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Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Ottoman Balkans

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

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Bosnian Rabbi Eli<sup>c</sup>ēzer 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.<sup>1</sup> All his books were printed in Hebrew characters and were published in Belgrade, Sarajevo, Izmir, and Jerusalem between 1862 and 1892.<sup>2</sup>

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

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1 Eli<sup>c</sup>ēzer Šem Tov Papo, *Séfer Hēsed veemet* (Belgrade, 1865); *Séfer Ape žutre* (Sarajevo, 1875); and *Séfer Damēseq Eli<sup>c</sup>ēzer* (Jerusalem, 1892).

2 See, for example, Katja Šmid, "Gacetero vienés vs. rabino *sarayli*: 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<sup>c</sup>ēzer 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.<sup>3</sup>

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)<sup>4</sup> 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., *halaxā* 'Jewish law'),<sup>5</sup> 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 Dameseq 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 eslavos del Sur", in Henry Mechoulam (dir.), *Los judios 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 Sefardies* 1 (1978), pp. 147-150.

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

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.

Bunis<sup>10</sup> has already noted the different names Papo uses for Gentiles in his first work *Séfer Daméseq Eli'ezer: 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 Eli'ezer*", *El Prezente* 4 (2010), pp. 123-143.

7 See, for example, Bunis, "Elements" (note 3), p. 156; and Katja Šmid, *El Séfer Mešec betí, de Eli'ezer 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 *ḥames*<sup>11</sup> is forbidden, which requires a meticulous cleaning before the beginning of the festival.<sup>12</sup> Papo devoted a small section to the laws of grinding the flour for Passover<sup>13</sup> (*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.

<p><b>Pésah.</b>– Los jidiôs 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 tambiën que hay muchos buracos [...] que non es posible de quitar la masa kašer [...]; siendo minhagü 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 ʿaniyim, y_si media hora están araspando les peša siendo está el molino sin moler harina y tienen daño [...].<sup>14</sup></p>	<p><b>Passover.</b>– 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 [...].</p>
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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 *ḥames* from his home, including things made with *ḥames*, 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 *ḥames* or mixtures containing *ḥames* during Passover (Exodus 13:3, and 12:20, Deuteronomy 16:3); and (c) one should not possess *ḥames* in his domain during Passover (Exodus 12:19, Deuteronomy 16:4).
- 13 *Masâ*, 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'êzer: 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.

<p><b>Pésah.</b>– 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 hames [...].</p>	<p><b>Passover.</b>– 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 [...].</p>
<p><b>Pésah.</b>– Se acaviden muy bien los mištadelim de non haċer de las harinas de Pésah bogachas para comer en el molino por razón que ditas harinas ya les pušo la quedušá de el ḥag ḥaċadoš: se topa que quitan de qodeš para hol [...].<sup>15</sup></p>	<p><b>Passover.</b>– 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] [...].</p>

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 hameš to Gentiles (*Dinē mexirat haḥames legoy*, fols. 151a-153a), full of miscellaneous instructions for Jews selling and Gentiles buying *hames*, leavened food forbidden to be owned, and definitely eaten, by Jews during Passover (cf. Ex. 12:17-20).

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

<p><b>Pésah</b>– [...] cuando vende el hames al goy se acavide que non meta el otro (hotam) sello en la camareta o en la caja de el hames para que non pueda el goy abrir el hames [...] que non es esto mexirá salvo engaño.</p> <p>Y en esto hay muchos que non se acavidan que le venden la caja de hames 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 hames non se puede aprovechar de él después de Pésah [...].</p>	<p><b>Passover</b>– [...] when he sells the leavened goods<sup>16</sup> 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.</p> <p>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.</p>
<p>[...] cuando vende el hames al goy se acavide a decirle: “De cierto yo te vendo a ti este hames”; 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 hames después de Pésah [...].</p>	<p>[...] 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 [...].</p>
<p>[...] si el goy que mercó el hames de el jidió después de Pésah non se lo quiere tornar atrás al jidió es asur al jidió de llevarlo al goy a la justicia y demandar de el goy el hames [...].</p>	<p>[...] 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 [...].</p>

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 **ו** *su* is repeated.

<p>[...] un <i>hames</i> que Yisrael y el goy son <i>haverim</i> en <i>el</i> y <i>se</i> espartieron después de <i>Pésah</i> <i>afilú</i> que el Yisrael non vendió su parte al goy antes de <i>Pésah</i> el <i>hames</i> que le <i>toca</i> al Yisrael por su<sup>17</sup> parte después de <i>Pésah</i> es mutar [...].</p>	<p>[...] 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 [...].</p>
<p>[...] es asur de vender sus behemot al goy antes de <i>Pésah</i> en tal que les dé a <i>comer</i> el goy <i>hames</i> en <i>Pésah</i> [...].</p>	<p>[...] 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 [...].</p>
<p>[...] es asur al <i>jidió</i> de mercarle <i>hames</i> para el goy en <i>Pésah</i> <i>afilú</i> con las <i>pr'</i> [<i>parás</i> 'coins, money'] de el goy. Y ansí es asur al <i>jidió</i> de <i>gušmer</i> en el pan <i>hames</i> en <i>Pésah</i> [...].</p>	<p>[...] 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 [...].</p>
<p>[...] goy que entró en la casa en <i>Pésah</i> con su <i>hames</i> en su mano non tiene <i>hiyyuv</i> de quitarlo al goy de casa y <i>afilú</i> que el <i>jidió</i> vee el <i>hames</i> en su mano non quiere decir nada.<sup>18</sup></p>	<p>[...] 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.</p>

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: Oraḥ hayyim* (Belgrade, 1862), fols. 151b-152b.

<p><b>Yom tov.</b>– Goy que trujo pešquēš rošas en diya primero de mo‘ed y_la se`ba‘alat habáyit siendo non supo [...] que son mucšé<sup>19</sup> las tomó de el goy y_las mezcló con resto de_las rošas que habiya en el jaro 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 jaro.<sup>20</sup></p>	<p><b>Holiday.</b>– 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.</p>
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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: Yore de‘á* (Belgrade, 1865), Gentiles are seen as dangerous people, who, for example, have been known to hang Jews on gallows:

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

<p>Si se mató a_sí mismo porque se espantó de los goyyim que non le den penas muy fuertes como ušan los goyyim [...].<sup>23</sup></p>	<p>If he committed suicide because he was afraid the Gentiles would beat him severely as is their custom [...].</p>
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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: Yore 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: Yore 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.

<p>Lugares que usan a poner sobre los muertos masevot de piedras grandes y escriben el nombre kanahug, y cuando sacan a el muerto para subirlo a Éres Yisrael, vienen los goyim y se aroban las piedras y enbaran los nombres y las venden otra vez a los jidiós para masevot: siendo que los patrones de las masevot non tienen ningún provecho, pueden los jidiós mercar ditas masevot.<sup>24</sup></p>	<p>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.</p>
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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 Mēšeq 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.<sup>25</sup>

A Gentile servant maid in *Mēšeq betí* helps to heat a Jewish house and warm the food (*escarbar el horno*, pp. 10, 49; *haćer 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).<sup>26</sup>

24 Papo, *Séfer Damēšeq Eli’ēzer: 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 *amirā legoy* (*Dinim que cosa es mutar de decirle al goy en šabbat y que cosa es asur*, pp. 19-25),<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup>

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 que ofen es mutar de coécer 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), *raqui*<sup>29</sup> (fol. 17b), *boža*<sup>30</sup> (fol. 8a), *salep*<sup>31</sup> (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.

<p>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.</p> <p>Asegún aconteció po ‘irenu Saray y ‘E”a š” 631 en meš de Tevet<sup>32</sup> en noche de šabbat se derocaron cuantos tejados; y así me aconteció a mí en este propio año: el 25 Adar<sup>33</sup> hizo nieve muy grande en día de šabbat y me se derocó el tejado de casa y la pared de la cocina, y lugo llamé goyim que saquen la nieve, siendo aparte del daño podía venir y sekanat nefašot.<sup>34</sup></p>	<p>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.</p> <p>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.</p>
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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 Měseq betí* (Sarajevo, 1872-1874), pp. 150-151.

their Jewish friends (*los amigos jidiôs*) 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:

<p>El minhag que usan po 'irenu que cuando tiene algùn goy hatuná o sunet que usan a_convidar a_los amigos jidiôs 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 zimûn<sup>35</sup> siendo el goy bá'al hasé'udá.<sup>36</sup></p>	<p>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,<sup>37</sup> 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.</p>
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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 (*Kurbân Baryam*).<sup>38</sup>

<p>Goyim que tienen Kurbân Baryam que degollan carneros non puede el jidiô mercar carneros y venderlos a_los goyyim para que los degollen por qorbân.<sup>39</sup></p>	<p>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.</p>
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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'êzer: 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'êzer: 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.<sup>40</sup> Here again, the author uses the neutral word *goyot* ('Gentiles').

<p>¡Guay de mošotros porque non enyežamos<sup>41</sup> de las goyyot como van por las calles con sus caras tapadas lo_que caliya que hićieran las judias que fueran “kannašim hamisriyot, ha‘ibriyot”,<sup>42</sup> haćen ba‘av”h a_la revèš, que ellas van bien tapadas y las judiyas bien destapadas.<sup>43</sup></p>	<p>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.</p>
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On the other hand, we have examples of Papo using the Hebrew word *mišriyà*, *mišriyot* (Heb., lit. ‘Egyptian[s]’) to refer to Muslim female servants or neighbors.<sup>44</sup> 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 sefardies: *Yorè de‘à* de Eli‘ezer Papo (siglo XIX)”, *Ladinar* 7 (forthcoming).

41 Written אינביזאמו *enyežamo*.

42 Ex. 1:19.

43 Papo, *Séfer Damèseq Eli‘ezer: Yorè de‘à* (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 madrugadas 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.

<p>Un pan que se amasó con estas aguas<sup>45</sup> 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 guardan para šabbat para las misriyot que hínchen agua y que encienden la sobá kayadu<sup>ca</sup>.<sup>46</sup></p> <p>[...] hames que se va aprovechar de él después de Pésah como decir confites o modos de dulces hamesim que los vende al goy cale acavidarse en estos dinim que dijimos, enpero los cedazos y sacos que es minhag de dárselos a la misriyá y semejante a la hora non se hace demenester que se lo de bematana guemurá o mexirá [...].<sup>47</sup></p>	<p>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.</p> <p>[...] 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 [...].<sup>48</sup></p>
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This term is frequently used in *Séfer Mésëq betí*, a compendium for Sabbatical observance (pp. 10, 11, 14, 19, 21, 92, 93, 196). In many of these allusions the term *misriyá* 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 Damésëq Eli'ezer: Yoré de'á* (Belgrade, 1865), fol. 57a.

47 Papo, *Séfer Damésëq Eli'ezer: Órah hayyim* (Belgrade, 1862), fol. 152a.

<p>Uvifrat cuando hay bodas o fiestas y se les amata el horno, llaman al goy o a_la misriyá que escarbe el horno o que echen lumbre para callentar la comida, que sepan que hacen isur gamur [...]. Y cada uno es obligado por acavidar a_la gente de su casa diciendo: “Cuando se amatará el horno o la hornalla, más quero comer la comida yelada y non que esviblěš el šabbat, h”v, que llaměš al goy o a la misriyá que haga lumbre o que escarbe la lumbre en šabbat”.<sup>49</sup></p> <p>Y ansí. si le da al goy o a_la misriyá chamašir que le lave junto a šabbat y le diće: “Mira que lo tengo demenester lugo en mošaē šabbat”, es asur, que es como si le dijera claro que lo lave en šabbat.<sup>50</sup></p>	<p>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.</p>
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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’).

<p><b>Raquí</b> de los goyim que sacan de vino es asur como el vino [...].</p> <p><b>Vino</b> de los yišme'elim afi' que non sierven א"ז<sup>51</sup> [<i>avodā zará</i> ‘idolatry’] es asur de beberlo [...]. Y si tocaron en el vino nuestro también es asur de beberlo.<sup>52</sup></p>	<p><b>Firewater</b> that Gentiles produce from wine is forbidden like [their] wine is.</p> <p><b>Wine</b> 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.</p>
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48 As already indicated, in these examples Papo uses the word *mišriyā*, *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 Měšeq beti* (Sarajevo, 1872-1874), pp. 10-11.

50 Papo, *Séfer Měšeq beti* (Sarajevo, 1872-1874), pp. 13-14.

51 Written א"ז s"ז.

52 Papo, *Séfer Daměšeq Eli'ězer: Yorē de'ā* (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’).

<p>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>quere</i> asentar y sacó la redoma de aquel lugar o que <i>le</i> dijo el <i>jidió</i> “Dame esta redoma de <i>raquf</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.<sup>53</sup></p>	<p>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.</p>
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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.<sup>54</sup>

<p><b>Se‘udá.</b>– Se <i>acavide</i> de non comer junto con <i>‘arel</i> que sirve <i>‘a”ž</i> [<i>‘avodá žarā</i> ‘idolatry’] [...], si es <i>se‘udá</i> de boda o de <i>berit</i> tanto que es goy que <i>sierve</i> <i>‘a”ž</i> tanto que es <i>yišma‘el</i>. Non se <i>quere</i> dicho que es <i>asur</i> 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 <i>meša</i>, salvo en <i>meša</i> <i>apropiyada</i> de <i>jidiós</i> [...]. Enpero si la <i>se‘udá</i> non es ni <i>hupá</i> ni de <i>millá</i>, salvo amigos que comen y beben <i>enjunto</i> y cada uno paga su <i>gaste</i>: si son <i>rov jidiós</i>, es mutar de ir <i>afi’</i> a <i>la</i> casa del goy y comer y beber junto en una <i>meša</i> [...], enpero si los <i>jidiós</i> son más pocos que los <i>goyyim</i>, y <i>afi’</i> mitad y mitad, es <i>asur</i> de <i>asentarsen</i> en una <i>meša</i> con los <i>goyim</i>.<sup>55</sup></p>	<p><b>Banquet.</b>– 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.</p>
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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 *misriyot* and Christian women neighbors in Bosnia whom he calls *‘arelot* (Heb., lit. ‘uncircumcised’).<sup>56</sup> Another term for Gentile servants we find in the following text is *esclavos o esclavas (goyyim)* (pp. 48, 49).

<p>Se acaviden de non dejar escarbar non el horno non la hornalla por mano de los esclavos; y non se quere dicho que non pueden haçer lumbre de muevo para haçer cavè o callentar la comida, que es isur gamur [...]. Que ansi, los que tienen ‘arelot o goyyot en caça que sepan que haçen pecados a miles y a milarias.<sup>57</sup></p>	<p>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.</p>
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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*<sup>58</sup> which could be the Hispanic version for “Goyish head”, describing a hard-headed, clumsy, or slow Gentile:

<p>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 quere 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.<sup>59</sup></p>	<p>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.</p>
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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’èzer: Yorè de’á* (Jerusalem, 1884), fols. 41a-b.

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

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

58 Literally, ‘woodenhead’ or ‘blockhead’.

59 Papo, *Séfer Mèseq 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 (*gežvès*), coffee grinders, pepper mills (*molinos de pimienta y de cavè*), mortars (*almirez*), graters (*rallico*), tray (*tevsin*), copper pot (*tengerè*), etc. Sometimes his descriptions of this segment of Ottoman material culture are very detailed, for example:

<p>Molinos de pimienta y de cavè que están hechos en dos halaqim la parte de arriba que es la taza y echan cavè y pimienta y el molino de fiero que muele, quere tevilá con beraxá; enpero el heleq que arecibe el cavè que es de palo non quere tevilá [...].</p>	<p>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 [...].</p>
<p>Los molinos que hacen po 'irenu que son enteros de fiero vaday que cale tevilá entero todos los halaqim con beraxá, y así los molinos de teneché amario (tuch) tienen esteso din [...].</p>	<p>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 tinfoil (bronze) to which the same rule applies [...].</p>
<p>Po 'irenu que usan a mercar rallico de fiero entero o que hay palo al deredor o de teneché que lo hizo goy y con ditos rallicos rallan masot para Pésah, queren tevilá [...].<sup>60</sup></p>	<p>Here in our town there is a custom to buy graters made entirely of iron or [sometimes] having a wooden part around or tinfoil, which are made by Gentiles; these graters are used to grate unleavened bread for Passover, and require ritual immersion [...].</p>

60 Papo, *Séfer Damèseq Eli'èzer: Oraḥ 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.

<p>En la pila de la fuente que es chica non puede dar tevilá, enpero en el šaderván del baño y así en el šaderván de la meḏquita muy bien puede dar tevilá y así en la Milasca puede dar tevilá.<sup>61</sup></p>	<p>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.</p>
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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*, *mantecca*, *leche*, *caimac*, *yagurti*, etc.), meat (*pastruma*, *tabaḥiya* also called *sarchicha*); fish (*trutas*, *salmon*, *garato*, *ringa*, *güevos de peje enconado que se llama haviar*, etc.); beverages (*cavè*, *raqui*, *boža*, *salep*, etc.); and sweets (*tešpišti*, *baclabá*, *halvâ*, *cadaif*, etc.), for example:

<p><b>Cadaif</b> que hacen los goyim dehainu que toman masa blanda y la vaciyan por un kelí 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 [...].<sup>62</sup></p>	<p><b>Cadaif</b> 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 [...].</p>
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61 Papo, *Séfer Damèseq Eli'èzer: Órah ḥayyim* (Belgrade, 1862), fol. 144b.

62 Papo, *Séfer Damèseq Eli'èzer: Yore 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.

<p><b>Limónada</b>, cuando hace en šabbat, se quiere prima que eche el zúcar después el limón y después la agua [...] vesimanexa vehiné <b>SeLaM</b><sup>63</sup>: <b>Zúcar</b><sup>64</sup>, <b>Limón</b>, <b>Máyim</b>.<sup>65</sup></p>	<p><b>Lemonade</b>, 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] <b>SeLaM</b><sup>66</sup>: Sugar, Lemon, Water.</p>
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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 טוקאר, which according to the *seseo* in Ladino language is pronounced with s. This permits him to pun with the word *selam*.

65 Papo, *Séfer Měseq beti* (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 texts<sup>67</sup> 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 Sarajevan 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.

