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Common Culture and Particular Identities:
Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Ottoman Balkans

Editors: Eliezer Papo • Nenad Makuljević

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Menorah

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In loving memory of Prof. Ivana Burdelez
a colleague, a friend, a *benadam*

Preface

This joint issue of *El Prezente – Studies in Sephardic Culture* and *Menorah – Collection of Papers* is yet another a fruit of the multifaceted academic cooperation between *Ben-Gurion University, Moshe David Gaon Center for Ladino Culture*, and the *Department of History of Art* at Belgrade University's Faculty of Philosophy. It is dedicated to the lesser treated subject of the shared and common culture of the Balkan peoples, regardless of their ethnic and/or confessional background.

During the centuries-long Ottoman rule, Ottoman culture, with all its heterogenic (Turkish and Byzantine, Arabic and Persian, Greek, Slavic and Albanian) elements, shaped the Balkan urban centers, adapting itself to specific geographical and human topography—and, no less importantly, adopting different cultural influences along the way. After the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain, in the year 1492, an additional component was added to the Balkan mosaic: the Sephardic Jews. In less than a century, the Iberian expellees adapted themselves to their new environment (changing their western outlook for a more acceptable oriental one); configuring, at the same time, the local Jewish context to their own ways and hispanizing the ancient Romaniote Jewish community almost totally. In these highly osmotic processes of cultural polylogue, a shared Balkan-Ottoman urban culture (vocabulary, clothing, food, music, pastime, etc.) was created, and over the centuries exported to the hinterland of the peninsula as well, with greater or lesser success. Within this common Balkan culture, particular ethnic and confessional group identities were preserved, created, and reconstructed, in constant dialogue with the common culture and with each other.

Most of the articles in this issue were originally presented at the international conference *Common Culture and Particular Identities: Christians, Jews and Muslims on the Ottoman Balkans*, organized in 2011, by our two institutions and held in Belgrade. Some of the participants of that conference, however, chose not to develop their papers into articles, or not to do it at this stage. At the same time, two authors

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who did not participate in the conference, Krinka Vidaković-Petrov and Yaron Ben-Nach, answered our call for papers and joined the public discussion embodied in this issue.

Owing to ideological reasons, the research of the cultural past of the Balkans tends to neglect the existence of shared identities, practices, and symbols. The question of the respective contributions of Balkan Christians, Jews, and Muslims to this shared Balkan-Ottoman culture, the ways in which their particular ethnic cultures were influenced by it, as well as the question of mutual influences of any of the ethno-religious cultures over the others, are usually not at the focus of the research. In this respect, both our conference and this issue are of a pioneer nature, as they focus on the shared culture and the ways in which the particular identities were strengthened and threatened by it, or by each other, rather than focusing on any of these respective cultures per se.

The issue contains fifteen articles, divided in four sections: History and Society, Linguistics, Literature, and Art History.

The **History & Society** section opens with the article “Jews in Serbian Medieval Written Sources”, by **Dušan I. Sindik**, an independent researcher from Belgrade. The article enumerates the little-known medieval Serbian canonic provisions about the Jews. Some of these passages, taken from canonical codes or from archival documents, were originally written in Serbian-Slavic, while others were written in Latin and Greek. Most of them have never been presented before in English.

From pre-Ottoman Serbia of the previous entry, the article “Dangerous Liaisons in Castoria”, by **Yaron Ben-Nach** of the *Hebrew University of Jerusalem*, takes us straight to Ottoman times, to seventeenth-century Castoria. It tells the (hi)story of a Jewess by the name of Lidisya, wife of a wealthy man, Mosheh haCohen, who fornicated with Ottoman soldiers, poisoned her husband’s second wife, wounded him, stole his property, and tried to arrange his murder. Her story serves as a platform to discuss some less-known aspects of traditional Jewish life, the question of the weakness of the community when challenged by a powerful person (here a woman), the question of the family, confessional and class boundaries and their transgression, as well as the question of deconstruction of gender categories and roles.

The third article in this section, “Multi-denominational Interaction in the Ottoman Balkans from a Legal Point of View: the Institution of *Kiambin*-marriages”, by **Ioannis Zelepos** of *Ludwig-Maximilians-University, Munich*, focuses on the phenomenon of multi-denominational interaction in Ottoman society, from the perspective of institutionalized *kiambin*-marriages. Based on fragmentary, though meaningful, text evidence, issued by the Orthodox Church in the period from fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, it argues that such marriages were in common practice during this whole time, constituting an important integrative factor in Ottoman society. Just like so many other such factors, this one also seems to be marginalized in the nationalist narratives of conventional Balkan historiography.

The fourth article in this section, “A Sephardic Rabbi’s View of his Bosnian Neighbors and Common Ottoman Culture as Reflected in His Writings”, by **Katja Šmid** of the *University of Salamanca*, takes us to nineteenth-century Bosnia. The article analyzes Rabbi Eliezer ben Shem Tov Papo’s Judeo-Spanish compendia of religious law and moral teachings, concentrating primarily on the author’s linguistic policy when referring to Gentiles. Besides the expected “impersonal” Hebrew word for Gentile, *Goy*, Papo uses many other terms, especially when imagining real Muslim and Christian neighbors of his intended reading public. Especially revealing are his anecdotes describing some particular aspects concerning Gentiles and descriptions of some—by the rabbi praised or criticized—practices concerning Jewish-Gentile relations in communal as well as private life. The article also examines some influences of the common Ottoman culture on this Jewish rabbinical author, his mentality and weltanschauung.

The fifth article in this section, “‘Good’ Turks and ‘Evil’ Ones: Multiple Perspectives on the Turkish Community Reflected in Serbian Sources of the Early Nineteenth Century”, by **Vladimir Jovanović** of the *Historical Institute* (Belgrade), examines the way in which early-nineteenth-century Serbian narrative perceives the Turks. The author argues that sources reveal a sharp distinction between two categories of Turks, *evil* or *good*, primarily on the basis of their personal acts and attitude toward the Serb community. In the black and white interpretation of Serbian authors, the champions of all *evil* Turks were surely the leaders of the bloodthirsty janissaries. In the few short years of their illegal reign, they had become transformed into the true whip of Christians and the incarnation of pure evil. In those same sources, common

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Turks, however, having local connections with Serbs as friends and trade associates, were depicted as “good” and innocent people. Sharing the ill fate of their Christian neighbors, particularly in urban communities, they were first victims of war and plunder, worthy of pity. Deeds that led to the utter destruction of Turkish communities in Belgrade and many other cities were also recognized and memorialized, both in narrative sources and by the epic poets of the Serbian Uprising.

The closing article of this section, “Jewish Women’s Conversion to Islam in the End of the Ottoman Era (Salonica) “Mijor dezero verte kortada la garganta ke azer insulto a tu ley santa”, by **Gila Hadar** of *Haifa University*, returns to the question of communal and conceptual boundary-crossings. This time, however, in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Salonika. The article examines the phenomenon of conversion to Islam and Christianity among Jewish women in this multiethnic, multilingual and multicultural city. According to many scholars, the main reasons for conversions until the end of the nineteenth century throughout the Ottoman Empire was the desire of female converts to improve their immediate personal living conditions, to obtain a divorce from a violent husband or liberation from slavery or captivity, etc. The article examines the reasons behind modern conversions, on base of their echoes in the local Sephardic press, Sephardic *kansionero*, and relevant secondary sources written in Hebrew, Ladino, French, Greek, and English.

The **Linguistics Section** opens with the article, “From Early Middle to Late Middle Judezmo: The Ottoman Component as a Demarcating Factor”, by **David Bunis** of the *Hebrew University of Jerusalem*, which examines the Ottoman elements in Judezmo. From the sixteenth century on, the intensive interaction between the Judezmo speakers of the Ottoman Empire and their Turkish-speaking neighbors led to a gradual deepening knowledge of Turkish on the part of the Jews. This knowledge was reflected in an increasingly significant Turkish component in Ottoman Judezmo, paralleling in many ways the Turkish component in other languages of the Balkans. During the transition between the Early and Late Middle Judezmo periods, the Turkish elements in the language grew in number and structural sophistication, as well as in the semantic domains to which they referred. Many of the developments in the language’s Turkish component suggest that, at least with respect to that component, the Late Middle Judezmo period may already have begun in the second half of the seventeenth century, rather than the early eighteenth. In either case, the Ottoman

elements in Judezmo came to constitute an important, well-integrated component in the pre-modern language. Some constituents of the component survive in Judezmo to this day.

The second article in this section, “In Search of the Historical Linguistic Landscape of the Balkans: The Case of Judeo-Spanish in Belgrade”, by **Ivana Vučina Simović** of the *University of Kragujevac*, argues for the need to place the study of the Belgrade Judeo-Spanish dialect in a broader Belgrade/Balkan context. The linguistic history of Belgrade, as well as of the most parts of the Balkans in general, consists of partial and sporadic accounts of the linguistic practices of different ethnic and religious groups (Tsintsars, Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Serbs, Sephardic Jews, etc.), which coexisted in these territories for centuries. The author argues that the (socio)linguistic studies of the Balkans have failed, thus far, to provide a holistic and systematic reconstruction and analysis of its linguistic history and of the long-lasting multilingualism/bilingualism from the past and its consequences.

The third and last article in this section, “The Attitude Toward *Lěshon haKodesh* and *Lěshon Laʿaz* in Two Works of Sephardi *Musar* Literature: *Meʿam Loʿez* (1730) and *Pele Yoʿeş* (1824; 1870)”, by **Alisa Meyuhav Ginio** of *Tel Aviv University*, examines the linguistic policy of two prominent Sephardic rabbis: the Jerusalem born Rabbi Yaʿakov Khuli (c. 1689-1732) and the Sarajevo born Rabbi Eliezer ben Yişhak Papo (c.1786-1827). Rabbi Khuli wrote two introductions to his work *Meʿam Loʿez*: one in Hebrew and the other in Ladino. In both of them he felt compelled to explain his choice of language. Since his contemporary *Sepharadim* could no longer understand Hebrew; the rabbi argues, there was a need to convey to them the message of Judaism and Jewish ethics: the Holy Scripture, the Talmudic tradition and the rabbinical learning in their everyday common language: Jewish-Spanish, Judeo-Espanyol, nowadays commonly referred to as: Ladino. About ninety years after the demise of Rabbi Yaʿakov Khuli, Rabbi Eliezer ben Yişhak Papo (c.1786-1827) published, in Istanbul, his work *Pele Yoʿeş*, a book on Jewish ethics (including short essays, alphabetically arranged, and referring to all aspects of Jewish life). In his essay regarding *Laʿaz*—a foreign language—Rabbi Eliezer Papo explained that he would have wished for his own work to be written in Ladino, a language comprehensible to all the *Sepharadim*, but since *lěshon sēfaradi* is not useful for *Ashkenazim* and *Italiani*, he decided to write his work in *lěshon ha-kodesh* – Hebrew, a sacred language common to all the Jews.

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The *Pele Yo'eš* was translated into Ladino, by Rabbi Eliezer's son, Rabbi Yehudah Papo. The first volume of this translation of the *Pele Yo'eš* was published in Vienna in 1870, and the second volume of the same work was published there in the year 1872.

The **Literature Section**, contains only one article: "Some Balkan Specifics of Sephardic Folksongs", by **Krinka Vidaković-Petrov** of the *Institute of Literature and Art* (Belgrade), which researches the contact of Sephardic oral tradition, specifically lyrical folksongs, with the Balkan cultural environment. Among the types of influences considered are the overall Oriental (Turkish) influence on all Balkan cultures (including Sephardic), the elaboration of elements (themes, motifs, and especially metaphors) transferred into Sephardic folksongs from Greek sources, and the influence of the *sevdalinka* on Sephardic lyrical folksongs in Bosnia at the turn of the century.

The **Art History Section**, opens with the article, "Islamic Influence on Illumination of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Serbian Manuscripts", by **Zoran Rakić** of *University of Belgrade*. The author argues that the influence of Islamic art on pictorial ornamentation of Serbian manuscripts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was limited to adopting decorative details. This influence is present to the greatest extent in the manuscripts written and decorated by the famous sixteenth-century amanuensis, John of Kratovo (Jovan iz Kratova), his immediate successors, and several other scribes from the seventeenth century. Particular attention has been devoted to *The Four Gospels of Karan* (Karansko četvorjevanđelje), a manuscript illuminated with the largest number of elements adopted from Islamic art.

The second article in this section, "Between the Ottoman Empire and the Venetian Republic – The Bay of Kotor and the Montenegrin Coast in Early Modern and Modern Times", by **Sasa Brajović** of the *University of Belgrade*, examines the multiculturaluity of the city of Kotor and its extended area. The Bay of Kotor and the Adriatic coast of present day Montenegro were divided between the Ottoman Empire and the Venetian Republic from the beginning of fifteenth to the close of eighteenth century. The area was populated by people of various religious confessions, who lived under extremely complex circumstances. In the Bay of Kotor, an area under the rule of the Venetian Republic which lay deep in Turkish territory, Catholics were the majority, followed by the Orthodox. The Turks, who had conquered the southern part of the coast and almost

the entire territory of Montenegro, were the majority in the city of Bar, the see of the ancient Archbishopric of Bar, as well as in the cities of Risan and Herceg-Novi, in the northern part of the Bay of Kotor. Under Ottoman government a Jewish community thrived in those cities. Boundaries between them had an ambiguous character, which in those circumstances promoted social and cultural interaction that is documented in municipal and ecclesiastical archives.

The third article in this section, “The Trade Zone as Cross-Cultural Space: Belgrade Çarşı”, by **Nenad Makuljević** of the *University of Belgrade*, deals with one of the main characteristics of the Ottoman Balkan cities: the central market area—çarşı. Çarşı was the place of trade and cultural exchange and intercultural space, where contact was enabled between different religious and ethnic groups. Therefore, the market area was the main space for the crossing of cultures and creating the common culture of the Ottoman Balkans. An example of the trade zone as a cross-cultural space is the Belgrade çarşı, called Zerek. During the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries, trade and crafts in Belgrade were carried out by Vlachs/Tzintzars, Greeks, Serbs, Jews, and Ottomans. A multiethnic and multireligious trade society was a social frame for cross-cultural communication and for the creation of the unique urban culture. The example of Belgrade çarşı shows the importance of trading zones in creating common cultural identity in the Ottoman Balkans. The world of trade was an open place for members of different religious and ethnic communities, so trade of various goods also enabled a cultural transfer and crossing of different cultures. At the same time, prominent trading towns, like Belgrade, were not only of local importance but were also significant points in the cultural network of the Ottoman Balkans.

The fourth article in this section, “Imagining the Forbidden: Representations of the Harem and Serbian Orientalism”, by **Irena Ćirović** of the *Institute of History* (Belgrade), deals with the harem theme in the repertoire of Serbian painters and writers. This theme begins to appear towards the end of the nineteenth century, and it is articulated in typical European orientalist formulas. It was an occurrence which must be considered not as mere reproduction of the popular Western genre, but as an essential embracement of its entire orientalist logic. The complexity stems from the fact that its occurrence was situated basically within the alleged “Orient” itself. For a long time, Serbia had been also a subject of the European ideological constructions of “otherness”, especially during the nineteenth-century decay of the Ottoman

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Empire and the emergence of Balkan nation-states. The cultural region burdened by this heritage nevertheless was an equally fertile ground for the development of the orientalist discourse. In the ideology of an emerging nation, it represented an important complement in the construction of self-identity, at the same time widening the distance from its Ottoman heritage. Exactly in these processes, the representations of the harems as orientalised “otherness” were incorporated in Serbian thought. As ideologically potent cultural descriptions, they contributed a great deal to Serbia’s own cultural identity and to the ideology of an emerging nation.

The fifth and last article of this section, “Influence of the Ottoman Architecture on the Aesthetics of Folklorism in Serbian Architecture”, by **Vladana Putnik** of the *University of Belgrade*, analyzes the way in which the elements of Ottoman architecture were applied and reinterpreted in the work of Branislav Kojić, Aleksandar Deroko, and Momir Korunović, during the interwar period. Folklorism represented a unique step in search of an authentic architectural expression in the Serbian interwar architecture. It presumed a connection between architectural heritage and contemporary tendencies, as well as a search for common architectural language. Nineteenth-century Balkan profane architecture has been singled out as a main model for achieving that connection. There were, however, some earlier attempts to revive folk art and use its motifs in a contemporary way, especially in the work of Branko Tanazević and Dragutin Inkioštri Medenjak. Branislav Kojić did make real progress in that field of research. There were tendencies in folklorism to apply architectural elements from Ottoman architecture to a contemporary one in a romantic but also a rational manner. Since Balkan profane architecture was nationally and religiously undefined, it has been very suitable for political purposes in showing territorial unity of the multiconfessional as well as multiethnic Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Therefore, it became for a brief moment a part of political propaganda during the reign of King Aleksandar I Karađorđević.

During the course of preparation of this joint issue, we were informed of the passing of Prof. Ivana Burdelez, the mythological director of the Dubrovnik-based *Centre for Mediterranean Studies* of the *University of Zagreb*, with whom we have collaborated for almost a decade, organizing international conferences, editing their proceedings, and fighting to introduce Sephardic Studies into the curriculum of Balkan and Israeli universities. We all knew Ivana was combating a serious disease, but eternally

enchanted by her inexhaustible energy and strength, we were somehow convinced that she would finally win. Just like she always did. Unfortunately, this time our prayers were left unanswered. With Prof. Burdelez's death, Sephardic Studies have lost a pioneering researcher, a relentless fighter, and a visionary; we all have lost a colleague and a friend; and the world has lost a *benadam*, an unbelievable personality. Lamenting her early departure, we decided to honor her memory by dedicating this issue to her. *Tehi nafša šerura bišror haḥayyim!*

We wish to express our appreciation, first and foremost, to the peer reviewers, who devoted their time to an in-depth meticulous reading of the articles received by the editorial board. Without their commitment, collegiality, and volunteerism we could not maintain the high academic standards of our two journals.

Special thanks are owed to the three members of the Editorial Council of *Menorah*, to Prof. Jelena Erdeljan, Svetlana Smolčić Makuljević and Vuk Dautović, without whose enthusiasm, zeal, and dedication this joint issue would never see the light of the world.

We would also like to extend our gratitude to our “technical team”: to our language editor, **Fern Seckbach**, without whose skills this issue would not be as comprehensive as it is, as well as to our designer, **Sefi Sinay**, who provided a pleasing appearance to this joint issue.

Last but not least, we would like to thank to **Tzahi Aknin**, the new Administrative Coordinator of *Gaon Center*, who coordinated the work of the editorial board, learning along the way the real meaning of the word coordination: pulling all the strings all the time.

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History and Society

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A Sephardic Rabbi's View of his Bosnian Neighbors and Common Ottoman Culture as Reflected in his Writings

Katja Šmid

University of Salamanca (CCHS-CSIC)

Bosnian Rabbi Eli'ezer Šem Tov Papo (Sarajevo, ? – Jerusalem, 1898) is the author of four compendia of Jewish religious law and moral teachings in Judeo-Spanish, and three similar, shorter religious works in Hebrew.¹ All his books were printed in Hebrew characters and were published in Belgrade, Sarajevo, Izmir, and Jerusalem between 1862 and 1892.²

Papo's literary work is an important source for expanding our knowledge of Sephardic religious culture. Besides its rabbinic content, his writings provide generous material about the private and public lives and the folklore and customs of traditional Sarajevan Sephardic Jews in particular, and Bosnian Jewish communities in general, during the second half of the nineteenth century, a period in which Ottoman

* This article has been written the research project sponsored by Plan Nacional I+D+I: "Sefarad siglo XXI (2009-2011): Edición y estudio filológico de textos sefardíes" (SGPI, MICINN BF2009-10672). I would like to thank Martha Peach, David Markovits, and Javier Castaño for their help and relevant remarks.

1 Eli'ezer Šem Tov Papo, *Séfer Hésed veemet* (Belgrade, 1865); *Séfer Ape žutre* (Sarajevo, 1875); and *Séfer Daméseq Eli'ezer* (Jerusalem, 1892).

2 See, for example, Katja Šmid, "Gacetero vienés vs. rabino saraylí: el inicio de una polémica", in Paloma Díaz-Mas and María Sánchez Pérez (eds.), *Los sefardíes ante los retos del mundo contemporáneo. Identidad y mentalidades*, CSIC, Madrid 2010, pp. 149-158; and "Usos médicos y mágicos de los sefardíes de la Bosnia otomana a mediados del siglo XIX según las obras *halájicas* de Eli'ezer Papo", in Yolanda Moreno Koch and Ricardo Izquierdo Benito (eds.), *De cuerpos y almas en el judaísmo hispanomedieval: entre la ciencia médica y la magia sanadora*, Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Cuenca 2011, pp. 221-253.

Bosnian society had already begun to experience the process of modernization and westernization.³

In this article, I wish to examine how this Sephardic rabbi sees his Bosnian neighbors and their otherness, and also, how and to what extent these neighbors and their culture influence his rabbinic writings and his way of life.

1. Papo's Neighbors

All of Papo's work is written in Judeo-Spanish in Hebrew characters for a Sephardic reading public. Papo's writings are not exclusively addressed to rabbinic readers; the main purpose of his practical guides written in Ladino was to instruct common Sephardim living in Bosnia (his ethnic-religious community)⁴ on how to properly observe Jewish commandments and custom and to celebrate life-cycle ceremonies while living in the Diaspora.

1.1. The Figure of the "Impersonal" Gentile

The figure of the Gentile is present in different genres of rabbinic literature in Hebrew as well as in Judeo-Spanish: halakhic works (Heb., *halaxá* 'Jewish law'),⁵ moral literature (Heb., *mussar*), narratives (Heb., *haggada* 'legends, stories'), practical guides for religious observance, etc.

There are many references to non-Jews in all of Papo's compendia of Jewish law and moral teachings written in Judeo-Spanish: *Séfer Daméseq Eli'ezer: Órah hayyim* (Belgrade, 1862 and Izmir, 1877), a general compilation of laws concerning festivals,

3 See, for example, David M. Bunis, "Elements of Hebrew and Balkan Origin in the Terminology of Foodways in R. Eliezer ben Šem Tov Papo's *Sefer Dameseq Eliezer*: Judezmo Rabbinical Literature as a Linguistic and Folkloristic Resource. Part One" [in Hebrew], *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Folklore* 5/6 (1984), pp. 151-195.

4 See, for example, Yakir Eventov, *A History of Yugoslav Jews from Ancient Times to the End of the 19th Century* [in Hebrew], Davar, Tel Aviv 1971, pp. 416-413 [A 21-A 24]; Avram Pinto, *Jevreji Sarajeva i Bosne i Hercegovine*, Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo 1987; and Zvi Loker, "Los sefarditas entre los esclavos del Sur", in Henry Méchoulan (dir.), *Los judíos de España: Historia de una diáspora, 1492-1992*, Trotta, Madrid 1993, pp. 268-270.

5 Transliteration of Judeo-Spanish and Hebrew texts is based on the system established by Iacob M. Hassán, "Transcripción normalizada de textos judeoespañoles", *Estudios Sefardíes* 1 (1978), pp. 147-150.

especially Passover (Heb., *Pésah*);⁶ *Séfer Daméseq Eliézer: Yoré de'á* (Belgrade, 1865), a collection of mourning laws and customs (Heb., *avelut*);⁷ *Séfer Méšeq betí* (Sarajevo, 1872-74), compendium of laws and customs for the observance of Sabbath (Heb., *šabbat*);⁸ and *Séfer Daméseq Eliézer: Yoré de'á* (Jerusalem, 1884), a compilation of laws and moral teachings regarding Jewish women.⁹

The most frequent and general denomination for Gentiles in Papo's Sephardic compendia is *goy*, pl. *goyyim* for a man and *goyá*, pl. *goyyot* for a woman, Hebrew words for Gentiles (Heb., *goy* 'nation, people'). With this term, Rabbi Papo normally refers to "impersonal" Gentiles who appear in passages containing Jewish laws and regulations that may concern them. For example, Gentiles can be hired to carry out certain types of work and activities prohibited to Jews during their festivals and, therefore, it is recommended for Jews and Gentiles to be familiar with rules and laws concerning their interaction.

Bunis¹⁰ has already noted the different names Papo uses for Gentiles in his first work *Séfer Daméseq Eliézer: Órah hayyim* (Belgrade, 1862 and Izmir, 1877), which has been my point of departure for this article. In this compendium of general commandments and regulations centered on the Jewish festivals, Gentiles appear as partners with Jews in businesses, involved in trade, buying and selling (fol. 131a), renting a store or a mill (fol. 132a), lending or renting animals, dishes, and agricultural or transportation tools (fols. 142b-145a), etc.

6 See, for example, Bunis, "Elements" (note 3), pp. 151-195; Iacob M. Hassán, "La prosa rabínica", in Elena Romero (ed.), Iacob M. Hassán and Ricardo Izquierdo Benito (coords.), *Sefardíes: Literatura y lengua de una nación dispersa*, XV Curso de Cultura Hispanojudía y Sefardí de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Cuenca 2008, pp. 267-268, 270-272, 291-292; and Katja Šmid, "Los ma'asiyot de *Daméseq Eliézer*", *El Prezente* 4 (2010), pp. 123-143.

7 See, for example, Bunis, "Elements" (note 3), p. 156; and Katja Šmid, *El Séfer Méšeq betí, de Eliézer Papo: Ritos y costumbres sabáticas de los sefardíes de Bosnia*, CSIC, Madrid (2012), pp. 49-50.

8 See, for example, Šmid, *El Séfer* (note 7).

9 See, for example, Šmid, "Leyes de pureza ritual en judeoespañol: entre la normativa rabínica y las prácticas de las mujeres", *Sefarad* 72 (2012), pp. 389-429.

10 Bunis, "Elements" (note 3), p. 160.

During Passover, the consumption, keeping, and owning of *ḥameš*¹¹ is forbidden, which requires a meticulous cleaning before the beginning of the festival.¹² Papo devoted a small section to the laws of grinding the flour for Passover¹³ (*Dinim de moler el trigo*, fols. 132a-b) in a Gentile's mill; in it he points out some of the inconveniences that Jews and Gentiles may have in this endeavor. In the following excerpt he gives instructions on the cleaning of Gentile's mill and informs us of his custom of inspecting the flour ground for his use.

Pésah.– Los jidiós que toman molinos de el goy y muelen los trigos de Pésah [...] se acaviden muy bien de alinpiyar y_de araspas siendo de el año entero hay cat sobre cat de masa, y el emet es que_es muy fuerte de araspas siendo hay muy muncha masa dura como la piedra y tanbién que hay muchos buracos [...] que non es posible de quitar la masa kašer [...]; siendo minhaguí es el rob de los años de ir al molino a_ver cómo muelen mi trigo y veyo con mis ojos que está muy fuerte por razón que los mištadelim son ‘aniyim, y_si media hora están araspando les peša siendo está el molino sin moler harina y tienen daño [...].¹⁴	Passover.– Jews using Gentile's mills for grinding wheat for Passover [...] should take care to clean and scrape [them] because there is layer upon layer of scraps [left over] from the whole year, and the truth is that it is very difficult to scrape because there are a lot of scraps as hard as a stone and there are also a lot of holes [...] which make [it almost] impossible to produce kosher flour [...]; my custom is to go, most years, to the mill to see how they are grinding my wheat with my own eyes, and I realize that it is very difficult because the persons in charge are poor, and when they do scrape for half an hour they regret it because [while they scrape] the mill is not grinding flour and [they] suffer a loss [...].
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- 11 'Leavening' occurs with one of five types of grains (wheat, barley, rye, spelt, and oats) combined with water and left to stand for more than eighteen minutes.
- 12 The Torah commandments regarding this question are the following: (a) One has to remove all *ḥameš* from his home, including things made with *ḥameš*, before the first day of Passover (Exodus 12:15). It may be simply used up, thrown out, destroyed by burning, or given or sold to non-Jews; (b) one has to refrain from eating *ḥameš* or mixtures containing *ḥameš* during Passover (Exodus 13:3, and 12:20, Deuteronomy 16:3); and (c) one should not possess *ḥameš* in his domain during Passover (Exodus 12:19, Deuteronomy 16:4).
- 13 *Mašá*, unleavened bread eaten during Passover, has to be made from special flour watched from the moment of harvest to the moment of packing to make sure it has not come into contact with any moisture.
- 14 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli'ézer: Órah ḥayyim* (Belgrade, 1862), fol. 132a.

Even if the workers in the Gentile's mill are Jewish, Papo refers to them as poor and young people who are not familiar with all the laws concerning the Passover holidays, and, therefore, in his pious opinion, there should be a practicing rabbi or scholar assigned to each mill to examine their work.

Pésah.– Ma tov umá na'im si en cada quehilá santa precurarán de amerinar en cada molino un talmid ḥaxam que mire muy bien las harinas siendo los mištadelim non son bar haxí y non saben los dinim y las pešgadiyas que hay en isur de ḥameš [...].	Passover.– How good and pleasant [it would be] if every holy congregation would try to assign to every mill a scholar to supervise the flour [production] because the persons in charge are not qualified and [since] they do not know [religious] law and the severity [in transgressing] the prohibitions of leavened food [...].
Pésah.– Se acaviden muy bien los mištadelim de non hačer de las harinas de Pésah bogachas para comer en el molino por razón que ditas harinas ya les pušo la quedušá de el ḥag haqadoš: se topa que quitan de qodeš para ḥol [...].¹⁵	Passover.– Persons in charge should take care not to make bread rolls to be eaten in the mill from flour for Passover since this flour has already been sanctified for the holy festival and it would result in using the holy for profane [purposes] [...].

In *Órah ḥayyim*, contacts between Jews and Gentiles take place, above all, before, during and after the Passover holiday (fols. 131a-153a). Especially remarkable is a chapter on laws about selling ḥameš to Gentiles (*Diné mexirat haḥameš legoy*, fols. 151a-153a), full of miscellaneous instructions for Jews selling and Gentiles buying ḥameš, leavened food forbidden to be owned, and definitely eaten, by Jews during Passover (cf. Ex. 12:17-20).

15 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli'ezer: Órah ḥayyim* (Belgrade, 1862), fols. 132a-b.

Pésah.– [...] cuando vende el ḥameš al goy se acavide que non meta el otro (ḥotam) sello en la camareta o en la caja de el ḥameš para que non pueda el goy abrir el ḥameš [...] que non es esto mexirá salvo engaño. Y en esto hay muchos que non se acavidan que _le venden la caja de ḥameš al goy o la gruta y semejante, y hacen 2 ceraderos y _la una llave le dan al goy y _la otra se guadan ellos o le trocan y _le dan otra llave falsa para que non pueda abrir el goy: que así que sepan si hizo algún engaño de estos non se conta mexirá kelal y el ḥameš non se _puede aprovechar de él después de Pésah [...].	Passover.– [...] when he sells the leavened goods¹⁶ to the Gentile he should be careful not to put another seal in the room or in the box with leavened goods so that the Gentile is not able to open the leavened goods [...] since this is not considered a sale but a deception. And there are a lot of people who do not take care and sell the box with leavened goods or the store and similar to the Gentile, and put two locks and give only one of the keys to the Gentile and keep the other one or they change [the key] and give the Gentile the false key so that he cannot open it: they should know that if they carried out any of these deceptions it is not considered a sale at all and they cannot make use of these leavened goods after Passover.
[...] cuando vende el ḥameš al goy se acavide a _decirle: “De _cierto yo te vendo a _ti este ḥameš”; y non haga como los ba'alé batim a _decirle al goy: “De _cierto yo te vendo a _ti esta llave”, que _si le _dice así que sepan que non es mexirá kelal uxlal y es asur de aprovecharse de este ḥameš después de Pésah [...].	[...] when he sells the leavened goods to the Gentile he should take care to say: “I hereby sell to you these leavened goods”; and not like householders who say to the Gentile: “I hereby sell to you this key”, because if saying so, you should know that it is not considered a sale at all and it is forbidden to make use of these leavened goods after Passover [...].
[...] si el goy que mercó el ḥameš de el ḥidió después de Pésah non se lo quere tornar atrás al ḥidió es asur al ḥidió de llevarlo al goy a _la justicia y demandar de el goy el ḥameš [...].	[...] if the Gentile who bought the leavened goods from the Jew does not want to return them to the Jew after Passover, it is forbidden for the Jew to bring the Gentile to justice and claim the leavened goods from him [...].

16 This term refers, in general, to leavened food, drinks and other provisions, as well as to other vessels, kitchens utensils and tools which are not kosher for Passover.

17 In the original *aljamiado* text כּ su is repeated.

[...] un ḥameš que Yisrael y el goy son ḥaverim en él y se espartieron después de Pésaḥ afilú que el Yisrael non vendió su parte al goy antes de Pésaḥ el ḥameš que le toca al Yisrael por su ¹⁷ parte después de Pésaḥ es mutar [...].	[...] the leavened goods possessed by a Jew and a Gentile in partnership, if they split up after Passover, even if the Jew did not sell his part of the leavened goods before Passover, after Passover [these leavened goods] are permitted [...].
[...] es asur de vender sus behemot al goy antes de Pésaḥ en tal que les dé a comer el goy ḥameš en Pésaḥ [...].	[...] it is forbidden to sell his cattle to the Gentile before Passover so that they be fed by the Gentile with leavened food during Passover [...].
[...] es asur al ḵidió de mercarle ḥameš para el goy en Pésaḥ afilú con las pr' [parás 'coins, money'] de el goy. Y así es asur al ḵidió de gušmer en el pan ḥameš en Pésaḥ [...].	[...] it is forbidden for the Jew to buy leavened food for the Gentile during Passover, even with the Gentile's [own] money. And it is also forbidden for the Jew to smell the leavened bread during Passover [...].
[...] goy que entró en la casa en Pésaḥ con su ḥameš en su mano non tiene ḥiyyuv de quitarlo al goy de casa y afilú que el ḵidió vee el ḥameš en su mano non quere decír nada. ¹⁸	[...] a Gentile who enters the house with leavened food in his hand during Passover, there is no obligation to ask him to leave the house, and even when the Jew sees leavened food in the Gentile's hand, it is of no importance.

Among other laws and regulations concerning Gentiles and their everyday contact with Jews during Jewish festivals, when certain kinds of work and activities are forbidden to Jews but are permitted to be performed by Gentiles on their behalf, we find the following example of a Gentile who comes to a Jewish home and gives flowers as a gift to the lady of the house. In this excerpt we find rules concerning the acceptance of a Gentile's flowers during festival and see a Gentile also as a kind neighbor and friend.

18 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli'ezer: Órah hayyim* (Belgrade, 1862), fols. 151b-152b.

Yom tov.– Goy que truġo pešquēš rošas en diya primero de mo‘ed y_la se’ ba‘alat habáyit siendo non supo [...] que son mucšé¹⁹ las tomó de el goy y_las mezcló con resto de_las rošas que habiya en el ĵaro que las mercó el se’ bá‘al habáyit de ‘érev yom tov, y_las rošas de el goy son más pocas, puede goler en ditas rošas con quitar unas cuantas rošas de el ĵaro.²⁰	Holiday.– If a Gentile brought flowers as a gift on the first day of the holiday and the housewife not being aware [...] that they may not be touched, accepted them from the Gentile and mixed them with other flowers which were already in the vase, bought by the householder the day before the holiday, the Gentile’s flowers being fewer, you can smell these flowers after removing some from the vase.
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As we may see, the term *goy* characterizes good as well as bad Gentiles, and it seems that in this context it does not have a pejorative meaning but is rather used as descriptive or technical term for non-Jews in general.

Nevertheless, in Papo’s second book, a compilation of laws and customs regarding death and mourning, *Séfer Daméseq Eli‘ézer: Yoré de‘á* (Belgrade, 1865), Gentiles are seen as dangerous people, who, for example, have been known to hang Jews on gallows:

Una presona que [...] los goyyim enforcaron a_su qarov en otra ciudad [...] supo que aínda está en la forca [...];²¹	A person [...], whose relative was hung by Gentiles in another town [...], was informed that he was still hanging from the gallows [...];²²
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or to severely beat them as they are wont to do:

Si se mató a_sí mismo porque se espantó de los goyyim que non le den penas muy fuertes como ušan los goyyim [...].²³	If he committed suicide because he was afraid the Gentiles would beat him severely as is their custom [...].
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19 Forbidden to be touched or to be carried on the Sabbath.

20 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli‘ézer: Órah hayyim* (Belgrade, 1862), fol. 85a.

21 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli‘ézer: Yoré de‘á* (Belgrade, 1865), fol. 7a.

22 In this example, the word Gentile refers to Muslims, who were the only ones having the power to apply capital punishment in the Ottoman Bosnia.

23 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli‘ézer: Yoré de‘á* (Belgrade, 1865), fol. 23b.

In some places, Gentiles steal tombstones from emptied out Jewish graves (because the corpses were taken to Israel), erase the names and sell them again, to other Jews, to make money.

Lugares que usan a poner sobre los muertos maševot de piedras grandes y escriben el nombre kanahug, y cuando sacan a el muerto para subirlo a Éreš Yisrael, vienen los goyyim y se aroban las piedras y enbaran los nombres y las venden otra vez a los jidiós para maševot: siendo que los patrones de las maševot non tienen ningún provecho, pueden los jidiós mercar ditas maševot. ²⁴	In places where they usually place upon graves tombstones made out of big stones and write the names as is the custom, after they take out the corpses to take them to the Land of Israel, Gentiles come and steal the stones, erase the names, and sell them again to Jews as tombstones: since the owners of the tombstones do not benefit [from them], Jews are permitted to buy these tombstones.
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In this book there are other references to “impersonal” Gentiles who in certain circumstances are permitted to bury Jews (fol. 47a), as well as to dead Gentiles whom, in an emergency, a Jew likewise is permitted to bury (fol. 41b).

The figure of the non-Jew is especially emphasized in Papo’s third work, the compendium of Sabbatical commandments and laws *Séfer Méšeq betí* (Sarajevo, 1872-74), where he plays the important role of the so called *goy šel šabbat*, an individual who during the day of rest performs acts forbidden to Jews.²⁵

A Gentile servant maid in *Méšeq betí* helps to heat a Jewish house and warm the food (*escabar el horno*, pp. 10, 49; *hačer lunbre*, pp. 11, 19, 49, 92), lights candles to illuminate the house (*encender candela*, pp. 21-24, 189, 196), helps with animals and cattle (p. 24), reads a letter for the Jewish landlord (p. 13), sends a telegram for him (p. 146), winds his watch (p. 161), makes coffee for him when he has a headache (p. 283), and performs other household duties for him (p. 13). It seems that in Sarajevo there was a custom that Gentiles would bring fresh water from natural fountains to Jews on Saturday, which is criticized by Papo (pp. 21, 78).²⁶

24 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli-ézer: Yoré de-á* (Belgrade, 1865), fol. 58b.

25 See Jacob Katz, *The Sabbath Gentile: The Socio-Economic and Halakhic Background to the Employment of Gentiles on Jewish Sabbaths and Festivals* [in Hebrew], The Zalman Shazar Center / The Historical Society of Israel, Jerusalem 1938.

26 According to Jewish law, Jews are not forbidden only to work on Shabbath, but also to have their work done by Gentiles. Consequently, they may not explicitly ask a non-Jew to

Especially noteworthy for contacts between Jews and Gentiles during the day of delight is the chapter explaining the concept of *amirá legoy* (*Dinim qué coša es mutar de decirle al goy en šabbat y qué coša es asur*, pp. 19-25),²⁷ where we can read regulations on what Jews are permitted to say to Gentiles in relation to warming of foods, lighting the house, healing, or helping with animals or with merchandise.²⁸

In his fourth and last book, written in Ladino, *Séfer Daméseq Eli'ezer: Yoré de'á* (Jerusalem, 1884), a collection of laws and moral teachings addressed to Jewish women, the author, among other diverse topics, analyzes circumstances, under which trade and exchange of merchandise between Jews and Gentiles is halakhically permitted. We read a chapter on use of Gentiles' oven (*Dinim en qué ofen es mutar de cočer pan en el horno del goy*, fols. 6b-7a); as well as several chapters dealing with—because of Gentiles' intervention—permitted or forbidden (a) food: bread (fols. 6b-8a, 42a, 52b), milk (fols. 8a, 9a, 11b, 13a, 15a-b), cheese (fols. 8a, 11b, 15a), meat (fols. 7b-8a, 12a, 16b, 22a), fish (fols. 8a-b, 13b), honey (fols. 8a, 17a-b, 51a), etc.; (b) beverages: water (fols. 7a, 8a 17a-b, 52b), wine (fols. 9b, 13a, 15a, 16b-18b, 40a), *raquí*²⁹ (fol. 17b), *boža*³⁰ (fol. 8a), *salep*³¹ (fols. 8a, 51a), etc.; and (c) other goods such as candles (fols. 9b, 16a), utensils, vessels and tools (fols. 8a, 12a, 21b-22a, 51a), etc.

In these passages Gentiles are depicted as partners and neighbors who actively participate in the public sphere of Jewish everyday life, and yet, we also know of Gentile neighbors participating in some of the duties in Jewish homes, for example, cutting nails (fol. 34a), helping to heal (fols. 8a, 15a) and others.

perform a job prohibited by Jewish law on the Sabbath. A Jew, however, may benefit from work performed by a non-Jew if the non-Jew performs this work for his own sake. In case of a real need, especially when there was no way to execute the work before Shabbat, as for example, in the case of heating the house during the winter, lighting the fire on Sabbath day itself by a Gentile was tolerated by Jewish law, but even then without direct instruction. As far as jobs that can be executed before Sabbath, such as bringing the water from a fountain (p. 21), Papo suggests that these are to be executed before Sabbath (p. 78).

27 'Talking to a non-Jew', or, according to Papo's title of this chapter, *Things that are permitted to talk about with a non-Jew on the Sabbath and things that are forbidden* [in order to instruct him or ask him to do forbidden Sabbath labors].

28 For more allusions to Gentiles in this work, see Šmid, *El Séfer* (note 7), p. 87; and "La casa sefardí según el *Méseq betí*", in Hilary Pomeroy / Christopher J. Pountain / Elena Romero (eds.), *Selected papers from the Fifteenth British Conference on Judeo-Spanish Studies* (29-31 July 2008), pp. 261-277.

29 'Firewater', also known as 'arak'.

1.2. Bosnian Gentiles: Papo's Real Neighbors

Besides the “impersonal” Gentiles, who appear in Papo's works, the author also refers to more specific Gentiles, his real neighbors. Usually they emerge in passages in which the rabbi puts complex rabbinic rules into practice, giving his readers examples, mostly from Bosnian daily life, and commenting on different permitted or forbidden religious practices.

We read Papo's anecdote from Sabbath, 18 March 1871. After heavy snowfall in Sarajevo, Gentiles helped him clean the roof of his house, which had caved in under the weight of the snow, depicting a moment in which Gentiles help Jews in that town.

Es mutar de llamar goyim para que saquen la nieve de los tejados en šabbat, siendo, si se derocaron, hay daño grande y también que puede venir sekanat nefašot, bar minán. Asegún aconteció po 'irenu Saray y'E" a š" 631 en meš de Tevet³² en noche de šabbat se derocaron cuantos tejados; y así me aconteció a mí en este propio año: el 25 Adar³³ hizo nieve muy grande en día de šabbat y me se derocó el tejado de casa y la pared de la cocina, y luego llamé goyim para que saquen la nieve, siendo aparte del daño podía venir y sekanat nefašot.³⁴	It is permitted to call Gentiles to remove snow from the roofs on the Sabbath because, if they were to cave in, great damage would take place and also there could be danger of life, God forbid. As happened here in our town Sarajevo, may the Most High establish it, amen, in the year 631, in the month of Tevet, on a Friday night several roofs caved in; and the same thing happened to me that year, on 25 Adar, there was a heavy snowfall on Sabbath and the roof of my house and the kitchen wall caved in, so I immediately called Gentiles to remove the snow because besides the damage there could be danger of life.
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Sometimes, Papo also describes Gentiles belonging to different ethno-religious communities. In the following example, he refers to Muslim neighbors, who invite

30 A popular beverage, made from fermented corn or wheat. It has a thick consistency, a low alcohol content, and has a slightly acidic sweet flavor.

31 A sweet beverage, made with hot milk or water and salep flour.

32 The month of *Tevet* (5)631 [1870-1871]: in 1870 this month started on Sunday, 25 December 1870, and ended on Monday, 22 January 1871.

33 25 *Adar* (5)631 corresponds to Saturday, 18 March 1871.

34 Papo, *Séfer Méseq beti* (Sarajevo, 1872-1874), pp. 150-151.

their Jewish friends (*los amigos jidiós*) to festivities they celebrate, in this case, weddings and circumcisions. As we have seen in the previous examples, Papo uses the word *goy* for Gentiles, not naming them specifically, but the context of a Gentile's banquet is understood:

El minhag que úsan po 'irenu que cuando tiene algún goy ḥatuná o sunet que úsan a_conyidar a los amigos jidiós y el goy les da a comer miel y manteca, caymac y semejante, lo mejor es de non ir kelal uxlal [...]; enpero si ya fueron, bevaday que lo mejor es que non digan beraxá con zimún ³⁵ siendo el goy bá'al hasé'udá. ³⁶	The custom here in our town is that when a Gentile celebrates a wedding or a circumcision and invites his Jewish friends and the Gentile gives them to eat honey, butter, ³⁷ cream cheese and the like, it is best not to go at all [...]; but if you do go, certainly it is best not to say the grace after meals in a quorum, being that the host is a Gentile.
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Another example of the word *goyyim* referring unquestionably to Muslim neighbors is found in the next quotation in relation to the Festival of Sacrifice (*Kurbán Baryam*).³⁸

Goyim que tienen Kurbán Baryam que degollan carneros non puede el jidió mercar carneros y venderlos a los goyim para que los degollen por qorbán. ³⁹	Gentiles who celebrate the Festival of Sacrifice in which they slaughter lambs, Jews are not allowed to buy lambs and sell them to Gentiles for this ritual slaughter.
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Papo's explanation is important in order to prevent Jews from indirectly participating in Islamic sacrificial offering.

35 The formal invitation to say Grace after Meals, when more than three men took part in the meal.

36 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli'ézer: Órah hayyim* (Belgrade, 1862), fol. 179a.

37 It could also be understood as 'fat' or 'lard'.

38 Feast of Sacrifice, also known as *Eid al-Adha* or Greater Eid, is an important religious holiday celebrated by Muslims to commemorate the willingness of Abraham (*Ibrahim*) to sacrifice his son Ishmael (*Isma'il*) as an act of obedience to God, stopped by God when He provided him a sheep to sacrifice instead. During this celebration, Muslims remember Abraham's trials by slaughtering an animal such as a sheep, camel, or goat.

39 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli'ézer: Yoré de'á* (Jerusalem, 1884), fol. 40b.

Talking about Sephardic women and their dress, Papo praises the chastity and modesty of Muslim women, always covering themselves in public, example to be followed by his Jewish female reading public.⁴⁰ Here again, the author uses the neutral word *goyot* ('Gentiles').

¡Guay de mošotros porque non enyežamos⁴¹ de las goyyot como van por las calles con sus caras tapadas lo que caliya que hićieran las ĵudias que fueran “kannašim hamišriyot, ha‘ibriyot”,⁴² haćen ba‘av”h a la revés, que ellas van bien tapadas y las ĵudiyas bien destapadas.⁴³	Woe unto us that we do not learn from Gentile women who cover their faces when they walk on the streets, Jewish women should do likewise, be like “the Egyptians, the Jewish”, who, in view of our many sins, do the opposite, they walk well covered and the Jewish ones well uncovered.
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On the other hand, we have examples of Papo using the Hebrew word *mišriyá*, *mišriyot* (Heb., lit. ‘Egyptian[s]’) to refer to Muslim female servants or neighbors.⁴⁴ It is possible that this denomination has a negative connotation, but from the analyzed texts it is not clear to what extent. It seems that it was a common practice for Jewish women to give illicit food and other goods to Muslim women.

40 Katja Šmid, “Normas religiosas para mujeres sefardíes: *Yoré de‘á* de Eli‘ézer Papo (siglo XIX)”, *Ladinar* 7 (forthcoming).

41 Written אינביזאמו *enyežamo*.

42 Ex. 1:19.

43 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli‘ézer: Yoré de‘á* (Jerusalem, 1884), fol. 2a.

44 Also Laura Papo in her essay *La mužer sefardi de Bosna* (Sarajevo, 1932), p. 51, refers to Gentile servants: “En enverano se enserava todo en fornajas, en invierno venia la vieža zingana ‘Fatija’ para ensender las sobas (estufas). Alas madrugás venia la ‘Fata’ todos dainda en la kama ea se okupava de la lumbre”. She is apparently speaking of a Gypsy (or Muslim?) servant, using two versions (*Fatija*, *Fata*) of a typical Bosnian Muslim name, Fatima.

Un pan que se amasó con estas aguas⁴⁵ es mutar de detenerlo en casa unos cuantos días para dárselo a_la goyá a_poco a_poco; y así nuestro minhag que_la mujer que amasó pan con ditas aguas lo troca con las vecinas y las vecinas lo guadan para šabbat para las mišriyot que hínchen agua y que encienden la soḥá kayadu^{ca}.⁴⁶ [...] ḥameš que se_va aprovechar de él después de Pésah como decir confites o modos de dulces ḥamešim que los vende al goy cale acavidarse en estos dinim que dijimos, enpero los cedazos y sacos que es minhag de dárselos a_la mišriyá y semejante a_la hora non se hace demenester que_se lo _dé bemataná guemurá o mexirá [...].⁴⁷	Bread that was kneaded with this water is permitted to be kept in the house for some days to be given to the Gentile women little by little; and our custom is that women that have kneaded bread with this water exchange it with their neighbors and the neighbors save it until Sabbath for the Egyptian women who supply water and make fire, as is known. [...] for leavened food that will be used after Passover, for example, candies or other leavened sweets, that are sold to the Gentile, you should respect the laws we mentioned, but in the case of sieves and sacks with which the custom is to give them to the Egyptian woman and similar, there is no need to give them as a gift or to sell them [...].⁴⁸
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This term is frequently used in *Séfer Méséq betí*, a compendium for Sabbatical observance (pp. 10, 11, 14, 19, 21, 92, 93, 196). In many of these allusions the term *mišriyá* appears as a synonym for *goyá* and could therefore be interpreted as a technical term for Muslim servant, being neutral and not necessarily pejorative.

45 Water which was in the house of the dead person at the moment of his death (*las aguas que eran en la casa de el muerto en la hora de su petirá*).

46 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli'ézer: Yoré de'á* (Belgrade, 1865), fol. 57a.

47 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli'ézer: Órah ḥayyim* (Belgrade, 1862), fol. 152a.

Uvifrať cuando hay bodas o fiestas y se les amata el horno, llaman al goy o a_la mišriyá que escarbe el horno o que echen lunbre para callentar la comida, que sepan que haćen isur gamur [...]. Y cada uno es obligado por acavidar a_la gente de su caśa diciendo: “Cuando se amatará el horno o la hornalla, más quero comer la comida yelada y non que ešyiblěš el šabbat, ħ”v, que llaměš al goy o a la mišriyá que haga lunbre o que escarbe la lunbre en šabbat”.⁴⁹ Y ansí, si le da al goy o a_la mišriyá chamašir que le lave junto a šabbat y le_díce: “Mira que lo tengo demenester lugo en mośaé šabbat”, es asur, que es como si le dijera claro que lo lave en šabbat.⁵⁰	And especially on weddings or celebrations when the fire goes out and they call the Gentile or the Egyptian woman to stoke the fire or to place logs to warm the food, they should know that it is absolutely forbidden [...]. And everybody has the obligation to warn the persons in his house saying: “If the fire or the oven goes out I prefer to eat cold food than the Sabbath be profaned, God preserve us, by calling the Gentile or the Egyptian woman to make fire or light on Sabbath”. And likewise, when he gives to the Gentile or to the Egyptian woman clothes to be washed close to the [beginning of] Sabbath saying to them: “Look I need it immediately after Sabbath”, this is forbidden because it is like saying clearly that they should wash the clothes on Sabbath.
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When Papo wants to specify that he is talking about male Muslim neighbors, he employs the word *yišma'el*, *yišme'elim* (Heb., ‘Ismael’, ‘Ishmaelite, Turk, Muslim’).

Raquí de los goyyim que sacan de vino es asur como el vino [...]. Vino de los yišme'elim afi' que non sierven ‘a”ž⁵¹ [‘avodá žará ‘idolatry’] es asur de beberlo [...]. Y si tocaron en el vino nuestro tanbién es asur de beberlo.⁵²	Firewater that Gentiles produce from wine is forbidden like [their] wine is. Wine of Ishmaelites, even though they are not idol worshipers, is forbidden to drink [...]. And if they touch our wine it is also forbidden to drink it.
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48 As already indicated, in these examples Papo uses the word *mišriyá*, *mišriyot* for Muslim women. The same word might also refer to Gypsy women, as these are called in Bosnia *Jedžupke* (‘Egyptians’) or *Firaunke* (‘[women] Pharaohs’).

49 Papo, *Séfer Méšeq betí* (Sarajevo, 1872-1874), pp. 10-11.

50 Papo, *Séfer Méšeq betí* (Sarajevo, 1872-1874), pp. 13-14.

51 Written ם”ט s”ž.

52 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli'ežer: Yoré de'á* (Jerusalem, 1884), fol. 17b.

Papo mentions characteristics that are common to Jewish and Muslim law, such as the precept of circumcision and the prohibition of idolatry. Consequently, he makes a distinction between his Muslim and Christian neighbors: when he wants to indicate that he is talking about Christians, he uses the Hebrew word *‘arel*, *‘arelim* (‘uncircumcised’).

Tanto <i>‘arel</i> tanto <i>yišma‘el</i> que tocó en nuestro vino sin <i>kavaná</i>, <i>mašal</i>, que el goy se <i>quiere</i> asentar y sacó la redoma de aquel lugar o que <i>le</i> dijo el <i>jidió</i> “Dame esta redoma de <i>raquí</i>”, y se la dio y se topó que es vino, basta que fue sin <i>kavaná</i> es mutar el vino <i>afi’</i> [<i>afilú</i> ‘even’] de beberlo.⁵³	If an uncircumcised or Ishmaelite touches our wine without intention, for example, the Gentile wants to sit down and moves a barrel or when the Jew asks him: “Give me that barrel of firewater”, and he passes it to him and turns out to be wine, if he is doing it without intention it is permitted even to drink this wine.
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There are several examples, where Papo recommends not to eat and drink Gentile’s food and drink, and even not to eat or drink in their company.⁵⁴

Se‘udá.— Se acavide de non comer junto con <i>‘arel</i> que sirve <i>‘a”ž</i> [<i>‘avodá žará</i> ‘idolatry’] [...], si es <i>se‘udá</i> de boda o de berit tanto que es goy que sirve <i>‘a”ž</i> tanto que es <i>yišma‘el</i>. Non se <i>quiere</i> dicho que es asur de ir a <i>su</i> casa y comer del goy salvo <i>afi’</i> [<i>afilú</i> ‘even’] que non come con <i>goyim</i> en una meša, salvo en meša apropiada de <i>jidiós</i> [...]. Enpero si la <i>se‘udá</i> non es ni <i>hupá</i> ni de millá, salvo amigos que comen y beben en junto y cada uno paga su gaste: si son <i>rov jidiós</i>, es mutar de ir <i>afi’</i> a la casa del goy y comer y beber junto en una meša [...], enpero si los <i>jidiós</i> son más pocos que los <i>goyim</i>, y <i>afi’</i> mitad y mitad, es asur de asentarsen en una meša con los <i>goyim</i>.⁵⁵	Banquet.— Be careful not to eat together with the uncircumcised who is an idol worshiper [...], if it is a banquet served at a wedding or a circumcision of a Gentile who is an idol worshiper or an Ishmaelite. It is needless to say that it is forbidden to go to his house and eat with a Gentile, except if he eats at a table with [only] other Jews but not with Gentiles sitting at the table [...]. But if the banquet is not for a wedding or a circumcision, but friends eating and drinking together and everybody pays for his [own] meal: if the majority are Jews it is permitted to go to the Gentile’s house and eat and drink together at one table [...], but if there are fewer Jews than Gentiles, or even fifty-fifty, it is forbidden to sit at one table with Gentiles.
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53 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli‘ézer: Yoré de‘á* (Jerusalem, 1884), fol. 17b.

54 Jacob Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Studies in Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times*, Oxford University Press, London 1961, pp. 9-11.

Especially interesting is the distinction between Muslim women called by Papo *mišriyot* and Christian women neighbors in Bosnia whom he calls *‘arelot* (Heb., lit. ‘uncircumcised’).⁵⁶ Another term for Gentile servants we find in the following text is *esclavos o esclavas (goyyim)* (pp. 48, 49).

Se acaviden de non dejar escarbar non el horno non la hornalla por mano de los esclavos; y non se quiere dicho que non pueden haċer lunbre de nuevo para haċer cavé o callentar la comida, que es isur gamur [...]. Que ansí, los que tienen ‘arelot o goyyot en caġa que sepan que haċen pecados a miles y a milarias. ⁵⁷	Be careful not to allow servants to stoke the fire or light the oven; and it is needless to say they cannot light it again to make coffee or to warm food because this is absolutely forbidden [...]. And likewise people who have uncircumcised or Gentile women at home should know that they commit sins by thousands and thousands.
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From all the references to Gentiles in analyzed texts, we find only the following passage where we find a derogatory expression *cabeza de leño*⁵⁸ which could be the Hispanic version for “Goyish head”, describing a hard-headed, clumsy, or slow Gentile:

Carta que está sellada, lo mejor de todo es que le diga al goy: “Quería meldar esta carta; ma non puedo meldarla, siendo está cerada”, y el goy ya lo entendió que quiere que la abra y la abre; y si es cabeza de leño, que non se le entiende a abrirla, ya le puede decirle a que la abra también. ⁵⁹	A sealed letter, the best thing is to say to the Gentile: “I would like to read this letter; but I cannot read it because it is sealed”, and the Gentile understands that you want him to open it and he opens it; but if he is hard-headed and does not understand that he should open it, you can even ask him [directly] to open it.
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2. Common Ottoman Culture as Reflected in Papo’s Writings

We have seen Rabbi Papo’s view and attitude to his non-Jewish neighbors belonging to different ethnic-religious communities in Bosnia, as represented in his halakhic writings

55 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli‘ézer: Yoré de‘á* (Jerusalem, 1884), fols. 41a-b.

56 Bunis, “Elements” (note 4), p. 160.

57 Papo, *Séfer Méseq beti* (Sarajevo, 1872-1874), p. 49.

58 Literally, ‘woodenhead’ or ‘blockhead’.

59 Papo, *Séfer Méseq beti* (Sarajevo, 1872-1874), p. 13.

in Judeo-Spanish. On the other hand, I would like to suggest how the common Ottoman culture influences Rabbi Papo's mentality and shapes a number of particular religious practices of the Sephardim living in Bosnia. I will just give three short examples, related to (1) Ottoman material culture; (2) food and beverages; and (3) other customs.

2.1. Ottoman Material Culture

When the rabbi is explaining rules regarding ritual immersion of vessels for purification before Passover (Heb., *tevilat kelim*), he makes references to many types of kitchen utensils, typical of Bosnia: copper waterpots (*ibrikitos*), coffeepots (*ğezvés*), coffee grinders, pepper mills (*molinos de pimienta y de cavé*), mortars (*almirez*), graters (*rallico*), tray (*tevsín*), copper pot (*tengeré*), etc. Sometimes his descriptions of this segment of Ottoman material culture are very detailed, for example:

Molinos de pimienta y de cavé que están hechos en dos <i>halaqim</i> la parte de arriba que es la taza y echan cavé y pimienta y el molino de fiero que muele, quere <i>tevilá</i> con beraxá; enpero el <i>héleq</i> que arecibe el cavé que es de palo non quere <i>tevilá</i> [...]. Los molinos que hacen po <i>írenu</i> que son enteros de fiero vaday que cale <i>tevilá</i> entero todos los <i>halaqim</i> con beraxá, y así los molinos de teneché amario (<i>tuch</i>) tienen esteso din [...]. Po <i>írenu</i> que úsan a <i>mercar</i> rallico de fiero entero o que hay palo al deredor o de teneché que lo hizo goy y con ditos rallicos rallan <i>mašot</i> para <i>Pésah</i>, queren <i>tevilá</i> [...].⁶⁰	Small pepper mills or coffee grinders which are made of two parts, the upper part is the cup in which you place the coffee or the pepper and the other part is the mill or grinder that grinds, require ritual immersion with blessing; but a wooden part in which the [ground] coffee comes out does not require ritual immersion [...]. The small mills that they make here in our town, which are entirely made of iron, all the parts certainly require ritual immersion, and so do small mills made of yellow tinplate (bronze) to which the same rule applies [...]. Here in our town there is a custom to buy graters made entirely of iron or [sometimes] having a wooden part around or tinplate, which are made by Gentiles; these graters are used to grate unleavened bread for Passover, and require ritual immersion [...].
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60 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli'élzer: Órah hayyim* (Belgrade, 1862), fols. 144a-b.

In the same chapter, we encounter the extraordinary practice regarding purification of bigger vessels and dishes, which with Papo's approval, may be washed in the mosque's fountain (*šadervan de la meḏquita*) or in the Miljacka River, called according to Ladino pronunciation *Milasca*. This example points out rabbi's respect for the sacred space of his neighbor as well as the existence of a good relationship between different ethno-religious communities in Sarajevo.

En la pila de la fuente que es chica non puede dar ṭevilá, enpero en el šaderván del baño y así en el šaderván de la meḏquita muy bien puede dar ṭevilá y así en la Milasca puede dar ṭevilá. ⁶¹	In the basin of a small fountain you cannot do ritual immersion [to purify utensils], but in the fountain of the [town] baths and likewise in the fountain of the mosque you can very well do the ritual immersion [for utensils] as well as in the Miljacka River.
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2.2. Food and Beverages

Regarding the observance of Jewish dietary laws (Heb., *kašerut*), Rabbi Papo every so often deals with various Bosnian non-Jewish dishes, mostly prepared by Gentiles. Some of his instructions on the consumption of more or less suitable food for his Jewish readers contain remarkable descriptions of dairy products (*quešo ricota*, *manteca*, *leche*, *caimac*, *yagurti*, etc.), meat (*pastruma*, *taḥaḥiya* also called *sarchicha*); fish (*trutas*, *salmón*, *garato*, *ringa*, *güevos de peje enconado que se llama ḥaviar*, etc.); beverages (*cavé*, *raquí*, *boza*, *salep*, etc.); and sweets (*tešpišti*, *baclabá*, *ḥalvá*, *cadaif*, etc.), for example:

Cadaif que hacen los goyim dehainu que toman masa blanda y la vaciyan por un keli buracado sobre un siní de cobre que está en la lumbre y se coce y se hace a filos delgados, y los que mercan dito cadaif tornan lo bullen con aceite y echan miel [...]. ⁶²	Cadaif that Gentiles make, as following, they take soft dough and pass it through a hollowed utensil and into a copper plate that is on the fire, and it cooks and turns into fine threads, those who buy this cadaif boil it again with oil and add honey [...].
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61 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli'ezer: Órah ḥayyim* (Belgrade, 1862), fol. 144b.

62 Papo, *Séfer Daméseq Eli'ezer: Yoré de'á* (Jerusalem, 1884), fols. 7b-8a.

2.3. Other Customs

Rabbinic mentality and Bosnian Ottoman culture come together in this last and very short reference. A characteristic of rabbinic discourse in Hebrew and Judeo-Spanish is the frequent use of abbreviations and acronyms. The rabbi usually gives his readers a Hebrew word whose consonants will serve as a mnemonic device for some commandments and laws.

When Rabbi Papo is giving instructions on how to prepare lemonade on the Sabbath in accordance with Jewish law, he applies the same principle, suggesting to his readers the Arabic word *selam* ('peace'), used as a widespread greeting in Bosnia, to remember the order of ingredients for this—particularly in the Balkans—very typical beverage.

Limonada , cuando haçe en šabbat, se_ quiere prima que eche el zúcar después el limón y después la agua [...] vesimanexa vehiné SeLaM ⁶³ : Zúcar ⁶⁴ , Limón, Máyim. ⁶⁵	Lemonade , when it is made on the Sabbath, first you have to put in the sugar, then the lemon and finally add water; and the mnemonic device given is [the word] SeLaM ⁶⁶ : Sugar, Lemon, Water.
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3. Final Remarks

Halakhic literature written in Judeo-Spanish by Eli'ezer Šem Tov Papo bears out the notion that Gentiles undoubtedly took part in everyday Jewish life in nineteenth century Ottoman Bosnia.

The rabbi's attitude toward his Bosnian non-Jewish neighbors is overwhelmingly neutral. They are often characterized as cooperative, helpful and friendly; however, there are moments when they are dangerous and Jews must beware of them.

Owing to the author's use of terminology referring to Gentiles examined in this article, besides the "impersonal" Gentile, we can recognize in Papo's literary opus

63 In the original *aljamiado* text written סלם *s-l-m*.

64 Here Papo exceptionally uses the word *zúcar* written סוקאר, which according to the *seseo* in Ladino language is pronounced with s. This permits him to pun with the word *selam*.

65 Papo, *Séfer Méseq betí* (Sarajevo, 1872-1874), p. 148.

66 S·L·M, the triconsonantal root in Arabic means 'whole, safe, intact'.

his real Bosnian neighbors, belonging to different ethno-religious communities, mainly Muslims and Christians. Especially revealing are his anecdotes describing some particular aspects concerning Gentiles, and descriptions of some—praised or criticized by the rabbi—practices concerning Jewish-Gentile relations in communal as well as private life.

Although Gentiles are designated by Papo with words which could be understood as disparaging terms, it seems that in the rabbinic texts analyzed in the article, these words are used more as technical terms for non-Jews. Nevertheless, it would be necessary to examine all the references to Gentiles contained in his halakhic compendia to make relevant conclusions. It also seems indispensable to compare the use of these terms with their use in other rabbinic and non-rabbinic Judeo-Spanish texts⁶⁷ from Bosnia and from other Sephardic communities, to qualify this statement. This would be the only way to understand the exact meaning this terminology has in Ladino, in general, and for this author and genre, in particular.

It also seems obvious that the common Ottoman culture had a great impact on this Sarajevo rabbi and his mentality, as well as on some religious practices performed within the Bosnian environment. Besides a large number of allusions to the common culture in the rabbi's halakhic compendia, we can observe the Judeo-Spanish language as used in the texts examined. They are full of loanwords from Hebrew, Turkish, Bosnian, Italian, and other Jewish and non-Jewish languages, being itself evidence of the complexity of the Sephardic identity in the Balkans.

67 See, for example, Tamar Alexander's article "Multi-Cultural Ethnic Identity and the Attitude to the 'Other', 'The Goy' [non-Jew] according to Sephardic Proverbs" in this issue, pp. 000.