Rosenblatt, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), vol. 2 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1938).

18. Concerning this social decline and stress, see Norman A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1979), 64–94, 255–323.

19. For some exceptional Jews who were attracted to modern Arabic language and literature, see Sasson Somekh, "Lost Voices: Jewish Authors in Modern Arabic Literature," in *Jews among Arabs: Contacts and Boundaries,* ed. Mark R. Cohen and Abraham L. Udovitch (Darwin, 1989), 9–20; also Norman A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1991), 32–34, 228–30.

20. Abraham S. Halkin, "Judeo-Arabic Literature," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972), cols. 410–23 (quote is from the final paragraph).

21. For women's Judeo-Arabic poetry from Morocco, including an example of a poetic duel, see Norman A. Stillman and Yedida K. Stillman, "The Art of a Moroccan Folk Poetess," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 128, no. 1 (1978): 65–89.

22. For the *sharh* tradition in Morocco, see Stillman, *The Language and Culture of the Jews of Sefrou,* 137–39; for Egypt, see Benjamin Hary, "Egyptian Judeo-Arabic *Sharh*—Bridging the Cultures of Hebrew and Arabic," in *Judaism and Islam: Boundaries, Communication, and Interaction: Essays in Honor of William M. Brinner,* ed. Benjamin H. Hary, Fred Astren, and John L. Hayes (Boston: Brill, 2000), 395–407.

23. A history of Judeo-Arabic journalism remains a major desideratum, and the few short surveys are primarily in Hebrew and French. Some of these journals are discussed in Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times,* 69, 77, 86–87, 104, 318–19 and passim. For a catalogue of North African Jewish periodicals, many in Judeo-Arabic, see Robert Attal, *Periodiques juifs d'Afrique du Nord* (Jerusalem: Institut Ben-Zvi, 1980). For an excellent sociohistorical study on Yiddish and Ladino journalism, see Sarah Abrevaya Stein, *Making Jews Modern: The Yiddish and Ladino Press in the Russian and Ottoman Empires* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).

24. Nancy Berg, *Exile from Exile: Israeli Writers from Iraq* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996). Some of these writers were pioneers in the development of modern Iraqi literature.

Chapter 4

Judeo-Spanish Culture in Medieval and Modern Times

David M. Bunis

Before the Expulsion of 1492

Throughout the Diaspora, new Jewish "subcultures" have arisen in response to changes in the social and cultural interaction of Jewish groups and their non-Jewish neighbors. Sometimes this occurred when Jews migrated to a new land, as in the case of Jews from Italy and France who settled in medieval Germany where they created the foundations of the Yiddish culture of Ashkenazi Jewry. Later, when Ashkenazim migrated from Germany to Slavic lands, the unique subculture they created through the syncretism of elements of ancient Hebrew and medieval Romance and German origins was further enriched through contact with the cultures of Slavic peoples, and still later, with the cultures of western Europe. At other times, new Jewish cultures were created when Jews residing in a particular area became highly influenced by the arrival of a group foreign to the area.

Of the Jewish people's diverse subculture groups—Yiddish, Judeo- Aramaic, Judeo-Persian, Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Italian, and others—the Spanish or Sephardic Jews were especially interesting. Much of Yiddish culture in Europe is connected with Jewish migration and resettlement, all of it within the Christian world. This led to interaction with neighbors who all spoke Indo-European languages and shared certain basic elements of culture and belief. The traditional Judeo-Arabic culture of North African Jews developed essentially through interaction with the culture and belief system introduced there in the late seventh century by Arabic-speaking Muslim conquerors. Thus, the elements of Yiddish culture, which may be linked to the interaction between the Ashkenazim and their non-Jewish

neighbors, had a European character. The cultural elements of North African Judeo-Arabic speakers deriving from contact with their non-Jewish neighbors had a primarily North African/Middle Eastern character. The development of traditional Sephardic culture was distinctive. It reflected an intimate encounter over centuries with local and imported non-Jewish cultures of European and Eastern character, in the land of its earliest origins as well as other regions.

Sephardic or "Judeo-Spanish" culture first arose through migration, as Jewish speakers of varieties of Greek and Latin from the Roman Empire reached Iberia. They came into contact with its indigenous populations, of European stock, most of whom—under Roman influence—came to speak Romance and other Indo-European languages. They accepted Christianity. It was through interaction with these groups that Iberian Jews developed their earliest varieties of Jewish Ibero-Romance—Jewish Castilian, Aragonese, Catalan, and others—and created Jewish variants of the local cultures in those languages.

From 711, the culture of much of Iberian Jewry took quite a different turn: with the conquest of most of Iberia by Muslims from North Africa, the Arabic language began to predominate throughout the territory which came under Muslim domination. Jews in the extremities of Iberia, such as the far north and west (which remained free of Muslim occupation) continued to use Jewish Ibero-Romance. But Iberian Jews under Islam adopted the newly introduced Arabic and evolved unique Judeo-Arabic variants of their own. Besides its elements of North-African Arabic origin, which the Jews sometimes used in innovative ways, their language contained a Hebrew and Aramaic component, comprised mostly of elements referring to Judaism. The Jews wrote Judeo-Arabic in a distinctive Hebrew cursive script.

During the centuries of contact with Moorish culture, the Jews of Muslim Spain, using Judeo-Arabic and Hebrew, produced liturgical and secular poetry, composed legal and scientific tracts, and delved deeply into the fields of mysticism, philosophy, and ethics. The Jews shared aspects of material culture (e.g., costume, cuisine, and religious artifacts) and fine arts (e.g., music and calligraphy) with their Muslim neighbors.[1] But with the increasing success over the centuries of the Reconquista, the Jews residing in newly re-Christianized areas began substituting their Judeo-Arabic language and culture with Jewish Hispano-Romance replacements. As an independent entity, the Judeo-Arabic culture of the Iberian Jews came to an end in 1492. In that year, the final military triumph of the Spaniards over the

remaining Muslim leaders in Andalusia was followed by the Arab retreat from Spain, and the end of Arabic cultural dominance in the country.

In Christian Spain, Jewish contact with speakers of Castilian and other Romance languages led to incipient Jewish Ibero-Romance languages. Like Judeo-Arabic, these languages were written in the Hebrew alphabet. Their linguistic raw material consisted of elements of local Romance origin, elements of Hebrew-Aramaic origin,[2] and preservations from the Diaspora languages formerly spoken by their ancestors. Preservations from Jewish Greek (e.g., *meldar*[3] "to read, study" [especially a Jewish text], cf. Greek *meletáo*)[4] memorialized the Judeo-Greek roots of the community. Following the Muslim conquest of much of Spain, the Jews in the conquered territories adopted Arabic, while those in free areas continued to use Ibero-Romance. The gradual Christian reconquest and re-Hispanization of Islamized Spain led to a return to Ibero-Romance by the formerly Arabicized Jews.[5]

Nevertheless, in their re-adopted Ibero-Romance speech and culture, they continued to preserve certain elements of Arabic origin to which they had grown accustomed. For example, in their Ibero-Romance, the Jews continued to call Sunday *alhad,* from the North African Arabic form *al-ḥadd,* literally meaning "first (day)." This was to avoid using Castilian *domingo* (from Latin *[dies] dominicus*) meaning "[day of the] Lord," which they understood as a reference to Jesus.

Among the speakers of Jewish Romance in Spain, the traditions of Hispanic oral folk literature—proverbs, ballads and popular songs, stories, and legends—as well as the dramatic arts were beloved. Scholarly works were composed mostly in Hebrew, although some serious writing was in Jewish Romance. The latter consisted mostly of collections of communal regulations, poetry having a Jewish motif, and translations of sacred texts. Like their language and literature, the material culture of the Jews of Christian Spain displayed some features reminiscent of those found among their Christian neighbors, as well as preservations from the earlier Iberian Judeo-Arabic culture.

After the Expulsion of 1492

Those Jews who insisted on maintaining their ancestral religion in fifteenth-century Spain were forced to leave the country with the Edict of Expulsion. But unlike the case of the Iberian Judeo-Arabic culture, which

had sung its swan song even before the Expulsion, the forced emigration from Spain did not put an end to the Jewish Ibero-Romance languages and cultures that had characterized most of Iberian Jewry. Along with whatever material possessions they could manage, the refugees took with them several varieties of these languages and cultures. They carried them to the lands that offered them shelter: the Ottoman Empire, North Africa and the Middle East, and parts of western Europe, especially Italy. With time, all of the Ibero-Romance varieties that had exited Spain with the Jew exiles ceased to exist except the most predominant variety, Castilian—just as Castilian became the predominant variety of Ibero-Romance in Spain itself.

In "Sepharad II," as the linguist Max Weinreich called the lands which received and sheltered the Sephardic refugees, the "Jewish Castilian" of the Sephardim did not merely survive the Expulsion and linger on uncultivated. The break with Iberian Castilian enabled the language of the Jews to develop more independently of Castilian influence than it had in Spain. The internal tendencies and trends of its speakers took their natural course without pressure from the host community to conform to its linguistic rules. In time, among the Sephardim and their new Gentile neighbors, the maturing "Jewish Castilian" was identified as the distinctive group language of the Levantine Sephardim. Because of their preponderance in the area and tendency to absorb smaller Jewish groups speaking other languages (e.g., Yiddish, Judeo-Italian, and Judeo-Arabic), the language of the Spanish exiles became the language of all Jews in much of the Mediterranean region.

Over the centuries, the language received many names among its speakers. Names alluding to the "Latin" and "Spanish" origins of the language's principle Romance component were "Ladino," and "Spanyol." "Djudezmo" and "Djudyó/Djidyó" emphasized the perception of the language as "Jewish" or "the language of the Jews," especially in the context of the linguistically heterogeneous Ottoman Empire. In Morocco, a distinctive name was "Hakitia," possibly deriving from Arabic *ḥaka, ḥikaya* "to tell a story," *ḥikaya(t)* "story," an allusion to the popular variety of language used by the Sephardim of Morocco in reciting stories and folktales.[6] In the modern period, the pseudo-scientific hybrid name "Djudeo-Espanyol" (Judeo-Spanish) was borrowed from philologists who began to take an interest in what they classified as a "Jewish variety of Spanish."

The forced emigration of the Sephardim from Spain did not put an end to their use of the distinctive Ibero-Jewish language and the culture they had created in it. Neither did their resettlement throughout the Mediterranean basin result in their loss of contact with either Christians or Muslims. The migrations following the Expulsion brought the Sephardim into contact with new and distinctive Christian and Muslim languages and cultures: those of the Turks and diversified Balkan peoples of the Ottoman Empire, of the variegated nationalities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of western European nations such as Italy, Holland, France, and England, and numerous Islamic peoples of the Middle East and North Africa.

From the late eighteenth century, intensive western European incursions into the Ottoman Empire and other Islamic lands increasingly brought the Sephardim in those regions into contact with modern European culture, reawakened them to their medieval ties to the West, and led to profound changes in their language and culture.

The Language of the Sephardim Following the Expulsion

The Judeo-Romance and Judeo-Arabic languages of the Jews in Spain arose as fusions of local varieties of Romance and Arabic with ancient elements such as Hebrew and Aramaic. Following the Expulsion, "Jewish Castilian," or Judezmo, grew further distant from the varieties of Spanish used in Spain and Latin America. This happened mostly as a result of three tendencies:

(a) The Sephardim preserved some elements of medieval Ibero-Romance with greater conservatism than the Spaniards in Spain itself. Judezmo preserved certain medieval sounds which gave way to other sounds in later Spanish: in Judezmo, the "j" in *mujer* "woman" continued to be pronounced as in Old Spanish (i.e., as "j" was sounded in French), whereas in later Spanish it came to sound like "ch" in German *ach.* Some Judezmo words appeared archaic when compared with their contemporary Spanish counterparts, too. For instance, for "shade" the Sephardim used *solombra,* as in Old Spanish, rather than *sombra,* which is used in Spanish today. Judezmo also preferred certain popular or regional Castilian forms of words to the forms that became standard in Spanish. For example, "much" was *muncho,* as also heard in the popular Spanish of Andalusia, Mexico and Puerto Rico, rather than *mucho.*

(b) Judezmo grew apart from Spanish through the introduction of innovations, changing parts of the Hispanic component of the language in ways unknown among Spanish speakers. Many speakers in Istanbul pronounced the word for "Thursday" as *djugeves* or *djugweves,* as opposed to

Spanish *jueves* (which was pronounced *djweves* in the Middle Ages, *hweves* today). The verbal ending marking the second person plural of all verbs in Judezmo was *-sh*, as opposed to Castilian *-is*. For example, "you (familiar plural) look" was *mirash* in Judezmo, *miráis* in Castilian.

(c) Sephardim also borrowed from the languages of the people with whom they came into contact following the Expulsion. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the most important of these contact languages were Turkish in the Ottoman Empire, and Arabic in North Africa and the Middle East.[7] Other local languages of the Ottoman Empire such as Greek[8] and South Slavic[9] (Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Serbian) also contributed. Thereafter, a profound impact was also made by prestigious languages of western Europe such as French,[10] Italian, German—and in North Africa, Spanish.

The historical development of the language of the Sephardim was illustrated in the terminology used during the past centuries in the context of formal education. Until modernization, the primary components of Judezmo and Hakitia in this field were of Ibero-Romance, Hebrew-Aramaic, and Turkish, in the Ottoman regions, or Arabic, in North Africa and the Middle East.

For example, from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century, young pupils (boys) were called *talmidim*[11] (from Hebrew). They studied in a religious primary school known variously as a *havrá* (from Hebrew *hevra* "society"), *meldar* (from Greek *meletáo*) or *kutab* (from Arabic *kuttab*) under the direction of a teacher addressed as *sinyor haham* (compare Spanish *señor* "sir," Hebrew *hakham* "scholar, rabbi"). The pupils' main concerns included: (a) learning "to pray" (*[f]azer tefilá*, compare Old Spanish *f-/hazer* "to do," Hebrew *tefila* "prayer"); (b) developing a fine Hebrew-letter calligraphic style written with a *péndola* (from Old Spanish "pen"; (c) translating (*enladinar*) and explicating (*deklarar*) the weekly *perashá* "portion of the Bible" (from Hebrew *parasha*) from the original *lashón* (compare Hebrew *lashon* "language," *leshon haqodesh* "Hebrew") into *Ladino*; and (d) acquiring the basics of *dikduk* "(Hebrew) grammar" and *hejbón* "mathematics" (Hebrew *diqduq, heshbon*).

Before the modern period, lessons were conducted while both pupils and teacher sat in Oriental fashion on mats or low benches. Reading and translation exercises were often sung by rote, using melodies founded upon the modes (*makames*, compare Turkish *makam* from Arabic *maqam*) of Ottoman or Arabic classical music. The *bokadikos*[12] or "little snacks" (compare Spanish *bocado* "mouthful," the usual Castilian diminutive forms of which are *bocaditos, bocadillos*) which pupils brought from home, such as *panezikos* "rolls" (Spanish *pan* "bread," diminutizing *-esico*; Castilian diminutive *panecillo*), illustrated the fusion of Hispanic and Eastern culinary traditions that characterized the traditional Sephardic diet.[13] The traditional games (*djugos*, compare Spanish *juegos*), songs (*kantikas*, compare Spanish *cantigas*), riddles (*endivina[nsa]s, hidod*; compare Spanish *adivinanzas*, Hebrew *hidot*) and other pastimes the pupils engaged in also derived partly from pre-Expulsion Spanish and Arabic as well as post-Expulsion Ottoman or North African sources.[14]

After completing their elementary education, those students whose families could afford it might go on to study at a higher level *yeshivá* "yeshivah" (from Hebrew) or the *midrash* "study hall" of a local rabbi. An especially talented rabbinical student (*talmid haham* from Hebrew "wise student") might contribute to the local religious literature—in the prestigious Hebrew language or in rabbinical Judezmo. On the other hand, an unsuccessful student (*pudrebankos*, literally "bench rotter" from Spanish) or a student from a poor family (*aniyento*, compare Hebrew *ani* "poor," Spanish adjective-forming *-ento*), had to leave his studies and try business. If he failed, he might end up a *sedakadji* "charity collector, beggar" (Turkish agent suffix *-ci*).

Like other groups in the Mediterranean region, the eastern Sephardim were affected by the European Enlightenment of the late eighteenth century. The Sephardic communities of the Mediterranean region underwent modernization and westernization.[15] They were aided by the Alliance Israélite Universelle, founded in 1860 by French Jews in Paris.[16] From the 1870s the schools they opened throughout the Levant offered young Sephardim—both boys and girls—a French education.

The vocabulary, grammar, and syntax of Judezmo underwent profound changes, as did the culture of its speakers in general, as linguistic and cultural elements of Eastern origin (Hebrew, Turkish, and Arabic) began to be supplanted by those originating in western Europe, considered to be more prestigious and "civilized."

Although Jewish studies were not neglected entirely, the stress in the *eskola*, or "European-style school" (from Italian *scuola*), was more on an intellectual, at times critical, examination of Jewish history, holidays, and customs than on the recitation and translation of sacred texts. At the core of the program were secular subjects such as the grammar and literature —*gramer* and *literature*—of prestigious Western languages such as French and Italian, as well as *estorya* "history" and *matematik* "mathematics"

(French *grammaire, littérature, histoire,* and *mathématiques*). Lessons were written with a *kreyón* "pencil" (French *crayon*) or *penino* "pen" (Italian *pennino*), in careful Roman rather than Hebrew script. Those who could read the *Rashí* Hebrew characters traditionally used to write Judezmo were fewer. Those who wrote the language at all did so in romanizations derived from French, Italian, or Modern Turkish romanizations, and in North Africa, from Castilian.

Teachers and pupils—now called *maestros* and *elevos* (from Italian *maestro,* French *élève*)—sat at desks, in Western-style classrooms. They dressed in European clothes and learned songs according to European musical scales and melodies. They were often warned by their teachers to speak French, Italian, and later Turkish, Greek or other local national languages, or Castilian (in Morocco), and not their family "*jargón*" (which they were told was a corrupt form of Spanish).

Although traditional foods continued to be eaten, European dishes were also introduced in some families. Those who could afford to moved out of the old "Jewish" *malás* "neighborhoods" (from Turkish *mahalle* from Arabic *mahalla*) into more modern, mixed *kwartyeres* "quarters" (Italian *quartieri,* French *quartiers*). Synagogue attendance and religious observance among the *frankeados* "Westernized" declined. Some who continued their studies beyond the elementary level, did so in non-Jewish schools, believed to be at a higher level. Some were even sent to a European *universitá* "university" (Italian *università*), where they pursued professional careers.

From the early twentieth century, significant numbers of Judezmo/Hakitia speakers seeking better economic and social conditions began leaving the lands in which their families had resided for centuries following the Expulsion. Most went to North and South America, or Western Europe. Their earlier Mediterranean locales had been characterized by linguistic and cultural heterogeneity. In their new, Western homes, people tended to emphasize linguistic and cultural homogeneity. So too did the new nation states that arose out of the crumbling Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires, in which the Sephardim who had not emigrated now found themselves. In an attempt to acclimate themselves to these new conditions, most Judezmo/Hakitia speakers made little effort to maintain their centuries-old group language. Instead, they sought to master the local language. Judezmo/Hakitia became an "endangered species" with a greatly reduced speech community.

The Literature of the Sephardim following the Expulsion

Oral Traditions

Part of the cultural heritage faithfully maintained and expanded upon by the Sephardim during the centuries following their exile from Spain was a rich oral literature. It included representatives of all the oral literary genres—both sung and spoken—that were enjoyed by Ibero-Romance speakers in medieval Spain. After the Expulsion, the repertoire was augmented through independent creativity, often in the form of pieces reflecting Jewish life and traditions, and through the adaptation of material from the oral traditions of local peoples, selected and modified with an eye toward Jewish tastes and values.

SUNG REPERTOIRE

The Sephardic song repertoire was rich and varied.[17] In their earliest years children grew familiar with it through songs designed to impart the hopes and dreams of Jewish parents. Included in this repertoire of children's songs were ditties traditionally sung to, and by, boys attending the *meldar* or religious elementary school.

One of the more ancient sung genres cultivated by the Sephardim was the ballad (*romansa*), composed by anonymous authors and once belonging to the repertoire of wandering minstrels. Some examples assumed epic proportions.[18] Combining motifs and language from the world of medieval chivalry with images drawn from the Bible and Midrashim, the Judezmo ballad had a strophic structure, used various rhyme schemes, and was sung to a plaintive tune. Generally belonging to the repertoire of women, *romansas* were sung during celebrations of the life cycle such as births, circumcisions, weddings, and funerals.

More contemporary in language than the ballad, and of freer structure, were types of paraliturgical hymns (*komplas, piyutim, pizmonim*). The *komplas* were generally characterized by their Jewish themes and various repetitive rhyme schemes, often spread over four-line stanzas.[19] Many of them were traditionally sung as vernacular complements to the older, more formal men's Hebrew-language repertoire. They were often connected with weekly- and annual-cycle religious celebrations such as the Sabbath, Purim, and Passover, or as edifying summaries of Jewish ethics and beliefs.

Over the centuries, Judezmo and Hakitia speakers developed a large repertoire of popular songs (*kantikas*) in contemporary language, some in rhymed stanzas, others lacking rhyme patterns, and sometimes including a refrain. The *kantikas* may be subclassified according to numerous thematic categories and in relation to the diverse contexts in which they were sung.

Many songs of the popular type celebrated significant events in the life cycle. During circumcision ceremonies, for instance, custom required the singing of birth songs (*kantikas de parida*), including praises in honor of Abraham the Forefather, the first Jew to practice circumcision. Other songs focused—often with a touch of irony—on mundane, everyday living. Among these were work songs. Some of the Judezmo song repertoire, including the love songs, evidenced the influence of local non-Jewish musical traditions or were adaptations or translations of popular songs in languages such as Turkish, Greek, and Arabic.

The growing Westernization and modernization of the Mediterranean Sephardic communities were not without effect on their repertoire of oral literature. The popular songs of Italy and France, the urban *sarki* of Turkey and *rebetika* of Greece, even the fox-trot, and the Argentine tango had their reflections in the modern Sephardic song repertoire. So too did the music of the nascent social and political ideologies: socialism, communism, Ottomanism, Turkish republicanism, and other forms of local nationalism. One theme among these songs was the deep Jewish yearning for Jerusalem and the Land of Israel.

SPOKEN GENRES

Over the centuries since the Expulsion, Judezmo speakers cultivated and extended their repertoire of storied and other nonsung oral genres: folktales and legends (*konsejas, maasiyod*), parables and fables (*meshalim*), jokes (*shakás*), riddles (*endivinansas, hidod*), proverbs and sayings (*riflanes i dichas*), and others. While sometimes used as forms of entertainment, these genres were often employed didactically, to transmit to younger and less experienced members of the community religious, ethnic, moral, and other values considered significant.

Many stories and anecdotes (*kwentos*, diminutive *kwentezikos*) revolved around the foolish/clever heroes known as Djohá, Bohoriko, and Moshiko, who were similar in character and behavior to folk heroes of neighboring cultures such as the Turkish Nasreddin Hodja. Some of the stories

were completely original, while others were adaptations of local non-Jewish tales.[20]

Jokes (*shakás* from Turkish *saka*) told by the Mediterranean Sephardim were often tinged with irony. Many exhibited a characteristic scorn for authority and impatience with fastidiousness, combined with an admiration for the quick thinking man-of-the-people. Many Judezmo jokes and anecdotes acquired a distinctive Jewish flavor through references to biblical and other heroes rooted in Jewish tradition.

Children and adults enjoyed challenging one another with riddles (*endivina[nsa]s, hidod*) and other "brain twisters." They were often introduced with a seductive phrase such as *Una koza, koza muy maravyoza* "It's something, something just marvelous," presenting a contradiction that the hearer was dared to resolve.

Today Westerners tend to shy away from the use of proverbs (*riflanes*) and sayings (*dichas*), seeing them as being trite or passé. Judezmo speakers, on the other hand, used them generously in both speech and writing.[21] Just as "a picture is worth a thousand words," a proverb was felt to express succinctly what might otherwise require whole paragraphs of ordinary prose.

The Sephardic appreciation for economy in speech was summarized in a proverb adopted from a Talmudic expression in Aramaic (*Mila besela*^{c} *mishetuqa bishnayim,* Megilla 18): *El avlar vale un grosh, el kayar vale dos* "Speech is worth one piaster; silence is worth two." Some Judezmo proverbs and sayings echoed the oral traditions of Medieval Spain, such as the question and retort *Ken es tu enemigo? El de tu ofisyo!* "Who is your enemy? He who practices your profession."

Other Judezmo proverbs corresponded to sayings used in other cultures of the region, e.g., *De la kavesa fyede el pishkado* "The fish stinks from the head" (i.e., where there is corruption, it inevitably starts at the top), variants of which are used among the Turks, Arabs, and other Mediterranean peoples. A belief in the absolute "truth value" of the proverb would seem to be conveyed, although perhaps with a certain Sephardic sarcasm, by means of a proverb: *Riflán mentirozo no ay* "There is no such thing as a proverb that lies."

Constituting a bridge between the oral traditions of the Eastern Sephardim and the written literature were the highly literal Ladino calque translations of the Bible and other sacred Jewish texts which, taught and recited orally, comprised a core component in the syllabus of elementary

religious schools in all Judezmo and Hakitia speech communities.[22] According to tradition, the Ladino version of the Bible began with the following literal translation of Genesis 1:1:

> *En prisipyo kreó el Dyo a los syelos i a la tyerra.*
> (Literally: "In beginning created the God to the heavens and to the earth," corresponding to Hebrew *Bereshit bara Elohim et hashamayim veet haares.*)
> "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth."

Written Literature

A continuous Judeo-Spanish literary tradition in writing made it possible to trace the historical development of Judezmo literature from the period before the Expulsion, through the Ottoman sojourn, and into modern times in Europe, Asia, and the Americas.[23] North Africa was more problematic since, although a rich Hakitia oral tradition was maintained there, very few written sources were known.

BEFORE THE EXPULSION (OLD JUDEZMO PERIOD)

The relatively few surviving Ibero-Romance texts by Jewish writers from medieval Spain consisted mostly of material intended for a Jewish readership[24] and thus were written in the Hebrew alphabet.[25] These included: translations of daily and holiday prayers,[26] instructions for holiday observances such as the Passover seder service, communal regulations,[27] and various other rabbinical, communal, and medical writings, among others.[28] Jewish writers also wrote works in the Latin alphabet, dedicated to or commissioned by non-Jews, for example, the rhymed *Proverbios morales* of Santob de Carrión, composed for King Pedro the Cruel.[29]

AFTER THE EXPULSION

Following their exile from Spain, the Sephardim who continued to use distinctive forms of Ibero-Romance written in the Hebrew alphabet settled mostly in the Ottoman Empire (first in Istanbul, the capital of the empire, and Salonika) and in North Africa.[30] They gradually established communities in many of the smaller cities and towns of the empire. At various stages in the history of their residence, Jewish presses that printed material in Judezmo were founded in Izmir, Edirne, Sofia, Plovdiv, Ruse, Bucharest, Sarajevo, Belgrade, Jerusalem, and Cairo. In the sixteenth century and later, Sephardic immigrants from the Ottoman regions migrated

to Italian cities such as Venice and Livorno; in the eighteenth century, a Levantine Sephardic community was established in Vienna, the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, some Ottoman Sephardim resettled in Paris, New York, and other major cities of the United States. Judezmo works were printed in all of these places.

SIXTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES (MIDDLE JUDEZMO PERIOD)

A glimpse at the premodern language of the Sephardic exiles who migrated to North Africa following the Expulsion was possible thanks to rare texts published in nineteenth-century Italy, such as the regulations of Fez, set down in 1494. They were included, along with later regulations, in Abraham Ankawa's *Kerem hemer.* Brief illustrative passages also appeared in rabbinical works such as *Vayomer Yishaq* by Isaac Ben Walid, and in some manuscript documents.

A richer literary picture emerged from the Ottoman Empire and from the Ottoman Sephardic immigrant communities in Italy, Austria, France, and the United States. Within two decades after the Expulsion, the Ottoman Sephardic rabbis began creating publications in diverse varieties of the Jewish Castilian vernacular to help facilitate the maintenance of traditional Jewish institutions such as the ritual slaughter of cattle (e.g., *Dinim de shehitá i bediká* "Laws of Ritual Slaughter and Inspection of Cattle," which did not survive); other facets of Jewish law (e.g., *Shulhan hapanim* "Shew Table"); and diverse fields of Jewish study such as the Bible,[31] Jewish morals and philosophy (e.g., *Hanhagat hahayim* "Conduct in Life"), ethics (e.g., a translation by Sadik ben Joseph Formón of Bahye ibn Paquda's *Hovot halevavot* "Duties of the Hearts"), and others.[32]

Not much was known about Sephardic literary creativity in Judezmo in the seventeenth century. Many works may have been lost. In the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Sephardic communities experienced a veritable flowering of Judezmo rabbinical literature, meant to strengthen Jewish knowledge and observance among the less learned. Perhaps the use of Judezmo for this purpose was partly inspired by the temporary success which had been enjoyed in the preceding century by Sabbatai Zevi, the false messiah of Izmir, part of whose attraction among the Ottoman Jewish masses seemed to have been his practice of singing Judezmo love songs.

The Ottoman rabbis may also have been encouraged to write in Judezmo when they heard about the success of Yiddish works of a religious

nature published in eastern Europe. Whatever their sources of inspiration, the eighteenth century saw the publication of rhymed couplets (*komplas*) by rabbis of Istanbul, Salonika, and other parts of the empire, such as Abraham ben Isaac Asa, Abraham Toledo, Judah ben Leon Kalai, Ḥayim ben Yom Tov Magula, Jacob Uziel, and Jacob Berav II. The singing of these *komplas,* at communal feasts and at home, was meant to enrich the celebration of religious festivals and other facets of Jewish life.

Numerous Judezmo prose works on religious themes appeared in the eighteenth century. Abraham Asa was a prolific translator of Hebrew works, including *Letras de Rabi Akiva* "Letters of Rabbi Akiva," as well as moralistic, mystical, philosophical, and historical works. He published collections of Jewish law both in prose and rhymed verse. He also published an edition of the entire Bible in Ladino, based on texts published in the sixteenth century.

Isaac ben Makhir Hulí initiated a monumental series of Bible commentaries known as *Meᶜam Loᶜez* "From a Foreign People" in Istanbul 1730. After his death, the series was continued by rabbis in the Ottoman Empire into the nineteenth century.[33] Other original Judezmo rabbinical works included *Meshivat Nefesh* "Restoring the Soul" by Shabbetai ben Jacob Vitas, and *Tiqune hanefesh* "Corrections of the Soul" by Reuben ben Abraham of Shtip.

As in the popular Judezmo sermons delivered orally by religious lecturers in Sephardic synagogues, the authors of Judezmo rabbinical works often studded their serious learned treatises with samples of folk genres such as the tale and legend, parable and fable, dream interpretation, and personal anecdote. This made the moral and legal lessons of their works more palatable to the average reader.

Until the late eighteenth century, almost all works published in Judezmo were religious. A sign of the changing times was the book *La gwerta de oro* "Garden of Gold," published by David ben Moses Athias. It was a general educational manual, with no religious content, offering basic instruction in Italian and Greek and their alphabets, and provided advice of interest to Eastern Sephardim planning to travel to the West.

NINETEENTH TO TWENTIETH CENTURIES (MODERN JUDEZMO PERIOD)

The waves of secular "enlightenment," which began emanating from western Europe, did not put an immediate end to rabbinical literature in Judezmo. Rather, popular religious literature continued to flourish until

the end of the nineteenth century. One of its leading nineteenth-century proponents was Belgrade-born Israel Ben Ḥayim, the "father of Modern Judezmo literature,"[34] who settled in Vienna in the early nineteenth century. His contributions were essentially religious in orientation—mostly translations or retranslations of sacred and rabbinical works (e.g., the entire Bible with Ladino translation). He also published a broader-focused educational manual entitled *Osar hahayim* "Treasury of Life" which acquainted readers with the Arabic script used to write Ottoman Turkish, provided basic lessons in German, and introduced biblical and rabbinical Hebrew. His language had many of the traces of the modern idiom.

Among other noteworthy Judezmo works of rabbinical orientation published during this period were translations of Hebrew texts such as Sevi Hirsch Koidanover's *Qav hayashar* "Circle of the Righteous." There were also original treatises, such as those published in Belgrade by scholars from Sarajevo, including *Darke Noam* "Paths of Pleasantness," an introduction to Hebrew grammar by Judah Alkalay; *Leqet hazohar* "A Gathering from the Zohar," by Abraham Finzi; and *Dameseq Eliezer* "Eliezer of Damascus," by Eliezer Papo. Significant volumes published elsewhere, included *Hanokh lanaar* "Train Up a Child," by Abraham Pontremoli; *Asat HaShem* "Counsel of the Lord," by N. R. H. Perahya; and *Vehokhiah Avraham* "And Abraham Reproved," by Abraham Palachi. Other rabbinical scholars contributed volumes of Jewish history, biography, ethics, and mysticism, collections of stories and legends, and calendars and almanacs.

Judezmo rabbinical literature had a rival from the middle of the nineteenth century. The growing presence and importance of Westerners in the regions of the Mediterranean and Near East, and a desire to increase trade with commercial agents in the West, led local businessmen to acquire a practical familiarity with French, Italian, and other Western languages, primarily through self-instruction. From the 1870s, Sephardic young people began to study Western languages formally and grew acquainted with their literatures.

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, the European Jewish periodical press inspired Westernized Sephardic intellectuals to found Judezmo newspapers in the Ottoman regions.[35] One of the first was *Shaare Mizrah* "Gates of the East," published by Refael Uziel in Izmir in 1845 to 1846 at the press of the Christian missionary G. Griffith.[36] It was followed by over three hundred periodicals, almost all of which were printed in the Hebrew alphabet until World War I, after which some appeared in romanization. Among the earliest papers were *Djornal Yisreelit*

of Istanbul, *El Lunar* of Salonika, and a Judezmo edition of the Hebrew periodical *Ḥavaṣ elet*, founded in Jerusalem in 1870.[37] Most of the early efforts were short-lived. However, some later periodicals sustained themselves for decades, including *El Tyempo* of Istanbul,[38] *La (Bwena) Esperansa* of Izmir, and *La Epoka* of Salonika.

As some Judezmo speakers emigrated westward, Judezmo periodicals and books began to be published in centers of immigration such as New York and Paris. The Jews who remained in Turkey began publishing Judezmo books and periodicals in Turkish romanization.[39] In Salonika, Judezmo periodicals and books continued to be published, in the Hebrew alphabet, until the Nazis entered the city in 1941 and began the systematic destruction of its Jewish community. Judezmo speakers, who after 1948, immigrated to the new State of Israel, also published Judezmo newspapers and books in romanization.

The success of the Judezmo press reflected a growing desire on the part of the public to be kept abreast of domestic and foreign news and of world trade conditions likely to effect local business. The Judezmo press also served as a means of inexpensive native-language entertainment. Judezmo periodicals of a literary bent featured plays,[40] poetry, satire, short stories, historical writings, and serialized novels, many of which were later published as separate volumes.

The Judezmo press provided a forum for the exchange of ideas about the diverse social and political ideologies that were gradually taking root in the community, such as Western humanism, local nationalism, socialism, and Zionism. An especially controversial subject was the "language question."[41] Journalists pondered the linguistic future of their community. They considered questions such as, Should their centuries-old group vernacular continue to serve as their everyday language? If so, how should it develop—in emulation of French, Spanish, or some other language, or for the most part along independent lines? And if Judezmo was to be abandoned, which language should replace it—Hebrew, French, or a local language?

Of the numerous journalists who addressed the "language problem," Hizkiya Franco, editor of the periodical *El Komersyal*, perhaps offered the most unequivocal defense of "Judeo-Espanyol" as the unique, independent language of the descendants of Spanish Jewry. In an essay on the "Judeo-Spanish Question," phrased in the variety of Judezmo that characterized the highly Westernized sector of the community, Franco argued that the language should be maintained by the Eastern Sephardim and allowed to follow its own natural course of development. The essay was published in *El Tyempo* of Istanbul in 1923 and addressed to its editor David Fresco, who had urged that the community abandon its separate group "jargon" in order to facilitate the integration of the Sephardic community within the larger society.[42]

Following World War II, the practical necessities of everyday living proved to outweigh the romantic arguments for language loyalty. In their home communities and in the new centers to which many immigrated, the Sephardim felt an increasing pressure to assimilate linguistically to their surroundings. From the rich language of thriving Sephardic communities throughout the Mediterranean region, Judezmo and Hakitia began to deteriorate into "endangered species" spoken mostly by elderly people. By the 1960s and 1970s, very few speakers used them for creative writing.

In the 1980s, however, several members of the speech community, in middle age, became possessed by a sense of nostalgia and concern for their endangered communal language and culture. This prompted them to use "Judeo-Spanish" as a literary language of ethnic self-expression. Its main outlet was the periodical *Aki Yerushalayim*, edited by Moshe Shaul and published entirely in "Djudeo-Espanyol." Among others, the periodical published regular notices of the books and articles published in Judezmo and Hakitia by writers in Israel, Turkey, Western Europe, and the Americas.

As we have seen, the culture of the Sephardic Jews was born in medieval Spain, and later cultivated outside it, through the interaction of Sephardic communities with their Christian and Muslim neighbors. Throughout the ages, in certain fundamental ways—the main one of course being religion—the Jews remained distinct from either of these groups of neighbors. But characterized by an exceptional openness to their linguistic surroundings, and to what they perceived as the most positive elements of Christian and Muslim culture in Spain and in the lands of their later exile, the Sephardim selectively assimilated elements from them. In doing so, the Spanish Jews created two uniquely rich and supple Jewish subcultures, Judeo-Arabic and Judeo-Spanish, which were both extraordinary syntheses of Eastern and Western traditions.

The cultural heights reached by members of Iberian Jewry's two subcultures placed them at the forefront of the medieval Jewish cultural world. Despite the hardships suffered by the Sephardim after the Expulsion from Spain in 1492, Judeo-Spanish culture continued to flourish. Despite the greatly decreased number of its bearers, traditional Judeo-

Spanish culture continues to be maintained today as the modern heir to a noble, centuries-old, East-West Jewish heritage.

NOTES

1. On Judeo-Arabic culture in general, see chapter 3, by N. Stillman, in the present volume.

2. For a comprehensive inventory of the Hebraisms in Modern Judezmo, with a historical introduction, see D M. Bunis, *A Lexicon of the Hebrew and Aramaic Elements in Modern Judezmo* (Jerusalem: Magnes and Misgav Yerushalayim, 1993). On the Hebraisms used in Hakitia, see Y. Bentolila, "Le composant hébraïque dans le judéo-espagnol marocain," *Judeo-Romance Languages,* ed. I. Benabu and J. Sermoneta (Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim and Hebrew University, 1985), 27–40.

3. The spelling of "Judeo-Spanish" or Judezmo material used in the present article is, with slight variations that adopted for the modern language by the Israel Authority for Ladino Culture. Note the phonetic values of the following symbols: "a," "e," "i," "o," "u" are essentially as in Spanish; "b" = "b" in English "about"; "ch" = "ch" in Spanish *chico,* "d" = "d" in Spanish *grande* or *nada* (depending on the word); "dj" = "dj" in English "adjust"; "g" = "g" in Spanish *sangre* or *agua* (depending on the word); "h" = "ch" in German *ach*; "j" = "j" in French *jamais*; "k" = "k" in English "kayak"; "ny" = "ñ" in Spanish *año*; "r" and "rr" = "r" and "rr" in Spanish *caro* and *carro,* respectively; "s" = "s" in Spanish *casa*; "sh" = "sh" in English "shore"; "v" = "v" in English "volley"; "w" = "w" in English "warrant"; "y" = "y" in English "yard"; "z" = "z" in English "zoo." Unless otherwise indicated by an accent mark, the stress is on the next to last syllable in words ending in a vowel or "n" or "s" (e.g., *kaza* "house"), and on the last syllable in words ending in a consonant other than "n" or "s" (e.g., *kazal* "village").

4. For treatment of (Old Jewish) Greek elements in Jewish languages of Romance stock, see D. S. Blondheim, *Les parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus Latina* (Paris: Champion, 1925).

5. The "Jewish Castilian" used by the Jews of Spain is treated in S. Marcus, "A-t-il existé en Espagne un dialecte judéo-espagnol?" *Sefarad* 22 (Madrid, 1962): 129–49; P. Wexler, *The Non-Jewish Origins of the Sephardic Jews* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996).

6. English-language introductions to the traditional languages of the Ibero-Romance–speaking Sephardim include D. M. Bunis, "The Language of the Sephardim: A Historical Overview," in H. Beinart, *The Sephardi Legacy,* vol. 23 (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1992), 399–422; P. Díaz-Mas, *Sephardim: The Jews from Spain,* trans. G. Zucker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); T. K. Harris, *Death of a Language: The History of Judeo-Spanish* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994). For a classified if outdated bibliography of research on the subject, see D. M. Bunis, *Sephardic Studies: A Research Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1981).

7. A general review of the Turkish contribution to Judezmo is M.-C. Varol, "Influencia del turco en el judeoespañol de Turquía," in *Sephardica 1: Hommage à Haïm Vidal Sephiha,* ed. W. Busse, H. Kohring, and M. Shaul (Berne, Switzerland: P. Lang, 1996), 213–37. The most comprehensive inventory and study of the Arabisms in Hakitia is found in J. Benoliel, *Dialecto judeo-hispano-marroquí o hakitía,* 2d ed. (Barcelona: n.p., 1977).

8. On Greek elements in post-expulsion Judezmo, see A. Danon, "Les éléments grecs dans le judéo-espagnol," *Revue des Études Juives* 75 (1922): 211–16. For numerous Greek elements used in the Judezmo of modern Salonika see J. Nehama, *Dictionnaire du judéo-espagnol* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1975).

9. On Slavisms in the Judezmo of the former Yugoslavia, see E. Stankiewicz, "Balkan and Slavic Elements in the Judeo-Spanish of Yugoslavia," in *For Max Weinreich on His Seventieth Birthday* ed. Lucy S. Davidowicz, Alexander Erlich, Rachel Erlich, and Joshua A. Fishman (New York: Walter De Gruyter, 1964), 229–36; D. M. Bunis, "On the incorporation of Slavisms in the grammatical system of Yugoslavian Judezmo," *Jews and Slavs* 9 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 2003), 325–37.

10. The impact of French on Modern Judezmo is analyzed in H. V. Sephiha, "Le judéo-fragnol," *Ethno-Psychologie* 2–3 (1973): 239–49.

11. On Judezmo plurals, see D. M. Bunis, "Plural formation in Modern Eastern Judezmo," in *Judeo-Romances Languages,* ed. I. Benabu and J. Sermoneta (Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim and Hebrew University, 1985), 41–68.

12. For diminutive formation in Judezmo, see D. M. Bunis, "Ottoman Judezmo Diminutives and Other Hypocoristics," in *Linguistique des langues juives et linguistique générale,* ed. F. Alvarez-Pereyre and J. Baumgarten (Paris: CNRS, 2004), 193–246.

13. The culinary traditions of the Eastern Sephardim are portrayed in many cookbooks, among them V. Alchech Miner, with L. Krinn, *From My Grandmother's Kitchen* (Gainesville, FL: Triad, 1984).

14. A recent collection of children's oral folklore is S. Weich-Shahak, *Repertorio tradicional infantil sefardí* (Madrid: Compañía Literaria, 2001).

15. On the modernization of the Eastern Sephardic communities and its impact on their language, see D. M. Bunis, "Modernization of Judezmo and Hakitia (Judeo-Spanish)," in *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in modern times,* ed. R. S. Simon, M. M. Laskier, and S. Reguer (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 116–28.

16. The impact of the Alliance Israélite Universelle on Eastern Sephardic communities is analyzed in A. Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), and in idem, *Images of Sephardi and Eastern Jewries in Transition* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993).

17. For a recent collection of Judezmo songs with analysis, see E. Seroussi, ed., *Alberto Hemsi: Cancionero sefardí* (Jerusalem: Jewish Music Research Center, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1995).

18. The Judezmo ballad has been investigated extensively. Some of the finest work is by S. G. Armistead and J. H. Silverman. For example, see their *The Judeo-Spanish Ballad Chapbooks of Yacob Abraham Yoná* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971).

19. For a comprehensive bibliography of Judezmo *kompla* collections, see E. Romero, *Bibliografía analítica de ediciones de coplas sefardíes,* with an introduction by I. M. Hassán (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992).

20. For an extensive inventory and analysis of Judezmo folktales, see R. Haboucha, *Types and Motifs of the Judeo-Spanish Folktale* (New York: Garland, 1991). See also T. Alexander, "The Sephardic Folktale as an Expression of Ethnic Group Identity," *Cahiers de Littérature Orale* 20 (1986): 131–52.

21. On Judezmo proverbs see I. J. Levy, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Refranero Sefardí* (New York: Las Americas, 1969); D. M. Bunis, *Voices from Jewish Salonika* (Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim-Ets Ahaim, 1999), 158–62.

22. See D. M. Bunis, "Translating from the Head and from the Heart: The Essentially Oral Nature of the Ladino Bible-Translation Tradition," in *Sephardica 1: Hommage à Haïm Vidal Sephiha,* ed. Busse, Kohring, and Shaul, 337–57.

23. For full-length overviews of Judezmo literature, see M. Molho, *Literatura sefardita de Oriente* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1960); E. Romero, *La creación literaria en lengua sefardí* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992); for an English summary of the latter, see E. Romero, "Literary Creation in the Sephardi Diaspora," in *The Sephardi Legacy,* ed. H. Beinart, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1992), 438–60.

24. For a selection of texts with analysis, see L. Minervini, *Testi giudeospagnoli medievali,* 2 vols. (Naples: Liguori, 1992).

25. For an English-language treatment of traditional Judezmo orthography, see D. M. Bunis, "The Historical Development of Judezmo Orthography: A Brief Sketch," *Working Papers in Yiddish and East European Jewish Studies* 2 (1974): 1–54.

26. See M. Lazar, ed., *Siddur Tefilot: A Woman's Ladino Prayer Book,* The Sephardic Classical Library, vol. 10 (Lancaster, CA: Labyrinthos, 1995).

27. For a photographic reproduction of the original manuscript as well as a transcription and transliteration, see Y. Moreno-Koch, "The Taqqanot of Valladolid of 1432," *American Sephardi* 9 (1978): 58–145.

28. The earliest examples are the *hardjas,* or final stanzas, in Romance, adapted from popular medieval Ibero-Romance songs, appended to samples of the Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic poetry genre known as *muwashshaḥ at.* For an example of a later text, see L. Minervini, "An Aljamiado Version of 'Orlando Furioso': A Judeo-Spanish Transcription of Jerónimo de Urrea's Translation," in *Hispano-Jewish Civilization after 1492,* ed. M. Abitbol, Y.-T. Assis, and G. Hasan-Rokem (Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim, 1997), 191–201.

29. See I. González Llubera, ed., *Santob de Carrión: Proverbios morales* (Cambridge, England: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1947).

30. The present article does not deal with the cultural heights reached by former crypto-Jews, the descendants of Spanish and Portuguese Jews who had ostensibly converted to Christianity, practiced Jewish rites in secret, and returned to the open observance of Judaism in Western European cities such as Amsterdam, Ferrara, London, and Bordeaux, as well as in the Americas. Of necessity having assimilated linguistically to the varieties of Ibero-Romance used by their non-Jewish neighbors, this group did not use a distinctive "Judeo-Spanish" per se following their return to Judaism but rather judaized varieties of Spanish and Portuguese.

31. A detailed study of two sixteenth-century Ladino Bible translations is provided in H. V. Sephiha, *Le ladino, Judéo-espagnol calque, Deutéronome,* 2 vols. (Paris: Institut d'Études Hispaniques, 1973, 1979). See also O. Schwarzwald, "Linguistic Variations among Ladino Translations as Determined by Geographical, Temporal and Textual Factors," *Folia Linguistica Historica* 17 (1996): 57–72.

32. For a description of Istanbul and its population, see P. Romeu, ed., *Moisés Almosnino: Crónica de los reyes Otomanos* (Barcelona: Tirocinio, 1998).

33. For an English adaptation of the *Meam Loez* series, see A. Kaplan, trans., *The Torah Anthology, Yalkut Meam Loez,* 19 vols. (Brooklyn: Moznaim, 1977–1991).

34. On him see D. M. Bunis, "Yisrael Haim of Belgrade and the history of Judezmo Linguistics," *Histoire, Épistomologie, Langage* 18, no. 1 and in *La linguistique de l'hébreu et des langues juives,* ed. J. Baumgarten and S. Kessler-Mesguich (Paris: Société d'Histoire et d'Épistemologie des Sciences du Langage and Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 1996), 151–66.

35. For an attempt at a comprehensive bibliography of the Judezmo press, see M. D. Gaon, *The Judeo-Spanish Press: A Bibliography* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute and Jewish National and University Library, 1965).

36. For an analysis of the language used in this periodical see D. M. Bunis, "The Earliest Judezmo Newspapers: Sociolinguistic Reflections," *Mediterranean Language Review* 6–7 (1993): 5–66.

37. On Judezmo in the Land of Israel, see D. M. Bunis, "The Dialect of the Old *Yishuv* Sephardic Community in Jerusalem," in *Studies in Jewish Languages,* ed. M. Bar-Asher (Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim and Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1988), 1–40.

38. On *El Tyempo* as a modernizing force, see S. Abrevaya Stein, *Making Jews Modern: Yiddish and Ladino Press of the Russian and Ottoman Empires* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).

39. On Judezmo in romanization, see the articles in W. Busse, ed., *Judenspanisch,* vol. 7 (also titled *Neue Romania,* vol. 28) (Berlin: Institut für Romanische Philologie der Freien Universität Berlin, 2003).