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# Judeo-Spanish Traditional Poetry in the United States

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To the memory of Joseph H. Silverman, peerless colleague and beloved friend.

The first Jews to arrive in what would later be the United States were Sephardim.<sup>1</sup> Refugees from the Dutch settlement at Recife in Brazil, recently reconquered by the Portuguese, arrived at Nieuw Amsterdam in 1654. The congregation of Shearith Israel came into existence in 1655, when the Dutch West India Company—counter to the demands of Governor Peter Stuyvesant—granted permission for the immigrants to remain. Yeshuath Israel, the congregation in Newport, Rhode Island, was founded in 1658. The destiny of these two earliest Jewish settlements is inseparable from that of Amsterdam and London, and by extension of Dutch Brazil, Surinam, and the West Indies.

Though some early settlers probably came directly from Portugal or even Spain, a great majority of the pioneers were undoubtedly Portuguese crypto-Jews or their descendants—unwilling converts to Catholicism who, on arrival in Amsterdam, the “Dutch Jerusalem,” starting in the final years of the sixteenth century, gladly returned to their ancestral faith.

These Portuguese conversos, many of whom were originally of Spanish origin, possessed an essentially Renaissance Iberian culture. In Holland, they enthusiastically cultivated many of the literary genres characteristic of the Spanish Golden Age.<sup>2</sup> At home and, to a degree, even in their formal writing, they came to use modalities of Spanish and Portuguese in which the two Iberian languages exerted strong reciprocal influences.<sup>3</sup>

If the earliest immigrants to the future New York spoke Spanish and Portuguese—as they most certainly did—then they would surely have remembered, among other oral literary forms, certain ballads, riddles, and folktales, and would have enlivened their daily speech with pungent Iberian proverbs, but we have no extant textual evi-

dence to support such a reasonable supposition.<sup>4</sup> Indirectly, however, we can perhaps form some idea of the sort of traditional literature the early American Sephardim may have known from the contents of a Portuguese miscellany put together in Holland in the late seventeenth century: *Relações, cantigas, adeuinhações, e outras corizidades, Trasladas de papeis Velhos e juntados neste caderno en Amsterdam, 1683* ("Narratives, songs, riddles, and other curiosities, copied from old papers and assembled in this notebook, in Amsterdam, 1683"). The nostalgic character of this booklet's title, *Trasladas de papeis Velhos*, unequivocally foreshadows the eventual disappearance of Hispanic oral literature among the Dutch Sephardim. Though their Hispano-Portuguese language would linger on vestigially even down to the early twentieth century, it was already taking on an aura of antiquarian nostalgia in the last years of the 1600s.<sup>5</sup>

The distinctive conditions encountered in Nieuw Amsterdam—New York were even less propitious for the survival of Sephardic Hispano-Portuguese or of its oral literature. Though certain ritualized announcements in the synagogue continued to be made in Spanish or in Portuguese, and a specialized religious vocabulary was to survive even in modern times, the old languages seem to have died out in colonial America by the end of the eighteenth century at the very latest.<sup>6</sup> In 1783, no less a figure than the distinguished hazzan Gershom Mendes Seixas, who ministered to the New York community and, during the Revolution, served at Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia, could nonetheless allow that he was "unacquainted with the Spanish and Portuguese languages which have ever been used since the first establishment of the synagogue."<sup>7</sup> Barring the discovery of new documents—always a distinct possibility—we cannot know what oral literature may have circulated among the early Sephardic settlers in colonial America, nor exactly when it ceased to exist.

In the first decades of the present century, a new and culturally quite different wave of Sephardic immigration began to arrive in the United States. With their expulsion from Spain in 1492, Jews who had been unwilling to convert, even nominally, to Christianity had settled in various Eastern Mediterranean cities under Ottoman rule, as well as in North Africa. In contrast to the Renaissance culture of the conversos who took refuge in Holland and other parts of Western Europe

in the sixteenth century, the exiles of 1492 took with them a more conservative, essentially medieval Hispanic culture and language. Unlike the Western Sephardim, who gradually lost their Hispanic languages, the Eastern Mediterranean and North African Jews kept alive and cherished their Judeo-Spanish dialects and oral literature down to the present day.

During the early years of the twentieth century, a variety of interrelated developments—the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, the Young Turk Revolution (1908), resurgent Balkan nationalism, and the Balkan Wars (1912–1913)—combined to pose a grave threat to the integrity of the Eastern Sephardic communities. Many Sephardim felt it was time to leave. By 1926, some 25,000 Sephardic Jews are estimated to have emigrated to the United States.<sup>8</sup> These Eastern Spanish Jews brought with them to America an extraordinarily rich repertoire of traditional oral literature, in which elements dating back to pre-expulsion Spain were complexly interwoven with other features acquired in the Balkans and the Middle East.<sup>9</sup>

In 1957, in collaboration with my deceased friend Professor Joseph H. Silverman, I began a research project aimed at collecting, studying, and editing Sephardic oral literature. In 1959, we were joined by our friend, the distinguished ethnomusicologist, Professor Israel J. Katz. Since that time, we have done fieldwork, individually and collaboratively, in the United States, Spain, Morocco, and Israel, and have interviewed a total of 241 informants in all: 164 from the Eastern Mediterranean communities and 77 from North Africa.<sup>10</sup>

Though our principal efforts have been aimed at bringing together a massive collection of narrative ballads (*romances*), we have, whenever possible, collected other forms as well, and our collection has come to include examples of all the major genres of Sephardic folk literature. On the following pages, at the kind invitation of Professor Martin A. Cohen, I have edited, with brief critical remarks and the bibliography essential for further reading, a representative sample of some of these folk-literary materials.

Our fieldwork in the United States has for the most part been limited to Eastern informants—a total of 85 in all—so the present selection will include only Eastern Sephardic materials.<sup>11</sup> Though other divisions can be defended, I have classified our texts into the following

generic categories: (1) ballads, (2) cumulative songs, (3) songs of passage, (4) lyric songs, (5) prayers and charms.<sup>12</sup>

### 1. Ballads

Judeo-Spanish ballads (*romansas* = Spanish *romances*) are narrative poems, typically with sixteen-syllable verses, made up of two eight-syllable hemistichs, with assonant rhyme in every second hemistich. Originating from fragments of long medieval epic poems, the ballads became established as a separate genre in the early fourteenth century, and the form was subsequently used to narrate numerous events in Spanish history, to recreate a variety of medieval narratives, to adapt stories borrowed from the balladic traditions of other European peoples (notably from France), and also as a vehicle for poems known only in the Hispanic tradition. From its medieval origins, the genre has survived down to the present day in the living oral tradition of all Hispanic peoples.<sup>13</sup>

Of all the genres of Sephardic oral literature, the ballads have the closest links to early Spanish counterparts, and, hence, Hispanists have lavished attention on them, unfortunately to the unwarranted neglect of other genres.<sup>14</sup> Because of its conservative character, Judeo-Spanish balladry offers invaluable evidence for the comparative study of the Pan-Hispanic *Romancero* and, indeed, of the Pan-European ballad as well.<sup>15</sup>

From our collection of some 1,485 ballad texts, here are two previously unedited versions collected from Eastern Sephardic informants in the United States:

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|-----|--|---|
| 1.1 | <i>Gaiferos jugador</i><br>Por los palasios de Carlo<br>y non pasan sinon ġugare.                      | <i>Gaiferos the Gambler</i><br>In the halls of Charlemagne's palace,<br>they do nothing but gamble.                               |
| 2   | Y non ġugan plata ni oro,<br>sino vías y sivdades.<br>Ganó Carlo a Gaifero<br>sus vías y sus sivdades. | They don't gamble for silver and gold,<br>but for cities and towns.<br>Charlemagne won from Gaiferos<br>his cities and his towns. |
| 4   | Ganó Gaifero a Carlo<br>y a la su spoza reale.   | Gaiferos won from Charlemagne<br>his royal wife.  |

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|----|---|---|
|    | Más s'accontentava piedrere,<br>piedrere que no ganare.   | Better to have lost her,<br>to lose her and not to win her.   |
| 6  | —¡Y sovrino, el mi sovrino,<br>y el mi sovrino caronale!<br>Yo vos creí chequetico<br>y el Dio te hizo barragane.           | "Nephew, my nephew,<br>blood nephew of mine!<br>I raised you from childhood;<br>God made you a valiant young man.     |
| 8  | Y El te dio barvica roxa<br>y en tu puerpo fuersa grande.<br>Yo te di a Lindabera<br>y por mujer y por iguale.              | He gave you a red beard<br>and great strength in your body.<br>I gave you Lindabella<br>for your wife and equal.      |
| 10 | Vos fuetex hombre covado<br>y que vola dexatex yevare.<br>Espozada la tengo en Fransia<br>y por sien rublas y por maze.     | You were cowardly;<br>you let her be carried off.<br>I have betrothed her in France<br>for a hundred rubles and more. |
| 12 | Vos que sox hombre garrero<br>y vola puedíax ganare.—<br>Y la topó a Lindaibeya<br>y mañanicas de Sançiguare. <sup>16</sup> | But you are a warrior<br>and you could still win her."<br>He encountered Lindabella<br>on the morning of St. John.    |

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|-----|--|---|
| 1.2 | <i>El pozo airón</i><br>Ya se van los siete hermanos,<br>ya se van para Aragón.                                | <i>The Bottomless Well</i><br>Now the seven brothers depart,<br>now they depart for Aragón.                   |
| 2   | Las calores eran fuertes;<br>agua non se les topó.<br>Por en medio del camino,<br>toparon un poço airó.        | The heat was intense;<br>they could find no water.<br>Along the way,<br>they found a deep well.               |
| 4   | Echaron pares y nones;<br>a el chico le cayó.<br>Ya lo atan a la cuerda;<br>lo echan al poço airó.             | They drew lots;<br>it fell to the youngest.<br>Now they tie him to the rope;<br>they lower him into the well. |
| 6   | Por en medio de el poço,<br>la cuerda se le rompió.<br>La agua se le hizo sangre;<br>las piedras culevros son. | Halfway down that well,<br>the rope broke.<br>The water became blood for them;<br>the stones became serpents. |
| 8   | —Si vos pregunta el mi padre,<br>le dizéx: "¡Al poço airó!" <sup>17</sup>                                      | "If my father asks you,<br>tell him: 'He was left in the well!'"  |

*Gaiferos jugador* exemplifies the medieval origins of so many ballads in the Sephardic repertoire. Nowhere else in European balladry, except among the Eastern Sephardim (and in the similarly archaic tra-

ditions of Portugal, Galicia, León, and Catalonia), can there still be heard a narrative song ultimately derived from the tradition of the *Waltharius* epic and its various medieval Germanic congeners.<sup>18</sup> By contrast with the medievalism of *Gaiferos*, *El pozo airón* is a direct and close translation of a modern Greek ballad. It is one of a small but significant number of *romanzas* which, except for their language and formulaic style, have nothing to do with the ballad genre's medieval Hispanic origins, but derive from Eastern Mediterranean prototypes.<sup>19</sup> This particular ballad, because of its tragic implications, is used as a dirge to be sung on the ninth of Av.

## 2. Cumulative Songs

Sephardic cumulative songs have never been studied as a genre. In addition to the two poems edited here, there are a number of others. *The Twelve Numbers* (*¿Quién supiese y entendiese?*) corresponds to the universally popular 'Ehād mī yôdēā?<sup>20</sup> *The Hours of the Day* (*La cantiga de las horas*), an exclusively Eastern children's song, associates the hours with a variety of everyday activities.<sup>21</sup> *Vivardueña*, known both in the East and in Morocco, follows the procedures involved in planting, harvesting, and making bread.<sup>22</sup> *Our bride says* (*Dice la nuestra novia*), current in the East and in North Africa, involves a metaphorical description of the bride's beauty.<sup>23</sup> Each of these songs has abundant counterparts in other branches of the Hispanic tradition, as well as in those of other European speech communities. A systematic study of the genre would be most welcome. Here are two examples from our collection:

2.1	<i>La moxca y la mora</i>	<i>The Moorish Girl</i>
1	S'estávase la mora en su bel estar. Venía la moxca por hazerle mal. La moxca a la mora, mesquina la mora, qu'en sus campos moros . . .	The Moorish girl was sitting in her sweet repose. The fly came along to do her harm. The fly harmed the girl, poor Moorish girl, in her Moorish fields . . .
12.	S'estávase'l šoḥet en su bel estar.	The butcher was sitting in his sweet repose.

Venía el malaḥ a-mave  
por hazerle mal.  
El malaḥ a-mave al šoḥet,

el šoḥet al buey,  
el buey al agua,  
el agua al fuego,  
el fuego al palo,  
el palo al perro,  
el perro al gato,  
el gato al ratón,  
el ratón a la rana,  
la rana a l'abezba,  
l'abezba a la moxca,  
la moxca a la mora,  
mesquina la mora,  
en sus campos moros.<sup>24</sup>

The Angel of Death came along  
to do him harm.  
The Angel of Death harmed the  
butcher,  
the butcher the ox,  
the ox the water,  
the water the fire,  
the fire the stick,  
the stick the dog,  
the dog the cat,  
the cat the mouse,  
the mouse the frog,  
the frog the wasp,  
the wasp the fly,  
the fly the girl,  
poor Moorish girl,  
in her Moorish fields.

2.2 *El cavretico*

1 Un cavretico,  
que me lo mercó mi padre,  
por dos aspros,  
por dos levanim.  
2 Vino el gato  
y modrió el cavretico,  
que me lo mercó mi padre,  
por dos aspros,  
por dos levanim . . .  
9 Vino el malaḥ  
y acuzó al šoḥet,  
porque degoyó a la vaca,  
porque bevió a la agua,  
porque amató al huego,  
porque quemó al palo,  
porque aḥarvó al perro,  
porque modrió al gato,  
porque modrió al cavretico,  
que me lo mercó mi padre,  
por dos aspros,  
por dos levanim.<sup>25</sup>

*The Little Goat*

A little goat  
my father bought for me,  
for two small coins,  
for two little coins.  
The cat came along  
and bit the little goat  
my father bought for me,  
for two small coins,  
for two little coins . . .  
The Angel came along  
and accused the butcher,  
because he killed the cow,  
that drank the water,  
that put out the fire,  
that burned the stick,  
that beat the dog,  
that bit the cat,  
that bit the little goat  
my father bought for me,  
for two small coins,  
for two little coins.

Ultimately, *The Moorish Girl* and *The Little Goat* embody the same Pan-European song-type. *The Moorish Girl* represents the song's Pan-Hispanic "secular" form, while *The Goat* is a Judeo-Spanish adaptation of the beloved haggadic *Ḥad gadyā'*, itself a late and rather imperfect Aramaic translation of one of the song's Central European modalities. The Eastern Sephardic tradition knows yet a third form: *The Good Old Man* (*El buen viejo*), which is a close translation of the poem's Greek variant.<sup>26</sup> The three songs, all variations on the same text-type, eloquently illustrate the variegated cultural traditions—Hispanic, Hebraic, and Balkan—which have contributed to the Sephardic repertoire.

### 3. Songs of Passage

Songs of passage, pertaining to the major transitions of life, have not been investigated as such, though Manuel Alvar's editions and studies of Moroccan Sephardic wedding songs and dirges are model contributions, and Paloma Díaz-Mas's authoritative catalogues and studies of both Eastern and North African dirges can be considered essentially definitive surveys.<sup>27</sup> In regard to such liminal songs, there are notable differences between the two Sephardic traditions. While we are fortunate to have Alvar's richly documented Moroccan evidence, much less is known about Eastern wedding songs.<sup>28</sup> Thanks to Díaz-Mas, dirges from both areas are well known, but the songs in question seem to have a rather different character in the two subtraditions. Little is known of birth songs from Morocco, and in the East also the evidence is scarce.<sup>29</sup> Here are three texts from our collection, concerning, respectively, birth, marriage, and death:

3.1	<i>Cantiga de parida</i>	<i>Birth Song</i>
1	Y cuando la cumadre dize:	When the midwife says:
	—¡Dale, dale!—,	"Keep on, keep on!"
	responde la parida:	the woman in labor answers:
	— ¡A Dio escapáme!—	"May God help me!"
	Dize la criatura:	The child says:
	— ¡A salvo quitáme!—	"May I be delivered!"
	Responde la su gente:	All the people answer:

- ¡Amén, amén, amén!—  
 Ya es, ya es buen simán  
 esta criatura.  
 ¡Bendicho'l que mos ayegó  
 a esta ventural!
- 2 Ya viene el parido  
 con los convidados.  
 Qu'yeva' la mano  
 resta de pexcado;  
 por la otra mano  
 siento y un ducado.  
 Ya es, ya es buen simán  
 esta alegría.  
 ¡Bendicho'l que mos ayegó  
 a ver este día!
- 3 Ya viene el parido  
 a los pies de la cama.  
 Le dize la parida:  
 —Hoy no comí nada.  
 —Presto que le tra'  
 gayina enxundiada.<sup>30</sup>
- 3.2 *Cantiga de novia*
- 1 Hija mía, si te vas,  
  
 mira bien y apara mientes.  
 Por los caminos que tú vas,  
 no hay primos ni parientes.  
 Las estrañas son tu gente;  
  
 no te hagas aborreser.  
 ¡Hija de un buen pareser!
- 2 —Cuando m'iva para'l baño,  
 todos me quedan mirando:  
 "¿Quién es eya la que pasa?"  
 "La mujer del mercader".—  
 ¡Hija de un buen pareser!<sup>31</sup>
- "Amen, amen, amen!"  
 Indeed this child  
 is a good omen.  
 Blessed be He who brought us  
 to this good fortune!  
 Now the new father arrives  
 with all his guests.  
 In one hand he carries  
 a serving of fish  
 and in the other  
 a hundred and one ducats.  
 Indeed this joy  
 is a good omen.  
 Blessed be He who brought us  
 to see this day!  
 Now the new father arrives  
 at the foot of the bed.  
 The young mother tells him:  
 "I've eaten nothing today."  
 "Quickly have them bring her  
 a fattened chicken."
- Wedding Song*  
 My daughter, if you are depart-  
 ing,  
 look out and pay attention.  
 On the roads you will travel,  
 there are no cousins or relatives.  
 Unknown women will be your  
 family;  
 be sure you're not disliked.  
 Beautiful girl!  
 "As I was going to the baths,  
 everyone looked at me:  
 'Who is that who's passing by?'  
 'It's the merchant's wife.'"  
 Beautiful girl!

<p>—Y me veigo con poca fuersa,  2 echado'n cama hazino.  Y a fin di la media nochi  4 y la puerta me batió.  ¿Y quién es est' hombre boracho,  6 que la puerta me batió?  —Yo no so hombre boracho  8 y ne por beber vin'aquí.  Y so mandado de los sielus,  10 qu'el alma me dex a mí.  Avremix vos la puerta;  12 yo vola tumaré.—  Ya l'avrió la media puerta,  14 di cara y no di curasón.  —Y avrimix la otra media  16 y ávremela de corasón.—  Ya le avrió l'otra media;  18 el cuerpo ya lo'stiró.  Las ojadas se siravan;  20 despartisión de l'empaño.  Ya le lavan pies y manos  22 con agua de turungá.  Ya le quitan las comidas;  24 el garón no puede'nglotar.  —¡Y qué dichas y qué endechas,  26 endechas para mí me haráx!  Y sin hora y sin tiempo,  28 il alma ya vola vo dar.—  Y con xofletico en boca  30 y él ya se encorajó,  porque la hora le vino;  32 a punto él se la dió.  —¡Y qué picado y qué manzía,  34 que yorarán por mí!  Y más y más los mis parientis,  36 que los ojos no s' enxugarán!<sup>22</sup></p>	<p>“And I have little strength left,  lying sick in my bed.  And after midnight,  someone knocks at my door.  And who is this drunkard  who's knocking at my door?”  “T am no drunkard,  nor did I come here for drink.  I am a messenger from Heaven  come to ask for your soul.  Open the door for me,  so I can take your soul.”  Then he opened half the door,  pretending and unwillingly.  “Open the other half for me  and open it willingly.”  Then he opened the other half  and he lay down to die.  His eyes were closing  and death turned him pale.  Now they wash his hands and feet  with orange-scented water.  Now they take away his food;  his throat cannot swallow.  “And what songs of mourning  you will compose for me!  Now there's no time left:  I will give up my soul.”  And with hardly a breath left,  then he took courage,  for his hour had come,  and he delivered up his soul.  “And what sorrows and lamenta-  tions  they will weep for me!  And even more my family,  whose eyes will not be dry!”</p>
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Our *Cantiga de parida* offers a graphic evocation of the harrowing, though ultimately joyous, circumstances surrounding the birth of a

Sephardic child.<sup>33</sup> The somewhat startling detail that the child itself should speak out before birth, calling for its own delivery, reflects a widely known folklore motif.<sup>34</sup> Our *Wedding Song*, which embodies urgent advice to the departing bride, is fragmentary.<sup>35</sup> The fact that the girl is now "the merchant's wife" stresses, of course, the economically advantageous character of her marriage. This second strophe, not found in any other version I have seen, doubtless originally belonged to some other nuptial song. The *Endecha* sung for us by Mrs. Perla Galante is, to my knowledge, unique. There is nothing exactly like it among the Eastern and Moroccan texts exhaustively catalogued by Paloma Díaz-Mas. I would guess that this song was improvised for our benefit, using authentic motifs and formulas to evoke a no-longer-practiced traditional custom with which Mrs. Galante was, all the same, still intimately familiar. The crucial motif of Death personified, who comes knocking at the victim's door to carry him off, has medieval origins and is still well known in modern Sephardic dirge poetry.<sup>36</sup>

#### 4. Lyric Songs

The Moroccan Sephardic tradition of lyric poetry has been exhaustively documented and studied by Manuel Alvar. Much less is known about the Eastern tradition. All the same, as in the case of various other genres, we can distinguish songs of very different types and origins. The two texts published here exemplify the repertoire's cultural and chronological diversity.

##### 4.1

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | Morena de rufios caveyos,<br>se queréx ganar denero.<br>¡Por la madrugada!   | Dark girl with blond hair,<br>if you want to earn money.<br>At dawn!          |
| 2 | Cavayero, me engañates,<br>pur la ġura que me ġurates.<br>¡Por la madrugada! | Knight, you deceived me,<br>by the oath you swore to me.<br>At dawn!          |
| 3 | Y se te ġuro por el sielo<br>y de no tocarte el dedo.<br>¡Por la madrugada!  | And if I swear to you by Heaven<br>not even to touch your finger.<br>At dawn! |
| 4 | Y morena de rufios entrinsados,<br>se queréx ganar ducados.                  | Dark girl with blond tresses,<br>if you want to earn ducats.                  |

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
|     | ¡Y por la madrugada!   | At dawn!   |
| 5   | Y cavayero, me engañatis,<br>por la ġura que me ġurates.<br>¡Por la madrugada!   | Knight, you deceived me,<br>by the oath you swore to me.<br>At dawn!   |
| 6   | Y se te ġuro por la luna<br>y de no tocarte en la uña.<br>¡Y por la madrugada! <sup>37</sup>                               | And if I swear to you by the moon<br>not even to touch your fingernail.<br>At dawn!  |
| 4.2 | Echa agua en la tu puerta<br>y pasará y mi cairé.<br>Tuparé una chica cavza; jamán!<br>entraré y te hablaré. <sup>38</sup> | Throw water on your doorstep<br>and, passing by, I'll slip and fall.<br>I'll find a small excuse<br>to go in and speak with you. |

Our first text, *Morena de rufios caveyos*, clearly attests, prosodically, thematically, and stylistically, to its medieval Peninsular origins.<sup>39</sup> These verses, with their synonymous rhyme words (*caveyos/entrinsados; denero/ducados; sielo/luna; dedo/uña*), relate to the multi-secular Hispanic tradition of parallelistic couplets, typical of Galician-Portuguese songs and not unknown in the medieval Castilian repertoire, which have also survived in Moroccan Sephardic wedding songs and in marginal areas of Portugal down to the present day.<sup>40</sup> The twin rhyme words *ducados* and *dineros* appear in a Castilian *villancico* included in the sixteenth-century gothic-type broadside, *Cantares de diversas sonadas*:

- |   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| 0 | Mis ojuelos madre<br>valen vna ciudade   | My eyes, mother,<br>are worth a city.  |
| 1 | Mis ojuelos madre<br>tanto son de claros<br>cada vez que los alço<br>merescen ducados<br>ducados mi madre<br>valen vna ciudade.              | My eyes, mother,<br>are so bright,<br>each time I raise them<br>they obtain ducats;<br>ducats, mother.<br>They're worth a city.  |
| 2 | Mis ojuelos madre<br>tanto son de veros<br>cada vez que los alço<br>merescen dineros<br>dineros mi madre<br>valen vna ciudade. <sup>41</sup> | My eyes, mother,<br>are so brilliant,<br>each time I raise them<br>they obtain coins;<br>coins, mother.<br>They're worth a city. |

The topic of the dark girl (*morena*)—even if here her hair is blond—also ties this song to an ancient and polysemic lyric tradition.<sup>42</sup> At the

same time, our song's enigmatic, elliptical, intuitive style is typical of the early *villancicos*: What is really going on here? On one hand, there is the suggestive allusion to "earning money" and, on the other, a courtly promise not even to touch the girl—the same girl who, at the same time, reproaches the knight for having "deceived" her. Here too the allusion to dawn is highly ambivalent according to the poetic code of the traditional lyric.<sup>43</sup> The exact details of this amorous minidrama remain a mystery, as the poem invites us to imagine and to elaborate upon its unlimited possibilities. Clearly these Judeo-Spanish verses became part of the Sephardic tradition at an early date.

*Echa agua en la tu puerta* offers a very different perspective on Judeo-Spanish lyric poetry. Octosyllabic quatrains, with assonant rhyme in the even verses, were extremely popular in the recent tradition, and hundreds of texts are known, though they have never been systematically studied. Our song represents a word-for-word translation of a Modern Greek distich, thus exemplifying once again the significant—though, from a scholarly point of view, gravely neglected—impact of Eastern Mediterranean folk literature on the Judeo-Spanish repertoire. In translation, the Sephardic song's Neohellenic parent text reads: "Throw water on your doorstep,/ so that passing by I may slip,/ so, for your mother, I may find an excuse/ to go in and talk with you."<sup>44</sup> The correspondence could hardly be more exact.

### 5. Prayers and Charms

Sephardic popular prayers and medicinal charms have hardly been studied at all. Here are two texts—a prayer for rain and a charm against the evil eye—from among the materials we have collected over the years.

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| 5.1 | <i>Agua, O Dio</i><br>¡Agua, O Dio!                    |  |
| 2   | Que la tierra la demanda.<br>Chicos, chicos y piqueños | <i>Prayer for Rain</i><br>Water, O God!            |
| 4   | pan queremos;<br>agua no tenemos.                      | The earth requires it.<br>Children and little ones |

6	¡Abre los sieelos, arrega los campos!	we need bread; we have no water.
8	¡Arregador, arregador, echa trigo al montón! <sup>45</sup>	Open the heavens, irrigate the fields! Waterer of the land, pile up mounds of wheat!
5.2	<i>Contra el ainará</i> Con el nombre del Dio, 2 Abraam, Itshak, Yakov, Aarón, David, Šelomó: 4 Yo meto la mano y el Dio mete la melezina. 6 Como la señora de Miriám, a-neviá, 8 que sanava y melezinava  y todo el mal eya quitava 10 y a la fondina de la mar lo echava, 12 así yo quito el mal de fulana, 14 hija de sistrana. Todo el que la miró, 16 con mala ojada, con mala ariada: 18 Si es hombre, que no pierda el nombre; 20 si es mujer, que no piedra el saver; 22 si es ave muda, a-Kadúš Baruhú 24 esté en su ayuda. Caminando por un camino, 26 encontraré a un viejzico: Fierro vestía, 28 fierro calsava. — ¿Onde vas? 30 —Ande fulana, hija de sistrana, 32 a quitarle todo el ainará. Todo el que la miró,	<i>Against the Evil-eye</i> In the name of God, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Aaron, David, Solomon: I put in my hand and God puts in the medicine. Like Miriam the prophetess, who performed cures and gave medicine and took away all the sickness and threw it into the depths of the sea, so I take away the sickness of so-and-so, daughter of such-and-such. Every person who looked upon her with an evil look or with bad demeanor: If it be a man, may she not lose her name; if it be a woman, may she not lose her knowledge; if it be a mute bird, may the Holy One, Blessed-be-He, give help to her. As I was walking along a path, I met a little old man: He was dressed in iron, with iron shoes. "Where are you going?" "To the house of so-and-so, daughter of such-and-such,

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 34 | con mala ojada,<br>con mala ariada,       | to take from her all the evil eye.<br>Every person who looked at her |
| 36 | y a la fondina de la mar<br>yo lo echava. | with an evil look<br>and with bad demeanor:                          |
| 38 | Y el Dio la melezinava. <sup>46</sup>     | I threw him<br>into the depths of the sea.                           |

The little rain prayer must have And God cured her."

been widely known in the Sephardic East.<sup>47</sup> Such prayers, with classical antecedents, are also well known in Greek tradition,<sup>48</sup> but there can be little doubt as to the origin of our Sephardic text. In his *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales*, compiled in 1627, Gonzalo Correas includes an essentially identical incipit: "¡Agua, Dios, agua, ke la tierra lo demanda! Klamor a Dios en tiempo seko" ("Water, O God, water, for the earth requires it! Outcry to God in time of drought").<sup>49</sup> The Judeo-Spanish prayer is, then, without doubt of ancient Hispanic provenience.

The charm against the evil eye, despite its distinctively Jewish invocations of God, the Patriarchs, and Miriam the prophetess,<sup>50</sup> is closely related to ancient Pan-European folk-charms and folk-beliefs. The idea of a supernatural or divine apotropaic figure traveling or being met along a road as part of his curative mission is prominent in many folk-charms. Spanish texts continue to represent a meeting with the curing agent while on a journey.

San Pedro e San Pablo

viñan de Roma;  
encontraron con Nuestro Señor  
e díxolles:  
— ¿Dónde vés, Pedro?

—Veño de Roma.  
—¿Qué hai de novo alá?  
—Moito Mal de Osipela  
e de Sipilón . . .<sup>51</sup>

St. Peter and St. Paul  
were coming from Rome;  
they met our Lord  
and he said to them:  
"Peter, where are you coming  
from?"  
"I'm coming from Rome."  
"What's new over there?"  
"Many people suffer  
from erysipelas . . .

St. Peter then describes the cure or turns back to put it into effect. The verses concerning who may have looked with an evil eye (vv. 15–21) are used differently in Salonika to refer to hiccups.<sup>52</sup> Such enu-

merations of possible offending individuals (or creatures) are also well known in Hispanic charms: “. . . se-é de mala muller, vaite pra mala muller,/ se-é de sapo, vaite pro sapo,/ se-é de culebra, vaite pra culebra . . .” (“if it’s from an evil woman, turn back upon her; if it’s from a toad, go back to the toad; if it’s from a serpent, go back to the serpent”).<sup>53</sup> That the little old man should be dressed and shod in iron is highly significant. Metal, and particularly iron, has been seen as magical and proof against all sorts of evil influences since time immemorial. The figure of the old man as helper is also widely known.<sup>54</sup> Again, the allusion to the depths of the sea suggests the practice of sympathetic magic, in which some object brought into contact with the sufferer is thrown into the sea or buried in the earth, thus taking the sickness with it and effecting the cure.<sup>55</sup>

\* \* \*

The Sephardic tradition has often been regarded as a precious relic, a fossilized, archaic survival from medieval times. On the foregoing pages, I have attempted to show that it is indeed notably important for what it has preserved and for what it can teach us about ancient Spanish traditions. At the same time, the Sephardic heritage also represents much more. It records the vital, dynamic creativity of the Sephardim, who have shaped their distinctive tradition in relation to all the diverse peoples—Hispanic and Balkan—with whom they have interacted during their long and eventful history.

### Notes

1. See David de Sola Pool and Tamar de Sola Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), pp. 3–12 et al. Actually, Jacob bar Simson, who arrived a few months before the refugees from Recife, may well have been Ashkenazic (pp. 12–13, 16, 24, 26, 467). I take into account here the important work of a number of scholars concerning early Jewish settlements in America: Isaac S. and Suzanne E. Emmanuel, Lee M. Friedman, Hyman Grinstein, Morris Gutstein, Seymour B. Liebman, Jacob R. Marcus, Cecil Roth, and Peter Wiernik. For reasons of space, I will dispense with full citations. I wish to thank my friends and colleagues, Rabbi Pinchas Giller and Professors Israel J. Katz and John M. Zemke for their learned advice on bibliographical and Hebraic problems. Steve Kidner’s excellent technological help in preparing master tapes is greatly appreciated.

2. See, e.g., Henry V. Besso, *Dramatic Literature of the Sephardic Jews of Amsterdam in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries* (New York: Hispanic Institute, 1947); Kenneth R. Scholberg, *La poesía reli-*

giosa de Miguel de Barrios (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1962); also E. M. Wilson, "Miguel de Barrios and Spanish Religious Poetry," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 4 (1963): 176-180.

3. See, e.g., William Davids, "Bijdrage tot de studie van het Spaansch en Portugeesch in Nederland," *Nederlandsche Philologencongress* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1910), pp. 141-154; Max L. Wagner, *Os Judeus Hispano-Portugueses e a sua Língua no Oriente, na Holanda e na Alemanha* (Coimbra: Universidade, 1924). The same was certainly the case also in other European Marrano communities: Kenneth Adams, "Castellano, judeoespañol y portugués," *Sefarad* 26-27 (1966-67). On diasporic Judeo-Portuguese, see especially Paul Wexler, "Marrano Ibero-Romance," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 98 (1982): 59-108; "Linguística Judeo-Lusitánica," *Judeo-Romance Languages*, ed. Isaac Benabu and Joseph Sermoneta (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1985), pp. 189-208. Note also Cecil Roth, "The Role of Spanish in the Marrano Diaspora," *Hispanic Studies . . . I. González Llubera*, ed. Frank Pierce (Oxford: Dolphin, 1959), pp. 299-308.

4. In 1910, the 86-year-old Amsterdam patriarch, David Montezinos, still remembered a few notable proverbs. Among them: "Sahiu de Égypte e entrou en Mizrajiem" (lit. "He left Egypt and went into Egypt [Heb. *Mizraim*"]; i.e., He went from the frying pan into the fire). See Davids, "Bijdrage," pp. 152-153; Wagner, *Os Judeus*, p. 11.

5. See our articles: "El Romancero entre los sefardíes de Holanda," *Études . . . Jules Horrent* (Liège: Gedit, 1980), pp. 535-541; "Three Hispano-Jewish romances from Amsterdam," *Studies . . . John E. Keller* (Newark, Del.: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980), pp. 243-254.

6. On the disappearance of Spanish and Portuguese, see Pool and Pool, *An Old Faith*, pp. 87-89, 460, 489. Inscriptions on tombstones persisted until 1796, but David de Sola Pool concludes that "the use of Portuguese or Spanish had given way completely to English by the middle of the eighteenth century, except in some homes of Sephardim" ("The Use of Portuguese and Spanish in the Historic Shearith Israel Congregation in New York," *Studies . . . M. J. Benardete*, ed. Izaak A. Langnas and Barton Sholod [New York: Las Américas, 1965], pp. 359-362). For more on the disappearance of Spanish and Portuguese and the acculturation of the early Sephardim in New York, see Hyman B. Grinstein, *The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York, 1654-1860* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1945), pp. 206-207, 166-167.

7. Pool and Pool, *An Old Faith*, p. 87; on Mendes Seixas and his distinguished service: pp. 167-168, 170-174. Note, all the same, that Mendes Seixas is using his ignorance of Spanish and Portuguese as a possible excuse for not returning to his duties at the New York synagogue, thus implying perhaps that the languages were still used, at least in ritual. In any event, "these languages were abandoned by the congregation after the Revolution" (p. 87).

8. Compare the figures cited by Louis M. Hacker, "The Communal Life of the Sephardic Jews in New York City," *Journal of Jewish Communal Service* 3 (1926-27): 32-40 (p. 34); Joseph M. Papo, *Sephardim in Twentieth-Century America: In Search of Unity* (San Jose and Berkeley: Pelé Yoetz Books and Judah L. Magnes Museum, 1987), p. 22. On modern Sephardic communities in New York and elsewhere in the United States, see Papo, "The Sephardic Jewish Community of New York," *Studies in Sephardic Culture: The David N. Barocas Memorial Volume*, ed. Marc D. Angel (New York: Sepher Hermon, 1980), pp. 65-94; Abraham D. Lavender, "The Sephardic Revival in the United States," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 3, no. 3 (1975-1976): 21-31; and Marc D. Angel's beautiful and deeply moving book, *La America: The Sephardic Experience in the United States* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1982). Note also Angel's crucial article: "The Sephardim of the United States: An Exploratory Study," *American Jewish Yearbook* 74 (1973): 77-138. For an indication of the cultural richness and linguistic diversity of Eastern Sephardic immigration to New York City in the early years of this century, see Max A. Luria, "Judeo-Spanish Dialects in New York City,"

Todd Memorial Volumes, II: *Philological Studies*, ed. John D. Fitz-Gerald and Pauline Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), pp. 7–16.

9. See our *En torno al romancero sefardí: Hispanismo y balcanismo de la tradición judeo-española* (Madrid: Castalia, 1982), pp. 149–239; and for additional folk-literary genres, “Sephardic Folk literature and Eastern Mediterranean Oral Tradition,” *Musica Judaica* 6, no. 1 (1983–84): 38–54. Ethnomusicological analysis corroborates such findings: Israel J. Katz, *Judeo-Spanish Ballads from Jerusalem: An Ethnomusicological Study*, 2 vols. (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1972–75); “The Musical Legacy of the Judeo-Spanish Romancero,” *Hispania Judaica*, ed. Joseph M. Sola-Solé et al., 3 vols. (Barcelona: Puvill, 1980–84), 2:45–58.

10. Concerning our collection, see our book, *Judeo-Spanish Ballads from Oral Tradition*, vol. 1, *Epic Ballads* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 4–21. For collecting and research on Sephardic folk literature, particularly ballads, in a worldwide perspective, see our *Judeo-Spanish Ballads from New York Collected by Maïr José Benardete* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 4–11.

11. Oro A. Librowicz has brought together a particularly rich collection of Moroccan Judeo-Spanish ballads in Canada. See her *Cancionero séphardi du Québec* (Montreal: Collège du Vieux Montréal, 1988).

12. For an authoritative survey of all genres of Judeo-Spanish literature, both written and oral, see Iacob M. Hassán, “Visión panorámica de la literatura sefardí,” *Hispania Judaica* (Barcelona: Puvill, 1982), 2:25–44. In the present article, I omit paraliturgical songs, which, although many have become traditional, ultimately go back to written sources: they stand, in a sense, at the frontier between written and oral literature. For reasons of space, riddles, proverbs, and folktales have also been omitted here. I have limited the article to poetic genres in the strictest sense.

13. For the ballads, see, as a starting point, our “The Judeo-Spanish Ballad Tradition,” *Oral Tradition* 2, nos. 2–3 (1987): 633–644.

14. See Reginetta Haboucha, “The Folklore and Traditional Literature of the Judeo-Spanish Speakers,” in *The Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Heritage*, ed. Issachar Ben-Ami (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1982), pp. 571–588.

15. See my “Judeo-Spanish and Pan-European Balladry,” *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 24 (1979): 127–138.

16. Version from Salonika (Greece), sung by Esther Varsano Hassid, 67 years, collected by S.G.A. and J.H.S., The Bronx, August 22, 1959.

17. Version from Salonika, recited by Sarah Nehama, 84 years, collected by S.G.A. and J.H.S., Brooklyn, August 20, 1959.

18. See, for now, our *The Judeo-Spanish Ballad Chapbooks of Yacob Abraham Yoná* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 87–99; and my *Romancero judeo-español en el Archivo Menéndez Pidal (Catálogo-Índice de romances y canciones)*, 3 vols. (Madrid: C.S.M.P., 1978), no. B15. Note that in the Eastern Judeo-Spanish versions, the motif of the wife as wager (here vv. 3–5) is an extraneous intrusion.

19. See our *En torno*, pp. 154–157; for other romances derived from Modern Greek, see pp. 151–178.

20. The Sephardic versions have not been studied. Among many others that could be listed, see Léon Algazi, *Chants séphardis* (London: Fédération Séphardite Mondiale, 1958), no. 28; Isaac Levy, *Antología de liturgia judeo-española*, 10 vols. (Jerusalem: Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, 1964–80), 3:330–350 (nos. 285–290). It is particularly interesting that this song should also form part of the traditions of certain Marrano and Hispanic crypto-Jewish communities. See Henry Léon, “Les juifs espagnols de Saint-Esprit: Chansons et prières,” *Bulletin Hispanique* 9 (1907):

279–280; Jaume Riera i Sanz, “Oracions en catalá dels conversos jueus: Notes bibliogràfiques i textos,” *Anuario de Filología* (1975): 345–367; Angela Selke, *Los chuetas y la Inquisición* (Madrid: Taurus, 1972), pp. 284–285. For a detailed study of the song’s origin and Pan-European analogs, see Aurelio M. Espinosa, “Origen oriental y desarrollo histórico del cuento de las doce palabras retornadas,” *Revista de Filología Española* 17 (1930): 390–413. For international parallels, see also Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folklore*, 6 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955–58), Z22. *Ehod mi yodea*.

21. See my *Catálogo-Índice*, no. Y1.

22. See our *En torno*, pp. 110–117.

23. See my *Catálogo-Índice*, nos. Y5–Y6.

24. Version from Rhodes (Greece), sung by Mrs. Leah Huniu, 67 years, collected by S.G.A. and J.H.S., Los Angeles, July 31, 1958. The following forms require comment: *šoḥet* (12aef) “butcher (qualified to slaughter animals according to ritual requirements)” (Heb. *šoḥēt*); *malaḥ a-mave* (12ce) “angel of death” (Heb. *malā’kh ha-māweth*). For the transcription of Hebrew used in the present article, see our *Chapbooks*, pp. 18–20.

25. Version from Çanakkale (Turkey), recited by Mr. Isaac Zacuto, ca. 60 years, collected by S.G.A., Los Angeles, Spring 1958. The word *aspro* (1c) is from Greek *áspron* “money, coin: a farthing” (from *áspros* “white”); *leovanim* (1d) is simply the Hebrew equivalent: *lābān*, *lēbānīm* “white; silver coin(s)”. For *malaḥ* (9a) and *šoḥet* (9b), see the previous note.

26. See our study of the three songs and their Pan-European analogs: “A Judeo-Spanish Cumulative Song and Its Greek Counterpart,” *Revue des Etudes Juives* 137 (1978): 375–381 (or *En torno*, pp. 183–188); also Abraham A. Schwadron, “Chad Gadya: A Passover Song,” *Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology* 4 (1983): 125–155.

27. See Manuel Alvar, *Cantos de boda judeo-españoles* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1971); *Endechas judeo-españolas*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1969); Paloma Díaz-Mas, “Poesía luctuosa judeo-española” (Licenciatura thesis, Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1977); idem, “Temas y tópicos en la poesía luctuosa sefardí” (Ph.D. diss., Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1981).

28. See now Susana Weich-Shahak, “The Wedding Songs of the Bulgarian-Sephardi Jews: A Preliminary Study,” *Orbis Musicae* 7 (1979–80): 81–107. On Moroccan wedding songs, see now also Oro A. Librowicz and Judith R. Cohen, “Modalidades expresivas en los cantos de boda judeo-españoles,” *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* 41 (1986): 189–209; Judith R. Cohen, “Ya Salió de la Mar: Judeo-Spanish Wedding Songs among Moroccan Jews in Canada,” in *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, ed. Ellen Koskoff (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1987): pp. 55–67. Note also Sarah Leibovici, “Nuestras bodas sefarditas: Algunos ritos y costumbres,” *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* 41 (1986): 163–187.

29. See, however, S. Weich-Shahak, “Childbirth Songs Among Sephardic Jews of Balkan Origin,” *Orbis Musicae* 8 (1982–83): 87–103.

30. Version from Salonika, sung by Esther Varsano Hassid, 65 years, collected by S.G.A. and J.H.S., Van Nuys, Calif., August 22, 1957. The following words need comment: *simán* (1i, 2g) “sign, omen” (Heb. *šimān*); *resta* (2d) here perhaps “serving”; usually “string (of fish, figs, coins)”: other versions allude to a “resta de ducados” (= Sp. *ristra*); *enxundiada* (3f) “fattened” (Sp. *enjundia* “fat, grease [of an animal]”). The sentiment expressed in vv. 1kl and 2ij echoes the benediction *še-heḥyānā* (“who has granted us life . . . and permitted us to reach this season”).

31. Version from Salonika, sung by Esther Varsano Hassid, 65 years, collected by S.G.A. and J.H.S., Van Nuys, Calif., August 22, 1957. The *baño* (2a) clearly refers to the second ritual bath (*bēthūlīm*) discussed by Michael Molho, *Usos y costumbres de los sefardies de Salónica* (Madrid and Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 1950), p. 35.

32. Version from Rhodes, sung by Perla Galante, ca. 75 years, collected by S.G.A. and J.H.S., Los Angeles, January 8, 1958. The following forms need comment: *hazino* (2) "sick" (O. Sp. *hazino* "sad, poor, afflicted"; from Ar. *ḥazīn* "sad"); *agua de turunġá* (22) "orange water" (?) (*turunġá* = *toronjal* "tree producing the *toronja* fruit"; the meaning of Sp. *toronja* varies regionally: "grapefruit; citron; types of orange"; it is not certain exactly what meaning *toronġa* has in E. J.-Sp.; if the word, seemingly limited to poetic contexts and not in current use, has been influenced by T. *turunc*, which seems probable, then it may well denote the bitter Seville orange; *garón* (24) "throat" (Heb. *gārôn*); *englotar* (24) "swallow" (cf. E. J.-Sp., O. Sp. *englutir*); *xofletico* (29) "light breath" (cf. Sp. *soplar*).

33. For other texts, see Edith Gerson-Kiwi, "The Legacy of Jewish Music Through the Ages," *In the Dispersion* 3 (1963-64): 149-172 (p. 164); Levy, *Antología*, 4: 374-378 (nos. 239-240); Max A. Luria, *The Monastir Dialect of Judeo-Spanish* (New York: Instituto de las Españas, 1930), p. 94; Baruh Uziel, "Ha-fôlklôr šel ha-yehûdîm ha-sëfârâdîm," *Rëšumôth* 5 (1927): 324-337; 6 (1930): 359-397; 375-376 (or the inaccurate transcription in Arcadio de Larrea Palacín, "El cancionero de Baruh Uziel," *Vox Romanica* 18 [1959]: 324-365 [p. 341]).

34. See our *Chapbooks*, pp. 188-189 and n. 4.

35. For other texts, see Molho, *Usos y costumbres*, p. 44; Uziel, "Ha-fôlklôr," p. 383 (or Larrea Palacín, "El cancionero," pp. 345-346); Leo Wiener, "Songs of the Spanish Jews in the Balkan Peninsula," *Modern Philology* 1 (1903-1904): 205-216, 259-274 (no. 1).

36. See our *En torno*, pp. 89-95. Vv. 13-14, 21-22, 25-26, and 33 embody formulas that are well known elsewhere in Judeo-Spanish traditional poetry.

37. Version from Rhodes, sung by Rebecca Peha, 71 years, collected by S.G.A. and J.H.S., Los Angeles, July 23, 1958.

38. Version from Rhodes, sung by Victoria Hazan Kassner, ca. 55 years, collected by S.G.A. and J.H.S., Los Angeles, October 27, 1957. The word *amán* (= T. *aman* "have mercy!") is a popular poetic exclamation used in the traditional songs of all Balkan peoples. See our *En torno*, pp. 214-227.

39. Published variants are rare: see my *Catálogo-Índice*, no. AA11; Michael Molho, *Literatura sefardita de Oriente* (Madrid and Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 1960), pp. 97-98; Uziel, "Ha-fôlklôr," p. 382 (= Larrea, "Cancionero," pp. 344-345).

40. See the exhaustive studies of Eugenio Asensio, *Poética y realidad en el cancionero peninsular de la Edad Media*, 2d ed. (Madrid: Gredos, 1970), pp. 69-229; M. Alvar, *Cantos de boda*, pp. 65-94; Maria Aliete Farinho das Dores Galhoz, "Une note de plus pour l'étude du petit corpus de chansons parallélitiques de Marmeleite," *Litterature Orale Traditionnelle Populaire* (Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, 1987), pp. 39-58.

41. Margit Frenk, ed., *Cancionero de galanes y otros rarísimos cancionerillos góticos* (Valencia: Castalia, 1952), pp. 62-63; as the editor observes (p. xli), *veros* doubtless corresponds to Old French *vair* "variable, changeable, of different colors; shining, brilliant, grey-blue, clear (of the eyes)." For more on this song, see M. Frenk, *Corpus de la antigua lírica popular hispánica (Siglos XV a XVII)* (Madrid: Castalia, 1987), no. 128.

42. See our *Judeo-Spanish Ballads from Bosnia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), pp. 99-100; John G. Cummins, *The Spanish Traditional Lyric* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1977), pp. 99-101; Paula Olinger, *Images of Transformation in the Traditional Hispanic Lyric* (Newark, Del.: Juan de la Cuesta, 1985), pp. 18-22 et al.; Frenk, *Corpus*, pp. 62-69.

43. See S. G. Armistead and James T. Monroe, "Albas, Mammás, and Code-Switching in the *Kharjas*," *La Corónica* 11, no. 2 (1982-83): 174-182.

44. For variants of the Greek and Sephardic verses, see our study in *En torno*, pp. 179-182. For other close translations of lyric songs from Greek, see Moshe Attias, *Cancionero judeo-español*

(Jerusalem: Centro de Estudios sobre el Judaismo de Salónica, 1972), no. 75, and our "Sephardic Folkliterature," pp. 43-44. For numerous examples of Eastern Sephardic lyric poetry, some of it of relatively recent origin, see Attias, *Cancionero*, and Isaac Levy, *Chants judéo-espagnols*, 4 vols. (London and Jerusalem: Fédération Séphardite Mondiale—Édition de l'auteur, 1959-73).

45. Text from Rhodes, sung by Rebecca Amato Levy, 46 years, collected by S.G.A and J.H.S., Los Angeles, February 16, 1958. Mrs. Levy is now the author of an invaluable book on her native Judeo-Spanish tradition: *I Remember Rhodes* (New York: Sepher-Hermon, 1987). On the Rhodian community, see also Marc D. Angel's splendid book, *The Jews of Rhodes* (New York: Sepher-Hermon, 1978).

46. Text from Rhodes, recited by Rebecca A. Levy, 46 years, collected by S.G.A and J.H.S., Los Angeles, February 16, 1958. The following forms need comment: *a-neviá* (7) "the prophetess" (Heb. *ha-nēbī'āh*); *a-Kadıš Baruhū* (22) -Heb. *ha-Qādōš Bārūkh-hū*; *ainarā* (32) "evil eye" (Heb. *ēyn hā-rā*).

47. For a variant from Salonika, see Joseph Nehama, *Dictionnaire du judéo-espagnol*, ed. Jesús Cantera (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1977), p. 14b.

48. See John C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* (New Hyde Park, N.Y.: University Books, 1964), pp. 23-25, 49-50.

49. Gonzalo Correas, *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales* (1627), ed. Louis Combet (Bordeaux: Université de Bordeaux, 1967), p. 65b. For other Hispanic rain prayers, see Enrique Casas Gaspar, *Ritos agrarios: Folklore campesino español* (Madrid: Escelicer, 1950), pp. 40-47. Note also the rain song published in *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* 1 (1944-45): 368-369. Its obviously modern character bespeaks continuity of belief in the efficacy of such prayers.

50. Note the entire issue of *Yeda-Am* 9, no. 1 (Autumn 1963), devoted to "The Patriarchs and Matriarchs in Jewish Folk-Life." For analogous texts, see Abraham Galante, *Histoire des juifs de Rhodes, Chio, Cos, etc.* (Istanbul: Fratelli Haim, 1935), p. 119; Matilda Koen-Sarano, "El aynara en el reflán djudeo-espanyol," *Aki Yerushalayim* 10, no. 4 (1989): 42-45.

51. Víctor Lis Quibén, *La medicina popular en Galicia* (Pontevedra: Torres, 1949), p. 144, also pp. 26, 68-69, 122, 128, 139-140, 145-149, 161, 163, 201. For other instances, also involving the question "Where are you going?," see Augusto César Pires de Lima and Bertino Daciano, "Tradições de Azurara," *Douro-Litoral* 4, nos. 1-2 (1950): 117; Joaquim and Fernando Pires de Lima, *Tradições populares de Entre-Douro-e-Minho* (Barcelos: Editora do Minho, 1938), pp. 163, 168; Joan Amades, *Folklore de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Selecta, 1951), nos. 3458, 3474, 3482; Claude Roy, *Trésor de la poésie populaire française* (Paris: Seghers, 1954), p. 352.

52. See Molho, *Usos y costumbres*, p. 290.

53. Quibén, *La medicina popular*, p. 77; also pp. 134, 141, 144, 275, 281, 285, 286.

54. For iron, see our *Epic Ballads*, pp. 53-55, nn. 30-34; for the old man, Thompson, *Motif-Index: N825.2, Old man helper*.

55. See Wayland D. Hand, "The Magical Transfer of Disease," in *Magical Medicine* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 17-42. For further instances, see Molho, *Usos y costumbres*, pp. 278-280; Amades, *Folklore de Catalunya*, nos. 3494-3495; Luis L. Cortés, *Antología de la poesía popular rumana* (Salamanca: University of Salamanca, 1955), pp. 136-137, 144-145.