

The Pronunciation of Hebrew in the Western Sephardic Settlements (16th-20th Centuries).

Second Part: The Pronunciation of the Consonant ‘*ayin*’*

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The purpose of this investigation was to ascertain when the Italian Jewish communities and the Western Portuguese “Nations” adopted the nasal-guttural pronunciation of the ‘*ayin*, variously represented as *gn*, *ng*, *ngh*, *hg*. In 16th century Ferrara and Venice, the phonetic value of this consonant was zero or close to zero. Only at the very end of the 16th century, some authors in Italy graphically represented it as *ng*. In the same period, an Amsterdam author introduced new graphemes and expressed the ‘*ayin* as *gh* or *hg*, while a Hamburg scholar published a grammar-book where he gave the name of this consonant as *Hgain*. The new graphemes were not adopted by the majority of authors, who continued to represent it by a simple *h*, or left it without notation. Both in Italy and in Northern Europe, the *h* > *gn* shift was rather discontinuous.

KEYWORDS: Hebrew Pronunciation; Liturgy; Judeo-Spanish; Venice; Amsterdam; Ferrara.

LA PRONUNCIACIÓN DEL HEBREO ENTRE LOS JUDÍOS DE LAS «NACIONES» HISPANO-PORTUGUESAS DE OCCIDENTE (SIGLOS XVI-XVII). SEGUNDA PARTE: LA PRONUNCIACIÓN DE LA CONSONANTE ‘AYIN.— Estudio de la adopción de la pronunciación naso-gutural de la consonante ‘*ayin* y de su variada representación gráfica entre los judíos de Italia y de las «Naciones» judías hispano-portuguesas. Durante el siglo XVI, el valor fonético de esa consonante era o tendía a cero. A fines de ese siglo y a comienzos del XVII, algunos autores en Italia la representan como *ng*. Un autor coetáneo en Amsterdam introduce nuevos grafemas, tales como *gh* o *hg*, mientras que otro autor de Hamburgo publicaba una gramática en la que denomina *Hgain* esta consonante. Los nuevos grafemas no fueron adoptados por la mayoría de autores que continuaron representando dicha consonante por una *h*. Tanto en Italia como en el norte de Europa el cambio *h* > *gn* fue discontinuo.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Pronunciación del hebreo; liturgia; judeoespañol; Venecia; Amsterdam; Ferrara.

Before World War II the letter ‘*ayin* was pronounced by the Italian Jews as a voiced velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/ commonly transcribed as <*gn*>. Its sound was similar to the Spanish ñ in the word *España* and to the combination of the letters *g* and *n* in the Italian word *sognare* or in the French *agneau*.¹

The initial word of the Shema’ prayer was pronounced as *Scemagn*² by the

* Continuación de *Sef* 66 (2006), 89-142 y 377-406.

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² See D. DISEGNI, *Preghiere dei Giorni Feriali e Sabati Secondo il Rito Italiano della Comunità Ebraica di Torino* (Torino 1949), p. 26.

ḥazzanim of the Italian synagogues, regardless of their rite with only minor regional variations.³ It is well known that before World War II, the *‘ayin* was pronounced in an identical way in the Portuguese community of Amsterdam and in all the Western Sephardic settlements, from Hamburg to London and from Bayonne to New York and Curaçao. Owing to the lack of an analogous phoneme in the English language, the Western Sephardic pronunciation of the *‘ayin* was described as identical with the sound of the pair *ng* in the English word *king*.⁴

According to popular belief, the so-called “Italo-Sephardic” pronunciation was introduced by the exiles who found shelter in Italy after the 1492 expulsions from Spain and the 1497 forced conversion in Portugal. As we have seen in the first part of this study, this opinion was groundless: in the early modern Sephardic communities of Ferrara and Venice, the phonetic value of *‘ayin* was zero or close to zero.

Further research was carried on in order to find out when and where the new forms of pronunciation came into use. The results of these investigations are given in the following pages.

2. THE PRONUNCIATION OF *‘AYIN* IN ITALY IN THE 17TH CENTURY

It is difficult to establish when and where in Italy the pronunciation of this consonant first shifted towards the nasal sound variously represented as <*n*>, <*ng*>, <*ngh*>, <*gn*>. This change followed a slow and gradual path. I tried to trace and find some of the progressive stages of this hitherto unexplored process.

In 1599 Guglielmo Franchi, a Roman neophyte (former Jewish name unknown), published a *Grammatica Hebraea*⁵ in which he named the *‘ayin* as *Nghàin*. He stated that its nasal-guttural pronunciation was produced “by twisting the deepest part of one’s throat almost to the point of strangling oneself, with the help of one’s nose,”⁶ and described the resulting sound as “between ‘g’ and

³ E. S. ARTOM, “La Pronuncia dell’Ebraico presso gli Ebrei d’Italia,” *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel* [= *RMI*] 28 (1962), pp. 26-30.

⁴ Sh. MORAG, “Pronunciations of Hebrew,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 13 (Jerusalem 1978⁴), cols. 1120-1145: 1133.

⁵ שמש לשון הקודש, cioè *sole della Lingua Santa* nel quale brevemente e chiaramente si contiene la Grammatica Hebraea. Composto dal R[everendo] P[adre] D[ominicano] Guglielmo Franchi Romano, Neofita, Monaco della congregazione di Vall’Ombrosa con due tavole [...] con licenza de superiori (Bergamo 1599).

⁶ FRANCHI, *Sole della Lingua Santa*, p. 20: “si pronuncia con l’aiuto del naso, quasi che si strangola arrivando fino all’estrema parte della canna della gola.”

‘n’ as in *nghè* or *nghà*.” However he transliterated this letter as <ng>: *iodeang* [ידע, he knows], *iaduang* [ידוע, known].⁷

In 1608, Benedetto Blancuccio, a Catholic priest, published in Rome a *Grammar Book of the Holy Language* in which he called the ‘ayin, ain or *ng-hain*. However, when this author dealt with verb conjugations, he either transcribed the ‘ayin by <h> or completely ignored it as, for instance, *Niphāl, Pihel, Pual, Hiphil, Hophal, Hithpahel*.⁸ Most probably Blancuccio copied these transcriptions from existing grammar-books.

In 1612 Leone Modena published a Hebrew-Italian dictionary with the addition of “Short Simple Grammar Rules.”⁹ The author did not deal with the sound of consonants. When he gave the names of the verb conjugations he transcribed the ‘ayin as <ng> or <ngh>, as follows: פָּעַל, *Pangal*; פִּינְעַל, *Pinghel*; נִפְנַעַל, *Nifngal*; פּוּעַל, *Pungal*; הִפְנִיעַל, *Hifnghil*; הִפְנַעַל, *Hofngal*;¹⁰ הִתְפַּנְעַל, *Hithpanghel*.¹¹ Modena provided several examples as for instance, *ngavar* [עבר, past]; *negasè!* (*sic*) [עשה, make!]; *nismang* [נשמע, he was heard]; *midngasser* [מתעשר, he becomes rich]; שמע as *Seman*.¹²

The use of the new graphemes did not spread out rapidly. In 1619, in Venice, Pietro and Lorenzo Bragadini reprinted Abraham Usque’s *Orden de Oraciones de mes*.¹³ The new edition was substantially identical with the original, even if the publishers claimed that they had added the *Osanod* [הושענות] which, in truth, Usque had already printed in separate gatherings and inserted into his *Siddur*.¹⁴ The transliteration of Hebrew prayers and blessings was left unchanged.¹⁵

⁷ FRANCHI, *Sole della Lingua Santa*, Table of conjugations.

⁸ B. BLANCUCCIO, *Institutiones in Linguam Sanctam Hebraicam* (Romae 1608), p. 2.

⁹ גלות יהודה והוא פשר דבר מכל מלה זרה צריכה פתרון מכל המקרא וברכת המזון והגדת פסח ופרקי אבות בלשון איטליאנו *Nove Dittionario Hebraico et Italiano* cioè dichiarazione di tutte le voci Hebraiche più difficili delle Scritture Hebreë nella volgar lingua italiana [...] Opera di Leon Modena Hebreo da Venetia (Padova 1640²) [1st ed., “Venetia, appresso Giacomo Sarzina, MDCXII”].

¹⁰ MODENA, *Nove Dittionario Hebraico et Italiano*, pp. 32r and ff., 192r.,

¹¹ MODENA, *Nove Dittionario Hebraico et Italiano*, unnumb. p. of gathering “A2”, bearing some “Brevi regolette di Grammatica.”

¹² MODENA, *Nove Dittionario Hebraico et Italiano*, f. 109v.

¹³ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*. s[aber] sin boltar de vna à otra parte, y la orden de Hanucah, Purim, y Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth, y Sucoth, con mucha diligentia emendada. Y les añadimos enel las Osanod in Venetia MDCXIX. Estampado por orden delli Illustriss. Sig. Pietro e Lorenzo Bragadini. Con licenza de los Superiores.

¹⁴ On this addendum, see A. di Leone LEONI and S. HERZFELD, “The *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo* (Ferrara 1555) and a *Bakasah* composed by Abraham Usque,” *Sef* 62 (2002), pp. 99-124.

¹⁵ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo* (Venetia 1619), ff. 251r-252r.

As we have seen, in 1622, in Venice, Abraam Netto had Cavallero's *Orden de Oraciones* reprinted.¹⁶ In a special appendix, the compiler of the new edition gave the names of Hebrew consonants and vowels and called the *ʿayin Ain*.¹⁷ Furthermore, he took the transliterations of several prayers and blessings from the first translations produced in Venice and in Ferrara, and published them unmodified.

Even Leon Modena did not put the <ng> <ngh> graphemes into regular use. In the Italian edition of his *Historia de Riti Ebraici* (1638),¹⁸ the famous Rabbi did not embrace the methods adopted in his own grammar. On the contrary, he either rendered the *ʿayin* as <h> or gave no notation to it, e.g., *Nehila* [נְעִילָה, closing], *Harvid* [עֶרְבִית, evening prayer], *Osaana* [הַשְׁעֵנָה, Osanna],¹⁹ *Scemonà Asre* [שְׁמֹנָה עָשָׂר, Eighteen (Blessings)],²⁰ *Tisha beau* [תְּשֻׁעָה בְּאֵב, the Ninth Day of Av].²¹ However, Modena transcribed קְרִיאַת שְׁמַע [Shema' reading] as *Chiriad sceman*.²²

As a marginal remark, we note that he transcribed the soft (undotted) *taw* as <d>. The *t* > *d* shift was taking place more rapidly and uniformly than the change of pronunciation of the *ʿayin*.

In any case, the authority of this famous Rabbi was not sufficient to impose a uniform pronunciation of Hebrew in Italy. This country was divided into several states of different dimension and importance. In some of these political entities, the Jewish population was concentrated in a few large cities. In other states the Jewish settlement was fragmented and scattered through villages and small towns. The lack of central institutions made it impossible to adopt common organisational or cultural policies. For a long time, in the different Italian regions, individual Rabbis, teachers and scholars pronounced Hebrew according to their personal discretion in harmony –or in contrast– with the traditions of local Congregations.

¹⁶ *Orden de Oraciones* Segundo el uso Ebreo, en lengua Ebraica y en Español. In Venetia, 1622 Appreso gli Illus[tri] S[ignori] Piet[ro] e Lor[enzo] Bra[gadin]. [In the colophon:] “Estápadó por endustria de Abraã Netto, hijo de Iosef Netto.”

¹⁷ NETTO, *Orden de Oraciones*. Appendix with the Hebrew Alphabet in Hebrew characters and the names of the consonants in Latin characters. See fig. 15 in the first part of this study (*Sef* 66, p. 404). Also, cf. A. di Leone LEONI, “La presenza Sefardita a Venezia intorno alla metà del Cinquecento. I Libri e gli Uomini,” *RMI* 67 (2002), pp. 35-110: 55-57.

¹⁸ *Historia de Riti Ebraici, Vita e speranza degl'Ebrei di questi tempi*. Leone da Modena Rabbi Hebreo da Venetia, già stampata a Parigi e ora corretta e riformata con licenza de Superiori. In Venezia 1638, appresso Gio. Colleoni.

¹⁹ MODENA, *Historia de Riti Ebraici*, p. 75.

²⁰ MODENA, *Historia de Riti Ebraici*, pp. 30-31.

²¹ MODENA, *Historia de Riti Ebraici*, p. 77.

²² MODENA, *Historia de Riti Ebraici*, pp. 30-31.

Of revealing importance are the 17th century minute books (*Livros das Hordems*, ספרי הסכמות) of the Sephardic communities of Pisa,²³ Leghorn,²⁴ Reggio Emilia²⁵ and Venice²⁶ in which the 'ayin was either ignored or transcribed by *h*, e.g., *Vaad* [ועד, Committee],²⁷ *Es Haim* [עץ חיים, lit.: Tree of Life],²⁸ *Moadim* [מועדים, Holidays],²⁹ *Balthorà* [בעל תורה, expert reader of the Torah],³⁰ *Tahanit* [תענית, fast].³¹

In the Registers of Pisa and Leghorn we find both *Maamad* and *Mahamad* [מעמד].³² In Venice the plural forms *Maamadot* or *Mahamadot* were used to designate the governing boards of the *Levantine* and *Ponentine* Nations, on the frequent occasions when they joined forces and acted together.³³ We find the same transcriptions in the regulations of the *Hebra de casar huerfanos y donzelas* printed in Leghorn in 1706.³⁴

Of particular interest is the 17th century anonymous Portuguese *Ordem de Orasois* kept in the Municipal Library of Piacenza.³⁵ Its compiler attributed

²³ Publ. R. TOAFF, *La Nazione Ebraica a Livorno e a Pisa* (Firenze 1990), pp. 493-554.

²⁴ TOAFF, *La Nazione Ebraica a Livorno e a Pisa*, pp. 555-638.

²⁵ Published by LEONI, *La Nazione Ebraica Spagnola e Portoghese negli Stati Estensi* (Rimini 1992), pp. 252-416.

²⁶ ACE, Ve, Busta 2, *Libro delle Parti*, inedited MS.

²⁷ *Livro das Hordems of Reggio Emilia*, ff. 2r-4v and *passim*; see LEONI, *La Nazione Ebraica Spagnola e Portoghese*, pp. 257-265 and *passim*.

²⁸ Expression designating the pole around which the Scroll of the Torah is rolled up. See *Livro das Hordem* (Reggio Emilia), f. 20r; see LEONI, *La Nazione Ebraica Spagnola e Portoghese*, p. 297.

²⁹ *Livro das Hordem* (Reggio Emilia), f. 4r, see LEONI, *La Nazione Ebraica Spagnola e Portoghese*, p. 261.

³⁰ *Escamot de Liorne 1677*, see TOAFF, *La Nazione Ebraica a Livorno e a Pisa*, p. 605.

³¹ *Escamot de Liorne 1677*, § 5, see TOAFF, *La Nazione Ebraica a Livorno e a Pisa*, p. 598.

³² See, for instance, *Libro Vecchio della Sinagoga di Pisa*; *Haskamot del Libro Nuovo di Pisa*; *Capitoli della Sinagoga di Pisa 1658-1662*; *Deliberazioni del Governo della Nazione Ebraica di Pisa 1599-1615*; *Deliberazioni [...] di Pisa 1658-1662*; *Deliberazioni [...] di Pisa 1657-1659*, publ. TOAFF, *La Nazione Ebraica a Livorno e a Pisa*, pp. 493-530; *Escamot of Leghorn, 1677*, see TOAFF, *La Nazione Ebraica a Livorno e a Pisa*, pp. 594-616.

³³ Archivo di Stato di Venezia, Cinque Savi, b. 63, Ebrei Ponentini, Università, *passim*.

³⁴ *Capitulaciones del modo que se deve gobernar la Hebra de casar huerfanos y donzelas*, Instituidas en esta Ciudad de Liorne. Reformadas en el año 5442 per los Señores H. Jacob Jesurun Lopez, Gabriel de Medina [...] Y de nuevo reformadas, y acrescentadas este año 5466 [...] (Livorno 1706), p. 5 and *passim*.

³⁵ *Ordem de Orasois que se dizem en todo ho anno* asaber: cotidiano, Sabat, Pascuas, Ros Sana, Quipur [...] Seliquod que se diz quarenta dias antes de Quipur todas as madrugadas e no ul-

no phonetic value to the *‘ayin* and omitted transcribing it as, for instance, in *Sema* [שמע]; ³⁶ *Arvid* [ערבית]; ³⁷ *Amida* [עמידה], *Taanid* [תענית]; ³⁸ *Tesabeav* [תשעה באב]; ³⁹ and *Moed* [מועד, Holy Day]. ⁴⁰

This manuscript bears further evidence to the fact that the sound change *h* > *ng* had not yet taken place in all the Italian Communities, especially among the Sephardim. It is perhaps worth noting that the anonymous author transcribed the soft *taw* as <*d*>, e.g., *Matedia* [מתתיה, *p.n.*], ⁴¹ *Taanid* [תענית, fast]. The sound shift of this undotted consonant from *t* to *d* was taking place also among the Sephardim.

3. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF *‘AYIN* IN EARLY NORTH-EUROPEAN REPRINTS OF FERRARA TRANSLATIONS AND IN OTHER WORKS

The first North-European re-edition of a Ferrara Spanish Siddur came out in Dortrecht in 1584. ⁴² It was a faithful reprint of Abraham Usque’s Spanish *Maḥazor*, with the addition of the Selihot, ⁴³ from Yomtob Atias’ 1552 *Orden de Silhoth*.

The text of the Spanish translation and the transliteration of some passages from the Hebrew ritual are almost identical with the Ferrara originals. ⁴⁴ There are only minor typographical differences, especially in the vowel accents.

timo dia, que he Quipur descendé Mose do monte com a Lei, (formerly belonging to G. B. Rossi, who called it *Ordo precum iudaicarum lingua lusitana versus ab anonimo Judaeo*). Biblioteca Comunale Passerini Landi, Piacenza (Italy), Ms. Landi 11.

³⁶ *Ordem de Orasois*, ff. 51v-52, 243.

³⁷ *Ordem de Orasois*, ff. 100r, 106v, 111v and *passim*.

³⁸ *Ordem de Orasois*, f. 218v.

³⁹ *Ordem de Orasois*, f. 219v.

⁴⁰ *Ordem de Orasois*, f. 176r.

⁴¹ *Ordem de Orasois*, f. 163v.

⁴² According to its colophon, the book was printed “in Maguntia.” However, S. SEELIGMAN, *Bibliographie en Historie, Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Eerste Sephardim in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1927), pp. 35-38, could identify the printer as Peeter Verhagen of Dortrecht. Cf. C. ROTH, *A History of the Marranos* (London 1932), p. 326. The complete title is *מחזור, Orden de Roshasanah y Kipur, trasladado en Español, y de nuevo emendado y añadido el Selihoth, el qual se dize quarenta dias antes del dia de Kipur en las madrugadas. Estampado por industria y despesa de Yahacob Ysrael à 20. de Adar año de 5344.*

⁴³ *Orden de Roshasanah y Kipur*, pp. 90v-120r.

⁴⁴ See fig. 1.

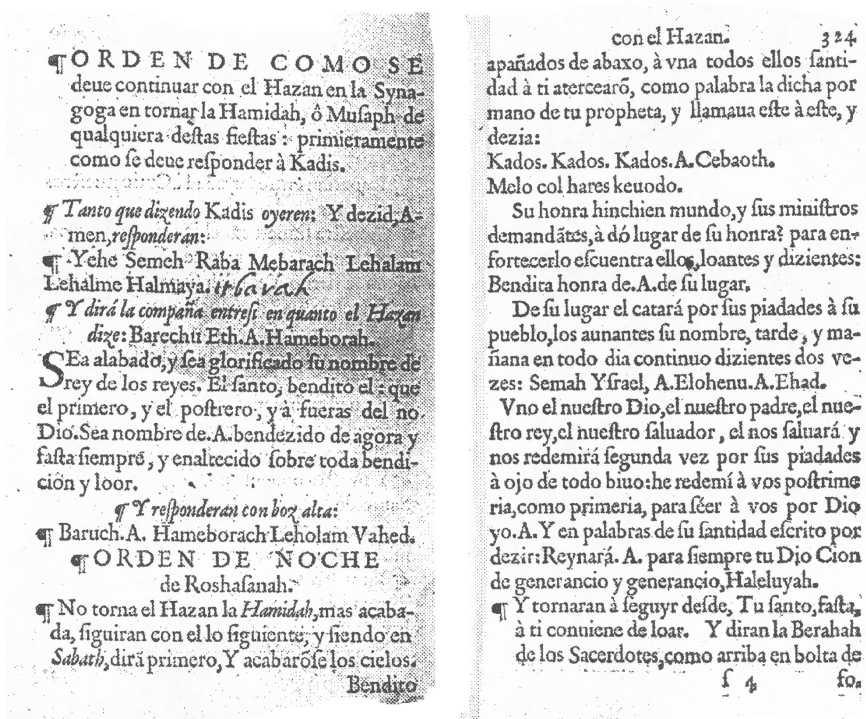


Fig. 1. [Abraham Usque,] *Maḥazor, Orden de Roshasanah y kipur*, reprinted in Dortrecht in 1584, ff. 323v and 324r where the main congregational responses to the Kaddish are transliterated into Latin letters.

The title page of this reprint does not bear the names of the original authors, but only states that “Yahacob Israel” had sponsored it. This was a fictitious name representing a clandestine Congregation. The book was conceived for the Marranos living in Antwerp⁴⁵ and, perhaps, for the ones who had fled the Flemish city because of war events and had temporarily moved to Cologne.⁴⁶

In 1604 Isaac Franco had the same *Maḥazor* printed again in Amsterdam, in an almost identical form. This was probably the first edition of a Ferrara prayer book for the use of the Portuguese Nation of the northern city.⁴⁷ In

⁴⁵ See ROTH, *A History of the Marranos*, p. 326.

⁴⁶ H. POHL, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerp (1567-1648)* (Wiesbaden 1977), p. 65 ff.

⁴⁷ See H. P. SALOMON, *Portrait of a new Christian, Fernão Álvares Melo (1569-1632)* (Paris 1982), pp. 149-153.

1611 the Spanish Bible of Ferrara was re-issued for the first time in the northern city.⁴⁸ Subsequently, in the course of a few years, the entire Sephardi liturgy was faithfully reprinted from the 1552-1555 Ferrara Spanish Siddurim. In or around 1617, David Abenatar built a printing-shop in his Amsterdam house in order to provide the Congregation Bet Yahakob with Spanish Siddurim. His first volume was a prayer book for High Holidays reprinted from Usque's *Maḥazor*.⁵⁰

As we have already seen, in the Ferrara prototype the first verses of the Shema' and a few other Hebrew passages were transliterated into Latin characters. David Abenatar did not modify Usque's original transcriptions in which the 'ayin was represented as <h>. However, in the title page of his new edition, Abenatar stated that the book was meant for the Congregation "Bet Yaahkob." He transcribed the 'ayin with a <h> but placed the vowel before the consonant. This probably was the first attempt made in Amsterdam to represent the changing sound of the 'ayin.⁴⁹

One year later, in 1617-18, the same Congregation financed a new enlarged edition of Abraham Usque's *Orden de oraciones de mes*.⁵⁰ The new Siddur presented some important innovations: Several prayers were transliterated into Latin characters. Furthermore, the author(s)⁵¹ inserted an additional gathering at the beginning of the book. It comprised the 'Ladino' translation of various hymns and Bakashot with the Hebrew text transliterated into Latin characters in the facing page.

⁴⁸ *Biblia en lingua española* traduzida palabra por palabra de la verdad hebrayca por muy excelentes letrados, vista y examinada por el officio de la Inquisición, con privilegio del yllustrissimo señor duque de Ferrara (Amsterdam 1611). See J. C. WOLF, *Bibliotheca Hebraea* (Amburgi 1715-1733, repr. Bologna 1967), vol. 4, p. 17; M. KAYSERLING, *Biblioteca Española Portuguesa Judaica. Dictionnaire Bibliographique des Auteurs Juifs, de leurs ouvrages espagnoles et portugaises* (Strasburg 1890), p. 29. On the Amsterdam editions of the *Biblia Española*, H. DEN BOER, "La Biblia de Ferrara y otras traducciones," in I. M. HASSÁN (edi.), *Introducción a la Biblia de Ferrara*. Actas del Simposio Internacional sobre la Biblia de Ferrara, Sevilla, 25-28 de noviembre de 1991 (Madrid 1994), pp. 279-296.

⁴⁹ As we have seen in the first part of this work (*Sef*66, p. 128), in 1552 Yom Tob Atias called the 'ayin *hgain*, but he represented this consonant with a simple <h> and, in several instances, he attached no phonetic value to it and omitted to transcribe it.

⁵⁰ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo* sin boltar de vna à otra parte. Y la orden de Hanvcah, Purim, y Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuoth, y Succoth; con mucha diligentía emendada. Y las Bakassoth al principio en ladino con la pronunçiaçion Hebrayca escrita en Hespagnol. Impresso a despesa de la Santa Hebra de Talmud Torah, del Kahal Kados Bet Yaahkob en Amstradama: Anno 5378. See fig. 2.

⁵¹ The title page does not bear their names.

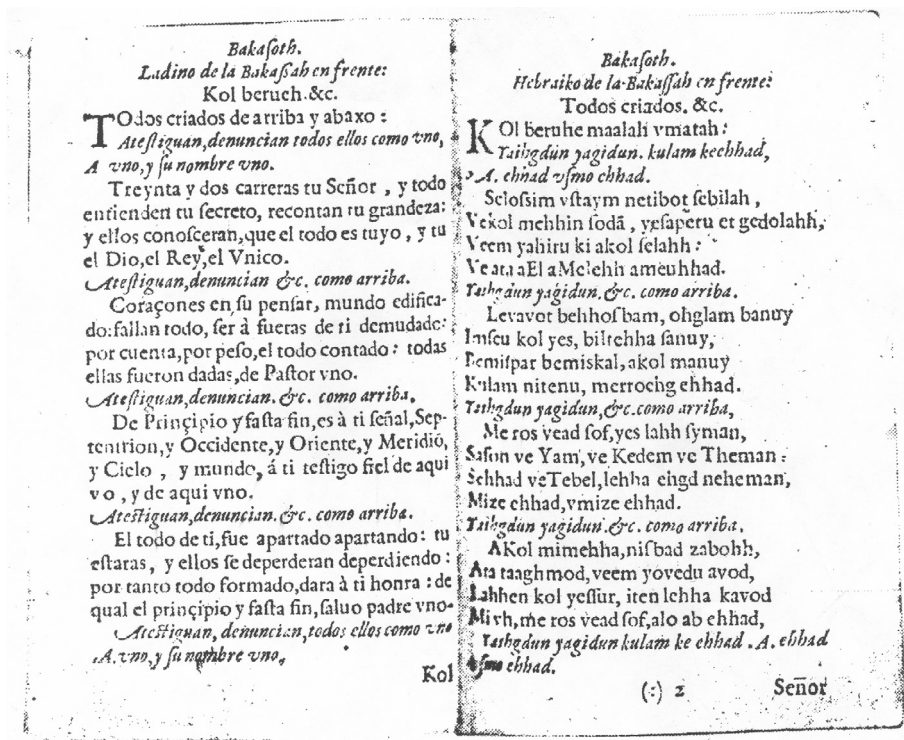


Fig. 2. [Abraham Usque's] *Orden de Oraciones de Mes Arreo* [Ferrara 1555], enlarged edition published by the *Santa Hebra de Talmud Torah* of the Congregation Bet Yahacob, Amsterdam 1618, unnumbered page of gathering "(:) 2" bearing on the left a "Ladino" vulgarization of the Bakashah "Kol beruhe maalalah umatah," on the right a transliteration of the Hebrew text into Latin letters.

The author(s) adopted new graphemes and transcribed the 'ayin by <gh> and / or <hg>, e.g., *Yaihgadun* [יעידון], they attest];⁵² *saaghr* [שער, gate];⁵³ *ahgde aghd* [אחידי]

⁵² *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, first (unnumb.) page of the gathering marked "(:) 2" with the Bakashah "Kol Beruhe maalalah" transliterated into Latin characters.

⁵³ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. page with the Bakashah "En dias de Reshodes" transliterated.

עד, until the eternity, forever]; ⁵⁴ *ohgz* [עז, strength, power]; ⁵⁵ *ohgfot* [עופות, birds]; ⁵⁶ *aghm* [עם, people]; ⁵⁷ *oghlam*, ⁵⁸ *ohglam* [עולם, world]; ⁵⁹ *igyaghnu* [הגיענו, You let us arrive]. ⁶⁰ Curiously enough, the new grapheme was placed after, and not before, the corresponding vowel. Whatever their position these new forms give a clear indication that a shift in the pronunciation of the 'ayin was already under way.

However, in many cases the 'ayin was either left untranscribed or represented by *h*, e.g., *maalah* [מעלה, above, heaven], *vead* [ועד, and until]; ⁶¹ *ahl* [על, over, above]; ⁶² *leohlam vaehd* [לעולם ועד, forever and ever]; ⁶³ *oz* [עז, strength, power]; ⁶⁴ *leuhmatā* [לעמתם, standing in front of them]. ⁶⁵

The translator used a new grapheme, <hh> to represent the fricative sound of *het* and *kaf*, thus enhancing the difference between these consonants and the letters *alef* and *he*, e.g., *ehhad* [אחד, one]; ⁶⁶ *Ehhal* [היכל, Ark]; ⁶⁷ *islahh* [ישלח, He will send]; *ubhhohhmah* [ובחכמה, and with wisdom]; *melahhot* [מלאכות, works]. ⁶⁸

The anonymous compiler did not always comply with his own rules. In several cases he transcribed the final *kaf* and the *het* by a simple <h>, as in

⁵⁴ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. page with the the hymn “Ygdal Eloim Hay” transliterated.

⁵⁵ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. page with the Bakashah “Syr la El” transliterated.

⁵⁶ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. page with the Bakashah “Kamti lealel” transliterated.

⁵⁷ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, pp. 34v., 35r, 55 and *passim*.

⁵⁸ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, pp. 33, 34v, 57v and *passim*.

⁵⁹ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. page of the gathering “(:)2” with the hymn “Adon ohglam” transliterated. See doc. 1 in *Appendix*.

⁶⁰ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, p. 57v.

⁶¹ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. page of the gathering “(:)2” with Bakashah “Kol beruhe maalah” transliterated.

⁶² *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, p. 33.

⁶³ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, p. 67.

⁶⁴ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, p. 55v.

⁶⁵ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, p. 33.

⁶⁶ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. pages with the transliteration of the Bakashah “Kol beruhe maalah.”

⁶⁷ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, f. 54v.

⁶⁸ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. page with the transliteration of the hymn “Ygdal Eloim hhay.”

meleh [מלך, King]; ⁶⁹ *Baruh* [ברוך, Blessed]; ⁷⁰ *ymloh* [ימלך, He will reign]; ⁷¹ *Saaghr arrahamim* [שער הרחמים, the Gate of Mercy]; ⁷² *haym* [חיים, life]. ⁷³

The new grapheme and the corresponding fricative / guttural sound of the ‘*ayin*’ was probably originated from the actual practice of Amsterdam worshippers and, perhaps, was already used by some cantors, by some school-teachers and probably by new converts from Italy. However, it is difficult to state whether the new method of transcription had any influence on contemporary scholars. Other authors did not immediately embrace the new graphic symbols and continued to represent the ‘*ayin*’ with a simple <h>.

In 1624 Uriel da Costa published in Amsterdam his *Exame das tradicoês Phariseas*. ⁷⁴ Besides its historical, sociological and philosophical importance, this volume is noteworthy from the linguistic point of view. The author gave a careful transliteration of Hebrew words and names and transcribed the ‘*ayin*’ by <h>, as for instance, *Sahar* [שער, gate]; ⁷⁵ *holam* [עולם, centuries]; ⁷⁶ *priah* [פריעה, ripping]; ⁷⁷ *Bilham* [בלעם, p.n.]. ⁷⁸

In 1627 the famous Rabbi Ishac Athias had his *Tesoro de Preceptos* printed in Venice. ⁷⁹ The treatise bears many Jewish expressions both in Hebrew and in Latin characters. ⁸⁰ The author represented the ‘*ayin*’ as <h> or even ignored it,

⁶⁹ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, p. 56.

⁷⁰ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, pp. 55-57 and *passim*.

⁷¹ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, p. 33.

⁷² *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, unnumb. page with the transliteration of the Bakashah “En dias de Reshodes.”

⁷³ *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, p. 55v.

⁷⁴ U. da COSTA, *Exame das tradiçoês farisaicas, Fac simile do exemplar único da Biblioteca Real de Copenhaga acrescentado com Semuel da Silva, Tratado da immortalidade da alma*. Introdução, leitura, notas e cartas genealógicas por H. P. SALOMON e I. S. D. SASSON (Braga 1995). On the finding of a copy of this book, see H. P. SALOMON, “A copy of Uriel da Costa’s *Examen das tradiçoês phariseas* located at the Royal Library of Copenhagen,” *Studia Rosenthaliana* 24 (1990), pp. 153-168.

⁷⁵ COSTA, *Exame das tradiçoês farisaicas*, p. 48.

⁷⁶ COSTA, *Exame das tradiçoês farisaicas*, p. 97.

⁷⁷ COSTA, *Exame das tradiçoês farisaicas*, p. 33.

⁷⁸ COSTA, *Exame das tradiçoês farisaicas*, p. 119.

⁷⁹ Ishac Athias was Hakham of the Congregation Talmud Tora of Hamburg. In 1622 he moved to Venice. See A. di Leone LEONI and H. P. SALOMON, “La Nation Portugaise de Hambourg en 1617,” in H. MÉCHOULAM et G. NAHON (eds.), *Mémorial I. S. Révah, Etudes sur le marranisme, l’hétérodoxie juive et Spinoza* (Paris – Louvain 2001), pp. 263-293: 267, 280.

⁸⁰ Ishac ATHIAS, *Tesoro de Preceptos donde se encierran las joyas de los seycentos y treze preceptos que encomendo el Señor a su Pueblo Israel con su Declaracion, Razon y Dinim* (Venetia 1627).

CAP. I.
Taboa.

num. dob. fig.	nom.	pron. dag.	pron. som.	dag.
1	א Aleph	A	א Raras vez.	
2	ב Bhez	Bh	ב Bet	B
3	ג Ghimel	Gh	ג Gimel	G
4	ד Dhalet	Dh	ד Dales	D
5	ה He	H	ה NaõRecebe	
6	ו Vhan	Vh	ו Vau	V
7	ז Zayn	Z	ז Dzayn	Dz
8	ח Hhez	Hh	ח NaõRecebe	
9	ט Thet	Th	ט Tes	T
10	י Jhod	Jh	י Jod	J
20	כ Chaph	Ch	כ Caph	C
30	ל lhamed	Lh	ל Lamed	L
40	ם Mhem	Mh	ם Mem	M
50	נ Nhun	Nh	נ Nun	N
60	ס shameh	Sh	ס Samch	S
70	ע Hgayn	Hg	ע NaõRecebe	
80	פ Phe	Ph	פ Pe	P
90	צ Tzade	Tz	צ Tfade	Ts
100	ק Khoph	Kh	ק Koph	K
200	ר Rhex	Rh	ר Raras vez.	
300	ש Xhin	Xh	ש Xin	X
400	ת Tharu	Th	ת Tau	T

D8

Fig. 3. Moseh Abudiente. *Grammatica hebraica*, Hamburg 5393, p. 2, a Table of the Hebrew consonants with their names and sounds. The letter 'ayin is called <Hgayn> and its sound is described as <Hg>.

e.g., *Mahamadot* [מעמדות, Magistrates];⁸¹ *harumim* [ערמים, naked];⁸² *messorah* [מצרע, leprous];⁸³ *Torà se beal pe* [תורה שבעל פה, Oral Law].⁸⁴

In 1630 the printer Henrick Laurentz produced a new edition of the Ferrara Bible⁸⁵ revised by Menasseh ben Ysrael.⁸⁶ In the translation of Psalm 119, the

⁸¹ ATHIAS, *Tesoro de Preceptos*, f. 34r.

⁸² ATHIAS, *Tesoro de Preceptos*, f. 66r.

⁸³ ATHIAS, *Tesoro de Preceptos*, f. 58v.

⁸⁴ ATHIAS, *Tesoro de Preceptos, Introducion* (unnumb. page), f. 18r.

⁸⁵ *Biblia en lengua española*, Traduzida palabra por palabra de la verdad hebrayca por muy excelentes letrados, vista y examinada por el officio de la Inquisición, Con privilegio del Yllustrissimo Señor Duque de Ferrara. The colophon (p. 615) bears the annotation "A loor e gloria de Dio fue reformada a 15 de Sebath 5390" [January 28th, 1630]. I consulted the volume belonging to Mr. Georges Dalmeyda of Bayonne, whom I thank for his courtesy.

⁸⁶ BOER, "La Biblia de Ferrara y otras traducciones," p. 281.

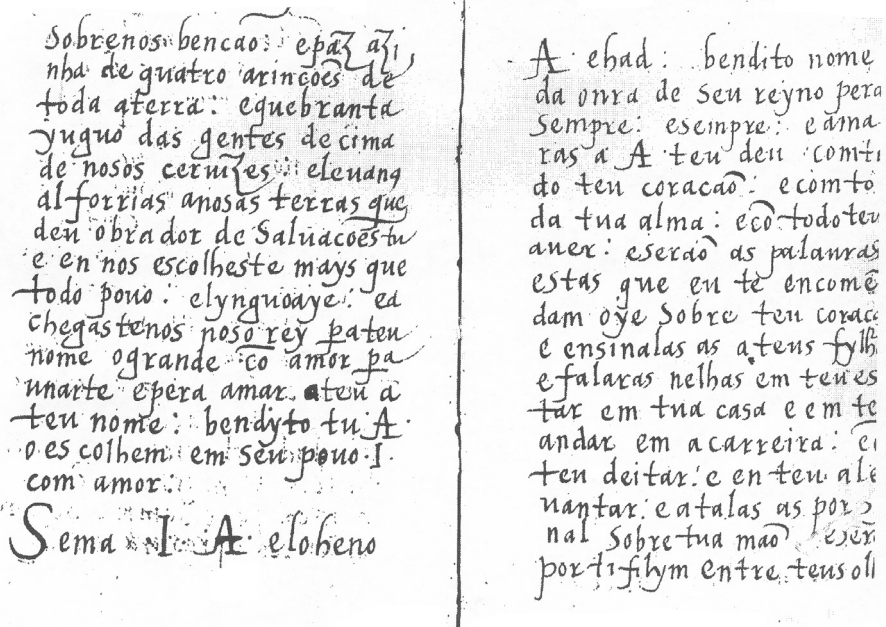


Fig. 4. Anonymous author, undated [18th century] *Ordem de Orasois que se dizem en todo ho anno*, a Portuguese vulgarization of the prayer *Shema Yisrael*. The first words are transliterated into Latin letters. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Comunale Passerini Landi, Piacenza.

names of the Hebrew consonants, in Latin characters, are used as headlines for each stanza in alphabetical order. Thus the names –and the pronunciation– of the Hebrew letters are provided, one by one. The name of the ‘ayin is given as *Hayn*, exactly as in the Ferrara 1553 *Editio Princeps*.⁸⁷

In 1633 Moseh Abudiente published a Hebrew grammar book in Portuguese in Hamburg in which he gave the name of the ‘ayin as *Hgayn* and stated that it had to be pronounced *Hg*.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ *Biblia en lengua española* (Amsterdam 1630), p. 464. Cf. fig. 7 in the first part of this article, *Sef* 66, p. 393.

⁸⁸ *Grammatica Hebraica*. Parte primera, onde se mostram todas as regras neccessarias assim para a intelligencia da lingua, como para compor e escrever nella em proza e uerso, com a elegança e medida que convem, Por MOSEH filho de Gidhon Abudiente em Hamburgo 3 de Elul, Anno da criasam 5393, p. 2. See fig. 3.

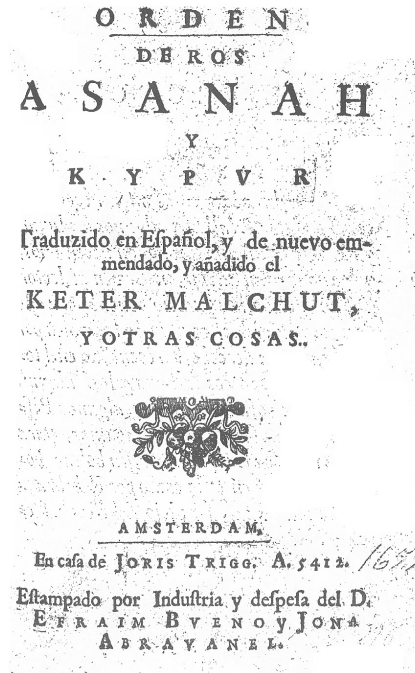


Fig. 5. Title page of Abraham Usque's *Orden de Ros Asanah y Kipur* [Ferrara 1553] reprinted in Amsterdam in 1652 by Joris Trigg, sponsored by Efraim Bueno and Jona Abravanel. Courtesy of the British Library, London. Shelf mark C.049.a6 (1).

The <hg> and <gh> graphemes were not adopted by the compilers of several liturgical translations printed in Amsterdam towards the middle of 17th century. This was most probably due to the fact that the ancient Ferrara translations were considered semi-sacred models and the sponsors of new editions were not keen on introducing any changes. In 1626, when David Abenatar published in Hamburg a Spanish Psalter in various rimes,⁸⁹ he found it advisable to state in the title page that his verses were composed “according to the truthful Ferrara translation.”

⁸⁹ *Los CL Psalmos de David, in lengua espannola, en uarias rimas*, compuestos por David Abenatar Melo, conforme ala uerdadera traduccion ferraresqua, con alguna aleguorias del Autor [...] En Franca Forte anho de 5386 [= 1626]. The indication “Franca Forte” is fictitious, since the book was printed in Hamburg. See A. CASSUTO, “Fernão Alvares Melo ou David Abenatar Melo,” *Arquivo de Bibliographia Portuguesa*, ano 8 (1962), pp. 21-30. The title page was reproduced by SALOMON, *Portrait of a New Christian*, between pp. 192-193.

In the *Orden de Ros Asanah*, sponsored by Bueno and Abravanel⁹⁰ (Amsterdam 1652), the *ayin* was either left untranscribed, as in *Amidah* or rendered as <h> as in *vayahabor* [ויעבור, He passed].⁹¹

Abraham Usque's *Orden de Oraciones de mes* was reprinted again and again. In 1649 it was published "in the House of Joris Trigg" in Amsterdam.⁹² In the appendix of this edition we find the Kadish and the Blessings for the Talit and the Tephilin and for the Torah reading transliterated into Latin characters. These texts are almost identical with the ones of the *Editio Princeps* published in Ferrara one century before.⁹³

In or around 1676 Baruch Spinoza composed a Hebrew grammar book in which he gave the name of the *ayin* as *Hgain*⁹⁴ (or *Ghain*)⁹⁵ and consistently transcribed it by <hg>, as for instance, *hgober* [עובר, he passes];⁹⁶ *hehganana* [הענן, the cloud];⁹⁷ *schomeahg* [שמע, he hears].⁹⁸

Spinoza's grammar was published posthumously and had no immediate influence on the contemporary scholars. However, it provides further evidence of the fact that the new fricative-guttural sound of the *ayin* was progressively spreading around.

In 1668 Rabbi Selomo de Oliveira published a second edition of his grammar book of the Hebrew language, for the use of the students of the Sephardic

⁹⁰ *Orden de Ros Asanah y Kipur Traduzido en Español, y de nuevo emmendado y añadido el Keter Malchut, y otras cosas.* Amsterdam, En casa de JORIS TRIGG, A. 5412 [= 1652], Estampado por Industria y despesa del D. EFRAIM BUENO y JONA ABRAVANEL. See fig. 5. On Ephraim Bueno and Jonas Abravanel, see M. KAYSERLING, *Sephardim. Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien. Ein Beitrag zur Literatur und Geschichte der Spanisch-Portugiesischen Juden* (Leipzig 1859), p. 206.

⁹¹ *Orden de Ros Asanah y Kipur*, p. 477.

⁹² The complete title of the 1649 edition is *Orden de Oraciones De mes Arreo S[aber] Sin Boltar De vna a otra parte con el ayuno del solo y las de mas cosas occurrentes en todo el año. Y la Orden de Hanucah, Purim, y Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuot y Sucoth y dia octavo, y Osanot, con mucha diligentia enmendada. Conforme a lo que se dize enel K. K. de talmuthora de Amsterdam. Añadido nuevamente un Calendario de fiestas y Ayunos que los Hebreos celebran cada Año.* Amsterdam, En casa de Joris Trigg, ANNO 5419.

⁹³ We do not publish the 1649 Amsterdam transcriptions of these prayers, as they are almost identical with the original transliterations published by Usque.

⁹⁴ B. SPINOZA, *Compendium Grammatices Linguae Hebraeae*, published in C. GEBHARDT (ed.), *Spinoza Opera* (Heidelberg 1972), pp. 1-112 (287-397), p. 2.

⁹⁵ SPINOZA, *Compendium Grammatices*, p. 401

⁹⁶ SPINOZA, *Compendium Grammatices*, p. 5.

⁹⁷ SPINOZA, *Compendium Grammatices*, p. 6.

⁹⁸ SPINOZA, *Compendium Grammatices*, p. 5.

community of Amsterdam.⁹⁹ Since the author gave the names of the Hebrew consonants only in Hebrew characters, this book does not provide any conclusive information for our research. This was also the case of a grammar book in Portuguese published in Amsterdam in 1702-1703 by Selomoh Templo.¹⁰⁰

4. THE PRONUNCIATION OF 'AYIN IN ITALY IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

As we have seen, towards the end of the 17th century, some Italian scholars represented the 'ayin by the graphemes <gn> or <ng>. However, the *h* > *gn* shift took place at a gradual and rather discontinuous path.

In 1694 the Christian Hebraist Paolo Medici published a grammar book in which he called the 'ayin *Ngain*.¹⁰¹

Half a century later, in 1739, Joseph Pasini, a teacher in a high school in Turin published a grammar book in which he called the 'ayin simply *ain*.¹⁰²

In his Hebrew grammar printed in Venice in 1751, the famous Ashkenazi Rabbi Simon Calimani, gave the name of 'ayin as *Ngain* and stated that its sound, *ngl*, could not be better explained.¹⁰³ According to his enunciation, Calimani transcribed מְלָרֵךְ [(accent on) the last syllable] as *millerang* and מְלָעִיל [(accent on) the penultimate syllable] as *millenghel*.

This scholar stated that *Italiani* and Ashkenazi Jews pronounced the soft, undotted *taw* in different ways: the first ones read it as /d/ while the latter ex-

⁹⁹ יד לשון *Gramatica, Manual da Lingua Hebraica*. Facil para decorar, & compendiosa para se exercitar. Recopilada do Livro מרפא לשון Autor do (que ja sahio a luz) עץ חיים Para exercicio dos Estudiantes Feito no Anno 5441. Estampado com Licença dos Señores do Mahamad, & Aprovaçã do Señor Haham Y. Abuab A[b] B[et] D[in] &. A 18 Hesvan 5449. Em Amsterdam. Autor R. Selomo de Oliveira. See fig. 6.

¹⁰⁰ *Principio de Sciencia ou Gramathica Hebrayca* por hum Methodo Breve, Claro, Facil e Distincto por Selomoh Jehuda Leaõ Templo, para uzo das Escolas como a ensina no Medrás em que assite, no K. K. de Talmud Torah. Amsterdam na Officina de Ymanuel Athias, Anno 5463. A custa do Author.

¹⁰¹ מַח לְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ *Midolla della Lingua Santa*, ovvero breve metodo per imparar facilmente la lingua ebraica. See fig. 7; unnumb. page with a table of the Hebrew alphabet.

¹⁰² דְּקִדּוּק לְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ *Hoc est Grammatica Linguae sanctae* Institutio cum vocum omnium anomalarum & explicatione auctore Josepho Pasino Sacrae Scripturae et Linguae Hebraicae in ginnasio Taurinensi Professore (Pavia 1739), p. 2.

¹⁰³ *Grammatica Ebraea Spiegata in Lingua Italiana* Composta da Simon Calimani Rabbino Veneto, Con un breve trattato della Poesia antica e moderna di essa lingua ebra. In Venetia nella Stamperia Bragadina à MDCCLI. Con licenza de Superiori e Privilegio, p. 2.

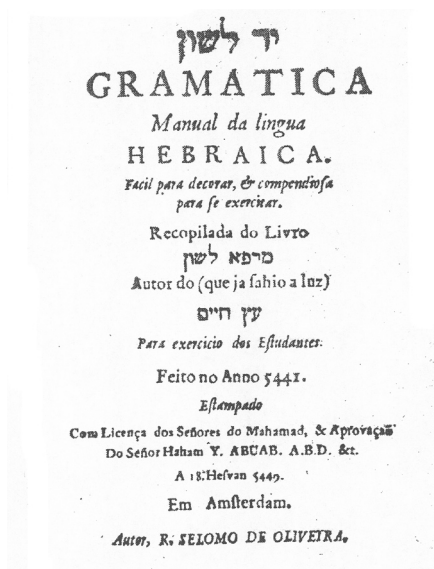


Fig. 6. Title page of Selomo de Oliveira's, *Gramatica, Manual da lingua Hebraica*. Amsterdam 1688.



Fig. 7. Title page of Paolo Sebastiano Medici's, grammar book *Midolla della Lingua Santa*, Florence 1694. Courtesy of Prof. Ariel Toaff.

pressed it by a typical /th/ sound similar to the Greek *zeta*. According to this scholar, the Sephardim pronounced ת and ת always as /t/ independently from the presence or absence of the dagesh. This was not always true; however, it is important to note that the famous Rabbi did not make any analogous remark for the 'ayin which, in his opinion, was pronounced in the same way by all the ethnical groups.

In 1822 the poet Salomon Fiorentino published a bilingual prayer book,¹⁰⁴ according to the Sephardic rite, with an Italian translation in the page facing the Hebrew text. Fiorentino transcribed into Latin characters the titles –or the initial words– of several hymns and prayers. He either represented the 'ayin by <h> or even ignored it, as, for instance, *al* [על, over];¹⁰⁵ *Holam, Olam* [עולם, world];¹⁰⁶ *maalot* [מעלות, ascents].¹⁰⁷ In the translation of Psalm 119, the author gave the name of 'ayin as *Ain*.¹⁰⁸ However, he rendered שמע as *Scemang*. This probably was his first step towards the adoption of the /ngl, /gn/ phonemes.

In 1837 Sanson Gentilomo da Venezia sent to the press a Siddur according to the Sephardic rite, with an Italian translation.¹⁰⁹ Frequent annotations, both in Hebrew and in Italian, accompany the worshipper along the book and explain how and when specific passages are to be recited. The author presented the titles of several prayers and psalms in Latin characters and represented the 'ayin by <h>, or left it without transcription, e.g., *amaalot* [המעלות, the ascents];¹¹⁰ *al* [על, over];¹¹¹ *vajahabor* [ויעבור, (He) passed].¹¹²

The ancient Ferrara transcriptions were apparently adopted also by D. V. Tedesco, who compiled a *Prayer Book for the Five Fasts according to the Rite of Portuguese and Spanish Jews* (Leghorn 1845). In many cases, this author left the 'ayin without notation: *Arvit* [ערבית];¹¹³ *Amida* [עמידה] and

¹⁰⁴ סדר תפלה. *Orazioni quotidiane per uso degli Ebrei Spagnoli e Portoghesi* [...] le tre orazioni giornaliere, quella del sabato, e del capo di mese tradotte dall'idioma ebraico coll'aggiunta di alcune note e di qualche poetica versione da Salomone Fiorentino appresso Antonio Schmid, Vienna MDCCCXXII.

¹⁰⁵ FIORENTINO, *Orazioni quotidiane*, pp. 378-379 and *passim*.

¹⁰⁶ FIORENTINO, *Orazioni quotidiane*, pp. 8-9, 22-23, 102-103 and *passim*.

¹⁰⁷ FIORENTINO, *Orazioni quotidiane*, *passim*.

¹⁰⁸ FIORENTINO, *Orazioni quotidiane*, pp. 292-293.

¹⁰⁹ *Formulario delle Orazioni Quotidiane secondo il Rito Spagnuolo*. Traduzione di Sanson Gentilomo da Venezia (Livorno, presso Salmoni, Gentilomo e Clava, 1837).

¹¹⁰ GENTILOMO, *Formulario delle Orazion*, p. 41.

¹¹¹ GENTILOMO, *Formulario delle Orazion*, pp. 381, 383

¹¹² GENTILOMO, *Formulario delle Orazioni*, p. 147.

¹¹³ סדר חמש תעניות כמנהג ק"ק ספרדים, *Formulario delle Preghiere pei Cinque Digiuni dell'*

Taanit [תענית, fast].¹¹⁴ In other instances he represented this consonant by <h> as in *Vajahabor* [ויעבור, (He) passed].¹¹⁵ Of revealing interest is the rendering of a relatively less frequent word, יענה [He will answer you].¹¹⁶ Most probably in this case, the young author, a student at the Rabbinical College of Padua, did not have a previous transcription under his eyes. He acted by ear and transcribed this word as *Janganhà*. Without a doubt Tedesco was accustomed to hear the /ng/ sound of the 'ayin, from the mouth of the most eminent of his teachers, Samuel David Luzzatto.

In 1853 Luzzatto, in the first instalment of his grammar book,¹¹⁷ named the 'ayin as *ngàin*. However, in the transliteration of geographical and personal names he ignored this consonant and left it untranscribed, e.g., *Canaan* [כנען];¹¹⁸ *Jaabèss* [יעבץ];¹¹⁹ *Aviad* [אביעד].¹²⁰

In 1853, Abram Cabib, with two other linguists, published in Leghorn a Biblical dictionary in which many Hebrew words, mainly personal and geographical names, were transliterated into Latin letters.¹²¹ These authors generally transcribed the 'ayin by <h> or even left it unexpressed as, for instance, *Harabà* [ערבה, desert];¹²² *Baal Gad* [בעל גד, g.n.];¹²³ *Heber* [עבר, trans-];¹²⁴ *Bet-Ahemek* [בית העמק, g.n.] and *Berihà* [בריעה, p.n.];¹²⁵ *Ghiba* [גבעה, hill].¹²⁶

Anno ad uso degli Israeliti Portoghesi e Spagnoli. Traduzione di D. V. Tedesco da Venezia, Alunno dell'Istituto Rabbinico di Padova (Livorno 1845), p. 247 and *passim*.

¹¹⁴ TEDESCO, *Formulario delle Preghiere*, p. 248, note 7.

¹¹⁵ TEDESCO, *Formulario delle Preghiere*, pp. 57, 60, 61, 62, 98, 11, 124 and *passim*.

¹¹⁶ TEDESCO, *Formulario delle Preghiere*, p. 114.

¹¹⁷ *Grammatica della lingua Ebraica del Prof. S.D. Luzzatto* [first instalment] (Padova 1853), p. 6. See fig. 14.

¹¹⁸ LUZZATTO, *Grammatica della lingua Ebraica*, p. 30.

¹¹⁹ S. D. LUZZATTO, "Lezioni di Teologia Dogmatica," [published in instalments in] *Corriere Israelitico, Periodico Mensile per la Storia e la Letteratura Israelitica* I (1862), p. 183.

¹²⁰ LUZZATTO, "Lezioni di Teologia Dogmatica," p. 215.

¹²¹ A. CABIB, R. FUNARO, I. COSTA, *Dizionario Biblico Ebraico-Italiano* coll'aggiunta d'un vocabolario delle parole caldaiche della Bibbia (Livorno 1853).

¹²² CABIB et al., *Dizionario Biblico Ebraico-Italiano*, p. 258.

¹²³ CABIB et al., *Dizionario Biblico Ebraico-Italiano*, p. 43.

¹²⁴ CABIB et al., *Dizionario Biblico Ebraico-Italiano*, p. 242.

¹²⁵ CABIB et al., *Dizionario Biblico Ebraico-Italiano*, p. 355.

¹²⁶ A. PAGGI, *Grammatica Ebraica ragionata ed elementi di Grammatica Caldaico-Rabbinica* (Firenze 1863), p. 2

Ten years later, in a grammar book published in Florence, Angelo Paggi called the *‘ayin Hain* and described its sound by antithetic terms as ‘silent, nasal’.¹²⁷ Evidently, in the second half of the 20th century, the pronunciation of the *‘ayin* in Italy was not uniform. Scholars did not even agree on the transliteration symbols. The phenomenon is highlighted by the following circumstance: in one single page of his prayerbook,¹²⁸ Samuel Ghiron, chief Rabbi of Turin dealt with the *‘ayin* in three different ways. He transcribed it by a simple <n>, by <gn> or left it untranscribed: *Adon Nolam* [אדון עולם, Lord of the universe], *Schemagn* [שמע, hear!], *Vegnata* [ועתה, for the time being], *Schemoné Ezre* [שמונה עשרה, Eighteen (Blessings)].¹²⁹ Wherever the *h > gn* shift took place, *Shema*[‘] was among the first words to be affected.

At the end of the 19th century the process was probably completed. In 1897, Isaia Levi, chief Rabbi of Mantua, named the *‘ayin gnain* and / or *ain* and stated that its nasal sound was similar to the French *em, en*.¹³⁰ When he dealt with verb conjugations and with accents, this author expressed the *‘ayin* in a new way, by doubling the transcription of the corresponding vowel: e.g., *puaal, hitpaeel* and *Hophaal*; ¹³¹ *pieel*; ¹³² *niphaal*.¹³³ He also transcribed מלְרַע [(accent on) the last syllable] as *milleraa*,¹³⁴ and מְלַעִיל [(accent on) the penultimate syllable] as *milleel*.¹³⁵

5. SOME 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES TRANSLITERATIONS OF HEBREW TEXTS IN THE WESTERN SEPHARDIC COMMUNITIES

In the course of several centuries the translations of the Sephardi ritual printed in Ferrara in the middle of the 16th century were re-issued again and again.

¹²⁷ PAGGI, *Grammatica Ebraica*, p. 2.

¹²⁸ סדר תפלות כפי מנהג ק"ק איטליאני עם תרגום איטלקי מלה במלה מאת שמואל גירוני מטורינו *Preghiere degli Israeliti di Rito Italiano* Con traduzione italiana letterale interlineare del Cav. Rabbino Maggiore S. Ghiron ad uso degli allievi delle scuole elementari (Livorno, S. Belforte e Comp. Editori, 1879).

¹²⁹ GHIRON, *Preghiere degli Israeliti di Rito Italiano, Index*, p. 1.

¹³⁰ I. LEVI, *Grammatica ed esercizi pratici della lingua ebraica* (Milano 1897), pp. 3-17: s.v.

¹³¹ LEVI, *Grammatica ed esercizi pratici*, p. 216v.

¹³² LEVI, *Grammatica ed esercizi pratici*, pp. 176r, 179r, 180v.

¹³³ LEVI, *Grammatica ed esercizi pratici*, p. 180v, 185r and *passim*.

¹³⁴ LEVI, *Grammatica ed esercizi pratici*, p. 32r and ff., 192r.

¹³⁵ LEVI, *Grammatica ed esercizi pratici*, p. 187r

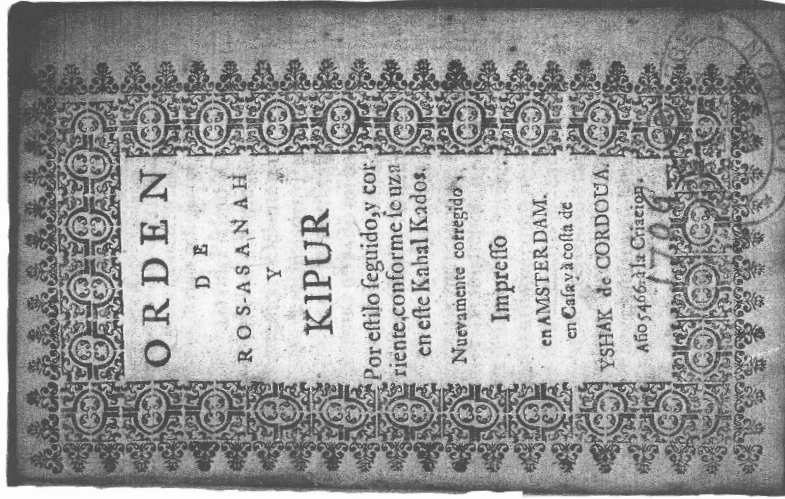


Fig. 9. Title page of Yshak de Cordova's *Orden de Ros-Asanah y Kipur*, Amsterdam 1706. Courtesy of the Library of the Jews' College, London.

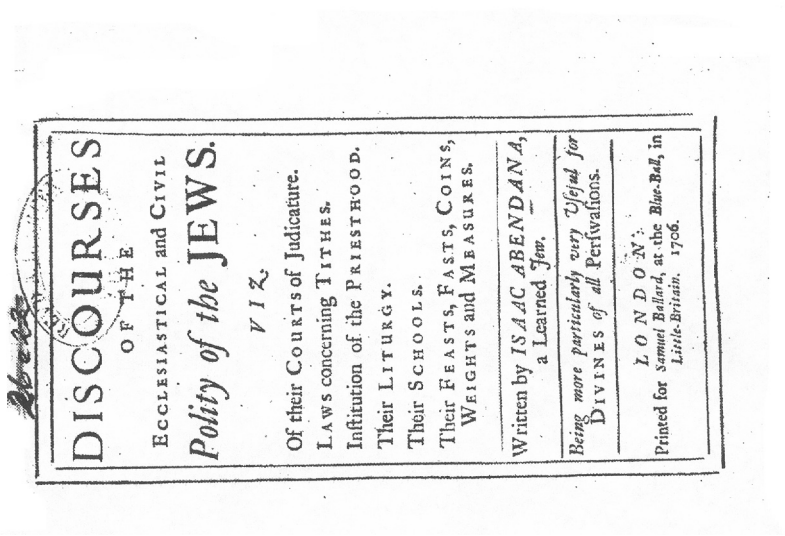


Fig. 8. Title page of Isaac Abendana, *Discourses of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Polity of the Jews*, London 1706. Courtesy of the Library of the Jews' College, London.

Scores of new editions appeared in Amsterdam, London, Leghorn, Venice and in other minor centers. Some of these publications were faithful reprints of the Ferrara prototypes. Other versions were variously revised, modified and enlarged.

As Cecil Roth has clearly noted, for a prolonged period the Ferrara translations were considered as “being of a sacred or semi-sacred character,” and it was considered improper to translate the Hebrew liturgy into the actual vernacular of the different countries where the Sephardim established their communities.¹³⁶ Thus, it was only in the second half of the 18th century that the earliest Dutch, English and French versions were published side by side with new editions of the traditional Spanish and Ladino¹³⁷ texts which continued to appear well into the 19th century. It is impossible to peruse the entirety of this immense literary production, however, thanks to an extensive research, I can give a very wide range of examples.

In the *Orden de Ros-Asanah y Kipur* published in Amsterdam by David Tartas in 1695, the *‘ayin* is transcribed as <h> or even left unexpressed, e.g., *vayahabor* [ויעבור, (He) passed];¹³⁸ *Iahacob* [יעקב] and *Semah* [שמע, Hear!];¹³⁹ *Leolam vahed* [לעולם ועד, forever and ever];¹⁴⁰ *Harbith* [ערבית, evening prayer]; *Nehilah* [נעילה, closing].¹⁴¹

In 1704, in the Siddur sponsored by Yshak de Cordova,¹⁴² the *‘ayin* was either left untranscribed or graphically represented with a simple <h>. For instance, *aamim* [העמים, the peoples];¹⁴³ *Leolam vahed* [לעולם ועד, forever and

¹³⁶ ROTH, *A History of Marranos*, p. 327.

¹³⁷ Special mention deserve the reeditions of the famous 1616 Venetian *Haggadah con su Ladino*, in Hebrew characters, continuously re-issued in Amsterdam and in Italy.

¹³⁸ *Orden de Ros-Asanah y Kipur por estilo seguido y corriente*, conforme se uza en este Kahal Kados. Nuevamente corregido y à su costa. Impreso en Amsterdam, por David Tartas, Año 5455 [1695] à la Criacion. Con Privilegio de los Señores Estados Por 15. Años, p. 121 and *passim*.

¹³⁹ TARTAS, *Orden de Ros-Asanah y Kipur*, p. 12

¹⁴⁰ TARTAS, *Orden de Ros-Asanah y Kipur*, pp. 12-15.

¹⁴¹ TARTAS, *Orden de Ros-Asanah y Kipur*, p. 462 and *passim*.

¹⁴² *Orden de las oraciones cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente*, Con las de Hanucah, Purim y ayuno del solo. Como tambien las tres Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuot, y Sucoth y con las Parasioth, y Aftarót, y Hazaroth de Sebuot. En Amsterdam A costa de Yshac de Cordova Impreso em casa de Hackerman y W. Groenevelt (I consulted the volume preserved at the British Library, Sh.m. C049.a2).

¹⁴³ CORDOVA, *Orden de las oraciones cotidianas*, p. 178.

ever]; ¹⁴⁴ *Sebuoth* [שבועות, Feast of the Weeks]. ¹⁴⁵ However, in a rather confusing way, Cordova used the grapheme *h* not only to represent the *alef* and the *he*, but even such fricative letters as the *het* and *kaf*, as, for instance, in *Hazan* [חזן, cantor]; ¹⁴⁶ *Baruh* [ברוך, Blessed]. ¹⁴⁷ Two years later, Yshak de Cordova published a new edition of the *Orden de Ros-asanah y Kipur* in which he never left the *ayin* without notation and transcribed it as <*h*>. ¹⁴⁸

In 1717, Selomoh Proops, merchant of Hebrew and Spanish books in Amsterdam, printed a *Prayer Book for the five Fast-Days*, according to the custom of that community. ¹⁴⁹ He transcribed some Hebrew verses into Latin characters and expressed the *ayin* by <*h*>, or even left it without graphic representation, as, for instance, in *Semah* [שמע, hear!] *Leolam vahed* ¹⁵⁰ [לעולם ועד = forever and ever]; *Vayahabór* [ויעבר, He passed]; ¹⁵¹ *Tisha beab*, *Tisa beab*; ¹⁵² *Tahanith*, *Thanith* [תענית fast]. ¹⁵³

In his *Orden de las tres Pascuas* (Amsterdam 1727), Aharon Hisquia Querido either transcribed the *ayin* by <*h*> or, more frequently, gave it no notation ¹⁵⁴, e.g., *Sebuoth* [שבועות, Feast of weeks]; ¹⁵⁵ *Haseret* [עצרת, Assembly]. ¹⁵⁶ Most probably, Querido copied these transcriptions either directly from the Ferrara Siddurim, or from some of the many subsequent editions.

¹⁴⁴ CORDOVA, *Orden de las oraciones cotidianas*, p. 109.

¹⁴⁵ CORDOVA, *Orden de las oraciones cotidianas*, Title Page and *passim*.

¹⁴⁶ CORDOVA, *Orden de las oraciones cotidianas*, p. 178.

¹⁴⁷ CORDOVA, *Orden de las oraciones cotidianas*., p. 109.

¹⁴⁸ *Orden de Ros-Asanah y Kipur por estilo seguido y corriente*, conforme se uza en este Kahal Kados, Nuevamente corregido. Impreso en Amsterdam en casa y a costa de Yshak de Cordoua, Año 5466 à la Criacion. See fig. 9.

¹⁴⁹ *Orden de las Oraciones de los cinco ayunos*, por estilo seguido y corriente conforme se uza en este Kahal Kados, nuevamente corregido, Amsterdam, en casa y a costa de Selomoh Proops Mercader de Libros Ebraicos y Españoles, Año 5477.

¹⁵⁰ *Orden de las Oraciones de los cinco ayunos*, p. 3.

¹⁵¹ *Orden de las Oraciones de los cinco ayunos*, p. 228 and *passim*

¹⁵² *Orden de las Oraciones de los cinco ayunos*, p. 287 and *passim*.

¹⁵³ *Orden de las Oraciones de los cinco ayunos*, p. 244, 287 and *passim*.

¹⁵⁴ *Orden de las tres Pascuas, Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth, con sus Parasioth, y aphtaroth; la Hagada, y Selihot de Hossana Raba*. Nuevamente Corregido En caza de Aharon Hisquia Querido en cuya Casa se hallen avender como toda suerte de libros &c. Amsterdam Anno 5487 à la Criacion.

¹⁵⁵ QUERIDO, *Orden de las tres Pascuas*, p. 12.

¹⁵⁶ QUERIDO, *Orden de las tres Pascuas*, p. 12 and *passim*.

Of greatest interest is the transliteration of the hymn *Yigdal Elohim Hay*.¹⁵⁷ As far as I know, it was a new, original composition by the same Querido who most frequently ignored the 'ayin. In other cases he transcribed it by <h>. Evidently, according to this scholar, the phonetic value of this consonant was equal to zero, or close to it, as it is proved by such transliterations as *et* [עת, time], *neelam* [נעלם, invisible, secret], *lo naharoh* [לא נערוך, not (to be) compared], *sephah* [עפע, abundance, fullness], *od* [עוד, again], *le amo* [לעמו, to His people], *leolamim* [לעולמים, forever], *yodea* [יודע, he knows], *Kemifalo* [כמפעלו, according to his deed(s)], *lerasah* [לרשע, to the wicked], *rah* [רע, evil], *kerisato* [כרשעתו, according to his iniquity], *yesuato* [ישועתו, His deliverance], *ade ad* [עדי עד, until the eternity, forever].¹⁵⁸

In 1762, in Amsterdam, the Proops brothers published a beautiful bilingual *Biblia en dos columnas*.¹⁵⁹ In the first pages of this precious volume they printed several propitiatory Hebrew verses to be read before studying the different sections of the Bible. Beside the Hebrew text the compiler(s) provided a careful transliteration of these verses into Latin letters. In most cases the author(s) attached no phonetical value to the 'ayin and left it unexpressed, as, for instance, in *Taamim* [טעמים, accents], *Ose* [עשה, (He) makes], *Leolam vaed* [לעולם ועד, forever and ever];¹⁶⁰ *naria* [נריעה, let us acclaim], *amo* [עמו, His people], *lemaan* [למען, for the sake of], *laasoth* [לעשות, to make];¹⁶¹ *Iaacob* [יעקב p.n.].¹⁶² However in some cases the authors transcribed the 'ayin by <h> *Semah* [שמע].¹⁶³

The ancient forms of transcription persisted unchanged in the 18th century *Registers of Deliberations* of the Portuguese Nations of Bordeaux and of other centers of Western France where the 'ayin was rendered as <h> or received no

¹⁵⁷ QUERIDO, *Orden de las tres Pascuas*, pp. 17-18. See doc. 3 in *Appendix*.

¹⁵⁸ QUERIDO, *Orden de las tres Pascuas*, p. 17.

¹⁵⁹ תורה נביאים וכתובים בשני עמודים. *Biblia en dos columnas hebrayco y Español* [...] en la primera columna el original Hebraico, con todas las perfecciones en las letras puntos y taamim con las anotaciones de or Tora, poniendo cada coza en su lugar [...] en la segunda columna la traduccion en lengua Española; y buscamos las palabras mas proprias en A. H. la vezes alguna palabra interlineas para mayor clareza נדפס באמשטרדם in casa e a costa de Yoseph, Iacob y Abraam de Salomon Proops estampadores y mercadores de Libros, Hebraicos y Españoles en Amsterdam בשנת ויקראו בספר תורה אלאים מפורש לפי קי A.° 5522. See fig. 11.

¹⁶⁰ *Biblia en dos columnas hebrayco y Español* (unnumb.), p. 2v.

¹⁶¹ *Biblia en dos columnas hebrayco y Español*, p. 3r

¹⁶² *Biblia en dos columnas hebrayco y Español*, p. 2v.

¹⁶³ *Biblia en dos columnas hebrayco y Español*, p. 2v.

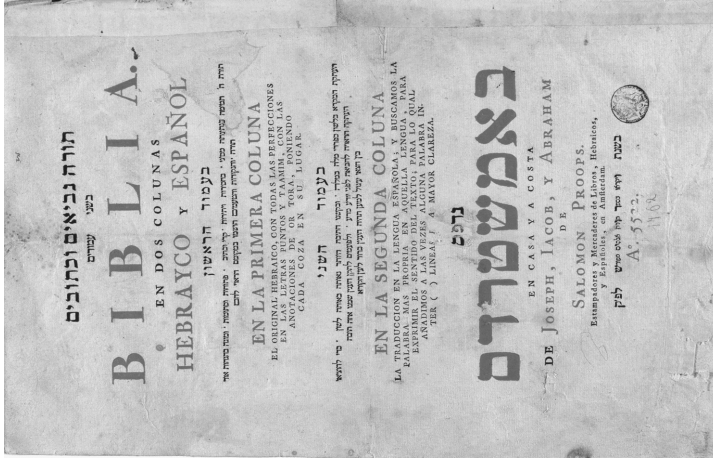


Figure 11. Title page of the beautiful bilingual *Biblia en dos columnas*, *Hebrayco y Español* published in Amsterdam in 1762 by Ioseph, Iacob and Abraham Proops. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice.

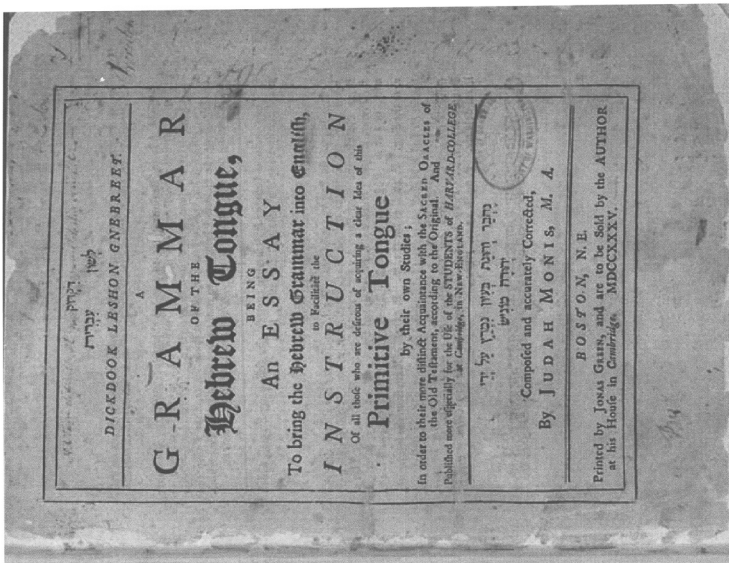


Fig. 10. Title page of Judah Monis' *Dickdook Leshon Gneebreef*. A *Grammar of the Hebrew Tongue*, Cambridge, Mass. 1735. Courtesy of the Library of the Congress, Washington, D.C.

notation, e.g., *Mahamad*, *Maamad*; ¹⁶⁴ *Mahala* [מעלה, Excellence]; ¹⁶⁵ *Bal Tora* [בעל תורה, expert reader of the Torah]; ¹⁶⁶ *aruch* [ערוך, prepared]. ¹⁶⁷

Between 1791 and 1793, Lion Cohen published in Holland a set of prayer books with the entire Sephardi liturgy in Hebrew and a Dutch translation.¹⁶⁸ According to a well-stated Western Sephardic tradition, the author transcribed the Hebrew titles, or the first words, of several prayers in Latin letters, according to the Dutch pronunciation. In many cases he gave no notation to the *'ayin* or transcribed it by a simple <h>, as, for instance, in *Amida* [עמידה, *liturg.*]; ¹⁶⁹ *Meën sebah* [מעין שבע, as seven]; ¹⁷⁰ *Alenu*, *Alenoe* [עלינו, it is our obligation]; ¹⁷¹ *Leëla*, *Leela*, *Lehela* [לעילה, above] ¹⁷²; *Omer* [עומר, *liturg.*] ¹⁷³ *Adon Olam* ¹⁷⁴ [אדון עולם, Lord of the Universe]; *Hossañnot* [השענות, Osannas] ¹⁷⁵; *Tefila lehani* [תפלה לעני, A prayer for the poor (people of Israel)] ¹⁷⁶; *Mahalot* [מעלות, ascents]. ¹⁷⁷

Cohen used the symbol <h> to also represent the almost mute consonant *he* as, for example, in *Al Naharot Babel* [על נהרות בבל]; ¹⁷⁸ *Hossana rabá* [השענה רבה, the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles]. ¹⁷⁹ It is worth noting that in the

¹⁶⁴ *Le Registre des Deliberations de la Nation Portugaise de Bordeaux (1711-1787)*. Introduction et notes par Simon SCHWARZFUCHS (Paris 1981), *sub indice*; G. NAHON, *Les «Nations» juives portugaises du Sud-Ouest de la France (1684-1791)*. Documents (Paris 1981).

¹⁶⁵ NAHON, *Les «Nations» juives portugaises*, pp. 338-341.

¹⁶⁶ *Registre des Deliberations*, N. 421, March 20 1774, publ. SCHWARZFUCHS, *Le Registre*, p. 445;

¹⁶⁷ *Orden y Regulamento del Talmud Torah del K. K. de Nefusoth Jeudah* [at Saint- Esprit], publ. NAHON, *Les «Nations» juives portugaises*, pp. 240-245: 241.

¹⁶⁸ L. COHEN, *Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden*, door een Joodsch Genootschap uit het hebreuwsch vertaalt (s'Gravenhaage 1791-93). The last page bears the indication "Gedrukt in s'Graevenhaage by Johannes de Groot." See fig. 12.

¹⁶⁹ COHEN, *Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden*, First Part, p. 434.

¹⁷⁰ COHEN, *Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden*, p. 3r

¹⁷¹ COHEN, *Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden*, First Part, p. 433; Second Part, p. 41; *Ibid.*, Third Part, p. 304

¹⁷² COHEN, *Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden*, First Part, p. 435; Second Part, p. 536; Third Part, p. 304; Second Part, p. 36.

¹⁷³ COHEN, *Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden*, Second Part, p. 37.

¹⁷⁴ COHEN, *Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden*, Second Part, p. 554.

¹⁷⁵ COHEN, *Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden*, Second Part, p. 552.

¹⁷⁶ COHEN, *Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden*, Third Part, p. 304. See Psalm 202.

¹⁷⁷ COHEN, *Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden*, Second Part, p. 40.

¹⁷⁸ COHEN, *Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden*, Third Part, p. 303.

¹⁷⁹ COHEN, *Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden*, Second Part, p. 552.

transliteration of the word השענה the Author transcribed the *he* by <h> and gave the ‘*ayin* no graphic representation.

We do not take into consideration, for the purpose of this research, Gamaliel ben Pedahzur’s¹⁸⁰ controversial English translation of the Sephardic Ritual published in London in 1738 without the agreement of the Mahamad.¹⁸¹ This author was clearly unacquainted with the Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew. Nevertheless it might perhaps be worth noting that he transcribed שמע as *Seman*.

Between 1771 and 1776, Isaac Pinto published in New York an English translation of the Hebrew liturgy.¹⁸² In 1771, D. Alexander, another Ashkenazi Jew who later converted to Christianity, published in London a prayer book for the New Year according to the order of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews with an English translation,¹⁸³ and claimed that it had “never before attempted to be translated into English.” Alexander transliterated into Latin letters the title of several prayers. However, he was unacquainted with the Sephardi rite and his transcriptions reflected the Ashkenazi pronunciation rather than the Portuguese one.

In 1770-71, Rabbi Ishac Nieto, published in London a Spanish translation of the daily prayers with licence of “los Señores del Mahamad.”¹⁸⁴ Besides giving

¹⁸⁰ This was the pseudonym of an Ashkenazi Jew converted to Christianity. On this author see S. SINGER “Early Translations and Translators of the Jewish Liturgy in England,” *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 3 (1896-98), pp. 36-75: 39-45; C. ROTH, “Gamaliel Ben Pedahzur and his Prayer Book,” *The Jewish Historical Society of England. Miscellanies* II (London 1935), pp. 1-8.

¹⁸¹ *The Book of Religion, Ceremonies, and Prayers of the Jews as Practised in Their Synagogues and Families on All Occasions, on Their Sabbath and Other Holy Days Throughout the Year [...]* translated immediately from Gamaliel ben Pedahzur, Gent[leman]. Printed in London in 1738.

¹⁸² In 1771 Isaac Pinto published an *Evening Service of Roshashanah, and Kippur*. In 1776 he gave to the press an English translation of the *Mahazor* under the title *Prayers for Sabbath, Rosh-Hashanah, and Kippur the Sabbath, the Beginning of the Year, and the Day of Atonement [...]* according to the Order of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews [...] printed by John Holt in New York A.m. 5526. See A. J. KARP, *From the Ends of the Earth: Judaic Treasures of the Library of Congress* (Washington. DC, 1991).

¹⁸³ *Evening and Morning Service for the Beginning of the Year according to the order of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, in Hebrew and English as publickly read in their Synagogue never before attempted to be translated into English [...] faithfully translated by A. Alexander 5331 [repr. 5548].

¹⁸⁴ *Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas, Ros Hodes, Hanuca y Purim* nuevamente traducidas conforme el genuino sentido original Hebraico por estilo corriente y facil con las Parassias que se dizen en Ros Hodes, Hanuca y Purim por el H. H. R. Ishac Nieto impresso en casa de la viuda Moore año 5531 con licencia de los Señores del Mahamad.

the Hebrew name of several prayers in Latin characters, the author gave a full transcripton of the Kaddish and of the blessings for the reading of the Torah which he probably took up, with slight modifications, from earlier vulgarizations.

Of greater interest is his transliteration of the hymn *Lekha Dodi*, which, as far as I know, did not appear in the ancient versions of Ferrara and Venice, and in all probability was the original work of Ishac Nieto. In some cases this author gave no graphical representation to the 'ayin and left it without transcription, in other instances he transliterated this consonant by <h>, e.g., *Hitoreri* [התעוררי, wake up!], *urì, urì* [עורי, עורי, awake!], *behemec* [בעמק, in the valley], *hami* [עמי, my people], *alaich* [עליך, on you]. This author used the Spanish letter <j> to represent the fricative sound of the *het* and of the soft *kaf* as, for instance, in *ejad* [אחד, one], *verajacu* [ורחקו, they shall go away], *abajà* [הבכה, tear(s)], *melujà* [מלוכה, royal], *Lejù venelejà* [לכו ונלכה, Come and let us go!]. However Nieto transcribed final *kaf* by <ch> as for instance: *Eloaich* [אלאידך, your Lord]. As a marginal remark, we note that this author transcribed both hard and soft *bet* as , e.g., *ubyzman carib* [ובזמן קריב, and in a near future], *sabah* [שבע, abundance], *libsi bigdè* [לבשי בגדין, wear the clothes of (c. form)], *lo tebosi* [לא תבשין, don't be ashamed].¹⁸⁵ The plosive sound of this consonant (*/b/*) was to remain a feature common to all the Western Sephardic communities well into the 20th century.¹⁸⁶

Nieto made no distinction between *šin* and *śin*. Both consonants were transcribed as <s>, e.g., *Micdas* [מקדש, sanctuary]; *sir* [שיר, song]; *besimja ubsahalà* [בשמחה ובצהלה, with joy and exultation].¹⁸⁷

This had been a constant characteristic of Western Sephardic literature, e.g., *aser* [אשר, who];¹⁸⁸ *Asibenu* [השיבנו, cause us to return], *Ioseb* [יושב, He dwells], and *hodes* [חדש, month];¹⁸⁹ *salom* [שלום, peace],¹⁹⁰ *siratha* [שירתא, hymns];¹⁹¹ *Bacasa* [בקשה, supplication];¹⁹² *mesumadim* [משמדים, apostates, renegades];¹⁹³

¹⁸⁵ See doc. 4 in *Appendix*.

¹⁸⁶ H. P. SALOMON, "Hebrew Pronunciation," *The American Sephardi* 1, 2 (1967), pp. 20-25.

¹⁸⁷ See doc. 4 in *Appendix*.

¹⁸⁸ Isac CAVALLERO, *Orden de Oraciones* (Venice ca. 1552), pp. 146-147.

¹⁸⁹ Yomtob ATIAS, *Libro de Oracyones de todo el año*, see doc. 2 in the first part of this study (*Sef* 66, pp. 380-387).

¹⁹⁰ Abraham USQUE, *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, (Ferrara 1555), f. 182r.

¹⁹¹ USQUE, *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, f. 181v.

¹⁹² *Ordem de Orasois que se dizem en todo ho anno* (cf. note 35), ff. 1v, 2v *et passim*.

¹⁹³ *Ordem de Orasois*, f. 60v.

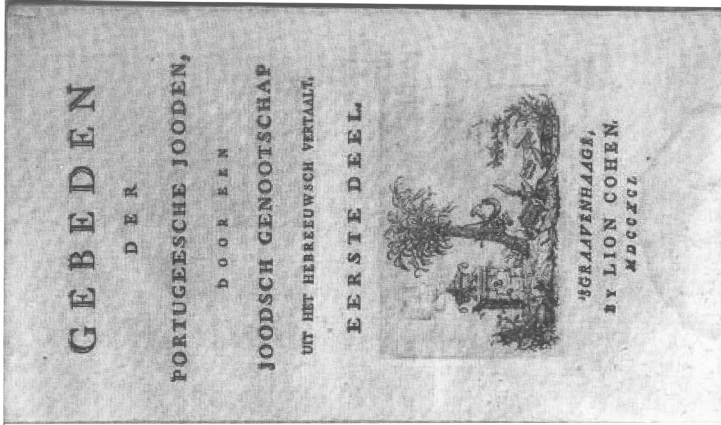


Fig. 12. Title page of Lion Cohen's bilingual Sידur in Hebrew with Dutch translation: *Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden*, printed in 'sGraevenhaage by Johannes de Groot in 1791. Courtesy of the Joods Historisch Museum, Amsterdam.

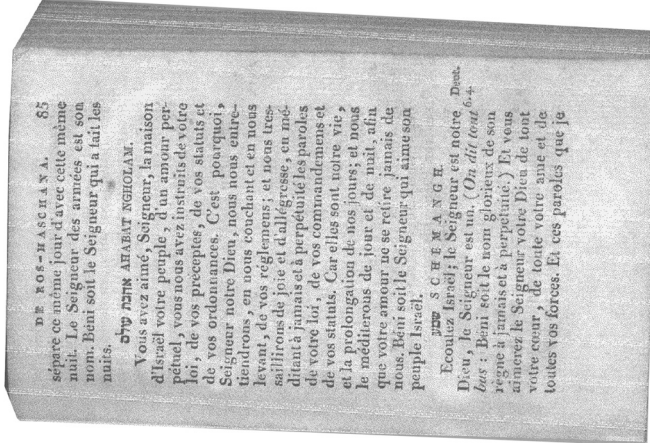


Fig. 13. Mardochee Venture, *Prières des Jours de Ros-Haschana et du Jour de Kippour* [Reprint] 1807, p. 85. The title of prayers is given in Hebrew characters and is also transliterated into Latin letters. The consonant *ayin* is rendered as *<nght>*. Courtesy of Mr. Georges Dalmeyda, Bayonne.

Ierusalaim; ¹⁹⁴ *sira* [שירה, song]; ¹⁹⁵ *mispat* [משפט, judgement], *Samaim* [שמים, Heaven], and *Sem* [שם, name]. ¹⁹⁶

From the above examples it appears that in the second half of the 18th century some eminent scholars refrained from representing the ‘*ayin* with the <hg> or <gn> graphemes and continued to transcribe this consonant by <h> or to leave it unexpressed. In the meantime, however, the new nasal-guttural sound of ‘*ayin* had been taking place in all the Western Sephardic communities. Already in 1706, Isac Abendana, “a learned Jew” who had lived in Amsterdam before settling in London, ¹⁹⁷ published his *Discourses*. In the chapter dealing with Jewish prayers he transliterated a few Hebrew words into Latin characters and expressed the ‘*ayin* by <ng>: *Shemang Israel* [שמע ישראל], *Shemang kolenu* [שמע קולנו, hear our voice], *Tecang besophar* [תקע בשופר, sound the *shofar*]. ¹⁹⁸ However this author was not consistent and for other, less common, words he used the old traditional transcriptions. In the chapter on “the schools among the Hebrews” he talks about *Sem* and *Heber* (not *Ngeber*) [עבר, *p.n.*]. In the list of weights and measures he mentions the *Beka* (not *bekang*) [בקע, ancient coin]. ¹⁹⁹ We may assume that the author was familiar with the words recurring in the daily service, and he transcribed them by ear, as he had actually been hearing them in the synagogues of Amsterdam and London. He probably resumed the transcription of other words from some existing book.

In 1735 Judah Monis, ²⁰⁰ an Algerian Jew of Portuguese descent who had completed his studies in Leghorn and in Amsterdam, published in Boston a grammar book entitled *Dickdook Leshon Gneebreet* where the ‘*ayin* was tran-

¹⁹⁴ *Ordem de Orasois*, f 62v.

¹⁹⁵ *Ordem de Orasois*, f. 44v.

¹⁹⁶ PROOPS, *Biblia en dos columnas*. See doc. 5.

¹⁹⁷ Isac Abendana was a graduate of the University of Leiden. The expression “a learned Jew” indicated also that he was a *yahid*, a member of the Community holding no official position at the moment.

¹⁹⁸ *Discourses of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Polity of Jews, viz. of their Courts and Judicatures. Laws concerning Tithes, Institution of the Priesthood. Their Liturgy, Their Schools, Their Feasts, Fasts Coins, Weights and Measures*. Written by Isaac Abendana, a Learned Jew, Being more particularly very Useful for Divines and Persuasions. London, printed for Samuel Ballard, at the Blue-Ball, in Little Britain. 1706. Cf. pp. 104 and 106. See fig. 8.

¹⁹⁹ I express my gratitude to Dr. Erla Zimmels, librarian at the Jews’ College of London for calling this book to my attention and for her precious advice.

²⁰⁰ On this author see P. JACOB and R. MARCUS, *The Colonial American Jew, 1492-1776* (Detroit 1970), vol. II, pp. 1096-1103; G. A. KOHUT, “Judah Monis, M.A., the First Instructor in Hebrew at Harvard University (1683-1764),” *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 14 (July 1898), p. 218

scribed as <gn>. ²⁰¹

In 1750 B. Barker, a professor of Hebrew at the Westminster College gave to the presses a Hebrew grammar, where he called the ‘*ayin Gnain* and stated that its phonetic value was *gn*. ²⁰²

Between 1772 and 1774, Mardochée Venture published in Nice three bilingual volumes with the French translation of the Sephardic service for the week-days, Saturday and Holidays. ²⁰³ This author transcribed the ‘*ayin* by <*ngh*>: e.g., *Schemangh* [שמע]; ²⁰⁴ *Beth Ianghacob* [בית יעקב, House of Jacob], *vayanghabor* [ויעבור, (He) passed]; ²⁰⁵ *Yanghale* [יעלה, may ascend]; ²⁰⁶ *Lenghani* [לעני, for the poor]; ²⁰⁷ *Nghet Schangaré Ratson* [עת שערי רצון, the time when the gates of (his) willingness]. ²⁰⁸ The Siddurim by Venture were reprinted many times. The consonant ‘*ayin* was represented constantly as <*ng*> or <*ngh*>. ²⁰⁹

In 1852 Solomon Sebag compiled a *Hebrew Primer* which was reprinted several times and became soon the “chief text book for Hebrew instruction” among Jewish children, both Sephardi and Ashkenazi, in England. This author called the ‘*ayin Gnain* and described its sound as “gn in sign.” ²¹⁰

²⁰¹ Dickdook Leshon Gneebreet, *A grammar of the Hebrew Tongue*, being an essay to bring the Hebrew Grammar into English [...] composed and accurately corrected by Juda Monis, M.A., Boston, N.E. printed by Jonas Green, and are to be sold by the Author at his house in Cambridge, MDCCXXXV. See fig. 10.

²⁰² B. BARKER, *Hebraicæ Grammatices Rudimenta*. In usum Scholæ Westmonasteriensis (Londoni 1750), p. 2.

²⁰³ M. VENTURE, *Prières journalières à l’usage des Juifs Portugais où Espagnols traduites de l’Hebreu*. Ce volume contient les prières de tous les jours ouvriers, de Samedi, des Ros Hodes, de Hanouca, des Pourim avec leurs Parasciot, du jeune particulier & autres prières traduites de l’Hebreu auxquelles on a ajouté des notes elementaire pour en faciliter l’intelligence (Nice 1772).

²⁰⁴ VENTURE, *Prières journalières à l’usage des Juifs Portugais où Espagnols*, p. 73 and *passim*.

²⁰⁵ VENTURE, *Prières journalières à l’usage des Juifs Portugais où Espagnols*, p. 131 and *passim*.

²⁰⁶ VENTURE, *Prières journalières à l’usage des Juifs Portugais où Espagnols*, pp. 20-26.

²⁰⁷ VENTURE, *Prières journalières à l’usage des Juifs Portugais où Espagnols*, tome III, p. 544 and *passim*.

²⁰⁸ VENTURE, *Prières journalières à l’usage des Juifs Portugais où Espagnols*, tome II, p. 10.

²⁰⁹ See, for instance, M. VENTURE, *Prières des Jours de Ros-Aschana et du Jour de Kippour à l’usage des Juifs Portugais ou Espagnols* (Paris 1807), p. 85, where we find *Ahabat ngholam* [אהבת עולם] and *Schemangh* [שמע]. See fig. 13.

²¹⁰ *The Hebrew Primer and Reading Book Containing all the Principal Rules in Hebrew Grammar Together with a Vocabulary of the Book of Genesis by Solomon Sebag*. See fig. 13.

There still were, however, scholars who tacitly refused to adopt the <gn> or <ng> symbols. A. ben Baruch Créange published in Paris his *Offrande nouvelle*,²¹¹ a prayer book in Hebrew with French translation where he called the 'ayin *Aïne*,²¹² and gave no phonetic value to this consonant, e.g., *Schema* [שמע, hear!],²¹³ *amidah* [עמידה, liturg.];²¹⁴ and *Alénou* [עלינו, our obligation], *Abinou* [אבינו, our Father], and *Leéla* [לעלא, above].²¹⁵

6. THE PRONUNCIATION OF 'AYIN IN ITALY AND IN THE WESTERN SEPHARDIC COMMUNITIES IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

In the second half of the 19th century the shift towards a nasal-guttural pronunciation of the 'ayin was already *un fait accompli* in all the Western Sephardic Communities from Venice and Leghorn to New York and Curaçao, and from Hamburg to Bayonne.

In Amsterdam, Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews read the Hebrew vowels in different ways but they pronounced the 'ayin with the same nasal-guttural sound.

In the early 20th century, Moses Gaster, chief Rabbi of the Spanish and Portuguese communities of England compiled a new edition of the Sephardic prayer book with an English translation (5 vols., 1901-1906).²¹⁶ These books and their many reprints bear an appendix with the «traditional tunes» where the first stanzas of several prayers are transliterated, syllable by syllable, into Latin characters alongside with the musical notes. The 'ayin is regularly transcribed as <gn> or <ng>, as, for instance, in *Tegnanú ve-tegnatérú* [תענו ותערתו, May you be answered and your petition grant-

²¹¹ A. Ben Barouch CRÉANGE, סדר תפלת ישראל - מנחה חדשה, *Offrande nouvelle, Prières des Israélites du Rite Espagnol et Portugais, Hebreu et Français* (Paris 1885).

²¹² CRÉANGE, *Offrande nouvelle*, p. 266, Translation of Psalm 119.

²¹³ CRÉANGE, *Offrande nouvelle*, p. 59.

²¹⁴ CRÉANGE, *Offrande nouvelle*, p. 63.

²¹⁵ CRÉANGE, *Offrande nouvelle*, Index, p. IX.

²¹⁶ M. GASTER, *The Book of Prayer and Order of Service according to the custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* with an English translation based principally on the work of the late Rev. D. A. de Sola, minister of the Congregation, Bevis Marks, London [...] published at the expenses of the Society Heshaim, with the sanction of the Board of Elders of the Congregation at the Vestry Office, Heneage Lane, Bevis Marks, Vol. V, 5666-1906.

THE
HEBREW PRIMER AND READING BOOK.

THE LETTERS.

There are twenty-two letters, of which, six have generally a dot in the centre, five have two forms, and some resemble others. They are all consonants, and their sounds, excepting three, correspond with those of the English alphabet.

Table of the Letters with their corresponding English sounds.

FORM.	NAME.	SOUND.	FORM.	NAME.	SOUND.
א	Aleph	no sound without a vowel point	ל	Lamed	L
ב	Bet	B or V	מ	Mem	M
ג	Gimel	G hard in co	נ	Nun	N
ד	Dalet	D	ס	Samech	S in so
ה	He	H in hand	ע	Qnain	Q in son
ו	Vav	V	פ	P or Fe	P or F
ז	Zain	Z	צ	Tseddi	Ts
ח	Chat	CH German	ק	Kaph	K
ט	Tet	T	ר	Resh	R
י	Yod	Y in YIS	ש	Shin or Sin	SH or S
כ	Chat'of	CH or K	ת	Tav	T or S
כּ	Kaph				

Fig 15. Solomon Sebag, *The Hebrew Primer and Reading Book*, London, 5631-1871 [First edition: 1852]; a *Table of the Hebrew consonants with their corresponding English sounds*. The letter 'ayin is called *Gnain*. Courtesy of the Library of the American Sephardi Federation.

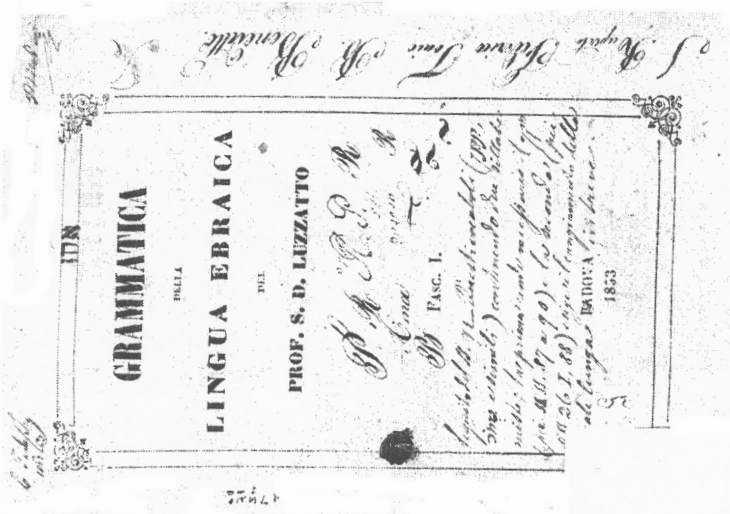


Fig 14. Title page of Shemuel David Luzzato's *Grammatica della Lingua Ebraica* (First instalment), Padua 1853. Courtesy of the Library of the Jewish Community, Padua.

ed]; ²¹⁷ *vengal kol gnamo* [ועל כל עמו, and over his people]; ²¹⁸ *ki gnanitani vatehi li lishughnah* [כי עניתני ותהי לי לישועה]; ²¹⁹ *Esa ngenai el hehareem meayin yabo ngezree, ngezree mengim Adonai* [אשא עיני אל ההרים, מאין יבא עזרי, עזרי מעם הי]; I shall lift my eyes towards the mountains, whence my secour will come, my secour from the presence of the Lord]; ²²⁰ *ngal hateshungot vengal haniflaot* [על התשועות ועל הנפלאות]; ²²¹ *Mangoz tsur yeshungatee* [מעוז צור ישועתי]; Stronghold, Rock of my deliverance]; ²²² *Tangamim* [טעמים, accents]. ²²³

French Sephardim used similar graphic symbols. In the handbook עץ החיים, comprising the prayers for the diseased persons, the sick unto death and the memorial service for the dead, we find *legnalâm oulgalmê gnalmaya* [לעלם ולעלמי forever and for all the eternity]; *Hou yagnassé chalôm gnalênu* [הוא יעשה, שלום עלינו, May He make peace for us]. ²²⁴

In early 20th century Italy, the nasal sound of *‘ayin* had become common. In a grammar book published in Leghorn in 1908, Abram Cabib called this consonant *ngain* and described its sound as “nasal, n, ng.” ²²⁵ He transcribed שמע as *Scemang*. ²²⁶

The old graphemes –and the corresponding sounds– frequently survived in the nooks and crannies of Siddurim and Maḥazorim. In the prayer book published in 1949 by Dario Disegni, chief Rabbi of Turin, several ancient forms were still

²¹⁷ GASTER, *The Book of Prayer and Order of Service (Index)*.

²¹⁸ GASTER, *The Book of Prayer and Order of Service (Traditional Tunes)*, p. 223.

²¹⁹ GASTER, *The Book of Prayer and Order of Service*, p. 224.

²²⁰ *The Book of Prayer and Order of Service according to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews with an English translation*, based principally on the work of the late Rev. D. A. de Sola and Haham Moses Gaster, revised by Solomon Gaon, and published for the Society Heshaim. Volume One: Daily and Occasional Prayers (London 1918-1958). Appendix with the Music for Daily and Occasional Services, p. 257.

²²¹ *The Book of Prayer and Order of Service*, p. 338.

²²² *The Book of Prayer and Order of Service*, p. 359.

²²³ *The Book of Prayer and Order of Service*, p. 361.

²²⁴ עץ החיים, והוא תורת חסד ואמת. *Prières pour les malades, les mourants et les morts* (Paris, Librairie Durlacher, 1911).

²²⁵ A. CABIB, *Principi elementari della Lingua Ebraica* (Livorno 1908), p. 3.

²²⁶ CABIB, *Principi elementari della Lingua Ebraica*, p. 39.

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portamento.

Eh-nu-ka-ha ha-ne-rot ha-ha lu ko'-dash hem . . . ve-

on shu-ru ro-shut lo-hab-ta-mosh ba-hem

portamento.

o-la lir-o-tam bil-bad . . . ko'-do

portamento.

dot lih-me-cha ngal ni-mo-cha ve-ngal yo-

shu-ngo-to . . . cha . . . ve-ngal nif-le-o-to-cha

portamento.

In the absence of bars to mark the strong beats, the principal accented syllables are indicated.

LXVI. ABUMICHA ADONAI (Ps. XXX) (p. 158)

Andante.

Key A.

A-ro-mim-cha A-do-nai, ko-e-di-lee-ta-moh,

D.S.

ve-bo-si-mah-ta o-yo-hai

DAILY AND OCCASIONAL SERVICE TUNES 338

LXV. HANEKOT HATALEU (p. 158)

Traditional.

Mezoso.

Key G.

Ha-ne-rot ha-ha lu a-nu-mal-lee-hem

ngal ha-misom ve-ngal ha-pur-kan ve-ngal ha-gu-bu-

rot ve-ngal ha-to-shu-ngo-to ve-ngal ha-nif-le-o-to

portamento.

ngal ha-ne-hah-mot . . . also-ngo-mo-ta

portamento.

ha-a-do-to-nu ha-yis-vev-eh ha-hem u-ha-ot

portamento.

man ha-zah ngal ye-do-ko-ha-ne-cha ha-ke-do-

shem . . . ve-ehal shem-mot-ye-meh

Fig. 16. M. Gaster *The Book of Prayer and Order of Service according to the custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews... published for the Society Heshaim, Volume One: Daily and Occasional Prayers*, London 5718-1958, Appendix with the *Music for Daily and Occasional Services*, p. 338. Courtesy of Prof. Edgar Samuel.

extant, e.g., *Amida* [עמידה];²²⁷ *Arvit* [ערבית].²²⁸ However שמע was transcribed as *Scemagn*,²²⁹ and the name of the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles was given as *Scemini Gnazzered*.²³⁰ In the following years, Rabbi Disegni published many other Siddurim and Maḥazorim. In these editions, most of the *old* transcriptions were *corrected* and adapted to the general trend.

However, in Italy many Biblical names had entered into common use in ancient forms that found their origin back to the times of the first Jewish immigrations (or deportations) to Rome. These names remained unchanged, e.g., *Isaia* (and not *Ieshagnia*).

Artom stated that, in the first half of the 20th century, in Piedmont and in North Western Italy the ‘*ayin* had a sound similar to /n/ as in the Italian word *ingoiare* [to swallow].²³¹ According to Prof. Annibale Momigliano, the pronunciation of ‘*ayin* in Turin, in the middle of the 20th century, could be represented by the drawled sound of /n/ in the dialectal expressions *de luntan* [from far away], *de dausij* [at close range].²³² In Venice and in North Eastern Italy the ‘*ayin* had a stronger /gn/ accent as in the word ‘*campagna*.’ In Rome the nasal-guttural sound of this consonant was more marked.

As we have already stated, after the Shoah and the rebirth of the State of Israel, the surviving *Italiani* Communities tacitly adopted the Israeli pronunciation. In Italy the <gn> forms survive only in the photostatic reprints of old Siddurim and Maḥazorim.

As far as I know, nowadays Amsterdam is the only place where the consonant ‘*ayin* is still pronounced as /ng/ both by Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews. According to the *Rules for Pronunciation of the Chazzanut Association of Amsterdam*, in the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of that city the ‘*ayin* is commonly read as /gn/.²³³ However, as it happened in Italy under Israeli influence, also in Amsterdam the younger generation begins to omit the pronunciation of this consonant.

²²⁷ DARIO DISEGNI, *Preghiere del Giorno Feriali e Sabati secondo il Rito Italiano particolare della Comunità Ebraica di Torino* (Torino 1949), p. 30.

²²⁸ DISEGNI, *Preghiere del Giorno Feriali e Sabati*, p. 80.

²²⁹ DISEGNI, *Preghiere del Giorno Feriali e Sabati*, pp. 26, 58,81 *et passim*.

²³⁰ DISEGNI, *Preghiere del Giorno Feriali e Sabati*, p. 31; Second Part, p. 25.

²³¹ ARTOM, “La Pronuncia dell’Ebraico presso gli Ebrei d’Italia.”

²³² I am indebted to Prof. Momigliano for his kindest explanations.

²³³ See fig.17.

Rules for Pronunciation

This page describes the rules of pronunciation, as used by the Amsterdam Portuguese community.

Letter	Pronunciation	Transliteration	Pronunciation Examples
א	Silent	‘	
ב	B	V	בְּרוֹב berob
בּ	B	B	
ג	Ch	G	גַּחַח chach
גּ	G	G	גַּמּוֹ gam
ד	D	D	
ה	H	H	
ו	V	V	
ז	Z	Z	
ח	Ch	Ch	
ט	T	T	
י	Y	Y	
כ	Kh	Kh	
כּ	K	K	
ל	L	L	
מ	M	M	
נ	N	N	
ס	S	S	
ע	Ng	‘	עַלְנוּ ngalenu, like wrong
פ	F	F	
פּ	P	P	
צ	Ts	Ts	
ק	K	K	
ר	R	R	
ש	Sh	Sh	
שׁ	S	S	
ת, תּ	T	T	

Fig. 17. *The Rules for Pronunciation* edited by the Chazzanut Association of Amsterdam, showing the sound of Hebrew consonants according to the use of the Portuguese Synagogue of Amsterdam.

DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX

Document 1: The hymn Adon 'Olam and the Kedushah transliterated into Latin characters in the Orden de Oraciones de mes published by the Congregation Bet Yahacob, Amsterdam 5378 (The text in Hebrew letters does not appear in the volume).

Adon ohglam assere malahh	אדון עולם אשר מלך
Beteren kol yessir nibrah	בטרם כל יציר נברא
Le ehgt naahgsah ke hhefsó kol	לעת נעשה כחפצו כל
Azay melehh semò nicra.	אזי מלך שמו נקרא
Ve ahhare-kiblot [sic!] a kol	ואחרי ככלות הכל
Leuado vh-imloh nora.	לבדו הוא ימלוך נורא
Ve vh ahyah vevh oveh	והוא היה והוא הוה
Ve vh yye betifarah	והוא יהיה בתפארה
Ve vh ehhad ve en senij	והוא אחד ואין שני
Leamsilò vlahhbirah.	להמשילו ולהחבירה
Ve vh risson ve vh ahharon	והוא ראשון והוא אחרון
Le kol hhome vl kol surah	לכל חמר ולכל צורה
Beli ressit beli tahhlit	בלי ראשית בלי תכלית
velo à oz ve àmisrah	ולו העוז והמשרה
Beli ehgleh [sic!] beli dimion	בלי ערך בלי דמיון
Beli sinuy vt murah	בלי שנוי ותמורה
Beli hhybur beli firud.	בלי חבור בלי פרוד
Gedol coahh vgburah	גדול כח וגבורה
ve vh Ely ve vh goaly	והוא אלי והוא גואלי
Ve sur hhebly beyom sarah	וצור חבלי ביום צרה
ve vh nissy vmanussy	והוא נסי ומנוסי
Menat kossy beyom ekra	מנת כוסי ביום אקרא
Ve vh rofe ve vh marfe	והוא רופא והוא מרפא
ve vh sofe ve vh ehgzrah	והוא צופה והוא עזרה
Beyado áfkid ruhhy	בידו אפקיד רוחי
Beeght yssan ve ayhgrah	בעת אישן ואעירה
Veim ruhhy geviaty	ועם רוחי גויתי
Adonay by [sic!] velo iraa.	ה' לי ולא אירא

La Kedussa

Nakdissah ve naaghrissah, kenoahm	נקדישך ונעריצך כנעם
siah sod sarfe kodes, amsallesim leha	שיח סוד שרפי קדש המשלשים לך
kedussah ve kê catub ahl yad nebiah	קדשה וכן כתוב על יד נביאך
vekara ze el ze ve amar:	וקרא זה אל זה ואמר
Kados, Kados, Kados .A. Sebaot	קדוש, קדוש, קדוש ה' צבאות
melo col ahares keuodo.	מלא כל הארץ כבודו
Leuhmatā mesabbehhim ve omerim	לעמתם משבחים ואומרים
Baruch keuod .A. mimekomo	ברוך כבוד ה' ממקומו
ubdibbre kodssehha catub lemor	ובדברי קדשך כתוב לאמר:
Ymloh .A. leoghlam Eloayh Syon	ימלך ה' לעולם אלהיך ציון
ledor vador Haleluyah.	לדר ודר הללויה

Document 2: Some Blessings and the Kaddish transliterated into Latin characters in the Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo printed by Joris Trigg in Amsterdam, 5412, pp. 473-475 (The text in Hebrew letters does not appear in the volume).

⁴⁷³*Bendicion del Tale [sic!]*

Baruch ata .A. Elohenu Melech Aholam
aser kidesanu bemisuotau vesivanu
leithateph baçecith.

ברכת הטלית
ברוך אתה ה' אלהינו מלך העולם
אשר קדשנו במצותיו וצונו
להתעטף בציצית

Bendicion del Thephilim de la mano

Baruch ata .A. Elohenu Melech Aholam
aser kidesanu bemisvotau vesivanu
leaniah Thephilim.

ברכה לתפלים של יד
ברוך אתה ה' אלהינו מלך העולם
אשר קדשנו במצותיו וצונו
להניח תפלין

De la cabeça

Baruch ata .A. Elohenu Melech Aholam
aser kidesanu bemisvotau vesivanu
hal mizuath Thephilim.

ברכה לתפלים של ראש
ברוך אתה ה' אלהינו מלך העולם
אשר קדשנו במצותיו וצונו
על מצות תפילין

El que sube a leer en la ley dira:

Barechu Et A. Ameborah.
⁴⁷⁴*Y respondera el Hazan:*

Baruch .A. Ameborach leholam vahed.
Y dira mas el que sube:

Baruch ata .A. Elohenu Melec Aholam
aser bahar banu micol Ahamim
venatan lanu Et Thoratho.

Baruch atà .A. Nothen Athorah,
y despues que leyere, dira:

Baruch ata .A. Elohenu Melech Aholam
aser natan lanu torat emeth
vehaye holam nathan betochenu.
Baruch ata .A. Nothen Athorah.

העולה לקריאת התורה אומר
ברכו את ה' המבורך
החזן עונה
ברוך ה' המבורך לעולם ועד
העולה אומר:
ברוך אתה ה' אלהינו מלך העולם
אשר בחר בנו מכל העמים
ונתן לנו את תורתו
ברוך אתה ה' נותן התורה
ואחר קריאת התורה העולה אומר
ברוך אתה ה' אלהינו מלך העולם
אשר נתן לנו תורת אמת
וחיי עולם טעם בתוכנו
ברוך אתה ה' נותן התורה.

Bendicion del que haze el Agomel

Baruch ata .A. elohenu Melech Aholam
Agomel lehayavim toboth,
seguemalanu Col tub.

ברכת הגומל
ברוך אתה ה' אלהינו מלך העולם,
הגומל לחיבים טבות
שגמלנו כל טוב

Los kadesim

Ithgadal veithcadas seme raba,
behalma diura chierhuthu
veyamlych Malchuthu veyazmah
purcane, vicareu Mesihe
bechayechon ubiomechon
ubhaye dechol beth Israel
Bahagala ubyzman caryu

יתגדל ויתקדש שמה רבה,
בעלמא די ברא כרעותי
וימליך מלכותה ויצמך
פרקנה, ויקרב משיחה
בחייכון וביומיכון
ובחיי דכל בית ישראל
בעגלא ובזמן קריב

veimru, Amen.
 Jehé Seme Raba Mevarach
 Lehalam Lehalme halmaya
 Ithbarah, Isthabah, veytpaar
 veythromam veythnase, veyethadar,
 ve ythale, veythalal,
 Seme dekudesa, berichu,
 lehela, micol birhatha, siratha,
 tusbehatha, venehamatha
 de amiran behalma, veymeru, Amen.

ואמרו אמן
 יהא שמה רבא מברך
 לעלם לעלמי עלמיא
 יתברך, ישתבח, ויתפאר
 ויתרומם ויתנשא, ויתהדר,
 ויתעלה ויתהלל,
 שמה דקודשא בריך הוא
 לעלא מן כל ברכתא שירתא,
 תשבחתא ונחמתא
 דאמירן בעלמא, ואמרו אמן

⁴⁷⁵ *en quanto el Hazan dize:*
 Barechu Eth .A. Ameborach.
Y responderan con voz alta:
 Baruch .A. Ameborach.
 Leholam vahed.
 Yehe selama raba min semaya
 haim uesovah visuha venahama,
 vesezava urphua uguula
 usliha vechapara verevah
 veasala lanu ulcol Israel
 veimru, Amen.
 Hose salmo [*recte*: salom] bimromau,
 hu berahamau yahase salom halenu.
 Vechem yehi rason, Amen.
 Hal Israel vehal Rabanan,
 vehal talmideon, vehal
 col talmide talmideon
 de haskin beoraytha cadista
 dibeatra adem vedi
 becol athar, veathar
 yehe lon hina vehasda verahame
 min codam mare semaya vearha
 veymru, Amen.

כשהחזן אומר
 ברכו את ה' המבורך
 ועונים בקול רם
 ברוך ה' המבורך
 לעולם ועד
 יהא שלמא רבא מן שמיא
 חיים ושבע וישועה ונחמה
 ושיזבה ורפואה וגאלה
 וסליחה וכפרה ורוח
 והצלה לנו ולכל ישראל
 ואמרו אמן
 עושה שלום במרומיו
 הוא ברחמיו יעשה שלום עלינו
 וכן יהי רצון אמן
 על ישראל ועל רבנן
 ועל תלמידיהון ועל
 כל תלמידי תלמידיהון
 דעסקין באוריתא קדישתא
 די באתרא הדין ודי
 בכל אתר ואתר
 יהי להון חנא וחסדא ורחמי
 מין קדם מרא שמיא וארעא
 ואמרו אמן

Document 3: The hymn Yigdal Elohim Hay transliterated into Latin characters in Aharon Hisquia Querido's Orden de las Tres Pascuas, Amsterdam 5487, pp. 17-18 (The text in Hebrew letters does not appear in the volume).

Ygdal Eloim hay veistabah
 nimsa veen et el, mesiutó,
 Ehad veen yahid, keyhudó,
 neelam veen sof leahadutó,
 en lo demut Aguf. Veenó guf,
 lo Naharoh elav Kedusató
 Kadmon le hol dabar, Aser nibrá

יגדל אלהים חי וישתבח
 נמצא ואין עת אל מציאותו.
 אחד ואין יחיד כיחודו
 נעלם ואין סוף לאחדותו
 אין לו דמות הגוף ואינו גוף
 לא נערוך אליו קדשתו
 קדמון לכל דבר אשר נברא

risson veen recit le recitó,
 yno adon olam le hol nossar
 yoreh gedulato umalhutó,
 Sephah Nabuató netano el,
 anse segulatò Vetifartó,
 Lo kam beIsraël Kemosèh od
 nabi umabit et, temunató,
 Torat emet natan le amo el,
 al yad nebio neeman beto,
 Lo yahalif a el velo yamir,
 dato le olamim lezulato,
 Sofeh veyodea Setarenu
 mabit le sof dabar becadmuto,
 Gomel lehis Hessed kemifalo
 Noten lerasa rah kerisato.
 Islah le kes yamin mesihenu
 lifdot mehake kes yesuato
 Metim yehaye el, berrob hasdo,
 Baruh ade ad sem teylàto,
 Elé selos estré em ycarim
 yesod torat Moseh unbuato.

ראשון ואין ראשית לראשיתו,
 הנו אדון עולם לכל נוצר
 יורה גדלתו ומלכותו
 שפע נבואתו נתנו אל
 אנשי סגלתו ותפארתו
 לא קם בישראל כמשה עוד
 נביא ומביט את תמונתו
 תורת אמת נתן לעמו אל
 על יד נביאו נאמן ביתו
 לא יחליף האל ולא ימיר
 דתו לעולמים לזולתו
 צופה ויודע סתרינו
 מביט לסוף דבר בקדמותו
 גומל לאיש חסד כמפעלו
 נותן לרשע רע כרשעתו
 ישלח לקץ ימין משיחנו
 לפדות מחכי קץ ישועתו
 מתים יחיה אל ברב חסדו
 ברוך עדי עד שם תהלתו
 אלה שלש עשרה הם עקרים
 יסוד תורת משה ונבואתו

Document 4: The hymn Lekha Dodi transliterated into Latin characters in Ishac Nieto's Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas, London 5531, pp. 129-130 (The text in Hebrew letters does not appear in the volume).

¹²⁹ Leja Dodi likrat Calah
 Penè Sabath necabelah;
 Samor vezajor vedibur ejad
 Ismihanù El ameyujad;
 .A. ejad usmò ejad,
 Lesem ultipheret velitila;
 Likrat Sabath lejù veneljà
 Ky hi mekor aberaja;
 Meros mikedem nesujà,
 Sof mahase bemajasàba tehilà;
 Micdas melech hir melujà,
 Cumi sehi mitoj a afejà;
¹³⁰ Rab lach sebet behemec abajà
 Vehu yajmol halaich jemlà;
 Hitnahari mehafar Cumi,
 Libsi bigdè tifartech hami;
 Al yad ben Ysay bet alajmi,
 Corbà el nafi guealà.
 Hitoreri hitoreri,
 Kiba orech cumi ori;

לכה דודי לקראת כלה
 פני שבת נקבלה
 שמור וזכור בדבור אחד
 השמיענו אל המיחד
 ה' אחד ושמו אחד
 לשם ולתפארת ולתהלה
 לקראת שבת לכו ונלכה
 כי היא מקור הברכה
 מראש מקדם נסוכה
 סוף מעשה במחשבה תחלה
 מקדש מלך עיר מלוכה
 קומי צאי מתוך ההפכה
 רב לך שבת בעמק הבכא
 והוא יחמול עליך חמלה
 התנערי מעפר קומי
 לבשי בגדי תפארתך עמי
 על-יד בן-ישי בית הלחמי
 קרבה אל-נפשי גאלה
 התעוררי התעוררי,
 כי בא אורך קומי אורי

Uri uri Sir daberì,
 Kebod .A. halaich niglà;
 Lo tebosi velò ticalmì,
 Ma tistojaji uma tehemi;
 Bach yejesù haniyè hami,
 Venibneta hir hal tilà;
 Veayu limsisa sosaich,
 verajacu col mebaleaich;
 Yasis alaich eloaich
 Quimosos jatan al Calà;
 Yamin usmol tiphrosi
 Veet .A. taharisi;
 Hal yad is ben Parsi,
 Venismeja venagilà;
 Bohi besalom hateret bahlà
 Gam besimja Ubsahalà;
 Toch emunè am Segulà,
 Bohi calah, Bohi calah.

עורי עורי שיר דברי
 כבוד ה' עליך נגלה
 לא תבשי ולו תכלמי
 מה תשתוחחי ומה תהמי
 בך יחסו עניי עמי,
 ונבנתה עיר על תלה
 והיו למשסה שוסיד,
 ורחקו כל-מבלעיד
 ישיש עליך אלהיד
 כמשוש חתן על כלה
 ימין ושמאל תפרוצי
 ואת-ה' תעריצי
 על-יד איש בן-פרצי,
 ונשמחה ונגילה
 באי בשלום עטרת בעלה
 גם בשמחה ובצהלה
 תוך אמוני עם סגלה
 באי כלה, באי כלה

Document 5: A collections of verses in Hebrew and in Latin letters in the Biblia in dos columnas, published by Yoseph, Iacob and Abraham Proops, Amsterdam 5522.

*Verços, que se dize, antes
 y despues de meldar la Biblia*

פסוקים לאומרים קודם
 ואחר תורה נביאים וכתובים

Gal enay veabita;
 niflaot mitoratheha.

גל עיני ואביטה
 נפלאות מתורתך :

Esrénu besem .A.,
 osé Samáim vaáres.
 Tóraténu ummanuténu,
 veel Sadày Jebaréhénu.
 Torà sivà lanu Moseh,
 moraça Keilat Jahacob.
 Semah Israél .A. heloenu .A. Ehad.
 Barùch Sem Kebod Malhutho
 leholam vaed.
 Barùch atá .A.Lamedèni hukèha.
 Barùch .A. Ceolam [recte: leolàm]
 amen veamen.Vesot
 Hatora aser sam Moshe
 liphne bene Israél.
 Lo Jamùs Sépher athorà
 azè mipija, veaguita
 bò yomàn valàyla,
 lemàan tismòr Laasòth Kechòl

עזרנו בשם ה'
 עשה שמים וארץ :
 תורתנו אומנותנו
 ואל שדי יברכנו :
 תורה צוה לנו משה
 מורשה קהלת יעקב :
 שמע ישראל ה' אלהינו ה' אחד :
 ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו
 לעולם ועד :
 ברוך אתה ה' למדני חקיך :
 ברוך ה' לעולם
 אמן ואמן : וזאת
 התורה אשר שם משה
 לפני בני ישראל :
 לא ימוש ספר התורה
 הזה מפידך והגית
 בו יומם ולילה
 למען תשמר לעשות ככל

Akatüb bò, ki às tasliach
 et derachèga veàs taskil.
 Migdòl yesuòt malcò:
 veòse hèsed limsichò,
 ledavid ulzarò ad olàm.
 Vedibàrti al anebiim,
 veanochi hazòn irbèti:
 ubjàd anebiim adamé.
 Ki lo yaasé .A. Eloim
 dabàr: Ki im galà sodò;
 el habadàf anebiim.
 Aryè Saàgh mi lò irà:
 .A. Eloim dibèr, mi lo y nabè
 Vaasim debaray bephiha;
 ubsél yadi Kisitícha:
 lintoà samàim, velisòd
 àrez,velemòr leciòn
 ami àta.
 Cion bemispat tipadé
 vesabéa bisdaca.
 Ki micìòn tesè torà,
 udbàr .A. mirusaláim.
 Saáli varòni yosébet cion,
 ki gadol bekirbègh kedòs Israél.
 Lechù neranenà la .A. naria lesùr
 Isènu. Nekàdemà phanáf betodà
 bismiròt naria lo. Ki el gadól .A.
 uméleg gadól al col Eloim.
 Utsuàt sadikim me .A.,
 mauzàm beèt sarà.
 vayazerèm .A. vaiphaletém;
 Jephaletèm meresaìm veyòsièm:
 ki gàzu bò. Mi yten misiòn
 Jesuàth Israél;
 besüb .A. sebüt amò:
 Jagèl Jahacob ysmach Israél.
 Oreg Jamim bimina, bismola
 óser vehabod. Es haim hi
 lamahazikim bà: vètomegéa meusar.
 Derachèa dàrche nòam:
 vegol netíbotèa Salòm.
 Migdàl-oz Sém .A. :
 bò yarüz Sadík venisgàb.
 Ki bi irbù yamècha:
 veyosiphu lecha senòt haim.
 As raà ivasaperà [*recte*: vaisaperà]:
 echinà vegàm hakarà.

הכתוב בו כי אז תצליח
 את דרכך ואז תשכיל:
 מגדול ישועות מלכו
 ועשה חסד למשיחו
 לדוד ולזרעו עד עולם:
 ודברתי על הנביאים
 ואנכי חזון הרבתי
 וביד הנביאים אדמי
 כי לא יעשה ה' אלהים
 דבר כי אם גלה סודו
 אל עבדיו הנביאים:
 אריה שאג מי לא יירא
 ה' אלהים דבר מי לא ינבא:
 ואשים דברי בפיך
 ובצל ידי כסיתך
 לנטע שמים וליסוד
 ארץ ולאמר לציון
 עמי אתה:
 ציון במשפט תפדה
 ושביה בצדקה:
 כי מציון תצא תורה
 ודבר ה' מירושלים:
 צהלי ורני יושבת ציון
 כי גדול בקרבך קדוש ישראל:
 לכו נרננה לה' נריעה לצור
 ישענו: נקדמה פניו בתודה
 בזמירות נריע לו: כי אל גדול ה'
 ומלך גדול על כל אלהים:
 ותשועת צדיקים מה'
 מעוזם בעת צרה:
 ויעזרם ה' ויפלטם
 יפלטם מרשעים ויושיעם
 כי חסו בו: מי יתן מציון
 ישועת ישראל
 בשוב ה' שבות עמו
 יגל יעקב ישמח ישראל:
 ארץ ימים בימינה בשמאלה
 עשר וכבוד: עץ חיים היא
 למחזיקים בה ותמכה מאשר
 דרכיה דרכי נעם
 וכל נתיבותיה שלום:
 מגדל עז שם ה'
 בו ירוץ צדיק ונשגב:
 כי בי ירבו ימך
 ויוסיפו לך שנות חיים:
 אז ראה ויספרה
 הכינה וגם חקרה:

Vayòmer laadàm;
 en yràt .A. hi hogma:
 vesùr meràh binà.
 Osé guedolòt ad en hèquer:
 veniflaot ad èn mispàr.
 Haym vahèsed asíta imadi:
 ufcudàtechà samerà ruhi.
 Yonati begahve aséla;
 beséter amadregà, arini et maràig;
 asmiyni et colèch: ki colèch
 arèb umarèg navè.
 Ayosébet baganim haberim,
 maksibím lecoléch asmiyni.
 Veine bòaz, bà mibèt lèchem,
 vayòmer lacòzerim .A. imachem
 vayòmeru lò yebarechechà .A.
 Jesalèm .A. paolèch:uti mascurtèg
 selemà, meim .A. Eloë Israél;
 asér bàt lahasòt tàgat kenafáf.
 Hasdé .A. ki lo tamnù,
 ki lo chalù rahamaf.
 Hadasím labekarim; Rabà Emunatécha.
 Helki .A. amerà nafsi:
 al kèn ohil lò.
 Asibènu .A. elècha vanasùba
 hadés yamènu kekèdem.
 Tob sém misèmen tób,
 veiòm amàvet miyom ivaledó.
 Lég egól besimcha lachmèga,
 usté beleb tob Jenécha:
 ki kebar rasa haeloim et maasèga.
 Sof dabàr acòl nismàh:
 et Aeloim yerà, veèt misrotáf semòr;
 ki zè col aadam.
 Ys yeudi ayà besusán abirà:
 usmò mordechày; ben yair,
 ben simi, ben kis, is yemini.
 Layeudim, ayetà orà vesimhà
 vesasón vikàr.
 Ane daniel veamàr:
 leevé semè di Elaà mebaràg
 min almà veàd almà, di gogmetà
 ugeburta dilé hi.
 Atòhi kemà Rabrebin, vetimòhi
 kemà takifin, malguté malgùt alám,
 vesoltané im dàr vedàr.
 Baruch .A. eloë abotènu: asèr natàn

ויאמר לאדם
 הן יראת ה' היא חכמה
 וסור מרע בינה:
 עושה גדלות עד אין חקר
 ונפלאות עד אין מספר:
 חיים וחסד עשית עמדי
 ופקודתך שמרה רוחי:
 יונתי בחגוי הסלע
 בסתר המדרגה הראיני את מראיך
 השמעני את קולך כי קולך
 ערב ומראך נאווה:
 היושבת בגנים חברים
 מקשיבים לקולך השמיעני:
 והנה בעז בא מבית לחם
 ויאמר לקוצרים ה' עמכם
 ויאמרו לו יברכך ה'
 ישלם ה' פעלך ותהי משכרתך
 שלמה מעם ה' אלהי ישראל
 אשר באת לחסות תחת כנפיו:
 חסדי ה' כי לא תמנו:
 כי לא כלו רחמיו:
 חדשים לבקרים רבה אמונתך:
 חלקי ה' אמרה נפשי
 על כן אוחיל לו:
 השיבנו ה' אליך ונשובה
 חדש ימינו כקדם:
 טוב שם משמן טוב
 ויום המות מיום הולדו:
 לך אכל בשמחה לחמך
 ושתי בלב טוב יינך
 כי כבר רצה האלהים את מעשך:
 סוף דבר הכל נשמע
 את האלהים ירא ואת מצותיו שמור
 כי זה כל האדם:
 איש יהדי היה בשושן הבריה
 ושמו מרדכי בן יאיר
 בן שמעי בן קיש איש ימיני:
 ליהודים היתה אורה ושמחה
 וששון ויקר:
 ענה דניאל ואמר
 להוא שמה די אלהא מברך
 מן עלמא ועד עלמא די חכמתא
 וגברתא די לה היא:
 אתוהי כמה רברבין ותמהוהי
 כמה תקיפין מלכותה מלכות עלם
 ושלטנה עם דר ודר:
 ברוך ה' אלהי אבותינו אשר נתן

kazòt belèb hamélég; lefaër	כזאת בלב המלך לפאר
et bet. A. aser Birusalàim.	את בית ה' אשר בירושלים:
Kùm kì alegà hadàbar, vaànachenu	קום כי עליך הדבר ואנחנו
ymàg: Hazak vaàse.	עמך חזק ועשה:
Odù la .A. kirù bismò: odù	הודו לה' קראו בשמו הודיעו
baàmim alilotáf.	בעמים עלילותיו:
Kò àmar kòres méleg parás,	כה אמר כורש מלך פרס
kol màmlegót aàréz natan li	כל ממלכות הארץ נתן לי
.A. elòe Asamaim; veù pakad alài	ה' אלהי השמים והוא פקד עלי
libnòt lò báyt; Birusalàim asér	לבנות לו בית בירושלים אשר
Biudà: mi bagem mikòl amò,	ביהודה מי בכס מכל עמו
.A. eloàf ymò veiaál.	ה' אלהיו עמו ויעל

Document 6: Kaddish transliterated into Latin characters according to French-Sephardi pronunciation in the book L'arbre de la Vie, prières pour les malades, les mourants et les morts (Paris 1911), p. 102.

Yitgadal veyitqadach chemê raba begnalma di bera 'hircnoutê veyamli'h mal'houtê be'hayehôn oubyme'hôn oub'hayê de'hol bêt Ysraël, bagnagala oubizmán qarib veïmrou. Amên. Yehê chemê raba mebara'h legnalâm oulgnalmê gnalmaya. Yitbara'h veyichtaba'h, veyitpaar, veyitromâm, veyitnacê, veyithadar, veyitgnalê, veyithalal chemê dequodcha beri'h hou, legnêla mîn kol bir'hata, vechirata, touchbe'hata, vené'hémata daamirân begnalma veïmrou. Amên.

Gnal Ysraël vegnal rabanân vegnal talmidêhôn, vegnal kol talmidê salmidêhôn [talmidêhôn] vegnal kol mân degnasqîn beoraita, di beatra hadên vedi be'hol atar veatar, yehê lehôn oul'hôn chelama raba, 'hina, ve'hisda, vera'hamin ve'hayîn ari'hîn oumzona revi'ha oufourkana mîn qadâm aboukôn di bichmaya veargna veïmrou. Amên.

Yehê chelama raba mîn chemaya ve'hayîm gnalênu vegnal kol Yisraël veïmrou. Amên.

Gnossê chalôm bimeromav, hou yagnassê chalôm gnalênou vegnal kol Yisraël veïmrou. Amên.

Document 7: The hymn Na'ar hayyiti transliterated into Latin characters, according to the English-Sephardi pronunciation, in the Book of Prayers edited by Hahám Moses Gaster (London 1901, repr. 1958), pp. 253-254 (Hebrew text on pp. 62-63).

Nangar hayeete gam zakantee	נער הייתי גם זקנתי
velo raeteet tsadeek nengezab	ולא ראיתי צדיק נעזב
ve-zarngo mebakesh lahhem.	וזרעו מבקש לחם
kol hayom hhonen umalveh	כל היום חונן ומלוה
vezarngo librachah.	וזרעו לברכה
Mah sheachalnu yihyeh lesobngah	מה שאכלנו יהיה לשבעה
umah sheshateenu yihyeh lîrfuah	ומה ששתינו יהיה לרפואה
umah shehotarnu yihyeh librachah	ומה שהותרנו יהיה לברכה
kedichteet vayiten lifnehem	כדכתוב: ויתן לפניהם
vayochelu vayoteeru kidbar Adonai.	ויאכלו ויותרו כדבר ה'
Berucheem atem ladonai ngoseh	ברוכים אתם לה' עושה

shamayim vaaretz.
 Baruch hageber asher yibtahh
 badonai vehayah Adonai mibtahho.
 Adonai ngoz lengamo yiten
 Adonai yebarech et ngamo bashalom.
 Kee hisbecang nefesh shokekah
 venefesh renebah mile tob.
 Hodu ladonai kee tob
 kee lengolam hhasdo.

שמים וארץ
 ברוך הגבר אשר יבטח
 בה' והיה ה' מבטחו
 ה' עז לעמו יתן
 ה' יברך את עמו בשלום
 כי השביע נפש שוקקה
 ונפש רעבה מלא טוב
 הודו לה' כי טוב
 כי לעולם חסדו

Recibido: 20/06/2006

Aceptado: 04/07/2006