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## On the Jewish Nature of Medieval Spanish Biblical Translations

### Linguistic Differences between Medieval and Post-Exilic Spanish Translations of the Bible

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A linguistic comparison of medieval Spanish translations of the Hebrew Bible and the Constantinople and Ferrara post exilic Ladino translations reveals systematic lexical and grammatical variations. These differences can be explained by the population groups to which the translations were targeted: Christian for the medieval translations; Jewish (or former converso) for the post-exilic ones. The conclusion is that the medieval translations are not Jewish in nature and could therefore not have been a source for the post-exilic versions which were based on oral tradition.

**KEYWORDS:** Ladino Bibles; Medieval Bibles; God's Names; Proper Names; Hebrew Lexicography; Syntactic Structures.

ACERCA DEL CARÁCTER JUDÍO DE LAS TRADUCCIONES BÍBLICAS HISPANO-MEDIEVALES: DIFERENCIAS LINGÜÍSTICAS ENTRE LAS TRADUCCIONES MEDIEVALES HISPANAS Y POST-EXÍLICAS DE LA BIBLIA.— Una comparación lingüística de las traducciones hispano-medievales de la Biblia hebrea y las post-exílicas de Constantinopla y Ferrara revela variaciones sistemáticas léxicas y gramaticales. Esas diferencias pueden explicarse por la audiencia a las que iban dirigidas dichas traducciones: cristiana, en el caso de las medievales; judía (o exconversa) en el de las post-exílicas. La autora concluye que las traducciones medievales no son judías, por naturaleza, y en consecuencia, no podrían haber sido una fuente para las versiones post-exílicas que estaban basadas en la tradición oral.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Biblia en judeoespañol; Biblias medievales; nombres teóforos; nombres propios; lexicografía hebrea; estructuras sintácticas.

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This paper seeks to explore and explain linguistic variations that exist in various Spanish translations of the Bible authored both in medieval Spain and in the Jewish Diaspora after the 1492 expulsion. This paper is not only intended

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to demonstrate variations in linguistic structure, but will also try to explain the extent to which medieval translations are (a) Jewish in nature, and (b) the source of the Jewish post-exilic translations.

The claim has been made that because medieval Spanish translations of the Hebrew Bible were primarily created by Jews for Christian patrons, it is reasonable to suggest that these translations are Jewish in nature. In this context, “Jewish in nature” implies that the intrinsic characteristics of the translations were not modified to make them as relevant as possible for their target readerships (i.e. Jewish, Christians, conversos, or ex-conversos who returned to Judaism). It has also been argued that these translations are the basis for post exilic Biblical translations.<sup>1</sup> I would like to argue that based on the linguistic data available, these claims can be refuted. These issues will be discussed in the concluding section of this paper.

The Bible has been translated into very many languages over thousands of years. The most ancient translations are Aramaic and Greek,<sup>2</sup> while Spanish translations have only existed since the Middle Ages. The most studied biblical Spanish translations are the Escorial manuscripts E3, E4, E7, E19 and the Alba Bible (A).<sup>3</sup> A translation of the Scroll of Esther can also be found in *Sefer Tešuva*.<sup>4</sup> I will be referring to these medieval translations as Spanish translations throughout this paper.

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<sup>1</sup> M. LAZAR, “Bible Translations in Ladino from after the Expulsion” (heb.), *Sefunot* 8 (1964), pp. 337-375; ID. (ed.), *Biblia Ladinada: Escorial I.j.3* (Madison 1995), pp. ix-xlii. On the Jewish nature of the Bible translations, see also J. LLAMAS, “La Antigua biblia castellana de los judios españoles,” *Sef* 4 (1944), pp. 219-244; M. G. LITTLEFIELD (ed.), *Escorial Bible I.ii.19* (Madison 1992), p. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> See for instance D. R. BEATTIE and M. J. MCNAMARA (eds), *The Aramaic Bible* (Sheffield 1994); Y. KOMLOSH, *The Bible in the Light of the Aramaic Translation* (heb.) (Tel Aviv 1973); E. TOV (ed.), *The Greek and Hebrew Bible – Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (Leiden – Boston – Köln 1999).

<sup>3</sup> Lists of the manuscripts and their descriptions appear in S. BERGER, “Les bibles castellanes,” *Romania* 28 (1899), pp. 360-408, 508-567; LAZAR, “Bible Translations in Ladino”; S. FELLOUS-ROZENBLAT, “The Biblia de Alba, its Patron, Author and Ideas,” Companion Volume to the facsimile Edition. *La Biblia de Alba: An Illustrated Manuscript Bible in Castilian, by Rabbi Moses Arragel*, ed. J. SCHONFIELD (Madrid 1992). These texts were edited by O. H. HAUPTMANN (ed.), *Escorial Bible I.j.4*, Volume I (Philadelphia 1953) [E4, I]; O. H. HAUPTMANN and M. G. LITTLEFIELD (eds.), *Escorial Bible I.j.4* (Madison 1987) [E4, II]; M. G. LITTLEFIELD (ed.), *Escorial Bible I.I.7* (Madison 1996) [E7]; LITTLEFIELD (ed.), *Escorial Bible I.ii.19* [E19]; LAZAR, “Bible Translations in Ladino” [E3]; A. PAZ y MELIA (ed.), *La Biblia de la Casa de Alba* (Madrid 1920-1922) [Alba]. And see now <http://corpus.byu.edu/bibliamedieval/>.

<sup>4</sup> See M. LAZAR (ed.), *Sefer Tešubāh: A Ladino Compendium of Jewish Law and Ethics* (Culver City 1993).

There are no existing Spanish translations of the Bible explicitly intended for Jewish readers from prior to the expulsion<sup>5</sup> even though there was a custom of reading parts of the Bible in translation aloud to a Jewish audience in the Middle Ages.<sup>6</sup> Sephardic Jews used “enladinado” ([Hispanic] translated) versions of sacred liturgy, including the Bible, known as Ladino translations, as part of their traditional rituals. The tradition started as an oral practice and was later written down.<sup>7</sup>

Most extant remnants of Biblical Ladino translations of the Sephardic communities were published in Italy and the Ottoman Empire after the Expulsion from Spain. These editions were composed in various Sephardic communities and were intended to be used by the local Jewish population. Examples include: from Constantinople the entire Pentateuch in Hebrew letters (1547), the Ferrara Bible in Latin letters (1553), Isaiah and Jeremiah in 1568, Psalms in 1570, Job, Daniel, the Twelve Prophets in 1571, Ezekiel and Proverbs in 1572 in Salonika in Hebrew letters, and another manuscript of the First Prophets and parts of Ezra and Nehemiah in 1580.<sup>8</sup> A full translation to the Bible was later compiled by Abraham ben Ishak Asa in 1739-1744 in Hebrew letters.<sup>9</sup> Other sections of Biblical passages were translated in various other Sephardic communities, e.g. Ruth, Esther, the Song of Songs, the *Haftara* to be used on the Ninth of Av,<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> D. M. BUNIS, “Phonological Characteristics of Ibero-Romance Elements in the First Printed Ladino Bible Glossary (*Sefer hešeq Šelomo*, Venice 1587/88),” in *Hispano-Jewish Civilization After 1492*, eds. M. ABITBOL, Y. T. ASSIS & G. HASAN-ROKEM (Jerusalem 1997), pp. 203-252: 204-205.

<sup>6</sup> H. PERI, “Prayer in the Vernacular during the Middle Ages” (heb.), *Tarbiz* 24 (1955), pp. 426-440; E. GUTWIRTH, “Religión, historia y las Biblias romanceadas,” *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 13 (1988), pp. 115-134.

<sup>7</sup> D. M. BUNIS, “Translating from the Head and from the Heart: The Essentially *Oral* Nature of the *Ladino* Bible-Translation Tradition,” in *Hommage à Haïm Vidal Sephiha*, eds. W. BUSSE & M. C. VAROL-BORNES (Berne 1996), pp. 337-357.

<sup>8</sup> M. MOLHO, *Literatura Sefardita de Oriente* (Madrid – Barcelona 1960), pp. 185-198; BUNIS, “Translating from the Head and from the Heart,” p. 207; LAZAR, “Bible Translations in Ladino,” and the references in both sources.

<sup>9</sup> Some of these translations have been published with transliteration by M. Lazar. Thus, *Ladino Pentateuch: Constantinople 1547* (Culver City 1988); *The Ladino Bible of Ferrara [1553]* (Culver City 1992); *The Ladino Five Scrolls (Abraham Asa’s Versions of 1744)* (Culver City 1992); *The Ladino Scriptures: Constantinople - Salonica [1540-1572]*, I-II (Lancaster, CA. 2000), in addition to E3 (LAZAR, “Bible Translations in Ladino) and *Sefer Tešuva*, mentioned above. Sephiha gives the full Ferrara and Constantinople Deuteronomy texts in his detailed study, see H. V. SEPHIHA, *Le Ladino: Deutéronome* (Paris 1973).

<sup>10</sup> See the study of the Amsterdam 1643 version in A. S. CORRE, “The Spanish *Haftarah* for the Ninth of Av,” *JQR* 48 (1957-1958), pp. 13-34. The study of Vienna 1844 version appears in

etc.<sup>11</sup> In this paper I will only be referring to the early Constantinople-Salonika translations (C) and to the Ferrara Bible (F) as Ladino translations.

#### THE LINGUISTIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TRANSLATIONS

The following examples are from Exodus 15:1 (1a-c), 15:3 (2) and 15:4 (3a-b), the song sung after the crossing of the Red Sea (*Širat HaYam*). They demonstrate some of the differences that exist between various Ladino and Spanish translations of the same Hebrew source. A linguistic analysis will follow.<sup>12</sup>

#### Exodus 15:1

<b>(1a) Heb.</b>	'āz	yāšīr	Moše	uḇəne	yisrā'el	'et	haššīrā	hazzot
<b>E3</b>	Entonçe	canto	Muysen	e los fijos de	ysrrael		este cantar	
<b>E19</b>	Entonçe	canto	Muysen	& los fijos de	Ysrrael		esta cantica	
<b>E7</b>	Entonce	canto	Moysen	e los fijos de	Ysrrael		esta cantiga <sup>13</sup>	
<b>E4</b>	Entonçes	canto	Moysen	e los fijos de	Ysrrael		este cantar	
<b>A</b>	Entonçe	canto	Moysen	e los fijos de	Israel		esta cantiga	
<b>C</b>	Entonces	canto	Moše	y hijos de	israel	a	la cantiga	esta
<b>F</b>	Entonçes	canto	Moseh	y hijos de	Israel	a	la cantiga	esta
<b>gloss</b>	Then Moses and the Israelites sang this song							
<b>(1b) Heb.</b>	laYHWH	vayyomərū	lemor	'āšīrā		laYHWH	kī	

A. S. CORRE, "A Judeo-Spanish Homily for the Ninth of Ab," *JQR* 56 (1965-1966), pp. 212-224.

<sup>11</sup> See A. YAARI, *Catalogue of Judeo-Spanish Books* [heb.] (Jerusalem 1934), pp. 1-13, 23-26; *The Bibliography of the Hebrew Book 1470-1960* (www.hebrew-bibliography.com [2006]).

<sup>12</sup> These translations appear on pages 5-13 of M. MORREALE, "Las antiguas Biblias hebreas españolas en el pasaje del Cántico de Moisés," *Sef* 23 (1963), pp. 3-21, and LAZAR (ed.), *Biblia Ladinada: Escorial I.j.3*, pp. xviii-xix. The transcriptions were checked in HAUPTMANN – LITTLEFIELD (eds.), *Escorial Bible I.j.4*, p. 39, LITTLEFIELD (ed.), *Escorial Bible I.ii.19*, p. 49, and PAZ Y MELIA, *La Biblia de la Casa de Alba*. There are minor changes here in the spelling of C.

<sup>13</sup> LITTLEFIELD (ed.), *Escorial Bible I.I.7*, has *este cantar* and not *esta cantiga* as MORREALE'S, "Las antiguas Biblias hebreas españolas."

<b>E3</b>	ante dios	e dixeron	diziendo	cantare	a dios	que
<b>E19</b>	aDios	& dixeron	diziendo	cantemos & loemos	a Dios	que
<b>E7</b>	al Señor	& dixeron		dezid cantica	al Señor	que
<b>E4</b>	al <i>sennor</i>	<i>e</i> dixeron		cantemos	al <i>Senñor</i>	que
<b>A</b>	ante Dios	e dixeron	Asy	cantemos	ante dios	que
<b>C</b>	por YY	y dišeron	por dezir	cantare	por YY	que
<b>F</b>	a A.	y dixeron	por dezir	cantare	a A.	que
<b>gloss</b>	to the LORD. They said I will sing to the LORD, for					

<b>(1c) Heb.</b>	<i>gā'o</i>	<i>gā'ā</i>	<i>Sus</i>	<i>vərokəḥo</i>	<i>rāmā</i>	<i>bayyām</i>
<b>E3</b>		Enalteçio	cauallero	e su encaualgadura	echo	en la mar
<b>E19</b>	se enalteçio sobre todos los altos		cauallo	& su caualgador	echo	enla mar
<b>E7</b>	de alteza se ensalço		que al cauallero	& a su cavalgadura	lanço	en la mar
<b>E4</b>	de ensalçamiento se ensalço		alos cauallos	<i>e</i> sus caballeros	anego	enla mar
<b>A</b>	enalteçer	se enalteçio	<i>que</i> cauallo	e su caualgador	echo	enla mar
<b>C</b>	enalteçer	se enalteçio	cabalyo	y su caballero	echo	en la mar
<b>F</b>	enaltecer	se enalteçio	cauallo	y su caualgador	echo	en la mar
<b>gloss</b>	he has triumphed gloriously the horse and its rider he has thrown into the sea					

## Exodus 15:3

<b>(2) Heb.</b>	<i>YHWH</i>	'š	<i>miḥāmā</i>	<i>YHWH</i>	<i>šamo</i>
<b>E3</b>	Dios es	fuerte en la lid		dios	es su nombre
<b>E19</b>	Dios es	vençedor delas lides		adonay	su nombre
<b>E7</b>	El Señor es	varon de lid		Adonay	es el su nombre
<b>E4</b>	El senyor es	el vençedor de las batallas		yod he vabf he	es su nombre
<b>A</b>	Dios es	varon de lid		adonay	es su nombre
<b>C</b>	YY	senyor vençedor de pelea		YY	su nombre
<b>F</b>	A.	varon de pelea		A.	su nombre
<b>gloss</b>	The Lord is a warrior the Lord is his name				

## Exodus 15:4

<b>(3a) Heb.</b>	<i>markəḇot</i>	<i>Par'ō</i>	<i>vəḥelo</i>	<i>yārā</i>	<i>ḥayyām</i>
<b>E3</b>	Encaualgaduras de	Faraon	e el su fonsado	echo	en la mar
<b>E19</b>	Las quatreguas de	Faron	& su compañía	echo	enla mar
<b>E7</b>	La caualleria de	Faraon	& su compañía	lanço	en la mar
<b>E4</b>	Los carros de	Faraon	e su hueste	lanço	enla mar
<b>A</b>	Las cauallerias de	Faraon	e su hueste	echo	en la mar
<b>C</b>	Quatreguas de	Par'ō	y su fonsado	echo	en la mar
<b>F</b>	Quatreguas de	Parhoh	y su fonsado	echo	en la mar
<b>gloss</b>	The chariots of Pharaoh and his army he has thrown into the sea				

<b>(3b) Heb.</b>	<i>umibḥar</i>	<i>šālīšāv</i>	<i>ṭubbə'ū</i>	<i>ḥayyām</i>	<i>sūp</i>
<b>E3</b>	E escogimiento de	sus cabdillos	fueron afogados	en la mar	bermeja
<b>E19</b>	& la escojedura de	sus alferzes	fueron gordadas	Enel mar	Bermejo
<b>E7</b>	& los sus principes escogidos		anegaron	en el mar	Rruuio
<b>E4</b>	& los mas escogidos de	sus capitanes	fueron anegados	enla mar	Rruuia <sup>14</sup>
<b>A</b>	& los mejores de	sus mayores	fueron fondidos	en el mar	rrubio
<b>C</b>	y escogedura de	sus capitanes	fueron hundidos	en la mar de	suf
<b>F</b>	y escogidura de	sus capitanes	fueron hundidos	en mar de	Suph
<b>Gloss</b>	and his chosen officers were drowned in the Red Sea				

In the following paragraphs I will classify the linguistic differences between medieval Spanish and post exilic Ladino translations into lexical and grammatical characteristics.

<sup>14</sup> HAUPTMANN (ed.), *Escorial Bible I,j.4*, p. 138, uses the word *Rruuia*, although MORREALE, “Las antiguas Biblias hebreas españolas,” p. 8, and LAZAR, “Bible Translations in Ladino,” p. xxii, do not.

## 1. THE LEXICON

### 1.1. God's name

There is one feature in particular that distinguishes the medieval Spanish from the post exilic Judeo-Spanish Bibles: the manner in which God's name is translated.

**YHWH:** The Spanish translations use the word *Dios* or *el Señor* 'God' (which is a sign of the non-Jewish nature of the text<sup>15</sup>) instead of *Adonay*, spelled consistently *YY* or *A*. in C and F, respectively (1b, 2). The Spanish Bibles rarely use this name:<sup>16</sup> only in the second occurrence of *YHWH* in verse (2) (*YHWH šəmo*) is the translation given as *Adonay* in A, E19 and E7, whereas E4 copies the names of the letters (*yod he vabf he*).

The word *'ēlohīm* is translated as *Dios* in medieval Spanish Bibles, *Dio* in all the Ladino Bibles, as in spoken Judeo-Spanish and Hakitia.<sup>17</sup> The final *s* in Latin *Deus* was perceived as a plural marker and was hence omitted in the Jewish tradition. However, this *s* does exist in the translation of *'ēlohīm 'āherīm* 'other deities' which is *ydolos otros* in E3 (e.g. Ex 20:2, 23:13, Dt 28:14), *otros dioses* in E4 and E19, and *dioses otros* in A, C, and F. The use of *ydolos otros* in E3 seems strange, as *'ēlohīm 'āherīm* already implies idols. In no place do the Ladino post exilic Bibles use the word *Dios*.

### 1.2. Proper names

The Spanish translations use Hispanic proper names when referring to the Hebrew names, whereas the Ladino translations copy them as pronounced in Hebrew, e.g. *Muysen~Moysen* rather than *Moše* (1a), *Faraon~Faron* rather than

<sup>15</sup> Contrary to LLAMAS' claim, "La Antigua biblia castellana," p. 224. See discussion in the introduction above.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, the first of the Ten Commandments, which is translated as *Yo so Adonay tu Dios* (E3; Ex 20:2), *Yo Adonay tu Dios* (E3; Dt 5:6), *Yo so Adonay tu Dios* (A; Ex 20:2), *Yo sso Adonay tu Dios* (A; Dt 5:6), *Yo soy el sennor tu Dios* (E4; Ex 20:2), *Yo el Sennor tu Dios* (E4; Dt 5:6), *Yo el Señor tu Dios* (E7; Ex 20:2), *Yo Adonay tu Dios* (E7; Dt 5:6), E19: *Yo Adonay tu Dios* (E19; Ex 20:2), *Yo soy Adonay, Dios, tu Señor* (E19; Dt 5:6), *Yo YY tu dio* (C×2), *Yo A. tu Dio* (F×2).

<sup>17</sup> See A. ZAMORA VICENTE, *Dialectología Española* (Madrid 1967<sup>2</sup>), p. 377; P. DÍAZ-MAS, *Sephardim: The Jews from Spain* (Chicago 1992), p. 72; J. BENOLIEL, *Dialecto Judeo-hispano-marroquí o hakitá* (Madrid 1977), p. 191. *Dio* is also often used in biblical citations in medieval *Sefer Tešuva* which was written in Latin letters; see LAZAR, *Sefer Tešubāh*.

*Par'ó* (3a). The name *sūf* is interpreted as *Bermeja* (E3, E19) or *Rruuio~rrubio* (E7, E4, A) rather than copied as *suf* or *Suph* (C, F) (3b).

This is a very prominent feature that distinguishes Spanish from Ladino translations. There are many more examples of this, some of which are shown below –the left hand side of each pair is taken from the Spanish translations while the right hand side is the Ladino translation.

(4) *Jacob – Yahacob / ya'akob*, *Juda – Yehudah*, *Jordan – Yarden*, *Rafadim – Rephidim*, *Canaan – Kenahan / Kena'an*, *Iherusalem / Jerusalem – Yerusalaim / Yerušalaim*, *Noe – Noah / Noaḥ*, etc.

Copying Hebrew names into a translation reflects the Jewish tradition that is non-existent in the Spanish translations. Llamas claims that in E3 the use of Hebrew names according to the Jewish tradition in the Spanish Bible is a sign of its Jewishness.<sup>18</sup> However, the examples in question are special names that do not have Hispanic counterparts and were therefore copied as they sound into the translation. In the course of my studies I have found very many counter-examples that prove the Spanish non-Jewish nature of the proper names.<sup>19</sup>

### 1.3. Hebrew component

The Hebrew component is quite rare in all relevant Bible translations.<sup>20</sup> For all the translations examined here, C is the one that has the largest number of Hebrew words in the translation, in addition to God's name and proper names. As C was written using the Hebrew alphabet, copying Hebrew words would not have been as problematic as transliterating them into Latin letters. F resembles the Spanish translations in this respect as it is written in Latin letters, but it too contains more Hebrew words than the Spanish ones.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> LLAMAS, "La Antigua biblia castellana," p. 224.

<sup>19</sup> O. R. SCHWARZWALD, "Proper Nouns in Ladino Translations: Origin and Jewish Identity" [heb.], *Pe'amim* 84 (2000), pp. 66-77. More examples can be found from the Book of Esther in EAD., "Traduksiones del Tanah i traduksion de la Megila de Ester en Ladino," in *Alegria de Purim*, eds. B. S. NAHMIAŠ & T. ALEXANDER (Beer Sheva 2007), pp. 70-77: 73-74. See also A. DODI, "Transcriptions of Hebrew Proper Nouns in a Fifteenth-Century Spanish Bible (Ms. Escorial I.j.3)," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 81 (2004), pp. 427-452.

<sup>20</sup> For the discussion of the Hebrew words in the Spanish Bibles, see C. LÓPEZ-MORILLAS, "Hispano-Semitic Calques and the Context of Translation," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 67 (1990), pp. 111-128 and M. I. PÉREZ ALONSO, "Contribución al estudio de los hebraísmos léxicos, semánticos y morfosintácticos en la Biblia Medieval Romanceada," *Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebraicos. Sección de hebreo* 46 (1997), pp. 11-22.

<sup>21</sup> See Sephiha's comparison between C and F (SEPHIHA, *Le Ladino: Deutéronome*, pp. 67-70).



The examples given below (5-6) show the differences between the translations. The words in (5) resemble in C and F and diverge from the others, while those in (6) demonstrate a variety of translations.<sup>22</sup> More examples can be seen in (11b) and (14).

(5) a. Heb. *šofār*: šofar (C), sophar (F), cuernno (E3, E19), cuerno (E4), bozi-na (E7, A) (Ex 19:19).

b. Heb. *šabbāt*:<sup>23</sup> šabat (C) Sabbath (F), sabado (E3, E4, E7, E19, A).

c. Heb. *‘omer*: ‘omer (C: Lev 23:12), Homer (F: Ex 16:16, 18, 22, 32, 33, 36), gomer (E4: Ex 16:33, 36), medida, medidas (C, E4), gaquilla (gavilla), gavi-las (F, C, E3, E4, E19, A), almud, almudes (E3, E19, E7, E4, A), algun faz (A: Dt 24:19), celemin (!) (E7: Ex 16:16).

Only C and F use the first two Hebrew words in translation. The third word, *‘omer*, is used inconsistently in C and F. E4 rarely uses the word *gomer* twice (and once *omer* next to *medida*), and A has one instance of *jarra* (*gomer*), where *gomer* is put in parenthesis. The difference is also clear between the Spanish translations that use more variations in the translations than C and F.

(6) a. Heb. *yām*: ma‘arab (C), ponente (F), poniente (E3, E19) (Ex 10:19, Num 34:5, 6, Dt 33:23), abrego (E7: Ex 10:19), la mar (E7: Num 34:5, 6, Dt 33:23; A, E4: Num 34:5), al mar (A: Ex 10:19), vriente (A: Num 34:6), oriente (A: Dt 33:23), el mar (E4: Ex 10:19, occidente (E4: Num 34:6), hoccidente (!) (E4: Dt 33:23)

b. Heb. *šoḥad*: šoḥad (C), cohecho (E3, E7, E19, F: Ex 23:8 and many more), pecho (E4), cohechon (A: Ex 23:8), cofecho (A: Dt 10:17, 16:19, 27:25).

c. Heb. *vattišḥōḏī*: šoḥadiaste (C), pechauas (F), pechaste (E3), das preio (E4) (Ez 16:33).

d. Heb. *negeb*: darom (C, A), Darom (*Australi*) (A: Gn 24:62), daron (E7: Gn 20:1), meridion (F, E7, A), meredion (E4), medio dia (E3: Gn 13:3), meridie (E3: Gn 20:1), setentrion (E3; Gn 24:62), occidente (!) (E7: Gn 13:3; E4: Gn 13:3).<sup>24</sup>

e. Heb. *šāfōn*: šafon (C: Ex 26:35, Num 34:7), çafon (E7: Ex 26:35, Num 34:7), Çapon (*aquilon*) (A: Num 34:7), septentrion (F, E4, A), setemptrion (E4), meridian (!) (E3: Num 34:7), costantrion (E3: Ex 26:35), çierço (E19: Num 34:7), al lado (!) (E19: Ex 26:35).

<sup>22</sup> The exact citations of these examples are listed in Appendix 1.

<sup>23</sup> The occurrences were checked only in Exodus, but it seems to apply to the whole Bible.

<sup>24</sup> Alba translates *Darom* (*meridian*) three times in Num 34:3, 4.

f. Heb. *ḥag haššābu ʿot*: pascua de šavuʿot (C: Dt 16:10), pascua de las semanas (F: Dt 16:10; F, E3: 2Chr 8:13), Pascua de semanas (E3: Dt 16:10), pascua de çinquesmas (E4, A: Dt 16:10), día santo de çinquesma (E19: Dt 16:10), fiesta decinquesmas (E7: Dt 16:10).

g. Heb. *kohen*<sup>25</sup>: kohen, servien (C), mayoral, (C, F, E3, E19), mayor (E4: Ex 3:1), grande (E4), saçerdote~sacerdote (F, E3, E7, E19, E4, A), Seruidor (E3), señor (E3, E19), el mayor omne que moraua en (E19), -- (E19), ministro (*secerdotis eliopoleos*) (A), saçerdote e ministro (A), menistro (A), menistro e çaçerdote (A), ministro e saçerdote (A).

In this group of examples, only C uses the Hebrew word in the translation. The other translations use Spanish words. The reference to Biblical *Aharon hakohen* in (6g) is different in C, F, E3, A and E19 from other religious authorities mentioned in the Bible. Aharon gets the title *el kohen* in C and *el saçerdote* in the other translations. Other religious authorities get a variety of translations in E3, E4, E19, and A, including the word *saçerdote*. E19 does not translate the title at all in two cases.

#### 1.4. Other words

The variation among the Spanish translations is greater than the Ladino ones. In the three examples presented here, there are only four cases where C and F are not identical; two of these involve function words rather than lexical ones: 1. *por* in C, *a* in F (1b); 2. *caballero* in C, *caualgador* in F (1c); 3. *senyor vençedor de pelea* in C, *varon de pelea* in F (2); 4. *en la mar de* in C, *en mar de* in F (3b).

At times certain similarities between the Ladino and some of the Spanish versions exist, but these similarities are not consistent throughout the translation, as in (7).

(7) *cantiga* (1a; E7,<sup>26</sup> A, C, F)

*dixeron* (1b; E3, E7, A, C, F)

*cantare* (1b; E3, E19, C, F)

*enalteçer se enalteçio* (1c; A, C, F)

*caballo / cauallo* (1c; E19, A,<sup>27</sup> C, F)

*quatreguas* (3a; E19, C, F)

*fonsado* (3a; E3, C, F)

<sup>25</sup> The occurrences were checked only in Genesis and Exodus.

<sup>26</sup> In 1b it is *cantica*.

<sup>27</sup> Alba has the addition of *que* 'that' which does not correspond to any of the translations.

*echo* (3a; E3, E19, A, C, F)

*escojedura / escojidura* (3b; E19, C, F)

*fondidos~hundidos* (3b; A, C, F)

Of these ten words that are similar in C and F, six resemble Alba,<sup>28</sup> five resemble E19, four – E3 and only two – E7.

There are considerable variations between the Spanish translations, in addition to those mentioned in (5) and (6). These are unevenly distributed between the translations; many of them prove to be interpretations:<sup>29</sup>

(8) a. *este cantar* (E3, E4) ~ *esta cantica* (E19) ~ *esta cantiga* (E7, A) (1a)

b. *ante dios* (E3, A) ~ *a dios* (E19) ~ *al señor* (E7, E4) (1b)

c. *dixeron* (E3, E7, A) ~ *dixieron* (E19, E4) (1b)

d. *diziendo* (E3, E19) ~ *asy* (A) ~  $\emptyset$  (E7, E4) (1b)

e. *cantare* (E3, E19) ~ *dezid cantica* (E7) ~ *cantemos* (E4, A) (1b)

f. *Dios* (E3, E19, A) ~ *El Señor* (E7, E4) (1b, 2)<sup>30</sup>

g. *a* (E3, E19, E7, E4), *ante* (A) (1b)

h. *cauallero* (E3) ~ *cauallo* (E19) ~ *que al cauallero* (E7) *alos cauallos* (E4), *que cauallo* (A) (1c)

i. *e su encaualgadura* (E3) ~ *e su caualgador* (E19, A) ~ *e a su cavalgadura* (E7) ~ *e sus caballeros* (E4) (1c)

j. *echo* (E3, E19, A) ~ *lanço* (E7) ~ *anego* (E4) (1c) ~ *echo* (E3, E19, A) ~ *lanço* (E7, E4) (3a)

k. *fuerte en la lid* (E3) ~ *vençedor de las lides* (E19) ~ *varon de lid* (E7, A) ~ *el vençedor de las batallas* (E4) (2)

l. *Encaualgadas* (E3) ~ *las quatreguas* (E19) ~ *la caualleria* (E7) ~ *los carros* (E4) ~ *las cauallerias* (A) (3a)

<sup>28</sup> See more discussions on the Alba Bible in F. J. DEL BARCO DEL BARCO, “La Biblia de Alba y la Biblia de Ferrara en su contexto lingüístico: la traducción de las formas verbales,” in *Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española*, vol. 1, eds. J. J. de BUSTOS TOVAR & J. L. GIRÓN ALCONCHEL (Madrid 2006), pp. 459-468; A. ENRIQUE-ARIAS, “Texto subyacente hebreo e influencia latinizante en la traducción de la Biblia de Alba de Moisés Arragel,” in *Traducción y estandarización. La incidencia de la traducción en la historia de los lenguajes especializados*, eds. V. ALSINA, J. BRUMME, C. GARRIGA & C. SINER (Madrid – Frankfurt 2004), pp. 99-112.

<sup>29</sup> Some of the examples are given with the prepositions and determinants to show the divergences among the translations.

<sup>30</sup> See the discussion on *Dios* in the second occurrence of the word in (2) in section 1.1 above.

- m. *fonsado* (E3) ~ *compaña* (E19) ~ *hueste* (E7, E4, A)  
 n. *escogimiento* (E3) ~ *escojedura* (E19) ~ *escogidos*<sup>31</sup> (E7, E4) ~ *mejores* (A)  
 o. *cabdillos* (E3) ~ *alferzes* (E19) ~ *prinçipes* (E7) ~ *capitanes* (E4) ~ *mayo-  
 rales* (A)  
 p. *fueron afogados* (E3) ~ *fueron gorgadas* (E19) ~ *anegaron* (E7) ~ *fueron  
 anegados* (E4) ~ *fueron fondidos* (A) (3b)

Even the word *mar* ‘sea’ is used inconsistently as masculine (*el mar*) in E19, E7, and A in (3b), but as feminine (*la mar*) in all the translations in (3a) and in E3, E4 in (3b).

It is clear from the lexical comparison that the Spanish translations are freer than the Ladino ones and contain a greater number of interpretive variations. Still, some similarities between the medieval and the Ladino translations can be explained by the contact between the Jewish and non-Jewish communities. Bunis, Hassán, and Pueyo Mena discuss the nature of the oral transmission of the biblical text among Jewish as well as non-Jewish communities.<sup>32</sup> The tradition of oral transmission together with the constant contact between the communities could have explained some of these similarities. Readers can find many more examples of lexical differences in Sephiha, Lazar, Hauptmann, Morreale, and Littlefield, among others.<sup>33</sup>

## 2. GRAMMAR

### 2.1. Syntax

The most prominent features that distinguish Spanish translations from Ladino ones are related to syntax. Whereas Ladino translations are very literal in nature, Spanish equivalents are much more freely composed. I will concentrate

<sup>31</sup> Note the different syntactic word order: *los sus prinçipes escogidos* (E7), *los mas escogidos de sus capitanes* (E4).

<sup>32</sup> See BUNIS, “Translating from the Head and from the Heart”; I. M. HASSÁN, “¿Es el ladino judeoespañol calco? (cfr. DRAE),” *Quaderns de Filologia. Estudis Lingüístics*, IX, 2004, pp. 87–99; F. J. PUEYO MENA, “Biblias romanceadas y en ladino,” in *Sefardíes: Literatura y lengua de una nación dispersa. XV Curso de Cultura Hispanojudía y Sefardí de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha*, eds. I. M. HASSÁN y R. IZQUIERDO BENITO (Cuenca 2008).

<sup>33</sup> See LITTLEFIELD (ed.), *Escorial Bible I.1.7*, p. xiii; HAUPTMANN (ed.), *Escorial Bible I.j.4*, pp. 30–48 LITTLEFIELD (ed.), *Escorial Bible I.ii.19*, pp. xviii–xix; HAUPTMANN & LITTLEFIELD (eds.), *Escorial Bible I.j.4*, pp. xlix–lxvii; LAZAR (ed.), *Biblia Ladinada: Escorial I.j.3*, pp. xxv–clii; M. MORREALE, “El glosario de Rabí Mosé Arragel en la ‘Biblia de Alba’,” *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 38 (1961), pp. 145–152; L. AMIGO, *El Pentateuco de Constantinopla y la Biblia Medieval Romanceada Judeoespañola* (Salamanca 1983), pp. 74–114, 121–232.

here on three syntactic related topics: nominal sentences, word order and phrasal constructions, though there are of course many other relevant syntactic features relating to differences in translation that could be demonstrated here.<sup>34</sup>

### 2.1.1 Nominal sentences

In examples (2) there are two nominal sentences in Hebrew: 1. *YHWH ʾš milhāmā*; 2. *YHWH šəmo*. The Spanish translations insert the verb *ser* ‘be’ as copula (*es*) while the Ladino ones lack it; they just translate the words literally without adding any copulative verbs. This is why the translations sound odd to the Spanish reader. Many more examples can be found,<sup>35</sup> but here I will cite just one from Deuteronomy 1:1:

<b>(9) Heb.</b>	<i>ʾelle</i>	<i>haddəbārīm</i>	<i>ʾāšer</i>	<i>dibber</i>	<i>Moše</i>
<b>E3, E19</b>	Estas son	las palabras	que	fablo	Muysen
<b>E4, E7, A</b>	Estas son	las palabras	que	fablo	Moysen
<b>C</b>	Estas	las palabras	que	hablo	Moše
<b>F</b>	Estas	las palabras	que	fablo	Moseh
<b>gloss</b>	These are the words which Moses spoke				

Here again the Spanish translators add the copulative verb *son* according to the Spanish syntax, but the Ladino ones do not.

C and F translations are especially rigid in nominal sentences of the Hebrew type *yeš lə-X* ‘X has’ and *ʾen lə-X* ‘X does not have’, e.g.

(10) a. Heb. *vəkī yeš li kol* (Gn 33:11) ‘and that I have everything’ > e que tengo azaz (E3), & mio es todo (E7), & que tengo todo lo que he menester (E19), e so abondado de todo (A), e que tengo de todo (E4), y que ay a mi todo (C, F)

b. Heb. *yeš lāʾeš tiqvā* (Job 14:7) ‘the tree has hope’ > tiene el arbol esperança (E3), ay al (~a el) arbol esperança (C, F)

c. Heb. *yeš lānū ʾab zāqen* (Gn 44:20) ‘we have an old father’ > aviamos padre viejo (E7), avemos vn padre viejo (E19) teniamos un padre viejo (A), tenemos padre viejo (E4), {avemos padre} viejo (E3), ay a nos padre viejo (C, F)

<sup>34</sup> See A. ENRIQUE-ARIAS, “Apuntes para una caracterización de la morfosintaxis de los textos bíblicos medievales en castellano,” in *Sintaxis histórica del español y cambio lingüístico: Nuevas perspectivas desde las Tradiciones Discursivas*, ed. J. KABATEK (Frankfurt – Madrid 2008), pp. 109-125.

<sup>35</sup> See, for instance, the First Commandment in fn. 16 above.

d. Heb. *'en lānū ḥeleq bəḏāvid* (2Samuel 20:1) ‘we have no part with David’ > non avemos parte en Daud (E3, E19, E4), non queremos parte de Daud (A), Non auemos nos parte en Daud (E7), non anos parte en David (C), no a nos parte en Daud (F)

C and F literally translate *yeš* with *ay*, *'en* with *no(n)* and the preposition *lə-* with *a*, instead of using the verb *tener* or inflecting the verb *haber* (medieval *aver*), as done by the Spanish translations.<sup>36</sup>

### 2.1.2 Word order

The Spanish translations do not necessarily follow the Hebrew syntactic order, as the translation of *ḥašširā hazzot* (1a) shows: *este cantar~esta cantica / cantiga* vs. *a la cantiga esta*. The adjective and the demonstrative pronoun in Hebrew follow the noun. The demonstrative pronoun in Spanish must precede the noun, but adjectives in general follow the noun.<sup>37</sup> The Spanish translations deviate from the Ladino ones in this respect: Ladino translations follow Hebrew syntactic order while the Spanish ones follow the Spanish patterns of syntax. Note that when the adjective in Hebrew agrees in definiteness with the definite noun, so do the Ladino translations, but not the Spanish ones, as the examples in (11) show.

(11) a. Heb. *hārā'ā haggəḏola hazzot* (Gn 39:9) ‘this big bad deed’ > esta maldad tan grande (E3), tamaña maldat commo esta (E7), el tan grant mal (E4), tan gran mal commo este (E19), tan gran maldat (A), el mal el grande este (C, F)

b. Heb. *bišnat hayyobel hazzot* (Lev 25:13) ‘in this Jubilee year’ > enel año deste jubileo (E3, E19, E4), en este año del jubileo (E7, A), en año del Yobel este (C, F)

c. Heb. *ləkol hā'edā hārā'ā hazzot* (Num 14:35) > ‘to all this bad community’ > a todo este mal consejo (E3), a toda esta mala compañía (E7), a toda la compañía mala (E19), a toda esta mala gente (E4, A), a toda la compañía la mala esta (C, F)

<sup>36</sup> For more details on the syntax of nominal sentences in Ladino, see SEPHIHA, *Le Ladino: Deutéronome*, pp. 37-50; O. R. SCHWARZWALD, *The Ladino Translations of Pirke Aboth* (heb.) (Jerusalem 1989), pp. 7-9; EAD, “Language Features of Ladino Translations across Time and Place,” *Phrasis* (special issue: *Translation as a Multi-Discipline*) 46/2 (2006), pp. 41-51.

<sup>37</sup> For more on the Hebrew adjective and its Spanish equivalents, see M. L. VIEJO SÁNCHEZ, “El adjetivo en hebreo bíblico y su correspondencia en una traducción española medieval,” in *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española* (Valencia 2000), vol. 1, eds. M.<sup>a</sup> T. ECHENIQUE ELIZONDO y J. SÁNCHEZ MÉNDEZ (Madrid 2002), pp. 1057-1070.

d. Heb. *hā'eš haggadolā hazzot* (Dt 5:22) 'this big fire' > este grant fuego (E3), este fuego grande (E19), este grande fuego (E4), este tan gran fuego (A), el fuego el grande este (C, F, E7)

Only in (11d) do E7, C and F resemble each other syntactically. All the other translations in this example and in the others follow the Spanish structure.

### 2.1.3 Phrase construction

2.1.3.1 Accusative: The accusative particle *'et* in Hebrew occurs in front of a definite noun.<sup>38</sup> Whenever it appears in the Hebrew sentence it is translated by *a* in the Ladino translations, as we saw in (1a), and as it appears in many other cases, as for instance in Genesis 1:1 :

(12) Heb:	<i>bərešit</i>	<i>bārā</i>	<i>'Elohīm</i>	<i>'et</i>	<i>haššāmāyim</i>	<i>və'et</i>	<i>hā'āreš</i>
F, C:	En prinçipio	crio	el Dio	a	los çielos	y a	la tierra.
E3:	Enel comienço	crio	Dios		los çielos	e	la tierra
E4 <sup>39</sup> :	En comienço	crio	Dios	a	los çielos	& a	la tierra
A:	En el prinçipio	crio	el Señor		los çielos	e	la tierra

E4 resembles C and F here in the use of the accusative marker *a*. In other instances it is similarly omitted. Lexical differences in the translations are also noticeable here.

2.1.3.2 Definiteness: Construct state structures are considered definite in Hebrew if the second noun is definite, however, the first noun in this construction is never preceded by the definite article, e.g. *bet 'abādīm* 'house of slaves' is indefinite, but *bet hā' 'abādīm* 'the house of the slaves' is definite, even without adding the definite article to *bayit* 'house'.

In all the construct state phrases in the above examples, the Ladino translations consistently do not add the definite article to the first noun whereas the Spanish ones do, as can be seen in the translations of *bəne Isrā'el* in (1a), *'iš milḥāmā* in (2), *markəbot par'o* in (3a) and *mibḥar šālīšāv* in (3b). Even in the case of *'iš milḥāmā* which is indefinite, some of the translations add the Spanish definite article to the last noun: *la lid* (E3) *las lides* (E19), *las batallas* (E4).

<sup>38</sup> A Hebrew definite noun is a noun preceded by the definite article *ha-*, a proper name or an inflected noun followed by a possessive pronoun.

<sup>39</sup> Chapters 1:1-8:10 of E7 and 1-25:16 of E19 are missing in the manuscript. Littlefield, (*Escorial Bible I.ii.19*, and *Escorial Bible I.I.7*) copies the missing first eight chapters from E4, and the missing chapters 8:11-25:16 of E19 he copied from E7.

2.1.3.3 Tense system: Hebrew has fewer grammatical tenses than Spanish. The Ladino translators use less variation in the translations of the tenses than the Spanish ones, especially in the subjunctive cases. The following examples are taken from Genesis 2:5 (13) and 2:10 (14). The verbs are marked by boldface letters.

(13) Heb. *Vəkol sītaḥ hasśāde ʔerem yihye bā'āreṣ vəkol 'ešeb hasśāde ʔerem yišmāḥ*

E3: E todo arbol del canpo avn non **nasçia(n)**

E4: & toda verdura del canpo antes que **fuese** en la tierra & toda yerua del canpo antes que **naciese**

A: E todos los arboles del canpo en ante *que* enla tierra **fuessen** e toda la herba del canpo nin omne **ouiese** para la tierra labrar

C: Y todo arvol del canpo aun non **era** en la tierra y toda yerva del canpo aun non **ermolyeçia**

F: Y todo arbol del canpo antes *que* **fuesse** en la tierra y toda yerua del canpo antes que **hermolleçiesse**

Heb. *ki lo himʔtir YHWH 'Ĕlohīm 'al hā'āreṣ*

E3: que non **auia fecho lloer** el señor Dios sobre la tierra

E4: ca non **fazia lloar** el Señor Dios [sob]re la tierra

A: nin lloer **fecho ouiese** el señor Dios sobre la tierra

C: *que* no **hizo lyover** YY Dio sobre la tierra

F: *que* no **hizo lloer** A. Dio sobre la tierra

Heb. *və'ādām 'ayin la 'abod 'et hā'ādāmā*

E3: e omne non **auia para labrar** la tierra

E4: E omne non **auia pa[ra] labrar** la teirra

A:

C: y omre non por **lavrar** a la tierra

F: y hombre no **para labrar** a la tierra

(14) Heb. *vənāhār yoše me'eden lahašqōt 'et haggan umišām yipāred vəhāyā lə'arbā'ā rāšīm*

E3: E vn rrio **salia** del parayso **para rregar** la huerta e de ay **se partia** por quatro cabos

E4: E rrio **salia** del Deleyte **para rregar** el huerto & dende **se paria & yua** a quatro partes



A: E vn rrio **sallia** del vergel que rregaua este vergel e de alli se **rrepartia e se fazia** quatro cabdales rrios

C: Y rio **salien** de 'Eden **por abrevar** a el guerto y de ai **se espartia y era** a quatro caveceras

F: Y rio **saliente** de Heden **para abreuar** al huerto y day **se espartia y era** por quatro cabeças

In addition to the lexical and textual differences, the tenses are used differently. The Spanish translations also omit some of the verbs (no translation for *yihye*, *vəhāyā*, but *'ayin* is translated). The compound form *auia fecho llouer* appears in the Spanish translations and the simpler causative *hizo llouer* appears in C and F.<sup>40</sup> The Hebrew participle *yose* is translated into Ladino by either the participle in (F) or by the apocopated participle (C), whereas the Spanish translator chooses the same tense sequence as the one that follows (*salia*, as *partia*).

2.1.3.4 Verb duplicates: The Verb + Infinitive constructions of the same root in Hebrew are interpreted in the Spanish translations, but literally translated by the Ladino ones, for instance:

(15) *vayyomārū lemor* (1b): e dixerón diziendo (E3, E19) ~ e dixerón (E7, E4) ~ e dixerón asy (A); y dišeron~dixerón por dezir (C, F)

(16) *gā'o gā'ā* (1c): enalteçio (E3) ~ enalteçio sobre todos los altos (E19) ~ de alteza se ensalço (E7) ~ de ensalçomiento se ensalço (E4) ~ enalteçer se enalteçio (A, C, F)

The Spanish translations either ignore the infinitive, or use the participle form or the adverb *asy* in (15). The Ladino versions translate the expression literally.<sup>41</sup> The absolute infinitive in (16) is ignored in E3 and the whole expression is interpreted using the participle form in E19, E7, and E4.<sup>42</sup> Only A translates it literally here, like C and F, by using an infinitive and a verb of the same root.

<sup>40</sup> I have found that Ladino Bible translations have fewer variations than Mishnaic translations. See O. R. SCHWARZWALD, "Mixed Translation Patterns: The Ladino Translation of Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew Verbs," *Target* 5 (1993), pp. 71-88.

<sup>41</sup> See M. L. VIEJO SÁNCHEZ, "El influjo de las construcciones hebreas de infinitivo absoluto en las construcciones sintácticas del tipo *hablar hablará*, *veer vimos* en las biblias medievales romancesadas," in *Actas del VI Congreso Historia de la Lengua Española*, vol. 1, eds. J. J. de BUSTOS TOVAR & J. L. GIRÓN ALCONCHEL (Madrid 2006), pp. 1203-1214

<sup>42</sup> Littlefield mentions other examples of this construction where sometimes the infinitive is translated (*Escorial Bible I.ii.19*, pp. xxix-xxx), but this is not the rule.

## 2.2 Morphology

Besides the tense difference discussed in 2.1.3.3, several morphological differences can be observed:

### 2.2.1 Number correspondence

The Spanish translations do not necessarily keep the same grammatical number as the original Hebrew word, as the example *milhāmā* (sg) shows: *lid* (sg), *lides*, *batallas* (pl) (2). In the translation 'āšīrā 'I shall sing' (1b) E4, E19 and A use the plural form *cantemos* 'we shall sing' while E7 uses *dezid cantica*, rather than *cantaré* (E3, E19, C, F). In the Ladino translations the correspondence between the grammatical number of the Hebrew and the Spanish word is stricter, even in those cases they might contradict Spanish grammar.

The following translations demonstrate this difference:

(17) Heb. 'al pəne 'on the surface of'<sup>43</sup>

E3: sobre la faz de ~ sobre fazes de ~ delante la faz de ~ por; en vida de

E4: sobre la faz de ~ sobre faz de ~ sobre las fazes de ~ por la faz de ~ por faz de; en vida de

E7: sobre la faz de ~ por la faz de ~ sobre toda la faz de; en vidade

A: sobre fazes de ~ enssomo de ~ sobre ~ sobre faz de; ante

C: sobre façes de; en vidas de

F: sobre façes de ~ sobre fazes de

The Hebrew word *pəne* is the construct state of *panim* 'face' which is a plural form. C and F translate it literally with *faces de* in the plural, while E3, E4, E7 fluctuates between the singular and the plural: *faz* or *façes*. The last occurrence shown here from Gn 11:28 refers to the death of Haran: E3, E4, E7, and C interpret the phrase as 'in Terah's lifetime', however, C uses the plural form *vidas*, parallel to the Hebrew word *ḥayīm*, which is also in the plural, while the Spanish ones use the singular form *vida* 'life'. The word *ḥayīm* itself is consistently translated as *vidas* in C and F, and occasionally in E4, while E3 and A always translate it in the singular form, *vida* (Gn 2:7, 9, 3:22, 24, 6:17 and many more).

<sup>43</sup> The examples are taken from the first eleven chapters of Genesis. The full citations are given in Appendix 2. An additional detailed example appears in Appendix 3.

### 2.2.2 Participle

C and F fairly consistently use the apocopated participle of the verbs in the translations of the Hebrew present tense forms (which are also participle ones). The Spanish translations use either the participle or other verb forms, depending on the sentence structure. The above examples have already demonstrated that, e.g. Heb. *Yoše* ‘exit’: *salia* (E3, E4, A), *salien* (C), *saliente* (F) (14). The following examples add to this distinction:

(18) a. Heb. *holek* ‘go’ (Gn 18:16): *andaua* (E3), *yua* (E7, E4), *auia sallydo* (A), *andán* (C, F)

b. Heb. *yošeb* ‘sit’ (Gn 18:1, 19:1): *estando* ~ *estaua* (E3, E4, E7, A), *están*×2 (C, F)

c. Heb. *’omer* ‘say’ (Ex 2:14): *dexiste* (E3), *quieres* (E4), *as de desir* (A), *dizién* (C, F)

d. Heb. *ba* ‘come’ (Dt 7:1): *vienes* (E3, E7), *entraras* (E19), *vinien* (C, F)

e. Heb. *māraḥpet* ‘hover’ (Gn 1:2): *ventiscaua* (E3), *auentaua* (E7, E4), *era rretraydo* (A), *se mouia* (F), *esmob*u*ense* (C)

Although F uses a past tense form in the last example, the apocopated participle forms are as a rule dominant.

### Conclusion

The examples above were limited in number, but they show genuine linguistic difference between the translations. Other studies of the various other biblical verses support the same differences found in here.<sup>44</sup>

Two related questions need to be answered at this stage:

1. Are the medieval Spanish translations Jewish in nature?

The Jewish nature of the Spanish translations is primarily assumed by the fact that they were written by Jewish translators. Moreover, the order of the

<sup>44</sup> AMIGO, *El Pentateuco de Constantinopla y la Biblia Medieval*; ID., “Una aproximación al Pentateuco de Constantinopla (1547),” *Estudios Bíblicos* 43 (1990), pp. 81-111; SCHWARZWALD, “Proper Nouns in Ladino Translations”; EAD., “A new look at the origin and transmission of the Ladino translations,” *Kol Yaacov: Bentolila Jubilee Book*, eds. D. SIVAN and P. I. HALEVY-KIRCHUK (Beer Sheva 2003), 359-369; EAD., “The Relationship between Ladino Liturgical Texts and Spanish Bibles,” in *Hebrew Literature, the Bible and the Andalusí Tradition in the Fifteenth Century*, eds. J. DECTER and A. PRATS (forthcoming).

books follows the Hebrew Bible in many cases,<sup>45</sup> and so does the division of the *Parashiyot* (the weekly portions read in the synagogue) and *Sedarim* in the Pentateuch. The use of *Adonay* sporadically for YHWH has also been put forward to support the Judaic nature of the texts. Finally, some translations fit the Massoretic and rabbinical interpretation of the biblical text.

Based on the linguistic analysis I would like to claim that the Spanish translations are in fact not Jewish. Although the translations were made by Jews and are based on the Hebrew Massoretic Bible, the medieval translations were created for Christian patrons and were intended for non Jewish readers, contrary to some claims made.<sup>46</sup> It is the target audience of the translations that prevented them from becoming Jewish in nature. Rather than translate the Hebrew text verbatim, the medieval translators adapted and adjusted their work in order to make it relevant for the appropriate target readership (i.e. Christians). The same claim can be made regarding the differences between the Constantinople and the Ferrara Bibles - whereas the former was intended for use by Jews expelled from Spain, the latter was edited for the benefit of the conversos who returned to Judaism. The spelling in Latin letters and some of the resemblances to the Spanish Bibles were meant to facilitate the text to the New Christians who became Jews again.

The uses of God's names (*Dios, el Señor*), in spite of the rare use of *Adonay*, and the pronunciations of proper names prove beyond doubt that the Spanish translations are Christianity oriented. Moreover, the use of Hebrew words in the translations and Jewish concepts like *Shabbath* definitely separate the Spanish from the Ladino translations. The interpretation of some words based on the Aramaic translations or on the rabbinical interpretations does not mean that the text is Jewish; it just demonstrates that the all translators were aware of these interpretations, especially in unclear cases. After all, Jews and Christians lived together in Spain and interpretive traditions could have been known to both communities. Therefore, in spite of their reliance on the Hebrew Bible, these translations are not Jewish in nature.

Considering the fact that the oral Jewish tradition of word for word Bible transmission existed in Spain prior to writing the translations,<sup>47</sup> it seems that the Spanish translators took the task upon themselves to turn the biblical text,

<sup>45</sup> See the tables of comparison in LAZAR (ed.), *Escorial I.j.3*, pp. xv and xvii.

<sup>46</sup> LLAMAS, "La Antigua biblia castellana"; LITTLEFIELD (ed.), *Escorial Bible I.ii.19*, pp.viii-xiii claims that E19 was intended for Jewish readers, whereas E4 and E7 for Christian ones, and E3 and Alba for both Christian and Jewish use.

<sup>47</sup> GUTWIRTH, "Religión, historia y las Biblias romanceadas".

perhaps even the Ladino oral translations, into a standardized comprehensible Spanish text. The grammar and the lexicon used seem to be independent of the literal Jewish tradition; therefore the claim that these translations are Jewish in nature cannot be supported.

2. Are the medieval Spanish translations the source for the Jewish post-exilic ones?

Lazar claims the following: “None of the surviving biblical translations in Spanish was intended for a Jewish readership, but the Jewish translators established a tradition of translations from which ultimately in the sixteenth-century –after the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain– the Ladino translations of Constantinople, Ferrara and Salonica were derived.”<sup>48</sup>

Lazar also draws a chart to indicate the relationship between the translations in which he shows that the Spanish translated Bibles are directly derived from the Hebrew Scriptures with influences from the Greek, Latin, and Aramaic translations, and from the *Midrash*. According to Lazar, based on comparison of various passages from the Bible, the post exilic translations are descendents of the E3 “family” of translations. This family includes Alba and portions of E19, with some influences from biblical glossaries and rabbinical exegeses.

As is known, the Ladino translation genre is noted for its inflexibility on the one hand, and for its archaic nature on the other.<sup>49</sup> It reflects many Hebrew syntactic structures while retaining many grammatical and lexical linguistic features typical of Medieval Spanish.

The examples presented in this paper prove over and over the syntactic rigidity of the Ladino translations. It is the syntactic structure and the special uses of the apocopated participle forms that have convinced me that the Ladino translations are independent and follow an oral tradition of word by word translation that was also customary in other Jewish traditions.

Had the post exilic translations been based on the medieval ones, I would have expected many more varieties in the translations, more deviations from the rigid syntactic structure and more fluctuations between free and word for word translations. Had the translators of C and F had the Spanish translations physically or spiri-

<sup>48</sup> LAZAR (ed.), *Biblia Ladinada: Escorial I.j.3*, p. xiii.

<sup>49</sup> LAZAR, “Bible Translations in Ladino”; I. S. REVAH, «Hispanisme et judaïsme des langues parlées et écrites par les Sefardim», in *Actas del primer Simposio de Estudios Sefardies*, ed. I. M. HASSAN (Madrid 1970), pp. 233-241; SEPHIHA, *Le Ladino: Deutéronome*; ID., *Le Ladino (Judéo-Espagnol Calque)* (Paris 1979); SCHWARZWALD, *The Ladino Translations of Pirke Aboth*, pp 7-15; BUNIS, “Translating from the Head and from the Heart”.

tually in front of them, more similarities would have been found to the Spanish ones in all respects, both lexical and grammatical. The exceptional systematic similarities between C and F, in contrast with the divergence from the Spanish ones and the latter overwhelming varieties confirm beyond doubt that C and F were translated without any reliance on the Spanish texts. The lexical study above shows that the variations between the Spanish translations as well as within the same translation are outsized, whereas they are limited between and within the Ladino translations. Lexical interpretations in the Ladino translations need not be attributed to the medieval Spanish translations but rather to the direct influence of Aramaic, *Midrashic* and rabbinical Jewish literature. Therefore, the Ladino translations are not descendents of the Spanish medieval translations but rather an independent and ancient Jewish tradition. It is the Spanish translations that attempt to get as far as possible from the old rigid Ladino translations, not vice versa.

### Appendix I

(9) b. Heb. *šabbāt*<sup>50</sup>: šabat (C) Sabbath (F), sabado (E3, E4, E7, E19, A: Ex 16:23, 25, 26, 29, 20:8, 9, 11, 31:14, 15×2, 16×2, 35:2, 3)

c. Heb. *‘omer*: ‘omer (C: Lev 23:12), Homer (F: Ex 16:16, 18, 22, 32, 33, 36), gomer (E4: Ex 16:33, 36), medida llamada omer (E4: Ex 15:18), medida (C: Ex 16:16, 18, 32, 33, 36; E4: Ex 16:16) medidas (C, E4: Ex 16:22), gavilya (C: Lev 23:10, 15, Dt 24:19, Job 24:10), gauilla (F, E3, E19: Lev 23:10, 11, 12, 15, Dt 24:19, Job 24:10; E4: Lev 23:10, 12, 15; A: Lev 23:10, 11, 12, 15), gauillas (E4: Dt 24:19), almud (E3, E19: Ex 16:16, 18, 32, 33, 36; E7: Ex 16:18, 32, 33, 36; E4: Ex 16:32; A: Ex 16:16, 33, 36), almudes (E3, E7, E19, A: Ex 16:22), jarra (gomer) (A: Ex 16:32), algun faz (!) (A: Dt 24:19) celemin (!) (E7: Ex 16:16), --- (A: Ex 16:18)<sup>51</sup>

(10) d. Heb. *neḡēb*: darom (C: Gn 13:3, Gn 20:1, Gn 24:62; A: Gn 20:1), Darom (*Australi*) (A: Gn 24:62), daron (E7: Gn 20:1), meridion (F: Gn 13:3, Gn 20:1, Gn 24:62; E7: Gn 24:62; A: Gn 13:3), meredion (E4: Gn 20:1, Gn 24:62), medio dia (E3; Gn 13:3), meridie (E3; Gn 20:1), setentrion (E3; Gn 24:62), occidente (!) (E7: Gn 13:3; E4: Gn 13:3)

e. Heb. *šāfōn*: šafon (C: Ex 26:35, Num 34:7), çafon (E7: Ex 26:35, Num 34:7), septentrion (F: Ex 26:35, Num 34:7; E4: Num 34:7; A: Ex 26:35), setemptrion (E4: Ex 26:35), meridian (!) (E3: Num 34:7), costantrion (E3: Ex 26:35, ), çierço (E19: Num 34:7), al lado (!) (E19: Ex 26:35), Çapon (*aquilon*) (A: Num 34:7)

g. Heb. *kohen*<sup>52</sup>: kohen (C: Ex 29:30, 31:10, 35: 19, 38:21, 39:41), servien (C: Gn 14:18), mayor (E4: Ex 3:1), mayoral (C: Gn 41:45, 50, 46:20, Ex 2:16, 3:1, 18:1; F:

<sup>50</sup> The occurrences were checked only in Exodus, but it seems to apply to the whole Bible.

<sup>51</sup> Instead of *vayyāmoddū bā ‘omer* it says *y fizieron asy*.

<sup>52</sup> The occurrences were checked only in Genesis and Exodus.

Gn 41:45, 50, 46:20, Ex 2:16, 18:1<sup>53</sup>; E3: Gn 41:45, 50, 46:20, Ex 2:16, 18:1; E19: Gn 41:45, 50, Ex 18:1), grande (E4: Ex 2:16), saçerdote~sacerdote (F: Gn 14:18, Ex 3:1, 29:30, 31:10, 35:19, 38:21, 39:41; E3: Ex 29:30, 31:10, 35:19, 38:21, 39:41, E7: Gn 14:18, 41:45, 50, 46:20, Ex 2:16, 3:1, 18:1, 29:30, 31:10, 35:19, 38:21, 39:41; E19: Ex 29:30, 35:19, 38:21, 39:41; E4: Gn 14:18, Gn 41:45, 50, 46:20, Ex 18:1, 29:30, 31:10, 35:19, 38:21, 39:41; A: Gn 14:18, Ex 3:1, 29:30, 38:21), Seruidor (E3: Gn 14:18), señor (E3, E19: Ex 3:1), el mayor omne que miraua en (E19: Ex 2:16), -- (E19: Gn 46:20, 31:10;), ministro (*secerdotis eliopoleos*) (A: Gn 41:45), saçerdote e ministro (A: Gn 41:50), menistro (A: Gn 46:20), menistro e çaçerdote (A: Ex 2:16), ministro e saçerdote (A: Ex 18:1)

### Appendix 2

(17) Heb. *'al pāne* 'on the surface of'

E3: sobre la faz de (Gn.1:2, 29, 4:14, 6:1, 7, 11:4), sobre fazes de (Gn.1:2, 7:4, 18, 23, 8:9), delante la faz de (Gn 1:20), por (Gn 11:8, 9), en vida de (Gn 11:28)

E4: sobre la faz de (Gn 1:2×2, 20, 7:4, 23, 8:9, 11:9), sobre faz de (Gen 1: 29) sobre las fazes de (Gn 4:14, 6:1, 7, 7:18), por la faz de (Gn 11:8), por faz de (Gn 11:4), en vida de (Gn 11:28)

E7: sobre la faz de (Gn 11:8), por la faz de (Gn 11:4), sobre toda la faz de (Gn 11:9), en vidade (Gn 11:28)

A: sobre fazes de (Gn 1:2×2, 29, 4:14, 6:1, 7, 7:3, 4, 8:9, 11:4, 8, 9), ensomo de (Gn 7: 18), sobre (Gn 7:23), sobre faz de (Gn 8:8), ante (Gn 11:28)

C: sobre façes de (Gn 1:2×2, 20, 29, 4:14, 6:1, 7, 7:4, 18, 23, 8:9, 11:4, 8, 9), en vidas de (Gn 11:28)

F: sobre façes de (Gn 1:2×2, 20, 29, 4:14, 6:1, 7, 7:4, 18, 23, 8:9, 11:4, 8, 28), sobre fazes de (Gn 11:9)

### Appendix 3

Genesis 43:31-32<sup>54</sup>

Heb: *vəyyirḥaš pānāv vayyeše vayyit'appaq vayyomer sīmū lāḥem. Vayyašmū lo ləḥaddo vəlāḥem ləḥaddām vəlammīšrīm hā'okəlīm 'itto ləḥaddām kī lo yūkəlūn hammīšrīm le'ēkol 'et hā'ibrīm leḥem kī to 'eḇā hī ləmišrāyim.*

<sup>53</sup> Yithro is called either *sacerdote* or *mayoral*. *Sacerdote* is a God's priest; *mayoral* is any nation's priest.

<sup>54</sup> The common words in the Spanish versions are marked by bold face letters. The common words in The Ladino versions C and F are marked by underscore.

A: E **lauo** su cara e **sallo** e tomo esfuerço consigo, e mando a poner mesa. E **pusieronle** mesa a el en su cabo, e para **ellos** en su cabo, e para **los egipcianos** que comian con el por si, ca **non** auian costumbre **los egipcianos** de **comer con los judios pan**, que lo auian por aboreçençia los egipcianos.

E3: E **lauo** sus rostros, e **salio**, e esfuerçose, e dixo: poned pan. E **pusieronle** a el aparte, e a **ellos** aparte, e a los **Egipcianos** **que comian conel** aparte; ca **non pueden los Egipcianos comer pan conlos Ebreos**, que es aborrecimiento a los **Egipcianos**.

E4: e **lauo** su faz e **salio**, e sufriose. Et dixo ponet vianda, e **pusieron** ael solo, e **aellos** solos; e a los **egipcianos** **que comian conel**, solos; ca **non** podian **los egipcianos comer con los ebreos vianda**, ca abominaçion era a los **egipcianos**.

E7: E **lauo** su rrostro, & espacio & lloro; **salio**, & dixo: Pongan pan. E **pusieron** a el solo, & a **ellos** a su parte; & a los **egipcianos** **que comian con el** le pusieron aparte, por quanto non podian **los egipcianos comer con los ebreos pan**, ca erales defendido a los **egipcianos**.

E19: E **lauo** sus façes, & **salio**, & espaçiose, & dixo: Poned mesa. E **pusieron** ael asu parte, & a **ellos** a ssu parte, & a los **egibtanos** **que comian conel** asu parte, ca **non** podian **comer los egibtanos conlos judios pan**, que era cosa aborrida a los **egibtanos**.

C: Y lavo sus faces, y salio, y esfuerçose, y diço: poned pan. Y pusieron a el a su solas, y a ellos a su solas, y a los Mişriyim los comientes con el a su solas, que non podian los Mişrim por comer con los judios pan, que avorricion ella a mişrāyim.

F: Y lavo sus faces y salio, y esfuerçosse, y dixo: poned pan. Y pusieron a el a sus solas, y a ellos a sus solas, y a los Eypçianos los comientes con el a sus solas, que non podian los Eypçianos por comer con los Hebreos pan, que abominaçion ella a Egypto.

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