

Eastern Mediterranean Judeo-Spanish Songs

from the EMI Archive Trust
(1907-1912)



Anthology of Music Traditions in Israel
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem • The Jewish Music Research Centre

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Editor: Edwin Seroussi

Eastern Mediterranean Judeo-Spanish Songs from the EMI Archive Trust (1907-1912)

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Jewish Music Research Centre, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

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Preface

In 2008 the Jewish Music Research Centre released a 4 CD package entitled *An Early 20th-century Sephardi Troubadour: The Historic Recordings of Haim Effendi of Turkey*. Catering to the increasing scholarly and general public interest in the role commercial recordings had on musical traditions from the early twentieth century, that production became a landmark in the revised appreciation of Sephardic music prior to the rapid chain of events leading to the dissolution of the traditional communities that maintained this music. On the occasion of the release of Haim Effendi's recorded oeuvre, we stressed that the song in Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) is a classical locus for a study of the interplay between oral traditions and the emergent recorded music industry at the turn of the twentieth century. In this context we noticed the crucial impact that exposure to early commercial recordings had on individuals whose musical lore had been studied after World War II as "oral tradition."

Scholarly access to early 78 rpm records of Sephardic songs and selected reissues of these recordings has expanded our vistas regarding the repertoires heard in many Sephardic homes, social clubs and cafés in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Although Haim Effendi dominated the playlist of Sephardic communities at that time in terms of his proportional share of the market, he was by no means the only artist recorded. Once again, access to rare historical recordings known to us via old catalogues of recording companies, newspaper commercial ads and occasional witnesses, was scanty.

For this reason, locating and releasing the rich repository of Judeo-Spanish recordings at the EMI Archive Trust, heir to the Gramophone and Zonophone companies, represents a further breakthrough in the study of the Sephardic song. This collection not only brings to light the forgotten voices of many Sephardic artists extremely popular a century and more ago, but also expands the geographical distribution of recordings to Ottoman Jewish centers beyond Constantinople/Istanbul. Moreover, the EMI collection includes recordings that preceded those of Haim Effendi, locating this famous Sephardic troubadour within a wider context and broadening the confines of the Ladino song repertoire known until now. The picture of the state of Sephardic music in the large urban centers of the Ottoman Empire ca. 1890-1918 is now more textured and varied thanks to these precious recordings preserved in the holdings of the EMI Archive Trust.

Tracing historical recordings around the globe and acquiring fair copies requires perseverance and an intuition characteristic of the most sagacious detectives. Michael Aylward uncovered the initial location of the EMI Ladino recordings in London. He also provided this project with an in-depth analysis of the context in which these precious recordings were carried out. Joel Bresler, publisher of www.sephardicmusic.org and indefatigable pioneer of the Judeo-Spanish discography, once again offered his invaluable services as an intermediary in our negotiations with EMI as well as in facilitating the realization of digital copies of these old records. Through Joel's initiative and efforts, the reissue of the EMI Archive Trust collection became one of the projects of the Jewish Music Research Centre at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Finally, our colleague Risto Pekka Pennanen contributed his share of knowledge by contextualizing the Bosnian Sephardic recordings in the EMI collection, which would have been impossible without him.

Joanna Hughes, Heritage Curator of the EMI Archive Trust was our dedicated partner during the long gestation of the collaboration between EMI and the JMRC. Her professional handling of all the details of the transaction allowing the present publication has been invaluable.

Getting fine digital copies of the EMI recordings was just the first step in a long and demanding process. Decoding the contents of these recordings became an overwhelming task. In this effort Rivka Havassy joined me, once again. Her unfailing dedication to this project contributed enormously to the invaluable notes to the songs in this collection. I wholeheartedly thank Rivka for her efforts on behalf of the completion of this complex enterprise.

Other colleagues collaborated with this project and we are indebted to them for their kind cooperation. First among them is Judith R. Cohen from York University in Toronto, who was a partner in uncovering the EMI collection and assisted us with the liner notes. Eliezer Papo from Ben Gurion University assisted us with his unparalleled command of the Sephardic tradition from Sarajevo and superb knowledge of Ladino. Dov Hacohen, from Bar Ilan University, also assisted us with the identification of texts in Ladino. Walter Zev Feldman clarified the relationship between the recorded items and Ottoman Turkish musical genres and modes.

Partner foundations and institutions contributed to the fruition of this publication. The Centre for Research and Study of the Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Heritage (Misgav Yerushalayim) and its director, Yaron Ben Naeh, gave unfailing financial support for this project. We thank them for their trust in our capability to bring this project to its completion. Also, the Naime and Yehoshua Salti Institute for Ladino Studies at Bar Ilan University and its director, Shmuel Rafael, deserve our thanks for their support of this and other projects of the JMRC in the field of Judeo-Spanish culture.

Finally, the Jack and Beulah Bresler Tzedakah Fund funded the digitization of the recordings, a highly critical stage of this project. We are grateful for their generosity without which this project would not have attained its present technological level.

Edwin Seroussi

Studying the Sephardic Recordings of the EMI Archive Trust

EMI stands for Electric and Musical Industries. This British company is heir to many companies active during the early periods of the recorded music industry. The archives of the EMI Archive Trust, an independent charity set up to preserve the first fifty years of the Gramophone Company and affiliated labels, hold recordings dating from its founding in 1897 up to 1946. In addition to material relating to EMI's musical heritage, the archive also preserves artifacts associated with EMI's significant achievements in electrical engineering including television, radar, and medicine. These musical assets and artifacts are stored in a purpose-built archive in Hayes (Middlesex, today West London) – a town which has long played a central role in the EMI story.

Commercial recordings, early or late, are not “innocent.” They are products that derive from multiple processes of decision-making by artists, recording engineers and producers followed of course by a no less complex process of reception. Quoting the wise advice of Risto Pekka Pennanen (2005), one of the deans of research on historical recordings,

Internal source criticism clarifies what a document tells or can tell about the past, i.e. to what extent the information in the document corresponds with actualities. However, the most important duty of internal source criticism is not judging the reliability or unreliability of a document, but considering the probative force and accuracy of the things related in a document.

Then, what kind of irrefutability and accuracy do historical recordings have? One could claim that commercial historical recordings are not direct documents of contemporary musical culture, but documents on the culture of recorded music filtered several times. Commercial recordings were made for profit rather than for serving as an archive for future scholars: Not all music was by any means recorded, and the recorded music was not always performed in the studio similarly as it was in real life; instrumentation, performance practice and musical structures may have differed considerably.

Therefore, when examining the Sephardic sounds that emerge from the EMI archive, sounds that are quite removed from our present-day auditory sensibilities, one must be aware that besides the sheer inventiveness and skills of the recorded artists, the recordings also reflect technological limitations, financial constraints and aesthetic choices unrelated to any decisions on the part of the artists. They also reflect coincidental encounters between artists and recording engineers. Put differently, the selection of artists and repertoires in this collection should be taken only as partial coverage of a more textured musical scene. It reflects the output of singers who enjoyed public exposure, not the whole Sephardic repertoire, and certainly not those songs performed, mostly by women, in the intimacy of the private home.

The Ottoman Judeo-Spanish song repertoires received notable attention from recording companies in the Eastern Mediterranean if we consider that the Jewish community was a relatively small minority in the Ottoman *ecumene*. However, the predominantly urban character of the late Ottoman Jewish society and its increasing middle class aspirations and leaning towards Westernization during the last decades of the Empire, coupled with the Jewish ethnicity of some key managerial figures of the European record

companies, contributed to the presence of the song in Ladino in the early Eastern Mediterranean discography.

The new recorded medium departed from the oral performances of Judeo-Spanish songs as practiced by the end of the nineteenth century in the public realm. These included performances by male and (to a much lesser extent) female entertainers with different degrees of proficiency who appeared in diverse venues, from more intimate community events to public coffee houses. Records of Judeo-Spanish songs started to determine what Sephardic listeners would experience in public spaces where phonographs first became available and later in their homes, or even outdoor family gatherings, once the new technology became more affordable.

However, we should be careful not to overstate the impact of these recordings. They did not take over the role of oral transmission entirely, as we know from copious field recordings of Sephardic folk singers carried out after World War II. However, they definitely fixed a certain canon of popular songs and moreover, specific versions of such songs that were thereafter imitated. Recordings eventually became the standard according to which upcoming recording artists had to measure up. New artists could replicate patterns that were proven successful or, by rebelling against those models, offer “a new sound.”

In short, the recording industry generated a dialectic process at several levels, between artists’ predilections and those of the public, between repetition and originality, between limitations of recording space and the traditional length of musical pieces. Early Ladino discography illustrates aspects of the state of this repertoire that were lost

in post-World War II discography, as much as it illuminates the origins of the Judeo-Spanish repertoire reproduced by the music industry in recent decades.

To summarize: despite the magical spell that the possibility of listening to Sephardic voices from a vanishing world casts over us, we must be attentive to the complex circumstances under which these recordings were generated. We have to listen to them with critical ears in order to decode how they were heard at the time of their conception, by whom, where, when and for what purpose.

The EMI Archive Trust Judeo-Spanish Collection

The EMI collection of Ladino songs includes about one hundred songs in roughly fifty 78 rpm records issued by two labels, Gramophone and Zonophone (also a label of the Gramophone company). The Ladino tracks are interspersed with Hebrew items as well as items in other languages such as Turkish and Serbo-Croatian. Record labels provide detailed information usually in two and sometimes three languages and alphabets: the name of the song and the performers and additional information about the musical genre of the song, the gender to which it belongs (male or female), the language (Turkish, Judeo-Spanish categorized as “Espagnole” or Hebrew) and the musical mode (makam). However, not all the record labels list all this information. Many records, for example, lack the name of the makam.

The variety of artists recorded includes individuals and ensembles whose voices we had hardly heard until now, and about whom we know very little. They are arranged here by their city of origin.

Salonica

Recordings stemming from this prominent Sephardic center are dominated by an ensemble that went under the name of Compagnie Espagnole de Salonique (hence: CES). The thirty-three songs recorded by this ensemble in Istanbul in 1907 comprise about a third of the EMI Ladino collection and are thus the most substantial contribution to the whole collection.

The identity of this ensemble eluded researchers of Sephardic music for the past three decades. Listening to their recordings, and we hasten to stress that these are preliminary conclusions, we can venture the hypothesis that this ensemble is what one would today call a studio band consisting of some notable singers/entertainers from Jewish Salonica at the turn of the twentieth century. This group gathered in the studio for the sake of these recordings alone. The main figure in this group was most likely Jacob Algava.

A late report, published in 1939 in *El Mesajero*, a Ladino periodical published in Salonica, may clarify the chain of events that led to the Compagnie's formation. In this humorous feature, there is a description of a visit to the city by an agent of an unnamed recording company. His aim was to find performers of Judeo-Spanish songs and bring them to Istanbul in order to record at least 50 to 60 songs. The agent recruits Algava who agrees to gather a group of five musicians. He then goes around the barracks, houses and ateliers to collect songs to be recorded and singers to accompany him (Bunis 1999, English part, pp. 295, 329 note 87). Various details in this reportage suggest that this group of musicians is none other than the Compagnie Espagnole de Salonique. Other musicians mentioned are Shelomo Barzilay, Mushon Kapon and Avram Pessah. While the first two singers are not known to have been recorded individually, we do possess single takes by Algava and possibly also by Pessah (see below).

Jacob Algava was a prominent Sephardic musician who accompanied famous non-Jewish Turkish singers and participated in concerts in Istanbul and Izmir (Bunis 1999, English part, p. 330, note 92). He was recorded as a soloist (in Salonica) and nine of his recordings are included in our collection. Other artists from Salonica who appear individually in the EMI collection are Çakum Effendi (eight songs in Judeo-Spanish and two liturgical pieces, one in Judeo-Spanish translation and one in the original

Hebrew, all recorded in 1911), Albert Pessah (four songs) and Isachino Pessah (two songs, recorded in 1911/2 in Salonica and possibly Istanbul). We cautiously suggest that Albert Pessah may have been the same individual as Avram Pessah, mentioned above as a member of the ensemble recruited by Algava.

The Salonica collection also includes two female singers who are identified only by their first name and from whom we have only one song each: Mlle. Mariette and Mlle. Rosa. Nothing is known so far about these individuals except for the information related to their recordings. However, Mlle. Rosa is known to have recorded many songs in Turkish.

The EMI collection allows us, therefore, to revive aspects of the musical scene of Salonica, a major hub of Ottoman Jewish culture on the Western rim of the Ottoman Empire during the first decade of the twentieth century (for a multicultural overview see Kalyviotis 2015). Although absent from these recordings are many Judeo-Spanish songs that were very well-known among Salonica's Sephardic Jews, as can be learned from the rich written collections by scholars such as Moshe Attias published after World War II, they still provide a glimpse into the aesthetics guiding the performance of these songs at the turn of the twentieth century. Not a small contribution for a repertoire that is known to us today only through the recorded (and in many cases fragmentary) memory of unaccompanied non-professional singers, mainly female.

Sarajevo

A second major Sephardic community represented in the EMI collection is that of Sarajevo. Thanks to the groundbreaking work of Risto Pekka Pennanen with the early Bosnian recordings of the German subsidiary of Gramophone Records (Deutsche Grammophon-Aktiengesellschaft based in Hannover), we are able to situate the EMI collection within their proper historical context (Pennanen 2007 and his notes prepared especially for this publication).

Two Bosnian-Jewish ensembles, one of them a mixed Jewish-Muslim one, are represented in the EMI collection. According to Pennanen, the interdenominational ensemble Bosanski Instrumentalni i Pjevački Terzett M. Sudžuka i Merkuš (Bosnian Instrumental and Vocal Trio; four Ladino songs in the EMI collection) consisted of clarinet, accordion, and *def* (frame drum). The accordionist and/or the drummer were also vocalists. The leading instrumentalist was the Bosnian Muslim Slav clarinettist Mustafa Sudžuka. The frame drum player and lead singer may have been a Muslim with the surname Ćerimbegović since his name appears as the singer in the Lyrophon discs of the trio: Bosanska kirmata i muzika ‘Merkuš et Sudžuka’, pjeva Ćerimbegović (lit. “Bosnian Clarinet and Accordion Merkuš and Sudžuka, Ćerimbegović sings”). However, that surname does not appear in the surviving licensing documents related to this ensemble. Merkuš, the accordionist, bears a Sephardic first name, which may account for the presence of Ladino items in the repertoire of the Trio. Pennanen suggested that he may be identified as Merkuš Alkalaj, born in 1886 and killed during the Second World War in Bijeljina, in north-east Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, he found no documentation to substantiate this identification and therefore it remains

conjectural. The Trio recorded an extremely variegated repertoire of thirty pieces, truly Balkan in its multiethnic and multinational contents. Among these items four songs are in Ladino, one of them being the *Zion himna*, i.e. a Judeo-Spanish version of the Zionist anthem, *Hatikvah*.

Pennanen adds that it seems that accordionist Merkuš sings the Ladino lyrics with Ćerimbegović in 'Barone te vo azer', 'I la iža del pipitero' and 'Zion Hymna', whereas 'Tu sos una rosa' is his solo number. Apparently the recording engineer had problems in recording the Trio since the accordion overpowered the rest, especially the vocal parts. In the recorded repertoire of the Trio, the accordionist masters melodic playing and is skilled in *taksim* improvisations in various makams but his chordal accompaniments often sound monotonous and clumsy.

The second Bosnian ensemble in our collection is the Jewish Tamburitza and Support Society La Gloria of Sarajevo (twelve recordings in the EMI archive out of which seven are in Judeo-Spanish). This choral organization recorded twelve sides in its May 1907 Sarajevo sessions, including, as with the Trio, *Hatikvah* in Ladino. The society was officially incorporated on 5 March 1907. Its goals were to foster music and the general cultural development of Sarajevo's Jewish middle-class, as well as the financial support of Jewish girls of poor families in their wedding arrangements and dowries.

According to Pennanen, even though La Gloria was a tamburitza group by name, the available recordings are without instrumental accompaniment. The tamburitza (Serbo-Croatian for "little tambura") is a traditional Balkan long-necked lute produced in various sizes after the Western violin and mandolin families. Tamburitza orchestras became a staple of the modern musical life in urban centers such as Sarajevo, where

they tended to use Western-style multipart arrangements of folk songs and new compositions. Pennanen further maintains that:

The first leader of the orchestra – and possibly the female choir – of La Gloria was Sarajevo professional tamburitza musician Katić. The identity of this leader is problematic since no sources state which Katić was in question, father Ivan or son Milan. Subsequently, the latter conducted the tamburitzas of the Workers' Choral and Tamburitza Society Proleter (Radničko pjevačko i tamburaško društvo Proleter; see *Sarajevoer Tagblatt*, 4 July 1911). The Katićs were not natives of Sarajevo; in his first music license applications, Ivan Katić mentions that he and his son moved to Sarajevo from Split (It. Spalato), Dalmatia, in 1892 (*Srpska riječ*, 16/29 May 1907)

The recording formation of La Gloria Choir included the female singers S. Sason, S. Papo and E. Kampos, who recorded solo and in duet songs and probably also sang in the four female quartet recordings of La Gloria. S. Papo, who recorded one duet with Estera Kampos, may have been Sida Papo who played the piano in the Spanish-Jewish Choral Society La Lira (Španjolsko-izraelističko pjevačko društvo 'La Lira'). She may be identified according to the Yad Vashem records as Sida Papo, later Samokovlija, who was born in Sarajevo in 1885 and killed in 1943 at the Đakovo concentration camp in Slavonia. Estera Kampos (later possibly Kampos-Alkalaj) was a singer in the same choir (Polomik 1997: 52). Due to the incompleteness of the available registry entries and the small number of Sephardic surnames in Bosnia, the exact identity of Estera Kampos-Alkalaj remains unclear. Yad Vashem lists several Bosnian women named Ester(a) Alkalaj who were born around 1880.

In addition to the two ensembles from Sarajevo, recordings by one female soloist from Sarajevo, Sida Musafija, are included in the EMI archive. She is the only woman in the EMI Sephardic recordings to be identified by her full name, probably attesting to her artistic prominence. Sida is a nickname for two Serbian female names, Sidonija and Persida, although in musical license records she appears as 'Juda.' She recorded twelve songs, among them three in Ladino that are included in this collection. According to Pennanen's notes Musafija

started playing in a tamburitza orchestra under Ivan Katić in 1908. However, the first music license mentioning Musafija is from late 1909 when she was singing and playing with Ivan Katić's ensemble at the Hotel Gerstl in Foča. Musafija went on working with Katić's band at least until 1914. In the April 1908 sessions she recorded for Gramophone twelve sides to a violin accompaniment.

When listening to the Sarajevo recordings one has to bear in mind that the city became part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1878. This exposure to the Central European centers opened new cultural and political vistas for the Bosnian Sephardic community that are somehow reflected in these EMI recordings. Most noticeable among these novelties are the institutionalization of choirs, shifts in the status of women in society and the inclusion of Ladino covers of modern European songs.

Turkey

Although Anatolia was the heartland of the Ottoman Empire and the Jewish communities of Constantinople/Istanbul and Izmir among the largest in the imperial

domain, the EMI collection offers a relatively meager representation of the Turkish Sephardic repertoire. Three performers from Istanbul and Izmir whose four recordings were found in the EMI archive represent the otherwise rich repertoire of the Anatolian Sephardic communities of the Ottoman era that is known to us through the recordings of Haim Effendi (mentioned above) and Isaac Algazi. Algazi's life and work were studied thoroughly (Seroussi 1989) and his recordings were republished in various compilations. Yet, the two recordings in the EMI archive were not included in any of them and therefore add to the repertoire of this extraordinary artist.

The two other recordings are by Elie Cohen from Izmir and Isac Haïm from Istanbul. No information is available so far as to the identity of these singers. Their names are extremely common among Turkish Jews and it is thus hard to locate them. Moreover, they only recorded one piece each suggesting that they did not attain the stature of Haim Effendi or Isaac Algazi.

Evaluating the EMI Archive Trust Judeo-Spanish Collection

An overall appreciation of the large Ladino repertoire of the EMI archive is still in the making. At this point we venture only two tentative conclusions. One is the flexible boundaries between male and female repertoires, a flexibility that challenges the widely accepted notion of women as the only transmitters of Ladino folk songs. Men performed folk songs in Ladino too. When the recording industry came to Ottoman shores they were the ones to record, especially those singers who performed in public spaces, such as cafés. However, some of the folksongs were probably learned from

women specifically for the recordings, as described in the report from Salonica cited above from Bunis' *Voices from Jewish Salonika* (1999).

In spite of the noticeable shifts in gender relations, in the early twentieth century the voices of Sephardic female singers were still confined to the home and family occasions. However, we did notice the appearance of a few female singers in early recordings, evidence that the traditionally-sanctioned seclusion of the voice of women was coming to an end. This phenomenon is especially noticeable in the Sephardic community of Sarajevo where certain sectors of the Jewish community adopted liberal political views, even socialist ones, challenging traditional religious precepts.

A second point is that we face a repertoire in flux, containing within it some ancient texts of Spanish romances along with the most modern musical fashions. Many of these Ladino songs are, in fact, covers of Turkish, Greek, French and modern Spanish songs that were created or recorded fairly close to the year of their recording by the Sephardic artists of the first two decades of the twentieth century. We have already made this observation in regards to Haim Effendi, but it is also pertinent to the present collection (see, for example, our notes to songs no. 23 and 65). However, the diversity of the artists and repertoire in the EMI archive expands this diversity of styles and genres.

The repertoire also reflects in song the political concerns of the Ottoman Sephardic community during the turmoil of the later imperial period. Songs on political events are a recent addition to the Ladino repertoire. For the most part, these songs were ephemeral and hardly survived in oral tradition. Several Judeo-Spanish items in the EMI collection are celebratory songs cherishing the ideals of the Young Turks' revolt of

1908. These new songs, at times Judeo-Spanish contrafacts of patriotic Turkish songs, refer for the most part to the 1908 reenactment of the 1876 Ottoman constitution (that was in effect for two years only) guaranteeing civil rights and equality to all citizens of the Ottoman Empire. The constitution was reconfirmed, in an amended version, in 1908 following the Young Turks' revolt. Haim Effendi recorded a song on this subject (*Esta nueva historia*, NSA Y 09487(2), probably corresponding to his *Houriet Espagnole*, "Freedom [in] Ladino," Odeon 54630). Patriotic songs included in the EMI collection are Jacob Algava's *Hermanos mis queridos* (no. 3) and *La constitución se dió* (no. 4). Algava also recorded *Todos koran para ver a Niyazi i Enver Bey* (Odeon, 46280) and *Los eros Niyazi i Enver Bey* (Odeon, 46282), but no copies of these recordings have been located to date.

On the other side of the political and ideological map, we find that the ferment of modern Jewish nationalism also emerges from the Ladino repertoire. The Hebrew song *Hatikvah*, conceived in Ottoman Palestine in the early 1880s, was spreading throughout the Jewish world in the first years of the twentieth century as the unofficial anthem of the emerging Zionist movement (Seroussi 2015). No wonder then that it was recorded in both Hebrew and Ladino versions by Sephardic artists from all corners of the Ottoman Empire. Isaac Algazi recorded the original Hebrew version (Seroussi 1989, no. 32) and Haim Effendi recorded an earlier version in Ladino (probably corresponding to his *Kol hod baleva*, Orfeon 13193, or his *Marche Sioniste*, Orfeon 11404, of which we have not yet located copies). In the EMI archive we found two new precious recordings of the Judeo-Spanish version of *Hatikvah* circulating in Sarajevo, a city where Zionist sentiment was particularly strong (see nos. 74 and 78; also the instrumental postlude to no. 64).

It is worth noticing the striking variety of performing styles of different genres found in the Sephardic collection of the EMI Archive Trust as well as the proportions of each genre within this repertoire. The romance, considered a quintessential link between Hispanic and Sephardic cultures, is represented in the EMI collection by only eight songs (out of almost eighty sides). This statistic reflects the relative absence of this genre from the repertoire of male entertainers. Romances are distinctively performed in a slow, highly embellished style without clear beat, such as *El infante cautivo* (no. 43) and *¿Por qué no cantáis la bella?* (no. 44). This style set them apart from other Ladino genres and brought them closer to the Turkish *ghazel*. On the other hand, the presence in this collection of French songs (nos. 5 and 65) and of songs in the *Ländler* or waltz rhythms (nos. 10, 39, 45, 77) articulates the musical encounter with the Austro-Hungarian Empire that characterizes the Sephardic communities of the Balkans as opposed to those from Anatolia.

The bulk of the EMI Judeo-Spanish collection consists, however, of love songs similar to Turkish *sarkis* many of them authored by Sephardic artists themselves, that were the bread and butter of the entertainers at cafés and Jewish family events. Different artists recorded some famous songs in this genre that were real *schlaeger*. Among such beloved songs are *Los arboles llorosos* (nos. 14, 41, 68; also recorded by Isaac Algazi and Haim Effendi) and the popular wedding song *Cantiga de Hanum Dudún* (nos. 6 and 38; see also no. 69 as well as the recording by Haim Effendi).

As stressed above in Pennanen's quote, the recordings were carried out under very constrained circumstances of time and place. Such limitations are reflected in the content and form of the recordings. Some songs appear to be rather under-rehearsed, a fact made manifest in hesitations in the cues, mistakes or doubts in the singing of

the texts (for example, see no. 48). Others show sudden cuts at the end of a recording because of a miscalculation in the length of the song or, in the opposite direction, the addition of long instrumental codas in order to fill up the side of the record.

The diversity of the Judeo-Spanish repertoire, a feature of the EMI collection, is even more noticeable in the Sephardic oral traditions that were intensively studied and published after World War II. Written sources published by post-war scholars show traces of the commercial recordings of the early twentieth century. Isaac Levy's influential four-volume collection of Judeo-Spanish songs (1959-1973), for example, includes oral versions without instrumental accompaniment of many of the songs found in the EMI archive that were still in the memory of Sephardic women and men. These memories are generally fragmentary and thus the original recordings allow us to listen to the source version from which that memory emanates.

What this research into the historical recordings adds, therefore, is a clearer historical perspective as to how stylistic and genre diversity evolved in the Ladino repertoire at the beginning of the twentieth century. It also illuminates how limited the popularized repertoire of Ladino songs performed on post-World War II stages and in modern recordings up to the present is in comparison to the richness of the Sephardic popular song lore of the relatively recent past.

Note on transliterations

The transcriptions of Ladino texts follow the system used in the journal *Sefarad* (CSIC, Madrid) with the omission of diacritic signs. The only two exceptions are: š in certain

forms in Ladino and in words of Turkish origin, as *shall* in English; ġ in words of Turkish origin, as *John* in English.

Abbreviations

BAECS	<i>Romero, Hassán and Carracedo 1992</i>
Bresler	www.sephardicmusic.org
CES	<i>Compagnie Espagnole de Salonique</i>
CMP	<i>Armistead et al. 1978</i>
Incipitario	<i>Seroussi 2009</i>
NSA	<i>National Sound Archives, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem</i>
PF	<i>Proyecto Folklore</i>

Discographic data of the original recordings

CD 1

No.	Artist	Title	Original 78 rpm title	Label / Number
1	Jacob Algava	<i>Los árboles de almendra</i>	Arvoles d'almendra	Gramophone 6-12651
2	Jacob Algava	<i>Grande desplacer me haces</i>	Grande desplaser me azes	Gramophone 6-12653
3	Jacob Algava	<i>Hermanos mis queridos</i>	Ermanos mis keridos	Gramophone 6-12650
4	Jacob Algava	<i>La constitución se dió</i>	La Constitution se dio	Gramophone 10-12893
5	Jacob Algava	<i>Madame Gaspar</i>	Madame Gaspard	Gramophone 6-12654
6	Jacob Algava	<i>Cantiga de Hanum Dudún</i>	Una notche io me armi	Gramophone 11-12059
7	Jacob Algava	<i>Una cierta hija</i>	Una sierta ija	Gramophone 10-12892
8	Jacob Algava	<i>Venid venid vos contaré</i>	Venid venid vos contare	Gramophone 11-12060
9	CES	<i>Ah niña sin piadad</i>	Ah niña sin piedad	Zonophone 104109
10	CES	<i>La seducida en la fuente</i>	Al ruido de ima fuente	Zonophone 104092
11	CES	<i>Alevanta hermosa niña</i>	Levanta ermoça niña	Zonophone 104110
12	CES	<i>Las horas de la vida</i>	A la una nació	Zonophone 104131

13	CES	<i>Los árboles llorosos</i>	Arvoles ioran por luvia	Zonophone 104122
14	CES	<i>El nacimiento y la vocación de Abraham</i>	Cantiga de circuncision	Zonophone 104105
15	CES	<i>Cinco años ya va hacer</i>	Cinco años va azer	Zonophone 104124
16	CES	<i>El pájaro de amor</i>	Como un pacharo bolando	Zonophone 104113
17	CES	<i>La enamorada precoz + El mancebo cruel</i>	Cruel mancevo	Zonophone 104129
18	CES	<i>La hermosa durmiente</i>	Dorme dorme ermoza donzella	Zonophone 104108
19	CES	<i>El guitarrista + La firmeza de las estrellas + El enamorado engañado</i>	El que toca la guitarra	Zonophone 104116
20	CES	<i>El hijo del guebir</i>	El teñozo ijo del rico	Zonophone 104126
21	CES	<i>Grande desplacer me haces</i>	Gran desplazer me azes	Zonophone 104115
22	CES	<i>La galana</i>	La galana	Zonophone 104121
23	CES	<i>La palomba</i>	La palomba	Zonophone 104104

CD2

24	CES	<i>El buceador</i>	La paceada de Silvana	Zonophone 104128
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25	CES	<i>El padre Mercader + El cuerpo de la mujer</i>	La rama de nues	Zonophone 104118
26	CES	<i>La rosa de mayo + Los bilbilicos</i>	La rosa inflorece	Zonophone 104107
27	CES	<i>El alma dolorida</i>	La solidad de la nochada	Zonophone 104127
28	CES	<i>El robo de Dina</i>	Las doce flores (Romanza)	Zonophone 2-102335
29	CES	<i>La llamada a la Morena + La nave por partir</i>	Morena a mi me llaman	Zonophone 104114
30	CES	<i>Muero de amor</i>	Muero de amor	Zonophone 104106
31	CES	<i>El lindo mancebo + Los amantes de la casa rica</i>	Oh! que lindo mancevo	Zonophone 104103
32	CES	<i>La agonía del amante</i>	Rosa mia	Zonophone 104117
33	CES	<i>S'alevantó bula Linda</i>	Se levanto bula linda	Zonophone 104112
34	CES	<i>Te vide una mañana</i>	Te vide una mañana	Zonophone 104123
35	CES	<i>Toma mi alma y tómala</i>	Toma mi alma, tomala	Zonophone 104120
36	CES	<i>La bella en misa</i>	Tres damas van a la missa (Romanza)	Zonophone 2-102334
37	CES	<i>Un desgraciado de amor</i>	Un desgraciado de amor	Zonophone 104093

38	CES	<i>Cantiga de Hanum Dudún</i>	Una noche yo me armi	Zonophone 104111
39	CES	<i>Una huérfanica amo yo</i>	Una ouerfana	Zonophone 104130
40	CES	<i>Los trabajos de la semana</i>	Dia de alhad	Zonophone 104119
41	Çakum Effendi	<i>Los árboles llorosos</i>	Arvoles yoran por luviar	Gramophone 11-12735
42	Çakum Effendi	<i>Malandanzas del asker</i>	Avre tus ojos i mira	Gramophone 11-12734
43	Çakum Effendi	<i>El infant cautivo</i>	Carselero i Piadoso	Zonophone 6-102096
44	Çakum Effendi	<i>¿Por qué no cantáis la bella? (é-a)</i>	La reyna stava lavrando	Zonophone 6-102093

CD3

45	Çakum Effendi	<i>Los amigos me dan esperanza</i>	Los amigos me dan espéransa	Gramophone 11-12733
46	Çakum Effendi	<i>Mi Dio a quien rogaré</i>	Mi Dio a ken rogaré	Zonophone 6-102094
47	Çakum Effendi	<i>Ten piudad amoroso</i>	Ten Piudad Amoroso	Zonophone 6-102095
48	Çakum Effendi	<i>La doncella esclareciente</i>	Tu sos ermosa	Gramophone 11-12736

49	Çakum Effendi	<i>Im afes</i>	Im Afés	Zonophone 6-102097
50	Çakum Effendi	<i>Bezokhri 'al mishkavi</i>	Bezohri	Zonophone 6-102098
51	Albert Pessah	<i>Rogativa al todo poderoso</i>	Alavasion	Gramophone 6-12657
52	Albert Pessah	<i>De lo que amo yo</i>	El gozo	Gramophone 6-12656
53	Albert Pessah	<i>La doncella esclareciente</i>	La ermosa donsea	Gramophone 6-12655
54	Isachino Pessah	<i>Yo no entiendo la mi madre</i>	El yerno muevo	Zonophone 6-102092
55	Isachino Pessah	<i>Unas fuentes sin estanco</i>	Unas Fuentes sin estanco	Zonophone 6-102091
56	Mlle Mariette	<i>El sentenciado del bajá</i>	Io so venido de Broussa	Zonophone 103831
57	Mlle Rosa	<i>Me queres matar mancebo</i>	Me Keres matar Mansevo	Zonophone 103830
58	Isaac Algazi	<i>La despedida</i>	Alma mia Vino la ora	Gramophone 6-12829
59	Isaac Algazi	<i>La reina de la gracia</i>	Reyna délá Grassia	Gramophone 6-12828
60	Elie Cohen	<i>Noche de alhad</i>	El dio alto Husseïni	Gramophone 11-12175

61	Elie Cohen	<i>La galana</i>	Sultana Husseïni	Gramophone 11-12176
62	Isac Haim	<i>Cantes amargos</i>	Cantes amargos	Gramophone 14-12489
63	Isac Haim	<i>El parto feliz</i>	El parido	Gramophone 14-12490
64	Sida Musafija	<i>El mancebo sebos + La fea y el viejo (La novia exigente) + Las camas altas</i>	Amor azitis	Zonophone 103590
65	Sida Musafija	<i>El baile de los falsos</i>	Amor a ti te tengo	Zonophone 103563
66	Sida Musafija	<i>El amor furiente</i>	En frente de tumurada moro	Zonophone 103591
67	La Gloria	<i>La seducida en la fuente</i>	Al rio de una fuente	Zonophone 104588
68	La Gloria	<i>Los árboles llorosos</i>	Arvoles joran por iuvjas	Zonophone 104589

CD4

69	La Gloria	<i>Asiéntate te hablaré</i>	Asenta te avlare	Zonophone 104146
70	La Gloria	<i>El barón despreciado</i>	Barona te vo azer	Zonophone 104590
71	La Gloria	<i>El juramento del mancebo + El escolero y las viñas + El novio desprendido</i>	En kaza de tu padre	Zonophone 104148

72	La Gloria	<i>Los brazos candelares</i>	Mis brasos kandelaros	Zonophone 104149
73	La Gloria	<i>Melisenda insomne</i>	Nočis nočis buenas nočis	Zonophone 103435
74	La Gloria	<i>La esperanza</i>	Hymna de Zion	Zonophone 104587
75	Bosanski Instrumentalni i Pjevački Terzett	<i>El barón despreciado</i>	Barona to vo azer	Zonophone 100668
76	Bosanski Instrumentalni i Pjevački Terzett	<i>La pipitera conversa</i>	Ila iža del pinpitero	Zonophone 100679
77	Bosanski Instrumentalni i Pjevački Terzett	<i>Tu sos una rosa</i>	Tu sos una rosa	Zonophone 100677
78	Bosanski Instrumentalni i Pjevački Terzett	<i>La esperanza</i>	Zion Himna	Zonophone 100672

Commentaries on the songs

Salonica recordings

Jacob Algava

1. *Los árboles de almendra*

This is the earliest recorded version of this *cantiga*. It became extremely popular in the modern Ladino repertoire after it appeared in the first post-World War II commercial LP of songs in Ladino (Gloria Levy 1958, no. 17). It is also widely documented among Sephardic immigrants in Israel. Its text is quite stable in all known versions, sometimes with the addition of a fourth stanza. Haim Effendi recorded another version of this song in 1922 (Orfeon 13125, see Bresler). In most modern popularized versions, the last line of the second stanza is used as a refrain. This refrain appears to be a modern development, for none of the earlier printed versions of *Los árboles de almendra* includes it (e.g. Bassan 1947, no. 95; Molho 1960, no. 37; Attias 1972, no. 80; Hemsi 1995, no. 92). The music is inspired by the Greek folk song Σε ωραίο περιβόλι (In a pretty garden; see, Bourgault-Decoudray 1877, no. 15; Seroussi 1999). The melody of this song was also adapted to the *piyyut Yigdal Elohim hay* (Weich-Shahak 1980, side B, no. 5). See also Kalyviotis 2015, pp. 113-114.

Arboles d'almendra que yo plantí
por los tus ojos vedrolis.

S'hinchiron mis ojos y mis brazos
de los tuyos trenzados.

Por una niña d'ojos pretos me va muerir
la puerta quero abrir.

Dame lecencia niña que yo pur ti
que yo pur ti muncho sufri.

La puerta de mi querida se abrio,
de lagrimas s'hinchó.

Como la primavera qu'ansi salio
la bella que yo amo.

2. *Grande desplacer me haces*

This love song, evidently very popular at the beginning of the twentieth century, was also recorded by the CES (1907; see below no. 21) and Haim Effendi (Orfeon 13340, see Bresler). Extant documentation attests to its continued presence in the repertoire. Attias (1972, no. 91) documents it attached to a different song, *Cruela apiadate de mi* (the melody is similar; see Attias' recording in NSA Y 09509). The first two lines of the third

stanza are usually included in another Judeo-Spanish song, *El amor furiente* (Attias 1972, no. 83). The last stanza is sung twice.

Grande desplacer me haces

si mi palabra non haces.

Y que te deperdí non cases, querid' amor
sin tomar pardon de mí.

Grande desplacer me haces

cuando del atilier sales.

Al menos “Buena sera” dame, querid’ amor
te iré a compañar.

¿Ande están tus las prometas,
palabras d’una porfeta?

¿Y ande está las tuyas juras, querid’ amor
que no m’ibas engañar?

Con el carisica tuya

me hicites descorajar

y me dijites “Ten pacencia”, querid’ amor
que me ibas a tomar.

3. Hermanos mis queridos

A song referring to the 1908 reenactment of the 1876 Ottoman constitution. It is an abridged version of “*Cante nuevo por la constitución, compuesto por se[ñor] Joseph Pinto, cantado a la misma voz del cante en turko Yaşasin Hürriyet adalet...*” (“New song for the constitution, composed by señor Joseph Pinto, sung to the same tune as the Turkish song *Yaşasin Hürriyet, adalet* [Long life freedom, justice]”), published in the Judeo-Spanish periodical *El Djugueton* (Istanbul) of November 10, 1908. The second stanza of this recording is similar to the third stanza of *Cante nuevo por la constitución*. Other Judeo-Spanish songs related to the Young Turks’ revolution share the same refrain (Romero 2008, nos. 62, 63; Havassy 2011a, pp. 125-126). This refrain is a translation of the Turkish for “freedom, justice, equality,” the call of the Young Turks’ revolution that echoes the similar cry of the French revolution. Various stanzas of Pinto’s poem appear in other recorded versions and literary sources, such as Haim Effendi’s *Esta nueva historia* (NSA Y 09487(2)) and Emily Sene’s version of the same song (Havassy 2007, Appendix, ES no. 157). See also Romero, 2008, no. 65, entitled *Niazi, Enver Bey y el sultán* (only one stanza).

Hermanos mis queridos
entonosos hoy fuemos.
Es cosa de cantar
non venimos a contar.

Viva la libertá.

Viva la hermandad
con la justedad.

Trenta años pasaron
muchas almas mataron.
A la mar los echaron
muchas madres lloraron.

Viva la libertá...

Niazí y Enver Bey
conversaron con el rey.
Demandaron la libertá
por tener la hermanda.

Viva la libertá...

Ellos se acumparon[?]
la liberta tomaron.
Non es cosa de burlar
la devemos de alabar.

Viva la libertá...

4. La constitución se dió

Another patriotic song praising the constitutional regime established in the Ottoman Empire in 1908 after the revolution of the Young Turks (see above no. 2, *Hermanos mis queridos*) and the conscription of all citizens into the military that became obligatory also for ethnic and religious minorities. The refrain in Turkish says, “Long live the army, the homeland and the nation with Sultan Mehmed.” This is a reference to Sultan Mehmed V (reigned 1909-1918), the puppet monarch of the Young Turks. The record label defines this song as “Turkish.” Its musical style however is overtly that of a Western military march in a major mode. Algava’s recording is the only documentation of this song located so far in the Judeo-Spanish literature.

Constitución se dió

a los otomanos.

Turcos con jídios

y también cristianos.

Levemos espander

todas las dos manos

para mos abrazar

como los hermanos.

Gritemos todos juntos

todo hijo de jídio.

Yaşasın asker.
Yaşasın vatan.
Yaşasın millet
con Sultan Mehmet.

Mancebos jidios
por edad servicio.
L'askerlik pare[?]
tomad [...]icio.
Por muestro país
denio de juicio.
Mostrad tu ardor
denio de juicio.
Venid buena mancebez
gritar vinid una vez.

Yaşasın asker...

Buenas familias dad
sirvir mos iremos.
A nuestra vatan

[?] no abandonaremos
si el servirlo
mosotros tenemos.
En vuestros brazos
presto tornaremos.
En vuestros brazos
presto tornaremos.

Non es una espartición
el ir servir la nación.

Yaşasın asker...

5. *Madame Gaspar*

A Judeo-Spanish version of the widespread cumulative French folksong known as *Les animaux du marché* (Cohen 1998, p. 241). Algava recorded it twice. The second recording (Odeon 46279, *Madam Gaspard si choi al Tcharschi* of 1909) consists of stanzas 1-5 only, with the fourth stanza sung again at the end followed by a longer instrumental finale. Few surviving oral versions of this song are available (see NSA Y 06496 sung by Elie Shaul from Turkey). See also Kalyviotis 2015, pp. 110-113.

Madam Gaspar se hue al charší,
es una gallina que mercó.

La gayina: kikikiki

y kikikiki.

Si sabeš la mi siñora y por cuanto la mercó.

Madam Gaspar se hue al charší,

es un gallo que mercó.

El gallo que dice: kukukuku.

La gallina: kikikiki,

y kukukuku y kikikiki.

Si sabeš la mi siñora y por cuanto la mercó.

Madam Gaspar se hue al charší,

es un papagallo que mercó.

El papagallo: papapapa.

El gallo: kukukuku.

La gallina: kikikiki

y papapapa y kukukuku y kikikiki.

Si sabeš la mi siñora y por cuanto la mercó.

Madam Gaspar se hue al charší,

es un gato que mercó.

El gato que dice: nianianiana.

El papagallo: papapapa.

El gallo: kukukuku.

La gallina: kikikiki

y nianianiana y papapapa y kukukuku y kikikiki.

Si sabeš la mi señora y por cuanto la mercó.

Madam Gaspar se hue al charší,
es un perro que mercó.

El perro que dice: gugugugu.

El gato: nianianiana.

El papagallo: papapapa.

El gallo: kukukuku.

La gallina: kikikiki

y gugugugu y nianianiana y papapapa y kukukuku y kikikiki.

Si sabeš la mi señora y por cuanto la mercó.

Madam Gaspar se hue al charší,

es una trompeta que mercó.

La trompeta: tutututu.

El perro: gugugugu.

El gato: nianianiania.

El papagallo: papapapa.

El gallo: kukukuku.

La gallina: kikikiki

y tutututu y gugugugu y nianianiania y papapapa y kukukuku y kikikiki.

Si sabeš la mi señora y por cuanto la mercó.

Madam Gaspar se hue al charší,

es una babica que mercó.

La babica: babababa

La trompeta: tutututu

El perro: gugugugu.

El gato: nianianiania.

El papagallo: papapapa.

El gallo: kukukuku.

La gallina: kikikiki

y babababa y tutututu y gugugugu y nianianiania y papapapa y kukukuku y kikikiki.

Si sabeš la mi señora y por quanto la mercó.

Madam Gaspar se hue al charší.

6. Cantiga de Hanum Dudún

A very popular wedding song of Greek origin, known mainly in Salonica (CMP AA63, AA65; Attias 1961, no. 113; Molho 1950, pp. 33-34; Weich-Shahak 2014, I, nos. 32-33). In most versions that survived in oral tradition, the song starts from the second stanza. It was also recorded by the CES (see below, no. 38) and partially by the choir La Gloria from Sarajevo (see below, no. 69) The erotic opening lines of the third stanza (“The apron that you wear / what’s under it is mine”) are unique to the Salonican early recordings. Algava ends the recording with exclamations in Turkish.

Una noche yo me armí
por vuestro vecindado.
Deješme la puerta ‘bierta
y el candil amatado.

Tirilaila op tirilaila opa,
tirilaila op tirilaila opa.

Ventanas altas tienes tu
con velas amarillas.
Esta noche arrog’al Dio
que me subaš arriba.

Tirilaila op...

El devantal que tu llevaš,
lo d'en el bajo's mio.

Si es por el harem, Dudú,
mañana de mañana.

Tirilaila op...

El anillo que tu llevaš,
el diamante es mio.

El kuyumgi que me lo dió
es primo amigo mio.

Tirilaila op...

7. *Una cierta hija*

A love song unique to the tradition of Salonica preserved in very fragmentary versions. Yaakov Sadikario combines the first stanza with other songs (PF 073/01). Moshe Haleua also remembers only the opening stanza (Saltiel and Horowitz 2001, p. 56). For another fragment, see NSA Y 09506(1) by Shelomo Venezia. The musical structure of each stanza consists of three melodic phrases repeated in the AABCCB'B" pattern. This melody in makam Beyati is widespread in the Ottoman Ladino repertoire.

Una cierta hija al bodre de la mar
se desesperaba por su enamorado.
Tu me prometites que me ibas a amar
que buscas agora fuir de mi lado.

Ma en el punto de rojarme a la muerte
se dijo non vos amar amantes fuertes.
Toma otro si es, si es mi me rojitas.
Ellos son los mušos ma unas lágrimas[?]

8. *Venid venid vos contaré*

Although the text is rare, the melody of this song is a very popular one adapted to other famous *şarkis*, usually opening with the lines “En el café de Amanecer” or “Por la tu puerta yo pasí.” Its last stanza, in Turkish mixed with French, appears at the end of another *şarkı* (Attias 1972, no. 62) that significantly includes stanzas from “Por la tu puerta yo pasí.” Thus, the association of this melody with an array of stanzas combined in diverse order is confirmed.

Venid venid vos contaré
lo que a mí me ha pasado.
Yo sin ella no viviré
de lo que tengo amado.

Es una hija d'a[?] coqueta y graciosa.

Es la primera que amí chica y namorosa.

Un chico contro en el ġade de vista me saluda.

Por ahi pasó me desmayí sin tener una ayuda.

Triandafila pembe pembe Oh, ne güzel kokarsın.

Si voulez-vous m'abandonner benin keyfi bozarsın.

Oh, Amán, amán, yare

Companie Espagnole de Salonique (CES)

9. *Ah niña sin piadad*

There is no other known version of this song. Salomon Algazi apparently recorded it too (Odeon 46136[?], 1906/7; Bresler), but no copy of this recording has survived.

Ah niña sin piadad

y llena de crueldad,

te lo digo en verdad

es como de solidad.

Aha, aha,

te lo digo en verdad

es como de solidad.

Te amo de corazón

cuatro años sufrir son.

Di chiquez tienes l'amor

del Dio no tienes temor.

Aha, aha,

del Dio no tienes temor.

El mancebo que es hermoso
demanda mucho sermé.

La niña que es entendida
lo deja desvanecer.

Aha, aha,
lo deja desvanecer.

Mi madre de desplacer
mos hablando que hacer.

Ella de mucha pasión
va echarte maldición.

Aha, aha,
va echarte maldición.

10. *La seducida en la fuente*

This extremely widespread song of Hispanic origin is known among Sephardic Jews both in the Balkans and in North Morocco (for example, CMP AA7; Larrea Palacín 1952, p. 11; Attias 1972, no. 2 and Hemsi 1995, no. 79) as well as throughout the Hispanic world (Menéndez Pidal 1907, no. 138). The earliest known version, sung by a Sephardic woman of Bulgarian origin, was documented by Leo Wiener in 1898 (Wiener 1903/4, no. XXV). The opening line is an old formula and was documented

in Sephardic sources by the seventeenth century (*Incipitario*, no. 14). The melody in this version, with its distinctive waltz rhythm and major scale, betrays its European pedigree. For a version from Sarajevo, see below no. 67.

Al rido d'una fuente

me acerquí allí.

Al rido del agua

me pasé mas allí.

Oyí una voz que decía:

Ay de mí, ay de mí, ay de mí.

Siendo la vide solita

le declarí mi amor.

La niña muy honesta

nada no consentó.

La tomí por el lado

al café la lleví.

En su devino rostro

tres besos estampí.

Entonces dijo la niña:

Otro tres otro tres que son seš.

Al despartirme de ella
un abrazo me dió.

De su devino rostro
se las depositó.

Entonces dijo la niña:
Ya cayí, ya cayí'n el amor.

Entonces dijo la niña:
No t'arritires por Dio
que el amor primero
solo'n solo'n ti se fundió.

Entonces dijo la niña:
Te digo de conocer.

Siendo la vide solita
le declarí el amor.

La niña muy honesta
nada no consentó.

Entonces dijo la niña:
Ya cayí, ya cayí n'el amor.

11. *Alevanta hermosa niña*

A very rare Judeo-Spanish song. The only other known version, a much shorter one, was recorded from Diana Sarano (Turkey) with the opening line “La mi novia está hazina” (PF 213/03, entitled *La novia enferma*; a copy in NSA Y 05813-b). See, Koen-Sarano 1993, p. 93. In the recording, stanzas 4-6 are repeated. The melody resembles the south-Serbian folksong “Bolna ljuba bolna leži.”

Alevanta hermosa niña

alevanta del esfueño.

Alevanta hermosa niña

alevanta del esfueño.

Dejas al[...?] tu amoroso

que por ti está [...?]

De la[...?] tu amoroso

que por ti está [...?]

Ni te mueres alevanta

ni al Dio se deja l’alma.

Ni te mueres ni t’alevanta

ni al Dio se deja l’alma.

Alevanta hermosa niña
vamos a la birería.

Alevanta hermosa niña
vamos a la birería.

Beberemos fresca bira
junto en compañía.

Beberemos fresca bira
junto en compañía.

Tomaremos los copicos
haremos una “eviva!”

Tomaremos los copicos
haremos una “eviva!”

12. *Las horas de la vida*

One of the most widespread and frequently recorded Sephardic songs throughout the twentieth century. The version by Haim Effendi (2008, CD III, no. 1) is the oldest one on record and one of the most complete in existence. Originating in an Andalusian folk song, the CES version incorporates stanzas from other popular Spanish songs. It is plausible that Haim Effendi played a crucial role in the composition and dissemination of this most famous modern Sephardic song that he may have heard from Spanish

artists touring the Ottoman Empire. For a thorough study of this song, see Seroussi 2012, Seroussi 2019, pp. 39-60.

A la una nací yo,
a las dos me bautizaron,
a las tres esposí yo,
alma y vida y corazón.

A las cuatro me casaron.

Me casí con un amor,
me casí con un amor,
alma y vida y corazón.

En mi güerta crecen viñas,
en la mar crecen corales,
en mi corazón amores,
y en tu boca falsedad,
en mi corazón amores,
y en tu boca falsedad.

A las tres esposí yo,
alma y vida y corazón.

Lo moreno hizo'l Dio,
lo blanco hizo'l platero.

Viva la gente morena
que por ellos muero yo.

Viva la gente morena
que por ellos muero yo.

A la tres esposí yo,
alma y vida y corazón.

13. *Los árboles llorosos*

This song, derived in part from Greek traditional folk poetry (Κλαίνε τα δέντρη γιά νερό; cf. Havassy 2011a, pp. 129-130), was already very popular at the beginning of the twentieth century. The EMI collection includes no fewer than three recordings (Çakum Effendi, see below, no. 41 and La Gloria, see below, no. 68). Other early recordings, notably by Haim Effendi, to whom this song is often attributed, attest to its fame. Eventually it also became one of the most widespread items of the modern Sephardic repertoire and discography. None of the four early versions includes the famous refrain “Torno y digo / qué va ser de mí, / en tierras ajenas / yo me vo murir,” which forms an inseparable part of this song in the modern tradition (see Attias 1972, nos. 115, 116; Hemsi 1995, no. 87) and in most commercially recorded versions after World War II. The first documentation of this refrain appears on December 15, 1940 in *Jevrejski Glas*, a Jewish newspaper published in Sarajevo (Elazar 1987, p. 99). Elazar (p.

328) cites another version he heard in 1933, whose refrain is “Penso y digo / qué va ser de mí, / en tierras ajenas / no puedo vivir.” Oral testimonies pertaining to the singing of this song during the Holocaust indicate that it was at times performed with the version of the refrain “En tierras de Polonia / me vo murir” (Lévy 1989, p. 212; Rafael 2008, no. 9.1). The last two stanzas of this recording are very rare and certainly unique within the many versions of this song.

Arboles lloran por lluvias
y montañas por aires.

Ansi lloran los mis ojos
por ti, querid’ amante.

Ven veras y ven verás,
ven verás y veremos.

L’amor que tenemos los dos,
ven mos espartiremos.

Amor tenía y lo dejí
por mi menear [...] cabeza.

Lo veo en otro poder
me muero de postema.

Honor dejas por sospiros
yo nos hacer pur [...?]
Los llaves de mi corazón
yo ya las revolveo.

14. *El nacimiento y la vocación de Abraham*

A very rare version of the well-known copla *El nacimiento y la vocación de Abraham* (The birth and mission of Abraham), traditionally sung during the night-long vigil before the circumcision ceremony (hence its title in this recording, *Cantiga de circuncisión*). The copla relates the story of the patriarch Abraham, and is documented in written sources starting in the eighteenth century in manuscripts and in print (see Perez 2005, pp. 266-289) and in the oral tradition. This copla bifurcated into two songs with distinctive melodies. One, beginning “Cuando el Rey Nimrod,” is likely the most widespread Ladino song in the modern discography. It has a distinctive melody and refrain (“Abraham avinu padre querido”) and is apparently of North African pedigree (Seroussi 2019, pp. 101-114). The second one, almost always beginning “La mujer de Terah” (for an exception see Levy 1964-1980, vol. 4, p. 385) is more widespread in the Eastern Mediterranean and is performed with at least two different melodies, one melismatic and without a clear beat (see Weich-Shahak 2014, no. 8), and the second more rhythmical (see Weich-Shahak 2014, no. 10). This recording is the earliest documentation of “La mujer de Terah” with this metered melody. Its opening stanza connects the text to the actual circumcision ceremony by mentioning the *parido* (the

father of the newborn son). However, in most known versions of this song, the *parido* is invoked only at its end. Terah's desire to kill his wife is known only from two additional versions from Salonica, a testimony that this is a local motif (Molho 1960, nos. 41-43; Bassan 1947, no. 50). In this recording, the singers repeat stanzas 1-3 and the musicians add an instrumental postlude to complete the side of the record. This may be a sign that the recorded stanzas are the only ones they knew out of the many found in the literary sources of this song.

El Dio lo presente al parido
que ya vino el ma'asé de Abraham Avinu.
Grande zahú tuvo el siñor de Abraham,
que por él lo conocemos al Dio de la verdad.

La mujer de Terah quedó preñada.
Cada día por día le preguntaba:
¿De qué llevás la cara tan demudada?
Ella se lo sabía el bien que tenía.

Buen arrodeando campos y viñas
falló una me'ará del Dio se la llenar.
Ya le vinieron dolores parir quería.
Allí lo parió al siñor de Abraham.

Acabado de nacer dijo Abraham:
Andavos la mi madre andavos d'acá,
que Terah mi padre vos quer'a matar.
A mí me va quadrar el Dio de la verdad.

15. *Cinco años ya va hacer*

One of the widespread Judeo-Spanish songs of the early twentieth century that disappeared from the contemporary repertoire. In his pioneer fieldwork in the Balkans, Wiener documented in 1898 a rather complete version of the text of this song (Wiener 1903/4, no. XVIII). Wiener's informants for this song were "professional singers at weddings in Sofia, Bulgaria," which appears to indicate that the song was of rather modern creation and circulated among "professional" singers. Later on Levy (1959-1973, vol. I, no. 41, place of origin unknown) documented a variant of very similar length. Attias (1972, no. 17) cited the version published by Wiener with an additional stanza he received from an informant from Sarajevo. Wiener and Levy's versions share a number of stanzas including the main theme of an unfortunate love affair with a young man from Izmir. The version in this recording is shorter, and includes no mention of the *Izmirli*. The last stanza, which cites an inscription on the tombstone of the girl in love, is common to all versions.

Cinco años ya va hacer also appears as a melodic incipit for the Hebrew poem *Yah el magen ve'oyer* (acrostic Yehuda) one of various *piyyutim* adapted to the melodies of songs in Ladino appearing in collections of Hebrew poetry from late-nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Jerusalem (*Incipitario*, no. 142). The earliest of these songsters in

which our song is mentioned is *Sefer Kol zimrah*, edited by Yehudá Castel (or Castil, 1871-1936) and published in Jerusalem in 1896/7.

The melody of *Cinco años ya va hacer* as notated by Levy coincides with the various field recordings of the *piyyut Yah el magen ve'ozér*, such as the one made in 1937 by Robert Lachmann with the Elnadav family from Jerusalem (NSA Y 06916) and those included in the website www.pizmonim.org. The recording by CES is, on the surface, musically different from the melody notated by Levy and maintained orally in the *piyyut* tradition. However, a closer musical analysis reveals that there are some structural and certainly modal relations between them. Both songs, in Ladino and in Hebrew respectively, are in makam Rast, as specified by the Hebrew songsters, even though Levy wrote it down in major, because he did not consider microtonal inflections in his transcriptions. The pattern of melodic repetitions and the cadential pauses in the third and fifth degrees are the features that disclose that the two melodies are related.

Cinco años va hacer
que yo tengo un displacer,
que me quemí entre mí
sin saber de ande es.

A la cama me echo,
los ojos al cielo 'cho.
Que me salve d'est' amor,
que buraca'l corazón.

La noche te desposí
a la mañana me devo ir[?]
Entre guertas y vergeles
Faciendo l'amor mos vi.

Cuando yo me va muerir
a la piedra va 'scribir,
que la melden y que lloren
y que se acodren de mí,
que la melden y que lloren
que'l amor me hizo salir.

16. *El pájaro de amor*

A rare version of *El pájaro de amor* (Attias 1972, no. 90; Hemsi 1995, no. 86). Commonly the opening stanza of this song is “Mama yo no tengo visto / pájaro con ojos mavís,” a stanza that does not appear in this version. Most of the text in this recording is close to Hemsi’s main version (no. 86A), with a different order of stanzas. Most notably, the fourth stanza of this recording, in which the singer addresses his listeners (“Listen to this, my dear ones”) is more logically located in Hemsi’s version at the opening of the song. The melody is very similar to the one registered for the many versions of *El pájaro de amor* (Levy 1959-1973, vol. III, nos. 47, 50) that has also become the most widespread

one in the contemporary discography. The recording closes with a vocal improvisation accompanied by the oud set to a text in Turkish.

Como un pájaro volando
cayí en manos d'un casador.

Después de estar tanto acercado
me dejó como matador.

Quen es este pajarico
que aposó en mi gam.
El percuró de hacerse nido,
yo percurí de lo derrocar.

Vate vate pajarico
que no te do consolación.
Tu por [...] de aquel mancebo
se pedrió la ocasión.

Oid esto los mis queridos,
oid esto que vos va contar.
De contar no me quedó fuerza
mis ojos cansan de llorar.

Si te ama una hijica
y te jura de verdad.
Por sus palabras tan delicadas
él me hizo amistad.

Yale, medet, yarem, amán, amán

17. *La enamorada precoz + El mancebo cruel*

The opening stanza is widespread in many songs (e.g. Attias 1972, no. 24; Levy 1959-1973, vol. I, no. 65; PF 121/10, NSA YC 01004 and few others), but most of them continue differently. Only Attias' version and PF 137/03 (sung by Israel Perez, Jerusalem) contain the same second stanza as this version. The rest of the song (stanzas 3-5) is unique to this recording.

De edad de quince años
empecí hacer l'amor
con un mancebo mediado.
A la fin él ya m'engaño.

Cruel fueste el mancebo
de tu sobrino caronal.
A la fin ya la dejates

com'un árbol sin plantar.

Adio, adio de tu amiga,
yo me vo ir longe de ti
sin que sepas el no amigo
yo me muero longe de ti.

Yo de ti nada non espero
vide y pasa viz-a-vi de mí.
Aleja la tu chica criatura
si tú te veas mi soledad.

Non me vas a ver las mañanadas
por la estraña allí me vo a ir.
A cortarme cadenas de fierro
y que sepas la mi dolor.

18. *La hermosa durmiente*

This is one of the most popular Ladino songs both historically and up to the present, first documented in the novel *El mundo* by Shelomo b. Yosef (Salonica 1881). It was also recorded around 1907/8 by Haim Effendi (NSA Y 09487/2) and Albert Beressi (Odeon

54379). In 1911 it was documented in Sarajevo (CMP AA56) and in 1924 in Rhodes (Hemsi 1995, no. 83A). The early recordings probably contributed to the preservation of the text in the many versions kept in oral tradition. This recording, unlike most of the documented versions, starts with a rare stanza and not with the widespread one: “Durme durme, hermosa doncella/ durme, durme sin ansia y dolor,” a line appearing on the label of this recording that led many modern performers to categorize this song as a lullaby. This rare stanza was to date found only in Haim Effendi’s rendition (4th stanza) and seems to have disappeared from oral tradition (see also Attias 1972, no. 15; Kalyviotis 2015, p. 115). The musical rendition of the CES is unique in that in every second stanza the melody starts from the upper register.

Pedrí tesoro, bienes y reinado
por estar siempre a tu lado.

Hay tres años que sufre mi alma
por alcanzar a esta linda dama.

Durme durme hermosa doncella,
durme durme sin ansia y dolor.

Siempre ángel, siempre quería
ver tu esfueño con grande favor.

Siente joya el son de mi guitarra,
siente bella mis males cantar.

Yo no durmo ni noche ni día.
A los que aman angustia los guía.

19. *El guitarrista + La firmeza de las estrellas + El enamorado engañado*

This selection of three modern Spanish couplets (see Pedrosa 2008) is one of the most outstanding examples of the exposure of Sephardic musicians to the late-nineteenth century flamenco repertoire. The song was also recorded by Albert Beressi (Odeon 54339, 1907/8) and Haim Effendi (CD IV, no. 7, 1913) (with slightly different texts), an evidence of its popularity. Post-war recordings of these couplets, most of them relying on the musical transcriptions of Isaac Levy (1959-1973, vol. I, nos. 34, 35), have lost the rhapsodic character of the melody that is preserved in the historical recordings (see also Attias 1972, nos. 1 and 3). Although appearing under the CES, the song is performed by a soloist and his performance is very similar to that of Haim Effendi.

El que toca la guitarra, ay,
que del cielo cayó,
y el que fuerz'una muchacha,
niña de mi corazón,
el que fuerz'una muchacha

de 14 a 15 años,
el que toca la guitarra,
ay, que del cielo rayo.

Las estrellas en los cielos, ay,
una y una y dos y dos,
no tienen tanta firmeza
niña de mi corazón,
no tienen tanta firmeza
cuanto tenemos los dos.

Las estrellas en los cielos,
una y una y dos y dos.

Yo me namorí de noche, ay,
y la luna m'engaño.

Si otra vez me namoro,
niña de mi corazón,
otra vez si me namoro
sea de día con sol.

Yo me namorí de noche
y la luna m'engaño.

20. *El hijo del guebir*

A song thus far undocumented in any other source. This is apparently a local creation, perhaps even addressing the son of one of the members of the Sephardic elite. The figure of the *tiñoso* (person who suffers from scalp ringworm, *tinea capitis*, or dandruff) can be found in humorous songs in Ladino (Weich-Shahak 2001, no. 113; Havassy 2007, Appendix ES 031, BSG 054).

El hijo del guevir

[s'alevanta?] su puerpo.

La tiña tenía

pasado de [su puerpo?]

Si se la untaba, se la

si se l'arapaba, se la

jueves se l'arapó

viernes se la untó

lavalá[?] la mañana

del celo[?] de Siman Tov.

[?]

esto non topó

s'arapó la tiña

[?] hija

Si se la untaba...

El hijo del guevir
tenía mal de madre.

El Dio la mataó
al lado[?] su padre.

Si se la untaba...

El hijo del guevir
era muy hermoso.
Un belá tenía
que era mocoso.

21. Grande desplacer me haces

Jacob Algava recorded an almost identical version of this song (see notes to no. 2 above and the text there). In this recording, every stanza is sung twice except for the first stanza while Algava repeats only the last stanza.

22. La galana

A love song that apparently disappeared from oral tradition. However, it was popular in Salonica at the beginning of the twentieth century. The article in the Ladino journal *El*

Mesajero (Salonica, 1939, see above in the introduction) evidently referring to CES, cites a fragment from *La galana*: “Sin te olvidarte / de siempre amarte. / No esto por mi / no salgas loco. / Matar me matas, galana, / Galana, galana, / sal a la ventana.” (Bunis 1999, English part, p. 329, note 87). Elie Cohen also recorded this song in a shorter version entitled “Sultana” (in makam Hüseyni, see below no. 60). Two additional versions come from Rhodes: a written version by Amato-Levy (1987, p. 141) and an audio recording by Roza Avzaradel (NSA Y 05824) described by the informant as a wedding song. Its opening line is: “Yo quería ser patron de esta guerta.” Isaac Levy (1959-1973, vol. II, no. 33) documented a very truncated version of both text (in fact only the refrain) and melody that appears to echo this recording.

Sufriendo siempre, siempre, yaré,
sufriendo siempre, siempre, parezco.

Kale olvidarmos lo que tengo,
esto por mí no salga loco.

Matarme, matarme,
matarme, matarme,
galana, galana.

Ay ya yürek.

Miri lo que va, que va, que va,
miri lo que va, que va, que va

Por ti galana, galana
ah ya yürek, ya yürek,
ah ya yürek, ya yürek,
ah ya yürek.

Por ti galana, galana,
por ti galana, galana
Ah ya yürek.

Me kale hacerte
porque me agradecerte siempre.
A todo que yo kale me contente
a todo que kale me contente.

Matar, matarme,
matarme. matarme,
galana, galana,
Ah yürek.

Miri lo que va,
miri lo que va
por ti galana, galana.

Ah ya yürek, ya yürek,
por ti galana,
por ti galana, galana.
Yarem, ah, amán, amán.

23. *La palomba*

This is a parodic song based on the melody and the refrain of the famous *habanera* by the Spanish composer Sebastián de Iradier y Salaverri (1809-1865), entitled *La paloma*. This song, commercially recorded as early as 1899, had become popular throughout the Hispanic world by the end of the nineteenth century. Haim Effendi recorded the first Sephardic cover in 1907/8 (Haim Effendi 2008, CD IV, no. 11). His version already included a Judeo-Spanish addition. Furthermore, a number of parodies of *La paloma* were composed in Salonica. This version by CES is one of them, though it still partially preserves the original refrain of the Spanish song. Other Sephardic parodies of *La paloma* with different texts are Bouena Sarfatty Garfinkle's *En tu balcón* (Havassy 2007, Appendix, BSG 022), Jako Poliker's *Limonero* (Poliker 2012, no. 3) and Haim Dasa's *Sal a la ventana* (NSA Y 2090/29). All these parodies portray the beloved woman as short, fat or disgusting, but desired for her money.

No sos hermosa y sos preta.
Si no te veo mi corazón se apreta.
Rojada de amor que m'arrojates como la saeta.
Te rogo que me quites de esta bajetá.

Oh, chiquita de sí, dame tu amor.

Vente con mi, oh chiquita

d'ande vivo yo.

Oh, onora dates con bavas.

Tus [...] amostra más

que de antes eres piadosa que con ti me conortaba

y descubrir tus amores siempre me haga mal amar.

Oh, chiquita de sí, dame tu amor.

Vente con mi, oh chiquita

d'ande vivo yo.

Mi corazón siempre buen sano,

mis cantes de la da un piano [?]

El que canta esta cantica y el que la siente,

el fidel mancebo trae a la niña [...] de la muerte.

Oh, chiquita de sí, dame tu amor.

Vente con mi, oh chiquita

d'ande vivo yo.

24. *El buceador*

The opening line recalls of course the famous romance of *Silvana* that was well known in Salonica, but the rest of the song is totally different. Attias (1972, no. 5) has documented this song with the opening “Se pasea Katina.” However, the recorded version in the Attias collection at NSA (Y 09498/1, performed by his wife Alegra Attias-Alhanati) and the musical transcription in his *Cancionero* (Attias 1972, pp. 274-275) open “Se pasea la reina.” Armistead and Silverman (1982, pp. 235-239) identified the source of this rare Ladino song in two French traditional songs: *L'embarquement de la fille aux chansons* and *Le plongeur noyé*. Interestingly, two motifs in the Ladino song that are not to be found in these French songs seem to come from Greek songs. One is the forty sailors, probably from the Σαράντα παλλικάρια (Forty brave men) theme. In the French song the number of sailors is thirty. The other motif is the theme of casting a lot which falls on the youngest among the sailors (in the Greek ballad το στοιχειωμένο πηγάδι, see Armistead and Silverman, 1982, p. 155). This last motif does not appear in this recording.

This version by CES bears many similarities to Attias’ version and also to another one documented by Bassan (1947, no. 166). Other references to this song, all from Salonica, are Bunis (1999, English part, p. 329, note 87, *Se pasea Kadima*, probably a misinterpretation of “Katina”) and Havassy (2007, appendix, BSG 040). Attias’ version has a meaningful continuation from which we can infer that the recording of CES is truncated because of the time limitations of the recording medium. In its fuller version, the song develops a plot that recalls, as we have seen, motifs found in romances and other folksongs. In her testimony, Bouena Sarfatty Garfinkle (see Havassy 2007, p.

166) says that the song was associated with the wedding events at the *mikveh* (ritual bath), an interpretation that makes sense given the central role of the topic of water in the fragment of this song that she remembered. The melody in 6/8 in this recording is quite distinguishable in comparison to the rest of the CES repertoire and corresponds exactly to the recording by Attias. Another version was documented by Kaufman (1993, p. 193-5) from Bulgarian sources and recorded in a commercial arrangement by singer Eva Volitzer (1998, entitled *En el río*).

Se pasea Silvana
por hermoso vergel,
al bodre del rio,
al agua de la mar.

Enfrente de el rio
una barca via,
al bodre del rio,
al agua de la mar.

Adentro de la barca
cuarenta marineros
al bodre del rio,
al agua de la mar.

Ellos 'stabán cantando
'na hermosa cantiga,
al bodre del río,
al agua de la mar.

Que hermosa cantiga,
yo la quero ambezar,
al bodre del río,
al agua de la mar.

25. *El padre mercader + El cuerpo de la mujer*

A combination of various stanzas, some of which are very well known in the literature (Attias 1972, no. 42 and musical transcription in p. 279-280; Hemsi 1995, no. 136; Levy 1959-1973, vol. II, nos. 95-96, vol. III, no. 34). In 1907 Albert Beressi recorded another version under the title *Ah Sarica bré* (Odeon 54238). The song was widely documented in fieldwork from singers originating in Turkey, the former Yugoslavia and Greece. The recording opens with the topic of the merchant father, then moves to a stanza around the motif of water and ends with two stanzas of the serial description of the body parts with similes inspired by natural elements adopted from a song known in the literature as *El cuerpo de la mujer* or *Las prendas de la novia* (Seroussi 2019, chapter 4). Capan, mentioned in the opening stanza, was a famous wholesale market in Salonica.

The tune in 7/8, borrowed from a Bosnian song with similar content, is characteristic of many Balkan dances.

La rama de muez

cayó a la mar.

La rama de muez

cayó a la mar.

Bre Sarica, linda y hermosica,

yo te va tomar

zapatos del Capan.

No m'aprime a mí

que me dejes tu.

No m'aprime a mí

que me dejes tu.

Tengo padre

mercader muy grande

que me va tomar

zapatos del lugar.

Bre Sarica bre,

traeme copo d'agua.

Bre Sarica bre,
traeme copo d'agua.
'Sto descalza,
hay rosío en bajo
me llenó los pies
me llenó los pies.

Ama tienes caras
manzanas correladas.

Ama tienes caras
manzanas correladas.

Por mi vida,
el que me las dió
mi padre me perió.

Ama tienes cejas
sanbašugas pretas.

Ama tienes cejas
sanbašugas pretas.

Por mi vida,
el Dio me las dió
mi madre me perió.

26. La rosa de mayo + Los bilbilicos

This *şarki* combining two (or more) texts into one unit became one of the quintessential Sephardic songs in the twentieth century commercial market (see Attias 1972, no. 78). Haim Effendi (2008, CD III, no. 17) recorded a similar version with an additional fourth stanza. The melody was adapted at an early stage to religious Hebrew texts, especially to the Sabbath table song, *Tzur mi-shelo akhalnu*, (cf. Idelsohn 1923, nos. 476 and 496).

La rosa enflorece
hoy en el mes de May.
Mi alma se escurece
piriendo del amor.

El bilbilico canta,
el suspira d'amor,
y la pasión mata,
non mira mi dolor.

Las noches son turtura,
los días son males.
Amada, y mi ventura
está en tu poder.

27. *El alma dolorida*

A song from the beginning of the twentieth century, it was also recorded by Salomon Effendi (Salomon Algazi, father of Isaac Algazi, ca. 1906) and Haim Effendi (2008, CD IV, no. 4) in 1912/13 and documented by Attias (1972, no. 28) and Hemsi (1995, no. 142). Most probably, this is a case of two different songs pasted together (stanzas 1-5, two decasyllabic lines and stanza 6, four octasyllabic lines). The rhythmic instrumental refrain is repeated during the piece as prelude, interlude and postlude, with stanza 6 sung to its melody. This last stanza contrasts with the first five stanzas that start in flexible rhythm and ornamented style in each first line moving into a more rhythmic style in the second line.

La soledad de la nochada
muy desolada, ah, me ondí yo.

Mi alma triste, muy doloriosa,
nunca reposa, ah, de mal sufrir.

Pidrí oficio, bienes y vicios
por alcanzarte, ah, mi querida.

El río pasa, l'arena queda
El amor quema en el corazón.

Reposo quero yo en la fuessa
que tengo prisa, ah, de reposar.

Quen te dijo que me hablaras
sin saber sin conocer.

Esta es la tuya cara
que te haces aboreser.

28. *El robo de Dina*

A very truncated version of the romance *El robo de Dina*, based on the Biblical story of the rape of the patriarch Jacob's daughter (CMP E7; Attias 1961, no. 71; Armistead and Silverman 1971a, no. 8). Already documented in Spanish sources of the sixteenth century, it survived in oral tradition only among the Sephardic Jews of Salonica, Serres and Rhodes. The text in this recording is very similar to the opening lines in the version of this romance recorded by the important informant Estrea Aeliyon (PF 185/04) and by Hemsi (1995, no. 11A), both from Salonica. The main textual difference is the substitution of Hamor by Hevron.

Se pasean las doce flores entre'n medio una conga.
Dijo la conga a las flores: hoy es dia de pasear.

Se pasea la linda Dina por los campos del rey Hevrón
con favor de sus doce hermanos caminaba sin temor.

29. *La llamada a la morena + La nave por partir*

A compilation of stanzas of various sources, some of medieval Hispanic origin (CMP AA45; Attias 1972, no. 12; Hemsi 1995, no. 115, Armistead and Silverman 1971b, pp. 57, 99-100). Its earliest documented textual version in a Sephardic written source (Ms. NLI 413, Compiled by David Hacohen, Sarajevo 1794, fol. 175b) includes some stanzas referring to the Jewish wedding ceremony. However, this old version lacks the famous refrain (“Morenica, graciosa sos...”) that was probably added later. The song became one of the most popular ones in the contemporary Ladino commercial market. Albert Beressi recorded it earlier (Odeon 54473, ca. 1908). In this recording by CES, the references to the wedding are not present. The closing line of the refrain, “Mi cara de flor” is rare; in most documented versions it is “Ojos pretos tu” or the Greek equivalent “Mavromata mu.” Bašisten is a market in Salonica mentioned only in the Salonican versions of this song.

Morena a mí me aman,

yo blanca naci.

Del sol del enverano

yo me hizo ansi.

Morenica,

morenica y sabrosica,

mi cara de flor.

Morena a mí me aman

los del Bašisten.

Si otra vez me aman

yo me vo con el.

Morenica...

Dicilde a la morena

que yo va partir.

Las naves estan en velas,

que yo me vo a ir.

Morenica...

Morena a mí me ama

el hijo del rey.

Si otra vez me llama

yo me vo con él.

Morenica...

Dicilde a la morena
que yo va partir.
Las naves estan en velas,
que yo me vo ir.

Morenica...

30. *Muero de amor*

Although recorded commercially three times within very few years (Salomon Algazi, Odeon 83061-B, 1906/7; Haim Effendi, 2008, CD. III, no. 3, in 1907/8 and this CES recording), this *sarki* is not documented in any other Sephardic oral or written source known to us. Apparently, it was never part of the oral tradition, and may have been a Ladino cover of a Turkish popular song. Its literary style and topic (ardent, overt love) underscores its rather modern origins.

Muero, muero d'amor.
Por que sufro dolor, ah, d'amor.
Ven aquí, tú mi hermosa,
a la güert' es la tuya rosa.
Vate, querido, querido, querido,
ah, ya basta quemarme tanto.

Busquí verte con ardor,
pasí montañas con dolor.

Alcancí a la fin abrazarte.

Sabor y toda mi alma, mi alma, tu alma,
Oh, tu amas, mi alma.

Oh, ah šeker, ah hanum, ah biju.

31. *El lindo mancebo + Los amantes de la casa rica*

A combination of stanzas, of which the first three are rather rare and to date documented only in Salonican sources (Attias 1972, no. 43; Bassan 1947, no. 84). In contrast, stanzas 4-6 are widespread in the modern recorded repertoire and are usually sung together with other stanzas entitled *Los amantes de la casa rica* (Attias 1972, no. 97; Hemsi 1995, no. 100). Attias' version starts with the second stanza, "Oh que lindo mancebo," a stanza that is repeated by the CES at the end of this recording. Attias' recorded versions, sung by him and his wife, Alegra Attias-Alhanati (e.g. NSA, Y 09485, no. 1), have the same melody as this recording and include only the first three stanzas. This melody differs substantially from the one found on many twentieth century commercial recordings, although the contour of the four phrases points to a certain affinity between them. Attias cites his mother's testimony that the song refers to an actual love affair between a poor girl and a young man from a wealthy family that took place at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Te huetes a Stambol

me dejates ansína.

Ninguna niña venga

n'esta mofina mía.

Oh que lindo mancebo

que tu ya te hicites.

A mí como el sebo

ya me derretites.

Caminando llorando

aman que temeroso.

Cayera y muriera

mi caro esposo.

Pájaro d'hermosura

y rico de figura

aposa en mis ventanas

para oír la boz.

Salgo triste llorando
al pájaro llamando.
Me dejó asperando
sin tener piadad.

Llora querida llora
que'stas en mares fondas.
Tienes gente cruela
no se dejan convensar.

Oh que lindo mancebo
que tu ya te hicites.
A mí como el sebo
ya me derretites.

32. La agonía del amante

The opening of this song, “Conga mía conga mía / chichek de mi cabeza” (“conga” means “rosebud” in Turkish; the name of the song on the record label is “Rosa mia”) is a formulaic stanza that opens other Sephardic songs (e.g. Amato Levy 1987, p. 144; Hemsi 1995, no. 108; PF 143/01, 049/03 recorded from Ester Akoen, Salonica). However, the continuation in this version is unique in the literature. The closest versions were published or recorded by Attias (1972, no. 56; NSA Y 09490 by Alegra

Attias-Alhanati; Y 09493 [2] by Moshe Attias; Y/09506 by Shlomo Venezia), and they are all from Salonica. The melody appears in a musical transcription by Idelsohn (1923, no. 484) with the same opening stanza. This transcription is very close to the melody in this recording as well as to the one transcribed in Attias (1972, p. 282). With a high degree of probability, this is a Greek or Turkish melody (Idelsohn described it as “Turkish, known in Jerusalem”), whose model appears in several other Sephardic songs (e.g. *Venturoso mancebo* by Haim Effendi, 2008, CD III, no. 4). Other Sephardic songs starting with “Conga mía, conga mía, / chickek de mi cabeza” and appearing in commercial recordings have a different melody (e.g. Yasmin Levy 2000, no. 5).

Conga mía, conga mía,
chickek de mi cabeza.

La luna me s'escureció,
la mar se hizo preta.

Si es que me vo a muerir
mira lo que hacites.
Puedes casarte de mi vida
es para tirar confites.

Si es que me vo a muerir
te rogo y te namoro.

Me quitas la ridá del jep
me tapas boca y ojos.

Boca y ojos vo a tapar
me v'asentar d'enfrente.

El huevo me toca a mí
las passas a tu gente.

Un pájaro me vo hazer
de donde 'sta volando.

Me va arrivar a la bajo
malata con el [...] tanco.

33. *S'alevantó bula Linda*

Probably this is a wedding song, since it refers to topics such as the *ašugar* (dowry), *marido* (husband), *desposar y casar* (engagement and marriage) and *fašadura* (baby diapers). The literary motifs of the encounter in the middle of the road (*en medio del camino*) and the search for the noble husband (*marido baronal* or *caronal*) by the wife are found in various cantigas and most especially in romances, such as the romance *La vuelta del marido* (CMP I1). Characteristic of the romance is also the motif of getting up in the morning, here on Sunday (*alhad*) while in romances of Hispanic origin it is usually on Monday (*lunes*). *Chobanico* (little shepherd) is a word of Turkish origin, equivalent of *pastor* in Spanish.

Mazal and *buenaventura* frequently refer to a successful marriage. No other version of this text has been documented so far.

S'alevantó bula Linda
y una mañana d'alhad
y una mañana d'alhad
acojer el oro y la plata
y lo mejor del ašugar.

Por enmedio del camino
chobanico la topó
y chobanico la topó.
Ande vaš la mi señora
ande vaſte por acá
y ande vaſte por acá.

V'a buscar al mi marido
mi marido caronal.
V'a buscar al mi marido
mi marido caronal,
qu'es amigo baronal.

Gozo y bien el mi mazal
de desposar y casar
y tener buena ventura
y tener buena ventura
y tener la fašadura.

Por enmedio del camino
chobanico la topó.
Ande vaš la mi señora
ande vašte por acá.
A buscar al mi marido
mi marido caronal.

Gozo viene de mazal
de desposar y casar
y tener buena ventura
y tener la fašadura.

34. *Te vide una mañana*

A love song whose combination of stanzas is unknown in other sources. Stanza 4 is included in various wedding songs: Attias 1961, no. 103; *El baño con la suegra* (PF 182/04,

Salonica); *El aseo de la novia* (Weich-Shahak 2013, no. 60, sung by Rosa Avzaradel, Rhodes). It also appears in the song *Bulisa* recorded by Haim Effendi (2008, CD 4, no. 2), that is probably a version of the old Sephardic song *El mancebo enamorado* (Pedrosa 1994). The melody is in makam Hüzzam.

Te vide una mañana
cabellos destrenzados.
En tu malyares [? sanos?] con alegría.

Truyeron las flores
truyeron los lirios
y yo la vida mía
creimos[?] los dos.

Por ande tu caminas
[estos? pañas? entonces?] con un metro 'n la mano
como tu caminaría

M'alevanto la mañana
me lavo la cara

con jabón d'almiskle
y agua rosada.

Truyeron las flores
crieron los lirios
y yo la vida mía
creimos los dos.

Parecías un angel
un angel del cielo.
Tu figura muy sana
muy naturala.

Rayos de los cielos
son muy calorosos.
Todo el que pedría
te hace maloroso.

Yarem medet, ah, amán.
Ah yarem.

35. Toma mi alma y tómala

A rare cluster of stanzas with a well-known refrain. The closest version to this love song was documented by Bassan (1947, no. 55), also from Salonica. It appears that this song is related to *Partiendo de Salonik* performed by Jako Poliker (2012) that shares the same melody and stanza 3. Stanza 3 is also included in *Amor y muerte* (PF 034/06; Hemsi 1995, no. 84; Idelsohn 1923, no. 480). The refrain also appears in *El fóstán y el chapeo* (see, PF 034/10 and others). Saltiel and Horowitz (2001, p. 33) includes the refrain “Hasta cuando cruela serás, Chakirika” (this name is the title of a song recorded in 1908 by Albert Beressi but this recording is not available). The makam on the record label is “Hijaz” (Hicaz in Turkish) but in the recording and in all other musical versions the makam is Hüseyni.

Toma mi alma y tómala
siendo non tienes alma.

Hasta cuando cruela serás
T'ajidea de mi alma.

La flor del día veo despuntar,
mi corazón se tembla.
Corre a tu puerta por te alcanzar
mis amores me calman.

Hasta cuando...

Abrete tierra, ábrete
y tómame adentro.
Tómame junto del mi amor,
la vida cuando salgo.

Hasta cuando...

Yo ya non quero más vivir
en este mundo falso.
Dame tu palabra llena de amor,
la vida cuando salgo.

Hasta cuando...

36. *La bella en misa*

A very truncated version of the romance *La bella en misa* (CMP S7) as documented in Salonica around the beginning of the twentieth century. This story about a beautiful lady entering the church, illuminating it and disturbing the ceremony is reduced here to a partial description of her beauty with similes from nature. Her head is compared to a grapefruit and her cheeks to the excellent apples from Skopje. The closest version of this

romance is the one documented by Yacob Abraham Yoná of Salonica in a number of brochures he published (Armistead and Silverman 1971a, pp. 319-332). See also Attias 1961, no. 14; Hemsi 1995, no. 59; Perez 2007, pp. 23-28; PF 185/02 (sung by Estrea Aeliyon from Salonica). The melody covers two lines of the romance in the AB BC CD, etc. pattern. The melody is a classic example of the performance of romances in the Ottoman Empire with a very melismatic four-phrase tune without a clear beat.

Tres damas van a la misa a hacer la oración,
entre medio la mi esposa y la que más quería yo, y mi señor.

Entre medio la mi esposa y la que más quería yo.
Sayo lleva sobre sayo y un šiboy d'altornación, cara de flor.

Sayo lleva sobre sayo y un šiboy d'altornación,
Su cabeza una toronja y sus cabellos briles son, cara de flor.

Su cabeza una toronja y sus cabellos briles son.
Las sus caras coroladas manzanas de Eskopia son, cara de flor.

37. Un desgraciado de amor

No other version of this love song is known.

Grande es mi historia
no viene a compartir.

Una niña de hermosear
con mí quere conocer.
Amán, amán,
con mí quere conocer.

Paso y torno por tu casa.
Ven, ven, ven te lo gozar.
Mi puerpo está 'ntransas
te quiero por esposar.
Amán, amán,
te quiero por esposar.

Tantas veces desvalo
tu a mí m'envitabas
con tu escopo malo
jurabas que me amabas.
Amán, amán,
jurabas que me amabas.

Despues de tanto tiempo
que tú con mí jugates
deshicites mi puerpo

al fin te retirates.

Amán, amán,

al fin te retirates.

38. *Cantiga de Hanum Dudún*

See the notes to another recording of this song in no. 6 above (by Algava) and below no. 69 for a partial version by the choir La Gloria. The CES's version is very similar to Algava's, except for the lack of the refrain "Tirilaylay hop" and the fifth stanza whose lines 3-4 are rare. On the label of the record is written: "Hüzzam şarki."

Una noche yo me armí
por vuestro vecindado.
Deješme la puerta 'bierta
y el candil amatado.

Ventanas altas tienes tú
con velas amarillas.
Esta noche arrog'al Dio
que me subaš arriba.

El devantal que vos llevaš,
lo d'en el bajo's mío.

Si es por el harem, Dudún,
mañana de mañana.

El anillo que vos llevaš
el diamante es mío.

El kuyumđi que lo hizo
es primo hermano mío.

Buenas noches, Hanum Dudún,
repuesta ni palabra.
Te rogaré, te besaré
la puerta de tu hermana.

39. *Una huerfanica amo yo*

An unknown song defined as a *şarkı* in makam Hüzzam. The melody recalls a waltz.

Una huerfanica amo yo
en bien me la presente
por 'n hombre te amaneas
tu arcol ya parece.

Porque amarme
ansí dejarme.
Esperanza dame
de siempre amarme.

Amor tenía y lo dejí
por mí me vo toparlo.

Tenía un niño de honor
con un fiero[?] hermano.

Porque amarme...

Buscando vo la salvación.

Rogo dame consolación.

Llorando vo sin reposar
que conerto quer' eposar.

40. *Los trabajos de la semana*

A well-documented serial song (Attias 1972, no. 127; Hemsi 1995, no. 133) in which a wife counts the days of the week indicating the tasks she has to fulfill on each day. She complains to her husband that she has so much work she has no time for her embroidery hoop. The version recorded by the CES relates only the tasks of Sunday

through Wednesday. For a comparative study of the Sephardic and Hispanic versions of *Los trabajos de la semana* see Fraile Gil and Weich-Shahak 1996. For the meaning and function of the *bastidor* in Judeo-Spanish traditional poetry, see Held 2014. The name of the makam of this song, “Hijaz” (Hicaz in Turkish), appears on the record label.

Día de alhad torno y visito.

Marido, así vivaš vos.

¿Cuando quereš que labre
este lindo bastidor?

Marido, así vivaš vos.

Día de lunes hago lavado.

Marido, así vivaš vos.

¿Cuando quereš que labre
este lindo bastidor?

Maridico, así vivaš vos.

Día de martes non vo lo digo.

Marido, así vivaš vos.

¿Cuando quereš que labre
este lindo bastidor?

Maridico, así vivaš vos.

Día de miércoles la estiro y la dublo.

Marido, así vivaš vos.

¿Cuando quereš que labre
este lindo bastidor?

Maridico, así vivaš vos.

Çakum Effendi

41. *Los árboles llorosos*

For notes on this extremely popular Judeo-Spanish song, see above no. 13. The last stanza of this version by Çakum Effendi is very rare and hardly ever heard today (for variants see, PF 222/04 by Estrella Missistrano, Istanbul, Turkey and PF 254/16 by Kobi Zarko, Israel/Turkey).

Arboles lloran por lluvia
y montañas por aire.

Ansi lloran los mis ojos
pur ti, quirida amante.

Ven verás y ven verás,
y ven verás y veremos.

Amor que tenemos los dos,
ven mos aunaremos.

Enfrente de mí hay un ángelo
con tus ojos me mira.

Hablar quero y non puedo,
mi corazón suspira.

Ainda estás chiquitica,
la tu sita me quema.

Me vo morir, me vo morir
pur tu lucia figura.

42. Malandanzas del asker

This is one of the Ladino songs about the “askerlik” – the military service forced on the Jews of the Ottoman Empire authorities since 1908. Çakum’s version is close to Haim Effendi’s (2008, CD III, no. 18). Rare versions of this song documented in oral tradition probably emanate from these recordings. See Attias 1972, no. 112; Levy 1959-1973, vol. I, no. 87; vol. IV, nos. 64, 65; Romero 2008, no. 108 (entitled *Las botas de los ingleses*); Havassy 2007, Appendix, ES 079.

Ah, abre tus ojos y mira
lo que vino al mundo.

El hijo ya se hue al asker,
yo v'a salir del mundo.

Ah, abre la puerta del kovuš,
te besaré la cara,
que se asente el babá
que estó'n la caravana.

Ah, mamá mía, mi quirida,
¿Por qué trabas dolores?
Que lo mireš al tu hijo
que está en los soles.

Ah, a la mamá ya le dije,
mi padre es mancebo.
Uno bueno que tenga,
que venga fin al treno.

43. *El infante cautivo*

This romance (CMP H16) was popular among the Eastern Sephardic Jews (especially in Salonica and Sarajevo). It was documented in a manuscript dated 1794 (Attias 1973, no. 21). Haim Effendi recorded at least two different versions of this song (2008, CD III, no. 7), both longer than Çakum's, whose version is extremely brief (compare versions recorded from oral tradition, Havassy 2007, Appendix, ES 106, BSG 089). Very little is therefore left of the romance's narrative. However, the recording is musically rich, surrounded by instrumental interludes played by oud and clarinet. The melody in the ABCD form is characteristic of Sephardic romances.

– Aaa, carcelero y piadoso, así el Dio te dé la vida, amán
que me quites esta cadena, y aflojes el puñal, aaa.

Ya lo tomó el carcelero, se lo llevó en ciudades altas.

En las ciudades de Marsellia, amán, allí había tres doncellas, amán.

44. *¿Por qué no cantáis la bella? (é-a)*

This song consists of two lines of *¿Por qué no cantáis la bella?* (CMP J4), a rare romance among the Eastern Sephardic Jews, known mainly in Sarajevo and the Izmir area (Hemsi 1995, no. 28), inserted within a Turkish song. The music was probably adapted from this Turkish song (not yet identified). The opening stanza in Turkish is: “Night is coming, let me have my candles lit / Let us sit, without sorrow, my love / Oh my effendi, oh my sultan, hug me / As you miss (me), my love with black eyes.” (Transcription and translation from Turkish: Erol Tunali). Haim Effendi’s version (2008, CD III, no. 2) is very similar.

Ah, akşam olur yaktırayım mumlarımı, aman,

Oturalım kasavetsiz yar benim.

Ah efendicigim ah sultanım sar beni

Özledikça kara gözlü yar beni(m).

Ah, la reina ‘staba ‘sentada, labrando, amán,

ah, cabezal de sirma y perla, yar beni.

Ah efendicigim, ah sultanım sar beni

Özledikça kara gözlü yar beni(m).

Ah, de la sirma le mancaba, gúllerimi, amán,
ah, de mis cabellos la gustaba.

Ah efendicigim ah sultanım sar beni
Özledikça kara gözlü yar beni(m).

45. *Los amigos me dan esperanza*

This *şarkı* has hardly been documented, although it appears to have been quite popular mostly in Salonica (Bassan 1947, nos. 56, 81; Levy 1959-1973, vol. I, no. 44). Besides the recording by Çakum, we know of an almost identical one by Haim Effendi of which we only possess a copy of a copy (NSA Y 09487/2). Attias (1972, no. 67) includes a longer version with several refrains. For further recordings see: NSA Y 09508 (1) and NSA Y 09479 both sung by Isaac Sene (Havassy 2007, ES 090). The musical style and tonality hints at a European model, particularly in the refrain in the waltz style.

Los amigos me dan la esperanza
y una parte de consolación.
Tu sos fresca como la rosa,
de ti espero la salvación.
Oh Dio mio, la esperanza pedrí yo.
Quero murir, d'este mundo quero salir.

Lágrimas vierto como la fuente.

Tú, querida, me queres matar.
En tu torno me haces despecho
sin pensar lo que puede arrivar.
Oh Dio mio, la esperanza pedrí yo.
Quero murir, d'este mundo quero salir.

46. *Mi Dio a quien rogaré*

A Turkish *ghazel* (transcription by Mehmet Sankılol) accompanied by a solo clarinet.
Each line of the Turkish song is followed by a parallel one in Ladino.

Ay, yare, amán, amán

Yar kime feryat ideyim yarın elinden
Mi Dio a quen rogaré, amán ande Ti.

[Ah] ben nice kan ağlayayım [ah] yarın elinden
Ya, los mis ojos hace correr por Tu nombre, mi Dio.

Amán, amán, medet, ah...

Eğer halimi bir gül gibi feryat
Que pronto aquel pájaro que está fuido de su nido

Kurtaramadım (?) goncesini yarın (halin?) elinden
Non escapí a la rosa de mano del espino.

Aaa, yare, amán, yare amán, amán.

47. Ten piudad amoroso

Another love song in the classic Ottoman *ghazel* style with solo clarinet accompaniment (compare with no. 46 above) combining lines in Judeo-Spanish and Turkish. In this case, the Ladino text is clearly a close paraphrase of the Turkish lines whose meter, failatün failatün failatün failün, is also clear (transcription of Turkish text and analysis by Mehmet Sankılol). This *ghazel* was also recorded by Isachino Pessah from Salonica and issued by several companies but no copy of this second recording has been located so far (information retrieved from an ad in the Ladino journal *La America*, published in New York, 30 June 1922, p. 2).

Amán, amán.

Merhamet kıl âşık-ı pür derde Allah aşkına
Ten piudad, amoroso, un' muchach' sin ventura por amor del Dio.

Şivekarım nerde kaldın, nerde Allah aşkına
Mi quirida onde quedastes, onde estas por amor del Dio.
Aldey, amán, amán, amán.

Hazırıım can virmeye bir an seni görmek için
Cuando estó por entregar la mi alma o por darte por ver tu cara.
Yaleyah.

Ruyine itme nikab-ı perde Allah aşkına
No te tapes la tu hermosa vista, no te tapes por amor del Dio.
Yalel, medeyde, ah...

48. *La doncella esclareciente*

A very popular *cantiga* from Salonica from the beginning of the twentieth century that hardly survived in oral tradition (see Havassy 2007, Appendix, ES 057; NSA Yc 1215 and Y 275). Albert Pessah (see no. 53 below) and Haim Effendi (NSA Y 09487/1) also recorded it. The three recordings are basically identical, consisting of two stanzas. Hemsi's version (1995, no. 91), however, includes a third stanza.

Tu sos hermosa doncella
que al salir esclareces.
Las tus caras coloradas
como la rosa.
Los tus ojos como estrellas
centellantes para mi.

Me haces tresalir, me haces tresalir.
Ten piadad, ten piadad,
ten piadad de mi edad.

Dame te rogo tu amor
por no tener yo mas dolor.
Los tus ojos de rosiñol
te traen una ‘rmosura.
Las tus caras, hermosa rosa,
te traen mucha hermosor.

Me haces tresalir, me haces tresalir.
Ten piadad, ten piadad,
ten piadad de mi edad.

49. *Im afes*

An ‘*aqedah*, a liturgical poem on the binding of Isaac, by Rabbi Ephraim Bar Isaac of Regensburg (1110-1175), a poet from Ashkenaz (Germany), that is included in the Sephardic *selihot* service. There are several versions of this poem in Judeo-Spanish, including one by Haim Effendi published in 1895 (BAECS, nos. 207a, 239a, 244a). Çakum’s version is very close to the version recorded by Haim Effendi (2008, CD I, no. 12), though shorter. His version differs from Haim Effendi’s published version of

the text. This melody in makam Uşşak/Hüseyni is one of the most widespread Eastern Sephardic traditional tunes for the High Holidays. Isaac Algazi recorded *Im afes* with this same traditional melody but with the Hebrew text (Seroussi 1989, no. 3).

Si atemar se atemó el semen de tu nido,
tienda que moró la šejiná si es vaciado,
non seremos por siempre depedridos,
zejut de un padre viejo mos arremampará.

Tú que siempre le mostrates tu claredad,
y nosotros enmentaremos delantre tu justedad.
Le dijites: toma a tu hijo regalado
Enrejistrates [?] en esta edad.
La siniza del mizbeah harás buenedad.

50. *Bezokhri 'al mishkavi*

A *selihah* by Rabbi Yehudah Ibn Bal'am (Al-Andalus, 11th century). Çakum Effendi sings the first three stanzas. The refrain, a line from Lamentations 3, 22 (חֲקָרְתִּי ה' כִּי לَا תִּמְנֹעַ כִּי), is different from the traditional one printed in most Sephardic *mahnorim* taken from 2 Samuel 24, 10 (נֶפְלָה נָא בְּיַד יְהוָה כִּי רְבִים רְחַמֵּי). The *selihah* was also recorded by Haim Effendi (2008, CD 1, no. 9). Çakum's version is slightly longer and includes a fragment of the third stanza. The melody as well as the clarinet accompaniment are

identical to Haim Effendi's setting. It is a slow, metered melody in makam Uşşak with an interesting rhythmic cycle of 15/4 (sometimes 16/4) per phrase. The musical structure of the opening stanza is aabA and of the second one aaabA whereas A is the refrain.

בָּזְכַּרְיִ עַל מִשְׁקָבֵי זֹדוֹן לְבִי וְאַשְׁמִינִי
אֲקִיםָה וְאֶבְוָאָה אֶל בֵּית אַלְפִּי וְהַדּוֹמָיו¹
וְאָמַר בְּנֶשֶׁאי עַזְן בְּתַחְנוּנִי אַלְיָ שְׁמִינִי
חִסְדֵּי הִ פִּי לֹא תִּמְנוֹ פִּי לֹא כָּלוּ רְחַמְּנִי

לֹךְ אַלְיָ צֹור חִילִי מְנוּסְטִי בְּצָרְתִּי
בְּהַ שְׁבָרִי וְתַקְוָתִי אַיְלָוָתִי בְּגַלְוָתִי
לֹךְ כָּל מְשָׁאָלֹת לְבִי וְנַגְדֵּךְ כָּל תַּאֲוָתִי
פָּרָה עָבֵד לֹךְ צֹעָק מִיד רְזִדְיוּ וְקַמְנִי
חִסְדֵּי הִ פִּי לֹא תִּמְנוֹ פִּי לֹא כָּלוּ רְחַמְּנִי

עֲנוּנִי הִ עֲנוּנִי בְּקָרָאִי מִן הַפְּצָר
וַיַּדְעַ בְּעַמִּים פִּי יְזָה לֹא תַקְצֵר
אֲשֶׁר פְּשָׁעָיו לֹךְ מַזְהָה וּמַתְוָה עַל עַלְוָמִינִי
חִסְדֵּי הִ פִּי לֹא תִּמְנוֹ פִּי לֹא כָּלוּ רְחַמְּנִי

Albert Pessah

51. Rogativa al todo poderoso

This song belongs to a group of songs celebrating the Young Turks' revolution in 1908 and the events that followed it. In other versions, the reference to the historical circumstances is: "Oh que gracioso Dio / que la liberta mos dió" (Oh, gracious Lord / Who provided us freedom). See for example Haim Effendi's version (NSA Y09487/2) recorded in 1911/12; Havassy 2007, Appendix, ES 113 (entitled *La celebración de la victoria*) and PF 037/02. See also nos. 3 and 4 above.

O que gracioso Dio
que todo bueno mos dió.

Vivimos con su valor
por tomar grand savor.

Alabad al poderoso
que mos de bueno y gozo.

Siempre, siempre alabarlo
y de corazón yamarlo.

Alabar su nombre
de toda boca de hombre.

Alegres hijos teneš
siempre ansí bien deš.

Alabad al poderoso
que mos dé bueno y gozo.
Siempre, siempre alabarlo
y de corazón yamarlo.

52. *De lo que amo yo*

No other versions of this song are documented.

De lo que amo yo non paso,
siempre estó en embaraso.

De amar yo non me cансo
cual era de amatar.

Gozo, alegría, vida, consolación
amar y alabar
cantar, tañer y bien atar.

En conocer mi chica idad
siempre tuve yo piadad.

A lo bueno siempre yo amí
rog' al Dio que dé a mí
gozo, alegría, vida, consolación
amar y alabar
cantar, tañer y bien atar.

Vente años pasí esta vida
por desgraciado vi caída.
Grita larga es mi ventura
esperando topar pura.
Gozo, alegría, vida, consolación
amar y alabar
cantar, tañer y bien atar.

53. *La doncella esclareciente*

See our notes to no. 48 above.

Tu sos hermosa doncella
que al salir esclareces.
Las tus caras coloradas
como rosa al espuntar

y tus ojos como estrellas
cintellantes parecen.

Me hacen tresalir, me hacen tresalir.
Ten piadad de tú y yo[?].

Dame te rogo tu amor
por no tener yo mas dolor.

Tus ojos de rosiñol
te traen mucha 'rmosura
y tus caras, hermosa rosa,
te traen bonor.

Me hacen tresalir, me hacen tresalir.
Ten piadad de mi edad.

Isachino Pessah

54. Yo no entiendo la mi madre

A humorous dialogue between a mother and her daughter about the future husband (or son-in-law) who happens to be the neighbor. No other versions of this song are documented. The motif of the lover being a thief and a gambler can be found in various Sephardic songs, such as PF 053/05, PF 167/10 (*El amante criminal* o *El amante ladrón*); Attias 1972, nos. 24, 25, 103. The melody is very similar to that of the song *La maldición de ser asker* (see Levy 1959-1973, vol. I, no. 78).

Yo no entiendo la mi madre

oh Dio, que me venga ver.

Va tomar al mi vecino

que morimos para ver.

Ah, no te do al tu vecino

qu'es ladrón y kumarğí.

A mañana en casada

yo te vo dejar muerir.

Ah, no me dejas la mi madre,

no me dejas a mí muerir.

Ya basta un pan el día
para él y para mí.

Ah, salga a la puerta mi madre,
la hija le [...?]
Veras al tu yerno chico
con quen yo nun va pasar.

Ah, mi querido cuando pasa,
pasa por me saludar.

Yo que se mucho güercada
le maneo la ridá.

Ah, d'esto[?] y d'estas non viene
rematar la franquedad.
Echatelo el padre al hombro
vas a ver[?] a la quirá.

55. Unas fuentes sin estanco

This is a rare song of which no other version is known. However its opening stanza is included in a long *sarki* documented by Attias (1972, no. 113).

Ah, unas fuentes sin estanco

van llorando sin quedar.

Ah, son los ojos d'un mancebo

que lloran de mal llevar, amán, amán.

Amán, amán, amán.

Ni tu niña ni tu risa

me puedrían yasear [...?]

Solo una muerte dulce

me podría contentar.

Amán, amán, amán.

Ah, mis amigos no se abastan,

querían verme matar.

Ah, verán solo una tumba

quen de mi se va 'codrar.

Medet...

Mlle Mariette

56. *El sentenciado del bajá*

A truncated version of the romance *El sentenciado del bajá* (CMP H23) documented in few printed and recorded sources in much longer versions. The protagonist in some versions is a woman, in others a man. The story develops into a dialogue (missing in this recording) between the protagonist, who was sentenced to death for refusing the advances of an anonymous “Turk” and his/her mother who is asked to save her son/daughter but cannot help. This romance has no parallel versions in the Hispanic or Balkan ballad traditions. For additional versions and further discussion, see Attias 1972, no. 136; Benmayor 1979, no. 13; Havassy, 2007, Appendix, ES 096.

Yarem.

Yo se venido de Brusa,
me fue para'l hukiumat.

El turco pašá me vido
con él me quijo llivar.

Yarem.

Día de lunes a las cuatro
me van al hukiumat.

Con el fermán en la mano
los dušmanes me van detrás.

Yarem, amán.

Día de martes a las siete
m'abajan al estindak.

Con el fermán en la mano
los amigos me van detrás.
Con el fermán en la mano
los dušmanes me van detrás.

Mlle. Rosa

57. *Me quieres matar mancebo*

No other version of these lines is known so far. The complaint of the lover that the beloved wants to take her life with a knife (or a gun) and the motif of getting up in the morning are common in Ladino songs. The recording opens with an uncommonly extended instrumental version of the entire song and ends rather abruptly. This is the only Ladino song (perhaps a cover of a Greek song) recorded by this singer named “Mlle. Rosa” on the label. According to Kalyviotis (2015, p. 87) she was active in Salonica under the stage name “The queen.” In his opinion, she is not to be confused with Rosa Eskenazi.

Me queres matar mancebo
con cuchillo de marfil [?]
ande me queres la mano
que no se desmayí [?].

M'alevanto la mañana
alzo los ojos al Dio,
en diciend' a las estrellas
que ya no veren sin amor.

Turkish recordings

Isaac Algazi

58. *La despedida*

The author of this song, Dr. Maimon Levy, was an ophthalmologist, native of Corfu, who is known to have worked in Izmir around 1865. The first known version was published in 1885 in a scientific journal in Spain and included 14 stanzas. According to Rabbi Haim Bidjarano, the poem was written after a famous Italian song composed in the eighteenth century (Bidjarano 1885). Isaac Algazi himself published Dr. Levy's song in his *Mélodies hébraïques* (1924-1925), a compilation of Algazi's own compositions. Algazi describes it as a "Judeo-Spanish romance in makam Séba" and attributes its music to Haim Alazraki, a famous Sephardic composer of the time (died 1913 in Izmir), who was also the composer of *La reina de la gracia* (see below no. 59). Algazi's published version contains only stanzas nos. 1-4 and 7 of the song. A very popular song at the time, it was recorded twice by Algazi, both with a much shorter text: stanzas 1-2 in this recording of 1911 and stanzas 1-2 and part of 7 in the later one (1912). For a comprehensive discussion of the song and its versions in oral tradition see Havassy 2011b.

Alma mía, vino l'hora,
a partir te vas agora.
¿Cómo, cómo viviré

sin aquella que amí?
Ya scapó mi alegría,
llorí yo noche día.
Y tu coro, ¿quén lo sabe,
acodrar se va de mí?

Si tú más no sos amiga,
non me seas inimiga
ni t'olvides onde vas
que por ti yo me quemí.
En tu viaje, en tu camino,
yo te rogo, tenme'n tino.
Y tu coro, ¿quén lo sabe,
acodrar te vas de mí?

59. La reina de la gracia

This is a love song in makam Nihavent and usul Devri Hindi (7/4). The poem was written by the journalist and poet Nessim de Yehudah Pardo, ca. 1880 (see Galante 1937, p. 350). According to Galante (p. 164), Haim Alazraki composed the music (see no. 58 above). The French musicologist Eugene Borrel (1924, p. 168) notated this song in 1900 from the composer and singer from Izmir Shem Tov (aka Santo) Chikiar,

Isaac Algazi's mentor, Hemsi (1995, no. 85B) published two versions of this song, one of them copied from Galante's publication. This early recording of *La reina de la gracia* has an additional stanza which is missing in the later recording from 1929 (Odeon LA 202786a) released by Seroussi (1989, no. 30). The Jews of Izmir were very fond of this song, which remained in their memory until the late twentieth century. Amnon Shiloah recorded it from Esther Morgues Algranati in Izmir in 1971, almost a century after its composition (NSA, Yc 477).

Reina de la gracia,
madre de la vivez
¿Onde que te topes
por verte otra vez?
Vo murir, vo murir
sin aquella contenter.

¿Onde que te topes
por verte otra vez?

La rosa se deja
ver, tocar y goler,
y tú tan cruela
no te dejas ni ver.

Mi vida prometo yo
por de ti saber.

¿Onde que te topes
por verte otra vez?

Elie Cohen

60. Noche de alhad

A paraphrase of the first stanza of the piyyut *Be-moza'ei yom menuhah*, this traditional Sephardic copla was probably the most popular Ladino song for *Havdalah* (outset of the Sabbath) throughout the Ottoman Empire. It appeared in manuscripts starting at the beginning of the eighteenth century and in song collections from the early twentieth century, such as *Sefer renanot* (Jerusalem, 1908, p. 1) and *El buqueto de romanzas* (Istanbul, 1926, p. 2) both published by Binyamin B. Yosef (see Romero 1988, no. 1 for the most complete version). Attias (1971, pp. 127-128) uncovered the name of its author, Rabbi Abraham Toledo, who was an important Sephardic Ottoman poet active in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and is renowned for his masterpiece, *Coplas de Yosef hasadic*. In addition to Elie Cohen's rendition, it was also recorded by Haim Effendi ca. 1908 (2008, CD III, no. 6) and by Isaac Algazi in 1927 (Seroussi 1989, no. 23). Cohen's version, presenting the traditional melody in makam Hüseyni, includes four stanzas and is quite similar to Algazi's. Sephardic Ottoman Jews use this melody also for *Lekha eli teshuqati* by Abraham Ibn Ezra, a piyyut traditionally sung on Yom Kippur before *Kol nidrei*.

El Dio alto con su gracia
mos mande mucha ganancia,
non veamos mal ni ansia
a nos y a todo Israel.

Veni todos ajuntemos
al su nombre bendeciremos
y de el demandaremos
la salvación de Israel.

Damos Señor tu bendición
con la buena condición.
Amostramos tu salvación
a nos y a todo Israel.

Ya es bien abastado
lo que habemos pasado.
Mandemos a el untado
mašiah de Israel.

Yar, yarem, aman

61. *La galana*

Another version of the song recorded by Compagnie Espagnole de Salonique (see notes to no. 22 above), with the addition of the lady's name, Sultana.

Sufriendo siempre
y siempre, yürek, ah.

Kale olvidarme
todo lo que yo tengo.
Esto por ti non salga loco.
Matarme, matarme,
matarme, matar
galana y galana, galana,
ah, ya yürek.

Mírelo y que hay,
que hay, que hay
mírelo y que hay,
que hay, que hay.
Por ti galana y galana
ah ya yürek, ya yürek,
ah ya yürek, ya yürek,
ah ya yürek.
Por ti Sultana,
por ti galana y galana, galana
ah ya yürek,
ah yarem, yarem, amán.

Isac Haïm

62. Cantes amargos

Considering its substantial documentation, it is evident that this song was very popular in Istanbul at the beginning of the twentieth century. A long version of sixteen stanzas was published in the Ladino journal *El juguetón* (Istanbul, March 20, 1912) under the title “Nueva romans” and reprinted in *El buqueto de romanjas* (Istanbul 1926, pp. 46-47). Not long after its first publication the song was recorded by both Isac Haïm and Isaac Algazi, whose recording did not survive. Isac Haïm’s version is very short and covers only two stanzas of the printed text. Various stanzas of this text can be found in popular Ladino *şarkis*, as is the case with Isac Haïm’s third stanza, usually known as *Los bilbilicos* (see Attias 1972, nos. 113, 114, 119; for the opening couplet see, Attias 1972, no. 124, second stanza). Haïm’s musical rendition is in the Turkish *ghazel* style (in makam Saba), i.e. couplets without a clear beat, opening and closing with interjections such as “ah” and “amán.” The oud punctuates the pauses between the couplets.

Ah, amán, cantes amargos quero cantar
en la orilla de la mar, amán

Amán, no me dejes amargar.
Por tí me vo entiquiar, ah.

Ah, en mi edad unos cuantos
y se burlan del amor, amán.

Ah, amán, los pájaros chulchulean
en los árboles de flores.

Ah, amán, abajo se asentan los que sufren d'amor
con sospiros de corazón.

63. *El parto feliz*

Haim Effendi's recording of this song (2008, CD IV, no. 12, from 1922) which we formerly believed was the earliest, is now superseded by this recording by Isac Haïm from 1912. Isaac Algazi recorded this song too for the Favorite label, apparently as early as 1912 but no copy of his recording survives. This song on a topic that has almost disappeared from the pan-Hispanic lyric poetry, hailing the father and the mother of the newborn, is well documented in the Sephardic oral traditions from various Ottoman cities. The most comprehensive printed version of this poem appears in *El buqueto de romanzas* (Istanbul 1926, p. 10 in makam Eviç; see also Hemsi 1995, no. 68 and the notes and references there). Isac Haïm sings only two stanzas and the refrain.

Oh! que mueve meses
trabateš d'estrechura.
Ya viene el parido

con los combidados.

Ya es, ya es buen simán
esta alegría.

Oh! que pino, pino revedrido.

Mos viva el parido
que mos traiga vino
por meze licorino.

Ya viene el parido
con los combidados
que trae en la mano
sinta y buen piscado.

En la otra mano
resta de ducados.

Ya es, ya es buen simán
esta alegría.

Oh! que pino, pino revedrido.

Mos viva el parido
que mos traiga vino
por meze licorino.

Aaa amán, yarem, ey ey amán.

Sarajevo recordings

Sida Musafija

64. *El mancebo seboso + La fea y el viejo (La novia exigente) + Las camas altas*

A song of the *şarkı* type combining various themes, all of them of serial structure, sung to the same melody. Three distinctive units appear in this recording: *El mancebo seboso* (stanzas 1-2); *La fea y el viejo* (sometimes also entitled *La novia exigente*; stanzas 3-5); and *Las camas altas* (stanzas 6-8). The theme of a young woman rejecting candidates for marriage offered by her mother (*La novia exigente*) is found in Hispanic sources (see Pedrosa 1993, pp. 206-238). In the extant oral sources, the three themes are often sung separately, but various combinations of them (sometimes with additional themes) are known: Attias 1972, no. 133 (from Salonica); PF 149/04, PF 220/14 (both from Bulgaria); Havassy 2007, Appendix, ES 132. The song is mentioned in an article in the Ladino journal *El Mesajero* (Salonica, 1939) cited by Bunis (1999, English part, p. 329, note 87). Surprisingly, the recording ends with the violin playing the first part of the Zionist song *Hatikvah* (see below, nos. 74, 78).

Amor hicites lindo mancebo,
me derretites como el sebo.

Amor de boca sale'l alma toca,
si l'amor se troca para mi's la horca.

No quero madre marido viejo,
s'ech'a la cama parece un leño.

No quero madre marido gordo,
s'ech'a la cama parece un lonso.

No quero madre marido flaco,
s'ech'a la cama parece un gato.

Tu 'stas echada en camas finas,
yo rabiando por las cusinas.

Tu 'stas echada en almandrakes,
yo rabiando por los konakes.

Tu 'stas echada en camas altas,
yo rabiando por las montañas.

65. *El baile de los falsos*

This is a Judeo-Spanish contrafact of an extremely popular dance melody of the early twentieth century made famous in its French version as *La Mattchiche*, or *Matchiche*. Evidently, it was popular in Sarajevo where the linguist Julius Subak recorded it as early

as 1908 (see Lieble 2009, no. 13; see also Cohen 2008, pp. 12-15). There is widespread confusion regarding the connection between this song and the *Maxixe* (or “Brazilian Tango”) that was imported from Rio de Janeiro to Paris in the 1870s. The *Maxixe* has roots in the Polka and Habanera and its dance patterns were apparently a mixture of the Two Step and Tango steps and patterns. However, *La Mattchiche*, or at least its refrain, originates in an 1895 zarzuela (lyrics by P. Cadenas; music by Pedro Badía) and is not strictly related to the Brazilian tango per se, except in its name. *La Mattchiche* usually appears in early sheet music editions as “Spanish march.” The zarzuela itself draws from a motif from the opera *O Guarani* (premiered in La Scala, 1870) by the great Brazilian composer Carlos Gómez. *La Mattchiche* was “composed” by Charles Borel-Clerc (1879-1959) to lyrics (by Léo Lelièvre and Paul Brollet) whose theme is the dance itself. Also circulating under the title *La sorella*, it was printed in sheet music as early as 1904 (a Saint Petersburg edition; the first American edition of 1905 has English lyrics by C.H. Taylor). However, it was the 1905 recording of *La Mattchiche* by one of the major figures of the French vaudeville at the time, Félix Mayol (1872-1941), that instantly catapulted this song into one of the greatest hits of the Belle Époque chanson (Mayol recorded it five times in different versions). During the first two decades of the 1900s this song was printed, performed, recorded, paraphrased and reworked countless times by many artists (including the young Maurice Chevalier) and in several languages. No wonder then that the Sephardic Jews of the Eastern Mediterranean, living under the aegis of French-inspired culture, reacted immediately to this hit and proceeded as people from other nations did: they wrote a cover version in their own language. Oral versions from Bulgaria and Bosnia were recorded. One widespread Judeo-Spanish version, entitled *La judía y el español* (from Turkey), even retains the original French refrain. However, Musafija’s version is probably

the earliest of the Judeo-Spanish covers of *La Mattchiche*. The refrain (“Me sos dusmán, serás pismán,” translating as “You dishonor me, you will regret it”) includes two Turkish words that entered Ladino (*düşman* ‘enemy, antagonist’; *pişman* ‘regretful, repentant’) creating a phonetic imitation of the French refrain “Allons doucement, ne pressons pas l’mouvement.” This recording ends with an unrelated instrumental piece whose apparent function is just to complete the side of the record. It has a resemblance to the refrain of the Serbian folksong “Malo ja, malo ti, više ja, nego ti, pa čemo se voleti, curo ja i ti”.

Amor a tí ti tengo,
tú no me queres.

Te quiero y te mantengo
tú no me queres.

D'enfrente me pareces
una palomba.

Tú sos me compañera
hasta la tumba.

Me sos dusmán, serás pismán.

Abajando la escalera,
por darme buena sera,
me tomó por la mano,

me llev'al balo.

Al balo me decía
de mí no s'espartía.
Y yo l'arrespondía:
Todo falsía.

Me sos dusmán, serás pismán.

Salí yo a la plaza
por mercar el gastado.
M'encontró, m'enteregó
me demandó 'l anillo.

Vamos presto a casa
m'esto quemando en braza.
Si la mama sabe esto
vos traba presto.

Me sos dusmán, serás pismán.

[....?] ria

me tienes gracia.
La hora de tu rabia
me sos desgracia.

T'envenga t'envengates
más enemiga.
Aséntate a mi lado
serás me amiga.

66. *El amor furiente*

A very popular song among the Sephardim (see CMP AA66; Attias 1972, no. 83). There are extant versions from Monastir (PF 106/11), Rhodes (PF 154/03), Jerusalem (PF 194/08), Salonica (NSA Y 09498) and other communities. The first two stanzas are very common and usually open most versions. Stanzas 3-4 are unique to Musafija's recording. Other versions include additional stanzas, but the refrain is quite constant. Haim Effendi also recorded the song in 1907/8 under the title *La espartission* (NSA Y09487/1).

Enfrente de tu morada moro
yo no durmo sinon lloro.
Ah, la espartición, qué va ser de mí
una linda com'a mí.

Vo y vengo como loco,
tiempo me quedó muy poco.

Ah, la espartición, qué va ser de mí
una linda com'a mí.

Todos los hombres son falsos
si los altos si los bajos.

Ah, la espartición, qué va ser de mí
una linda com'a mí.

Todas las mujeres buenas
si las lindas si las feas.

Ah, la espartición, qué va ser de mí
una linda com'a mí.

La Gloria

67. *La seducida en la fuente*

See our notes to song no. 10 above. Unlike the version by the Compagnie Espagnole de Salonique, this recording by La Gloria has a fixed refrain whose second line is

performed by the whole mixed choir while the stanzas and the opening of the refrain are rendered by a group of female soloists.

Al rio d'una fuente

una segala vi.

Al rio d'una agua

yo m'acerquí d'allí.

Oyí una voz que decía:

Ay de mí, ay de mí, pobre mí.

La tomí de la mano

al café la lleví.

De viendo su belleza

tres besos la estampí.

Oyí una voz que decía:

Ay de mí, ay de mí, pobre mí.

Cuando la vide solica

l'amor le descubrí.

La niña bien turbada

non lo sintio lo qu'era ahí.

Oyí una voz que decía:
Ay de mí, ay de mí, pobre mí.

Al espartirme de ella
un beso ya le di.

Llorando me decía:
No t'olvides de mí.

Oyí una voz que decía:
Ay de mí, ay de mí, pobre mí.

68. *Los árboles llorosos*

See our notes to nos. 13 and 41 above. In La Gloria's recording, the first two lines of each stanza are performed by a group of female soloists. The two last lines of each stanza are sung by the whole mixed choir. Like all the other recorded versions of the early twentieth century, this one does not include the common refrain of the modern popular versions starting with "Torno y digo."

Arboles lloran por lluvias
y montañas por aires.
Ansí lloran los mis ojos
por ti, querida amante.

Ven verás y ven verás,

ven verás veremos.

Amor que tenemos los dos,

ven mos aunaremos.

Enfrente de mí hay un angelo,

con los ojos me mira.

Hablar quiere y non puede,

mi corazón suspira.

69. Asiéntate te hablaré

A rare modern song with a refrain in Greek. The third stanza is usually included in *Cantiga de Hanum Dudún*, a widespread wedding song with a different melody (see above notes to nos. 6 and 38). Besides this recording, there is only one other version in a commercial recording from Bulgaria based on the collection of Nikolay Kaufman (Volitzer 1998, entitled *Giorgina*). This Bulgarian version includes only two stanzas of which the second corresponds to the third one in our recording.

Aséntati te hablaré

por una de merita

Que sos la más que amo yo,

tu sos la más querida.

Ѓiorѓina, Ѓiorѓiay ke
me trelanes pola ke.

Arrogale a la mamá
que venga por mi casa,
que la [...] que tengo yo
es la quirá de casa.

Ѓiorѓina, Ѓiorѓiay...
El anillo que te embeí,
el diamante es fino.
El ćaverđi que me lo hizo
es primo ‘rmano mio.

Ѓiorѓina, Ѓiorѓiay...

70. *El barón despreciado*

One of the most well-known modern Ladino songs in Western European style. It was also recorded twice by Haim Effendi, whose recordings probably made it famous (2008, CD III, no. 15) and by Bosanski Instrumentalni i Pjevački Terzett (see below no. 75). This recording is unique due to its a capella choral harmonization. For other versions

see Bernheim 1920 (reproduced without credit in Idelsohn 1923, no. 498); Attias 1972, no. 77; Hemsi 1995, no. 102 (with further references to other versions).

Barona ti vo hacerte

y rica com'a mí.

Mis bienes te vo darte

por un beso de tí.

Vate, vate, vate d'aquí,

pobereta muchacha quedí.

Tú no serás para mí,

palabra a otro dí.

Ven hija hermosa,

ángel de los cielos.

Me amurchates como

la flor de los campos.

Vate, vate, vate d'aquí...

Deja las tus penas

y las tus 'strechuras,

ven échat'a mis brazos
y con me salvarás.

Vate, vate, vate d'aquí,

71. *El juramento del mancebo + El escolero y las viñas + El novio desprendido*

A unique string of fragments from three wedding songs, perhaps hinting to a performance practice of La Gloria linking several songs together. Some lines of these songs are of great antiquity. While the first two songs, *El juramento del mancebo* (stanza 1; CMP AA88; see also Attias 1961, no. 94 for a rare version from Greece) and *El escolero y las viñas* (stanza 2; CMP AA58) are documented almost exclusively in Sarajevo, the third one, *El novio desprendido* (stanzas 3 and 4) appears in other Sephardic traditions such as Rhodes, Bulgaria and Salonica (often combined with other stanzas). The first two songs appear as melodic indications to piyyutim. *El juramento del mancebo* served as a model song for Najara's piyyut "Yalin na ben shaday / dod eshkol kofer" (*Žemirot Yisrael*, Venice 1599/1600, f. 76b, *Incipitario*, no. 352). *El escolero y las viñas* was evidently very popular in Sarajevo, since its melody was adapted for a piyyut by Najara ("Yakhbir milin libi," see *Incipitario* nos. 155, 262, 552). Díaz Mas (1994, no. 4) published a version of *El escolero y las viñas* from the collection of Rabbi Moses Levy copied by Manrique de Lara in Sarajevo in 1911 (CMP AA58.2). For additional versions of *El juramento del mancebo* and *El escolero y las viñas* see Eliezer S. Abinun (Archiv Produktion, SAPM 198 460, from 1968); NSA Y 02994/10 11,12 (Eliezer S. Abinun, Sarajevo, 1967); NSA Y 09482(1) (Attias' version). For additional versions of *El novio desprendido* see Hemsi 1995, no. 123.

Madre, un mancebico
mi madre, va vestido.

Juramiento tiene de ser el mi amigo
que así que mucho m'agrado a mí
mucho m'agrado, mi madre,
esti novio que tomí
que Dio me lo dejé vivir.

En casa de tu padre,
amada y estimada,
criada en el pan blanco
y el agua rosada.
Escolero bien vengateš.
Venid en buen simán.

El novio non quere ducados.
Quere a la novia con el mazal alto.
Que vengan a ver,
que gocen y logren y tengan mucho bien.

El novio non quere dineros.
Quere a la novia con el mazal bueno.

Que vengan a ver,
que gocen y logren y tengan mucho bien.

72. *Los brazos candelares*

Another song known only from Sarajevo sources and probably derived from the modern popular repertoire. Although the title on the original record is “Mis brasos kandalaros,” the text sung here is “Tus brazos candelaros.” The recording is truncated in the middle of the third stanza. For other versions, see also Pinto 1956, p. 27, reproduced in Attias 1972, no. 108 (partial recording in NSA Y 09491); Elazar 1987, p. 151.

Tus brazos candelares,
tus ojos almenaras.
Mi dejates sofriendo
di dentro d’una flama.

Ah, chica y morenica so,
so quemada en el amor.

Ni vo cumer ni vo biber
hasta qui non me muero.
La vida ‘ntera vo perder
detrás de te mancebo.

Ah, chica y morenica so...

Caí en bajo y me desmayí

Como un gran carnero...

73. *Melisenda insomne*

A short and truncated selection of lines from a romance widespread among Sephardic Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially in Sarajevo (CMP B17). It was profusely recorded in the early discography and thoroughly documented. See also for example, Haim Effendi, 2008, CD 4, no. 11; Hemsi 1995, no. 5; Attias 1961, no. 33; Armistead and Silverman 1971b, no. C1). Moreover, it became one of the most recorded songs in the modern discography. The last stanza of this recording is very rare. According to Petrovic (1990), the music is similar to the Bosnian *sevdalinka* genre.

Nochis, nochis, buenas nochis,

nochis son de namorar.

Ah, nochis son de namorar.

Dando vueltas por la cama

como peci en la mar.

Ah, como el peci en la mar.

Tres hermanicas ellas eran,
todas tres a un andar.

Ah, todas tres a un andar.

Salto la primera y dici:
gocemos la mocidad.

Ah, gocemos la mocidad.

Si a mañana mos casamos
no mos den mas gozar.

Ah, no mos den mas gozar.

74. *La esperanza*

This is the earliest recording (1907) of a Judeo-Spanish version of the Zionist song *Hatikvah*. This version originates in Sarajevo and seems to have been known only there as oral testimonies recorded in Israel from Sarajevan immigrants show (NSA Y 6472-a and YC/1097). We assume that the journalist and Zionist activist from Sarajevo Avraham Kapon (or Cappon 1853-1930) composed this text, although there is still no tangible evidence for this attribution. About the same time the Bosanski Instrumentalni i Pjevački Terzett recorded a shorter version (see no. 78 below). It was sung in Sarajevo in the weekly ceremony of *Havdalah* (the ending ceremony of the Sabbath, Isidor Levy,

NSA Y 6472-a) and on the holiday of *Simhat Torah* (Eliezer Papo). Elazar documented this song with an additional stanza (1987, p. 236).

Donde el sol caliente esclarece
los valles rondosos tienen su frescor.

Allí donde el higo dulce crece,
el Yordan vivo corre con rumor.

Allí es nuestra esperanza,
allí es nuestra alianza.

O, tu tierra de los antiguos,
sea a nos mamparo a los enemigos.

Donde nuestros padres descendieron,
reyes de Israel gobernaron,
donde templos santos setuaron
que los enemigos derrocaron.

Bosanski Instrumentalni i Pjevački Terzett

75. *El barón despreciado*

See above no. 70, our notes to the recording of the same song by La Gloria. Unique to this recording is the dominant instrumental arrangement of accordion, clarinet and drum that overshadows the singers.

Barona ti vo hacerte

rica como a mí.

Mis bienes te vo darte

por un beso de ti.

O, vate, vate, vate d'aquí,

pobereta, montaña nací.

Tú no serás para mí,

palabra a otro di.

Echa el ojo enfrente

mira quen viene.

Es el mi querido

palabra ya le di.

O, vate, vate, vate d'aquí...

76. *La pipitera conversa*

A rare song about a young Jewish woman “becoming Turk,” a subject found in other songs in Ladino (e.g. Attias 1972, nos. 134 and 135 both from Sarajevo) reflecting social anxieties among Sephardic Jews related to the specter of conversion by young Jewish women. Only one fragmentary version from Turkey was recorded from oral tradition and it shares the first stanza and the refrain with this version (see PF 080/24). The refrain (with similar music) can be found in versions of the song *El huésped del sábado* (Levy 1959-1973, vol. III, nos. 74-75, vol. IV, no. 23; PF 228/03) that is combined with a very different version of *La pipitera conversa* (Díaz-Mas 1994, no. 16). We were unable to transcribe the second stanza due to the overwhelming instrumental section that obscures the singers beyond recognition.

Y la hija del pipitero
turca se hizo por entero.

Oyeme a mí, sienteme a mí
Deja la tu madre y ven con mi.

[?]

[Oyeme a mí, sienteme a mí]
Deja la tu madre y ven con mi.

77. Tu sos una rosa

Another song documented only in the Sephardic tradition of Sarajevo. For additional written versions see Elazar 1987, pp. 123, 150-151; Attias 1972, no. 36 (copied from Pinto 1956, p. 26). Oral versions were also recorded (see NSA Yc 01097/3, Y 09491). The second line is hard to decipher from the recording, however it is consistent in all versions and therefore we included it here too. The musical style of the song with its waltz meter hints to its origins in the modern Western European popular repertoire.

Tu sos una rosa
[tu sos una flor],
crecida en la frescura
onde el sol no dió.

Mi alma y mi vida
para ti va ser.
Tu sos la mi querida
de prima mancebez.

Un día al espejo
me quije adovar
Mi madre me echó tino
que quije pomponear.

78. La esperanza

Another early recording (1907) of a Judeo-Spanish version of the Zionist song *Hatikvah*. See our introduction to this album and our notes to no. 74, the recording by the La Gloria choir. This is mostly an instrumental version of the song. It includes only the opening stanza and the refrain.

Donde el sol caliente esclarece
los valles rondosos tienen su frescor.
Allí donde el higo dulce crece,
el Yordan vivo corre con rumor.

Allí es nuestra esperanza,
allí es nuestra alianza.
O, tu tierra de los antiguos,
sea a nos mamparo a los enemigos.

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Eastern Mediterranean Judeo-Spanish Songs

from the EMI Archive Trust (1907-1912)



CD 1

1	Los árboles de almendra	3:10
2	Grande desplacer me haces	2:54
3	Hermanos mis queridos	3:25
4	La constitución se dió	3:14
5	Madame Gaspar	3:07
6	Cantiga de Hanum Dudún	3:08
7	Una cierta hija	3:10
8	Venid venid vos contaré	3:12
9	Ah niña sin piadat	3:33
10	La seducida en la fuente	3:14
11	Alevanta hermosa niña	3:21
12	Las horas de la vida	3:20
13	Los árboles llorosos	3:44
14	El nacimiento y la vocación de Abraham	3:18
15	Cinco años ya va hacer	3:33
16	El pájaro de amor	3:36
17	La enamorada precoz + El mancebo cruel	3:24
18	La hermosa durmiente	3:30
19	El guitarrista + La firmeza de las estrellas + El enamorado engañado	3:13
20	El hijo del guebir	3:29
21	Grande desplacer me haces	3:15
22	La galana	3:25
23	La palomba	3:20

CD 2

24	El buceador	3:20
25	El padre Mercader + El cuerpo de la mujer	3:19
26	La rosa de mayo + Los bilbilicos	3:17
27	El alma dolorida	3:29
28	El robo de Dina	3:22
29	La llamada a la Morena + La nave por partir	3:26
30	Muero de amor	3:01
31	El lindo mancebo + Los amantes de la casa rica	3:24
32	La agonía del amante	3:17
33	S'alevantó bula Linda	3:24
34	Te vide una mañana	3:27
35	Toma mi alma y tómala	3:22
36	La bella en misa	3:25
37	Un desgraciado de amor	3:20
38	Cantiga de Hanum Dudún	3:11
39	Una huerfanica amo yo	3:21
40	Los trabajos de la semana	3:19
41	Los árboles llorosos	3:12
42	Malandanzas del asker	2:59
43	El infant cautivo	3:05
44	¿Por qué no cantáis la bella? (é-a)	3:07

CD 3

45	Los amigos me dan esperanza	3:03
46	Mi Dio a quien rogaré	3:34
47	Ten piadat amoroso	3:12
48	La doncella esclareciente	3:00
49	Im afes	3:17
50	Bezokhri 'al mishkavi	3:13
51	Rogativa al todo poderoso	2:52
52	De lo que amo yo	2:56
53	La doncella esclareciente	3:03
54	Yo no entiendo la mi madre	3:09
55	Unas fuentes sin estanco	3:18
56	El sentenciado del bajá	3:12
57	Me queres matar mancebo	3:27
58	La despedida	3:06
59	La reina de la gracia	2:53
60	Noche de alhad	2:54
61	La galana	3:11
62	Cantes amargos	3:18
63	El parto feliz	3:21
64	El mancebo seboso + La fea y el viejo (La novia exigente) + Las camas altas	2:45
65	El baile de los falsos	2:50
66	El amor furiante	2:46
67	La seducida en la fuente	2:32
68	Los árboles llorosos	2:18

CD 4

69	Asiéntate te hablaré	2:11
70	El barón despreciado	2:45
71	El juramento del mancebo + El escolero y las viñas + El novio desprendido	1:40
72	Los brazos candelares	2:14
73	Melisenda insomne	2:22
74	La esperanza	2:34
75	El barón despreciado	2:57
76	La pipitera conversa	2:53
77	Tu sos una rosa	2:54
78	La esperanza	2:57

שירי לדינו
מזרח הים התיכון

מן הארכיון ההיסטורי של EMI (1912-1907)