

# El Presente

Estudios sobre la cultura sefardí

La cultura Judeo-Española  
del Norte de Marruecos

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## Between East and West: Differences between Ottoman and North African Judeo-Spanish *Haggadot*

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### Introduction

Ladino *Haggadot* have existed in Italy, the Netherlands, and throughout the Ottoman Empire since the sixteenth century, traditionally being printed in either Hebrew or Latin characters. The Latin-script Ladino *Haggadot* and some of the Italian Hebrew-script *Haggadot* from the end of the seventeenth century were written for *conversos* – descendants of forcibly-converted Jews who settled in Italy and the Netherlands – while the Hebrew-script editions were primarily published for the use of the descendants of Jews exiled from Spain. Ḥaketía-speakers in North Africa employed Ladino *Haggadot* published in Italy and Vienna because no locally-published versions were available.

Both Latin- and Hebrew-script Ladino *Haggadot* adhered to strict norms of Ladino translation. The method adopted was a literal word-for-word translation of the Hebrew text, preserving archaic lexical and morphological forms. Hebrew words were rarely used in these versions, and the translators occasionally interpreted problematic words and phrases rather than rendering them literally.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 For Ladino translations features see: Israel S. Revah, “Hispanisme et judaïsme des langues parlées et écrites par les Sefardim”, Iacob M. Hassan (ed.), *Actas del primer Simposio de Estudios Sefardies*, Instituto Arias Montano, Madrid 1970, pp. 233-241; Haim Vidal Sephiha, *Le Ladino: Deutéronome*, Centre de Recherches Hispaniques, Paris 1973; idem, *Le Ladino (Judéo-Espagnol Calque)*, Association Vidas Largas, Paris 1979; Ora (Rodrigue) Schwarzwald, *The Ladino Translations of Pirke Aboth (Eda VeLashon 13)*, Magnes Press, Jerusalem 1989, pp. 7-15 (Hebrew).

Sephardic Jews who were accustomed to writing and reading Ladino in Hebrew characters switched to Latin-script as a consequence of various sociological, political, educational, and linguistic changes that occurred during the twentieth century. This trend was especially noticeable in northwestern Africa, where Modern Spanish gradually replaced the local *Ḥaketía* vernacular. This development led to the publication of new *Haggadot* for the local Sephardic Jewish population in Tetuán and Tangiers. These *Haggadot* included Latin-script translations of the Hebrew text. A comparison of these translations with the contemporary Latin-script *Haggadot* published in the east demonstrates significant differences between the versions. The purpose of this article is to examine whether the *Haggadot* from Tetuán and Tangiers represent a Judeo-Spanish version – namely, a Ladino variant of Judeo-Spanish – or whether they are entirely Spanish in nature. The analysis is based on the linguistic differences between *Haggadot* published in the former Ottoman Empire and *Haggadot* from North Africa.<sup>2</sup>

### **The *Haggadot***

This article focuses on the following *Haggadot*:

#### **North Africa**

1. *Hagada de Pesah*, traducida y publicada en la imprenta de Salomon Benaïoun, Tangier, 1912 (28 pages, 19 x 14 cm, no illustrations).<sup>3</sup> This *Haggadah* is composed of a Hebrew text followed by a transliteration and a translation into (Judeo?)-Spanish.<sup>4</sup>
2. North African *Haggadot* are indicated here by the letter N, *Haggadot* from the former Ottoman Empire by the letter O. *Hebrew* is abbreviated as “Hb”.
3. I received a copy of this *Haggadah* from the collection of Eliyahu Marsiano, Jerusalem, HaRaShaM Institute. The *Haggadah* is listed in Eliyahu Refael ben LA”A and Meir Mordechai Marsiano, *Sefer Bene Melakhim vehu Toledot Hasefer Ha’Ivri Bemaroko Mishenat 277 ‘ad Shenat 749 (The Book of the Sons of Kings Which is the History of the Hebrew Book in Morocco from 1507 till 1989)*, HaRaShaM Institute, Jerusalem 1989, p. 40, item 16. See Isaac Yudlov, *The Haggadah Thesaurus: Bibliography of Passover Haggadot*, Magnes Press, Jerusalem 1997, item 2543 (Hebrew).
4. The following is written on the front page in Hebrew (my translation): “According to the Sephardic tradition; written in the Sacred Language and in Spanish with Ladino

2. *Hagada de Pesah*, Tangier 1923 (28 pages, 19 x 14 cm, no illustrations) (henceforth TANGIER).<sup>5</sup> This *Haggadah* is a copy of the 1912 version (see above). There are a very few, negligible differences between the two editions. I shall therefore be referring to both versions as one.<sup>6</sup>
3. *Hagada de Pesah* (En Español), Tetuán 1940(?) (12 unnumbered pages, 19 x 14 cm, no illustrations) (henceforth TETUÁN).<sup>7</sup> The entire text of this *Haggadah* appears only in translation, with neither Hebrew text nor transliteration.<sup>8</sup>

#### Former Ottoman Empire (eastern communities)

1. *Ağada de Pesah*, editado por Shelomo Alkaher, Istanbul 1946 (45 pages, 19 x 14 cm, no illustrations) (henceforth ISTANBUL).<sup>9</sup> This *Haggadah* is comprised solely of transliterations of the Hebrew and Ladino text into Latin letters. Hebrew words appear in Hebrew script only at the beginning of each paragraph. The spelling system reflects contemporary Turkish conventions.<sup>10</sup>

translation”. It is interesting that the editor refers to the translation as being “Ladino”. He then explains, in Spanish, the reasons for translating the *Haggadah* – primarily to make the text comprehensible to men, women, and children.

- 5 This *Haggadah* is copied from the same collection of Eliyahu Marsiano, HaRaShaM Institute, Jerusalem. It is listed in Refael and Marsiano, *Sefer Bene Melakhim*, 41, item 21 (above note 3) and Yudlov, *The Haggadah Thesaurus*, item 2906 (above note 3).
- 6 For instance, *en los demás noches* (‘from all the nights’) in 1912 is emended to *en las demás noches* in 1923; *que significa esto* (‘what does it mean’) in 1912 is written as *que significa este* in 1923.
- 7 This is also from the collection of Eliyahu Marsiano, Jerusalem, HaRaShaM Institute. I am very grateful to him for giving me of his time and for permitting me to make copies of the relevant texts.
- 8 This is the version copied by Manuel Alvar, although he does not give a bibliographical reference: see Manuel Alvar, *La Leyenda de Pascua: Tradición cultural y arcaísmo lexico en una “Hagadá de Pesah” en judeo-español*, Editorial AUSA, Barcelona 1986. This *Haggadah* is not listed in Yudlov, *The Haggadah Thesaurus* (above note 3). Another *Haggadah* from Tetuán is listed in Yudlov as item 4545, but as of present I have not been able to gain access to this.
- 9 See Yudlov, *The Haggadah Thesaurus* (above note 3), item 4022.
- 10 The letter ç represents [ç], *ch* in Spanish; ğ represents [g]; ş represents [s], *sh* in English; c represents [ç], *g* in English “George”.

2. *Seder Hagadat Lel Pesah*, Salonika 1970 (127 pages, 28 x 20 cm, hard cover, with illustrations) (henceforth SALONIKA).<sup>11</sup> This is a tri-lingual *Haggadah* which includes Hebrew, a Ladino translation in Hebrew letters copied from the Salonika 1905 edition, a Ladino version written in Latin letters, and a Greek translation.<sup>12</sup> The Hebrew-script Ladino and the Latin-script Ladino are not always identical.<sup>13</sup> The spelling is partly phonetic and was influenced by French conventions. We shall analyze the Latin-script Ladino sections of the work here.
3. *La Agada de Luz: Agada de Pesah kon traduksion al Ladino*, Erez, Jerusalem 2002 (57 unnumbered leaves, 33 x 12.5 cm, hard cover, with illustrations) (henceforth JERUSALEM). This *Haggadah* consecutively presents the Hebrew text, a transliteration, and a Ladino translation in Latin script. The Ladino transliteration is based on the *Aki Yerushalayim* spelling system.<sup>14</sup>
4. *Passover Agada (Agada de Pesah) – Hebrew, Ladino and English, According to the Custom of the Seattle Sephardic Community*, Seattle, Washington 2004 (98 pages,<sup>15</sup> 24 x 17 cm, hard cover, no illustrations) (henceforth SEATTLE). In this *Haggadah*, the Hebrew text appears on the right hand side of the page, the Ladino and English on the left hand (each language in one of two columns). The *Haggadah* is based on the Rhodes tradition. The transcription is partially phonetic, with occasional spelling influences from Modern Spanish or English.

11 Yudlov, *The Haggadah Thesaurus* (above note 3), only includes *Haggadot* published up until 1960. The following three *Haggadot* are consequently absent from his thesaurus.

12 See the discussion of this *Haggadah* by Iacob M. Hassán, “סדר הגדת ליל פסח”, *Estudios Sefardies* 1 (1978), pp. 259-262.

13 For instance, *muestrós* (‘our’) in the Hebrew-script version, *nuestro* in the Latin script; *kito* (‘took out’) in the Hebrew-script, *saco* in the Latin-script; *embeza* (‘learn’) in the Hebrew-script, *deprende* in the Latin-script; *deperder* (‘lose’) in the Hebrew-script, *depiérdrer* in the Latin-script.

14 This special *Haggadah* was dedicated to the Sephardic members of the Leon Recanati Old Age Home.

15 The numbering is as follows: two front pages; vi pages of introductions; pages 1-41 are double marked – the right hand side page includes the Hebrew, the left hand side the Ladino and English; pages 42-43 display the Rhodes version of *Eḥad mi yode‘a* (‘Who knows one’) and pages 44-48 are a glossary of the Ladino words translated into English.

### Textual comparison

As all the *Haggadot* analyzed here are based on the same original Hebrew version, the Ladino (or Judeo-Spanish) translations should theoretically be very similar to one another. Nevertheless, a number of differences exist between the various versions of the text. I have chosen three short paragraphs to demonstrate these divergences. A linguistic discussion will follow each example.

#### 1. *Ma-Nishtana* (first question)

Hebrew: *ma nishtana ha-layla ha-ze mi-kol ha-lelot? She-be-khol ha-lelot 'en 'anu metablin 'afilu pa'am 'ahat. Ha-layla ha-ze shete pe'amim.*<sup>16</sup>

TANGIER: ***Cuan distinta esta noche con las demás. En todas las noches no untamos ni una sola vez. Esta noche dos veces.***

TETUÁN: ***Cuanto diferente la noche la ésta más que todas las noches, que en todas las noches no nos entinientes tampoco vez una y en la noche la ésta dos veces,***

ISTANBUL: *Kuanto fue demudada la noçe la esta mas ke todas las noçes, Ke en todas las noçes non nos entinyentes afilu vez una, i la noçe la esta dos vezes,*

SALONIKA: *Quanto fué démudada la notche la esta mas ke todas las notches. Que en todas las notches non nos entinientes afilou vez una, y la notche la esta dos vezes.*

JERUSALEM: *Kuanto fue demudada la noche esta, mas ke todas las noches, Ke en todas las noches non nos entinientes afilu ni una vez, i la noche esta dos vezes;*

SEATTLE: *Kuanto fue demudada la noche la esta mas ke todas las noches? Ke en todas las noches non nos entinyentes afilu vez una, i la noche la esta dos vezes?*

Despite the various spelling systems used in the above examples, the eastern versions are clearly very similar to one another. The only differences are found in JERUSALEM, which translates the Hebrew *ha-layla ha-ze* as *la noche esta* rather than the more “literal” *la noche la esta*, and the Hebrew phrase *pa'am 'ahat* which is translated as *ni una vez* rather than as *vez una*.

When comparing the Ottoman to the North African translations, TANGIER evidences demonstrably less similarity to the traditional Ladino translation than any

16 English: ‘Why is this night different from all other nights? On all other nights we do not dip [vegetables] even once; and on this night [we do so] twice’. The translation used here is based on Angel’s *Haggadah*, with some modifications: see Rabbi Mark D. Angel, *A Sephardic Passover Haggadah*, KTAV Publishing House, Hoboken, NJ 1988.



of the other manuscripts. TETUÁN is the closest to the eastern translations, with the exception of the following three instances: (i) *cuanto diferente* is used instead of *kuanto fue demudada*; (ii) *tampoco* appears instead of *afilí*; and (iii) *y en la noche la ésta* is used instead of *y la noche la ésta*. The Hebrew phrase *ma nishtana* has been freely translated in both North African versions rather than retaining the unique word *demudada*. Other divergences from the Ottoman versions occur as a result of the *Haggadot* translator adapting standard Spanish syntax.

## 2. *Hakham ma hu 'omer*

Hebrew: *Hakham ma hu 'omer: Ma ha-'edot (~'edut) ve-ha-ḥuqim ve-ha-mishpatim 'asher tziva A. 'elohenu 'etkhem? 'af 'ata 'emor lo ke-hilkhot ha-pesah: 'en maftirin 'aḥar afiqoman ('afiqomin).*<sup>17</sup>

TANGIER: *El hombre sabio dice que los testamentos y las leyes y las justicias que encomendó 'n nuestro Dios a vosotros, también tu dile, que según la ley del Pesah, no se debe comer ninguna fruta, después de haber comido el carnero.*

TETUÁN: *Sabio que él dicién, que los testamentos y los fueros y las justicias que encomendó A'' nuestro Dios a vos, también tú dí a él como los Dinim del Pesah, no hablará después de comer el carnero sacar maneras de frutas.*

ISTANBUL: *Savio ke el dizyen? ke los testamentos i los fueros i los cuisyos ke enkomendo Adonay noestroy Dio a vos? tambien tu di a el komo dinim del Pesah no espartiran despoes del korbanpesah afikomín.*

SALONIKA: *Savio que el dizien, que el testamento i los fuéros i los juissios, que encommendó Adonay nuestro<sup>18</sup> Dio a vos. Tambien tou di a el, como ordenes dela Pasqua non espartiran, despues del Korban Pessah maneras de mandjares.*

JERUSALEM: *Savio ke el dize? Ke el testamento los fueros i los djuisios ke enkomendo Adonay nuestro Dio a vos? Tambien tu di a el komo dinim del Pesakh, no diran despues del Pesah Afikoman.*

SEATTLE: *Savio ke el dizien? Ke el testamento i los fueros i los juisios ke enkomendo Adonai nuestro Dyo a vos? Tambien tu di a el komo ordenes de el Pesakh. Non diran despues del Pesakh sacar manjares.*

17 English: 'What does the wise (son) say? 'What are the testimonies, statutes, and laws which the LORD our God commanded you?' Also you should tell him the laws of Passover down to the details of the Afikoman, which is not to be eaten after the paschal lamb [or: one should not say anything after eating the Afikoman]'.  
18 See note 13 for the variations between the Hebrew- and Latin-scripts.

One feature in particular that distinguishes the North African from the Ottoman *Haggadot* is the manner in which God's name is used: *Dios* in TANGIER and TETUÁN, *Dio* in all the Ottoman *Haggadot*. This usage clearly indicates a Spanish influence on the North African versions of the text, since God was always referred to as *Dio* in Judeo-Spanish and Haketía alike.<sup>19</sup>

The difference between *los testamentos* and *el testamento* stems from the Hebrew version of the *Haggadah*: in some Hebrew versions, the word is *ha-'edot* in the plural form, while in others the singular *ha-'edut* is used. This difference is therefore irrelevant for any comparison between the North African and Ottoman *Haggadot*. ISTANBUL is unique in its use of the word *noestro* rather than *nuestro/muestro* ('our'), a substandard Judeo-Spanish form of the same word used in Medieval Judeo-Spanish.<sup>20</sup> JERUSALEM uses the present simple form *dize* instead of the traditional archaic participle form *dizien* ('says'). The Hebrew phrase 'en *maftirin 'aḥar ha-pesaḥ 'afiqomin* is translated in a variety of different ways, according to the interpretations of the verb *maftirin* and the term 'afiqomin. These too, do not distinguish North African from Ottoman *Haggadot*. Consequently, we are left with TANGIER, an edition which is distinct from all the other *Haggadot* in relation to both syntactic and lexical elements.

### 3. *Tze u-lmad* (the first part)

Hebrew: *Tze u-lmad ma biqesh Lavan ha-'arami la-'asot le-Ya'aqov 'avinu, she-par'ot lo gazar 'ela 'al ha-zekharim, ve-Lavan biqesh la'aqor 'et ha-kol she-ne'emar 'arami 'oved 'avi va-yered mitzrayma ...*<sup>21</sup>

TANGIER: ***Busca a enterarte lo que intentó hacer Laban el Arameo a nuestro padre Jacob, que Faraón sentenció, la pena de muerte para los varones, y Laban quiso pedrer a todos, como dice el verso, el Arameo intentó deslizarse de mi padre, y descendió Jacob nuestro padre a Egipto ...***

19 See Jose Benoliel, *Dialecto Judeo-hispano-marroquí o hakitía*, Varona, Madrid 1977, p. 191; Paloma Díaz-Mas, *Sephardim: The Jews from Spain*, trans. George K. Zucker, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1992, p. 72.

20 *Noestro* appears regularly in a Spanish fifteenth-century woman's *Siddur*: see Moshe Lazar (ed.), *Siddur Tefillot: A Woman's Ladino Prayer Book*, Labyrinthos, Culver City 1995.

21 English: 'Go forth and learn what Laban the Aramean intended to do to Jacob our father. Pharaoh decreed only against the males, while Laban sought to uproot all, as it is said: 'The Aramean was bent on destroying my father, who went down to Egypt'.

TETUÁN: *Sal y aprende lo que busco Labán el Aramin para hacer a Yahacob nuestro padre, que Parhó no sentenció, salvo sobre los machos, y Labán buscó para arrancar a lo todo, como así es dicho, Aramin quiso deperder a mi padre, y descendió a Egipto ...*

ISTANBUL: *Sal i deprende ke buşko Lavan el Arami por azer a Yaakov noestro padre, ke Paro non asetensyo salvo sovre los maços i Lavan buşko por arankar a lo todo, ke ansi dize el pasuk: Arami kijo depedrer a mi padre, i desendyo a ayifto ...*

SALONIKA: *Sal y deprende que buchcó Lavàn el Arami por azer a Yaacov nuestro padre, que Paró no setenció salvo sovre los **ninios**. Y Lavàn buchco por arrancar alo todo. Que ansi dize el Passouk: Arami quijo depiedrer<sup>22</sup> a mi padre y **abacho** a Ayifto ...*

JERUSALEM: *Sal i deprende: lo ke bushko Lavan el arami por azer a Yaakov nuestro padre, Ke Par'o non asetensio, salvo sovre los machos, i Lavan bushko por arankar a lo todo, ke ansi dize el Pasuk: "Arami kijo depedrer a mi padre i desendio a Ayifto" ...*

SEATTLE: *Sal i embeza ke bushco Lavan el Arami por azer a Yaakov nuestro padre. Ke Paro non asetencio salvo sovre los machos, i Lavan bushco por arancar a lo todo, ke ansi dize el Pasuk: Arami kijo depedrer a mi padre. I desendyo a Ayifto ...*

As in the above examples, the Ottoman versions correspond quite closely to one another – with the exception of SALONIKA, which uses two words that differ from the other versions: *ninios* ('children') rather than *machos* ('males'), and the simpler *abacho* instead of the more literary *descendio* ('went down'). SEATTLE also renders *embeza* in place of *deprende* – a common Judeo-Spanish word for 'learn' which appears in many other Hebrew-script Ottoman Empire *Haggadot*.

TETUÁN differs from the eastern *Haggadot* in the following respects: *aprende* is used instead of *deprende* (or *embeza*); *Aramin* occurs instead of *Arami*; *como así es dicho* – a common formulaic version found in Italy in Latin-script texts<sup>23</sup> – appears instead of *ke ansi dize el pasuk*, the common Judeo-Spanish expression; *quiso* is used instead of *kijo*; and *Egipto* is employed in place of *Ayifto*. All these variations are common to the other Ladino *Haggadot* from Italy, especially those written in

22 See note 13 concerning the variations of the Hebrew- and Latin-script translations of *lamad* and 'oved – *deprende* and *depierde*.

23 See Schwarzwald, *The Ladino Translations of Pirke Aboth* (above note 1), p. 302.

Latin-script, although the term *Egipto* is additionally found in other Hebrew-script Ladino *Haggadot* from Italy.

TANGIER is a free translation of the Hebrew text. This is clear from its syntactic structure, its use of proper names – *Arameo*, *Jacob*, *Faraon* and *Egipto*, and by the choice of words – *busca* instead of *sal*, *a enterarte* rather than *deprender*, *intentó* instead of *quiso*, *deslizarse* rather than *arrancar*, *varones* instead of *machos*, etc. The editor also employs a degree of interpretation when he writes *sentenció la pena de muerte para los varones* rather than *setenció salvo sobre los machos*. All these factors in combination suggest that TANGIER is an independent rendition of the *Haggadah* not based on any previous Ladino translations.

The above three examples demonstrate that the Ottoman *Haggadot* are very similar to one another and contain only a few minor variations resulting from translation simplifications. TETUÁN resembles the Ottoman *Haggadot* more than TANGIER. TANGIER appears to be a Spanish free-translation of the *Haggadah* text which includes many syntactical and lexical variations. Both TANGIER and TETUÁN are unique in their use of Spanish *Dios* rather than *Dio*.

In the following section, we shall examine the linguistic features of the North African texts in order to determine the extent to which they reflect a Ladino base.

## Linguistic features

The analysis in this section pertains to the following linguistic features: 1. the use of Hebrew words; 2. proper names; 3. other lexical choices; 4. syntax; 5. morphology; 6. orthography. In each case I will first demonstrate significant features in the North African *Haggadot* which differ from the Ottoman versions and then discuss the relevance of these features in relation to determining pertinent Judeo-Spanish characteristics.

### 1. *The use of Hebrew words*

The following table shows the use of Hebrew words taken from several paragraphs that appear in the relevant *Haggadah*.<sup>24</sup>

24 Those mentioned in examples 1-3 above, as well as the remainder of the questions in *Ma Nishtana*, the end of the story concerning the Rabbis in Bene Berak, *Tam ma hu 'omer*, part of the *Dayenu*, and *Raban Gamliel*.

Table 1: Hebrew words used in the translations

TANGIER	TETUÁN	ISTANBUL	SALONIKA	JERUSALEM	SEATTLE	HEBREW	GLOSS
<i>Pesah</i> , pascua del <i>Pesah</i>	Pesah	Pesah, Korban pesah	Pessah, Korban Pessah	Pesah, Pesakh	Pesakh	פסח	Passover
’ה	A”	Adonay	Adonay	Adonay	Adonai	ה’	God
massa		masa	matzá	matza	Matza	מצה	Matzah
Umaror				<i>I maror</i>	I maror	ומרור	And Maror
	Nuestros <i>Rebbisim</i>	Noestros sinyores <i>hahamim</i>	Nuestros <i>hahamim</i>	muestrros sinyores <i>hahamim</i>	muestrros senyores <i>Hahamim</i>	רבתינו	Our Rabbis
	Chemah	Şema	Chémah	shema	Shema	שמע	Shema
	Dinim	dinim		dinim		הלכות	laws
	Chabbat	Şabat	Chabath	Shabat	Shabbath	שבת	Sabbath
		afilu	afilou	Afilu	Afilu	אפילו	even
		talmidim	talmidim	talmidim	talmidim	תלמידים	students
		Afikomin		Afikoman		אפיקומן	Afikoman
		Pasuk	Passouk	Pasuk	Pasuk	שנאמר	as is said
		Hova		Hova	Hova	חובה	duty
	Raban	Raban	Raban	Raban	Raban	רבן	Rabbi
4	7	14	11	14	12		

While only 4-7 Hebrew words exist in the North African *Haggadot* in the paragraphs in question, 11-14 occur in the Ottoman versions. TANGIER uses Hebrew words for the name of God (written in Hebrew letters), the name of the holiday, and the three words whose recital is imperative on the festival according to Raban Gamliel – *Pesah*, *matza*, and *maror*. In another reference to the holiday it calls it *Pascua del Pesah* (‘the holiday of Passover’). TETUÁN does not take these three words literally but translates them as *Carnero, seseña y lechuga* (ram [sacrifice], unleavened bread [*Matzah*] and lettuce [used for *Maror*]), while it contains the Hebrew words for God and the name of the holiday. Five other words are used in their integrated Hebrew form: *Rebbisim*, *Chemah*, *dinim*, *Chabbat*, and *Raban*. TETUÁN is the only *Haggadah* examined here that uses the word *Rebbisim* to mean Rabbis (the same term is used in the Venice *Haggadah* of 1609, which would suggest that the application of this specific

terminology represents an old tradition).<sup>25</sup> The words *Shema* and *Shabbat* are used in all the texts (except for TANGIER) since they possess religious connotations which are difficult to explain. TANGIER uses the translation *es hora de rezar* ('it is time for praying') – which does not have exactly the same meaning as *Shema* – and *sábado*, the Spanish equivalent of Saturday. By using these translations, the Jewish orientation of the terms is lost. The use of the word *dinim* in TETUÁN, as well as in ISTANBUL and JERUSALEM, emphasizes the Jewish nature of the law; this is substituted by *la ley* in SALONIKA and by *ordenes* in SEATTLE.

The only further use of Hebrew occurs in the Ottoman *Haggadot* – where all the words used had already been integrated into spoken Judeo-Spanish and subsequently found their way into *Haggadot* translations: *hahamim*, *afilu*, *talmidim*, *pasuk*, *Afikomin*, *hova*, and *Raban* (the title of the Rabbi).<sup>26</sup> It should be noted that *Pesah* is interpreted in the case of the *Afikomin* (see example 2 above) as being *Korban Pesah* ('the sacrifice of Passover'; ISTANBUL, SALONIKA) rather than as the name of the holiday itself.<sup>27</sup> The old Sephardic tradition of *Afikomin* has been replaced in JERUSALEM by *Afikoman* (due to Ashkenazi or Israeli influence). SALONIKA uses the word *Pascua* only once – in reference to the name of the holiday.

It is evident that the presence of Hebrew words in the North African *Haggadot* is very sparse and that they almost exclusively denote Jewish terms – as opposed to the Ottoman *Haggadot* which use them more freely.

25 See the discussion of the word in Ora (Rodrigue) Schwarzwald, "Ma ben targume haladino befirke avot uvhagadot hasfaradim (The Difference between Ladino Translations of *Pirke Avot* and the *Haggadot*)", Tamar Alexander, Abraham Haim, Galit Hasan-Rokem and Ephraim Hazan (eds.), *History and Creativity*, Misgav Yerushalayim, Jerusalem 1994, pp. 33-54, especially p. 43.

26 For integrated words, see Shelomo Morag, "The integrated corpus of Hebrew elements in Jewish languages: Some aspects of Analysis", Shelomo Morag, Moshe Bar-Asher, and Maria Mayer-Modena (eds.), *Vena Habraica in Judaeorum Linguis (Studi Camito-Semitici 5)*, Università degli Studi di Milano, Milano 1999, pp. 39-57.

27 It should be noted that TANGIER also refers to 'meat' as *carnero* ('ram').

## 2. Proper names

As demonstrated above, both TANGIER and TETUÁN use *Egipto* and *Dios* – the Spanish forms of Egypt and the name of God – rather than *Ayifto* and *Dio*, the Judeo-Spanish form in the Ottoman *Haggadot*. They also use *Aramin* (TETUÁN) and *Arameo* (TANGIER) rather than *Arami*. The use of *Egipto* is similar to Ladino Hebrew-script *Haggadot* from Italy, published in Venice, Leghorn, and Pisa. As we mentioned in the introduction, many of the Italian *Haggadot* were written for the use of *conversos* who had returned to Judaism and adapted standard Spanish, rather than Judeo-Spanish, as their language of communication.<sup>28</sup> These Jews adhered more closely to Spanish conventions than did the eastern communities. It is possible that the translator of TETUÁN either followed some Italian version of the *Haggadot* or that a tendency existed to standardize the old Ladino translation based on Modern Spanish.

The use of the word *Dios* throughout North African *Haggadot* is clearly a Spanish influence which is not seen in any other Ladino traditions, including Italy. The use of *Aramin*–*Arameo* is similarly unique to North African *Haggadot*, not being found in any other Ladino translations.<sup>29</sup>

As shown in example 3, TANGIER uses the Spanish equivalents of the Hebrew names *Jacob* and *Faraon*.<sup>30</sup> In other places, we find the Spanish names *Jerusalem* and *Jordan*, rather than *Yarden* and *Yerushalayim*. For other names that do not exist in Spanish, the translator copies the names phonetically. Hence TANGIER systematically deviates from the traditional way in which proper names are used.

28 On the differences between eastern and western translations, see Isaac Benabu, “On the Transmission of the Judeo-Spanish Translations of the Bible: The Eastern and Western Traditions Compared”, Isaac Benabu and Joseph Sermoneta (eds.), *Judeo-Romance Languages*, Magnes Press, Jerusalem 1985, pp. 1-26; Ora (Rodrigue) Schwarzwald, “Linguistic Variations among Ladino Translations as Determined by Geographical, Temporal and Textual Factors”, *Folia Linguistica Historica*, XVII (1996), pp. 57-72; idem, “Language Choice and Language Varieties Before and After the Expulsion”, Yedida K. Stillman and Norman A. Stillman (eds.), *From Iberia to Diaspora: Studies in Sephardic History and Culture*, Brill, Leiden 1999, pp. 399-415.

29 See Sephiha, *Le Ladino: Deutéronome* (above note 1), p. 274.

30 Sometimes also spelled *Pharaón*. See my discussion of Hebrew names: Ora (Rodrigue) Schwarzwald, “Proper Names in Ladino translations: Origin and Jewish Identity”, *Pe’amim*, 84 (2000), pp. 66-77.

### 3. Other lexical choices

In addition to the different words adduced above (e.g., *Egipto* (N) – *Ayifto* (O), *Dios* (N) – *Dio* (O), *tampoco* ~ *ni una sola* (N) – *afile* (O), *Arameo* ~ *aramin* (N) – *Arami* (O), the following words also distinguish North African from Ottoman *Haggadot*:<sup>31</sup> *distinta* (TANGIER) ~ *diferente* (TETUÁN) – *demudada* (O) (‘different’; Hb. *nishtana*)

*seriamos suficiente* (TANGIER) ~ *nos abundara* (TETUÁN) – *nos* ~ *mos abastava* (ISTANBUL, JERUSALEM, SEATTLE) ~ *abastava a nos* (SALONIKA) (‘It would have been enough for us’; Hb. *dayenu*)

*perfecto* (N) – *plenizmo* (O) (‘simple, innocent’; Hb. *tam*)

*man* (N) – *magna* (O) (‘manna’; Hb. *man*)

*enterarte* (TANGIER) ~ *aprende* (TETUÁN) – *deprender* (ISTANBUL, SALONIKA, JERUSALEM) ~ *embeza* (SEATTLE)

*busco* (N) – *bushko* (O) (‘looked for, wanted’; Hb. *biqesh*).

In many cases TETUÁN resembles the Ottoman *Haggadot*. Following are a few examples:

*untamos* (TANGIER) – *entinientes* (TETUÁN +O) (‘dip’; Hb. *metablin*)

*alegres y contentos* – *arrescoveados* ~ *rescoveados* (‘happy and satisfied – reclining’; Hb. *mesubin*)

*tortas sin fermentar* – *seseña* ~ *sesenya* ~ *sesenia* ~ *matza* (Hb. *matzah*)

*esklavidud* – *casa/kaza de siervos* (‘house of slaves’; Hb. *bet* ‘*avadim*)

*busca* – *sal* (‘come’; Hb. *Tze*)

*palabras* – *cosas/kozas* (‘words, things’: Hb. *devarim*)

*Rvdo* – *Raban* (‘Rabbi’; Hb. *raban*)

*leyes* – *fueros* (‘laws’; Hb. *huqim*).

The word *yebdo* for Hb. *hametz* (‘leavened bread’) is used uniquely in TETUÁN, while other Hebrew-script *Haggadot* from both Italy and the Ottoman Empire employ

31 From the same sample mentioned in note 24. Several other lexical differences also exist, such as the use of *delante* (N) – *delantre* (O) (‘in front of, before’; Hb. *lifne*); *generación* (N), *cerenansyo* (ISTANBUL), *arnancio* (SALONIKA), *djenerancio* (JERUSALEM), *generancio* (SEATTLE), etc. The Ottoman variations exist in other Hebrew-script Ladino *Haggadot*.



the words *lyevdo* or *lyyevdo*. Since the combination of Hebrew *Lamed* and *Yod* is usually employed to represent the Spanish *ll*, pronounced [y] in Judeo-Spanish, the translator of this *Haggadah* used the letter *y*, *yebdo*, in his edition. The Ottoman *Haggadot* researched for this study all use the word *levdo* – except for SALONIKA, which employs the Hebrew *hametz*.<sup>32</sup>

These examples clearly demonstrate that the North African *Haggadot* include more standard Spanish words than the Ottoman *Haggadot*. TANGIER seems to be lexically the most remote from the Ladino tradition represented in the Ottoman *Haggadot*.

#### 4. Syntax

The three examples in the "Textual comparison" section above have demonstrated the syntactic variation among the *Haggadot*. Whereas TANGIER exhibits a free translation of the text, the other *Haggadot* follow the Hebrew syntax as closely as possible. The first example given above (*ma nishtana*) demonstrates these variations. Most of the versions copy the Hebrew structure of *ha-layla ha-ze* literally, into *la noche la esta*, even though this sounds clumsy in Spanish. TANGIER uses the standard form *esta noche*, and JERUSALEM, despite its attempts to avoid sounding overly literal, consistently uses the demonstrative *esta* ('this') after the noun (as in Hebrew), rather than omitting the definite article, *la*, altogether and placing *esta* before the noun. The same process applies to the Hebrew phrase *mi-kol ha-lelot*: all *Haggadot* except TANGIER translate this literally as *más que~ke todas las noches*. Another example is given in 4a-c:

##### 4a Raban Gamliel

Hebrew:	Raban Gamliel	haya 'omer	kol she-lo 'amar	shelosha devarim 'elu
TANGIER:	El Rvdo. Gamliel	dice:	todo el que no dice	estas tres palabras
TETUÁN:	Raban Gamliel	era dicién:	todo el que no dice	estas tres cosas
ISTANBUL:	Raban Gamliel	era dizyen:	todo el ke no dize	tres kosas estas
SALONIKA:	Raban Gamliel	era dizien:	Todo quien que no dize,	tres cosas estas
JERUSALEM:	Raban Gamliel	dizia:	todo el ke non disho	estas tres kosas
SEATTLE:	Raban Gamliel	era dizien:	todo el ke no dize	tres kosas estas

32 See the discussion in Alvar, *La Leyenda de Pascua* (above note 8), pp. 89-90.

4b

Hebrew:	ba-pesaḥ	lo yatza yede ḥovato,
TANGIER:	en la pascua del Pesah,	no cumple con su obligación,
TETUÁN:	en Pesah,	no sale de abandono <sup>33</sup> de su obligación,
ISTANBUL:	en Pesah	no sale de hova,
SALONIKA:	en Pessah,	no sale de avondo de su ovligo,
JERUSALEM:	en Pesah	no sale de hova:
SEATTLE:	en Pesakh	no sale de hova,

4c

Hebrew:	ve'elu hen:	pesaḥ	matza	umaror.
TANGIER:	y estas son	Pesah,	Massa,	Umaror.
TETUÁN:	y estas ellas:	CARNERO	SESENA	y LECHUGA. <sup>34</sup>
ISTANBUL:	i estas eyas:	Pəsah,	Masa,	i Liçuḡua.
SALONIKA:	y estas eyas:	Pessah,	Matzà,	i Litchouga.
JERUSALEM:	i estas son:	Pesah,	Matza,	i Maror.
SEATTLE:	i estas eyas:	Pesakh,	Matza,	i Maror

*Haya 'omer* ('used to say') in 4a is translated as *dice* ('says') in TANGIER and as *dizia* ('used to say') in JERUSALEM. While TANGIER uses a different tense, JERUSALEM retains the original tense but deviates from the Hebrew structure. In contrast, all the other versions use *dice~dize* ('says') for *'amar* ('said') in 4a – except for JERUSALEM, which renders the Judeo-Spanish form *disho* ('said'), in an exact copy of the Hebrew tense. SALONIKA is the only version that uses *quien* ('whoever') instead of *el que~ke* ('that'), reflecting the Hebrew *she-* ('that'). The Hebrew phrase *sheloshā devarim 'elu* ('these three things' – lit.: 'three things these') is syntactically copied in ISTANBUL, SALONIKA, and SEATTLE as *tres kosas~cosas estas*. TANGIER, TETUÁN, and JERUSALEM conform to the Spanish syntactic structure and translate the phrase as *estas tres palabras~cosas*.

33 This is probably a spelling mistake. Alvar, *La Leyenda de Pascua* (above note 8), copies it as *abondo*.

34 Alvar, *La Leyenda de Pascua* (above note 8), copied these forms in lower case letters rather than in capitals: *carnero seseña y lechuga*.

While TANGIER interprets the phrase *ba-pesah* ('at Passover') in 4b as *en la pascua del Pesah* ('in the holiday of Passover'), all the other *Haggadot* translate it literally. ISTANBUL, JERUSALEM, and SEATTLE translate the Hebrew *lo yatza yede hovato* ('has not fulfilled his duty') as *no sale de hova* ('does not fulfill duty'), without the third person pronoun. TETUÁN and SALONIKA similarly translate the phrase as *no sale de abandono de su obligación* and *no sale de avondo de su ovligo* respectively, while TANGIER renders it freely as *no cumple con su obligación*.

In 4c, both TANGIER and JERUSALEM adjust the Hebrew *ve-'elu hen* ('and these are') to correspond to the Spanish syntax by using *y~i estas son*, while all the other *Haggadot* translate it literally as *y~i estas ellas~eyas*. The translations of *Pesah matza u-maror* have already been discussed in section 1 above (concerning the use of Hebrew words).

It is clear from previous examples (including no. 4) that the syntax used in TANGIER conforms to Spanish usage and deviates from the Ladino tradition of literal translation based on Hebrew syntax. TETUÁN – as well as JERUSALEM – sometimes deviates from the other Ottoman *Haggadot*.

## 5. Morphology

Some inflectional forms also distinguish North African from Ottoman *Haggadot*. Whereas the Ottoman *Haggadot* follow Judeo-Spanish morphology, the North African *Haggadot* reflect the Spanish grammar. Although relatively few instances of these differences occur here, those that do appear are clearly representative of this phenomenon.

- a. The Ottoman *Haggadot* use the conjunctive *i~y* ('and') indiscriminately, whereas North African *Haggadot* use the Spanish *e* before the vowel *i* and *y* elsewhere.
- b. The forms *muestro* and *noestro* ('our') occur only in the Ottoman *Haggadot*. North African *Haggadot* exclusively use the standard Spanish *nuestro*, which also occurs in one of the Ottoman *Haggadot*, SALONIKA.<sup>35</sup> The same applies to the use of *mos* ('us') in the Ottoman *Haggadot*, excluding SALONIKA, *nos* in the North African ones.

35 My study of the Ladino *Haggadot* from Italy and the Ottoman Empire written in Hebrew letters (forthcoming), describes versions from Salonika which also use *muestro* (see also above, note 13).

- c. The Hebrew word *va-amartem* ('and you [pl.] should say') is translated in TANGIER and TETUÁN as *y diréis*, while the Ottoman *Haggadot* render it as *i direş* (ISTANBUL), *i diresh* (JERUSALEM), *y dirédech* (SALONIKA), and *i dirash*<sup>36</sup> (SEATTLE). Both *diredech* and *diresh* are old forms and occur in many Ladino *Haggadot* written in Hebrew-script. It is only in later Hebrew-script Ladino *Haggadot* from Livorno that the standard Spanish forms are employed. As mentioned earlier, these *Haggadot* from Italy were more hispanized in nature due to their target readership population.
- d. The first person conjugation of verbs in the past tense is given with a final *i* – as opposed to the final *é* – in the Ottoman *Haggadot*, reflecting Judeo-Spanish usage: e.g., *saqué* (TANGIER), *tomé* (TETUÁN), *llevé* (N) – *tomi*, *yevi* (O) ('I took, I carried'; Hb. *va-'eqaḥ*, *va-'olekh*).
- e. The same difference in conjugation can be found in the first person plural in the past tense: *exclamamos* (N), *esklamimos* (O) ('and we cried'; Hb. *va-nitz 'aq*).

In respect to all the features listed above – with the exception of the first – North African *Haggadot* most closely resemble the Italian *Haggadot*. Although it is clear that, despite being written in Hebrew letters, the latter have been hispanized, linguistic analyses of their syntax and vocabulary assure their identification as genuine Ladino translations.<sup>37</sup>

## 6. Orthography

Whereas North African *Haggadot* use the standard Spanish conventional spelling system, the Ottoman *Haggadot* employ various systems that reflect pronunciation (due to the fact that they were originally written in the Hebrew alphabet). It is clear that the North African *Haggadot* did not maintain the unique phonetic features that at one time typified both eastern Judeo-Spanish and Ḥaketía. Thus, as demonstrated in example 1 above, the spelling of *vez-vecas* (N) versus *vez-vezes* (O) reflects the voiced pronunciation of /z/ in the Ottoman *Haggadot*, whereas the alternations in the North African *Haggadot* reflect the Spanish unvoiced nature of /z~c/. Similarly, in example

36 A typographical error for *diresh* – or a simple future rather than a subjunctive.

37 See Schwarzwald, "Ma ben targume haladino" (above note 25).

2 and others, we find *dice-dicien* (N) and *dize-dizien~dizyen* (O). North African *Haggadot* use *sabio*, whereas the Ottoman *Haggadot* spell the same word *savio* with a <v>. In example 3, we encounter *busco* (N) versus *bushko* (O) in various spellings; *sobre* (N) versus *sovre* (O); *hacer* (N) versus *azer* (O); *quiso* (N) versus *kijo~quijo* (O), reflecting the pronunciation of /ʒ/; and *justicias* (N) versus *cuisyos/ djuisios/ juissios/ juisios* (O) representing /ǰ/ (= /dʒ/). Spanish *dijeron* (N) is Judeo-Spanish *disheron, dişeron, dicheron* (O), etc. In example 4, the word *ellas* (N) is consistently copied phonetically as *eyas* (O). It is thus clear that North African spelling reflects Modern Spanish and not the Judeo-Spanish and Ḥaketīc old pronunciation.<sup>38</sup>

The above examples illustrate a variety of spellings in the Ottoman *Haggadot*: /k/ is spelled using <c> or <k>, and sometimes <qu>; /š/ is represented by <sh>, <ch>, or <ş>; /y/ by <i> or <y>; /č/ (= /tš/) by <ch> or <ç>; /u/ by <u> or <ou>. The Spanish <ll> is spelled using <y>, the initial *h* omitted, and *v* is often employed when the Spanish spelling demands a <b>, etc. The inconsistency of spelling systems – sometimes even within the same *Haggadah* printed in the Ottoman Empire – confirms the fact that the editors were not using Spanish as their source language but adapting the Latin alphabet to fit the traditional Judeo-Spanish pronunciation.

## Conclusion

The above discussion has demonstrated that North African *Haggadot* differ from Ottoman *Haggadot*. Despite the existence of the several minor differences (especially seen in JERUSALEM), the Ottoman *Haggadot* are remarkably similar to one another. If we consider the linguistic features presented above, we can construct a scale of resemblance relating to the Ladino tradition found in older *Haggadot*, from both the Ottoman Empire and Italy.

**TANGIER -> TETUÁN -> JERUSALEM -> ISTANBUL/ SALONIKA/ SEATTLE**  
**Spanish —————-> Ladino**

TANGIER is the most Spanish *Haggadah* in nature. It is a free translation of the Hebrew *Haggadah* into Spanish, written using Spanish orthography with very few Hebrew words. Its lexicon, including proper names and grammar, are also Spanish.

38 See the discussion of these phonetic features in Benoliel, *Dialecto Judeo-hispano-marroquí o hakitía* (above note 19).

Although TETUÁN uses Spanish orthography and the noun *Dios*, together with some Spanish lexical items and morphological structures, it corresponds more closely to the Hebrew syntactic structure. It employs a slightly higher number of Hebrew words than TANGIER and copies Hebrew people and place names according to Jewish tradition. Many of its translations conform to the traditions of Italian *Haggadot*, although some are innovative. It therefore resembles the Ottoman *Haggadot* in some respects.

In most cases, JERUSALEM follows the same Ladino translation norms of the Ottoman *Haggadot*, occasionally simplifying its syntax, however, so as to more closely resemble regular Judeo-Spanish (mainly in cases where the Hebrew and the Spanish syntax are at odds with one another). The other Ottoman *Haggadot* are very similar to each other – with some minor variations that can also be found among the Ladino *Haggadot* using Hebrew letters written prior to the twentieth century.

The process of transformation whereby the Latin alphabet replaced Hebrew lettering had very little influence on Ladino translations of the Ottoman *Haggadot*. In distinction, the *Haggadot* from North Africa show a strong Spanish influence on the way in which the *Haggadot* were translated. TETUÁN preserved many of the Ladino traditional features which TANGIER had lost. It can therefore be considered a Ladino version of the *Haggadot*.

Can the TANGIER translation of the *Haggadah* be regarded as Ladino merely based on the translator's claim for it as such (above, note 4)? Following the linguistic analysis, I suggest that the TANGIER version of the *Haggadah* is a free Spanish translation that is not specific to Ladino; it could have been translated by any Spanish translator from a Sephardic community. Spanish *Haggadot* published in Argentina are very similar in style to these *Haggadot*, with the distinction that they were made by Ashkenazi translators. The Sephardic *Haggadah* differs from the Ashkenazi in a number of details, the most notable divergence lying in the order of questions listed in *Ma-Nishtana*.<sup>39</sup> The fact that the syntax is free, the language is Modern Spanish, and all the features that typify Ladino texts are absent, collectively confirms that it does not follow any Ladino tradition.

39 The Sephardic order is: metablin; ḥametz o matza; she'ar yeraqot; 'okhlim ve-shotim – mesubin. The Ashkenazi order is: ḥametz umatza; she'ar yeraqot; matbilin; 'okhlim – mesubin: see Daniel E. Goldschmidt, *The Passover Haggadah: Its Sources and History*, Mossad Bialik, Jerusalem 1982, pp. 10-13 (Hebrew); Menachem M. Kasher, *Hagadah Shelema: The Complete Passover Hagadah*, Tora Shelema Institute, Jerusalem 1967, pp. 112-117 (Hebrew).



חנוכיה, פליז; טיטואן, ראשית המאה הכ' – מבית משפחת בן־טולילה  
*Hanukkia*, latón; Tetuán, inicios del siglo XX - de la familia Bentolola