The Pronunciation of Hebrew in the Western Sephardic Settlements (16th-20th Centuries).
Second Part: The Pronunciation of the Consonant ‘Ayin*

Aron di Leone Leoni**

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

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

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

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

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¹ Continuación de Sef 66 (2006), 89-142 y 377-406.
hazzanim of the Italian synagogues, regardless of their rite with only minor regional variations. It is well known that before World War II, the ‘ayin was pronounced in an identical way in the Portuguese community of Amsterdam and in all the Western Sephardic settlements, from Hamburg to London and from Bayonne to New York and Curacao. Owing to the lack of an analogous phoneme in the English language, the Western Sephardic pronunciation of the ‘ayin was described as identical with the sound of the pair ng in the English word king.

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

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

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

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

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

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6 Franchi, Sole della Lingua Santa, p. 20: “si pronuncia con l’aiuto del naso, quasi che si strangola arrivando fino all’estrema parte della canna della gola.”
‘n’ as in nghè or nghà.” However he transliterated this letter as <ng>: iodeang [ידע, he knows], iaduang [ידע, known]. 7

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

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

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

7 FRANCHI, Sole della Lingua Santa, Table of conjugations.
8 B. BLANCUCCIO, Institutiones in Linguam Sanctam Hebraicam (Romae 1608), p. 2.
9 Leone Modena, Nove Dittionario Hebraico et Italiano cioè dichiarazione di tutte le voci Hebraiche più difficili delle Scritture Hebreo nella volgar lingua italiana […] Opera di Leon Modena Hebreo da Venetia (Padova 1640) [1st ed., “Venetia, appresso Giacomo Sarzina, MDCXII”].
10 MODENA, Nove Dittionario Hebraico et Italiano, pp. 32r and ff., 192r.
12 MODENA, Nove Dittionario Hebraico et Italiano, f. 109v.
13 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo. [saber] sin bolar de vna à otra parte, y la orden de Hanucah, Purim, y Pascuas de Pesah, Sebouoth, y Sueoth, con mucha diligentia emendada. Y les añadimos enel las Osanod in Venetia MDCXIX. Estampado por orden de los Superiores.
15 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo (Venetia 1619), ff. 251r-252r.
As we have seen, in 1622, in Venice, Abraam Netto had Cavallero’s *Orden de Oraciones* reprinted. In a special appendix, the compiler of the new edition gave the names of Hebrew consonants and vowels and called the ‘ayin Ain. Furthermore, he took the transliterations of several prayers and blessings from the first translations produced in Venice and in Ferrara, and published them unmodified.

Even Leon Modena did not put the <ng> <ngh> graphemes into regular use. In the Italian edition of his *Historia de Riti Ebraici* (1638), the famous Rabbi did not embrace the methods adopted in his own grammar. On the contrary, he either rendered the ‘ayin as <h> or gave no notation to it, e.g., Nehila [⎬עילה, closing], Harvid [ عربي, evening prayer], Osaana [ רשאי, Osanna], *Scemonà Asre* [ש♠, Eighteen (Blessings)], *Tisha beau* [שבת תשעה, the Ninth Day of Av]. However, Modena transcribed *קריאת שמע* [Shema‘ reading] as *Chiriad sceman*.

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

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

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

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

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

22 **Modena, Historia de Riti Ebraici**, pp. 30-31.
Of revealing importance are the 17\textsuperscript{th} century minute books (\textit{Livros das Hordems}, ספרים הסכמות) of the Sephardic communities of Pisa,\textsuperscript{23} Leghorn,\textsuperscript{24} Reggio Emilia\textsuperscript{25} and Venice\textsuperscript{26} in which the ‘\textit{ayin}’ was either ignored or transcribed by \textit{h}, e.g., \textit{Vaad} [Committee],\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Es Haim} [ץ היים, \textit{lit.}: Tree of Life],\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Moadim} [מועדים, Holidays],\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Balthorà} [תורה בעל, expert reader of the Torah],\textsuperscript{30} \textit{Tahanit} [תענית, fast].\textsuperscript{31}

In the Registers of Pisa and Leghorn we find both \textit{Maamad} and \textit{Mahamad} [מעמד].\textsuperscript{32} In Venice the plural forms \textit{Maamadot} or \textit{Mahamadot} were used to designate the governing boards of the \textit{Levantine} and \textit{Ponentine} Nations, on the frequent occasions when they joined forces and acted together.\textsuperscript{33} We find the same transcriptions in the regulations of the \textit{Hebra de casar huerfas y donzel-las} printed in Leghorn in 1706.\textsuperscript{34}

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

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{23} Publ. R. TOAFF, \textit{La Nazione Ebre a Livorno e a Pisa} (Firenze 1990), pp. 493-554.
  \item \textsuperscript{24} TOAFF, \textit{La Nazione Ebre a Livorno e a Pisa}, pp. 555-638.
  \item \textsuperscript{25} Published by LEONI, \textit{La Nazione Ebraica Spagnola e Portoghese negli Stati Estensi} (Rimini 1992), pp. 252-416.
  \item \textsuperscript{26} ACE,Ve, Busta 2, \textit{Libro delle Parti}, inedited MS.
  \item \textsuperscript{27} \textit{Livro das Hordems} of Reggio Emilia, ff. 2r-4v and passim; see LEONI, \textit{La Nazione Ebraica Spagnola e Portoghese}, pp. 257-265 and passim.
  \item \textsuperscript{28} Expression designating the pole around which the Scroll of the Torah is rolled up. See \textit{Livro das Hordem} (Reggio Emilia), f. 20r; see LEONI, \textit{La Nazione Ebraica Spagnola e Portoghese}, p. 297.
  \item \textsuperscript{29} \textit{Livro das Hordem} (Reggio Emilia), f. 4r, see LEONI, \textit{La Nazione Ebraica Spagnola e Portoghese}, p. 261.
  \item \textsuperscript{30} \textit{Escamot de Liorne} 1677, see TOAFF, \textit{La Nazione Ebre a Livorno e a Pisa}, p. 605.
  \item \textsuperscript{31} \textit{Escamot de Liorne} 1677, § 5, see TOAFF, \textit{La Nazione Ebre a Livorno e a Pisa}, p. 598.
  \item \textsuperscript{33} Archivo di Stato di Venezia, Cinque Savi, b. 63, Ebrei Ponentini, Università, passim.
  \item \textsuperscript{34} \textit{Capitulaciones del modo que se deve governar la Hebra de casar huerfas y donzel-las}, Instituidas en esta Ciudad de Liorne. Reformadas en el año 5442 per los Señores H. Jacob Jesurun Lopez, Gabriel de Medina […] Y de nuevo reformadas, y acresentadas este año 5466 […] (Livorno 1706), p. 5 and passim.
  \item \textsuperscript{35} \textit{Ordem de Orasois que se dizem em todo ho anno asaber: cotidiano, Sabat, Pascuas, Ros Sana, Quipur […] Seliquod que se diz quarenta dias antes de Quipur todas as madrugadas e no ul-
\end{itemize}
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no phonetic value to the ‘ayin and omitted transcribing it as, for instance, in Sema [שמע]; 36 Arvid [עיבד]; 37 Amida [עמידו], Taanid [춰נית]; 38 Tesabeav [תשעא]; 39 and Moed [מود, Holy Day]. 40

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

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

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

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

36 Ordem de Orasois, ff. 51v-52, 243.
37 Ordem de Orasois, ff. 100r, 106v, 111v and passim.
38 Ordem de Orasois, f. 218v.
39 Ordem de Orasois, f. 219v.
40 Ordem de Orasois, f. 176r.
41 Ordem de Orasois, f. 163v.
42 According to its colophon, the book was printed “in Maguntia.” However, S. Seeligman, Bibliographie en Historie, Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Eerste Sephardim in Amsterdam (Amsterdam 1927), pp. 35-38, could identify the printer as Peeter Verhagen of Dortdrecht. Cf. C. Roth, A History of the Marranos (London 1932), p. 326. The complete title is מחזור, Orden de Roshasanah y Kipur, trasladado en Español, y de nuevo emendado y añadido el Selihoth, el cual se dize quarenta dias antes del dia de Kipur en las madrugadas. Estampado por industria y despesa de Yahacob Ysrael à 20. de Adar año de 5344.
43 Orden de Roshasanah y Kipur, pp. 90v-120r.
44 See fig. 1.
The title page of this reprint does not bear the names of the original authors, but only states that “Yahacob Israel” had sponsored it. This was a fictitious name representing a clandestine Congregation. The book was conceived for the Marranos living in Antwerp\(^{45}\) and, perhaps, for the ones who had fled the Flemish city because of war events and had temporarily moved to Cologne.\(^{46}\)

In 1604 Isaac Franco had the same Mahazor printed again in Amsterdam, in an almost identical form. This was probably the first edition of a Ferrara prayer book for the use of the Portuguese Nation of the northern city.\(^{47}\)

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

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

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


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

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

51 The title page does not bear their names.
The author(s) adopted new graphemes and transcribed the ‘ayin by <gh> and / or <hg>, e.g., Yaihgdun [יעידון], they attest: 52 saaghr [שער, gate]; 53 ahgde aghd [ לך

52 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, first (unnumb.) page of the gathering marked “(:)2” with the Bakashah “Kol Beruhe maalah umatah,” transliterated into Latin letters.

53 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, unnumb. page with the Bakashah “En dias de Reshodes” transliterated.
ם, until the eternity, forever]; 54 ohgz [抻, strength, power]; 55 ohgfot [抻, birds]; 56 aghm [抻, people]; 57 ohglm, 58 ohglam [抻, world]; 59 igyaghnu [抻, You let us arrive]. Curiously enough, the new grapheme was placed after, and not before, the corresponding vowel. Whatever their position these new forms give a clear indication that a shift in the pronunciation of the ‘ayin was already under way.

However, in many cases the ‘ayin was either left untranscribed or represented by h, e.g., maalah [抻, above, heaven], vead [抻, and until], 61 ahl [抻, over, above]; 62 leohlam vaehd [抻, forever and ever]; 63 oz [抻, strength, power]; 64 leuhmatã [抻, standing in front of them].

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

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

54 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, unnumb. page with the the hymn “Ygdal Eloim Hay” transliterated.
55 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, unnumb. page with the Bakashah “Syru la El” transliterated.
56 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, unnumb. page with the Bakashah “Kamti lealel” transliterated.
57 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, pp. 34v., 35r, 55 and passim.
58 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, pp. 33, 34v, 57v and passim.
59 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, unnumb. page of the gathering “(:)2” with the hymn “Adon ohglam” transliterated. See doc. 1 in Appendix.
60 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, p. 57v.
61 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, unnumb. page of the gathering “(:)2” with Bakashah “Kol beruhe maalah” transliterated.
62 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, p. 33.
63 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, p. 67.
64 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, p. 55v.
65 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, p. 33.
66 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, unnumb. pages with the transliteration of the Bakashah “Kol beruhe maalah.”
67 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, f. 54v.
68 Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo, unnumb. page with the transliteration of the hymn “Ygdal Eloim hhay.”
meleh [מלך, King]; 69 Baruh [ברוך, Blessed]; 70 ymloḥ [יאמלו, He will reign]; 71 Saaghr arrahamim [שער ARRAHAMIM, the Gate of Mercy]; 72 haym [חיים, life].

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

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

In 1627 the famous Rabbi Ishac Athias had his Tesoro de Preceptos printed in Venice. 79 The treatise bears many Jewish expressions both in Hebrew and in Latin characters. 80 The author represented the ʼayin as <h> or even ignored it,
In 1630 the printer Henrick Laurentz produced a new edition of the Ferrara Bible revised by Menasseh ben Ysrael. In the translation of Psalm 119, the

81 Athias, Tesoro de Preceptos, f. 34r.
82 Athias, Tesoro de Preceptos, f. 66r.
83 Athias, Tesoro de Preceptos, f. 58v.
84 Athias, Tesoro de Preceptos, Introducition (unnumb. page), f. 18r.
85 Biblia en lengua españaola, Traduzida palabra por palabra de la verdad hebrayca por muy excelentes letrados, vista y examinada por el officio de la Inquisición, Con privilegio del Yllustrissimo Señor Duque de Ferrara. The colophon (p. 615) bears the annotation “A loor e gloria de Dio fue reformada a 15 de Sebath 5390” [January 28th, 1630]. I consulted the volume belonging to Mr. Georges Dalmeyda of Bayonne, whom I thank for his courtesy.


Sefarad, vol. 68:1, enero-junio 2008, págs. 163-208. ISSN 0037-0894
names of the Hebrew consonants, in Latin characters, are used as headlines for each stanza in alphabetical order. Thus the names—and the pronunciation—of the Hebrew letters are provided, one by one. The name of the 'ayin is given as Hayn, exactly as in the Ferrara 1553 Editio Princeps. 87

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

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

88 Grammatica Hebraica. Parte primera, onde se mostram todas as regras nesessarias assim para a inteligencia da lingua, como para comprop e escrever nella em proza e uerso, com a eleganca e medida que convem, Por MOSEH filho de Gidhon Abudiente em Hamburguo 3 de Elul, Anno da criasam 5393, p. 2. See fig. 3.
The <hg> and <gh> graphemes were not adopted by the compilers of several liturgical translations printed in Amsterdam towards the middle of 17th century. This was most probably due to the fact that the ancient Ferrara translations were considered semi-sacred models and the sponsors of new editions were not keen on introducing any changes. In 1626, when David Abenatar published in Hamburg a Spanish Psalter in various rimes, 89 he found it advisable to state in the title page that his verses were composed “according to the truthful Ferrara translation.”

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

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

In or around 1676 Baruch Spinoza composed a Hebrew grammar book in which he gave the name of the ‘ayin as Hgain (or Ghain) and consistently transcribed it by <hg>, as for instance, hgober [עבר, he passes]; hehganan [ียน, the cloud]; schomeahg [שומע, he hears].

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

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

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

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

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


95 SPINOZA, Compendium Grammatices, p. 401

96 SPINOZA, Compendium Grammatices, p. 5.

97 SPINOZA, Compendium Grammatices, p. 5.

98 SPINOZA, Compendium Grammatices, p. 5.
community of Amsterdam. Since the author gave the names of the Hebrew consonants only in Hebrew characters, this book does not provide any conclusive information for our research. This was also the case of a grammar book in Portuguese published in Amsterdam in 1702-1703 by Selomoh Templo.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


103. *Grammatica Ebrea Spiegata in Lingua Italiana* Composta da Simon Calimani Rabbino Veneto, Con un breve trattato della Poesia antica e moderna di essa lingua ebraea. In Venetia nella Stamperia Bragadinà a MDCLXI. Con licenza de Superiori e Privilegio, p. 2.
Fig. 6. Title page of Selomo de Oliveira’s, Gramatica, Manual da lingua Hebraica. Amsterdam 1688.

Fig. 7. Title page of Paolo Sebastiano Medici’s, grammar book Midolla della Lingua Santa, Florence 1694. Courtesy of Prof. Ariel Toaff.
pressed it by a typical /th/ sound similar to the Greek zeta. According to this scholar, the Sephardim pronounced ת and תּ always as /t/ independently from the presence or absence of the dagesh. This was not always true; however, it is important to note that the famous Rabbi did not make any analogous remark for the ‘ayin which, in his opinion, was pronounced in the same way by all the ethnical groups.

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

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

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

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104 Salomon Fiorentino, Orazioni quotidiane per uso degli Ebrei Spagnoli e Portoghesi […] le tre orazioni giornaliere, quella del sabato, e del capo di mese tradotte dall’idima ebraico coll’aggiunta di alcune note e di qualche poetica versione da Salomone Fiorentino appresso Antonio Schmid, Vienna MDCCXXII.

105 Fiorentino, Orazioni quotidiane, pp. 378-379 and passim.

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

107 Fiorentino, Orazioni quotidiane, passim.

108 Fiorentino, Orazioni quotidiane, pp. 292-293.

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

110 Gentilomo, Formulario delle Orazioni, p. 41.

111 Gentilomo, Formulario delle Orazioni, pp. 381, 383

112 Gentilomo, Formulario delle Orazioni, p. 147.

113 סדר חמש תעניות כמנהג ק״ק ספרדים, Formulario delle Preghiere pei Cinque Digiuni dell’
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Taanit [תענית, fast]. In other instances he represented this consonant by <h> as in Vajahabor [ויעבורה, (He) passed]. Of revealing interest is the rendering of a relatively less frequent word, י плот [He will answer you]. Most probably in this case, the young author, a student at the Rabbinical College of Padua, did not have a previous transcription under his eyes. He acted by ear and transcribed this word as Janganhà. Without a doubt Tedesco was accustomed to hear the /ng/ sound of the ‘ayin, from the mouth of the most eminent of his teachers, Samuel David Luzzatto.

In 1853 Luzzatto, in the first instalment of his grammar book, named the ‘ayin as ngàin. However, in the transliteration of geographical and personal names he ignored this consonant and left it untranscribed, e.g., Canaan [קנעם]; Jaabès [יעבץ]; Aviad [אביעד].

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

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114 TEDESCO, Formulario delle Preghiere, p. 248, note 7.
115 TEDESCO, Formulario delle Preghiere, pp. 57, 60, 61, 62, 98, 11, 124 and passim.
116 TEDESCO, Formulario delle Preghiere, p. 114.
118 LUZZATTO, Grammatica della lingua Ebraica, p. 30.
121 A. CABIB, R. FUNARO, I. COSTA, Dizionario Biblico Ebraico-Italiano coll’aggiunta d’un vocabolario delle parole caldaiche della Bibbia (Livorno 1853).
122 CABIB et al., Dizionario Biblico Ebraico-Italiano, p. 258.
123 CABIB et al., Dizionario Biblico Ebraico-Italiano, p. 43.
124 CABIB et al., Dizionario Biblico Ebraico-Italiano, p. 242.
125 CABIB et al., Dizionario Biblico Ebraico-Italiano, p. 355.
126 A. PAGGI, Grammatica Ebraica ragionata ed elementi di Grammatica Caldaico-Rabbinica (Firenze 1863), p. 2
Ten years later, in a grammar book published in Florence, Angelo Paggi called the ‘ayin Hain and described its sound by antithetic terms as ‘silent, nasal’. Evidently, in the second half of the 20th century, the pronunciation of the ‘ayin in Italy was not uniform. Scholars did not even agree on the transliteration symbols. The phenomenon is highlighted by the following circumstance: in one single page of his prayerbook, Samuel Ghiron, chief Rabbi of Turin dealt with the ‘ayin in three different ways. He transcribed it by a simple <n>, by <gn> or left it untranscribed: Adon Nolam [אדונ עולם, Lord of the universe], Schemagn [שמע, hear!], Vegnata [ועתה, for the time being], Schemoné Ezre [שמונה עשרה, Eighteen (Blessings)]. Wherever the h > gn shift took place, Shema‘ was among the first words to be affected.

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

5. Some 18th and 19th Centuries Transliterations of Hebrew Texts in the Western Sephardic Communities

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

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127 Paggi, Grammatica Ebraica, p. 2.
128 Seder תפלות כפ ממנון קייק איטליאני עט תחנות אייטליאן שהופץ בברצלונה בתקופה של משאלות נחושת ממצאים.
129 Ghiron, Preghiere degli Israeliti di Rito Italiano, Index, p. 1.
130 I. Levi, Grammatica ed esercizi pratici della lingua ebraica (Milano 1897), pp. 3-17: s.v.
133 Levi, Grammatica ed esercizi pratici, p. 180v, 185r and passim.
134 Levi, Grammatica ed esercizi pratici, p. 32r and ff., 192r.
135 Levi, Grammatica ed esercizi pratici, p. 187r
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Fig. 9. Title page of Yshak de Cordova's Ordon de Ros-Asmanah y Kipur, Amsterdam 1706. Courtesy of the Library of the Jews' College, London.

Fig. 8. Title page of Isaac Abendana, Discourses of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Policy of the Jews, London 1706. Courtesy of the Library of the Jews' College, London.
Scores of new editions appeared in Amsterdam, London, Leghorn, Venice and in other minor centers. Some of these publications were faithful reprints of the Ferrara prototypes. Other versions were variously revised, modified and enlarged.

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

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

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

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137 Special mention deserve the reeditions of the famous 1616 Venetian *Haggadah con su Ladino*, in Hebrew characters, continuously re-issued in Amsterdam and in Italy.
139 Tartas, *Orden de Ros-Asanah y Kipur*, p. 12
142 *Orden de las oraciones cotidianas por estilo seguido y corriente*, Con las de Hanucah, Purim y ayuno del solo. Como tambien las tres Pascuas de Pesah, Sebuot, y Sucodoth y con las Parasioth, y Afartot, y Hazaroath de Sebuot. En Amsterdam À costa de Yshac de Cordova Impresso em casa de Hackerman y W. Groenevelt (I consulted the volume preserved at the British Library, Sh.m. C049.a2).
143 *Cordova, Orden de las oraciones cotidianas*, p. 178.
ever]; 144 Sebuoth [שבועות, Feast of the Weeks]. 145 However, in a rather confusing way, Cordova used the grapheme h not only to represent the alef and the he, but even such fricative letters as the het and kaf, as, for instance, in Hazan [هزן, cantor]; 146 Baruh [ברוך, Blessed]. 147 Two years later, Yshak de Cordova published a new edition of the Orden de Ros-asanah y Kipur in which he never left the ‘ayin without notation and transcribed it as <h>. 148

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

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

144 Cordova, Orden de las oraciones cotidianas, p. 109.
145 Cordova, Orden de las oraciones cotidianas, Title Page and passim.
146 Cordova, Orden de las oraciones cotidianas, p. 178.
147 Cordova, Orden de las oraciones cotidianas. , p. 109.
148 Orden de Ros-Asanah y Kipur por estilo seguido y corriente, conforme se uza en este Kahal Kados, Nuevamente corregido. Impreso en Amsterdam en casa y a costa de Yshak de Cordoua, Año 5466 à la Criacion. See fig. 9.
149 Orden de las Oraciones de los cinco ayunos, por estilo seguido y corriente conforme se uza en este Kahal Kados, nuevamente corregido, Amsterdam, en casa y a costa de Selomoh Proops Mercader de Libros Ebraicos y Españoles, Año 5477.
150 Orden de las Oraciones de los cinco ayunos, p. 3.
151 Orden de las Oraciones de los cinco ayunos, p. 228 and passim
152 Orden de las Oraciones de los cinco ayunos, p. 287 and passim.
153 Orden de las Oraciones de los cinco ayunos, p. 244, 287 and passim.
154 Orden de las tres Pascuas, Pesah, Sebuoth y Sucoth, con sus Parasioth, y aphtaroth; la Hagada, y Selihot de Hossana Raba. Nuevamente Corregido En caza de Aharon Hisquia Querido en cuya Casa se hallen avender como toda suerte de libros &c. Amsterdam Anno 5487 à la Criacion.
155 Querido, Orden de las tres Pascuas, p. 12.
156 Querido, Orden de las tres Pascuas, p. 12 and passim.
Of greatest interest is the transliteration of the hymn *Yigdal Elohim Hay*.\(^{157}\) As far as I know, it was a new, original composition by the same Querido who most frequently ignored the ‘ayin. In other cases he transcribed it by <h>. Evidently, according to this scholar, the phonetic value of this consonant was equal to zero, or close to it, as it is proved by such transliterations as *et* [עט, time], *neelam* [נלם, invisible, secret], *lo naharoh* [לא נרחוי, not (to be) compared], *sephah* [شاיטה, abundance, fullness], *od* [온, again], *le amo* [להם, to His people], *leolamim* [לולמיים, forever], *yodea* [ידע, he knows], *Kemifalo* [כמפעלו, according to his deed(s)], *lerasah* [לרשע, to the wicked], *rah* [רע, evil], *kerisato* [ברשעות, according to his iniquity], *yesuato* [ישועתו, His deliverance], *ade ad* [עד עד, until the eternity, forever].\(^{158}\)

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

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

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\(^{157}\) Querido, *Orden de las tres Pascuas*, pp. 17-18. See doc. 3 in Appendix.

\(^{158}\) Querido, *Orden de las tres Pascuas*, p. 17.

\(^{159}\) Biblia en dos colunas hebrayco y Español […] en la primera coluna el original Hebraico, con todas las perfecciones en las letras puntos y taamim con las annotationes de or Tora, poniendo cada coza en su lugar […] en la segunda coluna la traduccion en lengua Española; y buscamos las palabras mas proprias en A. H. la vezes alguna palabra interlineas para mayor clareza en casa e a costa de Yoseph, Iacob y Abraam de Salomon Proops estampadores y mercadores de Libros, Hebraicos y Españoles en Amsterdam לפ”ק שם מפורייה אלא תריקו קרואו בספיו בשת ע”צ 5522. See fig. 11.

\(^{160}\) Biblia en dos colunas hebrayco y Español (unnumb.), p. 2v.

\(^{161}\) Biblia en dos colunas hebrayco y Español, p. 3r

\(^{162}\) Biblia en dos colunas hebrayco y Español, p. 2v.

\(^{163}\) Biblia en dos colunas hebrayco y Español, p. 2v.

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Figure 11. Title page of the beautiful bilingual *Biblia en dos columnas, Hebrayco y Español* published in Amsterdam in 1762 by Joseph, Jacob and Abraham Proops. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice.
Cohen used the symbol <h> to also represent the almost mute consonant he as, for example, in Al Naharot Babel [על נהרות בבל, the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles]. It is worth noting that in the

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


170 Cohen, Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden, p. 3r


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


175 Cohen, Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden, Second Part, p. 552.


179 Cohen, Gebeden der Portugeesche Jooden, Second Part, p. 552.
transliteration of the word הָשׁעַנָּה the Author transcribed the he by <h> and gave the 'ayin no graphic representation.

We do not take into consideration, for the purpose of this research, Gamaliel ben Pedahzur’s 180 controversial English translation of the Sephardic Ritual published in London in 1738 without the agreement of the Mahamad. 181 This author was clearly unacquainted with the Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew. Nevertheless it might perhaps be worth noting that he transcribed השע as Seman.

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

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


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


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

184 Orden de las Oraciones Cotidianas, Ros Hodes, Hanuca y Purim nuevamente traduzidas conforme el genuino sentido original Hebraico por estilo corriente y facil con las Parassias que se dizen en Ros Hodes, Hanuca y Purim por el H. H. R. Ishac Nieto impresso en casa de la viuda Moore año 5531 con licencia de los Señores del Mahamad.
the Hebrew name of several prayers in Latin characters, the author gave a full transcripton of the Kaddish and of the blessings for the reading of the Torah which he probably took up, with slight modifications, from earlier vulgarizations.

Of greater interest is his transliteration of the hymn *Lekha Dodi*, which, as far as I know, did not appear in the ancient versions of Ferrara and Venice, and in all probability was the original work of Ishac Nieto. In some cases this author gave no graphical representation to the ′ayin and left it without transcription, in other instances he transliterated this consonant by <h>, e.g., *Hitoreri* [חיטורא, wake up!], *uri, uri* [עורי, awake!], *behemec* [בעמק, in the valley], *hami* [עומת, my people], *alaich* [עליך, on you]. This author used the Spanish letter <j> to represent the fricative sound of the *het* and of the soft *kaf* as, for instance, in *ejad* [אחד, one], *verajacu* [יחד, they shall go away], *abaì* [בּא, tear(s)], *melujà* [מלוכה, royal], *Lejù venelejà* [לכו ונלכה, Come and let us go!]. However Nieto transcribed final *kaf* by <ch> as for instance: *Eloaich* [אלאיך, your Lord]. As a marginal remark, we note that this author transcribed both hard and soft *bet* as <b>, e.g., *ubyzman carib* [ובימן קריב, and in a near future], *sir* [שיר, song]; *besimja ubsahalà* [בּשׂמחה ובצלת, with joy and exultation]. 185 The plosive sound of this consonant (/b/) was to remain a feature common to all the Western Sephardic communities well into the 20th century. 186

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

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

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185 See doc. 4 in Appendix.
187 See doc. 4 in Appendix.
188 Isac Cavallero, *Orden de Oraciones* (Venice ca. 1552), pp. 146-147.
189 Yomtob Atias, *Libro de Oracyjones de todo el año*, see doc. 2 in the first part of this study (Sef 66, pp. 380-387).
190 Abraham Usque, *Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo*, (Ferrara 1555), f. 182r.
192 *Ordem de Orasois que se dizem en todo ho anno* (cf. note 35), ff. 1v, 2v et passim.
193 *Ordem de Orasois*, f. 60v.
Fig. 12. Title page of Lion Cohen’s bilingual Siddur in Hebrew with Dutch translation: *Gebeden der Portugeesche Joden*, printed in ’sGraevenhage by Johannes de Groot in 1791. Courtesy of the Joods Historisch Museum, Amsterdam.

Fig. 13. Mardochee Venture, *Prières des Jours de Ros-Haschana et du Jour de Kippour* [Reprint] 1807, p. 85. The title of prayers is given in Hebrew characters and is also transliterated into Latin letters. The consonant 'ayin is rendered as <ngkh>. Courtesy of Mr. Georges Dalmeyda, Bayonne.
From the above examples it appears that in the second half of the 18th century some eminent scholars refrained from representing the ‘ayin with the <hg> or <gn> graphemes and continued to transcribe this consonant by <h> or to leave it unexpressed. In the meantime, however, the new nasal-guttural sound of ‘ayin had been taking place in all the Western Sephardic communities. Already in 1706, Isac Abendana, “a learned Jew” who had lived in Amsterdam before settling in London, published his Discourses. In the chapter dealing with Jewish prayers he transliterated a few Hebrew words into Latin characters and expressed the ‘ayin by <ng>: Shemang Israel [שמע ישראל], Shemang kolenu [שמע קולם, hear our voice], Tecang besophar [תקע בשופר, sound the shofar]. However this author was not consistent and for other, less common, words he used the old traditional transcriptions. In the chapter on “the schools among the Hebrews” he talks about Sem and Heber (not Ngeber) [עברית, p.n.]. In the list of weights and measures he mentions the Beka (not bekang) [בקע, ancient coin]. We may assume that the author was familiar with the words recurring in the daily service, and he transcribed them by ear, as he had actually been hearing them in the synagogues of Amsterdam and London. He probably resumed the transcription of other words from some existing book.

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

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194 Ordem de Orasois, f 62v.
195 Ordem de Orasois, f. 44v.
196 PROOFS, Biblia en dos colunas. See doc. 5.
197 Isac Abendana was a graduate of the University of Leiden. The expression “a learned Jew” indicated also that he was a yaḥid, a member of the Community holding no official position at the moment.
199 I express my gratitude to Dr. Erla Zimmels, librarian at the Jews’ College of London for calling this book to my attention and for her precious advice.
scribed as <\textit{gn}>.\textsuperscript{201}

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

Between 1772 and 1774, Mardochée Venture published in Nice three bilingual volumes with the French translation of the Sephardic service for the weekdays, Saturday and Holidays.\textsuperscript{203} This author transcribed the ‘\textit{ayin by <\textit{ngh}>: e.g., Schemangh [שם], Beth Ianghacob [בית יעקב], vayang-habor [ואיבר], (He) passed; Yanghale [עלה, may ascend]; Lenghani [לעני], for the poor]; Nghet Schangaré Ratson [העת שערי רצון, the time when the gates of (his) willingness]].\textsuperscript{204} The Siddurim by Venture were reprinted many times. The consonant ‘\textit{ayin was represented constantly as <\textit{ng or <\textit{ngh}>.\textsuperscript{205}}

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

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Dickdook Leshon Gneebreet, \textit{A grammar of the Hebrew Tongue}, being an essay to bring the Hebrew Grammar into English […] composed and accurately corrected by Juda Monis, M.A., Boston, N.E. printed by Jonas Green, and are to be sold by the Author at his house in Cambridge, MDCCXXXV. See fig. 10.
\item B. Barker, \textit{Hebraice Grammatices Rudimenta}. In usum Scholæ Westmonasteriensis (Londoni 1750), p. 2.
\item Venture, \textit{Prières journalières à l’usage des Juifs Portugais où Espagnols}, p. 73 and passim.
\item Venture, \textit{Prières journalières à l’usage des Juifs Portugais où Espagnols}, p. 131 and passim.
\item Venture, \textit{Prières journalières à l’usage des Juifs Portugais où Espagnols}, tome III, p. 544 and passim.
\item See, for instance, M. Venture, \textit{Prières des Jours de Ros-Aschana et du Jour de Kippour à l’usage des Juifs Portugais ou Espagnols} (Paris 1807), p. 85, where we find Ahabat ngholam [אהבה נחלם] and Schemangh [שם]. See fig. 13.
\item The \textit{Hebrew Primer and Reading Book Containing all the Principal Rules in Hebrew Grammar Together with a Vocabulary of the Book of Genesis by Solomon Sebag}. See fig. 13.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
There still were, however, scholars who tacitly refused to adopt the <gn> or <ng> symbols. A. ben Baruch Créange published in Paris his *Offrande nouvelle*, 211 a prayer book in Hebrew with French translation where he called the ‘ayin Aîne, 212 and gave no phonetic value to this consonant, e.g., Schema [שמע, hear!], 213 amidah [שער, liturg.]; 214 and Alénou [עלינו, our obligation], Abinou [אבינו, our Father], and Leéla [לעלא, above]. 215

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

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

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

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

211 A. Ben Barouch Créange, מנחה חדשה, סדר תפלת ישראל - Offrande nouvelle, Prières des Israëllites du Rite Espagnol et Portugais, Hébreu et Français (Paris 1885).
212 Créange, Offrande nouvelle, p. 266, Translation of Psalm 119.
213 Créange, Offrande nouvelle, p. 59.
214 Créange, Offrande nouvelle, p. 63.
215 Créange, Offrande nouvelle, Index, p. IX.
Fig 14. Title page of Shemuel David Luzzato’s Grammatica della Lingua Ebraica (First instalment), Padua 1853. Courtesy of the Library of the Jewish Community, Padua.

ed]; 217 vengal kol gnamo [and over his people]; 218 ki gnanitani vatehi li lishugnah [as You answered me and You have been my deliverance]; 219 Esa ngenai el hehareem meayin yabo ngezree, ngezree mengim Adonai [I shall lift my eyes towards the mountains, whence my secour will come, my secour from the presence of the Lord]; 220 ngal hateshungot vengal haniflaot [for the deliverances and for the portents]; 221 Mangoz tsur yeshungatee [Stronghold, Rock of my deliverance]; 222 Tangamim [accents].

French Sephardim used similar graphic symbols. In the handbook comprising the prayers for the diseased persons, the sick unto death and the memorial service for the dead, we find legnalâm oulgnalmê gnalmaya [forever and for all the eternity]; Hou yagnassé chalôm gnalênu [May He make peace for us].

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

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

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217 GASTER, The Book of Prayer and Order of Service (Index).
218 GASTER, The Book of Prayer and Order of Service (Traditional Tunes), p. 223.
221 The Book of Prayer and Order of Service, p. 338.
222 The Book of Prayer and Order of Service, p. 359.
223 The Book of Prayer and Order of Service, p. 361.
224 Prières pour les malades, les mourants et les morts (Paris, Librairie Durlacher, 1911).
225 A. CABIB, Principi elementari della Lingua Ebraica (Livorno 1908), p. 3.
226 Cabib, Principi elementari della Lingua Ebraica, p. 39.
Fig. 16. M. Gaster The Book of Prayer and Order of Service according to the custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews... published for the Society Hesha'm, Volume One: Daily and Occasional Prayers, London 5718-1958, Appendix with the Music for Daily and Occasional Services, p. 338. Courtesy of Prof. Edgar Samuel.
extant, e.g., *Amida* [עמשה]; 227 *Arvit* [ארבייט]. However, was transcribed as *Scemagn*, 228 and the name of the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles was given as *Scemini Gnazzered*. 230 In the following years, Rabbi Disegni published many other Siddurim and Maḥazorim. In these editions, most of the *old* transcriptions were *corrected* and adapted to the general trend.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

233 See fig.17.
## Rules for Pronunciation

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Pronunciation Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>א</td>
<td>Silent</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>בֵּרְוַנְּ הֵרְוַנְּ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ב</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ג</td>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>גָּחַח</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ד</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>גָּנָנְג</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ה</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ו</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ז</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ח</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ט</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>י</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ק</td>
<td>Kh</td>
<td>Kh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ל</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>K</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מ</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נ</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ס</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>צ</td>
<td>Ng</td>
<td>'</td>
<td>נגְּלָנְג ngalenu, like wrong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ו</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>פ</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>צ</td>
<td>Ts</td>
<td>Ts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ק</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>K</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ר</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ש</td>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>Sh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ת</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>י</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew Text</th>
<th>Latin Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adon ohglam asser malah</td>
<td>אשר מלך על עולם אדונ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beteren kol yessir nibrah</td>
<td>בתרן כל ישר נbrit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le ehgt naahgsah ke hhefsó kol</td>
<td>על העשי חפץ כל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azay meleh semó nicra.</td>
<td>וי אלכל שומ נקר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ve ahhare-kiblot [sic!] a kol</td>
<td>אחריה כלכלת כל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leuado vh-imlohh nora.</td>
<td>לعودו ימלוך נור</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ve vh ahyah vevh oveh</td>
<td>לאחר והוה וה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ve vh yye betifarah</td>
<td>והוה בתיפה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ve vh ehhad ve en senij</td>
<td>והוה אח ואין</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leamsiि vlahhhirah.</td>
<td>הלמשי והחלירה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ve vh risson ve vh ahharon</td>
<td>והוה ראשו והוה אזור</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le kol hhomor vl kol surah</td>
<td>לכל חומר וכל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beli ressit beli tahhlit</td>
<td>בכל ראשית בכל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velo à oz ve amisrah</td>
<td>ולעוףumbed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beli eghle [sic!] beli dimion</td>
<td>בכל עזר וכל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beli sinuy vt murah</td>
<td>ובלי שומ ומר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beli hhybur beli firud.</td>
<td>ובלי בחור ובלי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gedol coahh vgburah</td>
<td>הגדול וכבוד</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ve vh Ely ve vh goaly</td>
<td>והוה אלה והוה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ve sur hhebly beyom sarah</td>
<td>על הבלי הבלי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ve vh nissy vmanussy</td>
<td>והוה ניסי ומנוש</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menat kossy beyom ekra</td>
<td>מנות חונים</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ve vh rofe ve vh marfe</td>
<td>והוה רופא והוה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ve vh sofe ve vh ehgzrah</td>
<td>והוהصور והוה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beyado afkid ruhhy</td>
<td>בעד חיק</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beeght yssan ve ayhgrah</td>
<td>בעת איש</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veim ruhhy geviaty</td>
<td>עם חיות</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adonay by [sic!] velo iraa.</td>
<td>ה' לי(opcode</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*La Kedussa*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew Text</th>
<th>Latin Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nakdissah ve naaghriISSah, kenoahm</td>
<td>כקדוש ונהגיושה, קנאהם</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siah sod sarfe kodes, amsallesiim leha</td>
<td>שיח דרך שאר קדוש, אמרלעший לע</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kedussah ve ké catub ahl yad nebiah</td>
<td>הקדושصن הקצב על יד נביא</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vekara ze el ze ve amar;</td>
<td>והקרא זה אל זה ואמיר</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kados, Kados, Kados .A. Sebaot</td>
<td>קאדו קאדו קאדו א. שבא�</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melo col ahares keuodo</td>
<td>מול כל ארץ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leuhmätä mesabbehhim ve omerim</td>
<td>לעממה והסיבות</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baruch keuod .A. mimekomo</td>
<td>ברך ח鸟成长</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubdibbre kodsehha catub lemor</td>
<td>בדבב כל חצוה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ymlloh .A. leoghiam Eloyah Syon</td>
<td>רל אהלאי</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ledor vador Haleluyah.</td>
<td>להדר הדלייה</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Sefarad*, vol. 68:1, enero-junio 2008, págs. 163-208. ISSN 0037-0894
Document 2: Some Blessings and the Kaddish transliterated into Latin characters in the Orden de Oraciones de mes arreo printed by Joris Trigg in Amsterdam, 5412, pp. 473-475 (The text in Hebrew letters does not appear in the volume).

473 Bendicion del Tale [sic!]
Baruch ata .A. Elohenu Melech Aholam
aser kidesanu bemisvotau vesivanu
leithateph baçecith.

Bendicion del Thephilim de la mano
Baruch ata .A. Elohenu Melech Aholam
aser kidesanu bemisvotau vesivanu
leiahim Thephilim.

De la cabeça
Baruch ata .A. Elohenu Melech Aholam
aser kidesanu bemisvotau vesivanu
hal mizuaith Thephilim.

El que sube a leer en la ley dira:
Baruch Et A. Ameborah.

474 Y respondera el Hazan:
Baruch .A. Ameborach leholam vahed.

Y dira mas el que sube:
Baruch ata .A. Elohehu Melec Aholam
aser bahar banu micol Ahamim
venatan lanu Et Thoratho.
Baruch atá .A. Nothen Athorah,
y despues que leyere, dira:
Baruch ata .A. Elohehu Melec Aholam
aser natan lanu torat emeth
vehaye holam nathan betochenu.
Baruch ata .A. Nothen Athorah.

Bendicion del que haze el Agomel
Baruch ata .A. elohenu Melech Aholam
Agomel lehayavim toboth,
seguemalanu Col tub.

Los kadesim
Ithgdal veithcadas seme raba,
behalma diura chierhuthue
veyamlcych Malchute veyazmah
purcane, vicareu Mesihe
bechayechon ubiomechon
ubhayt dechol beth Israel
Bahagala ubyzman caryu

Baruch ata. A. Elohenu Melech Aholam
asher kidesanu bemisvotau vesivanu
leithateph baçecith.

Baruch ata. A. Elohenu Melech Aholam
asher kidesanu bemisvotau vesivanu
leithateph baçecith.

Baruch ata. A. Elohenu Melech Aholam
asher kidesanu bemisvotau vesivanu
leithateph baçecith.
Yigdal Elohim Hay

ינדיל אלוהים חי ושתבב
נימסה וeen et el, mesiutó,
Ehad veen yahid, keyhudo,
neclam veen sof lehadudot,
en lo demut Aguf. Veeno guf,
lo Naharoh elav Kedesató
Kadmon le hol dabar, Aser nibrá

The hymn Yigdal Elohim Hay transliterated into Latin characters in Aharon Hisquia Querido’s Orden de las Tres Pascuas, Amsterdam 5487, pp. 17-18 (The text in Hebrew letters does not appear in the volume).
risson veen recit le recitó,
yno adon olam le hol nossar
yoreh gedulato umalhutó,
Sepah Nabuát el netano el,
anse segulató Vetifártó,
Lo kam belsraël Kemosèh od
nabi umabit et, temunató,
Torat emet natan le amo el,
al yad nebío neeman beto,
Lo yahalí a el velo yamir,
dato le olamim lezulató,
Sofeh veyodea Setarenu
mabít le sof darab becadtuño,
Gomel lehis Hessed kemifálo
Noten leraa rah kerisato.
Islah le kes yamin mesihénu
lifdot mehake kes yesuato
Metim yehe ey el, berrob hasdo,
Baruh ade ad sem teyláto,
Elé selos estré em ycarim
yesod torat Moseh unbuato.

129 Leja Dodi likrat Calah
Penè Sabath necabelah;
Samor vezajor vedibur ejad
Ismihanú El ameyujad;
A. ejad usmò ejad,
Lesem ultripheret velitilá;
Likrat Sabath lejú veneljá
Ky hi mekor aberaja;
Meros mikedem nesujà,
Sof mahase bemajasába tehilá;
Micdas melech hir melujà,
Cumi sehi mitoj a afejá;
130 Rab lach sebet behemee abajá
Vehu yajmol halaih jemla; Hitnahari mehafrá Cumi,
Libsi bigdé tifartech hami;
Al yad ben Ysay bet alajmi,
Corba él nafsi guealá.
Hitoreri hitoreri,
Kiba orech cumi ori;

La הוה אדוני עולם לכל צudder
ויודלו וחומית
שופח נבאתו עד את אלי
אwagon סגולו והפרת
אל קם בישראל כמשה עוד
נביא ומביט את תמונתו
תורת אמת נתן לעמו אל
על יד נביאו נאמן לביתו
לא יחלוף האל ולא ימיר
דתו לעולמים لوולה
ורפוא יידעו ויתני
ממעי תלוק דר בקמדתינו
נכלל אליש חסם כ￡סעל
ונת לمشار ערב קרשעה
ấyל לקים ימין מישרתי
ל sdlות מחוכי קס שיתעה
מסים יהיו אל בר בר חזר
بارك דע ויש חוזתי
אלה לשת יושר וחיר
ישראל רテスト ושוגגת

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

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

Gal enay veabíta; niflaot mitoratheha.

Esrénu besem .A., osé Samáim vaàres.
Tóraténu ummanunénù, veel Sadây Jebaréhénù.
Torà sivà lanu Moseh, mórçañ Keilat Jahacob.
Semah Israél .A. heloenu .A. Ehad.
Barúch Sem Kebod Malhutho leholam vaed.
Barúch atá .A.Lamedéni hukèha.
Hatora aser sam Moshe liphne bene Israèl.
Lo Jamùs Sépher athorà azè mipija, veaguita
bò yomán valáyla, lemàan tismòr Laasòth Kechòl

For the names of the authors, see the biblia in dos colunas, published by Yoseph, Iacob and Abraham Proops, Amsterdam 5522.
Akatùb bò, ki às taslìach
et derachèga veàs taskil.
Migdòl yeseút malcò:
vçoisè hèsed limischò,
ledavid ulzàrò ad olàm.
Vedibàrtì al anebìim,
veanochì hazòn ìrbèti:
ubjàd anebìim adamè.
Ki lo yaasè .A. Eloim
dabàr: Kim im galà sodò;
el habadàf anebìim.

Aryè Saàgh mi lò irà:
.A. Eloim dibèr, mi lo ynbè
Vaasìm debaray bephìha;
ubsèl yadi Kìsitìcha:
lìntòa samàím, velisòd
àrez, velemòr lecìón
ami ìta.

Cion bemispat tipadè
vesabéa bisdaca.
Ki miçìón tesè torà,
udbàr. A. mirusalàím.

Saàlí varòni yosèbìt cion,
ki gadol bekirbègh kedèr Israël.
Lechì neranènà la .A. naria lesùr
Isènu. Nekàdemà phànàf betòdà
bismiròt naria lo. Ki el gadòl .A.
umèleg gadòl al col Eloim.

Utsuat sadìkim me .A.,
màuzam bèèt sarà.
vayazerèm .A. vaïphaletém;
Jephyàletèm meritàsà ndòymèt:
ki gàzu bò. Mi yìt miçìón
Jesùath Israël;
bè susà .A. sebùt amò:
Jagèl Jahacob ysmach Israël.
Oreg Jamìm bìmìna, bìsmola
òster vehabòd. Es haim hi
lamahazìkìm bà: vètòmégèa meusar.

Derachèa dàrche nòam:
vègol netibòta Salòm.
Migdàl-oz Sèm .A.:
bò yarùz Sadìk venisgàb.
Ki bi ìrbù yamècha:
veyòsièhù lecha senòt haim.
As raà ivasáperà [recte: vaisàperà]:
echinà ñégàm hakàrà.
Vayòmer laadàm;
en yràt .A. hi hogma:
vestur meràh binà.
Ose guedolòt ad en hèquer:
veniflaot ad èn mispàr.
Haym vahèsed asìta imadi:
ufcudàtechà samërà ruhi.
Yonati begahve asèla;
besèter amadregà, arìni et maràig;
asmiyni et colèch: ki colèch
arèb umarèg navè.
Ayoèbet baganim haberim,
maksibim lecolèch asmiyni.
Veine bòaz, bà mibèt lèchem,
vayòmer lacòzerìmer .A. imachem
vayòmeru lò yebarechechà .A.
Jesalèm .A. paolèch:utì mascurtèg
selemà, meim .A. Eloë Israél;
asèr bát lahasòt tàgat kenafàf.
Hasdè .A. ki lo tamnù,
ki lo chalù rahamaf.
Hadàsàm labèkarìm; Rabà Emunàtècha.
Helki .A. amerà nafsi:
al kén ohil lò.
Asìbènu .A. elècha vanasùbà
hadés yamènu kekèđem.
Tob sèm misèmen tôb,
veiòm amàvet miyom ivaledò.
Lèg egòl besìmcha lachmèga,
ustè beleb tob Jenècha:
ki kebar rasa haelìm et maasèga.
Sòf dàbar acòl nismàh:
et Aeloìm yerà, veèt misrotàf semòr;
ki zè col adàm.
Ys yeudì ayà besusàn abírà:
usmò mordechày; ben yair,
ben simì, ben kis, is yeminì.
Layèdùìm, ayètà orà vesìnhà
vesasòn vikàr.
Ane daniel veamàr:
leevè semè di Elàa mebaràg
min almà vèdà almà, di gogmetà
ugeburta dièl hi.
Atohi kemà Rabrebin, vetìmòhi
kemà takìfìn, malgutì malgùtì alàm,
vesoltànì im dàr vedàr.
Baruch .A. eloè abotènu: asèr natàn

םיירמר תלוס
ונירמר הוא חכמה
ונכ_Implא על חכמה
ונכ�� על יושב
ונכיש על חכם
ונכ sik על❔
ונכ יומם על יומם
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ונכ יומם על יומם

Yitgadal veiyiqadach chemê raba begnalma di bera 'hirgnoutê veyamlî’h mal’houtê be'haychôh oubyome'h 'hôn oub ’hayê de’hol bêt Ysraêl, bagnagala oudizmân qarib veîmrou. Amên.
Yehê chemê raba mebara'h legnalâm ouglâmâl gnalmaya. Yitbara'h veyichtaba'h, veyitpaar, veiyitomâm, veiyitnacê, veiyitpaar, veiyitnacê, veiyitompâr, veiyitromâm, veiyitnacê, veiyithadar, veiyitgnaalé, veiyithalal chemê deqoudcha beri’h hou, legnéla mn kol bir’hata, vechirata, toucheh’hatuh, venè’hémata daamiran begnalma veîmrou. Amên.

Yehê chelama raba mîn chemaya ve’hayim gnalênu vegnal kol Yisraêl veîmrou. Amên.
Gnossê chalôm bimeromav, hou yagnassé chalôm gnalênu vegnal kol Yisraêl veîmrou. Amên.

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

Recibido: 20/06/2006
Aceptado: 04/07/2006