historical and historiographic context is reconstructed to help in its comprehension.

Key words: Jewish historiography (17th century); Amsterdam Sephardim; *Cesáreo carro triumphal*; Antonio Pizarro de Oliveros.

Resumen

El artículo trata de ofrecer una nueva lectura de la obra intitulada *Cesáreo carro triumphal: En que gloriosamente campean por el orbe las invencibles armas del Maximo Emperador Leopoldo I. de este nombre, por la feliz restauración de la real fortaleza de Buda, conquistada en 2. de sept. de 1686*, de Antonio Pizarro de Oliveros. Se trata de analizar sus componentes, paratextos e ideas. Se reconstruye un contexto histórico e historiográfico para su comprensión.

Palabras clave: Historiografía judía s. XVII; sefardíes de Ámsterdam; *Cesáreo carro triumphal*; Antonio Pizarro de Oliveros.

Cesáreo carro triumphal is a book published in Amsterdam in ca. April 1687. It is basically an account of the war which led to the end of Ottoman rule in Budapest. But it is the brief appendix at the end, known as Memorial, which has attracted attention and diverse readings. Apologetics, journalism, *Denkschrift*, *geschickte Fälschung*, *Tendenzschrift*: after surveying the research, readers might be left with the impression that these are "the last words" on (or only possible readings of) the Memorial and Pizarro's *Carro*.[1] They imply that a discussion of it as history, as part of an Hispano-Jewish tradition of historiography[2] or of historiography from a Jewish perspective in a formerly converso milieu is not to be attempted. Commonplaces about Jewish disinterest in contemporary or non-Jewish history may have played a role.

In the following lines an attempt is made to present a different reading. Firstly, by paying attention to the paratexts (not only the Memorial, but also) the Dedication, the title, Prologue, De Barrios' *octavas.* Subsequently, an analysis of some passages in the *Carro* will try to bring into relief its connection to history writing. A section on its Jewish perspective is followed by an observation from the perspective of *Histoire du Livre*.

It is interesting to note how ideas about the *Carro*, sometimes presented as recent innovations, may be traced back to the nineteenth century. In the 1880s, Mangold (1887) described the "Memorial" – a relatively brief text of a few pages at the end of the whole *Carro* – as a "falsification" (because unoriginal and deriving from Cardoso) aiming to show the Jewish loyalty to rulers. This question of the historian's "readings" needs some elaboration. In the 1950s and 60s, Caro Baroja (1978) approached the question of Sephardi/ex-converso history of ideas from his particular and peculiar standpoint – what he called "ethnic psychology". Nevertheless, he was helpful in pointing out the nexus between the seventeenth and the sixteenth century, between writings of former conversos in Amsterdam and their antecedents in Ferrara, between Menasse b. Israel, Aboab's *Nomologia* and Samuel Usque's *Consolation*. It became clear that Amsterdam writings by returning conversos should be analyzed not in isolation but by attention to the history of reading, to antecedents and to sources. Myriam Silvera (1991) showed how Cardoso's *Excelencias* was being read by historians such as Basnage. The lesson was that the historian's readings were not limited by genres and that the use of (a source of the Memorial in the *Carro*, namely) Cardoso's *Las excelencias de los Hebreos* (Amsterdam, 1679) did not impugn the classification of Basnage as historian. In an informed and informative series of articles (1997a, 1997b) Díaz

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[1]   *Cesáreo carro triumphal: En que gloriosamente campean por el orbe las invencibles armas del Maximo Emperador Leopoldo I. de este nombre, por la feliz restauración de la real fortaleza de Buda, conquistada en 2. de sept. de 1686.* There is as yet no evidence to support suspicions that Pizarro is De Barrios' pseudonym. In any case, the text itself is the focus here.

[2]   For the existence and coherence of such a historiography see, for example, Gutwirth (2003, 2015).

Esteban touched directly on the question of the *Carro*. For him, it was interesting as a European perception of the fall of the Ottoman rule of Budapest but mostly as an example of a "genre" namely "apologetics" to show "the Jewish loyalty to rulers" or the "Jews as a chosen people". While the twentieth century readers of Pizarro's *Carro* seem unaware of, and without access to, Samuel Kohn (1887) and Lajos Mangold,[3] it is clear that they are reopening the debates of 1880s Budapest. Kayserling (1890, p. xiv) had already remarked on this as a specific literary type when asserting that

> *Très grand est le nombre des écrits apologétiques et polémiques, composés par des Juifs qui s'étaient enfuis d'Espagne et de Portugal* et s'étaient établis en Italie et dans les Pays-Bas, et dont la plus grande partie, c'est-à-dire les écrits de Montalto, de Morteira, de Orobio de Castro, de *Pizarro*, et de plusieurs écrivains anonymes, sont encore en manuscrit [!!]. Aux ouvrages imprimés appartiennent la «Nomologia» de Imanuel Aboab (1629), l'oeuvre de Juan Carrascon et Abraham Peregrino (1633), «las humildas [sic] suplicaciones» de Menasseh ben Israel (1655), «Fuente Clara», «las Excelencias y Calumnias de los Hebreos» de Yshac Cardoso (1679), et la «Repuesta» de David Nieto (1723). A ce genre se range aussi le «Tratado da calumnia» de B. Nahmias de Castro (1629), et la traduction de l'ouvrage polémique de Josèphe contre Apion, faite par le capitaine Joseph Semah Arias (1687).

Some of the problems with Mangold's theory and its followers are clear: to assert that a political manifesto (such as the *Carro'*s Memorial presented by a newly conquered population to a grasping soldier, General Schoening) or a politician's speech is not his own original composition; that there is another writer behind such texts (what is known as a "ghost writer"?) is not particularly surprising or enlightening. Quite on the contrary. To claim that the only reading, generic classification or tendency is "apologetics" is problematic for other reasons: a historiography devoid of apologetics, polemics, ideologies at this date would be hard to imagine whether in Protestant or in Catholic Europe. In addition, the specific preoccupation with the correct attitude to the rulers could be traced from the *Testaments* (Old and New) through Josephus (perhaps also Philo and Aristeas) and the *Talmud* through the middle ages and, some readers would argue, to our own day. Such a broad, all encompassing category is far too vague to be meaningful as "a genre".

When discussing "apologetics" at this date, it may be useful, nevertheless, to understand what classic apologetics entail in this period. The seventeenth century is the age of

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3   Mangold (1887: 133): "[…] das auch auf der Jubiläums-Ausstellung ausgestellte spanische Werk des Antonio Pizarro de Oliveros, welches auch ein Festgedicht auf die Rückeroberung Ofens aus der Feder des spanisch-jüdischen Dichters Miguel de Barrios enthält, eine geschickte Fälschung sei; die am Schluß des Werkes stehende Notiz, wonach die in Ofen ansässig gewesenen Juden während der Belagerung dem General Schooning (soll heißen: Schoening) ein Memorandum bezüglich ihrer Treue und Loyalität überreicht hätten, ist gleichfalls aus der Luft gegriffen. Das Ganze ist eine vielleicht von dem insgeheim auch dem jüdischen Glauben angehörenden Pizarro de Oliveros verfaßte Tendenzschrift zu Gunsten seiner spanischen Glaubensgenossen, welche die Behauptung erhärten sollte, dass die Juden stets und überall, besonders aber in Spanien ihren Pflichten als getreue Unterthanen nachgekommen seien".

frequently studied compositions such as Modena's *Historia de' riti hebraici* (written ca. 1614/5 but published in 1637) and Simone Luzzatto, *Discorso sopra il stato degli Hebrei* (1638).[4] They are studied so repeatedly not only because of their availability and accessibility but because of their weight and influence – not least visible in Amsterdam – and the challenges in explaining it. Recent treatments have underlined their connection to (economic and social studies written centuries later) Sombart, Weber and beyond. This is the case especially since Riccardo Bachi's seminal analysis of economic and political thought in the *Discorso*. This holds even after the reasonable argument that they were echoing sixteenth century texts. How serious is the "apologetic" strain as an explanation of Weber and Sombart? Could it be that the unexplored frame of the Memorial (i.e. the *Carro*) is significant?

What seems to emerge is an image of seventeenth century Jewry exhibiting increased awareness of economic and political thought. The classicist Yochanan Lewy identified the Greco-Roman classical allusions in the *Discorso*. These include Tacitus, i.e. a prime source of political thought in the seventeenth century. Both classical and modern citations coexist. Bachi analyzed the significance of these sources on political thought; both, classical (Plato, Aristotle, Tacitus) and modern. He thought Machiavelli and Botero were read and influential. For Bachi, Luzatto's economic ideas were "the most original, interesting and important part" of the *Discorso*. If we look at the recent works on them such as that of Veltri (2009), we notice immediately its attempt to approach Modena's *Ritti* not as apologetics, ethnology and theology but rather as political philosophy. Although the relation between the *Riti* and the *Discorso* is a perennial issue, Veltri finds and isolates the precise paragraph where Modena expresses his awareness of (unacknowledged?) borrowings by others, probably Luzatto. Luzatto's awareness of economic and political thought is abundantly clear (Ravid, 1978). By this date, *raggione di stato* was no longer an Italian monopoly. The reason why all this apparently "Italian problematic" is so directly relevant to late seventeenth century Amsterdam converso/Jewish texts in Spanish – and not in Italian – has to do with the genealogy of the *Carro*'s Memorial's ideas which usually tends to begin with Menasseh ben Israel. Bachi discusses at some length the influence of the *Discorso* on Menasseh.[5] If the *Carro* draws on a tradition of thought on economics and politics of this quality, the label "apologetics" obfuscates the issue.

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4   Bachi in Luzatto (1950). On Bachi cf. Ratti (1961).

5   For Veltri (2009), "The silence of scholarship seems even more remarkable if we consider that Luzzatto was, for a time, a standard of reference for Jewish political thought, beginning with Manasseh ben Israel and Baruch Spinoza" or, p. 221: "Manasseh ben Israel tacitly adopted Luzzatto's arguments in his De fidelitate et utilitate Judaicae gentis libellus anglicus". See also Penslar (1997: 26) who maintains that "Economic arguments are central to the two most significant producers of Jewish apologetic texts of the century: […] Luzzatto and Menasseh ben Israel […] Like Luzzatto, Menasseh ben Israel also petitioned for Jewish residency rights, […] The similarities between the works derive […] from the fact that Menasseh

In other words, if we see the *Carro*'s appendix as a derivate of – or part of the Spanish language genre begun by – Menasse ben Israel we could benefit from attention to its context, sources, antecedents and precedents. The logic here is distinctly textual or, rather, "bookish". In the real world such ideas (raison d'état, mercantilism) were in existence earlier, in the circles of rulers in power. Here it may suffice to recall the formulations of the *Comendador mayor de León* in 1609.[6] His sentence is not a systematic, "philosophical", sustained, "original", argument. It derives its significance from completely unacademic factors. Its length is not the point. It stands out precisely because it is embedded in what Herrero Sánchez (2016) has defined as "un discurso de marcado talante antisemita". It is not a printed book accessible on the shelves but has only been found by research into the MS documents of the Estado section of the AGS. No one would argue that a statement at a Council of State is less influential on events than a philosophical treatise no matter how polished and sophisticated. Quite the contrary. And we might ask how deep is the difference between that and the notorious "Israel is like the Sun". That is to say that economic and political thought was present in thinking about the Sephardim in 1609 long before the classic apologetics.

There is, of course, the question of language. Some treatments of the history of ideas assume – somewhat unrealistically – that all readers everywhere in the seventeenth century could *and would* read German, Spanish, Italian, etc. That is why, in thinking about the Spanish language *Carro*, and the tradition in which it belongs, Spanish language texts are a better type of evidence and the intellectual genealogy constituted by works in Spanish (Menasse ben Israel, Aboab, Cardoso) has merit. This is where the notions of "original" vs. non-original become rather tenuous and not only because, as has been seen, polemics and apologetics did not acknowledge sources and do not follow such a distinction. In other words, we have to take translations into account simply because they facilitate or enable access and this would mean paying attention even to such works as the Spanish *Contra Apionem* (Fernandez Marcos, 1994). Secondly, there is a book which deals with "ritos", loyalty, political and economic ideas throughout and long before Modena, Menaseh and

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ben Israel read and was influenced by Luzzatto's Discorso (26). Both works placed the issue of Jewish rights squarely within the framework of utility […]".

6   Herrero Sánchez (2016): "En su voto particular, y con un discurso de marcado talante antisemita en el que se enfatizaban, no obstante, los beneficiosos efectos económicos que entrañaba el hecho de contar con un entramado tan dinámico, el Comendador mayor de León, apostaba en estos términos por seguir facilitando su salida del reino: «Que aunque es así que esta gente enriquece la tierra donde vive con sus tratos y granujerías se sabe también que son ricos y tienen sus tratos y correspondencia con los rebeldes después Su Majestad es muy deservido […] porque siendo bautizados se van a apostatar a Salonique y a otros partes y […] no halla inconveniente en la licencia que se les ha dado pase adelante porque entiende que cuanto menos hubiere de esta gente será mejor»".

Luzatto. To be sure, Bachi strenuously emphasized – not entirely without reason – the difference between the *Shevet Yehuda* and the *Discorso.*

The *Shevet Yehuda* is, no doubt, a problematic work in many respects. It is also – not least in its *faux naif* poses – much less turgid and more enthralling than the apologetes and polemicists.[7] If the Hebrew *editio princeps* (believed to be of 1552-4) was predominantly for internal use, the *Vara de Juda*, the Spanish translation by M. DeL[eon] (1640) would have increased its potential readership particularly in Amsterdam where it continued to be reedited as late as e.g. 1744.[8] There is no doubt that this reading public included returning conversos. A brief example of its relevance to "Ritos" or "Riti" concerns the section on the hardy perennial question of wine of libation.[9] One cannot deny its concern with both loyalty and "ritos" in this paragraph, a concern which reappears in numerous parallels throughout the book. The economic perspective in the *Vara* is similarly prominent in a passage where the king is offered advice on how to avoid the destruction of the Jews of Spain.[10] The negative attitude to finance and money-lending (famous in Luzatto) is already given space in the *Vara*.

What the readers of modern national European languages would have found in the *Vara de Juda*, from 1640 onwards, would be an arsenal of economic and political ideas and arguments in a modern, national language of Europe which at this time – and since the sixteenth century – was being learnt and acquired not only by Spaniards. Spanish literature, similarly, inspired creative works throughout Europe. Amsterdam readers of Spanish would have found in the book particular twists or formulations of ideas and thought on categories such as lineage, as e.g. in one of its fictitious dialogues at the royal court.[11] The

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7   See for example Gutwirth (1988, 2020).

8   Solomon Ibn Verga, *La vara de Juda*, 1744.

9   The interesting Amsterdam 1744 translation reads (p. 23): "Dixo Tomas assi és, sin duda, y contaré lo que acontecio a tu padre diziendo a un Iudio, medico suyo, ohi dezir que nos teneis por inmundos, y por esto os guardais de que toquemos en vuestro vino, consiente Dios tal cosa? Respondio el medico; Senor estás enfermo, y no ay para que tratar sino de tu salud, traygan agua para lavarte los pies, que te hará provecho, y despues responderé a la pergunta: luego que acabó de lavarle los pies bebio aquella misma agua: lo que viendo el Rey le dixo, ya respondiste a lo que te pergunté, dixeron los grandes que no lo entendian; replico el medico; que es más inmundo aquello, con que lavan los pies que lo que tocó en la mano o la cara? pues si esto, que hacemos, fuera por via de inmundicia, no bebiera yo el agua del baño; Dixo Alonso: Razon tuuo el medico, y devia de ser bien entendido".

10   Ib. p. 24: "Dixo el Rey a Tomas, que me aconsejas que haga con los Iudios, por que no sean destruidos entre este pueblo. Respondio Tomas: mi consejo es que mandes hechar pregon en el Reyno, que todas las heredades, que posseen los Iudios, por causa de usura, buelvan a sus dueños […] y más que ningun Iudio vista seda […]".

11   Ib. p. 26: "[…] el Rey habló a Tomas… tanbien te premiaré, con condicion que me traigas este Abrabanel, si está en la ciudad, y si estuviere ausente, escriuele en mi nombre. Respondio Tomas, tendras gusto de hablar con el, y más que es descendiente de la casa Real, replico el Rey, esto es falso, que alo que vemos, ya se acabó toda esta descendencia, quando vino Nabucodonosor contra ellos […]".

famous conceit of Abravanel's royal lineage is here incrusted into a conversation between Christian monarch and scholastic courtier. The deft addition of dramatic tension turned it into a debate where the character of the usually benevolent king is irked by the hint that Abravanel's lineage is older than his own, while the character of the usually malicious scholastic courtier takes pleasure in irritating the king by supporting the hybrid claim (Abravanel's royal descent and the royal or Judean descent of all Jews of Sefarad).[12] Luzatto's arguments about pagan licentiousness – as opposed to Jewish purity – might be prefigured in the *Vara*'s first chapter about the Egyptian Cleopatra and the Roman who lusted after her body as is the way of "flesh and blood" [*basar wa-dam*].[13]

A modern treatment of seventeenth century Spanish political ideas on the conquest of Buda has to make repeated use of Pizarro's work (De Bunes Ibarra, 1988). Like the *Vara*, so the *Carro* too, is not devoid of political ideas, although for some reason the analyses pay little attention to its views on justice, freedom, reason and tyranny. These are political categories which have been revealed through studies on historical evidence: that provided by other Sephardi texts of the same period as the *Carro* and indeed in precisely the same networks in Amsterdam (Gutwirth, 2001).

SPAIN / PARATEXT

Apart from the Memorial we discussed, another paratext is the Dedication of the *Carro Triumphal* signed April 15, 1687. The content of the book is described in this Dedication[14] to Cossio. The figure of the Inquisitor of Logroño and Bishop of Salamanca and his relation to the author of the book has not been made clear in the few brief mentions of the *Carro*. And yet, the bishop's presence is quite explicit in the *Carro*'s dedication to "don José de Cossío y

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[12]   Ib. p. 26: "[…] replico Tomas: Sabe, señor, que quando fue Nabucodonosor a Ierusalen, le acompañaron Reyes poderosos para ayudarle, por temor que del tenian, porque dominaua entonces en el mundo, o por el odio, que tenia a los Iudios, y a su ley: el mayor fue el Rey Ispano […] Y de la division segunda a la tercera [de Ierusalen] estauan todos los descendientes de la casa Real de la semilla de David y los sacerdotes, ministros del Templo, y quando se repartio Ierusalen entre estos Reyes […] la parte terçera diò a Pirro y a Ispano. Este Pirro embarcó en navios todos los cautiuos y lleuolos a España la antigua, que es la Andaluzia […]".

[13]   Ib. p. 2: "Cleopatra Reyna de Egipto […] divulgada ya la fama de su hermosura en la tierra, y codiciada del Cesar la tomó por muger, pero fue con condicion que repudiasse su muger primera, que tenia en Roma, y assi lo hizo; y como la repudiada era hermana de Otaviano Cesar, viendo los Consules de Roma esta vileza acordaron de quitar la corona a Antonio […]".

[14]   *Carro*, Dedicatoria: "[…] este Libro, en que à costosas expenssas de el cuydado, juntando todos los avissos que pude, relato con algun adòrno las particularidades que Diariamente fueron acaeciendo en el Memorable Asedio , desde el principio hasta el fin de aquel Sangriento Cerco de la Inexpugnable Fortaleza de Buda […]" [p. IX].

Varreda, Obispo de Salamanca" [p. V]. This lack of attention is probably the simple result of nothing more than the precariousness of readily available biographical material. It may therefore be of some use to note that in 1656 Cossio's name appears in a litigation against Paredes (the Bishop of Oviedo; Count of Noronha,) where Paredes is accused of misappropriating funds and conferring dignities on his "criados". Cossio moved to Salamanca and is known by various titles or offices such as "Fiscal, Inquisidor de Logroño, Presidente dé Navarra y Obispo de Salamanca". In 1689, Andrés de Sierra published his *Oracion funebre en las honras que la Santa Iglesia Cathedral de Salamanca hizo... en la muerte de su amado Obispo... D. Ioseph de Cossio Barreda*. Like the bishop, Sierra came from the North West – he had been born in Santillana del Mar in 1649. Belonging to the Augustinian order, he was a preacher and taught Arts at the University of Salamanca. The Spanish envoy in Amsterdam [*español que reside en estas provincias*] at that date was a Navarran from Pamplona, don Josseph de Aldaz y Aguirre. Rather than any personal acquaintance of Antonio Pizarro de Oliveros with the inquisitor/bishop Cossio, it was the link of the bishop, Cossio, to Pamplona that explains the Pamplonan (Aldaz's) advice to address the dedication to Cossio. Indeed, there has survived an *Elogio lyrico: al muy noble señor don Joseph de Aldaz y Aguirre y Narvaez, natural de la imperial ciudad de Pamplona* by Miguel de Barrios.

Miguel de Barrios y del Valle (1635-1706), or Daniel Leví de Barrios is also the author of a poetic description of Hungary (integral part of the *Carro*) in thirty-five *octavas*. It is called "*Triunfo cesareo en la descripcion universal de Panonia y conquista de la ciudad… a 2. de septiembre de 1686*". Moolik's visceral reaction to De Barrios is worth citing for its uncensored frankness:

> His histories turn out to be hurried summaries with interminable lists of rulers. The geographical descriptions follow a repetitious pattern that includes boundaries, coats of arms, geographic accidents, and cities. Influential families connected to the regions are singled out for praise. There are long series of proper names of people and places. The dates, time, latitude and longitude, and other such data, however ingeniously contrived, are somewhat unwieldy in verse (Moolik, 1964).[15]

There is certainly a pattern here and its innovative or personal character – arguably – resides in structuring and organizing allusive analogies to bible and classical lore. One of the main problems for present day readers, then, is the hyperbole which compares space, territories to consecrated texts. The excessive ostentatious display of acquaintance with biblical and Greco-Roman lore in the thirty five *octavas* tends to irritate today's critics. This, therefore, necessitates a reconstruction of cultural background.

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15   It hardly needs to be added that there is an immense bibliography on the author but as it concentrates on compositions other than this paratext it is less than relevant here.

Indeed, both de Barrios and Pizarro need to be seen against the background of a European reaction, in the arts, to the conquest of Buda. In his prologue, Pizarro himself asserts: "*…quando otras naciones han dado diversos panegiricos a la imprenta…*" [p. XV] or "*libros que hasta aora [sic] en diversos idiomas se han impresso*" [p. XVI], so that this is consciously a work which, on one level, presents itself as part of a transnational, multinational European movement of celebration and panegyric. Poetry – such as De Barrios' – is only one aspect. Painting and theatre are further aspects. Thus, for example, Orsolya Réthelyi (2014) studies "Buda's Reconquest (1686) and the Image of Hungarians, Ottomans and Habsburgs in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Drama". As he writes: "The liberation of Buda also triggered widespread literary production in the lyric, epic and dramatic genres, featuring songs, fictive letters, gallant novellas, apocryphal memoires, plays and operas written in many languages". A Hungarian repertory from 1936 lists more than 1600 contemporary written accounts in numerous languages and 260 graphic representations of the events. Since then, numerous previously unknown pamphlets, news accounts, prints and diaries have come to light. Palensteyn's play (1686) was one of these reactions. In it: "The chorus of Jewish women probably receives a role in Palensteyn's play as reference to the tragic fate of the Jewish population of Buda, who – along with other civilians of different ethnic groups, including women – were forced to defend the town together with the soldiers. News of the Jewish population fighting along with the Ottomans caused pogroms in several towns, e.g. Padua…" (Ibid).

Similarly, in Spain, there were also dramatic, theatrical reactions. "La restauración de Buda" by Francisco Antonio Bances Candamo was performed on 15/11/1686 in the "saloncete del Buen Retiro". Hyperbole was not lacking: "*¡oh gran Carlos de Lorena, / cuyo nombre resuena / de la fama en los bronces inmortales / que eterno harán el eco en los anales!*" (Duarte Lueiro, 2005). When we read Pizarro's or De Barrios' praises in Spanish we might also bear in mind other Spanish reactions to the event such as the *auto sacramental* "La restauración de Buda" by Pedro Lanini y Sagredo (ed. I. Arellano, 2017) where we find the following passages: "*Carlos, Duque de Lorena que es Cristo / El príncipe de Saboya que es san Pablo / El duque de Baviera que es san Pedro / Abdí Bajá de Buda que es el demonio / Arlaja, dama turca que es la Gentilidad / La Sinagoga, o Judas que es el Judaísmo…*" In the *Auto* there is a role for the Jews: "*…Sinagoga: Y en lo alegórico cabe / que a lo real, lo figurado/de la alegoría pase…*".

The paratext/dedication/prologue is worth reading because it enlightens us as to further aspects of the *Carro*. The tone of extreme humility is clear in Pizarro. Pizarro's mention of the possibility of censorship is equally rhetorical – cf. "*Zoylos*" – but at the same time it may well be real: the *zoylos* are a frequent feature of Penso's rhetoric. In a work linked to the seventeenth century community of Amsterdam, renowned for its sensitivity to the practical effect of texts touching on religion, there may be more than pure rhetoric in these concerns.

Above all, the Baroque aspect introduced in these preliminaries relies on a dense texture of ostentatious displays of elements of the classical tradition. The vaunt of acquaintance with it sometimes leads to such excesses as: "…*que à pesár de la mordazidad de los Zoylos, pueda competir con las de Apeles, Trimantes, Phidias, y Policleto en Gallardia*" [p. VIII]. But other paratexts are equally telling. The very title of the work harks back to Petrarch and the whole subsequent tradition of *Triumphi* and Chariots resuscitated by the poet in the fourteenth century. It has conceivably some Sephardi antecedents in the fifteenth century poem from jail by Moses Remos from Mallorca (where the construction of a literary procession of the liberal arts has been compared to a triumph). Clearer would be the relation to (the descendant of the Benvenistes) Doña Gracia's entry into Constantinople in the mid-sixteenth century.[16] More obvious, as an antecedent, is Daniel Levi de Barrios' own composition "Triumphal Carro de la Perfeccion", in the similarly resonant *Triumpho del Gobierno Popular* (Amsterdam, 1673). By the late seventeenth century, the "triumph" could have some visual dimensions not only in painting but also in architecture. Once this history of ideas and sensibilities is reconstructed, Pizarro's beginning, his first lines become less bizarre. He invokes the example or model of the classics, the ancient artists who would place their compositions high up on a column, either to find taste in "the sublime" (interesting reference to this aesthetic category at this date and place) – or to hide their defects. This elevated place – simile for the elevated status of the bishop to whom the Dedication of the *Carro* is addressed – is described as *una Hermosa Jaspeada Columna* [p. VII]. Most Spaniards – but particularly in Pamplona, so near Saragossa – would have recognized the resonances of the column or *pilar* which gives its name to the image of the Virgin at Saragossa's cathedral. No other explanations or analogues have been suggested by the *Carro*'s readers. Seventeenth century works such as *Fundacion milagrosa de la Capilla angelica… de la Madre de Dios del Pilar* (Barcelona, 1616) by Diego Murillo (1555-1616) expanded and amplified the column's symbolic meaning. It had theological virtues but also – because of the *jaspe* – virtues appertaining to the realm of natural philosophy, as in the *jaspe*'s medicinal effects. This brings into relief the element of the absences; in this case the absence of explicit references to the Virgin or the Seo which inspire the rhetorical variant.

De Barrios' poem is an additional paratextual element which – like the title, the dedication, the memorial/Appendix – accompanies the work. Pizarro refers to it as "corona de preciosos engastes para el esplendor de esta Historia" [p. XIX]. As poems introducing a book do, this one also praises the *Carro*, of course. But the poem coheres with the book in other ways too. As in the dedication by Pizarro, here too, in De Barrios, we find the Baroque ostentatious displays of classical school room lore.

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[16]   Asenjo (2015: 9): "En las celebraciones de efemérides, los Colegios de la Compañía de Jesús coinciden en lo fundamental con otras instituciones educativas. Así es en el uso de Carros triunfales…".

Most significant, from our point of view here, are the clear allusions to a Jewish component. Thus De Barrios compares, tacitly, the German victor to Julius Caesar by the simple analogy to the *Gallic War*. It resonates with the contemporary: "*Callen todas las historias pues les obliga a silencio el mirar oy la mayor que han conocido los tiempos. Suspenda Roma sus triunfos y sus victorias Pompeyo, Julio Cesar el valor y Numancia sus empeños*" (p. 2) (Leonetti, 2015). Most pointed by contrast is the poem – in the *octavas* by Miguel de Barrios (after the *Prólogo al lector* and resonating with Cesar's Galia) – about the Buda ghetto, an uncommon motif in Spanish poetry: "*en tres partes divisa se pregona… y la tercera del judayco gueto*" [p. XIX]. He includes the Jewish ghetto as one of the three parts into which Budapest is divided: He had prepared the way by introducing – amidst the plethora of allusions to Greco Roman lore – Old Testament figures and allusions. In general, the impression is that these Old Testament analogies are given precedence over the classical ones. Amongst the apparently biblical allusions: "*Por ti Azquenaz que en regio sol brillas / llamo el Panonio Achanez a sus reyes*" [p. XXIII] has to do with the tradition (in Yosippon and his followers) of myths of origin and biblical toponyms as interpreted in post biblical literature. It is a tradition which intensifies in fifteenth century Spain where e.g. Maqueda and Escalona are compared to biblical toponyms. This can hardly be subsumed under stereotypes of Hungary. "*…Osiris es el que Moysen nomina Hus*" [Ib.] or "*el brioso Cimran[17] hijo excelente de Abraham y su primo Idlaph[18], al rio Erlaph*" or "*Peleg de Ava esposo amado*" [Ib.]; "*la Ley que de Sem les da justicia*" [Ib.] or the oft-repeated "*Togarma*".[19] This biblical, allusive technique in the tradition – ubiquitous after Yosippon – of creating analogues (based on paronomasia or other features) must be emphasized. It prepares the reader for what will follow.

THE *CARRO* AS HISTORY

In general it could be said that Pizarro introduces into his text and makes explicit his ideals of history writing. This is clear in phrases such as "relacion puntual y verdadera" [p. V] or "historia verdadera". It is also what inspires sentences about "*passion*" in opposition to "*consta*" as in the Carro's "*importa poco que lo diga la passion tan a las claras quando consta patentemente lo contrario*" [p. XVI]. But it is also the evident purpose of his above mentioned pointed and charged visual metaphors in the Dedication. He goes beyond *ut*

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[17]   i.e. Zimran, as in Gen. 25:2; 1 Chron. 1:32.

[18]   Gen. 22:22.

[19]   On "togarmah" see e.g. Goldenberg (1999: 61). Of course, a host of medieval and renaissance Hebrew texts continue Yosippon's notions of the genealogy of the descendants of Jephet. Without attention to this tradition de Barrios would not be understood.

pictura poesis to attempt a (poetic) argument which gives his book the status of real presence, of placing the reader in front of the battlefield.

At the same time, in the prologue he claims a particular national Spanish perspective: Spaniards are close to the House of Austria, hence his interest in the subject. The book itself begins with a geographic description of Buda.[20] Here again, one could see this as a usual historian's preoccupation with the place of events. That is to say that events occur somewhere. Geography and history appear here to be complementary and interdependent. These theoretical aspects may be distinct from – and at this date and in that community of readers far more weighty than – the accuracy or originality of the geography. Another contribution derives from the notion, familiar to modern historians, that it is helpful to reconstruct and provide the reader with the past, with the background leading to the individual event that is the subject of the particular composition. We find in the *Carro* that, after his labors on geography, there follows a historical sketch of the history of Buda in the previous two centuries, beginning with the events leading to the Ottoman conquest of Hungary. Neither of the twin aims (reconstructing a geographical and an historical background) are particularly elucidated by reference to "apologetics" or "journalism". They are however, standard, recognizable, modern historiographic practices. It is, of course, an argument. The book's avowed aim is to describe the siege and victory of the Imperial forces over Ottoman Buda in 1686. One of the structures of the book is the day by day narrative of the siege.

In the "Prólogo al lector" Pizarro asserts that he has authority, he is *graduado en dos facultades* [p. XVIII] and develops the theme of passion in history writing: *sin cegarme la passion*. According to Pizarro, some writers of contemporary history try to heighten the importance of one military personality as opposed to others. Other writers claim that greater than the courage of the Austrians/Germans was the incompetence of the Turks. Others that the siege would have been much shorter had it been carried out by the French. He refers to some of these writers as panegyrists. Pizarro's ideal is not to fall into such debates which he dismisses as "escholasticos". Both the critique of scholasticism and of passion are recognizable historical ideals in the early modern age. So is the relatively clear and explicit articulation of method. Pizarro tells the readers how he constructed his work. He observed the news of the war as they arrived in Amsterdam day by day for the duration. Then he narrated the history of the war according to these materials: "…hize cuydado desde que se principió aquel Cerco de observar en las Relaciones que à esta Amstelodamica Ciudad venian, todo lo que en el, dia por dia, ìva sucediendo…" [p. XVI]. Rather than *composing*

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[20]   For a different reading see Sánchez Jiménez (2017), who sees the geographic interest as linked to De Barrios contacts with the Atlas mayor of the Blaeus. For the Sephardi tradition of attention to both, realistic and literary geography see, for example Gutwirth (2012, 2013).

Relaciones he is *observing* and basing his narrative and explanations on Relaciones. That is to say that he draws attention to his manner of working, sources, their advantages and limitations – he does not claim to be an ocular witness – and the reader is left with the impression that if his steps were followed a similar result would be achieved. To be sure, the few readers of the *Carro* have not identified the exact sources or *Relaciones*, hence the disproportionate attention to the last pages and the Memorial inspired by Cardoso. And yet, his option for writing about the historian's ideals is of intellectual consequence. At various points he produces primary sources which interrupt the narrative. The procedure could be traced back – in the Spanish tradition – to the chronicles of the fifteenth century but one cannot hide entirely their similarity, mutatis mutandis, to the *pièces justificatives*, appendices and documentary supports of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries books of history.

Another generic classification which is suggested by reading recent publications is that of "journalism". As in the previous case of apologetics, it is helpful and yet somewhat tangential and misformulated in terms of genre. It is helpful in that, despite certain well known aspects, the link between the seventeenth century Amsterdam new cultural phenomenon of the Jewish periodical press (the "Spanish" *Gazeta*) and other seventeenth century Jewish publications needs to be studied. Hilde Pach writes about a possible background to this phenomenon:

> The first handwritten newspapers were published in Venice in the sixteenth century, followed soon afterwards in the Low Countries. Intended primarily for businessmen, they mainly contained international news. They used correspondents, frequently businessmen, or – in the case of military news – soldiers. Amsterdam was among the first cities in the world to publish and print newspapers. In 1618 and 1619 two printed newspapers appeared in Amsterdam. This was not accidental. With the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618, an urgent need for news was a natural phenomenon… many papers were published – in Dutch, but in other languages as well. The fact that the Dutch Republic enjoyed a large measure of freedom of expression also contributed to this circumstance… At the end of the century, the leading papers were the Amsterdamse Courant and the Haarlemse Courant, later the Oprechte Haarlemse Courant, established in 1656… (Pach, 2008).

The *Gazeta,* then, appears in a place and at a time when journalism was thriving. It was thriving amongst the Jews as well. Both Spanish and Yiddish newspapers were in circulation in the *Carro*'s Amsterdam, in the *Carro*'s decade, the 1680s. David de Castro Tartas, their publisher, was associated with the Menasseh ben Israel press and with prayerbooks and other ventures characteristic of the Jewish, Sephardi, ex-converso community. Shmuel Schnitzer's article (1987) is an introduction to the historical background of the appearance of the *Gazeta* in terms of its Sephardi/formerly Converso frame. For him, only a Sephardi Jewish public of returning conversos would be the public of Spanish newspapers in Amsterdam. More recently Erzsébet Hanny (2013) studies the subject of "Las

noticias de la guerra contra turcos en Hungría y en Buda en las relaciones españolas del siglo XVII". Drawing on her access to the rich pertinent Hungarian collections, she attends to the journalists' writings on Buda in 1686. For her, a characteristic of these writings is that all the contemporary writers on the subject-German, Italian or Spanish- simply repeated old stereotypes. Their opinions on the Hungarian nation repeated the dominant European vision. For her, the *Carro* belongs in this frame. The focus on Buda in the Relaciones of the '80s is amply evidenced by her statistics. One of the advantages of this perspective is that it shows that observers who were polemical, apologetic, ideological – that is, who had "a vision" – and depended for their writings on stereotypes are not a particularity of Amsterdam Jews or of Amsterdam Sephardim but of the whole of Europe: "sólo repitieron estereotipos arraigados".

For us, following recent research on history of journalism, a number of corollaries apply. While standard bibliographic criteria (numbering, periodicity) for defining journalism are justified, a cultural approach recognizes some continuity with what we now realize – thanks to Ettinghausen (2015) – is a large previous stream of MS and printed *Cartas, Avisos, Relaciones* or individual event descriptions. This would mean that alongside the possible links to Venetian and Dutch journalism, the large and early Spanish phenomenon of proto-journalism can no longer be ignored. This is particularly the case in the *Carro* where the reliance on *Relaciones* is clear and made explicit as has been seen.

The ex-converso readers may have been interested in current events following the Thirty Years War or in the atmosphere of freedom of seventeenth century Amsterdam, even if this is an interpretation of the *Gazetas* and *Courantn*. But there were closer and more specific factors which could have led to this. Aurora Domínguez Guzmán's (1988) study lists twenty-three Spanish *Relaciones* on thirteen diferent *autos de fe* published between 1601 and 1632. That the ex-converso community would have been particularly interested in the Inquisition is not only commonsensical. It is fully supported by the evidence of liturgical materials printed in seventeenth century Amsterdam even if this material is rarely taken into consideration. Mentions of the Inquisition there are constant. Such an interest could have led to a practice of reading about current events.

A preliminary reading would state the obvious: the narrative is similar to the panegyric of Spanish nobility. But does a list of similar panegyrics elucidate the text? There is something superficial about this approach not only because Pizarro distances himself explicitly from passion and the panegyric, as has been seen, but also because it would miss the main point of the *Carro*. Here, reading the text is most helpful: the Duke of Bejar had suffered a specific, particular wound: "*le atravesó una bala, que desde el braço izquierdo, le sàlia por el espinaço*" [p. 61]. Different was the fate of the Marques de Valero, "*despues que recibió un grande golpe con una piedra en el estomago que lo derrivó en el suelo, le alcansó un flechaso en la*

tetilla" [p. 61]. There is something in these crude reports – about the "espinaço" and the "tetilla" – of the atmosphere and language of the field hospital, of medicine's demand for accuracy in the descriptions of wounds: it is the *flechaso en la tetilla* rather than the commonplaces of the millenarian tradition of the panegyric that arrests the reader's attention and constitute the register of the composition. To be sure, there is no such zooming on detail in the brief mentions of Jewish victims of war's atrocities.[21] This will be understood once we look at the statements of method cited above. But Jewish elements in the *Carro* are not limited to the last pages which were the center of discussion in 1880s Budapest. Their discussions eliminated the other mentions in the *Carro*, for example:

> Un hombre que salió de la Ciudad, dió por nuebas, como las bombas havian hecho mucho mal, y que una sola que se abrió, mató mas de cien hombres: Dixo tambien que los Judios no querian defender personalmente la Plaza, y para escusarse de hazerlo, contribuían al Baxá con mucho dinero. De los cercados asegura, que esperan siempre socorro, y que están resueltos defenderse hasta perder las vidas… [p. 79].

Sandwiched in between two relatively factual items we find the views on the Jews relayed by an anonymous witness: they contributed to the losing side but they did not fight for the Ottomans. In this item we have perhaps an explanation of the need for the appended memorandum. Or elsewhere in the *Carro*:

> El Señor Duque de Lorena, reconociendo que se hallaban muchos Christianos, y Judios en el Exercito, sin tener partido, hizo que se juntassen, y llegando hasta el numero de cinco mil hombres, les mandó dar palas, para qúe se empleassen en hazer trincheras, mientras durava el Sitio [p. 137].

Finally we come to the much discussed Memorial of the *Carro*:

> Los Judios le entraron por la Salva Guardia de el General Schoening a quien tocó el Assalto por la parte de aquel Gueto y proponiendole q su Nacion esparcida por las quatro partes de la Tierra, en todas las que le hallaban, eran siempre Leales à los Principes debaxo de cuyo Cetro vivían; le dieron un Memorial que contenia muchos exemplares, y algunas razones para confirmacion de esta propuesta [p. 183].

As can be seen, this is not "a letter" but a Memorial. So far it does not seem that the main fact – that Schoening was in charge of the district of the ghetto – has been impugned. It is by no means inconceivable that the Jews met with the general. Nowhere is it stated that the Memorial was meant to be original or creative. This was not an academic event but a political one, related to survival and ransom. What is mentioned is that it was in a number

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[21]   For a mention of the explosions near the "Barrio de los judios" see *Carro*, p. 91. For the Jews constructing "trincheras" see ib. pp. 137-138.

of copies. In any case, the *Carro* cannot be reduced to the Memorial and the disproportionate attention to it is hardly justified as it stands.

In addition, Hanny's (2015) recent archival work has underlined certain highly probable elements of the Memorial's narrative. She notes the advance of Brandenburg forces from the direction of Víziváros and the likelihood that the Jews tried to ensure survival by offering money. According to her, not only other public texts but also private correspondence confirm general Schöning's covetousness or greed. While the letter is so similar to Cardoso that it has always been seen as a "plagiarism" she argues that the existence of such a letter was by no means improbable.

THE *CARRO* AS A JEWISH WORK

The appendix which is so frequently presented as metonymic of the whole work must be approached realistically: it occupies barely eleven pages (183-194) out of more than two hundred. The *Carro* repeatedly mentions Christianity and Catholicism, almost identifying with it, as in passages such as one about Ottoman Buda "…*dilatado tormento de los animos Catholicos*" [p. 199]. There is little doubt that for today's reader, at first sight, the "authentic" Jewish historical reaction to the events of Buda is embodied not in the *Carro* but in the *Megillat Ofen* of Isaac b. Zalman Schulhof. The Prague born Rabbi (ca. 1650-d. 1733) descended from R Loew, (the MaHaRaL). He settled in Ofen and in 1686, when that city was attacked, his wife was murdered, his son died in prison at Raab, while he himself was incarcerated, and barely escaped death on Elul 14 (Sept. 3), 1686. The anniversary of his escape was celebrated by his family as the Schulhof Purim. His *Megillat Oven*, edited by Kaufman (1895, 1908-10), is clearly in the genre which Steinschneider dubbed *martyrologie* and Baron thought of as the lachrymose conception (Schulhof, 1982). It has its roots, then, in a literature which could possibly claim, if not the Book of Esther, at least the medieval examples of the genre as precedents. It is in Hebrew and highly allusive to the classical texts in their Hebrew original beginning with the bible. Not much of this applies to the *Carro* and the two are not usually mentioned, let alone studied, together but such a confrontation serves to produce a far sharper and more precise picture of the *Carro*'s character.

Similarly significant is the text composed by Aaron ben Joseph of Buda (Ofen), the Yiddish poet who was captured in the city of Ofen, on September 2, 1686. He was the author of "Ein Schoen Neu Lied von Ofen" (Prague, Bak: 1686), describing the fate of the Jews of Buda, and praising Sender ben Joseph Tausk, to whom the poem is dedicated (Weinberger, 1981). Tausk is linked to the Amsterdam Sephardim: Around 1692 Jacob Sasportas and Isaac Aboab sign a testimonial for Alexander ben Joseph Tausk who at that date is still collecting money in connection with the ransom of Buda's Jewish captives. The *Carro* stands in sharp

contrast to this, as the description of an apparently distant and disinterested observer of Jewish history. There are hardly any traces of lament for the Jews. Even the above mentioned Dutch Christian playwright, Palensteyn, who in his *treurspel* refers to the chorus of Jewish women from Buda during the siege, seems to show more empathy. If anything, it is comparable to the point of view in the Yiddish *Courantn* of the same period and place analyzed by Pach (2008) as reliable, if detached.

A main connection of the events in Buda with the leading Sephardi figures of Amsterdam generally ignored by painters, playwrights or poets, is that of the army purveyors or suppliers. Walter Hummelberger (1987) and Max Grunwald (1913) had already studied the role of Samuel Oppenheimer and his circle including his service to the imperial forces in Buda. Samuel's son Emanuel was also involved. Both are "Oberkriegsfactoren". Their agent in Amsterdam is very closely connected to Tartas and to the publication of the *Courantn* in those years. The question of supplies appears in the *Carro*'s indirect attention to such matters, as for example when Pizarro mentions engineers or writes "…que es muy de creer no poder hallarse en el Mundo otra *Plaça tan abastecida…*" [p. 197]. His attention to armaments, to artillery, to the "mineros" and the gunpowder is noticeable.

The *Carro* makes clear and explicit mention of Belmonte:

> Sobre lo sucedido en este Assalto, tubo aviso del mismo Cerco, el Señor Don Manuel de Belmonte, Conde Palatino del Romano Imperio, y Residente de Su Magestad Catholica, en estas Provincias Unidas de Holanda, y porque contiene la carta algunas particularidades mas de las que acabamos de referir, me pareció poner aquí la Copia de ella, aunque con alguna brevedad, por no repetir dos vezes difusamente un suçeso [p.110].

Don Manuel de Belmonte/Isaac Nunes Belmonte served both the Emperor Leopold I, the Dutch King-Stadhouder William Ill and he was also "Resident of the King of Spain in the Dutch Republic" (López Estrada, 1994). His patronage of the literary arts – relevant to a work with the literary ambitions of the *Carro* – is clear in e.g. the dedication to Belmonte which de Correa (Hernández-Pecoraro, 2004, 2005; Vidorreta, 2017) affixed to her *Pastor fido* (15/xi/1693).

> Hace espaldas a mi osadía el generoso valor, da alimentos a mi pluma el aura que respira la numerosa fama: ésta del ínclito nombre de vuestra señoría, aquel de su magnánimo pecho... No me ofrece la brújula del acierto otra persona a quien con más debida proporción deba y pueda dirigir y consagrar mi peregrino pastor que vuestra señoría, por dos razones equivalentes: una corrobora la nobilísima sangre que le ilustra para que busque su afable protección, pues es de nobles amparar a quien de ellos se vale; otra fortifica la venerada antigüedad... Templo es vuestra señoría edificado en el excelso monte del condado Palatino, donde se venera el sol de su mucha sabiduría, adornado de las morales virtudes...

One can hardly think of a more eloquent testimony of Sephardi attitudes (including Pizarro's) to Belmonte in the seventeenth century. Belmonte was Baron de Belmonte by grant of the Spanish King and Count Palatinate by that of the Emperor. The good economic relations between different European nations involved in the events and their influence on the Amsterdam Sephardim are clearly implied in these titles. Belmonte's link to the *Carro* is clear in the passage cited above as in the interest in supplies and *Avisos* or *noticias* throughout the work. Recent work has underlined other lesser known aspects of Belmonte's activities. Particularly interesting is his indirect influence through family and other members of the network. Also important is his role as mediator or middle man in the contacts and business with Spain of Dutch merchants who were far wealthier and more significant than himself.[22]

Another evident distinction between Pizarro (linked to Belmonte) and Schulhof is that the latter was not published in his own time, while Pizarro's work appeared as a printed book. Its publisher cannot be separated from the communal Sephardi context. From a perspective anchored in the history of the book, some attention to him would be helpful in placing the *Carro* in a realistic context. The printer/publisher of the book designated as Yacomo de Cordoba is Jacob/Ya`aqov de Cordoba.[23] He is associated with *siddurim* and *humashim* such as the *Orden de las oraciones cotidianas* and *Cinco libros de la Ley Divina*, edited by Yshak de Cordova (Amsterdam, 1688. Raphael da Silva with notice of the compositors Jacob b. Moses Raphael de Cordova…) where the title page and the edition closely resembles the previous edition of Menasseh Ben Israel (Amsterdam: Jacob Haim de Cordova, 1678) or the 1681 Commentary on the Five Books of Moses written in Castilian by Isaac Aboab da Fonseca (ca. 1605-1693) which was entitled *Parafrasis Comentado Sobre el pentateuco por el illustrissimo s(enor) Ishak aboab H(aham) del K(ahal) K(ados) de Amsterdam estampado en caza de Iaacob de Cordova 5441*. It contained a title-page plate, prepared by the etcher Johan van den Aveele, which was used by the Amsterdam publisher Jacob Haim ben Moses Raphael de Cordova e Brazil. The etcher's signature at lower left and right reads: "Ioh. Vander Avele (in)ventit et fecit". As Wainstein (1992) remarks:

> Because of Jacob de Cordova's connection to the flourishing Amsterdam book publishers' guild he was able to acquire Aveele's etched titlepage. Jacob had apprenticed to both Joseph Athias and David de Castro Tartas and had also worked for Uri Halevy. His father, Moses

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de Isaac Cordova, a proofreader from Constantinople, arrived in Amsterdam in 1641/42. (Wainstein, 1992).

The Jewish character of the publishers of the *Carro* is thus unmistakable.

In brief: the saturation of a specific type of biblical allusions in de Barrios' poem; the continuity and considerable further development of the (post Yosippon) medieval Jewish convention of naming European territories after select Biblical toponyms; the attention to the Jews in the narrative; the links to the activities of the Jewish purveyors; the reference to Belmonte, the reputation/character of the publisher/printer Jacob de Cordoba, and of course the much discussed Memorial all confirm the work as belonging in historiography from or for a Jewish perspective. Various elements in the text and paratexts (the poem to the book; the visual metaphors, the care to produce a geographic frame; the recreation of a centuries' old background; the reference to ideals of history writing and the types of writing that should be avoided; the constant self-references to the book as *historia* and others) show that this is not intended as an Aviso or Relacion – despite links to that mode – and that the book is not the work of a *gacetero*, but rather a work of history.

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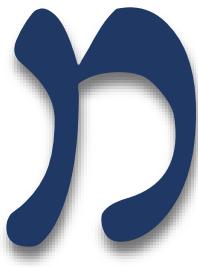
The Sephardi origin of the *Challah* braided bread

El origen sefardí del pan trenzado *Jalá*

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Abstract

This article will challenge the assumption that the *challah* bread is not of Ashkenazi origin but instead of Sephardic origin. It claims to uncover the place of *challah* bread in history through a historiographical analysis, followed by a study of old sources that mentions it – even including the first recipe – thus, bringing down the previously established postulates. This article also purports to offering an explanation on the link between Ashkenazi and *challah* bread, which has made it the paragon – alongside the gefiltefish – of the Jewish cuisine from Eastern Europe.

Keywords: food; challah; Jews; Spanish history; Sephardi; Ashkenazi.

Resumen

Este artículo pretende poner en tela de juicio el origen de la preparación culinaria del pan trenzado llamado *Jalá*, arrojando luz que no es de origen askenazí, sino sefardí. Pretende ahondar en las investigaciones sobre la presencia del pan *jalá* en la historia a través de un análisis historiográfico, seguido de un estudio de fuentes antiguas que lo mencionan. A continuación, proporciona una descripción de la primera receta de *jalá*, haciendo tambalear los postulados previamente establecidos. Este artículo pretende también ofrecer una explicación sobre la razón del vínculo que existe entre la cultura askenazí y el pan *trenzado*, para, a fin de cuentas, postular un origen sefardí para la *jalá*.

Palabras clave: alimentación; historia de España; jalá; judíos; sefardí; askenazí.

1. INTRODUCTION

Challah. Here is a word that has much written about it. From biblical times to the present day, this term has been a source of interest and curiosity, especially for Jews. Many scholars and lovers of Jewish cuisine have ventured into a historical and culinary research – more or less risky and often repetitive – on the term's origins as well as on the dish called *challah*. This word, also written *hallah*, has a Biblical origin (חַלָּה). It is mentioned several times in the Bible[1] as

> The first portion of your dough, you shall separate a loaf for a gift; as in the case of the gift of the threshing floor, so shall you separate it. From the first portion of your dough you shall give a gift to the Lord in [all] your generations (Numbers/Bamidbar 15:20-21).[2]

Many studies use this writing to establish the origin of the eponymous dish: the challah bread. Some studies have already been done on bread and challah as a piece of dough in biblical writings. Therefore, it is not a matter of going back to this, but rather on questioning the absence of old historical references concerning the challah as a dish, since its origin and temporal periods has already been advanced. Wouldn't this deficiency explain the error made in regard to the territorial origins of the dish's preparation? From this observation, all that remains is to study the sources that deal with this dish in order to trace its spatial and temporal route, from Eastern Europe to the existence of its first recipe. The aim is to lift the veil on the origin of this braided bread and understand how a dish from *Sefarad* became the emblematic food of Ashkenazi Jewish cuisine.

2. HISTORIOGRAPHY

There are many stories written on the challah bread – which abound and recur themselves – both online (Moskin, 2015; Winston-Macauley, 2012; Straight Dope Staff, 1999; Astaire, 2017) and in the culinary books (Reider, 1987; Glezer, 2004; (Pinson, 2017; Sarna, 2017; Levy, 2012: 63; Roden, 1999; Koening, 2019). Yet, there is little information actually drawn from historical sources about this dish. That is why a look into the reference books is necessary.

The *Online Etymology Dictionary* tells us that in 1887, the challah bread was a "type of bread, usually braided, typically eaten on Jewish ceremonial occasions". This detail is consistent with the publication in Philadelphia, in 1871, of Esther Levy's first Jewish

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[1]   חַלָּה in Exodus/Shemot 29:2; חַלָּה.לְחֶם in Exodus/Shemot 29:23, Leviticus/Vayikra 2:4, 7:12-13, 8:26, 24: 5, Numbers/Bamidbar 6:19, 15:18-21).

[2]   Jewish Bible with Rashi's commentary, Rosenberg (transl.).

cookbook: *Jewish Cookery Book* (Levy, 2012: 63). If the term *challah* is not mentioned, the author nevertheless incorporates a recipe for "Twist bread" (Levy, 1871: 60; Levy, 2012: 63) that corresponds to it. Its integration into the consumption of Americans – implicit North American Jews – probably dates back to the publication of this book (Marks, 2010: 96).[3] Gil Marks' *Encyclopedia of Jewish Food* (Marks, 2010: 96-101), *Eat and Be Satisfied* by John Cooper (1936), *The Jewish Catalog* (Siegel, Strassfeld, & Strassf, 1973), and the *Treasure of Shabbat* (Bressel, 2017: 48), have all dwelled on the braided bread's characteristic as an emblem of the culinary heritage of the Jews. Thus, the *Encyclopedia of Jewish Folklore and Traditions* states that

> the word *challot* [pl. of *challah*] derives from the loaf or cake (Heb. *Challah*) set aside for the priest from each batch of dough (Num. 15:20). Because the dough for the Sabbath meals and the rest of the week was prepared on Friday, the special Sabbath bread came to be called challah (Patai, 2015: 486).

This explanation has allowed to put the subjects of history and food into conversation with each other.

3. CONFUSION AROUND THE ORIGINS OF CHALLAH BREAD

Confusion around a culinary history, at first, was common if one believes in the Torah. Thus, although the leap in time is more than substantial, Gil Marks points out in *Encyclopedia of Jewish Food* that

> for the past two millennia, the term challah referred to the small portion of dough removed from each batch and burned. Only much later and initially only among some Ashkenazim did that name become attached to the Sabbath loaves themselves (Marks, 2010 : 97).

Marks emphasizes the importance of the consumption of challah bread among Sephardi and Ashkenazi. However, he highlights that there are differences in the type of flour (whole flour for Ashkenazi and white for Sephardi), in the form of challah bread (rather coiled in the Sephardic practices). Nonetheless, he provides further details regarding the challah bread of some Sephardic communities which "would also sprinkle sesame or some other type of seed over the round loaves, an allusion to the manna that fell in the form of coriander seeds" (Marks, 2010: 97). By choosing its shape and certain ingredients, the relation between the challah bread and the Sephardim is now more than conceivable, and it presents the challah bread as the original dish. Let's keep in mind that bread preparation remains basic: flour, water, sourdough and salt. Therefore, it is the way in which it will be kneaded, the

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3   "Most contemporary American references describe it [the challah] as 'a braided egg loaf'".

ingredients that will be added, but also – and above all – the shape that will be given to it and the way it will be cooked, that will make this bread different from the others. Since then, it acquires a singular symbolic value to the extent of being used as a differentiating food in a multicultural context. In the article "Challah: A Richly Fascinating History", published in the *Jewish Herald-Voice*, Jonathan Fass (2012) writes that "In both Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jewry, there is also a tradition to change the shape of a challah to connect it to the time of the year or upcoming holiday". Nevertheless, on reading this research, an essentially Ashkenazi profile of challah bread emerges. Why? If the *Online Etymology Dictionary* (s.v. *challah)* defines the challah bread of 1887 as a "type of bread, usually braided", then it also specifies that this term comes from the "Yiddish *khale*, from Hebrew *chala*, which is possibly from *hll* 'hollow, pierce', and perhaps is a reference to the original appearance of it" (Marks, 2010: 96).

At the beginning of the 20th century, John Cooper argues that this braided bread was first coined in Austria in the 15th century, and that before bearing the name of challah it was called "berches" (this name is still used by some Jews to refer to challah bread nowadays). Even so, no historical source is mentioned by the author. Gil Marks takes up this idea by writing that

> in the fifteenth century, Jews in Austria and southern Germany adopted a new form of Sabbath bread – on oval, braided loaf, modeled on a popular Teutonic bread, which was called *berchisbrod*, or *perchisbrod* in southern Germany (Marks, 2010: 97).

The key to understanding this dish lies in the analysis of a new technique – braiding. Marks claims that it was born from the Germain who, after converting to Christianity, would have

> twisted dough to resemble hair and offered the loaves to *Holle* (the witch) to escape her punishment. Although European Jews certainly did not worship or even to a large extent know anything about *Berchta* or *Holle*, they assimilated the attractive bread (Marks, 2010: 97).

The present characteristic form of the braided bread challah would therefore have its origin – according to these works – in the culinary culture of the Jewish Ashkenazi from the Middle Ages (Ottolenghi, 2012; Roden, 2012). The *Encyclopedia of Jewish Folklore and Traditions* (Patai, 2015: 197) is not the only one to repeat this premise. In the chapter "Jewish Ashkenazi in Gastronomy in Northern Italy in the Early Modern Period: The Testimony of the Book Mitzvot Hanashim", Zahava Weishouse deals with religious laws for challah in the Jewish-Ashkenazi cuisine. She writes that

> the Ashkenazi Jews who settled in Northern Italy and the Po Valley assimilated into the Italian way of life. [The book entitled] *Mitzvot Hanashim* (1552) reinforces the conclusion

that Ashkenazi Jewry's adaptation to Italian culture and life took about a century more until it was fully completed (Weishouse, 2019: 228-247).

We understand that we must backtrack in history in order to find the origin of the challah braided bread. From Germany, we pass through Austria, to arrive in Italy where – we know – Ashkenazi Jews and Sephardic Jews rubbed shoulders and shared – to varying degrees depending on the field – their cultures: clothing, liturgical, dialectal, which could also be culinary. However, they did not stop claiming their respective singularities (Zimmels, 1996: 37). Now, the question is: where did the Sephardic people of Italy come from? A subject that is still debated (Garvin & Cooperman, 2000; Guetta, 2014). It should be remembered that the various expulsions suffered by the Jews of Christian Europe have Italy as a place to stay (Segre, 2005). Thus, it is not surprising that this country has seen both the Germanic coming from the north and the Sephardic from the south. The Jews of Spain who fled the Spanish Inquisition established as early as 1478 – also in force on its territories such as Sicily (Bresc, 2005) – emigrated to settle mainly in Morocco and Turkey, but also in Italy (Borgolotto, 2005). Therefore, it is still logical to be able to find in Italy – but also in Austria and Germany – dishes from these two Jewish communities. So, why could not the challah braided bread accompany the Jews from Spain who came to settle in Italy from the end of the 15th century?

4. CHALLAH BRAIDED BREAD FROM AL-ANDALUS

Let's look to what the analysis of Iberian sources offers us – and more specifically those from Spain – concerning the Challah braided bread. A singular food that the *Encyclopedia of Jewish Food* defines as "a braided egg loaf" (Marks, 2010: 96). The importance of egg in the Challah is also highlighted in *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Folklore and Traditions* as Raphael Patai describes it as a "egg rich braided bread" (Patai, 2015: 197). The Ashkenazi origin of the Challah braided bread seems fading, and it is the discovery of a recipe written in Arabic in the first cookbook in the south of Spain, in Al-Andalus, called the *Kitāb al-ṭabīḫ* [The Cookbook], which comes to close the debates. Written under Muslim rules, it is the first – and unique – medieval Western cookbook to contain Jewish dishes. Among the 462 recipes that it contains, six are explicitly Jewish recipes. However, my research has shown the existence of other dishes scattered in the cookbook which were – and still – prepared and consumed nowadays by Sephardic Jews. A careful and meticulous reading allowed me to uncover a very singular recipe. In the manuscript it bears the name of "عمل الضفاير" which means "The making (عمل) of braids (الضفاير)" (Friedman, n.d.). The term "braids" corresponds to the word "ḍafair" Arabic. No other sources or recipe from the same period of this cookbook mentions that term "ḍafair". What is interesting is that the Spanish translation of this recipe offers the word "guedejas" for "braids", and the closest translation

of "guedejas" is the term "peot" in Hebrew. This recipe entitled "The making of braids" corresponds very closely to the preparation of Challah braided bread. It consists of white flour or semolina which, after being moistened with hot water, should be well kneaded. Sifted flour is added again, and then sourdough and salt. Hot water is poured several times and the dough is kneaded to obtain a medium consistency. Then, for each *ratl* [468g or 1lb] semolina, five eggs must be added and 1 dirham [3.9g or 3/4tsp] of saffron. The large amount of eggs and the importance of the yellow color of the bread, should be highlighted. The recipe states that the dough has to be kneaded well, and then put in a dish, covered and left to rise. Once raised, it is necessary to fill a pan of fresh oil and boil it over the heat. When preparation is ready, it is the moment to prepare the braids of raised dough, like hair-braids, of a handspan or less in size. After coating them with oil, braided breads are fried until they turn brown. Once cooked, they must be put in a plate and poured over them skimmed honey, spiced with pepper, cinnamon, and spikenard (it's like lavender). Sprinkled with ground sugar. This dish is unique. Its resemblance to the nowadays challah braided bread is more than surprising: flour, eggs, sourdough, salt and, of course, the braiding technique, so characteristic of this dish. Two unexpected elements are mentioned in this recipe of braided bread. First, the size, since it is smaller than *challot* breads currently consumed. Second, the baking, because the braided bread is fried, not cooked in the oven. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that olive oil was mainly used by the Jews in Spain, both in frying and in culinary preparations. Indeed, since it is *parve*, it allows easier compliance with the dietary laws of the Kashrut. Its massive consumption among Iberian Jews also made it stand out from Muslims' culinary foodways, who certainly used oil but also *smen* (rancid butter, a practice much less followed by the Jews). Moreover, the using of oil was so important in Sephardic Jewish communities that non-Jews associated the smell of it in a city to the substantial number of Jews who lived there [this is what was said about Seville at the beginning of the 16th century]. The mention of the Challah bread by the famous Spanish exegete Abraham Ibn Ezra [1089–1164] supports the existence and consumption of this dish in Spain at least from the 11th century. In addition, the rabbi and the commentator specify that it must be "thick" (Marks, 2010: 96). What is interesting is that in the same page Gil Marks points out that the Shabbat bread of the Ashkenazi

> grew increasingly enriched and embellished. The use of oil replicated the ingredients of the breads prepared in the Temple. Eggs and, less frequently, a pinch of saffron added to the dough simulated the yellow color of cooked manna. Not coincidentally, the large amount of oil and eggs produced a softer texture and richer flavor […]. The original enriched Sabbath braids were not sweetened (Marks, 2010: 96).

But all this information is already present in the recipe "The Making of braids" of braided bread from the 13th century. A recipe only prepared by the Jews of Spain. And this

makes it even more unique because Muslims did not seem to consume this bread, and still do not consume it nowadays.

The challah braided bread, an icon of today's Ashkenazi Jewish cuisine, would therefore find its attestation of recipe in the first cookbook of Spain in the 13th century. Accompanying the Sephardic Jews who were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula in the 15th century, the challah braided bread began its long-haul northward, and then passing through Italy between the 15th and 16th centuries. Blended with the culinary practices of Ashkenazi' Jews, they adopted it and gave it a home of permanence and survival not only in the present-day Eastern Europe, but also throughout the world.

Here is a reconstruction of this 13th century recipe, as close as possible to the original recipe:

Dough:
- 2 cups (300 g) flour
- 1 cup (170 g) extra fine semolina
- 2 tbsps (25 g) fresh yeast crushed
- 3 tbsps lukewarm water (to mix with the yeast)
- 1/4 cup olive oil
- 5 eggs
- 1/4 tsp salt
- Neutral oil for frying

Drizzle:
- 1/8 cup sugar
- 1/8 cup honey
- ½ tsp pepper
- 1 tsp cinnamon butter
- Lavender [to decorate]

Figures 1 & 2. *Challah* braided bread

Source: Hélène Jawhara Piñer

This recipe is mentioned and explained in my book *Sephardi: Cooking the History. Recipes of the Jews of Spain and the Diaspora from the 13ᵗʰ Century Onwards*, forthcoming with Academic Studies Press/Cherry Orchard Books in spring 2021.

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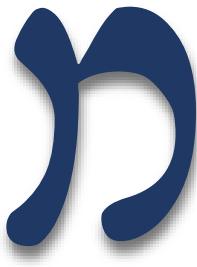
Memories of Salonica:
Estrea Aelion celebrates her one hundredth birthday

Recuerdos de Salónica: Estrea Aelion celebra sus cien años

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Abstract

Estrea Aelion was born in Salonica in 1884. She belonged to a well-off family; her grandfather opened Salonica's first department store and her father was a jeweller. In 1994, she celebrated her hundredth birthday in London and dictated her memories for her family and, especially, for her great grandchildren. Estrea Aelion lived at the beginning of a period of great change for Salonica and the Jewish community. Her memories are not a formal historical document, they are personal experiences. She was one of the first girls to go to school, in her case a missionary one, although her brothers went to an Alliance Israélite Universelle school. She witnessed the arrival of modern inventions such as electricity and running water. She lived through the catastrophic 1890 and 1917 fires. Estrea Aelion's memories, however personal they may be, are a document of great interest to all those interested in a vanished world.

Key words: Female education; missionary schools; marriage; fires; modernisation.

Resumen

Estrea Aelion nació en Salónica en 1884. Perteneció a una familia acomodada: su abuelo abrió el primer gran almacén de Salónica y su padre fue joyero. En 1994 Estrea Aelion celebró sus 100 años en Londres y escribió sus memorias para su familia, sobre todo para sus bisnietos. Estrea Aelion vivió al comienzo de una época de cambio enorme para la ciudad y para la comunidad judía. Sus recuerdos no constituyen un documento histórico formal, sino unas experiencias personales. Fue una de las primeras chicas en ir a la escuela, en su caso a una escuela de la Misión Protestante, aunque sus hermanos cursaran sus estudios en una escuela de la Alliance Israélite Universelle. Fue testigo de la llegada de invenciones modernas tales como la electricidad y el agua corriente. Vivió los incendios catastróficos de 1890 y 1917. Los recuerdos de Estrea Aelion, por más personales que sean, forman un documento de suma importancia para todos los que se interesen en un mundo desaparecido.

Palabras clave: Educación femenina; escuelas misioneras; matrimonio; incendios; modernización.

MEMORIES OF SALONICA: ESTREA AELION'S CENTENARY ACCOUNT

"Ag-ora con el ayudo del Dio, asperamos el anniversario de mis 100 anios al 5 Mayo"
(C, 6). In May 1984 members of the Aelion family gathered in London to celebrate with Nona
Aelion her one hundredth birthday. Among the guests was her granddaughter, Andree
Brooks, who arrived from New York for a two-week stay. With Andree Book's
encouragement, Estrea Aelion began to dictate memories of her life in Salonica, Istanbul,
Paris and London to be presented as a jubilee present to her family. As her mastery of
English was not sufficient for this purpose and the family had only a limited understanding
of Ladino, Mrs. Aelion dictated her account in French. This was duly translated into English
(version A). The second of the three tapes, dealing with life during the First World War, was
accidentally erased and so there is a hiatus in the narration. Encouraged by this venture,
Mrs. Aelion then wrote out those memories in Ladino, her native language (version B). The
manuscript consists of nineteen unlined margin-less pages measuring 215 centimetres by
280 with the writing covering the entire page. Estrea's son, Leon Saltiel, typed this out
(version C) plus an additional English version (D). There is a further copy of A in the Wiener
Holocaust Library as members of the Aelion family perished in the Holocaust.[1]

This vivid recollection of Estrea Aelion's early life in Salonica is not just a precious family
memento but provides a wonderful resource for the study of life in Salonica's Jewish
community at the turn of the twentieth century. This was an era without telephone or e-mail
when messages were sent between households by a trusted servant or messenger. Trams
were drawn by horses along the sea front until the arrival of the, at first frightening,
electric-powered trams. Estrea's childhood was spent in a city where a substantial portion
of the population was Jewish, and it was still very much the 'Jerusalem of the Balkans'.
Estrea mentions such major events as the 1912-1913 Balkan Wars and the devastating 1917
fire but these are perceived as an inevitable part of life in Salonica and are not analysed. Like
Leon Sciaky's memoir, *Farewell to Salonica*, it is a "personal, not a political or historical work"
(Barnett, 1974: 2) ranging from uncritical glimpses of historical events to details of everyday
family life.

HISTORICAL EVENTS

Estrea Aelion lived in Salonica from 1884 until 1920 and was witness to events of
extraordinary historical and political importance. She speaks of the good relations between

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Jews and Turks: "Half the town was Jewish, and they got on well with the Turks because the Turks liked them very much. […] And they were all happy very happy" (A, 2). However, after the Greek army entered the city and Salonica was annexed to Greece in 1912 "the Greeks did not get along so well with the Jews […]. They were forced to open on Saturdays and close on Sundays. And people started to emigrate" (A, 17-18). Prior to this

> […] the Jews dominated commerce and trade. They closed on Saturdays, and as the Jews closed on Saturdays, the whole town closed because nothing could be done. The banks were closed, the customs house was closed, the shops, the big Jewish shops were closed. Ships that came could not unload because everything was in Jewish hands (A, 2).

When Mrs. Aelion's Italian uncle, David Errera, decided to leave for Milan he suggested that the Aelion family live in the family villa in Las Campagnas. The town was soon full of soldiers of the Allied Armies and the Italian consul asked David Errera to open a shop providing provisions for the armies, the "Magasino Italiano". This was run by Mrs. Aelion's husband, Saltiel, and her brother (A,18).

Estrea Aelion lived through two major fires, including the "Great Fire" of 1890: "On September 4, 1890, the poorer and the most crowded streets in the northwest and west of Salonica fell pray [sic] to flames that destroyed 2,000 houses, most of them shacks inhabited by Jews" (Molho, 2005: 108).[2] She describes the devastating 1917 fire:

> We couldn't put the fire out because the town's water was cut – 12 hours, half to the civilians and half for the soldiers. So the water was turned off and there was none to put the fire out. We asked the armies to let the water run so we could put out the fire. And they replied 'the water is for the soldiers'. The fire took on enormous proportions – in 24 hours, the entire Jewish quarter in Salonika was burned, the shops, and even other quarters well. We didn't know where to go (A, 18-19).[3]

As the Aelion family was now living in Las Campagnas, their garden became a place of shelter:

> […] people slept in the streets just like that. They started moving to the countryside; the countryside hadn't been affected, thank God, because the fire stopped at the White Tower. At our house, many people came – there was a big garden and people sat out there on the ground all night. Until the day when the maids started making coffee and making things a little easier. In the meantime, the electricity and gas stations were closed and we had no gas or electricity, we used charcoal instead to live (A, 19).[4]

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[2]   For a study of two poems in Ladino describing the fire, see Romero (2008: 329-344).

[3]   "[…] el general francés Maurice Serrail, comandante en jefe de las fuerzas Aliadas, no autorizó el uso del agua que tenían almacenada las tropas" (Romero, 2008: 649).

[4]   See Romero (2008: 650-661).

The Aelion family left Salonica after the First World War, living first in Istanbul and then Paris before finally settling in London in 1937.

THE AELION FAMILY

Estrea Aelion came from a well-off family. Her father, Jacob Matalon, was a "jolliero, vindia cosas de oro i de plata i sovre todo perlas finas" (C, 1).[5] As the daughter of a pearl merchant, Estrea would have been accustomed to an affluent life style and, as granddaughter Andree Brooks remarked to me, her hands were those of a woman who had never done any manual work.

Estrea's paternal grandparents were Italian. Guedalia Errera owned one of the biggest shops in Salonica. Estrea referred to this as a department store and compared it with the Galeries Lafayette.[6] He imported goods from all over Europe, sold "yarn, lace, house things, kitchen things, everything" (A, 2) and also manufactured goods in Salonica.

THE FAMILY HOME

Estrea Aelion's family belonged to the prosperous bourgeoisie. Her grandfather, Guedalia Errera, built a villa at 25 Avenida Reina Olga in Las Campagnas (Gk. Exoches), an area of expensive villas and summer houses. His two sons, who both worked in the family business, also lived there together with their families, each occupying a different floor. Estrea recalled "a beautiful villa on the outskirts of Salonica. […] In front of it there was the most magnificent garden. He [grandfather Errera] also had a very large garden at the back, with greenhouses where they grew the most exotic flowers" (D, 2). According to Estrea Aelion's niece, Beatrice Barzilay, "Our house was very large and spacious with surrounding gardens. I can say that we led a luxurious lifestyle".[7] This was a world apart from the cramped, insalubrious conditions experienced by the majority of Salonica's Jewish

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[5]   I quote here Leon Saltiel's transcription of Mrs. Aelion's handwritten Ladino version (B) retaining the idiosyncratic spelling of the original. Estrea Aelion undertook this task at the age of one hundred and presumably used the hand-writing style and spelling she had learnt as a child at the missionary school.

[6]   Mrs. Aelion lived in Paris from 1923 to 1935 and frequented Parisian department stores. She enjoyed going for tea at Galeries Lafayette and Printemps (A, 26).

[7]   From Beatrice Barzilay's submission of names to the Holocaust Martyrs and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem (no date). Beatrice and her mother Caroline Matalon moved from Salonica to Athens in 1943. Beatrice was sheltered from the Germans by George and Polymnia Theodorakis, thus escaping deportation. Several members of the Aelion family died in the camps. The family house in Salonica was burned down. On 12 April 2011 Giorgios and Poly Theodorakis were named "Righteous Among the Nations" by Yad Vashem.

population, the working class. According to the British ethnologist Lucy Garnett who spent several years researching various ethnic communities and women's customs and culture in the Balkans:

> In places where the Jews form large communities, their quarter is almost as overcrowded as a London slum, many families among the very poor occupying one house. […] Indeed, some of the Salonica streets were often, in the summer simply impassable, so poisonous was the atmosphere, owing to the accumulations of refuse of every description thrown into them from the neighbouring houses (1891: 4-5).

Garnett relates several of the incidents that Estrea Aelion lived through, thus corroborating the latter's accounts.

Mrs. Aelion immediate family lived together in one house, as was the norm, probably in the centre of Salonica: "On one floor there was my father, my family and on the floor above, there was his brother, he had four girls and four boys" (A, 9).

As Mark Mazower has commented:

> Poverty had always plagued the Jews in particular; the 1835 census reveals a far higher proportion of Jews coming from poor households than anyone else […]. Towards the end of the century it was clear that despite the impressive wealth of a few, the vast majority of Jews lived in great poverty. More than twenty thousand of the poorest of them were rendered homeless by the fire of 1890 (Mazower, 2004: 251).

The frequent fires that devastated so much of Salonica do not seem to have affected Estrea's family although she mentions, in passing, an earthquake: "There was an earthquake once in Salonika, I was quite grown-up then. Everyone was scared because it lasted nearly a week. No-one dared go into the house to get anything. I was very brave and would go into the house to make coffee, take it outside to my parents" (A, 6).

FEMALE EDUCATION

Following the establishment of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in 1860, its network of schools grew rapidly. In Salonica the first Alliance school for boys opened in 1873 and a vocational girls' school in 1887: "until then most women did not receive any schooling and were mainly occupied by sewing, knitting and carpet weaving at home" (Molho 1993: 265). Estrea's brothers went to unspecified Jewish schools where "the headmasters had come from Paris" (A, 4). These were presumably Alliance Israélite Universelle schools' as Alliance staff were trained in Paris.

Garnett (1891: 18) commented that "Female education among the Jews of Turkey owes the little advance it has made, during the past twenty years or so, rather to the efforts of foreign members of the community", a statement supported by Estrea: "The Germans opened schools, the French opened schools, the Italians opened schools […] And then the Israelis above all, had the colonial alliance" (A, 4). Unlike her brothers, Estrea was not sent to a Jewish school but to a missionary establishment. It was run by Scottish Protestants, the Reverend Peter Crosbie and his wife, although Estrea refers to the couple as English (A, 5).

For Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky, author of a comprehensive study of missionary schools in the Balkans:

> […] the establishment of schools for Jewish girls by the missionaries was an important innovation for the Jews. Women's education in these schools made Jewish women more aware of the need for schooling and vocational training, and eventually contributed to the creation of Jewish schools for girls (2019: 26).

Estrea writes:

> It was a very good school. Mr. Crosbie spoke very good Spanish, Hebrew, *judaismo*, Rashi, everything. And all the Jewish girls were given lessons on the Bible. Jewish girls were taught the Old Testament. And girls who were not Jewish, Mrs. [unintelligible] taught them the New Testament (A, 5).

The girls were also taught French and needlework.

The Crosbies' school was attended by pupils from varied backgrounds. The Crosbies did not charge girls from straightened circumstances and Estrea comments on their charitable deeds. They "used to bring second-hand clothes from England and distribute them to the needy girls" (B, 1). One pupil, Reyna Cohen came from a very poor home. She used her schooling to great effect, publishing three books and various political essays at in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[8] Although well-liked by the Jewish community, Reverend Crosbie did not succeed in converting any pupils: "avian venido a Salonique esperando de convertir a los djidios a la religion Protestante, Ma asto no creyo qua reucheron, ma se fisieon grandes amigos con la population djudia de Salonique, i erarn muy estimados" (C, 1). The Crosbies' school was eventually taken over by the Alliance Israélite Universelle.[9]

Despite having had a home tutor for a while, Estrea's mother never learned to read or write (A, 7). Like so many women of her generation, her aspirations for her daughter's future were practical rather than academic: 'And my mother asked "what do you need to

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8   See Hadar (2015: 149-166), Bornstein-Mazovetzky (2019: 219-223).

9   Molho (1993: 266).

learn English for? Who are you going to speak English to? […] No, you're not going to learn, it's not necessary – you're going to learn how to sew for yourself, for the house, and then you're going to sew your trousseau for when you get married"' (A, 6). Ironically, this refusal prevented Estrea from communicating with her granddaughters when, decades later, she moved to London.

Preparation of a girl's trousseau began in early childhood. In addition to clothing, it would contain embroidered towels and bedding including sheets, quilts and pillows.[10] Needle skills were so highly valued at this time that grandmother Errera gave Estrea the Singer sewing machine that accompanied Estrea throughout her life and which is still in the family:

> La Nona de Errera me merko ouna maquina de cousir venia la impregada del magasin ondé merko la maquina para me ambezar a la empleyar esta maquina andé me iva mela iévava con mi i la tengo in Londra la maquina tiene 85 agnos é cousé al tanto boeno como el primer dia que la tengo (B, 5).

Practical skills such as sewing were an important part of the curriculum at the Alliance girls' schools as demonstrated in this letter from a teacher at the Izmir school: "The trades for which the girls are trained are dressmaking, laundering, needlework, lacemaking, millinery, and pressing" (Rodrigue, 1993: 95). In Estrea's case this skill would be put to use in preparing her trousseau but in that of girls from impoverished families it would provide a vital supplement to the family income.[11]

As Estrea's mother remained illiterate, she would wait every Friday for her daughter to read an instalment of whichever novel appeared in the Ladino newspaper, *La Época*,[12] here *Le comte de Monte Cristo* by Alexandre Dumas*:*

> Apart from all the news it reported, it published part of a story. It was the story of Montecristo, to start with. So my mother would wait for the newspaper to arrive, because she couldn't read, and she would sit next to me so I could read her the chapter of the story. And every Friday evening was the same thing until the story ended. Then another story would begin (A, 7).[13]

This must have been a common scene in many Sephardi households and clearly illustrates the differences between the generations brought about by modern education.

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[10] For the importance of textiles and embroidery in Sephardi communities, see Juhasz (1990).

[11] As an example of this, in the late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century many of the workers in the tobacco industry, one of Salonica's main industries, were women. See Hadar (2006, 2007), Mazower (2004: 388-339).

[12] See Gaon (1965: 19, no. 20).

[13] See Romero (1992: 222, 227, 248).

Journals were often shared and read aloud to groups of women just as it had been a common practice for parts of the *Me'am Lo'ez*, usually the week's bible portion, to be read aloud to groups of women on Shabbat. It became standard practice for the Judeo-Spanish press to publish instalments of novels on a weekly basis. These were usually translations or adaptations of foreign novels and, for the most part, French.[14]

WOMEN'S LIVES

Estrea's memoir is not an academic record of life in Salonica in the late-nineteenth century. It is simply a personal souvenir intended to familiarise her family with the life she had known. Like Leon Sciaky's *Farewell to Salonica* in which Sciaky "describes life as he experienced it" (Barnett, 1974: 2), Estrea recounts but does not analyse. Unlike the majority of Salonica's Jewish community for whom financial hardship, even extreme poverty, was a reality, Estrea Aelion came from a prosperous bourgeois family. The memoir focuses on her daily life which, as was typical of Sephardi women, centred on the home and family: "At that time, women stayed at home to look after the family" (A, 3), "that time" presumably referring to her youth. Girls learnt how to run the family home and follow specific religious observances by copying their mother: "Until the formal religious education of women in the late nineteenth century as part of the women's educational movement, most women learned only the domestic aspects of Judaism" (Dorn Sezgin 2005: 222). This was not, however, the case in the Aelion home where, unusually, Jacob Matalon gave Estrea the occasional Hebrew lesson and: "Once a week he would bring all the children together and recite the prayer that would be sung on Saturday and the story that would be told, and I was treated like a boy in my family" (A, 6). She even surprised Mr. Crosbie because, on two occasions, she already knew the Bible lesson he was teaching (5).

According to Estrea:

> […] girls were not sent to school! […] But they knew everything perfectly - all the prayers, they knew them perfectly, everything, everything. That's why they sang all the time. And the children heard the old songs, from the time when they arrived from Spain, from mother to daughter, they all knew songs and we didn't stop singing all day long (A, 4).[15]

Estrea Aelion did not forget the songs she had learnt in her childhood, probably as lullabies, and continued to sing until an advanced age.[16] In 1982, now almost one hundred

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[14]   According to Bürki the Judeo-Spanish press "was a powerful means of distributing works belonging to the new imported literary genres: the novel and the drama" (2010: 104). See also Romero (1992: 179).

[15]   For a general study of Salonica's ballad tradition see Pomeroy (1999). There are detailed studies of Salonican ballads in Armistead & Silverman (1971, 1979) and Pomeroy (2002, 2008).

[16]   The singing of ballads to accompany difference stages of the life cycle is discussed in Pomeroy (2002).

years old, she was interviewed by the academic researcher, Margaret Sleeman. In all, Dr. Sleeman collected thirty-five ballads, which Mrs. Aelion referred to as *cantigas* rather than *romansas*, and these were to form the central core of Sleeman's doctoral thesis. Despite her long stay in London, Estrea had never fully mastered English and her excellent recall of the ballads she had learnt so long ago may possibly have been, not only because of the ballads' compelling stories, but because of her lack of contact with English culture. Samuel G. Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman noted a similar case during their field work in Van Nuys, California, in 1957. Their informant, Ester Varsano Hassid, a native of Salonica, had arrived in the United States in 1916: "[…] solo sabia leer el ladino; los caracteres latinos quedaban fuera de su alcance. Durante más de cuarenta años se había quedado al margen de la cultura americana. Era costurera de profesión y solía acompañar sus tareas con el canto de romances" (Armistead & Silverman, 1979: 116).[17]

Personal Finance

As the daughter of a jeweller and pearl merchant, Estrea inherited pearl necklaces which she later gave to her family, including her great granddaughters in England: "mi padré mos desho moutchas cosas alos ijos, mos deco moutchas perlas" (B, 15).[18] Pearl necklaces were a distinctive part of the Salonican Jewess's wardrobe and would become an essential part of her dowry: "The Salonikan *yadrán* was of special significance since it was both an essential part of the traditional costume and a status symbol" (Russo-Katz, 1990: 188). As Nicholas Stavroulakis (1988: 19) has commented "Jewellery, especially pearls were very popular with Salonika women, and every occasion was taken to wear them".[19]

Estrea Aelion recounts: "In Salonika, when I got married, women didn't have a bank account. When they married, the father gave the dowry to the husband and it was he who had responsibility for the family" (A, 27). However, as David Bunis has related, some women kept a number of coins aside for personal use, securing it on their person in "little knots" as a private banking system:

> Many a mother and grandmother of old withdrew from those knots on their bodies enough money to marry off two or three daughters in a row. And not just this; those little lots on their flesh served the family well on dark days when 'Honoured Father' having fallen ill or failed in business had no money left (1999: 254-255).

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[17]   Dr. Sleeman is currently preparing a revised and extended version of her doctoral thesis.

[18]   "Desho", "deco". One of the many examples of inconsistent orthography in the memoir.

[19]   See also Garnett (1891: 14-15).

In the Salonica of Estrea's youth women had been dependent on family income in order to marry: "Money had to be given for a girl to marry. If there was no money, no dowry, no trousseau, she couldn't marry" (A, 15). Having settled in Paris, where she lived from 1923-1936, Estrea Aelion adapted well to Western life and its modern ways. The financial independence that women enjoyed appealed to her as in Salonica there had been no financial security: "Women had nothing of their own. The husband had everything […]. At that time, when girls were married and their fathers died, they weren't left anything in the inheritance because they'd been given a dowry" (A, 29). In Paris she kept her pearls, as well as gold saved from her housekeeping, in a safe deposit box in a bank: "When I got to England, I took the gold with me and it was put in the bank for me" (A, 27). This was Mrs. Aelion's introduction to banking.

On one of her return visits to Salonica she chose to discuss her mother's financial situation with her father. He had only planned to include Estrea and her brothers in his will and not her mother, "What does she need?'' (A, 29), but Estrea persuaded him to change his will and include her mother thus guaranteeing the latter's future financial security.

LIFE CYCLE CUSTOMS

Estrea Aelion commented on a case of polygamy, a little-known practice allowed under certain circumstances and a custom which had attracted Lucy Garnett's attention: "The Oriental Jews do not recognise the law of monogamy […]. As a rule, however, they are practically monogamists, being allowed to take a second wife without divorcing the first for two reasons only – namely, the fact of the latter being childless, or the mother of girls only" (1891: 12). Mrs. Aelion describes the case of a married man who had no children and so his wife chose a second wife for him: "So he married her and she had 3 girls and 2 boys. His first wife treated them as her grandchildren" (33). This must have been a welcome outcome as sons were particularly favoured. They would earn a living, keep the family name alive and say the mourner's prayer, *kaddish*, after the man's death.[20]

One of the reasons for the popularity of songs, especially ballads (romansas), in the Jewish household is that specific texts accompanied different stages of the life cycle, from birth to death. However, the Sephardi song tradition did not include any specific lullabies. Instead, songs, especially ballads in which a birth took place, would be sung during the final stages of pregnancy and again after a birth, serving both as lullabies and cradle songs.[21] The most popular songs were those accompanying birth or marriage.

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[20]   See Pomeroy (2002: 65).

[21]   See Pomeroy (2002) for discussion of life cycle songs associated with Salonica.

In her memoir, Estrea Aelion describes a poignant custom associated with old age. It was not unusual for an elderly person to decide to leave Salonica or elsewhere in the Balkans to settle and die in the land of Israel.[22]

> […] coando io touvé 18 agnos mi Nona de Errera detsidio que queria irse a Jerusalem. porqué queria mourirsé a ierouchalim in tierra santa. el dia que iva partir, el ijo grande i sou moujer la iva a acompagnar a ieruchalim i tanbien se estava ievando que ellia ouna moujer, para que la mirara in que le touviera compagnillia. toda la famillia i amigas nos foemos in ouna barka grandé a acompagnarla fina el vapor (B, 6).[23]

She quotes the song *Irme quero madre a Yerushalayim*, a song of yearning for the homeland, commonly sung during the opening stage of the journey, "a work frequently cited by informants and well-known to all Jewish communities of the Balkans" (Refael, 2002: 216):

> i estonses impesamos todas a cantarlé esta cantiga para mi Nona: llir me quero madré a yerouchalain, comer de aquellia tierra, comer i afartarmé: la notsé anothesé i el dia amanasé, miro de 4 partes por andé esclaresé: a yerouchalaim, la vello de infrinté, me parese madré, la louna in cresienté (B, 6).[24]

The song also served as an *endecha* or mourning song and was sung on *Tishe b'Av* in commemoration of the destruction of the Temple. Paloma Díaz-Mas (1994: 83-84) calls the song *La nostalgia de Jerusalén y la restauración del templo*, thus combining its two themes of yearning for Jerusalem and longing for the Temple to be restored. Estrea adds that Nona Errera's mother had died in Jerusalem and people were not sad to say goodbye in this way: "it was the tradition" (A, 12).

MODERNISATION

Estrea witnessed the early stages of modernisation in Salonica. Hitherto, drinking water had not been available in the home, only water for domestic use from wells or springs: "there was a person who came every day to bring us drinking water" (A, 8). Running water for the home was eventually introduced: "Civilisation meant running water piped to the home by the Compagnie des Eaux de Salonique rather than longer waits in the open air around communal wells and springs" (Mazower, 2004: 247). For Estrea "it was a wonder to open the tap and have water at home" (A, 8). Estrea explained to her grandchildren that until the arrival of electricity and gas, the family used charcoal for cooking and heating. As

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[22]   See Garnett (1891: 35, 37-38).

[23]   Here, as in the citation below, there is inconsistent spelling of Jerusalem.

[24]   See Weich-Shahak (2012: 55, 293-295). See also Bunis (1999: 247-248) for the experiences and frequent hardship of Salonican Jews who made the journey to Israel.

there was no refrigeration, surplus fruit was made into conserves to be stored away for winter. Transport was by horse-drawn trams: "There were no automobiles at that time but bit by bit, it changed. Electricity came, gas came, we had everything. […] I wasn't easily scared but I couldn't understand how the tram could work without horses" (A, 9).

Like their Muslim counterparts, Jewish women stayed at home and so "to run errands we always had someone because women didn't go to the market in those days […]. So the greengrocers would come to the front door" (A, 9) as did the milkman and the baker. It was the husband who would visit the marketplace to do the household shopping. When Estrea moved to Paris in 1923 she was shocked to find that this fell to her: "what was difficult for me to begin with was, I was told I had to go and do the food shopping myself. I found that strange, because in Salonika I was used to not buying anything, my husband bought everything" (A, 26).

Until after the First World War it was customary to use the services of a messenger to communicate with family and friends: "[…] when one was well off, one had a man who carried messages to family members. […] And that's how we did it, there was no other way" (A, 9). Yacob Abraham Yoná was such a figure:

> And as he walked, he would be reading or checking a list of the Jewish families in Salonika. His occupation was what the Sephardic Jews called *combibador*, that is, an individual who went from house to house with a list of guests to invite the occupants to a wedding or circumcision. […] The *combibador* or *combibadera*, in Salonika, was familiar with all the local gossip. And so, when he was given a list of guests, he was told to invite so-and-so, who was known by such-and-such a nickname, appropriate to his reputation, etc. The poor *combibado*r had to seek out the houses of all the guests on the basis of the vaguest orientations. (Armistead & Silverman, 1971, 6-7).[25]

Conclusion

Estrea Aelion's reminiscences were intended as a personal souvenir for her family and, especially, her grandchildren and great grandchildren. It was only on a whim that Andree Brooks suggested, on the eve of the centenary celebrations, that Mrs. Aelion recount her life. The resulting memoir recalls a world very unfamiliar to her descendants and Mrs. Aelion pointed out the many ways life in Salonica had been changed by the advent of modernisation and the seismic changes brought about by national and international politics and conflict. Mrs. Aelion was brought up in material comfort in a loving extended family headed by the patriarch, Jacob Matalon. Her early life was spent in an almost enchanted world regulated by long-established personal and communal traditions. She, also, had the

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[25]   For more imformation on Yoná, see Sefardiweb (http://www.proyectos.cchs.csic.es/sefardiweb/node/222) and Armistead & Silverman (1971: 3-9).

good fortune to be among the first generation of Sephardi women to experience female education.

Mrs. Aelion described the simple pleasures of her childhood, gathering together with friends to listen to stories for "there was always someone who knew how to tell good stories" (A, 7). As she grew up, Estrea Aelion experienced the gradual arrival of modernisation. She lived through two of the major catastrophes that befell Salonica and its Jewish community, the catastrophic fires of 1890 and 1917 with the subsequent loss of life, homes and synagogues from which the Jewish community did not fully recover.

A modest, unassuming woman, much loved by her family and clearly very much loved by all, Estrea Aelion had the mental capacity to adapt to and accept change:

> Everyone thinks that I think about the old days and find modern life ridiculous. I have always adapted to each day and all the changes that go with that. It doesn't surprise me that, where once girls weren't allowed out on their own, now they are, they leave home altogether […]. And you have to adapt – when the world changes, everything has to change. (A, 33).

Throughout her life she had "faith in God. He's a person's best friend" (A, 34). Above all, Estrea Aelion was a true "eshet hayil", a woman of valour, whose attitude to life is concisely summed up in her own words: "Do gracias al Dio que me topo en buena saloud para fiestar con toda mi familia" (C, 6).

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RESEÑAS

Rock, Jonna. (2019). *Intergenerational Memory and Language of the Sarajevo Sephardim*. Cham (CH): Palgrave Macmillan [283 pp. ISBN 978-3-030-14046-5].

El libro de Jonna Rock no es solo un texto académico bien estructurado y detallado, sino una oportunidad. Es una oportunidad porque nos permite reflexionar acerca del perímetro de la palabra «identidad», a partir de las tres líneas que delimitan este término en el volumen, es decir, la identidad lingüística, la étnica y la política de la comunidad sefardí de Sarajevo.

La autora presenta los resultados de sus investigaciones doctorales y quizá este sea el límite de su trabajo, que peca de excesiva exhaustividad; pero si este es el fallo del volumen, ya se puede vislumbrar que nos estamos ocupando de un logro y no de un fracaso.
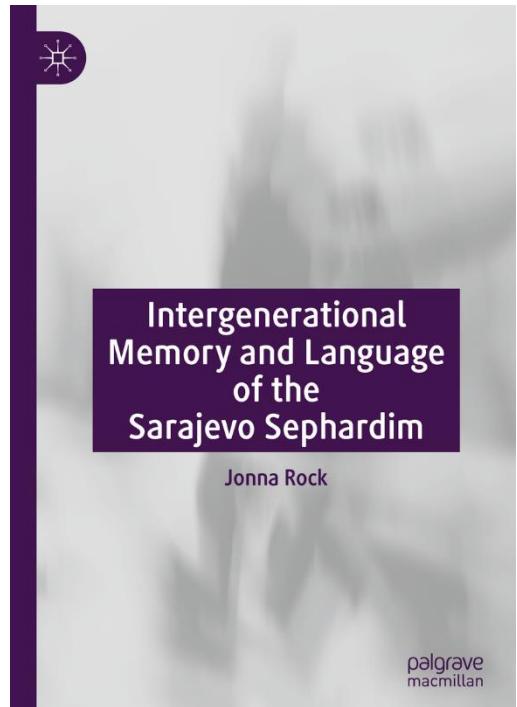
El objeto del análisis es ya de por sí un reto: la investigadora se propone el estudio de la identidad sefardí de Sarajevo en la actualidad; esto supone una pregunta tanto espontánea como legítima por parte de los lectores: ¿sigue existiendo una identidad sefardí en los Balcanes de hoy? Jonna Rock contesta con profundidad teórica y metodológica.

En la introducción la especialista declara los objetivos de su indagación y la metodología que ha empleado. El trabajo de investigación se ha desarrollado a partir de una bibliografía crítica pertinente, que ha permitido estructurar de manera clara y eficaz el texto base que la autora empleó para entrevistar a los individuos identificados para su estudio de caso. Los criterios de elección y la descripción de los grupos de entrevistados son de particular interés

porque permiten no solo conocer los elementos metodológicos identificados por Rock como los más apropiados para su estudio, sino que permiten también entrar en contacto, casi entrar en relación con los protagonistas de las entrevistas. Gracias al estilo empático de la autora, en frecuentes ocasiones el lector tiene la sensación de lograr establecer un diálogo directo con los entrevistados y es apreciable que la estudiosa no se blinde detrás de la supuesta objetividad de la indagación científica y cándidamente admita que «I acknowledge that I am part of the research process when I discuss with the interviewees and interpret my findings» (p. 8).

Este «partir de sí» –según la práctica del pensamiento filosófico de la escuela de Diótima– es el pilar sustentante del volumen, que se desarrolla en cinco capítulos y que se completa con la citada introducción y una serie de apartados conclusivos (la lista de los entrevistados, el cuestionario cualitativo en idioma bosnio y la reseña del documental *A Sarajevo Jewish Story*).

En el primer capítulo (pp. 17-40), Jonna Rock pasa revista a las múltiples y heterogéneas piezas que componen la galaxia de la identidad sefardí en Sarajevo, desde el significado que los miembros de la comunidad atribuyen a su origen judío hasta la cuestión lingüística, que es el núcleo del cual se irradia la investigación de la especialista. Rock emplea una visión tanto sincrónica como diacrónica a la hora de delimitar y describir la experiencia sefardí en la ciudad bosniaca. Su mirada crítica se alimenta de los datos históricos sobre la presencia de los judíos de origen ibérico en los territorios que pertenecieron antes al Imperio Otomano, luego a Yugoslavia y ahora a Bosnia y Herzegovina, y no tiene miedo a enfrentarse con el difícil tema del nacionalismo, que tanta importancia tiene en relación con el pasado reciente y el presente de estas zonas geográficas.

El punto de vista crítico se acerca aún más al sujeto de la investigación en el capítulo siguiente (pp. 41-144). La autora pone en tela de juicio algunos de los conceptos claves que concurren en la creación del sentimiento identitario. La existencia de la comunidad judía en Sarajevo permite reflexionar sobre la presencia de esta población en el Viejo Continente y su importancia en la plasmación de la idea moderna de Europa. Los resultados a los que se llega a través del análisis de las entrevistas son interesantes porque las respuestas recibidas denuncian cómo, para los hablantes, la definición de su identidad sefardí se complementa, caso por caso, con su identidad lingüística, religiosa, étnica, generacional, etc., es decir, no es un concepto monolítico, sino líquido y mutante. Es además enriquecedor el enlace que Rock propone entre la comunidad sefardí de Sarajevo y su relación con España/Sefarad e Israel; las conclusiones a las que se llega gracias a la confrontación con los entrevistados son, en algunos casos, realmente sorprendentes y no tan unívocas.

En el capítulo que sigue (pp. 145-206) predomina la mirada sobre el presente: la autora se propone casi como una reportera y describe la situación en la que se halla en la actualidad

la comunidad judía en la ciudad, a partir de la relación traumática que existe con la memoria de la Shoah y con las cicatrices no totalmente curadas de las guerras en los Balcanes y del sitio de Sarajevo. Relacionados con estas cuestiones, se analizan el problema y las causas de la islamización en la Bosnia y Herzegovina y el sentimiento antisemita que ha vuelto a brotar en la sociedad bosniaca. Y no solo. De hecho, este capítulo permite al lector ampliar el discurso a la actual situación europea: las posibles y naturales comparaciones con el resurgimiento de los nacionalismos y la radicalización del discurso religioso (en particular el cristiano) en todo el Continente encuentran en el estudio de Rock sobre la realidad bosniaca una útil ocasión de reflexión.

En el capítulo siguiente (pp. 207-226), la autora pone en relación algunos estudios de caso que pueden asociarse a la particular situación de la minoría sefardí en Sarajevo; se trata de los hablantes arvanitika en Grecia, los alsacianos en Francia, los gaélicos en Escocia, la comunidad caribeña en el Reino Unido, la minoría lingüística kasabali en Macedonia y la musulmana en la propia Bosnia y Herzegovina. El capítulo completa así las consideraciones sobre la relación entre la lengua y la definición de una identidad que la autora ha debatido con minuciosidad de detalles y con una considerable aportación de datos a lo largo de todo el volumen, con particular referencia a la situación de los miembros de la comunidad sefardí de Sarajevo.

En el capítulo que cierra el volumen (pp. 227-247), la estudiosa favorece una útil síntesis de los principales conceptos elaborados en el libro y sugiere además las posibles líneas de investigación futuras.

Cada capítulo recoge al final la bibliografía crítica consultada, lista que sirve de brújula al lector para ampliar y profundizar los contenidos que allí se hallan. Además de los ya citados apéndices, el volumen incluye un índice sucinto de los principales argumentos tratados en el texto.

Desde una perspectiva etnolingüística, Jonna Rock fija en su estudio una instantánea de la realidad sefardí en la Sarajevo de hoy (las entrevistas se realizaron entre 2014 y 2018), una fotografía que retrata un grupo heterogéneo de personas (los entrevistados pertenecen a tres generaciones diferentes: los que vivieron la mayoría de su existencia en Yugoslavia, los que crecieron durante la creación de Bosnia y Herzegovina y finalmente los que han conocido tan solo la realidad política de la nueva república). Los temas debatidos en los repetidos encuentros que Rock tuvo a lo largo de su trabajo de investigación nos hablan de los cambios profundos sufridos por los habitantes y de las heridas que todavía no han sanado totalmente; además, la reflexión sobre la lengua materna empleada por los entrevistados nos restituye una vez más la fragmentación que está padeciendo la comunidad sefardí de Sarajevo y su búsqueda de una identidad que, de la lectura del volumen de Rock, se vislumbra como una quimera si la meta es la uniformidad; en cambio, es un hecho

comprobado si aceptamos como una riqueza la pluralidad de posiciones, ideas, lenguas que los entrevistados han expresado. Las conclusiones a las que llega Jonna Rock tienen el mérito de no cerrar la cuestión, sino de estimular nuevas preguntas de investigación.

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Pimienta, Gladys. (2019). *Un aljófar y una perla. Facetas del tesoro cultural de los judeoespañoles de Marruecos. Documentos recogidos y comentados por Gladys Pimienta.* París – Jerusalén: EREZ [colección JEM, 446 pp. ISBN: 978-2-9535955-2-9].

Un libro esperado

Los que se interesan por la cultura judeoespañola de Marruecos esperaban este libro después de haber disfrutado del anterior trabajo de la misma Gladys Pimienta junto con Sidney Pimienta: la muy cuidada edición del *Libro de Actas de la Junta Selecta de la Comunidad Hebrea de Tánger* (1860-1883)[1]. Libro llamativo por su rigor histórico, lingüístico y lexicográfico, además de la hermosura del objeto-libro. Las mismas cualidades se encuentran en este volumen. *Un aljófar y una perla* llegó a la imprenta a finales de 2019, su difusión ha sido retrasada por la pandemia actual.

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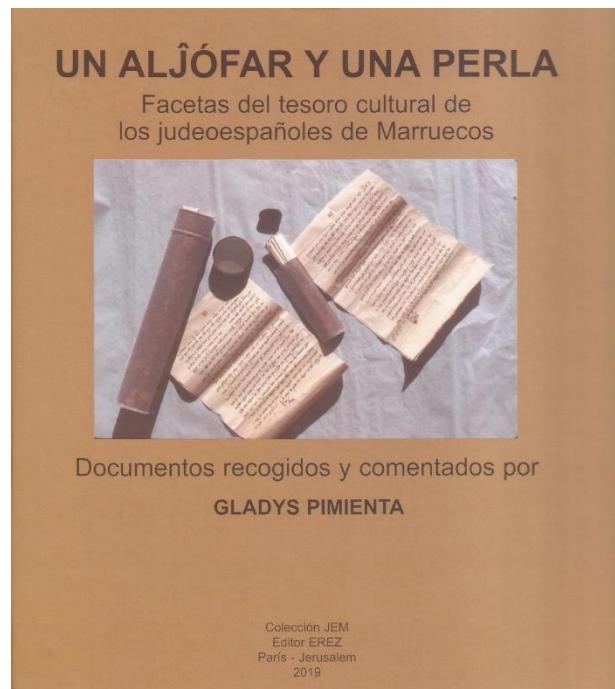
[1]   Pimienta, Gladys y Pimienta, Sidney. (2010). *Libro de Actas de la Junta Selecta de la Comunidad Hebrea de Tánger (1860-1883)* [transcripción y ed. de Gladys y Sidney Pimienta]. París – Jerusalén: EREZ.

Título y cifras

El título es dilucidado por la autora en su introducción: retoma una cita del romance «¿Por qué no cantáis la bella?...» en el que vienen asociadas las dos palabras de sentido parecido: «un alĵófar y una perla». Explica que «refleja bien las dos facetas del tesoro cultural judeoespañol de Marruecos, por un lado, la ḥaketía con su español arcaico, sus palabras de origen árabe y hebreo (*alĵófar);* y por otro lado, el español moderno [...] perla».

El *alĵófar*, esas perlitas que llevaban tradicionalmente las mujeres judías en Marruecos, parece, en efecto, una lograda metáfora para representar los sesenta artículos del libro. La contraportada da más cifras; treinta años de trabajo, ciento cuarenta informantes, setecientas horas de grabación. La autora empezó participando en el «Proyekto Folklor» de la radio Kol Israel en 1980, dedicándose a la grabación y a la transcripción de entrevistas de informantes sefardíes de Marruecos que aparecían entre una mayoría de entrevistados de lengua judeoespañola de Oriente.

Con los años, el «Proyekto» creó la revista *Aki Yerushalayim* de cultura judeoespañola de Oriente, primero en papel, después digital, que abrió un espacio para la cultura judeoespañola marroquí en una rúbrica titulada «el kantoniko de la ḥaketía» o sea «el rinconcito de la ḥaketía», naturalmente llevada por Gladys Pimienta.

En un texto de presentación de Moshe Shaul –redactor de *Aki Yerushalayim*– recuerda: «desdel anyo 1991, Gladys Pimienta mos avrio una ventana a un mundo ke era kaje kompletamente deskonosido para el publiko ladino-avlante».

La autora escribía sus textos en castellano, y se traducían al judeoespañol de Oriente para el lectorado de la revista. Aquí se vuelven a publicar en castellano aunque las fuentes estudiadas vienen reproducidas en las diferentes lenguas originales habladas o escritas por los hispano-judíos de Marruecos; son reproducciones de manuscritos, transcripciones de entrevistas, la mayoría inéditas y de alto valor documental.

El espacio propuesto originalmente en la revista puede haber influido en la forma de los artículos, muy concentrados y pulidos; la mayoría no pasa de cuatro o cinco páginas, los más amplios llegan a doce, cuando tratan de temas de fondo como la lengua o la importancia de las bodas en el folklore. Pero cada uno, grande o pequeño, lleva el mismo rigor y viene acompañado de ilustraciones iconográficas, valiosos documentos también, frutos de la misma labor de recolección: cuadros, fotos, postales antiguas.

No falta a cada paso la bibliografía y el nombre de los informantes recordados con agradecimiento y cariño.

Una arquitectura pensada

El libro es una paciente introducción a la cultura judeoespañola de Marruecos, desde lo más asequible hasta lo más íntimo.

Consta de cinco capítulos organizados según los criterios combinados de la importancia del campo estudiado y de la cronología[2]. A pesar del aspecto fragmentario del conjunto, el esquema del libro propone la fluidez de una progresión pedagógica.

El capítulo más amplio es el de «folklore y cultura». Empieza con un homenaje a José Benoliel, primer estudioso de la cultura judeoespañola marroquí y de su lengua la ḥaketía. Sus trabajos sobre la lengua reunidos y publicados en 1977[3] son la matriz de todos los estudios posteriores sobre el tema. Después vienen los «Cantes»: romances, coplas, piyyutim, etc. (21 arts.); «Cuentos» (6 arts.); «Refranes» (1 arts.); «Publicaciones» (4 arts.).

La gran mayoría de los artículos se centra en la riqueza de la literatura oral; la literatura escrita, escasa y tardía, solo da lugar a cuatro artículos.

Resalta la importancia del corpus cantado, y en menor medida de los cuentos, y si el amplio refranero hispano-judío de Marruecos se estudia aquí solo en un artículo, varios refranes y dichos están presentes en todo el libro, sirviendo de colofón a los artículos. Aparecen como un elemento vivo de la cultura, como una apostilla en la que el lector se aparta del carácter rigurosamente informativo de los artículos.

El segundo capítulo titulado «Documentos antiguos y "Chispas" de historia» recoge diez artículos en los que aborda la autora temas que van desde «las takanot de los expulsados de castilla» hasta un documento acerca del Rebbí Mordejai Bengio, del siglo XX. Las «Chispas» apuntan acontecimientos destacados de la historia y muy recordados, no solo por los hispano-judíos de Marruecos, como el Purim de Sebastián relacionado con la Batalla de los tres Reyes (1578) o la muy traumática ejecución de la joven tangerina Sol Hatchuel (1817-1834), venerada como santa y mártir que inspiró obras escritas e iconográficas a una multitud de autores.

El capítulo siguiente «Otros documentos antiguos» (6 arts.) se apoya también en valiosas fuentes históricas de primera mano para abordar la vida cotidiana: ketubbot, el inventario de una casa, una lista de fallecidos o la presencia de los judíos en la geografía de la ciudad de Tánger en los años 1930. Es, pues, un complemento al anterior capítulo con una orientación más sociológica y antropológica dentro de la historia.

El cuarto capítulo «Correspondencias» (10 arts.) sigue con la misma vena; tiene el doble interés de entregar un testimonio de los desplazamientos de miembros de la comunidad a

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[2]   Solo consideramos aquí los capítulos de textos y no las tablas y bibliografía finales.

[3]   Benoliel, José. (1977). *Dialecto judeo-hispano-marroquí o hakitia*. Madrid – Salamanca: Copistería Varona.

diferentes continentes dando muestras, además, de la lengua usada por las familias, una de las raras huellas de la ḥaketía escrita.

Acaba el libro con «La ḥaketía hoy», quinto capítulo que presenta las herramientas lexicográficas y fragmentos de las poquísimas obras literarias contemporáneas en ḥaketía, como lo son las fundamentales obras teatrales de Esther Cohén Aflalo y los diferentes libros de Solly Levy.

Un glosario de las palabras usadas en el libro, una bibliografía y una tabla de la procedencia de las ilustraciones recapitulan y ordenan elementos ya presentes en los artículos. Son herramientas utilísimas para quien quiera ahondar en su conocimiento de la cultura aquí presentada.

Por la variedad de los temas y documentos, el rigor de las referencias, la pulcritud de la edición, este libro representa un retrato único de la cultura judeo-hispano-marroquí. El lector de este conjunto ve que, además de la sarta de perlas humildes y nobles anunciada por el título, Gladys Pimienta consigue pulir las facetas de una cultura poco conocida que gracias a su trabajo tiene clarísimos destellos.

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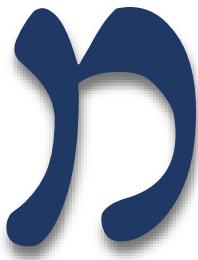
El tema del animal que defeca monedas de oro es un tópico literario que se encuentra en todos los catálogos tipológicos de la narrativa y de la cuentística popular universal. A veces es un asno y no un burro el que excreta el preciado metal, en ocasiones se trata de un rumiante indeterminado o incluso el protagonista del prodigio puede ser un objeto, como una muñeca. En *Las andanzas de Sofar* (Salónica, 1600) encontramos la versión sefardí de este *topos* literario. Como sucede en tantas ocasiones con la lengua y la literatura judeoespañolas, este relato realiza una singular mezcla de elementos estructurales y temáticos procedentes de distintos ámbitos y coordenadas culturales: la cuentística popular universal, la *macama* árabe, el relato picaresco romance, la narrativa rufianesca otomana y la cultura judía. A esta singular mezcolanza se añade el significativo dato de estar escrita en hebreo y no en judeoespañol aljamiado, como cabría esperar por la época de su redacción (comienzos del siglo XVII), en plena etapa de formación del judeoespañol; por el lugar en el que se imprimió, la ciudad de Salónica, una de las
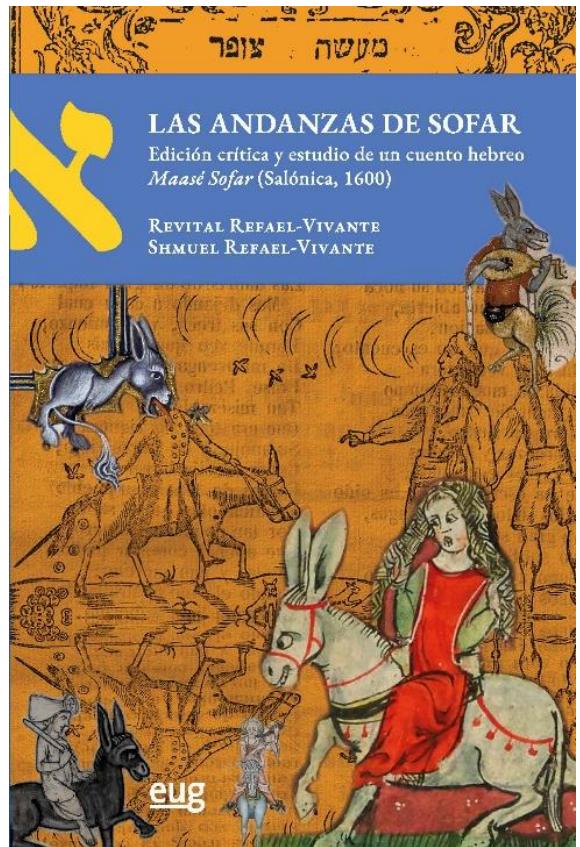
principales ciudades de la edición en hebreo y judeoespañol en la diáspora; y por la temática popular de la obra.

Sin duda, aún queda mucho por investigar y publicar del amplio y variado corpus de la literatura sefardí, tanto sobre esa primera etapa oscura y poco conocida de su formación (1492-1650), como por la etapa de transformación y apertura a la modernidad (1850-1940), para liberar de los tópicos y lugares comunes que a menudo llenan las páginas de los estudios dedicados a la literatura sefardí. De ahí el acierto de escoger esta obra excepcional y paradigmática para inaugurar la nueva etapa de la colección de Textos lengua hebrea de la Editorial Universidad de Granada (EUG) que se denomina Textos y culturas judías.

El volumen se divide en tres partes. La primera, de carácter introductorio, sitúa esta obrita en el contexto de la notable producción de libro hebreo en las imprentas de la Salónica de finales del siglo XVI y principios del siglo XVII. Este es un capítulo esencial para comprender el público al que estaría destinada la obra, el de los sefardíes cultos de todas las ciudades del Imperio otomano e incluso de la diáspora sefardí en Europa, y la situación sociolingüística de las distintas comunidades de exiliados en esta crucial y temprana época. Le sigue un amplio y detallado análisis textual y literario del relato en la que se abordan los problemas de las ediciones conservadas, el manuscrito original, la autoría y el público al que iría destinada la obra. Asimismo los autores de la edición y estudio, Revital Refael-Vivante y Shmuel Refael-Vivante, analizan los problemas de adscripción de género, paralelismos literarios romances (*exempla*, *sententiae*, novela) y semíticos y otomanos y las posibles fuentes e influencias generales en la obra. De gran interés para los estudios de tipología literaria es el exhaustivo rastreo llevado a cabo por los editores tanto en la literatura popular universal como en las tradiciones culturales populares judías y sefardíes de todas las épocas de los principales motivos, personajes (masculinos y femeninos) y cuadros de costumbres del relato de *Sofar*.

La segunda parte del estudio aborda el tema clave del engarce de la moral y ética del cruel, artero y astuto protagonista de la obra en la literatura sapiencial bíblica (libro del Eclesiastés y Proverbios) y rabínica (*meshalim* y *maasé*). Resuenan en el relato sefardí las enseñanzas prácticas de *Qohelet* («hay un tiempo para todo», «mejor es la sabiduría que la necedad», el temor a Dios, el disfrute del lote, *ḥeleq*, que te ha correspondido en esta vida) y también las del *Pirqe Abot*: «Si yo no soy por mí, ¿quién será por mí? Y si no es ahora, ¿cuándo?».

En la tercera y última parte del volumen, los autores nos presentan la edición crítica traducida al español y finalmente, el texto hebreo original, también en edición crítica. En ambas es de agradecer la cuidada presentación que permite disfrutar de la lectura directa del texto, para quien así lo prefiera, o con las obligadas e imprescindibles referencias y notas para el lector erudito o especializado. Entre ambas ediciones se intercala una esencial y bien

seleccionada bibliografía que, tal vez, habría sido mejor colocar bien al final de la parte de estudio o bien al final del volumen.

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