

Jewish Literatures in Spanish and Portuguese

A Comprehensive Handbook

Edited by
Ruth Fine and Susanne Zepp

DE GRUYTER

The Iberian Diasporas in the 18th and 19th Century

“The Iberian Diasporas in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” in: *Jewish Literatures in Spanish and Portuguese: A Comprehensive Handbook*, eds. Ruth Fine and Susanne Zepp (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), 319-351

Abstract: This chapter presents the key trends in the Sephardic literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—primarily written in Ladino (Judeo-Spanish), but also in Hebrew—from a panoramic perspective, while also offering a profile of the intended audience of this literature. Not all genres of Sephardic literary creativity can be included in my discussion, particularly when it comes to the nineteenth century, when the scope of the Ladino corpus expanded significantly. Rather, this chapter attempts to identify the most prominent genres of this literature in terms of both quantity and quality. In the eighteenth and, even more so, in the nineteenth centuries, the bulk of Sephardic literature was written in the local Ladino vernacular rather than in the high-status language Hebrew. Therefore, Ladino literature was accessible to broad Sephardic audiences who were not literate in Hebrew. Starting in the eighteenth century, Ladino literature began to appeal to a broader audience than ever before, both through the expansion of the use of the vernacular and through the diversification of literary genres along with the strengthening of their popularizing tendencies.

Key Terms: Ottoman Jewish History, Rabbinic literature, *belles-lettres*, *Haskalah* (Jewish enlightenment), Westernization

1. Introduction

Over the course of the two centuries following the expulsion of the Jews from Spain (1492), the vast majority of the Sephardic literary corpus was composed in Hebrew, the liturgical lingua franca of the Jewish world. These works were intended primarily for members of the rabbinical elite and to a lesser extent for other literate Jews. In the nineteenth century, however, this situation changed, and a growing proportion of Sephardic literature was published in Ladino (Judeo-Spanish), the vernacular of the Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire (Bunis 2011; Bunis 2016, 365-377). A pivotal work in the context of this transformation was the rabbinical anthology *Me'am Lo'eẓ* (1730-1777), which for the first time addressed Jewish men from beyond the ranks of the rabbinical elite, including those from other classes, while also indirectly addressing women.

In the nineteenth century, alongside processes of Ottoman modernization and reform, this popularization of Ladino literature continued, and a growing number of works were written for men from outside the rabbinical elite as well as for women. Throughout the eighteenth century, Sephardic literature had included only a small number of works that were not based primarily on Jewish sources. This trend also changed in the nineteenth century, as Sephardic literature – particularly those works written in Ladino – adopted genres that had previously been virtually absent, such as belles-lettres and theater, or genres that appeared for the first time on a large scale in the context of the European enlightenment and the *Haskalah* (Jewish enlightenment), such as non-fictional works, historiography, and ethnography.

2. The Eighteenth Century

Jews living in the major cities of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in the provinces of Western Anatolia and the Southern Balkans, were mostly descendants of immigrants who came to the Empire from Iberia (“Sephardim”). Soon after their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula, they had settled in the Ottoman Empire, possibly encouraged by Sultan Bayezid II (Ray 2013, 11-75). With varying degrees of autonomy, the Ottoman sphere enabled the Jewish communities to preserve their unique Sephardic cultural heritage, including the Judeo-Spanish vernacular they spoke in their old homeland, Ladino (Hacker 1992; Ben-Naeh 2008).

Scholars have long debated the precise number of Jews expelled from Spain in 1492, but a figure of around 80,000 seems reasonable (Ray 2013, 39). The majority of the exiles and their descendants settled in the Ottoman Empire, forming the Eastern Sephardi Diaspora. Starting in the seventeenth century, a Western Sephardi Diaspora also developed, comprised mainly of the descendants of *Anusim* (i.e., *conversos*, forced converts to Christianity) whose ancestors also moved from the Iberian Peninsula to the Ottoman Empire following the expulsion, but later migrated to Western Europe and returned to Judaism after several generations of detachment from Jewish religious tradition. These migrants established new Jewish communities in Amsterdam, Hamburg, London, Livorno, and other Western European cities (Israel 1985; Kaplan 1994; Kaplan 2000; Israel 2009). These communities included prosperous merchants who established an elaborate network of commerce in the ports of the Mediterranean and in the New World, constituting the Western Sephardi Diaspora. This group reached its peak in the seventeenth century, but probably never numbered more than 10,000 people (Kaplan 1994, 50).

Starting in the seventeenth century and particularly in the eighteenth century, some of these people, mainly from Italy, migrated to Ottoman port cities such as Aleppo, Izmir, Salonica, and Tunis, where they maintained flourishing business ventures. These families, who came to be known as “Francos,” spoke various European languages, including Portuguese and Italian, and in the nineteenth century also French. According to agreements signed with the Ottoman Empire, the “Francos” were considered foreign citizens. This distinguished them from the local Jewish community, exempted them from taxes, and served as a catalyst for internal conflicts in the communities in which they lived (Rozen 1992; Trivellato 2009).¹ The “Francos” played an important role in influencing the processes of modernization in Ottoman Jewry, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century; they also influenced the corpus of Ladino literature.

Beginning in the fifteenth century, the Ottoman Empire launched a series of major conquests in Europe, reaching the gates of Vienna in 1683. By the late seventeenth century, the Ottomans no longer presented a real threat to Central Europe and the expansion of the empire effectively halted. During the Tulip Period (1718-1730), the Ottomans focused their efforts on the internal strengthening of the empire. During and after this period, reforms were introduced in the army, and for the first time a Muslim printing house (1729) and university (1734) were established in Istanbul. In 1774, however, the Ottomans were defeated by the Russians and lost additional territory.²

Like other non-Muslims in the empire, such as Orthodox Christians and Armenians, Ottoman Jews were organized in separate communities that enjoyed a high degree of autonomy in internal jurisdiction, tax collection, the election of their leadership, and the management of their internal affairs.³ Most Ottoman Jewish men engaged in commerce and peddling, crafts, or work in the community institutions. The members of the prosperous elite were involved in such areas as tax collection and the provision of supplies to the authorities. Some of them served as senior financial agents (the two types

¹ Aron Rodrigue has suggested that, at least in Salonica, local Jews gradually assimilated with the “Francos,” thereby acquiring foreign citizenship (Rodrigue 2014, 446).

² For a detailed description of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century, see: Quataert 2000, 37-53.

³ In the mid-nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire recognized these organizations as *millet* communities, and their heads – including the chief rabbi (*hahambaşı*) - were recognized as the official representatives of the *millet* communities.

of agent were known as a *bazargan* and a *sarraġ*) in the service of governors and sultans, representing what Yaron Ben-Naeh (2018) referred to as “Ottoman-Jewish courtiers.”⁴

The crisis of Sabbatianism⁵ seriously undermined the social and cultural stability of Ottoman Jewry from the 1650s on, leading to growing ignorance of the meaning of the Jewish commandments and customs among Ottoman Jewish communities. The new trends in Ladino literature in the eighteenth century were in part a direct response to this crisis.

2.1 *Rabbinical Literature in Hebrew*

From as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we find evidence of the existence of a large group of rabbinical scholars in Jewish communities across the empire, and particularly in Istanbul and Salonica, who aspired to secure rabbinical positions. Members of this group indeed went on to serve as rabbis of various communities within Ottoman Jewry (Ben-Naeh 2008, 292-304). Some of these scholars found positions in *yeshivot* – institutions intended to facilitate studies using the traditional *chevruta* (study pair) method for adults who had acquired a certain status and received a salary in return for their studies. In addition, individual young men who intended to adhere to this study track were also admitted to these institutions. As Ben-Naeh has explained, the rabbinical elite had a pyramidal structure:

Those who lacked exceptional intellectual faculties, ties with influential people, distinguished lineages, or wealth had to make do with rabbinical posts in medium and small communities in the outlying provinces. If they insisted on remaining in a big city, they could barely make a living by teaching in congregational or private *yeshivot*, or by tutoring pupils’ (Ben-Naeh 2008, 296).

All the works published during the first 250 years following the expulsion from Spain were written by members of the rabbinical elite, and the vast majority appeared in Hebrew – the elevated “holy tongue” dedicated to liturgical and religious works, and only rarely employed for treatises on other subjects. The publication of works written in the

⁴ For a synthetic review of Ottoman Jewry from the expulsion generation through the eighteenth century, see: Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 1-64.

⁵ Sabbatianism was a messianic movement that emerged in the mid-seventeenth century around the character of Shabbetai Şevi (1626-1676), a Jew born in Izmir who declared himself to be the Messiah. The movement spread with astonishing speed around the Jewish world (Scholem 2016). [For the formatters: please note that this name – Shabbetai Sevi – is spelled in different ways throughout the volume. This includes the forms “Sabbatianism” or “Sabbateanism”, SW]

Ladino vernacular was relatively rare, though a short flurry of such publications can be found in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, mainly as part of the effort to make rabbinical literature accessible to *Anusim* returning to the fold of Judaism (Borovaya 2017).

Rabbinical literature in Ladino flourished from the 1730s on, when it began to address broader audiences than in the past. Rabbinical literature in Hebrew was also published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but its relative weight within the total corpus of Sephardic literature in the Ottoman Empire gradually fell, mirroring the rise of Ladino writings and new literary genres. The scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Balkans and Anatolia devoted their Hebrew-language treatises mainly to the same subjects that had been examined by their predecessors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: religious edicts, exegesis (of the Bible, the Mishna, the Tosefta, Midrashim, Maimonides, etc.), and sermons. The scope of Kabbalistic and Musar literature also expanded (Borenstein-Makovetsky 2001; see also Borenstein-Makovetsky 1997). Leah Borenstein-Makovetsky has examined some 500 rabbinical works printed in Hebrew in Anatolia and the Balkans between 1750 and 1900.⁶ Of these, approximately 210 were published in Izmir (around one-third of which were works by the eminent religious arbiter R. Haim Palachi, 1788-1868), approximately 80 in Salonica, and around 60 in Istanbul. The remaining works were published in Edirne, Bursa, Rhodes, and other cities (Borenstein-Makovetsky 2001, 127). The intended audience of these works was almost always the rabbinical elite, but from the eighteenth century onward, they were also aimed at other literate, affluent Jews, known as *ba'alei ha-batim* (Borenstein-Makovetsky 2001, 145; see also Ben-Nach 2015a, 286-287).

2.2 Rabbinical Literature in Ladino

In the Sephardic communities of the Ottoman Empire, a large proportion of boys attended the *Talmud Torah* from the age of five. The teachers inculcated their students with the ability to read Hebrew and to understand the prayers and the Bible, and also provided a basis in the *Halakhab*. The lessons were conducted in the Ladino vernacular, and the teaching method was based on Ladino translations of the Bible and the accompanying explanations, as well as on learning the material by rote. The students began by learning the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, went on to study vocalization and its diacritical symbols,

⁶ Dozens of works have survived in manuscript form, but it is clear that many treatises, both manuscripts and printed works, were lost and are not in our possession (Borenstein-Makovetsky 2001, 127-128).

and then studied prayers and the Bible with the help of Rashi's commentary (Ben-Naeh 2008, 253-254). Among women, who were excluded from the traditional educational frameworks, literacy was virtually unknown until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with very rare exceptions (Karkason 2018, 73-77). Even among men, the literacy rate was only partial: contrary to the popular perception, literacy was never shared by the entire Jewish male population. Many boys from poor families did not attend a *Talmud Torah*, or were forced to end their studies after three or four years in order to help provide for their family. Therefore, "despite the effort of the congregation, there were children who did not study at all and upon reaching maturity could not even write their names" (Ben-Naeh 2008, 254). Some other boys ended their studies around the age of 12 or 13, while an even smaller proportion continued on to the *yeshiva* frameworks and gained a broader literacy in Hebrew. The level of Hebrew knowledge among those who did not continue to *yeshiva* after the *Talmud Torah* was generally quite limited, and was almost non-existent among men from poorer backgrounds and women in general.

The lack of knowledge of Hebrew and the distancing from Castilian Spanish in the Jewish public sphere were probably the main reasons for the wave of original publications and translations into contemporary Ladino. The eighteenth century was a revolutionary one for the Sephardic literature of the Ottoman Empire, as the center of gravity shifted from Hebrew to the Ladino vernacular, which had previously been confined mainly to speech and oral culture. This transition was manifested in four main genres during this century: Biblical exegesis, and particularly the exegetical anthology *Me'am Lo'eẓ* (1730-1777); the new, more accessible Ladino translations of the Bible published by Abraham Assa (1710 – ca. 1780); Musar literature translated into Ladino; and the poetic form known as *coplas*, whose roots are older, but which emerged as a literary genre in the eighteenth century.

These genres reflected the emergence of a relatively broad audience literate in the local vernacular – one that for the first time extended beyond the confines of the narrow rabbinical elite and the *ba'alei ha-batim* and also addressed men from lower social classes as well as women. These phenomena strengthened in the nineteenth century, as the scope of Ladino literature widened considerably and new genres were introduced, expanding the boundaries of the Sephardic bookshelf.

2.3 *Me'am Lo'ez*

The rabbinical anthology *Me'am Lo'ez*, and particularly its classic volumes on the Pentateuch, is the flagship of Ladino literature. *Me'am Lo'ez* includes a Ladino commentary on the Bible, written in an accessible register designed to appeal to a relatively wide audience. The anthology was initiated by R. Jacob Huli (1689-1732), who was born in Jerusalem but lived and worked in Istanbul. Huli “sought to compose a popular collection in Ladino of the Jewish religious literature over the generations, from the Mishna through to the literature of his own time, to be edited according to the order of the verses in the 24 Books of the Bible” (Landau 1981, 35). The works of Huli and his successors focus mainly on the Midrash, Halakhah, and Aggadah, though they also touch on the Kabbalah, Musar, sermonizing, and other fields (Landau 1981, 36).

All the volumes of *Me'am Lo'ez* including commentary on the Torah were published in the Ottoman capital, Istanbul. Huli himself wrote and published a commentary on Genesis (1730), and he also wrote half the commentary on Exodus, up to the Torah portion *Terumah*. This latter work was published shortly after his death (1733). His work was continued by R. Yitzhak Magriso, who wrote and published the second half of Huli's commentary on Exodus (1745-1746) as well as commentaries on Leviticus (1753) and Numbers (1764). R. Yitzhak Arguete wrote and published a commentary on Deuteronomy in two volumes (1772, 1777) (Romeu Ferré 2000, 9-46). In the latter half of the nineteenth century, additional commentaries in the *Me'am Lo'ez* format were published in Salonica, Izmir, Jerusalem, and Istanbul, covering some of the Early Prophets (Joshua), the Latter Prophets (Isaiah), and the Ketuvim or Writings (Esther, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs) (Romeu Ferré 2000, 10; Meyuhas Ginio 2015, 359-360).⁷

Jacob Huli, who was born during the tail end of the Sabbatean crisis, was concerned about the prevailing ignorance among the Jewish public regarding the meanings of the commandments and customs. This ignorance led many to violate Halakhic laws, as Huli noted in his introduction to the Genesis volume of *Me'am Lo'ez*: “As for the precepts of Judaism, nobody is able to read a ruling from the *Shulhan Arukh*⁸ because people do not

⁷ For reasons that have not yet been sufficiently clarified in the research, but that probably relate both to literary quality and to the changes in the target population, the volumes of *Me'am Lo'ez* examining the Prophets and Ketuvim did not acquire the same canonical status as the volumes from the eighteenth century.

⁸ The *Shulhan Arukh* (literally: “Set Table”) is the most widely consulted of the various legal codes in Judaism. This book was authored in Safed by Joseph Karo (1488-1575) in 1563 and published in Venice in 1565.

know Hebrew, and thus nobody knows the rulings one is obliged to follow” (Huli 2014, 29-30). In the eighteenth century, Huli and his successors sought to fill the lacunas in popular knowledge, restore a widespread familiarity with the canonical texts, above all the Bible, and make Judaism more appealing to the masses. Alisa Meyuhas Ginio suggests that Huli and his successors sought to bridge “the cultural gap that existed between the Hebrew-writing rabbinical élite on the one hand and the rank and file Judeo-Spanish speaking and Ladino-reading on the other.” Accordingly, they “needed a new modern type of language, closer to the everyday language yet at the same time including many Hebrew words and expressions” (Meyuhas Ginio 2010, 118-119).

Huli and his successors authored their works with the intention that they be read aloud in the synagogue or at home, and there is extensive evidence that this was indeed the case. Therefore, their impact extended beyond literate audiences to include Jewish men and, even more so, Jewish women who had never learned to read and write; for the first time, women were able to follow the public reading of the Torah (Quintana 2006, 175-176; Meyuhas Ginio 2010, 120-122). This trend continued over the following decades.

Huli’s desire to influence his readers and to provide them with an entry point into familiarization with Judaism led him to produce a relatively free interpretation of the Talmudic story, which was suited to his readers’ level of understanding and to their expectations; he adjusted “the sources to his society and his era” (Landau 1981, 36). Huli modified the Talmudic stories he quoted and translated: He did not hesitate to add positive epithets to characters who were referred to in neutral terms in the Talmud; he enhanced the supernatural component in the Aggadot he presented; he added stories from the oral tradition to Talmudic tales; etc. (Landau 1981, 42-45). Accordingly, some of the stories were reinterpreted and became “almost a new tale with a different meaning” (Landau 1981, 45).

Me’am Lo’eẓ introduced enormous changes into Ladino literature from the eighteenth century onward. Its impact on the creation of an audience for Ladino literature, including its readers, male and female, as well as those who heard it read aloud, was immeasurable.

2.4 Eighteenth-Century Translations of the Bible

In addition to *Me’am Lo’eẓ*, the eighteenth century also saw significant growth in the field of Ladino translations of the Bible. Such translations, written in the Latin alphabet (Ferrara 1553) as well as in Rashi script (Istanbul 1547; Salonica 1565-1585), had appeared

as early as the mid-sixteenth century (Cohen D. 2011, 204; Cohen D. 2019, 200-208). However, by the eighteenth century, these texts were inaccessible to the vast majority of the emerging audience, as their language had become outmoded with the passage of time. The main figure in the generation of *Me'am Lo'eẓ* who led the process of change in this respect was Abraham Assa of Istanbul, about whose life very little is known. Assa's most lasting legacy is his Ladino translation of the Bible, beginning with the Pentateuch (1739) and followed by the Prophets (1743), the Five Scrolls (1744), and the remaining Ketuvim (1745).

In his introduction to the book of Prophets, Assa explains the educational ideology that lay behind his work. He quotes earlier Sephardic figures who explained that “what sustains the Jews in this exile is their ceaseless reading of the Bible,” and expresses his own view “that the reason for the expulsion from Spain was that people did not read the written Law [=the Bible and Talmud].” While during the period from the Muslim rule in Spain to his own day, there had been “more than five thousand [Sephardic] rabbis of universal fame, the masses did not read the Bible,” argues Assa (quoted in Lehmann 2005a, 34). Assa sought to fill the vacuum caused by what he regarded as the painful deterioration of the generations. Thus, in contrast to the hyper-literal approach of the sixteenth-century translators, he preferred more accessible language and adopted a more liberal approach in rendering the Hebrew biblical text into the Ladino vernacular of the day (Lehmann 2010).⁹

2.5 *Ladino Translations of Musar Literature*

Alongside the biblical translations and commentaries, the middle of the eighteenth century also saw the emergence of Musar (literally “ethics”) literature in Ladino. The works, published by members of the rabbinical elite, included both translations from Hebrew and original treatises. The objective of Musar literature, which had its origins in the Middle Ages, was to encourage the strengthening of faith and the correction of moral conduct. The authors of Musar works sought to present their readers with an ideal human role model, so that, as Lehmann suggests, this genre constitutes “a literary system that represents the symbolic universe of rabbinic tradition.” Lehmann explains that “Musar literature is a prime instrument in the construction of a meaningful set of cultural

⁹ Assa's translations of the Bible, like other aspects of his extensive work, deserve further research.

references for its readers, who are invited to see and understand the world through the prism of musar's worldview" (Lehmann 2005a, 5).

Like the authors we discussed in the context of the other genres, the writers and translators of Musar literature also sought to expand the audience for Ladino literature and enhance the accessibility of Ladino books. All these fields together combined to create a "Judeo-Spanish print culture" (Lehmann 2005a, 43) that paralleled the consolidation of print cultures among Muslims, Orthodox Christians, and Armenians across the Ottoman Empire (Ben-Nach 2001).

Elena Romero (1992, 107-140) enumerated 29 Musar works published in Ladino in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, of which we will touch on just two here. The first is Elijah ha-Kohen's *Shevet Musar*, which was printed in Hebrew in Istanbul (1712) and translated into Ladino by Abraham Assa (Istanbul 1748, 1766; Salonica 1800; Izmir 1860, 1889). The second is the work *Pele Yo'ets*, written by Eliezer ben rabbi Isaac Papo and printed in Hebrew at Istanbul (1824). This work was translated into Ladino by Eliezer's son, Judah Papo (Vienna 1870-1872; Salonica 1899-1900).

Lehmann has coined the term "the vernacular rabbis" to refer to these authors and translators, along with others such as Isaac Bechor Amarchi, Isaac Farhi, Abraham Palachi, Ben-Tsion Roditi and Isaac Badhab (Lehmann 2005a, 44). Most of these figures belonged to the second rank of Ottoman Jewish rabbinical leaders, and their Ladino translations and writings offered them a chance to enhance their status within the religious world in particular, and Ottoman Jewish society in general, as cultural agents appealing to broad audiences. These rabbis "had in mind a clear image of an intended reading public, and their texts must thus be understood as representation of what *they* as an elite believed appropriate for the non-learned public to whom their writings were addressed" (Lehmann 2005a, 60). In works such as *Pele Yo'ets*, this led them to translate moral themes into vivid stories (Lehmann 2005a, 52-61). In this respect, the Musar literature continued the trend established by *Me'am Lo'ez*.

This literature also addressed women as an explicit (albeit indirect) target audience.¹⁰ In the work *Shevet Musar*, for instance, Elijah ha-Kohen tells the male reader that "what he hears, he should tell his wife and people of his household when he returns home in the evening" (quoted in Lehmann 2005a, 68). Lehmann (2005a, 68) also quotes a

¹⁰ It is also worth mentioning a Ladino prayerbook written specifically for Jewish women in Salonica in the sixteenth century (Schwarzwald 2012).

call in the later *Pele Yo'ets* for literate women to disseminate their religious knowledge to their friends: “How good is it if [...] each group appoints a women who can read and they spend the hour with [study]. An advantage is that they will look for ways to teach their daughters [to read].” Such indirect references to women planted the seeds of the emergence of women readers in Ottoman Jewry, a phenomenon that can first be found in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century.

As Lehmann has demonstrated, Musar literature played a central role in the establishment of a Ladino print culture that appealed to a wider circle of readers than in the past, including both male and female readers. Moreover, starting in the second half of the eighteenth century, modern literature in Ladino, and particularly belles-lettres and non-fiction works of various types, sought “to educate and entertain.” In so doing, Lehman observes, “they were following the model that had been evolving since the early eighteenth century” (Lehmann 2005a, 206).

2.6 Coplas

The poetic form known as *coplas* first began to appear in print in the eighteenth century. Coplas are rhyming verses with a clear plot and an emphasis on narrative that were accompanied by original or borrowed tunes. The genre has its roots in the pre-expulsion literary tradition, and Hispanic culture in general is familiar with the model of narrative poems intended to be presented orally (Pedrosa 1995). The Sephardic coplas also have roots in Hebrew poetry, for example in the *Piyyutim*. The printing of coplas and the emergence of this genre in the eighteenth century formed part of the didactic trend discussed above, “which sought to draw the masses closer to Jewish scholastic engagement and a renewed familiarity with the Jewish way of life” (Refael 2004, 19). In the eighteenth century, coplas mainly presented versions of the traditional texts – the Pentateuch, the Five Scrolls, Aggadah and Midrash, and Halakhah. Many of the coplas were devoted to the Jewish festivals, including songs for Hanukkah and Tu BiShvat, Purim songs (including facetious *kinnot* [“dirges”]), genuine dirges for Tisha B’Av and the other fast days, etc. (Refael 2004, 33-34, 38-39).

Activities in this field continued in the nineteenth century and thereafter, but the genre acquired a different and more modern character. Most of the coplas were now “songs in which Jewish society sought [...] to perpetuate its history, document its heroes, and comforts its pains and crises through lyrical means” (Refael 2004, 13). Particularly in Salonica, coplas were also devoted to the forces and ravages of nature (such as hail, famine,

and fires), to poverty, and to current events (the Ottoman constitution, the drafting of Jews into the Ottoman army, etc.) (Refael 2004, 39, 189-225). The scope of activity in this genre expanded considerably during the nineteenth century: in Salonica, for example, 79 printed editions of coplas were published in the nineteenth century, compared to just 11 in the previous century (Refael 2004, 38).

Refael also notes that coplas printed in Salonica account for over half the total number of printed works in this genre (134 titles), compared to 16 percent in Istanbul and six percent in Izmir. Moreover, the coplas published in Salonica cover the full range of themes addressed by this genre, whereas the scope elsewhere was more partial (Refael 2004, 37-41). Refael suggests that the importance of this city in the field of coplas can be attributed to “a local ideological foundation for nurturing Jewish thought that flourished in Salonica” (Refael 2004, 41).¹¹

2.7 *La Guerta de Oro*

The borders of the Ladino library expanded significantly in the eighteenth century alongside the expansion of the audience for literature in this language. In this context, it is worth devoting special attention to a work that anticipated trends that would strengthen considerably in the following century. This work is *La Guerta de Oro* (The Garden of Gold, Livorno 1778), arguably the first “secular” book in Ladino.¹² This 128-page work represents an eighteenth-century example of the trends of “Westernization” that would come to characterize a large part of the Ladino corpus over the following century, particularly in its second half. Its author, David Attias, was a Jewish native of Sarajevo (then within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire) who migrated to the port city of Livorno in 1769. This city formed part of the independent Duchy of Tuscany and was an important commercial and economic center (Bregoli 2014), which its population included many merchants from the Western Sephardic Diaspora.

La Guerta de Oro included, among other fields of content, an introduction to the Italian language, including a simple phrasebook; a presentation of the Greek alphabet; a short essay on physiognomy, the contemporary theory that a person’s appearance, and particularly their facial features, could provide significant insight into their character and

¹¹ This issue deserves further study, including a comparative geographical analysis of the areas where the various literary genres in Ladino were published.

¹² Angel Berenguer Amador (2016) recently published this work in Latin transliteration, accompanied by a linguistic study.

capabilities; a type of abridged commercial guide concerning the “rational” ways to appeal to a potential business partner; and a letter from a young Ottoman Jew living in Europe, perhaps modeled on Attias himself, to his mother in the Ottoman East. Lehmann has identified in this letter some proverbs of Jean de la Fontaine (d. 1695) and citations from Jacques Savary’s *Le parfait négociant* (1675), a classic text of mercantilism (Lehmann 2005b, 51, 59-60, 62-63). These themes had not hitherto appeared in Ladino literature, thus testifying to its flexible and open character even at this relatively early stage and anticipating future developments. Attias himself was aware of the pioneering nature of his endeavor, explaining that:

All [other] nations publish many kinds of books, but, among us, there is nobody who publishes any kind of book in our Levantine [!] Spanish language [=Ladino] – neither history, ancient or modern, nor books on geography or other sciences, and not even a book dealing in commerce that is the dearest thing to us Jews (quoted in Lehmann 2005b, 52).

As this comment shows, as someone living in the *tsafon* (the North – a Hebrew term Attias preferred to *ma’arav* – the West), the author explicitly addressed a Jewish audience in the *mizrah* – the East, his own Ottoman homeland. Attias wrote for his fellow Jews in Anatolia and the Balkans in “our Levantine Spanish language.” Although he had lived in distant Livorno and been profoundly exposed to Western culture over the course of the decade preceding the publication of the book, he considered himself a member of the Eastern Sephardic Diaspora, a Ladino speaker, and someone who felt a kinship with the Jews of Anatolia and the Balkans. This is reflected in his use of terms such as “among us” and “our” in the above quote.

According to Lehmann, Attias espoused a worldview that sanctified the “ideal of a merchant community guided by the values of commercial pragmatism.” This worldview did not shy away from criticizing the prevalent greed among merchants; it also advocated the acquisition of Western European knowledge, including foreign languages, so that Jewish merchants could communicate properly with the non-Jewish world. Attias adhered to a rational and enlightened approach and believed in human autonomy – values he contrasted with the contemporary character of Ottoman Jewry and which formed the basis for his call for comprehensive change (Lehmann 2005b, 57).

In the latter quarter of the eighteenth century, a work such as *La Guerta de Oro* could only have been composed outside the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, in a Western European commercial center. While a native of the Ottoman Empire, it should also be emphasized that Attias was born in Sarajevo, which is twice as far from Istanbul as it is from Vienna. His orientation antedated by at least six decades the emergence of significant patterns of “Westernization” in the Ottoman Empire itself, which occurred during the Reforms era. It thus turns out that the trend towards “Translation and Westernization” in Ladino, to use the title of one of the articles by Olga Borovaya (2001) examining Ladino belles-lettres in the late nineteenth century, was not invented in this century. In the context described above, *La Guerta de Oro* anticipated many of the dramatic transformations that would come later (see also Borovaya 2017, 233-238).

3. The Long Nineteenth Century

The “Long Nineteenth Century,” beginning with Napoleon’s invasion of Egypt (1798) and ending with the First World War (1914-1918), presented the Ottoman Empire with a wide range of domestic and external pressures. Donald Quataert has noted that this century saw the emergence of a largely new phenomenon “in that many of the territorial losses resulted from revolts and rebellions on the part of Ottoman subjects against their suzerain or sovereign” (Quataert 2000, 55).

During this period, the Ottoman rulers were forced to confront national revolts in the Balkans as well as the growing presence of the Western powers inside the Empire. In order to cope with this double challenge, the Ottoman state sought “to eliminate intermediating groups – guilds and tribes, Janissaries and religious communities – and bring all Ottoman subjects directly under its authority” (Quataert 2000, 64). To this end, a series of constitutional and administrative reforms were introduced, known as the Tanzimat (literally “reorganizations,” 1839-1876).

The main instruments of reform were two orders issued in 1839 and 1856, the latter of which declared the state’s obligation to ensure equality between all subjects, including equal access to public schools and to civil service positions. This order abolished the poll tax (*jizya*) that had hitherto been imposed on non-Muslim subjects in accordance with Islamic religious law. Both before and during the Tanzimat period, the empire experienced significant processes of administrative and technological modernization. The provinces of the empire were restructured (1864) and a law was enacted introducing compulsory education (1869). Postal (1834) and telegraph (1856) services were established,

and from the 1830s on the number of newspapers in Turkish and other languages expanded. Relations with Western Europe also intensified, allowing for the more rapid dissemination of Western ideas, knowledge, and lifestyles. The affinity to the West was particularly apparent in the main urban centers and among the religious minorities that tended to concentrate in these areas, including the Jews (Lewis 2002, 74-128; Hanioglu 2008, 72-108).

This increasing Western orientation was also reflected in changes in Jewish education. Some Jews chose to send their children to the modern schools established by the state, or even to institutions run by Western missionaries. Starting in 1854, modern schools were also launched within the Jewish community, with a curriculum that included secular studies, European languages, and Turkish. The *Alliance israélite universelle* (“the Alliance”) was established in France in 1860 with the goal of promoting “regeneration” (*régénération*) in Jewish communities in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean basin, whose leaders were regarded as “traditional.” In order to establish a “rational” and “progressive” society with a pro-French orientation, the founders of the Alliance were convinced that the members of these communities had to be transformed into “useful” citizens. The main tool for this purpose was school, which was expected to correct the “defective” past of those who entered its gates. From 1865, the Alliance opened dozens of schools in the Ottoman Empire, and starting in the latter years of the century the graduates of these institutions formed the core of the local Jewish bourgeoisie (Rodrigue, 1990; Rodrigue 1993).

The processes of modernization in the empire continued, and indeed intensified, during the subsequent Hamidian period (1876-1908), under the rule of Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1842-1918). During this period, the empire advanced both a pan-Islamist agenda and the ideology of “Ottomanism,” which emphasized equality among all male subjects of the empire, in part with the goal of ensuring the loyalty of Christian citizens in the Balkans and in Eastern Anatolia (Quataert 2000, 67-68). The means of communication in the empire continued to expand and diversify despite the imposition of strict censorship on the media (Yosmaoglu 2003, 15-30; Boyar 2006).

The Hamidian regime faced opposition, particularly from the Young Turks, who from the 1880s on sought to establish a centralized and parliamentary system that would unify the disparate groups across the empire. The Young Turks staged a military coup in July 1908, seizing power in the empire and announcing elections to the Ottoman parliament. During the early years following the revolution, the new rulers relaxed the

regulations on publishing and the press in the center of the empire and in the provinces. The fifteen years that followed the coup of the Young Turks were a period of great instability in the Ottoman Empire – firstly due to the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), in which the empire lost almost all its remaining footholds in Europe, and later during the First World War (1914-1918), which effectively eliminated the empire and led to the establishment of a Turkish republic in Anatolia and in a small part of Eastern Thrace (1923) (Zürcher 2004, 93-175).

3.1 “Westernizers” and “Enlighteners” (*Maskilim*)

Throughout the nineteenth century, a wide range of rabbinical literature continued to be published, with an increasing emphasis on the popularizing trends that had emerged over the course of the previous century. However, beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, the dominant tone in Ladino literature was set by the “Westernizers.” This circle advocated the partial adoption of Western culture (“Westernization”), manifested particularly in lifestyle, mentality, and material culture.¹³ While the trend toward Westernization had its roots in earlier periods, and had also appeared in *La Guerta de Oro*, this process accelerated in the mid-nineteenth century, and even more so following the establishment of the network of Alliance schools across the empire.

Beginning in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the classic model of Western self-understanding advocated the legal emancipation, acculturation, and integration of Jews in local society. As Yaron Tsur has shown, in the Islamic countries, which were colonial or semi-colonial societies, an “imperialist mutation” of this pattern of identity developed during the second half of the nineteenth century. This “mutation” sought to ensure legal emancipation within the Muslim majority society, but at the same time acculturation and integration in the cultural and economic networks of one of the Western powers, usually France (Tsur 2010, 49). The Westernizers’ desire to integrate into Western culture was not necessarily the product of colonial “oppression,” but often reflected an internal and autonomous dynamic based in the strong desire of Jews in the Islamic countries to better their socio-economic status in a world of increasingly rapid changes.

Unlike the Jewish Westernizers in the Arab Middle East and North Africa, who abandoned their Judeo-Arabic vernacular and adopted French (Tsur 2010, 48-49), most of

¹³ The use of the term “Westernizers” is not intended to negate the self-agency of those to whom it is applied or who used it themselves. For a critique of the use of the paradigm of “Westernization” in Ottoman modernity studies, see Rubin 2009, 123-4, 132.

the Ottoman Jewish Westernizers in Anatolia and the Balkans continued to work mainly in their Ladino vernacular, at least until the end of the nineteenth century (Abrevaya Stein 2004, 58-59). I would argue that there were two main reasons for this. The first is that the Ottoman Jews were subjects in a semi-colonial system, rather than a colonial one – a factor that limited the penetration of French. The other is that the status and prestige of Ladino among Anatolian and Balkan Jews were stronger than that of Judeo-Arabic among the Jews of the Arab Middle East, because Ladino had, since the eighteenth century, undergone a process of cultural and linguistic unification that was not seen in the communities that spoke Judeo-Arabic dialects (Karkason 2018, 48).¹⁴ The main genres employed by the Westernizers in the nineteenth century were the Ladino press, belles-lettres, and theater, and their activities also exerted a crucial influence on the development of non-fiction literature.

In addition to the Westernizers, a distinct circle of around hunderd *maskilim* (Jewish enlighteners) also emerged in the Ottoman Empire beginning in the 1830s (Karkason 2018). The *Haskalah* (Jewish enlightenment) movement appeared in Berlin in the second half of the eighteenth century. According to Shmuel Feiner's definitions, the *maskilim* joined together:

[...] in a unique Jewish enterprise of modernity and have considered themselves to be responsible for an unprecedented historic move [...] – the rehabilitation of traditional society in light of the values of enlightenment, the distribution of broad general knowledge of the world of nature and the human being, the education of the young generations for their integration in life as productive citizens that have access to European society and culture [...]. And mostly, mental preparation for moving [...] from the “old world” to the modern age (Feiner 2010, 38-39; See also Feiner 2001).

The Berlin *Haskalah*, which peaked during the last three decades of the eighteenth century, first spread across the German-speaking lands, including Austria. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the centers of the *Haskalah* shifted to Galicia (on the periphery of the Austro-Hungarian Empire), the Russian Empire, and Italy. The earliest

¹⁴ Tsur has discussed this process of cultural unification in Ladino at length, arguing that it centered around *Me'am Lo'eẓ*, and has noted the unique nature of this phenomenon among the Jews of the Islamic countries (Tsur 2016, 50-54).

extant documentation of the Ottoman *Haskalah* and its products is from the year 1850, but we can date the phenomenon to a decade or more before that, around the beginning of the Tanzimat (Karkason 2018, 20, 102-105). The Ottoman *maskilim* maintained an affinity with the trends of the European *Haskalah* and sought to use these to cope with processes of modernization in their unique Ottoman Jewish context (Karkason 2018, 53-55).¹⁵

The *Maskilim* participated in various processes of modernization in the spirit of the *Haskalah*, authoring books and articles on various non-rabbinical subjects (foreign languages, science, historiography, ethnography, etc.) and engaging in intensive journalistic activities. They published mainly in Hebrew, the lingua franca of the *Haskalah*, as well as in their mother tongue, Ladino. The three most prominent Ottoman *maskilim* were Judah Nehama of Salonica (1825-1899); Barukh Mitrani (1847-1919), who wandered around Europe and Asia; and Abraham Danon (1857-1925), who was active in Edirne, Istanbul, and Paris. The *Maskilim* established modern schools that taught foreign languages and Hebrew grammar and literature and founded associations whose buildings housed “secular” libraries. They also arranged classes in Jewish studies and provided training for youths from poor backgrounds enabling them to work in crafts or agriculture (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 106-109; Cohen J. and Abrevaya Stein 2010; Karkason 2018).

It is important to stress that the three main groups within the Ottoman Jewish intelligentsia – the Westernizers, the rabbinic elite, and the *maskilim* – existed across a spectrum and were not mutually exclusive (Karkason 2018, 51-53).

3.2 The Ladino Press

The first Jewish newspaper in the world was the *Gazeta de Amsterdam*, which was founded in Amsterdam in 1678 and intended for the members of the Western Sephardic Diaspora (Schnitzer 1987; Sánchez Vasco 2017). This newspaper was written in Castilian Spanish, using the Latin alphabet. The Eastern Sephardic Diaspora would have to wait many years for the first newspaper to appear in Ladino, using the Rashi Hebrew script. The first Ladino newspaper was *Sha'are Mizrah / Las Puertas de Oriente*, which appeared in Izmir in 1845-1846 and was edited by Rafael Uziel (1816-1881). Moshe David Gaon (1965)

¹⁵ See also the classification by Cohen J. and Abrevaya Stein (2010) concerning the “Sephardic scholarly worlds,” which served as the conceptual foundation for my exploration of the *maskilim* and for other studies (see, for example, Noy 2017).

and Dov Cohen (2011) have found that almost 300 Ladino newspapers were subsequently published, mainly in the major urban centers of Istanbul, Izmir, and Salonica.¹⁶

Sha'are Mizrah was one of the first newspapers in any language to appear in the Ottoman Empire, just five years after the first private Turkish newspaper was founded in the Ottoman capital, Istanbul (Saba Wolfe 2015, 427-428; see also Şişmanoğlu Şimşek 2010, 109-110). Uziel's newspaper was biweekly, though it was published erratically and with various interruptions, apparently ceasing to appear after 16 issues. The main themes covered in the newspaper would continue to occupy the Ladino press over the following decades. These included foreign news, news from the Jewish world, and reports on the Ottoman Empire and its Jews, as well as items of municipal and local interest, reports on the markets, and exchange rates. These were accompanied by factual articles from the fields of history, geography, philosophy, science, etc. (Bunis 1993, 8-33; Saba Wolfe 2015).

Over the course of the three decades following the appearance of *Sha'are Mizrah*, additional Ladino newspapers and journals were established, including *Or Israel* (Istanbul 1853-1854), *El Lunar* (Salonica 1864-1865), and *Journal Israelit* (Istanbul, 1860-1871). These journals published similar content to that of *Sha'are Mizrah*, and also began to publish literary works in installments. During the same period, the Scottish missionary service began to publish the Ladino newspaper *El Manadero* (Istanbul, 1854-1855). This journal formed part of the sub-genre of missionary literature in Ladino,¹⁷ whose goal was to encourage Ottoman Jews to convert to Christianity – an objective that enjoyed little success (Borovaya 2012, 37-43).

Mirroring the trend in the Turkish press of the time (Meral 2013, 138-139), the 1870s saw the publication of the first Ladino journals intended for the “masses.” Three popular journals, one in each of the metropolises, were particularly prominent: *La Buena Esperansa* (Izmir 1871-1917), edited by Aaron de Yosef Hazan (1849-1931); *La Epoka* (Salonica 1875-1911), edited by the Halevy Ashkenazi family; and *El Tiempo* (Istanbul 1872-1930), whose most prominent editor was David Fresco (1853-1933), the most eminent Ladino journalist of all times. Other important journals published in Istanbul included *El*

¹⁶ An Annotated Bibliography of about 4,000 items in Ladino from the years 1490-1960 will soon be published in Hebrew (Cohen D., in press).

¹⁷ The preliminary state of research into missionary literature in Ladino makes it difficult to present a more detailed summary here. Dov Cohen has identified over 60 books published in Ladino after 1829 by Christian missionary groups. These include full or partial translations of the New Testament as well as polemical works challenging Jewish beliefs (Cohen D. 2011, 161, 169-170).

Nasyonal (1873-1878) and its successor *El Telegrafo* (1878-1931). The popular Ladino newspapers were printed in many hundreds of copies, and in the twentieth century in thousands (for instance, see Naar 2016, 15). Each copy was shared by several readers (male and female) and the content also reached those with a low level of literacy and, indirectly, even the illiterate, for whom the newspaper was read aloud.¹⁸ In addition to the small number of journals that continued to be published over periods of many years, many others appeared and disappeared rapidly, most of them surviving no longer than a year or two. According to my research, the average lifespan of the 44 Ladino newspapers published in Istanbul was approximately seven years, though this figure is skewed significantly upward by a small number of publications that were published over a long period.

Beginning in the 1860s, Ladino newspapers were published throughout the Ottoman Balkans and even in Vienna, where there was a well-established and prosperous Sephardic community (Stechauner 2019, 49-55), as well as in nearby Pressburg (today Bratislava, the capital of the Slovak Republic). In the 1870s, Ladino newspapers also began to appear in Palestine – a phenomenon that expanded in the early twentieth century. New journalistic genres emerged in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, such as literary and scientific journals that promoted Westernization in the spirit of the Alliance and journals that were directly associated with the *Haskalah* movement (examples of these trends will be given below).

The relative freedom of the press introduced following the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 led to a softening of the Ottoman censorship system and greater leeway than in the past. This encouraged an unprecedented surge in the press, including the publication of journals in numerous languages across the empire, including Ladino. This development was also facilitated by the maturation of the first and second generations of graduates of the Alliance schools, which dramatically expanded the readership of the Ladino press. In 1908-1910, a total of 34 new journals were established in Salonica, Izmir, Istanbul, and nearby Edirne, though most of these publications only survived for a brief period. The lighter censorship also facilitated the emergence of satirical journalism that used humor to criticize the political situation, the economic and cultural elites, and social disparities. This genre employed prose, poetry, and short vignettes of daily life. The most important journal

¹⁸ On the popular journals in Ladino, see: Abrevaya Stein 2004, 55-76; Borovaya 2012, 43-47.

of this type was *El Jugeton* (Istanbul 1908-1931), edited by Ilya Raphael Carmona (Magid 2010, 130-132).

After the Young Turk Revolution, the Ladino press became the arena for a debate and struggle between “assimilators,” Zionists, and Socialists; Alliance graduates were prominent among all three groups.¹⁹ In the following decades, the Ladino press continued to provide a platform for the struggle between these and other groups (Bunis 1999). Ladino journals also appeared among the migrant communities in the United States, Latin America, Israel, and elsewhere. In the 1960s and 1970s, Ladino ceased to serve as a living language transmitted to the next generation, and accordingly the Ladino press ceased to exist as a sustainable phenomenon.

3.3 *Belles-lettres*

The Ladino belles-lettres genre developed alongside the emergence of popular journalism. From the 1870s on, Ladino journals published numerous short stories and novels, most of which were translated either from Western European languages (mainly French) or from Hebrew. Several hundred Ladino works of this type were published over the following seventy years.

The serialized novel emerged as a genre in France in the 1830s, followed rapidly by other countries (Borovaya 2012, 149-150), including the Ottoman Empire and its Turkish press (Meral 2013, 139, 146). When it arrived to the Ladino-speaking Ottomans, “this new genre, referred to as *romanso*, soon earned a leading position in the Sephardi literary market” (Borovaya 2012, 140). In most cases, the translators/adaptors of the *romansos* abridged the original works and simplified their messages in keeping with their perception of the audience (Borovaya 2012, 166-192). Novels extending over hundreds of pages were converted into booklets of just 16-32 pages. In many cases, the stories were printed in the journals in a format that allowed the reader to detach them from the surrounding material and combine them into a single work. In other cases, the stories appeared as separate publications.

The main target audience for these works were readers who had attended the modern schools established in the Ottoman Empire from the 1850s on, and particularly the *Alliance* schools. The emergence of this genre in the 1870s and its rapid development at the turn of the century mirrored the expansion of these educational institutions across

¹⁹ On this phenomenon in the Salonican press, see Naar 2016, 22-24.

the empire, enabling the formation of circles of “new readers” – both men and women. Prior to the emergence of these schools, very few Ottoman Jewish women were literate, and they became an indirect audience for Ladino literature during the eighteenth century. The later spread of girls’ education, primarily through the Alliance network, turned women into an intended audience of the *romanso* genre, which was also innovative in Sephardic literature in terms of the appearance of the first female literary protagonists (Borovaya 2012, 151).

Borovaya (2012, 150-155) has divided the Ladino novels into two categories: love stories and adventure stories. Eva Illouz (1997) highlighted romantic love as a leitmotiv in popular stories, metaphors, products, and theories and explained that individuals interpret their experiences in this field through common symbols and meanings. Romantic love was a familiar emotion in Ottoman culture. It is also documented in some Hebrew sources and more extensively in popular Ladino literature. Until the late nineteenth century, however, it was not usually a factor in choosing a life partner, and falling in love was not a prerequisite for marriage. Marriage continued to be defined as the product of social suitability and sociopolitical and economic expediency, rather than as a manifestation of romantic love (Ben-Nach 2015b, 62-68; Ben-Nach 2017, 30). Therefore, “since western love stories had no counterparts in the domestic canon, the Sephardi literati who created the love story as a subgenre of Ladino belles-lettres fully relied on the [Western] European model” (Borovaya 2012, 150). Well-known love stories that were translated into Ladino include Alexandre Dumas fils’s *La Dame aux camellias*, Antoine François Prévost’s *Manon Lescaut*, and Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre’s *Paul et Virginie*.²⁰

In contrast to the *romansos*, the presence of the travelogue genre in all Jewish literatures since the Middle Ages and the popularity of some of these works, such as *Sefer Eldad Ha-Dani* (The Book of Eldad the Danite), facilitated the absorption of adventure stories. This genre includes translations of Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*, Alfred Assolant’s *Aventures merveilleuses maquis authentiques du capitaine Corcoran*, and Jules Verne’s *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*.

Borovaya has shown that “only a small number of Ladino novels published as chapbooks indicate on the title page both names: the author of the foreign source and the rewriter.” Usually we find only the name of the foreign author, only the name of the rewriter, or no names at all (Borovaya 2012, 156). When the name of the Ladino translator

²⁰ Some of these love stories were also translated into Turkish during this period (Meral 2013, 146-148).

or adaptor is provided, a wide range of terms are used to describe their function, such as *trezladado* (translated), *imitado* (imitated), *adaptado* (adapted) and *rezumido* (summarized) (Borovaya 2012, 157; Cohen D. 2011, 127). In previous centuries, the identity of the author of a work had usually been clear, and in most cases, this was a Sephardic rabbinical figure, of lesser or greater importance; now, the act of rewriting blurred the question of authorship in Sephardic literature.

To illustrate the adapted and abridged character of most of the *romanso* works in comparison to their originals, I will rely here on Borovaya's conclusions regarding the translation prepared by Alexander Benghiat (1863-1924) of the French novel *Paul et Virginie*. The Ladino version, entitled *Pablo y Virginia*, was published as a separate booklet in Jerusalem in 1912, at the printing house of Shlomo Israel Cherezli (1878-1938). Borovaya explains:

The attractive aspect of the novel was the sad love story, whereas the long monologues of the old man [=the narrator] could not interest most Sephardic readers and were deleted. The rewriter also deleted all philosophical discourses and descriptions of nature. They did not advance the plot and were alien to Ladino belles-lettres anyway. Consequently, the readers received a 21-page long moving story about the love of two young people, separated by implacable circumstances, which caused their tragic death (Borovaya 2002, 271).

Thus, a French novel extending over more than 300 pages was transformed into a short story of about 20 pages, in a process whereby the adaptor decided what parts the readers should be made familiar with. The same was true of many other works in this genre. The sphere of belles-lettres led to considerable transformations in Ladino literature, as readers – male and female – were exposed to new themes drawn from Western literature. These themes influenced and were influenced by the culture and lifestyle of the growing audience for this literature.

The press and belles-lettres formed the focus of the reading culture of Ottoman Jews from the 1870s on. Other genres were also represented, however, some of which we shall mention now.

3.4 Theater

The genre of modern theater in Ladino was extensively investigated by Elena Romero (1979) in her monumental three-volume study on the subject, as well as more recently by Olga Borovaya (2012, 193-238). Jews participated in the Ottoman theatrical industry, both in Puppet Theater (*orta oyunu*) and Shadow Theater (*karagöz*), and also staged performances in their own communities, particularly in bathhouses and cafés. Three Ladino plays from the sixteenth century are known to us (Cohen D. 2011, 153-154), but a modern theater only began to emerge in the Ottoman Empire in the 1860s. The popularity of this genre increased from the 1890s on and reached its peak during the first three decades of the twentieth century. As in the case of the short story, Ladino theater drew on Western – and particularly French – culture. Almost all the plays staged in Anatolia and the Balkans were translated versions of works by Molière, Victor Hugo, Fyodor Dostoevsky, Shakespeare, George Bernard Shaw, and others (Romero 1979; Romero 2009, 157).²¹ In the twentieth century, a handful of original plays were staged, such as David Elnecave's *Los Macabeos* (Istanbul 1921) (Romero 2009, 158).

As in the case of short stories, the plays presented in Anatolia and the Balkans were also adapted in various ways. For example, David Yosef Hasid, who adapted Molière's *L'Avare* (*The Miser*) into Ladino (Salonica 1884), titled his play *Han Benyamin*, probably in “honor” of an actual Salonican Jew renowned for his greed and miserly character. The names of other characters in the Ladino play were also converted into Hispanic variants – Enrico, Matilde, Sinyor Eduardo, etc. Borovaya has demonstrated that the Ladino versions tended to be “more exciting and touching” than the originals, in an attempt to appeal to local tastes. By way of example, the question “You are my sister?” in the original is translated into Ladino as “Oh God! You are my sister!?” (Borovaya 2012, 228-232). Thus, the theatrical adaptations were very similar to those in the genre of belles-lettres.

3.5 Non-Fictional Works

The number of non-fictional works published in Ladino before the nineteenth century was relatively small. The first medical treatises in Ladino appeared in the mid-sixteenth century (Cohen Starkman 2017, 48, 78-86, 115-121) and were associated with the medical literature written in Hebrew by Sephardic Jews in the Ottoman Empire (Buskila

²¹ It is worth noting that in many cases, the Ladino versions of English-language works were based on their French translations.

2021). *Hoshev Mahshavot*, a Ladino arithmetic textbook, was published in Istanbul in 1737, and Ladino legal texts also appeared during the eighteenth century (Yerushalmi 1971; Cohen D. 2011, 151-154). In the second half of the nineteenth century, the genre of non-fictional works expanded significantly, accompanying the process of modernization and the Ottoman reforms. Dozens of works were published in the empire on a wide range of subjects: geography, history and biography, ethnography, science, education, economics, law (including collections of Ottoman laws), etc. (Cohen D. 2011, 155-164). These included speeches and polemical articles, dictionaries, and egodocuments.

The growth of non-fiction genres is associated with the appearance of scientific journals in Ladino during the second half of the nineteenth century. Of these, we may mention *El Lunar* (Salonica 1864-1865), edited by the *maskil* Judah Nehama (Karkason 2018, 210-211, 298, 303), as well as three literary and scientific journals edited by David Fresco in Istanbul: *El Sol* (1878-1880), *El Amigo de la Familia* (1881-1886), and *El Instruktor* (1888).²² Thus, for example, in *El Lunar*, Nehama published translated and adapted versions of articles that had appeared shortly before in the Hebrew journal *Hamagid*, which was published in Lyck in Eastern Prussia between 1856 and 1903. The versions published in *El Lunar* were significantly shorter than the Hebrew originals and were adapted for the local audience. They included, by way of example, a detailed article about the ten lost tribes; an excerpt from an article about the story of Chang and Eng Bunker, who were the original “Siamese twins;” and a short piece about the medical demerits of tobacco (Karkason 2018, 210-211).

Non-fiction literature in Ladino has yet to be studied in depth and deserves further attention. In the following, I will discuss in slightly more detail one sub-genre of this field: Ottoman Jewish historiography from the second half of the nineteenth century.

3.6 Historiography

“Native” historical writing by Sephardim about the Ottoman Empire is known to us from as early as the sixteenth century (Usque 1965; Yerushalmi 1996, 53-75; Ben-Naeh 2015a). However, the Ottoman *maskilim* were the first to compose modern historiography about the Ottoman Jewish communities, drawing on the methods of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. Judah Nehama wrote historical treatises about the Jews of Salonica as early as

²² For further details, see: Abrevaya Stein 2000; Abrevaya Stein 2004, 123-149.

the 1860s, but more dramatic change in this field came in the 1880s with the work of Abraham Danon and his colleagues in Edirne.

Aware that Ottoman Jews had not properly documented their history and that valuable material had been lost forever, the maskilic society *Dorsbei ha-Haskalah* in Edirne (1879-1889), headed by Danon, sought to establish a historical journal in Hebrew and Ladino called *Yosef Da'at / El Progreso*. The journal would include articles “about the history of the Jewish diaspora in Turkey, and all that happens to our people living under the gracious rule of the Ottoman sultans” (Danon A. 2014, 393).

In 1888-1889, a total of 21 issues of the journal appeared. The Hebrew section was devoted to original sources that had hitherto remained unknown or unresearched. These sources were held in Danon’s collection or were sent to him from other personal archives after he encouraged his readers to do so in the introduction to the first edition:

In the vineyard of our Oriental histories, precious treasures are hidden: we do not know much of the habits and traditions of the various communities, nor the relations with the venerated government and with the other nations living under its protection [...]. Let our wise men rise up, let each one search in his own place or town of residence for the memories of his brothers and neighbors. Let them call to the hidden manuscripts: come out! And to our ancient Turkish histories: reveal yourselves! (Danon A. 2014, 393).

The Hebrew section of *Yosef Da'at* was intended mainly for *maskilim* and exponents of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* around the Jewish world, the vast majority of whom were Ashkenazim. Most of the Hebrew section consisted of original articles. By contrast, the Ladino section of the journal was devoted mainly to material that had been translated, adapted, or summarized from historical studies on Ottoman Jewry. It was intended for Ladino-speaking Ottoman Jews who were interested in history – the members of *Dorsbei ha-Haskalah* themselves as well as others in the Ladino-speaking domain who were interested in acquiring knowledge. Danon and the editorial board chose to make available to the Ladino-speaking readers sections from Heinrich Graetz’s (1817-1891) *Geschichte der Juden* (“History of the Jews,” 1853-1876), which was originally written in German; these sections constituted the vast majority of the Ladino section of *Yosef Da'at*. In keeping with the declared goals of *Yosef Da'at*, Danon translated or adapted solely those sections from Graetz that dealt with the history of Ottoman Jewry in the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries, focusing in particular on the story of Sabbatai Şevi and his movement (Karkason 2018, 236-237, 303-304).²³ Beginning in the 1880s, Danon's articles appeared in several prestigious journals of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in the various European languages (for example, he published eight articles in the Parisian *Revue des Études Juives* between 1896 and 1922). Danon's studies in this period focused on the folklore, ethnography, and historiography of the Sephardic Jews (Karkason 2018, 247).

I would argue that the activities of Judah Nehama and Abraham Danon, and particularly the journal *Yosef Da'at*, laid the foundations for the extensive historiographic studies by Sephardim in the twentieth century – a subject that is beyond the scope of our discussion here. The two most important historians of Ottoman Jewry during the first half of the twentieth century were “late *maskilim*” who continued on the path blazed by the Ottoman *Haskalah*. The first of these was Shlomo Abraham Rosanes (1862-1938), who was born in Rusçuk (today Ruse, Bulgaria) but worked mainly in Sofia, and who published a five-volume study in Hebrew on Ottoman Jewry: *Korot ha-Yehudim be-Turkiya ve-Artsot ha-Kedem* (“A History of the Jews in Turkey and in the Eastern Lands,” Husiatyn, Sofia, and Jerusalem 1907-1945). The second was Abraham Galanté (1873-1961), who was born in Bodrum and was mainly active in Istanbul. Galanté published dozens of articles on Ottoman and Turkish Jewish history, most notably the nine-volume *Histoire des Juifs de Turquie* (“History of the Jews of Turkey”), published in French in Istanbul (1985). Moreover, the journal *Yosef Da'at* served as a prototype for later Hebrew journals that discussed the Jews of the Islamic countries – from Abraham Elmaleh's *Mizrah Uma'arav* (Jerusalem 1919-1932)²⁴ through Isaac Raphael Molho's *Otsar Yehudey Sepharad* (Jerusalem 1959-1970) and on to *Pe'amim*, which has been published in Jerusalem since 1979.

3.7 Women Writers

Until the nineteenth century, literacy in Hebrew and a knowledge of the fundamentals of Judaism were almost exclusively a male preserve. As Tova Cohen and Shmuel Feiner have shown (2006, 36), this led to “the exclusion of women from canonical Jewish culture in general and from the literature of the *Haskalah* in particular.” However,

²³ Danon was also one of the first writers to discuss the phenomenon of the followers of Sabbetai Şevi (“*Dönme*”) who lived in Salonica until the 1920s. He published a series of articles on this community in the period from 1897 to 1910, including the short book *Études sabbatiennes*, which was published in Paris in 1910 (Karkason 2016, 135-136). On the *Dönme* community, see Baer 2009.

²⁴ See the recent article by Campos (2017).

as we have seen, from as early as the sixteenth century, and certainly from the eighteenth century on, Ladino literature addressed women as an indirect audience.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, following the expansion of education for Jewish girls in the Ottoman Empire (mainly, but not only, those from Westernized bourgeois families), women became a direct and principal audience for genres such as belles-lettres and the theater. As early as 1860, some *maskilim* advocated the advancement of education for girls in the Ottoman Empire – a phenomenon that was paralleled among diverse ethnic groups around the empire in the same period (Davis 1986, 45-60). In 1867, Barukh Mitrani, who was 20 at the time, published the following trenchant criticism in *ha-Magid*:

[...] The state of education of the girls is very bad, because all the women and girls in our city [Edirne] are like the beasts in the forest, to the disgrace of humankind. [They] do not know how to write and read at all, and they have no wisdom! Oh! Our laziness caused this [...] and has caused for our women in our land²⁵ this state of ignorance and stupidity [...]

Oh! Why should the girls be less than the boys? Were they not created in the shape of God also? Do they not carry the name “human”? Why should they be ignorant like beasts in the forest? Therefore, I call upon you, the educated (*maskilei*) of my people in our land, I shout at you, please hurry to bring the salvation of education (*yesha ha-baskalah*) also to your daughters! Remove the shame of their ignorance from them and yourselves, and from your sons... Open their ears to ethics, religion and knowledge, have mercy on them and on their takers [=husbands] and pave paths for education (*baskalah*) in their hearts [...]

 (Banim 1867, 163)

As early as the 1870s, Roza Gabbay (ca. 1855 – 1941), a woman from a wealthy and well-connected Istanbul family, composed an essay on manners and customs (Gabbay 2014, 62-65). Other women writers are known, mainly from the late nineteenth century onward. We will mention just two here. Reina Cohen from Salonica wrote an autobiography that is currently being edited by Gila Hadar;²⁶ Reina Cohen also published the essays *Las muchachas modernas* (Salonica 1898) and *Por los modernos* (Salonica 1899), as

²⁵ i.e., the Ottoman territories in Western Anatolia and the Southern Balkans.

²⁶ An exception from this autobiography will soon be published in an anthology edited by Julia Phillips Cohen (for now, see Cohen J. 2018).

well as a commentary in Ladino on the Book of Daniel (Salonica 1901) (Martin-Ortega 2013; Hadar 2015). The second was the playwright Laura Papo (Bohoreta) from Sarajevo (1891-1942), who had lived in Istanbul during her adolescence (1900-1908) (Papo 2012). It is reasonable to assume that further research will uncover additional enlightened women who produced non-fiction works along the lines of Esther Moyal (1873-1948), who was active in the contemporary *Nabda* Arab enlightenment movement (Levy 2012).

4. Conclusion

This chapter has offered a survey of Sephardic literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, primarily in Ladino, but also in Hebrew. It is undeniable that during the nineteenth century, and particularly in its second half, Ladino literature underwent significant processes of modernization, expansion, and diversification. However, it seems fair to note that Ladino literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was characterized as much by continuity as by innovation. This is demonstrated by the *Me'am Lo'eẓ* project, which began in the 1730s and continued well into the nineteenth century, as did the Musar literature translated into Ladino. The coplas genre began to flourish in the eighteenth century, growing and diversifying further in the following century while also undergoing a thematic change that led it to focus on developments and daily life in the Ottoman Jewish communities.

Most of the “new” genres of the nineteenth century also have roots in earlier periods. Thus, for example, while Ladino theater was an essentially new genre, Ottoman Jews had written plays since as early as the sixteenth century and participated in the Turkish theatrical world. The “Westernized” work *La Guerta de Oro*, published in Livorno in 1778, predated by several decades the modernizing trends in Ottoman Jewry. This work forms part of the genre of non-fiction works in Ladino, which developed in the nineteenth century but had deep roots in the preceding century.

In all probability, the modernizing processes of the nineteenth century could not have put down roots among Ladino-speaking Jews to such a massive extent or gained such a broad audience were it not for the efforts by eighteenth century authors – beginning over one hundred years earlier – to appeal to new audiences. From the 1730s on, the circle of Ladino readers gradually grew, expanding step by step from the narrow rabbinical elite. At first, the “new readers” were mainly exposed to “religious” genres based clearly on the Jewish sources – most notably the monumental *Me'am Lo'eẓ*. For the first time, Ladino literature appealed to readers beyond the rabbinical elite, including those who were literate

only in Ladino; it also appealed indirectly to illiterate Jews – both men and women – who listened to works such as *Me'am Lo'eẓ* as they were read out loud in the synagogue or at home. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the processes of modernization in the Ottoman Empire and in its Jewish community, along with the spread of modern, broader education through the Alliance network and other educational institutions, vastly increased readership. In this period, the target audience was increasingly exposed to new and more “secular” genres, including the press, belles-lettres, and the theater. At the same time, they continued to be exposed to *Me'am Lo'eẓ* and the Ladino translations of the Bible, developing a Sephardic culture that embraced extensive and diverse fields of content.

This chapter, which has attempted to synthesize the existing research, thus creates a picture of Sephardic culture during a period of transition from the early modern to the modern period. This was a flexible and open culture that drew on diverse genres for both “religious” and “secular” needs, turning to increasingly broad audiences. Following these developments, and toward the end of the nineteenth century, Ladino became a mass written language for women and men in the Sephardic communities of Anatolia and the Balkans and in their diasporas around the world.

5. Epilogue

The establishment of the nation-states on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire dealt a deathblow to Ladino. The new states – firstly Serbia and Bulgaria, and later Greece (which assumed control of Salonica in 1912) and the Republic of Turkey – encouraged Jews within their borders to adopt the local national language at the expense of Ladino (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 116-158). The Holocaust of the Jews of Greece and Macedonia eliminated several of the most important and dynamic of the Ladino-speaking communities, above all Salonica – *sivdad i madre de Israel*. Moreover, the Jews who emigrated from Turkey and the Balkans during the first half of the nineteenth century, particularly to the United States, Latin America, France, and Israel, abandoned Ladino relatively quickly in favor of the languages of their newly adopted countries (Refael 2020, 19-37), even if at first they sought to preserve it by various means, such as a local Ladino press (Ben-Ur 1998; Ben-Ur 2001; Satinger 2018).

These processes gradually rendered Ladino obsolete as a language of daily communication – first outside the home and later inside. Among Sephardim in the various nation states, Ladino had, by the 1960s or the 1970s at the latest, become a language confined to the private and domestic sphere, mainly among older generations, while it was

almost completely excluded from the public domain. Its use was confined to such realms as the local synagogue, and its chain of transmission was cut so that it no longer serves as a mother tongue (Refael 2020, 83-100, 141-196). Ladino's future is bleak, but its splendid past continues to be worthy of research and study.

6. Funding details

This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 801861). I also thank the The Salti Institute for Ladino Studies at Bar-Ilan University, headed by Prof. Shmuel Refael, for the generous support of this study.

7. Bibliography

7.1 Works Cited

Abrevaya Stein, Sarah. "Creating a Taste for News: Historicizing Judeo-Spanish Periodicals of the Ottoman Empire." *Jewish History* 14, no. 1 (2000): pp. 9-28.

Abrevaya Stein, Sarah. *Making Jews Modern: The Yiddish and Ladino Press in the Russian and Ottoman Empires*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.

Baer, Marc David. *The Dönme: Jewish Converts, Muslim Revolutionaries, and Secular Turks*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Banim [Barukh Ben Yitzhak Mitrani]. "Masa Turkiya ha-Eiropit." *ha-Magid* 11, no. 21, 29.5.1867, 163.

Ben-Naeh, Yaron. "Hebrew Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire." In *Jewish Journalism and Printing Houses in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, edited by Gad Nassi, 73-96. Istanbul: Isis Press, 2001.

Ben-Naeh, Yaron. *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans: Ottoman Jewry in the Seventeenth Century*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.

Ben-Naeh, Yaron. "Hebrew Sources on the Death of Sultan Osman: A Chapter in Jewish Historiography under Islam." *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 42 (2015): 283-363 [2015a].

Ben-Naeh, Yaron. "Old Sentiments, New Times: Love as a Factor in Marital Connection among Ottoman Jews." *El Prezente* 8-9 (2015): 61-83 [Hebrew] (2015b).

Ben-Naeh, Yaron. "The Ottoman-Jewish Family: General Characteristics." *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 5 (2017): 25-45.

Ben-Naeh, Yaron, "Ottoman Jewish Courtiers: An Oriental Type of the Court Jew." *Jewish Culture and History* 19, no. 1 (2018): 56-70.

Ben-Ur, Aviva. "In Search of the American Ladino Press: A Bibliographical Survey, 1910-1948." *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* 21 (2001): 11-52.

Ben-Ur, Aviva. "The Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) Press in the United States, 1910-1948." In *Multilingual America: Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and the Languages of American Literature*, edited by Werner Sollors, 64-77. New York: New York University Press, 1998.

Berenguer Amador, Angel. *El libro sefardi "La guerta de oro" de David M. Atias (Liorna, 1778): edicion y estudio linguistico del verbo*. Zaragoza, Portico and Lausanne: Sociedad Suiza de Estudios Hispánicos, 2016.

Benbassa, Esther and Aron Rodrigue. *Sephardi Jewry: A History of the Judeo-Spanish Community, 14th-20th Centuries*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

- Borenstein-Makovetsky, Leah. "Rabbinic Scholarship: The Development of Halakhah in Turkey, Greece and the Balkans, 1750-1900." *Jewish Law Association Studies* 9 (1997): 9-18.
- Borenstein-Makovetsky, Leah. "Halakhic and Rabbinic Literature in Turkey, Greece and the Balkans 1750-1900." *Pea'mim* 86-87 (2001): 124-174 [Hebrew].
- Borovaia, Olga V. "Translation and Westernization: *Gulliver's Travels* in Ladino." *Jewish Social Studies* 7, no. 2 (2001): 149-168.
- Borovaia, Olga V. "The Role of Translation in Shaping the Ladino Novel at the Time of Westernization in the Ottoman Empire (A Case Study: *Hasan-Pasha* and *Pavlo y Virzhinia*)." *Jewish History* 16, no. 3 (2002): 263-282.
- Borovaya, Olga. *Modern Ladino Culture: Press, Belles Lettres, and Theater in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2012.
- Borovaya, Olga. *The Beginnings of Ladino Literature: Moses Almosnino and His Readers*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2017.
- Boyar, Ebru. "The Press and the Palace: The Two-Way Relationship between Abdülhamid II and the Press, 1876-1908." *Bulletin of the SOAS* 69, no. 3 (2006): 417-432.
- Bregoli, Francesca. *Mediterranean Enlightenment: Livornese Jews, Tuscan Culture, and Eighteenth-Century Reform*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014.
- Bunis, David M. "The Earliest Judezmo Newspapers: Sociolinguistic Reflections." *Mediterranean Language Review* 6-7 (1993): 5-66.
- Bunis, David M. "Judezmo: The Jewish Language of the Ottoman Sephardim." *European Judaism* 44, no. 1 (2011): 22-35.
- Bunis, David M. "Judezmo (Ladino)." In *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, edited by Lily Kahn and Aaron D. Rubin, 365-450. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016.
- Bunis, David M. (ed.). *Voices from Jewish Salonika: Selections from the Judezmo Satirical Series **Tio Ezrá i su mujer Benuta** and **Tio Bohor i su mujer Djamila***. Jerusalem and Thessaloniki: Misgav Yerushalayim, The National Authority for Ladino Culture, and Ets Ahaim Foundation of Thessaloniki, 1999 [English, Hebrew and Ladino].
- Buskila, Tali. "The Beginning of Life in Ottoman Jewish Society: Fertility, Childbirth, and Childhood, in the Jewish Communities of the Pre-Modern Middle East." Doctoral Thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2021 [Hebrew].
- Campos, Michelle U. "*Mizrah Uma'arav* (East and West): A Sephardi Cultural and Political Project in Post-Ottoman Jerusalem." *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 16, no. 2 (2017): 332-348.

- Cohen, Dov. "The Ladino Bookshelf: Research and Mapping." Doctoral Thesis, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, 2011 [Hebrew].
- Cohen, Dov. "Novedades bibliográficas en el estudio de las ediciones de biblias sefardíes (siglo xvi)." *Sefarad* 79, no. 1 (2019): 199-224.
- Cohen, Dov. *Thesaurus of e Ladino Book 1490-1960: An Annotated Bibliography*. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, in press [Hebrew].
- Cohen, Julia Phillips. *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Cohen, Julia Phillips and Sarah Abrevaya Stein. "Sephardic Scholarly Worlds: Toward a Novel Geography of Modern Jewish History." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 100, no. 3 (2010): 349-384.
- Cohen, Julia Phillips and Sarah Abrevaya Stein (eds.). *Sephardi Lives: A Documentary History, 1700-1950*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014.
- Cohen, Julia Phillips. Notes from the 2018 Meyerhoff Lecture. <https://katz.sas.upenn.edu/resources/blog/notes-2018-meyerhoff-lecture>. 31 October 2018 (13 September 2021).
- Cohen, Tova and Shmuel Feiner. *Voice of a Hebrew Maiden: Women`s Writings of the 19th Century Haskalah Movement*. Tel Aviv: Hakibutz Hameuchad, 2006 [Hebrew].
- Cohen Starkman, Mira. "A Generic and Thematic Study of Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) Medical Literature." Doctoral Thesis, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, 2017 [Hebrew].
- Danon, Abraham. "The First Journal Devoted to the Sephardi Past Appears on Edirne (1888)." (trans. Shir Alon) In *Sephardi Lives: A Documentary History, 1700-1950*, edited by Julia Phillips Cohen and Sarah Abrevaya Stein, 392-393. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014.
- Davis, Fanny. *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History from 1718 to 1918*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1986.
- Feiner, Shmuel. "Towards a Historical Definition of the *Haskalah*." In *New Perspectives on the Haskalah*, edited by Shmuel Feiner and David Sorkin, 184-219. London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2001.
- Feiner, Shmuel. *The Jewish Enlightenment in the 19th Century*. Jerusalem: Carmel, 2010 [Hebrew].
- Gabbay, Rosa. "An Etiquette Handbook for Sephardi Women (1871)." (trans. Michael Alpert) In *Sephardi Lives: A Documentary History, 1700-1950*, edited by Julia Phillips Cohen and Sarah Abrevaya Stein, 62-65. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014.

- Gaon, Moshe David. *A Bibliography of the Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) Press*. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1965 [Hebrew].
- Hacker, Joseph. "The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth Century." In *Moresbet Sepharad: the Sephardi Legacy, Vols. I-II*, edited by Haim Beinart, 109-133. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1992.
- Hadar, Gila. "Reina Cohen: Soferet u-mistikanit yehudiah mi-saloniki be-mifne ha-meah ha-19 ve-tehilat ha-meah ha-20." *El Prezente* 8-9 (2015): 149-166 [Hebrew].
- Hanioglu, M. Sukru. *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Huli, Ya'akov. "A Rabbi in Istanbul Interprets the Bible for Ladino Readers (1730)." (trans. Olga Borovaya) In *Sephardi Lives: A Documentary History, 1700-1950*, edited by Julia Phillips Cohen and Sarah Abrevaya Stein, 28-31. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014.
- Illouz, Eve. *Consuming the Romantic Utopia: Love and the Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1997.
- Israel, Jonathan I. *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- Israel, Jonathan I. "Jews and Crypto-Jews in the Atlantic World Systems, 1500-1800." In *Atlantic Diasporas: Jews, Conversos, and Crypto-Jews in the Age of Mercantilism, 1500-1800*, edited by Richard L. Kagan and Philip D. Morgan, 3-17. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- Karkason, Tamir. "Sabbateanism and the *Ma'aminim* in the Writings of Abraham Elmaleh." *El Prezente* 10 (2016): 123-142.
- Karkason, Tamir. "The Ottoman-Jewish *Haskalah* (Enlightenment), 1839-1908: A Transformation in the Jewish Communities of Western Anatolia, the Southern Balkans and Jerusalem." Doctoral Thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2018 [Hebrew].
- Kaplan, Yosef. *The Western Sephardi Diaspora*. Tel Aviv: Misrad ha-Bitahon, 1994 [Hebrew].
- Kaplan, Yosef. *An Alternative Path to Modernity: The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Lehmann, Matthias B. *Ladino Rabbinic Literature and Ottoman Sephardic Culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005 [2005a].
- Lehmann, Matthias B. "A Livornese 'Port Jew' and the Sephardim of the Ottoman Empire." *Jewish Social Studies* 11, no. 2 (2005): 51-76 [2005b].

- Lehmann, Matthias B. "Assa, Abraham Ben Isaac." In *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, edited by Norman A. Stillman. First published online: 2010. Consulted online on 05 November 2018.
- Landau, Luis. "The Transformation of the Talmudic Story in 'Me'am Lo'eẓ.'" *Pe'amim* 7 (1981): 35-49 [Hebrew].
- Levy, Lital. "Partitioned Pasts: Arab Jewish Intellectuals and the Case of Esther Azhari Moyal (1873-1948)." In *The Making of the Arab Intellectual (1880-1960): Empire, Public Sphere, and the Colonial Coordinates of Selfhood*, edited by Dyala Hamzah, 128-163. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Lewis, Bernard. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Magid, Moshe, "Periodical Literature." In *Jewish Communities in the East in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Turkey*, edited by Yaron Ben-Naeh, 123-136. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2009 [Hebrew].
- Martín Ortega, Elisa. "Las primeras escritoras sefardíes, entre tradición y modernidad: el caso de Reina Hakohén de Salónica." *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 62 (2013): 145-175.
- Meral, Arzu. "A Survey of Translation Activity in the Ottoman Empire." *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies* XLII (2013): 105-155.
- Meyuhas Ginio, Alisa. "The History of the 'Me'am Lo'eẓ': A Ladino Commentary on the Bible." *European Judaism* 43, no. 2 (2010): 117-125.
- Meyuhas Ginio, Alisa. "Tsa'ar gidul banot u-vituyav bi-shnayim mi-sifrei ha-hadracha shel ha-yehudim ha-sephardaim: Me'am Loeẓ (1730) u-Pele Yo'ets (1824; 1870)." *El Presente* 8-9 (2015): 357-374 [Hebrew].
- Naar, Devin E. *Jewish Salonica: Between the Ottoman Empire and Modern Greece*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016.
- Noy, Amos. *Experts or Witnesses: Jewish Intelligentsia from Jerusalem and the Levant in the Beginning of the 20th Century*. Tel Aviv: Resling, 2017 [Hebrew].
- Papo, Eliezer. "Estado de la investigación y bibliografía anotada de la obra literaria de Laura Papo 'Bohoreta'." *Sefarad* 72, no. 1 (2012): 123-144.
- Pedrosa, Jose Manuel. "Coplas sefardíes y pliegos de cordel hispánicos." *Sefarad* 55, no. 2 (1995), 335-357.
- Quintana, Aldina, "The Structure of the Narrative in R. Jacob Culi's Me'am Lo'eẓ." *Pe'amim* 105-106 (2006): 151-179 [Hebrew].

- Quataert, Donald. *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Ray, Jonathan. *After Expulsion: 1492 and the Making of Sephardic Jewry*. New York: New York University Press, 2013.
- Refael, Shmuel. *"I Will Tell a Poem": A Study of Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) Coplas*. Jerusalem: Carmel, 2004 [Hebrew].
- Refael, Shmuel. *Ladino Here and Now*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2020 [Hebrew].
- Rodrigue, Aron. *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860-1925*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990.
- Rodrigue, Aron. *Images of Sephardi and Eastern Jewries in Transition: The Teachers of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, 1860-1939*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993.
- Rodrigue, Aron. "The Beginnings of Westernization and Community Reform among Istanbul's Jewry, 1854-65." In *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, edited by Avigdor Levy, 439-456. Princeton and Washington, DC: Darwin Press and The Institute of Turkish Studies, 1994.
- Rodrigue, Aron. "Salonica in Jewish Historiography." *Jewish History* 28, no. 3-4 (2014): 439-447.
- Romero, Elena. *El teatro de los sefardies orientales (Volumes I-III)*. Madrid: Instituto "Arias Montano," 1979.
- Romero, Elena. *La creación literaria en lengua sefardí*. Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992.
- Romero, Elena. "Theatre." In *Jewish Communities in the East in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Turkey*, edited by Yaron Ben-Naeh, 155-162. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2009 [Hebrew].
- Romeu Ferré, Pilar. *Las llaves del Meam loez: Edición crítica, concordada y analítica de los Índices del Meam loez de la Torá*. Barcelona: Tirocinio, 2000.
- Rozen, Minna. "Strangers in a Strange Land: The Extraterritorial Status of Jews in Italy and the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries." In *Ottoman and Turkish Jewry: Community and Leadership*, edited by Aron Rodrigue, 123-166. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Rubin, Avi. "Ottoman Judicial Change in the Age of Modernity: A Reappraisal." *History Compass* 7, no. 1 (2009): 119-140.

- Saba Wolfe, Rachel. "Puertas de luz [sha'are or]: ha-iton *Sba'are Mizrah* (Izmir, 1845-1846) ka-kol ha-mevaser shel ha-haskalah ha-yehudit ha-sephardit." *El Prezente* 8-9 (2015): 421-469 [Hebrew].
- Sánchez Vasco, Marta Isabel. "Noticias principales y verdaderas y *La Gazeta de Amsterdam*: Visión comparada de dos gacetas de Flandes y Holanda durante el siglo XVII Autores." *Libros de la Corte* 15 (2017): 54-69.
- Satinger, Margalit. "The Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) Israeli Press (1948-1958): Between National and Ethno-Sephardic Contents." Doctoral Thesis, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, 2018 [Hebrew].
- Scholem, Gershom. *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah, 1626-1676*, with a new introduction by Yaacob Dweck, trans. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.
- Schnitzer, Shmuel. "The Gazette, First After All." *Kesher* 40 (1987): 3-10.
- Schwarzwald, Ora. *Sidur para mujeres en ladino, Salónica, siglo XVI*. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2012 [Hebrew and Spanish].
- Şişmanoğlu Şimşek, Şehnaz. "The Anatoli Newspaper and the Heyday of the Karamanli Press." In *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Karamanlidika Studies (Nicosia, 11th-13th September 2008)*, edited by Evangelia Balta and Mathias Kappler, 109-123. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010.
- Stechauner, Martin. "The Sephardic Jews of Vienna: A Jewish Minority Crossing Borders." Doctoral Thesis, University of Vienna, 2019.
- Trivellato, Francesca. *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Tsur, Yaron. "Modern Identities of Jews in Muslim Lands – The Arab-Jewish Option." *Pea'mim* 125-127 (2010): 45-56 [Hebrew].
- Tsur, Yaron. *Notables and other Jews in the Ottoman Middle East 1750-1830*. Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute Press, 2016 [Hebrew].
- Usque, Samuel. *Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel (Consolação ás Tribulações de Israel)*, trans. Martin A. Cohen. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1965.
- Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim. "Privilegios del Poderoso Rey Karlo' (1740): A Neapolitan Call for the Return of the Jews, and its Ladino Translation." In *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature, in Honor of I. Edward Kiev*, edited by Charles Berlin, 517-541. New York: Ktav, 1971.

Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim. *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996.

Yosmaoğlu, Ipek. "Chasing the Printed Word: Press Censorship in the Ottoman Empire, 1876- 1913." *Turkish Studies Association Journal* 27, no. 1-2 (2003): 15-49.

Zürcher, Erik J. *Turkey: A Modern History*, 3rd edition. London: I.B. Tauris, 2004.

7.2 Further Reading

Abrevaya Stein, Sarah. *Family Papers: A Sephardic Journey through the Twentieth Century*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019.

Alexander-Frizer, Tamar. *The Heart is a Mirror: The Sephardic Folktale*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2008.

Alexander-Frizer, Tamar and Eliezer Papo. "El encanto de la majia – Sephardic Magic: History, Trends and Topics." *El Prezente* 5 (2011): 9-31.

Ayalon, Yaron. "Rethinking Rabbinical Leadership in Ottoman Jewish Communities." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 107, no. 3 (2017): 323-353.

Ben-Naeh, Yaron. "Moshko the Jew and his Gay Friends: Same-Sex Sexual Relations in Ottoman Jewish Society." *Journal of Early Modern History* 9, no. 1-2 (2005): 79-108.

Ben-Naeh, Yaron, Dan Shapira and Aviezer Tutian. *Debar Sépatayim: An Ottoman Hebrew Chronicle from the Crimea (1683-1730)*. Written by Krymchak Rabbi David Lekhno. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2021.

Ben-Ur, Aviva. "Ladino in Print: Toward a Comprehensive Bibliography." *Jewish History* 16, no. 3 (2002): 309-326.

Bunis, David M. "Modernization and the Language Question among Judezmo-Speaking Sephardim of the Ottoman Empire." In *Sephardim and the Middle Eastern Jewries: History and Culture in the Modern Era*, edited by Harvey Goldberg, 226-239. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Cohen, Julia Phillips. "Oriental by Design: Ottoman Jews, Imperial Style, and the Performance of Heritage." *American Historical Review* 119, no. 2 (2014): 364-398.

Crews, Cynthia. *Extracts from the Meam Loez (Genesis) with a Translation and a Glossary*. Leeds: Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical Literary Society, 1960.

Danon, Dina. *The Jews of Ottoman Izmir: A Modern History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2020.

Diaz-Mas, Paloma. *Los sefardies: Historia, lengua, y cultura*. Barcelona: Riopiedras Edicione, 1986.

- Ginio, Eyal. "Jews and European Subjects in Eighteenth-Century Salonica: The Ottoman Perspective." *Jewish History* 28, no. 3-4 (2014): 289-312.
- Goldish, Matt. *Jewish Questions: Responsa on Sephardic Life in the Early Modern Period*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Gruss, Susy. *Las novelas de Judá Haim Perabiá: Salónica 1886 – Xanthi 1970*. Barcelona: Tirocinio, 2020.
- Hacker, Joseph. "The Sephardi Sermon in the Sixteenth Century – Between Literature and Historical Source." *Pe'amim* 26 (1986): 108-127 [Hebrew].
- Hassán, Iacob M. "Visión panorámica de la literatura sefardí." *Hispania Judaica* 2 (1982): 25-44.
- Held, Michal, *Let Me Tell You a Story / Ven te kontare: The Personal Narratives of Judeo-Spanish Speaking Storytelling Women, An Interdisciplinary Study*. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2009 [Hebrew].
- Held, Michal. "The People who Almost Forgot: Judeo-Spanish Online Communities as a Digital Home-Land." *El Prezente* 4 (2010): 83-101.
- Held, Michal. "'Verso una nueva vida' (Towards a New Life): The Ultimate Voices of the Sephardic Community of Salonica." *Ladinar* 9 (2017): lix-lxxix.
- Karkason, Tamir. "Between Two Poles: Barukh Mitrani between Moderate *Haskalah* and Jewish Nationalism." *Zutot* 18 (2021): 1-11.
- Martín Ortega, Elisa. "Itzhak Benveniste and Reina Hakohén: Narrative and Essay for Sephardic Youth." In *Sepharad as Imagined Community Language, History and Religion from the Early Modern Period to the 21st Century*, edited by Mahir Saul and José Ignacio Hualde, 147-161. New York: Peter Lang, 2017.
- Manrique, David M. *Dize la muerte: Estudio y edición de la copia cuatrocentista de la Danza de la Muerte aljamiada (Ms. Parma 2666)*. Barcelona: Tirocinio, 2019.
- Mays, Devi. *Forging Ties, Forging Passports: Migration and the Modern Sephardi Diaspora*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2020.
- Naar, Devin E. "Fashioning the 'Mother of Israel': The Ottoman Jewish Historical Narrative and the Image of Jewish Salonica." *Jewish History* 28, no. 3-4 (2014): 337-372.
- Naar, Devin E. "'Turkinos' Beyond the Empire: Ottoman Jews in America, 1893 to 1924." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 105, no. 2 (2015): 174-205.
- Papo, Eliezer. *And Thou Shalt Jest with Thy Son: Judeo-Spanish Parodies on the Passover Haggadah*. Vols. I-II. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2012 [Hebrew].

Sánchez, Rosa and Marie-Christine Bornes Varol (eds.). *La presse judéo-espagnole: support et vecteur de la modernité*. Istanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık Ticaret, 2013.

Sciaky, Leon. *Farewell to Ottoman Salonica*. Istanbul: Isis Press, 2000.