© 1981 YIVO Institute for Jewish Research All rights reserved

Published by Garland Publishing, Inc. in cooperation with ADELANTRE! The Judezmo Society

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Bunis, David M.

Sephardic studies.

(Garland reference library of the humauities; v. 174) Includes bibliographical references and indexes.

1. Ladino philology—Bibliography. 2. Sephardim—Bibliography. 3. Folk-lore—Jews—Bibliography.

4. Sephardim—Social life and customs—Bibliography.

I. Title. II. Series.

Z7033.L3B85 [PC4813] 467'.9496 78-68282 ISBN 0-8240-9759-9 AACR2 016.4679496 B88321 GENERAL SLAVIC REF.

CONTENTS

Intro	duction	vii	
I.	General Works on Sephardic Jewry		
II.	Judezmo Language		
	A. General	7	
	B. Phonology of Judezmo: General	20	
	C. Spelling; Transcription	21	
	D. Grammar	22	
	E. Lexicon	23	
	F. Integration of Components	32	
	G. Style and Usage; Sociolinguistics	39	
	H. Linguistic Geography	42	
	I. Judezmo in Countries of Emigration	48	
	J. Influence of Judezmo on Other Languages	50	
	K. History of Judezmo	51	
	L. Judezmo Within the Framework of		
	Jewish Languages	57	
III.	Judezmo Literature		
	A. Elementary Judezmo Texts	63	
	B. Bibliographies of Judezmo Works	64	
	C. The Study of Judezmo Literature	69	
	D. Judezmo Authors	72	
	E. Literary Genres; Texts and Analysis	77	
	F. Judezmo Literature in English Translation	94	
IV.	Judezmo Folklore and Folklife		
	A. General	99	
	B Folksong Folk Poetry and Folk Music	105	

	C. Ballads	124		
	D. Folktales			
	E. Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases	139		
	F. Humor	141		
	G. Riddles	145		
	H. Folk Drama	146		
	I. Games	146		
	J. Folk Medicine and Magic	147		
	K. Cookery	147		
	L. Dress	148		
	M. Folk Art and Material Culture	149		
	N. The Life Cycle	150		
	O The Colored in Color	158		
	O. The Calendric Cycle	160		
	P. Folklore and Folklife of Specific Areas	162		
v.	Historical Background			
	A. Pre-Expulsion Period (Sefarad I)	169		
	B. Post-Expulsion Period (Sefarad II and III	109		
) 178		
Appe	dix: Institutions and Organizations			
Co	cerned with Sephardic Studies	205		
ndex	of Authors	203		
1 00.				
ruex	of Selected Subjects	223		

Contents

INTRODUCTION

The study of Ashkenazic Jewry and the Yiddish language has been the chief raison d'être of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research since its creation in 1925. YIVO's outstanding contributions to this area of research have earned it worldwide recognition among scholars and lay people alike. And yet a YIVO publication such as the present one-devoted to a Jewish subculture other than the Ashkenazic one and to a Jewish language other than Yiddish—is not without precedent, for the late Max Weinreich, one of the major founding and molding forces of YIVO, was also a leading exponent of Jewish interlinguistics, the comparative study of Jewish languages. The chapter entitled "[Yiddish Within the Framework of Jewish Languages]" in his 'Geshikhte fun der vidisher shprakh ('History of the Yiddish Language'), published posthumously by YIVO in 1973,1 is the most significant statement on Jewish interlinguistics available to date. Prior to its appearance, the general theme of Jewish languages had been dealt with in YIVO publications by L. Spitzer ("[The Origins of Jewish Romance Languages]"),2 U. Weinreich (in the brief but thought-provoking chapter "Jewish Languages" included in his textbook College Yiddish),3 M. Weinreich ("Prehistory and Early History of Yiddish: Facts and Conceptual Framework," in The Field of Yiddish, a collective volume by scholars affiliated with YIVO, published by the Linguistic Circle of New York),4 and N. Süsskind ("[Guidelines for the Study of Jewish Languages]").5

S.A. Birnbaum's insightful article "[Judezmo]," published in "YIVO-bleter in 1937,6 brought that language to the attention of many Yiddish scholars for the first time. In 1948, with the aid of YIVO, Z. Szajkowski published "Dos loshn fun di yidn in di arbe kehiles fun komta-venesen,7 which remains the classic work on Shuadit (or "Judeo-Provençal"). For Max Weinreich on His Seven-

tieth Birthday, a festschrift published in The Hague by Mouton but edited by a committee of YIVO scholars, contained articles on "Judeo-Arabic," Judezmo, Kenaanic or "Judeo-Czech," the languages of the Marranos and the Sephardim in France, and a Falasha text.9 Historical and demographical studies of the Sephardim and/or Oriental Jews in Eastern and Western Europe, the Balkans, North Africa, and the Middle East have appeared in Bleter far yidisher demografye, statistik, un ekonomik, Ekonomishe shriftn, 'Yidishe ekonomik, 'YIVO-bleter, and the YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science. 10 The Judezmo theater in Constantinople was discussed by Sh. Ernst in Filologishe shriftn11 and by A. Frumkin in °YIVO-bleter.12 A sketch of the historical development of Judezmo orthography, and a treatment of verbal protective behavior among Yemenite Jews, were included in Working Papers in Yiddish and East European Jewish Studies, a series recently established by YIVO's Max Weinreich Center for Advanced Jewish Studies. 13 The Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Newsletter,14 issued jointly by the Weinreich Center and the Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Section of the American Folklore Society, serves as a forum for the interchange of ideas and information about resources and activities related to the folklore and ethnology of all Jewish subcultures. The ongoing series Doctoral Dissertations and Master's Theses Accepted by American Institutions of Higher Learning, compiled for the YIVO Clearinghouse for Social and Humanistic Research in the Jewish Field, encompasses all relevant areas of Jewish scholarship, including the Sephardic and Oriental Jewish fields. 15 A descriptive bibliography of YIVO's important William Milwitzky Collection of Judezmo Publications was assembled by me in 1973 and is being considered for publication by YIVO.

A preliminary version of this bibliography was compiled for use in a course entitled Judezmo Language and Literature which I introduced in Columbia University's Department of Linguistics during the academic year 1977–1978. ¹⁶ I believe that the present, much augmented version will be valuable to students of Sephardic studies and related fields, particularly Hispanic, Jewish, Semitic, and Balkan studies, as well as to scholars in general linguistics, literature, folklore, and history.

This book was inspired by Uriel and Beatrice Weinreich's Yiddish Language and Folklore: A Selective Bibliography for Research, The Hague, 1959. In fact, the format and-with minor modifications in sections II E, II G, IV B, and IV C-the organization of Parts II and IV derive directly from their pioneering work; this, because the publications on Judezmo language and folklore generally seemed to lend themselves so well to the classification scheme already established by the Weinreichs for Yiddish. Where necessary, their classification system was here altered to accommodate advances in scholarship since the publication of their work (e.g., the section entitled Sociolinguistics added to the part on language) or to permit a finer subcategorization of areas in Judezmo linguistics and folklore which have undergone extensive analysis (cf. the sections on the lexicon, folksong, folk poetry, and folk music, and the independent chapter devoted to the ballad). I have chosen to include encyclopedia articles, as well as theses and dissertations, even though some bibliographers frown on this practice, because I believe the items in question have scholarly value. The work is further enchanced by listings of certain recorded material.

In a sense, this bibliography may be viewed as a complement to its prototype. My hope is that the work at hand, used in conjunction with the Weinreich bibliography, will help promote further work in the comparative study of Judezmo, Yiddish, and other Jewish languages, and their literatures and folklore. Research topics in Judezmo linguistics, literature, and folklore which could profit from additional scrutiny become apparent in a bibliography arranged by subject. If my work encourages such scholarship, I will be very pleased. Part V is highly selective and perhaps best understood as an appendix to the preceding parts; in it I have sought to disclose the major sources on the history of Judezmo speakers.

Some fine publications in Sephardic studies have appeared in the United States as well as abroad, especially within the last two decades. Nevertheless, numerous items listed in the bibliography must be used with caution: the inclusion of an entry should not be interpreted as unqualified approval of its total contents. While gathering the present entries, I frequently consulted the alphabetical bibliographies of S. Marcus¹⁷ and M. Studemund;¹⁸ those of H.V. Besso,¹⁹ L.A. Mayer,²⁰ and

I.J. Katz²¹ were also very useful. I was unable to locate for firsthand examination some of the items listed herein, primarily certain older works.

Two terms employed throughout this work may require some elucidation: Sephardim and Judezmo.

Since medieval days, the designation Sephardim has traditionally applied to the Jews of the Iberian peninsula in the Middle Ages and their descendants throughout the world (cf. rabbinical Hebrew sefarad 'Spain', sefaradi(m) 'Spaniard(s)'). Their descendants can perhaps be conveniently divided into western and eastern subgroups. The Western Sephardim are those Sephardim who for centuries have lived in France, England, Holland, Germany, and other regions of Western Europe (and, later, their offspring in the Americas) and whose everyday language has, for many generations, been the national language of their respective country of residence. The Eastern Sephardimnumerically the predominant group—are those Jews of the former Ottoman Empire and its successor states (Albania, Bulgaria, Egypt, Eres Israel, Greece, Rumania, Turkey, Yugoslavia), North Africa, and, more recently, their progeny in Western Europe and the Americas, whose familial and/or linguistic origins may be traced to the Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 and who, at least until a generation or so ago, have spoken their own traditional language rather than the national language of the coterritorial non-Jewish populace. It is essential to note that in the present work, unless otherwise qualified, the somewhat broad term Sephardim is used restrictively as an abbreviation for Eastern Sephardim.

During the course of its variegated history, the traditional language of the Eastern Sephardim—resulting from a delicate and gradual fusion of Hebrew and Aramaic, Arabic, Hispanic (from which are derived the bulk of its phonology, grammar, and lexicon), and other Romance, Turkish, Greek, and additional Balkan elements, born in medieval Spain and nurtured in the Ottoman Empire and North Africa—has received an inordinate number of names, subject to regional, stylistic, social-class, and ideological variation.²²

Among these language names, the most widely known today are: (1) "Judeo-Spanish," an artificial, hybrid term invented by Western European philologists, which gained popularity in the form žu-ljudeo(e)spanyol among young Sephardic intellectuals educated in westernized schools in the former Ottoman Empire; (2) (e)spanyol 'Spanish', which, although widespread among native speakers in recent years, also appears to be an import, lacking true roots in the community and failing to distinguish the language from Spanish; (3) "Ladino," which, according to authentic Sephardic tradition, properly denotes only 'the special calque variety of the language utilized in the literal translation of Hebrew and Aramaic sacred or liturgical texts' or 'the vernacular language of the Eastern Sephardim solely when specifically opposed to Hebrew or Aramaic';23 (4) Judezmo (pronounced judezmo) 'Judaism; Jewish language,' which, although not very familiar among younger native speakers today, was, until a generation or so ago, the name used most frequently and uniformly by the Jewish masses in the great majority of Sephardic communities in Austria, Bulgaria, Egypt, Greece, Rumania, Turkey, Yugoslavia, and elsewhere. A product of internal Sephardic phonological and semantic innovations (contrast Spanish judaísmo 'Judaism (only)'), its present-day phonic form can be traced back textually to 1552, but was probably known even in pre-expulsion Spain.24 The term acquired the sense 'Jewish language' by no later than the mid-eighteenth century, and probably earlier. It was already deemed sufficiently acceptable in 1742/43 to be incorporated as the gloss for Biblical Hebrew 'yehudit 'Judean, Jewish language (i.e., Hebrew)' in R. Avraham b. Yishak Asa's translation of the entire Bible published in Constantinople from 1738/39 to 1744/ 45; the same gloss occurs in Eastern Sephardic Bible translations published right up through the twentieth century.25 Judezmo appears in the specific sense of 'language of the Eastern Sephardim' in Selomo B. Astrugo's Vienna, 1890 adaptation of Molière's Le mariage forcé, and was the name preferred by Alexandre Benghiatt, editor of the important Izmir weekly newspaper 'El meseret ('The Joy')-published from 1897 to 1923-and one of the more prolific and gifted Eastern Sephardic journalists and writers of the twentieth century. (Of his paper, Benghiatt wrote, "El meseret ez un zurnal para ser meldado de

akeos ke no konosen otra lingwa mas ke el judezmo" 'El meseret is a newspaper meant to be read by those who do not know any language but Judezmo'). 26 One also encounters "judezmo in the same sense in other early-twentieth-century periodicals, such as Moïse Levy's "El kirbač ('The Riding Whip') of Thessaloniki (e.g., "Sigún el kirbač, en saloniko, se deve de meter sovre todaz laz entradaz de laz grotaz judias, tablós kon loz nombrez en turko, judezmo . . . i arnautesko si se topa justo; ma syempre en turko i en judezmo ez menester." 'In the opinion of "El kirbač, in Thessaloniki signs should be placed at the entrances of Jewish stores with the names in Turkish, Judezmo . . . and Albanian, if it seems appropriate; but Turkish and Judezmo are always necessary'), 27 and Elia R. Karmona's "El jugetón ('The Plaything') of Constantinople (e.g., "Meldávamoz en franséz i en judezmo algunas poezias." 'We were reading some poems in French and Judezmo'). 28

Since 1890, when the name Judezmo made its debut in the research literature, ²⁹ some fifty writers and scholars, many of them Sephardim, have discussed or cited this word in their publications. ³⁰ Native speakers have employed the name 'judezmo generically for all varieties of the language, including the ladino variety; ³¹ it at once emphasizes the uniquely 'Jewish' character of the language, and its affinity with other Jewish languages. It was for such compelling reasons as these that I decided that Judezmo would be the most fitting name for the present purpose; I use it here to refer to the language in all its regional varieties and, retrospectively, throughout its historical development.

The titles of books and articles in Judezmo, Yiddish, and Hebrew have been transcribed here from the original Jewish letters into the Roman alphabet, and are preceded by the symbol °.

Judezmo titles are transcribed according to their pronunciation in the variety of Judezmo spoken in Istanbul. The symbols \check{c} , \check{j} , \check{s} , x, and \check{z} represent the sounds denoted by the International Phonetic Association (I.P.A.) symbols $[t\,\S\,]$, $[d\,\S\,]$, $[\,\S\,]$, $[x\,]$, and $[\,\S\,]$, respectively. Stress is penultimate except in words ending in a consonant other than n or s/z, in which case it is ultimate; in words in which this rule does not hold true, the diacritic ' is used to indicate the stressed vowel.

Yiddish titles are transcribed according to the so-called

YIVO system, in which kh, sh, and zh correspond to the I.P.A. symbols [x], [\S], and [\S], respectively.

Hebrew titles are transcribed in accordance with their pronunciation in modern Israeli Hebrew. However, the so-called vocal—but in Israel, generally silent— \check{seva} has been indicated in the transcription by $e^{.32}$ The realizations of the letters het and haf have been distinguished by the symbols h and h, respectively. The symbol s (representing Hebrew sadi) corresponds to I.P.A. [ts], and \check{s} (standing for \check{sin}) is equivalent to I.P.A. [\S].

Indices of authors and selected subjects are offered at the end of the bibliography.

The compilation of this work was facilitated by the generous cooperation of many colleagues, to whom I am deeply grateful. I especially wish to thank Professors Samuel G. Armistead, Alicia Barouch, Alan D. Corré, Moshe Giora Elimelech, Iacob M. Hassán, George Jochnowitz, Israel J. Katz, Haim Vidal Séphiha, Joseph H. Silverman, Michael Studemund-Halevy, and Paul Wexler for keeping me abreast of their own contributions. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the technical advice offered by Dr. Bella Weinberg, Professor Marvin I. Herzog, Mr. Dovid Katz, and Professor Wolf Moskovich, the editorial guidance of Mr. Lawrence Davidow, and the assistance of Ms. Dina Abramowicz and Mr. Zachary Baker of the YIVO Library, and Professor Shaul Shaked, Dr. Robert Attal, and Messrs. Mordechai Speyer and Zvi Shtallberg of the Ben-Zvi Institute. I am also indebted to Professors Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Edna Aizenberg, and Dina Dahbany-Miraglia, Mr. Stephen Levy, Ms. Lynda Burack, and Mr. Pyrrhus J. Ruches for calling certain items to my attention. Ms. Margarita Halpine, Ms. Mary Blitzer, and Ms. Debbie Goldblatt helped me to verify many of the entries, renumber the manuscript, and edit the transcription of Hebrew titles, respectively, for which I am thankful. The sole responsibility for any errors which the bibliography may contain lies with me. Corrections by users would be most welcome.