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Zachary M. Baker
Stanford University, zbaker@stanford.edu

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APPROPRIATIONS

Sefarad and Ashkenaz: Three New Bibliographies


Reviewed by:
Zachary M. Baker
YIVO Institute for Jewish Research
New York, NY

Introduction: Sefarad and Ashkenaz

Over the nearly two thousand years that have passed since the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem (70 C.E.), primacy within the Jewish Diaspora has shifted from land to land. The last millennium of Jewish wanderings might be summarized by invoking the words “Sefarad” (denoting Spain, in traditional Jewish toponymy [study of place names]) and “Ashkenaz” (Germany and Poland). To these labels two very different sets of stereotypes apply.

“Sefarad” conjures up the eloquent lyric poetry of Judah Halevi, the penetrating rationalism of Maimonides, the brilliant statecraft of Samuel ibn Nagrela, the footloose wanderings of Benjamin of Tudela, the aroma of orange blossoms, and the strains of courtly balls. These images fuse with an awareness of the cruelties of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella to produce the irretrievably romantic ideal of a paradise lost.

It is said that some Sephardic families passed on to their children the keys to the houses in Toledo and Cordoba from which their ancestors were dispossessed in 1492. “Españoles sin patria”—Spaniards without a homeland—is what one turn-of-the-century Spanish scholar and politician called the exiled Ladino-speaking Jews of the Balkan peninsula (Pulido, 1905). The magnificent achievements and tragic fate of Iberian Jews have long cast a spell over Jews (both Sephardim and Ashkenazim) and Gentiles alike, producing an impressive body of scholarship on the religious life, philosophy, language, and history of Spanish Jews and conversos (Jewish converts to Christianity) and their descendants everywhere. Robert Singerman has chosen to cover a large portion of this documentation in his two exemplary bibliographies, The Jews in Spain and Portugal (1975) and Spanish and Portuguese Jewry (1993).

Eastern “Ashkenaz”—the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth, until the 18th-century partitions—could not provide more of a contrast to “Sefarad.” From the sun-drenched olive orchards and vineyards of al-Andalus we move to the densely wooded lands that gave birth to the wond­working Israel ben Eliezer (the Ba’al Shem Tov); the traditionalist adversary of Hasidism, Elijah ben Solomon (the Vilna Gaon); and Nathan Nata Hannover, whose chronicles of 17th-century mas­sacres portended the ultimate fate of Central and Eastern European Jewry not so many years ago.

The “romance” of Polish and Lithuanian Jewry lies in the bucolic intimacy of small-town life, as portrayed by the authors of Life Is With People (Zborowski, 1952) and as lampooned by the Yiddish humorist Sholem Aleichem. One scarcely fantasizes, however, that today’s great-grandchildren of Polish-Jewish emigrants harbor pent-up longings to repossess their ancestors’ houses in Pinsk and Bilgoraj—much less that keys to their front doors have been handed down from generation to generation.

The Eastern European Jewish legacy has been incompletely documented in works of serious modern scholarship. A nascent school of Polish and Russian Jewish historians was either mowed down by the Nazis, silenced by the Soviets, or cast off to distant shores, remote from the libraries and archives possessing the primary sources needed to produce original works of scholarship—collections that, in any event, were closed to most researchers after 1945. In postwar Poland and the Soviet Union, local Jewish history was either ignored altogether or thoroughly subordinated to the political dictates of the governing regimes.

This situation finally began to improve during the early 1980s, with the growth of a more favorable attitude toward the Jewish presence in Polish history on the part of the educated Polish public, and with the gradual emergence of a younger generation of specialists in the United States, Canada, Britain, France, and Israel. (Similar developments have begun to take place in the former Soviet republics since about 1989.) The creation in 1986 of the Research Center of Jewish History and Culture in Poland, at Krakow’s Jagiellonian University, was a token of this changed atmosphere. The two bibliographical works produced by the Center that are under review are to be especially warmly greeted.

Sephardic Bibliography

In his introduction to the 1971 reprint of Meyer Kayserling’s Biblioteca espanola-portugueza-judaica, the historian Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi took note of the progress that had been made in Sephardic bibliography during the eight decades since Kayserling’s work first appeared. “We possess many materials toward an ultimate comprehensive Ibero-Jewish bibliography,” Yerushalmi stated, “but these vary so much in their standards, and the lacunae are still so manifest, that we are still very far from the goal. Much preliminary work must be
done, but all too few scholars are willing to address themselves to purely bibliographical problems" (Kayserling, 1971, p. xvi). Accordingly, Yerushalmi called for the compilation of a *Magna Bibliotheca Ibero-Judaica* which must surely come into being someday. It will list and describe analytically all works by Jewish writers in the Iberian tongues and in Ladino, whether printed or in manuscript. In each instance it will give both full collations and locations, based on direct examination. It will include a comprehensive bibliography of Iberian anti-Judaica. Hopefully, it will be replete with facsimiles of frontispieces, illustrations and illuminations, and thus convey not only an adequate impression of the intellectual range of Sephardic vernacular creativity in its great ages, but also some sense of the artistic adornment which often renders these books and manuscripts such a visual delight to the beholder.

(pp. xviii–xix)

The truly comprehensive bibliography of Sephardica envisaged by Yerushalmi has yet to be compiled, and it may be safe to conjecture that no single bibliographer will produce it, in view of the range of languages in which this literature has appeared, the wide geographic dispersal of manuscripts and ephemera (especially works in Ladino), and the veritable explosion of secondary studies on all aspects of the subject—many of them produced under the impetus of the quincentenary commemorations of the Catholic monarchs’ expulsion edict. Even so, the two Singerman bibliographies that have appeared since Yerushalmi made these remarks provide a solid foundation for the construction of a "Magna Bibliotheca Ibero-Judaica," even as their compiler would himself caution that large areas of coverage for that larger bibliography have been excluded from his own.

What, then, is *not* found in *The Jews in Spain and Portugal* and *Spanish and Portuguese Jewry*? As the titles of these two bibliographies imply, their scope is intentionally limited to Jews on the Iberian peninsula proper; "our coverage does not extend to the Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal in the 1490's and their descendants in the Old and New Worlds" (Singerman, 1975, p. vii). Among other exclusions are "biblical exegesis, Hebrew grammar, literature and poetry, Jewish philosophy, and rabbinical literature ... and general works dealing with the inquisition and its history, development, and practices" (Singerman, 1975, p. viii). Manuscripts are not covered, and library holdings are not given in either of Singerman's bibliographies, which in combination yield about 10,500 references to books and journal articles "on the history and culture of the Jews in Spain and Portugal," along with citations on "Christian-Jewish polemics ... early and modern antisemitica, philo-semítica, and Judaica ... [and] works relating to the delineation of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in literature ..." (Singerman, 1975, pp. vii–viii).

While it had been Singerman's original intention to produce "an integrated and extended bibliography," incorporating the citations in *The Jews in Spain and Portugal* alongside references to new and retrospective material, *Spanish and Portuguese Jewry* is, instead, a hefty supplementary volume to the earlier bibliography, and does not supersede it. The two bibliographies' areas of coverage are virtually identical. Without the exclusions already noted, Singerman claims, the 5,446 entries in the present work could have quintupled!

Among the works that have helped to bridge the gap between Yerushalmi's desiderata and Singerman's dual achievement is David M. Bunis's research bibliography, *Sephardic Studies* (1981), which covers post-expulsion Sephardic Jewry and which Singerman rightly praises as a "welcomed addition" to the field (Singerman, 1993, p. xiii). One hopes that other pertinent bibliographies—especially of Sephardic manuscripts and Ladino publications—will join their ranks.

The compiler's change of venue, in 1979, from Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati) to the University of Florida (Gainesville) has resulted in a shift in the source of citations appearing in the two bibliographies. The earlier work is especially strong in Jewish sources (much of it derived from the journal and periodical literature of pre-Holocaust Europe), supplemented, of course, by citations from Spanish journals such as *Sefarad*, *al-Andalus*, and the serials of learned academies. In contrast, the new work ... reflects a preponderance of Spanish and Portuguese studies, with Israeli scholarship ... contributing an important but numerical minority of the citations.

(Singerman, 1993, p. xiv)

Both of Singerman's bibliographies offer classified subject arrangements. The main headings employed in the two works are identical, save for the occasional linguistic shift (e.g., Section 1.15 is "Blood Purity" in the 1975 book, and "Limpieza de Sangre (Blood Purity)") in the supplementary bibliography. Subheadings under the extensive rubric "Special Subjects" have changed slightly from 1975 to 1993. Under "Spain—Special Subjects" (Section 1.18), for example, the 1993 bibliography introduces the subheadings "Badige, Jewish," "Ketuba," "Notaries," "Oath," "Slavery," and "Talmud," while eliminating the subheadings "Academies" and "Calatrava, Order of." New subheadings appearing under "Portugal—Special Subjects" (Section 2.9) include "Hebrew Language," "Judeo-Portuguese," "Mes­

The particular strengths of *Spanish and Portuguese Jewry* reside in its coverage of general reference works, bibliographies, ethnography, local history, biography, and specialized topics such as those just enumerated. This bibliography is especially valuable for its treatment of hitherto neglected topics. The three citations under "Slavery" (nos. 3506–3508; p. 396), for example, shed light on the status of slaves among medieval Jews, as well as on the controversy surrounding the Jewish role in the slave trade. And while Singerman disclaims any intention to cover post-1492 Sephardic, his work does include numerous citations for *Ladino/Judezmo* (nos. 3509–3554; pp. 397–401), with particular focus on the relationship between that Jewish language and Spanish.

Thus, not withstanding the presence of short sections on responsa (nos. 3421–3434; pp. 386–388) and rabbinica (nos. 3412–3420; pp. 385–386), this bibliography tends to emphasize the interactions of Sephardic Jews with the surrounding society in Spain and Portugal—rather than their internal religious life. Given the large number of citations from non-Jewish sources, this is perhaps not surprising, although it does mean that researchers of Sephardic religiosity will have to comb other catalogs, bibliographies, and reference books for works on this vast area. Chronological coverage in both bibliographies extends up to the present, even as geographical coverage remains essentially restricted to Spain and Portugal. The section on nineteenth-century Spain (Section 1.21; pp. 490–495) treats relations between Spaniards and Jews at a time.
when the latter were still virtually absent from Spanish society itself. Within the section on the twentieth century (1.22), the subheading “Spanish Civil War (1936–1939)” (nos. 4560–4626; pp. 505–511) yields citations on the participation of Jewish volunteers from abroad, in the International Brigades, who fought alongside Loyalist forces against the insurrection of General Francisco Franco.

Spanish and Portuguese Jewry is graced with a 100-page index, employing typographic features that differentiate authors (roman letters) from titles (italics) and subjects (capital letters). The index’s only serious shortcoming is encountered under headings representing numerous citations, whose item numbers only are given without subheadings. (See, for example, the index entry “INQUISITION,” pp. 664–665, which runs for almost a full column.) This can be frustrating for readers seeking to scan an index entry for works on a particular aspect of this topic. One other quibble, this one relating to bibliographical description: Titles of Hebrew books and articles are often given in English translation only, rather than in romanization plus translation, which would have been more accurate from a bibliographic perspective.

One very useful feature of the present work is its appendix of corrections to Singerman’s 1975 bibliography (pp. [601]–613). Another is its use of headlines at the top of odd-numbered pages, which inform the reader of the subject matter covered there (e.g., on p. 297: “1.17 Spain: Biography, Benjamin, of Tudela”).

All in all, Spanish and Portuguese Jewry is a most welcome addition to the Sephardic—and Judaica—bibliographical universe, and yet another feather in its well-adorned cap. (Singerman was honored by AJL in 1991, when he received this organization’s first Bibliography Award, for Judaica Americana.) Future bibliographies in this subject area will have to be assembled by other hands, however. In Singerman’s words, “The work presented here thus concludes my bibliographic investigations on Spanish and Portuguese Jewry. No further supplements can be expected from this source, as I focus my energies in other research areas” (1993, p. xvi). Reports emanating from Gainesville indicate that he is already busy at work on a number of new bibliographical projects.

A Bibliography of Polish Jewish Bibliographies

Of the two works on Poland under review here, one is a bibliography of bibliographies and the second comprises conference proceedings. Both are issued by the Jagiellonian University, as the inaugural volumes of its “Studia Polono-Judaica series,” whose general editor is Prof. Józef A. Gierowski, formerly the rector of that university and now the director of its Research Center of Jewish History and Culture in Poland. Both books are significant additions to this neglected field. The Research Center is to be applauded, moreover, for producing these volumes at least partly in English, which enhances their accessibility to non-specialist researchers outside of Poland.

Krzysztof Pilarczyk’s Guide to Bibliographies of Polish Judaica is expressly aimed at “students and individuals” who are “beginning” their research on the history and culture of Jews in Poland (1992, p. 35). Notwithstanding that caveat, this Guide performs the additional service of helping to bring up to date and expand upon the work of Shlomo Shunami, the supplementary volume of whose Bibliography of Jewish Bibliographies appeared nearly two decades ago (1975). Pilarczyk’s Guide is especially strong in its coverage of general Polish reference sources that might have been overlooked by Judaica bibliographers, and of unpublished manuscripts, archival inventories, and card catalogs in Polish libraries.

Pilarczyk quotes Mojzesz Schorr and Majer Balaban, who in 1900 called for the compilation of a “comprehensive bibliography of Jewish history in Poland in the full sense of the word (books, articles, periodicals, leaflets, posters, etc.)” (p. 32) —a proposal that unfortunately was never fully realized, in contrast to bibliographies prepared for Western and Southern European Jewish communities. (Interestingly, Pilarczyk cites Kayserling’s Biblioteca espanola-portuguesa-judaica as an example of such a bibliography.)

The Guide’s predecessors in the field of Polish Jewish subject bibliography are enumerated in the compiler’s introduction (pp. 32–34). Among the most significant of these are Balaban’s 1939 Bibliography on the History of the Jews in Poland and Neighboring Lands, available in a 1978 reprint, and the 1984 bibliographical survey, The Jews in Poland and Russia, by Gershon D. Hundert and Gershon C. Bacon. While these compilations are not bibliographies of bibliographies, their contents do overlap with Pilarczyk’s Guide, which includes citations for reference works on Polish Jewry, in addition to bibliographies.

Ideally, a bibliography of bibliographies ought to provide the foundation for serious research in a subject area. This Guide largely succeeds in that aim, but it must be stressed that its arrangement emphasizes format of material and, only secondarily, specific subject areas. Its first section (two-thirds of the work, pp. [43]–142) covers bibliographies, encyclopedias, bio-bibliographies, guides to Polish library and archival collections, and lists of the Polish Jewish press. The second section (pp. [145]–198) covers reference books and bibliographies on several broad topical areas: Judaism; Biblical archaeology; Polish Jewish history; the Holocaust in Poland; Polish-Jewish literature, theater, film, and printing.

The boundaries between format and subject coverage are somewhat fuzzy, and so it is unfortunate that the work’s two indexes (for personal names and geographical names) do not bring out subsidiary subjects that do not appear as main headings in Sections 1 and 2.

There are more serious shortcomings, which unfortunately detract from the Guide’s accessibility. While the introduction and table of contents are in both Polish and English, the list of abbreviations and the headings that appear within the work proper are in Polish only. Thus, Section 5.2 (general Polish publications containing Judaica) includes such untranslated subheadings as “Lekarze” (Doctors) and “Pisarze” (Writers, both p. 82). In the English sections, the quality of translation is very poor (e.g., “autopsy,” p. 38, apparently meaning “firsthand examination” of works cited).

There are numerous errors of romanization (“Kriah neemanah,” no. 124, p. 62, i.e., Kiriya ne’emanah) and typography (“Roads [i.e., Roads to Extinction],” no. 217, p. 71), as well. Evidence of hasty proofreading is also evident; for example, Chester G. Cohen’s Shetel Finder (no. 829, p. 156) is erroneously attributed to “Cutter, Ch. G.” For all its obvious utility, then, the work would clearly have benefited from thorough and judicious copyediting.

Some important bibliographies and reference books eluded the compiler. Examples include: The 1990 supplement to
Abraham J. and Hershel Edelheit's *Bibliography on Holocaust Literature* (1986; no. 964, p. 171); the English edition of Maria and Kazimierz Piekhotka's *Bożnice drewniane* (1957; no. 934, p. 168); *Wooden Synagogues* (1959); the Leo Baeck Institute's published library catalog (1970; the *Catalog of the Archival Collections* of the LBI [1990], no. 627, p. 126, is included); YIVO's archival guide, *The Documents of the Lodz Ghetto* (1988); and Natan Gross's book, *The Jewish Film in Poland, 1910-1950* (1990). These omissions may well be attributed to the poor channels of communication formerly prevailing between East and West.

In his preface, Prof. Gierowski notes the cooperation that his Research Center has received from academic institutions in the United States and Israel. One hopes that these contacts will be amplified, so that future projects that are undertaken by its scholars will be more uniform in their quality. This is in no way meant to detract from the very real accomplishment of this 1,224-item Guide, which represents a significant advance in the documentation of Polish Jewry.

**A Symposium on Polish Judaica**

*Bibliographies of Polish Judaica*, which was not published until 1993, contains the proceedings of an international symposium held at the Jagiellonian University in July 1988. *A report on this conference was published in Judaica Librarianship vol. 5 no. 1 (1990), pp. 96–97—Ed.*

Much water has passed under the bridge since that conference took place. Above all, there was the small matter of the demise of the Polish communist regime in 1989. Still, the mere fact that such a meeting was held in Poland, with the participation of noted scholars from Krakow and Jerusalem (notwithstanding the formal absence of diplomatic relations between Poland and Israel at that time) testified to the progress made in Polish-Jewish relations since the anti-Jewish purges of 1968.

The principal virtue of the volume at hand lies in its extensive documentation of the Judaica holdings of repositories in Krakow. Library and archival finding aids, and bibliographies of these institutions' holdings in specific areas, dominate the book's contents. These include: "Jewish Periodicals in Cracow (1918–1939)," by Czesław Brzoza (pp. 55–110); "Polish Language Jewish Press in the Holdings of the Jagiellonian Library," by Ewa Bąkowska (pp. 111–181); "Jewish Manuscripts in the Czartoryski Library of the National Museum in Cracow," by Adam Homecki (pp. 183–187); "Judaica in the Jagiellonian Library Collections," by Anna Partyla and Zofia Steczowicz-Sajderowa (pp. 189–194); and "Sources for Jewish History in the 18th Century in Church Archives," by Stanisław Litak (pp. 195–202; not restricted to Krakow). Would that other Polish (and Eastern European) cities' Judaica resources were surveyed so fully! (One thinks, in particular, of Warsaw, with its university, National Library, and Jewish Historical Institute.)

Among the interesting revelations ...:

**Polish— and not Yiddish or Hebrew—was the predominant language of the Jewish press in Krakow during the interwar decades ...**

Yiddish periodicals from smaller Polish localities, particularly in Galicia. (More than one article within the collection points to the lack of Polish specialists capable of making use of these materials.)

The perspective yielded by these bibliographical surveys is amplified by articles by Krzysztof Pilarczyk ("Polish Judaica Manuscripts and Prints: An Inventory," pp. 27–46), Alina Cała ("Bibliography of Jewish Periodicals in the Polish Language: An Analysis of Data Collected," pp. 47–53), and Izabella Rejduch-Samkowa and Jan Samek ("Some Problems Concerning the Bibliography of Jewish Art in Poland," pp. 203–210). Pilarczyk's essay is particularly useful, although it must be read in conjunction with his Guide to Bibliographies of Polish Judaica, to which he frequently refers in his footnotes.

The three Israeli participants in the symposium are all affiliated with the Hebrew University. The purely bibliographical contributions are by the great Yiddish literary scholar, Chone Shmeruk: "Yiddish Literature in Poland and Lithuania Until the 1648/1649 War: Historical Outline" (an abridged version of an article that was written in Hebrew) and its appendix, "Bibliography of Yiddish Books Printed in Poland Until the Year 1648/1649" (pp. 11–25; see also Shmeruk, 1981). Articles by Olga Goldberg-Mulkiewicz ("The State of Bibliographic Research on the Ethnography of Polish Jews," pp. 211–249) and Hanna Volovici ("International Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism in Hebrew University: Bibliographic Projects," pp. 221–224) round out the volume.

Like the Pilarczyk Guide, this book is marred by stilted translations (e.g., "Jewish," p. 229, referring to an individual's Jewish identity) and some erroneous romanizations (e.g., "Hitachut," p. 63, for *Hitachdut*/*Hilhadut*; and "Yugnt-fan," p. 108, for *Yugnt-fon*). The most bizarre of these is a combined translation and romanization error, "Habim's theatre" (p. 51), where the translator appears to have misinterpreted "Habima" as the genitive form of the nonexistent nominative "Habim." In general, romanized Hebrew and Yiddish titles appearing in this volume's bibliographies are those found within the books or newspapers themselves, e.g., *Di cajt* (p. 123), rather than *Di Isayt*. (The systematic romanization table employed by Pilarczyk, in his Guide, relies on Polish consonant and vowel equivalents, which

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can be jarring to the English reader but which make perfect sense as long as these are applied with consistency.)

While the symposium took place one year before the end of communist rule in Poland, some participants were clearly able to revise and update their presentations for publication. In his article, for example, Adam Homecki cites The Lord's Jews, by Murray J. Rosman (p. 186), a book that was published in 1990, two years after the conference. Pilarczyk and Jan Jackowicz-Korczyński, in their concluding prospectus for “A Bibliography of Judaica Published in Poland During the Years 1944–1985,” state that they “did not wish to overlook the so-called underground, that is publications which appeared in Poland outside the reach of the censor” (p. 229)—a remark that itself might have been excised by the censor had the book gone to press in 1988.

Because the conference did take place before the fall of General Jaruzelski’s regime, however, it appears that at least one participant felt it necessary to underscore pre-1939 Polish Jewry's allegiance to the cause (and the self-designated political party) of the proletariat. How else is one to explain Czesław Brzoza’s remark, “Both in Cracow and in all Poland a large percentage of the Jews belonged to the communist party” (p. 65)? This misleading assertion is open to the worst kind of misinterpretation, especially in post-communist Poland. While a disproportionate number of Polish communists before World War II were indisputably Jews, this does not mean that communists constituted “a large percentage” of the Polish Jewish population; among both the Poles and Polish Jews, the actual percentage of communists was quite low.

The next major Judaica bibliographical project on the Jagiellonian University’s agenda is a bibliography of Polish-language Judaica published from 1944 to 1985, as outlined by Pilarczyk and Jackowicz-Korczyński in this volume’s closing essay. The decision to concentrate on Polish-language materials marks a recognition of the tacit division of labor between Krakow and Jerusalem, where several volumes in the bibliographical series “Polish Jewry” have appeared since the early 1980s, among them the Bibliography of Hebrew and Yiddish Publications in Poland Since 1944 (Zeichner, 1987, cited on p. 227). The first two volumes of “Studia Polono-Judaica” mark an auspicious beginning; the projected bibliography of postwar Polish Judaica should be a worthy continuation of that series.

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Zachary Baker is Head Librarian of YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York City and President of the Association of Jewish Libraries (1994–1996). His article on Judaica publishing in Poland was the cover story of Judaica Librarianship vol. 5 no. 1 (1990).